



THE CENTER FOR INFORMATION & RESEARCH ON CIVIC LEARNING & ENGAGEMENT | www.civicyouth.org

League of Women Voters of North Carolina, et al. v. State of North Carolina, et al.,
1:13-CV-660 (M.D.N.C.)

Expert Report Submitted on Behalf of the Duke Intervenor-Plaintiffs

Peter Levine, Seth Avakian, and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg

**The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement at Tufts
University**

April 11, 2014

I. INTRODUCTION

This report addresses certain recent changes to North Carolina's voting laws following the passage of House Bill 589 (HB 589) and the likely impact of those changes on youth registration and turnout among young voters in the state. Perkins Coie, counsel for the Duke Intervenor-Plaintiffs in the above-captioned litigation, retained us to provide our expert analysis and opinion.¹

A. Experience

In preparing this report, we relied on our extensive experience studying youth voting and civic engagement.

- Dr. Peter Levine is the Lincoln Filene Professor of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Tufts University and author of seven books and many articles, including several specifically on state policy for voting or civic engagement. He also serves as the Director of the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE), which is housed at Tufts and devoted to studying young Americans' voting and political participation, as well as civic education in schools and other related topics. CIRCLE is considered one of the country's authoritative sources on youth voting, and its research has been cited by most national news organizations, including the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Los Angeles Times*. Dr. Levine has been interviewed on MSNBC, CNN, Al-Jazeera, CBS radio news, CBS television news, NPR's "All Things Considered," and many local television and radio programs. Between July and November of 2008, CIRCLE was cited in 1,253 newspaper, magazine, broadcast, or web stories, including 829 print media articles.
- Seth Avakian recently completed his PhD in public policy at Northeastern University, using large datasets to investigate college students' civic engagement. He is a researcher for the National Study of Learning, Voting, and Engagement at CIRCLE, which offers colleges and universities an opportunity to learn their student registration and voting rates. His work focuses on the management and analysis of large datasets of voting records.
- Dr. Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, a psychologist, is CIRCLE's Deputy Director. Dr. Kawashima-Ginsberg oversees CIRCLE's core research projects and has been particularly focused on the types of measures that would help increase civic and political engagement opportunities for youth. She has published briefs and peer-

¹ Perkins Coie is compensating us for our work at the following rates: Dr. Levine at \$150 per hour; Dr. Kawashima-Ginsberg at \$150 per hour; and Seth Avakian at \$100 per hour.

reviewed articles on youth voting and engagement. She was one of the main researchers for the recently published report of CIRCLE's Commission on Youth Voting and Civic Knowledge (2013), a peer-reviewed article on the state voter policy effects on youth turnout (Kawashima-Ginsberg & Levine, 2014), and a CIRCLE fact sheet on state-wide youth turnout and electoral policy (Kawashima-Ginsberg, Nover & Kirby, 2009).

Our CVs are attached to this report, as is a list of all publications that we have authored in the past 10 years. None of us has previously testified as an expert witness, either at trial or by deposition.

B. Methodology

For this expert report, we drew from two sources of data: the North Carolina voter files (2008-2012); and the Census Current Population Survey Voting and Registration Supplement (CPS). The CPS data were used in the previously published Commission on Youth Voting and Civic Knowledge study (2013) (hereinafter the "2013 Commission Report") and in new analyses planned and conducted specifically to estimate the effects of HB 589 on young voters. Drs. Levine and Kawashima-Ginsberg were both involved in the design, analysis, and writing of the 2013 Commission Report.

The differences between the 2013 Commission Report and the new analyses are described in detail below, but the primary difference is that the 2013 Commission Report analysis focused on 18 to 29 year olds while the new analyses focus on 18 to 24 year olds.

Methodology for the 2013 Commission Report

For the 2013 Commission Report, we drew from the CPS (2012) to explore the effects of state-wide election policies on the voting propensity of citizens aged 18 to 29 years old. We employed hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) to account for the codependence between individual observations nested within the same geographical unit (i.e., living in the same states) and state-wide factors such as the competitiveness of the election in that state and poverty rates. The analysis also accounted for individual-level predictors of voting such as gender, educational attainment and race.

Our analytical approach was first to conduct hierarchical linear models with each outcome of interest to assess whether there were enough systematic variations attributable to state-level factors. To do so, we examined the variance components and calculated an Intraclass Correlation Coefficient (ICC) from the null model to estimate the portion of outcome variance that was attributable to state factors. If the variance

component was significant and the ICC was sufficiently large (>5%), we proceeded with the model using HLM software (version 7, SSI, Inc., 2012) that allows accurate analysis of nested data. In the case of voter propensity, the effect of state-wide variance was significant, meaning a combination of state laws and other state-level factors had a significant effect on voter propensity above and beyond individual factors. We tested voting as a dichotomous outcome.

Methodology for the New Analysis of 18 to 24 Year Old Census Data

For the purpose of this report, we conducted a new set of analyses, limiting the sample to citizens aged 18 to 24 years old. We simplified the method and focused on comparisons of registration and turnout rates between young voters living in states with different provisions. We conducted a series of crosstabs and multiple regression models in order to explore the estimated or expected effects of adding restrictions or taking away provisions that are specific to HB 589.

Methodology for the North Carolina State Board of Elections Data Analysis

We also draw conclusions from secondary data analysis of North Carolina State Board of Elections data (voter files). We used voter files from North Carolina's 2012 presidential election, 2012 primary election, 2010 general election, and 2008 presidential election sent to us by Perkins Coie. The analysis for the findings specific to North Carolina vote counts and patterns was produced by counts and cross-tabulations of votes cast in particular ways, such as the method or timing of voting, by young voters (18 to 24 year olds) and older voters (voters who are 25 or older). In some cases, we also tabulated details about the forms of ID presented at the polls.

Except where otherwise noted, the term "young voters" as used in this report refers to voters between 18 and 24 years of age. "Older voters" are at least 25 years old.

C. Summary of Findings

As set forth in more detail below:

- **Young voter registration and turnout in North Carolina:** Prior to the enactment of HB 589, young voter registration and turnout in North Carolina was relatively high, compared to other states. In 2012, North Carolina ranked 8th in the nation in young voter registration and 10th in young voter turnout. This was a marked improvement from 2000, when North Carolina ranked 43rd for young voter registration and 31st for young voter turnout. We conclude with a reasonable degree of certainty that North Carolina's remarkable gains in young voter registration and turnout over the past 15 or so years are attributable in part

to laws enacted during that time period, which HB 589 repeals or significantly rolls back, and that, as a result, HB 589 is likely to have a strong negative effect on registration and turnout among the State's young voters. In particular, because HB 589 introduces a number of restrictions at the same time (or eliminates or restricts measures that facilitated voting), it is likely to suppress registration and turnout among young voters.

- **Pre-Registration:** Over 160,000 young people under the age of 18 pre-registered to vote from 2010-2013. The long-term effects of North Carolina's pre-registration program cannot be estimated given that it was enacted relatively recently, but positive effects on youth voter registration and turnout have been found in studies of other states' pre-registration policies.
- **Same-Day Registration (SDR):** In 2012, young voters comprised 8.99% of all North Carolina voters, but 20.58% of those who utilized SDR at in-person early-voting locations. Analysis of national and historical data demonstrates that SDR boosts youth turnout. In addition, over 25% of young voters who cast provisional ballots in the 2012 presidential election in North Carolina did so because they were either in the wrong precinct or had not reported moving.
- **In-Person Early Voting:** In the 2012 and 2008 presidential elections, the majority of young voters in North Carolina used what the North Carolina State Board of Elections calls "one-stop absentee voting," i.e., casting an absentee ballot in person on certain days before Election Day, also known as "early voting."² Those who did so were more likely than older voters utilizing in-person early voting to submit a new registration at the time they cast their ballot. Young voters made up 8.54% of in-person early voters in North Carolina's 2012 presidential election and, as a group, were more likely than older voters to use in-person early voting after 1 p.m. on the Saturday before the election.
- **Voter ID:** Of those voters who presented an ID to cast a provisional ballot in recent elections in North Carolina, young voters were more likely to have presented an "other government document" and less likely to present a North Carolina driver's license than older voters. Nationally, many young people lack government-issued photo ID and studies of the impacts of strict voter ID laws have generally concluded that they are likely to disproportionately negatively affect low-propensity voters, which includes young voters. Based on the North Carolina State Board of Elections' own analysis and our review of the Board's

² For simplicity, this report will use the term "in-person early voting" to refer to any form of in-person early voting, including North Carolina's one-stop absentee voting.

voter registration files, over 14% of North Carolina's younger voters may not have a state-issued ID or driver's license.

- **Provisional Ballots and Out-of-Precinct Voting:** Young voters are more likely than older voters to cast provisional ballots. Of those who cast provisional ballots in North Carolina in recent elections, young voters were more likely than older voters to have their provisional ballots rejected. In the 2012 presidential election, over 25% of young voters who cast provisional ballots did so because they were either in the wrong precinct or had not reported moving. In addition, out-of-precinct voting is more important for young voters than older voters for the reasons discussed in this report.
- **Cumulative Effect of Provisions on Young Voter Turnout:** Across the 50 states, the total number of provisions seen as unfavorable to young voters is related to lower turnout among young voters. In other words, unfavorable provisions, such as strict voter ID requirements, eliminating SDR, and moving the registration deadline earlier, have a cumulative negative effect on young voters.
- **Long-Term Effects:** Voting is habitual, and therefore policies that lower registration or turnout of young adults are likely to lower adult registration or turnout for decades to come.

II. BACKGROUND

In 2012, North Carolina's young voters voted at higher rates than young voters in most other states. North Carolina ranked 10th in young voter turnout and 8th in young voter registration. Turnout was 50.0% and registration was 63.7% among 18-24-year-old citizens.

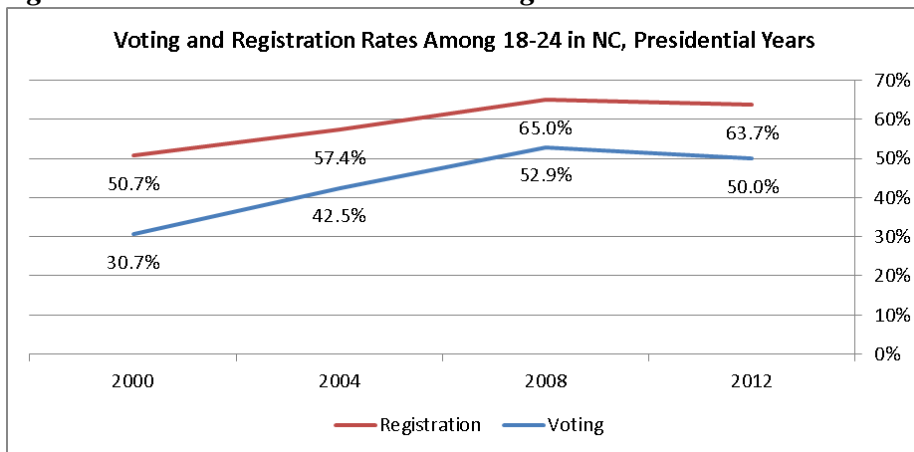
Youth registration and turnout rates have generally been on the rise in North Carolina when looking at the presidential and midterm election years separately. (*See Figures 1 and 2.*) The upward trend reflects a national youth voting trend between 2000 and 2008, but North Carolina's ranking among the states also improved, meaning that North Carolina's youth turnout and registration have risen at a faster pace than those in other states. In fact, North Carolina's youth voter registration rated among the nation's lowest in 2000 and 2002. The ranking has improved significantly since that time.

Table 1: Youth Voter Registration and Turnout Rates and Ranking in North Carolina 2000-2012

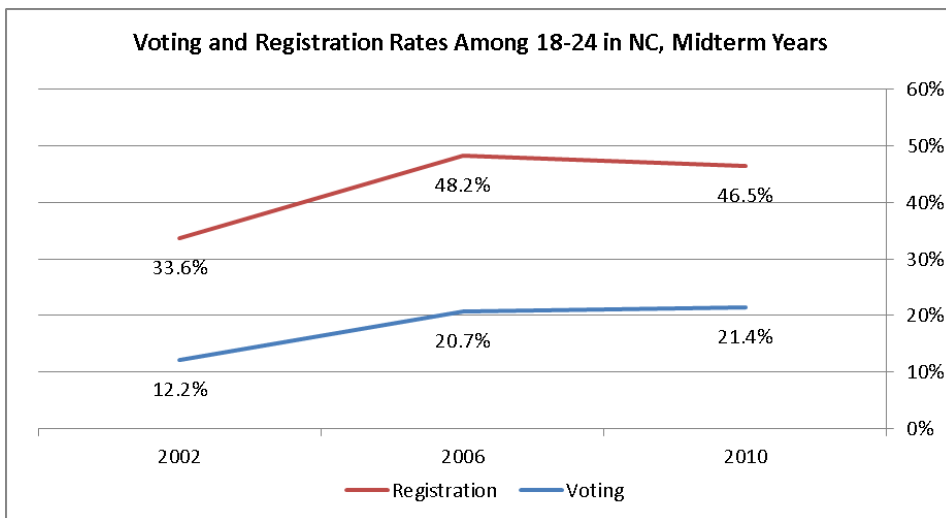
North Carolina	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Registration rate (ranking)	50.7% (43 rd)	33.6% (46 th)	57.4% (25 th)	48.2% (23 rd)	65.0% (11 th)	46.5% (21 st)	63.7% (8 th)
Voter turnout (ranking)	30.7% (31 st)	12.2% (49 th)	42.5% (39 th)	20.7% (35 th)	52.9% (11 th)	21.4% (25 th)	50.0% (10 th)

Source: Author tabulations of the Census CPS November Registration and Voting Supplement data files, 2000-2012.

Figures 1 and 2: Trends in Youth Voting in North Carolina



Source: CPS Voting Supplements, 2000, 2004, 2008 & 2012.



In 2012, North Carolina had a particular array of election laws and policies in place that are relevant to our analysis:

- **Same-Day Registration:** SDR means that voters can register the same day that they cast a ballot. Election Day Registration (EDR) is a type of SDR under which a voter can register and cast a ballot on Election Day itself. North Carolina had a partial SDR, in that voters could register and cast a ballot at the same time if they used in-person early voting (they were not able to register and vote at the same time on Election Day itself). SDR was enacted in North Carolina in 2007.
- **In-Person Early Voting:** In-person early voting is distinct from absentee mail voting. Voters utilizing in-person early voting report to early voting sites one or more days before Election Day to cast their ballots. Since 2001, voters in North Carolina had had 17 days of in-person early voting.
- **Out-of-Precinct Voting:** Voters who report to a precinct other than the one in which they are registered could cast provisional ballots and have their votes counted, upon verification of their registration status and eligibility.
- **Pre-registration:** In 2009, North Carolina passed legislation allowing citizens as young as 16 years old to pre-register to vote, thereby being automatically registered to vote when turning 18. From 2010-2013, 160,767 young people pre-registered in North Carolina. As this policy has only been effect for four years, it is difficult to know its long-term effects. However, the impact of pre-registration policies has been studied in other states. For example, McDonald & Thornburg (2010) found that substantial numbers of students in Florida and Hawaii took advantage of their states' pre-registration opportunities, and those individuals stayed on the rolls at roughly the same rate as other registrants.
- **No Voter ID Requirement:** North Carolina did not require voters to show ID to vote in 2012.

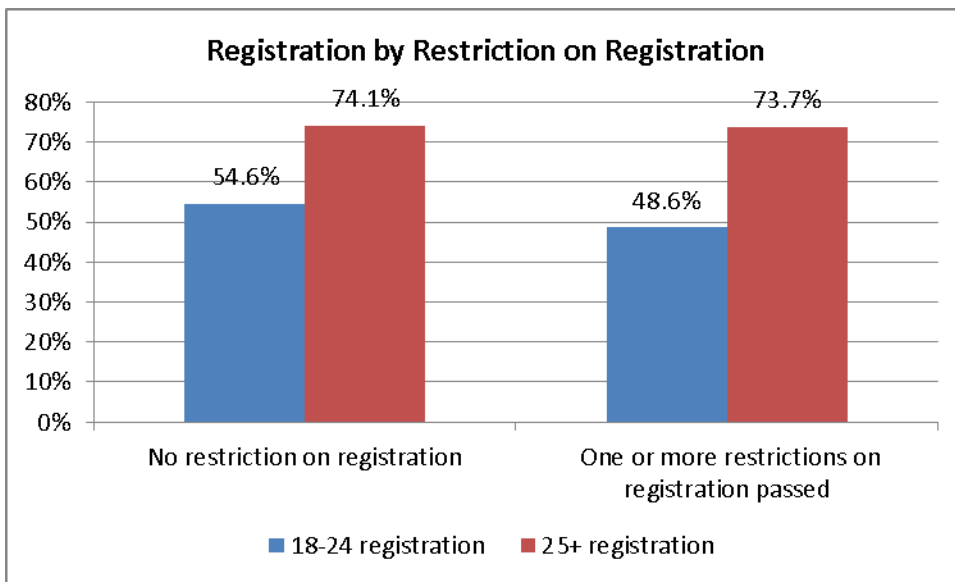
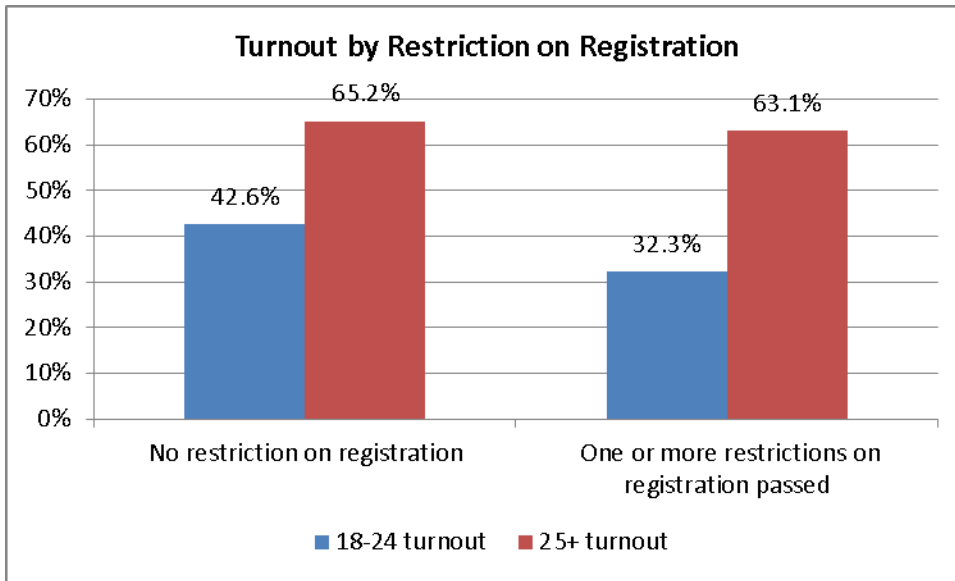
While many factors affect turnout, including the state's demographics, the candidates and campaigns, the news media, the level of outreach to various categories of voters, etc., we conclude with a reasonable degree of certainty that North Carolina's high young voter turnout is attributable, in part, to several of North Carolina's election laws (either alone or in combination) that were rolled back or eliminated by HB 589.

We do not base this conclusion solely on the high turnout rates in North Carolina under the election laws that were in place prior to the enactment of HB 589. Instead, we base it on previous research from qualified political scientists and other scholars in the field who have relied on data from many states over the course of many years. As noted in the Methodology section, we also conducted our own analysis, constructing statistical models that compared youth voting in different states that had or did not have specific provisions in place in November of 2012 in order to estimate the effect of implementing or removing those measures. Whenever possible, we looked specifically at the effects on 18 to 24 year olds in order to examine plaintiff's claim that young people are likely to be particularly negatively affected by the provisions in HB589

In the 2013 Commission Report, we found that the total number of restrictive measures (such as strict photo ID requirements and limits on early voting, absentee voting, and registration) was negatively related to statewide youth turnout, after controlling for other factors that relate to turnout. Young voters living in states with a greater number of restrictive measures (combining measures related to registration and voting) were less likely to vote than those who live in other states, after controlling for a number of other factors such as race, ethnicity, and educational attainment. Since HB 589 introduces a number of restrictions at the same time (or eliminates or restricts measures that facilitated voting), it is likely to suppress turnout among young voters.

We also found that young people living in states that had new laws that made registration and voting harder registered and voted at lower rates than the young people who lived in other states. On the other hand, older voters were virtually unaffected by these measures, meaning that young people were disproportionately burdened by measures that make registration and voting more difficult. (*See Figures 3 and 4.*) Thus, one of the likely effects of HB 589 is that young voters in North Carolina will register and vote at lower rates.

Figures 3 and 4: National Impact of State Voting Law Changes



III. DISCUSSION OF SPECIFIC PROVISIONS

A. Same-Day Registration

In the 2012 presidential election in North Carolina, young voters comprised 8.99% of all voters, but 20.58% of those who utilized SDR at one-stop locations. Put differently, young people were 2.6 times more likely to utilize one-stop voter registration than older voters. In addition, young people who utilized SDR at one-stop locations were over 4.3 times more likely to be new registrants (i.e., not transfer or changed registrants) than

were older people who utilized SDR at one-stop locations.³ These patterns hold true across all of the elections in this analysis. (See *Table 2*.)

Table 2: Type of One-Stop Voter Registration in North Carolina

A. 2012 Presidential Election

Type	Older	Young	Total
Changed registrations	129,880	22,469	152,349
Percent of Voters by age	3.15%	5.51%	3.36%
New registrations	66,309	28,379	94,688
Percent of Voters by age	1.61%	6.96%	2.09%
Total using SDR	196,189	50,848	247,037
Total number of Voters	4,127,010	407,841	4,534,851
Percent of Voters Using SDR by age	4.75%	12.47%	5.45%

B. 2012 Primary Election

Type	Older	Young	Total
Changed registrations	18,056	3,417	21,473
Percent of Voters by age	0.72%	1.40%	0.78%
New registrations	10,429	7,565	17,994
Percent of Voters by age	0.42%	3.11%	0.65%
Total using SDR	28,485	10,982	39,467
Total number of Voters	2,509,033	243,632	2,752,665
Percent of Voters Using SDR by age	1.14%	4.51%	1.43%

C. 2010 General Election

Type	Older	Young	Total
Changed registrations	36,252	3,338	39,590
Percent of Voters by age	1.40%	3.20%	1.47%
New registrations	14,836	6,256	21,092
Percent of Voters by age	0.57%	6.00%	0.78%
Total using SDR	51,088	9,594	60,682
Total number of Voters	2,592,482	104,214	2,696,696
Percent of Voters Using SDR by age	1.97%	9.21%	2.25%

³ Transfer voters are voters who moved within the same county but did not update their registration. They visit their old precinct on Election Day, report the move, file a change of address, and then go to their new precinct to vote.

D. 2008 Presidential Election

Type	Older	Young	Total
Changed registrations	128,589	19,202	147,791
Percent of Voters by age	3.27%	4.72%	3.41%
New registrations	77,120	26,531	103,651
Percent of Voters by age	1.96%	6.52%	2.39%
Total using SDR	205,709	45,733	251,442
Total number of Voters	3,931,796	407,191	4,338,987
Percent of Voters Using SDR by age	5.23%	11.23%	5.49%

Source: CIRCLE analysis of data from the North Carolina State Board of Elections.

In previous research, EDR and SDR have been found to have significant positive effects on turnout, particularly among young people (Alvarez et al., 2002; Fitzgerald, 2003; Kawashima-Ginsberg, Nover, & Kirby, 2009).⁴

The positive effects of SDR on youth voting in presidential years have been estimated at between 12 and 14 percentage points in several studies (Alvarez et al., 2002; Fitzgerald, 2003; Kirby et al., 2008; Leighley & Nagler, 2009). States that offer SDR often post the highest youth turnout rates. Three of the top four states for youth turnout in 2008 had enacted SDR, and the turnout rate in SDR states was 9 percentage points higher than in non-SDR states: 59% compared to 50% (Kawashima-Ginsberg et al., 2009).

Although some commentators have concluded that it is difficult to attribute the difference in turnout between SDR and non-SDR states entirely to SDR policy because SDR states tend to have traditions of favoring political participation that predate SDR (Fitzgerald, 2001; Fitzgerald, 2003), SDR still appears to boost turnout, particularly among young voters. For example, while Hanmer argues that much of the apparent impact of SDR can be explained away by properly accounting for the fact that states with friendly attitudes to voting are the ones that adopt this reform, he nevertheless concludes that SDR raises turnout by roughly four percentage points (Hanmer, 2009, p. 104). In his model, 18 to 21 year olds benefit most.

Our research has also led us to conclude that SDR boosts youth turnout and gives young people a more convenient and accessible registration and voting process.

As we concluded in the 2013 Commission Report based on rigorous multi-level statistical

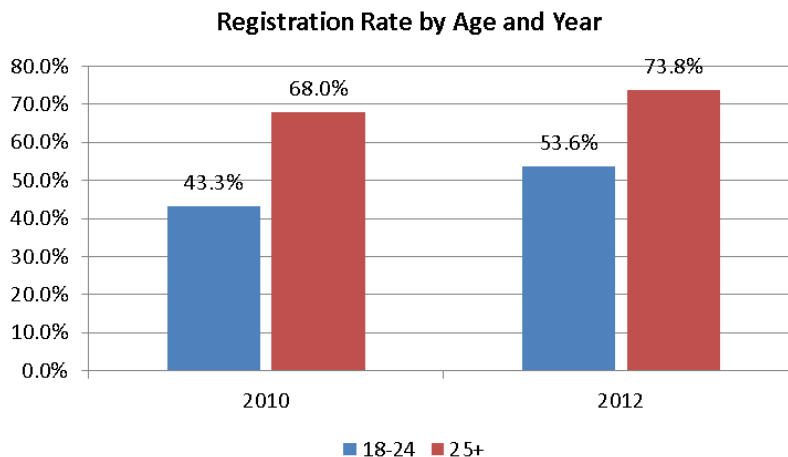
⁴ There have been no studies into any potential differences in impact between EDR and SDR, and we presume that the effects would be similar. For ease of reference, except where explicitly noted, we refer to both kinds of approaches as “SDR.”

modeling, voters ages 18 to 29 who live in the states that allow SDR are more likely to vote, after taking into account other factors that are known to affect voting (e.g., educational attainment, gender, race), than are voters in the same age cohort who live in states that do not allow SDR.

In new analysis conducted for this report, we tested to see whether the finding from the 2013 Commission Report based on 18 to 29 year olds could be replicated with the youngest voters (18 to 24 year olds). We found that 18-24-year-old turnout was also higher in the states that had SDR in any form, after controlling for the competitiveness of the race, the racial composition of the population, and the percentage of youth with college education, than was 18 to 24-year-old turnout in non-SDR states. In this analysis, states in North Carolina’s category (states that did not have EDR implemented but had either passed legislation or had partial SDR in place) saw an increase in turnout of 5.9 percentage points. The effect of SDR was still significant, but weaker, for older populations, meaning that removal of SDR is likely to affect young voters more severely than older voters in North Carolina.

It is well known that registration rates rise as voters age. In 2012, the national voter registration rate was 53.6% among young citizens and 73.8% among older citizens. The registration rate is even lower in midterm years, when there is less media coverage about elections and less outreach by get-out-the-vote groups. In 2010, the national registration rate for 18 to 24 year olds was 43.4%, compared to 68.0% among persons 25 and over. (See Figure 5.)

Figure 5: National Registration Rate by Age



Source: Census CPS Voting and Registration Supplement data, 2010 and 2012.

One of the barriers to ballot access that SDR can remove or significantly alleviate is the

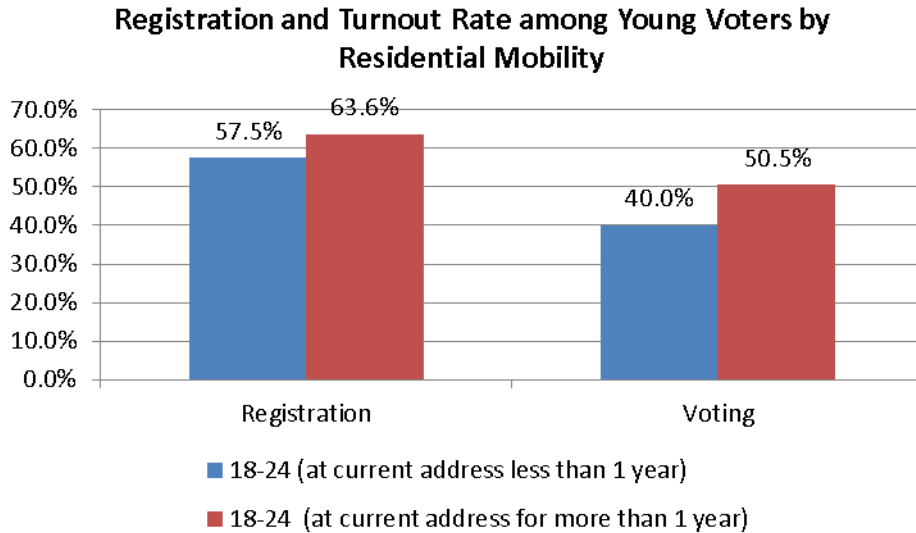
registration deadline. Missing the deadline for registration is an especially important problem for young voters. According to our analysis of the national CPS data, “not meeting registration deadline” is one of the chief reasons young people do not register to vote. In the states that have no SDR law in place, 22.9% of young citizens who were not registered said that they failed to register because they did not meet the deadline. In the SDR states, only 8.7% of young citizens who were not registered reported missing the deadline as their main reason for failing to register. Additionally, unregistered young citizens in the SDR states were slightly less likely to say that they did not know where or how to register (5.1%) than were unregistered youth living in the non-SDR states (8.2%).

The problem with missing the registration deadline is worse among those young people who currently attend college (aged 18 to 24); 31.1% of college students who were not registered in the non-SDR states were unregistered because they missed the deadline, while just 10.2% of unregistered young college students named the registration deadline as the main reason in the SDR states.

On the other hand, meeting the registration deadline becomes much less of an issue for older voters. When SDR was present, 5.3% of unregistered older adults (compared to 8.7% of unregistered young people) said the main reason they did not register was the registration deadline. When there was no SDR in the state, 13.0% of unregistered older voters (compared to 22.9% of unregistered young voters) said that deadline was the main barrier to registration.

Residential mobility may also add to the challenge of registration. First, younger citizens move more often than older citizens. Twenty-eight percent of young citizens have been at their current address for less than 12 months, compared to 11.2% among the 25 and older population. Second, both voting and registration rates are higher among 18 to 24 year olds living at their current address for more than one year than those who have lived at their current address for less than one year. (*See Figure 6.*)

Figure 6: Residential Mobility



The most common way that young voters living in the non-SDR states registered was through the department of motor vehicles (35.0%). If other options are available, however, 18 to 24 year olds are likely to use them. In the SDR states, just 7.8% registered to vote through the department of motor vehicles, with 45.4% using SDR to register at a polling place.

B. In-Person Early Voting

HB 589 shortens in-person early voting by a full week, from 17 to 10 days, and this change is expected to affect many young voters. Although we cannot determine the precise impact of the new law in North Carolina given its recent enactment, a study of the effect of the shortened early voting period in Florida suggest that shortening the early voting period is likely to affect low-propensity voters most severely (Herron & Smith, in press). In particular, Herron and Smith found that black and Hispanic voters, registered Democrats, and those who were not affiliated with any political party were the groups most negatively impacted (in terms of voting rates) when Florida reduced the state's early voting period from 14 days to 8 days and eliminated the final Sunday of early voting. Although Herron and Smith did not directly examine the impact on young voters, it is reasonable to infer from their study that young voters, who tend to be more Democratic-leaning or unaffiliated and generally have a low propensity to vote (as indicated by historical turnout statistics), will most likely be one of the groups that would be penalized by a shortened early-voting period.

According to CIRCLE's analysis of the North Carolina voter file, approximately half of all young voters cast their ballots using in-person early voting in the 2012 and 2008

presidential elections. (*See Table 3.*) The percentages are particularly high in presidential elections, which suggests that early voting is especially important for attracting low-propensity voters. Low propensity voters are generally more likely to vote in the Presidential elections because the get-out-the-vote (GOTV) groups are more active in their efforts to register and mobilize voters and media covers news about the election more often during the Presidential campaigns than midterm and off-election years. According to CIRCLE’s own calculations and others’ (e.g., CIRCLE, 2011), youth turnout is about twice as high in Presidential elections than Midterm elections.

Table 3: In-Person Early Voting

Election	# of Young Early Voters	# of Young Voters	% of Young Voters Using Early Voting
2012 Presidential Early Voter Votes	216,559	407,841	53.10%
2012 Primary Early Voter Votes	27,031	243,632	11.10%
2010 General- Early Voter Votes	29,406	104,214	28.22%
2008 Presidential- Early Voter Votes	200,973	407,191	49.36%

Source: Analysis of data from the North Carolina State Board of Elections.

Among the changes that HB 589 makes to early voting in North Carolina is a requirement that all in-person early-voting sites must now close at 1:00 p.m. on the final Saturday before Election Day. According to CIRCLE’s analysis of the North Carolina voter file, young people are more likely than older voters to vote after 1:00 p.m. on the Saturday before the election.⁵ (*See Table 4.*)

Table 4: In-Person Early Voting: Total Counts and Percentages of Votes—Time Voted

A. 2012 Presidential Election

Early Voting	Older	Young	Total
# of Votes on Saturday Before Election	174,503	25,828	200,331
% of Early Votes by Age	7.52%	11.93%	7.90%
Votes on Saturday Before Election After 1PM	42,094	8,557	50,651
% of Early Votes by Age	1.81%	3.95%	2.00%
All Early Votes	2,319,277	216,559	2,535,836

⁵ This analysis assumes that the data labeled “print_dt” in the file named abs_corr_20140127 records the time that an early voter voted. If further discovery provides otherwise, we will adjust our analysis accordingly.

B. 2012 Primary Election

Early Voting	Older	Young	Total
# of Votes on Saturday Before Election	53,338	3,658	56,996
% of Early Votes by Age	11.51%	13.53%	11.62%
Votes on Saturday Before Election After 1PM	576	88	664
% of Early Votes by Age	0.12%	0.33%	0.14%
All Early Votes	463,488	27,031	490,519

C. 2010 General Election

Early Voting	Older	Young	Total
# of Votes on Saturday Before Election	74,611	4,029	78,640
% of Early Votes by Age	8.56%	13.7%	8.73%
Votes on Saturday Before Election After 1PM	2,916	306	3,222
% of Early Votes by Age	0.33%	1.04%	0.36%
All Early Votes	871,705	29,406	901,111

D. 2008 Presidential Election

Early Voting	Older	Young	Total
# of Votes on Saturday Before Election	179,656	24,625	204,281
% of Early Votes by Age	8.34%	12.25%	8.68%
Votes on Saturday Before Election After 1PM	78,953	11,888	90,841
% of Early Votes by Age	3.67%	5.92%	3.86%
All Early Votes	2,153,113	200,973	2,354,086

C. Photo ID Requirements

In the 2012 presidential election, some voters in North Carolina were required to show an ID to vote if they did not provide ID information when they initially registered. Young voters comprised 8.99% of all voters, but 22.88% of those who were required to show ID. Of those provisional voters who showed ID to vote, young voters were 178% more likely than older voters to use “other government document” and 14% less likely than older voters to use a North Carolina driver’s license. This pattern persists in all of the elections in this analysis. (*See Table 5.*)

Table 5: Type of ID Used, Provisional Votes: Count and Percent

A. 2012 Presidential Election

Type of ID	Older	Young	Total
BANK STATEMENT (number who used it)	6	4	10
percent who used it by age	0.18%	0.41%	0.23%
GOVERNMENT CHECK	1	0	1
	0.03%	0%	0.02%
NC DRIVERS LICENSE	3,055	781	3,836
	92.38%	79.61%	89.46%
OTHER GOVERNMENT DOCUMENT	200	165	365
	6.05%	16.82%	8.51%
PAYCHECK	2	1	3
	0.06%	0.1%	0.07%
OTHER PHOTO ID	18	22	40
	0.54%	2.24%	0.93%
UTILITY BILL	25	8	33
	0.76%	0.82%	0.77%
# Total	3,307	981	4,288
% Total	77.12%	22.88%	

B. 2012 Primary Election

Type of ID	Older	Young	Total
BANK STATEMENT (number who used it)	29	10	39
percent who used it by age	2.97%	1.39%	2.3%
GOVERNMENT CHECK	1	0	1
	0.1%	0%	0.06%
NC DRIVERS LICENSE	711	345	1,056
	72.85%	47.85%	62.23%
OTHER GOVERNMENT DOCUMENT	95	128	223
	9.73%	17.75%	13.14%
PAYCHECK	8	3	11
	0.82%	0.42%	0.65%
OTHER PHOTO ID	93	224	317
	9.53%	31.07%	18.68%
UTILITY BILL	39	11	50
	4%	1.53%	2.95%
# Total	976	721	1,697
% Total	57.51%	42.49%	

C. 2010 General Election

Type of ID	Older	Young	Total
BANK STATEMENT (number who used it)	24	3	27
percent who used it by age	1.85%	0.78%	1.6%
GOVERNMENT CHECK	0	0	0
	0%	0%	0%
NC DRIVERS LICENSE	1,002	270	1,272
	77.08%	70.31%	75.53%
OTHER GOVERNMENT DOCUMENT	128	47	175
	9.85%	12.24%	10.39%
PAYCHECK	7	1	8
	0.54%	0.26%	0.48%
OTHER PHOTO ID	84	56	140
	6.46%	14.58%	8.31%
UTILITY BILL	55	7	62
	4.23%	1.82%	3.68%
# Total	1,300	384	1,684
% Total	77.2%	22.8%	

D. 2008 Presidential Election

Type of ID	Older	Young	Total
BANK STATEMENT (number who used it)	559	165	724
percent who used it by age	4.18%	2.88%	3.79%
GOVERNMENT CHECK	34	13	47
	0.25%	0.23%	0.25%
NC DRIVERS LICENSE	8,198	2,638	10,836
	61.24%	46.05%	56.69%
OTHER GOVERNMENT DOCUMENT	2,300	1,310	3,610
	17.18%	22.87%	18.89%
PAYCHECK	244	115	359
	1.82%	2.01%	1.88%
OTHER PHOTO ID	868	1,156	2,024
	6.48%	20.18%	10.59%
UTILITY BILL	1,184	331	1,515
	8.84%	5.78%	7.93%
# Total	13,387	5,728	19,115
% Total	70.03%	29.97%	

Source: Analysis of data from the North Carolina State Board of Elections.

Nationally, many young people lack government-issued photo IDs. According to Sivak and Schoettle (2011), only about 65% of 18-year-old Americans hold driver's licenses, down from about 80% in 1983. They find that there has been “a substantial decrease in the percentage of young people with a driver's license, and a substantial increase in the percentage of older people with a driver's license. ... As a consequence, the largest group of drivers has shifted from young drivers to middle-aged drivers. ...”

The North Carolina State Board of Election conducted a study examining how many of the registered voters (as of January 1, 2013) did not have a state ID or driver's license, and concluded that approximately 90,000 registered voters aged 18 to 25 may not have a state ID or driver's license based on their own search. Our analysis found approximately 623,000 registered voters aged 18 to 25 in 2013, meaning over 14% of younger voters may not have a state ID or driver's license. Studies from other states also suggest that substantial numbers of young people simply do not have an ID that would meet the photo ID requirement defined by HB 589. For example, only two percent of students in residence halls at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Marquette University, and the University of Wisconsin-Madison held driver's licenses that showed their college addresses as their residences. If they had to show their driver's licenses to vote in their college precincts, they would be blocked from voting (Pawasarat, 2005). In another study, Barreto and colleagues found that only 78% of registered voters in Indiana between the ages of 18 and 34 had the ID necessary to vote in that state, below the rate of all other age groups, though the sample in this study was small (Barreto et al., 2009). Very few states had implemented strict photo ID requirements prior to 2012, and therefore, the effect of these laws on voters, including young voters in particular, is difficult to estimate. When researchers did estimate the effect, they generally concluded that strict photo ID requirements are likely to affect disproportionately low-propensity voters, including young voters. Estimates of the effects of photo ID requirements on the general voter population are generally small but in the 3-to-4-percentage-point range (Hershey, 2009; Vercellotti & Anderson, 2006).

The 2013 Commission Report had a similar conclusion, except that our findings were specific to young people, specifically youth who have the lowest propensity to vote of all groups. In the 2013 Commission Report, we were able to include in our model more states that had implemented or at least passed strict photo ID laws as of November 2012. Our analysis did not detect a significant decrease in propensity to vote for the 18 to 29-year-old population as a whole. However, we found that the law disproportionately affected voters who are already least likely to vote of all—young voters without college education. We found that, after controlling for both state-level factors (e.g., turnout in

2008 for older and younger voters, competitiveness of the race, poverty rate) and individual factors (e.g., age, gender, race, years of education), eligible non-college young voters living in the states with strict photo ID laws were 14% less likely to vote than they would have been if they lived in a state without strict photo ID laws. In a hypothetical case, if North Carolina had a strict photo ID law in place in 2012, we estimate that North Carolina’s voter turnout among 18 to 29 year olds without college experience would have declined from 36.5% to 31.4%.⁶ Based on the estimate of North Carolina’s 18 to 29-year-old citizen population based on CPS November 2012 data, this would translate to approximately 476,000 eligible voters who are likely to be disproportionately and negatively affected by North Carolina’s strict voter ID requirement on account of their age and educational status.⁷

D. Provisional Ballots

Table 6 shows rates of voting by method in recent North Carolina elections. In the 2008 and 2012 presidential elections, young voters in North Carolina were more than twice as likely as older voters to cast a provisional vote or a transfer vote. This disparity was even more pronounced in the 2010 general election and the 2012 primary election. (*See Table 6.*)

Table 6: Type of Voting Method: Total Count and Percent of Votes by Age⁸

A. 2012 Presidential Election

Type of Vote	Older	Young	Total
Absentee One-Stop	2,334,657	218,957	2,553,614
Percent of voters	56.57%	53.69%	56.31%
Absentee by mail	190,852	27,468	218,320
Percent of voters	4.62%	6.73%	4.81%
Absentee (unspecified)	7	1	8
Percent of voters	0%	0%	0%

⁶ North Carolina’s estimated turnout for 18 to 29-year-old eligible citizens without college experience was 36.5% based on the CPS data. If these voters’ propensity to vote declined by 14%, then North Carolina’s turnout of 18 to 29-year olds would have been 31.4%.

⁷ We did not examine the difference between states that accepted college-issued photo IDs as a valid form of photo ID and the states that prohibited use of college-issued IDs in this analysis. Accordingly, we are unable to offer an opinion as to whether the North Carolina law, which does not allow use of college ID, would detrimentally affect young voters who are in college.

⁸ The total counts in these tables are slightly different from those in Table 4. The North Carolina Board of Elections supplied several different sources of election data. Reasons for these small differences may include corrupted data, differences in the time and method of updating, and other factors unknown to the researchers.

Curbside	9,016	84	9,100
Percent of voters	0.22%	0.02%	0.2%
In person	1,566,390	155,011	1,721,401
Percent of voters	37.95%	38.01%	37.96%
Provisional	16,338	3,612	19,950
Percent of voters	0.4%	0.89%	0.44%
Transfer	9,750	2,708	12,458
Percent of voters	0.24%	0.66%	0.27%
Total # Voted	4,127,010	407,841	4,534,851
Percent of all voters	91.01%	8.99%	

B. 2012 Primary Election

Type of Vote	Older	Young	Total
Absentee 1 stop	465,013	27,250	492,263
Percent of voters	22.49%	23.99%	22.57%
Absentee mail	18,811	2,827	21,638
Percent of voters	0.91%	2.49%	0.99%
Absentee (unspecified)	3	0	3
Percent of voters	0%	0%	0%
Curbside	6,036	22	6,058
Percent of voters	0.29%	0.02%	0.28%
In person	1,560,573	80,470	1,641,043
Percent of voters	75.48%	70.85%	75.24%
Provisional	11,742	1,837	13,579
Percent of voters	0.57%	1.62%	0.62%
Transfer	5,469	1,165	6,634
Percent of voters	0.26%	1.03%	0.3%
Total # Voted	2,067,648	113,571	2,181,219
Percent of all voters	94.79%	5.21%	

C. 2010 General Election

Type of Vote	Older	Young	Total
Absentee 1 stop	874,725	29,667	904,392
Percent of voters	33.74%	28.47%	33.54%
Absentee mail	51,102	4,736	55,838
Percent of voters	1.97%	4.54%	2.07%
Absentee (unspecified)	1	0	1
Percent of voters	0%	0%	0%
Curbside	6,456	33	6,489

Percent of voters	0.25%	0.03%	0.24%
In person	1,641,020	66,725	1,707,745
Percent of voters	63.3%	64.03%	63.33%
Provisional	13,428	1,962	15,390
Percent of voters	0.52%	1.88%	0.57%
Transfer	5,750	1,091	6,841
Percent of voters	0.22%	1.05%	0.25%
Total # Voted	2,592,482	104,214	2,696,696
Percent of all voters	96.14%	3.86%	

D. 2008 Presidential Election

Type of Vote	Older	Young	Total
Absentee 1 stop	2,202,741	205,620	2,408,361
Percent of voters	56.02%	50.5%	55.51%
Absentee mail	199,458	28,131	227,589
Percent of voters	5.07%	6.91%	5.25%
Absentee (unspecified)	56	14	70
Percent of voters	0%	0%	0%
Curbside	7,067	126	7,193
Percent of voters	0.18%	0.03%	0.17%
In person	1,496,991	167,194	1,664,185
Percent of voters	38.07%	41.06%	38.35%
Provisional	20,815	4,658	25,473
Percent of voters	0.53%	1.14%	0.59%
Transfer	4,667	1,448	6,115
Percent of voters	0.12%	0.36%	0.14%
Total # Voted	3,931,796	407,191	4,338,987
Percent of all voters	90.62%	9.38%	

Source: Analysis of data from the North Carolina State Board of Elections.

In the 2012 presidential election in North Carolina, young voters made up less than 9% of all voters, but they were more than 24% of those who cast provisional ballots. Of those who cast provisional ballots, young voters were 31% less likely to have their full vote counted. This pattern holds true in all of the elections in this analysis, but the disparity is most significant in the 2012 presidential election. (*See Table 7.*)

Table 7: Provisional Vote Counted: Count and Percent

A. 2012 Presidential Election

Vote Counted?	Older	Young	Total
# Not Counted	19,673	8,045	27,718
%	51.01%	64.48%	54.31%
# Partially Counted	4,154	1,161	5,315
%	10.77%	9.31%	10.41%
# Counted	14,738	3,270	18,008
%	38.22%	26.21%	35.28%
Total #	38,565	12,476	51,041
% of Total	75.56%	24.44%	

B. 2012 Primary Election

Vote Counted?	Older	Young	Total
# Not Counted	163	33	196
%	1.42%	1.84%	1.47%
# Partially Counted	1,961	334	2,295
%	17.06%	18.63%	17.27%
# Counted	9,374	1,426	10,800
%	81.53%	79.53%	81.26%
Total #	11,498	1,793	13,291
% of Total	86.51%	13.49%	

C. 2010 General Election

Vote Counted?	Older	Young	Total
# Not Counted	70	6	76
%	0.55%	0.33%	0.52%
# Partially Counted	2,834	515	3,349
%	22.37%	28.17%	23.11%
# Counted	9,762	1,307	11,069
%	77.07%	71.5%	76.37%
Total #	12,666	1,828	14,494
% of Total	87.39%	12.61%	

D. 2008 Presidential Election

Vote Counted?	Older	Young	Total
# Not Counted	304	41	345
%	1.53%	0.94%	1.42%
# Partially Counted	3,028	874	3,902
%	15.23%	20.03%	16.09%
# Counted	16,556	3,449	20,005

%	83.25%	79.03%	82.49%
Total #	19,888	4,364	24,252
% of Total	82.01%	17.99%	

Source: Analysis of data from the North Carolina State Board of Elections.

E. Out-of-Precinct Voting

In the 2012 presidential election, over 25% of young provisional voters were either in the wrong precinct or had not reported moving. In the 2012 primary, the 2010 general election, and the 2008 presidential election, over half of the young provisional voters were either in the wrong precinct or had not reported moving. Given that young voters are significantly more likely than older voters to be provisional voters (over 3 times more likely in 2012), younger voters are more likely than older voters to attempt to vote in the incorrect precinct or not report a move. (*See Table 8.*)

Table 8: Reason for Provisional Vote: Count and Percent

A. 2012 Presidential Election: Count and Percent

Reason	Older	Young	Total
# NO RECORD OF REGISTRATION	18,279	7,719	25,998
%	47.4%	61.87%	50.94%
# JURISDICTION DISPUTE	1,245	474	1,719
%	3.23%	3.8%	3.37%
# ID NOT PROVIDED	468	288	756
%	1.21%	2.31%	1.48%
# UNREPORTED MOVE	8,039	1,662	9,701
%	20.85%	13.32%	19.01%
# PREVIOUSLY REMOVED	4,517	741	5,258
%	11.71%	5.94%	10.3%
# INCORRECT PRECINCT	5,909	1,567	7,476
%	15.32%	12.56%	14.65%
# OTHER	108	25	133
%	0.28%	0.2%	0.26%
Total #	38,565	12,476	51,041
% Total	75.56%	24.44%	

B. 2012 Primary Election

Reason	Older	Young	Total
# NO RECORD OF REGISTRATION	1,370	315	1,685
%	11.92%	17.57%	12.68%
# JURISDICTION DISPUTE	484	61	545

%	4.21%	3.4%	4.1%
# ID NOT PROVIDED	31	5	36
%	0.27%	0.28%	0.27%
# UNREPORTED MOVE	4,339	678	5,017
%	37.74%	37.81%	37.75%
# PREVIOUSLY REMOVED	611	34	645
%	5.31%	1.9%	4.85%
# INCORRECT PRECINCT	3,907	633	4,540
%	33.98%	35.3%	34.16%
# OTHER	756	67	823
%	6.58%	3.74%	6.2%
Total #	11,498	1,793	13,291
% Total	86.51%	13.49%	

C. 2010 General Election

Reason	Older	Young	Total
# NO RECORD OF REGISTRATION	1,522	301	1,823
%	12.02%	16.47%	12.58%
# JURISDICTION DISPUTE	264	19	283
%	2.08%	1.04%	1.95%
# ID NOT PROVIDED	35	12	47
%	0.28%	0.66%	0.32%
# UNREPORTED MOVE	5,658	805	6,463
%	44.67%	44.04%	44.59%
# PREVIOUSLY REMOVED	359	27	386
%	2.83%	1.48%	2.66%
# INCORRECT PRECINCT	4,700	654	5,354
%	37.11%	35.78%	36.94%
# OTHER	128	10	138
%	1.01%	0.55%	0.95%
Total #	12,666	1,828	14,494
% Total	87.39%	12.61%	

D. 2008 Presidential Election

Reason	Older	Young	Total
# NO RECORD OF REGISTRATION	4,792	1,622	6,414
%	24.09%	37.17%	26.45%
# JURISDICTION DISPUTE	820	123	943
%	4.12%	2.82%	3.89%
# ID NOT PROVIDED	187	58	245
%	0.94%	1.33%	1.01%
# UNREPORTED MOVE	8,146	1,449	9,595
%	40.96%	33.2%	39.56%

# PREVIOUSLY REMOVED	1,804	95	1,899
%	9.07%	2.18%	7.83%
# INCORRECT PRECINCT	4,088	1,000	5,088
%	20.56%	22.91%	20.98%
# OTHER	51	17	68
%	0.26%	0.39%	0.18%
Total #	19,888	4,364	24,252
% Total	82.01%	17.99%	

Source: Analysis of data from the North Carolina State Board of Elections.

Based on our analysis of the national data from CPS, out-of-precinct voting has been much more important for young voters than for older voters. In 2012, 15.4% of registered young voters who did not end up casting their ballots said that they did not do so because they were out of town, compared to 7.6% of registered older voters who did not vote. Not voting for this reason becomes less and less common as voters age.

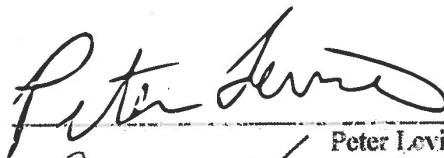
Many college students are registered to vote at their family's home address. If they are unable to vote out of precinct and lack the means (or time) to get back to their home precincts to vote, then we should observe that college students are especially likely to report that they were out of town as the main reason for not voting, when they are registered but do not vote. As mentioned earlier, young people are less likely to have a license or to drive than older people (Sivak & Schoettle, 2011), and therefore, getting to home precincts may pose a hardship for college students.

In fact, we found that registered college students were more likely than the general population of young registrants to state that they could not vote because they were out of town, based on an analysis of the national data. Among registered college students who did not vote, 24.7% named being out of town as the main reason for not casting their ballots, compared to 9.7% of young registrants who did not vote who were either out of school or in high school and named being out of town as the main reason for not casting their ballots.

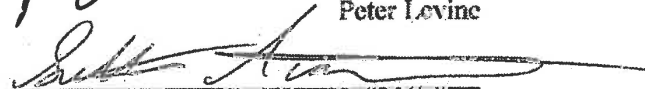
IV. LONG-TERM EFFECTS

The statistical models we have created cannot predict the long-term effects of provisions adopted in North Carolina since 2012. However, previous research suggests that lifelong habits of turnout are set in early adulthood. Voting is habit-forming (Gerber, Green, & Shachar, 2003; Plutzer, 2002), meaning that someone who votes in a given election is more likely to vote thereafter. Franklin (2004) finds that the turnout rate in the election when a cohort first becomes eligible to vote has a lasting effect on that group's voting participation, and that overall voter turnout in many countries has fallen as a result of

lower youth turnout.



Peter Levine



Seth Avakian



Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg

References

- Alvarez, R. M., Nagler, J., & Wilson, C. H. (2002). *Election Day voter registration in the United States: How one-stop voting can change the composition of the American electorate*. Caltech-MIT Voting Technology Working Paper.
- Bartlett, Gary. (2013). 2013 SBOE-DMV ID Analysis. State Board of Elections. Raleigh, North Carolina.
- Barreto, M., Nuno, S., & Sanchez, G. (2009). The disproportionate impact of voter-ID requirements on the electorate: New evidence from Indiana. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 42, 111-114.
- CIRCLE Staff, (2011). The Youth Vote in 2010: Final Estimates Based on Census Data. Medford, MA: Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement at Tufts University.
- Commission for Youth Voting and Civic Knowledge (2013). *All together now: Collaboration and innovation for youth engagement*. Medford, MA: Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement at Tufts University.
- Fitzgerald, M. (2001). *Alternative voting techniques and electoral participation in the U.S., 1972-1998*. Doctoral Dissertation.
- Fitzgerald, M. (2003). *Easier methods boost youth turnout*. CIRCLE Working Paper No. 1. College Park, MD: The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement.
- Franklin, M. A. (2004). *Voter turnout and the dynamics of electoral competition in established democracies since 1945*. Cambridge University Press.
- Gerber, A., Green, D. P., & Shachar, R. (2003). Voting may be habit forming: Evidence from a randomized field experiment. *American Journal of Political Science*, 47(3), 540-550.
- Hanmer, M. J. (2009). *Discount voting: Voter registration reforms and their effects*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Herron, M.C., & Smith, D.A. (in press). Race, party, and the consequences of restricting early voting in Florida in the 2012 general election. *Political Research Quarterly*.
- Hershey, M. R. (2009). What we know about voter-ID laws, registration, and turnout. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 42(1), 87-91.

Kawashima-Ginsberg, K., Nover, A., & Kirby, E. H. (2009). *State election law and youth voter turnout*. CIRCLE Fact Sheet. Medford, MA: Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement.

Kirby, E. H., & Kawashima-Ginsberg, K. (2009). *The youth vote in 2008*. CIRCLE Fact Sheet. Medford, MA: The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement.

Leighley, J.E., & Nagler, J. (November 20, 2009). Electoral laws and turnout: 1972-2008. Paper presented at CELS 2009 4th Annual Conference on Empirical Legal Studies. Available at SSRN:<http://ssrn.com/abstract=1443556> or <http://dx.doi.l/10.2139/ssrn.1443556>.

McDonald, M.P. & Thornburg, M (2010) Registering the youth through voter preregistration. *New York University Journal of Legislation and Public Policy* 13(3): 551-72.

Pawasarat, J. (2005). *The driver license status of the voting age population in Wisconsin*. Milwaukee, WI: Employment and Training Institute, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Plutzer, E. (2002). Becoming a habitual voter: Inertia, resources, and growth in young adulthood. *American Political Science Review*, 96(1), 41-56.

Sivak, M & Schoettle, B. (2011) Recent changes in the age composition of drivers in 15 countries. University of Michigan Transportation Research Institute <http://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/bitstream/handle/2027.42/86680/102764.pdf;jsessionid=F1303CFE5D5F5198B27BF2F568FDD572?sequence=4>

Vercellotti, T., & Anderson, D. (2006). *Protecting the franchise, or restricting it? The effects of voter identification requirements on turnout* Rutgers University Eagleton Institute.

List of All Publications Authored in the Previous 10 Years

1. By Kei Kawashima Ginsberg

Publications

- Kawashima-Ginsberg, K. (2014). *Harry, Hermione, Ron, and Neville – portraits of American teenagers' extracurricular involvement, and implications for educational interventions*. CIRCLE Working Paper #80. Medford, MA: Medford, MA: Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, Tufts University.
- McAvoy, P., Hess, D. & Kawashima-Ginsberg, K. (forthcoming, 2014). The pedagogical challenge of teaching politics in like-minded schools. In T. Misco (Ed.), *Cross-cultural case studies of teaching controversial issues: Pathways and challenges to democratic citizenship education*. Tilsburg: Legal Wolf Publishers.
- Levine, P. & Kawashima-Ginsberg, K. (forthcoming, 2014). State policies for civic education, in M. McKinney & E. Thorsen (Eds.), *Political Socialization in a Media Saturated World*.
- Kawashima-Ginsberg, K. & Levine, P.L. (2014). Policy Effects on Informed Political Engagement. *American Behavioral Science*, 58(5), 665-688.
- Kawashima-Ginsberg, K., & Levine, P.L. (in press). Diversity and controversy in classrooms: The role of deliberative and associative opportunities in later electoral engagement. *Analysis of Social Issues and Public Policy*.
- Zaff, J., Kawashima-Ginsberg, K., Boyd, M.B., & Kakli, Z. (in press). Reconnecting proven-risk youth: Examining the development of productive engagement. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*.
- (Co-Principal Investigator) Commission on Youth Voting and Civic Knowledge, "All Together Now: Collaboration and Innovation for Youth Engagement" (Medford: MA: Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement, 2013)
- Levine, P.L., & Kawashima-Ginsberg, K. (2013). Teaching Civics in a time of political polarization. *Social Education*, 77, 215-217.
- Kawashima-Ginsberg, K., & Thomas, N. (2013). *Civic engagement and political leadership among women – a call for solutions*. CIRCLE Fact Sheet. Available at <http://www.civicyouth.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Gender-and-Political-Leadership-Fact-Sheet-3.pdf>.
- Kawashima-Ginsberg, K. (2013). *Do "Promising Practices" Help Students Boost NAEP Civics Performance?* CIRCLE Fact Sheet. Available at http://www.civicyouth.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/CIRCLE_NAEPBechtelFactSheetApril30.final_.pdf

- Kawashima-Ginsberg, K. (2012). *Summary of Findings from the Evaluation of iCivics' Drafting Board Intervention*. CIRCLE Working Paper #76. Medford, MA: The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement, 2012.
- Kawashima-Ginsberg, K., Lim, C. Levine, P. (2012). *Civic health and unemployment II: the case builds*. National Conference on Citizenship: Washington, DC.
- Boyd, M. J., Kawashima-Ginsberg, K., Zaff, J. & Levine, P. (2012). Assessment spotlight: Tufts University, Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service. *Bringing Theory to Practice Newsletter*, fall 2012.
- Zaff, J., Kawashima-Ginsberg, K., Lin, E.S., Lamb, M., Balsano, A., & Lerner, R.M. (2011). Developmental trajectories of civic engagement across adolescence: A disaggregation of an integrated construct. *Journal of Adolescence*, 34 (4), 1207-1220.
- Zaff, J., Kawashima-Ginsberg, K. & Lin, E.S. (2011). Advances in Civic Engagement Research: Issues of Civic Measures and Civic Context. In R.M. Lerner, J. V. Lerner and J. B. Benson (Eds.), *Advances in Child Development and Behavior*, Vol. 41, Burlington: Academic Press (pp. 273-308).
- Hollander, L., Kawashima-Ginsberg, K., Levine, P.L., Picard, D., Zaff, J. (2011). *The Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service at Tufts University*. In N.V. Longo & C.M. Gibson (Eds.). *From commend to community – A new approach to leadership education in colleges and universities*. Medford, MA: Tufts University Press.
- Kawashima-Ginsberg, K., & CIRCLE Staff. (2011). *Understanding a diverse generation: Youth civic engagement in the United States*. Medford, MA: Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, Tufts University.
- The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (2010). *Civic Skills and Federal Policies*. A CIRCLE fact sheet, available at; www.civicyouth.org
- Kirby, E.H., Marcelo, K.B. & Kawashima-Ginsberg, K. (2009). *Volunteering and college experience*. A CIRCLE fact sheet, available at; www.civicyouth.org.
- Kawashima-Ginsberg, K., Nover, A. & Kirby, E.H. (2009). *State election law reform and youth voter turnout*. A CIRCLE Fact Sheet, available at; www.civicyouth.org.
- Kirby, E.H. & Kawashima-Ginsberg, K. (2009). *The youth vote in 2008*. A CIRCLE fact sheet, available at; www.civicyouth.org.
- Durlak, J. A., Taylor, R., Kawashima, K., Pachan, M., DuPre, E. P., & Weissberg, R. P. (2007). Effects of positive youth development programs on school, family, and community systems. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 39, 269-286.

2. By Peter Levine

Books since 2004

As sole author

We are the Ones We Have Been Waiting For: The Promise of Civic Renewal in America, Oxford University Press (2013).
Reforming the Humanities: Literature and Ethics from Dante through Modern Times(Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)
The Future of Democracy: Developing the Next Generation of American Citizens (Tufts University Press, 2007). Chinese translation authorized.

Co-edited volumes

Peter Levine and Karol Edward Soltan, eds., *Civic Studies: Approaches to the Emerging Field* (American Association of Colleges & Universities, 2014)
James Youniss and Peter Levine, eds., *Engaging Young People in Civic Life* (Vanderbilt University Press, 2009)
John Gastil and Peter Levine, eds., *The Deliberative Democracy Handbook: Strategies for Effective Civic Engagement in the Twenty-First Century* (Jossey-Bass, 2005). Mandarin translation, Taiwan, 2012; Japanese translation, 2013.

Other Publications since 2004

“The Case for Civic Studies,” in Peter Levine and Karol Edward Soltan, eds., *Civic Studies: Approaches to the Emerging Field* (American Association of Colleges & Universities, in press)
“Civic Engagement” in *Emerging Trends in the Behavioral and Social Sciences*, edited by Robert A. Scott and Stephen M. Kosslyn (John Wiley & Sons, in press)
Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg & Peter Levine, “Diversity in Classrooms: The Relationship between Deliberative and Associative Opportunities in School and Later Electoral Engagement,” *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* (in press)
Peter Levine & Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, “State Policies for Civic Education,” in *Political Socialization in a Media Saturated World*, edited by Mitchell McKinney and Esther Thorsen (in press)
“Jobs, Jobs, Jobs: The Economic Impact of Public Work in America’s Colleges and Universities,” in Harry C. Boyte (ed.), *Democracy’s Education: A Symposium on Power, Public Work, and the Meaning of Citizenship* (Vanderbilt University Press, in press)
“Civic Renewal: Theory and Practice,” in Richard Marback (ed.) *Generations: Rethinking Age and Citizenship* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, in press: 2015)
“ObamaCare and America’s Youth — Why Lessons of 2014 Will Last a Lifetime,” FoxNews.com (op-ed), March 31, 2014
“Teaching the Deeper Aspects of Civic Education,” *The Standard* (National Association of State Boards of Education), March 24, 2014, pp. 37-39.
“A Defense of Higher Education and Its Civic Mission,” *Journal of General Education* vol. 63, no. 1 (2014), pp. 47-56
“What Bipartisan Budget Agreement Suggests For Future of American Democracy,” Fox News online, Dec. 20, 2013

- Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg & Peter Levine, "Policy Effects on Informed Political Engagement," *American Behavioral Scientist* (published online before print, Dec. 13, 2013)
- Karol Soltan and Peter Levine, "The Summer Institute of Civic Studies: An Introduction," *The Good Society*, vol. 22, Number 2, 2013
- Trey Grayson and Peter Levine, "Recipe for Improving Civic Education," *The Hill*, Oct. 15, 2013
- "The Civic Mission of Higher Education at a Time of Democratic Disconnect," *Partnerships: A Journal of Service Learning and Civic Engagement*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Oct. 2013), online
- (Director and Principal Investigator) Commission on Youth Voting and Civic Knowledge, "All Together Now: Collaboration and Innovation for Youth Engagement" (Medford: MA: Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement, 2013)
- Meira Levinson & Peter Levine, "Taking Informed Action: The Civic Footprint to Prepare Students for Civic Life," *Social Education*, vol. 77, no. 6 (Nov. 2013), pp. 339-41
- Peter Levine & Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "Teaching Civics in a Time of Partisan Polarization," *Social Education*, vol. 77, no 4 (2103), pp. 215-7.
- "What the NAEP Civics Assessment Measures and How Students Perform," CIRCLE Fact Sheet, 2013
- "Citizenship isn't about Passing a Civics Test" (op-ed), CNN.com, May 6, 2013.
- "The Half-Impressive Youth Vote," *US News & World Report* (op-ed), November 30, 2012
- "Why Young People Turned Out—Again" (op-ed), *The New York Daily News*, Nov. 9, 2012
- Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, Chaeyoon Lim & Peter Levine, "Civic Health and Unemployment II: The Case Builds," National Conference on Citizenship: Washington, DC, 2012
- Michelle J. Boyd, Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, Jonathan Zaff, & Peter Levine "Assessment Spotlight: Tufts University, Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service," *Bringing Theory to Practice Newsletter*, fall 2012.
- Surbhi Godsay, Whitney Henderson, Peter Levine & Josh Littenberg-Tobias, State Civic Education Requirements, CIRCLE Fact Sheet (2013)
- "My View: How Schools Should Handle 9/11 in Class," CNN's "Schools of Thought" website, Sept. 11, 2012.
- "Review Symposium: Race in America. A Discussion of Cathy J. Cohen's *Democracy Remixed: Black Youth and the Future of American Politics*," *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 10, no. 3, September 2012, pp. 757-760.
- "Education for Civil Society," in David Campbell, Meira Levinson, and Frederick M. Hess (eds.), *Civics 2.0: Citizenship Education for a New Generation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press, 2012), pp. 37-56.
- "A New Hull-House? The Monumental Challenge of Service-Learning and Community Engagement," in Dan W. Butin and Scott Seider (eds.), *The Engaged Campus: Certificates, Minors, and Majors as the New Community Engagement* (New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2012), pp. 171-6.

- “Why the GOP’s future could depend on Romney’s ability to connect with young people,” Fox News.com, April 27, 2012.
- “An Ethical Turn for the Humanities,” in *Rethinking the Humanities: Paths and Challenges*, edited by Ricardo Gil Soeiro and Sofia Tavares (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing: 2012), pp. 129-142.
- “Civic Studies as an Academic Discipline” in Donald W. Harwood (ed.), *Civic Provocations*, Bringing Theory to Practice Monograph, 2012
- “Does Rick Santorum Have a Youth Problem?” *Daily Caller*, Feb. 27, 2012
- “New Role for Young Voters,” *Politico*, Jan. 20, 2012
- “Young, Black and Voting,” *The Root*, Dec. 2, 2011
- “How to Combat Incivility: A Policy Agenda for Civic Renewal,” *Dispute Resolution Magazine*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2012), pp. 24-26.
- Kerry Poole, Michael Berson & Peter Levine, “On Becoming a Legislative Aide: Enhancing Civic Engagement through a Digital Simulation,” *Action in Teacher Education*, vol. 32, no 4 (2011), pp. 70-82.
- Civic Engagement and Community Information: Five Strategies to Revive Civic Communication, A White Paper on the Civic Engagement Recommendations of the Knight Commission on the Information Needs of Communities in a Democracy, Aspen Institute Communications and Society Program and the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, 2011
- “Patriotism Can Serve Constructive Purposes in Education,” in Noel Merino, ed., *Current Controversies: Patriotism* (Greenhaven Press, 2011), pp. 107-13.
- “Seeing like a Citizen: The Contributions of Elinor Ostrom to ‘Civic Studies,’” *The Good Society*, vol. 20, no. 1 (2011), pp. 3-14.
- Barry Checkoway, Richard Guarasci & Peter Levine, “Reuniting the ‘Often Neglected’ Aims of Liberal Education,” in Don Harward, ed., *Transforming Undergraduate Education: Theory that Compels and Practices that Succeed* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield), 2011, pp. 109-24
- Civic Health and Unemployment: Can Engagement Strengthen the Economy?*(Washington, DC: National Conference on Citizenship, 2011) I drafted the text, but the named authors are CIRCLE, Civic Enterprises, National Conference on Citizenship, Saguaro Seminar, and the National Constitution Center.
- (executive editor, with several others), *Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools*, published by the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, CIRCLE, American Bar Association Division of Public Education, Lenore Annenberg Institute for Civics, and National Conference on Citizenship (2011).
- “Letter to President Obama: A Policy Approach for the Federal Government,” in David Feith (ed.), *Teaching America: The Case for Civic Education* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), pp. 209-217.
- Nancy Thomas & Peter Levine, “Deliberative Democracy and Higher Education: Higher Education’s Democratic Mission,” in John Saltmarsh and Matthew Hartley, eds., *To Serve a Larger Purpose: Engagement for Democracy and the Transformation of Higher Education* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2011).

- “What Do We Know about Civic Engagement?” *Liberal Education*, vol. 97, no. 2 (Spring 2011), pp. 20-7
- Jonathan F. Zaff, Daniel Hart, Constance A. Flanagan, James Youniss & Peter Levine, “Developing Civic Engagement within a Civic Context,” *The Handbook of Life-Span Development* (John Wiley & Sons, 2010)
- “Making the Case: The Civic Case for Voluntary Student Groups,” *Leadership for Student Activities*, vol. 39, no. 9 (May 2009), pp. 16-17.
- “Teaching and Learning Civility.” in Nancy L. Thomas (ed.), “Educating for Deliberative Democracy,” *New Directions for Higher Education*, no. 152 (winter 2010), pp. 11-17
- Elizabeth Hollander, Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, Duncan Picard, Jonathan Zaff, and Peter Levine, “Assessing the Effects of Institutional Culture on Leadership Education at Tufts University,” in Nicholas V. Longo and Cynthia M. Gibson, eds., *From Command to Community: A New Approach to Leadership Education in Colleges and Universities* (University Press of New England, 2011), pp. 169-87.
- “Social Accountability as Public Work,” in Sina Odugbemi and Taeku Lee, eds., *Accountability through Public Opinion: From Inertia to Public Action* (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2011), pp. 291-306
- “The Public and its Problems,” *National Civic Review* centennial edition, vol. 100, no. 1 (April 2011), pp. 42-50
- Peter Levine & Ann Higgins d’Alessandro, “The Philosophical Foundations of Civic Education,” *Philosophy & Public Policy Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 3/4 (Summer/Fall 2010), pp. 21-7 ([pdf](#))
- “Reforming the Humanities: The Ethical Interpretation of Stories,” *Intellectual News* (the review of the International Society for Intellectual History), vol. 16 (2010), pp. 110-112
- “Service-Learning Research: Returning to the Moral Questions,” in Trae Stewart and Nicole Webster (eds.), *Problematizing Service-Learning*, Information Age Publishing (in press), pp. 343-350
- Nancy Thomas & Peter Levine, “Deliberative Democracy and Higher Education: Higher Education’s Democratic Mission,” in John Saltmarsh and Matthew Hartley, eds., *To Serve a Larger Purpose: Engagement for Democracy and the Transformation of Higher Education* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2011).
- “Civic Knowledge,” in Michael Edwards, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 362-374.
- Jonathan Cohen, Terry Pickeral & Peter Levine, “The Foundation for Democracy: Promoting Social, Emotional, Ethical, Cognitive Skills and Dispositions in K-12 Schools,” *Revista Interamerica de Educación para la Democracia*, vol. 3, no. 1 (April 2010), pp. 74-94 ([PDF](#))
- Constance Flanagan & Peter Levine, “Youth Civic Engagement During the Transition to Adulthood,” in Mary Waters, Gordon Berlin, and Frank Furstenberg (eds.), *Transition to Adulthood*, (Princeton/Brookings: The Future of Children), vol. 20, no. 1, Spring 2010, pp. 159-180.
- John M. Bridgeland & Peter Levine, “Civic Health in Hard Times,” *Spotlight on Poverty and Opportunity*, September 28, 2009

- Peter Levine & Ann Higgins-D'Alessandro, "Youth Civic Engagement: Normative Issues," chapter in *Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement in Youth*, edited by Lonnie Sherrod, Judith Torney-Purta, and Constance A. Flanagan (John Wiley & Sons, 2010).
- "The Civic Opportunity Gap," *Educational Leadership*, vol. 66, no. 8 (May 2009), pp. 20-25.
- "Civic Engagement for All: A Conversation with Peter Levine," *Northwest Education*, vol. 14, no. 2 (Winter 2009), pp. 12-13
- Mark Hugo Lopez, Kenneth Dautrich, David Yalof & Peter Levine, "Schools, Education Policy and the Future of the First Amendment," *Political Communication*, vol. 26, no. 1, January-March 2009
- Peter Levine, Constance A. Flanagan and Les Gally, *The Millennial Pendulum: A New Generation of Voters and the Prospects for a Political Realignment*, New America Foundation monograph, February 2009
- Constance A. Flanagan, Peter Levine, and Richard Settersten, *Civic Engagement and the Changing Transition to Adulthood*, CIRCLE monograph, January 2009
- Mark Hugo Lopez, Karlo Barrios Marcelo, & Peter Levine, *Getting Narrower at the Base: The American Curriculum After NCLB*, CIRCLE monograph, December, 2008.
- "The Case for Service," *Philosophy & Public Policy Quarterly*, vol. 28, no. 3/4 (summer/fall 2008), pp. 2-8. Also anthologized in Sylvan Barnet and Hugo Bedau, eds., *Current Issues and Enduring Questions* (New York, St. Martin's Press, 2011).
- "America's Civic Health Index," 2008, published by the National Conference on Citizenship in partnership with CIRCLE and the Saguaro Seminar. I was one of several authors and drafted the original text.
- Matt Leighninger & Peter Levine, "Education in a Rapidly Changing Democracy: Strengthening Civic Education for Citizens of All Ages," *The School Administrator*, October 2008.
- Robert M. Hollister, Nancy Wilson & Peter Levine, "Educating Students to Foster Active Citizenship," *Peer Review*, vol. 10, no. 2/3, spring/summer 2008/
- "The Civic Engagement of Young Immigrants: Why Does it Matter?" *Applied Developmental Science*, volume 12, issue 2 (April 2008), pp. 102 – 104.
- Joseph Kahne & Peter Levine, "Voter Turnout Spotlights Educational Need," op-ed, *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 9, 2008.
- "The Engaged University: A Tale of Two Generations," in David W. Brown and Deborah Witte, eds., *Agent of Democracy: Higher Education and the HEX Journey* (Dayton: Kettering Foundation Press, 2008), pp. 11-28.
- "Education and the Limits of Technocracy," *Philosophy & Public Policy Quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 3/4 (Summer/Fall 2007), pp. 17-21.
- "America's Civic Health Index," 2007, published by the National Conference on Citizenship in partnership with CIRCLE and the Saguaro Seminar. I was one of 12 authors and drafted the original text.
- "A Public Voice for Youth: The Audience Problem in Digital Media and Civic Education," in W. Lance Bennett (ed.), *Civic Life Online: Learning How Digital*

- Media Can Engage Youth*(Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 2007), pp. 119-138.
- Peter Levine & Rose Marie Nierras, “Activists’ Views of Deliberation,” *Journal of Public Deliberation*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2007), article 4.
- “Learning and Democracy: Civic Education,” *The Kettering Review*, vol. 24, no. 3 (Fall 2006), pp. 32-42.
- John M. Bridgeland & Peter Levine, “Civic Priorities,” op-ed, *The Washington Times*, October 4, 2006.
- (With Mark Hugo Lopez and others), “The 2006 Civic and Political Health of the Nation” (CIRCLE, based on a nationally representative survey.)
- Broken Engagement: America’s Civic Engagement Index*, A report by the National Conference on Citizenship in association with CIRCLE and the Saguaro Seminar (September 18, 2006): with 12 co-authors, but I was responsible for the data and quantitative analysis.
- “Civic Renewal in America,” *Philosophy and Public Policy Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 1/2 (winter/spring 2006), pp. 2-12.
- “Higher Education: Civic Mission & Civic Effects,” published by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and CIRCLE in February 2006. This is a consensus report by 22 scholars; I drafted it and revised it to achieve agreement.
- “The Civic Mission of Schools: Chief Findings and Next Steps,” *Knowledge Quest*, vol. 34, no. 4 (March/April, 2006), pp. 20-22
- “*Politics is About Relationships* by Harold H. Saunders” (book review), *Connections*(winter 2006), pp. 26-27
- “Youth Voting in 2004: The Myths and the Facts,” *Wingspread Journal* (2005), pp. 3-6
- Archon Fung, John Gastil, & Peter Levine, “Future Directions for Public Deliberation,” *Journal of Public Deliberation*: Vol. 1: No. 1, Article 3 (2005). Also appears as Chapter 19 of Gastil and Levine, eds., *Handbook of Public Deliberation*
- Mark Hugo Lopez & Peter Levine, “What We Should Know about the Effectiveness of Campaigns but Don’t,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 601 (Sept. 2005), pp. 180-191
- The Problem of Online Misinformation and the Role of Schools,” *Studies in Media & Information Literacy Education*, volume 5, issue 1 (February 2005)
- “Creative Use of the New Media” in Lonnie R. Sherrod, Ron Kassimir, and Connie Flanagan (eds.), *Youth Activism: An International Encyclopedia* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2005)
- Collective Action, Civic Engagement, and the Knowledge Commons,” chapter in Charlotte Hess and Elinor Ostrom, eds., *Understanding Knowledge as a Commons: From Theory to Practice* (MIT Press, 2006). This is a revised version of “Youth-Led Research, the Internet, and Civic Engagement” (Digital Library of the Commons, 2004).

3. By Seth Avakian

Dissertation

Student Civic Engagement and For-Profit Higher Education: Public Policies and Private Goods. 2014, 383 pages.