The College Student Voter in 2004: Obstacles, Outreach, and Electoral Engagement

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Executive Summary

Declining voting rates among young Americans prior to 2004 raised concerns that the future of our democracy was at risk. As a result, an unprecedented campaign arose to mobilize young people to register and vote in the 2004 presidential election. College students were a vital part of this youth mobilization effort, both as targets for the get-out-the-vote message and as recruits in the battle to engage a generation.

Throughout the presidential election, non-profit organizations and political campaigns maintained a presence on campuses across the country, convincing students to make their voices heard. Nonetheless, immediately following the election, questions remained about whether students faced significant obstacles when attempting to register and vote and whether youth turnout would have been even higher if it had been easier for young people who attend colleges and universities to participate in the electoral process.

In order to assess the experiences of college students when registering and voting in the 2004 election and to learn more about the process of student voter mobilization, a team of researchers from the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University conducted the Eagleton National Student Voter Survey in the spring of 2005. This study surveyed a national random sample of 1,000 undergraduates who were registered to vote in the presidential election of 2004 as well as an oversample of 200 students who live in states that allow Election Day registration.

Key Findings

- College students in 2004 experienced few problems when registering and voting and reported turning out in large numbers.
- Students received assistance with registration and voting from a variety of sources including families and friends, fellow students, colleges and universities, and government offices.
- The most frequently mentioned source of assistance was students’ parents or other relatives. Almost twice as many students said their families helped them register to vote as those who said assistance came from a student or university voter registration drive.
- Less than half of respondents said they used a Web site for information about voter registration.
- Where students live, register, and vote helped determine their electoral experience.
  - Students voting on or near campus faced more obstacles at the polls than those who voted in their home towns.
  - Students living on campus were more likely to receive help with registration and voting than those who live off-campus.
  - Students going to school in battleground states were somewhat more likely to receive help with registration.
  - Students in non-battleground states where citizens are permitted to register to vote on Election Day were more likely to cast a ballot than those in non-battleground states that do not allow same-day registration.
• Students whose families helped with registration, those who registered in government offices, and those who are enrolled in private schools were more likely to vote by absentee ballot than other students.

• Students who registered to vote on campus or who were helped with registration by a student or college/university sponsored group were less likely to vote by absentee ballot than other students.

• Most students were very confident that their votes were counted accurately. African-Americans and Latinos and Democrats expressed less confidence.

• Overall, students said they felt positively about the electoral process and the significance of their roles in it, with most respondents agreeing that college students had at least some effect on election outcome and accurately stating that the youth vote went up in 2004.
Introduction

Declining voting rates among young Americans prior to 2004 raised concerns that the future of our democracy was at risk. Only 36% of 18-24 year-olds voted in the 2000 presidential election, compared with 52% who voted 1972. As a result, an unprecedented campaign arose to mobilize young people to register and vote.

A post-election analysis conducted by the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) demonstrated that youth turnout increased by 11 percentage points between 2000 and 2004, but there were somewhat mixed reports about the types of experiences young people had when they tried to register and vote.¹ News stories and anecdotes from campuses around the country indicated that college students were particularly likely to have encountered registration and voting problems.

College students were a vital part of the 2004 youth mobilization effort, both as targets for the get-out-the-vote message and as recruits in the battle to engage a generation. Students are connected with large institutions, making them an easier population to reach than other young people. In addition, higher levels of education are traditionally correlated with voting. So, if voting behavior is encouraged, today’s college students should continue to be politically active throughout their lives.

Non-profit organizations and political campaigns maintained a presence on campuses across the country, convincing students to make their voices heard. However, immediately following the election, questions remained as to whether youth turnout would have been even higher if it had been easier for young people who attend colleges and universities across the country to register and vote.

When a student at Hamilton College in Utica, NY tried to register to vote in the presidential primary, a county election official told him he was required to vote in his home state of Washington because his dorm room could not be considered a permanent address. On August 31, the local Fox news affiliate in Tucson, Arizona reported that out-of-state students registering to vote in Tucson were committing a felony. In both cases, the students were right. Students have the legal right to vote where they go to school.

On Election Day in Ohio, Kenyon College students waited in line for up to ten hours in order to cast their votes. At Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, many students had to vote by provisional ballot. This experience was particularly discouraging for first-time voters who looked forward to stepping into the voting booth and feeling confident that their votes counted. Reports from students across the country also indicated that many absentee ballots did not arrive in time for the election.

At Rutgers, a post-election survey conducted by the Eagleton Institute of Politics found that 17% of students reported having some problem when trying to vote. Ten percent of these students were able to vote in spite of their problems, but 7% of students who faced problems were unable to cast a ballot.

In November of 2004, immediately following the election, CIRCLE released results of a national survey describing aspects of the college student voting experience. Study authors Niemi and Hanmer reported that the vast majority of students followed the campaign closely, turned out in high numbers, and found it easy to register and vote either in person or by absentee ballot.²

This study provided strong indications that students faced few obstacles to participation. However, since the survey focused on more general questions asking how easy students found the process of registration and voting and whether they were able to vote, uncertainty remained about what specific problems students may have encountered.

¹ Lopez, Mark Hugo; Emily Kirby; and Jared Sagoff. (July 2005). The Youth Vote 2004, The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE). University of Maryland School of Public Policy.
² Niemi, Richard and Michael Hanmer. (November 2004). College Students in the 2004 Election, The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE). University of Maryland School of Public Policy.
In order to assess the experiences of college students when registering and voting in the 2004 election and to learn more about the process of student voter mobilization, in the spring of 2005, a team of researchers from the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University conducted the *Eagleton National Student Voter Survey*.

**Methodology**

The *Eagleton National Student Voter Survey* surveyed undergraduates who were registered to vote in the presidential election. We surveyed only registered voters in order to ensure that we would reach the most relevant population. The sample consisted of 1,000 students attending 4-year colleges or universities. The survey has a margin of error of +\- 3.1%. Respondents were interviewed by telephone between March 31 and April 15, 2005.

An oversample of 200 students attending 4-year colleges or universities in states that allow Election Day registration (EDR) was also surveyed. This included students in Idaho, Maine, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Wisconsin and Wyoming.
Findings

Students Turned Out in Large Numbers and Experienced Few Problems

Most of the students (87%) who responded to the *Eagleton National Student Voter Survey* reported successfully casting a ballot on Election Day. Only 13% said they were unable or unwilling to vote. This number is far higher than the 64% of the voting age population who reported voting in the US Census survey. The numbers more closely resemble the 80% of college educated Census respondents who reported that they voted.

Although reports often surface of communities expressing concern about student voters’ interests overwhelming those of local residents, less than half of student voters actually voted at school. One third (34%) of students voted by absentee ballot. Of those who voted in person, 56% voted in their hometowns, while 44% reported casting their ballots on (23%) or near campus (21%).

![Reported Turnout of Registered College Students- November 2004](image)

Overall, students reported having a positive electoral experience. Very few students said they encountered major difficulties with either registration or voting. Only 7% said they had been confronted with any registration problem. Moreover, very few students said they encountered any difficulty obtaining a registration form (6%), completing the form (3%), finding the deadline for submitting the form (6%), or figuring out where the form should be sent (4%).

Students were similarly successful when it came time to cast their votes. This was true regardless of whether students voted in person or by absentee ballot. Ninety-four percent of those who voted in person said it was easy to vote. Ninety percent of absentee voters said it was easy to obtain ballots and 97% said it was easy to cast them. This was a surprising finding considering that absentee voters face a multi-stage process with deadlines that differ from those faced by other voters. The fact that a higher percentage of absentee voters reported receiving help with registration from their families (35% of absentee voters v. 17% of those who voted in-person) may in part account for why most students were able to navigate this process without incident.

When asked about specific problems they might have encountered while voting, students who voted in person most frequently mentioned long lines at the polls (21%). Only 3% said their ID was questioned, and just 4% said the poll workers had trouble finding their names on a list. Although long lines can serve as a deterrent to voting, this problem was not unique to students, confronting many voters across the country as a result of the high turnout witnessed in 2004. For the most part, students seem not to have encountered problems specific to their population.
However, 7% of respondents did say that they tried but were unable to vote. The highest proportion of these students (37%) blamed their inability to participate in the election on absentee ballots that did not arrive in time. Unlike long lines, this is an issue that has a disproportionate effect on college students because many of them choose to vote absentee. This problem could be addressed if colleges and universities provided information to students detailing what recourse they have if they do not receive their absentee ballots before Election Day. A student who does not receive a ballot in time may have options, such as going before a judge and requesting permission to vote, that will allow the student to participate in the election.

Overall, student voting in the 2004 election appears to have been a success story. Students voted in large numbers and with few problems. Since many college students were first-time voters (53% of respondents to this survey who said they voted), they did require help navigating the processes of registration and voting. A number of institutions and individuals stepped in to engage students and help them to make their voices heard successfully.

**Families Motivate Students to Register and Vote, Institutions Provide Tools**

The majority of students reported receiving some type of assistance with registration (61%), and many were helped with voting (40%) during the presidential election. This help came from a variety of sources, but students named parents or other family members more frequently than any other group or individual. In fact, almost twice as many students said their families helped them register to vote as those who said assistance came from a student or university voter registration drive.

The registration assistance provided to students took a number of forms that varied with the source of information. Students who said they were aided by a government office or a university voter mobilization drive were most likely to report receiving voter registration forms from those sources. Those assisted by parents or other relatives were most likely to report receiving encouragement from their families to initiate the registration process, but not a registration form. Families clearly play an
important role in activating students’ interest in political participation. Institutions appear to be more inclined to provide students with the official documents they need to become registered voters.

**Turnout among Students Who Received Registration Help was Equal to Those Who Did Not**

Whether students received help during the election appears to have had no effect on whether or not they voted. Eighty-eight percent of those who said they received help with registration also reported voting, as did 85% who did not receive help. Among those who said they were assisted with voting, 92% said they voted, as did 93% of those who did not receive voting assistance. It is difficult to tell from the available data whether students who were helped would have voted if they had been left to make sense of the process on their own. We are left with two possibilities: 1) Registration and voting assistance made no difference in turnout, or 2) Help reached the intended targets and enabled them to participate at rates comparable with the more politically savvy.

Determining whether those who received help were first-time voters provides some insight into which is the more likely possibility. If more of the people receiving assistance were voting for the first time, we would be more confident that these interventions helped determine turnout. However, new voters and more experienced voters were almost equally likely to receive help with registration (62% v. 58%). A small difference was evident in the amount of voting assistance received. Forty-four percent of new voters received assistance during the process of voting, compared with 35% of those who had voted previously. Although inconclusive, these results suggest that novices received only moderately greater attention and only with voting.
Few Students Reached by On-line Voter Education

Although conventional wisdom indicates that young adults with access to technology will go on-line for information, less than half of respondents (41%) reported using a Web site to learn about voter registration. Of those who did, the highest percent (4%) said they used the Rock the Vote Web site. The state election agency Web site was also mentioned by 4% of respondents. Students named other on-line sources even less frequently.

When only a minority of the most educated young people report using Web sites for information about registration and voting, some basic assumptions about how to reach young people must be called into question. Organizations that focus attention on Web-based outreach may wish to consider whether there are better ways of communicating with this demographic. It is also possible that the real issue is awareness. Groups that host voter education Web sites for young people may need to do a better job of publicizing the resources they provide.
Student Demographics and Party Affiliation Have Minimal to Moderate Impact on Election Experiences

There were several factors that had an effect on students’ voting experiences and their impressions of the electoral process. Although they played some role, students’ personal characteristics such as gender, race, and political party were unlikely to have a significant impact on these outcomes.3

Gender Differences:
The only significant difference noted between men and women was in turnout. Voting and registration assistance reached men and women equally, and gender did not make a significant difference in where students registered and voted.

- Women were more likely to vote than men (89% of women v. 85% of men).

Racial Differences:
Claims about the effects of race are somewhat difficult to make because there were only small numbers of students representing minority populations. However, the available data seem to indicate that Latino students did not receive as much assistance as other students.

- Latinos are less likely than others to say they received help with registration (48% of Latino [N=30] v. 62% of others).
- Latinos are more likely than others to say they received no help from their families or friends with registration or voting (76% of Latinos [N=47] v. 60% of others).

Party Differences:
In general, whether students consider themselves Democrats or Republicans did not have a significant impact on their electoral experience. However, independents were less likely to say they were assisted with registration and voting and less likely to feel that their peer group had a significant influence on the election outcome, perhaps increasing their feelings of alienation from traditional American politics. Republicans did stay closer to home than other students, receiving more help from their parents and voting in their hometowns in larger numbers.

- Republicans are more likely than others to report receiving registration help from their families (30% of Republicans v. 21% of others).
- Republicans are more likely than other in-person voters to vote in their hometowns (65% of Republicans v. 52% of others).
- Republicans are more likely than others to believe that people like themselves have a say in government (80% of Republicans v. 60% of others).
- Independents are less likely than others to say they received help with either registration or voting (61% of independents v. 70% of others).
- Independents are less likely than others to believe that college students had a large effect on the outcome of the election (14% of independents v. 24% of others).
- Democrats are more likely than other in-person voters to vote at school (49% of Democrats v. 41% of others).

3 Because of small N sizes, some of the findings related to subgroups do not have a high level of statistical certainty. Therefore, they should be considered directional findings and not firm conclusions. In these cases, N sizes are reported along with percents.
Students’ Level of Political and Civic Engagement is Associated with Mobilization and Voting

The degree of political and civic activity in which the students reported engaging was more consistently related to the amount and type of help students say they received and whether they voted. Students were characterized as active if they said they participated in one or more political and/or community oriented activity such as signing a petition, volunteering for a non-political cause, or contributing money to a candidate. The vast majority of students (83%) said they participated in one of these activities.

Differences among Politically/Civically Engaged People:

- Not surprisingly, engaged people are more likely than others to say they voted in the election (88% of engaged people v. 82% of others).
- Engaged people are more likely than others to report receiving help with either registration or voting from a university, party, or non-partisan group (26% of engaged people v. 17% \[N=30\] of others).
- Engaged people are more likely than others to report receiving help with either registration or voting from family and friends (41% of engaged people v. 31% \[N=54\] of others).
- Engaged people are more likely than others to have reported receiving help with voting overall (42% of engaged people v. 31% \[N=44\] of others).

The fact that people who are already engaged in the political process and the civic life of their communities are those most likely to say they received assistance with registration and voting indicates that there is a problem with the targeting of mobilization efforts. Clearly, political novices need more help navigating the system than those who have already sought out opportunities for political and civic engagement. The relative lack of familial assistance among the disengaged indicates that these young people are not being socialized for political participation by their families in large numbers. Therefore, organizations may want to consider reallocating resources to reach those who need them most.

Where Students Live, Register, and Vote Helps Determine Electoral Experience

Where students were living at the time of the election did make a significant difference in whether they were the targets of outreach and, in certain states, whether or not they voted. This was particularly true of students living in battleground states or states that allow Election Day registration. Students living on campus were also at an advantage when it came to receiving registration and voting assistance.

As Niemi and Hamner point out in their study, problems were anticipated as a result of large numbers of students, many of whom are transient and new to the political process, voting at polling places on or near campuses. Yet they may not have materialized because a majority of students chose to vote in their hometowns. The results of this study support this hypothesis. Of the 56% of students who voted in-person and at home, 45% mentioned encountering specific obstacles at the polls- most frequently long lines. Of the 44% percent of those who voted at school, a higher percentage (55%) said they faced long lines or some other problem.

Comparing students who live on campus with those who live off-campus also provides insight into the importance of location for student voters. Students who live on campus were significantly more likely to receive help with both registration (67% on-campus v. 50% off) and voting (43% on-campus v. 34% off) than those who live off-campus either with or without their parents. This is probably the result of registration campaigns that target dorms, set up tables near dining halls, and work with
residence life staff to reach students. In order to facilitate student voting, many universities provide transportation to the polls or encourage students to travel to the polling places in groups. These institutionally based interventions increase the likelihood that on-campus students will be offered help with registration and voting more often than their off-campus classmates.

**Impact of State Electoral Environment**

Where citizens live largely determines how they will experience a presidential election. Although the election of a president is, by definition, a national event, people who live in a battleground state or one with an early primary will be exposed to more mobilization, more campaign communication, and more media attention than those who do not. In addition, deadlines established by individual states determine whether citizens must remember to register at least a month before an election or can sign up on Election Day and cast a vote. These conditions affect students’ electoral experiences as well.

A higher percentage of students who attend school in states that were contested in the 2004 presidential election reported receiving help with registration (66% v. 59%). There was no significant difference in the percentage of students who said they received voting assistance. It is not surprising that students would encounter more offers of assistance in a state where every vote might count, but ideally efforts to enfranchise new voters would not depend even moderately on the dynamics of a particular election.

At least in the case of college students, there seems to have been some extra emphasis on registration in the battleground states, but with little extra effort given to helping young people cast their votes. Considering the lack of difficulty encountered by student voters, this is probably a matter of little consequence. Had more problems arisen at the polls, however, important votes in battleground states could have been lost as a result of the disproportionate attention placed on registration.
In states that allow Election Day Registration (EDR) where the election was not competitive, 98% of students say they voted, compared with 86% of students in non-EDR states that were also not contested. In battleground states, the effect of being allowed to register and vote on the same day was not significant. In states where the outcome of the election was essentially pre-determined, having the ability to decide to vote at the last minute had a significant impact on turnout. Where the election was being contested, the excitement of the race itself outweighed flexible registration deadlines.

Students Who Register to Vote on Campus or with a Campus Group Less Likely to Vote Absentee

Students who attend school away from home but who want their votes to count in their hometowns have the option of voting by absentee ballot. The ability to vote successfully by absentee ballot is a major issue for students since many of them study away from home. Often, the communities where colleges and universities are located prefer that students vote this way to prevent them from having a disproportionate influence on the composition of local government. One third of respondents said they were absentee voters.

Factors associated with student absentee voting are listed below. Where students registered to vote and who helped them do so had an effect on whether they voted in person or by absentee ballot. Families encourage students to vote by absentee ballot, perhaps wanting their offspring’s vote to be counted in their local community. On the other hand, students who are helped by a student or university group and register at their schools are more likely to vote in person.

More Likely to Vote Absentee
- Those helped with registration by their families (51% v. 29% of others)
- Students who attend private colleges or universities (52% v. 30% of those attending public schools)
- Students who registered in a government office (41% v. 22% of others)

Less Likely to Vote Absentee
- Students who registered on campus (18%, [N=39] v. 40% of others)
- Those helped with registration by a student or university sponsored group (20% v. 36% of others)
Interestingly, 80% of students who voted in person said they would prefer to vote that way, but only 41% of those who voted by absentee ballot said they preferred to mail in their votes. This would appear to indicate that, in spite of the ease with which most students voted absentee, many still found the experience somewhat unsatisfying.

![Bar chart showing preferences for voting in person versus by mail.](chart)

**College Students Optimistic about Political Participation**

Most respondents said they felt positively about the electoral process and the significance of their role in it. Seventy-one percent agreed that college students had at least some effect on the election outcome.

![Bar chart showing opinions on the effect of college students on the 2004 presidential election.](chart)
Despite initial negative publicity about the youth vote in 2004, students also accurately reported that the youth vote increased from the previous presidential election.

![Students' Perception of Youth Turnout in 2004](image)

A majority of students confidently disagreed with the premise that people like them cannot influence the government.

![People Like Me Have No Say in What the Government Does](image)

When asked to choose from a list of ways to encourage young people to vote, the highest percentage of students (29%) said that candidates should focus more on issues that young people care about - a response that demonstrates optimism about the interests and engagement of their peers. Twenty-five percent said more information about candidates and their stands on issues would motivate students, and 16% thought better education about why voting is important was the way to increase
youth participation. Fewer advocated better education about voting mechanics (10%). Sixty percent of those who voted said they did so because they believed it was their duty as a citizen.

Today’s college students also have an affinity for tradition. When provided with a list of options for how they would like to vote, convention trumped convenience. The majority (56%) of students said they preferred to vote in a booth. Twenty-nine percent said they would rather vote on-line, and 13% said they would like to vote by mail. In response to a question asking what feature of American democracy they believe has been most important to the success of our nation, the highest proportion of students (20%) named the Constitution compared with 17% who chose our free and open society and 15% who named the cultural diversity of our people. Only twelve percent of students said that the free enterprise system was most responsible for the success of the United States.

Students Confident that Their Votes Were Counted; African-Americans, Latinos Absentee Voters, and Democrats Express Less Confidence

Students also displayed their confidence by expressing a belief in the accuracy of the vote count. Almost all students said they were either very or somewhat confident that their votes were accurately counted.

African-Americans, Latinos, and Democrats, the groups most likely to have experienced feelings of disenfranchisement after the 2000 election, were less likely to feel very confident that their votes were counted accurately in this election. Thirty-nine percent of African-Americans and Latinos (N=54) said they felt very confident in the accuracy of the vote count compared with 58% of other respondents. A more significant difference materialized between members of the two major parties. Forty-seven percent of Democrats reported feeling very confident compared with 72% of Republicans.

These findings are consistent with the National Annenberg Election Survey, 2004, which interviewed 3,123 adults (2,757 registered voters) between October 25-31, 2004. Results from that survey indicate that 77% of Republicans were very confident in the accuracy of the vote count.
However, only 52% of Democrats, and 40% of African-Americans expressed the same level of confidence.⁴

Clearly, the results of the 2000 election were still affecting opinions about the political process in 2004 and early 2005. This was true even among young people, many of whom were voting for the first time.

Perhaps because of the somewhat mysterious nature of when and how absentee ballots are tabulated, students who voted absentee also expressed less confidence in the accuracy of the vote count (48% were very confident compared with 59% of those who voted in person).

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⁴ NAES 04 National Annenberg Election Survey. (November 12, 2004). *Post-Election Polling Shows Public Coming to Believe United States is “Generally Going in Right Direction,” Annenberg Data Indicates.* Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania.
Overview: Was 2004 a Good Year for Students?

In general, the findings of the *Eagleton National Student Voter Survey* are encouraging: Contrary to expectations college students in 2004 were actively engaged in the presidential election and were able to cast their votes with minimal difficulty. Young people enrolled in institutions of higher education across the United States are also demonstrating faith in our political system and optimism about their generation’s role in the political process.

Although the story of 2004 is mostly a positive one, there are some reasons for reflection and possible rethinking of the way students are targeted and mobilized by those who hope to engage them in politics.

Where students find themselves studying, living, registering and voting at the time of a national election has real implications for how determined others will be to ensure their participation. In addition, students who vote at their school address are more likely to experience problems when voting. This may be an inevitable outgrowth of the way universities and elections are organized in the United States. However, it is a questionable way to determine which of our educated young people will be guided through the process of what will often be their first votes.

Students who vote where they go to school should not be more vulnerable to voting obstacles than their peers who choose to vote at home. Moreover, students who elect to live off campus should be presented with opportunities to register at their institutions similar to those offered their dorm-dwelling friends. The fact that only 13% of respondents said they were assisted by a voter registration drive affiliated with their schools indicates that these efforts could have reached a significantly higher number of students.

The 2004 election occurred at a time of national upheaval and war. Achieving the same level of turnout would most likely have required a far more concentrated effort under other circumstances. It is unclear whether the limited reach achieved by registration and voting drives investigated in this survey would have been sufficient in another election year.

The higher levels of mobilization and turnout noted in battleground and Election Day registration states are harder to address. Partisan groups unaffiliated with colleges and universities will be more active in competitive states, and election laws in many states must be changed in order to extend the benefits of Election Day registration to students across the country. Institutions of higher education themselves and other non-partisan organizations will most likely have to continue working to compensate for these inequities.
Next Steps: Research and Action

Study Findings Challenge Commonly Held Assumptions

Two findings of this study refute commonly held beliefs about how to persuade and inform young citizens—(1) The significant role family plays in registration and voting; (2) The minimal reach of voter education Web sites.

The importance of family influence on students’ participation contradicts the assumption that celebrity testimonials and pop culture are the only ways to reach young people. It also suggests that targeting parents with get-out-the-vote messages could be an important part of reaching students. College students are more likely than other young people to have educated parents who vote, so a small amount of encouragement could go a long way toward increasing the number of families that help college students register and vote.

Further investigation is required to determine why students did not turn to the Web for information about registration. Perhaps the availability of the information elsewhere made this unnecessary, or maybe students felt they needed a more personal touch to help them successfully complete the tasks required for registration. This is a question that should be of great interest to the organizations that devote time and resources to creating on-line sources of information for potential young voters.

Research Needed About Latino Students

Future research should also investigate whether Latino students are really receiving less attention from registration and voter drives and why this might be the case so that steps can be taken to address this disparity.

Action on Absentee Voting

In light of the high turnout demonstrated in this study, one area where attention could make a real difference in future elections is absentee voting. A student who applies for an absentee ballot should be assured of receiving it in enough time to vote. Any reforms that need to be considered in order to increase the possibility that this will happen should be encouraged by those who advocate for students.

In 2004, college students across the country demonstrated an enthusiasm for participation that many thought was beyond their capabilities. A great deal of resources were also dedicated to making voting as attractive and uncomplicated as possible for this group. Although the data presented here show no significant effects of these efforts on turnout, they at the very least should have demonstrated to young people that their participation is valued by society. Ideally, this combination of factors will serve as a catalyst for many years of active engagement by our nation’s next generation of college graduates. A sustained commitment by institutions of higher education, both partisan and non-partisan organizations, and families could help make this a reality for future generations as well.
APPENDIX ONE

NATIONAL STUDENT VOTER SURVEY

Sample: Full-time students attending a four-year college/university
Nationally representative sample: 1,000 telephone interviews
Over-sample from Election Day registration states: 200 telephone interviews

Consent

Hello, my name is ___________. We are conducting a confidential survey of college students, and would very much like to include your opinions. We’d like to get your views on some important issues facing your area. You were randomly selected for the survey. We are not selling anything, and not asking for money. All your answers are completely confidential.

The survey should take no more than 10 or 15 minutes to complete.

Screener

1. Are you currently registered as a FULL-TIME undergraduate student at a four-year university/college?
   1. Yes (CONTINUE)
   2. No (TERMINATE)
   3. [Don’t Know] (TERMINATE)
   4. [Refused] (TERMINATE)

2. Which of the following statements best describes your voting registration status on election day, November 2nd, 2004? (ROTATE LIST)
   1. I was not registered to vote (TERMINATE)
   2. I thought about registering, but didn’t (TERMINATE)
   3. I tried to register but was unable to (TERMINATE)
   4. I was registered to vote (CONTINUE)
   5. [Don’t Know] (TERMINATE)
   6. [Refused] (TERMINATE)
### Registration Experience

3. **When did you FIRST register to vote? (N=1000)**

1. Fall quarter/semester, in 2004 before Election Day  
   - 20%
2. Sometime in 2004, before the Fall quarter/semester began  
   - 25%
3. Sometime during 2003  
   - 17%
4. At some point before 2003  
   - 34%
5. [Don’t Know]  
   - 4%
6. [Refused]  
   - .2%

4. **Which of the following best describes where you registered for the 2004 Election? (ROTATE LIST) (N=1000)**

1. I registered to vote in my hometown  
   - 70%
2. I registered to vote at my school address  
   - 28%
3. [Other]  
   - 2%
4. [Don’t Know]  
   - .3%
5. [Refused]  
   - .4%

5. **Where did you register to vote? (ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST) (N=1000)**

1. On campus  
   - 26%
2. At a state, county or municipal office, such as the County Clerk’s office or the Division of Motor Vehicles  
   - 42%
3. At an off-campus event or concert  
   - 5%
4. Online, using the Internet  
   - 7%
5. Somewhere else (specify)  
   - 16%
6. [Don’t Know]  
   - 3%
7. [Refused]  
   - .4%

6. **Please tell me from which of the following, if any, you received help in the registration process. (N=1000) (ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)**

1. Group affiliated with a political party or issue  
   - 3%
   (SKIP TO Q14 IF SINGLE RESPONSE)
2. Group not affiliated with a political party or issue such as Rock the Vote or PIRG  
   - 4%
3. A state, county or municipal office, such as the County Clerk’s office or the Division of Motor Vehicles  
   - 13%
4. Church or place of worship  
   - 2%
   (SKIP TO Q14 IF SINGLE RESPONSE)
5. Student or university sponsored effort to get out the vote  
   - 14%
6. A professor, teaching assistant (TA), or graduate assistant (GA)  
   - 6%
7. Parents or Other Relatives  
   - 24%
8. Friends  
   - 11%
9. [Didn’t receive help from anybody] (VOL)  
   - 35%
   (SKIP TO Q14 IF SINGLE RESPONSE)
10. [Don’t Know]  
    - 4%
    (SKIP TO Q14 IF SINGLE RESPONSE)
11. [Refused]  
    - .8%
    (SKIP TO Q14 IF SINGLE RESPONSE)
7. You said that you received help in the registration process from a group not affiliated with a political party or issue such as Rock the Vote or PIRG. Which of the following kinds of assistance did they provide? (N=44)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Encouraged you to register 47%
2. Told you registration times, dates, and places 31%
3. Told you where to find information about registering 33%
4. Gave you a registration form 66%
5. Helped you fill out a registration form and submit it 57%
6. Other [VOL] --%
7. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know] 6%
8. [Refused] --

8. Where did you receive the help from the group not affiliated with a political party or issue such as Rock the Vote or PIRG? Was it on-campus or off-campus? (N=44)

1. On campus 75%
2. Off campus 14%
3. Both [VOL] .5%
4. Don’t Know [VOL] 9%
5. Refused [VOL] 2%

(ASK Q9, ONLY IF Q6=3)

9. You said that you received help in the registration process from a state, county or municipal office, such as the County Clerk’s office or the Division of Motor Vehicles. Which of the following kinds of assistance did they provide? (N=128)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Encouraged you to register 19%
2. Told you registration times, dates, and places 21%
3. Told you where to find information about registering 20%
4. Gave you a registration form 66%
5. Helped you fill out a registration form and submit it 32%
6. Other [VOL] 4%
7. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know] 4%
8. [Refused] 1%

(ASK Q10, ONLY IF Q6=5)

10. You said that you received help from a student or university sponsored effort to get out the vote in the registration process. Which of the following kinds of assistance did the student or university sponsored effort to get out the vote provide? (N=136)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Encouraged you to register 40%
2. Told you registration times, dates, and places 23%
3. Told you where to find information about registering 23%
4. Gave you a registration form 54%
5. Helped you fill out a registration form and submit it 44%
6. Other [VOL] 4%
7. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know] 1%
8. [Refused] 3%
11. You said that you received help from a professor, teaching assistant (TA) or graduate assistant (GA) in the registration process. Which of the following kinds of assistance did they provide? (N=61)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Encouraged you to register 41%
2. Told you registration times, dates, and places 26%
3. Told you where to find information about registering 32%
4. Gave you a registration form 44%
5. Helped you fill out a registration form and submit it 25%
6. Other [VOL] 2%
7. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know] 2%
8. [Refused] --

12. You said that you received help from your parents or other relatives in the registration process. Which of the following kinds of assistance did they provide? (N=236)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Encouraged you to register 50%
2. Told you registration times, dates, and places 22%
3. Told you where to find information about registering 25%
4. Gave you a registration form 16%
5. Helped you fill out a registration form and submit it 26%
6. Other [VOL] 2%
7. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know] 3%
8. [Refused] .5%

13. You said that you received help from your friends in the registration process. Which of the following kinds of assistance did they provide? (N=109)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Encouraged you to register 50%
2. Told you registration times, dates, and places 21%
3. Told you where to find information about registering 34%
4. Gave you a registration form 25%
5. Helped you fill out a registration form and submit it 15%
6. Other [VOL] 1%
7. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know] 2%
8. [Refused] 1%
14. Which of the following organizations’ websites, if any, did you use for registration information? (ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST) (N=1000)

1. Rock the Vote 4%
2. MTV 2%
3. Project Vote Smart .4%
4. State Division of Elections 4%
5. Smack Down Your Vote .2%
6. Declare Yourself 1%
7. PIRG/New Voter Project .3%
8. Website maintained by your College or University 2%
9. Hip Hop Summit Action Network 1%
10. Some Other Organization – specify (VOL) 2%
11. [Didn’t go to any websites for registration information] (VOL) 46%
12. [Didn’t go to any of the above] (VOL) 26%
13. [Don’t Know] 8%
14. [Refused] 4%

15. Did you experience any problems registering to vote? (N = 1000)

1. Yes 7%
2. No 93%
3. [Don’t Know] .1%
4. [Refused] --

When registering to vote, please tell me how difficult it was for you to do the following: (RANDOMLY ROTATE LIST)

16. Find out where to get a registration form (N=1000)

1. Very difficult 1%
2. Somewhat difficult 5%
3. Not very difficult 12%
4. Not difficult at all 80%
5. [Don’t Know/Don’t Remember] 1%
6. [Refused] .3%

17. Find out the deadline when to send in the registration form (N=1000)

1. Very difficult .9%
2. Somewhat difficult 5%
3. Not very difficult 10%
4. Not difficult at all 81%
5. [Don’t Know/Don’t Remember] 3%
6. [Refused] .2%

18. Find out where to send in the completed registration form (N=1000)

1. Very difficult 1%
2. Somewhat difficult 3%
3. Not very difficult 10%
4. Not difficult at all 84%
5. [Don’t Know/Don’t Remember] 2%
6. [Refused] .2%
19. Fill-out the registration form (N=1000)
1. Very difficult .6%
2. Somewhat difficult 3%
3. Not very difficult 13%
4. Not difficult at all 82%
5. [Don’t Know/Don’t Remember] 1%
6. [Refused] --

Vote Experience

Now, I would like to ask you some questions about voting.

20. Which of the following statements best describes your voting experience in the 2004 Election? (N=1000)

   (ROTATE LIST)

   1. I voted 87% (GO TO Q21)
   2. I attempted to vote but wasn’t able to 7% (SKIP TO Q40)
   3. I did not attempt to vote in this election 6% (SKIP TO Q38)
   4. [Don’t Know] .3% (SKIP TO Q61)
   5. [Refused] -- (SKIP TO Q61)

Q21-37, IF VOTED (Q20=1)

21. Prior to the 2004 election, did you vote in any national, state, or local election? (N=873)

   1. Yes 46%
   2. No 53%
   3. [Don’t Know] .7%
   4. [Refused] --%

22. Please tell me from which of the following, if any, you received help in the voting process. (N=868)

   (ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

   1. Group affiliated with a political party or issue 3%
      (SKIP TO Q30 IF SINGLE RESPONSE)
   2. Group not affiliated with a political party or issue such as Rock the Vote or PIRG 3%
   3. A state, county or municipal office, such as the County Clerk’s office or the Division of Motor Vehicles 5%
   4. Church or place of worship 2%
      (SKIP TO Q30 IF SINGLE RESPONSE)
   5. Student or university sponsored effort to get out the vote 7%
   6. A professor, teaching assistant (TA), or graduate assistant (GA) 3%
   7. Parents or Other Relatives 18%
   8. Friends 10%
   9. [Didn’t receive help from anybody] (VOL) 55%
      (SKIP TO Q30 IF SINGLE RESPONSE)
   10. [Don’t Know] 4%
      (SKIP TO Q30 IF SINGLE RESPONSE)
   11. [Refused] 1%
      (SKIP TO Q30 IF SINGLE RESPONSE)
23. You said that you received help in the voting process from a group not affiliated with a political party or issue such as Rock the Vote or PIRG. Which of the following kinds of assistance did they provide? (N=25)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Encouraged you to vote  
   (Split A: 46%; Split B: 34%)
2. Told you where to find information about voting  
   (Split A: 43%; Split B: 28%)
3. Told you the hours of the polling place  
   Told you the location of the polling place  
   (Split A: 10%)
   (Split B: 21%)
4. Told you how to use the voting machines  
   Told you what to do if your name does not appear on the official voter registration list  
   (Split B - 28%)
5. Told you how to get an absentee ballot  
   (Split A: --%; Split B: 13%)
6. Helped you fill out the absentee ballot and submit it  
   (Split A: 10%; Split B: 8%)
7. Told you how to vote if you won’t be in town where you are registered on Election Day  
   (Split A: --%; Split B: 21%)
8. Other [VOL]  
   (Split A: --%; Split B: --%)
9. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know]  
   (Split A: 25%; Split B: --%)
10. [Refused]

24. Where did you receive the help from the group not affiliated with a political party or issue such as Rock the Vote or PIRG? Was it on-campus or off-campus? (N=24)

1. On campus  
   51%
2. Off campus  
   30%
3. Both [VOL]  
   --
4. Don’t Know [VOL]  
   7%
5. Refused [VOL]  
   12%

25. You said that you received help in the voting process from a state, county or municipal office, such as the County Clerk’s office or the Division of Motor Vehicles. Which of the following kinds of assistance did they provide? (N=47)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Encouraged you to vote  
   (Split A: 51%; Split B: 24%)
2. Told you where to find information about voting  
   (Split A: 26%; 40%)
3. Told you the hours of the polling place  
   Told you the location of the polling place  
   (Split A: 16%)
   (Split B: 27%)
4. Told you how to use the voting machines  
   Told you what to do if your name does not appear on the official voter registration list  
   (Split A: 8%)
5. Told you how to get an absentee ballot  
   (Split A: 25%; Split B: 26%)
6. Helped you fill out the absentee ballot and submit it  
   (Split A: 31%; Split B: 28%)
7. Told you how to vote if you won’t be in town where you are registered on Election Day  
   (Split A: 20%; Split B: --%)
8. Other [VOL]  
   (Split A: 12%; Split B: 8%)
9. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know]  
   (Split A: --%; Split B: 5%)
10. [Refused]
26. You said that you received help in the voting process from a student or university sponsored effort to get out the vote. Which of the following kinds of assistance did the student or university sponsored effort to get out the vote provide? (N=61)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Encouraged you to vote (Split A: 50%; Split B: 36%)
2. Told you where to find information about voting (Split A: 33%; Split B: 38%)
3. Told you the hours of the polling place (Split A: 22%)
4. Told you how to use the voting machines [Told you what to do if your name does not appear on the official voter registration list (Split B: 14%)]
5. Told you how to get an absentee ballot (Split A: 18%; Split B: 22%)
6. Helped you fill out the absentee ballot and submit it (Split A: 7%; Split B: 8%)
7. Told you how to vote if you won’t be in town where you are registered on Election Day (Split A: 20%; Split B: 20%)
8. Other [VOL] (Split A: --%; Split B: 5%)
9. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know] (Split A: --; Split B: --%)
10. [Refused] (Split A: --; Split B: 4%)

27. You said that you received help from a professor, teaching assistant (TA), or graduate assistant (GA) in the voting process. Which of the following kinds of assistance did they provide? (N=27)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Encouraged you to vote (Split A: 66%; Split B: 29%)
2. Told you where to find information about voting (Split A: 51%; Split B: 10%)
3. Told you the hours of the polling place (Split A: 11%)
4. Told you how to use the voting machines [Told you what to do if your name does not appear on the official voter registration list (Split B: --%)]
5. Told you how to get an absentee ballot (Split A: 33%; Split B: 35%)
6. Helped you fill out the absentee ballot and submit it (Split A: 12%; Split B: 24%)
7. Told you how to vote if you won’t be in town where you are registered on Election Day (Split A: --%; Split B: --%)
8. Other [VOL] (Split A: --; Split B: --)
9. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know] (Split A: --; Split B: --)
10. [Refused] (Split A: 0/0%; Split B: --)
28. You said that you received help from your parents or other relatives in the voting process. Which of the following kinds of assistance did they provide? (N=156)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Encouraged you to vote
2. Told you where to find information about voting
3. Told you the hours of the polling place
   Told you the location of the polling place
4. Told you how to use the voting machines
   Told you what to do if your name does not appear on the official voter registration list
5. Told you how to get an absentee ballot
6. Helped you fill out the absentee ballot and submit it
7. Told you how to vote if you won’t be in town where you are registered on Election Day
8. Other [VOL]
9. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know]
10. [Refused]

(Split A: 56%; Split B: 59%)
(Split A: 22%; Split B: 20%)
(Split A: 14%)
(Split B: 19%)
(Split A: 11%)
(Split B: 10%)
(Split A: 36%; Split B: 25%)
(Split A: 17%; Split B: 11%)
(Split A: 19%; Split B: 21%)
(Split A: 1%; Split B: 1%)
(Split A: 2%; Split B: 2%)
(Split A: --; Split B: 1%)

29. You said that you received help in the voting process from your friends. Which of the following kinds of assistance did they provide? (N=91)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Encouraged you to vote
2. Told you where to find information about voting
3. Told you the hours of the polling place
   Told you the location of the polling place
4. Told you how to use the voting machines
   Told you what to do if your name does not appear on the official voter registration list
5. Told you how to get an absentee ballot
6. Helped you fill out the absentee ballot and submit it
7. Told you how to vote if you won’t be in town where you are registered on Election Day
8. Other [VOL]
9. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know]
10. [Refused]

(Split A: 60%; Split B: 56%)
(Split A: 25%; Split B: 11%)
(Split A: 16%)
(Split B: 17%)
(Split A: 3%)
(Split B: --%)
(Split A: 16%; Split B: 13%)
(Split A: 10%; Split B: 4%)
(Split A: 7%; Split B: 6%)
(Split A: --%; Split B: --%)
(Split A: 5%; Split B: 6%)
(Split A: --; Split B: 2%)

(ASK Q28, ONLY IF Q22=7)

(ASK Q29 ONLY IF Q22=8)
30. There are a lot of different reasons why people chose to vote in the 2004 election. Why did you choose to vote? (N=868)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. My duty as a citizen 60%
2. To vote for a particular candidate/party 28%
3. To vote against a particular candidate/party 21%
4. To vote for a particular issue 19%
5. A parent or older adult encouraged me to vote 14%
6. Saw/heard an ad on voting 4%
7. An organized voting drive encouraged me to vote 3%
8. A friend/peer encouraged me to vote 9%
9. [Other] (VOL) 5%
10. [Don’t Know] 2%
11. [Refused] .4%

31. Thinking about the 2004 Election, which of the following ways did you vote? (N=868)

(ROTATE LIST)
1. In person on election day using the voting machine 40% (GO TO Q32)
2. In person on election day by provisional ballot, using a paper form 25% (GO TO Q32)
3. By absentee ballot 34% (SKIP TO Q57)
4. [Don’t Know] 1% (SKIP TO Q36)
5. [Refused] -- (SKIP TO Q36)

(ASK Q32, ONLY IF Q31=1 OR 2)

32. Where did you vote? (N=564)
1. At a polling place on campus 23%
2. At a polling place off-campus, not in my hometown 21%
3. At a polling place in my hometown 56%
4. [Don’t Know] .2%
5. [Refused] --

33. How easy was it to vote? Was it very easy, somewhat easy, somewhat difficult, or very difficult? (N=564)

1. Very easy 78%
2. Somewhat easy 16%
3. Somewhat difficult 5%
4. Very difficult .8%
5. [Don’t Know/Don’t Remember] --
6. [Refused] --

34. Did you run into any problems in the course of voting? (N=564)
1. Yes 8%
2. No 92%
3. [Don’t Know] --
4. [Refused] --
35. While trying to vote in the election did you experience any of the following? (N=564)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Poll workers were impolite, unhelpful to you 2%
2. Poll workers had trouble finding your name 4%
3. Poll workers were poorly trained, not competent 2%
4. Long lines/took a long time to vote 21%
5. Your ID was questioned 3%
6. Your vote was challenged by a representative of one of the political parties .3%
7. Didn’t get an absentee ballot in time to vote by mail 2%
8. Had difficulty using the voting machine 1%
9. Had trouble finding the polling place 2%
10. Machines did not work properly 1%
11. Had trouble filling out the provisional ballot .7%
12. [Other] (VOL) 17%
13. [Don’t know] 36%
14. [Refused] 15%

36. Do you prefer to vote in person or by mail? (N=573)

1. To vote in person 80%
2. To vote by mail 14%
3. [Other] (VOL) .8%
4. [Don’t Know] .5%
5. [Refused] .6%

37. How confident are you that your vote was accurately counted? (N=573)

1. Very confident 58% (SKIP TO Q61)
2. Somewhat confident 34% (SKIP TO Q61)
3. Not very confident 4% (SKIP TO Q61)
4. Not at all confident 2% (SKIP TO Q61)
5. [Don’t Know] 2% (SKIP TO Q61)
6. [Refused] --

Q.38 AND Q.39, IF NOT ATTEMPT TO VOTE (Q.20=3)

38. There are a lot of different reasons why people didn't vote in this election. Why didn’t you vote this year? (N=58)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

(READ AND PAUSE FOR RESPONSE AFTER EACH ITEM ON LIST)

1. Too busy 23%
2. Not interested 5%
3. Did not like candidates or campaign issues 21%
4. Felt my vote wouldn't make a difference 9%
5. Out of town or away from home 15%
6. Inconvenient polling place 4%
7. It’s difficult to register to vote where I live --
8. Forgot to vote (or send in absentee ballot) 8%
9. Didn’t know how to work the voting machine 3%
10. Illness or disability (own or family's) 3%
11. Transportation problems 1%
12. Didn’t know where to go to vote .6%
13. Didn’t know enough about the candidates or campaign issues 11%
14. [Other reason] (VOL) 17%
15. [Don’t Know] 2%
16. [Refused] .6%
39. Prior to the 2004 election, did you vote in any national, state, or local election? (N=58)

1. Yes 29% (SKIP TO Q61)
2. No 71% (SKIP TO Q61)
3. [Don't Know] .6% (SKIP TO Q61)
4. [Refused] -- (SKIP TO Q61)

Q.40-56, IF NOT ABLE TO VOTE (Q.20=2)

40. Which of the following best describes why you were unable to vote in the election this year? (N=71)

(ROTATE LIST)

1. I attempted to vote in person but wasn’t able to find the polling place 4% (SKIP TO Q47)
2. I planned to absentee vote, but did not receive a form in time to vote 37% (GO TO Q41)
3. I attempted to vote in person but poll workers had trouble finding my name 5% (SKIP TO Q42)
4. I attempted to vote in person but the lines were so long that I left without voting 17% (SKIP TO Q47)
5. I attempted to vote in person but my ID was questioned 2% (SKIP TO Q42)
6. I attempted to vote in person but my eligibility to vote was challenged 2% (SKIP TO Q42)
7. Other: specify [VOL] 25% (SKIP TO Q42)
8. [Don’t Know] 6% (SKIP TO Q42)
9. [Refused] 2% (SKIP TO Q42)

[ASK Q41, ONLY IF ABSENTEE VOTER Q40=2]

41. Even though you didn’t receive an absentee ballot in time, which of the following places, if any, did you try to vote in-person on Election Day? (N=26)

(ROTATE LIST)

1. At a polling place on campus 15% (SKIP TO Q43)
2. At a polling place off-campus, not in my hometown 4% (SKIP TO Q43)
3. At a polling place in my hometown 3% (SKIP TO Q43)
4. Didn’t try to vote in-person on Election Day 74% (SKIP TO Q47)
5. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know] 4% (SKIP TO Q43)
6. [Refused] -- (SKIP TO Q43)

[ASK Q42, IF Q40=3, 5-9]

42. Where did you attempt to vote? (N=29)

(ROTATE LIST)

1. At a polling place on campus 22%
2. At a polling place off-campus, not in my hometown 19%
3. At a polling place in my hometown 42%
4. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know] 14%
5. [Refused] 3%

43. Were you offered the opportunity to fill out a provisional ballot? (N=36)

1. Yes 18% (SKIP TO Q45)
2. No 71%
3. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know] 11%
4. [Refused] --
44. Did you ask for the opportunity to fill out a provisional ballot? (N=26)

1. Yes 4%
2. No 96% (SKIP TO Q46)
3. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know]
4. [Refused]

45. Why didn’t you fill out the provisional ballot? (N=8)

(ROTATE LIST)

1. I chose not to 53%
2. They didn’t have enough provisional ballots --
3. They didn’t have enough envelopes for provisional ballots --
4. I didn’t think it would count as much as a regular vote --
5. Other reason (specify) [VOL] 35%
6. [Don’t Know] 12%
7. [Refused] --

46. Which of the following did you encounter, if any, while trying to vote in the election? (N=36)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Poll workers were impolite, unhelpful to you 8%
2. Poll workers were poorly trained, not competent 7%
3. Machines did not work properly --
4. [No Problems] 59%
5. [Don’t know] 21%
6. [Refused] 8%

47. Please tell me from which of the following, if any, you received help in the voting process. (N=71)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Group affiliated with a political party or issue --
   (SKIP TO Q55 IF SINGLE RESPONSE)
2. Group not affiliated with a political party or issue such as Rock the Vote or PIRG .3%
3. A state, county or municipal office, such as the County Clerk’s office or the Division of Motor Vehicles .6%
4. Church or place of worship 1%
   (SKIP TO Q55 IF SINGLE RESPONSE)
5. Student or university sponsored effort to get out the vote 13%
6. A professor, teaching assistant (TA), or graduate assistant (GA) 4%
7. Parents or Other Relatives 18%
8. Friends 12%
9. [Didn’t receive help from anybody] (VOL) 55%
   (SKIP TO Q55 IF SINGLE RESPONSE)
10. [Don’t Know] 5%
   (SKIP TO Q55 IF SINGLE RESPONSE)
11. [Refused] 1%
   (SKIP TO Q55 IF SINGLE RESPONSE)
48. You said that you received help in the voting process from a group not affiliated with a political party or issue such as Rock the Vote or PIRG. Which of the following kinds of assistance did they provide? (N=0)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Encouraged you to vote --
2. Told you where to find information about voting --
3. Told you the hours of the polling place (Split A: -->)
   Told you the location of the polling place (Split B: -->)
4. Told you how to use the voting machines (Split A: -->)
   Told you what to do if your name does not appear on the official voter registration list (Split B: -->)
5. Told you how to get an absentee ballot --
6. Helped you fill out the absentee ballot and submit it --
7. Told you how to vote if you won’t be in town where you are registered on Election Day --
8. Other [VOL] --
9. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know] --
10. [Refused] --

49. Where did you receive the help from the group not affiliated with a political party or issue such as Rock the Vote or PIRG? Was it on-campus or off-campus? (N=3)

1. On campus 67%
2. Off campus --
3. Both [VOL] --
4. Don’t Know [VOL] --
5. Refused [VOL] 61%

(ASK Q50, ONLY IF Q47=3)

50. You said that you received help in the voting process from a state, county or municipal office, such as the County Clerk’s office or the Division of Motor Vehicles. Which of the following kinds of assistance did they provide? (N=0)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Encouraged you to vote --
2. Told you where to find information about voting --
3. Told you the hours of the polling place (Split A: -->)
   Told you the location of the polling place (Split B: -->)
4. Told you how to use the voting machines (Split A: -->)
   Told you what to do if your name does not appear on the official voter registration list (Split B: -->)
5. Told you how to get an absentee ballot --
6. Helped you fill out the absentee ballot and submit it --
7. Told you how to vote if you won’t be in town where you are registered on Election Day --
8. Other [VOL] --
9. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know] --
10. [Refused] --
51. You said that you received help in the voting process from a student or university sponsored effort to get out the vote. Which of the following kinds of assistance did the student or university sponsored effort to get out the vote provide? (N=9)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Encouraged you to vote                     (Split A: 63%; Split B: 72%)
2. Told you where to find information about voting (Split A: 41%; Split B: 72%)
3. Told you the hours of the polling place
   Told you the location of the polling place (Split A: 18%; Split B: 72%)
4. Told you how to use the voting machines
   Told you what to do if your name does not appear on the official voter registration list (Split B: --)
5. Told you how to get an absentee ballot (Split A: 41%; Split B: 28%)
6. Helped you fill out the absentee ballot and submit it (Split A: --; Split B: --)
7. Told you how to vote if you won’t be in town where you are registered on Election Day (Split A: 59%; Split B: --)
8. Other [VOL] (Split A: 59%; Split B: --)
9. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know] (Split A: --; Split B: --)
10. [Refused] (Split A: --; Split B: --)

(ASK Q52, ONLY IF Q47=6)

52. You said that you received help from a professor, teaching assistant (TA), or graduate assistant (GA) in the voting process. Which of the following kinds of assistance did they provide?

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST) (N=3)

1. Encouraged you to vote                     (Split A: 100% Split B: --)
2. Told you where to find information about voting (Split A: --; Split B: --)
3. Told you the hours of the polling place
   Told you the location of the polling place (Split A: --; Split B: 56%)
4. Told you how to use the voting machines
   Told you what to do if your name does not appear on the official voter registration list (Split B: --)
5. Told you how to get an absentee ballot (Split A: --; Split B: --)
6. Helped you fill out the absentee ballot and submit it (Split A: --; Split B: 44%)
7. Told you how to vote if you won’t be in town where you are registered on Election Day (Split A: --; Split B: --)
8. Other [VOL] (Split A: --; Split B: --)
9. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know] (Split A: --; Split B: --)
10. [Refused] (Split A: --; Split B: --)
53. You said that you received help from your parents or other relatives in the voting process. Which of the following kinds of assistance did they provide? (N=12)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Encouraged you to vote
   (Split A: 34%; Split B: 58%)
2. Told you where to find information about voting
   (Split A: 32%; Split B: 42%)
3. Told you the hours of the polling place
   Told you the location of the polling place
   (Split B: --%)
4. Told you how to use the voting machines
   Told you what to do if your name does not appear on the official voter registration list
   (Split A: 14%)
5. Told you how to get an absentee ballot
   (Split A: --)
6. Helped you fill out the absentee ballot and submit it
   (Split A: --; Split B: 57%)
7. Told you how to vote if you won’t be in town where you are registered on Election Day
   (Split A: --; Split B: 28%)
8. Other [VOL]
9. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know]
10. [Refused]

(ASK Q54 ONLY IF Q47=8)

54. You said that you received help in the voting process from your friends. Which of the following kinds of assistance did they provide? (N=8)

(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; ROTATE LIST)

1. Encouraged you to vote
   (Split A: 45%; Split B: 84%)
2. Told you where to find information about voting
   (Split A: 23%; Split B: 39%)
3. Told you the hours of the polling place
   Told you the location of the polling place
   (Split B: --)
4. Told you how to use the voting machines
   Told you what to do if your name does not appear on the official voter registration list
   (Split A: --)
5. Told you how to get an absentee ballot
   (Split A: 23%; Split B: 39%)
6. Helped you fill out the absentee ballot and submit it
   (Split A: 27%; Split B: --%)
7. Told you how to vote if you won’t be in town where you are registered on Election Day
   (Split A: 50%; Split B: 57%)
8. Other [VOL]
9. [Don’t Remember/Don’t Know]
10. [Refused]

55. Do you prefer to vote in person or by mail? (N=71)

1. To vote in person
   36%
2. To vote by mail
   57%
3. [Other] (VOL)
   --
4. [Don’t Know]
   7%
5. [Refused]
   --

56. Prior to the 2004 election, did you vote in any national, state, or local election? (N=71)

1. Yes
   18% (SKIP TO Q61)
2. No
   79% (SKIP TO Q61)
3. [Don’t Know]
   2.5% (SKIP TO Q61)
4. [Refused]
   -- (SKIP TO Q61)
Q.57-59. IF VOTE ABSENTEE (Q.31=3)

[ASK Q.57, ONLY IF ABSENTEE VOTER, Q.31=3]

57. How easy was it to obtain an absentee ballot? Was it very easy, somewhat easy, somewhat difficult, or very difficult? (N=296)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very easy</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat easy</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat difficult</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very difficult</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Don’t Know/Don’t Remember]</td>
<td>.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Refused]</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

58. Was casting the absentee ballot: (N=296)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very easy</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat easy</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat difficult</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very difficult</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Don’t Know/Don’t Remember]</td>
<td>.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Refused]</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

59. Do you prefer to vote in person or by mail? (N=296)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To vote in person</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To vote by mail</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Other] (VOL)</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Don’t Know]</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Refused]</td>
<td>.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

60. How confident are you that your vote was accurately counted? (N=296)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very confident</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat confident</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very confident</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all confident</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Don’t Know]</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Refused]</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2004 Election (ASK ALL)

61. How much effect do you feel that college students had on the outcome of the 2004 presidential election? Would you say that students had a large effect, some effect, not much effect, or no effect at all on the outcome? (N=1000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A large effect</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some effect</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not much effect</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No effect at all</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Don’t Know]</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Refused]</td>
<td>.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you think turnout among young people in the 2004 election increased a lot, increased a little, stayed the same, decreased a little, or decreased a lot: (N=1000)

1. Increased a lot 31%
2. Increased a little 45%
3. Stayed the same 17%
4. Decreased a little 3%
5. Decreased a lot .5%
6. [Don’t Know] 4%
7. [Refused] .1%

Recommendations for the Future (ASK ALL)

Now I am going to read you a list of items, please tell me which one you believe is most likely to encourage more young people to vote. (N=1000)

1. Candidates focus more on issues that young people care about 29%
2. Better candidates 13%
3. More information about candidates and their stands on the issues 25%
4. Better education about why voting is important 16%
5. Better education to teach young adults the mechanics of voting – how to register and how to vote 10%
6. [Other] (VOL) 1%
7. None of the above (VOL) 3%
8. [Don’t Know] 2%
9. [Refused] .3%

There are many ways for people to vote, and some prefer one way over another. If you had the choice of voting in a booth at a polling place on Election Day, OR over the Internet, OR through the mail during the weeks leading up to Election Day, which would you prefer? (N=1000)

1. Voting in booth 56%
2. Voting over Internet 29%
3. Voting by mail 13%
4. None (VOL) .8%
5. Other (VOL) --
6. [Don’t know] 2%
7. [Refused] .1%

Activism/Engagement/Disillusionment (ASK ALL)

Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements about the government. (N=1000)

People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

1. Agree strongly 7%
2. Agree somewhat 19%
3. Neither agree nor disagree 7%
4. Disagree somewhat 38%
5. Disagree strongly 28%
6. [Don’t Know] .7%
7. [Refused] --
66. Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things. (N=1000)

1. Agree strongly 16%
2. Agree somewhat 26%
3. Neither agree nor disagree 5%
4. Disagree somewhat 31%
5. Disagree strongly 21%
6. [Don’t Know] .4%
7. [Refused] ---

67. Now I would like to ask you some questions about your interest and involvement in a number of public or community activities. In which of the following activities have you participated in recently? (N=1000)

[READ AND ROTATE; ACCEPT MULTIPLE ANSWERS]

1. Written to an editor of a magazine or newspaper 11%
2. Worked as a volunteer for a non-political cause or event 35%
3. Made a financial contribution to a non-political organization 23%
4. Worked as a volunteer for a political candidate or party 9%
5. Made a financial contribution to a political candidate or party 7%
6. Contacted a politician on one or more issues 16%
7. Discussed politics with family, friends or colleagues 68%
8. Other (VOL) .4%
9. None of the above (VOL) 16%
10. DK/RF (VOL) 2%

Values/Ideals (ASK ALL)

68. To start, I’d like to find out why you think America has been successful during this past century. As I read the following list, please tell me which of the following you think has been most important to the success America has had? (N=1000)

(READ AND ROTATE)

1. The free enterprise system 12%
2. The cultural diversity of our people 15%
3. Judeo-Christian beliefs 4%
4. Free, fair, and competitive elections 8%
5. Free and open society 17%
6. Our Constitution 20%
7. Separation of church and state 6%
8. All of the above (VOL) 9%
9. None of the above (VOL) 4%
10. Other (VOL) 1%
11. Don't know/Refused (VOL) 3%

Demographics (ASK ALL)

69. In which year of college are you? (N=1000)

1. First year/freshman 27%
2. Second year/Sophomore 23%
3. Third year/Junior 20%
4. Fourth year/Senior 24%
5. Fifth year or more 5%
6. [Don’t Know] --
7. [Refused] .4%
70. Is your university/college: (N=1000)

1. Public 80%
2. Private (non-profit) 20%
3. [Don’t Know] .6%
4. [Refused] .1%

71. During the school year, where do you live? (N=1000)

1. On campus 62%
2. Off campus, but not with parents/guardian 24%
3. Off campus with parents/guardian 13%
4. [Don’t Know] .2%
5. [Refused] .5%

I only have a few more questions for statistical purposes....

72. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else? (N=1000)

1. Republican 28%
2. Democrat 33%
3. Independent 36%
4. Something else (specify) 1%
5. [Don’t Know] .8%
6. [Refused] .6%

73. How often do you attend church or other place of worship? (N=1000)

1. Often 38%
2. Sometimes 23%
3. Rarely 21%
4. Never 17%
5. [Don’t Know] .2%
6. [Refused] .7%

74. What is your age please? (N=1000)

1. 18 10%
2. 19 24%
3. 20 19%
4. 21 17%
5. 22 8%
6. 23 6%
7. 24 3%
8. 25-29 5%
9. 30+ 6%
10. [Don’t Know] --
11. [Refused] .5%
75. How would you describe your religious affiliation? (N=1000)

1. Baptist 12%
2. Protestant (Episcopal, Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, etc.) 21%
3. Evangelical/non-denominational 8%
4. Catholic 23%
5. Jewish 3%
6. Muslim/Islamic .4%
7. Buddhist .7%
8. Hindu .4%
9. Mormon .5%
10. No affiliation 13%
11. Atheist/Agnostic 4%
12. Other (specify) [VOL] 8%
13. [Don’t Know] 2%
14. [Refused] 3%

76. For statistical purposes only, could you please tell me your ethnic background? (N=1000)

1. White/Caucasian 72%
2. Hispanic/Latino 6%
3. African-American/Black 10%
4. Asian American/Asian 4%
5. Native American .9%
6. Other (specify) [VOL] 5%
7. [Don’t Know] .3%
8. [Refused] .8%

77. Interviewer please record gender. (N=1000)

1. Female 52%
2. Male 48%

That completes our survey. Thank you very much for your time and cooperation.
Read-In From Sample

A. NAME OF COLLEGE

B. STATE OF COLLEGE

C. REGION OF COLLEGE
   1. West (MT, ID, WY, CO, NM, AZ, UT, NV, WA, OR, CA, AK, HI)
   2. South (DE, MD, DC, VA, WV, NC, SC, GA, FL, KY, TN, AL, MS, AR, LA, OK, TX)
   3. Midwest (OH, IN, IL, MI, WI, MN, IA, MO, ND, SD, NE, KS)
   4. Northeast (ME, NH, VT, MA, RI, CT, NY, NJ, PA)

D. YEAR IN COLLEGE
   1. First year/freshman
   2. Second year/Sophomore
   3. Third year/Junior
   4. Fourth year/Senior
   5. Fifth year or more

E. COLLEGE TYPE (PUBLIC OR PRIVATE)
   1. Public
   2. Private (non-profit)

F. GENDER
   1. Female
   2. Male
The Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University links the study of politics with its day-to-day practice. Exploring state and national politics through research, education, and public service, the Institute focuses attention on how American politics and government work, how they change, and how they can be improved. Eagleton programs contribute to more effective, ethical governance; broader representation; and a better informed and actively engaged citizenry.