#### Voting Access Reforms and Policy Feedback Effects on Political Efficacy and Trust

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# A Unique Election





#### Duke BUBLIC POLICY

Credit: CDC, CNBC

## Mail Voting in 2020



Mail voting is the default
 Ballot sent to all registered voters
 Any registered voter can request a mailed ballot
 Stricter excuse rules for ballot requests

#### $Duke \left| \begin{smallmatrix} \mathsf{SANFORD} \ \mathsf{SCHOOL} \ \mathsf{of} \\ \mathsf{PUBLIC} \ \mathsf{POLICY} \end{smallmatrix} \right|$

Credit: Vox

# How do election reforms influence political efficacy and trust?

#### Does context matter?





## A Policy Feedback Theory of Reform

H1 Internal Efficacy: Reforms will increase internal political efficacy.

H2 External Efficacy: Reforms will increase external political efficacy.

H3 Government Trust: Reforms will increase trust in government.



## Conditional Effects?

**Partisanship:** Democrats and Republicans may view election reforms differently.

**State Power:** Partisans in states with single-party control may view election reforms differently.



#### **Independent Variables**

- Original dataset of statewide
   adoption of UVBM & NEAV
   policies by year
- Dependent variables
- ANES Cumulative (1996-2020)
  - n=25,159
  - UVBM n=12,883
  - NEAV n=18,865
- Internal Efficacy (2 questions)
- External Efficacy (2)
- Trust in Government (1)



NEAV Groups	UVBM Groups
2000: ME, MT, NE, ND, WI	■ 2000: OR
2004: FL, NC, UT, VT	■ 2012: WA
2008: GA, NJ, OH	■ 2016: CO
2012: IL, MD	2020: CA, DC, HI, NV, NJ, UT, VT
2016: MN	
2020: AL, AR, CT, KY, LA, MA, MI, MO,	• Group Control: AK, AZ, FL, GA, ID, IL,
NH, NY, PA, RI, SC, SD, VA, WV	IA, KS, ME, MD, MN, MT, NE, NM, NC,
	ND, OH, OK, WI, WY
Group Control: DE, IN, MS, TN, TX	
	Excluded: AL, AR, CT, DE, IN, KY, LA,
Excluded: AK, AZ, CA, CO, DC, HI, ID,	MA, MI, MS, MO, NH, NY, PA, RI, SC,
IA, KS, NV, NM, OK, OR, WA, WY	SD, TN, TX, VA, WV

Difference-in-difference strategy

Estimand of interest is the ATT  $Y_{ist} = a_s + \lambda_t + T^{DD}D_{st} + X_i + \varepsilon_{ist}$ 

TWFE estimators can be biased for staggered adoptions
Cannot assume consistent effects across states/time

Group-time DiD estimator (Callaway & Sant'anna 2021)  $Y_{igt} = a_g + \lambda_t + \mathbf{T}^{GT} D_{gt} + X_i + \varepsilon_{igt}$ 

Estimates  $\tau^{GT}$  for simultaneously-treated units at each period after first treatment

Four methods of estimating single-parameter ATT:

- 1. Simple: weighted average of all group-time ATTs
- 2. <u>Group</u>: average ATTs in treated periods within groups, then average across groups
- **3. Dynamic:** average ATTs within treated periods across groups, then average across periods
- 4. Calendar: average ATTs within calendar years across groups, then average across years



## Results: Aggregated ATT for NEAV



Effect of NEAV Adoption on Efficacy and Trust

## Results: Aggregated ATT for UVBM





## Implications

- Little evidence of positive or negative interpretive effects from expansive reforms
  - Little evidence of effects conditional on partisanship & state power
  - Possible interpretive distinctions between NEAV (more options) and UVBM (fewer options)
- Limited partisan & instrumental impact of these reforms encourages emphasis of normative considerations



# Thank you!

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