2008 Survey of the Performance of American Elections

Final Report

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Executive Summary

This study is based on the responses to an Internet survey of 200 registered voters in each of the 50 states, for a total of 10,000 observations overall. Individuals were asked about their experience voting—either in-person on Election Day, in-person early, or absentee voting. Non-voters were also surveyed. Below is a summary of key findings from the report.

Mode of Voting

States vary in how they allow voters to vote. Nationwide in 2008:

- 63% of voters voted in person on Election Day,
- 18% voted in-person early (or in-person absentee), and
- 19% voted by mail.

In 11 states, a majority of votes were cast before Election Day, via early or absentee voting. In 13 states, more than 90% of the votes were cast on Election Day. Women, the elderly, individuals with disabilities, and the better educated were more likely to use early or absentee voting.

Overall Assessment of Election Day Voting

For the average voter in 2008, the Election Day experience went smoothly:

- 98% of respondents said it was “very easy” or “fairly easy” to find their polling place.
- 98% said their polling place was run “very well” or “Ok, with only minor problems.”
- 96% said that poll worker performance was either “excellent” (70%) or very good (26%).
- Less than 2% witnessed problems at their polling place that could have interfered with people being able to vote.
- Fewer than 2% of voters experienced registration problems.

- Fewer than 2% of voters reported problems with the voting equipment.

Waiting in Line

Lines were shorter at polling places than they were at early voting sites. Lines were minimal, though 1-in-20 encountered long waiting times.

- 70% of people reported waiting less than 10 minutes.
- 9% waited 30 to 60 minutes and 5% waited more than an hour. (Some who waited more than an hour stated that they came to the polls very early to be first in line.)
- 60% of those who voted early reported waiting 10 minutes or less, compared with 73% who voted at polling places on Election Day.
- 8% of those who voted at early polling stations reported that they waited in line at least an hour, compared with 4% of those who voted at precincts on Election Day.

Voter Identification

Voter identification laws were unevenly implemented within states.

- In states that require all voters to show photo identification, roughly one-quarter of voters said they showed photo identification not because it was required but because it was convenient.
- In the states that only ask first-time voters to show *any* form of identification (including a letter addressed to them), one-quarter of *all* voters stated they would not have been allowed to vote had they not produced a photo ID.
- African Americans and Hispanics were asked to show "picture ID" more often than Whites — 70% for African Americans, 65% for Hispanics, and 51% for Whites.

Problems with Voting Equipment

Running into problems was unrelated to the type of voting equipment used by the voter.

- 2.1% who used electronic voting machines *or* optical scanners reported problems using the voting equipment.
- 5% of voters reported getting assistance filling out their ballot or using equipment and in almost all instances (86%) help was provided by the poll worker.
- Some voters who had difficulty did not often ask for assistance. Of those who had difficulty with voting equipment, only 10% got help.

Absentee Voting

Absentee voting was quite smooth nationally.

- Less than 2% of absentee voters stated that they had a problem getting their ballot.
- Just over 3% of absentee voters needed assistance in casting their ballot.
- Barely 0.6% of absentee voters claimed to have felt pressured to vote a certain way.
- Just over 68% of voters returned their ballots by mail and another 19% personally returned it to the election office by hand.
- A majority (55%) of absentee voters stated that they returned their ballot at least one week prior to the election.

Confidence

We asked respondents to the survey “How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended?”

- 72% of the respondents to this question said they were very confident and

- 22% said they were somewhat confident.
- 75% of in-person Election Day voters and in-person early voters were “very confident,” and 19% were “somewhat confident.”
- 60% of absentee, by-mail voters were “very confident,” and 31% were “somewhat confident.”
- 77% of African American voters were very confident and 18% were somewhat confident.
- 72% of Hispanic voters were very confident and 16% were somewhat confident.
- 71% of White voters were very confident and 22% were somewhat confident.

Not Voting

The three most common reasons that respondents chose not to vote related to the personal circumstances and preferences of the registered voters.

- 43% of nonvoters indicated that they did not vote, in part, because they did not like the choices offered to them.
- Another 32% said that being “too busy” was either a major factor or a minor factor in not voting.
- The third-most-common response was “illness,” with 21% of respondents saying that sickness was a factor.

The report also examines variations across states in their experiences. Section 5 of the report examines the overall assessment of the voting process, by state. Appendix 2 lists how states compare for the core performance questions asked in the survey.

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I. Introduction and Summary

The 2008 Survey on the Performance of American Elections was the first nationwide effort to gauge the quality of the election experience from the perspective of voters. The study consisted of two parts: (1) a survey administered via the Internet to 10,000 registered voters nationwide — 200 in each state — to ask about topics such as whether they encountered problems with their voter registration or experienced long lines to vote and (2) a parallel survey administered via telephone to 200 respondents in 10 states — 2,000 total — to help calibrate the newer Internet method against the more traditional telephone method.

Based on answers to the survey questions, the voting experience in 2008 was a positive one for the vast majority of American voters.[1] Overall,

- 89% of voters reported that it was "very easy" to find their polling place,
- 82% voted in a precinct that was run "very well,"
- 98% had no problems with their registration,
- 84% waited less than 30 minutes to vote, and
- 98% had no problems with the voting equipment.

Among absentee voters,

- 98% had no problems receiving their ballot and
- 84% found it "very easy" to fill out the ballot.

With the general good news found in the survey, there are concerns to report, as well. The most notable was the length of line in some communities, particularly the longer wait experienced by African Americans.

[1] Throughout most of this report, results from the Internet survey are the basis of our findings, since it was administered nationwide. Section II compares results across the two modes administering the survey.

- 20% of African American voters waited more than half an hour to vote, compared to 14% of Whites and 15% of Hispanics.
- Early voters also waited in line longer (22% longer than 30 minutes) than Election Day voters (14%).

Results from the survey also point to disparities in the implementation of voter identification laws across the country. These disparities come in two varieties.

- First, poll workers deviate from state election laws in many places, demanding that voters show identification in states that do not require it, and in some cases, prohibit it.
- Second, African Americans and Hispanics were asked to show "picture ID" more often than Whites — 70% for African Americans, 65% for Hispanics, and 51% for Whites.

The report that follows examines these differences and more. We begin by discussing the methodology of the study, which was designed to allow a comparison between using newer Internet interviewing methods and more traditional random-digit dialing telephone interviewing. We then turn our attention to a discussion of the core data, which gauges the experience of voters in the 2008 regardless of whether they voted on Election Day, in-person before Election Day, or by mail. Finally, we focus on four special topics: age and the voting experience, race and the voting experience, residency and residential mobility, and vote fraud and reform proposals. The final chapter of this report provides an overall assessment of the quality of the election experience in 2008, focusing on quantifying the incident of voting problems, estimating the number of "lost votes" due to election administration problems and providing summary information that allows us to compare the experience of voters across the states.

II. Methodology and Comparison of Survey Modes

The 2008 *Survey of the Performance of American Elections* was conducted using two interviewing modes: the Internet and telephone. The Internet survey covered the entire nation and will be the primary data source for the analysis in the remainder of this report. The telephone survey, which interviewed subjects in ten states, was conducted primarily to understand differences in how voters respond to questions about the voting experience, based on survey mode.

Survey Methodology

The Internet survey involved 200 interviews of registered voters in each of the 50 states, for a total of 10,000 observations overall. YouGov/Polimetrix conducted this survey using state-level matched random samples in each of the states. Although respondents were recruited through a variety of techniques, the resulting sample matched the nation on important demographic characteristics, such as education, income, race, and partisanship. There was a somewhat lower presence of lower-income and minority voters in the original sample, so weights were applied as a corrective.

The questionnaires we used were developed over the past year, after initial pilot studies in the November 2007 gubernatorial elections in Mississippi, Kentucky, and Louisiana and in the February 2008 "Super Tuesday" presidential primary. The core of the questionnaire was a series of items that asked about the experience of voters on Election Day, in early voting centers, or when they voted by mail. In addition, we asked non-voters questions about why they didn't vote, along with questions intended to understand voter identification issues and the opinions of voters about various election reform proposals. The full text of the questionnaire appears in Appendix 8.

Comparison of Survey Results with Known Election Results

With the weights applied, the state-by-state correlation between the actual Obama vote and the Obama voted estimated by the Internet survey was very high. Nationwide, the Internet survey under-estimated the two-party vote for Obama by 0.4 of a percentage point (53.7% actual *vs.* 53.3% in the survey). The state-by-state correlation between actual and estimated Obama vote was .94.

The telephone survey involved 200 interviews with randomly-dialed registered voters in ten states, chosen to be representative of the nation in terms of partisanship and racial diversity — Alabama, Arizona, California, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Mississippi, New York, Texas, and Washington. The correlation between actual and estimated Obama vote in the telephone survey was lower than the Internet survey (.83 *vs.* .97 for the ten telephone survey states), which is not terribly surprising, because we only had ten states interviewed via telephone. The telephone survey was slightly less pro-Obama than the electorate at large in these ten states but the difference was less than 2 percentage points (53.1% for Obama in the survey *vs.* 55.0% actual). These are small differences and within the range of election surveys in 2008.[2]

Demographic Differences between Internet and Phone Respondents

Two important questions regarding the surveys are (1) whether different types of respondents participate in Internet and telephone polls at different rates and (2) if their answers to substantive questions differ. Income differences between the two groups were slight and more respondents refused to divulge their income on the phone (13.2%) than via the Internet (9.7%). Among those who gave their income, slightly more had household incomes over $100,000 in the Internet survey

[2] For instance, of nine national polls taken within the last three days of the general election period (Maris, ARG, Fox, NBC/WSJ, CBS, Democracy Corp, Ipsos, CNN, and Pew), the average poll over-estimated the Obama two-party vote share by 0.4%, ranging from a 1.2% over-estimate (CBS) to a perfect call (Democracy Corp).

(20%) than on the phone survey (17%). Conversely, slightly more had incomes under $50,000 on the phone survey (44%) than on the Internet survey (46%).

Differences were slightly greater with respect to education. Slightly more Internet respondents (12%) had postgraduate experience than phone respondents (10%). Significantly more phone respondents (14%) reported finishing their education after two years of college than did Internet respondents (8%).

The biggest difference in the respondents to the two survey modes was age. Internet respondents were six years younger, on average, than were phone respondents (47 *vs.* 53).

As we discuss in Section IV, younger and older voters had slightly different experiences voting in 2008. Younger voters reported more problems voting and had less confidence that their votes would be counted as cast. As a consequence, the "true" experience of voters in 2008 was likely even more positive than the results we report in subsequent sections of this report, using the Internet survey.

Some basic political differences existed between the two groups of survey respondents. The Internet sample had slightly fewer Republicans than the phone sample (32% *vs.* 36%) and slightly more Democrats (38% *vs.* 35%) and Independents (26% *vs.* 19%). This difference also extended to political ideology. Though the percentage of conservatives was roughly the same across the two modes (23% Internet *vs*. 24% phone), the Internet sample had many fewer respondents who were "not sure" of their ideology (7% *vs.* 20%) and more respondents who identified as "liberal" (17% *vs*. 12%) or "very liberal" (8% *vs.* 4%).

Voting Experience Differences between Internet and Phone Respondents

Turning to the substantive questions of the survey, the Internet sample respondents were more likely to identify particular factors as playing a role in their decision not to vote. To understand

why registered voters did not vote in the 2008 election, we asked non-voters in our sample to indicate which of 14 items were "a major factor, a minor factor, or not a factor" in deciding not to vote. The 14 response items range from the personal ("illness or disability") to the political ("I didn't like the candidates or campaign issues") to election administration ("there were problems with my registration").

On all of the 14 items except the "too busy" item, Internet respondents were more likely to say that a given problem was "a minor factor" or "a major factor."[3] For instance,

- 25% of the Internet respondents who did not vote said that having the wrong ID played some role in their not voting, compared to 11% of phone respondents;
- 33% of Internet respondents who did not vote, compared to 18% of phone respondents, said that "being out of town" played a role in their not voting.

Collectively, the Internet sample of non-voters mentioned an average of one more factor (2.4 reasons, on average) than the phone sample (3.4).

Phone and Internet respondents also reported slightly different experiences when they voted. For instance,

- 3% of Internet respondents reported some difficulty in locating their voting place on Election Day, compared to 4% of phone respondents;
- 3% of Internet respondents reported problems with their voter registration, compared to 1% of phone respondents; and
- 3% of Internet respondents reported problems with their voting equipment, compared to 1% of phone respondents.

[3] Respondents in the Internet sample were also offered a "don't know" response to these items, in contrast to the phone sample. Even adjusting for the non-response, it is clear that the Internet sample identified a higher incidence of problems.

Phone respondents were more likely to say their polling place was run "very well" (86%) than Internet respondents (80%). Finally, phone respondents were more likely to say they were "very confident" their vote would be counted as cast than Internet respondents (78% *vs.* 72%).

It was on the policy questions, and questions about the presence of fraud, where the biggest differences between Internet and phone respondents were seen. Large differences existed on the questions related to voter fraud, vote theft, and voter impersonation, which asked the following questions:

- It is illegal to vote more than once in an election or to vote if not a U.S. citizen. How frequently do you think this occurs in your community?
- Another form of fraud occurs when votes are stolen or tampered with. How frequently do you think this occurs in your community?
- It is illegal for a person to claim to be another person, who is registered to vote, and to cast that person's vote. How often do you think this occurs in your community?

For each item, regardless of interviewer mode, the modal answer to the questions of the incidence of voter fraud was "it almost never occurs." However, the "never occurs" responses ran 20 to 30 percent higher on the phone sample than in the Internet sample (see Tables II-3 – II-5).

Oddly enough, given the beliefs about voter fraud, the Internet respondents were more likely to support reforms making the act of voting easier, and presumably less amenable to direct monitoring by election officials. Internet respondents were more likely than phone respondents to:

- Support allowing absentee voting over the Internet (32% *vs.* 22%),
- Allowing registration at the polls (39% *vs.* 32%),
- moving Election Day to the weekend (43% *vs.* 37%), and
- making Election Day a holiday (56% *vs.* 45%).

Summary

These differences between Internet and phone respondents offer reassurance and suggest cautions in using the data from the survey. Overall, the samples in both surveys are similar to the population as a whole and to each other in terms of demographics and political attitudes and behaviors. Evidence of a "digital divide" in the two surveys is present, but small. The voting patterns the two survey modes match the election results very closely, both in terms of the national results and on a state-by-state basis.

There were important differences in the two modes with respect to the "customer service" aspects of the 2008 election. Internet respondents gave more reasons for not voting (among those who didn't vote), had more problems voting, evaluated the voting experience less favorably, believed problems with voter fraud were greater, and were more likely to support election reforms than respondents who replied to the same questionnaire by phone.

It is not at all surprising that respondents to an Internet-based survey would be more likely to favor Internet voting. Survey researchers have long known that respondents are less likely to express negative opinions in a face-to-face interview than when the survey is done by pencil-and-paper and so it is also not surprising that Internet respondents may have expressed slightly more negative experiences than phone respondents. The biggest surprise, and the one that bears the most research, is why Internet respondents generally were much more likely to embrace all the reform proposals than the phone respondents.

All survey modes introduce a filter between the respondent and the researcher and so these mode differences are not necessarily troubling. If we understand, for instance, that Internet respondents are more likely to express dissatisfaction with voting, or more likely to report problems, then the most important thing for us to know is whether these differences are more-or-

less the same across the states and localities where the surveys are conducted. The evidence is that the within-state results are largely the same when we compare Internet and phone respondents. For instance, the correlation in the average wait in line to vote, measured at the state level, is .83, when we compare the ten "telephone states" across the two modes. Appendix 7 reports a more comprehensive set of statistics, comparing phone and Internet responses to the core performance measures in the ten states where we did telephone sampling.

Therefore, we have confidence in the results we present in the rest of this report, keeping in mind that the "true" answers may lie slightly to the "left" or "right" of the survey response.

Section II Tables

Table II-1. Party Identification by Survey Mode.

Party Identification	Mode of Survey		
	Phone	Internet	Total
Democrat	35.2%	38.3%	36.8%
Republican	36.4%	31.6%	34.0%
Independent	19.2%	26.1%	22.6%
Other	4.5%	0.4%	2.4%
Not Sure	0.0%	3.7%	1.9%
Phone-Refused	4.7%	—	2.4%

Table II-2. Ideology by Survey Mode.

Ideology	Mode of Survey		
	Phone	Internet	Total
Very Liberal	3.5%	7.9%	5.7%
Liberal	11.8%	17.2%	14.5%
Moderate	26.9%	31.5%	29.2%
Conservative	24.1%	23.1%	23.6%
Very Conservative	12.0%	12.8%	12.4%
Not Sure	19.6%	7.4%	13.5%
Phone-Refused	2.1%	—	1.1%

Table II-3. Beliefs about Voter Fraud by Survey Mode.

Q36. Voter Fraud	Mode of Survey		
	Phone	Internet	Total
Very Common	5.7%	10.5%	8.1%
Occurs Occasionally	14.9%	20.0%	17.4%
Occurs Infrequently	18.3%	18.0%	18.1%
Almost Never Occurs	47.2%	26.2%	36.7%
Not Sure	13.4%	25.4%	19.4%
Phone-Refused	0.4%	—	0.2%

Table II-4. Beliefs about Vote Theft by Survey Mode.

Q37. Vote Theft	Mode of Survey		
	Phone	Internet	Total
Very Common	3.4%	6.9%	5.2%
Occurs Occasionally	9.2%	18.1%	13.7%
Occurs Infrequently	17.1%	16.4%	16.7%
Almost Never Occurs	60.2%	31.2%	45.7%
Not Sure	9.8%	27.4%	18.6%
Phone-Refused	0.3%	—	0.2%

Table II-5. Beliefs about Voter Impersonation by Survey Mode.

Q38. Voter Impersonation	Mode of Survey		
	Phone	Internet	Total
Very Common	2.7%	6.1%	4.4%
Occurs Occasionally	10.4%	16.3%	13.4%
Occurs Infrequently	19.5%	16.6%	18.1%
Almost Never Occurs	57.9%	31.0%	44.5%
Not Sure	9.2%	30.0%	19.6%
Phone-Refused	0.3%	—	0.2%

III. The Voting Experience

The 2008 *Survey of the Performance of American Elections* was designed to gauge the voting experience, from the perspective of registered voters, comprehensively. In this chapter we summarize the core data in the survey by examining how people voted in 2008 and the experience of those who voted both on Election Day and who voted early (either in-person or by mail.) We then turn our attention to the experience of non-voters and their reasons for not voting. Finally, we summarize the 2008 voting experience by examining the confidence that voters had that their vote would be counted as cast.

How Did People Vote in 2008?

Nationwide in 2008,

- 63% of voters voted in person on Election Day,
- 18% voted in-person early (or in-person absentee), and
- 19% voted by mail.

In order to interpret these statistics, we have to take into account how voting methods vary across states. For example, Oregon votes only vote-by-mail, whereas Maryland has no early voting and requires absentee voters to provide an excuse before they can receive an absentee ballot. Not surprisingly, 97% of Oregon voters reported in our survey that they voted by mail, whereas only 7% of Maryland voters used a mail-in absentee ballot.[4]

Table III-1 reports how respondents said they voted, organized by the nature of the law specifying whether the state allowed early voting and the type of absentee ballot laws in the states. Not surprisingly, there is great variation in how individuals chose to vote based on the options

[4] Oregon allows individual to go to county election offices and complete their ballots there, which probably accounts for the 3% of Oregon respondents who reported their either voted in-person on Election Day or early.

available. In states with permanent absentee voting, absentee voting is much more prevalent than it is in states with excuse-only absentee voting laws. By contrast, in states with early voting, voters tend to use that mode of voting more than absentee voting, unless the state also had permanent absentee voting.

In eleven states, a majority of votes were cast before Election Day, via early or absentee voting. In Oregon, Colorado, Arizona, and Washington, absentee voting (or mail ballots) was the preferred method for voting, but in New Mexico, Nevada, Texas, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Georgia, early voting was the most common way of voting. In contrast, in thirteen states, more than 90% of the votes were cast on Election Day. These states tended to be in the Northeast (including Connecticut, New Jersey, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Delaware) or in the South (including Mississippi, Kentucky, and Alabama).

An examination of how people vote based on demographic factors, such as race, age, education, and gender shows that there are key differences regarding the mode of voting people use.

- Women were slightly less likely to vote in-person on Election Day than men (64% *vs.* 61%).
- African Americans were much less likely to vote using absentee voting than Whites (12% *vs.* 20%) but more likely to vote early compared to White voters (24% *vs.* 17%).
- Elderly people and individuals with disabilities both use absentee voting more than do younger voters or individuals without disabilities. For instance, 33% of voters over 70 years old voted absentee, compared to 13% of voters in their thirties;[5] 24% of voters with a

[5] Not surprisingly, 24% of voters between the ages of 18 and 22 voted absentee.

disability that kept the voter "from participating fully in work, school, housework, or other activities" voted absentee, compared to 18% of voters without a disability.

- Better-educated voters were also more likely to take advantage of convenience voting methods than are less well educated voters. Among voters with some post-college education, 45% voted either absentee or early, compared to 31% of voters who did not graduate from high school.

There are important differences in the modes of voting across political factors, as well as the level of experience that the voter has with the voting process. Twenty-one percent of respondents who said they voted for Obama also reported that they voted early, compared to 15% of McCain voters. Similarly, 21% of Democrats, compared to 17% of Republicans, said they voted early. Sixteen percent of Independents voted early. Stated another way, 66% of McCain's supporters showed up on Election Day, compared to 60% of Obama's.

Finally, one concern expressed in the 2008 election was the worry that activist groups might register new voters and then manipulate their vote, either by having the vote cast right away, or by "helping" the new voter cast an absentee ballot. Regardless of how sound these concerns were, the evidence from the Survey suggests that first-time voters were actually *more likely* to vote in a traditional precinct than experienced voters. In particular, 12% of first-time voters reported that they voted absentee, compared to 19% of experienced voters. Conversely, 68% of first-time voters voted in person on Election Day, compared to 63% of experienced voters.

The In-Person Voting Experience

For the six-in ten-people who voted in the traditional way, in a precinct on Election Day, the polling place defines the voting experience. The voter must first get to the polling place. At the polling place, voters queue up to sign-in. Signing-in involves an encounter with a precinct election

official (called the “warden,” precinct captain, poll worker, etc. across the various states), who is usually a temporary worker or volunteer. The precinct election official authenticates the voter, records that the person has voted on the registration roll, and provides access to the necessary voting technology. The voter then votes using the particular technology — an electronic voting machine, a scannable paper ballot, or a hand-counted paper ballot—which in practice ranges from being handed a paper ballot and a pencil to receiving a computer card that activates an electronic voting machine. If the voter has problems, she or he may request assistance. After voting, the ballot is deposited to be counted at the end of Election Day.

For the local election office, precinct-based voting requires the creation of the precinct boundaries, the selection of polling places within precincts, the development and distribution of registration lists that are appropriate to the precincts located in a given polling place, recruitment and training of poll workers, maintenance and distribution of voting equipment and ballots, and collection of ballots, tabulations, and registration rolls. Some states also audit election results by conducting a review of the performance of election procedures in a set of randomly selected precincts.

The election experiences survey gauged some of the prominent features of precincts, such as where people vote and who are the poll workers, and measured the overall performance of the different parts of the in-precinct voting process. For the average voter in 2008, the Election Day experience went smoothly, as the following summary statistics indicate:

- 98% of respondents said it was “very easy” or “fairly easy” to find their polling place.
- 96% said that poll worker performance was either “excellent” (70%) or “very good” (26%).
- Less than 2% witnessed problems at their polling place that could have interfered with people being able to vote.

- Fewer than 2% of voters experienced registration problems.
- Fewer than 2% of voters reported problems with the voting equipment.

We organize this subsection around several broad facets of the voting process: (1) polling places (including difficulty finding and lines), (2) poll workers, (3) voter authentication (registration and voter identification), (4) vote casting, and (5) overall experiences at the polls.

Types of Polling Places.

Finding suitable polling places is an important first step in making elections work well. The facilities must be accessible, easy to find, well lit, comfortable, and able to accommodate large numbers of voters, as well as the voting apparatus and poll workers. A majority of polling places in the United States are public buildings, most commonly schools. Fifty-seven percent of respondents reported voting at a school (28%), municipal or state office (19%), a police or fire department (6%), or library (3%). Civic buildings accounted for nearly all of the remaining polling places, with 16% of respondents voting in churches, 15% in community centers, and 3% in senior centers. Only 3% voted in businesses, stores, or shopping centers, and less than one-half of one percent voted in private homes.

The type of polling places that election officials use varies significantly across regions. Public buildings were most commonly used in the Northeast, with two-thirds of voters voting in schools, government office buildings, police and fire stations, and libraries in this region. Churches and community centers were used most frequently in the Midwest. Private places were used most commonly in the Western states, where 8% voted in businesses and 1% in homes.

Finding the Polls

Voters had little difficult finding their polling places. Over 98% reported that their polling place was "very easy" or "fairly easy" to find.

Lines and Wait Times

Once at polling places, voters began the process of checking in and casting ballots. Lines were minimal, though one in 20 encountered long waiting times.

- 70% of people reported waiting less than 10 minutes (27%) or "not at all" (43%) to vote.
- 16% reported waiting 10 to 30 minutes;
- 9% waited 30 to 60 minutes; and
- 5% waited more than an hour. (Some of those who reported waiting more than an hour stated that they came to the polls very early to be first in line.)

Lines were shorter at polling places than they were at early voting sites. Sixty-percent of those who voted early reported waiting 10 minutes or less, compared with 73% who voted at polling places on Election Day. At the other end of the scale, 8% of those who voted at early polling stations reported that they waited in line at least an hour, compared with 4% of those who voted at precincts on Election Day.

Poll Workers

Management of the voting process at the polling places falls on a staff of volunteers or workers paid a minimal amount for the day's work. They are responsible for authenticating voters, providing ballots or access to voting machines, giving assistance to voters if requested, and generally running the polling place. The volunteer army of poll workers is often viewed as the critical link in making voting work.

Who are poll workers? Respondents were asked to estimate the age of the poll workers who checked them in, to report the race of the poll worker, and whether they knew the poll worker personally. The respondents estimated the age of the population of poll workers as being somewhat older than the population of voters, but the differences are not dramatic.

- 5% of poll workers were estimated to be under 30 years old, compared with 15% of voters in the sample.
- 31% of poll workers were estimated between 31 and 50 years old, compared with 35% of voters.
- 57% of poll workers were estimated to be between 51 and 70 years old, compared with 42% of voters.
- 6% of poll workers were estimated to be over 70 years old, compared with 8% of voters.

Racially, voters estimated that poll workers resembled the voting population.

- 74% of poll workers were White, compared with 74% of voters;
- 11% of poll workers were African American, compared with 11% of voters;
- 2% of poll workers were Hispanic, compared with 9% of voters;
- 2% of poll workers were multi-racial, and
- Asians and Native Americans each comprised less than 1% of the poll worker population nationally.
- 9% of respondents were unsure of the race of their poll worker.

Interestingly, although many people assume that voters know who their poll worker is, the survey data showed that only 17% of voters reported that they knew the poll worker personally.

We asked respondents to rate the overall performance of poll workers. Americans had very favorable assessments of poll workers:

- 96% rated the poll worker performance excellent or good (fully 70% rated them excellent);
- Less than 1% of respondents evaluated the performance of their poll worker as poor.

This is a very encouraging result for the quality of service provided at the polls.

The age of poll workers has long been of concern to those trying to improve voting procedures, with the concern being that older poll workers may have more difficulty with new procedures, new technologies, and increased expectations at the polls. Overall assessments of performance suggest that age may be a problem. Poll workers who were estimated to be between 31 and 70 years old were judged the best, receiving excellent ratings from 71% of respondents. Poll workers who were thought to be under 30 received as many combined good and excellent ratings as other poll workers, but 5% fewer excellent ratings compared to poll workers 31-to-70. Poll workers estimated to be over 70 were rated somewhat less favorably, with 92% rated a combined good or excellent but only 57% rated excellent.

One reason for caution with this overall rating is that some of the concrete measures of performance, such as line length, indicate that older poll workers performed much better than younger poll workers did. If the poll worker was estimated to be over 70, 73% of respondents reported waiting in line less than 10 minutes; if the poll worker was between 50 and 70 years old, 71% of respondents reported waiting less than 10 minutes; if the poll worker was estimated to be between 30 and 50 years old, 66% reported waiting 10 minutes or less; and if the poll worker was thought to be younger than 30 years old, 64% reported waiting 10 minutes or less. Differences in treatment of voters in authentication process also emerge with the age of the poll workers, which we turn to next.

Authentication of Voters: Voter Identification and Registration.

The core activity of precinct election officials in the voting process consists of voter authentication and preparing the ballot to give to the voter. Voter identification and registration are the two essential parts to the authentication procedures in the United States. Earlier studies have documented that registration problems arise quite commonly and, in the 2000 general election, kept approximately 3% of people from voting. Since 2000, many states have strengthened voter identification laws, raising the possibility that the application of identification rules at the polls could create further difficulties voting.

Slightly more than half of all people showed identification when they voted. Exactly 50% of respondents said that they were asked to show an identification when they voted at the polls on Election Day. By comparison, 66% of those who voted early were asked to show identification. Less than one-quarter of one percent of respondents (only 9 people) reported that they were prevented from voting at the polls as a result of voter identification requests, although 2% reported that they had to vote a provisional ballot because they did not bring a current, valid identification to the polls.

Problems due to voter registration errors were similarly uncommon, although more frequent than problems arising from identification requirements. Two percent of respondents reported that there was a problem with their registration when they tried to vote at the polls. Of those who had problems with registration, three-fourths were allowed to vote with a regular ballot and one-quarter were allowed to vote a provisional ballot.

Registration problems did not seem to vary across regions, but there was significant variation in the requests for voter identification across states because state laws differ significantly.

In 2008, 23 states[6] had the minimum requirements specified by the Help America Vote Act; that is, they required first-time voters who registered by mail to show some form of identification, which did not have to be photo identification. Twenty-four percent of all respondents from these state said they were required to show *photo* identification in order to vote. We followed-up with these voters, asking, "Did you show picture identification because you were asked for it specifically, or because a picture identification was the most convenient form of identification for you to show?" Applying this question screen, we arrive at an estimate that 16% of *all* voters in states that only require (non-photo) identification from *first-time* voters were required to produce photo identification in order to vote. These percentages ranged from 5% in Massachusetts to 24% in Nevada.[7]

Another 18 states[8] required some form of identification (photo *or* non-photo) from *all* voters. In these state, 77% of respondents said they were required to show photo identification in order to vote. When we followed-up to see whether the photo identification was *required* or simply the most convenient form of identification, 44% said they were required to show a photo ID in these states.

Three states — Florida, Georgia, and Indiana — actually had state laws requiring all voters to show a photo ID in order to vote. In these three states, 99% of respondents reported being asked to show photo identification. When we followed-up, asking whether they showed the photo identification voluntarily or as a firm requirement, 75% of respondents insisted that they were required to show photo identification in order to vote.

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[6] California, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

[7] First-time voters were more likely to report they were required to show a photo ID to vote, particularly in the "HAVA minimum states." Thirty-six percent of first-time voters in "HAVA minimum states" report being required to show photo ID, compared to 15% of voters who had voted before.

[8] Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Kentucky, Missouri, Montana, New Mexico, North Dakota, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and Washington.

Four states (Hawaii, Louisiana, Michigan, and South Dakota) had laws *requesting* that all voters show photo identification but allowed voters without proper identification to sign an affidavit and cast a regular ballot. Ninety-seven percent of voters in these states initially reported being required to show a photo ID in order to vote. This estimate went down to 77% when we probed whether showing the photo ID was required or voluntary.

Finally, two states (Kansas and Pennsylvania) required all new voters to show some form of identification, which did not have to be photo. In Kansas, 26% of voters initially said they were required to show a photo ID in order to vote, which went down to 13% when we further probed. The corresponding figures were 32% and 24% in Pennsylvania.

These statistics illustrate the significant flexibility that Election Day workers have in implementing state voter-identification laws or at least may appear to have flexibility in the eyes of voters. Even in states that require all voters to show photo identification, roughly one-quarter of voters said they showed photo identification not because it was required but because it was convenient. On the other hand, in the states that only ask first-time voters to show *any* form of identification (including a letter addressed to them), one-quarter of *all* voters stated they would not have been allowed to vote had they not produced a photo ID.

It is worth noting that the age of the poll worker—as estimated by the voters—is strongly associated with the incidence of requests for voter identification (even after holding other factors constant).

- Poll workers thought to be over 70 years of age asked 36% of voters for identification.
- Poll workers thought to be between 50 and 70 years old asked 48% of voters for identification.
- Poll workers thought to be less than 50 years old asked 58% of voters for identification.

As discussed in *Part IV* of this report, there were also noticeable differences by race. The identity of people who work the polls, then, has substantial effect on the administration of elections. Although they are often judged less favorably in generic evaluations, older poll workers are associated with shorter lines and fewer hassles for voters.

Equipment

Difficulties with voting equipment pose a final potential voting obstacle. Less than 2% of respondents reported difficulties with the voting equipment they used. This is a very low number but it may represent a substantial problem in resolving close races and disputed election counts.

Running into problems was unrelated to the type of voting equipment used by the voter. Almost precisely the same percentage of voters (2.1%) who used electronic voting machines *or* optical scanners reported problems using the voting equipment.

When such problems arise, a voter may ask for assistance. Five percent of respondents reported getting assistance filling out their ballot or using equipment and in almost all instances (86%) help was provided by the poll worker. Unfortunately, those who had difficulty did not often ask for assistance. Of those who had difficulty with voting equipment, only 10% got help; 90% of those who reported having difficulty with voting equipment also reported that they did not get help. This represents an area where we see an opportunity for improvement, especially because errors in using electronic voting equipment and incorrectly marked optical scan ballots remain an important problem in resolving controversial election counts.

Voter Intimidation

Respondents reported very few instances in which they witnessed people intimidated at polling places. Only 1% of respondents said they saw voters intimidated from voting at the polling places. Ideally, of course, this should be zero. The survey followed-up with voters who reported

they witnessed voter intimidation. Based on the answers to the follow-up questions, voters' ideas about what constitutes "intimidation" is probably different from what law enforcement officials would consider intimidation. For instance, the following are five randomly-selected answers to what respondents saw when they reported seeing intimidation:

- "There was a ton of people there and not a lot of space! I just wanted to leave quickly."
- "There were people there campaining [sic] that I did not like because it was illegal."
- "They were kinda Judgemental (Rednecks)""rushing us old people"
- "No McCain signs, all Obama signs, all Obama literature!"

The Overall Experience

The overall assessment of performance at the polling places was quite good. When asked "how well things were run at the polling place," 83% of respondents said "very well" and 15% said "okay – with only minor problems." That is an outstanding evaluation given the temporary nature of polling places, the quick set up of registration lists and equipment that is required, and the largely volunteer staff.

One way to distinguish the dimensions of performance is in terms of "technical difficulties" and "service problems." The technical difficulties of greatest concern are failures in the maintenance of registration lists and voting equipment breakdowns. Fully 97% of voters reported *neither* of these problems. That is a very high level of technical success but additional efforts might improve matters still further, especially in instruction of voters in the use of equipment. Service problems appeared to be infrequent as well. The most common service problems were long lines and poor treatment by poll workers. Eight-five percent reported neither lines in excess of half an hour, nor poorly performing poll workers. Most of the difficulties with service (12%) emerged because of lines in excess of one-half hour, though 4% of in-precinct voters evaluated poll

workers as poor or fair. Cumulating technical and service difficulties, 85% of respondents reported no problems of any form, 13% reported exactly one problem, 2% reported two problems; and a small fraction of one percent report three or four problems.

Overall, then, the experience of voters at the polls in 2008 was quite good. Technical failures and service problems were relatively rare and approximately 85% of voters reported very good experiences voting at the polls in 2008. It is important to keep in mind that these figures reflect the assessments of those who went to the polls and attempted to vote. There may be others for whom election procedures were a substantial barrier. We turn to those in *Part D*, below. There is also a secondary path to voting – through the absentee and early voting procedures, and the systems there differ from those put in place for Election Day. We turn to that process in the next section.

Absentee and Early Voting

As was noted before, 37% of voters nationally voted before Election Day, either through early or absentee voting. However, in many states with liberal early voting or absentee voting laws, the percentage of voters casting ballots was higher. In 14 states, more than 20% of votes were cast via absentee ballot and in 17 states more than 20% of voters cast ballots using early voting. Overall, individuals who have voted before were more likely to vote by mail compared to first-time voters.

Absentee Voting

Why do voters vote absentee? Overall, voters in the survey said that they voted absentee because it was more convenient. In states with liberal voting laws or permanent absentee voting for all voters, they signed up to receive ballots in every election. Other voters did so because absentee voting was more convenient. However, voters in states that require excuses for voting did not have the option

of being permanent absentee voters. In these cases, voters typically voted absentee because they were out of town or had a physical disability that kept them from voting in the polling place. And, of course, voters in the state of Oregon always use vote-by-mail as the primary voting method. Almost 16% of absentee voters were contacted by a political party or candidate to encourage them to vote by mail.

Very few absentee voters, less than 2%, stated that they had a problem getting their ballot. Almost twice as many individuals in states that require an excuse stated they had a problem getting their ballot compared to voters in no-excuse absentee voting states. However, the percentages, 3% in excuse states and 1.5% in no-excuse states, are very low.

Just over 3% of absentee voters needed assistance in casting their ballot. Interestingly, the individuals needing assistance were not predominantly over 65 years in age and/or persons with disabilities, although 5% of individuals with disabilities did need assistance, compared to 3% of other voters. Voters under age 35 were more likely than voters 65-to-75 years of age to need assistance; only individuals 85 or older needed more assistance than individuals 18-to-25. In addition, voters in Oregon and in permanent absentee voting states needed help at lower rates than voters in excuse-required absentee voting states.

For those individuals who did need assistance, 38 percent were helped by a family member or partner and another 11% received assistance from an election official. Barely 0.6% of voters claimed to have felt pressured to vote a certain way in absentee voting.

Just over 68% of voters returned their ballots by mail and another 19% personally returned it to the election office by hand. Voters in Oregon hand-returned ballots at very high rates (35.4%) compared to voters in no-excuse (13.4%) or permanent absentee voting states (20.1%). Voters

with disabilities were just slightly more likely to have someone else mail their ballot for them, compared to individuals without disabilities.

Older individuals were no more likely than others to have someone else handle their ballot compared to younger voters. Overall, a majority (55%) of absentee voters stated that they returned their ballot at least one week prior to the election. Interestingly, a majority of Oregonians and individuals in permanent absentee voting states stated that they returned their ballots in the week prior to the election or on Election Day. Furthermore, strong partisans were only slightly more likely to return their ballots early in the election period than weak partisans or Independents. For instance, 56% of strong Democrats and Republicans returned their absentee ballots more than a week before Election Day, 55% not-strong Democrats and Republicans returned their ballots this early, and 49% of Independents returned their ballots a week before Election Day.

Given the concerns that are often raised about absentee voters missing late breaking information about the election, it would seem that many voters are minimizing this by returning their ballots later in the process. This practice does raise the risk, however, that ballots may be returned too late to be tabulated, if the state requires ballots to be in hand by the end of the election.

Fewer than 2% of voters thought that it was hard or very hard to complete the absentee voting process. Younger voters (24 or younger) were much more likely to rate the process to be somewhat hard and less likely to rate it very easy compared with those who were older. Individuals 65-and-older rated the absentee voting process highly and voters with disabilities rated the absentee process the same as individuals without disabilities.

Early Voting

Early voting allows voters to cast their ballots in a period before Election Day (generally the two weeks prior to Election Day). In some ways, the early voting experience is different from Election Day voting but voters tend to have a similar quality of experience regardless of these differences.

This difference in voting experience can be seen first based on where early voters vote and the poll workers who whom the voters interact with as they vote. Early voters are more likely than precinct voters to vote in a government building; almost two-thirds of early voters vote in a government building, compared to just 19.4% of election day voters. The poll workers in early voting also tend to be younger than the poll workers who work on Election Day. Early voters were less likely to know their poll worker than were Election Day voter. The racial composition of the poll workers in early- and in-person voting were, in aggregate, similar.

There are two areas where early voting stood out compared to Election Day voting. The first area is the length of lines. Almost 20% of early voters stated that they waited in line 30 minutes or more to vote, compared to just 12% of Election Day voters. However, early voters were just as likely as Election Day voters to rate the performance of their poll workers as excellent and to say that the polling place was run very well.

The second area of difference is that early voters were more likely than Election Day voters to show identification at the polls and to do so because it was required. Many state laws require that early voters show identification even if there is not the same identification law requirement on Election Day.

Provisional Ballots

Very few the respondents, fewer than 2%, had problems with their voter registration. Nearly all of these respondents were allowed to cast a ballot, with three-quarters casting a regular ballot, and one

quarter voting using a provisional ballot. We also found that very few respondents, in general, were *forced* to cast provisional ballots. Including those respondents who used provisional ballots after a voter identification challenge, we found that only about one percent of people who said they voted used a provisional ballot. Unfortunately, the number of provisional ballots cast by voters in the sample was so small that it is impossible to gauge which states were more prone to having provisional ballots cast.

Voter Confidence

One of the important topics that frequently arise in public conversations about voter experiences is the confidence of voters that their ballot is counted as intended. To assess the overall confidence of voters in the quality of the vote count in 2008, we asked respondents to the survey "How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended?"

- 72% of the respondents to this question said they were very confident;
- 22% said they were somewhat confident;
- only 3% were "not too confident"; and
- 2% "not at all confident."

These national numbers mask substantial state-by-state variation in voter confidence. At the high end of the distribution, a handful of states saw more than 80% of voters stating they were "very confident:" New Hampshire (80%), South Dakota (82%), Delaware (82%), Michigan (82%), North Dakota (82%) and Vermont (84%). At the low end, respondents in four states gave the "very confident" response less than 60% of the time: Washington (59.7%), Arizona (58%), Colorado (57%) and New Mexico (56%).

Previous research has identified that the way in which voters cast their ballots is correlated with voter confidence, with absentee and by-mail voters often found to have lower levels of confidence than in-person Election Day voters. We find support for that association in our survey:

- 75% of in-person Election Day voters were "very confident," in addition to the 19% who were "somewhat confident."
- 60% of absentee, by-mail voters said they were "very confident," with 31% being "somewhat confident."

In-person early voters had confidence levels that were nearly identical to in-person Election Day voters.

One other related question that our large national sample allowed us to look at closely was the relationship between first-time voting and confidence. First-time voters were slightly less likely to state that they were very confident (66% relative to the 72% of experienced voter) but were somewhat more likely to state they were somewhat confident (27% *vs.* 21%).

Earlier studies identified two voter-level variables that have been associated with confidence in elections: race and ethnicity, and the voter's partisan identification. The large sample we have assembled allows us to look at these factors in close detail. Previous studies have noted that, in 2004 and 2006, non-White voters (both African Americans and Hispanics) were less likely to be confident that their ballot was counted as they intended, compared to White voters. Such a pattern did not exist at the national level in 2008. The data show that:

- 77% of African American voters were very confident and 18% of African American voters were somewhat confident;
- 72% of Hispanic voters were very confident and 16% of Hispanic voters were somewhat confident.

- 71% of White voters were very confident and 22% were somewhat confident.

Race was less of a factor in 2008 in determining the confidence of voters in the count and, if anything, minority voters were more confident than Whites were.

Similarly, studies of elections in this decade generally have found that partisanship is strongly associated with confidence. In 2004 and 2006, Democratic voters were less confident than were Republican voters, other factors being held constant. In contrast, the 2008 general election provides a different picture, with 76% of Democratic voters saying they were very confident, and 20% somewhat confident. Fewer Republican voters were very confident (70%), with 23% of Republican voters saying they were somewhat confident. Independents were slightly less likely than either Democrats or Republicans to state they were confident, as 69% said they were very confident and 24% were somewhat confident.

Closely associated with partisanship is vote choice. It will come as little surprise, after examination of the correlation between partisanship and confidence, that those who said they voted for Democratic presidential winner Barack Obama were very confident that their ballot was counted as intended (76% were very confident, 21% were somewhat confident). McCain voters were less confident, with 67% saying they were "very confident" and 23% saying they were "somewhat confident."

The theme of partisanship carries over to the results at the state level. As a general matter, Democratic voters in states that were won by Barack Obama were more likely to say they were very confident with the vote count (79%) compared to Republicans in those states (65%). Similarly, Republican voters in states won by John McCain were more often very confident (76%) than Democrats (71%). Thus, to a large degree, voters expressed confidence in the vote count as a consequence of whether their party's candidate won, both nationally and on a state-by-state basis.

The attitudes of Independents at the state-level are particularly interesting. As mentioned already, nationwide Independents were less confident overall than either Democrats or Republicans. Examined at the state level, Independents were the least confident of the quality of the vote count in the "battleground states," that is, places where the two candidates fought furiously for the states' votes. To see this, we first define the "battleground states" as the ten states that had the smallest electoral margin for either Obama or McCain.[9] In these states, 64% of Independents said they were confident that their vote was counted as cast, compared to 73% for the Democrats and 68% for Republicans in these states. In the non-battleground states, 70% of Independents were very confident, compared to 77% for Democrats and 71% for Republicans. In the state of Ohio, where pre-election controversy ran particularly high over election-related issues, 10% of Independents stated they were "not at all confident" that their vote was counted as cast, compared to only 2% of Independents nationwide.

Therefore, although partisan divisions over the quality of the 2008 election were muted compared to past years, there is still solid evidence that voters to some degree based their confidence in the election outcome on partisan factors. Also, the election of an African American president may have boosted the confidence of minority voters above what it would be in an election without an African American candidate.

Reasons for Not Voting

In the previous sections we discussed the experiences of voters. Of equal interest is the experience of non-voters, particularly those who tried to vote and couldn't. Previous research has indicated that up to seven million eligible voters are stymied in national elections because of problems that

[9] Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Missouri, Montana, North Carolina, Ohio, South Dakota, and Virginia.

precede getting into the voting booth, such as leaving because the line is too long or experiencing insurmountable registration problems.

We asked respondents who did not vote to rate the importance of 14 different factors in their decision not to vote. Specifically, we asked if a particular concern was a minor factor, a major factor, or not a factor. Most of the factors we asked about have been probed for years by the Census Bureau, in their post-election *Voting and Registration Supplement* to the Current Population Survey. The 2008 *Voting and Registration Supplement* has yet to be released at the time of writing this report. Future research will allow us to compare the results of the 2008 *Survey of the Performance of American Elections* with the Census Bureau effort.

Looking at the responses of non-voters, we see that 87% of all non-voting respondents identified at least one of the 14 concerns as a minor or a major factor. On average, respondents identified 2.4 factors as a problem. The fact that most non-voters identified more than one factor as a reason for non-voting suggests that the Census Bureau survey may under-estimate the importance of certain factors in causing non-voting, because the Census Bureau survey allows respondents to report a single "main" factor for not voting..

Table III-3 presents the responses to the 14 items, ranked in descending order of the percentage of people who said that a given reason was a major factor in their decision not to vote. For presentation purposes, in the description of the responses, we combine the "minor factor" and "major factor" responses.

The three most common reasons that respondents chose not to vote related to the personal circumstances and preferences of the registered voters. Forty-three percent of nonvoters indicated that they did not vote, in part, because they did not like the choices offered to them. (Forty-eight percent of self-identified Republican non-voters mentioned this reason, compared to 35% of

Democrats.) Another 32% said that being "too busy" was either a major factor or a minor factor in their abstention. The third-most-common response was "illness," with 21% of respondents saying that sickness was a factor.

Election administration issues played a smaller role in the decision not to vote. Although 20% of respondents cited both registrations problems and long lines as a factor, only 10% cited identification as a concern, one of the lowest-frequency response categories, on par with forgetting to vote (nine percent) and the weather (eight percent). Therefore, although factors that may be at the control of election administrators, such as line length and voter registration systems, bear some responsibility for the failure of some to vote, these administration-related issues pale in comparison to political and personal considerations that individuals bring to the election process.

Section III Tables

Table III-1. Estimates of the Size of the Electorate, By Mode of Voting (Millions of Voters).

	In-Person Election Day	Early Voting (In-Person Absentee)	Absentee
All States	64.3	17.6	18.1
Oregon[10]	2.8	0.8	96.4
No Early Voting and Excuse Absentee Voting	92.2	1.6	6.3
No Early Voting and Permanent Absentee Voting	13.0	1.3	85.7
Excuse Early Voting and Excuse Absentee Voting	89.9	3.1	7.0
No Excuse Early Voting and Excuse Absentee Voting	58.4	38.1	3.5
No Excuse Early Voting and Liberal Absentee Voting	56.6	25.4	18.0
No Excuse Early Voting and Permanent Absentee Voting	43.6	9.9	46.5

[10] Individuals in Oregon can go to the County election office and complete their ballot there.

Table III-2. Reported Polling Places By Region.

		By region			
	U.S.	East	South	Midwest	West
Schools	27.7%	43.7%	20.9%	16.8%	25.6%
Other government offices	18.9%	15.7%	20.1%	20.6%	20.8%
Churches	16.2%	9.3%	16.9%	24.2%	14.7%
Community centers	15.3%	11.7%	18.8%	17.3%	14.4%
Police/fire stations	6.4%	8.2%	6.9%	5.5%	3.8%
Library	3.6%	0.8%	8.1%	3.1%	2.8%
Store/mall/business	3.3%	1.1%	2.5%	2.4%	8.1%
Senior center	3.1%	4.8%	1.9%	2.8%	2.9%
Private home	0.4%	0.4%	0.2%	0.1%	1.0%
Other	5.3%	4.2%	3.8%	7.3%	6.1%

Table III-3. Reasons for Not Voting

	Major Factor	Minor Factor	Not A Factor	N
h. Didn't Like Choices	31.2%	12.3%	56.5%	536
f. Too Busy	22.8%	9.6%	67.6%	540
b. Illness	16.0%	5.0%	79.0%	540
g. Transportation	14.4%	5.2%	80.4%	537
c. Out of Town	13.8%	3.8%	82.4%	541
i. Registration Problems	13.0%	6.9%	80.2%	529
n. Did not receive ballot/not on time	12.2%	3.6%	84.2%	535
l. Line too long	11.1%	8.9%	80.0%	529
k. Bad Time/Location	10.1%	9.5%	80.4%	534
m. Didn't know where to go	9.2%	10.4%	80.4%	540
e. Did Not Receive Absentee Ballot	7.8%	3.9%	88.4%	532
a. Wrong Identification	7.0%	3.4%	89.5%	537
d. Forgot	4.8%	4.2%	91.0%	538
j. Weather	2.5%	5.4%	92.2%	536

IV. Special Topics

The previous chapter examined the overall experience of voters in 2008. This chapter lifts out four special issues that information contained in the *Survey of the Performance of American Elections* allows us to address. These issues include the ways that age, race, and length of residency affected the voting experience. In addition, we examine respondents' opinions about commonly-proposed reform ideas, such as allowing voters to register on Election Day or allowing absentee voters to vote using the Internet.

Age and the Voting Experience

One topic that has been virtually ignored in studies of the voting experience is the relationship between age and the quality of the experience. It is often believed that extremes of the adult life cycle provide challenges to the youngest and oldest voters. The young may be inexperienced with the mechanics of voting, highly mobile, and lack long-term commitments to political parties and candidates, all factors that often motivate people to vote. However, it must also be noted that, in 2008, the political behavior of the young became a focus of the story about excitement surrounding the Obama candidacy. On the other hand, physical infirmities associated with aging are often assumed to make it more difficult to vote, thus depressing turnout among the elderly.

The respondents to the 2008 *Survey of the Performance of American Elections* provided answers that are largely consistent with widespread beliefs about the young but provided mixed evidence supporting assumptions about older voters.

As with previous studies of voting, the older respondents in our survey were more likely to turn out and vote. Registered voters 30 and younger turned out at a self-reported 86% rate but registered voters older than 60 turned out at a self-reported 98% rate. Of course, self-reported

voting rates are always higher than actual rates[11] and the fact that we are basing these results on *registered* voters, not *eligible* voters inflates our estimates of voting turnout. The point to note here, however, is that even when registered to vote, the older a person is, the more likely they are to take advantage of their registration and actually vote.

As a general matter, older voters in 2008 had a more satisfactory experience at the polls compared to younger voters. This is illustrated in Table IV-2, which divides the survey respondents into three age groups — 30 and younger, 31 to 60, and 61 and older — and reports average responses to the core electoral performance questions we asked. Compared to voters 18–30, voters 61 and older;

- had less difficulty finding their polling place,
- were more likely to say their polling place was well-run,
- had fewer problems with their voters registration,
- waited in shorter lines,
- reported that their poll workers performed better,
- were less likely to report intimidation,
- reported fewer problems getting their absentee ballot sent to them,
- reported fewer problems marking their absentee ballots,
- were less likely to feel pressured in filling out their absentee ballots,
- found the absentee ballot instructions easy to understand, and
- were more confident that their vote would be counted as cast.

[11] To deal with the problem of respondent mis-reporting whether they actually voted, we will undertake a "voter validation" analysis associated with this study. Because it takes months to check the voter registration rolls to verify whether respondents actually responded, this analysis cannot be presented here.

The only item where older voters reported having more trouble than younger voters was in encountering difficulties with voting equipment.

Some of these differences in experience are due to the length-of-residency of voters, which is a topic addressed in the next section. However, a good deal of the voting experience should not depend on how long someone has lived at their current residence. Thus, the differences between older and younger voters also no doubt arise because of differences in experience and average commitment to political values.

Age and Not Voting

Taking a step back in the voting process, older respondents who said they did not vote in the presidential election gave different excuses for their non-voting than did younger respondents. Older voters also gave *fewer* excuses. More than 20% of young voters (aged 18–30) listed being busy, not liking the candidates, transportation problems, or being out of town as a major reason for not voting. (See Table IV-2.) Among the oldest voters, only two items — not liking the candidates and illness — pertained to more than 20% of the non-voters.

It is often imagined that older age leads to infirmity, which in turn depresses the voting participation of older voters. This assumption is only partially correct. Older voters in our survey were more likely to answer "yes" to the question "Does a health problem, disability, or handicap CURRENTLY keep you from participating fully in work, school, housework, or other activities?" We found that 19% of those over age 60 answered yes to this question compared to 7% of those 30 years old and younger). However, many older voters who said they were disabled also voted — 95% did so, compared to a 68% voting rate among voters with a disability who were 30-year-old and younger. One of the reasons why older voters with disabilities still vote at high rates is that older voters with a disability are more likely to vote an absentee ballot. Among voters 30 and

younger, only 16% of voters with a disability voted, compared to 31% of voters with a disability over age 60.

Age and Identification

A recent concern that has been raised in the context of voter identification and registration laws is whether elderly voters have access to the types of photo identification often required in some states that are beginning to tighten their identification requirements. Results of the 2008 *Survey of the Performance of American Elections* suggest that elderly voters are less likely to have problems locating a valid identification card and that; instead, it is the youngest voters who are more likely to lack the necessary identification. For instance, of those 30 years of age and younger, 64% said they had an unexpired driver's license with their legal name and current address. Of those 61 years old and older, 93% said they had a proper driver's license. Consistent with the section on residency and residential mobility (see below), the main factor here appears to be length of residence and more generally, roots in the community. Of those under 30 years of age, only 28% had lived in their current residence for more than five years, compared to 79% of those over age 60.

Race and the Voting Experience

Since the 1960s, Congress and the courts have put in place legal protections to combat racial discrimination in election administration. Before the passage of the Voting Rights Act, African American registration was kept to a minimum and less than a quarter of adult African Americans in the South were registered to vote. The persistence of differential treatment of racial groups at polling places remains an important concern. New administrative procedures, such as photo identification laws, it is feared, are applied to African Americans, Whites, and Hispanics

differently. The survey data at hand provide one of the most complete pictures of the election experiences of different racial groups.

Racial groups used the different modes of voting at similar rates in 2008. Sixty-four percent of Whites voted in-person, compared with 66% of African Americans and 57% of Hispanics. Of those who voted before Election Day, African Americans and Hispanics were more likely to use early voting and Whites were more likely to use absentee voting. These differences largely reflect regional variation in the use of absentee and early voting and the uneven distribution of racial groups across the regions. Hispanics in the Western United States offer a notable exception. Nearly half of all Hispanics voted at polling places and just over a quarter voted absentee, but.nearly half of all Black and White voters in these states vote Absentee, and a third voted at polling places.

Race and Experiences at the Polls

Most aspects of polling place operations and absentee and early voting show no appreciable differences across racial groups. The levels of problems and differences between groups were trivial for most aspects of election administration. Nearly everyone reported that their polling place was easy to find and that poll workers did an excellent or good job. Problems with registration were infrequent, between one and three percent, and did not have appreciably higher effects on African American and Hispanic voters than on Whites. Almost no one reported voting equipment problems or problems getting absentee ballots. Less than one percent of all respondents said that they saw evidence of polling place intimidation; Whites and African Americans were equally likely to say so.

All racial groups reported similarly high rates of confidence that their votes are counted as cast. Seventy-eight percent of African Americans and 72% of Hispanics are very confident that

their votes were counted correctly, compared with 71% of Whites, which is a stunning turn-around compared to recent elections.

Waiting in Line: African Americans Wait Longer

Nonetheless, the survey data reveal two problem areas — lines and voter identification. African American respondents were twice as likely as others to report waiting in lines of at least half an hour to vote. Twenty-seven percent of African Americans reported long waits, compared with 11% of Whites and 13% of Hispanics. This difference in line lengths likely owes to the increase in turnout among African Americans, at least in part. However, it also reveals that polling places in areas that witnessed an unusual surge in turnout could not process the additional voters efficiently. This suggests that efforts to increase participation and turnout may result in substantial congestion problems. The difficulties with lines likely reflect the particular circumstances of the 2008 election and local election offices may be able to adjust for the 2012 contest. A second sort of problem, however, shows evidence of racial discrimination at the polls arising from the differential requests for voter identification.

Race and Voter Identification

Voter identification laws have been perhaps the most hotly contested legal change in American election law over the past decade. As noted by prior research, voter identification laws are very popular with all demographic groups. According to the classification of state laws by *electionline.org* and the National Conference of State Legislatures, half of all states now allow poll workers to request identification of any voter, and the other half of the states have relatively low requirements for voter authentication, such as stating one's name or signing the voter rolls.

In 2008, there were large differences across racial groups in whether poll workers' requested voter identification.

- Half of all White voters (51%) were asked to show "picture ID" (our phrasing of the question).
- 70% of African American voters were asked to show "picture ID".
- 65% of Hispanic voters were asked to show "picture ID."

The rate of requests for photographic identification are very high for all groups, considering that only a handful of states require that voters be prepared to show such identification.

What explains the high rate of requests for identification, and what explains the differences across racial groupings? The incidence of requests for voter identification in 2008 is explained mainly by state laws. Half of the respondents voted in states that allow poll workers to request identification and half of the respondents voted in states that do not. In states that allow poll workers to request some form of identification, 84% of respondents said that they were asked to show identification. By contrast, in states that did not allow poll workers to request identification or that allow voters to identify themselves by signature or some other manner, only 25% of respondents were asked to show identification.

Coverage under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act appears to have little or no effect on the incidence of requests for voter identification. Respondents in states with stronger voter identification laws were asked to show identification at approximately the same (high) rate of 84%, regardless of whether they fell under Section 5 of the VRA. States without an identification law but covered by the VRA exhibited a slightly lower incidence of identification requests (18%) than those not covered by VRA (25%). State identification laws, rather than existing federal laws concerning "tests," determine requests for identification.

Even after controlling for state laws, there is a sizable difference across racial groups in the administration of voter identification. Importantly, the difference lies almost entirely in states with

less stringent identification laws. In states with stricter identification laws (that allow or require that poll workers request ID):

- 83% of White respondents reported that they were asked for picture ID,
- 89% of African American respondents reported that they were asked for picture ID, and
- 75% of Hispanic respondents reported that they were asked for picture ID.

In states with less strong identification laws:

- 22% of White respondents were asked for picture ID,
- 44% of African American respondents were asked for picture ID, and
- 51% of Hispanic respondents were asked for picture ID.

Asian respondents reported rates of ID requests that are almost identical to those of White respondents. Native Americans reported rates of ID requests of 33% in states with less strict laws and 78% in states with strict ID laws.

We hesitate to call these differences discrimination. The survey does, however, ascertain the respondent's identification of the race of the poll worker and the race of the poll worker has a definite effect on requests for identification from voters of different racial groups. These data are presented in Table IV-4. Differences in requests for identification occur primarily in states with less stringent voter identification laws. In states with stricter identification laws, the race of the voter and the race of the poll worker have little effect on requests for identification. The exceptions are Hispanic voters, who are less likely than other groups to be asked for ID, and Hispanic poll workers, who are less likely to ask for identification.

In states with less restrictive identification laws, the race of the poll worker and the race of the voter affect the incidence of identification requests. Whites are less likely than other groups to be asked for identification, and White poll workers are less likely than other poll workers to ask for

identification. As a result, a White voter who has a White poll worker is the least likely to be asked to show picture identification when voting. Only 20% of White voters were asked by White poll workers to show identification. Evidence of potential discrimination emerges when considering requests for identification by White poll workers of those of other racial groups. White poll workers in states with less strong identification laws asked 37% of African American voters and 48% of Hispanic voters for identification.

African American and Hispanic poll workers were also more likely to ask African American and Hispanic voters (respectively) for identification than they were to ask White voters for identification. In states with less strict identification laws, African American poll workers asked Whites for identification 30% of the time, but they asked African American voters for identification 45% of the time. Hispanic poll workers asked Whites for identification 43% of the time and Hispanics for identification 54% of the time. African American and Hispanic poll workers, then, are more likely to ask for identification from voters of their own races than they are to ask Whites for identification.

Whites in states with less strict identification laws are much less likely to be asked for identification than are those of other races for two distinct reasons. First, White voters are less likely to be asked for identification, regardless of the race of the poll worker. Second, White poll workers are the least likely of all poll workers to ask for ID and White voters are most likely to have White poll workers.

These two variables, the race of poll worker and the race of voter, appear to have independent effects on requests for identification. When the poll worker is White, African American voters are 17% more likely to be asked for ID than White voters. When the poll worker is African American, Black voters are 15% more likely to be asked for identification, a statistically

insignificant difference. When the poll worker is White, Hispanic voters are 27% more likely to be asked for ID than White voters. When the poll worker is Hispanic, Hispanic voters are 11% more likely to be asked for ID, a statistically significant difference. The higher incidence of requests for identification, then, arises because all poll workers (White or minority) treat minority voters differently. In addition, minority poll workers are much more likely to request identification.

Residency and the Voting Experience

Traditional means of voting are tied to places, especially precincts and town or county election offices. Voter registration, for instance, is handled by the local election offices and is not generally mobile, even if one moves within a county. This creates potential difficulties for those who have moved recently. Those who moved recently might have greater difficulties finding their polling places, obtaining absentee ballots, or identifying themselves when voting. The survey data reveals the extent of such obstacles.

The effects of mobility are not immediate but may take several years to overcome, as people take time to settle into a community, and may even take a full presidential election cycle (4 years) before people establish their registration status. Of the respondents to our survey, 62% had lived in their current residence at least 5 years (more than one presidential election cycle). The remaining 38% were evenly distributed across time: 6% had lived in their residence for 4 years, 8% for 3 years, 8% for 2 years, 8% for 1 year, 4% for 6 months to a year, and 5% for less than 6 months.

The less time a person had lived at his or her current residence, the more difficulty he or she is likely to have encountered when trying to vote. The sorts of difficulties are telling. The length of time in residence has only a slight relation to difficulty finding the polling place. It has a modest effect of difficulty getting an absentee ballot; five percent of those who have lived in a residence

for less than a year reported problems getting a ballot, compared with one percent of those who have lived in their residence for at least five years. Time in residence also had a modest effect on the incidence of registration problems encountered when voting. Three percent of those who have lived at their residence less than a year reported a registration problem when trying to vote, compared with one percent of those who have lived at their residence for at least five years.

The fact that registration does not move as the voter moves, however, creates a major problem. One-in-four (23%) non-voters who lived in their residence less than a year cited voting registration problems as "a major reason" for not voting. Only eight percent of non-voters who lived in their residence at least 5 years said that registration problems were a "major reason" for their non-participation. Universal, mobile registration would likely reduce this problem substantially.

Voter identification looms as an emerging problem for those who move. The survey asked respondents whether they had different sorts of identification — a driver's license, birth certificate, passport, or other form of identification. Except for birth certificates, the survey probed whether each form of identification had the current address, correct name, and were not expired. Driver's licenses are particularly important in managing voting. Eighty-four percent of respondents had a valid driver's license; 43% had a valid passport; and 23% had some other form of government issued identification.

Driver's licenses were most commonly used for identification at the polls: 89% of those who showed identification reported that a driver's license was the form of ID presented, 6% showed a voter registration card, and 3% showed another form of government issued identification.

Voter identification rules, if enforced, can create a serious obstacle for those who have moved within the past 3 years, and especially those who have moved in the past six months. As

Table IV-3 shows, those who have moved more recently were less likely to have valid (current and correct) identification and were more likely to be asked for identification when voting. One-fourth of those who had lived at their residence less than 6 months had none of the forms of identification required now by many states; by contrast, only three percent of those who had lived at their residence at least 5 years lacked a current and correct identification. Moreover, 63% of those who had most recently moved reported that they were asked to show identification at the polls, compared with 51% of those who had lived at their residence at least 5 years.

Thus, government identification and voter registration both lag in their mobility. As states adopt increasingly strict voter identification rules, lack of current government identification may become at least as important a barrier to voting as registration in general, and particularly for those who have recently moved. Fortunately, there is little evidence that voter identification procedures were actually used to prevent many people from voting. Only a small percent (6%) reported that a lack of identification was a major reason for not voting. Of those asked for identification, 3% were allowed to vote a provisional ballot and 0.5% said they were not allowed to vote.

There are potentially important political consequences if voter identification does become a significant obstacle to voting. People who are the most mobile are disproportionately young and identify more heavily with the Democratic Party. On average, those who lived in their residence less than a year were 36 years old, compared with 53 years old for those who lived in their residence at least five years. Those who lived in their residences at least 5 years were equally likely to be Democrats or Republicans (35% each). Those who lived in their residence less than four years overwhelmingly identified as Democrats (41%, compared with 29% Republican). Tying residency to voter registration and voter identification, then, may have significant political

consequences because identification requirements are applied disproportionately to people who are more mobile and the highly mobile are less likely to have current and correct identification.

Length of residency, then, remains a significant problem in the American election system. The problem has two dimensions, the lack of universal government identification and a lack of mobile or universal registration. To lessen the barriers presented by moving requires solutions to both problems.

Attitudes about Vote Fraud

Throughout the past decade, several policy proposals have been proposed in the interest of improving various dimensions of election administration, such as voter identification laws, Election Day registration (EDR), and making Election Day a national holiday. Although there are many motivations impelling the activity of reform supporters, two major motivations are (1) a desire to make elections "cleaner," by reducing election fraud and (2) a desire to increase voter turnout or at least make voting more convenient.

The 2008 *Survey of the Performance of American Elections* contained a few questions concerning problems with the election system, particularly fraud (defined as voting more than once), vote theft (stealing or tampering with votes), and voter impersonation. All of these questions were asked in terms of the problem happening "in your community."

First, it should be noted that there was considerable uncertainty about the degree to which these problems existed in the respondent's community. One-quarter of respondents answered "not sure" to the voter fraud, vote theft, and voter impersonation questions. Among those who were sure in their attitudes:

- 12% said that voter fraud was very common,
- 9% said that vote theft was very common, and

- 8% said voter impersonation was very common.

If we add to these percentages those who said that these problems occur "occasionally," then 37% expressed a belief that voter fraud was at least an occasional problem, 30% vote theft, and 29% voter impersonation.

Republicans were much more likely than Democrats to say that vote fraud and voter impersonation were at least occasional problems in their communities. Fifty percent of Republicans (compared to 26% of Democrats) reported these attitudes regarding vote fraud. In the case of voter impersonation, the relative numbers were 39% for Republicans and 20% for Democrats. The differences in the case of vote case were smaller but Republicans still expressed the greater concern — 34% of Republicans *vs.* 28% of Democrats said that vote theft was at least an occasional problem.

Republicans were more likely to believe that vote fraud, vote theft, and voter impersonation was a problem in their community than Democrats, in virtually every state, regardless of whether Democrats or Republicans dominated in the 2008 general election.

Support for Reform Proposals

Balancing off beliefs about problems is beliefs about solutions. The 2008 *Survey of the Performance of American Elections* asked respondents how they felt about seven different reform proposals that have commonly been raised: (1) allowing absentee voting over the Internet, (2) running elections by mail, (3) automatically registering all citizens to vote, (4) allowing voter registration on Election Day at the polls, (5) requiring voters to show identification in order to vote, (6) moving Election Day to the weekend, and (7) making Election Day a holiday. Nationwide, respondents supported these proposals to these degrees:

- 76% supported requiring voters to show identification in order to vote

- 58% supported making Election Day a national holiday.
- 50% supported automatically registering all citizens to vote
- 43% supported moving Election Day to the weekend
- 42% supported Election Day registration
- 32% supported absentee voting over the Internet
- 16% supported running elections by mail

A majority of respondents in every state supported voters showing identification in order to vote and a majority of voters supported making Election Day a national holiday in all but seven states. (Residents of Massachusetts, where asking for voter identification is prohibited, were the least supportive of voter identification, at a 60% support level.)

A majority of respondents favored automatic voter registration in only 24 states but a majority favored moving Election Day to a weekend in only five states. The only states that had majorities favoring Election Day registration (EDR) were the states that currently have it and Vermont. Respondents in all the EDR states supported the practice at a 65% level, compared to 39% support among respondents in non-EDR states.

Respondents in no states expressed majority support for voting over the Internet and the only states whose voters gave majority support to mail balloting were Washington and Oregon.

Support for Election Day voting among current EDR states and support for mail-in ballots in Washington and Oregon suggest that opposition to many of these reforms might be surmountable in various states. However, it also suggests that efforts to enact any of these reforms on a state-by-state basis would encounter widespread initial public opposition.

Support for these various reforms bears a strong partisan imprint. The only reform that garnered majority support among *both* Democrats and Republicans was requiring voters to show

photo identification, but even here the partisan difference was substantial, with 90% of Republicans, but 65% of Democrats supporting it. A majority of Democrats expressed support, in addition, for automatic voter registration (69%), Election Day registration (59%), and making Election Day a national holiday (72%); a near majority (48%) favored moving Election Day to a weekend. Majorities of Republicans supported no other reforms, beyond requiring identification. Majorities from both parties opposed allowing absentee voting by Internet, running elections by mail, and making Election Day a national holiday.

Section IV Tables

Table IV-1. Problems encountered by votes, by age categories.

Question	Age		
	18 – 30	31-60	61 and older
Election Day in-person voting and in-person early voting			
How difficult was it to find your polling place to vote? (Pct. saying "very difficult" or "somewhat difficult")	2.8%	1.7%	0.8%
How well were things run at the polling place where you voted? (Pct. saying "Not well" or "terrible")	2.1%	1.8%	0.9%
Was there a problem with your voter registration when you tried to vote? (Pct. saying "Yes")	3.3%	2.1%	0.6%
Approximately, how long did you have to wait in line to vote? (Estimated minutes)	15 min.	15 min.	13 min.
Did you encounter any problems with the voting equipment or the ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended? (Pct. saying "Yes")	1.8%	1.8%	2.5%
Please rate the job performance of the poll workers at the polling place where you voted. (Pct. saying "fair" or "poor")	6.7%	4.1%	2.3%
Did you personally feel intimidated at the place where you voted?	2.1%	0.9%	0.7%
Mail ballots, including absentees			
Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you? (Pct. saying "Yes")	2.9%	2.5%	1.3%
Did you encounter any problems marking or completing your ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended? (Pct. saying "Yes")	3.1%	1.7%	1.1%
Did you feel pressured to vote in a particular way when you filled out your absentee or mail ballot? For instance, because another person may have been watching you fill out your ballot?	1.7%	0.3%	0.1%
Overall, how easy was it to follow all the instructions necessary to cast your ballot and return it to be counted? (Pct. saying "Somewhat hard" or "very hard")	4.4%	1.0%	1.1%
All voters			
How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended? (Pct. saying "not too confident" or "not at all confident")	6.4%	5.8%	3.6%

Table IV-2. Frequency With Which Non-Voters Rated Particular Reasons A Factor (Major Or Minor) For Not Voting.

18-30		31-60		61 and older	
Too busy/conflicts	33%	Didn't like candidates	36%	Didn't like candidates	38%
Didn't like candidates	22%	Too busy/conflicts	18%	Illness	28%
Transportation problems	21%	Illness	16%	Registration problems	10%
Out of town	20%	Registration problems	12%	Didn't receive mail-in ballot	9%
Long lines	17%	Transportation problems	11%	Long lines	9%
Inconvenient polling place	16%	Out of town	11%	Too busy/conflicts	7%
Registration problems	16%	Didn't receive mail-in ballot	11%	Transportation problems	6%
Didn't receive mail-in ballot	15%	Long lines	8%	Out of town	6%
Didn't know where to vote	14%	Didn't know where to vote	8%	Didn't receive absentee ballot	5%
Illness	14%	Inconvenient polling place	7%	Inconvenient polling place	4%
Didn't receive absentee ballot	13%	Wrong kind of ID	6%	Wrong kind of ID	0%
Wrong kind of ID	9%	Didn't receive absentee ballot	4%	Forgot to vote	0%
Forgot to vote	8%	Forgot to vote	3%	Bad weather	0%
Bad weather	5%	Bad weather	1%	Didn't know where to vote	0%

Table IV-3. Lack of Valid Identification by Length of Current Residence.

Length of residence	No valid identification	No valid driver's license	Asked to show ID
Less than 6 mo.	24%	53%	63%
6 mo. – 1 yr.	19%	46%	59%
1 year	14%	35%	60%
2 years	11%	26%	61%
3 years	8%	19%	58%
4 years	5%	13%	56%
5+ years	3%	10%	51%

Table IV-4. Percent Asked To Show Picture Identification By Race of Voter, Race of Poll Worker, and State Law.

	States without ID law Race of poll worker				States with ID law Race of poll worker			
Race of respondent	White	Black	Hispanic	Other	White	Black	Hispanic	Other
White	20%	30%	43%	25%	84%	85%	59%	84%
Black	37%	45%	—	56%	87%	87%	—	91%
Hispanic	48%	—	54%	38%	73%	—	64%	82%
Other	22%	—	—	25%	86%	—	—	79%

Table IV-5. Support For Election Reform Proposals, By Party.

	Democrats	Republicans
Allow absentee voting over the Internet	40%	21%
Run all elections by mail	21%	8%
Automatically register all citizens over 18 to vote	69%	28%
Allow people to register on Election Day at the polls	59%	20%
Require all people to show government issued photo identification when they vote	65%	90%
Move Election Day to a weekend	48%	31%
Make Election Day a national holiday	72%	40%

V. Overall Assessment

One of the motivations behind this study was to gauge the overall quality of elections in the United States, as experienced and reported by voters. In this final section, we approach this topic three ways. First, we attempt to quantify how many voters encountered a problem casting a ballot. Second, we ask how many votes were "lost" in the 2008 election because of problems with the election system, at every step along the sequence of voting. Third, we seek to identify whether voters in some states encountered more problems than in others.

How Many Voters Encountered a Problem Voting?

We begin by estimating the number of voters who encountered a problem voting. Let us start with Election Day voters. Here, we define a problem as:

1. Having a "very difficult" or "somewhat difficult" time finding the polling place (1.8% of respondents);
2. Encountering a problem with voter registration (2.2%);
3. Waiting longer than 30 minutes to vote (14.3%);
4. Having a problem with the voting machine (2.3%); and
5. Encountering a "poor" poll worker (0.9%).

Overall, 18% of Election Day voters encountered at least one problem. The most common problem by far was waiting in line. Among those encountering at least one problem, 86% encountered *only* one problem, which was overwhelmingly the problem with lines. If we exclude long waits in line, then the percentage of voters encountering at least one problem drops to 5%.

Turning to in-person early voters, the fraction of voters experiencing particular types of problems was similar to Election Day voters. The frequency of problems for these voters was:

1. Having a “very difficult” or “somewhat difficult” time finding the polling place (2.8%);
2. Encountering a problem with voter registration (1.8%);
3. Waiting longer than 30 minutes to vote (22%);
4. Having a problem with the voting machine (2.2%); and
5. Encountering a “poor” poll worker (0.8%).

Because early voting was often introduced as a convenience for voters, it is ironic that more voters reported at least one problem with early voting (27%) than with Election Day voting (18%). Not all of this difference can be accounted for by the longer lines in the early voting period, however. Excluding long lines, the percentage of early voters encountering at least one problem declines dramatically but is still higher for early voters (6.3%) than for Election Day voters (5%).

Finally, with absentee voters, the problems we focus on are the following:

1. Having a problem getting the absentee or mail ballot (2.2%);
2. Encountering a problem marking the ballot (1.5%)
3. Finding the absentee instructions “somewhat hard” or “very hard” (1.8%)

Overall, 4.7% of absentee or by-mail voters reported at least one problem, which is substantially less than the number of problems encountered by those who voted in-person, unless we exclude those who encountered long lines. Absentee ballot problems tended not to compound; 85% of those who encountered a problem voting absentee encountered only one problem.

If we combine the experiences of all voters, regardless of the modes in which they voted, then we estimate that 11% of voters encountered at least one problem in 2008. In an electorate of 131 million voters, that means that approximately 14.4 million voters encountered a problem voting. Excluding those who stood in long lines, 4.5% of voters (5.9 million voters) reported encountering a problem voting.

How Many Votes Were "Lost" in 2008?

Another way to quantify the overall voter experience is to estimate the number of votes that were "lost" because of problems with election administration. Here, we take our cue from the 2001 report of the Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, *Voting: What Is/What Could Be*. Suppose voting is a chain of events, in which failure at any point in the chain keeps a voter who intends to vote from casting a ballot. Here, we examine important links in that chain.

The 2008 *Survey of the Performance of American Elections* asked those who did not vote for the reasons they failed to vote. Some of these reasons reflect personal attributes of voters that cannot fairly be said to be affected by election administration, such as not liking the candidates or being out of town.

- Suppose for a moment that the voting chain for in-person voters (Election Day or early) starts with the potential voter deciding to vote and searching for identification to take with him or her to the polls. Based on the number of non-voters who said that lacking a proper identification was a "major factor" in not voting, we estimate that 9.3% of non-voters failed to vote because of lack of identification.
- Next, a voter with proper identification might nonetheless be unable to find the polling place. This factor accounts for another 8.2% of non-voters in our survey.
- A voter who had proper identification and actually got to the polling place may have been turned away because of long lines. This accounts for another 11.4% of non-voters.
- Finally, a potential voter may have endured the lines, only to be turned away because of a registration problem. Registration problems account for 9.5% of non-voters by this method.

The Center for the Study of the American Electorate estimated that 154.6 million Americans were registered to vote in 2008, and election returns account for 131.4 million votes.

Thus, 23.2 million registered voters did not vote in 2008. The estimates above suggest that roughly:

- 2.2 million registered voters were excluded for lack of voter identification,
- 1.9 million could not find their polling place,
- 2.6 million went away because of long lines, and
- 2.2 million votes were lost because of registration problems.

These estimates are slightly larger than those produced by the Voting Technology Project in 2001 for the 2000 election, but they are in the same ballpark. (The 2001 estimates suggested that 1.5 million to 3 million votes were lost because of registration mix-ups and up to 1 million votes were lost because of polling place operations.) The Voting Technology Project estimates were unable to account for votes lost due to lack of identification or problems finding the polling place, which together accounted for roughly 4 million lost votes in 2008.

Previous research has been unable to estimate the number of votes lost due to problems with absentee and mail ballots, but the data from the 2008 *Survey of the Performance of American Elections* help us to gauge these numbers. Based on the responses to the survey, we estimate that 17% of the lost votes among registered voters occurred because absentee/mail ballots never arrived or arrived too late to be returned in time. In raw numbers, that amounts to 3.9 million votes lost through the absentee/mail route.

Stated another way, the number of "lost ballots" through in-person voting methods amounted to a number that was 8.3% of the number of in-person votes cast.[12] The number of lost ballots through by-mail voting methods amounted to a number that was 15.7% of absentee/mail

[12] This is calculated by dividing the number of "lost votes" through in-person methods (8.9 million) by the number of estimated in-person (Election Day and early) ballots cast (106.6 million).

votes cast. These estimates suggest that the amount of "breakage" in the voting system is twice as great among voters who use the mail, compared to those who vote in person.

How Did the States Perform in 2008?

Elections are generally administered locally—although the Help America Vote Act and state constitutions generally allow states to exert power over local elections, should they desire to do so. Therefore, reporting on the experience of voters at the national level is only the first step in using data to help improve voting in the United States. The next step is to take the analysis to the state level. Because the number of registered voters who fail to turn out is relatively small in percentage terms — 15% according to figures supplied by the Center for the Study of the American Electorate and 7% according to the answers in our survey — it is not possible to use this survey to estimate the sources of "lost votes" at the state level. On average, each state in our sample yielded only 12 respondents who were registered and did not vote. (This number ranged from four in Wyoming to 29 in Texas.) These numbers of cases make such estimates too imprecise to report.

On the other hand, our sample contains scores of respondents who turned our and voted in each state, resulting in a sufficient number of respondents in each state to allow us to report on the overall experience of *voters* in each state. Here, we report the percentage of voters in each state who reported experiencing a problem at the polls. We report these numbers for all in-person voters, except for Oregon, where mail ballots are virtually universal. We also report these numbers for the 24 states in which we have more 30 or more respondents who reported that they voted absentee or by mail.

Table V-1 reports the number of voters reporting a problem in each state in 2008. Of note are states whose voters reported in-person voting problems at a rate of less than 2% — Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, and South

Dakota — and greater than 10% — California, Illinois and Washington. The sample size of absentee and mail voters was large enough in 24 states that we can estimate the prevalence of absentee problems. Three states saw reported problems with absentee ballots at a rate greater than 7% — Florida, Maine, and New Jersey — and no absentee respondents in six states (Alabama, Nevada, North Dakota, Texas, Vermont, and Wyoming) reported problems voting.

One caution about using these estimates is that the rate of reported problems is very small, as is the number of observations for some states — for instance, Washington for in-person voting and most states for absentee/mail voting. Therefore, the "margins of error" (more accurately, the confidence intervals) around these estimates are very large in some cases, and the estimates should be used with extreme caution.

Section V Tables

Table V-1. Percentage of Voters Reporting a Problem When Voting In 2008, By State.

	In-Person Voting				Absentee/Mail Voting			
State	Pct. with problem	Lower-bound 95% interval	Upper-bound 95% interval	N	Pct. with problem	Lower-bound 95% interval	Upper-bound 95% interval	N
Alabama	6.8%	3.9%	11.5%	175	—	—	—	—
Alaska	4.5%	2.3%	8.8%	169	0.0%	0.0%	11.0%	31
Arizona	14.5%	8.7%	23.1%	92	3.5%	1.3%	8.9%	108
Arkansas	4.0%	2.0%	8.0%	178	—	—	—	—
California	13.9%	8.4%	22.2%	97	1.3%	0.3%	5.8%	103
Colorado	6.3%	2.6%	14.3%	73	5.8%	2.9%	11.3%	127
Connecticut	6.0%	3.4%	10.5%	181	—	—	—	—
Delaware	3.2%	1.5%	6.8%	187	—	—	—	—
Florida	7.8%	4.4%	13.4%	144	9.5%	4.2%	20.1%	55
Georgia	5.8%	3.2%	10.4%	171	—	—	—	—
Hawaii	3.3%	1.4%	7.8%	138	2.2%	0.5%	9.5%	62
Idaho	6.9%	3.8%	12.1%	149	4.2%	1.2%	13.6%	51
Illinois	10.5%	6.8%	15.8%	183	—	—	—	—
Indiana	9.9%	6.4%	15.1%	183	—	—	—	—
Iowa	9.8%	6.0%	15.7%	148	1.7%	0.3%	9.8%	52
Kansas	3.9%	1.8%	8.2%	155	1.6%	0.2%	10.6%	45
Kentucky	5.7%	3.1%	10.1%	179	—	—	—	—
Louisiana	4.0%	2.0%	8.0%	179	—	—	—	—
Maine	5.7%	3.0%	10.6%	153	11.3%	5.0%	23.4%	47
Maryland	7.9%	4.8%	12.8%	177	—	—	—	—
Massachusetts	0.9%	0.2%	3.6%	182	—	—	—	—
Michigan	2.6%	1.0%	6.8%	137	1.6%	0.3%	8.5%	63
Minnesota	3.4%	1.6%	7.2%	176	—	—	—	—
Mississippi	4.6%	2.4%	8.8%	176	—	—	—	—
Missouri	5.8%	3.2%	10.3%	173	—	—	—	—
Montana	1.5%	0.4%	5.5%	124	1.6%	0.3%	7.5%	76
Nebraska	3.9%	1.8%	8.3%	150	3.8%	1.0%	13.2%	50
Nevada	4.8%	2.4%	9.2%	164	0.0%	0.0%	9.9%	35
New Hampshire	1.8%	0.6%	5.0%	180	—	—	—	—
New Jersey	4.3%	2.1%	8.5%	170	10.2%	3.6%	25.9%	30
New Mexico	6.2%	3.3%	11.3%	148	6.1%	2.2%	16.1%	52
New York	8.3%	5.1%	13.3%	178	—	—	—	—
North Carolina	5.0%	2.6%	9.5%	163	6.5%	2.0%	19.2%	37
North Dakota	0.4%	0.01%	3.4%	141	0.0%	0.0%	6.1%	59
Ohio	8.6%	5.1%	14.2%	151	5.3%	1.7%	15.4%	49
Oklahoma	5.2%	2.7%	9.7%	169	5.2%	1.3%	19.0%	31

	In-Person Voting				Absentee/Mail Voting			
State	Pct. with problem	Lower-bound 95% interval	Upper-bound 95% interval	N	Pct. with problem	Lower-bound 95% interval	Upper-bound 95% interval	N
Oregon	—	—	—	—	2.6%	1.1%	5.9%	194
Pennsylvania	2.8%	1.2%	6.4%	180	—	—	—	—
Rhode Island	5.6%	3.1%	9.9%	183	—	—	—	—
South Carolina	9.8%	6.1%	15.5%	156	2.5%	0.5%	12.2%	44
South Dakota	2.7%	1.1%	6.3%	176	—	—	—	—
Tennessee	4.8%	2.5%	9.0%	179	—	—	—	—
Texas	5.3%	2.8%	10.0%	159	0.0%	0.0%	8.6%	41
Utah	6.9%	3.9%	11.8%	165	5.1%	1.3%	17.8%	35
Vermont	3.5%	1.6%	7.6%	163	0.0%	0.0%	9.4%	37
Virginia	4.0%	2.0%	8.0%	175	—	—	—	—
Washington	19.8%	9.6%	36.5%	32	2.4%	0.9%	6.0%	168
West Virginia	3.4%	1.6%	7.2%	175	—	—	—	—
Wisconsin	3.9%	1.9%	8.0%	171	—	—	—	—
Wyoming	4.2%	2.0%	8.4%	165	0.0%	0.0%	9.9%	35

Appendix 1 Core Performance Questions, Nationwide Averages

This appendix summarizes nationwide measures of voter experience during the 2008 election. The responses have been weighted to produce estimates of representative national measures.

Reason for Not Voting

How much of a factor did the following reasons play in your not voting in the November General Election? (Percent saying that the reason was either a "major factor" or a "minor factor" for not voting.)

	Percent major/minor factor	# of observations
Q2a. Wrong ID	14.1%	537
Q2b. Illness	23.7%	540
Q2c. Out of town	20.0%	541
Q2d. Forgot	11.5%	538
Q2e. Did not receive absentee ballot	16.3%	532
Q2f. Too busy	36.6%	540
Q2g. Transportation	21.8%	537
Q2h. Didn't like choices	44.6%	536
Q2i. Registration Problems	22.4%	529
Q2j. Weather	9.2%	536
Q2k. Bad time/location	21.8%	534
Q2l. Line too long	24.2%	529
Q2m. Didn't know where to vote	22.5%	540
Q2n. Did not receive ballot/not on time	19.8%	535

Difficulty Finding Polling Place

How difficult was it to find your polling place to vote? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

- "Very difficult" or "somewhat difficult" = 2.0%

How Well Polling Place Was Run

How well were things run at the polling place where you voted? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

- "Very well" or "okay" = 98%

Problem with Voter Registration

Was there a problem with your voter registration when you tried to vote? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

- Yes = 2.0%

Line Length

Approximately, how long did you have to wait in line to vote? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

- Average = 16.5 minutes

Voting Equipment Problems

Did you encounter any problems with the voting equipment or the ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

- Yes = 2.3%

Poll Worker Performance

Please rate the job performance of the poll workers at the polling place where you voted. (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

- "Excellent" or "good" = 95%

Problems Getting Mail/Absentee Ballot

Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you? (Among absentee and mail voters)

- Yes = 2.2%

Ease Filling out Absentee Ballot

Overall, how easy was it to follow all the instructions necessary to cast your ballot and return it to be counted? (Among absentee and mail voters)

- "Very easy" or "somewhat easy" = 98%

Confidence

How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended? (Among all voters)

- "Very confident" or "somewhat confident" = 93%

Appendix 2. Core Performance Questions, State Averages

This appendix summarizes state measures of voter experience during the 2008 election, complementing the nationwide measures reported in Appendix 1. Items are treated as missing if a state has fewer than 20 observations for that item. The responses have been weighted to produce estimates of representative state measures.

Reason for Not Voting

How much of a factor did the following reasons play in your not voting in the November General Election? (Percent saying that the reason was either a "major factor" or a "minor factor" for not voting.)

	Wrong ID	Illness	Out of Town	Forgot	Didn't get absentee ballot	Too busy	Transportation
Alabama	28.0%	30.6%	15.2%	14.0%	0.0%	42.0%	21.9%
Alaska	14.2%	4.9%	18.0%	0.0%	0.0%	26.0%	14.2%
Arizona	10.3%	10.3%	28.6%	15.5%	23.1%	33.4%	23.1%
Arkansas	11.9%	12.2%	31.3%	24.3%	18.5%	38.6%	30.9%
California	17.1%	35.4%	31.3%	16.7%	26.5%	55.9%	38.7%
Colorado	0.0%	9.8%	16.3%	0.0%	15.4%	68.9%	25.0%
Connecticut	38.0%	24.1%	6.7%	6.7%	16.7%	6.7%	6.7%
Delaware	0.0%	33.3%	8.2%	0.0%	0.0%	46.5%	0.0%
Florida	5.6%	10.5%	10.5%	8.9%	12.6%	40.2%	0.0%
Georgia	8.3%	34.4%	39.6%	7.9%	9.0%	43.2%	7.9%
Hawaii	0.0%	13.0%	13.7%	0.0%	10.0%	35.4%	19.7%
Idaho	10.1%	33.0%	4.8%	0.0%	6.8%	19.0%	0.0%
Illinois	0.0%	12.4%	0.0%	9.1%	0.0%	14.3%	12.4%
Indiana	0.0%	45.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	33.2%
Iowa	0.0%	5.7%	8.5%	13.4%	0.0%	0.0%	28.1%
Kansas	0.0%	24.9%	10.5%	7.4%	10.5%	14.1%	0.0%
Kentucky	0.0%	18.1%	10.0%	7.6%	0.0%	13.2%	13.2%
Louisiana	13.9%	39.8%	22.8%	6.1%	4.4%	22.9%	17.7%
Maine	10.3%	17.0%	16.6%	0.0%	27.3%	29.7%	0.0%
Maryland	13.2%	26.4%	0.0%	13.2%	0.0%	45.3%	21.8%
Massachusetts	0.0%	21.3%	21.4%	0.0%	0.0%	21.4%	42.7%
Michigan	0.0%	13.3%	16.2%	11.1%	0.0%	25.6%	17.9%
Minnesota	0.0%	36.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	21.9%
Mississippi	22.7%	25.3%	25.9%	22.7%	22.7%	36.8%	25.7%
Missouri	17.2%	9.0%	0.0%	9.0%	5.6%	35.3%	0.0%
Montana	15.4%	38.1%	39.1%	15.4%	39.1%	25.9%	0.0%
Nebraska	15.7%	15.7%	15.7%	15.7%	15.7%	60.8%	44.0%
Nevada	0.0%	22.3%	15.9%	0.0%	0.0%	15.9%	23.3%
New	6.7%	20.2%	35.3%	0.0%	0.0%	48.5%	0.0%

	Wrong ID	Illness	Out of Town	Forgot	Didn't get absentee ballot	Too busy	Transportation
Hampshire							
New Jersey	26.2%	15.6%	26.2%	15.6%	15.6%	31.2%	33.8%
New Mexico	0.0%	0.0%	21.0%	0.0%	31.5%	31.5%	0.0%
New York	52.2%	43.5%	48.0%	24.8%	52.2%	39.8%	41.9%
North Carolina	9.2%	26.2%	22.6%	5.9%	25.9%	28.0%	13.9%
North Dakota	0.0%	8.7%	25.1%	0.0%	0.0%	76.4%	3.5%
Ohio	32.7%	14.1%	14.1%	14.1%	14.1%	37.6%	37.6%
Oklahoma	9.2%	34.3%	9.2%	9.2%	0.0%	31.4%	36.9%
Oregon	13.4%	24.3%	23.6%	13.4%	13.4%	33.2%	24.3%
Pennsylvania	0.0%	18.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	24.0%	11.0%
Rhode Island	0.0%	0.0%	19.3%	12.7%	0.0%	50.3%	27.8%
South Carolina	13.4%	27.6%	24.0%	7.3%	24.0%	32.0%	20.4%
South Dakota	0.0%	0.0%	16.4%	0.0%	7.8%	22.0%	24.2%
Tennessee	4.9%	37.4%	6.3%	7.8%	0.0%	33.0%	21.8%
Texas	16.9%	22.7%	22.6%	14.6%	24.2%	55.6%	14.1%
Utah	0.0%	10.7%	0.0%	7.0%	11.2%	56.8%	17.9%
Vermont	4.8%	16.0%	16.0%	0.0%	0.0%	14.0%	20.7%
Virginia	0.0%	18.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	16.5%	64.2%
Washington	27.3%	24.2%	37.0%	27.3%	27.3%	36.0%	36.0%
West Virginia	10.3%	26.2%	9.1%	12.2%	0.0%	6.5%	29.5%
Wisconsin	0.0%	13.1%	0.0%	0.0%	13.1%	13.1%	0.0%
Wyoming	0.0%	27.1%	23.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Reason for Not Voting (Continued)

	Didn't Like Choices	Reg. Problems	Weather	Bad Time/ Location	Line too long	Didn't Know where to vote	Didn't receive ballot
Alabama	29.9%	23.1%	0.0%	29.3%	22.9%	63.1%	8.2%
Alaska	58.0%	14.1%	0.0%	0.0%	27.7%	0.0%	0.0%
Arizona	17.9%	31.1%	10.3%	20.7%	27.1%	10.3%	48.0%
Arkansas	57.3%	33.4%	11.9%	19.7%	37.2%	39.6%	16.3%
California	46.6%	36.4%	7.7%	8.7%	27.8%	21.8%	35.2%
Colorado	50.3%	28.3%	9.8%	28.5%	35.4%	41.5%	29.4%
Connecticut	6.7%	23.4%	6.7%	0.0%	34.4%	0.0%	16.7%
Delaware	30.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Florida	38.1%	16.9%	0.0%	32.6%	24.9%	40.4%	12.6%
Georgia	33.2%	23.7%	8.3%	24.9%	44.7%	7.9%	8.6%

	Didn't Like Choices	Reg. Problems	Weather	Bad Time/ Location	Line too long	Didn't Know where to vote	Didn't receive ballot
Hawaii	35.4%	41.7%	0.0%	7.8%	0.0%	4.8%	19.1%
Idaho	34.7%	14.0%	3.9%	19.7%	0.0%	27.1%	12.2%
Illinois	80.8%	30.2%	0.0%	19.4%	9.1%	19.4%	0.0%
Indiana	56.6%	0.0%	0.0%	41.8%	41.8%	41.4%	26.1%
Iowa	49.4%	7.1%	9.1%	5.7%	0.0%	9.1%	0.0%
Kansas	32.4%	28.3%	0.0%	0.0%	5.2%	18.6%	10.5%
Kentucky	53.2%	13.1%	0.0%	13.2%	5.6%	13.2%	0.0%
Louisiana	19.6%	24.5%	5.5%	11.1%	22.0%	28.8%	0.0%
Maine	15.1%	0.0%	0.0%	16.6%	34.1%	9.0%	19.3%
Maryland	13.2%	19.7%	13.2%	26.4%	40.3%	13.2%	0.0%
Massachusetts	32.4%	0.0%	21.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Michigan	57.8%	0.0%	0.0%	14.0%	27.7%	17.1%	4.3%
Minnesota	43.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Mississippi	33.2%	23.8%	0.0%	33.6%	35.1%	33.6%	22.7%
Missouri	8.4%	14.3%	0.0%	0.0%	5.7%	10.5%	5.6%
Montana	49.8%	41.8%	15.4%	18.0%	37.9%	28.5%	39.1%
Nebraska	42.9%	15.7%	21.7%	45.1%	28.3%	15.7%	23.1%
Nevada	63.1%	34.6%	0.0%	11.5%	43.9%	15.9%	10.2%
New Hampshire	38.6%	6.7%	0.0%	0.0%	7.1%	0.0%	0.0%
New Jersey	57.7%	29.2%	15.6%	33.8%	23.2%	31.2%	21.6%
New Mexico	100.0%	21.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	52.2%	31.5%
New York	51.0%	62.7%	24.8%	32.8%	37.6%	43.4%	52.2%
North Carolina	33.7%	17.4%	6.3%	12.6%	15.5%	7.8%	21.4%
North Dakota	32.2%	0.0%	0.0%	28.4%	11.9%	15.2%	3.5%
Ohio	53.2%	14.1%	14.1%	14.1%	49.6%	14.1%	14.1%
Oklahoma	56.2%	19.0%	9.2%	26.9%	20.9%	18.1%	14.2%
Oregon	41.7%	36.3%	33.2%	24.8%	21.7%	24.8%	24.0%
Pennsylvania	48.5%	12.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	23.4%
Rhode Island	41.1%	17.3%	10.5%	27.8%	0.0%	0.0%	17.3%
South Carolina	36.2%	19.8%	41.5%	44.1%	49.2%	26.8%	47.8%
South Dakota	64.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.8%	0.0%
Tennessee	38.5%	20.1%	7.8%	25.6%	27.1%	17.5%	0.0%
Texas	45.2%	14.2%	12.4%	35.4%	27.1%	27.1%	18.0%
Utah	51.7%	33.7%	17.6%	38.9%	6.3%	13.9%	25.1%
Vermont	54.7%	0.0%	4.8%	20.7%	0.0%	16.8%	4.8%
Virginia	32.4%	0.0%	16.2%	19.9%	19.9%	0.0%	0.0%
Washington	55.1%	36.0%	15.5%	47.8%	17.6%	39.1%	49.0%
West Virginia	47.2%	13.6%	0.0%	12.5%	6.5%	20.0%	3.9%
Wisconsin	86.9%	9.4%	13.1%	0.0%	0.0%	9.4%	13.1%
Wyoming	72.9%	23.0%	0.0%	27.1%	0.0%	27.1%	0.0%

Difficulty Finding Polling Place

How difficult was it to find your polling place to vote? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

	% very difficult or somewhat difficult	N
Alabama	3.3%	175
Alaska	0.9%	169
Arizona	3.6%	92
Arkansas	2.1%	178
California	2.1%	98
Colorado	2.1%	73
Connecticut	0.7%	181
Delaware	0.0%	187
Florida	3.8%	145
Georgia	3.4%	171
Hawaii	0.6%	138
Idaho	2.4%	148
Illinois	2.2%	183
Indiana	3.9%	182
Iowa	4.6%	148
Kansas	0.0%	155
Kentucky	1.0%	178
Louisiana	1.2%	179
Maine	0.7%	152
Maryland	2.5%	176
Massachusetts	0.0%	183
Michigan	0.0%	137
Minnesota	0.0%	176
Mississippi	0.9%	174
Missouri	0.8%	173
Montana	0.0%	124
Nebraska	0.7%	150
Nevada	1.0%	165
New Hampshire	0.6%	180
New Jersey	2.4%	170
New Mexico	1.2%	146
New York	2.3%	178
North Carolina	1.6%	163
North Dakota	0.4%	141
Ohio	1.7%	151
Oklahoma	2.8%	169
Oregon	—	—
Pennsylvania	0.6%	180
Rhode Island	0.8%	183
South Carolina	2.7%	156

	% very difficult or somewhat difficult	N
South Dakota	0.5%	175
Tennessee	2.4%	178
Texas	3.4%	159
Utah	1.3%	165
Vermont	0.7%	163
Virginia	2.1%	175
Washington	13.2%	32
West Virginia	1.7%	174
Wisconsin	1.4%	169
Wyoming	2.6%	165

How Well Polling Place Was Run

How well were things run at the polling place where you voted? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

	% very well or okay	N
Alabama	99.0%	172
Alaska	99.1%	168
Arizona	91.1%	92
Arkansas	97.8%	178
California	98.0%	98
Colorado	98.1%	73
Connecticut	95.9%	181
Delaware	98.5%	187
Florida	98.7%	145
Georgia	98.3%	171
Hawaii	99.4%	138
Idaho	98.0%	149
Illinois	95.2%	183
Indiana	96.7%	183
Iowa	97.7%	148
Kansas	98.0%	155
Kentucky	97.8%	178
Louisiana	98.2%	178
Maine	100.0%	153
Maryland	99.5%	177
Massachusetts	99.6%	182
Michigan	98.7%	137
Minnesota	99.5%	176
Mississippi	98.2%	176
Missouri	97.5%	173
Montana	98.5%	123
Nebraska	98.1%	150

	% very well or okay	N
Nevada	100.0%	165
New Hampshire	99.6%	180
New Jersey	99.5%	169
New Mexico	98.4%	146
New York	98.8%	178
North Carolina	98.4%	163
North Dakota	100.0%	141
Ohio	97.6%	150
Oklahoma	98.2%	168
Oregon	—	—
Pennsylvania	98.5%	180
Rhode Island	98.2%	182
South Carolina	97.7%	156
South Dakota	100.0%	176
Tennessee	98.1%	179
Texas	98.7%	158
Utah	98.8%	165
Vermont	99.2%	162
Virginia	97.3%	175
Washington	100.0%	32
West Virginia	98.6%	174
Wisconsin	98.0%	170
Wyoming	100.0%	165

Problem with Voter Registration

Was there a problem with your voter registration when you tried to vote? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

	% experienced problem	N
Alabama	1.4%	175
Alaska	3.2%	169
Arizona	8.7%	92
Arkansas	0.0%	178
California	5.2%	96
Colorado	2.5%	73
Connecticut	0.0%	181
Delaware	1.9%	187
Florida	2.9%	144
Georgia	2.1%	171
Hawaii	2.5%	138
Idaho	3.9%	149
Illinois	3.8%	182
Indiana	2.1%	183

	% experienced problem	N
Iowa	4.7%	148
Kansas	2.5%	155
Kentucky	0.0%	179
Louisiana	1.5%	179
Maine	2.1%	153
Maryland	2.7%	177
Massachusetts	0.0%	183
Michigan	0.5%	136
Minnesota	1.9%	175
Mississippi	0.6%	176
Missouri	2.3%	173
Montana	0.7%	124
Nebraska	1.1%	150
Nevada	2.2%	165
New Hampshire	1.3%	180
New Jersey	1.9%	170
New Mexico	2.8%	148
New York	3.4%	178
North Carolina	2.8%	163
North Dakota	0.4%	141
Ohio	3.6%	151
Oklahoma	0.9%	169
Oregon	—	—
Pennsylvania	0.6%	180
Rhode Island	3.5%	182
South Carolina	4.7%	156
South Dakota	0.9%	176
Tennessee	0.7%	179
Texas	0.5%	158
Utah	2.1%	164
Vermont	0.4%	163
Virginia	0.0%	175
Washington	6.6%	32
West Virginia	0.0%	175
Wisconsin	1.2%	171
Wyoming	2.7%	163

Line Length

Approximately, how long did you have to wait in line to vote? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

	Average wait (in minutes)	N
Alabama	13.7	175
Alaska	6.0	169
Arizona	25.1	92
Arkansas	22.2	178
California	10.7	97
Colorado	14.8	73
Connecticut	10.4	181
Delaware	13.3	187
Florida	28.5	144
Georgia	33.6	171
Hawaii	5.7	138
Idaho	6.5	149
Illinois	9.6	183
Indiana	24.3	183
Iowa	5.0	148
Kansas	11.3	155
Kentucky	12.5	179
Louisiana	20.1	179
Maine	4.4	153
Maryland	26.0	177
Massachusetts	5.6	182
Michigan	19.9	137
Minnesota	9.8	176
Mississippi	11.9	176
Missouri	26.5	173
Montana	6.2	124
Nebraska	9.7	150
Nevada	12.2	164
New Hampshire	7.6	180
New Jersey	7.5	170
New Mexico	12.7	148
New York	8.6	178
North Carolina	22.9	163
North Dakota	5.3	141
Ohio	15.2	151
Oklahoma	22.5	169
Oregon	—	—
Pennsylvania	16.3	180
Rhode Island	5.5	183
South Carolina	57.7	156

	Average wait (in minutes)	N
South Dakota	3.9	176
Tennessee	20.0	179
Texas	12.2	159
Utah	14.3	165
Vermont	2.5	163
Virginia	27.9	175
Washington	10.4	32
West Virginia	15.5	175
Wisconsin	8.5	171
Wyoming	5.6	165

Voting Equipment Problems

Did you encounter any problems with the voting equipment or the ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

	% having voting equipment problems	N
Alabama	1.8%	174
Alaska	0.4%	169
Arizona	5.3%	92
Arkansas	2.3%	178
California	4.3%	96
Colorado	1.7%	73
Connecticut	4.5%	181
Delaware	1.3%	187
Florida	3.0%	144
Georgia	2.4%	172
Hawaii	0.9%	137
Idaho	0.7%	149
Illinois	3.3%	183
Indiana	2.0%	183
Iowa	2.3%	147
Kansas	1.9%	155
Kentucky	4.3%	179
Louisiana	1.4%	179
Maine	2.9%	153
Maryland	3.2%	177
Massachusetts	0.9%	182
Michigan	2.1%	137
Minnesota	1.5%	176
Mississippi	3.2%	176
Missouri	2.8%	173

	% having voting equipment problems	N
Montana	0.8%	124
Nebraska	2.1%	148
Nevada	1.5%	165
New Hampshire	0.5%	180
New Jersey	0.0%	170
New Mexico	1.2%	148
New York	2.7%	178
North Carolina	0.6%	162
North Dakota	0.4%	141
Ohio	3.3%	151
Oklahoma	1.5%	169
Oregon	—	—
Pennsylvania	1.7%	179
Rhode Island	0.9%	182
South Carolina	1.5%	156
South Dakota	1.3%	176
Tennessee	1.7%	179
Texas	1.4%	159
Utah	3.6%	163
Vermont	2.4%	163
Virginia	2.4%	175
Washington	0.0%	32
West Virginia	2.4%	174
Wisconsin	0.6%	170
Wyoming	0.6%	165

Poll Worker Performance

Please rate the job performance of the poll workers at the polling place where you voted. (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

	% excellent or good	N
Alabama	96.7%	175
Alaska	95.0%	168
Arizona	95.2%	91
Arkansas	99.6%	178
California	88.4%	97
Colorado	96.7%	73
Connecticut	94.9%	180
Delaware	97.4%	187
Florida	96.2%	145
Georgia	96.1%	172
Hawaii	96.0%	138

	% excellent or good	N
Idaho	96.1%	149
Illinois	93.7%	183
Indiana	94.2%	183
Iowa	94.3%	148
Kansas	95.5%	154
Kentucky	96.1%	179
Louisiana	94.7%	179
Maine	96.3%	152
Maryland	97.1%	177
Massachusetts	96.6%	182
Michigan	96.1%	137
Minnesota	96.2%	176
Mississippi	95.1%	176
Missouri	94.9%	173
Montana	98.3%	122
Nebraska	96.7%	150
Nevada	97.0%	165
New Hampshire	99.5%	179
New Jersey	96.1%	170
New Mexico	91.3%	148
New York	92.0%	178
North Carolina	95.3%	163
North Dakota	98.5%	141
Ohio	93.7%	151
Oklahoma	96.0%	168
Oregon	—	—
Pennsylvania	97.8%	180
Rhode Island	94.3%	181
South Carolina	94.3%	156
South Dakota	99.8%	176
Tennessee	97.3%	179
Texas	93.7%	159
Utah	96.6%	165
Vermont	99.3%	162
Virginia	97.5%	175
Washington	100%	31
West Virginia	96.0%	174
Wisconsin	93.8%	171
Wyoming	97.6%	165

Problems Getting Mail/Absentee Ballot

Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you? (Among absentee and mail voters)

	% had problems	N
Alabama	—	—
Alaska	0.0%	20
Arizona	0.0%	95
Arkansas	—	—
California	2.6%	89
Colorado	5.0%	114
Connecticut	—	—
Delaware	—	—
Florida	2.7%	40
Georgia	—	—
Hawaii	3.3%	47
Idaho	6.2%	36
Illinois	—	—
Indiana	—	—
Iowa	2.1%	41
Kansas	2.3%	33
Kentucky	—	—
Louisiana	—	—
Maine	2.6%	33
Maryland	—	—
Massachusetts	—	—
Michigan	0.0%	46
Minnesota	—	—
Mississippi	—	—
Missouri	—	—
Montana	0.0%	67
Nebraska	2.5%	42
Nevada	0.0%	24
New Hampshire	—	—
New Jersey	—	—
New Mexico	0.0%	47
New York	—	—
North Carolina	—	—
North Dakota	0.0%	47
Ohio	6.4%	43
Oklahoma	—	—
Oregon	1.6%	184
Pennsylvania	—	—
Rhode Island	—	—
South Carolina	3.7%	31
South Dakota	—	—

	% had problems	N
Tennessee	—	—
Texas	—	—
Utah	0.0%	22
Vermont	0.0%	27
Virginia	—	—
Washington	1.4%	158
West Virginia	—	—
Wisconsin	0.0%	20
Wyoming	0.0%	31

Ease Filling out Absentee Ballot

Overall, how easy was it to follow all the instructions necessary to cast your ballot and return it to be counted? (Among absentee and mail voters)

	% Very Easy	N
Alabama	—	—
Alaska	92.2%	20
Arizona	83.8%	95
Arkansas	—	—
California	88.1%	89
Colorado	77.6%	115
Connecticut	—	—
Delaware	—	—
Florida	76.0%	41
Georgia	—	—
Hawaii	—	—
Idaho	95.6%	35
Illinois	—	—
Indiana	—	—
Iowa	82.5%	40
Kansas	97.9%	32
Kentucky	—	—
Louisiana	—	—
Maine	82.7%	33
Maryland	—	—
Massachusetts	—	—
Michigan	89.5%	46
Minnesota	—	—
Mississippi	—	—
Missouri	—	—
Montana	88.4%	66
Nebraska	93.0%	42
Nevada	86.0%	24
New Hampshire	—	—
New Jersey	—	—

	% Very Easy	N
New Mexico	67.7%	47
New York	—	—
North Carolina	—	—
North Dakota	83.4%	47
Ohio	74.0%	43
Oklahoma	—	—
Oregon	88.9%	184
Pennsylvania	—	—
Rhode Island	—	—
South Carolina	82.3%	30
South Dakota	—	—
Tennessee	—	—
Texas	—	—
Utah	82.9%	22
Vermont	81.7%	27
Virginia	—	—
Washington	87.4%	157
West Virginia	—	—
Wisconsin	92.0%	20
Wyoming	87.1%	31

Confidence

How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended? (Among all voters)

	% very confident or somewhat confident	N
Alabama	97.1%	186
Alaska	87.9%	187
Arizona	93.5%	183
Arkansas	92.9%	182
California	89.8%	178
Colorado	94.0%	185
Connecticut	96.0%	187
Delaware	96.1%	192
Florida	95.5%	184
Georgia	96.3%	184
Hawaii	96.3%	185
Idaho	92.1%	180
Illinois	96.2%	186
Indiana	94.8%	191
Iowa	95.9%	187
Kansas	98.6%	186

	% very confident or somewhat confident	N
Kentucky	94.4%	184
Louisiana	92.2%	181
Maine	97.1%	185
Maryland	93.6%	191
Massachusetts	97.6%	192
Michigan	96.1%	181
Minnesota	96.2%	188
Mississippi	97.0%	183
Missouri	96.6%	184
Montana	92.7%	187
Nebraska	96.0%	191
Nevada	96.4%	185
New Hampshire	95.6%	189
New Jersey	94.2%	182
New Mexico	87.9%	187
New York	94.8%	188
North Carolina	90.7%	173
North Dakota	96.5%	187
Ohio	92.4%	190
Oklahoma	91.9%	180
Oregon	92.2%	186
Pennsylvania	96.5%	188
Rhode Island	95.3%	189
South Carolina	95.7%	181
South Dakota	96.0%	193
Tennessee	94.4%	181
Texas	92.3%	168
Utah	92.1%	184
Vermont	100.0%	188
Virginia	97.1%	191
Washington	90.8%	188
West Virginia	94.1%	178
Wisconsin	96.6%	190
Wyoming	96.0%	193

Appendix 4. Core Performance Questions, Nationwide Averages, By Demographic Categories

The responses have been weighted to produce estimates of representative national measures.

Race

Reason for Not Voting

How much of a factor did the following reasons play in your not voting in the November General Election? (Percent saying that the reason was either a "major factor" or a "minor factor" for not voting.)

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Nat. Amer.	Mixed	Other
Q2a. Wrong ID	8.2%	23.6%	28.3%	78.2%	0	0	0
Q2b. Illness	22.7%	25.5%	27.7%	43.2%	6.8%	10.1%	0
Q2c. Out of town	16.2%	30.5%	24.1%	72.4%	36.8%	3.5%	0
Q2d. Forgot	8.5%	14.4%	20.3%	61.1%	13.1%	0	0
Q2e. Did not receive absentee ballot	8.1%	26.6%	38.6%	61.1%	36.8%	3.5%	0
Q2f. Too busy	35.0%	24.7%	55.9%	81.5%	15.0%	40.0%	0
Q2g. Transportation	18.4%	25.7%	29.1%	78.2%	26.0%	20.4%	0
Q2h. Didn't like choices	47.4%	35.1%	46.2%	67.1%	17.3%	17.6%	29.1%
Q2i. Registration Problems	16.5%	37.0%	31.9%	78.2%	0	38.8%	70.9%
Q2j. Weather	7.0%	17.1%	8.2%	78.2%	9.2%	0	0
Q2k. Bad time/location	19.8%	20.8%	32.1%	34.2%	24.9%	10.1%	0
Q2l. Line too long	18.5%	38.3%	34.7%	61.1%	22.3%	10.1%	0
Q2m. Didn't know where to vote	20.7%	20.7%	34.9%	34.2%	0	20.4%	0
Q2n. Did not receive ballot/not on time	13.3%	27.5%	36.5%	78.2%	15.0%	3.5%	70.9%

Difficulty Finding Polling Place

How difficult was it to find your polling place to vote? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

"Very difficult" or "somewhat difficult"

- 1.4% White
- 4.3% African American
- 4.2% Hispanic
- 0% Asian
- 6.2% Native American
- 4.7% Mixed
- 4.3% Other

How Well Polling Place Was Run

How well were things run at the polling place where you voted? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

"Very well" or "okay"

- 98% White
- 97% African American
- 99% Hispanic
- 99% Asian
- 94% Native American
- 96% Mixed
- 99% Other

Problem with Voter Registration

Was there a problem with your voter registration when you tried to vote? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

Yes

- 1.9% White
- 3.8% African American
- 4.1% Hispanic
- 0.3% Asian
- 1.6% Native American
- 0% Mixed
- 1.9% Other

Line Length

Approximately, how long did you have to wait in line to vote? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

Average Time, in Minutes

- 15 Minutes, White
- 29 Minutes, African American
- 17 Minutes, Hispanic
- 12 Minutes, Asian
- 10 Minutes, Native American
- 15 Minutes, Mixed
- 15 Minutes, Other.

Voting Equipment Problems

Did you encounter any problems with the voting equipment or the ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

Yes

- 2.2% White
- 2.9% African American
- 1.5% Hispanic
- 1.4% Asian

- 0.4% Native American
- 5.5% Mixed
- 2.1% Other

Poll Worker Performance

Please rate the job performance of the poll workers at the polling place where you voted. (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

"Excellent" or "Good"

- 95% White
- 94% African American
- 92% Hispanic
- 98% Asian
- 95% Native American
- 90% Mixed
- 96% Other.

Problems Getting Mail/Absentee Ballot

Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you? (Among absentee and mail voters)

Yes

- 1.6% White
- 7.5% African American
- 3.1% Hispanic
- 1.7% Asian
- 19.2% Native American
- 5.8% Mixed
- 0% Other.

Ease Filling out Absentee Ballot

Overall, how easy was it to follow all the instructions necessary to cast your ballot and return it to be counted? (Among absentee and mail voters)

"Very Easy" or "Somewhat Easy"

- 98% White
- 99% African American
- 99% Hispanic
- 100% Asian
- 81% Native American
- 93% Mixed
- 100% Other

Confidence

How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended? (Among all voters)

"Very Confident" or "Somewhat Confident"

- 91% White
- 95% African American
- 81% Hispanic
- 98% Asian
- 80% Native American
- 98% Mixed
- 64% Other

Sex

Reason for Not Voting

How much of a factor did the following reasons play in your not voting in the November General Election? (Percent saying that the reason was either a "major factor" or a "minor factor" for not voting.)

	Male	Female
Q2a. Wrong ID	15.1%	13.5%
Q2b. Illness	23.0%	24.1%
Q2c. Out of town	27.6%	15.5%
Q2d. Forgot	18.0%	7.9%
Q2e. Did not receive absentee ballot	21.0%	13.6%
Q2f. Too busy	39.4%	35.0%
Q2g. Transportation	26.9%	18.8%
Q2h. Didn't like choices	51.1%	41.1%
Q2i. Registration Problems	29.5%	18.2%
Q2j. Weather	13.4%	6.9%
Q2k. Bad time/location	28.1%	18.4%
Q2l. Line too long	32.8%	19.4%
Q2m. Didn't know where to vote	24.4%	21.1%
Q2n. Did not receive ballot/not on time	24.3%	17.2%

Difficulty Finding Polling Place

How difficult was it to find your polling place to vote? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

"Very Difficult" or "Somewhat Difficult"

- 1.2% Male
- 1.9% Female

How Well Polling Place Was Run

How well were things run at the polling place where you voted? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

"Very Well" or "Okay"

- 98% Male
- 98% Female

Problem with Voter Registration

Was there a problem with your voter registration when you tried to vote? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

Yes

- 1.8% Male
- 2.6% Female

Line Length

Approximately, how long did you have to wait in line to vote? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

Average Time, in Minutes

- 16 Minutes, Male
- 17 Minutes, Female

Voting Equipment Problems

Did you encounter any problems with the voting equipment or the ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

Yes

- 2.1% Male
- 2.4% Female

Poll Worker Performance

Please rate the job performance of the poll workers at the polling place where you voted. (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

"Excellent" or "Good"

- 95% Male
- 95% Female

Problems Getting Mail/Absentee Ballot

Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you? (Among absentee and mail voters)

Yes

- 1.7% Male
- 2.7% Female

Ease Filling out Absentee Ballot

Overall, how easy was it to follow all the instructions necessary to cast your ballot and return it to be counted? (Among absentee and mail voters)

"Very Easy" or "Somewhat Easy"

- 98% Male
- 98% Female

Confidence

How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended? (Among all voters)

"Very Confident" or "Somewhat Confident"

- 92% Male
- 90% Female

Age

Reason for Not Voting

How much of a factor did the following reasons play in your not voting in the November General Election? (Percent saying that the reason was either a "major factor" or a "minor factor" for not voting.)

	18-30	31-60	61+
Q2a. Wrong ID	17.9%	12.4%	0%
Q2b. Illness	26.4%	21.4%	25.4%
Q2c. Out of town	31.4%	12.8%	4.3%
Q2d. Forgot	20.2%	5.9%	0%
Q2e. Did not receive absentee ballot	24.9%	10.9%	4.8%
Q2f. Too busy	56.8%	24.1%	6.7%
Q2g. Transportation	31.7%	15.9%	3.3%
Q2h. Didn't like choices	41.2%	46.4%	52.0%
Q2i. Registration Problems	28.7%	18.8%	6.0%
Q2j. Weather	15.6%	5.2%	0%
Q2k. Bad time/location	32.6%	15.7%	4.9%
Q2l. Line too long	36.9%	16.4%	11.1%
Q2m. Didn't know where to vote	35.9%	14.5%	0.6%
Q2n. Did not receive ballot/not on time	24.1%	17.8%	6.0%

Difficulty Finding Polling Place

How difficult was it to find your polling place to vote? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

"Very Difficult" or "Somewhat Difficult"

- 3.8%, 30 and younger
- 2.0%, 31-60
- 0.7%, 61 and older

How Well Polling Place Was Run

How well were things run at the polling place where you voted? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

"Very Well" or "Okay"

- 98%, 30 and younger
- 98%, 31-60
- 99%,61 and older

Problem with Voter Registration

Was there a problem with your voter registration when you tried to vote? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

Yes

- 96%, 30 and younger
- 98%, 31-60
- 99.6%, 61 and older

Line Length

Approximately, how long did you have to wait in line to vote? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

Average Wait Time, in Minutes

- 18 minutes, 30 and younger
- 17 minutes, 31-60
- 14 minutes, 61 and older

Voting Equipment Problems

Did you encounter any problems with the voting equipment or the ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

Yes

- 2.4%, 30 and younger
- 2.0%, 31-60
- 2.8%, 61 and older

Poll Worker Performance

Please rate the job performance of the poll workers at the polling place where you voted. (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

"Excellent" or "Good"

- 93%, 30 and younger
- 94%,,31-60
- 98%, 61 and older

Problems Getting Mail/Absentee Ballot

Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you? (Among absentee and mail voters)

Yes

- 2.6%, 30 and younger
- 2.7%, 31-60
- 1.3%, 61 and older

Ease Filling out Absentee Ballot

Overall, how easy was it to follow all the instructions necessary to cast your ballot and return it to be counted? (Among absentee and mail voters)

"Very Easy" or "Somewhat Easy"

- 97%, 30 and younger
- 99%,,31-60
- 98%, 61 and older

Confidence

How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended? (Among all voters)

"Very Confident" or "Somewhat Confident"

89%, 30 and younger
90%, 31-60
92%, 61 and older

Party

Reason for Not Voting

How much of a factor did the following reasons play in your not voting in the November General Election? (Percent saying that the reason was either a "major factor" or a "minor factor" for not voting.)

	Dem.	Rep.	Ind.
Q2a. Wrong ID	15.5%	8.7%	12.2%
Q2b. Illness	23.0%	22.4%	21.3%
Q2c. Out of town	22.6%	18.8%	12.5%
Q2d. Forgot	14.1%	10.1%	7.3%
Q2e. Did not receive absentee ballot	17.5%	11.6%	8.1%
Q2f. Too busy	33.9%	43.8%	32.2%
Q2g. Transportation	30.0%	9.4%	18.3%
Q2h. Didn't like choices	38.9%	49.9%	49.5%
Q2i. Registration Problems	27.3%	27.9%	18.6%
Q2j. Weather	11.7%	6.7%	7.9%
Q2k. Bad time/location	21.2%	26.7%	19.9%
Q2l. Line too long	28.0%	17.9%	22.0%
Q2m. Didn't know where to vote	21.4%	21.1%	19.4%
Q2n. Did not receive ballot/not on time	20.2%	15.4%	17.8%

Difficulty Finding Polling Place

How difficult was it to find your polling place to vote? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

"Very Difficult" or "Somewhat Difficult"

- 2.7%, Democrat
- 1.2%, Republican
- 1.6%, Independent

How Well Polling Place Was Run

How well were things run at the polling place where you voted? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

"Very Well" or "Okay"

- 98%, Democrat
- 98%, Republican
- 98%, Independent

Problem with Voter Registration

Was there a problem with your voter registration when you tried to vote? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

Yes

- 1.7%, Democrat
- 2.4%, Republican
- 2.6%, Independent

Line Length

Approximately, how long did you have to wait in line to vote? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

Average Wait Time, in Minutes

- 18 minutes, Democrat
- 15 minutes, Republican
- 16 minutes, Independent

Voting Equipment Problems

Did you encounter any problems with the voting equipment or the ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended? (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

Yes

- 2.9%, Democrat
- 1.6%, Republican
- 2.0%, Independent

Poll Worker Performance

Please rate the job performance of the poll workers at the polling place where you voted. (Among Election Day early in-person voters)

"Excellent" or "Good"

- 95%, Democrat
- 95%, Republican
- 95%, Independent

Problems Getting Mail/Absentee Ballot

Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you? (Among absentee and mail voters)

Yes

- 2.5%, Democrat
- 0.9%, Republican
- 3.6%, Independent

Ease Filling out Absentee Ballot

Overall, how easy was it to follow all the instructions necessary to cast your ballot and return it to be counted? (Among absentee and mail voters)

"Very Easy" or "Somewhat Easy"

- 98%, Democrat
- 99.7%, Republican
- 97%, Independent

Confidence

How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended? (Among all voters)

"Very Confident" or "Somewhat Confident"

- 93%, Democrat
- 90%, Republican
- 87%, Independent

Appendix 4. Questionnaire and Frequencies for Internet Responses to Entire Questionnaire

The responses have been weighted according to the weights provided in the Polimetrix-provided data set. The results should be used to cross-check analysis using the data set. Because the weights are calculated to produce valid estimates *within each state*, these figures should not be used as estimates of *national* averages.

Q1: Vote
Which of the following statements best describes you?

	Frequency	Percentage
I did not vote in the Election This November	340	3.4%
I thought about voting this time, but did not	128	1.3%
I usually vote, but didn't this time	112	1.1%
I tried to vote, but was not allowed to	56	0.6%
I tried to vote, but it ended up being…	47	0.5%
I definitely voted in the Nov. General	9316	93.2%
Total	10000	100.0%

Q2: Reason for Not Voting
How much of a factor did the following reasons play in your not voting in the November General Election? (1="not a factor" 3="a major factor", "don't know excluded)

	w/o Don't Know	
Reasons for Not Voting	Mean (SE)	N
2a. Wrong ID	1.17 (0.02)	537
2b. Illness	1.37 (0.03)	540
2c. Out of town	1.31 (0.03)	541
2d. Forgot	1.14 (0.02)	538
2e. Did not receive absentee ballot	1.19 (0.02)	532
2f. Too Busy	1.55 (0.04)	540
2g. Transportation	1.34 (0.03)	537
2h. Didn't Like Choices	1.75 (0.04)	536
2i. Reg. Problems	1.33 (0.03)	529
2j. Weather	1.10 (0.02)	536
2k. Bad Time/Location	1.30 (0.03)	534
2l. Line Too Long	1.31 (0.03)	529
2m. Didn't Know Where to Go	1.29 (0.03)	540
2n. Did Not Receive Ballot/Did Not Receive Ballot in Time	1.28 (0.03)	535

Q3: Why No Absentee Ballot

Sometimes when voters can't get to the polls on Election Day, they vote using an absentee ballot. Please indicate which of the following statements most closely describes why you did not vote absentee in the November 2008 General Election.

	Frequency	Percentage
I had no interest in voting in this election	135	23.1%
It was too late to request a ballot	74	12.7%
I requested an absentee ballot, but it…	30	5.2%
I wouldn't have been allowed to vote absentee	17	2.9%
Requesting an absentee ballot requires…	7	1.2%
I didn't know how to request an absentee ballot	127	21.8%
I prefer to vote in person	123	21.2%
Other	69	11.9%
Total	582	100.0%

Q4: First Time Voter

Was this your first time voting, or have you voted in elections before? (Asked of all voters)

	Frequency	Percentage
I am a first-time voter	607	6.5%
I have voted before in elections	8,795	93.5%
Total	9,402	100.0%

Question 4b: First Time Voter

Was this your first time voting, or have you voted in elections before? (Asked of all respondents who reported trying to vote but being unable to vote.)

	Frequency	Percentage
I am a first-time voter	34	38.1%
I have voted before in elections	54	61.9%
Total	88	100.0%

Q5: Mode of Voting
Did you vote in person at a precinct on Election Day, in person before Election Day, or by mail (that is, absentee or vote-by-mail)? (Asked of all voters)

	Frequency	Percentage
In Person on Election Day (at polling place)	6,147	65.4%
In Person before Election Day	1,649	17.5%
Voted by Mail (or absentee)	1,596	17.0%
Don't Know	7	0.1%
Total	9,399	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
In Person on Election Day (at polling place)	6,149	65.5%
In Person before Election Day	1,649	17.6%
Voted by Mail (or absentee)	1,596	17.0%
Total	9,395	100.0%

Question 5b: Mode of Voting
Did you vote in person at a precinct on Election Day, in person before Election Day, or by mail (that is, absentee or vote-by-mail)? (Asked of all respondents who reported trying to vote but being unable to vote.)

	Frequency	Percentage
In Person on Election Day (at polling place)	45	53.1%
In Person before Election Day	8	9.4%
Voted by Mail (or absentee)	15	17.2%
Don't Know	17	20.2%
Total	9,399	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
In Person on Election Day (at polling place)	47	66.6%
In Person before Election Day	8	11.8%
Voted by Mail (or absentee)	15	21.6%
Total	70	100.0%

Q6: Difficulty Finding Polling Place
How difficult was it to find your polling place to vote?

	Mean (SE) (w/missing and DK)	N (w/missing)	Mean (SE (w/o missing)	N (w/o missing)
Q6. Difficulty Finding Polling Place (1- Very Difficult; 4 – Very Easy)	3.89 (0.00)	7,769	3.89 (0.00)	7,768

Q7: Polling Place Type
How would you describe the place where you voted?

	Frequency	Percentage
Private Home	17	0.2%
Private Business	89	1.1%
School Building	2,191	28.2%
Church	1,221	15.7%
Police/Fire Station	478	6.2%
A store or shopping mall	167	2.1%
Senior Center	232	3.0%
Community Center	1,158	14.9%
Library	258	3.3%
Other Gov't Office (Courthouse, etc)	1,534	19.7%
Other	435	5.6%
Total	7,780	100.0%

Q8: Knew Poll Worker
Did you personally know the person who checked you in when you arrived to vote?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1,322	17.0%
No	6,402	82.3%
Don't Know	42	0.5%
Don't Remember	16	0.2%
Total	7,783	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows/Don't Remember

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1,324	17.1%
No	6,411	82.9%
Total	7,735	100.0%

Q9: How Well the Polling Place Was Run
How well were things run at the polling place where you voted?

	Mean (SE) (w/missing and DK)	N (w/missing)	Mean (SE (w/o missing)	N (w/o missing)
Q9. How well Polling Place Run (1- Well Run; 4- Terrible)	1.20 (0.01)	7,776	1.19 (0.01)	7,764

Q10: Problem with Voter Registration
Was there a problem with your voter registration when you tried to vote?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	151	1.9%
No	7,621	98.0%
Don't Know	4	0.1%
Total	7,776	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	151	1.9%
No	7,621	98.1%
Total	7,776	100.0%

Q11: Problem with Voter Registration — Allowed To Vote
Were you allowed to vote?

	Frequency	Percentage
I Voted Using a Regular Ballot	107	75.1%
Used a Provisional Ballot	35	24.9%
Total	142	100.0%

Q12: Line Length
Approximately, how long did you have to wait in line to vote?

	Mean (SE (w/o missing)	N (w/o missing)
Q12: Line Length (in minutes, recoded from 1-5 scale to 0, 5, 15, 45, 90)	13.04 (0.24)	7,778

Q12a: Source of Line
Was your wait in line mostly when you first arrived to check in at the registration table, or after you checked in and were waiting to gain access to a place to cast your ballot?

	Frequency	Percentage
Check-In to Vote	2,871	63.7%
After Check-In	820	18.2%
Evenly Divided between the two	782	17.4%
Don't Recall	35	0.8%
Total	4,507	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Check-In to Vote	2,878	64.2%
After Check-In	822	18.3%
Evenly Divided between the two	784	17.5%
Total	4,483	100.0%

Q13: Picture ID
Were you asked to show picture identification, such as a driver's license, at the polling place this November?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	4,136	53.2%
No	3608	46.4%
Don't Know	29	0.4%
Total	7,774	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	4,137	53.4%
No	3,608	46.6%
Total	7,745	100.0%

Q13a: Were You Then Allowed To Vote?

	Frequency	Percentage
Voted with Regular Ballot	3,937	98.2%
Voted with Provisional Ballot	61	1.5%
Was offered provisional, but didn't vote	8	0.2%
Was not allowed to vote	2	0.1%
Total	4,009	100.0%

Q14: Type of ID Shown

What type of picture identification did you show?

	Frequency	Percentage
Driver's License	3,603	87.9%
Passport	24	0.6%
Voter Reg. Card	262	6.4%
Other Gov't Picture ID	158	3.9%
Non Gov Picture ID	20	0.5%
Non-Picture ID	8	0.2%
Bill, letter, package	9	0.2%
Although asked, did not show ID	3	0.1%
I Don't Remember	11	0.3%
Total	4098	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Driver's License	3,604	88.2%
Passport	24	0.6%
Voter Reg. Card	261	6.4%
Other Gov't Picture ID	158	3.9%
Non Gov't Picture ID	20	0.5%
Non-Picture ID	8	0.2%
Bill, letter, package	9	0.2%
Although asked, did not show ID	3	0.1%
Total	4,088	100.0%

Q15: Picture ID Follow-Up
Did you show picture identification because you were asked for it specifically, or because a picture ID was the most convenient form of identification for you to show?

	Frequency	Percentage
I was asked specifically for an ID Card	2,331	57.5%
I showed an ID card	1,466	36.1%
Don't Know	261	6.4%
Totals	4,057	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
I was asked specifically for an ID Card	2,332	61.4%
I showed an ID card	1,467	38.6%
Totals	3,799	100.0%

Q16: Voting Equipment Problems
Did you encounter any problems with the voting equipment or the ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	151	1.9%
No	7,617	98.0%
Don't Know	7	0.1%
Total	7,773	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	151	1.9%
No	7,616	98.1%
Total	7,767	100.0%

Q17: Help With Ballot
Did you receive help in filling out your ballot?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	457	5.9%
No	7,320	94.1%
Total	7,777	100.0%

Q18: Who Helped With Ballot
Who helped you with your ballot?

	Frequency	Percentage
My spouse or partner	25	5.7%
A Child of mine	5	1.2%
A Friend of Mine	7	1.6%
An Election official or precinct worker	375	87.7%
Another voter	2	0.5%
Other	9	2.2%
Don't Know	5	1.1%
Total	428	100.0%

w/out Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
My spouse or partner	25	5.8%
A Child of mine	5	1.2%
A Friend of Mine	7	1.7%
An Election official or precinct worker	375	88.6%
Another voter	2	0.5%
Other	9	2.2%
Total	425	100.0%

Q19: Poll Worker Performance
Please rate the job performance of the poll workers at the polling place where you voted.

	Mean (SE) (w/missing and DK)	N (w/missing)	Mean (SE (w/o missing)	N (w/o missing)
Q19: Performance of Poll Worker (1- Excellent; 4- poor)	1.36 (0.01)	7,780	1.35 (0.01)	7,767

Q20: Race of Poll Worker
What was the race/ethnicity of the poll worker who checked you in when you voted?

	Frequency	Percentage
African American	840	10.8%
Native American	31	0.4%
Asian	50	0.7%
White	5,847	75.2%
Hispanic	161	2.1%
Other/Multi-Racial	133	1.7%
I Don't Recall	558	7.2%
I Don't Know	158	2.0%
Total	7,779	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows and Don't Recalls

	Frequency	Percentage
African American	838	11.9%
Native American	31	0.4%
Asian	50	0.7%
White	5,829	82.8%
Hispanic	161	2.3%
Other/Multi-Racial	132	1.9%
Total	7,042	100.0%

Q21: Age of Poll Worker
About how old was the poll worker who checked you in when you voted?

	Frequency	Percentage
Under 30	406	5.2%
Between 31 and 50	2,459	31.7%
Between 51 and 70	4,445	57.3%
Older than 70	442	5.7%
Total	7,751	100.0%

Q22: Polling Place Intimidation
Did you personally feel intimidated at the place where you voted?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	81	1.0%
No	7,689	98.9%
I Don't Remember	6	0.1%
Total	7,776	100.0%

w/o Don't Remember

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	81	1.0%
No	7,690	99.0%
Total	7,771	100.0%

Q23: Reason for Absentee Ballot

Which of the following statements most closely describes why you voted by mail or absentee?

	Frequency	Percentage
My state or locality only has vote-by-mail.	230	14.3%
I have signed up to receive a mail or absentee ballot automatically	408	25.3%
Voting by mail or absentee was just more convenient for me	414	25.7%
I was out of town for this election	221	13.7%
I have a physical disability	120	7.5%
I could not get to the polls on election day because of my work	68	4.3%
I am in the armed forces	28	1.7%
I was an election official or poll worker	50	3.1%
Religious observances would have interfered with my going to	0	0.0%
Other	74	4.6%
	1,613	100.0%

Q24: Contact Regarding Absentee Ballot

Did someone associated with a political candidate or political party contact you to encourage you to vote absentee or by mail?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	245	17.7%
No	1,135	82.3%
Total	1,380	100.0%

Q25: Problems Getting Mail Ballot

Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	34	2.1%
No	1,575	97.9%
Total	1,610	100.0%

Q26: Mail Ballot Problems
Did you encounter any problems marking or completing your ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	27	1.7%
No	1,573	97.6%
Don't Know	11	0.7%
Total	1,612	100.0%

w/o Don't Know

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	28	1.7%
No	1,573	98.3%
Total	1,601	100.0%

Q27: Help With Absentee Ballot
Did you receive help in filling out your absentee or mail ballot?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	43	2.7%
No	1,569	97.4%
Total	1,612	100.0%

Q28: Absentee Ballot Help
Who helped you fill out your ballot?

	Frequency	Percentage
My spouse or partner	7	18.7%
A child of mine	1	2.1%
A friend of mine	4	9.0%
An election official or precinct worker	7	18.3%
Another voter, or someone else at my voting location	1	2.3%
A person who helps me out because of physical disability	4	9.0%
Other	16	40.6%
Total	40	100.0%

Q29: Absentee Ballot Pressure
Did you feel pressured to vote in a particular way when you filled out your absentee or mail ballot? For instance, because another person may have been watching you fill out your ballot?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	7	0.5%
No	1,603	99.4%
Don't Know	2	0.1%
Total	1,612	100.0%

w/o Don't Know

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	7	0.5%
No	1,603	99.6%
Total	1,610	100.0%

Q30: How Returned
How did you return your absentee or mail ballot?

	Frequency	Percentage
Personally mailed it back in	1,062	65.9%
Someone else in household mailed it	121	7.5%
Personally returned it	328	20.4%
Someone else returned it	67	4.2%
Other	31	1.9%
Don't Know	1	0.1%
Total	1,611	100.0%

w/o Don't Know

	Frequency	Percentage
Personally mailed it back in	1,062	65.9%
Someone else in household mailed it	121	7.5%
Personally returned it	328	20.4%
Someone else returned it	67	4.2%
Other	31	1.9%
Total	1,610	100.0%

Q31: Returned Absentee Ballot
To the best of your memory, when did you return your absentee or mail ballot?

	Frequency	Percentage
On Election Day	57	3.5%
A Few days before election day	245	15.2%
The week before Election Day	371	23.0%
More than a week before Election Day	932	57.9%
I don't remember	6	0.4%
Total	1,611	100.0%

w/o Don't Know/Remember

	Frequency	Percentage
On Election Day	57	3.5%
A Few days before election day	245	15.3%
The week before Election Day	371	23.1%
More than a week before Election Day	934	58.1%
Total	1,607	100.0%

Q32: Ease Filling Out Absentee Ballot
Overall, how easy was it to follow all the instructions necessary to cast your ballot and return it to be counted?

	Mean (SE) (w/missing and DK)	N (w/missing)	Mean (SE (w/o missing)	N (w/o missing)
Q32: Ease filling out absentee ballot (1-very easy; 4-very hard)	1.18 (0.01)	1,611	1.17 (0.01)	1,609

Q33: Presidential Vote
For whom did you vote for President of the United States?

	Frequency	Percentage
John McCain (Republican)	4,527	48.3%
Barack Obama (Democratic)	4,701	50.1%
Robert Barr (Libertarian)	31	0.3%
Cynthia McKinney (Green)	8	0.1%
Ralph Nader (Independent)	21	0.2%
Other candidate or party	65	0.7%
I did not vote in this race	25	0.3%
Total	9,378	100.0%

Q34: Confidence
How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended?

	Mean (SE) (w/missing and DK)	N (w/missing)	Mean (SE (w/o missing)	N (w/o missing)
Q34: Confidence that vote counted (1- Very confident; 4-not at all confident)	1.41 (0.01)	9,403	1.35 (0.01)	9,269

Q35: Past Voting Experience
Whether or not you voted in the November 2008 General Election, which of the following statements most closely describes your past voting history?

	Frequency	Percentage
Almost always vote in every election	7,145	75.5%
Usually vote in national/state elections	1,793	18.9%
Usually vote in local elections	74	0.8%
Usually haven't voted in the past	278	2.9%
Other	175	1.9%
Total	9,466	100.0%

Q36: Voter Fraud
It is illegal to vote more than once in an election or to vote if not a U.S. citizen. How frequently do you think this occurs in your community?

Q37: Vote theft
Another form of fraud occurs when votes are stolen or tampered with. How frequently do you think this occurs in your community?

Q38: Voter impersonation
It is illegal for a person to claim to be another person, who is registered to vote, and to cast that person's vote. How often do you think this occurs in your community?

	Mean (SE) (w/missing and DK)	N (w/missing)	Mean (SE (w/o missing)	N (w/o missing)
Q36: Voter Fraud (1- It is very common; 4- It almost never occurs)	3.46 (0.01)	9,987	2.99 (0.01)	7,761
Q37: Vote Theft (1- It is very common; 4- It almost never occurs)	3.65 (0.01)	9,986	3.21 (0.01)	7,582
Q38: Voter Impersonation (1- It is very common; 4- It almost never occurs)	3.71 (0.01)	9,954	3.23 (0.01)	7,373

Q39: Driver's License
Do you have a driver's license?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	9,462	94.7%
No	515	5.2%
Don't Know	12	0.1%
Total	9,989	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	9,462	94.8%
No	515	5.2%
Total	9,980	100.0%

Q39a: DL Expired
Is your driver's license expired?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	80	0.8%
No	9,438	99.0%
Don't Know	16	0.2%
Total	9,534	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	80	0.8%
No	9,439	99.2%
Total	9,519	100.0%

Q39b: DL Legal Name
Is the name on your driver's license the same name you are registered to vote under?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	9,357	98.2%
No	132	1.4%
Don't Know	42	0.4%
Total	9,530	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	9,359	98.6%
No	132	1.4%
Total	9,491	100.0%

Q39c: DL Address
Is the address on your driver's license the same as the address where you are registered to vote?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	8,428	88.8%
No	1,007	10.6%
Don't Know	57	0.6%
Total	9,492	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	8,435	89.3%
No	1,007	10.7%
Total	9,442	100.0%

Q40: Passport
Do you have a U.S. passport?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	3,930	39.3%
No	6,019	60.3%
Don't Know	39	0.4%
Total	9,988	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	3,932	39.5%
No	6,022	60.5%
Total	9,954	100.0%

Q40a: Passport Expired
Is your passport expired?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	508	12.2%
No	3,541	85.2%
Don't Know	108	2.5%
Total	4,157	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	509	12.6%
No	3,549	87.5%
Total	4,058	100.0%

Q40b: Passport Legal Name
Is the name on your passport the same name you are registered to vote under?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	3,940	94.8%
No	186	4.5%
Don't Know	30	0.7%
Total	4,157	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	3,941	95.5%
No	186	4.5%
Total	4,128	100.0%

Q41 Other Identification
Do you have any other form of government-issued picture identification, such as a state ID card or a military ID card?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	2,424	24.3%
No	7,506	75.2%
Don't Know	51	0.5%
Total	9,981	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	2,425	24.4%
No	7,510	75.6%
Total	9,935	100.0%

Q42 Birth Certificate
Do you have an official copy of your birth certificate that you can easily locate?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	8,538	85.5%
No	1,216	12.2%
Don't Know	230	2.3%
Total	9,984	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	8,547	87.5%
No	1,217	12.5%
Total	9,764	100.0%

Q43 Reform Proposals
Do you support or oppose any of the following proposals for new ways of voting or conducting elections?

Q43a: Allow Absentee over Internet

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	2,955	30.1%
Oppose	6,877	70.0%
Total	9,832	100.0%

Q43b: Run Elections by Mail

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	1,439	14.7%
Oppose	8,339	85.3%
Total	9,778	100.0%

Q43c: Auto-Register All Citizens to Vote

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	4,752	48.3%
Oppose	5,092	51.7%
Total	9,844	100.0%

Q43d: Allow Registration at Polls

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	4,300	43.7%
Oppose	5,550	56.3%
Total	9,850	100.0%

Q43e: Require ID

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	7,457	75.6%
Oppose	2,410	24.4%
Total	9,867	100.0%

Q43f: Move Election Day to Weekend

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	4,091	41.8%
Oppose	5,706	58.2%
Total	9,797	100.0%

Q43g: Make Election Day a Holiday

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	5,666	57.5%
Oppose	4,194	42.5%
Total	9,860	100.0%

Appendix 5. Questionnaire and Frequencies for Phone Responses

Q1 Vote
Which of the following statements best describes you?

	Frequency	Percentage
I did not vote in the Election This November	26	1.3%
I thought about voting this time, but did not	12	0.6%
I usually vote, but didn't this time	10	0.5%
I tried to vote, but was not allowed to	0	0.0%
I tried to vote, but it ended up being…	5	0.3%
I definitely voted in the Nov. General	1,946	97.3%
Total	2,000	100.0%

Q2: Reason for Not Voting
How much of a factor did the following reasons play in your not voting in the November General Election?

Note: Phone refused responses (coded as "99) are included in the "All" lines for d, e, m, and n. In the case of d, when

	All Phone responses		w/o Don't Know	
Reasons for Not Voting	Mean (SE)	N	Mean (SE)	N
2a. Wrong ID	1.17 (0.08)	44	1.17 (0.08)	44
2b. Illness	1.51 (0.12)	44	1.51 (0.12)	44
2c. Out of town	1.36 (0.12)	44	1.36 (0.12)	44
2d. Forgot	1.71 (1.24)	44	1.03 (0.04)	43
2e. Did not receive absentee ballot	1.75 (1.24)	44	1.02 (0.03)	42
2f. Too Busy	2.01 (0.14)	44	2.01 (0.14)	44
2g. Transportation	1.33 (0.11)	44	1.33 (0.11)	44
2h. Didn't Like Choices	1.56 (0.14)	44	1.49 (0.12)	43
2i. Reg. Problems	1.17 (0.09)	44	1.08 (0.05)	43
2j. Weather	1.04 (0.04)	44	1.04 (0.04)	44
2k. Bad Time/Location	1.31 (0.10)	44	1.29 (0.10)	43
2l. Line Too Long	1.21 (0.08)	44	1.21 (0.08)	44
2m. Didn't Know Where to Go	1.85 (1.24)	44	1.09 (0.06)	42
2n. Did Not Receive Ballot/Did Not Receive Ballot in Time	2.09 (1.24)	44	1.38 (0.12)	42

These are coded out without removing the "don't know" option. The results are the same as the corresponding result in the without "Don't Know" line. ("e" removes one response, leaving us with (1.06 (0.06); 43), "m" leaves us with (1.17 (0.10); 43), and "n" would be (1.41 (0.12); 43)

Q3: Why No Absentee Ballot

Sometimes when voters can't get to the polls on Election Day, they vote using an absentee ballot. Please indicate which of the following statements most closely describes why you did not vote absentee in the November 2008 General Election.

	Frequency	Percentage
I had no interest in voting in this election	18	40.4%
It was too late to request a ballot	3	7.2%
I requested an absentee ballot, but it…	0	0.0%
I wouldn't have been allowed to vote absentee	1	3.1%
Requesting an absentee ballot requires…	3	5.7%
I didn't know how to request an absentee ballot	7	15.9%
I prefer to vote in person	8	17.6%
Other	4	10.0%
Total	44	100.0%

Q4: First Time Voting

Was this your first time voting, or have you voted in elections before?

	Frequency	Percentage
I am a first-time voter	74	3.8%
I have voted before in elections	1,882	96.2%
Total	1,956	100.0%

Question 4b: First Time Voter

	Frequency	Percentage
I am a first-time voter	0	0.0%
I have voted before in elections	6	100.0%
Total	6	100.0%

Q5: Mode of Voting

Did you vote in person at a precinct on Election Day, in person before Election Day, or by mail (that is, absentee or vote-by-mail)?

	Frequency	Percentage
In Person on Election Day (at polling place)	1,143	58.5%
In Person before Election Day	355	18.2%
Voted by Mail (or absentee)	456	23.3%
Don't Know	1	0.1%
Total	1,956	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
In Person on Election Day (at polling place)	1,143	58.5%
In Person before Election Day	355	18.2%
Voted by Mail (or absentee)	456	23.4%
Total	1,955	100.0%

Question 5b: Mode of Voting

	Frequency	Percentage
In Person on Election Day (at polling place)	2	32.6%
In Person before Election Day	0	0.0%
Voted by Mail (or absentee)	0	0.0%
Don't Know	4	67.4%
Total	6	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
In Person on Election Day (at polling place)	3	100.0%
In Person before Election Day	0	0.0%
Voted by Mail (or absentee)	0	0.0%
Total	3	100.0%

Q6: Difficulty Finding Polling Place

How difficult was it to find your polling place to vote?

	Mean (SE) (w/missing and DK)	N (w/missing)	Mean (SE (w/o missing)	N (w/o missing)
Q6: Difficulty Finding Polling Place (1- Very Difficult; 4 – Very Easy)	3.86 (0.02)	1,477	3.86 (0.02)	1,475

Q7: Polling Place Type
How would you describe the place where you voted?

	Frequency	Percentage
Private Home	15	2.2%
Private Business	9	1.4%
School Building	142	20.8%
Church	152	22.2%
Police/Fire Station	65	9.6%
A store or shopping mall	9	1.4%
Senior Center	30	4.4%
Community Center	134	19.6%
Library	48	7.1%
Other Gov't Office (Courthouse, etc)	63	9.3%
Other	15	2.2%
Total	683	100.0%

Q8: Know Poll Worker
Did you personally know the person who checked you in when you arrived to vote?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	98	14.3%
No	586	85.6%
Don't Know	1	0.1%
Don't Remember	0	0.0%
Total	685	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows/Don't Remember

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	98	14.3%
No	586	85.7%
Total	684	100.0%

Q9: How Well the Polling Place Was Run
How well were things run at the polling place where you voted?

	Mean (SE) (w/missing and DK)	N (w/missing)	Mean (SE (w/o missing)	N (w/o missing)
Q9: How well Polling Place Run (1- Well Run; 4- Terrible)	1.19 (0.01)	1,477	1.18 (0.01)	1,475

Q10: Problem with Voter Registration
Was there a problem with your voter registration when you tried to vote?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	19	1.3%
No	1,458	98.7%
Total	1,477	100.0%

Q11: Problem with Voter Registration — Allowed To Vote
Were you allowed to vote?

	Frequency	Percentage
I Voted Using a Regular Ballot	11	60.6%
Used a Provisional Ballot	7	39.4%
Total	18	100.0%

Q12: Line Length
Approximately, how long did you have to wait in line to vote?

	Mean (SE (w/o missing)	N (w/o missing)
Q12: Line Length (in minutes, recoded from 1-5 scale to 0, 5, 15, 45, 90)	12.68 (0.62)	1,476

Q12a: Source of Line
Was your wait in line mostly when you first arrived to check in at the registration table, or after you checked in and were waiting to gain access to a place to cast your ballot?

	Frequency	Percentage
Check-In to Vote	436	54.9%
After Check-In	126	15.8%
Evenly Divided between the two	224	28.2%
Don't Recall	7	0.9%
Phone-Refused	2	0.2%
Total	794	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Check-In to Vote	434	55.5%
After Check-In	125	16.0%
Evenly Divided between the two	223	28.5%
Total	782	100.0%

Q13: Picture ID
Were you asked to show picture identification, such as a driver's license, at the polling place this November?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	856	57.9%
No	614	41.6%
Don't Know	6	0.4%
Phone-Refused	1	0.0%
Total	1,477	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	853	58.2%
No	613	41.8%
Total	1,466	100.0%

Q13a: Allowed to Vote
Were you then allowed to vote?

	Frequency	Percentage
Voted with Regular Ballot	719	91.2%
Voted with Provisional Ballot	66	8.4%
Was offered provisional, but didn't vote	3	0.4%
Was not allowed to vote	0	0.0%
Total	788	100.0%

Q14: Type of ID Shown
What type of picture identification did you show?

	Frequency	Percentage
Driver's License	751	92.2%
Passport	8	1.0%
Voter Reg. Card	23	2.8%
Other Gov't Picture ID	23	2.8%
Non Gov Picture ID	5	0.6%
Non-Picture ID	1	0.1%
Bill, letter, package	1	0.1%
Although asked, did not show ID	0	0.0%
I Don't Remember	3	0.4%
Total	814	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Driver's License	752	92.6%
Passport	8	1.0%
Voter Reg. Card	23	2.8%
Other Gov't Picture ID	23	2.8%
Non Gov't Picture ID	5	0.6%
Non-Picture ID	1	0.1%
Bill, letter, package	1	0.1%
Although asked, did not show ID	0	0.0%
Total	812	100.0%

Q15: Picture ID Follow-up
Did you show picture identification because you were asked for it specifically, or because a picture ID was the most convenient form of identification for you to show?

	Frequency	Percentage
I was asked specifically for an ID Card	453	55.9%
I showed an ID card	346	42.7%
Don't Know	10	1.3%
Phone-Refused	1	0.2%
Total	810	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
I was asked specifically for an ID Card	449	56.7%
I showed an ID card	343	43.3%
Totals	792	100.0%

Q16: Voting Equipment Problems

Did you encounter any problems with the voting equipment or the ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	21	1.4%
No	1,455	98.5%
Don't Know	1	0.1%
Phone-Refused	1	0.1%
Total	1,477	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1,454	98.6%
No	21	1.4%
Total	1,475	100.0%

Q17: Help With Ballot

Did you receive help in filling out your ballot?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	84	5.7%
No	1,391	94.2%
Phone- Don't Know	1	0.1%
Total	1,477	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	84	5.7%
No	1,391	94.3%
Total	1,475	100.0%

Q18: Who Helped With Ballot
Who helped you with your ballot?

	Frequency	Percentage
My spouse or partner	5	7.1%
A Child of mine	7	10.1%
A Friend of Mine	1	0.8%
An Election official or precinct worker	56	76.5%
Another voter	2	2.3%
A person who helps me out because…	1	1.0%
Other	1	1.3%
Don't Know	1	0.8%
Total	73	100.0%

w/out Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
My spouse or partner	5	7.2%
A Child of mine	7	10.2%
A Friend of Mine	1	0.8%
An Election official or precinct worker	56	77.2%
Another voter	2	2.3%
A person who helps me out because…	1	1.0%
Other	1	1.4%
Total	72	100.0%

Q19: Poll Worker Performance
Please rate the job performance of the poll workers at the polling place where you voted.

	Mean (SE) (w/missing and DK)	N (w/missing)	Mean (SE (w/o missing)	N (w/o missing)
Q19: Performance of Poll Worker (1- Excellent; 4- poor)	1.42 (0.08)	1,477	1.32 (0.01)	1,472

Q20: Race of Poll Worker
What was the race/ethnicity of the poll worker who checked you in when you voted?

	Frequency	Percentage
African American	111	16.2%
Native American	5	0.8%
Asian	1	0.2%
White	440	64.3%
Hispanic	38	5.6%
Other/Multi-Racial	33	4.8%
I Don't Recall	31	4.6%
I Don't Know	17	2.5%
Unknown variable ("9" according to STATA)	8	1.2%
Total	685	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows and Don't Recalls

	Frequency	Percentage
African American	111	17.7%
Native American	5	0.8%
Asian	1	0.2%
White	442	70.0%
Hispanic	38	6.1%
Other/Multi-Racial	33	5.2%
Total	631	100.0%

Q21: Age of Poll Worker
About how old was the poll worker who checked you in when you voted?

	Frequency	Percentage
Under 30	54	7.8%
Between 31 and 50	168	24.5%
Between 51 and 70	392	57.3%
Older than 70	43	6.2%
Don't Know	25	3.7%
Phone Refused	3	0.5%
Total	685	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Under 30	53	8.2%
Between 31 and 50	167	25.6%
Between 51 and 70	390	59.8%
Older than 70	42	6.5%
Total	652	100.0%

Q22: Polling Place Intimidation
Did you personally feel intimidated at the place where you voted?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	12	0.8%
No	1,465	99.2%
Phone-Refused	1	0.1%
Total	1,	

w/o Don't Remember

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	12	0.8%
No	1,464	99.2%
Total	1,476	100.0%

Q23: Reason for Absentee Ballot
Which of the following statements most closely describes why you voted by mail or absentee?

	Frequency	Percentage
My state or locality only has vote-by-mail.	98	20.4%
I have signed up to receive a mail or absentee ballot automatically	170	35.6%
Voting by mail or absentee was just more convenient for me	136	28.5%
I was out of town for this election	10	2.1%
I have a physical disability	45	9.5%
I could not get to the polls on election day because of my work	13	2.6%
I am in the armed forces	0	0.0%
I was an election official or poll worker	1	0.2%
Religious observances would have interfered with my going to	0	0.0%
Other	5	1.0%
Phone-Refused	1	0.3%
Total	478	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
My state or locality only has vote-by-mail.	98	20.5%
I have signed up to receive a mail or absentee ballot automatically	170	35.7%
Voting by mail or absentee was just more convenient for me	136	28.5%
I was out of town for this election	10	2.1%
I have a physical disability	45	9.5%
I could not get to the polls on election day because of my work	13	2.7%
I am in the armed forces	0	0.0%
I was an election official or poll worker	1	0.2%
Religious observances would have interfered with my going to	0	0.0%
Other	5	1.0%
Total	477	100.0%

Q24: Contact Regarding Absentee Ballot

Did someone associated with a political candidate or political party contact you to encourage you to vote absentee or by mail?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	74	19.1%
No	307	79.7%
Phone-Don't Know	4	1.1%
Total	385	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	74	19.4%
No	307	80.6%
Total	381	100.0%

Q25: Problems Getting Mail Ballot

Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	0	0.1%
No	478	99.9%
Total	478	100.0%

Q26: Mail Ballot Problems
Did you encounter any problems marking or completing your ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	8	1.7%
No	469	98.2%
Don't Know	1	0.1%
Total	478	100.0%

w/o Don't Know

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	8	1.7%
No	469	98.3%
Total	477	100.0%

Q27: Help With Absentee Ballot
Did you receive help in filling out your absentee or mail ballot?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	28	5.8%
No	450	94.2%
Total	478	100.0%

Q28: Who Helped With Absentee Ballot
Who helped you fill out your ballot?

	Frequency	Percentage
My spouse or partner	10	43.5%
A child of mine	4	19.2%
A friend of mine	1	5.7%
An election official or precinct worker	0	0.0%
Another voter, or someone else at my voting location	0	0.0%
A person who helps me out because of physical disability	1	3.6%
Other	5	23.4%
Don't Know	1	3.2%
"9"	0	1.4%
Total	23	100.0%

w/out Don't Know and "9"

	Frequency	Percentage
My spouse or partner	10	45.6%
A child of mine	4	20.1%
A friend of mine	1	6.0%
An election official or precinct worker	0	0.0%
Another voter, or someone else at my voting location	0	0.0%
A person who helps me out because of physical disability	1	3.8%
Other	5	24.6%
Total	21	100.0%

Q29: Absentee Ballot Pressure
Did you feel pressured to vote in a particular way when you filled out your absentee or mail ballot? For instance, because another person may have been watching you fill out your ballot?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	6	1.3%
No	472	98.7%
Total	478	100.0%

Q30: How Returned
How did you return your absentee or mail ballot?

	Frequency	Percentage
Personally mailed it back in	361	75.4%
Someone else in household mailed it	32	6.6%
Personally returned it	68	14.2%
Someone else returned it	15	3.2%
Other	3	0.5%
Total	478	100.0%

Q31: Returned Absentee Ballot
To the best of your memory, when did you return your absentee or mail ballot?

	Frequency	Percentage
On Election Day	46	9.6%
A Few days before election day	95	19.8%
The week before Election Day	128	26.7%
More than a week before Election Day	210	43.8%
Total	478	100.0%

Q32: Ease Filling Out Absentee Ballot
Overall, how easy was it to follow all the instructions necessary to cast your ballot and return it to be counted?

	Mean (SE) (w/missing and DK)	N (w/missing)	Mean (SE (w/o missing)	N (w/o missing)
Q32: Ease filling out absentee ballot (1-very easy; 4-very hard)	1.17 (0.02)	478	1.17 (0.02)	478

Q33: Presidential Vote
For whom did you vote for President of the United States?

	Frequency	Percentage
John McCain (Republican)	873	44.6%
Barack Obama (Democratic)	844	43.2%
Robert Barr (Libertarian)	4	0.2%
Cynthia McKinney (Green)	7	0.4%
Ralph Nader (Independent)	5	0.2%
Other candidate or party	4	0.2%
I did not vote in this race	1	0.1%
Phone – Don't Know	7	0.4%
Phone-Refused	211	10.8%
Total	1,956	100.0%

w/o Don't Know and Refused.

	Frequency	Percentage
John McCain (Republican)	862	50.2%
Barack Obama (Democratic)	834	48.6%
Robert Barr (Libertarian)	4	0.3%
Cynthia McKinney (Green)	7	0.4%
Ralph Nader (Independent)	4	0.3%
Other candidate or party	4	0.2%
I did not vote in this race	1	0.1%
Total	1,717	100.0%

Q34: Confidence
How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended?

	Mean (SE) (w/missing and DK)	N (w/missing)	Mean (SE (w/o missing)	N (w/o missing)
Q34: Confidence that vote counted (1- Very confident; 4-not at all confident)	1.67 (0.12)	1,956	1.32 (0.01)	1,925

Q35: Past Voting Experience
Whether or not you voted in the November 2008 General Election, which of the following statements most closely describes your past voting history?

	Frequency	Percentage
Almost always vote in every election	1,559	79.3%
Usually vote in national/state elections	334	17.0%
Usually vote in local elections	10	0.5%
Usually haven't voted in the past	48	2.4%
Other	8	0.4%
Phone-Don't Know	7	0.3%
Phone-Refused	0	0.0%
Total	1,965	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Almost always vote in every election	1,557	79.6%
Usually vote in national/state elections	334	17.1%
Usually vote in local elections	10	0.5%
Usually haven't voted in the past	48	2.4%
Other	8	0.4%
Total	1,956	100.0%

Q36: Voter Fraud
It is illegal to vote more than once in an election or to vote if not a U.S. citizen. How frequently do you think this occurs in your community?

Q37: Vote Theft
Another form of fraud occurs when votes are stolen or tampered with. How frequently do you think this occurs in your community?

Q38: Voter Impersonation

It is illegal for a person to claim to be another person, who is registered to vote, and to cast that person's vote. How often do you think this occurs in your community?

	Mean (SE) (w/missing and DK)	N (w/missing)	Mean (SE (w/o missing)	N (w/o missing)
Q36: Voter Fraud (1- It is very common; 4- It almost never occurs)	3.88 (0.14)	2,000	3.24 (0.02)	1,725
Q37: Vote Theft (1- It is very common; 4- It almost never occurs)	3.97 (0.13)	2,000	3.49 (0.02)	1,798
Q38: Voter Impersonation (1- It is very common; 4- It almost never occurs)	3.90 (0.12)	2,000	3.47 (0.02)	1,798

Q39: Driver's License

Do you have a driver's license?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1,910	95.5%
No	90	4.5%
Total	2,000	100.0%

Q39a: DL Expired

Is your driver's license expired?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	37	2.0%
No	1,881	97.9%
Don't Know	3	0.1%
Total	1,921	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	37	2.0%
No	1,881	98.1%
Total	1,918	100.0%

Q39b: DL Legal Name
Is the name on your driver's license the same name you are registered to vote under?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1,888	98.3%
No	26	1.3%
Don't Know	7	0.3%
Phone-Refused	1	0.0%
Total	1,921	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1,890	98.7%
No	26	1.3%
Total	1,916	100.0%

Q39c: DL Address
Is the address on your driver's license the same as the address where you are registered to vote?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1,841	95.9%
No	69	3.6%
Don't Know	5	0.3%
Phone-Refused	6	0.3%
Total	1,921	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1,843	96.4%
No	69	3.6%
Total	1,912	100.0%

Q40: Passport
Do you have a U.S. passport?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	895	44.8%
No	1,102	55.1%
Don't Know	3	0.1%
Phone – Refused	0	0.0%
Total	2,000	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	894	44.8%
No	1,101	55.2%
Total	1,995	100.0%

Q40a: Passport Expired
Is your passport expired?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	139	13.7%
No	858	84.7%
Don't Know	15	1.5%
Phone-Refused	1	0.1%
Total	1,013	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	138	13.9%
No	857	86.1%
Total	995	100.0%

Q40b: Passport Legal Name
Is the name on your passport the same name you are registered to vote under?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	956	94.4%
No	42	4.2%
Don't Know	13	1.3%
Phone-Refused	1	0.1%
Total	1,013	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	959	95.8%
No	43	4.2%
Total	1,002	100.0%

Q41 Other Identification
Do you have any other form of government-issued picture identification, such as a state ID card or a military ID card?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	415	20.8%
No	1,577	78.9%
Don't Know	6	0.3%
Phone-Refused	1	0.1%
Total	2,000	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	415	20.8%
No	1,578	79.2%
Total	1,993	100.0%

Q42 Birth Certificate
Do you have an official copy of your birth certificate that you can easily locate?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1,776	88.8%
No	202	10.1%
Don't Know	19	0.9%
Phone-Refused	3	0.2%
Total	2,000	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1,780	89.8%
No	202	10.2%
Total	1,982	100.0%

Q43 Reform Proposals
Do you support or oppose any of the following proposals for new ways of voting or conducting elections?

Q43a: Allow Absentee over Internet

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	253	22.4%
Oppose	846	74.7%
Don't Know	32	2.8%
Phone-Refused	2	0.1%
Total	1,133	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	253	23.0%
Oppose	844	77.0%
Total	1,097	100.0%

Q43b: Run Elections by Mail

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	232	20.5%
Oppose	880	77.7%
Don't Know	18	1.6%
Phone-Refused	3	0.3%
Total	1,133	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	233	20.9%
Oppose	883	79.1%
Total	1,116	100.0%

Q43c: Auto-Register All Citizens to Vote

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	584	51.5%
Oppose	532	46.9%
Don't Know	17	1.5%
Phone-Refused	0	0.0%
Total	1,133	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	584	52.3%
Oppose	532	47.7%
Total	1,116	100.0$

Q43d: Allow Registration at Polls

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	360	31.8%
Oppose	753	66.5%
Don't Know	20	1.7%
Phone-Refused	0	0.0%
Total	1,133	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	360	32.3%
Oppose	754	67.7%
Total	1,114	100.0%

Q43e: Require ID

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	863	76.1%
Oppose	247	21.8%
Don't Know	23	2.0%
Phone-Refused	0	0.0%
Total	1,133	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	862	77.7%
Oppose	247	22.3%
Total	1,109	100.0%

Q43f: Move Election Day to Weekend

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	417	36.8%
Oppose	665	58.9%
Don't Know	45	4.0%
Phone-Refused	6	0.5%
Total	1,133	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	416	38.6%
Oppose	662	61.4%
Total	1,078	100.0%

Q43g: Make Election Day a Holiday

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	506	44.7%
Oppose	610	53.8%
Don't Know	17	1.5%
Phone-Refused	0	0.0%
Total	1,133	100.0%

w/o Don't Knows

	Frequency	Percentage
Support	504	45.4%
Oppose	608	54.6%
Total	1,112	100.0%

Appendix 6. State-Level Summary of Absentee Ballot Answers

NB: Items with fewer than 20 respondents excluded.

	Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you?		Did you encounter any problems marking or completing your ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended?		Did you receive help in filling out your absentee or mail ballot?		Did you feel pressured to vote in a particular way when you filled out your absentee or mail ballot?		Overall, how easy was it to follow all the instructions necessary to cast your ballot and return it to be counted?		How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended?	
	Pct. saying "yes"	N	Pct. saying "yes"	N	Pct. saying "yes"	N	Pct. saying "yes"	N	Pct. saying "very easy" or "somewhat easy"	N	Pct. saying "very confident" or "somewhat confident"	N
Alabama	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Alaska	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Arizona	0%	95	4%	94	3%	95	0%	94	100%	95	93%	92
Arkansas	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
California	2%	89	0%	88	0%	89	0%	88	98%	89	86%	85
Colorado	5%	114	1%	113	4%	115	1%	115	96%	115	94%	112
Connecticut	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Delaware	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Florida	3%	40	4%	41	4%	41	3%	41	94%	41	92%	41
Georgia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hawaii	3%	47	0%	47	2%	47	2%	47	100%	47	95%	46
Idaho	6%	35	0%	35	6%	35	0%	35	100%	35	97%	34
Illinois	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Indiana	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Iowa	2%	41	0%	40	9%	41	0%	41	100%	40	97%	41
Kansas	2%	33	0%	33	9%	33	0%	32	100%	32	97%	33

	Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you?		Did you encounter any problems marking or completing your ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended?		Did you receive help in filling out your absentee or mail ballot?		Did you feel pressured to vote in a particular way when you filled out your absentee or mail ballot?		Overall, how easy was it to follow all the instructions necessary to cast your ballot and return it to be counted?		How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended?	
	Pct. saying "yes"	N	Pct. saying "yes"	N	Pct. saying "yes"	N	Pct. saying "yes"	N	Pct. saying "very easy" or "somewhat easy"	N	Pct. saying "very confident" or "somewhat confident"	N
Kentucky	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Louisiana	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Maine	3%	33	14%	33	3%	33	0%	33	100%	33	94%	33
Maryland	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Massachusetts	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Michigan	0%	46	2%	46	2%	46	0%	45	100%	46	89%	46
Minnesota	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mississippi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Missouri	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Montana	0%	67	0%	66	3%	67	0%	67	98%	66	91%	66
Nebraska	2%	42	0%	42	0%	42	2%	42	98%	42	91%	42
Nevada	0%	24	0%	24	3%	24	0%	24	100%	24	92%	23
New Hampshire	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Jersey	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Mexico	0%	47	5%	46	7%	47	0%	47	95%	47	85%	46
New York	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
North Carolina	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
North Dakota	0%	47	0%	45	0%	47	0%	46	100%	47	88%	46
Ohio	6%	43	0%	43	0%	43	4%	43	100%	43	91%	42
Oklahoma	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Oregon	2%	184	1%	184	1%	184	0%	184	99%	184	92%	180
Pennsylvania	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

	Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you?		Did you encounter any problems marking or completing your ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended?		Did you receive help in filling out your absentee or mail ballot?		Did you feel pressured to vote in a particular way when you filled out your absentee or mail ballot?		Overall, how easy was it to follow all the instructions necessary to cast your ballot and return it to be counted?		How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended?	
	Pct. saying "yes"	N	Pct. saying "yes"	N	Pct. saying "yes"	N	Pct. saying "yes"	N	Pct. saying "very easy" or "somewhat easy"	N	Pct. saying "very confident" or "somewhat confident"	N
Rhode Island	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
South Carolina	4%	30	0%	30	0%	30	0%	30	100%	30	90%	30
South Dakota	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tennessee	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Texas	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Utah	0%	22	9%	22	5%	22	5%	22	95%	22	88%	22
Vermont	0%	27	0%	27	6%	27	0%	27	100%	27	100%	27
Virginia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Washington	1%	158	1%	157	0%	157	0%	158	100%	157	91%	156
West Virginia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wisconsin	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wyoming	0%	31	0%	31	4%	31	0%	31	100%	31	98%	30

Appendix 7. State-by-State Comparison of Internet and Phone Survey Items

Alabama

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
Q1. Vote (% of individuals who voted)	93.7%	96.0%
Q6. Difficulty Finding polling place (1-very difficult; 4-very easy)	3.88 (0.03)	3.94 (0.03)
Q9. How well polling place was run (1 – Very well; 4 – Terrible)	1.16 (0.03)	1.18 (0.04)
Q10. Problem with voter registration (% Yes)	1.4%	0.9%
Q12. Line length (mean time in minutes)	13.7 (2.1)	13.9 (2.0)
Q13. Picture ID (% Yes)	93.5%	93.0%
Q15. Picture ID Follow-up (% asked specifically)	49.9%	50.0%
Q16. Voting Equipment Problems (% yes)	1.8%	0.3%
Q19. Poll Worker performance (1-Excellent; 4-Poor)	1.32 (0.04)	1.34 (0.04)
Q25. Problems getting mail ballot (% Yes)	8.8%	0.0%
Q26. Mail ballot problems (% Yes)	0.0%	0.0%
Q32. Ease filling out absentee ballot (1-very easy; 4- very hard)	1.28 (0.13)	1.06 (0.10)
Q33. Presidential Vote (% vote for Obama)	43.3%	33.6%
Q34. Confidence (1-very confident; 4-not at all confident)	1.30 (0.04)	1.26 (0.04)
Q36. Voter fraud (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	3.09 (0.09)	3.44 (0.07)
Q37. Vote theft (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	3.11 (0.08)	3.60 (0.06)
Q38. Voter Impersonation (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	3.27 (0.08	3.67 (0.05)
Q39. Driver's License (% Yes)	96.8%	98.0%
Q40. Passport (% Yes)	31.3%	25.2%
Q42. Birth Certificate (% Yes)	83.5%	91.0%
Q43a. Reform Proposals – Allow absentee over Internet (% Support)	27.5%	18.9%
Q43b. Reform Proposals – Run elections by mail (% Support)	6.3%	0.0%
Q43c. Reform Proposals – Auto-register all citizens to vote (% Support)	48.0%	57.6%
Q43d. Reform Proposals – Allow registration at polls (% Support)	28.0%	41.4%
Q43e. Reform Proposals – Require ID (%	80.0%	93.2%

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
Support)		
Q43f. Reform Proposals – Move election to weekend (% Support)	43.3%	15.1%
Q43g. Reform Proposals – Make election day a holiday (% Support)	51.3%	60.0%

Income

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
Less than $10,000	4.7%	6.4%
$10,000-$14,999	2.7%	9.4%
$15,000-$19,999	4.2%	4.1%
$20,000-$24,999	3.1%	4.2%
$25,000-$29,999	5.0%	10.3%
$30,000-$39,999	12.4%	8.9%
$40,000-$49,999	9.9%	5.6%
$50,000-$59,999	11.7%	8.0%
$60,000-$69,999	6.0%	5.5%
$70,000-$79,999	9.9%	9.3%
$80,000-$99,999	8.0%	4.2%
$100,000-$119,999	4.3%	1.8%
$120,000-$149,999	5.2%	3.3%
$150,000+	2.5%	1.1%
Prefer not to say	10.5%	0.0%
Don’t Know	0.0%	2.1%
Refused	0.0%	16.0%

Education

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
No High School	2.8%	9.5%
High School Graduate	43.5%	30.5%
Some College	19.5%	18.4%
2-year College	9.1%	9.3%
4 Year-College	18.6%	18.8%
Post-Grad	6.5%	7.7%
Refused	0.0%	5.8%

Arizona

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
Q1. Vote (% of individuals who voted)	91.7%	97.9%
Q6. Difficulty Finding polling place (1-very difficult; 4-very easy)	3.81 (0.05)	3.81 (0.07)
Q9. How well polling place was run (1 – Very well; 4 – Terrible)	1.49 (0.07)	1.24 (0.06)
Q10. Problem with voter registration (% Yes)	8.7%	0.5%
Q12. Line length (mean time in minutes)	25.1 (4.2)	13.3 (3.2)
Q13. Picture ID (% Yes)	87.2%	92.2%
Q15. Picture ID Follow-up (% asked specifically)	56.8%	46.1%
Q16. Voting Equipment Problems (% yes)	5.3%	6.7%
Q19. Poll Worker performance (1-Excellent; 4-Poor)	1.50 (0.07)	1.26 (0.06)
Q25. Problems getting mail ballot (% Yes)	0.0%	0.3%
Q26. Mail ballot problems (% Yes)	4.2%	1.2%
Q32. Ease filling out absentee ballot (1-very easy; 4- very hard)	1.16 (0.04)	1.17 (0.04)
Q33. Presidential Vote (% vote for Obama)	45.8%	48.2%
Q34. Confidence (1-very confident; 4-not at all confident)	1.49 (0.05)	1.45 (0.04)
Q36. Voter fraud (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	2.53 (0.08)	3.22 (0.07)
Q37. Vote theft (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	2.82 (0.08)	3.34 (0.07)
Q38. Voter Impersonation (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	2.74 (0.09)	3.43 (0.06)
Q39. Driver's License (% Yes)	95.3%	98.7%
Q40. Passport (% Yes)	44.9%	53.4%
Q42. Birth Certificate (% Yes)	88.4%	90.5%
Q43a. Reform Proposals – Allow absentee over Internet (% Support)	38.5%	26.8%
Q43b. Reform Proposals – Run elections by mail (% Support)	31.6%	24.5%
Q43c. Reform Proposals – Auto-register all citizens to vote (% Support)	43.1%	47.2%
Q43d. Reform Proposals – Allow registration at polls (% Support)	40.2%	29.8%
Q43e. Reform Proposals – Require ID (% Support)	82.5%	75.3%
Q43f. Reform Proposals – Move election to weekend (% Support)	46.6%	37.7%
Q43g. Reform Proposals – Make election day a holiday (% Support)	54.0%	44.3%

Income

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
Less than $10,000	3.1%	4.3%
$10,000-$14,999	2.0%	12.3%
$15,000-$19,999	3.9%	2.9%
$20,000-$24,999	3.6%	1.6%
$25,000-$29,999	3.0%	3.0%
$30,000-$39,999	11.5%	12.7%
$40,000-$49,999	10.7%	10.8%
$50,000-$59,999	9.1%	12.6%
$60,000-$69,999	3.1%	10.0%
$70,000-$79,999	8.1%	1.6%
$80,000-$99,999	8.8%	10.3%
$100,000-$119,999	4.7%	5.4%
$120,000-$149,999	4.7%	1.1%
$150,000+	6.3%	2.8%
Prefer not to say	17.5%	0.0%
Don’t Know	0.0%	0.3%
Refused	0.0%	8.5%

Education

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
No High School	2.4%	2.3%
High School Graduate	32.2%	31.1%
Some College	28.3%	18.2%
2-year College	6.7%	11.6%
4 Year-College	19.5%	21.5%
Post-Grad	11.0%	15.3%
Refused	0.0%	0.0%

California

	Internet Survey	**Phone Survey**
Q1. Vote (% of individuals who voted)	92.0%	97.2%
Q6. Difficulty Finding polling place (1-very difficult; 4-very easy)	3.80 (0.05)	3.82 (0.07)
Q9. How well polling place was run (1 – Very well; 4 – Terrible)	1.23 (0.05)	1.23 (0.05)
Q10. Problem with voter registration (% Yes)	5.2%	2.3%
Q12. Line length (mean time in minutes)	10.7 (2.3)	6.8 (1.9)
Q13. Picture ID (% Yes)	33.1%	20.0%
Q15. Picture ID Follow-up (% asked specifically)	40.9%	44.6%
Q16. Voting Equipment Problems (% yes)	4.2%	1.7%
Q19. Poll Worker performance (1-Excellent; 4-Poor)	1.67 (0.08)	1.38 (0.06)
Q25. Problems getting mail ballot (% Yes)	1.6%	0.0%
Q26. Mail ballot problems (% Yes)	0.0%	0.0%
Q32. Ease filling out absentee ballot (1-very easy; 4- very hard)	1.14 (0.05)	1.15 (0.05)
Q33. Presidential Vote (% vote for Obama)	57.9%	61.0%
Q34. Confidence (1-very confident; 4-not at all confident)	1.54 (0.06)	1.35 (0.05)
Q36. Voter fraud (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	2.64 (0.09)	3.00 (0.08)
Q37. Vote theft (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	2.88 (0.09)	3.55 (0.06)
Q38. Voter Impersonation (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	2.72 (0.09)	3.34 (0.07)
Q39. Driver's License (% Yes)	94.2%	87.9%
Q40. Passport (% Yes)	55.0%	59.6%
Q42. Birth Certificate (% Yes)	81.9%	86.7%
Q43a. Reform Proposals – Allow absentee over Internet (% Support)	39.7%	30.8%
Q43b. Reform Proposals – Run elections by mail (% Support)	22.0%	18.3%
Q43c. Reform Proposals – Auto-register all citizens to vote (% Support)	49.9%	57.0%
Q43d. Reform Proposals – Allow registration at polls (% Support)	43.5%	40.5%
Q43e. Reform Proposals – Require ID (% Support)	74.9%	72.8%
Q43f. Reform Proposals – Move election to weekend (% Support)	47.5%	44.7%
Q43g. Reform Proposals – Make election day a holiday (% Support)	57.5%	51.9%

Income

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
Less than $10,000	3.9%	15.1%
$10,000-$14,999	1.7%	3.1%
$15,000-$19,999	2.3%	2.2%
$20,000-$24,999	2.5%	2.8%
$25,000-$29,999	0.5%	3.9%
$30,000-$39,999	7.6%	3.6%
$40,000-$49,999	8.9%	7.4%
$50,000-$59,999	6.8%	9.0%
$60,000-$69,999	5.4%	7.2%
$70,000-$79,999	8.8%	10.6%
$80,000-$99,999	7.9%	5.6%
$100,000-$119,999	8.3%	9.3%
$120,000-$149,999	8.4%	4.3%
$150,000+	11.3%	7.5%
Prefer not to say	15.8%	0.0%
Don’t Know	0.0%	1.7%
Refused	0.0%	6.9%

Education

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
No High School	1.2%	6.4%
High School Graduate	28.3%	18.8%
Some College	24.1%	19.7%
2-year College	11.4%	16.7%
4 Year-College	24.0%	24.7%
Post-Grad	11.0%	11.4%
Refused	0.0%	2.3%

Florida

	Internet Survey	**Phone Survey**
Q1. Vote (% of individuals who voted)	92.5%	99.5%
Q6. Difficulty Finding polling place (1-very difficult; 4-very easy)	3.81 (0.04)	3.92 (0.03)
Q9. How well polling place was run (1 – Very well; 4 – Terrible)	1.23 (0.04)	1.14 (0.03)
Q10. Problem with voter registration (% Yes)	2.9%	2.2%
Q12. Line length (mean time in minutes)	28.5 (3.2)	32.0 (3.8)
Q13. Picture ID (% Yes)	99.5%	99.1%
Q15. Picture ID Follow-up (% asked specifically)	75.6%	78.2%
Q16. Voting Equipment Problems (% yes)	3.0%	1.7%
Q19. Poll Worker performance (1-Excellent; 4-Poor)	1.39 (0.05)	1.27 (0.04)
Q25. Problems getting mail ballot (% Yes)	2.7%	0.0%
Q26. Mail ballot problems (% Yes)	4.3%	0.0%
Q32. Ease filling out absentee ballot (1-very easy; 4- very hard)	1.33 (0.11)	1.30 (0.10)
Q33. Presidential Vote (% vote for Obama)	54.5%	43.9%
Q34. Confidence (1-very confident; 4-not at all confident)	1.33 (0.04)	1.33 (0.04)
Q36. Voter fraud (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	2.74 (0.08)	3.13 (0.08)
Q37. Vote theft (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	2.90 (0.08)	3.43 (0.06)
Q38. Voter Impersonation (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	3.04 (0.08)	3.38 (0.06)
Q39. Driver's License (% Yes)	95.6%	97.2%
Q40. Passport (% Yes)	48.5%	49.2%
Q42. Birth Certificate (% Yes)	88.2%	87.5%
Q43a. Reform Proposals – Allow absentee over Internet (% Support)	29.9%	17.7%
Q43b. Reform Proposals – Run elections by mail (% Support)	17.3%	16.5%
Q43c. Reform Proposals – Auto-register all citizens to vote (% Support)	50.2%	49.9%
Q43d. Reform Proposals – Allow registration at polls (% Support)	34.1%	26.9%
Q43e. Reform Proposals – Require ID (% Support)	84.5%	89.5%
Q43f. Reform Proposals – Move election to weekend (% Support)	48.3%	40.9%
Q43g. Reform Proposals – Make election day a holiday (% Support)	57.5%	44.5%

Income

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
Less than $10,000	2.6%	7.4%
$10,000-$14,999	4.9%	3.6%
$15,000-$19,999	5.6%	4.1%
$20,000-$24,999	4.6%	3.4%
$25,000-$29,999	5.5%	10.7%
$30,000-$39,999	11.2%	7.4%
$40,000-$49,999	6.1%	6.5%
$50,000-$59,999	7.9%	12.6%
$60,000-$69,999	7.0%	6.2%
$70,000-$79,999	9.2%	8.7%
$80,000-$99,999	7.9%	3.3%
$100,000-$119,999	6.7%	6.0%
$120,000-$149,999	6.5%	1.8%
$150,000+	4.6%	4.0%
Prefer not to say	9.7%	0.0%
Don’t Know	0.0%	4.2%
Refused	0.0%	10.2%

Education

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
No High School	5.1%	1.1%
High School Graduate	34.3%	34.1%
Some College	25.7%	18.0%
2-year College	4.5%	12.8%
4 Year-College	21.5%	19.8%
Post-Grad	8.9%	12.0%
Refused	0.0%	2.3%

Georgia

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
Q1. Vote (% of individuals who voted)	91.4%	99.4%
Q6. Difficulty Finding polling place (1-very difficult; 4-very easy)	3.82 (0.04)	3.79 (0.05)
Q9. How well polling place was run (1 – Very well; 4 – Terrible)	1.16 (0.03)	1.14 (0.03)
Q10. Problem with voter registration (% Yes)	2.1%	0.0%
Q12. Line length (mean time in minutes)	33.6 (3.3)	30.5 (3.1)
Q13. Picture ID (% Yes)	99.2%	99.1%
Q15. Picture ID Follow-up (% asked specifically)	72.1%	59.4%
Q16. Voting Equipment Problems (% yes)	2.4%	2.7%
Q19. Poll Worker performance (1-Excellent; 4-Poor)	1.36 (0.04)	1.27 (0.03)
Q25. Problems getting mail ballot (% Yes)	4.1%	0.0%
Q26. Mail ballot problems (% Yes)	0.0%	0.0%
Q32. Ease filling out absentee ballot (1-very easy; 4- very hard)	1.07 (0.07)	1.28 (0.10)
Q33. Presidential Vote (% vote for Obama)	47.7%	36.4%
Q34. Confidence (1-very confident; 4-not at all confident)	1.32 (0.04)	1.27 (0.04)
Q36. Voter fraud (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	2.74 (0.09)	3.23 (0.07)
Q37. Vote theft (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	2.88 (0.09)	3.40 (0.06)
Q38. Voter Impersonation (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	2.98 (0.09)	3.40 (0.06)
Q39. Driver's License (% Yes)	95.8%	96.0%
Q40. Passport (% Yes)	40.1%	38.9%
Q42. Birth Certificate (% Yes)	87.2%	86.9%
Q43a. Reform Proposals – Allow absentee over Internet (% Support)	31.3%	21.1%
Q43b. Reform Proposals – Run elections by mail (% Support)	10.9%	4.7%
Q43c. Reform Proposals – Auto-register all citizens to vote (% Support)	50.5%	48.1%
Q43d. Reform Proposals – Allow registration at polls (% Support)	41.2%	28.0%
Q43e. Reform Proposals – Require ID (% Support)	82.6%	80.5%
Q43f. Reform Proposals – Move election to weekend (% Support)	42.3%	29.3%
Q43g. Reform Proposals – Make election day a holiday (% Support)	60.1%	52.1%

Income

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
Less than $10,000	2.7%	5.1%
$10,000-$14,999	5.4%	2.0%
$15,000-$19,999	3.1%	4.9%
$20,000-$24,999	2.8%	4.5%
$25,000-$29,999	4.7%	5.1%
$30,000-$39,999	6.5%	10.5%
$40,000-$49,999	12.0%	8.0%
$50,000-$59,999	12.0%	7.3%
$60,000-$69,999	8.7%	4.1%
$70,000-$79,999	6.4%	7.5%
$80,000-$99,999	6.5%	12.1%
$100,000-$119,999	6.9%	5.9%
$120,000-$149,999	6.4%	3.4%
$150,000+	3.4%	3.9%
Prefer not to say	12.6%	0.0%
Don’t Know	0.0%	3.5%
Refused	0.0%	12.2%

Education

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
No High School	5.4%	8.5%
High School Graduate	35.0%	30.2%
Some College	21.1%	13.9%
2-year College	10.2%	15.8%
4 Year-College	18.8%	19.5%
Post-Grad	9.4%	12.0%
Refused	0.0%	0.2%

Illinois

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
Q1. Vote (% of individuals who voted)	94.4%	94.6%
Q6. Difficulty Finding polling place (1-very difficult; 4-very easy)	3.89 (0.03)	3.79 (0.05)
Q9. How well polling place was run (1 – Very well; 4 – Terrible)	1.30 (0.04)	1.23 (0.04)
Q10. Problem with voter registration (% Yes)	3.8%	2.3%
Q12. Line length (mean time in minutes)	9.6 (1.4)	6.8 (1.5)
Q13. Picture ID (% Yes)	48.1%	35.9%
Q15. Picture ID Follow-up (% asked specifically)	59.3%	53.3%
Q16. Voting Equipment Problems (% yes)	96.7%	97.3%
Q19. Poll Worker performance (1-Excellent; 4-Poor)	1.45 (0.05)	1.29 (0.04)
Q25. Problems getting mail ballot (% Yes)	17.0%	0.0%
Q26. Mail ballot problems (% Yes)	0.0%	0.0%
Q32. Ease filling out absentee ballot (1-very easy; 4- very hard)	1.20 (0.18)	1.66 (0.27)
Q33. Presidential Vote (% vote for Obama)	61.4%	47.7%
Q34. Confidence (1-very confident; 4-not at all confident)	1.34 (0.05)	1.17 (0.03)
Q36. Voter fraud (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	2.89 (0.09)	3.35 (0.07)
Q37. Vote theft (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	3.18 (0.08)	3.71 (0.05)
Q38. Voter Impersonation (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	3.19 (0.08)	3.67 (0.05)
Q39. Driver's License (% Yes)	92.2%	92.6%
Q40. Passport (% Yes)	38.6%	42.2%
Q42. Birth Certificate (% Yes)	82.4%	82.3%
Q43a. Reform Proposals – Allow absentee over Internet (% Support)	30.0%	11.4%
Q43b. Reform Proposals – Run elections by mail (% Support)	10.4%	21.4%
Q43c. Reform Proposals – Auto-register all citizens to vote (% Support)	52.7%	63.7%
Q43d. Reform Proposals – Allow registration at polls (% Support)	38.3%	45.3%
Q43e. Reform Proposals – Require ID (% Support)	78.2%	67.3%
Q43f. Reform Proposals – Move election to weekend (% Support)	39.3%	26.4%
Q43g. Reform Proposals – Make election day a holiday (% Support)	60.2%	37.3%

Income

	Phone Survey	Internet Survey
Less than $10,000	4.2%	9.3%
$10,000-$14,999	2.4%	5.5%
$15,000-$19,999	2.4%	7.6%
$20,000-$24,999	4.4%	3.6%
$25,000-$29,999	2.6%	4.3%
$30,000-$39,999	11.2%	12.2%
$40,000-$49,999	7.9%	10.3%
$50,000-$59,999	9.1%	6.0%
$60,000-$69,999	6.4%	5.6%
$70,000-$79,999	5.8%	3.1%
$80,000-$99,999	14.4%	8.1%
$100,000-$119,999	5.7%	4.3%
$120,000-$149,999	3.8%	3.3%
$150,000+	6.1%	2.5%
Prefer not to say	13.6%	0.0%
Don’t Know	0.0%	2.3%
Refused	0.0%	11.9%

Education

	Phone Survey	Internet Survey
No High School	6.1%	7.7%
High School Graduate	32.1%	26.1%
Some College	24.3%	17.8%
2-year College	5.7%	13.0%
4 Year-College	20.4%	22.5%
Post-Grad	11.4%	12.1%
Refused	0.0%	0.9%

Mississippi

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
Q1. Vote (% of individuals who voted)	93.4%	99.8%
Q6. Difficulty Finding polling place (1-very difficult; 4-very easy)	3.91 (0.03)	3.90 (0.04)
Q9. How well polling place was run (1 – Very well; 4 – Terrible)	1.15 (0.03)	1.16 (0.04)
Q10. Problem with voter registration (% Yes)	0.6%	1.3%
Q12. Line length (mean time in minutes)	11.9 (1.8)	11.7 (2.0)
Q13. Picture ID (% Yes)	18.4%	17.8%
Q15. Picture ID Follow-up (% asked specifically)	20.8%	45.4%
Q16. Voting Equipment Problems (% yes)	3.2%	0.2%
Q19. Poll Worker performance (1-Excellent; 4-Poor)	1.37 (0.05)	1.39 (0.04)
Q25. Problems getting mail ballot (% Yes)	19.6%	0.0%
Q26. Mail ballot problems (% Yes)	15.9%	0.0%
Q32. Ease filling out absentee ballot (1-very easy; 4- very hard)	1.47 (0.23)	1.00 (0.00)
Q33. Presidential Vote (% vote for Obama)	47.7%	29.9%
Q34. Confidence (1-very confident; 4-not at all confident)	1.28 (0.04)	1.30 (0.05)
Q36. Voter fraud (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	3.05 (0.08)	3.28 (0.07)
Q37. Vote theft (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	3.20 (0.08)	3.48 (0.06)
Q38. Voter Impersonation (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	3.32 (0.08)	3.43 (0.06)
Q39. Driver's License (% Yes)	95.3%	97.4%
Q40. Passport (% Yes)	21.8%	24.4%
Q42. Birth Certificate (% Yes)	84.2%	95.6%
Q43a. Reform Proposals – Allow absentee over Internet (% Support)	28.9%	7.5%
Q43b. Reform Proposals – Run elections by mail (% Support)	11.2%	0.0%
Q43c. Reform Proposals – Auto-register all citizens to vote (% Support)	52.7%	51.9%
Q43d. Reform Proposals – Allow registration at polls (% Support)	31.5%	9.2%
Q43e. Reform Proposals – Require ID (% Support)	74.8%	77.5%
Q43f. Reform Proposals – Move election to weekend (% Support)	36.4%	19.3%
Q43g. Reform Proposals – Make election day a holiday (% Support)	58.3%	28.5%

Income

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
Less than $10,000	3.0%	4.7%
$10,000-$14,999	7.1%	2.4%
$15,000-$19,999	7.1%	3.8%
$20,000-$24,999	6.6%	9.1%
$25,000-$29,999	6.2%	8.0%
$30,000-$39,999	12.6%	7.0%
$40,000-$49,999	9.3%	14.4%
$50,000-$59,999	9.7%	12.6%
$60,000-$69,999	7.7%	5.1%
$70,000-$79,999	7.4%	5.0%
$80,000-$99,999	6.5%	4.5%
$100,000-$119,999	2.5%	5.4%
$120,000-$149,999	1.3%	0.2%
$150,000+	4.4%	1.1%
Prefer not to say	8.7%	0.0%
Don’t Know	0.0%	0.6%
Refused	0.0%	16.2%

Education

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
No High School	8.2%	9.5%
High School Graduate	43.9%	37.4%
Some College	23.8%	12.6%
2-year College	5.4%	16.7%
4 Year-College	12.2%	13.2%
Post-Grad	6.5%	8.3%
Refused	0.0%	2.4%

New York

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
Q1. Vote (% of individuals who voted)	91.7%	93.5%
Q6. Difficulty Finding polling place (1-very difficult; 4-very easy)	3.85 (0.03)	3.89 (0.04)
Q9. How well polling place was run (1 – Very well; 4 – Terrible)	1.24 (0.03)	1.22 (0.04)
Q10. Problem with voter registration (% Yes)	3.4%	1.0%
Q12. Line length (mean time in minutes)	8.6 (1.3)	9.6 (1.8)
Q13. Picture ID (% Yes)	26.7%	15.4%
Q15. Picture ID Follow-up (% asked specifically)	38.0%	51.0%
Q16. Voting Equipment Problems (% yes)	2.7%	0.0%
Q19. Poll Worker performance (1-Excellent; 4-Poor)	1.45 (0.05)	1.43 (0.04)
Q25. Problems getting mail ballot (% Yes)	0.0%	0.0%
Q26. Mail ballot problems (% Yes)	0.0%	0.0%
Q32. Ease filling out absentee ballot (1-very easy; 4- very hard)	1.24 (0.13)	1.00 (0.00)
Q33. Presidential Vote (% vote for Obama)	61.0%	46.0%
Q34. Confidence (1-very confident; 4-not at all confident)	1.29 (0.04)	1.39 (0.05)
Q36. Voter fraud (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	3.11 (0.09)	3.33 (0.07)
Q37. Vote theft (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	3.25 (0.08)	3.54 (0.06)
Q38. Voter Impersonation (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	3.38 (0.08)	3.59 (0.06)
Q39. Driver's License (% Yes)	88.2%	91.7%
Q40. Passport (% Yes)	51.2%	54.0%
Q42. Birth Certificate (% Yes)	85.7%	89.6%
Q43a. Reform Proposals – Allow absentee over Internet (% Support)	33.4%	23.0%
Q43b. Reform Proposals – Run elections by mail (% Support)	14.7%	5.5%
Q43c. Reform Proposals – Auto-register all citizens to vote (% Support)	60.2%	60.4%
Q43d. Reform Proposals – Allow registration at polls (% Support)	46.7%	34.6%
Q43e. Reform Proposals – Require ID (% Support)	72.9%	73.9%
Q43f. Reform Proposals – Move election to weekend (% Support)	42.8%	35.2%
Q43g. Reform Proposals – Make election day a holiday (% Support)	60.6%	48.5%

Income

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
Less than $10,000	3.8%	12.4%
$10,000-$14,999	2.9%	3.4%
$15,000-$19,999	7.2%	5.0%
$20,000-$24,999	4.4%	5.0%
$25,000-$29,999	4.0%	5.9%
$30,000-$39,999	8.5%	10.8%
$40,000-$49,999	8.6%	9.7%
$50,000-$59,999	8.1%	3.3%
$60,000-$69,999	6.4%	5.5%
$70,000-$79,999	7.5%	6.1%
$80,000-$99,999	7.0%	7.9%
$100,000-$119,999	5.1%	5.3%
$120,000-$149,999	7.6%	1.3%
$150,000+	5.1%	7.1%
Prefer not to say	14.0%	0.0%
Don’t Know	0.0%	0.6%
Refused	0.0%	10.9%

Education

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
No High School	1.8%	6.2%
High School Graduate	38.7%	32.1%
Some College	20.7%	16.1%
2-year College	6.3%	11.6%
4 Year-College	19.1%	18.4%
Post-Grad	13.5%	13.8%
Refused	0.0%	1.8%

Texas

	Internet Survey	**Phone Survey**
Q1. Vote (% of individuals who voted)	84.1%	95.3%
Q6. Difficulty Finding polling place (1-very difficult; 4-very easy)	3.78 (0.05)	3.81 (0.05)
Q9. How well polling place was run (1 – Very well; 4 – Terrible)	1.13 (0.04)	1.10 (0.02)
Q10. Problem with voter registration (% Yes)	0.6%	1.2%
Q12. Line length (mean time in minutes)	12.2 (1.6)	6.68 (1.0)
Q13. Picture ID (% Yes)	55.3%	57.5%
Q15. Picture ID Follow-up (% asked specifically)	47.1%	40.0%
Q16. Voting Equipment Problems (% yes)	1.4%	0.4%
Q19. Poll Worker performance (1-Excellent; 4-Poor)	1.32 (0.05)	1.26 (0.04)
Q25. Problems getting mail ballot (% Yes)	0.0%	0.0%
Q26. Mail ballot problems (% Yes)	0.0%	0.0%
Q32. Ease filling out absentee ballot (1-very easy; 4- very hard)	1.00 (0.00)	1.09 (0.09)
Q33. Presidential Vote (% vote for Obama)	44.4%	37.2%
Q34. Confidence (1-very confident; 4-not at all confident)	1.39 (0.05)	1.19 (0.04)
Q36. Voter fraud (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	2.70 (0.09)	3.20 (0.07)
Q37. Vote theft (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	2.88 (0.09)	3.42 (0.06)
Q38. Voter Impersonation (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	2.93 (0.09)	3.43 (0.06)
Q39. Driver's License (% Yes)	95.4%	98.9%
Q40. Passport (% Yes)	38.1%	48.1%
Q42. Birth Certificate (% Yes)	86.3%	88.9%
Q43a. Reform Proposals – Allow absentee over Internet (% Support)	35.2%	14.3%
Q43b. Reform Proposals – Run elections by mail (% Support)	10.1%	0.0%
Q43c. Reform Proposals – Auto-register all citizens to vote (% Support)	50.3%	61.0%
Q43d. Reform Proposals – Allow registration at polls (% Support)	44.5%	27.7%
Q43e. Reform Proposals – Require ID (% Support)	74.8%	83.8%
Q43f. Reform Proposals – Move election to weekend (% Support)	37.7%	31.3%
Q43g. Reform Proposals – Make election day a holiday (% Support)	48.5%	25.3%

Income

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
Less than $10,000	2.8%	7.2%
$10,000-$14,999	1.3%	1.9%
$15,000-$19,999	6.1%	2.3%
$20,000-$24,999	4.5%	5.6%
$25,000-$29,999	6.8%	5.9%
$30,000-$39,999	8.6%	8.7%
$40,000-$49,999	7.8%	13.2%
$50,000-$59,999	12.6%	11.4%
$60,000-$69,999	2.1%	6.9%
$70,000-$79,999	6.7%	4.5%
$80,000-$99,999	8.3%	8.4%
$100,000-$119,999	9.7%	4.6%
$120,000-$149,999	4.8%	1.5%
$150,000+	9.5%	5.9%
Prefer not to say	8.4%	0.0%
Don’t Know	0.0%	3.1%
Refused	0.0%	8.8%

Education

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
No High School	6.6%	2.7%
High School Graduate	31.9%	30.9%
Some College	23.3%	18.9%
2-year College	8.8%	13.5%
4 Year-College	19.5%	22.0%
Post-Grad	10.0%	11.6%
Refused	0.0%	0.5%

Washington

	Internet Survey	**Phone Survey**
Q1. Vote (% of individuals who voted)	92.8%	100.0%
Q6. Difficulty Finding polling place (1-very difficult; 4-very easy)	3.61 (0.13)	3.87 (0.11)
Q9. How well polling place was run (1 – Very well; 4 – Terrible)	1.43 (0.09)	1.38 (0.18)
Q10. Problem with voter registration (% Yes)	6.6%	0.0%
Q12. Line length (mean time in minutes)	10.4 (2.6)	17.5 (9.1)
Q13. Picture ID (% Yes)	56.7%	65.6%
Q15. Picture ID Follow-up (% asked specifically)	50.3%	58.9%
Q16. Voting Equipment Problems (% yes)	0.0%	0.0%
Q19. Poll Worker performance (1-Excellent; 4-Poor)	1.51 (0.09)	1.43 (0.11)
Q25. Problems getting mail ballot (% Yes)	1.4%	0.0%
Q26. Mail ballot problems (% Yes)	1.3%	3.5%
Q32. Ease filling out absentee ballot (1-very easy; 4- very hard)	1.13 (0.03)	1.14 (0.03)
Q33. Presidential Vote (% vote for Obama)	53.1%	48.2%
Q34. Confidence (1-very confident; 4-not at all confident)	1.60 (0.05)	1.48 (0.06)
Q36. Voter fraud (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	2.61 (0.08)	3.23 (0.07)
Q37. Vote theft (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	2.80 (0.08)	3.44 (0.06)
Q38. Voter Impersonation (1-Common; 4 – almost never occurs)	2.82 (0.08)	3.30 (0.06)
Q39. Driver's License (% Yes)	95.5%	96.4%
Q40. Passport (% Yes)	47.7%	52.5%
Q42. Birth Certificate (% Yes)	77.5%	89.1%
Q43a. Reform Proposals – Allow absentee over Internet (% Support)	29.2%	19.0%
Q43b. Reform Proposals – Run elections by mail (% Support)	53.3%	51.1%
Q43c. Reform Proposals – Auto-register all citizens to vote (% Support)	54.7%	42.2%
Q43d. Reform Proposals – Allow registration at polls (% Support)	41.5%	29.3%
Q43e. Reform Proposals – Require ID (% Support)	69.4%	68.0%
Q43f. Reform Proposals – Move election to weekend (% Support)	48.3%	39.1%
Q43g. Reform Proposals – Make election day a holiday (% Support)	55.4%	36.2%

Income

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
Less than $10,000	2.8%	5.8%
$10,000-$14,999	1.5%	4.5%
$15,000-$19,999	4.1%	3.6%
$20,000-$24,999	1.8%	5.1%
$25,000-$29,999	4.9%	5.5%
$30,000-$39,999	13.2%	9.5%
$40,000-$49,999	8.4%	10.1%
$50,000-$59,999	7.6%	11.0%
$60,000-$69,999	6.6%	9.4%
$70,000-$79,999	8.5%	4.9%
$80,000-$99,999	9.4%	5.7%
$100,000-$119,999	8.2%	6.6%
$120,000-$149,999	5.2%	3.1%
$150,000+	7.0%	3.5%
Prefer not to say	11.0%	0.0%
Don’t Know	0.0%	0.4%
Refused	0.0%	11.4%

Education

	Internet Survey	Phone Survey
No High School	4.9%	2.0%
High School Graduate	24.7%	26.4%
Some College	29.2%	17.8%
2-year College	8.3%	18.1%
4 Year-College	21.5%	20.5%
Post-Grad	11.5%	13.5%
Refused	0.0%	1.9%

Appendix 8. Questionnaire

Decision to Vote and Reasons for Not Voting

The next several questions deal with your experiences voting during the November 2008 general election. It is important for the rest of the survey to know whether you voted. Your answer is anonymous.

Q1 Vote

Which of the following statements best describes you?

<1> I did not vote in the election this November
<2> I thought about voting this time, but didn't
<3> I usually vote, but didn't this time
<4> I tried to vote, but was not allowed to when I tried
<5> I tried to vote, but it ended up being too much trouble
<6> I definitely voted in the November General Election

Q2 [IF Q1! = 6] Reason for not voting

How much of a factor did the following reasons play in your not voting in the November General Election?
#rotate#

	Not a factor	A minor factor	A major factor	Don't know
Q2a I did not have the right kind of identification				
Q2b Illness or disability (own or family's)				
Q2c Out of town or away from home				
Q2d I forgot to vote				
Q2e I requested but did not receive an absentee ballot				
Q2f I was too busy/had a conflicting work, family, or school schedule				
Q2g Transportation problems				
Q2h I didn't like the candidates or campaign issues				
Q2i There were problems with my registration				
Q2j Bad weather				
Q2k The polling place hours, or location, were inconvenient				
Q2l The line at the polls was too long				
Q2m I did not know where to vote				
Q2n I did not receive my ballot in the mail, or it arrived too late for me to vote.				

Q3 [If Q1 != 6] Why no absentee ballot

Sometimes when voters can't get to the polls on Election Day, they vote using an absentee ballot. Please indicate which of the following statements most closely describes why you did not vote absentee in the November 2008 General Election.

#rotate#
<1> I had no interest in voting in this election.
<2> It was too late to request an absentee ballot once I thought about it.
<3> I requested an absentee ballot, but it never came.
<4> I wouldn't have been allowed to vote absentee according to my state's election law
<5> Requesting an absentee ballot requires too much effort
<6> I didn't know how to request an absentee ballot.
<7> {fixed} Other (please specify _____)

Q4 [IF Q1 = 4 or Q1 = 5 or Q1 = 6] First time voting

Was this your first time voting, or have you voted in elections before?

<1> I am a first time voter
<2> I have voted in elections before

Q5 [IF Q1 = 4 or Q1 = 5 or Q1 = 6] Mode of voting

Did you vote in person at a precinct on Election Day, in person before Election Day, or by mail (that is, absentee or vote-by-mail)?

<1> In person on Election Day (at polling place or precinct)
<2> In person before Election Day (early)
<3> Voted by mail (or absentee)
<4> Don't know

In-Person Voting

Q6 [If Q5 = 1 or Q5 = 2] Difficulty finding polling place

How difficult was it to find your polling place to vote?

<1> Very difficult
<2> Somewhat difficult
<3> Fairly easy
<4> Very easy
<5> Don't know

Q7 [If Q5 = 1 or Q5 = 2] Polling place type

How would you describe the place where you voted?

#rotate#
<1> Private home
<2> Private business
<3> School building
<4> Church
<5> Police/Fire Station
<6> A store or shopping mall
<7> Senior center
<8> Community center
<9> Library
<10> {fixed} Other government office (court house, municipal building, city hall, etc.)
<11> {fixed} Other (please specify _____)

Q8 [If Q5 = 1 or Q5 = 2] Did you personally know the person who checked you in when you arrived to vote?

<1> Yes
<2> No
<3> I don't know
<4> I don't remember

Q9 [If Q5 = 1 or Q5 = 2] How well the polling place was run

How well were things run at the polling place where you voted?

<1> Very well — I did not see any problems at the polling place
<2> Okay — I saw some minor problems, but nothing that interfered with people voting
<3> Not well — I saw some minor problems that affected the ability of a few people to vote
<4> Terrible — I saw some major problems that affected the ability of many people to vote
<5> Don't know

Q10 [If Q5 = 1 or Q5 = 2] Problem with voter registration

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

<1> No
<2> Yes (please specify what problem, or problems, you had _____)
<3> Don't know

Q11 [If Q10 = 2] Problem with voter registration — allowed to vote

Were you allowed to vote?

<1> I voted a regular ballot
<2> I voted using a provisional ballot
<3> I was offered a provisional ballot, but I chose not to vote using it
<4> No, I was not allowed to vote

Q12 [If Q5 = 1 or Q5 = 2] Line length

Approximately, how long did you have to wait in line to vote?

<1> Not at all
<2> Less than 10 minutes
<3> 10-30 minutes
<4> 31minutes – 1 hour
<5> More than 1 hour (please specify how long _____)
<6> Don't' know

Q12a [If Q12 != 1] Source of line

Was your wait in line mostly when you first arrived to check in at the registration table, or after you checked in and were waiting to gain access to a place to cast your ballot?

<1> Most of my wait was to check in to vote.
<2> Most of my wait was after I had checked in, and I was waiting to gain access to a voting machine or other place to vote.
<3> My wait in line was fairly evenly divided between checking in and waiting to cast my ballot.
<4> I don't recall.

Q13 [If Q5 = 1 or Q5 = 2] Picture ID

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

<1> Yes
<2> No
<3> Don't know

Q13a [If Q13 = 1] Were you then allowed to vote?

<1> Yes. I voted using a regular ballot.
<2> Yes. I voted using a provisional ballot
<3> I was offered a provisional ballot, but I chose not to vote using it
<4> No, I was not allowed to vote

Q14 [If Q13 = 1] Type of ID shown

What type of picture identification did you show?

<1> Driver's license
<2> Passport
<3> Voter registration card
<4> Another picture ID card issued by the government (please specify _____)
<5> A picture ID card not issued by the government (student ID, employee badge, etc.)
<6> An ID card without a picture, which the poll worker accepted.
<7> A bill, letter, or package addressed to me, which the poll worker accepted.
<8> I don't remember

Q15 [If Q13 = 1] Picture ID follow-up

Did you show picture identification because you were asked for it specifically, or because a picture ID was the most convenient form of identification for you to show?

<1> I was asked specifically for an ID card with a picture on it
<2> I showed a picture ID card because it was convenient for me; I could have shown another form of ID if I had wanted to
<3> Don't know

Q16 [If Q5 = 1 or Q5 = 2] Voting equipment problems

Did you encounter any problems with the voting equipment or the ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended?

<1> No
<2> Yes (please specify what problem, or problems, you had _____)
<3> Don't know

Q17 [If Q5 = 1 or Q5 = 2] Help with ballot

Did you receive help in filling out your ballot?

<1> Yes
<2> No

Q18 [If Q17 = 1] Ballot help

Who helped you with your ballot?

<1> My spouse or partner
<2> A child of mine
<3> A friend of mine
<4> An election official or precinct worker
<5> Another voter, or someone else at my voting location
<6> A person who helps me out because I have a physical disability or illness
<7> Other (please specify _____)
<8> Don't know

Q19 [If Q5 = 1 or Q5 = 2] Poll worker performance

Please rate the job performance of the poll workers at the polling place where you voted.

<1> Excellent
<2> Good
<3> Fair
<4> Poor
<5> Don't know

Q20 [If Q5 = 1 or Q5 = 2] Race of Poll Worker

What was the race/ethnicity of the poll worker who checked you in when you voted?

#rotate#
<1> African-American
<2> Native American
<3> Asian
<4> White
<5> Hispanic
<6> {Fixed} Other/multi-racial
<7> {Fixed} I don't recall the race of my poll worker
<8> {Fixed} I don't know

Q21 [If Q5 = 1 or Q5 = 2] Age of poll worker

About how old was the poll worker who checked you in when you voted?

<1> Under 30
<2> Between 31 and 50
<3> Between 51 and 70
<4> Older than 70

Q22 [If Q5 = 1 or Q5 = 2] Polling place intimidation

Did you personally feel intimidated at the place where you voted?

<1> No
<2> Yes (Please specify _____)
<3> I don't remember

Absentee Voting

Q23 [If Q5 = 3] Reason for absentee ballot

Which of the following statements most closely describes why you voted by mail or absentee?

<1> My state or locality only has vote-by-mail.
<2> I have signed up to receive a mail or absentee ballot automatically in each election.
<3> Voting by mail or absentee was just more convenient for me this election
<4> I was out of town for this election
<5> I have a physical disability that makes it difficult for me to get to the polls
<6> I could not get to the polls on Election Day because of my work or school schedule
<7> I am in the armed forces
<8> I was an election official or poll worker
<9> Religious observances would have interfered with my going to the polls
<10> Other (Please specify _____)

Q24 [If Q5 = 3 and Q23 != 1] Contact re absentee ballot

Did someone associated with a political candidate or political party contact you to encourage you to vote absentee or by mail?

<1> No
<2> Yes

Q25 [If Q5 = 3] Problems getting mail ballot

Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you?

<1> No
<2> Yes (Please specify what problem, or problems, you had _____)

Q26 [If Q5 = 3] Mail ballot problems

Did you encounter any problems marking or completing your ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended?

<1> No
<2> Yes (please specify what problem, or problems, you had _____)
<3> Don't know

Q27 [If Q5 = 3] Help with absentee ballot

Did you receive help in filling out your absentee or mail ballot?

<1> Yes
<2> No

Q28 [If Q27 = 1] Absentee ballot help

Who helped you fill out your ballot?

<1> My spouse or partner
<2> A child of mine
<3> A friend of mine
<4> An election official or precinct worker
<5> Another voter, or someone else at my voting location
<6> A person who helps me out because I have a physical disability or illness
<7> Other (please specify _____)
<8> Don't know

Q29 [If Q5 = 3] Absentee ballot pressure

Did you feel pressured to vote in a particular way when you filled out your absentee or mail ballot? For instance, because another person may have been watching you fill out your ballot?

<1> No

<2> Yes (Please specify _____)
<3> I don't remember

Q30 [If Q5 = 3] How returned

How did you return your absentee or mail ballot?

<1> I personally mailed it back in.
<2> Someone else in my household mailed it back in.
<3> I personally returned the ballot to an official election location (polling place, election office, early voting center, etc.)
<4> Someone else in my household returned the ballot to an official election location
<5> Other (please specify _____)
<6> I don't remember

Q31 [If Q5 = 3] Returned absentee ballot

To the best of your memory, when did you return your absentee or mail ballot?

<1> On Election Day
<2> A few days before Election Day
<3> The week before Election Day
<4> More than a week before Election Day
<5> I don't remember

Q32 [If Q5 = 3] Ease filling out absentee ballot

Overall, how easy was it to follow all the instructions necessary to cast your ballot and return it to be counted?

<1> Very easy
<2> Somewhat easy
<3> Somewhat hard
<4> Very hard
<5> I don't remember

Vote Choice Decision and Confidence

Q33 [If Q1 = 6] Presidential vote

For whom did you vote for President of the United States?

#rotate#
<1> John McCain (Republican)
<2> Barack Obama (Democrat)
<3> Robert Barr (Libertarian)
<4> Cynthia McKinney (Green Party)
<5> Ralph Nader (Independent)
<6> {fixed} Other candidate or party (specify)
<7> {fixed} I did not vote in this race

Q34 [If Q1 = 6] Confidence

How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended?

<1> Very confident
<2> Somewhat confident
<3> Not too confident
<4> Not at all confident
<5> Don't know

Q35 [If Q4 != 1] Past voting experience

Whether or not you voted in the November 2008 General Election, which of the following statements most closely describes your past voting history?

<1> I almost always vote in every election, regardless of what is on the ballot.
<2> I usually vote in national and/or state elections, and tend not to vote in local elections.
<3> I usually vote in local elections, and tend not to vote in national or state elections.
<4> I usually haven't voted in the past, regardless of what type of election it was.
<5> Other (please specify _____)

Attitudes Regarding Voter Fraud

Q36 Voter fraud

It is illegal to vote more than once in an election or to vote if not a U.S. citizen. How frequently do you think this occurs in your community?

<1> It is very common
<2> It occurs occasionally
<3> It occurs infrequently
<4> It almost never occurs
<5> Not sure

Q37 Vote theft

Another form of fraud occurs when votes are stolen or tampered with. How frequently do you think this occurs in your community?

<1> It is very common
<2> It occurs occasionally
<3> It occurs infrequently
<4> It almost never occurs
<5> Not sure

Q38 Voter impersonation

It is illegal for a person to claim to be another person, who is registered to vote, and to cast that person's vote. How often do you think this occurs in your community?

<1> It is very common
<2> It occurs occasionally
<3> It occurs infrequently
<4> It almost never occurs
<5> Not sure

Identification and Voting

Q39 Driver's license

Do you have a driver's license?

<1> Yes
<2> No
<3> I don't know

Q39a [If Q39 = 1] DL expired

Is your driver's license expired?
<1> Yes
<2> No
<3> I don't know

Q39b [If Q39 = 1] DL legal name

Is the name on your driver's license the same name you are registered to vote under?
<1> Yes
<2> No
<3> I don't know

Q39c [If Q39 = 1] DL address

Is the address on your driver's license the same as the address where you are registered to vote?
<1> Yes
<2> No
<3> I don't know

Q40 Passport

Do you have a U.S. passport?

<1> Yes
<2> No
<3> I don't know

Q40a [If Q40 = 1] Passport expired

Is your passport expired?
<1> Yes
<2> No
<3> I don't know

Q40b [If Q40 = 1] Passport legal name

Is the name on your passport the same name you are registered to vote under?
<1> Yes
<2> No
<3> I don't know

Q41 Other identification

Do you have any other form of government-issued picture identification, such as a state ID card or a military ID card?

<1> Yes
<2> No

<3> I don't know

Q42 Birth certificate

Do you have an official copy of your birth certificate that you can easily locate?

<1> Yes
<2> No
<3> I don't know

Attitudes Toward Election Reform

Q43 Reform proposals

Do you support or oppose any of the following proposals for new ways of voting or conducting elections?

#rotate#

	Support	Oppose
Q43a Allow absentee voting over the Internet		
Q43b Run all elections by mail		
Q43c Automatically register all citizens over 18 to vote		
Q43d Allow people to register on Election Day at the polls		
Q43e Require all people to show government issued photo identification when they vote		
Q43f Move Election Day to a weekend		
Q43g Make Election Day a national holiday		

Demographic Information

Q44 Residence

Which of the following best describes your current housing arrangement?

<1> I rent
<2> I own my apartment or house
<3> I live with someone else (such as a parent, grandparent), but do not rent
<4> I live in institutional housing, such as a dormitory or nursing home.
<5> Other

Q45 Disability

Does a health problem, disability, or handicap CURRENTLY keep you from participating fully in work, school, housework, or other activities?

<1> Yes
<2> No

Age
Income
Education
Party identification
Ideology
Years in current residence
Race
County of residence
Validated vote