EXHIBIT 1

EXHIBIT A

Plaintiffs' Exhibit 316

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP, *et al.*,
Plaintiffs,

No. 1:18-cv-01034

v.

ROY ASBERRY COOPER III, in his official capacity as the Governor of North Carolina, *et al.*,
Defendants.

PRELIMINARY EXPERT REPORT OF MATTHEW A. BARRETO

Declaration of Professor Matthew A. Barreto

I. Background and Qualifications

1. I am currently a Professor of Political Science and Chicana/o Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles.

2. Before I joined UCLA in 2015, I was a professor at the University of Washington for more than nine years, where I was promoted to Associate Professor with tenure, and then Full Professor with tenure. At the University of Washington, I was an affiliated faculty member of the Center for Statistics and the Social Sciences and an adjunct Professor of Law at the UW School of Law. I am also the co-founder of the research firm Latino Decisions.

3. I have taught courses on the Voting Rights Act, Racial and Ethnic Politics, Electoral Politics, Public Opinion, Immigration, and Introduction to Statistical Analysis and Advanced Statistical Analysis to Ph.D. students.

4. I earned a Ph.D. in Political Science at the University of California, Irvine in 2005, with an emphasis on racial and ethnic politics in the United States, political behavior, and public opinion. Professor Bernard Grofman, a well-known expert in voting rights research, served as my principal dissertation advisor.

5. I have published multiple peer-reviewed academic research papers on voter identification laws, public opinion and survey methodology (among other topics).

6. I have conducted large public opinion surveys in Indiana, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Alabama, Texas, and North Dakota in connection with litigation assessing, among other things, how the public responds to, and is affected by, changes in laws and statutes related to voter identification. Courts have accepted these surveys and my opinions as reliable and

methodologically sound. My previous survey research has focused on understanding the effects of voter identification laws on sub-groups of the electorate and whether they have differential impacts on Black and Latino voters.

7. In one recent decision, the United States District Court for the District of North Dakota stated in *Brakebill v. Jaegger* (No. 1:16-cv-008) that "the Court gives the findings of the Barreto/Sanchez Survey. . . considerable weight." Similarly, in 2014 in *Veasey v. Perry* (No. 13-CV-00193), the United States District Court for the Southern District of Texas, and in findings affirmed by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, found that my survey was statistically sound and relied upon my survey findings to evaluate the impact of Texas's voter ID law on Black and Latino voters. And in *Frank v. Walker* (No. 2:11-cv-01128), a survey I administered and included as part of my expert report was credited by the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Wisconsin in a voter ID case in Wisconsin.

8. In *Fish v. Kobach* (No. 16-2105-JAR-JPO), the plaintiffs retained me as an expert witness to evaluate the methodology of the defendant's survey. The United States District Court for Kansas found me to be an expert on best practices of survey research and credible and qualified to discuss survey methodology. The court relied on my expert report in dismissing the defendant's survey as not being sound social science.

9. In 2018, in support of three separate federal lawsuits in New York, California and Maryland, I conducted a large national survey to understand how the public would respond to changing the 2020 Census to include a citizenship question,. In *California v. Ross* (No. 3:18-cv-01865-RS), the court found that I was well qualified to offer a report due to my "expertise and years of experience implementing surveys in Latino and immigrant communities" and ultimately relied on my survey in ruling in favor of the plaintiffs, stating that "Dr. Barreto's

survey provides credible evidence that the addition of the citizenship question is likely to result in a significant decline in self-response rates in California and within the Latino population relative to the public at large."

10. My full professional qualifications and activities are set forth in my curriculum vitae, a true and correct copy of which I have attached hereto as Appendix C.

II. Scope of Work

11. Plaintiffs in this action retained me to examine and analyze the rates at which North Carolina voters possess identification that would qualify them to vote under the State's voter identification law (SB 824). Specifically, plaintiffs asked me to assess whether there were differences in the rates at which North Carolina's White, non-Hispanic voting population and Black and Latino voting populations possess qualifying identification. In addition to examining possession rates of qualifying identification, I also examined knowledge of the North Carolina voter identification law and the degree to which the voting eligible population understands the law and how to comply with it.

12. A key part of this analysis is a statewide survey of eligible voters in North Carolina to assess possession rates of qualifying voter identification. In full, we collected n=1,642 total interviews statewide, which carries a confidence interval of +/- 2.4% on the full sample in general (full survey questionnaire in Appendix A).

III. Survey Overview

13. The objective of this declaration is to document the current rates of possession, or lack of possession, of qualifying photo identification, under SB 824, among the eligible voting

population in the state of North Carolina. Plaintiffs retained me to create a research design that would allow for an examination of whether Latino and Black eligible voters in the state of North Carolina are more, or less, likely than eligible non-Hispanic Whites to possess qualifying photo ID. I also address certain related questions, such as whether those Black and Latino voters who lack qualifying voter identification face greater burdens in obtaining photo ID acceptable under SB 824, and whether any such burdens differ by race. In addition, I assessed the extent to which eligible voters in North Carolina are aware of key provisions of SB 824 and how to comply with the law.

14. My survey interviewed eligible voters across the state of North Carolina, using a methodology of randomly selecting respondents and allowing them the opportunity to participate through cell phone, landline telephone, or via the Internet. By allowing three different modes of interview, we ensured that all eligible voters were given an opportunity to participate in the study, thereby increasing the representative nature of the sample and the overall accuracy of the survey. Latino respondents were given the opportunity to complete the survey in either English or Spanish. In order to reduce non-response bias and include harder-to-reach populations, multiple re-contact attempts were made per record. Finally, following best practices in social science, the survey data were weighted to match the Census American Community Survey ("ACS") estimates of the eligible voting population by race, to ensure that the dataset accurately reflects the population of interest. This is a standard practice in social science research that helps ensure the sample we collected matches the ACS demographic estimates.

15. When surveys are implemented accurately, results generated from a sample of the population can be inferred to the larger population from which the sample is drawn, given

the appropriate sampling error, or confidence interval that must always be accounted for.[1] Survey research is a standard and widely accepted practice in social science and government research. The U.S. government regularly relies on survey methodology substantially similar to the one produced in this expert report, in their collection of data and statistics. Examples of surveys conducted by the federal government include the U.S. Census American Community Survey and Current Population Survey, the Bureau of Labor Statistics Unemployment Survey, and surveys conducted by the National Institute of Health, Department of Defense and the Internal Revenue Service. The Office of Management and Budget has a division called the "Federal Committee on Statistical Methodology," which has reviewed best practices in survey research and recommended random digit dial ("RDD") as a method to avoid non-coverage bias because it samples all known telephone numbers.[2] If the sample is reflective of the larger population, and the survey is administered randomly, and without bias, the eventual results can be considered a statistically reliable estimate.[3]

16. Today, mixed-mode surveys which rely on the Internet to collect part of the data are considered to be reliable and effective.[4] One of the leading experts on survey

[1] Claes-Magnus Cassell et. al., *Foundations of inference in survey sampling*. 1977; Barry Graubard and Edward Korn, "Survey inference for subpopulations." *American Journal of Epidemiology*. 144(1). 1996.
[2] See, Federal Committee on Statistical Methodology. Statistical Working Paper 17 – Survey Coverage. 1990. http://www.fcsm.gov/working-papers/wp17.html. Further, according to Michael Link, formerly a research scientist for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "[f]or more than three decades, RDD telephone surveys have been the predominant method for conducting surveys of the general public." See, Address-Based Versus Random-Digit Dial Sampling: Comparison of Data Quality from BRFSS Mail and Telephone Surveys. 2005. http://www.fcsm.gov/05papers/Link_Mokdad_etal_IIB.pdf.
[3] Richard Scheaffer et. al. *Elementary Survey Sampling*, 7th ed. 2012; Robert Groves, *Survey Errors and Survey Costs*, 2nd ed. 2004.
[4] Nicole Rübsamen, Manas K. Akmatov, Stefanie Castell, André Karch & Rafael T. Mikolajczyk, 2017. "Comparison of response patterns in different survey designs: a longitudinal panel with mixed-mode and online-only design." Emerging Themes in Epidemiology, Volume 14, Article number: 4. DA Dillman, F Hao, MM Millar, 2016. "Improving the effectiveness of online data collection by mixing survey modes." In The SAGE handbook of online research methods. Eds. Nigel Fielding et al. Los Angeles: Sage

methodology, Don A. Dillman, Professor of Sociology at Washington State University, notes that Internet "methods are now being used in official government surveys and as a replacement for random digit dialing (RDD) voice telephone surveys." For example, the American Community Survey, which serves as the major source of state and regional information on U.S. households, began using a web-push approach to data collection in 2013 that includes the possibilities of responding later in the implementation process by mail, telephone or in-person interview.[5] For the 2020 decennial census, the Census Bureau is relying on mixed-mode data collection, beginning with Internet-based survey responses.

17. The most important starting point for sound survey research is to acquire an accurate sample frame from which to draw the eventual sample of people interviewed. According to Henry Brady, Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley, "[s]cientific surveys are one of these tools, and they have been widely used in the social sciences since the 1940s. No other method for understanding politics is used more, and no other method has so consistently illuminated political science theories with political facts… They provided the gold standard for measuring citizen opinions… No other social science method has proven so valuable."[6]

18. The survey I conducted for this case focused on whether Latinos, Blacks and non-Hispanic Whites, who are eligible to vote in North Carolina, have statistically different rates of possession of qualifying photo identification under SB 824. Survey questions were tailored to the various provisions of SB 824. For example, when respondents were

[5] Don A. Dillman, 2017. "The promise and challenge of pushing respondents to the Web in mixed-mode surveys." Survey Methodology, Vol. 43, No. 1, pp. 3-30
[6] Henry E. Brady. 2000. "Contributions of Survey Research to Political Science." PS: Political Science and Politics, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 47-57

asked to confirm that they had an "up-to-date" driver's license or other accepted forms of photo ID, survey interviewers confirmed that the expiration date on their ID was either current, or had expired within the last 12 months – to match the requirements in the law. Respondents were also asked to indicate whether they were in possession of any of the qualifying forms of photo ID enumerated in SB 824:[7] a North Carolina driver's license, a North Carolina non-operator photo ID card that was issued by the DMV, a U.S. Passport, a U.S. military ID card with photograph, or a U.S. citizenship certificate containing their photograph. In addition to these, respondents were also asked about other types of ID, some of which are accepted, including follow-up questions to isolate if the respondent indeed had an accepted ID. This list includes a Native American Tribal ID card, a University student ID, and a state or local government employee ID[8]. For people who had registered within the last 90 days, a driver's license or non-driver ID card from out of state is allowed and the survey sought information about such IDs, where appropriate.

19. This study was designed to assess if there were any statistically significant differences in rates of possession, or lack of possession, of qualifying photo ID among Black, Latino and non-Hispanic White voters in North Carolina. To assess this, the survey started by asking respondents to provide their race/ethnicity. Respondents could self-report their racial or ethnic group, and like the Census, respondents were allowed to select one or more racial groups.[9] After establishing eligibility to participate in the survey, all respondents were

[7] North Carolina State Board of Elections. "Voters Will Be Asked to Show Photo ID Beginning in 2020" https://www.ncsbe.gov/Voter-ID

[8] Not every tribal, university or government employee ID will be accepted as valid. At this point, there is not a completed list by the state of North Carolina of exactly which IDs are accepted and which are not. For the purposes of our analysis, we are counting anyone with one of these IDs as valid. In reality, not all of these types of IDs will be accepted as valid for voting purposes.

[9] In evaluating White eligible voters, we rely on the census definition of "White alone, not Hispanic or Latino."

asked: "Just to make sure we get a representative sample of people here in North Carolina, can you tell me what your race or ethnicity is?" Respondents could select White or Anglo, Black or African American, Hispanic or Latino, Asian American, Native American, or Other.

20. To assess the differential rates of possession of qualifying photo ID, both the percentages and raw number estimates for individual respondents are provided. The same is true with respect to responses to questions addressing the extent to which non-Hispanic White, Latino, and Black respondents to the survey face burdens in obtaining qualifying identification, if they do not currently have it.[10]

21. In the survey responses, results from a series of statistical tests are presented to determine whether eligible Latino and Black voters in North Carolina are disproportionately impacted by the North Carolina voter ID law. In this case, logistic regression was utilized to determine whether or not different racial groups are statistically distinct from each other when observing binary outcomes, such as possession of acceptable photo ID. Logistic regression is the most appropriate statistical analysis to test these relationships for two reasons: first, because the outcome variable of interest, possession of an accepted photo ID, is binary and logistic regression is best at estimating a 0,1 binary dependent variable; and second, because the regression provides a more precise, accurate, and strict test of statistical significance than does a chi-square or t-test comparison of means. Although analysis suggests similar results for chi-squares and t-tests, the results of the regression analysis provide a direct test of whether possession rates of acceptable ID vary in a

[10] We want to clarify that the percentages generated directly from responses to the survey and raw numbers which are estimates utilizing both the survey and US Census data must be viewed as distinct outcomes. The raw numbers are estimates with lower and upper bounds that are provided in the discussion of these statistics in the results section of the report.

statistically significant manner for Blacks or Latinos, as compared to Whites.

22. As is the norm in the social science survey research, standard levels of significance are utilized to determine if a result is statistically significant. The following symbols in the tables provide an indication of the confidence level and degree of statistical significance for the observed difference between minority groups and whites: *** Pr < .001 ** Pr < .010 * Pr < .050 ‡ Pr < .100. For example, if a relationship is marked with a ** symbol, we can say that the observed difference between Latinos and Whites would achieve statistical significance at 99% certainty – that is, we have 99% statistical confidence that the difference we observe is real and not the result of sampling error. Similarly, if the probability value is .050 (marked with a * symbol), then we can say that the observed difference would achieve statistical significance at 95% certainty. The statistical significance, or confidence interval, essentially takes into account the survey margin of error, sample size, and degree of difference in a result to determine if the survey differences observed are real and true.

23. Finally, it was critical that respondents to the survey were both residents of North Carolina and eligible to vote. The survey therefore started with the following question that was used as a screener for eligibility to participate in the study (see Appendix A for full survey questionnaire):

> "Okay, just to make sure you are eligible to take part in our survey about voting, can you confirm that you are 18 or over, and currently a U.S. citizen, and you have lived here in North Carolina for more than 30 days?"

24. At the end of the survey, respondents were asked to confirm they were a resident of North Carolina, and any individual who provided a response to these items that would make

them ineligible to vote was excluded from the study, ensuring that the analysis is focused on eligible voters in North Carolina. Therefore, any relationships between race and ethnicity and possession of qualifying photo identification are specific to the voting eligible population of the state. The research approach undertaken was very thorough in its effort to restrict the sample to respondents who are eligible to vote, and thus impacted by SB 824. In previous research in Wisconsin and Texas, we took a similar approach. and in both instances, the methodology and findings were accepted by the federal courts.

25. According to data from the US Census Bureau (2017 ACS), among the citizen adult population in North Carolina, 23.4% is Black, 4.3% is Latino and 69.5% is non-Hispanic, White. Overall, 2017 ACS Census estimates for North Carolina suggest there are 1,758,374 Black eligible voters, 319,293 Latino eligible voters, and 5,218,237 White eligible voters. In terms of age, there are important differences by race and ethnicity that could impact who has access to a qualifying photo ID under SB 824. For example, Whites are more likely to be over the age of 65, which means white voters will disproportionately benefit from the provision allowing the use of expired IDs for voters over 65 if they were unexpired at the time the voter turned age 65. 24% of Whites are 65 or older, compared to 16% of Blacks and just 5% of Latinos. In contrast, Blacks, and especially Latinos are far more likely to be under the age of 30 where driver's license possession rates are historically lower. Only 18% of whites are age 18-29, compared to 25% of Blacks and 34% of Latinos.

26. There are also differential patterns of educational attainment among eligible voters in North Carolina by race and ethnicity. Previous studies have found that higher educational attainment greatly helps in navigating government bureaucracy and understanding the

details of government regulations like voter identification laws. While 35% of Whites have a college degree or higher, just 23% of Latinos do and only 21% of Blacks. On the other end of the spectrum, while 45% of Blacks and 40% of Latinos progressed no further in their education than obtaining a high school diploma, the same is true of just 33% of Whites. As discussed in the next section, the census demographics reported here are important for the sampling and weighting approach, and ensure that the data are accurately reflective of the demographics of the North Carolina eligible voting population.

Survey Design and Implementation

27. In designing a survey, researchers must consider three important topics to ensure their project is of the highest quality and follows social scientific standards. Two of the three relate to the design of the survey. First, the population to be analyzed, and the method of interacting with that population, must be identified. In this case, inferences will be made about the rates of possession of qualifying photo identification for the eligible voting population in the state of North Carolina. With this in mind, the most accurate and efficient way to contact this population should be determined, and the most common approaches are through the use of (1) random digit dial, (2) household listed samples and (3) Internet-based sampling.

28. The first approach, telephone RDD, takes the known area codes and prefixes for a given geographic area, and randomly generates the last four digits of phone numbers and calls those numbers entirely at random. This increases the likelihood that every possible phone number in North Carolina has an equal chance of being called, for both landline and cell phone numbers.

29. A second approach that is also used quite extensively is randomly calling listed household samples. For example, rather than calling randomly generated phone numbers which may not even exist, a listed sample starts with the known universe of actual phone numbers for either landline or cell phone subscribers that currently reside in a geographic area (North Carolina in this case). Listed samples are far more efficient than pure RDD because they greatly reduce the number of "dead numbers" dialed and allow interviewers to focus on known working phone numbers. Listed samples are especially useful if researchers are interested in drilling down into a particular sub-group within the population such as racial or ethnic minorities, or registered voters. Sample vendors can sell a listed sample of all households in a particular area, or they can provide sample records for just Hispanic households. Likewise, sample vendors sell lists of known cell phone/wireless phone numbers for particular geographic areas, and those can then be randomly dialed as part of a survey. This includes being able to secure cell phone users who may have cell phone numbers from outside of North Carolina but who actually reside within the state.

30. The third approach includes using large online samples of residents of North Carolina and, like the telephone approach, randomly selecting sample records to invite respondents to participate in the survey, to be completed via the Internet, either through a smartphone, tablet or computer. As noted above in paragraph 16, public opinion data collection is rapidly transitioning to an approach that includes both telephone and Internet sourced samples and modes of completion to yield the most reliable and representative sample.

31. For this survey, three sample components are part of the overall project. First, an RDD telephone sample of 421 eligible voters, representative of the full demographics of North Carolina was targeted. Second, an additional 439 eligible voters were randomly recruited

via online sources to take the survey via the Internet. Third, in order to reach a large and reliable sample of Black and Latino eligible voters, two separate listed-sample oversamples of Black and Hispanic eligible voters were completed, so that when specific estimates are provided for these two groups, they each surpassed n=500 in sample size. These oversamples do not impact the main statewide sample, but allow for cross-racial group comparisons. These robust samples provide the ability to explore variation within each population as needed, and assure that the margins of error associated with our results are well within accepted levels. With respect to the telephone portion, the survey reached eligible voters in landline and cell-phone-only households[11]. Sample sizes and configurations are explained in more detail below (see also, Table A).

Table A: Survey sample composition[12]

	Phone	Internet	Total
White	376	125	501
Black	356	145	501
Latino	348	172	520
Other	124	23	147
Total	1,203	439	1,642

32. The second area of importance is the design and construction of the survey questionnaire itself. In designing the questionnaire, researchers should follow best practices established by existing social science research, as well as groups such as the American Association of Public Opinion Research (AAPOR). It is important that questions are direct, objective, and neutral, and not meant to lead respondents to give one particular answer over another.

[11] Cell phone respondents may also include current residents of North Carolina who have a non-North Carolina area code, but who appear on a listed sample of North Carolina households. This is key, as it provides a representative sample of cell-phone users in North Carolina.

[12] Respondents were allowed to select more than one race, and some respondents selected both Black and Other, or Latino and Other, or Black and Latino. The total number of interviews was 1,642.

Respondents should have an appropriate range of available answer choices. With modern survey technology, questionnaires should always be programmed to rotate question wording, randomize answer choices, rotate options forward-to-back and more, to ensure that no priming occurs whereby respondents lean towards one type of answer because it is always read as the first option. For example, if the survey always led with the negative option for a question assessing approval of the President – strongly disapprove – researchers might end up with an over-estimation of respondents who pick strongly disapprove because they hear that choice first. Not only is randomization important in selecting respondents, but within the survey randomization should be a priority when it helps avoid introducing response bias. For this project, we strictly followed the best social science practices for designing and implementing a survey.

33. The full questionnaire is included as an appendix to this document (Appendix A) so that readers can see that all of these criteria were followed when designing and implementing this survey. In this instance, the survey questionnaire contained six main sections: first, the screening questions to establish eligibility to participate in the study; second, questions that focus specifically on accepted forms of photo ID; third, questions that probe rates of possession of documentary proof of citizenship, identity, and residency; fourth, questions that inquire about possible burdens to acquiring ID; fifth, questions that explore the degree of understanding and knowledge of the voter ID law; and sixth, questions that explore the demographic indicators of the sample.

34. The third topic area to ensure high quality survey data is the actual implementation and execution of the survey. This is the focus of the next section.

Survey execution

35. Once the survey has been designed according to the accepted norms and standards in scientific survey research, the next important step is implementation. In executing the survey, all possible respondents should have an equal chance to respond, participate, and be included. For example, if potential respondents were only called at home around 1:00pm in the afternoon on Fridays, a huge percentage of the potential respondents would never be home to answer the phone in the first place. This would result in a sample that would be distinct from the overall population of North Carolina, who would not be able to participate in the study because they were at work or school during the call time. Instead, researchers should take an approach that gives each potential respondent as close to an equal opportunity to be included in the survey as reasonable.

36. The actual phone calls and Internet implementation of the survey was handled by Pacific Market Research (PMR), a market research firm in Renton, Washington. PMR has implemented many surveys for applied, legal and academic research[13] including surveys implementing similar designs as that used here for the purposes of exploring differences in public opinion and voting behavior. Further, Pacific Market Research implemented the survey for similar voter ID studies (noted above in paragraphs 6-8) in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Texas, Alabama, and South Dakota and there, both state and federal courts found the data they generated to be reliable and consistent with accepted social science practices.

37. In this case, three sampling approaches were used to answer questions regarding rates of possession of accepted photo ID. First, PMR implemented a pure RDD approach to get an

[13] Pacific Market Research has implemented surveys for the U.S. Internal Revenue Service, the U.S. Department of Defense, to study juror pool knowledge of pending cases, to study public opinion and voter participation among Whites, Hispanics, Blacks, and Asian Americans, and proprietary market research for firms such as Microsoft, AT&T, and T-Mobile.

overall sample of North Carolina eligible voters. Numbers were randomly generated, and then randomly selected phone numbers were dialed. To target Latino and Black eligible voters for a separate oversample, PMR procured a listed sample of Black and Hispanic households in North Carolina and then randomly selected phone numbers were dialed. Finally, eligible voters were randomly recruited online to complete the survey via the Internet (see Table A). For all telephone records, both landline and cell/ wireless-only households were included to ensure a representative sample. In all cases, calls were made from 3pm – 9pm eastern time Monday through Friday, and 12pm – 8pm eastern time Saturday and Sunday, beginning on August 23, 2019, and continuing until September 28, 2019. Internet field dates mirrored those of telephone. Landline numbers were auto-dialed and wireless numbers were manually dialed. If a respondent completed the survey, or said they refuse to participate they were taken off the call list. Otherwise, phone numbers were dialed and re-dialed up to 5 times in order to avoid any possible non-response bias that may result from only making one or two attempts per number. The same approach was taken for online respondents, allowing them to opt-out of future contact, as well as doing up to 5 re-contacts to each viable sample.

38. Respondents had the choice of completing the interview in English, or in Spanish, and among self-identified Hispanic respondents, 64 % took the survey in English, and 36% in Spanish. Making the survey available in both English and Spanish is critical, as many Latinos in North Carolina prefer to take surveys in Spanish even if they are able to do so in English. This ensures that the responses provided by respondents are accurate and not biased by communication issues related to language effects.

39. Overall, Pacific Market Research reported a Response Rate-3 of 21.7 percent and a Cooperation Rate-3 of 31.4 percent, calculated as per the American Association of Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) guidelines.[14] In the field of survey research, response rates between 20 and 30 percent are considered to be accurate and in an accepted range, and this project falls within that range.[15]

40. After collecting the data for the main North Carolina sample, and the Black and Latino oversample, underlying demographic characteristics of the respective samples were examined and compared to the known universe estimates for each from the 2017 U.S. Census ACS for North Carolina. Where there were any discrepancies, a weighting algorithm, called raking ratio estimation,[16] was applied to balance the sample so that the final samples that were tabulated for the analysis were in line with the U.S. Census estimates for North Carolina. For example, it is well known in survey research that younger people, say under 25 years old, are harder to reach than older people who are over age 65. If 8% of survey respondents are age 18-24 years old, but census data tells us they are actually 14% of the eligible voting population, then each young person needs to be "up-weighted" so that collectively they represent 14% of the sample and the weighted data accurately reflect the state. Overall, the discrepancies between the collected data and the Census population estimates were quite small and the resulting weights that were employed were also quite small. Still, by weighting the data to known ACS demographics

[14] For more on AAPOR guidelines: http://www.aapor.org/Response_Rates_An_Overview1.htm. The response rate refers to percent of individuals who agreed to take the survey out of the overall number of cases in the sample. In contrast, the cooperation rate refers the percent of individuals who agreed to take the survey out of the overall number of individuals reached by researchers.
[15] Scott Keeter et. al. 2006. "Gauging the Impact of Growing Nonresponse on Estimates from a National RDD Telephone Survey," *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 70(5)
[16] Michael Battaglia et. al. 2004. "Tips and Tricks for Raking Survey Data (a.k.a. Sample Balancing)" Proceedings of the Survey Research Methods Section, American Statistical Association.

for each racial group, or for the state at large, we were able to ensure that the results are reflective of the eligible voting population in North Carolina. In this case, weights were applied to gender, age, education, country of birth. This helps to ensure that the sample generated for the report is reflective of the overall population of North Carolina, and consequently, that the inferences made regarding possession rates of accepted ID are reflective of that target population. Weighting of survey data is a very common and accepted approach in social science research, especially when inferences are made to the larger population.[17]

IV. Survey Findings

41. The survey reveals many important findings regarding who has access to a qualifying ID and who will be most impacted by the voter ID law (full results in Appendix B).

42. As compared to eligible non-Hispanic-Whites, Black and Latino eligible voters in North Carolina are less likely to possess a photo ID acceptable under SB 824.[18] The discrepancy begins with the most common type of accepted ID, a valid, unexpired, North Carolina driver's license. Overall, 92.8% of Whites report having a driver's license compared to 81.9% of Blacks and 80.1% of Latinos (see Table 1). When we take into account the license being current or expired for less than one year, the discrepancy grows even more, with 12.5% of whites lacking such a license compared to 25.7% of Blacks and 30.5% of Latinos. Finally, SB 824 requires that a qualifying ID must contain a photo that matches the voter in order for the individual to prove their identity and be able to vote. 14.5% of whites reported not having a qualifying license with an accurate and matching photo,

[17] Eun Sul Lee and Ronald Forthofer. 2006. *Analyzing Complex Survey Data*. Sage Publications.
[18] Note that "White" is utilized throughout the report for non-Hispanic White respondents or population.

compared to 30.0% of Blacks and 34.4% of Latinos. For this most common type of ID, whites have a significant possession rate advantage over both Blacks and Latinos. In regression analysis, all the differential rates of driver's license possession in which whites are advantaged relative to Blacks or Latinos are statistically significant at the 99.9% level.

43. Next, we expand the possession rate to include a non-operator ID issued by the DMV, which is the second most common type of ID for eligible voters in North Carolina. Combined with a driver's license, we consider these two types of ID to be any "DMV ID" and the results can be found in Table 1. Overall, among white eligible voters, 93.3% have a qualifying DMV ID, the highest of any racial or ethnic group. In contrast, 88.6% of African Americans have a qualifying DMV ID and just 77.1% of Latinos have a qualifying DMV ID. These rates are obviously lower than for Whites. When we take into account an accurate and matching photo, the discrepancy between Whites and non-Whites grows even larger. 90.8% of whites report having a qualifying DMV ID with accurate photo, compared to 83.6% for blacks and 73.2% for Latinos.

44. The discrepancy between whites, Blacks and Latinos continues when we consider the full list of qualifying IDs in the state of North Carolina as queried in the survey. Among whites, 3.1% lack any form of qualifying ID under SB 824, compared with 7.2% of Blacks and 11.0% of Latinos. Further, when examining whether or not the photo matches, minority eligible voters are even more disadvantaged, with 12.4% of Blacks and 16.7% of Latinos not in possession of a qualifying ID with a photo that resembles the voter, compared to 6.1% of whites in North Carolina (see Table 1). In logistic regression analysis comparing rates of possession of unexpired, and name-matching valid ID, the differences between Whites and Blacks, and Whites and Latinos are statistically

significant at the 99% levels, well above the accepted threshold in the social sciences.

45. One of the additional non-DMV types of photo ID that is allowed is a student ID. However, there is uncertainty around which specific student IDs will be certified as meeting the state requirements. As compared to whites, non-whites are *4.5 times more likely* to rely on a student ID as their only form of a qualifying ID. To the extent that student IDs are disallowed, this will disproportionately impact blacks and Latinos. Our survey asked a follow-up question for anyone who reported a student ID for respondents to indicate the specific college or university. Among black respondents who said their only ID is a student ID at least 3 of such respondents had an ID from a university that is specifically not approved (NC A&T and Fayetteville State). Similarly, among Latino respondents who had a student ID, one indicated their ID was from Post University, an online college that does have a qualifying ID, and two additional Latino students said their ID was from an out-of-state college or university.

46. Similar to the student ID, an employee ID from state or local government is potentially allowed, if the agency issues photo ID that are approved as qualifying by the state of North Carolina. In our survey, there were only 13 respondents who said their only form of ID was an employee ID. However, among these 13 individuals only 1 was white, 8 were black and 4 were Hispanic. With further scrutiny looking at the follow-up question of the specific agency or office each of these 13 people worked for, we find that only one person reported an agency on the approved list, a black respondent who worked for the NC Department of Health. The other 12 such respondents – 1 white, 7 black, 4 Hispanic – who had this ID did not report a state or local agency that matched the published list by North Carolina. Thus, we find that Blacks and Latinos are more likely than Whites to

possess public employer identification that does not qualify under SB 824.

47. Under SB 824, the rules governing acceptable use of expired IDs are different for voters over 65. They can use expired identification so long as it was still unexpired at the time of their 65th birthday. According to the 2017 Census ACS, 24% of whites in North Carolina are aged 65 or older, compared to 16% of Blacks, and just 5% of Latinos. Thus, more whites are in the 65 or older cohort, for whom expired IDs are permitted. For voters under the age of 65, SB 824 only permits the use of expired IDs for one year after their expiration, with certain exceptions. We investigated whether or not possession rate differences persisted among the eligible voting population *under* the age of 65. Similar to the analysis above, we found disparities in ID possession rates among voters under 65, as evidenced in Table 2. For example, Blacks under 65 are 13.1 percentage points less likely than whites under 65 to have an unexpired driver's license with a matching photo, and Latinos under 65 are 17.8 percentage points less likely to possess an unexpired license with a matching photo. Both differences are statistically significant at the 99% level in our regression analysis. When considering any qualifying DMV ID or any qualifying ID at all, the survey revealed disparities in possession rates between white eligible voters and Blacks and Latinos.

48. The voter ID law will be enforced on election day by precinct officials or precinct judges at the voting polling place. One of the first items the precinct official may check is the voter's name. The law states that a "A precinct official assigned to check registration shall at once ask the voter to state current name and residence address. The voter shall answer by stating current name and residence address and presenting photo identification." The law then authorizes the precinct official to examine and check this information before

determining if the voter is authorized to vote. Other sections of SB 824 similarly emphasize the importance of the name on a voter's identification card. For example, the law indicates that "[i]f a registered voter has a change of name and has updated his or her voter registration to reflect the new name, the registered voter may request and obtain a replacement card from the registered voter's county board of elections." We expect that precinct officials will check identification to determine whether the voter's name matches his or her registration.

49. In the survey, we therefore explored additional criteria that precinct officials might check to confirm that they match an individual's voter registration, regardless of whether they are required by SB 824, such as name, address and date of birth listed on the photo ID. For example, if a potential voter is named John Smith, but hands over a photo ID that reads Mark Wilson, and the precinct official is required to examine the photo ID to compare against the pollbook, this is likely to create a problem for the voter and they may not be allowed to vote. If a potential voter named John Smith Jr. hands over a photo ID that belongs to their father John Smith Sr. and the date of birth is not correct, this is likely to create a problem for the voter and they may not be allowed to cast a regular ballot. Similarly, if a potential voter presents a photo ID with an obsolete addressor one inconsistent with the voter records, it could create a problem that prevents the voter from casting a regular ballot, notwithstanding any provisions of law intended to prevent this from occurring. These are not hypothetical scenarios but real issues that voters have reported facing on election day, sometimes even where legal protections may be in place to prevent this kind of issue. The results for examining name-match, date of birth, address and photo-match, broken down by race are found in Table 3.

50. The survey reveals that if poll workers examine these additional criteria to determine whether a voter's identification matches his or her registration, the number of people who will be able to vote in North Carolina under SB 824 will decrease. Moreover, in every single instance, white eligible voters have higher rates of possession of a qualifying identification with names, dates of birth and addresses that match their voter registration than do Blacks or Latinos. Overall, 6.3% of whites do not have a name-matching qualifying ID, compared to 10.7% of blacks and 15.9% of Latinos. Adding a date of birth and address requirement results in 10.4% of Whites, but 17.5% of Blacks and 23.0% of Latinos, being left without a qualifying ID. Requiring name, date of birth and address all to match the voter record would leave 14.2% of Whites, but 18.8% of Black and 25.3% of Latinos, without qualifying ID. For all of these conditions, name, DOB and address match results in Blacks and Latinos being statistically less likely than whites to be able to produce a qualifying ID. Combining the photo-matching requirement with the other potential enforcement criteria noted above results in higher numbers of potential voters lacking a qualifying ID and this outcome is most prevalent among blacks and Latinos. Peer-reviewed, published research in political science has documented that voters in polling places that are majority-black and majority-Latino are more likely to face extra questions and extra scrutiny over ID-related queries than are those in majority-white areas[19]. Overall, 16.4% of whites, 23.1% of blacks and 27.7% of Latinos do not have a qualifying ID that matches their name, photo, DOB and address (see Table 3B).

[19] Matt Barreto, Mara Cohen-Marks, Nathan Woods. 2008. "Are All Precincts Created Equal? The Prevalence of Low-Quality Precincts in Low-Income and Minority Communities" *Political Research Quarterly*. 61 (December)

Results among current registered voters

51. After analyzing results for the full pool of eligible voters in North Carolina we next look at respondents to our survey who indicated they are currently registered to vote in the state of North Carolina. This analysis is important because it allows us to understand how the voter ID law might impact people who are already on the voter rolls and the extent to which there are differential possession rates for White, Black, and Latino registered voters, not just eligible voters.

52. When restricting the data to current registered voters two trends are noticeable. First, registered voters are somewhat more likely to have a qualifying ID than among the entire pool of all eligible voters (all citizen adults). Second, even among registered voters, large and statistically significant differences in possession rates are found by race with White voters consistently more likely to have access to a qualifying ID than Black or Latino voters (Table 4). This disparity exists for the most common type of ID, a North Carolina driver's license, as well as when we consider *any* type of qualifying ID. When it comes to an unexpired driver's license, White registered voters have a possession rate that is 12.5 percentage points higher than Black registered voters and 15.6 percentage points higher than Latino registered voters. Both differences are statistically significant at the 99.9% confidence level. When we extend this analysis to consider *any* possible qualifying ID, once again White registered voters have the highest rates of access at 97.7% compared to 93.2% for Black voters and 91.8% for Latino voters, deficits which are statistically significant. When SB824's photo match requirement is considered, the gap between whites and non-whites grows larger, with 95.5% of white registered voters reporting that they possess a qualifying ID with a photograph that resembles the voter, compared to

87.8% of black registered voters and 85.6% of Latino registered voters. These disparities are statistically significant at the 99% level in logistic regression analysis.

53. Once again, we analyzed the survey data for registered voters under the age of 65. Similar to the analysis reported above for the full sample of eligible voters under the age of 65, registered voters under the age of 65 demonstrate differential possession rates of a qualifying ID by race. 94.8% of white registered voters under 65 reported possessing a qualifying identification under SB 824 that is unexpired and bears a photograph that resembles them. Only 89.1% of Black registered voters and 85.4% of Latino registered voters could say the same. (Table 5).

54. Finally, we consider other qualifications that may be relevant to a poll worker making the determination that a voter has a qualifying ID, such as the name, date of birth and address on the photo ID matching the information in the pollbook or voter file. These results in Table 6 show a clear and consistent pattern in which White registered voters are statistically and significantly more likely to have a qualifying ID that meets a full range of requirements such as a matching name, matching address, DOB and photo. Whereas 11.2% of White registered voters do not have a valid unexpired ID that with a name, address and date of birth that match the individual's voter records, fully 17.3% of Black registered voters and 22.1% of Latino registered voters do not possess such an ID. (Table 6).

Knowledge and Familiarity with SB 824

55. Our survey and analysis also focused on evaluating knowledge of the voter ID law and its requirements across the electorate. Voters who do not know that they need photo identification to vote or who do not possess qualifying ID must invest time and in some

cases money to retrieve or obtain the identification they need to be able to vote. A large percentage of North Carolina eligible voters are not familiar with the new North Carolina free Voter ID card issued by County Boards of Election and Black and Latino voters are less aware of that option than are whites.

56. Notably, among eligible voters who currently lack a qualifying identification -- *i.e.*, the voters who most need to be aware of their need to take additional steps to comply with SB 824 -- rates of knowledge and awareness of the law and its provisions are even lower. Among voters who lack qualifying ID, an overwhelming majority incorrectly believe they have an ID that meets SB 824's requirements, which suggests they will not take steps to update their IDs or obtain one that enables them to vote. Among Blacks who don't have a valid ID, 76.2% think they have a valid ID compared with 80.7% of Latinos who wrongly think they have a valid ID (Table 7).

57. Similarly, knowledge of the new North Carolina CBOE-issued Voter ID card, which is different from a non-operator DMV state ID card, is very low among voters who lack a qualifying ID. Among Blacks, only 30.1% say they have heard of this new form of ID and among Latinos, only 27.4% know about the new ID card (Table 8).

58. Among those who have actually heard of the North Carolina Voter ID card, most do not know where to obtain the card. The most common answer among eligible voters is that they can obtain the Voter ID card at the driver's license office or DMV. Only 23.8% of Latinos and just 18.7% of Blacks correctly stated that the ID card is issued by the County Board of Elections office (Table 10).

59. Finally, potential voters are not well informed that the Voter ID card is issued for free. Just 48.1% of Blacks and 46.7% of Latinos answered that the card would be issued for

free, which means a majority were not well informed (Table 11). In sum, potential voters have very low levels of information about the new North Carolina Voter ID card, which suggests that they will not be well-equipped to take advantage of this option if they lack a qualifying identification. The availability of free voter IDs is therefore unlikely to reduce the disparities in qualifying ID possession rates described above or to assure that voters who lack qualifying ID, who are disproportionately Black and Latino, obtain it.

60. Among eligible voters who currently do not possess any qualifying photo ID, our survey revealed that Blacks and Latinos will face burdens in obtaining a state-issued ID to a greater degree than non-Hispanic whites. Among those without a valid ID, Blacks and Latinos are less likely than whites to report they know where their nearest DMV office is, and both Blacks and Latinos are more likely than whites to state they have never been to any DMV office in the state of North Carolina (Tables 12-13). For example, among white respondents without a qualifying ID, 94.6% say they have been to a local DMV in North Carolina, but just 64% of Black respondents without qualifying ID and only 55% of Latinos respondents without a qualifying ID have ever been to a DMV (Table 13). When we asked about their familiarity with finding their local County Board of Elections office, the survey reports similar low levels of information, with a majority of Blacks and Latinos saying they do not know where the office is located, while whites are more likely to report being familiar with the County Elections office. Thus, two of the main locations where potential voters can go to sort out their ID issues are generally more well-known to white voters (Table 15). This is important, as locating where to obtain an ID is a new cost that will be disproportionately placed on Black and Latino voters.

61. Levels of awareness of any public outreach made by North Carolina are exceedingly low

across the electorate as well. Among those without a valid ID, 35.2% of Blacks and just 24.0% of Latinos say they have heard about any announcements about the new North Carolina voter ID law (Table 16). Even fewer have heard about educational seminars about the new law (14.9% of Blacks and 16.7% of Latinos have heard about these seminars. (Table 17).

62. Eligible voters who lack an ID are also unfamiliar with how the law will be implemented and the availability of provisional ballots or other opportunities to vote on election day. When asked if people who do not have a valid ID could still try to cast a ballot on election day or not, only 21.2% of Blacks and 36.2% of Latinos who lack an ID thought it was possible to still attempt to cast a ballot without an ID (Table 18). This is key, as it is possible that many voters who are unsure whether they will be able to provide a qualifying ID may refrain from voting on election day, in the mistaken belief that they will never be allowed to vote without one. The overwhelming majority of Blacks and Latinos expressed the belief that voters without qualifying identification would *not* be allowed to cast a ballot, or they simply did not know how the law worked. We then asked these individuals who currently lack a qualifying ID if they would personally try to vote on election day if they learned they lacked a qualifying photo ID and overwhelmingly they said no. This was especially the case for Black and Latino respondents as compared to Whites who were more likely to say they would still try to vote. Among whites who lack an ID, 51.8% said they would still go to the polls and try to vote, compared to just 38.9% of Blacks and 38.6% of Latinos (Table 19). This appears to be a double penalty for minority voters, who are more likely to lack a valid ID in the first place, and then among those who lack an ID, are more likely to be deterred from voting by their lack of familiarity with the details of

SB 824. Even if the law makes it *possible* for voters without qualifying ID to cast a ballot, if voters do not know or believe they can vote without an ID, or do not understand this process, they ultimately will not vote due to the complexity of this law and the State's failure to educate them effectively.

63. We specifically asked respondents about their familiarity with the reasonable impediment declaration provisions of SB 824. An overwhelming majority of voters of all races were not aware of the reasonable impediment declaration option that allows voters without qualifying ID to cast provisional ballots, if they declare that they faced a reasonable impediment to presenting a qualifying ID. Only 17.9% of Blacks and 21.3% of Latinos said they were even aware of the reasonable impediment declaration option (Table 20). This suggests that voters who lack identification are very unlikely to take advantage of the reasonable impediment declaration.

64. Moreover, voters were unaware of how the reasonable impediment declaration process works and what impediments are identified as reasonable under SB 824. When asked about the different reasons that SB 824 indicates a voter could use as the basis for a reasonable impediment declaration, our survey revealed that in most instances, eligible voters did *not* think most of them could be used as a valid basis to declare an impediment (Table 21). In regression analysis of the full sample, Black and Latino eligible voters were statistically less likely to report an accurate understanding of what qualifies as a reasonable impediment as compared to Whites.

65. The last thing our survey investigated was the extent to which eligible voters who currently lack an ID would face barriers or obstacles in going to the DMV or County Board of Elections to obtain a replacement or free ID. These questions are intended to

identify the additional costs voters who lack a qualifying ID may face in obtaining one. These questions, asked just among those who currently lack an ID reveal that there are multiple barriers in people's lives that make obtaining qualifying IDs very difficult, and that Blacks and Latinos report facing these barriers to obtaining an ID at higher levels. In total, we asked respondents about 11 different potential obstacles or barriers that people might encounter in trying to get to the DMV or County Board of Elections. (Table 22) For example, when asked if it would be a problem to take time off work or school to visit the DMV or County Board of Elections office during business hours, Blacks and Latinos were statistically more likely to report this would be a problem, as compared to Whites. (Table 22) Indeed, according to the regression analysis, Blacks and Latinos were 2.14 times more likely to report this would be a problem than were Whites. Similarly, Blacks and Latinos state that getting a ride to the location will pose a burden, or that visiting during normal business hours of 8am – 5pm will pose a burden for them, at rates that are statistically significant differences as compared to Whites. (Table 23) Regression analysis of the full sample reveals that Blacks and Latinos are 2.46 times more likely to report being burdened by the 8:00 a.m. – 5:00 p.m. hours of operation than are Whites, and likewise, minorities are 1.98 times more likely than Whites to report a burden of getting time off of work or school to visit the office, and minorities are 2.17 times more likely than Whites to report a burden of needing to get a ride to visit in the first place. (Table 23) Other burdens reported by Blacks and Latinos included having to track down the necessary underlying documents for a DMV-issued ID, such as a birth certificate or social security card, as well as having to potentially travel over 20 miles to obtain them. (Table 22)

66. To illustrate the racial disparity in burdens faced across the electorate in North Carolina, we explore the rates at which respondents who lack an ID will face burdens across all 11 specific types of burdens included in the survey. As reflected at the bottom of Table 22, when taking the full sample into consideration 5.08% of Whites will face at least one burden compared to 7.34% of Blacks, and 10.96% of Latinos. There is a similar pattern with both Blacks and Latinos facing a *greater number* of burdens when we identify the percent of respondents who will face either 3 or more barriers, or possibly 5 or more barriers. In both instances, we find that Blacks and Latinos are more likely than Whites to report facing multiple burdens in going to the DMV or County Board of Elections to obtain and ID. Overall, 2.55% of Whites face 5 or more barriers compared to 4.26% of Blacks and 6.51% of Latinos. (Table 22) In regression analysis, we find that Blacks and Latinos are statistically more likely to face at least one burden, and statistically more likely to report facing multiple burdens when the items are scaled 0-11. (Table 23)

67. While the state of North Carolina may be providing certain types of state ID for free to eligible voters who lack them, there are still many possible barriers and burdens confronting eligible voters in North Carolina that can deter them from being able to obtain an ID, and Blacks and Latinos report that they will face barriers and burdens in this process at higher rates than Whites. This is important, as the extant literature in the social sciences makes clear that even a slight increase in costs will negatively impact voter participation, particularly for low-resource segments of the population.

V. Racial minorities vote differently than whites in North Carolina

68. There is a long history of racially polarized voting in North Carolina, where white voters and Black and Latino voters typically prefer different candidates. We examined recent

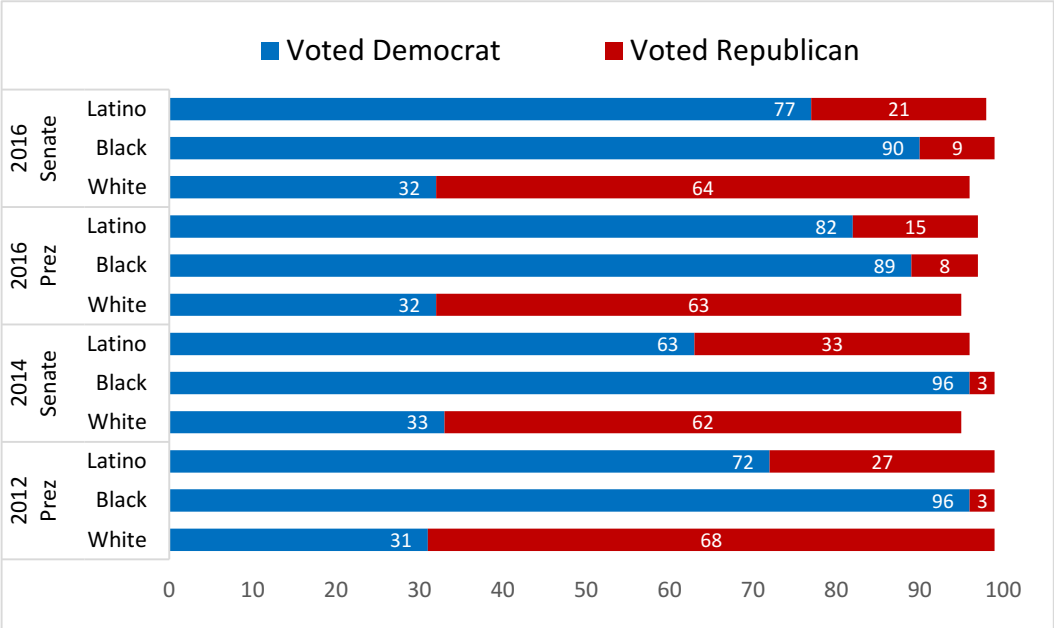
voting trends in the 2012, 2014, and 2016 among white, Black and Latino voters in the State and concluded that whites do indeed have very divergent and polarized voting patterns to Blacks and Latinos.

69. To address the question of whether Latino and Black voters in North Carolina are cohesive in their voting patterns and vote differently from whites, we draw from two large election exit polls, including the national media exit poll (CNN) and the Latino Decisions election eve surveys. We examine vote choice patterns across the last several election cycles to assess potential differences in voting behavior for whites, Blacks and Latinos across the 2012, 2014 and 2016 election cycles. The Latino Decisions election eve and CNN surveys have been widely cited by both academics and election analysts as reliable information sources for understanding voting patterns by race[20].

70. As reflected in the figure below, Latino and Black voters have consistently demonstrated voting patterns distinct from whites in North Carolina. In short, Latino and Black voters have strongly supported Democratic candidates for both Presidential and U.S. Senate races while white voters have strongly supported Republicans. In 2016 for example, 82% of Latino voters and 89% of Black voters supported Democrat Hillary Clinton compared to only 32% of White voters in North Carolina. Likewise, in the U.S. Senate race in 2016, 77% of Latinos and 90% of Blacks voted for Democrat Deborah Ross, while 64% of white voters 64% supported Republican Richard Burr.

[20] The national media exit polls have been heavily criticized for having unreliable Latino samples due to English-only interviews and their cluster sample approach that ignores variation within the Latino community. However, they have been considered generally reliable for white and Black voters.

71. **Figure 1: Vote Choice by Race in North Carolina 2012 – 2016**



72. Executed on November 15, 2019 at Los Angeles, California, USA.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Matthew A. Barreto

Appendix A – Survey Questionnaire

S1.[IF LISTED] Hello, may I please speak with Mr./Ms. [INPUT THE NAME OF RESPONDENT]?

RESPONDENT AVAILABLE … CONTINUE … 1
RESPONDENT IS NOT AVAILABLE … CALL-BACK SCHEDULED … 2
DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION (DK)/ REFUSED TO ANSWER (RF) … TERMINATE … 9

Hello, my name is _____. This is not a sales call. I am calling on behalf of Pacific Market Research, as part of a non-partisan, independent research project. We are conducting a short public opinion survey about important issues in the state of North Carolina. All of your answers are confidential, anonymous and private.

Langpref

Spanish……..…….…. 1
English……..…….…. 2

S2.Okay, just to make sure you are eligible to take part in our survey about voting, can you confirm that you are 18 or over, and currently a U.S. citizen, and have lived here in North Carolina for more than 30 days?

Yes ……..…….…. 1
No – not eligible…. TERMINATE … 2
DK/RF … TERMINATE …….. 99

S3. In talking to people about voting, we often find that many people did not have time to register to vote, or just weren't interested in registering. How about you? Are you currently registered to vote, or not registered?

Yes …… 1
No…..…… 2
DK/RF…… 99

S4. [IF S3=1] Have you registered to vote here in North Carolina for the first time within the last 90 days, or have you been registered to vote in North Carolina for over 90 days?

Registered within last 90 days …… 1
Have been registered over 90 days…..…… 2
DK/RF…… 99

S5. Just to make sure we get a representative sample of people here in North Carolina, can you tell me what your race or ethnicity is? [ALLOW MULTIPLE RESPONSES, RECORD ORDER]

White / Anglo … … 1
Black / African American…… 2
Hispanic / Latino…… 3
Asian American…… 4
Native American…….5
Other [SPECIFY]…… 6
Don't know…88
Refused…… 99

MAIN QUESTIONNAIRE

1A. [IF S3=1] Here in North Carolina, some people vote in person at a polling place, and some have a mail ballot sent to them. How about you, when you have voted is it usually: in-person at a polling place, do you sometimes vote by mail ballot, or do you always vote by mail ballot?

Polling place 1
Sometimes by mail ballot 2
Always by mail ballot 3
Do not vote (VOL) 4
Don't Know/Not Sure 88
Refused 99

1B. [IF Q1A=1 or 2] When you vote in person at a polling place, do you always vote on Election Day, do you sometimes vote early before election day, or do you ALWAYS vote early before election day?

Usually vote on Election Day 1
Sometimes before Election Day 2
Always vote early 3
Do not vote (VOL) 4
Don't Know/Not Sure 88
Refused 99

1C. [IF Q1B=2 or 3] When you vote early, is it usually the last weekend before election day, or do you usually vote earlier than the final weekend?

Usually vote on final weekend 1
Usually vote earlier than that 2
It depends / Sometimes 3
Don't Know/Not Sure 88
Refused 99

2. Different states have different rules on what a voter needs to show the poll worker before they can vote at the polling place. As far as you know, does North Carolina have a law that REQUIRES voters to show a valid photo ID before they can vote in-person at their polling place either early or on Election Day, or is this not required in North Carolina to vote in-person?

Yes, North Carolina requires photo ID 1
No, they do NOT require photo ID 2
Something else 3
Don't Know/Not Sure 88
Refused 99

3. And if a poll worker did happen to ask you to show a valid photo ID in order to vote, as far as you know, do you currently possess a valid photo ID?

Yes 1
No 2
Maybe / Depends 3
Don't Know/Not Sure 88
Refused 99

4. Have you ever heard of a type of photo ID called a North Carolina Voter ID Card?

Yes, I have heard of that 1
No, have not heard of that 2
Don't Know/Not Sure 88
Refused 99

5. [IF Q4=YES] Do you happen to know where to go to obtain a North Carolina Voter ID Card? This is not a voter registration card, but rather a piece of photo identification that can be used for election purposes. [If they say yes, probe – "Where exactly would you get one of those?"] [Check all that apply]

North Carolina Division of Motor Vehicles office Driver's license office 1
County Board of Election Office / Registrar 2
Some other place 3
Don't Know/Not Sure 88
Refused 99

6. Do you think the card costs something, or that it is issued for free?

Cost something 1
Issued for Free 2
Don't know/Not Sure 88
Refused 99

7A. Switching topics, do you happen to have a North Carolina driver's license? [If Respondent asks: This must be a driver's license from the state of North Carolina]

Yes 1
No 2
Don't know 88
Refused 99

7B. [IF Q7A = 1] Is your license currently valid, or is it suspended or revoked? Or maybe it was lost or stolen and you don't currently have it in your possession?

None of these – it is valid 1
Suspended 2
Revoked 3
Lost or stolen 4
Don't know 88
Refused 99

7C. [IF Q7A = 1] If you can, take your driver's license out real quick and check the expiration date? Is the expiration date after August 2018, or like some people we've talked to, did it expire before August 2018?
[Programming note: update month so that it is always within a year of survey field date]

If don't know or don't have license: "Well, when was the last time you went and had your driver's license updated? Was it in the last 8 years, since August 2011, or was it sometime BEFORE that?

Yes, it expires after August 2018..... 1
Yes, in the last 8 years since 2011..... 2
No, it expired BEFORE August 2018..... 3
No, not updated in last 8 years 4
Maybe / not sure / can't remember 5
Don't know 88
Refused 99

8. [IF Q7A = 2-99 or Q7B=2/99 or 7C=3/99] Okay, instead of a [IF Q7B=3/99 "an unexpired] driver's license, do you happen to have any of the following forms of photo identification? Just tell me yes or no, if you currently have this type of ID in your possession, and it is not lost or stolen:

A. North Carolina non-operator photo ID card that was issued by North Carolina Division. of Motor Vehicles or DMV
B. A U.S. Passport, or U.S. Passport card
C. A United States military ID card that contains your photograph [SPECIFY]
[IF NECESSARY: US Army, Marine Corps, VA Card, Navy, Air Force, Coast Guard, Public health services commission corps, and national oceanic and atmospheric administration all count here

Yes 1
No 2
Don't know 88
Refused 99

9A. [IF Q8A= 1] If you can, take your North Carolina photo ID out real quick and check the expiration date? Is the expiration date after August 2018 or like some people we've talked to, did it expire before August 2018? *[Programming note: update month so that it is always within a year of survey field date]*

If don't know or don't have ID: "Well, when was the last time you went and had your ID updated? Was it in the last 8 years, since August 2011, or was it sometime BEFORE that?

Yes, it expires after August 2018..... 1
Yes, in the last 8 years since 2018..... 2
No, it expired BEFORE August 2018..... 3
No, not updated in last 8 years 4
Maybe / not sure / can't remember 5
Don't know 8
Refused 99

9B. [IF Q8B= 1] Is the expiration date on your passport after August 2018, or like some people we've talked to, did it expire before August 2018? [IF NECESSARY: Prompt: "Most U.S. passports are valid for 10 years after they have been issued, and then they expire"] *[Programming note: update month so that it is always within a year of survey field date]*

Yes, it current 1
No, it is expired 2
Maybe / not sure / can't remember 3
Don't know 88
Refused 99

9C. [IF Q8C =1] Is the expiration date on your military ID after August 2018, or like some people we've talked to, did it expire before August 2018? *[Programming note: update month so that it is always within a year of survey field date]*

Yes, it is current 1
My ID has an indefinite expiration date 2
No, it expired 3
Military ID has no date on it 4
Maybe / not sure / can't remember 5
Don't know 88
Refused 99

10A. [IF Q9A-9C is not current or DK/RF OR Q8A-8C ALL=2/99] Alright, instead of those types of identification, do you happen to have one of these other forms of identification that contains your photo, such as…. READ LIST, that you have in your possession and it is not lost or stolen:

_1. A Native American Tribal ID Card
_2. A University Student ID Card
_3. A State or Local Government Employee ID Card
_4. U.S. Citizenship certificate with your photograph
_5. A Driver's License or state ID card from another state

Yes ……..…….…. 1
No ……..…….…. 2
Don't know ……..…….…. 88
Refused ……..…….…. 99

10B. [IF Q10A_1=1] If you can, find your tribal ID card really quick and check the expiration date? Is the expiration date on your tribal enrollment card after August 2018, or like some people we've talked to, did it expire before August 2018? *[Programming note: update month so that it is always within a year of survey field date]*

Yes, it is up to date …….1
No, it expired …….2
Has no date printed …….3
Maybe / not sure / can't remember …….4
Don't know …….88
Refused …….99

10C. [IF Q10A_2=1] If you can, find your student ID really quick and check the expiration date? Is the expiration date on your student ID after August 2018, or like some people we've talked to, did it expire before August 2018? *[Programming note: update month so that it is always within a year of survey field date]*

Yes, it is up to date …….1
No, it expired …….2
Has no date printed …….3
Maybe / not sure / can't remember …….4
Don't know …….88
Refused …….99

10D. [IF Q10A_3=1] If you can, find your employee ID real quick and check the expiration date? Is the expiration date on your employee ID after August 2018 or like some people we've talked to, did it expire before August 2018? *[Programming note: update month so that it is always within a year of survey field date]*

Yes, it is up to date……1
No, it expired …….2
Has no date printed …….3
Maybe / not sure / can't remember …….4
Don't know …….88
Refused …….99

10E. [IF Q10A_5=1] If you can, find your out of state driver's license or ID card really quick and check the expiration date? Is the expiration date on your out of state ID card after August 2018, or like some people we've talked to, did it expire before August 2018? *[Programming note: update month so that it is always within a year of survey field date]*

Yes, it is up to date …….1
No, it expired …….2
Has no date printed …….3
Maybe / not sure / can't remember …….4
Don't know …….88
Refused …….99

11A. [IF Q10A_1=1] And what specific Native American tribe are you an enrolled member of?
* Note to Interviewer: Confirm spelling and name given *

OPEN END: _____

11B. [IF Q10A_2=1] And which specific college or university here in North Carolina is your ID from?
* Note to Interviewer: Confirm spelling and name given *

OPEN END: _____

11C. [IF Q10A_2=1] Was the photo for the student ID taken by the university or college, an outside agency, or was it a selfie taken by you or a friend?

The University or college……1
An outside agency…….2
Myself or a friend …….3
Maybe / not sure / can't remember …….4
Don't know …….88
Refused …….99

11D. [IF Q10A_3=1] And which specific state or local government do you work for?
* Note to Interviewer: Confirm spelling and name given *

OPEN END: _____

12. [If R has any valid ID] A lot of people go by a nickname or go by their middle name, or maybe change their name when they get married. Is the name that is printed on your {INSERT ID TYPE} an exact match to how it would appear on your official voter registration card for example, or is there a difference or change in your name?

Yes, name is exact match……1
No, name is not exact match……2
Don't know/Not Sure……88
Refused……99

13. [IF Q12=2] And what kind of name difference exists between your name on your ID and your name as it might appear on the official voter registration card? Is it a nickname, did your last name change, is there a typographical error, middle name or initial difference, or some other difference with your name on your {INSERT ID TYPE} where your name would not match or conform? CHECK ALL THAT APPLY

Nickname……1
Last name changed……2
Typographical error……3
Middle name or initial difference……4
Other name difference……5
Changed entire name ……..6
Don't know/Not Sure……88
Refused……99

14. [If R has any valid ID] How about the date of birth and address listed on your {INSERT ID TYPE}? Is your date of birth and the current address listed on your ID correct and accurate - exactly as it would appear on the official voter registration card for example, or is there a difference or mistake on either date of birth or address?

Yes, both date of birth and current address are correct and listed ……1
Only date of birth is correct, but address is not correct (or is not listed) ……2
Only address is correct, but date of birth is not correct (or is not listed) ……3
Neither my date or birth, nor my address are correct (or not listed) ……4
Not sure / can't remember……..88
Refused ……99

15. [If R has any valid ID] As you may be aware, the North Carolina photo ID law requires an election board worker to verify that the picture on your ID is a reasonable resemblance to your current appearance. If you handed your photo ID to the election board worker today, do you think they would say it is a reasonable resemblance to you, or has your appearance changed in some way?

Yes, photo resembles me ……..…….… 1
No, does not resemble me ……..…….… 2
Don't know/Not sure ……..…….… 88
Refused ……..…….… 99

16. [If Q15=2/88] In what ways has your appearance changed? For example, you look much older, hair is very different, gained or lost weight, facial hair has changed, surgery, or something else? RECORD ALL THAT APPLY

Aged / older……..…….… 1
Hair is very different ……..…….… 2
Facial hair / beard different……..…….… 3
Gender reassignment / gender identity changed……..…….…4
Other [SPECIFY] ……..…….… 5
Don't know/Not sure……..…….… 88
Refused ……..…….… 99

17. Okay, and were you born in the United States, Puerto Rico, or another country?

United States ……1
Puerto Rico……2 [SKIP TO Q18B]
Another country……3 [SKIP TO Q20]
Don't know…....88
Refused…....99

17B. [If Q17=1] And which state were you born in? {MENU WITH ALL STATES+PR AND OTHER US TERRITORY, LIST NORTH CAROLINA 1st}

RECORD SPECIFIC STATE _____

18A. [IF Q17=1,88, 99] Think about the last time you had to use or show your birth certificate? Some of the people we've talked to have lost or misplaced their official birth certificate. How about you? Do you have your original, or an official certified copy - NOT A PHOTOCOPY - of your birth certificate with you - or like some people, do you NOT have your original or certified copy of your birth certificate?

Yes, has birth certificate ……..…….. 1
No, does not have birth certificate ……..…….. 2
Don't know/Not Sure ……..…….. 88
Refused ……..…….. 99

18B. [IF Q17=2 or 17B is PR]. And do you have a certified and accurate new copy of your Puerto Rican birth certificate, one that was issued on, or after July 2010?

Yes ……..…….. 1
No ……..…….. 2
Don't know ……..…….. 88
Refused ……..…….. 99

19. Does your birth certificate reflect your current legal name, or has your legal name changed since birth due to adoption, marriage, divorce, or some other reason? {PROBE: Why did it change}

Yes, reflects current legal name ……..…….. 1
No, name changed: marriage ……..……2
No, name changed: divorce ……..……3
No, name changed: adoption ……..……4
No, name changed: other reason ……..…5
Don't know/Not Sure ……..……88
Refused ……..…….. 99

19B. [IF Q19=2] If your name changed due to marriage, do you have a certified copy of your marriage license?

Yes, I have a marriage license……1
No, do not have a marriage license……2
Don't know/Not Sure……88
Refused……99

19C. [IF Q19=3/99] If your name changed, do you have a certified copy of a court order indicating your name change?

Yes, I have a copy of court order……1
No, do not have a copy of court order……2
Don't know/Not Sure……88
Refused……99

20. Do you happen to have a U.S. passport or passport card? [SKIP IF YES at 8B]

Yes ……..…….. 1
No ……..…….. 2
Don't know ……..…….. 88
Refused ……..…….. 99

21. [IF Q20=1] Is the expiration date on your passport after August 2018, or like some people we've talked to, did it expire before August 2018? [IF NECESSARY: Prompt: "Most U.S. passports are valid for 10 years after they have been issued, and then they expire"]

Yes, it's current ……..…….. 1
No, it's expired ……..…….. 2
Maybe/not sure/ can't remember ……..…….. 3
Don't know ……..…….. 88
Refused ……..…….. 99

22. [IF Q17=3] Okay, do you happen to have your U.S. certificate of citizenship or a U.S. certificate of naturalization, a certification of birth issued by the State Department, or a US Department of Justice Immigration and Naturalization Service US Citizen ID card or have you lost or misplaced it? [IF NECESSARY: "This would be if you were born outside the United States"]

Yes ……..…….. 1
No ……..…….. 2
Don't know ……..…….. 88
Refused ……..…….. 99

23. [IF R DOES NOT HAVE VALID ID] Often times when you go to get a driver's license or state ID card and you don't have a primary identification document like a passport you need to provide at least two supporting identity documents. This question is completely anonymous and confidential, but important for research purposes.

For each document that I read, just tell me yes or no, if you have that document with your current full legal name and you could produce it at the North Carolina DMV office if necessary.

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER, IF YES "And to confirm, that document contains your current full legal name printed on it"?

How about _____

23.1 North Carolina School diploma or school transcripts
23.2 Current insurance policy that is at least two years old
23.3 North Carolina vehicle registration
23.4 Military photo ID, military records, or military dependent card
23.5 Certified copy of marriage license or divorce decree
23.6 Official copy of your Social Security card or Numerical Identification print out record
23.7 Birth Certificate or certified copy
23.8 Unexpired REAL ID driver license or ID card from another state
23.9 North Carolina Limited Driving Privilege
23.10 Certified North Carolina Out of State Vehicle Record
23.11 Current tax records or W-2 or 1099 forms
23.12 Medicare or Medicaid ID Card
23.13 Veterans Universal Access Card

Yes …….. 1
No …….. 2
Don't know ……..88
Refused ……..99

24. [IF S3=1] It's hard to vote in every single election, and some people we've talked to say they didn't vote in some recent elections. Thinking back a few years to the 2016 presidential election in November 2016, try to remember as accurately as possible if you did, or did not vote in the 2016 presidential election here in North Carolina.

Yes, I am certain I voted in November 2016…….… 1
No, I am certain I did not vote in 2016…….… 2
Don't know/ not sure/ can't remember ……..… 88
Refused ……..……..… 99

25. [IF S3=1] What about more recent elections such as the November 2018 election for U.S. Congress? Did you vote in this election, or like many people we have talked to, did you skip last years election?

Yes, I am certain I voted in November 2018…….… 1
No, I am certain I did not vote in 2018…….… 2
Don't know/ not sure/ can't remember ……..… 88
Refused ……..……..… 99

Q26 through Q35 asked only if no valid ID

26. Do you happen to know where the nearest North Carolina Division of Motor Vehicles office is in relation to your home, work or school?

Yes ……..……..… 1
No ……..……..… 2
Don't know ……..……..… 88
Refused ……..……..… 99

26B. Have you ever been to the North Carolina Division of Motor Vehicles office, either to try and get a license, ID card or Election ID certificate?

Yes ……..……..… 1
No ……..……..… 2
Don't know ……..……..… 88
Refused ……..……..… 99

26C. [IF Q26B=Yes] And about how long would it take you to get to the DMV from your house?
If necessary, "about how many minutes would it take to get there, such as 10, 20, 30 minutes or an hour?"

OPEN END: Report minutes 0-500; 999=DK/RF _____

27. Do you happen to know where your local County Board of Elections office is in relation to your home, work or school?

Yes ……..……..… 1
No ……..……..… 2
Don't know ……..……..… 88
Refused ……..……..… 99

27B. Have you ever been to the County Board of Elections office?

Yes ……..…….… 1
No ……..…….… 2
Don't know ……..…….… 88
Refused ……..…….… 99

27C. [IF Q27B=Yes] And about how long would it take you to get to the County Board of Elections from your house?
If necessary, "about how many minutes would it take to get there, such as 10, 20, 30 minutes or an hour?"

OPEN END: Report minutes 0-500; 999=DK/RF _____

28. Of the following list, please tell me if any of the items would, or would not pose a problem for you, if you needed to go to the North Carolina DMV or to the County Board of Elections office on Monday through Friday during normal business hours to obtain an Election Identification Certificate, which cannot be used as proof of identification, but can be used for election purposes?

A. Finding out where the nearest DMV or County Board of Elections office is
B. Getting a ride to the DMV or County Board of Elections office
C. Getting time off from work or school
D. Getting the necessary documents in order, such as my original birth certificate, or marriage
E. Having to travel over 20 miles to the nearest DMV or County Board of Elections office in your community
F. Having to wait in line at the office for about one hour to get your ID
G. Having to wait in line at the office for about two hours to get your ID
H. Using or paying for public transit to get there
I. Paying for any required documents you may not have, such as original birth certificate, or marriage certificate
J. Making it to the required office during their normal business hours such as 8am to 5pm only
K. Making it to the required office during their normal business hours Monday through Friday only

Definite problem ……..…. 1
Somewhat of a problem ……..…. 2
Little bit of a problem ……..…. 3
No problem at all ……..…. 4
Don't know ……..…. 88
Refused ……..…. 99

29. Over the past few months, have you seen or heard any official announcements or advertisements by the state of North Carolina about the new voter photo identification law on the radio, TV, newspaper, Twitter, Facebook or the Internet?

Yes, I have heard information ……..…. 1
No, I have not heard any information……..……...…. 2
DK/RF ……..……. 99

30. The state of North Carolina is hosting educational seminars about the new voter photo identification requirements. Have you heard any official announcements or advertisements specifically about these voter ID seminars in your community?

Yes, I have heard information ……..…. 1
No, I have not heard any information……..……...…. 2
DK/RF ……..……. 99

31. [If 30=1] Have you attended any of these educational seminars on voter ID?

Yes ……..…….… 1
No ……..…….… 2
Don't know ……..…….… 88
Refused ……..…….… 99

32. According to the new law in North Carolina, beginning in 2020, when you show up to vote, you will be asked to show an approved photo ID. If someone does not have an approved photo ID, do you think they will still be allowed to cast a ballot here in North Carolina, or does the new ID law prevent people from voting if they don't have an approved ID?

Yes, they can cast a provisional ballot……..… 1
No, it means they cannot vote without ID……..……..… 2
DK/RF ……..……. 99

33. If you found out that you did not have an approved photo ID, would you still go and try to vote on election day, or would you skip voting since you don't have an approved photo ID?

I would go and try to vote……..… 1
I would skip voting……..……..… 2
DK/RF ……..……. 99

34. Have you heard anything about a provision in the new law that says if a voter suffers from a reasonable impediment that prevents them from obtaining a photo ID, they can still vote a provisional ballot on election day?

Yes ……..…….… 1
No ……..…….… 2
Don't know ……..…….… 88
Refused ……..…….… 99

35. Which of the following items do you think a voter without a photo ID can declare as a reasonable impediment, and still be allowed to vote? For each one, just indicate – Yes or No – if you think the North Carolina law allows you to use that as a reasonable impediment to not being able to obtain a photo ID:

A. Lack of transportation
B. Disability or illness
C. Lack of birth certificate or underlying documents
D. Work schedule
E. Family responsibilities
F. Lost or stolen photo identification
G. Applied for, but not yet received your ID
H. Religious objection to being photographed
I. Victim of a natural disaster

Yes ……..…….… 1
No ……..…….… 2
Don't know ……..…….… 88
Refused ……..…….… 99

D1. How long have you lived in North Carolina? [FOLLOW UP: "How many years"]

[RECORD NUMBER OF YEARS: _____; REFUSED=999, 0=LESS THAN ONE YEAR – ASK FOLLOW UP "How many months?"]

D2. And how long have you lived at your current address? [FOLLOW UP: "How many years"]

[RECORD NUMBER OF YEARS: _____; REFUSED=999, 0=LESS THAN ONE YEAR – ASK FOLLOW UP "How many months?"]

D3. [IF 17=3] In what year did you become a U.S. citizen?

[RECORD 4-DIGIT YEAR: _____; REFUSED=9999]

D4. What is the highest level of education you completed? Just stop me when I read the correct category.

Grades 1 – 8..... 1
Some High School 2
High School graduate or GED 3
Some College/Technical School 4
College graduate 5
Post-graduate education 6
Don't know 88
Refused 99

D5. In what year were you born? __ __ __ __
1900-2001, 9999 = RF

D6. Do you currently own your own home, are you renting, or something else?

Own 1
Rent 2
Something else 3
Don't know 88
Refused 99

D7A. Do you own or lease a car, or does someone in your household own or lease a car that you have regular access to?

Yes, I own or lease 1
Yes, someone in my house does 2
No 3
Don't know 88
Refused 99

D7B. [IF D7A=3-99] Do you have regular access to some other form of reliable transportation or mass transit including the bus or the train?

Yes 1
No 2
Don't know 88
Refused 99

D8. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or something else?

Republican ……..… 1
Democrat ……..… 2
Independent ……..… 3
Other party ……..… 4
Don't know ……..… 88
Refused ……..… 99

D9A. This question is just for statistical purposes, to help us better classify the answers. Your response is completely anonymous, but extremely important to our research. What was your total combined household income in 2018 before taxes. Just stop me when I read the correct category.

Less than $20,000……..… 1
$20,000 to less than $40,000……..… 2
$40,000 to less than $60,000……..… 3
$60,000 to less than $80,000……..… 4
$80,000 to less than $100,000……..… 5
$100,000 to less than $150,000……..… 6
More than $150,000……..… 7
Don't know ……..… 88
Refused ……..… 99

D9B. [IF D9A=88/99] Okay, how about something a little different. Was your household income below $20,000 or above $20,000 in 2018? Again, this information is confidential, but very important to the survey.

Less than $20,000……..… 1
More than $20,000……..… 2
Don't know ……..… 88
Refused ……..… 99

D10A. Finally, do you currently receive disability benefits from the social security administration, or have been determined by the Department of Veteran's Affairs to have a disability rating of over 50 percent?

Yes ……..……..… 1
No ……..……..… 2
Don't know ……..……..… 88
Refused ……..……..… 99

V1A. Okay, and just to confirm that you live here in North Carolina, can you tell me your current residential zip code?

RECORD ZIPCODE: _____

V1B.[IF V1=99999] Alright we don't need your zip code, but can you just confirm that you are a resident of North Carolina?

Yes ……..……..… 1
No ……..……..… 2
Don't know ……..……..… 88
Refused ……..……..… 99

V2. Thank you that's all the questions we have for you. So, we can take your name off our list, can you tell me the full spelling of your first name as it might appear on your identification?

RECORD NAME: _____

V3. Record respondent's gender

Male……...……..… 1
Female……...……..… 2

Thank you for your time.

[IF RESPONDENT ASKS FOR MORE INFORMATION ABOUT SURVEY: "This survey was conducted by Pacific Market Research and is completely anonymous and confidential. If you have any questions or concerns you can contact Pacific at phone number 425-271-2300

Appendix B – Survey Results

Table 1A: Estimated Possession Rates of Identification by Race in North Carolina

Valid ID Category	White	Black	Latino	Blk-Wht		Lat-Wht	
Has NC driver's license	92.8	81.9	80.1	-10.9	***	-12.7	***
Has unexp NC DL	87.5	74.3	69.5	-13.2	***	-18.0	***
Has unexp NC DL + photo match	85.5	70.0	65.6	-15.5	***	-19.9	***
Has any unexp DMV ID	93.3	88.6	77.1	-4.7	*	-16.2	***
Has any unexp DMV ID + photo match	90.8	83.6	73.2	-7.2	***	-17.6	***
Has valid unexp ID (any valid ID)	96.9	92.8	89.0	-4.1	*	-7.9	***
Has valid unexp ID + photo match	93.9	87.6	83.3	-6.3	**	-10.6	***

Table 1B: Estimated LACK OF Possession Rates of Identification by Race in North Carolina

Valid ID Category	White	Black	Latino	Blk-Wht		Lat-Wht	
Does not have NC driver's license	7.2	18.1	19.9	10.9	***	12.7	***
Does not have unexp NC DL	12.5	25.7	30.5	13.2	***	18.0	***
Does not have unexp NC DL + photo match	14.5	30.0	34.4	15.5	***	19.9	***
Does not have any unexp DMV ID	6.7	11.4	22.9	4.7	*	16.2	***
Does not have any unexp DMV ID + photo match	9.2	16.4	26.8	7.2	***	17.6	***
Does not have valid unexp ID (any valid ID)	3.1	7.2	11.0	4.1	*	7.9	***
Does not have valid unexp ID + photo match	6.1	12.4	16.7	6.3	**	10.6	***

*Results are statistically significant at following level: *** pr <.001 ** pr <.010 * pr <.050 ‡ pr <.100*

Source: Statewide survey of North Carolina adult citizens eligible to vote

Table 2A: Estimated Possession Rates of Identification by Race in North Carolina - Under age 65

Valid ID Category	White	Black	Latino	Blk-Wht		Lat-Wht	
Has NC driver's license	92.2	81.7	80.5	-10.5	***	-11.7	***
Has unexp NC DL	86.5	74.4	70.3	-12.1	***	-16.2	***
Has unexp NC DL + photo match	84.3	71.2	66.5	-13.1	***	-17.8	***
Has any unexp DMV ID	92.9	89.7	77.6	-3.2		-15.3	***
Has any unexp DMV ID + photo match	90.1	85.5	73.9	-4.6	*	-16.2	***
Has valid unexp ID (any valid ID)	96.9	94.3	88.4	-2.6		-8.5	***
Has valid unexp ID + photo match	93.5	89.8	83.2	-3.7	‡	-10.3	***

Table 2B: Estimated LACK OF Possession Rates of Identification by Race in North Carolina - Under age 65

Valid ID Category	White	Black	Latino	Blk-Wht		Lat-Wht	
Does not have NC driver's license	7.8	18.3	19.5	10.5	***	11.7	***
Does not have unexp NC DL	13.5	25.6	29.7	12.1	***	16.2	***
Does not have unexp NC DL + photo match	15.7	28.8	33.5	13.1	***	17.8	***
Does not have any unexp DMV ID	7.1	10.3	22.4	3.2		15.3	***
Does not have any unexp DMV ID + photo match	9.9	14.5	26.1	4.6	*	16.2	***
Does not have valid unexp ID (any valid ID)	3.1	5.7	11.6	2.6		8.5	***
Does not have valid unexp ID + photo match	6.5	10.2	16.8	3.7	‡	10.3	***

*Results are statistically significant at following level: *** pr <.001 ** pr <.010 * pr <.050 ‡ pr <.100*

Source: Statewide survey of North Carolina adult citizens eligible to vote

Table 3A: Estimated Possession Rates of Identification by Race in North Carolina

Valid ID Category	White	Black	Latino	Blk-Wht		Lat-Wht	
Has valid unexp ID + name match	93.7	89.3	84.1	-4.4	**	-9.6	***
Has valid unexp ID + DOB + address	89.6	82.5	77.0	-7.1	***	-12.6	***
Has valid unexp ID + name + DOB + address	85.8	81.2	74.7	-4.6	***	-11.1	***
Has valid unexp ID + name + photo	90.9	84.5	80.3	-6.4	*	-10.6	***
Has valid unexp ID + name + photo + DOB + address	83.6	76.9	72.3	-6.7	***	-11.3	***

Table 3B: Estimated LACK OF Possession Rates of Identification by Race in North Carolina

Valid ID Category	White	Black	Latino	Blk-Wht		Lat-Wht	
Does not have valid unexp ID + name match	6.3	10.7	15.9	4.4	**	9.6	***
Does not have valid unexp ID + DOB + address	10.4	17.5	23.0	7.1	***	12.6	***
Does not have valid unexp ID + name + DOB + address	14.2	18.8	25.3	4.6	***	11.1	***
Does not have valid unexp ID + name + photo	9.1	15.5	19.7	6.4	*	10.6	***
Does not have valid unexp ID + name + photo + DOB + address	16.4	23.1	27.7	6.7	***	11.3	***

*Results are statistically significant at following level: *** pr <.001 ** pr <.010 * pr <.050 ‡ pr <.100*

Source: Statewide survey of North Carolina adult citizens eligible to vote

POSSESSION RATES AMONG CURRENT REGISTERED VOTERS

Table 4A: Estimated Possession Rates of Identification by Race in North Carolina
AMONG CURRENT REGISTERED VOTERS

Valid ID Category	White	Black	Latino	Blk-Wht		Lat-Wht	
Has NC driver's license	93.4	83.8	82.5	-9.6	***	-10.9	***
Has unexp NC DL	89.3	76.8	73.7	-12.5	***	-15.6	***
Has unexp NC DL + photo match	88.0	72.6	69.7	-15.4	***	-18.3	***
Has any unexp DMV ID	94.2	89.4	80.8	-4.8	*	-13.4	***
Has any unexp DMV ID + photo match	92.5	84.2	76.9	-8.3	**	-15.6	***
Has valid unexp ID (any valid ID)	97.7	93.2	91.8	-4.5	*	-5.9	*
Has valid unexp ID + photo match	95.5	87.8	85.6	-7.7	**	-9.9	***

Table 4B: Estimated LACK OF Possession Rates of Identification by Race in North Carolina
AMONG CURRENT REGISTERED VOTERS

Valid ID Category	White	Black	Latino	Blk-Wht		Lat-Wht	
Does not have NC driver's license	6.6	16.2	17.5	9.6	***	10.86	***
Does not have unexp NC DL	10.7	23.2	26.3	12.5	***	15.6	***
Does not have unexp NC DL + photo match	12	27.4	30.3	15.4	***	18.3	***
Does not have any unexp DMV ID	5.8	10.6	19.2	4.8	*	13.4	***
Does not have any unexp DMV ID + photo match	7.5	15.8	23.1	8.3	**	15.6	***
Does not have valid unexp ID (any valid ID)	2.3	6.8	8.2	4.5	*	5.9	*
Does not have valid unexp ID + photo match	4.5	12.2	14.4	7.7	**	9.9	***

*Results are statistically significant at following level: *** pr <.001 ** pr <.010 * pr <.050 ǂ pr <.100*

Source: Statewide survey of North Carolina adult citizens eligible to vote, analysis restricted to reg voters

Table 5A: Estimated Possession Rates of Identification by Race in North Carolina - Under age 65
AMONG CURRENT REGISTERED VOTERS

Valid ID Category	White	Black	Latino	Blk-Wht		Lat-Wht	
Has NC driver's license	93.8	83.5	83.0	-10.3	***	-10.8	***
Has unexp NC DL	88.4	77.2	74.5	-11.2	***	-13.9	***
Has unexp NC DL + photo match	87.1	73.7	70.4	-13.4	***	-16.7	***
Has any unexp DMV ID	93.5	90.6	81.1	-2.9		-12.4	***
Has any unexp DMV ID + photo match	91.7	85.9	77.2	-5.8	*	-14.5	***
Has valid unexp ID (any valid ID)	97.3	94.6	91.4	-2.7		-5.9	*
Has valid unexp ID + photo match	94.8	89.1	85.4	-5.7	*	-9.4	**

Table 5B: Estimated LACK OF Possession Rates of Identification by Race in North Carolina - Under age 65
AMONG CURRENT REGISTERED VOTERS

Valid ID Category	White	Black	Latino	Blk-Wht		Lat-Wht	
Does not have NC driver's license	6.2	16.5	17.0	10.3	***	10.8	***
Does not have unexp NC DL	11.6	22.8	25.5	11.2	***	13.9	***
Does not have unexp NC DL + photo match	12.9	26.3	29.6	13.4	***	16.7	***
Does not have any unexp DMV ID	6.5	9.4	18.9	2.9		12.4	***
Does not have any unexp DMV ID + photo match	8.3	14.1	22.8	5.8	*	14.5	***
Does not have valid unexp ID (any valid ID)	2.7	5.4	8.6	2.7		5.9	*
Does not have valid unexp ID + photo match	5.2	10.9	14.6	5.7	*	9.4	**

*Results are statistically significant at following level: *** pr <.001 ** pr <.010 * pr <.050 ǂ pr <.100*

Source: Statewide survey of North Carolina adult citizens eligible to vote, analysis restricted to reg voters

Table 6A: Estimated Possession Rates of Identification by Race in North Carolina
AMONG CURRENT REGISTERED VOTERS

Valid ID Category	White	Black	Latino	Blk-Wht		Lat-Wht	
Has valid unexp ID + name match	94.9	90.1	86.9	-4.8	*	-8.0	**
Has valid unexp ID + DOB + address	91.2	84.7	80.0	-6.5	**	-11.2	***
Has valid unexp ID + name + DOB + address	88.8	82.7	77.9	-6.1	*	-10.9	***
Has valid unexp ID + name + photo	92.9	85.2	82.8	-7.7	**	-10.1	***
Has valid unexp ID + name + photo + DOB + address	86.8	78.3	75.2	-8.5	**	-11.6	***

Table 6B: Estimated LACK OF Possession Rates of Identification by Race in North Carolina
AMONG CURRENT REGISTERED VOTERS

Valid ID Category	White	Black	Latino	Blk-Wht		Lat-Wht	
Does not have valid unexp ID + name match	5.1	9.9	13.1	4.8	*	8.0	**
Does not have valid unexp ID + DOB + address	8.8	15.3	20.0	6.5	**	11.2	***
Does not have valid unexp ID + name + DOB + address	11.2	17.3	22.1	6.1	*	10.9	***
Does not have valid unexp ID + name + photo	7.1	14.8	17.2	7.7	**	10.1	***
Does not have valid unexp ID + name + photo + DOB + address	13.2	21.7	24.8	8.5	**	11.6	***

*Results are statistically significant at following level: *** pr <.001 ** pr <.010 * pr <.050 ǂ pr <.100*

Source: Statewide survey of North Carolina adult citizens eligible to vote, analysis restricted to reg voters

Table 7: Among respondents who do NOT have a valid ID

If a poll worker did happen to ask you to show a valid photo ID, as far as you know, do you currently possess a valid ID?	White	Black	Latino
Yes	84.6	76.2	80.7
No	5.7	13.9	13.0
Maybe / depends	9.7	9.9	6.3
Total	100	100	100

Table 8: Among respondents who do NOT have a valid ID

Have you ever heard of a type of photo ID called a North Carolina Voter ID Card ?	White	Black	Latino
Yes	27.5	30.1	27.4
No	69.4	65.3	72.1
Don't Know/Not Sure	3.1	4.5	0.5
Total	100	100	100

Table 9: Among all respondents

Have you ever heard of a type of photo ID called a North Carolina Voter ID Card ?	White	Black	Latino
Yes	45.6	44.1	39.0
No	52.8	54.4	59.9
Don't Know/Not Sure	1.6	1.6	1.1
Total	100	100	100

Table 10: Among those who have heard of Voter ID card

Do you happen to know where to go to obtain a North Carolina Voter ID Card?	White	Black	Latino
North Carolina DMV Office Driver's License Office	48.5	55.7	58.3
County Board Of Elections Office/ Registrar	20.0	18.7	23.8
Some Other Place	5.1	6.0	5.1
Don't Know/ Not Sure	31.1	26.0	19.7

Table 11: Among all respondents

Do you think the card costs something, or that it is issued for free?	White	Black	Latino
Cost Something	26.5	30.5	34.4
Issued for Free	51.5	48.1	46.7
Don't Know/ Not Sure	22.0	21.4	18.9
Total	100	100	100

Table 12: Among respondents who do NOT have a valid ID

Do you know where the nearest North Carolina DMV office is in relation to your home, work, or school?	White	Black	Latino
Yes	86.6	63.9	76.6
No	11.5	31.5	20.1
Don't Know	1.8	4.6	3.2
Total	100	100	100

Table 13: Among respondents who do NOT have a valid ID

Have you ever been to the North Carolina DMV Office, either to get a license, ID card or Election ID Certificate?	White	Black	Latino
Yes	94.6	64.0	55.0
No	5.5	35.0	40.4
Don’t Know/Refused	0.0	1.0	4.6
Total	100	100	100

Table 14: Among respondents who do NOT have a valid ID

Have you ever been to the County Board of Elections office?	White	Black	Latino
Yes	36.2	22.6	14.4
No	57.7	76.2	82.2
Don’t Know/Refused	6.1	1.2	3.5
Total	100	100	100

Table 15: Among respondents who do NOT have a valid ID

Do you happen to know where your local county board of elections office is in relation to your home, work, or school?	White	Black	Latino
Yes	40.5	36.3	37.5
No	49.8	59.1	53.3
Don't Know/Refused	9.7	4.6	9.3
Total	100	100	100

Table 16: Among respondents who do NOT have a valid ID

Over the past few months, have you seen or heard any official announcements or advertisements by the state of North Carolina about the new voter photo identification law on the radio, TV, newspaper, Twitter, Facebook or the Internet?	White	Black	Latino
Yes	34.3	35.2	24.0
No	65.7	63.7	72.0
Don't Know/ Refused	0	1.1	4.0
Total	100	100	100

Table 17: Among respondents who do NOT have a valid ID

The state of North Carolina is hosting educational seminars about the new voter photo identification requirements. Have you heard any official announcements or advertisements specifically about these voter ID seminars in your community?	White	Black	Latino
Yes	17.2	14.9	16.7
No	82.8	84.6	80.6
Don't Know/ Refused	0	0.5	2.7
Total	100	100	100

Table 18: Among respondents who do NOT have a valid ID

According to the new law in North Carolina, beginning in 2020, when you show up to vote, you will be asked to show an approved photo ID. If someone does not have an approved photo ID, do you think they will still be allowed to cast a ballot here in North Carolina, or does the new ID law prevent people from voting if they don't have an approved ID?	White	Black	Latino
Yes	24.0	21.2	36.2
No	65.5	60.2	51.9
Don't Know/ Refused	10.5	18.6	12.0
Total	100	100	100

Table 19: Among respondents who do NOT have a valid ID

If you found out that you did not have an approved photo ID, would you still go and try to vote on election day, or would you skip voting since you don't have an approved photo ID?	White	Black	Latino
I would go and try to vote	51.8	38.9	38.6
I would skip voting	41.2	55.4	56.7
Don't Know/ Refused	7.0	5.7	4.8
Total	100	100	100

Table 20: Among respondents who do NOT have a valid ID

Have you heard anything about a provision in the new law that says if a voter suffers from a reasonable impediment that prevents them from obtaining a photo ID, they can still vote a provisional ballot on election day?	White	Black	Latino
Yes	13.0	17.9	21.3
No	77.9	73.8	70.8
Don't Know/Refused	9.1	8.3	7.9
Total	100	100	100

Table 21: Among all respondents

Which of the following items do you think a voter without a photo ID can declare as a reasonable impediment, and still be allowed to vote:	White	Black	Latino
Lack of transportation (% Yes)	24.5	34.1	33.0
Disability or illness (% Yes)	50.7	54.5	58.2
Lack of underlying documents (% Yes)	31.4	39.7	43.0
Busy work schedule (% Yes)	20.2	31.8	34.8
Family responsibilities (% Yes)	22.3	35.4	33.8
Lost or stolen photo ID (% Yes)	30.6	42.9	45.0
Not yet received your photo ID (% Yes)	44.1	48.2	50.1
Religious objection to photograph (% Yes)	20.3	31.4	31.5
Victim of a natural disaster (% Yes)	52.8	53.4	52.4

Table 22: Of the following list, please tell me if any of the items would, or would not pose a problem for you, if you needed to go to the North Carolina DMV or to the County Board of Elections office to obtain an ID (Among all respondents)

1. Finding out where the nearest DMV or County Board of Elections Office is	White	Black	Latino
Would/could be a problem	0.93	2.85	4.45

2. Getting time off from work or school	White	Black	Latino
Would/could be a problem	2.05	2.87	5.49

3. Getting a ride to the DMV or County Board of Elections Office	White	Black	Latino
Would/could be a problem	2.05	3.15	5.05

4. Getting the necessary documents in order, such as original birth certificate or marriage certificate	White	Black	Latino
Would/could be a problem	1.92	1.99	5.0

5. Having to travel over 20 miles to the nearest DMV or County Board of Elections Office in your community	White	Black	Latino
Would/could be a problem	1.96	2.96	5.61

6. Having to wait in line at the office for about one hour to get your ID	White	Black	Latino
Would/could be a problem	3.96	4.77	7.45

7. Having to wait in line at the office for about two hours to get your ID	White	Black	Latino
Would/could be a problem	4.10	5.22	9.59

8. Paying for any required documents you may not have, such as original birth certificate, or marriage certificate	White	Black	Latino
Would/could be a problem	2.38	3.10	4.48

9. Using public transportation to get to the office	White	Black	Latino
Would/could be a problem	3.62	3.96	5.68

10. Making it to the required office during their normal business hours such as 8am to 5pm only	White	Black	Latino
Would/could be a problem	2.11	3.32	6.60

11. Making it to the required office during their normal business hours Monday through Friday only	White	Black	Latino
Would/could be a problem	2.73	3.13	6.26

Summary of burden items 1 – 11	White	Black	Latino
Total who face at least one single burden	5.08	7.34	10.97
Total who face at least 3+ burdens	3.66	5.09	8.43
Total who face at least 5+ burdens	2.55	4.26	6.51

Table 23. Logistic Regression Analysis of Possible Burdens Faced – Across Full Sample

Logistic Regression Model Compares White Respondents to Non-White Respondents

Type of Burden	Coef. for Whites	S.E. for Whites	P-Value (Sig)	Prob burden: Whites	Prob burden: non-Whites
Burden 1	-1.37**	0.498	0.006	0.0093	0.0360
Burden 2	-0.705**	0.355	0.047	0.0205	0.0407
Burden 3	-0.785**	0.353	0.026	0.0205	0.0439
Burden 4	-0.658*	0.368	0.074	0.0192	0.0365
Burden 5	-0.800**	0.361	0.027	0.0196	0.0425
Burden 6	-0.469*	0.265	0.077	0.0396	0.0619
Burden 7	-0.645**	0.256	0.012	0.0410	0.0753
Burden 8	-0.355	0.28	0.206	0.0362	0.0508
Burden 9	-0.533	0.336	0.113	0.0238	0.0400
Burden 10	-0.932**	0.343	0.007	0.0211	0.0520
Burden 11	-0.612**	0.312	0.050	0.0273	0.0492
At least 1 burden	-0.851***	0.220	0.000	0.0548	0.1197
Burden Scale (0-11 Scale)	-0.250**	0.097	0.010	0.2781	0.5288

*Results are statistically significant at following level: *** pr <.001 ** pr <.010 * pr <.050 ‡ pr <.100*

MATT A. BARRETO – BARRETOM@UCLA.EDU

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES, 3345 BUNCHE HALL, LOS ANGELES CA 90095 / 909.489.2955

EMPLOYMENT:

Professor, Political Science, University of California Los Angeles (2015 – present)
Professor, Chicana/o Studies, University of California Los Angeles (2015 – present)
Co-Founder & Director, Latino Policy & Politics Initiative

Dept. Political Science, University of Washington
Professor (2014 – 2015)
Associate Professor (2009 – 2014)
Assistant Professor (2005 – 2009)
Co-Founder & Director, Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity and Race
Founding Director, Center for Democracy and Voting Rights, UW School of Law

Affiliated Research Centers

Latino Policy & Politics Initiative (LPPI), University of California, Los Angeles
Chicano Studies Research Center (CSRC), University of California, Los Angeles
Center for the Study of Los Angeles (CSLA), Loyola Marymount University

PERSONAL:

Born: June 6, 1976
San Juan, Puerto Rico

High School: 1994, Washburn Rural HS, Topeka, KS

EDUCATION:

Ph.D., Political Science, June 2005
University of California – Irvine
Sub Fields: American Politics / Race, Ethnicity and Politics / Methodology
Thesis: Ethnic Cues: The Role of Shared Ethnicity in Latino Political Participation
Thesis Committee: Bernard Grofman (chair), Louis DeSipio, Katherine Tate, Carole Uhlaner
Thesis Awards: *Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship for Minorities, 04-05*
University of California President's Dissertation Fellowship, 04-05
University of California Institute for Mexico & the U.S. Dissertation Grant, 04-05

Master of Science, Social Science, March 2003
University of California – Irvine

Bachelor of Science, Political Science, May 1998
Eastern New Mexico University, Portales, NM
Minor: English. Cumulative GPA: 3.9, *Summa Cum Laude*

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14. Barreto, Matt and Christopher Parker. 2015. "Public Opinion and Reactionary Movements: From the Klan to the Tea Party" In Adam Berinsky (ed.) New Directions in Public Opinion. 2nd edition. New York: Routledge Press.

13. Barreto, Matt and Gabriel Sanchez. 2014. "A 'Southern Exception' in Black-Latino Attitudes?." In Anthony Affigne, Evelyn Hu-Dehart, Marion Orr (eds.) Latino Politics en Ciencia Política. New York: New York University Press.

12. Barreto, Matt, Ben Gonzalez, and Gabriel Sanchez. 2014. "Rainbow Coalition in the Golden State? Exposing Myths, Uncovering New Realities in Latino Attitudes Towards Blacks." In Josh Kun and Laura Pulido (eds.) Black and Brown in Los Angeles: Beyond Conflict and Coalition. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

11. Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, Ben Gonzalez, and Christopher Parker. 2011. "Tea Party Politics in a Blue State: Dino Rossi and the 2010 Washington Senate Election" In William Miller and Jeremy Walling (eds.) Stuck in the Middle to Lose: Tea Party Effects on 2010 U.S. Senate Elections. Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group.

10. Jason Morin, Gabriel Sanchez and Matt Barreto. 2011. "Perceptions of Competition Between Latinos and Blacks: The Development of a Relative Measure of Inter-Group Competition." In Edward Telles, Gaspar Rivera-Salgado and Mark Sawyer (eds.) Just Neighbors? Research on African American and Latino Relations in the US. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

9. Grofman, Bernard, Frank Wayman and Matt Barreto. 2009. "Rethinking partisanship: Some thoughts on a unified theory." In John Bartle and Paolo Bellucci (eds.) Political Parties and Partisanship: Social identity and individual attitudes. New York: Routledge Press.

8. Barreto, Matt, Ricardo Ramírez, Luis Fraga and Fernando Guerra. 2009. "Why California Matters: How California Latinos Influence the Presidential Election." In Rodolfo de la Garza, Louis DeSipio and David Leal (eds.) Beyond the Barrio: Latinos in the 2004 Elections. South Bend, ID: University of Notre Dame Press.

7. Francisco Pedraza and Matt Barreto. 2008. "Exit Polls and Ethnic Diversity: How to Improve Estimates and Reduce Bias Among Minority Voters." In Wendy Alvey and Fritz Scheuren (eds.) Elections and Exit Polling. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley and Sons.

6. Adrian Pantoja, Matt Barreto and Richard Anderson. 2008. "Politics *y la Iglesia*: Attitudes Toward the Role of Religion in Politics Among Latino Catholics" In Michael Genovese, Kristin Hayer and Mark J. Rozell (eds.) Catholics and Politics. Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press..

5. Barreto, Matt. 2007. "The Role of Latino Candidates in Mobilizing Latino Voters: Revisiting Latino Vote Choice." In Rodolfo Espino, David Leal and Kenneth Meier (eds.) Latino Politics: Identity, Mobilization, and Representation. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

4. Abosch, Yishaiya, Matt Barreto and Nathan Woods. 2007. "An Assessment of Racially Polarized Voting For and Against Latinos Candidates in California." In Ana Henderson (ed.) Voting Rights Act Reauthorization of 2006: Perspectives on Democracy, Participation, and Power:. Berkeley, CA: UC Berkeley Public Policy Press.

3. Barreto, Matt and Ricardo Ramírez. 2005. "The Race Card and California Politics: Minority Voters and Racial Cues in the 2003 Recall Election." In Shaun Bowler and Bruce Cain (eds.) Clicker Politics: Essays on the California Recall. Englewood-Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

2. Barreto, Matt and Nathan Woods. 2005. "The Anti-Latino Political Context and its Impact on GOP Detachment and Increasing Latino Voter Turnout in Los Angeles County." In Gary Segura and Shawn Bowler (eds.) Diversity in Democracy: Minority Representation in the United States. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

1. Pachon, Harry, Matt Barreto and Frances Marquez. 2004. "Latino Politics Comes of Age in the Golden State." In Rodolfo de la Garza and Louis DeSipio (eds.) Muted Voices: Latino Politics in the 2000 Election. New York: Rowman & Littlefield

RESEARCH AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS

April 2018	Democracy Fund & Wellspring Philanthropic UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	*$200,000 – 18 months*
March 2018	AltaMed California UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	*$250,000 – 12 months*
Dec 2017	California Community Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	*$100,000 – 12 months*
July 2013	Ford Foundation UW Center for Democracy and Voting Rights	*$200,000 – 12 months*
April 2012	American Values Institute [With Ben Gonzalez] Racial Narratives and Public Response to Racialized Moments	*$40,000 – 3 months*
Jan 2012	American Civil Liberties Union Foundation [With Gabriel Sanchez] Voter Identification Laws in Wisconsin	*$60,000 – 6 months*
June 2011	State of California Citizens Redistricting Commission An Analysis of Racial Bloc Voting in California Elections	*$60,000 – 3 months*
Apr 2011	Social Science Research Council (SSRC) [With Karam Dana] Muslim and American? A national conference on the political and social incorporation of American Muslims	*$50,000 – 18 months*
Jan 2011	impreMedia [With Gary Segura] Latino public opinion tracking poll of voter attitudes in 2011	*$30,000 – 6 months*
Oct 2010	National Council of La Raza (NCLR) [With Gary Segura] Measuring Latino Influence in the 2010 Elections	*$128,000 – 6 months*
Oct 2010	We Are America Alliance (WAAA) [With Gary Segura] Latino and Asian American Immigrant Community Voter Study	*$79,000 – 3 months*
May 2010	National Council of La Raza (NCLR) [With Gary Segura] A Study of Latino Views Towards Arizona SB1070	*$25,000 – 3 months*
Apr 2010	Social Science Research Council (SSRC) [With Karam Dana] Muslim and American? The influence of religiosity in Muslim political incorporation	*$50,000 – 18 months*
Oct 2009	American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) [With Gary Segura] Health care reform and Latino public opinion	*$25,000 – 3 months*
Nov 2008	impreMedia & National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) [With Gary Segura] 2008 National Latino Post-Election Survey, Presidential Election	*$46,000 – 3 months*
July 2008	National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) [With Gary Segura] Latino voter outreach survey – an evaluation of Obama and McCain	*$72,000 – 3 months*
June 2008	The Pew Charitable Trusts, Make Voting Work Project [with Karin MacDonald and Bonnie Glaser] Evaluating Online Voter Registration (OVR) Systems in Arizona and Washington	*$220,000 – 10 months*
April 2008	National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) & National Council of La Raza (NCLR), 2008 Latino voter messaging survey	*$95,000 – 6 months*

RESEARCH GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS CONTINUED…

Dec. 2007	Research Royalty Fund, University of Washington 2008 Latino national post-election survey	*$39,000 – 12 months*
Oct. 2007	Brenan Center for Justice, New York University [with Stephen Nuño and Gabriel Sanchez] Indiana Voter Identification Study	*$40,000 – 6 months*
June 2007	National Science Foundation, Political Science Division [with Gary Segura] American National Election Study – Spanish translation and Latino oversample	*$750,000 – 24 months*
Oct. 2006	University of Washington, Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education Absentee voter study during the November 2006 election in King County, WA	*$12,000 – 6 months*
Mar. 2006	Latino Policy Coalition Public Opinion Research Grant [with Gary Segura] Awarded to the Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity and Race	*$40,000 – 18 months*
2005 – 2006	University of Washington, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Research Grant	*$8,000 – 12 months*
Mar. 2005	Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Foundation Grant [with Fernando Guerra] Conduct Exit Poll during Los Angeles Mayoral Election, Mar. 8 & May 17, 2005 Awarded to the Center for the Study of Los Angeles	*$30,000 – 6 months*
2004 – 2005	Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship for Minorities	*$21,000 – 12 months*
2004 – 2005	University of California President's Dissertation Fellowship	*$14,700 – 9 months*
2004 – 2005	University of California Mexico-US (UC MEXUS) Dissertation Grant	*$12,000 – 9 months*
Apr – 2004	UC Regents pre-dissertation fellowship, University of California, Irvine,	*$4,700 – 3 months*
2003 – 2004	Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Foundation Grant [with Fernando Guerra] Awarded to the Center for the Study of Los Angeles	*$20,000 – 12 months*
2002 – 2003	Ford Foundation Grant on Institutional Inequality [with Harry Pachon] Conducted longitudinal study of Prop 209 on Latino and Black college admittance Awarded to Tomás Rivera Policy Institute	*$150,000 – 12 months*
2002 – 2003	Haynes Foundation Grant on Economic Development [with Louis Tornatzky] Knowledge Economy in the Inland Empire region of Southern California Awarded to Tomás Rivera Policy Institute	*$150,000 – 18 months*
2001 – 2002	William F Podlich Graduate Fellowship, Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine	*$24,000 – 9 months*

CONSULTING EXPERT:

- East Ramapo CSD, 2019, Expert for Plaintiffs in Section 2 VRA lawsuit, assessed polarized voting
- New York, 2018, Expert for Plaintiffs in lawsuit against U.S. Census 2020 citizenship question New York vs. US Dept of Commerce, and implemented survey and conducted similar expert report in California v. US Dept of Commerce and Kravitz v. US Dept of Commerce
- Dallas County, TX, 2017, Expert for Defense in Section 2 VRA lawsuit, Harding v. Dallas County
- Kansas, 2016, Expert for Plaintiffs in Kansas voter registration lawsuit, Fish v. Kobach 2:16-cv-02105-JAR
- North Dakota, 2015, Expert for Plaintiffs in North Dakota voter ID lawsuit, Brakebill v. Jaeger 1:16-cv-00008-CSM
- Alabama, 2015, Expert for Plaintiffs in Alabama voter ID lawsuit, Birmingham Ministries v. State of Alabama 2:15-cv-02193-LSC
- Texas, 2014, Testifying Expert for Plaintiffs in Texas voter ID lawsuit, Veasey v. Perry 2:13-cv-00193
- Galveston County, TX Redistricting, 2013, Expert report for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, vote dilution analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit Galveston County JP/Constable districting
- Pasadena, TX Redistricting, 2013, Expert report for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit within Pasadena School District
- Harris County, TX Redistricting, 2011, Testifying Expert for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit within Harris County
- Pennsylvania, 2012, Testifying Expert for ACLU Foundation of Pennsylvania in voter ID lawsuit, Applewhite v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania No. 330 MD 2012
- Milwaukee County, WI, 2012, Testifying Expert for ACLU Foundation of Wisconsin in voter ID lawsuit, Frank v. Walker 2:11-cv-01128(LA)
- Orange County, FL, 2012, Consulting Expert for Latino Justice/PRLDEF, Racially polarized voting analysis in Orange County, Florida
- Anaheim, CA, 2012, Consulting Expert for Goldstein, Demchak & Baller Legal, Racially polarized voting analysis for CVRA redistricting case Anaheim, CA
- Los Angeles County, CA, 2011, Consulting Expert for Goldstein, Demchak & Baller Legal, Racially polarized voting analysis for three redistricting cases in L.A.: Cerritos Community College Board; ABC Unified Schools; City of West Covina
- Harris County, TX Redistricting, 2011, Consulting Expert for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, for Section 5 objection within Harris County
- Monterey County, CA Redistricting, 2011, Consulting Expert for City of Salinas, Demographic analysis, creation of alternative maps, and racially polarized Voting analysis within Monterey County
- Los Angeles County Redistricting Commission, 2011, Consulting Expert for Supervisor Gloria Molina, Racially Polarized voting analysis within L.A. County
- State of California, Citizens Redistricting Commission, 2011, Consulting Expert, Racially Polarized Voting analysis throughout state of California
- Asian Pacific American Legal Center, 2011, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Asian American candidates in Los Angeles for APALC redistricting brief
- Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and Arnold & Porter, LLP, 2010-12, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino and Asian candidates in San Mateo County, concerning San Mateo County Board of Supervisors
- ACLU of Washington, 2010-11, preliminary analysis of Latino population patterns in Yakima, Washington, to assess ability to draw majority Latino council districts
- State of Washington, 2010-11, provided expert analysis and research for *State of Washington v. MacLean* in case regarding election misconduct and voting patterns

- Los Angeles County Chicano Employees Association, 2008-10, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino candidates in L.A. County for VRA case, concerning L.A. County Board of Supervisors redistricting (6 reports issued 08-10)
- Brennan Center for Justice and Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson LLP, 2009-10 Amicus Brief submitted to Indiana Supreme Court, *League of Women Voters v*. *Rokita*, regarding access to voter identification among minority and lower resource citizens
- State of New Mexico, consulting expert for state in *AAPD v*. *New Mexico*, 2008,
- District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS), statistical consultant for survey methodology of opinion survey of parents in DCPS district (for pending suit), 2008,
- Brennan Center for Justice, 2007-08, Amicus Brief submitted to U.S. Supreme Court, and cited in Supreme Court decision, *Crawford v*. *Marion County*, regarding access to voter identification among minority and lower-resource citizens
- Los Angeles County Chicano Employees Association, 2002-07, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino candidates in L.A. County for VRA case, concerning L.A. County Board of Supervisors redistricting (12 + reports issued during 5 years)
- Monterrey County School Board, 2007, demographic and population analysis for VRA case
- Sweetwater Union School District, 2007-08, Racially Polarized Voting analysis, and demographic and population analysis for VRA case
- Mexican American Legal Defense Fund, 2007-08, Racially Polarized Voting analysis for Latino candidates, for City of Whittier city council races, for VRA case
- ACLU of Washington, 2008, preliminary analysis of voting patterns in Eastern Washington, related to electability of Latino candidates
- Nielsen Media Research, 2005-08, with Willie C. Velasquez Institute, assessed the methodology of Latino household recruitment in Nielsen sample

TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

UCLA & UW — 2005 – Present

- Minority Political Behavior (Grad Seminar)
- Politics of Immigration in the U.S. (Grad Seminar)
- Introduction to Empirical/Regression Analysis (Grad Seminar)
- Advanced Empirical/Regression Analysis (Grad Seminar)
- Qualitative Research Methods (Grad Seminar)
- Political Participation & Elections (Grad Seminar)
- The Voting Rights Act (Law School seminar)
- Voting Rights Law and Policy (jointly offered Law, Policy School, Social Sciences)
- Research methodology II (Law School Ph.D. program seminar)
- U.S. Latino Politics
- Chicana/o Studies: Social Structure and Contemporary Conditions
- Racial and Ethnic Politics in the U.S.
- Politics of Immigration in the U.S.
- Introduction to American Government
- Public Opinion Research
- Campaigns and Elections in the U.S.
- Presidential Primary Elections

Teaching Assistant
University of California, Irvine — 2002 – 2005

- Intro to American Politics (K. Tate)
- Intro to Minority Politics (L. DeSipio)
  Recognized as Outstanding Teaching Assistant, Winter 2002
- Statistics and Research Methods (B. Grofman)
  Recognized as Outstanding Teaching Assistant, Winter 2003

BOARD & RESEARCH APPOINTMENTS

Founding Partner
Latino Decisions — 2007 – Present

Senior Research Fellow
Center for the Study of Los Angeles, Loyola Marymount University — 2002 – Present

Advisory Board
States of Change: Demographics & Democracy Project — 2014 – Present
CAP, AEI, Brookings Collaborative Project

Board of Advisors
American National Election Study, University of Michigan — 2010 – 2017

Research Advisor
American Values Institute / Perception Institute — 2009 – 2014

Expert Consultant
State of California, Citizens Redistricting Committee — 2011 – 2012

Senior Scholar & Advisory Council
Latino Policy Coalition, San Francisco, CA — 2006 – 2008

Board of Directors
CASA Latina, Seattle, WA — 2006 – 2009

Faculty Research Scholar
Tomás Rivera Policy Institute, University of Southern California — 1999 – 2009

PHD STUDENTS UCLA & UW

Committee Chair or Co-Chair

- Francisco I. Pedraza – University of California, Riverside (UW Ph.D. 2009)
- Loren Collingwood – University of California, Riverside (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Betsy Cooper – Public Religion Research Institute, Washington DC (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Sergio I. Garcia-Rios – Cornell University (UW Ph.D. 2015)
- Hannah Walker – Rutgers University (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Kassra Oskooii – University of Delaware (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Angela Ocampo – University of Michigan (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Ayobami Laniyonu – University of Toronto (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta – Facebook Data Science (UCLA Ph.D. 2019)
- Tyler Reny – *in progress* (UCLA ABD)
- Adria Tinin – *in progress* (UCLA ABD)
- Bang Quan Zheng – *in progress* (UCLA ABD)
- Angie Gutierrez – *in progress* (UCLA ABD)
- Shakari Byerly-Nelson – *in progress* (UCLA)
- Vivien Leung – *in progress* (UCLA)
- Estefania Castañeda-Perez – *in progress* (UCLA)

Committee Member

- Jessica Stewart – Emory University (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Jonathan Collins – Brown University (UCLA Ph.D., 2017)
- Lisa Sanchez – University of Arizona (UNM Ph.D., 2016)
- Nazita Lajevardi – Michigan State University (UC San Diego Ph.D., 2016)
- Kiku Huckle – Pace University (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Patrick Rock (Social Psychology) – (UCLA Ph.D. 2016)
- Raynee Gutting – Loyola Marymount University (Stony Brook Ph.D. 2015)
- Christopher Towler – Sacramento State University (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Benjamin F. Gonzalez – San Diego State University (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Marcela Garcia-Castañon – San Francisco State University (UW Ph.D. 2013)
- Justin Reedy (Communications) – University of Oklahoma (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Dino Bozonelos – Cal State San Marcos (UC Riverside Ph.D. 2012)
- Brandon Bosch – University of Nebraska (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Karam Dana (Middle East Studies) – UW Bothell (UW Ph.D. 2010)
- Yoshira Macias – (UNM Ph.D., 2019)
- Joy Wilke – *in progress* (UCLA ABD)
- Erik Hanson – *in progress* (UCLA ABD)
- Christine Slaughter – *in progress* (UCLA ABD)
- Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga – *in progress* (UNM ABD)