

Access to the Vote in the 2006 Midterm Election: Evidence from the 2006 Cooperative
Congressional Election Study

By

Samantha Green-Atchley

B.A. History
Yale University, 2004

Submitted to the Department of Political Science on August 10, 2007 in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Science in Political Science
at the
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

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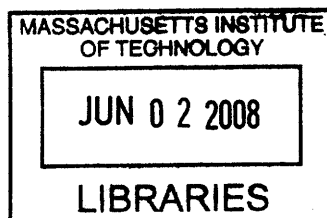
Department of Political Science
August 10, 2007

Certified by: _____

Steven Ansolabehere
Elting E. Morison Professor of Political Science
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by: _____

Roger Petersen
Chair, Graduate Program Committee
Department of Political Science



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ABSTRACT

The 2000 and 2004 U.S. national elections were plagued by problems which caused a significant number of citizens to be effectively denied access to the vote. This paper uses data from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES) public opinion poll to measure whether certain electoral problems persisted in the 2006 midterm elections. Of particular concern are whether voters were asked to show photo ID in order to vote, whether voters experienced problems with their registrations upon attempting to vote, what demographic groups experienced these problems most frequently, and what remedies were offered to such voters. Additionally, public opinion on whether all voters should be required to show photo IDs in order to vote and on whether polling stations were well operated in this election is also examined. The data shows that while significant percentages of CCES respondents experienced registration problems when voting and/or were asked to show photo ID before voting almost no respondents were prevented from casting ballots. Respondents showed overwhelming support for measures which would require all voters to show photo ID before voting, though this support varied significantly by party ID. Finally, respondents were overwhelmingly pleased with how their polling stations were operated during this election and very few of them were forced to wait in long lines before voting.

Thesis supervisor: Steven Ansolabehere

Title: Elting E. Morison Professor of Political Science

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PART 1: AN INTRODUCTION TO PAST ELECTORAL PROBLEMS

The 2000 and 2004 U.S. national elections were plagued by problems which caused a significant number of citizens to be effectively denied access to the vote. This paper uses data from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES) public opinion poll to measure whether certain electoral problems persisted in the 2006 midterm elections. Of particular concern are whether voters were asked to show photo ID in order to vote, whether voters experienced problems with their registrations upon attempting to vote, what demographic groups experienced these problems most frequently, and what remedies were offered to such voters. Additionally, public opinion on whether all voters should be required to show photo IDs in order to vote and on whether polling stations were well operated in this election is also examined. The data shows that while significant percentages of CCES respondents experienced registration problems when voting and/or were asked to show photo ID before voting almost no respondents were prevented from casting ballots. Respondents showed overwhelming support for measures which would require all voters to show photo ID before voting, though this support varied significantly by party ID. Finally, respondents were overwhelmingly pleased with how their polling stations were operated during this election and very few of them were forced to wait in long lines before voting.

This paper will begin by providing a brief overview of electoral problems experienced since 2000 and then move on to discuss issues surrounding voter registration, voter ID initiatives, remedies for voters whose registrations are challenged or who do not have the requisite ID on Election Day, polling station operation, and electoral discrimination at the polls. Next, 2006 CCES data will be used to examine the

aforementioned issues as they presented themselves in the 2006 midterm elections. The paper will close with a brief discussion section.

Past Election Problems – 2000 to 2004

Though the United States has long experienced certain deficiencies in its electoral system, these deficiencies captured national attention in the 2000 Presidential election. Here an uncertain electoral outcome caused by ineffective voting technology, particularly punch-card voting machines, and various problems concerning ballot access led to numerous lawsuits and widespread public mistrust of the accuracy of the voting system. A study by the CalTech/MIT Voting Technology Project found that 4 to 6 million votes were lost in the 2000 election; the study estimated that 1.5 to 2 million votes were lost through faulty equipment or confusing ballots, 1.5 to 3 million through registration mix ups, up to 1 million through ineffective polling station operation, and an unknown number through problems with absentee ballots.¹ Additionally, the report stated that US Census Bureau reports showed that 7.4% of registered voters who did not vote in the 2000 election, roughly 3 million people, cited problems with their registration as reason for not voting.²

The problems seen in the 2000 election precipitated a nationwide examination of the electoral system which resulted in numerous recommendations for improvement.³ Such studies led to the creation and ultimate passage of the Help America Vote Act

¹ CalTech/MIT Voting Technology Project. *Voting: What is, what could be*. Pasadena, CA and Cambridge, MA: 2001. Pp. 9

http://www.vote.caltech.edu/media/documents/july01/July01_VTP_Voting_Report_Entire.pdf

² Ibid. Pp. 8-9

³ See for example, Ibid.; National Commission on Federal Election Reform. *To Assure Pride and Confidence in the Electoral Process: Report of the National Commission on Federal Election Reform*. Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 2002.

(HAVA) in October, 2002. Among other things, HAVA earmarked federal funds to help states purchase new voting technology, mandated the availability of provisional ballots for any voter who arrived at a polling station and was not allowed to cast a regular ballot, declared that all voting stations must be fully accessible to the disabled, ruled that all voters registering to vote after January 2004 must provide a driver's license number or the last four digits of his or her social security number to be eligible, and forced all first-time registrants to present identification in the form of a photo ID, utility bill, bank statement, paycheck, or government document showing name and address.⁴

Despite the passage of HAVA, numerous state level revisions to election procedures, and widespread updates in voting technology, the 2004 election was plagued by many of the same problems seen in the 2000 election, albeit on a smaller scale. For example, voters in many states, particularly Ohio, were forced to wait in line at polling stations for many hours, and disputes over absentee ballots occurred in states such as Pennsylvania and Florida.⁵ Accounts of voter harassment arose in some areas, for example in Nevada where election officials reported that calls were made to some Democrats falsely stating that the location of polling stations had been moved.⁶ Many voters found themselves voting on the very type of machines that caused controversy in the 2000 election, for instance as 70% of Ohioans voted on punch-card machines.⁷ The Election Protection Coalition, a nonpartisan group tracking electoral problems, reported receiving roughly 23,000 complaints about problems at the polls, many of which included

⁴ *Help America Vote Act of 2002*. Public Law 107-252.

⁵ McFadden, Robert D. "Voters find long lines and short tempers, but little chaos at polls" *The New York Times*. November 3, 2004. Section P; Pp. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Editorial Desk. "Lessons of the ballot box." *The New York Times*. November 4, 2004, Section A; Pg. 24

incidents involving voting technology malfunctions.⁸ Vote counting also became problematic, as in Ohio where an electronic voting machine in suburban Columbus was found to have added 3,893 votes to President Bush's tally although there were only 800 voters in the district.⁹ A poll conducted by the *Wall Street Journal-NBC News* shortly after the election showed that 25% of respondents worried that the vote had been counted unfairly in the 2004 election; a national 2005 poll by the American Bar Association showed that 20% of Americans had "lingering doubts" about whether their votes were accurately counted in 2004.¹⁰ Though problems like the above are discouraging, there were some rays of hope for the efficacy of the electoral system after 2004. Most encouraging was the report that the residual vote rate, the rate of votes cast but not counted for various reasons, dropped from 1.9% of total votes cast in 2000 to 1.06% in 2004; this shift signifies the recovery of roughly 1 million votes in a four year period.¹¹

Entering the 2006 electoral period, it was unclear which problems would repeat themselves and which would be solved by further legal and technological advances. Many worried that the nation would again experience widespread problems at the polls. For example, in a 2006 article MIT Professor Stephen Ansolabehere predicted that 1 in 20 voters would experience difficulties at the polls.¹² Media reports of technological

⁸ McFadden, 2004.

⁹ Schwartz, John. "Glitch found in Ohio counting." *The New York Times*, November 6, 2004, Section A; Pg. 12.

¹⁰ Martinez III, Ray. "Greater Impartiality in Election Administration: Prudent Steps Toward Improving Voter Confidence." *Election Law Journal*. Jul 2006, Vol. 5, No. 3: 235-249.

¹¹ Stewart III, Charles. "Residual Vote in the 2004 Election." *Election Law Journal*. Apr 2006, Vol. 5, No. 2: 158-169.

¹² Ansolabehere, Stephen. "Election Administration and Voting Rights." *The Future of the Voting Rights Act*. David L. Epstein, et al., eds. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006. Pp. 203-222.

problems also surfaced in the weeks leading up to the election¹³ as did reports that many states had not yet fully upgraded voting systems as required under HAVA.¹⁴

Voter Registration

One of the most frequently reported difficulties voters faced in the 2000 and 2004 elections concerned problems with their voter registration. As mentioned above, many voters who believed themselves to be lawfully registered to vote arrived at the polls in 2000 and 2004 only to be told that their names did not appear on voter registration lists.

Many voter registration problems center on the creation of accurate, accessible lists of registered voters. In 1993, Congress passed the National Voter Registration Act which sought to remove barriers to voter registration by mandating that states offer uniform registration services through the Department of Motor Vehicles, public assistance and disability agencies, and mail-in registration forms.¹⁵ Though this Act did make registering to vote easier for many people, it also led to bloated lists of registered voters which often included names of people who had died, moved, or become ineligible.¹⁶ Furthermore, the Act did not force states to compile statewide voter registration lists, leaving individual counties and precincts in charge of creating and maintaining such lists. As there were roughly 150 million registered voters as of 2001 and no federal or state level system of keeping track of these registrations, in recent years

¹³ Rabin, Charles and Darran Simon. "Glitches cited in early voting." *MiamiHerald.com*. October 28, 2006. http://www.miami.com/mld/miamiherald/news/breaking_news/15869924.htm

¹⁴ Jordan, Lara Jakes. "No penalty for voting systems lapse." *Washingtonpost.com*. October 31, 2006. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/10/31/AR2006103101085.html>

¹⁵ *National Voter Registration Act of 1993*.

http://www.usdoj.gov/crt/voting/42usc/subch_1h.htm#anchor_1973gg

¹⁶ National Commission on Election Reform, 2002. Pp. 25.

states have found that they have high numbers of duplicate registrations; for example, when Michigan created a statewide voter registration voter list it found approximately 1 million duplicate registrations.¹⁷ After millions of people faced problems with their voter registrations when they attempted to vote in 2000, numerous organizations recommended that the federal government step in to regulate the creation of voter registration lists.¹⁸

HAVA responded to calls for improvements in the creation of voter registration lists by placing new restrictions on states. This Act mandates the creation of statewide voter registration lists.¹⁹ This measure was intended to simplify the process of maintaining such lists, provide election officials with easier access to these lists, and reduce errors on Election Day. However, these lists remain incomplete or inaccurate. Despite the passage of HAVA three years earlier, in 2005 two Commissioners from the National Commission on Federal Election Reform called for an update to the law which would require states, not counties, to create accurate voter registration lists and to share them with other states to avoid duplicate registrations when people move. The Commissioners also stated that these lists should be easily accessible to voters.²⁰

Other problems affecting voter registration lists are how people register to vote, whether their registrations are accepted by election officials, and how people are removed from registered voter lists. HAVA addresses the first of these problems by mandating that all voters registering to vote after January 2004 must provide a driver's license number or the last four digits of their social security number and that all first-time registrants must present identification in the form of a photo ID, utility bill, bank

¹⁷ CalTech/MIT Voting Technology Project, 2001. Pp. 28.

¹⁸ Ibid. Pp. 26-31.

¹⁹ HAVA, 2002.

²⁰ Carter, Jimmy and James A. Baker III. "Voting reform is in the cards." *The New York Times*. September 23, 2005, Section A; Pg. 19.

statement, paycheck, or government document showing name and address for their registrations to be accepted.²¹ These requirements garnered much criticism, as civil rights groups charged that they would make it more difficult for people to register to vote.²² HAVA regulations have also led some states to adopt strict rules about what registrations will be accepted; for example, North Carolina requires that information provided on registration forms must perfectly match information in motor vehicle or Social Security databases.²³ Such restrictions make it more difficult to register voters as any clerical error can result in nullification of the registration.

A problem not addressed by HAVA is how names are purged from voter registration lists. One of the most disturbing problems of the 2000 election was that many eligible voters arrived at polling stations to find that their names had been purged from voter lists. In Florida, top election official Katherine Harris executed a massive purge of the voter rolls; if names on voter registration lists matched names on lists of convicted felons or the recently deceased they were removed from the registration lists. Inaccurate matching led to the disenfranchisement of thousands of eligible voters, many of whom were Democrats and/or minorities. Name matching techniques like this one have since been proven to be unreliable because they lead to false positive matches.²⁴ In Saint Louis, Missouri registered voters listed as “inactive” (eventually 54,000 people in a city with 125,230 registered voters) did not technically have their registrations cancelled

²¹ HAVA, 2002.

²² Pear, Robert. “Civil rights groups say voter bill erects hurdles before ballot box.” *The New York Times*. October 8, 2002, Section A; Pg. 1.

²³ Urbina, Ian. “New laws and machines may spell voting woes.” *New York Times Online*. October 19, 2006.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/10/19/us/politics/19voting.html?ex=1318910400&en=9762afee52d7e0a7&ei=5090&partner=rssuserland&emc=rss>

²⁴ Selker, Ted and Alexandre Buer. “Voter Removal from Registration List Based on Name Matching is Unreliable.” *Voting Technology Project, MIT Media Laboratory*, April 7, 2006.
<http://www.vote.caltech.edu/reports/purging-vrdb-06.pdf>

but if they showed up to polling stations their registrations had to be confirmed by phone with the Board of Elections.²⁵ In both cases state election boards have agreed to change their purge policies but there is still no universally accepted system for purging voting rolls. Without a standardized system, at least on state levels, voters are left largely unaware of why or when their registration may be deemed invalid.

Voter ID Requirements at the Polls

As discussed briefly above, HAVA mandates that all voters registering to vote after January 2004 must provide a driver's license number or the last four digits of their social security number and that all first-time registrants must present identification in the form of a photo ID, utility bill, bank statement, paycheck, or government document showing name and address to be eligible to register. While these provisions have been strongly criticized for the possibility that they will prevent people without state-issued IDs, particularly the poor, the elderly, and minorities, from registering to vote, more disturbing is the rise of state level legislation which requires all voters to show picture identification when voting.

As of 2000, 11 states required voters to show some form of ID, including such forms as photo IDs, utility bills, bank statements, or paychecks, in order to vote; that number jumped to 23 states in 2006. ID requirements differ across states, with some allowing voters to choose from a long list of identifying documents and some requiring photo identification in order to vote.²⁶ The most controversial laws created since 2000 were in Arizona, Georgia, Indiana, and Missouri, which all required voters to show

²⁵ Editorial Desk. "How America doesn't vote." *The New York Times*. February 15, 2004, Section 4; Pg. 10

²⁶ For a full listing of voter ID requirements as of October, 2006 see <http://www.electionline.org/Default.aspx?tabid=364>.

government issued picture IDs in order to vote.²⁷ In Arizona a newly created state law forcing people to show ID and proof of residency and citizenship in order to vote led to the rejection of 35% of new registrations in 2006 for insufficient proof of citizenship in the state's most populous county.²⁸

Laws requiring voters to show ID, particularly picture ID or government issued ID, have received harsh criticism. The most prevalent argument against such measures is that they will disenfranchise voters without driver's licenses or other forms of acceptable identification. Such voters are disproportionately poor, elderly, or nonwhite. Such laws could have potentially serious effects on the 6-10 million Americans without driver's licenses.²⁹ Lawyers for American Indian tribes argue that ID provisions will discriminate against a large number of American Indians, many of whom can not afford to drive or do not have electric or phone bills (alternative forms of identification in some states).³⁰

In addition to attacking voter ID bills for their potential to discriminate, critics attack the premise on which these bills have been created. Proponents of voter ID bills argue that they are logical, necessary means to prevent voter fraud. However, critics claim this is an empty argument. Studies have found little evidence of voter fraud that could be prevented through the use of ID at the polls as most election fraud is committed using absentee ballots. For example, a recent survey of Ohio's 88 county election boards

²⁷ Purnick, Joyce. "Stricter voting laws carve latest partisan divide." *New York Times Online*. September 26, 2006. <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/09/26/us/politics/26voting.html?ex=1316923200&en=2a3e73affdb20323&ei=5090&partner=rssuserland&emc=rss>

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ "New voter ID laws could cost millions their right to vote, according to new briefing paper." *U.S. Newswire*. October 16, 2006. <http://releases.usnewswire.com/GetRelease.asp?id=74404>; Editorial Desk. "Our view on improving elections: Phony urgency on vote fraud." *USA Today*. September 28, 2006. http://blogs.usatoday.com/oped/2006/09/post_31.html.

³⁰ Purnick, Joyce. "Stricter voting laws carve latest partisan divide." *New York Times Online*. September 26, 2006. <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/09/26/us/politics/26voting.html?ex=1316923200&en=2a3e73affdb20323&ei=5090&partner=rssuserland&emc=rss>

found only four instances of ineligible individuals attempting to vote out of over 9 million votes cast in the 2002 and 2004 general elections.³¹ Furthermore, the Department of Justice reports that only 86 individuals have been convicted of voter fraud since 2002; none of these offenses would have been prevented by the use of voter IDs.³² Overall, instances of voter fraud prove to be exceedingly rare.

A number of court cases were brought against states with strict voter ID laws in 2006. Of these, laws in Georgia and Missouri were either struck down or legally enjoined before the November election; Indiana's law was allowed to stand.³³ Arizona's law, known as Proposition 200, was suspended in early October but upheld by the Supreme Court later in the month.³⁴ However, even the laws which were prevented from applying to the 2006 election were expected to affect voters. For example, in Georgia almost 200,000 voters had already been notified that they would need photo ID to vote when the law was struck down; in mid-October the State Election Board sent a letter to these voters informing them that they would not need such an ID.³⁵ It is possible that many of these voters did not receive or fully appreciate this letter.

Despite the controversy over state level voter ID bills, there have been initiatives supporting the enactment of a federal voter ID bill. Commissioners for the National Commission on Federal Election Reform proposed the use of a government issued voter ID card in 2005.³⁶ They argued that this would actually benefit poor and minority voters

³¹ ? "New voter ID laws could cost millions their right to vote, according to new briefing paper." *U.S. Newswire*. October 16, 2006. <http://releases.usnewswire.com/GetRelease.asp?id=74404>

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ States News Service. "Kyl Praises Supreme Court Ruling on Voter ID Law." *States News Service*. October 20, 2006.

³⁵ Anderson, J. Craig. "Court's voter ID ban clouds election rules." *Eastvalleytribune.com*. October 10, 2006. <http://www.eastvalleytribune.com/index.php?sty=76204>

³⁶ Carter, 2005.

who currently lack government issued identification because the proposed IDs could be obtained free of charge.³⁷ In September 2006, The Federal Election Integrity Act of 2006 passed in the House of Representatives. This Act includes provisions requiring voters to provide photo ID to vote in 2008 and ID with proof of citizenship in 2010.³⁸ Critics have compared this bill to a “modern-day poll tax” and argued that it would be especially detrimental to the rights of American Indians living on reservations, senior citizens, and rural Americans who may not have birth certificates to prove their citizenship.³⁹ However, as Congress has taken no further action on the Act since its passage in the House its future impact remains uncertain.⁴⁰

Provisional Ballots

The 1993 National Voter Registration Act included a provision stating that all voters whose registration is disputed must be given the opportunity to cast some sort of ballot so that if the voter’s registration is later found to be valid his or her vote can be counted.⁴¹ This Act did not specify what sort of ballot a challenged voter was to receive and states met the requirement in different ways: 19 states used provisional ballots, others used a variety of methods, and some states did not comply at all.⁴² In 2002 one of HAVA’s central provisions ruled that all states must offer any voter whose eligibility is challenged

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ *Federal Election Integrity Act of 2006*. HR 4844.

<http://www.govtrack.us/congress/billtext.xpd?bill=h109-4844>; Montgomery, Dave. “House passes plan for photo IDs.” *Star-Telegram.com*. September 21, 2006.

http://www.dfw.com/ml/dfw/news/nation/15572039.htm?source=rss&channel=dfw_nation

³⁹ Bulkeley, Deborah. “Voter ID bill raises concerns.” *Deseretnews.com*. Sept 20, 2006.

<http://deseretnews.com/dn/view/0,1249,650192229,00.html>

⁴⁰ Mikhail, David. “GOP Voter-ID Legislation May be Casualty of Dems’ Takeover.” *The Hill*. November 15, 2006. Pp. 6.

⁴¹ *National Voter Registration Act of 1993*.

⁴² National Commission on Federal Election Reform, 2002. Pp. 34.

the opportunity to vote by provisional ballot.⁴³ In 2004, the first election year in which provisional ballots were used in all states, roughly 1.9 million people cast provisional ballots, accounting for roughly 1% of all votes cast; 65% of provisional ballots were ruled valid and counted.⁴⁴

Though HAVA mandated the use of provisional ballots, it did not outline uniform rules for how they should be reviewed or when they should be counted. Allowing states to design their own rules for when and how to count provisional ballots led to the adoption of what *The New York Times* called “bad rules.”⁴⁵ Most worrying was that numerous states decided to throw out any provisional ballots cast in the wrong precinct. That is, voters who had their eligibility challenged and cast a provisional ballot who were later found to be eligible to vote in a precinct other than the one where they cast the provisional ballot did not have their votes counted.⁴⁶ The effects of this fact could be exacerbated if under-trained poll workers either direct voters to the wrong voting precincts or simply give voters who are not registered in their precinct provisional ballots to fill out. Prior to the 2004 election critics also worried that new ID requirements in some states would lead to confusion and that registered voters without IDs would simply be given provisional ballots that would later be thrown out.⁴⁷ Additionally, rules about proper completion of provisional ballots left room for disqualification due to simple errors in filling out the ballots.

⁴³ HAVA. 2002.

⁴⁴ Wolf, Richard. “Delays loom in counting ballots.” *USA Today Online*. November 2, 2006.

http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2006-11-02-counting-ballot-delays_x.htm

⁴⁵ Editorial Desk. “Improving provisional ballots.” *The New York Times*. November 21, 2004, Section 4; Pg. 12

⁴⁶ See, for example, *Ibid*.

⁴⁷ Editorial Desk. “Voting reform could backfire.” *The New York Times*. May 9, 2004, Section 4; Pg. 12

As soon as the 2004 primaries, states began to report problems with provisional ballots. In the 2004 Chicago primary, 5,914 provisional ballots were cast yet 5,498 were disqualified; these included 1,200 that were thrown out for being cast in the wrong precinct.⁴⁸ Voters in this district also experienced racial discrimination relating to provisional ballots, with provisional ballots in 80% minority districts being disqualified twice as often as those in 80% white districts.⁴⁹ Even states which accepted provisional ballots cast in the wrong precinct experienced difficulties. For example, in 2004 Pennsylvania election officials had only three days to rule on the validity of provisional ballots cast.⁵⁰ In California's March 2004 primary voters were turned away because polling stations did not have enough provisional ballots on hand to accommodate them.⁵¹ In the 2004 Presidential election there were also scattered reports of voters who were turned away from the polls without being given provisional ballots.⁵² Findings published in 2006 suggest that partisanship played a significant role in the creation and enforcement of state provisional ballot counting rules for the 2004 election.⁵³ These findings also argue that in 2004 "provisional ballots were more likely to be cast and counted in heavily partisan jurisdictions administered by an election authority of the same party."⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Fessenden, Ford. "A rule to avert balloting woes adds to them." *The New York Times*. August 6, 2004, Section A; Pg. 1

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Editorial Desk. "The new Hanging Chads." *The New York Times*. August 19, 2004, Section A; Pg. 30

⁵² Editorial Desk. "Improving provisional ballots." 2004.

⁵³ Kimball, David C., et al. "Helping America Vote? Election Administration, Partisanship, and Provisional Voting in the 2004 Election." *Election Law Journal*. Oct 2006, Vol. 5, No. 4: 447-461.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

Operation of Polling Stations

The 2000 and 2004 elections experienced significant problems having to do with the administration of polling stations. As one author noted, the “usability and accessibility of election systems depends on how ... polling places are staffed and operated.”⁵⁵ In its 2001 report, the National Task Force on Election Reform stated that only a small percentage of the problems experienced in the 2000 election were derived from vote machine malfunctions; a much larger portion of problems were caused by the people running the elections.⁵⁶ In recent elections many poorly trained poll station workers have been unprepared to effectively run elections. Polling stations also face shortages of poll workers, such as those recognized in Maryland and California in the lead up to the 2006 election.⁵⁷

Another significant problem polling stations face is a lack of voting machines. After long lines plagued the 2004 election, Ohio passed a law mandating one voting machine for every 175 registered voters; however, this law is not enforceable until 2013.⁵⁸ Other states experienced machine shortages in 2004 as well, for instance Florida, Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Washington.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Ansolabehere, Stephen. “Election Administration and Voting Rights.” *The Future of the Voting Rights Act*. David L. Epstein, et al., eds. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006. Pp. 203

⁵⁶ Martinez, 2006.

⁵⁷ Urbina, Ian. “New laws and machines may spell voting woes.” *New York Times Online*. October 19, 2006.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/10/19/us/politics/19voting.html?ex=1318910400&en=9762afee52d7e0a7&ei=5090&partner=rssuserland&emc=rss>

⁵⁸ Hastings, Deborah. “Some states making it harder to vote.” *Foxnews.com*. October 12, 2006.
<http://www.foxnews.com/wires/2006Oct12/0.4670.VotingProblems.00.html>

⁵⁹ Hastings, Deborah. “Voting machine problems arise again.” *Kentucky.com*. October 22, 2006.
http://www.kentucky.com/mld/kentucky/news/state/15820039.htm?source=rss&channel=kentucky_state

Discrimination at the Polls

In a nation with as severe a history of racial discrimination as the United States, there is justified worry that racial discrimination may still be felt at the polls. Since 2000 there have been arguments made which suggest that racial discrimination still disenfranchises minority voters as well as arguments which claim that this is not the case, at least not in a systematic manner.

After the 2000 election, many claims of racial discrimination at the polls emerged. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights found that in Florida in 2000 black voters were almost ten times as likely to have their ballots rejected as were white voters.⁶⁰ In relation to the creation of laws, such as HAVA, which require voters to show ID in order to either register or vote, the President of the NAACP stated that his organization has “been involved in several cases where local officials ask everyone for identification. If blacks don't have ID, they are sent home, but if whites don't have ID, they are allowed to vote.”⁶¹

Studies have also shown relationships between race and the probability that one's vote will be counted, at least in some districts. Such studies have primarily focused on how voting equipment affects whose vote is counted. In a study of South Carolina and Louisiana published in 2003, authors found that when using punch-card machines 4% more black votes were voided than white votes; the difference was 6% for optical scanning machines; lever and electronic machines were found to reduce racial disparities

⁶⁰ Dodd, Christopher J. “The Equal Protection of Voting Rights Act.” *Election Law Journal*. Mar 2002, Vol. 1, No. 1: 5-6.

⁶¹ Pear, 2002.

by a factor of ten.⁶² This study also found that disparities were reduced when votes were counted at the polling station where they were cast instead of a central facility.⁶³ A study of Los Angeles County published in 2004 argued that nonwhites have higher residual vote rates than whites, especially when using punch-card voting machines.⁶⁴

Though such accounts of racial discrimination or disparities are intriguing, we should not assume that they reflect more than isolated cases without seeing further evidence. In fact, there have been a number of publications which argue that systematic racial discrimination at the polls is a thing of the past. A study published in 2002 found that although nonwhites were more likely to use problematic punch-card technology in the 2000 election, this was simply by chance and that there was no discriminatory intent in the adoption or assignment of voting technologies.⁶⁵ Additionally, this study argued that planned changes in voting technology in Florida and Los Angeles alone, two heavily minority regions, would remove the correlation between minority status and use of punch-cards.⁶⁶ A 2006 publication by the same author claims that reforms enacted since the 1960s have been successful in eliminating discrimination in electoral participation for blacks; he argues that there is currently no difference in registration rates between whites and blacks or in the reporting of problems at the polls.⁶⁷ However, one group which has not been adequately studied is Hispanics, who may experience discrimination at a different level than blacks when voting.

⁶² Tomz, Michael and Robert P. Van Houweling. "How Does Voting Equipment Affect the Racial Gap in Voided Ballots?" *American Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 47, No. 1, January 2003, Pp. 46-60.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Sinclair, D. E. and R. Michael Alvarez. "Who Overvotes, Who Undervotes, Using Punchcards? Evidence from Los Angeles County." *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 57, No. 1, March 2004. Pp 15-25.

⁶⁵ Ansolabehere, Stephen. "Voting Machines, Race, and Equal Protection." *Election Law Journal*. Mar 2002, Vol. 1, No. 1: 61-70.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ansolabehere, Stephen. "Election Administration and Voting Rights." *The Future of the Voting Rights Act*. David L. Epstein, et al., eds. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006. Pp. 203-222. Pp 218.

Although it is unlikely that there is systematic racial discrimination at polling stations, people with disabilities have experienced widespread problems voting. After the 2000 election, the U.S. General Accounting Office found that 84% of all polling stations had some barriers to accessibility for the disabled.⁶⁸ In 2001, *The New York Times* reported that some states had found that more than 40% of their polling stations were inaccessible to persons with disabilities.⁶⁹ Additionally, the blind and those unable to write or operate a voting machine were often unable to cast a ballot in secret or sometimes even to designate who would help them cast their ballots.⁷⁰ Additionally, the Committee on Rules and Administration found that over 11 million eligible Americans who were blind or had limited mobility did not vote because they could not cast ballots in secret.⁷¹ Many of these problems were due to the fact that the Americans with Disabilities Act did not cover all polling stations or voting practices. This was remedied in HAVA, which ruled that all polling places must be accessible to people with disabilities.⁷²

⁶⁸ Bundy, Hollister. "Election Reform, Polling Place Accessibility, and the Voting Rights of the Disabled." *Election Law Journal*. Jun 2003, Vol. 2, No. 2: 217-240.

⁶⁹ Editorial Desk. "Voting with disabilities." *The New York Times*. August 18, 2001, Section A; Pg. 14

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Dodd, 2002.

⁷² HAVA. 2002.

PART 2: THE 2006 MIDTERM ELECTION

After the conclusion of the 2006 midterm election reports of scattered and diverse problems emerged. In a November briefing Electionline.org, a nonpartisan, non-advocacy group which monitors and reports on election reform, outlined varied but ultimately nonsystematic difficulties experienced during the election. While the most serious problems were caused by voting machines, for example those in Sarasota County, Florida which seemingly failed to record thousands of votes for the district's House representative, there were reported problems in other areas as well.

Scattered problems concerning voter registration, particularly the ability to quickly access voter names on computerized registration rolls, were reported. In Montana, the introduction of Election Day registration slowed voting as high numbers of people sought to take advantage of the new procedure; some counties also experienced problems accessing the statewide voter database.⁷³ In Denver, one of the areas most plagued by election problems in 2006, delays were caused by malfunctions in electronic poll books connected to the county's voter database; these delays led to long lines at the polls and to some voters' leaving without voting or opting to complete provisional ballots to avoid waiting.⁷⁴ Similar malfunctions occurred in regions of New Mexico and Texas.⁷⁵ Other states reported different types of problems with their voter registration lists, for example as New York and Rhode Island reported finding thousands of deceased voters on registration rolls; New York reported that many of these deceased persons had indeed voted in the election, though it was unclear how much actual fraud occurred as

⁷³ Electionline.org. "Election 2006 in Review." *Electionline.org*. November 15, 2006. <http://www.electionline.org/Portals/1/Publications/EB15.briefing.pdf>. Pp. 11

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 11-12

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 12

both voting and death records contain inaccuracies.⁷⁶ In its December 2006 report, the U.S. Election Assistance Commission echoed this uncertainty stating that it found no consensus on the frequency of either voter fraud or voter intimidation and it they would continue to study these phenomena in the future.⁷⁷

Despite controversy surrounding laws requiring voters to present photo IDs, there were only scattered reports of difficulties related to such laws. The two states with the most stringent requirements, Arizona and Indiana, reported no significant difficulties implementing these requirements.⁷⁸ However, Electionline.org questioned whether Indiana's requirements had depressed voter turnout as the state had lower turnout than the national average.⁷⁹ While large-scale problems with photo ID requirements were avoided, voters in many states reported being asked for photo identification when they were not required by law to provide it. This was particularly common in Missouri and Georgia, two states whose photo ID laws were suspended or struck down shortly before the election. In both states, voter and poll worker confusion complicated the identification process as people were unsure what types of identification were acceptable.⁸⁰ Other states, such as Ohio and Wisconsin, experienced similar problems as shifting ID laws led to confusion on Election Day.⁸¹

Additionally, there were many incidents nationwide of delays or problems being caused by poll worker error. For example, voters reported poll workers being unable to correctly use voting machines, being uncertain of the laws governing voter identification,

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ U.S. Election Assistance Commission. "EAC Releases Findings of Voting Fraud and Voter Intimidation Study." December 7, 2006. http://www.eac.gov/news_12070601.asp

⁷⁸ Electionline.org., pp. 5,10.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 10

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

arriving late to open polling stations, or even handing out the wrong ballots.⁸² For a variety of reasons, many of them involving voting machines, states such as Idaho, Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee experienced long lines in various counties.⁸³

Data

I will use data from the 2006 CCES public opinion survey to measure the frequency of a number of occurrences which have interfered with the electoral process in the past in the 2006 midterm elections. The CCES is an online political survey administered by Polimetrix which uses a matched random sample and in 2006 included roughly 36,000 participants⁸⁴. The study is completed in three waves, the first occurring in late summer and gathering only demographic information. The second wave was completed in October before the midterm elections and the third in November immediately after the elections. The survey contains two types of content: a set of questions asked to the full sample of respondents and sets of questions designed by individual universities participating in the project which are asked to 1,000 respondents each. While many of the questions I will be examining were asked to the full sample, there are a number which were asked only to those respondents assigned to the MIT sub-sample; the former will be referred to as questions addressed to the full sample and the latter will be referred to as MIT-specific questions.

First, I will examine whether large numbers of voters experienced problems with their registration upon attempting to vote, which demographic groups experienced these

⁸² Ibid., 7

⁸³ Ibid., 17-27

⁸⁴ For more information on the sampling method see:
<http://web.mit.edu/polisci/portl/cces/sampledesign.html>

problems most frequently, and which remedies were offered to such voters. Additionally, I will measure how often voters were asked to show photo identification before voting, who was asked to show photo ID most often, and whether this was an impediment to voting. Furthermore, I aim to assess public opinion on measures requiring voters to show picture IDs in order to vote. Finally, I will explore how well respondents thought their polling stations were operated in the election and whether voters were forced to wait in long lines in order to vote, as was the case for many voters in the 2004 elections.

Description of the Full Sample

Here I will offer a brief description of some of the demographic features of the full sample of respondents. In the full dataset, 15.51% of respondents come from the Northeast region, 25.23% from the Midwest, 34.86% from the South, and 24.41% from the West. 47.82% of respondents were male and 52.18% were female. Examining the racial makeup of the full sample, 75.98% of respondents classified themselves as white, 10.14% as black, and 9.31% as Hispanic; the number of respondents in each of these categories is quite large, allowing for statistically significance analyses of the behavior of these groups. Other racial groups made up very small percentages of the sample: Asian respondents made up only .68% of the sample, Native Americans .67% of the sample, persons of mixed race 1.17% of the sample, and Middle Easterners .24% of the sample; 1.81% of respondents classified their race as "other." Though these percentages are quite small, these groups (excepting Middle Easterners) have over 240 respondents each, allowing for some useful analysis by group.

Looking at the educational composition of the sample, 3.27% received no high school, 31.21% were high school graduates, 30.44% had completed some college, 10.68% had completed a degree at a two-year college, 14.76% had completed a degree at a four-year college, and 9.66% had done graduate work. Breakdowns by income are as follows: 13% earn under \$25,000 per year, 14.97% earn between \$25,000 and \$40,000, 19.12% earn between \$40,000 and \$60,000 per year, 15.1% earn between \$60,000 and \$80,000, 8.99% earn between \$80,000 and \$100,000, 11.45% earn between \$100,000 and \$150,000, and 5.52% earn over \$150,000; 11.84% of respondents chose not to classify their incomes.

As regards party affiliation, 32.38% of respondents label themselves as Democrats, 30.9% as Republicans, and 31.18% as Independents. On a three-point scale of political interest, 63.64% of respondents labeled themselves as "very much interested" in politics, 28.82% said they were "somewhat interested," and 7.14% said they were "not much interested"; .41% said they were "not sure" of their level of political interest. While it is reasonable to assume that respondents over-report interest in politics to some degree, this breakdown strongly suggests that this sample is skewed towards the politically interested.

Problems with Voter Registration

Prior to the 2006 midterm election civil rights and other groups worried that problems with voter registration would prevent large numbers of people from voting, as occurred in the 2000 election. However, CCES data shows that this was not the case in the most recent election. Encouragingly, results show that only 3.11% of voters experienced

problems with their voter registrations. Of this group, 86.14% were allowed to cast regular ballots and 12.8% were allowed to vote using provisional ballots. Of the sample only 9 individuals who had voter registration problems were not allowed to cast ballots.

Looking at voter registration problems by region we see small variations. People were least likely to experience problems in the Northeast, where only 2.78% of voters experienced problems; the West was next with 2.86% of voters experiencing problems, followed by the Midwest where the number was 3.2%, and finally by the South, where 3.4% of voters experienced problems. (see Table 1). Looking at registration problems by race, in a simple analysis it seems that white respondents were less likely than minorities to experience difficulties with their voter registrations. Only 2.79% of white respondents experienced problems while 5.05% of black respondents and 3.81% of Hispanic respondents experienced problems; though other minority groups experienced problems roughly 3-5% of the time, the number of cases involved is too small to rely on these samples as representative (see Table 2). Despite differences in the frequency of registration problems between blacks and whites, almost identical percentages of those experiencing registration problems in each group were allowed to cast regular ballots (86.36% of whites and 86.67% of blacks); furthermore, no blacks in this group were prevented from voting after experiencing registration problems while a handful of whites were (see Tables 3 and 4).

A factor relatively unexamined before was the potential influence of English language skill on experiencing voter registration problems. However, CCES data did not show any respondents for whom English was not their first language who experienced voter registration problems (see Appendix B). Other factors, such as gender, education,

and income seemed insignificant in predicting who experienced registration problems (see Appendix B). For example, when comparing registration problems to education levels, no consistent pattern emerges; while voters with no high school education were the most likely of all groups to experience problems (4.24%), persons with four-year college degrees and graduate study (3.96% and 3.78%, respectively) were more likely than high school graduates and persons with some college (2.41% and 3.07%, respectively) to experience problems. (See Appendix B)

Table 1: Portion of respondents experiencing voter registration problems by region

Region	Problem With Voter Registration		Total
	Yes	No	
Northeast	117 (2.78%)	4,097 (97.22%)	4,214 (100.00%)
Midwest	222 (3.20%)	6,709 (96.80%)	6,931 (100.00%)
South	308 (3.40%)	8,759 (96.60%)	9,067 (100.00%)
West	200 (2.86%)	6,793 (97.14%)	6,993 (100.00%)
Total	847 (3.11%)	26,358 (96.89%)	27,205 (100.00%)

Table 2: Portion of respondents experiencing voter registration problems by race

Race	Problem With Voter Registration		Total
	Yes	No	
White	597 (2.79%)	20,796 (97.21%)	21,393 (100.00%)
Black	120 (5.05%)	2,258 (94.95%)	2,378 (100.00%)
Hispanic	82 (3.81%)	2,072 (96.19%)	2,154 (100.00%)
Asian	7 (4.43%)	151 (95.57%)	158 (100.00%)
Native American	7 (3.98%)	169 (96.02%)	176 (100.00%)
Mixed	16 (4.98%)	305 (95.02%)	321 (100.00%)
Other	17 (3.06%)	538 (96.94%)	555 (100.00%)
Middle Eastern	1 (1.41%)	70 (98.59%)	71 (100.00%)
Total	847 (3.11%)	26,359 (96.89%)	27,206 (100.00%)

Table 3: Ability to vote after experiencing voter registration problems: blacks

Registration Problem	Allowed to Vote			Total
	Yes	Yes, with a provisional ball	No	
Yes	104 (86.67%)	16 (13.33%)	0	120

Table 4: Ability to vote after experiencing voter registration problems: whites

Registration Problem	Allowed to Vote			Total
	Yes	Yes, with a provisional ball	No	
Yes	513 (86.36%)	75 (12.36%)	6 (1.01%)	594

Photo ID Requirements

In response to the recent rise in the number of state laws requiring voters to show photo identification before voting, the CCES asked voters whether they were asked to show photo ID in order to vote. Overall, 47.44% of responding voters were asked to show photo ID at the polls. Despite widespread worries that photo ID laws would prevent a significant number of potential voters from voting, of the 10,475 respondents who indicated they were asked to show photo IDs before voting, only 22 (.21%) were not allowed to vote. However, the survey did not ask how many respondents who were asked to show photo ID were then forced to cast provisional ballots, which have led to a significant number of residual votes in past elections.

When voter ID requests are examined in relation to region, we find that region is a strong predictor of who was asked to show photo ID. Voters in the South were asked to show photo ID most often (63.03% of the time), followed by voters in the Midwest (47.22%), the West (41.60%), and the Northeast (20.59%) (see Table 5). Areas which

have the highest number of states that require voters to show ID at the polls⁸⁵ showed the highest number of voters being asked to show photo ID before voting.

Additionally, although groups such as the NAACP worried that photo ID laws would be more strictly enforced against minority voters prior to the election, results show only small differences between the races. Using a simple analysis, photo ID requirements vary little by race though whites were asked to show photo ID less frequently than minorities. Overall, 46.19% of whites were asked for photo IDs, 54% of blacks were so asked, and 52.76% of Hispanics were so asked. Additionally, 51.28% of Asians, 43.17% of Native Americans, and 47.77% of persons of mixed descent were asked for photo ID (see Table 6). Of white and black respondents asked to show ID, almost identical percentages were allowed to vote (over 99% in each case) (See Appendix B).

Finally, examining whether English language skills affected frequency of being asked to show photo ID data shows that while 46% of native English speakers were asked to show photo ID, only 27.27% of non-native English speakers were asked to show ID (see Table 7).

Table 5: Photo ID requirements and region

Region	Asked to Show Photo ID		Total
	Yes	No	
Northeast	833 (20.59%)	3,213 (79.41%)	4,046 (100.00%)
Midwest	2,933 (47.22%)	3,279 (52.78%)	6,212 (100.00%)
South	5,291 (63.03%)	3,103 (36.97%)	8,394 (100.00%)
West	1,480 (41.60%)	2,078 (58.40%)	3,558 (100.00%)
Total	10,537 (47.44%)	11,673 (52.56%)	22,210 (100.00%)

⁸⁵ <http://www.electionline.org/Default.aspx?tabid=364>.

Table 6: Photo ID Requirements and race

Race	Asked to Show Photo ID		Total
	Yes	No	
White	8,040 (46.19%)	9,365 (53.81%)	17,405 (100.00%)
Black	1,126 (54.0%)	959 (46.0%)	2,085 (100.00%)
Hispanic	918 (52.76%)	822 (47.24%)	1,740 (100.00%)
Asian	60 (51.28%)	57 (48.72%)	117 (100.00%)
Native American	60 (43.17%)	79 (56.83%)	139 (100.00%)
Mixed	118 (47.77%)	129 (52.23%)	247 (100.00%)
Other	192 (45.28%)	232 (54.72%)	424 (100.00%)
Middle Eastern	24 (44.44%)	30 (55.56%)	54 (100.00%)
Total	10,538 (47.44%)	11,673 (52.56%)	22,211 (100.00%)

Table 7: Photo ID requirements and English language skills

English Primary Lang.	Asked to Show Photo ID		Total
	Yes	No	
Yes	288 (42.60%)	388 (57.40%)	676 (100.00%)
No	6 (27.27%)	16 (72.73%)	22 (100.00%)
Total	294 (42.12%)	404 (57.88%)	698 (100.00%)

Public Opinion on Photo ID Requirements

In addition to asking respondents whether they had been asked to show photo ID before voting, the 2006 CCES MIT sub-sample asked whether respondents believe that all voters should be required to show a photo ID, such as a driver's license, in order to vote. Respondents were given the options of yes, no, and not sure. This question was asked in the pre-election, MIT-specific portion of the CCES so responses are not affected by whether or not respondents were actually asked to show photo ID on Election Day. Data showed that 76.08% of respondents believed all voters should show photo ID before voting, 18.09% did not support the measure, and 5.83% did not know. Considering the concerns that have been raised regarding photo ID measures, namely that they will prevent large numbers of poor, elderly, and minority people from voting, it is notable that such a large percentage of the population supports such measures.

Across regions, in the Northeast 70.22% of respondents supported the measure, in the Midwest 71.89% did so, in the South 80.90% did so, and in the West 76.45% did so (see Table 8). Though support was more heavily concentrated in the South (the region which currently has the most stringent photo ID requirements), variation was not overwhelming between regions. Looking at respondents by race, 76.59% of whites supported the measure, 69.23% of blacks did so, and 75.19% of non-white and non-black respondents did so. However, excepting whites there are too few respondents in each racial group to make a significant assessment of opinion. Grouping respondents into simply white and non-white groups, we see that 73.84% of non-whites supported the measure (see Table 9).

Party identification showed strong effects on respondent willingness to support this measure. Using a three-point party ID question to assess party ID, only 64.89% of democrats supported the measure while 93.98% of republicans did so. Independents and people who classified their party as other were closer to the national average, with 71.50% and 73.68% supporting the measure, respectively (see Table 10). Looking at self-classified measures of economic ideology, we see a similar pattern: 53.59% of people who classified themselves as somewhat liberal, liberal, or strongly liberal on economic issues supported the measure, 90.67% of people who classified themselves as somewhat conservative, conservative, or strongly conservative supported it, and 73.00% of people who classified themselves as moderate but lean conservative, moderate, or moderate but lean democrat supported it (see Table 11). Looking at self-classified measures of moral and social ideology we again see this pattern, with 54.52% of people who classified themselves as somewhat liberal, liberal, or strongly liberal on moral and

social issues supporting the measure, 92.42% of people who classified themselves as somewhat conservative, conservative, or strongly conservative supporting it, and 79.41% of people who classified themselves as moderate but lean conservative, moderate, or moderate but lean democrat supporting it (see Table 12). These results strongly suggest that willingness to support photo ID measures for voters is closely tied to political ideology.

Looking at other variables that could affect willingness to support this measure we see that men are slightly more likely to support the measure than are women, with 78.49% and 73.67% doing so, respectively (see Appendix B). Looking at education levels⁸⁶ there is little variation from the national average, except among people with two years of college (85.83% supported the measure) and people with post-graduate education (68.46% supported the measure) (see Appendix B). Level of self-identified concern for politics seemed to have little effect on willingness to support the measure, with percentage of support ranging from roughly 70-78% for all categories of political concern (see Appendix B).

To more closely discern which factors matter in making people willing to support voter ID measures, opinion on photo ID measures is regressed against region, race, gender, political interest, and party ID (see Table 13). The regression shows that only about 9% of the variation in support can be explained by these factors (R squared: .0946). The only variables which showed significance ($P > |t|$ values less than .5) were being from the west or the south, being male, having low or moderate interest in politics, and being a Democrat, Republican, or Independent. Of these factors, only having low or moderate

⁸⁶ Education was broken down into the following categories in this survey: no high school; high school graduate; some college; 2-years of college; 4-years of college; and post-graduate study.

interest in politics had positive effects, with coefficients of .3408 and .0389; having low political interest was in fact the strongest predictor of support for this measure. The effects of the other significant variables are as follows: being from the west elicited a coefficient of -.0757, from the south a coefficient of -.1217, being male a coefficient of -.0971, being a Democrat a coefficient of -.0693, being a Republican a coefficient of -.3349, and being an Independent a coefficient of -.0539.

Table 8: Photo ID support and region

Region	Voters Should be Required to Show Photo ID			Total
	Yes	No	Not Sure	
Northeast	125 (70.22%)	47 (26.40%)	6 (3.37%)	178 (100.00%)
Midwest	133 (71.89%)	34 (18.38%)	18 (9.73%)	185 (100.00%)
South	288 (80.90%)	45 (12.64%)	23 (6.46%)	356 (100.00%)
West	211 (76.45%)	54 (19.57%)	11 (3.99%)	276 (100.00%)
Total	757 (76.08%)	180 (18.09%)	58 (5.83%)	995 (100.00%)

Table 9: Photo ID support and race

Race	Voters Should be Required to Show Photo ID			Total
	Yes	No	Not Sure	
White	628 (76.59%)	146 (17.80%)	46 (5.61%)	820 (100.00%)
Black	27 (69.23%)	9 (23.08%)	3 (7.69%)	39 (100.00%)
Hispanic	43 (74.14%)	12 (20.69%)	3 (5.17%)	58 (100.00%)
Asian	8 (80.00%)	2 (20.00%)	0 (0.00%)	10 (100.00%)
Native American	6 (66.67%)	3 (33.33%)	0 (0.00%)	9 (100.00%)
Mixed	16 (80.00%)	3 (15.00%)	1 (5.00%)	20 (100.00%)
Other	24 (72.73%)	4 (12.12%)	5 (15.15%)	33 (100.00%)
Middle Eastern	3 (100.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (100.00%)
Total	755 (76.11%)	179 (18.04%)	58 (5.85%)	992 (100.00%)

Table 10: Photo ID support and three-point party ID

Party ID	Voters Should be Required to Show Photo ID			Total
	Yes	No	Not Sure	
Democrat	146 (64.89%)	67 (29.78%)	12 (5.33%)	225 (100.00%)
Republican	250 (93.98%)	12 (4.51%)	4 (1.50%)	266 (100.00%)
Independent	301 (71.50%)	85 (20.19%)	35 (8.31%)	421 (100.00%)
Other	56 (73.68%)	14 (18.42%)	6 (7.89%)	76 (100.00%)
Total	753 (76.21%)	178 (18.02%)	57 (5.77%)	988 (100.00%)

Table 11: Photo ID support and economic ideology

Economic Ideology	Voters Should be Required to Show Photo ID			Total
	Yes	No	Not Sure	
Strongly Liberal	15 (37.50%)	20 (50.00%)	5 (12.50%)	40 (100.00%)
Liberal	41 (56.16%)	26 (35.62%)	6 (8.22%)	73 (100.00%)
Somewhat Liberal	41 (60.29%)	22 (32.35%)	5 (7.35%)	68 (100.00%)
Moderate, Lean Lib.	98 (68.53%)	36 (25.17%)	9 (6.29%)	143 (100.00%)
Moderate	119 (70.41%)	33 (19.53%)	17 (10.06%)	169 (100.00%)
Moderate, Lean Con.	102 (81.60%)	16 (12.80%)	7 (5.60%)	125 (100.00%)
Somewhat Conservative	112 (87.50%)	12 (9.38%)	4 (3.12%)	128 (100.00%)
Conservative	144 (92.90%)	7 (4.52%)	4 (2.58%)	155 (100.00%)
Strongly Conservative	84 (91.30%)	7 (7.61%)	1 (1.09%)	92 (100.00%)
Total	756 (76.13%)	179 (18.03%)	58 (5.84%)	993 (100.00%)

Table 12: Photo ID support and moral/social ideology

Moral/Social Ideology	Voters Should be Required to Show Photo ID			Total
	Yes	No	Not Sure	
Strongly Liberal	49 (44.95%)	53 (48.62%)	7 (6.42%)	109 (100.00%)
Liberal	74 (55.64%)	48 (36.09%)	11 (8.27%)	133 (100.00%)
Somewhat Liberal	46 (67.65%)	15 (22.06%)	7 (10.29%)	68 (100.00%)
Moderate, Lean Lib.	76 (79.17%)	17 (17.71%)	3 (3.12%)	96 (100.00%)
Moderate	112 (76.71%)	18 (12.33%)	16 (10.96%)	146 (100.00%)
Moderate, Lean Con.	82 (83.67%)	12 (12.24%)	4 (4.08%)	98 (100.00%)
Somewhat Conservative	80 (86.96%)	7 (7.61%)	5 (5.43%)	92 (100.00%)
Conservative	128 (94.12%)	4 (2.94%)	4 (2.94%)	136 (100.00%)
Strongly Conservative	109 (94.78%)	5 (4.35%)	1 (0.87%)	115 (100.00%)
Total	756 (76.13%)	179 (18.03%)	58 (5.84%)	993 (100.00%)

Table 13: Photo ID support versus region, race, gender, political interest, and party ID⁸⁷ (multivariate regression)

Source	SS	df	MS	Number of obs = 995
Model	32.439412	13	2.49533938	F(13, 981) = 7.89
Residual	310.41978	981	.316431987	Prob > F = 0.0000
Total	342.859192	994	.344928764	R-squared = 0.0946
				Adj R-squared = 0.0826
				Root MSE = .56252

ID support	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
West	-.0756633	.0554269	-1.37	0.173	-.1844322	.0331055
Midwest	-.024473	.0592592	-0.41	0.680	-.1407623	.0918164
South	-.1217425	.0516843	-2.36	0.019	-.223167	-.020318
White	-.0199656	.0689976	-0.29	0.772	-.1553655	.1154343
Black	.0018281	.0916148	0.02	0.984	-.1779554	.1816116
Hispanic	-.0076189	.0898095	-0.08	0.932	-.1838597	.1686219
Male	-.097105	.0377175	-2.57	0.010	-.1711212	-.0230887
High Interest	-.0097671	.055322	-0.18	0.860	-.1183301	.0987959
Med. Interest	.0389403	.0540295	0.72	0.471	-.0670863	.1449669
Low Interest	.3408026	.0745773	4.57	0.000	.1944533	.487152
Democrat	-.0693237	.0755156	-0.92	0.359	-.2175143	.078867
Republican	-.3348825	.0718728	-4.66	0.000	-.4759246	-.1938404
Independent	-.0539263	.0693491	-0.78	0.437	-.190016	.0821633
_cons	1.540928	.0972504	15.84	0.000	1.350085	1.731771

Polling Station Operation

Many argue that inefficiency in the operation of polling station accounts for many of the problems experienced in the last two general elections. With this in mind, the MIT sub-sample asked respondents to rate how well they believed their polling stations were operated in the 2006 election, choosing between very well, pretty well, okay, not well,

⁸⁷ For this regression I created dummy variables to represent the effects of being from the west, Midwest, and south (the northeast was excluded from the regression), as well as for being white, black, or Hispanic (with a variety of other racial categories excluded), of being a Democrat, Republican, or Independent (with the label of 'other party' excluded), and of being male. In the category of political interest, I created dummy variables to represent high interest, medium interest, and low interest; the response of 'not sure' was excluded. Command: reg q34 west midwest south white black hispanic male highinter medinter lowinter democrat republican independent [aw=weight]

and terribly. Overall, 77.21% of respondents reported that their polling stations were run very well, 13.96% said pretty well, 5.27% said okay, 2.42% said not well, and only 1.14% said terrible. Examining whether having trouble with one's voter registration affected perception of polling station operation, there was a slight drop in approval among people who had trouble with their registration as only 52.17% said their station was run very well (see Table 14). However, this drop does not seem significant as there were very few cases in this group. Region seemingly had almost no effect on station operation approval, though people in the Northeast were slightly more likely to rate their stations as very well run than were respondents in other regions (see Appendix B). Race also seemed to be an insignificant factor in approval of voting station operation, however differences between races might become more marked in a larger sample (see Appendix B).

The 2006 CCES full sample asked respondents to estimate the amount of time they waited in line to vote. Very few people had to wait in long lines to vote. In total, 51.71% reported that they waited not at all, 32.1% reported waiting less than 10 minutes, 12.47% reported waiting 10-30 minutes, 2.91% reported waiting 31 minutes to one hour, and only .82% reported waiting more than an hour. Regional variation in waiting times did appear. Overall the South reported the worst results, with fewer people waiting in no line and more people waiting more than ten minutes. The Northeast reported the best results, with by far the most people waiting in no line at all and many fewer waiting over ten minutes. (see Table 15).

Again examining regional variations in waiting time certain counties stand out as the worst performers, these are: San Bernardino County, CA, Sedgwick County, KS,

Baltimore County, MD, Prince Georges County, MD, Kent County, MI, St. Louis County, MO, Cuyahoga County, OH, Starks County, OH, and Fairfax County, VA. Of these Prince Georges County in Maryland and St. Louis County in Missouri were the worst performing (in that order).

Looking at the mean reported waiting time as well as the maximum reported waiting time for each state we can pick out the states which performed best and worst in this regard (See Table 16). In terms of average reported wait, the ten best performers were Vermont, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Maine, Oklahoma, Nebraska, Wyoming, West Virginia, and South Dakota in that order. On the same criteria, the ten worst performers were Tennessee, Colorado, South Carolina, Maryland, Georgia, Kentucky, Michigan, Arkansas, Ohio, and Texas in that order; Missouri and Virginia were close behind. By looking at maximum reported wait in each state we can rank states from another perspective. Among those states with over 100 respondents, only New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Maine reported having no respondents waiting longer than 30 minutes. Again among states with over 100 respondents, twenty-one states reported having respondents who waited over one hour. These included all the states listed above as the ten worst performers as well as Missouri, Virginia, Wisconsin, Idaho, California, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Florida, New York, Illinois, and New Jersey. The final of these is surprising, as New Jersey ranked second in overall average performance and most likely indicates that this state had one or two counties whose polling stations experienced very long lines.

Considering only white, black, and Hispanic respondents (the categories with over 1,000 respondents), small variations in waiting time do appear (see Table 17).

Differences were the most visible among those who waited in no line. While 53.19% of whites waited in no line, only 41.83% of blacks did so; Hispanics fared better than blacks with 49.41% waiting in no line. Whether this difference is coincidental or due to significant large-scale differences in how voting stations are operated in white and black neighborhoods is unclear. Differences were less stark in other categories, though more than twice the proportion of blacks than whites waited over one hour (the absolute number of blacks in this category was still far lower than whites, however).

Looking at waiting time in relation to income, few significant patterns emerge (see Table 18). Waiting times were roughly the same for each income group, with very similar portions of each income group classifying themselves as being in each category of waiting time. There does seem to be a slight trend towards longer waits for higher income individuals, for example as more than 3% of each income group above \$50,000 waited from 31-60 minutes and no more than 2.5% of any group below \$50,000 placed themselves in this category. The same holds for those waiting over one hour, with higher proportions of high income groups having to do so. Higher percentages of low income groups also reported waiting in no line at all. However, all of these differences are small, representing a few percentage points at most.

As it seems possible that polling stations where people were asked to show ID or where people had voter registration problems might have longer lines, these two variables were analyzed in relation to line time. Looking at voter registration problems, we see that respondents who experienced problems were less likely to wait in no line and more likely to wait over ten minutes than were those who did not experience problems (see Table 19). Examining people asked to show photo ID before voting, whether the polling

station required photo IDs did seem to increase line-time. For example, while 44.85% of those asked to show photo ID waited in no line, 57.42% of those who were not asked to show photo ID waited in no line; the former group was also more likely to wait over ten minutes than the latter (see Table 20). It seems likely that polling stations that had to check ID or where voters experienced registration problems experienced longer lines due to these administrative issues.

Using a multivariate regression, we can assess the impact of a number of factors on waiting time at the county level (see Table 21). The effects of income (broken down into categories of \$0-29,999, \$30,000-59,999, \$60,000-99,999, and \$100,000 or above), race (broken down into categories of white, black, and Hispanic), having a problem with your voter registration, and being asked to show photo ID are examined. We see that these variables account for 28.46% of the variation in waiting time (R-squared: .2846). Of these factors all have high significance except for 'Hispanic', which has a $P > |t|$ value greater than .5. Experiencing a registration problem and being asked for photo ID had the greatest effect on waiting time, with coefficients of .2192 and .1813, respectively ($P > |t|$ values of 0.00 in both cases). The two highest income groups also had positive effects on waiting time, with coefficients of .0635 for the top group and .0422 for the next highest group. Being white was the only factor which showed a negative impact on wait, with a coefficient of -.0613, while being black had a positive impact, with a coefficient of .0293.

Table 14: Polling station operation and voter registration problems
How Well Was Polling Station Operated?

Registration						
Problem	Very Well	Pretty Well	Okay	Not Well	Terrible	Total
Yes	12 (52.17%)	3 (13.04%)	3 (13.04%)	3 (13.04%)	2 (8.07%)	23 (100.00%)
No	526 (78.16%)	93 (13.82%)	34 (5.05%)	14 (2.08%)	6 (0.89%)	673 (100.00%)
Total	538 (77.30%)	96 (13.79%)	37 (5.32%)	17 (2.44%)	8 (1.15%)	696 (100.00%)

Table 15: Waiting time and region

Region	Waiting Time					Total
	Not at all	1-9 min.	10-30 min.	31-60 min.	Over 60 min.	
Northeast	2,450 (61.48%)	1,283 (32.20%)	217 (5.45%)	28 (0.70%)	7 (0.18%)	3,985 (100.00%)
Midwest	2,872 (49.47%)	1,892 (32.59%)	838 (14.44%)	179 (3.08%)	24 (0.41%)	5,805 (100.00%)
South	2,764 (44.99%)	2,068 (33.66%)	979 (15.94%)	247 (4.02%)	85 (1.38%)	6,143 (100.00%)
West	1,725 (56.74%)	847 (27.86%)	331 (10.89%)	98 (3.22%)	39 (1.28%)	3,040 (100.00%)
Total	9,811 (51.71%)	6,090 (32.10%)	2,365 (12.47%)	552 (2.91%)	155 (0.82%)	18,973 (100.00%)

Table 16: Rank Ordering of State Performance by Average Reported Waiting Time (Shortest to Longest)

State	Average Wait ⁸⁸	Count	Maximum Wait
Vermont	1.24465	47	3
New Jersey	1.31355	580	5
New Hampshire	1.34281	142	3
Massachusetts	1.36693	384	3
Maine	1.36802	135	3
Oklahoma	1.39514	266	4
Nebraska	1.40043	92	4
Wyoming	1.40047	55	3
West Virginia	1.40114	166	4
South Dakota	1.40482	73	3
Alaska	1.41588	85	4
North Dakota	1.43343	56	4
Louisiana	1.44692	220	4
Illinois	1.44792	1,007	5
Washington	1.45337	124	4
Hawaii	1.45669	37	4
Oregon	1.46202	10	2
Alabama	1.4729	314	4
New York	1.48306	1,226	5
Iowa	1.53112	168	4
Florida	1.54739	970	5
Minnesota	1.55825	495	5
Delaware	1.56346	71	4
Arizona	1.5874	335	4
Pennsylvania	1.59186	1,110	5
Mississippi	1.59296	116	4
Utah	1.61579	190	4
Connecticut	1.6269	274	4
Indiana	1.62764	542	4
California	1.63664	1,573	5
New Mexico	1.67613	101	4
Nevada	1.68146	113	4
Idaho	1.69178	147	5
North Carolina	1.69326	449	4
Wisconsin	1.69756	651	5
Kansas	1.73324	261	4
Montana	1.77251	81	5
Rhode Island	1.88094	88	4
Virginia	1.90272	621	5
Missouri	1.95467	588	5
Texas	1.95939	955	5
Ohio	1.9628	930	5
Arkansas	1.9649	148	5
Michigan	1.98952	942	5
Kentucky	2.0328	315	5
Georgia	2.11051	617	5
Maryland	2.24045	443	5
South Carolina	2.25335	279	5
Colorado	2.44343	187	5
Tennessee	2.68042	194	5

⁸⁸ Responses are coded numerically as 1-5, where 1 = no wait; 2 = 1-9 min.; 3 = 10-30; 4 = 31-60; 5 = 60+ min.

Table 17: Waiting time and race

Race	Waiting Time					Total
	Not at all	1-9 min.	10-30 min.	31-60 min.	60+ min.	
White	7,964 (53.19%)	4,763 (31.81%)	1,757 (11.73%)	387 (2.58%)	103 (0.69%)	14,974 (100.00%)
Black	758 (41.83%)	618 (34.11%)	322 (17.77%)	81 (4.47%)	33 (1.82%)	1,812 (100.00%)
Hispanic	668 (49.41%)	445 (32.91%)	173 (12.80%)	51 (3.77%)	15 (1.11%)	1,352 (100.00%)
Asian	41 (41.41%)	32 (32.32%)	19 (19.19%)	6 (6.06%)	1 (1.01%)	99 (100.00%)
Native American	53 (48.18%)	37 (33.64%)	17 (15.45%)	3 (2.73%)	0 (0.00%)	110 (100.00%)
Mixed	102 (45.33%)	79 (35.11%)	31 (13.78%)	12 (5.33%)	1 (0.44%)	225 (100.00%)
Other	199 (55.74%)	105 (29.41%)	43 (12.04%)	9 (2.52%)	1 (0.28%)	357 (100.00%)
Middle Eastern	26 (59.09%)	11 (25.00%)	3 (6.82%)	3 (6.82%)	1 (2.27%)	44 (100.00%)
Total	9,811 (51.71%)	6,090 (32.10%)	2,365 (12.47%)	552 (2.91%)	155 (0.82%)	18,973 (100.00%)

Table 18: Waiting time and income

Income	Waiting Time					Total
	Not at all	1-9 min.	10-30 min.	31-60 min.	60+ min.	
Less than \$10,000	189 (58.33%)	93 (28.70%)	36 (11.11%)	6 (1.85%)	0 (0.00%)	324 (100.00%)
\$10,000-\$14,999	246 (55.91%)	123 (27.95%)	58 (13.18%)	11 (2.50%)	2 (0.45%)	440 (100.00%)
\$15,000-\$19,999	263 (52.60%)	158 (31.60%)	67 (13.40%)	8 (1.60%)	4 (0.80%)	500 (100.00%)
\$20,000-\$24,999	430 (53.55%)	249 (31.01%)	104 (12.95%)	17 (2.12%)	3 (0.37%)	803 (100.00%)
\$25,000-\$29,999	479 (53.52%)	287 (32.07%)	100 (11.17%)	21 (2.35%)	8 (0.89%)	895 (100.00%)
\$30,000-\$39,999	912 (50.53%)	616 (34.13%)	231 (12.80%)	41 (2.27%)	5 (0.28%)	1,805 (100.00%)
\$40,000-\$49,999	991 (53.17%)	613 (32.89%)	201 (10.78%)	46 (2.47%)	13 (0.70%)	1,864 (100.00%)
\$50,000-\$59,999	901 (51.05%)	574 (32.52%)	220 (12.46%)	55 (3.12%)	15 (0.85%)	1,765 (100.00%)
\$60,000-\$69,999	706 (49.37%)	446 (31.19%)	213 (14.90%)	50 (3.50%)	15 (1.05%)	1,430 (100.00%)
\$70,000-\$79,999	768 (52.14%)	479 (32.52%)	166 (11.27%)	48 (3.26%)	12 (0.81%)	1,473 (100.00%)
\$80,000-\$99,999	897 (49.81%)	582 (32.32%)	237 (13.16%)	64 (3.55%)	21 (1.17%)	1,801 (100.00%)
\$100,000-\$119,999	658 (48.45%)	461 (33.95%)	175 (12.89%)	44 (3.24%)	20 (1.47%)	1,358 (100.00%)
\$120,000-\$149,999	455 (49.24%)	290 (31.39%)	133 (14.39%)	34 (3.68%)	12 (1.30%)	924 (100.00%)
150,000 or more	542 (52.37%)	312 (30.14%)	133 (12.85%)	37 (3.57%)	11 (1.06%)	1,035 (100.00%)
prefer not to say	1,146 (54.08%)	660 (31.15%)	238 (11.23%)	62 (2.93%)	13 (0.61%)	2,119 (100.00%)
Total	9,583 (51.70%)	5,943 (32.06%)	2,312 (12.47%)	544 (2.39%)	154 (0.83%)	18,536 (100.00%)

Table 19: Waiting time and voter registration problems

		Waiting Time					
Registration Problem		Not at all	1-9 min.	10-30 min.	31-60 min.	60+ min.	Total
Yes	246 (39.42%)	225 (36.06%)	107 (17.15%)	34 (5.45%)	12 (1.92%)	624 (100.00%)	
No	9,481 (52.17%)	5,797 (31.90%)	2,239 (12.32%)	514 (2.83%)	143 (0.79%)	18,174 (100.00%)	
Total	9,727 (51.74%)	6,022 (32.04%)	2,346 (12.48%)	548 (2.92%)	155 (0.82%)	18,798 (100.00%)	

Table 20: Waiting time and photo ID requirements

		Waiting Time					
Asked to Show Photo ID		Not at all	1-9 min.	10-30 min.	31-60 min.	60+ min.	Total
Yes	3,866 (44.85%)	3,018 (35.01%)	1,312 (15.22%)	336 (3.90%)	88 (1.02%)	8,620 (100.00%)	
No	5,933 (57.42%)	3,064 (29.65%)	1,053 (10.19%)	216 (2.09%)	67 (0.65%)	10,333 (100.00%)	
Total	9,799 (51.70%)	6,082 (32.09%)	2,365 (12.48%)	552 (2.91%)	155 (0.82%)	18,953 (100.00%)	

Table 21: Multivariate regression of effects of income, race, voter registration problems, and asked to show ID on waiting time at county level⁸⁹

Linear regression, absorbing indicators

Number of obs= 18973
 F(9, 16865) = 26.34
 Prob > F = 0.0000
 R-squared = 0.2846
 Adj R-squared = 0.1953
 Root MSE = .76946

Waiting Time	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Low Income	-.035469	.0209532	-1.69	0.091	-.0765393	.0056014
Med. Income	.0158172	.0178115	0.89	0.375	-.0190952	.0507295
High Income	.0422066	.0180111	2.34	0.019	.006903	.0775102
Top Income	.0634962	.0215247	2.95	0.003	.0213056	.1056869
Black	.0293334	.0342931	0.86	0.392	-.0378846	.0965514
White	-.0612833	.0290531	-2.11	0.035	-.1182303	-.0043362
Hispanic	.0022486	.0360257	0.06	0.950	-.0683654	.0728627
Reg. Problem	.2192201	.032965	6.65	0.000	.1546053	.2838349
Photo ID	.1812987	.0163018	11.12	0.000	.1493454	.213252
_cons	1.628975	.0313666	51.93	0.000	1.567493	1.690457
Fip	F(2098, 16865) =		2.894	0.000	(2099 categories)	

⁸⁹ I created dummy variables representing the following income categories: \$0-29,999, \$30,000-59,999, \$60,000-99,999, and \$100,000 or above (the response 'rather not say' was excluded). I also created dummy variables to represent the effects of being a Democrat, Republican, or Independent (with the label of 'other party' excluded) and of experiencing a registration problem (with not experiencing such a problem excluded) and of being asked to show photo ID before voting (with not being asked to show photo ID being excluded). Command: areg linetime lowincome medincome highincome topincome black white hispanic rproblem IDshown, a(fip)

PART 3: DISCUSSION

In light of the problems faced in the 2000 and 2004 general elections, the results of the 2006 CCES are encouraging. Very low numbers of people experienced problems with their voter registrations and even fewer were forced to vote using provisional ballots because of their registration problems. This is especially noteworthy since the use of provisional ballots can lead to heightened numbers of residual votes. Though a significant proportion of the sample was asked to show photo ID in order to vote, almost none of these people prevented from voting. Unfortunately, the CCES did not include an option in this question to indicate whether respondents who were asked to show photo ID then voted by regular ballot or by provisional ballot. Another possible shortcoming of the portion of this survey measuring voter registration problems and photo ID regulations is that we cannot be sure how many people who did not complete the survey either experienced registration problems or were asked to show photo ID and were then turned away from the polls; it is conceivable that this group may exist but is less likely than other groups to complete an online survey like the CCES and may therefore be unrepresented in our sample.

Our measures of polling station operation are also positive. The vast majority of respondents classified their polling stations as being run very well or pretty well. Furthermore, few people waited longer than 10 minutes in order to vote. This is important for turnout as few people have the flexibility in their schedules to wait in line for long periods of time.

Also encouraging is the lack of findings showing discriminatory bias at the polling station during this election. As we have seen, English language ability had no

significant effect on whether individuals experienced registration problems or were asked to show photo ID. There were small but noticeable race-based differences in a number of areas, as black respondents were somewhat more likely than white respondents to experience registration problems or to be asked for photo ID at the polls. However, among those who experienced registration problems or were asked to show photo ID to vote almost identical proportions of blacks and whites were allowed to vote. Additionally, blacks seemed slightly more likely than whites to wait in line to vote. Causes for these differences are unclear and should not be assumed to reflect any type of systematic racial bias in the election. Unfortunately, due to the constraints of the survey, it is unclear how disabled persons fared in the 2006 election.

One of the most surprising findings of this analysis relates to support for photo ID measures at the polls. This support was unexpectedly high and seems to vary by political ideology, with conservatives being staunch supporters of these measures. In simple comparisons, we saw little variation in support by race. Though blacks favored the measures slightly less often than other racial groups, the roughly 60% support among this group was particularly surprising as leaders in the black community have outspokenly decried such measures. However, as the number of blacks responding to this question is very small these results should not be taken as definitive. Despite seemingly significant correlations between demographic factors and support for photo ID measures, when regressed we see little of the variation in support explained by our variables.

Appendix A: Relevant CCES 2006 Questions

Pre-Election

MIT-SPECIFIC:

Thinking about economic issues in general, would you describe yourself as a liberal, moderate or conservative?

Strongly liberal
Liberal
Somewhat Liberal
Moderate, but lean liberal
Moderate
Moderate, but lean conservative
Somewhat Conservative
Conservative
Strongly Conservative

Thinking about moral and social issues, would you describe yourself as a liberal, moderate, or conservative?

Strongly liberal
Liberal
Somewhat Liberal
Moderate, but lean in the Liberal direction
Moderate
Moderate, but lean in the Conservative
Somewhat Conservative
Conservative
Strongly Conservative

Should voters be required to show photo identification, such as a Driver's' License, at the polling place on Election Day?

Yes
No
Not Sure

Is English your first language?

Yes
No

Post-Election

FULL SAMPLE:

Were you asked to show picture identification, such as a driver's license, at the polling place this November?

Yes

No

If Yes, were you then allowed to vote?

Yes

No

Approximately how long did you wait in line to vote on Election Day?

Not at all

Less than 10 minutes

10 to 30 minutes

31 minutes to an hour

More than an hour (please specify how long): [t] _____

Was there a problem with your voter registration when you tried to vote?

No

Yes

If yes, were you allowed to vote?

I voted,

I was allowed to voting using a provisional ballot,

No, I was not allowed to vote

MIT-SPECIFIC:

How well were things run at the polling station on Election Day where you voted?

Very Well - there were no problems and any lines moved quickly

Pretty Well - there were minor problems or short lines

Okay - there were some problems or average lines

Not well - Lines were slow and the poll workers were having difficulties

Terrible - There were serious problems with voting machines, registration or very long and slow lines

Appendix B: Additional Tables

Voter registration problems and English language skills:

English primary language	Problem with voter registration		Total
	Yes	No	
Yes	23 (2.72%)	822 (97.28%)	845
No	0 (0.00%)	25 (100.00%)	25
Total	23 (2.64%)	847 (97.36%)	870

Voter registration problems and gender:

Gender	Problem with voter registration		Total
	Yes	No	
Male	437 (3.23%)	13,101 (96.77%)	13,538
Female	410 (3.00%)	13,258 (97.00%)	13,668
Total	847 (3.11%)	26,359 (96.89%)	27,206

Voter registration problems and education level:

Education	Problem with voter registration		Total
	Yes	No	
No High School	28 (4.24%)	632 (95.76%)	660
High School Graduate	179 (2.41%)	7,238 (97.59%)	7,417
Some College	270 (3.07%)	8,526 (96.93%)	8,796
2-year College Degree	91 (2.88%)	3,067 (97.12%)	3,158
4-year College Degree	170 (3.96%)	4,126 (96.04%)	4,296
Post-graduate study	107 (3.96%)	2,723 (96.22%)	2,830
Total	845 (3.11%)	26,312 (96.89%)	27,157

Voter registration problems and income:

Income	Problem with voter registration		Total
	Yes	No	
Less than \$10,000	19 (3.97%)	482 (96.21%)	501
\$10,000-\$14,999	27 (4.17%)	621 (95.83%)	648
\$15,000-\$19,999	27 (3.87%)	670 (96.13%)	697
\$20,000-\$24,999	52 (4.48%)	1,108 (95.52%)	1,160
\$25,000 - \$29,999	45 (3.57%)	1,214 (96.43%)	1,259
\$30,000 - \$39,999	53 (2.09%)	2,480 (97.91%)	2,533
\$40,000 - \$49,999	72 (2.74%)	2,556 (97.26%)	2,628
\$50,000 - \$59,999	76 (3.07%)	2,403 (96.93%)	2,479
\$60,000 - \$69,999	64 (3.18%)	1,946 (96.82%)	2,010
\$70,000 - \$79,999	62 (2.96%)	2,032 (97.04%)	2,094
\$80,000 - \$99,999	82 (3.26%)	2,435 (96.74%)	2,517
\$100,000 - \$119,999	61 (3.10%)	1,908 (96.90%)	1,969
\$120,000 - \$149,999	56 (4.33%)	1,236 (95.67%)	1,292
\$150,000 or more	56 (3.56%)	1,517 (96.44%)	1,573
prefer not to say	84 (2.63%)	3,109 (97.37%)	3,193
Total	836 (3.15%)	25,717 (96.85%)	26,553

Ability to Vote After Being Asked to Show Photo ID: Whites

Showed Photo ID	Allowed to Vote		Total
	Yes	No	
Yes	7,975 (99.85%)	12 (0.15%)	7,987

Ability to Vote After Being Asked to Show Photo ID: Blacks

Showed Photo ID	Allowed to Vote		Total
	Yes	No	
Yes	1,112 (99.29%)	8 (0.71%)	1,120

Photo ID support and gender:

Gender	Voters should be required to show photo ID			Total
	Yes	No	Not Sure	
Male	394 (78.49%)	89 (17.73%)	19 (3.78%)	502
Female	361 (73.67%)	91 (18.57%)	38 (7.76%)	490
Total	755 (76.11%)	180 (18.15%)	57 (5.75%)	992

Photo ID support and education:

Voters should be required to show photo ID

Education	Yes	No	Not Sure	Total
No High School	14 (73.68%)	2 (10.53%)	3 (15.79%)	19
High School Graduate	157 (75.85%)	34 (16.43%)	16 (7.73%)	207
Some College	223 (76.11%)	59 (20.14%)	11 (3.75%)	293
2-year College Degree	103 (85.83%)	15 (12.50%)	2 (1.67%)	120
4-year College Degree	170 (75.89%)	38 (16.96%)	16 (7.14%)	224
Post-graduate study	89 (68.46%)	31 (23.85%)	10 (7.69%)	130
Total	756 (76.13%)	179 (18.03%)	58 (5.84%)	993

Photo ID support and level of political interest:

Voters should be required to show photo ID

Political Interest	Yes	No	Not Sure	Total
Very Important	286 (73.52%)	84 (21.59%)	19 (4.88%)	389
Somewhat Important	343 (78.49%)	76 (17.39%)	18 (4.12%)	437
Not Very Important	95 (77.87%)	14 (11.48%)	13 (10.66%)	122
Not Important at All	26 (70.27%)	3 (8.11%)	8 (21.62%)	37
Total	750 (76.14%)	177 (17.97%)	58 (5.89%)	985

Perception of polling station operation and region:

How well were things run at the polling station?

Region	Very Well	Pretty Well	Okay	Not Well	Terrible	Total
Northeast	130 (84.42%)	18 (11.69%)	3 (1.95%)	3 (1.95%)	0 (0.00%)	154
Midwest	102 (71.83%)	20 (14.08%)	13 (9.15%)	4 (2.82%)	3 (2.11%)	142
South	226 (78.75%)	38 (13.24%)	14 (4.99%)	7 (2.44%)	2 (0.70%)	287
West	84 (70.59%)	22 (18.49%)	7 (5.88%)	3 (2.52%)	3 (2.52%)	119
Total	542 (77.21%)	98 (13.96%)	37 (5.27%)	17 (2.42%)	8 (1.14%)	702

Perception of polling station operation and race:

How well were things run at the polling station?

Region	Very Well	Pretty Well	Okay	Not Well	Terrible	Total
White	455 (78.58%)	76 (13.13%)	30 (5.18%)	12 (2.07%)	6 (1.04%)	579
Black	16 (64%)	3 (12%)	5 (20%)	1 (4%)	0 (0.00%)	25
Hispanic	33 (73.33%)	9 (20%)	1 (2.22%)	2 (4.44%)	0 (0.00%)	45
Asian	4 (57.14%)	2 (28.57%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (14.29%)	0 (0.00%)	7
Native American	4 (80%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (20%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	5
Mixed	8 (61.54%)	3 (23.08%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (7.69%)	1 (7.69%)	13
Other	20 (83.33%)	3 (12.50%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (4.17%)	24
Middle Eastern	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	2
Total	541 (77.29%)	97 (13.86%)	37 (5.29%)	17 (2.43%)	8 (1.14%)	700

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