

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF WISCONSIN**

RUTHELLE FRANK, et al., on behalf of
themselves and all others similarly situated,

Plaintiffs,

v.

SCOTT WALKER, in his official capacity as
Governor of the State of Wisconsin, et al.,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 2:11-cv-01128 (LA)

**DECLARATION OF JON SHERMAN IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' REPLY
MEMORANDUM IN SUPPORT OF MOTION FOR CLASS CERTIFICATION**

I, Jon Sherman, pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, hereby declare as follows:

1. I am one of the attorneys for the Plaintiffs in the above-captioned action. I submit this Declaration in support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Class Certification.

2. I make this Declaration based on my own personal knowledge and based upon the sources described, true and accurate copies of which is attached hereto.

3. On April 24, 2012, I emailed Defendants' counsel Clay Kawski, Thomas C. Bellavia, Carrie M. Benedon, and Maria S. Lazar a copy of Dr. Matt Barreto's expert report that was signed by Dr. Barreto, noting that Dr. Barreto's signature was on page 33 of the report. A true and accurate copy of that email is attached hereto as Attachment A.

4. A true and accurate copy of Dr. Barreto's expert report with Dr. Barreto's signature, which was attached to the April 24, 2012 email, is attached hereto as Attachment B.

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

Dated this 29th day of June, 2012.

/s/ Jon Sherman

Jon Sherman

American Civil Liberties Union Foundation, Inc.

230 Peachtree Street, Suite 1440

Atlanta, GA 30303

Phone: (404) 523-2721

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jsherman@aclu.org

ATTACHMENT A

Jon Sherman

From: Jon Sherman
Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2012 5:47 PM
To: 'Steiner, Neil'; Kawski, Clayton P.
Cc: Bellavia, Thomas C.; Benedon, Carrie M.; Lazar, Maria S.; ldupuis@aclu-wi.org; krotker@aclu-wi.org; hjohnson@nlchp.org; Princ, Diane; Falls, Craig
Subject: RE: Frank v. Walker, 11-CV-1128 (E.D. Wis.): expert witness disclosures
Attachments: Milwaukee Report Final Draft April 23 MB.pdf

Hi Clay,
Attached please find a copy of Prof. Barreto's report with his signature on page 33.
Best,
Jon

Jon Sherman
Staff Attorney
ACLU Southern Regional Office
Voting Rights Project
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Tel: 404-523-2721 ext. 232
Fax: 404-653-0331

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From: Steiner, Neil [mailto:neil.steiner@dechert.com]
Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2012 3:03 PM
To: Kawski, Clayton P.
Cc: Bellavia, Thomas C.; Benedon, Carrie M.; Lazar, Maria S.; ldupuis@aclu-wi.org; krotker@aclu-wi.org; hjohnson@nlchp.org; Princ, Diane; Falls, Craig; Jon Sherman
Subject: RE: Frank v. Walker, 11-CV-1128 (E.D. Wis.): expert witness disclosures

As I said in the first sentence of my prior email, we believe that all information required to be disclosed by Rule 26 was timely served yesterday.

From: Kawski, Clayton P. [mailto:kawskicp@doj.state.wi.us]
Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2012 2:59 PM
To: Steiner, Neil
Cc: Bellavia, Thomas C.; Benedon, Carrie M.; Lazar, Maria S.; ldupuis@aclu-wi.org; krotker@aclu-wi.org; hjohnson@nlchp.org; Princ, Diane; Falls, Craig; Jon Sherman
Subject: RE: Frank v. Walker, 11-CV-1128 (E.D. Wis.): expert witness disclosures

Hi Neil,

We intend to go forward with Prof. Barreto's videoconference deposition on Thursday at 9 a.m. Pacific. Please plan on it.

Again, I request that Plaintiffs' counsel please advise Defendants whether there was good cause that the Rule 26 disclosures were not timely served.

Thank you,

Clay Kawski

Clayton P. Kawski
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From: Steiner, Neil [<mailto:neil.steiner@dechert.com>]
Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2012 1:55 PM
To: Kawski, Clayton P.; Jon Sherman
Cc: Bellavia, Thomas C.; Benedon, Carrie M.; Lazar, Maria S.; ldupuis@aclu-wi.org; krotker@aclu-wi.org; hjohnson@nlchp.org; Princ, Diane; Falls, Craig
Subject: RE: Frank v. Walker, 11-CV-1128 (E.D. Wis.): expert witness disclosures

Clay,

All of the disclosures required by Rule 26 were contained in Professor Barreto's expert witness report and were timely served yesterday. You acknowledge that you received that report yesterday. And you know that Professor Barreto is our expert witness, because we identified him last week (before we were required to do so) to arrange for his deposition by videoconference, for your convenience, this Thursday. If you are attempting to suggest that the disclosures in the report were untimely because it was not accompanied by a separate notice confirming that Professor Barreto was our expert witness, good luck making that argument before Judge Adelman.

I am scheduled to fly to Seattle at 7:30 tomorrow morning for the Thursday deposition. Please advise by 3:00 Central today whether you intend to go forward with his deposition as scheduled, or whether I should cancel my travel plans. If you cancel, you should also understand that we may not be able to make Professor Barreto available for deposition on a different day prior to the deadline for filing of your opposition brief.

Neil

From: Kawski, Clayton P. [<mailto:kawskicp@doj.state.wi.us>]
Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2012 1:57 PM
To: Jon Sherman
Cc: Bellavia, Thomas C.; Benedon, Carrie M.; Lazar, Maria S.; ldupuis@aclu-wi.org; krotker@aclu-wi.org; Steiner, Neil; hjohnson@nlchp.org; Princ, Diane; Falls, Craig
Subject: RE: Frank v. Walker, 11-CV-1128 (E.D. Wis.): expert witness disclosures

Hi Jon,

I saw Prof. Barreto's report attached to the Rotker Declaration that was filed yesterday, but Defendants' counsel did not receive Plaintiffs' Rule 26 disclosures per the Court's order yesterday.

Please advise us whether there is good cause that the Rule 26 disclosures were not timely served.

Thank you,

Clay Kawski

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From: Jon Sherman [<mailto:jsherman@aclu.org>]
Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2012 12:39 PM
To: Kawski, Clayton P.; ldupuis@aclu-wi.org; krotker@aclu-wi.org; neil.steiner@dechert.com; hjohnson@nlchp.org; Diane.Princ@dechert.com; craig.falls@dechert.com
Cc: Bellavia, Thomas C.; Benedon, Carrie M.; Lazar, Maria S.
Subject: RE: Frank v. Walker, 11-CV-1128 (E.D. Wis.): expert witness disclosures

Hi Clay,

The expert report was attached as Attachment J to Karyn Rotker's declaration (Doc. 62 & Doc. 62-10). This was filed in conjunction with the Motion for Preliminary Injunction. Prof. Matt Barreto's report complies with Rule 26, but if you want a signed copy, rather than just having him verify it when he testifies on Thursday, we will send you the report with a signature page today. Attached please find Plaintiffs' Rule 26(a)(2) disclosures.

Best,

Jon

Jon Sherman
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From: Kawski, Clayton P. [<mailto:kawskicp@doj.state.wi.us>]
Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2012 12:53 PM
To: ldupuis@aclu-wi.org; krotker@aclu-wi.org; Jon Sherman
Cc: Bellavia, Thomas C.; Benedon, Carrie M.; Lazar, Maria S.
Subject: Frank v. Walker, 11-CV-1128 (E.D. Wis.): expert witness disclosures

Dear Counsel:

Unless we missed them, yesterday Defendants' counsel did not receive Plaintiffs' Rule 26 expert witness disclosures pursuant to the Court's April 12, 2012, order.

Please advise us whether there is good cause that the disclosures were not timely served, or whether we have missed the disclosures that were served yesterday.

Thank you,

Clay Kawski

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ATTACHMENT B

**RATES OF POSSESSION OF ACCEPTED PHOTO
IDENTIFICATION, AMONG DIFFERENT SUBGROUPS
IN THE ELIGIBLE VOTER POPULATION,
MILWAUKEE COUNTY, WISCONSIN**

**Expert Report Submitted on Behalf of Plaintiffs
in *Frank v. Walker*, Civil Action No. 2:11-cv-01128(LA)**

Principal Investigator: Matt A. Barreto, Ph.D., University of Washington

Co-Investigator: Gabriel R. Sanchez, Ph.D., University of New Mexico

April 23, 2012

Rates of Possession of Accepted Photo Identification, Among Different Subgroups in the Eligible Voter Population, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin

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I. Introduction and Question Presented

The objective of this research report is to determine the rates of possession, and lack of possession of accepted photo identification among the eligible voting population in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin. More specifically, the plaintiffs in *Frank v. Walker*, Civil Action No. 2:11-cv-01128(LA) retained us to create a research design that would allow for an examination of whether Latino and African American eligible voters in Milwaukee County are more likely, or less likely, than eligible White non-Hispanic voters to possess accepted photo ID, and if any differences are statistically significant.

I am currently an Associate Professor of Political Science, and director of the Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity, Race & Sexuality (WISER) at the University of Washington, Seattle. I am also an affiliated faculty, and executive committee member of the Center for Statistics and the Social Sciences (CSSS) at UW. I completed a Ph.D in Political Science, with an emphasis on racial and ethnic politics in the U.S., political behavior, and public opinion at the University of California, Irvine in 2005. Over the past six years, I have collaborated closely on research related to voter identification laws with Prof. Gabriel R. Sanchez, an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque. He and I have designed multiple surveys together about voter ID, and co-authored conference papers and published our research on voter ID laws in peer-reviewed academic journals. As such, Prof. Sanchez served as a co-investigator on this project. Prof. Sanchez and I have implemented more than 70 public opinion surveys and have, in total, published 2 books and 43 peer-reviewed academic research articles, 15 book chapters in academic research volumes between the two of us. My own CV is included as appendix C, and Prof. Sanchez's CV is included as appendix D. I

was paid an hourly consulting rate of \$250 per hour for my work on this project including for any deposition or testimony in court.

While the full methodology, statistical analysis and findings are detailed throughout this 43 page report, a short overview of the most relevant findings are offered first:

- As compared to eligible White voters, African American and Latino eligible voters in Milwaukee County are statistically less likely to possess an accepted photo ID.
- Eligible African American voters are 182 percent less likely to possess an accepted photo ID, than are whites. Eligible Latino voters are 206 percent less likely to possess an accepted photo ID, than are whites.
- Eligible Latino voters are statistically more likely to lack any documentary proof of citizenship, as compared to whites, and therefore less likely to have the necessary underlying documents to obtain an original Wisconsin DMV product.
- As compared to eligible white voters, eligible African American and Latino voters are statistically less likely to both lack an accepted photo ID, and also lack the necessary underlying documents to obtain an original Wisconsin DMV product, creating a double burden for Blacks and Latinos.
- Overall 2.4 percent of eligible white voters lack an accepted photo ID, and also lack the required underlying documents to obtain an original Wisconsin DMV product. In comparison, 4.5 percent of eligible Black voters lack an accepted ID and lack the ability to obtain one, and 5.9 percent of eligible Latino voters lack an accepted ID and lack the ability to obtain one.

To test these questions a survey was designed specifically focused on the Wisconsin photo ID law which went into effect with the February 21, 2012 primary. This research approach has three critical advantages for the purpose of identifying potential disparities in access to valid forms of identification: 1) the use of a survey provides the opportunity to directly ask residents of Wisconsin whether they are in possession of accepted photo ID and documentary proof of citizenship, identity, and residency – the underlying documents necessary to obtain a valid ID, 2) the survey was designed to capture the specific nuances of the Wisconsin law, and 3) this study is focused on eligible voters and has sizable samples of Whites, Blacks, and Latinos appropriate for statistical analysis. This approach is the most accurate way to assess rates of possession of accepted photo ID because eligible voters were contacted directly and asked what documents or types of identification they currently possess. Other methods, such as examining existing large public databases, may not be as precise because they may not contain information on all types of ID that an individual possesses, or they may not be able to provide accurate information on the race and ethnicity of all individuals. Finally, a survey can ask more specifically about current physical possession of their ID to capture any instances where IDs has been lost, stolen, misplaced, destroyed, etc.

It was critical that respondents to the survey were both residents of Milwaukee county and eligible to vote. The survey therefore started with the following question which was used as a screener for eligibility to participate in the study (see Appendix B 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 are not currently on probation, parole, or extended supervision for a felony conviction, and you have lived here in Milwaukee County for more than 28 days?”

Respondents were then asked an additional set of questions confirming they were residents of Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, if they have ever been declared mentally incompetent by a judge, and were currently eligible to vote in Wisconsin. Any individual who provided a response to these items that would make them ineligible to vote were excluded from the study, ensuring that the analysis is focused on eligible voters in Milwaukee County. Therefore, any relationships between race and ethnicity and possession of accepted photo identification are specific to the voting eligible population of the state. A specific question was also asked in the survey to account for individuals who are exempt from this law due to being indefinitely confined due to age, illness, infirmity or disability or due to living or residing in a nursing home or care facility. 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 the law.

Specifically, the study is focused on whether eligible Latino and eligible African American voters in Milwaukee County are less likely to be in possession of accepted photo ID and the survey was designed to address the exact provisions of the law. For example, when respondents were 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 after November 2, 2010 – the date of the most recent general election prior to this particular survey. Respondents were also asked to indicate whether they were in possession of any of the accepted forms of photo ID: a Wisconsin driver’s license, a Wisconsin state ID card that was issued by the DMV, a U.S. Passport, a military ID card, or military-dependent ID card, issued by a uniformed armed services, not counting an ID issued by the VA, an identification card issued by a federally recognized Indian tribe in Wisconsin etc. Given that only photo ID’s issued by an accredited college or university are accepted, respondents who indicated that they had an

unexpired college ID in Wisconsin were asked to provide the name of that institution so that the card's validity could be verified. Because of this careful attention to the specific nuances of the Wisconsin statute, the data provides an accurate and reliable depiction of the rates of possession of accepted photo ID in Milwaukee County.

A. Principal focus: racial disparities in possession of ID Milwaukee county WI

This study was designed to assess if there were any statistically significant differences in rates of possession, or lack of possession of accepted photo ID based on race and ethnicity. 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.¹ For example, after establishing eligibility to participate in the survey, all respondents were asked: "Just to make sure we get a representative sample of people here in Wisconsin, can you tell me what your race or ethnicity is? White, Black or African American, Hispanic or Latino, Asian American, Native American, or Other." To assess the differential rates of possession of accepted photo ID, both the percentages and raw number estimates are presented for individuals who do not possess the various forms of photo ID as well as documentary proof of citizenship, identity, and residency for white,² Latino, and African American respondents to the survey. In addition to the frequencies associated with possession of accepted forms of ID, results from a series of statistical tests are presented to determine whether

¹ Out of entire sample of 1,973 respondents there were 4 respondents who said they were both Black and white and there were 11 respondents who said they were both Hispanic and white. In both cases, we included these as part of the respective minority group and not as white. Further, there were 2 respondents who said they were both Black and Hispanic. 1 respondent gave African American as their first racial answer and we counted that person as African American. 1 respondent gave Hispanic as their first racial answer and we counted that person as Hispanic, for purposes of the tabulations and statistical analysis. In total, these respondents accounted for less than 1 percent of all cases analyzed.

² We use the category/label "white" to refer to non-Hispanic whites.

eligible Latino and African American voters in Milwaukee County are disproportionately impacted by the Wisconsin law. In this case, logistic regression was utilized to determine whether or not different groups (racial groups in this case) are distinct from each other when observing binary outcomes, such as possession of various forms of acceptable ID. Logistic regression is the most appropriate statistical analysis to test these relationships for two reasons: first, because the outcome variables of interest, possession of an accepted photo ID, or possession of underlying documents, are 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. The results of the regression analysis provide a direct test of whether possession rates of acceptable ID vary in a statistically significant manner for Blacks or Latinos, as compared to Whites. As is the norm in the social sciences, standard levels of significance are utilized of .001, .010, .050, and .100 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 racial groups:

*** 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, the result would be expected to occur again 99% of the time if this study were repeated with additional samples of the Milwaukee County, Wisconsin population. Similarly, if the pr value is .050, 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, and degree of difference in results to determine if the differences observed are real and true.

B. The additional questions: differences by other demographic indicators including age, income, and education

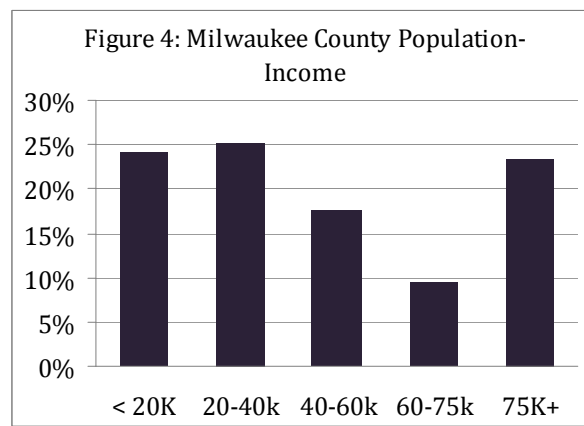
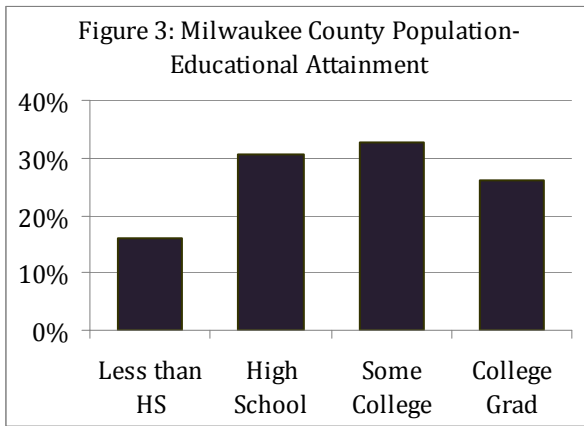
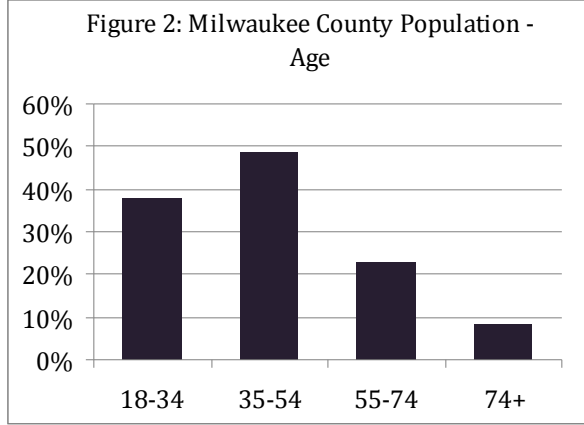
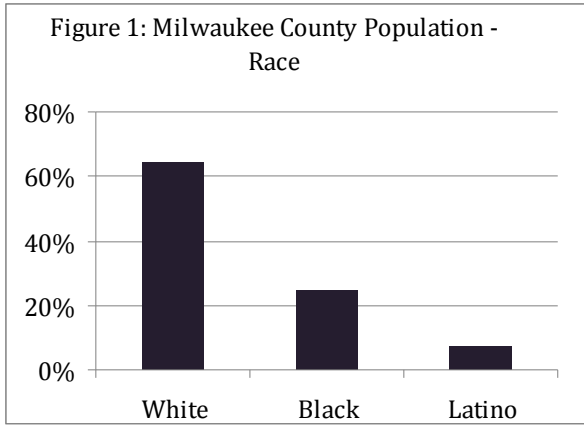
In addition to race and ethnicity, the analysis includes a focus on the demographic indicators of age, income, and education and possession of acceptable forms of ID. Similar to the approach with race, percentages for individuals who do not possess the various forms of photo ID and documentary proof of citizenship, identity and residency are presented for each category of these other demographic variables. For example, rates of possession for the following income categories are presented: less than \$20,000, \$20,000 to \$40,000, \$40,000 to \$60,000, \$60,000 to \$80,000, and greater than \$80,000. Likewise, similar categorical break-outs for age and education groupings are presented. A series of logistic regression analyses were also conducted for these additional demographic indicators to assess whether there were statistically significant differences in possession of accepted forms of ID due to income, age, and educational attainment. This additional information will hopefully provide a more comprehensive picture of how the Wisconsin law could impact voters from the state, with a specific focus on assessing statistically significant differences in possession rates of valid forms of ID across race, ethnicity, and socio-economic factors.

II. Milwaukee County Demographics

Previous studies focused on other locations suggest that voter ID laws have the potential to disproportionately affect very specific segments of the population, including racial and ethnic minorities, the elderly population, and those of low socio-economic status.³ Given the diversity of Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, it is important to extend a similar analysis to this locale.

According to data from the US Census Bureau, among the citizen adult population in Milwaukee County, 24.5% is African American (164,341), 7.6% is Hispanic (50,738) and 63.8% is White, non-Hispanic (427,421), and 4.1% of some other race or ethnicity (27,625) as noted in figure 1. In terms of age, nearly 40 percent of the population is 18-34, and another 8.5 percent are over the age of 74 (figure 2). Moreover, over 100,000 individuals (15.9 percent) have not completed high school, and when coupled with those with only a high school degree, nearly 50 percent of the population in Milwaukee County has just a high school degree or less (figure 3). Finally, a full quarter of the households in Milwaukee County earn less than 20 thousand dollars per year, and around half earn less than 40 thousand dollars annually (figure 4). Thus, the demographic portrait of Milwaukee County is one that is diverse along racial and ethnic bounds, as well as socioeconomically. As a large metropolitan area with more than 600,000 adult citizens as of the 2010 Census, voter identification laws have the potential to impact a large number of individuals in Milwaukee County. Further, as discussed in the next section, the census demographics reported here are important for the sampling and weighting approach, and ensure that the data is accurately reflective of the demographics of Milwaukee County, Wisconsin.

³ Barreto, Matt, Stephen Nuño, and Gabriel Sanchez. 2009. "The Disproportionate Impact of Voter-ID Requirements on the Electorate—New Evidence from Indiana." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 42 (January)



III. Survey methodology

A. Survey research is a reliable and trusted method in the social sciences

Within social science research, public opinion and political behavior have been longstanding areas of significant consequence and interest. The primary reason for using survey research to study possession of accepted photo ID is simple: if you want to know if the population has the required ID, just ask them. Early on, “pollsters” learned that you could learn a great deal about voter attitudes, and possibly even predict election results through large quantitative surveys of the public. Over the past decades, the science of public opinion surveys has expanded greatly and great expertise has been developed in how to accurately sample, construct, implement and

analyze survey data.⁴ Survey research has become a hallmark of social science research, such that at a typical Political Science academic conference, more than 500 different research papers using survey data are regularly presented. 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.⁵ 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. If the sample is reflective of the larger population, and the survey is administered randomly, and without bias, the results of the eventual survey results can be considered as statistically reliable estimate.⁶ These standards of survey design were followed very closely when implementing this study.

i. Survey design

In designing the survey researchers must consider three important topics to ensure their project is of the highest quality and follows social scientific standards. First, the population for which inferences will be made must be identified. In this case, inferences will be made about the rates of possession of accepted photo identification for the eligible voting population in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin. 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 (RDD) and (2) household listed samples. The first approach, RDD

⁴ For example, see Harold Lasswell, *Democracy Through Public Opinion*. 1941; Harry Alpert, "Public Opinion Research as Science." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 20(3). 1956; and Robert Groves et. al. *Survey Methodology*, 2nd ed. 2009.

⁵ 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.

⁶ Richard Scheaffer et. al. *Elementary Survey Sampling*, 7th ed. 2012; Robert Groves, *Survey Errors and Survey Costs*, 2nd ed. 2004.

takes the known area codes and pre-fixes for a given geographic area, and randomly generates the last four digits of phone numbers and calls those numbers entirely at random. This ensures that every possible phone number in Milwaukee County has an equal chance of being called. 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 that have been issued to either landline or cell phone subscribers in a geographic area (Milwaukee County 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. For this particular survey, three sample components are part of the overall project. First, an RDD sample of 1,000 eligible voters representative of the full demographics of Milwaukee County was targeted. Second, in order to reach a reliable sample of African American and Latino eligible voters, two separate listed-sample oversamples of Black and Hispanic eligible voters was completed, so that when point estimates are provided for these two groups, they each surpassed n=500 in sample. Third, self-reported registered voters were oversampled, to allow a comparison of the rates of possession of accepted ID among all eligible voters, as well as those who are currently registered to vote. Sample sizes and configurations are explained in more detail below (see also, table A).

Table A: Sample composition

	RDD	Listed
White	718	25
Black	181	428
Latino	54	516
Other	44	7
Total	997	976

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 and 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 takes place 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 first. Not only is randomization important in selecting respondents, but within the survey randomization should be a priority when it appropriately helps avoid introducing any type of response bias.

The full questionnaire is included as an appendix to this document (Appendix B) 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 four main sections: first the screening questions to establish eligibility to participate in the study; second to focus specifically on

accepted photo ID; third to probe rates of possession of documentary proof of citizenship, identity, and residency; and fourth demographic indicators of the sample.

The third topic area to ensure high quality survey data is the actual implementation and execution of the survey by a well-established and reputable market research firm. This is the focus of the next section.

ii. Survey execution

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 must have an equal chance to respond, participate, and be included. For example, if potential respondents were only called at home at 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 Milwaukee County who would not be able to participate in the study because they were at work during the call time. Instead, researchers should take an approach that gives each respondent an equal opportunity to be included in the survey. The actual phone calls and implementation of the survey was handled by Pacific Market Research (PMR), a market research firm in Renton, Washington. This is a highly reputable survey firm that has implemented many surveys for applied, legal and academic research.

In this case, two 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 overall sample of 1,000 Milwaukee County eligible voters. Numbers were randomly generated,

and then randomly selected phone numbers were dialed. To target Latino and African American eligible voters for a separate oversample, PMR procured a listed sample of African American and Hispanic households in Milwaukee County and then randomly selected phone numbers were dialed (see table A). A third sample list, of known cell/wireless-only households was also used to ensure that residents who do not have a landline telephone were still included in the survey. This step was critical, as more and more people are moving toward cell phone usage and cancelling their land-line telephones. Adding a cell-phone sample ensures that the data can speak to all aspects of the Milwaukee County population. In all cases, calls were made from 4pm – 9pm central time Monday through Friday, and 12pm – 8pm central time Saturday and Sunday, beginning on December 17, 2011, and continuing until January 29, 2012. 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. Phone numbers were “released” in batches of 100, and dialed until all numbers were exhausted, and then a second batch was made available, and so on.

Respondents had the choice of completing the interview in English, or in Spanish, and among self-identified Hispanic respondents, 61 percent took the survey in English, and 39% in Spanish. Among White, non-Hispanics and African Americans 100 percent took the survey in English. Making the survey available in both English and Spanish is critical, as many Latino voters 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. Overall, Pacific Market Research reported a Response Rate-3 of 26.3

percent and a Cooperation Rate-3 of 39.2 percent, calculated as per the American Association of Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) guidelines.⁷ 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.⁸

B. The specific survey undertaken was implemented in a social scientific manner

After collecting the data for the main Milwaukee County sample, and the African American and Hispanic oversample, underlying demographic characteristics of the respective samples were examined and compared to the known universe estimates for each from the 2010 U.S. Census, *American Community Survey* for Milwaukee County. Where there were any discrepancies, a weighting algorithm was applied to balance the sample, called raking ratio estimation,⁹ so that the final samples that were tabulated for the analysis were in line with the U.S. Census estimates for Milwaukee County. For example, it is well known in survey research that younger people, say under 30 years old, are harder to reach than older people who are over age 70. If 15% of survey respondents are age 18-30 years old, but census data tells us they are actually 30% of the eligible voting population, then each young person needs to be “up-weighted” so that collectively they represent 30% of the sample. 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 for each group, or for the county at large, we can ensure that the results are reflective of the eligible voting population

⁷ For more on AAPOR guidelines: http://www.aapor.org/Response_Rates_An_Overview1.htm

⁸ Scott Keeter et. al. 2006. “Gauging the Impact of Growing Nonresponse on Estimates from a National RDD Telephone Survey,” *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 70(5)

⁹ 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.

in Milwaukee County. This helps to ensure that the sample generated for the report is reflective of the overall population of Milwaukee County, and consequently, that the inferences made regarding possession rates of valid ID are reflective of that target population as well. Weighting of survey data is a very common and accepted approach in social science research, especially when inferences are made to the larger population.¹⁰

IV. Impact of the WI Photo ID law

As of 2012, Wisconsin now requires that individuals provide accepted photo identification before they are issued a ballot. Acceptable identification includes a Wisconsin driver's license or state ID card, a university ID, a passport, a military issued ID, a naturalization certificate, a Wisconsin driver's license or state ID receipt, or tribal ID, as long as whatever form of ID used is valid, non-expired¹¹ and has the individual's full name printed on it.

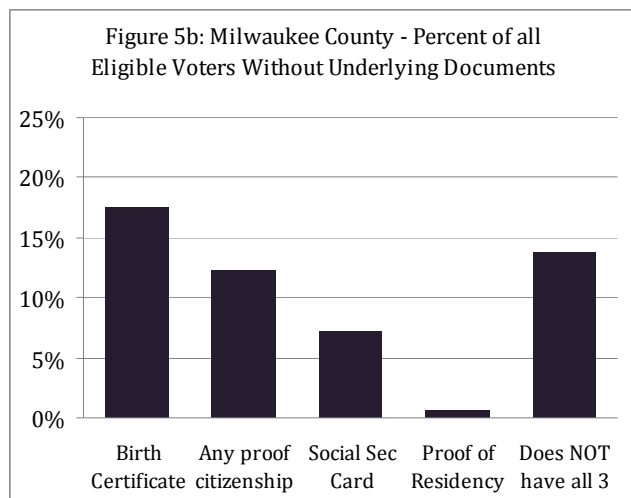
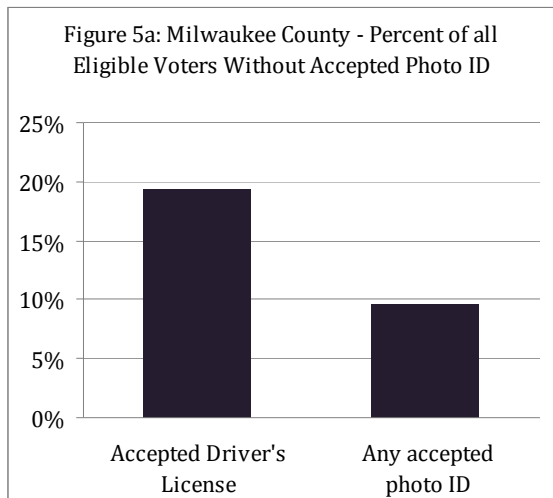
Among the overall population of eligible voters in Milwaukee County a sizeable portion do not possess an acceptable form of photo ID. 19.3 percent are without a valid driver's license, and when we follow up to ask about state ID card and all other accepted forms of photo ID we find 9.5 percent of eligible voters do not possess an accepted photo ID (table 1, figure 5a). In terms of raw number estimates, 63,085¹² eligible voters currently do not possess an accepted ID in Milwaukee County. Further, a large number of individuals do not possess documentary proof of citizenship, identity, or residency necessary to acquire an accepted form of photo ID in the first place. About one out of eight people, or 12.3 percent do not have their official birth

¹⁰ Eun Sul Lee and Ronald Forthofer. 2006. *Analyzing Complex Survey Data*. Sage Publications.

¹¹ Driver's License, State ID, Military ID and Passport are valid, if they are current or expired after the previous statewide general election.

¹² Among the 661,958 eligible voters 9.53% do not have a valid ID, resulting in 63,085. Given the margin of error, the lower bound is 42,564 and upper bound is 83,605.

certificate or certificate of citizenship, and 7.1 percent do not possess a Social Security Card (table 3). When examining all other accepted forms of documentary proof of citizenship, identity and residency, the results indicate that 13.8 percent of eligible voters in Milwaukee County do not possess all three of the underlying documents required to apply for a driver's license or state ID card (figure 5). All told, an estimated 91,615¹³ eligible voters in Milwaukee County lack the necessary documentary proof of citizenship, identity and residency needed to apply for a Wisconsin driver's license or state ID card. This initial overview suggests that there is a significant segment of the Milwaukee County, Wisconsin population that will lack the required forms of identification to vote, as well as the documentary proof of citizenship, identity and residency required to obtain those forms of ID. The next section of the analysis focuses specifically on whether possession rates of accepted ID vary significantly across racial and ethnic groups.



¹³ Among the 661,958 eligible voters 13.84% do not have the underlying documents, resulting in 91,615. Given the margin of error, the lower bound is 71,094 and upper bound is 112,136.

A. Is there a statistically significant disparate impact on Black and Latino eligible voters and registered voters?

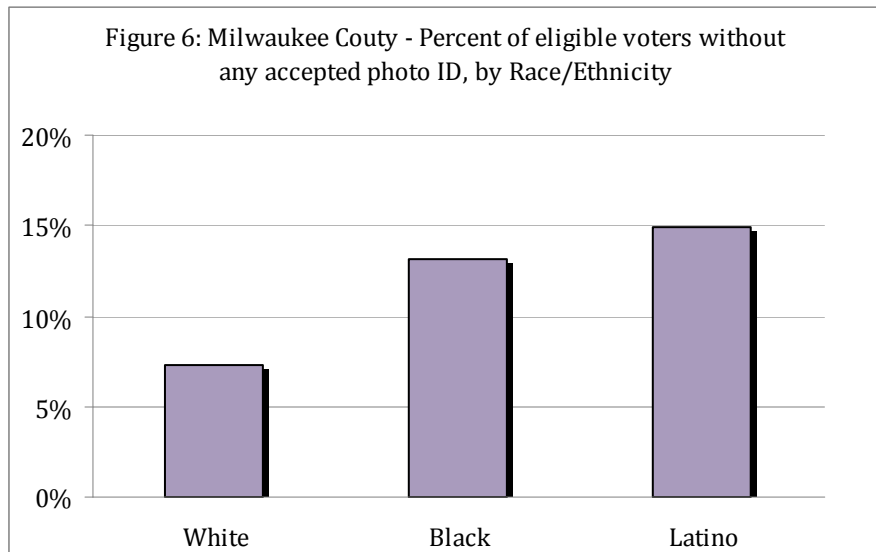
i. Rates of possession of accepted photo ID for eligible voters by race/ethnicity

The objective of this study was to create a design that would allow us to examine whether Latino and African American eligible voters in Milwaukee County have different rates of possession of accepted photo ID than eligible White voters, and if differences exist, whether they are statistically significant according to social science practices. Among all Milwaukee County citizen adults eligible to vote, 90.5 percent have an accepted photo ID under the Wisconsin law as noted above. However, this means that 9.5 percent of eligible voters lack some form of acceptable ID as required by the new law (from table 1). Furthermore, eligible African American and Latino voters disproportionately lack an accepted photo ID. In fact, the relationship between race/ethnicity and possession of an accepted photo ID is statistically significant¹⁴ at a very rigorous level utilized in social science research ($p < .01$; table 1). Among Latino eligible voters, 14.9 percent lack an accepted form of photo ID, and 13.2 percent of African American eligible voters lack an accepted form of photo ID, compared to only 7.3 percent of White eligible voters (table 1, figure 6). This means that Blacks are 182 percent more likely *to lack* accepted ID, and Latinos are 206 percent more likely *to lack* accepted ID than are Whites.¹⁵ In terms of raw numbers, an estimated 20,939 Black and 7,453 Latino eligible voters do not possess accepted

¹⁴ Throughout this report, we assessed whether differences between Whites and minorities were statistically significant by running logistic regression with a binary dependent variable for possession (1) or no possession (0) of valid ID, and using binary control variables for African American and Latino, with the reference group being Whites, and respondents of any “other” racial group omitted from the regression analysis. We also considered chi-square differences, and t-test difference of means, and the results were entirely consistent.

¹⁵ We arrive at this by dividing the rate of Latinos who lack ID (14.94) by the rate of Whites who lack ID (7.26) to get 2.06; and likewise for Blacks who lack ID (13.18) divided by 7.26 to get 1.82

photo ID (see Table 2). Taken together, more than 28,000 Black and Latino citizens, who are otherwise eligible to vote, will not have access to the ballot box because they do not possess an accepted photo ID as defined by current Wisconsin law. The differential impact on Blacks and Latinos is displayed graphically in figure 6, and numerically in tables 1-2.



ii. Rates of possession of accepted ID for registered voters by race

The next step in the analysis was to examine the relative rates of possession, or lack of possession of ID among those already registered to vote, by race and ethnicity. This analysis builds on the previous section and provides an assessment of the impact of the new law on both eligible voters, as well as those who were already registered to vote at the time of the survey interview. Although very similar to the patterns among the overall population of eligible voters, it is worth noting that 8.7 percent of respondents currently registered to vote do not possess an accepted form of photo ID (table 5). More importantly, possession of accepted photo ID among registered voters also varies significantly by race and ethnicity. The relationship between race and possession of an acceptable form of photo ID achieves statistical significance for both Blacks and Latinos, such that each of these groups of registered voters are statistically less likely

to possess an acceptable form of photo ID as compared to Whites (Table 5). While 6.0 percent of white registered voters do not possess an accepted photo ID, 15.3 percent of African American and 11.3 percent of Latino registered voters lack accepted photo ID (Table 5). This means that there is a 5.3 percentage point disparity between white and Latino registered voters, which is statistically significant at the 95% level, and a 9.3 percentage point disparity between African American and white registered voters, statistically significant at the 99% level.

iii. Rates of possession of documentary proof of citizenship, identity, and residency among eligible voters

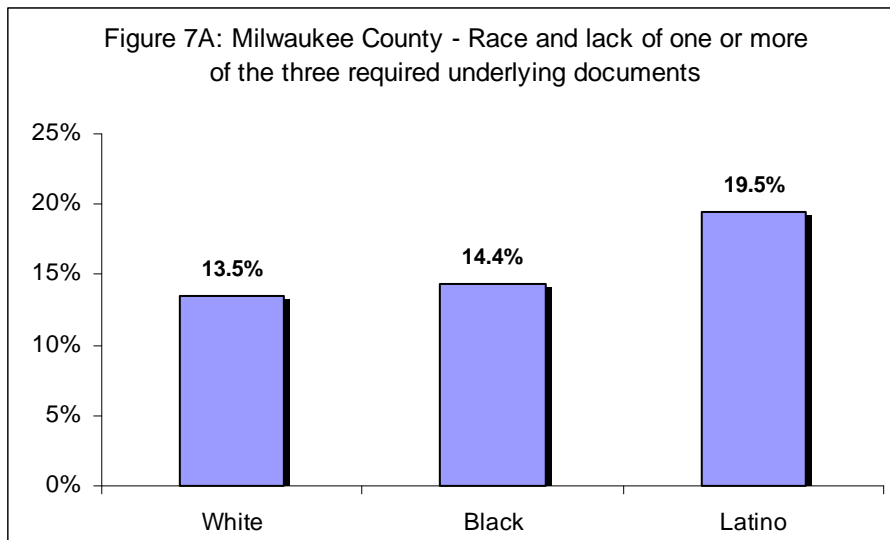
The next step in the analysis is to determine the proportion of voters who not only lack possession of an acceptable form of ID, but who may lack the necessary documents to acquire an accepted photo ID. Beyond current rates of possession of an accepted photo ID, the research also investigated whether or not people possess the necessary underlying documents needed to acquire an original Wisconsin DMV product. More specifically, questions were asked focused on the possession of documentary proof of citizenship, identity and residency – all three of which are needed to acquire an accepted photo ID.

Overall, the data show that eligible Latino voters lack documentary proof of citizenship at rates far higher than eligible White voters in Milwaukee County. Looking first at birth certificates, among eligible Latino voters, 47.2 percent do not have a copy of their birth certificate. In part this disparity exists because a sizable portion of Latinos are foreign-born naturalized citizens and thus their birth certificate does not establish citizenship. However, even among those born in the United States, Latinos are less likely to possess a copy of their official birth certificate. For example, among Latinos born in Puerto Rico, 38 percent stated they did not

have a valid copy of their Puerto Rican birth certificate. This is quite important because the government of Puerto Rico invalidated all birth certificates issued before July 1, 2010. As a consequence, anyone born in Puerto Rico would have to obtain a new birth certificate after July 1, 2010 in order to have valid proof of citizenship.

When combining possession of a valid birth certificate, certificate of naturalization, or certificate of citizenship, 11.2 percent of eligible white voters are lacking, 14.1 of eligible African American voters are lacking, and 18.9 of eligible Latino voters are lacking any documentary proof of citizenship. The difference between Whites and Latinos is statistically significant with 99% certainty (table 3). When it comes to the other required underlying documents – proof of identity and proof of residency –Blacks or Latinos are not disadvantaged as compared to Whites. Among Whites and Latinos, 8.3 percent do not have their Social Security Card, compared to 3.3 percent of Blacks. And when asked whether they had a Social Security Card, or any other accepted documentary proof of identity, 2.0 percent of Whites lack such documents, compared to 1.1 percent of Latinos, and less than 1 percent of Blacks. A similar pattern exists with respect to documentary proof of residency – 99% of each racial group state they have proof of residency. However the stark differences with respect to Latinos and Whites in documentary proof of citizenship still create an overall statistically significant difference in the ability to apply for accepted photo ID. In terms of the percentage of each group that does not have all three required types of documents – proof of citizenship, proof of identity, and proof of residency – the data indicate that 13.5% of Whites do not have all three, 14.4% of Blacks do not have all three, and 19.5% of Latinos do not have all three (table 3, figure 7a). This difference between eligible white voters and eligible Latino voters is statistically significant with 99% certainty. In terms of raw numbers, this indicates that an estimated 22,846 African

American and 9,743 Latino eligible voters do not have all three of the necessary types of underlying documents to obtain an accepted photo ID.

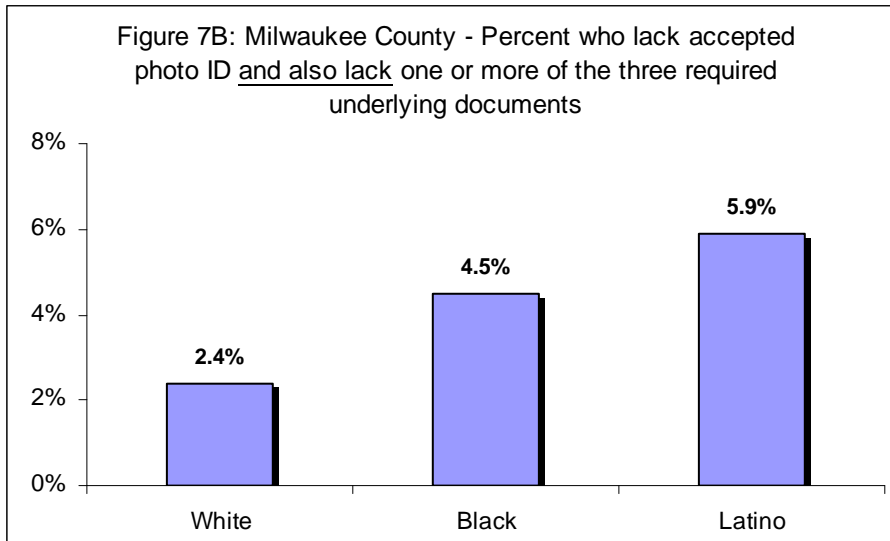


iv. Rates of possession of documentary proof of citizenship, identity, and residency among eligible voters who do not possess an accepted photo ID

The percentages reported above are indicative of the overall eligible voter population, including the registered voter population. However, the population that is the most at risk of losing access to the ballot box is those who currently lack an accepted photo ID. Should they wish to acquire a Wisconsin state ID card or Wisconsin driver's license that is accepted under the Wisconsin voter ID law, they would need to provide documentary proof of citizenship, identity and residency. The key question becomes: among those *not in possession* of an accepted photo ID, what is their ability to acquire an accepted photo ID in order to vote? Among those individuals who do not possess an accepted photo ID, a sizable share also lack documentary proof of citizenship, identity and residency necessary to acquire the required photo ID. Overall, looking at the percent who do or do not have all three of the types of documents needed, we find that 33.1 percent of Whites do not possess all three types of underlying documents, and 34.3

percent of Blacks are without all three, and 39.8 percent of Latinos are without all three types of documentary proof of citizenship, identity, and residency (table 7). In terms of raw numbers, an estimated 7,180 African Americans who lack an accepted photo ID also do not have all three types of underlying documents; and among Latinos without an accepted photo ID, an estimated 2,968 also do not have all three types of underlying documents (table 8). Because of the findings reported in table 1, that Blacks and Latinos are statistically less likely to possess an accepted photo ID in the first place, coupled with the findings presented here in table 7 that over one-third of this group also does not have the underlying documents necessary to gain an accepted photo ID, we can readily conclude that Blacks and Latinos are especially disadvantaged by the Wisconsin voter ID law.

Specifically, analyzing the rates that are enumerated in tables 1 and 7, approximately 2.4 percent of white eligible voters lack an accepted photo ID, and also lack the required underlying documents to obtain a Wisconsin driver's license or state ID card. In comparison, among Black eligible voters, 4.5 percent lack an accepted ID or the ability to obtain one, and among Latino eligible voters, 5.9 percent lack an accepted ID or the ability to obtain one (figure 7b). In both cases, logistic regression analysis demonstrates that the difference between African Americans and whites is statistically significant at the 95% level, and the difference between Latinos and whites is statistically significant at the 99% level. This data shows clearly that Black and Latino eligible voters are not only less likely than eligible whites to possess an accepted photo ID in the first place, but also less likely to possess all three of the necessary underlying documents to acquire such ID. Essentially, African American and Latino eligible voters are doubly impacted by the voter ID law, not only in terms of current possession of ID, but also in the means to obtain an accepted photo ID.



Further, among those who lack an accepted photo ID and also lack a valid birth certificate or any other documentary proof of citizenship, 53.1 percent were born in the state of Wisconsin, while 46.9 percent were born outside the state of Wisconsin, including 12.7 percent who were born in another country, 4.1 percent who were born in Puerto Rico, and 30.1 who were born in another U.S. state. Thus, for those who lack both an accepted photo ID, and have no documentary proof of citizenship, a significant portion – 46.9 percent – will be compelled to interact with another jurisdiction or a state outside of Wisconsin to obtain such documentation.

v. Are Latinos and African Americans disproportionately born in other states or Puerto Rico?

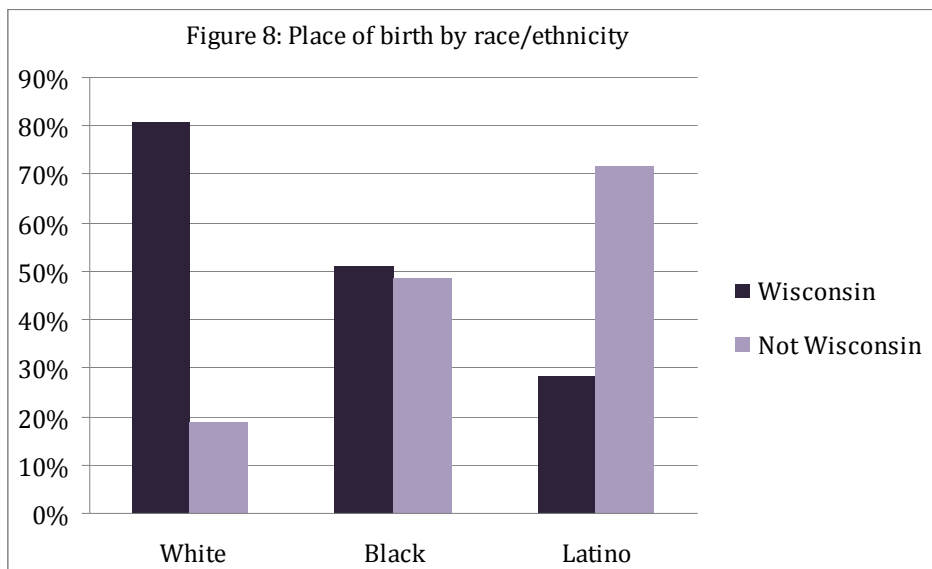
In the event that an eligible voter does not possess an accepted form of photo ID, and does not have the documentary proof of citizenship, identity, or residency necessary to acquire an acceptable form of ID, she or he may have to seek out these additional documents. The most common document that they would attempt to acquire in order to prove citizenship is a birth certificate, a task that can be more complex, time-consuming, and costly for those born outside of Wisconsin. It is therefore necessary to explore the percentages of people born outside of

Wisconsin by race and ethnicity. Eligible Latino and African American voters are much more likely to have been born in some other state than eligible white voters of Milwaukee County (Figure 8). The patterns here are quite stark, as Black eligible voters are two and a half times more likely to be born outside of Wisconsin than whites, and Latino eligible voters are nearly four-times as likely to be born in a state other than Wisconsin. For example, while 81.1 percent of whites were born in the state of Wisconsin, only 51.1 percent of Blacks were born in Wisconsin and just 28.3 percent of Latinos were born in Wisconsin. While many states offer multiple ways of requesting a certificate of birth, all have barriers that might be difficult for a person with limited access to documentary proof of citizenship or identification, and not in possession of the ID required by a vital records office.

For example, 16.7 percent of Latinos were born on the island of Puerto Rico, a US territory which recently invalidated all birth certificates issued before July 1, 2010. Consequently, all persons born in Puerto Rico were required to re-apply for a birth certificate after July 1, 2010. This issue is important to consider, as among Latino eligible voters in the survey that were born in Puerto Rico, 38.4 percent had not gone through the process of obtaining a new Puerto Rican birth certificate, and thus lacked proof of citizenship required to apply for a Wisconsin driver's license or state photo ID card.

The additional burden of acquiring proof of citizenship, identity, or residency is not limited to the Puerto Rican population. In other states where many Wisconsin residents were originally born, almost all require that one submit some form of proof of identification, and a number of jurisdictions require photo ID, or set forth a very limited list of alternative items. This suggests that there is a circular pattern here, as acquiring a Wisconsin driver's license or state ID card, requires a document, that in turn, bears its own identification requirement. The difficulty in

accessing a birth certificate without having a valid form of identification in-hand therefore increases the extent to which the Wisconsin photo ID law disproportionately affects eligible Latino and African American voters.



B. Is there a statistically significant association between possession of accepted photo ID and certain demographic indicators?

Although the primary focus of this report centers on race and ethnicity, a secondary question of interest is whether rates of possession of required forms of ID, and documentary proof of citizenship, identity, or residency vary due to other demographic factors. The next section of the report examines the relationship between age, education, and income with possession of accepted forms of ID or underlying documents.

i. Rates of possession of accepted ID by age

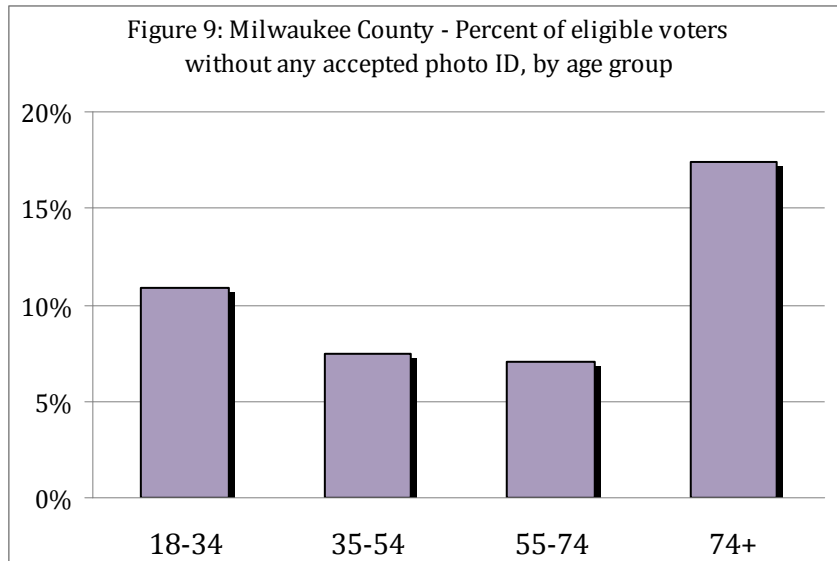
The analysis indicates that other groups who disproportionately lack an accepted photo ID include younger eligible voters and the elderly voting eligible population. Approximately 7

percent of eligible voters between the ages of 35 and 74 lack an accepted photo ID, compared to 11 percent of 18-34 year olds, which is a 5 percent difference between the two age groups. Comparatively, those over the age of 74 (who comprise 8.5 percent of eligible voters in Milwaukee County) are the age group least likely to possess an accepted form of ID, with a lack of possession rate of 17.4 percent. This represents a 10-percentage point difference in possession of an accepted form of photo ID when compared with 35 to 74 year-olds (table 9; figure 9). Similarly, in terms of registered voters, the most significantly affected group are those above the age of 74, of whom 15 percent do not possess an accepted photo ID. When compared to only seven percent of those between the ages of 55 and 74, the elderly are 8 percentage points more likely to lack an accepted ID. In addition, 6 percent of those 35-54, and 10 percent of those 18-34 (table 12) lack possession of accepted ID.

a. Rates of possession of documentary proof of citizenship, identity, and residency by age

In terms of possession of documentary proof of citizenship, identity, or residency necessary to obtain an accepted photo ID, the young are again disproportionately affected. The relationship between lack of a birth certificate, for example, and being below the age of 35 is statistically significant (table 13). Among eligible voters not in possession of an accepted photo ID, 65 percent have some combination of documentary proof of citizenship or identity required to obtain an accepted photo ID, thus 35 percent lack the required combination of documentary proof required. Yet, among eligible voters between the ages of 18 and 34, only 38 percent possess a birth certificate (62 percent lack a birth certificate), and only 50 percent have some combination of documentary proof of citizenship, identity, or residency (table 10 and table 11).

In contrast, only 27 percent of eligible voters between the ages of 35 and 54 lack one or more of the documentary proof of citizenship, identity, or residency.



ii. Is there a statistically significant correlation between accepted ID and education?

Exhibiting one of the clearest relationships among all demographic categories, the level of educational attainment of registered and eligible voters is strongly related both to possession of an accepted photo ID, and to possession of documentary proof of identity, citizenship or residency necessary to obtain an accepted form of ID. In both cases the differences are statistically significant.

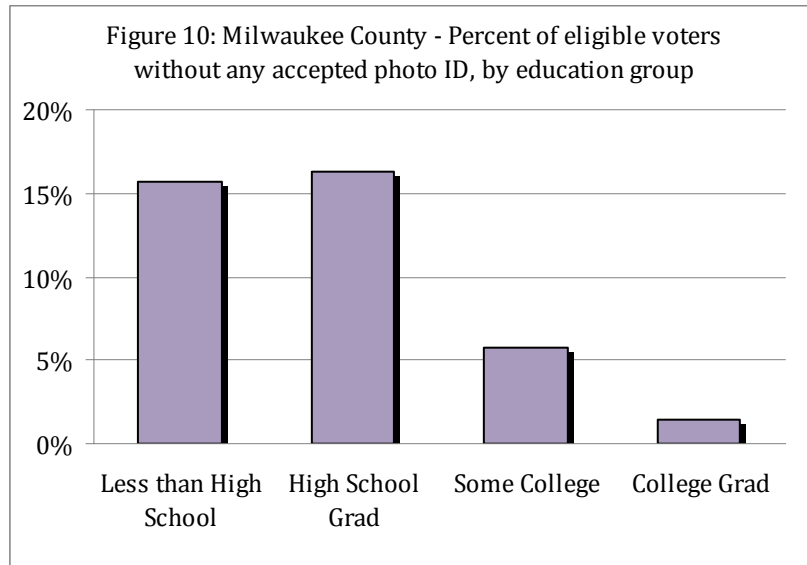
a. Rates of possession of accepted ID by education

Eligible voters who have a high school degree or less are significantly less likely to possess an acceptable photo ID, and across all measures, this relationship is statistically significant at the most rigorous level within the social sciences ($p < .01$; table 14). Only 83 percent of those who have attained only a high school degree possess an acceptable form of

photo ID (17 percent lack ID), compared to over 98 percent of those individuals who have graduated from college (figure 10). There is therefore a 15 percentage point gap in possession of accepted ID between college and high school graduates. Another way to consider this is that though they make up slightly less than 50 percent of the overall population (46.7 percent) in Milwaukee County, eligible voters with a high school degree or less account for a full 80.5 percent of those who do not possess an accepted photo ID (figure 10). This pattern holds true among registered voters as well. The most significantly affected segment of the registered voting population is the less educated. More specifically, 18 percent of those without a high school degree do not possess an accepted form of ID, while the same is true for only 1.4 percent of those with a college degree (table 17). There is therefore a nearly 16 percent gap in possession rates of accepted ID between college graduates and those who lack a high school diploma.

b. Rates of possession of documentary proof of citizenship, identity, and residency by education

The relationship between possession of an acceptable form of ID and educational attainment is similar to that regarding possession of documentary evidence of identity, citizenship, or residency necessary to obtain an ID. Only 45 percent of those individuals with less than a high school degree possess one or more of the following documentary proof of identity, citizenship or residency, (55 percent lack possession) while those who have graduated from high school experience nearly a 30 percentage point increase, as only 27 percent lack possession of documentary proof of identity, citizenship or residency (Table 15 and Table 16).



iii. Is there a statistically significant correlation between accepted ID and income?

The relationship between household income and possession of an acceptable form of photo ID is very similar to the pattern observed for educational attainment. In short, a positive relationship exists between income and possession of acceptable forms of ID, with possession rates increasing for higher income levels, and the relationship is statistically significant.

a. Rates of possession of accepted photo ID by income

Across all categories, individuals who make less than \$20,000 a year are less likely than their wealthier counterparts to possess some form of photo ID, valid or otherwise, at the strictest level of statistical significance in the social sciences ($p < .01$; Table 19) (Figure 11).

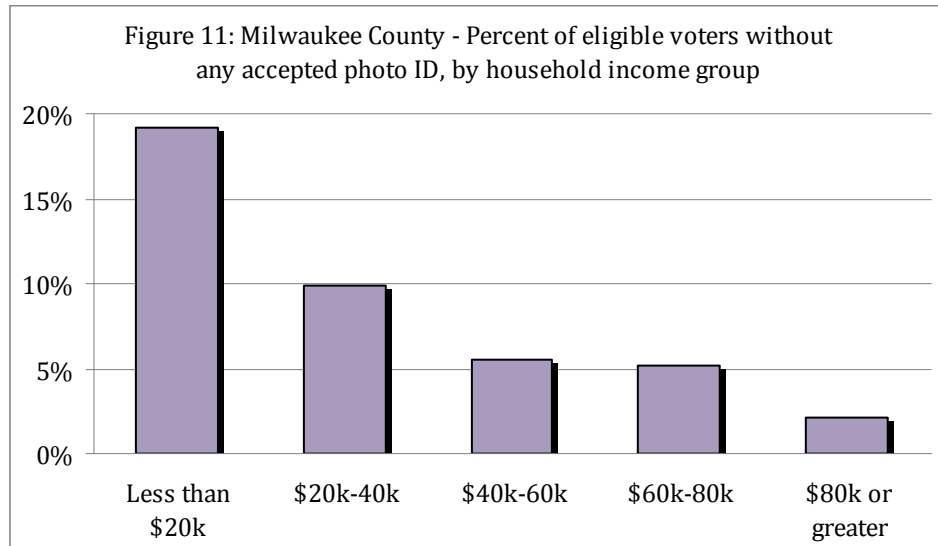
Furthermore, there is a 10 percent gap between eligible voters who lack possession of an accepted form of photo ID who make \$20,000 a year or less (19.2 percent), and those who make between \$20,000 to \$40,000 (9.9 percent). Among those who make \$80,000 or more, only approximately two percent do not possess a valid form of photo ID (Table 19). There is a similar pattern among registered voters, as 18 percent of registered voters who make less than \$20,000 a

year do not possess an accepted photo ID, while only a little less than two percent of registered voters who make over \$80,000 a year do not have an acceptable ID (table 22). It is therefore clear that low-income residents of Milwaukee County are less likely to possess the forms of ID required to vote, and consequently are more likely to be impacted by the new law. According to the U.S. Census American Community Survey approximately 24 percent of households in Milwaukee County earn 20 thousand dollars or less per year, and among those 19.2 percent lack an accepted photo ID. In terms of raw number estimates, between 20,494 and 40,511 eligible voters who earn less than 20 thousand dollars per year lack an accepted photo ID.¹⁶

b. Rates of possession of documentary proof of citizenship, identity, and residency by income

This relationship between income and possession rates is also reflected in levels of possession of documentary evidence of citizenship, identity or residency. The relationship between possession of a birth certificate or some other documentation of citizenship, and making less than \$20,000 dollars annually achieves statistical significance at the strictest level in the social sciences (Table 20). About 55 percent of eligible voters who make less than \$20,000 a year lack possession one ore more of the following documentary proof of citizenship, identity or residency, while only 10 percent of those in the next income bracket (\$20,000 to \$40,000) lack possession of the necessary documents required to acquire a valid photo ID (table 20 and 21). The same trend holds among registered voters, such that registered voters who make less than \$20,000 per year are statistically less likely to have documentary proof of citizenship, identity or residency required to obtain a photo ID (table 22).

¹⁶ Data from U.S. Census on income is presented at the household level, not the individual level, which matches with how we asked the income question in the survey. In making the extrapolation from households to number of individuals who are in such households that earn less than 20 thousand dollars per year, we rely on Census estimates for number of adults per household by income category.



V. Conclusion

In sum, Wisconsin’s voter ID law, which requires individuals to possess an accepted form of photo ID before being granted access to a ballot, disproportionately affects racial and ethnic minorities, the elderly, and those of low socio-economic status. The results indicate that approximately 15 percent of Latino eligible voters and 13 percent of African American eligible voters lack an accepted form of photo ID, compared to only 7 percent of White eligible voters. This means that Blacks eligible voters are 182 percent more likely *to lack* accepted ID, and Latino eligible are 206 percent more likely *to lack* accepted ID than are Whites. When assessing the number of people who will be impacted by the voter ID law in Wisconsin, more than 28,000 Black and Latino citizens in Milwaukee County, who are otherwise eligible to vote, will not have access to the ballot box because they do not possess an accepted photo ID as defined by current Wisconsin law. Beyond possession of accepted photo ID, racial and ethnic disparities were identified in possession of the documentary proof required to acquire a Wisconsin driver’s license or state ID card. Therefore, Latino and African American eligible and registered voters

who lack the required ID will have to go through additional steps to gain access to the ballot box when compared to White eligible and registered voters in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin. Finally, given that a much larger segment of the voting eligible population who lack required documentary proof of citizenship, identity, and residency and who are born outside of Wisconsin are Latino and African American, the new law will prove to be more costly for this specific sub-population of the state.

In addition to Latinos and African Americans, the analysis indicates that other demographic groups are less likely to possess the required forms of ID needed to vote under the new law. For example, those with lower levels of educational attainment see statistically significant disparities when compared to the more highly educated voting eligible population. Though they comprise less than 50 percent of the overall population, those with only a high school degree or less account for a full 80 percent of eligible voters in Milwaukee County who do not possess an accepted photo ID. These patterns are mirrored when the analysis is restricted to registered voters. Overall, the data indicate that Black and Latino eligible voters are statistically less likely to possess an accepted photo ID. Beyond that statistically significant differences in rates of possession of accepted photo ID were noted for age groups, education groups and income groups among eligible voters.

I affirm that I have written this report.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Matt A. Barreto", is written over a horizontal line.

Matt A. Barreto

Appendix A – Tables

Table 1: Rates of Possession/Lack of Possession of Accepted Photo ID Among Eligible Voters by Race/Ethnicity, Milwaukee County, WI

	County Total		White		Black		Latino	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Has accepted, non-expired photo ID	90.5%	9.5%	92.7%	7.3%	86.8%	13.2%**	85.1%	14.9%**
Driver's License	85.2%	14.8%	91.5%	8.5%	72.8%	27.2%**	72.5%	27.6%**
Driver's License, non-expired	80.7%	19.3%	87.6%	12.4%	67.4%	32.6%**	66.8%	33.2%**
Other form of accepted photo ID	14.7%	85.3%	8.3%	91.7%	27.2%	72.8%**	26.7%	73.3%**
Other ID, non- expired	9.8%	90.2%	5.1%	94.9%	19.4%	80.6%**	17.9%	82.9%**

**Statistically Significant at p < .05 **Statistically significant at p < .01*

Table 2: Number of Eligible Voters Who Possess/Do Not Possess Accepted Photo ID by Race/Ethnicity, Milwaukee County, WI

	County Total		White		Black		Latino	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Citizen adult eligible voter population	661,958		425,543		158,870		49,885	
Has accepted, non-expired photo ID	598,873	63,085	394,649	30,894	137,931	20,939	42,432	7,453
Driver's License	563,856	98,102	389,542	36,001	115,610	43,260	36,142	13,743
Driver's License, non-expired	533,935	128,023	372,776	52,767	107,126	51,744	33,328	16,557
Other form of accepted photo ID	97,043	564,915	35,405	390,138	43,260	115,610	13,339	36,546
Other ID, non- expired	64,739	597,219	21,873	403,670	30,805	128,065	8,919	41,335

Table 3: Rates of Possession/Lack of Possession of Documentary Proof of Citizenship, Identity, and Residency Among All Eligible Voters by Race/Ethnicity, Milwaukee County, WI

	County Total		White		Black		Latino	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Birth Certificate	82.5%	17.5%	87.1%	12.9%	84.6%	15.4%	52.8%	47.2%**
Any Doc. Proof of Citizenship	87.7%	12.3%	88.8%	11.2%	85.9%	14.1%	81.1%	18.9%**
Social Security Card	92.9%	7.1%	91.7%	8.3%	96.8%	3.3%**	92.1%	7.9%
Any Doc. Proof of Identity	98.6%	1.4%	98.0%	2.0%	99.8%	0.2%	98.9%	1.1%
Proof of Residency	99.4%	0.6%	99.5%	0.5%	99.4%	0.6%	99.6%	0.4%
Has all 3 required types of documents	86.2%	13.8%	86.5%	13.5%	85.6%	14.4%	80.5%	19.5%*

*Statistically Significant at $p < .05$ **Statistically significant at $p < .01$

Table 4: Number Who Possess/Do Not Possess Documentary Proof of Citizenship, Identity, and Residency Among All Eligible Voters by Race/Ethnicity, Milwaukee County, WI

	County Total		White		Black		Latino	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Citizen adult eligible voter population	661,958		425,543		158,870		49,885	
Birth Certificate	546,380	115,578	370,776	54,767	134,372	24,498	26,319	23,566
Any Doc. Proof of Citizenship	580,736	81,222	377,882	47,661	136,453	22,417	40,472	9,413
Social Security Card	614,760	47,198	390,180	35,363	153,707	5,592	45,954	3,931
Any Doc. Proof of Identity	652,691	9,267	417,032	8,511	158,552	318	49,336	549
Proof of Residency	657,854	4,104	423,330	2,213	157,885	985	49,690	195
Has all 3 required types of documents	570,343	91,615	368,095	57,448	136,024	22,846	40,142	9,743

Table 5: Rates of Possession of Photo ID Among Registered Voters by Race/Ethnicity, Milwaukee County, WI

	County Total		White		Black		Latino	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Has accepted, non-expired photo ID	91.3%	8.7%	94.0%	6.0%	84.8%	15.3%**	88.8%	11.3%*
Driver's License	89.1%	11.1%	95.11%	5.1%	76%	24%**	77.8%	22.2%**
DL, non-expired	84.4%	15.6%	91.2%	8.8%	70%	30.2%**	73%	27.1%**
Other form of accepted photo ID	11.1%	88.9%	4.9%	95.11%	24%	76%**	21.2%	78.8%**
Other ID, non- expired	6.9%	93.1%	2.8%	97.2%	15%	85%**	15.3%	84.7%**

*Statistically Significant at $p < .05$ **Statistically significant at $p < .01$

Table 6: Rates of Possession of Documentary Proof of Citizenship, Identity, and Residency Among Registered Voters by Race/Ethnicity, Milwaukee County, WI

	County Total		White		Black		Latino	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Birth Certificate	83.9%	16.1%	87.3%	12.7%	85.0%	15.0%	59.5%	40.5%*
Any Doc. Proof of Citizenship	88.8%	11.3%	89.2%	10.8%	86.1%	13.9%	89.4%	10.6%
Social Security Card	92.9%	7.1%	90.9%	9.1%	97.4%	2.6%**	95.5%	4.5%
Any Doc. Proof of Identity	98.4%	1.6%	97.7%	2.3%	99.7%	0.3%	99.0%	1.0%
Proof of Residency	99.6%	0.4%	99.5%	0.5%	99.9%	0.1%	99.8%	.1%
Has all 3 required types of documents	87.0%	13.0%	86.7%	13.3%	85.8%	14.2%	88.6%	11.4%

*Statistically Significant at $p < .05$ **Statistically significant at $p < .01$

Table 7: Rates of Possession/Lack of Possession of Documentary Proof of Citizenship, Identity and Residency Among Eligible Voters Without Accepted Photo ID by Race/Ethnicity, Milwaukee County, WI

	County Total		White		Black		Latino	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Birth Certificate	59.8%	40.2%	59.7%	40.3%	65.7%	34.3%	41.9%	58.2%
Any Doc. Proof of Citizenship	68.0%	32.0%	71.3%	28.7%	65.7%	34.3%	60.2%	39.8%
Social Security Card	92.4%	7.7%	94%	5.9%	98.7%	1.3%	79%	21%*
Any Doc. Proof of Identity	97.4%	2.6%	95.0%	5.0%	100%	0%	98.6%	1.4%**
Proof of Residency	98.7%	1.3%	100%	0.0%	100%	0%	98.9%	1.1%
Has all 3 required types of documents	65.9%	34.1%	66.9%	33.1%	65.7%	34.3%	60.2%	39.8%

*Statistically Significant at $p < .05$ **Statistically significant at $p < .01$

Table 8: Number of People who Have/Lack Possession of Documentary Proof of Citizenship, Identity and Residency Among Eligible Voters Without Accepted Photo ID by Race/Ethnicity, Milwaukee County, WI

	County Total		White		Black		Latino	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Citizen adult eligible voter population	63,085		30,894		20,939		7,453	
Birth Certificate	37,731	25,354	18,450	12,444	13,759	7,180	3,119	4,334
Any Doc. Proof of Citizenship	42,923	20,162	22,028	8,867	13,759	7,180	4,485	2,968
Social Security Card	58,259	4,826	29,047	1,847	20,673	266	5,888	1,564
Any Doc. Proof of Identity	61,444	1,640	29,350	1,545	20,939	-	7,348	104
Proof of Residency	62,264	820	30,894	-	20,939	-	7,369	84
Has all 3 required types of documents	41,573	21,512	20,659	10,235	13,759	7,180	4,485	2,968

Table 9: Rates of Possession/Lack of Possession of Photo ID Among Eligible Voters by Age, Milwaukee County, WI

	Total		18-34		35-54		55-74		74+	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Has accepted, non-expired photo ID	90.5%	9.5%	89.1%	10.9%*	92.5%	7.5%	92.9%	7.1%	82.6%	17.4%**
Driver's License	85.2%	14.8%	81.1%	18.9%*	87.1%	12.9%	88.9%	11.1%	84.4%	15.6%*
DL, non-expired	80.6%	19.4%	77.3%	22.7%*	82.6%	17.4%	84.6%	15.4%*	75.9%	24.1%*
Other form of accepted photo ID	14.7%	85.3%	18.7%	81.2%	12.9%	87.1%	11.1%	88.9%	14.6%	85.4%
Other ID, non- expired	9.9%	90.1%	11.8%	88.2%*	9.9%	90.1%	8.3%	91.7%	6.7%	93.3%

*Statistically Significant at $p < .05$ **Statistically significant at $p < .01$

Table 10: Rates of Documentary Proof of Citizenship, Identity, and Residency Among Eligible Voters by Age, Milwaukee County, WI

	Total		18-34		35-54		55-74		74+	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Birth Certificate	82.9%	17.2%	79.0%	21.0%	82.5%	17.5%	88.4%	11.6%*	86.3%	13.7%
Any Doc. Proof of Citizenship	87.6%	12.4%	83.7%	16.3%**	89.2%	10.8%	90.9%	9.1%	88.1%	11.9%
Social Security Card	93.0%	7.0%	94.6%	5.5%*	91.7%	8.3%	92.7%	7.3%	93.5%	6.5%
Any Doc. Proof of Identity	98.5%	1.5%	99.4%	0.6%	97.9%	2.1%	98.6%	1.4%	97.6%	2.4%
Proof of Residency	99.5%	0.5%	99.0%	1.0%	99.8%	0.2%	99.5%	0.5%	100.0%	0.1%
Has all 3 required types of documents	86.0%	14.0%	82.6%	17.4%**	87.3%	12.7%	89.3%	10.7%	86.1%	13.9%

*Statistically Significant at $p < .05$ **Statistically significant at $p < .01$

Table 11: Rates of Documentary Proof of Citizenship, Identity, and Residency Among Eligible Voters Who Lack Possession of Photo ID by Age, Milwaukee County, WI

	Total		18-34		35-54		55-74		74+	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Birth Certificate	59.9%	40.1%	38.5%	61.5%**	65.6%	34.5%	74.5%	25.5%	87.1%	12.9%
Any Doc. Proof of Citizenship	68.1%	31.9%	50.5%	49.5%**	75.2%	24.9%	79.0%	21.0%	87.5%	12.5%
Social Security Card	93.2%	6.8%	94.3%	5.7%	96.9%	3.1%	88.3%	11.7%	88.9%	11.1%
Any Doc. Proof of Identity	97.3%	2.7%	100.0%	0.0%	97.5%	2.5%	96.0%	4.0%	92.0%	8.0%
Proof of Residency	99.9%	0.2%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	99.0%	1%	100.0%	0.0%
Has all 3 required types of documents	65.9%	34.1%	50.5%	49.5%**	73.1%	26.9%	77.1%	22.9%	79.4%	20.6%

*Statistically Significant at $p < .05$ **Statistically significant at $p < .01$

Table 12: Rates of Possession/Lack of Possession of Photo ID Among Registered Voters by Age, Milwaukee County, WI

	Total		18-34		35-54		55-74		74+	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Has accepted, non-expired photo ID	91.3%	8.7%	89.6%	10.4%	93.6%	6.4%**	92.9%	7.1%*	84.1%	15.9%
Driver's License	88.9%	11.1%	87.3%	12.7%	89.5%	10.5%	90.2%	9.8%	88.6%	11.3%
DL, non-expired	84.3%	15.7%	83.4%	16.6%	85.5%	14.5%	85.8%	14.2%	79.3%	20.7%
Other form of accepted photo ID	11.0%	89.0%	12.5%	87.5%	10.5%	89.5%	9.8%	90.2%	11.4%	88.6%
Other ID, non- expired	7.0%	93.0%	6.2%	93.8%	8.0%	92.0%	7.1%	93.0%	4.9%	95.2%

*Statistically Significant at $p < .05$ **Statistically significant at $p < .01$

Table 13: Rates of Documentary Proof of Citizenship, Identity, and Residency Among Registered Voters by Age, Milwaukee County, WI

	Total		18-34		35-54		55-74		74+	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Birth Certificate	84.1%	15.9%	79.4%	20.6%	84.2%	15.8%	88.5%	11.5%	88.0%	12.0%
Any Doc. Proof of Citizenship	88.4%	11.6%	84.6%	15.4%**	89.4%	10.6%	91.1%	8.9%	89.9%	10.1%
Social Security Card	93.0%	7.1%	94.7%	5.3%	92.0%	8.0%	93.0%	7.7%	92.9%	7.1%
Any Doc. Proof of Identity	98.4%	1.6%	99.1%	0.9%	97.8%	2.2%	98.7%	1.3%	97.4%	2.6%
Proof of Residency	99.6%	0.4%	99.3%	0.7%	99.7%	0.3%	99.8%	0.2%	99.9%	0.1%
Has all 3 required types of documents	86.6%	13.4%	83.0%	17.0%*	87.3%	12.7%	89.7%	10.3%	87.8%	12.3%

*Statistically Significant at $p < .05$ **Statistically significant at $p < .01$

Table 14: Rates of Possession/Lack of Possession of Photo ID Among Eligible Voters by Education, Milwaukee County, WI

	Total		Less Than HS		HS Grad		Some College		College Grad	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Has accepted, non-expired photo ID	90.7%	9.3%	84.4%	15.6%**	83.7%	16.3%**	94.3%	5.7%**	98.6%	1.4%
Driver's License	85.3%	14.7%	63.2%	36.8%**	78.5%	21.6%**	92.8%	7.2%**	98.4%	1.6%
DL, non-expired	80.9%	19.1%	58.2%	41.8%**	71.2%	28.8%**	88.8%	11.2%**	97.3%	2.8%
Other form of accepted photo ID	14.5%	85.5%	36.1%	63.9%**	21.4%	78.6%**	7.2%	92.8%**	1.6%	98.4%
Other ID, non-expired	9.7%	90.3%	25.9%	74.1%**	12.5%	87.5%**	5.5%	94.5%**	1.3%	98.7%

**Statistically Significant at p< .05 **Statistically significant at p< .01*

Table 15: Rates of Documentary Proof of Citizenship, Identity, and Residency Among Eligible Voters by Education, Milwaukee County, WI

	Total		Less Than HS		HS Grad		Some College		College Grad	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Birth Certificate	82.8%	17.2%	69.5%	30.5%**	80.7%	19.3%**	87.9%	12.1%	87.5%	12.5%
Any Doc. Proof of Citizenship	87.7%	12.8%	81.7%	18.3%**	84.8%	15.2%**	91.5%	8.5%	90.6%	9.4%
Social Security Card	92.9%	7.2%	96.6%	3.4%**	94.9%**	5%*	92.9%	7.1%	88.2%	11.8%
Any Doc. Proof of Identity	98.5%	1.5%	99.9%	0.1%	99.4%	0.6%	99.5%	0.5%	95.9%	4.1%
Proof of Residency	99.4%	0.6%	99.9%	0.1%	99.6%	0.4%	98.5%	1.5%	99.7%	0.3%
Has all 3 required types of documents	86.2%	13.9%	81.6%	18.4%*	84.3%	15.7%	90.1%	10.0%	86.8%	13.2%

**Statistically Significant at p< .05 **Statistically significant at p< .01*

Table 16: Rates of Documentary Proof of Citizenship, Identity, and Residency Among Eligible Voters Who Lack Possession of Photo ID by Education, Milwaukee County, WI

	Total		Less Than HS		HS Grad		Some College		College Grad	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Birth Certificate	61.0%	39.0%	40.7%	59.3%	65.0%	35.0%	75.5%	24.5%	76.7%	23.3%
Any Doc. Proof of Citizenship	67.8%	32.2%	45.3%	54.7%*	74.4%	25.7%	77.8%	22.2%	83.9%	16.1%
Social Security Card	92.2%	7.8%	90.0%	10.0%	93.3%	6.8%	97.1%	2.9%	72.4%	27.7%
Any Doc. Proof of Identity	97.4%	2.6%	100.0%	0.0%	97.2%	2.8%	100.0%	0.0%	72.4%	27.7%*
Proof of Residency	98.7%	1.3%	99.6%	0.4%	97.8%	2.2%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Has all 3 required types of documents	65.6%	34.4%	45.3%	54.7%	71.8%	28.2%	77.8%	22.2%	62.9%	37.1%

*Statistically Significant at $p < .05$ **Statistically significant at $p < .01$

Table 17: Rates of Possession/Lack of Possession of Photo ID Among Registered Voters by Education, Milwaukee County, WI

	Total		Less Than HS		HS Grad		Some College		College Grad	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Has accepted, non-expired photo ID	91.5%	8.5%	81.5%	18.5%**	85.0%	15%**	95.4%	4.6%*	98.6%	1.4%
Driver's License	89.1%	10.9%	67.3%	32.7%	82.7%	17.4%	94.4%	5.4%	99%	1%
DL, non-expired	84.7%	15.3%	60.2%	39.8%**	75.3%	24.7%**	91.3%	8.7%**	98.0%	2.0%
Other form of accepted photo ID	10.8%	89.2%	32.6%	67.5%**	17.2%	82.8%**	5.4%	94.6%**	0.9%	99.1%
Other ID, non- expired	6.8%	93.2%	21.0%	79%**	9.7%	90.3%**	4.2%	95.9%**	0.6%	99.4%

*Statistically Significant at $p < .05$ **Statistically significant at $p < .01$

Table 18: Rates of Documentary Proof of Citizenship, Identity, and Residency Among Registered Voters by Education, Milwaukee County, WI

	Total		Less Than HS		HS Grad		Some College		College Grad	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Birth Certificate	84.1%	15.9%	65.3%	34.7%**	83.5%	16.5%	88.6%	11.4%	87.7%	12.3%
Any Doc. Proof of Citizenship	88.7%	11.3%	78.4%	21.6%**	87.2%	12.9%	92.4%	7.6%	90.8%	9.2%
Social Security Card	92.9%	7.1%	98.8%	1.2%**	95.4%	4.6%**	92.5%	7.5%*	88.3%	11.7%
Any Doc. Proof of Identity	98.4%	1.6%	99.8%	0.2%	99.3%	0.7%*	99.4%	0.6%	95.8%	4.2%
Proof of Residency	99.6%	0.4%	99.9%	0.1%	100.0%	0.0%	98.9%	1.1%	99.9%	0.1%
Has all 3 required types of documents	86.9%	13.1%	78.3%	21.7%**	86.5%	13.5%	90.7%	9.3%	87.1%	12.9%

*Statistically Significant at $p < .05$ **Statistically significant at $p < .01$

Table 19: Rates of Possession/Lack of Possession of Photo ID Among Eligible Voters by Income, Milwaukee County, WI

	Total		Less than 20k		20k-40k		40k-60K		60k-80k		80k+	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Has accepted, non-expired photo ID	91.3%	8.7%	80.8%	19.2%**	90.1%	9.9%	94.5%	5.5%	94.8%	5.2%	97.9%	2.1%
Driver's License	84.9%	15.1%	59.5%	40.5%**	84.0%	16.0%*	91.8%	8.2%	93.9%	6.1%	99.3%	0.7%
DL, non-expired	81.2%	18.8%	55.6%	44.5%**	78.9%	21.2%*	87.8%	12.2%	90.6%	9.4%	97.4%	2.6%
Other form of accepted photo ID	15.0%	85.0%	40.4%	59.6%**	16.0%	84.0%*	7.9%	92.1%	6.1%	93.9%	0.7%	99.3%
Other ID, non-expired	10.0%	90.0%	25.1%	74.9%**	11.3%	88.7%*	6.7%	93.3%	4.2%	95.8%	0.5%	99.5%

*Statistically Significant at $p < .05$ **Statistically significant at $p < .01$

Table 20: Rates of Documentary Proof of Citizenship, Identity, and Residency Among Eligible Voters by Income, Milwaukee County, WI

	Total		Less than 20k		20k-40k		40k-60K		60k-80k		80k+	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Birth Certificate	82.9%	17.1%	73.1%	26.9%**	79.3%	20.7%*	84.5%	15.5%	93.8%	6.2%*	89.3%	10.7%
Any Doc. Proof of Citizenship	88.1%	11.9%	77.0%	23.0%**	86.1%	13.9%*	88.2%	11.8%	96.5%	3.5%*	96.3%	3.8%
Social Security Card	93.1%	6.9%	94.9%	5.1%	92.9%	7.1%	91.4%	8.6%	94.2%	5.8%	92.2%	7.8%
Any Doc. Proof of Identity	98.5%	1.5%	99.5%	0.5%	98.5%	1.5%	98.9%	1.1%	97.8%	2.2%	98.0%	2.0%
Proof of Residency	99.4%	0.6%	99.5%	0.5%	100%	0.0%	98.8%	1.2%	98.0%	2.0%	99.9%	0.2%
Has all 3 required types of documents	86.5%	13.5%	76.1%	23.9%**	84.5%	15.5%*	86.9%	13.1%	92.4%	7.6%	94.7%	5.3%

*Statistically Significant at $p < .05$ **Statistically significant at $p < .01$

Table 21: Rates of Documentary Proof of Citizenship, Identity, and Residency Among Eligible Voters Who Lack Possession of Photo ID by Income, Milwaukee County, WI

	Total		Less than 20k		20k-40k		40k-60K		60k-80k		80k+	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Birth Certificate	59.8%	40.2%	44.5%	55.6%	66.5%	33.5%	87.8%	12.2%	95.4%	4.6%	64.9%	35.1%
Any Doc. Proof of Citizenship	69.5%	30.5%	45.2%	54.8%*	93.0%	7.1%**	89.8%	10.2%	100%	0.0%	91.7%	8.3%
Social Security Card	94.4%	5.6%	92.0%	8.0%	95.3%	4.7%	99.3%	0.7%	94.6%	5.4%	100%	0.0%
Any Doc. Proof of Identity	98.7%	1.3%	99.7%	0.3%	97.4%	2.6%	100%	0.0%	94.6%	5.4%	100%	0.0%
Proof of Residency	100%	0.0%	100%	0.0%	100%	0.0%	100%	0.0%	100%	0.0%	100%	0.0%
Has all 3 required types of documents	68.4%	31.6%	45.2%	54.8%	90.3%	9.7%**	89.8%	10.2%	94.6%	5.4%	91.7%	8.3%

*Statistically Significant at $p < .05$ **Statistically significant at $p < .01$

Table 22: Rates of Possession/Lack of Possession of Photo ID Among Registered Voters by Income, Milwaukee County, WI

	Total		Less than 20k		20k-40k		40k-60K		60k-80k		80k+	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Has accepted, non-expired photo ID	92.4%	7.7%	81.6%	18.4%**	90.5%	9.5%	95.1%	4.9%	96.7%	3.3%	98.3%	1.7%
Driver's License	88.3%	11.8%	61.4%	38.7%**	87.5%	12.5%**	96.2%	3.8%	97.8%	2.2%	99.6%	0.4%
DL, non-expired	84.9%	15.1%	57.2%	42.8%**	82.6%	17.4%**	93.1%	7.0%	94.5%	5.5%	97.9%	2.1%
Other form of accepted photo ID	11.7%	88.3%	38.6%	61.5%**	12.5%	87.5%**	3.5%	96.6%	2.2%	97.8%	0.4%	99.6%
Other ID, non- expired	7.4%	92.6%	24.1%	75.9%**	7.9%	92.1%**	2.0%	98%	2.2%	97.8%	0.4%	99.6%

*Statistically Significant at $p < .05$ **Statistically significant at $p < .01$

Table 23: Rates Documentary Proof of Citizenship, Identity, and Residency Among Registered Voters by Income, Milwaukee County, WI

	Total		Less than 20k		20k-40k		40k-60K		60k-80k		80k+	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Birth Certificate	84.2%	15.8%	75.6%	24.4%**	80.1%	19.9%**	84.0%	16.0%	93.5%	6.5%*	90.4%	9.5%
Any Doc. Proof of Citizenship	88.9%	11.1%	78.9%	21.1%**	86.3%	13.7%**	87.9%	12.2%*	96.2%	3.8%	96.1%	4.0%
Social Security Card	93.1%	6.9%	97.4%	2.6%**	93.2%	6.8%	90.1%	9.9%	93.8%	6.3%	91.4%	8.6%
Any Doc. Proof of Identity	98.4%	1.6%	99.4%	0.6%	98.2%	1.8%	98.9%	1.1%	97.7%	2.3%	97.7%	2.3%
Proof of Residency	99.6%	0.4%	99.4%	0.6%	100%	0%	100%	0%	97.9%	2.1%*	99.8%	0.2%
Has all 3 required types of documents	87.1%	12.9%	77.8%	22.2%**	84.5%**	15.5%	86.8%*	13.2%	91.8%	8.2%	94.3%	5.7%

*Statistically Significant at $p < .05$ **Statistically significant at $p < .01$

APPENDIX B: Survey Instrument

S0. Type of Sample

RDD 1
Household Listed..... 2
Wireless.....3

S1. 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, university research project. We are conducting a short public opinion survey about important issues in the state of Wisconsin.

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 are not currently on probation, parole, or extended supervision for a felony conviction, and you have lived here in Milwaukee County for more than 28 days?

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

S2C. Alright, and this might sound a little funny, but just to make sure we are talking to people who are eligible to vote, can you just verify that you have not been declared mentally incompetent by a judge?

Yes, respondent is competent1
No – not eligible to vote 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. Would the official public records indicate that you are registered How about you, are you currently registered to vote here in Wisconsin, or not?

Yes 1
No..... .. 2
DK/RF... .. 99

S4. Just to make sure we get a representative sample of people here in Wisconsin, can you tell me what your race or ethnicity is? [ALLOW MULTIPLE RESPONSES]

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

APPENDIX B: Survey Instrument

MAIN QUESTIONNAIRE

1. [IF S3=1] Here in Wisconsin, some people vote early using an absentee ballot at home, while other people vote in person at their polling place ward. How about you, when you vote, do you usually vote using an absentee ballot from your home, or in-person at a polling place or ward or official office?

- Absentee at home 1
- Polling place/Ward..... 2
- Both..... 3
- Do not vote..... 4
- Don't Know..... 88
- Refused 99

2. [IF Q1 = 1] Do you always vote absentee, or do you sometimes vote on election day at the polling place?

- Always absentee 1
- Sometimes at polling place 2
- Don't Know..... 88
- Refused 99

3 (If Q2=1). And do you have permanent absentee ballots sent to you because you are indefinitely confined due to age, illness, infirmity or disability?

- Yes, respondent is confined 1
- No..... 2
- Don't Know..... 88
- Refused 99

4. Switching topics, do you happen to have a current Wisconsin driver's license, even if it has been suspended or revoked?

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

5. [IF Q4 = 1] If you can, take your driver's license out real quick and check the expiration date? Is the expiration date after November 2, 2010, or like some people we've talked to, did it expire before Nov 2010?

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 9 years, since November 2002, or was it sometime BEFORE that?"

- Yes, it expires after November 2010 1
- No, it expired BEFORE Nov 2010..... 2
- Yes, in the last 9 years since 2002..... 3
- No, not updated in last 9 years 4
- Maybe / not sure / can't remember 5
- Don't know 88
- Refused 99

APPENDIX B: Survey Instrument

6. [IF Q4 = 2-99] Okay, instead of a driver's license, do you happen to have any of the following forms of identification? Just tell me yes or no for each one: [READ LIST, CHECK ALL THAT APPLY]

- A Wisconsin state ID card that was issued by the DMV (Division of Motor Vehicle)1
- A U.S. Passport.....2
- A military ID card, or military-dependent ID card, issued by a uniformed armed services, not counting an ID issued by the VA.....3
- [IF NECESSARY: US Army, Marine Corps, Navy, Air Force, Coast Guard, Public health services commission corps, and national oceanic and atmospheric administration all count here]
- No, none of these.....4
- Don't Know.....88
- Refused.....99

7A. [IF Q6 = 1] If you can, take your state ID out real quick and check the expiration date? Is the expiration date after November 2, 2010, or like some people we've talked to, did it expire before Nov 2010?

If don't know or don't have ID with them: "Well, when was the last time you went and had your state ID updated? Was it in the last 9 years, since November 2002, or was it sometime BEFORE that?

- Yes, it expires after November 2010 1
- No, it expired BEFORE Nov 2010..... 2
- Yes, in the last 9 years since 2002..... 3
- No, not updated in last 9 years 4
- Maybe / not sure / can't remember 5
- Don't know 88
- Refused 99

7B. [IF Q6 = 2 or 3 and q6<>1] Is the expiration date on your [ANS TO Q6] after November 2, 2010, or like some people we've talked to, did your [ANS TO Q6] expire before November 2010?

- Yes, it expires AFTER November 2010 1
- No, it expired BEFORE Nov 2010..... 2
- Maybe / not sure / can't remember 5
- Don't know 88
- Refused 99

8. [IF Q6 = 4, 88, 99] Alright, instead of those types of identification, do you happen to have one of these other forms of identification, such as a naturalization certificate from 2010 or later; an identification card issued by a federally recognized Indian tribe in Wisconsin; an unexpired ID card from a university or college in Wisconsin; a receipt for state ID or license, which has not been issued yet; or a ticket or citation if you have surrendered your driver's license in the last 60 days?

- A naturalization certificate from 2010 or later.....1
- An identification card issued by a federally recognized Indian tribe in Wisconsin.....2
- An unexpired ID from a university or college in Wisconsin.....3
- Receipt for ID or license, it has not been issued yet.....4
- Ticket or citation if you have surrendered your license in last 60 days.....5
- No – I have none of these forms of ID.....6
- Don't know.....88
- Refused.....99

8A. [If Q8 = 3] And what specific college or university is the ID card from?

RECORD SPECIFIC NAME: _____

APPENDIX B: Survey Instrument

8B. [If Q8 = 2] And which federally recognized Indian tribe in Wisconsin was the identification card issued by?

RECORD SPECIFIC NAME: _____

9. [If Q4=2-99 AND Q6 IS NOT 1] Even though you do not currently have a Wisconsin driver's license or state ID card, have you ever had a driver's license or state ID card in the past here in Wisconsin?

- Yes, had driver's license in the past.....1
- Yes, had ID card in the past.....2
- No, never had either of these.....3
- Don't know.....88
- Refused.....99

10. Do you currently live in a residential care complex, group home, community based residential facility, adult family home or nursing home, or not?

- Group home / nursing home 1
- No, something else 2
- Don't know 88
- Refused 99

11. [SPLIT 1/2 START HERE] Okay, and were you born in the United States, Puerto Rico, or another country?

- United States..... 1
- Puerto Rico 2
- Another country.....SKIP TO Q13..... 3
- (Don't know) 88
- (Refused) 99

11A. [If Q11=1] And which state were you born in? {MENU WITH ALL STATES+PR AND OTHER US TERRITORY, LIST WISCONSIN 1st}

RECORD SPECIFIC STATE _____

12. 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 a certified official copy of your birth certificate with you, or at your home - or like some people, do you NOT have a certified copy of your birth certificate?

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

12A. [IF Q11=2 or q11a=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 1, 2010?

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

13. [IF Q11=3] Okay, do you happen to have a U.S. certificate of citizenship or a U.S. certificate of naturalization? [IF NECESSARY: "This would be if you were born outside the United States"]

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

APPENDIX B: Survey Instrument

14. Okay, great, and how about a social security card? Do you currently have your actual Social Security Card, not a print out?

Yes, has social security card 1
No, does not have..... 2
Don't know 88
Refused 99

14a. [IF Q14=2] What about any of these other documents that serve as proof of identity? An expired Wisconsin ID card or drivers license, driver's license or state ID card from another state, a U.S. federal government employee or military identification card, including for any dependents, or a marriage certificate or judgment of divorce?

Yes, has such documents..... 1
No, does not have any of those..... 2
Don't know 88
Refused 99

14b. [IF Q14a=2-99] What about any of these other documents? Do you happen to have a U.S. armed forces common access card, military discharge papers, U.S. passport, tribal ID, TSA (Transportation Security Administration) ID card, or a court order related to adoption or name or gender change?

Yes, has such documents..... 1
No, does not have any of those..... 2
Don't know 88
Refused 99

15. Often times when you go to get a driver's license or state ID card you need to show proof of address. Do you have any of these documents with your own name and current address that you could use to show proof of residence? READ LIST: A heat, electric, water, or landline home telephone or cell phone bill, at least one month old with your name and address; A paycheck or paystub with your name and address that also contains your employers name and address; A Wisconsin bank account statement, at least one month old with your name and address; Mortgage papers for a home in Wisconsin; or any other government or official mail or document with your name and street address where you live?

Again the document must contain your own name and current street address - not a PO box - that you could use to show proof of residence if you had to prove to the Division of Motor Vehicles where you lived?

[NOTE: If respondent says they do not have a home address / homeless count them as "No" / 2]

Yes, has such documents..... 1
No, does not have any of those..... 2
Don't know 88
Refused 99

15B. [IF Q15=2-99] Alright, instead of those, do you happen to have something to show proof of address such as READ LIST: employee ID card with your employers name and address, your current valid home or car insurance policy, less than 1 year old, a certified school record or transcript that identifies you by name that is less than 90 days old, or your college enrollment paperwork with your current Wisconsin address, or a community-based/assisted living residential contract with your name and street address where you live?

Yes, has such documents..... 1
No, does not have any of those..... 2
Don't know 88
Refused 99

APPENDIX B: Survey Instrument

DEMOGRAPHICS

D1. How long have you lived in Milwaukee county? [FOLLOW UP: “How many years”]

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

D2. [IF Q11=3]. In what year did you become a U.S. citizen?

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

D3. 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

D4. In what year were you born? [_ _ _ _]

D5. Do you currently own your own home, or are you renting?

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

D6. Do you own a car, or does someone in your household own a car that you have regular access to?

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

D7. 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

APPENDIX B: Survey Instrument

D8. This final question is just for statistical purposes, to help us better classify the answers. Your response is completely anonymous. What was your total combined household income in 2011 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

D9. [IF D8=88/99] Okay, how about something a little different. Was your household income below \$40,000 or above \$40,000 in 2011? Again, this information is confidential, but very important to the survey.

Less than \$40,000.....	1
More than \$40,000.....	2
(Don't know)	88
(Refused)	99

Validation Questions:

V1. Okay, and just to confirm that you live here in Milwaukee County, can you tell me your current 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 Milwaukee County resident? [NOTE: POP-UP LIST OF MUNICIPALITIES AS NEEDED]

Yes	1
No	2
DK/RF	99

V2. Thank you [MISTER / MISS: INSERT LAST NAME] 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? [NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: It is extremely important that you spell their name exactly as they tell you – read it back to them to confirm]

RECORD NAME: _____

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"]

D10. [DO NOT ASK] Gender

Male.....	1
Female.....	2

Appendix C

MATT A. BARRETO – MBARRETO@UW.EDU
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EMPLOYMENT:

Associate Professor, Political Science, University of Washington (2009 – present)
Director, Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity and Race (WISER)

Assistant Professor, Political Science, University of Washington (2005 – 2009)

Affiliated Research Centers

Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity and Race (WISER)
University of Washington

Center for Statistics and the Social Sciences (CSSS)
University of Washington (*Member of Executive Committee*)

Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Consortium (PRIEC)
University of California, Riverside

Center for the Study of Los Angeles (CSLA)
Loyola Marymount University

Tomás Rivera Policy Institute (TRPI)
University of Southern California

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

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS:

- Barreto, Matt. 2010. Ethnic Cues: The Role of Shared Ethnicity in Latino Political Participation. University of Michigan Press
- Christopher Parker and Matt Barreto. 2012. Change We Can't Believe In: Exploring the Sources and Consequences of Tea Party Support. Under Contract, Princeton University Press, in print December 2012.
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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, Inc..
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

Total Awarded 2001 – present = \$2,222,400

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
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

RESEARCH GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS CONTINUED...

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

ARTICLES UNDER REVIEW/WORKING PAPERS:

Barreto, Matt, David Redlawsk and Caroline Tolbert. “Framing Barack Obama: Muslim, Christian or Black?”
[Under review]

Barreto, Matt and Gabe Sanchez. “Black-Brown Relations in the New South: Latino Perceptions of Social and Political Competition with African Americans” [Under review]

Barreto, Matt and Karam Dana. “Religiosity and Muslim American Political Incorporation” [Under review]

Barreto, Matt and Adrian Pantoja. “Politics and Religion in the Schoolhouse: Latino religiosity and attitudes towards education policies.” [Under review]

Barreto, Matt and Gabe Sanchez. “Latinos, Blacks, and Black Latinos: Competition, Cooperation, or Indifference?”
[Under review]

Barreto, Matt Stephen Nuño, and Gabriel Sanchez. “Race, Class and Barriers to Voting in the 21st Century: The Unequal Impact of Voter ID Laws.” [Under review]

Barreto, Matt and Barry Pump. “Closing the Polls: How switching to vote-by-mail elections affects public confidence and voting.” [Under review]

Barreto, Matt, Jennifer Merolla, Ricardo Ramírez. “Arnold Habla Español: The Effects of Targeted Ads on Latino and Non-Latino Vote Choice in Cah-lee-forn-ya.” [Under review]

Barreto, Matt, and Regina Branton. “Unifying Minority Political Participation: Black, Latino, and Asian American Turnout in Primary and General Elections.” [Under review]

Barreto, Matt and Natalie Masuoka. “Engagement, Recruitment and Minority Participation: The Mobilizing Effects of Ethnic Candidates on Latino and Asian American Voter Turnout.” [Under review]

Barreto, Matt. “Latino Presidential Approval: Does Attention to Latino Concerns Impact Overall Approval Ratings?”
[Working paper]

CONSULTING EXPERT:

- Orange County, FL, 2012, Consulting Expert for Latino Justice/PRLDEF, Racially polarized voting analysis for two redistricting cases in Florida [Referral: Diana Sen]
- 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 [Referral: Mike Baller]
- Harris County, TX Redistricting, 2011, Consulting Expert for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis within Harris County [Referral: Chad Dunn]
- 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 [Referral: Vanessa Vallarta]
- Los Angeles County Redistricting Commission, 2011, Consulting Expert for Supervisor Gloria Molina, Racially Polarized Voting analysis within L.A. County [Referral: Louisa Ollague]
- State of California, Citizens Redistricting Commission, 2011, Consulting Expert, Racially Polarized Voting analysis throughout state of California [Referral: George Brown]
- Asian Pacific American Legal Center, 2011, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Asian American candidates in Los Angeles for APALC redistricting brief [Referral: Eugene Lee]
- Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and Arnold & Porter, LLP, 2010-11, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino and Asian candidates in San Mateo County, concerning San Mateo County Board of Supervisors redistricting [Referral: Robert Rubin]
- ACLU of Washington, 2010-11, preliminary analysis of Latino population patterns in Yakima, Washington, to assess ability to draw majority Latino council districts [Referral: Sarah A, Dunne]
- State of Washington, 2010-11, provided expert analysis and research for *State of Washington v. MacLean* in case regarding election misconduct and voting patterns [Referral: Todd Bowers]
- 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) [Referral: Alan Clayton]
- 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 [Referral: Myrna Perez]
- State of New Mexico, consulting expert for state in *AAPD v. New Mexico*, 2008, [Referral: Director of Litigation, Scott Fuqua]
- District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS), statistical consultant for survey methodology of opinion survey of parents in DCPS district (for pending suit), 2008, [Referral: Blanca Flor Guillen]
- 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 [Referral: Justin Levitt]
- 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) [Referral: Diana Velasquez]
- Monterey County School Board, 2007, demographic and population analysis for VRA case [Referral: Joaquin Avila]
- Sweetwater Union School District, 2007-08, Racially Polarized Voting analysis, and demographic and population analysis for VRA case [Referral: Bonnie Garcia or Nick Vaca]
- Mexican American Legal Defense Fund, 2007-08, Racially Polarized Voting analysis for Latino candidates, for City of Whittier city council races, for VRA case [Referral: Nicholas Espiritu]
- ACLU of Washington, 2008, preliminary analysis of voting patterns in Eastern Washington, related to electability of Latino candidates [Referral: Brian Sutherland]
- Nielsen Media Research, 2005-08, with Willie C. Velasquez Institute, assessed the methodology of

Latino household recruitment in Nielsen sample
[Referral: Antonio Gonzalez]

**TEACHING
EXPERIENCE:**

University of Washington 2005 – Present

- Minority Political Behavior (Grad Seminar)
- Politics of Immigration in the U.S. (Grad Seminar)
- Introduction to Empirical/Regression Analysis (Grad Seminar)
- Political Participation & Elections (Grad Seminar)
- U.S. Latino Politics
- 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**

Faculty Research Scholar

Tomás Rivera Policy Institute, University of Southern California 1999 – Present

Senior Research Fellow

Center for the Study of Los Angeles, Loyola Marymount University 2002 – Present

Senior Scholar & Advisory Council

Latino Policy Coalition, San Francisco, CA 2006 – 2008

Board of Directors

CASA Latina, Seattle, WA 2006 – 2009

Founding Partner

Latino Decisions 2007 – Present

Research Expert

American Values Institute 2009 – Present

Board of Overseers

American National Election Study, University of Michigan 2010 – Present

Expert Consultant

State of California, Citizens Redistricting Committee 2011 – Present

Appendix D

GABRIEL R SANCHEZ

POLITICAL SCIENCE

APRIL 2012

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY:

Associate Professor. July 2011-Present. University of New Mexico, Department of Political Science, Albuquerque, NM.

Assistant Director, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Center for Health Policy. July 2011-Present. University of New Mexico, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Center for Health Policy, Albuquerque, NM.

Assistant Professor. August 2005 –June 2011. University of New Mexico, Department of Political Science, Albuquerque, NM.

Student Recruitment Coordinator. August 2008-Present. University of New Mexico, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Center for Health Policy, Albuquerque, NM.

Instructor. August 2003-July 2005. University of Arizona, Department of Political Science.

Instructor. August 2004 – July 2005. University of Arizona Extended University Correspondence Courses, University of Arizona.

EDUCATIONAL HISTORY:

Ph.D. May 2005. University of Arizona. Tucson, AZ. Political Science.
Fields: American Politics, Research Methods, Public Policy.

M.A. December 2002. University of Arizona. Tucson, AZ. Political Science.

B.A. May 2001. St. Mary's University. San Antonio. TX. Political Science. Minor,
Mexican American Studies. *Cum Laude*.

ACADEMIC HONORS AND FELLOWSHIPS:

- “Best Article” Published in Political Research Quarterly in 2011. 2012
- “Luminaria” UNM Presidential Award for Commitment to Diversity. 2010.
- Best Paper on State Politics and Policy, American Political Science Association. 2009.
- “Faculty Service Award” -Faculty of Color Awards. 2008-2009.
- Senior Research Fellow, Robert Wood Johnson Center for Health Policy Center, University of New Mexico. 2009-Present.
- Named an Office of Support for Excellence in Teaching Faculty Fellow (Declined). 2009.
- Best Paper on Latino Politics Award, Western Political Science Association. 2009.
- “Faculty Excellence Award” -Faculty of Color Awards. 2007-2008.

Short Narrative Description of Research, Teaching and Service Interests:

Research:

My research agenda is primarily focused on understanding the impact of racial and ethnic diversity on the U.S. political system. Overall, I currently have one co-authored book, four co-authored book chapters, twelve research articles in print within peer reviewed journals, and four manuscripts that have been accepted for publication in peer reviewed journals. My initial research program examined the role of group identity in Latino political behavior. Subsequent research has expanded on these themes by exploring group identity across other racial and ethnic communities, including the Muslim American population. My pursuit of group identity among racial and ethnic groups will continue to be the core of my research agenda. In fact, I currently have several manuscripts either under review at refereed journals, or being prepared for submission that are tied to this research area. In addition, I have engaged in a major research program with my colleague Michael Rocca focused on the dynamics of minority congressional representation. Much of the research I am conducting with Dr. Rocca is based on our attempt to bridge the racial and ethnic politics literature with that of congressional behavior. Thus far, we have had five manuscripts accepted for publication, several other manuscripts under review, and we are in the process of preparing a book manuscript focused on Latino congressional behavior that encompasses all of our work in this area. I have also recently initiated a third major research agenda focused on Latino health politics and policy. More specifically, my work in this area is focused on how race and ethnicity influence the public's attitudes toward health policy reform. Given the recent departmental focus in this area, I am positioned to mentor several graduate students within the RWJF-CHP program, as well as the recent RWJF-CHP funded faculty member within political science. I currently have several manuscripts at various stages of the research process focused on health policy, all co-authored with scholars under my mentorship.

Teaching:

My teaching experiences at UNM has included several sections of American Politics (PS 200) – including one section of a Freshman Learning Community version of this course, five sections of Racial and Ethnic Politics (PS 307), three sections of Public Opinion and Electoral Behavior (PS 305), and one graduate Research Seminar in Racial and Ethnic Politics (PS 511). Enrollment levels in each of the courses are higher than average and I have received strong evaluations from students as reflected in the ICES and IDEA evaluations. I am currently chair of one graduate student's dissertation committee, have co-authored multiple manuscripts (several published) with PhD students in the program, and have advised several undergraduate students for the McNair Achievement Program. Through the RWJF Center for Health Policy I also advise several PhD students across the social sciences. I have also informally advised several promising undergraduates, including two students who I have sent to the prestigious Ralph Bunch Summer Institute. I have emphasized mentoring early in my career, and have been recognized for my mentoring efforts with multiple Faculty of Color Awards, and recently was awarded the inaugural "Luminaria" Presidential award for commitment to diversity.

Service:

I have served as a manuscript reviewer for several scholarly journals and have served on numerous committees and held leadership positions within the American Political Science Association, the Department of Political Science, and the larger University of New Mexico. I am also engaged in several initiatives related to student development within the department, the college, and the wider university community. I have also provided extensive commentary for print, television, and radio media outlets at the state, national, and international levels.

SCHOLARLY ACHIEVEMENTS:

Books Authored or Co-authored:

Chris Garcia and Gabriel Sanchez, *Hispanics and the U.S. Political System: Moving Into the Mainstream*, Pearson: Prentice Hall. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey, 462 pages. 2008.

Articles in Refereed Journals:

Gabriel R. Sanchez, Jillian Medieros and Shannon Sanchez-Youngmann. 2012. "The Impact of Health Care and Immigration Reform on Latino Support for President Obama and Congress" *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 3-22. 30 pages.

Michael Rocca, Gabriel R. Sanchez, and Jason Morin. 2011. "The Institutional Mobility of Minorities in Congress," *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 64, No.4, pp. 897-909. [Awarded "Best Article Published in PRQ" for 2011].

Gabriel R. Sanchez and Jason Morin. 2011. "The Effect of Descriptive Representation on Latino's Views of Government and of Themselves," *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 92, No. 2, pp. 483-508.

Gabriel R Sanchez, Shannon Sanchez-Youngman, Amy Sue-Goodin, Amelia Rouse, and Richard Santos. 2011. "Explaining Public Support (or Lack Thereof) for Extending Health Coverage to Undocumented Immigrants," *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, Vol.22, No.2, pp. 683-699..

Gabriel R. Sanchez and Natalie Masouka. 2010. "Brown Utility Heuristic? The Presence and Contributing Factors of Latino Linked Fate," *The Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, Vol.32, No.4, pp. 519-531.

Sylvia Manzano and Gabriel R. Sanchez. 2010. "Take One for The Team: Ethnic Identity, Candidate Qualification and Co-Ethnic Voting." *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 63, No. 3, pp. 568-580.

Jessica Lavariega-Monforti and Gabriel R. Sanchez. 2010. "The Politics of Perception: An Investigation of the Presence and Source of Perceived Discrimination Toward and Among Latinos." *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 90, No.1, pp. 245-265.

Gabriel R Sanchez, Amy Sue-Goodin, Amelia Rouse, and Richard Santos. 2010. "The Impact of Ethnicity on Attitudes Toward Health Care Reform in New Mexico." *The Social Science Journal*, Vol. 47, No.2, pp. 326-343.

Michael Rocca, Gabriel R. Sanchez, and Joe Uscinski. 2009. "Congress and Foreign Policy: Congressional Action on the Darfur Genocide." *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 42, No.3, pgs. 489-496.

Marks, Mara, Stephen Nuno, and Gabriel R. Sanchez. 2009. "Look Back in Anger: Voter Opinions of Mexican Immigrants in the Aftermath of the 2006 Immigration Demonstrations." *Urban Affairs Review*, Vol. 44, No. 5, pp. 695-717.

Rocca, Michael, Gabriel R. Sanchez, and Ron Nikora. 2009. "The Role of Personal Attributes in African American Roll-Call Voting Behavior," *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 62, No.2, pp. 408-414.

Matt Barreto, Stephen Nuno, and Gabriel R. Sanchez. 2009. "The Disproportionate Impact of Indiana Voter ID Requirements on the Electorate." *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 42, No. 2, pp. 111-116.

Sanchez, Gabriel R. "Latino Group Consciousness and Perceptions of Commonality With African Americans." 2008. *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 89, No.2, pp. 428-444.

Michael Rocca, Gabriel R. Sanchez, and Joe Uscinski. 2008. "Personal Attributes and Latino Voting in Congress." *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 89, No. 2, pp.392-405.

Michael Rocca and Gabriel R. Sanchez. 2008. "The Effect of Race and Ethnicity on Bill Sponsorship and Cosponsorship in Congress." *American Politics Research*, Vol. 36, No.1, pp. 130-152.

Gabriel R. Sanchez. 2006. "The Role of Group Consciousness in Latino Public Opinion," *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol.59, No. 3, pp. 435-446.

Gabriel R. Sanchez, 2006. "The Role of Group Consciousness In Political Participation Among Latinos in The United States," *American Politics Research*, Vol. 34, No. 4, pp. 427-451.

Chapters in Edited Volumes:

Gabriel R. Sanchez and Vickie Ybarra. "New Approaches to the Study of Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities: Advocating for Better Measures and Exploration of Internal Variation Within Diverse Groups" in, *Mapping 'Race': A Critical Reader on Health Disparities Research*, edited by Laura Gomez and Nancy Lopez, Rutgers University Press, New Jersey, Forthcoming.

Gabriel R. Sanchez and Jillian Medieros. "The Economy and Latinos-Trying to find "Affordable Care" with High Medical Costs and the Economic Recession", in *The Economic Status of the Hispanic Population*, edited by Marie Mora, Information Age Publishing, Charlotte, North Carolina, Forthcoming.

Garcia, F. Chris, Christine Sierra, and Gabriel R Sanchez. "Hispanos in the 2008 Elections in New Mexico," in *Latinos in the 2008 Election*, edited by David Leal, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Indiana, Forthcoming.

Barreto, Matt, Gabriel R. Sanchez and Ben Gonzalez. "Rainbow Coalition in the Golden State? Exposing Myths, Uncovering New Realities in Latino Attitudes Towards Blacks," *Black and Brown Los Angeles: A Contemporary Reader*, edited by Laura Pulido and Josh Kun, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 2010.

Barreto, Matt, Gabriel Sanchez and Jason Morín. "Perceptions of Competition Between Latinos and Blacks: The Development of a Relative Measure of Inter-Group Competition," *Black-Brown Relations*, edited by Edward Telles, Gaspar Rivera-Salgado and Sylvia Zamora, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, New York, 2010.

John A. Garcia and Gabriel R. Sanchez. "Electoral Politics," *Latino Political Participation in the Next Millennium*, edited by S. Navarro and A. Mejia, ABC-CLIO Publishers, Santa Barbara, CA, pp. 121-169, 2004.

Other Writings:

Gabriel R. Sanchez and Lisa Sanchez. "The Entry of U.S. Latinos into High Profile Political Positions." Entry in the *Encyclopedia of Latino Issues Today*, published by Greenwood Press/ABC-CLIO.

"Latino Attitudes Toward the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act." Gabriel R. Sanchez, Jillian Medeiros and Sam Howarth, Policy Brief of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Center for Health Policy of the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM, October, 2011.

"Latinos' Views on Health Care Reform in the Midst of the Historic Congressional Debates of 2009." Gabriel R. Sanchez and Jillian Medeiros, Policy Brief of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Center for Health Policy of the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM, December, 2009.

Garcia, John, Gabriel R. Sanchez, and Salvador Peralta, *The Political World of Latinos: Political Behaviors, Attitudes, and Public Policy (An Annotated Bibliography of Latino Politics Research)*. Published electronically through the University of Arizona Library April, 2009, and available at the following link:

http://www.uair.arizona.edu/holdings/collection?r=uadc://azu_latinopolitics/.

"The Public's View on Health Care Reform prior to the 48th Legislative Second Session 2008." Gabriel R. Sanchez, Amy Sue Goodin, Amelia Rouse, Richard Santos, and Robert Berrens, Policy Brief of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Center for Health Policy of the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM, January, 2008.

"The Disproportionate Impact of Indiana Voter ID Requirements on the Electorate." Barreto, Matt, Stephen Nuño, and Gabriel Sanchez, Amicus Brief Submitted to the U.S. Supreme Court, Commissioned by the Brennan Center for Justice, 2007.

Works in Progress:

Submitted for publication in refereed journals:

Michael Rocca and Gabriel R. Sanchez, "The Legislative Effectiveness of Minorities in Congress." Under Review at the *American Journal of Political Science*.

Gabriel R. Sanchez and Jillian Medeiros. "Linked Fate and Latino Attitudes Regarding Health Care Reform Policy." Received Revise and Resubmit from *Social Science Quarterly*, Jan, 2012.

Gabriel R. Sanchez, Jillian Medeiros, and Vickie Ybarra. "The Missing Link in the Social Determinants of Health: The Impact of Political Factors on Health Status in the U.S." Under Review at the *Journal for Health Politics, Policy, and Law*.

Gabriel R. Sanchez and Jillian Medeiros. "Tough Times, Tough Choices: The Impact of the Rising Medical Costs on the US Latino Population's Health Care Seeking Behaviors." Received Revise and Resubmit from *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, Nov, 2011.

Gabriel R. Sanchez and Shannon Sanchez-Youngmann. "The Politics of the Health Care Reform Debate: Public Support of Including Undocumented Immigrants and Their Children in Reform Efforts." Under Review at *International Migration Review*.

Matt Barreto, Natalie Mosouka, and Gabriel R. Sanchez. "Discrimination and Group Consciousness Among Muslim Americans," Received Revise and Resubmit From *Journal of Religion and Politics*, April, 2010.

Works in preparation:

Book Manuscript in Preparation:

Michael Rocca and Gabriel R. Sanchez, *Explaining Latino Congressional Behavior*. Book proposal being prepared for submission to academic presses.

Articles in Preparation:

Matt Barreto and Gabriel R Sanchez. "Latinos, Blacks, and Black Latinos: Competition, Cooperation, or Indifference?" To be submitted to peer-reviewed journal in Spring, 2012

Matt Barreto, Gabriel R. Sanchez, and Stephen Nuno. "Voter ID Requirements and the Disenfranchisement of Latino, Black and Asian Voters." To be submitted to peer-reviewed journal in Spring, 2012.

Michael Rocca, Gabriel R. Sanchez, and Angelina Gonzalez-Aller "The Substantive Effects of Congressional Earmarks: The Case of Health Spending." To be submitted to peer-reviewed journal in Spring, 2012.

Gabriel R. Sanchez and Jillian Medeiros. "Latino Attitudes Regarding Health Reform Policy." To be submitted to peer-reviewed journal in Spring, 2012.

Presentations at Professional Association Conferences:

“House of Mirrors?: The Effects of Overlapping Descriptive Representation on Political Attitudes”. Co-authored with Ricardo Ramirez and Shannon Sanchez-Youngmann. Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2012.

“Filling the Void:: Factors Leading to Punitive Immigration Policy Across the American States”. Co-authored with Lisa Sanchez and Vickie Ybarra. Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Portland, OR, April 2012.

“Message Received? Public Perceptions of Anti-Immigrant State Legislation by Race and Ethnicity”. Co-authored Sylvia Manzano. Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Portland, OR, April 2012.

“House of Mirrors?: The Effects of Overlapping Descriptive Representation on Political Attitudes”. Co-authored with Ricardo Ramirez and Shannon Sanchez-Youngmann. Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Portland, OR, April 2012.

“Multi-Racial and Multi-Ethnic Attitudes Toward Health Care Reform Policy”. Co-authored with Jillian Medeiros. Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, San Antonio, TX, April 2011.

“The Presence of Linked Fate and the Impact of Linked Fate on Political Behavior” Co-authored with Jason Morin and Shannon Sanchez-Youngmann. Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, San Antonio, TX, April 2011.

“The Missing Link in the Social Determinants Literature: The Impact of Political Factors on Health Status and Health Disparities in the United States”. Co-authored with Jillian Medeiros and Vickie Ybarra. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, September, 2011.

“The Legislative Effectiveness of Minority Members of Congress”. Co-authored with Michael Rocca. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, September, 2011.

“They're All Out to Get Me? An Examination of Inter-Group Competition Among Multiple Populations”. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, September, 2011.

“Multi-Racial and Multi-Ethnic Attitudes Toward Health Care Reform Policy”. Co-authored with Jillian Medeiros, Annual Meeting of the Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Conference, Stanford University, CA, May 2010.

“The Substantive Effects of Congressional Earmarks: The Case of Health Spending”. Co-authored with Michael Rocca and Angelina Gonzalez-Aller, Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, April 2010.

“The Effect of Pan-Ethnic and National Origin Specific Descriptive Representation on Latino’s Views of Government and of Themselves”. Co-authored with Jason Morin, Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, April 2010.

“An Examination of Inter-Group Attitudes Among Multiple Populations: New Trends from the Collaborative Multi-Racial Political Study”. Co-authored with Matt Barreto and Ben Gonzalez, Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2010.

“The Impact of Latino’s Perceptions of Competition and Commonality with Whites and African Americans on Latino Political Behavior”. Co-authored with Betina Wilkinson, Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2010.

“Public Support for Expanding Health Care Coverage in New Mexico.” Co-authored with German Izon and Richard Santos, Annual Meeting of the Western Social Science Association, Albuquerque, NM, April 2009.

“Factors that Determine Health Care Coverage in New Mexico.” Co-authored with Antonio Barreras and Richard Santos, Annual Meeting of the Western Social Science Association, Albuquerque, NM, April 2009.

“En Fuego: Latinos and the 2008 Presidential Campaign.” Co-authored with Sylvia Manzano and Matt Barreto, annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Vancouver, BC, Canada, March, 2009.

“The Firewall: Latino Voters in the 2008 Primaries and General Election.” Co-authored with Sylvia Manzano and Matt Barreto, Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, March, 2009.

“Voter ID Requirements and the Disenfranchisement of Latino, Black, and Asian Voters.” Co-authored with Matt Barreto and Stephen Nuno, Annual Meeting of the Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Conference, U.C. Irvine, CA, November 2009.

“Black Brown Relations in the New South”. Co-authored with Matt Barreto, National Conference on Latino Politics, Power, and Policy, Brown University, Providence, RI, October, 2009.

“Racial Attitudes Across Four Major Racial Groups: Results From the Multi-Racial Post-Election Survey”. Annual Meeting of the Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Conference, University of Washington, WA, September 2009.

“The Disproportionate Impact of Photo Identification Requirements on the Indiana Electorate” Co-authored with Matt Barreto and Stephen Nuno, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 2008.

“To Shirk or Not to Shirk From the Chief Justice: Associate Justices and Separate Opinion Behavior.” Co-authored with Laura Langer and Teena Wilhelm, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 2008.

“Discrimination and Group Consciousness Among Muslim Americans.” Co-authored with Matt Barreto and Natalie Mosouka, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 2008.

“The Impact of Ethnicity on Attitudes Toward Health Care Reform in New Mexico.” Co-authored with Richard Santos, WISER Conference on Latino Public Policy, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, April 2008

“Latinos, Blacks, and Black Latinos: Competition, Cooperation, or Indifference?” Co-authored with Matt Barreto, Invited Presentation, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX, April 2008.

“Latinos, Blacks, and Black Latinos: Competition, Cooperation, or Indifference?” Co-authored with Matt Barreto, Latino National Survey Conference, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, November 2007.

“Voter ID Requirements and the Disenfranchisement of Latino, Black and Asian Voters.” Co-authored with Matt Barreto and Stephen Nuno, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 2007.

“Is Perception Reality? An Investigation of the Presence and Source of Perceived Discrimination Toward and Among Latinos.” Co-authored with Jessica Lavariega Monforti, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 2007.

“The Role of Health Policy in Latino Political Behavior at both the State and National Levels.” Co-authored with Jason Morin, Conference of the Inter-University Program for Latino Research, Austin, Texas, March 2007.

“Explaining African American Congressional Behavior: The Role of Personal Attributes in African American Roll-Call Voting Behavior.” Co-authored with Mike Rocca and Ron Nikora, Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Albuquerque, New Mexico, March 2007.

“The Legislative Success of Minority Members of Congress.” Co-authored with Mike Rocca, Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Albuquerque, New Mexico, March 2007.

“The Role of Health Policy in Latino Political Behavior.” Co-authored with Jason Morin, Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Albuquerque, New Mexico, March 2007.

“The Institutional Mobility of Minorities in Congress.” Co-authored with Mike Rocca and Jason Morin, Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Las Vegas, Nevada, March 2007.

“Preferable Descriptive Representatives? Investigating the Impact of Demographic Attributes of Descriptive Representatives on Substantive Representation.” Co-authored with Joseph E.

Uscinski, 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, August 2006.

“Take One For The Team: Latinos Support and Perceptions of Descriptive Representation,” co-authored with Sylvia Manzano, American Political Science Association Conference, Philadelphia, PA, August 2006.

“Latinos and African Americans Post-Katrina: A Rainbow After the Storm?,” co-authored with Sylvia Manzano, Southwestern Social Science Association Conference, San Antonio, TX, April 2006.

“Latinos in Congress: The Impact of Descriptive Attributes on Substantive Representation,” co-authored with Mike Rocca, Western Political Science Association, Albuquerque, NM, March 2006.

“Friends or Foes? Determinants of Latino Internal Discrimination,” Western Political Science Association, Albuquerque, NM, March 2006.

“Factors Leading to Group Consciousness Formation Among Latinos,” Western Political Science Association, Oakland, CA, March 2005.

“Building a Foundation For Coalitions Among Latinos and African Americans: The Impact of Latino Group Consciousness on Perceptions of Commonality With African Americans,” American Political Science Association, Washington DC, August 2005.

“The Size of Majority Opinion Coalitions on State Supreme Courts: A Test of Threat Hypothesis,” co-authored with Laura Langer and Jeffrey Williams, American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 2004.

“The Impact of District Demographics and Party Support on Minority Representation,” co-authored with Jeffrey Williams, Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 2003.

“The Effect of Group Cohesion on Political Participation and Political Behavior Among Latinos and African-Americans,” Western Political Science Association, Denver, CO, March 2003.

“The Effect of Congressional District Demographics on Minority Representation and Political Participation During the 2000 Election,” co-authored with Jeffrey Williams, Western Political Science Association, Denver, CO, March 2003.

“The Impact of Group Identity on Political Participation Among Latinos: A Probit Analysis,” Conference on Political Minorities and Political Boundaries Yale University, Hartford, Connecticut, May 2002.

“United We Stand Divided We Fall, Group Cohesion in the Latino Community,” American Political Science Association, Washington DC, August 2001.

RESEARCH FUNDING:

The Great Recession: Implications for Minority and Immigrant Communities. Russell Sage Foundation, awarded in 2012; \$100,353. Co-Principal Investigator with Jillian Medieros and Kimberly Huyser.

Developing Race as Multi-dimensional and Health Disparities. Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Health and Society Scholars Program, University of Michigan, awarded in 2011; \$23,457. Co-Principal Investigator with John Garcia.

Exploring the Views of the Latino Population Toward Healthcare Reform in New Mexico. Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Interdisciplinary Research Grant, University of New Mexico, awarded in 2008; \$20,000. Co-Principle Investigator with Richard Santos and Amelia Rouse.

2008 Multi-Racial Post-Election Survey. Research Allocation Committee, University of New Mexico, awarded in 2008: \$4,000. Principle Investigator.

Public Opinion of New Mexicans Toward Healthcare Reform in New Mexico. Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Interdisciplinary Research Grant, University of New Mexico, awarded in 2007; \$20,000. Co-Principle Investigator with Richard Santos and Amelia Rouse.

Indiana Voter Identification Study. Brennan Center for Justice, New York University, awarded in 2007; \$40,000. Co-Principle Investigator with Stephen Nuño and Matt Barreto.

TEACHING:

Undergraduate and Graduate Student Mentoring:

Vickie Ybarra, Fall 2010-present, co-authorship of one working manuscript. Chair of Committee of Studies.

Shannon Sanchez-Youngman, Fall 2009-present, co-authorship of two working manuscripts. Chair of Committee of Studies.

Jason Morin, Fall 2006-present, Ph.D., co-authorship of several article manuscripts. Chair of PhD Examination Committee.

Ron Nikora, Spring 2007-present, Ph.D., co-authorship of article manuscript. Member of PhD Examination Committee.

Lisa Sanchez, Fall 2009-present, PhD, research support/advising for honors thesis. Member of PhD Examination Committee.

Taylor Watrous, Fall 2009-present, BA, research support/advising for honors thesis.

Mabel Arrelanas, Fall 2009-present, BA, research support/advising for McNair Program.

Sarah Melendez, Fall 2009-present, BA, research support/advising for McNair Program.

Antonio Barreras, Fall 2008-present, BA, co-authorship of article manuscript, research support/advising for McNair Program.

Jaime Gonzalez, Fall 2006-Spring 2007, BA, research support/advising for honors thesis.

Donna Marlow, Fall 2006-present, BA, mentorship and preparation for Ralph Bunche Summer Institute.

Glenda Kodaseet, Summer 2006-Fall 2008, B.A., research support/advising for McNair Program.

Steven Saveedra, Summer 2006-Fall 2007, B.A., research support/advising for McNair Program.

Nina Gardea, Summer 2005-Spring 2006, B.A., research support/advising for McNair Program.

Classroom Teaching:

Fall 2010 PS 200; *Introduction to American Politics*, 100 undergraduate students.

Fall 2010 PS 200; *Introduction to American Politics*, 102 undergraduate students.

Spring 2010; Graduate Seminar in Racial and Ethnic Politics, 8 graduate students.

Spring 2010 PS 200; *Introduction to American Politics*, 114 undergraduate students.

Fall 2009 PS 305-001 *Public Opinion and Electoral Behavior*, 49 undergraduate students.

Fall 2009 PS 200; *Introduction to American Politics*, 114 undergraduate students.

Spring 2009 PS 307: *The Politics of Ethnic Groups*, 53 undergraduate students.

Spring 2009 *Introduction to American Politics*, 100 undergraduate students.

Fall 2008 PS 496-003 *Pro-Seminar in American Government and Politics: Fred Harris Congressional Internship Program*, 5 undergraduate students.

Fall 2008 PS 200 *Introduction to American Politics*, 123 undergraduate students.

Spring 2008 PS 200; *Introduction to American Politics*, 123 undergraduate students.

Spring 2008 PS 307: *The Politics of Ethnic Groups*. 48 undergraduate students.

Fall 2007, PS 511 *Graduate Seminar in Racial and Ethnic Politics*, 15 graduate students.

Summer 2007, PS307: *The Politics of Ethnic Groups*, 16 undergraduate students.

Spring 2007, PS307: *The Politics of Ethnic Groups*, 45 undergraduate students.

Spring 2007, PS305: *Public Opinion and Electoral Behavior*: 49 undergraduate students, 1 graduate student.

Fall 2006, PS 200/ FLC 640: *Connecting Political Theory to Political Reality? An Inside Look at American Politics*, 22 undergraduate students.

Fall 2006, PS 200: *Introduction to American Politics*, 114 undergraduate students.

Spring 2006, PS200: *Introduction to American Politics*, 61 undergraduate students.

Spring 2006, PS305: *Public Opinion and Electoral Behavior*: 49 undergraduate students, 1 graduate student.

Fall 2005, PS307: *The Politics of Ethnic Groups*, 49 undergraduate students.

Fall 2005, PS200: *Introduction to American Politics*, 44 undergraduate students.

Curriculum Development:

Developed curriculum for the Political Science portion of the Freshman Learning Community course, *PS200/Eng 101: Connecting Political Theory to Political Reality? An Inside Look at American Politics*, Summer 2006 for Fall 2006.

SERVICE:

Reviews

American Journal of Political Science (2010) <twice>
Journal of Politics (2010)
Political Behavior (2010)
Political Communication (2010)
American Sociological Quarterly (2010)
American Review of Politics (2010)
Social Science Journal (2010)
Social Science Quarterly (2010) <twice>
Public Opinion Quarterly (2010)
Legislative Studies Quarterly (2009)
American Journal of Political Science (2009)
Political Research Quarterly (2009) <twice>
American Politics Research (2008)
American Political Science Review (2008)
Political Research Quarterly (2008)
American Politics Research (2008)
Social Science Quarterly (2007)
American Journal of Political Science (2007)
Political Behavior (2007)
SUNY Press – Book Manuscript (2007)
American Politics Research (2006)

Conferences

Chair and Discussant for “The Systematic Study of Race and Public Policy From the UNM RWJF Center For Health Policy” panel at Southwestern Social Science Association Conference, April 2010.
Discussant for “Race and Electoral Politics in America” panel at the American Political Science Association Conference, September 2009.
Chair and Discussant for “An Interdisciplinary Examination of Health Policy From the UNM RWJF Center For Health Policy ” panel at Western Social Science Association Conference, April 2009.
Section Chair “Voting and Elections” for Western Political Science Assoc. Conf., March 2009.
Discussant for “Ethnicity and Elections: American and Comparative Perspectives” panel at Western Political Science Association Conference, March 2009.
Chair and Discussant for “Changing the Rules: Causes and Consequences” panel at Western Political Science Association Conference, March 2008.
Chair and Discussion for Latino and Latino Political Incorporation and Mobilization” panel at the Southwestern Political Science Association Conference, March 2008
Discussant for “Race, Ethnicity, and Electoral Politics” panel at the Western Political Science Association Conference, March 2007.
Served on the Ted Robinson Dissertation Award for the Southwestern Political Science Association, March 2007.

Committees/ Professional Association Positions

Member, Administrative Support Staff Search Committee, Department of Political Science, University of New Mexico, Fall 2011

Member, Vice Provost Search Committee, University of New Mexico, Spring, 2011

Member WPSA Committee On the Status of Latinas/os in the Profession, 2010-2012.

Secretary, Latino Caucus of the American Political Science Association Executive Committee, 2008-2010.

Member of the Department of Political Science Executive Committee, 2010-2011.

Member, Division of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (UNM) Post-Doctoral Fellowship Committee, Summer 2010.

Board Member, Common Cause of New Mexico, 2009-Present.

Member, UNM First-Generation Student Success Task Force, 2010-2011.

Member, UNM Institute for Higher Education Policy Committee, 2010-2011.

Member, Racial and Ethnic Politics Executive Committee of APSA, 2008-2010.

Member of the Department of Political Science Executive Committee, 2010-2011.

Member of Title-V at UNM Faculty Steering Committee, Fall 2008-Present.

Faculty Fellow, El Centro de La Raza at UNM, Fall 2008-Present.

Member of Hispanic Heritage Month Committee, 2007-2008.

Chair of Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Strategic Communication Committee, Fall 2007.

Member of Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Student Recruitment Committee, 2006-2007, 2007-2008.

Member Law School Minority Pipeline Committee, 2007.

Member of the Department of Political Science Executive Committee, 2006-2007.

Member of the Political Science Department Public Policy/IPP Director Search Committee, 2006.

Member of Political Science Department IPP Summer Working Group, Summer 2006.

Member of American Political Science Association Latino Caucus Nominating Committee 2005-2006.

Member of American Political Science Association Latino Caucus Outreach Committee 2005-2006.

Member of the Political Science Department Undergraduate Committee, August 2005-May 2006.

Other Professional Service

Board Member, Hispanic Philanthropic Society of the United Way, January, 2010- Present.

Numerous Television, Radio, and Newspaper Interviews, 2010 Election Season.

Faculty Fellow, UNM El Centro de la Raza, 2007-Present.

Presentation "Effectively Working With Graduate Students" given to Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Center for Health Policy at UNM brown bag series, November 10, 2010.

Co-Chair, UNM El Centro de la Raza Graduate Student Fellowship Program, 2009-2010, 2010-2011.

Faculty Adviser, UNM "Bigs" Student Organization, Fall 2009-Present.

Ralph Bunche Summer Institute Recruitment for Department, Duke University (2005-2009).
Conducted television interview with Channel 13 News (Super Tuesday Segment), February 5, 2008.

Presentation “Social Inequalities in US” given to the pre-Medical Student Organization, February 19, 2008.

Participated on Round Table sponsored by Peer Mentoring of Graduate Students of Color entitled “First Critical Issues Roundtable: First Generation Graduates of Color and Mentoring.” January 23, 2007.

Conducted television interview with Channel 13 News (US Attorney General Political Pressure Issue) March 5, 2007.

Invited research talk at the University of Arizona “Upward Mobility of Minority Members of Congress”, March 23, 2007.

Served as Moderator for the ASUNM Spring Election Candidate Debate, 2007.

Talk given to APS students on careers in political science, April 6, 2007.

Co-presented “Health Policy and Political Science” discussion in RWJF Pro-Seminar, Spring 2007.

Talk entitled “Demographics of UNM Students” given during New Faculty Orientation, Fall 2007.

Faculty Steering Committee Member for Peer Mentoring of Graduate Students of Color, Fall 2007

Faculty Advisor for UNM student group, UNM Bigs (Affiliate of Big Brothers and Sisters of New Mexico), Summer 2007 – present.

Co-Chair RWJF and McNair Undergraduate Research Conference (November 19-21), Fall 2007.

Complied information regarding Hispanic facts and trends to create “Hispanic Facts and Figures for the Nation” report as part of Hispanic Heritage Month Committee duties.

Talk Given to First Year Graduate Students, (2005-2007).

Talk given to McNair and Research Opportunity Program Students January 17, 2007 entitled “Research Types: The Quantitative, Qualitative Debate”.

Served on Panel entitled “Academic Job Search” sponsored by Career Services, Fall 2006 and 2007.

Report drafted in preparation for Expert Witness Testimony in ACLU, et al. v. HERRERA, Fall 2006.

Talk given at the “How About Grad School” Panel Sponsored by Graduate College, September 21, 2006.

Presented “Developing a Research Question” talk to McNair and Research Opportunity Program Students, June 14, 2006.

Talk Given at the “How About Grad School” program on September 21 sponsored by Graduate College.

Mentored Freshman Learning Community Students who won Best Poster at Research Symposium, Fall 2006.

Was quoted in several Albuquerque Tribune articles regarding Congressional Elections, Fall 2006 and in feature article “Is America Ready for a Hispanic President”.

Phone Interview 770 KOB, “State Treasurer an Appointed Position?,” September 26, 2005.