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# SECURING AMERICAN ELECTIONS IN RESPONSE TO THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

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May 2020

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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- ▶ Voters support extending poll hours to ensure voting can proceed while respecting social distancing guidelines by a 77-12 percentage-point margin.
- ▶ Voters support using vote-by-mail if 25 percent of the states have declared a state of emergency, backing it by a 71-17 percentage-point margin.
- ▶ Voters support a reform measure stipulating states offer fifteen days of early in-person voting, no-excuse absentee voting, and the option to mail everyone a ballot during times of emergencies, backing this proposal by a 68-17 percentage-point margin.
- ▶ Support for many of these proposals is bipartisan. Self-identifying Republicans support, for example, extending polling hours by a 77-14 percentage-point margin and the use of vote-by-mail by a 60-27 percentage-point margin if 25 percent of states have emergency declarations in place.

On April 7, 2020, Wisconsinites faced a choice between risking infection and participating in the democratic process. Although Governor Tony Evers, a Democrat, wanted to move the primary date to June 9, he was blocked by the Republican majority on the Wisconsin Supreme Court. The Supreme Court of the United States then compounded this issue, likely disqualifying thousands of absentee ballots. On election day itself, voting was chaotic. The election proceeded but with many polling places shuttered and long lines were commonplace.

Vote-by-mail provides one potential alternative to in-person voting. Five states, including the deeply Republican state of Utah, already conduct

their elections entirely by mail. Currently, a group of Democratic lawmakers, led by Senator Amy Klobuchar and Senator Ron Wyden, is pushing for a bill that would expand early-voting opportunities, allocate additional resources to the states for the conducting of elections, and make possible the mailing of all voters a ballot in case elections would have to be conducted largely via the mail. Senator Elizabeth Warren has also introduced a bill to allocate \$4 billion in election assistance to the states, to ensure that states can run fair and secure elections in the face of the coronavirus pandemic.

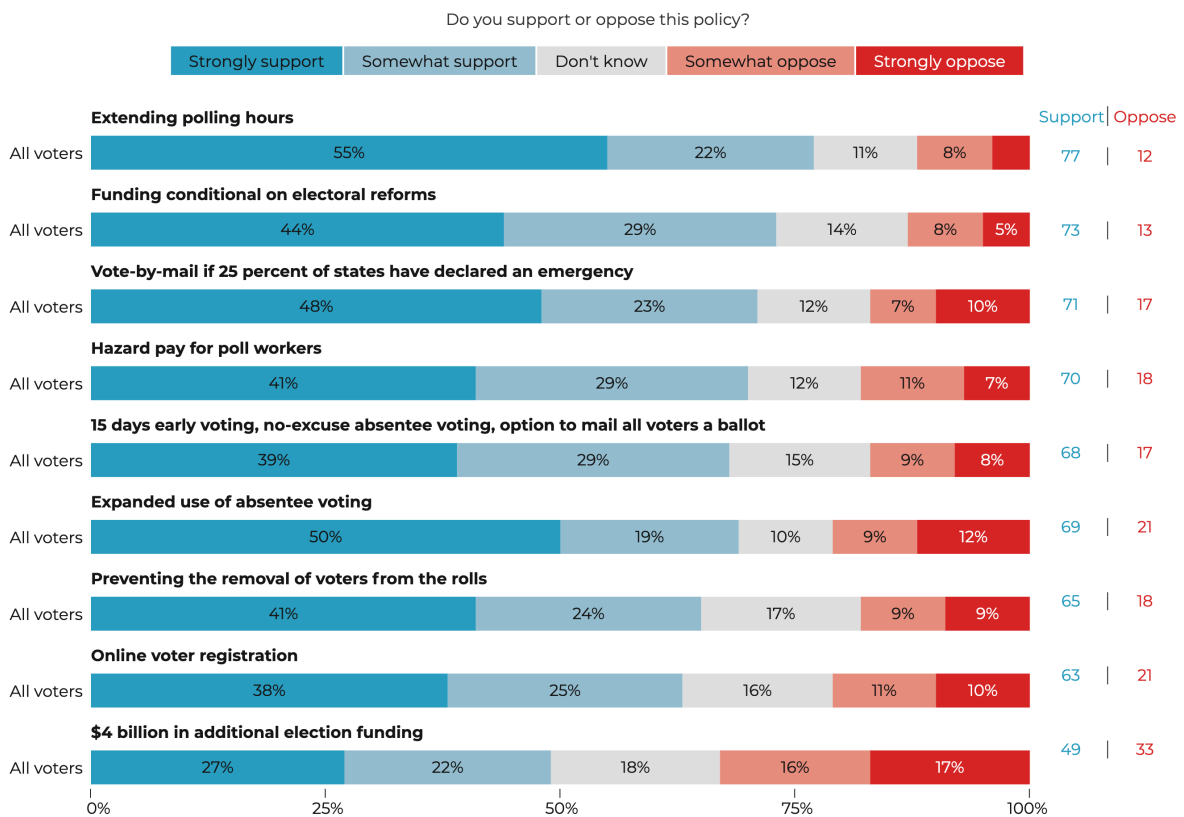
As part of an April 2020 survey, Data for Progress wanted to measure voter attitudes on securing American elections in the face of the coronavirus pandemic. To do this we posed voters with a series of proposals ranging from extending polling hours, expanding the use of absentee voting or vote-by-mail systems, and allocating to the states additional federal aid.

We found overwhelming levels of support for all nine proposals. This first chart depicts all the topline findings. The most popular proposal was for extending polling hours to ensure elections can be conducted safely. By a 65-percentage point margin, voters support this proposal (77 percent support, 12 percent oppose). The second most popular proposal is making state funding conditional on electoral reform which voters back by a 60-percentage-point margin (73 percent support, 13 percent oppose). Next, want vote-by-mail to be made available if 25 percent of the states have declared an emergency, which voters backed by 54-percentage-points (71 percent support, 17 percent oppose). After that, voters support providing hazard pay to poll workers by a 52-percentage-point margin (70 percent support, 18 percent oppose). Next, was the proposal for Congress to stipulate states adopt this tripartite response consisting of fifteen days of early voting, no-excuse absentee voting, and the option to vote

by mail in response to the ongoing emergency; voters backed this by a 51-percentage-point margin (68 percent support, 17 percent oppose). The next three items—expanded use of absentee voting, preventing the removal of voters from the rolls, and use of online voter registration—were all supported by at least a 40-percentage-point margin. The final item—a proposal for the federal government to allocate \$4 billion in assistance to the states for the purpose of running elections—by a 16-percentage-point margin (49 percent support, 33 percent oppose).

The conducting of in-person voting provides an obvious challenge to social distancing guidelines and stipulations to restrict gathering. This is an essential—and oft-overlooked—reform measure to adopt. While vote-by-mail is important, it’s an option not available to all those who may wish to cast a ballot. Ideally, we would have an approach that combines both uses of vote-by-mail *with* an extension of in-person voting hours, the latter which would provide added protection to both voters and poll workers. Together both approaches would work in harmony, providing voters an option to submit their ballot via the mail or

### Voters Support Securing American Elections



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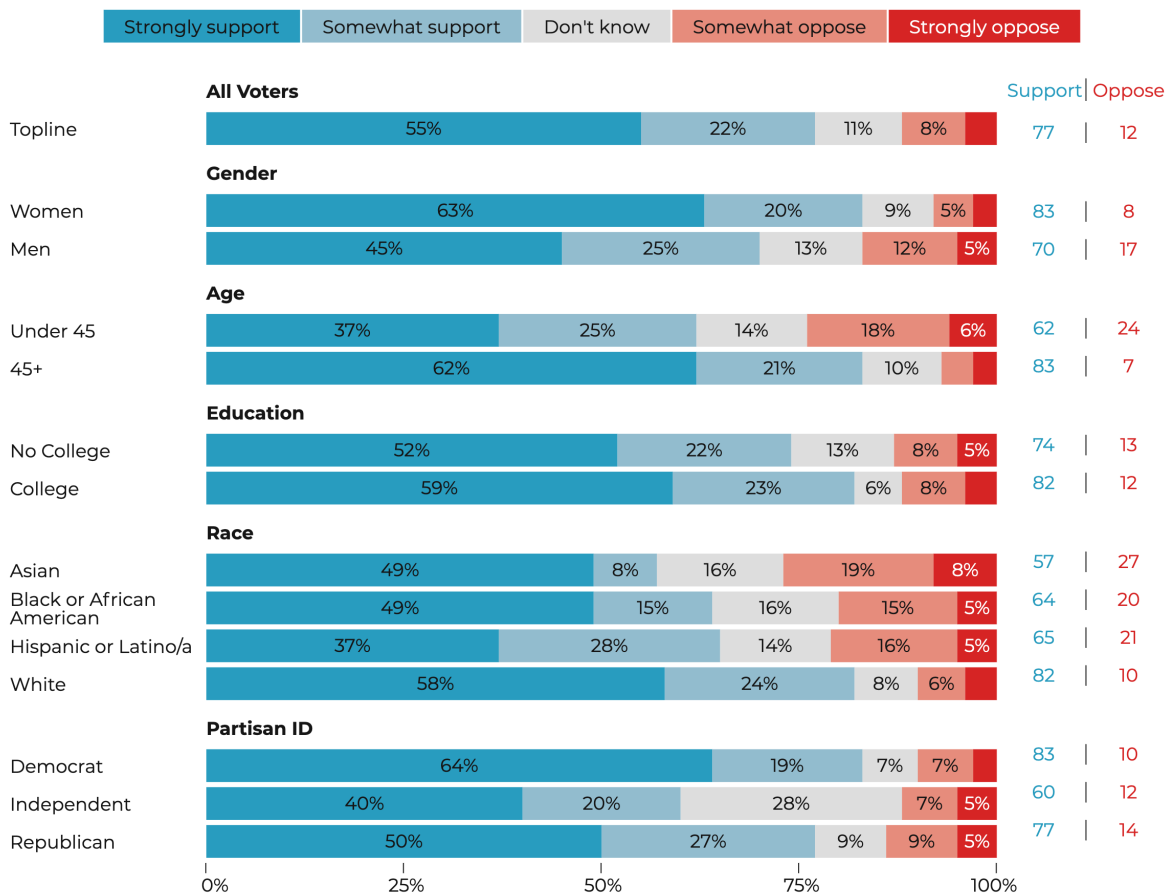
casting a ballot in-person while still adhering to social distancing guidelines. To test support for extending polling hours proposal, we asked voters, specifically:

*Some members of Congress have proposed election reforms to address the coronavirus pandemic. For each proposal, say whether you would support or oppose it: -- Extending polling place hours to help prevent overcrowding and promote social distancing.*

We found overwhelming support for this proposal. Women are slightly more supportive than men; those over forty-five are generally more supportive of the proposal than those under forty-five; those with college degrees are narrowly more supportive than those without. White voters are especially supportive of the proposal, though support is high regardless of race. Importantly, support for this proposal is bipartisan. Democrats back it by a 73-percentage-point margin (83 percent support, 10 percent oppose) while Republicans 63-percentage-point margin (77 percent support, 14 percent oppose).

## Voters Want To Extend Polling Hours To Ensure Compliance With Social Distancing

Some members of Congress have proposed election reforms to address the coronavirus pandemic. For each proposal, say whether you would support or oppose it: -- Extending polling place hours to help prevent overcrowding and promote social distancing.



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With the federal government potentially poised to allocate considerable financial resources to the state for the purposes of conducting elections, voters want to make sure that this money is well spent. In this proposal, we posed to voters that any federal dollars would be made conditional on the states adopting reforms to ensure that their elections can be carried out democratically. We asked voters, specifically:

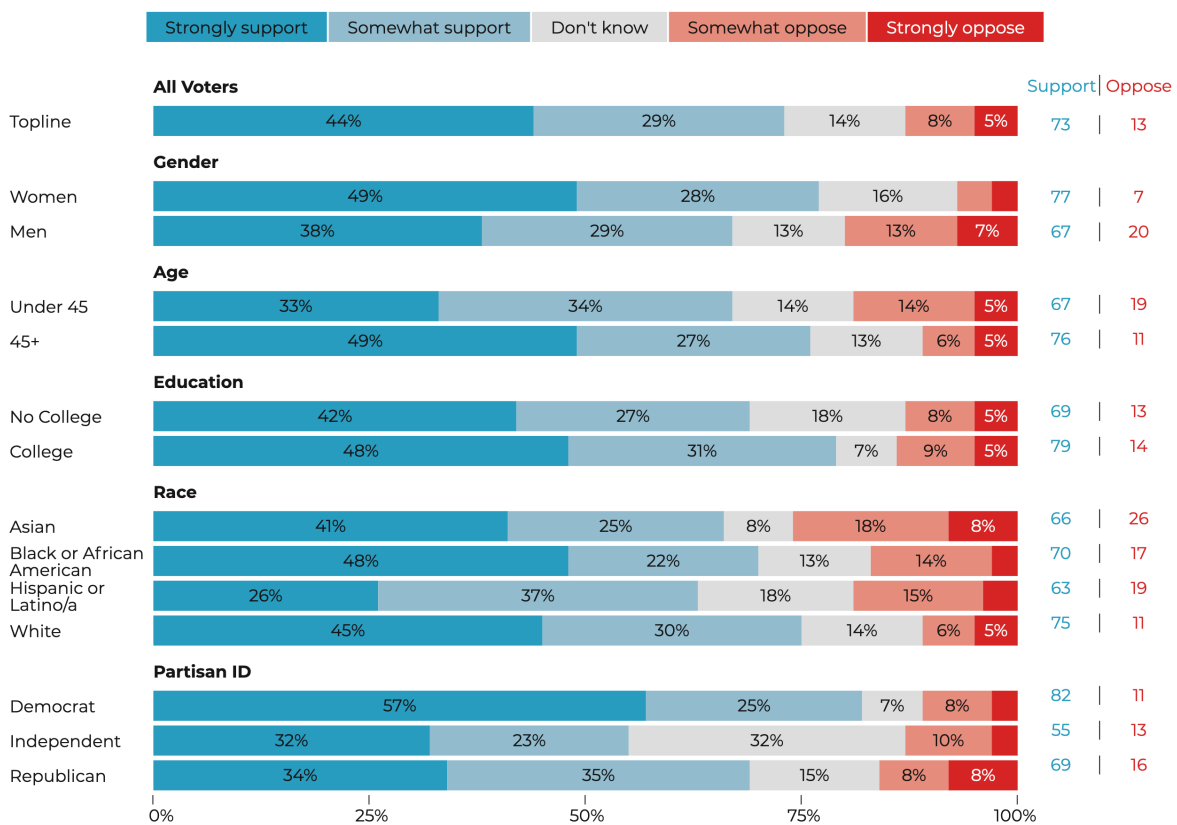
*Some members of Congress have proposed election reforms to address the coronavirus pandemic. For each proposal, say whether you would support or oppose it: -- Ensure election resources are used appropriately by conditioning funding to require states*

*to adopt specific measures that will protect voters and reduce barriers to voting.*

We found strong support for this proposal. Similar to the previous policy, women are slightly more supportive than men; those over forty-five are generally more supportive of the proposal than those under forty-five; those with college degrees are narrowly more supportive than those without. White voters are especially supportive of the proposal, though support is high regardless of race. Importantly, support for this proposal is bipartisan. Democrats back it by a 71-percentage-point margin (82 percent support, 11 percent oppose) while Republicans back it by a 53-percentage-point margin (69 percent support, 16 percent oppose).

## Voters Want Funds Made Conditional States On Adopting Electoral Reforms

Some members of Congress have proposed election reforms to address the coronavirus pandemic. For each proposal, say whether you would support or oppose it: -- Ensure election resources are used appropriately by conditioning funding to require states to adopt specific measures that will protect voters and reduce barriers to voting.



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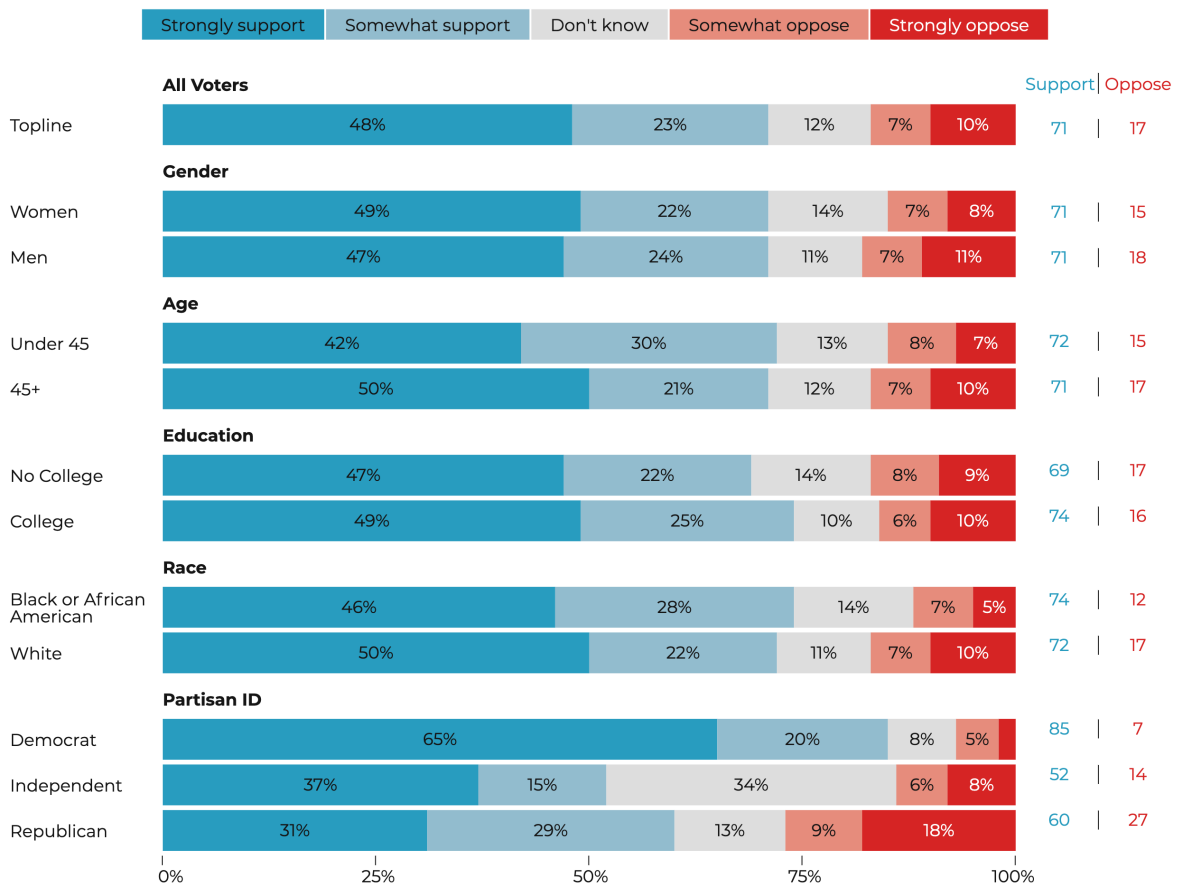
This next chart depicts support for using vote-by-mail if 25 percent of states have declared a state an emergency due to coronavirus across a series of measured demographic breakouts and by partisanship. (Currently, [every state](#) is now under a major disaster declaration.) We asked voters, specifically:

*Some members of Congress have proposed requiring all states to offer an option to vote by mail if at least 25 percent of states have declared an emergency due to coronavirus. Do you support or oppose this policy?*

Support is generally consistent regardless of gender, age, educational attainment, and race. Importantly, support for this proposal is also bipartisan. Support for requiring all states to offer a form of voting by mail had high and consistent support across all ages, races, and genders. There is some difference in partisan support: Democrats support this by 78-percentage-points (85 percent support, 7 percent do not support), while Republicans support it by 33-percentage-points (60 percent support, 27 percent do not support).

### Voters Support Use Of Vote-By-Mail

Some members of Congress have proposed requiring all states to offer an option to vote by mail if at least 25 percent of states have declared an emergency due to coronavirus. Do you support or oppose this policy?



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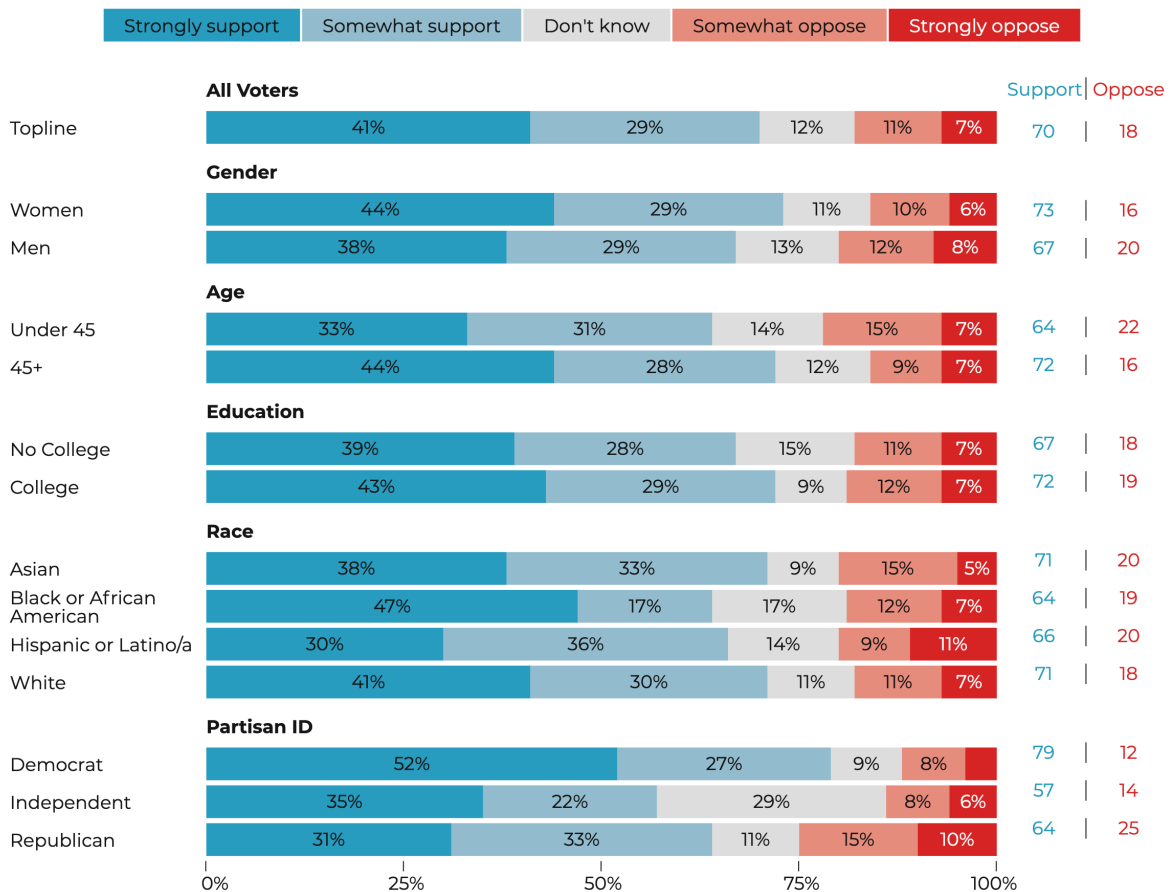
Next, we asked voters about whether or not poll workers should be provided hazard pay, i.e., to receive additional wages for working in the face of dangerous conditions. While there has been considerable and, indeed, necessary focus on vote-by-mail, in-person voting will remain an important piece of the 2020 election. Both methods, that having voting be open in-person and by mail, should, ideally, work in harmony. To make sure that this election can proceed, hazard pay is one step to ensure that poll workers will be fairly compensated for working in a setting with, likely, elevated risk. To test support for this proposal we asked voters, specifically:

*Some members of Congress have proposed election reforms to address the coronavirus pandemic. For each proposal, say whether you would support or oppose it: -- Giving poll workers hazard pay for putting themselves at increased risk to help keep our democracy function during the pandemic.*

This proposal had strong support across all demographics and from both Democrats and Republicans. Clearly, this demonstrates that voters are well aware of the risks for running in-person voting and want to see poll workers compensated for this extra risk.

## Voters Support Hazard Pay For Poll Workers

Some members of Congress have proposed election reforms to address the coronavirus pandemic. For each proposal, say whether you would support or oppose it: -- Giving poll workers hazard pay for putting themselves at increased risk to help keep our democracy function during the pandemic.



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This next chart depicts support for the proposal to require all states to have fifteen days of early voting, no-excuse absentee mail voting, and the option to mail all voters a ballot during emergencies as a response to the coronavirus pandemic. This three-part proposal would both expand the use of vote-by-mail while still paying attention to the need to make in-person voting a safe and available option that many voters will still need to take advantage of. To test support for this, we asked voters, specifically:

*Some members of Congress have proposed requiring all states to have 15 days of early voting, no-excuse absentee mail voting, and the option to mail all voters a ballot during emergencies as a response to the coronavirus pandemic. Do you support or oppose this policy?*

This would be a proposal that would build upon existing voting infrastructure—i.e., in-person and absentee voting—while still leaving space for a more expansive use of vote-by-mail. Support for this proposal is again, largely, consistent across a host of measured demographic breakouts. Men are narrowly more supportive than women; voters over the age of forty-five are slightly more supportive than those under forty-five; those with a college degree are somewhat more supportive than those without. Looking at responses by race, black voters support this proposal by a 55-percentage-point margin (72 percent support, 13 percent oppose), while white voters back it

by a 52-percentage-point margin (68 percent support, 16 percent oppose). Crucially, support is also bipartisan. Democrats back it by a 69-percentage-point margin (79 percent support, 10 percent oppose), and Republicans support it by a 38-percentage-point margin (62 percent support, 24 percent oppose).

If the coronavirus were to force elections to be conducted mostly by mail, then there's already existing infrastructure in place, that is, the absentee voting system. Some states, however, place restrictions on who can access an absentee ballot. Under this proposal, all these restrictions would be removed and all voters would have the ability to submit their vote by mail. We asked voters, specifically:

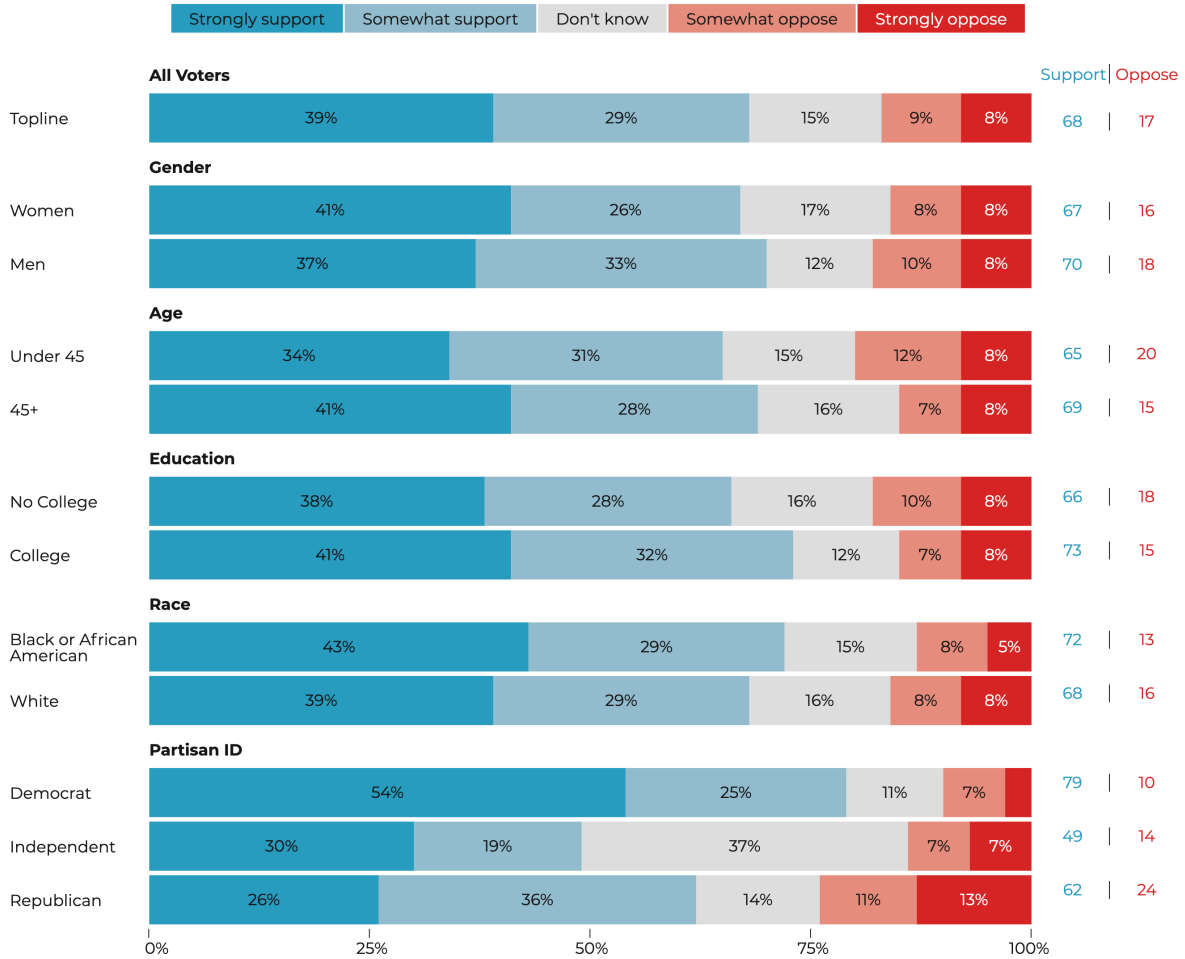
*Some members of Congress have proposed election reforms to address the coronavirus pandemic. For each proposal, say whether you would support or oppose it: -- Allowing all registered voters to submit their vote by mail, sometimes called absentee voting.*

Support for this measure is extremely stable among age, race, and gender. Support varies somewhat by party identification, but support among both Democrats and Republicans is over 60 percent. Democrats back it by a 69-percentage-point margin (79 percent support, 10 percent oppose) while Republicans back it by a 38-percentage-point margin (64 percent support, 24 percent oppose).



## Voters Want To Expand Early, Absentee, And Vote-By-Mail

Some members of Congress have proposed requiring all states to have 15 days of early voting, no-excuse absentee mail voting, and the option to mail all voters a ballot during emergencies as a response to the coronavirus pandemic. Do you support or oppose this policy?

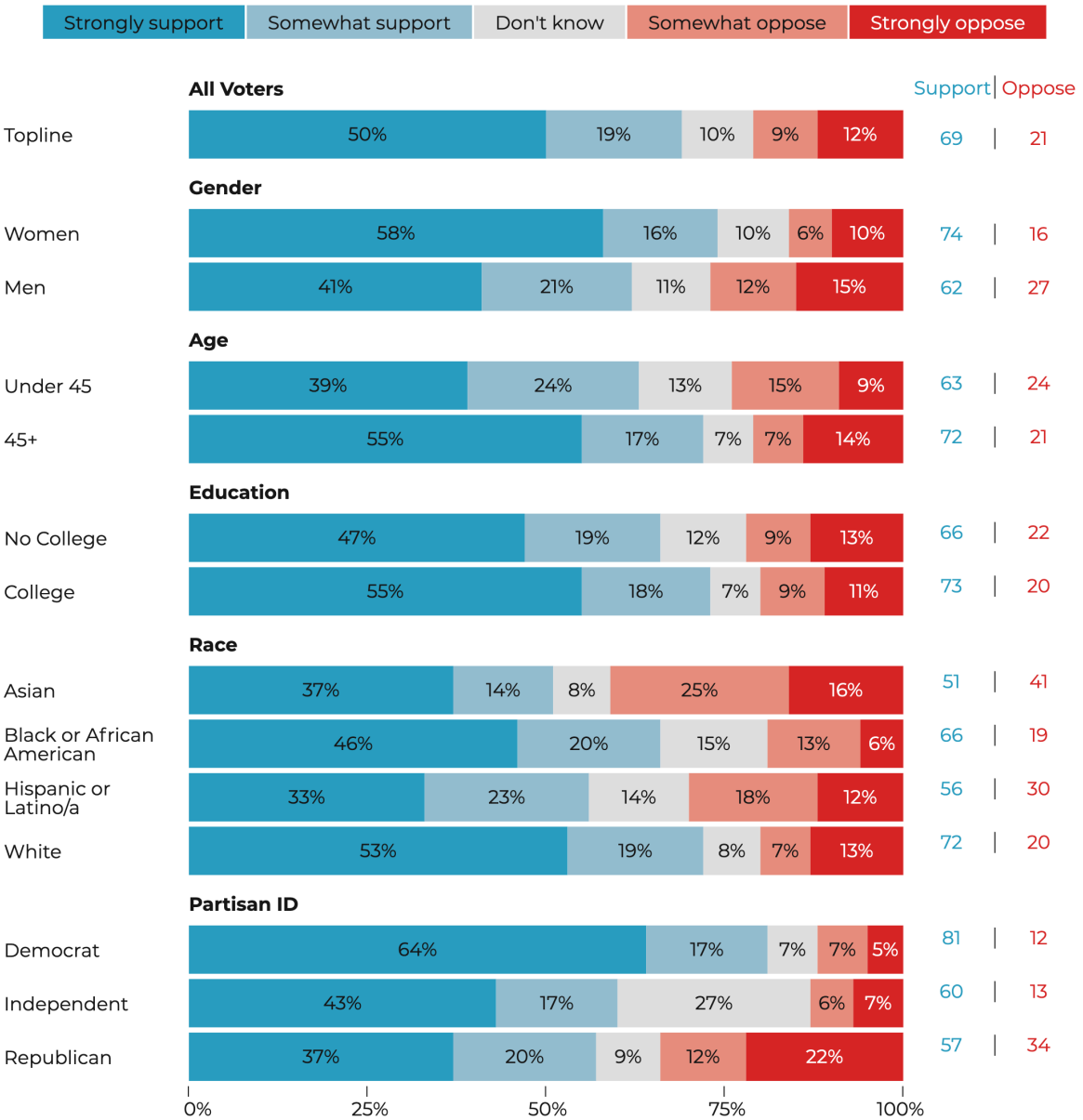


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# Voters Support Expanding The Use Of Absentee Voting

Some members of Congress have proposed election reforms to address the coronavirus pandemic. For each proposal, say whether you would support or oppose it: -- Allowing all registered voters to submit their vote by mail, sometimes called absentee voting.



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A theme of Republican rule is the periodic purging of state voter rolls, often with the clear intent of disadvantaging historically Democratic-leaning constituencies. The coronavirus makes this already bad situation worse. With many municipal offices closed, efforts to re-register can be complicated. To prevent this, one course of action would be to cease the removal of people from the voter rolls for the duration of the pandemic, unless an affirmative request is received to do so. To test support for this, we asked voters, specifically:

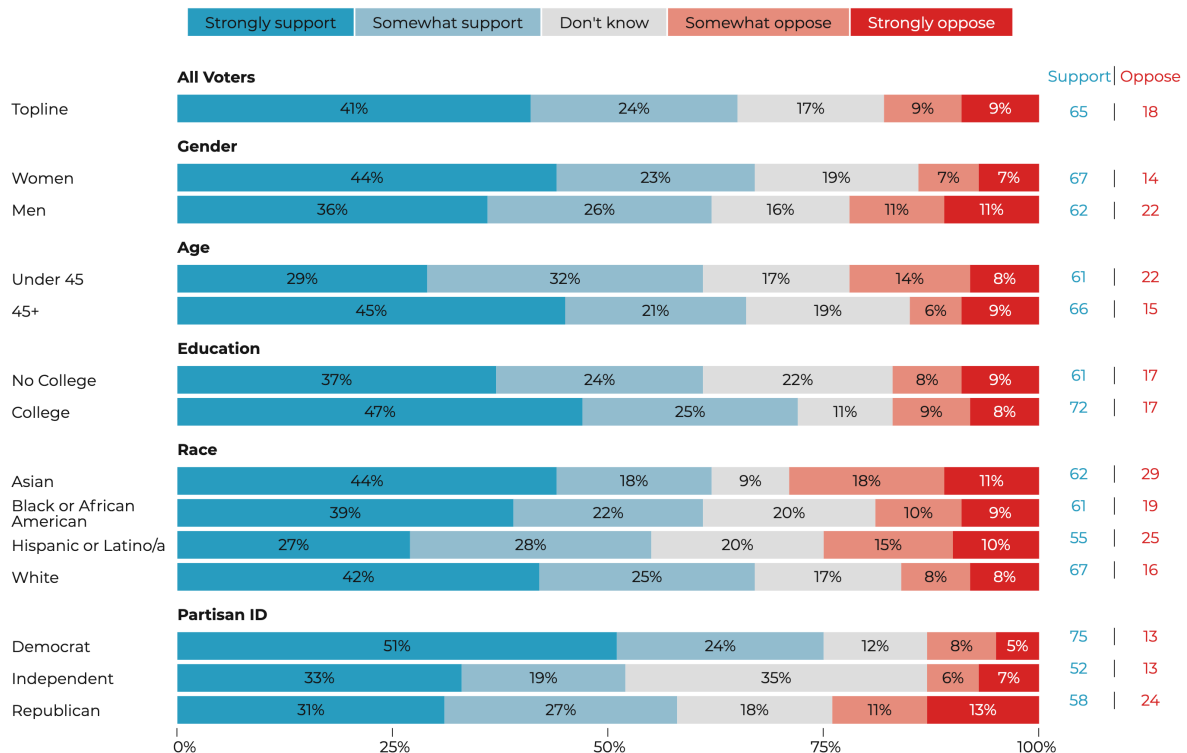
*Some members of Congress have proposed election reforms to address the coronavirus pandemic. For each proposal, say whether*

*you would support or oppose it: -- Banning states from removing people from their voter rolls for the duration of the pandemic, unless an individual affirmatively requests to be removed or there is objective documentary evidence such as an official record of death or affirmative change of address.*

Support for this proposal was high and exhibited many of the same patterns we observed with previous proposals. Women are slightly more supportive than men; those with college degrees tend to support it at a marginally higher rate than those without; support is generally consistent regardless of race; both Democrats and Republicans support the proposal, though the former do so more enthusiastically than the latter.

## Voters Want To Prevent People From Being Removed From Voter Rolls

Some members of Congress have proposed election reforms to address the coronavirus pandemic. For each proposal, say whether you would support or oppose it: -- Banning states from removing people from their voter rolls for the duration of the pandemic, unless an individual affirmatively requests to be removed or there is objective documentary evidence such as an official record of death or affirmative change of address.



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With many offices closed, one way to allow people to still register to vote online. To test support for this, we asked voters, specifically:

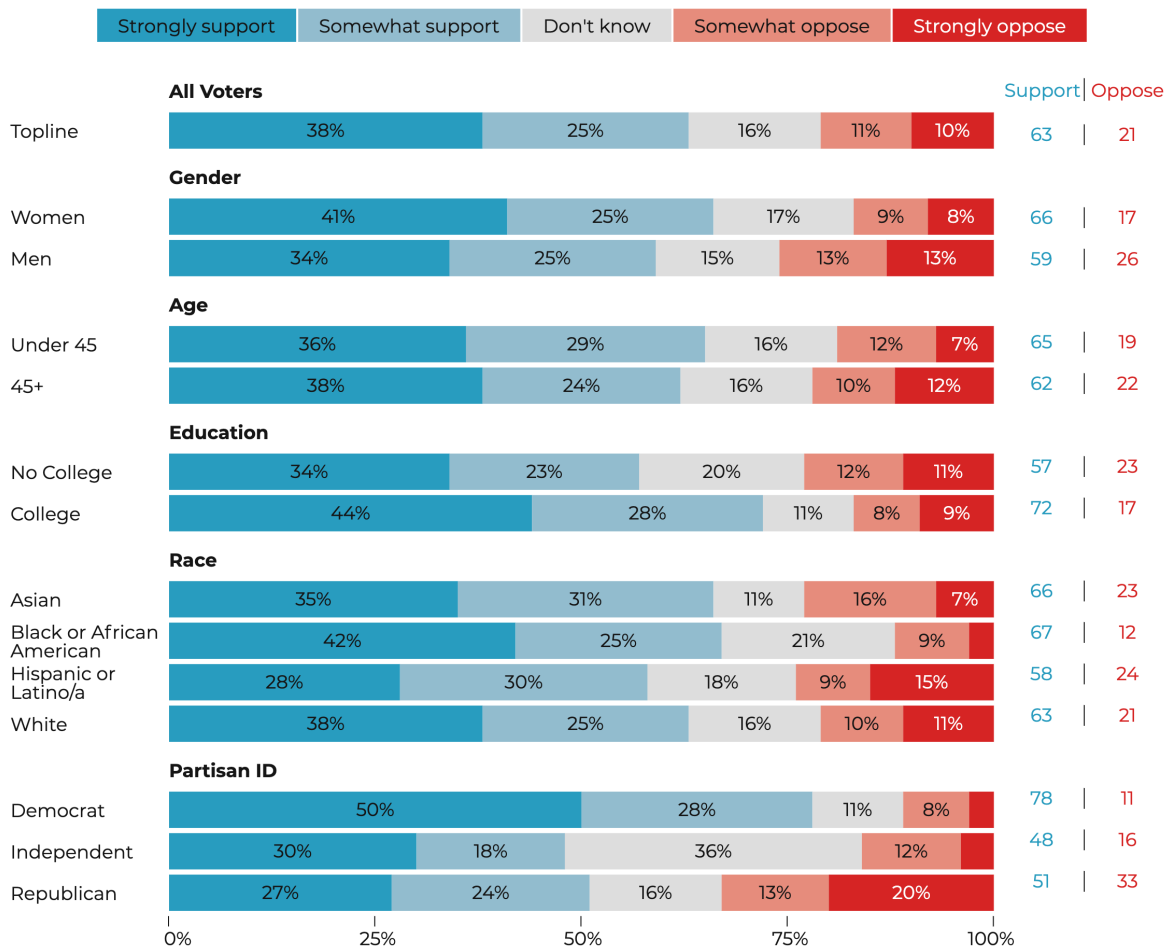
and extending registration to account for government closures and other disruptions due to the pandemic.

*Some members of Congress have proposed election reforms to address the coronavirus pandemic. For each proposal, say whether you would support or oppose it: -- Mandating online voter registration*

We found that most voters are quite supportive of this proposal. Support tends to be fairly high across measured demographics, albeit with some slight variation. Both Democrats and Republicans are supportive of the idea, with the former more supportive than the latter.

## Voters Support Extending Voter Registration Deadlines And Moving Them Online

Some members of Congress have proposed election reforms to address the coronavirus pandemic. For each proposal, say whether you would support or oppose it: -- Mandating online voter registration and extending registration to account for government closures and other disruptions due to the pandemic.



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This chart depicts support for the federal government allocating \$4 billion in funding to states as a means to ensure they can conduct safe and secure elections. We asked voters, specifically:

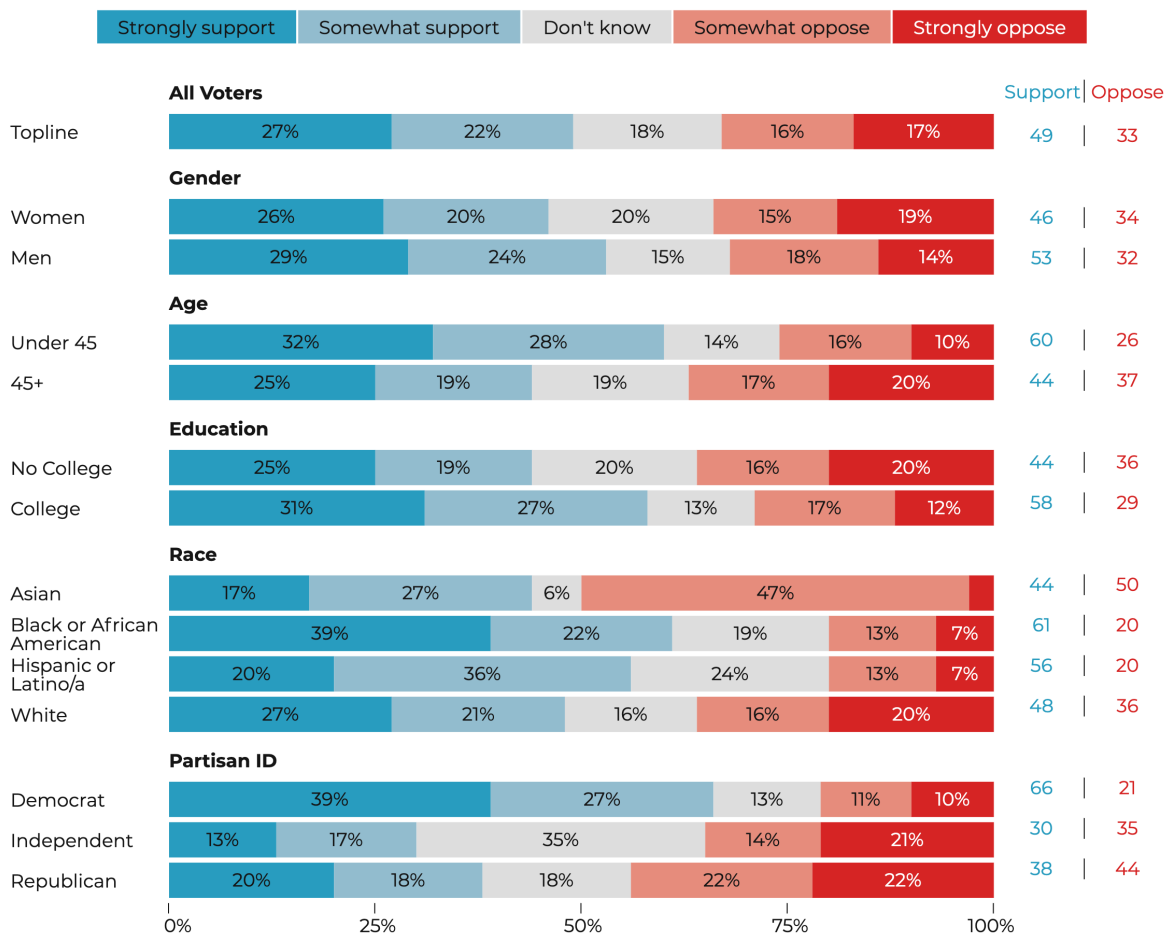
*Some members of Congress have proposed \$4 billion in election assistance for the states to help prepare for holding the 2020 election in the midst of the coronavirus pandemic. Do you support or oppose this policy?*

This proposal is crucial to actualizing the first two proposals that we looked at in this memo. A transition to a vote-by-mail system and expanded

early and absentee voting will cost states—the administrators of elections in the United States—money. State budgets are already hard-pressed by the coronavirus pandemic, owing to an increase in healthcare expenditures and a drop in tax revenue, and lawmakers should see as essential the apportioning funds to make sure elections. We found high levels of support for this proposal. Republicans, however, are largely opposed to this proposal—possibly suggesting that while Republicans support expanding voting procedures in the face coronavirus in principle, there may be a hesitancy to do so in practice.

## Voters Support \$4 Billion In Additional Election Funding

Some members of Congress have proposed \$4 billion in election assistance for the states to help prepare for holding the 2020 election in the midst of the coronavirus pandemic. Do you support or oppose this policy?



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## CONCLUSION

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Voters are clearly aware of the problem of voting during a pandemic, and they support a variety of policies that can help the country conduct elections under coronavirus. Vote-by-mail is a system that several states currently use, and it provides one strategy that, if properly funded, is scalable. It's up to leaders in Congress to take action.

## METHODOLOGY

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On April 6, 2020, Data for Progress conducted a survey of 2643 likely voters nationally using web panel respondents. The sample was weighted to be representative of likely voters by age, gender, education, urbanicity, race, and voting history. The survey was conducted in English. The margin of error is  $\pm 1.0$  percent.

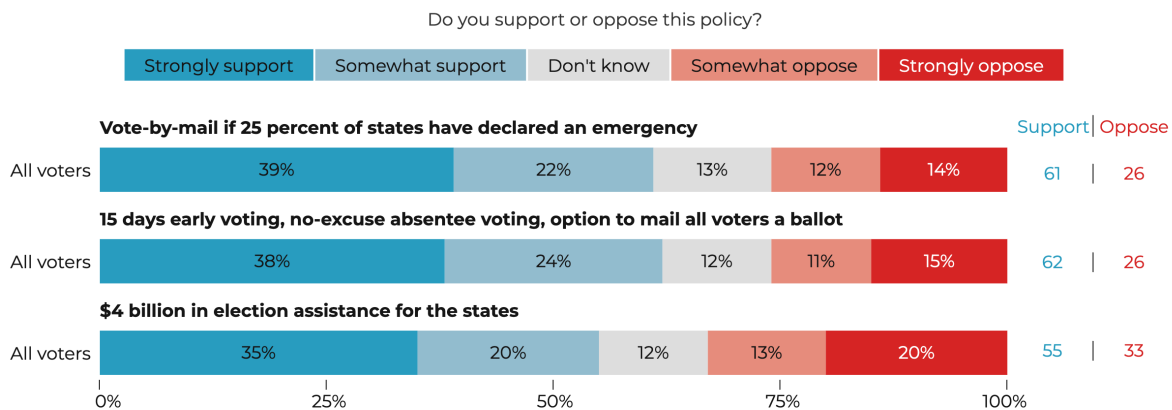
Jacob Coblentz contributed to this report.

# Testing Support For Election Reforms in a Partisan Environment

Three of these proposals—use of vote-by-mail if 25 percent of states have declared an emergency; 15 days early voting, no-excuse absentee voting, and option to mail all voters a ballot; \$4 billion in election aid to states— were also tested to see if they would retain support in a partisan environment. To do this, Democratic arguments for the proposal and Republican arguments against it were attached to each question wording.

The key takeaway is that all three proposals retain net-positive support, even when voters are provided these partisan frames. Among overall voters, the vote-by-mail proposal enjoyed a 35-percentage-point margin of support (61 percent support, 26 percent oppose). Expanded early voting, no-excuse absentee voting, with the option to mail all voters a ballot was supported by 26 points (62 percent support, 26 percent oppose). Lastly, \$400 million in additional election funding was supported by a 14-percentage-point margin (49 percent support, 35 percent oppose).

## Even With Partisan Frames, Voters Want To Secure American Elections



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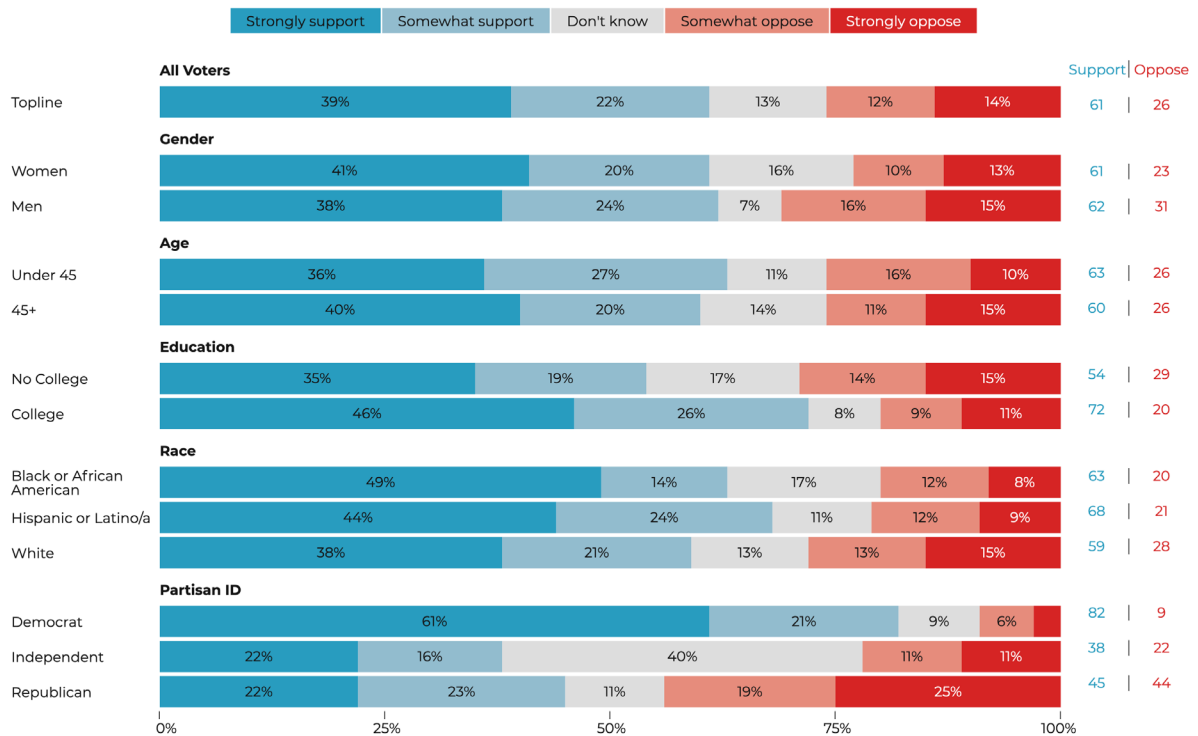
In this next chart, we look more closely at support for use of a vote-by-mail system, breaking the results out across a series of measured demographic categories and by partisanship. We asked voters, specifically:

*Some Democrats in Congress have proposed requiring all states to offer an option to vote by mail if at least 25 percent of states have declared an emergency due to coronavirus. Democrats say that this will increase public safety, and allow people to vote without exposing themselves to coronavirus. Republicans say that this will remove control from states over their own elections, and increase voter fraud and that vote by mail would cost too much money. Do you support or oppose this policy?*

Support is generally consistent regardless of gender, age, and race. Those with a college degree are significantly more supportive of the proposal (72 percent support, 20 percent oppose) than those without (54 percent support, 29 percent oppose). Democrats strongly back the proposal, but—perhaps surprisingly—even a slim plurality of Republicans support the policy (45 percent support, 44 percent oppose). This last point is especially noteworthy when one considers President Trump’s repeated assaults on the idea of conducting elections by mail.

**Even With Partisan Framing, Vote-By-Mail Is Popular**

Some Democrats in Congress have proposed requiring all states to offer an option to vote by mail if at least 25 percent of states have declared an emergency due to coronavirus. Democrats say that this will increase public safety, and allow people to vote without exposing themselves to coronavirus. Republicans say that this will remove control from states over their own elections, and increase voter fraud and that vote by mail would cost too much money. Do you support or oppose this policy?



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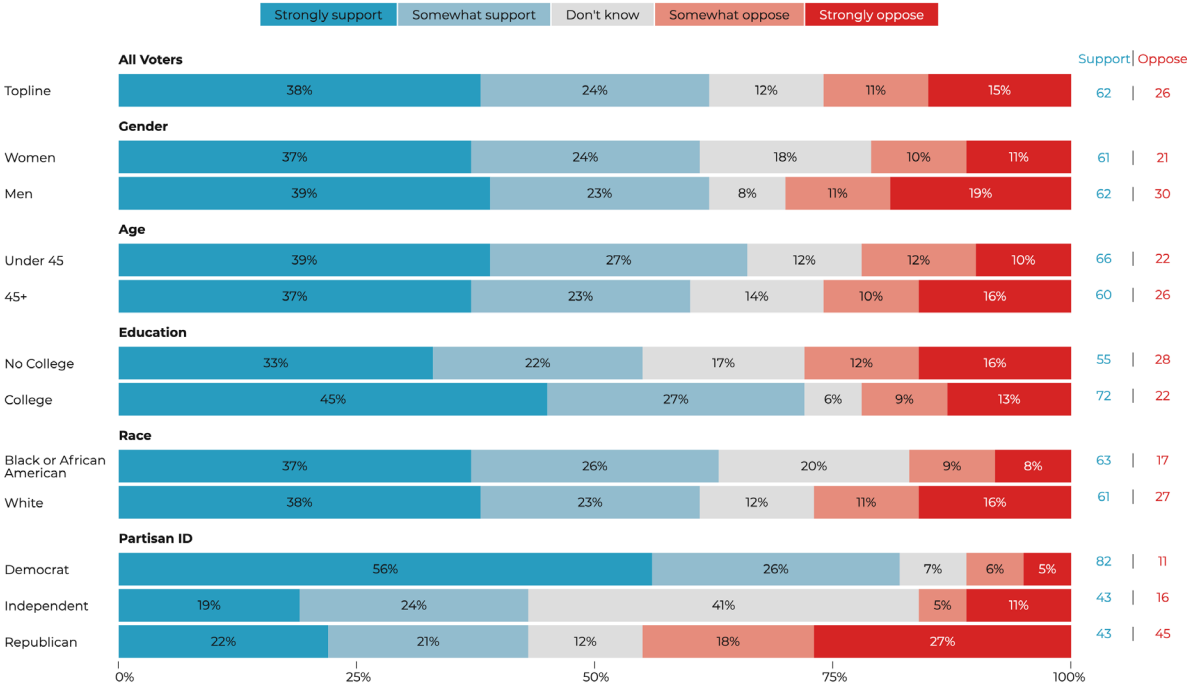
We see similar results for the second policy we tested: expanding early voting, no-excuse absentee voting, and optional vote-by-mail. We asked voters, specifically:

*Some Democrats in Congress have proposed requiring all states to have 15 days of early voting, no-excuse absentee mail voting, and the option to mail all voters a ballot during emergencies as a response to the coronavirus pandemic. Democrats say that this will increase public safety, and allow people to vote without exposing themselves to coronavirus. Republicans say that this will remove control from states over their own elections, and increase voter fraud. Do you support or oppose this policy?*

Even with partisan framing, voters overall support the policy by 36 points (62 percent support, 26 percent oppose). And while the policy loses some support among Republicans (43 percent support, 45 percent oppose), it enjoys majority support across all measured education, age, and race demographics.

**Even With Partisan Arguments, Voters Support A Host Of Proposal To Secure American Elections**

Some Democrats in Congress have proposed requiring all states to have 15 days of early voting, no-excuse absentee mail voting, and the option to mail all voters a ballot during emergencies as a response to the coronavirus pandemic. Democrats say that this will increase public safety, and allow people to vote without exposing themselves to coronavirus. Republicans say that this will remove control from states over their own elections, and increase voter fraud. Do you support or oppose this policy?



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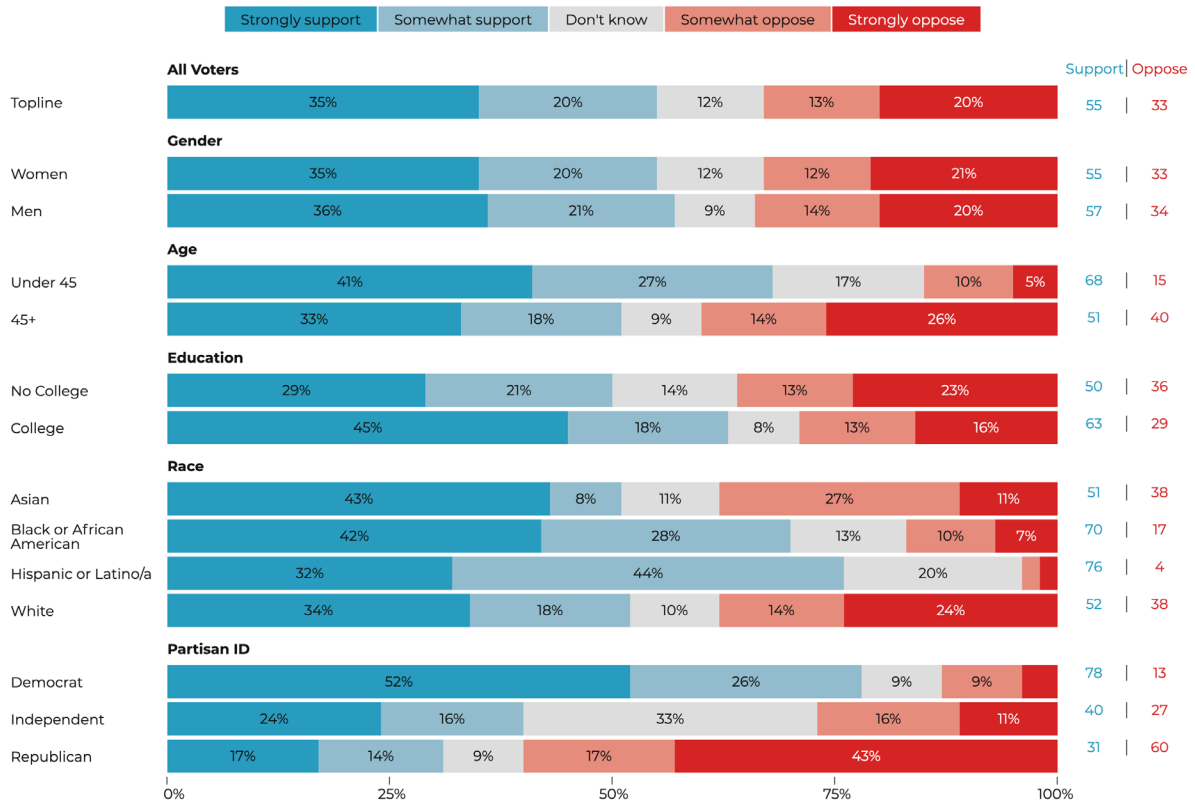
Last, we look at support for additional election funding for the states. We asked voters, specifically:

*Some Democrats in Congress have proposed \$4 billion in election assistance for the states to help prepare for holding the 2020 election in the midst of the coronavirus pandemic. Democrats say that this is necessary to increase the ability to vote by mail, expand early voting and online registration, and increase the safety of voting in-person by providing additional voting facilities and more poll-workers. Republicans say that this is a waste of money at a financially dire time, and that it will remove the ability of states to run their own elections. Do you support or oppose this proposal?*

Overall, this proposal still enjoyed a high level of support, enjoying a 22-percentage-point margin of support among all voters. Voters under forty-five and those with college degrees are particularly supportive of the idea. Attitudes are largely correlated with partisanship, with Democrats in support of the measure and Republicans largely opposed.

### Even With Partisan Frames, Voters Support Additional Election Funding

Some Democrats in Congress have proposed \$4 billion in election assistance for the states to help prepare for holding the 2020 election in the midst of the coronavirus pandemic. Democrats say that this is necessary to increase the ability to vote by mail, expand early voting and online registration, and increase the safety of voting in-person by providing additional voting facilities and more poll-workers. Republicans say that this is a waste of money at a financially dire time, and that it will remove the ability of states to run their own elections. Do you support or oppose this proposal?



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## CONCLUSION

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The results included in this appendix demonstrate that all three of these proposals maintain high levels of support when placed in a partisan environment, including among Republican voters. Voters recognize the severity of the present moment and want to take aggressive and concerted action to ensure that elections can proceed safely.

## METHODOLOGY

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On March 31, 2020, Data for Progress conducted a survey of 2165 likely voters nationally using web panel respondents. The sample was weighted to be representative of likely voters by age, gender, education, urbanicity, race, and voting history. The survey was conducted in English. The margin of error is  $\pm 2.1$  percent.

Jacob Coblenz contributed to this report.

EDITED BY

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COVER PHOTO

Lucas Marcomini/Unsplash