THE DISPROPORTIONATE IMPACT OF INDIANA VOTER ID REQUIREMENTS ON THE ELECTORATE

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ABSTRACT

The state of Indiana has the most stringent voting requirements in the nation, as voters are presently required to present a photo identification issued by the federal or state government in order to cast a ballot. Similar laws have been proposed and pursued in many other states, typically related to charges of vote fraud, and often times tied into the divisive debates on undocumented immigrants or African American felons. However, very little empirical evidence exists about the effects of voter identification laws. Although a theoretical and Constitutional debate has developed, few studies have empirically tested the real world consequences of voter identification laws on the disenfranchisement of various subgroups in the electorate. In this study, we assess whether all eligible voters have equal access to valid photo identification, or if some segments of the population are being uniquely harmed by Indiana voter ID laws.

To answer this question we fielded a unique public opinion survey in 2007 in the state of Indiana to determine the impact of voter identification laws on several demographic groups of voters, African Americans, the elderly, the less educated, and the poor. Specifically, we asked registered voters and eligible non-registered adults whether or not they had a current and up to date ID card issued by the state Indiana containing their full name. Examining a variety of demographic variables, we find consistent and statistically significant evidence that Whites, college educated, upper income, and middle-age voters in Indiana are more likely to have valid ID. Because we present data for actual registered voters, the findings go far to suggest that voter identification laws in Indiana do disenfranchise many citizens who are entitled to full voting rights.

The Disproportionate Impact of Indiana Voter ID Requirements on the Electorate

Introduction

The state of Indiana has the most stringent voting requirements in the nation, as voters are presently required to present a photo identification issued by the federal or state government in order to cast a ballot. While Indiana has the most severe requirements, it is not the only state to move towards tougher identification standards at poling locations. In 2004 Arizona voters approved Proposition 200, which among other things, strictly enforced new requirements that identification be shown at the polling place before a citizen could vote. Similar laws have since been proposed in many other states, typically related to charges of vote fraud, and often times tied into the divisive debate regarding undocumented immigrants. Our manuscript analyzes the impact that voter identification laws may have on the electorate in the state of Indiana. The ability to analyze representative data for specific segments of the electorate most likely to be impacted by these laws in Indiana allows for a direct test of whether photo identification laws negatively impact the poor and racial/ethnic minorities. Given a severe lack of research in this area for judges and policymakers to consider, this analysis will hopefully shed some light on the unintended consequences of these laws.

Background and Utility of Voter ID Laws

The strongest argument among proponents of these changes to election laws is that more stringent voting procedures will strengthen voting officials' ability to prevent voter fraud. Over the past few years there has been a growing concern among

government officials and political pundits that voter fraud is rampant and is threatening

the integrity of U.S. elections. For example, a 2005 U.S. Senate policy committee report

claimed "voter fraud continues to plague our nation's federal elections, diluting and

canceling out the lawful votes of the vast majority of Americans".[1] Those in favor of

tighter regulation of the electoral process contend that this effort will decrease voter fraud

and improve the electorates' trust and confidence in the system. In fact, the Secretary of

State for the state of Indiana recently stated that "voter fraud exists, and Hoosiers

shouldn't have to become further victims of it" (Barnes, 2007). Recent public opinion

polls have also indicated that a large segment of the American population believes that

voting fraud is prevalent, and lacks confidence in our election systems (Wang, 2006).

Assessing the prevalence of voter fraud is daunting due to the lack of official

federal, or even state level statistics on voter fraud.[2] However, attempts to quantify voter

fraud in U.S. elections with objective evidence and scientific methods has indicated that

voter fraud and corruption are not rampant, but instead rare and isolated (Minnite, 2007;

Minnite and Callahan, 2003).

Therefore, regardless of concrete evidence, it appears as though public opinion,

and as a result elected officials, will continue to support efforts to tighten election laws,

including the implementation of photo or multiple forms of identification at the polls.

However, strategies to implement greater regulation of the voting process may negatively

impact the participation levels of large segments of the American electorate. As a result,

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[1]   U.S. Senate Republican Policy Committee, "Putting an end to Voter Fraud," (February 15, 2005); available online at http://rpc.senate.gov/_files/feb1504VoterFfraudSDsd.pdf

[2] Although many forms of voting fraud are classified as felonies, voter fraud fails to appear in the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports. This has resulted in the lack of any publicly available criminal justice databases that include voter fraud as a category of crime.

both scholars and political pundits need to carefully consider the potential negative consequences of such policies before they are enacted.

The Potential Impact of Electoral Rules on the Electorate

The impact of electoral laws on political participation is central to many theories in the political participation literature. However, very little is known about the direct effects of voter identification (ID) laws on the electorate and electoral outcomes.

Institutional and social impediments to participation play a central role in the theoretical models used by social scientists to explain the elements that influence political behavior. Demographic factors signify social realities among groups that provide patterns of behavior which assist in reliably predicting the impact public policy may have on groups with certain demographic characteristics. Institutional burdens to participating have long been established to have the largest impact on individuals who have fewer resources, less education, smaller social networks and are more institutionally isolated. Increasing barriers to voting are likely to have the largest impact on these groups, and we find strong evidence to support our thesis that strict voter identification laws would substantially effect these groups negatively.

Although the ability of more strict registration requirements to prevent fraud is debatable, scholars have found evidence that registration requirements limit citizen participation in the electoral process (Harris 1929; Merriam and Gosnell 1924; Piven and Cloward 2000; King 1994). For example, the move to personal voter registration systems in the late 1890's effectively de-mobilized the poor and working classes (Piven and Cloward 2000). While many legal requirements for registration such as poll taxes,

literacy tests, and grandfather clauses have been removed by case law - *Smith vs. Allwright* (which eliminated white primaries) - or constitutional amendments, several restrictive registration regulations remain in place in many states, including early closing dates for registration, purging of registration rolls, and the limiting of voter registration to specific times and places (King 1994).

The set of administrative prerequisites for voting is one of the greatest sources of cost to potential voters, requiring time and political knowledge to engage the various levels of government to satisfy the rules for participation. Therefore, any increases in costs associated with voting should have the greatest impact on those with the fewest political resources – racial and ethnic minorities, the less educated, immigrants, and the less affluent to name a few. Attempts to analyze the impact of restrictive laws on voter registration and turnout for example have consistently concluded that turnout rates are higher when costs associated with registration are low (Campbell et al. 1960; Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980; Katosh and Traugott 1982; Jackson 1993; Blank 1974; Kim, Perocik and Enokson 1975; Bauer 1990).

Research in this area has also supported the notion that changes to election rules and procedures have a disproportionate impact on specific segments of the electorate. For example, some have argued that registration laws are the primary source of socioeconomic differences in voting rates among Americans (Powell 1986; Piven and Cloward 1988; Cunningham 1991). According to Cunningham (1991), "race and class disparities in rates of voter registration in this country are not inevitable. Rather, they are the product of historical and continuing racial and socioeconomic bias in the operation of our registration laws" (1991: 372). The implementation of the poll tax and literacy tests

are the most direct examples of how voting procedures can disproportionately impact the electorate. By comparing turnout rates with and without these obstacles, it is clear that literacy tests and poll taxes decreased turnout overall in the South (Rusk 1974). However, these factors disproportionately impacted Black voters. Similarly, state registration laws (early registration deadlines, limited registration office hours) decreased turnout in the 1972 election by about nine percentage points. The impact of these laws were also heaviest in the South among the less educated and among African Americans (Rosenstone and Wolfinger 1978). Therefore, more rigid voting prerequisite requirements not only negatively impact the electorate, but also have a disproportionate effect on racial minorities and the poor.

This research project is grounded in the extant literature which clearly indicates that when changes are made to electoral rules, including voting requirements, turnout is affected significantly. In short, when costs associated with voting are reduced turnout increases, when costs are increased turnout decreases. Further, due to varying levels of political resources (time, money, political sophistication etc.) the impact of these changes is typically most pronounced on specific segments of the electorate, including; racial and ethnic minorities, immigrants, and those with less educational attainment and lower incomes. This trend leads us to anticipate that photo identification laws will have a marked impact on the likelihood of racial and ethnic minorities being able to vote due not having the forms of identification required of the Indiana electoral rules.

The Indiana Electorate

We now turn specifically to Indiana, home of the country's most severe photo ID requirement. To gauge the impact of this voter ID law, particularly on traditionally underrepresented or overburdened segments of the electorate, it is worth looking at these segments of the Indiana population to illustrate the relative size of the groups our data indicates would be affected

The 2000 decennial census reports that in a population of 6,080,485 residents, over 74 percent of Indiana residents are of voting age, and over 12%, or 754,980 residents, are over 65 years of age. In regard to race and nativity, over 3% of the state's population is foreign born and over half a million residents, or 8.4%, are African American. Further, over 3.5%, or 212,817 residents, are Hispanic. There is also a sizable segment of individuals within Indiana who due to their socioeconomic status may be highly impacted by stricter voting requirements. Specifically, 21 % of households earned less than $20,000 (in 2000), and 18 percent of the adult population does not have a high school diploma. All together, these groups make up a substantial number of residents that would face a greater burden on their ability to participate by strict voter identification laws. African Americans, the elderly, low-income and less educated populations have been consistently shown to possess fewer resources, lower levels of political knowledge, and thus are more susceptible to be disenfranchised through additional layers of bureaucratic regulations, seen here as voter identification laws.

These demographic figures suggest that if photo identification is less available to racial minorities and those of lower socioeconomic status, laws requiring such ID would

impact large segments of the Indiana population. This manuscript directly tests these assertions by exploring the impact of stringent voting laws on the overall Indiana populations, as well as specific segments of the state that are theoretically most vulnerable to increased costs associated with voting.

Data and Methods

The objective of this research project is to determine the rates of access[5] to valid photo identification among voters and non-voters in Indiana, with an eye towards specific demographic groups such as the elderly, and racial minorities. We explore access to identification using a unique survey of registered voters, and adult non-registered residents in Indiana. This survey is the fourth in a series of voter surveys we have conducted, and the research methodology is well proven. In previous research, we found a strong correlation between the lack of access to valid photo identification and racial minorities, immigrants, the elderly, and low-income populations in Washington state, California and New Mexico (Barreto, Nuño and Sanchez 2007).

In October 2007, we fielded a statewide telephone survey in the state of Indiana. Registered voters were identified using a voter list and cross-checked with the Secretary of State for Indiana. The registered voter sample included a random statewide component, and oversamples of the African American and a low-income populations. The two oversamples were targeted based on population patterns at the census tract level.

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[5] Throughout this report we use different phrases to describe "access" to valid photo identification. All phrases refer to the same concept of possessing a valid state issued ID card which is current and has the residents full legal name. The full methodology is described below on page 8 – 9.

The oversamples help increase the sample size of African American and lower-income voters in the study, and provide much greater reliability for the estimates reported among these populations. A second sample of non-registered voters was obtained using random digit dialing (RDD) by screening out those individuals who stated they were presently registered to vote. In full, 1,000 interviews were collected among registered voters with a margin of error of 3.1 percent, and 500 interviews among non-registered adults with a margin of error of 4.4 percent. This approach provides the best data available for an analysis of how photo identification laws impact the Indiana electorate.

Defining Valid Photo Identification

The state of Indiana requires that a precinct voter show identification at the polling place that meets four key requirements: (1) has a photo of the voter; (2) contains an expiration date that is current; (3) is issued by the State of Indiana; and (4) has the full legal name of the voter that matches the voter registration records. To determine whether or not the adult eligible population, and registered voter population of Indiana has "valid" identification, we examined four different versions of what could be considered valid photo identification, using a series of branching questions. These variables are:

(1) Driver's License – 0,1 variable for whether or not the respondent has a currently updated driver's license based on two questions:

Q8. "Switching topics, do you happen to have a current Indiana driver's license?"

Q9A. "And do you happen to know if your current license has been updated, and had a new photo taken, within the last six years, meaning since October 2001, or do you think your current license might be more than six years old?"

(2) Current DL or State ID card – 0,1 variable for whether or not the respondent has a currently updated driver's license, and if not, whether they have a state issued ID card. In addition to the two questions described above, based on the following two questions:

Q9B. "Instead of a license, do you happen to have another form of photo identification such as a state ID card, US Passport, Military ID, or public university ID card from here in Indiana?"

Q9C. "And do you happen to know if that ID has an expiration date on it? If you have it with you, it's OK to take it out to check"

<u>(3) Valid ID + full name</u> – 0,1 variable for whether or not the valid ID has the respondent's full legal name or some other name, based on the follow up question:

Q9D. "A lot of people go by a nickname, or after getting married change their name. Is the name that is printed on your ID your full legal name, or does it contain a nickname, or something different from your full legal name?"

<u>(4) Valid ID + name match</u> – 0,1 variable for whether or not the name on the voter registration records matches the voter's actual name, based on the follow up questions:

V1. "That's all the questions we have for you. So we can take your name off our list, can you tell me the full legal spelling of your first name as it might appear on your identification?"

V2. "Okay, thank you [MISTER / MISS: INSERT LAST NAME]. I'm going to read you the spelling of your last name as it appears on the public voting file here in Indiana. We want to make sure that the voting file has the correct spelling of your name. Please tell me if this is correct:"

This comprehensive measurement strategy allows the analysis to accurately determine which segments of the Indiana population are less likely to have *any* forms of valid identification needed to vote in the state.

Results

We present three levels of analysis to assess access to valid photo identification in Indiana, and the subsequent political implications of these trends. First, we report descriptive statistics in the way of crosstabulations for access to photo identification for each key demographic group. Second, we report bivariate probit regression results predicting access to identification among these same demographic groups. The regression analysis is important because it determines whether or not the differences reported here are statistically significant, and therefore real, or within the margin of error

for the survey. Finally, we examine whether or not people with proper photo ID in Indiana are distributed equally along party lines, or whether the excluded voters (i.e. those without valid ID) are more likely to support Democratic or Republican candidates. In short, we find strong and statistical differences with respect to access to valid photo identification that significantly reduces the opportunity to vote for minority, low-income, less-educated and young and old residents of Indiana.

Table 1.1 reports the rates at which different segments of the Indiana voter population have valid photo identification. The top row listed, "All RVs" is for all registered voters statewide and can be used as a benchmark to compare whether various groups are higher or lower than the statewide average for registered voters. The data highlight many differences across subpopulations in Indiana. First, active voters are much more likely to have proper ID. Looking at column 3, (those having a valid and up-to-date state ID with their full legal name) 86.1% of those who voted in 2006[6] reported proper credentials compared to 78.1% of those who are registered but did not vote, and only 75.4% of those who are not registered voters. The gap between voters and registered non-voters may be evidence that the new voter ID standards in 2006 kept additional would-be voters away from the polls.

<center>(Insert Tables 1.1 and 1.2 About Here)</center>

Next, a significant gap in access to valid ID exists among White and Black registered voters, which is even more pronounced among the overall adult population in Indiana. Among those already registered to vote, looking to column 4, the closest

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[6] While 86.1% of actual voters had valid ID, 13.9% did not have currently up to date photo ID. A large number of these voters without ID voted in 2006 using absentee ballots which do not have the same ID requirements as for the polling place. In addition, some of these voters may have had a state ID card which had expired by October 2007 when the survey was conducted.

approximation to the current Indiana law, a 6-point gap exists in access to valid photo ID

with 84.2% of White registered voters reporting proper ID, compared to 78.2% of Black

registered voters. Table 1.2 reports similar data for the overall adult eligible population,

by way of merging the non-registered voter data with the registered voter data[7]. Here we

note a gap of 11.5 points with 83.2% of all Whites in Indiana reporting access to valid

photo identification, compared to 71.7% of Blacks statewide.

      With respect to age, a curvilinear pattern (similar to an upside down U-curve) is

found for the relationship between age of resident and access to valid identification.

Younger voters and older voters were both less likely to have valid ID compared to

voters in the middle categories. For example, 78% of registered voters age 18-34 had

proper ID and 80.6% of those over age 70 did. In contrast, 83.8% of those between the

ages of 35-54 had ID as did 85.9% of those between the ages of 55-69. Education and

Income also revealed discrepancies in access to valid photo identification. Compared to

college graduates, those with just a high school degree were 9.5 percentage points less

likely to have access to valid ID. Likewise, lower-income voters were the least likely to

have valid ID.

      Accompanying the data points in Tables 1.1 and 1.2 are a series of figures that

provide a graphic presentation of the gaps in access to ID among key demographic

groups (see Figures 1 – 4). For ease of presentation, we focus on the types of

identification described in column 2 and column 4. These figures convey the same

general patterns established above. In short, these graphics suggest that meaningful

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[7] Among the eligible adult population, 68.3% are registered to vote and 31.7% are not registered. Thus, we weight each group appropriately in the combined estimate (for example, 83.4 x .683 = 56.96 + 64.8 x .317 = 20.54 results in a combined total estimate of 77.5 in the driver's license column).

differences in access to valid ID exist for the demographic indicators of age, race, income, and voting status.

(Insert Figures 1-4 About Here)

In addition to demographic differences within the Indiana population, questions have been raised regarding whether any partisan or political differences exist with respect to access to valid photo identification. That is, are the haves and have nots randomly distributed across the political spectrum, or are members of one political party more likely to be left out under strict ID standards? To assess this question, we turn to Table 2, and the accompanying graphs (Figures 5 and 6). Slicing the data by party affiliation demonstrates that Democrats have lower rates of access to valid photo ID at 81.7% compared to 86.2% of Republicans. Looked at it a slightly different way, those with valid ID are much more likely to be Republicans than those who do not have valid ID. Among registered voters with valid ID, 41.6% consider themselves Republican[8] and 32.5% are Democrats. In contrast, among registered voters without proper ID, 34.8% are Republican and 38.0% are Democrats. Beyond the exclusion of certain demographic groups outlined above, this data suggests that a greater number of Democrats are excluded from voting under Indiana's voter identification laws.

(Insert Table 2 and Figures 5 and 6 About Here)

Regression Results

The descriptive frequency statistics reported above are quite informative of the differences in access to valid photo identification in Indiana, but by themselves, they do not prove that the 5-10 point gaps reported are statistically significant. In order to

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[8] To assess partisanship, the survey asked "Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or something else?"

determine whether or not the differences are in fact real, we conducted probit regression analysis on each of the four dependent variables. The regressions report the unstandardized beta coefficients and standard errors for each model, which also yields a z-score and resulting significance level. The key to interpreting the regression tables is to focus on two aspects. First, whether or not the coefficient is positive or negative, and second what the level of statistical significance is (reported under P>|z|). A significance value of .000 represents the highest degree of confidence, suggesting virtually 100% confidence that the result is statistically valid, whereas a significance level of .100 would be 90% confidence.

Table 3 and 4 report results by race. In Table 3, we compare White vs. non-White and in Table 4 Black vs. non-Black (although the two models are closely related to one another). Across all four measures of photo identification Whites are statistically significantly more likely to have access to valid ID, noted by the significance levels of .000, .004, .037, and .021. Similarly, Blacks were found to be statistically less likely to have access to ID. In model 3, "Valid ID with correct name" the significance level dips to 90.8% (P=.092), still quite robust, though slightly lower than the more traditional 95% significance level. However, in the other three models, the statistical relationship is quite clear, and most importantly in the final model, "Valid ID with correct name – match" the significance level is 97.4% (P=.026). The unmistakable implication of Tables 3 and 4 is that due to greater access to valid identification, Whites are less impacted by strict voting requirements than African Americans, who possess the required ID at demonstrably and statistically significant lower rates.

(Insert Tables 3 and 4 About Here)

Turning next to age (no difference in access is noted by gender), a somewhat different approach is taken in the regression models in Table 6. Because of the upside-down U shaped curve noted in Table 1.1 with respect to age, we use a quadratic model in which two variables, age and age-squared are included. This method better captures the potential curvilinear or exponential pattern in the data that a simple linear model would fail to uncover. Looking to the results, we find strong statistical evidence that age does indeed have a curvilinear relationship with access to ID. The positive results for the direct term age suggest that as age goes up, access to ID also increases. However, the negative result for age-squared and also for the constant term suggests that access to ID starts at a lower rate, increases incrementally with age, and then levels out and eventually decreases as age reaches higher values. Because this model and relationship is somewhat different than the others detailed here, we provide an example of the expected value outcomes by age. Using post-estimation analysis we generate predicted probabilities that a registered voter will have valid photo ID with their full name. An 18 year old voter is estimated at 68.8% access; 35 year old is 82.3% access; 50 year old is 86.2%; 65 year old is 85.1%; 75 year old is 81.4%; and 85 year old is estimated at 74.3% access. This we believe provides a more accurate depiction of how age impacts access to valid ID than the bivariate or regression results.

(Insert Tables 5 and 6 About Here)

Table 7 reports results for Education and access to valid ID. Overall, education does have a statistically significant effect with higher levels of education resulting in greater access to photo ID. However, the relationship is less statistically robust in models 3 and 4 where the confidence level is roughly 90%. Table 8 reports results for income,

and a clear pattern emerges. Income is positively and significantly associated with access

to ID, whereby low-income individuals have far less access to proper ID than do high-

income individuals. In model 4, the statistical significance is clear at 97.7% confidence.

<center>(Insert Tables 7 and 8 About Here)</center>

The final two tables offer a glimpse at the political implications of the voter ID

law in Indiana. First, voters are statistically more likely to have proper ID as reported in

Table 9. This is not surprising given that the intent of the voter ID law is to prevent

people without "proper" credentials form casting a ballot. The results here in Table 9

provide strong evidence that the law is preventing some from voting by the simple fact

that voters were far more likely to have ID than non-voters. Finally, Table 10 explores

access to valid photo identification by party affiliation and affirms the patterns in Table

1.1. Republicans are statistically more likely to have access to valid ID as compared to

Democrats and Independents. The significance levels in three of the four models indicate

that the relationship between partisanship and access to valid ID is quite robust.

<center>(Insert Tables 9 and 10 About Here)</center>

Conclusion

The state of Indiana has the most strict voting requirements in the nation. Voters

in the state of Indiana are required to present a photo identification issued by the federal

or state government in order to cast a ballot. The focus of this manuscript is to determine

the impact that these requirements have on the electorate in Indiana, with a specific focus

on those segments of the population that theory suggests are more likely to be vulnerable

to this law. Our unique survey sample of not only a random statewide component, but

also oversamples of the African American and a low-income populations provides the

ability to analyze the impact of these requirements on these specific segments of the Indiana population. Our results suggest that the findings of our earlier work conducted in more broad areas (Barreto, Nuño and Sanchez 2007), as minority, low-income, and less educated Indiana residents are less likely to have access to valid photo identification. This strongly implies that the Indiana voting laws significantly reduce the opportunity to vote for these segments of the state electorate.

It is critical to note that these disproportionate effects are not confined to a narrow segment of the Indiana population. Our results suggest that income has the most robust impact on access to valid forms of identification in Indiana. This law therefore directly impacts roughly one-fifth of Indiana residents, as 21% of Indiana households earned less than $20,000 in the year 2000. Similarly, African Americans who are also less likely to have access to photo identification in our study comprise nearly 9% of the state population. This we believe is strong evidence to be considered by judges, elected officials, and scholars who may have opportunities to implement and analyze similar laws in other locales.

While the ability of rigid voting requirements to achieve the goal of reducing voter fraud is debatable at best, our results from four separate locations clearly indicate that these requirements have significant electoral implications. Not only does the Indiana law disproportionately impact the communities most vulnerable to changes in the electoral process, there is also a clear partisan bias associated with these laws as well. Our data suggests that a greater number of Democrats than Republicans or Independents are excluded from voting under Indiana's voter identification laws. This is particularly concerning given the very narrow vote margins associated with several federal, state, and

local races in recent memory. While the state interest of preventing voting fraud is an important one, our results here question whether this interest should be advanced despite apparent evidence that this ostensible method of fraud prevention disproportionately impacts specific segments of the electorate.

Table 1.1: Access to Valid Photo Identification Among Registered Voters in Indiana

	(1) Driver's License	(2) Current DL or State ID card	(3) Valid ID + full name	(4) Valid ID + name match
All RVs	83.4	86.7	83.7	82.7
Voted06	86.0	89.3	86.1	85.9
Non-Voter	77.2	80.7	78.1	75.1
Non-Registered†	64.8	77.8	75.4	n/a
White	86.0	88.5	85.0	84.2
Black	66.7	81.9	80.7	78.2
Men	82.5	84.8	81.5	81.3
Women	84.2	88.5	85.7	83.9
18-34	73.4	79.7	79.7	78.0
35-54	87.4	89.0	85.2	83.8
55-69	87.7	90.6	86.4	85.9
70+	78.7	83.6	80.6	80.6
HS Grad	78.3	83.3	80.1	79.0
College grad	91.4	92.1	89.3	88.5
Less $40K	74.8	82.5	80.5	78.9
$40K - $80K	87.1	88.8	88.0	87.3
Over $80K	88.2	88.2	83.5	83.0
Marion County	75.0	81.5	80.4	78.1

Table 1.1.b: Percent of registered voters _without_ Valid Photo ID in Indiana

	(1b) Driver's License	(2b) Current DL or State ID card	(3b) Valid ID + full name	(4b) Valid ID + name match
All RVs	16.6	13.3	16.3	17.3
Voted06	14.0	10.7	13.9	14.1
Non-Voter	22.8	19.3	21.9	24.9
Non-Registered†	35.2	22.2	24.6	n/a
White	14.0	11.5	15.0	15.8
Black	33.3	18.1	19.3	21.8
Men	17.5	15.2	18.5	18.7
Women	15.8	11.5	14.3	16.1
18-34	26.6	20.3	20.3	22.0
35-54	12.6	11.0	14.8	16.2
55-69	12.3	9.4	13.6	14.1
70+	21.3	16.4	19.4	19.4
HS Grad	21.7	16.7	19.9	21.0
College grad	8.6	7.9	10.7	11.5
Less $40K	25.2	17.5	19.5	21.1
$40K - $80K	12.9	11.2	12.0	12.7
Over $80K	11.8	11.8	16.5	17.0
Marion County	25.0	18.5	19.6	21.9

Table 1.2: Access to Valid Photo Identification Among General Population

	Driver's License	Current DL or State ID card	Valid ID + full name
All Eligible Adults[††]	77.5	83.9	81.1
White Eligible Adults	81.4	86.4	83.2
Black Eligible Adults	55.2	73.4	71.7

[†] All entries are among registered voters except "All Eligible Adults" and "Non-Registered." The category Non-Registered is among adults who self-identified as not being registered voters in Indiana. The fourth column, Valid ID + name match, can not be ascertained for the non-registered population because it is based on the consistency of the voter's name on their ID card and the voter registration list, which of course, non-registered voters are not on.

[††] The category, All Eligble Adults combines the categories All RVs and Non-Registered. Among the eligible adult population, 68.3% are registered to vote and 31.7% are not registered. Thus, we weight each group appropriately in the combined estimate (for example, 83.4 x .683 = 56.96 + 64.8 x .317 = 20.54 results in a combined total estimate of 77.5 in the driver's license column)

Figure 1.1. Access to Valid Photo ID by Race
[Among Registered Voters State of Indiana]

Figure 1.2. Access to Valid Photo ID by Race
[Among Adult Eligible Population State of Indiana]

Figure 2. Access to Valid Photo ID by Age
[Among Registered Voters State of Indiana]

Figure 3. Access to Valid Photo ID by Income
[Among Registered Voters State of Indiana]
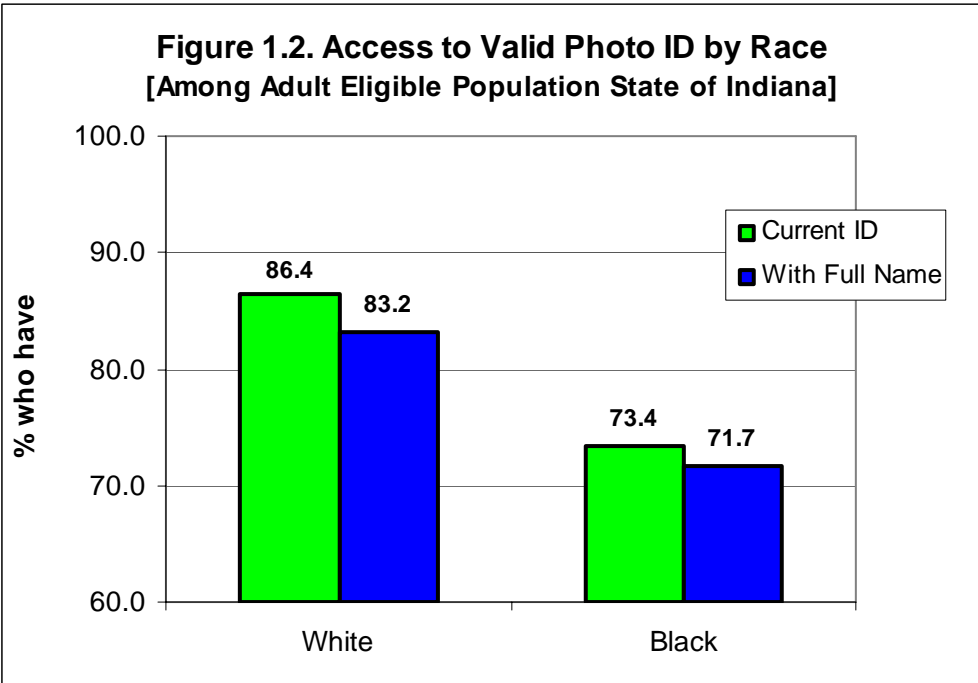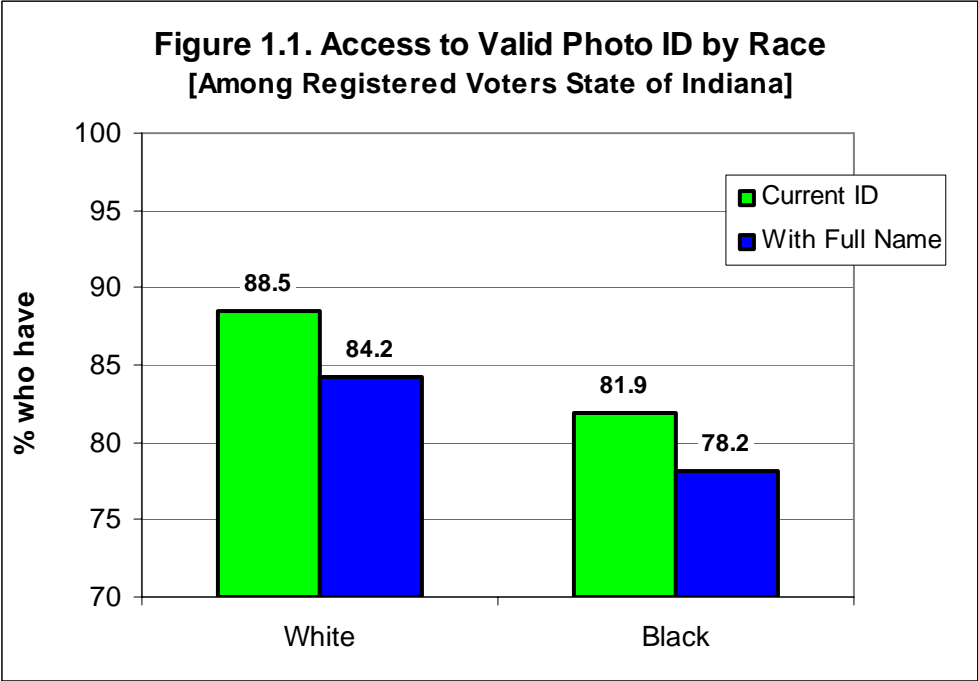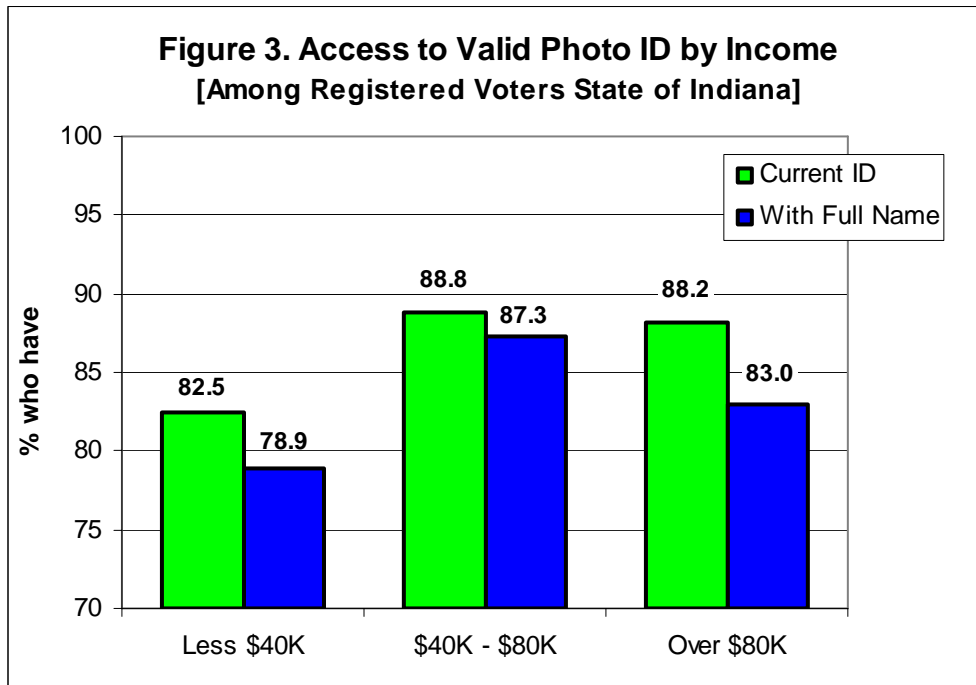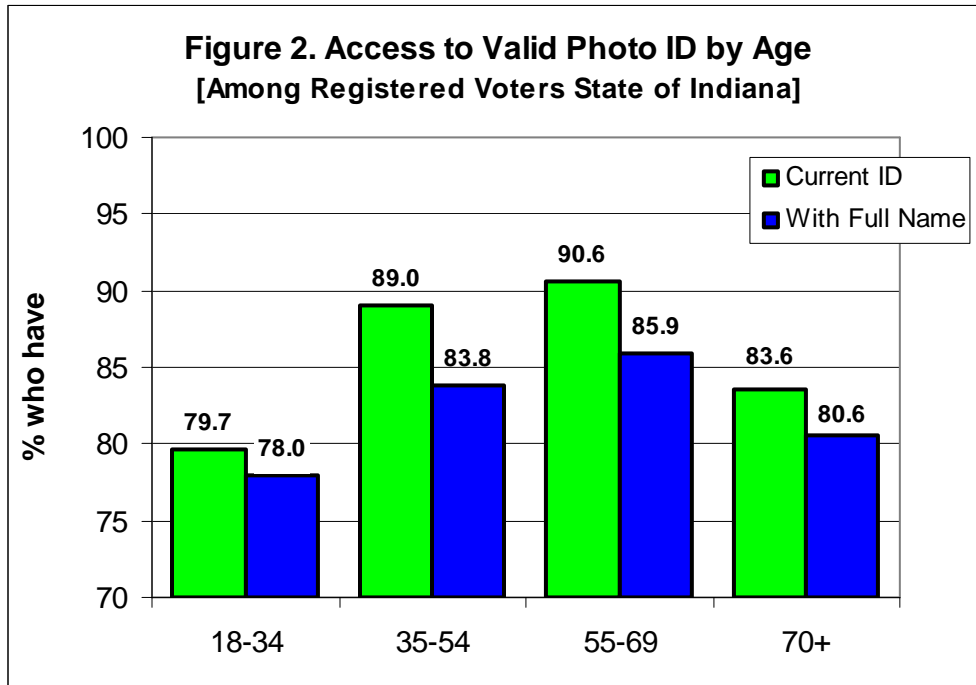
Figure 4. Access to Valid Photo ID by Vote Status
[Among Registered Voters State of Indiana]
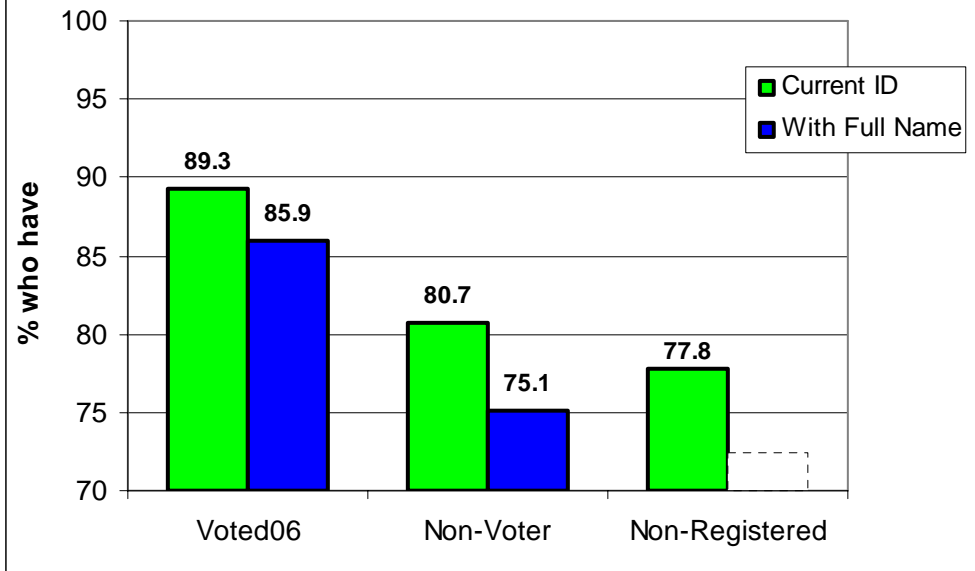
Table 2: Partisan Implications of Access to Valid Photo Identification

2.1 Access to ID

	Driver's License	Current DL or State ID card	Valid ID + full name	Valid ID + name match
Republican	88.0	91.1	86.5	86.2
Democrat	77.5	83.0	82.6	81.7
Independent	87.1	88.0	84.7	83.2

2.2 Party Affiliation by Access to ID

	Republican	Democrat	Independent		
Have valid ID	41.6	32.5	25.9	=	100.0
Do not have ID	34.8	38.0	27.2	=	100.0

Figure 5. Access to Valid Photo ID by Partisanship
[Among Registered Voters State of Indiana]

Figure 6. Party Affiliation Among Registered Voters
By Access to Valid Photo ID in Indiana
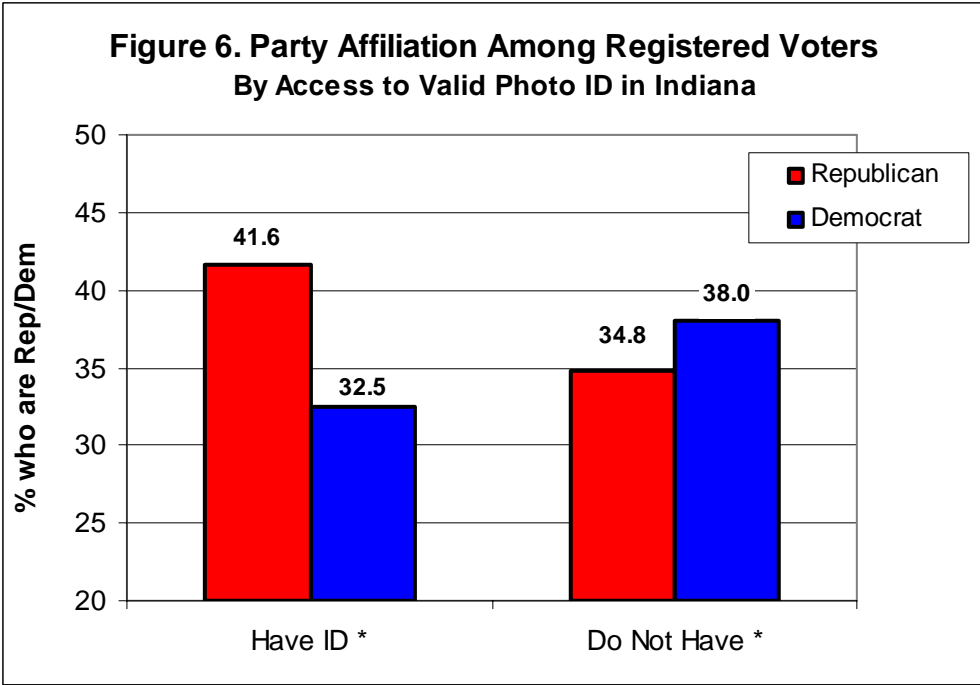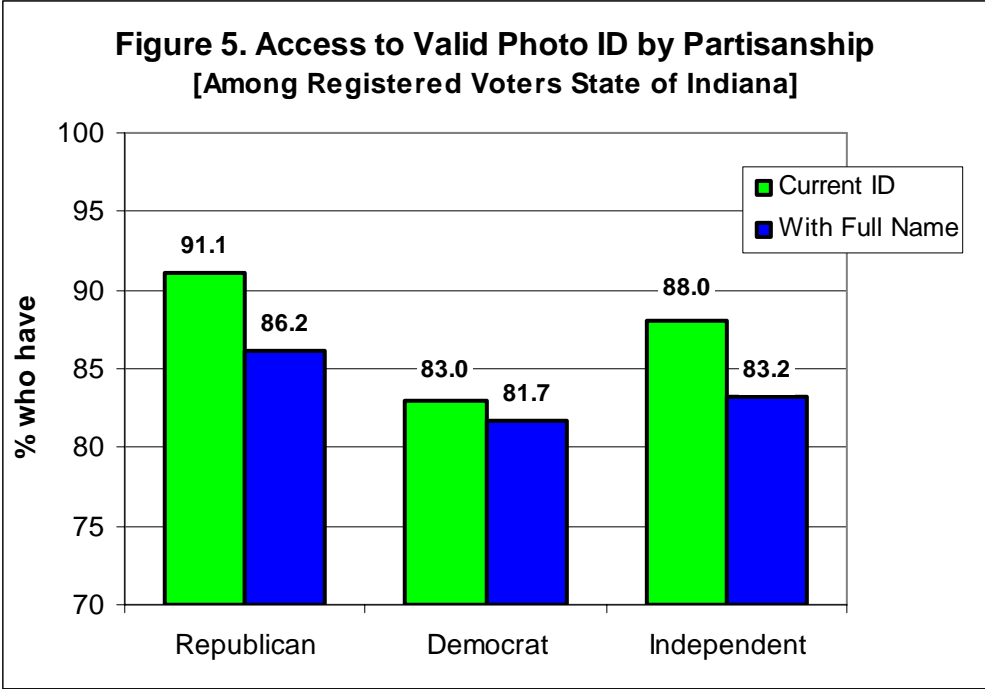
* Party affiliation is broken down by those with, or without Valid ID with full name
* 25.9% with ID were Independent/Other, and 27.2% of those without ID

Table 3: Bivariate Probit Regression Access to Valid Photo ID - White

Valid Driver's License

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
White	0.7397	0.1854	0.000
Constant	0.3405	0.1696	0.045

Valid Driver's License or State ID

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
White	0.5649	0.1954	0.004
Constant	0.6328	0.1788	0.000

Valid ID with correct name

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
White	0.4036	0.1933	0.037
Constant	0.6328	0.1788	0.000

Valid ID with correct name - match

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
White	0.4388	0.1903	0.021
Constant	0.5618	0.1760	0.001

Table 4: Bivariate Probit Regression Access to Valid Photo ID - Black

Valid Driver's License

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Black	-0.7108	0.1042	0.000
Constant	1.1429	0.0709	0.000

Valid Driver's License or State ID

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Black	-0.3398	0.1139	0.003
Constant	1.2498	0.0745	0.000

Valid ID with correct name

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Black	-0.1836	0.1089	0.092
Constant	1.0509	0.0682	0.000

Valid ID with correct name - match

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Black	-0.2365	0.1065	0.026
Constant	1.0149	0.0672	0.000

Table 5: Bivariate Probit Regression Access to Valid Photo ID - Gender

Valid Driver's License

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Male	0.0035	0.0911	0.969
Constant	0.8031	0.0623	0.000

Valid Driver's License or State ID

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Male	0.1196	0.1002	0.233
Constant	1.1315	0.0703	0.000

Valid ID with correct name

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Male	0.1080	0.0956	0.258
Constant	1.0028	0.0667	0.000

Valid ID with correct name - match

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Male	0.0939	0.0938	0.317
Constant	0.9414	0.0652	0.000

Table 6: Bivariate Probit Regression Access to Valid Photo ID – Age / Age^2

Valid Driver's License

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Age	0.0765	0.0190	0.000
Age^2	-0.0007	0.0002	0.000
Constant	-0.8569	0.4705	0.069

Valid Driver's License or State ID

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Age	0.0677	0.0198	0.001
Age^2	-0.0006	0.0002	0.001
Constant	-0.5011	0.4905	0.307

Valid ID with correct name

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Age	0.0487	0.0192	0.011
Age^2	-0.0005	0.0002	0.009
Constant	-0.1505	0.4797	0.754

Valid ID with correct name - match

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Age	0.0504	0.0190	0.008
Age^2	-0.0005	0.0002	0.008
Constant	-0.2671	0.4739	0.573

Table 7: Bivariate Probit Regression
Access to Valid Photo ID - Education

Valid Driver's License

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Education	0.2619	0.0827	0.002
Constant	0.4521	0.1727	0.009

Valid Driver's License or State ID

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Education	0.1767	0.0867	0.042
Constant	0.7614	0.1838	0.000

Valid ID with correct name

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Education	0.1326	0.0819	0.105
Constant	0.7136	0.1764	0.000

Valid ID with correct name - match

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Education	0.1328	0.0806	0.099
Constant	0.6719	0.1740	0.000

Table 8: Bivariate Probit Regression
Access to Valid Photo ID - Income

Valid Driver's License

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Income	0.3472	0.0738	0.000
Constant	0.2826	0.1279	0.027

Valid Driver's License or State ID

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Income	0.1692	0.0777	0.029
Constant	0.8162	0.1388	0.000

Valid ID with correct name

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Income	0.1406	0.0736	0.056
Constant	0.7589	0.1331	0.000

Valid ID with correct name - match

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Income	0.1643	0.0724	0.023
Constant	0.6671	0.1305	0.000

Table 9: Bivariate Probit Regression
Access to Valid Photo ID - Voting

Valid Driver's License

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Voted 06	0.3332	0.1422	0.019
Constant	0.7461	0.1148	0.000

Valid Driver's License or State ID

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Voted 06	0.3743	0.1495	0.012
Constant	0.8675	0.1191	0.000

Valid ID with correct name

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Voted 06	0.3062	0.1431	0.032
Constant	0.7761	0.1158	0.000

Valid ID with correct name - match

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Voted 06	0.3982	0.1404	0.005
Constant	0.6766	0.1127	0.000

Table 10: Bivariate Probit Regression
Access to Valid Photo ID - Partisanship

Valid Driver's License

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Republican	0.2924	0.1122	0.009
Constant	0.7369	0.0512	0.000

Valid Driver's License or State ID

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Republican	0.2543	0.1246	0.041
Constant	1.0182	0.0563	0.000

Valid ID with correct name

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Republican	0.1842	0.1158	0.112
Constant	0.9092	0.0541	0.000

Valid ID with correct name - match

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>|z|
Republican	0.2388	0.1149	0.038
Constant	0.8432	0.0529	0.000

Appendix: Variable Description

Driver's License – 0,1 variable for whether or not the respondent has a currently updated driver's license based on two questions:

"Switching topics, do you happen to have a current Indiana driver's license?"

"And do you happen to know if your current license has been updated, and had a new photo taken, within the last six years, meaning since October 2001, or do you think your current license might be more than six years old?"

Current DL or State ID card – 0,1 variable for whether or not the respondent has a currently updated driver's license, and if not, whether they have a state issued ID card. In addition to the two questions described above, based on the following two questions:

"Instead of a license, do you happen to have another form of photo identification such as a state ID card, US Passport, Military ID, or public university ID card from here in Indiana?"

"And do you happen to know if that ID has an expiration date on it? If you have it with you, it's OK to take it out to check"

Valid ID + full name – 0,1 variable for whether or not the valid ID has the respondent's full legal name or some other name, based on the follow up question:

"A lot of people go by a nickname, or after getting married change their name. Is the name that is printed on your ID your full legal name, or does it contain a nickname, or something different from your full legal name?"

Valid ID + name match – 0,1 variable for whether or not the name on the voter registration records matches the voter's actual name, based on the follow up questions:

"That's all the questions we have for you. So we can take your name off our list, can you tell me the full legal spelling of your first name as it might appear on your identification?"

"Okay, thank you [MISTER / MISS: INSERT LAST NAME]. I'm going to read you the spelling of your last name as it appears on the public voting file here in Indiana. We want to make sure that the voting file has the correct spelling of your name. Please tell me if this is correct:"

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