

Photo ID Implementation in Missouri Counties

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Abstract

Many states have adopted laws requiring people to present photo identification when they vote. How are these laws implemented in a highly decentralized system of election administration? We report preliminary results of a study of photo ID implementation in Missouri, focusing on transparency and the volume of non-photo ID voters checked in during local and special elections held under the new voter identification requirement. These early elections serve as early tests of the photo ID law and offer support for some hypotheses derived from implementation theory. Counties using electronic poll books checked in a larger volume of voters without photo ID than counties using traditional paper poll books. Conversations with local officials suggest that voter and poll worker behavior contribute to this pattern. The use of electronic poll books might overstate the number of voters lacking acceptable photo identification.

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This study is a preliminary examination of the implementation of a new photo identification (ID) requirement for voters in Missouri. Over the past year, the photo ID law has been enforced in almost 200 municipal and special elections administered by local jurisdictions around the state. We observe two types of local variation in implementation: (1) whether to share information about the voters who are checked in without a valid photo ID; and (2) the frequency of non-photo voters casting ballots in local elections. We observe higher rates of non-photo voters in local jurisdictions using electronic poll books. The learned behavior of some poll workers and voters suggest that the numbers reported by local jurisdictions may overstate the number of voters lacking photo identification in counties using electronic poll books.

Background

Proposals to require more rigorous forms of voter identification have ignited contentious policy debates in the United States. Many states have passed new laws that require people to show photo identification in order to vote, particularly in ethnically diverse states with GOP control of state government (Hale and McNeal 2010; Rocha and Matsubayashi 2014; Bentele and O'Brien 2013; Biggers and Hanmer 2017). In state legislatures, support for new voting restrictions tends to divide neatly along partisan lines, with support coming almost exclusively from Republican lawmakers (Hicks et al. 2014; McKee 2015). Furthermore, photo ID laws have been the subject of extensive litigation in many states (Hasen 2012; Pitts 2015). Missouri shares these characteristics and the state has played an outsized role in the development of voter ID policies in the United States.

A strict voter ID requirement has been a Republican policy priority in Missouri since the 2000 presidential election. Missouri adopted a voter ID requirement as part of an election reform package in 2002. Because of partisan disagreements over voter ID proposals (Republicans wanted a stricter ID requirement than Democrats), the compromise passed in 2002 allowed several non-photo forms of identification, such as a voter registration card or utility bill (Kropf 2005: 166). Voters without acceptable identification could only cast a ballot if two supervising poll workers (one from each major party) vouched for the voter. This voter identification requirement remained in place until the photo ID law took effect in 2017. Meanwhile, U.S Senator Kit Bond (R-MO) was one of the leading GOP legislators involved in the passage of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (HAVA). As a member of the Senate-House conference committee Sen. Bond inserted a photo ID requirement for new voters who registered by mail into HAVA (Minnite 2010: 95; Hasen 2012: 47).

The legislative skirmishes in 2002 were just the beginning. In 2006 Republican Governor Matt Blunt and a GOP-majority General Assembly passed a new law requiring voters to show a non-expired photo ID. The 2006 law was overturned by the Missouri Supreme Court (*Weinschenk v. Missouri*, 2006) on the grounds that it violated Missouri's equal protection clause and the constitutional right to vote. The Missouri Constitution includes an explicit guarantee of the right to vote: "no power, civil or military, shall at any time interfere to prevent the free exercise of the right of suffrage" (Article I, section 25). As it happens, a majority of the judges on the Missouri Supreme Court in 2006 were appointed by Democratic governors.

Since 2006 the Republican majority in the state legislature has attempted to pass strict photo ID legislation on many occasions but those bills failed to pass both chambers or were vetoed by Democratic Governor Jay Nixon. In 2016 the GOP legislative majority succeeded by placing on the November ballot a constitutional amendment allowing for a photo ID requirement for “a person seeking to vote in person” (Amendment 6). The joint resolution placing the proposed amendment on the ballot did not need to be signed by the governor. Amendment 6 passed with the support of 63% of Missouri voters.

Figure 1. Support for Photo ID Amendment by Trump Support in Missouri 2016 Election

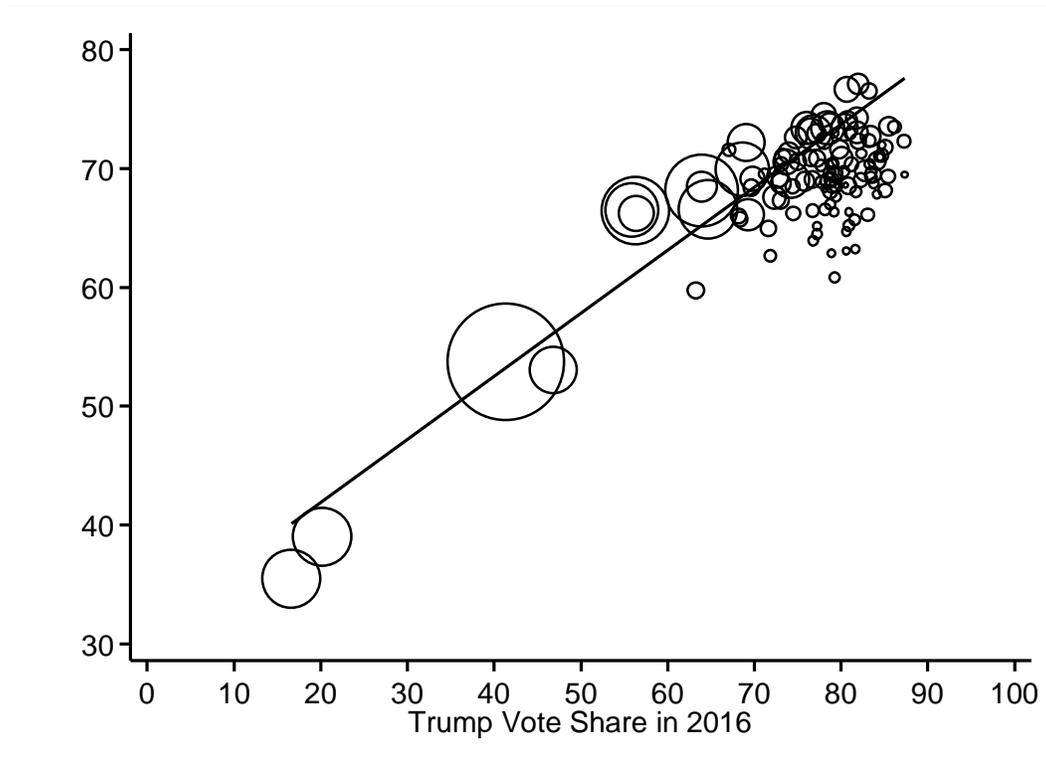


Figure 1 plots voter support for the photo ID amendment by Donald Trump’s share of the two-party presidential vote in Missouri local jurisdictions (the data symbols are sized in proportion to the number of votes cast in each jurisdiction). As the graph shows,

there was a strong partisan component to the vote on Amendment 6 (the correlation between support for Trump and the photo ID amendment is .95). The photo ID amendment received a majority Yes vote in all local jurisdictions except Kansas City and St. Louis City. The No votes tended to concentrate in the more populous urban jurisdictions. In 2016 the General Assembly also passed legislation (HB 1631) laying out procedures for the new photo ID requirement, overriding Gov. Nixon's veto. As a result, the new photo ID requirement went into effect on June 1, 2017. Civil rights groups filed suit in state court to block implementation of the law, but the suit was dismissed in January of 2018.

Missouri has adopted a non-strict photo ID requirement. The identification requirement applies to in-person voters, but not to people who vote absentee by mail. The enabling legislation creates three paths to casting a ballot for registered in-person voters, depending on the type of identification they provide: (1) those who provide a valid photo ID vote a regular ballot (regular voters); (2) those who provide a valid non-photo ID and sign a statement attesting to their lack of a photo ID also vote a regular ballot (affidavit or "statement" voters, using the vernacular of the enabling legislation); and (3) those without any acceptable identification cast a provisional ballot (provisional voters). The provisional voters will have their ballots counted if they return to the polling place later on Election Day with a valid photo ID or if their signature at the polling place matches their signature in the voter registration file. The legislation also tasks the Secretary of State's office with voters without a photo ID obtain a Missouri non-driver license for free (including paying the cost of securing underlying documents, like a birth certificate, that are needed to procure a state photo ID). Finally, the Department of Revenue is supposed to provide an

annual report to the General Assembly on the cost to the state of providing these free documents to voters.

Decentralization is a defining feature of election administration in the United States, and Missouri elections are highly decentralized. Missouri has 116 local jurisdictions, more than most states. Elections are managed by bipartisan boards and directors appointed by the governor in four large urban jurisdictions (Jackson County, Kansas City, St. Louis City, and St. Louis County). In the remaining jurisdictions local officials are county clerks chosen in partisan elections, and roughly two-thirds of the county clerks in Missouri are Republicans. Some states have uniform technology and processes for many election functions, while other states have a lot of local variation in election administration (GAO 2007; Hale, Montjoy and Brown 2015). Missouri is positioned toward the local variation end of the spectrum, as local election officials have considerable discretion. For example, local jurisdictions in Missouri select and purchase their own voting equipment and design and print their own ballots. More importantly for the purposes of enforcing voter identification requirements, there is variation in polling place technology across the state. In the 2016 election 64 Missouri jurisdictions deployed electronic poll books to check in voters, while the remaining 52 jurisdictions used paper poll books (EAC 2017). In Missouri there is also tremendous variation in jurisdiction size. A handful of metropolitan jurisdictions each serve over 100,000 voters in a general election while a majority of Missouri counties serve less than 10,000 voters in an election. The vast disparities in jurisdiction size likely mean different needs and priorities in election administration (Alvarez and Hall 2005; Kimball and Baybeck 2013).

Explaining Photo ID Implementation in Missouri

In this section we use policy implementation theory to develop hypotheses about the roll out of the photo ID requirement in Missouri. There is a well-developed framework in public administration for understanding policy implementation that considers the law, relationships between officials at different levels of government, and characteristics of local officials and the jurisdictions they serve. In applying these ideas, we consider the state and local election officials in Missouri and their response to the new law.

One important element of policy implementation is the clarity of the new law. Successful implementation depends, in part, on a new law containing unambiguous policy directives and decision rules for implementing officials to follow (Sabatier and Mazmanian 1980). While there is strong disagreement about the need for a photo ID law in Missouri, the new procedures for voters lacking a photo ID in Missouri (described above) are fairly clear in enumerating the acceptable forms of photo identification and the procedures for voters who appear at their polling place without photo identification.

Implementation also hinges on assignment of the new policy to agencies or officials who are committed to its objectives (Sabatier and Mazmanian 1980). In Missouri the Secretary of State is the official charged with administering elections. As it happens, Republican Secretary of States Jay Ashcroft was first elected in November 2016, the same election in which Amendment 6 passed. Ashcroft made his support for the photo ID amendment a principal feature of his campaign. In recent congressional testimony Ashcroft claimed that “voter fraud is an exponentially greater threat than hacking of our election

equipment” (Wise 2018). It is fair to say that Secretary of State Ashcroft is highly committed to implementing the new photo ID law in Missouri.

Since passage of the photo ID requirement, Secretary of State Ashcroft led a public education effort to inform voters about the new requirement, including opportunities for state assistance in acquiring photo ID for voting (<https://www.sos.mo.gov/showit2vote>). The implementing legislation in Missouri includes boilerplate language for voter identification statements that voters with acceptable non-photo identification must sign before casting a ballot. The Secretary of State’s office produced special blue provisional ballot envelopes for local jurisdictions to use for voters who lack any identification (in contrast to yellow envelopes used for other types of provisional ballots). The Secretary of State’s office also created forms for counties to use to report the number of non-photo provisional ballots cast in an election. It appears that local jurisdictions are using all of these documents.

Turning to the local level, the principal-agent problems associated with polling place voting are well known. It can be a challenge for election officials to train and monitor poll workers to ensure that voting laws are enforced uniformly and fairly (Montjoy and Slaton 2002; Alvarez and Hall 2006). Adopting a photo ID requirement creates another principal-agent predicament for local election officials, since poll workers do not seem to enforce voter identification requirements uniformly (Cobb, Greiner and Quinn 2012; Atkeson et al. 2009; Atkeson et al. 2014). We believe that principal-agent theory also applies to the relationship between the Secretary of State and local election officials. Given extensive local variation and a history of local discretion in election administration in Missouri, it is

possible that different counties will implement aspects of the new photo ID requirement in different ways.

Principal-agent theory and implementation theory suggest that agreement between principals and agents on the importance of the problem a new law addresses reduces resistance to implementation (Sabatier and Mazmanian 1980). Support for the goals of a new law may yield more enthusiastic local enforcement of the law (Moynihan and Silva 2008). Partisanship is a major source of disagreement over beliefs about the frequency of voter fraud and the need for voter ID requirements, and there is much stronger support for photo ID laws from Republicans than Democrats (Hicks et al. 2014; Stewart, Ansolabehere, and Persily 2016). Thus, we hypothesize that GOP county clerks in Missouri will more closely adhere to directives from the Secretary of State on the photo ID policy and more vigorously enforce the photo identification requirements than Democratic clerks.

The personal characteristics of local officials may also determine how they respond to new policies. One important characteristic is job experience. As local officials become more confident in their role and abilities, they may be less favorably disposed toward additional mandates from higher levels of government (Lipsky 1980; Moynihan and Silva 2008). Thus, we hypothesize that more experienced local election officials may prefer their prior polling place practices and be more resistant to new photo ID requirements than novice local officials.

Another important local factor is an administrator's organizational capacity, or ability to carry out its functions. The absence of administrative capacity or resources can produce implementation failures and fuel local opposition to policy innovations (Sabatier

and Mazmanian 1980), particularly in the election field (Moynihan and Silva 2008; Hale and Slaton 2008; Burden et al. 2012). Thus, local election officials concerned about resource or administrative shortages may have a less favorable view of enforcing new voter identification requirements. This concern may be strong in Missouri, where county clerks have many other responsibilities in addition to election administration.

Jurisdiction size may be an important related factor for implementation. On the one hand, densely populated urban jurisdictions have a disproportionate share of young, mobile and minority residents (Kimball and Baybeck 2013) and thus may serve a larger share of registered voters lacking a valid photo ID. On the other hand, the largest jurisdictions may have a more developed administrative capacity (particularly in staff and poll worker recruitment and training) to adapt to new voter identification requirements in a uniform fashion. Thus, we expect larger local jurisdictions in Missouri to process a higher share of voters via the non-photo procedures (voter statements or provisional ballots).

Finally, a lack of technology or a change in technology can influence the implementation of new policies (Sabatier and Mazmanian 1980). Local officials who have sunk costs in their current technology may resist policy changes that mandate new technology (Montjoy and O'Toole 1979). This may be especially important in election administration. Technology used for checking in voters deserves careful examination in the implementation of photo ID requirements for voters. As noted above, in Missouri many counties employed electronic poll books before passage of the photo ID requirement. Some jurisdictions programmed their electronic poll books to scan voter registration cards as a way to speed up the check-in process. As a result, voters and poll workers may have grown

accustomed to scanning registration cards. However, voter registration cards have no photograph and are not valid photo IDs under the new law in Missouri. Thus, checking in with a registration card should force the voter to sign the non-photo statement. The electronic poll books can be programmed so that the voter barely notices the extra layer of bureaucracy. Nevertheless, we hypothesize that counties with electronic poll books will process a higher share of non-photo “statement” voters than jurisdictions using paper poll books.

Data and Methods

To date, local jurisdictions in Missouri have held almost 200 elections since the photo ID requirement took effect on June 1, 2017.¹ A majority of these were municipal elections held in April of 2018, while the rest were mainly special elections to fill state or local offices or decide local ballot measures. These were relatively low turnout elections (the highest turnout was 42% of registered voters, while mean turnout was 14%). As a result, every jurisdiction in the state has administered at least one election with the photo ID requirement. We plan to conduct a survey of local officials on photo ID implementation after a major election (the statewide primary elections are in August of 2018 and the midterm elections are in November of 2018). In the meantime, we examine elections to date as a first test of implementation theory.

Critical questions associated with the implementation of photo ID laws are (1) how many voters lack a valid photo ID and (2) who are they? There is disagreement about the

¹ St. Louis County held a special election by mail for the Robinwood West Community Improvement District on June 13, 2018. Since mail ballots are not subject to the photo ID requirement we exclude this election from our analysis. We also excluded a November 2017 special election in Randolph County where nobody voted.

impact of photo ID laws on voter turnout, particularly among racial and ethnic subgroups (Hajnal, Lajevardi and Nielson 2017; Grimmer et al. 2018; Burden 2018; Erikson and Minnite 2009), but several studies find that white voters are more likely to possess valid photo ID than non-white voters (Hopkins et al. 2017: 83). To obtain information about Missouri voters who lack photo ID, after each election we sent a public records request via email to the top county election official. Public records requests are governed by Missouri's Sunshine Law. We used the same language for each request, modifying sample language for a sunshine request provided by the Missouri Attorney General.² In each public records request we asked for the names and addresses of each registered voter who cast a provisional ballot or affidavit ballot without a photo ID in the election (a copy of our request is included in the appendix). We also gathered other information from each county, including the number of registered voters eligible to vote and the number of ballots cast in each election. Finally, we have had some communications with local officials by email and phone about photo ID implementation in Missouri.

Transparency

One element of policy implementation is sharing information with the public about outputs of the new policy. Local officials do not respond uniformly to requests for public information (Costa 2017; White, Nathan, and Faller 2015). Since the photo ID requirement in the Show-Me-State is new, there is some disagreement about whether the forms completed by voters lacking photo identification are public records. A court ruling associated with a contested election in 2016 held that absentee ballot applications and

² Sample language for a Missouri record request can be found at <https://ago.mo.gov/missouri-law/sunshine-law/sample-language-forms/records-request-form>.

absentee ballot envelopes are public records under Missouri’s Sunshine Law (*Roland v. City of St. Louis Board of Election Commissioners*). However, no controlling legal authority has ruled whether the affidavit statements or provisional ballot forms completed by voters lacking a photo ID are public records. There has been discussion among local officials and the Secretary of State’s office about how to respond to our records requests, and many local officials have communicated their uncertainty about whether they can fulfill our request. The Secretary of State has taken the position that provisional ballot envelopes and signed statements from voters lacking a photo ID are not public records, and has advised local officials to seal those records along with the ballots for 22 months after an election. Several counties used the same language and cited the same section of state law in denying our request for records on voters without valid photo ID.³

In this environment of legal ambiguities, we received a range of responses to our sunshine requests for copies of provisional ballot envelopes and affidavits signed by voters who were without photo identification. Table 1 summarizes the local responses to our sunshine requests. Roughly half of the jurisdictions partially or fully complied with our public records requests. Approximately one-third denied our request, indicating that they had already sealed those records. To date, three counties have asked for payment before they send us the information. Of those election authorities who did respond, 38 percent denied our request, 18 percent partially complied, and 45 percent fully complied. To

³ The relevant statute says that “voted ballots, ballot cards, processed ballot materials in electronic form and write-in forms ...” are to be sealed after an election (RSMO 115.493). A state judge rejected efforts to apply this language to absentee ballot applications and absentee ballot envelopes (*Roland v. City of St. Louis Board of Election Commissioners*, 2016).

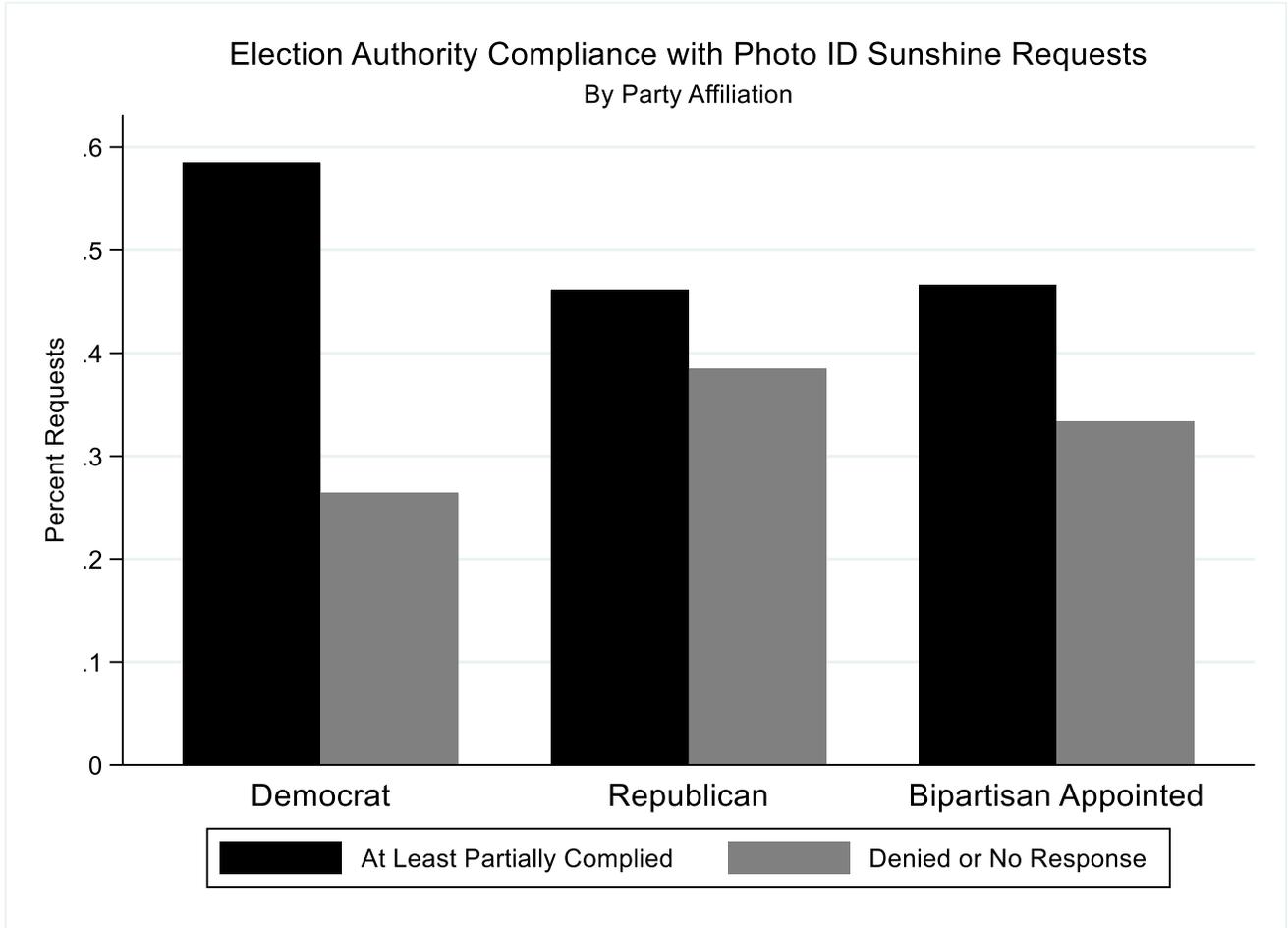
simplify the analysis, below we combine the “no response” and “deny” categories into one group, as well as the “full” and “requested payment” categories.

Table 1: Responses to Photo ID Sunshine Requests in Missouri

Response	Percent	Number
No Response	16%	31
Denied	35%	69
Partial	14%	28
Full	34%	67
Requested Payment	2%	3

One of our hypotheses is that the party affiliation local election officials may have some bearing on implementation of the photo ID requirement. Thus, partisanship may help explain whether local officials follow the GOP Secretary of State’s guidance on the sunshine status of forms completed by voters lacking a valid photo ID. Of the 198 elections held in Missouri under the new law, 53 were led by a Democratic election authority, 130 by a Republican authority, and 15 by a bipartisan elections board. Figure 2 summarizes the responses to our requests by party affiliation. There were some differences across party affiliation in the response to our sunshine requests for photo ID documents, though these differences are not statistically significant ($p = .34$). Overall, 58 percent of requests to Democratic officials were met with at least a partial response, compared with 46 percent of requests to GOP officials.

Figure 2: Response by Party Affiliation of Election Authority



We also examine responses to our requests by location. As Table 2 shows, local officials in rural jurisdictions were more likely than officials in metropolitan regions to respond positively to our requests ($p = .02$). Rural counties tend to be small and, as we report below, had very few non-photo ID voters in local elections to date. The metropolitan jurisdictions are very large and had many more voters check in without photo identification. It may be much easier to respond to a public records request when there are few or no records to provide. Finally, the check in technology used in local jurisdictions is unrelated to the type of response we received.

Table 2: Sunshine Response by Jurisdiction Location

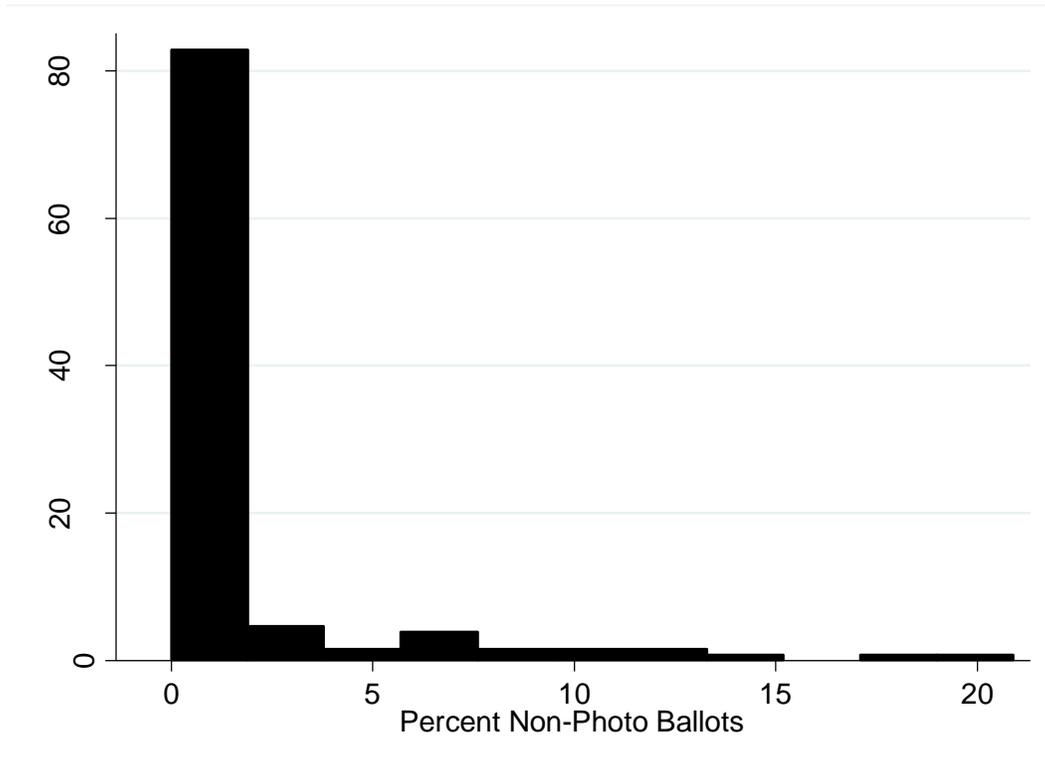
Response	Rural LEO	Metro LEO
Denial or No Response	46%	65%
At Least Partial	54%	35%

Non-Photo Voters

The Secretary of State’s office also collects data from each county on the number of non-photo statements and provisional ballots signed by voters in an election. They have shared those data with us. Based on the data we have collected from state and local officials we have complete voter totals for 130 elections held to date under the photo ID requirement in Missouri. In those elections 11,748 voters were recorded as lacking a valid photo ID (roughly 1.9% of ballots cast). The vast majority of the non-photo ballots (11,407) were cast by voters who signed an affidavit after showing non-photo identification, while the remaining (341) were provisional ballots cast by voters who lacked acceptable identification. Among the provisional ballots, 269 (79%) were counted, mostly because of a signature match.

The histogram in Figure 3 summarizes the share of voters checking in without valid photo identification in each of the Missouri elections where we have complete data. The distribution is highly skewed. In roughly one quarter of elections the local jurisdictions reported zero non-photo ID voters. However, in at least another quarter of jurisdictions more than 1 percent of voters appeared without a valid photo ID, and among the top decile more than 6 percent of voters checked in with valid photo identification.

Figure 3. Distribution of Non-Photo Ballots in Missouri Elections



We next test some of the hypotheses described above in explaining local variation in the share of ballots cast by non-photo voters. Models estimates are summarized in Table 3. The most robust finding is that the share of non-photo voters is substantially higher (by 2 percentage points, on average) in jurisdictions using electronic poll books to check in voters. Below we describe conversations with two local officials in counties with unusually high rates of voters checking in without valid photo identification. In both cases the county clerk believes that the use of electronic poll books contributed to relatively high rates of non-photo ID voters. These incidents suggest that in some counties using electronic poll books the records may overstate the actual number of voters without acceptable photo identification.

As expected, we also find that larger jurisdictions tend to produce higher rates of voters without photo identification, although the relationship falls short of statistical significance. We also find a weak but positive correlation between turnout (as a percent of registered voters) and non-photo ballots ($r=.14$). We find no significant difference between Republican and Democratic county clerks. However, after controlling for jurisdiction size and electronic poll books, jurisdictions with elected clerks tend to have higher rates of non-photo voting than the four urban jurisdictions with bipartisan election management.

Table 3. Predictors of the Share of Non-Photo ID Voters in Missouri Elections

Independent Variable	<u>coef.</u> <u>(s.e.)</u>
Electronic poll book	2.0* (0.9)
Republican clerk	2.5* (0.8)
Democratic clerk	2.1 (1.3)
Ballots cast (thousands)	0.02 (0.01)
Constant	-1.9 (1.2)
<i>N</i>	128
<i>R</i> ²	.10

* $p < .05$, two-tailed. Cell entries are OLS coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). The dependent variable is the percent of ballots cast by voters with non-photo ID.

Implementation Irregularities

After the electronic sunshine requests were sent to election authorities for the April municipal elections, we talked with at least two election authorities who explained some

problems with implementation; one election authority actually called the lead author to explain her county's implementation issues. Based on these two preliminary (yet extensive) conversations, it appears that challenges with implementation may fall primarily into two general buckets: 1) technology, and 2) poll worker training.

In one mid-sized, non-urban county, the local election authority was reticent to send us the copies of the signed affidavits for the April municipal election, because as she stated, “[a]fter speaking with some of the Election Judges after the April 3rd election, I feel strongly these numbers ... are skewed, and we will have a true depiction of the number of voters without a photo ID in the upcoming August and November elections [sic]” (Personal and email communication, May 30, 2018). This county clerk also stated that election judges had been trained “extensively” before the April 3 election, which was the first election held in that county since the new photo ID law had been passed. Even with this training, the county clerk explained that,

some election judges did not understand that they could not use the voter's *voter identification card* to scan [into] the [electronic] poll pad after seeing the voter's photo ID. And even though every registered voter was sent information from our office regarding the new photo voter ID law... it was routine for the voters to have their *voter identification card* out and ready for the judges to scan [italics original] (Personal communication May 30, 2018).

In other words, if voters presented poll workers with both their voter ID card and their photo ID, some poll workers would scan the voter identification card and not the ID, which automatically prompted the voter affidavit to be brought up onto the screen of their electronic poll pad. Poll workers would then turn the poll pad around and ask voters to sign, regardless of whether that person had a photo ID. The county clerk seemed almost

embarrassed that these mistakes had occurred, and she explained that her office is committed to additional poll worker trainings before both the upcoming August and November elections.

A second county clerk in a smaller, more rural county talked about similar implementation issues when he was called as a follow-up to our sunshine request. This county clerk was also hesitant to share affidavit information because he said it would be an “inaccurate” measure of how many voters came to the poll without the proper photo ID. He indicated that most voters came to polls with both a photo ID and their voter ID card, however the bar code on many drivers’ licenses did not scan as easily into the electronic poll pad. Therefore, many poll workers would scan the voter ID card when the photo ID failed to scan, and still other poll workers chose to scan the voter ID card by default, even when a voter presented a photo ID. Thus, many voters signed affidavits even though they had a photo ID with them; in fact the county clerk believes that “almost all” voters who signed affidavits did have some form of photo ID (Personal communication, June 27, 2018).

In these cases and perhaps others, poll workers seem to fall back on habitual practices of scanning voter ID cards instead of the voter’s photo ID, and voters also seem to be in the habit of presenting their voter ID cards to poll workers for this scan. In addition, the technology employed by some counties in administering an electronic poll pad seems to lack (until recently) a way to distinguish voters who sign an affidavit and whom also possess a photo ID. These initial conversations with election authorities indicate that there are still some bugs to work out from both a technological and a poll worker training

perspective to ensure that the new photo ID law is accurately and consistently applied across all Missouri jurisdictions in future elections.

Conclusion

The photo ID requirement is still a relatively new policy in Missouri. So far, the new requirement has only been enforced in low turnout local elections. The primary and midterm elections in 2018 will have more voters, placing added stress on polling place operations. Thus, we should be cautious about extrapolating from our observations of photo ID implementation to bigger elections.

Nevertheless, local elections in Missouri indicate that poll worker behavior and the use of check-in technology deserve careful scrutiny when implementing photo ID laws. In particular, the way electronic poll books are used to sign in voters may determine how many voters are flagged as lacking valid photo identification, and may overstate the number of voters without photo ID. It is fortunate that small-scale local elections have provided the first run for new photo ID requirements in Missouri to help work out the kinks before a major election takes place.

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Appendix – Public Records Request

Dear _____:

This is a request for records under the Missouri Sunshine Law, Chapter 610, Revised Statutes of Missouri, to you as the election authority for _____ County.

We are requesting that you make available to us the following records:

Documentation of all voters who did not bring photo identification to vote in the election held on April 3, 2018 in _____ County. This request is specifically for (1) all copies of provisional ballot envelopes cast by voters without photo identification, and (2) copies of affidavits signed by voters without photo identification.

We request that all fees for locating and copying the records be waived. The information obtained through this request will be used to determine how many voters have been impacted by photo identification laws and procedures across the state of Missouri.

Please let us know in advance of any search or copying if the fees will exceed \$5.00. If portions of the requested records are closed, please segregate the closed portions and provide us with the rest of the records.

Please email these documents to Joseph Anthony at josephanthony@mail.umsl.edu. For a mailing address, please contact Joseph at this email address, or by calling (314) 608-2043. We will also be requesting this type of information after the August primary and November general elections later this year. Thank you for your time and work.

Best,

Joseph Anthony
PhD Candidate in Political Science
University of Missouri--St. Louis

David Kimball
Professor of Political Science
University of Missouri--St. Louis