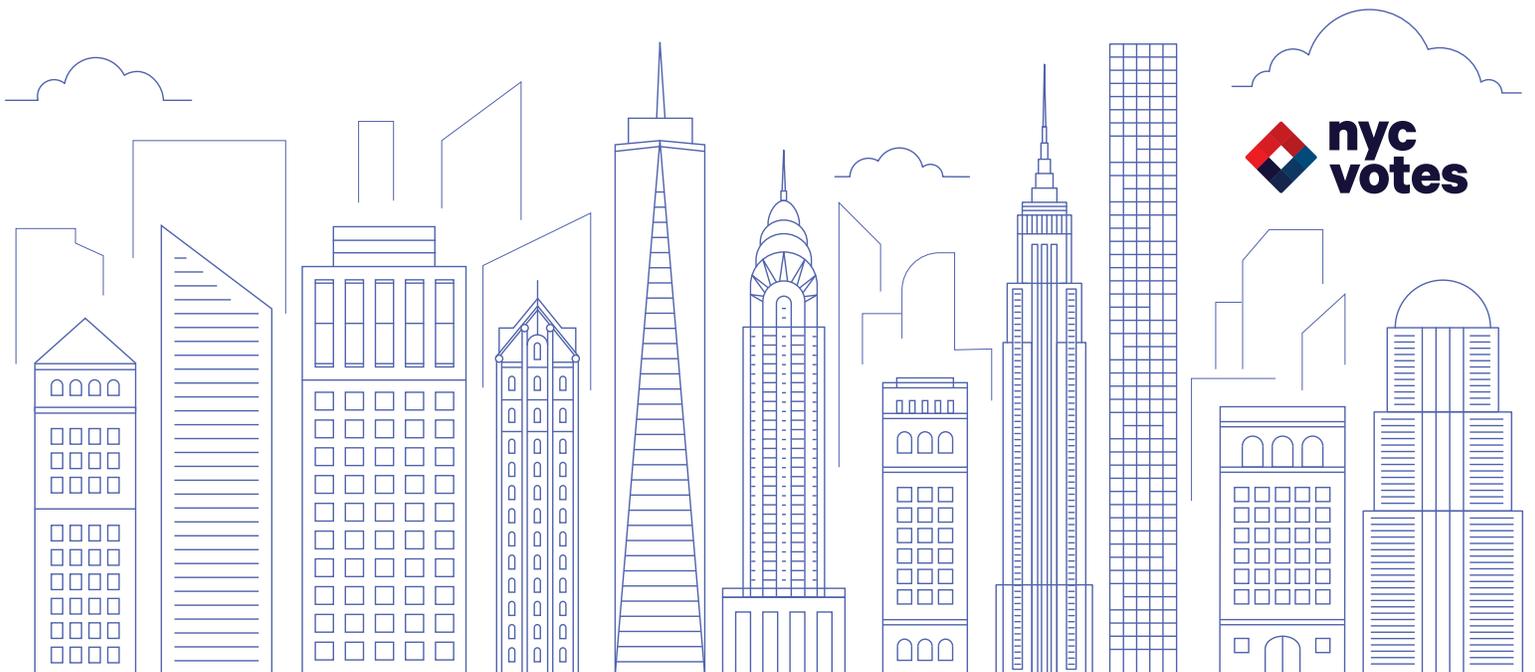


2018–2019

VOTER ANALYSIS REPORT

APRIL 2019



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WELCOME

FROM THE VOTER ASSISTANCE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

In this report, we take a look back at the past year and the accomplishments and challenges we experienced in our efforts to engage New Yorkers in their elections.

Most excitingly, voter turnout and registration rates among New Yorkers rose significantly in 2018 for the first time since 2002, with voters turning out in record-breaking numbers for one of the most dramatic midterm elections in recent memory. Below is a list of our top findings, which we discuss in detail in this report:

1. Turnout in the 2018 midterm elections was significantly higher than it was in previous midterms, at a rate of 39.1 percent, with only a 14.4 percent difference from turnout in the 2016 presidential elections. This is especially notable considering that the gap in turnout between the 2016 presidential and the 2017 citywide elections was 35.1 percent.
2. Though New York usually dramatically underperforms in terms of voter turnout in comparison to the rest of the country, 11 New York City neighborhoods actually surpassed the national rate of turnout in 2018.
3. There were over 250,000 new voter registrations in 2018, and turnout among new registrants was higher than turnout among all active registered voters.
4. Voters, whether they had registered in 2016 or before, were significantly more likely to return to the polls during a local or midterm election cycle if they had participated in a presidential election.
5. Race and ethnicity, level of education, and age were the strongest demographic predictors of neighborhood turnout in the 2018 midterm elections.

In further encouraging news, voting better in New York will soon be a reality, due to a series of voting reforms that passed earlier this year, including: establishing an early voting period, consolidating primary dates, automatically updating a voter's registration when they move anywhere within the state, allowing 16- and 17-year-olds to preregister to vote, authorizing electronic poll books, and empowering the State Board of Elections to develop a system for online voter registration.

As always, the VAAC remains dedicated in our efforts to help the Campaign Finance Board expand its reach to voters across New York City, particularly voters in underrepresented populations. Our email and text message outreach to voters, as well as the important work that our volunteers and partner organizations have done in the field, have been instrumental in shaping how we have approached our work, and how we hope to engage voters going forward.

Our research has consistently shown that voters who participate in presidential elections are more likely to continue being involved in local elections than voters who do not turn out for well-publicized elections. With a presidential election coming up in 2020, for which we anticipate historic levels of turnout, we have the opportunity to make sure as many New Yorkers as possible are not only registered to vote but are also receiving information from us about the importance of voting in every election and showing up to cast their ballots.

Voting reforms, while hugely important in removing long-standing barriers to the ballot box, are just the beginning. We urge you to join us in voting and encouraging your friends, family, and community members to get involved too. New York City is powered by voters like you, and we look forward to continuing to work with you to keep our democracy strong.

ANALYSIS OF VOTER TURNOUT & REGISTRATION ACROSS ELECTION CYCLES

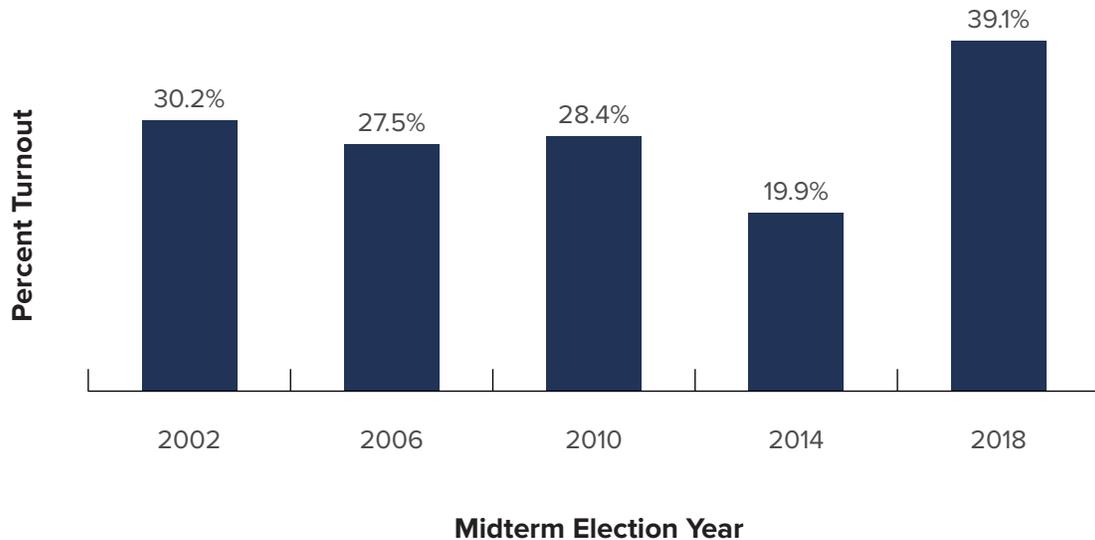
This section compares voter turnout in the 2018 election to turnout in similar elections. Voter turnout was unusually high in 2018, and consistently underrepresented groups like young and newly registered voters turned out at impressive rates. Generally, in midterm election years, new registrants do not turn out at higher rates than those who registered before the election year. In 2018, however, voters registered in order to participate in the 2018 midterm elections specifically. The high turnout among newly registered voters in 2018 proves that engagement in these non-presidential elections was far more substantial than in previous midterm elections or in local elections.

TURNOUT TRENDS

To identify turnout patterns across the past few election cycles, we calculated percent turnout among citizens of voting age for midterm election years from 2002 to 2018.¹ While there were no significant changes in voter turnout for the midterm elections between 2002 and 2010, turnout declined significantly in 2014, from 28.4 percent in 2010 to just under 20 percent. However, in 2018, over one million more ballots were cast than in the 2014 midterm election, and turnout increased significantly for the first time among midterm elections according to this data.²

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- 1 Turnout = the number of ballots cast divided by the Citizen Voting Age Population (CVAP).
 - 2 The difference in turnout among citizens of voting age is statistically significant (non-zero) between the 2014 and 2018 election cycles and between the 2010 and 2014 election cycles. Standard deviation = 0.0688 and standard error = 0.0308.

VOTER TURNOUT AMONG CITIZENS OF VOTING AGE, BY MIDTERM ELECTION YEAR



In 2018, there were about 268,000 new registrations in New York City, which was nearly double the number of new registrations the city saw in 2017. Most of the new registrants had registered in time to vote in the November general election. These new registrations reduced the percentage of unregistered but eligible citizens from 15.1 percent in 2017 to 14.3 percent.³ This still leaves about 780,000 individuals who were eligible to vote, but did not register in time to vote in the 2018 midterm elections. Both Queens and the Bronx had a higher proportion of eligible, unregistered citizens than the city overall, with 16.7 and 15.2 percent respectively unable to vote in the 2018 midterm elections. Brooklyn had the lowest rate of unregistered eligible citizens, with 12.1 percent of eligible citizens remaining unregistered by the end of 2018. Additionally, there were about 510,000 eligible voters in New York City who remained on the inactive voter rolls⁴ in 2018.

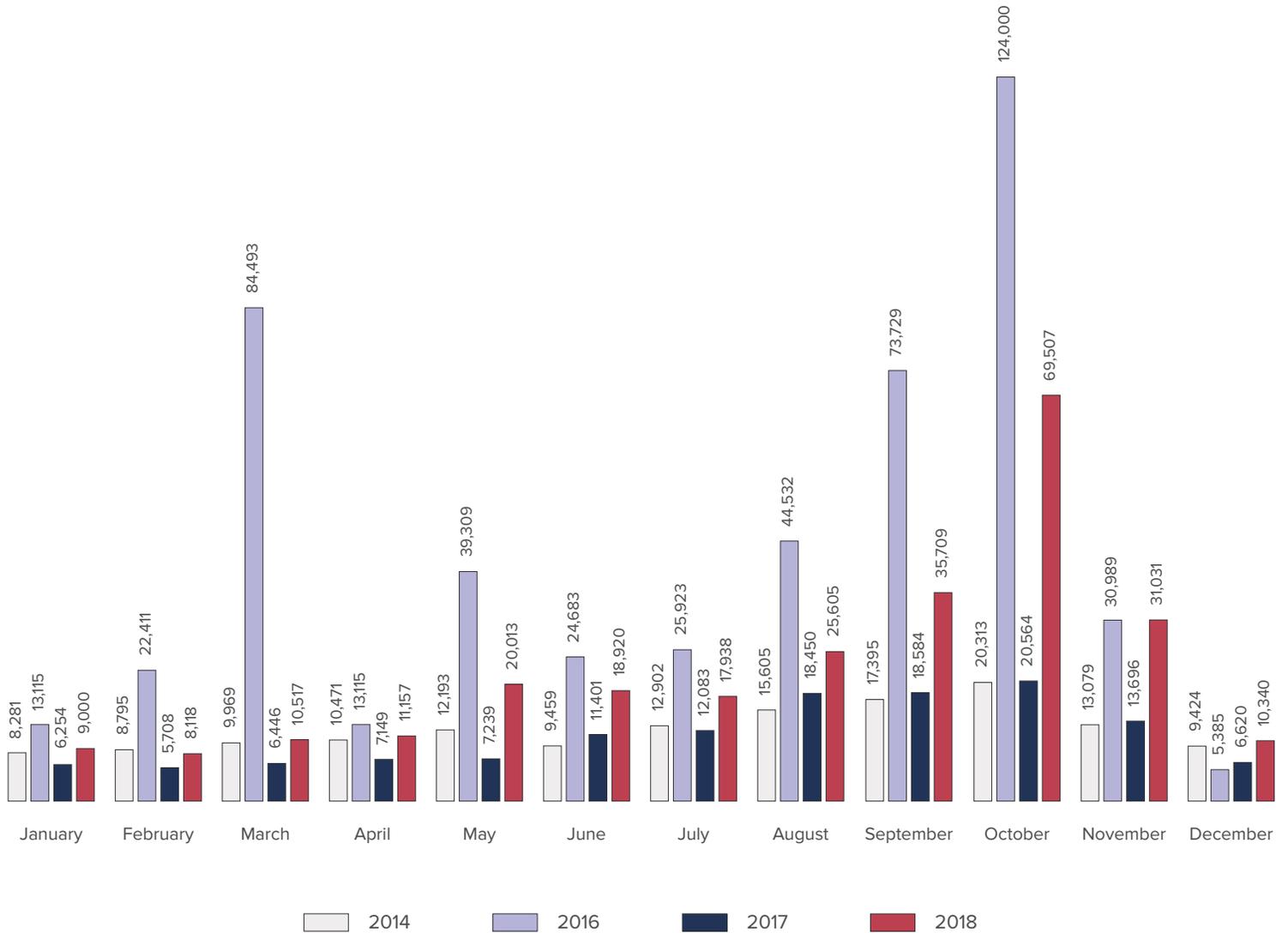
3 U.S. Census Bureau, 2013–2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates.

4 Voters with “inactive status” are defined in Section 5–712 of State Election Law as “a category of registered voters who have failed to respond to a residence confirmation notice.”

In 2018, the New York City Board of Elections processed new registrations year-round at a rate of about 5,053 registrations per week. As can be expected, spikes occurred at the major registration deadlines: over 8,000 people registered during the week of May 28th before the June 1st federal primary registration deadline as well as during the week of August 13th before the August 19th state primary registration deadline. And in the fall, 37,000 people registered the week of October 8th, just before the October 12th general election registration deadline.

However, these numbers pale in comparison to the surge of voter registrations that occurred in 2016 during the presidential election cycle. In October 2016 alone, 124,000 new registrations were processed, which is nearly half of the total number of registrations processed throughout all of 2018. In the week leading up to the October 14th general election registration deadline, over 70,000 voters registered, which is nearly double the amount of registrations seen in 2018 during the same time period. While voter registrations during the 2014 midterm election cycle followed a similar timing pattern, the number of new registrations in 2014 were more similar to the totals seen during the 2017 citywide election cycle, which saw about 134,000 new registrations.

NEW REGISTRATIONS BY MONTH AND ELECTION YEAR

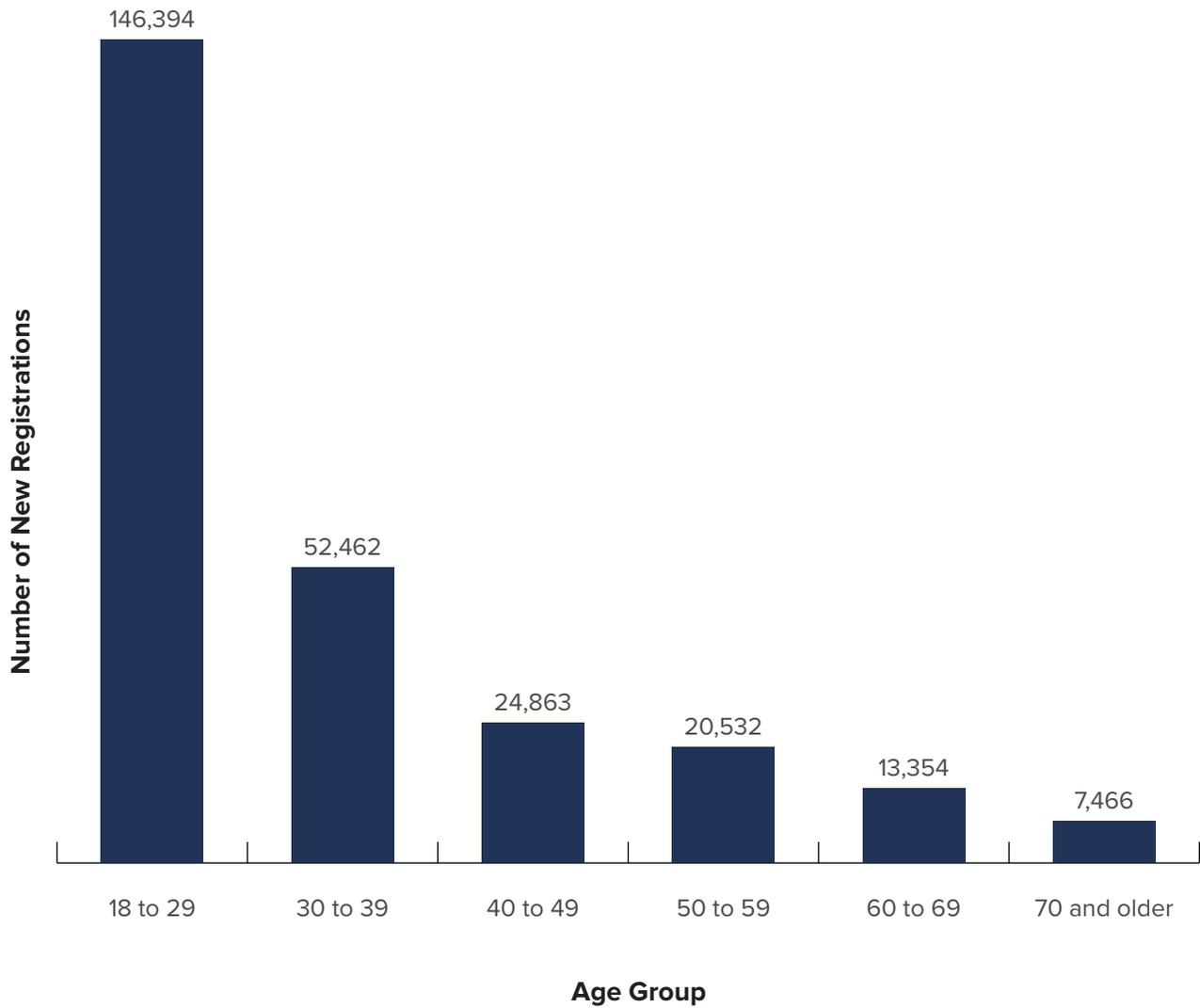


As is typical, newly registered voters in 2018 skewed young, as new voters came of age and registered for the first time. Over half of new registrants were under the age of 30, with about 146,000 (54.6 percent) falling between the ages of 18 and 29.⁵ In 2014, 18 to 29-year-olds made up a similar proportion of all new registrants—about 50.2 percent. Additionally, in 2018, 52,462 (19.6 percent) new registrants were between the ages of 30 and 39; 24,863 (9.3 percent) new registrants were between the ages of 40 and 49; 20,532 (7.7 percent) new registrants were between the ages of 50 and 59; 13,354 (5.0 percent) new registrants were between the ages of 60 and 69; and 7,466 (2.8 percent) new registrants were 70 years of age or older.

Within the 18 to 29 age group, about 23 percent of new registrations came from 18-year-olds alone, with 33,415 new registrants in 2018. Similarly, in 2014, about 21 percent of new registrations within this age group came from 18-year-olds alone, with 15,691 new registrants. For every other age within this group, the number of new registrants hovered between 7,000 and 17,000. Additionally, 2,784 17-year-olds who would not turn 18 by Election Day registered in 2018.

5 2,784 (1.0 percent) new registrants were 17 years old. Including 17-year-old registrants, 55.7 percent of new registrants were under the age of 30 in 2018.

NEW REGISTRATIONS BY AGE GROUP (JANUARY 1, 2018–NOVEMBER 6, 2018)

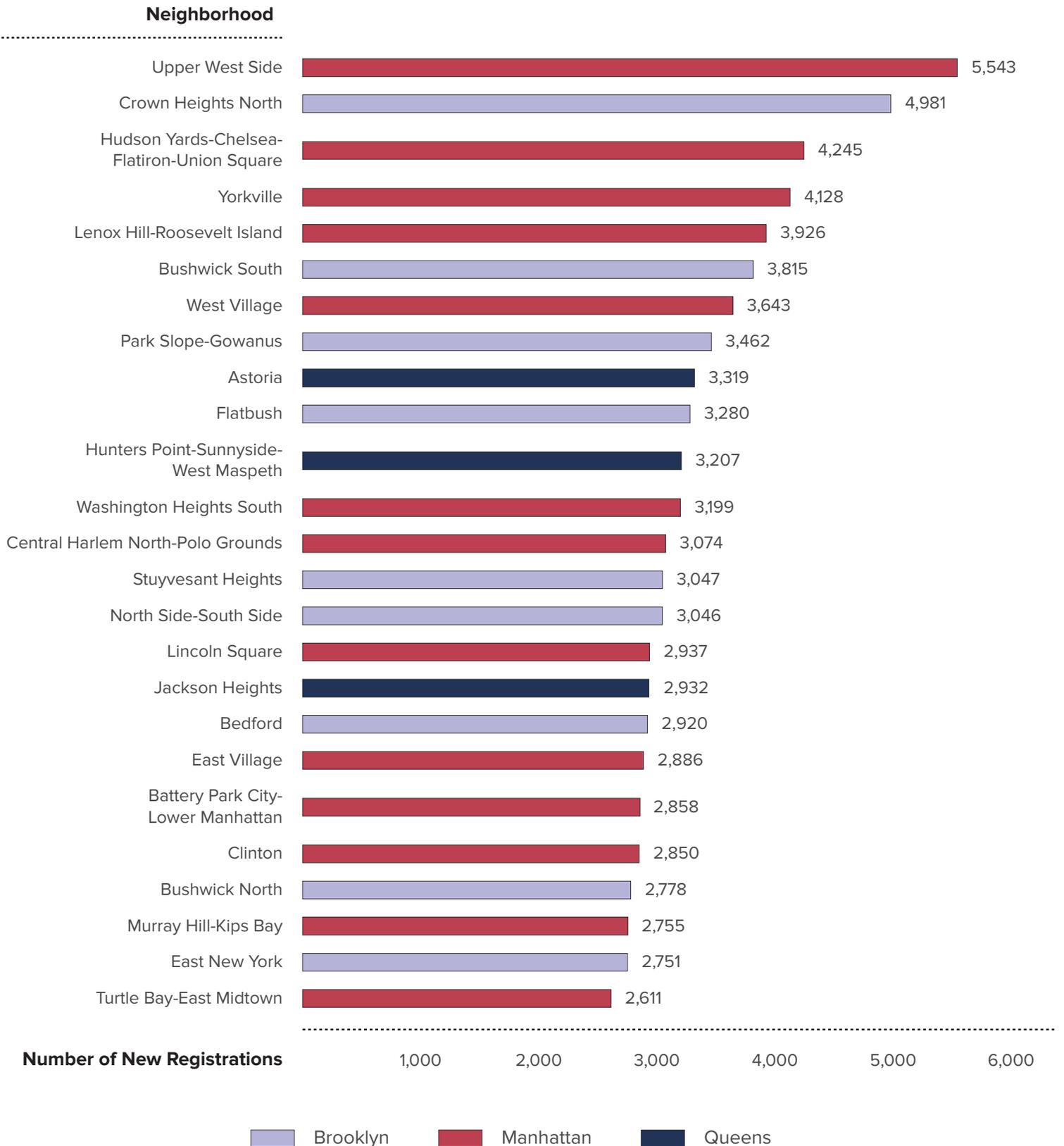


Throughout 2018, new voter registrations came from all around the city, with every neighborhood seeing an uptick in registered voters ranging from a few hundred to a few thousand. The top neighborhoods⁶ for new voter registrations in 2018 were the Upper West Side (5,543), Crown Heights North (4,981), Hudson Yards-Chelsea-Flatiron-Union Square (4,245), Yorkville (4,128), and Lenox Hill-Roosevelt Island (3,926). Of the top 25 neighborhoods for new voter registrations, 13 were in Manhattan, nine were in Brooklyn, and three were in Queens. Eighteen of the top neighborhoods for new voter registrations in 2018 were also among the top neighborhoods in 2014.⁷

6 To analyze participation patterns at the neighborhood level, we use the Neighborhood Tabulation Areas (NTAs) created by the Department of City Planning. These boundaries are aggregated using census tracts to areas that have a minimum population of 15,000. While NTAs do not perfectly overlay with historical neighborhood boundaries, they are a useful approximation to capture local dynamics. More information on NTAs is available at <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/planning/data-maps/open-data/dwn-nynta.page>.

7 These neighborhoods include: in Brooklyn—Crown Heights North, East New York, Flatbush, Park Slope-Gowanus; in Manhattan—Battery Park City-Lower Manhattan, Central Harlem North-Polo Grounds, Clinton, Hudson Yards-Chelsea-Flatiron-Union Square, Lenox Hill-Roosevelt Island, Lincoln Square, Upper West Side, West Village, Washington Heights South, Yorkville; in Queens—Astoria, Hunters Point-Sunnyside-West Maspeth, Jackson Heights.

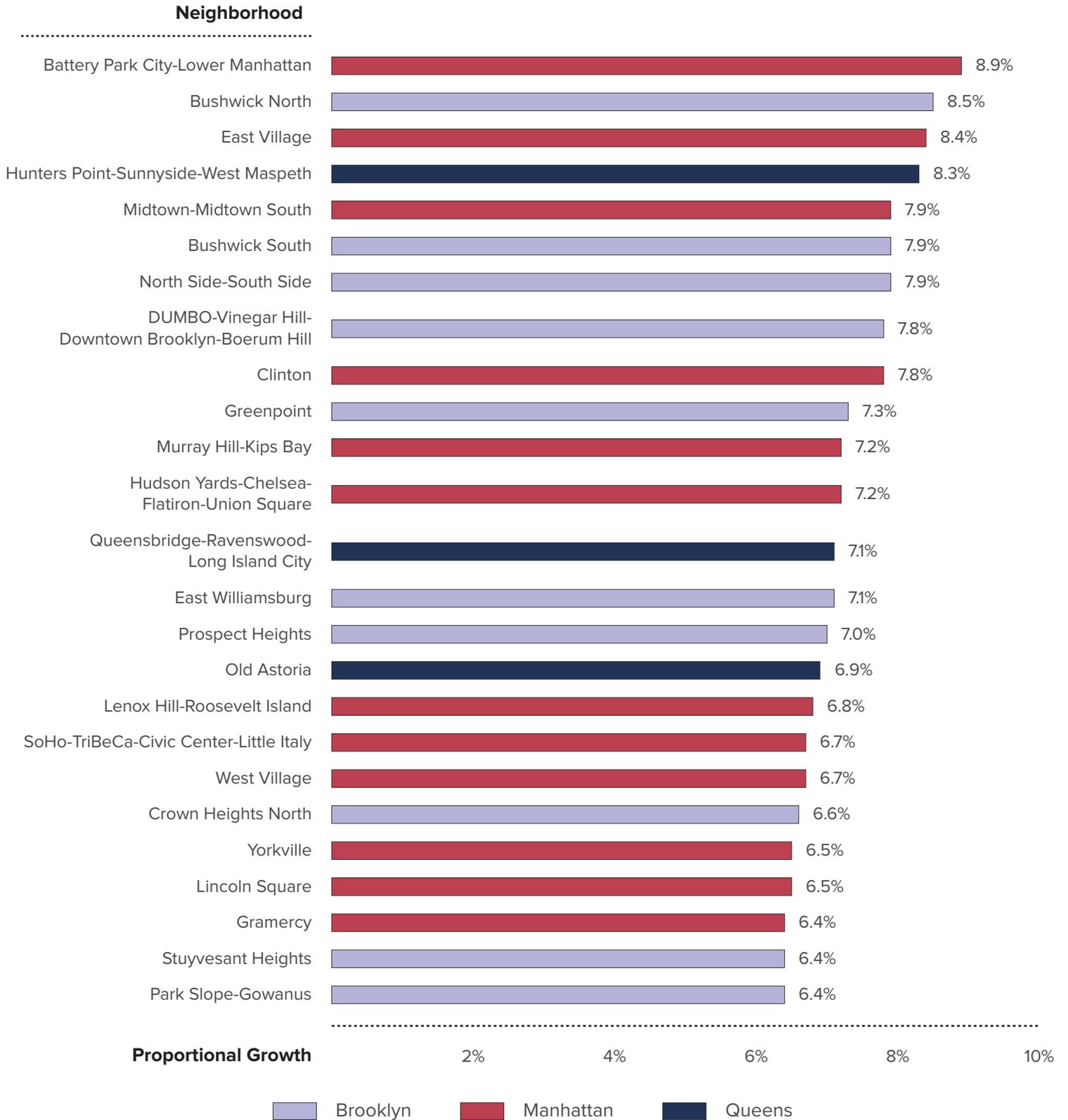
TOP 25 NEIGHBORHOODS FOR NEW VOTER REGISTRATIONS IN 2018



New registrations also accounted for proportional growth in voter registration, with some neighborhood registration rates growing over 8 percent in 2018.⁸ The neighborhoods with the highest percent increase in voter registration rate were Battery Park City-Lower Manhattan (8.9 percent), Bushwick North (8.5 percent), the East Village (8.4 percent), Hunters Point-Sunnyside-West Maspeth (8.3 percent), and Midtown-Midtown South/Bushwick South/North Side-South Side (all 7.9 percent). Of the top 25 neighborhoods for proportional growth in voter registration rate, 12 were in Manhattan, 10 were in Brooklyn, and three were in Queens. In 2014, proportional growth in voter registration was heavily concentrated in the Bronx, and just two of the top neighborhoods for growth in voter registration in 2018 were also among the top neighborhoods in 2014. This indicates that populations in different neighborhoods around the city were growing in 2018 and in 2014.

8 “Top 25 Neighborhoods for New Voter Registrations” shows raw growth. This is simply the number of new registrations coming from each NTA. Proportional growth, as we have defined it for this section, is equal to the number of new registrants per NTA in 2018 divided by the citizen voting age population (CVAP) of that NTA in 2018.

TOP 25 NEIGHBORHOODS FOR GROWTH IN VOTER REGISTRATIONS IN 2018



In 2018, registration rates improved in neighborhoods with high and low rates of registration, compared with 2014 registration rates. For example, 60 of the 188 neighborhoods⁹ (31.9 percent) we examined had registration rates¹⁰ of 90 percent or more, including seven neighborhoods with registration rates¹¹ higher than 100 percent.¹² In 2014, just 29 of the 188 neighborhoods (15.4 percent) had registration rates above 90 percent. On the other end of the spectrum, in 2018, three neighborhoods had registration rates lower than 70 percent. Of those, one was in the Bronx, and two were in Brooklyn. In 2014, 22 neighborhoods had registration rates lower than 70 percent. While comparisons to 2014 show that registration rates have improved around the city in recent years, there were many neighborhoods throughout the city in which the voter registration rate fell well below the citywide registration rate in 2018. Ninety-six out of 188 neighborhoods had registration rates below the citywide rate of 85.7 percent. The neighborhoods with the lowest registration rates were Belmont (59.8 percent), Bath Beach (69.0 percent), Bensonhurst West (69.3 percent), Lindenwood-Howard Beach (70 percent), and Bensonhurst East (70 percent). Of the bottom 25 neighborhoods for voter registration, nine were in Queens, six were in Brooklyn, six were in the Bronx, and four were in Manhattan (see Neighborhood Analysis for the top and bottom 25 neighborhoods for voter registrations).

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- 9 By taking the total number of NTAs in the city and subtracting the NTAs that are designated as parks, cemeteries, and airports, we arrived at 188 NTAs, which we looked at for this report.
- 10 When we discuss registration rates, we are referring to the total number of voters in the list of active registered voters for a given neighborhood, divided by the CVAP for that neighborhood.
- 11 These registration rates are likely due to a combination of the state and federal laws governing voter roll maintenance (which outline procedures for the removal of voters and institute safeguards to prevent voters from being erroneously removed from the voter list) and imperfect data collection for population estimates occurring outside the decennial census.
- 12 These neighborhoods include: in Brooklyn—Erasmus, Prospect Heights, and Starrett City; in the Bronx— Mott Haven-Port Morris and West Concourse; in Queens—Hunters Point-Sunnyside-West Maspeth.

TURNOUT AMONG NEW REGISTRANTS

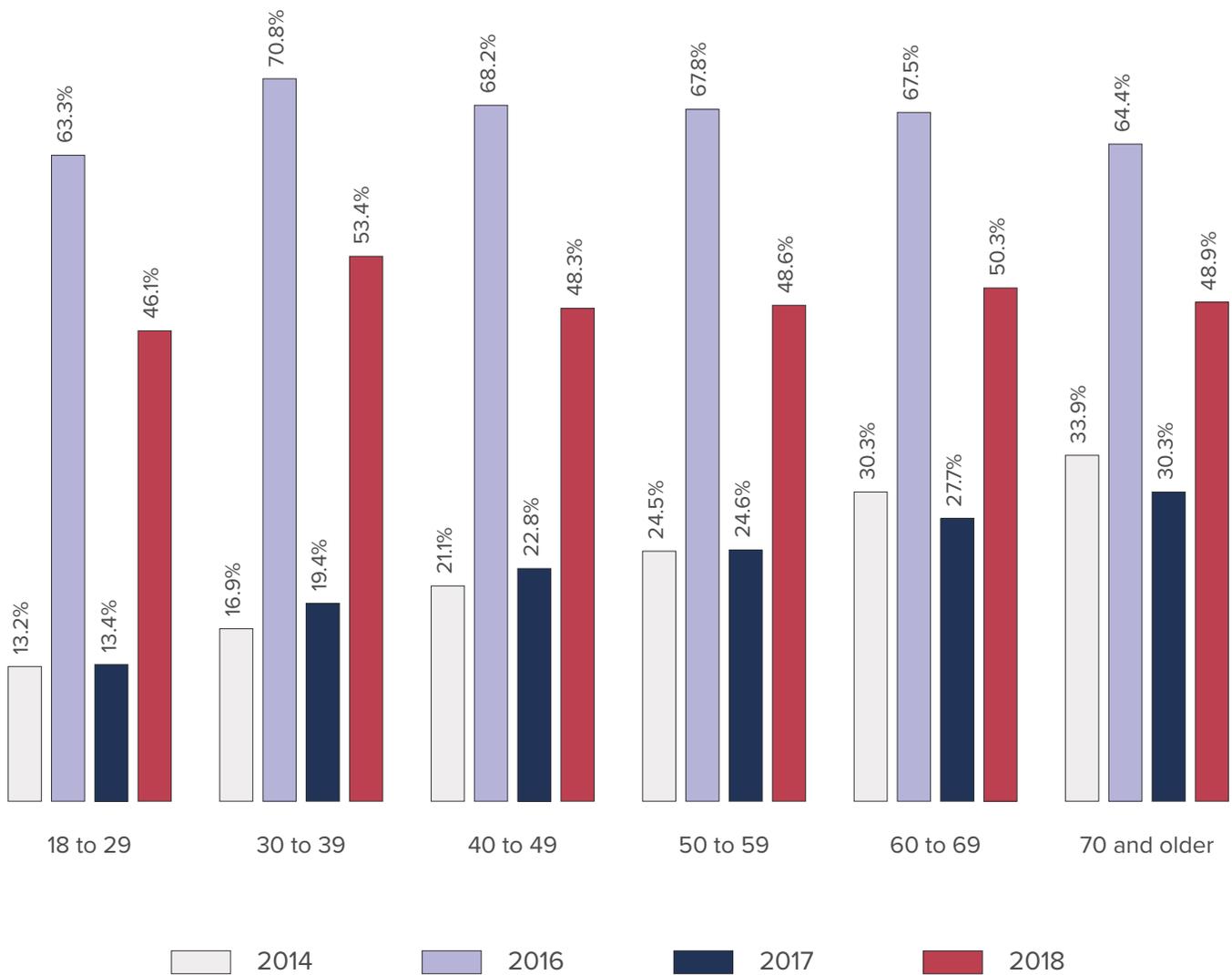
In 2018, turnout among new registrants¹³ was higher than turnout among all active registered voters. Of the 268,000 new registrants in 2018, about 245,000 were eligible to vote on November 6th. Turnout for these newly registered voters was 48.2 percent, about two and a half points higher than the 45.9 percent turnout among active registered voters¹⁴ overall. In 2014, the rate of turnout for new registrants was about 17.5 percent, which is several points lower than the 24.8 percent turnout rate among all active registered voters. The last time new voters participated at a higher rate than active registered voters overall was in 2016, when newly registered voters turned out at a rate of 66 percent and the turnout for active registered voters was 60 percent.

The 2014 midterm elections sparked minimal interest among new voters, which is on par with what usually occurs in local election years. However, new voters in 2018 behaved much more similarly to new voters in a presidential year than voters in a previous midterm or local election. As is typical, there was a wide range in turnout across all age groups in 2018, with newly registered voters in the 18 to 29 age group turning out at the lowest rate with 46.1 percent, compared with the highest turnout rate—53.4 percent—among voters 30 to 39 years old. While the 18 to 29 age group typically experiences the lowest rate of turnout, in 2018, there was only a 7.3 percent difference in turnout between this group and the age group with the highest turnout. Comparatively, in 2014, the gap in turnout between the highest and lowest turnout age groups was 17.1 percent. This illustrates that new registrant turnout in 2018 looked more like new registrant turnout in the 2016 presidential election, in which there was only a 7.5 percent difference in turnout between the highest and lowest turnout groups. New registrant turnout in 2014 was similar to new registrant turnout in the 2017 citywide election, in which the gap in turnout between the highest and lowest turnout groups was also in the double digits, at 14.3 percent. Additionally, while the 2014 and 2017 citywide cycles saw the highest turnout among new registrants

13 Those whose registrations were active by November 6, 2018 and were 18 years of age or older on Election Day.

14 Active registered voters refers to active voters who were eligible to participate in the 2018 general election (registered by November 6, 2018).

TURNOUT OF NEWLY REGISTERED VOTERS BY AGE GROUP AND ELECTION YEAR

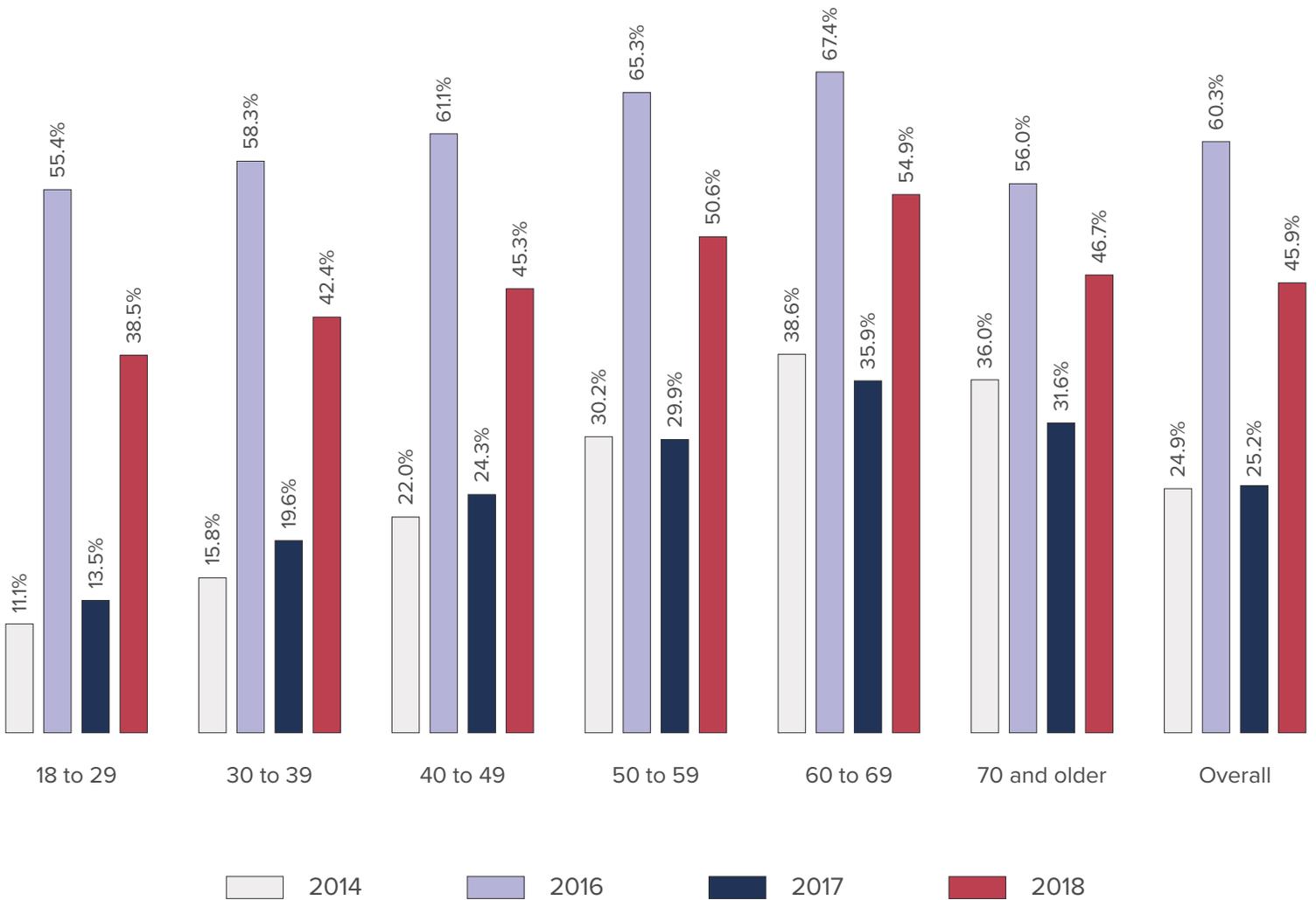


who were in the oldest age bracket, new registrants ages 30 to 39 turned out at the highest rate in both the 2016 presidential and 2018 midterm elections.

We also found that while participants in the 2018 midterm election skewed slightly older than voters who turned out in the presidential election, 2018 midterm voters tended to be younger than voters in the last midterm election. The median age of voters in the 2018 midterm election was 50, whereas the median age for voters in the 2016 presidential election was 48. However, the median age of voters in the 2014 midterm election was even higher, at 57, and the median age of voters in the 2017 citywide election was 54. For comparison, the median age of all registered active voters as of November 6, 2018 was 47.

The overall difference in turnout between the 2016 presidential and the 2018 midterm elections was 14.4 percent. While this figure demonstrates the continued need to drive turnout among voters in non-presidential election years, this gap in turnout is far smaller than it has been in preceding elections. For example, the gap in turnout between the 2016 presidential and the 2017 citywide elections was 35.1 percent and the gap in turnout between the 2016 presidential and the 2014 midterm elections was 35.4 percent. In the 2014 midterm and the 2017 citywide elections, turnout dramatically dropped off from presidential election years, particularly among young voters. Turnout among 18 to 29-year-olds, which was about 55 percent in the 2016 presidential, was under 15 percent during both the 2014 midterm and 2017 citywide elections. In 2018, the difference in turnout among 18 to 29-year-olds from the 2016 presidential election was 16.9 percent, which is still higher than the gap in overall turnout, but much less dramatic than the 44.3 point difference that occurred between the 2014 midterm and 2016 presidential elections. While it is still critical to engage young voters in particular as soon as they register, the data shows that heightened interest in the 2018 midterm election drove turnout among all age groups, including the youngest and lowest turnout groups.

OVERALL TURNOUT IN GENERAL ELECTIONS BY AGE GROUP AND ELECTION YEAR



COMPARING 2016 VOTERS AND NONVOTERS

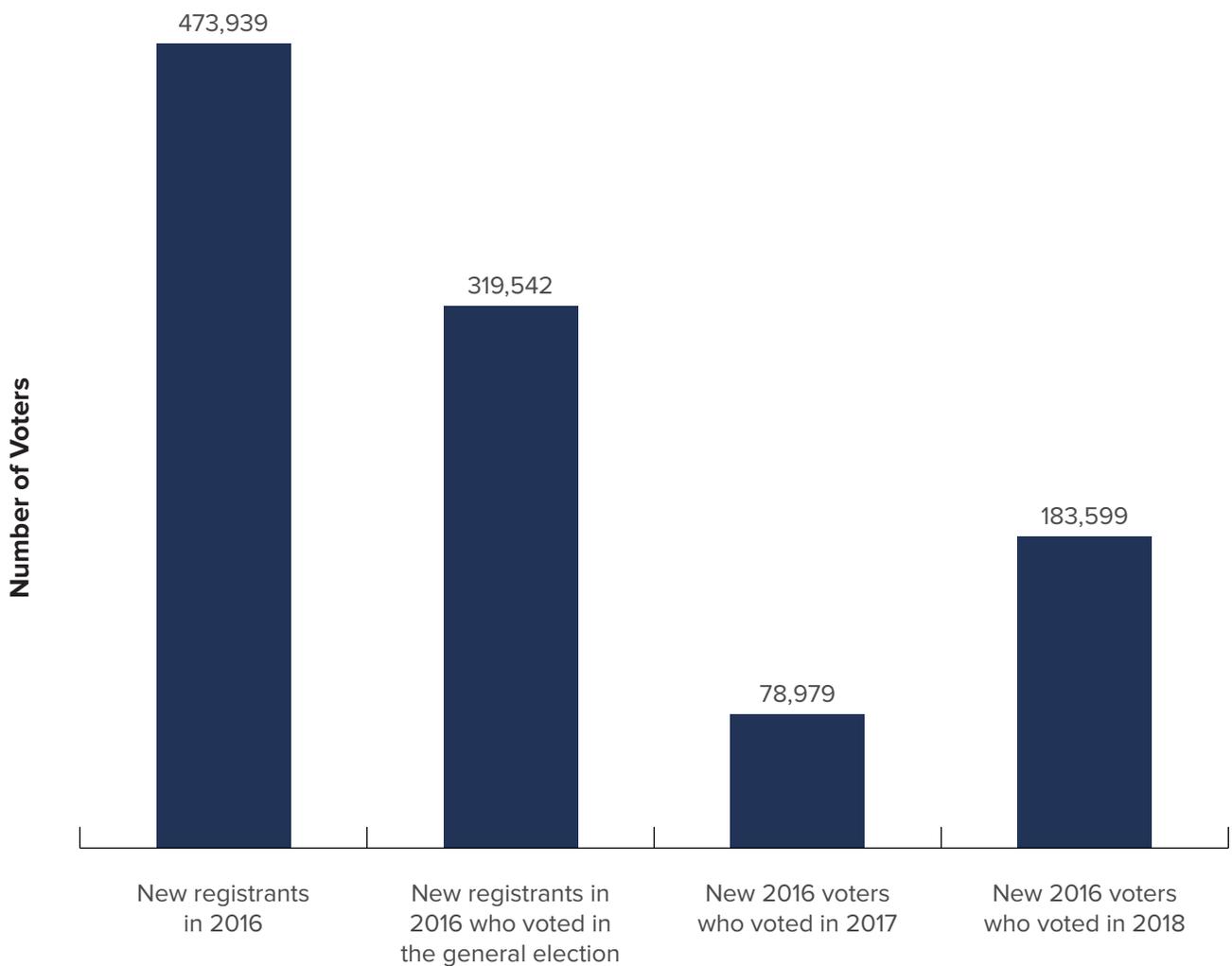
Studies show that voting is a habit-forming activity. Consequently, it is important to expose prospective voters to the process as soon as they register to encourage a long-term habit of voting and civic engagement.¹⁵ In 2016, nearly 475,000 new voters registered in time to cast a ballot in the presidential election. Of these newly registered voters, 67.4 percent, or about 320,000, voted in the presidential election. However, most of these new voters did not return to the polls in 2017. Only about 80,000, or 24.7 percent, of people who registered in 2016 and voted in the presidential election voted in any election during the 2017 citywide election cycle.

However, turnout among these voters looked very different for the 2018 midterm election. Of the 320,000 voters who registered in 2016 and voted in the presidential election, over 180,000 (57.5 percent) turned out at least once during the 2018 midterm election cycle. Those 180,000 voters represent 38.7 percent of all 2016 registrants, so while there was still significant drop-off among 2016 registrants in the midterm election, many voters who did not participate at all in 2017's citywide elections returned to the polls at some point during 2018. Among 2016 registrants, 196,000, or 61.3 percent, returned to the polls in a subsequent election in 2017, 2018, or both.

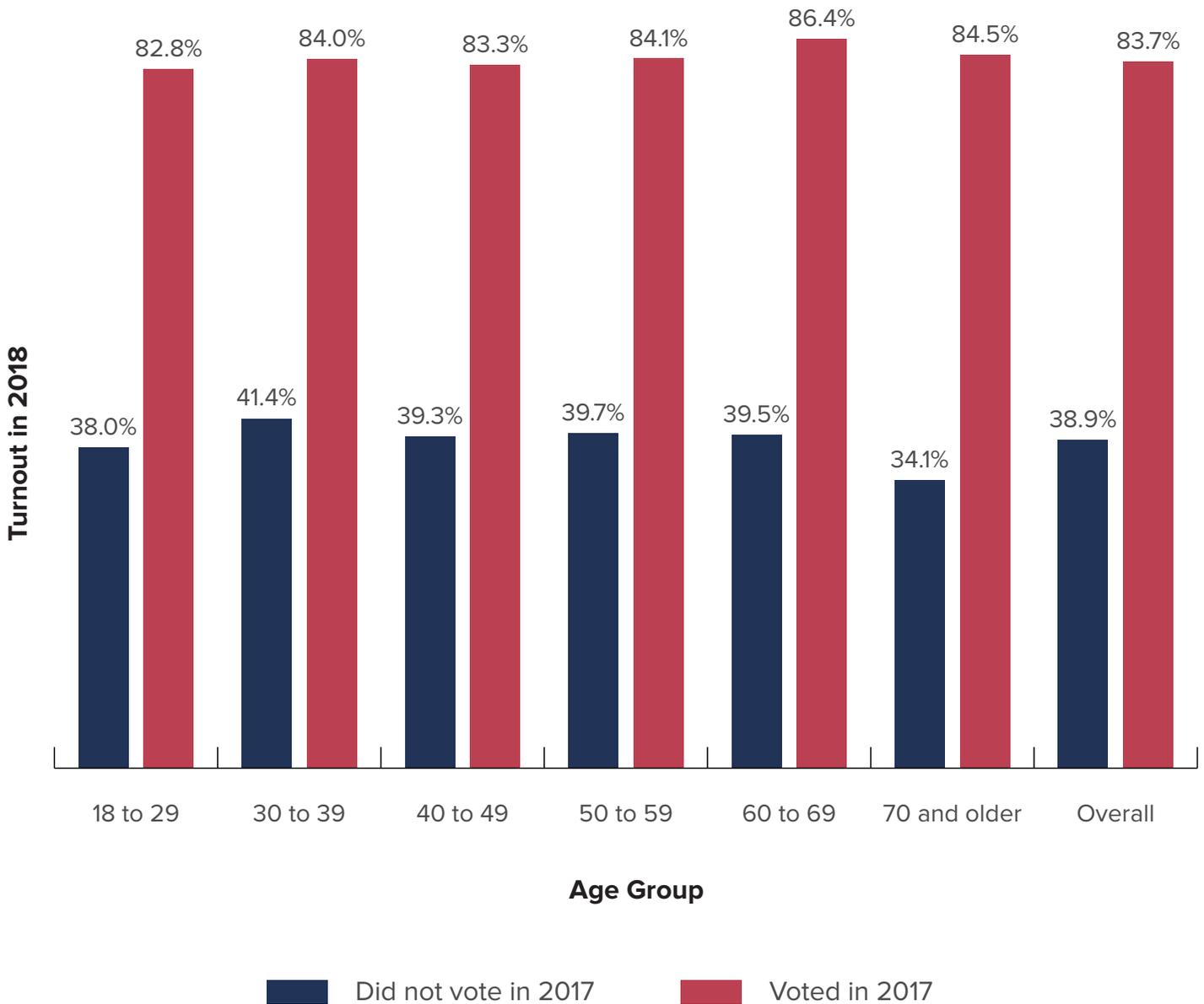
The data also suggests that 2016 registrants who participated in the 2017 general election were more likely to vote again in 2018. About 83.7 percent of 2016 registrants who voted in the 2017 citywide general election returned to the polls in 2018. Conversely, 2016 registrants who did not vote in the 2017 citywide election turned out at a rate of 38.9 percent for the 2018 election.

15 "Voter Pre-Registration." FairVote. 2018.

ENGAGEMENT DROP-OFF IN THE 2016 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AMONG 2016 NEW REGISTRANTS



2018 TURNOUT BY AGE GROUP BASED ON 2017 PARTICIPATION AMONG 2016 NEW REGISTRANTS



The drop-off rate for the 320,000 new voters who cast ballots in the presidential election was even steeper than it was for voters who registered before 2016. Among those who voted for the first time in the 2016 presidential, 38.7 percent did not return to the polls for any subsequent elections. For voters who registered before 2016, about 2.3 out of 3.7 million, or 61.5 percent, voted in the presidential election. Of these 2.3 million, only about 25 percent did not return to the polls for any subsequent election.

Among 2016 registrants who voted in the presidential election, drop-off for all subsequent elections was most concentrated in Southeast Brooklyn, Northeast Queens, and the Bronx, where drop-off rates exceeded 50 percent.¹⁶ Among voters who registered before 2016 and voted in the presidential election, drop-off for all subsequent elections was most concentrated in similar neighborhoods, though no neighborhood saw drop-off near 50 percent. In fact, the neighborhood with the highest drop-off among voters who registered before 2016 was South Ozone Park in Queens, which experienced a 41.2 percent drop-off rate for all elections following the 2016 presidential. Drop-off in subsequent elections was lowest in “Brownstone Brooklyn” neighborhoods such as Park Slope, Brooklyn Heights, and Cobble Hill for both 2016 new voters and voters who registered before 2016.

If a voter did not participate in the presidential election, they were unlikely to vote in the 2018 midterm election and even less likely to vote in the 2017 citywide election. Overall, only 24 percent of 2016 registrants who did not cast ballots in 2016 came out to vote in the midterms, while turnout in the midterms among 2016 registrants who did vote in the presidential was more than double that rate. Moreover, just 7.4 percent of 2016 registrants who did not vote in 2016 came out to vote in the 2017 citywide elections, whereas turnout among 2016 registrants who did vote in 2016 was three times as high in 2017.

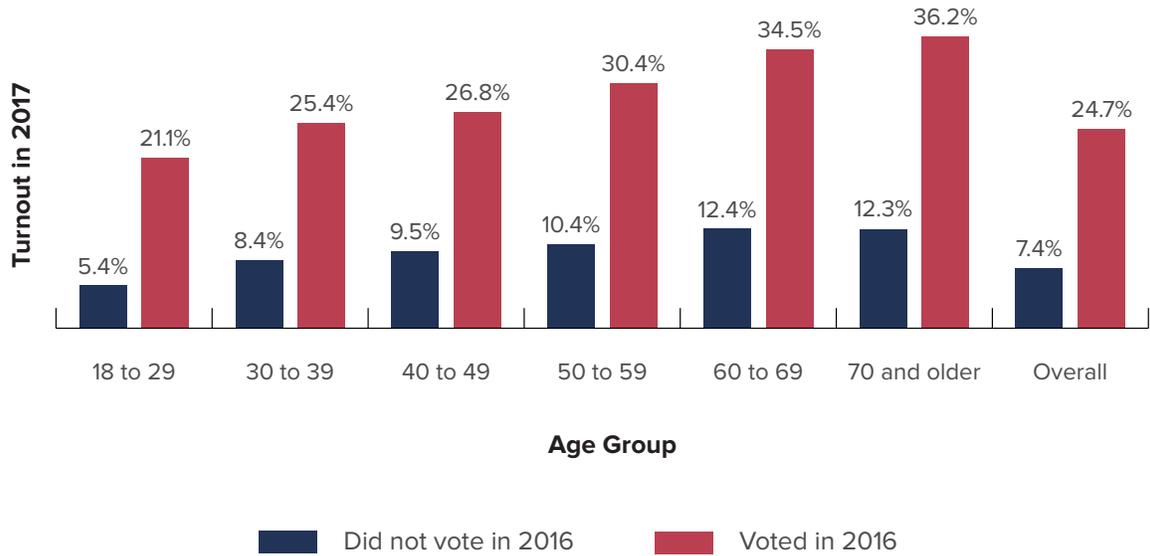
16 Neighborhoods with over 50 percent drop-off among 2016 new registrants who voted in 2016 and never returned to the polls include: in Brooklyn—Brighton Beach (53.6 percent), Cypress Hills-City Line (53.4 percent), Homecrest (52.9 percent), Madison (52.2 percent), Midwood (50.3 percent), Ocean Parkway South (51 percent); in the Bronx—Bedford Park-Fordham South (50.4 percent), Crotona Park East (53.4 percent), Tremont (50.7 percent); in Queens—East Flushing (54.7 percent), East Fresh Meadows-Utopia (50.1 percent), Elmhurst-Maspeth (51.3 percent), Jamaica (51.6 percent), Kew Gardens Hills (51.6 percent), Murray Hill (51.1 percent), Queensboro Hill (52.6 percent), Richmond Hill (54.3 percent), South Ozone Park (56 percent), Woodhaven (51.3 percent).

2016 registrants who did not vote in the presidential were much more likely to participate in the midterms than in the citywide elections. For example, while just 5.4 percent of 2016 registrants ages 18 to 29 who did not vote in the presidential¹⁷ participated in an election in 2017, that number grew to 22.2 percent in the 2018 election cycle. This gap in turnout was the largest in the 30 to 39-year-old age group, where just 8.4 percent of 2016 registrants who did not vote in 2016 participated in a 2017 election and 26.2 percent participated in a 2018 election, a 17.8 percent increase. Overall, the increase in turnout between 2017 and 2018 among New Yorkers who registered in 2016 but did not vote then was 16.6 percent. This pattern also holds true among New Yorkers who registered and voted for the first time in 2016. Voters in the 18 to 29-year-old age group turned out at a rate of 21.1 percent in 2017, and their participation increased by about 35 percent in 2018 to 56.1 percent turnout. Overall, the increase in turnout between 2017 and 2018 among New Yorkers who registered and voted for the first time in 2016 was 32.8 percent.

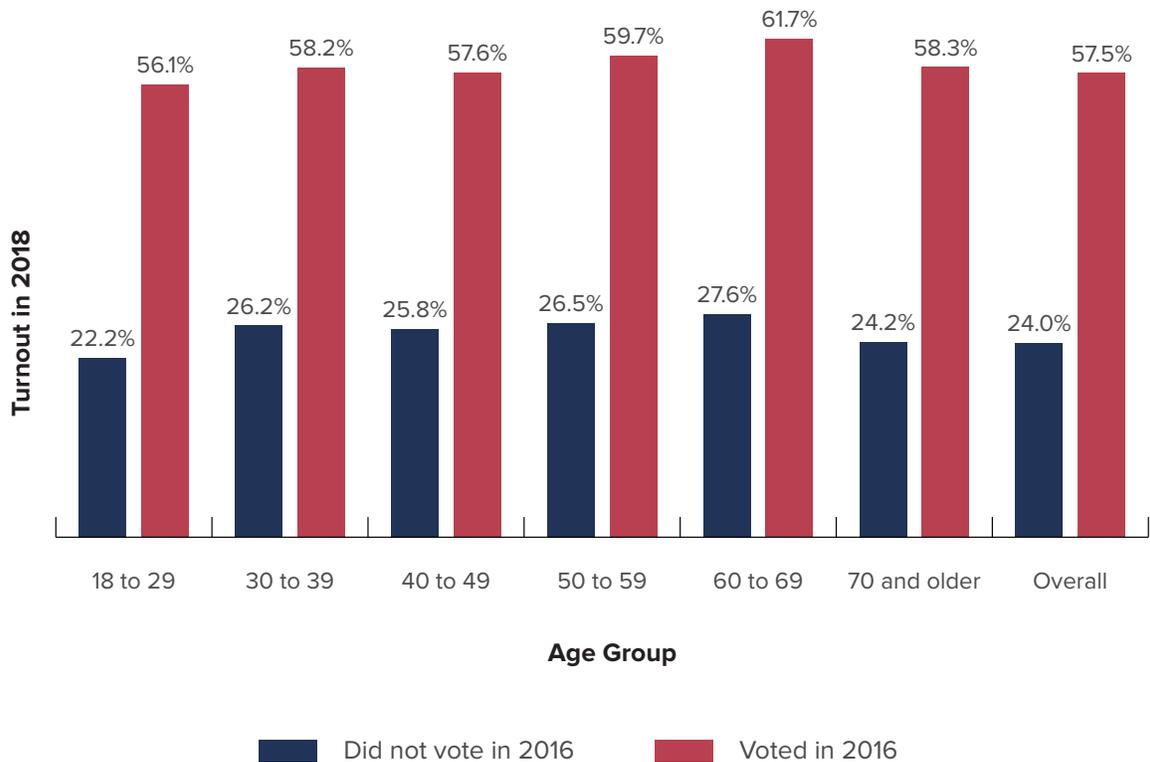
This data shows us that it is easier to engage voters in high-profile elections, such as the 2018 midterms, even if they did not participate in the presidential election. Overall, turnout improved from 2017 to 2018 among both 2016 new registrants and voters who had registered before 2016. However, engagement in 2018 was even stronger among voters who had registered and voted for the first time in 2016, which indicates that voters who are not engaged in the most high-profile elections are even less likely to turn out in local elections. Among all voters who had registered before 2016, turnout in the 2017 elections was low compared with turnout in the 2018 elections. However, voters who had registered before 2016 and did not vote then were even less inclined than people who registered in 2016 but did not vote then, to vote in either 2017 or 2018, and this was true across all age groups. Conversely, across all age groups, voters who had registered before 2016 and voted then were more likely to vote in 2017 and 2018 than new registrants who voted in 2016.

¹⁷ Age is calculated as of the 2016 general election (November 8, 2016).

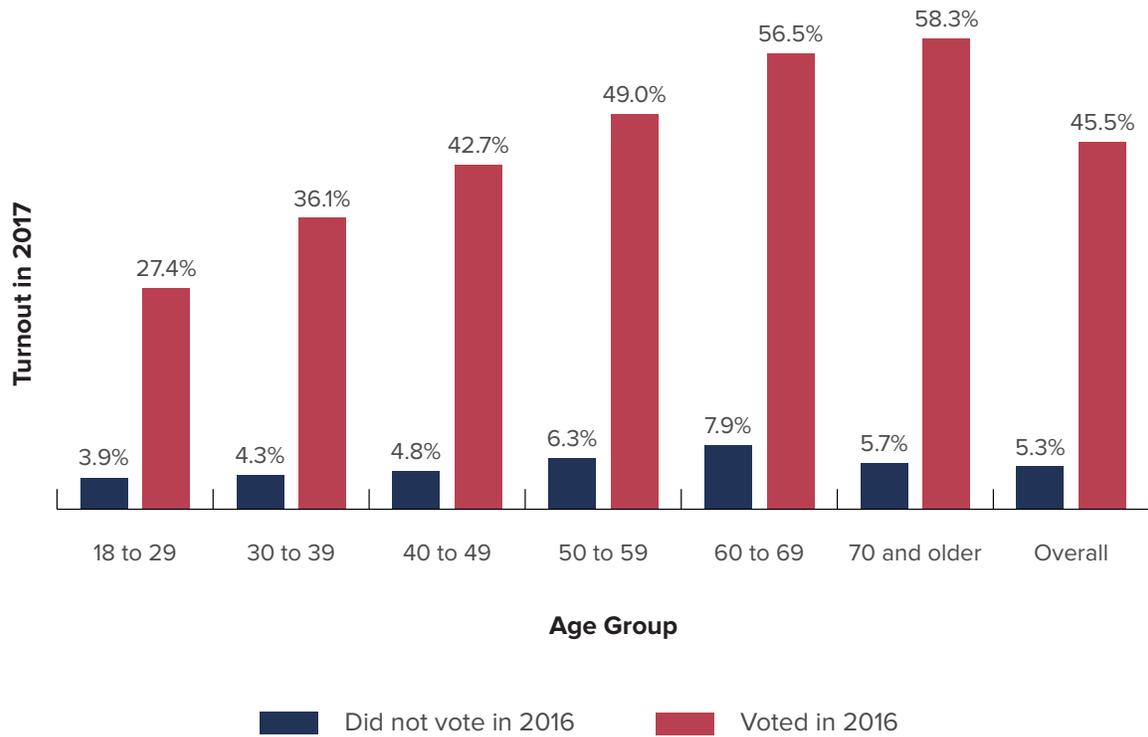
2017 TURNOUT BY AGE GROUP AMONG 2016 NEW REGISTRANTS



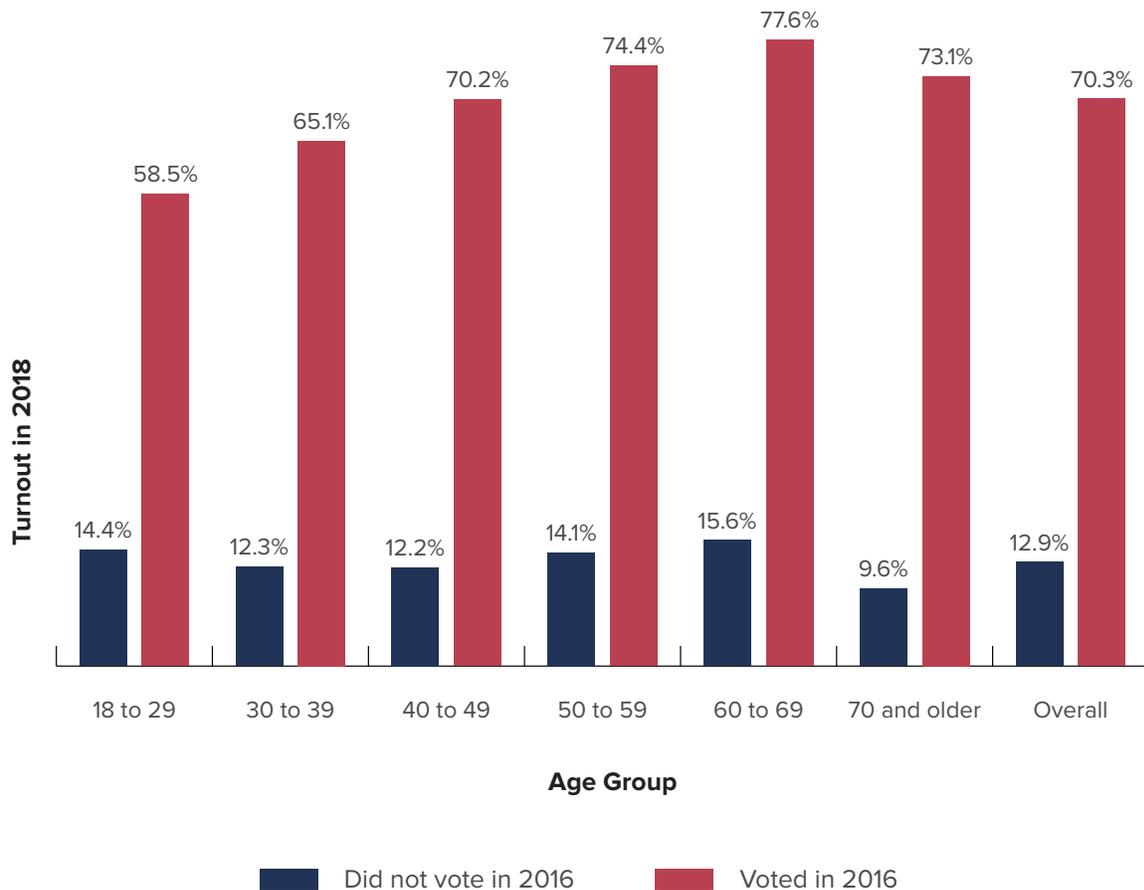
2018 TURNOUT BY AGE GROUP AMONG 2016 NEW REGISTRANTS



2017 TURNOUT BY AGE GROUP AMONG VOTERS REGISTERED BEFORE 2016



2018 TURNOUT BY AGE GROUP AMONG VOTERS REGISTERED BEFORE 2016



ANALYSIS OF THE 2018 ELECTION CYCLE

NEIGHBORHOOD ANALYSIS

According to the Election Performance Index, New York consistently ranks 41st out of the 50 states for voter turnout. However, in the high-profile 2018 midterm election cycle, some areas of New York City saw turnout rates that were higher than the national average. In fact, some neighborhoods saw turnout nearing participation levels that are normally seen in presidential elections. In this section, we illustrate how turnout improved across the city from 2017 by examining registration and turnout at the neighborhood level in addition to participation in competitive and non-competitive New York State Senate districts.

As has been true in previous election years, neighborhoods with high registration rates do not necessarily correspond to neighborhoods with high rates of voter turnout. In fact, only eight of the top 25 neighborhoods for voter registration were also among the top 25 neighborhoods for voter turnout in the 2018 general election. On the other end of the spectrum, ten of the 25 neighborhoods with the lowest registration rates were also among the 25 neighborhoods with the lowest turnout. Overall, neighborhood registration rate has a moderate, positive relationship with neighborhood turnout, and this relationship was stronger in the 2018 midterm election than it was in the 2014 midterm election.¹

1 The Pearson correlation coefficient for voter registration rate and voter turnout in 2018 is $r = 0.5495$. This is categorized as a “weak” to “moderate” linear relationship. The Pearson correlation coefficient in 2014 is $r = 0.2381$. This is categorized as a “weak” linear relationship.

In the 2018 general election, about 52.2 percent of the citizen voting age population in the United States cast a ballot, and in New York State, about 45.3 percent of the citizen voting age population participated.² Eleven neighborhoods in New York City had a higher rate of turnout than the nation as a whole, seven of which are in Brooklyn, three of which are in Manhattan, and one of which is in Queens. Every neighborhood in the top 25 had a higher rate of turnout in the general election than New York State as a whole. Of these neighborhoods, nine are in Manhattan, nine are in Brooklyn, four are in Queens, two are in Staten Island, and one is in the Bronx.

TURNOUT BY BOROUGH IN THE 2018 GENERAL AND STATE PRIMARY ELECTIONS

	GENERAL ELECTION	STATE PRIMARY ELECTION
Bronx	293,614	133,040
Brooklyn	645,440	302,537
Manhattan	544,917	242,000
Queens	504,306	186,901
Staten Island	140,594	26,989
Citywide	2,128,871	891,467

² Turnout is equal to the number of ballots cast divided by the citizen voting age population (CVAP).

2018 MIDTERM ELECTIONS VS. 2014 MIDTERM ELECTIONS

In the 2014 general election, about 37.8 percent of the citizen voting age population in the United States cast a ballot, and in New York State, about 29.3 percent of the citizen voting age population participated. The New York City neighborhood with the highest rate of turnout was Westerleigh, Staten Island, where 32.1 percent of the citizen voting age population cast a ballot, which was more than five points lower than the turnout rate for the United States. However, nine neighborhoods of New York City did have a higher rate of turnout than New York State as a whole in 2014.³

Even though New York is consistently ranked one of the worst states in the country for voter turnout, New Yorkers turned out at much higher rates than usual in 2018, sometimes above the national turnout rate, which perhaps signals a change in voting behavior among voters in the city. Across midterm election cycles, there is some consistency in neighborhood registration rates and voter turnout across neighborhoods. For example, 15 of the top 25 neighborhoods for voter turnout in the 2018 general were also among the top 25 neighborhoods for voter turnout in the 2014 general.⁴ Additionally, 12 of the top 25 neighborhoods for voter registration in the 2018 general were also among the top 25 neighborhoods for voter registration in the 2014 general.⁵

3 These neighborhoods include: in Brooklyn—Prospect Heights (31.2 percent), Brooklyn Heights-Cobble Hill (31.0 percent), Windsor Terrace (30.3 percent); in the Bronx—North Riverdale-Fieldston-Riverdale (29.6 percent); in Manhattan—Upper East Side-Carnegie Hill (31.7 percent), Upper West Side (31.0 percent), Lincoln Square (30.6 percent); in Staten Island—Westerleigh (32.1 percent), New Brighton-Silver Lake (31.4 percent).

4 These neighborhoods include: in Brooklyn—Brooklyn Heights-Cobble Hill, Clinton Hill, Park Slope-Gowanus Prospect Heights, Windsor Terrace; in the Bronx—North Riverdale-Fieldston-Riverdale; in Manhattan—Lincoln Square, Stuyvesant Town-Cooper Village, Upper East Side-Carnegie Hill, Upper West Side; in Queens—Cambria Heights, Laurelton, and Springfield Gardens North; in Staten Island—New Brighton-Silver Lake, Westerleigh.

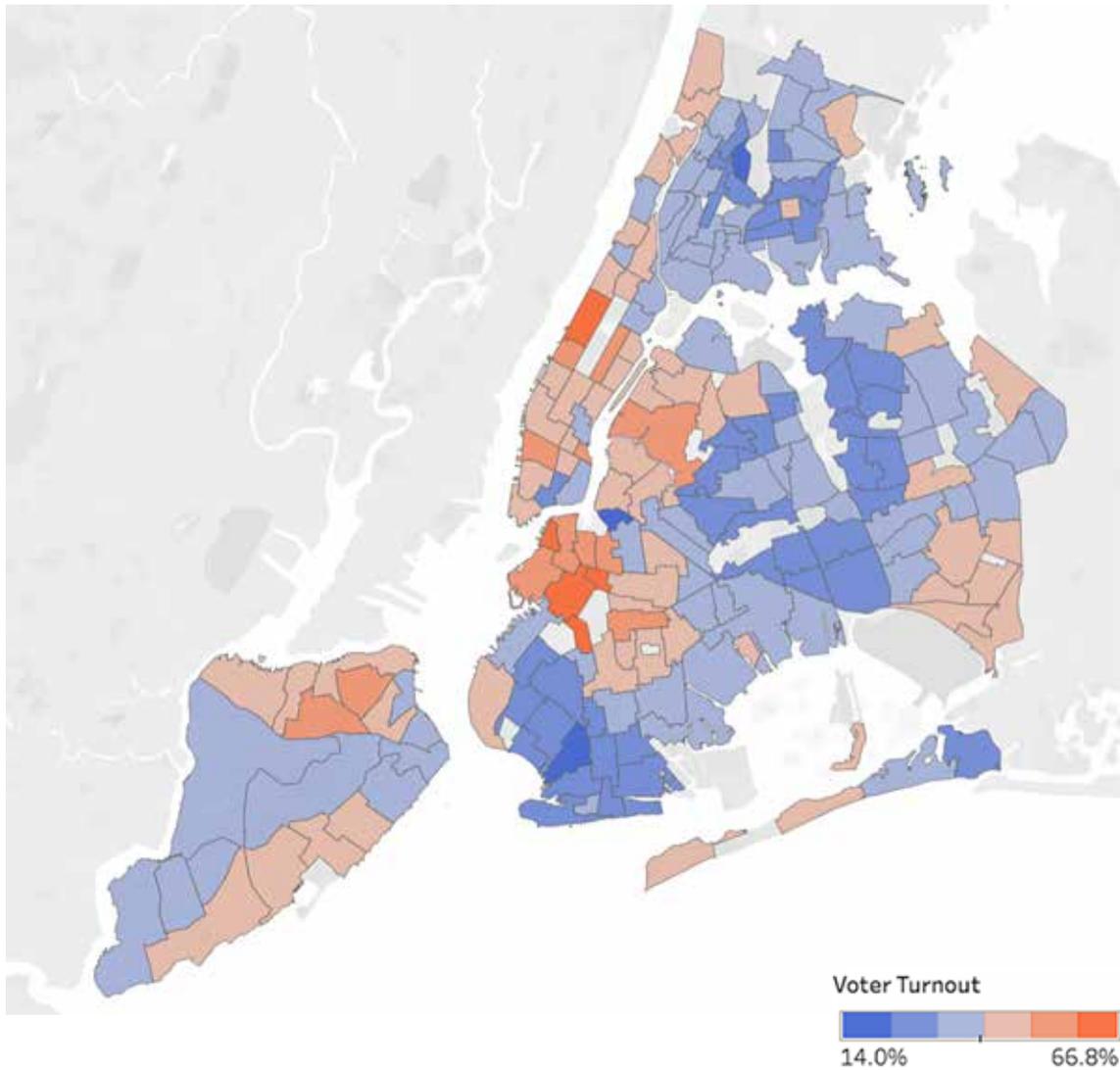
5 These neighborhoods include: in Brooklyn—Brownsville, East Flatbush-Farragut, East New York (Pennsylvania Avenue), East New York, Erasmus, Flatbush, Prospect Heights, Starrett City; in the Bronx—Highbridge, Mott Haven-Port Morris, West Concourse; in Manhattan—Upper East Side-Carnegie Hill.

Even the neighborhoods with the lowest turnout rates in 2018 voted at a considerably higher rate than was seen in the lowest turnout neighborhoods in 2014. All of the lowest turnout neighborhoods saw turnout above 15 percent, with the exception of Williamsburg, which was the lowest turnout district in the 2018 election. Some neighborhoods in the lowest turnout group closely mirrored overall turnout in the 2014 midterm election, with about 20 percent. Conversely, in 2014, none of the bottom 25 neighborhoods for voter turnout were above 15 percent. In fact, the bottom 25 neighborhoods for turnout in 2014 ranged from just 9.9 percent in Belmont (the Bronx) to 14.7 percent in Sunset Park West (Brooklyn). Again, there were similarities between the neighborhoods in the bottom 25 for both registration and turnout across midterm election cycles. Fourteen of the bottom 25 neighborhoods for voter turnout in the 2018 general were also among the bottom 25 neighborhoods for voter turnout in the 2014 general,⁶ and 16 of the bottom 25 neighborhoods for voter registration in the 2018 general were also among the bottom 25 neighborhoods for voter registration in the 2014 general.⁷

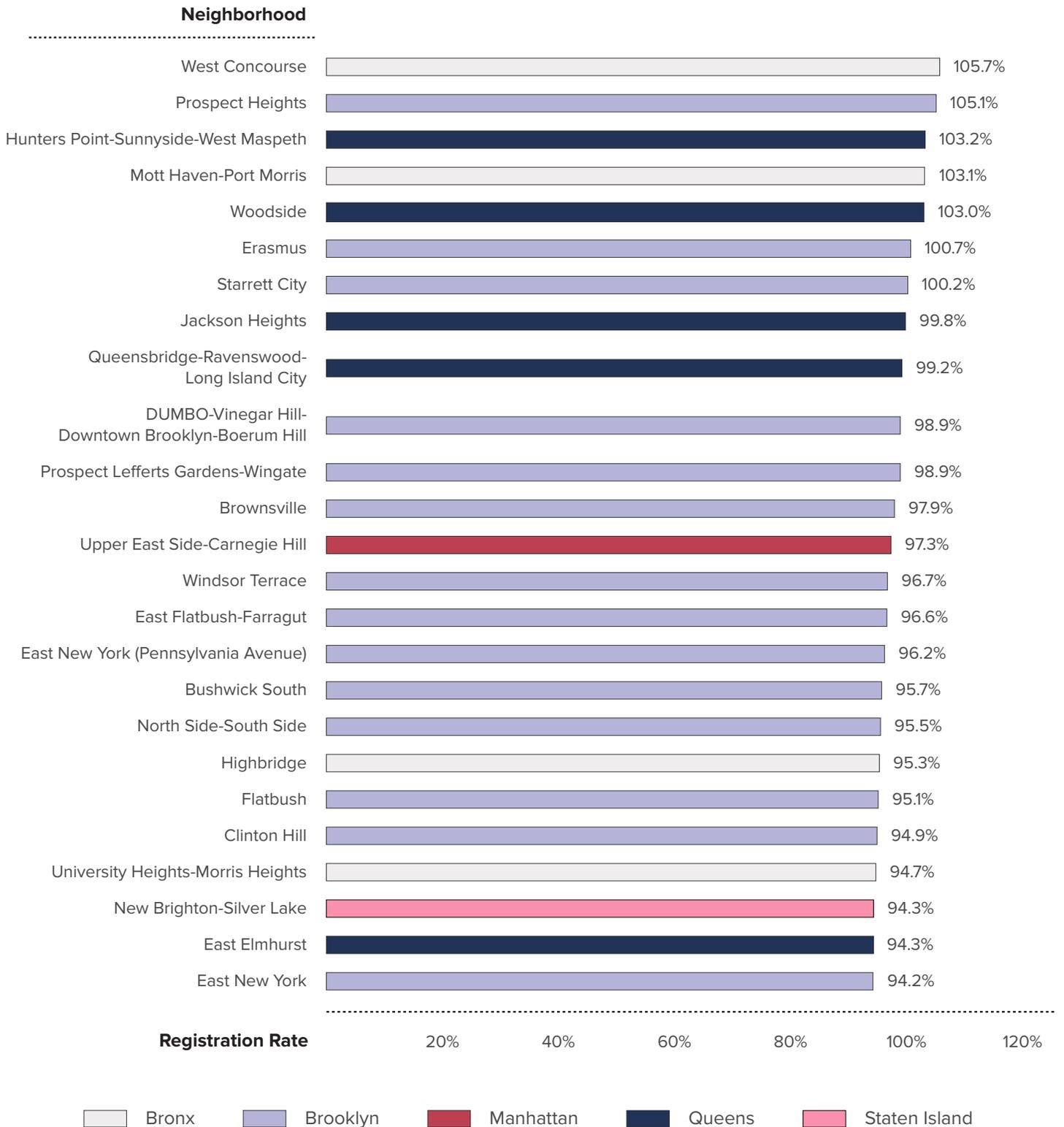
6 These neighborhoods include: in Brooklyn—Bath Beach, Bensonhurst East, Bensonhurst West, Cypress Hills-City Line, Sunset Park East, Williamsburg; in the Bronx—Bedford Park-Fordham North, Belmont; in Queens—College Point, Ozone Park, Queensboro Hill, Richmond Hill, South Ozone Park, Woodhaven.

7 These neighborhoods include: in Brooklyn—Bath Beach, Bensonhurst East, Bensonhurst West, Homecrest, Madison; in the Bronx—Allerton-Pelham Gardens, Belmont, Schuylerville-Throgs Neck-Edgewater Park; in Manhattan—East Village, Gramercy, Murray Hill-Kips Bay; in Queens—College Point, Glendale, Lindenwood-Howard Beach, Middle Village, Ozone Park.

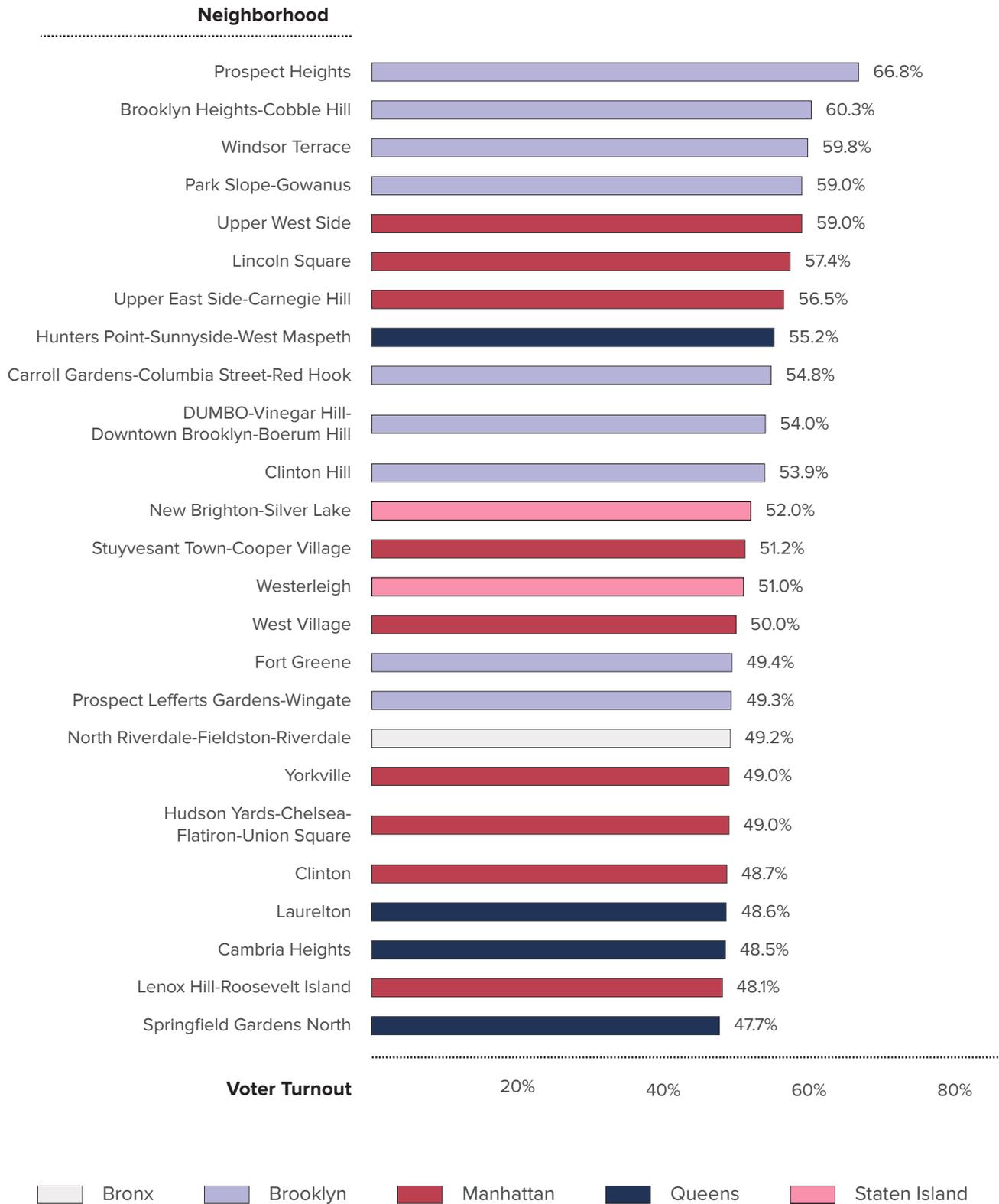
VOTER TURNOUT AMONG CITIZENS OF VOTING AGE BY NEIGHBORHOOD IN THE 2018 GENERAL ELECTION AND STATE PRIMARY ELECTIONS



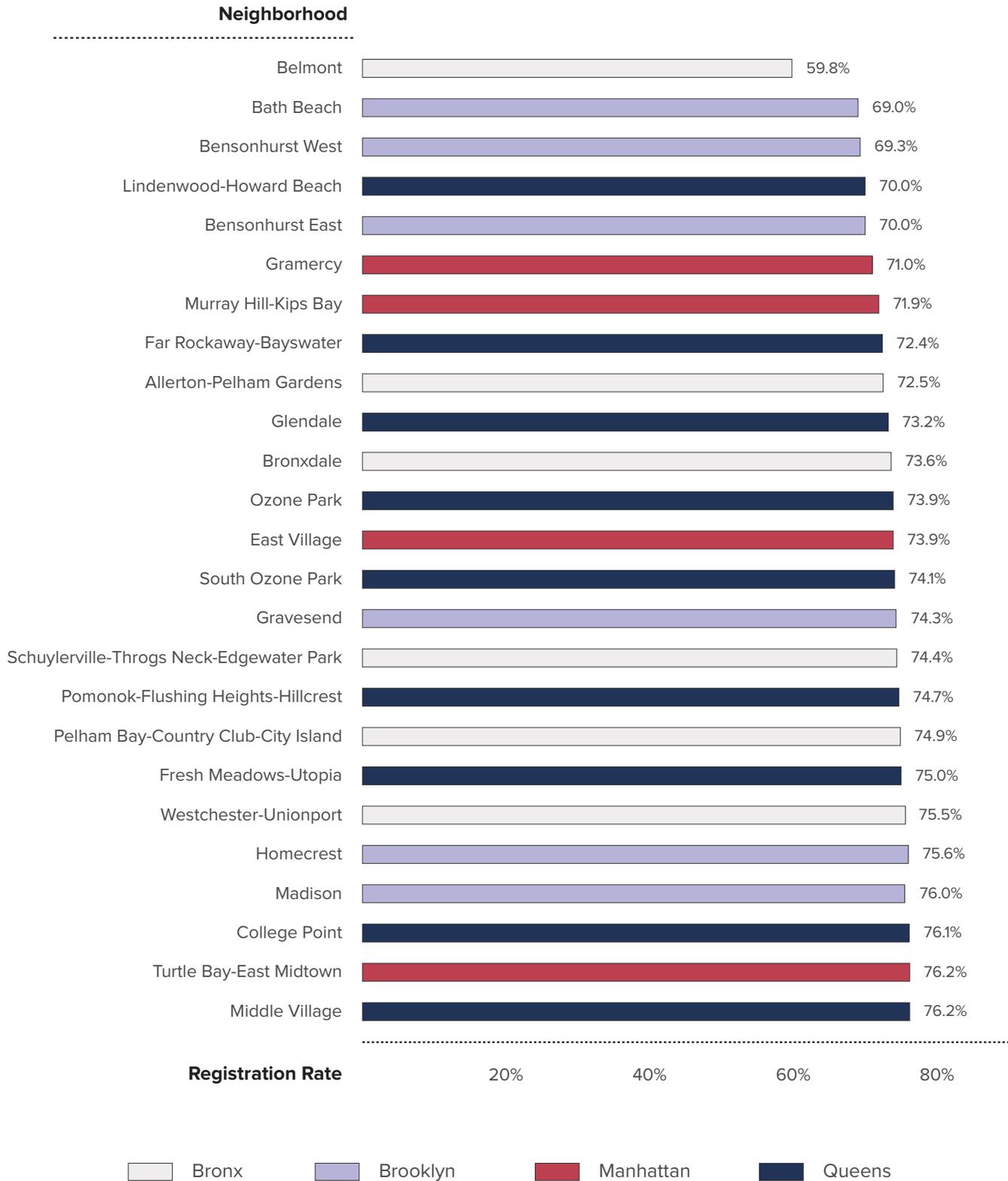
TOP 25 NEIGHBORHOODS FOR VOTER REGISTRATION IN 2018



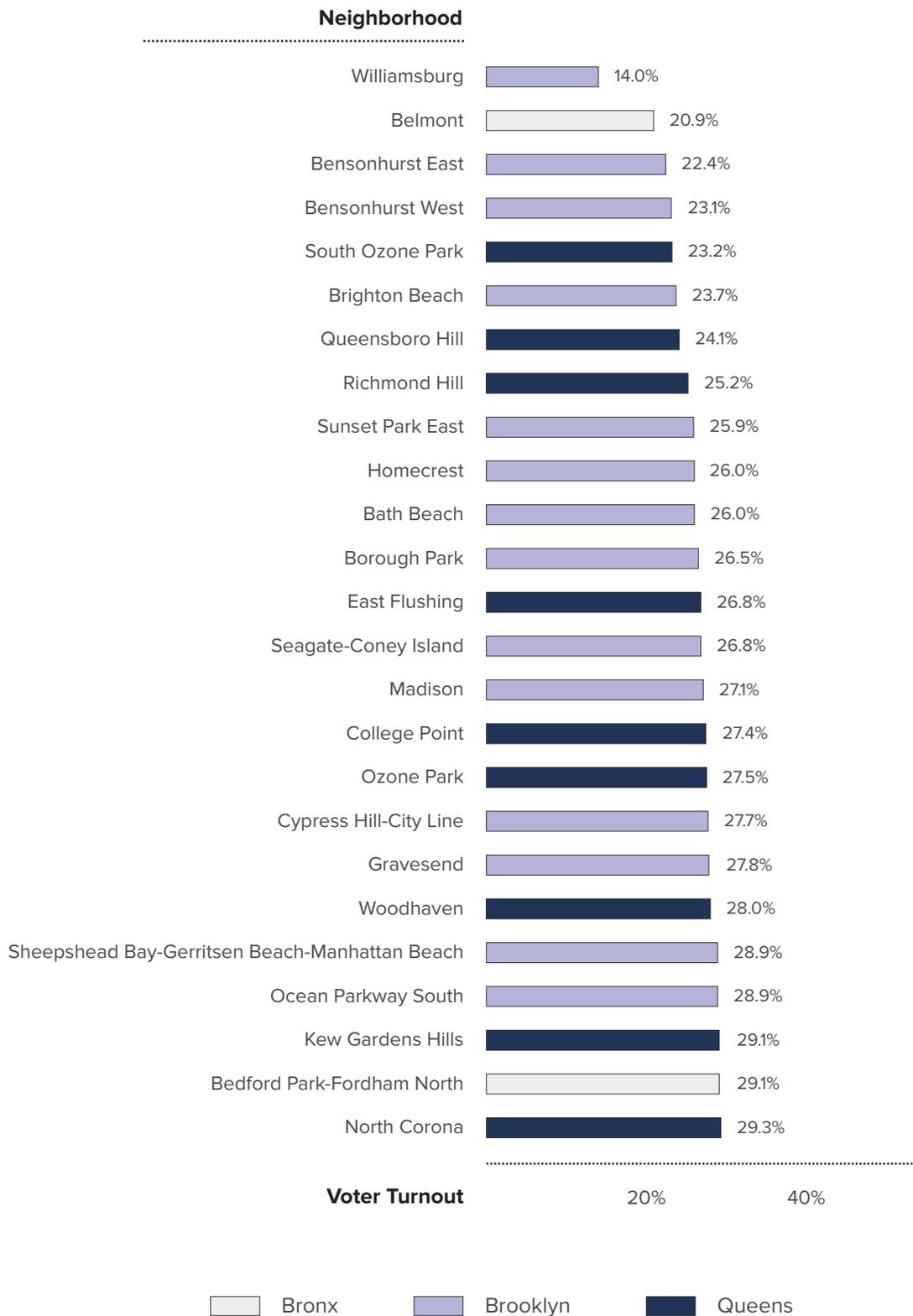
TOP 25 NEIGHBORHOODS FOR VOTER TURNOUT IN 2018



BOTTOM 25 NEIGHBORHOODS FOR VOTER REGISTRATION IN 2018



BOTTOM 25 NEIGHBORHOODS FOR VOTER TURNOUT IN 2018

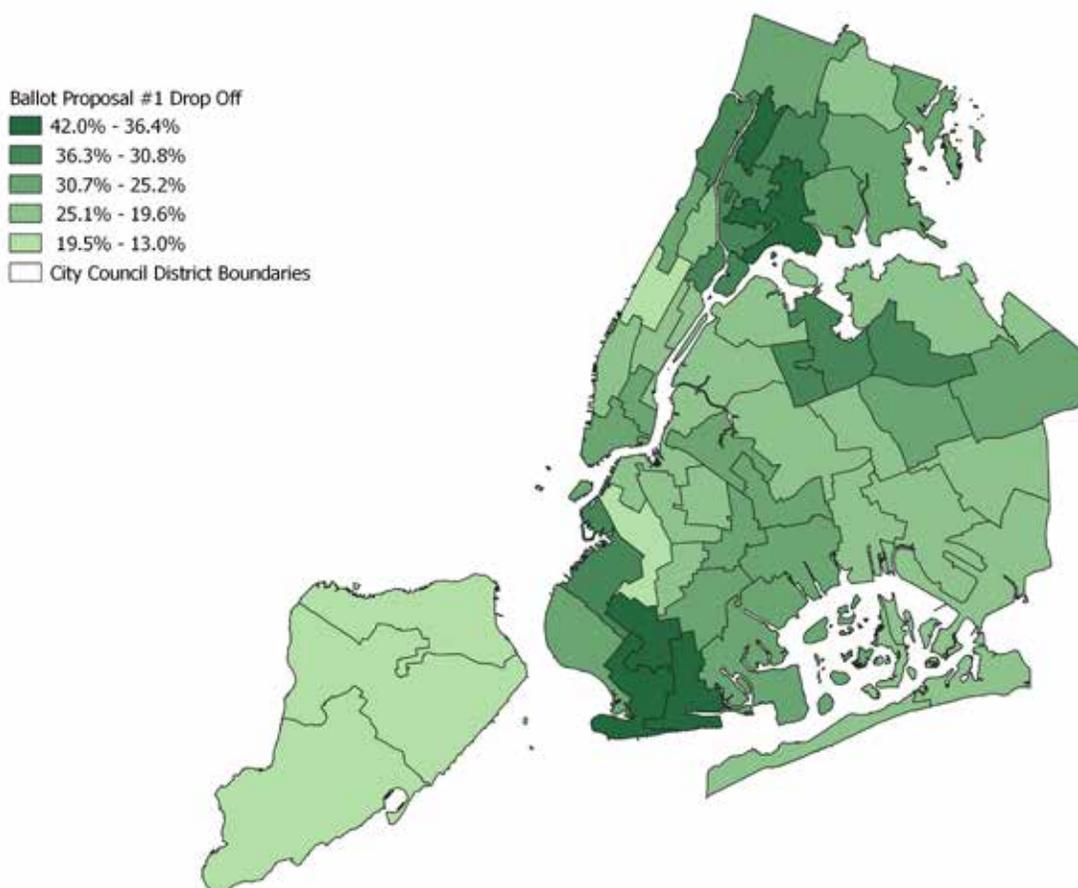


DROP-OFF IN VOTER PARTICIPATION FOR BALLOT PROPOSALS

In addition to voting for governor, members of Congress, and other state offices in the 2018 general election, voters were also asked to vote on three ballot proposals. However, some voters who opted to vote for governor and other offices left their ballots blank for the ballot proposals. Here, we calculate this “drop-off” percentage at the City Council District level for each proposal.

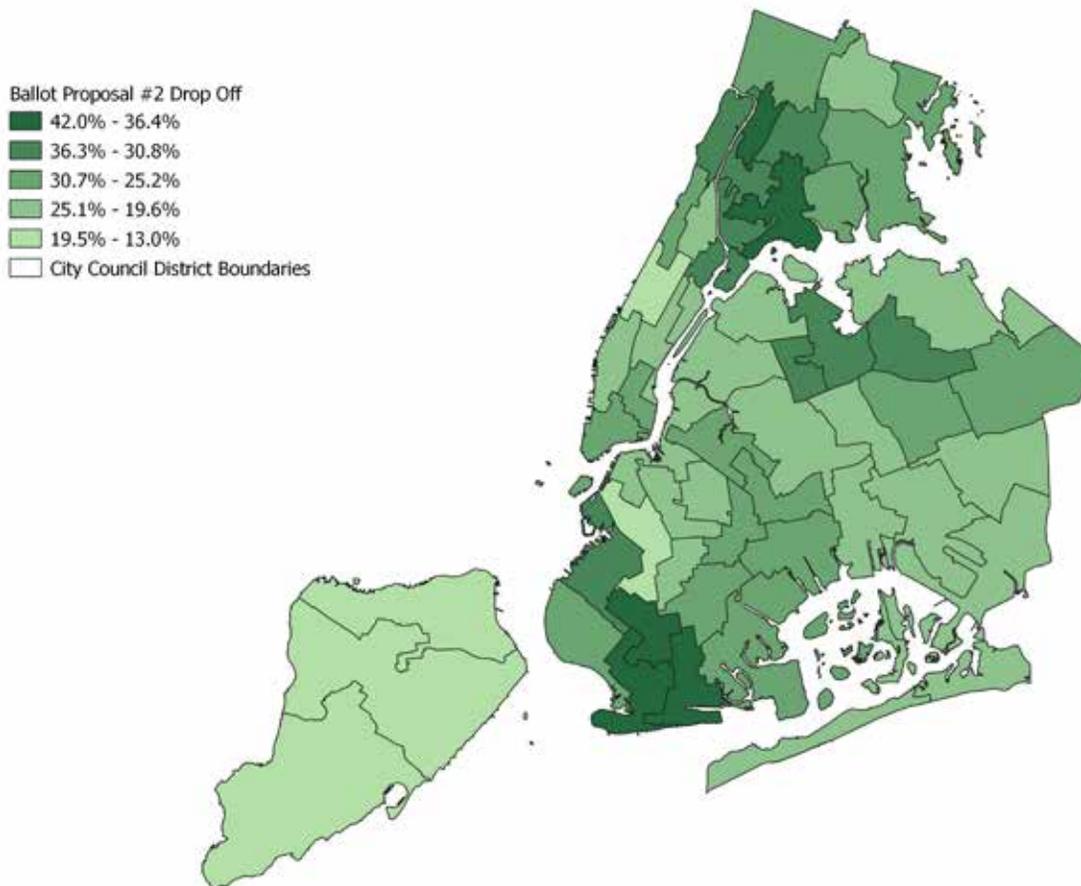
The first ballot initiative proposed lowering the amount that a candidate for city office would be able to accept from a contributor to their campaign, increasing the amount of public funds available to participating candidates, and making public funds available earlier. Candidates for the 2021 election would then have the choice of whether to have the new limits apply to them.

DROP-OFF IN VOTER PARTICIPATION FOR PROPOSAL 1: CAMPAIGN FINANCE



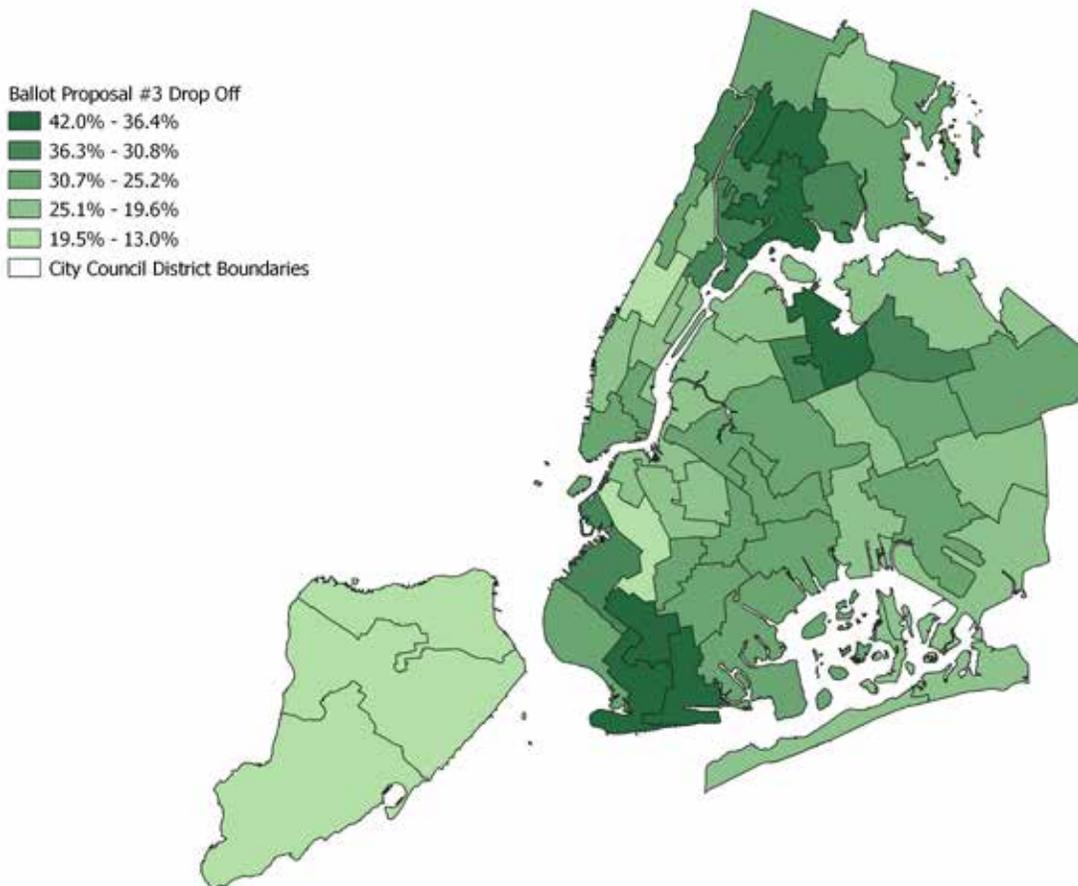
The second initiative proposed creating a Civic Engagement Commission that would centralize voter engagement initiatives, establish a citywide participatory budgeting program, assist community boards, and provide language interpreters throughout the city on Election Day.

DROP-OFF IN VOTER PARTICIPATION FOR PROPOSAL 2: CIVIC ENGAGEMENT COMMISSION



The third initiative proposed changing how community boards throughout the city are run by imposing term limits on appointees, changing the application and appointment process for community board members, and requiring the Civic Engagement Commission (assuming Question 2 were to be approved) to provide resources to community boards.

DROP-OFF IN VOTER PARTICIPATION FOR PROPOSAL 3: COMMUNITY BOARDS



Overall, Ballot Proposal 1 (campaign finance) saw a total drop-off of 25.4 percent citywide. Ballot Proposal 2 (Civic Engagement Commission) saw a total drop-off of 26.3 percent, and Ballot Proposal 3 (community boards) saw a total drop-off of 26.1 percent. Unlike 2017, when the constitutional convention ballot proposal received widespread media attention and subsequently experienced a much lower drop-off rate of 10.7 percent compared to other proposals, no single proposal received substantially more media attention or support from advocacy groups than the others. This helps to explain the relatively uniform rate of drop-off across the three proposals in 2018.

For each proposal, drop-off varied widely across Council districts, ranging from less than 15 percent drop-off in some districts to greater than 40 percent drop-off in others. District 51 in Staten Island boasted the lowest drop-off rate for each of the three proposals, with less than 15 percent drop-off for each. Across the three proposals, Council districts in Staten Island had the lowest average rate of drop-off at 14.4 percent. In Manhattan Council districts, the average rate of drop-off across all three proposals was 26.1 percent; in Queens Council districts, 26.4 percent; in Brooklyn Council districts, 28.9 percent; and in Bronx Council districts, 32 percent.

TURNOUT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PRIMARY AND GENERAL ELECTIONS

Throughout the election cycle, there was a push among Democratic voters and advocacy groups to unseat a group of eight breakaway State Senate Democrats, known as the Independent Democratic Conference (IDC), who caucused with the Republicans. While the IDC announced in April 2018 that they would dissolve and rejoin their mainline Democratic colleagues, many voters believed that the group had “enabled a Republican agenda.”⁸ In the 2018 state primary election, every State Senate seat in New York City was held by an incumbent, and only two senators, Andrew Lanza (Senate District 24) and Velmanette Montgomery (Senate District 25), did not have a primary challenge.⁹ By comparison, in the 2014 state primary election, 14 incumbent senators did not face a primary challenge.

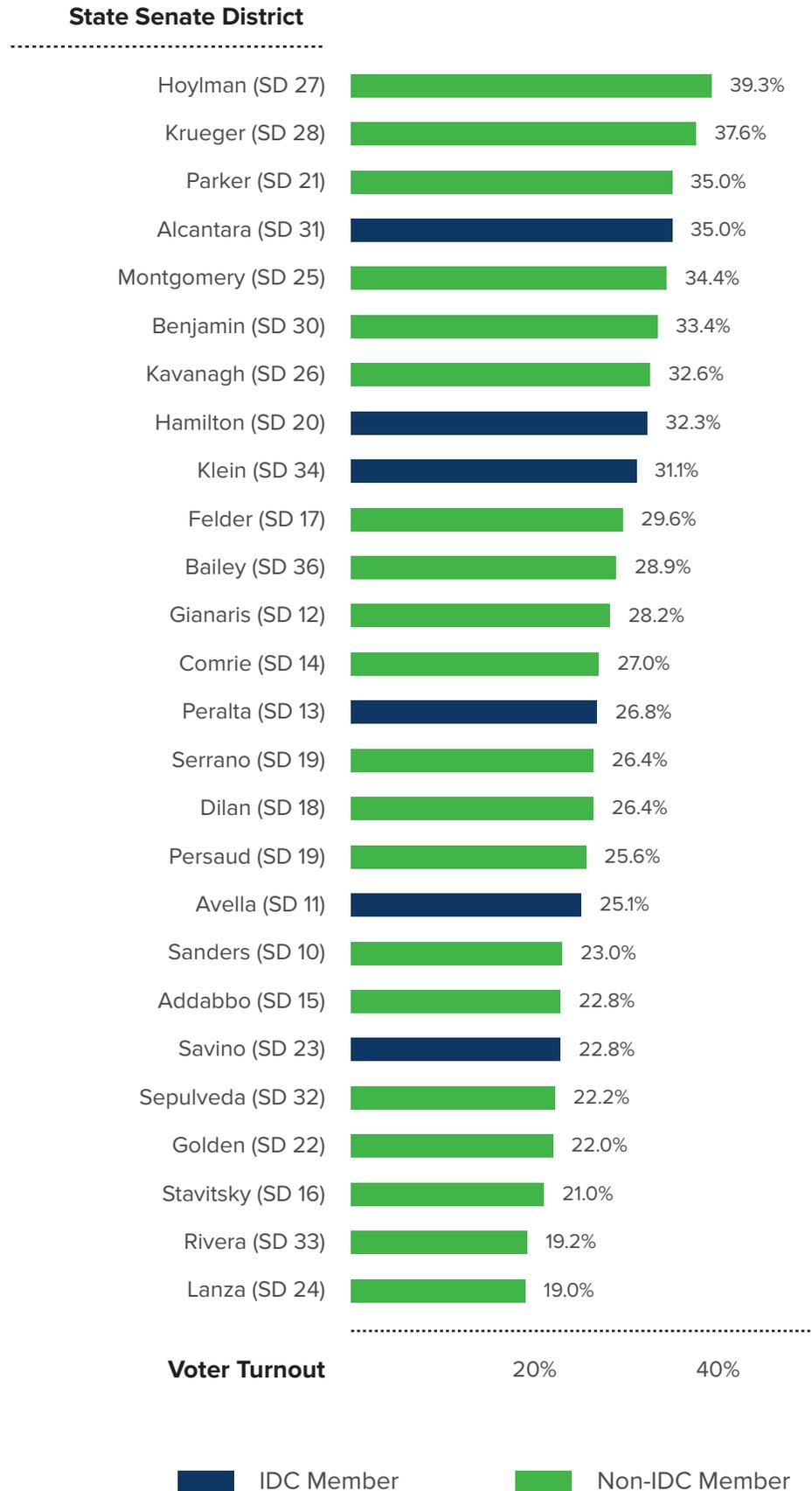
Subsequently, every former member of the IDC had a Democratic challenger in the primary election, and, in New York City, five of the six former members of the IDC lost their seats in the primary. Even though challengers to IDC members received more substantial media coverage than challengers to mainline Democrats or Republicans, voter turnout was not dramatically different between the two groups. On average, turnout was about 29.6 percent in Senate districts with a former IDC incumbent and about 28.4 percent in districts with a mainline Democratic or Republican incumbent. This shows that the perceived competitiveness¹⁰ of an election does not necessarily lead to increased turnout in that district, and that in this high-profile election, voters turned out regardless of whether they were voting in a competitive election.

8 Wang, Vivian. “How 3 Little Letters (I.D.C.) Are Riling Up New York Progressives.” *The New York Times*. September 11, 2018.

9 Senator Martin Golden (Senate District 22) did not face a Republican primary challenge, but there was a Democratic primary in the district to replace him.

10 Bouie, Jamelle. “How to Make Elections Competitive.” *The Nation*. June 20, 2011.

TURNOUT IN IDC VS. NON-IDC DISTRICTS IN 2018 STATE PRIMARY



As is true every election cycle, turnout increased in every district from the primary to the general election. On the previous page, we calculate the percent increase in voter participation from the state primary to the general election among voters who were eligible to participate in both elections.

To further illustrate that districts with a competitive primary election do not necessarily boast a higher rate of turnout, we examine the increase in turnout from the state primary to the general election. In Senate districts where a former IDC member ran for re-election, turnout increased a total of about 20 percent between the state primary and the general election. In Senate districts where a non-IDC member ran for re-election, turnout increased a total of about 21.8 percent between the state primary and the general election.

There are, however, variances in turnout increase by borough. In Staten Island, turnout increased a total of 29.6 percent between the state primary and the general election; a total of 22.8 percent in Manhattan; a total of 22.6 percent in Queens; a total of 20.2 percent in the Bronx, and a total of 19.1 percent in Brooklyn. Turnout was much higher in the state primary than in the federal primary, where only six of 13 congressional districts had a primary. Newly implemented legislation will consolidate state and federal primaries in June, which may help to increase primary turnout overall, since voters will only be expected to make it to the polls for one race prior to the general election.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VOTER CHARACTERISTICS AND TURNOUT IN 2018

In this section, we analyze the correlations¹ between voter turnout and other variables such as characteristics of individual voters and neighborhood-level demographics. Examining each variable in isolation allowed us to determine which variables had a positive, negative, or no relationship with voter turnout. In the next section of this report, we describe which variables caused higher or lower turnout in each neighborhood during the 2018 elections. Because the next section of this report analyzes each variable's relationship not only with neighborhood turnout, but with the other variables, some of the coefficients may contradict our findings in this section.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

The New York City voter file allows us to determine a voter's gender, age, party affiliation, and date of registration. This allows us to analyze the relationship between each characteristic and voter turnout at the individual level. The following correlations show the relationship between 2018 midterm turnout and each characteristic for individual voters in the voter file.

1 Correlations are used in statistics to measure how strong a relationship is between two variables. Correlations can be positive (closer to 1), negative (closer to negative 1) or have no relationship (0). Correlations are used to describe relationships between two variables, and a correlation does not necessarily describe whether or not one variable caused another. The correlations below show the relationship between voter turnout in the 2018 midterm by neighborhood and each demographic characteristic, with all else equal (*ceteris paribus*). This means that other demographic factors are not considered.

GENDER

According to a study by the Center for American Women and Politics, “voter turnout rates for women have equaled or exceeded voter turnout rates for men.”² While women have cast between four and seven million more votes than men in recent elections since 2008, this pattern did not hold true for women in New York City in the 2018 midterm elections. Women were almost no more likely than men to vote in the 2018 midterm elections, and consequently the relationship between gender and turnout was very weakly positive. All other factors equal, correlation between these factors is statistically significant, but it is not substantively significant.³

AGE

According to data from the Current Population Survey, “the young vote less often than the old, and turnout increases with each additional year of life.”⁴ Voters ages 18 to 29 are much more likely to vote in presidential election years than in midterm election years, but even in presidential elections, turnout for this age group lags behind turnout for their older cohorts. Young voters are usually even more underrepresented in midterm elections. However, similar to our findings about gender, this pattern did not hold true among New York City voters in the 2018 midterm elections. Voters in the 18 to 29 age group were almost no less likely than voters in other age brackets to vote in the 2018 midterm elections, and the relationship between age group and turnout is very weakly positive. All other factors equal, correlation here is statistically significant, but it is not substantively significant.⁵

2 “Gender Differences and Turnout.” Center for American Women and Politics. July 20, 2017.

3 The Pearson Correlation coefficient between turnout and gender is 0.039 and is statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

4 “What Affects Voter Turnout Rates.” FairVote. 2018.

5 The Pearson Correlation coefficient between turnout and age group is 0.083 and is statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

UNAFFILIATED VOTERS

Typically, voters without a party affiliation turn out at lower rates than voters who are enrolled in a party. In New York, primaries are closed, meaning unaffiliated voters are unable to participate. Some observers suggest this may lead to greater dissatisfaction with the candidates in the general election among unaffiliated voters, decreasing the likelihood that they will vote.⁶ In the 2018 elections, voters without a party affiliation were slightly less likely to vote than voters who were enrolled in any party. Thus, the relationship between party affiliation and voter turnout is weakly negative.⁷

RECENT REGISTRATIONS

Voters who registered in 2018 were about as likely to vote in 2018 as voters who had registered before 2018. The relationship between in-year⁸ versus out-year registration and voter turnout is very weakly positive.⁹ While the correlation is statistically significant, it is not substantively significant, and there is almost no relationship between when a voter registered and whether they actually voted in the 2018 midterm elections. By contrast, in 2017, voters who registered in the election year were less likely to vote in the 2017 citywide elections than voters who were already registered. This indicates that new registrants in 2018 registered specifically to participate in this high-profile election, while this may not be the case in local elections, which are generally less publicized.

6 Killian, Linda. “Five Myths about Independent Voters.” *The Washington Post*. May 17, 2012.

7 The Pearson Correlation coefficient between turnout and party affiliation is -0.128 and is statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

8 Between January 1, 2018 and November 6, 2018 (Election Day).

9 The Pearson Correlation coefficient between turnout and registration year is 0.011 and is statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

DEMOGRAPHICS AT THE NEIGHBORHOOD LEVEL

Using the American Community Survey (ACS) through the census,¹⁰ we analyzed the relationship between turnout and each of the following demographic characteristics at the neighborhood level. The following correlations show the relationship, by neighborhood (NTA), between turnout in the midterm election and the proportion of the population with a given demographic characteristic.

NATURALIZATION STATUS

Research shows that immigrants are less likely to attend college and more likely to be unemployed than other citizens, and these economic conditions can depress civic engagement. This is one explanation as to why there are a growing number of immigrants who, even after becoming citizens and obtaining the right to vote, often remain less likely to participate in elections than other citizens.¹¹ In the 2018 midterm elections, neighborhoods with high percentages of naturalized citizens were negatively correlated with voter turnout, and this relationship is moderately negative.¹²

LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENCY

The Voting Rights Act outlines language minority provisions to ensure that Limited English Proficiency (LEP) voters are not excluded from the electoral process. In New York City, the LEP population is about 1.8 million, or 23 percent of New York City's total population.¹³ However, of these 1.8 million, about 305,000 (17 percent) speak a language that is not protected under the federal Voting Rights Act.¹⁴ LEP voters who cannot read election materials or ask poll workers for assistance face unique challenges when voting. If these communities do not receive adequate

10 U.S. Census Bureau, 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates.

11 Leigey, Guillaume & Pons, Vincent. "Increasing the Electoral Participation of Immigrants: Experimental Evidence from France." Harvard Business School. May, 2016.

12 The Pearson Correlation coefficient between voter turnout and percent naturalized citizens by NTA is -0.354 and is statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

13 U.S. Census Bureau, 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates.

14 U.S. Census Bureau, 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates.

guidance at the polls, it can prevent them from voting as they intended or from voting at all. In the 2018 midterm elections, neighborhoods with high percentages of LEP individuals were negatively correlated with voter turnout, and all else equal, this relationship is moderately negative.¹⁵

EDUCATION AND INCOME

A study of voter turnout between the years 1972 and 2008 shows that individuals with higher levels of income and education are more likely to vote. Most research shows that education has a stronger relationship with voter turnout than income does.¹⁶ Some potential explanations for these gaps in turnout are that low income individuals may have less time to devote to voting, especially if they have to take time off of work or other responsibilities in order to vote. Additionally, wealthy individuals are more likely to have access to political engagement through their jobs or networks, while low income individuals may not interact with other civically engaged individuals at the same rate. Similarly, individuals with high levels of educational attainment may see an increased benefit of civic engagement, due to an interest in politics or an enhanced understanding of the political process achieved through increasing levels of education.¹⁷ In the 2018 midterm elections, neighborhoods with high percentages of individuals with a bachelor's degree or master's degree were positively correlated with voter turnout, and this relationship is moderately positive. Conversely, neighborhoods with high percentages of individuals with an associate's degree or less are negatively correlated with voter turnout, and the strength of this negative correlation grew with lower levels of educational attainment.¹⁸ Similarly, neighborhoods with a high percentage of individuals with an income of \$75,000 or more were positively correlated with turnout, and the strength of this positive correlation

15 The Pearson Correlation coefficient between turnout and percent of Limited English Proficiency population by NTA is -0.601 and is statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

16 Leighley, Jan & Nagler, Jonathan. "Theoretical Framework and Models." *Who Votes Now?: Demographics, Issues, Inequality, and Turnout in the United States*. 2014.

17 Leighley, Jan & Nagler, Jonathan. "Theoretical Framework and Models." *Who Votes Now?: Demographics, Issues, Inequality, and Turnout in the United States*. 2014.

18 See Correlation Matrix "Education and Voter Turnout" in the Statistical Index.

grew with each higher income bracket. Conversely, neighborhoods in which many individuals had an income below \$75,000 were negatively correlated with turnout. The strength of this correlation grew with each lower income bracket.¹⁹

RACE AND ETHNICITY

In general, minority turnout is consistently lower than turnout among white voters, and this is especially true in midterm election years. This pattern can be attributed to the long-standing historical barriers to participation for minorities, which have only recently been improved to some extent by laws like the Voting Rights Act.²⁰ However, there is variation in turnout among racial and ethnic groups. For example, Latinos and Asian Americans lag well behind both whites and African Americans at each step of political incorporation, including voter turnout.²¹ One explanation for this trend is that Latinos and Asian Americans are generally immigrant-based communities, which, as mentioned above, tend to experience lower turnout. Additionally, Latino and Asian American voters are less likely to be registered in a party,²² and unaffiliated voters are less likely to vote than those who belong to parties. In the 2018 midterm elections, neighborhoods with large Asian American populations were negatively correlated with turnout, and all else equal, this correlation was moderately negative.²³ Large Latino populations were also negatively correlated with neighborhood turnout, and this relationship was slightly stronger.²⁴ Unlike Latino and Asian American populations, neighborhoods with large African American populations were not negatively correlated with

19 See Correlation Matrix “Income and Voter Turnout” in the Statistical Index.

20 Fraga, Bernard. “The turnout gap between whites and racial minorities is larger than you think — and hard to change.” *The Washington Post*. September 25, 2018.

21 Hajnal, Zoltan & Lee, Taeku. “What does it mean to be Partisan?” *Why Americans Don’t Join the Party*.

22 Hajnal, Zoltan & Lee, Taeku. “What does it mean to be Partisan?” *Why Americans Don’t Join the Party*.

23 The Pearson Correlation coefficient between turnout and percent Asian ethnicity by NTA is -0.245 and is statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

24 The Pearson Correlation coefficient between turnout and percent Latino ethnicity by NTA is -0.286 and is statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

turnout. Instead, these neighborhoods had almost no correlation with turnout, and all else equal, the relationship was statistically significant but not substantively so.²⁵

INTERNET ACCESS

A study of the 2008 presidential election, which marked the first time that the internet played a key role during major political campaigns, found that internet access in US counties is associated with an increase in voter turnout.²⁶ Online access provides voters with news, reminders, and updates about upcoming elections, and it is also an important tool for mobilizing voters, particularly with the increased role of social media in any major campaign's get out the vote efforts. In the 2018 midterm elections, neighborhoods with high percentages of households with Internet access²⁷ were positively correlated with voter turnout, and this relationship is moderately positive.²⁸

MOBILITY

Recently, Governor Cuomo signed a bill that would require the Board of Elections to update a voter's registration when they move anywhere within New York State using the statewide voter file. Prior to the passage of this legislation, voters who moved outside of their county or outside of New York City were required to submit a voter registration form as a change of address form.²⁹ Consequently, if voters who had recently moved failed to change their registration information by the registration deadline, they were unable to vote normally at their new polling location and instead had to cast an affidavit ballot. This additional barrier would likely hinder voters from turning out and participating. However, in the 2018

25 The Pearson Correlation coefficient between turnout and percent black by NTA is 0.092 and is statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

26 Larcinese, Valentino & Miner, Luke. "The Political Impact of the Internet in US Presidential Elections." *STICERD*. June 2017.

27 Internet access combines individuals who own a computer with Internet and own a cell phone with Internet.

28 The Pearson Correlation coefficient between turnout and internet access is 0.519 and is statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

29 New York State Election Law Section 5-208.

midterm elections, neighborhoods with large percentages of individuals who had moved in the last year (renters and owners combined) were positively correlated with turnout, and all else equal, this correlation is moderately positive.³⁰

COMMUTE

Voters with long commute times (i.e. a commute of one hour or more) may be less inclined to travel back to their polling location to cast a ballot on Election Day. Additionally, individuals with long commute times may be “less attentive to their community because they tend to work in different jurisdictions and spend more time commuting” and less time in their districts.³¹ In the 2018 midterm elections, neighborhoods with high percentages of individuals with long commutes were negatively correlated with voter turnout, and this relationship is moderately negative.³² Additionally, neighborhoods with high percentages of individuals with a shorter commute time (i.e. between 20 and 39 minutes) were positively correlated with voter turnout, and this relationship is moderately positive.³³

DISABILITY STATUS

In 2016, there were over 60 million eligible voters in the United States who had a disability or had a household member with a disability, and this accounts for about 25 percent of the electorate.³⁴ According to the American Association for People with Disabilities (AAPD), voter turnout among people with disabilities was about 6 points lower than it was for people without disabilities.³⁵ In the 2018 midterm

30 The Pearson Correlation coefficient between turnout and percent of individuals who moved in the last year by NTA is 0.381 and is statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

31 Marschall, Melissa & Lappie, John. “Turnout in Local Elections: Is Timing Really Everything?” *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy*. September 18, 2018.

32 The Pearson Correlation coefficient between turnout and commute time of 60 minutes or more is -0.367 and is statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

33 The Pearson Correlation coefficient between turnout and commute time of between 20 and 39 minutes is 0.524 and is statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

34 “Statistics & Data.” AAPD. 2018.

35 “Statistics & Data.” AAPD. 2018.

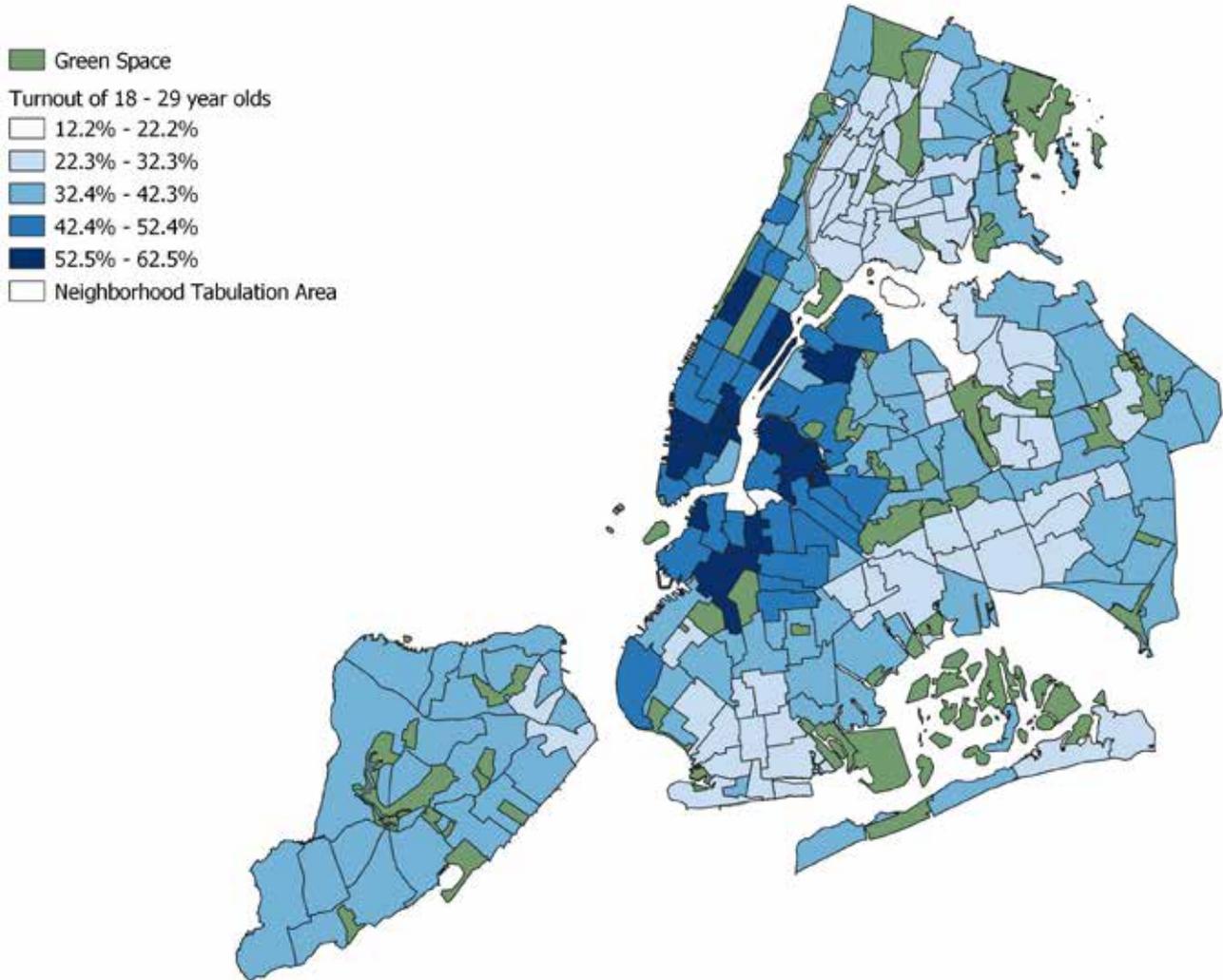
elections, neighborhoods with high percentages of people with disabilities were negatively correlated with voter turnout, though the relationship is weakly negative.³⁶

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND VOTER TURNOUT BY NEIGHBORHOOD

	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NO RELATIONSHIP
INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unaffiliated voters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender • Age • Recent registrations
NEIGHBORHOOD DEMOGRAPHICS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Household income between \$75-99.9k • Household income between \$100-149.9k • Household income between \$150-199.9k • Household income \$200k or greater • Bachelor’s degree • Graduate degree • Households with Internet access • Moved in the last year • Commute 20 – 39 minutes • Commute 40 – 59 minutes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Naturalization • Limited English Proficiency • Household income below \$10k • Household income between \$10-14.9k • Household income between \$15-24.9k • Household income between \$25-34.9k • Household income between \$35-49.9k • Household income between \$50-74.9k • Less than ninth grade education • High school with no diploma • Completed high school • Some college • Associate’s degree • Asian ethnicity • Latino ethnicity • Disability • Commute 60 minutes or more 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • African American • Commute 0-19 minutes

36 The Pearson Correlation coefficient between turnout and disability status is -0.134 and is statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

TURNOUT AMONG 18- TO 29-YEAR-OLDS IN THE 2018 GENERAL ELECTION BY NEIGHBORHOOD



HOUSEHOLDS WITH INCOME OF \$200K OR MORE AND TURNOUT IN THE 2018 GENERAL ELECTION BY NEIGHBORHOOD

GE 2018 Voter Turnout by Neighborhood

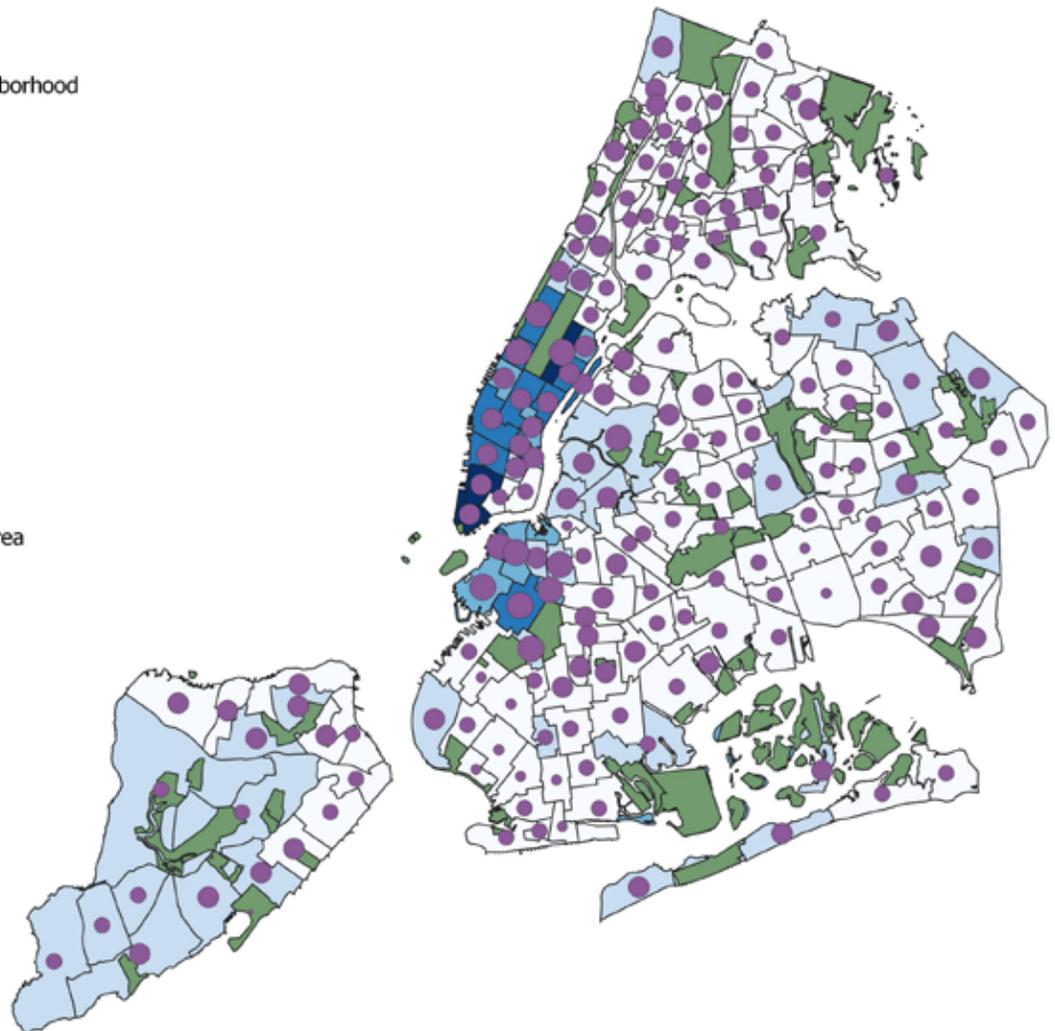
- 0.0% - 13.3%
- 13.4% - 26.7%
- 26.8% - 40.0%
- 40.1% - 53.4%
- 53.5% - 66.8%

Green Space

Household Income \$200,000+

- 0.2% - 8.9%
- 9.0% - 17.6%
- 17.7% - 26.4%
- 26.5% - 35.1%
- 35.2% - 43.8%

Neighborhood Tabulation Area



INDIVIDUALS AGES 25 AND OLDER WITH EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT LESS THAN A BACHELOR'S DEGREE AND TURNOUT IN THE 2018 GENERAL ELECTION BY NEIGHBORHOOD

GE 2018 Voter Turnout by Neighborhood

- 0.0% - 13.3%
- 13.4% - 26.7%
- 26.8% - 40.0%
- 40.1% - 53.4%
- 53.5% - 66.8%

Green Space

Residents with education less than a bachelor's degree

- 14.5% - 31.2%
- 31.3% - 47.8%
- 47.9% - 64.5%
- 64.6% - 81.1%
- 81.2% - 97.8%

Neighborhood Tabulation Area



AFRICAN AMERICAN INDIVIDUALS AND TURNOUT IN THE 2018 GENERAL ELECTION BY NEIGHBORHOOD

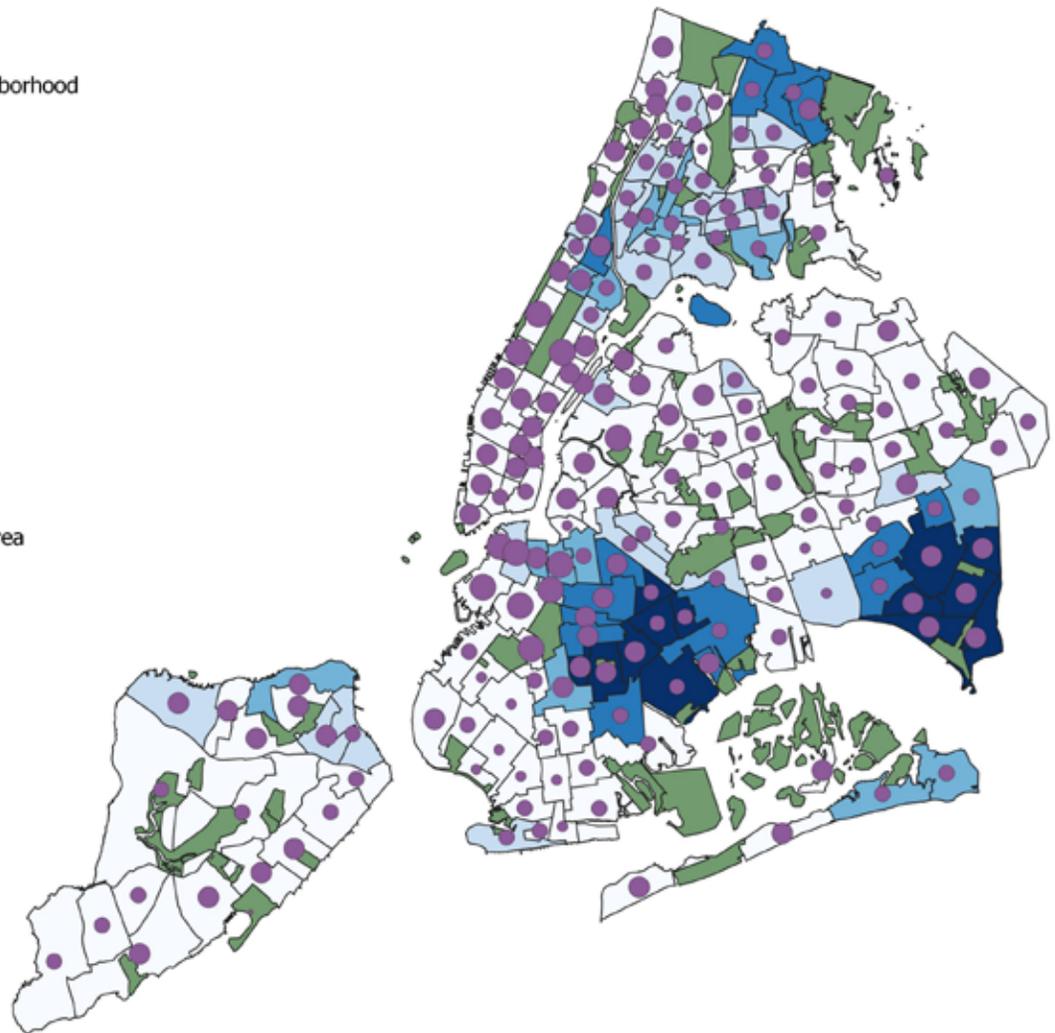
GE 2018 Voter Turnout by Neighborhood

- 0.0% - 13.3%
- 13.4% - 26.7%
- 26.8% - 40.0%
- 40.1% - 53.4%
- 53.5% - 66.8%

Green Space

Black or African American

- 0.5% - 18.9%
- 19.0% - 37.4%
- 37.5% - 55.8%
- 55.9% - 74.3%
- 74.4% - 92.8%
- Neighborhood Tabulation Area



INDIVIDUALS OF LATINO ETHNICITY AND TURNOUT IN THE 2018 GENERAL ELECTION BY NEIGHBORHOOD

GE 2018 Voter Turnout by Neighborhood

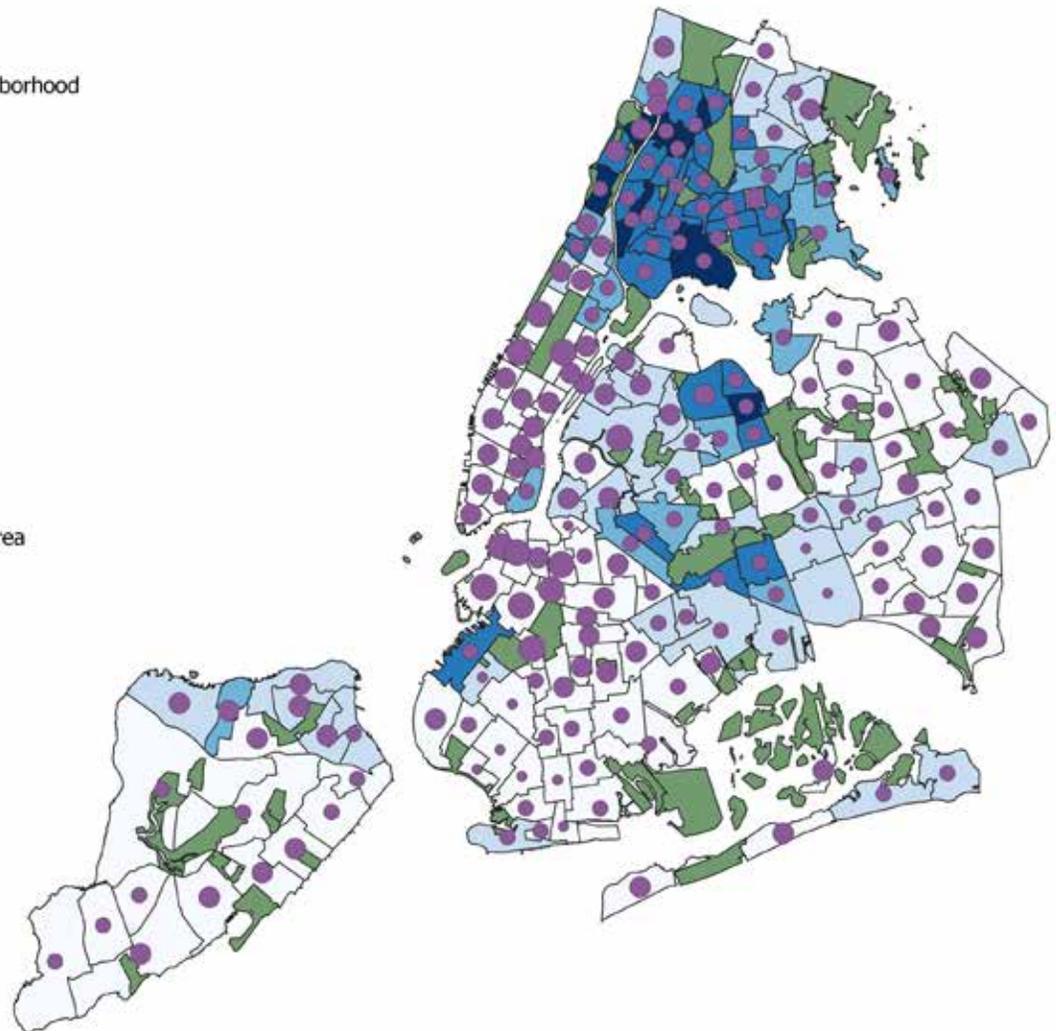
- 0.0% - 13.3%
- 13.4% - 26.7%
- 26.8% - 40.0%
- 40.1% - 53.4%
- 53.5% - 66.8%

Green Space

Latino

- 3.9% - 20.5%
- 20.6% - 37.1%
- 37.2% - 53.7%
- 53.8% - 70.3%
- 70.4% - 87.0%

Neighborhood Tabulation Area



INDIVIDUALS OF ASIAN ETHNICITY AND TURNOUT IN THE 2018 GENERAL ELECTION BY NEIGHBORHOOD

GE 2018 Voter Turnout by Neighborhood

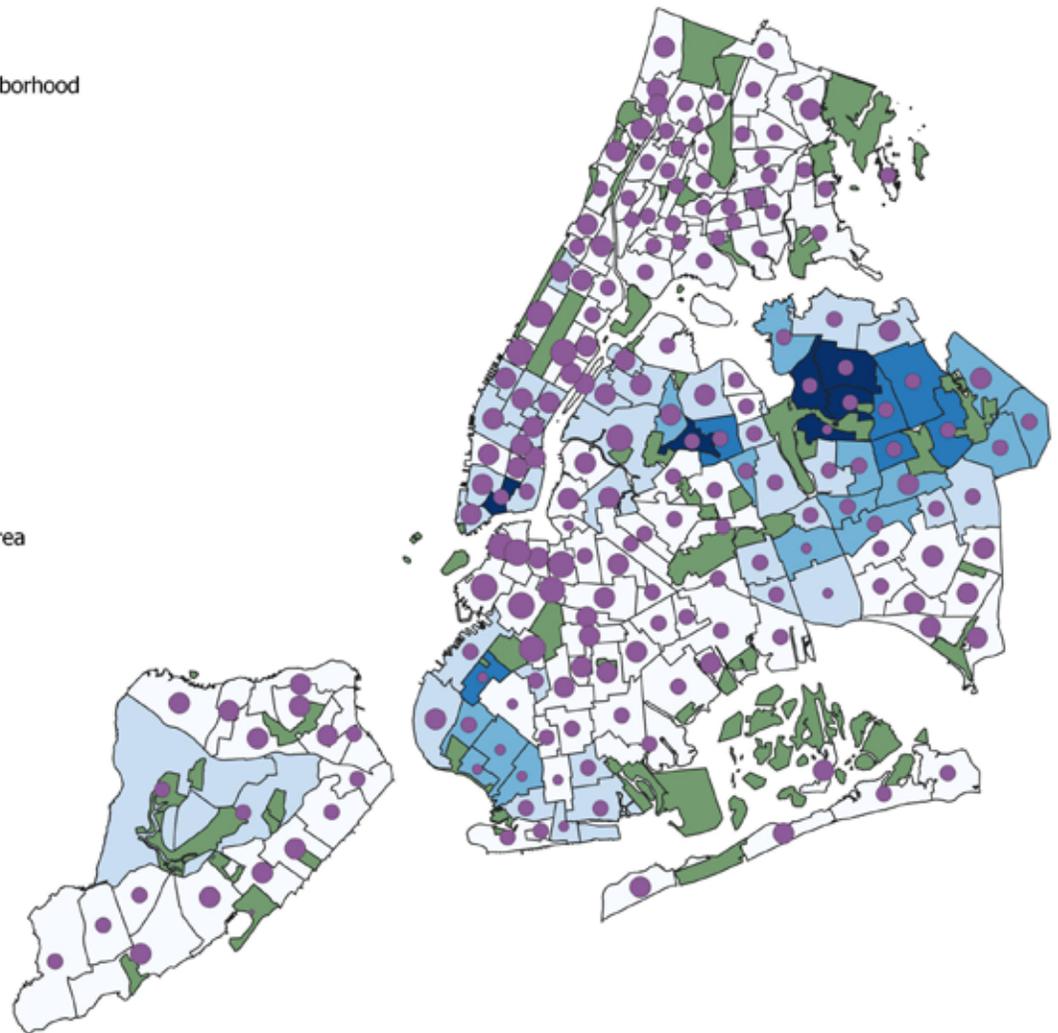
- 0.0% - 13.3%
- 13.4% - 26.7%
- 26.8% - 40.0%
- 40.1% - 53.4%
- 53.5% - 66.8%

Green Space

Asian

- 0.1% - 14.2%
- 14.3% - 28.3%
- 28.4% - 42.4%
- 42.5% - 56.5%
- 56.6% - 70.7%

Neighborhood Tabulation Area



NATURALIZED CITIZENS AND TURNOUT IN THE 2018 GENERAL ELECTION BY NEIGHBORHOOD

GE 2018 Voter Turnout by Neighborhood

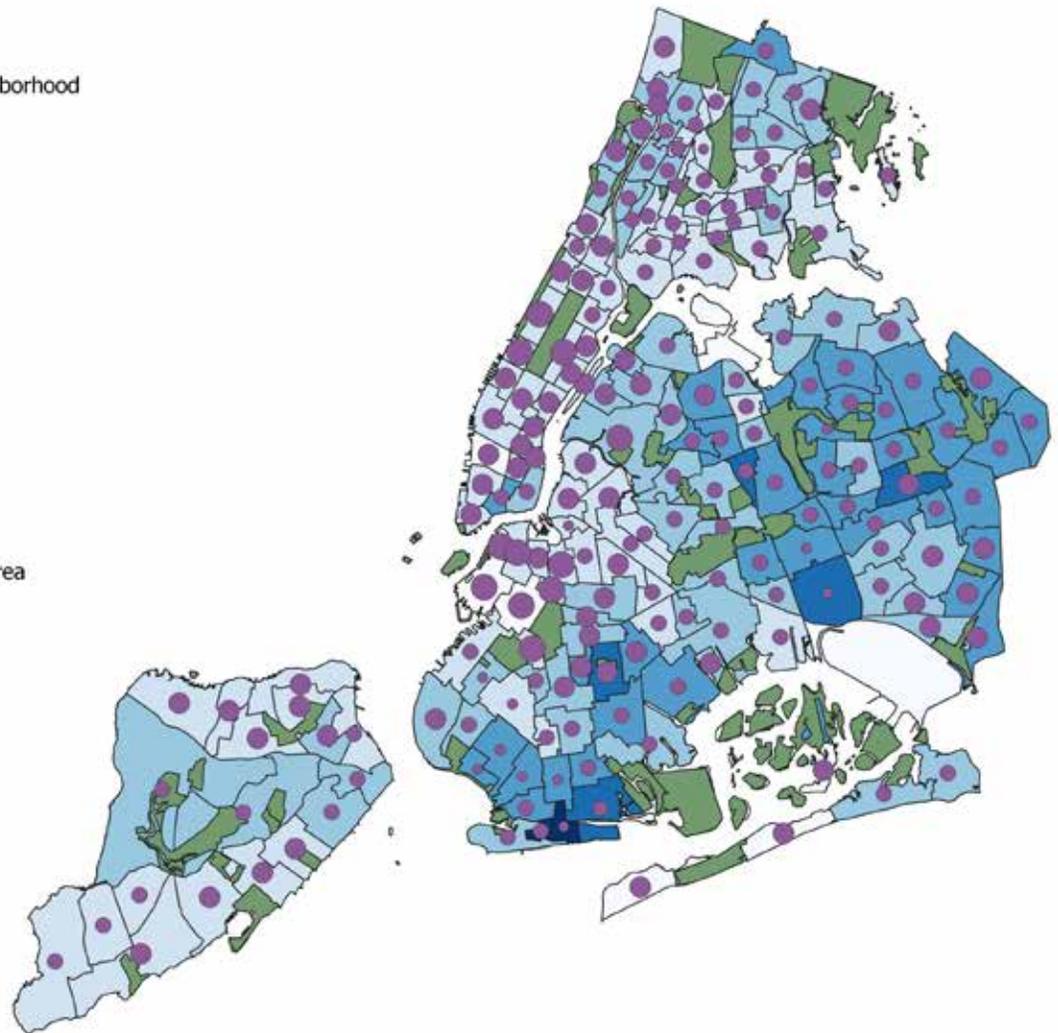
- 0.0% - 13.3%
- 13.4% - 26.7%
- 26.8% - 40.0%
- 40.1% - 53.4%
- 53.5% - 66.8%

Green Space

Naturalized Citizens

- 0.0% - 9.0%
- 9.1% - 17.9%
- 18.0% - 26.9%
- 27.0% - 35.8%
- 35.9% - 44.8%
- 44.9% - 53.7%

Neighborhood Tabulation Area



VARIABLES LEADING TO DIFFERENCES IN TURNOUT

We also examined the relationship between demographic characteristics and turnout by neighborhood when all demographic characteristics are examined together. To do this, we used a linear regression model,¹ and the results of this model describe which demographic characteristics caused turnout to increase or decrease at the neighborhood level during the 2018 midterm elections.

This linear regression tests the following independent variables at the neighborhood level:

- ◆ Percentage of naturalized citizens
- ◆ Percentage of households by income bracket
- ◆ Percentage of individuals by level of educational attainment
- ◆ Percentage of individuals of Asian ethnicity
- ◆ Percentage of individuals of Latino ethnicity
- ◆ Percentage of African American individuals
- ◆ Percentage of households with Internet access
- ◆ Percentage of citizens of voting age (CVAP) with limited English proficiency (i.e. speak English less than “very well,” according to the census)
- ◆ Percentage of individuals with disabilities
- ◆ Percentage of individuals (both owners and renters) who have moved in the last year
- ◆ Percentage of individuals by commute time
- ◆ Percentage of individuals by age group
- ◆ Percentage of female individuals

1 A linear regression is a type of predictive analysis with two main goals. The first goal is to examine whether a set of independent variables (predictor variables) can predict the dependent variable (outcome variable). The second goal of a linear regression is to determine which variables are significant predictors of the outcome variable, and these results are used to explain the relationship between the dependent variable and one or more independent variables.

The relationships between the demographic characteristics and neighborhood turnout described below take into account the effect of all other variables in the model. This means that independent variables may impact how other independent variables affect neighborhood turnout. These relationships differ from correlations, because they take other demographic factors into consideration, and they can better predict what causes variation in turnout.

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NO RELATIONSHIP
Percentage of households with income between \$35K-49.9K	Percentage of naturalized citizens	Percentage of households with income below \$10,000
Percentage of African American individuals	Percentage of those with less than a ninth grade education	Percentage of households with income between \$10K-14.9K
Percentage of individuals of Asian ethnicity	Percentage of those who attended high school but have no diploma	Percentage of households with income between \$15K-24.9K
Percentage of individuals of Latino ethnicity	Percentage of individuals with some college education but no degree	Percentage of households with income between \$25K-34.9K
Percentage of those between 30 to 39 years old	Percentage of individuals with an associate's degree	Percentage of households with income between \$50K-74.9K
Percentage of those between 50 to 59 years old	Percentage of those who have moved in the last year	Percentage of households with income between \$75K-99.9K
Percentage of those between 70 or older	Percentage of female individuals	Percentage of households with income between \$100K-149.9K
		Percentage of households with income between \$150K-199.9K
		Percentage of individuals with a bachelor's degree
		Percentage of households with Internet access
		Percentage of individuals eligible to vote with Limited English Proficiency
		Percentage of individuals with disabilities
		Percentage of individuals with a commute time of 0-19 minutes
		Percentage of individuals with a commute time of 20-39 minutes
		Percentage of individuals with a commute time of 40-59 minutes
		Percentage of those between 18 to 29 years old
		Percentage of those between 40 to 49 years old
		Percentage of those between 60 to 69 years old

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS WITH A POSITIVE IMPACT ON TURNOUT

To understand the coefficients used in this model, we can suppose that 25 percent of individuals in a neighborhood are between the ages of 30 and 39. If voter turnout in that neighborhood was 40 percent for the general election, the model indicates that the coefficient for the percentage of individuals between 30 to 39 years old by neighborhood is equal to 0.656. This means that if we examine a neighborhood where 50 percent of individuals were between the ages of 30 and 39, we can predict that turnout in that neighborhood will be about 56.4 percent.²

RACE AND ETHNICITY

Race and ethnicity were some of the strongest predictors of voter turnout by neighborhood in the 2018 midterm elections. Neighborhoods with large African American populations saw the greatest positive impact on turnout, followed by neighborhoods with large Latino populations. In fact, percentage of African American individuals had the strongest positive relationship with voter turnout by neighborhood in this linear regression. Neighborhoods with large Asian American populations had a positive relationship with turnout, but the impact on turnout was much weaker than the other racial and ethnic groups we studied.

AGE GROUP

Age group was also a strong predictor of turnout by neighborhood in the linear regression. Neighborhoods with a large percentage of individuals ages 30 to 39 saw the greatest positive impact on voter turnout of any age group, followed by the 70 or older age group and the 50 to 59 age group. All other age groups were not significant in determining turnout by neighborhood in the 2018 midterm elections.

2 40 percent turnout in the neighborhood with 25 percent individuals ages 30 to 39 + (25 percent more individuals ages 30 to 39 X 0.656 coefficient) = 56.4.

INCOME

Income had a positive relationship with turnout by neighborhood in our model, but this relationship was much weaker than the relationships for race and ethnicity and age group. Household income between \$35,000 and \$49,999 was the only income bracket in the model that had a significant relationship with voter turnout, and this was the weakest positive relationship of any of the variables in our model.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS WITH A NEGATIVE IMPACT ON TURNOUT

EDUCATION

Education was one of the strongest negative predictors of turnout by neighborhood in the 2018 midterm elections. Percentage of individuals with some high school education but no diploma by neighborhood had the strongest negative relationship with neighborhood turnout in our model. Turnout was negatively impacted at a similar rate in neighborhoods with large percentages of individuals with less than a ninth grade education and neighborhoods with large percentages of individuals who have only completed high school. The relationship with neighborhood turnout is still negative for neighborhoods with large populations of individuals with some college but no bachelor's degree or an associate's degree, but this relationship is much weaker than for the less educated groups described above. All other levels of educational attainment were not significant in determining turnout by neighborhood in the 2018 midterm elections.³

3 See note on excluded variables in Statistical Index.

NATURALIZATION STATUS

The percentage of naturalized citizens by neighborhood was another negative predictor of voter turnout by neighborhood. In fact, the impact of neighborhoods with large percentages of naturalized citizens on turnout was about as strong as the impact of neighborhoods with very low levels of educational attainment (i.e. no college education).

MOBILITY

Neighborhood turnout was negatively impacted in neighborhoods with a large percentage of individuals who had moved in the last year.⁴ While this relationship is a moderate predictor of negative turnout, it is weaker than level of education.

GENDER

While we expected to see a negative impact on turnout in neighborhoods with low levels of educational attainment, a large immigrant population, and a highly mobile population, it is out of the ordinary for the percentage of women in a neighborhood to have a negative impact on turnout, as women are generally more likely to vote than men. However, this model finds that large female populations did have a moderately negative impact on voter turnout at the neighborhood level.

While it is important to consider the interaction between variables in a regression model, we can reasonably conclude that the significant factors discussed above impacted turnout at the neighborhood level during the 2018 midterm elections.

4 Owners and renters combined.

LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

LEGISLATION THAT HAS PASSED

REFORM	LAST LEGISLATIVE ACTION	NEXT REQUIRED ACTION
Preregistration for 16- and 17-year-olds	Signed into law	Implementation January 1, 2020
Electronic signatures	Signed into law	Implementation in 2021
Electronic poll books	Signed into law	Implementation for 2019 primary election
Early voting	Signed into law	Implementation for 2019 general election
Portable voter registration	Signed into law	None (Implemented)
Combined primaries	Signed into law	Implementation for 2019 primary election
No-excuse absentee voting	Passed 2019–2020 Legislature	Pass 2020–2021 Legislature
Same-day registration	Passed 2019–2020 Legislature	Pass 2020–2021 Legislature

As discussed in the analysis sections of this report, the 2018 midterm elections saw unprecedentedly high turnout rates, with many voters who had turned out to vote in the 2016 presidential elections but were not as engaged during the 2017 citywide elections coming back to the polls to participate. And at the beginning of this year, New York voters and voting rights advocates finally saw a series of long-overdue legislative wins, including the passage of early voting. This was not only an important moment for voting reforms, but also a crucial step for election administrators to take during the year before what is anticipated to be an even higher profile election—the 2020 presidential race.

Here, we discuss early voting in detail, as well as other reforms that are still needed in order for New York to step forward as a leader in voting rights. The first section includes reforms that would have an immediate impact on the voter registration and election administration processes, and once election law is changed, these reforms could be implemented right away. The second section includes reforms that are in progress at the state level and will require a constitutional amendment and, consequently, a minimum of three years in order to pass. Finally, the third section discusses early voting and the factors that need to be taken into consideration in the rollout of this reform later this year.

REFORMS WITH IMMEDIATE IMPACT:

- ◆ Restoring voting rights to parolees
- ◆ Automatic voter registration
- ◆ Changing the party enrollment deadline
- ◆ Voter Friendly Ballot Act
- ◆ Allowing poll workers to serve split shifts
- ◆ Expanding translation services
- ◆ Instant runoff voting

REFORMS IN PROGRESS:

- ◆ No-excuse absentee voting
- ◆ Same-day registration

IMPLEMENTATION RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EARLY VOTING

REFORMS WITH IMMEDIATE IMPACT

RESTORING VOTING RIGHTS TO PAROLEES

Currently, New York State Election Law states that people with felony convictions cannot register to vote while on parole. However, county election officials often fail to distinguish between those on probation and those on parole, which can lead to illegal disenfranchisement. In fact, according to a 2006 report from the Brennan Center, “over a third of New York’s local Boards of Election incorrectly responded that New Yorkers on probation are not eligible to vote, or did not know whether they were eligible.”¹ In April 2018, Governor Cuomo signed an Executive Order providing that individuals on parole could be granted conditional pardons that would restore their voting rights. Prior to the Executive Order, parolees in New York were required to wait until they had been discharged from parole or reached the maximum expiration date of their sentence to have their voting rights restored. Cuomo’s announcement meant that 35,000 parolees in New York were eligible to have their voting rights restored. Pardons through the Executive Order are conditional; if a person returns to incarceration either on a finding that parole has been violated or following conviction for a new felony, their voting rights will be revoked.²

In May 2018, Governor Cuomo issued more than 24,000 conditional pardons, restoring voting rights to nearly two-thirds of New Yorkers currently on parole.³ It is unclear whether all 35,000 parolees have now been pardoned, as there is little information about who has been selected for a pardon and why. Parolees are encouraged to use the parolee look-up tool through the State Department of Corrections website to see whether or not they have received a conditional pardon through the Executive Order. However, according to testimony from the Department of Corrections, “there can be confusion as to what exactly that

1 Akosah, Kwame. “New Promise for Restoring Voting Rights in New York.” Brennan Center for Justice. June 20, 2016.

2 “Governor Cuomo Issues First Group of Conditional Pardons Restoring the Right to Vote to New Yorkers on Parole.” Governor.ny.gov. May 22, 2018.

3 “Governor Cuomo Issues First Group of Conditional Pardons Restoring the Right to Vote to New Yorkers on Parole.” Governor.ny.gov. May 22, 2018.

website is telling people,” and information on the website can be misleading, especially for those who are no longer on parole.⁴ Additionally, for those who receive a pardon, there is confusion regarding the term “automatic restoration.” “Automatic restoration” of voting rights does not mean that a person’s voter registration is automatically restored, but rather that prison officials automatically notify election officials that the individual’s right to vote has been restored.⁵ It is then up to the individual to re-register using the normal process.

While Governor Cuomo’s Executive Order restores voting rights to individuals with felony convictions, restoration of rights is not codified in the Election Law, nor is it reflected in materials provided by Boards of Elections. The New York State voter registration form states that, in order to register, one must “not be in prison or on parole for a felony conviction (unless parole pardoned or restored rights of citizenship).” Further, as of October 2018, more than 50 New York county-level Boards of Elections websites stated explicitly that parolees do not have the right to vote.⁶

From a policy perspective, restoring the voting rights of parolees through election law is more likely to ensure the protection of these rights than an Executive Order. While Governor Cuomo is taking an expansive approach to voting rights, future administrations may not be as proactive about restoring voting rights if it is not a policy priority. For example, in 2006, then-Florida Governor Charlie Crist created automatic rights restoration for people completing sentences for non-violent felony convictions. When Rick Scott was elected Governor in 2011, he eliminated these reforms and “created additional barriers for people seeking to have their voting rights restored.”⁷ This past election, Florida voters approved a ballot measure to enshrine the restoration of voting rights in the State Constitution, which would automatically restore voting rights to 1.4 million Floridians and end

4 “Transcript of the Minutes of the Committee on Governmental Operations Jointly with Committee on Criminal Justice.” The New York City Council. October 3, 2018.

5 “Felon Voting Rights.” NCSL. November 20, 2018.

6 “Transcript of the Minutes of the Committee on Governmental Operations Jointly with Committee on Criminal Justice.” The New York City Council. October 3, 2018.

7 “Voting Rights Restoration Efforts in Florida.” Brennan Center for Justice. November 7, 2018.

the potential for administrative reversals.⁸ New York State must pass legislation to ensure that parolee voting rights are protected in subsequent administrations and join 14 other states and the District of Columbia in restoring voting rights to people with felony convictions upon their release from prison.⁹

AUTOMATIC VOTER REGISTRATION

As of November 1, 2018, there were about 12.7 million registered voters in New York State, where the citizen voting age population is about 13.5 million.¹⁰ This means there were about 800,000 people eligible to vote who are not registered. Registration practices in New York State are outdated, and registration is often a major barrier to electoral participation, especially in the absence of tools like online voter registration. Automatic voter registration would help remove this barrier to participation by shifting the responsibility of registering eligible citizens to the state, rather than putting the onus on voters themselves. Currently, New York residents can register to vote in a few ways. They can register at a government agency—either a state agency covered by the National Voter Registration Act or, in New York City, a city agency required to provide voter registration opportunities under Local Law 29. Residents can also register online through the Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV), provided they have a signature on file with the agency. Those who do not interact with the DMV in person and those who do not have a signature on file with the DMV must print, sign, and mail a registration form to their county Board of Elections. In New York, voter registration is run on an opt-in basis, in which a voter must choose to fill out and submit a voter registration form to be approved by the Board of Elections.

In 1993, the National Voter Registration Act (NVRA) “pioneered a new way of registering to vote in America by requiring most states to provide citizens with an opportunity to register to vote when applying for or renewing a driver’s license.”¹¹ While it was a step forward for government agencies to be required

8 “Voting Rights Restoration Efforts in Florida.” Brennan Center for Justice. November 7, 2018.

9 These include DC, FL, HI, IL, IN, MA, MI, MT, NH, ND, OH, OR, PA, RI, and UT. In Maine and Vermont, felons never lose the right to vote.

10 U.S. Census Bureau, 2012-2016 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates.

11 “Automatic Voter Registration.” NCSL. December 3, 2018.

to offer registration opportunities, what this often means in practice is that they simply need to make registration forms available in their offices. New York should take these measures further by integrating registration with other transactions. Automatic voter registration (AVR) is often referred to as a new or updated version of the NVRA. AVR is an “opt-out” policy by which an eligible voter is placed on the voter rolls at the time they interact with a motor vehicle agency, unless they decline to register. Some states automatically register individuals when they interact with other government agencies as well.¹² For example, Alaskans are automatically registered when they interact with the Permanent Dividend Fund, which is part of the state’s Department of Revenue. In Maryland and Washington, residents may be automatically registered when they interact with their state’s health benefits exchange.¹³

As of October 2018, 15 states and the District of Columbia had authorized automatic voter registration.¹⁴ Since Oregon became the first state in the nation to implement AVR in 2016, it has seen registration rates quadruple at DMV offices.¹⁵ Under the Oregon AVR program, eligible but unregistered voters in the state’s DMV databases are notified by mail that they will be added to the voter rolls, unless they decline registration within 21 days by returning a postcard to the state’s election authorities.¹⁶ In New York, however, individuals would be able to opt out of voter registration the moment they interact with an agency, giving them the opportunity to decline immediately, rather than requiring them to send back a notice of declination.

In an extensive study of Oregon’s automatic registration program, the Center for American Progress found that AVR registrants were younger and more likely to live in low to middle income, low education, and racially diverse areas than the rest of the electorate. The report concludes that “AVR strengthens democracy

12 States that offer automatic voter registration at government agencies outside of the DMV are AK, IL, MD, MA, NJ, RI, and WA.

13 “Automatic Voter Registration.” NCSL. December 3, 2018.

14 “Automatic Voter Registration.” Brennan Center for Justice. November 7, 2018.

15 Morales-Doyle, Sean & Lee, Chisun. “New York’s Worst-in-the-Country Voting System.” *The Atlantic*. September 13, 2018.

16 McElwee, Sean et al. “Oregon Automatic Voter Registration.” Demos. July 26, 2017.

by expanding and broadening the electorate. AVR's streamlined systems can save states and localities significant costs, make the voter registration lists more accurate and up to date, and increase the security of the voting system.”¹⁷

Automatic voter registration also helps to reduce errors on the voter rolls. When voters update their information with a government agency, the information can be electronically transmitted to the Board of Elections, eliminating the need for voters to update their information again with the BOE. According to the Brennan Center, “the policy keeps voter rolls more accurate by creating a constant stream of updates between registration agencies and election officials and by reducing the odds of mistakes caused by processing paper registration forms by hand.”¹⁸ Up-to-date voter rolls help to ensure that voters receive election-related information from the BOE and that their names can be found in the poll books on Election Day, reducing the number of provisional ballots cast and improving voters' experiences at the polls.

In addition to expanding registration to more eligible New Yorkers, automatic registration would distribute the load of new registrations more evenly throughout the year and eliminate the overwhelming surge of registrants that county Boards of Elections often struggle with near election time. For example, in October 2016 alone, 124,000 new registrations were processed in New York City, a little less than half of the total number of registrations processed in all of 2018. In the single week of the October 14th registration deadline for the presidential election, over 70,000 voters registered, which is nearly double the registrations leading up to the general election deadline in 2018. While some election years see a higher volume of voter registrations than others, there are peaks and valleys every year. For example, the months of August through November saw the most registrations in 2016, 2017, and 2018. Automatic voter registration would distribute registrations more evenly throughout the year and across election cycles, because voters would appear on the rolls when they interact with a government agency and not when they register in advance of an upcoming election.

17 Griffin, Rob et al. “Who Votes With Automatic Voter Registration?” Center for American Progress. June 7, 2017.

18 “Automatic Voter Registration.” Brennan Center for Justice. November 7, 2018.

The Voter Empowerment Act, which was introduced in the New York State Assembly and Senate, names several “source agencies” in addition to the DMV that would be required to automatically register individuals who interact with them: the State University of New York and the City University of New York, all public housing authorities listed in Article 13 of the public housing law, the Department of Corrections and Community Supervision, the Department of Labor, the New York Division of Military and Naval Affairs, and any other agency so designated by the BOE.¹⁹ Designating source agencies increases the likelihood that an individual will be automatically registered, particularly in a city like New York, where fewer people interact with the DMV. The proposed source agencies in the Voter Empowerment Act frequently interact with populations with historically low voter turnout. By making registration accessible and automatic to underrepresented communities, New York can eliminate the first barrier to electoral participation.

CHANGING THE PARTY ENROLLMENT DEADLINE

Currently, New York is the only state that prohibits voters from changing their party enrollment in the year of an election. According to New York State Election Law, a change of party enrollment received “not later than the twenty-fifth day before the general election shall be deposited in a sealed enrollment box, which shall not be opened until the first Tuesday following such general election.”²⁰ This means that a voter cannot participate in a party primary until the following election year, which prevents many voters from participating in party primaries at all. In 2016, the deadline to enroll in a party was October 9, 2015, which was 193 days before the presidential primary election. In 2016, many unaffiliated voters found that they had missed the party change deadline, which prevented them from participating in the primary election.

The State Legislature should move the party enrollment deadline much closer to the election so that more New Yorkers can participate in primary elections. In New York State, there are almost as many unaffiliated voters as there are Republicans,

19 New York State Assembly Bill Number A02278. November 7, 2017.

20 New York State Election Law Section 5-304.

about 2.7 million. In New York City, unaffiliated voters are the second largest “party,” with over 400,000 more unaffiliated voters than registered Republicans.²¹ Because New York is one of nine remaining closed primary states, these unaffiliated voters cannot vote in the primary, and the early registration deadline compounds this problem. Moving the party enrollment deadline closer to the election would allow more New Yorkers to participate in primary elections, which are typically the most competitive races in New York City.

VOTER FRIENDLY BALLOT ACT²²

New York State adopted the use of optical scanners in 2010, but New York State Election Law still contains ballot requirements that are designed for lever machines. The state adopted optical scanners to comply with the Help America Vote Act (HAVA), which was passed in 2002 and addressed improvements to the nation’s voting systems and voter access.²³ HAVA set minimum standards to make election administration easier nationwide, but New York State Election Law has not been updated to reflect these improvements. Though county administrators have exercised some flexibility under the law, confusing layouts and readability challenges persist.

Problems with ballot design were particularly evident in the 2018 general election, when the two-page ballot design “created havoc for scanning machines at polling places across New York City, as scores of broken scanners brought voting to a standstill at many locations on an Election Day marked by heavy turnout.”²⁴ According to New York City BOE Executive Director Mike Ryan, “no other jurisdiction in the United States utilizes a 2-page perforated ballot.”²⁵ Ryan

21 Sago, Renata et al. Sick of Political Parties, Unaffiliated Voters Are Changing Politics. *NPR*. February 28, 2016.

22 The Voter Friendly Ballot Act was first introduced in the Assembly during the 2011-2012 legislative session. It passed in the Assembly in 2012, and it has passed in the Assembly in every succeeding legislative session.

23 Help America Vote Act, 52 U.S.C.A. §§ 10101 et seq. (2002).

24 Neuman, Andy et al. “Jammed Scanners Frustrated Voters in New York City.” *The New York Times*. November 6, 2018.

25 “Transcript of the Minutes of the Committee on Governmental Operations Jointly with Committee on Oversight and Investigations.” The New York City Council. November 20, 2018.

also said that the center perforation was the “major culprit” of scanner jams on Election Day. He cited State Election Law, which requires the ballot to be on a single sheet of paper, and he noted that in jurisdictions without this law, multiple page ballots exist without a perforated edge.²⁶ The Voter Friendly Ballot Act would require improvements to the ballot that would render multi-page perforated ballots unnecessary, including modifying the layout to ensure that the text is clear and easy to read. State Election Law should be changed to enable ballot design that is tailored to the capabilities of the optical scanners.

According to a report published by the Brennan Center, “poor design increases the risk for lost or misrecorded votes among all voters, but the risk is even greater for particular groups. Several studies have shown higher rates of lost or misrecorded votes in low-income and minority communities as well as for the elderly and disabled.”²⁷ For example, during the 2018 state primary, there were over 12,000 unrecorded votes for governor (about 1.4 percent of applicable ballots). Unrecorded votes may be due to mismarking, over-marking, or choosing not to fill out a ballot. With an improved ballot design that allows voters to more easily and clearly express their intent, some of these votes would have been properly recorded, and more votes would have been counted toward the intended candidate.

The bill also contains a number of provisions that will ensure ballots are straightforward and readable. For example, it requires that, in counties where ballots are required to be provided in a language other than English, the Board of Elections must print ballots in English and in each of the additional required languages so that each version of the ballot contains English and no more than two other languages.²⁸ This will cut down on unnecessarily complex and wordy ballots and allow for increased font size. In fact, this legislation would require that the name of each candidate on the ballot be capitalized and printed in a font size

26 “Transcript of the Minutes of the Committee on Governmental Operations Jointly with Committee on Oversight and Investigations.” The New York City Council. November 20, 2018.

27 Norden, Lawrence. “Better Design, Better Elections.” Brennan Center for Justice. 2012.

28 This will simplify the ballot layout in parts of Queens, where three to four languages covered by the Voting Rights Act appear on the ballot.

of no less than nine points.²⁹ During the 2018 election cycle, the Reform Party petitioned Richmond County Supreme Court to order the New York City BOE to revise and reprint New York City’s general election ballot because the Reform Party, a recognized political party, was listed below two independent bodies.³⁰ The Voter Friendly Ballot Act would require offices to appear in customary order and ensure that the names of candidates running for the same office would not be separated by a perforation.³¹

The Voter Friendly Ballot Act also lays out specifications for ballot marking instructions, stating that text on the ballot should make the ballot marking instructions clearer and in “the largest type size practicable” either on the front or back of the ballot.³² Additionally, the State Board of Elections would be required to provide illustrations to supplement written ballot marking instructions. For example, in elections that include ballot proposals, the ballot would signal to a voter that they should flip their ballot to vote on the questions appearing on the back.³³

In addition, the Voter Friendly Ballot Act provides for measures that would prevent scanner issues from obstructing the voting process as they did during our most recent election. If a voting machine breaks down during an election, the Act stipulates that, if possible, it must be repaired or replaced as quickly as possible. Ultimately, provisions of the Voter Friendly Ballot Act would provide counties with the flexibility to design ballots that are compatible with optical scanners rather than old lever machines.

29 New York State Assembly Bill Number A09607. February 10, 2017.

30 Michel, Clifford. “Reform Party petitions Staten Island court to get November ballots revised, reprinted.” *SI Live*. October 27, 2018.

31 New York State Assembly Bill Number A09607. February 10, 2017.

32 New York State Assembly Bill Number A09607. February 10, 2017.

33 New York State Assembly Bill Number A09607 February 10, 2017.

ALLOWING POLL WORKERS TO SERVE SPLIT SHIFTS

On Election Day, poll workers are required to work 15-hour shifts while the polls are open, and there must be at least one poll worker from each political party present at all poll sites at all times.³⁴ Additionally, poll workers are required to arrive before the polls open to set up and to stay after the polls close to shut down polling places. These long shifts contribute to poll worker fatigue, and according to the Democratic Lawyers Council, “working so many hours leads to reduced attention to detail, patience, and overall quality, which is why they are prohibited in public health and safety occupations.”³⁵

Due to demanding hours and low pay, Boards of Elections around the state have had an increasingly difficult time recruiting workers who are willing to work the full 15-hour day. In New York City alone, there are about 34,000 poll worker positions that need to be filled for each election. However, just one week before the 2018 state primary, the New York City BOE reported 6,400 vacancies.³⁶ For the 2017 general election, the Board of Elections reported about 4,700 poll worker vacancies on Election Day across the five boroughs, about 18 percent of the total number of positions that needed to be filled that cycle.³⁷ According to the US Election Assistance Commission, providing poll workers the option to serve split shifts allows workers to remain alert throughout their shift and also serves as an important recruitment tool for people who might be interested in becoming poll workers but are unable to commit to the long hours.³⁸

34 Memorandum in Support of Legislation—Bill Number A06907. New York State Assembly. February 10, 2017.

35 “Voter Assistance Advisory Committee Testimony.” New York Democratic Lawyers Council. December 13, 2017.

36 Mestel, Spencer. “The Path to Becoming an Underpaid, Underappreciated and Absolutely Necessary Election Poll Worker.” *The New York Times*. September 6, 2018.

37 “Annual Report 2017.” New York City Board of Elections.

38 “Offering a Split Shift Option.” *US EAC Guidebook on Successful Practices for Poll Worker Recruitment, Training, and Retention*. U.S. Election Assistance Commission.

EXPANDING TRANSLATION SERVICES

In New York City, the Limited English Proficiency (“LEP”) population is about 1.8 million, or 23 percent of New York City’s total population. Of these 1.8 million, about 305,000 (17 percent) speak a language that is not protected under the federal Voting Rights Act (VRA). The VRA contains several provisions that protect voters who require language assistance at the polls. Section 203 of the VRA requires states to provide information and assistance to voters in various languages depending on the county.³⁹ According to a report published by the 2018 New York City Charter Revision Commission, “the New York City Board of Elections meets these obligations, in part, by translating ballots and written materials and employing poll workers to serve as interpreters at poll sites on Election Day. In the covered counties, the BOE provides these services at poll sites with large concentrations of LEP eligible voters who speak a particular covered language.”⁴⁰

In New York State, seven counties⁴¹ are required to provide bilingual voting materials under Section 203.⁴² Other large US cities go beyond what is required by the VRA. For example, Los Angeles County is required to provide language assistance in eight languages.⁴³ The county supports four languages beyond what is required by Section 203, and voters can call a Bilingual Assistance Hotline, which provides poll site and voter information in a variety of languages.⁴⁴ In Chicago, the Clerk’s Office is required to provide language assistance in Spanish, Chinese, and Hindi. Voters or election judges can also call a language assistance

39 See 52 U.S.C.A. Section 10503.

40 “Final Report of the 2018 New York City Charter Revision Commission.” New York City Charter Revision Commission. September 6, 2018.

41 Bronx, Kings, Nassau, New York, Queens, Suffolk, and Westchester Counties.

42 In New York City, Spanish is provided citywide, Chinese is provided in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Queens borough-wide, and Korean and Bengali are covered in parts of Queens.

43 Armenian, Chinese, Cambodian/Khmer, Farsi, Korean, Spanish, Tagalog/Filipino and Vietnamese.

44 “Multilingual Services Program.” Los Angeles County Registrar-Recorder/County Clerk.

hotline, which provides translators in the covered languages as well as Polish, which is widely spoken in Cook County.⁴⁵

LEP voters who cannot read election materials or ask poll workers for assistance face unique challenges. If these communities do not receive adequate guidance at the polls, it can prevent them from voting as they intended or from voting at all. In the United States, about 4.5 percent of households are classified as “limited English speaking.” “Limited English households” make up 8.1 percent of total households in New York State and 14.8 percent of total households in New York City.⁴⁶ Limited English proficiency should not be a barrier to voting. In a state like New York where about one in eight people speak a language other than English, our legislature needs to recognize the importance of expanding language access beyond what is required by Section 203.

In 2017, the Mayor’s Office of Immigrant Affairs (MOIA) launched a pilot project to provide interpreters to assist LEP voters in some of the Designated Citywide Languages⁴⁷ as defined in Section 23-1102 of the Administrative Code, which was enacted by Local Law 30 of 2017. “Designated Citywide Languages” refers to “a ranking of the top ten most widely spoken languages in the City based on Census and Department of Education data.”⁴⁸ Of the pilot program, Council Member Mark Treyger of Brooklyn said, “[l]ow voter turnout is proof that we need more language access at poll sites, and this pilot program is hopefully just the beginning of more inclusive voting policies.”⁴⁹

In 2018, New York City voters passed a ballot proposal to establish a Civic Engagement Commission. Among the Commission’s responsibilities is to “establish a program for providing language interpreters at poll sites in New

45 “Language Assistance.” Cook County Clerk’s Office.

46 U.S. Census Bureau, 2012-2016 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates.

47 Interpreters were offered at a handful of sites in Russian and Haitian Creole. Interpreters were not provided in all Designated Citywide Languages during the MOIA pilot program.

48 “Final Report of the 2018 New York City Charter Revision Commission.” New York City Charter Revision Commission. September 6, 2018.

49 Zagare, Liema. “There Will Be Russian and Haitian-Creole Poll Translators at 20 Polling Sites.” *Bklyner*. November 6, 2018.

York City, to be implemented for the general election in 2020.”⁵⁰ While Spanish, Chinese, Korean, and Bengali are already covered by Section 203 of the VRA, interpreter services in Russian, Haitian Creole, Arabic, Urdu, French, and Polish could be provided in areas with large concentrations of speakers around at least one poll site.⁵¹ In its testimony to the Charter Revision Commission, the New York Civil Liberties Union encouraged the Commission to treat the VRA’s protections as a “floor [and] not a ceiling.”⁵²

While the creation of the Civic Engagement Commission will increase the number of interpreters available on Election Day, the ballot proposal did not revise other parts of the Charter that could improve language access. For example, the Civic Engagement Commission will not be required to translate the ballot or other voter education materials like the Voter Guide into languages beyond what is required by Section 203. Legislation passed at the state level could create a mandate for the Board of Elections to further expand language access at the polls and in the form of written materials, thereby allowing more LEP voters to participate in our democracy.

INSTANT RUNOFF VOTING

Currently, New York State Election Law states that if no citywide candidate⁵³ receives 40 percent of the vote or more in a primary election, the city will conduct a runoff primary between the two candidates who received the greatest number of votes in the primary.⁵⁴ For example, in 2013, there was a runoff election for the office of public advocate between Letitia James and Daniel Squadron, which

50 “Final Report of the 2018 New York City Charter Revision Commission.” New York City Charter Revision Commission. September 6, 2018.

51 “Final Report of the 2018 New York City Charter Revision Commission.” New York City Charter Revision Commission. September 6, 2018

52 “Final Report of the 2018 New York City Charter Revision Commission.” New York City Charter Revision Commission. September 6, 2018.

53 Citywide offices are mayor, public advocate, and comptroller.

54 New York State Election Law Section 6-610.

cost an estimated \$13 million.⁵⁵ However, just over 200,000 New Yorkers, or 6.9 percent of eligible voters, cast a ballot in this runoff election.⁵⁶

One alternative to the current run-off system in New York City is instant runoff voting (IRV), also known as ranked choice voting. With IRV, voters rank the candidates in order of preference, rather than only voting for one candidate. The candidate who earns more than half of voters' first choice wins, and if none of the candidates have met this threshold, the candidate with the fewest number of votes is eliminated. Voters who have selected that candidate will then have their votes transferred over to their next choice, and this process continues until one candidate has received a majority.⁵⁷ By asking voters to rank their choices, IRV eliminates the possibility of having to resort to a second election, which, as seen above, is often costly and cumbersome. IRV would also reduce the cost of the Campaign Finance Program; since 2001, more than \$4.3 million in public funds has been paid to candidates participating in runoff elections.⁵⁸

Aside from their significant cost, runoff elections contribute to voter fatigue, which occurs when voters are required to vote too often due to multiple elections in a single year. Studies show that Western countries with a high number of elections per year, such as the United States and Switzerland, have consistently low voter turnout, and many political scientists attribute this behavior directly to voter fatigue.⁵⁹ This is especially prevalent in the United States, where voters are often required to take time out of their work days to go vote.⁶⁰ While there is little data on whether IRV increases voter turnout on its own, one study shows that, in

55 "By the People: The New York City Campaign Finance Program in the 2013 Elections." New York City Campaign Finance Board. September 1, 2014.

56 "Run-off Primary 2013." Board of Elections in the City of New York. October 1, 2013.

57 "Tell the NYC Charter Revision Commission: Bring instant runoff voting to NYC!" FairVote. 2018.

58 "By the People: The New York City Campaign Finance Program in the 2013 Elections." New York City Campaign Finance Board. September 1, 2014.

59 Garmann, Sebastian. "Voter Fatigue and Turnout." University of Dortmund. October 10, 2015.

60 "Voter Fatigue." POLYAS. 2018.

comparison to the traditional primary and runoff elections, IRV general elections are associated with a 10 point increase in voter turnout.⁶¹

One of the most commonly cited advantages of IRV is that it reduces the possibility that a candidate who is opposed by the majority of voters might win an election, as requiring voters to express preference for more than one candidate helps ensure that elections are more reflective of voter opinion across the electorate. This reduces the need for strategic voting, which occurs when a voter does not vote for their preferred candidate in order to block their least favored option from being elected.⁶² IRV can also make elections more competitive by creating a viable challenge for otherwise “safe” incumbents, who may not be the first choice of voters.⁶³

REFORMS IN PROGRESS

In addition to the group of voting reform bills that Governor Cuomo signed into law earlier this year, the State Legislature also passed two additional bills that will making voting easier for New Yorkers. One of the bills would allow no-excuse absentee voting, while the other bill would allow same-day voter registration. While both these reforms passed both the Assembly and the Senate by an overwhelming majority, both require a Constitutional amendment to become law.

In order for a Constitutional amendment to pass in New York State, sponsors in both the Senate and Assembly must introduce the amendment. While the amendment is in committee review, it is also referred to the State Attorney General, who must provide a written opinion within 20 days to the Assembly and the Senate on how the amendment will affect the State Constitution. Once released from the committees, the amendment moves to the floor of each house for a vote. If the amendment passes in both the Assembly and the Senate, it is then referred to the next regular two-year legislative session, during which the

61 “Voter Turnout: Ranked Choice Voting and Voter Turnout, Participation and Understanding.” FairVote. 2019.

62 Daoust, Jean-François. “What Do We Know About Strategic Voting?” *Huffington Post*. August 8, 2016.

63 “Ranked Choice Voting / Instant Runoff.” FairVote. 2019.

amendment must be passed a second time by the newly elected Legislature. Then, the bill is placed on the ballot for statewide referendum, and once a majority of voters approves the amendment, it is incorporated into the New York State Constitution. New York lawmakers took an important first step by passing both of these pieces of legislation in the Assembly and the Senate, but because of the lengthy process required to pass a Constitutional amendment, the earliest these bills will be implemented is 2022.

NO-EXCUSE ABSENTEE VOTING

No-excuse absentee voting is an important supplement to in-person early voting. New York law currently requires voters requesting an absentee ballot to provide an excuse for their inability to vote at their designated polling place, and no-excuse absentee voting would eliminate this requirement. Article II, Section 2 of the New York State Constitution provides that the Legislature may allow “qualified voters who, on the occurrence of any election, may be absent from the county of their residence or, if residents of the city of New York, from the city, and qualified voters who, on the occurrence of any election, may be unable to appear personally at the polling place because of illness or physical disability” to vote by absentee ballot.⁶⁴ According to the New York City Bar Association, because the Constitution includes specific reasons for absentee voting but does not specifically cover others, such as childcare, unavoidable duties within the county or New York City, or extreme inconvenience, these excuses are not legally valid ones for receiving an absentee ballot. This causes many busy New Yorkers to miss out on the opportunity to vote.⁶⁵ Under this interpretation, the State Constitution prevents the State Legislature from enacting no-excuse absentee voting through legislation alone. To enact no-excuse absentee voting in New York State, a Constitutional amendment is required.

No-excuse absentee voting would provide a variety of benefits to New Yorkers who may be unsure of their schedules on Election Day. The New York City Bar notes that “New York’s current absentee voting laws have the potential to

64 New York State Constitution. Article II, Section 2.

65 “Instituting No-Excuse Absentee Voting in New York.” New York City Bar. May 2010.

disproportionately benefit those with higher socioeconomic status, who are more likely to have the means to vote at the polls because, for example, they are better able to afford child care, can afford to take time off from work, or less likely to work two jobs.”⁶⁶ Because work or childcare obligations are not considered valid excuses for absentee voting, individuals with those obligations are more likely to miss the opportunity to participate in elections.

Until recently,⁶⁷ New York State Election Law also stated that if a voter does not have sufficient time to vote outside of working hours, they may notify their employer two to ten days before an election, and they will be given two hours’ paid time off to vote.⁶⁸ However, this is often insufficient, especially in elections with high turnout. In 2018, for example, voters reported having to wait up to two hours to cast their ballots, meaning they would not have received compensation for any travel time to and from their poll site, or for the time spent on the act of voting.⁶⁹ No-excuse absentee voting would result in shorter lines at the polls on Election Day, as more voters would be able to cast their votes prior to Election Day and outside of their precinct.⁷⁰

Additionally, a study by Project Vote shows that absentee voting is extremely beneficial for certain parts of the population, especially individuals with certain limitations who would prefer not to travel to their polling site.⁷¹ Absentee voting can also benefit New Yorkers living upstate in rural communities who may have to travel long distances to reach their voting locations. In fact, Project Vote showed that vote by mail was the most popular option among rural populations, or those most impacted by distance. Allowing voters to mail in their ballots would eliminate

66 “Instituting No-Excuse Absentee Voting in New York.” New York City Bar. May 2010.

67 Greenburg, Richard & Jacobs, Daniel J. “New York Employees Get Up To Three Hours of Paid Time Off to Vote.” *The National Law Review*. April 9, 2019.

68 New York State Election Law Section 3-110.

69 North, Anna. “Why long lines at polling places are a voting rights issue.” *Vox*. November 6, 2018.

70 “Instituting No-Excuse Absentee Voting in New York.” New York City Bar. May 2010.

71 “Your Ballot’s in the Mail: Vote by Mail and Absentee Voting.” Project Vote. July 9, 2007.

the need to travel to the polls, thereby making voting more convenient for residents of less populous areas.⁷²

The option to vote from home also allows voters to research the candidates on their own time, rather than rush to make a decision at the polls. Absentee ballots enable voters to take the time to read up on the issues before they vote, which is especially important for local elections and ballot measures that may not receive substantial media coverage.⁷³ No-excuse absentee voting would give voters the opportunity to fit voting into their schedules, rather than requiring them to arrange their schedules around an upcoming election. This reform has proven successful in 28 states and the District of Columbia and would give New Yorkers the opportunity to vote comfortably in the privacy of their own homes.⁷⁴

SAME-DAY REGISTRATION

Same-day voter registration (SDR) would eliminate barriers to voter registration for thousands of New Yorkers who miss the registration deadline each election cycle. SDR would allow any qualified resident of the state to register to vote and cast a ballot in one day, provided the voter can verify their eligibility. Because New York still uses paper poll books, which take time to be processed and printed, the deadline to register is 25 days before an election, which is one of the earliest deadlines in the nation. While transitioning to electronic poll books would allow New York State to shorten its registration deadline, the New York State Constitution requires that a registration “shall be completed at least ten days before each election.”⁷⁵ As a result, a Constitutional amendment would need to pass in New York State to allow same-day registration.

It is also common for many voters to learn on Election Day that they are not in the poll books. This could be because the voter has moved, changed their name, or failed to register correctly in the political party of their choice. Bureaucratic errors resulting from changes such as these can lead to many eligible citizens

72 “Your Ballot’s in the Mail: Vote by Mail and Absentee Voting.” Project Vote. July 9, 2007.

73 “All Mail Elections.” NCSL. August 15, 2018.

74 “Absentee and Early Voting.” NCSL. December 3, 2018.

75 New York State Constitution. Article II, Section 5.

being unable to cast a regular ballot on Election Day, when registration deadlines have already passed. Currently, 17 states and the District of Columbia offer same-day registration, and many of these states have reported increased turnout and improvements in election administration since implementing SDR.⁷⁶ For example, after SDR was adopted in Iowa, “provisional ballots dropped from 15,000 in the 2004 presidential election to less than 5,000 in 2008—a 67 percent decline. North Carolina saw 23,000 fewer provisional ballots after it adopted SDR in 2008.”⁷⁷ According to Demos, with same-day registration, voters can, instead of casting provisional ballots, “simply update [their] registration records or register anew at the polling place and vote [with] a ballot that will be counted.”⁷⁸ According to a report published by the New York City Comptroller’s office, “once SDR is fully in place, states are likely to see at least a four percentage point increase in average voter turnout, with the highest impact on turnout among younger voters age 18-35.”⁷⁹ In fact, Demos reports that “four of the top five states for voter turnout in the 2012 presidential election all offered Same-Day Registration. Average voter turnout was over 10 percentage points higher in SDR states than in other states.”⁸⁰

States that have implemented same-day registration have employed various measures to ensure election security. Proof of residency is a key requirement in all states that offer same-day registration. A prospective voter must present proof of residency in the form of a driver’s license or ID. Some states allow prospective voters to provide other forms of documentation, such as paychecks or utility bills, to prove their residency.⁸¹ In other states, voters may cast a provisional ballot until proper identification is supplied or until the voter’s application is fully checked. Additionally, states require same-day registrants to register and vote in

76 15 states and DC make same-day registration available on Election Day. Two states, Maryland and North Carolina, make same-day registration possible for a portion of their early voting periods but not on Election Day.

77 “What is Same Day Registration? Where is it Available?” Demos. 2012.

78 “What is Same Day Registration? Where is it Available?” Demos. 2012.

79 “Barriers to the Ballot: Voting Reform in NYC.” Office of the New York City Comptroller. April 2016.

80 “What is Same Day Registration? Where is it Available?” Demos. 2012.

81 “Same Day Voter Registration.” NCSL. December 3, 2018.

person, and many states restrict the number of polling places at which same-day registration is offered.⁸²

The cost of implementing same-day registration varies by state, with some states reporting little to no additional cost to implement same-day registration. In a Demos telephone survey conducted among local election officials in Idaho, Maine, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Wisconsin, and Wyoming, most reported that same-day registration costs were “minimal.”⁸³

IMPLEMENTATION RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EARLY VOTING

In January 2019, Governor Cuomo signed a bill into law establishing a 10-day early voting period in New York State. Early voting is an important way to expand access to our democracy. It gives voters, many of whom juggle work and family obligations, more options for when to vote, providing much-needed convenience and flexibility. Now that early voting has been signed into law, there are many factors to take into account in considering how to implement this system in one of the nation’s most populous cities.

New York State Election Law now requires counties to establish one polling location per 50,000 registered voters, and counties with fewer than 50,000 registered voters need to establish at least one location.⁸⁴ When choosing early voting polling locations, election administrators are required to take into account population density, transportation routes, and the distribution of sites in order to ensure maximum accessibility for voters.⁸⁵

Additionally, the law states that the number of polling locations need not exceed seven in any particular county.⁸⁶ However, in New York City, this minimum requirement for polling locations should be considered a floor rather than a ceiling. In Brooklyn, for example, there are about 1.4 million registered voters, so

82 “Same Day Voter Registration.” NCSL. December 3, 2018.

83 “What is Same Day Registration? Where is it Available?” Demos. 2012.

84 New York State Election Law Section 8-600(2)(a).

85 New York State Election Law Section 8-600(2)(d).

86 New York State Election Law Section 8-600(2)(a).

if the county adhered to the minimum standard of seven early voting locations, it would far exceed the guideline of one location for every 50,000 registered voters. In fact, under this minimum requirement, each of the seven polling locations would correspond to 200,000 registered voters. As shown below, the Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Queens all have populations that far exceed one poll site per 50,000 voters under the minimum standard of seven poll sites per county. During the early voting period, the New York City Board of Elections should provide additional polling locations in each of these boroughs to avoid poll site crowding, which was prominent during the 2018 cycle.

NUMBER OF VOTERS SERVED PER POLL SITE UNDER MINIMUM POLL SITE REQUIREMENTS

	REGISTERED VOTERS ⁸⁷	REQUIRED POLL SITES	NUMBER OF VOTERS SERVED PER POLL SITE
Bronx	719,780	7	102,826
Brooklyn	1,456,482	7	208,069
Manhattan	1,014,419	7	144,917
Queens	1,177,500	7	168,214
Staten Island	292,832	5	58,566

Poll site locations are the most critical element of successful implementation of early voting. Research shows that when people are faced with the decision of whether or not to vote, “they undertake a cost/benefit analysis and will choose to participate when the benefits outweigh the costs.”⁸⁸ In-person early voting would reduce the

87 These numbers are pulled from the New York City voter file dated January 2019.

88 Giammo, Joseph and Brox, Brian. “Reducing the Costs of Participation: Are States Getting a Return on Early Voting?” *Political Research Quarterly*. June, 2010.

costs of participation for voters by providing accessible poll sites with minimal wait times. Another consideration is where the polling location is and the distance a voter is required to travel. To determine where to place locations, counties must consider how to mobilize voters to their early voting polling locations. In states like Texas⁸⁹ and Nevada,⁹⁰ early voting locations have been placed in “non-traditional sites like grocery stores, libraries, and shopping malls, places where people are going for other reasons.”⁹¹ That way, voters may find themselves at a polling location on any given day and be reminded to cast their ballot. This approach to poll site placement would be very different from how the BOE in New York currently locates poll sites, as most are in schools and senior centers.

After passing early voting, Cook County, Illinois used an election demography expert who looked at maps and population distribution and took voters’ needs and voting habits into consideration to identify optimal locations for early voting poll sites.⁹² As a result, many of Cook County’s early voting sites are in local municipal halls, libraries, and other public buildings.⁹³ The BOE should provide poll sites at borough offices and consider placing poll sites in major transit terminals, libraries, and other public locations that many New Yorkers already frequent regardless of their intention to vote.

Another important consideration in implementing early voting is how to provide ballots to voters. Currently, all voters in an election district receive the same ballot; however, with the passage of in-person early voting, polling locations within a county will need to provide all potential ballot types for that county. This not only presents logistical challenges for printing enough ballots of the same type for each polling place; it also presents challenges for poll workers, who would need to be trained to find the correct ballot using a voter’s registration information. As a remedy, some states with early voting use a ballot-on-demand

89 “Early Voting.” VoteTexas.gov.

90 “Early Voting Information.” Nevada Secretary of State.

91 Giammo, Joseph and Brox, Brian. “Reducing the Costs of Participation: Are States Getting a Return on Early Voting?” *Political Research Quarterly*. June, 2010.

92 Lerner, Susan et al. “People Love It: Experience with Early Voting in Selected U.S. Counties.” Common Cause NY & Common Cause Election Protection Project.

93 Lerner, Susan et al. “People Love It: Experience with Early Voting in Selected U.S. Counties.” Common Cause NY & Common Cause Election Protection Project.

system. Ballot-on-demand is “a dedicated application, possibly integrated with an electronic poll book and/or registration database, [that] prints out a ballot of the correct ballot style as each voter is checked in, based on each voter's registration information.”⁹⁴ This would allow poll workers to print each voter’s particular ballot automatically using their registration information, rather than trying to pull the correct pre-printed ballot with this information. This is likely to reduce poll worker error and ensure that all voters are given the correct ballot. Further, this should reduce the costs of printing and securely storing many different ballots at each early polling site.

Finally, public education about the early voting period is critical in mobilizing voters to take advantage of having increased access to the ballot.⁹⁵ For example, voters may see news coverage about early voting and turnout estimates during the early voting period, which can serve as additional reminders about the election. Campaigns may also encourage their supporters to vote early through their own platforms in order to ensure their supporters cast a ballot. To provide even more public education about early voting, the Campaign Finance Board will publish information about early voting, including dates, times, and locations to voters in the official Voter Guide, which is mailed to all active registered voters in New York City prior to a local election.

As the New York City BOE begins to implement early voting for our upcoming elections, it is important that factors such as the number of poll sites per county and the locations of poll sites are taken into consideration. Making sure that there are enough poll sites throughout the city and that they are easily accessible will make it easier for voters to take advantage of this long-overdue election reform.

94 Flater, David. “Ballot on Demand.” National Institute of Standards and Technology. December 9, 2009.

95 Giammo, Joseph and Brox, Brian. “Reducing the Costs of Participation: Are States Getting a Return on Early Voting?” *Political Research Quarterly*. June, 2010.

ENGAGING YOUTH VOTERS: ROOSEVELT INSTITUTE CASE STUDY

In January of 2019, New York lawmakers approved a group of voting reforms, including preregistration. This legislation allows 16- and 17-year-olds to preregister to vote before they turn 18. Once they are of age, their registration automatically becomes active. Under this law, local Boards of Elections are also now required to promote student voter registration and preregistration efforts. This will not only make it easier for younger voters to participate, but also help reduce the number of voters who register just before the registration deadline, given that most new registrants in any given election year tend to be younger.

Studies show that voting is a habit-forming activity, and in order to encourage a lifelong habit of voting and civic engagement among younger voters, it is important to introduce prospective voters to the process as early as possible. Allowing 16- and 17-year-olds, who are likely to live with their parents and attend high school, to preregister to vote gives parents, teachers, and administrators an opportunity to encourage civic behavior among young people even before they can legally vote at the age of 18. With preregistration, our city can do far more to encourage civic participation among youth and provide them with opportunities to get involved.

In October of 2018, we partnered with the **Roosevelt Institute**, the largest student-run policy organization in the country, and **Kids Voting USA**, a nonpartisan grassroots voter education program committed to instilling lifelong voting habits in children, to bring a pilot voting program to **P.S. 20 Anna Silver School**, an elementary school on the Lower East Side. Our youth voter coordinator led these efforts, creating a voting-centered lesson plan on topics like the importance of civic engagement, the impact of voting, and how to make a voting plan. The four-week program culminated with students participating in a Student Council election for the offices of president and vice president. Every class from the third through fifth grades nominated one individual to serve on the Council. Each Council member then had the ability to vote for and elect a president and vice president.

To that end, NYC Votes plans to expand its youth programs to elementary school students, so that they are already aware of the importance of voting by the time they can preregister. We hope to continue developing more ways to reach New York City's children and inspire them to participate in the democratic process once they are of age, and we see this program as the first of many efforts to foster new generations of civic-minded individuals.

CONCLUSION

In 2018, turnout in New York City rose significantly for the first time since 2002, and over one million more ballots were cast in the 2018 midterms than in the 2014 midterms. To recap our key findings for voter turnout and registration in New York City, we found that:

1. Turnout during the 2018 midterm elections was similar to turnout during the 2016 presidential elections.
2. While New York State is usually one of the lowest voter turnout states in the country, 11 New York City neighborhoods actually surpassed the national rate in 2018.
3. Turnout among new registrants in 2018 was higher than turnout among all active registered voters.
4. Voters were significantly more likely to return to the polls during a local or midterm election cycle if they had participated in a presidential election.
5. The strongest predictors of neighborhood turnout in the 2018 elections were race and ethnicity, naturalization status, level of education, and age.

As we look ahead to implementation of early voting later this year, we look forward to observing the impacts this reform will have on voters' experiences and turnout levels as a whole, especially in 2020. The voting reforms discussed in our legislative recommendations will improve our current systems, take down long-standing barriers to voting, and ensure that the right to vote in the state of New York is protected, especially for underrepresented communities. We hope that the State Legislature will continue to make voting better for all New Yorkers, and we affirm our support for the reforms we have outlined in this report:

- ◆ Restoration of voting rights to parolees
- ◆ Automatic voter registration
- ◆ Changing the party enrollment deadline
- ◆ The Voter Friendly Ballot Act
- ◆ Allowing poll workers to serve split shifts
- ◆ Expanding translation services
- ◆ Instant runoff voting
- ◆ No-excuse absentee voting
- ◆ Same-day registration

NYC VOTES VOTER REGISTRATION & ENGAGEMENT ACTIVITIES IN 2018

2018 VOTER ENGAGEMENT ACTIVITIES IN NUMBERS

REGISTRATION EVENT	REGISTRATIONS COLLECTED
Student Voter Registration Day	10,016
Naturalizations	2,562
Days of Action	169
National Voter Registration Day	4,227
Street Team	424
Total Registrations for 2018	17,398

GET OUT THE VOTE (GOTV) PHONE BANKING	CALLS MADE
June 2018 Primary Election	6,260
September 2018 Primary Election	5,204
November 2018 General Election	10,958

DAYS OF ACTION

Registering to vote is one of the first steps to getting started on a path of civic engagement, and NYC Votes has always prioritized reaching New Yorkers from underserved communities. In 2018, we focused particularly on the homeless population, visiting shelters around New York City to register residents and provide information about voting and elections.

In March of 2018, we worked with Girl Scouts Troop 6000, which is a Girl Scout program designed specifically for girls in the New York City shelter system, to conduct voter registration efforts among homeless New Yorkers in three different shelters in Manhattan and Brooklyn (Urban Family, Albemarle, and Urban Transitional). On September 22, 2018, in advance of the registration deadline for the November general election, NYC Votes partnered with New York Urban League Young Professionals, Links Greater Queens, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority (Delta Rho Omega Chapter), and the Department of Social Services to register shelter residents in Brooklyn (Linden Men’s Shelter, Flatlands) and Queens (Jamaica Family Residency).

PARTNERSHIP WITH THE BOWERY RESIDENTS COMMITTEE

As mentioned above, we expanded our efforts to engage homeless New Yorkers this year, and the Bowery Residents Committee (BRC), which is one of New York City’s leading nonprofit organizations in providing housing and services to the homeless, played an instrumental role in our outreach to this often-overlooked population.

BRC’s program director and staff worked with NYC Votes to register about 50 residents at their Bronx location on National Voter Registration Day. NYC Votes returned to the BRC’s Bronx location to conduct door-to-door GOTV in late October, reminding residents about the upcoming general election and answering their questions about voting. We were joined by the New York Urban League Young Professionals. In total, we knocked on 138 doors and left materials to help inform residents about the importance of voting and their rights. BRC also provided their residents with shuttle rides to the polls on Election Day.

PARTNERSHIPS WITH NEW YORK CITY AGENCIES

Numerous city agencies went above and beyond their required levels of compliance with **Local Law 29 (LL29) of 2000 and Local Law 63 (LL63) of 2014**, which require public-facing city agencies to provide nonpartisan voter registration opportunities for New York City residents. The CFB provides guidance and trainings on how to register voters, working with these agencies to provide information and resources about upcoming elections and registration deadlines to the public.

Several of these agencies joined us for **National Voter Registration Day (NVRD)**. Held annually on the fourth Tuesday of September, NVRD is a coordinated nationwide effort to register voters and create awareness about voter registration opportunities before the general election registration deadline. Most importantly, NVRD is also a celebration of our voting rights, and a time when we work to empower new voters by reminding them of the importance of their votes.

For 2018's NVRD, NYC Votes enlisted the help of 11 agencies covered under LL29 to assist in the citywide effort to register people to vote, resulting in a total of 578 registrations. The Human Resources Administration (HRA) led the pack with 324 new registrations. In addition, we partnered with the three major library systems of New York City (the New York Public Library, Brooklyn Public Library, and Queens Public Library) to create more voter registration opportunities for New Yorkers on NVRD. By offering registration forms in all branches across New York City, the libraries were able to register 1,153 people on NVRD. Voter registration forms are now available at all city libraries year-round as well. We also worked with the Department of Probation, which enlisted volunteers to register New Yorkers on probation during a job fair on NVRD.

Another city agency we partnered with in 2018 was the Department of Citywide Administrative Services, which worked with us to contact all of New York City’s thousands of government employees, reminding them via email to register and vote and providing information about important election dates and deadlines.

We look forward to growing our partnerships with these and many other city agencies as we continue expanding our programming offerings and voter engagement efforts.

STATISTICAL INDEX

Naturalization

The standardized beta coefficient for the percentage of naturalized citizens by neighborhood is -0.498. This means that for every unit increase in naturalized citizens per neighborhood, a 0.498 unit decrease in voter turnout by neighborhood is predicted, holding all other variables constant.

Income between \$35,000 and \$49,999

The standardized beta coefficient for the percentage of households with an income between \$35,000 and \$49,999 by neighborhood is 0.177. This means that for every unit increase in households with an income between \$35,000 and \$49,999 by neighborhood, a 0.177 unit increase in voter turnout by neighborhood is predicted, holding all other variables constant.

Educational Attainment: Less than Ninth Grade

The standardized beta coefficient for the percentage of individuals with less than a ninth grade education by neighborhood is -0.455. This means that for every unit increase in individuals with less than a ninth grade education by neighborhood, a 0.455 unit decrease in voter turnout by neighborhood is predicted, holding all other variables constant.

Educational Attainment: High School with No Diploma

The standardized beta coefficient for the percentage of individuals with some high school education but no diploma by neighborhood is -0.471. This means that for every unit increase in individuals with some high school education but no diploma, a 0.471 unit decrease in voter turnout by neighborhood is predicted, holding all other variables constant.

Educational Attainment: High School

The standardized beta coefficient for the percentage of individuals who have completed high school by neighborhood is -0.442. This means that for every unit increase in individuals who have completed high school, a 0.442 unit decrease in voter turnout by neighborhood is predicted, holding all other variables constant.

Educational Attainment: Some College

The standardized beta coefficient for the percentage of individuals who have completed some college by neighborhood is -0.265. This means that for every unit increase in individuals who have completed some college, a 0.265 unit decrease in voter turnout by neighborhood is predicted, holding all other variables constant.

Educational Attainment: Associate's Degree

The standardized beta coefficient for the percentage of individuals with an associate's degree by neighborhood is -0.144. This means that for every unit increase in individuals with an associate's degree, a 0.144 unit decrease in voter turnout by neighborhood is predicted, holding all other variables constant.

Asian Ethnicity

The standardized beta coefficient for the percentage of individuals of Asian ethnicity by neighborhood is 0.154. This means that for every unit increase in individuals of Asian ethnicity, a 0.154 increase in voter turnout by neighborhood is predicted, holding all other variables constant.

Latino Ethnicity

The standardized beta coefficient for the percentage of individuals of Latino ethnicity by neighborhood is 0.458. This means that for every unit increase in individuals of Latino ethnicity, a 0.458 increase in voter turnout by neighborhood is predicted, holding all other variables constant.

African American

The standardized beta coefficient for the percentage of African American individuals by neighborhood is 0.683. This means that for every unit increase in African American individuals, a 0.683 increase in voter turnout by neighborhood is predicted, holding all other variables constant.

Moved in the Last Year

The standardized beta coefficient for the percentage of individuals who moved in the last year by neighborhood is -0.307. This means that for every unit increase in individuals who moved in the last year, a 0.307 unit decrease in voter turnout by neighborhood is predicted, holding all other variables constant.

30–39 Age Group

The standardized beta coefficient for the percentage of individuals 30 to 39 years old by neighborhood is 0.656. This means that for every unit increase in individuals ages 30 to 39, a 0.656 increase in voter turnout by neighborhood is predicted, holding all other variables constant.

50–59 Age Group

The standardized beta coefficient for the percentage of individuals 50 to 59 years old by neighborhood is 0.313. This means that for every unit increase in individuals ages 50 to 59, a 0.313 increase in voter turnout by neighborhood is predicted, holding all other variables constant.

70 and Older Age Group

The standardized beta coefficient for the percentage of individuals 70 and older by neighborhood is 0.522. This means that for every unit increase in this group, a 0.522 increase in voter turnout by neighborhood is predicted, holding all other variables constant.

Gender

The standardized beta coefficient for the percentage of women by neighborhood is -0.405. This means that for every unit increase in women by neighborhood, a 0.405 decrease in voter turnout by neighborhood is predicted, holding all other variables constant.

A word on excluded variables: An independent variable is excluded from the regression if it can be perfectly predicted from one or more other independent variables in the model. The percentages of households with an income of \$200k or more, individuals with a graduate degree, and individuals with a commute time of 60 minutes or more were excluded from this model.

Statistical Terms

R-Squared: The r-squared of a model is a decimal between 0 and 1 that measures how much variation of the dependent variable is explained by the model. The higher the r-squared, the better the predictive power of the model in explaining what affects turnout at the neighborhood level. In this linear regression, the adjusted r-squared is 0.813 or 81.3 percent. This means that the regression model explains 81.3 percent of what affected turnout at the neighborhood level in the 2018 midterm elections.

Standardized Beta Coefficient: A standardized beta coefficient compares the strength of the effect of each independent variable to the dependent variable. The higher the value of the beta coefficient, the stronger the effect. There were several independent variables with a statistically significant standardized beta coefficient in this regression model.

Statistical Significance: In statistics, a result is significant if it is unlikely to have occurred by chance. Instead, something besides random variation in the data causes the outcome. If a variable is not statistically significant, it means that the data provides little or no evidence of a relationship between that variable and turnout at the neighborhood level.

Regression Model					
Demographic Characteristics	Unstandardized Coefficients	Std. Error	Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	p-value
(Constant)	0.453	0.141		3.201	0.002
Percent naturalized citizens	-0.478	0.080	-0.458	-5.952	0.000**
Percent household income below \$10,000	-0.037	0.185	-0.022	-0.198	0.843
Percent household income between \$10K-14.9K	0.129	0.259	0.055	0.499	0.618
Percent household income between \$15K-24.9K	0.032	0.279	0.013	0.114	0.910
Percent household income between \$25K-34.9K	-0.157	0.274	-0.048	-0.572	0.568
Percent household income between \$35K-49.9K	0.537	0.254	0.177	2.111	0.036*
Percent household income between \$50K-74.9K	-0.234	0.209	-0.085	-1.116	0.266
Percent household income between \$75K-99.9K	0.043	0.226	0.014	0.189	0.850
Percent household income between \$100K-149.9K	0.051	0.232	0.029	0.219	0.827
Percent household income between \$150K-199.9K	0.282	0.341	0.113	0.828	0.409
Percent less than ninth grade	-0.676	0.178	-0.455	-3.791	0.000**
Percent high school with no diploma	-0.748	0.203	-0.471	-3.693	0.000**
Percent completed high school	-0.480	0.133	-0.442	-3.619	0.000**
Percent some college	-0.583	0.217	-0.265	-2.686	0.008**
Percent associate's degree	-0.580	0.288	-0.144	-2.013	0.046*
Percent bachelor's degree	-0.231	0.189	-0.233	-1.226	0.222
<p>p <= 0.05 denoted by *</p> <p>p <= 0.01 denoted by **</p>					

Regression Model (continued)

Demographic Characteristics	Unstandardized Coefficients	Std. Error	Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	p-value
Percent Asian	0.089	0.042	0.154	2.125	0.035*
Percent Latino	0.195	0.042	0.458	4.679	0.000**
Percent Black	0.234	0.034	0.683	6.926	0.000**
Percent household with Internet access	-0.003	0.087	-0.003	-0.032	0.974
Percent CVAP Limited English Proficiency	-0.024	0.084	-0.031	-0.280	0.780
Percent disability	-0.054	0.195	-0.021	-0.278	0.781
Percent moved in the last year (renters and owners)	-0.670	0.156	-0.307	-4.308	0.000**
Commute time 0–19 minutes	-0.143	0.100	-0.111	-1.433	0.154
Commute time 20–39 minutes	-0.051	0.068	-0.053	-0.742	0.459
Commute time 40–59 minutes	0.119	0.083	0.098	1.436	0.153
18 to 29 years old	0.060	0.338	0.023	0.179	0.858
30 to 39 years old	1.271	0.349	0.656	3.641	0.000**
40 to 49 years old	0.394	0.395	0.091	0.998	0.320
50 to 59 years old	1.106	0.447	0.313	2.475	0.014*
60 to 69 years old	0.915	0.490	0.258	1.866	0.064
70 or older	1.008	0.326	0.522	3.086	0.002*
Percent female	-0.758	0.260	-0.405	-2.918	0.004*

p <= 0.05 denoted by *

p <= 0.01 denoted by **

Education and Voter Turnout

		Turnout in the general election	Percent less than ninth grade	Percent high school with no diploma
TURNOUT IN THE 2018 GENERAL ELECTION	Pearson Correlation	1	-0.548**	-0.587**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0.000	0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT LESS THAN NINTH GRADE	Pearson Correlation	-0.548**	1	0.669**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000		0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HIGH SCHOOL WITH NO DIPLOMA	Pearson Correlation	-0.587**	0.669**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT COMPLETED HIGH SCHOOL	Pearson Correlation	-0.512**	0.353**	0.410**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT SOME COLLEGE	Pearson Correlation	-0.143*	0.025	0.227**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.050	0.735	0.002
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT ASSOCIATE'S DEGREE	Pearson Correlation	-0.265**	-0.005	-0.030
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.948	0.679
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT BACHELOR'S DEGREE	Pearson Correlation	0.576**	-0.641**	-0.737**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT GRADUATE DEGREE	Pearson Correlation	0.643**	-0.662**	-0.685**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000
	N	189	189	189

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Percent completed high school	Percent some college	Percent associate's degree	Percent bachelor's degree	Percent graduate degree
-0.512**	-0.143*	-0.265**	0.576**	0.643**
0.000	0.050	0.000	0.000	0.000
189	189	189	189	189
0.353**	0.025	-0.005	-0.641**	-0.662**
0.000	0.735	0.948	0.000	0.000
189	189	189	189	189
0.410**	0.227**	-0.030	-0.737**	-0.685**
0.000	0.002	0.679	0.000	0.000
189	189	189	189	189
1	0.667**	0.599**	-0.839**	-0.865**
	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
189	189	189	189	189
0.667**	1	0.594**	-0.630**	-0.626**
0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000
189	189	189	189	189
0.599**	0.594**	1	-0.444**	-0.507**
0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000
189	189	189	189	189
-0.839**	-0.630**	-0.444**	1	0.893**
0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000
189	189	189	189	189
-0.865**	-0.626**	-0.507**	0.893**	1
0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	
189	189	189	189	189

Income and Voter Turnout

		Turnout in the general election	Percent household income below \$10,000	Percent household income between \$10K-14.9K
TURNOUT IN THE 2018 GENERAL ELECTION	Pearson Correlation	1	-0.168*	-0.303**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0.021	0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME BELOW \$10,000	Pearson Correlation	-0.168*	1	0.749**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.021		0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$10K-14.9K	Pearson Correlation	-0.303**	0.749**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$15K-24.9K	Pearson Correlation	-0.466**	0.677**	0.792**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$25K-34.9K	Pearson Correlation	-0.422**	0.547**	0.619**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$35K-49.9K	Pearson Correlation	-0.346**	0.331**	0.444**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$50K-74.9K	Pearson Correlation	-0.182*	-0.226**	-0.104
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.012	0.002	0.156
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$75K-99.9K	Pearson Correlation	0.192**	-0.643**	-0.623**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.008	0.000	0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$100K-149.9K	Pearson Correlation	0.378**	-0.756**	-0.802**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$150K-199.9K	Pearson Correlation	0.480**	-0.691**	-0.742**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME \$200K OR GREATER	Pearson Correlation	0.572**	-0.416**	-0.497**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000
	N	189	189	189

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Percent household income between \$15K-24.9K	Percent household income between \$25K-34.9K	Percent household income between \$35K-49.9K	Percent household income between \$50K-74.9K	Percent household income between \$75K-99.9K
-0.466**	-0.422**	-0.346**	-0.182*	0.192**
0.000	0.000	0.000	0.012	0.008
189	189	189	189	189
0.677**	0.547**	0.331**	-0.226**	-0.643**
0.000	0.000	0.000	0.002	0.000
189	189	189	189	189
0.792**	0.619**	0.444**	-0.104	-0.623**
0.000	0.000	0.000	0.156	0.000
189	189	189	189	189
1	0.809**	0.629**	0.120	-0.479**
	0.000	0.000	0.099	0.000
189	189	189	189	189
0.809**	1	0.753**	0.347**	-0.288**
0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000
189	189	189	189	189
0.629**	0.753**	1	0.580**	-0.015
0.000	0.000		0.000	0.839
189	189	189	189	189
0.120	0.347**	0.580**	1	0.494**
0.099	0.000	0.000		0.000
189	189	189	189	189
-0.479**	-0.288**	-0.015	0.494**	1
0.000	0.000	0.839	0.000	
189	189	189	189	189
-0.774**	-0.649**	-0.455**	0.153*	0.743**
0.000	0.000	0.000	0.036	0.000
189	189	189	189	189
-0.823**	-0.775**	-0.660**	-0.130	0.523**
0.000	0.000	0.000	0.075	0.000
189	189	189	189	189
-0.640**	-0.724**	-0.747**	-0.508**	0.023
0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.753
189	189	189	189	189

Income and Voter Turnout (continued)

		Percent household income between \$100K-149.9K	Percent household income between \$150K-199.9K	Percent household income \$200k or greater
TURNOUT IN THE 2018 GENERAL ELECTION	Pearson Correlation	0.378**	0.480**	0.572**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME BELOW \$10,000	Pearson Correlation	-0.756**	-0.691**	-0.416**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$10K-14.9K	Pearson Correlation	-0.802**	-0.742**	-0.497**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$15K-24.9K	Pearson Correlation	-0.774**	-0.823**	-0.640**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$25K-34.9K	Pearson Correlation	-0.649**	-0.775**	-0.724**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$35K-49.9K	Pearson Correlation	-0.455**	-0.660**	-0.747**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$50K-74.9K	Pearson Correlation	0.153*	-0.130	-0.508**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.036	0.075	0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$75K-99.9K	Pearson Correlation	0.743**	0.523**	0.023
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.753
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$100K-149.9K	Pearson Correlation	1	0.871**	0.452**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0.000	0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$150K-199.9K	Pearson Correlation	0.871**	1	0.686**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000		0.000
	N	189	189	189
PERCENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME \$200K OR GREATER	Pearson Correlation	0.452**	0.686**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	
	N	189	189	189

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

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