



Mechanics,
Opportunities
+ Perils

DEMOCRACY 2020

REED Alumni College



REED COLLEGE

STEWARDING THE ELECTIONS

Paul Manson, '01
Early Voting Information Center Research Director
Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science

June 13, 2020

evic.reed.edu
@early_vote



REED COLLEGE

EARLY VOTING INFORMATION CENTER

- Research Areas:
 - Local Election Official Survey Program
 - National and Statewide Public Opinion Polling
 - Election Audits
 - Vote by Mail / Vote at Home



E✓IC



REED COLLEGE

GOALS FOR THIS TALK....

1. Survey of Election Administration
2. Research Efforts around Election System
3. Perspectives from within Elections
4. Some Challenges and Questions to ask for 2020



So you want to run an election....

Registration

Voter Rolls

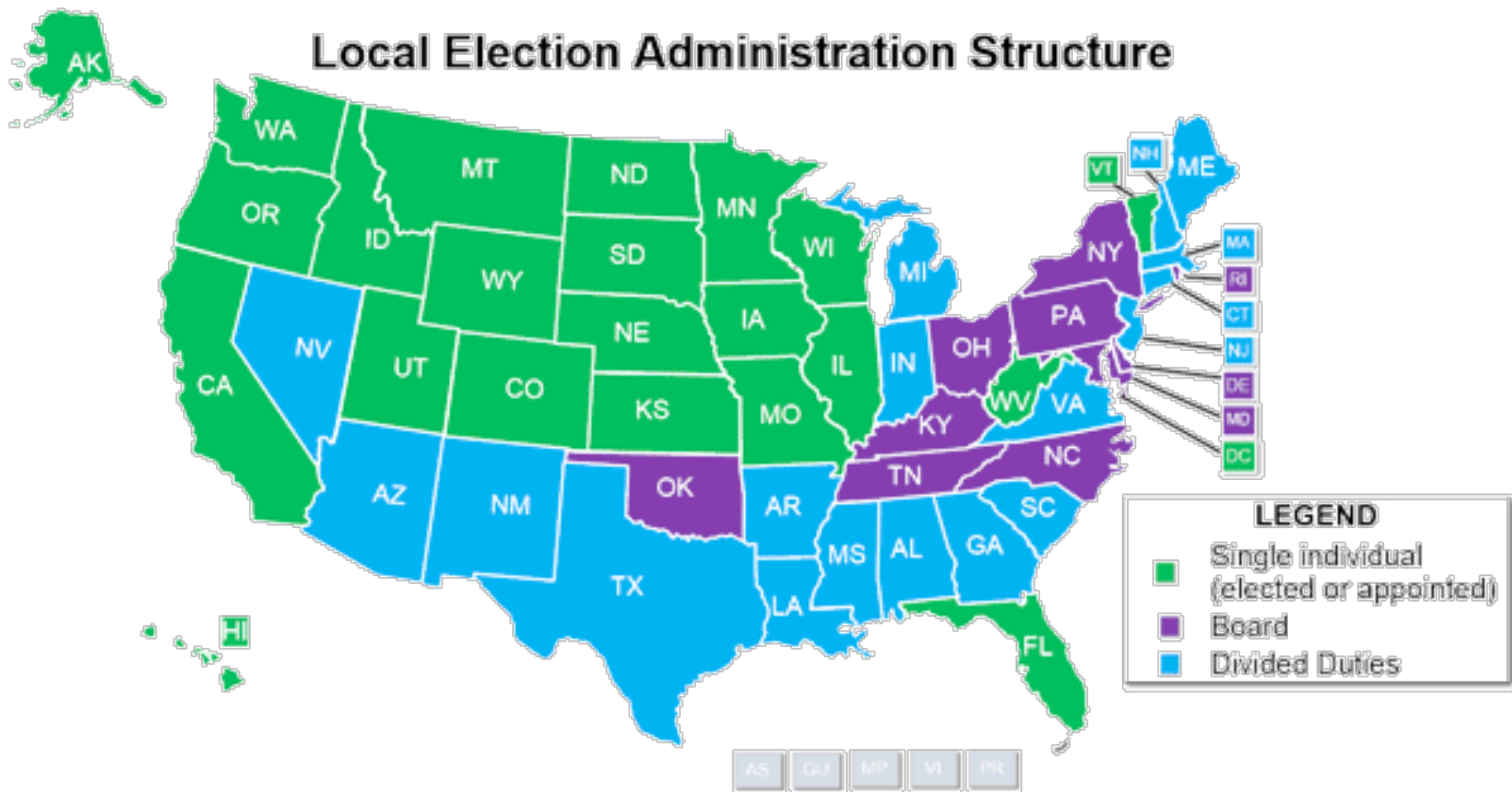
Elections

Reporting and
Audits



REED COLLEGE

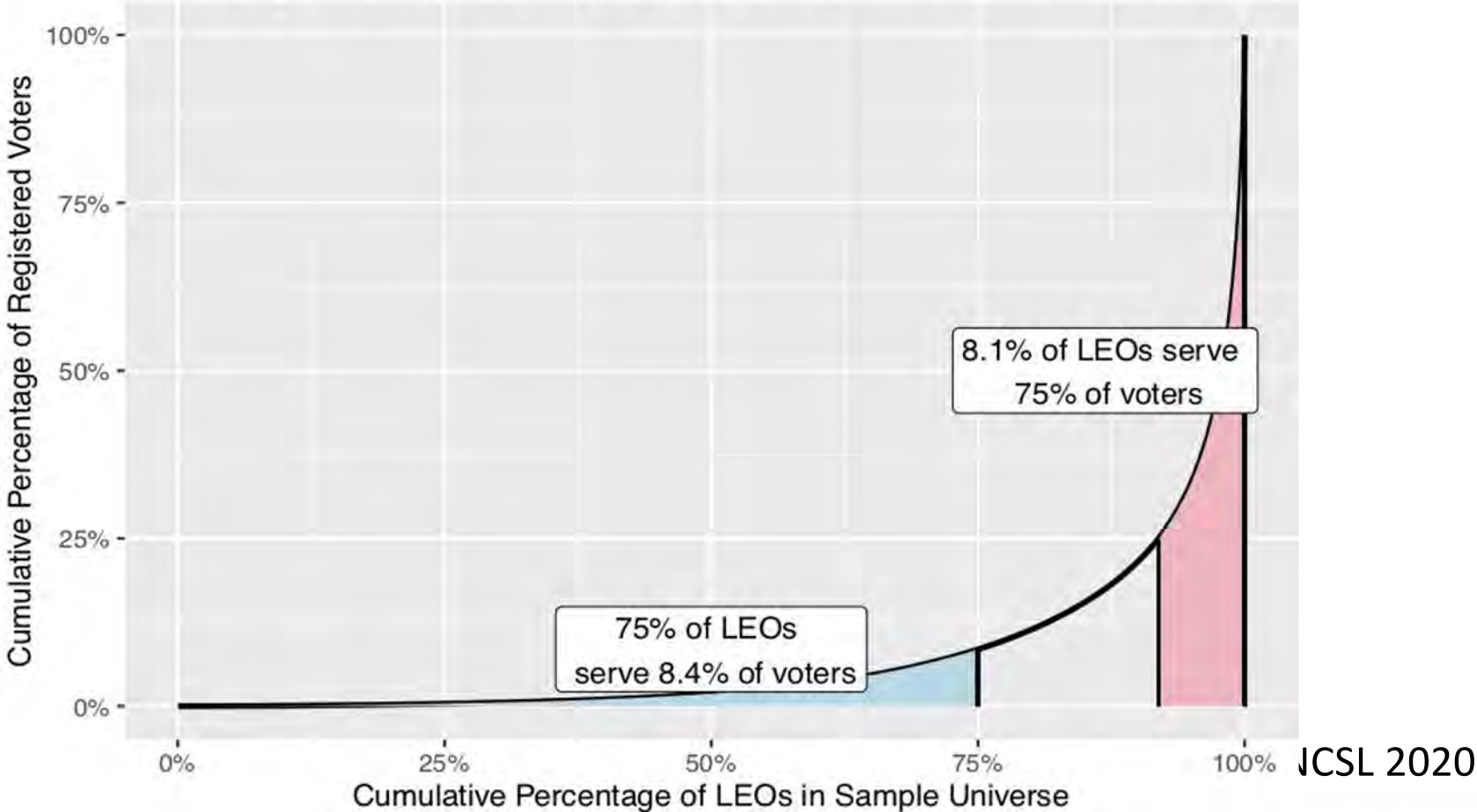
THE INITIAL CHALLENGE... STATES



Source: NCSL 2020

DISTRIBUTIONAL CHALLENGE

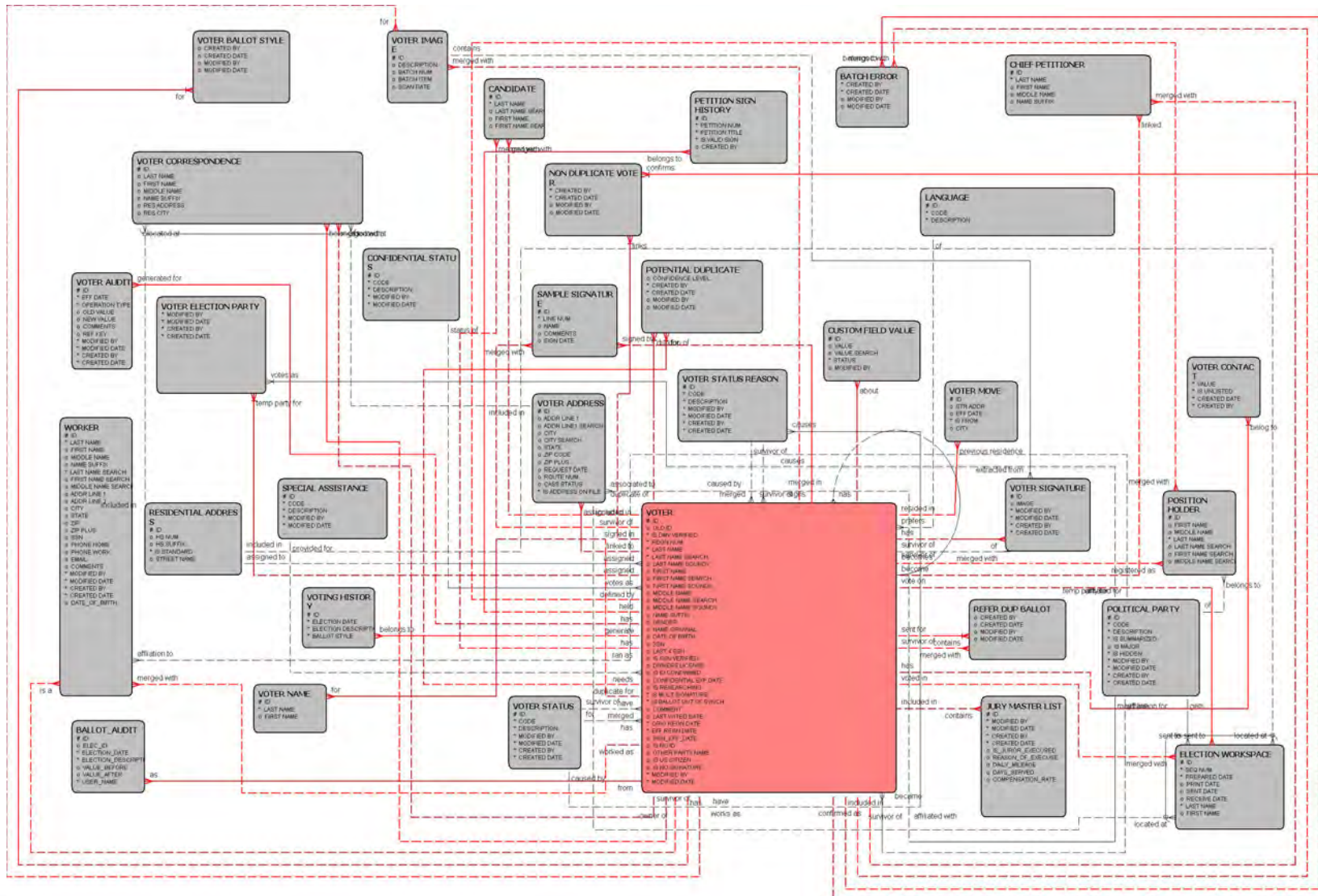
Illustrating the 75:8 Problem in United States Election Administration



VOTER REGISTRATION OPTIONS....

- Online Voter Registration (OVR)
 - 39 states plus DC
- Automatic Voter Registration (AVR)
 - 17 states plus DC
- Don't Use One!
 - North Dakota
- Same Day Registration
 - 21 states plus DC
- Traditional
 - 5 without SDR, AVR or OVR in place

MANAGING VOTER ROLLS



MANAGING VOTER ROLLS

A majority of states have taken key steps to modernize voter registration.

These updates provide more accurate voter rolls, particularly in a time of crisis.



democracyfund.org



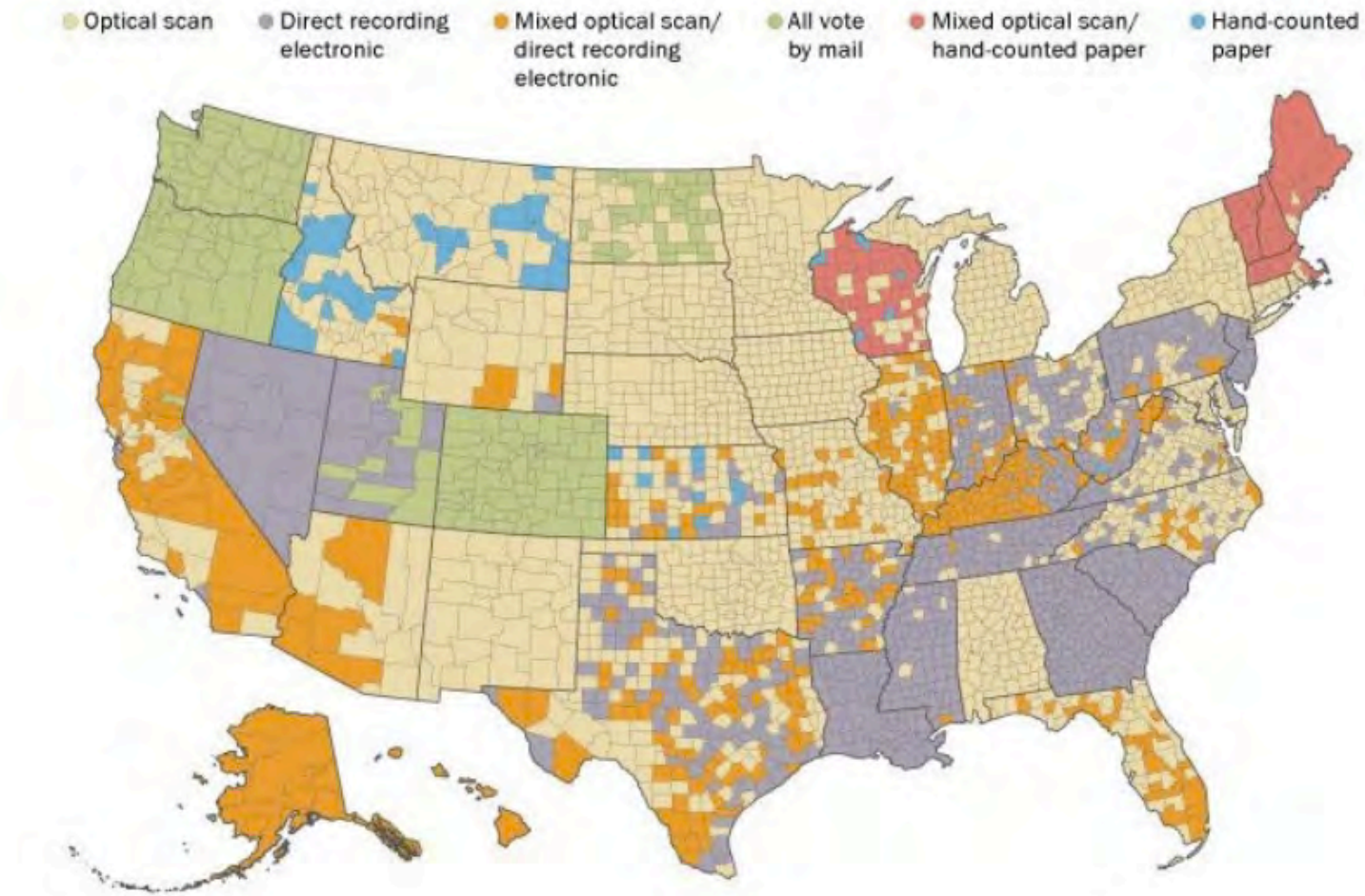
REED COLLEGE

ELECTION PREPARATION AND EARLY VOTING

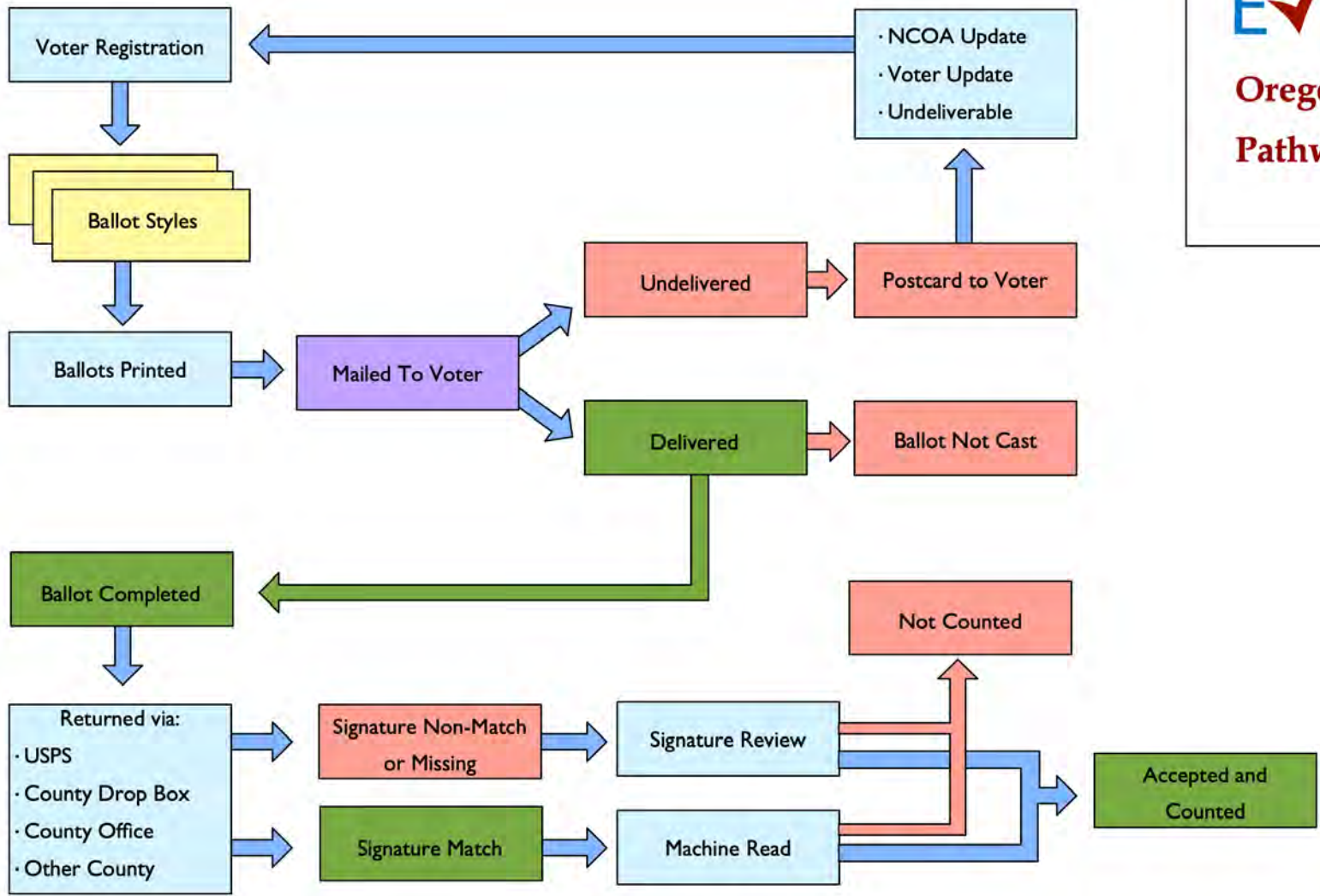
- Uniformed And Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (UOVAVA)
 - As early as 60 days prior to election
- Early Voting Options
 - Early In Person
 - Absentee (Permanent and Otherwise)
 - Universal Vote at Home/Vote by Mail
- Election Day Polling Places
 - Precincts and Vote Centers



VOTING TECHNOLOGY



Source: Natl Academy of Science 2016



CANVASSING AND CERTIFYING



NEWS STYLE SPORTS CLASSIFIEDS MARKETPLACE
PRINT EDITION TOP NEWS WORLD NATION POLITICS METRO BUSINESS & TECH HEALTH OPINION WEATHER

Networks Try To Explain Blown Call

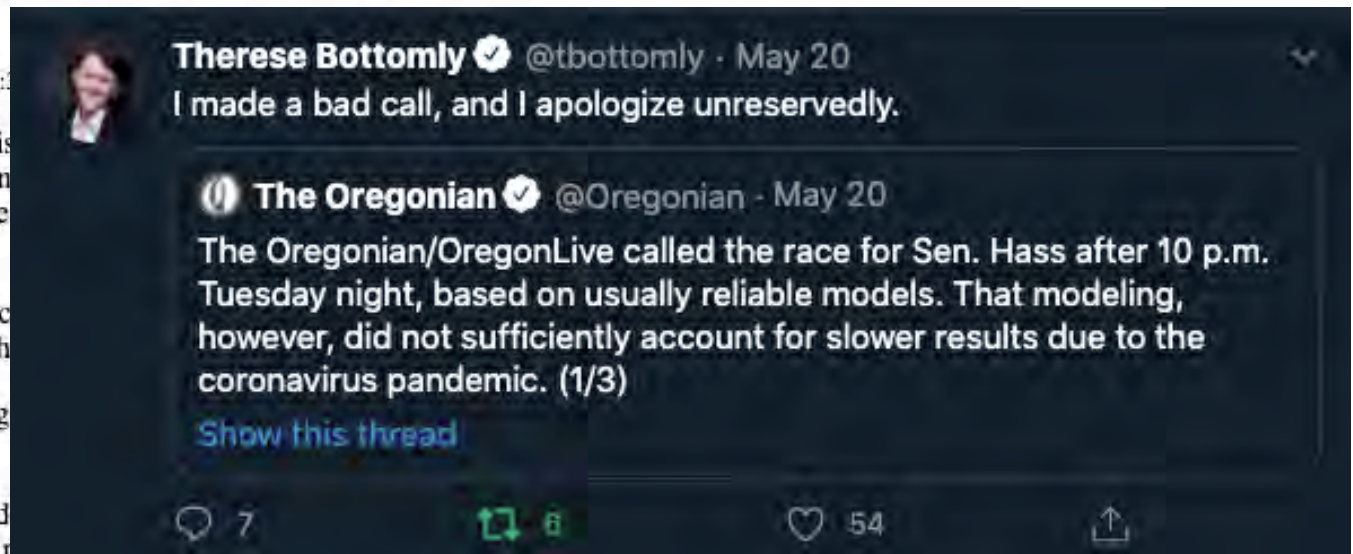
By David Bauder
AP Television Writer
Wednesday, Nov. 8, 2000; 6:30 p.m.

NEW YORK — Television networks tried to explain how they blew a call on Tuesday night — the second time in a row — that Al Gore would be the next president.

The networks were forced to do so when it became clear that Al Gore had won the election.

"We don't just have eggs in one basket. We have an omelette."

NBC had been first to do so, announcing that Al Gore won at 7:50 p.m. Eastern time. Their information largely on polling data provided by Voter News Service, a consortium created by The Associated Press, ABC, CBS, CNN, Fox and NBC.



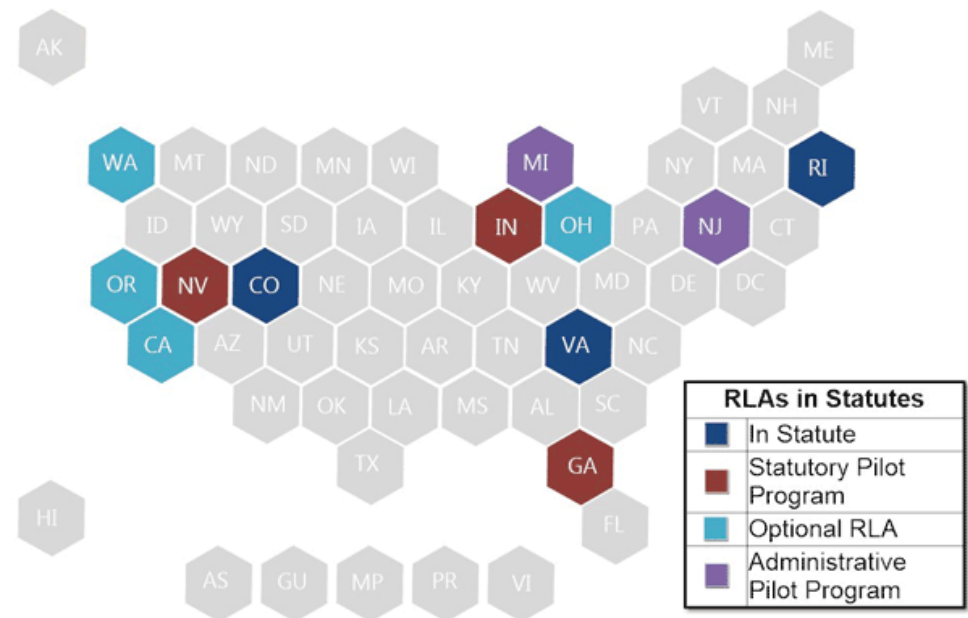
REED COLLEGE

CANVASSING AND CERTIFYING

- Canvassing
 - Review of ballots and counting processes
 - Resolve provisional ballots
 - Recounts if required
 - Prepare for Certification
- Certification
 - Final legal statement of election
- Takes time.....

ELECTION AUDITS

- Traditional
 - Either a fixed or tiers set of recounts by geography to compare to official totals.
- Risk Limiting Audits
 - Statistically modelled recount with variable tolerance thresholds



Source: NCSL 2020



PAUSE!
QUESTIONS....

EXPLORING ELECTION

- Local Election Officials Survey
- Oregon Election Audit Project



STEWARDS OF DEMOCRACY

- 8,000 - 10,000 local government officials tasked with administering elections
- Critical in interpreting and implementing election law and policy
- Rarely a direct focus of research (outside exogenous events)



Source:
Multnomah County Elections

PREVIOUS LEO RESEARCH

- Periodic analysis – focused on election administration policy changes

	2004	2006	2008
Elected	65%	58%	53%
Women	75%	77%	76%
White	94%	95%	94%
Salary over \$40,000	47%	39%	37%
Older than 50 years	63%	62%	62%

RESEARCH QUESTION

- Given under-representation of women in so many offices....
 - 24% of Congressional seats
 - 29% of state legislative seats
 - 30% of statewide elected offices
 - 23% of the 100 largest city mayors
- Why such a stark over representation in LEOs?
- And a pattern seen in other clerk level positions. (Gordon 2011, Crowder-Meyer et al. 2015)

THEORIES TO EXPLORE

Cultural and Gatekeeping Explanations: Norms around gender limit public and elite perspectives on women in office
(cf. Dolan 2010, Conway 2011)

Desirability of Office: The perceived power and prestige of offices filters access by gender (Engstrom, McDonald, and Chou 1988)

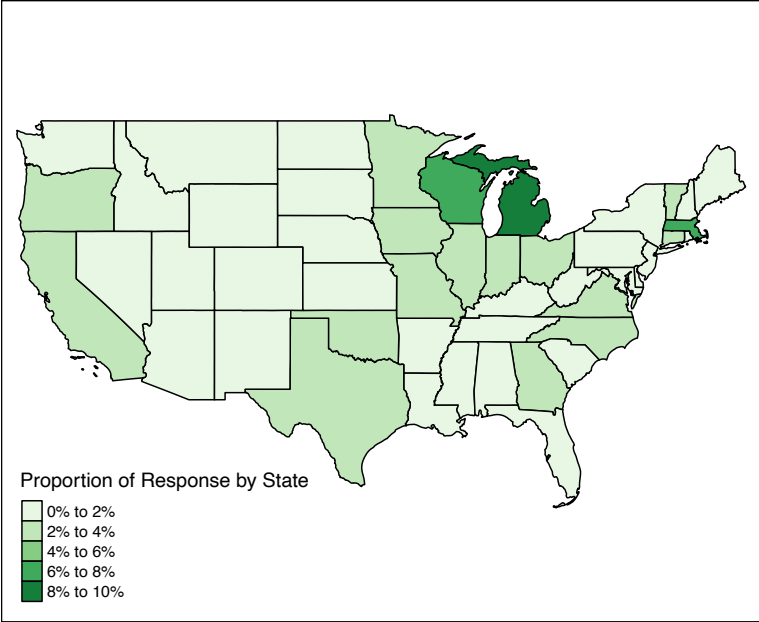
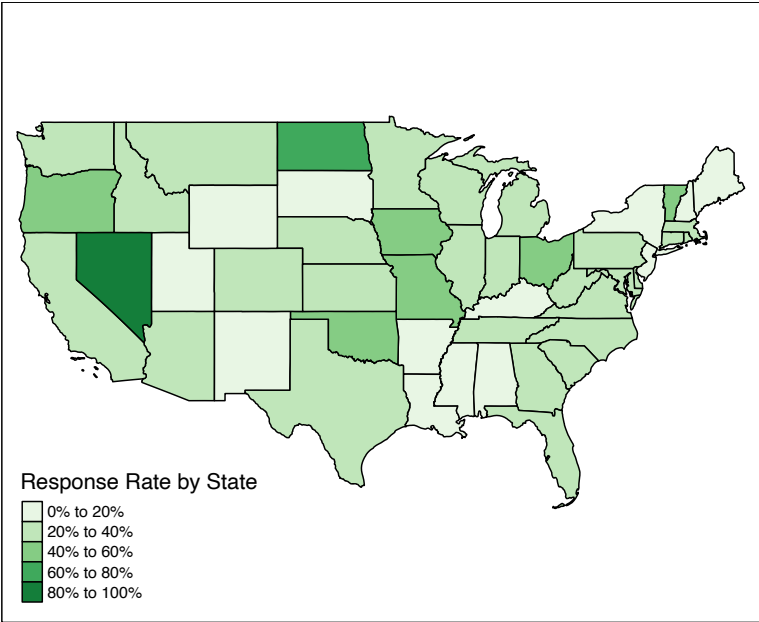
Gendered Nature of Work: LEOs or clerks represent a type of work that meets norms for women in workplace – balance of work and life (Gordon 2011)

RESEARCH DESIGN

- 2018 and 2019 Surveys of LEOs:
 - 2018: Email and **Mail Follow Up** (n=1051 / 34% Response Rate)
 - 2019: Mail and **Email Follow Up** (n=871 / 28% Response Rate)



SAMPLE CHALLENGES



RESULTS

Demographic	2018 Survey			2019 Survey		
	Overall	<=25,000	>25,000	Overall	<=25,000	>25,000
Female	77.3%	86.5%	66.0%	77.2%	87.0%	64.8%
\$50,000 or more	62.3%	43.6%	83.5%	73.8%	62.4%	88.4%
White	94.5%	95.5%	93.3%	94.9%	97.1%	92.2%
College and above	52.3%	44.4%	62.0%	59.5%	52.2%	68.8%
50 years or older	67.3%	72.9%	60.2%	70.2%	73.9%	65.3%

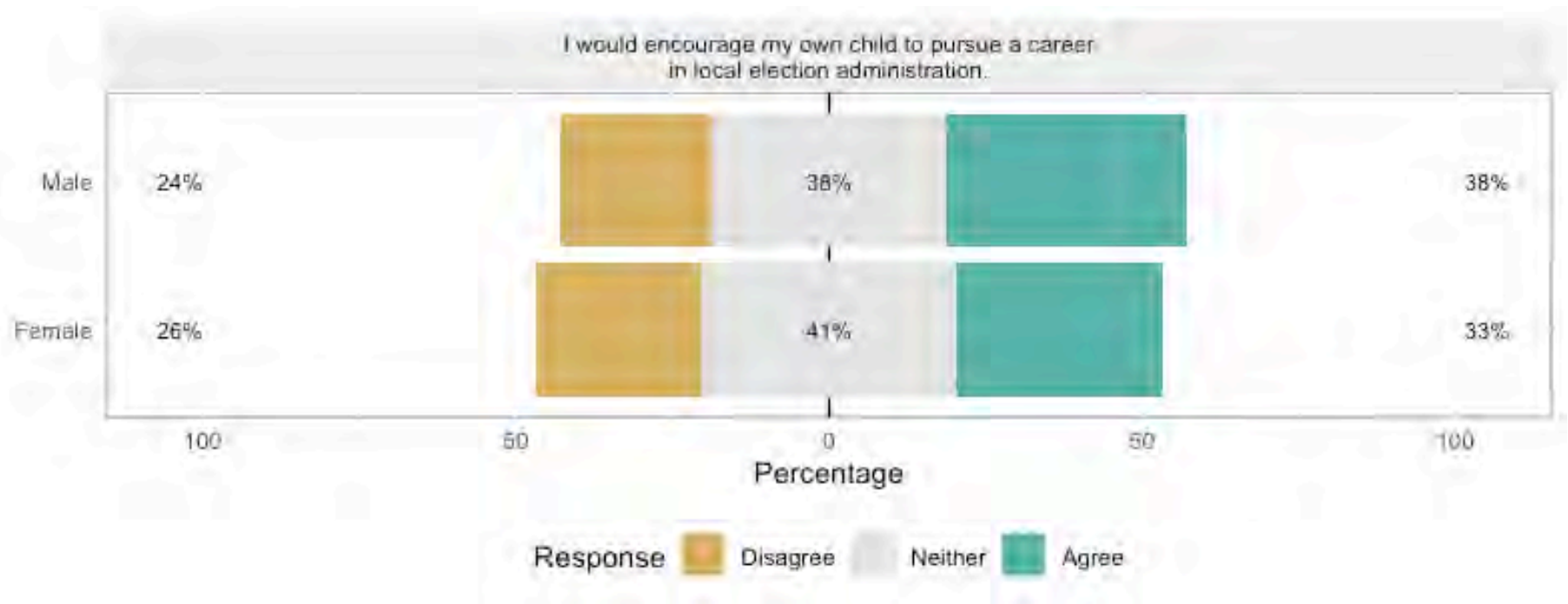
LEO SURVEY COMPARISONS

	2004	2006	2008	2019
Elected	65%	58%	53%	50%
Women	75%	77%	76%	77%
White	94%	95%	94%	95%
Without College Degree	60%	59%	56%	40%
Salary over \$40,000	47%	39%	37%	74%
Older than 50 years	63%	62%	62%	70%
Conservative	51%	47%	44%	43%

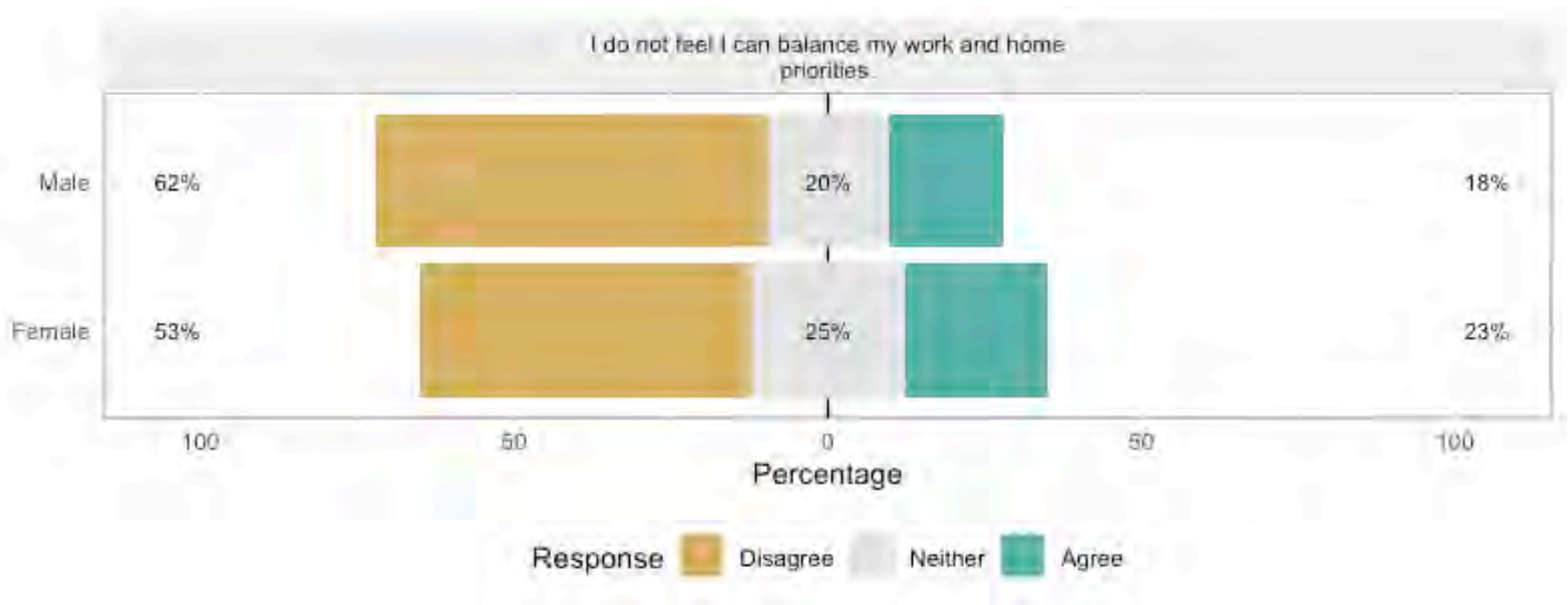
SATISFACTION...



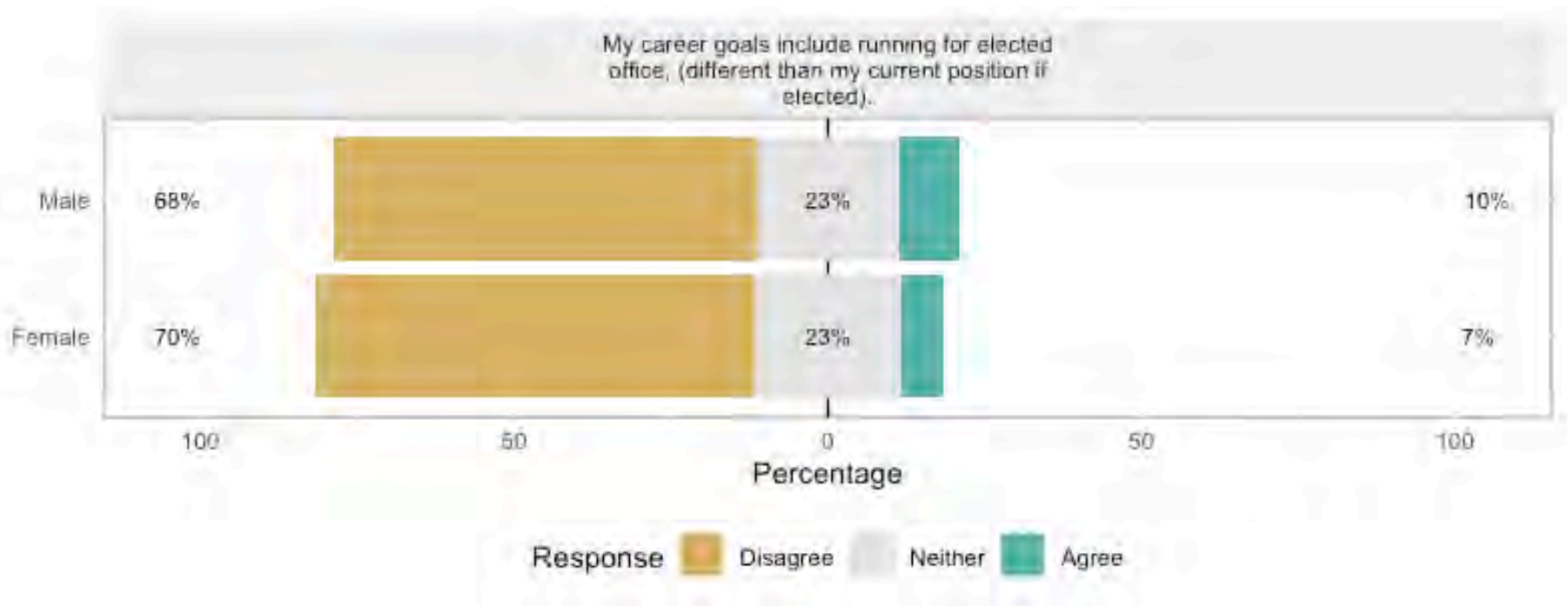
ENCOURAGE CHILDREN...



WORK-LIFE BALANCE...



INTEREST IN HIGHER OFFICE....



ELECTION PERFORMANCE AUDITS

- Real-time assessment of data
- Measuring static and dynamic rates of change

Oregon Election Performance Auditing Pilot Project: Analysis and Recommendations

April 13, 2020

Paul Gronke
*Professor of Political Science, Reed College
Director, Early Voting Information Center*

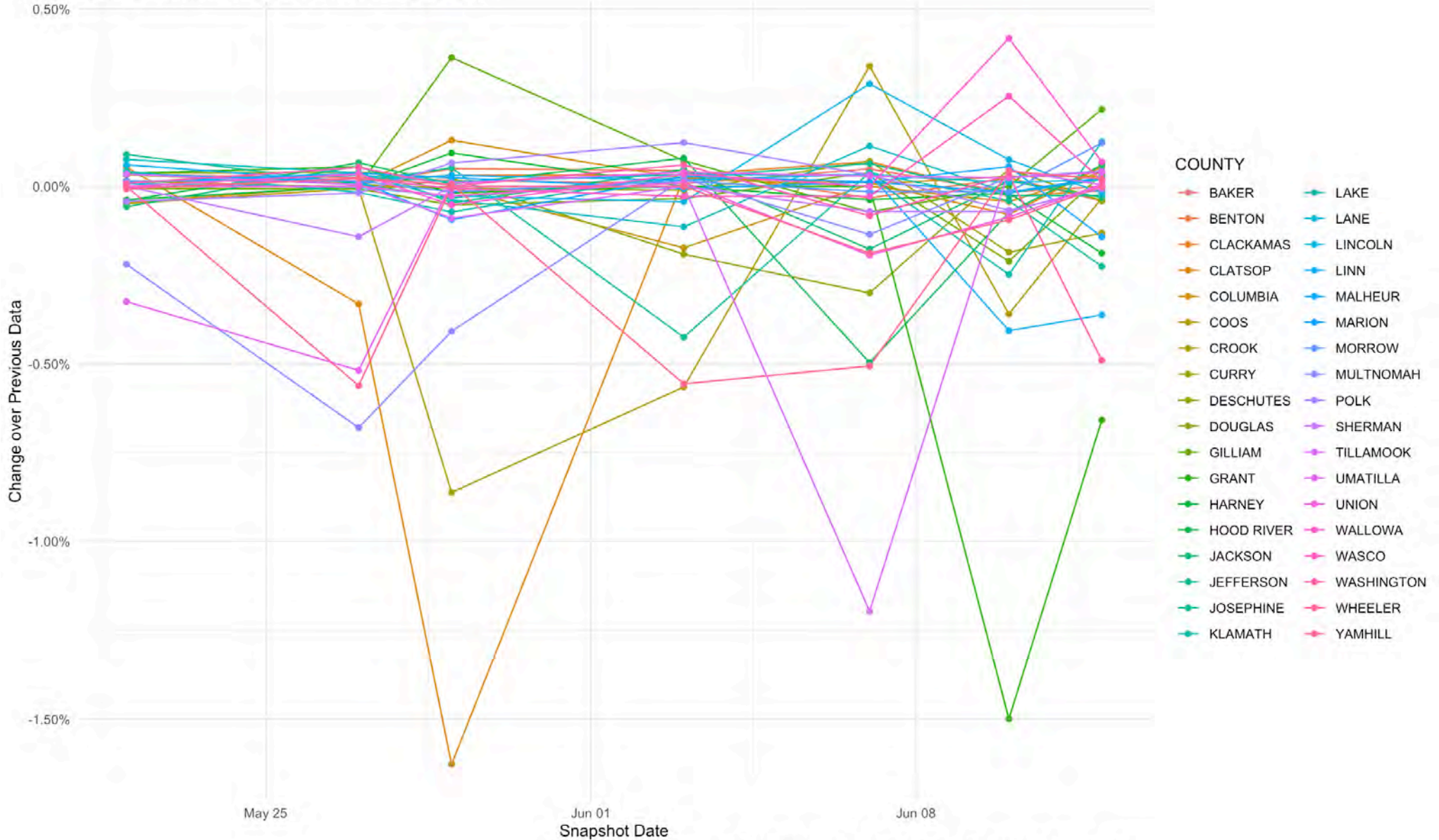
R. Michael Alvarez
*Professor of Political Science, Caltech
Co-director, Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project*

Paul Manson
*Research Director
Early Voting Information Center*

Silvia Kim
*Ph.D. Candidate
California Institute of Technology*



Change in Active Registered Voters by County



Source: Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project and Reed College Early Voting Information Center

Ballots Sent After Deadline (%)

0.0

0.1

0.2

Coos Yamhill Clackamas Union Umatilla Douglas Harney Lake Curry Crook Lincoln Linn Gilliam Morrow Jackson Grant Washington Multnomah Deschutes Josephine Polk Wasco Wallowa Tillamook Columbia Marion Benton Malheur Wheeler Klamath Sherman Lane Clatsop Jefferson Hood River

County

REED COLLEGE

Ballots Returned After Deadline (%)

1.5
1.0
0.5
0.0

Multnomah
Lane
Washington
Clackamas
Marion
Josephine
Polk
Yamhill
Lincoln
Hood River
Jefferson
Tillamook
Wallowa
Harney
Jackson
Gilliam
Wheeler
Sherman
Benton
Benton
Morrow
Clatsop
Curry
Douglas
Deschutes
Wasco
Grant
Malheur
Crook
Columbia
Coos
Union
Linn
Klamath
Umatilla
Lake

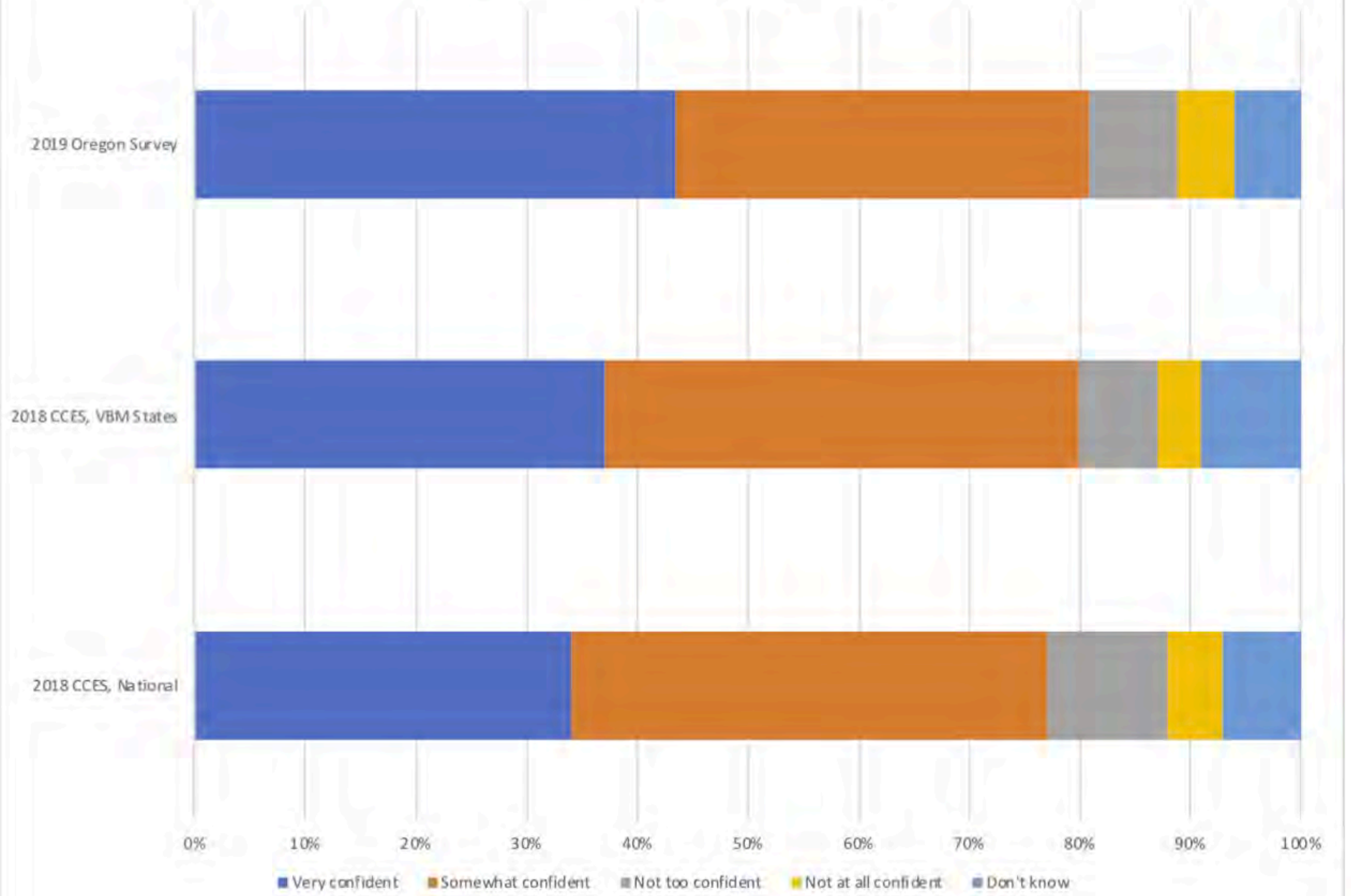
County

REED COLLEGE

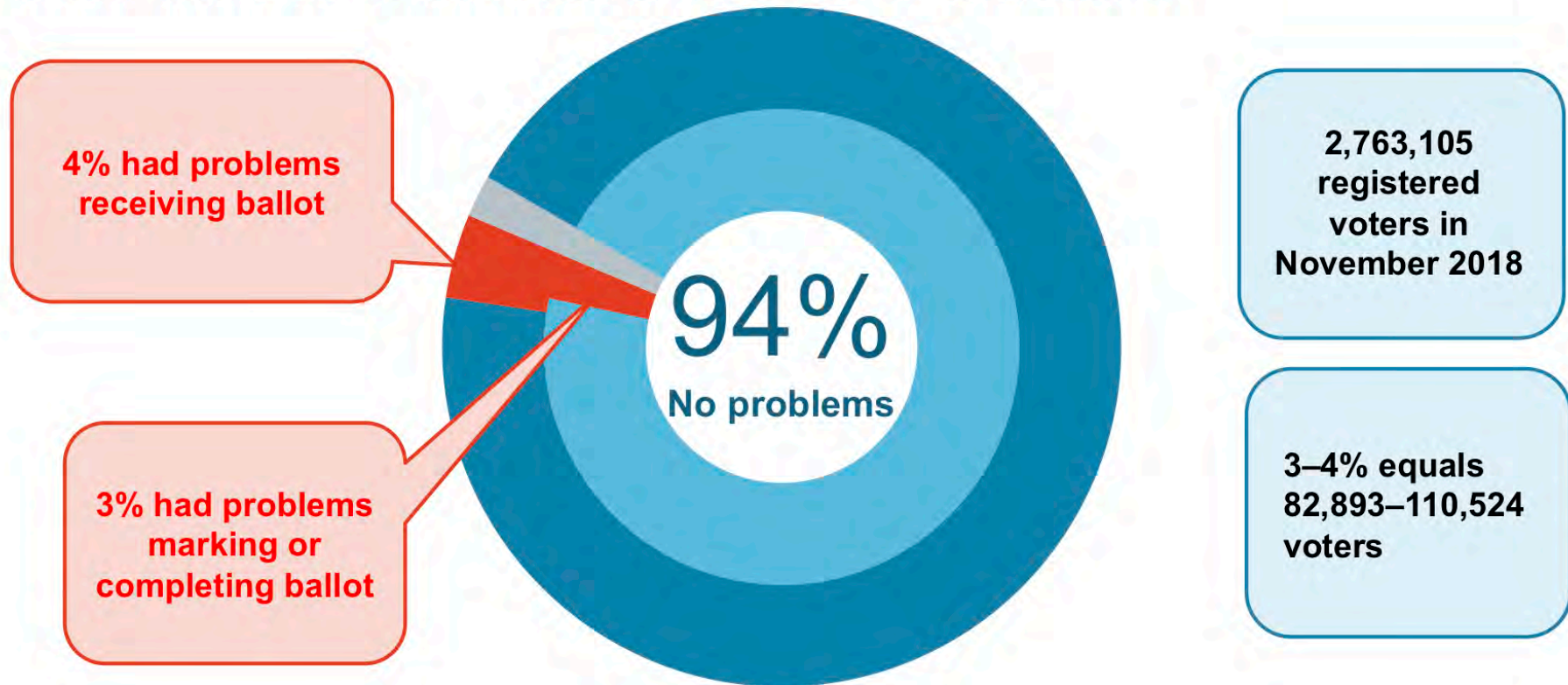
AUDITS AND PUBLIC OPINION

- 4 annual Oregon public opinion polls
- Explore:
 - Voting experience
 - Voting tools
 - Assessment of voting system

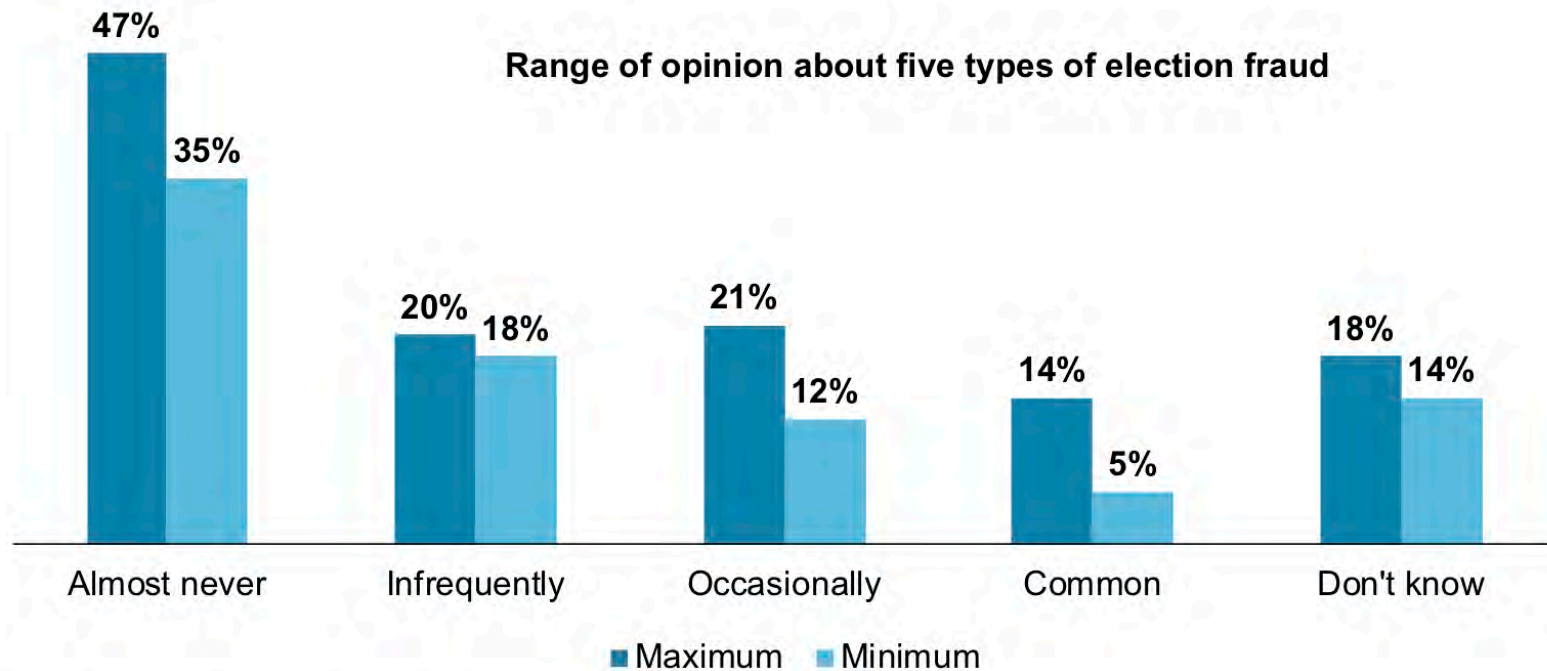
Voter Confidence in County Elections



Some voters experienced problems receiving or marking their ballots in the November 2018 election.



Voters are more likely to think election fraud almost never occurs (range of opinion 35–47% for five specific types of fraud) than that it occurs commonly (5–14%).

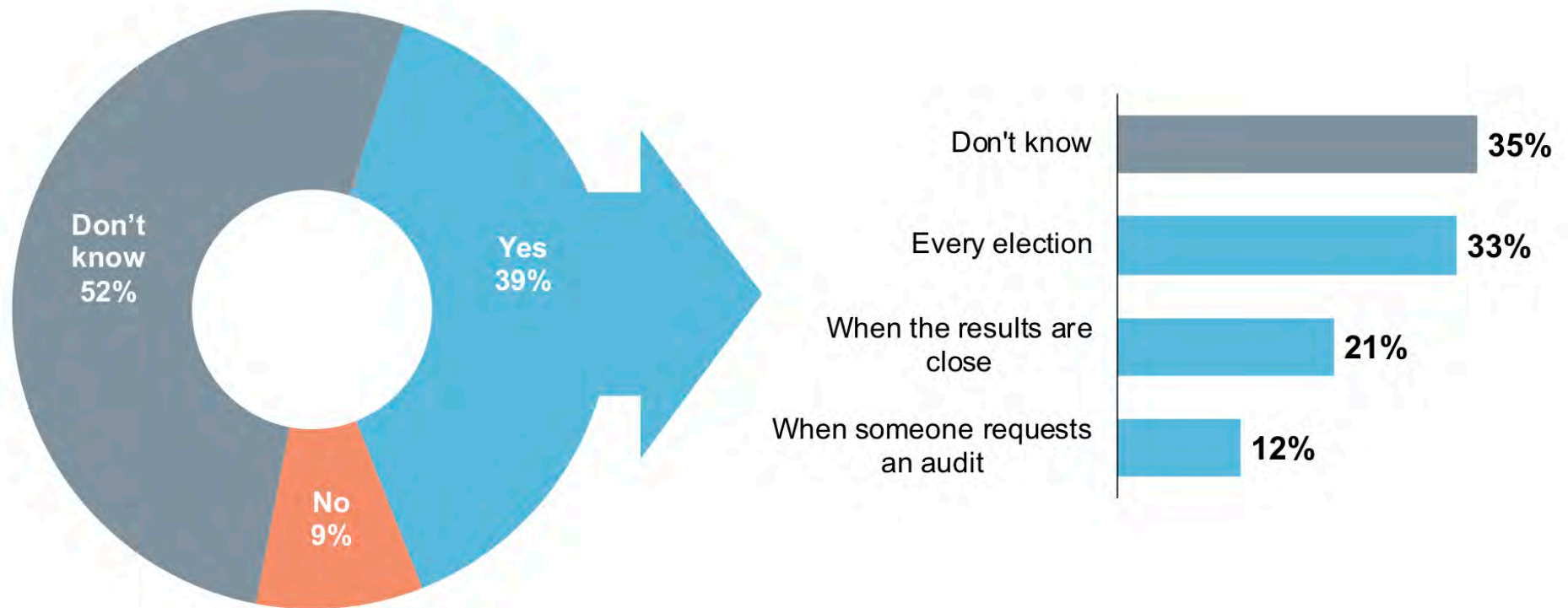


Election fraud demographic tables

Common/occasional	Total	18–29	65+	Dem	Rep	NAV	White	POC
Steal/tamper with ballots	18%	21%	9%	14%	21%	19%	17%	16%
Vote more than once	19%	27%	10%	10%	31%	19%	15%	34%
Officials changing reported vote count	18%	22%	14%	9%	28%	19%	18%	20%
Non-US Citizens voting	31%	32%	13%	12%	51%	34%	29%	49%
Ballot intended for someone else	28%	37%	16%	23%	28%	34%	26%	45%

Almost never	Total	18–29	65+	Dem	Rep	NAV	White	POC
Steal/tamper with ballots	44%	38%	56%	54%	43%	35%	46%	30%
Vote more than once	47%	39%	62%	58%	42%	42%	51%	35%
Officials changing reported vote count	45%	45%	49%	51%	44%	41%	48%	33%
Non-US Citizens voting	35%	34%	39%	49%	23%	32%	38%	17%
Ballot intended for someone else	36%	14%	49%	44%	37%	27%	39%	16%

52% of voters don't know whether state officials audit election results. Of the 39% who said officials do audit results, one-third didn't know when such audits take place.



SOME CONCLUDING CONCERNS

- While the challenges of COVID19 are focused on law and policy - logistics maybe more the issue!
- Outcomes will matter less than legitimacy.
- Looking ahead – the need to build trust and understanding in election systems.

THANK YOU AND SUPPORT

- Dr. Paul Gronke, EVIC Director
- Jay Lee, '19 Research Fellow

- Funding and support from:
 - Democracy Fund
 - Oregon Secretary of State

CONTACT – MORE INFORMATION

Paul Manson

Research Director

Early Voting Information Center

pablo@reed.edu -- @earlyvoting

Blog and reports:

evic.reed.edu

