



OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND SPONSORED PROGRAMS

UW Reference # MSN197955

Dane County

PI: Kenneth Mayer

Analyzing Nonvoting And the Student Voting Experience in Wisconsin

This proposal has been administratively approved on behalf of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System and is submitted for your consideration. Please keep our office advised as developments occur with regard to this application.

The appropriate programmatic and administrative personnel of each institution involved in this application are aware of the sponsor's grant policy and are prepared to establish the necessary inter-institutional agreement(s) consistent with that policy.

All costs cited conform to established institutional policies and procedures. Our DHHS Negotiated Rate Agreement can be found at <http://www.rsp.wisc.edu/rates/rates.pdf>. Website: <http://www.rsp.wisc.edu/>

A final agreement is contingent upon the successful negotiation of terms and conditions acceptable to the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

We ask that you use the University's above-referenced proposal number in any future correspondence.

Questions regarding administrative matters should be directed to:

PreAward Services by email: preaward@rsp.wisc.edu or by phone: (608) 262-3822.

Questions regarding the technical nature of this application should be directed to:

The Principal Investigator.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Brenda Egan".

Managing Officer, PreAward Services

7/8/16

Project Description – Analyzing Nonvoting And the Student Voting Experience in Wisconsin

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I. Background

Over the last five years elected state officials have enacted numerous changes to how elections are run in Wisconsin. Among the most significant are a photo ID law requiring voters to show a qualifying photo identification at polling places, special ID provisions for college and university students, the elimination of voting and registration in the last weekend before elections, reductions in the number of early voting hours, and an increase in the residency requirement for people who have recently moved. These are the most significant changes in election administration in Wisconsin since the adoption of same day voter registration in 1976.

Supporters of the changes argued that they were needed to insure the integrity of the voting process and create uniform administrative practices around the state. But opponents insist that the changes do little but make voting harder, especially among minorities, students, and other discrete populations. Voter ID laws, in particular, have been shown to affect turnout (Hajnal, Lajevardi and Nielsen 2016; Orr and Arkley 2016), both among individuals who do not possess one of the qualifying forms of ID, but also among people *with* qualifying ID who think they do not or are confused about which IDs qualify (Hobby et al. 2015). University students, especially if they are not Wisconsin residents, face particular burdens described below.

The empirical question is what effect these changes have on voting, and which population subgroups are most affected. This project proposes a two-stage method to estimate those effects in the 2016 presidential election in Wisconsin. The first stage is a survey of registered voters in Dane and Milwaukee County who did not cast a ballot in November 2016. The second is an email and web survey of students enrolled at UW-Madison and UW Milwaukee, asking about their voting history in November 2016 and their experience at the polls if they did vote.

The 2016 presidential election is an appropriate election in which to analyze possible effects. Presidential elections are the highest turnout of the different types of election (an average of 66.3% of the voting age population since 1984, compared to an average of 47.% in off year general elections since 1990), and tend to bring out more marginally connected voters who are likely to be the most strongly affected by changes in voting practices.¹ November 2016 will be the first general election in which the full range of administrative changes will be in place, and the effects, if any, are most likely to show up then.

¹ In lower turnout elections, voters tend to be more engaged and attentive, and are more likely to surmount administrative burdens that might deter less engaged voters.

The project will produce better estimates of the overall effect of these administrative changes on voting and non-voting, and will provide guidance to election officials about how to educate voters about the requirements.

II. Project Element One: Survey of Registered Nonvoters

The first project element is a mail survey of nonvoters in Dane and Milwaukee County, carried out by the University of Wisconsin Survey Center (UWSC). The survey is similar to an effort that surveyed nonvoters in Texas (Hobby et al. 2016), but will extend that work with oversampling of minority populations and estimating the effect of non-photo ID related changes to voting.

Nonvoters will be identified through county-level data in the Statewide Voter Registration System, which is the statewide database of registered voters. The publicly available data includes registrant name, address, and voter history. Mail surveys will be sent to registrants who did not vote in the 2016 presidential election (as indicated by the voter history). A sample instrument is given in the appendix.

In the November 2012 presidential election, Dane and Milwaukee County combined had a total of 964,027 registrants, 800,985 voters, and 163,042 nonvoters. Normally, a population of this size (163,042 nonvoters) would require a sample of roughly 250. But because I want detailed sample estimates of subcategories of voters, especially racial minorities, I will need to oversample to generate enough responses among subgroups. Taking nonresponse rates into effect, I expect to send surveys to 2,000 nonvoters, 1,250 in Milwaukee County and 750 in Dane County. The UW Survey Center anticipates a response rate of between 40-50%, which would result in a total of 800-1,000 completed surveys.

Mail surveys will be sent to a random sample of nonvoters, oversampling in wards and census areas with high concentrations of racial and ethnic minorities. Each initial mailing will contain \$2 as an incentive to complete the survey. The survey instrument, shown in Appendix I, will include basic demographic information such as age, education, income, race, partisan affiliation, and length of residence; 4 items specifically measuring nonvoting: question asking about multiple reasons for non-voting, the main reason for not voting, knowledge of the ID requirement, and types of qualifying ID the registrant possesses; and a question about which presidential candidate the registrant would have voted for if he or she had voted.

Mailings will occur in four waves: an initial full mailing with a \$2 incentive, a postcard reminder, a second full mailing of the survey to non-responders, and a final full mailing to non-responders.

The results of the survey will provide clearer estimates of whether nonvoting is a result of administrative changes to elections and voting, or is attributable to other factors such as a lack of interest that are not a function of specific state practices.

III. Project Element Two: Survey of University Students

The second project element will analyze the voting experience of university students. I expect students to be especially affected by the voting changes (particularly the voter ID requirement), since students are younger, more mobile, and must provide proof of current enrolment if they use a student ID to vote. Prior to 2011, universities could send “dorm lists” of dorm residents to local election officials, which would serve as proof of address for students who register locally. Act 23 allowed this practice only if universities verified that all students on the list were U.S. citizens. But universities that did so would be violating the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA). Consequently, on-campus students may have an additional burden of providing an acceptable proof of address for registration.

In order to qualify for voting, a student ID must have the student’s picture, a date of issuance and an expiration date no more than 2 years in the future, and the student’s signature. The standard UW Madison and UW Milwaukee student IDs do not qualify under the voter-ID law. For most students, especially Wisconsin residents who have a WI driver’s license or photo ID, this is not an obstacle since they can use their WI ID to vote. But for out of state non-international students (roughly 16,000 combined, 13,500 at UW Madison and 2,500 at UW Milwaukee), the burdens are more serious. These students may be unwilling to procure a Wisconsin license or ID (which would require surrendering their home-state ID), and will have to rely on either their student ID or one of the other forms of qualifying ID to vote.

I will send emails to all students enrolled at UW-Madison and UW-Milwaukee in November 2016, using email lists provided by each campus.² Emails will include a link to a web survey. Surveys will include initial screening questions to remove respondents who are not eligible to vote (primarily because they are noncitizens or under age 18). As an incentive, students who complete the survey will have an opportunity to enter a drawing for an iPad, with two awarded.

A draft survey instrument for both elements is shown in Appendixes I and II. This will be finalized before distribution.

IV. Project Schedule

Local election clerks have 45 days after a general election to report voting history to the Government Accountability Board (on July 1, 2016, the GAB will be replaced by a newly established bipartisan Elections Commission).

The 2016 presidential election will take place on November 8, 2016. Voter history data will not be available until approximately December 20th. Surveys sent out over the holidays will

² These are the two largest campuses in the University of Wisconsin system, with a total of over 70,000 enrolled in 2015-2016 (UW Madison – 43,064; UW Milwaukee – 27,119). Single year report available at <https://www.wisconsin.edu/reports-statistics/educational-statistics/student-statistics/>.

have lower response rates (and students will be on Winter Break at this time as well), so I anticipate sending the mail nonvoting survey in early January 2017.

The survey of UW Madison and UW Milwaukee students will be sent several days after the November 8 election. This will insure that the email list of students is current, and that recall of voter experience is fresh.

<u>Project Phase</u>	<u>Date</u>
Election day 2016	November 8, 2016
Student survey emailed	November 10-17, 2016
Student survey reminders sent	November-December 2016
Voter histories entered	December 20, 2016
First mail survey sent	Early January 2017
Mail reminders and follow up	February – April 2017
Data collection completed	May 2017
Initial Reports	August 2017
Final Reports	December 2017

Analysis will begin as soon as the data are complete. I anticipate initial results and reporting by the end of August 2017, and project completion with final reporting by December 2017.

Project deliverables will include a report to the Dane County Clerk outlining the findings, and making recommendations for voter education. I intend to disseminate the results to the academic community as well via journal articles and conference papers.

V. Budget and Justification

The budget request is \$44,157, which is cost of conducting the surveys through the University of Wisconsin Survey Center. Per RSP policy, the budget includes as a placeholder an indirect cost amount of \$6,624, but as the funding will come from Dane County and will not involve federal funds, there will be no overhead costs charged.

Category	Amount
UW Survey Center	\$ 44,157
Mail Survey	\$30,310
Email Survey	\$13,847
Total Direct Costs	\$ 44,157
<i>Indirect Costs (15% on TDC)*</i>	<i>\$ 6,624</i>
<i>Total Costs*</i>	<i>\$ 50,881</i>

*If funded with State GPR funds or other nonfederal funds which by program or policy do not allow, Indirect (F&A) costs will be omitted. See www.rsp.wisc.edu/rates/index.html

VI. Human Subjects Elements

As described this project involves human subjects research, and will require approval from the UW Madison Education, Social and Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board.

The survey instruments are benign, asking only about activities that do not pose any risks to subjects. Although the Survey Center will track which respondents complete the survey, they will do this only to insure that unnecessary reminders are not sent to those who have already returned it. The survey itself will be anonymous, with no identifiable information recorded in the survey and no way to connect survey answers to any respondent.

Sources

- Hajnal, Zoltan, Nazita Lajevardi, and Lindsay Nielson. 2016. "Voter Identification Laws and the Suppression of Minority Votes. Manuscript, University of California-San Diego. <http://pages.ucsd.edu/~zhajnal/page5/documents/VoterIDLawsandtheSuppressionofMinorityVoters2ndrevision.pdf>.
- Hobby, Bill, Mark P. Jones, Jim Granato, and Renée Cross. 2015. *The Texas Voter ID Law and the 2014 Election: A Study of Texas's 23rd Congressional District*. University of Houston Hobby Center for Public Policy and Rice University Baker Institute for Public Policy. August.
- Orr, Graeme D. and Tracey Arklay. 2016. "Rethinking Voter ID: Its Rationale and Impact." *Australian Journal of Political Science* (forthcoming).

Appendix I: Survey Instrument for Nonvoters

What is your gender?

- Male
- Female

What is your age? _____

What is your annual household income?

- Under \$25,000
- \$25,001 to \$40,000
- \$40,001 to \$55,000
- \$55,001 to \$65,000
- \$65,001 to \$75,001
- \$75,001 to \$100,000
- More than \$100,000
-

Check all of the following that describe your race:

- American Indian or Alaskan Native
- Asian
- Black or African American
- Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
- White
- Other: Please tell us: _____

Are you Hispanic or Latino?

- Yes
- No

What is your political party preference or affiliation?

- Republican
- Democratic
- Third Party (Libertarian, Green, etc.)
- Independent (no party preference)

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- Some high school
- High school diploma or equivalent
- Some college

- Associate's Degree or a 2-year college degree
- Bachelor's Degree or 4-year college degree
- Graduate or professional school or degree

Have you lived at your current address for more than 1 year?

- Yes
- No

Do you currently live:

- In a house you own?
- In an apartment?
- With your parents?
- In some other situation?

Question about knowledge of the photo ID requirement

Which of the following were reasons you did not vote in in the November 2016 presidential election (select all that apply)?

- I was ill or am disabled
- I was out of town or away from home
- I intended to vote, but forgot
- I wasn't interested
- My vote would not have made a difference
- I couldn't get off work or school
- I had transportation problems and could not make it to the polling place
- I didn't like any of the candidates or campaign issues
- I showed up at the polls, but was told I did not have the necessary identification to vote
- I did not have the right photo-ID and knew I would not be able to vote
- I showed up at the polling place, but the lines were too long and I did not have the time to wait.
- I actually did vote in the 2016 election.

What was the *main reason* you did not vote in the November 2016 presidential election?

- I was ill or am disabled
- I was out of town or away from home
- I intended to vote, but forgot
- I wasn't interested
- My vote would not have made a difference
- I couldn't get off work or school
- I had transportation problems and could not make it to the polling place

- I didn't like any of the candidates or campaign issues
- I showed up at the polls, but was told I did not have the necessary identification to vote
- I did not have the right photo-ID and knew I would not be able to vote
- I showed up at the polling place, but the lines were too long and I did not have the time to wait.
- I actually did vote in the 2016 election.

Do you have any of the following forms of photo-identification?

- A Wisconsin driver's license that is current, or expired within the last 2 years
- A Wisconsin photo-ID issued by the Wisconsin Department of Transportation/DMV
- A driver's license from another state
- A passport
- A military ID
- A Veterans Administration ID
- A College or University ID with my signature and an expiration date
- A Tribal ID
- A Certificate of Naturalization issued within the last 2 years

If you had voted in the 2016 presidential election, who would you have voted for?

Responses tbd

About how many times had you voted prior to the 2016 presidential election?

- Never
- Once
- A few times
- I voted regularly in the past

Appendix II: Survey Instrument for Students

Screening questions to remove ineligible individuals: age, U.S. citizenship

What is your gender?

- Male
- Female

What is your age? _____

What is your family's annual household income?

- Under \$25,000
- \$25,001 to \$40,000
- \$40,001 to \$55,000
- \$55,001 to \$65,000
- \$65,001 to \$75,001
- \$75,001 to \$100,000
- More than \$100,000

Are you a Wisconsin resident?

- Yes
- No

If no, what is your home state of residence? _____

What year in school are you?

- Freshman
- Sophomore
- Junior
- Senior
- Graduate
- Professional (Law, Medicine, etc.)

What is your living situation?

- I live in a dorm on campus
- I live in off campus housing
- I live at home

Check all of the following that describe your race:

- American Indian or Alaskan Native
- Asian
- Black or African American
- Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
- White
- Other: Please tell us:_____

Are you Hispanic or Latino?

- Yes
- No

What is your political party preference or affiliation?

- Republican
- Democratic
- Third Party (Libertarian, Green, etc.)
- Independent (no party preference)

Do you currently have a Wisconsin driver's license or photo ID issued by the Wisconsin Department of Transportation?

- Yes
- No

Were you registered to vote at your current address?

- Yes
- No

Were you registered somewhere else in Wisconsin in November 2016?

- Yes
- No

Were you registered in another state in November 2016?

- Yes
- No

If not registered: What is the main reason you were not registered for the November 2016 election?

Did you vote in the November 2016 election?

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

If yes:

How did you vote in the November 2016 Election?

- I voted at the polls locally
- I voted using a mailed absentee using my local address
- I voted early in person at the clerk's office
- I voted at a different address in Wisconsin
- I voted absentee or in person in my home state

If voted: what type of photo identification did you show at the polling place?

- Wisconsin drivers license
- Wisconsin DOT-issued photo ID
- My student ID
- A passport
- A military or veterans ID
- A Tribal ID
- A recent naturalization certificate

If used a student ID

- When did you obtain your special student ID card for voting purposes?
- On election day
- Within a week of election day
- Within a month of election day
- More than 1 month before election day

If used a student ID: How long did you have to wait to obtain your special student ID card for voting purposes?

- Less than 5 minutes
- More than 5 but less than 15 minutes
- More than 15 but less than a 30 minutes
- More than 30 minutes but less than an hour
- More than an hour but less that two hours
- More than two hours

Not counting the time you might have spent registering to vote on election day or obtaining your special student ID if you needed one, how long did you have to wait to vote?

- Less than 5 minutes
- More than 5 but less than 15 minutes
- More than 15 but less than a 30 minutes
- More than 30 minutes but less than an hour
- More than an hour but less that two hours
- More than two hours

Counting all of the steps you needed to take to vote (including obtaining an ID and registering), how long did it take to vote?

- Less than 5 minutes
- More than 5 but less than 15 minutes
- More than 15 but less than a 30 minutes
- More than 30 minutes but less than an hour
- More than an hour but less that two hours
- More than two hours

If did not vote: What was the main reason you did not vote in the November 2016 presidential election?

- a) I was ill or am disabled
- b) I was out of town or away from home
- c) I intended to vote, but did not have time on election day
- d) I wasn't interested
- e) My vote would not have made a difference
- f) I couldn't get off work or school
- g) I had transportation problems and could not make it to the polling place
- h) The polling place was too far from my home
- i) I didn't like any of the candidates or campaign issues
- j) I showed up at the polling place, but was told I did not have the necessary identification to vote
- k) I did not have the right photo-ID and knew I would not be able to vote
- l) The weather was bad
- m) I could not vote early at the Clerk's office
- n) I showed up at the polling place, but the lines were too long and I did not have the time to wait.

If you voted at the polls on election day, when time of day did you vote?

- Before noon

- Between noon and 5PM
- After 5PM

Who did you vote for in the presidential election?

- Republican - Donald Trump and
- Democratic - Hillary Clinton and
- Libertarian - Gary Johnson
- Other