

# The Impact of Voter Photo ID Laws on the Electorate

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# Research Experience in Photo-ID

- The impact of Photo-ID laws on the electorate is part of my academic research agenda, and my work has been part of several court cases:
  - ▣ Amicus Brief in Crawford vs. Indiana SCOTUS case.
  - ▣ Expert witness report cited in Frank vs Walker (Wisconsin)
  - ▣ Expert witness report cited in Applewhite case in Pennsylvania.
  - ▣ Expert witness report cited in Veasey vs. Perry Federal case in Texas
- Being consulted for possible involvement in several other states.

# Changing Landscape



- More than 40 states have considered new voter photo identification laws in recent years, with over a dozen adopting laws requiring voters to show a non-expired state-issued photo ID before they are allowed to vote.
- While reducing fraud in elections is an important goal, we must consider potential negative consequences on the electorate.

# What type of ID is valid?

## Definitely counts:

- Driver's license
- State non-driver photo ID card
- U.S. Passport
- Military ID card



## In some states:

- University ID
- State or Federal Employee ID
- Concealed hand gun license



# What type of ID is valid?

## Other ID Requirements:

- Must have expiration date
- Must be unexpired\*
  - Or only recently expired (60 days)
- Must have matching name\*
  - Name must “substantially conform”
  - In NM Picture must “substantially conform”
  - Poll worker at front desk gets to decide that



# How to measure who has ID?



- ❑ Two potential pools of citizens who could be impacted
  - Those currently registered to vote
  - Those eligible to vote, but not yet registered
  
- ❑ Two different approaches have been
  - Database matching across
  - Public opinion survey of citizens in state

# The Strengths Survey Approach



- Our approach to identifying the percentage of the population who lack a require ID is to ask them.
- This approach allows our research to determine if respondents have an ID that is specific to the state law, and actually in their possession (Lost or Stolen).
- We are also able to identify possession of underlying documents, and burdens associated with acquiring an ID.

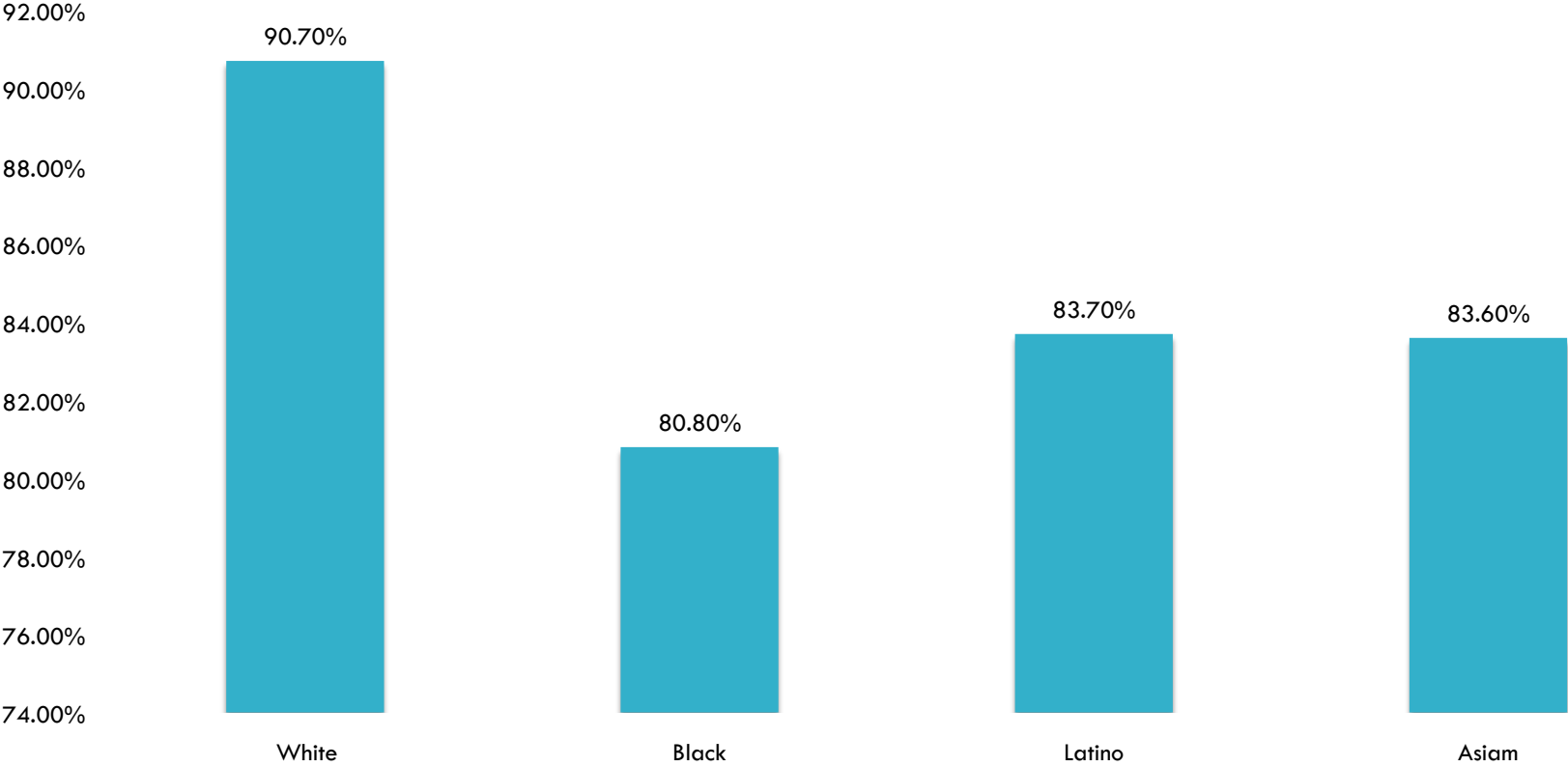
# Summary of Academic Research

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- My co-author Matt Barreto and I have been conducting polling research in this area since 2006.
- We draw on more than 20,000 survey observations from both state and national studies to assess the implication we think is theoretically clear: *increasing institutional requirements on voting will disproportionately decrease participation among those with lower resources.*



# Possession of State Issued Photo-ID by Race/Ethnicity



# Reasons for Not Voting in 2014

National  
oversample of  
200 non-  
voting Latinos

MoE is +/-  
6.9%

- 25% say schedule doesn't allow enough time off to go vote
- 24% don't know where polling place is
- 19% frustrated by bad candidates
- **14% of non-voters said they did not have proper voter photo ID**

# What Can we Learn from Texas?



## Demographic Comparison:

- Texas Hispanic Population is 38%, compared to 47% in New Mexico.
- Hispanics in both TX and NM have high rates of voter eligibility (60% in NM), but also large gaps in participation rates based on ethnicity.

# Results of Texas Study

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- This survey has a large sample of over 2,300 respondents, including robust over-samples of Latinos and African American eligible voters.
- Study conforms to the highest of academic standards for survey design:
  - ▣ Covers random sample of land-line and cell-phone numbers, including out of state cell numbers.
  - ▣ Comprehensive survey instrument that is tailored specifically to the Texas law.

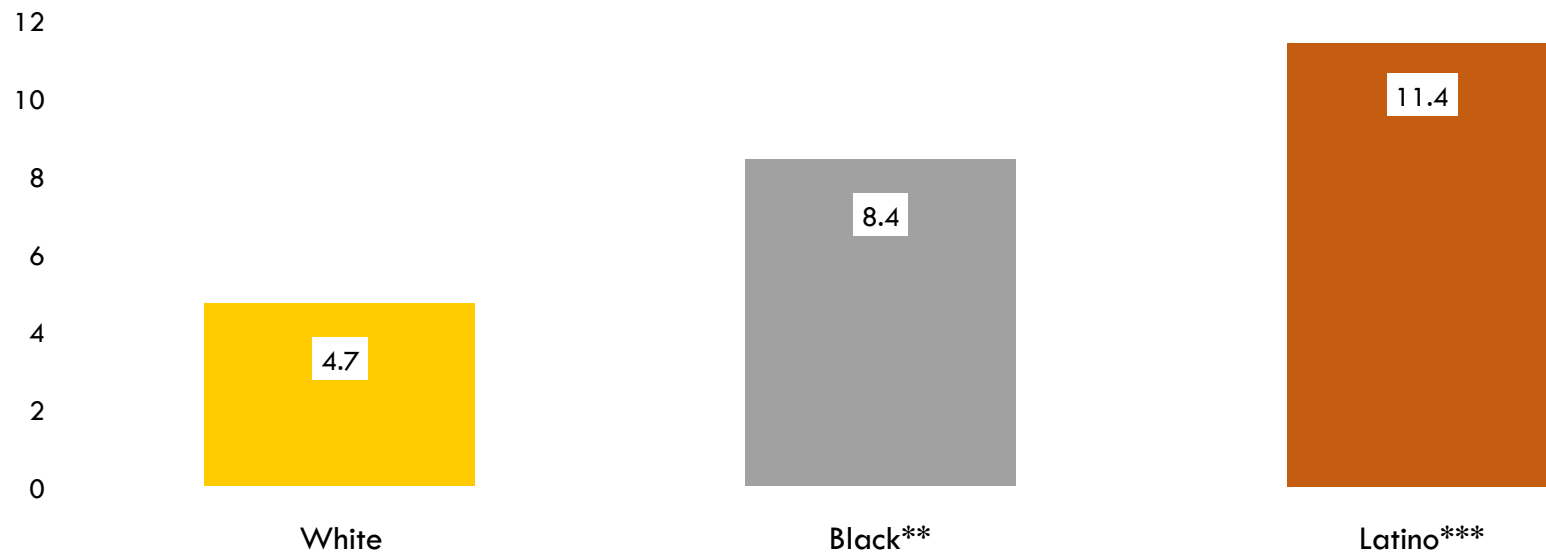
# Results of Texas Study



- Overall we found that 7.2% of eligible voters in Texas lack possession of the ID required under the Texas ID law. This equates to 1.2 million eligible voters in Texas who would be disenfranchised under the current law.
- 26.5% of those who lack the required ID also lack possession of underlying documents to acquire an ID.

# Significant Differences by Race in TX

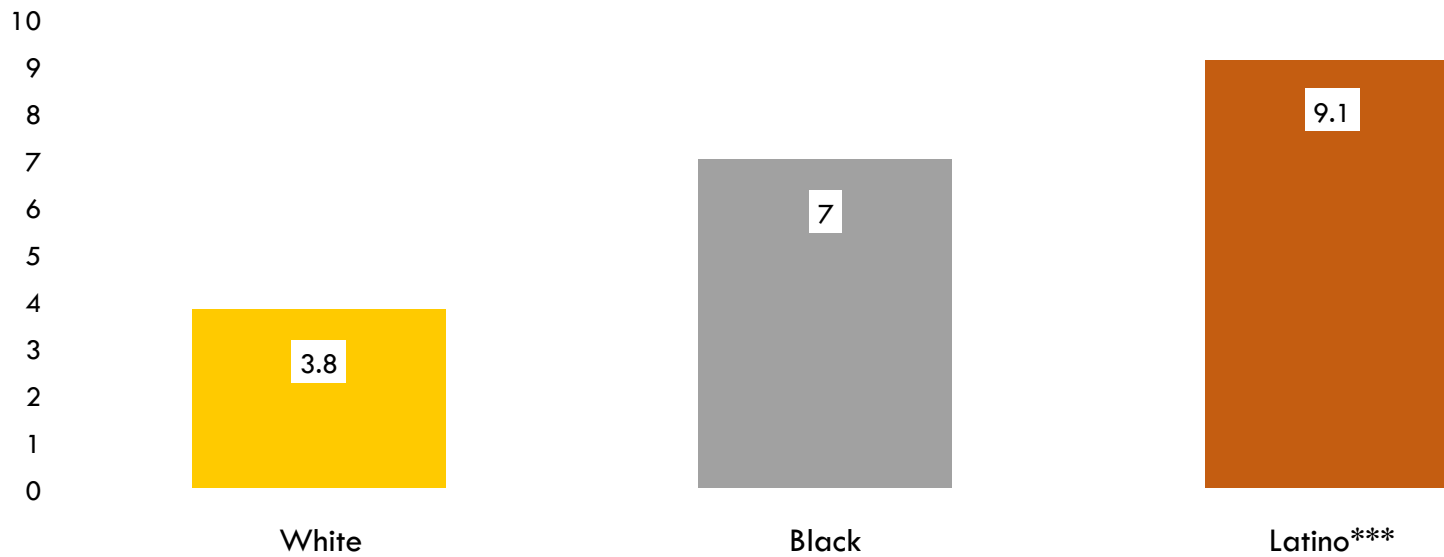
Fig 1. Percent of Texas eligible voters who lack an accepted photo ID, 2014



LatinoDecisions There are over 700,000 Black or Latino eligible voters who lack required ID, 550,000 Latinos alone.

# Low Public Knowledge Poses Problems

Fig 2. Percent of Texas eligible voters who think they have a valid ID, but actually do not



# Acquiring Photo-ID is Challenging

- Getting time off of work to go to the state office to acquire an ID:
  - ▣ 38% of Whites      40% of Blacks      52% of Latinos
- Getting to a state office during their normal business hours to acquire an ID:
  - ▣ 56% of Whites      45% of Blacks      43% of Latinos



# Implications for New Mexico



- The implementation of a state-wide Photo-ID law will disenfranchise a large segment of New Mexican voters.
  - ▣ My work in other states suggests disproportionate impact on Latino, Native American, and African American voters.
  - ▣ The youngest and oldest segments of the electorate will also be more likely to be harmed by a new Photo-ID law.

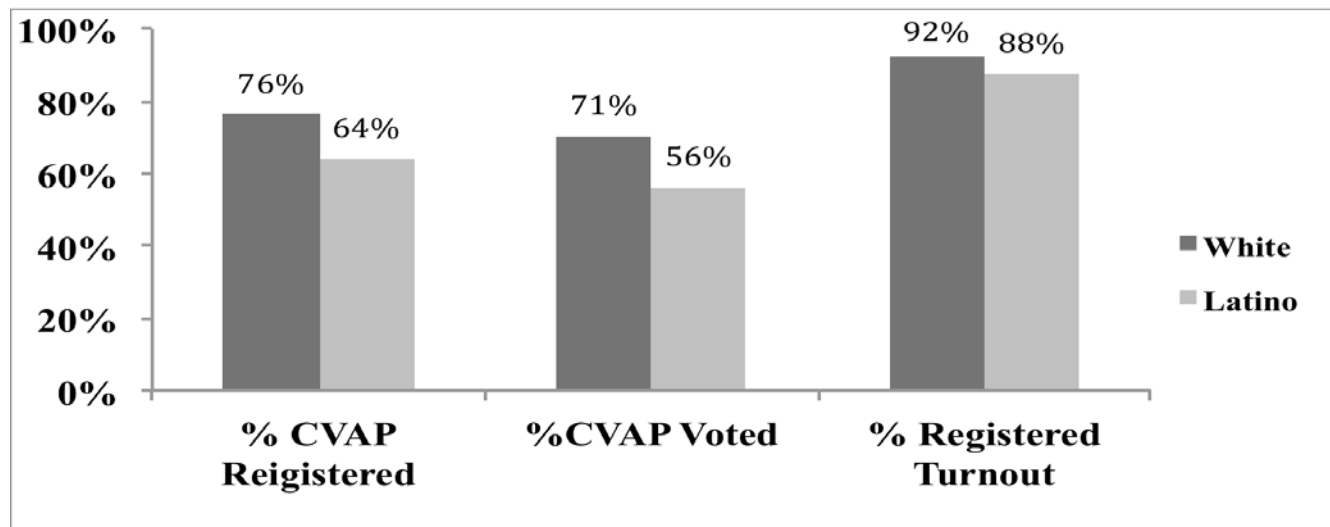
# Implications for New Mexico



- Changes to the voting process that increase costs for voters will decrease turnout, particularly among New Mexicans with fewer resources.
- Finally, we must remember that laws like that being considered in New Mexico only target in-person fraud, not mail in voting where fraud is more prevalent.

# Similar Story in New Mexico

**Figure 4: 2012 NM Latino Citizen Voting-Eligible Population Registration and Turnout**



Source: US Census 2012 CPS Report