## The Attack on Voting Rights, will it Change the Outcome of the Election?

Historically, the Voting Rights Act in 1965, along with new technology that allowed real-time crosschecking of administrative data, facilitated states using more citizen- friendly registration and voting procedures. Over time, however, Supreme Court rulings weakened the Voting Rights Act, opening the door to efforts to limit who can vote. The chart below shows the common ways that states have changed voting procedures between 2012 and 2020. Most of the policies made it easier to vote, but others were inherently restrictive such as requiring voters show a government-issued photo identification (Photo IDs). Also, rather than adding new procedures and options, some states have eliminated them, such as using drop boxes.

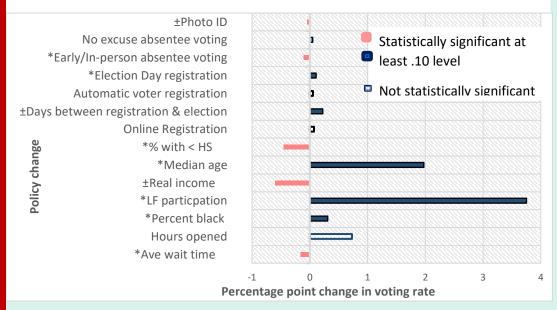
| Percentage of states using various registration and voting procedures over time |                                   |                        |                           |                                 |  |          |     |                             |                  |           |
|---|-----------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|--|----------|-----|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------|
| Makes Voting:   | Easier                            |                        |                           |                                 |  |          |     |                             |                  | Harder    |
| Year  | Online<br>registration            | Automatic registration | Election Day registration | No excuse<br>absentee<br>voting | Can register close<br>to Election Day<br>(≤ 22 days) | Person   |     | Average wait<br><10 minutes | Hours open  12.5 | Photo ID  |
| 2020  | 84%                               | 23%                    | 45%                       | 69%                             | 55%  | 84%      | 34% | 55%                         | 65%              | 53%       |
| 2016  | 69%                               | 8%                     | 33%                       | 61%                             | 45%  | 43%      | 33% | 71%                         | 57%              | 16%       |
| 2012  | 25%                               | 4%                     | 20%                       | 59%                             | 39%  | 71%      | А   | 55%                         | 55%              | 10%       |
|   | Percentage point change: 2012 -20 |                        |                           |                                 |  |          |     |                             |                  |           |
|   | 59 points                         | 19 points              | 25 points                 | 10 points                       | 16 points 1  | 3 points |     | 0 points                    | 13 points        | 43 points |

Percentage of states using various registration and vating procedures over time

But the changes to voting laws continue. Using Brennan Center for Justice data, the map summarizes the states' legislative activity on voting rights since 2020. Generally, Democratic controlled states have been enacting laws that make it easier to vote while Republican controlled states have been placing more restrictions on the process.

We use 2012-2020 presidential election data and regression to examine the relationship between state voting rates and policies and socio-demographic variables. As shown in the chart below, most voter policy variables are at least marginally significant in effecting voter turnout, but the magnitudes of the effects are very small. For example, a 10 percent increase in the number of states requiring a photo IDs would only cut the voting rate by a fraction of a percentage point.

## Change in voting rate given a 10-percent expansion in select variables



## New voting laws enacted since

In contrast, the sociodemographic variables are all statistically significant and tend to have larger effect sizes. Typically, small effect sizes would imply that the policy change was ineffective but given our Presidential elections are really a series of 51 state elections, and have been very close in many states, a policy change with a small effect can change the outcomes of an election.

Full paper is available at <a href="https://politicalrye.org">https://politicalrye.org</a>, "Do Restrictive Voting Laws Work? Working Paper, 11/12/2023.

