## Chapter 5 Absentee Ballots

On its instructions to the Election Day Survey, the U.S. Election Assistance Commission (EAC) defined absentee voting as "voting prior to Election Day which requires that the voter meet qualifications other than those generally required to register to vote." Such requirements might be that the voter must attest that they will be absent from their voting jurisdiction on Election Day. The Election Day Survey instructions specifically request that ballots cast by military and overseas voters not be included in responses to the survey. Statistics on military and overseas absentee ballots were collected separately through the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (UOCAVA) survey (which was labeled "The Military and Overseas Absentee Ballot Survey").

On absentee voting, the Election Day Survey asked for the number of absentee ballots requested, the number returned, the number counted, the number not counted, and the five most common reasons for rejecting absentee ballots. Table 5 presents results from the Election Day Survey on absentee voting.

## Applicability and Coverage

Nearly all states have some form of absentee ballots. The following 24 states provide "no excuse" absentee ballots:

| Alaska | Idaho | North Carolina | South Dakota |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Arizona | Iowa | North Dakota | Utah |
| California | Kansas | Nebraska | Vermont |
| Colorado | Louisiana | New Mexico | Washington |
| Florida | Maine | Nevada | Wisconsin |
| Hawaii | Montana | Oklahoma | Wyoming |

In addition, Oregon conducts elections by mail. Absentee voting is reported in Oregon for persons who request a ballot because they will be away from their normal resident address when the mail ballots are shipped to the state's voters. Those numbers are listed in Oregon's absentee column in the tables, while the vote-by-mail counts are listed in the "Ballots Cast in Polling Place" column.

No jurisdiction among the following states reported absentee ballots requested: Alabama, Arizona (which classifies all absentee votes as early votes), Connecticut, Indiana, Kansas, Minnesota, New Hampshire, and Vermont. No jurisdiction among the following states reported absentees returned: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Kansas, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Hampshire, and Vermont. No jurisdiction within the following states reported absentees counted: Arizona, Kansas, Maine, Mississippi, South Carolina, and South Dakota. No jurisdiction among 30 states reported absentees not counted.

## Historical Context

Absentee voting was first established in the mid-1800s for soldiers during the Civil War. Northern soldiers were reported to have cast 154,045 votes in 1864 (Lee 1916). Vermont became the first state
to adopt absentee voting for civilians in 1896, followed by Kansas in 1901 (for rail workers only, expanded to all citizens in 1911) and Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, and North Dakota in 1914 (Steinbicker 1938). These early absentee balloting procedures did not operate in the same manner as today. For example, Kansas and Nebraska permitted persons traveling outside their home county to cast a vote on Election Day in the presence of an election judge in another county within the same state, which would be forwarded to the home county (Lee 1916). North Dakota was the first state to adopt absentee voting in the familiar form known to modern voters: absentee voting by mail. Like the secret ballot, the method was imported from Australia, which adopted absentee voting by mail in 1902 (Lee 1916). During and following World War I, absentee ballot laws were extended to military personnel in nearly all states and were extended to civilians in all states, except Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Kentucky by 1925 (Ray 1926).

As the number of states that allowed absentee voting increased, the acceptable reasons to be permitted to cast an absentee ballot expanded. For example, by 1925, 11 states permitted sick and disabled persons the right to cast an absentee ballot (Ray 1926). Michigan was perhaps the first state to allow "no excuse" absentee voting by permitting absentee voting for "any person necessarily absent while engaged in the pursuit of lawful business, or recreation" (Election Laws of Michigan, Revision of 1936, Ch. X. Art. 3134, as quoted in Steinbicker 1938, original emphasis). Today, states allow absentee balloting under a wide range of excuses that vary among the states, including: religion, business, school, disability, and persons who live far from their polling place. Twenty-four states permit absentee voting for any reason, or "no excuse."

Complete historical statistics on absentee voting do not exist. A study of the 1936 election estimated that absentee ballots constituted about 2.0 percent, or 0.9 million, of all ballots counted (Steinbicker 1938). Another study estimated 4.9 percent, or 3.4 million, absentee ballots were counted in the 1960 election (Andrews 1966). These estimates are unreliable since they depend on extrapolating absentee statistics from a few states to the entire country.

Compared with the historical numbers, the number of absentee ballots cast has increased in recent elections. Mitofsky International and Edison Media Research (the national exit poll organization) estimate that 16.0 percent or 16.8 million absentee ballots were counted in the 2000 presidential election. A similar percentage of 16.0 percent, or 12.5 million, were counted in the 2002 congressional election. Previous election estimates are not as reliable due to missing data for some states. At a minimum, 12.0 percent, or 8.7 million, absentee ballots were cast in the 1998 election; 11.0 percent, or 10.6 million, in the 1996 election; 8.4 percent, or 6.4 million, in the 1994 election; and 7.7 percent, or 8.1 million, in the 1992 election.

Some states have kept track of absentee balloting in the past, but most states have not. In many instances, in both states and localities, absentee balloting numbers and results are combined with the results from polling place voting and reported as just a single number. Therefore, data is not available for a great deal of the country, especially on election returns. Some localities do keep separate totals on absentee voting, but keep them only at the county level, not by precinct. As more and more people vote via absentee, any kind of demographic and political analysis becomes much more difficult to conduct in those jurisdictions.

## Survey Results

Table 5 presents data on absentee ballots requested, returned, and counted from questions 4-6 on the Election Day Survey. In the table, the number of absentee ballots requested is calculated as a percentage of reported total registration, the number of absentee ballots returned is calculated as a percentage of absentee ballots requested, and the number of absentee ballots counted is calculated as a percentage of absentee ballots returned. The column headings in Table 5 are as follows:

Table 5 Column Headings. Absentee Ballots

Col. Heading Description

Code State census code
Name Respondent to Election Day Survey
Jurisdiction Number of local election jurisdictions from survey question 22
Total Registration Number of active and inactive registered voters, number of persons who voted on Election Day in six states, and VAP data for North Dakota and jurisdictions in Wisconsin that do not have voter registration, from col. 4 of Table 2

Cases Number of jurisdictions that responded to survey question 1, that provided Election Day registration data, or for which VAP data was substituted for voter registration data
Total Requested
Absentee Ballots Number of absentee ballots requested from survey question 4
Cases Number of jurisdictions that responded to question 4
Percent Requested Number of absentee ballots requested (col. 6) divided by the of Absentee Registration number of registered voters (col. 4)

Cases Number of jurisdictions that responded to survey questions 1 and 4, that provided Election Day registration data, or for which VAP data was substituted for voter registration data
Cases > 100\% Number of jurisdictions where the reported number of absentee ballots requested (col. 6) is greater than the reported number of registered voters (col. 4)
Total Absentees
Number of absentee ballots returned from survey question 5
Returned
Cases
Number of jurisdictions that responded to question 5
Percent Absentees Number of absentee ballots returned (col. 11) divided by the Returned of Requested

Cases Number of jurisdictions that responded to survey questions 4 and 5
Cases > 100\%
Number of jurisdictions where the reported number of absentee ballots returned (col. 11) is greater than the reported number of absentee ballots requested (col. 6)

## Table 5 Column Headings (cont.)

| Col. | Heading | Description |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 16 | Absentees Counted | Number of absentee ballots counted from survey question 6b |
| 17 | Cases | Number of jurisdictions that responded to question 6b |
| 18 | Percent Absentee Counted of Returned | Number of absentee ballots counted (col. 16) divided by the number of absentee ballots returned (col. 11) |
| 19 20 | Cases Cases > $100 \%$ | Number of jurisdictions that responded to questions 5 and 6 b Number of jurisdictions where the reported number of absentee ballots counted (col. 16) is greater than the number of absentee ballots returned (col. 11) |
| 21 | Total Absentees Not Counted | Number of absentee ballots not counted from survey question 6c |
| 22 | Cases | Number of jurisdictions that responded to question 6c |
| 23 | Percent Absentees <br> Not Counted of Returned | Number of absentee ballots not counted (col. 21) divided by the number of absentee ballots returned (col. 11) |
| 24 | Cases | Number of jurisdictions that responded to questions 5 and 6c |
| 25 | Cases > 100\% | Number of jurisdictions where the reported number of absentee ballots not counted (col. 21) is greater than the reported number of absentee ballots returned (col. 11) |

## Analysis of Survey Results

The following is our analysis of the data in Table 5 for each of the 18 cross-tabulation factors described earlier in this report. A description of each factor follows a general summary and a statelevel summary of the survey data.

1) Regions
2) Changed Voting Equipment since 2000
3) Urban to Rural
4) Size of Jurisdiction
5) Statewide Voter Registration Database
6) Race and Ethnicity
7) Election Day Registration
8) Median Income
9) Provisional Ballot Acceptance
10) High School Education
11) No Excuse Absentee Balloting
12) Early Voting
13) Battleground States
14) Presidential Margin of Victory
15) Section 5 Preclearance of Voting Procedures
16) Red versus Blue Jurisdictions

This analysis is based only on data that was reported to the EAC on the Election Day Survey. Many state responses to a survey question or part of a question did not cover all local election jurisdictions. In Table 5 as well as other tables in this report, a jurisdiction was excluded from a statistical calculation if its response was missing for one or more of the data items (i.e., columns) used in the calculation. A column labeled "Cases" next to each statistical calculation shows the number of jurisdictions covered by that calculation.

## Summary

In the Election Day Survey, the EAC requested the number of absentee ballots requested, the number returned, and the number counted in each jurisdiction. Analysis is provided for four measures reported in Table 5. The total number of absentee ballots requested is calculated as a ratio to the total voter registration. The number of absentee ballots returned is calculated as a ratio to the number of absentee ballots requested. The number of absentee ballots reported counted and not counted is calculated as a ratio to the number of absentee ballots returned.

States were also asked to provide the five most common reasons why the absentee ballots were rejected, although the actual numbers of ballots rejected by the reasons for rejection were not requested. The states were not asked to provide this information for their individual jurisdictions, just a statewide summary. The reasons, according to their frequency of mention by states, are as follows:

## Reasons for Rejecting Absentee Ballots

No voter signature
Ballot not timely received
Non-matching signature
Elector voted early or at the polls
Ballot returned as undeliverable
Ineligible to vote
No ballot application on record
No witness signature
Spoiled ballot
Ballot missing from envelope
Ballot returned in unofficial envelope

## Frequency of Mention

11

9 8 6 5 43332

## Reasons for Rejecting Absentee Ballots (cont). Frequency of Mention

| Multiple ballots returned in one envelope | 2 |
| :--- | :--- |
| Elector deceased | 2 |
| Ballot replaced | 1 |
| Envelope not sealed | 1 |
| First-time voter without proper identification | 1 |
| No election official's signature on ballot | 1 |
| No residence address on return envelope | 1 |

Since fewer jurisdictions reported absentee ballots not counted, and because this should be the reciprocal of ballots counted, the analysis below is discussed in terms of absentee ballots counted. However, because of the high rate of counting returned absentee ballots, we found little variation among jurisdictions that might provide insight into why absentee ballots were not counted beyond the reasons provided by the states.

A pattern emerges in the tabulations between reported requested and returned absentee ballots. Those jurisdictions reporting a lower rate of absentee ballots requested tend to have higher rates of absentee ballots returned (correlation $=-0.22$ ).

An explanation may be related to the ease of requesting an absentee ballot. Jurisdictions with "no excuse" absentee balloting report much higher request rates, but lower return rates, by about six percentage points, than other jurisdictions. This pattern was similar to those jurisdictions permitting early voting. We suspect jurisdictions with administrative procedures aimed to make voting more accessible have other administrative provisions (unasked on the Election Day Survey) that ease the request of absentee ballots, such as permanent absentee balloting. Where absentee ballots are more difficult to obtain, the request rates may be lower, but the return rates are higher since these voters truly desire to cast an absentee ballot.

We also note that centralized management of voter registration databases increases return rates and counting of absentee ballots. Jurisdictions with statewide voter registration databases reported slightly lower request rates compared to jurisdictions in states without statewide voter registration databases, but reported a return rate almost 6 percentage points higher and a counting rate over 3 percentage points higher.

There is a general pattern of absentee ballot requests according to socioeconomic status, with lower income and education jurisdictions tending to report lower rates of requesting absentee ballots than high income and education jurisdictions. However, lower socioeconomic status jurisdictions reported higher rates of return.

There is also a general pattern of absentee ballot requests according to size of the jurisdiction and the urban and rural character of a jurisdiction. Small-sized and rural jurisdictions tended to report the lowest rates of absentee requests while large-sized and urban areas reported the highest rates of absentee ballot requests. Like socioeconomic status, the large population and urban areas tended to report the lowest rates of absentee ballots returned.

Among Section 203 covered jurisdictions, we see a higher reported rate of requested absentee ballots, and a lower rate of return than other jurisdictions. This is consistent with the findings already
discussed above, that jurisdictions that report higher rates of requesting absentee ballots report fewer ballots returned than other jurisdictions, though there may be a slight amplification of this negative relationship in Section 203 jurisdictions when compared to similar tabulations, in terms of absentee ballots requested, such as jurisdictions that permit early voting or "no excuse" voting. This relationship may be related to the lower return rates in predominantly Hispanic and predominantly non-Hispanic Native American jurisdictions, these latter jurisdictions in particular reported both a low request rate and a low return rate.

## States

Washington reported the highest rate of absentees cast as a percentage of registration, at 64.5 percent, more than twice that of the next closest state, California. Oregon reported the lowest percentage, at 0.9 percent, but this report is deceptive since the state’s balloting is completely by mail and absentees refer only to people who request a ballot because they will be away from their normal residence when the normal mail ballots are to be sent out. Next to Oregon, Louisiana had the lowest percentage of absentee ballots requested, at 1.2 percent. Twenty states and two territories reported absentee ballots requested as a percentage of registration at 5 percent or lower.

The District of Columbia reported the lowest percentage of returned absentee ballots (at 72.6 percent), and five states reported return rates between 70 to 80 percent. However, states with low rates of return may count absentees returned to polling places on Election Day as votes cast within polling place, rather than as an absentee ballot. Colorado had the highest return rate of 98.0 percent, and 20 states and two territories reported return rates above 90 percent.

The most consistent reporting across jurisdictions is the counting of absentees. Jurisdictions reported that most returned absentee ballots were counted. The District of Columbia reported the lowest rate of counting absentee ballots at 87.5 percent and Maryland reported the highest rate, slightly over 100 percent. Approximately 81 jurisdictions reported more absentee ballots counted than the number returned because voters turned in absentee ballots in the polling place or other locations and they were not counted as part of the returned pool of ballots.

## Regions

The West had, by far, the highest reported rate of absentee ballots requested, due to the popularity of absentee voting within states in the region and laws that promote absentee voting. The request rate would be even higher if all of Oregon's mail-in ballots were classified as absentee. The reported request rate of absentee balloting in the West, 27.1 percent, was more than six times that of the lowest region, the Northeast, at 4.3 percent. The Midwest reported an absentee request rate of 9.0 percent and the South, 6.9 percent.

The South reported the lowest rate of absentee return, 88.4 percent, followed by, in increasing order, the Northeast, 88.5 percent; the West, 86.6 percent; and the Midwest, 94.1 percent.

The South reported a counting rate of returned absentee ballots of 93.7 percent; all other regions reported a counting rate around 98 percent.

## Urban to Rural

As one would expect, suburban jurisdictions reported the highest rate of requested absentee ballots (at 13.5 percent). On the other hand, urban jurisdictions reported the lowest request rate of absentee ballots, 9.5 percent.

Small town jurisdictions reported the lowest rate of return, 87.3 percent, and rural areas report the highest rate of return, 92.2 percent.

Urban areas reported the lowest rates of counting absentee ballots, 94.3 percent, and suburban areas reported the highest rates, 98.6 percent.

## Size of Jurisdiction

The largest population jurisdictions, those over one million voting age population (VAP), reported a rate of requested absentee ballots of 14.8 percent, more than double that of the smallest population jurisdictions, 6.8 percent. There is no discernible pattern among jurisdictions with populations inbetween, which vary within 7.8 and 11.6 percent.

On the other hand, the reported rate of return tends to decrease with population size of the jurisdiction. The largest population jurisdictions reported the lowest rate of return, 86.4 percent, while the smallest population jurisdictions reported this highest, 95.6 percent.

Reported rates of counting absentee ballots were slightly over 98 percent for all jurisdictions except the largest, which reported a counting rate of 93.0 percent.

## Race and Ethnicity

Predominantly Hispanic jurisdictions reported the highest request rate for absentee ballots, 13.6 percent, slightly more than twice the lowest reported rate in predominantly non-Hispanic Black jurisdictions, at 5.7 percent. Predominantly non-Hispanic White jurisdictions reported a rate, 10.9 percent, slightly lower than predominantly Hispanic jurisdictions. Predominantly non-Hispanic Native American jurisdictions reported a rate, 6.1 percent, slightly higher than predominantly nonHispanic Black jurisdictions.

Predominantly Hispanic jurisdictions reported the lowest return rate, 87.5 percent, and predominantly non-Hispanic Black jurisdictions reporting the highest return rate, 90.7 percent.

Predominantly non-Hispanic White jurisdictions reported the lowest counting rate, 96.8 percent, and predominantly non-Hispanic Black jurisdictions reported the highest counting rate, 99.7 percent.

## Median Income

Reported rates of absentee ballots requested tend to increase with jurisdiction median income, though the rate slightly drops off at the highest income level. The reported request rate for the highest income jurisdictions, 13.8 percent, is about three times greater than the lowest income jurisdictions, 4.7 percent.

Reported rates of return tend higher for lower income jurisdictions than for higher income jurisdictions. The lowest income jurisdictions reported the highest rate of return, 92.2 percent,
slightly more than five percentage points greater than jurisdictions with median income \$45,00050,000 , at 87.4 percent.

Reported rates of counting absentee ballots tended not to vary in a discernible pattern with median income. The lowest rate of counting was 92.8 percent for jurisdiction median income $\$ 40,000-$ 45,000 , and the highest rate was 99.3 percent for jurisdictions with median income $\$ 45,000$ $\$ 50,000$.

## High School Education

Reported rates of absentee ballots requested tend to increase with education levels, except for the second lowest level of education, which reported a rate much higher than the trend, 12.5 percent. Jurisdictions with the lowest level of education reported a request rate of 3.4 percent and those at the highest level reported 17.8 percent.

Reported rates of absentee ballots returned tend to increase with education levels, except that the highest rate of return was reported by jurisdictions with the lowest rates of education, 97.2 percent. This surprising result may be related to the small request rate within these jurisdictions. The second lowest education category reported a return rate of 96.0 percent and the highest reported 90.2 percent.

Reported rates of counting absentee ballots tend not to vary greatly with education, between 96.3 and 98.6 percent.

## Section 203 Language Minority Requirements

Jurisdictions covered by Section 203 reported almost twice the absentee request rate than other jurisdictions, 15.9 versus 8.6 percent. Jurisdictions covered by Section 203 reported a return rate five percentage points lower than other jurisdictions, 85.9 versus 90.9 percent. Jurisdictions covered by Section 203 reported a counting rate four percentage points lower than other jurisdictions, 94.6 versus 98.6 percent.

## Section 5 Preclearance of Voting Procedures

Jurisdictions covered by Section 5 reported a lower absentee request rate than other jurisdictions, 7.3 versus 11.8 percent. Jurisdictions covered by Section 5 reported a return rate slightly higher than other jurisdictions, 90.4 versus 88.3 percent. Jurisdictions covered by Section 5 reported a counting rate slightly higher than other jurisdictions, 98.4 versus 96.6 percent.

## Type of Voting Equipment

Optical scan voting equipment jurisdictions reported the highest absentee ballot request rate, 14.5 percent, more than four times higher than the lowest reported rate for lever jurisdictions, 3.2 percent. Optimal scan jurisdictions were followed by, in descending order: multiple-systems, electronic, punch-card, and paper-equipment jurisdictions.

Lever voting-equipment jurisdictions reported the lowest rate of absentee ballot return, 85.6 percent. Paper jurisdictions had the highest rate, 95.2 percent. Paper jurisdictions were followed by, in descending order: multiple-systems, electronic, optical-scan, punch-card, and lever jurisdictions.

Reported rates of counting absentee ballots were above 97 percent for all jurisdictions except electronic, at 93.5 percent.

## Changed Voting Equipment since 2000

Jurisdictions that changed voting equipment reported higher rates of requesting absentee ballots than other jurisdictions, 14.2 versus 9.3 percent. Jurisdictions that changed voting equipment reported slightly lower rates of returned absentee ballots than other jurisdictions, 88.4 versus 88.8 percent. Jurisdictions that changed voting equipment reported lower rates of counting absentee ballots than other jurisdictions, 95.1 versus 98.0 percent.

## Statewide Voter Registration Database

Jurisdictions with statewide voter registration databases reported lower rates of requesting absentee ballots than other jurisdictions, 8.7 versus 11.3 percent. Jurisdictions with statewide voter registration databases reported higher rates of returned absentee ballots than other jurisdictions, 93.4 versus 87.8 percent. Jurisdictions with statewide voter registration databases reported higher rates of counting absentee ballots than other jurisdictions, 99.0 versus 96.4 percent.

## Election Day Registration

Jurisdictions with Election Day registration reported slightly lower rates of requesting absentee ballots than other jurisdictions, 10.2 versus 10.8 percent. Jurisdictions with Election Day registration reported higher rates of returned absentee ballots than other jurisdictions, 94.7 versus 88.4 percent. Jurisdictions with Election Day registration reported slightly lower rates of counting absentee ballots than other jurisdictions, 96.6 versus 96.9 percent.

## Provisional Ballot Acceptance

Jurisdictions employing within-jurisdiction provisional ballot acceptance reported a higher rate of requesting absentee ballots than jurisdictions employing within-precinct provisional ballot acceptance, 16.1 versus 7.6 percent. Jurisdictions employing within-jurisdiction provisional ballot acceptance experienced lower rates of returned absentee ballots than jurisdictions employing withinprecinct provisional ballot acceptance, 87.4 versus 90.0 percent. Jurisdictions employing withinjurisdiction provisional ballot acceptance experienced higher rates of counting absentee ballots than jurisdictions employing within-precinct provisional ballot acceptance, 98.0 versus 95.4 percent.

## No Excuse Absentee Balloting

Jurisdictions with "no excuse" absentee balloting reported almost four times the rate of requesting absentee ballots than other jurisdictions, 20.1 versus 5.1 percent. Jurisdictions with "no excuse" absentee balloting reported lower rates of returned absentee ballots than other jurisdictions, 87.1 versus 92.3 percent. Jurisdictions with "no excuse" absentee balloting reported lower rates of counted absentee ballots than other jurisdictions, 96.1 versus 98.5 percent.

## Early Voting

Jurisdictions with early voting reported almost twice the rate of requesting absentee ballots than other jurisdictions, 14.6 versus 7.8 percent. Jurisdictions with early voting reported lower rates of returned absentee ballots than other jurisdictions, 87.5 versus 90.3 percent. Jurisdictions with early
voting reported lower rates of counting absentee ballots than other jurisdictions, 95.4 versus 98.9 percent.

## Battleground States

Jurisdictions in battleground states reported a higher rate of requesting absentee ballots than other jurisdictions, 14.2 versus 8.9 percent. Jurisdictions in battleground states reported slightly higher rates of returned absentee ballots than other jurisdictions, 89.3 versus 88.1 percent. Jurisdictions in battleground states reported slightly lower rates of counting absentee ballots than other jurisdictions, 96.0 versus 97.6 percent.

## Presidential Margin of Victory

The reported absentee ballot request rate is similar among jurisdictions according to the presidential margin of victory, ranging between 11.1 and 13.1 percent. The reported absentee ballots return rate is similar among jurisdictions according to the presidential margin of victory, ranging between 88.0 and 90.3 percent. The reported absentee ballot counting rate is similar among jurisdictions according to the presidential margin of victory, ranging between 96.1 and 98.8 percent. It should be noted that the lowest rate of counting absentee ballots was from the least competitive jurisdictions.

## Red versus Blue Jurisdictions

Jurisdictions won by Kerry tended to have slightly higher rates of requesting absentee ballots than jurisdictions won by Bush, averaging about 13 percent among jurisdictions won by Kerry and 10 percent for those won by Bush. The reported rate of returning absentee ballots was similar across jurisdictions with regard to the presidential vote within the jurisdiction, ranging between 88.5 and 90.4 percent. The reported rate of counting absentee ballots was similar across jurisdictions with regard to the presidential vote within the jurisdiction, above 97.7 percent for all jurisdictions except those won overwhelmingly by Kerry, which reported a counting rate of 93.9 percent.

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