Voter Identification Laws and the Suppression of Minority Votes

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Abstract

The proliferation of increasingly strict voter identification laws around the country has raised concerns about voter suppression and inequality. Although there are lots of reasons to suspect that these laws could harm groups like racial minorities and the poor, existing studies have generally failed to demonstrate a link between voter ID laws and voter turnout among these groups. We question these null effects. We argue that because most of the studies occurred before states enacted the strictest photo identification requirements, they tend to uncover few effects. Focusing on the validated vote in recent elections using the Cooperative Congressional Election Study we are able to offer a more definitive test. The analysis shows that strict photo identification laws have a differentially negative impact on the turnout of Hispanics, Blacks, and mixed-race Americans in primaries and general elections. Voter ID laws skew democracy in favor of whites and those on the political right.

Voting is the bedrock of democracy. Through the vote, citizens choose leaders, sway policy, and generally influence democracy. By contrast, citizens who don't vote can be ignored. It is, thus, not surprising to see that the laws that shape who can and who cannot vote generate enormous attention and controversy. The latest front in this debate concerns voter identification laws. Across the country and as of 2014 31 states enforce some form of a voter identification law and more appear to be waiting on the wings.

The proliferation of these laws raises real concerns for critics who believe that they are unnecessary and ultimately detrimental to democracy (Weiser 2014). These critics contend that voter identification laws serve as an effective barrier that limits the legitimate participation of racial and ethnic minorities and other disadvantaged groups (Berman 2011). Within this

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framework, the only winners are Republican leaders who employ these laws to hijack the democratic process and bias outcomes in their favor. If these critics are correct, voter identification laws are having widespread consequences not only for who wins and who loses, but also for the representativeness and fairness of our democracy.

However, this debate is far from one-sided. Proponents of these laws claim that they are warranted and that they do not reduce the participation of citizens (Kobach 2011). They are warranted because fraud is a real and potentially widespread phenomenon that could alter electoral outcomes and erode faith in democracy. Advocates also argue that voter identification laws do not reduce the participation of citizens because they do not prevent legitimate voters from entering the voting booth. For the 99 percent of all Americans who have identification, the laws raise no new barriers. For the tiny subset of Americans who don't have these ID's, the requirement represents a tiny hurdle that is easily overcome. Moreover, the American public strongly favors these laws (Pastor et al 2010). From this perspective, why not pass these laws, ensure that only eligible American participate, and restore trust in the democratic process.

Who is right? Are these laws simply minor alterations that serve only to reduce fraud or are they major barriers that substantially alter who votes and who wins in the American political arena? The key to answering this question and to determining the benefits or drawbacks of voter identification is to provide hard empirical evidence of the actual *consequences* of voter identification laws. Unfortunately, the data to this point have been far from conclusive.

There are several signs that these laws *could* have a relatively wide-ranging impact that significantly harms certain segments of the population. Although the findings have been disputed, several studies appear to have uncovered a relatively large number of Americans without proper identification (GAO 2014, Brennan Center 2006;see also Pastor et al 2010).

Others have shown that racial and ethnic minorities and others closer to the bottom end of the socioeconomic spectrum are especially prone to not having proper identification (Ansolabehere 2014, Pastor et al 2010, Barreto et al 2007). There is also evidence of racially biased and otherwise uneven application of the existing laws by poll workers and other bureaucrats (White et al 2014, Atkeson et al 2014, Rogowski and Cohen 2013, Cobb et al 2012, Atkeson et al 2010,Ansolabehere 2009). In a small number of cases, provisional ballots that should have been counted have ultimately not been included in vote tallies (Pitts 2013, Pitts and Neumann 2009). Still, others have raised questions about the motivations of those passing the laws. In particular, there is clear evidence that these laws are passed almost exclusively by Republicans and further confirmation that they tend to emerge in states with larger black populations (Bentele and O-Brien 2014). All of this evidence from previous studies suggests that the consequences of voter identification could be severe.

But none of this actually tests the *empirical consequences* of these laws. Do these laws ultimately reduce turnout and alter the makeup of the voting population? On this core question, the findings to date largely indicate that voter identification laws have minimal effects. Most of the existing studies conclude that voter identification has little impact on overall turnout (Cohn 2014, Ansolabehere 2009, Mycoff et al 2009, 2007, Vercellotti and Anderson 2006, Alvarez et al 2008). More importantly, on the question of who votes and who does not, the published research is almost unequivocal. The few studies that have looked for differential effects by race have found none (Hood and Bullock 2012, Alvarez et al 2008, Mycoff et al 2009, Alvarez et al 2008, Milyo 2007). These findings have been wholeheartedly disputed by activists and others but in the end few scholars have been able to effectively counter the literature's core conclusion that "voter ID does not appear to present a significant barrier to voting" (Ansolabhere 2009: 129).

Can it be that voter identification laws actually have minimal effects on American democracy? In this article, we find that strict voter identification laws do, in fact, substantially alter the makeup of who votes and ultimately do skew democracy in favor of whites and those on the political right. These laws significantly impact the representativeness of the vote and the fairness of democracy.

In this project we identify and rectify two problems with existing studies that we believe are largely responsible for these null effects. The first problem is that scholars have almost exclusively analyzed elections that occurred before the strictest voter identification laws were put in the place. If the major effects of voter ID laws only occur when states require voters to present photo identification before voting, then existing studies generally aren't actually assessing the impact of these laws. The second issue with existing studies is that almost all of the research to date has focused on unvalidated reports of turnout. Yet we know that approximately 20 percent of respondents over-report voting (Silver et al 1986). Moreover, we know that minorities are especially like to over-report voting (Shaw et al 2000). This greatly impairs any study of the impact of voter ID laws on minorities.

We are able to overcome both of these problems and to offer a more definitive test of voter identification laws by concentrating on turnout in contests between 2008 and 2012 and by utilizing the validated vote in the Cooperative Congressional Election Studies. The CCES is a 50,000 plus person national stratified sample survey administered over the internet by YouGov/Polimetrix annually since 2006. The analysis itself is fairly straightforward. We compare turnout of individuals in states with strict photo identification laws to turnout of individuals in other states after controlling for other state level electoral laws that encourage or discourage participation, the context of each election in each state and congressional district, and

the entire array of individual demographic characteristics that have been shown to be linked to turnout. The key test is not whether turnout is lower in strict voter ID states but instead whether the turnout gap between whites and non-whites is greater in strict voter ID states, ceteris paribus. Thus, the key variables in these regression models are the interactions between race and the presence of strict voter ID laws.

The Growing Presence of Voter Identification Laws and Their Potential Impact

Voter identification laws are proliferating across the United States. As late as 2008, no state required identification to vote. That year, strict voter identification laws that required citizens to produce identification before casting a regular ballot were implemented in Georgia and Indiana.[2] Since then, voter identification laws of different degrees have been enacted in state after state.[3] By 2015, 34 states had passed some form of voter identification law.[4] The implications are tremendous: more than half of the nation's population is currently subject to these laws. Moreover, the geographic reach of these laws may not have yet reached its peak. Today, several states including New Mexico, Nevada, and Iowa are considering new stricter voter identification laws (Roth 2015).

These voter ID laws take several distinct forms. The strictest *require* photo identification in order to cast a regular ballot. Others require some form of identification but do not demand that it be a photo ID. Still, others simply *request but do not require* voters to show some kind of identification document at the polls.

[2] The Georgia and Indiana laws were passed in 2000 but were not implemented until after the Supreme Court approved the Indiana law.
[3] In 2011 alone, legislators in 34 states introduced bills requiring voters show photo ID — in 14 of those states lawmakers sought to toughen already existing statutes.
[4] In three states - Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Arkansas – the implementation of these laws has been, at least temporarily halted by court rulings.

The proliferation of these laws and their potential importance in shaping the representativeness of American democracy have sparked enormous debate. On the positive side, these laws have the potential to reduce fraud and to increase confidence in the electoral process. As Texas Attorney General Greg Abbott, one of the most vocal supporters of strict voter ID laws noted, "I know for a fact that voter fraud is real, that it must be stopped, and that voter [ID] is one way to prevent cheating at the ballot box and ensure integrity in the electoral system," (Anand 2012). Moreover, proponents believe that these laws pose little burden to the public. According to Kris Kobach, the Kansas Secretary of State and another staunch supporter, "It's not unreasonable to require [ID] in order to protect our most important privilege of citizenship…You can't cash a check, board a plane, or even buy full-strength Sudafed over the counter without ID. Why should voting be different?" (Kobach 2011). Supporters believe that the tiny segment of Americans who lack IDs are probably not going to vote in the first place (Zengerle 2012). And perhaps not least importantly, the vast majority of Americans favor these laws when asked about them in polls. A March 2014 Rasmussen poll found that fully 78 percent of Americans believe individuals should be required to show some form of identification before being allowed to vote (Coren 2014). Put simply, Americans want the laws, few citizens will be impacted, and democracy will be protected.

But critics, who are just as vocal, have been actively challenging these laws in the courts. They claim that voter ID laws effectively bar large segments of the most disadvantaged population from participating. The right to vote, according to these detractors, should not only be afforded to people of a certain means. Using this line of reasoning Attorney General Eric Holder has equated voter ID laws to Poll Taxes. Likewise Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg has called the laws "purposely discriminatory" (Lowry 2014). Indeed for some, the growth of voter

ID laws represents one of the most pressing civil rights issues of our time. Critics also believe that there is almost no voter fraud and thus little reason to enact these laws in the first place. The Voting Rights Institute, for example, bemoans these laws as "an unnecessary, expensive, and intrusive voter restriction" (Voting Rights Institute 2015). Finally, opponents of these laws assert that ultimately they unfairly sway elections in a decidedly conservative and Republican direction.

Given that more than half of the states now have voter identification laws, the consequences of these laws – one way or another – could be enormous. Voter ID laws could be serving as an important bulwark against political corruption or they could be diminishing the fairness and responsiveness of American democracy. Moreover, given that stricter laws are being actively considered in a number of states and that the courts are actively evaluating the merits of these laws in a series of landmark cases, there is a compelling need to know exactly what the true impact of these laws is.

Evaluating Voter ID Laws

All of this begs for hard empirical evidence about the effects or non-effects of these laws. Unfortunately, we have relatively little data on the *consequences* of these laws.[5] Several studies have identified areas of concern that *could* ultimately lead to large, negative consequences for American elections. There is, for example, irrefutable proof that many American citizens don't

[5] There is a fairly extensive empirical debate about voter fraud. Studies have identified clear instances of fraud. The Kansas Secretary of State's Office identified 221 incidents of fraud in the state between 1997 and 2010 (Koblach 2011). Nevertheless, opponents counter that verified fraud is exceptionally rare (Lott 2006). One count found only 31 proven cases out of over 1 billion ballots cast (Levitt 2014). Critics of the laws also often counter that many, if not the overwhelming majority of cases of fraud, cannot be addressed with voter ID laws. One citizen voting in multiple states would not, for example, be prevented from voting by having to produce photo identification. But more recently, using different methods, Richman et al (2014) found that fully 6.4 percent of non-citizens admitted to voting - although those findings have been contested (Tesler 2014, Ahlquist and Gehlbach 2014). Given the nature of fraud - it is designed not to be detected – there will undoubtedly be an ongoing and inconclusive debate about its prevalence.

have valid photo identification. A Brenner Center report put the number as high as 11% of all Americans (Brenner 2006). Others put the number closer to one percent (Pastor et al 2010). More importantly for critics of these laws, the lack of proper identification is not evenly distributed across the population. Studies show that a lack of identification is particularly acute among the minority population, the poor, and the young (GAO 2014, Ansolabehere 2014, Latino Decision 2014, Pastor et al 2010, Barreto et al 2007). Supporters of these laws, of course, counter that most of the citizens without ID are not voting anyway (Zengerle 2012).

A different set of researchers have attempted to assess whether the existing laws are applied evenly and have found that poll workers disproportionately ask minorities for identification (White et al 2015, Rogowski and Cohen 2014, Atkeson et al 2014, Cobb et al 2012, Atkeson et al 2010, Ansolabehere 2009). There is even some evidence that in a small set of cases provisional ballots that should have been counted have ultimately not been included in vote tallies (Pitts 2013, Pitts and Neumann 2009). Finally, there is at least tangential evidence of the political motivations behind the passage of these laws. Bentele and O'Brien (2014) have shown that these laws are passed almost exclusively by Republicans and that they tend to emerge in states with larger black populations.

There are, in short, many reasons to suspect problems with these laws. But none of these tests actually looks at the *consequences* of these laws. The core question is not who could be affected but is instead who is affected. At the end of the day, do voter ID laws reduce participation and skew the electorate in favor of one set of interests and against another set of interests. Put more bluntly, do these laws hurt minorities and the left?

On this question, the published results seem to point to limited effects.[6] The main published studies find little to no effect on overall turnout (Ansolabehere 2009, Mycoff et al 2009, 2007). Moreover, the few studies that have tried to assess changes in turnout across different groups have generally found no effects or at most inconsistent effects (Hood and Bullock 2012, De Alth 2009, Alvarez et al 2008, Mycoff et al 2009, Alvarez et al 2008, Milyo 2007).[7] Mycoff and his coauthors put it most clearly, "We find that voter identification laws do not affect turnout" (2009:121).

Do voter identification laws really have minimal effects*?*

There is, however, a fundamental problem with the tests to date. Most of the studies occurred before the vast majority of states instituted the strictest forms of photo identification laws. If the strictest forms of voter ID laws are the ones that actually have an impact on who votes, then most, if not all, of the published research will have failed to test the phenomenon at hand. The rapid and very recent proliferation of these laws means that any research that examines the vote in anything but the last election cycle or two will miss most of the effects of these laws. As a result, most existing studies are likely to understate the significance of these laws. Arguably then, we do not yet know if the strictest forms of photo identification matter.

[6] There are, however, a series of unpublished manuscripts that reach more negative conclusions about voter ID laws. This includes studies by the General Accounting Office (2014), Dropp (2013), Vercellotti and Anderson (2006), and Alvarez et al (2008). Given that the methodology and research design employed in these studies has not been vetted, it is often difficult to reach firm conclusions about the impact of voter ID laws. Dropp (2013), for example, examines an impressive array of individual voting records but has no controls for context, a critical omission, given that factors like competition, spending, and mobilization both matter a lot for turnout and vary widely across states and electoral years. Likewise, the GAO study (2014) only analyzed the effect of ID laws in two states and failed to include controls for electoral environment. Alvarez et al (2008) and Vercellotti and Anderson (2006) both examine turnout before strict photo ID laws were enforced.

[7] De Alth (2009) finds the largest effects but she finds that ID laws sometimes increase turnout and sometimes decrease turnout.

The solution to this problem is relatively simple and straightforward. In the analysis that follows, we focus on America's most recent elections using the Cooperative Congressional Election Study of 2008 to 2012. Over this period there are 16 elections in states that instituted the strictest form of photo identification.

Another important and related change that we make in this study is to single out states with these strict photo identification requirements. Unlike previous studies that have tried to assess voter ID laws through a scale that orders laws from weakest to strongest, we begin by focusing exclusively on states that require photo identification to see if these relatively new, strict laws have an impact.

The other core problem with much of the existing analysis is that it focuses on self-reported rather than validated turnout.[8] Self-reported turnout averages about 25 percent higher than actual turnout (Silver et al 1986). More critically, those who over-report turnout differ by race and class from those who do not over-report turnout. Racial minorities, in particular, are particularly prone to over-report (Shaw et al 2000, Abramson and Clagget 1991). All of this makes it extremely difficult to assess the racial and class effects of voter ID laws using self-reported turnout.

Again, the solution is straightforward. The CCES data that we analyze has a validated vote. In the CCES, each reported vote is checked against official voting records to determine if each respondent who claimed to vote actually did. This check identified significant over-reporting and demonstrated uneven over-reporting across race and ethnicity.[9]

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[8] Studies that look at aggregate election returns are, of course, able to overcome problems of over-reported turnout but a focus on aggregate returns makes it impossible to look at differential turnout across groups.

[9] A comparison of the CCES validated turnout data that are employed in this study with the unvalidated vote in the same study indicates that 12 percent of respondents who reported "definitely voting" did not appear on the official state voter files. Moreover, Blacks, Latinos, those with lower incomes, and Democrats and liberals were significantly more likely than others to over-report voting.

Data

To assess the impact of voter identification laws on turnout, we utilize data from the Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES). The CCES is a 50,000 plus person national stratified sample survey administered over the internet by YouGov/Polimetrix annually since 2006. The CCES is the ideal tool for examining voter identification laws for three reasons. First, it has a validated vote. Because each respondent who claims to have voted is checked against actual state voter files, over-reporting by members of different groups is eliminated. Second, it covers recent years, including the years in which the first strict photo ID laws were passed. Given the relatively recent proliferation of strict photo voter identification laws, it is vital that the data include the election of 2012. The third advantage of the CCES is its size and breadth. It includes a large sample of respondents from every state. The average state sample in 2012 was just over 1,000 respondents.[10]

Data on voter identification laws in place in each state come from the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL).[11] The NCSL maintains a database of all voter identification laws in effect in each state and in each election year. Scholars have typically measured the strength of voter identification laws by distinguishing between states with 1) no document required to vote, 2) an ID requested, 3) a non-photo ID required, 4) a photo ID requested, and 5) a photo ID required. We follow this convention for alternate tests. But for our main analysis, we single out strict photo identification laws – those that prevent the voter from casting a regular ballot if they cannot present appropriate identification – because we believe these stricter laws are the ones that have the potential to dramatically impact turnout. Only these

[10] The smallest state sample was over 100 respondents.
[11] http://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/voter-id.aspx

stricter laws allow election administrators to prevent voters from casting a regular ballot. Given estimates of the large number of Americans that do not have ready access to proper identification, the possibility of widespread effects is real. Moreover, it is these stricter laws that have garnered the lion's share of attention from voting rights activists and the media. That attention alone could be instrumental in dissuading large shares of the public from going to the polls. We begin by singling out stricter photo identification laws – those that require a photo ID (coded as a 1 for all states that have these laws in place). Later, we also investigate the impact of strict non-photo ID laws –those that require an ID but do not require it to be a photo ID (similarly coded as a 1 for all states that have these laws in place).[12]

The main goal in the analysis is to assess the *differential* effects of voter identification laws on the participation of distinct groups. In particular, we examine if these laws have a more pronounced effect on racial and ethnic minorities and those on the political left.

We focus on turnout in both general and primary elections. The main dependent variables – general and primary votes - are coded as 1 for a validated vote in that contest and 0 otherwise. As a test of robustness, we also briefly examine the non-validated vote which is coded based simply on whether the respondent reported voting in that election or not.

In terms of race and ethnicity, we single out respondents who self-identified as white, Black, Latino, Asian American, or indicated that they were multi-racial.[13] To assess the political consequences of ID laws, we created a series of dummy variables for respondents who identified themselves as Democrats, Independents, Republicans, Liberals, Moderates, and Conservatives in response to the standard party identification and ideology questions. In each case, the key test is

[12] Strict photo ID laws are currently in place in Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Strict non-photo ID laws are in effect in Arizona, North Dakota, and Ohio.
[13] The remaining racial categories (Native American, Middle Eastern, and Other) account for only 3 percent of respondents.

whether each of these individual characteristics *interacts* with voter identification laws and leads to especially large declines in turnout.

We also control for individual demographic characteristics that help to drive voter participation in previous research (Verba et al 1995). These include age (measured in years), education level (a 6 point scale), family income (a 16 point scale), nativity (foreign born, first generation American, or other), gender, marital status (married or not), having children, being a union member, owning a home, being unemployed, and religion (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Atheist, or other) and whether the respondent was registered to vote in the pre-election survey.

To isolate the effects of voter identification laws, we also have to incorporate other state level electoral laws that encourage or discourage participation. Research assessing the permissiveness of a state's election laws typically look at whether or not the state 1) allows early voting (Giammo and Box 2010), 2) has all-mail elections (Karp and Banducci 2000), or 3) allows no excuse absentee voting (Larocca and Klemanski 2011). Generally, the most important institutional factor driving state turnout is, however, the limit on the number of days before the election that residents can register to vote (coded in days) (Larocca and Klemanski 2011, Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980). All are included here.

Finally, to help identify the independent effect of ID laws, our analysis has to include the electoral context surrounding each particular election. For our analysis, this includes the political competitiveness of each state (measured as the margin of victory in the most recent Presidential contest), the presence of different electoral contests (Presidential election year, the presence of Senatorial, and Gubernatorial elections), whether the Senatorial and Gubernatorial contests are open-seats or not, whether the Senatorial and Gubernatorial contests are uncontested or not, and finally the region (South or not).

Given that our main dependent variables are coded 1 for voters and 0 for non-voters we employ logistic regressions. To incorporate the non-independence of respondents within each state, we cluster errors by state.

Analysis

We begin by repeating the core analysis of most existing studies. Specifically, we evaluate whether identification laws lower overall turnout. The two columns in Table 1 display the results of our analysis. The first column focuses on turnout in general elections and the second on turnout in primaries. Both are logistic regressions with the validated vote as the dependent variable and the presence of a strict photo identification law as the main independent variable.

In both cases, there is no apparent relationship between strict photo ID laws and overall voter turnout. Net other factors, whether or not a state requires photo identification to cast a standard ballot has no significant effect on the likelihood of any individual voting. This holds true regardless of how we measure voter identification laws or which other factors we include in our regression model. If we focus instead on the strength of voter identification laws in each state rather than on the presence of a strict photo ID, the results do not change. If we drop the other variables measuring electoral context and electoral structure, the conclusion is the same: voter identification laws do not increase or decrease overall turnout.

That conclusion is hardly surprising. It fits with the bulk of existing studies. It is also exactly what one should expect given that only a tiny fraction of all Americans lack the identification to vote and could be directly affected by these laws. Moreover, we know that a large share of this small population did not vote before the initiation of these laws. Even if

everyone without ID did not vote after these laws were enacted, it would be difficult to discern any impact on aggregate turnout in Table One.

ID Laws and Minority Turnout

The critical question is not whether the average American is affected by voter identification laws. Rather, it is whether these laws have a negative impact on minorities and other disadvantaged groups. Opponents of these laws often claim that it is racial minorities who are the real target of the policies. There is, in fact, a real possibility that ID laws could matter for these groups. Almost 20 percent of Blacks, by one estimate, do not have the proper identification (GAO 2014). Moreover, the impact of these laws could extend to those who do have IDs. If minorities feel that they are being targeted and are not welcomed by the white majority at the polls, they may feel reluctant to participate whether or not they have identification.

To test these possibilities, we added interactions between strict photo ID laws and race. We single out Blacks, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Mixed Race Americans to see if their turnout is differentially and negatively impacted by the presence of these laws. The results, which are presented in Table 2 suggest they are. For Latinos, Blacks, and multi-racial Americans there are strong signs that strict photo identification laws decrease turnout. In general elections, Latinos and multi-racial Americans are both significantly more burdened by the laws than are whites and others. In primary elections, Latinos and Blacks are significantly more impacted and multi-racial Americans are almost significantly more impacted.[14] Importantly, we

[14] It did not matter whether we singled out racial minorities in our models or instead focused on white Americans to see if their turnout increased relative to all others. Interactions with white Americans and strict photo ID laws were positive and significant indicating that whites were substantially less likely than other Americans to be turned away from the polls by having these laws in place.

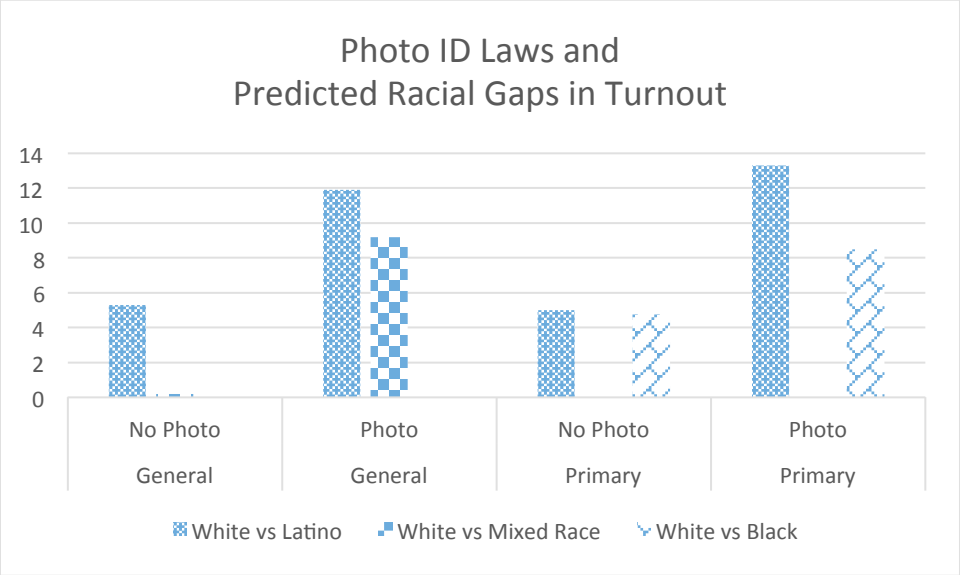
see no effects for Asian Americans, the one minority group that is, by at least some standards, not socioeconomically disadvantaged. The effects of these laws seem to be concentrated toward the bottom end of the racial hierarchy.

In all cases, the effects are politically meaningful. The models reveal substantial drops in turnout for minorities under strict voter ID laws. In the general elections, the model predicts Latino turnout was 10.3 points lower in states with photo ID than in states without strict photo ID regulations, all else equal. For multi-racial Americans, turnout was 12.8 points lower under strict photo ID laws. These effects were almost as large in primary elections. Here, a strict photo ID law could be expected to depress Latino turnout by 6.3 points and Black turnout by 1.6 points. Given the already low turnout of most of these groups across the country, these declines are all the more noteworthy.

Importantly, as illustrated by Figure One, these laws served not only to diminish minority participation, they also increased the gap in the participation rate between whites and non-whites. For Latinos in the general election, the predicted gap from whites doubled from 5.3 points in states without strict photo ID laws to 11.9 in states with strict photo ID laws. The predicted Latino-white gap almost tripled from 5.0 points to 13.3 in primaries. Likewise, for African Americans the predicted gap in primaries almost doubled from 4.8 points to 8.5 points. In the case of multi-racial Americans, strict photo ID laws served to create a racial disadvantage where there typically was none. Multi-racial Americans voted at almost the exact same predicted rate as whites (a 0.2 point gap) in non-photo ID states but were 9.2 percent less likely than whites to participate in general elections in photo ID states. Thus, while whites were largely unaffected by

these laws, racial and ethnic minorities were falling further and further behind and increasingly losing their place in the democratic process.[15]

Figure One



Racial minorities are not the only groups that could be impacted by voter identification laws. One might expect these laws to have pronounced effects on other disadvantaged groups as well. Indeed, much of the debate around these laws has focused on immigrants and lower class Americans. To assess the impact on these groups, we looked at a range of interactions between class, immigrant status, and voter identification laws. There were some signs both for lower

[15] It is worth noting that the pattern is nearly identical if we simply look at bi-variate results. Without controlling for anything, we find, for example, that in primary elections the Latino-white gap in turnout is 7.0 points higher in states with strict photo ID laws than it is in states without them. Likewise the Black-white gap grows 3.2 points and the Mixed race-white gap increases 7.0 points while the Asian American-white gap actually declines by 4.5 points.

class Americans and immigrants that strict photo ID laws impacted their participation but in neither case were the results as clear or robust as they were for race.

Our strongest results were for immigrant status. Here we found that ID laws had a disproportionate effect on naturalized citizens and the foreign born generally. When we added interactions between nativity and strict photo IDs to the models in Table 2, they were negative and significant. Working through the numbers, naturalized citizens were 12.7 percent less likely to vote in general elections and 3.6 percent less likely to vote in primaries in strict photo states (see online appendix).[16] At least at first glance, immigrants appear to be especially negatively impacted by these laws. Whether it is because members of these groups don't have the proper identification or feel threatened by these laws is not clear. We do, however, hesitate to offer firm conclusions about the link between immigration and voter identification laws because these results are not particularly robust to the range of different specifications and models that we discuss later in the paper.[17]

When we shifted the analysis to class, the effects were much less clear. Of all of the different interactions between different measures of class and different measures of voter identification laws, only a few were significant. In particular, we found that strict photo ID laws were associated with a significant reduction in the electoral participation of Americans at the very bottom of the socioeconomic spectrum - those without a high school degree – in primary elections. But these significant results often faded when we altered the model in different ways (analysis available from the authors). Moreover, no other interactions with class proved to be

[16] We found no interactive effects for second generation Americans.
[17] On the other hand, these results may actually understate the magnitude of the effects of nativity and race because of the nature of the CCES sample. The CCES surveys are all conducted in English over the internet. Both methods are likely to oversample the most assimilated Latinos and Asian Americans.

significant.[18] We suspect that the least advantaged Americans are hurt most by these laws but we are far from certain that this is the case.

The Political Consequences of Voter Identification

Opponents of these strict voter ID laws regularly claim that the main motivation behind the laws is to limit the participation of democratic leaning groups in order to benefit the Republican Party. Given that we find the most pronounced effects among racial and ethnic minorities who have overwhelmingly favored the Democratic Party in recent years, there is reason to suspect that there are, in fact, clear partisan consequences to these laws.

In Table 3 we test this directly by adding interaction terms between partisanship, political ideology, and strict photo ID laws. The results are clear. The effects of voter identification laws are more pronounced and more negative for those on the political left. Starting first, with the partisan interactions in Models 1 and 2, the negative and significant interactions indicate that relative to Republicans, those who lean more Democratic vote significantly less in both primaries and general elections when there are strict photo ID laws in place. When we substitute in liberal-conservative ideology in Models 3 and 4, we get a strikingly similar pattern of results. The negative and significant coefficients in the last two columns indicate that voter identification laws have a more robust impact on those on the ideological left.

These effects are substantial. Democratic turnout drops by an estimated 7.7 percentage points in general elections when strict photo identification laws are in place. By comparison, the predicted drop for Republicans is only 4.6 points. The skew for political ideology is even more severe. For strong liberals the estimated drop in turnout in strict photo identification states is an

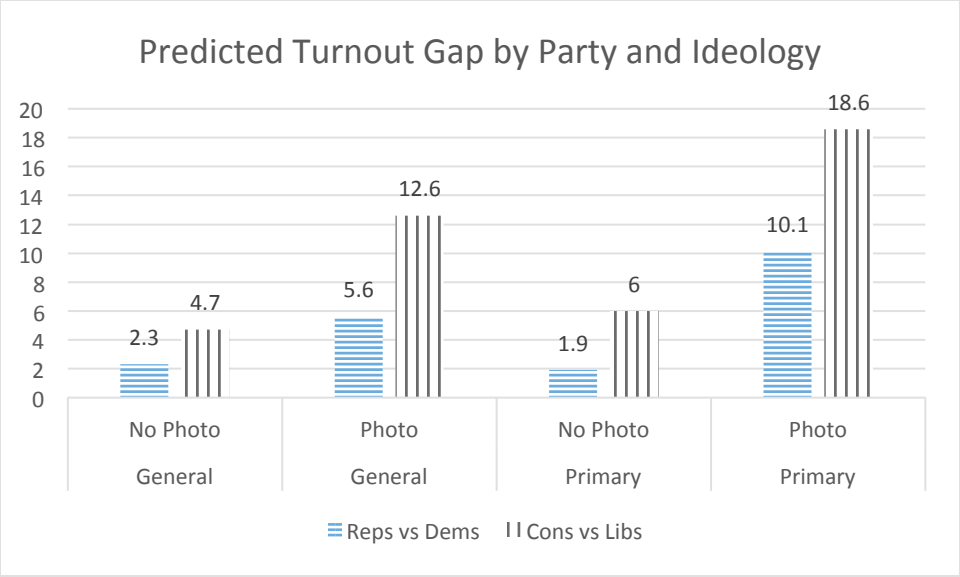
[18] We tested unemployment, the lowest income levels, a 16 point income scale, and a 6 point income scale.

alarming 10.7 percentage points. By contrast, the drop for strong conservatives is estimated to be only 2.8 points. The pattern and size of the effects in primary elections are comparable.[19]

All of this has major political consequences. As Figure 2 illustrates the rate at which Republicans and conservatives outvote Democrats and liberals is much higher when strict photo laws are in place. All else equal, Republicans and conservatives tend to vote at slightly higher rates than Democrats and liberals but that gaps grows considerably in strict photo ID states. In particular, in general elections, the model predicts that the turnout gap between Republicans and Democrats doubles from 2.3 points to 5.6 points when strict photo ID laws are instituted. Likewise the predicted gap between conservatives and liberals more than doubles from 4.7 to 12.6 points. In primaries, the gains associated with stricter voter ID laws are even more dramatic. The turnout advantage of those on the right is three to five times larger in strict photo identification states, all else equal. These results suggest that by instituting strict photo ID laws, states could minimize the influence of voters on the left and could dramatically alter the political leaning of the electorate.

Figure 2

[19] The political consequences of voter identification laws are apparent whether we focus on party identification and ideology scales as we do in Table 3 or whether we instead use dummy variables to single out Democrats, Independents, liberals, and conservatives. When we analyze the effects of ID laws on each group separately, we find that the effects are stronger for Democrats and liberals than they are for Independents and moderates. Whereas our models predicts 7.2 and 2.2 point declines in turnout for Democrats in strict photo general and primary elections respectively, it only predicts 6.3 and 0.9 point drops for Independents.



Which Identification Laws Matter

Up to this point, we have been focusing exclusively on strict photo identification laws. They have garnered the most attention and have received the greatest criticism from opponents of identification laws. It is, however, quite possible that they are not the only types of restrictions that matter. Thus, we now turn to an examination of the next strictest level of voter identification laws – those that require the voter to present some form of identification before casting a regular ballot. This next level represents a much easier hurdle in that most forms of identification from a bank statement to a utility bill are generally accepted. But it also represents a much higher barrier than those states that request but do not require identification to vote.

Our test for this strict non-photo laws mirrors our test for strict photo laws. In Table 4, we simply add new interactions for race and the presence of strict non-photo laws in the state.[20] To make the table fit on one page, we only report the key coefficients. All of the controls

[20] It is important to note that the inclusion of these strict non-photo measures has no appreciable impact on the role that strict photo identification plays in the model.

accounted for in the previous tables are accounted for here. Results for the controls are included in an online Appendix.

The analysis suggests that strict ID laws of any sort do impact the racial balance of the electorate. Working through the effects of the significant interactions, we find that the gap in turnout between Latinos and whites is estimated to grow by 13.3 points in strict non-photo ID states. Likewise the gap between Blacks and whites is 7.4 points higher in strict non-photo ID states all else equal. The pattern of estimated effects for primary elections is nearly identical. In primaries with strict non-photo laws, Latinos fall a further 14.2 points behind whites and Blacks end up 11.4 points further behind whites, according to the model. Requiring identification of any sort appears to have a real effect on who votes and who does not. These laws hurt the minority community and help to give whites an outsized voice in American democracy.

We could, however, find no effects for state laws that merely *requested* that voters provide identification. Turnout was not noticeably higher or lower in states that requested identification (whether it was a photo identification or not) and we find no significant interactions between race or any other demographic variable and the presence of a law that requested voter identification. Put simply, there was no discernable difference between states that have no voter identification laws and those that request some form of identification (photo or otherwise). We don't know why these kinds of laws had little impact. It could be that residents knew that they could ultimately vote without an ID and thus were not deterred. Or it could be that minorities did not feel as threatened by these more lenient laws.[21]

[21] The fact that there was no discernible difference between states that had no voter laws and those that merely requested IDs helps explain why alternate tests that assessed the strength of voter ID laws were less conclusive. When we interacted race with a five point scale of voter ID laws [1) no document required to vote, 2) an ID requested, 3) a photo ID requested, 4) a non-photo ID required, and 5) a photo ID required], the interactive effects tended to be smaller in magnitude and were less consistently significant across different specifications of the model.

Finally, we looked to see if recent changes in the restrictiveness of voter ID laws in a state had any impact on turnout. Given the widespread media coverage these new restrictions tend to receive, one might expect law changes to have an additional impact on voter participation. Unfortunately, this analysis was largely inconclusive. There were some signs that recent increases in restrictiveness had an additionally negative impact on turnout – especially for the foreign born and Latinos – but the results varied from model to model and were far from robust.

Robustness

To help ensure that the relationships we have identified are accurate, we went through a range of robustness checks. First, we added a range of different independent variables to the model that might be related to turnout. In particular, to further control for the competitiveness of the election and different aspects of mobilization, we tested: several different measures of state and district campaign spending, whether or not there was an open seat in the respondent's house district, whether or not there was an open seat in the Senate contest in the state, whether or not there was an open seat in the gubernatorial election, and finally whether or not each respondent indicated they had been contacted or mobilized by one of the campaigns. Likewise to control for the possibility that the dominance of one party or the other in the state might depress the turnout of particular minority groups or particular partisan groups, we added controls for the share of state residents who identified as Democratic, and partisan control of the state legislature. To ensure we had not missed individual characteristics that might impact turnout, in alternate tests, we augmented the basic regression model with measures for years living in the current residence,

church attendance, religiosity, being born again, and several different variants of education and income. None of these variables altered the basic conclusions of our analysis.

Second, we repeated the analysis excluding non-registered voters. Given that these laws could have an impact both on registration and the vote, we did not want the main analysis to be limited to registered voters. But it is important to note that these alternate tests show that voter ID laws still led to diminished participation when the analysis was limited to registered voters.

Third, we repeated the analysis using two slightly different measures of the vote. In one case, we examined the intention to vote prior to the election and in the other case we looked at the non-validated vote. Given that there is likely to be greater error in vote reporting in each of these two cases, we expect the pattern of results to be more muted. That is exactly what we find. For both alternate measures of the vote, the relationship between voter ID laws and turnout continues to be significant, yet the magnitude of the effects are smaller and the results a little less robust.

Finally, we undertook a placebo check. We looked to see if voter ID laws had any effect on different forms of political participation that do not require identification. Specifically, we assessed the impact of strict and non-strict photo ID on protesting, attending a meeting, signing a petition, and donating. We could find no link between state voter ID laws and these non-voting forms of participation.

Despite all of these tests, we readily admit that our analysis cannot definitively show a causal connection between voter ID laws and turnout (Erikson and Minnite 2009). States that pass voter ID laws are likely to be different from states that don't pass these laws on any number of different dimensions. We have, however, tried to incorporate all of the key differences in our analysis and we are confident in our findings.

Conclusion

Voter ID laws may represent one of the nation's most important civil rights issues. Voter ID laws have the potential to impact who votes and who does not and in doing so these laws could substantially effect who governs and ultimately who wins and who loses in American democracy. What's more, these voter ID laws are becoming stricter and more common. Prior to 2006, no state required identification to vote. Today, ten states have a strict requirement. A total of 34 states have enacted some form of voter identification laws. In 2013 alone, legislators in six states moved to strengthen their voter ID laws. The stakes for American democracy are high and growing higher by the year.

The future of these laws is also uncertain. Opponents of these laws have repeatedly challenged these laws in the courts and are likely to continue to do so in the future. As such, the courts are likely to be able to decide whether these laws endure or not. So far their decisions have been mixed. The final decision may well rest with the Supreme Court which has yet to come down firmly on either side of the debate.

All of this means that there is a desperate need for hard, empirical evidence. Given upcoming legal challenges and the rapidly changing nature of the laws across the states, there is a chance that clear, objective, empirical answers to the core voter identification debates could actually sway outcomes.

For the courts and for American democracy *the* core question should be – are these laws fair? Do they limit the access and participation of the nation's most disadvantaged? Are these laws racially discriminatory? The findings presented here indicate that these laws do, in fact, have real consequences for the makeup of the voting population. Where they are enacted, racial

and ethnic minorities are less apt to vote. The voices of Latinos, Blacks, and multi-racial Americans all become more muted and the relatively influence of white Americans grows. An already significant racial skew in American democracy becomes all the more pronounced.

All of this also has clear partisan and political consequences. Strict voter ID laws diminish the participation of Democrats and those on the left, while doing little to deter the vote of Republicans and those on the right. They produce a clear partisan distortion.

The effects of voter ID laws are concerning in isolation. But they are perhaps even more alarming when viewed across the longer arc of American history. The effects of voter ID laws that we see here are eerily similar to the impact of measures like poll taxes, literacy tests, residency requirements, and at-large elections which were used by the white majority decades and centuries ago to help deny blacks many basic rights (Keyssar 2009, Kousser 1999, Parker 1990, Filer, Kenny and Morton 1991). The measures of old and current voter ID laws today remain eerily similar: they were both instituted by advocates who claimed they would help to ensure the integrity and legitimacy of democracy. Both sets of measures – new and old – also serve to distort democracy and reduce the influence of racial minorities. The racially biased measures of old have since been condemned and revoked but they were allowed to stand for long periods of American electoral history. What will happen with voter ID today?

For others, what makes voter ID laws more disturbing is that they are just one of the many different ways in which the electoral system is being altered today. Shortened early voting periods, repeal of same day voter registration, reduced polling hours, a decrease in poll locations, and increased restrictions on voting by felons are all being regularly implemented at the state or local level and all have been cited as having the potential to skew the electorate and American democracy (Brennan Center 2014, Larocca and Klemanski 2011, Giammo and Box 2010, Manza

and Uggen 2004). The findings presented here raise further questions about this broad suite of voter access legislation. All of this coupled with the Supreme Court's skepticism about the necessity of the Voting Rights Act in its 2013 *Shelby v. Holder* (557 U.S. 193) ruling could dramatically alter the nature of American elections moving forward.

At the same time it is important to recognize that this article is far from the last word on voter identification. These laws are relatively new and have had only a brief period of time to take effect. One wonders how the impact of these laws will change over time. Will more and more disadvantaged, minority voters become alienated and discouraged if the laws stay in place for years into the future? Or do the effects fade away as more citizens are able to obtain IDs or as the left increases its efforts at counter mobilization?

Finally, there is a plethora of follow up questions about all of the other changes that legislators have made to voter access. There are already a multitude of studies of how factors such aspoll hours and locations affect turnout but seldom do these studies directly test to see if the impact of these laws is more severe for minorities and the most disadvantaged Americans (Larocca and Klemanski 2011,Giammo and Box 2010 but see Manza and Uggen 2004). For example, does the recent reduction in early voting in the states mean that the gap between white turnout and minority turnout is expanding even more? Are shorter polling hours, as some suspect, further skewing American democracy? The more we answer these kinds of questions, the more we will be able to offer accurate assessments of the fairness of American democracy and the more we will be able to recommend a clear path forward.

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1 In-Text Tables

Table 1: The Impact of Strict Photo ID Laws on Overall Turnout

	(1) General Election Turnout	(2) Primary Election Turnout
VOTER ID LAW		
Strict Photo ID Required	-0.277	0.0621
	(0.285)	(0.113)
DEMOGRAPHICS		
Black	-0.111*	-0.208***
	(0.0464)	(0.0469)
Latino	-0.248***	-0.210**
	(0.0745)	(0.0647)
Asian	-0.421***	-0.275*
	(0.110)	(0.114)
Mixed Race	-0.0146	-0.107
	(0.0735)	(0.0711)
Foreign Born	-0.497***	-0.441***
	(0.0424)	(0.0603)
First Generation	-0.00624	-0.0123
	(0.0416)	(0.0451)
Age	0.0263***	0.0343***
	(0.00160)	(0.00121)
Education	0.109***	0.113***
	(0.0134)	(0.00816)
Income	0.0386***	0.0279***
	(0.00568)	(0.00386)
Gender: Male	0.239***	0.169***
	(0.0260)	(0.0247)
Married	0.0897***	0.0580**
	(0.0271)	(0.0208)
Have Children	-0.118*	-0.105***
	(0.0461)	(0.0265)
Union Member	0.260***	0.173***
	(0.0324)	(0.0273)
Unemployed	-0.0797	-0.0758*
	(0.0440)	(0.0315)
Own Home	0.469***	0.504***
	(0.0417)	(0.0398)
Protestant	0.213*	0.224***
	(0.108)	(0.0390)
Catholic	0.106	0.0712
	(0.101)	(0.0487)
Jewish	0.125	0.0734
	(0.149)	(0.0772)
Atheist	0.232*	0.123
	(0.116)	(0.0823)
STATE ELECTORAL LAWS		
Registration Deadline	-0.0135	-0.000394
	(0.0104)	(0.0152)
Early Voting	-0.234	0.231
	(0.260)	(0.194)
Vote by Mail	-0.436	0.877***
	(0.632)	(0.204)
No Excuse Absentee Voting	0.451*	0.113
	(0.199)	(0.105)
Registered Voter Pre-Election	3.237***	3.355***
	(0.0848)	(0.147)
ELECTORAL COMPETITION		
Presidential Election Year	1.453***	1.269***
	(0.128)	(0.168)
Gubernatorial Election Year	0.216	0.291*
	(0.178)	(0.147)
Senate Election Year	-0.0599	0.00762
	(0.168)	(0.117)
Southern State	-0.515	-0.105
	(0.321)	(0.203)
State Margin of Victory	-1.429	0.222
	(0.890)	(0.902)
Constant	-4.611***	-7.167***
	(0.359)	(0.406)
N	102103	79908
adj. R^2		

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 2: The Impact of Strict Photo ID Laws on Minority Turnout

	(1) General Election Turnout	(2) Primary Election Turnout
VOTER ID LAW		
Strict Photo ID Required	-0.301	0.102
	(0.292)	(0.108)
Strict Photo ID * Latino	-0.256**	-0.363**
	(0.0857)	(0.118)
Strict Photo ID * Black	0.317	-0.164*
	(0.173)	(0.0798)
Strict Photo ID * Asian	0.771	0.403
	(0.613)	(0.522)
Strict Photo ID * Mixed Race	-0.483*	-0.345
	(0.188)	(0.207)
DEMOGRAPHICS		
Black	-0.148**	-0.189***
	(0.0453)	(0.0542)
Latino	-0.230**	-0.185**
	(0.0784)	(0.0648)
Asian	-0.453***	-0.290*
	(0.105)	(0.116)
Mixed Race	0.0329	-0.0790
	(0.0758)	(0.0738)
Foreign Born	-0.498***	-0.443***
	(0.0425)	(0.0603)
First Generation	-0.00621	-0.0128
	(0.0417)	(0.0449)
Age	0.0263***	0.0343***
	(0.00160)	(0.00122)
Education	0.109***	0.113***
	(0.0135)	(0.00815)
Income	0.0386***	0.0279***
	(0.00566)	(0.00386)
Gender: Male	0.240***	0.169***
	(0.0260)	(0.0246)
Married	0.0902***	0.0584**
	(0.0271)	(0.0208)
Have Children	-0.119**	-0.105***
	(0.0460)	(0.0264)
Union Member	0.261***	0.172***
	(0.0325)	(0.0274)
Unemployed	-0.0804	-0.0770*
	(0.0439)	(0.0314)
Own Home	0.468***	0.505***
	(0.0417)	(0.0399)
Protestant	0.212*	0.224***
	(0.108)	(0.0392)
Catholic	0.106	0.0722
	(0.101)	(0.0486)
Jewish	0.123	0.0741
	(0.149)	(0.0772)
Atheist	0.231*	0.124
	(0.116)	(0.0823)
STATE ELECTORAL LAWS		
Registration Deadline	-0.0134	-0.000344
	(0.0103)	(0.0151)
Early Voting	-0.233	0.226
	(0.260)	(0.194)
Vote by Mail	-0.438	0.872***
	(0.632)	(0.204)
No Excuse Absentee Voting	0.449*	0.118
	(0.200)	(0.104)
Registered Voter Pre-Election	3.238***	3.356***
	(0.0847)	(0.147)
ELECTORAL COMPETITION		
Presidential Election Year	1.453***	1.269***
	(0.128)	(0.168)
Gubernatorial Election Year	0.214	0.291*
	(0.178)	(0.147)
Senate Election Year	-0.0611	0.00733
	(0.168)	(0.117)
Southern State	-0.520	-0.104
	(0.321)	(0.203)
State Margin of Victoy	-1.426	0.223
	(0.890)	(0.902)
Constant	-4.610***	-7.172***
	(0.360)	(0.405)
N	102103	79908
adj. R^2		

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 3: The Political Impact of Strict Photo ID Laws

	(1) General Election Turnout	(2) Primary Election Turnout	(3) General Election Turnout	(4) Primary Election Turnout
VOTER ID LAW				
Strict Photo ID Required	-0.373	-0.166	-0.553*	-0.382
	(0.254)	(0.182)	(0.265)	(0.286)
Strict Photo ID Required * Party ID	0.0232*	0.0573*		
	(0.0113)	(0.0280)		
Strict Photo ID Required * Ideology			0.0819***	0.130*
			(0.0197)	(0.0659)
POLITICAL LEANING				
Party Identification (High = Rep)			0.0575***	0.0613**
			(0.0120)	(0.0194)
Ideology (High = Con)	0.0199**	0.0125		
	(0.00679)	(0.0117)		
DEMOGRAPHICS				
Black	-0.0720	-0.167**	-0.0849	-0.172***
	(0.0557)	(0.0512)	(0.0478)	(0.0478)
Latino	-0.246***	-0.204**	-0.239**	-0.196**
	(0.0735)	(0.0667)	(0.0735)	(0.0635)
Asian	-0.397***	-0.266*	-0.417***	-0.273*
	(0.107)	(0.120)	(0.112)	(0.113)
Mixed Race	-0.00448	-0.129	-0.00382	-0.103
	(0.0738)	(0.0740)	(0.0718)	(0.0703)
Foreign Born	-0.489***	-0.437***	-0.495***	-0.442***
	(0.0425)	(0.0591)	(0.0429)	(0.0600)
First Generation	-0.0000920	-0.00837	-0.000846	-0.0101
	(0.0406)	(0.0461)	(0.0415)	(0.0459)
Age	0.0259***	0.0340***	0.0259***	0.0339***
	(0.00162)	(0.00122)	(0.00161)	(0.00120)
Education	0.105***	0.111***	0.115***	0.121***
	(0.0138)	(0.00822)	(0.0136)	(0.00811)
Income	0.0369***	0.0264***	0.0376***	0.0272***
	(0.00570)	(0.00393)	(0.00568)	(0.00387)
Gender: Male	0.217***	0.150***	0.224***	0.150***
	(0.0251)	(0.0231)	(0.0252)	(0.0231)
Married	0.0772**	0.0500*	0.0734**	0.0400
	(0.0253)	(0.0199)	(0.0272)	(0.0205)
Have Children	-0.104*	-0.102***	-0.124**	-0.115***
	(0.0467)	(0.0268)	(0.0467)	(0.0263)
Union Member	0.258***	0.178***	0.270***	0.185***
	(0.0327)	(0.0254)	(0.0319)	(0.0264)
Unemployed	-0.0582	-0.0660*	-0.0779	-0.0749*
	(0.0419)	(0.0335)	(0.0442)	(0.0311)
Own Home	0.461***	0.507***	0.463***	0.499***
	(0.0426)	(0.0402)	(0.0419)	(0.0400)
Protestant	0.194	0.201***	0.182	0.182***
	(0.112)	(0.0380)	(0.110)	(0.0365)
Catholic	0.105	0.0605	0.0909	0.0458
	(0.103)	(0.0501)	(0.102)	(0.0488)
Jewish	0.137	0.0794	0.143	0.0874
	(0.144)	(0.0738)	(0.148)	(0.0759)
Atheist	0.257*	0.134	0.280*	0.172
	(0.116)	(0.0869)	(0.113)	(0.0879)
STATE ELECTORAL LAWS				
Registration Deadline	-0.0135	-0.0000252	-0.0138	-0.000659
	(0.0105)	(0.0152)	(0.0103)	(0.0151)
Early Voting	-0.237	0.231	-0.235	0.226
	(0.263)	(0.194)	(0.260)	(0.195)
Vote by Mail	-0.453	0.878***	-0.427	0.879***
	(0.633)	(0.204)	(0.629)	(0.205)
No Excuse Absentee Voting	0.456*	0.111	0.454*	0.116
	(0.202)	(0.106)	(0.199)	(0.105)
Registered Voter Pre-Election	3.191***	3.360***	3.244***	3.346***
	(0.0857)	(0.146)	(0.0852)	(0.148)
ELECTORAL COMPETITION				
Presidential Election Year	1.444***	1.269***	1.460***	1.276***
	(0.128)	(0.168)	(0.128)	(0.169)
Gubernatorial Election Year	0.212	0.285	0.218	0.292*
	(0.180)	(0.147)	(0.178)	(0.147)
Senate Election Year	-0.0634	0.00748	-0.0603	0.00743
	(0.170)	(0.117)	(0.167)	(0.117)
Southern State	-0.537	-0.118	-0.522	-0.115
	(0.323)	(0.204)	(0.321)	(0.203)
State Margin of Victory	-1.419	0.264	-1.403	0.219
	(0.902)	(0.902)	(0.889)	(0.901)
Constant	-4.548***	-7.161***	-4.770***	-7.313***
	(0.371)	(0.406)	(0.365)	(0.412)
N	99655	77776	101492	79886
adj. R^2				

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 4: The Impact of Strict Photo and Strict Non-Photo ID Laws on Minority Turnout

	(1) General Election Turnout	(2) Primary Election Turnout
VOTER ID LAW		
Strict Photo ID Required	-0.414	0.0852
	(0.305)	(0.123)
Non-Photo ID Required	-0.746	-0.0883
	(0.828)	(0.459)
LAW * RACE INTERACTIONS		
Photo ID * Latino	-0.239**	-0.369**
	(0.0756)	(0.118)
Photo ID * Black	0.280	-0.188*
	(0.174)	(0.0808)
Photo ID * Asian	0.745	0.378
	(0.622)	(0.521)
Photo ID * Mixed Race	-0.477*	-0.331
	(0.190)	(0.207)
Non-Photo ID * Latino	-0.507***	-0.519*
	(0.126)	(0.223)
Non-Photo ID * Black	-0.276*	-0.343*
	(0.110)	(0.134)
Non-Photo ID * Asian	-0.683*	-0.689
	(0.344)	(0.506)
Non-Photo ID * Mixed Race	0.148	0.343
	(0.187)	(0.205)
RACE		
Latino	-0.257**	-0.181**
	(0.0814)	(0.0664)
Black	-0.122*	-0.167**
	(0.0487)	(0.0591)
Asian	-0.433***	-0.267*
	(0.107)	(0.117)
Mixed Race	0.0121	-0.0933
	(0.0809)	(0.0747)
Constant	-4.675***	-7.177***
	(0.356)	(0.405)
N	102103	79908
adj. R^2		

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$
Models also control for: foreign born, first generation, age, education, income, male, married, have children, union member, own home, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, atheist, registration deadline, registered voter pre-election, early voting, vote by mail, no excuse absentee voting, southern state, gubernatorial election year, senate election year, and state margin of victory.