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Voter IDs Are Not the Problem:
A Survey of Three States

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Abstract

Since the 2000 election, one of the most contentious issues in election administration has been voter identification requirements. Currently, 27 states require or request some form of identification from voters at the polls on Election Day. Opposition to voter IDs has come largely from those who fear that this requirement will disenfranchise voters who do not have IDs or would find it difficult to acquire them. This paper is based on a survey of registered voters in three states—Indiana, Maryland, and Mississippi. In trying to determine whether ID requirements are a problem and, if so, how serious, the survey first asked whether registered voters had a photo ID. Surprisingly, only about one percent of registered voters in all three states lack a photo ID, and in Indiana, which has the most stringent requirements, only 0.3 lacked an ID. More than two-thirds of respondents believe the U.S. electoral system would be trusted more if voters were required to show a photo ID. This is significant because the perception of fraud among the voters is high and the confidence in the electoral system is low. Still, there are serious problems in the way in which the ID laws have been drafted or applied that might have the effect of reducing voter participation, particularly of certain groups. The paper proposes ways to construct an ID system that will assure ballot integrity while attracting new and more voters.

I. Background: Are IDs an Impediment or an Assurance of Good Elections?

The 2000 Presidential election awakened Americans to the dismal state of its electoral process and led Congress to approve the Help America Vote Act (HAVA) of 2002. But that hardly ended the partisan struggle not just over elections but also about the process. The latest front in the partisan debate about access vs. integrity in U.S. elections is the issue of voter identification requirements. Concerns about voter fraud led to calls for stricter ID requirements, but these were countered by arguments that individual voter fraud is rare and that more stringent ID requirements may cause a larger problem by impeding the ability of some eligible citizens, particularly the poor, minorities, or elderly, to vote. In the end, HAVA established the first national minimum identification requirements for first-time voters who registered by mail. They would need to present some form of identification. [1]

Since then, individual states have legislated stricter voter identification requirements, and there are now a total of twenty-seven states that have gone beyond the standards set by HAVA. [2] ID requirements vary. Of these 27 states, two (Kansas and Pennsylvania) require ID (photo and non-photo) for all first-time voters. Eighteen other states require some form of ID (photo and non-photo accepted) for all voters. Four states ask voters to show a photo ID, but allow those without appropriate ID to sign an affidavit and cast a regular ballot. Finally, three states, Georgia, Florida, and Indiana,[3] require all voters to show photo ID. If they do not have one, a voter can cast a

[1] PL 107-252, Sec. 303 (b). Full text at: http://electionline.org/Portals/1/Resource%20Library/HelpamericaVoteAct.pdf

[2] For a list of state ID legislation see: http://electionline.org/ResourceLibrary/ElectionAdministrationHotTopics/2007VoterIDLegislation/tabid/1125/Default.aspx

[3] All three states require photo identification, but they differ in the types of ID that are allowable. Indiana and Georgia require some form of government-issued (federal, state, and in the case of Georgia, local) photo identification, but Florida allows additional photo ID options, such as a photo debit/credit card, a buyer's club card, or any student ID. For more detail, see electionline.org's descriptions of the various state requirements at: http://electionline.org/Default.aspx?tabid=364

provisional ballot, which in most cases will only be counted if the voter presents valid identification to the local board of elections within a designated time frame.

Georgia's 2005 voter ID law required voters pay a fee for the ID while limiting access to obtaining IDs. That law was criticized and over-turned in court, and in 2006, Georgia passed a new law requiring that IDs be provided free of charge and that every county have an office to issue IDs. Indiana and Missouri's laws followed similar models and other states adopting ID requirements have provided some safeguards for voters who lacked a photo ID. Challenges to the Indiana, Missouri, Arizona, and Georgia ID laws have brought the courts into the debate with varying results. In 2006, the Missouri Supreme Court blocked implementation of that state's law. However, Arizona and Indiana's laws have been upheld, and in 2007 the Georgia Supreme Court dismissed a challenge to the state's revised ID law and allowed it to go into effect in 2007.

The debate has become contentious and politically polarized as most of the proponents of voter IDs are Republicans, and most of the opponents are Democrats. Loyola law professor Rick Hasen noted that every state legislature passed a voter ID law since 2000 did so along party lines. Even more ominous, the courts also seemed to divide along party lines.[4]

This partisan divide, however, can be bridged. A bipartisan, private Commission on Federal Election Reform, chaired by former President Jimmy Carter and former Secretary of State James A Baker, III, and organized by the Center for Democracy and Election Management of American University, examined the question of voter identification in some detail, and concluded in its September 2005 report that the concerns of ID proponents and opponents were both legitimate. [5] A free election requires that voters identify themselves in a manner that leaves no doubt that they are the ones registered, and it should not be implemented in a way that limits access to voting. The Commission sought to bridge the partisan divide by recommending a uniform voter ID, based on the "Real ID Act of 2005," coupled with an affirmative role by states to provide free voter ID cards for any citizen who does not have one, and to do so by sending mobile units out to register more voters. In addition, it suggested a five-year transition period before full implementation.

The problem with both partisan sides of the debate is that there is little evidence that would allow each side to prove its case. The supporters of ID can point to few examples of multiple or false voting, and the opponents cannot identify voters who did not vote because they did not have a voter ID. Indeed, in the case brought against Indiana's voter ID requirements, the opinion of the majority in the District Court decision upholding the Indiana law noted that the plaintiffs failed to identify a single voter who would be unable to vote because of the new ID requirements.[6] Since this judgment and the appeal by the plaintiffs to the Supreme Court, however, the Marion County Election Board, one of the original defendants in the case, identified 32 individuals from the most recent municipal

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[4] Rick Hasen, "A Voting Test for the High Court," *The Washington* Post, September 19, 2007, p.A23.

[5] *Building Confidence in U.S. Elections: Report of the Commission on Federal Election Reform*, September 2005, pp. 18-21, available at http://www.american.edu/ia/cfer/report/full_report.pdf

[6] Judge Sarah Evans Barker, United States District Court, Southern District Of Indiana, Indianapolis Division, "Entry Granting Defendants' Motions For Summary Judgment, Denying Plaintiffs' Motions For Summary Judgment, And Denying Plaintiffs' Motions To Strike," April 14, 2006, p. 3, 62-63. Accessed at: http://moritzlaw.osu.edu/electionlaw/litigation/documents/entrygrantingdefendantsmotionforsummaryjudgment.pdf . The judgment notes that of the twelve individuals identified by the Indiana Democratic Party as being harmed by the Indiana law, no evidence was adduced concerning two, one died before the case was heard, and the remaining nine were over the age of 65 and therefore eligible to vote by absentee ballot. Six of the nine, however, did not have valid photo identification or the necessary documents to immediately obtain one.

election (November 2007) whose provisional ballots were not counted as a result of their failure to show valid photo identification.[7] Still, more data is needed to help assess the impact of such requirements.

Estimates of how many people lack a valid ID diverge sharply. A widely cited study in Wisconsin estimated that about 20% of the state's population lacked a driver's license, and minorities, youth, and elderly residents were less likely to have ID cards.[8] This study was criticized for overstating the percentage of residents without a driver's license.[9] A 2006 survey of Arizona registered voters found that 1% of registered voters said they did not have the required voter ID, while 11% were "not sure,"[10] but respondents were never asked if they had the specific forms of ID required for voting (such as a driver's license or tribal ID), and more than a third of respondents were unfamiliar with Arizona's voter ID requirements.

State officials have also given various estimates for the number of voters without ID but have released little if any information on how these estimates were derived. In Michigan, the Secretary of State's office estimated the number of registered voters without ID at 370,000, about 5% of the state's total,[11] while the Secretary of State in Missouri estimated that between 170,000 and 190,000 voters, or about 3 to 3.2% of the state's total population, lacked ID.[12] In Georgia, numerous estimates have been made. The Governor said that 300,000 state residents lacked ID,[13] although the U.S. Department of Justice, when it cleared Georgia's 2005 voter ID law under the Voting Rights Act, contended that the number of voters without the required ID was "extremely small," and blacks were more likely to have ID cards than whites.[14] A 2006 analysis by the then Georgia Secretary of State office estimated the number of registered voters without photo ID at 675,000, based on a comparison of the voter registration rolls to the state's Department of Driver Services database.[15] That estimate was challenged by the State Election Board's Vice Chairman, who argued that both the voter registration rolls and the driver's license data were riddled with errors, and he put forward his own estimate of less than 3,000 registered voters without photo ID, based on the low number of

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[7] Brief for Respondent Marian County Election Board, December 3, 2007, p. 8-9. Accessed at: http://www.abanet.org/publiced/preview/briefs/pdfs/07-08/07-21_RespondentMarionCty.pdf. The brief notes that 34 individuals failed to show appropriate photo ID at the polls and, therefore, according to the Indiana statute were only able to cast provisional ballots. According to the Indiana law, those provisional ballots would only be counted if the voters, within the 10 days following the election, presented the appropriate identification before the Marion County Clerk's Office. Only two of the voters followed this procedure to have their votes counted, therefore the votes of the other 32 were not counted. See also Ian Urbina, "Voter ID Laws Are Set to Face a Crucial Test," *New York Times*, January, 7, 2008.

[8] John Pawasarat, *The Driver License Status of the Voting Age Population in Wisconsin*, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Employment and Training Institute, June 2005, available at www.eti.uwm.edu.

[9] Derrick Nunnally and Stacy Forster, "Voter ID bill could unfairly target some," *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, June 14, 2005.

[10] "More than one-third of registered voters unfamiliar with voter ID requirements," Northern Arizona University Social Research Laboratory, March 12, 2006, available at http://www4.nau.edu/srl/PressReleases/SRL%20Release%20-%20Voter%20ID%20Awareness.pdf.

[11] Dawson Bell, "Court jumps into dispute over voter ID checks," *Detroit Free-Press*, April 27, 2006.

[12] Kelly Wiese, "House Committee passes voter ID requirement," *Kansas City Star*, April 28, 2006, available at: http://www.semissourian.com/story/1150454.html

[13] Carlos Campos, "Photo ID bus gets little use," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, December 19, 2005.

[14] Letter from Assistant Attorney General William E. Moschella to U.S. Senator Christopher S. Bond, October 7, 2005, available http://www.usdoj.gov/crt/voting/misc/ga_id_bond_ltr.htm.

[15] Nancy Badertscher, "22 percent of elderly voters lack proper ID; Some believe there is no problem, even if other options are limited," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, June 24, 2006.

free voter ID cards that were issued after the Photo ID Act was passed.[16] A more recent estimate by the new Secretary of State identified 198,000 voters who may not have a driver's license or state ID by comparing voter registration rolls with records from the Department of Driver Services.[17]

An expert hired by plaintiffs in their attempt to block Indiana's voter ID law contended that the number of registered voters in the state without a photo ID could be as high as 989,000.[18] However, the State of Indiana asserted that the expert's report had "deep methodological flaws,"[19] and U.S. District Court Judge Sarah Evans Barker, who dismissed the plaintiffs' case, rejected the report as "incredible and unreliable."[20] Indiana's voter registration rolls, in her judgment, were inflated by duplicate registrations and no-longer eligible voters.

Most research conducted thus far to estimate number of voters without ID has been mainly based on aggregate data sources that are poorly suited to such estimates. Both voter registration rolls and driver's license records are inaccurate and out-of-date.

As to whether ID requirements disenfranchise voters, recent literature and surveys have shed some light on the issues, but they have not offered a definitive answer. Alvarez, Bailey, and Katz looked at the ID issue at the aggregate and the individual levels. They found no evidence at the aggregate level that voter ID requirements reduce voter participation, but at the individual level, they found lower levels of voting in those states with stricter requirements, and they also found a more adverse effect on those with less education and income.[21] Vercellotti and Anderson compared voting in states with more restrictive requirements with those with less, and found at the aggregate level some statistical support that more restrictive requirements lead to lower turnout. They also found a similar result at the individual level, and that correlated with education and income, though not with ethnicity. Using two different models, they concluded that there was no evidence "to support the claim that stricter voter identification requirements have a disproportionate negative effect on African-Americans or Hispanics." [22] Mycoff, Wagner, and Wilson found that voter ID laws do not affect voting at either the aggregate or individual levels.[23]

In a paper presented to New York University's Election Law Symposium in February of 2007, Dr. Stephen Ansolabehere analyzes a very large national sample collected by the Cooperative Congressional Election Survey during the 2006 election and finds that almost no one is prevented

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[16] Order granting preliminary injunction for plaintiffs, Judge Frank Murphy, U.S. District Court, Northern District of Georgia, July 14, 2006, p. 138.
[17] "No ID? Votes cast can become castoffs," *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, November 2, 2007
[18] Kimball Brace, "Report on the Matching of Voter Registration and Driver's License Files in Indiana Democratic Party et al. v. Todd Rokita et al. Court Case."
[19] "Memorandum of the State of Indiana, the Indiana Secretary of State, and the Co-Directors of the Indiana Election Division in Support of their Joint Motion for Summary Judgment and in Opposition to the Motions for Summary Judgment Filed by Both Sets of Plaintiffs," in *Indiana Democratic Party et al. v. Rokita et al*., November 2005.
[20] Order granting summary judgment for defendants, Judge Sarah Evans Barker, U.S. District Court, Southern District of Indiana, April 14, 2006, p. 43.
[21] R. Michael Alvarez, et al, "The Effect Of Voter Identification Laws On Turnout," Version 2, Revised Oct. 2007. Accessed at: http://www.vote.caltech.edu/media/documents/wps/vtp_wp57b.pdf
[22] Timothy Vercellotti and David Anderson, "Protecting the franchise or restricting it? The Effects of voter identification requirements on turnout", paper prepared for presentation at the 2006 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 31, 2006.
[23] Jason Mycoff, Michael W. Wagner, and David C. Wilson, "The Effect of Voter Identification Laws on Aggregate and Individual Level Turnout." Presented at the 2007 Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. Accessed at http://www.vote.caltech.edu/VoterID/apsa07_proceeding_211715.pdf

from voting because of voter ID requirements.[24] He concludes that the ID issue is 'a controversy that isn't." To the extent that there is a problem, he notes, it may be with the way in which ID requirements are administered.

In a survey of registered voters and non-registered but eligible citizens in Indiana, released in November 2007, Barreto, Nuño, and Sanchez reported that 13% of registered voters and 22% of non-registered citizens lack a current driver's license or state ID card. They over-sampled African-Americans and lower-income voters, and found that they were much less likely to have a valid ID. What is quite interesting, however, was that while 14 % of the *actual 2006 voters* did not have a valid ID at the time the survey was conducted in October 2007, many of these voters were able to vote by absentee ballot, which did not require a photo ID, and some may have had a valid ID card at the time of the 2006 election and been able to vote. [25]

What conclusions emerge from this literature? First, levels of voting participation **appear** to be affected by the stringency of ID requirements, but the problem with this conclusion is that most of the stricter requirements have been implemented recently and not uniformly. The comparison between restrictive and non-restrictive ID requirements was often between states that required some identification and those that did not require any. The most comprehensive survey, by far, was analyzed by Ansolabehere, and his conclusion was that ID requirements in general are less the issue than the way they are administered.

A critical question, which Barreto, et. al., address, is whether new ID requirements affect the decision to vote by registered voters. There are many reasons why a person does not register to vote and, indeed, most voters registered before the new wave of ID requirements. Therefore, the hard question is whether those registered voters have been discouraged from voting by new ID requirements. Barreto, et. al., speculate that "the gap between voters and non-voters **may be evidence** that the new voter ID standards in 2006 kept additional would-be voters away from the polls," but there are other reasons why registered voters do not vote, and their surveys do not test for them. [26]

To address the question whether ID requirements disenfranchise, American University's Center for Democracy and Election Management (CDEM) commissioned NuStats, a survey research firm in Austin, Texas, to do public opinion surveys in three states – Indiana, Mississippi, and Maryland. The states were selected because their demographic profiles are different, and they have different ID requirements, with Indiana's described as "the most stringent … in the nation." [27] Indiana requires a photo ID but allows for exemptions due to indigence, religious objection, assisted living, and absentee ballots, but it requires those who vote provisionally to return to a courthouse within 10 days to show their ID. Mississippi and Maryland both currently employ HAVA minimum standards. Mississippi is under court order to implement a photo identification requirement, but the state legislature has not approved a law to do so.

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[24] Stephen Ansolabehere, 2007 "Access versus Integrity in Voter Identification Requirements," Accessed at: http://www.vote.caltech.edu/media/documents/wps/vtp_wp58.pdf

[25] Matt Barreto, Stephen Nuño, and Gabriel Sanchez, "The Disproportionate Impact Of Indiana Voter ID Requirements on the Electorate," Working Paper, Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity and Race, November 8, 2007, http://depts.washington.edu/uwiser/documents/Indiana_voter.pdf. See p. 10, fn 6 for the note about actual voters in 2006 who at the time of the survey in Oct. 2007 did not have a valid photo ID.

[26] Barreto, et.al., **op. cit.,** p. 10.

[27] Barreto, et. al., **op. cit.,** p. 1.

The principal purposes of the surveys were to measure the proportion of registered voters who currently lack valid ID, explore the characteristics of these voters, and gauge public attitudes on the issue. If a large number of registered voters lacked ID, then one might expect the new requirements to disenfranchise voters. From a sample of roughly 667 registered voters in each state, the survey found that roughly 1.2 percent, or a total of only 24 (weighted) people in the 2,000 person sample, do not have acceptable photo IDs. This suggests that the problem is not large: if only 1.2 percent of registered voters lack acceptable photo IDs, then the ID requirement cannot be a significant source of disenfranchisement. Of course, no eligible voter should be denied a chance to cast a ballot with or without a photo ID. Indeed, of a total of roughly 9.4 million registered voters in the three states, that would mean that roughly 100,000 registered voters would lack a photo ID. So while 1.2 percent is a small percentage, it is not trivial, and some elections are decided by less. Therefore, states should take additional, affirmative steps to make sure that voters receive free photo IDs.

What accounts for the discrepancy between our results and the Barreto study?[28] The margin of errors of both surveys might conceivably close some of the gap, but not nearly enough to account for the entire 14 percent. One possible explanation for the discrepancy is that their study over-sampled African-Americans and low-income people, and failed to adjust their estimates to account for that. The NuStats survey expected a higher proportion of voters without IDs and so did not over-sample specific groups. Secondly, it is not entirely clear what constitutes a current government-issued ID in the Barreto study. One question asks if a driver's license is current within the last 6 years, but the current standard for other forms of valid government-issued ID is less explicit and, in fact, a footnote on p.10 seems to indicate that a state ID card that had expired since the 2006 general election was not considered current for the purposes of their study. Since Indiana law allows votes with an expired ID for two years after the previous general election and 20 percent of all state-issued IDs (both licenses and non-driver's cards) expire each year, this could account for much, if not all, of the discrepancy. In other words, a considerable number of the 14 percent of registered voters without an ID, which they report, might actually have expired IDs that still could be used for voting. Third, they used a much more stringent standard for assessing the validity of IDs (see their Table 1.1), and that apparently reduced the number of people with valid IDs by 3-4 percent. In summary, we suspect that the discrepancies in the two survey estimates could be accounted for by definitional differences, methodological factors, and sampling error. We believe that the NuStats survey provides a more realistic measure of photo ID availability, but in the absence of seeing their data sets, we cannot offer a definitive conclusion.

II. Summary of Results

The survey of 2,000 registered voters in Indiana, Maryland, and Mississippi sought to determine the percentage and characteristics of voters that currently lack government-issued photo identification and to explore public attitudes about identification requirements and the election system as a whole. Based on a comparison of driver's license records and census data of 2003, we anticipated before conducting the survey that 88 percent of Americans would have driver's licenses and thus photo

[28] Different assumptions and methodologies yield different results. We requested data sets and additional information on the survey methodology from the authors of the Barreto study to compare our approaches, but they have decided not to release information until after the oral arguments before the Supreme Court. To ensure the soundness of the NuStats study, we took the extra step of having the methodology reviewed by a panel of experts from American University, Brian Schaffer, Maria Ivancin, Laura Langbein, and Dotty Lynch. The panel agreed that the approach developed by NuStats was methodologically sound, statistically valid, and provides a good data set.

IDs.[29] For the population that we surveyed – i.e., registered voters – that proved to be a significant under-estimate:

- **1.2 percent** of total respondents lack government-issued photo identification (driver's license, passport, military ID). There was some variation among the three states, with 0.3 percent in Indiana reporting no photo identification, 1.9% in Maryland, and just over one percent in Mississippi. (Tables 2-5)
- **Fewer than three percent** of the overall respondents could not produce documentation (such as a birth certificate, passport, or naturalization papers) to prove their citizenship. Again, there was variation among the states with 4.6% in Mississippi indicating that they had no/other (likely unacceptable) citizenship documentation, 0.7% in Indiana, and 3.1% in Maryland. (Tables 6-9)
- Overall, some of those who did not have a photo ID did have proof of citizenship, meaning that **fewer than half a percent** of those surveyed had **neither photo ID nor citizenship documentation. (**Table 16)

These data suggest that access to IDs and the documents necessary to obtain a valid photo ID, for registered voters, is not a serious problem. These findings are consistent with a report written by Dr. Toby Moore, who observed the Indiana midterm elections in 2006. In his report, he found that voters were aware of the new law and brought the required ID to the polling place. He found no evidence of citizens being prevented from voting because they did not have photo IDs.[30] One obvious explanation is that virtually all registered voters had photo IDs.

Also, surprising was the high number of registered voters who had passports and proof of citizenship. Currently, these states, like most others, ask voters to affirm their citizenship under penalty of perjury on the voter registration application, but documented proof of citizenship is not asked. Arizona recently passed a law asking for proof, and some have expressed concern that would also disenfranchise as the documents might not be available or could be expensive to obtain. The NuStats survey suggests that 97 percent of the registered voters have proof, and so the cost by the state to help citizens retrieve the documents should be low.

Who does not have photo IDs? In our survey, registered voters without photo IDs tended to be female, African-American, and Democrat. This explains the opposition to voter ID laws. However, the total number of cases in our survey without photo ID was just 24, which is too small to draw a definitive conclusion. Nonetheless, perceptions are important, and steps should be taken to address the concerns that the adverse effect of IDs falls disproportionately on women, African-Americans, and Democrats. Of course, a larger problem (than that of access to photo IDs) among poor and minorities is the high percentage who have not registered to vote.

The NuStats survey also included a number of questions aimed to assess the public's confidence with the electoral process, trust in the U.S. election system, and support for or opposition to photo identification. Overall, more than 25 percent of respondents were not confident that their votes

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[29] See U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, Licensed total Drivers, By Age, 2003, Table DL-22, October 2004, and U.S. Census Bureau, Annual Estimates of the Population by Selected Age Groups and Sex for the United States: april 1, 2000 to July 1, 2004 (June 2005).

[30] Toby Moore, "Preliminary Report on Voter ID in the Indianapolis Elections," Center for Democracy and Election Management at American University, November 2006, available at http://www.american.edu/ia/cdem/pdfs/report_indianaid_nov2006.pdf

would be counted accurately, and only 57 percent were confident. For a country with more than 200 years of elections, the lack of confidence by one-quarter of registered voters is very serious and disconcerting. (See Figure 1) The perception of voter fraud is much higher among the general public than among experts. Seventeen percent said they saw or heard of fraud at their own polling place, and 60 percent saw or heard it at other polling places.

Steps are needed to raise the level of confidence, and the survey suggests that IDs could help. Indeed, of the three states, Indiana (with the most stringent photo ID requirements) had the highest level of confidence in the electoral system. More than two-thirds of respondents in all three states thought that the electoral system would be more trusted if voters were required to show photo ID (Figure 2), and more than 80 percent said they would support a national ID card if it were provided for free (Figure 3). It is doubtful that actual fraud exists at the scale cited above, but the perception is important and worrying. If IDs are seen as contributing to a decline in such fraud, then that would be an important reason.

Some have argued that people might not vote if they were compelled to show a photo ID, and so the survey asked this question: whether they would be less likely to vote if asked to show a photo ID; 96.4 percent answered "no," and only 2.8 percent said they would be less likely to vote. When asked why a request for IDs would not discourage a vote, 42 percent said they saw no problem; and an additional 39 percent said that exercising the right to vote is key, asking for ID is fair, and it is an added safeguard. The survey is consistent with the polls described by Ansolabehere,[31] which showed strong support for photo identification requirements. In those polls and the ones discussed here, there are differences among subpopulations. Though the support for IDs is strong overall, it is considerably stronger with Republicans than with Democrats, and stronger for whites that for African-Americans and Hispanics.

This research provides important evidence that the requirement of IDs is more of a concern for certain leaders than it is among the general population, and part of the reason is that practically everyone who registers and votes already has a photo ID. It seems clear that the requirement of photo IDs is not an impediment to voting; the problem is that not enough people register, and not all those who register vote. This was a problem before ID laws, and it remains a problem. The Carter-Baker Commission recommends an affirmative role by the states to expand the voter registration list and provide free photo IDs at the same time. That would widen access while strengthening the integrity of the election and thus raise confidence in the electoral process.

III. Survey Methodology

A. Sample Design

The population of inference for the Three State Voter ID Study was registered voters in three states: Indiana, Maryland and Mississippi. The final and approved research design called for 2,000 completed interviews equally distributed among the three states. A technical sampling plan was designed by Dr. Carlos Arce, Senior Methodologist at NuStats. (A detailed report that includes this design is available at www.american.edu/ia/cdem/)

NuStats purchased the sample from AmeriGOTV, a North Carolina based commercial vendor specializing in registered voter samples. Prior to purchase, they confirmed the lists were compiled

[31] See Ansolabehere, 2007.

from the respective state's public records of registered voters, e.g., from the state's electoral board. Then phone numbers were added via a match between the voter registration list and a telephone database vendor. The goal was to generate as many accurate/updated phone numbers as possible, so the quality of the phone matches varied and was noted for each case.

In order to field the survey as efficiently as possible, NuStats used the compiled list and over-sampled registered voters with known telephone numbers and subsequently weighted the data. This reduced screening costs, but it also increased the margins of error of survey statistics relative to what would have been achieved with a similar sized, simple random, albeit more expensive, sample design. Resulting margins of error (i.e., maximum 95% confidence interval widths) are as follows:

- For aggregate level data (N=2,000), the maximum margin of error at the 95% confidence internal is +/-4.5% (the maximum occurs when the value of the estimates is 50%)

- At the state level, the maximum margins of error for 95% confidence intervals are:

    - +/-6.7% for Indiana,
    - +/-10% for Mississippi, and
    - +/-6.4% for Maryland.

These margins of error incorporate the disproportionate random sample design used in the survey and thus are larger than what would have been attained under a simple random sample of the same size.

B. Research Approach & Data Collection

NuStats designed a statistically valid research plan to meet the study goals described in the previous section. The plan would provide 2,000 total surveys, approximately equally allocated to each of the three states. This would yield adequate sample sizes for data analysis at the state and aggregate levels. A mixed-mode data collection design was used, involving computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI) and a self-administered mail out/mail back questionnaire. All CATI calls and mail operations took place at a centralized data collection facility, NuStats/DataSource, located in San Marcos, Texas. Postcards and questionnaires were returned to NuStats, and each record was entered into a tracking database.

At the outset of the data collection, advance notification postcards were mailed to all sampled individuals informing them of the study and providing contact information of the data collection firm should they have any questions. [32] One of the primary goals of the postcard was to boost response rates; however, it also served to identify poor mailing addresses (return to sender) so that a survey questionnaire was not mailed to that household, thus saving resources and time.

In the sample process, 9,045 registered voters were selected from the list of registered voters (equally divided by states). Of these, 9,033 had valid mail addresses, and therefore advance notification postcards were mailed to those individuals. Several days later, NuStats/DataSource attempted to contact respondents. For the 10 percent of registered voter names in each state for whom we knew there was no phone match (based on the sample design specifications, described in Appendix I), NuStats mailed a survey letter and questionnaire to the address on file with the state electoral board. A total of 909 records – averaging 303 in each state – had no phone number match.

[32] For detailed sample design parameters, see Appendix I.

For the records with a matched phone number, NuStats made a minimum of 8 call attempts. Calls were varied by day of week and time of day to account for busy schedules, work shifts, etc. Only the selected registered voter was eligible for interviewing; we did not use a replacement strategy (e.g., we did not interview another registered voter in the household). The CATI data collection field period entailed two weeks of calling.

After the CATI operation was completed, NuStats conducted the mail phase of the data collection. Questionnaires and a survey letter were mailed to those voters whom had not yet been contacted, consisting of the originally sampled persons without a telephone match, plus those sample persons with a telephone match but who were nonetheless not contacted during the CATI data collection phase (e.g., no one answered the telephone). Letters and questionnaires were mailed to 1,078 individuals in the CATI sample for whom there was an invalid phone number, plus the original 909 individuals for whom no phone number was available - a total of 1,987 questionnaires.

This data collection protocol resulted in 2,000 completed interviews – 1,909 completed via CATI; 91 completed via mail. Approximately 667 registered voter completions were attained in each state. An overall response rate of 25% was obtained for the CATI portion of the study, while an overall response rate of 5% was attained for the mail portion. These rates are not atypical for commercial polling firms using these methodologies. However, their low values suggest the potential for non-response bias and for this reason non-response adjustments were an important component of the overall analytic weights used in our analysis (as were design weights components and post-stratification adjustments).

C. Survey Instrument Design

American University's Center for Democracy and Election Management (CDEM) drafted a list of potential questions and worked with NuStats, including their senior methodologist, to refine and prepare it for data collection. The 23 survey questions include citizenship (by birth or naturalization), attitudes about the requirement to show a photo identification to vote, whether or not having to show a photo ID would reduce the likelihood of voting, opinions about voting fraud (at one's own polling place and other polling places), attitudes about a national ID, age a person first voted, age they voted most recently, and demographic questions such as age, ethnicity, and income. The survey instruments for both collection methods were identical in terms of the data obtained and both instruments were in English. The data collection period was just under six weeks: July 3 to August 7, 2007. Most interviews were conducted between 4 and 9 pm Central time, seven days a week. CATI phone interviews lasted an average of 6 minutes and 15 seconds. (See Appendix II)

D. Pilot Test

NuStats fielded a pilot CATI study prior to the full study to test it and also provide training for the interviewing staff. It also provides the opportunity to review the responses to ensure the data is correct in terms of skip patterns, logic checks and other standard and customized data cleaning processes. NuStats completed 28 pilot surveys between May 31 and June 4, 2007.

E. Weighting

Weighting of the survey data is needed to develop estimates of population parameters and more generally to draw inferences about the population that was sampled. Without the use of analytic

weights, population estimates are subject to biases of unknown (possibly large) magnitude. The components of the analytic weights applied to the voter identification data are as follows:

- Sampling weights – to adjust for probabilities of selection of a phone number
- Non-response weight adjustments – to compensate for differing patterns of response
- Post stratification adjustments – to align the weighted sample to known age, gender, and ethnicity distributions from 2004 Current Population Survey for registered voters only in each of the three states. Those distributions for each state are included in Table 1 below, along with additional demographic information as a reference point for other tables in the report.

TABLE 1: STATE SPECIFIC DEMOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTIONS OF REGISTERED VOTERS
USED FOR POST-STRATIFICATION BASED ON 2004 CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY DATA

REGISTERED VOTERS:	MISSISSIPPI	INDIANA	MARYLAND
GENDER			
Male	45%	49%	46%
Female	55%	51%	54%
ETHNICITY			
White	63%	89%	70%
Black/African American	35%	8%	25%
Hispanic	1%	2%	2%
Other	1%	1%	3%
AGE			
Under 25	12%	10%	8%
25-44	37%	34%	36%
45-64	33%	37%	40%
65-74	10%	10%	9%
75 +	9%	9%	8%

The final analytic weights adjust the relative importance of responses to reflect the different probabilities of selection of registered voters, reduce bias in survey estimates from differing patterns of response, and align the sample to known population distributions, thereby reducing design, coverage and non-response bias. See Appendix III for detailed documentation on the weighting procedures for this study.

F. Study Limitations and Challenges

As with any survey research, this survey is subject to certain limitations. The first stems from the target population of this survey – current registered voters. This survey is not designed to address issues concerning U.S. citizens who are ***not*** registered to vote. Their proportion among U.S. adults who are eligible to register to vote cannot be inferred from the survey data, nor can any inference be made about the proportion of non-registered voters who lack government photo ID and/or proof of citizenship. The focus of this survey is on access to photo ID and U.S. citizenship documents among persons already registered to vote.

Secondly, as in all surveys, there are response errors such as satisficing/acquiescence bias and social desirability bias. No attempts were made to adjust for these, as this is beyond the conventional scope

of survey adjustments for these types of studies. Another potential limitation stems from the wording of the question on the photo ID and proof of citizenship questions:

- ***Photo ID:*** Q4. Which of the following U.S. or state government-issued photo identification documents do you have?
- ***Citizenship document:*** Q6. Which of the following documents that prove you are a U.S. citizen do you have that you could show to someone?

These questions implicitly ask about valid, current documents (i.e., not expired). Because the current validity was not explicitly asked as a separate question, some respondents may have reported a document that could have been out-of-date. Although this might slightly overstate the percentage of folks with *valid* (not expired) IDs, it also reflects easier accessibility – folks with an expired driver's license or passport can typically get them renewed with ease. Moreover, in Indiana (a state with a voter ID law), expired government issued IDs can in fact be used for identification at the voting location, provided that the ID expired since the last general election.

A fourth limitation stems from the risk of non-response and non-coverage biases. Response rates to telephone surveys declined over the past decade, due in part to work and recreational schedules that result in respondents having less time to take surveys, a backlash against telemarketing, privacy concerns and screening technology. In addition, mobility, cell phone-only households, and non-listed numbers are additional factors that present challenges to all data collection firms. Non-coverage bias stems would be a threat if the registered voter list (i.e., the sampling frame) was incomplete prior to sampling. To mitigate these sources of potential bias, NuStats created analytic weight adjustments. (See Appendix III) To the extent that these adjustments explain variation in the response patterns of registered voters, such biases will be reduced.

Prior to creating non-response adjustments (which occurs after data collection is completed), NuStats attempted to reduce non-response and non-coverage bias by mailing a self-administered questionnaire to individuals in the sample frame with whom we were unable to make contact or for whom we did not have a matched phone number. A telephone-only approach would limit the survey data to those persons who a) have a landline telephone for which b) we could obtain working phone numbers and c) by which we could contact the correct person in the household. Using a mail-out/mail-back survey option, NuStats extended the ability for all persons in the sample frame to have equal opportunities to participate in the research, not just those who have a working landline telephone that we could match to their name and address on file with the state electoral board.

A fifth challenge is that of bias due to using two different modes of data collection – telephone and mail. It is a common and acceptable practice to use multi-mode methods for survey research. NuStats surveyed the same population (within each state) of registered voters and used identical questions in both the phone and mail surveys. We believe mode effects in a simple survey such as this one are negligible. To address this concern (that survey mode might affect a respondent's understanding and response), NuStats ran a series of chi-square tests [33] to determine if there were significant differences between mail and telephone respondents. It should be noted that these differences also explore potential bias from differential nonresponse because the CATI (telephone) response rate was higher than that of the mail. The tests were performed on unweighted, raw data and failed to show significant differences for survey mode on the following key variables:

[33] See Appendix IV for chi-square tests.

- "Would the system be more trusted if people had to show an ID;"
- "Would you be less likely to vote if you had to show an ID;"
- "Would others be less likely to vote if you had to show an ID;" and,
- Incidence of having a photo ID.

Incidence of hearing about fraud at the respondent's polling place and at other polling places differed for the two survey modes, but NuStats reported that this is more likely a function of other demographic variables, rather than the survey mode. (It is not a problem for non-response bias because separate non-response adjustments were provided by sampling stratum.) As there were only 91 completed mail surveys, compared to 1909 by phone, the mail sample is more sensitive to differences in demographics. Because the other key questions shown above failed to show a significant difference between survey modes, the latter two questions by themselves do not lend enough evidence to support any concern that survey mode affected responses.

Some of the limitations of the study stem from the unanticipated results. We expected that a much larger number of registered voters would lack a photo ID, and so we did not over-sample any specific population. Therefore, we can only "suggest" the composition of that population of registered voters without IDs, but cannot make a definitive statement. Also, we were surprised at the number of registered voters who said they saw or heard about electoral fraud. Had we anticipated that reaction, we would have asked more precise questions as to what kinds of fraud they saw or heard, and also whether they believe that Voter ID could contribute to diminishing that.

We believe that this study advances our understanding of critical elements of the electoral process, but it is also clear that it opens up new areas in need of further research.

IV. Findings

A. Photo Identification – Who Has a Photo ID?

Given estimates that up to 20 million American voters may lack a valid form of photo identification, this study was particularly concerned with determining the magnitude of this problem. The question on the survey instrument of whether or not a registered voter had a photo ID allowed respondents to select multiple responses (e.g., driver's license, passport, military ID, etc.). However, to more fully understand the magnitude of the problem, it was important to break down the data in such a way that each respondent's answer counted only one time to see how many people had which combination of photo IDs – in other words, to make each category mutually exclusive. The data was recoded to show the following combinations: driver's license only, passport only, military ID only, driver's license and passport, driver's license and military ID, no photo ID, driver's license, passport and military ID.

Table 2 shows that 98.6% have driver's licenses, and 39.2% have passports. In other words, virtually all have a valid ID. About 1.1 percent had no photo ID, while 0.1 percent had some other form of ID that would likely be considered unacceptable under more stringent ID standards (e.g., hunter's license, employee ID, credit card with photo).

TABLE 2: TYPE OF PHOTO ID (MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE) – AGGREGATE

Q - WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING GOVERNMENT OR STATE-ISSUED PHOTOS IDS DO YOU HAVE? (N=1,994)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	STANDARD ERROR[34]
Driver's license only	1,144	57.4	2.3
Passport only	5	.2	0.2
Military ID only	1	<1%	0.3
None	23	1.1	0.5
Other[35] only	1	.1	0.1
Driver's license and passport	694	34.8	2.2
Driver's license and military ID	44	2.2	0.7
Driver's license, military ID and passport	83	4.2	0.9
Total*	**1,994**	**100.0**	

* Excludes refusals

Reviewing the data by state (**Table 3)**, we find nearly 70 percent of Mississippi respondents had a driver's license only, 22 percent had a combination of a license and passport, and 1.3 percent had no photo ID and another 0.2 percent had another photo ID that would likely be unacceptable.

TABLE 3: TYPE OF PHOTO ID (MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE) FOR MISSISSIPPI

Q - WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING GOVERNMENT OR STATE-ISSUED PHOTOS IDS DO YOU HAVE? (N=662)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	STANDARD ERROR[36]
Driver's license only	451	68.1	4.7
Passport only	<1	<0.1	0.7
Military ID only	<1	<0.1	0.7
None	8	1.3	1.2
Other only	1	0.2	0.5
Driver's license and passport	147	22.1	4.2
Driver's license and military ID	20	3.0	1.7
Driver's license, military ID and passport	35	5.4	2.3
Total*	662	100.0	

* Excludes refusals

[34] A 95% margin of error is obtained by multiplying the standard error by 1.96.

[35] See Appendix V for a list of all "other" ID types from verbatim responses. These types of ID would likely be unacceptable under the most stringent ID requirements, such as those in Indiana.

[36] A 95% margin of error is obtained by multiplying the standard error by 1.96.

Table 4 shows that just over half of Indiana voters had a driver's license only, and 43.8 percent had a driver's license and passport. The percent of Indiana voters with no photo ID is less than 0.3.

TABLE 4: TYPE OF PHOTO ID (MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE) FOR INDIANA

Q - WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING GOVERNMENT OR STATE-ISSUED PHOTOS IDS DO YOU HAVE? (N=666)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	STANDARD ERROR[37]
Driver's license only	354	53.1	5.7
Passport only	<1	0.1	0.5
Military ID only	<1	0.1	0.5
None	2	0.3	0.6
Other only	<1	0.0	0.5
Driver's license and passport	292	43.8	5.6
Driver's license and military ID	11	1.7	1.5
Driver's license, military ID and passport	7	1.0	1.1
Total*	**666**	**100.0**	

* Excludes refusals

In **Table 5**, Maryland had a slightly higher percentage of voters without photo ID than the other two states, but still below 2 percent.

TABLE 5: TYPE OF PHOTO ID (MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE) FOR MARYLAND

Q - WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING GOVERNMENT OR STATE-ISSUED PHOTOS IDS DO YOU HAVE? (N=666)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	STANDARD ERROR 37
Driver's license only	340	51.0	3.2
Passport only	4	0.7	0.5
Military ID only	<1	<1.0	0.5
None	13	1.9	0.9
Other only	<1	<1.0	0.5
Driver's license and passport	255	38.3	3.2
Driver's license and military ID	13	1.9	0.9
Driver's license, military ID and passport	41	6.2	1.6
Total	666	100.0	

[37] A 95% margin of error is obtained by multiplying the standard error by 1.96.

B. Characteristics of Those With Or Without A Photo ID (Aggregate)

To further understand the characteristics of registered voters who do not have a photo ID, cross-tabulations of the mutually exclusive ID type were run against demographic variables. **Table 6** shows the total distribution of ID type by the following demographic variables: gender, ethnicity, political affiliation, age and household income. **Tables 7, 8, and 9** show the same distribution by each of the three states in the study.

Table 6 indicates that 50.7 percent of males have a driver's license only, and 40.2 percent have a driver's license and passport. Sixty-three percent of females have a driver's license only while about 30 percent have a driver's license and passport. Two percent of females have no photo ID compared to 0.1 percent of males. Among Whites, about half have a driver's license only and another 41.6 percent have both a driver's license and passport. In comparison, 88 percent of Blacks/African Americans have a driver's license only, and 5,3 percent have a driver's license and passport. 3.8 percent of Blacks/African Americans have no photo ID, compared to 1.2 percent of Whites.

Slightly more than 85 percent of Democrats have only a driver's license compared to 63.6 percent of Republicans. Slightly more than 3 percent of Democrats have no photo ID, while 0.1 percent of Republicans do not have one. Among those with incomes less than $15,000 annually, 86.7 percent have only a driver's license, and 12.1 percent have a driver's license and passport.

In sum, **Table 6** is consistent with conventional wisdom regarding who has government IDs. We see a lower percentage of African Americans with passports compared to Whites, higher percentages of Republicans with government IDs compared to Democrats, higher percentages of younger registered voters with government IDs relative to the middle aged and elderly, and higher percentages of middle and high income registered voters with government IDs compared to those with lower income. One interesting result concerns gender, where a higher proportion of females have a driver's license only compared to males, while a lower percentage has both a passport and driver's license compared to males. Although not statistically significant, females are more likely than males to lack a photo ID.

TABLE 6: TYPE OF PHOTO ID IN POSSESSION BY DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES (MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE) - AGGREGATE
Q - WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING GOVERNMENT OR STATE-ISSUED PHOTOS IDS DO YOU HAVE?

	Driver's License Only	Driver's License and Passport	Other Gov;t-Issued ID or ID Combo^	None/Other[38]	Total
Gender					
Male (n=923)	50.7%	40.2%	8.9%	0.1%	100.0%
Female (n=1072)	63.1%	30.1%	4.7%	2.1%	100.0%
(N=1995) Total*	**57.4%**	**34.8%**	**6.7%**	**1.2%**	**100.0%**
Ethnicity (broad categories)*					
White (n=1432)	49.6%	41.6%	7.8%	.9%	100.0%
Black/African American (n=457)	87.9%	5.3%	3.0%	3.8%	100.0%
Other (n=61)	50.0%	47.4%	2.6%	.0%	100.0%

[38] See Appendix V for a list of all "other" ID types from verbatim responses. These types of ID would likely be unacceptable under the most stringent ID requirements, such as those in Indiana.

	Driver's License Only	Driver's License and Passport	Other Gov;t-Issued ID or ID Combo^	None/Other[38]	Total
(N=1950) Total*	**68.1%**	**22.1%**	**8.4%**	**1.4%**	**100.0%**
Political affiliation (broad categories)*					
Republican (n=535)	63.6%	18.1%	18.2%	.1%	100.0%
Democrat (n=732)	85.2%	9.0%	2.5%	3.3%	100.0%
Independent (n=317)	12.5%	85.6%	2.0%	.0%	100.0%
None/Other (n=373)	71.7%	16.2%	11.9%	.2%	100.0%
(N=1957) Total*	**68.0%**	**22.3%**	**8.4%**	**1.4%**	**100.0%**
Age					
Under 35 (n=457)	66.1%	33.9%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
35-44 (n=449)	69.0%	20.1%	.0%	10.9%	100.0%
45-54 (n=381)	78.6%	10.1%	6.1%	5.2%	100.0%
55-64 (n=317)	67.7%	24.2%	.4%	7.7%	100.0%
65 + (n=360)	59.2%	14.0%	2.0%	24.8%	100.0%
(N=1964) Total*	**67.6%**	**22.5%**	**8.5%**	**1.4%**	**100.0%**
Household Income					
Under $25,000 (n=329)	81.9%	11.9%	4.0%	2.2%	100.0%
$25,000-49,999 (n=414	77.2%	18.1%	4.4%	.3%	100.0%
$50,000-64,999 (n=224)	53.2%	37.9%	8.9%	.0%	100.0%
$65,000-99,999 (n=377)	29.7%	61.1%	9.2%	.0%	100.0%
$100,000 and Over (n=403)	39.6%	55.0%	5.5%	.0%	100.0%
(N-=1747) Total*	**70.7%**	**22.9%**	**6.3%**	**.2%**	**100.0%**

*Each demographic category excludes all DK/refusals, therefore totals may differ slightly.

^Passport only; military ID only; driver's license and military ID; driver's license, military ID, and passport

C. Characteristics of Voters and Photo ID by State

Tables 7, 8, and 9 show the distribution of demographic characteristics by state. Among female voters in Mississippi, 76.5 percent had a driver's license only compared to 57.6 percent of males – who were also more likely to have a combination of driver's license and passport (30%). The remaining Mississippi distributions are similar to the aggregate data. In Indiana, a similar picture emerges, where females are more likely than males to have a driver's license only (56% to 49%). Only 0.2 percent of males and 0.3 percent of females lack a photo ID. Unlike the aggregate data, voters in Maryland with no photo ID appear more likely to be White.

TABLE 7: TYPE OF PHOTO ID IN POSSESSION BY DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES (MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE) - MISSISSIPPI

Q - WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING GOVERNMENT OR STATE-ISSUED PHOTOS IDS DO YOU HAVE?

	Driver's License Only	Driver's License and Passport	Other Gov;t-Issued ID or ID Combo^	None/Other[39]	Total
Gender					
Male (n=295)	57.6%	30.1%	12.2%	.0%	100.0%
Female (n=367)	76.5%	15.8%	5.2%	2.5%	100.0%
(N=662) Total*	**68.1%**	**22.1%**	**8.4%**	**1.4%**	**100.0%**
Ethnicity (broad categories)*					
White (n=412)	57.2%	31.2%	11.6%	.0%	100.0%
Black/African American (n=238)	87.9%	5.3%	3.0%	3.8%	100.0%
Other (n=10)	50.0%	47.4%	2.6%	.0%	100.0%
(N=660) Total*	**68.1%**	**22.1%**	**8.4%**	**1.4%**	**100.0%**
Political affiliation (broad categories)*					
Republican (n=146)	63.6%	18.1%	18.2%	.1%	100.0%
Democrat (n=257)	85.2%	9.0%	2.5%	3.3%	100.0%
Independent (n=80)	12.5%	85.6%	2.0%	.0%	100.0%
None/Other (n=173)	71.7%	16.2%	11.9%	.2%	100.0%
(N=656) Total*	**68.0%**	**22.3%**	**8.4%**	**1.4%**	**100.0%**
Age					
Under 35 (n=217)	66.1%	33.9%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
35-44 (n=106)	69.0%	20.1%	10.9%	.0%	100.0%
45-54 (n=108)	78.6%	10.1%	5.2%	6.1%	100.0%
55-64 (n=97)	67.7%	24.2%	7.7%	.4%	100.0%
65 + (n=123)	59.2%	14.0%	24.8%	2.0%	100.0%
(N=651) Total*	**67.6%**	**22.5%**	**8.5%**	**1.4%**	**100.0%**
Household Income					
Under $25,000 (n=161)	91.4%	6.9%	1.6%	.2%	100.0%
$25,000-49,999 (n=192)	93.2%	3.3%	3.3%	.2%	100.0%
$50,000-64,999 (n=50)	73.9%	20.5%	5.5%	.0%	100.0%
$65,000-99,999 (n=125)	22.9%	59.2%	17.9%	.1%	100.0%
$100,000 and Over (n=49)	32.2%	62.8%	5.0%	.0%	100.0%
(N=577) Total*	**70.7%**	**22.9%**	**6.3%**	**.2%**	**100.0%**

*Each demographic category excludes all DK/refusals, therefore totals may differ slightly.

^Passport only; military ID only; driver's license and military ID; driver's license, military ID, and passport

[39] See Appendix V for a list of all "other" ID types from verbatim responses. These types of ID would likely be unacceptable under the most stringent ID requirements, such as those in Indiana.

TABLE 8: TYPE OF PHOTO ID IN POSSESSION BY DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES (MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE) - INDIANA

Q - WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING GOVERNMENT OR STATE-ISSUED PHOTOS IDS DO YOU HAVE?

	Driver's License Only	Driver's License and Passport	Other Gov;t-Issued ID or ID Combo^	None/Other[40]	Total
Gender					
Male (n=323)	49.5%	44.6%	5.7%	.2%	100.0%
Female (n=343)	56.4%	43.1%	.2%	.3%	100.0%
(N=666) Total*	**53.1%**	**43.8%**	**2.9%**	**.3%**	**100.0%**
Ethnicity (broad categories)*					
White (n=573)	49.6%	47.6%	2.6%	.2%	100.0%
Black/African American (n=51)	86.2%	8.6%	4.4%	.8%	100.0%
Other (n=21)	30.5%	65.5%	3.9%	.0%	100.0%
(N=645) Total*	**51.8%**	**45.1%**	**2.8%**	**.3%**	**100.0%**
Political affiliation (broad categories)*					
Republican (n=219)	53.9%	43.4%	2.3%	.4%	100.0%
Democrat (n=172)	72.1%	24.3%	3.3%	.3%	100.0%
Independent (n=146)	50.2%	46.2%	96.4%	.1%	100.0%
None/Other (n=122)	27.4%	70.5%	1.8%	.2%	100.0%
(N=659) Total*	**52.9%**	**44.1%**	**2.7%**	**.3%**	**100.0%**
Age					
Under 35 (n=133)	56.1%	43.9%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
35-44 (n=161)	48.2%	51.0%	.5%	.3%	100.0%
45-54 (n=147)	43.3%	54.6%	2.1%	.0%	100.0%
55-64 (n=91)	53.3%	42.9%	3.6%	.2%	100.0%
65 + (n=127)	66.0%	23.6%	9.4%	1.0%	100.0%
(N-659) Total*	**52.8%**	**44.0%**	**2.9%**	**.3%**	**100.0%**
Household Income					
Under $25,000 (n=73)	79.8%	13.7%	5.5%	.0%	100.0%
$25,000-49,999 (n=135)	67.7%	27.9%	4.1%	.9%	100.0%
$50,000-64,999 (n=71)	31.6%	67.3%	1.2%	.3%	100.0%
$65,000-99,999 (n=174)	34.0%	64.4%	1.6%	.0%	100.0%
$100,000 and Over (n=125)	41.6%	56.2%	2.2%	.0%	100.0%
(N=578)Total*	**49.0%**	**48.1%**	**2.7%**	**.2%**	**100.0%**

*Each demographic category excludes all DK/refusals, therefore totals may differ slightly.

^Passport only; military ID only; driver's license and military ID; driver's license, military ID, and passport

[40] See Appendix V for a list of all "other" ID types from verbatim responses. These types of ID would likely be unacceptable under the most stringent ID requirements, such as those in Indiana.

TABLE 9: TYPE OF PHOTO ID IN POSSESSION BY DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES (MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE) - MARYLAND

Q - WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING GOVERNMENT OR STATE-ISSUED PHOTOS IDS DO YOU HAVE? (N=666)

	Driver's License Only	Driver's License and Passport	Other Gov;t-Issued ID or ID Combo^	None/Other[41]	Total
Gender					
Male (n=304)	45.3%	45.5%	9.1%	.1%	100.0%
Female (n=362)	55.9%	32.3%	8.5%	3.4%	100.0%
(N=666) Total*	**51.0%**	**38.3%**	**8.8%**	**1.9%**	**100.0%**
Ethnicity (broad categories)*					
White (n=447)	42.8%	43.6%	10.9%	2.6%	100.0%
Black/African American (n=169)	78.2%	18.9%	2.8%	.2%	100.0%
Other (n=29)	18.3%	67.3%	14.4%	.0%	100.0%
(N=645) Total*	**50.9%**	**38.2%**	**9.0%**	**1.9%**	**100.0%**
Political affiliation (broad categories)*					
Republican (n=170)	50.3%	36.4%	12.9%	.4%	100.0%
Democrat (n=303)	58.6%	34.0%	3.5%	3.8%	100.0%
Independent (n=91)	50.5%	43.1%	6.4%	.0%	100.0%
None/Other (n=78)	12.2%	62.6%	25.1%	.0%	100.0%
(N=642) Total*	**49.6%**	**39.4%**	**9.0%**	**1.9%**	**100.0%**
Age					
Under 35 (n=106)	53.0%	41.4%	5.6%	.0%	100.0%
35-44 (n=182)	40.1%	45.9%	14.0%	.0%	100.0%
45-54 (n=126)	48.3%	40.6%	6.7%	4.5%	100.0%
55-64 (n=130)	74.6%	23.0%	2.4%	.0%	100.0%
65 + (n=111)	47.0%	38.7%	13.0%	1.3%	100.0%
(N=655) Total*	**51.8%**	**38.4%**	**8.8%**	**1.1%**	**100.0%**
Household Income					
Under $25,000 (n=95)	67.7%	18.9%	6.9%	6.6%	100.0%
$25,000-49,999 (n=86)	56.4%	35.8%	7.4%	.4%	100.0%
$50,000-64,999 (n=103)	58.1%	26.2%	15.7%	.0%	100.0%
$65,000-99,999 (n=78)	31.1%	56.7%	12.2%	.0%	100.0%
$100,000 and Over (n=229)	40.0%	52.7%	7.4%	.0%	100.0%
(N=591) Total*	**48.8%**	**40.7%**	**9.4%**	**1.1%**	**100.0%**

*Each demographic category excludes all DK/refusals, therefore totals may differ slightly.

^Passport only; military ID only; driver's license and military ID; driver's license, military ID, and passport

[41] See Appendix V for a list of all "other" ID types from verbatim responses. These types of ID would likely be unacceptable under the most stringent ID requirements, such as those in Indiana.

D. Who does not have a Photo ID?

Table 10 below shows the demographic characteristics of those who indicated they do not have a photo ID. It should be noted that the table is based on a very small sample – only 24 weighted cases (31 unweighted). This results in large standard errors (shown in the rightmost column of Table 10). So while definitive conclusion cannot be made, the results can be suggestive. We see that survey respondents lacking photo ID tended to be female, Democrat, and aged 45-54, and a disproportionate number are minority (relative to their representation among registered voters, shown in Table 1). The most striking result is the dominance of females in the survey without photo ID. But this result cannot be generalized due to the small sample size.

TABLE 10: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PERSONS WHO LACK PHOTO ID[42]

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	STANDARD ERROR
GENDER			
Male	1	4.8	9.2
Female	23	95.2	9.2
Total*	**24**	**100.0**	
ETHNICITY			
White	13	56.3	21.2
Black/African American	10	41.6	21.0
Refused	1	2.2	n/a
Total*	**24**	**100.0**	
POLITICAL AFFILIATION			
Republican	2	6.6	10.8
Democrat	21	87.1	14.6
Independent	0*	.6	3.3
None	1	2.7	7.2
Don't know	1	2.3	n/a
Refused	0	.6	n/a
Total*	**24**	**100.0**	
AGE			
35-44	0	1.9	6.0
45-54	12	51.5	21.4
55-64	1	2.2	6.4
65 +	5	21.5	16.6

E. Proof of Citizenship

In addition to looking at who currently has acceptable photo ID, this survey also sought to assess respondents' ability to obtain an acceptable photo ID by asking whether they had the documentation necessary to do so. The Real ID Act requires states to determine the citizenship or immigration

[42] 62% of those without ID failed to report income and because of such a high non-response rate, income was excluded from this table.

status before issuing driver's licenses so respondents were asked if they had documents (e.g. birth certificate, passport, or naturalization papers) that could prove their U.S. citizenship.

As this survey was limited to registered voters, all respondents in the study were theoretically U.S. citizens. (The standardized national voter registration form includes a question about citizenship, and while states do not ask for proof, the document is considered an affidavit, and a person can be charged with perjury with a false answer.) However, a citizenship question was included in the survey, and non-citizens were excluded. Of the respondents, most (93.3%) were citizens by birth while 6.0% were citizens by naturalization.

As shown in **Table 11,** over 97 percent of registered voters in the three states had proof of U.S. citizenship. Three quarters said they possess a birth certificate only, while another 19.8 percent have a passport only. Although 6 percent said they were naturalized, slightly less than 2 percent of voters had naturalization papers only, and 1.5 percent did not have any citizenship documentation. One percent refused to answer this question.

Respondents were also asked about other citizenship documentation for other members of their household and 1.2% indicated that someone in their household did not have the documentation necessary to prove citizenship, while 98.8 percent did. Less than 1 percent refused to answer this question.

TABLE 11: POSSESSION OF CITIZENSHIP DOCUMENTATION (MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE)

Q - WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS PROVING YOU ARE A U.S. CITIZEN DO YOU HAVE? (N=1,981)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	STANDARD ERROR[43]	MISSISSIPPI	INDIANA	MARYLAND
Birth certificate only	1,479	74.7%	2.0%	**83.8%**	**74.2%**	**66.2%**
Naturalization certificate only	38	1.9%	0.6%	2.1%	0.4%	3.1%
Passport only	392	19.8%	1.8%	7.8%	24.6%	26.9%
None	31	1.5%	0.6%	1.3%	0.4%	2.8%
Other[44]	25	1.3%	0.5%	3.3%	0.3%	0.3%
Some Combination of Birth Certificate/Passport/Naturalization Cert.	16	0.8%	0.4%	1.7%	0.0%	3.1%
Total*	**1,981**	**100.0%**		**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

*Excludes refusals

Tables 12-14 show the distribution of citizenship documentation by demographic variables for respondents.

[43] A 95% margin of error is obtained by multiplying the standard error by 1.96.

[44] For list of other responses see Appendix V. These documents may not be considered valid by states for the purposes of obtaining a driver's license or state ID card.

TABLE 12: CITIZENSHIP DOCUMENTATION BY DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES (MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE) - TOTAL
Q - WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS PROVING YOU ARE A U.S. CITIZEN DO YOU HAVE?

	Birth certificate Only	Passport Only	Naturalization certificate Only	More Than One Document	None/Other[45]	Total
Gender						
Male (n=915)	69.2%	25.9%	.5%	1.6%	2.8%	100.0%
Female (n=1066)	79.4%	14.6%	3.1%	.1%	2.8%	100.0%
(N=1981) *Total**	74.7%	19.8%	1.9%	.8%	2.8%	100.0%
Ethnicity (broad categories)						
White (n=1427)	73.3%	23.0%	.7%	1.0%	2.0%	100.0%
Black/African American (n=450)	85.2%	8.7%	.2%	.0%	5.9%	100.0%
Other (n=61)	30.5%	30.4%	36.8%	2.3%	.0%	100.0%
(N=1937) *Total**	74.7%	19.9%	1.7%	.8%	2.9%	100.0%
Political affiliation (broad categories)						
Republican (n=529)	65.2%	29.5%	1.0%	.3%	4.0%	100.0%
Democrat (n=731)	81.1%	14.2%	2.3%	.4%	2.0%	100.0%
Independent (n=316)	81.3%	13.7%	.8%	.2%	4.0%	100.0%
None/Other (n=367)	69.1%	22.9%	3.5%	2.8%	1.7%	100.0%
(N=1943) *Total**	74.5%	19.9%	1.9%	.8%	2.8%	100.0%
Age						
Under 35 (n=457)	78.0%	21.2%	.7%	.0%	.1%	100.0%
35-44 (n=449)	70.6%	24.5%	.0%	.3%	4.6%	100.0%
45-54 (n=375)	81.1%	14.4%	.7%	.9%	2.8%	100.0%
55-64 (n=317)	71.2%	18.3%	6.1%	.2%	4.1%	100.0%
65 + (n=353)	71.7%	18.9%	3.5%	2.9%	3.0%	100.0%
(N=1951) *Total**	74.7%	19.8%	1.9%	.8%	2.8%	100.0%
Household Income						
Under $25,000 (n=329)	85.9%	4.8%	5.0%	.1%	4.2%	100.0%
$25,000-49,999 (n=407)	85.3%	13.0%	1.2%	.0%	.5%	100.0%
$50,000-64,999 (n=224)	68.0%	24.1%	1.2%	.0%	6.7%	100.0%
$65,000-99,999 (n=376)	70.4%	25.7%	.3%	2.9%	.8%	100.0%
$100,000 and Over (n=397)	66.7%	31.0%	1.0%	1.2%	.1%	100.0%
(N=1733) *Total**	75.7%	19.8%	1.7%	.9%	2.0%	100.0%

*Each demographic category excludes all DK/refusals, therefore totals may differ slightly.

[45] For list of other responses see Appendix V. These documents may not be considered valid by states for the purposes of obtaining a driver's license or state ID card.

TABLE 13: CITIZENSHIP DOCUMENTATION BY DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES (MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE) - MISSISSIPPI
Q - WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS PROVING YOU ARE A U.S. CITIZEN DO YOU HAVE?

	Birth certificate Only	Passport Only	Naturalization certificate Only	More Than One Document	None/Other	Total
Gender						
Male (n=289)	79.3%	9.9%	.3%	3.9%	6.7%	100.0%
Female (n=367)	87.3%	6.1%	3.5%	.0%	3.0%	100.0%
(N=655) *Total**	83.8%	7.8%	2.1%	1.7%	4.6%	100.0%
Ethnicity (broad categories)						
White (n=413)	82.5%	11.2%	2.2%	2.6%	1.6%	100.0%
Black/African American (n=231)	87.8%	1.9%	.0%	.0%	10.3%	100.0%
Other (n=10)	84.4%	7.8%	1.4%	1.7%	4.7%	100.0%
(N=654) *Total**	83.9%	7.7%	2.1%	1.7%	4.6%	100.0%
Political affiliation (broad categories)						
Republican (n=146)	62.4%	21.4%	3.3%	.3%	12.6%	100.0%
Democrat (n=257)	95.2%	2.1%	.3%	.0%	2.4%	100.0%
Independent (n=80)	97.0%	2.3%	.0%	.5%	.2%	100.0%
None/Other (n=166)	78.8%	7.2%	4.9%	6.2%	2.9%	100.0%
(N=649) *Total**	83.9%	7.8%	2.1%	1.7%	4.5%	100.0%
Age						
Under 35 (n=217)	98.9%	1.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
35-44 (n=106)	60.7%	20.7%	.0%	.0%	18.6%	100.0%
45-54 (n=102)	91.4%	4.2%	.0%	.5%	3.9%	100.0%
55-64 (n=97)	75.8%	7.8%	14.3%	.4%	1.7%	100.0%
65 + (n=122)	75.9%	11.9%	.0%	8.5%	3.8%	100.0%
(N=644) *Total**	83.6%	7.9%	2.1%	1.7%	4.7%	100.0%
Household Income						
Under $25,000 (n=161)	95.9%	1.0%	.0%	.0%	3.2%	100.0%
$25,000-49,999 (n=186)	95.7%	1.1%	2.6%	.0%	.5%	100.0%
$50,000-64,999 (n=50)	87.1%	4.3%	.0%	.0%	8.5%	100.0%
$65,000-99,999 (n=125)	82.3%	7.4%	.6%	8.6%	1.0%	100.0%
$100,000 and Over (n=49)	71.2%	27.8%	.0%	.8%	.2	100.0%
(N=570) *Total**	90.0%	5.0%	1.0%	2.0%	2.0%	100.0%

*Each demographic category excludes all DK/refusals, therefore totals may differ slightly.

TABLE 14: CITIZENSHIP DOCUMENTATION BY DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES (MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE) - INDIANA

Q - WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS PROVING YOU ARE A U.S. CITIZEN DO YOU HAVE?

	Birth certificate Only	Passport Only	Naturalization certificate Only	More Than One Document	None/Other	Total
Gender						
Male (n=322)	65.4%	33.4%	.1%	.1%	1.0%	100.0%
Female (n=337)	82.6%	16.1%	.8%	.0%	.5%	100.0%
(N=659) *Total**	74.2%	24.6%	.4%	.0%	.7%	100.0%
Ethnicity (broad categories)						
White (n=567)	74.1%	25.3%	.1%	.1%	.5%	100.0%
Black/African American (n=51)	85.7%	11.3%	.0%	.0%	3.0%	100.0%
Other (n=21)	32.5%	55.3%	12.2%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
(N=639) *Total**	73.6%	25.2%	.5%	.0%	.7%	100.0%
Political affiliation (broad categories)						
Republican (n=213)	56.3%	43.1%	.0%	.0%	.5%	100.0%
Democrat (n=172)	84.4%	13.0%	1.7%	.0%	.9%	100.0%
Independent (n=145)	84.8%	14.5%	.0%	.2%	.5%	100.0%
None/Other (n=122)	78.5%	20.4%	.0%	.0%	1.2%	100.0%
(N=652) *Total**	74.2%	24.6%	.4%	.0%	.7%	100.0%
Age						
Under 35 (n=133)	56.1%	43.9%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
35-44 (n=161)	79.2%	20.6%	.0%	.0%	.3%	100.0%
45-54 (n=147)	86.0%	11.8%	1.7%	.0%	.5%	100.0%
55-64 (n=91)	66.1%	32.9%	.4%	.3%	.3%	100.0%
65 + (n=120)	79.4%	18.0%	.0%	.0%	2.6%	100.0%
(N=653) *Total**	74.2%	24.6%	.4%	.0%	.7%	100.0%
Household Income						
Under $25,000 (n=73)	89.8%	8.2%	.0%	.4%	1.6%	100.0%
$25,000-49,999 (n=135)	77.4%	22.0%	.1%	.0%	.5%	100.0%
$50,000-64,999 (n=71)	79.6%	16.8%	3.6%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
$65,000-99,999 (n=173)	70.2%	29.4%	.0%	.0%	.5%	100.0%
$100,000 and Over (n=119)	56.7%	42.8%	.2%	.0%	.2%	100.0%
(N=571) *Total**	72.7%	26.2%	.5%	.0%	.5%	100.0%

*Each demographic category excludes all DK/refusals, therefore totals may differ slightly.

TABLE 15: CITIZENSHIP DOCUMENTATION BY DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES (MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE) - MARYLAND
Q - WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS PROVING YOU ARE A U.S. CITIZEN DO YOU HAVE?

	Birth certificate Only	Passport Only	Naturalization certificate Only	More Than One Document	None/Other	Total
Gender						
Male (n=304)	63.7%	33.1%	1.1%	1.0%	1.1%	100.0%
Female (n=362)	68.2%	21.7%	4.8%	.4%	4.9%	100.0%
(N=666) *Total**	66.2%	26.9%	3.1%	.6%	3.1%	100.0%
Ethnicity (broad categories)						
White (n=447)	63.7%	31.1%	.1%	.7%	4.3%	100.0%
Black/African American (n=169)	81.5%	17.2%	.4%	.0%	.8%	100.0%
Other (n=29)	21.9%	22.5%	51.3%	4.4%	.0%	100.0%
(N=645) *Total**	66.5%	27.1%	2.5%	.7%	3.2%	100.0%
Political affiliation (broad categories)						
Republican (n=170)	78.7%	19.3%	.4%	.8%	.9%	100.0%
Democrat (n=302)	67.2%	25.2%	4.3%	1.0%	2.3%	100.0%
Independent (n=91)	61.6%	22.4%	2.8%	.0%	13.2%	100.0%
None/Other (n=78)	33.6%	60.2%	5.9%	.0%	.3%	100.0%
(N=641) *Total**	65.4%	27.5%	3.2%	.7%	3.2%	100.0%
Age						
Under 35 (n=106)	62.8%	33.9%	3.0%	.0%	.3%	100.0%
35-44 (n=182)	68.9%	30.2%	.0%	.7%	.2%	100.0%
45-54 (n=126)	67.0%	25.8%	.0%	2.4%	4.8%	100.0%
55-64 (n=130)	71.5%	15.8%	4.1%	.0%	8.6%	100.0%
65 + (n=111)	58.7%	27.6%	11.1%	.0%	2.6%	100.0%
(N=654) *Total**	66.3%	26.6%	3.2%	.7%	3.2%	100.0%
Household Income						
Under $25,000 (n=95)	66.2%	8.7%	17.1%	.0%	7.9%	100.0%
$25,000-49,999 (n=86)	75.1%	24.6%	.0%	.0%	.2%	100.0%
$50,000-64,999 (n=103)	50.8%	38.7%	.0%	.0%	10.5%	100.0%
$65,000-99,999 (n=78)	51.8%	46.6%	.3%	.0%	1.3%	100.0%
$100,000 and Over (n=229)	70.8%	25.6%	1.7%	1.9%	.0%	100.0%
(N=592) *Total**	64.7%	27.8%	3.4%	.7%	3.3%	100.0%

*Each demographic category excludes all DK/refusals, therefore totals may differ slightly.

F. Combined Photo ID/Citizenship Documentation Data

If states move in the direction of requiring proof of citizenship or photo ID to vote, then the surveys suggest it will diminish to 0.5 percent of the registered population who would not qualify. To determine the overall number, cross-tabulations were run for both photo identification and citizenship documentation. (**Table 16)**

TABLE 16: PHOTO ID, CITIZENSHIP PAPERS, BOTH OR NEITHER
(N= 2, 000)

TYPE OF IDENTIFICATION	PERCENT	STANDARD ERROR[46]
None	0.4%	0.3%
Both Photo ID and Citizenship Documentation	95.4	1.0
Photo ID Only	3.1	0.8
Citizenship Documentation Only	0.8	0.4
Don't Know/Refused	0.3	n/a
Total	100.0%	

G. Trust and Confidence in Electoral Process

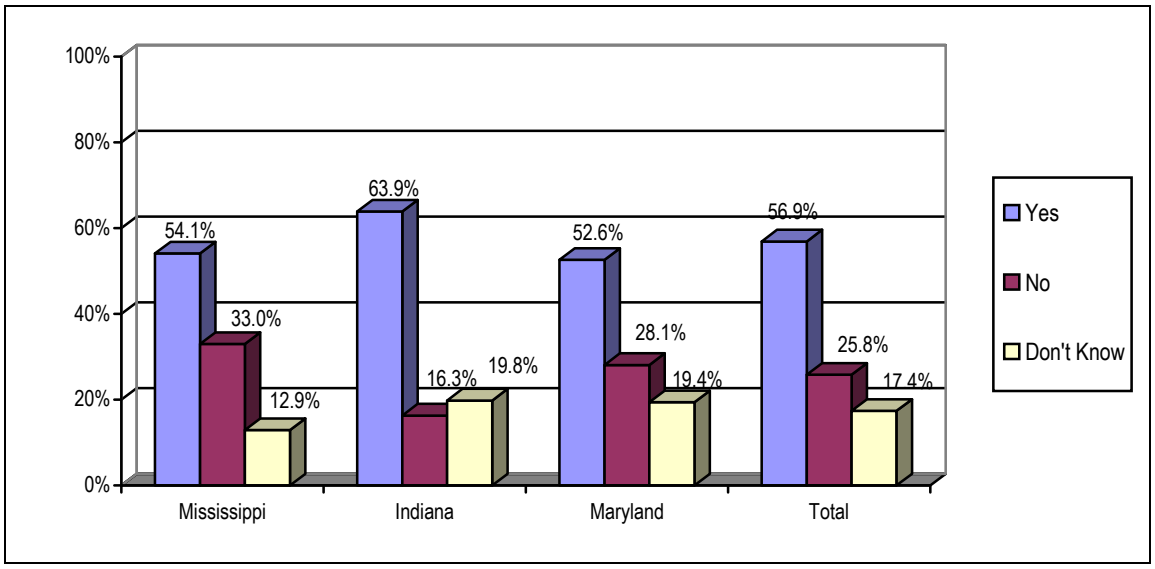
When people believe that their votes do not matter or will not be counted correctly, democracy is in danger. A *CBS/New York Times* poll in December 2000 revealed that 80% of Americans thought that the methods for voting and counting the votes need to be more accurate. [47] Four years later, on the eve of the November 2004 election, another *New York Times* poll reported that only one-third of the American people said that they had a lot of confidence that their votes would be counted properly, and 29 percent said they were very or somewhat concerned that they would encounter problems at the polls. [48]

Our surveys suggest that confidence has not been restored. At the aggregate level, more than 25 percent of registered voters do not have confidence that their votes will be counted accurately, and 17 percent are unsure. That is far too high for an advanced democracy. By state, we see in **Figure 1** that one-third of the voters in Mississippi and 28 percent in Maryland lack confidence in accurate vote counting. Indiana, with the most stringent voter ID requirements, has the highest confidence and fewest doubts of the three states.

[46] A 95% margin of error is obtained by multiplying the standard error by 1.96.
[47] ***CBS News/New York Times***, December 11, 2000.
[48] Adam Nagourney and Janet Elder, "In Final Days, Divided Electorate Expresses Anxiety" ***New York Times,*** November 1, 2004.

FIGURE 1: CONFIDENCE ALL VOTES WILL BE COUNTED ACCURATELY

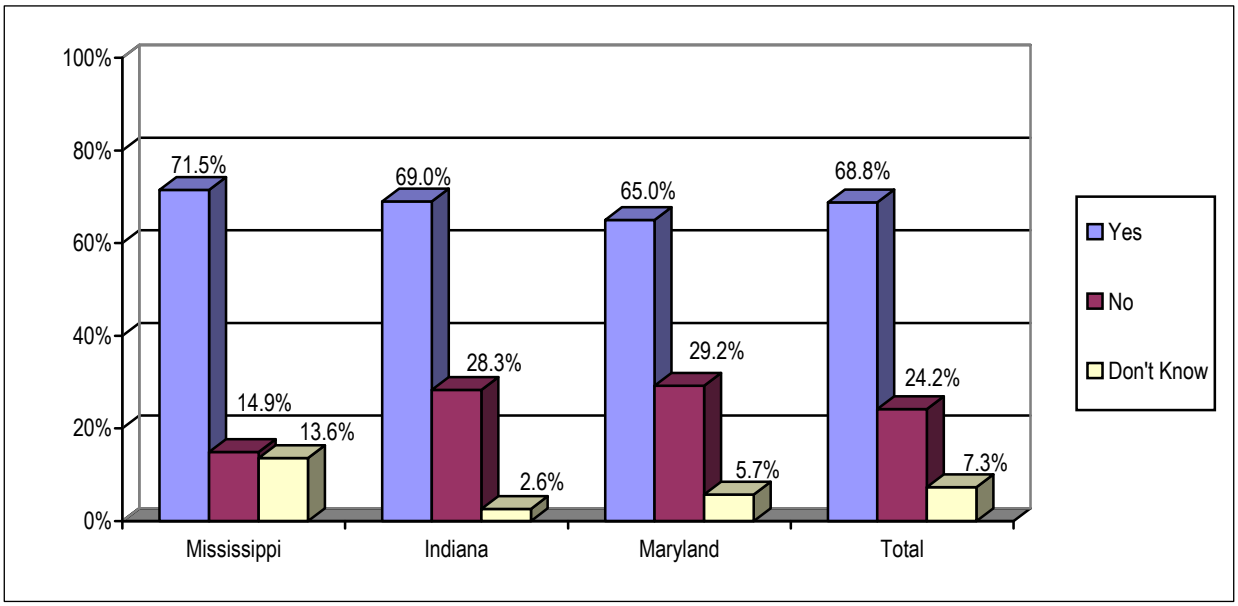
Q – DO YOU HAVE CONFIDENCE THAT ALL VOTES, INCLUDING YOURS, WILL BE COUNTED ACCURATELY? (N=2,000)



Overall, nearly 70 percent of registered voters across all three states think the U.S. electoral system would be more trusted if people had to show a photo ID to vote (Figure 2) About 70 percent of registered voters in Mississippi and Indiana and about two-thirds of those in Maryland think the electoral system would be more trusted if people had to show an ID to vote, and only 24 percent think it would not help.

FIGURE 2: ELECTORAL SYSTEM WOULD BE MORE TRUSTED IF VOTERS HAD TO SHOW ID

Q – DO YOU THINK THE U.S. ELECTORAL SYSTEM WOULD BE MORE TRUSTED IF PEOPLE HAD TO SHOW AN ID TO VOTE? (N=1,999*)



**Excludes Refusals.*

Respondents first gave a Yes/No answer regarding trust (**Figure 2**), followed by an open-ended question asking why they felt that way. The verbatim answers were grouped and coded (**Table 16**)

TABLE 17: REASONS FOR SUPPORTING/OPPOSING ID TO VOTE

Q- WHY DO YOU THINK THAT? (N=1,868)*

Code #	Q11 = Yes	
Prevents illegal voting		
1	Confirm eligibility/verify identity/reduce fraud/ know who is voting	41.1%
2	Keeps illegal aliens from voting	5.9%
3	Prevents people voting with the name of a deceased person	2.1%
4	No multiple votes, no duplication, one vote per person	3.7%
Miscellaneous		
5	Current system has problems/ do not trust government	1.1%
6	Have to show IDs for everything else, why not to vote?	0.6%
7	IDs are easy to forge	0.2%
8	Some people don't have IDs	0.0%
10	It's a good idea/I agree/ should be required / I just think so	2.2%
11	It happened to me / someone I know	<1%
12	I have no problem showing an ID, have nothing to hide	1.5%
Code #	**Q11 = No**	
14	You can forge IDs	5.5%
15	Voters or showing an ID not the problem/ system is corrupt: politicians, how votes are counted, machines, computers	6.2%
16	Registration card is enough/give all that info when you register	1.2%
17	Some voters do not have a photo ID	0.1%
18	Current system is OK; I don't see or know of any corruption or fraud	0.7%
19	Will stop or prevent people from voting / Will disenfranchise people (old, poor, minorities)	3.8%
20	Doesn't matter / won't make a difference	1.1%
22	Too heavy handed (like Gestapo)	<1%
23	Racial issues	<1%
24	I have the right to vote without an ID	0.2%
25	It's not necessary, shouldn't have to show an ID / too much trouble, hard enough already / do not need an ID to vote	1.2%
26	Showing an ID will not affect the outcome of an election	<1%
27	That's just how I feel / I just do	0.7%
28	Photos are not enough; need fingerprints	<1%
97	Other reason (regardless of Q11)	5.4%
98	I don't know why (regardless of Q11)	15.0%

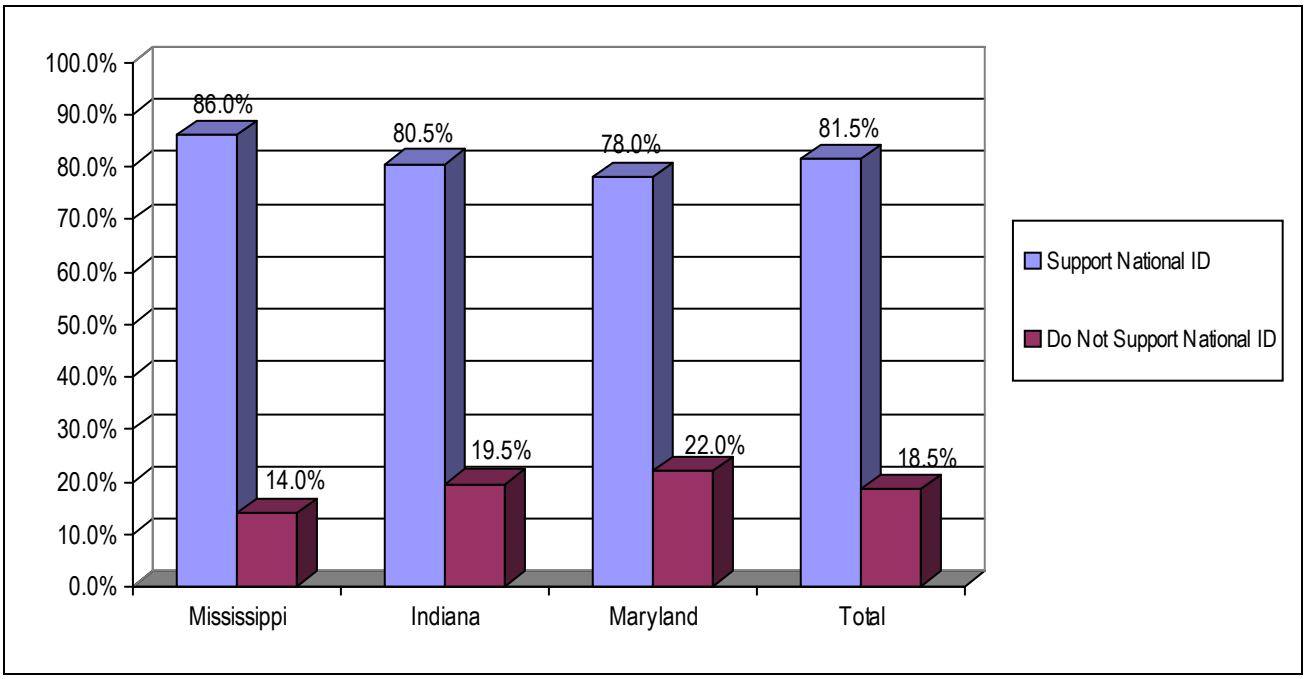
**Excludes refusals; 8.8% of respondents refused to answer this question.*

H. Support for a National ID

Figure 3 shows that nearly 82 percent of all voters in the three states studied would support a national ID if the government provided it free. Voters in Mississippi are slightly more likely to support such a proposal than voters in either of the other two states.

FIGURE 3: SUPPORT FOR A NATIONAL ID

Q. WOULD YOU SUPPORT A NATIONAL ID IF THE GOVERNMENT PROVIDED IT FOR FREE? (N=1,767)



I. Voter Fraud at Polling Places

As shown in **Figure 4, a surprising 16.6 percent of registered voters report seeing or hearing about voter fraud at their polling place in the three states.** Mississippi and Maryland voters were more likely than those in Indiana to have heard of fraud at their own polling place. However, as **Figure 4A** demonstrates, the perception of fraud in other places is four times higher – 64 percent. Had we anticipated such perceptions, we would have asked about the kinds of fraud people saw or heard. It seems clear that these numbers are generally reflective of the lack of confidence and trust in the process, but not necessarily how it could be restored.

FIGURE 4: PERCEPTIONS ABOUT VOTER FRAUD (OWN POLLING PLACE)

Q. HAVE YOU SEEN OR HEARD ABOUT VOTER FRAUD AT YOUR POLLING PLACE?

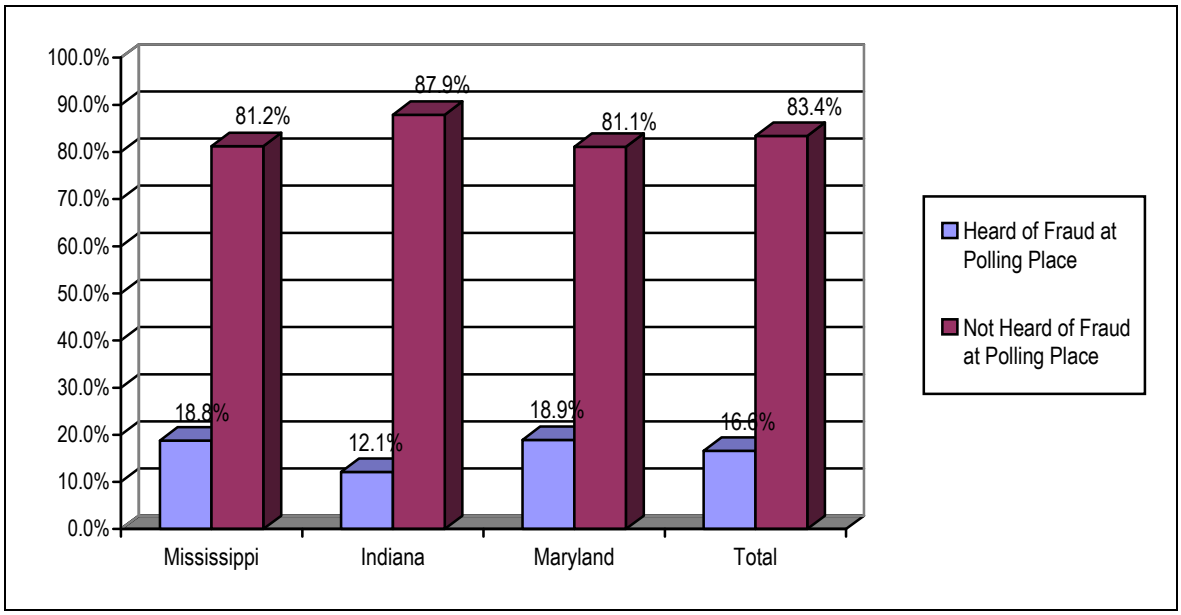
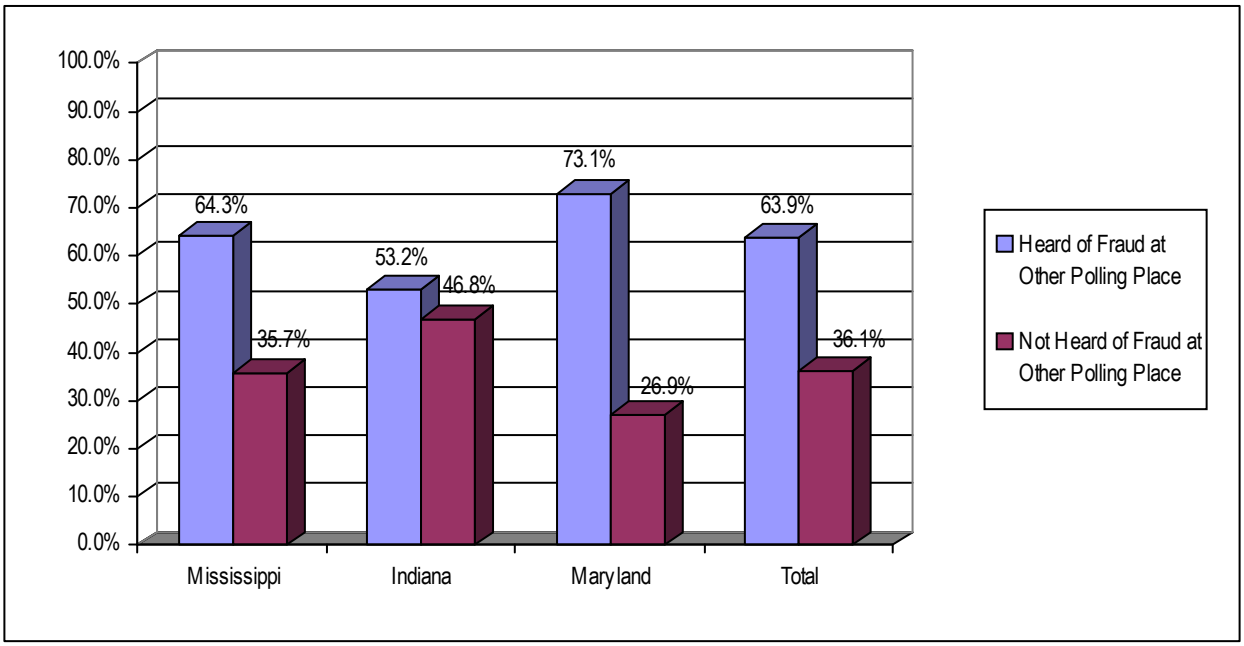


FIGURE 4A: PERCEPTIONS ABOUT VOTER FRAUD (OTHER POLLING PLACES)

Q. HAVE YOU SEEN OR HEARD ABOUT VOTER FRAUD AT OTHER POLLING PLACES?

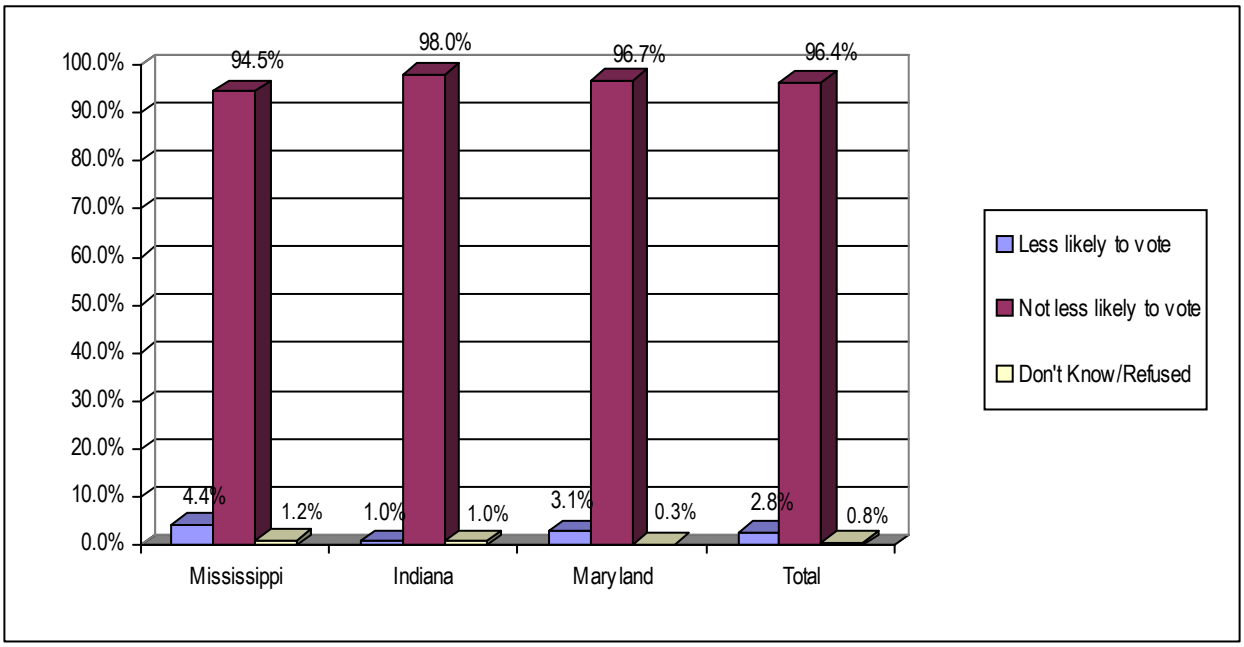


J. Likelihood of Not Voting if Photo ID Required

While some have expressed great distress about being compelled to show photo IDs to vote, **Figure 5** shows that fewer than 3 percent feel that way. In contrast, over 96 percent said it would have no effect on their desire to vote. Indiana voters were slightly more comfortable than the others.

FIGURE 5: LESS LIKELY TO VOTE IF PHOTO ID REQUIRED

Q. IF YOU WERE ASKED TO SHOW A PHOTO ID, WOULD YOU BE LESS LIKELY TO VOTE?



The five most frequent reasons (accounting for nearly 90 percent of the responses) for voting when required to show a photo ID are exhibited in **Table 17**. Either people don't mind, or they see it as reasonable or a good idea.

TABLE 18: TOP RESPONSES FOR WHY SOMEONE WOULD NOT BE LESS LIKELY TO VOTE IF REQUIRED TO SHOW A PHOTO ID AT POLLING PLACE

Q. TELL ME WHY YOU THINK THAT.

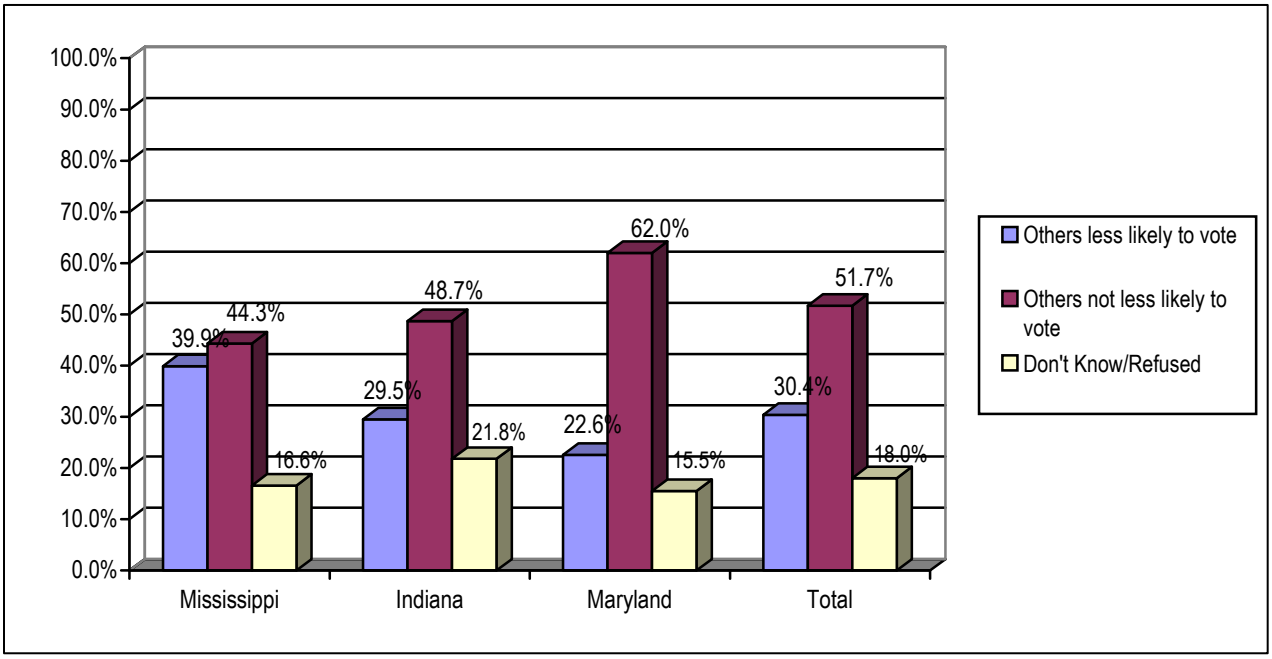
	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
I don't mind / no problem showing ID	118	41.6
I have nothing to hide / this is fair to ask	55	19.3
Exercising right to vote is most important issue, no matter what	34	12.1
I always have my ID anyway	25	8.7
Good idea / added safeguard	21	7.3

Reasons for being against a photo ID include "I don't have an ID / I'm too old to drive," and "It's too much trouble / red tape."

Most respondents are not bothered with showing a photo ID, but they think other people might be affected more. Voters in Mississippi think this would be the case to a greater extent than voters in Indiana or Maryland.

FIGURE 6: OTHERS LESS LIKELY TO VOTE IF PHOTO ID REQUIRED

Q. DO YOU THINK OTHERS WOULD BE LESS LIKELY TO VOTE IF ASKED TO SHOW A PHOTO ID?



K. Relationships – Who Trusts IDs?

Finally, to explore the relationship between trust in the electoral system and other characteristics, a series of cross-tabulations were run. The results are detailed in **Table 18**, but let us highlight some of the most interesting relationships.

As expected, given the partisan nature of the debate over voter ID, the most significant division of opinion is by political parties. Although a majority of both Republicans and Democrats agree that the electoral system would be more trusted if people had to show an ID to vote, nearly 84.3 percent of Republicans but only 56.5 percent of Democrats agree. Among Independents, about three-quarters think the system would be more trusted. Those with no political affiliation are less likely than Independents but more likely than Democrats to believe the photo ID requirement would make the system more trusted.

About 77 percent of males think the system would be most trusted with the photo ID requirement, compared to 62 percent of females. A similar division occurs on race. A majority of Whites and Blacks support a photo ID to vote, but a higher percentage of whites (72.6 percent) do than blacks (58 percent). In addition, younger voters are more likely to view IDs as contributing to trust in the electoral process. Of those younger than age 25, 96.4 percent think the U.S. electoral system would be more trusted if people had to show a photo ID to vote. Whether born in the U.S. or naturalized, U.S. citizens share the belief that the electoral system would be more trusted if people had to show a photo ID to vote.

TABLE 19: ELECTORAL SYSTEM MORE TRUSTED / NOT MORE TRUSTED BY CHARACTERISTICS

	SYSTEM MORE TRUSTED IF SHOW ID		
Age	**Yes**	**No**	**Don't Know**
Under 35	87.7%	3.5%	8.8%
35 to 44	68.4%	28.6%	3.0%
45 to 54	59.6%	31.7%	8.7%
55 to 64	53.8%	41.7%	4.5%
65+	69.5%	20.2%	10.3%
Citizenship			
Birth	68.9%	24.1%	6.9%
Naturalized	69.6%	16.5%	13.9%
Gender			
Male	76.7%	20.1%	3.2%
Female	61.5%	27.7%	10.8%
Political Affiliation			
Republican	84.3%	8.0%	7.7%
Democrat	56.5%	32.7%	10.8%
Independent	72.8%	20.9%	6.3%
Other/None	65.1%	34.1%	0.8%
Race			
White	72.6%	21.7%	5.7%
Black/African American	58.0%	32.6%	9.3%
Other	58.8%	13.9%	27.3%
Less likely to vote			
Yes (I would be less likely)	63.9%	31.9%	4.2%
No (I would not be less likely)	68.9%	24.0%	7.0%
Others less likely to vote			
Yes	58.6%	34.4%	7.0%
No	79.7%	16.6%	3.7%
Support national ID			
Yes	78.1%	16.7%	5.2%
No	45.2%	52.2%	2.6%
Heard of Fraud at Own Polling Place			
Yes	76.5%	17.3%	6.2%
No	66.8%	25.6%	7.6%

Data in table based on row percents and excludes all refusals.

V. Conclusions and Recommendations

Based on the findings of this research, we conclude the following:

- The issue of showing a photo ID as a requirement of voting does not appear to be a serious problem in any of the three states surveyed. Almost all registered voters have an acceptable form of photo ID (e.g., driver's license, passport, military ID or some combination of these documents). About 1.2 percent of registered voters do not have photo ID, but half of those have documents proving citizenship, and most of the states have provisional or absentee ballots or other exceptions that could permit people to vote without IDs.
- More than 97 percent of all registered voters in the three states surveyed could produce proof of citizenship documentation – either a birth certificate, a passport, or naturalization papers.
- Nearly a quarter of all respondents lack confidence that their votes will be counted accurately.
- Nearly one-fifth of registered voters saw or heard of fraud at their own polling place, and an even larger number - 60% of all respondents - reported hearing of fraud elsewhere.
- More than two-thirds of respondents believe the U.S. electoral system would be more trusted if voters were required to show a photo ID.
- Nearly all – 98% - of voters in this study said showing a photo ID would not make them less likely to vote, though they were less certain of the effect on others.
- Approximately 80 percent of voters in this study would support a national photo ID if provided free by the government.
- While the number of registered voters without valid photo IDs is quite small, and therefore not statistically significant, those numbers suggest a disproportionate affect on woman, Democrats, and African-Americans.

We hope that our research has advanced our understanding of the implications of Voter ID requirements for voter participation, but we are aware that many questions remain, and new questions may be stimulated by our study. In future research, we would like to follow up with more intensive interviews to understand why people do not have IDs and what would be the best approach to assist them to secure IDs. Also, we would like to learn much more about the perceptions of fraud and what people feel would be the best ways to minimize it.

In brief, requiring voters to show a photo ID is unlikely to have a serious, if any, effect on reducing voter participation. Indeed, it could provide additional confidence in an electoral system where confidence is already embarrassingly low. The problem of voter participation is not due to ID requirements; it is due to many other problems, one of which is that registration is often a difficult exercise, and the state plays only a passive role, waiting for voters to come to them. To solve that problem, states ought to play a more affirmative role in reaching out to those people – the poor, minorities, elderly – who are not registered and provide free photo IDs.

IDs **per se** are not the problem, but states that have legislated that requirement have not shown sufficient concern for those who could be adversely effected. While the numbers are not large, even a single voter deprived of the right to vote for not being able to secure or pay for a photo ID is too many. It is particularly serious if certain groups feel that the impact falls disproportionately on them,

and while the numbers are quite small in our survey, they do suggest that opposition by Democrats, women, and African-Americans has some justification.

Thus far, there have been problems of implementation and application of voter identification requirements, and these are exacerbated by a crazy-quilt division of responsibility, the lack of clarity on what documents are needed or how provisional ballots should be handled, inadequate time for transitioning to a new system, and the lack of funding and administrative capacity to implement the new laws.

The Carter-Baker Commission on Federal Election Reform recommended a five-year transition period, a uniform approach under the "Real ID Law", and considerable funding to permit an affirmative role by the state to go out to assisted living homes and poorer and minority neighborhoods. None of the states have done this, and the consequences are that some people have been denied their legitimate right to vote or have their votes counted, and others feel that the rules have been set against them. States need to revise their ID laws and appropriate the funds to play an active role expanding the registration list. Only then, will they be able to secure ballot integrity and widen access to the ballots at the same time.

CO-AUTHORS

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APPENDIX I: TECHNICAL SAMPLING PLAN

The population of inference for the Three State Voter ID Study was U.S. citizens who are also registered voters in one of the three states of interest to American University: Indiana, Maryland and Mississippi. The research design called for 2,000 completed interviews equally distributed among the three states included in the study.

As outlined in our proposal, NuStats purchased the sample from AmeriGOTV, a North Carolina based commercial vendor specializing in registered voter sample. Prior to purchase, we confirmed the lists are compiled from the respective state's public records of registered voters, e.g., from the state's electoral board. Essentially, AmeriGOTV purchases list of voter rolls from all 50 states. The benefit of using a commercial vendor rather than purchasing the records directly from a state is that vendors such as AmeriGOTV run the data through several matching databases to:

- Find the most current phone number for the voter,
- Eliminate deceased persons,
- Update the data according to the U.S. Postal Service's database of persons who change addresses.

Further, NuStats sought to field the survey as efficiently as possible. Thus, use of a compiled list with as many accurate/updated phone numbers as possible was important. As described below, optimal efficiency was achieved by disproportionately over-sampling voters with known telephone numbers and subsequently weighting the data to account for that factor.

NuStats provided specification to the vendor to draw samples of individual registered voters from the most current available lists of registered voters. The sample draw specifications are below:

> Within each state, pull 3,075 records, randomly, using the Nth number we provide for that state. This may require separate draws within each state, and each draw should be representative of the entire state.
>
> a) high quality phone match (70%)
>
> b) medium quality phone match (10%)
>
> c) low quality phone match (10%)
>
> d) no phone (10%)
>
> e) Remove duplicates of voters in the same household and document each occurrence.

Sample Frames

The frames for each of the three states are listings of individual records for registered voters, ordered by the following variables, in the sequence indicated: (1) county, (2) postal zip code, (3) postal carrier route, (4) street name, (5) house number, (6) last name, and (7) first name. Since each entire state is in a single file, a simple random draw would be appropriate. The random start numbers and sampling intervals was determined / calculated by NuStats.

The voter frames for the three states differ by the proportions that have linked phone numbers (a specific phone number matched to a specific registered voter) and the expected quality of the phone number matches. The quality of matches is at three levels (high, medium, low), dependent on the precision of the match on multiple variables covering exact full name and exact same address. For example, a phone listing for a registered voter named John A. Doe at a specific address would be high quality if there is a full match. Medium quality matches could be a Jane Doe at the same address or J. Doe at the same address or John A. Doe at an unspecified address. Low quality matches could be John Doe or J. Doe with no address or someone with a different last name at the exact same address in the voter register.

As shown in Table **I-1** (on the following page), the estimated percent of voters without a phone match ranges from 37% to 43% and is 40.6% for the three states combined. In addition, the estimated quality of the voter/phone matching varies among the three states, and is also shown in the table. We conservatively estimated that high quality matches would result in valid cases 90% of the time; medium quality matches, 75%; and low quality 50% of the time.

Sample Size / Design and Design Parameters

As proposed, the sampling plan disproportionately sampled using the voter/match variable for stratification. Table **I-1** shows the rates of sampling we utilized for each of the four strata (high, medium, low, no match) and for each state. We anticipated a response rate of 50% for the valid voter/phone matched cases, across the three states. We expected some differences in response rates among the three states, but preferred to use the same rate and subsequently document and report the results. (See **Appendix III** on weighting.)

For each state/stratum combination, we ordered 40% additional sample; this is also shown in the table as the "overage". This will provide a margin for any actual results that differ from the expected.

As far as the interviewing mode, the first three strata (high, medium and low match quality) were attempted via CATI. If a CATI-attempted phone number was invalid (i.e., disconnected, voter does not reside at address), we mailed an attractively designed letter and simple questionnaire along with a return postage paid envelope. For the fourth stratum (no phone match), the mode was solely mail-out / mail-back questionnaire.

TABLE 1-1: SAMPLE CALCULATOR

		TOTALS	INDIANA	MARYLAND	MISSISSIPPI
Registered Voters					
	From State Electoral Board	9,202,781	4,296,602	3,144,277	1,761,902
	From voter sampling vendor	9,547,872	4,330,251	3,365,113	1,852,508
	Ratio of vendor to official records	1.037	1.008	1.070	1.051
Total Voters from Sampling Frame		9,547,871	4,330,251	3,365,113	1,852,507
	Voters with high quality phone match	1,847,262	993,670	696,526	157,066
	Percent of total	**19.3%**	**22.9%**	**20.7%**	**8.5%**
	Voters with medium quality phone match	1,132,227	430,490	489,676	212,061
	Percent of total	**11.9%**	**9.9%**	**14.6%**	**11.4%**
	Voters with low quality phone match	3,873,334	1,854,401	1,240,361	778,572
	Percent of total	**40.6%**	**42.8%**	**36.9%**	**42.0%**
	Voters without phone match	2,695,048	,051,690	938,550	704,808
	Percent of total	**28.2%**	**24.3%**	**27.9%**	**38.0%**
Assumptions and Specifications					
	Desired completed interviews	2000	667	667	667
	High quality phone match - proportion	0.7			
	Expected completed interviews		467	467	467
	Expected valid phone rate		0.9	0.9	0.9
	Expected response rate		0.5	0.5	0.5
	Exp. mail responses from invalid #s		7	7	7
	Sample draw		1,037	1,037	1,037
	Sample to order with overage of 40%	1.4	1,452	1,452	1,452
	Sampling fraction		684	480	108
	Medium quality phone match - proportion	0.1			
	Expected completed interviews		67	67	67
	Expected valid phone rate		0.75	0.75	0.75
	Expected response rate		0.5	0.5	0.5
	Exp. mail responses from invalid #s		3	3	3
	Sample draw		178	178	178
	Sample to order with overage of 40%	1.4	249	249	249
	Sampling fraction		0	0	0
	Medium quality phone match - proportion	0.1			

	Low quality phone match - proportion	0.1			
	Expected completed interviews		67	67	67
	Expected valid phone rate		0.5	0.5	0.5
	Expected response rate		0.5	0.5	0.5
	Exp. mail responses from invalid #s		9	9	9
	Sample draw		267	267	267
	Sample to order with overage of 40%	1.4	373	373	373
	Sampling fraction		0	0	0
	Without phone match - proportion	0.1			
	Expected completed interviews		67	67	67
	Minus mail responses from above		47	47	47
	Mail response rate		0.07	0.07	0.07
	Sample draw		671	671	671
	Sample to order with overage of 40%	1.4	939	939	939
	Sampling fraction		1,568	1,399	1,051
Total sample to be ordered			**3,013**	**3,013**	**3,013**

Sample Dispositions

Study call outcomes, also called dispositions, help determine how well the sample performed. In the Three State Voter ID Study, NuStats utilized a self-administered survey mailed to registered voters for whom we did not have a matched phone number. We also sent questionnaires to records where the phone quality match was low and/or the eligibility was unknown because we were not able to make contact with the registered voter on the sample list for that phone number; e.g., no answer, busy, answering machine.[49]

For the CATI portion of the study, NuStats sample management protocols directed DataSource to attempt contact with every phone record a minimum of 8 times – varied by day of week and time of day – before assigning an eligibility unknown disposition. **Table I-2** on the following page provides the study call outcomes / dispositions for the CATI sample. Of the 8,172 sample pieces available for the CATI survey, 2,661 were eligible for participation and 1,909 completed a phone interview. As shown in **Table I-2**, most of the sampled individuals with whom contact was made were eligible registered voters. (Ineligible listings, for instance, include deceased, movers to another state, incapacitated individuals, etc.)

The overall response rate for the CATI sample was 24.9%, derived by taking the product of the screening response rate (34.7%) and the interview response rate (71.7%).

[49] NuStats did not mail letters if the call disposition was 'hung up'.

TABLE I-2: FINAL DISPOSITIONS OF THE CATI SAMPLE[50]

Final CATI Disposition:	N	Screening status 0=not screened 1=screened	Eligibility status 0=not eligible 1=eligible	Interview status 0=not interviewed 1=interviewed
Answering machine	981	0	na	na
Busy	14	0	na	na
Callback	388	0	na	na
Hang up	873	0	na	na
Initial Refusal	1094	0	na	na
No Answer	374	0	na	na
Privacy manager	160	0	na	na
Business/Government	58	0	na	na
Disconnect/Wrong number	1254	0	na	na
Fax/Modem	102	0	na	na
Language Barrier	36	0	na	na
Not Qualified	177	1	0	na
Completed CATI survey	1909	1	1	1
Final refusal	657	1	1	0
Partial Refusal	63	1	1	0
Partial Complete	32	1	1	0
Total CATI Sample	8172	34.7%	93.8%	71.7%
		screened	eligible	interviewed

[50] Calculated by Robert Santos.

Table **III-3** presents the final dispositions of the mail phase of the survey. A total of 1,987 cases were mailed a survey questionnaire in the mail portion of the study. This included the original 909 cases that had no telephone match, plus 1,078 cases from the CATI study for which contact with the registered voter had not been made.

The overall response rate for the Mail sample was 4.8%, derived by taking the product of the screening response rate (5.3%) and the interview response rate (91%). The eligibility rate was 95.2%

TABLE III-3: FINAL DISPOSITIONS OF THE MAIL SAMPLE[51]

		Screening status	Eligibility status	Interview status
	N	0=not screened 1=screened	0=not eligible 1=eligible	0=not interviewed 1=interviewed
Not Deliverable	517	0	na	na
Not Returned/Refused	1366	0	na	na
Not Qualified	5	1	0	na
Completed Mail Survey	91	1	1	1
Complete not entered	9	1	1	0
Total CATI Sample	1988	5.3%	95.2%	91.0%
		screened	eligible	interviewed

The unweighted demographic dispositions of the completed interviews are presented in **Table I-4** below. Please see **Appendix III** for detailed documentation of the weights that were applied to the data incorporated in the report text.

TABLE I-4: UNWEIGHTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF COMPLETED INTERVIEWS

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
GENDER		
Male	1336	66.8
Female	664	33.2
Total	**2,000**	**100.0**
ETHNICITY		
White	1564	78.2
Black/African American	318	15.9
Other	62	3.1
Don't Know/Refused	56	2.8
Total	**2,000**	**100.0**
POLITICAL AFFILIATION		
Republican	603	30.2
Democrat	685	34.2
Independent	322	16.4

[51] Calculated by Robert Santos.

None	289	14.4
Other	23	1.2
Don't Know/Refused	78	3.9
TOTAL	**2,000**	**100.0**
AGE		
Under 25	15	.8
25-34	75	3.8
35-44	221	11.0
45-54	424	21.2
55-64	445	22.2
65 +	753	37.6
Don't Know/Refused	67	3.4
Total	**2,000**	**100.0**
INCOME		
Under $15,000	199	10.0
$15,000-24,999	148	7.4
$25,000-34,999	125	6.2
$35,000-49,999	284	14.2
$50,000-$64,999	214	10.7
$65,000-99,999	337	16.8
$100,000-$119,000	132	6.6
$120,000+	187	9.4
Don't know / Refused	374	18.7
Total	**2,000**	**100.0**

APPENDIX II: SURVEY INSTRUMENT

U.S. Voter Survey (Full Study) Questionnaire (Approved 7/18/07)

Acronym Dictionary
DK = Don't Know
RF = Refusal
NA = Not applicable

INTRO: May I speak with [NAME]? IF CORRECT PERSON ON PHONE, CONTINUE.

Hello, I'm calling on behalf of American University in Washington, D.C. Hopefully you received the postcard we mailed to you recently letting you know we'd be calling. We're conducting a very brief, five-minute interview about voting in the U.S. with randomly selected registered voters in [STATE]. The interview is voluntary and we guarantee confidentiality. [AS NEEDED – We're not selling anything. THIS STUDY IS NOT RELATED TO THE INS, IMMIGRATION OR BORDER SECURITY. IT'S A STUDY ON VOTING ISSUES.] GO TO Q1.

1. You're currently listed as a registered voter in [STATE]; is that correct?
RIGHT RESPONDENT, BUT THEY NO LONGER ARE REGISTERED TO VOTE IN THE SAME STATE WE HAVE LISTED: Thank you for your time those are all the questions I have for you.

LEAVE INTERVIEWER NOTE, ENTER ESC, QUIT AND CODE AS QN, RESPONDENT NOT QUALIFIED.

1.....Yes > SKIP TO VADDR
2.....No > CONTINUE
3.....ANY UNCERTAINTY OR HESITATION, THANK AND TERMINATE
9.....DK/RF > THANK AND TERMINATE

1a. Is there another person by the same name who lives in the household who is registered to vote?

1.....Yes > GOTO 1C
2.....No > SKIP TO 1D
9.....DK/RF > THANK AND TERMINATE

1c. May I please speak with that person?
1.....Yes > SKIP TO INT01
2..... No > SKIP TO INT01 TO SCHEDULE CALLBACK (When would be the best time to reach him/her?)
9.....DK/RF > THANK AND TERMINATE

1d. Do you know this person, for example, is he/she a son/daughter or other relative?
1.....Yes > CONTINUE
2.....No > THANK AND TERMINATE
9.....DK/RF > THANK AND TERMINATE

1b. Do you know how to reach this person? [IF THEY DON'T OFFER CONTACT INFO] Can you please provide a new phone number to reach him/her? AS NEEDED: We are conducting an important study and it would be helpful to contact [NAME] to participate.

1.....Yes > COLLECT NN
2.....No > TERMINATE
9.....DK/RF > THANK AND TERMINATE

1e. The state electoral board records show your address as:

IF THE RESPONDENT DOES NOT WANT TO PROVIDE THEIR ADDRESS, PROBE FOR AT LEAST 2 CROSSTREETS OR AT MINIMUM THE ZIP CODE.

Address:
Apt:
City:
State:
Zip:
Xstreet 1:
Xstreet 2:

2. [IF CORRECT PERSON ON PHONE] **Are** you a U.S. citizen?
1.....Yes >
2.....No >
9.....DK/RF >TERMINATE

3. IF Q2 = 1 Is that by birth or naturalization?
1.....Birth
2.....Naturalization
9.....DK/RF >TERMINATE

AGAIN, AS NEEDED – THIS STUDY IS NOT RELATED TO THE INS, IMMIGRATION OR BORDER SECURITY. IT'S A STUDY ON VOTING ISSUES.

4. Which of the following U.S. or state government-issued photo identification documents do you have? SELECT ALL THAT APPLY

IF THEY SAY VOTER ID CARD: Does your ID card have your photo on it?

YES, VOTER ID CARD HAS PHOTO - OK TO ACCEPT AS OTHER, SPECIFY

NO, VOTER ID CARD DOESN'T HAVE PHOTO: Do you have any other photo ID cards issued by the government?

1.....Driver's license or other state-issued photo ID
2.....Passport
3.....Military ID
4.....NONE
7.....Something other than those I've already read? (SPECIFY) _____
9.....DK/RF > CONTINUE

5. Is there anyone in your household who is eligible to vote but does NOT have a U.S. or state government-issued photo ID card or document?

1.....Yes
2.....No
9.....DK/RF

AGAIN, AS NEEDED – THIS STUDY IS NOT RELATED TO THE INS, IMMIGRATION OR BORDER SECURITY. IT'S A STUDY ON VOTING ISSUES.

6. Which of the following documents that prove you are a U.S. citizen do you have that you could show to someone? (e.g., a passport)

1.....Birth certificate
2.....Naturalization certificate
4.....IF Q4 [2] = 2 AUTOMATICALLY CODE Q6 [4] AS 4 (PASSPORT)
7.....Another document that proves you are a U.S. Citizen? [SPECIFY]
3.....NONE
9.....DK/RF >CONTINUE

7. Is there anyone in your household who is eligible to vote but does NOT have such a document proving U.S. citizenship?

1.....Yes
2.....No
9.....DK/RF

10. Do you have confidence that all votes, including yours, will be counted accurately?
1.....Yes
2.....No
3.....Uncertain
9.....DK/RF

11. Do you think the U.S. electoral system would be more trusted if people had to show a photo ID to vote?

1.....YES
2 .....NO
8 .....NOT SURE / DON'T KNOW > SKIP TO Q11
9 .....REFUSED > SKIP TO Q11

12. IF Q11 = 1 OR 2 Why do you think that? [OPEN]

13. Now I'm going to ask about your opinions on voter identification.
If you were asked to show a photo ID, would you be less likely to vote?
1.....Yes [I WOULD BE LESS LIKELY]
2.....No [I WOULD NOT BE LESS LIKELY]
9.....DK/RF skip to item 13 THIS IS CORRECT

14. Please tell me why. [OPEN]

15. Do you think others would be less likely to vote if they were asked to show photo IDs ?

IF DK/RF: What is your first reaction?

1.....Yes [OTHERS WOULD BE LESS LIKELY]
2.....No [OTHERS WOULD NOT BE LESS LIKELY]
9.....DK/RF

16. Would you support a national photo ID if the government provided it for free?

1.....Yes
2.....No
9.....DK/RF

17. Have you seen or heard about voting fraud at your polling place ? [AS NEEDED: A polling place is where you go to vote, like a school or church in your voting district; it's the place where you cast your vote.]

1.....Yes
2.....No
9.....DK/RF

18. Have you seen or heard about voting fraud at other polling places?

1.....Yes
2.....No
9.....DK/RF

19. [11] Now, I'll finish with a few questions about you.
FOR ANY REFUSAL, PROVIDE REASONS WHY WE COLLECT THIS INFORMATION AS SHOWN BELOW NEXT TO "AS NEEDED"

How old are you? _____

999 .....DK/RF

20. IF Q19 = 999: Just approximately, are you younger or older than 45?

1.....YOUNGER THAN 45
2.....45 or OLDER
9.....DK/RF

21. How old were you the first time you voted IFQ2 = 2 SAY in the United States?

1.....[OPEN END]
001 .....I HAVE NEVER VOTED [In THE US]. Skip to item 21 THIS IS CORRECT
998 .....DK
999 .....RF

22. When, in what year, was the most recent time you voted **IFQ2 = 2 SAY** in a U.S. election?

1.....[OPEN END]
2.....I HAVE NEVER VOTED [In THE US].

9.....DK/RF

23. Do you consider yourself [ROTATE] a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, something else, or no political affiliation?

IF SOMETHING ELSE IS FIRST CHOICE In SEQUENCE, SAY Something other than…READ REST OF CHOICES AS THEY APPEAR

IF NO POLITICAL AFFILIATION IS FIRST CHOICE In SEQUENCE, SAY: Do you consider yourself to have no political affiliation… READ REST OF CHOICES AS THEY APPEAR

1.....REPUBLICAN
2.....DEMOCRAT
3.....INDEPENDENT
4.....NO POLITICAL AFFILIATION
7.....SOMETHING ELSE (SPECIFY) _____
9.....DK/RF

24. Are you of Latino/Hispanic origin?

1.....YES
2.....NO
9.....DK/RF

25. Which of the following do you consider yourself to be?

1.....White
2.....Black/African American
3.....Asian
4.....American Indian and Alaska Native
5.....Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander
7.....OTHER [SPECIFY]
8.....DK
9.....RF

26. Is your total household income before taxes - including all household members - above or below $35,000?

AS NEEDED: We ask this information for statistical purposes only. All information provided will remain strictly confidential and will only be used as part of this study. We ask questions about income to make sure we are including a representative sample of people in our research.

1.....ABOVE $35,000 A YEAR
2.....BELOW $35,000 A YEAR
9.....DK/RF

IF DK/RF READ: I understand not wanting to share that kind of information, but it's helpful to get a wide range of people in our sample. I'd like to assure you that we take privacy protection very seriously. Your answers will not be shared with anyone outside of the study team and are only used for analysis purposes related to this project. If you can let me know whether your household income is above or below $35,000, I would greatly appreciate it.

If Q19=DK/RF skip to Q22 then THANK.

27. IF BELOW $35,000 Stop me when I say an income category that best matches your household:

01.....Under $7,000 a year
02.....$7,000 - $9,999 a year
03.....$10,000 - $14,999 a year
04.....$15,000 - $19,999 a year
05 $20,000 - $24,999 a year
06.....$25,000 - $34,999 a year
98.....DK
99 RF

IF DK/RF READ: I understand not wanting to share that kind of information, but it's helpful to get a wide range of people in our sample. I'd like to assure you that we take privacy protection very seriously. Your answers will not be shared with anyone outside of the study team and are only used for analysis purposes related to this project. If you can let me know one of the broad ranges for your household income, I would greatly appreciate it.
SELECT DK/RF IF THEY DK/RF A SECOND TIME

If Q20=DK/RF skip to Q22 then THANK.

28. IF ABOVE $35,000 Stop me when I say an income category that best matches your household:

07.....$35,000 - $49,999 a year
08.....$50,000 - $64,999 a year
09.....$65,000 - $79,999 a year
10.....$80,000 - $99,999 a year
11.....$100,000 - $119,999 a year
12.....$120,000 - $149,999 a year
13.....More than $150,000 a year
98.....DK
99 RF

IF DK/RF READ: I understand not wanting to share that kind of information, but it's helpful to get a wide range of people in our sample. I'd like to assure you that we take privacy protection very seriously. Your answers will not be shared with anyone outside of the study team and are only used for analysis purposes related to this project. If you can let me know one of the broad ranges for your household income, I would greatly appreciate it.

SELECT DK/RF IF THEY DK/RF A SECOND TIME

29. GENDER – DO NOT ASK

1 .....Male
2 .....Female

Thank you, those are all the questions I have for you today. Have a pleasant day/evening!

APPENDIX III: WEIGHTING DOCUMENTATION

This section describes the weighting methodology used in the Voter Identification Study. Weighting of the survey data is needed to develop estimates of population parameters and more generally to draw inferences about the population that was sampled. Without the use of analytic weights, population estimates are subject to biases of unknown (possibly large) magnitude. The components of the analytic weights applied to the voter identification data are as follows:

- Sampling weights – to adjust for probabilities of selection of a phone number
- Nonresponse weight adjustments – to compensate for differing patterns of response
- Post stratification adjustments – to align the weighted sample to known population distribution from 2004 Current Population Survey for registered voters in each state.

These weights adjust the relative importance of responses to reflect the different probabilities of selection of registered voters (with listed phone numbers), reduce bias in survey estimates from differing patterns of response, and align the sample distributions to population distributions thereby improving coverage and precision. This chapter discusses the calculation of these weights in detail.

Sampling Weight

The sampling weights reflect the probabilities of selection of registered voters with listed phones numbers. Specifically, the sampling weight for registered voter *j*, selected from a stratum *i,* denoted W(*ij*), is simply the reciprocal of the selection probability of the registered voter for the corresponding sampling stratum:

$$W(ij) = 1/\text{Prob}(ij).$$

where, stratum *i* is defined by the telephone match status (high, medium, low, and no match) and state of residence (Indiana, Mississippi and Maryland) of the registered voter.

Table III-1 presents the population and sample distribution of registered voters and the sampling weights by strata. The table clearly indicates that sampling weights adjust for the bias associated with oversampling of phone numbers with a high phone match and under-sampling of phone numbers with medium, low and no match in all three states.

TABLE III-1: SAMPLING WEIGHTS BY STRATA

State	Phone Match Status	% Distribution in the sample (by state)	% Distribution in the Population (by state)	Sampling Weight
Mississippi	No Phone	10.2%	38.05%	3.74
	Low	10.2%	42.03%	4.13
	Medium	8.2%	11.45%	1.40
	High	71.4%	8.48%	0.12
Indiana	No Phone	10.2%	24.3%	2.39
	Low	10.2%	42.8%	4.21
	Medium	10.2%	9.9%	0.98
	High	69.5%	22.9%	0.33
Maryland	No Phone	10.2%	27.9%	2.74
	Low	8.2%	36.9%	4.50
	Medium	10.2%	14.6%	1.43
	High	71.4%	20.7%	0.29

Non-Response Adjustment

The non-response adjustment minimizes the potential bias due to nonresponse. In particular, nonresponse adjustment compensates for differential response rates across adjustment cells. Thus, separate nonresponse adjustments were calculated within cells formed by cross-classifying:

- State of residence,
- Telephone match status (high, medium, low, and no match), and
- Survey Mode (CATI, mail)

The nonresponse adjustments were calculated by first assembling all sampled registered voters into adjustment cells, then using the sampling weight to calculate separate weighted response rates for each adjustment cell. Within a cell h, if T(h) denotes the total sum of weighted cases (representing both completed and non-responding cases), and R(h) denotes the weighted sum of completed cases, then the nonresponse adjustment for that cell, NR_Adj(h), is simply the reciprocal of the weighted response rate:

$$\text{NR\_Adj}(h) = \text{T}(h) / \text{R}(h).$$

Table **III-2** presents the non-response adjustments by the adjustment cells.

TABLE III-2: NON-RESPONSE ADJUSTMENTS

State	Phone Match Status	Survey Mode	Weighted Completes[52]	Weighted Sample[53]	Non-Response Adjustments	Response Rate
Mississippi	No Phone	CATI	0	0	0.00	0%
		Mail	11.21	531	47.37	2.1%
	Low	CATI	90.81	619	6.82	14.7%
		Mail	24.77	359	14.50	6.9%
	Medium	CATI	44.71	191	4.27	23.4%
		Mail	2.79	95	33.99	2.9%
	High	CATI	69.07	186	2.69	37.1%
		Mail	2.37	60	25.28	4.0%
Indiana	No Phone	CATI	0	0	0.00	0%
		Mail	28.62	386	13.49	7.4%
	Low	CATI	142.99	601	4.20	23.8%
		Mail	4.21	370	87.98	1.1%
	Medium	CATI	55.65	184	3.31	30.2%
		Mail	0	82	0.00	0%
	High	CATI	184.69	527	2.85	35.0%
		Mail	1.32	157	118.80	0.8%
Maryland	No Phone	CATI	0	0	0.00	0%
		Mail	73.96	682	9.22	10.8%
	Low	CATI	89.98	594	6.60	15.1%
		Mail	0	333	0.00	0%
	Medium	CATI	65.74	242	3.68	27.2%
		Mail	4.29	177	41.29	2.4%
	High	CATI	161.37	446	2.76	36.2%
		Mail	3.77	172	45.67	2.2%

Post-Stratification Adjustment

Post-Stratification adjustments are necessary to improve the reliability of the population estimates. These adjustments align the weighted voter identification sample (i.e. sample weighted by sampling weight and non-response adjustment) to the 2004 Current Population Survey (CPS) data of registered voters using post-stratification variables. The post-stratification variables used to make these adjustments were the key demographic characteristics of the registered voters. They include:

1. Gender
2. Ethnicity
3. Age

The importance of post-stratification can be illustrated by comparing the weighted sample statistics (without post-stratification) for the registered voters with the population (CPS) statistics by gender, ethnicity and age (See **Table III-3** on the following page). The table indicates several important differences between the weighted sample statistics and the CPS statistics that can significantly impact the reliability of the population estimates. First, male voters are under-represented while female voters are over-represented in all three states, particularly in Mississippi and Indiana. Second, non-Hispanic white voters are over-represented while African-American voters are under-

[52] The completed cases were weighted by the 'sampling weight'.
[53] The sample (representing both completed and non-responding cases) was weighted by the 'sampling weight'.

represented in all these states. This difference between the weighted sample and population statistics is most pronounced in Mississippi. Third, voters that are 45 years of age or older are over-represented, while voters between the ages of 18 and 44 years are under-represented in all three states.

TABLE III-3: DISTRIBUTION OF KEY DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES PRIOR TO POST-STRATIFICATION

	Mississippi			Indiana			Maryland		
Variables	Weighted Completes[54]	Registered Voters in CPS	Difference	Weighted Completes	Registered Voters in CPS	Difference	Weighted Completes	Registered Voters in CPS	Difference
Gender									
Male	39%	45%	-6%	32%	49%	-17%	44%	46%	-2%
Female	61%	55%	6%	68%	51%	17%	56%	54%	2%
Ethnicity									
Non-Hispanic White	81%	63%	18%	91%	89%	2%	71%	70%	1%
African-American	8%	35%	-27%	4%	8%	-4%	18%	25%	-7%
Hispanic	10%	1%	9%	4%	2%	2%	1%	2%	-1%
Other	0%	1%	-1%	1%	1%	0%	10%	3%	7%
Age									
< 18 years	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
18 to 24 years	0%	12%	-12%	2%	10%	-8%	6%	8%	-2%
25 to 44 years	26%	37%	-11%	17%	34%	-17%	23%	36%	-13%
45 to 64 years	51%	33%	18%	54%	37%	17%	50%	40%	10%
65 to 74 years	8%	10%	-2%	13%	10%	3%	10%	9%	1%
75 years and over	15%	9%	6%	15%	9%	6%	11%	8%	3%

[54] The weighted completes in Table III-3 represent the completed cases weighted by sampling weight and non-response adjustment. Reflects weighted data prior to post-stratification adjustment.

NuStats determined the need for post-stratification. The post-stratification weights were calculated using an iterative proportional fitting procedure. In particular, a composite weight was processed iteratively to ensure that the weighted proportions by gender, ethnicity and age matched Current Population Survey (CPS) proportions for registered voters in each of the three states. Independently, as each weight is applied to the data, it offsets the distribution for the other variables, so the iterative proportional fitting systematically adjusts gender, ethnicity and age until all match the CPS data. Once this process was completed, the weight was applied to the data and the distribution of key variables reviewed against CPS data. The final step was to normalize the weight to ensure that the weighted registered voter count matched the unweighted count.

The following illustrates the iterative proportionate fitting approach:

1) Distribute the survey data (weighted for sampling and non-response) in comparison to CPS distribution for registered voters.
2) Derive weight factors based on formula: Survey Distribution (X^{Gender}, $X^{Ethnicity}$ and X^{Age}) divided by CPS distribution (Y^G, Y^E and Y^A) or $WF^G=X^G/ Y^G$, $WF^E=X^E/ Y^E$, and $WF^A=X^A/ Y^A$.
3) Produce a weight for the first factor. Weight= WF^{G1}.
4) Apply the weight. Redistribute the weighted survey data in comparison to CPS distribution for registered voters.
5) Derive a new weight for the second factor. Weight= $WF^{G1} * WF^{E1}$
6) Apply the weight. Redistribute the weighted survey data in comparison to CPS distribution for registered voters.
7) Derive a new weight for the third factor. Weight= $WF^{G1} * WF^{E1} * WF^{A1}$
8) Apply the weight. Redistribute the weighted survey data in comparison to CPS distribution for registered voters.
9) Steps 1 through 8 conclude a single iteration. Multiple iterations produce a weighted data set that will more precisely match the CPS distributions for registered voters. For this study, 12 complete iterations were conducted to produce the final combined weight.
10) Apply the weight and normalize the weighted data set back to the original surveyed total (N=2,000). Simple application of the weight factor will yield a weighted data set slightly different than the unweighted totals. This difference is due to rounding errors in the weighting process (i.e., the normalization process).

Final Analytic Weight

The final analytic weight is simply the product of the sampling weight, the nonresponse adjustment, and the post stratification weight.

APPENDIX IV: EXPLORING MODE EFFECTS – CHI-SQUARE TESTS

To address concerns that survey mode might affect a respondent's understanding and response to the survey, a series of chi-square tests were run to determine if there were significant differences between the two groups. This was run on un-weighted, raw data, as we were interested in determining if the respondents themselves differed. Based on the following results, which included six chi-square tests, there does not seem to be evidence that, overall, respondents differed greatly. The chi-square tests failed to show significant differences for survey mode on "Would the system be more trusted if people had to show an ID," "Would you be less likely to vote if you had to show an ID," "Would others be less likely to vote if you had to show an ID" and incidence of having a photo ID. Incidence of hearing about fraud at the respondent's polling place and at other polling places did differ for the two survey modes, but this may be more of a function of other demographic variables, rather than the survey mode. If, for example, Hispanics were more likely to say they have heard about fraud at their polling place, and the un-weighted Mail sample included more Hispanics, then the difference is because of the Hispanic population, not the survey mode. Please keep in mind that there were only 91 completes by mail, as compared to 1909 by phone; thus the mail sample is more sensitive to differences in demographics, etc. Because the other key questions failed to show a significant difference between survey modes, these two questions by themselves do not lend enough evidence to support any fear that survey mode affected responses. Moreover, because the mail and CATI response rates differed substantially (5% versus 25%, respectively), this analysis supports a hypothesis of negligible nonresponse bias (although we nonetheless adjusted for differential nonresposnse and noncoverage across sampling strata and demographic groups.)

Crosstabs

Notes

Output Created		19-NOV-2007 14:53:50
Comments		
Input	Data	J:\PROJECTS\Voter ID\Data\final\voter data 10_13.sav
	Active Dataset	DataSet1
	Filter	<none>
	Weight	<none>
	Split File	<none>
	N of Rows in Working Data File	2000
Missing Value Handling	Definition of Missing	User-defined missing values are treated as missing.
	Cases Used	Statistics for each table are based on all the cases with valid data in the specified range(s) for all variables in each table.
Weight Handling		
Syntax		CROSSTABS /TABLES=trust_rec q13 q15 q17 q18 have_id BY source /FORMAT= AVALUE TABLES /STATISTIC=CHISQ /CELLS= COUNT COLUMN

		/COUNT ROUND CELL .
Resources	Processor Time	0:00:00.05
	Elapsed Time	0:00:00.05
	Dimensions Requested	2
	Cells Available	174876

[DataSet1] J:\PROJECTS\Voter ID\Data\final\voter data 10_13.sav**Case Processing Summary**

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
trust_rec Trust recoded for chi-square (1's, 0's) * source SOURCE OF SURVEY	1849	92.5%	151	7.6%	2000	100.0%
q13 If you were asked to show a photo ID, would you be less likely to vote? * source SOURCE OF SURVEY	1979	99.0%	21	1.1%	2000	100.0%
q15 Do you think others would be less likely to vote if they were asked to show photo IDs? * source SOURCE OF SURVEY	1668	83.4%	332	16.6%	2000	100.0%
q17 Have you seen or heard about voting fraud at your polling place? * source SOURCE OF SURVEY	1982	99.1%	18	.9%	2000	100.0%
q18 Have you seen or heard about voting fraud at other polling places? * source SOURCE OF SURVEY	1954	97.7%	46	2.3%	2000	100.0%
have_id Has a photo ID (Q4a: 1-3 = have ID; 4,7, 10 = no ID, 9 omitted) * source SOURCE OF SURVEY	1992	99.6%	8	.4%	2000	100.0%

trust_rec Trust recoded for chi-square (1's, 0's) * source SOURCE OF SURVEY

Crosstab

			source SOURCE OF SURVEY		Total
			CATI	DATA ENTRY	
trust_rec Trust recoded for chi-square (1's, 0's)	Not more trusted	Count	360	21	381
		% within source SOURCE OF SURVEY	20.4%	25.3%	20.6%
	More trusted	Count	1406	62	1468
		% within source SOURCE OF SURVEY	79.6%	74.7%	79.4%
Total		Count	1766	83	1849
		% within source SOURCE OF SURVEY	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.171(b)	1	.279		
Continuity Correction(a)	.890	1	.346		
Likelihood Ratio	1.115	1	.291		
Fisher's Exact Test				.269	.172
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.170	1	.279		
N of Valid Cases	1849				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 17.10.

q13 If you were asked to show a photo ID, would you be less likely to vote? * source SOURCE OF SURVEY

Crosstab

			source SOURCE OF SURVEY		Total
			CATI	DATA ENTRY	
q13 If you were asked to show a photo ID, would you be less likely to vote?	YES, I WOULD BE LESS LIKELY	Count	84	4	88
		% within source SOURCE OF SURVEY	4.4%	4.5%	4.4%
	NO, I WOULD NOT BE LESS LIKELY	Count	1807	84	1891
		% within source SOURCE OF SURVEY	95.6%	95.5%	95.6%
Total		Count	1891	88	1979
		% within source SOURCE OF SURVEY	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.002(b)	1	.963		
Continuity Correction(a)	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.002	1	.963		
Fisher's Exact Test				.795	.558
Linear-by-Linear Association	.002	1	.963		
N of Valid Cases	1979				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 1 cell (25.0%) has an expected count of less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.91.

q15 Do you think others would be less likely to vote if they were asked to show photo IDs? * source SOURCE OF SURVEY

Crosstab

			source SOURCE OF SURVEY		Total
			CATI	DATA ENTRY	
q15 Do you think others would be less likely to vote if they were asked to show photo IDs?	YES, OTHERS WOULD BE LESS LIKELY	Count	595	19	614
		% within source SOURCE OF SURVEY	37.1%	28.8%	36.8%
	NO, OTHERS WOULD NOT BE LESS LIKELY	Count	1007	47	1054
		% within source SOURCE OF SURVEY	62.9%	71.2%	63.2%
Total		Count	1602	66	1668
		% within source SOURCE OF SURVEY	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.902(b)	1	.168		
Continuity Correction(a)	1.559	1	.212		
Likelihood Ratio	1.969	1	.161		
Fisher's Exact Test				.193	.105
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.900	1	.168		
N of Valid Cases	1668				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 24.29.

q17 Have you seen or heard about voting fraud at your polling place? * source SOURCE OF SURVEY

Crosstab

			source SOURCE OF SURVEY		Total
			CATI	DATA ENTRY	
q17 Have you seen or heard about voting fraud at your polling place?	YES	Count	291	21	312
		% within source SOURCE OF SURVEY	15.4%	23.3%	15.7%
	NO	Count	1601	69	1670
		% within source SOURCE OF SURVEY	84.6%	76.7%	84.3%
Total		Count	1892	90	1982
		% within source SOURCE OF SURVEY	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.097(b)	1	.043		
Continuity Correction(a)	3.519	1	.061		
Likelihood Ratio	3.687	1	.055		
Fisher's Exact Test				.053	.035
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.095	1	.043		
N of Valid Cases	1982				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 14.17.

q18 Have you seen or heard about voting fraud at other polling places? * source SOURCE OF SURVEY

Crosstab

			source SOURCE OF SURVEY		Total
			CATI	DATA ENTRY	
q18 Have you seen or heard about voting fraud at other polling places?	YES	Count	1243	71	1314
		% within source SOURCE OF SURVEY	66.5%	82.6%	67.2%
	NO	Count	625	15	640
		% within source SOURCE OF SURVEY	33.5%	17.4%	32.8%
Total		Count	1868	86	1954
		% within source SOURCE OF SURVEY	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.575(b)	1	.002		
Continuity Correction(a)	8.862	1	.003		
Likelihood Ratio	10.645	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.001	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.570	1	.002		
N of Valid Cases	1954				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 28.17.

have_id Has a photo ID (Q4a: 1-3 = have ID; 4,7, 10 = no ID, 9 omitted) * source SOURCE OF SURVEY

Crosstab

			source SOURCE OF SURVEY		Total
			CATI	DATA ENTRY	
have_id Has a photo ID (Q4a: 1-3 = have ID; 4,7, 10 = no ID, 9 omitted)	No ID	Count	31	0	31
		% within source SOURCE OF SURVEY	1.6%	.0%	1.6%
	Have ID	Count	1870	91	1961
		% within source SOURCE OF SURVEY	98.4%	100.0%	98.4%
Total		Count	1901	91	1992
		% within source SOURCE OF SURVEY	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.507(b)	1	.220		
Continuity Correction(a)	.631	1	.427		
Likelihood Ratio	2.922	1	.087		
Fisher's Exact Test				.398	.232
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.507	1	.220		
N of Valid Cases	1992				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 1 cell (25.0%) has an expected count of less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.42.

APPENDIX V: "OTHER" RESPONSES

Table V-1 below provides the verbatim responses for the question regarding type of photo ID.

TABLE V-1: VERBATIM "OTHER" RESPONSES FOR PHOTO ID
Q - WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING GOVERNMENT OR STATE-ISSUED PHOTOS IDS DO YOU HAVE?

Bar Association Identification
Business Cards
Civilian Federal Photo ID / Civilian ID
Clergy ID
Contractor's Badges From Various Government Associations
DD-214
Dependent ID
Discharge Papers From The Navy
Drivers License But It Ran Out So I Have Not Been Able To Renew It
Ex Employment ID Card When I Worked With The Veteran Association
Fire Dept. ID
Former City Fire Dept
Gave Up My Drivers License Because I Am Too Old To Drive
Health Club ID
Hunting License
ID For A Hospital That Is Affiliated With The Government, University Of Mississippi Medical Center
ID Other - I'm Legally Blind
Marriage License
MCA Card
Medicare ID
Military Dependent Card
MTA Photo ID
Old Driver's License
Operators License
Radio Amateur Civil Emergency Services ID
School Systems ID
Scientific Organizations
State Recognitions, Former State Law Enforcement ID
Statewide Gun Permit
Tax ID
U.S. Courts ID
USDA ID
UWA Union Card
Veterans (VA) Papers
Zimbabwe Drivers License

Table V-2 provides the verbatim responses for the question regarding type of citizenship papers.

TABLE V-2: VERBATIM "OTHER" RESPONSES FOR CITIZENSHIP PAPERS
Q - WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS PROVING YOU ARE A U.S. CITIZEN DO YOU HAVE?

Army Discharge and Social Security Card
Baptism Papers
DDT 214 Discharge Papers
Driver's License
Driver's License and Social Security Card
Driver's License and Registered Certified Nurse Anesthetist
Drivers License and Veterans Card
Government ID
I've Got them All But I Wouldn't Show Them To Anybody
ID Card Photo
Insurance and Medical Cards
Marriage License and Social Security Card
Military Discharge
Military ID
Navy Certificate
School Records
Social Security Card
Voter ID Card
Voter Registration and Sheriffs Dept ID