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CASTING THE BALLOT: AN ANALYSIS OF VOTING METHOD PREFERNCES FROM
2012 – 2020

A Thesis presented in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in the Department of Political Science
The University of Mississippi

by
Bailey Rose Griffin
May 2022

ABSTRACT

Voting is an important aspect of a democracy because it allows people get involved in the political world and it is one of the relatively cheapest ways to do with no monetary costs. Moreover, voting helps keep elected officials accountable. Over the years there have been barriers to disenfranchise groups but over the years they have been abolished. Up to date, there are four voting methods a voter could do: in-person on Election Day, in-person prior to Election Day, absentee ballots, and all-mail ballots. In 2020, the Covid-19 pandemic swept through the United States changed all aspects of life, including elections. Furthermore, the pandemic brought out extreme partisan differences. Because of these, I believe people will be taking advantage of earlier methods and Democrats will be voting earlier. I found mixed results for the first hypothesis, but the second hypothesis was supported. In conclusion, this paper adds itself to the Covid-19 and liberalized voting method literatures, two growing literatures in the contemporary years. Additionally, the implication of this paper is to help inform citizens there are other voting methods besides traditional in-person Election Day voting.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, Paul and Kathryn Griffin, and Jenna. Words cannot express how thankful I am for your endless support for everything I do in life. You all encourage me to do my best and help me reach my potential even when I may doubt myself. I love you the three of you more than you will ever know.

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First and foremost, I want to express my gratitude for my advisor, Dr. Jonathan Winburn, which assisted in the completion of this thesis. I cannot put to words how thankful I am for the countless hours and suggestions you provided to make this thesis a reality I hope I am able to make you proud. Even though I rejected the idea of attending graduate school to you back in 2019, I am appreciative I had you as a mentor throughout my time as a graduate student.

To the Political Science Department, especially to my other committee members Dr. Conor Dowling and Dr. Jonathan Klingler, thank you all for playing an integral part of not only my thesis, but in my education here at the graduate level. Without each and one of you, I would not have been able to develop as the scholar I am today. Additionally, thank you for providing me the Bullpen, a home away from home throughout my two years in graduate school.

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think of the gratitude I have for each one of you individually and as a group. We have been through a lot together from starting graduate school on Zoom with blankets to squirrels invading the Bullpen and I would not have wanted to do with anyone else by my side. The three of you have made graduate school so enjoyable and been my biggest cheerleaders through it all. We started as colleagues and ended as best friends, I love each and every one of you with a piece of my heart.

QUOTE

“I want to wear pink and tell you how I feel about politics. And I don’t think that those things have to cancel each other out.” – Taylor Swift

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Importance of Voting

In the United States, there are different ways for an individual to get involved politically. Individuals can get involved by running for office, making donations either to a candidate or a party, writing to an elected official that is in their district/state or one such as the president that represents their country, fundraising for a candidate or a cause, joining an interest group, volunteering for a campaign, registering with a political party, volunteering at a polling place, educating oneself on candidates and issues, subscribing to a paper, and, of course, voting. Voting is an important way to get involved for several reasons. First, voting is one of the few ways to get involved that has the least monetary costs compared to donating or joining a group. There are costs when it comes to voting, but the actual monetary costs are lower than many other forms of political participation. Moreover, there are no monetary costs tied to registering to vote.

Additionally, voting has the potential for someone's voice to be heard. Voting for a potential candidate makes a voter hopeful the candidate will act on behalf of the issues they care about. In an ideal scenario, voters are well-informed about candidates and issues when they enter the polling place, but realistically often many are not. Voting allows citizens to be involved with little to no knowledge and they will not be punished for it.

One of the ways voting is considered to be the gold standard for getting involved politically is because voting also allows voters to keep their elected officials accountable for their actions while representing them (Prewitt, 1970; Amy, 2000). If citizens are unhappy with a

particular politician, they can vote them out of office and replace them with someone else. Olson and Stone (2022) also mention partisan elections are considered to be one of the most important types of election because they allow citizens to hold their elected officials accountable. Moreover, partisan elections allow citizens to keep elected officials accountable because in an environment where the public is “apathetic about political matters” and “ill-informed regarding public issues” (Prewitt, 1970, 5), citizens can use a political party as a heuristic cue to determine if a candidate is doing their job in office (Olson & Stone, 2022).

Purpose

For this thesis, my main focus is the voting method people tend to use in elections ranging from absentee voting, early voting, and voting by mail to traditional voting in-person on Election Day. From this point forward, I refer to these as voting methods someone could utilize in an election. The thesis focuses on the 2020 election but also examines the 2012 and 2016 presidential elections to see if the phenomenon holds for other presidential years or if 2020 is its own special case. Moreover, data from the 2018 midterm election is observed to see if the trend is only apparent in presidential elections or if it extends to midterms elections as well. The 2014 midterm election was excluded from examination for several reasons. First and foremost, 2018 saw an extremely high turnout rate the 21st century has ever seen (Nilsen, 2018). In addition, the 2018 midterm election provided 25 competitive elections and these were an opportunity for Republicans to have control over the three branches of government or for Democrats to take back control over the House of Representatives (Panetta, 2018).

Since the United States is a representative democracy, in a normative sense, the public tends to want to elect individuals to hold office to represent the interests of constituents whether that is on the local, state, or federal level. In a general sense, voting systems can help determine

“how the ballot is structured, how people cast their votes, how those votes are counted, and how the winners are decided” (Amy, 2000, 1) for each of these levels of government.

The thesis will continue as follows: The next chapter provides an extensive background that includes insight into the different ways an eligible voter can vote in the United States. Additionally, this chapter includes a literature review of studies related to vote method. My hypotheses will build on existing findings from the literature. Moreover, it will provide why the 2020 election is a unique case to study. Chapter 3 discusses the data and methods I use to test the hypotheses. After, a discussion of the results is included. The concluding chapter addresses the implications, predictions, limitations of my research, and provides avenues for future research for other scholars.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND ON VOTING IN THE UNITED STATES

Eligibility

Voting is one of the most important aspects of the United States government. When the United States was founded in 1776, voting was controlled by state legislatures and at the time only rich, white, property-owning men had the ability to vote (Washington - Office of Secretary of State). It was not until the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868 that granted males “born or naturalized” in the United States franchise (Washington - Office of Secretary of State). Whereas, the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 stated regardless of their skin color all males are enfranchised with the right to vote; however, there were many obstacles groups, such as African Americans, had to face (Washington - Office of Secretary of State). Barriers included poll taxes, literacy tests, arrests, beatings, and among other voter suppression techniques. In 1920, women were granted the right to vote with the Nineteenth Amendment (Washington - Office of Secretary of State). The twentieth century has since ensured this right with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and abolished those disenfranchisement tactics and intimidations with the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Washington - Office of Secretary of State). The twenty-sixth amendment in 1971 allows those who turn eighteen to vote in elections that take place in the United States (Biden, 2021).

Therefore, in order to be eligible to vote in the United States, someone has to be eighteen, a citizen of the United States, and meet residency requirements for the state they are residing in (USA.gov, 2021). Non-citizens, persons with certain mental incapacitating disabilities, and, in most states, those who are incarcerated cannot vote in elections (USA.gov, 2021). Moreover,

Crutchfield (1994) mentions how military personnel, college students, persons with transportation difficulties, and many others are often the groups of people who may have trouble voting on Election Day. Not all states require voter identification upon arriving at the polls, but most states do require some form of identification when casting a ballot to prevent voter fraud (USA.gov, 2021).

Registration

There are many different ways someone can register to vote in the American system. These include various methods of registering by mail to a teacher providing registration forms for their class, a college having an organization on campus encouraging people to register to vote so their voice can be heard, and, more recently, automatic voter registration (AVR).

AVR is the process allowing a state's department of motor vehicles or other state agencies to offer voter registration tools to make it easier for someone to vote (Underhill, 2022). In 1993, the United States Congress passed the National Voter Registration Act. This act was helpful for a variety of reasons. First, it helped more citizens get registered to vote. According to Neeley and Richardson, the number of registrants went up by nearly fifteen percent up to 3 years after the act had passed (2001). Second, it made it their goal to give the people the opportunity to register to vote when they were getting their license for the first time or if they were renewing their license (Underhill, 2022). As of 2021, 18 states have used AVR at their state DMV whereas 20 states have implemented some form of AVR in their state (Underhill, 2022). Oregon was the first state to implement AVR. AVR can take four different approaches: postcard via mail, postcard provided by an agency, registration "opt-out" at an agency, and registration "opt-in" at an agency (Underhill, 2022). Postcard via mail is where someone is sent a postcard by the

agency and if they want to register then they sign the postcard and return it (Underhill, 2022). Postcards provided by the agency are the same setup but instead of it being mailed, it is given to someone at the state agency they are at (Underhill, 2022). Registration “opt-out” at agency and registration “opt-in” at the agency are very similar but for opt-out, if the person does not deny, their information will be sent to get registered to vote; however, in the opt-in version the person has to say they want to be registered to vote (Underhill, 2022). It is important to note the term for AVR, the word “automatic” is outdated which can cause confusion. Automatic can imply as soon as someone turns the voting age, they are registered to vote instantly. The word “efficient” would be better placed here instead because the departments within the state, such as the DMV, can help elevate the voting registration process by making the process one easy step. Moreover, even though this is referred to as automatic voter registration, other scholars refer to this type of registration as “motor voter registration” since most of these types of “automatic” registrations are taking place at a local department of motor vehicles (Stein & García-Monet, 1997).

Another way people also can register to vote is online rather than via a paper registration form. As of July 2021, 42 states and the District of Columbia offer an online registration process (Underhill, 2021). In order to validate someone who registers online, election officials compare addresses and signatures to the previous state-issued identification cards they have (Underhill, 2021). Some states allow a pre-registration process that allows citizens to register to vote if they will be of voting age by Election Day (Underhill, 2021). Moreover, several states even allow seventeen-year-olds to vote in the primary election if they will be 18 years old by the general election (Underhill, 2021). Unfortunately, a few problems emerge with preregistration. First, how do these teenagers get educated on how to preregister to vote? Another problem could be since they are younger how do they prove their identity to be able to vote?

Twenty states offer someone to register to vote on Election Day (Underhill, 2021). Since same-day registration could potentially be hectic, there are several different security measures put in place. First, citizens would have to take an oath promising they have not already previously voted in that election (Underhill, 2021). Verification of information with other information the citizen has provided to the state is another important security measure (Underhill, 2021). For example, a poll worker would have to make sure the name they use to register is the same name on a license. Lastly, the voter could face serious criminal penalties if they lie about any of the above (Underhill, 2021). However, challenges arise with same-day voter registration. Polling places would have to purchase more equipment to accommodate those wanting to do this. Similarly, the polling place would have to increase their staff to assist in this task. Thankfully, all of this extra work does not go unnoticed. In some instances, same-day voter registration increases turnout (Underhill, 2021).

Comparison to Other Countries

A key component of a democracy is to have free and fair elections (Department of State, 2019). In order to ensure free and fair elections, there has to be some form of election administration. Elections also provide a sense of legitimacy for those who are elected so it is important to make sure elections are conducted fairly (Herrnson et al., 2008). Herrnson et al. (2008) mention decentralization is a key component of election administration in the United States (2008). The only office all fifty states vote during the same election cycle for similarly around the same time is the presidential election (Herrnson et al., 2008). Most often counties around states and private companies provide election equipment and services, not the federal government (Herrnson et al., 2008). Due to this, almost anyone is allowed to help volunteer on

Election Day. Another reason the United States is a little different than most other countries is that our highest election administrators are partisan, in most states, whereas in other countries they are nonpartisan (Herrnson et al., 2008) Conclusively, another component of election administration in the United States is that parts of the electoral system are privatized. Part of this arose during the computerization era in the 1960s.

Even though this thesis is looking at the United States, it is important to acknowledge that other democratic countries conduct their elections differently. Looking at the European Union, there are obvious differences in how the countries are operated and the type of government. Even though not every country in the European Union has the same type of government, they all have some component of voting embedded in their government. Voting and electoral laws are what I am interested in. According to Caramani, electoral laws refer to “written and non-codified rules regulating the right of individuals to participate in the election, both as electors and elected” (Chommeloux & Gibson-Morgan, 2017). This definition consists of three main parts which include the enfranchisement of voters, eligibility of voters, and the equality between voters and candidates (Chommeloux & Gibson-Morgan, 2017). This is closely linked to the eligibility of voters. Eligibility requirements such as age also differ by country. The enfranchisement of voters includes the levels of suffrage an eligible citizen may have. Much like the United States, citizenship, residency requirements, and those who are mentally able to vote all have the ability to vote in European elections. Moreover, similarly to the United States women did not receive the right to vote immediately, they received it after men. The third element, equality of voting, refers to a condition that outlines the different types of voting systems in which candidates can get electoral seats. To look at these, one must look at a few foil pairs of different voting types. First, there is plural vs. equal voting and it refers to the idea that someone’s franchisement level

determines how many votes the person will receive (Chommeloux & Gibson-Morgan, 2017). Next, direct vs. indirect is when someone directly votes for who they want in office or as in the case of France where they are used to elect an assembly to then vote for the said candidate (Chommeloux & Gibson-Morgan, 2017). Apportionment and districting are the last elements of having equality in elections. These acknowledge the idea where that proportional representation is a combination of the population size and the magnitude of an area (Chommeloux & Gibson-Morgan, 2017). In this instance, magnitude alludes to the number of seat constituencies that can return to a district (Chommeloux & Gibson-Morgan, 2017).

History of Voting Methods

Unfortunately, there is not much research done on alternative voting methods such as early voting, absentee voting, and voting by mail (Neeley & Richardson, 2001). Election Day voting has been the dominant subject studied. Since there is relatively little studies out there, theories of early voting have to rely on other theories, such as broader theories of political participation or what I am looking at, the history of voting systems in the United States. It is important to note voting systems are not simplistic due to federalism which allows states to regulate their own voting methods, which means there is no one set voting method used throughout the country.

Arguably, the most traditional way and a typical way for eligible and registered voters to vote is for them to go to their polling place on Election Day and vote in person the first Tuesday in November. Stein and Vonnahme (2012) argue this is most commonly held at a precinct or polling place. Obviously, not everyone is able to be at their polling location on Election Day so alternative methods must be used. The rest of the methods are based on a component of voting

before Election Day. Most states offer some form of early voting whether it is postal voting or non-precinct voting (Kirby, 2020; Stein & Vonnahme, 2011). Stein & Vonnahme define non-precinct voting as voting methods that are not taking place at a traditional polling place or precinct, whether that be a form of voting through the mail or an early in-person voting location. Early voting allows voters to arrive at polling places anywhere from three to fifty-five days in advance of the Election Day but exceptions vary by state laws (Neeley & Richardson, 2001). For example, starting in 1988 Texas started allowing voters to come a few weeks early to cast a ballot (Stein & García-Monet, 1997). Early voting typically ends a few days before Election Day (Stein & García-Monet, 1997). It is important to note that every state has laws in place to accommodate the “elderly, infirm, and those out of state” (Stein & García-Monet, 1997) to vote by mail before Election Day.

If a voter is unable to be at their polling place on Election Day, they have one of two options that are closely similar but are different. First, they can request and submit an absentee ballot. In the past, voters were required to provide an excuse to explain why they were not able to be in attendance on Election Day (Zoch, 2022); however, California became the first state in 1978 to allow voters to request an absentee ballot without providing an excuse (Waxman, 2020). Currently, about two-thirds of states do not require an excuse for someone to request an absentee ballot, whereas voters in one-third of the states need an excuse (Zoch, 2022). Excuses could range from but are not limited to a voter being out of the county or country, having a work shift during voting hours, a student who is attending college out of the location where their polling place is, someone is a poll worker for a specific election location, or they have jury duty (Zoch, 2022). Before someone is sent their absentee ballot through the mail, their information must be validated by election administration officials (Zoch, 2022). Typically, ballots are sent a month to

a month and a half prior to Election Day. After someone completes a ballot, they have to return the ballot properly to a personal or commercial mailbox.

Second, a newer option is an all-mail-based voting system. How does this recent phenomenon work? With an all-mail system, a ballot is sent automatically to each eligible voter's address (Hernandez, 2014), all they have to do is vote and send the ballot by the deadline (Hernandez, 2014). All-mail voting systems are similar to absentee ballots because the ballot comes in an envelope which comes in a bigger envelope and then the voter has to sign to confirm their identity (Hernandez, 2014).

Vote-by-mail elections have been quietly growing over the past few years. Most notably, Oregon was the first state to adopt a mail-based system in 1995 and went fully to an all-mail system in 1998 (Waxman, 2020). In-person voting is not even required with this option. Legislators are curious to see if it would be successful in their communities. From 2013 - 2014, forty-two bills were introduced about vote-by-mail elections. As of 2022, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures, eight states (California, Colorado, Hawaii, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Vermont, and Washington) allow all elections to be conducted by mail (Hernandez, 2014). North Dakota and Nebraska are the only two states that permit certain counties to conduct elections by mail (Hernandez, 2014). Several states, such as Arizona, Florida, and Maryland, authorize certain elections to be conducted by mail (Hernandez, 2014). Similar to North Dakota and Nebraska, New Jersey, Idaho, and Minnesota grant elections in certain small jurisdictions to be conducted by mail (Hernandez, 2014).

Each alternative voting method compared to traditional Election Day voting has its own advantages and disadvantages. Early voting's advantages and disadvantages are different compared to the other alternative voting methods. Early voting allows voters to vote without

long lines so it prevents people from having to take off from work to come vote (Budget Mailboxes, 2022). Additionally, with early voting, there is the most voter confidence because it is the most certain way someone's vote will be counted properly. A disadvantage is since early voting laws vary by state, someone has to check in with their state on when their state participates in it, if they do at all (Budget Mailboxes, 2022). Furthermore, polling locations may be different for voting early than the Election Day precinct or polling place. Voting early typically takes place at "satellite locations" (Stein, 1998) such as convenience stores and grocery stores around the district whereas traditional Election Day voting takes place at a local school, local library, or a local fire department (Stein, 1998). With this knowledge of polling locations, Stein and García-Monet found if someone is familiar with their polling location they are more inclined to then go vote early at that location but if they are not familiar with it they will vote on Election Day (1997).

Absentee voting has several advantages and disadvantages. Starting with advantages, absentee voting saves districts money. They do not have to book locations for polls, poll workers' salaries, and voting machines (Budget Mailboxes, 2022). Absentee voting also allows voters to familiarize themselves with candidates and issues on the ballot. One major disadvantage is if someone decides to vote absentee, they have to then register to vote earlier and the time frame varies by state (Budget Mailboxes, 2022). Postal delays could also cause a person's ballot to be received after the deadline and invalidate their vote. Inaccessibility with absentee voting can come in two ways. First, someone could not have access to a personal or commercial mailbox (Budget Mailboxes, 2022). For example, Native Americans on reservations do not have access to mailboxes. Second, stamps are expensive and since someone has to mail

their ballot, they might not be able to afford a stamp to send it back to be counted properly (Budget Mailboxes, 2022).

There are advantages and disadvantages to all mailing voting systems. For an advantage, it is more convenient than traditional Election Day voting (Zoch, 2022). Moreover, a voter can avoid potentially long lines at a polling place by having all-mail elections (Budget Mailboxes, 2022). When someone gets the ballot sent to them, they have more time to thoroughly look over the ballot and become informed about the candidates and potential issues at stake (Zoch, 2022). The National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) found those in rural jurisdictions prefer the flexibility this voting method brings (Zoch, 2022). Next, it is arguably cheaper. For example, Montana considered going to all vote by mail elections and they estimated it would save taxpayers \$2 million every election cycle (Hernandez, 2014). Lastly, for special elections turnout has been shown by the NCSL to increase by all vote by mail elections (Hernandez, 2014) even though some researchers contradict this claim and state methods of convenience (early) voting do not boost turnout (Fitzgerald, 2005; Gronke et al., 2020).

The disadvantages are similar to the other earlier voting methods. While it may be cheaper to print all of the ballots, the cost can add up by having to print all of the paperwork and getting return postage for every eligible voter in the state so the savings from each month are nullified (Zoch, 2022). Next, there is a potential to have errors arise resulting in ballots being rejected. Errors can include forgetting to sign the ballot, if a state requires a witness, someone forgetting to include a witness, turning in the ballot passed the required deadline, a voter already voting in person, the voter passing away, giving the ballot back missing materials (such as the envelope everything came in) (Ballotpedia, 2020). In-person voting machines are able to catch these errors immediately due to their advanced technology but someone in their own home may

overlook these errors or not know what to look for. Voting by mail can be troublesome because someone can be coerced into voting a particular way (Hernandez, 2014). Since mail ballots rely on them being sent back, ballots could be lost or the results could be slowly reported therefore not providing high levels of voter security and confidence (Hernandez, 2014). The civic experience, or tradition, of voting at a polling location with their community is lost by voting through the mail (Hernandez, 2014). Some groups may have a loyalty to voting at a traditional local polling location (Dalton, 2008) so it may lower their encouragement to vote through the mail instead (Hernandez, 2014).

One of the biggest concerns when it comes to all-mail elections is security over their ballot and the information regarding their ballot. In 2020 especially, some voters were worried about their ballots being properly counted. Some jurisdictions have provided options to make sure their ballot arrives safely to be properly counted (Hernandez, 2014). One idea jurisdictions had would be to track ballots from the moment they left a voter's house until they reached the polling location (Hernandez, 2014). Additionally, tracking would allow a voter to see when their ballot was officially counted (Hernandez, 2014). This option would provide a voter with ease their ballot was counted, especially in a highly contested election. Another idea a few jurisdictions had would be to have a drop box at polling locations for voters to place their completed ballots in.

2020 was an unprecedented year for elections. At the beginning of 2020, the novel Coronavirus emerged in America (CDC, 2022). Unfortunately, it was an election year for one of the most important offices: the president and vice president. In 2020, the Republican candidates President Donald J. Trump and Vice President Mike Pence were running for reelection while for the Democrats, former Vice President Joe Biden and Senator Kamala Harris were running to

against them. Due to the spread of the pandemic, voters demanded a “no-touch” voting experience (Gronke et al., 2020). One way voters suggested was strictly having online elections but it produced similar drawbacks other voting methods produced and was practically infeasible to implement.

President Trump did not declare the coronavirus pandemic a national emergency until March 13th, 2020. After this declaration, panic set in and was widespread across the country (CDC, 2022). How we did normal activities and behavior was altered in order to minimize the spread of the disease. With this, political leaders started shutting down restaurants, non-essential shopping, bars, etc, and saying where masks had to be worn/not worn. Anxiety struck politicians and election administrators because one issue that had to be reconsidered was how to hold elections during a global pandemic. Since celebrities have been proven to be influential when it comes to topics regarding politics or not, in 2020 especially, numerous celebrities stressed the importance of this election and encouraged their fans to go out and vote, even though there was a pandemic. Most took charge of their social media platforms such as Twitter, Instagram, etc. to post either who they were voting for or just messages to get out and vote in the election. One of the most influential celebrities was Taylor Swift (Richards, 2020; Shaffer, 2020). Swift herself tweeted a video encouraging her fans to vote, wrote a song with the implications of the importance of voting, and posted a picture with her and the cookies she baked herself showing her support for the Joe Biden/Kamala Harris ticket. With all of this said, celebrities could only influence their fans so much with getting citizens to vote in this unprecedented election.

States faced pressure to alter their voting systems for the new Covid-19 reality but they varied by state in how they did so. There were temporary and permanent changes to absentee and mail voting due to the global pandemic. According to *The Washington Post*, in 2020 23 states

plus DC made changes in their voting methods in their state due to the coronavirus pandemic while 27 states made no change (Mayes & Rabinowitz, 2020). Furthermore, Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Texas still required an excuse beyond Covid-19 for someone requesting an absentee ballot (Mayes & Rabinowitz, 2020). According to Ballotpedia, states adopted new policies in response to the Covid-19 pandemic ranging from not needing a witness to sign someone's absentee ballot in Alaska to Texas extending the days allotted for early voting (Ballotpedia, 2020). Some states, such as Virginia and Arizona, extended the voter registration deadline (Ballotpedia, 2020). Mail ballots for mail-in voting and for absentee changed requirements and, in a handful of states, the deadline to turn in these ballots was extended past the set Election Day deadline, November 3rd (Ballotpedia, 2020). Due to the pandemic, those who voted in person were required to wear masks. Moreover, being Covid-19 positive, getting exposed to Covid-19, and being in the "at-risk" category for Covid-19 were all acceptable excuses for someone to request an absentee ballot (Ballotpedia, 2020). Several states, for example Georgia, had to cancel their party conventions due to Covid-19 (Ballotpedia, 2020). Despite it being an election year that changed most of our norms with voting, turnout was roughly 67.7% (U.S. Election Assistance Commission, 2021), the highest turnout rate for a federal election the country had seen since 1900 (World Population Review, 2022).

Keeping all of this in mind, the main research question of my thesis is why do people select one voting method over other options? More specifically, if someone is legally allowed to vote in elections and is located within their voting district on Election Day, why might someone opt to vote either early or absentee? Several reasons may explain why someone is choosing one particular voting method over the others. Reasons may include partisan framing.

In 2020, partisan framing by elites in both parties may have encouraged and/or discouraged their members to cast their ballot the way they did. In the Democratic Party, there were complaints from leaders, such as Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi, that the postal service was dysfunctional due to lack of funds (Estes, 2020). During the election cycle, Democrats were introducing bills and trying to collect funds to help out the post office in order to make absentee ballots get counted properly. Democratic leaders encouraged party members if they were opting to mail in a ballot to drop it off at a polling location since the post office was facing unprecedented delays (Estes, 2020). Furthermore, for the Republican Party, former President Donald Trump expressed distrust in the mail-in voting system and pushed for people to try to vote in person if they were able to, amidst the global pandemic that was currently taking place (Kirby, 2020). If someone is influenced by political elites, regardless of party affiliation, they will vote with their party.

Another aspect of life Covid-19 changed was how to conduct elections during a global pandemic where human interaction and physical contact should be limited, both components of in-person voting. Typical ways of voting in person had to be tweaked to fit the pandemic lifestyle. 2020 made it easier for people to vote because they did not have to worry about issues such as going to their polling location during a limited set of hours because polling locations extended hours. Even though 2020 made some aspects of voting in person easier than in previous years, some people may have chosen to stay home and vote by mail instead. First, a voter himself or herself had Covid-19 and they were not able to go vote. Moreover, if the area surrounding their polling location had high positive Covid-19 numbers, people could have opted to not go out to avoid possible infection. Covid-19 also made New York consider canceling their primary election due to the spread of the disease (Gronke et al., 2020). In conclusion, is selecting

alternatives to in-person Election Day voting a common trend that can be seen over the last few presidential elections, or was the 2020 presidential election its own unique case? My analysis section will address this question.

Figuring out who tends to vote early is just as important as is figuring out what draws someone to vote early or by absentee. Three types of people come to mind who vote early: people who have their minds made up, older voters, and those people who are more informed with politics and the government. Shino and Smith (2020) find those with higher political knowledge will take advantage of earlier voting methods because they have enough information to go ahead and vote. Conversely, those with lower political knowledge and who are not as informed, tend to wait until Election Day to cast their ballot (Shino and Smith, 2020). The results were similar in both midterm and presidential elections.

The next category of people who may vote early in elections are people who know which candidates they prefer. In a normative sense, they may be inclined to vote early because they are satisfied with their decision so they want to go ahead and cast the first ballot they can get access to in order to vote for said candidate. Moreover, Stein examined how stronger partisans tend to vote earlier than Election Day voters (1998). Similar to those who are more informed, their interest in politics could reveal who votes earlier. Interest and knowledge could be related because, in order to be relatively informed about something, one needs to have interest in the subject matter. Plescia et al. (2021) found those who are interested in politics more would be more inclined to vote at a traditional polling place (2021). When thinking of the utility of voting from Riker & Ordeshook's (1968) calculus of voting, this may correlate to someone's duty to vote. If their duty to vote is higher than their costs or benefits, they may feel compelled to vote

on Election Day since they are more engaged. Conversely, Stein (1998) found those who voted earlier had a greater interest in politics.

Finally, the next group of people who want to vote early would be the older population, typically aged sixty-five and older. Older populations tend to be stronger partisans compared to their younger population counterparts (Newport, 2021). Gallup data suggest that older populations tend to vote earlier than younger populations because they tend to be more involved politically, especially on Election Day (Newport, 2021). However, earlier in this case may not correlate to postal, instead it may imply early in-person. Dalton (2008) found those who are older tend to have a loyalty to traditional voting locations. Older populations may tend to vote earlier also because they may not be physically able to drive themselves to their polling location or have disabilities that make them unable to endure the long lines polls can potentially bring.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS

Data, Methods, and Hypotheses

To test for changes in vote method preferences I utilize data from the Cooperative Election Survey (CES) from the past decade starting with 2012 and ending with 2020. The CES surveys were produced by the company YouGov. It used to be named the Cooperative Congressional Election Survey, but in 2020 it was renamed to the Cooperative Election Survey. The CES data looks at the trends in voting preferences by asking participants the vote method they used, absentee, mail, early, or in person, for the election for the respective year. In addition, I look at respondents' demographics to test for influences on vote method selection over the past decade. Additionally, I run all models using survey weights provided in the CES data and logit tables ran have the sample weights applied.

The CES is an internet-based survey including respondents that are nationally representative and the number of respondents varies by year. In 2012, CES there were 54,535 respondents. Whereas in 2016, there were more respondents with a total of 64,600. There were exactly 60,000 respondents in 2018 with 2020 a total of 61,000 respondents. The survey is estimated to be nationally representative; however, the CES provides sample weights, which I use in the models below.

The primary dependent variable in the analysis is the vote method people used when casting their ballot. Since the CES asked the same question about vote method in each of these years, the data allows the opportunity to observe trends on how people voted from a collection of

elections in the past decade. How people recorded how they voted in the specific election is a categorical variable with the following categories: -- in person on Election Day, mail or absentee, or in person early voting -- but each category is no better than the other if they are placed for the other.

I examine vote method selection from both the aggregate and individual levels. I start at the aggregate state level. 2020 brought a change for voting methods across the country. States started making alterations to their voting systems to fit them into life in an unprecedented global pandemic. Due to more states adding more earlier voting methods compared to previous years, I provide the following hypothesis:

H1: On an aggregate level, in 2020 fewer people will report in-person voting compared to 2012, 2016, and 2018.

To test this hypothesis, I collected vote method options for each state during the past decade. Using the state, a respondent identifies as their home state is an essential independent variable to examine for how someone voted because based on the voting options depends on how someone could vote. For example, North Carolina allows absentee and early voting so a respondent may choose to vote with one of those options due to it being accessible to them (NPR, 2012). However, someone in South Carolina does not get the same luxury because their state only provides them with the option to vote in-person or absentee (NPR, 2012). Therefore, the states are an important determining factor in why someone voted the way they did. Covid-19 made people worried about potentially getting the disease or spreading it, so if their state had high case numbers someone could have been more inclined to vote through the mail with minimal human interaction rather than any of the in-person options. In the appendices below, provide a list of state voting methods by year provided by *NPR* and *The Washington Post*.

Early voting is not offered in every state and if it is offered it varies in its rules and regulations by state. For example, Arizona early voting begins twenty-seven days before Election Day (Arizona Clean Elections Commission, 2017) but in Virginia it begins forty-five days before Election Day (Virginia Department of Elections, 2021). To limit the spreading of Covid-19 some states adopted early voting mechanisms in 2020 that did not have them in the prior elections. I focus on the comparison between voter method selection between states that allowed early voting or mail voting in all years to those that adopted only for 2020. To compare the states who already had early voting systems in place to states who added early voting systems due to the pandemic were put into a dichotomous variable, “ev_comparison==0” meant early voting systems were already in place prior to 2020 and “ev_comparison==1” meant adding early voting systems in 2020.

Based on my data collection, as Table 1 shows three states added early voting options in 2020 that did not allow any, other than absentee voting, early voting options in the previous elections of the decade. These states are Kentucky, New York, and Rhode Island. Twenty-two states kept the same early voting options throughout each of the elections in the decade, including 2020. These are my comparison states for part of the aggregate analysis.

Table 1: States Included in Vote Method Comparison Analysis

States that Added Early Voting Options in 2020	States with Same Early Voting Options from 2012-2020
Kentucky New York Rhode Island	Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Maryland, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia

Turning to the individual analysis, my primary independent variable of interest is party identification. 2020 was a unique election year because it was one of the first years vote method became overtly partisan. Politicians from both parties were criticizing different voting methods. For example, President Donald Trump openly criticized his distrust of any type of mail voting methods such as absentee ballots (Estes, 2020); therefore, if Republicans were to take his word as the absolute truth then they would avoid any mail voting methods and vote in-person. Since Covid-19 was sweeping across the country and it seemed Democrats were worried more about the spread of the disease (Kirby, 2020), Democrats could have been more inclined to vote absentee or early to avoid catching Covid-19. Elected officials from both sides of the political spectrum were critical of the 2020 election and some of its practices, thus making the 2020 election more politicized. Adding in the politicization of Covid-19, then I expect to find greater partisan divides in the 2020 election in terms of how people cast their ballots.

H2: Democrats will be more likely to not vote in-person compared to Republicans and this difference will be much greater in 2020 compared to 2012, 2016, and 2018.

In order to test for Hypothesis 2, I take the variable I used in Hypothesis 1 (“vote_type”) and I made it a dichotomous variable and renamed it as “vote_type2”. With this variable, since it was made into a dichotomous variable I collapsed early voting and voting by mail methods into one category as “1” and “0” was left at voting in person on Election Day. I ran logit models and interpreted them by using predicted probabilities. These probabilities provide a straightforward way to discuss the substantive effects of the model results.

Beyond partisanship, I also control for various factors that the literature shows to be important for vote method selection. This allows me to account for the effect of partisanship on vote method selection while accounting for other potentially relevant variables from previous

studies. These controls are a respondent's education, family income, age, race, and if they live in an urban or rural setting.

Previous studies have shown that the more educated tend to be more informed about topics surrounding politics, also known as "political knowledge" (Campbell, 2006). With this logic, two possible explanations arise. If someone has a higher education level and is more informed about politics, they are probably aware of the other options to vote rather than on Election Day itself. Similarly, if someone has a higher education level than high school, they may be more likely to be attending college where an absentee ballot would have to be sent to them. Second, if someone has little to no education level or is not involved with politics they are probably only aware of voting in person on Election Day.

Comparable to the education variable, a person's income is another independent variable that could explain how people voted in the 2012 - 2020 elections. Conventional wisdom could argue that the more education someone may have could give them a job that causes them to have a higher income compared to someone who has a lesser income. Moreover, higher incomes would follow a similar pattern to those with more education and those who are more informed to potentially vote using other voting methods, such as absentee, than voting in-person on Election Day. For example, a surgeon may choose to vote absentee because he may have an important, all-day surgery they have to do the day of Election Day. Even though they did not dive into it much, Stein found those who are poorer tend to vote earlier compared to those who vote on Election Day (1998).

Age is another important variable from the literature to explain specific voting methods. If I take someone's birth year and subtract it from the year the survey was administered, I would be able to estimate someone's age. According to Plescia et al., age is crucial to understanding

how people decide to vote (2021). Older populations are considered to be in the age bracket who turn out to vote more than younger populations (Cottrell et al., 2021). There are many explanations for why older populations tend to vote more. For starters, they have been voting their whole life already and they have developed a habit of it (Gerber et al., 2003), they could potentially have more education or expertise, and they are typically more informed and involved with politics (Gronke et al., 2020). For example, older populations tend to volunteer more as poll workers compared to younger populations (Gronke et al., 2020). Furthermore, early voters are “disproportionately likely to have voted in the past” (Hanmer and Traugott, 2004; Southwell and Burchett, 1997, 2000). Due to this, older populations could be more inclined to vote through an absentee ballot or vote early in-person a couple of days prior to the election. Moreover, an older person may have a disability or illness that would alter them being able to vote on Election Day so they would need to vote earlier in order to have their vote counted. Younger populations tend to not vote and are often in the category of being the age group that votes the least so it is hard to measure when they would vote. Since they fall into the category of having the least amount of education and income and information about politics, they would follow the groups who vote in person on Election Day. However, Cottrell et al. (2021) mentions how younger populations are more likely to vote earlier because they are “unduly sensitive to wait times”. For example, they would rather not get treated and go home than wait in the emergency waiting room (Cottrell et al., 2021, 126).

Where a respondent lives within a state is an important variable to understand voting patterns over the past decade. This is labeled as “urbancity.” Geography provides an additional explanation for why someone would choose to vote by mail or absentee instead of in person. If someone lives further away from their polling location, they would feel less inclined to travel a

far distance to go out of their way to vote. Similarly, if the only time an individual is able to go vote is during a break from work/class and their polling location is further away, someone may be more inclined to vote through the mail so their vote is still counted. Another possible explanation why people would vote through the mail instead of in-person is the classic rural/urban debate. Urban residents have more access to transportation and resources to make voting in person easier. Lastly, some people go to college away from their polling location or out of state and would rather vote in their home state instead of where they are currently residing so they would choose a mail voting option. Moreover, the same logic applies to those in the military who are stationed away from their home state in Europe, Asia, etc. Continuing the debate, Gimpel et al. (2006) found if a voter lives within one mile of their polling location, they are more likely to cast their ballot earlier than those who live further away. Even though their study only examined Las Vegas, Nevada and Albuquerque, New Mexico, it should be generalizable to other parts of the country as well.

The classic rural vs. urban debate is those who live in more rural areas tend to lean more towards being Republican and supporting conservative policies (Fudge, 2019). Whereas, bigger cities and urban areas tend to vote more ideologically liberal and Democratic (Fudge, 2019). Part of this is due to the abundance of resources in an urban area versus the lack of resources a rural community would not be able to have access to living far away. With urban communities, it is probably easier for them to be involved with politics so it is probably even easier for them to vote in person on Election Day. Since rural communities it is harder to get involved in politics and stuff is further away, people may decide to send an absentee ballot so they do not have to travel much on Election Day just to spend a couple of minutes voting. In conclusion, if

geography is an issue and if a polling location is not easily accessible, mail voting methods may be more effective.

Another potential explanatory independent variable for how someone decided to vote could be their race. Based on the prior literature, the results are mixed. Plescia et al. (2021) find younger minorities, particularly African Americans and Hispanics, are highly interested in politics but they vote by mail the least when compared to other races. Conventional wisdom may suggest Hispanics and other minorities may hold casting a vote in an election to be valued more than others and they may want to show if they are voting on Election Day they are properly showing their civic duty. On the flip side, Stein and Vonnahme (2012) found minorities could be influenced to vote earlier than White Americans. Most of their argument is linked to Hispanic populations. Another take on the minority argument is through Cottrell et al. (2021) who looked at voting effects on how long people waited in line. They find minorities who had to wait for an “excessive amount” of time in the 2012 election were less likely to vote in the 2016 election. Garcia et al. (1993) found in Texas particularly, Hispanics tended to voted earlier compared to other ethnic populations within the state (1993).

I believe in the case of the 2020 election, minority ethnic populations will tend to vote earlier, through an absentee ballot or by mail, instead of in-person early or on Election Day. The reasoning is solely based on party heuristic cues alone. Members of the Hispanic population tend to substantially identify and vote more for Democratic candidates (Skelley, 2022) and the Joe Biden campaign expressed their concerns with Covid-19 and voting in-person could increase the spread (Pew Research Center, 2020); therefore, their supporters may have a similar sentiment and opt to cast their ballots at home.

In the models, I estimate each year separately and compare the results. I do this because the CES changed how they coded certain variables, namely the income variable, and only included the urbancity variable in the 2018 and 2020 surveys.

Results – Aggregate Analysis

Table 2 provides a numerical output of the voting methods -- in-person on Election Day, in-person before Election Day, absentee, and vote by mail -- for the election cycles starting with 2012 and ending with 2020. This table provides a number for how many respondents in the survey did each method and the frequency of each method for every year provided. Voted by mail and absentee are collapsed into one variable. Those who were unsure of how they voted were dropped from the results since I only care about those who are actually sure they voted.

Postal voting throughout the years 2012 - 2018 stayed the most stable, 24.27% of survey respondents voted through the mailbox in 2012 whereas six years later, it increased to 26.46%. However, in 2020 this number climbs to 47.05% percent in 2020. Voting in-person before Election Day only fluctuated a little over 7.5% from 2012 to 2020. In 2012, 19.08% of respondents utilized this method but in 2020 26.65% utilized this method. Although it did increase, it was not a substantial increase. Similarly, to postal voting, in-person Election Day voting saw dramatic changes from 2012 to 2020 but reverse. In 2012, nearly fifty-seven percent of respondents (56.65%) voted this way; however, by 2020 this number plummeted to nearly twenty-six percentt (26.29%). While early voting and postal voting had modestly increased between 2012 and 2018, clearly Covid-19 impacted voter's choice on how to vote during the

2020 election. Figure 1 visually shows the distribution of the comparison of vote methods type by year for all states mentioned above.

Table 2: Voting Methods 2012 - 2020

Vote_type	2012	2016	2018	2020	Total
In person on Election Day	22, 492 56.65	24, 387 53.86	22, 476 52.96	12, 003 26.29	81, 358 47.01
In person before Election Day	7, 574 19.08	9, 882 21.82	8,738 20.59	12, 168 26.65	38, 362 22.17
Voted by mail or absentee	9, 636 24.27	11, 010 24.32	11, 229 26.46	21, 479 47.05	53, 354 30.83
Total	39, 702 100.00	45, 279 100.00	42, 443 100.00	45, 650 100.00	173, 074 100.00

Pearson chi2(6) = 1.2e+04 Pr = 0.000

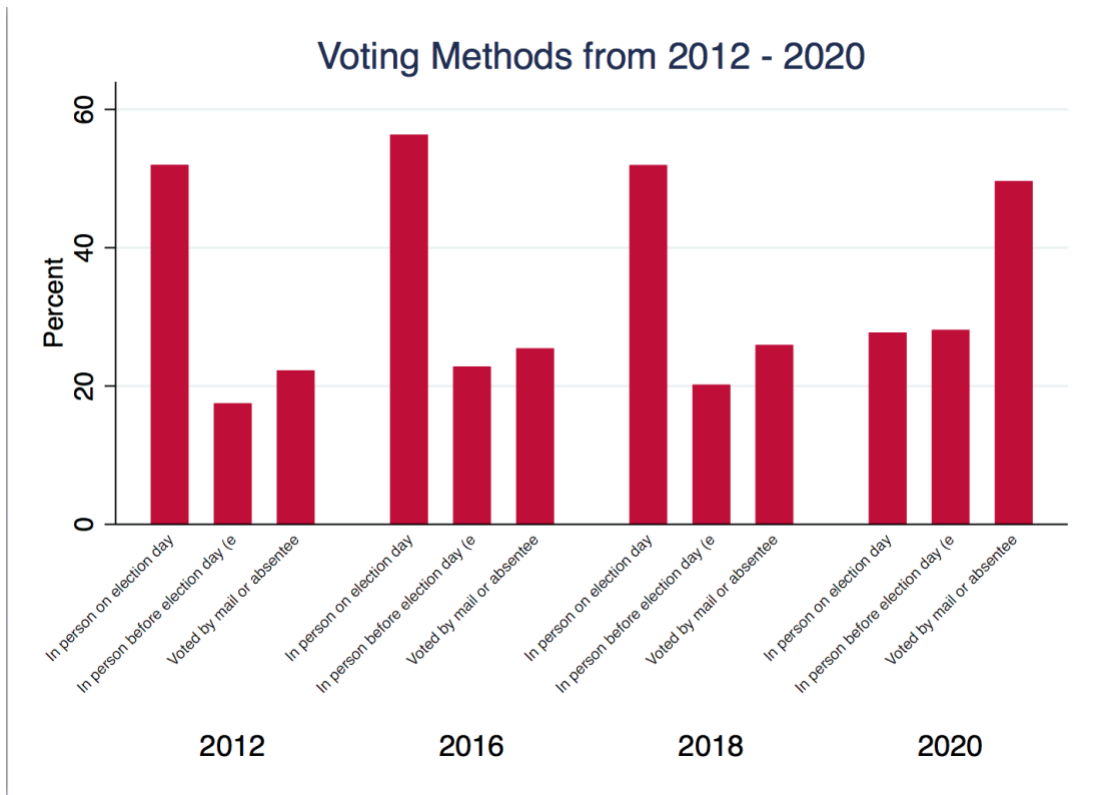


Table 3 provide the results for Hypothesis 1, states who had in-person early voting prior to 2020 on the left and for the right, the states who added early in-person voting for 2020. These results imply citizens in 2020 did not want to vote the traditional in-person way but they may not have known about the changes their states made in response to the pandemic. Moreover, people were still voting in-person this year because they were not sure how early voting worked since their state did not have it previously, they

Table 3: Hypothesis 1

Vote_type	Early Voting all years	Early Voting only 2020	Total
In person on Election Day	4, 857 19.91	1, 309 36.58	6, 166 22.05
In person before Election Day	8, 755 35.90	1, 092 30.52	9, 847 35.21
Voted by mail or absentee	10, 777 44.19	1, 177 32.90	11, 954 42.74
Total	24, 289 100.00	3, 578 100.00	27, 967 100.00

Pearson chi2(2) = 511.9945 Pr = 0.000

used a default method they were familiar with. Moreover, people maybe were still opting to vote in-person even though new measures were put in place because they were worried about their ballot getting lost in the mail and it not getting properly counted for. Which is a valid concern due to the fact that there were anxieties from the general public and partisans about the United States Postal Service experiencing extreme delays leading to ballots not arriving in time for the 2020 presidential election.

Results – Individual Analysis

Turning to the individual level analyses, Figures 2-5 shows the predicted probabilities based on the models in Appendices x-x for the likelihood of NOT voting in-person by partisan identification. Figure 6 provides all of the predicted probabilities for each of the election cycles in 2012 - 2020 for the likelihood of voting early by party identification. Throughout 2012 – 2018

there were not much difference between the parties, they differed by roughly 10 percentage points or lower. Every election cycle the amount of people voting earlier did increase but it was not a substantial difference until 2020. In 2012, forty-one percent of strong Democrats voted early and roughly thirty-eight percent of strong Republicans voted early (Figure 2). 2016 was not much different than 2012 because the percentages had not broken 50 percent yet. However, the numbers did jump up some from the previous election cycle; 47% of strong Democrats voted early and 42% strong Republicans voted early (Figure 3). Since 2018 was a midterm election results are very similar to 2016 (Figure 4). Those who classified as Strong Democrats in 2018, voted nearly 50% early (49.4%). For the same year, 44% of those who classified as a Strong Republican voted early. The 2020 election provided a significant jump by nearly forty percentage points. In 2020, roughly 82 percent of strong Democrats decided to vote early whereas roughly 60 percent of strong Republicans voted early (Figure 5). Even though Democrats voted earlier more than Republicans, it is still important to note Republicans faced a substantial jump from 2012 – 2018 to 2020 as well.

Figure 6 provides a layout of all of the years clumped together to see the gap 2020 provides to the previous election years mentioned. The gap between 2012 and 2020 visually represents how politicized politicians made the 2020 election. Furthermore, it shows how much of an impact the coronavirus pandemic had on the election. Table 4 provides the output tables for the logit models of the control variables: education, age, family income, rural/urban, party identification, and race/ethnicity. Since all of my graphs use party identification as the main independent variables, these tables provide the coefficients of the other control variables. Coefficients that are positive are more likely to vote with an earlier voting method compared to the negative coefficients that examine someone who would vote in-person.

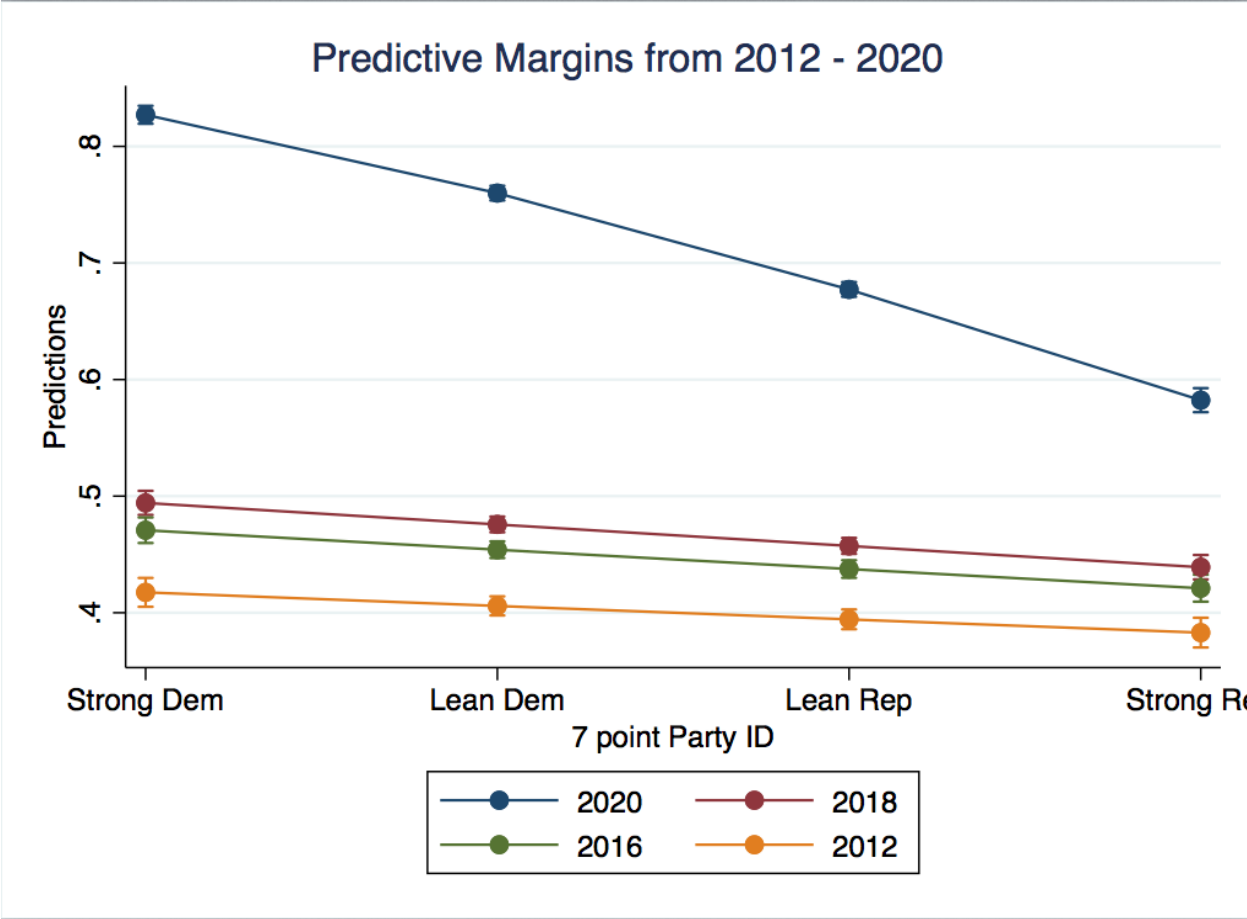
Starting with 2012, a variety of findings emerge with the logit outputs of the control variables (Table 4). First, those who are older are more likely to vote in person compared to those who are younger. Whereas minorities, those with more education, and those with high incomes

Table 4: Logit Outputs from 2012 – 2020

VARIABLES	(2020) vote_type2	(2018) vote_type2	(2016) vote_type2	(2012) vote_type2
educ	0.13*** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.01)
faminc_new	0.00** (0.00)	0.00** (0.00)		
pid7	-0.21*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.01)
birthyr	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)
urbancity	-0.15*** (0.01)	-0.13*** (0.01)		
race	0.05*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)
faminc			0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
Constant	41.66*** (1.83)	36.72*** (1.68)	28.71*** (1.90)	26.97*** (2.32)
Observations	45,623	42,364	45,237	38,932

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1



are more likely to be voting earlier in elections. These coefficients hold true for 2016 as well but it changes slightly when “urbancity” is added as a variable in 2018 and 2020. In 2018, higher educated, ethnic and race minorities, and those with higher incomes are more likely to vote in-person. Older populations and those living in the more rural areas are voting earlier. The same coefficient findings are found two years later in 2020. Party identification is looked at more in depth with Figures 2.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

Conclusion

Voting is one of the most important aspects of representative democracy that citizens can get involved with. The main voting methods a registered voter can do are voting in person on Election Day, voting in person prior to Election Day, voting strictly by mail, voting on an absentee ballot they have requested, or having their state send them their ballot through an all-mail voting system. This subject is not studied nearly as much so it adds itself to several literatures within the field. My research is not the end of the story though because it leads to questions that can be raised for future elections.

On an aggregate level, *H1* was found to have mixed results. For the states who added voting early in-person, citizens were not taking advantage of it as much as I had hoped. In-person on Election Day was still the number one method. This leads me to believe that citizens either did not know their state added this method or they were not familiar with how the process worked. However, I found support for *H2* because over the eight-year period I looked at Democrats were voting more than Republicans.

Contribution

My thesis is important because it provides several contributions to various literatures. First, it makes a contribution to the early voting literature. Studying the combination of liberalized voting methods such as absentee voting, mail-in ballots, and Election Day voting, is a

rarely studied literature (Neeley & Richardson, 2001). Moreover, it adds itself to an even smaller studied literature, the individual level early voting literature. My paper looks at the aggregate and an individual level analysis. Since this data utilizes data from 2020 and it mentions how some states altered their voting methods by updating current laws or adding laws to their states, this thesis makes a contribution to the Covid-19, literature which is growing rapidly as more data becomes available to political scientists and the public.

Predictions

One of the biggest predictions of my thesis may be for the 2024 presidential election. My thesis shows how in 2020 both party identification and the Covid-19 pandemic played a role in why someone decided to vote early or in person in the election. Hopefully by 2024, Covid-19 will be a thing of the past or not as a serious threat as it has been in the past two years, so hopefully people do not have the same fear of getting it while casting a ballot as they did in 2020. When it comes to voting in person on Election Day or an earlier voting method as a whole, people may go back to voting in person more than voting earlier. It may be that the significant increases in early voter and mail voting in 2020 was an artifact of Covid-19, or it could be the partisan rhetoric and partisan polarization around voting in 2020 has long lasting partisan impacts on how people decide to cast their ballots. Maybe by 2024, more states will include an all vote by mail ballot.

In my analysis I also examine the 2018 midterm election so it is intriguing what could happen in the next couple months for the 2022 election where Covid-19 is still pretty relevant and elections are still politicized. If I had to make a prediction for the 2022 midterm elections on an aggregate level, I believe people will decide to vote in person on Election Day rather than

voting earlier, whether by absentee/mail or earlier in person prior to Election Day, because Covid-19 infection, even though still prevalent, is not as a salient fear as it was in 2020. While many states still have the supplemented laws they added in 2020, I believe citizens will not take as much advantage of them as they did two years prior. On an individual level, I suggest the trend will continue of Democrats voting earlier more than Republicans solely based on the fact of the threat of Covid-19 infection. Moreover, I do think the gap between strong Democrats and Republicans will be slightly smaller than what it was in 2020 but still a sizable difference between the two. For example, about 74 percent of strong Democrats will be voting early compared to 55 percent of strong Republicans will be voting earlier.

Implications

The implication of my paper is that it can help inform citizens there are more than one way to vote in an election. All fifty states have some aspect of earlier voting throughout the years but in the eight years I looked at, states alter the voting methods to implement additional earlier methods or amend previous earlier method requirements. In the years coming, the voters need to make sure they are aware what their state is providing so if they are unable to vote on Election Day, they can still have their voices heard. Additionally, my thesis shows how the Covid-19 pandemic served as a catalyst for voter behavior in the United States. Covid-19 changed countless facets of life and not surprisingly, elections were one.

Future Research

This thesis is important because it provides avenues for potential researchers to continue the research. One of the obvious ways to continue the research includes adding respondents from the next midterm and presidential elections: 2022 and 2024. Even though these are important

years since they are a considerable time after the Covid-19 pandemic hit the states, I believe they are still a little too quick to evaluate. I cannot speak into the future for 2024, but currently in 2022 Covid-19 is still a serious threat affecting lives around the world. That is why my suggestion if a scholar wanted to do exactly what I did is to wait maybe around a decade since Covid-19 was first a serious threat. Meaning the presidential election to examine would be the 2032 election and the 2034 midterm election. These years give substantial time to let Covid-19 pass. Another path for future research could look at additional independent variables beyond party. For example, since I examined party identification a researcher could look into age and the effect age had on these election years and the voting methods associated with each election. The effect size would probably not be as significant as party identification but it is still important to examine. Lastly, since 2020 more states have added all-mail ballots it would be interesting to further examine this voting method and its effects on the population.

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LIST OF APPENDICIES

TABLE A – VOTING METHODS IN THE STATES 2012

2012	ABSENTEE	EARLY VOTING	EXCUSE FOR ABSENTEE	NO EXCUSE FOR ABSENTEE
Alabama	√			√
Alaska	√	√	√	
Arizona	√	√	√	
Arkansas	√	√	√	
California	√	√	√	
Colorado	√	√	√	
Connecticut	√			√
Delaware	√			√
Florida	√	√	√	
Georgia	√	√	√	
Hawaii	√	√	√	
Idaho	√	√	√	
Illinois	√	√	√	
Indiana	√	√		√
Iowa	√	√	√	
Kansas	√	√	√	
Kentucky	√			√
Louisiana	√	√		√
Maine	√	√	√	
Maryland	√	√	√	
Massachusetts	√			√
Michigan	√			√
Minnesota	√			√
Mississippi	√			√
Missouri	√			√
Montana	√		√	
Nebraska	√	√	√	
Nevada	√	√	√	
New Hampshire	√			√
New Jersey	√		√	
New Mexico	√	√	√	
New York	√			√
North Carolina	√	√	√	
North Dakota	√	√	√	
Ohio	√	√	√	
Oklahoma	√	√	√	
Oregon	√		√	
Pennsylvania	√			√
Rhode Island	√			√
South Carolina	√			√
South Dakota	√	√	√	
Tennessee	√	√		√
Texas	√	√		√
Utah	√	√	√	
Vermont	√	√	√	
Virginia	√	√		√

Washington	√		√	
Washington DC	√	√		√
West Virginia	√	√		√
Wisconsin	√	√	√	
Wyoming	√	√	√	

TABLE B – VOTING METHODS IN THE STATES 2016

2016	ABSENTEE	EARLY VOTING	EXCUSE FOR ABSENTEE	NO EXCUSE FOR ABSENTEE
Alabama	√		√	
Alaska	√	√		√
Arizona	√	√		√
Arkansas	√	√	√	
California	√	√		√
Colorado	√	√		√
Connecticut	√		√	
Delaware	√		√	
Florida	√	√		√
Georgia	√	√		√
Hawaii	√	√		√
Idaho	√	√		√
Illinois	√	√		√
Indiana	√	√	√	
Iowa	√	√		√
Kansas	√	√		√
Kentucky	√		√	
Louisiana	√	√	√	
Maine	√	√		√
Maryland	√	√		√
Massachusetts	√	√	√	
Michigan	√		√	
Minnesota	√	√		√
Mississippi	√		√	
Missouri	√		√	
Montana	√	√		√
Nebraska	√	√		√
Nevada	√	√		√
New Hampshire	√		√	

New Jersey	√	√		√
New Mexico	√	√		√
New York	√		√	
North Carolina	√	√		√
North Dakota	√	√		√
Ohio	√	√		√
Oklahoma	√	√		√
Oregon	√	√		√
Pennsylvania	√		√	
Rhode Island	√			√
South Carolina	√		√	
South Dakota	√	√		√
Tennessee	√	√	√	
Texas	√	√	√	
Utah	√	√		√
Vermont	√	√		√
Virginia	√		√	
Washington	√	√		√
Washington DC	√	√		√
West Virginia	√	√	√	
Wisconsin	√	√		√
Wyoming	√	√		√

TABLE C – VOTING METHODS IN THE STATES 2018

2018	ABSENTEE	EARLY VOTING	EXCUSE FOR ABSENTEE	NO EXCUSE FOR ABSENTEE
Alabama	√		√	
Alaska	√	√		√
Arizona	√	√		√
Arkansas	√	√	√	
California	√	√		√
Colorado	√			√
Connecticut	√		√	
Delaware	√		√	
Florida	√	√		√
Georgia	√	√		√

Hawaii	√	√		√
Idaho	√	√		√
Illinois	√	√		√
Indiana	√	√	√	
Iowa	√	√		√
Kansas	√	√		√
Kentucky	√		√	
Louisiana	√	√	√	
Maine	√	√		√
Maryland	√	√		√
Massachusetts	√	√	√	
Michigan	√		√	
Minnesota	√	√		√
Mississippi	√		√	
Missouri	√		√	
Montana	√	√		√
Nebraska	√	√		√
Nevada	√	√		√
New Hampshire	√		√	
New Jersey	√	√		√
New Mexico	√	√		√
New York	√		√	
North Carolina	√	√		√
North Dakota	√	√		√
Ohio	√	√		√
Oklahoma	√	√		√
Oregon	√			√
Pennsylvania	√			√
Rhode Island	√			√
South Carolina	√		√	
South Dakota	√	√		√
Tennessee	√	√	√	
Texas	√	√	√	
Utah	√	√		√
Vermont	√	√		√
Virginia	√		√	
Washington	√			√
Washington DC	√	√		
West Virginia	√	√	√	
Wisconsin	√			√
Wyoming	√			√

TABLE D – VOTING METHODS IN THE STATES 2020

2020	ABSENTEE	EARLY VOTING	EXCUSE FOR ABSENTEE	NO EXCUSE FOR ABSENTEE	BALLOTS AUTOMATICALLY TO VOTER
Alabama	√			√	
Alaska	√	√		√	
Arizona	√	√		√	
Arkansas	√	√		√	
California	√	√			√
Colorado	√	√			
Connecticut	√			√	√
Delaware	√			√	√
Florida	√	√		√	
Georgia	√	√		√	
Hawaii	√	√		√	
Idaho	√	√		√	
Illinois	√	√		√	√
Indiana	√	√	√		
Iowa	√			√	
Kansas	√	√		√	
Kentucky	√	√		√	
Louisiana	√	√	√		
Maine	√			√	
Maryland	√	√		√	√
Massachusetts	√	√		√	
Michigan	√			√	√
Minnesota	√	√		√	
Mississippi	√		√		
Missouri	√			√	
Montana	√			√	
Nebraska	√	√		√	√
Nevada	√	√			√
New Hampshire	√			√	√
New Jersey	√				√
New Mexico	√	√		√	√
New York	√	√		√	
North Carolina	√	√		√	

North Dakota	√	√		√	
Ohio	√	√		√	
Oklahoma	√	√		√	
Oregon	√				
Pennsylvania	√			√	
Rhode Island	√	√			√
South Carolina	√			√	
South Dakota	√			√	
Tennessee	√	√	√		
Texas	√	√	√		
Utah	√	√			
Vermont	√				√
Virginia	√	√		√	
Washington	√	√			
Washington DC	√	√			√
West Virginia	√	√		√	
Wisconsin	√	√		√	
Wyoming	√			√	

TABLE E – DISTRIBUTION OF VOTING METHODS IN STATES

	ABSENTEE	EARLY VOTING	EXCUSE FOR ABSENTEE	NO EXCUSE FOR ABSENTEE
2012	51	33	30	21
2016	51	38	19	32
2018	51	33	18	32
2020	51	34	5	36

TABLE F – VOTE BY MAIL ELECTIONS ONLY STATES

VOTE BY MAIL ELECTIONS ONLY					
STATE	OREGON	UTAH	WASHINGTON	COLORADO	HAWAII
YEAR STARTED	2000	2012	2012	2013	2019

FIGURE A – Predictive Margins from 2012

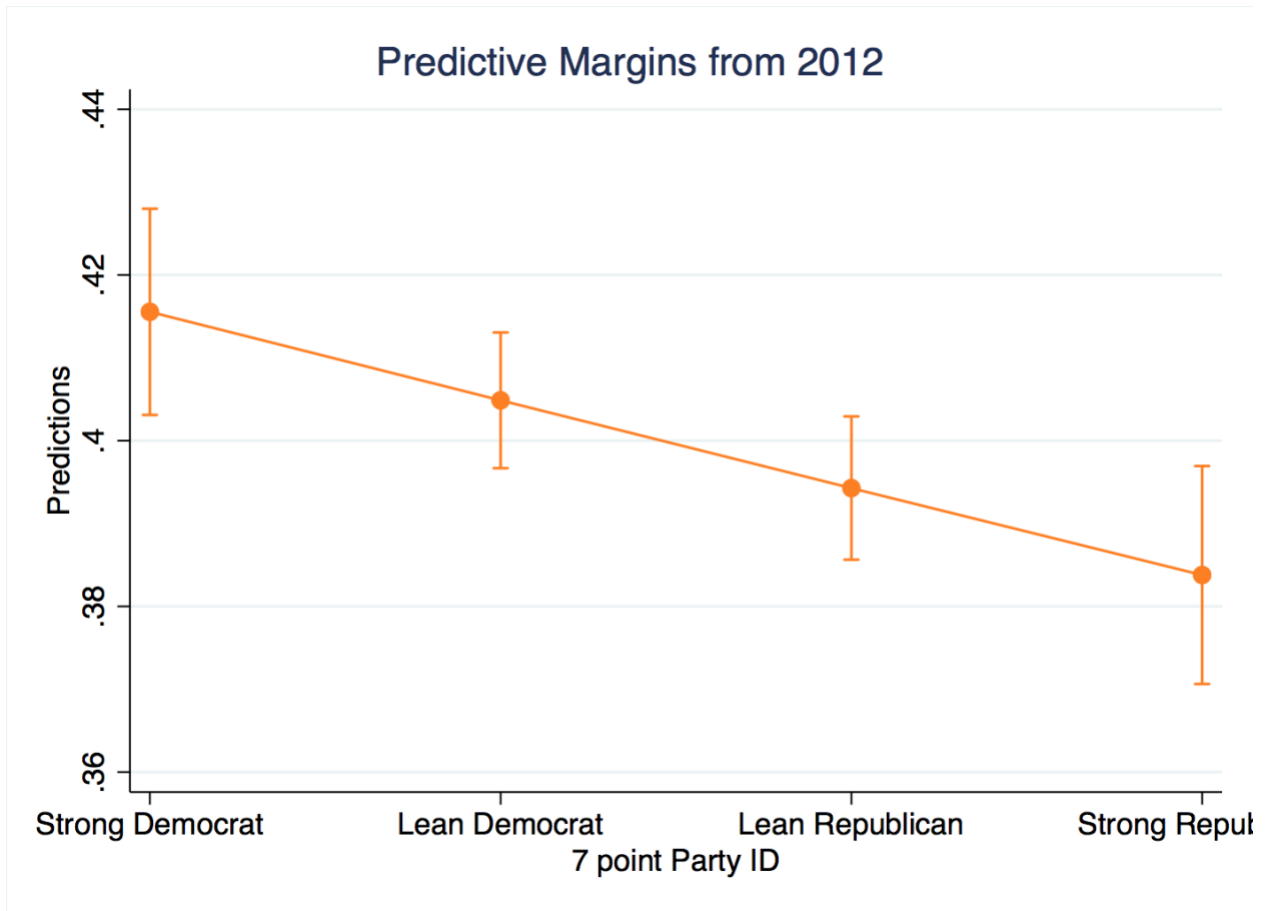


FIGURE B – Predictive Margins from 2016

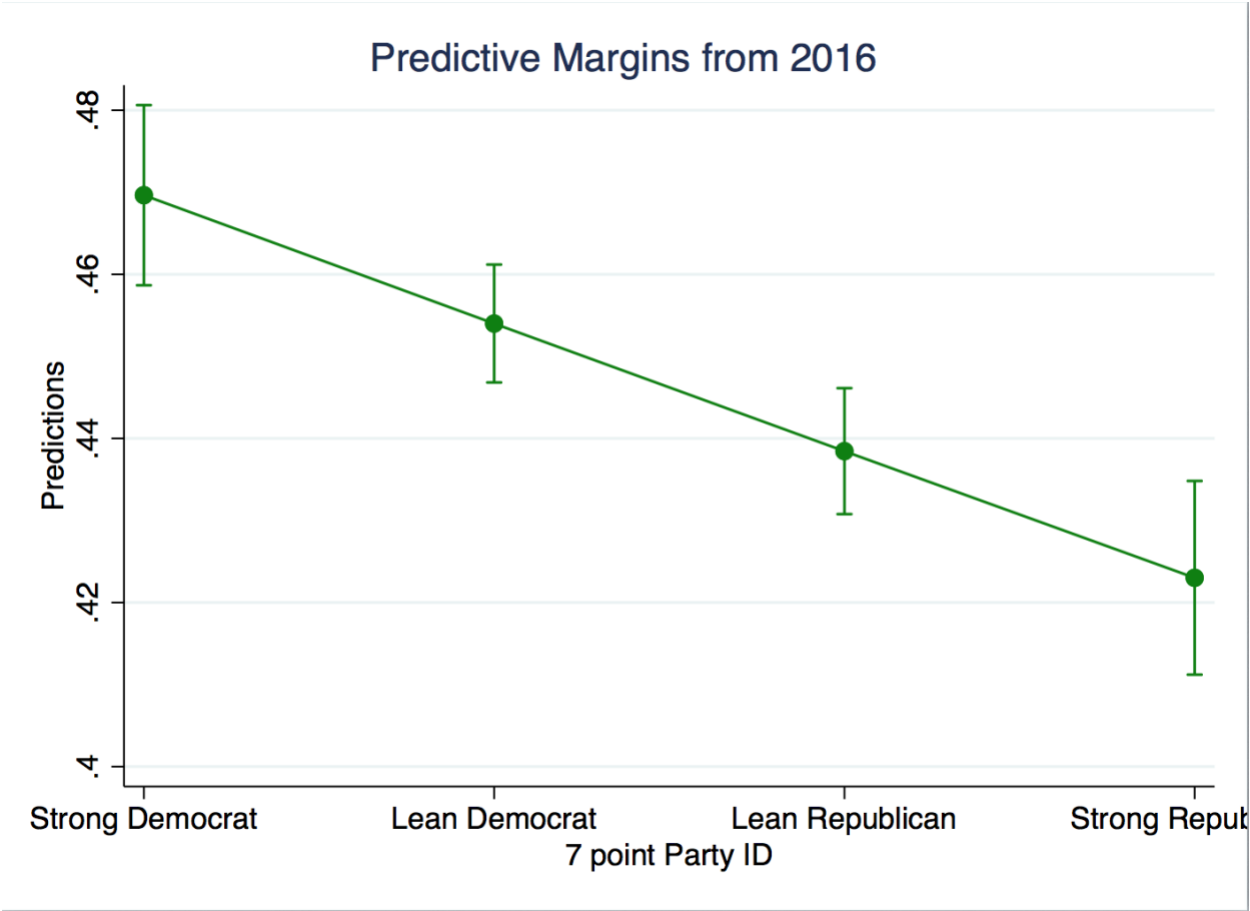


FIGURE C – Predictive Margins from 2018

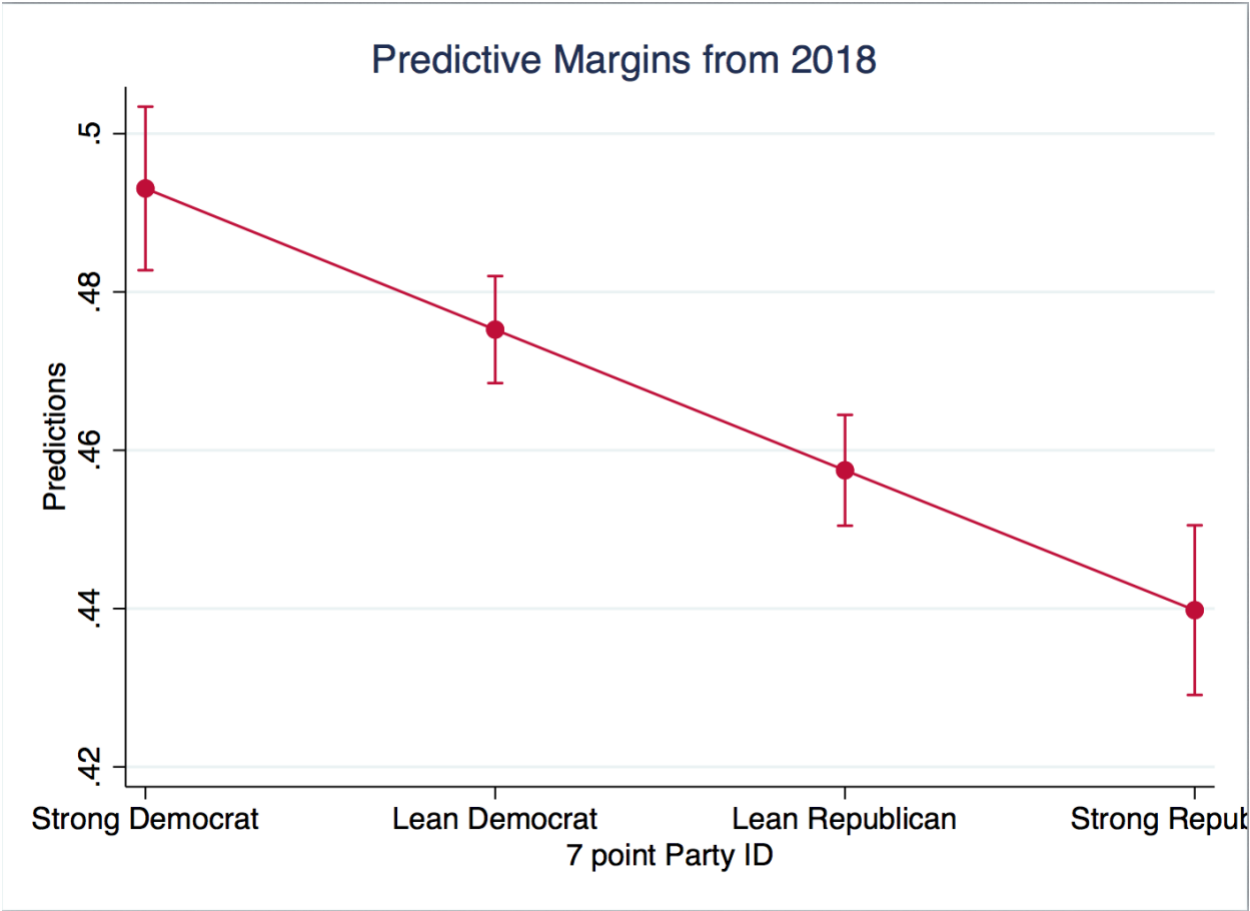
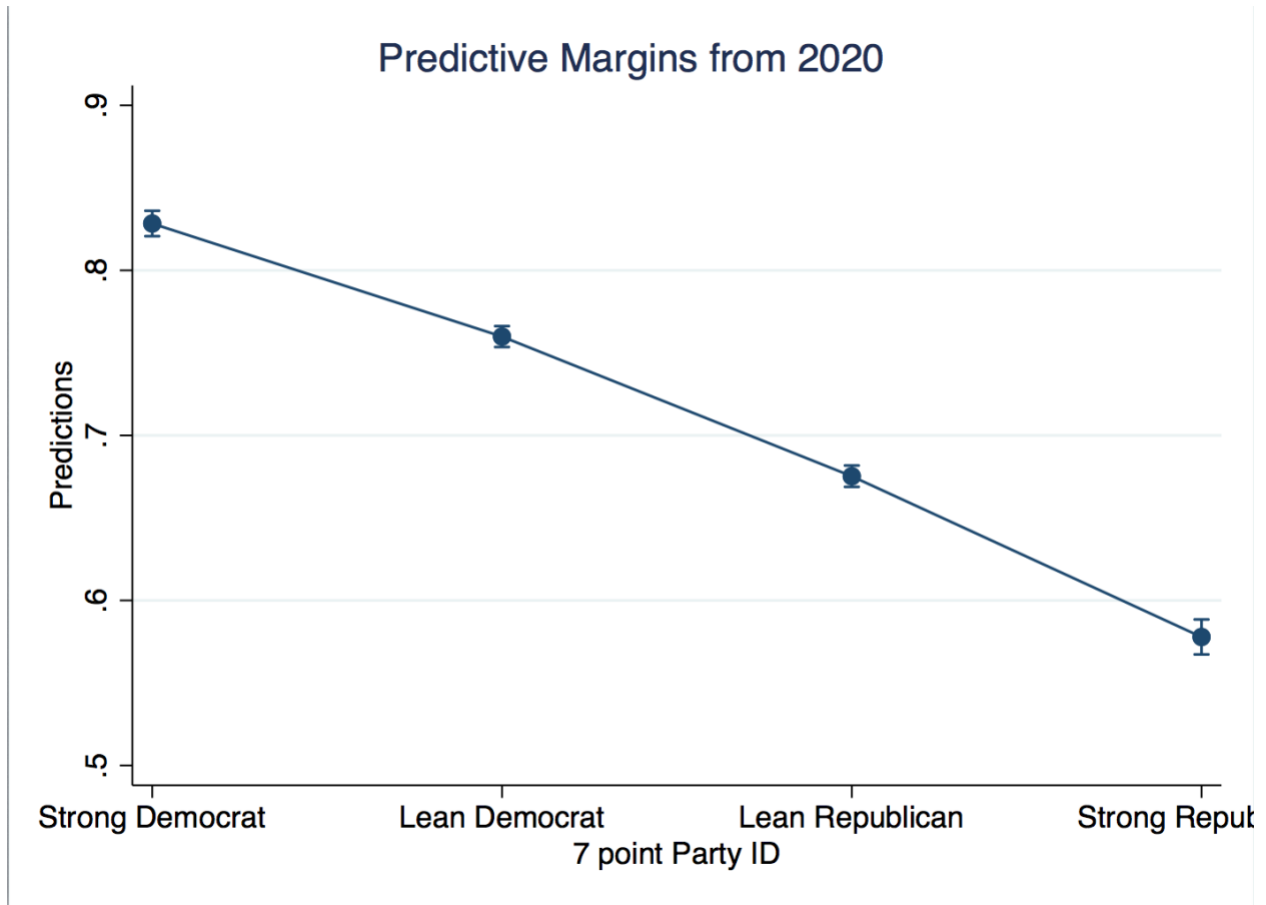


FIGURE D – Predictive Margins from 2020



CODING

Do file 1

```
clear
```

```
cd "*cd "/Users/baileygriffinn/Documents"
```

```
*2012 = CC403
```

```
*2016 = CC16_403
```

```
*2018 = CC18_403
```

```
*2020 = CC20_403
```

```
use "C:\Users\jcw\Box\Bailey MA\Data\2012\commoncontent2012.dta"
```

```
gen year==2012
```

```
save 2012, replace
```

```
use "C:\Users\jcw\Box\Bailey MA\Data\2016\CCES16_Common_OUTPUT_Feb2018_VV.dta"  
gen year=2016  
save 2016, replace
```

```
use "C:\Users\jcw\Box\Bailey MA\Data\2018\cces18_common_vv.dta"  
gen year=2018  
save 2018, replace
```

```
use "C:\Users\jcw\Box\Bailey MA\Data\2020\CES20_Common_OUTPUT_vv.dta"  
gen year=2020  
save 2020, replace
```

Do file 2

```
*2012 = CC403  
*2016 = CC16_403  
*2018 = CC18_403  
*2020 = CC20_403
```

```
use "C:\Users\jcw\Box\Bailey MA\Data\2012\commoncontent2012.dta"  
gen year=2012  
keep V101 V103 year inputzip-inputstate pid7 ideo5 CC403 inputstate_post countyfips faminc  
save 2012, replace
```

```
use "C:\Users\jcw\Box\Bailey MA\Data\2016\CCES16_Common_OUTPUT_Feb2018_VV.dta"  
gen year=2016  
keep V101 commonweight year inputzip-marstat pid7 ideo5 CC16_403 inputstate* faminc  
countyfips  
save 2016, replace
```

```
use "C:\Users\jcw\Box\Bailey MA\Data\2018\cces18_common_vv.dta"  
gen year=2018  
keep caseid commonweight birthyr-marstat pid7 ideo5 CC18_403 year inputzip* inputstate*  
urbancity faminc_new countyfips  
save 2018, replace
```

```
use "C:\Users\jcw\Box\Bailey MA\Data\2020\CES20_Common_OUTPUT_vv.dta"  
gen year=2020  
keep caseid commonweight birthyr-hispanic pid7 ideo5 CC20_403 year inputzip* inputstate*  
urbancity faminc_new countyfips CC20_309a_1-CC20_309b_4
```

```
save 2020, replace
```


Do file 3

```
*2012 = CC403
*2016 = CC16_403
*2018 = CC18_403
*2020 = CC20_403
```

```
use 2012
append using 2016
append using 2018
append using 2020
```

```
save CCES_2012_2020, replace
```

Do file 4

```
cd "C:\Users\jcw\Box\Bailey MA\Data\merged"
*cd "C:\Users\winbu\Box\Bailey MA\Data\merged"
```

```
*2012 = CC403
*2016 = CC16_403
*2018 = CC18_403
*2020 = CC20_403
```

```
use 2012
append using 2016
append using 2018, force
append using 2020
```

```
save CCES_2012_2020_dropvars, replace
```

Do file 5

```
cd "C:\Users\jcw\Box\Bailey MA\Data\merged"
*cd "C:\Users\winbu\Box\Bailey MA\Data\merged"
```

```
use CCES_2012_2020_dropvars
```

```
gen vote_type=CC403 if year==2012
replace vote_type=CC16_403 if year==2016
replace vote_type=CC18_403 if year==2018
replace vote_type=CC20_403 if year==2020
```

```
label define vote_type ///
1 "In person on election day" ///
2 "In person before election day (early)" ///
```

```
3 "Voted by mail or absentee" ///
4 "Don't Know"
```

```
label values vote_type vote_type
```

```
gen state=inputstate_post
replace state=inputstate if inputstate_post==.
label values state INPUTSTA
```

```
***LOTS OF MISSING DATA HERE
gen zip=inputzip_post
replace zip=inputzip if inputzip_post==.
```

```
drop votereg regzip votereg_f inputstate inputstate_post StateAbbr *403
```

```
***COUNTYFIPS MISSING FOR 2018 and 2020
```

```
***INCOME NEED TO MAKE SURE ON THE SAME SCALE FOR EACH YEAR
```

```
**DESCRIPTIVE LOOK
```

```
bys year: tab vote_type
```

```
save CCES_2012_2020_clean1, replace
```

Do file 6

```
import excel "C:\Users\jcw\Box\Bailey MA\Data\ voting_laws.xlsx", sheet("Sheet1") firstrow
```

```
ren EXCUSE excuse
foreach x of varlist absentee-no_excuse {
    recode `x' . =0
}
```

```
replace automatic=0 if automatic==. & year==2020
```

```
replace state=trim(state)
```

```
gen mail=1 if state=="Oregon"
replace mail=1 if state=="Utah"
replace mail=1 if state=="Washington"
replace mail=1 if state=="Colorado" & year>=2016
replace mail=1 if state=="Hawaii" & year==2020
```

```
recode mail . =0
```

```
save "C:\Users\jcw\Box\Bailey MA\Data\voting_laws.dta", replace
```

```
keep state year ev  
reshape wide ev, i(state) j(year)  
gen new_ev=1 if ev2020==1 & ev2018==0 & ev2016==0 & ev2012==0  
egen ev_years=rsum(ev*)
```

```
replace ev_years=. if state=="Oregon" | ///  
state=="Utah" | state=="Washington" | state=="Colorado" | state=="Hawaii"
```

```
gen ev_comparison=1 if new_ev==1  
replace ev_comparison=0 if ev_years==4
```

```
label define ev_comparison ///  
0 "EV all years" ///  
1 "EV only 2020"
```

```
label values ev_comparison ev_comparison
```

```
save "C:\Users\jcw\Box\Bailey MA\Data\EV_states.dta", replace
```

Do file 7

```
cd "C:\Users\jcw\Box\Bailey MA\Data\merged"  
*cd "C:\Users\winbu\Box\Bailey MA\Data\merged"
```

```
use CCES_2012_2020_clean1
```

```
decode inputstate, gen(state)
```

```
merge m:m state year using "C:\Users\jcw\Box\Bailey MA\Data\voting_laws.dta"  
keep if _merge==3  
drop _merge
```

```
merge m:m state using "C:\Users\jcw\Box\Bailey MA\Data\EV_states.dta"  
keep if _merge==3
```

```
save CCES_2012_2020_clean1_voting_laws, replace
```

Do file 8

```
cd "C:\Users\jcw\Box\Bailey MA\Data\merged"  
*cd "C:\Users\winbu\Box\Bailey MA\Data\merged"
```

```
use CCES_2012_2020_clean1_voting_laws
```

```
**SHOW HOW PEOPLE VOTED BY YEAR
```

```
tab vote_type year, col chi
```

```
*COMPARISON OF 2020 VOTE TYPE BY EV STATUS
```

```
tab vote_type ev_comparison if year==2020, col chi
```

```
tab vote_type year if ev_comparison==1, col chi
```

```
tab vote_type year if ev_comparison==0, col chi
```

Do file 9

```
*Working directory
```

```
*cd "/Users/baileygriffinn/Documents"
```

```
Load data
```

```
*use "/Users/baileygriffinn/Downloads/CCES_2012_2020_clean1_voting_laws (1).dta"
```

```
use "CCES_2012_2020_clean1_voting_laws.dta"
```

```
*Sample sizes for each year
```

```
tab year
```

```
*Voting methods / dependent variable
```

```
tab vote_type year
```

```
drop if vote_type==4
```

```
tab vote_type year
```

```
*Independent variable
```

```
tab pid7 year
```

```
drop if pid7==8
```

```
tab pid7 year
```

```
*Controls
```

```
tab educ year
```

```
tab faminc year
```

```
tab faminc_new year
```

```
tab urbancity year
```

```
drop if urbancity==5
```

```
tab urbancity year
```

```
tab race year
```

```
drop if race==7
```

```
tab race year
```

```
tab state year
```

***Regressions**

```
reg vote_type educ faminc_new pid7 birthyr urbancity race if year==2020, cluster(state)
```

```
reg vote_type educ faminc_new pid7 birthyr urbancity race if year==2018, cluster(state)
```

```
reg vote_type educ faminc pid7 birthyr race if year==2016, cluster(state)
```

```
reg vote_type educ faminc pid7 birthyr race if year==2012, cluster(state)
```

```
outreg2 using .doc, replace dec(2)
```

***Graph**

```
graph bar, over(vote_type) over(year)
```

Use the survey weights.

***using survey weights: the code below tells stata what weights to use for each respondent

```
replace commonweight=V103 if year==2012
```

```
replace caseid=V101 if year==2012 | year==2016
```

```
svyset caseid [pweight = commonweight]
```

***For each model simply put [pw=commonweight] as the last variable

```
reg vote_type educ faminc_new pid7 birthyr urbancity race [pw=commonweight] if year==2020
```

```
reg vote_type educ faminc_new pid7 birthyr urbancity race [pw=commonweight] if year==2018
```

```
reg vote_type educ faminc pid7 birthyr race [pw=commonweight] if year==2016
```

```
reg vote_type educ faminc pid7 birthyr race [pw=commonweight] if year==2012
```

***Probably the best way to present the model is to make a new DV coded as 0 vote in person and 1 as other methods (so combining vote early and vote by mail). I provide the code below. The results should be extremely similar. So, positive coefficients = more likely to vote NOT in person. Negative coefficients then would be telling you that people are more likely to vote in person.

***Run as a logit

```
gen vote_type2=0 if vote_type==1
```

```
replace vote_type2=1 if vote_type==2 | vote_type==3
```

```
label define vote_type2 ///
```

```
0 "In person on election day" ///
```

```
1 "Early, Mail, or Absentee"
```

```

label values vote_type2 vote_type2
logit vote_type2 educ faminc_new pid7 birthyr urbancity race [pw=commonweight] if
year==2020
outreg2 using thesis_logit.doc, replace dec(2)
logit vote_type2 educ faminc_new pid7 birthyr urbancity race [pw=commonweight] if
year==2018
outreg2 using thesis_logit.doc, append dec(2)

logit vote_type2 educ faminc pid7 birthyr race [pw=commonweight] if year==2016
outreg2 using thesis_logit.doc, append dec(2)

logit vote_type2 educ faminc pid7 birthyr race [pw=commonweight] if year==2012
outreg2 using thesis_logit.doc, append dec(2)

```

**Now if you want to show some predicted probabilities (marginal effects) to look at the substantive affects you could do something like this.

```

**Examine marginal effects of partisanship on likelihood of vote methods
logit vote_type2 educ faminc_new pid7 birthyr urbancity race [pw=commonweight] if
year==2020
margins, at(pid7=(1 3 5 7))
logit vote_type2 educ faminc_new pid7 birthyr urbancity race [pw=commonweight] if
year==2018
margins, at(pid7=(1 3 5 7))
logit vote_type2 educ faminc pid7 birthyr race [pw=commonweight] if year==2016
margins, at(pid7=(1 3 5 7))
logit vote_type2 educ faminc pid7 birthyr race [pw=commonweight] if year==2012
margins, at(pid7=(1 3 5 7))
marginsplot

```

Steps to make graphs/ figures pretty:

BAR GRAPH

1. Run code
graph bar, over(vote_type) over(year)
2. Press graph editor.
3. Select “grpaxis” to edit the labels above the years.
4. In axis properties select label properties and under “angle” pick “forty_five”. After selecting this, make the size “v. small”.
5. Select one of the rectangles to edit the bars.
6. Change the color from Navy to Cranberry.
7. For the y-axis capitalize “percent” to “Percent”.
8. Press the numbers under percent and under “Axis rule” press “Suggest # of ticks” and make it 5. Then, select “edit or add individual ticks and labels”.
9. When editing, make “0” stay “0”, “5” into “20”, “10” into “40”, and “15” into “60”.

10. Double click on the background and change it from Light bluish-gray to White.
11. Double click on the background and press “Titles” then make the title “Voting Methods from 2012 – 2020”.

MARGINS PLOT

- 2012

1. Run code

```
logit vote_type2 educ faminc pid7 birthyr race [pw=commonweight] if year==2012
margins, at(pid7=(1 3 5 7))
marginsplot
```

2. Press graph editor.
3. Click the y-axis and change “Pr(Vote_Type2)” to “Predictions”.
4. Double click on the background and change it from Light bluish-gray to White.
5. Click on the line to change the color from Navy to Orange.
6. Under the same category, you will see “Marker” next to “Line”. Change the color to Orange from Navy as well.
7. Click the capped spikes and the change the color from Navy to Orange.
8. Double click on the background and press “Titles” then make the title “Predictive Margins from 2012”.

- 2016

1. Run code

```
logit vote_type2 educ faminc pid7 birthyr race [pw=commonweight] if year==2016
margins, at(pid7=(1 3 5 7))
marginsplot
```

2. Press graph editor.
3. Click the y-axis and change “Pr(Vote_Type2)” to “Predictions”.
4. Double click on the background and change it from Light bluish-gray to White.
5. Click on the line to change the color from Navy to Green.
6. Under the same category, you will see “Marker” next to “Line”. Change the color to Green from Navy as well.
7. Click the capped spikes and the change the color from Navy to Green.
8. Double click on the background and press “Titles” then make the title “Predictive Margins from 2016”.

- 2018

1. Run code

```
logit vote_type2 educ faminc pid7 birthyr race [pw=commonweight] if year==2018
margins, at(pid7=(1 3 5 7))
marginsplot
```

2. Press graph editor.
3. Click the y-axis and change “Pr(Vote_Type2)” to “Predictions”.
4. Double click on the background and change it from Light bluish-gray to White.
5. Click on the line to change the color from Navy to Cranberry.
6. Under the same category, you will see “Marker” next to “Line”. Change the color to Cranberry from Navy as well.
7. Click the capped spikes and the change the color from Navy to Cranberry.

8. Double click on the background and press “Titles” then make the title “Predictive Margins from 2018”.

- 2020

1. Run code

```
logit vote_type2 educ faminc pid7 birthyr race [pw=commonweight] if year==2020
```

```
margins, at(pid7=(1 3 5 7))
```

```
marginsplot
```

2. Press graph editor.

3. Click the y-axis and change “Pr(Vote_Type2)” to “Predictions”.

4. Double click on the background and change it from Light bluish-gray to White.

5. Double click on the background and press “Titles” then make the title “Predictive Margins from 2020”.

- 2012 – 2020

1. Run code

```
combomarginsplot model2020 model2018 model2016 model2012, labels("2020" "2018" "2016" "2012")
```

2. Press graph editor.

3. Double click on the background and change it from Light bluish-gray to White.

4. Double click on the background and press “Titles” then make the title “Predictive Margins from 2020”.

VITA

Bailey Rose Griffin

Education

University of Mississippi, *Department of Political Science*
M.A., Political Science, May 2022.
Cum Laude

Major Field: American Politics
Thesis: “Casting the Ballot: An Analysis of Voting Method Preferences from 2012 – 2020.”
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University of Mississippi, *College of Liberal Arts*
B.A., Political Science, May 2020.
Minors: Legal Studies and History
Magna Cum Laude

Research Interests

Political behavior, State and Local Politics, Campaigns and Elections, Public Opinion, Legislative Politics and Political Psychology

Research

Works in Progress

“Social Identity and Gubernatorial Approval: The Influence of Partisanship, Place Attachment, and Gender”

Conference Presentations

2022 State Politics and Policy Conference, Tallahassee, Florida
Presentation: “Social Identity and Gubernatorial Approval: The Influence of Partisanship, Place Attachment, and Gender”

Service

Asymptomatic Covid-19 Testing Task Force, Fall 2020 – Fall 2021

Graduate Student Council Spring Research Symposium Committee, Fall 2020 – Fall 2021

Senator, University of Mississippi Graduate Student Council, Fall 2020 – Fall 2021