Information and Identification:
A Field Experiment on Virginia's Photo Identification Requirements

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We conducted a field experiment in the 2017 Virginia election, in which registered voters were randomly assigned to receive information about the state's voter photo identification requirements and/or the motivation for the law. After the election, we surveyed subjects in our experiment to evaluate their knowledge and views of the photo identification requirements, their perceptions of voter fraud, and their support for democracy. We test for differences between our treatment and control groups on each of these dimensions as well as differences in turnout as obtained from official voting records. We find that the informational mailers had negligible effects on turnout overall, but one message significantly boosted turnout among Democrats. Democrats who were randomly assigned to receive a postcard mailing that mentioned the possible adverse effects on demographic groups that generally support the Democratic party increased turnout. Our findings from the post-election survey generally show that the informational mailers decreased perceptions of fraud among Republicans. The results for Democrats are mixed, depending on the sample the postcards informing registered voters of the photo identification laws either had an insignificant effect on their views of fraud or increased perceptions of fraud, though the increase is smaller than the Republican decrease.

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Voter identification laws (voter ID) have spread rapidly across the United States and have become a contentious partisan issue (Biggers and Hanmer 2011).[1] Proponents of the laws argue that voter ID requirements protect the integrity of our elections by preventing voter fraud (and perceptions of voter fraud), while critics contend they disproportionately harm a variety of groups who are less likely to have the required IDs including: people of color, people with low-income, young people, and the elderly. Prior studies have demonstrated that many of these groups are indeed less likely to possess the necessary identifications (Barreto, Nuño, and Sanchez 2007, 2009; Hood and Bullock 2008; Gaskins and Sundeep 2012; Rogowski and Cohen 2012; Ansolabehere 2014; Barreto and Sanchez 2014), but evaluating the actual effect of voter ID laws on turnout is difficult (see Erikson and Minnite 2009; Highton 2017).

One challenge to estimating the effect of the voter ID laws on turnout is that the controversial motivations behind them may mobilize some individuals, particularly Democrats who perceive that the voter ID requirements are designed to limit their access to the polls. Prior studies argue that the public debate associated with the implementation of these laws mobilizes Democrats who are angered by the perceived partisan and racial intent of identification requirements. Experimental evaluations show that exposure to media frames highlighting the intent of ID laws does, in fact, increase anger and reported intention to participate in politics among Democrats (Valentino and Neuner 2016). Further, as voter ID laws are implemented, state and local governments, political parties, candidates, and civic organizations often engage with the public to educate and inform potential voters of the requirements (Bright and Lynch 2017). These outreach campaigns could mask the immediate effects of voter ID laws if they

[1] Seven states (Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Virginia, and Wisconsin) currently have strict photo ID laws, which require individuals who do not have an acceptable photo ID to cast a provisional ballot and to take additional actions for their vote to be counted. 10 states (Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, Hawaii, Idaho, Louisiana, Michigan, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas) have non-strict photo ID requirements (NCLS 2018).

effectively boost turnout, especially among the communities most likely to be adversely affected by voter ID laws (Hopkins et al. 2017). A prior evaluation of voter ID outreach in the 2012 Virginia election (before photo ID) found that outreach campaigns, specifically informational postcards from the League of Women Voters (LWV), exerted minor effects on turnout for low-propensity, registered voters, with the strongest treatment boosting turnout by 0.91 percentage points (Citrin, Levy, and Green 2014).

We partnered with the LWV to test the effectiveness of a variety of informational messages delivered via postcard mailings to registered voters in the 2017 Virginia election after the state implemented more restrictive photo ID requirements adopted in 2014. Our study enables us to examine whether there exists heterogeneity in the effectiveness of these messages for key subgroups, including partisans and minorities included in our study. In addition to examining turnout, we also conducted a post-election survey to evaluate if the information mailers increased knowledge of voting requirements, changed support for the photo identification laws, or reduced perceptions of fraud. As a preview, we find that informational mailers that mentioned the potentially adverse effect of photo ID laws on women, young people, the elderly, and communities of color increased turnout among Democrats, with the largest increase among black Democrats. The postcard mailers also appear to have reduced the perceived prevalence of voter fraud in the 2017 election. The overall decline in perceived voter fraud is driven largely by Republicans and Independents who were significantly more likely to indicate that there were "no" or "not that many" fraudulent votes cast in the 2017 Virginia election when they were randomly assigned to a treatment group receiving an informational mailer.

Background & Expectations

As of July 1, 2014, the Commonwealth of Virginia requires all individuals who intend to cast a ballot in person to show a valid photo identification. The photo ID must be current or within one year of expiration. Acceptable forms of identification include a Virginia driver's license, a United States passport, a veterans' identification card issued by the Virginia department of motor vehicles, college or University photo ID cards from institutions located in Virginia, and current employee identification cards. Voters without a valid, acceptable form of identification may apply for a Virginia voter photo identification card. There is no cost to obtain the Virginia voter photo identification card. Prior to enacting this "strict" photo identification law, the Commonwealth had a more expansive list of acceptable forms of identification such as utility bills or bank statements (see Citrin, Green, and Levy 2014) that was implemented when the legislature created a strict non-photo ID requirement. Experimental evaluations of Virginia's more expansive voter ID laws found that mail outreach designed to inform individuals of the newly implemented voter ID laws generally produced minor increases in turnout (Citrin, Green, and Levy 2014).

Subjects in the Citrin, Green, and Levy (2014) field experiment were randomly assigned to a control group that received no mailed information from the LWV, a "reminder" condition, a "warning" condition, or a "help" condition. The "reminder" condition included standard language encouraging recipients to vote on Election Day delivered via postcard. The "warning" condition expanded on the "reminder" condition by adding (in bold print) "Please be aware that a new law requires all voters in Virginia to show proof of their identity at the polls in order to vote" to the postcard. The final "help" condition covered much of the same ground as the "warning" condition, but included a listing of acceptable forms of identification as well as whom to contact for assistance obtaining the necessary identification. The "help" postcard was the most

effective at increasing turnout, with an estimated increase of 0.91 percentage points. The "reminder" and "warning" postcards exerted negligible effects (Citrin, Green, and Levy 2014). Other studies have similarly found that advertising campaigns help to offset the potentially negative effects of ID laws on turnout. Bright and Lynch used a quasi-experiment to investigate a rather aggressive advertising and outreach campaign at the county level in Kansas following the adoption of the state's photo identification laws in the 2012 presidential election. They found that an outreach campaign by the Douglas county government that included: providing information on photo identification requirements, providing photo IDs, and providing instructions on casting a provisional increased turnout by 2.3 percent (2017). Similarly, Hopkins et al. (2017: 82) observed in their analysis of Virginia voters in the 2013 gubernatorial election and 2014 midterm elections that there was a "significant increase in relative turnout…limited to places that received more Department of Elections mailings" that informed voters about the identification requirements and that provided instructions for how to vote.

Based on these studies, we expect informational interventions delivered by mail to raise turnout overall among targeted groups. However, there is reason to believe that some groups may be more responsive to this outreach than others. Some have warned that voter ID laws may reduce electoral participation by increasing the costs of voting. Evaluations of other electoral reforms have generally found that restrictions decrease turnout and relaxing voting restrictions is associated with an uptick in turnout. For example, voter registration serves as a barrier to participation (Erikson 1981; Timpone 1998), while reforms designed to limit these restrictions—such as preregistration—are associated with higher turnout among the relevant subgroups (Holbein and Hillygus 2016; Fowler 2017). There are both theoretical and practical reasons to believe implementing voting restrictions could adversely affect turnout, which is exactly why

civic groups like the LWV work to offset potential declines by educating the public about new voting requirements. While most Americans already have the necessary photo identification, some demographic groups—people of color, young people, the elderly and low-income individuals—are less likely to have the required forms of identification (Barreto, Nuño, and Sanchez 2007, 2009; Hood and Bullock 2008; Gaskins and Sundeep 2012; Rogowski and Cohen 2012; Ansolabehere 2014; Barreto and Sanchez 2014) and would have to take the extra step of obtaining an acceptable ID to vote.

Despite the reasons to suspect that passing voter identification laws will decrease electoral participation, scholars have yet to reach a definitive conclusion on the relationship between the implementation of voter ID laws and turnout, which is perhaps not surprising since these restrictions are fairly nascent. Many studies find that these restrictions have statistically insignificant and/or inconclusive effects on turnout (Grimmer et al. 2018; Erikson and Minnite 2009). Others find that the laws have a disproportionate effect on minority voters by increasing the gap between white and non-white voters, but not actually decreasing or "suppressing" non-white voters (Hajnal, Kuk, and Lajevardi 2018; Hajnal, Lajevardi, and Nielson 2017). The true effect of implementing voter identification laws, particularly photo identification laws, remains an open question, warranting further scrutiny (Burden 2018). This robust exchange, as well as the difficulties of using observational data to evaluate the effects of voter identification laws on turnout, highlight the importance of experimental designs that may shed some light on some aspects of this debate.

The strong reaction that many Americans have in response to the implementation of voter identifications laws may help explain why researchers have not observed a decline in turnout (Valentino and Neuner 2017). The discourse surrounding identification laws often centers on

efforts to reduce voter fraud and/or the potentially disproportionate effect on Democrats and the aforementioned racial/ethnic and age groups. In today's polarized political climate, partisanship is a strong social identity. A strong partisan identity can motivate participation in both electoral politics (Huddy, Mason, Aaroe 2015; Miller and Conover 2015) and non-electoral politics such as boycotts (Endres and Panagopoulos 2017), especially when partisans feel their group is threatened or under attack (Huddy, Mason, Aaroe 2015). Exposure to frames highlighting the intent of voter identification laws to suppress Democrats or Democratic-aligned demographic groups can produce a strong emotional response, particularly anger, which increases intention to participate in politics (Valentino and Neuner 2017). Informational campaigns that directly mention the groups that are negatively impacted (due their lack of required identification) have the potential to motivate Democrats, in particular, to vote at higher rates on Election Day by inducing anger. This is one hypothesis that our experiment is designed to test, although we concede our tests remain largely agnostic about the mechanisms that may give rise to any of the effects we detect. Republicans and independents should still benefit from the receipt of campaign materials reminding them of the election and the state's identification requirements, but their effects on turnout will likely be weaker than among Democrats since the existence of voter identification laws is unlikely to generate feelings of threat or anger.

The implementation of photo ID laws and the associated information campaigns may change attitudes about the laws themselves as well as views about the motivations for the laws. Proponents of voter ID requirements often justify these policies by claiming that ID requirements protect against voter fraud, promote the integrity of the election system, and restore the public's confidence in the electoral process (Overton 2006; Wang 2012; Austin-Hillery 2016; Minnite 2016; Carter 2014). These notions are generally rebutted by critics who point to the lack of

evidence that in-person voter fraud exists (Wang 2012; Carter 2014; Minnite 2016). Regardless of how widespread in-person voter fraud actually is, at least some segments of the American public believe that voter fraud is real. Pastor et al. (2010: 473) found that "16.6% of registered voters report[ed] seeing or hearing about voter fraud at their polling place" and 60% indicated they had heard of other instances of voter fraud elsewhere. Wilson and Brewer's (2013: 970) survey found that 43% of respondents perceived voter fraud to be "very or somewhat common" while 48% saw voter fraud as "very or somewhat rare."

Republicans (both elected officials and the public) generally believe voter fraud is more common and are more likely to support voter ID laws than Democrats (Wilson and Brewer 2013), with partisans in the public often responding to rhetoric from party elites (Bowler and Donovan 2013). Most voter identification laws have been passed in states where Republicans control the legislature and governor's office (Biggers and Hamer 2011; Rocha and Matsubayashi 2014), and the Republican electorate seems to agree with their reasoning for implementing these laws. For example, Wilson and Brewer's (2013: 971) report an almost 20 percentage point difference in the perception of fraud, finding that 56% of surveyed Republicans believe voter fraud is "common or very common" compared to 37% of Democrats. Similarly, Atkeson, Alvarez, and Hall's (2014: 1936) found that Republicans have less confidence in the electoral system. These perceptions of fraud are unsurprisingly associated with increased support for voter ID requirements, though when the restrictions are framed as harmful to certain groups, especially African Americans, support declines (Wilson & Brewer 2013: 978). Prior studies have also found that most Americans believe voter ID laws reduce and prevent fraud (Atkeson et al. 2014). Other studies, however, do not find a relationship between the type of identification requirements in a state and electoral confidence (Ansolabahere 2009). The partisan nature of electoral reforms

seems to condition how the public gauges their effectiveness. Using survey data from 2014, Bowler and Donovan (2016) observed that the Republicans in states with strict photo identification requirements were more confident in the integrity of the election, while Democrats were less confident. If the public believes that voter ID laws reduce fraud, then informational campaigns designed to educate the public on these voter ID laws may have the added benefit of (1) reducing perceptions of electoral fraud, (2) increase confidence in the electoral system, and perhaps (3) increase satisfaction with democracy.

We designed a field experiment with a post-election survey measuring attitudes on each of these dimensions to directly test for the effects of photo identification mailers on turnout, support for voting requirement, and perceptions of fraud and electoral integrity. We test for effects among our full sample and among partisan subgroups. In the sections that follow, we describe our experimental protocols, present an overview of our results and summarize our conclusions and implications.

Data & Design

Our study is designed to assess the effects of providing informational reminders to registered voters in the November 2017 general election in Virginia. A random sample of 28,000 registered voters was drawn from the state's voter file in October 2017. Prior studies investigating the effects of voter ID mail campaigns have exclusively looked at its effects on turnout. Turnout is our key outcome variable of interest, but we recognize that any outreach on voter ID may not only affect turnout among recipients but may also change their attitudes about voter ID laws and elections more generally. For this reason, subjects in our experiment were contacted after the election to participate in a short survey. The survey was conducted using interactive voice response (IVR) technology. The decision to conduct an experiment and a

follow-up survey using IVR effectively restricts our sample to registered voters with known landline telephone numbers, as current regulations limit this type of automated surveys to landline phones. Thus, we restricted our experimental sample to registered voters with landline phone numbers to meet the survey requirements. Only one registered voter per household was eligible for the study. Each of the subjects in our study was randomly assigned to a treatment or to a control condition using block randomization based on age group, gender, 2013 turnout, and 2016 turnout. Subjects in the treatment groups were mailed a postcard (described below), which was scheduled to arrive a few days prior to the election. The control group was not mailed a postcard.

Experimental Treatments

To implement a randomized experiment that replicated prior work as closely as possible, we designed postcards to be similar to those used in prior studies. To that end, we partnered with the LWV to design postcards with source cues that mirrored those used in Citrin, Levy, and Green (2014). Postcards were standard 4" by 6" postcards with an American flag background overlaid with informational text about voting in the upcoming election. The LWV logo and return address for the LWV's Education Fund was printed on each card.

We randomly varied the message content of the informational cues to reflect three broad themes. Individuals who were randomly assigned to the first treatment group were mailed an "informational" postcard that reminded subjects of the upcoming election, encouraged them to vote, provided basic details about the photo ID requirement, and listed acceptable forms of identification (images of each postcard are included in the appendix). We view this simply as an informational message, though this minimal treatment conveys substantially more information than the basic treatment in Citrin et al. (2014), which reminded recipients to vote, but did not

mention the identification requirements. Our second treatment group received postcards that featured a message designed to emphasize voters' rights; these postcards featured the same information as the "informational" postcard, but also included a blandishment "know your rights" in bold and provided details about casting provisional ballots if necessary. A third treatment group included all of the information featured in the "know your rights" version as well as a warning not to be "turned away" at the polls alongside a justification noting that voter ID laws are occasionally improperly implemented, effectively denying citizens their voting rights (exact wording follows).

> **Don't be turned away**: Many voters are not aware that they are required to show ID at the polls, and some studies show voter ID requirements disproportionately affect women, young people, the elderly, and communities of color. In the November 2014 election in Virginia, 474 people cast provisional ballots because they didn't have proper photo ID. *Unfortunately, voter ID laws are not always implemented properly, and many voters risk being turned away and denied their voting rights!*

Outcome Measures

We examine the effects of our treatments using two main sources of outcome variables. First, we obtained official voter turnout records for the November 2017 elections, from the same data vendor, in the spring of 2018. We also conducted a post-election survey beginning on November 8, 2017 and ending on November 13, 2017. The survey was relatively brief, between 13 and 15 questions depending on responses provided (the full questionnaire is in the appendix). All 28,000 subjects were called to participate in the survey. Approximately 4 percent participated in the survey, a low, but standard response rate for an automated phone survey. Breakoffs are generally high for IVR surveys without a live caller; 1,193 individuals (4.3%) answered at least the first substantive question (response rate did not vary significantly by experimental condition: reminder 4.1%, know your rights 4.3%, don't be turned away 4.7%, control 3.9%; p=.102) and

1,038 answered all questions (completion rate overall is 3.5%, and rates do not vary significantly by condition: reminder 3.5%, know your rights 3.9%, don't be turned away 4.0%, control 3.3%; p=.111).

The survey probed respondents about self-reported turnout, satisfaction with democracy, perceptions of fraud, self-assessed knowledge of Virginia voting requirements, vote choice (preference for non-voters), campaign attention, age, race, gender, and party identification. We also asked self-reported voters their confidence that their vote was cast as they intended and their perceptions of electoral fraud in the 2017 Virginia election.

Experimental Results: Validated turnout

We proceed to examine average treatment effects for our experimental sample overall, but we also investigate whether the effects of the treatments varied by key subject attributes, most notably, partisan identification and race. Mean turnout rates by experimental condition for the full sample and partisan groups are presented in table 1. Turnout was high among the subjects in our study at 60 percent, notably higher than the official 47.6 percent turnout for registered voters in the 2017 election (Virginia Department of Elections), which is expected since we restricted our experimental sample to registered voters with landline phone numbers to meet the survey requirements. The treatments appear to have had little effect when looking at the full sample as turnout hovered around 60 percent for all three conditions, as shown in table 1.

Some differences do begin to emerge when disaggregating the results by party. Turnout is higher for both Democrats and Independents who were assigned to the "Don't be turned away" treatment by 1.38 percentage points and 1.3 percentage points, respectively, and 1.7 percentage points lower for Republicans assigned to this postcard treatment group. Turnout is also higher by 3.1 percentage points for Independents who were assigned to the "know your rights" treatment

compared to the control group and lower for Republicans assigned to this group by 1.31 percentage points. The lower turnout rate for Republicans in two of the three treatment groups is surprising, based on previous experimental assessments of voter ID reminders (see Citrin, Green, and Levy 2014), we expected all informational postcards to slightly increase turnout. We investigate these differences further using multivariate regressions.

Table 1: Basic Experimental Results: Vote Choice

	Information treatment	**Know your rights treatment**	**Don't be turned away treatment**	**Control**
Full Sample				
Percent Voting	59.93 (.59)	59.69 (.59)	60.36 (.58)	60.02 (.58)
N	*6,996*	*7,000*	*7,006*	*6,998*
Democrats				
Percent Voting	56.87 (.88)	57.42 (.88)	59.04 (.87)	57.66 (.87)
N	3,137	3,133	3,174	3,236
Republicans				
Percent Voting	68.02 (.82)	66.57 (.83)	66.18 (.82)	67.88 (.83)
N	3,243	3,222	3,261	3,129
Independents				
Percent Voting	33.0 (1.90)	36.3 (1.89)	34.5 (1.99)	33.2 (1.87)
N	616	645	571	633

NOTES: Standard errors in parentheses

We estimate parallel models both with and without the inclusion of available, pre-treatment covariates and focus on the covariate-adjusted models that account for imbalances due to chance. We run four logistic regression models, with turnout (coded 1 for voters, 0 for non-voters) as the dependent variable. The first model regresses turnout on indicator variables for individuals assigned to each treatment group. The second model adds pre-treatment covariates for partisan groups (Democrats and independents), age, gender, race/ethnicity, and turnout in the previous presidential election (2016), gubernatorial election (2013), and the 2017 primary election. Next, we explore whether there is heterogeneity in the effects of the treatments for specific subgroups of interest by adding interaction terms between the treatment assignment and partisan groups (Democrats and independents) in model three. The fourth model includes the

additional pre-treatment covariates for age, gender, race/ethnicity, and turnout in the previous presidential election (2016), gubernatorial election (2013), and the 2017 primary election.

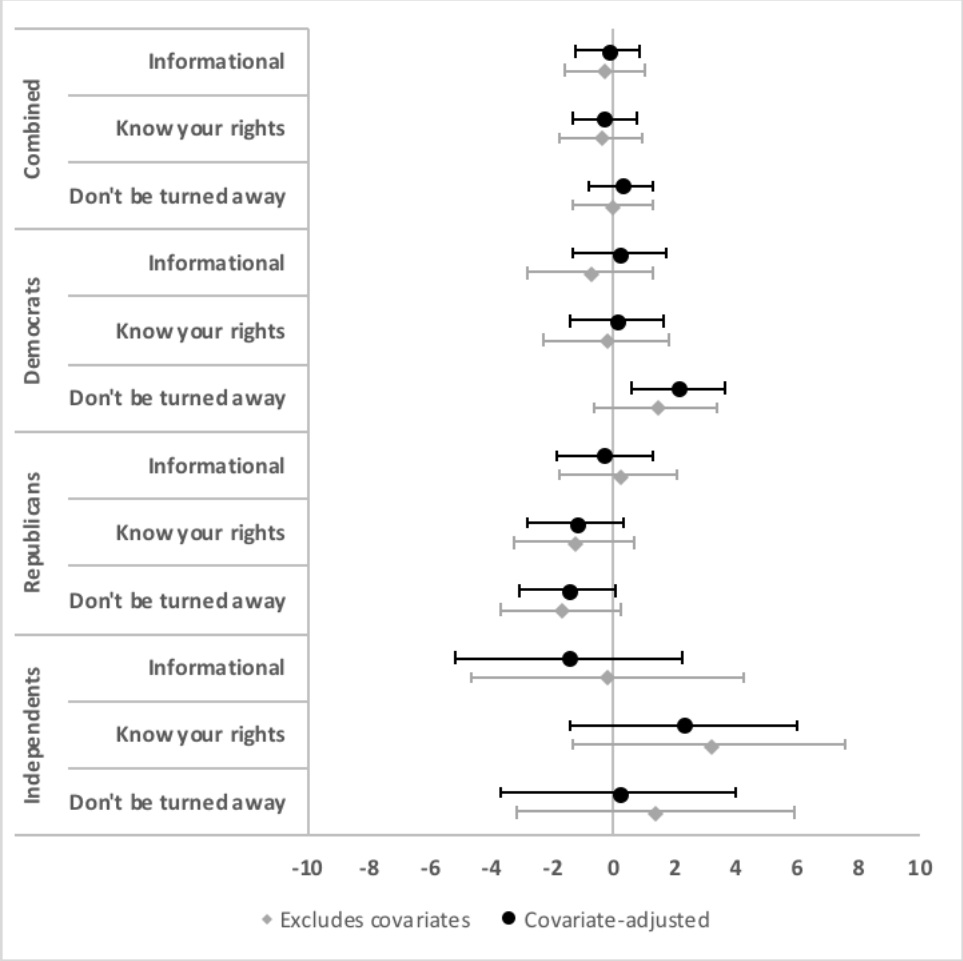
We expect the treatments to have a stronger, positive effect on Democrats who may be angered by existence of voter ID restrictions. Both anger and perceived threats should mobilize Democrats to participate at higher rates (see Valentino and Neuner 2017). The third treatment, "don't be turned away" explicitly mentions the possibility of a disproportionate impact of photo identification laws on demographic groups that generally support the Democratic Party, as such, we expect this postcard to produce the largest increase in turnout among our sample of Democrats. Average treatment effects for each of the postcards are summarized and displayed visually in figure 1 for the full sample and separately for Democrats, Republicans, and Independents (see supplemental appendix A for corresponding regression tables).

We begin by looking at the combined sample, the top panel of figure 1. Model 1, which excludes pre-treatment covariates is plotted in light gray, and model 2, with pre-treatment covariates is plotted in black in the top portion of figure 1. It appears the treatments exerted negligible turnout effects for the full sample overall. The estimated effects of the postcards ranged from -0.20 percentage points for the "informational" postcard to +0.26 percentage points for the "Don't be turned away" postcard, for the covariate adjusted model, but these effects are indistinguishable from zero across the board.

The remaining panels display the estimated effect of each postcard separately for Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. Model three, without pretreatment covariates, is plotted in gray while model four, which includes pretreatment covariates, is plotted in black. The estimates show the postcards increased turnout among Democrats, decreased turnout among Republicans and had mixed results for Independents. Nevertheless, only the effect of the "don't

be turned away" postcard is statistically significant at traditional levels. The effect of the "informational" treatment is quite small for Democrats (0.17 pp; p=.86, two-tailed) and Republicans (-0.31 pp; p=.75, two-tailed); the effect is larger for Independents (-1.51 pp; p=.50, two-tailed), but statistically insignificant at traditional levels. The "know your rights" postcard similarly exerted minimal effects for Democrats (0.12 pp; p=.90, two-tailed) and larger effects for Independents (2.26 pp; p=.32, two-tailed) and Republicans (-1.24 pp; p=.191, two-tailed). The estimates, for our third treatment group, imply the message warning subjects not to be turned away exerted a statistically-significant effect when interacting assignment to this treatment with party ID. Democrats, who were mailed the "don't be turned away" postcard, were more likely to turnout to vote with an estimated treatment effect of 2.10 percentage points (p=.02, two-tailed). Conversely, Republicans in the "Don't be turned away" condition were less likely to vote with an estimated treatment effect of -1.52 percentage points (p=.109, two-tailed). The "Don't be turned away" treatment had virtually no effect on Independents with an estimated treatment effect of 0.15 percentage points (0.15 pp; p=.95, two-tailed).

Figure 1: Average Treatment Effects of Informational Postcards by Party



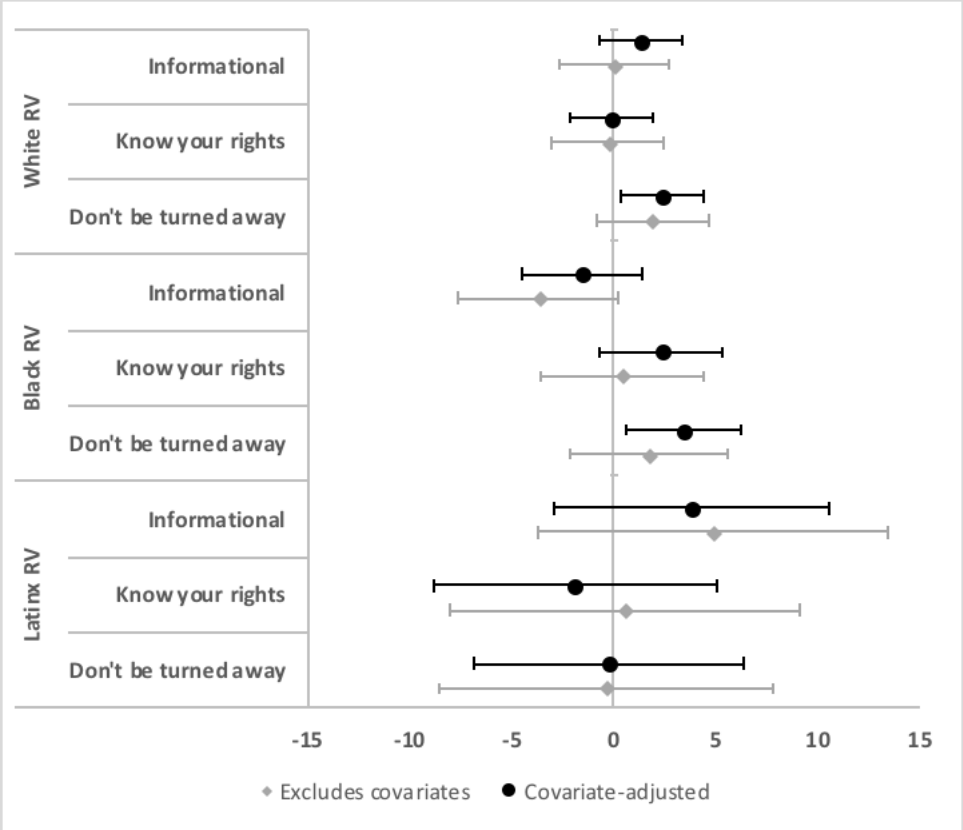
Notes: The figure plots the estimated treatment effects (in percentage points) with 90% confidence intervals for the 2017 Virginia general election. Turnout is from the official Virginia voter file. The average treatment effects were estimated using a logistic regression model voter file.

The positive and significant effect of the "Don't be turned away" treatment for Democrats warrants further investigation. There is reason to believe that among Democrats, racial and ethnic minorities may have a stronger reaction (than white Democrats) to the implementation of photo ID laws due to the perception that these laws are specifically designed to limit their participation. Others have suggested this possibility but have not had sufficient samples of non-white voters to test for increased participation among racial/ethnic minorities (Valentino and Neuner 2016). We run a similar logistic regression model for our sample of Democrats with interaction terms between indicator variables for the subject's race/ethnicity and

indicator variables for each treatment. Average treatment effects for each of the postcards are summarized and displayed visually in figure 2 separately for White, Black, and Latinx subjects (see supplemental appendix A for corresponding regression tables). Once again, we focus on the covariate adjusted models in the text but include the estimated effects from models that exclude covariates in figure 2. The "Don't be turned away" mailer is the only postcard that exerted a significant effect on turnout, similar to the previous model (figure 1).

Both white and black Democrats were more likely to vote if they were assigned to the "Don't be turned away" postcard treatment, as shown in figure 2. This postcard, however, had virtually no effect on Latinx Democrats. We estimate that the "don't be turned away" postcards had an average treatment effect of 2.40 percentage points (p=.054, two-tailed) for white Democrats and 3.43 percentage points (p=.048, two-tailed) for black Democrats.

Figure 2: Average Treatment Effects of Informational Postcards on Democrats by Race



Notes: The figure plots the estimated treatment effects on turnout (in percentage points) with 90% confidence

intervals for the 2017 Virginia general election. Turnout is from the official Virginia voter file. The average treatment effects were estimated using a logistic regression model voter file.

Experimental Results: Survey

We next turn our attention to the post-election survey to evaluate if the informational mailers influenced views of the photo identification laws, electoral integrity, or voting fraud. Each of these outcome variables are regressed on indicator variables for assignment to each treatment group, both with and without pre-treatment covariates. Pre-treatment covariates include party group (Democrats and Independents), age, gender, turnout in the previous gubernatorial election, turnout in the 2017 primary, and racial group. One feature of automated phone surveys conducted using IVR is they do not have the ability to ask for the specific individual who was a subject in the field experiment. Thus, many of the survey participants are other individuals in the subject's household. We run all of the regression models on the full sample who participated in the survey and the subset of individuals whom we identified as likely subjects in the field experiment based on self-reported age[2] and gender matching the voter file in models 1-4. Each column lists the sample (full or matched) and whether it includes pre-treatment covariates. Models 5 – 8 expand on models 1-4 by including interaction terms between an indicator variable for Democrats and the indicator variable for assignment to each treatment group. We primarily focus our attention on models 5-8 with the interaction terms, since (as discussed in the background section) Democrats and Republicans view voting requirements and the associated rationale for them differently. We also direct our attention to the covariate adjusted models as they produce more accurate estimates by accounting for imbalance due to chance.

[2] Survey participants who reported an age that is an exact match or one year higher than what is listed in the voter file are coded as correct. The voter file was pulled in October and the age variable was calculate at that time, coding individuals who report being one year older prevents us from wrongly excluding individuals with who had a birthday in October or early November.

The survey probed respondents about their support or opposition to photo identification laws. Specifically, they were asked, "As you may know, some states, like Virginia, require voters to show photo identification to vote. Some people say this is needed to prevent people from voting who are not eligible to vote. Other people say such efforts are designed to suppress voting by minorities. What do you think: do you strongly support photo ID requirements (1), somewhat support them (2), somewhat oppose them (3), or do you strongly oppose efforts to require voters to show a photo identification card to vote (4)?" Survey participants expressed support for the photo identification requirements, with 68 percent of respondents indicating they strongly support the requirements, 13 percent somewhat support the requirements, 9 percent somewhat oppose them, and 10 percent strongly oppose the requirements. We investigate possible treatment effects on support/opposition to the laws by running an ordered logistic regression model. Results are shown in table 2. Based on this analysis, most of the informational postcards did not change these views. The "reminder" treatment appears to have slightly weakened support for the photo identification requirements among Republicans based on the covariate adjusted model with interaction terms, and restricted to the sample with demographics that match the voter file, as shown in table 2. We estimate that the average effect of the "reminder" postcard is a 13 percentage point decrease in Republicans indicating they strongly support photo identification requirements ($p=.119$, two-tailed). Most of the shift was toward indicating they somewhat support the requirements, with a 7 percentage point increase for this category ($p=.092$, two-tailed).

Table 2: Opposition to Photo ID Requirements

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Treatment 1 (0/1)	-.15(.18)	-.05(.20)	.13(.31)	.19(.32)	.51 (.36)	.52(.36)	1.20*(.61)	1.14+ (.62)
Treat 1 *X* Party					-.87*(.43)	-.84+(44)	-1.56* (.72)	-1.38+(.74)
Treatment 2 (0/1)	-.34 (.19)	-.14 (.20)	-.25 (.32)	-.19 (.33)	.21 (.37)	.27 (.37)	.37 (.65)	.43 (.66)
Treat 2 *X* Party					-.52 (.44)	-.58 (.45)	-.83 (.76)	-.85 (.77)
Treatment 3 (0/1)	-.21 (.18)	-.11 (.20)	-.03 (.31)	.02 (.32)	.33 (.36)	.38 (.37)	.67 (.63)	.67 (.64)
Treat 3 *X* Party					-.71 (.43)	-.72 (.44)	-.94 (.74)	-.87 (.76)
N	1,067	1,067	407	407	1,067	1,067	407	407
Covariates included?	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Same Demos?	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes

Note: Each cell contains the coefficient with the standard error in parentheses from an ordered logistic regression model. The Question wording is "As you may know, some states, like Virginia, require voters to show photo identification to vote. Some people say this is needed to prevent people from voting who are not eligible to vote. Other people say such efforts are designed to suppress voting by minorities. What do you think: do you strongly support photo id requirements (1), somewhat support them (2), somewhat oppose them (3), or do you strongly oppose efforts to require voters to show a photo identification card to vote (4)?", and the question was asked to all respondents. Treatment 1 = "Reminder" Treatment 2 = "Know your rights" Treatment 3 = "Don't be turned away". p-values are two-tailed. *=p<.05

All survey respondents who reported voting in the 2017 election were asked, "How confident are you that your vote in the November 2017 election in Virginia was counted as you intended? Would you say you are not at all confident, not too confident, fairly confident, or very confident?" The majority of self-reported voters are confident that their vote was counted as they intended. Sixty-eight percent are very confident, 23 are fairly confident, 5 percent are not too confident, and four percent are not at all confident. We ran an ordered logistic regression model to determine if the informational mailers influenced recipients' confidence levels. The postcards do not seem to have influenced these confidence levels as the indicator variables are statistically insignificant for all eight regression models. While the information mailers did not change perceptions of whether or not their vote was counted as intended, they may have impacted whether or not subjects believe the laws prevented others from casting fraudulent votes. We examine this possibility next.

Table 3: Confidence their vote was counted as intended

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Treatment 1 (0/1)	-.03 (.19)	.04 (.20)	.11 (.31)	.08 (.32)	.18 (.24)	.20 (.25)	.33 (.38)	.32 (.38)
Treat 1 *X* Party					-.45 (.41)	-.48 (.410	-.75(.67)	-.79(.69)
Treatment 2 (0/1)	-.27 (.19)	-.18 (.19)	.16 (.33)	.16 (.33)	-.09 (.23)	-.08 (.24)	.15 (.38)	.16 (.79)
Treat 2 *X* Party					-.24 (.41)	-.28 (.41)	.17 (.77)	.16 (.79)
Treatment 3 (0/1)	-.16 (.18)	-.12 (.19)	.22 (.31)	.21 (.32)	-.09 (.23)	-.05 (.24)	.25 (.36)	.24 (.37)
Treat 3 *X* Party					-.15 (.39)	-.18 (.40)	-.05(.70)	-.07(.72)
N	1,069	1,069	400	400	1,069	1,069	400	400
Covariates included?	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Same Demos?	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes

Note: Each cell contains the coefficient with the standard error in parentheses from an ordered logistic regression model. The Question wording is "How confident are you that your vote in the November 2017 election in Virginia was counted as you intended? Would you say you are not at all confident (0), not too confident (1), fairly confident (2), or very confident (3)?", and the question was asked to all respondents who reported voting. Treatment 1 = "Reminder" Treatment 2 = "Know your rights" Treatment 3 = "Don't be turned away". p-values are two-tailed. *=p<.05

All survey participants were asked, "Which of the following best describes your opinion of the November 2017 election in Virginia? Do you think no fraudulent votes were cast, not that many fraudulent votes were cast, some fraudulent votes were cast, or many fraudulent votes were cast?" The majority of survey respondents reported that there were fraudulent votes cast in the 2017 election. Fourteen percent indicated they believe many fraudulent votes were cast, 23 percent believe some fraudulent votes were cast, 22 percent believe not that many fraudulent votes were cast, and 41 percent indicated they believe no fraudulent votes were cast. Large partisan differences exist. For example, 62 percent of Democrats indicated they believe "no fraudulent were cast" and 23 percent reported "not that many" were cast compared to 25 percent and 21 percent of Republicans who reported "no fraudulent votes" or "not that many" fraudulent votes were cast, respectively. We expect that the informational campaign informing our random subset of voters that "Virginia law now requires all voters to show an acceptable photo ID at the polls in order to cast a vote" may reduce perceptions of the prevalence of voter fraud in elections. We investigate this possibility using an ordered logistic regression model. The outcome is coded from "1" to "4," where "1" represents no fraudulent votes were cast and "4" corresponds to the many fraudulent votes were cast response option. These results are displayed in Table 4. The

evidence suggests that informational mailers informing registered voters of the photo identification laws influences perceptions of voter fraud. The coefficients are negative almost across the board with the exception of the basic model without interactions and pre-treatment covariates (model 1). The coefficients are generally statistically significant at traditional levels in models 3 – 8. Further, there is some evidence of partisan differences, in models 5-8, the interaction terms between an indicator variable for Democrats and assignment to the treatment are positive and mostly significant. Informing registered voters that the law requires them to show a valid photo ID to cast a ballot, appears to decrease perceptions of the prevalence of fraud among Republicans and increase these perceptions among Democrats.

Table 4: Prevalence of Voter Fraud in the 2017 Virginia Election

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Treatment 1 (0/1)	-.04(.16)	-.11 (.17)	-.43 (.26)	-.48+(.27)	-.23(.22)	-.21(.22)	-.98*(.33)	-.98*(.34)
Treat 1 *X* Party					.22 (.35)	.20 (.35)	1.50* (.57)	1.41* (.58)
Treatment 2 (0/1)	.07 (.16)	-.07(.17)	-.51+ (.27)	-.62* (.28)	-.39+(.21)	-.37+(.21)	-1.09*(.34)	-1.13*(.34)
Treat 2 *X* Party					.73* (.34)	.75* (.34)	1.61* (.59)	1.50* (.60)
Treatment 3 (0/1)	.04 (.16)	-.02(.16)	-.52+(.26)	-.58* (.27)	-.38+ (.21)	-.36+ (.21)	-1.01* (.33)	-1.01* (.33)
Treat 3 *X* Party					.85* (.33)	.80* (.33)	1.32* (.58)	1.23* (.59)
N	1,090	1,090	431	431	1,090	1,090	431	431
Covariates included?	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Same Demos?	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes

Note: Each cell contains the coefficient with the standard error in parentheses from an ordered logistic regression model. The Question wording is "Which of the following best describes your opinion of the November 2017 election in Virginia? Do you think no fraudulent votes were cast (1), not that many fraudulent votes were cast (2) , some fraudulent votes were cast (3) , or many fraudulent votes were cast (4)?", and the question was asked to all respondents. Treatment 1 = "Reminder" Treatment 2 = "Know your rights" Treatment 3 = "Don't be turned away". p-values are two-tailed. *=p<.05

We believe that the basic information included on all three postcards informing recipients of the photo identification required is responsible for influencing perceptions of voter fraud. Pooling all three treatments, we run a similar set of regression models with a binary indicator

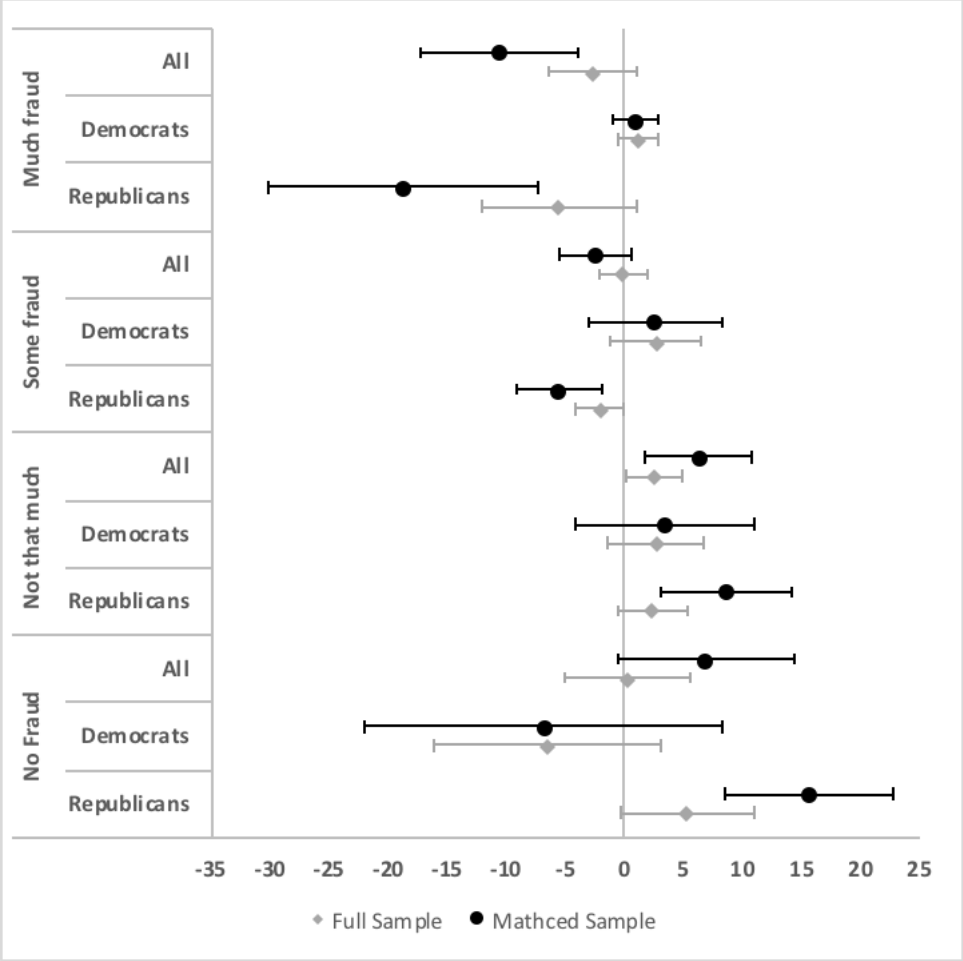
variable for assignment to any treatment group, since all three postcards mentioned the photo ID requirement. Results are similar and are displayed in table 5, with changes to the response distribution visually illustrated in Figure 3. The figure displays the estimated treatment effects for the covariate adjusted models with party and treatment interaction terms for the full sample (model 6) in gray and for the matched sample with reported demographics that match the voter file (model 8) in black. Both the full and matched model demonstrate that the mailers providing registered voters with information about the photo identification requirement produced drops in perceptions that voter fraud was widespread in the 2017 election. The general pattern, both overall and among Republicans is fewer subjects in the treatment groups indicated that many or some fraudulent votes were cast and higher numbers indicting that no and not that many fraudulent votes were cast, as shown in figure 3. Democrats trended in the opposite direction with fewer subjects indicating there were no fraudulent votes cast in the 2017 Virginia election.

Table 5: Prevalence of Voter Fraud in the 2017 VA Election (Treatments Pooled)

	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**
Treat (0/1)	.03(.13)	-.07(.14)	-.49*(.22)	-.55*(.22)	-.34+(.18)	-.31+(.18)	-1.03*(.28)	-1.04*(.28)
Treat *X* Party					.62* (.28)	.60* (.28)	-3.18 (.44)	1.38* (.49)
N	1,090	1,090	431	431	1,090	1,090	431	431
Covariates included?	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Same Demos?	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes

Note: Each cell contains the coefficient with the standard error in parentheses from an ordered logistic regression model. The Question wording is "Which of the following best describes your opinion of the November 2017 election in Virginia? Do you think no fraudulent votes were cast (1), not that many fraudulent votes were cast (2), some fraudulent votes were cast (3), or many fraudulent votes were cast (4)?", and the question was asked to all respondents. Collapsed into a dichotomous variable (1&2 are coded 1; 3&4 are coded 0) Treatment 1 = "Reminder" Treatment 2 = "Know your rights" Treatment 3 = "Don't be turned away". p-values are two-tailed. *=p<.05

Figure 3: Estimated effect of Informational mailers on the prevalence of fraud



Note: The figure plots the average marginal treatment effect of selecting each category with 95 percent confidence intervals. Question wording: "Which of the following best describes your opinion of the November 2017 election in Virginia? Do you think no fraudulent votes were cast, not that many fraudulent votes were cast, some fraudulent votes were cast, or many fraudulent votes were cast?"

We now turn our attention to satisfaction with democracy. All survey participants were asked, "On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in the United States? Would you say you are not at all satisfied, not that satisfied, somewhat satisfied, or very satisfied?" The majority of participants in our survey report that they are very (22%) or somewhat (44%) satisfied with the way democracy works in the United States. We use an ordered logistic regression to determine informational mailer affected these views. The outcome variable is coded from "1" to "4" where "1" represents not at all satisfied and "4" represents very satisfied. The independent variables of interest are indicator variables for assignment to each

postcard treatment group as well interactions between them and an indicator for Democrats. The results are displayed in table 6 for the full and matched samples, both with and without the array of pre-treatment covariates. The informational mailers do not appear to have influenced recipients' overall satisfaction with democracy.

Table 6: Satisfaction with democracy in the United States

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Treatment 1 (0/1)	.00 (.16)	.02 (.16)	-.06 (.26)	-.04 (.26)	-.05 (.22)	-.04 (.22)	-.15 (.34)	-.09 (.35)
Treat 1 *X* Party					.11 (.33)	.13 (.33)	.24 (.52)	.12 (.53)
Treatment 2 (0/1)	-.00 (.16)	.02 (.16)	-.06 (.27)	.00 (.27)	-.18 (.21)	-.18 (.22)	-.19 (.36)	-.13 (.36)
Treat 2 *X* Party					.45 (.33)	.47 (.32)	.34 (.54)	.35 (.55)
Treatment 3 (0/1)	.05 (.16)	.07 (.16)	-.02 (.26)	-.02 (.26)	-.01 (.22)	.02 (.22)	.13 (.34)	.12 (.34)
Treat 3 *X* Party					.12 (.32)	.11 (.32)	-.36 (.52)	-.37 (.52)
N	1,108	1,108	431	431	1,108	1,108	431	431
Covariates included?	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Same Demos?	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes

Note: Each cell contains the coefficient with the standard error in parentheses from an ordered logistic regression model. The Question wording is "On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in the United States? Would you say you are not at all satisfied (1), not that satisfied (2), somewhat satisfied (3), or very satisfied (4)?", and the question was asked to all respondents. Treatment 1 = "Reminder" Treatment 2 = "Know your rights" Treatment 3 = "Don't be turned away". p-values are two-tailed. *=p<.05

The survey also included a self-assessment of the subject's knowledge of current voting requirements and an actual knowledge item, which we use to confirm that the postcards mailers served their intended purpose of increasing knowledge of voting requirements and procedures. First, we explore self-assessed knowledge. Participants were asked, "Overall, how informed do you feel you were about the voting requirements for the elections that took place last Tuesday, November 7th, in Virginia? Would you say you feel not very informed, somewhat informed, or very informed?" Participants in the survey overwhelming reported (79%) that they felt "very informed" with 17 percent selecting somewhat informed, and 4 percent indicating they did not feel very informed. We test for possible treatment effects on self-assessed knowledge by running ordered logistic regression models for both the full and matched samples. The outcome variable is code "1" not very informed to "3" very informed. Independent variables include indicator variables for assignment to each treatment group and pretreatment covariates. All three

treatments appear to have had positive effects for the matched sample, though the effects are generally insignificant at traditional levels, with the exception of the "don't be turned away" treatment, which exerted a positive effect that is significant at the p<.10 level, one-tailed. We should also note that if we combine all the treatments into a single pooled variable, assignment to a treatment has a positive and significant effect of self-assessed knowledge at the p<.10 level, one-tailed.

Table 7: Self-assessed knowledge of voting requirements

	1	2	3	4
Treatment 1 (0/1)	.00 (.22)	.05 (.23)	.40 (.35)	.41 (.35)
Treatment 2 (0/1)	-.12 (.22)	-.05 (.22)	.23 (.34)	.24 (.35)
Treatment 3 (0/1)	-.22 (.21)	-.18 (.22)	.51+ (.35)	.53+ (.36)
N	1,078	1,078	431	431
Covariates included?	No	Yes	No	Yes
Same Demos?	No	No	Yes	Yes

Note: Each cell contains the coefficient with the standard error in parentheses from an ordered logistic regression model. The Question wording is "Overall, how informed do you feel you were about the voting requirements for the elections that took place last Tuesday, November 7th, in Virginia? Would you say you feel not very informed (1), somewhat informed (2), or very informed (3)?", and the question was asked to all respondents. Treatment 1 = "Reminder" Treatment 2 = "Know your rights" Treatment 3 = "Don't be turned away". p-values are one-tailed. +=p<.10, one-tailed

The survey also included a manipulation check gauging actual knowledge of information that was provided on two of the postcards. The "know your rights" and "don't be turned away" postcards noted, "If you arrive at your polling place without an acceptable form of photo ID, you will be given the opportunity to cast a provisional ballot that will be counted if a copy of your photo ID is delivered via fax, email, in-person submission, or through USPS or commercial delivery service to the voter registration office in which the ballot was cast *by Monday, November 13, 2017 at 12:00 noon.*" The final substantive survey item asked, "Do you happen to know what happens if voters in Virginia attempt to vote but they do not have an acceptable form of photo ID? Are voters without an acceptable form of photo ID not allowed to cast a ballot of any kind, or are they allowed to cast a provisional ballot? Press 1 if 'Voters without an acceptable form of photo ID are not allowed to cast a ballot of any kind' (coded as 0) Press 2, if 'Voters without an acceptable form of photo ID are allowed to cast a provisional ballot' (coded

as 1) Press 3 if you 'don't know' (coded as 0)." Almost half (48%) of the survey participants correctly answered this question. We test to see if the relevant treatments increased correct knowledge about provisional ballots by running a logistic regression model with a dependent variable equal to "1" for participants who correctly answered the question and "0" for individuals who did not. Participants assigned to both of the treatment groups with the relevant information were significantly more likely than subjects who were randomly assigned to the control group and informational treatment to know the correct answer as shown in table 8.

Table 8: Actual Knowledge – Manipulation Check

	1	2	3	4
Treatment 2 (0/1)	.22+ (.15)	.30* (.16)	.40+ (.25)	.40+ (.26)
Treatment 3 (0/1)	.24+ (.15)	.28* (.15)	.57* (.23)	.63* (.24)
N	1,052	1,052	431	431
Covariates included?	No	Yes	No	Yes
Same Demos?	No	No	Yes	Yes

Note: Each cell contains the coefficient with the standard error in parentheses from a logistic regression model. The Question wording is "Do you happen to know what happens if voters in Virginia attempt to vote but they do not have an acceptable form of photo ID? Are voters without an acceptable form of photo ID not allowed to cast a ballot of any kind, or are they allowed to cast a provisional ballot? Press 1 if 'Voters without an acceptable form of photo ID are not allowed to cast a ballot of any kind' (coded as 0) Press 2, if 'Voters without an acceptable form of photo ID are allowed to cast a provisional ballot' (coded as 1) Press 3 if you 'don't know' (coded as 0). The question was asked to all respondents. Treatment 2 = "Know your rights" Treatment 3 = "Don't be turned away". The reminder treatment is excluded as it did not include the answer to the manipulation check. p-values are one-tailed. *=p<.05, +p<.10, one-tailed.

Discussion

The field experiment we describe in this study was designed to evaluate the effects of informational campaigns designed to inform the public about photo identification requirements on both turnout and perceptions of electoral confidence and voter fraud. Consistent with prior studies (Citrin, Green, and Levy 2014), we find that most of the informational mailers sent out by the LWV had negligible effects on turnout in the 2017 Virginia election. The postcard mailer that explicitly mentioned the possibility of the state's photo identification laws disproportionately affecting demographic groups who generally support the Democratic Party in large numbers is the exception. It increased turnout among Democrats. This finding is consistent with arguments advanced in the Valentino and Neuner that Democrats react to electoral reforms

they perceive target them with anger and in turn express an intent to participate at greater rates (2017). We find that this "don't be turned away" postcard had the strongest effect for black Democrats. The estimated effect of this postcard was a 3.43 percentage point (p=.048, two-tailed) increase for black Democrats and a 2.40 percentage point (p=.054, two-tailed) increase in turnout for white Democrats. This postcard mailer does not appear to have had much of an effect on the turnout of Latinx registered voters, though our sample size is much smaller for this subgroup. The "don't be turned away" treatment also seems to have had a negative, though statically insignificant, effect on Republican turnout.

The informational campaign also influenced subjects' views of the prevalence of voter fraud in the 2017 Virginia election. Our experimental findings appear to show that informing registered Virginia voters that the laws now require all individuals to show a valid photo identification decreased perceptions of fraud. This reduction in the perceived prevalence of voter fraud is largely driven by decreases among Republican registered voters who were significantly less likely to report that "many fraudulent votes" were cast. while increasing, to a lesser extent, the perceptions of fraud among Democratic voters. Determining any possible links between photo identification laws and perception of electoral fraud is important as these laws are generally justified on the grounds that they are designed to reduce fraud and the perceptions of fraud. The decision in *Crawford v. Marion County Election Board* (2008) partly rested on this rationale that any burdens possibly arising from photo identification laws must be weighed against actual and perceived reductions in electoral fraud. Prior studies have explored the possible relationship between ID laws and perceptions of fraud using observational data, with mixed findings. Ansolabahere, for example, did not find a relationship between a state's identification laws and confidence in the electoral process (2009). Bowler and Donovan, on the

other hand, find some evidence that identification laws are associated with reductions in perceptions of fraud, specifically, they find a find that Republicans who reported that they were asked to show an ID to vote in the 2014 election also reported lower perceptions of in-person voter fraud (2016). Our experimental result build on this work, and allow us to isolate a causal effect between identification laws and perceptions of voter fraud.

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Appendix

Treatment 1 (Informational)

League of Women Voters Education Fund
1730 M Street, NW, Suite 1000
Washington, D.C. 20036

Our democracy

only works if you vote.

Dear Registered Voter,

Election Day is coming up on November 7.

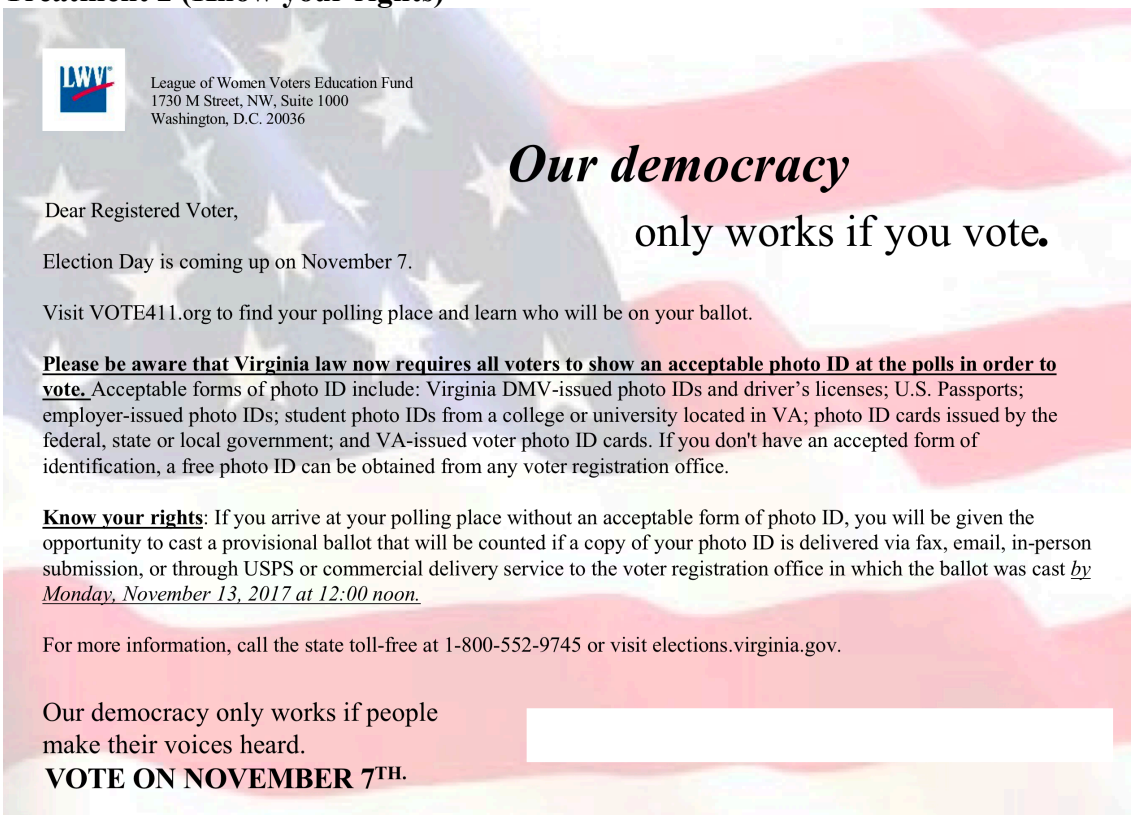
Visit VOTE411.org to find your polling place and learn who will be on your ballot.

Please be aware that Virginia law now requires all voters to show an acceptable photo ID at the polls in order to vote. Acceptable forms of photo ID include: Virginia DMV-issued photo IDs and driver's licenses; U.S. Passports; employer-issued photo IDs; student photo IDs from a college or university located in VA; photo ID cards issued by the federal, state or local government; and VA-issued voter photo ID cards. If you don't have an accepted form of identification, a free photo ID can be obtained from any voter registration office.

For more information, call the state toll-free at 1-800-552-9745 or visit elections.virginia.gov.

Our democracy only works if people make their voices heard.
VOTE ON NOVEMBER 7TH.

Treatment 2 (Know your rights)



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Election Day is coming up on November 7.

Visit VOTE411.org to find your polling place and learn who will be on your ballot.

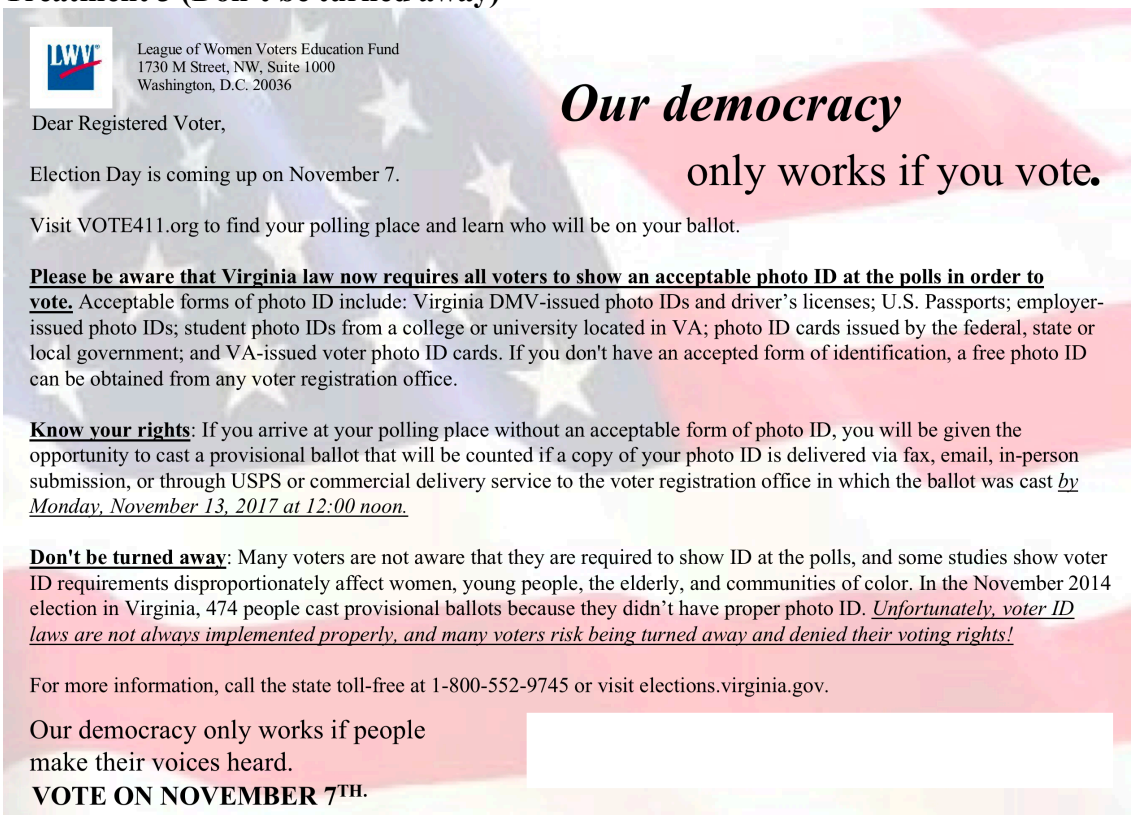
Please be aware that Virginia law now requires all voters to show an acceptable photo ID at the polls in order to vote. Acceptable forms of photo ID include: Virginia DMV-issued photo IDs and driver's licenses; U.S. Passports; employer-issued photo IDs; student photo IDs from a college or university located in VA; photo ID cards issued by the federal, state or local government; and VA-issued voter photo ID cards. If you don't have an accepted form of identification, a free photo ID can be obtained from any voter registration office.

Know your rights: If you arrive at your polling place without an acceptable form of photo ID, you will be given the opportunity to cast a provisional ballot that will be counted if a copy of your photo ID is delivered via fax, email, in-person submission, or through USPS or commercial delivery service to the voter registration office in which the ballot was cast *by Monday, November 13, 2017 at 12:00 noon.*

For more information, call the state toll-free at 1-800-552-9745 or visit elections.virginia.gov.

Our democracy only works if people make their voices heard.
VOTE ON NOVEMBER 7TH.

Treatment 3 (Don't be turned away)



Balance Table

	Postcard 1	Postcard 2	Postcard 3	Control
Democrat	.45 (.01)	.45 (.01)	.45 (.01)	.46 (.01)
Republican	.46 (.01)	.46 (.01)	.47 (.01)	.45 (.01)
Independent	.09 (.00)	.09 (.00)	.08 (.00)	.09 (.00)
Age group 18 – 35	.18 (.00)	.18 (.00)	.18 (.00)	.18 (.00)
Age group 36 – 50	.19 (.00)	.19 (.00)	.18 (.00)	.19 (.00)
Age group 51 – 65	.32 (.01)	.32 (.01)	.33 (.01)	.32 (.01)
Age group 66 – 80	.24 (.01)	.24 (.01)	.23 (.01)	.24 (.01)
Age group 81+	.06 (.00)	.07 (.00)	.07 (.00)	.07 (.00)
Male	.47 (.01)	.47 (.01)	.47 (.01)	.46 (.01)
Turnout 2017 Primary	.23 (.01)	.22 (.00)	.22 (.00)	.22 (.00)
Turnout 2016	.83 (.00)	.83 (.00)	.83 (.00)	.83 (.00)
Turnout 2013	.55 (.01)	.55 (.01)	.55 (.01)	.55 (.01)
N	6,996	7,000	7,006	6,998

Variables are from the Virginia voter file. Party identification was modeled by the data firm that provided the voter file.

Table A1: Treatment effects on turnout in the 2017 Virginia Election

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Treatment 1 (0/1)	-.00 (.03)	-.01 (.04)	.01 (.05)	-.02 (.07)
Treatment 1 *X* Democrat			-.04 (.07)	.03 (.10)
Treatment 1 *X* Independent			-.02 (.13)	-.07 (.16)
Treatment 2 (0/1)	-.01 (.03)	-.02 (.04)	-.06 (.05)	-.09 (.07)
Treatment 2 *X* Democrat			.05 (.07)	.10 (.09)
Treatment 2 *X* Independent			.20 (.13)	.23 (.16)
Treatment 3 (0/1)	.01 (.03)	.02 (.04)	-.08 (.05)	-.11 (.07)
Treatment 3 *X* Democrat			.14* (.07)	.26* (.09)
Treatment 3 *X* Independent			.14 (.13)	.12 (.16)
Democrat (0/1)		-.11* (.04)	-.44* (.05)	-.20* (.07)
Independent (0/1)		-.46* (.06)	-1.45* (.09)	-.53* (.11)
Age (17-99)		.01* (.00)		.01* (.00)
Male (0/1)		.12 (.03)		.12 (.03)
Race: Black (0/1)		-.07 (.05)		-.07 (.05)
Race: Latinx (0/1)		-.09 (.08)		-.09 (.08)
Race: Asian (0/1)		-.06 (.10)		-.06 (.10)
Race: Other, non-white		.03 (.06)		.03 (.06)
2017 primary voter		2.32* (.07)		2.32* (.07)
2016 voter		2.35* (.06)		2.36* (.06)
2013 voter		1.48* (.03)		1.48* (.03)
Constant	.41* (.02)	-3.19* (.08)	.75* (.04)	-3.14* (.09)
Pseudo R^2	.00	.35	.03	.35
N	28,000	28,000	28,000	28,000

Note: Each cell contains the coefficient with the standard error in parentheses from a logistic regression model. The outcome variable is turnout, where 1 = voted and 0= did not vote. Treatment 1 = "Reminder" Treatment 2 = "Know your rights" Treatment 3 = "Don't be turned away". p-values are one-tailed. *=p<.05

Table A2: Democratic turnout with treatment X race interactions

	2017 Turnout
Treatment 1 (0/1)	.10 (.09)
Treatment 1 *X* Black	-.22 (.16)
Treatment 1 *X* Latinx	.14 (.27)
Treatment 1 *X* Asian	-.28 (.32)
Treatment 1 *X* Other	-.23 (.24)
Treatment 2 (0/1)	-.01 (.09)
Treatment 2 *X* Black	.18 (.16)
Treatment 2 *X* Latinx	-.11 (.28)
Treatment 2 *X* Asian	.17 (.32)
Treatment 2 *X* Other	-.27 (.23)
Treatment 3 (0/1)	.18* (.09)
Treatment 3 *X* Black	.08 (.16)
Treatment 3 *X* Latinx	-.20 (.27)
Treatment 3 *X* Asian	-.14 (.31)
Treatment 3 *X* Other	-.27 (.25)
Age (17-99)	.01* (.00)
Male (0/1)	.15* (.05)
Race: Black (0/1)	-.08 (.11)
Race: Latinx (0/1)	-.00 (.19)
Race: Asian (0/1)	.02 (.22)
Race: Other, non-white	.26 (.17)
2017 primary voter	2.40* (.09)
2016 voter	2.34* (.08)
2013 voter	1.49* (.05)
Constant	-3.39* (.12)
Pseudo R^2	.38
N	12,680

Note: Each cell contains the coefficient with the standard error in parentheses from a logistic regression model. The outcome variable is turnout, where 1 = voted and 0= did not vote. Treatment 1 = "Reminder" Treatment 2 = "Know your rights" Treatment 3 = "Don't be turned away". p-values are one-tailed. *=p<.05; +=p<.10.

Questionnaire

[INTRO] Hello, this is XX Research, a national public opinion survey firm calling with a 3 minute survey about politics in Virginia. Your opinions are very important. We'd like to ask you a few questions and get you to use your telephone keypad to respond.

Q01: Please tell us your age using your telephone keypad. For example, if you are 45 years old, press the 4 key, then the five key, then press pound.

(IF Q01==1 OR <18 years old, [GO TO OUTRO])

Q02: Thinking back to last Tuesday's election for governor in Virginia, which of the following describes you: you did not vote; you attempted to vote, but were not able; you voted early in-person; you voted by mail; or you voted in-person on election day.

1) Press 1 if you did not vote [GO TO Q7]
2) Press 2 if you attempted to vote, but were not able to vote [GO TO Q7]
3) Press 3 if you voted early in-person [GO TO Q4]
4) Press 4 if you voted by mail [GO TO Q5]
5) Press 5 if you voted in-person on Election Day [GO TO Q3]

Q03: Overall, how satisfied are you with the job performance of the poll workers at your voting location on Election Day last Tuesday? Would you say you were not at all satisfied, not that satisfied, somewhat satisfied, or very satisfied?

1) Press 1 if you are not at all satisfied [GO TO Q4]
2) Press 2 if you are not that satisfied [GO TO Q4]
3) Press 3 if you are somewhat satisfied [GO TO Q4]
4) Press 4 if you are very satisfied [GO TO Q4]

Q04: Were you asked to provide a photo ID when you voted?

1) Press 1 for Yes [GO TO Q5]
2) Press 2 for No [GO TO Q5]

Q05: How confident are you that your vote in the November 2017 election in Virginia was counted as you intended? Would you say you are not at all confident, not too confident, fairly confident, or very confident?

1) Press 1 if you are not at all confident [GO TO Q6]
2) Press 2 if you are not too confident [GO TO Q6]
3) Press 3 if you are fairly confident [GO TO Q6]
4) Press 4 if you are very confident [GO TO Q6]

Q06: In the race for governor, did you vote for Ralph Northam, the Democratic candidate, or Ed Gillespie, the Republican candidate?

1) Press 1 if you voted for Ralph Northam, the Democratic candidate [GO TO Q9]
2) Press 2 if you voted for Ed Gillespie, the Republican candidate [GO TO Q9]
3) Press 3 if you voted for someone else for governor [GO TO Q9]
4) Press 4 if you did not vote for governor [GO TO Q9]

Q07: What is the main reason you did not vote? Is it that you were not interested or forgot to vote; that you were too busy or did not have time to vote; you did not know enough about the candidates to vote; you did not have the correct identification needed to vote; you did not know where or how to vote; or some other reason not mentioned here?

1) Press 1 if you were not interested or forgot to vote
2) Press 2 if you were too busy or did not have time to vote
3) Press 3 if you did not know enough about the candidates to vote
4) Press 4 if you did not have the correct form of identification needed to vote
5) Press 5 if you did not know where or how to vote
6) Press 6 for any other reason

Q08: In the race for governor, did you prefer Ralph Northam, the Democratic candidate, or Ed Gillespie, the Republican candidate?

1) Press 1 if you preferred Ralph Northam, the Democratic candidate
2) Press 2 if you preferred Ed Gillespie, the Republican candidate
3) Press 3 if you preferred someone else for governor

Q09: On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in the United States? Would you say you are not at all satisfied, not that satisfied, somewhat satisfied, or very satisfied?

1) Press 1 if you are not at all satisfied
2) Press 2 if you are not that satisfied
3) Press 3 if you are somewhat satisfied
4) Press 4 if you are very satisfied

Q10: Which of the following best describes your opinion of the November 2017 election in Virginia? Do you think no fraudulent votes were cast, not that many fraudulent votes were cast, some fraudulent votes were cast, or many fraudulent votes were cast?

1) Press 1 if you think no fraudulent votes were cast
2) Press 2 if you think not that many fraudulent votes were cast
3) Press 3 if you think some fraudulent votes were cast
4) Press 4 if you think many fraudulent votes were cast

Q11: Overall, how informed do you feel you were about the voting requirements for the elections that took place last Tuesday, November 7th, in Virginia? Would you say you feel not very informed, somewhat informed, or very informed?

1) Press 1 if you are not very informed
2) Press 2 if you are somewhat informed
3) Press 3 if you are very informed

Q12: As you may know, some states, like Virginia, require voters to show photo identification to vote. Some people say this is needed to prevent people from voting who are not eligible to vote. Other people say such efforts are designed to suppress voting by minorities. What do you think: do you strongly support photo id requirements, somewhat support them, somewhat oppose them, or do you strongly oppose efforts to require voters to show a photo identification card to vote?

1) Press 1 if you strongly support photo id requirements
2) Press 2 if you somewhat support photo id requirements
3) Press 3 if you somewhat oppose photo id requirements
4) Press 4 if you strongly oppose photo id requirements

Q13: Do you happen to know what happens if voters in Virginia attempt to vote but they do not have an acceptable form of photo ID? Are voters without an acceptable form of photo ID not allowed to cast a ballot of any kind, or are they allowed to cast a provisional ballot?

1) Press 1 if "Voters without an acceptable form of photo ID are not allowed to cast a ballot of any kind"
2) Press 2, if "Voters without an acceptable form of photo ID are allowed to cast a provisional ballot"
3) Press 3 if you don't know

Q14: Now we have a couple of questions about you. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

1) Press 1 for Democrat.
2) Press 2 for Republican
3) Press 3 for Independent
4) Press 4 for Other

Q15: Please tell us your gender.

1) Press 1 for Female
2) Press 2 for Male

Q16: What race or ethnicity best identifies you: Caucasian or white, African-American, Hispanic or Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, or some other race or ethnicity not mentioned here?

1) Press 1 for White, non-Hispanic
2) Press 2 for African American
3) Press 3 for Hispanic or Latino
4) Press 4 for Asian / Pacific Islander
5) Press 5 for other

Q17: How closely did you follow the 2017 gubernatorial election in Virginia? Would you say you followed the election not that closely, somewhat closely, or very closely?

1) Press 1 for not that closely
2) Press 2 for somewhat closely
3) Press 3 for very closely