

# **Exhibit 7**



THE FEDERATION OF AMERICAN WOMEN'S CLUBS OVERSEAS, INC.  
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**FEDERATION OF AMERICAN WOMEN'S CLUBS OVERSEAS**

**POST-ELECTION SURVEY REPORT**

**APRIL 2005**

## **Voting from Overseas 2004 Post-electoral Survey Report**

Submitted by Kathy Webster, Chair, FAWCO Voting-from-Overseas Committee

April, 2005

### Introduction

**This survey** (see pages 5+6) was drafted jointly by AARO (Association of Americans Resident Overseas) and FAWCO (Federation of American Women's Clubs Overseas), to be conducted separately, but in parallel. FAWCO sent electronic copies to its 75 member clubs around the world, asking them to circulate it within their communities. Completed forms came back in hard copy, and by email. FAWCO also posted an Internet version on its website. This was used by many, probably including some not alerted by a FAWCO club. (see page 8 for actual figures.)

We have drafted a revised survey for possible future use. After processing the results, it was obvious that some questions were repetitive; others were unclear; "unsure" should have been an option for some responses; and a few areas that would be useful to know were left out (i.e., did you need to use a FWAB?).

**Timing:** The Survey was circulated between 20 November 2004 and the end of March, 2005, including a special distribution at the FAWCO Conference in Birmingham, England, March 17-21.

**Scope:** While no effort was made to determine the geographic provenance of each completed survey, nor if it was from a particular FAWCO club, there are many indications that the scope was world-wide, covering most countries in Europe, and extending to the Philippines, Thailand, Australia, Morocco and the near East. We have an email address to identify every survey returned electronically. In the case of hard copies received, the FAWCO source club is generally known. This information, plus the nature of the answers, indicate that many of the completed surveys were submitted by non-FAWCO voters.

**Comments on tallies:** Every effort has been made to be as accurate as possible, but sometimes the numbers will not 'add up'. Not everyone responded to every question; many questions received multiple responses; a few had to be interpreted; and several respondents had clearly misunderstood the meaning - for instance, a few did not seem to know what the "FVAP" was. These instances were so infrequent that the overall results have not been affected.

**Treatment of specifically noted problems:** Wherever a respondent took the trouble to write a message that was special, the ID number of this survey page is on our master 'running tally' document. We have shared these specific comments with the Federal Voting Assistance Program, including the occasional message of praise. In addition to general procedural problems, there are those that are specific to an Electoral District or State. For further information contact [kathywebster@mistral.co.uk](mailto:kathywebster@mistral.co.uk), with "FAWCO Voting Survey" as the subject title, please.

**Aim of Survey:** It is our hope that the results, when transmitted to the competent authorities, will significantly help in determining which procedures for voting from overseas need to be improved. We also trust that they will then be addressed! Our aim is the complete elimination of obstacles that many overseas voters face when trying to participate in the democratic electoral process of the United States.

### N.B.:

FVAP = Federal Voting Assistance Program  
FPCA = Federal Post Card Application  
FWAB = Federal Write-in Absentee Ballot

## Statistical results

### The Numbers:

Total number of responses: **457**

(#1) Registered to vote: **428** Did not register to vote: **29**

### Of the 428 registered to vote:

(#4) Had no problems: 312 Had problems: 100

Of the 100 with problems (many indicated multiple problems):

- 57 - received ballot late
- 13 - found form confusing
- 11 - had notary problems
- 11 - had a problem obtaining information
- 6 - were refused a ballot
- 4 - didn't know voting district
- 13 - miscellaneous 'other' (wrong address/rec'd 2 ballots/FAX not accepted/...)

Of the 428 registered to vote:

(#7) 379 believe they received their ballot in time to be returned and counted;  
42 did not receive a ballot in time to be counted  
6 are unsure

====> **~11% were undeniably disenfranchised by a faulty system**

(#5) 49 - had problems with local voting office;  
161 - had none.  
[This question was ignored by the majority of respondents. It was repetitive.]

### Registration Process Used

(#2) Source of information on voting: [note that multiple responses were often given]  
FAWCO Club - 194  
Overseas US organization - 89  
Local Election District - 84  
FVAP - 79  
International Media - 23  
US Embassy/Consulate - 14  
Local website/IT search engine - 6  
Local media - 5

(#6) Seek help from US Consulate? :  
NO - 326  
YES - 86 Of these, 70 were satisfied; 15 were not

(#3) Means Used to Register (some seemed to be confused by this question)

FPCA Card - 281  
Other (locally/previously registered) - 100  
Online FPCA - 34

Opinions on Process of Voting from Overseas:

(#8) Do you feel the process to be too difficult and onerous?

NO - 319  
YES - 81

(#9) Do you have confidence in the overseas voting process?

YES - 238  
NO - 141  
UNSURE - 34

(#10) If voting by Internet **could be guaranteed secure**, would you use it?

YES - 326  
NO - 63  
UNSURE - 17

**Responses from the 29 who did NOT register:**

(#11) Reasons given (often multiple) for not registering to vote:

- 1 - Fear of tax liability
- 2 - Did not know where to get the information
- 6 - Did not know voting district/last address in US
- 6 - Have not voted in US for years
- 7 - Not convinced that votes from overseas will be counted
- 8 - Voting procedures are too onerous
- 9 - Lived away from US too long/no property there
- 12 - Miscellaneous other reasons (i.e., were in US on voting day anyway, etc.)

Note that no one checked

- Did not know I could vote from overseas
- Not interested in US politics

(#12) Do you have confidence in the overseas voting procedures?

9 - YES  
15 - NO  
3 - UNSURE

(#13) If voting by Internet **could be guaranteed secure**, would you use it?

18 - YES  
4 - NO  
2 - UNSURE

## Overseas Voting Survey

This survey seeks to determine the actual experience of Americans voting from overseas in the 2004 election. The findings will be collated and passed on to the Election Assistance Commission in Washington.

NAME (Optional) \_\_\_\_\_ Today's date \_\_\_\_\_

VOTING STATE \_\_\_\_\_ COUNTY/DISTRICT \_\_\_\_\_

1. Did you register to vote as an absentee voter in the 2004 election?      YES      NO

If you answered YES, go to question # 2    If you answered NO, go to question # 11 (p.2)

2. Where did you get your information about voting absentee?

International media     Overseas US organization     FAWCO club  
 Local media     Political Parties     Local Election District  
 FVAP (Federal Voting Assistance Program)

3. How did you register to vote?  By FPCA card     Online FPCA     Other \_\_\_\_\_

4. Did you encounter any problems in registering or receiving your ballot?    YES      NO

If YES, please check all problems that apply and add explanations of special interest:

Obtaining information     Confusing form     Notary requirements  
 Didn't know voting district     Receiving ballot too late     Other? \_\_\_\_\_  
 FPCA/ballot refused (why?)

5. Did you encounter any specific problems with your local voting office? Please explain

6. Did you seek help at any time from a US Consulate?      YES      NO  
 Were you satisfied with the help you received?      YES      NO (Explain)

7. Did you receive your ballot in time for it to be returned and counted in your state?    YES      NO

8. Did you feel the overseas voting process to be too difficult and onerous?    YES      NO  
 Explain.

9. Do you have confidence in the overseas voting process? Explain.      YES      NO

10. If voting by Internet could be guaranteed secure, would you use it?      YES      NO

- 2 -

If you answered NO to question #1 and you DID NOT vote in the 2004 election, please answer the following questions:

11. You chose NOT to vote in the 2004 election because: (check ALL that apply)

- Did not know I could vote from overseas
- Did not know where to get the information
- For fear of tax liability in voting state
- Did not know my voting district/last address in the U.S.
- Lived away from the US too long/have no property there
- Have not voted in US elections for years
- Not interested in US politics
- Not convinced that votes from overseas will be counted
- Voting procedures are too onerous
- Other? \_\_\_\_\_

12. Do you have confidence in the overseas voting procedures? YES NO

13. If voting by Internet could be guaranteed secure, would you use it? YES NO

***Thank you for your help***

*Please return this form to:*

**DISTRIBUTION OF VOTING ADDRESSES BY STATE**

AL - 1	NE - 0
AK - 1	NV - 0
AZ - 9	NH - 2
AR - 1	NJ - 17
CA - 50	NM - 1
CO - 12	NY - 45
CT - 13	NC - 6
DE - 1	ND - 0
DC - 4	OH - 15
FL - 28	OK - 6
GA - 12	OR - 3
HI - 1	PA - 21
ID - 1	RI - 2
IL - 30	SC - 2
IN - 6	SD - 1
IA - 4	TN - 4
KS - 3	TX - 33
KY - 3	UT - 3
LA - 0	VT - 3
ME - 1	VA - 16
MD - 12	WA - 9
MA - 18	WV - 1
MI - 25	WI - 5
MN - 12	WY - 0
MS - 0	
MO - 8	Total 451 - six respondents indicated no state
MT -	FAWCO Voting Survey - April 2005

**MISCELLANEOUS COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FROM VOTING SURVEY 2005**

List of voting states in order of those most represented:

California	- 50	New Jersey	- 17
New York	- 45	Virginia	- 16
Texas	- 33	Ohio	- 15
Illinois	- 30	Connecticut	- 13
Florida	- 28	Colorado	- 12
Michigan	- 25	Georgia	- 12
Pennsylvania	- 21	Maryland	- 12
Massachusetts	- 18	Minnesota	- 12

The remaining states had from 1 to 9, with the following having zero overseas voters who participated in this survey:

Louisiana	Nebraska	Wyoming
Mississippi	Nevada	
Montana	North Dakota	

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Number of problems registering (question #4) per state:

Michigan	- 11	New Jersey	- 3	Indiana	- 1
New York	- 10	Georgia	- 2	Kansas	- 1
California	- 9	Maryland	- 2	Kentucky	- 1
Florida	- 7	Missouri	- 2	Minnesota	- 1
Colorado	- 6	Ohio	- 2	New Hamp.	- 1
Texas	- 6	Rhode Island	- 2	Oregon	- 1
Mass.	- 5	Washington	- 2	Utah	- 1
Arizona	- 3	Wisconsin	- 2	Vermont	- 1
Connecticut	- 3	Arizona	- 1		

Note that these are exact figures; they should be considered relative to total respondents from each state. For example, only 18% of CA voters had problems, while 44% of MI voters did!

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Of the 457 surveys returned

- 166 - completed on hard copy and returned by mail (usually grouped, from the club's FAWCO Representative) or brought to Birmingham Conference (56);
- 139 - completed on a computer and sent directly to voting chair via email;
- 121 - completed on-line at FAWCO website and forwarded automatically to voting chair;
- 31 - completed and turned in at Birmingham conference.

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The survey did not request club identification. Nevertheless, surveys originating from **44 FAWCO clubs** are definitely known. There are undoubtedly many more unidentifiable.

A		B		C	D
1	Democracy Alliance Report Form				
2	Data from 2006				
3					
4	Please answer the following questions to the best of your abilities. Return to Shantha Susman (shanthals@gmail.com) and cc Felicia Wong (fwong@democracyalliance.org).				
5					
6	Name of Organization:	Center for Public Interest Research/Student PIRGs' New Voters Project			
7	Contact Person, Position	Wendy Wendlandt, President			
8	Email	w2@pirg.org			
9	Phone	(213) 251-3680			
10					
11	PLEASE LIST AS MANY OFFICES AS APPLICABLE, ADDING ROWS IF NECESSARY				
12	Street Address		City	State	
13	Central Office	3435 Wilshire Blvd, Suite 380	Los Angeles	CA	
14					
15	Instructions: Replace "Your Organization" with your organization's name. Replace "Affiliate" cells with your affiliates' names. ADD MORE CELLS AS APPROPRIATE.				
16			city	state	zip
17	Student PIRGs' New Voters Project			AZ	
18				CA	
19				CO	
20				CT	
21				IA	
22				IN	
23				MA	
24				MD	
25				ME	
26				MO	
27				NH	
28				NJ	
29				NM	
30				NV	
31				OH	
32				OR	
33				PA	
34				RI	
35				SC	
36				WA	
37				WI	
38				TOTAL:	

	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1									
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									
8									
9									
10									
11									
12	Zip	# of Staff	# of Volunteers						
13		90010							
14									
15	IF YOU OR AFFILIATE WORKED IN MORE			# of Voter	# of Total	# of Individual			
	# of Organizers	# of Volunteers	Engagement Trainings/Events	# of Voter Registered	# of Voter Canvass Attempts	# of Voter Contacts	# of Mail Contacted	# of Mail Pieces	
16	3	106	20	2410	9725				
17	14,33	127	74	18728	22848				
18	3	91	27	5768	9367				
19	3	90	26	2636	2286				
20	3	30	9	2471	5785				
21	1	8	6	205	0				
22	12	135	90	6003	4444				
23	1	20	8	549	2221				
24	1	13	6	520	511				
25	1	35	3	530	305				
26	1	12	2	44	0				
27	5,33	191	38	3178	5257				
28	1	13	7	1001	2695				
29	1	20	7	748	2068				
30	2	67	14	3129	2860				
31	6	135	30	13033	11165				
32	1,33	11	10	669	0				
33	0,11	0	0	60	635				
34	0	0	0	1335	0				
35	2,22	30	9	1704	3212				
36	3	55	24	10352	10000				
37	65,32	1189	410	75073	95384				
38									

39	A	B	C	D
40	Please provide any additional information about your organization's voter engagement program that you'd like to share:			

1	Campus: A
2	City
3	What to do before you start calling
4	Contact info for Elections Officials
5	Name of Local Election Office (ie County Board of Elections)
6	Name of person talked to
7	Title of person talked to
8	Date(s) of Conversation(s)
9	Name of actual elections official
10	Phone number
11	Email
12	Physical Office Address
13	Mailing address (if different)
14	• How do volunteers become qualified to register voters?
15	do you need to take a class?
16	do you need to fill out an application?
17	do you have to be a resident of the county?
18	do you have to be a resident of the state?
19	anything else?
20	• How do you turn in voter registration forms?
21	Can you mail them to the state office?
22	If yes, what kind of mail (ie delivery confirmation, etc)?
23	Can you turn them into any registrar or do the forms from municipality x have to go only to registrar for municipality x?
24	When do they have to be in to each office? What day?
25	Can we use the national form?
26	Can we copy the forms if we run out?
27	• How can we keep records for a GOTV list?
28	It's useful for us to be able to keep information from the forms to contact people later to remind them to vote. Here are some of the ways we'd want to: ask if each is OK
29	Post it's/stickers on the form—we'd want to be able to ask people for email and cell phone too. Can we attach these to the forms?
30	Can we keep a photocopy of the voter registration form?
31	Can we database information from the voter registration form?
32	• Can students register to vote at their campus address

1	UNM
2	Albuquerque
3	
4	
5	
6	Dan Gutierrez for voter registration, Vince Facio for polls info
7	Assistants
8	Dan several times in June, Vince July 20
9	mary herrera-clerk
10	505-488-1208
11	
12	1 civic plaza NW, 6th floor, 5th street and Marquette
13	
14	
15	Volunteers must each take a class to become qualified. These are run by local registrar. They typically do them at 10 and 3, Tuesday and Thursday, but they can schedule special class
16	Once you've been to a class you'll be issued a voter registration number and 50 forms with that number on them. They're three part forms. Once you turn in the first 50, you can get
17	no
18	no
19	no
20	
21	they can go to either the county or state. They have statewide rolls, so it doesn't matter. They MUST be in within 48 hours of being filled out (unless that's a day the office is closed, and then they must be
22	in person is best--no reason not to, you can walk there from campus
23	statewide system, so doesn't matter
24	the key thing is 48 hours after they're filled out. That's state law. The deadline for registering is October 10, they close at 5
25	no
26	no
27	
28	
29	yes, but there's no need--we're required to keep a copy of the voter reg form
30	yes, but there's no need--we're required to keep a copy of the voter reg form
31	yes, but there's no need--we're required to keep a copy of the voter reg form
32	

	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
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14							
15	uses for large groups. They typically last 30 minutes.						
16	another 50. The forms must also be turned in within 48 hours of being filled out. since they have your number and require your signature, they cannot be traded						
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## **Restrictive Voter Registration Laws: Impacts and Short Term Mitigation Strategies**

A report by the Student Public Interest Research Groups (Student PIRGs)

### **Summary**

It is a well documented fact that many states and localities have laws on the books that unfairly restrict citizens' ability to both register to vote and vote. These laws should be reformed to allow the broadest access to the political process possible. Until these reforms are achieved, however, there are ways in which on-the-ground voter mobilization efforts can mitigate the impact of some, but not all restrictions. During the 2006 midterm elections, the Student PIRGs tested the effectiveness of a selection of these mitigation methods – namely enhanced voter education and intensive relationship building with local elections officials - on five college campuses in Arizona and New Mexico. The results were mixed; we successfully eased some of New Mexico's restrictions, but not Arizona's. Our conclusion is that while voter mobilization organizations should definitely incorporate these methods into their organizing efforts, focus on such efforts should not distract from focusing on reforming these unfair voter participation restrictions. Many barriers are nearly impossible to overcome, even by using our tested methods. Moreover, many communities do not have the resources, access or influence with local elections officials to use our techniques successfully.

In light of these findings, we recommend that voter mobilization organizations should prioritize outreach to local elections officials and educate volunteers and voters about registration and voting rules. However, voting groups must also advocate for a uniform, national set of standards to make voting for all U.S. citizens easily accessible.

### **The Student PIRGs' New Voters Project**

The Student PIRGs are a network of state-based, student-directed and funded public interest organizations working on over 250 college campuses in more than twenty states. We have a thirty-five year track record of successfully organizing and mobilizing young people on issues of environmental protection, corporate accountability, political reform, social justice, and many others. Additionally, for two decades, the Student PIRGs have been leaders in youth voter registration and mobilization efforts.

In 1983, to address the problem of declining youth voting rates, the Student PIRGs launched the National Student Campaign for Voter Registration, the nation's first major youth mobilization effort since 18 years-olds received the franchise in 1972. This initial effort registered nearly one million students to vote through the 1980s. In 1994, working with Rock the Vote, the Campus Green Vote, ACORN and Green Corps, the Student PIRGs launched the Youth Vote coalition, which included 100 organizations, registered more than a million voters through the participating organizations, and helped to ensure coordination and collaboration within the youth civic engagement community. In 2003, we launched the New Voters Project and have since registered 600,000 young people to vote and made 650,000 peer-to-peer Get Out the Vote contacts to encourage them to vote on Election Day.

Through our on-the-ground experience in Virginia, we encountered systematic challenges to the right of students to vote in the cities where they attend school. Virginia law gives county registrars broad discretion to determine whether or not students may register to vote at their campus addresses.<sup>1</sup> As a result, in some counties and municipalities (such as Montgomery County and Charlottesville City), students can register and vote using their dorm addresses yet in others (such as Norfolk City and Radford City) students are not allowed to use dorm addresses, and sometimes are even barred from using rental addresses as a residence from which they can vote. This means that in some counties in Virginia, it was easy to register and turn out students to vote using their campus addresses, and in others the majority of voter registration forms collected during on-campus voter registration drives were rejected.

Such restrictions can significantly impact youth turnout rates. A study by the Institute for Public Affairs and Civic Engagement (PACE), "Democracy and College Student Voting,"<sup>iii</sup> identified twelve states that restrict students' ability to vote at their school address and found that, on the whole, voter turnout in the 1996 presidential election was lower in states with restrictions on student voting than states with encouraging statutes.<sup>iii</sup> Indeed, in Virginia, which the PACE study found to be a state with significant restrictions on student voting, 2004 youth voter turnout declined – a complete reversal of trends in other parts of the country that saw increases in youth voter turnout. Such a striking difference in young voter turnout rates is indicative of the severe implications that such restrictions have on democratic participation.

While the experience of the Student PIRGs New Voters Project in Virginia revealed the existence of significant restrictions on young voters and their impact on student turnout, it also revealed strategies that can be effective in mitigating these restrictions. Throughout our history, the Student PIRGs have thoroughly trained volunteers to effectively register and turnout voters. As such, we were able to adapt to the individual requirements for voter registration in individual districts. These adaptations included integrating more of the technical details into our training programs and a strong focus on building solid relationships with local elections officials. We attribute our ability to register large numbers of young people with relative ease in Montgomery County, for example, to the ability of our local staff to establish a close working relationship with the local registrar. Similarly, we learned from our experiences in both 2004 and 2005 that on campuses where we invested the time to train student volunteers to communicate all the various rules surrounding voter registration and voting, we encountered fewer registration and voting problems.

The Student PIRGs 2006 New Voters Project presented an ideal opportunity to test our theory that if both the enhanced volunteer training and registrar relationship building techniques used by the Student PIRGs New Voters Project in 2005 were conducted in a more systematic manner and on a wider scale, youth voter registration drives can overcome similar restrictions in other states. The midterm election also offered the chance to further document and expose instances of unfair restrictions on voting, and help build the case for structural reform.

### **Study Goals**

In the course of our 2006 project<sup>iv</sup>, we set out to determine the extent to which certain techniques could mitigate the impact of restrict youth voter registration rules, document additional instances of restrictive voter participation rules,, and increase general awareness about the negative impacts such rules have on youth turnout.

### **Report Scope**

We performed three sets of analyses. First we performed a qualitative assessment based on the on-the-ground experience of our volunteers and organizers in Arizona and New Mexico – both states with restrictive voter registration rules. Second, we employed a quantitative comparison between the voter registration rates at the schools in Arizona and New Mexico, and of comparable Student PIRG campuses in 6 other non-restrictive states. Third we performed an additional quantitative analysis of youth voter turnout rates in all eight states and assessed the degree to which restrictive voter laws impact Arizona and New Mexico voter turnout.

We studied the impact of restrictive voter participation rules on five college campuses in New Mexico and Arizona: the University of Arizona; Arizona State University-Tempe; Arizona State University-West; Northern Arizona University; and the University of New Mexico. We chose these campuses because both states have restrictive voter registration rules, and because the Student PIRGs had the capacity to conduct a traditional voter mobilization campaign at those campuses. This would enable us to compare the results of our effort fairly consistently with other, comparable Student PIRG efforts in states without restrictive laws<sup>v</sup>.

## Qualitative Assessment of On-the-Ground Organizing Experience

### *New Mexico*

In New Mexico, state regulations adopted in 2005 placed new restrictions on voter registration drives. The restrictions required that all “all third-party registration agents” sign an oath to obey the laws of New Mexico prior to registering voters in the State. According to the implementation guidance issued by the Secretary of State, this oath “shall contain language advising the agent of criminal penalties for false registration,” and asks for the agent to provide his or her social security number, date of birth and address. The oath must be provided to the Secretary of State’s office or a local county clerk. In addition, third-party registrants must obtain voter registration forms at either a local county clerk or Secretary of State’s office, and may only be provided with more than fifty voter registration forms at one time, although county clerks “retain discretion to increase these quantities for special events or circumstances.”<sup>vi</sup> The Secretary of State’s website implies that may use the National Voter Registration Form without any of the above restrictions<sup>vii</sup>; however our experience on the ground was that this practice was actively discouraged by local elections officials enough to virtually remove it as an option for our local organizers and volunteers.

Prior to launching our voter registration campaign at the University of New Mexico, we analyzed these restrictions and concluded that they could significantly dampen our voter mobilization effort at the University of New Mexico. One of the cornerstones of a successful voter mobilization effort is the ability to centrally coordinate the recruitment, training and deployment of large numbers of volunteers, most of whom have never engaged in a political activity before. If each of our volunteers had to make an individual trip to the registrar’s office in order to even obtain voter registration forms – let alone make repeated trips – we knew we would not be able to recruit the number of volunteers necessary to run a serious voter registration drive.

To overcome this potential hurdle, we developed a plan to develop a relationship with the local registrar. Through this relationship, we hypothesized that we could educate the local registrar sufficiently to allocate our operation as a “special event or circumstance” as provided for by statute. This would enable us to run our traditional voter mobilization drive.

This theory turned out to be correct. In the fall of 2006, Student PIRG Campus Organizer Jamison Tessneer met with the Albuquerque City registrar almost immediately upon arriving at the University of New Mexico. Through this and several subsequent meetings, he succeeded in developing a relationship with the local registrar and investing him in the success of our efforts. As a result, we were able to successfully overcome the barriers that we anticipated. Although our volunteers were still required to go through a voter registration training and, in some cases, did need to pick up voter registration forms individually at the registrar’s office, the registrar’s office came to regard our efforts as important and unique enough to allow Jamison to pick up and drop off large batches of voter registration forms on behalf of the other volunteers. This greatly enhanced the efficiency of the effort.

### *Arizona*

In contrast, Arizona’s voter identification requirements were more difficult to overcome. In Arizona, a person who is registering for the first time must present an Arizona driver’s license number. This requirement can place out-of-state entering freshmen at a disadvantage because most do not possess an in-state driver’s license when they arrive for school in the fall. For students who do not possess an in-state driver’s license, the Secretary of State allows them to present a passport, birth certificate, or out-of-state driver’s license if it “indicates that the applicant has provided satisfactory proof of citizenship. A copy of these documents must be attached to the voter registration form.”<sup>viii</sup>

These alternative forms of identification, however, are often not readily available to students. Many may not have ready access to a passport or birth certificate, and typical driver’s licenses do not list what forms of

identification were provided to the issuing authority. Thus, Arizona's driver's license requirement can suppress participation by out-of-state students.

We believed that if we educated students about the citizenship requirement and encouraged out-of-state students to come to campus with birth certificates and/or passports, that enough students would do so to surmount the initial obstacle.

In an attempt to overcome the restrictive effect of Arizona's drivers license law, our campus volunteers were trained to provide specific information about where and how to vote, and what to do if the student encountered problems on Election Day. Volunteers were provided with, and trained to use, specific scripts for all of the above activities. Samples of materials used in this education process, such as voter registration volunteer scripts, Get Out the Vote canvassing scripts, Get Out the Vote volunteer phone calling scripts and emails sent prior to voter registration deadlines and Election Day, are included in Appendix A. To ensure that no incorrectly filled out registration forms fell through the cracks, each night volunteers combed through all the voter registration forms collected that day to double check for missing or incorrect information, and called back students whose forms were incomplete. This allowed us to flag potential problems before we delivered any forms to elections officials.

In addition to these standard education tactics, in Arizona we also put a letter in every first year student's mailbox explaining the requirements to register to vote, and obtained portable copy machines in order to photocopy passports and birth certificates from registrants on the spot.

These additional education efforts were unable to overcome the impact of Arizona's requirement that all first-time registrants possess an Arizona driver's license or present a passport or birth certificate. We believe this failure is a result of several factors: As volunteers registered students on campus, most students attending University from other states did not carry passports and birth certificates with them. Without the ease and encouragement provided by an on-campus volunteer, these students were unlikely to vote at another time. Furthermore, the audience targeted by our efforts is not inclined to register to vote on their own accord and therefore, particularly disinclined to remember to carry birth certificates or passports with them. Additionally, our volunteers found that students regard birth certificates and passports as particularly sensitive documents that they are reluctant to bring with them to campus, or ask their parents to mail to them.

#### **Quantitative Analysis #1: Impacts of Restrictive Voter Registration Rules on the Student PIRGs' Voter Registration Efforts**

Our qualitative experience in New Mexico and Arizona found that peer-to-peer mobilization efforts such as those operated by the Student PIRGs can successfully overcome some restrictions placed on registration drives such as attempts to limit volunteer participation in the drives. Operations such as ours, however, cannot successfully overcome other restrictions such as requiring an in-state driver's license for first-time registrants.

To determine whether or not our qualitative conclusions were correct, we performed a quantitative analysis of the results of our voter registration efforts in New Mexico and Arizona with our voter registration efforts at nine other comparable universities in 6 other states without restrictive voter registration and voting rules. The results are outlined in Table 1 below.

We found that our voter registration drive at the University of New Mexico performed as well as the other nine campuses in this study, but that our efforts in Arizona performed below par.

The median registration rates on all campuses in six states in which the New Voters Project operated in 2006 was 3.8 percent of the student body. Registration rates at the University of New Mexico matched this

average, indicating that restrictions on registration did not noticeably depress registration rates. On the Arizona campuses, however, the New Voters Project only registered 3.5% of the student body.

The 0.3% difference in Arizona may seem small. However, this is a very significant discrepancy that represents 863 students who could have been registered to vote. Moreover, it is likely that the impact of registration restrictions is muted in our analysis because Arizona's identification requirement was actually lifted for the four days prior to the voter registration deadline.<sup>x</sup> After confirming with local elections officials that most forms of identification were acceptable for the last four days, we made one last voter registration push. Anecdotally, our volunteers and staff reported that our voter registration rates went up significantly in those last four days as a result of the injunction.<sup>x</sup> Were the injunction not in place, we are confident that our results in Arizona would have been even lower as compared to the other schools.

**Table 1: Comparison of Student PIRG voter registration efforts in New Mexico and Arizona with Student PIRG voter registration efforts in states without restrictive voter registration and voting rules**

Campus	Enrollment (Department of Education)	Number Registered	Percent of campus registered
University of Arizona	37036	1028	2.8%
Northern Arizona University	18773	460	2.5%
Arizona State University-West	7734	746	9.6%
Arizona State University-Tempe	51612	1824	3.5%
University of New Mexico	26172	1001	3.8%
University of Southern California	32836	1277	3.9%
California State University-Long Beach	34547	1110	3.2%
California State University-Fullerton	35040	1379	3.9%
University of Northern Colorado	13622	1316	9.7%
University of Southern Maine	10974	520	4.7%
University of Nevada-Reno	16336	748	4.6%
Ohio State University	50504	1681	3.3%
University of Rhode Island	15095	474	3.1%
University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh	11433	671	5.9%
<b>Median</b>	<b>21955</b>	<b>831</b>	<b>3.8%</b>
<b>AZ</b>	<b>28789</b>	<b>1015</b>	<b>3.5%</b>
<b>NM</b>	<b>26172</b>	<b>1001</b>	<b>3.8%</b>

Source: Student PIRGs' New Voters Project and U.S. Department of Education

### **Quantitative Analysis #2: Impacts of Restrictions on Overall Youth Turnout in New Mexico and Arizona**

To further assess the degree to which restrictive voter laws impact student turnout in Arizona and New Mexico, we performed an additional quantitative analysis. This analysis revealed that youth voter turnout in Arizona and New Mexico was lower than the median turnout for all eight states. While this analysis does not translate into a definitive conclusion, it does provide an indication of the degree to which voter registration restrictions contribute to Arizona and New Mexico's relatively low youth vote turnout. In addition, earlier studies have reached similar conclusions.

Table 2 directly below contains 2006 voter turnout for 18-29 year olds. Because there are many factors that account for a state's voting rates, we attempted to focus the data on simply youth voting behavior. We did this by weighing each state's youth voter turnout with the turnout rate of older voters.

We found that once adjusted for overall population voting habits, both New Mexico and Arizona's voter turnout was considerably lower than the median for all eight states. Nevada, a non-restrictive state, also fell significantly below the median average. California, a non-restrictive state, fell below the median, but not significantly.

**Table 2: Comparison of 2006 youth voter turnout in eight states targeted by the Student PIRGs' New Voters Project**

State	Voter Turnout Among 18-29 year old Citizens	Voter Turnout Among 30 year old and older Citizens	Ratio of 18-29 voter turnout to 30 and older voter turnout
Arizona	23%	52%	0.44
California	25%	54%	0.46
Maine	32%	65%	0.49
Nevada	20%	48%	0.42
New Mexico	25%	62%	0.40
Ohio	31%	59%	0.53
Rhode Island	35%	65%	0.54
Wisconsin	40%	63%	0.63
<b>Median</b>			<b>0.48</b>

Source: Center for Research and Information on Civic Learning and Engagement's analysis of the U.S. Census Bureau's November 2006 Current Population Survey Supplement.

([http://www.youngvoterstrategies.org/index.php?to=filenar&idx=one&nl=1&ig=1&qr=Y&path=Research\\$file=Young+Voter+Turnout+Up+in+2006.pdf](http://www.youngvoterstrategies.org/index.php?to=filenar&idx=one&nl=1&ig=1&qr=Y&path=Research$file=Young+Voter+Turnout+Up+in+2006.pdf))

### Other instances of restrictive practices

Although the scope of this study was deliberately focused on Arizona and New Mexico, our 2006 New Voters Project uncovered several other instances of significant restrictions on voter participation in the course of our twenty state project. These additional findings should reinforce our conclusion that vigilance by voting organizations and serious structural reforms are critically needed.

#### *South Carolina*

The Student PIRGs conducted voter mobilization efforts at both the University of South Carolina and Winthrop University, in Columbia and Rock Hill, respectively. However, the two efforts could not have been more different, due to differences in the way each town's local registrar interpreted South Carolina election rules. While we were able to register University of South Carolina students to vote with virtually no restrictions, at Winthrop students could only register to vote at their parents' addresses. According to the Winthrop student government leaders and administrators we worked with, the local voting registrar does not regard a campus address as a legitimate domicile, and refuses to approve registration forms with a campus address. As a result, our registration drive met with only limited success in Rock Hill, but great success in Columbia.

The restrictive registration efforts practiced in Rock Hill are a result of inconsistencies between state law and the South Carolina State Elections Commission's guidelines. On the one hand, South Carolina law defines a person's residence as "the place where a person has his true, fixed and permanent home and principle establishment, to which he has, whenever he is absent, an intention of returning."<sup>xi</sup> Under this definition, local registrars can allow students to vote where they attend college and reside the majority of the year. On the other hand, the South Carolina State Elections Commission's official guidance provided to localities states: "Students may register to vote where they attend college only if they establish that they are a resident of that

community. In establishing such residence, students must demonstrate that they have a present intention to remain in the community."<sup>xii</sup>

In doing so, the Elections Commission effectively changed the intent of the statute by putting the burden on the registrant to demonstrate their intent for their campus address to be their domicile. This effectively empowered registrars to restrict on-campus registration if they choose to do so.

#### *Denver, Colorado*

Our experience in Denver on Election Day demonstrated the importance of voter mobilization organizations to be ever-vigilant about problems all the way through Election Day.

In the 2006 election cycle, the Denver Election Commission made changes to its systems that in theory should have increased voter participation. First, in response to a campaign led by student government and the CoPIRG Student Chapters, the Commission established a new polling center in the student union of the University of Colorado Denver. Second, the city modified its voting system to allow Denver residents to vote at any polling site in the city.

The Commission, however, did not plan adequately for the subsequent dramatic spike in turnout to the new polling site in the Student Union, which had a central location that attracted both students and downtown workers. They did not install nearly enough voting machines, or hire enough staff to handle the volume of voters. As a result, a long line snaked from the polling site throughout and outside the building, and students and citizens waited for hours to vote. The line was so long that the Commission kept the poll open until 10:30 pm, more than three hours after the official close of polls in order to allow every one who wished to vote.

The CoPIRG Student Chapters worked to make the best of the situation, securing emergency food donations and entertainment that helped persuade most of the students to stay in the line and vote. However, this is a good example of how even a well-intentioned elections office can unintentionally impose voting restrictions as a result of poor planning.

#### **Recommendations**

In light of these findings, we offer the following recommendations:

##### **1. Voter mobilization organizations should prioritize outreach to local elections officials.**

Although overly restrictive voter registration laws should be eliminated, working with local registrars to understand local voting rules and facilitate voter registration can help build partnerships that over time can eliminate barriers to student voting and significantly higher youth voting rates.

##### **2. Educate volunteers and voters about registration and voting rules.**

Many students are completely unaware of what identification or proof of residency they need in order to register and vote at the polls. Proof of address is sometimes difficult to find for the average college student – their state-issued ID is often from their hometown and if they live in residence halls they are unlikely to receive utility bills. Therefore, educational efforts are critical in order to ensure registration forms are processed correctly and students have a successful experience at the ballot box.

Volunteer training is essential to making this happen. Just as volunteers should be trained to be effective at persuading people to register to vote, volunteers should also be trained to be familiar with the rules around voter registration and voting. The Student PIRGs invested a considerable amount of resources in the summer of 2006 researching all of the relevant registration and voting rules for each of the target states and precincts, designed a unique set of volunteer training materials for each locality, and prioritized training volunteers to communicate those rules to their fellow students.

**3. There should be a uniform, national set of standards to make voting more accessible.** The Student PIRGs have developed a set of principles that should guide these standards:

- Citizens should be able to register and vote wherever they currently choose to reside, with no interference from the state.
- Any identification requirements for voter registration or voting should be as broad as possible, should include items that average citizens commonly have in their possession, and should not include items that average citizens do not typically carry with them.
- Citizens should be able to register and vote up to Election Day.
- Citizens should be given an opportunity to register to vote as soon as they become eligible.
- Citizens should be notified in writing, by phone and electronically anytime their registration status is changed.
- Citizen-sponsored registration drives should be encouraged, not discouraged.

#### **Future work in this area**

Following up on the 2006 New Voters Project, the Student PIRGs are teaming up with our national advocacy office, USPIRG, and our allies in the election reform community, to promote policies that make elections more accessible. We plan to conduct a fifty state assessment of election and registration laws in order to identify where changes are both needed and politically feasible. We will release a state-by-state scorecard of our findings that we will use to improve both media coverage and public awareness of the problems and possible solutions. From all of this, we will choose four to six target states with the greatest potential for reform before November 2008. Then, starting in fall of 2007, we will begin a defined campaign to enlist support of key policy makers, opinion leaders and engage the public.

Simultaneously, we are gearing up to run the Student PIRGs' New Voters Project in up to twenty states in 2008. A major part of the workplan includes developing strong relationships with local elections officials in order to both mitigate potential voting restrictions, and in some cases, expand the range of voting opportunities for young people. In preparation, we will use the above mentioned research to inform our volunteer training materials to ensure that we clearly communicate voter participation rules to students.

#### **Acknowledgements**

This report is possible thanks to the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

**Appendix A: Samples of Volunteer Education Materials  
2006 Student PIRGs' New Voters Project**

New Voters Project  
Fall 2006  
AZ Student Vote Coalition GOTV Phonebanking Rap

Hi, is \_\_\_\_\_ there?

Hi, this is \_\_\_\_\_ from the Arizona Student Vote Coalition and Arizona PIRG's New Voters Project. How are you?  
Great!

I'm calling to make sure we can count on your vote on Election Day/this election season.

We're making sure we all vote so we can get politicians to pay attention to us.

Can we count on your vote?

When will you be voting? [mark on voting sheet]

**IF VOTER NEEDS EXTRA CONTEXT:** This year is a HUGE election year in Arizona and the candidates are mostly talking about issues that concern older people, like prescription drugs and property taxes. They're not really talking about the issues we're concerned with. Their focus isn't all that surprising – we don't vote and senior citizens do. In this upcoming election, if we don't do anything about it, older people are almost 3 times as likely to vote as we are. We're changing that by making sure we all vote.

Great! Have a good night!

**HOW YOU VOTE:** In Arizona, every voter needs the following to cast a ballot:

1. A valid photo ID with your voter registration address  
or
2. Two pieces of mail that prove your address – acceptable mail are utility bills, a vehicle registration, and bank statements

**EXTRA INFORMATION:**

1. For polling information on campus, students should visit: [www.azstudents.org](http://www.azstudents.org)
2. If a student is having problems voting, they should contact: Serena Unrein, 602-294-6900

**Tips:**

- 1) Be friendly and conversational.
- 2) Listen actively to people and be sure not to interrupt if they are talking.
- 3) Keep good records on the back of the interest card.
- 4) Only count definite yeses as a "yes". Anything else is a "maybe" or a "no". Separate these into separate piles so we can count how many people say they are definitely coming
- 5) Our office number is \_\_\_\_\_, in \_\_\_\_\_. Weekly meetings are \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_.
- 6) The next upcoming events are (include day/time/location/descriptions):

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**OSU Votes**  
**Fall 2006**  
**GOTV Phonebanking Rap**

Hi, is \_\_\_\_\_ there?

Hi, this is \_\_\_\_\_ from OSU Votes. How are you? Great!

I'm calling to make sure we can count on your vote on Election Day.

We're making sure we all vote so we can get politicians to pay attention to us.

Can we count on your vote?

When will you be voting? [**mark on voting sheet**]

**IF VOTER NEEDS EXTRA CONTEXT:** This year is a HUGE election year in Ohio and the candidates are mostly talking about issues that concern older people, like prescription drugs. They're not really talking about the issues we're concerned with. Their focus isn't all that surprising – we don't vote and senior citizens do. In this upcoming election, if we don't do anything about it, older people are almost 3 times as likely to vote as we are. We're changing that by making sure we all vote.

Great! Have a good night!

**HOW YOU VOTE:** In Ohio, every voter needs any one of following to cast a ballot:

1. a current and valid photo id (like a drivers license)
2. state id showing current address and not expired
3. current utility bill in your name at your current address
4. bank statement in your name at your current address
5. pay check stub that shows your current address
6. government check that shows your current address
7. military id with your name and current address

**EXTRA INFORMATION:**

3. For polling information on campus, students should visit: [www.osuvotes.org](http://www.osuvotes.org)
4. For non-partisan information:
  - a. [Vote-smart.org](http://Vote-smart.org)
  - b. [Lwvohio.org](http://Lwvohio.org)
  - c. [Ohioelect.com](http://Ohioelect.com)
  - d. [Campaign.com](http://Campaign.com)
  - e. [Ontheissues.org](http://Ontheissues.org)

Tips:

- 1) Be friendly and conversational.
- 2) Listen actively to people and be sure not to interrupt if they are talking.
- 3) Keep good records on the back of the interest card.
- 4) Only count definite yeses as a "yes". Anything else is a "maybe" or a "no". Separate these into separate piles so we can count how many people say they are definitely voting.

**Sample Tabling Rap**  
**OSU Votes**  
**Fall 2006**

Hi! Will you sign a pledge to vote?

*<hand over the clipboard.>*

***Voter Registration/Absentee Ballot Request (As they're filling out the pledge):***

I'm \_\_\_\_\_ with OSU Votes. We're getting students to sign this pledge to show politicians we're voting – that way, they'll start to pay attention to us. We're getting 5,000 students to pledge to vote on campus. Will you pledge? Make sure to give us your number and email, and please note what time you're voting, so we know when to follow up with you.

**Volunteer Pitch:**

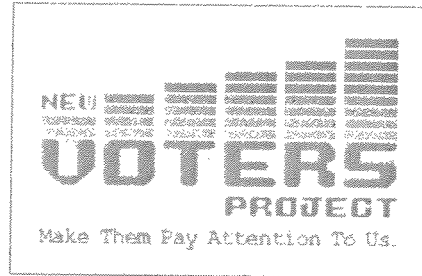
Like I said, I'm with OSU Votes, and this is just one part of our campaign to get politicians to pay attention – we already registered 1,681 people to vote and over the next week we're doing tabling, door-to-door canvassing, and phoning. Our goals hinge on getting a ton of people talking to potential voters – so to make it all happen we're looking for people to volunteer. Are you interested in getting involved?

Just put a star next to your name and we'll get in touch with you – or better yet, do you know when you're free, I have a list of scheduled events at the table over here...

Ohio State University Get Out the Vote email

### **Get Out and Vote!**

As you all probably know, Tuesday is Election Day! The OSU Votes coalition is working hard to make sure that young people in Ohio get out to the polls again this year, because if we show up in force, we can make sure politicians pay attention to us. We registered almost 1700 students to vote this fall and have contacted more than 1000 students to remind them to get out to the polls!



There are some important things that you should know as you get ready to go to the polls tomorrow.

The polls open at 6:30 a.m. and close at 7:30 p.m.

You must bring an I.D. that has your current address. You can bring a driver's license, a utility bill, a copy of your lease, or your advising report, which you can get online from Ohio State.

**For more information about where to vote and what will be on the ballot, visit the coalition website at <http://www.osuvotes.org>.**

And make sure to remind your friends, roommates, classmates, etc., to get out to vote!

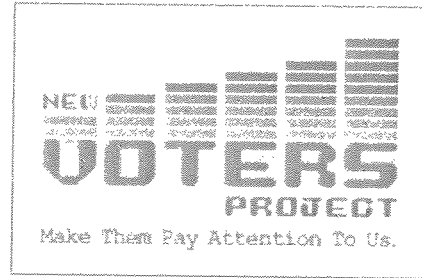
We need all the help we can get to make sure that we have record voter turnout here at OSU. To volunteer throughout the day tomorrow, show up at the USG office in the Ohio Union, Room 201.

Sincerely,  
Ellen Montgomery  
Ohio PIRG Student Chapters  
<http://www.ohiopirgstudents.org>

Ohio State University Get Out the Vote email

**Election Day is almost here! Remember to vote!  
Bring your friends!**

Now is the time to make politicians pay attention to us. Look, it's understandable that politicians don't pay attention to young voters and the issues that we care about. Older voters vote almost twice as much as 18-to-24-year-olds and so politicians pay attention to the age groups they think are the most likely to go out and vote.



**If we vote, we change all that.**

We voted big in 2004...and politicians began to pay attention. But only a little bit. Now we need to do it again and show them that 2004 wasn't just a blip on the radar screen. Let's take it home.

**This Tuesday, make sure you get to the polls! And bring your friends, roommates, classmates - help make sure everyone you know votes on Election Day.**

If you don't know where to vote, you can find your polling place online:

<http://www.newvotersproject.org/find-your-polling-place>

If you want more information about the candidates and issues on your ballot, check out:

<http://www.vote-smart.org>

Need more info? You can find lots of voting resources at:

<http://www.newvotersproject.org>

This Tuesday, let's make politicians pay attention to us!

Sincerely,

Deborah Slosberg

Ohio PIRG Student Chapters

<http://www.ohiopirgstudents.org>

P.S. We're working hard over the next few days to make voting reminders. The more reminders we can make, the more people will vote, so we need all the help we can get! If you want to volunteer and help turn out the youth vote, sign up at: <http://www.newvotersproject.org/get-involved>

If you want us to stop sending you e-mail then [follow this link](#) to a web page where you can remove yourself.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> See [www.sbe.virginia.gov/vms/Voter\\_Information/Registration\\_to\\_Vote/Tables.html](http://www.sbe.virginia.gov/vms/Voter_Information/Registration_to_Vote/Tables.html), [www.sbe.virginia.gov/vms/Voter\\_Information/Registration\\_to\\_Vote/College\\_Student.html](http://www.sbe.virginia.gov/vms/Voter_Information/Registration_to_Vote/College_Student.html)

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.salisbury.edu/page/programs/surrounding/Ident\\_sbe/va/imgs\\_1001.pdf](http://www.salisbury.edu/page/programs/surrounding/Ident_sbe/va/imgs_1001.pdf)

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.salisbury.edu/page/programs/surrounding/Ident\\_sbe/va/imgs\\_1001.pdf](http://www.salisbury.edu/page/programs/surrounding/Ident_sbe/va/imgs_1001.pdf)

<sup>4</sup> Overall, the Student PIRGs 2006 New Voters Project ran voter registration and turnout campaigns at 112 campuses in 20 states - ME, NH, MA, CT, NJ, MD, OH, WI, MO, IN, IA, CO, AZ, NM, NV, CA, OR, and WA. We worked most intensely at 78 schools. We recruited 3,795 student volunteers, registered 76,323 new student voters, and made 95,384 personalized voter reminders via phone or in person.

<sup>5</sup> We compared our efforts in Arizona and New Mexico with efforts on 10 comparably sized other campuses in Ohio, Nevada, Maine, California, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin.

<sup>6</sup> N.M. Code R. §1.10.25.7 (A) 2005.

<sup>7</sup> [http://www.sos.state.nm.us/displayContent.asp?id\\_17](http://www.sos.state.nm.us/displayContent.asp?id_17)

<sup>8</sup> "How to register to vote in Arizona," Arizona Secretary of State Jan Brewer, downloaded from [http://www.azsos.gov/election/how\\_to\\_register.htm](http://www.azsos.gov/election/how_to_register.htm), July 31<sup>st</sup>, 2007.

<sup>9</sup> [http://www.azsos.gov/election/how\\_to\\_register.htm](http://www.azsos.gov/election/how_to_register.htm), July 31<sup>st</sup>, 2007. <sup>10</sup> [http://www.azsos.gov/election/how\\_to\\_register.htm](http://www.azsos.gov/election/how_to_register.htm), July 31<sup>st</sup>, 2007. The Ninth Circuit Court issued a temporary injunction on the law on 9/29/06. The law is still being challenged in the courts.

<sup>11</sup> Arizona PIRG Lead Organizer Erin Eccleston anecdotally reported that average volunteer voter registration rates prior to the injunction were roughly 3 registrations per volunteer per hour, and between 5 and 6 registrations per volunteer per hour after the injunction. Similarly, volunteers got an average of 7 registrations back from each class presentation made prior to the injunction and between 13 and 20 per class after the injunction.

<sup>12</sup> *Gasque V. Gasque*, 246 S.C. 423, 426 S.E. 2d 811, 812 (1965)

<sup>13</sup> South Carolina State Election Commission, "South Carolina Voter Registration Information," downloaded from <http://www.scvotes.org/south-carolina-voter-registration-information>