

# Expert Report of Matt A. Barreto

**RATES OF POSSESSION OF VALID PHOTO  
IDENTIFICATION, AND PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE  
OF THE VOTER ID LAW IN PENNSYLVANIA**

**Expert Report Submitted on Behalf of Plaintiffs in  
Applewhite, et al. v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, et al.,  
No. 330 MD 2012**

**Principal Investigator: Matt A. Barreto, Ph.D., University of Washington**

**Co-Investigator: Gabriel R. Sanchez, Ph.D., University of New Mexico**

**Research Assistant: Hannah Walker, M.A., University of Washington**

**July 16, 2012**

## Table of Contents

I.	Introduction and Question Presented.....	2
II.	Survey methodology .....	12
III.	Survey Findings: Impact of the PA Voter ID law.....	20
	A. Possession of a valid photo ID among eligible, registered and 2008 voting population .....	20
	B. Public knowledge of Pennsylvania’s Voter ID law .....	22
	C. Unpacking why individuals lack a valid photo ID.....	24
	D. Rates of possession of required underlying documents.....	25
	E. Are certain subgroups at greater risk than others.....	27
	F. Knowledge of the Voter ID law among subgroups .....	32
IV.	Conclusion .....	33
	Appendix A: Tables of Results.....	35
	Appendix B: Survey Questionnaire .....	63
	Appendix C: Dr. Matt A. Barreto CV.....	71
	Appendix D: Dr. Gabriel R. Sanchez CV.....	81

## **I. Introduction and Question Presented**

The objective of this research report is to determine the rates of possession, and lack of possession of valid photo identification among the eligible voting population, the registered voter population, and 2008 voters in Pennsylvania. More specifically, the plaintiffs in *Applewhite, et al. v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, et al., No. 330 MD 2012* retained us to create a research design that would allow for an examination of the percent of the eligible, registered, and 2008 voting population that do not possess a valid photo ID. Furthermore, we have attempted to determine why certain segments of the Pennsylvania population lack valid identification: lack of any accepted identification, possession of an expired identification, or the failure of their full legal name to substantially conform to their photo ID.

We were also asked to assess how knowledgeable segments of the Pennsylvania population are about the current voting requirements. Specifically whether residents of the state know the totality of the new voting requirements and whether they believe they currently have a valid ID that meets the requirements. Here, we will determine the percentage of the population who believe they have the necessary forms of ID to vote, but upon further question, may lack the specific and necessary forms of ID required under the new law. This particular population is critical to identify, as they are most likely to attempt to vote without the appropriate ID due to a misperception that they are in compliance, or perhaps they are unaware that such a Voter ID requirement exists in the first place.

In addition, we were asked to examine the rate at which Pennsylvanians do, or do not possess the necessary underlying documents to obtain a valid photo ID in the first place, including documentary proof of citizenship, social security card, and proof of address. Last, we conclude with an assessment of whether the new law impacts the entire population of Pennsylvania equally, or if certain segments of the population are more at risk of being

disenfranchised than others, which includes the presentation of results by gender, race, age, income, education, region and more. To answer these questions we fielded a telephone survey of 1,285 randomly selected citizen adults in Pennsylvania, and separately added an oversample of African Americans and Hispanics. The full survey methodology is detailed below in Section II.

I am currently an Associate Professor of Political Science and director of the Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity, Race & Sexuality (WISER) at the University of Washington, Seattle. I am also an affiliated faculty and executive committee member of the Center for Statistics and the Social Sciences (CSSS) at UW and an adjunct professor in the UW School of Law. I completed a Ph.D in Political Science, with an emphasis on racial and ethnic politics in the U.S., political behavior, and public opinion at the University of California, Irvine in 2005. Over the past six years, I have collaborated closely on research related to voter identification laws with Dr. Gabriel R. Sanchez, an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque. He and I have designed multiple surveys together about Voter ID laws, co-authored conference papers and published our research on Voter ID laws in peer-reviewed academic journals. As such, Dr. Sanchez served as a co-investigator on this project. Dr. Sanchez and I have implemented more than 75 public opinion surveys and have, in total, published 2 books and 43 peer-reviewed academic research articles, 15 book chapters in academic research volumes between the two of us. My own CV is included as appendix C, and Prof. Sanchez's CV is included as appendix D. In addition, Ms. Hannah Walker, who holds a Master's degree Public Policy from Rutgers University, and is currently pursuing a Ph.D. in Political Science at the University of Washington, assisted us in creating and compiling the tables for this report. I was paid an hourly consulting rate of \$250 per hour for my work on this project including for any deposition or testimony in court.

While the full methodology, statistical analysis and findings are detailed throughout this 30 page PDF, a short overview of the most relevant findings are offered first:

- A substantial percentage of the Pennsylvania population is currently unaware that a photo ID law exists: 37.3% of eligible voters are unaware, 34.3% of registered voters are unaware, and 34.2% of those who voted in the 2008 election are unaware.
- Almost all of the voting eligible population in Pennsylvania believes that they have a valid photo ID: 97.8% of eligible voters, 98.8% of registered voters, and 98.7% of those who voted in the 2008 election claim they do possess a valid photo ID.
- Despite the high rates of perceived compliance with the law, a large number of potential voters in Pennsylvania lack a valid photo ID (non-expired<sup>1</sup> with name confirming): 14.4% of eligible voters lack a valid ID (1,364,433 people), 12.8% of registered voters (1,055,200), and 12.6% of those who voted in the 2008 election (757,325 people).
- Before even considering whether the name conforms, 10.1% of eligible voters lack a non-expired ID (956,998 people), 8.7% of registered voters (717,207), and 8.0% of those who voted in the 2008 election (480,842 people).
- There are also a large number of people who believe that they have a valid ID but actually do not. More specifically, there are 1,241, 255 eligible voters who inaccurately believe that they possess a valid ID, 997,494 registered voters, and 709,240 people who voted in the 2008 election who believe that they have a valid ID but actually do not.
- In order to obtain a valid photo ID, residents of Pennsylvania need to provide documentary proof of citizenship, a social security card, and proof of address. Among eligible voters who currently lack a valid ID, 27.6% do not have at least one of the three required underlying documents needed to obtain a valid photo ID. Overall, this represents an estimated 379,009 citizen, adult, eligible voters in Pennsylvania.
- Finally, there are several statistically significant differences in possession rates of valid photo ID across subgroups of the population. Specifically, female eligible voters lack ID at higher rates (17.2%) than do males (11.5%). Latino eligible voters lack ID at higher rates (18.3%) than do non-Hispanic Whites (14.0%). The elderly (over age 75) lack ID at higher rates (17.8%) than middle-aged residents (10.3%) and younger respondents (age 18-34) also lack at higher rates (17.9%). Eligible voters who make less than \$20,000 annually are more likely to lack a valid photo ID (22%) than all other income categories, most notably those who make \$80,000 or more (8.2%), and finally 18.5% of respondents who did not complete high school lack an ID compared to 8.3% among college graduates.

---

<sup>1</sup> PennDOT ID's can be expired by up to one year, and the survey asked respondents if their PennDOT ID was up to date, or had an expiration date after November 6, 2011. For Military ID respondents were asked if it was current, expired or had an indefinite expiration date. More detail on this is explained below in survey methodology.

To test these questions a survey was designed specifically focused on the Pennsylvania photo ID law which was signed into law in March 2012, and will take effect with the November 6, 2012 general election. This research approach has four critical advantages for the purpose of identifying the percentage of various segments of the voting eligible population who lack valid forms of identification: 1) the use of a survey provides the opportunity to directly ask residents of Pennsylvania whether they are in possession of a valid photo ID as well as the underlying documents necessary to obtain a valid ID, 2) the survey questions were designed to capture the specific nuances of the Pennsylvania law, and 3) this study is focused on all eligible voters and also has sizable samples of registered voters and those who voted in November 2008 , appropriate for statistical analysis, 4) this study includes an assessment of how many eligible voters and registered voters believe that they have the required forms of ID to vote, but due to unfamiliarity with the law, are actually mistaken.

This approach is the most accurate way to assess rates of possession of valid photo ID because eligible voters were contacted directly and asked what documents or types of identification they currently possess. Other methods, such as examining existing large public databases, may not be as informative because they may not contain information on all types of ID that an individual possesses, or they may not be able to provide accurate information on the exact expiration date, or current name of individuals that may have changed due to marriage. Finally, a survey can ask more specifically about current physical possession of their ID to capture any instances where IDs have been lost, stolen, misplaced, or destroyed.

It was critical that respondents to the survey were both residents of Pennsylvania and eligible to vote. The survey therefore started with the following questions that were used as a screener for eligibility to participate in the study (see Appendix B for full survey questionnaire):

“Okay, just to make sure you are eligible to take part in our survey about voting, can you confirm that you are 18 or over, and currently a U.S. citizen, and you have lived here in Pennsylvania for more than 30 days?”

Any individual who provided a response to these items that would make them ineligible to vote were excluded from the study, ensuring that the analysis is focused on eligible voters in Pennsylvania. Respondents were also asked whether they were currently registered to vote in Pennsylvania, and if so, if they voted in Pennsylvania in the November 2008 election. Therefore, results from our analyses of possession of valid photo identification are specific to the voting eligible population of the state. The research approach undertaken was very thorough in its effort to restrict the sample to respondents who are eligible to vote, and thus impacted by the law.

Specifically, the study is focused on identifying the percentage of eligible, registered and 2008 voters in Pennsylvania who lack possession of valid photo ID and the survey was therefore designed to address the exact provisions of the law. For example, when respondents were asked to confirm that they had an “up-to-date” driver’s license or other accepted forms of photo ID, survey interviewers confirmed that the expiration date on their ID was after November 6, 2011 – the date 12 months prior to the upcoming 2012 election. Although many studies narrowly focus on possession of a driver’s license or state ID card, our analysis includes all other forms of ID acceptable under the Pennsylvania law. Respondents were asked to indicate whether they were in possession of any of the following forms of photo ID: a Pennsylvania driver’s license, a Pennsylvania non-driver photo ID card that was issued by the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation, a U.S. Passport, a U.S. military ID card, Pennsylvania National Guard or military-dependent ID card, issued by a uniformed armed services (not counting an ID issued by the VA), an official photo ID card issued by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, a photo ID from a city, borough, township or county in Pennsylvania issued to an employee, an official photo ID card issued by the U.S. Federal government. Given that only photo ID’s issued by a



licensed long-term care facility, or by an accredited college or university are accepted, respondents who indicated that they had a long-term care facility ID, or a college ID in Pennsylvania were asked to provide the name of the specific institution so that the card's validity could be verified. If a respondent had any such form of ID, they were asked to verify that their ID had an expiration date on it, and was not expired (or expired after November 6, 2011), a requirement under the new law. Later, respondents were asked to verify that the name on their identification substantially conforms to their correct legal name. Because of this careful attention to the specific nuances of the Pennsylvania statute, the data provides an accurate and reliable depiction of the rates of possession of valid photo ID in the state. In designing this study, I have reviewed the Pennsylvania Voter ID law, the associated frequently asked questions (FAQs), and the plaintiff's petition. Further, relying on the data from this survey has allowed me to formulate opinions, to a reasonable degree of professional certainty, about how Pennsylvania's Voter ID law will impact Pennsylvania's eligible, registered, and 2008 voters, and those opinions are stated in this report.

**A. Principal focus: percent of the eligible, registered, and voter population who do not possess a valid photo ID in Pennsylvania**

This study was designed with the principal focus of identifying the percent and estimated raw number of Pennsylvania residents who do not possess a valid photo ID across the following segments of the population: citizen adults eligible to vote, those who are currently registered to vote, and those who reported voting in the November 2008 election. To assess this, the survey utilized an initial screening to identify eligible voters which asked respondents to verify that there were 1) 18 years of age, 2) currently a US citizen, and 3) residents of the Commonwealth

of Pennsylvania for at least the past 30 days. All individuals who said “no” to this question had their interview terminated and were not included in our data. The survey then included a question asking respondents if they were currently registered to vote in Pennsylvania to make a distinction between the eligible to vote and registered to vote populations within the state. Finally, the survey asked respondents to indicate whether they actually voted in the November 2008 election in Pennsylvania.

To assess the rates of possession of valid photo ID, both percentages and raw number estimates are presented for individuals who do not possess the various forms of photo ID as well as the underlying documents required to obtain a valid photo ID among Pennsylvania residents. The survey includes several questions focused on uncovering the possession and lack of possession of all relevant forms of identification required to vote under the new law. Specifically, the survey begins this segment of the interview by asking respondents if they have a current Pennsylvania driver’s license, even if it is suspended or revoked. If respondents indicate that they do have a driver’s license they are then asked to verify the expiration date is after November 6, 2011, or if it had been updated in the last four years. Respondents who report that they do not have a valid driver’s license are then asked to indicate whether they have one of the limited forms of other acceptable forms of photo ID which is summarized above on pages 6-7 and also found in Appendix B.

Given that these alternative forms of photo ID must also be up-to-date and not expired, we verify the expiration date for each relevant form of ID, taking into consideration the specific eligibility requirements for each form of ID. For example, we ask respondents if their passport has been updated within the past ten years, while ensuring that a military ID has either a current expiration date or an indefinite expiration, which is accepted under the statute. Finally, given that

the statute requires that the voters name listed on the ID substantially conforms to the name listed in the voter rolls, the survey includes the following question focused on whether there is an exact match in the name listed on the ID and the voter roll:

“A lot of people go by a nickname or change their name when they get married. Is the name that is printed on your {*driver’s license / official photo ID*} your full legal name, exactly as it would appear on the Pennsylvania voter registration record, or is there a difference?”

This is an important question to include in a study focused on the potential impact of the new statute on voter disenfranchisement, as an additional 4.3% of respondents who had an up-to-date ID, reported that their name listed on their ID did not match that which would appear on the voter registration records. Although the law allows for substantial conformity, it is important to note that this puts a lot of discretion with the poll workers to determine how closely the name listed on an ID must match the voter roll. Consequently, our analysis utilizes a direct match approach, as this is the only method that allows for a reliable and objective determination of how many individuals lack a valid ID, including an ID that lacks name conformation.

## **B. Public knowledge of the law and perception of valid photo ID possession**

In addition to identifying how many eligible voters in Pennsylvania lack the required photo ID needed to vote, we were also asked to assess general knowledge of the new law among eligible voters, registered voters, and voters. More specifically, the survey asked respondents directly if Pennsylvania will require voters to show a valid photo ID when voting in person, or not. Next, respondents were asked if they believe that they currently have the required valid ID needed to vote if a poll worker happened to ask them to produce one.

“Different states have different rules on what a voter needs to show the poll worker before they can vote. As far as you know, does Pennsylvania have a law that requires voters to show a valid photo ID before they can vote in-person at their polling place, or is this not required in Pennsylvania to vote in-person?”

“And if a poll worker did happen to ask you to show a valid photo ID in order to vote, as far as you know, do you currently possess a valid photo ID?”

These questions are an important component of our analysis, as it is probable that respondents who are unaware of the new law in Pennsylvania will not bring their valid photo ID with them to the voting booth, or those who currently lack a valid ID may be less likely to obtain the required ID if they unaware that they would need one. In the findings section of this document (see Section IV-B), we provide the percent of people who fit this classification across the categories of inquiry- eligible voters, registered voters, and 2008 voters.

### **C. Rates of possession of underlying documents needed to obtain a valid photo ID**

A secondary question beyond possession of valid photo ID is whether or not citizen adults in Pennsylvania also have the proper documents to obtain a valid photo ID in the first place. Specifically, residents in Pennsylvania need to provide documentary proof of citizenship, their actual social security card for proof of identity, and two forms of proof of address in order to obtain a valid PennDOT ID. The survey asked respondents whether or not they had an official copy of their birth certificate with a raised seal, a U.S. passport, or a certificate of citizenship or naturalization to provide proof of citizenship. Respondents were next asked if they had their actual social security card, not a print out or photocopy. Finally, respondents were asked if they had two or more documents that contained their current address to show proof of residence, including: tax records or W-2 form, rental or lease agreement, home mortgage documents, current gun or firearm permit, current bank statement or credit card bill, current utility bill such as water, sewer, gas, or electricity bill. If they did not have two or more of these such documents, respondents were asked if someone else in their household has two such documents

in their name, and a valid photo ID, who could accompany them and verify their proof of address. The full question wording can be found in Appendix B, items 13 – 16B.

**D. Does the new law impact the Pennsylvania population equally or are there specific sub-groups who disproportionately lack the required ID?**

We were also interested in assessing whether or not the Pennsylvania Voter ID law would be felt equally across the entire state population, or if certain subgroups within the citizen adult population would be disproportionately impacted due to lack of possession of valid ID. In particular, the study design allowed us to assess if there were any statistically significant differences in rates of possession, or lack of possession of valid photo ID based on a variety of demographic characteristics. At the end of the survey, respondents answered basic demographic questions related to their race and ethnicity, gender, age, household income, education level and more.

In addition to the frequencies associated with possession of a valid form of ID, results from a series of statistical tests are presented to determine whether different subgroups of potential voters in Pennsylvania are disproportionately impacted by the new law. In this case, logistic regression was utilized to determine whether or not different groups are distinct from each other when observing binary outcomes, such as possession of various forms of acceptable ID. Logistic regression is the most appropriate statistical analysis to test these relationships for two reasons: first, because the outcome variables of interest, possession of a valid photo ID, or possession of underlying documents, are binary and logistic regression is best at estimating a 0,1 binary dependent variable, and second, because the regression provides a more precise, accurate, and strict test of statistical significance than does a chi-square or t-test comparison of means. The

results of the regression analysis provide a direct test of whether possession rates of acceptable ID vary in a statistically significant manner for men or women, or for low-income and high-income respondents. As is the norm in the social sciences, standard levels of significance are utilized of .001, .010, .050, and .100 to determine if a result is statistically significant. The following symbols in the tables provide an indication of the confidence level and degree of statistical significance for the observed difference between racial groups: \*\*\*  $Pr < .001$  \*\*  $Pr < .010$  \*  $Pr < .050$  ‡  $Pr < .100$ . For example, if a relationship is marked with a \*\* symbol, we can say that the observed difference between Latinos and non-Hispanic Whites would achieve statistical significance at 99% certainty – that is, the result would be expected to occur again 99% of the time if this study were repeated with additional samples of the Pennsylvania population. Similarly, if the pr value is .050, then we can say that the observed difference would achieve statistical significance at 95% certainty. The statistical significance, or confidence interval, essentially takes into account the survey margin of error, and degree of difference in results to determine if the differences observed are real and true.

## **II. Survey methodology**

### **A. Survey research is a reliable and trusted method in the social sciences**

Within social science research, public opinion and political behavior have been longstanding areas of significant consequence and interest. The primary reason for using survey research to study possession of a valid photo ID is simple: if you want to know if the population has the required ID, just ask them. Early on, “pollsters” learned that you could learn a great deal about voter attitudes, and possibly even predict election results through large quantitative surveys of the public. Over the past decades, the science of public opinion surveys has expanded greatly

and great expertise has been developed in how to accurately sample, construct, implement and analyze survey data.<sup>2</sup> Survey research has become a hallmark of social science research, such that at a typical Political Science academic conference, more than 500 different research papers using survey data are regularly presented. When surveys are implemented accurately, results generated from a sample of the population can be inferred to the larger population from which the sample is drawn, given the appropriate sampling error, or confidence interval that must always be accounted for.<sup>3</sup> The most important starting point for sound survey research is to acquire an accurate sample frame from which to draw the eventual sample of people interviewed. If the sample is reflective of the larger population, and the survey is administered randomly, and without bias, the results of the eventual survey results can be considered as statistically reliable estimate.<sup>4</sup> These standards of survey design were followed very closely when implementing this study.

### **i. Survey design**

In designing the survey researchers must consider three important topics to ensure their project is of the highest quality and follows social scientific standards. First, the population for which inferences will be made must be identified. In this case, inferences will be made about the rates of possession of valid photo identification for the eligible, registered and voting population in Pennsylvania. With this in mind, the most accurate and efficient way to contact this population should be determined, and the most common approaches are through the use of (1) random digit dial (RDD) and (2) household listed samples. The first approach, RDD takes the

---

<sup>2</sup> For example, see Harold Lasswell, *Democracy Through Public Opinion*. 1941; Harry Alpert, "Public Opinion Research as Science." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 20(3). 1956; and Robert Groves et. al. *Survey Methodology*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2009.

<sup>3</sup> Claes-Magnus Cassell et. al., *Foundations of inference in survey sampling*. 1977; Barry Graubard and Edward Korn, "Survey inference for subpopulations." *American Journal of Epidemiology*. 144(1). 1996.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Scheaffer et. al. *Elementary Survey Sampling*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. 2012; Robert Groves, *Survey Errors and Survey Costs*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2004.

known area codes and pre-fixes for a given geographic area, and randomly generates the last four digits of phone numbers and then places calls to those numbers entirely at random. This ensures that every possible phone number in Pennsylvania has an equal chance of being called. A second approach that is also used quite extensively is randomly calling listed household samples. For example, rather than calling randomly generated phone numbers which may not even exist, a listed sample starts with the known universe of actual phone numbers that have been issued to either landline or cell phone subscribers in a geographic area (Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in this case). Listed samples are far more efficient than pure RDD because they greatly reduce the number of “dead numbers” dialed and allow interviewers to focus on known working phone numbers. Listed samples are especially useful if researchers are interested in drilling down into a particular sub-group within the population such as racial and ethnic minorities. Sample vendors can sell a listed sample of all households in a particular area, or they can provide sample records for just Hispanic households. Likewise, sample vendors sell lists of known cell phone/wireless phone numbers for particular geographic areas, and those can then be randomly dialed as part of a survey. For this particular survey, three sample components are part of the overall project. First, an RDD landline sample of 997 eligible voters, representative of the full demographics of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania was targeted. Second, an RDD sample of 288 wireless respondents was targeted using known wireless exchanges in the state. In total 1,285 respondents make up the main statewide eligible voter survey. Among all eligible voters our sample included 1,097 registered voters, and 893 respondents who voted in 2008. Overall, the statewide survey has a margin of error of +/- 2.7% when the distribution of a question is at 50/50. If the distribution of a question is 85/15 then the margin of error is +/- 1.9%. Third, in order to reach a reliable sample of African American and Latino eligible voters, two separate listed-sample



oversamples of Black and Hispanic eligible voters was completed, so that when point estimates are provided for these two groups, they each surpassed n=500 in sample. These oversamples are not included as part of the main statewide results, but rather only in the secondary analysis of subgroups in Pennsylvania. Among the various demographic subgroups within the state, Black and Hispanic residents represent about 9.5 % and 3.5 % of eligible voters respectively. Thus in order to effectively analyze these particular subgroups an oversample was necessary to increase the number of completed surveys for these groups and decrease the margin of error when examining the results.

The second area of importance is the design and construction of the survey questionnaire itself. In designing the questionnaire researchers should follow best practices established by existing social science research, as well as groups such as the American Association of Public Opinion Research (AAPOR). It is important that questions are direct, objective, and neutral, and not meant to lead respondents to give one particular answer over another and respondents should have an appropriate range of available answer choices. With modern survey technology, questionnaires should always be programmed to rotate question wording, randomize answer choices, rotate options forward-to-back and more, to ensure that no priming takes place whereby respondents lean towards one type of answer because it is always read as the first option. For example, if the survey always led with the negative option for a question assessing approval of the President – strongly disapprove – researchers might end up with an over-estimation of respondents who pick strongly disapprove because they always hear that first. Not only is randomization important in selecting respondents, but within the survey randomization should be a priority when it appropriately helps avoid introducing any type of response bias.

The full questionnaire is included as an appendix to this document (Appendix B) so that readers can see that all of these criteria were followed when designing and implementing this survey. In this instance, the survey questionnaire contained four main sections: first the screening questions to establish eligibility to participate in the study; second to identify the level of familiarity with the new law as well as perceived possession rates of valid ID; third to focus specifically on valid photo ID and to probe rates of possession of documentary proof of citizenship, identity, and residency; and fourth demographic indicators of the sample.

The third topic area to ensure high quality survey data is the actual implementation and execution of the survey by a well-established and reputable market research firm. This is the focus of the next section.

## **ii. Survey execution**

Once the survey has been designed according to the accepted norms and standards in scientific survey research, the next important step is implementation. In executing the survey, all possible respondents must have an equal chance to respond, participate, and be included. For example, if potential respondents were only called at home at 1:00 pm in the afternoon on Fridays, a huge percentage of the potential respondents would never be home to answer the phone in the first place. This would result in a sample that would be distinct from the overall population of Pennsylvania who would not be able to participate in the study because they were at work during the call time. Instead, researchers should take an approach that gives each respondent an equal opportunity to be included in the survey. The actual phone calls and implementation of the survey was handled by Pacific Market Research (PMR), a market research firm in Renton, Washington. This is a highly reputable survey firm that has implemented many

surveys for applied, legal and academic research<sup>5</sup> including surveys implementing similar designs as that used here for the purposes of exploring differences in public opinion and voting behavior.

In this case, two sampling approaches were used to answer questions regarding rates of possession of a valid photo ID. First, PMR implemented a pure RDD approach to get an overall sample of 997 Pennsylvania eligible voters via landline. Numbers were randomly generated, and then randomly selected phone numbers were dialed. A list of known cell/wireless-only exchanges was then used to generate an RDD survey of cell/wireless households to capture 288 residents who do not have a landline telephone, or are primary wireless users, and ensure they were included in the main statewide survey. This step was critical, as more and more people are moving toward cell phone usage and cancelling their land-line telephones. Adding a cell-phone sample ensures that the data can speak to all aspects of the Pennsylvania population. To target Latino and African American eligible voters for a separate oversample, PMR procured a listed sample of African American and Hispanic households and wireless numbers in Pennsylvania and then randomly selected phone numbers were dialed. In all cases, calls were made from 4pm – 9pm central time Monday through Friday, and 12pm – 8pm central time Saturday and Sunday, beginning on June 21, 2012 and continuing until July 2, 2012. Landline numbers were auto-dialed and wireless numbers were manually dialed. If a respondent completed the survey, or said they refuse to participate they were taken off the call list. Otherwise, phone numbers were dialed and re-dialed up to 3 times in order to avoid any possible non-response bias that may result from only making one or two attempts per number. Phone numbers were “released” in batches of 100,

---

<sup>5</sup> Pacific Market Research has implemented surveys for the U.S. Internal Revenue Service, the U.S. Department of Defense, to study juror pool knowledge of pending cases, to study public opinion and voter participation among Whites, Hispanics, African Americans, and Asian Americans, and proprietary market research for firms such as Microsoft, AT&T, and T-Mobile.

and dialed until all numbers were exhausted, and then a second batch was made available, and so on.

Respondents had the choice of completing the interview in English, or in Spanish, and making the survey available in both English and Spanish is critical, as many Latino voters prefer to take surveys in Spanish even if they are able to do so in English, because they may have a higher level of comfort in Spanish. This ensures that the responses provided by respondents are accurate and not biased by communication issues related to language effects. Overall, Pacific Market Research reported a Response Rate-3 of 24.2% and a Cooperation Rate-3 of 34.6%, calculated as per the American Association of Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) guidelines.<sup>6</sup> In the field of survey research, response rates between 20 and 30% are considered to be accurate and in an accepted range, and this project falls within that range.<sup>7</sup> All respondents to this survey verified that they were residents of Pennsylvania, U.S. citizens, and 18 years or older at the time the survey was taken. The survey did not interview people who were younger than 18, but might turn 18 prior to the election.

#### **B. The specific survey undertaken was implemented in a social scientific manner**

After collecting the data for the main Pennsylvania sample, and the African American and Hispanic oversample, underlying demographic characteristics of the respective samples were examined and compared to the known universe estimates for each from the 2010 U.S. Census, *American Community Survey* for Pennsylvania. Where there were any discrepancies, a weighting algorithm was applied to balance the sample, called raking ratio estimation,<sup>8</sup> so that

---

<sup>6</sup> For more on AAPOR guidelines: [http://www.aapor.org/Response\\_Rates\\_An\\_Overview1.htm](http://www.aapor.org/Response_Rates_An_Overview1.htm)

<sup>7</sup> Scott Keeter et. al. 2006. "Gauging the Impact of Growing Nonresponse on Estimates from a National RDD Telephone Survey," *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 70(5)

<sup>8</sup> Michael Battaglia et. al. 2004. "Tips and Tricks for Raking Survey Data (a.k.a. Sample Balancing)" Proceedings of the Survey Research Methods Section, American Statistical Association.

the final samples that were tabulated for the analysis were in line with the U.S. Census estimates for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. For example, it is well known in survey research that younger people, say under 30 years old, are harder to reach than older people who are over age 70. If 20% of survey respondents are age 18-30 years old, but census data tells us they are actually 30% of the eligible voting population, then each young person needs to be “up-weighted” so that collectively they represent 30% of the sample. Overall, the discrepancies between the collected data and the Census population estimates were quite small and the resulting weights that were employed were also quite small. Still, by weighting the data to known ACS demographics for each group, or for the state at large, we can ensure that the results are reflective of the eligible voting population in Pennsylvania. This helps to ensure that the sample generated for the research is reflective of the overall population of Pennsylvania, and consequently, that the inferences made regarding possession rates of valid ID are reflective of that target population as well. Weighting of survey data is a very common and accepted approach in social science research, especially when inferences are made to the larger population.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Eun Sul Lee and Ronald Forthofer. 2006. *Analyzing Complex Survey Data*. Sage Publications.

### III. Survey Findings: Impact of the Pennsylvania Voter ID Law

#### A. Possession of a valid photo ID among eligible, registered and 2008 voting population

As of November 2012, Pennsylvania will require that individuals provide valid photo identification before they are issued a ballot for in-person voting. Acceptable forms of identification are reviewed above in detail on page 6, and in order to be valid the identification must include a photo<sup>10</sup>, must have an expiration date and be non-expired<sup>11</sup>, and the name on the identification must substantially conform to the name used for voter registration.

Among the population of eligible voters<sup>12</sup>, 14.4% do not possess a valid, non-expired photo ID with a name that substantially conforms to that used for voter registration (see table 1). This means that the new Voter ID law is estimated to impact 1,364,433<sup>13</sup> eligible voters in Pennsylvania. Among those individuals who indicate they are already registered to vote, 12.8% do not have a valid photo ID, or an estimated 1,055,200<sup>14</sup> registered voters. Similarly, among those who indicated they voted in the November 4, 2008 election, 12.6% do not possess a valid photo ID, or an estimated 757,325<sup>15</sup> people who voted in 2008. As a point of comparison, the 2008 presidential election in Pennsylvania was decided by 620,478 votes, and the 2010 U.S. Senate election in Pennsylvania was decided by 80,229 votes, while the 2010 gubernatorial election was decided by 357,975 votes<sup>16</sup>.

---

<sup>10</sup> Exceptions are made for those individuals whose religion prevents them from taking a photo.

<sup>11</sup> Identification issued by PennDOT is considered valid for 12 months past the expiration date for the purpose of voting. Military ID that lists expiration date as "indefinite" is also considered non-expired.

<sup>12</sup> Eligible voters are citizen adults who have lived in Pennsylvania for more than 30 days and are eligible to register to vote in PA.

<sup>13</sup> We arrive at this estimate by starting with 9,475,230 eligible voters in Pennsylvania according to the 2010 American Community Survey, and multiplying this population by 14.4%, which equal 1,364,433. Given the margin of error of +/- 1.9% this means between 12.5% and 16.3% lack a valid ID, resulting in a lower and upper bound estimate of 1,184,403 and 1,544,462

<sup>14</sup> Lower and upper bound estimates are 890,325 and 1,220,075 for registered voters

<sup>15</sup> Lower and upper bound estimates are 625,094 and 889,557 for 2008 voters

<sup>16</sup> 2008 results: <http://www.electionreturns.state.pa.us/ElectionsInformation.aspx?FunctionID=12&ElectionID=28> and 2010 results: <http://www.electionreturns.state.pa.us/ElectionsInformation.aspx?FunctionID=12&ElectionID=39>

Further, we examined just those respondents who indicated that when they vote, they vote in person at their precinct as opposed to absentee mail voters. Here we find very similar rates lack a valid ID, with 12.9% of in-person voters lacking a valid photo ID and 12.0% of absentee voters lacking a valid photo ID. In section E, we go into further analysis of subgroups and compare different categories of eligible and registered voter rates of possession of valid ID.

The findings reported for Pennsylvania are consistent with other national and state-level surveys undertaken on the topic of Voter ID laws. For example, in a national survey of registered voters in 2008-09, Prof. Sanchez and I have found that 12% of Whites did not have a valid photo ID, and that 19% of Latinos and 19% of African Americans lacked a valid photo ID<sup>17</sup>. Research on possession of valid ID in Indiana<sup>18</sup> has revealed that 19% of all eligible voters lacked a valid ID, and that 17% of registered voters lacked a valid photo ID. In Texas<sup>19</sup>, research has found that among registered voters 11% of Whites do not have an accepted photo ID, and 14% among both Blacks and Latinos in Texas lack a proper ID to vote. In Wisconsin, Prof. Sanchez and I just completed a report<sup>20</sup> that found nearly 9% of all registered voters in Milwaukee County do not have an accepted, non-expired photo ID. Even among actual voters, exit poll research has found that 13% in Orange County, California lack a valid ID, 8% lack a valid ID in both Bernalillo County, New Mexico (Albuquerque) and King County, Washington (Seattle)<sup>21</sup>.

---

<sup>17</sup> "The Disproportionate Impact of Photo-ID Laws on the Minority Electorate." May 24, 2011, found at

<http://www.latinodecisions.com/blog/2011/05/24/the-disproportionate-impact-of-stringent-voter-id-laws/>

<sup>18</sup> Barreto, Matt A., Stephen A. Nuño, and Gabriel R. Sanchez. 2009. "The Disproportionate Impact of Voter-ID Requirements on the Electorate – New Evidence from Indiana." *PS: Political Science and Politics*. January.

<sup>19</sup> "Racial and Ethnic Differences in Access to Photo-ID in Texas" March 21, 2012, found at

<http://www.latinodecisions.com/blog/2012/03/21/racial-and-ethnic-differences-in-access-to-photo-id-in-texas/>

<sup>20</sup> Frank v. Walker – Expert Report Submitted on Behalf of the Plaintiffs. April 23, 2012, found at

<http://www.aclu.org/voting-rights/frank-v-walker-expert-report-submitted-behalf-plaintiffs>

<sup>21</sup> Barreto, Matt A., Stephen A. Nuño, and Gabriel R. Sanchez. 2007. "Voter ID Requirements and the Disenfranchisement of Latino, Black, and Asian Voters." Paper presented at the 2007 American Political Science Association Annual Conference. September 1.

## **B. Public Knowledge of Pennsylvania's Voter ID Law**

As noted above, the survey asked respondents whether or not they thought Pennsylvania currently has a law that requires voters to show a valid photo ID before they can vote in-person at their polling place. Following this, respondents were asked whether or not they believed they had an acceptable valid ID. Among all eligible voters, 37.3% did not know Pennsylvania has a photo ID law for voting, including 34.3% of currently registered voters who were not aware and 34.2% of those who voted in 2008. Next, almost all respondents (97.8%) said they *believed* they had a valid ID should they be asked to show one (see table 2). However, when asked a full series of follow up questions about the kind of photo identification they possess – the results summarized above and found in table 1 – only 85.6% of eligible voters actually possessed a valid photo ID. In looking only at those people who believed they had a valid ID, 13.1% actually do not have a valid ID (an estimated 1,241,255 people). Among registered voters, 12.1% mistakenly thought they had a valid ID when they do not (an estimated 997,494 people), and among those who said they voted in the November 2008 election, 11.8% mistakenly thought they had a valid photo ID (an estimated 709,241 voters).

In sum, public knowledge around Pennsylvania's Voter ID law is somewhat limited, with more than one-third of respondents not aware that Pennsylvania has a law that would require them to show a valid photo ID before being issued a ballot. Further, a significant portion of citizen adults across all potential voting groups mistakenly believe that they have a valid photo ID. As a result, there are two possible scenarios that could negatively impact the voting-eligible population in November 2012. First, the potential voters who wrongly believe they do have a valid ID may not take steps to update or correct their ID situation and thus be ineligible to vote. Second, the 37.3% who are unaware of the new Voter ID law may not bring the proper



credentials with them to the voting booth on Election Day – even if they do actually possess a valid ID. Among this estimated 37.3% of the voting eligible population, 6.8% do not have a valid ID and are part of the group most likely to be impacted. However that leaves 30.5% who are unaware of the law, but do possess a valid ID. Thus, beyond the 1,364,433 individuals who may be impacted because they do not possess a valid ID, an additional 6.8% of all eligible voters in Pennsylvania are at risk because they are not aware of the new voting laws. Because the law is new, and has many different provisions specifying what types of ID are, or are not valid, it will likely take many years before all residents fully understand the law, as the general public is generally not well informed on the intricacies and legal standards of new legislation, nor administrative law and procedure at large. For example, a canonical study by Drs. Michael Delli Carpini and Scotter Ketter<sup>22</sup> on measuring and defining political knowledge revealed there are many limitations among the general public. For instance, they report that while 96% knew a presidential term is four years, just 66% knew that courts had the ability to review laws and determine their constitutionality, and just 43% knew that the first 10 amendments are known as the “Bill of Rights,” and that just 35% knew what freedoms were protected in the First Amendment. Other research has demonstrated that ad campaigns often don’t ameliorate the knowledge gap. For example, research by Prof. Arthur Lupia<sup>23</sup> has found that even in the midst of a multi-million dollar ad campaign about a ballot initiative on insurance reform, 14% of voters in an exit poll got every single factual question about the initiatives wrong, and an additional 19% had very low levels of factual knowledge about the initiatives on Election Day.

---

<sup>22</sup> Delli Carpini, Michael and Scott Keeter. 1993. “Measuring Political Knowledge: Putting First Things First.” *American Journal of Political Science*. 37(4). See tables 1 and 2.

<sup>23</sup> Lupia, Arthur. 1994. “Shortcuts versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections.” *American Political Science Review*. 88(1). See footnote 14.

### C. Unpacking why individuals lack a valid photo ID

A large percentage of eligible voters in Pennsylvania say they have some kind of photo ID (98.6%). Among the types of ID, 88.5% has a driver's license, while 10.1% has some other form of photo ID (see table 3). Overall, this number is comparable to the percentage of individuals who *believe* they have a valid photo ID (97.8% reported in table 2). However, when asked follow up questions about whether the photo ID has an expiration date, and is current, or the percent with a non-expired photo ID drops from 98.6% to 89.9% (see row 4, table 3). Further, when asked if their photo ID contains their accurate name to match the voting rolls, an additional 4.3% of eligible voters have an invalid ID due to name mismatch issues, resulting in 85.6% who do have a valid ID and 14.4% who do not have a valid ID (as reported in table 1). Also noted in table 3 is the percentage of respondents who have either a non-expired driver's license or a non-expired non-driver PennDOT ID. Among all eligible voters 10.7% lack a non-expired PennDOT ID (driver's license or non-driver's ID issued by PennDOT), while 9.3% of registered voters, and 8.6% of 2008 voters lack a non-expired PennDOT ID (row 6, table 3).

While table 3 reports the percentages of the overall group (eligible, registered, 2008 voters) who have or do not have each category of ID, we report the exact percent who become ineligible to vote by reason in table 4. For example, table 4 starts with the entire population of all eligible, registered, and 2008 voters and reflects 100% in row 1. Among all eligible voters, 1.4% have no ID whatsoever, while an additional 8.7% have an ID, but it is not valid because it has expired, or does not have an expiration date on it, and an additional 4.3% have a non-expired ID, but their name does not substantially conform.

Among those currently registered to vote in Pennsylvania, 7.6 indicate that their photo ID has expired, and 4.1% indicate that although they have a current ID, their ID is not valid due to

non-conforming names (table 4). Individuals who voted in 2008 are estimated to be similarly affected, with 7.4% saying that their ID has expired, and 4.6% have a current ID, but without name substantially conforming. In sum, although 98.6% of respondents possess some sort of photo ID, the requirements that the ID be non-expired and the name substantially conforms is likely to impact 14.4% of eligible voters; 12.8% of registered voters; and 12.6% of those who voted in the November 2008 election.

In tables 5 and 6 we estimate the raw number of eligible, registered and 2008 voters who fall into each category of possession of ID. Among the 1,364,433 who lack a valid ID, we estimate that 132,652 have no photo ID at all, while 824,346 individuals have an ID but it is not up-to-date, and 407,435 individuals have an up-to-date ID but their name does not substantially conform. Similar rates are reported for registered voters, and 2008 voters in tables 5 and 6. For example, we estimate that among registered voters 90,681 have no ID whatsoever, and among people who voted in 2008, 36,063 completely lack an ID. Among those who have some form of ID, we estimate that 626,526 registered voters have an expired ID and that 444,779 2008 voters also have an expired ID. Finally, there are an additional 337,993 registered voters who say the name on their ID does not substantially conform to the voter rolls, and among 2008 voters we estimate 276,483 with name-matching problems (table 6).

#### **D. Rates of possession of required underlying documents**

Further, in the event that voters become aware that that they have an invalid ID for use at the voting booth, a substantial portion of the population lacks the necessary documentation required to obtain a valid PennDOT ID. Overall, 10.5% of individuals lack documentary proof of citizenship (either an official copy of their birth certificate with a raised seal, a U.S. passport or

an official naturalization certificate), 7.5% do not have their social security card, and 2.7% lack proof of address<sup>24</sup> (see table 7). When combined, nearly one out of every five eligible voters (18.2%) lacks at least one of the three required documents needed to obtain a valid photo ID. In estimated raw numbers, 1,705,541 eligible voters lack the necessary documentation required to obtain a valid photo ID (see table 8). Similarly, among registered voters 17.4% lack at least one of the three required documents (an estimated 1,401,438 individuals), as do 17.7% of 2008 voters (an estimated 1,081,893 individuals).

Perhaps the most relevant, among those eligible voters who lack valid photo ID and would be in need of obtaining one, 27.6% do not have at least one of the three required underlying documents required to obtain a valid photo ID. Taken together, this means that 4.0<sup>25</sup>% of the overall eligible voter population in Pennsylvania has neither a valid ID, nor the required documents needed to obtain a valid ID. Similarly, 3.4% of registered voters and 2.9% of 2008 voters lack both a photo ID and the underlying documents required to obtain an ID. In terms of raw numbers, an estimated 379,009 eligible voters do not have a photo ID or the necessary documentation required to obtain an ID, while 280,288 registered voters, and 174,305 people who voted in 2008 are likewise at risk because they lack both a valid ID and at least one of the three required documents to obtain a valid ID (see table 8).

Finally, obtaining one key type of underlying document – the official birth certificate – may also be a challenge for a sizable segment of the population. Overall, we find 24.6% of respondents to our survey were born outside Pennsylvania (see table 9). This may be most relevant for those respondents who were born in the U.S. or Puerto Rico, but do not currently have their official birth certificate, among which 4% were born in Puerto Rico and 21.5% were

---

<sup>24</sup> Proof of address includes either having at least two documents accepted by PennDOT with current address, or someone in their household who has two documents and a valid photo ID who can verify their address.

<sup>25</sup> We arrive at this estimate of 4.0 by taking 27.6% of the 14.4% who have no valid ID,  $.276 \times .144 = .0397$

born in another U.S. state beyond Pennsylvania. Further, large differences in place of birth are noted by race and ethnicity, with 80% of Whites born in Pennsylvania, versus 66% of Blacks and just 12.7% of Latinos. Given the importance of an official state birth certificate in being able to obtain a valid PennDOT ID, many eligible voters may face additional layers of bureaucracy and cost in an effort to obtain their official birth certificate from states well beyond Pennsylvania.

#### **E. Are certain subgroups at greater risk than others?**

The Pennsylvania Voter ID law affects different subgroups of the population. The most dramatically affected are those of low socioeconomic status, including the poor, those with low levels of education, and those without regular access to transportation. Additionally, other affected groups include women, Latinos, the elderly, younger respondents and those living in urban areas.

##### **a. Gender**

Among eligible voters, women are less likely to possess a valid, non-expired photo ID with name substantially conforming than their male counterparts. About one in five women lack a valid photo ID (17.2%) compared to only 11.5% of men for whom the same is true (see table 10). The difference is slightly smaller among registered voters, where 14.8% of women lack a valid photo ID, compared to 11% of men who also lack a valid photo ID (see table 11). The relationship between gender and possession of a valid photo ID is statistically significant across both eligible and registered voters ( $p < .05$ ), and in part, is the result a higher likelihood of women lacking an ID with an exact name match to the voter rolls due to marriage.

Alternately, men are statistically more likely to lack at least one of the three required types of documents to obtain a valid photo ID than their female counterparts ( $p < .05$ ). Among eligible voters, about one in five men (20.7%) lack at least one of the three required types of documents, while the same is true for only 15.6% of women (see table 12). This pattern holds among registered voters, where 20.5% of men and 14.2% of women lack all three types of required documentation (see table 13).

#### **b. Race**

The Pennsylvania Voter ID law is more likely to affect Latino voters than any other group. Among eligible voters, 86% of whites and 86.8% of Blacks possess a valid photo ID, compared to only 81.7% of Latinos and 76% of those of other racial/ethnic backgrounds (see table 14). Further the relationship between race and possession of a valid photo ID demonstrates that Latino eligible voters are statistically less likely to possess valid ID. This pattern holds among registered voters where 83.8% of Latinos have a valid ID (16.7% lack) compared to 87.6% of Whites registered voters who have a valid ID, and 86.1% of Blacks (see table 15).

Rates of possession of underlying documents required to obtain a photo ID do not vary as significantly across racial groups among either eligible or registered voters as rates of valid ID. Eligible voters who are Latino are slightly less likely to possess all three required documents (20.4% lack at least one of the three types of documents, compared to 17.6% of whites, 19.8% of Blacks and 20.4% of other racial/ethnic background), but the relationship does not achieve statistical significance (see table 16).

#### **c. Age**

The Pennsylvania Voter ID law is most likely to negatively affect the very young and the very old. About one in five eligible voters 18-24 lack possession of a valid photo ID, compared

to only 10.3% of those ages 35-54, and 12.9% of those 55-74.<sup>26</sup> Significantly, 17.8% of those eligible voters over 74 lack possession of a valid photo ID ( $p < .05$ ). This group is also the most likely to have an ID that is expired (14.7%) (see table 18). The relationship between age and possession of all three underlying documents necessary to obtain a valid photo ID does not vary significantly across age groups. Among eligible voters, the group least likely to have at least one of the three types of documents are those between the ages of 35-54 (24.8% of whom do not possess at least one of the three required types of documents), compared to only 10.9% of those ages 18-34, 16.9% of those between the ages of 55-74, and 15.8% of those over the age of 74 (see table 20). This pattern remains consistent among registered voters (see table 21).

#### **d. Education**

Eligible voters with less than a high school education are the most likely to be negatively affected by the Voter ID law. About one in five (18.5%) individuals lack possession of a valid photo ID, compared to only 13.8% of those with only a high school degree, 14.5% of those with some college education, and 8.3% of those who have a college degree (see table 22). The relationship between having not completed high school and lacking a valid photo ID is statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ), and the pattern holds among registered voters (see table 23).

Further, those who have not completed high school are much less likely to possess the necessary documents to obtain a valid photo ID than their more educated counterparts. Among eligible voters, 31.3% of those without a high school education do not possess at least one of the three required documents, compared to only 17.2% of high school graduates, 14.5% of those with some college education, and 16.6% of college graduates (see table 24). Again, this relationship achieves statistical significance ( $p > .05$ ).

---

<sup>26</sup> The age categories utilized here are consistent with approaches to analyze age effects in U.S. Census reports, in political science and in the social sciences more generally.

#### **e. Income**

People in low-income households appear similar to those with lower levels of education, insofar as they are the most likely to lack a valid photo ID (see table 26). Among eligible voters who report less than \$20,000 in annual household income, 22% lack possession of a valid photo ID, compared to only 14.6% of those in the next income bracket (\$20,000-\$40,000), and only 8.2% of those in the highest income bracket (8.2%, %80,000+). Those who make less than \$20,000 annually are, again, the least likely to possess a valid photo ID among registered voters (14.7%, compared to only 8.4% of those who make above \$80,000) (see table 27).

Possession of the three documents required to obtain a valid photo ID varies across income groups (table 28 and table 29). Among eligible voters, those who make more than \$80,000 annually are the most likely to possess all three documents, with only 10.3% not possessing at least one of the three required types of documents (compared to 23.8% for those who make less than \$20,000, 19% for those who make \$20,000-\$40,000, 20.9% for those who make \$40,000-\$60,000 and 18.2% for those who make %60,000-%80,000) (see table 28 and table 29).

#### **f. Access to Transportation**

Pennsylvania's Voter ID law significantly affects individuals who do not have access to any kind of transportation. Among eligible voters, 41.6% of individuals without regular access to any kind of transportation lack a valid photo ID, and 29.7% of those who do not have a car, but have access to some other kind of transportation, such as a bus, bicycle or train also lack a valid ID. In comparison, only 11.1% of those who have regular access to a car lack a valid ID (see table 30). The relationship between access to transportation and possession of a valid photo ID is



statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ). These same patterns hold among those who are already registered voters (see table 31).

Further those who lack regular access to transportation are the least likely to possess the necessary documentation to obtain a photo ID. Among eligible voters who do not have regular access to any kind of transportation, 31.2% lack possession of at least one of the three required documents, compared to 16.4% who are lacking, among those who have regular access to a car (see table 32). The disparities across categories of access to transportation are consistent among registered voters, with 27.3% of those without regular access to transportation lacking at least one of the three types of documents, compared to 16.1 of those with access to a car (see table 33).

#### **g. Region**

Eligible voters lacking possession of a valid photo ID vary by region of the state, with individuals living in urban areas less likely to possess a valid photo ID than those living in other parts of the state. About one in five eligible voters living in Philadelphia County and Allegheny County lack possession of a valid photo ID (17.8% and 18.7%, respectively) (see table 34). This compares to 12.4% of eligible voters who live in the suburbs around Philadelphia, 12.9% of those who live in the Northeastern region of the state, and 13.5% of those living in other parts of the state. This pattern is mirrored among registered voters where those in urban areas lack a valid ID at the highest rates (see table 35).

Further, those living in Philadelphia County are least likely to possess at least one of the three pieces of documentation necessary to obtain a photo ID – 21.5% do not possess at least one of the necessary pieces of documentation. This compares to only 18.1% of those living in suburbs around Philadelphia, 17.9% of those living in Allegheny County, 13.4% of those living

in the Northeast, and 18.3 % of those living in the rest of the state who also lack possession of at least one of the necessary documentation required to obtain a valid photo ID (see table 36).

#### **F. Knowledge of the Photo ID Law Among Subgroups**

Knowledge of Pennsylvania's photo ID law is relatively evenly distributed across subgroups for all demographic categories, though it remains at fairly low levels among all groups. Men are slightly more likely to know the law exists than their female counterparts (65.1% were aware of it, compared to 60.3% of women) (see table 38). Across racial groups, those who identify as Black were most likely to be aware of the law than any other racial group (72.2% compared to only 61.2% of whites, 68.5 % of Latinos, and 65.2% of those with some other racial/ethnic background). Notably, knowledge of the law varied about 15 percentage points across income groups, with only 55.3% of those who make less than \$20,000 annually aware of the law, compared to 70.2% of those who make between \$60,000 and \$80,000 annually for whom the same is true. Finally, there is wide variation across regions of the state, with those who live in Philadelphia County most likely to be aware of the law (71.7%), and those living in Allegheny County and the Northeast least likely to be aware of the law (51.1% and 51.3%, respectively).

There is little variation across subgroups of the various demographic categories in who believes they have a valid photo ID (see table 38). Access to transportation is a notable exception, where only 79.2% of those who do not have regular access to any kind of transportation believe they have a valid ID. This compares to 99.1% of those who have regular access to a car, and 91.1% of those who have access to some other kind of transportation, such as bus, bicycle or train. Individuals with less than a high school education are another group of

note. Only 91% of individuals in this group believe they have a valid photo ID, while at least 98% of all other educational subgroups believe the same.

## **V. Conclusion**

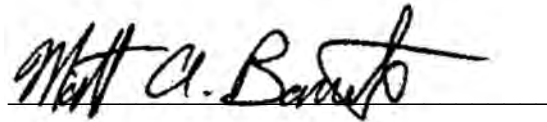
In sum, Pennsylvania's Voter ID law, which requires individuals to possess a valid form of photo ID before being able to cast an in-person ballot will impact a wide swath of the potential voting population across the state. Overall, 10.1% of all citizen adults eligible to vote do not possess an accepted, non-expired ID, roughly 956,998 people. Further, when also considering whether the name conforms, a total of 14.4% of all eligible voters do not possess a valid photo ID in Pennsylvania, roughly 1,364,433 people. Further, this study finds that 37.3% are unaware that a new Voter ID law exists, perhaps contributing to the misplaced confidence among 97.8% of all eligible voters who believe they do possess a valid ID. Not just potential voters are impacted by this law, but among those who said they voted in Pennsylvania in the November 2008 election, 12.6% lack a valid ID to vote under the new law.

What's more, the analysis demonstrates quite clearly that all groups within Pennsylvania will not be impacted equally. Women are less likely to possess a valid photo ID than are men. The elderly, low-income residents, and those without a high school degree are significantly less likely to possess a valid ID. Latinos and urban residents in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh are far less likely to possess a valid ID. Finally, especially among urban residents, a notable percentage of all Pennsylvanians do not have a car in their household, or even lack access to mass transit. Residents without access to a car are three to four times more likely to be without a valid photo ID.

These socioeconomic and demographic patterns of lesser rates of possession of a valid ID are repeated in the examination of possession of the three underlying documents required to obtain a valid photo ID in the first place. The same groups of eligible voters who are less likely to possess a valid ID, are also less likely to possess all three underlying documents, leaving them doubly disadvantaged under the new Voter ID law in Pennsylvania.

As noted above, the research findings here are relatively consistent with the rates of possession and lack of possession of valid photo ID found in other national, statewide, and county studies. Relying on the data from this survey has allowed me to formulate opinions, to a reasonable degree of professional certainty, about how Pennsylvania's Voter ID law will impact Pennsylvania's eligible, registered, and 2008 voters, which I have stated in this report.

I declare under the penalties of perjury that the foregoing is true and accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief, and I affirm that I have written this report.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Matt A. Barreto", written over a horizontal line.

Matt A. Barreto

July 16, 2012