

Registration and Voting Policies

Michael Hanmer

University of Maryland – College Park

Christopher Mann

Skidmore College

Robert Stein

Rice University

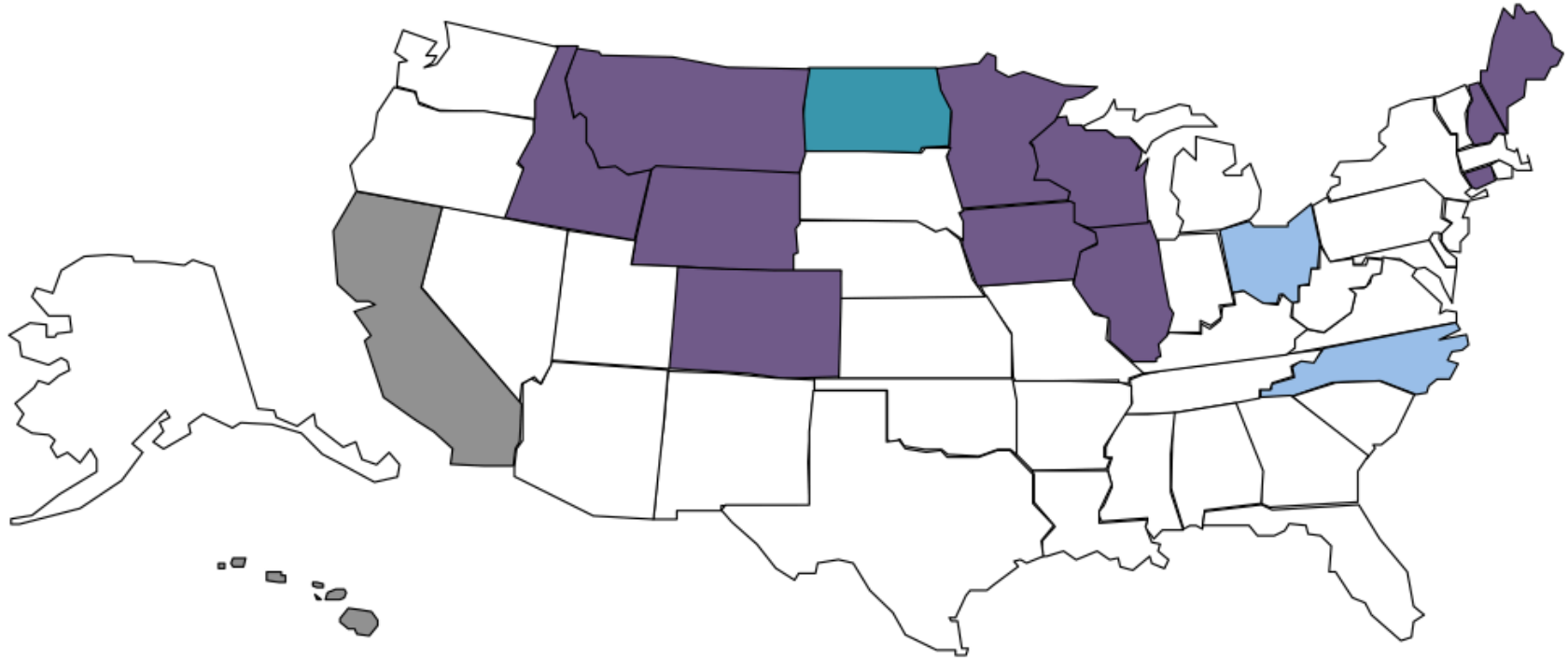
Major Changes in Election System

- Registration
 - Election Day registration
 - National Voter Registration Act implementation
 - Electronic Registration Information Center
 - Online registration
 - Automatic registration
- Pre-Election Day Voting
 - Early In Person Voting [EIPV]
 - Voting By Mail [VBM]
- Election Day Voting Centers
 - Non-precinct voting

Related Topics

- Many more topics about changing election system
 - Improvement in voting machines (since 2000)
 - Age & replacement of voting machines
 - Ballot design
 - Poll-worker challenges: Quantity & quality
 - Pre-registration (16-17 year olds)
 - Compulsory voting
 - Election Day as a holiday
 - And more...

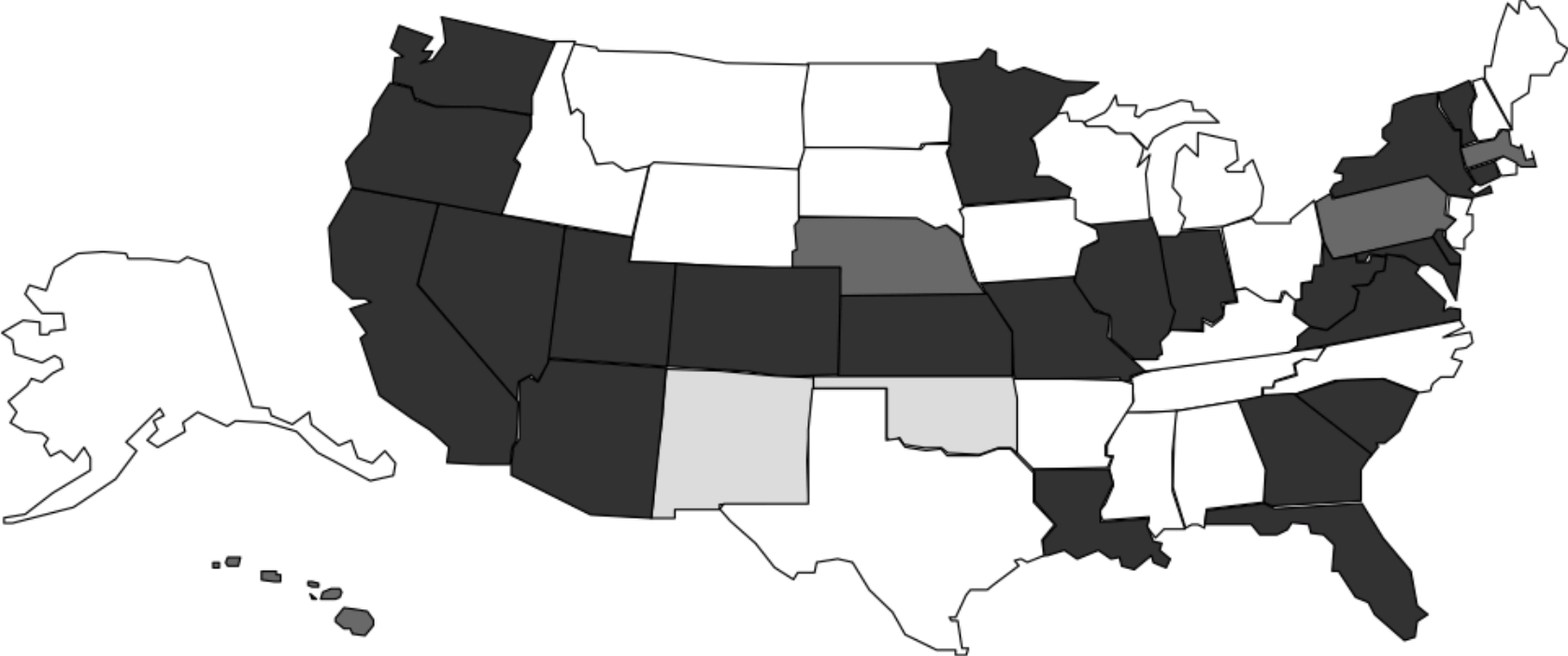
States Allowing Citizens to Register and Vote on the Same Day



Source: National Conference of State Legislatures, 2015



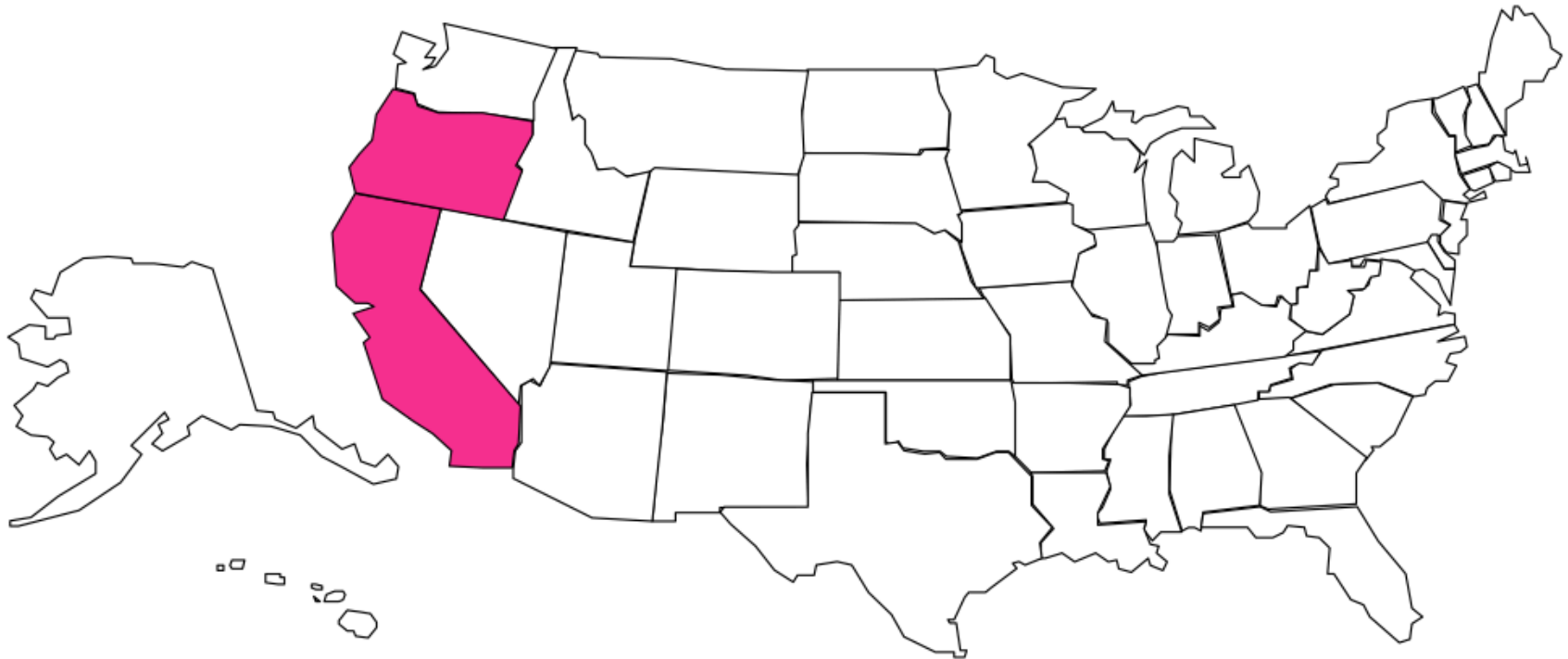
States Allowing Citizens to Register Online



Source: National Conference of State Legislatures, 2015

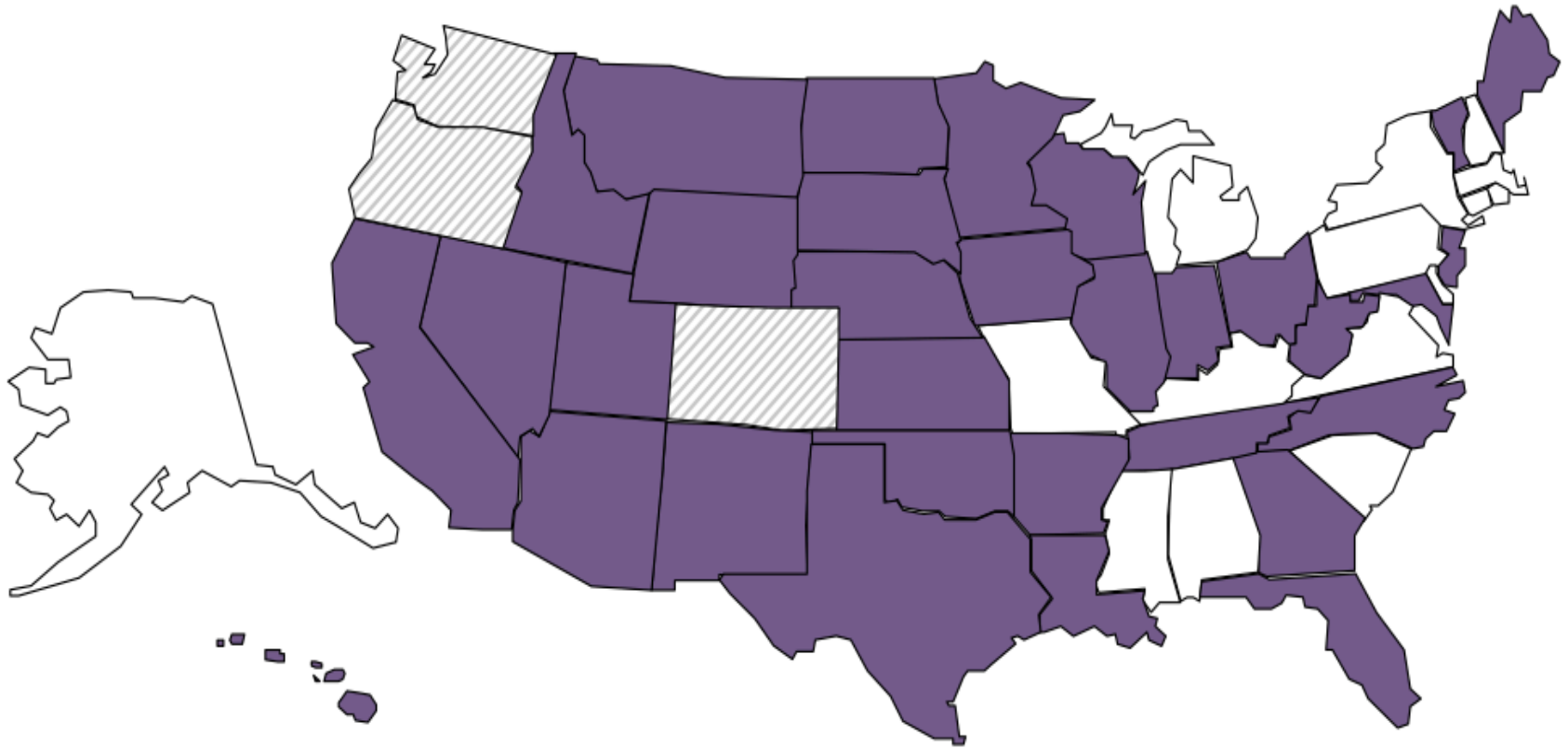
Prior to 2014 **New in 2015** **Passed but not implemented**

States With "Automatic" Voter Registration



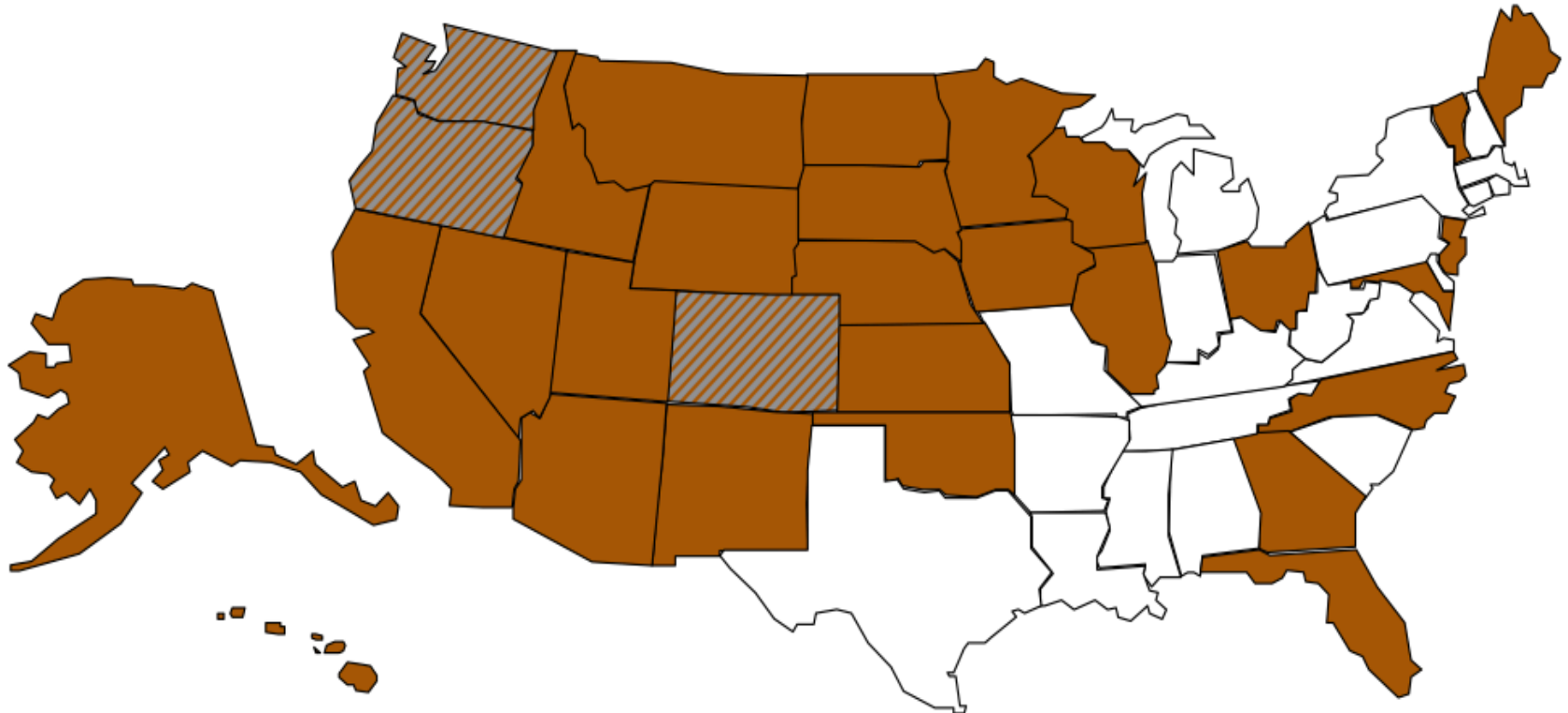
Source: National Conference of State Legislatures, 2015

States Allowing Early In Person Voting



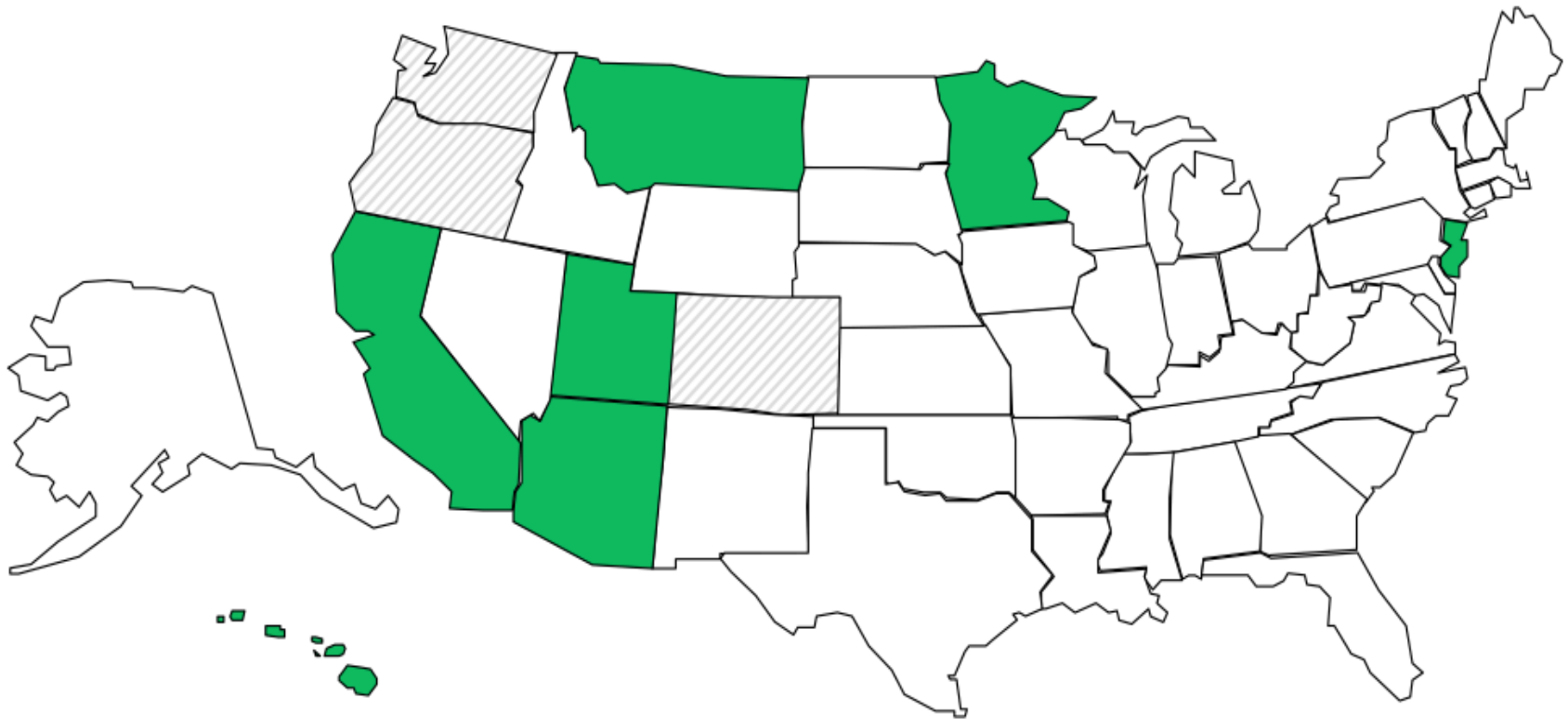
Source: National Conference of State Legislatures, 2014

States Allowing No Excuse Voting By Mail



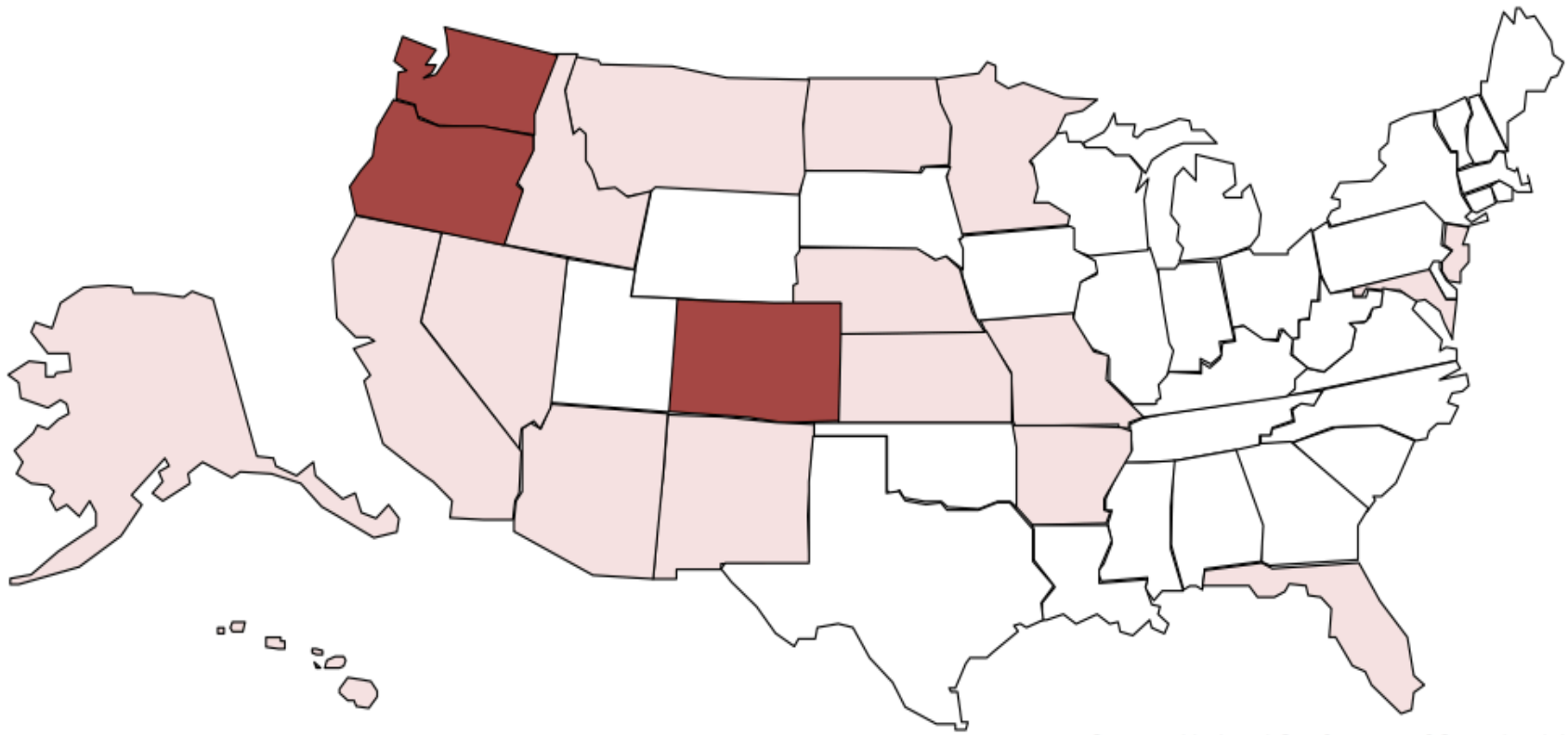
Source: National Conference of State Legislatures, 2014

States Allowing Permanent Mail Voting Status



Source: National Conference of State Legislatures, 2014

States with All Mail Voting

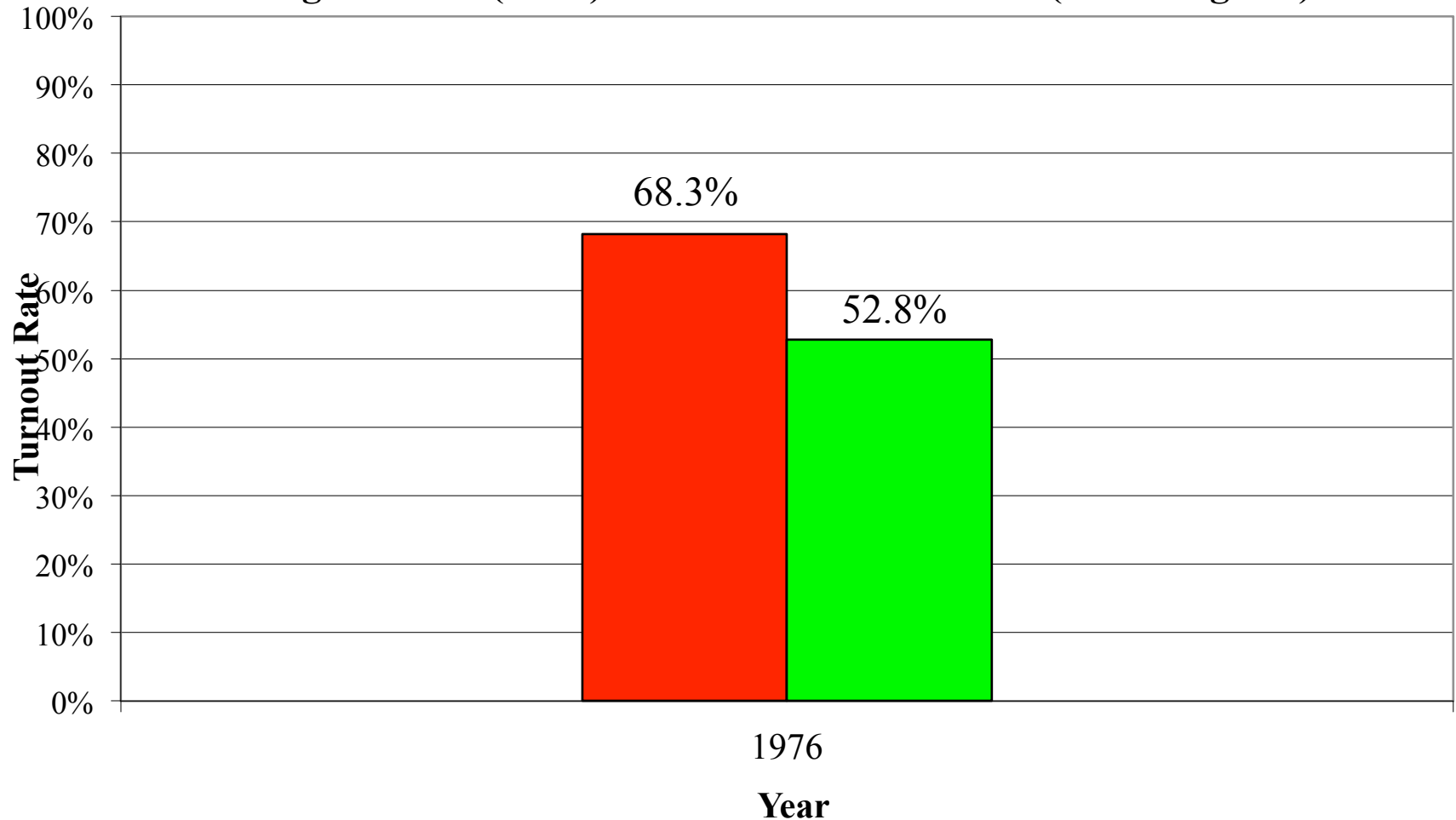


Source: National Conference of State Legislatures, 2014

Voter Registration

Hanmer (2009) *Discount Voting, Intro*

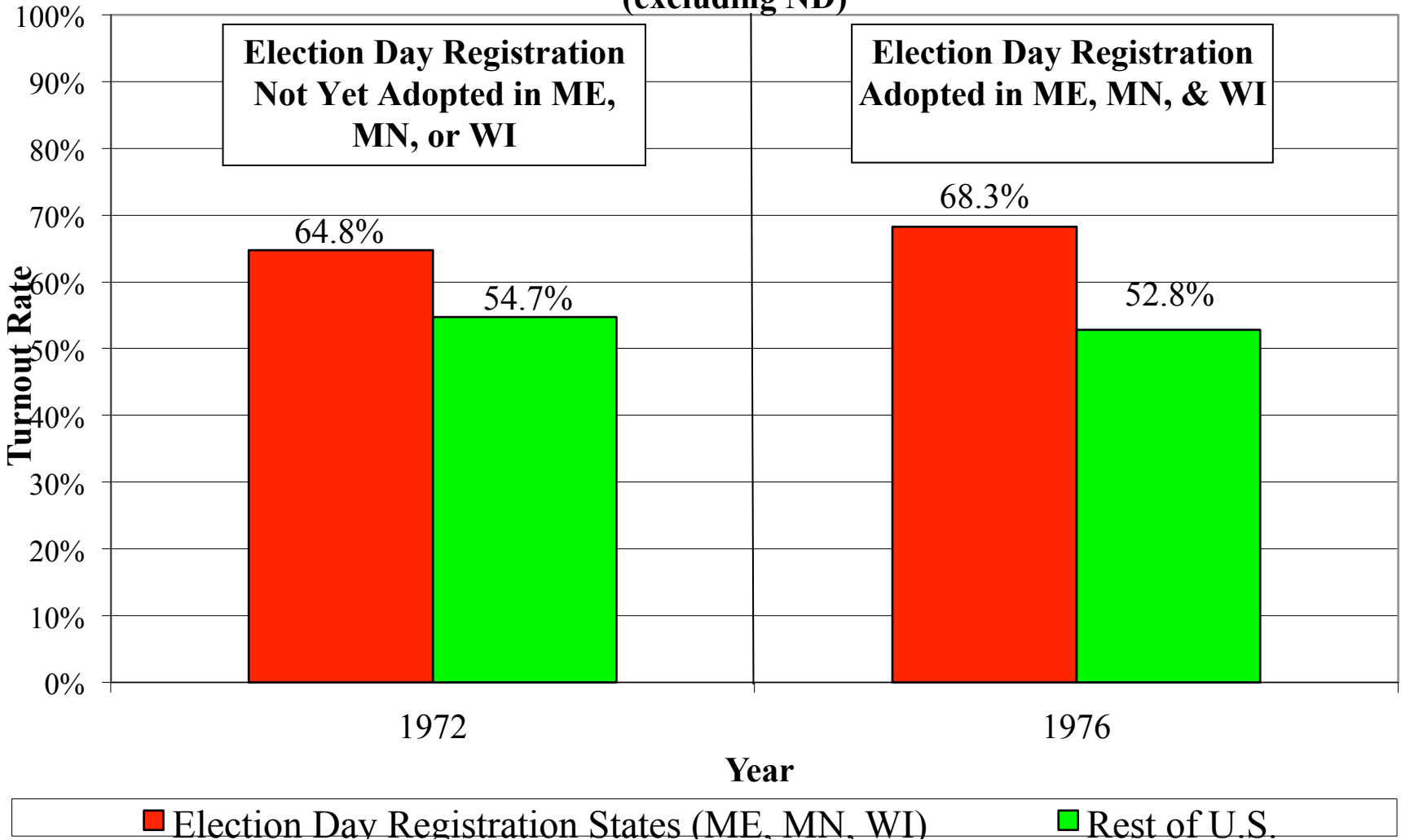
Turnout Rate In 1976 Comparing States With Election Day Registration (EDR) To The Rest Of The U.S. (excluding ND)



■ Election Day Registration States (ME, MN, WI) ■ Rest of the U.S.

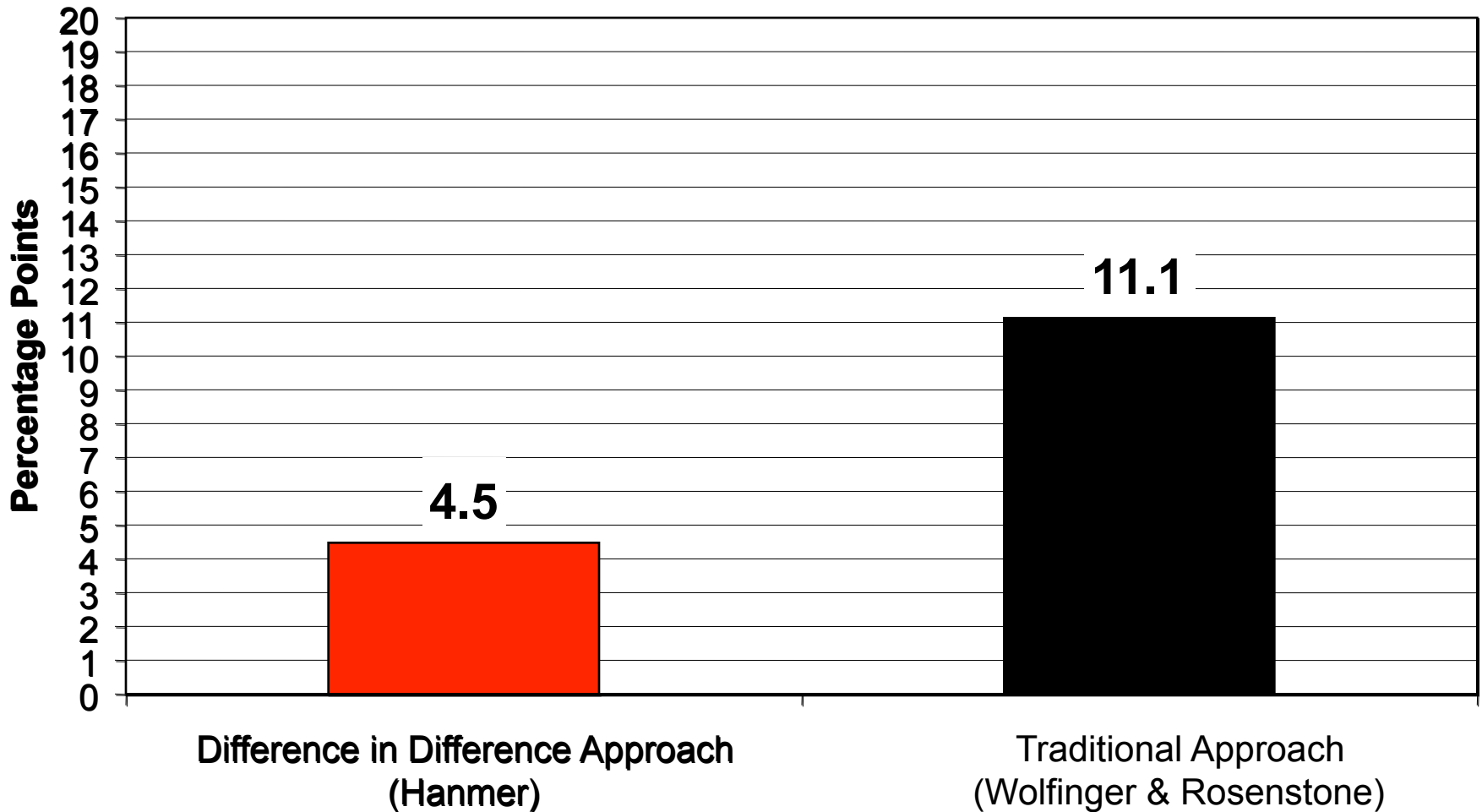
Hanmer (2009) *Discount Voting, Intro*

Turnout Rate in States Adopting EDR For The 1976 Election (ME, MN, WI) Before And After Adoption Compared To The Rest Of The U.S. (excluding ND)



Hanmer (2009) *Discount Voting, Ch. 3*

Percentage Point Increase in Turnout Due to EDR in High Motivation States (MN & WI) by Statistical Approach



National Voter Registration Act

- Applied to all states with voter registration, but no Election Day Registration
- Created Federal Voter Registration Form
- Motor Voter
- **Section 7**
 - Required “public assistance” offices to assist in registration
 - Medicaid, TANF, SNAP, WIC, Disability

Why is compliance poor?

- 1) Focus on “core” mission / added burden
- 2) Unaware of law’s requirements
- 3) Implemented inefficiently
 - Motor voter required as part of admission paperwork
- 4) Disagree with the requirement
- 5) Oversight is lax



Hess, Hanmer, Nickerson

Public Administration Review (Forthcoming)

State A Experiment

- Southern
- Republican Governor
- Subject to Voting Rights Act

Partner

- Department of Social Services
- Randomize timing of Section 7 Training
August 2010 vs. November 2010

Experiment: Training Treatment

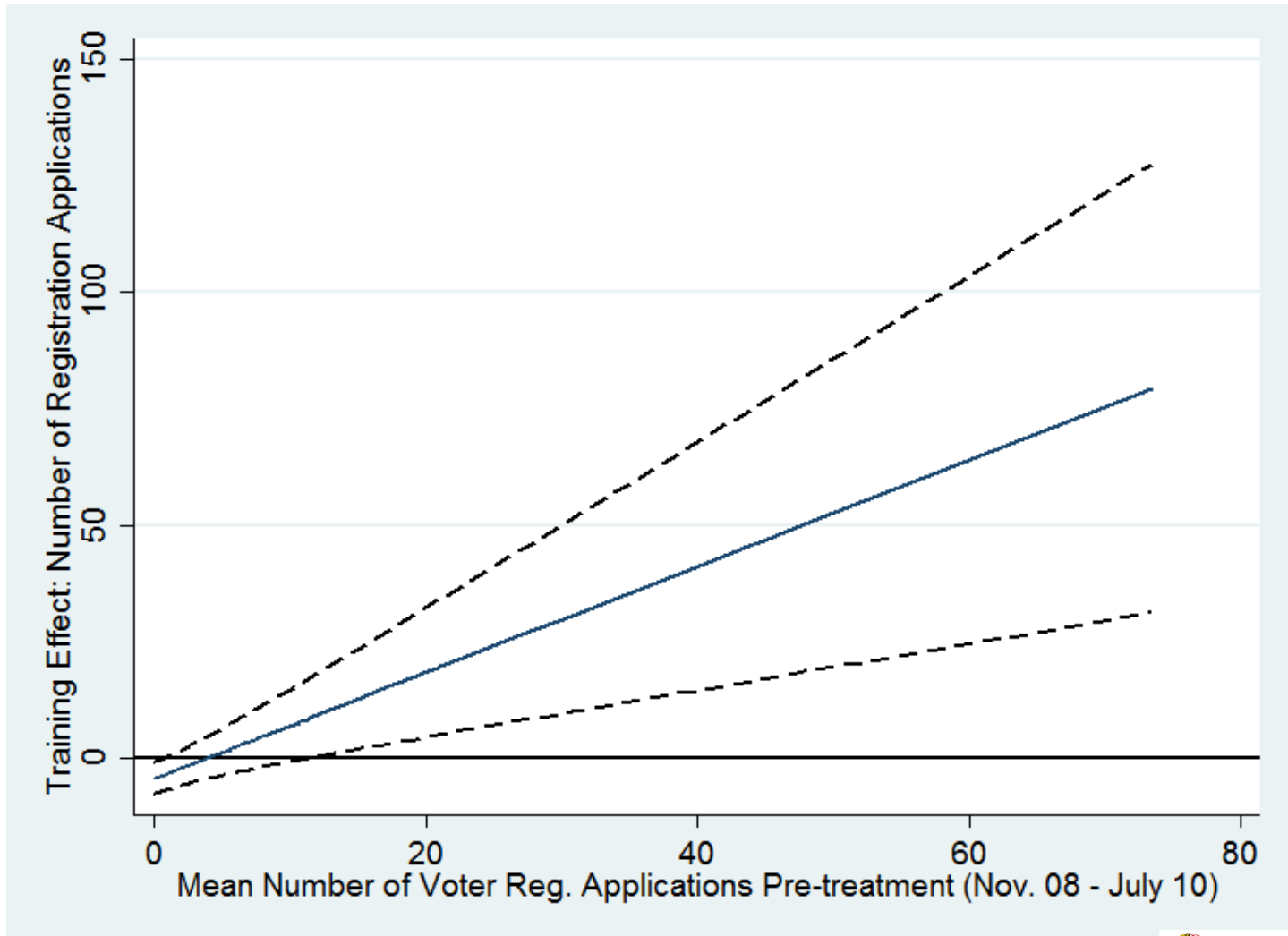
Training module hosted on-line

- Narrated PowerPoint presentation
- 14 minutes long
- Emphasizes **legal requirement** and process
- Pass short quiz
- Receive certificate to hand to supervisor

Experiment #1: Results

State A	Baseline Model
Training	5.4*
	(2.8)
Constant	20.2
	(2.0)
N	120

Experiment 1: Effect by Past Performance



Automatic Voter Registration

- All citizens with drivers license or state ID → automatically registered
- 2015 Legislation:
 - Passed in Oregon & California
 - New Jersey? Other states?
- Effects on turnout?
 - Possibly similar to EDR?
 - Depends on mobilization by parties, candidates and civic organizations



Online Voter Registration

- Online voter registration form
 - Identity verified by drivers license/ID database
 - Signature on file used for voter registration
- Benefits: (something for everyone)
 - Convenience: Easier for voters
 - Efficiency: More & faster updates of information
 - Accuracy: Fewer errors from data entry
 - Cost savings: Less than handling paper applications
- Effects?
 - Little to none from policy change/implementation
 - New avenue for voter registration efforts
 - Civic & political organizations
 - Election officials

Electronic Registration Information Center

- 11 states + DC

- State run organization

- States Participating in the Electronic Registration Information Center

- Data Hygiene → More accurate voter rolls

- Matching voter rolls to DMV, NCOA, SS Death Registry, and other states

- Cross state movers = 538,818

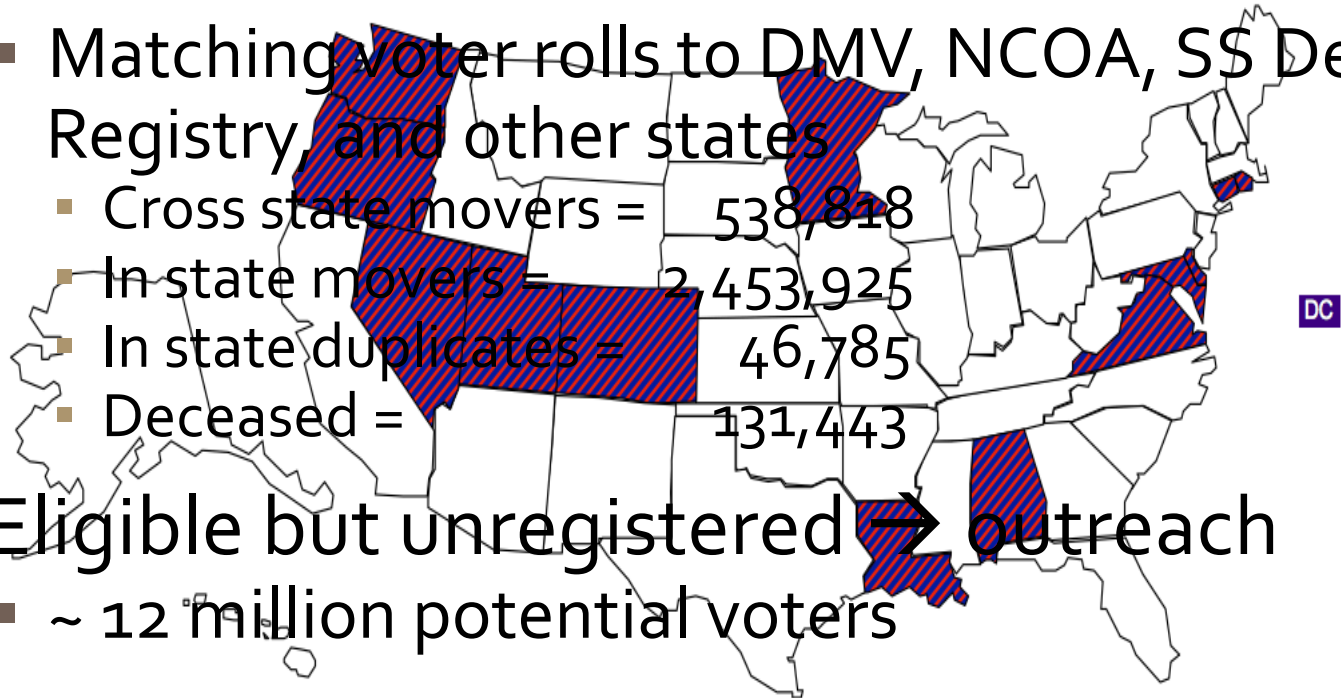
- In state movers = 2,453,925

- In state duplicates = 46,785

- Deceased = 131,443

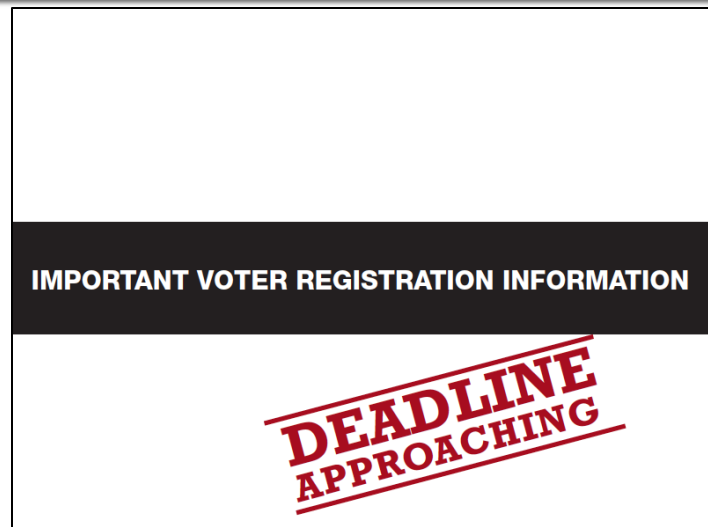
- Eligible but unregistered → outreach

- ~ 12 million potential voters

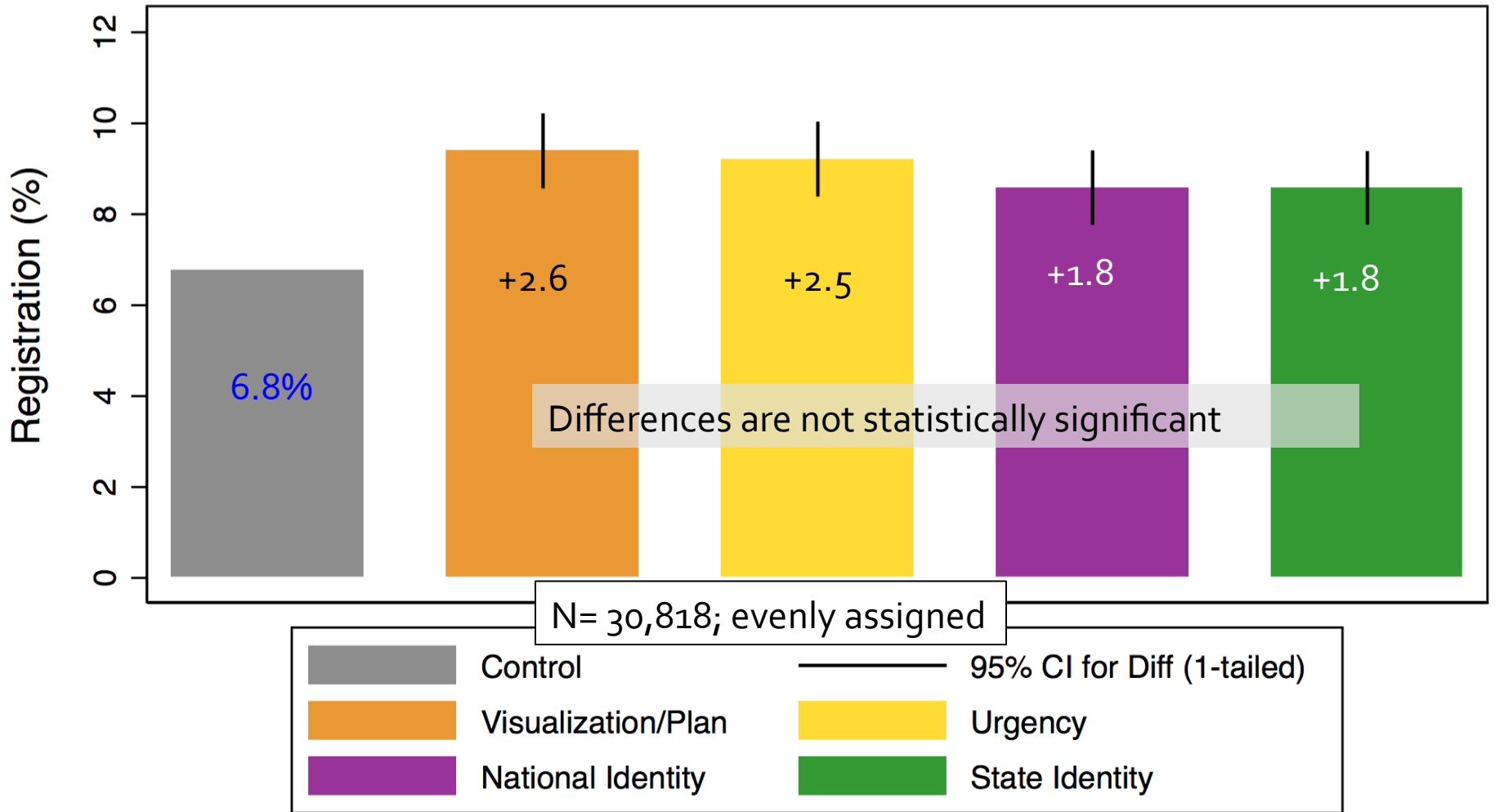


Source: www.ericstates.org, Nov. 2015

Delaware Mailings (2012)

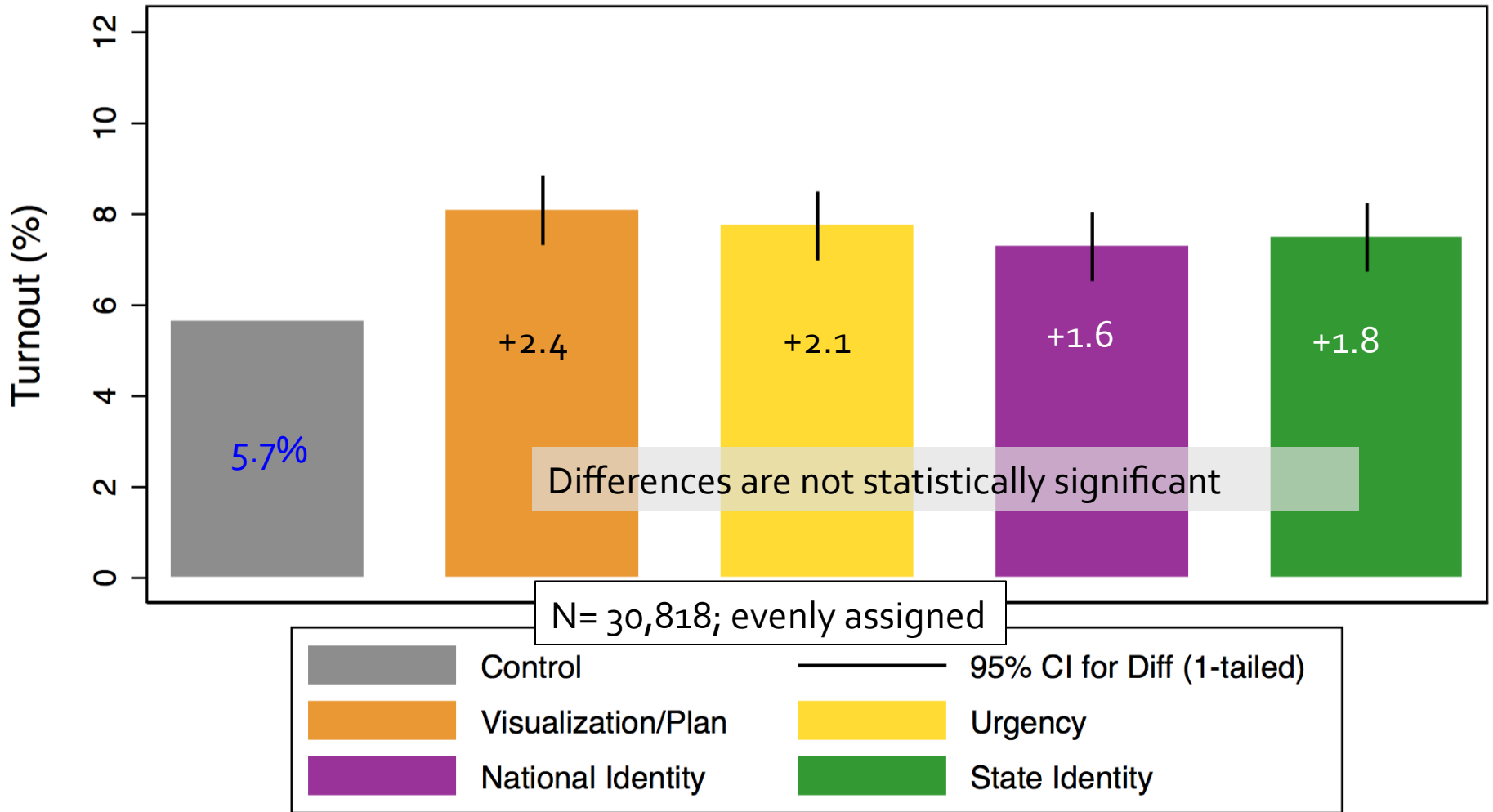


Voter Registration Rate: Mailing Date to Reg. Deadline
 ERIC - Eligible But Unregistered Mailing
 Delaware Office of State Election Commissioner



Note: Effects are statistically significant if confidence interval does not overlap top of control group bar. Percentages and confidence intervals calculated from logistic regression with clustered standard errors. Full model results are presented in the appendix

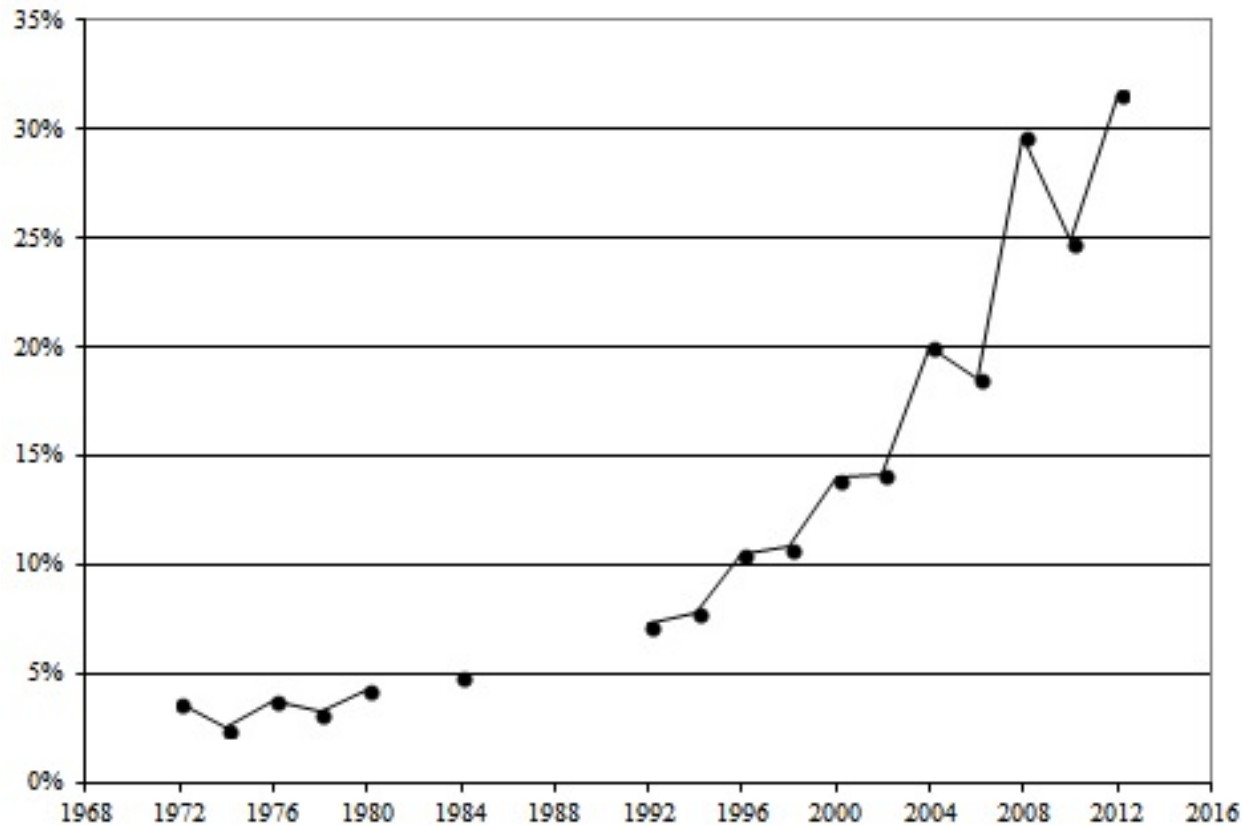
Voter Turnout - Nov. 2012
 ERIC - Eligible But Unregistered Mailing
 Delaware Office of State Election Commissioner



Note: Effects are statistically significant if confidence interval does not overlap top of control group bar. Percentages and confidence intervals calculated from logistic regression with clustered standard errors. Full model results are presented in the appendix

Voting

Pre Election Day Voting



Early Vote Rate, 1972-2012

Source: Various Current Population Surveys

Source: Michael McDonald, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/michael-p-mcdonald/a-modest-early-voting-ris_b_3430379.html

Defining voter turnout

- The proportion of citizen voting age population or registered voters who present themselves at the polls on or before Election Day or return a mailed ballot.
- Voting opportunity turnout (VOT) is ratio of total number of actual votes cast to the total number of possible votes that could cast on a ballot. A voter might register a preference in all, none, or some of the contests on the ballot.

Voting is more than showing up...

<input type="checkbox"/>	For Vice President		<input type="checkbox"/> Write-in _____		By the City of Madisonville pursuant to Tenn. Code Ann. Sections 67-6-701, et. seq. and as published in a newspaper of general circulation, which increases the local sales tax rate from 2.25% to 2.75%, become operative?	
<input type="checkbox"/>	Electors For BARACK OBAMA For President and JOE BIDEN For Vice President	DEM	UNITED STATES HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES 3rd Congressional District Vote for One (1)		<input type="checkbox"/> FOR	
<input type="checkbox"/>	Electors For VIRGIL GOODE For President and JIM CLYMER For Vice President	CON	<input type="checkbox"/> Chuck Fleischmann	REP	<input type="checkbox"/> AGAINST	
<input type="checkbox"/>	Electors For JILL STEIN For President and CHERI HONKALA For Vice President	GRN	<input type="checkbox"/> Mary M. Headrick	DEM	ALDERMAN City of Madisonville Vote for Three (3)	
<input type="checkbox"/>	Electors For ROSS C. "ROCKY" ANDERSON For President and LUIS J. RODRIGUEZ For Vice President	IND	<input type="checkbox"/> Matthew Deniston	IND		
<input type="checkbox"/>	Electors For GARY JOHNSON For President and JAMES P. GRAY For Vice President	IND	<input type="checkbox"/> Write-in _____		<input type="checkbox"/> Bobby D. Bruner	IND
<input type="checkbox"/>			TENNESSEE HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES 21st Representative District Vote for One (1)		<input type="checkbox"/> Augusta T. Davis	IND
			<input type="checkbox"/> Jimmy Matlock	REP	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Glenn Moser	IND
			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Andrew F. Bennett, III	DEM	<input type="checkbox"/> Bill Spradlin	IND
			<input type="checkbox"/> Write-in _____		<input type="checkbox"/> Write-in _____	
			TENNESSEE HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES 23rd Representative District Vote for One (1)		<input type="checkbox"/> Write-in _____	
					<input type="checkbox"/> Write-in _____	
					<input type="checkbox"/> Write-in _____	
					CITY RECORDER City of Madisonville Vote for One (1)	
					<input type="checkbox"/> Ted Cagle	IND

Voting is completing the ballot

Example of voter opportunity turnout measure
in county with 5 races and 100 registered
voters

Race	Possible votes	Actual votes
1	100	95
2	100	80
3	100	85
4	100	70
5	100	50
Total	500	380

$$\text{VOT} = 76\% \text{ (i.e., } 380/500\text{)}$$

Reasons for not casting a ballot, complete or incomplete

- Too busy, conflicting schedule 19%
- Not interested 16%
- Illness, disability 14%
- Did not like candidates or campaign issues 13%
- Out of town 8%
- Transportation, inconvenient polling place, and bad weather 7%
- Not registered 5%
- Forgot 4%

Source: US Census Current Population Survey, 2012

Reasons for not completing a ballot

- Ballot fatigue, too many ballot contests
- Incomplete information about contests
- Abstention
- Protest
- Ballot design

Fixes to system for low turnout and incomplete ballots

- Early in-person voting
- Mail assisted voting
 - Excuse and no excuse absentee mailing voting
 - Permanent mail voting
 - All Vote by Mail (a.k.a. Postal voting)
- Election Day vote centers

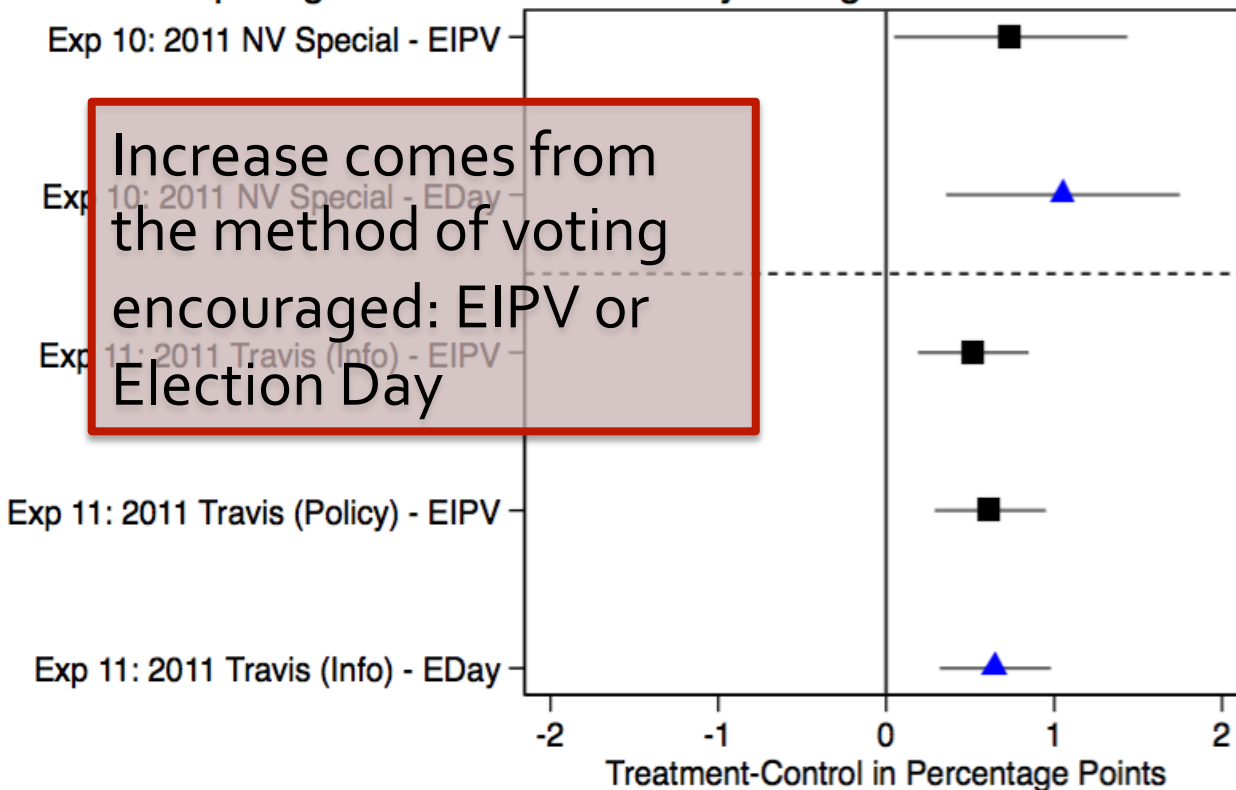
Potential fixes for enhancing voter turnout and completed ballots among alternative methods of voting

Reasons for:		Mail assisted voting				
		Abs	Perm	VBM	EIPV	EDVC
Not voting						
	Too busy, conflicting schedule	X	X	X	X	X
	Not interested					
	Illness, disability	X	X	X		
	Wrong candidates and issues					
	Out of town	X	X	X	X	
	Transportation, weather, location	X	X	X	X	X
	Not registered					
	Forgot		X	X		
Not complete a ballot						
	Too many ballot contests	X	X	X		
	Incomplete information	X	X	X		
	Abstention					
	Protest					
	Ballot design					

Effect of EIPV on voter turnout

- Weak and mixed findings for the effect of EIPV on voter turnout (Berinsky 2005).
- EIPV turnout effects mediated by political campaigns.

Figure 3: Effects on Turnout
 Comparing EIPV and Election Day Voting Treatments



Increase comes from the method of voting encouraged: EIPV or Election Day

EIPV Trmt Effect ■ EDay Trmt Effect ▲
 95% CI —

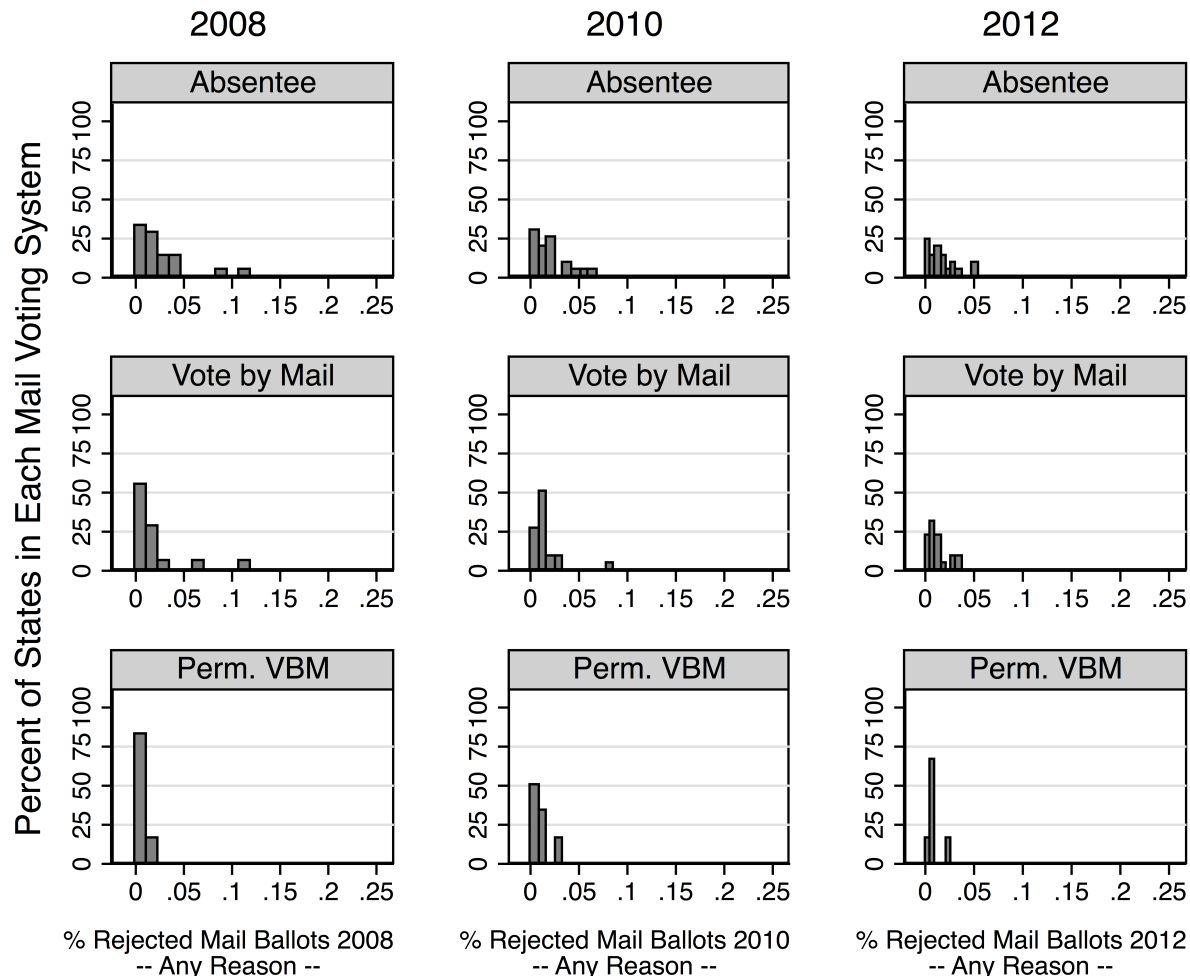
Note: Effects reported in percentage points with 95% confidence intervals (one-tailed test). Results tables available in online Appendix.

Effect of mail assisted voting on turnout: Absentee mail voting

- No significant effect on voter turnout
 - (Patterson and Calederia 1985; Richey 2008; Barreto et al 2006; Karp and Banducci 2001)
- Turnout increases when candidates incorporate absentee mail voting as part of their GOTV activities
 - (Patterson and Calederia 1985)

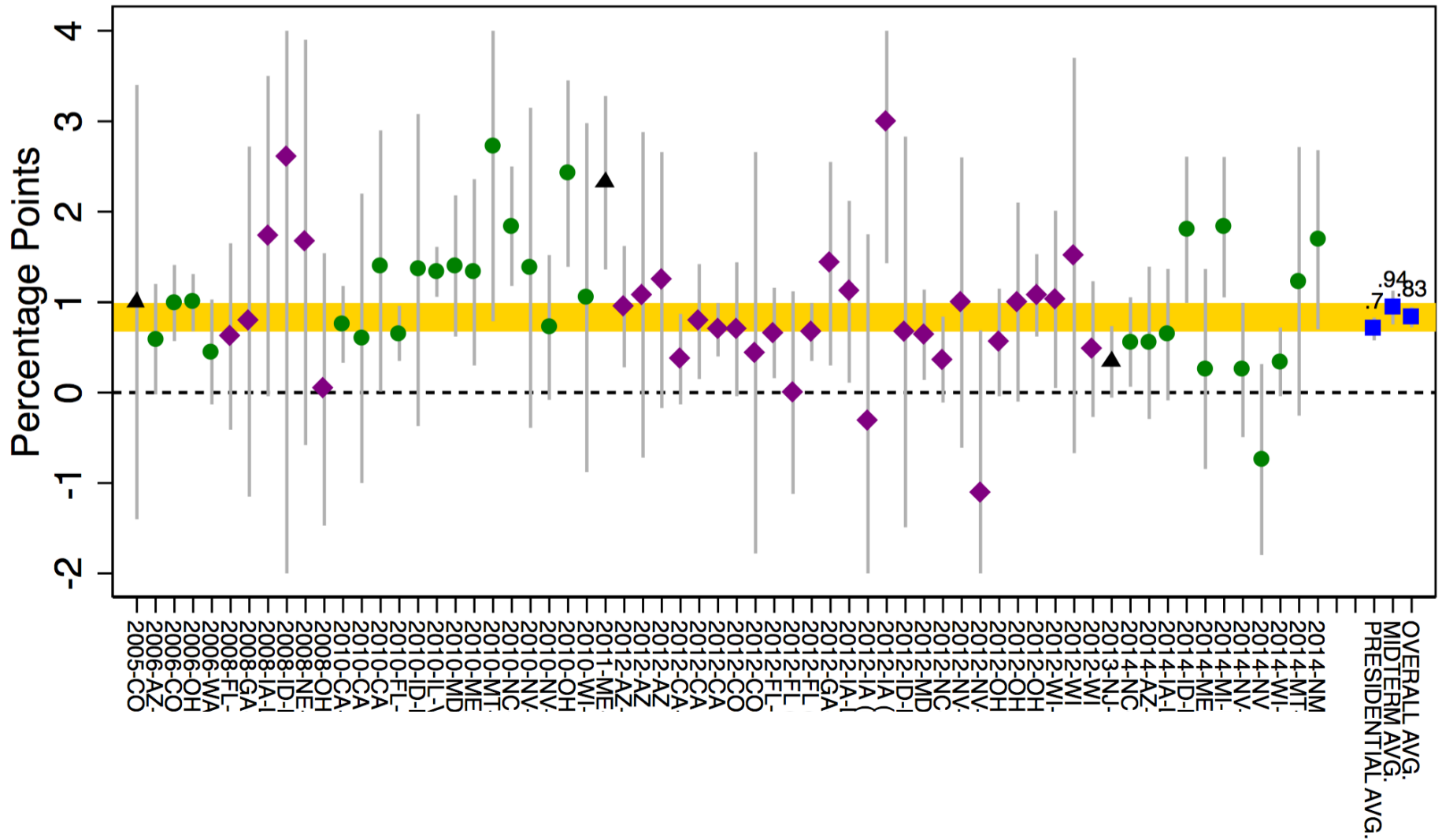
More mail ballots → fewer problems

Figure 5-3: Proportion of Mail Ballots Rejected for Any Reason
Among Mail Ballots Returned in 2008, 2010 & 2012
by Mail Voting System



VBM Recruitment Turnout Effects 2005-2014

64 field experiments



Effect of All Voting by Mail on turnout

- Mixed and contradictory findings for Oregon over time (Southwell and Burchett 2000; Gronke and Miller 2012; Richey 2008; Gronke et al. 2007).
- Strong positive effect of VBM on turnout in a limited number of Washington state counties (Gerber et al 2014)
- Colorado VBM elections have strong positive effect on:
 - Total voter turnout at the polls (Menger et al 2014)
 - Proportion of ballots completed (Menger et al 2014)
 - Turnout effects of VBM persist over time in the presence of alternative methods of voting (Menger et al 2014)

Effects of Colorado All VBM on Turnout

- There is an increase between 1.9% and 2.8% voter turnout in Colorado counties using VBM elections between 2010-2014
- There is an increase between 13% to 16% in voter opportunity turnout in Colorado counties using VBM elections between 2010-2014.

Effect of EDVC on voter turnout

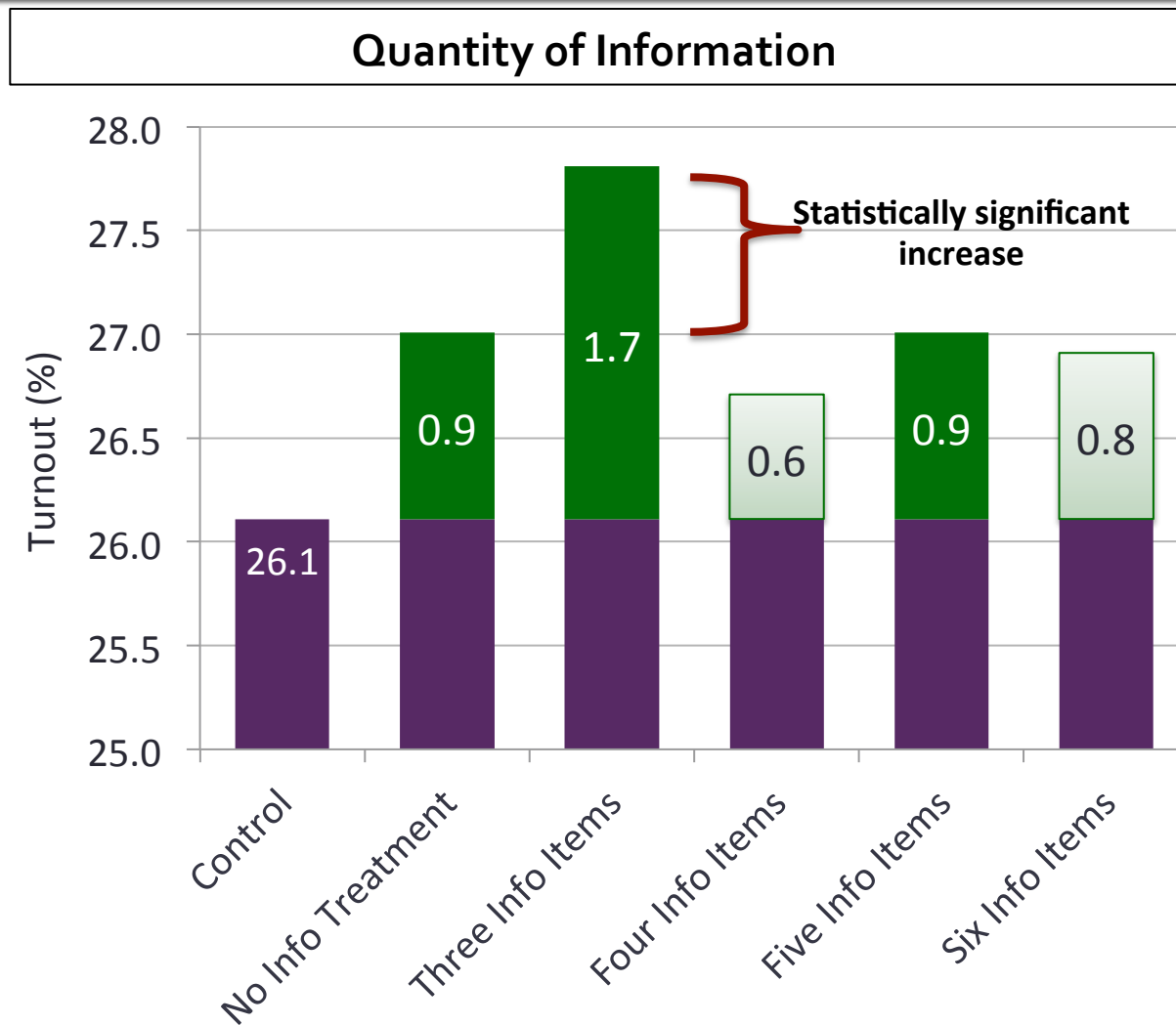
- Significant and positive effect on voter turnout for historically infrequent voters.
- Between 2.5%-4.5% increase in voter turnout in Colorado Counties with EDVCs.
- Significant voter satisfaction with EDVCs.

Adapting to new voting methods: Information vs. Complication

- More information about voting = turnout?
 - If info makes voting seem easier → **YES**
 - If info makes voting seem complicated → **NO**

Too Much Information (TMI)

All VBM Experiment (CO – 2013)



Multi-dimensional puzzle?

- What happens when there is more than one change in a registration and voting system?
- When combined with other reforms, EIPV & VBM found to have a strong negative effect on voter turnout (Burden et al 2014; Richey 2008)
 - Dispute over coding of EIPV & VBM systems
- Effects of CO's All VBM voting reform persist even in the presence of alternative methods of voting including in-person ED, EIPV, SDR, EDR (Menger et al 2014).

Thank you

Michael Hanmer

University of Maryland – College Park

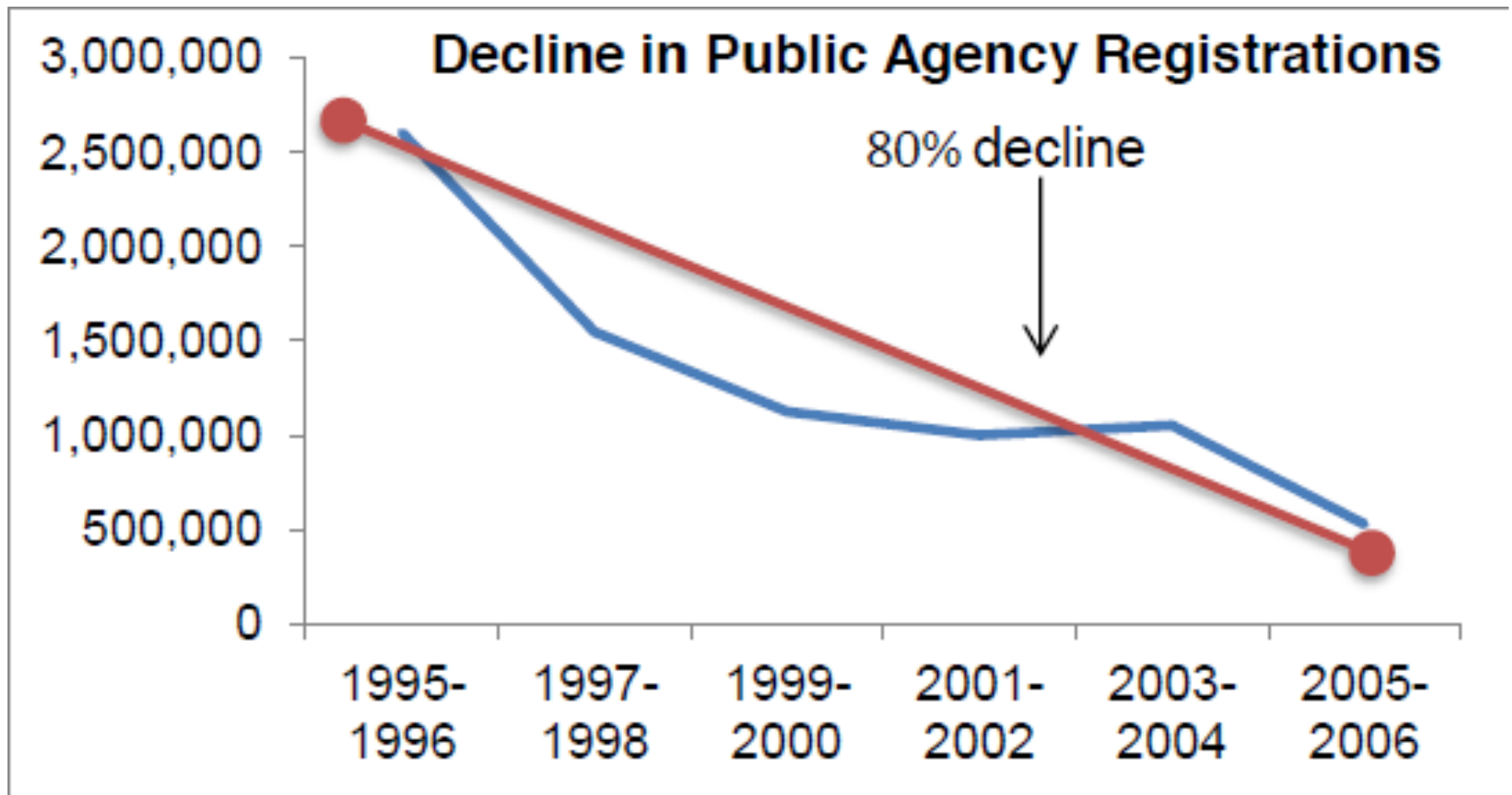
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Weak and Worsening Compliance



Delaware Mailings (2012)

Office of the State Election Commissioner
905 S. Governors Ave., Suite 170
Dover, DE 19904

Our records indicate that you may be eligible to vote, but do not appear to be registered. If you are 18 years old or older, a resident of Delaware and a U.S. citizen, you may be qualified to vote.

Visit <https://registertovote.elections.delaware.gov>, fill out, print, sign and send in your application.

To vote in the November 6, 2012 General Election, you must register to vote by October 13, 2012.

If you have questions or need help, please contact the State Election Commissioner by email at coe_vote@state.de.us or by phone at (302) 739-4277.

Sincerely,



Elaine Manlove
State Election Commissioner

Oregon Mailing (2014)



Kate Brown
Oregon Secretary of State
Salem, Oregon 97310-0722
www.sos.oregon.gov



It appears you may not be registered to vote.

If you are a US citizen you may register at:

Register at (Registrate en):

oregonvotes.gov/go-vote

3 minutes. Click. Done.

*If you have questions or would like to request
a paper registration form call 1-866-673-8683.*

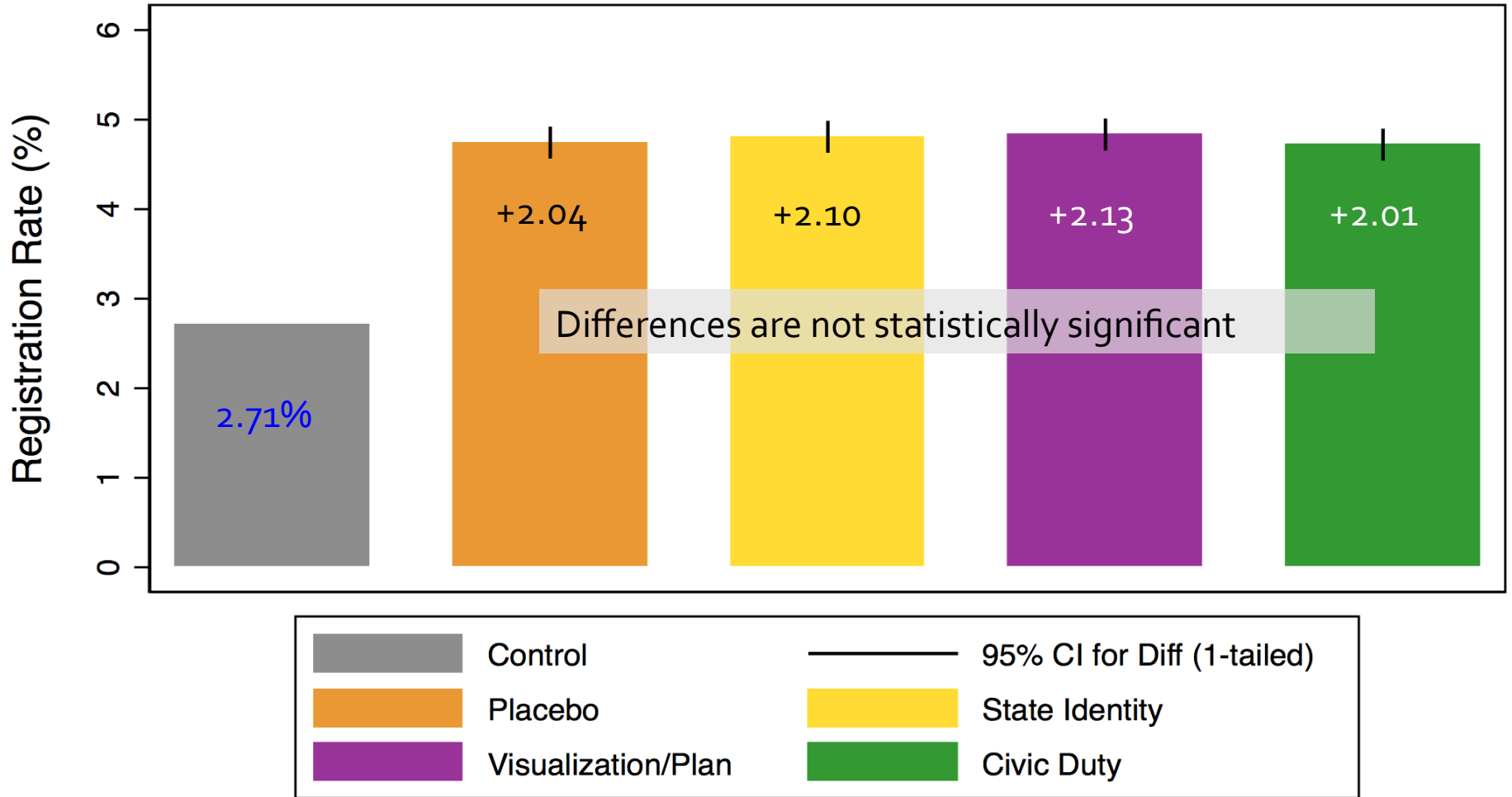
Deadline to register to vote
in November is **October 14th.**

D/14

Oregon Mailings (2014)

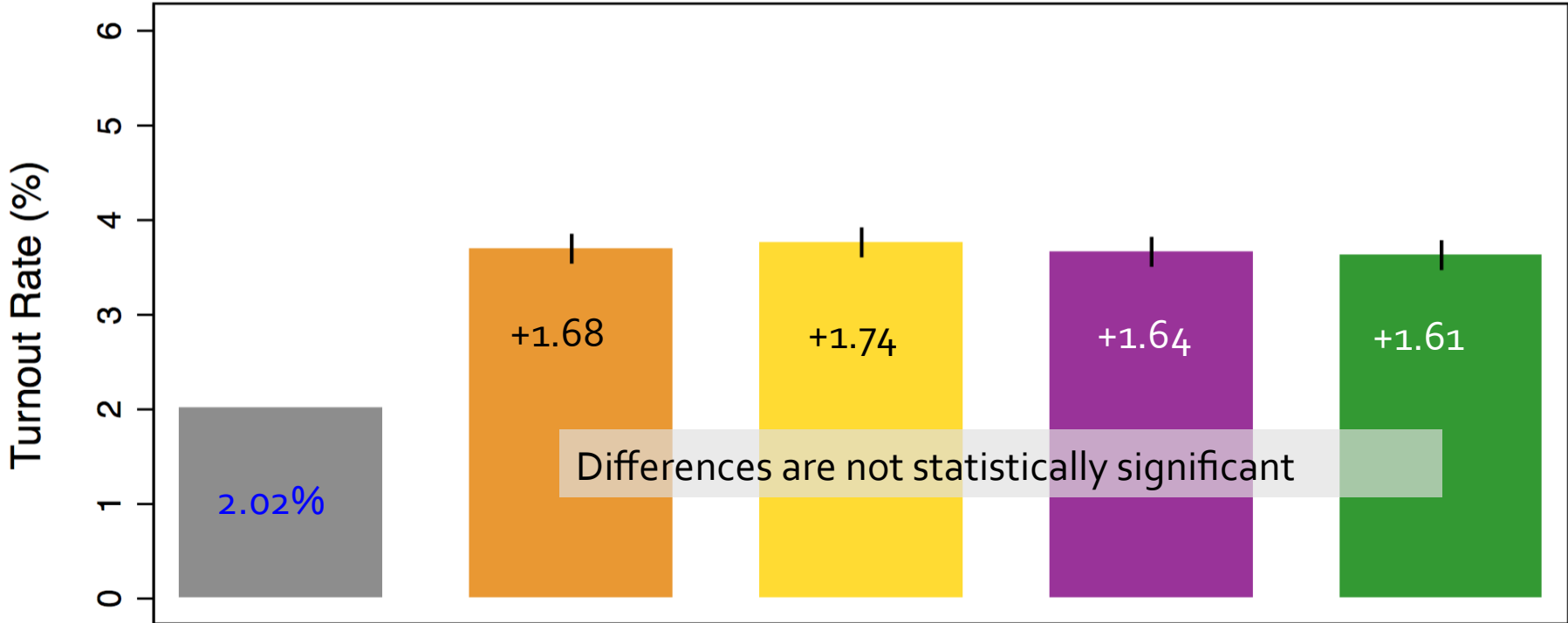


Voter Registration Rate: Mailing Date to Reg. Deadline
 ERIC - Eligible But Unregistered Mailing
 Oregon Secretary of State



Note: Effects are statistically significant if confidence interval does not overlap top of control group bar. Percentages and confidence intervals calculated from logistic regression with clustered standard errors. Full model results are presented in the appendix

Voter Turnout - Nov. 2014
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Behavioral theories about EIPV

1. Convenience: Easier mobilization via lower cost process
 - Choice of when and where to vote
 - Lower opportunity costs
 - Lower transportation costs (?)
2. Multiplying opportunities: Similar mobilization opportunity to Election Day but multiple times to vote
 - More deployment of resources
 - Less likely to have bad luck (weather, etc.)
3. Substituting barriers: no mobilization opportunity
 - Information costs replaces opportunity costs (higher barrier?)
 - Transportation costs may be higher?

Ballot Chase Timing - 2013

