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Racial disparities in problems with voting

A study of exclusion from the American democracy

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Abstract

Electoral laws in the United States are causing hurdles for participation which affect the racial minority population in greater degree than for the white population. This thesis looks at racial disparities in problems with voting with data from the 2020 Cooperative Election Study. A logistic fixed effect regression model shows the results of racial minorities who are Black, Hispanic, and Two or more races have statistically significant increased odds in having problems with voting, compared to White. When adding the structural variables, some of this is explained by low education, living in urban areas and being younger, controlled for the state the respondent lives in. There are still significant results that Hispanics and Two or more races have increased odds in having problems with voting, compared to White, controlled for education, rurality, age, and state.

These laws excludes eligible voters from the American democracy. Voting is a cornerstone in a democracy and should represent the will of all the people. Exclusion of racial minorities violates with the definition of Robert Dahl, that a democracy "is the continuing responsiveness of the government to the preferences of its citizens, considered as political equals" (Dahl 1971, 1). When excluded, racial minorities are not political equals, the government is not being responsive to their preferences, and they don't possess the opportunity to vote them out. Inclusion should always be desirable as a democratic ideal.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The new Georgia voting law exemplifies the proliferation of new restricting voting policies. It limits the number of drop boxes, reducing the absentee voting period, mobile voting centers are restricted, the early voting hours are specified to weekdays during working hours (9 am. - 5 pm.), the office of the Secretary of State is stripped from its powers to the legislature (Cox, 2021). As the voting law in Georgia exemplifies, a lot of the exclusions happen before people go to vote. The provision that has received the most negative attention is that the handout of food and beverages to people standing in line to the polling station, is barred (Cox, 2021). In principle, one may now risk being charged with a misdemeanour to give a person in line a bottle of water. Civil rights activists have claimed that these laws are meant to affect certain groups of voters (Cox, 2021), or even that the political motive behind them is to prevent people from participation (Wang & Nittoli, 2012).

There have been decades of debates about voting laws, and how the election process is used as a part to exclude certain groups from voting. The American democracy has always had some kind of restrictions for some groups. The U.S. Constitution states: "we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" (Dahl, 1998, 62). However, women, slaves, Black, and Native Americans were deprived of this right for a long time. The Voting Rights Act that was passed in 1965 extended suffrage in the U.S. by banning voting practises and procedures and making laws that have a discriminatory intent unconstitutional (Shah & Smith, 2021). After the close election between Bush and Gore in 2000, the Help America Vote Act (2002) introduced requirements for first time voters to be identified (Barreto, Nuño, Sanchez, & Walker, 2019). It did not require a photo, but since then, some states have implemented laws that require the voter to have a photo-ID. These laws are making it more difficult for people to vote, and there is a perception that these type of law affect racial minority populations in greater degree than for White, and that is worrisome from a democratic perspective.

This thesis uses the democracy definition by Robert Dahl and rests on contestation and inclusiveness as important conditions for democracy (Dahl, 1971). An electoral process that is inclusive, will in return make a robust and a healthy democracy (Wang & Nittoli, 2012). Democracies should represent the will of the people – all of the people. The voter inclusion

principle, states "that more political participation among citizens is always desirable" (Wang & Nittoli, 2012, 5). Participation is important for multiple reasons: the equal protection of interests and a method to show satisfaction with government. If racial minorities are experiencing more problems with voting, there is inequality in participation which causes that the needs, interests and preferences for these groups are not communicated to the government. It also means that racial minorities potentially are not able to show satisfaction or dissatisfaction with no ability to vote leaders in or out.

This thesis aims to study to what extent all groups of voters are treated equally in the U.S. election. Certain groups are associated with having more problems with voting, and this is linked to race. The main research question of this thesis is: *To what extent can race explain why some citizens had problems with voting in the United States Presidential Election of 2020?* Answering the research question, this study will investigate whether different racial groups have more problems with voting than White. This is done through a logistic fixed effects model based on the data from the 2020 Cooperative Election Study. According to social structural theories of voting, social indicators such as education, residence, age and the state one lives in, may have an effect on voting, thus, the model building is controlling for confounding factors of education, rurality, age and state. The outcome measure is whether people had problems with voter ID or voter registration when trying to vote.

Whether racial minority groups have more problems with voting than White, can also be explained by rational choice theory. Parties and politicians aims to win elections and to maximize their votes. An important ability of the government is to be responsive to the citizens (Evans, 2004). An introduction of laws such as voter ID and voter registration is believed to affect minorities and thus, the voters for the Democratic party (Biggers & Hanmer, 2017). Political parties and politicians who make it harder for the voters of the opposition party to vote, instead of campaigning or boosting turnout, is not a good perception for democratic ideals. Voting is not only about electing leaders or government, but it's also a way to participate and feeling like a member of the society and the democratic system (Evans, 2004, 85).

Previous research has looked at the effect of either voter ID or voter registration. Racial minorities are more often asked to show ID at the polling station (S. Ansolabehere, 2009), more likely to not possess a valid ID (Barreto et al., 2019), and are about five times more likely to lack access to ID when voting (Henninger, Meredith, & Morse, 2021). A study

finds a clear racial effect on a negative minority turnout in states with strict ID laws (Hajnal, Lajevardi, & Nielson, 2017), showing that white Americans are advantaged over racial minorities when it comes to strict voter ID laws. The stricter ID laws are more likely to be found in states with a Republican dominated government, with an even larger effect if the state has a large minority population (Biggers & Hanmer, 2017). When it comes to voter registration, studies show that around 75 percent of those aged 18-30 are registered to vote, while around 90 percent of those aged 60 and older are registered to vote (Ansolabehere, 2012)

What is important to keep in mind is that this study does not look at the number of people who are disenfranchised, but those who run into problems with their voter ID or voter registration when trying to vote. This study looks at those who experience a problem with their voter ID or voter registration when trying to vote, these are the people who are potentially disenfranchised when trying to vote. Earlier studies looks at who is disenfranchised before elections, and not knowing whether these citizens wanted to vote or not. This study fills the gap of looking at voter discrimination when voters have made the choice to vote. A lot of the potential pitfalls is that a lot of discrimination may happen before deciding to vote. Voter ID and voter registration are laws that causes hurdles and may have an de-motivating effect on voters. The results from this thesis will add to the understanding of how the American democracy may be influenced by the fact that some racial minorities have more problems with voting than White.

Chapter 2: Theory

Voting is a cornerstone in a democracy. Chapter 2 will first look at why this thesis wants to look at the United States, exemplified by the new Georgia law and the U.S. history of voting and exclusion of groups. Then different definitions of democracy, and why the definition of Robert Dahl is used. Further, the importance of participation through looking at social structural theories of voting and rational choice theories of voting. In theoretical models of voting, the costs and benefits are considered by individuals. This also include the psychological effects given from a sense of having participated (Downs, 1957). These theories can be used to predict who are likely to participate or not, weighing the costs and benefits together with access to information about elections and candidates. The potential disparities lie in the main theories of this thesis, that racial minorities, lower educated people, more urban places of residence, lower age and the state of residence influence the potential disparities of having problems with voting. An overview is presented of how racial minorities, education, rurality, age are related to potential disenfranchisement. Then a look at the voter ID and voter registration laws that are in effect. At last, the hypotheses is presented.

2.1. Why the United States of America?

Recent findings indicate some negative trends in the U.S. democracy. For the first time, the U.S. is being called a "backsliding democracy" (Berger, 2021). The storming of the White House leads to whole new America to be studied. An America that is more divided and polarized than ever before. The fact that President Trump did not accept the election results and rallied his supporters to storm the White Houses' session of the Congress to formalize the Victory of President Biden is alarming in a liberal democracy (Berger, 2021).

The charts below are obtained from Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem), which is a research project that aims to understand democratization. From 1789 to the present, 450+ indicators are measured annually for all countries in the world (V-Dem, 2022). Four indicators are chosen for the U.S., and these show a negative trend in the democratization variables between the election of 2016 and today. The clean election index (first graph) shows a decline in the parameters indicating free and fair elections. This index looks at absence of registration fraud, systematic irregularities, government intimidation of the opposition, vote buying, and election violence (V-Dem, 2021a). The second graph shows that elections are still free and fair, but to a declining degree since the 2016 Presidential election (V-Dem, 2021b).

The estimate is between: 3: Yes, there was somewhat deficiencies, some degree of fraud and irregularities, but not to the point of affecting the outcome and 4: Yes. There was some amount of human error and restrictions, but they were unintentional and did not have any significant consequences (V-Dem 2021b).

The third graph shows a clear decline in the executive respecting the constitution, and the lowest levels since 1900 (V-dem, 2021c). Graph number four gives an insight in the polarization of the American society, showing an increase in levels of political polarization from 1900 to 2020. It is now on level 4, representing: "Yes, to a large extent. Supporters of opposing political camps generally interact in a hostile manner" (V-dem, 2021d). Thus, the U.S. democracy is currently facing challenges particularly including increasing irregularities, decreased respect for the constitution and a sharp increase in political polarization.

Figure 2.1.1.1 V-Dem: democratic indicators of the United States
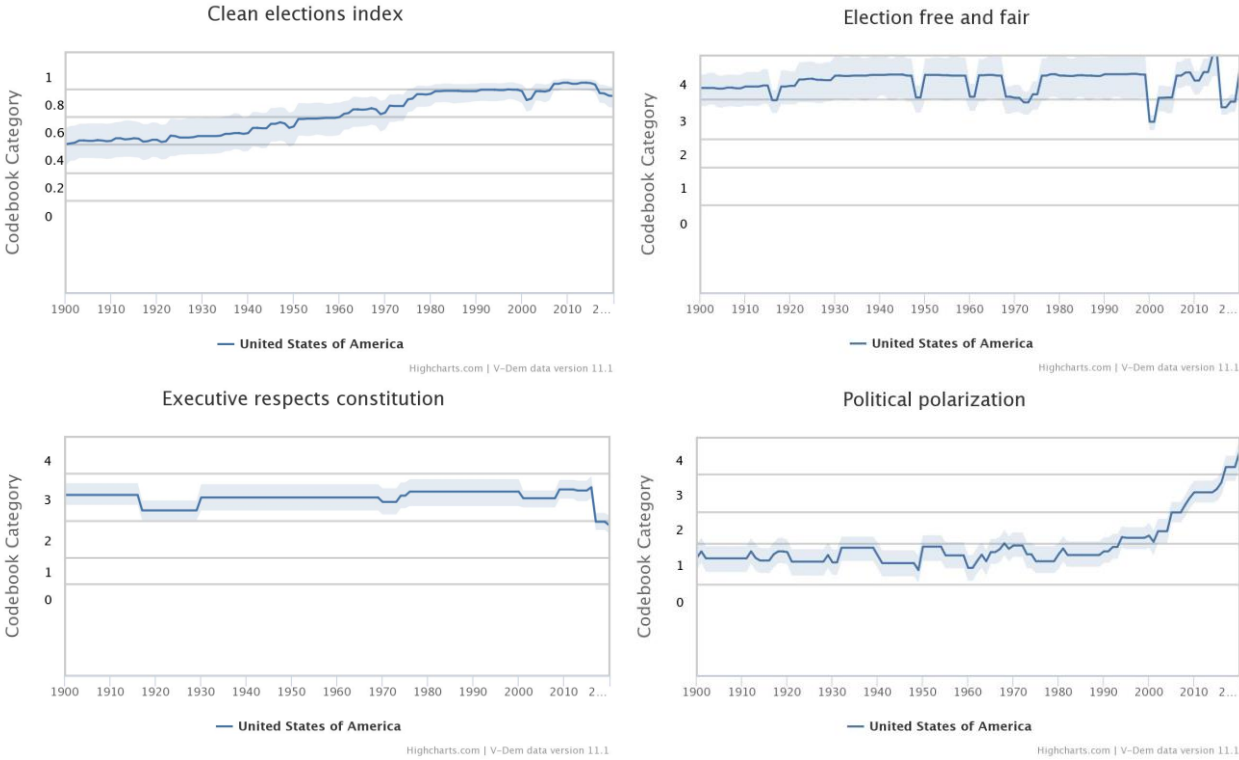
2.1.1. New Georgia law – an example of recent restrictions of voter rights

A widespread of new election laws has been introduced and become law in the United States since after the 2020 Presidential Election. To exemplify what's happening in the United States and why individuals might experience problems with voting, a look at the new voting laws of the state Georgia is introduced. The new Georgia voting law came into effect after

Trump lost the election, so the aim is not to test the effect of the law (the state law), but to get a better understanding of how certain voting groups are affected. Governor Brian Kemp of Georgia signed into law a new voting bill, sponsored by the Republicans, which will have an impact on future elections. The defenders of the bill express that this legislation is needed to safeguard elections and putting back the voters' trust in the political process (Cox, 2021). Some activist opponents say that they haven't seen so many restrictions since the Jim Crow era (Cox, 2021). President Biden defeated former President Trump by 11, 779 votes in Georgia (Cox, 2021). A very narrow win, in which this new legislation can have a potentially significant impact. So what does the new law contain? It affects the number of drop boxes, absentee ballots, mobile voting centers, early voting, the handout of food and beverages and the office of the secretary of state.

There is now a limit of drop boxes to one per 100 000 active registered voters (Cox, 2021). This leads to a reduction of 330 drop boxes. This will have the largest effect in the most populous counties: the counties of Fulton, Cobb, DeKalb and Gwinnett contains more than a third of the Black population in the state and will have a reduction of drop boxes by three-fourths, from 94 to 23 boxes, according to the latest voter data (Layne, 2021). It's not just a reduction of the number of drop boxes, but also the availability will be reduced. Before, the boxes were available 24 hours a day outdoors, now the boxes must be placed inside early voting sites and government buildings, and is only accessible during early voting hours, excluding evenings and other non-business hours (Corosaniti, 2021).

Absentee ballots are also affected. Previously one could request an early ballot up to six months prior to an election. This is now reduced to 67 days, just over 2 months (Corosaniti, 2021). In addition, it is now illegal for election officials to mail absentee ballots to all voters. Which was done by the Secretary of State, a Republican, ahead of the state primary election because of the coronavirus pandemic (Corosaniti, 2021). 26 percent of Georgians voted with an absentee ballot, of the returned ballots, 65 percent voted for Democrat candidate Biden (Corosaniti, 2021). Absentee ballots must now be accompanied with some form of ID, the number from a driver's license or a state-issued identification (Corosaniti, 2021). Previously, one could just sign the absentee ballot application. An analysis of voter data by the Atlanta Journal-Constitution show that about 272 000 that don't have a driver's license or a state-issued ID, is mostly Blacks that live in Democrat-leaning counties (Layne, 2021).

Mobile voting centres are now only allowed to be used if the governors declares a state of emergency, they are essentially banned. Fulton County had two vehicles traveling around to churches, libraries and parks, bringing the polling stations to the people with over 11 200 people voted from this mobile voting vehicle (Corosaniti, 2021)

It is now specified at which hours early voting is open. Early voting is open on weekdays during working hours – 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. (Cox, 2021). It can be open for longer, but may not open before 7 a.m. or later than 7 p.m. (Corosaniti, 2021) This will affect people that work daytime or have a less flexible working schedule.

The provision that has received the most attention is that people offering food and water to voters in the voting line, risk being charged with a misdemeanour. It bars third-parties, or anyone who is not an election worker, to distribute campaign material, to give money or gifts, food and drink to people in line at the polling place (Cox, 2021). Georgia Senate Minority Leader Gloria Butler (D) said Republican lawmakers "want to make it a crime to bring Grandma some water while she's waiting in line" (Cox, 2021). Long lines have deterred many people in the past from voting, is shown by numerous studies and are often found in poorer, more densely populous counties that tend to vote Democratic (Corosaniti, 2021).

Last, but not least, the secretary of state is stripped from its powers to the legislature by creating a new chair in the State Election Board. The new chair is now to be held by a "nonpartisan", but appointed by the partisan legislature (Corosaniti, 2021). This gives the legislature more control over the state election board and election oversight. The Secretary of State is also removed as a voting member on the State Election Board. The New York times writes that this could possibly be an attack on the current Secretary of State, Mr. Raffensperger, who refused Mr. Trumps request to overturn the 2020 election results (Corosaniti, 2021). The State Election Board is also given the powers to suspend county election officials. The law states that the threshold for doing this is high, that this action requires a minimum of three violations of election rules or demonstration of "nonfeasance, malfeasance, or gross negligence in the administration of the elections" in two consecutive elections (Corosaniti, 2021).

These are the main takeaways from the new legislation, which was 98-pages long. It's not just one bill - one restriction, as one bill can restrict multiple aspects of election laws. These new legislations are happening all over the United States, restricting voting and making

it harder for people to vote. The states of Alabama, Arizona, Florida, Illinois, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Washington and Wisconsin has all introduced legislations that restricts voting as of 14. February 2022 (The Brennan Center for Justice, 2022). This includes restrictions on mail voting, stricter voter ID, more difficult for people with disabilities to vote, loosening requirements to educate voters, new proof of citizenship requirements to vote, register, or remain registered to vote (The Brennan Center for Justice, 2022). The election of 2020 experienced the highest voter turnout in the 21st century, despite the challenges caused by the Covid-19 pandemic (Fabina, 2021). Questions can be raised whether a limitation of drop boxes and shortening of early voting hours will decrease voting fraud and restore integrity to the election system, as their defenders claim they will.

2.1.2. U.S. voting history

A brief history of the United States voting history will be presented, as it is of importance to understand the historic relations to voter discrimination today. Voter discrimination has had deep roots since the era of slavery. The U.S. Constitution states: "we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" (Dahl, 1998, 62). Dahl writes further that equality is for us, not self-evident. When the U.S. Constitution was written in 1776, women, slaves, free Negroes, and native people were deprived of their political rights, but also the inalienable rights as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness (Dahl, 1998, 62).

Democracy in the U.S. has always involved some kind of restrictions for some groups of the population. After the Civil War and during the Reconstruction, the southern white used measures as violence, voting fraud, gerrymandering, statutory suffrage restrictions to disenfranchise newly black enfranchised voters (Davidson, 1992, 10). These measures curbed a great number of eligible black voters, causing two-thirds to cast ballots in presidential and gubernatorial elections. Throughout the first years of the Reconstruction, the black electorate voted in many black officials to legislatures and Congress, and around 15 percent of southern officeholders were black in 1872, "a larger proportion than in 1990" (Davidson, 1992, 10). Following the Reconstruction and southern conventions, this number dropped to only 5 black officeholders in southern legislators and congresses (Davidson, 1992, 11)

During the 1900s, Jim Crow institutions in the south created a racial caste system where blacks were prevented equality. The laws excluded blacks from public transport and facilities, jobs, juries and neighbourhoods (Pilgrim, 2000). There were also etiquettes that prevented blacks from socially interacting with white men and women (Pilgrim, 2000). The Jim Crow era lasted from 1877 until the midst of the 1960. Methods like poll taxes and literacy tests were being frequently used to disenfranchise blacks. One of the most effective barriers to voting was the literacy test, because of the unequal education given to blacks (Davidson, 1992, 13). The literacy test was often arbitrary, "they could exclude literate blacks while allowing illiterate whites to vote (Davidson, 1992, 13)

Three civil rights acts were passed in 1957, 1960 and 1964 addressing the exclusion of black voters, without any real changes. In 1964 in Dallas County, half of the 30 000 eligible voters were black, and only 335 were registered (Davidson, 1992, 15). In Dallas County registration "was possible only two days each month. An applicant was required to fill in more than fifty blanks on a form, write a part of the Constitution from dictation, read four parts of the Constitution and answer four questions on it, answer four questions on the workings of government, and swear loyalty to Alabama and the United States" (Davidson, 1992, 15).

The Voting Rights Act passed in 1965. The Act successfully extended suffrage to black Americans (Brooks, 2004). The Voting Rights Act of 1965 banned voting practises and procedures and making a law unconstitutional if it is of discriminatory intent. States and local jurisdictions could no longer adopt voting qualification or procedures that would result in a discriminatory outcome (Shah & Smith, 2021). This resulted in the removal of procedures such as poll taxes and literacy tests, and other methods of keeping blacks away from the ballot box, and also future voting practices that could in effect deny people the right to vote on the basis of race (Shah & Smith, 2021). The number of African-American voter increased from 1 million to 3.1 million from 1964 to 1968 (Faragher, 2011, 761).

The close results of the Presidential Election of 2000 between Bush and Gore, provided concern over voter fraud which resulted in the 2002 passage of the Help American Vote Act (HAVA) (Barreto et al., 2019). HAVA introduced a requirement for first time voters to be identified, the identification did not require a photo. Since then, many states have implemented voter identification laws that include an identification by photo.

The Supreme Court decision of 2013 Shelby v. Holder removed the section of federal "preclearance". Before southern states had to get a preclearance from the federal state before

making implementation of new voting laws or practices (Shah & Smith, 2021). Removing the federal oversight, makes it easier to discriminate. The new laws like voter ID, voter registration, provisional ballots, decreasing the days of early voting are all means to implement voter disenfranchisement under race-neutral policies (Shah & Smith, 2021). Race-neutral policies do not explicitly discriminate based on race or ethnic group, but "produce racially disproportionate outcomes after implementation" (Shah & Smith, 2021).

The history of voting expansion and voting equality in the U.S. is still today problematic. New laws and restrictions are being called Jim Crow 2.0 (Bentele & O'brien, 2013). This is because of who these laws historically, and present are designed to exclude. There are evidence that new voting laws in America are excluding and disenfranchising racial minority groups (Barreto et al., 2019; Barreto, Nuno, & Sanchez, 2007; Cobb, Greiner, & Quinn, 2010; Darrah-Okike, Rita, & Logan, 2021; Hajnal et al., 2017).

2.2.   Democracy

One of the most important definitions this thesis will be built upon, is democracy. Definitions of democracy is crucial in understanding the United States today and to understand the patterns for who participates and not participates in the democracy by voting. The democratic history of the U.S. shows that the expansion of voting rights has been a difficult, but an important democratic ideal. The following passages will go through different definitions of democracy, and introduce Robert Dahls definition of democracy. Because contestation and inclusiveness is essential in Dahls, definition, the voting inclusion principle by Wang and Nattoli (2012) is included, showing the importance of the principle of voter inclusion.

2.2.1. Democracy definitions

There are different ways to define what a democracy is. This thesis will look at some of the main definitions. Knutsen (2021) differentiates between continuous and categorical definitions, institutional and substantial definitions, and minimalistic and maximalist definitions. The continuous definition separates between the degree of democracy, being able to say that Norway is more democratic than Russia, which again is more democratic than North-Korea. This allows for a ranking of countries based on the degree of democracy (Knutsen, 2021, 21). The categorical definition puts regimes in specific categories, either the country is a democracy or not (Knutsen, 2021, 21). The most used subcategory is definitions

of dichotomy, where a country is put in either of two categories, usually democracy or non-democracies. The latter being dictatorships, autocracies or authoritarian regimes.

The difference between institutional and procedural definitions is based on how the definitions of democracy answers the core-question "what is really a democracy?" (Knutsen, 2021, 21). The institutional definitions answer this question referring to political institutions like multi-party elections and voting rights (Knutsen, 2021, 22). The procedural definition answers the question with more abstract principles like political equality and the citizens control over politics (Knutsen, 2021, 22).

The last difference is between minimalistic and maximalist definitions. The main difference is how many aspects, few or many, it takes to define democracy (Knutsen, 2021, 22). An example of a minimalistic definitions is that democracy is defined by competitions between different political parties or candidates during elections (Knutsen, 2021, 22). A maximalist definition states that for defining democracy, more aspects is needed to secure a high degree of democracy, for example: wide participation rights among the citizens, protection of civil rights, rule of law, equal distribution of political resources in the population, a space for open-minded and enlightened political debate, in addition to competition between parties during elections (Knutsen, 2021, 22).

2.2.2. Polyarchy – continuous, procedural and minimalistic

The definition of Robert Dahl is continuous, which opens up to look at the degree of democracy. The ability to be able to discuss the degree is crucial, it is not intended to question whether the United States is a democracy, because it is. The intent is rather to discuss if the racial disparities in problems with voting is an exclusion of minorities, and if this exclusion is harming the American democracy. The procedural definition gives room to look at the core principles of democracy. Instead of defining the U.S. based on whether there is voting rights or not, with the procedural definition there is a possibility to further explore precisely how these voting rights affect the people, and the question of what a democracy really is, can be answered. The minimalist approach gives the opportunity to go in depth of some key aspects, like voting rights. A more maximalist approach can at some point include too many concepts and may become very difficult to achieve, and exclude countries that are democracies.

In his work *Polyarchy* from 1971, Robert Dahl writes that he wants to answer "what conditions favour or impede a transformation in which in a regime the opponents of the

government cannot openly and legally organize into political parties in order to oppose the government in free and fair elections into in a regime in which they can" (Dahl 1971, 1). Dahl assumes that the key characteristic of a democracy "is the continuing responsiveness of the government to the preferences of its citizens, considered as political equals" (Dahl 1971, 1). For the government to continue to be responsive, all citizens must have unimpaired opportunities. These are listed as follows:

1. To formulate their preferences
2. To signify their preferences to their fellow citizens and the government by individual and collective action
3. To have their preferences weighed equally in the conduct of the government, that is, weighted with not discrimination because of the content or source of the preference

These three, appear to Dahl to be necessary conditions for a democracy (Dahl, 1971, 2). For these conditions to exist among a large number of people, such as in nation-states, the government, or the institutions of the society must provide at least eight guarantees. The eight guarantees constitute two theoretical dimensions of democratization, contestation and inclusiveness (Dahl, 1971, 4). Contestation have varied in different regimes. The proportion of the population that is able to participate on an equal level in controlling and contesting the conduct of the government has also varied both historically and at the present time in different regimes. To enable us to compare different regimes to their inclusiveness, a scale reflecting the breath of the right to participate in public contestation would enable us to do so (Dahl, 1971, 4). One of the eight guarantees, for example, the right to free and fair elections is included in both dimensions. Granting this right to some of the citizens in a regime, public contestation is increased. The larger the proportion of the citizens that possess this right, the more inclusive the regime becomes (Dahl, 1971, 4).

The highest level of inclusiveness and contestation, is what Dahl calls polyarchies. These are regimes that is democratized, that is highly inclusive and extensively open to public contestation (Dahl 1971, 8). Dahl writes that democracy may involve more dimension than the two forementioned, and that in his view there are no systems in the real world that is fully democratized (Dahl, 1971, 8) . To receive a maximum score in both dimensions are just an ideal case, and this theoretical ideal can be called democracy. Regimes can receive a high score along both dimensions, and these are called polyarchies by Dahl. The concept

"polyarchy" that is used on actual regimes, and "democracies" on just the ideal type, did not become a widespread concept. But this has intrigued many scientists of democracy to agree that the "perfect democracy" is just a theoretical ideal – no regimes observed empirically have reached this ideal (Knutsen 2021, 27).

2.2.3. The voter inclusion principle

Having an electoral process that is inclusive, will result in a robust and a healthy democracy. What Wang and Nittoli calls the voter inclusion principle, is a normative concept of the fundamental democratic "intuition that more political participation among citizens is always desirable" (2012, 5). The intuition is based on what constitutes a democracy that is robust and healthy. In a democracy, an election should represent the will of the people – all of the people. However, low voter turnout, gerrymandering, influence of money, and the deliberative attempts to prevent people from voting is distorting the representativeness and the democratic process. Said by Senator Mike Bennett (R) on May 5th 2011, referred to in Wang and Nittoli (2012, 3), at the Florida Senate floor:

"We all want everybody to vote. But we want an informed voter. . . . Voting is a privilege. How easy should it be? . . . Do you read the stories about the people in Africa? The people in the desert, who literally walk two and three hundred miles so they can have the opportunity to do what we do, and we want to make it more convenient? How much more convenient do you want to make it? Do we want to go to their house? Take the polling booth with us? . . . This is a hard-fought privilege. This is something people die for. You want to make it convenient? The guy who died to give you that right, it was not convenient. Why would we make it any easier? I want 'em to fight for it. I want 'em to know what it's like. I want them to go down there, and have to walk across town to go over and vote."

Wang and Nittoli rejects this point of view that voting is a privilege (2012, 3). Voting is a right and should be both accessible and possible for all Americans (Wang & Nittoli, 2012, 3). The Constitution does not give people an explicit right to vote, but the Fifteenth Amendment states: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude" (Wang & Nittoli, 2012, 3-4) **.** People in the U.S. have died for the right to vote, and the long way for extending the suffrage happened as late as 1965 with the Voting Rights Act. As seen with the new Georgia voting laws, there has been efforts to making it more

difficult to vote. The only way to using elections law legitimate, is for increasing participation (Wang & Nittoli, 2012, 8). Full civic participation will not be fully reached if not parties and candidates use all legal means to increase participation (Wang & Nittoli, 2012, 9).

2.3.   Participation – why do people participate?

The key concepts from different democracy definitions is that of citizen's participation and voting. The definitions above are all based on that citizens vote in free and fair elections. Important questions to be asked is: who is allowed to participate and what are the consequence of participation? One outcome of participation is the equal protection of interests in public life (Skocpol & Fiorina, 2004, 427). When citizens participate they are communicating their interest, needs and preferences to the government (Skocpol & Fiorina, 2004, 430). Participation is also a method to show satisfaction with the government. One concern about participation in the U.S. is that of inequality. Political participation is unequally distributed and the skewed lines are linked to socioeconomic indicators (Skocpol & Fiorina, 2004, 431). If there are inequality in participation, that some citizens are left out, or if distinct groups of citizens are left out, their needs and desired are not communicated to the government and therefore they are excluded. Turnout in America lags behind other democracies (Skocpol & Fiorina, 2004, 431), which makes us wonder why are people not participating? Different theories of voting, such as social structural theories and rational choice theories of voting are presented.

2.3.1.   Social structural theories of voting

According to theories of social structure, who people vote for is influenced by attitudes like values, desires and beliefs. "A cross on the ballot is an implicit statement of social identity" (Harrop, 1987, 173). Voting for a political party or candidate, is a predetermined expression of the political elements which a voter is predisposed to. In simpler terms, the party the voter votes for is not a choice, but a predisposition passed to us by a person's position in society (Evans, 2004, 43). Why does society matter? Firstly, the way people grow up in different social contexts imprints different set of beliefs, values and attitudes (Evans, 2004, 43). Second, as a society we belong to certain groups (Evans, 2004, 43). That could be different groups of age, gender, education, occupation, income and so forth. These groups can categorize people and cause interaction and events making people feel closer to that specific group of people. This may cause people in a societal group to feel connected to each other,

and they will develop similar attitudes that will differentiate them from other groups (Evans, 2004, 43). Thirdly, these groups are used as a basis to mobilize support for political parties (Evans, 2004, 43). Political parties cannot mobilize every single voter, so they appeal to those views that already existing groups may have in common. Fourthly, these groups may form divisional lines that cause opposing sides in society (Evans, 2004, 43). These opposing sides are then in competition for economic, social and cultural resources. Mobilizing these opposing groups by appealing to their preferences, the political parties are then competing in a zero-sum game for the resources that appeal to their targeted groups (Evans, 2004, 43).

Social indicators that often have an impact of voting is age, gender, occupation, religion and ethnicity. How are these indicator influencing voters? "The social transmission of political choice" highlights three processes of how these socioeconomic indicators still keep well-established associations with vote choice (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1986). The first process is differentiation, individuals that share characteristics also share a mutual interest in how the policies of the government affects them (Berelson et al., 1986, 54). Individuals with other characteristics, belonging to another group, will have other policy preferences. The second process is transmission. The idea is that there is a level of inter-generational transmission of values and attitudes that is handed down from parent to child, and these stay with the voter for the rest of their life (Berelson et al., 1986, 74). This handing down of values and attitudes maintains the continuity of the social structures. The final process is contact. To reinforce the values and attitudes of vote choice, an individual must spend more time with members of their social group than with other social groups (Evans, 2004, 45). If an individual spends more time with other social groups, they may experience dissenting views and be pressured by multiple values and groups.

It's not just individual characteristics that is important, but also an individual's integration into society. How they are actually imprinted to their social group will have an impact on vote choice. These social groups and integration have also changed. A theory that has received a lot of recognition is Inglehart's theory of post-materialist value change. Political cleavages have shifted with a new generation brought up under economic affluence, democratic values, and higher education (Evans, 2004, 59). The post-war generation have different values than their parents and are more focused on so called "quality of life" issues such as the environment, pacifism, gender equality and ethnic equality (Evans, 2004, 59). They are less likely to be mobilized by the traditional cleavages and aren't as much concerned

by financial matters and material concerns as their parents. Because their values were not represented in mainstream political parties, one theory is that they would be less likely to vote and more likely to participate in more direct political actions as strikes and demonstrations. However, it became clear that the post-war generation were more likely to vote, and to participate in direct political action (Evans, 2004, 59). New parties, like the Greens, with more focus on environmental issues sprang up and other post-materialist issues became integrated into the mainstream parties.

2.3.2. Rational choice

Instead of voters being robbed by the element of choice from their social standpoint, rational choice looks at the individuals decision-making process and how they make the conclusion about voting. Individuals may still have social predispositions and party loyalty, but the focus is shifted to the actual mechanisms taking place in a voter's or the political actor's mind.

The theoretical basis of rational choice is a combination of theories of social action and economic theories of rationality. The theory is derived from Downs' *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957). Downs explains the motivations by individuals whether to vote or not, and that it is a calculation of benefits and cost made by the individual. When an individual has to make a decision which affects his or hers interests, the rational individual will make the decision based on the most cost-effective way of maximizing the gains. Downs has five criteria of rationality (Evans, 2004, 71):

1. The individual is able to make a decision when presented with a range of alternatives
2. the individual is able to rank the preferences in order
3. the preference ranking is transitive
4. the individual will always choose the most preferred alternative
5. if presented with the alternatives at different points in time under the same circumstances, the individual will always make the same decision

Parties and politicians too, relate to rational choice. They aim to maximize their vote in order to win elections. Both parties have been active users of curbing the opposition. The main culprits until the second half of the 20th century was the Democrats, and the Republicans has taken over the baton the last fifty years and uses electoral laws to win elections (Wang & Nittoli, 2012, xiv). How can parties and politicians juggle both the self-interest of winning elections and provide social goods? The answer lies in the government's

ability to be responsive to the voters preferences. Being responsive will benefit voter and ensuring that the incumbent party remains in power (Evans, 2004, 73). However, the social function of responding to voters preferences is a by-product and not the objective (Evans, 2004, 73).

When elections come, voters measure what the incumbent party can provide against what the opposition can offer. The individual then calculate who provides the best utility. If there is no difference in utility, the voter abstains. The voter only cares what would benefit them, if parties offer the same, it doesn't matter for the voter who's in power. Voting also costs time, and potentially money. Spending time going to the polls, is not necessary if the voter beliefs that it would make no difference in the utility if either party wins.

Critics of Downs emphasise that it's not only political or economic motivations of voting, but also selective incentives (Evans, 2004, 85). Many people feel a duty to vote. There could be other motivations, that are still rational for the voter. For example, satisfactions from behaving dutifully as to the cost of feeling guilty for not participating, satisfactions from supporting the political system, and satisfaction of supporting a party and expressing ones political beliefs (Evans, 2004, 85).

2.4.   Disenfranchisement - being able to participate

Casting a ballot may be seen as symbolic of being a part of a democratic society. The right to vote is equal, but in practice there are inequalities among citizens in their wish to vote and their capacity to vote (Evans, 2004, 149). This is what can potentially be worrisome from a democratic perspective, one have to be able to cast a ballot before one even can consider wanting to make the choice of voting. A crucial difference therefore lies in the distinction between not voting and not being allowed to vote.

Before deciding whether you would like to vote or not, you have to be registered to vote. Historically, the process of registration has been an obstacle for participation. In order to vote, a democratic election needs to have a list of registered voters for legitimacy and scrutiny reasons (Evans, 2004, 149). However, the U.S. and France are the only two countries were registration have to be initiated by the voter (Evans, 2004, 150). The voter has to take action, either by filling out a form there and then, or filling out a form and come back to deliver it. This takes time and is potentially a cost. An important element is that voter registration has historically been used as a means of discriminating blacks with literacy tests, and other

bureaucratic hurdles linked to voter registration (Evans, 2004, 150). Another important element is the purpose of its design to eliminate fraud, which it doesn't always do (Evans, 2004, 150).

Abstaining from voting is seen as a negative activity, reflecting problems with the political system (Evans, 2004, 151). Voters who do not cast a ballot, is seen as being disenfranchised. Disenfranchisement is the removal of the right to vote, or as the removal of a citizens rights. The general view of abstention suggests that voters feel alienated by the political system, in which they don't feel like they can engage or that it represents them (Evans, 2004, 151). What would always be a hard task is to determine whether a voter is disenfranchised by not voting or not being allowed to vote. Hurdles that have been presented such as, voter ID, voter registrations, shorter opening hours and limitations of drop boxes can all be potential hurdles that make it harder for people not to vote, but when it disproportionally affect one group of people, or specific ethnic minority groups it can be discussed whether this hurdles are put there to disenfranchise and not allowing people of certain groups to vote. Then the issue of voter discrimination is enabled.

Disenfranchised abstention is associated with social group belonging. Studies that have looked at voter turnout finds that sociodemographic indicators do affect the probability of casting a ballot (Evans, 2004, 152). The root of voter participation cannot be found looking at respondents political or attitudinal indicators, this will be like indicating that people wearing dresses tend to be women (Evans, 2004, 152). And of course, people who are politically active or interested will tend to be more likely to vote. There is a need to go beyond these attitudinal indicators and look at social groups.

2.4.1. Race

Firstly, and most importantly for this thesis, a look at how race and ethnic groups are related to voting. The history of voting for minorities, and especially Blacks, has not been an easy path. Discrimination on the basis of colour resulted in very low turnout until the 1960s (Evans, 2004, 153). There has been a decline in turnout for elections, in general, in liberal democracies (Gray, 2000). However, the 2020 Presidential election the highest turnout in the 21st century (Fabina, 2021). By 2050, the U.S. Census predicts that there will be 25% Latino, 14% African American, 8% Asian American, and 1% American Indian, for a total of 48% non-White (Contreras, 2002). The future electorate of the U.S. is going to be multi-ethnic, and

yet little research has been done looking from a multi-ethnic and national electorate (Contreras, 2002). Thinking of race in White/non-White terms is not reflective of how diverse the society in the United States is. The effects of race is a complicated matter, and that each of the different racial minority does not respond or behave in the same matter (Contreras, 2002).

Research on the voting behaviour of blacks have in some way been ignored because they show the most homogenous partisan preference for the Democratic bloc (Kidd, Diggs, Farooq, & Murray, 2007). The reason for this strong and reliable support is the Democratic party's support for civil rights (Kidd et al., 2007). The Black population comprises 12 percent of the voting-age population in the United States. The census report from 2010 show that the majority of the Black population lives in the South, and in major cities in some non-Southern states (Compton, Bentley, Ennis, & Rastogi, 2010). Nearly 60 percent lived in ten states: New York, Florida, Texas, Georgia, California, North Carolina, Illinois, Maryland, Virginia, and Ohio. The report also shows that the Black population is growing at a faster rate than the total population (Compton et al., 2010), indicating that they are a young population. Blacks, have a lower wealth, income, and educational achievements than those of the American population on average, (Kreider & Baldino, 2015).

Based on the 2010 Census, the Hispanic comprises 16 percent of the total U.S. population (Albert, Ennis, & Rios-Vargas, 2011). The Hispanic make up for more than half of the total population growth between 2000 and 2010. They live predominantly in the West or South, and around 75 percent live in eight states comprising of one million Hispanics or more: California, Texas, Florida, New York, Illinois, Arizona, New Jersey, and Colorado (Albert et al., 2011). Younger Hispanics and new voters are more leaning towards independence, while older Hispanics are more attached to a political party when becoming more socialized to the political system (Alvarez & Bedolla, 2003). Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans dominantly vote Democratic, while Cuban Americans votes Republican (Alvarez & Bedolla, 2003). An important consideration to take into account is that a large number of the Hispanics are not citizens, and not eligible to vote (Highton & Burris, 2002). Low turnout for the Hispanics can be explained by low levels of citizenship. At 18 million adults, around 7 million (39 percent) are not U.S. citizens (Highton & Burris, 2002). Hispanics has consistently between 1976 and 1992 had lower levels of turnout for presidential elections than that of Whites and Blacks (Highton & Burris, 2002). But these numbers are usually calculated based on the voting-age population, and not the voting-age citizen

population. The Hispanic population has another special characteristic, that 1 of 3 is not born in the United States, compared to 1 in 25 for the rest of the population. The population shows a median age of 25.8 to a 38.6 for non-Hispanic whites (Michelson, 2005).

The Asian population in America is 4.8 percent (Hoeffel, Rastogi, Kim, & Hasan, 2012). The Asian population is also growing at high rates and increased by 4 times faster than that of the American population (Hoeffel et al., 2012). 46 percent of Asians lives in the West, but close to three-fourths lives in ten states: California, New York, Texas, New Jersey, Hawaii, Illinois, Washington, Florida, Virginia, and Pennsylvania (Hoeffel et al., 2012). The Asian population also consists of a large number of people that are born outside of the U.S., which thus increases the probability that Asians are not citizens and thus not registered to vote (Lien, 2004). However, when it comes to education, the Asian populations has a higher level of education than other racial groups (Lien, 2004).

The 2010 Census show that 0.9 percent of the population were American Indian and Alaska Native alone, and in addition 0.7 percent were American Indian or Alaska Native in combination to one or more races (Norris, Vines, & Hoeffel, 2012). The population grew at a fast rate. From the 2010 census, 41 percent of the American Indian and Alaska Native population lived in the West, followed by the South as the second largest. Native Americans has also had a difficult path. Getting recognized as citizens under the Indian Citizen Act in 1924, but still not being able to vote and some states still didn't recognise them as citizens (Guillemard, 2018). Under the 1965 Voting Rights Act Native Americans got the right to vote, but are still highly underrepresented by means of voter dilution, gerrymandering and felon disenfranchisement (Guillemard, 2018).

The White population in the U.S. is 72 percent (Hixson, Hepler, Kim, & Administration., 2011). In the 2010 Census, the definition of White refers to people that have origins from Europe, Middle East, or North Africa. The White population has had an increase from 2000 to 2012, but is increasing at a slower rate than the total population. However, there is a population increase in the proportion of those reporting being White in combination with another race. The geographic distribution show that the majority lives in the South and in the Midwest. Around one-third of the White population lives in just four states: California, Texas, Florida, and New York (Hixson et al., 2011). The 2010 Census show that less than one-third of the White population lives in the largest principal cities. Around 15 percent or less, lives in the biggest metro areas in the Northeast, the Midwest, and the South, but with a larger

proportion in the West (Hixson et al., 2011). There is also correlation between White and voting Republican (Jardina, 2019).

As mentioned, predictions says that the White population will be a minority by 2050. Still, most Americans perceive a racial hierarchy with White on the top, followed by Asians, Hispanics and then Black (Berry, Cepuran, & Garcia-Rios, 2020). Voting, for minorities, is assumed to be more complicated than for those who are White. For minorities that is not born in the country, it can be especially difficult to become a citizen. "Besides the minimum waiting time requirement, the acquisition of U.S. citizenship may be hindered by a combination of factors such as a lack of English language proficiency, knowledge of U.S. history and the Constitution, money and time to go through the arduous citizenship process, trust and efficacy in government, and the reluctance to sever emotional ties with the homeland" (Lien, 2004). These are hurdles that can be difficult both on a practical and an emotional level for racial minorities.

2.4.2. Education

Higher education is associated with increased turnout (Rosenstone & Wolfinger, 1978, 28). The theory of civic education influence turnout in two ways. First, more education increase civic skills and knowledge, which will in turn increase a person's political interest and involvement (Tenn, 2007). Second, higher educated people are more likely to be socialized with the mentality that voting is a civic duty. Both of these ways will cause individuals with higher education in a greater degree to overcome hurdles of for example, limited office hours and earlier deadlines with voter registration laws. Better-educated people also gain information and a better capacity to understand them, and this skill may reduce the difficulty of overcoming these hurdles (Rosenstone & Wolfinger, 1978, 28).

Looking at the educational attainments from 2016, there is differences in the educational level by race. For those of age 25 and older who had not completed high school in 2016, the percentage was highest for Hispanics with 33 percent. Followed by 17 percent of Native American, 15 percent of Blacks, 13 percent of Asians, 9 percent of Two or more races, and 8 percent of White (de Brey et al., 2019). The census data shows that the percentage of respondents who had not completed high school was lower in 2016 than in 2010 for White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American and Two or more races. For those who have completed some college but not earned a degree in 2016, was highest for Native Americans

(26 percent), followed by 25 percent for Two or more races and Black, 21 percent of White, 18 percent of Hispanics, and 12 percent for Asians (de Brey et al., 2019). Having completed a bachelor's or higher degree in 2016 was highest for Asians with 54 percent, followed by 35 percent White, 34 percent Two or more races, 21 percent Black, 15 percent Native American and Hispanics (de Brey et al., 2019).

There is a clear difference when it comes to higher education. Highlighting that 33 percent of Hispanics has not completed high school, compared to 8 percent White. Vercellotti and Anderson (2006) finds that the probability of voting for people with less than a high school diploma, was 5.1 percent lower in states that require a photo identification. It was 7 percent lower in states that only required an affidavit compared to states where you state your name. It was also a finding that all levels of education had a higher probability to vote than respondents without a high school diploma (Vercellotti & Anderson, 2006). This shows that there is a potential for a negative association between lower levels of education and voting.

2.4.3. Rurality

As shown in Figure 2.1.1.1 V-Dem: democratic indicators of the United States, political polarization goes deep inside many communities. As in Wisconsin where bumper stickers like "Obama 2012" and "Recall Walker" makes a stranger respond with "I don't talk to people like you" when trying to start a chat (Cramer, 2016, 1-3). One of the most historically important political divisions are the role of places: (1) rural vs. urban and (2) North vs. South (McKee, 2008). And it is now recognized that the "red" vs. "blue" election maps are masking an urban-rural divide within states (Gimpel & Karnes, 2006). Cramer writes about a rural identity and that there is an identity as a rural person (Cramer, 2016, 5), and this divide may result in people not wanting to strike a conversation with each other if they share different political views.

It isn't the area itself that causes the divide, but the types of residents living there. The rural identity represents on average more White, Christian, evangelical, religiously devout, elderly, less educated, and less affluent than urban and suburban populations (Gimpel & Karnes, 2006). The U.S. Department of Agriculture's report shows that Americas rural areas in 2018 are less racially and ethnically diverse than urban areas (Cromartie, 2018). The rural areas has a population of 78 percent White compared to 57 percent in the urban areas (Cromartie, 2018). With the Hispanics being the fastest growing population in the rural areas,

the rural areas only consist of 9 percent Hispanics, compared to 20 percent in the urban areas. The Black population make up 8 percent of the rural areas, and 13 percent of the urban population. The population of Native Americans is the only minority group with a higher share in rural than in urban residents (2 percent and 0.5 percent, respectively).

Except for being predominantly White, rural areas has other traits of owning more guns, oppose abortion rights and support more traditional family arrangements (Gimpel & Karnes, 2006). There is a rural/urban divide about how people are voting. Rural voters are much more likely to vote Republican than urban voters (Gimpel & Karnes, 2006). Overrepresentation of rural areas in state legislatures, also means an overweight of white and most conservative gaining an disproportionate strength in representation over blacks, which lives in more urban areas (Crea, 2003).

2.4.4. Age

"Age is among the strongest predictors of political participation, yet it is also among the least well understood" (Ansolabehere, 2012). The relationship between age and turnout can be seen in two ways. One, is a linear relationship. When age increases, so does the probability of turnout (Evans, 2004, 153). This exponential growth cannot increase forever and is assumed to flat out at a certain age. The other, is weighted more towards the elderly, and assumes that there is a U-shaped relationship. The likelihood of turnout will increase until middle-age, and then decline the older you get (Evans, 2004, 153). The declining likelihood for turnout amongst elderly is based upon the ability for the elderly to physically go to the polling station. Among the younger people, lower turnout is not based on physical restrictions, but to their limited experience with the political system. Because they have not voted before, they are less familiar and experienced with voting and the electoral system, and hasn't yet developed a habit of voting. Young people can also be said to be less integrated in the society.

The American society is diversifying at a fast rate when it comes to age. White is experiencing a decline in population rates, but racial minorities made up for that population loss with increasing population rates. The White populations decline, was to be expected according to fewer births by young adults, but it has come eight years earlier than Census data has predicted. However, racial minorities are responsible for all population growth in the nation. The demographic shows that White comprises of more elderly than other racial minorities, with the median age of 43,7 in 2019 (Frey, 2020). For Hispanics the median age

was 29.8, for Blacks it was 34.6, for Asians it was 37.5, and for Two or more races it was 20.09 (Frey, 2020). The age demographic can be understood by looking at people under the age of 25. The White population is experiencing fewer births by young adults, while Hispanics, Two or more races, and Asians are increasing. White Americans are older, and racial minorities skew younger. This is clear when the most common age for White Americans was 58 in 2018, while being 29 years for Asians, 27 years for Blacks, 26 years for Native Americans, 11 years for Hispanics, and 3 years for Two or more races (Schaeffer, 2019). For all racial minorities, the most common age was 27 years (Schaeffer, 2019). Estimates suggests that nearly four of ten identifies with a racial group other than White (Frey, 2020).

In order to understand the democracy in the United States, there will further be presented two ways that may impose hurdles or difficulties for participation for potential voters to vote, voter identification and voter registration. Both of these election laws show evidence of imposing restrictions for voters. They also demonstrate that there could be differences in states when it comes to having problems with voting. For example, some states have stricter and more rigid laws than others. No matter the reason for abstention, it is generally seen as a bad thing for both democracy and society (Evans, 2004, 163).

2.4.5. Voter ID

It is important to be aware that the state could impact the probability of having problems with voting, since there is a variation of voting laws from state to state, it is therefore important to control for state of residence when investigating disparities in difference with voting based on the factors described above. Since we are controlling for state fixed effect, we will not be able to examine the effect voter ID and voter registration have on having problems with voting. Thus, what is interesting, is to get an overview over current state laws to get an impression over possible future trends. Since many of the laws are only implemented from around after the 2013 Shelby v. Holder ruling, removing the federal oversight of election laws, it is hard to capture trends over only two presidential elections. The political party that dominates the Congress is also included to get an impression of which party that dominated the states with both strict and non-strict voter identification laws.

Important concepts that need to be defined is voter registration and voter identification. Table 2.4 1 Voter Identification Laws, shows an overview of voter ID laws.

There are 35 states who have laws that request or require voters to show some form of identification to vote at the polling station. The other 15 states have other methods to verify the identity of voters, such as a signature checked against the information on file. There are two ways to categorize voter ID laws. First, the laws are sorted by whether the state asks for a photo ID or if the state accepts IDs without a photo. Second, the laws are divided by what actions that can be done for the voters without an ID. These to categorizations can and do overlap, as shown in Table 2.4 1 Voter Identification Laws.

Photo vs. non-photo identification: In some states it is requested or the voters are required to show documents of identifications that has a photo on it (NCSL, 2022b). This can be a driver's license, state-issued identification card, military ID, tribal ID, and other forms of ID . In other states non-photo identification are accepted. This may be a bank statement with a name and an address, a utility bill and other documentation to identify the voter without needing a photo. The categorization of photo and non-photo ID laws, shows that 17 states asks for a photo ID and 19 states accept a non-photo ID (NCSL, 2022b).

Table 2.4-1 Voter Identification Laws

	Photo ID	**Non-Photo ID**
Strict	Arkansas (R)	Arizona (R)
	Georgia (R)	North Dakota (R)
	Indiana (R)	Ohio (R)
	Kansas (Divided)	Wyoming (R)
	Mississippi (R)	
	Tennessee (R)	
	Wisconsin (Divided)	
Non-strict	Alabama (R)	Alaska (R)
	Florida (R)	Colorado (D)
	Idaho (R)	Connecticut (D)
	Louisiana (Divided)	Delaware (D)
	Michigan (Divided)	Hawaii (D)
	Montana (R)	Iowa (R)
	Rhode Island (D)	Kentucky (Divided)
	South Carolina (R)	Missouri (R)
	South Dakota (R)	New Hampshire (R)
	Texas (R)	Oklahoma (R)
		Utah (R)
		Virginia (D)
		Washington (D)
		West Virginia (R)

The categorization is further divided into strict and non-strict laws. In non-strict states, voters without an accepted form of ID do have an alternative to cast a ballot. Voters may sign an affidavit of identity, or poll workers can vouch for the voter (NCSL, 2022b). In some states, if the voter doesn't have required identification, the voter can vote on a provisional ballot. After the election, the election officials checks the provisional ballot against a signature check or other methods of verification, and determine if the voter was eligible and registered and thus if the ballot will be counted (NCSL, 2022b). This requires no extra actions by the voter.

In strict states, voters that don't present an acceptable form of identification, must cast a vote on a provisional ballot. To have the provisional ballot counted, the voter must take extra steps after the election day. For example, after the election day, the voter must return to an election office within few days to show an acceptable identification to have the ballot counted (NCSL, 2022b). If the voter does not return to present an ID, the provisional ballot is not counted.

One of the arguments that blacks and minority groups are being discriminated when voting, is that these groups more often lack proper identification. Henninger et al. (2021) examines who the voter identification laws burdens. In their study from Michigan, they do not focus on those who do not possess and ID, but those who could not access it when voting. Of those who do not have access to ID at the polling station, minority voters were about five times more likely to lack access to ID than white voters (Henninger et al., 2021). Giving grounds for a disparate racial impact.

If the intent is to discriminate racial minorities from voting, one effective way is through voter ID. Barreto et al. (2019), finds that whites respondents are statistically more likely to have a valid form of ID compared to Blacks, Latinos, Asians and other races. They found that around 81 percent of Blacks possessed a valid ID, compared to 91 percent of Whites, 82 percent of Latinos, 85 percent of Asians, and 86 percent of those who identify with some other race (Barreto et al., 2019). If 19 percent of blacks lack a valid ID, these ID laws can be an effective method of exclusion from the electoral process and thus discrimination based on race. One burden is the feeling of being targeted as a group. Studies show that black and Latino voters are more often asked to show identification than White voters at the polling place (S. Ansolabehere, 2009). Surveys from 2006 and 2008 show racial differences in who is asked to show photo identification at the polls. In the general election of

2006, 47 percent of white voters reported being asked, compared to 54 percent of Hispanic voters and 55 percent of African American voters (S. Ansolabehere, 2009). In the Super Tuesday primary of 2008, 53 percent of whites reported being asked to show photo ID, compared with 58 percent of Hispanics and 73 percent of African American (S. Ansolabehere, 2009)

Existing studies has been limited on the effect of voter ID laws on racial minorities (Hajnal et al., 2017). In their study they conclude that there is a clear racial effect of voter ID laws on turnout. The results show that in states with strict ID laws, minority turnout drops while there are no real changes in white turnout. The result show that turnout for Hispanics is 7.1 percentage points lower in states with strict voter ID than it is in other states in general elections and 5.3 points lower in primary elections (Hajnal et al., 2017). Turnout for Blacks is negligible in general elections and 4.6 percentage points lower in primary elections in states with strict voter ID laws. For Asian Americans the gap is 5.4 percentage points for general elections and 6.2 percentage points for primaries. Turnout for multiracial Americans is 5.3 percentage points lower in general elections in states with strict ID laws and 6.7 percentage points lower in primary elections. To demonstrate the disadvantage of strict ID laws Hajnal et al. (2017) points out from their results that white Americans are significantly advantaged from strict voter ID laws. Turnout for Whites is quite flat, but with a slightly increase in states with strict identification laws of 0.2 percentage points in general elections and 0.4 percentage points in primary elections.

Biggers and Hanmer (2017) looks at how a change in who controls state government influences the adoption of voter identification laws. They find that a change of a republican controlled legislature or governorship dramatically increases the likelihood that a state will pass an ID law. This effect is larger in states with large minority populations. They do not find evidence for this effect based on geography. Biggers and Hanmer (2017) argue that the adoption of voter identification laws are influenced by partisan controlled state legislature or governorship. Why is that? Both parties claim to favour fair elections, but they have a different methods and trade-offs to achieve this goal. The Republican party have made concerns about voter fraud and electoral integrity, making it of importance that only those who are legally entitled to vote, can do so, by mandating additional requirements to those who are not (Biggers & Hanmer, 2017). The Democratic party fear that these additional

requirements to voter ID is creating unnecessary hurdles and that disenfranchise voters that are legally entitled to vote (Biggers & Hanmer, 2017).

Calculating partisan advantage and electoral success is believed to be where this division derives from. Election administration is influenced by partisan politics, with the parties often seeking to exploit the system to their advantage (Biggers & Hanmer, 2017). Studies on voter identification sees that Democratic-leaning groups such as African-American and Latinos are less likely to have the proper identification. This means that the Democratic parties prospects improve as turnout increases if there are no laws on voter identification. It also means that the prospects for the Republican party improves when there are laws on voter identification. There is reasons to assume that Republicans favour ID laws (and Democrats oppose), because they are likely to reduce the Democrats' percentage of the vote. As seen in Table 2.4 1 Voter Identification Laws and Table 2.4 2 Voter Registrations Laws, it is the Republican dominated states that is implementing stricter voting laws. This does not only apply for voter ID laws, but for shortening opening hours, limitations of drop boxes, restrictions on mail voting, and new proof of citizenship requirements to vote, register, or remain registered to vote. These laws and the lines of reasoning goes beyond the support of different policies, and into using the system to increase the chances to be re-elected (Biggers & Hanmer, 2017).

Even though there are mixed results for the argument of partisan effect on these laws, only a small impact on laws such as voter identification in close races, may have a big impact (Biggers & Hanmer, 2017). These laws may also deter future possible voters of those who are predisposed to vote Democratic. Biggers and Hanmer (2017) argues that the potential to influence electoral outcomes means that controlling both legislative chambers are crucial in order to enact any voter identification policy (Biggers & Hanmer, 2017). The feeling of being targeted as a group may well be formed by the impression from the media or from acquaintances, that some jurisdictions are not supportive of their participation, and that political authorities are targeting people in specific groups in the hunt for voter fraud (Darrah-Okike et al., 2021). This may have a demoralizing effect and can reduce participation before people go to vote. This especially, is true for racial minorities, who have been the target of election-related violence before, causing them to feel unwelcomed by these hurdles (Hajnal et al., 2017).

2.4.6. Voter registration

23 states have automatic voter registration. The National Voter Registration Act (NVRA) was passed in 1993 (NCSL, 2022a). The laws makes it easier for people to be registered to vote. People are automatically registered when interacting with government agencies. It is popularly called the "motor voter" law, because it enables citizens to be automatically registered to vote when applying for a new drivers licence at the department of motor vehicles (NCSL, 2022a). The information goes from the government agencies to the election officials and becomes a part of a vote record. The automatic registration is not compulsory, individuals can opt out at the time or later. Since 2016, Oregon became the first state where individuals are automatically registered, without being asked (NCSL, 2022a). The individuals receives a notification when registered, and can un-register by returning the notification.

22 states have same-day registration. The key requirement in states that offer same-day registration is proof of residency (NCSL, 2021). In a pre-election day registration, the registration application is processed after an election official have sent a non-forwardable mailing to the voter to verify the voters residence. In a same-day registration, this gets verified with the prospective voter presenting proof of residency at the time, or soon after registration (NCSL, 2021). ID's or a drivers licence meets the requirements in most states. In some states, documentation like a pay check or utility bill showing an address is accepted for proving residence (NCSL, 2021). In states with same-day registration, voters who register on Election Day must show documentation to verify their identity (NCSL, 2021). As mentioned above, there is a difference between photo- and non-photo ID.

In 39 states, you have to register before the election. There is different methods and deadlines to follow. In most states one can register to vote in person, by mail or online. The deadlines ranges from 11, or a specific day before the election to 30 days before election day (Vote, 2022). Table 2.4-2 Voter Registrations Laws, shows an overview over the voter registration laws in different states.

Table 2.4-2 Voter Registrations Laws

Automatic Registration (implemented)	Same-day and election day registration (enacted)	Register before elections (days)
Alaska (2017	California (2012)	Alabama (15)
California (2018)	Colorado (2013)	Alaska (30)
Colorado (2017	Connecticut (2012)	Arizona (29)
Connecticut (2016)	District of Columbia (2011)	Arkansas (30)
Delaware (enacted 2021)	Hawaii (2014)	California (15)
District of Columbia (2018)	Idaho (1994)	Delaware (4th Saturday before election day)
Georgia (2016)	Illinois (2005 and 2015)	Florida (29)
Hawaii (2021)	Iowa (2007)	Georgia (5th Monday before election day)
Illinois (2018)	Maine (1973)	
Maine (enacted 2019)	Maryland (2013 and 2018)	Hawaii (30)
Maryland (2019)	Michigan (2018)	Idaho (25)
Massachusetts (2020)	Minnesota (1974)	Illinois (28)
Michigan (2019)	Montana (2005)	Indiana (29)
New Jersey (2018)	Nevada (2019)	Iowa (15)
New Mexico (2020)	New Hampshire (1996)	Kansas (21)
New York (enacted 2020)	New Mexico (2019)	Kentucky (29)
Nevada (2020)	North Carolina (2007)	Louisiana(30)
Oregon (2016)	Utah (2018)	Maryland (21)
Rhode Island (2018)	Vermont (2015)	Massachusetts (20)
Vermont (2017)	Washington (2018)	Mississippi (30)
Virginia (enacted 2020)	Wisconsin (1975)	Missouri (27)
Washington (2019)	Wyoming (1994)	Nebraska (11)
West Virginia (enacted 2016)		New Jersey (21)
		New Mexico (28)
		New York (25)
		North Carolina (25)
		Ohio (30)
		Oklahoma (25)
		Oregon (21)
		Pennsylvania (15)
		Rhode Island (30)
		South Carolina (30)
		South Dakota (15)
		Tennessee (30)
		Texas (30)
		Utah (11)
		Virginia (22)
		West Virginia (21)
		Wisconsin (Friday before election day)
		Wyoming (14)

Registration is also related to age in the manner that older people are more experienced and have more knowledge of the political system. The arguments goes that older people having realized the importance of participating politically, they also have more

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concentrated social networks and is possibly subjected to more pressure by their acquaintances to vote (Ansolabehere, 2012). The arguments follow the line of aging and maturing causing people to participate, and thus to register to vote and to vote at higher rates. Younger people may also not be as closely attached to a political party and can feel less motivated to vote and participate (Ansolabehere, 2012). Elderly may also have less distractions to that of young people, and thus vote and participate at higher rates (Ansolabehere, 2012)

Of the ages 18-30, around 75 percent are registered to vote, while those of age 60 and up, almost 90 percent are registered. The mover-stayer model developed by Ansolabehere (2012), is based on people moving and people registering to vote at a constant rate. Registration is voluntary and with every move, one have to register again in order to be in the voting system. The model takes the assumption of an exponential relationship between age and registration. The longer a person lives, and does not move, the probability of being in the voting system is greater (Ansolabehere, 2012). The proportion of people registered increases with each age cohort, but since it cannot increase forever, the increase declines over time (Ansolabehere, 2012). Once in the system, you are in until you move.

It is often that those who rent, single parents, unemployed people and Westerners and Southerners are correlated as people who are less likely to be in the registration system (Ansolabehere, 2012). Because of their high mobility rates, these groups of people are less likely to be registered to vote just because they have moved. Ansolabehere (2012) argues that these groups are not out of the system "by choice", but because they have moved, and thus the system puts an additional burden on them to re-register, and for this reason younger people are much less likely to register and to vote.

2.5. Hypotheses

Based on the theoretical discussion in Chapter 2, this thesis seek to increase the understanding of why some people have problems with voting by testing the following hypotheses:

H_1: There is a significant, positive association between racial minority status (Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, Middle Eastern, Two or more race, and Other) and having more problems with voting than White. There is an expectation that the association will remain significant after controlling for the association in hypotheses 2, 3, and 4.

H$_2$: There is a significant, negative association between higher education and having problems with voting.

H$_3$: There is a significant, negative association between rurality and problems with voting.

H$_4$: There is a significant, negative association between higher age and problems with voting.

2.6.   Summary

This chapter have reviewed different definitions of democracy and showed the importance of participation. Two theoretical models of voting have been presented: social structural theory and rational choice theory. Relating to voter turnout the indicators of race, education, place of residence, and age has been accounted for as potential predictors. Lastly, two state restrictions that may cause a problem with voting (i.e., voter ID and voter registration) have been described. Further, we will turn to Chapter 3 and explain the methods that will be used for investigating potential associations between being a racial minority and experiencing problems with voting.

Chapter 3: Method

The aim of this thesis is to examine to what extent racial disparities, or other socioeconomic indicators, are associated with problems with voting. The aim of quantitative analyses is to identify statistical relations between variables, how strongly they associate and which direction the associations have (Grønmo, 2016, 311). This thesis are interested in finding out how strongly a predictor variable predict the outcome variable, and to investigate to what extent the outcome variable (i.e., having problems with voting) is related to the predictor variables: Race, Education, Rurality and Age. This type of cause and effect relationship assumes that there is a statistical association and that the association is not spurious (Grønmo, 2016, 315). The main interest lies in the effect of race on having problems with voting, while controlling for the effects of Education, Rurality, Age and State, and thus decreasing the chance of making assumptions of a causal effect based on spurious associations.

This section introduces the research design this thesis is built on. A logistic fixed effects model will look at the dataset from the 2020 Cooperative Election Study (Shah & Smith) in a cross-sectional study to explore the possible inferences between having problems with voting and Race, and also controlling for Education, Rurality and Age across the U.S. states. Further, an operationalization of the variables is presented. Because the dataset is big with N=46 028, this provides sufficient statistical power for the thesis to study and take account for small groups and racial minorities. This is done through a fixed effects model, where the multilevel nature is taken into account and held constant, because of the potential differences between states. Lastly, the equation for the model is set up and explained.

3.1. Data and population

The CES, developed by Harvard University, collects data on behaviours and experiences from American citizens during elections (Schaffner, Ansolabehere, & Luks, 2021). Altogether 60 teams collected random sample data from 61 000 respondents across states. Subjects were recruited in the fall of 2020, with a 1000 person national sample survey purchased by each team conducted by YouGov. This cooperative dataset has studied congressional elections and representation since 2006. The dataset contains 716 variables. The latest dataset from the CES 2020 will be used in this thesis, with data from the 2020 presidential election. The choice to look at this one election, is because of the limitations of this thesis. One theory is that

participation inequality has only increased, and we want to see if we find evidence of disparities in the latest Presidential Election.

One of the advantages of the CES data is that of the validated vote. Subjects were recruited during the fall of 2020, before the election. The respondents who say they have voted, are checked against the state voter files. This eliminates one of the biggest issues with surveys, that of overreporting. Another advantage is of its size and breadth (Hajnal et al., 2017). With 61 000 respondents it is a very large national sample that can be used to generalize the results to the whole population. The population in this sample is limited to 46 028 respondents of subject who has responded to the question about whether they had problems with voter registration or voter ID when trying to vote. With surveys like this, we get an unique insight at variables like racial minorities, that could in other cases be a very sensitive subject. One of the strengths with the CES is that of self-reported race (Cantoni & Pons, 2021). The respondent is asked: what racial or ethnic group best describes you? It goes further by exploring the Latin- and Asian heritage, and/or whether the respondent is multiracial. Unfortunately, a limitation must be set to only include the overall classification.

3.2. Operationalization of variables

The following section will introduce the variables that this thesis will base the analysis on. Based upon the research question and the theories presented in chapter 2, the operationalization will include the following variables: Problems with voting, Race, Education, Rurality, Age and State.

3.2.1. Problems with voting

First, Problems with voting is our outcome variable. Problems with voting is a dichotomous

Figure 3.2.1.1 Problems with voting
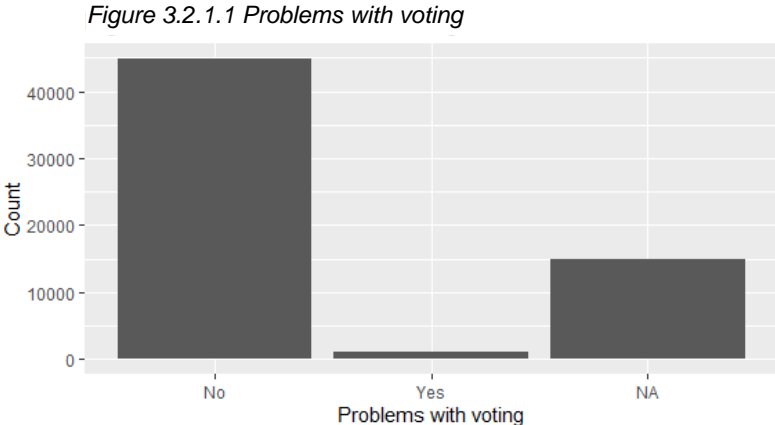
variable with two values. The respondents answered yes or no to the following question: "Was there a problem with your voter registration or voter identification when you tried to vote?". The graph shows the distributions of responses:

45 047 (97.9%) responded no, and 981 (2.1%) responded yes, N=46 028. 14 972 respondents

did not answer this question, and only complete cases are used for the analysis. The NA data is included to give the full impression of the responses. This emphasizes that this is a sensitive question, and perhaps more respondents did experience problems when trying to vote.

Chapter 2 has presented the possibilities that voter ID and voter registration may affect people having problems with voting. Therefore, this variable will be used as a proxy for having problems with voting. There is only 2.1 percent of the sample who reported having problems with voter registration or voter identification during the 2020 election. Because this is a dichotomous outcome variable, the predictor variables will explore if each variable predicts whether a respondent with a certain race, lower education, urban location or lower age is more or less likely to have problems with voting compared to voters without these characteristics.

3.2.2. Race

The main predictor variable is Race. The variable Race from CES 2020 has the values White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, Middle Eastern, Two or more races and Other. The respondents answered to "What racial or ethnic group best describes you?". In this dataset of N=61 000, 44128 responded White, 6952 responded Black, 5180 responded Hispanic, 1831 responded Asian, 471 responded Native American, 84 responded Middle Eastern, 1349 responded Two or more races and 1005 responded Other.

Figure 3.2.2.1 Race
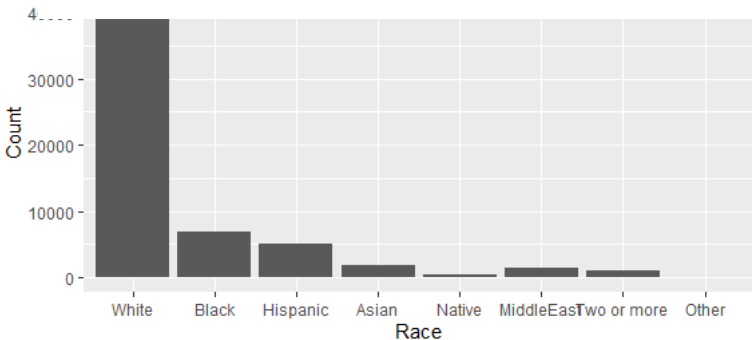
The interest lies in exploring whether racial minorities have more problems with voting than respondents that are White. Because this is a categorical variable, it is harder to interpret what effect of the different races has with one units increase. A recoding to a factor variable is done, making all the categories into a dummy. This means that the first value, White, becomes the reference group for all the other categories. Now we have 7 individual racial minority variables, compared to the reference category, White. Meaning that to interpret Black, the values of how much more or less likely it is for Black to have problems with voting compared to White having problems with voting.

3.2.3. Education

This thesis wants to see if levels of education is related to problems with voting, and to use education as a control variable to the association between Race and problems with voting.

The variable Education has the value of what the highest level of education the respondent has completed and the scale is interpreted as continuous. The bar chart gives an impression of the distribution, which is as

Figure 3.2.3.1 Education
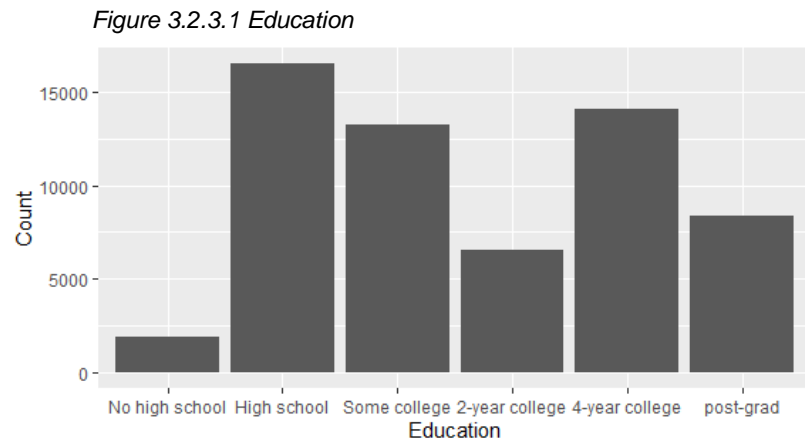
following: 1 983 respondents have no high school education, 16 618 are high school graduates, 13 330 have responded having some college, 6 539 have 2-year college, 14 152 have 4-year college and 8 378 have post-grad, N=61 000.

3.2.4. Rurality

Rurality is also believed to have an influence on problems with voting and is used as a control variable to the association between Race and problems with voting. To explore the area the respondents are living in, the following question was asked: "How would you describe the place where you live?". Of N= 60 972, 16 668 responded City, 23 482 responded Suburb, 8 809 responded Town, 11 693 responded Rural

Figure 3.2.4.1 Rurality
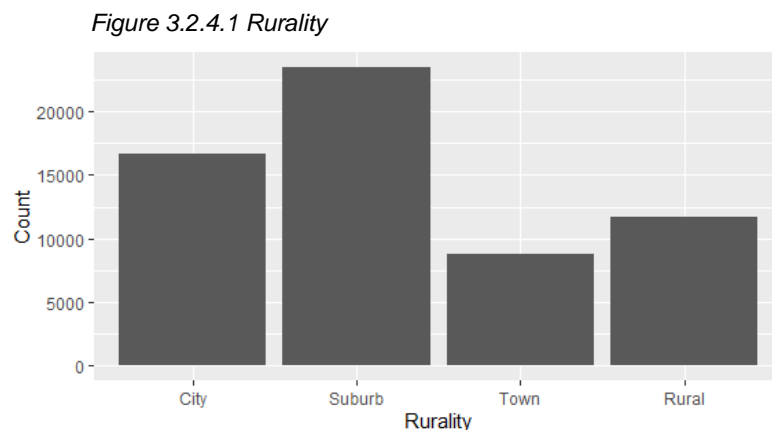
area, 320 responded Other. The distribution is seen in the bar chart below. To more easily read the data, the value of Other was removed, making the variable continuous so that a higher number represents a more rural area. This variable was chosen to test if there is a relation between having problems with voting and where the respondents live.

3.2.5. Age

The fifth variable to explore is Age. Age shows the age of the respondents. The bar chart shows the distribution of age. The youngest respondent in the dataset is 20 years old and the

Figure 3.2.5.1 Age
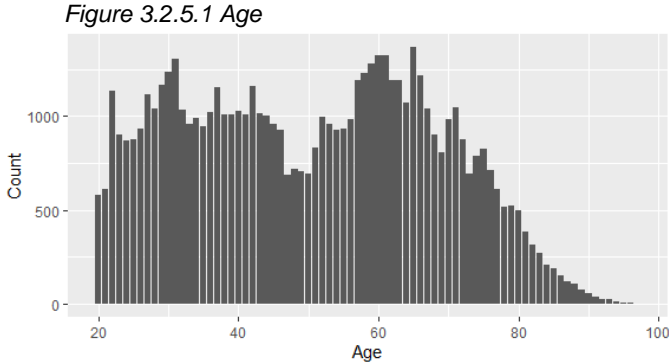
oldest is 97. This variable was chosen to test if there is a relation between having problems with voting and what age the respondents have, and to be able to control for potential effects of age on any associations between Race and problems with voting.

3.2.6. State

There are 50 states, and voter ID and voter registration are state laws. There is an assumption that the state a respondent is living in, will have an impact of whether a respondent have more

Figure 3.2.6.1 State
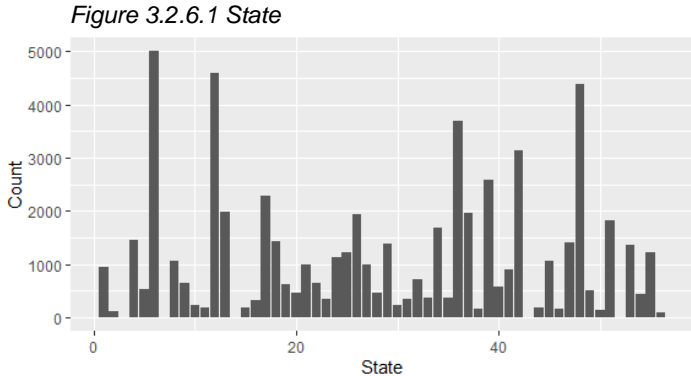
or less problems with voting. Looking at the associations between Race and problems with voting, State is used as a control variable to hold constant all potential state-level effects (which will be explained further below).

3.3. Model

A description of how the research design is done. Fixed effects, cross-sectional study, and last, the model specification (algebra).

3.3.1. Fixed effect vs. random effect

The research question is looking at whether an individual of a state that belongs to a racial minority (Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, Middle Eastern, Two or more race, and Other) are having more problems with voting than White. To answer this question there needs to be observed a certain degree of regularity. In social sciences the principle of drawing inferences is based on the relation occurring more often than it otherwise would have by

random (Skog 2004, 28). To see if we find any relations, a regression model treating State as a fixed effect, rather than a multilevel model, is used.

If not using a multilevel model, one can still take into account the grouped nature of the observations by using fixed-effects or random-effects (Clark, 2015). Random effects models can introduce bias, but are good methods of reducing the variance of coefficient estimates (Clark, 2015). Fixed effects, on the other hand, will be unbiased, but are subjected to high sample dependence (Clark, 2015). One potential disadvantage is that the fixed effect models require estimation of a parameter for each unit, the coefficient for the units of the dummy variables. This may reduce the power of the model and substantially increase the standard error of the coefficient estimates. The problem increases when the within-unit sample is small.

When it comes to random effect models, they replace the dummy variables with a mean- and a variance parameter. There are two variations that form the error term, one for the individual level and the other for the country level. This is because of the shared characteristics of the respondents from one group (Möhring, 2021). The error term in fixed effect takes all the unobserved heterogeneity which is related to each single observation i in country j (Möhring, 2021).

The difference between a random effect and a fixed effects approach is that in a random effects approach one wants to explain the country-level variation, whereas in fixed effect one controls for this variation. We assume that the type of state a respondent is living in, may have an effect on problems with voting and an acceptance that there may be large differences between the states. Some states have more systematic problems than other states, but due to the limitations of this thesis a choice to control for the state-level has been made. At the same time, because there are potential differences there is a need to take into account the state-level which a respondent is living in. The fixed effect approach takes into account the problems of variable bias on the country-level through controlling for country-level heterogeneity by means of dummy variables (Möhring, 2021). Attached in the Appendix is the fixed effect model showing the coefficient of all 50 states as dummies.

The fixed effect is an within estimator, and gets rid of everything that is between and "random noise" (Möhring, 2021). It is an robust estimator which is useful in preventing confounding factors from level 2 to level 1. In this thesis we cannot estimate the effect of voter ID and voter registration because this is regulated by the states. It can be controlled for,

by controlling for the between variance we can prevent it from confounding from level 2, which will leave us with a coefficient that is unbiased. The fixed effect approach allows the concentration to be on the effect of individual-level predictors (Möhring, 2021). Whether all relevant factors are included is necessary to be aware of with random effects, with the fixed effect approach this is not necessary when it is controlled for the country-level heterogeneity (Möhring, 2021).

3.3.2. Cross-sectional study

This study wants to research predictors of problems with voting, during the 2020 Presidential election in the United States. The research question enables a cross-sectional study. A cross-sectional study is an observational study that looks at data from a population at one specific point in time (Skog, 2004, 71). The purpose of this design is to study their characteristics and make comparisons between units, to look at variation and covariation. The study are looking at the extent to which respondents had problems with voting, and to check if characteristics like race is correlated with having problems with voting, when controlling for education, rurality, age and state.

The cross-sectional study design aims to study correlation, not causality. With this design, confounding or spurious correlation can be a problem, as with any design, and the risk is limited comparability. Spurious correlations are correlations that does not reflect a causal association between two factors (Skog 2004, 39). Underlying variables, the confounding factor, may conceal spurious correlations. The control variable method is used to avoid the problem of spurious correlations between problems with voting and the other predictor variables. Even though controlling for confounding factors, these factors may be concealed by lack of knowledge or information not received about the factors one should have controlled for (Skog, 2004, 74).

3.3.3. Model specification

The main question of this thesis is whether having problems with voting increases if the individual of a state belongs to a racial minority or not. To answer the question there needs to be observed a certain degree of regularity in associations between variables. In social sciences, the principle of drawing inferences is based on the relation occurring more often than it would have by random (Skog, 2004, 28). To see if there are any relations, the fixed effects model is based on the following equation:

$$\text{Logit}(Y) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Race} + \beta_2 \text{Education} + \beta_3 \text{Rurality} + \beta_4 \text{Age} + \beta_5 \text{State}$$

The constant, β_0, is the value of the logit when the predictor variables have the value of zero. The parameter of β_1 tells how much the logits increase or decrease problems with voting when the predictor variable Race increases with one unit. Race is coded as a factor variable, creating dummy variables for each value with the reference category being White. This is modelled in Table 4.1 2 Fixed effects model - Effect on problems with voting in the next chapter. The parameter of β_2 shows how much the logits increase or decrease having problems with voting when Education increases with one unit. β_3 is the parameter of how much the logits increase or decrease on having problems with voting with one unit increase in Rurality. β_4 is the parameter of how much the logits increase or decrease on having problems with voting with one unit increase in Age. The last parameter β_5, is a fixed effect of state. The State is controlled for in every model. State is run as a factor variable creating dummies for every state. It would take up too much space to report every single state. The complete logit model is attached in the Appendix, and the model that is reported is converted to odds ratio.

Because a dichotomous variable is the dependent variable, the statistical technique of logistic regression is used. Logistic regression adjusts a non-linear function which can be interpreted as the probability that the outcome variable takes the value of 1 (Mehmetoglu & Mittner, 2020, 274). The variable has only two values, and therefore the probability must always lie between the limited interval of 0 and 1. In a linear regression we get the predicted mean value of an outcome variable of a value of a predictor variable. In logistic regression, "instead of predicting the conditional probability that the outcome variable equals one, we can predict the logit of the conditional probability that the outcome variable equals one (having problems with voting) over the probability that it equals zero (not having problems with voting)" (Sommet & Morselli, 2017, 205). Therefore, in a logistic regression, there is no prediction of the concrete value, but a transformation of the probability called log-odds, which are on the linear scale. The odds for two outcomes, is described by how much more likely it is to find one outcome relative to another outcome. The odds tells us the probability of the outcome being 1, having problems with voting then not having problems with voting (Skog, 2004, 393).

To interpret the parameters in a logistical regression, the coefficient is raised to the exponent to get the odds ratio (OR). The odds ratio is the multiplicative factor in which an event is predicted to occur rather than not occurring when the predictor variable changes with one unit (Sommet & Morselli, 2017). OR = exp(β1), indicates the odds of increasing in having problems with voting, given a certain race other than white. If the odds ratio is above 1, this means that the likelihood of having problems with voting is greater. If the odds ratio is below 1, this means that there is a lesser likelihood of having problems with voting if you are of any other race compared with being white. If the odds ratio equals 1, this means that the odds of having problems with voting is no higher or lower than not having problems with voting. What the results interpret is the odds ratio that the outcome variable equals one instead of zero, that is the likelihood that a respondent in a state have problems with voting. The effect is fixed, meaning that the effect is the same across states, when controlling for state-level.

3.4. Summary

With the 2020 Congressional Election Study, a cross sectional study is used to check if there are any inferences between racial minorities and problems with voting. The outcome variable measure whether respondents had problems with voter ID or voter registration when trying to vote. Because the outcome variable, problems with voting, is dichotomous, a logistic regression is used. The outcome variable measures voter ID and voter registration, which are subject to state laws, there is an expectance that there are differences between states, and that some states have stricter laws then other states. A decision to use fixed effects is made in order to take account that there are differences between states, but to control for this difference. The next chapter will present the results from the logistic fixed effects regression.

Chapter 4: Results

When trying to vote, does the respondents of the racial minorities of this sample have more problems when voting compared to White respondents? Section one presents the results from the logistic fixed effects regression model. First, a model that presents the effect in percentage with problems with voting for the different racial minorities. Then Table 4.1 2 Fixed effects model - Effect on problems with voting, shows the results converted to odds ratio from the logistic fixed effects regression. The complete model that includes the dummies for State is attached in the Appendix. Further, section two, an analyzation of the different coefficients and their effect on the outcome variable is done. Lastly, the results are linked and discussed toward the hypotheses.

4.1. Results logistic fixed effects

Table 4.1 1 Percentage of each Race with problems with voting, shows the percentage of having problems with voting for each race. There is a difference in how racial differences affect having problems with voting. This becomes clear when looking at the differences between White and the other racial minorities. Hispanics is the race with the highest percentage having problems with voting in the study.

Table 4.1-1 Percentage of each Race with problems with voting	
Race	Problems with voting (%)
White	2.0
Black	2.5
Hispanic	3.5
Asian	2.7
Native American	2.8
Middle Eastern	2.4
Two or more races	3.0
Other	3.6

Below, Table 4.1 2 Fixed effects model - Effect on problems with voting, shows the results from the logistic fixed effects regression model. The results are converted to odds ratio, to more easily interpret the results.

Table 4.1-2 Fixed effects model - Effect on problems with voting

	Dependent variable:			
	Problems with voting			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Black	1.27	1.25	1.18	1.16
	t = 2.16**	t = 2.08**	t = 1.52	t = 1.31
Hispanic	1.84	1.84	1.78	1.46
	t = 5.84***	t = 5.85***	t = 5.48***	t = 3.56***
Asian	1.40	1.45	1.40	0.95
	t = 1.93*	t = 2.15**	t = 1.92*	t = -0.28
Native American	1.43	1.43	1.45	1.50
	t = 1.04	t = 1.05	t = 1.09	t = 1.18
Middle Eastern	1.22	1.23	1.21	0.96
	t = 0.90	t = 0.93	t = 0.88	t = -0.19
Two or more races	1.55	1.59	1.59	1.61
	t = 2.11**	t = 2.22**	t = 2.22**	t = 2.28**
Other	1.89	1.95	1.89	1.24
	t = 0.88	t = 0.92	t = 0.88	t = 0.29
Education		0.94	0.93	0.91
		t = -2.67***	t = -3.01***	t = -4.00***
Rurality			0.90	0.94
			t = -3.19***	t = -1.75*
Age				0.97
				t = -14.73***
Constant	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.15
	t = -14.04***	t = -12.69***	t = -10.98***	t = -5.80***
State fixed-effect	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	45,836	45,836	45,836	45,836
Log Likelihood	-4,626.16	-4,622.60	-4,617.44	-4,505.53
Akaike Inf. Crit.	9,368.33	9,363.19	9,354.88	9,133.07

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Standard errors in parenthesis

4.2. Analysis

Table 4.2 shows the results from logistic fixed effect regression model. The constant shows the odds ratio being 0.02, 0.02, 0.03, and 0.15 in model 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively, with all models being statistically significant on a 1 percent level (p<0.01). The constant shows that the average value of Y is 0.15 in model 4, the odds of having problems with voting in states when all the predictor variables having the value of zero, that is being White, have no high school education, living in the city, and being twenty years old. Table 4.2. shows that the association between race and having problems with voting is overall clearly significant (p<0.01).

Black is statistical significantly related to the outcome - in model 1 and model 2, indicating that being black, compared to being white, significantly increases the change of having problems with voting. Just looking at the effect of Race on having problems with voting in model 1, the odds ratio of having problems for Black respondents are 1.27, compared to respondents who are White. This means that the odds of having problems with voting increase with 27 percent if you are Black rather than White, controlled for States. The association is also statistical significant (p<0.05) in model 2 (when controlling for education), but in model 3 and 4 the association is no longer statistical significant when controlling for Rurality and Age. A t-score between +/- 2 correspond to p<0.05. The t-score is the estimate/standard error, and is interpreted "as how far the estimate is away from 0, measured in the number of standard errors" (Spiegelhalter, 2019, 277). A higher t-value indicates a greater confidence in the coefficient as a predictor. A low t-value indicates a low reliability of the predictive power of the coefficient. The t-value is above 2 in model 1 and 2 and indicates a confidence in the coefficient as a predictor. In model 3 and 4, the t-value is below 2 and indicates that the predictive power of the coefficient is low once these other factors are taken into consideration and that the observed associations from the first model may thus be accounted for by systematic differences in Rurality and Age.

Hispanic is the only Race variable where the association is statistical significant in all models on a 1 percent level (p <0.01). Looking at model 1, the odds ratio of having problems with voting for Hispanic respondents are 1.84, controlled for States. This gives an increased odds of 84 percent of having problems with voting when you are Hispanic, compared to being White, when State is constant. The effect decreases from model 1 to model 4. In model 4, the increased odds of having problems with voting if you are Hispanic, compared to White, is 46

percent, when controlling for Education, Rurality, Age and States. The t-values in all models are high and indicate that there is a high confidence in the predictive power of the Hispanic coefficient.

Asian shows a statistical significance of ($p<0.05$) in model 2, and ($p<0.1$) for model 1 and 3. In model 1, the odds ratio of having problems with voting when respondents are Asian is 1.40. The probability of having problems with voting increases with 40 percent, when the respondents are Asian, compared to White, controlled for States. The effect is no longer statistical significant when controlling for Age in addition to Education, Rurality and State (model 4). The t-value indicates that there is predictive power in model 2, but models 1, 3, and 4 are all below 2 and indicates a low confidence in the predictive power of the Asian coefficients. The low t-value could be a result of low statistical strength. This goes for the predictor variables of Native American, Middle Eastern, and Other as well. These variables show no statistical significant effect on problems with voting. All the coefficients in every model is below 2, which indicates a low confidence in the predictive power of the coefficients. These racial minority groups are all considerably smaller than Blacks and Hispanics. Native American in model 4, has a higher increase in the odds of problems with voting than Black, this could lead to a suspicion that because the groups are so small, this may not lead to a significant association even though there is a tendency in the data in the direction of such an association.

Two or more races shows statistical significant results on a 5 percent level ($p<0.05$) in all models. Looking first at model 1, the odds ratio is 1.55 of having problems with voting when the respondents are Two or more races, controlled for States. This means that there is an increase in 1.55 odds ratio, in having problems with voting. The odds of having problems with voting increases with 55 percent if you are Two or more races, compared to being White, controlled for States. There is an increase from model 1 to model 4, meaning that when controlling for Education, Rurality, Age and States, the increased odds of having problems with voting for people with two or more races compared with whites, increases to 61 percent. The t-value is above 2, giving the indication that there is confidence in Two or more races as a coefficient with predictive power.

Including Education in model 2, shows that education and having problems with voting has a negative association that is statistically significant ($p <0.01$). The association remains significant when the Rurality and Age are included in model 3 and 4. Model 4 shows

an odds ratio of 0.91, meaning the higher a respondent's education is, the less problems they will have with voting. For every unit increase in Education, the odds of having problems with voting decreases with 9 percent, controlled for Race, Rurality, Age and State. The t-value is above -2 in model 2, 3, and 4, which indicates a high confidence in the predictive power of the coefficients.

Rurality is negatively associated with having problems with voting, meaning the more rural the respondent lives, the less problems the respondent has with voting. The effect is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). The effect decreases when including the control variable Age in model 4. For every unit increase in Rurality, the odds ratio of having problems with voting decreases with 0.94. This means that for every increase in Rurality, the odds of having problems with voting decreases with 6 percent, controlled for Race, Education, Age and State. The t-values from model 3 indicates that there is a high confidence in the predictive power, and model 4 shows that there is a low predictive power of the Rurality coefficient.

Age is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$) and is negatively associated with having problems with voting, meaning that higher age decreases the probability of having problems with voting. For every year a person ages, the odds of having problems with voting decreases with 0.97, controlled for Race, Education, Rurality and States. That means that the odds decrease with 3 percent for every year a respondent ages. The t-value show that there is a high confidence in the predicate power of the Age coefficient.

When using bivariate models, the information that is receives is the association between two variables. In multivariate models, the interest is to look at which model describes the most. Naturally a model that includes the most variables will describe the most. To look at the model, we observe the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC). The Akaike Information Criterion indicates a better fit when the AIC is low. It compares the different models, to indicate the better fit. Looking at the different models, the AIC is decreasing from model 1 to model 4, 9,368.33 (model 1) 9,363.19 (model 2), 9,354.88 (model 3), 9,133.07 (model 4). This indicates a better fit in model 4.

4.3.   Hypotheses and Research question

The aim of this study is to make a statistical generalization from the population to all Americans on how race affect the probability of having problems with voting. A method for generalization is testing hypothesises. Testing hypothesises helps to determine whether the

association between the characteristics of the population is strong enough that the association can be assumed to apply to the corresponding characteristics with the entire universe (Grønmo, 2016, 345). The purpose of this thesis is to see whether racial minorities are associated to problems with voting. After looking at the results, a second look at the research question and the hypotheses this thesis will use for the bases on the hypotheses test. The research question is: *To what extent can race explain why some citizens had problems with voting in the United States Presidential Election of 2020?*

H_1: There is a significant, positive association between racial minority status (Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, Middle Eastern, Two or more race, and Other) and having more problems with voting than White. There is an expectation that the association will remain significant after controlling for the associations in hypotheses 2, 3, and 4.

H_2: There is a significant, negative association between higher education and having problems with voting.

H_3: There is a significant, negative association between rurality and problems with voting.

H_4: There is a significant, negative association between higher age and problems with voting.

To implement the test, a null hypothesis is formulated that there are no statistical associations between the variables. If the null hypothesis cannot be rejected, the assumption that the general hypotheses (H_1, H_2, H_3, H_4) are correct, cannot be made (Grønmo, 2016, 346). If the null hypothesis can be rejected, the general hypotheses is strengthened and the assumption that the association in our sample also applies to the population can be made (Grønmo, 2016, 347).

When testing hypotheses, there are two kinds of errors one risk making. Making errors of type-1 risks rejecting a null hypothesis that is correct. Type-2 errors risks keeping a null hypothesis that is not correct. The consequence of type 1-errors are greater and considered to be more concerning (Grønmo, 2016, 347). To minimize the risk of making a type 1-error, a significant level is implemented. For this thesis a significance level of $p < 0.05$ is used. This means that there is less than 5 percent probability that a mistake is done when rejecting the null hypothesis. One can then be 95 percent sure that the associations in the hypotheses are strong enough in the sample that it can be found in any other sample from an equivalent universe (Grønmo, 2016, 347).

From the analysis, respondents that are Hispanic (p<0.01) and of Two or more races (p<0.05) are statistically significant more likely to having more problems with voting compared to White, controlled for Education, Rurality, Age and States. There were also significant association between Black (p<0.05) and Asian (p<0.1) on problems with voting, but these no longer remain significant when accounting for Education, Rurality, Age and State. This is a finding that supports H_1, that there is a significant, positive relationship between racial minorities and having problems with voting in states. There is evidence that there is an association between racial minorities and having problems with voting. The null hypothesis can be rejected, that there is no statistical association between racial minorities and having problems with voting and thus keeping H_1. However, there is only a partial support for keeping the second part of H_1, as parts of the associations disappears when controlling for the potential confounding factors as with Black and Asian.

The association between all three control variables and having problems with voting were significant, supporting the last three hypotheses. Education shows a negative association. This means that the higher education a respondent has, the less are the odds of having problems with voting. This finding supports H_2 and the null hypothesis that there is no statistical association between Education and having problems with voting can be rejected. There is a negative association between Rurality and having problems with voting. The more rural a respondent lives, the less likely the respondent is to have problems with voting. The association is statistically significant (p<0.01), the null hypothesis that there is no statistically association between rural voters and having problems with voting can be rejected. Age also shows a negative association, meaning that with increasing age, the probability of having problems with voting decreases. The finding supports H_4, and the null hypothesis that there is no association between Age and having problems with voting is rejected.

Education, Rurality and Age are used as control variables because they are all assumed to have an effect on having problems with voting, which corresponds with the findings. An interesting observation is that Black is statistically significant (p<0.05) in model 1 and 2, and when controlling for Rurality and Age in model 3 and 4 the association is no longer statistical significant. Based on theory, it could be an autocorrelation between Black race and Education and rurality. Respondents who are black have a tendency to have low education and live in more urban places and the associations between these factors and having problems with voting may thus account for the observed associations from model 1 and 2,

indicating that the association may be spurious. Because of the limitations of this thesis, a further exploration is not possible. When including the control variables of Education, Rurality and Age, the effect of most of the dummy variables of Race decreases (except for Two or more races). This is because a lot of the variance can be explained by Education, Rurality and Age.

4.4. Summary

The results partly support the hypothesises introduced in Chapter 2 based on existing findings and theories. A partial support for H_1 is found. The results find systematic statistically significant associations between respondents being Black, Hispanic and Two or more races and having more problems with voting, compared to respondents who are White. Controlling for confounding factors of Education, Rurality and Age some of the associations disappears. This is because the results also finds support for H_2, H_3, and H_4. Education, Rurality, and Age, respectively, all are associated negatively with problems with voting. Having high education, living rural and being of old age all gives lesser odds of having problems with voting.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Ideally, there would have been no association between having problems with voting and racial minority status. The current findings however, show evidence of racial disparities when it comes to voting. Some races have significantly higher odds of having problems when trying to vote than others. With the sample from the CES 2020 dataset, there is evidence that Black, Hispanics and those of Two or more races have statistically significant more problems when voting compared to White respondents, controlled for State. Education, Rurality and Age also affect whether respondents have problems with voting, indicating that voting in the U.S. today is a heterogenic experience varying systematically with important background factors.

Section one will discuss the structural theories of why some groups of people have higher odds of having problems with voting than others. Section two, discusses if this can be explained by rational choice theories of voting. For Blacks, the higher odds of having problems with voting seemed to be accounted for by urban living conditions and younger age. However, no matter what can explain the differences in having problems with voting, it is a potential threat for the American democracy that there are higher odds for racial minorities of having problems with voting compared to those who are White. When some groups are discriminated and excluded from the democratic process, what does this mean for the American democracy? A discussion about what this means for the American democracy, and the accountability of political parties and politicians to people that does not count in the electoral process. Concerns have been made about this abandonment of political accountability by Levitsky and Ziblatt in *How Democracies Die* (2018), and the discussion will end with arguments of why democracy and democratic ideals are important. Finally, there is a section concerning weaknesses and a discussion of method.

5.1. Structural theories of voting

The structural theory of voting presented in Chapter 2, links voting with social identity. From the results of this study, there is evidence that race, education, rurality, age and state are social characteristics that may influence whether a respondent have problems with voting. A lot of the variation in having problems with voting can be explained by levels of education, whether the respondents live more urban or rural, and the age, controlling for the state. Based on a long history of slavery and discrimination, black was a racial minority that was expected to have stronger associations with problems with voting. Based on the results, a lot of problems

with voting for Blacks, can be explained by the social characteristics like education, residence, and age, controlled for State.

According to structural theories of voting, to vote and who people will vote for is based on predisposed beliefs and values that depends on a person's identity in society. Voting is not a choice, but an imprinted predisposition passed down. The society matters, firstly, because the way people grow up in different social contexts imprints different set of beliefs, values and attitudes (Evans, 2004, 43). Secondly, people in the society belong to certain groups, such as age, gender, education occupation and income et cetera (Evans, 2004, 43). The groups studied and controlled for in this paper, has been education, rurality, age and state and the results support the assumption of structural theories. The associations found with racial minorities and problems with voting emphasizes the importance of social groups for democratic participation. People in the same group, are theorized to have similar beliefs and values, that will cause them to vote for the same political party. The similarities in these groups are used as a basis to gather support for political parties, which forms the divisional lines that causes the opposing sides in the American society. With only two big parties these lines may become polarizing, causing even clearer lines of who votes for which party.

Education was expected to have a positive association with turnout, according to the civic education theory (Rosenstone & Wolfinger, 1978). Education increases civil skills and knowledge which influences a person's political interest. Higher educated people are also more likely to have the mentality that voting is a civic duty. When it comes to voting, these civic skills are valuable when it comes to understanding the electoral system and hurdles like voter identification and voter registration laws. Many who have low education and perhaps, lower language/English skills may portray these laws as an overwhelmingly difficult task, which would cause them to decide not to vote. As shown in Chapter 2, there is racial differences in educational achievements. Hispanics is the racial group with the highest percentage of not having completed high school (33 percent), followed by Native American (17 percent), Black (15 percent), Asian (13 percent), Two or more races (9 percent), and White (8 percent) (de Brey et al., 2019). This is a significant disparity for racial minorities compared to White for not completing high school. While those having a bachelor's or higher degree was highest for Asians (54 percent), White (35 percent), Two or more races (34 percent), Black (21 percent), and Hispanics and Native Americans (both 15 percent) (de Brey et al., 2019). This shows that there can be a big gap between the civil skills and knowledge for

the different racial minorities. Seeing that education has a negative association with problems with voting, supports the theory of education being a structural factor that causes voter discrimination.

Where you live, does influence if you are more likely or not to have problems with voting. Inside the states there is a rural/urban divide that shows the increasing polarization in the United States. Problems with voting is negatively associated with rurality, the more rural you live, the lower odds of having problems with voting and this association seems to be a potent moderator of the association between being Black and having problems with voting (i.e., this association became insignificant once rurality was added to the model). Knowing that almost 80 percent of the rural population is White (Cromartie, 2018), this shows the racial disparities of having problems with voting in association with how rural the respondent lives. Racial minorities are more concentrated in larger cities. People that live in the same communities and share the same values and beliefs, are likely to be more similar. The White population in the rural areas, are more conservative in questions of abortion, gun rights, and family arrangements (Gimpel & Karnes, 2006). This is an influence by the structural factor of where people live. Belonging to a group, whether that is living more rural or more urban, will cause the members of that group to feel closer to one another and share the same attitudes and beliefs. This may perhaps also cause the members of that group to differentiate themselves from other groups, creating an "us" vs. "them" feeling that can be used for political mobilization.

The older a person gets, the less problems he or she will have with voter ID or voter registration when trying to vote. This supports one of the theories, that there is an increasing linear relationship of the association with age and voting. However, voting and experiencing problems with voting is not the same, and this is an interesting finding. One potential reason can be that elderly are not moving that often, and thus does not need to register to vote at the same rate as younger people may. Elderly may also have more experience with the electoral system, they know which voter ID is required and is familiar with the steps that are necessary to take before voting. This finding may also indicate that racial minorities are experiencing more problems when voting compared to White, because they are younger. The most common age for White Americans was 58 years in 2018, and 27 years for all racial minorities combined (Schaeffer, 2019). The most common age for Two or more races was 3 years old, and 11 years for Hispanics (Schaeffer, 2019), the increasing younger age for racial minorities

may predict a more difficult future for younger racial minorities when it comes to experiencing problems with voting.

To sum up, racial minority status, education, rurality and age are all associated to problems with voting. Racial minority groups like Black and Hispanic, both share characteristics like low education, living in urban cities, and being relatively young populations. It can also be speculated if there is an additive effect of social factors like these. Being a certain race, there is a higher probability that you live in the same urban area and spending time with people of the same race, and therefore sharing the same values and beliefs, and also educational attainments, making the probability even higher of having problems with voting.

5.2.   Rational choice theories of voting

The results showing that those who are Black, Hispanic and of Two or more races, have higher odds of having problems with voting, may be a result of their propensity to vote for a specific party. From Table 2.4 1 Voter Identification Laws, the strict voter ID laws are all found in states with Republican dominated Congresses. One potential reason for implementing voter registration and voter ID laws may be to minimize the opponents mobilizing groups. Because they know the laws are disproportionally affecting minority groups in a more negative way than for those who are White and vote Republican. The 2020 election had the highest voter turnout in the 21st century (Fabina, 2021), with a record number of minority candidates winning offices in legislatures. This could be a potential incentive for rational actors to implement even more strict and more excluding laws to disenfranchise the voters who voted them in.

The rational choice theories of voting, takes into account how a voter might think over whether to go vote or not, and who to vote for. The cost and benefit determines if a voter will vote. When an individual has to make a decision which affects his or hers interests, the rational individual will make the decision based on the most cost-effective way of maximizing the gains. If the costs are too high, such as taking too much time when registering to vote, getting the correct type of voter ID, long ques at the polling station, taking time off of work (while not getting paid), these are all potential costs that may cause the eligible voter to decide not to vote. The results show support for the rational choice theory, there are higher odds of having problems with voting for racial minorities. This means that the cost of voting will be higher for racial minority groups such as Black, Hispanic, and Two or more races. For

many, voting is seen as a dutiful task when being part of a society. The high turnout in the 2020 election, may be a response to this. Showing that despite the hurdles, many people go through the trouble and do want to vote. Both voter ID and voter registration laws show that they significantly affect racial minorities in a more negative way than for Whites, and this may be worrying for the American democracy.

One argument presented in Chapter 2, is that parties and politicians have to be responsive to the voters' preferences in order to remain in power. It is in their self-interest to remain in power, and thus to be responsive. When a large number of social groups are left out of this process, politicians are not able to be responsive to the preferences of those who are left out. In their self-interest to remain in power, one way of getting to this end is to minimize the voters for the opposition. The results find an association between racial minority status and problems with voting for Black, Hispanic, and Two or more races. Black, especially, is linked to voting Democratic (Kidd et al., 2007). What this study has researched, is voters who have already decided to vote. These voters have already made the rational choice about the cost and benefits and decided to vote. They have, at least in their minds, done the steps that are necessary to vote regarding voter registration and voter ID, and still the odds are higher of having problems with voting for racial minorities. There has been a proliferation of voter registration and voter ID laws in United States in the recent years, if these laws are implemented to intentionally curb specific social groups or the voters for the opposing party, this is a threat to democracy.

5.3.   What does this mean for the American democracy?

An increasing minority population and a new electorate is taking form in the United States. Excluding minority groups at a higher rate, is negative for democracy as this was defined in Chapter 2. The current results have shown that non-white residents meet higher obstacles than whites in their efforts to participate in the U.S. democracy. If by 2050, the United States is 48 percent non-white, this could mean an exclusion of a very large part of eligible voters. Revisiting the democracy definition of Dahl: "the key characteristic of a democracy is the continuing responsiveness of the government to the preferences of its citizens, considered as political equals" (Dahl, 1971, 1). Dahl has three necessary conditions in order to call a country democratic (Dahl, 1971, 2):

1. To formulate their preferences

2. To signify their preferences to their fellow citizens and the government by individual and collective action

3. To have their preferences weighed equally in the conduct of the government, that is, weighted with not discrimination because of the content or source of the preference

Voting is a cornerstone in a democracy. As said by political scientist and professor Dennis Thompson, in Wang and Nattoli (2012, 10): "Electoral institutions signal not only whose votes should count, but who should count." With exclusive laws on voting, political actors and institutions signal that not everybody in the American society should vote. Letting political actors continue to make it difficult and block eligible voters right to vote is making the American democracy exclusive and possibly elitist (Wang & Nittoli, 2012, 10).

5.3.1. Political parties, politicians, and accountability

The accountability principle is of importance. When voting, citizens are participating in holding the leaders accountable and to show satisfaction with the government and being able to vote leaders out. With some social groups of citizens being left out, the government are not able to be responsive to their preferences. Accountability "in itself is a public good that advances the goal of ethical, responsible, and responsive government" (Wang & Nittoli, 2012, 11). If social groups like racial minorities are excluded from the voting process, representatives will not feel an obligation to serve the needs and preferences of the whole community that they are responsible for serving. The representatives will work for serving the needs of those who voted for them, and this may perhaps be a minority in the larger community, which may not coincide with the whole community. The results from this study show that problems with voting rates are skewed according to racial minorities, low education, urbanity and low age. These are thus parameters of groups that are more likely to depend more on the government and because political actors and institutions make it harder for them to vote, are more likely to have their needs and preferences neglected. This is a serious flaw in the process for representative decision making and the American democracy.

For parties and politicians, campaigning is no longer a zero-sum game. Resources are limited, and when more resources are spent on suppressing the voters of their opponents instead of campaigning or boosting turnout in general, warning bells should ring. Even though

one party would benefit from increased participation, the overall benefit would be to increase engagement and to enrich the democratic process. This would leave the voters with the feeling of the electoral process being inclusive. Voting is not only about choosing a candidate for office or a government, but a way to express participation and feeling like a member of the society and the democratic system.

The findings from this thesis illustrates how political parties, through their implementation of voting laws, are the gatekeepers of democracy. The authors of *How Democracies Die*, Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt (2018), expresses concern over American politicians that are weakening democratic institutions. Political leaders are abandoning the political responsibility, and this may be a nations first step toward authoritarianism (Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018). Elected officials that use their power to rewrite electoral rules, and electoral constituencies, are a great danger for democracy and shows more and more authoritarian tendencies. Before, democratic breakdown happened by violence and men with guns in coups d'état and by military coups (Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018). Now, equally destructive but less noticeable, democratic breakdowns may happen by elected leaders who undermines the very process that got them elected (Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018). This happens much slower and can often erode democracies in barely noticeable steps, like in Venezuela with Hugo Chavez. Like Venezuela, leaders in Georgia, Hungary, Nicaragua, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, Russia, Sri Lanka, Turkey, and Ukraine have all undermined democratic institutions (Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018).

The political regime a country has, has potential consequences. Presidential systems are more prone to democratic breakdown than parliamentarian systems (Linz, 1990). This is according to Linz (1990) because presidential systems are firstly, a zero-sum game where the winner of the elections gets all the power, while the loser gets nothing. Secondly, the presidential candidate is the centre of attention. This can give the person a lot of power in relation to the political party he or she belongs to, without the party being able to limit this power once the candidate is elected for office. Third, presidential systems are rigid in the way that the president cannot be thrown out of the office, the president is elected for a fixed term, and is in that sense responsible to the people, not to the legislature.

5.3.2.   Why is democracy and democratic ideals so important?

"Democracy has a positive and profound effect on the daily lives and well-being of individuals around the globe" (Lake & Baum, 2001, 588). Being a democracy have important consequences, and the regime type influences economic growth and infrastructure, equality, educations and health. Democracy as a governance, compared to dictatorships, has for a long time been linked to economic growth. The regime type influences the incentives of the politicians and their economic policies. These policies will lead to investment, education, and technological advanced that will result in growth. Direct causes to economic growth is either an increase in factors to production (labour, capital, or human capital, which is the populations knowledge and productive skills) (Knutsen, 2021, 155). To link economic growth to democracy, there must be policies that reflect this positive association. In a democracy with strong protection of civil rights, like freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of movement, and freedom of association, the diversity of ideas in politics and economy will increase and make sure that the best ideas win (Knutsen, 2021, 155).

The assumption that democracies will pursue distributional policies is illustrated by education. In democracies, the distributional theories of politics, is seen as spreading power to the whole population, while in dictatorships the interests of a small homogenous economical elite is represented (Knutsen, 2021). Democracy is positively associated to factors of education, these factors are for example: number of children in primary school, number of girls attending high school, average year of education and the number of the adult population that can read and write (Lake & Baum, 2001). When it comes to education, most people want to prioritize education for their children at the expense of paying more taxes. Rich elites do not have the same incentive for paying more taxes for the education of the poor people, because they often have access to private schools. In this way, democratization and giving voting rights to the poor will move the power to those who want an expansion of primary school education (Knutsen, 2021, 178). Thus, the association found in this thesis between lower education and higher odds of problem with voting illustrates a democratic problem of distributional policies beyond this single association.

It's not just the economy and education that can determine whether people fare better in a democracy than in a dictatorship. Human development is associated to the electoral aspects of democracy (Gerring et al., 2015). Politicians is incentivized by electoral competition to provide the people with goods and services that, in turn, saves their lives

(Gerring et al., 2015). Public policies directed towards health, such as, increased life expectancy and lower child mortality is connected to democracy. The accountability principle appears again, if child mortality rates are high in a country, the voters can hold the elected leaders accountable by voting them out by the next election, thus elected leaders will do their utmost to limit the death of children (Knutsen, 2021, 183). As mentioned, distributional policies from rich to poor is rational for elected leaders in democracies, while leaders in dictatorships does not want these distributional policies. However, all democracies and distributional efforts does not behave in the same manner and have the same outcomes. In the United States, while being a democracy, money and lobbyism do have a potential powerful influence on politics, and can problematize the accountability principle if politicians is accountable for their donors over accountability for their constituency (Knutsen, 2021, 188).

5.4.   Weaknesses and discussion of method

Being cross-sectional by design, this study can only claim to study correlation and not causality. However, the weaknesses of a cross-sectional design in this respect are less apparent as the predictors cannot be said to be a result of the outcome. It is fair to assume that race, education, rurality, age and state of residence comes prior to problems with voting and cannot be a result of this. Thus, more confidence that the reported associations are not spurious and may be interpreted that problems with voting is a consequence rather can a cause of the predictors.

The current study relies solely on self-report measures. There will always be the issue of whether people are answering truthfully or not on surveys. Because the surveys are taken anonymously on a phone, tablet, or a computer, this is considered an advantage, because the respondents will be less influenced by so called social desirability (the tendency of answering what one think the recipient will prefer). According to a meta-analysis on social presence, respondents find it easier to tell about socially undesirable behaviour by answering an electronic questionnaire, compared to a face-to-face or telephone interview (Zhang, Kuchinke, Woud, Velten, & Margraf, 2017).

The outcome variable is whether a respondent had problem with voter registration or voter ID when trying to vote. This does not give information about whether the respondent were allowed to vote or not. This may influence the relations that are found. Perhaps, racial minorities are less likely to be able to vote with these kinds of issues, than White people are.

Because the outcome variable is dichotomous, this study is not able to look at whether the respondents in the study have these problems in a greater or lesser degree or on one or more occasions. It could be that Whites more often have experienced these problems one time, while racial minorities may have experienced it on multiple occasions, so that the associations may have become clearer with another measure of the outcome variable. An interesting pursuit could have been to look at how many ended up with not voting. It could have been interesting to look at whether racial minorities had higher probability of ending up not voting at a higher rate than those who are White. Because there are evidence that those who have lower education, lives in urban areas, and are young have more problems with voting, maybe there is a lower probability of not voting for racial minorities because they encounter these hurdles, both before and at the polling station.

A fixed effect models was chosen, rather than a multilevel model. In multilevel modelling one investigate individuals as nested in groups (Möhring, 2021). Some may argue that to account for the hierarchical structure of the data based on individual nested in (states) units, one must use multilevel modelling. However, two limitations with multilevel modelling lead to choosing a fixed effect model here: Firstly, there is no random sample at the upper level, and secondly, there is a small N at the upper level (Möhring, 2021). This might enable more serious problems with influential outliers. If not all relevant variables are controlled for, one may risk variable bias at the group-level. The consequences might be that researchers find significant group-level effect, that is only triggered by unobserved factors (Möhring, 2021).

Because of the limited scope of this thesis, an exploration is only whether a respondent have problems with voting when at the polling station. Thus, the reported problems with voting happen when they have already decided to vote, at the polling station. Factors that restrict individuals before this point in time could also have an impact. Short opening hours, expectations of long queues, gerrymandering, state election laws such as voter ID and voter registration, felon disenfranchisement, may all potentially disenfranchise voters before voting. Having a job that won't let you take time off to go vote during the office hours. Gerrymandering, where the districts are drawn so as your vote won't matter. One may not afford to get a correct ID, and the voter registration. One of the main issues regarding voter identification and voter registration studies, is that previous studies have studied the laws before they became stricter. There has been a proliferation of new and strict voter identification and voter registration laws during the last 10 years, which only would have

been reflected in the previous two elections. Thus, previous studies do not capture the real effect of these voter laws and this thesis only investigates a fraction of potential obstacles towards voting.

One can argue that the odds of racial minorities aren't very much higher than those of White respondents. Even with small groups, the results find a statistical significant association between racial minorities and problems with voting. One shortage with this dataset is that there are low numbers of the racial minorities. This can be the reason why statistical significant associations are not found for Native Americans, Middle Eastern, and Other. Ideally, the sample could have been even bigger to capture the nuances even better. However, this is a good dataset for looking at racial disparities. Even though there are more white respondents, there is found statistical significant association for Black, Hispanic, and Two or more races with problems with voting.

Each racial minority is not a homogenous group. Even though there has been found evidence of increasing odds for Black, Hispanic, and Two or more races of having problems with voting, one has to be careful of making assumptions without taking into account that subgroups can be of different origin, and that these subgroups are not homogenous. For example, from chapter 2, there is a difference in that Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans dominantly votes Democrats, while Cuban Americans votes Republican (Alvarez & Bedolla, 2003). This could potentially skew the results in either direction based on who the respondents are, and which state they dominantly live in.

A potential next step for future research would be to look at state-level voting laws. Since the 50 states have different laws, this is a potential difference that can affect whether people experience problems with voting or not. It would also have been interesting to see if there was a correlation between those respondents who had problems with voting and which presidential candidate they voted for. Linking these issues to a political party. Both structural and rational choice theirs of voting link racial minority voters to vote for the Democrats. A lot of the previous studies on voter ID and voter registration laws, do find an association between Republican states and stricter laws.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The new Georgia law has exemplified how it's getting more difficult to vote. Limited drop boxes, a reduced absentee voting period, restricted mobile voting centers, limited early voting hours, and a politicized new chair in the State Board, are some of the electoral law changes. The racial minority populations in the United States have suffered being restricted from the American electoral system for a long time. There is a long history of restrictions targeting, especially, the black population with poll taxes, literacy tests, and voter registration. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 made all laws unconstitutional that are based on a discriminatory intent. However, the new laws are believed to be race-neutral, but yet, they affect racially minorities disproportionally. Previous studies has found excluding and discriminatory outcomes of voter ID and voter registration laws (Barreto et al., 2019; Barreto et al., 2007; Cobb et al., 2010; Darrah-Okike et al., 2021; Hajnal et al., 2017). Are the voting laws on voter ID and voter registration just an extension of these old methods of discrimination?

Whether the intention is to discriminate racial minorities or to suppress the voters of the opposition, the results are that racial minorities are excluded in greater degree than whites, in the American electoral system. The results show that race can explain, the research question, of why some citizens had problems with voting in the United States Presidential Election of 2020. With the 2020 CES dataset, this thesis has found statistical significant results on racial disparities when trying to vote. The results show that people who are Black, Hispanic, and Two or more races have statistically significant increased odds in having problems with voting, compared to White. When adding the structural variables, some of this is explained by low education, living in urban areas and being younger, controlled for the state the respondent lives in. There are still significant results that Hispanics and Two or more races have increased odds in having problems with voting, compared to White, when controlling for education, rurality, age, and state.

To explain the racial disparities of problems with voting, this thesis has used the theories of social structures and rational choice. Low education, living in urban areas and being younger are social factors that are associated with problems with voting. These are also factors that are associated with racial minorities. When it comes to education, racial minorities have lower educational achievements than those of white, and therefore have lower civic skills and knowledge to understand the electoral system (de Brey et al., 2019). Education has a negative association with problems with voting, and supports the theory of

education is a structural factor that causes voter discrimination. Looking at rurality, the demographic shows that racial minorities lives in the more urban areas, while the rural areas are populated with almost 80 percent whites (Cromartie, 2018). Rurality is also found to be negatively associated with problems with voting. The results show that the more rural you lives, the less problems you will have when voting. Age is also negatively associated to problems with voting. The older a person is, the less problems the person will have with voting. The structural factors of the population shows that racial minorities are a much younger population than those of the white population. The most common age for White Americans was 58 years in 2018, and 27 years for all racial minorities combined (Schaeffer, 2019).

These factors show that to make it harder for minorities to vote, one can restrict election laws around the factors of those who have low education, lives in urban areas and the young. It is rational for a political actor to exploit the system to the advantage of themselves. One potential explanation that racial minorities experience increased odds of having problems with voting, compared to white, might be that they vote for a specific party. Racial minorities are linked to voting for the Democratic party, while white are linked to voting for the Republican party. These laws are being implemented in mainly Republican states, with the Republic party making concerns about voter fraud and electoral integrity, causing them to create requirements for those who are eligible voters. The Democratic party, however, stress that these laws are making it unnecessary difficult for eligible voters to vote and are thus disenfranchising those who have a legally right to vote.

The results of this thesis finds that social structures of education, rurality, and age are all associated to problems with voting. People that are in the same social/minority group are theorized to evolve and share the same values and beliefs, causing them to vote for the same political party. Unfortunately, this makes it easier for the rational actor who wants to exploit the system for advantaging the changes of re-election. Voter ID and voter registration are both laws that significantly affect racial minorities in a greater degree than whites. The fact that political actors are using measures of electoral laws for suppressing the opposition, is worrying for democratic ideals.

Future predictions from the Census projects that American will be 48 percent non-white by 2050, because of the decreasing populations rates for whites, and increasing population rates for minority populations. This could mean a large exclusion of racial

minorities in the future. In Robert Dahls' characteristics of a democracy, is the government's responsiveness to the preferences of the citizens, that are to be as political equals (Dahl, 1971). Being excluded from the electoral process, means that some voters are more important than others, that is not being political equals. Exclusion of eligible voters, violates the basis of the democracy definition of Dahl. It also violates the accountability principle, that with voting the voters elect voter based on their preferences, and can vote them out if their not satisfied. Accountability is "in itself is a public good that advances the goal of ethical, responsible, and responsive government" (Wang & Nittoli, 2012, 11). In a worst case scenario, the preferences of those who are excluded, will not be heard or taken into account by the government. It also shows that the racial minorities that are most likely to be excluded, are skewed more towards the lower educated, more urban residents, and the young, which are social groups that is probably more depended on the government. For a representative system, this is a serious flaw.

There are concerns that the American democracy are leaning more towards authoritarianism, when the political leaders are weakening democratic institutions and abandoning political responsibility (Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018). Rewriting election laws to win re-elections, is a danger for democracy and shows authoritarian tendencies. A proliferation in laws for voter ID and voter registration the last years, is worrisome if the intention is to discriminate racial minorities, or to minimize the voters for the opposing party. This makes the American democracy exclusive and elitist, when it should be inclusive. Electing a candidate is not the only part of voting, but its also a means of showing participation and to fell included and part of an important democratic process.

In this study, the White, higher educated, more rural residents, and elderly are those who benefits from these laws. Racial minorities more often than whites have lower education, lives more urban and are younger, these are all structural factors that can be used by rational actors to minimize the voting efforts by these groups. Being White alone is associated with voting Republican (Jardina, 2019). However, history shows that both parties have used elections laws to benefit themselves, but the Republican party more so in the last fifty years (Wang & Nittoli, 2012, xiv). Using elections laws to minimize the opposition or win elections by suppressing voters is a tactic that should not be considered legitimate. The only legitimate tactic should be to increase participation and include eligible voters in the election process by being able to cast a ballot.

The current findings have shown that there are racial disparities in problems with voting and that the U.S. democracy have important shortcomings in this respect. These laws excludes eligible voters from the American democracy. Voting is a cornerstone in a democracy and should represent the will of all the people. Exclusion of racial minorities violates with the definition of Robert Dahl, that a democracy "is the continuing responsiveness of the government to the preferences of its citizens, considered as political equals" (Dahl 1971, 1)c. When excluded, racial minorities are not political equals, the government is not being responsive to their preferences, and they don't possess the opportunity to vote them out. Inclusion should always be desirable as a democratic ideal.

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Appendix: Effect on problems with voting including state dummies

Table Appendix: Fixed effects model - Effect on problems with voting including state dummies

Table 5.4-1 Appendix: Effect on problems with voting including state dummies

	Dependent variable:			
	Problems with voting			
	(1)c	(2)	(3)	(4)
Black	0.24**	0.23**	0.17	0.15
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Hispanic	0.61***	0.61***	0.58***	0.38***
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Asian	0.33*	0.37**	0.33*	-0.05
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.18)
Native American	0.36	0.36	0.37	0.40
	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)
Middle Eastern	0.20	0.20	0.19	-0.04
	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)
Two or more races	0.44**	0.46**	0.46**	0.48**
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Other	0.64	0.67	0.63	0.21
	(0.72)	(0.72)	(0.72)	(0.73)
Education		-0.06***	-0.07***	-0.09***
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Rural			-0.11***	-0.06*
			(0.03)	(0.03)
Age				-0.03***
				(0.002)
as.factor(inputstate)2	-12.73	-12.70	-12.73	-12.66
	(272.65)	(272.60)	(272.25)	(268.49)

as.factor(inputstate)4	-0.22	-0.22	-0.29	-0.14
	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.36)
as.factor(inputstate)5	0.06	0.05	0.06	0.09
	(0.47)	(0.47)	(0.47)	(0.48)
as.factor(inputstate)6	0.42	0.43	0.35	0.43
	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.30)
as.factor(inputstate)8	-0.16	-0.14	-0.20	-0.17
	(0.38)	(0.38)	(0.38)	(0.38)
as.factor(inputstate)9	0.30	0.31	0.27	0.35
	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.40)
as.factor(inputstate)10	-1.35	-1.35	-1.38	-1.31
	(1.04)	(1.04)	(1.04)	(1.04)
as.factor(inputstate)11	0.73	0.78	0.63	0.57
	(0.50)	(0.50)	(0.51)	(0.51)
as.factor(inputstate)12	-0.11	-0.11	-0.17	-0.02
	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.31)
as.factor(inputstate)13	-0.22	-0.22	-0.24	-0.19
	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.35)
as.factor(inputstate)15	0.33	0.34	0.31	0.63
	(0.54)	(0.54)	(0.54)	(0.54)
as.factor(inputstate)16	-12.68	-12.70	-12.72	-12.70
	(154.21)	(154.16)	(154.07)	(152.07)
as.factor(inputstate)17	0.47	0.48	0.42	0.47
	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.31)
as.factor(inputstate)18	-0.44	-0.44	-0.48	-0.44
	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.39)
as.factor(inputstate)19	-0.33	-0.34	-0.38	-0.39
	(0.47)	(0.47)	(0.47)	(0.47)
as.factor(inputstate)20	0.27	0.28	0.23	0.29
	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.44)
as.factor(inputstate)21	-0.02	-0.04	-0.03	-0.05
	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.39)
as.factor(inputstate)22	-0.14	-0.15	-0.17	-0.14
	(0.45)	(0.45)	(0.45)	(0.45)
as.factor(inputstate)23	-0.09	-0.11	-0.07	-0.04
	(0.53)	(0.53)	(0.53)	(0.53)

as.factor(inputstate)24	0.43	0.45	0.41	0.43
	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)
as.factor(inputstate)25	-0.88*	-0.87*	-0.94**	-0.86*
	(0.45)	(0.45)	(0.45)	(0.45)
as.factor(inputstate)26	0.12	0.12	0.10	0.14
	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.33)
as.factor(inputstate)27	-0.08	-0.08	-0.13	-0.12
	(0.38)	(0.38)	(0.38)	(0.38)
as.factor(inputstate)28	0.17	0.17	0.20	0.15
	(0.47)	(0.47)	(0.47)	(0.48)
as.factor(inputstate)29	-0.49	-0.50	-0.52	-0.46
	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.40)
as.factor(inputstate)30	0.49	0.50	0.51	0.61
	(0.50)	(0.50)	(0.50)	(0.50)
as.factor(inputstate)31	-1.62	-1.62	-1.68	-1.61
	(1.04)	(1.04)	(1.04)	(1.04)
as.factor(inputstate)32	0.52	0.52	0.43	0.54
	(0.37)	(0.37)	(0.37)	(0.37)
as.factor(inputstate)33	0.49	0.49	0.50	0.61
	(0.43)	(0.43)	(0.43)	(0.43)
as.factor(inputstate)34	0.42	0.43	0.39	0.45
	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)
as.factor(inputstate)35	-0.61	-0.60	-0.65	-0.44
	(0.58)	(0.58)	(0.58)	(0.58)
as.factor(inputstate)36	0.01	0.02	-0.05	-0.01
	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.31)
as.factor(inputstate)37	-0.06	-0.06	-0.06	-0.04
	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)
as.factor(inputstate)38	-0.07	-0.06	-0.11	-0.15
	(0.77)	(0.77)	(0.77)	(0.77)
as.factor(inputstate)39	-0.33	-0.34	-0.38	-0.34
	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)
as.factor(inputstate)40	-0.41	-0.42	-0.46	-0.47
	(0.53)	(0.53)	(0.53)	(0.53)
as.factor(inputstate)41	-0.15	-0.14	-0.18	-0.13
	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.40)
as.factor(inputstate)42	-0.29	-0.30	-0.32	-0.26

	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.33)
as.factor(inputstate)44	0.03	0.04	-0.02	0.06
	(0.65)	(0.65)	(0.65)	(0.65)
as.factor(inputstate)45	-0.12	-0.11	-0.11	-0.03
	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.39)
as.factor(inputstate)46	0.16	0.16	0.13	0.17
	(0.65)	(0.65)	(0.65)	(0.65)
as.factor(inputstate)47	-0.24	-0.24	-0.25	-0.21
	(0.38)	(0.38)	(0.38)	(0.38)
as.factor(inputstate)48	0.10	0.10	0.04	0.12
	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.31)	(0.31)
as.factor(inputstate)49	0.40	0.41	0.34	0.21
	(0.42)	(0.42)	(0.42)	(0.42)
as.factor(inputstate)50	-0.22	-0.19	-0.13	-0.12
	(0.77)	(0.77)	(0.77)	(0.77)
as.factor(inputstate)51	-0.56	-0.54	-0.56	-0.55
	(0.37)	(0.37)	(0.37)	(0.37)
as.factor(inputstate)53	0.45	0.46	0.42	0.46
	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.33)
as.factor(inputstate)54	-0.76	-0.79	-0.75	-0.71
	(0.64)	(0.64)	(0.64)	(0.65)
as.factor(inputstate)55	0.02	0.01	-0.03	-0.01
	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.37)
as.factor(inputstate)56	-0.37	-0.37	-0.34	-0.28
	(1.05)	(1.05)	(1.05)	(1.05)
Constant	-3.96***	-3.73***	-3.41***	-1.89***
	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.31)	(0.33)
Observations	45,836	45,836	45,836	45,836
Log Likelihood	-4,626.16	-4,622.60	-4,617.44	-4,505.53
Akaike Inf. Crit.	9,368.33	9,363.19	9,354.88	9,133.07

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Standard errors in parenthesis