2012 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 and the District of Columbia, for 10,200 observations overall. Individuals were asked about their experience voting—in-person on Election Day, in-person early, and absentee. 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 2012:

- 61% of voters voted in person on Election Day,

- 18% voted in-person early (or in-person absentee), and

- 21% voted by mail.

In 14 states, a majority of votes were cast before Election Day, via early or absentee voting. In seven states, more than 90% of the votes were cast on Election Day. The elderly and individuals with disabilities were more likely to use early or absentee voting.

Overall Assessment of Election Day Voting

For the average voter in 2012, the Election Day experience went smoothly:

- 97% of respondents said it was "very easy" or "fairly easy" to find their polling place,

- 97% said their polling place was run "very well" or "Okay—I saw some minor problems, but nothing that interfered with people voting,"

- 94% said that poll worker performance was either "excellent" (66%) or very good (28%),

- 3.3% witnessed problems at their polling place that could have interfered with people being able to vote,

- 2.8% of voters experienced registration problems when they tried to vote, and,

- 2.1% 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 about one in 30 encountered long waiting times.

- 67% of people reported waiting less than 10 minutes (31%) or "not at all" (37%) to vote;

- 20% reported waiting 10 to 30 minutes;

- 9.0% waited 31 to 60 minutes and 3.5% waited more than an hour;

- 60% of those who voted early reported waiting not at all or 10 minutes or less, compared with 70% who voted at polling places on Election Day.

- 6.2% of those who voted at early polling stations reported that they waited in line at least an hour, compared with 2.7% of those who voted at precincts on Election Day.

Voter Identification

Voter identification laws were unevenly implemented within states.

- In states with the minimum voter identification requirements under the Help America Vote Act, which only requires (non-photo) identification from a subset of first-time voters, 11% of *all* in-person voters reported that they were required to produce photo identification in order to vote.

- In the states that only ask first-time voters to show *any* form of identification (for example, a utility bill addressed to them), 64% of respondents said they were asked 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, 29% of these respondents said they were "asked specifically for an ID card with a picture on it."

- Black and Hispanic voters were asked to show "picture ID" more often than White voters. Twenty-six percent of White voters provided photo identification in response to a specific request from poll workers, compared to 33% of Black voters and 30% of Hispanic voters.

Problems with Voting Equipment

Two percent of respondents reported difficulties with the voting equipment they used — a very low number, but it may represent a substantial problem in resolving close races and disputed election counts.

Absentee Voting

Absentee voting was quite smooth nationally.

- Less than 2% of absentee voters stated that they had a problem getting their ballot.

- 70% of voters returned their ballots by mail and another 20% personally returned them to the election office by hand.

- A majority (60%) of absentee voters stated that they returned their ballot more than 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?"

- 63% of the respondents to this question said they were very confident, and,

- 27% said they were somewhat confident.

- 65% of in-person Election Day voters and in-person early voters were "very confident," and 26% were "somewhat confident."

- 56% of absentee, by-mail voters were "very confident," and 31% were "somewhat confident."

- 76% of African American voters were very confident and 18% were somewhat confident.

- 61% of Hispanic voters were very confident and 28% were somewhat confident.

- 61% of White voters were very confident and 29% 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 34% said that being "too busy" was either a major or a minor factor in not voting.

- The third-most-common response was "illness," with 28% of non-voters saying that sickness was a factor.

This report also examines variations across states in their experiences. Section V 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 2012 Survey on the Performance of American Elections (SPAE) continues an effort begun four years ago to gauge the quality of the election experience from the perspective of voters. The 2008 SPAE 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.

Validated by the parallel approach in 2008, the 2012 SPAE was administered exclusively online. Respondents from the District of Columbia were added to the 2012 SPAE. Therefore, the total sample size was 10,200.

As in 2008, responses to the SPAE indicate that the voting experience in 2012 was a positive one for the vast majority of American voters. Overall,

- 86% of voters reported that it was "very easy" to find their polling place,

- 78% voted in a precinct that was run "very well,"

- 94% rated the job performance of the poll workers they encountered as "excellent" or "good,"

- 97% had no problems with their registration when trying to vote,

- 87% waited 30 minutes or less than 30 to vote, and

- 98% had no problems with the voting equipment.

Among absentee voters,

- 98% had no problems receiving their ballot and

- 83% 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. As in 2008, the most notable was the length of lines in some communities, particularly the longer wait times experienced by African Americans. This finding is consistent with prominent new reports about lengthy lines to vote in states such as Florida, South Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland. However, because average waiting time in 2012 was similar to that of 2008, the heightened press attention in 2012 merely brought greater attention to an ongoing problem the SPAE identified four years ago.

    Among the findings related to lines,

- 20% of African American voters waited more than half an hour to vote, compared to 14% of Whites and 15% of Hispanics, and

- Early voters waited in line longer (18% longer than 30 minutes) than Election Day voters (11%).

    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, Black and Hispanic voters were asked to show "picture ID" more often than White voters.

    The report that follows examines these differences and more. We begin by discussing the core data, which gauges the experience of voters in 2012 regardless of whether they voted on Election Day, in person before Election Day, or by mail. Then, we focus on five special topics: age and the voting experience, race and the voting experience, residency and residential mobility, vote

fraud and reform proposals, and possession of various forms of identification. The final chapter of

this report provides an overall assessment of the quality of the election experience in 2012,

focusing on quantifying the incidence 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

The 2012 Survey of the Performance of American Elections involved 200 interviews of registered voters in each of the 50 states and the District of Columbia, for a total of 10,200 observations. YouGov conducted the 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.

Most survey items also appeared on the 2008 SPAE,[1] allowing for the comparison of responses across elections. We also added a series of new questions. Among these were (1) a battery of questions probing confidence in the vote count at the county, state, and national levels, (2) a more extensive set of questions about how often respondents believed various frauds occurred in their community, (3) questions designed to estimate how many people held identification cards other than drivers licenses and passports (such as military ID cards), (4) questions about attitudes to four new reforms (voting using cell phones, requiring paper back-ups of election voting machines, selecting officials on a non-partisan basis, and automatically updating the registration of voters who move), and a question asking the respondent whether election officials or the U.S. Postal Service updated their voter registration when they moved. 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

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[1] The 2008 SPAE questionnaire was developed after pilot studies in the November 2007 gubernatorial elections in Mississippi, Kentucky, and Louisiana and in the February 2008 "Super Tuesday" presidential primary.

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 7.

Comparison of Survey Results with Known Election Results

The purpose of this survey is to ascertain attitudes about information about behaviors that cannot be observed directly. Therefore, it is generally impossible to validate the answers to this study by comparison to observed behavior.[2] A major exception is that the 2012 SPAE asked each respondent who voted whom they voted for. We can compare the vote shares of the candidates that are estimated from this survey with actual election returns.

The *estimated* two-party vote share received by President Obama in 2012 at the state level corresponds very closely with the *actual* two-party vote share. Every state's estimated Obama vote share was within two standard errors of the actual vote share. The only state that was beyond one standard error was Idaho, with an estimated Obama vote share of 30.2%, and an actual vote share of 33.6%.

Another way to measure how closely the SPAE came to estimating the actual vote share is to perform a linear regression in which the *estimated* vote share is the dependent variable and the *actual* vote share is the independent variable. When we do that, the intercept term is statistically indistinguishable from zero and the slope coefficient is indistinguishable from one.[3] The standard error of regression, which can be interpreted as the average deviation between the actual and estimated vote share, is 1.6%.

Therefore, it appears that the SPAE is representative of the voting population in 2012, at least so far as we are concerned about their political leanings.

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[2] Below, it is noted that there appears to be a systematic over-reporting of the possession of driver's licenses by older respondents. That is one of the few instances in which we can cross-validate responses to this survey by reference to known quantities.

[3] The intercept is 0.01, with a standard error of 0.01. The slope is 0.97 with a standard error of 0.02.

III.   The Voting Experience

The 2012 *Survey of the Performance of American Elections* was designed to comprehensively gauge the voting experience, from the perspective of registered voters. In this chapter we summarize the core data in the survey by examining how people voted in 2012 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 2012 voting experience by examining the confidence that voters had that their vote would be counted as cast.

How Did People Vote in 2012?

Nationwide in 2012,

- 61% of voters voted in person on Election Day,

- 18% voted in-person early (or in-person absentee), and

- 21% voted by mail.

In order to interpret these statistics, we have to take into account how voting methods vary across states. For example, Oregon and Washington vote only by mail, whereas Kentucky has no early voting and requires absentee voters to provide an excuse before they can receive an absentee ballot. Not surprisingly, 93% of Oregon voters and 96% of Washington voters reported in our survey that they voted by mail, whereas only 3.5% of Kentucky voters used a mail-in absentee ballot.[4]

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[4] Oregon allows individual to go to county election offices and complete their ballots there, which probably accounts for the approximately 7.0% of Oregon and 3.7% of Washington respondents who reported voting in person on Election Day or early.

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.

There is great variation in how individuals chose to vote based on the options available.

In states with no-excuse absentee voting, absentee voting is much more prevalent than it is

in states with excuse-only absentee voting laws: 26% of voters submitted their ballots by mail in

no-excuse states, compared to 15% where an excuse is required. 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 14 states, a majority of votes was cast before Election Day, via early voting, absentee

voting, or the two methods combined. In Arizona, California (by a very small margin), Colorado,

Hawaii, Montana, Oregon, and Washington, absentee voting (or mail ballots) was the preferred

method for voting, but in Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas, early

voting was the most common way of voting. In contrast, in seven states, more than 90% of the

votes were cast on Election Day. These states were in the Northeast (Delaware, Massachusetts,

New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island) or in the South (Mississippi and Alabama).

An examination of how people vote based on demographic factors, such as race and age,

shows that there are key differences regarding the mode of voting people use.

- African Americans were much less likely to vote using absentee voting than Whites (11%
  vs. 21%) but more likely to vote early compared to White voters (28% *vs.* 17%).

- Elderly people and individuals with disabilities both use absentee voting more than do
  younger voters or individuals without disabilities. For instance, 34% of voters 70 years and
  older voted absentee, compared to 19% of voters in their thirties; 26% of voters with a

disability that kept the voter "from participating fully in work, school, housework, or other activities" voted absentee, compared to 20% of voters without a disability.

- Better-educated voters were also more likely to take advantage of convenience voting methods than were less well educated voters. Among voters with some post-college education, 47% voted either absentee or early, compared to 35% 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-two percent of respondents who said they voted for Obama also reported that they voted by mail, compared to 19% of Romney voters.

- Similarly, 22% of Democrats and Independents, compared to 18% of Republicans, said they voted by mail.

- Fourteen percent of first-time voters reported that they voted early, compared to 18% of experienced voters. Conversely, 65% of first-time voters voted in person on Election Day, compared to 61% 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. As in 2008, the Election Day experience went

smoothly for the average voter in 2012, as the following summary statistics indicate:

- 97% of respondents said it was "very easy" or "fairly easy" to find their polling place.

- 94% said that poll worker performance was either "excellent" (66%) or "very good" (28%).

- 3.3% witnessed problems at their polling place that could have interfered with people being
  able to vote.

- 2.8% of voters experienced registration problems when they tried to vote.

- 2.1% 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 (See Table III-2). Fifty-five percent of respondents reported voting at a school (26%), government office (17%), a police or fire department (6.7%), or library (5.8%). Civic buildings accounted for nearly all of the remaining polling places, with 18% of respondents voting in churches, 16% in community centers, and 2.4% in senior centers. Only 2.6% voted in private businesses, stores, or shopping centers.

The type of polling places that election officials use varies significantly across regions. Public buildings were most commonly used in the Northeast, with 69% of voters voting in schools, government office buildings, police and fire stations, and libraries in this region. Churches were used more frequently in the Midwest (23%), South (16%), and West (23%) than in the Northeast (12%).

Finding the Polls

Voters nationwide had little difficulty finding their polling places. Eighty-six percent reported that their polling place was "very easy" to find, while another 11% said it was "fairly easy" to find. Still there was some regional variation in this measure. The Northeast contained the respondents who reported the greatest ease in finding their polling place (91% responded "very easy") while respondents from the West reported the least amount of ease (77%), which seems likely due to the

relative population densities in the two regions, along with the average geographic size of

precincts.

Lines and Wait Times

Once at polling places, voters began the process of checking in and casting ballots. Despite

attention paid by the press and President Obama to long lines at the polls, lines were minimal for

most voters, though about one voter in 30 encountered long waiting times.

- 67% of people reported waiting less than 10 minutes (31%) or "not at all" (37%) to vote;

- 20% reported waiting 10 to 30 minutes (up from 16% in 2008);

- 9.0% waited 31 to 60 minutes; and

- 3.5% waited more than an hour.

Lines were shorter at polling places than they were at early voting sites. Fifty-nine percent of those

who voted early reported waiting not at all or less than 10 minutes, compared with 70% who voted

at polling places on Election Day. At the other end of the scale, 6.2% of those who voted at early

polling stations reported that they waited in line at least an hour, compared with 2.7% 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.

- 6.1% of poll workers were estimated to be under 30 years old, compared with 20% of voters;

- 30% of poll workers were estimated between 31 and 50 years old, compared with 36% of voters;

- 57% of poll workers were estimated to be between 51 and 70 years old, compared with 35% of voters; and,

- 7.3% of poll workers were estimated to be over 70 years old, compared with 9.5% of voters.

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

- 73% of poll workers were White, compared with 78% of voters;

- 16% of poll workers were African American, compared with 11% of voters;

- 4.7% of poll workers were Hispanic, compared with 6.9% of voters;

- 2.0% of poll workers were Asian, compared with 1.4% of voters;

- 1.2% of poll workers and 1.3% of voters were multi-racial; and,

- Native Americans comprised less than 1% of the poll worker and voter populations nationally.

- 2.3% 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 13% 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:

- 94% rated the poll worker performance excellent or good (fully 66% 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. But unlike in 2008, overall

assessments of poll worker performance were comparable across most categories of poll worker

age. Poll workers who were estimated to be under 30 or between 31 and 50 received excellent or

good ratings from 93% of respondents. Workers who were thought to be between 51 and 70 (the

majority) received excellent or good ratings from 95% of voters. Poll workers estimated to be over

70 were rated somewhat less favorably, with 87% rated good or excellent.

In fact, one concrete measure of the voter experience indicates that older poll workers

performed much better than younger poll workers did. If the poll worker was estimated to be over

70, 76% of respondents reported waiting in line less than 10 minutes (or not at all); if the poll

worker was between 51 and 70 years old, 70% of respondents reported waiting less than 10

minutes; if the poll worker was estimated to be between 31 and 50 years old, 61% reported waiting

10 minutes or less; and if the poll worker was thought to be younger than 30 years old, 59%

reported waiting 10 minutes or less.

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.

About three-quarters of people who voted in person (73%) showed identification when they

voted. Sixty-nine percent of respondents said that they were asked to show identification when

they voted at the polls on Election Day. By comparison, 85% of those who voted early were asked

to show identification. Whether voting early or in person, the most common form of identification

that voters presented was a driver's license or state identification card (70%), followed by a voter

registration card (23% of Election Day voters and 26% of early voters).

Problems due to voter registration errors were uncommon. Less than three percent of

respondents reported that there was a problem with their registration when they tried to vote at the

polls.

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.

Four years ago, 24 states[5] had the minimum requirements specified by the Help America

Vote Act (HAVA); that is, they required first-time voters who registered by mail without

providing a copy of their identification to show some form of identification, which did not have to

include a photo. In 2012, 19 states retained the minimum HAVA requirements.[6]

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[5] California, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, New
Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont,
West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.
[6] Idaho, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, and Utah adopted identification requirements exceeding the HAVA
minimum during the interim.

Twenty-five percent of all in-person voters from these states said they were asked to show *photo* identification in order to vote in person (a driver's license or state-issued photo identification, passport, or military identification). We followed-up with these voters, asking, "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?" Applying this question screen, we arrive at an estimate that 11% of *all* in-person voters in states that only require (non-photo) identification from a subset of *first-time* voters were required to produce photo identification in order to vote. These percentages ranged from less than 1% in Mississippi to 22% in Illinois.

The SPAE's question regarding vote history allows us to differentiate between first-time voters—who are required under HAVA to show photo or non-photo identification if they registered by mail without providing a copy of their identification—and prior voters—who in HAVA-minimum states need not show any identification absent a change in registration. Twenty percent of first-time voters and 11% of prior voters in the 19 states with the HAVA-minimum identification requirements reported that they were "asked specifically for an ID card with a picture on it." Of course, some first-time voters may not have provided the required identification when registering, and some respondents who reported voting in a previous election may have since changed their registration.

Nineteen states[7] and the District of Columbia required some form of identification (photo *or* non-photo) from *all* voters. There, 64% of respondents said they were asked 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, 29% of these respondents said they were "asked specifically for an ID card with a picture on it."

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[7] Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Kentucky, Missouri, Montana, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, Virginia, and Washington.

Seven states had state laws requiring all voters to show a photo ID in order to vote (up from three in 2008).[8] In these states, 90% of respondents reported being asked to show photo identification in the form of a driver's license, state identification card, passport, or military identification card. Nine percent instead showed a voter registration card, which in some states may include a photo. About one percent reported providing no photo identification.

Four states (Hawaii, Louisiana, Michigan, and South Dakota) had laws *requesting* that all in-person voters show photo identification but allowed voters without proper identification to sign an affidavit and cast a regular ballot. Eighty-five percent of in-person voters in these states initially reported being asked to show a photo ID (driver's license, state identification card, passport, or military identification card) in order to vote; of these voters, just 59% (comprising 52% of all in-person voters) said in the follow-up question that they were "asked specifically" for photo identification, with the remainder providing it out of convenience. Another 13% of in-person voters in the four states showed a voter registration card. Just 2% reported showing other non-photo identification or no identification at all, as they might when signing an affidavit.

Finally, Pennsylvania required all new voters to show some form of identification, which did not have to be photo. There, 66% of respondents who had voted in previous elections reported that they were asked to provide photo ID—28% of whom (15% of all prior voters) insisted they were "asked specifically" for photo ID, rather than providing it out of convenience, when we further probed.

These statistics illustrate the significant flexibility that Election Day workers have in implementing state voter-identification laws, or at least may appear to have in the eyes of voters. Even in states that require all voters to show photo identification, 31% of voters who did said they showed photo identification not because it was required but because it was convenient. Moreover,

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[8] Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, New Hampshire, and Tennessee.

in the states that request voters to show photo identification but do not require it 59% of voters

appear to believe that they would not have been allowed to vote had they not produced a photo ID.

We should note that in 2008, age of the poll worker, as estimated by the voters, was

strongly correlated with the incidence of requests for voter identification, even after holding other

factors constant. In 2012, we do not see that pattern.

Equipment

Difficulties with voting equipment pose a final potential voting obstacle. Two percent 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.

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," 78% of respondents said "very well" and 19% 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 96% of voters reported

neither of these problems. That is a 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. Eighty-two percent reported neither lines in excess of half an

hour, nor poorly performing poll workers. Most of the difficulties with service (11%) emerged

because of lines in excess of one-half hour; 4.7% of in-precinct voters evaluated poll workers as

poor or fair; and 1.6% experienced both types of service problems. Cumulating technical and

service difficulties, 81% of respondents reported no problems of any form, 16% reported exactly

one problem, 2.9% reported two problems; and fractions of one percent reported three or four

problems.

Overall, then, the experience of voters at the polls in 2012 was quite good. Technical

failures and service problems were relatively rare and 81% of voters reported very good

experiences voting at the polls in 2012. 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 this in *Part IV*, *Special Topics*, 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 noted before, 39% 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 15 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 states of Oregon and Washington always use vote-by-mail as the primary

voting method.

Very few absentee voters, less than 2%, stated that they had a problem getting their ballot.

As in 2008, more 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, 2.2% in

excuse states and 1.6% in no-excuse states, are very low.

Less than 1% of absentee voters had "problems marking or completing your ballot that may

have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended." The individuals encountering

problems were not predominantly over 65 years in age, but were more likely to be persons with

disabilities: 2.2% of individuals with disabilities encountered problems, compared to 0.5% of other

voters.

Seventy percent of voters returned their ballots by mail and another 20% personally

returned them to the election office by hand. Voters hand-returned ballots at very high rates in

Oregon (45%) and Washington (27%) compared to voters in no-excuse (15%) or permanent

absentee voting states (17%). Voters with disabilities were more likely to have someone else return

their ballot for them (14%), compared to individuals without disabilities (7.9%). Older individuals

were slightly less likely than younger voters to have someone else return their ballot: 12% of voters

under 30 relied on others; compared to 9.7% of those 31-50, 8.6% of those 51-70, and 8.1% of

those 71 and older.

Overall, a majority (60%) of absentee voters stated that they returned their ballot more than one week prior to the election. Interestingly, a majority of mail voters in Oregon and Washington stated that they returned their ballots in the week prior to the election or on Election Day. Strong partisans were more likely to return their ballots early in the election period than weak partisans or Independents. For instance, 71% of strong Democrats and Republicans returned their absentee ballots more than a week before Election Day, compared to 49% of not-strong partisans and 50% of Independents.

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 Election Day.

Fewer than 2% of voters thought that it was somewhat or very hard to complete the absentee voting process. Younger voters (those under 30) were much less likely to rate it very easy compared with those who were older. No one older than 50 in the survey sample considered the absentee voting process to be very hard. Voters with disabilities rated the absentee process less favorably than 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; 67% of early voters vote in a government building

(e.g. a school, court house, police or fire station, or library), compared to 52% 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. Eighteen percent of early voters stated that they waited in line more

than 30 minutes to vote, compared to 11% of Election Day voters. However, early voters were

slightly more likely than Election Day voters to rate the performance of their poll workers as

excellent (69%, compared to 65%) and just as likely to say that the polling place was run very well

(79%, compared to 78%).

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.

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 2012, we asked respondents to the survey "How confident

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

- 63% of the respondents to this question said they were very confident;

- 27% said they were somewhat confident;

- 5.5% were "not too confident"; and

- 4.3% "not at all confident."

These numbers represent a decline in voter confidence since the 2008 SPAE, when 72%

were very confident and about half as many voters were "not too confident" or "not at all

confident." The national aggregates also mask substantial state-by-state variation in voter

confidence. At the high end of the distribution, a couple of states saw more than 75% of voters

stating they were "very confident:" Vermont (76%) and South Dakota (78%), joined by the District

of Columbia (75%). At the low end, respondents in three states gave the "very confident" response

about half of the time: in Washington (52%), Florida (51%), and Arizona (50%).

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 found support for that association in the 2008

SPAE, and the difference persists in this iteration of the survey:

- 65% of in-person Election Day voters were "very confident," and 26% were "somewhat

  confident."

- 56% of absentee, by-mail voters said they were "very confident," with 31% being

  "somewhat confident."

In-person early voters had confidence levels that were very near to those of in-person Election Day

voters.

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.

This pattern was not found in 2008, nor was it found in the 2012 SPAE.   The data from 2012 show

that:

- 76% of African American voters were very confident and 18% of African American voters

  were somewhat confident;

- 61% of Hispanic voters were very confident and 28% of Hispanic voters were somewhat

  confident.

- 61% of White voters were very confident and 29% were somewhat confident.

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 2012 general election

provides a different picture, similar to that in 2008, with 77% of Democratic voters saying they

were very confident, and 19% somewhat confident. Fewer Republican voters were very confident

(54%), with 32% of Republican voters saying they were somewhat confident (representing a

decline in overall confidence compared to 2008). Independents were about as likely as

Republicans to state they were confident: 55% said they were very confident and 33% 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). Romney voters

were much less confident, with 50% saying they were "very confident" and 33% saying they were

"somewhat confident" (again representing a decline in overall confidence, compared to McCain

voters in 2008).

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 (78%) compared to Republicans in those states (49%). In states won by Mitt Romney, Republicans were more often very confident (61%) and Democrats less often very confident (75%). 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.

Partisan divisions over the quality of the 2008 election were muted compared to past years, but in 2012 voters returned to historical form in the degree to which they based their confidence in the election outcome on partisan factors. Also, as in 2008, 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.

New to the 2012 study was a series of questions that asked about confidence in the vote count at different levels of government, not just confidence that one's own vote was counted. Respondents were asked how confident they were that (1) votes in your county or city, (2) votes throughout their state, and (3) votes nationwide were counted as voters intended. Two comments should be made about answers to these questions. First, confidence declined as the level of generality increased. Thus while 63% of respondents were very confident that their own vote was counted as they intended,

- 50% of respondents were very confident votes in their own county were counted as intended;

- 41% of respondents were very confident votes in their state were counted as intended; and

- 23% of respondents were very confident votes nationwide were counted as intended.

Second, the partisan differences examined above in discussing the personal confidence question applied to all the other confidence questions. For instance, 64% of Democrats *versus* 42% of Republicans said they were very confident votes were counted as intended in their own county; these numbers fell to 54% *vs.* 33% when asked about the state and 37% *vs.* 13% when asked about the nation as a whole.

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 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 (VRS) to the Current Population Survey. The 2012 VRS has yet to be released at the time of writing this report. Future research could compare the results of the SPAE series with the Census Bureau effort.[9]

Looking at the responses of non-voters, we see that 90% of all non-voting respondents identified at least one of the 14 concerns as a minor or a major factor. On average, respondents identified 2.8 factors as a problem. The fact that most non-voters identified more than one factor as

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[9] Research that compared the 2008 VRS and SPAE items revealed that, in general, the frequencies of responses were comparable. The one exception is that the VRS lumps together three problems related to polling place practices — inconvenient locations, inconvenient hours, and long lines — whereas the SPAE separates them out. Not surprisingly, the separate response categories in the 2008 SPAE were listed less frequently than the more encompassing VRS response category.

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-seven

percent of self-identified Republican non-voters mentioned this reason, compared to 30% of

Democrats.) Another 34% 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 28% of respondents saying

that sickness was a factor.

Election administration issues played a smaller role in the decision not to vote. Eighteen

percent of respondents reported they did not know where to vote; 17% found their precinct location

inconvenient; 15% cited identification as a concern, and 14% balked at long lines. Therefore,

although factors that may be at the control of election administrators bear some responsibility for

the failure of some to vote, administration-related issues pale in comparison to political and

personal considerations that individuals bring to the election process.

Section III Tables

Table III-1. Share of the Electorate, by State Law and Mode of Voting

State Law			Mode of Voting		
	Absentee		In Person, Election Day	In Person, Early	Absentee by Mail
Early	No-Excuse	Permanent	%	%	%
No	No	No	86.6	3.5	9.5
No	Yes	Yes	89.3	3.8	6.9
Yes	No	No	49.1	44.6	5.6
Yes	Yes	No	54.6	29.2	16.1
Yes	Yes	Yes	44.0	5.2	50.7
All-Mail (Oregon and Washington)			2.1	2.8	94.9
All States			61.1	17.7	20.9

Table III-2. Reported Polling Places By Region

		Region			
	U.S.	Northeast	Midwest	South	West
	%	%	%	%	%
School Building	26.0	36.0	20.2	23.5	29.6
Other Government Office	16.9	12.4	21.2	18.5	9.8
Community Center	15.8	14.0	16.8	17.1	12.7
Church	17.6	11.7	21.9	16.2	23.3
Police/Fire Station	6.7	14.6	3.5	5.9	2.4
Other	6.2	5.4	7.2	5.1	9.1
Library	5.8	2.0	3.9	9.9	2.7
Senior Center	2.4	3.4	2.7	1.6	3.2
Store or Shopping Mall	1.7	0.2	0.8	1.5	6.4
Private Business	0.9	0.2	1.8	0.8	0.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100

IV.   Special Topics

The previous chapter examined the overall experience of voters in 2012. This chapter lifts out five 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. We also examine possession of various forms of identification.

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 and 2012, 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 2012 *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 83% rate but registered voters older than 60 turned out at a self-reported 97% rate. Of course, self-reported

voting rates are always higher than actual rates[10] 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 he or she

is to take advantage of their registration and actually vote.

As a general matter, older voters in 2012 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,

- reported fewer problems getting their absentee ballot sent to them,

- reported fewer problems marking their absentee ballots,

- found the absentee ballot instructions easy to follow, and

- were somewhat more confident that their vote would be counted as cast.

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[10] To deal with the problem of respondent mis-reporting whether they actually voted, the 2008 SPAE undertook a "voter validation" analysis. The verification process took longer than anticipated, so the results were not included in the 2008 report. In the 2008 report, the registration status of 8,378 of the 10,000 Internet respondents could be determined. Of those, 7,980 (95.2%) were found on the voter registration rolls of their states. Of the 8,378 respondents whose registration could be determined, 81.1% actually voted, compared to a self-reported 94.9% turnout rate among this group. Thus, the over-reporting rate in 2008 was 13.8 percentage points, which is less than the typical over-reporting rate of the principal academic survey in political science, the American National Election Study. (See Barry R. Burden, "Voter Turnout and the National Election Studies," *Political Analysis* (2000) vol. 21(1), pp. 389–98.) Looking at the crosstabs of actual *vs.* self-reported voting, we see that 85% of those who claimed to have voted actually did so; 89% of those who claimed not to have voted did not in fact vote. Because the Internet survey methodology in 2012 was identical to that employed in 2008 — and by the same polling firm — we assume that the rates of mis-reporting turnout was similar in 2012.

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 non-voters (aged 18–30) listed being busy, not liking the candidates or campaign issues, transportation problems, being out of town, illness, forgetfulness, not knowing where to vote, or not receiving an absentee ballot as a major or minor reason for not voting. (See Table IV-2.) Among the oldest voters, only three items— not liking the candidates or campaign issues, inconvenient polling place hours or location, and illness or disability—pertained to more than 20% of 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 24% of those over age 60 answered yes to this question compared to 14% of those 30 years old and younger). However, many older voters with a disability also voted — 95%, compared to a 73% voting rate among voters with a disability who were 30 years old and younger.

One of the reasons why older voters with disabilities still vote at high rates is that they are more likely to vote by mail. Eight percent of voters 30 and younger with a disability voted by mail in 2012, compared to 40% of voters older than 60 with a disability.

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 voted in person at similar rates in 2012. Sixty-two percent of Whites voted in-person, compared with 61% of African Americans and 57% of Hispanics. Of those who voted before Election Day, however, African Americans were more likely to use early voting and Whites and Hispanics 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.

Race and Experiences at the Polls

Most aspects of polling place operations and absentee and early voting show no appreciable differences across racial groups. Contrasts between groups in the levels of problems were small 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. Hispanic voters were less likely than

White voters to report their polling place was "very easy" to find (75% versus 88%), however, and

both Black and Hispanic voters were less likely than White voters to rate the performance of poll

workers as "excellent" (59% versus 68%). Problems with registration were infrequent, between

two and five percent, but occurred at slightly higher rates among Black voters (3.7%) and Hispanic

voters (4.2%) than among White voters (2.5%). Almost no one reported voting equipment

problems or problems getting absentee ballots, with one notable exception: respondents who

identified as "other" race encountered each type of problem at a rate of 9%.

Most racial groups reported similar rates of confidence that their votes were counted as cast.

Seventy-six percent of Black and 61% of Hispanic voters were "very confident" that their votes

were counted correctly, compared with 61% of White voters.

Waiting in Line: African American and Hispanic Voters Waited Longer

Nonetheless, the survey data reveal two problem areas, lines and voter identification. Black and

Hispanic respondents were more likely than Whites to report waiting in lines of at least half an

hour to vote. Twenty percent of Black and 17% of Hispanic voters reported such waits, compared

with 11% of White voters.

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 the

National Conference of State Legislatures, 31 states now request or require identification beyond

the federal minimum specified by the Help America Vote Act (HAVA). Nineteen states and the

District of Columbia have relatively low requirements for authentication of most voters, such as

stating one's name or signing the voter rolls.[11] Section III addressed voter identification laws in

general. Here, we examine them in connection with race.

In 2012, there were differences across racial groups nationwide in whether voters showed

identification — and whether the identification included a photo. Seventy-one percent of all White

voters showed some form of identification, compared to 80% of Black voters and 73% of Hispanic

voters. Smaller, statistically insignificant differences emerge when comparing rates of providing

photo identification: 52% among White respondents, 56% among Black respondents, and 51%

among Hispanic respondents.[12]

Compared to the proportion of voters that live in the 11 states requesting or requiring photo

identification, the rates of providing it are very high for all groups.[13] Part of the explanation is

convenience. As described in Section III, the SPAE included a follow-up question for voters who

showed photo identification, probing whether they "showed a picture ID card because it was

convenient" or were "asked specifically for an ID card with a picture on it."[14] Twenty-six percent

of White voters provided photo identification in response to a specific request from poll workers,

compared to 33% of Black voters and 30% of Hispanic voters.

The incidence of requests for identification in 2012 is explained mainly by state-level

differences in laws and the distributions of voters by race. More than half of SPAE respondents

voted in states where poll workers request or require identification beyond the HAVA minimum.

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[11] The 19 states with minimum identification requirements were California, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Oregon, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.
[12] For this purpose we define photo identification as a driver's license, state identification card, passport, or military identification, although some other forms of identification might also include a photo. See Question 12 in Appendix 7.
[13] Seven states required photo identification from voters: Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, and New Hampshire. Four states requested it: Hawaii, Louisiana, Michigan, and South Dakota.
[14] For the full text of the item, see Question 13 in Appendix 7.

In states that required identification not necessarily including a photograph, 97% of

respondents said that they were asked to show identification, with no significant variation by race:

97% among White voters; 98% among Black voters, and 98% among Hispanic voters.

In Hawaii, Louisiana, Michigan, and South Dakota, where photo identification is requested

but not required, 85% of voters showed photo identification: 87% of White voters, 78% of Black

voters, and 63% of Hispanic voters.

Seven states require photo identification, and 90% of residents reported that they provided it

in the form of a driver's license, state identification card, passport, or military identification: 90%

of White voters; 94% of Black voters, and 75% of Hispanic voters. That many voters did not

present any of these forms of identification, in particular Hispanic voters, is explained by the use of

voter registration cards that may include a photograph. In the seven states where photo

identification is required, 98% of voters presented *either* a voter registration card or a driver's

license, state identification card, passport, or military identification: 98% of White voters, 100% of

Black voters, and 96% of Hispanic voters.

In states with the HAVA minimum, where voters may identify themselves by signature or

some other manner, 41% of voters were asked to show identification, up from 25% of voters in

HAVA states in 2008. Moreover, much more variability by race in the incidence of showing

identification appears in HAVA minimum states, compared to states with stricter identification

laws. Thirty-six percent of White voters in HAVA-minimum states showed identification when

voting, in contrast with 57% of Black voters and 54% of Hispanic voters. In theory, some of the

racial disparity in showing identification might be explained by a higher incidence of Black and

Hispanic voters required under HAVA to provide identification (i.e., first-time voters who

registered by mail without providing a copy of an accepted form of identification). Differences

persist, however, when examining only prior voters, who under the minimum HAVA identification

requirement need only show identification following a change in registration: 35% of White prior

voters in HAVA minimum states showed identification at the polls, compared to 55% of Black

voters and 55% of Hispanic voters.[15]

About a quarter of all voters in HAVA-minimum states showed photo identification, 43%

of whom (11% of all voters) were "asked specifically for an ID card with a picture on it." By race,

fewer White voters (21%) showed photo identification than Black voters (31%) or Hispanic voters

(39%); and, fewer White voters (9%) were "asked specifically" for photo identification in HAVA-

minimum states than Black voters (16%) or Hispanic voters (25%). The contrasts persist when

excluding first-time voters, who might need to show identification under HAVA. Among prior

voters, 21% of White voters showed photo identification, compared to 32% of Black voters and

40% of Hispanic voters; a substantially lower proportion of White prior voters (8%) were "asked

specifically" for photo identification than Black prior voters (17%) and Hispanic prior voters

(26%).[16]

Nor can higher mobility and consequent changes of registration among non-white prior

voters explain much of the racial disparity in requests for identification. Excluding people who

moved within the four years prior to the election (a group comprising 31% of prior voters in

HAVA-minimum states, and higher proportions of Black and Hispanic prior voters in those states),

18% of White voters were asked for photo identification, compared to 24% of Black voters and

37% of Hispanic voters. Applying the follow-up screen that asked respondents whether they were

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[15] Comparison of first-time voters by race in HAVA states would also be interesting, but too few Black and Hispanic first-time voters appear in the sample.

[16] By contrast, the SPAE sample includes few *first-time* Black or Hispanic voters residing in HAVA-minimum states who showed photo identification at the polls: 39 in all. Unsurprisingly, then, among first-time voters in states with the HAVA minimum identification requirement, there is no evidence of a difference among the rates of being "asked specifically" for photo identification for White, Black, and Hispanic voters.

"asked specifically for an ID card with a picture on it" or showed one "because it was convenient,"

7% of White prior voters in HAVA-minimum states who had remained in their current residence

since the 2008 election or earlier were "asked specifically" for photo identification, compared to

14% of comparable Black voters and 27% of comparable Hispanic voters.

Coverage under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act appears to have little or no effect on the

contrasts between racial groups of the incidence of providing voter identification. Voters in

Mississippi, the one state with a HAVA-minimum identification requirement covered by Section 5,

showed identification at a slightly lower incidence (36%) than voters elsewhere facing minimal

requirements (41%),[17] but Black voters in Mississippi showed identification at about the same rate

(35%) as White voters there (36%). In the six states covered by Section 5 that require voters to

provide identification that need not include their photograph, 99% did; in the 13 states with similar

laws not covered by Section 5, the rate was 94%.[18] But there were no great differences by race

between the categories of states. Among the seven states that required voters to provide photo

identification, Georgia is covered by Section 5: all voters there showed photo identification[19] or

their voter registration card. In the six comparable states, 98% did. Again, rates of providing

identification did not vary much by race between the two groups of states. Lastly, there are four

states that request photo identification but do not require it from voters.[20] Among them, Louisiana

is covered by Section 5. Ninety-nine percent of Louisiana voters showed either photo

identification or their voter registration card, compared to 98% of voters in the other three states.

No racial disparity is evident. State identification laws, rather than Section 5 status, determine the

rates at which voters provide identification.

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[17] That is, in the eighteen other states with HAVA-minimum identification requirements and the District of Columbia.
[18] The six states are Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia.
[19] Defined here as a driver's license, state identification card, or military identification.
[20] The four states are Hawaii, Louisiana, Michigan, and South Dakota.

We hesitate to call the differences identified in this section as discrimination. The survey does ascertain the respondent's perception of the race of the poll worker, however, and it has an effect on requests for identification. These data are presented in Table IV-4.

Differences in showing identification across racial dyads of poll workers and voters 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 seem to have little effect on for the incidence of voters showing identification. Ninety-two percent to 100% of voters showed identification in states with identification requirements stricter than the HAVA minimum, regardless of the race of voters and poll workers. In states with the minimum identification requirement under HAVA, the race of the poll worker and the race of the voter affect the incidence of identification requests. Thirty-five percent of White voters showed identification given a White poll worker, compared to 50% of Black voters and 46% of Hispanic voters. Contrasts between White and non-White voters grew when poll workers were Black: 34% of White voters and 60% of Black voters provided identification.[21] Hispanic poll workers saw voters provide identification at the highest and least variable rates: from 70% of White voters and 68% of Hispanic voters.

The HAVA provisions requiring identification from certain mail registrants would have applied to some of these voters. Therefore, as explained earlier, we repeat the preceding analysis for prior voters alone. Given a White poll worker, 34% of White prior voters in HAVA-minimum states showed identification, still less than the 49% of Black and 45% of Hispanic prior voters who did. Black poll workers saw identification from 34% of White prior voters, but 58% of Black prior voters. Given a Hispanic poll worker, the rates at which voters showed identification were high and even: 70% of both White and Hispanic prior voters. The pattern of racial disparities

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[21] Too few Hispanic voters in the sample encountered a Black poll worker to estimate reliably the rate of identification requests.

observed among all voters persists when limiting the analysis to prior voters. In summary, Black

and Hispanic voters in states with less strict identification laws were more likely to be asked for

identification than White voters.

The racial distribution of poll workers in these states is related to the incidence of requests

for identification. Seventy-three percent of poll workers were White, 15% Black, and 7%

Hispanic, but these aggregates mask relatively high rates at which voters encountered a poll worker

of their own race: 83% of White voters, 56% of Black voters, and 45% of Hispanic voters in

HAVA-minimum states.

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, 66% had

lived in their current residence at least 5 years (more than one presidential election cycle). Length

of residency for the remaining 34% were evenly distributed across the response categories: 5% had

lived in their residence for four years, 6% for three years, 6% for two years, 8% for one year, 4%

for six months to a year, and 5% for less than six months.

The longer voters had lived at their current residence, the less difficulty they tended to

encounter when trying to vote. The sorts of difficulties are telling. Length of residence had only a

slight relation to difficulty finding one's polling place: for 93% to 98% of voters across lengths of

residency, it was "very" or "fairly" easy. Only 78% of voters who had lived in their residence for

less than six months found it "very easy," however, compared to 88% of those who had not moved

in five or more years. Length of residency and difficulty getting an absentee ballot were not

associated, in a reversal from 2008. Time in residence had a modest effect on the incidence of

registration problems when voting. Among those who voted in person, 4% of voters who had lived

at their residence less than five years reported a registration problem when trying to vote, compared

with 2% of voters who had lived at their residence for at least five years.

For those who move, voter identification may emerge as a problem. The SPAE asked

respondents whether they had different forms of identification — a driver's license, birth

certificate, passport, or other identification. Except for birth certificates, the survey probed whether

each form of identification had the respondent's current address, correct name, and was not

expired.

Birth certificates and driver's licenses were the most commonly possessed forms of

identification. Eighty-nine percent of respondents had a birth certificate; 80% percent had a valid

driver's license; 35% had a valid passport; and 84% had some other form of government issued

identification: a public assistance identification card; military identification card; out of state

identification card; identification card from a Native American tribe; university identification card;

license to carry a firearm; voter registration card; or an identification card issued by a federal, state,

or local agency.[22] Sixty-three percent of respondents had a voter registration card.

Driver's licenses were most frequently provided as identification at the polls: 70% of those

who showed identification reported that they presented a driver's license; 23% showed a voter

registration card; and 2.1% 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 three years, and especially those who have moved in the past six months. As

Table IV-3 shows, those who have moved recently were less likely to have valid identification and

were more likely to be asked for identification when voting. More than half of respondents who

had lived at their residence less than six months lacked a valid driver's license; 45% did not have a

voter registration card; and 89% had none of the forms of other government identification

described above. Each proportion declined with residency: 11% of respondents who had lived at

their residence at least five years lacked a valid driver's license; 37% did not have a voter

registration card; and 17% had none of the other government identification types. Thus, possession

of the forms of 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 percentage (8.6%) reported that

lack of identification was a major reason for not voting; it was a minor reason for 6.5%. Lack of

identification was a greater concern for people who had moved recently, however. Among non-

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[22] Respondents with a driver's license were coded as having a valid driver's license unless they reported that it had expired, lacked the name used for voter registration, or did not include their current address. Some respondents who replied "don't know" to one or more of these questions were thus coded as having valid driver's licenses.

voters who had lived in their current residence for five or more years, lack of identification was a

major factor for just 4.3%, compared to 20% of those who had moved within the last six months.

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, respondents who had lived in their

residence for less than a year were 37 years old, compared with 52 years old for those who lived in

their residence for at least five years. Those who lived in their residences at least 5 years were

about equally likely to be Democrats (37%) or Republicans (35%). Those who lived in their

residence four years or less, however, overwhelmingly identified as Democrat: 44%, compared

with 25% who identified as Republican. Tying residency to voter registration and voter

identification, then, may have significant political consequences. Identification requirements were

applied evenly across levels of voter mobility in 2012, but people who were more mobile were less

likely to have valid identification.

Attitudes about Vote Fraud

Throughout the past decade, several policy proposals have been advanced in the interest of

improving election administration: for example, 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 ones are a desire to make elections "cleaner"

by reducing election fraud and a desire to increase voter turnout—or at least make voting more

convenient.

As in 2008, the 2012 SPAE contained 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."

There was considerable uncertainty about the degree to which these problems existed in the

respondents' communities. More than 20% of respondents answered "not sure" to each of the

questions. Yet between 8.8% and 12% believed that a litany of problems was very common:

"people voting more than once in an election," "stealing or tampering with ballots," voter

impersonation, "people voting an absentee ballot intended for another person," and "officials

changing the reported vote count in a way that is not a true reflection of the ballots that were

actually counted."[23] A larger share of respondents, 18%, thought voting by non-citizens was very

common. Between 15% and 20% of respondents thought that each of these problems occurred

occasionally.

Republicans were much more likely than Democrats to cite problems in their communities.

Between 29% and 50% of Republicans reported that each problem happened at least occasionally,

compared to between 13% and 20% of Democrats.

Among both Republicans and Democrats, state election outcomes were related to beliefs

about problems with election administration. In states that Romney won, 35% of Republicans

thought that people voting more than once was very common or occurred occasionally, but where

Obama won, 45% of Republicans thought so. Where Romney won, 28% believed that people

"almost never" steal or tamper with ballots; in states that Obama won, 22% held the same belief.

Fewer Democrats than Republicans thought that all the problems posed in the questionnaire were

common, but Democrats in states that Romney won were slightly more concerned than those in

states that Obama carried. Where Romney won, 15% of Democrats thought that repeat voting

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[23] Among respondents who did not answer "I'm not sure," between 11% and 17% believed that these problems were
very common. Twenty-two percent thought voting by non-citizens was very common.

happened at least occasionally, compared to 12% of Democrats elsewhere. Where Obama won, 17% thought ballot stealing or tampering occurred occasionally or was very common; 19% thought so where Romney won.

Support for Reform Proposals

The 2012 SPAE asked respondents how they felt about eleven reform proposals commonly raised: (1) allowing absentee voting over the Internet, (2) using cell phones to vote, (3) running elections by mail, (4) automatically registering all citizens to vote, (5) allowing voter registration on Election Day at the polls, (6) requiring voters to show identification in order to vote, (7) requiring electronic voting machines to print a paper backup of the ballot, (8) moving Election Day to the weekend, (9) making Election Day a holiday, (10) selecting election officials on a non-partisan basis, and (11) making it so that when a registered voter moves, he or she is automatically registered to vote at the new home. Nationwide, respondents supported these proposals as follows:

- 83% supported requiring electronic voting machines to print a paper backup of the ballot;

- 75% supported making it so that when a registered voter moves, he or she is automatically registered to vote at the new home;

- 71% supported requiring all people to show government issued photo identification when they vote;

- 66% supported only selecting election officials on a non-partisan basis;

- 58% supported automatically registering all citizens over 18 to vote;

- 58% supported making Election Day a national holiday;

- 51% supported allowing people to register on Election Day at the polls;

- 51% supported moving Election Day to a weekend;

- 39% supported allowing absentee voting over the Internet;

- 23% supported running all elections by mail; and

- 17% supported voting using cell phones.

States could act alone to implement many of these proposals, and some have. A majority of respondents in every state and the District of Columbia supported four of the initiatives: requiring everyone to show government-issued identification in order to vote; requiring paper backups from electronic voting machines; only selecting election officials on a non-partisan basis; and automatic re-registration of people who move. Next most popular, receiving majority support in 44 states and the District of Columbia, was automatically registering all citizens over 18 to vote. (The proposal received minority support in Kansas, Nebraska, Nevada, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and Wyoming.) Majorities in 38 states and the District of Columbia supported making Election Day a national holiday, but only in 25 states and the District of Columbia did a majority approve of moving it to a weekend. An equal number were for allowing Election Day registration, including 15 states that have not already enacted it.[24] The least popular reforms were allowing absentee voting over the Internet (barely receiving a majority in the District of Columbia alone), voting using cell phones (no majority support), and running all elections by mail—which received majority support only in the two states that already do, Oregon (70% of respondents) and Washington (60%).

Support for these various reforms bears a strong partisan imprint. Four reforms garnered majority support among *both* Democrats and Republicans: requiring paper backups from electronic voting machines, only selecting election officials on a non-partisan basis, automatic re-registration

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[24] California, Connecticut, Idaho, Iowa, Maine, Minnesota, Montana, New Hampshire, Wisconsin, Wyoming, and the District of Columbia have already enacted Election Day registration. Source: http://www.ncsl.org/legislatures-elections/elections/same-day-registration.aspx.

of people who move, and requiring all voters to show government-issued photo identification. On

the questions of re-registering people who move and photo identification, however, the partisan

difference was substantial. Eighty-eight percent of Republicans and 54% of Democrats supported

the photo identification requirement. Eighty-six percent of Democrats and 62% of Republicans

supported automatic re-registration of people who move. A majority of Democrats expressed

support, in addition, for absentee voting over the Internet (52%), automatic voter registration for

citizens 18 and older (76%), Election Day registration (70%), and making Election Day a national

holiday (70%) or on a weekend (61%). No reform received majority support from Republicans and

not Democrats. Majorities from both parties opposed voting using cell phones and running

elections by mail.

Possession of Voter Identification

The issue of voter identification dominated the world of election administration in the months

preceding the 2012 election. Through a series of laws proposed and passed at the state level, along

with a series of court challenges to these laws, an important empirical question emerged about how

many registered voters currently possess the types of identification required under these new laws.

Answers in the 2012 SPAE help to provide some insight to these questions.

The SPAE asked respondents if they possessed various forms of identification in two ways.

First, because driver's licenses and passports tend to be the most common form of identification

required by states, the SPAE asked respondents if they possessed a driver's license and a passport.

In follow-up, respondents who possessed a driver's license were asked if it (1) contained the

respondent's current address, (2) contained the legal name, and (3) had expired. Respondents who

possessed a passport were asked if the passport had expired and if it had the voter's legal name on

it. In addition, because many forms of government-issued photo identification, especially the

driver's license, typically require proof of birthdate, we asked if the respondent if he or she had a

birth certificate that could be easily located.

Second, respondents were asked whether they possessed a series of other forms of

identification, such as a military ID, an ID from an in-state private college, and a license to carry a

firearm. For these forms of identification, the respondent was asked to indicate whether the card

had a photograph on it.

Table IV-6 reports the percentage of respondents who reported they had various forms of

identification. By far, the most commonly possessed identification card is the driver's license, held

by 91% of respondents. This is followed by a pictureless voter registration card (49%), passport

(41%), other form of state government ID (16%), picture voter registration card (13%), picture ID

issued by an out-of-state government (11%), and in-state public university ID card (10%). All

other forms of identification are held by less than 10% of respondents. Of all the respondents to

the SPAE, 99% possess at least one of these cards. Eighty-nine percent of respondents held an

official copy of their birth certificate, which might be necessary to obtain other forms of

identification.

Voter identification laws that have been passed in recent years have varied significantly in

how many different identification cards are allowed, and whether they need to be current (i.e.,

"valid"). The results reported above indicate that the possession of some form of identification is

nearly universal. However, this is not the same as saying that the possession of a *valid* form of

identification is as widespread.

This can be seen in the follow-up questions to respondents who reported they possess a

driver's license. Respondents who reported having a driver's license were asked (1) whether the

driver's license was expired, (2) if the name on the driver's license was the same name the

respondent was registered to vote under, and (3) if the address on the driver's license was the same

as the address where the respondent was registered to vote. Among those who reported having a

driver's license, 1.6% stated it was expired, 1.3% stated it did not have the respondent's legal

name, and 9.7% stated it did not have the respondent's voting address. Overall, 12% of driver's

license holders met one of the conditions that would render a driver's license difficult, if not

impossible, to use as valid ID to vote, depending on the laws of the state.

Among passport holders, 12% stated their passport was expired and 3.2% stated it did not

have the name they were registered under.

Nearly a tenth of driver's licenses do not have the voter's current address on it. Not

surprisingly, having such a license is strongly correlated with length of residency. Of those in their

current residence four years or less, 26% stated their license did not have the address at which the

respondent was registered to vote; for those in their current residence between five and eight years,

the percentage fell to 2.7%; for those in their current residence for more than eight years, only 1.8%

had a license without the voter registration address.

The major line of controversy over the implementation of photo voter ID laws has been the

question of disparate racial impact, due to patterns of possession of driver's licenses and other

forms of government identification. (See Section IV above for a discussion of racial differences in

the likelihood that a voter would be asked for an ID.) The analysis here shows that there are some

racial disparities in the possession of government-issued ID cards, especially among those who

possess a driver's license or passport.

Among the respondents to the 2012 SPAE, 93% of Whites, 79% of Blacks, and 90% of

Hispanics nationwide stated they had a driver's license. Once we correct for name, address, and

expiration, these percentages fall to 84%, 63%, and 73%, respectively. Thus the White-Black disparity in holding a driver's license ranges from 14 percentage points, if we include all driver's licenses, to 21 percentage points, if we include only valid licenses. The White-Hispanic disparity ranges from 3 points to 11 points, depending on whether we allow for invalid licenses.

At the same time, 41% of Whites, 28% of Blacks, and 49% of Hispanics had passports. Once we correct for name and expiration, these percentages fall to 35%, 25%, and 42%. Passports are one form of identification that a minority group, Hispanics, possess at higher rates than Whites. At the same time, the White-Black disparity persists for passport holding, and is roughly the same magnitude regardless of whether we take into account passports becoming invalid.

As the patterns discussed here make clear, whether voter ID laws will serve as a major deterrent to voting depends on the specifics of the identification laws. If the law states that a wide variety of identification cards are acceptable, including those that are expired, such as is the case with Georgia's ID law, then the results reported here would suggest that very few voters would fail to possess the requisite identification. If the law is narrowly drawn, allowing only a small number of unexpired government-issued photo ID cards with the voter's current address, then more voters will run afoul of the law.

We close this section with a methodological point. While it is not possible to conduct a "driver's license verification" study, that is, check to see whether respondents to the survey actually possess a driver's license, it is possible to compare driver's license possession as recorded in this survey with patterns reported by the federal government. In particular, the U.S. Department of Transportation reports the age breakdown of holders of driver's licenses in the United States.[25] It is possible to compare the federal statistics with the self-reports in the SPAE.

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[25] The number of licensed drivers by age group can be found at
http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/policyinformation/statistics/2011/dl22.cfm. This is from the Highway Statistics Series,

Figure IV-1 provides the comparison. The dark line shows the number of people the federal

government reports have a driver's license, as a percentage of U.S. residents in that age category.

The long-dashed line shows the corresponding license possession rate calculated using the SPAE.

The tiny-dashed lined shows the license possession rate calculated using the SPAE, after taking

into account problems with name, address, and expiration that might render a license invalid. Note

that the SPAE estimates of license possession track closely the federal government estimates up

through the 65–69 age group. At that point, the government statistics show a sharp decline in

license holding as age groups get older, whereas license possession among SPAE respondents

actually increases and then levels off in older age groups.

This suggests that for analysis involving the possession of driver's licenses, one should

precede very cautiously in analysis that involves license possession of those 70 and older. Only

1.1% of the respondents to the SPAE are 70 and older, so population estimates that include

respondents 70 and older should not be greatly affected by their inclusion. Still, to be on the safe

side, it is probably wise to exclude respondents 70 and older in analyzing the possession of driver's

licenses.

Section IV Tables and Figures

Figure IV-1. Possession of Driver's License by Age
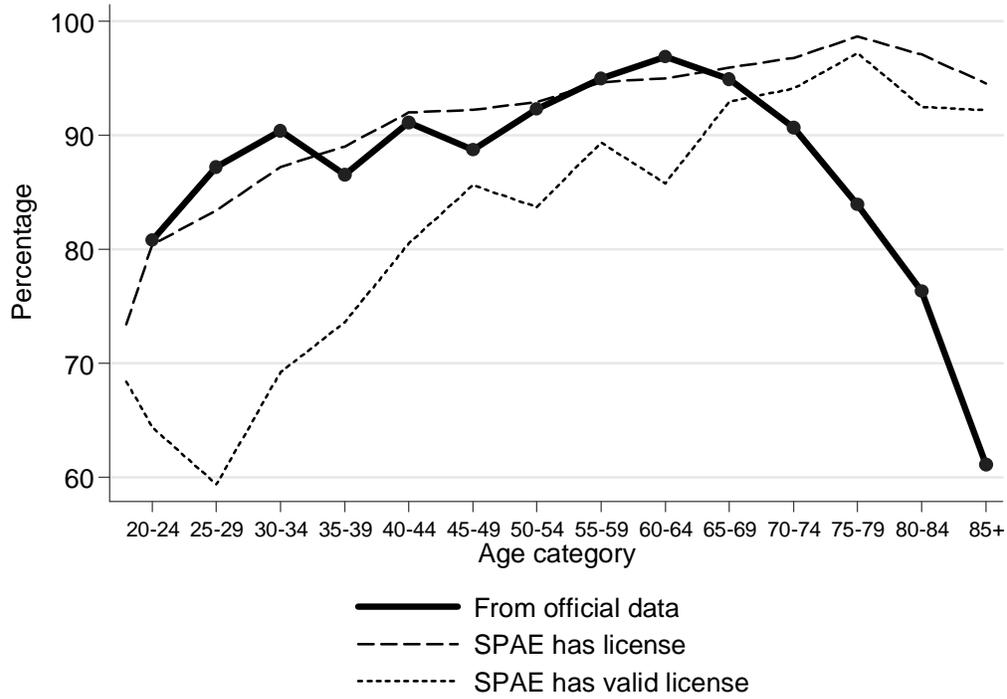
Table IV-1. Problems Encountered by Voters, by Age Category

Question	Age		
	18 - 30	31-60	61 and older
In Person			
How difficult was it to find your polling place to vote? (% "Very Difficult" or "Somewhat Difficult")	4.9	3.1	1.0
How well were things run at the polling place where you voted? (% "Not Well" or "Terrible")	5.0	3.2	2.4
Was there a problem with your voter registration when you tried to vote? (% "Yes")	4.4	2.8	1.6
Approximately, how long did you have to wait in line to vote? (Average Estimated Minutes)	16.7	14.4	11.5
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? (% "Yes")	1.4	2.4	1.9
Please rate the job performance of the poll workers at the polling place where you voted. (% "Fair" or "Poor")	6.4	7.4	3.8
Absentee			
Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you? (% "Yes")	1.2	2.4	0.6
Did you encounter any problems marking or completing your ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended? (% "Yes")	1.0	1.2	0.5
Overall, how easy was it to follow all the instructions necessary to cast your ballot and return it to be counted? (% "Somewhat Hard" or "Very Hard")	2.4	1.3	0.9
All			
How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended? (% "Not Too Confident" or "Not at All Confident")	8.8	11.2	7.4

Table IV-2. Reasons for Not Voting by Age Category

	Age		
	18-30	31-60	61 and Older
Major or Minor Factor	%	%	%
I was too busy/had a conflicting work, family, or school schedule	45.1	30.6	12.0
I didn't like the candidates or campaign issues	43.0	43.7	38.8
Out of town or away from home	34.7	20.5	8.0
Transportation problems	32.7	22.2	11.6
Illness or disability (own or family's)	26.3	27.3	40.9
I forgot to vote	23.3	9.3	2.8
I did not know where to vote	22.7	16.7	2.0
I requested but did not receive an absentee ballot	20.9	11.5	5.4
The polling place hours, or location, were inconvenient	19.9	13.9	20.9
I did not receive my ballot in the mail, or it arrived too late for me to vote	17.7	14.7	5.7
I did not have the right kind of identification	17.3	15.6	0.0
The line at the polls was too long	15.5	14.0	14.7
There were problems with my registration	15.1	14.7	4.6
Bad weather	15.1	8.4	10.5

Table IV-3. Identification by Length of Residence

		Possession of ID	
	Asked for ID	No Valid DL	No Valid ID
Length of Residence	%	%	%
Less than 6 months	75.1	54.5	2.6
6 months - 1 year	84.1	46.0	2.4
1 year	73.3	37.4	3.1
2 years	78.0	34.6	2.6
3 years	80.8	30.0	3.0
4 years	80.8	18.0	3.7
5 years or more	70.2	11.2	3.6

Table IV-4. Identification Requests by State Law and Race/Ethnicity of Voter and Poll Worker

| | Race/Ethnicity of Poll Worker | | | |
| | White | Black | Hispanic | Other/ Mixed Race |
Race/Ethnicity of Respondent	%	%	%	%
States without ID Law[†]				
White	34.9	34.3	70.2	39.8
Black	50.4	60.8	-	-
Hispanic	46.3	-	67.6	-
Asian	-	-	-	-
Native American	-	-	-	-
Mixed	33.6	-	-	-
Other	34.2	-	-	-
States with ID Law[†]				
White	94.5	99.2	94.9	94.9
Black	94.2	92.7	-	-
Hispanic	97.9	-	100.0	-
Asian	99.1	-	-	-
Native American	93.4	-	-	-
Mixed	92.2	-	-	-
Other	100.0	-	-	-

[†] Cells representing fewer than 20 respondents are omitted. The 31 states coded as requesting or requiring identification beyond the federal minimum specified by the Help America Vote Act (HAVA) are Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, and Washington. The 20 remaining states and the District of Columbia did not have such a law in effect for the 2012 election. Source: National Conference of State Legislatures, http://www.ncsl.org/legislatures-elections/elections/voter-id.aspx.

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

Proposal	Party Democrat %	Republican %	Independent %	Overall %
Require electronic voting machines to print a paper backup of the ballot	83.4	80.7	85.5	82.9
Make it so that when a registered voter moves, he or she is automatically registered to vote at the new home	86.3	62.1	73.7	74.9
Require all people to show government issued photo ID when they vote	54.4	88.4	74.4	71.0
Only select election officials on a non-partisan basis	63.7	63.0	72.8	66.2
Make Election Day a national holiday	70.1	44.1	57.4	57.9
Automatically register all citizens over 18 to vote	75.7	38.4	54.5	57.8
Move Election Day to a weekend	61.3	38.3	53.2	51.3
Allow people to register on Election Day at the polls	70.4	29.0	47.5	50.7
Allow absentee voting over the Internet	51.9	25.0	35.1	38.7
Run all elections by mail	30.9	13.5	20.2	22.5
Voting using cell phones	23.9	8.6	15.7	17.1

Table IV-6. Possession of Identification

	With Picture %	Without Picture %
Driver's license	91.0	-
U.S. passport	40.7	-
Other ID card issued by agency or department of the state of [state]	16.0	3.7
Voter registration card issued by [state]	13.3	49.3
ID card issued by a state or local government outside of [state]	11.1	1.0
ID card from a state college or university within [state]	10.3	1.6
Public assistance ID card issued by [state]	9.6	4.0
Military ID card	7.9	1.2
Other ID card issued by agency or department of the federal government	7.8	5.3
License to carry a firearm issued by [state]	6.4	3.0
Other ID card issued by agency of a local government in [state]	5.9	2.4
ID card from a private college or university within [state]	5.7	1.3
ID card from a private college or university outside of [state]	3.6	1.0
ID card from a state college or university outside of [state]	2.6	1.0
ID card from a Native American tribe	1.0	1.1
Official copy of birth certificate	-	88.7

V.   Overall Assessment

One of the motivations behind the SPAE is 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 2012 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 (2.9% of respondents);

2. Encountering a problem with voter registration (3.0%);

3. Waiting longer than 30 minutes to vote (11%);

4. Having a problem with the voting machine (2.3%); and

5. Encountering a "poor" poll worker (1.0%).

Overall, 17% 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, 83% encountered *only* one problem, which was overwhelmingly the problem with lines. If we exclude long waits in line, then the percentage of all Election Day voters encountering at least one problem drops to 7.4%.

Turning to in-person early voters, the fraction of voters experiencing particular types of problems was similar to Election Day voters, with the exception of line length: early in-person voters tended to wait longer. The frequency of problems for these voters was:

1. Having a "very difficult" or "somewhat difficult" time finding the polling place (2.9%);

2. Encountering a problem with voter registration (2.0%);

3. Waiting longer than 30 minutes to vote (18%);

4. Having a problem with the voting machine (1.3%); and

5. Encountering a "poor" poll worker (1.0%).

Because early voting was often introduced as a convenience for voters, it is ironic that more voters

reported at least one problem with early in-person voting (22%) than with Election Day voting

(17%). The difference can be accounted for by the longer lines in the early voting period.

Excluding long lines, the percentage of early in-person voters encountering at least one problem is

about the same for early voters (6.1%) as for Election Day voters (7.4%).

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

1. Having a problem getting the absentee or mail ballot (1.6%);

2. Encountering a problem marking the ballot (0.9%)

3. Finding the absentee instructions "somewhat hard" or "very hard" (1.3%)

Overall, 3.4% of absentee or by-mail voters reported at least one problem, which is substantially

less than the rate among those who voted in person (22% of early voters and 17% of Election Day

voters), unless we exclude those who encountered long lines. Absentee ballot problems tended not

to compound; 90% 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 15% of voters encountered at least one problem in 2012—compared to 11%

in 2008. In an electorate of 130 million voters, that means that approximately 19 million voters

encountered a problem voting.[26] Excluding those who stood in long lines, 6% of voters

(approximately 8 million voters) reported encountering a problem voting.

How Many Votes Were "Lost" in 2012?

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 2012 *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 8.6% 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 6.5% of non-voters in our survey.[27]

- 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 5.1% of non-voters.

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[26] In 2012, the number of ballots counted was slightly more than 130 million. Source:
http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout_2012G.html.
[27] That is, 6.5% of non-voters reported that not knowing where to vote was a major factor in not voting, but did not cite
lack of identification as a major factor.

- Finally, a potential voter may have endured the lines, only to be turned away because of a registration problem. Registration problems account for 5.4% of non-voters by this method.

A joint report by the Center for the Study of the American Electorate and the Bipartisan Policy Center estimated in 2012 that about 153 million Americans were registered to vote.[28] Election returns accounting for 130 million individuals, which means that about 23 million registered voters did not vote in 2012. The estimates above suggest that roughly:

- 2.0 million registered voters were excluded for lack of voter identification,

- 1.0 million would have voted but could not find their polling place,

- 1.0 million went away because of long lines, and

- 1.2 million votes were lost because of registration problems.

These results are below those estimated in the 2008 SPAE Final Report, but still in the same ballpark, and also close to the 2001 estimates made by the Voting Technology Project.

Data from the *Survey of the Performance of American Elections* can also help us to gauge the number of lost votes due to absentee and mail ballots. Based on the responses to the survey, we estimate that in addition to the lost votes described above, 5.5% of registered non-voters did not vote because absentee/mail ballots never arrived or arrived too late to be returned in time. In raw numbers, that amounts to 1.3 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 5.0% of the number of in-person votes cast.[29] The number of lost ballots through by-mail voting methods amounted to a number that was 4.7% of absentee/mail

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[28] Source: http://bipartisanpolicy.org/sites/default/files/2012%20Voter%20Turnout%20Full%20Report.pdf.

[29] This is calculated by dividing the number of "lost" in-person votes by the number of in-person ballots counted, as the aggregate across methods (source: http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout_2012G.html) multiplied by the proportion of voters who voted in person, according to the SPAE data. The United States Election Project reports 130,306,739 total ballots counted, as of this writing; 79% of respondents to the SPAE voted in person and 21% by mail.

votes cast.[30] These estimates suggest that the amount of "breakage" in the voting system was about

even in 2012 among voters who use the mail and those who vote in person.

How Did the States Perform in 2012?

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—9.1% 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 17 respondents who were registered and did not vote. (This number ranged from six in New

Hampshire to 32 in North Dakota.) These numbers of cases make such estimates too imprecise to

report.

On the other hand, our sample contains scores of respondents who turned out and voted in

each state–sufficient numbers 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 and Washington, where

mail ballots are universal. We also report these numbers only for the states in which we have more

30 or more respondents who reported that they voted absentee or by mail.

Tables V-1 and V-2 report the number of voters reporting a problem in each state in 2012.

Notably, voters in just one state—Maine—reported in-person voting problems at a rate of less than

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[30] However, this does exclude "breakage" that would occur for reasons outside the voter's knowledge, particularly,
absentee voters who mailed back a ballot, but (1) it did not arrive back in time (or at all) to be counted or (2) the ballot
was rejected as invalid once it was received. Until the EAC releases the Election Administration and Voting Survey in
late 2013, it will be impossible to know what these numbers are.

2%, compared to those in seven states in 2008. In 37 states, voters reported problems at a rate

greater than 10%, compared to three states in 2008. The sample size of absentee and mail voters

was large enough in 17 states that we can estimate the prevalence of absentee problems. Two

states saw reported problems with absentee ballots at double-digit rates—Florida and Michigan—

and no absentee respondents in five states (North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Utah and

Virginia) 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. 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. Voters Reporting a Problem when Voting in Person, by State

	2008			2012		
	%	95% C.I.	N	%	95% C.I.	N
Alabama	6.8	[3.9, 11.5]	175	13.7	[8.6, 18.8]	174
Alaska	4.5	[2.3, 8.8]	169	7.3	[3.3, 11.3]	166
Arizona	14.5	[8.7, 23.1]	92	20.1	[10.5, 29.7]	68
Arkansas	4.0	[2, 8]	178	14.2	[8.9, 19.4]	170
California	13.9	[8.4, 22.2]	97	7.9	[2.5, 13.4]	95
Colorado	6.3	[2.6, 14.3]	73	19.0	[9.6, 28.3]	68
Connecticut	6.0	[3.4, 10.5]	181	12.5	[7.5, 17.5]	171
Delaware	3.2	[1.5, 6.8]	187	7.2	[3.5, 10.9]	190
District of Columbia	-	-	-	43.3	[36, 50.5]	179
Florida	7.8	[4.4, 13.4]	144	42.2	[33.7, 50.6]	132
Georgia	5.8	[3.2, 10.4]	171	19.1	[13.2, 25]	170
Hawaii	3.3	[1.4, 7.8]	138	18.4	[10.8, 26]	101
Idaho	6.9	[3.8, 12.1]	149	10.2	[5.3, 15.1]	148
Illinois	10.5	[6.8, 15.8]	183	16.3	[10.9, 21.7]	181
Indiana	9.9	[6.4, 15.1]	183	19.8	[13.8, 25.7]	172
Iowa	9.8	[6, 15.7]	148	14.8	[8.7, 20.9]	130
Kansas	3.9	[1.8, 8.2]	155	17.0	[11.1, 22.8]	158
Kentucky	5.7	[3.1, 10.1]	179	12.0	[7.1, 16.8]	172
Louisiana	4.0	[2, 8]	179	21.8	[15.5, 28.2]	163
Maine	5.7	[3, 10.6]	153	1.2	[-0.6, 2.9]	145
Maryland	7.9	[4.8, 12.8]	177	37.5	[30.3, 44.7]	175
Massachusetts	0.9	[0.2, 3.6]	182	12.4	[7.6, 17.2]	182
Michigan	2.6	[1, 6.8]	137	25.9	[18.4, 33.4]	133
Minnesota	3.4	[1.6, 7.2]	176	8.1	[4.1, 12.2]	174
Mississippi	4.6	[2.4, 8.8]	176	11.5	[6.6, 16.3]	167
Missouri	5.8	[3.2, 10.3]	173	14.0	[8.7, 19.2]	168
Montana	1.5	[0.4, 5.5]	124	17.3	[9.4, 25.2]	89
Nebraska	3.9	[1.8, 8.3]	150	9.5	[4.7, 14.4]	142
Nevada	4.8	[2.4, 9.2]	164	10.3	[5.7, 15]	169
New Hampshire	1.8	[0.6, 5]	180	11.9	[7.2, 16.6]	182
New Jersey	4.3	[2.1, 8.5]	170	6.6	[2.8, 10.3]	165
New Mexico	6.2	[3.3, 11.3]	148	10.7	[5.8, 15.5]	158
New York	8.3	[5.1, 13.3]	178	12.3	[7.3, 17.3]	168

Table V-1. Voters Reporting a Problem when Voting in Person, by State, Continued

	2008			2012		
	%	95% C.I.	N	%	95% C.I.	N
North Carolina	5.0	[2.6, 9.5]	163	21.1	[15, 27.2]	171
North Dakota	0.4	[0, 3.4]	141	5.4	[1, 9.9]	101
Ohio	8.6	[5.1, 14.2]	151	17.2	[10.9, 23.5]	139
Oklahoma	5.2	[2.7, 9.7]	169	22.7	[16.4, 28.9]	174
Oregon	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pennsylvania	2.8	[1.2, 6.4]	180	16.1	[10.7, 21.6]	176
Rhode Island	5.6	[3.1, 9.9]	183	20.5	[14.5, 26.4]	177
South Carolina	9.8	[6.1, 15.5]	156	33.9	[26.5, 41.2]	160
South Dakota	2.7	[1.1, 6.3]	176	7.1	[3.3, 11]	169
Tennessee	4.8	[2.5, 9]	179	19.7	[13.7, 25.6]	171
Texas	5.3	[2.8, 10]	159	14.6	[9.3, 19.9]	174
Utah	6.9	[3.9, 11.8]	165	17.0	[10.9, 23.2]	145
Vermont	3.5	[1.6, 7.6]	163	4.6	[1.3, 7.9]	158
Virginia	4.0	[2, 8]	175	30.8	[23.9, 37.8]	172
Washington	19.8	[9.6, 36.5]	32	-	-	-
West Virginia	3.4	[1.6, 7.2]	175	13.1	[8, 18.1]	170
Wisconsin	3.9	[1.9, 8]	171	9.5	[5, 13.9]	168
Wyoming	4.2	[2, 8.4]	165	8.1	[4, 12.3]	169

[†]Cells representing fewer than 30 respondents are omitted.

Table V-2. Voters Reporting a Problem when Voting by Mail or Absentee, by State[†]

	2008			2012		
	%	95% C.I.	N	%	95% C.I.	N
Alaska	0.0	[0, 11]	31	-	-	-
Arizona	3.5	[1.3, 8.9]	108	3.9	[0.4, 7.4]	119
California	1.3	[0.3, 5.8]	103	1.4	[-1, 3.7]	94
Colorado	5.8	[2.9, 11.3]	127	2.9	[-0.1, 5.9]	122
Florida	9.5	[4.2, 20.1]	55	10.0	[1.8, 18.1]	53
Hawaii	2.2	[0.5, 9.5]	62	1.2	[-1.2, 3.6]	83
Idaho	4.2	[1.2, 13.6]	51	2.9	[-2.1, 7.9]	44
Iowa	1.7	[0.3, 9.8]	52	0.9	[-1.5, 3.3]	60
Kansas	1.6	[0.2, 10.6]	45	3.1	[-2.9, 9.2]	33
Maine	11.3	[5, 23.4]	47	0.9	[-2, 3.7]	40
Michigan	1.6	[0.3, 8.5]	63	11.1	[1.9, 20.3]	46
Montana	1.6	[0.3, 7.5]	76	2.7	[-0.5, 5.8]	99
Nebraska	3.8	[1, 13.2]	50	0.9	[-1.9, 3.6]	46
Nevada	0.0	[0, 9.9]	35	-	-	-
New Jersey	10.2	[3.6, 25.9]	30	-	-	-
New Mexico	6.1	[2.2, 16.1]	52	-	-	-
North Carolina	0.0	[0, 6.1]	59	0.0	[0, 0]	67
North Dakota	5.3	[1.7, 15.4]	49	0.0	[0, 0]	50
Ohio	5.2	[1.3, 19]	31	-	-	-
Oklahoma	2.6	[1.1, 5.9]	194	0.0	[0, 0]	178
Rhode Island	2.5	[0.5, 12.2]	44	-	-	-
Tennessee	0.0	[0, 8.6]	41	-	-	-
Texas	5.1	[1.3, 17.8]	35	0.0	[0, 0]	41
Utah	0.0	[0, 9.4]	37	-	-	-
Virginia	2.4	[0.9, 6]	168	0.0	[0, 0]	177
Wisconsin	0.0	[0, 9.9]	35	-	-	-

[†]Cells representing fewer than 30 respondents are omitted. Twenty-two states and the District of Columbia do not appear in the table for lack of respondents in both 2008 and 2012: Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wyoming. We also exclude Oregon and Washington, where mail ballots are universal.

Appendix 1   Core Performance Questions, Nationwide Averages

This appendix summarizes nationwide measures of voter experience during the 2012 election, with values from the 2008 SPAE for comparison.

Responses have been weighted to produce estimates of representative national measures.

Reasons for Not Voting

	2008		2012	
	Major/Minor Factor %	N	Major/Minor Factor %	N
Didn't like the candidates or campaign issues	44.6	536	43.1	824
Too busy/had a conflicting work, family, or school schedule	36.6	540	34.5	828
Illness or disability (own or family's)	23.7	540	27.9	825
Transportation problems	21.8	537	25.2	828
Out of town or away from home	20.0	541	24.8	828
Did not know where to vote	22.5	540	17.8	825
Polling place hours, or location, were inconvenient	21.8	534	16.6	823
Did not receive my ballot in the mail, or it arrived too late to vote	19.8	535	15.1	820
Did not have the right kind of identification	14.1	537	15.1	819
Line at the polls was too long	24.2	529	14.6	817
Requested but did not receive an absentee ballot	16.3	532	14.4	826
Problems with registration	22.4	529	14.1	817
Forgot to vote	11.5	538	13.9	822
Bad weather	9.2	536	11.0	828

Problems Encountered by Voters

Question	Year	
	2008	2012
In Person		
How difficult was it to find your polling place to vote? (% "Very Difficult" or "Somewhat Difficult")	2.0	2.9
How well were things run at the polling place where you voted? (% "Very Well" or "Okay")	98.0	96.7
Was there a problem with your voter registration when you tried to vote? (% "Yes")	2.0	2.8
Approximately, how long did you have to wait in line to vote? (Average Estimated Minutes)	16.5	14.1
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? (% "Yes")	2.3	2.1
Please rate the job performance of the poll workers at the polling place where you voted. (% "Excellent" or "Good")	95.0	93.7
Absentee		
Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you? (% "Yes")	2.2	1.6
Did you encounter any problems marking or completing your ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended? (% "Yes")[†]	-	0.9
Overall, how easy was it to follow all the instructions necessary to cast your ballot and return it to be counted? (% "Very Easy" or "Somewhat Easy")	98.0	98.7
All		
How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended? (% "Very Confident" or "Somewhat Confident")	93.0	90.2

[†] Question added in the 2012 survey.

Appendix 2. Core Performance Questions, State Averages

This appendix summarizes state measures of voter experience during the 2012 election, with values from the 2008 SPAE for comparison, complementing the nationwide measures reported in Appendix 1. Items are treated as missing if a state has fewer than 20 observations for that item.

Responses have been weighted to produce estimates of representative state measures.

Reasons for Not Voting, by State[†]

	ID		Illness		Out of Town		Forgot to Vote	
	2008	2012	2008	2012	2008	2012	2008	2012
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Arkansas	12	14.3	12	38.6	31	28.4	24	15.7
Georgia	8.3	17.1	34	28.1	40	29.4	7.9	26.2
Indiana	0.0	34.9	46	-	0.0	21.4	0.0	14.2
Kentucky	0.0	0.0	18	6.5	10	21.5	7.6	9.6
Louisiana	14	13.7	40	27.3	23	12.5	6.1	12.4
Michigan	0.0	28.7	13	36.2	16	18.6	11	20.9
Mississippi	23	1.5	25	20.5	26	15.6	23	10.7
North Dakota	0.0	8.9	8.7	8.2	25	18.0	0.0	22.1
South Carolina	13	36.3	28	34.1	24	21.0	7.3	15.1
Tennessee	4.9	12.4	37	49.8	6.3	8.8	7.8	3.5
West Virginia	10	0.0	26	29.1	9.1	21.5	12	6.8

[†] Percentages responding that reason was a major or minor factor in not voting. Cells representing fewer than 20 respondents are omitted. Also excluded are states lacking at least 20 respondents for all items.

Reasons for Not Voting, by State, Continued[†]

	No Absentee Ballot		Too Busy/Conflict		Transportation		Didn't Like Issues	
	2008	2012	2008	2012	2008	2012	2008	2012
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Arkansas	19	12.8	39	31.3	31	22.0	57	45.7
Georgia	9.0	17.1	43	50.0	7.9	31.1	33	44.5
Indiana	0.0	-	0.0	24.2	33	-	57	45.0
Kentucky	0.0	0.0	13	40.2	13	32.4	53	17.1
Louisiana	4.4	11.1	23	25.4	18	23.9	20	51.4
Michigan	0.0	13.2	26	25.6	18	40.0	58	58.5
Mississippi	23	7.9	37	31.1	26	8.5	33	38.0
North Dakota	0.0	11.8	76	45.9	3.5	44.8	32	48.7
South Carolina	24	27.2	32	27.6	20	30.1	36	40.7
Tennessee	0.0	7.0	33	28.6	22	36.0	39	42.6
West Virginia	0.0	0.0	6.5	40.9	30	16.0	47	29.4

Reasons for Not Voting, by State, Continued[†]

	Registration		Weather		Inconvenient		Line Too Long	
	2008	2012	2008	2012	2008	2012	2008	2012
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Arkansas	33	10.7	12	10.7	20	27.2	37	16.6
Georgia	24	17.1	8.3	21.8	25	27.3	45	-
Indiana	0.0	-	0.0	-	42	10.5	42	17.8
Kentucky	13	12.3	0.0	15.3	13	1.3	5.6	3.6
Louisiana	25	7.2	5.5	3.6	11	17.6	22	17.0
Michigan	0.0	18.6	0.0	13.2	14	19.6	28	19.3
Mississippi	24	4.8	0.0	3.4	34	27.4	35	5.9
North Dakota	0.0	12.1	0.0	7.3	28	16.3	12	13.3
South Carolina	20	29.9	42	20.2	44	12.9	49	37.9
Tennessee	20	16.2	7.8	0.0	26	5.3	27	1.8
West Virginia	14	0.0	0.0	9.3	13	15.5	6.5	9.9

Reasons for Not Voting, by State, Continued[†]

	Didn't Know Where		Didn't Receive Ballot	
	2008	2012	2008	2012
	%	%	%	%
Arkansas	40	11.6	16	21.4
Georgia	7.9	17.1	8.6	16.2
Indiana	41	18.7	26	-
Kentucky	13	6.2	0.0	0.0
Louisiana	29	9.9	0.0	17.5
Michigan	17	23.9	4.3	13.2
Mississippi	34	8.2	23	10.0
North Dakota	15	23.9	3.5	9.1
South Carolina	27	22.0	48	29.5
Tennessee	18	8.8	0.0	5.3
West Virginia	20	3.2	3.9	8.0

[†]Percentages responding that reason was a major or minor factor in not voting. Cells representing fewer than 20 respondents are omitted. Also excluded are states lacking at least 20 respondents for all items.

Difficulty Finding Polling Place, by State[†]

| | 2008 | | 2012 | |
| | Very/Somewhat Difficult | | Very/Somewhat Difficult | |
	%	N	%	N
Alabama	3.3	175	3.2	174
Alaska	0.9	169	5.6	166
Arizona	3.6	92	11.8	68
Arkansas	2.1	178	0.8	170
California	2.1	98	3.7	95
Colorado	2.1	73	11.8	68
Connecticut	0.7	181	2.7	171
Delaware	0.0	187	4.5	190
District of Columbia	-	-	5.2	179
Florida	3.8	145	1.9	132
Georgia	3.4	171	2.9	170
Hawaii	0.6	138	9.1	101
Idaho	2.4	148	3.1	147
Illinois	2.2	183	1.6	181
Indiana	3.9	182	4.4	171
Iowa	4.6	148	7.6	129
Kansas	0.0	155	0.6	158
Kentucky	1.0	178	4.2	172
Louisiana	1.2	179	2.4	163
Maine	0.7	152	0.3	145
Maryland	2.5	176	4.2	175
Massachusetts	0.0	183	4.0	181
Michigan	0.0	137	2.5	132
Minnesota	0.0	176	1.1	174
Mississippi	0.9	174	2.3	167
Missouri	0.8	173	1.5	168
Montana	0.0	124	0.4	89
Nebraska	0.7	150	4.2	141
Nevada	1.0	165	1.6	169
New Hampshire	0.6	180	3.5	182
New Jersey	2.4	170	1.2	165
New Mexico	1.2	146	3.9	158
New York	2.3	178	2.2	168

[†] Question 5: "How difficult was it to find your polling place to vote?"

Difficulty Finding Polling Place, by State, Continued[†]

	2008		2012	
	Very/Somewhat Difficult		Very/Somewhat Difficult	
	%	N	%	N
North Carolina	1.6	163	4.4	171
North Dakota	0.4	141	0.0	101
Ohio	1.7	151	2.3	139
Oklahoma	2.8	169	3.4	174
Oregon	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]
Pennsylvania	0.6	180	2.5	176
Rhode Island	0.8	183	6.3	177
South Carolina	2.7	156	6.4	160
South Dakota	0.5	175	4.1	168
Tennessee	2.4	178	3.6	171
Texas	3.4	159	1.9	174
Utah	1.3	165	4.4	145
Vermont	0.7	163	1.8	157
Virginia	2.1	175	1.9	172
Washington	13.2	32	0.0	8
West Virginia	1.7	174	1.8	170
Wisconsin	1.4	169	1.4	168
Wyoming	2.6	165	3.1	169

[†] Question 5: "How difficult was it to find your polling place to vote?"

How Well Things Were Run at Polling Places, by State[†]

| | 2008 | | 2012 | |
| | Very Well/Okay | | Very Well/Okay | |
	%	N	%	N
Alabama	99.0	172	97.1	174
Alaska	99.1	168	99.6	164
Arizona	91.1	92	94.4	65
Arkansas	97.8	178	95.5	169
California	98.0	98	98.7	94
Colorado	98.1	73	94.3	68
Connecticut	95.9	181	97.6	170
Delaware	98.5	187	97.6	189
District of Columbia	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]	89.1	179
Florida	98.7	145	90.5	132
Georgia	98.3	171	98.9	169
Hawaii	99.4	138	93.7	100
Idaho	98.0	149	98.0	147
Illinois	95.2	183	95.5	181
Indiana	96.7	183	96.9	172
Iowa	97.7	148	97.2	128
Kansas	98.0	155	96.2	157
Kentucky	97.8	178	98.7	172
Louisiana	98.2	178	99.1	162
Maine	100.0	153	100.0	145
Maryland	99.5	177	95.2	174
Massachusetts	99.6	182	97.8	182
Michigan	98.7	137	98.2	130
Minnesota	99.5	176	98.8	173
Mississippi	98.2	176	98.2	166
Missouri	97.5	173	96.1	168
Montana	98.5	123	99.2	88
Nebraska	98.1	150	94.3	141
Nevada	100.0	165	98.4	169
New Hampshire	99.6	180	95.5	181
New Jersey	99.5	169	96.9	163
New Mexico	98.4	146	96.6	158
New York	98.8	178	95.1	167

How Well Things Were Run at Polling Places, by State, Continued[†]

| | 2008 | | 2012 | |
| | Very Well/Okay | | Very Well/Okay | |
	%	N	%	N
North Carolina	98.4	163	98.6	171
North Dakota	100.0	141	100.0	101
Ohio	97.6	150	95.1	139
Oklahoma	98.2	168	97.5	174
Oregon	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]
Pennsylvania	98.5	180	97.3	175
Rhode Island	98.2	182	95.9	177
South Carolina	97.7	156	93.7	160
South Dakota	100.0	176	98.0	169
Tennessee	98.1	179	96.4	170
Texas	98.7	158	98.1	173
Utah	98.8	165	98.1	145
Vermont	99.2	162	98.0	157
Virginia	97.3	175	96.5	171
Washington	100.0	32	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]
West Virginia	98.6	174	99.2	169
Wisconsin	98.0	170	96.4	167
Wyoming	100.0	165	99.8	169

[†] Question 8: "How well were things run at the polling place where you voted?" Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

[‡] Nearly all voters in Oregon cast their ballots by mail, as Washington voters did in 2012. The District of Columbia was not polled in 2008.

Problems with Voter Registration when Trying to Vote, by State[†]

| | 2008 | | 2012 | |
| | Yes | | Yes | |
	%	N	%	N
Alabama	1.4	175	13.7	174
Alaska	3.2	169	7.3	165
Arizona	8.7	92	20.1	68
Arkansas	0.0	178	14.2	170
California	5.2	96	7.9	95
Colorado	2.5	73	19.0	67
Connecticut	0.0	181	12.5	170
Delaware	1.9	187	7.2	190
District of Columbia	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]	43.3	178
Florida	2.9	144	42.2	131
Georgia	2.1	171	19.1	170
Hawaii	2.5	138	18.4	100
Idaho	3.9	149	10.2	148
Illinois	3.8	182	16.3	181
Indiana	2.1	183	19.8	168
Iowa	4.7	148	14.8	130
Kansas	2.5	155	17.0	158
Kentucky	0.0	179	12.0	170
Louisiana	1.5	179	21.8	162
Maine	2.1	153	1.2	145
Maryland	2.7	177	37.5	175
Massachusetts	0.0	183	12.4	182
Michigan	0.5	136	25.9	131
Minnesota	1.9	175	8.1	173
Mississippi	0.6	176	11.5	166
Missouri	2.3	173	14.0	167
Montana	0.7	124	17.3	88
Nebraska	1.1	150	9.5	142
Nevada	2.2	165	10.3	168
New Hampshire	1.3	180	11.9	181
New Jersey	1.9	170	6.6	165
New Mexico	2.8	148	10.7	158
New York	3.4	178	12.3	164

Problems with Voter Registration when Trying to Vote, by State, Continued[†]

	2008		2012	
	Yes		Yes	
	%	N	%	N
North Carolina	2.8	163	21.1	171
North Dakota	0.4	141	5.4	101
Ohio	3.6	151	17.2	139
Oklahoma	0.9	169	22.7	174
Oregon	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]
Pennsylvania	0.6	180	16.1	174
Rhode Island	3.5	182	20.5	176
South Carolina	4.7	156	33.9	159
South Dakota	0.9	176	7.1	168
Tennessee	0.7	179	19.7	169
Texas	0.5	158	14.6	174
Utah	2.1	164	17.0	145
Vermont	0.4	163	4.6	157
Virginia	0.0	175	30.8	172
Washington	6.6	32	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]
West Virginia	0.0	175	13.1	169
Wisconsin	1.2	171	9.5	167
Wyoming	2.7	163	8.1	169

[†] Question 9: "Was there a problem with your voter registration when you tried to vote?" Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

[‡] Nearly all voters in Oregon cast their ballots by mail, as Washington voters did in 2012. The District of Columbia was not polled in 2008.

Average Line Length, by State[†]

	2008		2012	
	Minutes	N	Minutes	N
Alabama	14	175	11	174
Alaska	6	169	4	165
Arizona	25	92	11	67
Arkansas	22	178	13	170
California	11	97	6	95
Colorado	15	73	6	67
Connecticut	10	181	9	171
Delaware	13	187	5	190
District of Columbia	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]	34	178
Florida	29	144	45	131
Georgia	34	171	18	170
Hawaii	6	138	7	100
Idaho	7	149	7	147
Illinois	10	183	12	181
Indiana	24	183	14	171
Iowa	5	148	8	130
Kansas	11	155	12	158
Kentucky	13	179	8	172
Louisiana	20	179	20	163
Maine	4	153	4	145
Maryland	26	177	29	173
Massachusetts	6	182	9	182
Michigan	20	137	22	131
Minnesota	10	176	6	172
Mississippi	12	176	8	167
Missouri	27	173	13	168
Montana	6	124	17	88
Nebraska	10	150	6	141
Nevada	12	164	9	168
New Hampshire	8	180	11	182
New Jersey	8	170	5	164
New Mexico	13	148	4	158
New York	9	178	10	166

Average Line Length, by State, Continued[†]

	2008		2012	
	Minutes	N	Minutes	N
North Carolina	23	163	14	171
North Dakota	5	141	8	101
Ohio	15	151	11	138
Oklahoma	23	169	16	174
Oregon	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]
Pennsylvania	16	180	9	175
Rhode Island	6	183	11	177
South Carolina	58	156	25	160
South Dakota	4	176	4	169
Tennessee	20	179	14	171
Texas	12	159	12	174
Utah	14	165	10	144
Vermont	3	163	2	158
Virginia	28	175	24	172
Washington	10	32	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]
West Virginia	16	175	10	169
Wisconsin	9	171	8	167
Wyoming	6	165	5	169

[†] Question 10: "Approximately, how long did you have to wait in line to vote?" Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

[‡] Nearly all voters in Oregon cast their ballots by mail, as Washington voters did in 2012. The District of Columbia was not polled in 2008.

Voting Equipment Problems, by State[†]

	2008		2012	
	Yes		Yes	
	%	N	%	N
Alabama	1.8	174	1.2	174
Alaska	0.4	169	1.2	165
Arizona	5.3	92	4.2	67
Arkansas	2.3	178	2.1	170
California	4.3	96	1.6	94
Colorado	1.7	73	2.3	67
Connecticut	4.5	181	4.0	168
Delaware	1.3	187	2.1	188
District of Columbia	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]	0.7	178
Florida	3.0	144	4.7	131
Georgia	2.4	172	0.0	169
Hawaii	0.9	137	2.9	99
Idaho	0.7	149	0.5	148
Illinois	3.3	183	2.0	181
Indiana	2.0	183	0.9	169
Iowa	2.3	147	5.4	128
Kansas	1.9	155	2.9	157
Kentucky	4.3	179	1.5	171
Louisiana	1.4	179	0.0	163
Maine	2.9	153	0.0	144
Maryland	3.2	177	3.5	172
Massachusetts	0.9	182	2.8	181
Michigan	2.1	137	0.0	132
Minnesota	1.5	176	0.9	170
Mississippi	3.2	176	1.6	167
Missouri	2.8	173	2.0	166
Montana	0.8	124	0.0	88
Nebraska	2.1	148	0.6	141
Nevada	1.5	165	0.0	169
New Hampshire	0.5	180	0.6	182
New Jersey	0.0	170	1.4	164
New Mexico	1.2	148	3.4	158
New York	2.7	178	2.0	166

Voting Equipment Problems, by State, Continued[†]

	2008		2012	
	Yes		Yes	
	%	N	%	N
North Carolina	0.6	162	2.5	170
North Dakota	0.4	141	0.0	101
Ohio	3.3	151	5.2	139
Oklahoma	1.5	169	3.2	174
Oregon	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]
Pennsylvania	1.7	179	1.6	173
Rhode Island	0.9	182	4.0	177
South Carolina	1.5	156	1.5	159
South Dakota	1.3	176	1.5	169
Tennessee	1.7	179	0.3	171
Texas	1.4	159	1.3	173
Utah	3.6	163	4.3	145
Vermont	2.4	163	2.0	158
Virginia	2.4	175	3.6	172
Washington	0.0	32	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]
West Virginia	2.4	174	1.9	169
Wisconsin	0.6	170	1.7	167
Wyoming	0.6	165	0.5	168

[†] Question 14: "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 in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

[‡] Nearly all voters in Oregon cast their ballots by mail, as Washington voters did in 2012. The District of Columbia was not polled in 2008.

Poll Worker Performance, by State[†]

	2008		2012	
	Excellent/Good		Excellent/Good	
	%	N	%	N
Alabama	96.7	175	97.7	174
Alaska	95.0	168	99.1	165
Arizona	95.2	91	79.7	67
Arkansas	99.6	178	91.2	170
California	88.4	97	94.9	95
Colorado	96.7	73	94.9	68
Connecticut	94.9	180	94.0	171
Delaware	97.4	187	95.2	190
District of Columbia	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]	83.0	178
Florida	96.2	145	92.9	132
Georgia	96.1	172	96.3	169
Hawaii	96.0	138	89.8	100
Idaho	96.1	149	92.9	148
Illinois	93.7	183	95.0	180
Indiana	94.2	183	95.2	171
Iowa	94.3	148	88.4	130
Kansas	95.5	154	98.2	158
Kentucky	96.1	179	89.9	172
Louisiana	94.7	179	95.2	162
Maine	96.3	152	98.8	144
Maryland	97.1	177	92.1	174
Massachusetts	96.6	182	95.9	182
Michigan	96.1	137	95.2	132
Minnesota	96.2	176	92.5	172
Mississippi	95.1	176	92.7	166
Missouri	94.9	173	95.7	167
Montana	98.3	122	98.3	87
Nebraska	96.7	150	95.3	139
Nevada	97.0	165	96.5	169
New Hampshire	99.5	179	93.9	182
New Jersey	96.1	170	91.8	164
New Mexico	91.3	148	94.7	158
New York	92.0	178	90.4	166

Poll Worker Performance, by State, Continued[†]

	2008		2012	
	Excellent/Good		Excellent/Good	
	%	N	%	N
North Carolina	95.3	163	95.1	171
North Dakota	98.5	141	98.9	101
Ohio	93.7	151	94.5	139
Oklahoma	96.0	168	94.3	174
Oregon	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]
Pennsylvania	97.8	180	89.9	175
Rhode Island	94.3	181	90.2	177
South Carolina	94.3	156	95.0	159
South Dakota	99.8	176	98.2	169
Tennessee	97.3	179	91.7	171
Texas	93.7	159	95.0	174
Utah	96.6	165	95.4	145
Vermont	99.3	162	95.8	158
Virginia	97.5	175	91.3	172
Washington	100.0	31	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]
West Virginia	96.0	174	95.8	169
Wisconsin	93.8	171	94.9	168
Wyoming	97.6	165	99.9	169

[†] Question 15: "Please rate the job performance of the poll workers at the polling place where you voted." Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

[‡] Nearly all voters in Oregon cast their ballots by mail, as Washington voters did in 2012. The District of Columbia was not polled in 2008.

Problems Getting Mail or Absentee Ballot, by State[†]

	2008		2012	
	Yes		Yes	
	%	N	%	N
Arizona	0.0	95	0.9	118
California	2.6	89	0.9	93
Colorado	5.0	114	1.3	122
Florida	2.7	40	3.4	53
Hawaii	3.3	47	0.6	83
Idaho	6.2	36	2.9	44
Iowa	2.1	41	0.9	60
Kansas	2.3	33	3.1	33
Maine	2.6	33	0.0	40
Michigan	0.0	46	2.5	46
Montana	0.0	67	1.1	99
Nebraska	2.5	42	0.0	46
New Mexico	0.0	47	9.1	29
New York	-	-	5.8	20
North Dakota	0.0	47	0.0	66
Ohio	6.4	43	1.0	49
Oregon	1.6	184	2.3	177
Utah	0.0	22	0.0	41
Vermont	0.0	27	0.0	26
Washington	1.4	158	0.0	177
Wyoming	0.0	31	0.0	20

[†] Question 19: "Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you?" Among absentee and mail voters. Cells representing fewer than 20 respondents are omitted. Also excluded are states lacking at least 20 respondents in 2012.

Ease Filling out Absentee Ballot, by State[†]

| | 2008 | | 2012 | |
| | Very/Somewhat Easy | | Very/Somewhat Easy | |
	%	N	%	N
Arizona	83.8	95	98.7	119
California	88.1	89	99.5	94
Colorado	77.6	115	99.4	122
Florida	76.0	41	97.2	53
Hawaii	-	-	100.0	83
Idaho	95.6	35	97.1	44
Iowa	82.5	40	100.0	60
Kansas	97.9	32	100.0	32
Maine	82.7	33	99.2	40
Michigan	89.5	46	91.1	46
Montana	88.4	66	98.5	99
Nebraska	93.0	42	100.0	46
New Mexico	67.7	47	100.0	28
North Dakota	83.4	47	99.2	67
Ohio	74.0	43	100.0	50
Oregon	88.9	184	100.0	177
Utah	82.9	22	100.0	41
Vermont	81.7	27	74.7	26
Washington	87.4	157	100.0	177
Wyoming	87.1	31	100.0	20

[†] Question 23: "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. Cells representing fewer than 20 respondents are omitted. Also excluded are states lacking at least 20 respondents in 2012.

Voter Confidence, by State[†]

	2008 Very/Somewhat Confident		2012 Very/Somewhat Confident	
	%	N	%	N
Alabama	97.1	186	87.8	177
Alaska	87.9	187	89.7	183
Arizona	93.5	183	86.3	178
Arkansas	92.9	182	86.6	170
California	89.8	178	88.9	183
Colorado	94.0	185	90.8	187
Connecticut	96.0	187	90.2	178
Delaware	96.1	192	89.7	182
District of Columbia	N/A[‡]	N/A[‡]	94.6	179
Florida	95.5	184	86.2	178
Georgia	96.3	184	94.9	170
Hawaii	96.3	185	90.1	178
Idaho	92.1	180	88.1	186
Illinois	96.2	186	90.7	184
Indiana	94.8	191	91.9	172
Iowa	95.9	187	90.6	181
Kansas	98.6	186	96.4	189
Kentucky	94.4	184	89.5	171
Louisiana	92.2	181	90.2	166
Maine	97.1	185	91.5	178
Maryland	93.6	191	89.3	174
Massachusetts	97.6	192	96.8	188
Michigan	96.1	181	92.0	172
Minnesota	96.2	188	90.5	183
Mississippi	97.0	183	91.5	172
Missouri	96.6	184	93.0	175
Montana	92.7	187	93.9	184
Nebraska	96.0	191	92.9	183
Nevada	96.4	185	88.6	179
New Hampshire	95.6	189	96.6	192
New Jersey	94.2	182	92.5	175
New Mexico	87.9	187	86.6	181
New York	94.8	188	84.0	178

Voter Confidence, by State, Continued[†]

	2008		2012	
	Very/Somewhat Confident		Very/Somewhat Confident	
	%	N	%	N
North Carolina	90.7	173	94.5	181
North Dakota	96.5	187	91.6	164
Ohio	92.4	190	88.1	179
Oklahoma	91.9	180	90.5	178
Oregon	92.2	186	85.6	181
Pennsylvania	96.5	188	90.5	181
Rhode Island	95.3	189	94.3	178
South Carolina	95.7	181	92.0	166
South Dakota	96.0	193	92.9	183
Tennessee	94.4	181	88.7	170
Texas	92.3	168	92.6	181
Utah	92.1	184	83.8	178
Vermont	100.0	188	94.9	181
Virginia	97.1	191	95.4	185
Washington	90.8	188	83.8	171
West Virginia	94.1	178	93.5	173
Wisconsin	96.6	190	92.9	183
Wyoming	96.0	193	86.5	187

[†] Question 25: "How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended?" Among all voters.

[‡] The District of Columbia was not polled in 2008.

Appendix 3.   Core Performance Questions, Nationwide Averages, By Demographic Categories

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

Race/Ethnicity

Reasons for Not Voting, by Race/Ethnicity[†]

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Native American	Mixed	Other
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
ID							
2008	8.2	23.6	28.3	78.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
2012	13.7	17.1	29.0	15.8	0.0	1.6	24.8
Illness							
2008	22.7	25.5	27.7	43.2	6.8	10.1	0.0
2012	29.5	20.2	34.5	22.2	5.1	15.9	17.6
Out of Town							
2008	16.2	30.5	24.1	72.4	36.8	3.5	0.0
2012	21.9	32.1	28.6	16.3	83.5	13.2	7.2
Forgot to Vote							
2008	8.5	14.4	20.3	61.1	13.1	0.0	0.0
2012	14.2	19.6	12.3	9.5	0.0	4.7	0.0
No Absentee Ballot							
2008	8.1	26.6	38.6	61.1	36.8	3.5	0.0
2012	13.1	13.2	12.2	17.4	81.4	5.2	0.0
Too Busy/Conflict							
2008	35.0	24.7	55.9	81.5	15.0	40.0	0.0
2012	34.0	28.8	51.4	38.4	8.0	32.2	0.0
Transportation							
2008	18.4	25.7	29.1	78.2	26.0	20.4	0.0
2012	26.4	25.8	18.1	45.7	0.5	27.8	7.2
Didn't Like Issues							
2008	47.4	35.1	46.2	67.1	17.3	17.6	29.1
2012	47.7	18.5	48.4	41.3	10.0	39.4	0.0
Registration							
2008	16.5	37.0	31.9	78.2	0.0	38.8	70.9
2012	12.9	22.9	20.0	13.9	0.0	0.0	13.4

Reasons for Not Voting, by Race/Ethnicity, Continued[†]

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Native American	Mixed	Other
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Weather							
2008	7.0	17.1	8.2	78.2	9.2	0.0	0.0
2012	9.3	17.6	17.5	23.7	0.0	0.7	17.6
Inconvenient							
2008	19.8	20.8	32.1	34.2	24.9	10.1	0.0
2012	18.2	10.8	15.8	13.2	4.6	14.4	0.0
Line Too Long							
2008	18.5	38.3	34.7	61.1	22.3	10.1	0.0
2012	13.8	16.9	22.1	10.6	4.6	10.0	0.0
Didn't Know Where							
2008	20.7	20.7	34.9	34.2	0.0	20.4	0.0
2012	17.9	14.5	26.6	14.9	0.0	16.6	0.0
Didn't Receive Ballot							
2008	13.3	27.5	36.5	78.2	15.0	3.5	70.9
2012	15.5	18.8	13.1	10.9	4.6	11.4	0.0

[†] Percentages responding that reason was a major or minor factor in not voting.

Difficulty Finding Polling Place, by Race/Ethnicity[†]

	2008	2012
	Very/Somewhat Difficult	Very/Somewhat Difficult
	%	%
White	1.4	2.5
Black	4.3	4.7
Hispanic	4.2	2.8
Asian	0.0	4.4
Native American	6.2	7.7
Mixed	4.7	4.2
Other	4.3	6.4

[†] Question 5: "How difficult was it to find your polling place to vote?" Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

How Well Things Were Run at Polling Places, by Race/Ethnicity[†]

	2008	2012
	Very Well/Okay	Very Well/Okay
	%	%
White	98.0	97.0
Black	97.0	96.2
Hispanic	99.0	95.7
Asian	99.0	97.9
Native American	94.0	98.9
Mixed	96.0	92.4
Other	99.0	90.1

[†] Question 8: "How well were things run at the polling place where you voted?" Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Problems with Voter Registration when Trying to Vote, by Race/Ethnicity[†]

	2008	2012
	Yes	Yes
	%	%
White	1.9	2.5
Black	3.8	3.7
Hispanic	4.1	4.3
Asian	0.3	2.1
Native American	1.6	2.2
Mixed	0.0	4.5
Other	1.9	3.0

[†] Question 9: "Was there a problem with your voter registration when you tried to vote?" Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Average Line Length, by Race/Ethnicity[†]

	2008	2012
	Minutes	Minutes
White	15	12
Black	29	20
Hispanic	17	20
Asian	12	12
Native American	10	12
Mixed	15	17
Other	15	11

[†] Question 10: "Approximately, how long did you have to wait in line to vote?" Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Voting Equipment Problems, by Race/Ethnicity[†]

	2008	2012
	Yes	Yes
	%	%
White	2.2	2.0
Black	2.9	1.4
Hispanic	1.5	3.3
Asian	1.4	0.0
Native American	0.4	4.0
Mixed	5.5	3.1
Other	2.1	9.4

[†] Question 14: "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 in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Poll Worker Performance, by Voter Race/Ethnicity[†]

	2008	2012
	Excellent/Good	Excellent/Good
	%	%
White	95.0	94.0
Black	94.0	94.3
Hispanic	92.0	91.2
Asian	98.0	98.3
Native American	95.0	92.8
Mixed	90.0	86.1
Other	96.0	78.8

[†] Question 15: "Please rate the job performance of the poll workers at the polling place where you voted." Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Problems Getting Mail/Absentee Ballot, by Race/Ethnicity[†]

	2008	2012
	Yes	Yes
	%	%
White	1.6	1.8
Black	7.5	0.0
Hispanic	3.1	0.0
Asian	1.7	0.0
Native American	19.2	12.3
Mixed	5.8	0.0
Other	0.0	8.9

[†] Question 19: "Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you?" Among absentee and mail voters.

Ease Filling out Absentee Ballot, by Race/Ethnicity[†]

	2008	2012
	Very/Somewhat Easy	Very/Somewhat Easy
	%	%
White	98.0	98.5
Black	99.0	100.0
Hispanic	99.0	100.0
Asian	100.0	98.8
Native American	81.0	69.8
Mixed	93.0	100.0
Other	100.0	97.3

[†] Question 23: "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.

Voter Confidence, by Race/Ethnicity[†]

	2008	2012
	Very/Somewhat Confident	Very/Somewhat Confident
	%	%
White	91.0	90.1
Black	95.0	93.9
Hispanic	81.0	89.3
Asian	98.0	88.9
Native American	80.0	74.0
Mixed	98.0	91.6
Other	64.0	78.2

[†] Question 25: "How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended?" Among all voters.

Sex

Reasons for Not Voting, by Sex[†]

	Male	Female
	%	%
ID		
2008	15.1	13.5
2012	20.5	11.7
Illness		
2008	23.0	24.1
2012	29.7	26.8
Out of Town		
2008	27.6	15.5
2012	31.8	20.4
Forgot to Vote		
2008	18.0	7.9
2012	16.6	12.1
No Absentee Ballot		
2008	21.0	13.6
2012	16.5	13.1
Too Busy/Conflict		
2008	39.4	35.0
2012	35.6	33.8
Transportation		
2008	26.9	18.8
2012	27.4	23.8
Didn't Like Issues		
2008	51.1	41.1
2012	37.7	46.6
Registration		
2008	29.5	18.2
2012	19.2	10.8

Reasons for Not Voting, by Sex, Continued[†]

	Male	Female
	%	%
Weather		
2008	13.4	6.9
2012	16.8	7.2
Inconvenient		
2008	28.1	18.4
2012	17.9	15.7
Line Too Long		
2008	32.8	19.4
2012	18.3	12.1
Didn't Know Where		
2008	24.4	21.1
2012	20.7	16.0
Didn't Receive Ballot		
2008	24.3	17.2
2012	14.8	15.3

[†] Percentages responding that reason was a major or minor factor in not voting.

Difficulty Finding Polling Place, by Sex[†]

	2008	2012
	Very/Somewhat Difficult	Very/Somewhat Difficult
	%	%
Male	1.2	3.1
Female	1.9	2.7

[†] Question 5: "How difficult was it to find your polling place to vote?" Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

How Well Things Were Run at Polling Places, by Sex[†]

	2008	2012
	Very Well/Okay	Very Well/Okay
	%	%
Male	98.0	96.8
Female	98.0	96.7

[†] Question 8: "How well were things run at the polling place where you voted?" Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Problems with Voter Registration when Trying to Vote, by Sex[†]

	2008	2012
	Yes	Yes
	%	%
Male	1.8	2.2
Female	2.6	3.2

[†] Question 9: "Was there a problem with your voter registration when you tried to vote?" Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Average Line Length, by Sex[†]

	2008	2012
	Minutes	Minutes
Male	16	14
Female	17	14

[†] Question 10: "Approximately, how long did you have to wait in line to vote?" Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Voting Equipment Problems, by Sex[†]

	2008	2012
	Yes	Yes
	%	%
Male	2.1	2.2
Female	2.4	1.9

[†] Question 14: "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 in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Poll Worker Performance, by Sex[†]

	2008	2012
	Excellent/Good	Excellent/Good
	%	%
Male	95.0	93.4
Female	95.0	94.0

[†] Question 15: "Please rate the job performance of the poll workers at the polling place where you voted." Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Problems Getting Mail or Absentee Ballot, by Sex[†]

	2008	2012
	Yes	Yes
	%	%
Male	1.7	1.7
Female	2.7	1.5

[†] Question 19: "Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you?" Among absentee and mail voters.

Ease Filling out Absentee Ballot, by Sex[†]

	2008	2012
	Very/Somewhat Easy	Very/Somewhat Easy
	%	%
Male	98.0	98.7
Female	98.0	98.6

[†] Question 23: "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.

Voter Confidence, by Sex[†]

	2008	2012
	Very/Somewhat Confident	Very/Somewhat Confident
	%	%
Male	92.0	91.6
Female	90.0	89.0

[†] Question 25: "How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended?" Among all voters.

Age

Reasons for Not Voting, by Age[†]

	18-30	31-60	61+
	%	%	%
ID			
2008	17.9	12.4	0.0
2012	17.3	15.6	0.0
Illness			
2008	26.4	21.4	25.4
2012	26.3	27.3	40.9
Out of Town			
2008	31.4	12.8	4.3
2012	34.7	20.5	8.0
Forgot to Vote			
2008	20.2	5.9	0.0
2012	23.3	9.3	2.8
No Absentee Ballot			
2008	24.9	10.9	4.8
2012	20.9	11.5	5.4
Too Busy/Conflict			
2008	56.8	24.1	6.7
2012	45.1	30.6	12.0
Transportation			
2008	31.7	15.9	3.3
2012	32.7	22.2	11.6
Didn't Like Issues			
2008	41.2	46.4	52.0
2012	43.0	43.7	38.8
Registration			
2008	28.7	18.8	6.0
2012	15.1	14.7	4.6

Reasons for Not Voting, by Age, Continued[†]

	18-30	31-60	61+
	%	%	%
Weather			
2008	15.6	5.2	0.0
2012	15.1	8.4	10.5
Inconvenient			
2008	32.6	15.7	4.9
2012	19.9	13.9	20.9
Line Too Long			
2008	36.9	16.4	11.1
2012	15.5	14.0	14.7
Didn't Know Where			
2008	35.9	14.5	0.6
2012	22.7	16.7	2.0
Didn't Receive Ballot			
2008	24.1	17.8	6.0
2012	17.7	14.7	5.7

[†] Percentages responding that reason was a major or minor factor in not voting.

Difficulty Finding Polling Place, by Age[†]

	2008	2012
	Very/Somewhat Difficult	Very/Somewhat Difficult
	%	%
18-30	3.8	4.9
31-60	2.0	3.1
61+	0.7	1.0

[†] Question 5: "How difficult was it to find your polling place to vote?" Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

How Well Things Were Run at Polling Places, by Age[†]

	2008	2012
	Very Well/Okay	Very Well/Okay
	%	%
18-30	98.0	95.3
31-60	98.0	96.8
61+	99.0	97.7

[†] Question 8: "How well were things run at the polling place where you voted?" Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Problems with Voter Registration when Trying to Vote, by Age[†]

	2008	2012
	Yes	Yes
	%	%
18-30	96.0	4.4
31-60	98.0	2.8
61+	99.6	1.6

[†] Question 9: "Was there a problem with your voter registration when you tried to vote?" Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Average Line Length, by Age[†]

	2008	2012
	Minutes	Minutes
18-30	18	16
31-60	17	14
61+	14	11

[†] Question 10: "Approximately, how long did you have to wait in line to vote?" Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Voting Equipment Problems, by Age[†]

	2008	2012
	Yes	Yes
	%	%
18-30	2.4	1.4
31-60	2.0	2.4
61+	2.8	1.9

[†] Question 14: "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 in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Poll Worker Performance, by Age[†]

	2008	2012
	Excellent/Good	Excellent/Good
	%	%
18-30	93.0	93.6
31-60	94.0	92.6
61+	98.0	96.3

[†] Question 15: "Please rate the job performance of the poll workers at the polling place where you voted." Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Problems Getting Mail or Absentee Ballot, by Age[†]

	2008	2012
	Yes	Yes
	%	%
18-30	2.6	1.2
31-60	2.7	2.4
61+	1.3	0.6

[†] Question 19: "Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you?" Among absentee and mail voters.

Ease Filling out Absentee Ballot, by Age[†]

	2008	2012
	Very/Somewhat Easy	Very/Somewhat Easy
	%	%
18-30	97.0	97.7
31-60	99.0	98.7
61+	98.0	99.2

[†] Question 23: "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.

Voter Confidence, by Age[†]

	2008	2012
	Very/Somewhat Confident	Very/Somewhat Confident
	%	%
18-30	89.0	91.2
31-60	90.0	88.7
61+	92.0	92.7

[†] Question 25: "How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended?" Among all voters.

Party

Reasons for Not Voting, by Party ID[†]

	Democrat	Republican	Independent
	%	%	%
ID			
2008	15.5	8.7	12.2
2012	14.2	17.7	13.9
Illness			
2008	23.0	22.4	21.3
2012	29.3	20.1	29.8
Out of Town			
2008	22.6	18.8	12.5
2012	32.0	13.6	24.4
Forgot to Vote			
2008	14.1	10.1	7.3
2012	10.2	15.6	10.9
No Absentee Ballot			
2008	17.5	11.6	8.1
2012	17.7	12.2	11.1
Too Busy/Conflict			
2008	33.9	43.8	32.2
2012	29.5	45.3	29.6
Transportation			
2008	30.0	9.4	18.3
2012	29.2	20.3	25.3
Didn't Like Issues			
2008	38.9	49.9	49.5
2012	29.6	46.5	55.7
Registration			
2008	27.3	27.9	18.6
2012	16.8	12.6	11.3

Reasons for Not Voting, by Party ID, Continued[†]

	Democrat	Republican	Independent
	%	%	%
Weather			
2008	11.7	6.7	7.9
2012	13.8	9.0	8.0
Inconvenient			
2008	21.2	26.7	19.9
2012	17.9	13.8	17.1
Line Too Long			
2008	28.0	17.9	22.0
2012	15.8	13.9	10.7
Didn't Know Where			
2008	21.4	21.1	19.4
2012	16.8	18.3	14.4
Didn't Receive Ballot			
2008	20.2	15.4	17.8
2012	17.2	11.0	10.4

[†] Percentages responding that reason was a major or minor factor in not voting.

Difficulty Finding Polling Place, by Party ID[†]

	2008	2012
	Very/Somewhat Difficult	Very/Somewhat Difficult
	%	%
Democrat	2.7	3.4
Republican	1.2	1.6
Independent	1.6	3.6

[†] Question 5: "How difficult was it to find your polling place to vote?" Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

How Well Things Were Run at Polling Places, by Party ID[†]

	2008	2012
	Very/Somewhat Difficult	Very/Somewhat Difficult
	%	%
Democrat	98.0	96.9
Republican	98.0	97.0
Independent	98.0	96.4

[†] Question 8: "How well were things run at the polling place where you voted?" Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Problems with Voter Registration when Trying to Vote, by Party ID[†]

	2008	2012
	Yes	Yes
	%	%
Democrat	1.7	3.4
Republican	2.4	2.2
Independent	2.6	2.5

[†] Question 9: "Was there a problem with your voter registration when you tried to vote?" Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Average Line Length, by Party ID[†]

	2008	2012
	Minutes	Minutes
Democrat	18	15
Republican	15	12
Independent	16	15

[†] Question 10: "Approximately, how long did you have to wait in line to vote?" Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Voting Equipment Problems, by Party ID[†]

	2008	2012
	Yes	Yes
	%	%
Democrat	2.9	1.6
Republican	1.6	1.4
Independent	2.0	3.4

[†] Question 14: "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 in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Poll Worker Performance, by Party ID[†]

	2008	2012
	Excellent/Good	Excellent/Good
	%	%
Democrat	95.0	94.5
Republican	95.0	93.9
Independent	95.0	92.5

[†] Question 15: "Please rate the job performance of the poll workers at the polling place where you voted." Among in-person voters (on Election Day and early).

Problems Getting Mail or Absentee Ballot, by Party ID[†]

	2008	2012
	Yes	Yes
	%	%
Democrat	2.5	2.3
Republican	0.9	1.3
Independent	3.6	0.9

[†] Question 19: "Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you?" Among absentee and mail voters.

Ease Filling out Absentee Ballot, by Party ID[†]

	2008	2012
	Very/Somewhat Easy	Very/Somewhat Easy
	%	%
Democrat	98.0	98.6
Republican	99.7	99.2
Independent	97.0	98.8

[†] Question 23: "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.

Voter Confidence, by Party ID[†]

	2008	2012
	Very/Somewhat Confident	Very/Somewhat Confident
	%	%
Democrat	93.0	96.7
Republican	90.0	85.5
Independent	87.0	87.6

[†] Question 25: "How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended?" Among all voters.

Appendix 4.   Questionnaire and Unweighted Frequencies for Responses

The frequencies below are unweighted. They should not be used to produce state or national estimates. They are included here as references, for those using the raw survey dataset.

Q1. Vote

Which of the following statements best describes you?

	Frequency	%
I did not vote in the election this November	405	4.0
I thought about voting this time, but didn't	153	1.5
I usually vote, but didn't this time	211	2.1
I tried to vote, but was not allowed to when I tried	35	0.3
I tried to vote, but it ended up being too much trouble	60	0.6
I definitely voted in the November General Election	9,336	91.5
Total	10,200	100

Q2. Reason for Not Voting

1 = "Not a factor"; 3 = "A major factor"; "I don't know" excluded.

	Mean	SD	N
I did not have the right kind of identification	1.2	0.6	819
Illness or disability (own or family's)	1.4	0.8	825
Out of town or away from home	1.4	0.8	828
I forgot to vote	1.2	0.5	822
I requested but did not receive an absentee ballot	1.2	0.5	826
I was too busy/had a conflicting work, family, or school schedule	1.6	0.8	828
Transportation problems	1.4	0.7	828
I didn't like the candidates or campaign issues	1.7	0.9	824
There were problems with my registration	1.2	0.6	817
Bad weather	1.1	0.5	828
The polling place hours, or location, were inconvenient	1.3	0.6	823
The line at the polls was too long	1.2	0.6	817
I did not know where to vote	1.2	0.6	825
I did not receive my ballot in the mail, or it arrived too late for me to vote	1.2	0.6	820

Q3. First Time Voter

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

	Frequency	%
I am a first time voter	448	4.8
I have voted in elections before	8,962	95.0
I don't know	20	0.2
Total	9,430	100

Q4. 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	%
In person on Election Day (at polling place or precinct)	5,979	63.4
In person before Election Day (early)	1,654	17.5
Voted by mail (or absentee)	1,770	18.8
I don't know	27	0.3
Total	9,430	100

Q5. Difficulty Finding Polling Place

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

	Frequency	%
Very difficult	37	0.5
Somewhat difficult	195	2.6
Fairly easy	763	10.0
Very easy	6,635	87.0
Total	7,630	100

Q6. Polling Place Type
How would you describe the place where you voted?

	Frequency	%
Private business	84	1.1
School building	2,137	28.0
Church	1,220	16.0
Police/Fire Station	455	6.0
A store or shopping mall	164	2.1
Senior center	214	2.8
Community center	1,182	15.5
Library	322	4.2
Other government office (court house, municipal building, city hall, etc.)	1,398	18.3
Other	424	5.6
I don't remember	37	0.5
Total	7,637	100

Q7. Knew Poll Worker
Did you personally know the person who checked you in when you arrived to vote?

	Frequency	%
Yes	1,212	15.9
No	6,381	83.6
I don't know	24	0.3
I don't remember	20	0.3
Total	7,637	100

Q8. How Well Polling Place Was Run
How well were things run at the polling place where you voted?

	Frequency	%
Very well—I did not see any problems at the polling place	6,029	79.3
Okay—I saw some minor problems, but nothing that interfered with people voting	1,321	17.4
Not well—I saw some minor problems that affected the ability of a few people to vote	176	2.3
Terrible—I saw some major problems that affected the ability of many people to vote	74	1.0
Total	7,600	100

Q9. Problem with Voter Registration

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

	Frequency	%
Yes	208	2.7
No	7,392	97.3
Total	7,600	100

Q10. Line Length

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

	Frequency	%
Not at all	3,037	39.8
Less than 10 minutes	2,394	31.4
10-30 minutes	1,375	18.0
31 minutes – 1 hour	593	7.8
More than 1 hour	211	2.8
I don't know	24	0.3
Total	7,634	100

Q11. 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	%
Most of my wait was to check in to vote.	2,815	61.2
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.	901	19.6
My wait in line was fairly evenly divided between checking in and waiting to cast my ballot.	833	18.1
I don't remember.	48	1.0
Total	4,597	100

Q12. Identification

When you first checked in at the polling place to vote, which of the following statements most closely describes how you were asked to identify yourself?

	Frequency	%
I gave my name and address, but did not show any identification of any kind.	1,997	26.2
I showed a letter, a bill, or something else with my name and address on it, but it was not an identification card of any sort.	63	0.8
I showed my voter registration card.	1,130	14.8
I showed my driver's license or state-issued photo ID.	4,134	54.2
I showed my passport.	40	0.5
I showed a military ID card.	59	0.8
I showed some other form of identification.	135	1.8
I don't remember.	74	1.0
Total	7,632	100

Q13. Identification 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	%
I was asked specifically for an ID card with a picture on it	2,126	50.2
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	1,901	44.9
I don't know	204	4.8
Total	4,231	100

Q14. 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	%
Yes	152	2.0
No	7,436	98.0
Total	7,588	100

Q15. Poll Worker Performance

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

	Frequency	%
Excellent	5,099	67.0
Good	2,036	26.8
Fair	402	5.3
Poor	70	0.9
Total	7,607	100

Q16. Race/Ethnicity of Poll Worker

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

	Frequency	%
African-American	982	12.9
Native American	38	0.5
Asian	82	1.1
White	5,476	71.8
Hispanic	186	2.4
Other/multi-racial	97	1.3
I don't recall the race of my poll worker	564	7.4
I don't know	207	2.7
Total	7,632	100

Q17. Age of Poll Worker

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

	Frequency	%
Under 30	348	4.6
Between 31 and 50	1,968	25.8
Between 51 and 70	4,079	53.4
Older than 70	512	6.7
I don't know	725	9.5
Total	7,632	100

Q18. Reason for Absentee Ballot

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

	Frequency	%
My state or locality only has vote-by-mail.	275	15.5
I have signed up to receive a mail or absentee ballot automatically in each election.	485	27.4
Voting by mail or absentee was just more convenient for me this election	431	24.3
I was out of town for this election	185	10.4
I have a physical disability that makes it difficult for me to get to the polls	161	9.1
I could not get to the polls on Election Day because of my work or school schedul	101	5.7
I am in the armed forces	19	1.1
I was an election official or poll worker	45	2.5
Other	69	3.9
Total	1,771	100

Q19. Problems Getting Mail Ballot

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

	Frequency	%
Yes	29	1.6
No	1,736	98.4
Total	1,765	100

Q20. Problems Marking Mail Ballot

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

	Frequency	%
Yes	18	1.0
No	1,745	99.0
Total	1,763	100

Q21. How Returned

How did you return your absentee or mail ballot?

	Frequency	%
I personally mailed it back in.	1,166	65.9
Someone else in my household mailed it back in.	113	6.4
I personally returned the ballot to an official election location (polling place, election office, early voting center, etc.)	361	20.4
Someone else in my household returned the ballot to an official election location	85	4.8
Other	41	2.3
I don't remember	4.0	0.2
Total	1,770	100

Q22. When Returned

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

	Frequency	%
On Election Day	62	3.5
A few days before Election Day	259	14.6
The week before Election Day	388	21.9
More than a week before Election Day	1,041	58.8
I don't remember	20	1.1
Total	1,770	100

Q23. 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?

	Frequency	%
Very easy	1,493	84.6
Somewhat easy	248	14.1
Somewhat hard	20	1.1
Very hard	3.0	0.2
Total	1,764	100

Q24. Presidential Vote

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

	Frequency	%
Mitt Romney (Republican)	4,269	45.8
Barack Obama (Democrat)	4,566	48.9
Other candidate or party	404	4.3
I did not vote in this race	23	0.2
I don't know	69	0.7
Total	9,331	100

Q25. Confidence

1 = "Very confident"; 4 = "Not at all confident"; "Don't know" responses omitted.

	Mean	SD	N
How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended?	1.5	0.8	9,106
Think about vote counting throughout your county or city, and not just your own personal situation. How confident are you that votes in your county or city were counted as voters intended?	1.6	0.8	9,805
Now, think about vote counting throughout $inputstate. How confident are you that votes in $inputstate were counted as voters intended?	1.8	0.8	9,770
Finally, think about vote counting throughout the country. How confident are you that votes nationwide were counted as voters intended?	2.3	1.0	9,788

Q29. Voter Fraud

The following is a list of activities that are usually against the law. Please indicate how often you think these activities occur in your county or city. (1 = "It is very common"; 4 = "It almost never occurs"; "Don't know" responses omitted.)

	Mean	SD	N
People voting more than once in an election	3.1	1.1	8,121
People stealing or tampering with ballots that have been voted	3.1	1.0	8,014
People pretending to be someone else when going to vote	3.0	1.1	8,069
People voting who are not U.S. citizens	2.8	1.2	8,093
People voting an absentee ballot intended for another person	2.8	1.1	7,688
Officials changing the reported vote count in a way that is not a true reflection of the ballots that were actually counted	3.1	1.1	7,854

Q30. Driver's License

Do you have a driver's license?

	Frequency	%
Yes	9,430	92.5
No	765	7.5
I don't know	4.0	0.0
Total	10,199	100

Q30A. Driver's License Expired

Is your driver's license expired?

	Frequency	%
Yes	136	1.4
No	9,281	98.4
I don't know	15	0.2
Total	9,432	100

Q30B. Driver's License Legal Name

Is the name on your driver's license the same name you are registered to vote under?

	Frequency	%
Yes	9,303	98.6
No	90	1.0
I don't know	38	0.4
Total	9,431	100

Q30C. Driver's License Address

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

	Frequency	%
Yes	8,475	89.9
No	880	9.3
I don't know	71	0.8
Total	9,426	100

Q31. Passport

Do you have a U.S. passport?

	Frequency	%
Yes	4,271	41.9
No	5,884	57.7
I don't know	45	0.4
Total	10,200	100

Q31A. Passport Expired

Is your passport expired?

	Frequency	%
Yes	475	11.1
No	3,711	86.9
I don't know	85	2.0
Total	4,271	100

Q31B. Passport Legal Name

Is the name on your passport the same name you are registered to vote under?

	Frequency	%
Yes	4,095	95.9
No	146	3.4
I don't know	30	0.7
Total	4,271	100

Q32. Birth Certificate

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

	Frequency	%
Yes	8,624	84.5
No	1,186	11.6
I don't know	390	3.8
Total	10,200	100

Q33. Other ID

The following is a list of ID cards that people sometimes have. Please indicate which of the following you have personally, and whether it has a picture. (Check all that apply.)

	Frequency	%
A public assistance ID card issued by $inputstate		
I have this ID with a picture	794	7.8
I have this ID without a picture	453	4.5
I don't have this ID at all	8,915	87.7
Total	10,162	100.0
A military ID card		
I have this ID with a picture	844	8.3
I have this ID without a picture	136	1.3
I don't have this ID at all	9,182	90.4
Total	10,162	100.0
An ID card issued by a state or local government outside of $inputstate		
I have this ID with a picture	1,007	9.9
I have this ID without a picture	125	1.2
I don't have this ID at all	9,029	88.9
Total	10,161	100.0
An ID card from a Native American tribe		
I have this ID with a picture	103	1.0
I have this ID without a picture	125	1.2
I don't have this ID at all	9,928	97.8
Total	10,156	100.0
An ID card from a private college or university within $inputstate		
I have this ID with a picture	554	5.5
I have this ID without a picture	122	1.2
I don't have this ID at all	9,484	93.3
Total	10,160	100.0
An ID card from a private college or university outside of $inputstate		
I have this ID with a picture	295	2.9
I have this ID without a picture	125	1.2
I don't have this ID at all	9,738	95.9
Total	10,158	100.0
An ID card from a state college or university within $inputstate		
I have this ID with a picture	963	9.5
I have this ID without a picture	153	1.5
I don't have this ID at all	9,041	89.0
Total	10,157	100.0
An ID card from a state college or university outside of $inputstate		
I have this ID with a picture	283	2.8
I have this ID without a picture	103	1.0
I don't have this ID at all	9,770	96.2
Total	10,156	100.0

Q33. Other ID, Continued

The following is a list of ID cards that people sometimes have. Please indicate which of the following you have personally, and whether it has a picture. (Check all that apply.)

	Frequency	%
A license to carry a firearm issued by $inputstate		
I have this ID with a picture	656	6.5
I have this ID without a picture	372	3.7
I don't have this ID at all	9,125	89.9
Total	10,153	100.0
A voter registration card issued by $inputstate		
I have this ID with a picture	1,167	11.5
I have this ID without a picture	4,877	48.0
I don't have this ID at all	4,127	40.6
Total	10,171	100.0
An ID card issued by an agency or department of the federal government that you have not already indicated		
I have this ID with a picture	918	9.0
I have this ID without a picture	565	5.6
I don't have this ID at all	8,676	85.4
Total	10,159	100.0
An ID card issued by an agency or department of the state of $inputstate that you have not already indicated		
I have this ID with a picture	1,574	15.5
I have this ID without a picture	362	3.6
I don't have this ID at all	8,230	81.0
Total	10,166	100.0
An ID card issued by an agency of a local government in $inputstate that you have not already indicated		
I have this ID with a picture	557	5.5
I have this ID without a picture	233	2.3
I don't have this ID at all	9,371	92.2
Total	10,161	100.0

Q34. Reform Proposals

Do you support or oppose any of the following proposals for new ways of voting or conducting elections?
(1 = "Support Strongly"; 4 = "Oppose Strongly")

	Mean	SD	N
Allow absentee voting over the Internet	2.9	1.1	10,175
Voting using cell phones	3.4	0.9	10,177
Run all elections by mail	3.2	1.0	10,175
Automatically register all citizens over 18 to vote	2.4	1.2	10,183
Allow people to register on Election Day at the polls	2.5	1.2	10,180
Require all people to show government issued photo ID when they vote	1.9	1.1	10,186
Require electronic voting machines to print a paper backup of the ballot	1.7	0.9	10,184
Move Election Day to a weekend	2.5	1.1	10,177
Make Election Day a national holiday	2.3	1.2	10,181
Only select election officials on a non-partisan basis	2.1	1.0	10,171
Make it so that when a registered voter moves, he or she is automatically registered to vote at the new home	2.0	1.0	10,189

Q35. Address Is Changed When I Move

To the best of your knowledge, when you move, do election officials or the U.S. Postal Service automatically update your voter registration?

	Frequency	%
Yes	642	6.3
No	6,792	66.6
I don't know	2,764	27.1
Total	10,198	100

Q36. Register at DMV

To the best of your knowledge, can you register to vote or update your existing voter registration in the state motor vehicle agency in $inputstate?

	Frequency	%
Yes	4,897	48.0
No	1,407	13.8
I don't know	3,892	38.2
Total	10,196	100

Q37. Disability

Does a health problem, disability, or handicap CURRENTLY keep you from participating fully in work, school, housework, or other activities?

	Frequency	%
Yes	2,131	20.9
No	8,066	79.1
Total	10,197	100

Appendix 5. Questionnaire and Weighted Frequencies for Responses

The frequencies below are weighted to be nationally representative.

Q1. Vote

Which of the following statements best describes you?

	Frequency	%
I did not vote in the election this November	434	4.3
I thought about voting this time, but didn't	166	1.6
I usually vote, but didn't this time	229	2.2
I tried to vote, but was not allowed to when I tried	44	0.4
I tried to vote, but it ended up being too much trouble	53	0.5
I definitely voted in the November General Election	9,274	90.9
Total	10,200	100

Q2. Reason for Not Voting

1 = "Not a factor"; 3 = "A major factor"; "I don't know" excluded.

	Mean	SD	N
I did not have the right kind of identification	1.2	0.6	819
Illness or disability (own or family's)	1.5	0.8	825
Out of town or away from home	1.4	0.8	828
I forgot to vote	1.2	0.5	822
I requested but did not receive an absentee ballot	1.2	0.6	826
I was too busy/had a conflicting work, family, or school schedule	1.6	0.8	828
Transportation problems	1.4	0.7	828
I didn't like the candidates or campaign issues	1.7	0.9	824
There were problems with my registration	1.2	0.6	817
Bad weather	1.2	0.5	828
The polling place hours, or location, were inconvenient	1.3	0.6	823
The line at the polls was too long	1.2	0.6	817
I did not know where to vote	1.3	0.6	825
I did not receive my ballot in the mail, or it arrived too late for me to vote	1.3	0.6	820

Q3. First Time Voter

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

	Frequency	%
I am a first time voter	546	5.8
I have voted in elections before	8,867	94.0
I don't know	17	0.2
Total	9,430	100

Q4. 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	%
In person on Election Day (at polling place or precinct)	5,765	61.1
In person before Election Day (early)	1,668	17.7
Voted by mail (or absentee)	1,972	20.9
I don't know	25	0.3
Total	9,430	100

Q5. Difficulty Finding Polling Place

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

	Frequency	%
Very difficult	37	0.5
Somewhat difficult	184	2.4
Fairly easy	852	11.2
Very easy	6,558	85.9
Total	7,630	100

Q6. Polling Place Type

How would you describe the place where you voted?

	Frequency	%
Private business	69	0.9
School building	1,977	25.9
Church	1,340	17.5
Police/Fire Station	506	6.6
A store or shopping mall	127	1.7
Senior center	186	2.4
Community center	1,206	15.8
Library	443	5.8
Other government office (court house, municipal building, city hall, etc.)	1,283	16.8
Other	471	6.2
I don't remember	31	0.4
Total	7,637	100

Q7. Knew Poll Worker

How would you describe the place where you voted?

	Frequency	%
Yes	988	12.9
No	6,595	86.4
I don't know	39	0.5
I don't remember	15	0.2
Total	7,637	100

Q8. How Well Polling Place Was Run

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

	Frequency	%
Very well—I did not see any problems at the polling place	5,929	78.0
Okay—I saw some minor problems, but nothing that interfered with people voting	1,417	18.6
Not well—I saw some minor problems that affected the ability of a few people to vote	182	2.4
Terrible—I saw some major problems that affected the ability of many people to vote	72	0.9
Total	7,600	100

Q9. Problem with Voter Registration

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

	Frequency	%
Yes	209	2.8
No	7,391	97.2
Total	7,600	100

Q10. Line Length

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

	Frequency	%
Not at all	2,785	36.5
Less than 10 minutes	2,336	30.6
10-30 minutes	1,531	20.1
31 minutes – 1 hour	687	9.0
More than 1 hour	248	3.3
I don't know	36	0.5
Total	7,623	100

Q11. 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	%
Most of my wait was to check in to vote.	2,852	62.2
Most of my wait was after I had checked in, and I was waiting to gain access to a	880	19.2
My wait in line was fairly evenly divided between checking in and waiting to cast	784	17.1
I don't remember.	70	1.5
Total	4,586	100

Q12. Identification

When you first checked in at the polling place to vote, which of the following statements most closely describes how you were asked to identify yourself?

	Frequency	%
I gave my name and address, but did not show any identification of any kind.	2,056	27.0
I showed a letter, a bill, or something else with my name and address on it, but it	81	1.1
I showed my voter registration card.	1,280	16.8
I showed my driver's license or state-issued photo ID.	3,849	50.5
I showed my passport.	41	0.5
I showed a military ID card.	72	0.9
I showed some other form of identification.	152	2.0
I don't remember.	91	1.2
Total	7,621	100

Q13. Identification 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	%
I was asked specifically for an ID card with a picture on it	2,117	50.1
I showed a picture ID card because it was convenient for me; I could have shown	1,915	45.3
I don't know	192	4.5
Total	4,224	100

Q14. 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	%
Yes	157	2.1
No	7,421	97.9
Total	7,578	100

Q15. Poll Worker Performance

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

	Frequency	%
Excellent	5,010	66.0
Good	2,106	27.7
Fair	406	5.3
Poor	74	1.0
Total	7,596	100

Q16. Race/Ethnicity of Poll Worker

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

	Frequency	%
African-American	1,161	15.2
Native American	25	0.3
Asian	140	1.8
White	5,244	68.8
Hispanic	333	4.4
Other/multi-racial	83	1.1
I don't recall the race of my poll worker	469	6.1
I don't know	168	2.2
Total	7,621	100

Q17. Age of Poll Worker

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

	Frequency	%
Under 30	417	5.5
Between 31 and 50	2,033	26.7
Between 51 and 70	3,909	51.3
Older than 70	499	6.5
I don't know	763	10.0
Total	7,621	100

Q18. Reason for Absentee Ballot

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

	Frequency	%
My state or locality only has vote-by-mail.	226	12.8
I have signed up to receive a mail or absentee ballot automatically in each electi	529	29.9
Voting by mail or absentee was just more convenient for me this election	404	22.8
I was out of town for this election	196	11.1
I have a physical disability that makes it difficult for me to get to the polls	160	9.1
I could not get to the polls on Election Day because of my work or school sched	118	6.7
I am in the armed forces	31	1.7
I was an election official or poll worker	50	2.8
Other	57	3.2
Total	1,771	100

Q19. Problems Getting Mail Ballot

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

	Frequency	%
Yes	28	1.6
No	1,737	98.4
Total	1,765	100

Q20. Problems Marking Mail Ballot

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

	Frequency	%
Yes	16	0.9
No	1,747	99.1
Total	1,763	100

Q21. How Returned

How did you return your absentee or mail ballot?

	Frequency	%
I personally mailed it back in.	1,229	69.4
Someone else in my household mailed it back in.	95	5.3
I personally returned the ballot to an official election location (polling place, electio	346	19.6
Someone else in my household returned the ballot to an official election location	68	3.9
Other	24	1.4
I don't remember	7.0	0.4
Total	1,770	100

Q22. When Returned

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

	Frequency	%
On Election Day	89	5.0
A few days before Election Day	253	14.3
The week before Election Day	357	20.2
More than a week before Election Day	1,053	59.5
I don't remember	17	1.0
Total	1,770	100

Q23. 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?

	Frequency	%
Very easy	1,469	83.3
Somewhat easy	272	15.4
Somewhat hard	23	1.3
Very hard	1.0	0.1
Total	1,764	100

Q24. Presidential Vote

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

	Frequency	%
Mitt Romney (Republican)	4,300	46.1
Barack Obama (Democrat)	4,580	49.1
Other candidate or party	342	3.7
I did not vote in this race	19	0.2
I don't know	90	1.0
Total	9,331	100

Q25. Confidence

1 = "Very confident"; 4 = "Not at all confident"; "Don't know" responses omitted.

	Mean	SD	N
How confident are you that your vote in the General Election was counted as you intended?	1.5	0.8	9,096
Think about vote counting throughout your county or city, and not just your own personal situation. How confident are you that votes in your county or city were counted as voters intended?	1.7	0.8	9,795
Now, think about vote counting throughout $inputstate. How confident are you that votes in $inputstate were counted as voters intended?	1.8	0.9	9,759
Finally, think about vote counting throughout the country. How confident are you that votes nationwide were counted as voters intended?	2.3	1.0	9,777

Q29. Voter Fraud

The following is a list of activities that are usually against the law. Please indicate how often you think these activities occur in your county or city. (1 = "It is very common"; 4 = "It almost never occurs"; "Don't know" responses omitted.)

	Mean	SD	N
People voting more than once in an election	3.0	1.1	8,110
People stealing or tampering with ballots that have been voted	3.0	1.1	8,004
People pretending to be someone else when going to vote	2.9	1.1	8,058
People voting who are not U.S. citizens	2.7	1.2	8,082
People voting an absentee ballot intended for another person	2.7	1.1	7,677
Officials changing the reported vote count in a way that is not a true reflection of the ballots that were actually counted	3.0	1.1	7,843

Q30. Driver's License

Do you have a driver's license?

	Frequency	%
Yes	9,277	91.0
No	916	9.0
I don't know	6.0	0.1
Total	10,199	100

Q30A. Driver's License Expired

Is your driver's license expired?

	Frequency	%
Yes	147	1.6
No	9,276	98.3
I don't know	9.0	0.1
Total	9,432	100

Q30B. Driver's License Legal Name

Is the name on your driver's license the same name you are registered to vote under?

	Frequency	%
Yes	9,276	98.4
No	122	1.3
I don't know	33	0.4
Total	9,431	100

Q30C. Driver's License Address

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

	Frequency	%
Yes	8,475	89.9
No	908	9.6
I don't know	43	0.5
Total	9,426	100

Q31. Passport

Do you have a U.S. passport?

	Frequency	%
Yes	4,131	40.5
No	6,022	59.0
I don't know	47	0.5
Total	10,200	100

Q31A. Passport Expired

Is your passport expired?

	Frequency	%
Yes	517	12.1
No	3,633	85.1
I don't know	122	2.9
Total	4,271	100

Q31B. Passport Legal Name

Is the name on your passport the same name you are registered to vote under?

	Frequency	%
Yes	4,108	96.2
No	135	3.2
I don't know	28	0.7
Total	4,271	100

Q32. Birth Certificate

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

	Frequency	%
Yes	8,681	85.1
No	1,111	10.9
I don't know	407	4.0
Total	10,200	100

Q33. Other ID

The following is a list of ID cards that people sometimes have. Please indicate which of the following you have personally, and whether it has a picture. (Check all that apply.)

	Frequency	%
A public assistance ID card issued by $inputstate		
I have this ID with a picture	973	9.6
I have this ID without a picture	403	4.0
I don't have this ID at all	8,786	86.5
Total	10,162	100.0
A military ID card		
I have this ID with a picture	798	7.9
I have this ID without a picture	124	1.2
I don't have this ID at all	9,239	90.9
Total	10,162	100.0
An ID card issued by a state or local government outside of $inputstate		
I have this ID with a picture	1,130	11.1
I have this ID without a picture	104	1.0
I don't have this ID at all	8,927	87.9
Total	10,161	100.0
An ID card from a Native American tribe		
I have this ID with a picture	97	1.0
I have this ID without a picture	113	1.1
I don't have this ID at all	9,946	97.9
Total	10,156	100.0
An ID card from a private college or university within $inputstate		
I have this ID with a picture	580	5.7
I have this ID without a picture	129	1.3
I don't have this ID at all	9,451	93.0
Total	10,160	100.0
An ID card from a private college or university outside of $inputstate		
I have this ID with a picture	367	3.6
I have this ID without a picture	103	1.0
I don't have this ID at all	9,688	95.4
Total	10,158	100.0
An ID card from a state college or university within $inputstate		
I have this ID with a picture	1,045	10.3
I have this ID without a picture	159	1.6
I don't have this ID at all	8,953	88.1
Total	10,157	100.0
An ID card from a state college or university outside of $inputstate		
I have this ID with a picture	263	2.6
I have this ID without a picture	103	1.0
I don't have this ID at all	9,790	96.4
Total	10,156	100.0

Q33. Other ID, Continued

The following is a list of ID cards that people sometimes have. Please indicate which of the following you have personally, and whether it has a picture. (Check all that apply.)

	Frequency	%
A license to carry a firearm issued by $inputstate		
I have this ID with a picture	649	6.4
I have this ID without a picture	307	3.0
I don't have this ID at all	9,197	90.6
Total	10,153	100.0
A voter registration card issued by $inputstate		
I have this ID with a picture	1,356	13.3
I have this ID without a picture	5,015	49.3
I don't have this ID at all	3,800	37.4
Total	10,171	100.0
An ID card issued by an agency or department of the federal government that you have not already indicated		
I have this ID with a picture	794	7.8
I have this ID without a picture	541	5.3
I don't have this ID at all	8,825	86.9
Total	10,159	100.0
An ID card issued by an agency or department of the state of $inputstate that you have not already indicated		
I have this ID with a picture	1,621	15.9
I have this ID without a picture	375	3.7
I don't have this ID at all	8,170	80.4
Total	10,166	100.0
An ID card issued by an agency of a local government in $inputstate that you have not already indicated		
I have this ID with a picture	602	5.9
I have this ID without a picture	245	2.4
I don't have this ID at all	9,315	91.7
Total	10,161	100.0

Q34. Reform Proposals

Do you support or oppose any of the following proposals for new ways of voting or conducting elections?
(1 = "Support Strongly"; 4 = "Oppose Strongly")

	Mean	SD	N
Allow absentee voting over the Internet	2.9	1.1	10,164
Voting using cell phones	3.4	0.9	10,166
Run all elections by mail	3.2	1.0	10,164
Automatically register all citizens over 18 to vote	2.4	1.2	10,172
Allow people to register on Election Day at the polls	2.5	1.2	10,169
Require all people to show government issued photo ID when they vote	1.9	1.1	10,175
Require electronic voting machines to print a paper backup of the ballot	1.7	0.9	10,173
Move Election Day to a weekend	2.5	1.1	10,166
Make Election Day a national holiday	2.3	1.2	10,170
Only select election officials on a non-partisan basis	2.2	1.0	10,160
Make it so that when a registered voter moves, he or she is automatically registered to vote at the new home	1.9	1.0	10,178

Q35. Address Is Changed When I Move

To the best of your knowledge, when you move, do election officials or the U.S. Postal Service automatically update your voter registration?

	Frequency	%
Yes	729	7.1
No	6,623	64.9
I don't know	2,846	27.9
Total	10,198	100

Q36. Register at DMV

To the best of your knowledge, can you register to vote or update your existing voter registration in the state motor vehicle agency in $inputstate?

	Frequency	%
Yes	5,352	52.5
No	1,105	10.8
I don't know	3,739	36.7
Total	10,196	100

Q37. Disability

Does a health problem, disability, or handicap CURRENTLY keep you from participating fully in work, school, housework, or other activities?

	Frequency	%
Yes	2,026	19.9
No	8,171	80.1
Total	10,197	100

Appendix 6.   State-Level Summary of Absentee Ballot Answers

Responses have been weighted to produce estimates of representative state measures.

Absentee Ballot Answers[†]

Q19. Were there any problems getting your absentee or mail-in ballot sent to you?
Q20. Did you encounter any problems marking or completing your ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended?
Q23: Overall, how easy was it to follow all the instructions necessary to cast your ballot and return it to be counted?

| | Q19 | | Q20 | | Q23 | |
	% Yes	N	% Yes	N	% Very/ Somewhat Easy	N
Arizona	0.9	118	3.5	119	98.7	119
California	0.9	93	0.0	94	99.5	94
Colorado	0.9	122	0.9	122	99.4	122
Florida	3.4	53	3.9	52	97.2	53
Hawaii	0.6	83	0.6	83	100.0	83
Idaho	0.6	44	0.0	44	97.1	44
Iowa	0.9	60	0.0	60	100.0	60
Kansas	0.9	33	0.0	33	100.0	32
Maine	0.0	40	0.0	40	99.2	40
Michigan	2.5	46	2.2	46	91.1	46
Montana	1.1	99	0.0	99	98.5	99
Nebraska	1.1	46	0.9	46	100.0	46
New Mexico	9.1	29	3.2	29	100.0	28
New York	9.1	20	-	-	-	-
North Dakota	0.0	66	0.0	67	99.2	67
Ohio	0.0	49	0.0	49	100.0	50
Oregon	2.3	177	0.8	178	100.0	177
Utah	0.0	41	0.0	41	100.0	41
Vermont	0.0	26	0.0	26	74.7	26
Washington	0.0	177	0.0	176	100.0	177
Wyoming	0.0	20	0.0	20	100.0	20

[†] Among absentee and mail voters. Cells representing fewer than 20 respondents are omitted. Also excluded are states lacking at least 20 respondents for all items.

Appendix 7.   Questionnaire

Survey of the Performance of American Elections, 2012

Decision to Vote and Reasons for Not Voting

The next several questions deal with your experiences voting during the November 2012 general election. It is important for the rest of the survey to know whether you voted. Your answer is anonymous.

Q1

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Voted

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

Q2A-Q2N

GRID

Reason for not voting

IF Q1! = 6.

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

Rows:
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.

Columns:
     1   Not a factor
     2   A minor factor
     3   A major factor
     4   I don't know

Q3

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

First time voting

If Q1 in [4, 5, 6]; please rotate row items

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
    3   {FIXED} I don't know

Q4

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Mode of voting

If Q1 in [4, 5, 6]

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   I don't know

In-Person Voting

Q5

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Difficulty finding polling place

If Q4 in [1, 2]

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

1   Very difficult
2   Somewhat difficult
3   Fairly easy
4   Very easy
5   I don't know

Q6

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Polling place type

If Q4 in [1, 2]; Please rotate the response items

How would you describe the place where you voted?

1   Private business
2   School building
3   Church
4   Police/Fire Station
5   A store or shopping mall
6   Senior center
7   Community center
8   Library
9   {FIXED} Other government office (court house, municipal building, city hall, etc.)
10   {FIXED} Other (please specify _____)
11   {FIXED} I don't remember

Q7

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Personally knew person who checked you in

If Q4 in [1, 2]

Did you personally know the person who checked you in when you arrived to vote?

    1   Yes
    2   No
    3   {FIXED} I don't know
    4   {FIXED} I don't remember

Q8

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

How well the polling place was run

If Q4 in [1, 2]

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   I don't know

Q9

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Problem with voter registration

If Q4 in [1, 2]

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

  1 Yes (please specify what problem, or problems, you had _____)
  2 No
  3 {FIXED} I don't know

Q10

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Line length

If Q4 in [1, 2]

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 I don't know

Q11

Source of line

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

If Q10 != 1

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?

<blockquote>

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 remember.

</blockquote>

Q12

SINGLE CHOICE WITH TEXT, SOFT REQUIRED

Picture ID

If Q4 in [1,2]; Please rotate response categories

When you first checked in at the polling place to vote, which of the following statements most closely describes **how you were asked** to identify yourself?

<blockquote>

1   I gave my name and address, but did not show any identification of any kind.

2   I showed a letter, a bill, or something else with my name and address on it, but it **was not** an identification card of any sort.

3   I showed my voter registration card.

4   I showed my driver's license or state-issued photo ID.

5   I showed my passport.

6   I showed a military ID card.

7   {FIXED} I showed some other form of identification. (Please indicate what you showed _____.)

8   {FIXED} I don't remember.

</blockquote>

Q13

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Picture ID follow-up

If Q12 in [4, 5, 6]

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. I don't know

Q14

SINGLE CHOICE WITH TEXT, SOFT REQUIRED

Voting equipment problems

If Q4 in [1, 2]

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. Yes (please specify what problem, or problems, you had _____)
2. No
3. {FIXED} I don't know

Q15

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Poll worker performance

If Q4 in [1, 2]

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. I don't know

Q16

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Race of Poll Worker

If Q4 in [1, 2]; please rotate the response items

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

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

Q17

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Age of poll worker

If Q4 in [1, 2]

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
5. I don't know

Absentee Voting

Q18

SINGLE CHOICE WITH TEXT, SOFT REQUIRED

Reason for absentee ballot

If Q4==3; please rotate items

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 _____)

Q19

SINGLE CHOICE WITH TEXT, SOFT REQUIRED

Problems getting mail ballot

If Q4==3

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

1. Yes (Please specify what problem, or problems, you had _____)
2. No
3. {FIXED} I don't know

Q20

SINGLE CHOICE WITH TEXT, SOFT REQUIRED

Problem marking mail ballot

If Q4==3

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

1. Yes (please specify what problem, or problems, you had _____)
2. No
3. {FIXED} I don't know

Q21

SINGLE CHOICE WITH TEXT, SOFT REQUIRED

How absentee ballot returned

If Q4==3

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

Q22

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

When absentee ballot returned

If Q4==3

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

Q23

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Ease filling out absentee ballot

If Q4==3

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

Q24

SINGLE CHOICE WITH TEXT, SOFT REQUIRED

Presidential vote

If Q1==6; please rotate the response categories

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

1. Mitt Romney (Republican)
2. Barack Obama (Democrat)
3. {FIXED} Other candidate or party (please specify _____)
4. {FIXED} I did not vote in this race
5. {FIXED} I don't know

Q25

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Confidence (your vote)

If Q1==6

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. I don't know

Q26

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Confidence (county)

Think about vote counting throughout **your county or city,** and not just your own personal situation. How confident are you that votes in your county or city were counted as voters intended?

1. Very confident
2. Somewhat confident
3. Not too confident
4. Not at all confident
5. I don't know

Q27

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Confidence (state)

Now, think about vote counting throughout **$inputstate**. How confident are you that votes in $inputstate were counted as voters intended?

1. Very confident
2. Somewhat confident
3. Not too confident
4. Not at all confident
5. I don't know

Q28

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Confidence (nationwide)

Finally, think about vote counting throughout the country. How confident are you that votes **nationwide** were counted as voters intended?

1. Very confident
2. Somewhat confident
3. Not too confident
4. Not at all confident
5. I don't know

Attitudes Regarding Voter Fraud

Q29

GRID

Please rotate the row items

The following is a list of activities that are usually against the law. Please indicate how often you think these activities occur **in your county or city.**

Rows
Q29A   People voting more than once in an election
Q29B   People stealing or tampering with ballots that have been voted
Q29C   People pretending to be someone else when going to vote
Q29D   People voting who are not U.S. citizens
Q29E   People voting an absentee ballot intended for another person
Q29F   Officials changing the reported vote count in a way that is not a true reflection of the
                   ballots that were actually counted

Columns
1. It is very common
2. It occurs occasionally
3. It occurs infrequently
4. It almost never occurs
5. I'm not sure

Identification and Voting

Q30

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Driver's license

Do you have a driver's license?

1. Yes
2. No
3. I don't know

Q30A

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

If Q30==1

DL expired

Is your driver's license expired?

1. Yes
2. No
3. I don't know

Q30B

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

DL legal name

If Q30==1

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

Q30C

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

DL address

If Q30==1

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

Q31

Have passport

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Do you have a U.S. passport?

1. Yes
2. No
3. I don't know

Q31A

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Passport expired

If Q31==1

Is your passport expired?

1. Yes
2. No
3. I don't know

Q31B

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Passport legal name

If Q31==1

Is the name on your passport the same name you are registered to vote under?

1. Yes
2. No
3. I don't know

Q32

Birth certificate

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

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

1. Yes
2. No
3. I don't know

Q33A-Q33M

MULTIPLE CHOICE

Other ID

The following is a list of ID cards that people sometimes have. Please indicate which of the following you have personally, and whether it has a picture. (Check all that apply.)

Rows
Q33A   A public assistance ID card issued by $inputstate
Q33B   A military ID card
Q33C   An ID card issued by a state or local government **outside of** $inputstate
Q33D   An ID card from a Native American tribe
Q33E   An ID card from a private college or university **within** $inputstate
Q33F   An ID card from a private college or university **outside of** $inputstate
Q33G   An ID card from a state college or university **within** $inputstate
Q33H   An ID card from a state college or university **outside of** $inputstate
Q33I   A license to carry a firearm issued by $inputstate
Q33J   A voter registration card issued by $inputstate
Q33K   An ID card issued by an agency or department of the federal government **that you have not already indicated**
Q33L   An ID card issued by an agency or department of the state of $inputstate **that you have not already indicated**
Q33M   An ID card issued by an agency of a local government in $inputstate **that you have not already indicated**

Columns
1. I have this ID **with a picture**
2. I have this ID **without a picture**
3. I don't have this ID at all

Attitudes toward Election Reform

Q34A–Q34G

GRID

Reform proposals

Please rotate the row items

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

Rows:
Q34A	Allow absentee voting over the Internet
Q34B	Voting using cell phones
Q34C	Run all elections by mail
Q34D	Automatically register all citizens over 18 to vote
Q34E	Allow people to register on Election Day at the polls
Q34F	Require all people to show government issued photo ID when they vote
Q34G	Require electronic voting machines to print a paper backup of the ballot
Q34H	Move Election Day to a weekend
Q34I	Make Election Day a national holiday
Q34J	Only select election officials on a non-partisan basis
Q34K	Make it so that when a registered voter moves, he or she is automatically registered to vote at the new home

Columns:
1	Support strongly
2	Support somewhat
3	Oppose somewhat
4	Oppose strongly

Voter Registration

Q35

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Address is changed when I move

To the best of your knowledge, when you move, do election officials or the U.S. Postal Service automatically update your voter registration?

1. Yes
2. No
3. I don't know

Q36

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

Register at DMV

To the best of your knowledge, can you register to vote or update your existing voter registration in the state motor vehicle agency in $inputstate?

1. Yes
2. No
3. I don't know

Demographic Information

Q37

Disability

SINGLE CHOICE, SOFT REQUIRED

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
ZIP code of residence