

Overseas Voter Satisfaction in 2010

Thad E. Hall, PhD
Associate Professor of Political Science
University of Utah
thadhall@gmail.com

Claire M. Smith, PhD
Research Director
Overseas Vote Foundation
claire@overseasvotefoundation.org

Abstract

In October 2009, the most significant bill in decades regarding overseas and military voters was passed by the Senate. The Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment (MOVE) Act was implemented by the states for the first time during 2010 elections, and dramatically changed the landscape of overseas voting. For example, in 2010, 48 states began emailing blank ballots to voters and 21 states accepted voted ballots via email. Although these changes were made to make voting easier for overseas and military citizens, were they successful? Were more people able to vote? Are they more satisfied with the process than in previous years?

This paper provides a first look at voter survey data from the 2010 election and investigates the success of these public policies in promoting voter satisfaction. We adapt the variables used in traditional voter satisfaction studies to create hypotheses, and use data from the Overseas Vote Foundation (OVF) 2010 Post-Election Voter Survey to test the hypotheses and identify variables that hinder successful voting. These findings are contrasted with the results of the 2006 and 2008 elections.

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Nothing reflects the increase in globalization more than the rising numbers of Americans living abroad. Either due to military obligations, as members of the international workforce, as students, or by choice, anywhere between 4 to 6 million Americans live overseas. This has created one of modern democracy's greatest challenges: the overseas voter. Over the years, Congress has passed several key pieces of federal legislation, such as the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (UOCAVA) in 1986 and the Help America Vote Act (HAVA) in 2002, to address these voters' concerns. Although federal legislation has provided states with guidelines, it has also granted them a lot of leeway when implementing policy, leading to a myriad of election regulations. As a result overseas and military voters continue to encounter problems when voting. As Gail McGinn, the acting Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness, reported to the US Committee on House Administration regarding the 2008 election:

“Preliminary data from a forthcoming report on the 2008 election from the Congressional Research Service found that 72 percent of military absentee voters in [a] seven-state study successfully returned their ballot and had their votes counted. That is the good news. The bad news is that 28 percent of ballots were described as not returned (approximately 22 percent), rejected (approximately 3 percent) or returned as undeliverable (approximately 3 percent) by election officials from the seven states.”

Furthermore, the Election Assistance Commission (EAC) reported in 2006 that 23 percent of military and overseas ballots that were returned were rejected because they arrived too late (EAC 2007, 19). In its 2008 Post-Election Survey, Overseas Vote Foundation (OVF) found more than half (52 percent) of those who tried but could not vote, were unable to do so because their ballots were late or never arrived (OVF 2009, 5). In light of these statistics, policy makers and activists continue to develop and fine tune policy. In 2009, the Congress passed the MOVE Act, which was designed explicitly to address many of the historical issues associated with UOCAVA

voting. The key question is, in the case of UOCAVA voters, does policy matter?¹ How do policies influence satisfaction with the voting process?

Unfortunately, the research on overseas voters is thin and provides little direction (Hall 2008). As the statistics above demonstrate, much of the current UOCAVA literature attempts to document the frequency and nature of the problems confronted by voters (such as reports by the US General Accounting Office, (GAO)). The research on UOCAVA legislation does not provide a strong basis for developing and testing hypotheses regarding the effects of public policy. Fortunately, there is a large literature examining the impacts of regulations such as voter registration, voting-by-mail (VBM) and early voting which, although not examining UOCAVA voters can guide an investigation into UOCAVA laws. The variables that influence traditional voters (for example, registration requirements) can be adapted to those faced by overseas and military voters. The first step is to recognize that, for these citizens, the rules that govern the request, delivery, and return of a ballot are complex and can lead to both success and failure, just as is the case for traditional absentee voters (e.g., Alvarez, Hall, and Sinclair 2009).

This study brings together the literature on UOCAVA voters, voting regulations such as registration and early voting, as well as voter satisfaction, in order to investigate the successfulness of public policy initiatives in the United States in reaching overseas voters and its impact on voter satisfaction. This paper is divided into three sections. First, we investigate the variation of UOCAVA policies in the states by creating an index and ranking of state legislation. Second, we explore the impact of legislation by examining survey data, with a special look at the recent 2010 mid-term elections. Finally, we make recommendations for future research and the direction of policy development.

¹ “UOCAVA voters” refers to those voters covered by the Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (UOCAVA) of 1986, which encompasses military personnel and overseas Americans.

Overseas and Military Voters and their Voting Process

The history of absentee and military voting stretches back to the Civil War. At that time, many states excluded absentee voters. Although several states created legislation to promote voting by soldiers stationed out-of-state, there was no comprehensive national legislation, and state barriers to absentee voting persisted through the 1940s (Inbody 2009). The first important piece of federal legislation was the Soldier Voting Act of 1942. Because little information was available about the impact of legislation and the turnout of voters, President Truman commissioned a report by the American Political Science Association (APSA). The Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 was passed as a result of the APSA report, and, for the first time, provided voter support for civilian employees living abroad as well as military personnel.

Congress updated legislation in 1975 (the Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act) and in 1986 enacted the current law, the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (UOCAVA). UOCAVA covers the following citizens: (1) all military voters who, by reason of active duty or service are away from the jurisdiction of their legal voting residence, including those based in the United States or abroad, (2) their family members, and (3) individuals residing outside the United States and qualified to vote in the last place in which they were domiciled before leaving the United States.

Identifying and counting the number of individuals covered by this definition is not simple. The US Census Bureau Census (2001) included approximately 580,000 federal employees and dependents (226,363 military personnel, 30,576 civilian employees, and 319,428 dependents of military and civilian employees) in their 2000 apportionments. The Department of Defense (2009) reported that 283,589 military personnel and 42,992 civilian employees worked abroad

as of December 2008.² McDonald (2009) estimates that there are a total of 4,972,217 eligible UOCAVA voters.³ According to these estimates, overseas voters are not concentrated in one specific region but are distributed throughout all fifty states. The highest population comes from Texas, with 549,219 voters, and the lowest from Vermont, with 10,546 voters.

For overseas and military voters, the voting process is comprised of four parts, each of which is regulated by federal law. First a voter must register and/or request a ballot by filling out and sending in the proper paperwork to the appropriate local election official (LEO) in the US. The Federal Post Card Application (FPCA) is the official federal government name given to the voter registration form used by voters eligible to vote under UOCAVA, and is the primary form for registering and/or requesting an absentee ballot from election officials. In 2008, some states, but not all, allowed this form to be sent via fax and/or email. A few states still required citizens to either sign a state oath or provide additional forms of identification when registering to vote. Most, if not all, states required an original signature on file, or a signed original FPCA to send a ballot.

Second, the local election official (LEO) processes the request. If the voter has entered all of the correct information and submitted the form before the applicable deadline, then the LEO will send the voter a ballot. In 2008, 37 states and the District of Columbia permitted overseas and military voters to receive the blank ballot via fax and 20 states allowed the delivery of the blank ballot via email.

² For more information regarding the problems involved in counting UOCAVA voters see Smith (2009).

³ To arrive at this total, McDonald first takes the number of deployed military personnel as reported by the Department of Defense. He then deflated the civilian numbers by 25 percent, which corresponds to the proportion of minors among the United States resident citizen population. The McDonald estimates refer to the “voting eligible” population only.

Third, once the voter receives the ballot, she fills it out and mails it back to the US. In 2008, 26 states and the District of Columbia permitted the return of voted ballots via fax and 12 states allowed the return of the ballot via email. Traditional postal service remains, however, the predominant form of ballot return (OVF 2009, 21). In addition to receiving the faxed or emailed ballot, most, if not all, states require an original signed ballot envelope or ballot affirmation in order to count the ballot. Finally, the election official receives and counts the completed ballot. Should a voter not get a ballot, she has the option of using a Federal Write-in Absentee Ballot (FWAB). The FWAB is an alternative, downloadable ballot, accepted by all states and territories, which can be used in federal elections.

Throughout this process UOCAVA voters can encounter many problems. Election officials can reject a voter's registration, ballot request and ballot. Often voters are not aware that their requests or ballots have been rejected. A 2001 GAO report indicates that the variety of state and local requirements, lack of feedback from election officials and time constraints worried voters the most. In 2007 the EAC conducted a survey in order to investigate the UOCAVA voting experience, as well as attitudes towards electronic voting methods. In their analysis of the EAC data, Cain, MacDonald and Murakami (2008) found that overseas civilians found it more difficult to register than military voters. All voters voiced concerns about getting their ballots on time. These concerns are well founded as election officials have reported "missed deadlines" as the number one reason for ballot request and ballot rejection (OVF 2009, 30, 31).

As a result of the continued problems faced by voters, policy makers on both the federal and state levels continued to propose and fine tune legislation throughout 2009. This culminated in the passage of the Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment (MOVE) Act in October 2009,

and the first major policy change for overseas and military voters in more than a decade. The MOVE Act amended UOCAVA by targeting policy improvements related to (1) technology, such as allowing voter registration information online, options for electronic delivery of blank ballots, and ballot tracking systems, (2) communications, such as the use of email to communicate with voters, and (3) election administration, such as requiring the transmission of blank ballots to voters 45 days before Election Day. The MOVE Act required states to implement these provisions in time for 2010's federal election. States unable to meet the 45-day pre-election ballot transit deadline were required to file a request for a waiver, first consulting with the U.S. Attorney General and with approval provided by the Department of Defense.

By August 2010, 24 states had passed measures to establish state-level compliance with the MOVE Act, and by the end of the year 32 states and the District of Columbia had passed new laws. 12 states had not proposed any legislation in time for the 2010 election. Five states (AL, KS, PA, WA, and WI) all introduced legislation which failed to pass the state legislature.

The Voting Environment: UOCAVA Policy in the US States

Although UOCAVA provided federal guidelines for the states, every state creates its own legislation regulating each step of the voting process. Despite their complexity, legislation for Americans living abroad can be divided into two primary dimensions, which corresponds with the four step process above, registration and balloting. Some of these regulations make it easier for voters to participate (such as allowing an FPCA to be sent via email, which falls in the registration dimension), whereas others create barriers to voting (for example ballot notarization and/or witness requirements, which falls in the balloting dimension). Using this assumption, the legislative dimensions can be divided into four fields, which are summarized below in Figure 1.

[Figure 1 here]

As indicated in Figure 1, some policies make the voting process easier and some more difficult and therefore these policy dimensions can be categorized. By categorizing the restrictiveness of voting legislation (that is, does a particular policy make it easier to vote?) it is possible to create a UOCAVA State Policy Index (SPI). As Gerken (2009) argues, data is the key to understanding voting problems and identifying viable solutions. Creating a UOCAVA State Policy Index is helpful in many ways; especially in determining the breadth of state policies and as a tool for quantitative research and large N statistical analysis. The index developed below only examines legislation and is not a ranking of outcomes; the index is a tool that can be used to explain outcomes.

Two current measures provide guidance in the development of a UOCAVA policy index. The Center for Democracy and Election Management (CDEM) at American University recently examined the progress states have made in implementing the recommendations of the Carter-Baker Commission on Federal Election Reform in 2005. In their analysis, CDEM included UOCAVA state regulations. CDEM focuses on two primary facets of UOCAVA policy: the time that individuals have to vote and the use of electronic methods. They developed a five-point coding scale for states that aggregates these two policies into one measure. The CDEM scale defines “5” as the best possible score, which represents “Electronic transmission of ballots to voters, regular ballots available at least 45 days before an election; ballots may be returned up to 10 days or more after an election.” A “1” is the lowest score and indicates “No electronic transmissions allowed, regular ballots sent less than 30 days before an election, ballots must be returned prior to Election Day” (CDEM 2009, 23). Within this paradigm, Wisconsin is the “best” state and Alabama the “worst.” However, this scale is incomplete because it does not

make distinctions between military voters and their civilian counterparts. Policies that address military voters but not civilians create barriers for more than half of the UOCAVA voting population, and the CDEM scale does not take these inconsistencies into account or consider other policies that may negatively impact voters such as notarization requirements or residency requirements for non-domiciled voters.

In its “No Time to Vote Study,” the Pew Center on the States analyzed the amount of time it takes to complete the UOCAVA voting process and compared this to state regulations that affect voting time, such as registration deadlines, ballot transmission times, and voting deadlines. It adjusted this base number according to the electronic transmission opportunities that a state provides and created a measure of “days available to vote.” According to these measures, the “best” state, New Mexico, provides 46 extra days to vote. Citizens from the “worst” state, Oklahoma, do not have enough time to vote; in fact, they would need an *extra* 26 days to vote. The pressure felt by both voters and election officials due to time constraints are not new (GAO 2001, 13, 14). Unfortunately, the Pew measurement only includes the “time to vote” for military voters and not civilians. Furthermore, as in the case of the CDEM scale, the Pew index does not take into account other elements of policy that may impact a citizen’s ability to vote successfully, such as notarization and signature requirements.

When reviewing different voting procedures, we identified eight registration laws and eight balloting regulations that comprise the core of UOCAVA legislation. These 16 different requirements are at the heart of the recommendations that the FVAP and EAC have made to the various states since 2004. In its biannual Voting Assistance Guide (VAG), the FVAP compiles absentee voting regulations, laws, and deadlines; it is the primary source of information for

UOCAVA voters regarding procedures. We used 16 essential policies from the VAG from 2004, 2006, 2008, and 2010 to code UOCAVA policies from those years, as shown in Table 1.⁴

[Table 1 here]

Theoretically, each step in the voting process is equally important, and in order to implement fairness and consistency in our coding criteria, we weight each legislative requirement equally. There is some debate about if the use of email and fax are of equal caliber. Email is more reliable and widely available than fax; however, more states use fax than email. Furthermore, email may be more susceptible to cyber attacks and thus less secure than fax. Because there is not enough data to create a systematic, fair weighting system, we have coded all the variables in the same manner. Furthermore, there is no reason to weight legislation at the registration stage or at the balloting stage as “more important.” A voter who fails to register finds herself in the same position as a voter whose ballot is rejected; neither successfully voted. Each step in the voting process described above is equally important and the cumulative effect is a properly cast and counted ballot.

In the interest of simplicity, as well as in comparison to previous policy measures, policies which are less favorable for voters by making it more difficult to vote by creating barriers or complicating the process start at the null point. Policies that make it easier for voters to participate receive more points. For example, a state that does not allow ballot requests to be sent by fax receives a “zero,” because it forces a voter to use traditional post which may cause a registration form to arrive late in the U.S. States that allow faxing from certain segments of

⁴ Unfortunately, the VAG is often inaccurate and incomplete. As a control, we compared the 2008 and 2010 VAG with OVF’s state specific information tables. Where there were inconsistencies, we contacted the state directly or download the state’s election code in order to determine what is correct. In order to create the 2004 and 2006 index, we only consulted the VAG’s for each specific year. As the VAG is the primary source of information for voters, the information contained within reflects the conventional wisdom at that time and is an accurate reflection of the institutional voting environment.

the population, such as military voters, but not to the entire UOCAVA population, receive a “0.5”. States that allow the entire UOCAVA population to fax in ballot requests are given the maximum “1.0.” This 0 / 1 coding scheme reflects the dichotomous nature of the legislation; either the state has it or it does not. All of the coding criteria are summarized in Appendix 1.

Essential to our coding scheme is the idea that a policy facilitates a voter’s ability to submit a ballot accurately and on time. Therefore we code the submission of completed ballots via email and fax positively, i.e. a state receives a 1 if it is allowed and a 0 if it is not. This is different from the CDEM index, which argues that ballots sent via fax and email take away an individual’s voting privacy, making the risk of compromising confidentiality is too great. Therefore, the CDEM scale subtracts points from states that allow completed ballots to be sent back via fax or email. Many election integrity and computer science experts would present strong arguments about security risks in sending voted ballots by unsecured email but others would argue that voters may be willing to sacrifice voter privacy in order to cast a ballot. We are purely grading the “facility” of the electronic option.

We calculated both a 2008 UOCAVA registration score (0-8) and a 2008 balloting score (0-8), and then combined the two to create the 2008 UOCAVA State Policy Index (SPI), which is summarized in Appendix 2. Out of the 16 possible points, the minimum index score for 2008 is 2, the maximum is 14, and the mean is 8.14, with a standard deviation of 2.54. The top five states are Iowa, Colorado, New Mexico, South Carolina, and Kansas and the bottom five states are Alabama, Wyoming, Arkansas, New York and Nevada. As seen in the scatter plot below in figure 2, there is a large variance in policy among the states.⁵

⁵ Although these policies fit together theoretically, we statistically confirm the internal consistency of the scale with several tests. First, the Cronbach Alpha for all variables is 0.61. Second, we compared the index to the Pew “No Time to Vote” study and found that they are highly correlated (0.65). These statistics confirm that the concepts contained within the scale belong together and conform to other measures of state policy.

[Figure 2 here]

Appendix 3 summarizes UOCAVA State Policy Scores for 2004 and 2006. Between 2004 and 2006 many states changed very little or not at all. By 2008, voting policies in several states, such as Iowa and Alaska, had changed dramatically but others, such as Alabama, had not changed. The majority of policy movement between 2004 and 2008 has taken place along the registration dimension.

We then combined the 2010 UOCAVA Registration and Balloting scores together to create the 2010 UOCAVA State Policy Index. The minimum score for 2010 is 4 and the maximum is 15. The mean is 10.843 and the index has a standard deviation of 2.524. The top five states are: Iowa, New Mexico, Massachusetts, North Dakota, and Oklahoma. The bottom five states are: Alabama, Louisiana, Connecticut, South Dakota and Utah. As seen in the scatter plot in figure 3, the MOVE Act succeeded in forcing the average SPI score up and in moving states to the upper right hand quadrant.

[Figure 3 here]

Policy's Reach and Voter Satisfaction

Given that UOCAVA voters face many of the barriers that have historically created turnout issues for voters in the registration process; we can utilize the voter turnout and registration literature to frame our research analysis. These literature can be divided into those that rely on individual socioeconomic variables such as race, gender and education (Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995), those that emphasize institutional variables in explaining turnout (Powell 1986), and those that combine the two approaches (Timpone 1998; Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980).

Registration requirements are the primary institutional variable often blamed for the United States' comparatively low level of voter turnout. The influence of voter registration laws on turnout continues to be debated; some think that the effect is small and mediated by education and although turnout is higher in states with Election Day registration, "registration laws do inhibit the turnout of the residentially mobile" (Highton 1997, 568, 573). In their analysis of the impact of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (NVRA), Rugeley and Jackson (2009) found that legislation had only a small impact on reducing the income skew of the electorate, i.e. the registered electorate still under-represents voters from lower income groups.

Within the balloting dimension of voting, reforms to make voting easier have typically found that reform helps existing voters but do not improve voting for all voters (e.g., Berinsky 2005).⁶ Berinsky, Burns and Traugott (2001) found that VBM increased turnout in Oregon via the retention of experienced voters and not by incorporating non-voters. However, VBM in Oregon may actually increase the skewed participation of white, educated, high-income voters (Southwell and Burchett 2000, Karp and Banducci 2000). These findings appear to hold in California as well, where VBM voters turned out at lower rates (Kousser and Mullin 2007).

There are several problems when applying the theories of previous studies to UOCAVA voters. First, the problem for UOCAVA voters, as is the case for absentee voters, is that they face the possibility of rejection at the registration/ballot request stage and at the balloting stage without the voter realizing a 'rejection' has occurred (e.g., Alvarez, Hall, and Sinclair 2008). Thus, a key indicator of participation is not just an increase in turnout but rather a decrease in rejection rates. Second, registration requirements for UOCAVA voters differ from voters living near their polling place, meaning that policy indicators must include more than just a registration

⁶ See Stein and Vonnahme 2008 found that vote centers, where individuals can vote anywhere in a local jurisdiction on election day as an alternate finding of reform actually promoting turnout among traditionally less-habitual voters.

deadline.

In conceptualizing the voting problems faced by UOCAVA voters, we can consider several factors that may affect the ability of these citizens to vote. First, state policy should matter. Specifically, we hypothesize that individuals from states with high voting facility scores, as operationalized through the state policy index, should be more satisfied with the registration and voting process compared to individuals from states with low scores.

Second, prior voting experience should matter. Recent surveys of election experiences, such as the 2008 Survey of the Performance of American Elections (Alvarez et al. 2009), have found that first-time voters rate the voting process lower than more experienced voters and that habitual voters rate the voting process higher than casual voters. In the case of UOCAVA voters, being a first-time voter and the experience of living overseas for a longer period could affect satisfaction in several ways. On the one hand, permanent overseas voters may have had more experience with navigating the UOCAVA process and therefore be more satisfied than newer individuals navigating the process for the first time. On the other hand, more experienced voters may be more sensitive to problems in the process and therefore be less satisfied than are newer voters, who do not fully know what to expect from the overseas voting process.

Data and Methodology

We test these hypotheses using two dependent variables: voter satisfaction in the UOCAVA registration process and voter satisfaction in the UOCAVA balloting process, as measured on a 5-point scale. These variables come from a survey of voters conducted by the Overseas Vote Foundation (OVF) after the 2008 and 2010 election. Since 2004, OVF has collected survey data following each federal election. In 2008, OVF sampled three different

groups, although the content and form of the survey remained constant across the three groups. In the first group, OVF invited 105,759 individual OVF users to participate, of which 23,369 (22.1 percent) completed the survey. In the second distinct group, OVF set up an open URL to the survey for the use of any overseas voter wanting to complete the survey. 529 individuals who were not specifically invited by OVF completed the survey. In the final group, students were sent the survey URL by their study-abroad program office. 133 students completed the youth survey. The total number of respondents across all three samples was 24,031.

In 2010, two different groups took the online voter survey. The content and form of the survey remained constant across the two groups. The first group consisted of 89,322 individuals who received an online invitation from OVF to complete the survey, of which 4,913 (5.5 percent) completed the survey. In the second distinct group, OVF set up an open URL to the survey for the use of any overseas voter wanting to complete the survey. Of this group, 344 individuals completed the survey. The combined total number of respondents to the voter survey in 2010 was 5,257.

When designing and conducting its surveys, OVF consulted with the Research Triangle Institute. Although sampling is biased towards OVF website users, OVF has increased its response rate as well as its distribution.⁷ Moreover, for the purpose of our study, the biases in the sample actually may be beneficial in that these individuals who are part of the OVF email list or who used OVF's website to obtain registration and ballot request forms are likely high interest

⁷ Sampling is a consistent problem when surveying overseas voters. There is no agreement on the nature and distribution of the UOCAVA population, and thus it is difficult to get a representative sample. Because Americans are not required to register with the US Consulate when they move overseas, it is not easy to identify the exact number of overseas voters and how to contact them. However, if we compare the number of OVF survey respondents to current population estimates, we do *not* see any noticeable deviation in the percentages. We observe, however, that California, Minnesota and New York appear to be overrepresented in the sample, whereas Florida, Georgia, North Carolina and Tennessee appear to be underrepresented (Smith 2009, 4).

voters. If these voters rate the process lower, especially because of state policy barriers, it is likely the case that voters who are less committed will find these barriers an issue as well.

Survey respondents were asked two questions that tap into voter satisfaction: “How satisfied were you with the voter registration/ballot request process for the 2008 elections?” and “How satisfied were you with the balloting aspect of the election?” Because this dependent variable is categorical (i.e., responses are “very dissatisfied, dissatisfied, neutral, satisfied, very satisfied”), we use an ordered logit model to estimate the impact of UOCAVA policy. In order to improve our ability to interpret the results of the ordered logistic regression, we used CLARIFY (King, Tomz, and Wittenberg 2000). The logistic regression coefficients for each question were transformed into first differences and these results are presented as well.

Previous research has demonstrated that other variables influence trust in government and voter satisfaction, such as income, age, race, and gender (Alvarez, Hall and Llewellyn 2008, Brewer and Sigelman 2002). Therefore we include the following control variables in the models: voting history, age, gender, and education. Because we are examining the overseas voting population, we also include variables for whether the respondents are in the military, living temporarily overseas, or indefinitely living overseas. In the descriptive analysis, we collapsed the 16-point UOCAVA policy score into three categories, each containing 33 percent of respondents. States with a score from 0 to 4.5 are considered “low,” states with a score between 4.5 and 8.5 are “medium,” and states between 8.5 and 14 are considered “high.” This recoding is generous to the states, given that a high score means a state only has half of the possible procedures and laws related to UOCAVA voting. This scale defines a “high” scoring state when compared to each other and not to the ideal type. In the regression analyses, we do not collapse the scale.

Results from 2008

Because we have an ordered dependent variable, we utilized an ordered logistical regression model, with satisfaction in the registration or balloting processes as the dependent variables. The independent variables included voting history, UOCAVA status (military, civilian overseas short-term and overseas long-term), state policy index score, and demographic information about the respondents. We then use CLARIFY to produce first differences, which allow us to see the change in satisfaction that arises from making changes from the baseline case. Here, the baseline hypothetical individual has voted in both the US and overseas, is between 40 and 49 years old, is female, has a college degree, is living overseas for an indefinite period of time, and lives in a state with a state policy registration score of 3.5 or a UOCAVA State Policy Index Score of 8.

In the registration models in Table 2, we see that the full UOCAVA policy index score and the registration specific score produce similar results in 2008. In both cases, we see that the respective policy index scores produce positive results. We also see that individuals who are overseas indefinitely view the registration process more positively than do temporarily deployed civilians or military personnel. Finally, we see an age gap; older voters are more positive about the experience than are younger voters. If we turn to the first differences in Table 3, we see that movements in the state policy scores from a lower percentage (14 to 25 percent) to the 85th percentile makes a respondent roughly 3.5 percentage points more likely to be very satisfied with the registration process. We also see that living overseas temporarily makes a respondent about 3.7 percentage points less likely to be very satisfied and 4.2 percentage points less likely if the person is in the military. For age, we see that the young are about 6.7 percent less likely to rate the registration process very satisfactory but older individuals are 7.5 percentage points more

likely to be very satisfied. These findings are consistent with our expectations and with previous literature, which find that older voters are more satisfied compared to younger voters and that individuals who have been overseas indefinitely have a better experience than military or civilian personnel deployed for a short period. Most importantly, we find that policy matters; voters in states with higher facility scores for UOCAVA voting or UOCAVA registration facility scores are more likely to be very satisfied in the registration process.

[Tables 2 and 3 here]

Table 4 shows the ordered regression results for the balloting satisfaction question. Here, we see that age, gender, low education, and previous voting history all affect balloting satisfaction. When we look at the first differences for the balloting satisfaction in Table 5, we see that age is again a very important measure affecting satisfaction, with younger voters (under 39) having less satisfaction than older voters (over age 60). The youngest voters are almost 9 percentage points less likely to be very satisfied with the balloting process compared to the baseline voter but those over age 60 are more than 11 percentage points more likely to be very satisfied compared to the baseline. Here, we also see modest gender and education affects, but only among the least well educated. Those who are first time voters and who are first time UOCAVA voters are just over 3 percentage points more likely to be very satisfied with the balloting process compared to the baseline voter.

[Tables 4 and 5 here]

Within the balloting dimension, we do not see an affect for either the state policy index or state balloting index. This finding is not entirely unexpected. Any voter, regardless of the state and voting policy that she must deal with, is overjoyed to get her ballot, and thus policy loses its significance. However, this question only evaluates individuals who were able to vote. What

about those who registered but could not vote?

In Tables 6 and 7, we present the results of a logistic regression, where the dependent variable is whether the respondent received their ballot from their local election official, and a table of first differences for these results. In this model, we include two new independent variables: the length of time before the election that the individual requested a ballot and the method that the voter used to request their ballot. The time variable considers whether the potential voter submitted their ballot request to their local election official giving them enough time to receive their ballot.⁸ The return method variable captures whether the ballot request was submitted by regular mail, by military or embassy mail, by fax, by email, by an OVF FedEx service, by FVAPs voting system, or by another method.

[Tables 6 and 7 here]

In the regression and first differences, we see that individuals who are overseas indefinitely, and who have experience voting both in the United States and abroad were more likely to receive their ballot than individuals who are less experienced in voting. We also see that the date at which a voter requested their ballot is important; voters who requested their ballot in October 2008 were 3.6 percent less likely to receive their ballot compared to those who requested their ballot prior to August 1, 2008. We also see that voters who do not use the regular mail to request their ballot are less likely to receive their ballot.

It may be that voters who use alternate means to request a ballot are doing so because it is difficult for them to receive regular mail or because they waited until late in the process to request the ballot, which helps to explain why they did not receive their ballot. Likewise,

⁸ We see here that 19.7 percent submitted the form prior to July 31, 2008, 10.5 percent submitted it in August 2008, 26.1 percent submitted it in September 2008, and 37.5 percent submitted it in October 2008. The remainder (6.2 percent) submitted the form in November 2008 or do not remember when they submitted the form.

LEOs may be less adept at processing these non-traditional ballot requests or they may require a paper copy of the request to be submitted as well, which makes the electronic request less customer friendly than would otherwise be thought. We also see that voters in states with higher ballot registration facility scores (4.5 or higher out of an 8-point total) have a higher likelihood of getting their ballot compared to voters in states with lower scores (2 or lower on the same scale). The low level of efficacy of electronic transmission of registration may be caused by the failure of states to have pure electronic receipt laws (for example, they may still require a paper copy to go along with the e-request) and the fact that most states do not allow for the electronic transmission and return of the ballot itself, which makes the electronic ballot request beneficial but not sufficient to overcome the ballot transit problem.

Results from 2010: The MOVE Act and its Implications

When we examine the data from 2010, we see that there are several factors of note. First, at the outset, it is important to recognize that the number of individuals who were surveyed declined by a factor of four. This suggests that midterm elections are not as of interest as are presidential elections for UOCAVA voters and the people in the 2010 survey are likely more active voters overall than was the case in 2008, when more casual voters would have been motivated to vote.

Second, we again examine the results of the two regressions: the first for voter satisfaction in the registration process and the second for satisfaction with the voting process. For voter registration in Table 8, we see that experience voting plays a key role in the evaluation of the registration process. Younger voters and voters who had only voted in the United States found the UOCAVA registration process to be less than satisfaction. By contrast,

older voters were more satisfied with the UOCAVA registration process. Compared to the baseline hypothetical voter, younger voters and US only voters were 9.5% and 7.2% less likely, respectively, to state being “very satisfied” with the voting process. By contrast, voters over 60 were between 12.8% and 17.1% more likely to be very satisfied with the registration process compared with the hypothetical baseline voter.

[Tables 8 and 9 here]

Also, the model does not capture one source of confusion and problems among voters in 2010. Section 585 of the MOVE Act removed the requirement that a single registration/ballot request form could serve as a request to receive ballots for two election cycles. This provision was a source of major confusion among voters in 2010. Would requests sent in 2008 be honored in 2010? Should voters re-file a ballot request form? Not surprisingly, the number one question among those who completed the registration process was about re-registration or filing requirement.

When we look at the satisfaction with the balloting process, we see that first-time voters and those who voted only in the US previously were much less likely to say they were very satisfied with the UOCAVA voting experience (-12.2% and -6.8%) and older voters were more likely to be very satisfied compared to the hypothetical baseline voter. The voters 50 years and older were between 10.8% and 23.4% more likely to state they were very satisfied with the voting process compared to the hypothetical voter. The UOCAVA voting index improved satisfaction slightly, by approximately 1%. This can be interpreted in two ways. First, the MOVE Act may have improved the voting process across all states so that there is less difference between experiences across states. Second, for these more experienced voters, the UOCAVA voting index is less important because they know how to navigate the process and accept the

difficulties more.

Conclusions and the Path of Future Research

The results presented here are very clear. Policies do matter for overseas and military voters. UOCAVA state legislation has a statistically significant positive influence on voter satisfaction with the registration and ballot request process. This study has also demonstrated that policies are not the only factor in a state's ability to satisfaction among UOCAVA citizens. More experienced voters and voters who live abroad indefinitely are more likely to be satisfied with the registration and ballot request experience. State policy however, does not influence voter satisfaction with the balloting process. However, the size of policy's impact decreased in 2010.

Our analysis also reveals that a large number of individuals are not receiving their ballots; 22 percent of survey respondents. Here public policy also plays an important role. Individuals from states with easier to navigate election laws have a higher probability in getting their ballot. However they must send their request in on time and the method in which they send their registration form could impact their success during this stage of the voting process.

Electronic delivery methods are seen as one policy that is a step in the right direction in solving the problems confronted by UOCAVA voters, especially in solving the time constraints dilemma. However, as demonstrated in this study, electronic delivery methods coupled with hardcopy requirements can also lead to frustration. For example, in its 2008 Post-Election Survey, OVF found that, "23.8 percent of respondents who sent in a request by email did not receive a ballot and 21.5 percent of respondents who used fax did not receive a ballot. Voters don't always realize that an emailed or faxed request in most states does not exempt the voter from sending in the signed original" (OVF 2009, 16).

This study clears the path for new directions in UOCAVA research. The creation of the UOCAVA State Policy Index is an important step and will help researchers in choosing cases in small case studies as well as guide commissions attempting to bring uniformity to UOCAVA law. The index can also be used as a dependent variable in order to investigate what reforms all too often *do not* occur. Furthermore, with the emergence of better data, models can be refined. Surveys need to consistently ask questions about satisfaction in order to produce valuable time series data. Also, case studies of the largest states and counties may reveal more clues about the impact of policy.

TABLE 1: UOCAVA INDEX POLICIES

| Policy | Impact on Voter |
|--|---|
| REGISTRATION | |
| Identification or signature requirements | Hinder voters who are either not aware of these rules or do not have access to another American voter as a witness |
| Registration waived or same day registration | Eliminates a step in the voting process and reduces the time it takes to vote |
| Registration and/or ballot request by fax | makes voting easier by reducing the time it takes to vote |
| Registration and/or ballot request by email | makes voting easier by reducing the time it takes to vote |
| Hard copy requirements | prevent the successful completion of the registration and ballot request process if voters are not aware of the requirement, and thus denied registration because they do not submit a hardcopy after a fax and/or email |
| Citizens born overseas have the right to vote | Americans born abroad but never established residency in the US are only allowed to vote in States that permit registration via their parent's last address |
| BALLOTING | |
| Ballot transmission time | States that do not send out ballots on time do not allow voters enough time to return them; 45 days is the recommended minimum ⁹ |
| Notarization or witness requirements | hinder voters who are either not aware of these rules or do not have access to another American voter as a witness or a notary |
| Transmission of blank ballot by fax and/or email allowed | makes voting easier by reducing the time it takes to vote |
| Return of voted ballot by fax and/or email allowed | makes voting easier by reducing the time it takes to vote; however a voter must often waive her right to privacy |
| Hard copy requirements | prevent the successful completion of the registration and ballot request process if voters are not aware of the requirement, and thus their voted ballot is rejected because they do not submit a hardcopy after a fax and/or email |
| Expanded use of the FWAB | Can promote successful voting by providing citizens with options should a ballot not arrive on time |

⁹ Some activist groups favor a 60 day transit minimum, as it provides the majority of voters enough time to vote. However, 45 days has been the consistent recommendation for 15 years and therefore we use it as the coding standard for this study.

TABLE 2: REGISTRATION LOGISTIC REGRESSION

| | Full UOCAVA Policy Score | | | Registration Policy Score | | |
|---|--------------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| | Coefficient | Standard Error | T | Coefficient | Standard Error | T |
| First Time Voter | -0.025 | 0.045 | -0.560 | -0.0207 | 0.0448 | -0.46 |
| Only Voted in US | 0.023 | 0.032 | 0.700 | 0.0250 | 0.0321 | 0.78 |
| Voted Overseas Only | -0.009 | 0.047 | -0.190 | -0.0075 | 0.0474 | -0.16 |
| Age 18-29 | -0.273 | 0.045 | -6.110 | -0.2807 | 0.0448 | -6.26 |
| Age 30-39 | -0.053 | 0.040 | -1.330 | -0.0552 | 0.0398 | -1.39 |
| Age 50-59 | 0.158 | 0.041 | 3.900 | 0.1580 | 0.0405 | 3.90 |
| Age 60-69 | 0.300 | 0.047 | 6.380 | 0.3019 | 0.0470 | 6.42 |
| Age 70 and older | 0.303 | 0.073 | 4.160 | 0.3059 | 0.0728 | 4.20 |
| Male | -0.074 | 0.027 | -2.730 | -0.0720 | 0.0272 | -2.64 |
| HS Ed or Less | -0.022 | 0.052 | -0.420 | -0.0198 | 0.0517 | -0.38 |
| Some College | -0.061 | 0.043 | -1.410 | -0.0551 | 0.0435 | -1.27 |
| Masters | -0.049 | 0.033 | -1.490 | -0.0512 | 0.0327 | -1.57 |
| PHD | 0.036 | 0.046 | 0.790 | 0.0315 | 0.0461 | 0.68 |
| US Citizen Temp Outside US | -0.151 | 0.033 | -4.650 | -0.1481 | 0.0326 | -4.55 |
| Military Voter | -0.178 | 0.075 | -2.380 | -0.1708 | 0.0747 | -2.29 |
| UOCAVA State Policy Index/ Registration Index Only Score | 0.033 | 0.006 | 5.290 | 0.0696 | 0.0108 | 6.46 |
| _cut1 | -2.462 | 0.066 | | -2.4718 | 0.0595 | |
| _cut2 | -1.639 | 0.063 | | -1.6489 | 0.0562 | |
| _cut3 | -0.965 | 0.062 | | -0.9750 | 0.0549 | |
| _cut4 | 0.486 | 0.062 | | 0.4774 | 0.0546 | |
| N | 19616 | | | 19616 | | |
| LR chi2(16) | 299.82 | | | 313.65 | | |
| Prob > chi2 | 0.00 | | | 0.00 | | |
| Log likelihood | -26070.80 | | | -26063.89 | | |

The baseline individual has voted in both the US and overseas, is between 40 and 49 years old, is female, has a college degree, is living overseas for an indefinite period of time, and lives in a state with a state policy registration score of 3.5 or a UOCAVA State Policy Index Score of 8.

TABLE 3: FIRST DIFFERENCES; SATISFACTION WITH REGISTRATION

| | “How satisfied were you with voter registration/ballot request process for the 2008 elections?” | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|--------------|---------|-----------|----------------|
| | UOCAVA State Policy Facility Score (0-16) | | | | |
| | Very Dissatisfied | Dissatisfied | Neutral | Satisfied | Very Satisfied |
| Age 18-29 | 1.79% | 1.64% | 1.73% | 1.47% | -6.64% |
| Age 50-59 | -0.86% | -0.84% | -0.97% | -1.30% | 3.98% |
| Age 60-69 | -1.52% | -1.51% | -1.79% | -2.66% | 7.49% |
| Age 70 plus | -1.53% | -1.52% | -1.81% | -2.72% | 7.58% |
| Temp Living Outside US | 0.93% | 0.87% | 0.95% | 0.93% | -3.68% |
| Military | 1.12% | 1.03% | 1.11% | 1.03% | -4.29% |
| UOCAVA Policy Score 4.5 to 9.0 | -0.91% | -0.86% | -0.95% | -1.01% | 3.72% |
| | “How satisfied were you with voter registration/ballot request process for the 2008 elections?” | | | | |
| | Registration State Policy Facility Score (0-8) | | | | |
| | Very Dissatisfied | Dissatisfied | Neutral | Satisfied | Very Satisfied |
| Age 18-29 | 1.87% | 1.70% | 1.79% | 1.45% | -6.81% |
| Age 50-59 | -0.85% | -0.83% | -0.96% | -1.25% | 3.89% |
| Age 60-69 | -1.54% | -1.52% | -1.80% | -2.63% | 7.50% |
| Age 70 plus | -1.55% | -1.54% | -1.82% | -2.69% | 7.60% |
| Temp Living Outside US | 0.93% | 0.86% | 0.94% | 0.90% | -3.63% |
| Military | 1.09% | 1.01% | 1.08% | 0.98% | -4.16% |
| State Policy Score 2.5 to 4.5 | -0.81% | -0.77% | -0.87% | -0.98% | 3.43% |

TABLE 4: BALLOTING LOGISTIC REGRESSION

| | Satisfaction with Balloting | | | Satisfaction with Balloting | | |
|--|-----------------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| | Coefficient | Standard Error | T | Coefficient | Standard Error | T |
| First Time Voter | 0.149 | 0.051 | 2.91 | 0.147 | 0.051 | 2.88 |
| Only Voted in US | 0.135 | 0.036 | 3.78 | 0.136 | 0.036 | 3.80 |
| Voted Overseas Only | 0.035 | 0.050 | 0.70 | 0.032 | 0.050 | 0.63 |
| Age 18-29 | -0.357 | 0.051 | -7.05 | -0.355 | 0.051 | -7.00 |
| Age 30-39 | -0.153 | 0.044 | -3.47 | -0.153 | 0.044 | -3.46 |
| Age 50-59 | 0.182 | 0.044 | 4.14 | 0.183 | 0.044 | 4.15 |
| Age 60-69 | 0.457 | 0.050 | 9.07 | 0.456 | 0.050 | 9.06 |
| Age 70 and older | 0.533 | 0.078 | 6.83 | 0.530 | 0.078 | 6.79 |
| Male | -0.085 | 0.030 | -2.83 | -0.084 | 0.030 | -2.79 |
| HS Ed or Less | 0.121 | 0.059 | 2.06 | 0.120 | 0.059 | 2.05 |
| Some College | 0.010 | 0.049 | 0.21 | 0.011 | 0.049 | 0.22 |
| Masters | -0.051 | 0.036 | -1.41 | -0.052 | 0.036 | -1.45 |
| PHD | 0.076 | 0.050 | 1.54 | 0.074 | 0.050 | 1.50 |
| US Citizen Temp Outside US | -0.032 | 0.037 | -0.86 | -0.030 | 0.037 | -0.79 |
| Military Voter | 0.145 | 0.087 | 1.66 | 0.146 | 0.087 | 1.67 |
| UOCAVA State Policy Index/ Balloting Index Only Score | 0.011 | 0.007 | 1.62 | -0.005 | 0.011 | -0.44 |
| _cut1 | -3.883 | 0.088 | | -3.989 | 0.083 | |
| _cut2 | -2.630 | 0.073 | | -2.736 | 0.068 | |
| _cut3 | -1.602 | 0.069 | | -1.708 | 0.064 | |
| _cut4 | 0.275 | 0.068 | | 0.170 | 0.062 | |
| N | 17081 | | | 17081 | | |
| LR chi2(16) | 329.03 | | | 326.6 | | |
| Prob > chi2 | 0.00 | | | 0.00 | | |
| Log likelihood | -19390.56 | | | -19391.77 | | |

The baseline individual has voted in both the US and overseas, is between 40 and 49 years old, is female, has a college degree, is living overseas for an indefinite period of time, and lives in a state with a state policy balloting score of 4 or a UOCAVA State Policy Index Score of 8.

TABLE 5: FIRST DIFFERENCES; SATISFACTION WITH BALLOTING

| | “How satisfied were you with the balloting aspect of your November 4, 2008 Election?” | | | | |
|----------------------|---|--------------|---------|-----------|----------------|
| | UOCAVA State Policy Facility Score (0-16) | | | | |
| | Very Dissatisfied | Dissatisfied | Neutral | Satisfied | Very Satisfied |
| Age 18-29 | 0.78% | 1.67% | 2.88% | 3.35% | -8.68% |
| Age 30-39 | 0.30% | 0.65% | 1.17% | 1.65% | -3.78% |
| Age 50-59 | -0.30% | -0.67% | -1.26% | -2.28% | 4.51% |
| Age 60-69 | -0.67% | -1.50% | -2.92% | -6.23% | 11.32% |
| Age 70 plus | -0.75% | -1.70% | -3.34% | -7.45% | 13.25% |
| Male | 0.16% | 0.34% | 0.62% | 0.93% | -2.05% |
| HS Ed or Less | -0.21% | -0.46% | -0.86% | -1.52% | 3.05% |
| Only Has Voted in US | -0.23% | -0.51% | -0.95% | -1.67% | 3.36% |
| First Time Voter | -0.25% | -0.56% | -1.05% | -1.88% | 3.75% |
| | “How satisfied were you with the balloting aspect of your November 4, 2008 Election?” | | | | |
| | Balloting State Policy Facility Score (0-8) | | | | |
| | Very Dissatisfied | Dissatisfied | Neutral | Satisfied | Very Satisfied |
| Age 18-29 | 0.78% | 1.66% | 2.86% | 3.28% | -8.58% |
| Age 30-39 | 0.30% | 0.66% | 1.18% | 1.63% | -3.78% |
| Age 50-59 | -0.31% | -0.69% | -1.29% | -2.32% | 4.61% |
| Age 60-69 | -0.68% | -1.52% | -2.94% | -6.23% | 11.37% |
| Age 70 plus | -0.76% | -1.71% | -3.34% | -7.37% | 13.18% |
| Male | 0.16% | 0.34% | 0.62% | 0.91% | -2.04% |
| HS Ed or Less | -0.21% | -0.46% | -0.86% | -1.49% | 3.02% |
| Only Has Voted in US | -0.24% | -0.52% | -0.97% | -1.69% | 3.42% |
| First Time Voter | -0.25% | -0.55% | -1.04% | -1.83% | 3.67% |

TABLE 6: VOTERS WHO DID NOT RECEIVE A BALLOT

| | Coefficient | Standard Error | T |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|----------------|--------|
| First Time Voter | -0.429 | 0.063 | -6.85 |
| Voted in US Only | -0.280 | 0.048 | -5.79 |
| Voted Overseas Only | -0.139 | 0.075 | -1.84 |
| Age | -0.024 | 0.015 | -1.56 |
| Male | -0.078 | 0.041 | -1.90 |
| Civilian Temporarily Outside US | -0.193 | 0.048 | -4.05 |
| Military | -0.264 | 0.105 | -2.52 |
| Ballot Returned Date | -0.130 | 0.017 | -7.49 |
| Military/Embassy Mail | -0.118 | 0.100 | -1.18 |
| Fax | -0.469 | 0.068 | -6.93 |
| Email | -0.701 | 0.062 | -11.30 |
| FVAP | -1.254 | 0.189 | -6.64 |
| OVF Services | -0.477 | 0.126 | -3.80 |
| Other | -0.534 | 0.065 | -8.20 |
| State Registration Facility Score | 0.074 | 0.017 | 4.48 |
| Constant | 2.432 | 0.112 | 21.76 |
| N | 18599.000 | | |
| LR chi2(15) | 422.9 | | |
| Prob > chi2 | 0.000 | | |
| Log likelihood | -8146.236 | | |

TABLE 7: FIRST DIFFERENCE, VOTERS WHO DID NOT RECEIVE A BALLOT

| | Likelihood of Receiving Ballot |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| FVAP | -19.32% |
| Email | -8.88% |
| Other | -6.44% |
| OVF Services | -5.58% |
| Fax | -5.44% |
| First Time Voter | -4.94% |
| Ballot Returned Date | -3.60% |
| Voted in US Only | -3.06% |
| Military | -2.89% |
| Civilian Temporarily Outside US | -2.04% |
| State Registration Facility Score | 1.84% |

TABLE 8: LOGISTIC REGRESSION; UOCAVA SCORES, 2010

| | Registration | | | Balloting | | |
|----------------------|--------------|----------------|-------|-------------|----------------|-------|
| | Coefficient | Standard Error | T | Coefficient | Standard Error | T |
| First-time Voter | -0.39 | 0.26 | -1.53 | -0.55 | 0.32 | -1.74 |
| Voted US Only | -0.37 | 0.14 | -2.63 | -0.29 | 0.16 | -1.89 |
| Voted Overseas Only | 0.11 | 0.11 | 1.00 | 0.15 | 0.10 | 1.51 |
| Age 18-29 | -0.51 | 0.18 | -2.87 | -0.27 | 0.17 | -1.58 |
| Age 30-39 | -0.10 | 0.14 | -0.73 | -0.05 | 0.12 | -0.36 |
| Age 50-59 | 0.20 | 0.11 | 1.81 | 0.44 | 0.10 | 4.28 |
| Age 60-69 | 0.56 | 0.12 | 4.79 | 0.69 | 0.10 | 6.68 |
| Age 70-79 | 0.72 | 0.15 | 4.84 | 0.80 | 0.14 | 5.77 |
| Age 80 plus | 0.59 | 0.27 | 2.17 | 0.96 | 0.25 | 3.78 |
| Male | -0.21 | 0.08 | -2.84 | -0.09 | 0.07 | -1.37 |
| HS Education or Less | 0.00 | 0.17 | -0.02 | 0.01 | 0.16 | 0.08 |
| Some College | -0.03 | 0.13 | -0.21 | 0.01 | 0.13 | 0.06 |
| Master's Degree | 0.02 | 0.09 | 0.18 | -0.08 | 0.08 | -1.01 |
| PHD | -0.05 | 0.11 | -0.41 | -0.02 | 0.10 | -0.15 |
| Overseas Temporarily | 0.05 | 0.10 | 0.46 | 0.10 | 0.11 | 0.95 |
| Military Personnel | 0.33 | 0.24 | 1.36 | 0.11 | 0.25 | 0.45 |
| UOCAVA Score | 0.00 | 0.02 | -0.12 | 0.03 | 0.02 | 1.97 |
| _cut1 | -2.65 | 0.23 | | -3.91 | 0.27 | |
| _cut2 | -1.77 | 0.22 | | -2.42 | 0.22 | |
| _cut3 | -1.01 | 0.22 | | -1.21 | 0.21 | |
| _cut4 | 0.58 | 0.22 | | 0.75 | 0.21 | |
| N | 2486 | | | 3122.00 | | |
| LR chi2(17) | 2486 | | | 115.90 | | |
| Prob > chi2 | 97.38 | | | 0.00 | | |
| Log likelihood | -3323.77 | | | -3399.57 | | |

TABLE 9: FIRST DIFFERENCES, 2010 UOCAVA SCORES

| | Registration | | | | |
|------------------|------------------|-------------|---------|-----------|----------------|
| | Very Unsatisfied | Unsatisfied | Neutral | Satisfied | Very Satisfied |
| US Voter | 3.38% | 2.79% | 2.36% | -1.35% | -7.18% |
| Age 18-29 | 4.88% | 3.87% | 3.08% | -2.29% | -9.54% |
| Age 60-69 | -3.38% | -3.38% | -3.88% | -2.19% | 12.83% |
| Age 70-79 | -4.11% | -4.19% | -4.98% | -3.77% | 17.06% |
| Age 80 plus | -3.37% | -3.41% | -3.99% | -2.75% | 13.52% |
| Male | 1.52% | 1.45% | 1.53% | 0.30% | -4.80% |
| | Voting | | | | |
| First Time Voter | 1.18% | 3.27% | 5.67% | 2.06% | -12.18% |
| Voted in US Only | 0.50% | 1.43% | 2.79% | 2.03% | -6.75% |
| Age 50-59 | -0.50% | -1.52% | -3.40% | -5.42% | 10.84% |
| Age 60-69 | -0.70% | -2.16% | -4.97% | -9.29% | 17.12% |
| Age 70-79 | -0.77% | -2.38% | -5.52% | -10.97% | 19.64% |
| Age 80 Plus | -0.85% | -2.65% | -6.24% | -13.62% | 23.36% |
| UOCAVA Score | -0.07% | -0.20% | -0.35% | -0.09% | 0.71% |

FIGURE 1: DIMENSIONS OF UOCAVA POLICY

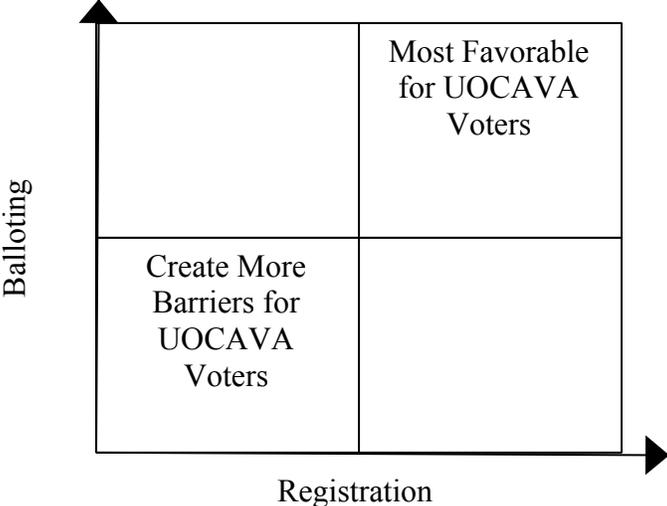


FIGURE 2: SCATTER PLOT OF 2008 BALLOTING AND REGISTRATION SCORES

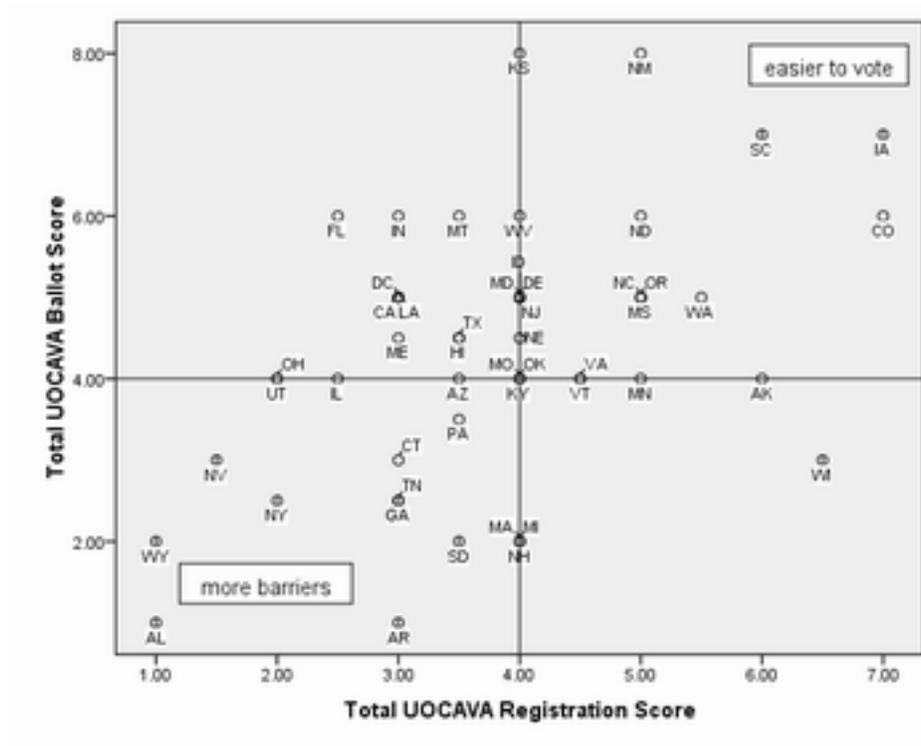
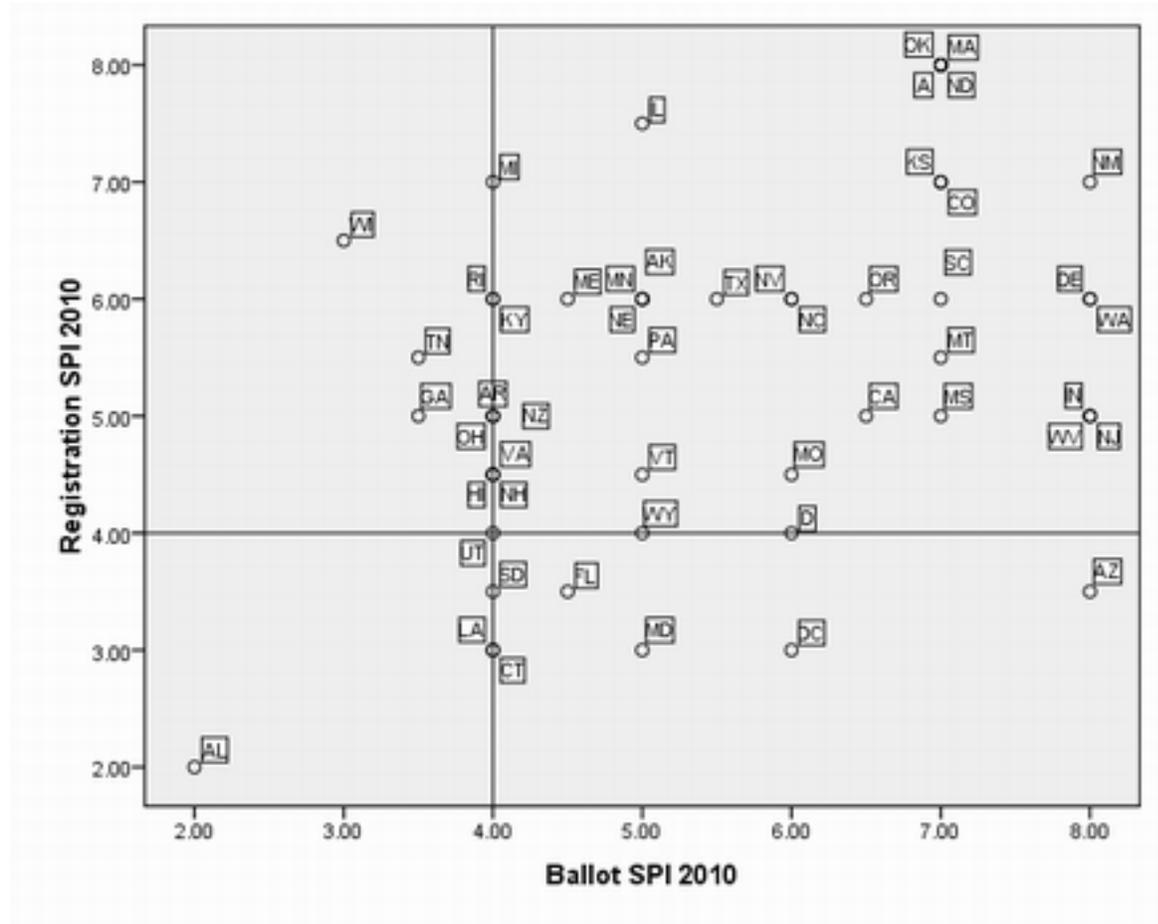


FIGURE 3: SCATTER PLOT OF 2010 BALLOTING AND REGISTRATION SCORES



APPENDIX 1: UOCAVA SCORE CODING CRITERIA

| Registration Score Coding Criteria | | Balloting Score Coding Criteria | |
|--|---|---|--|
| Extra Identification Requirements | | Ballot Transmission Time | |
| 1 | No extra requirements for anyone | 1 | Ballots sent out 45 days before election |
| 0.5 | Extra requirements or signatures for part of the population | 0 | Ballots sent out less than 45 days before election |
| 0 | Extra requirements | | |
| No Registration Required / Registration Waived / Same Day | | Notarization or Witness Requirements | |
| 1 | Registration Waived or not Required for everyone | 1 | No signature required |
| 0.5 | Registration Waived for only part of the population | 0 | Signature Required |
| 0 | Registration not Waived | | |
| Registration by Fax | | Transmission of blank ballot by fax | |
| 1 | both civilian and military allowed | 1 | both civilian and military allowed |
| 0.5 | only military or only civilian allowed | 0.5 | only military or only civilian allowed |
| 0 | no fax allowed | 0 | no fax allowed |
| Ballot request by fax | | Transmission of blank ballot by email | |
| 1 | both civilian and military allowed | 1 | both civilian and military allowed |
| 0.5 | only military or only civilian allowed | 0.5 | only military or only civilian allowed |
| 0 | no fax allowed | 0 | no email allowed |
| Registration by email | | Return of ballot by fax | |
| 1 | both civilian and military allowed | 1 | both civilian and military allowed |
| 0.5 | only military or only civilian allowed | 0.5 | only military or only civilian allowed |
| 0 | no email allowed | 0 | no fax allowed |
| Ballot Request by email | | Return of ballot by email | |
| 1 | both civilian and military allowed | 1 | both civilian and military allowed |
| 0.5 | only military or only civilian allowed | 0.5 | only military or only civilian allowed |
| 0 | no email allowed | 0 | no email allowed |
| Hard copy requirements | | Privacy Waivers | |
| 1 | Do not require hard copy after fax/email | 1 | Have a privacy waiver |
| 0 | Require hard copy after fax/email; not applicable | 0 | Do not have a privacy waiver |
| Citizens Born Overseas | | Expanded Use of the FWAB | |
| 1 | Allow citizen born overseas but with no residence to vote | 1 | States have expanded the use of the FWAB |
| 0 | Do not allow citizens born overseas to vote | 0 | States have restricted use of FWAB |
| Total Possible Registration Points: 8 | | Total Possible Balloting Points: 8 | |

APPENDIX 2: 2008 and 2010 STATE UOCAVA SCORES

| | TOTAL 2008 REGISTRATION SCORE | TOTAL 2008 BALLOTING SCORE | TOTAL 2008 UOCAVA SCORE | TOTAL 2010 REGISTRATION SCORE | TOTAL 2010 BALLOTING SCORE | TOTAL 2010 UOCAVA SCORE |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Alabama | 1 | 1.0 | 2.0 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Alaska | 6 | 4.0 | 10.0 | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| Arizona | 3.5 | 4.0 | 7.5 | 3.5 | 8 | 11.5 |
| Arkansas | 3 | 1.0 | 4.0 | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| California | 3 | 5.0 | 8.0 | 5 | 6.5 | 11.5 |
| Colorado | 7 | 6.0 | 13.0 | 7 | 7 | 14 |
| Connecticut | 3 | 3.0 | 6.0 | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| Delaware | 4 | 5.0 | 9.0 | 6 | 8 | 14 |
| District of Columbia | 3 | 5.0 | 8.0 | 3 | 6 | 9 |
| Florida | 2.5 | 6.0 | 8.5 | 3.5 | 4.5 | 8 |
| Georgia | 3 | 2.5 | 5.5 | 5 | 3.5 | 8.5 |
| Hawaii | 3.5 | 4.5 | 8.0 | 4.5 | 4 | 8.5 |
| Idaho | 4 | 5.0 | 9.0 | 4 | 6 | 10 |
| Illinois | 2.5 | 4.0 | 6.5 | 7.5 | 5 | 12.5 |
| Indiana | 3 | 6.0 | 9.0 | 5 | 8 | 13 |
| Iowa | 7 | 7.0 | 14.0 | 8 | 7 | 15 |
| Kansas | 4 | 8.0 | 12.0 | 7 | 7 | 14 |
| Kentucky | 4 | 4.0 | 8.0 | 6 | 4 | 10 |
| Louisiana | 3 | 5.0 | 8.0 | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| Maine | 3 | 4.5 | 7.5 | 6 | 4.5 | 10.5 |
| Maryland | 4 | 5.0 | 9.0 | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| Massachusetts | 4 | 2.0 | 6.0 | 8 | 7 | 15 |
| Michigan | 4 | 2.0 | 6.0 | 7 | 4 | 11 |
| Minnesota | 5 | 4.0 | 9.0 | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| Mississippi | 5 | 5.0 | 10.0 | 5 | 7 | 12 |
| Missouri | 4 | 4.0 | 8.0 | 4.5 | 6 | 10.5 |
| Montana | 3.5 | 6.0 | 9.5 | 5.5 | 7 | 12.5 |
| Nebraska | 4 | 4.5 | 8.5 | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| Nevada | 1.5 | 3.0 | 4.5 | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| New Hampshire | 4 | 2.0 | 6.0 | 4.5 | 4 | 8.5 |
| New Jersey | 4 | 5.0 | 9.0 | 5 | 8 | 13 |
| New Mexico | 5 | 8.0 | 13.0 | 7 | 8 | 15 |
| New York | 2 | 2.5 | 4.5 | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| North Carolina | 5 | 5.0 | 10.0 | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| North Dakota | 5 | 6.0 | 11.0 | 8 | 7 | 15 |
| Ohio | 2 | 4.0 | 6.0 | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| Oklahoma | 4 | 4.0 | 8.0 | 8 | 7 | 15 |

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|------|
| Oregon | 5 | 5.0 | 10.0 | 6 | 6.5 | 12.5 |
| Pennsylvania | 3.5 | 3.5 | 7.0 | 5.5 | 5 | 10.5 |
| Rhode Island | 4 | 5.0 | 9.0 | 6 | 4 | 10 |
| South Carolina | 6 | 7.0 | 13.0 | 6 | 7 | 13 |
| South Dakota | 3.5 | 2.0 | 5.5 | 3.5 | 4 | 7.5 |
| Tennessee | 3 | 2.5 | 5.5 | 5.5 | 3.5 | 9 |
| Texas | 3.5 | 4.5 | 8.0 | 6 | 5.5 | 11.5 |
| Utah | 2 | 4.0 | 6.0 | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Vermont | 4.5 | 4.0 | 8.5 | 4.5 | 5 | 9.5 |
| Virginia | 4.5 | 4.0 | 8.5 | 4.5 | 4 | 8.5 |
| Washington | 5.5 | 5.0 | 10.5 | 6 | 8 | 14 |
| West Virginia | 4 | 6.0 | 10.0 | 5 | 8 | 13 |
| Wisconsin | 6.5 | 3.0 | 9.5 | 6.5 | 3 | 9.5 |
| Wyoming | 1 | 2.0 | 3.0 | 4 | 5 | 9 |

APPENDIX 3: 2004 AND 2006 UOCAVA SCORES

| | TOTAL 2004 REGISTRATION SCORE | TOTAL 2004 BALLOTING SCORE | TOTAL 2004 UOCAVA SCORE | TOTAL 2006 REGISTRATION SCORE | TOTAL 2006 BALLOTING SCORE | TOTAL 2006 UOCAVA SCORE |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Alabama | 1 | 0 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 |
| Alaska | 2 | 3 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 3.0 | 8.0 |
| Arizona | 3 | 4 | 7.0 | 3.0 | 5.0 | 8.0 |
| Arkansas | 3 | 1 | 4.0 | 3.0 | 1.0 | 4.0 |
| California | 3 | 2 | 4.5 | 3.0 | 4.0 | 7.0 |
| Colorado | 3 | 5 | 8.0 | 3.0 | 5.0 | 8.0 |
| Connecticut | 3 | 3 | 6.0 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 6.0 |
| Delaware | 4 | 2 | 6.0 | 4.0 | 2.0 | 6.0 |
| District of Columbia | 3 | 4 | 7.0 | 3.0 | 4.0 | 7.0 |
| Florida | 1.5 | 6 | 7.5 | 1.5 | 6.0 | 7.5 |
| Georgia | 3 | 2 | 4.5 | 3.0 | 1.5 | 4.5 |
| Hawaii | 3.5 | 4 | 7.5 | 3.5 | 4.0 | 7.5 |
| Idaho | 3 | 3 | 5.5 | 3.0 | 2.5 | 5.5 |
| Illinois | 1.5 | 2 | 3.5 | 2.0 | 3.0 | 5.0 |
| Indiana | 3 | 5 | 8.0 | 3.0 | 5.0 | 8.0 |
| Iowa | 4 | 3 | 7.0 | 5.0 | 3.0 | 8.0 |
| Kansas | 4 | 5 | 9.0 | 4.0 | 5.0 | 9.0 |
| Kentucky | 4 | 3 | 7.0 | 4.0 | 3.0 | 7.0 |
| Louisiana | 3 | 4 | 7.0 | 3.0 | 4.0 | 7.0 |
| Maine | 3 | 4 | 6.5 | 3.0 | 3.5 | 6.5 |
| Maryland | 2 | 4 | 6.0 | 2.0 | 4.0 | 6.0 |
| Massachusetts | 4 | 1 | 5.0 | 4.0 | 1.0 | 5.0 |
| Michigan | 2.5 | 2 | 4.5 | 3.5 | 2.0 | 5.5 |
| Minnesota | 2.5 | 1 | 3.0 | 2.5 | 0.5 | 3.0 |
| Mississippi | 3 | 3 | 6.0 | 4.0 | 5.0 | 9.0 |
| Missouri | 2.5 | 1 | 3.5 | 2.5 | 1.0 | 3.5 |
| Montana | 2 | 4 | 6.0 | 4.0 | 6.0 | 10.0 |
| Nebraska | 3 | 2 | 5.0 | 4.0 | 3.5 | 7.5 |
| Nevada | 1.5 | 2 | 3.0 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 3.0 |
| New Hampshire | 1 | 1 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 1.0 | 3.0 |
| New Jersey | 2 | 2 | 4.0 | 2.0 | 3.0 | 5.0 |
| New Mexico | 3 | 5 | 8.0 | 3.0 | 5.0 | 8.0 |
| New York | 2 | 2 | 3.5 | 2.0 | 1.5 | 3.5 |
| North Carolina | 3 | 4 | 7.0 | 3.0 | 4.0 | 7.0 |
| North Dakota | 3 | 5 | 8.0 | 4.0 | 6.0 | 10.0 |
| Ohio | 2 | 3 | 4.5 | 2.0 | 2.5 | 4.5 |
| Oklahoma | 4 | 4 | 8.0 | 4.0 | 4.0 | 8.0 |
| Oregon | 4 | 3 | 7.0 | 4.0 | 3.0 | 7.0 |
| Pennsylvania | 3.5 | 2 | 5.0 | 3.5 | 1.5 | 5.0 |
| Rhode Island | 2.5 | 5 | 7.0 | 4.0 | 6.0 | 10.0 |
| South Carolina | 3 | 3 | 6.0 | 3.0 | 4.0 | 7.0 |
| South Dakota | 0.5 | 1 | 1.5 | 3.0 | 1.0 | 4.0 |

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|---|------------|-----|-----|------------|
| Tennessee | 3 | 2 | 4.5 | 3.0 | 1.5 | 4.5 |
| Texas | 3 | 5 | 7.5 | 4.0 | 4.5 | 8.5 |
| Utah | 2.5 | 3 | 5.0 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 5.0 |
| Vermont | 2.5 | 2 | 4.5 | 2.5 | 2.0 | 4.5 |
| Virginia | 2.5 | 3 | 5.0 | 2.5 | 4.0 | 6.5 |
| Washington | 3 | 4 | 6.5 | 3.0 | 4.0 | 7.0 |
| West Virginia | 3.5 | 3 | 6.5 | 4.0 | 3.0 | 7.0 |
| Wisconsin | 3.5 | 2 | 5.5 | 3.5 | 2.0 | 5.5 |
| Wyoming | 1 | 1 | 2.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 2.0 |

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