

uniform. African Americans were far more likely to have experienced voting problems, as were voters in Franklin and Cuyahoga counties.

African Americans experienced more ballot and polling place problems than whites, and were more likely to have felt intimidated on Election Day. The high number of newly registered African American voters does not explain the disparity in experiences between white voters and African American voters. In fact, registration history had little to do with the different experiences, as African Americans registered to vote before 2004 were far more likely to have experienced problems than white voters who were registered before 2004. The disparity is also not a function of party registration, as African American Democrats had far more problems than white Democrats.

Voting problems also varied widely by geography. Polling place problems and long lines were heightened in Franklin County, which used DRE voting machines, as well as in the other counties that used this electronic voting equipment. Voters in Cuyahoga County also experienced significant voting problems, particularly in terms of ballot problems and intimidation.

Despite the problems on Election Day, there is no evidence from our survey that John Kerry won the state of Ohio. Two (2) percent of voters who went to the polls on Election Day decided to leave their polling locations due to the long lines. This resulted in approximately 129,543 lost votes. However, these potential voters would have divided evenly between George Bush and John Kerry. A smaller group of potential voters (0.08 percent) were not given ballots at all due to registration challenges. These approximately 4,798 voters favored Kerry, according to the poll (extreme sample size caution).

Finally, a third group of voters (equivalent to 0.83 percent of the voting population) did not go to the polls at all because they did not receive their absentee ballots, or had heard about long lines, registration challenges, and confusing polling sites. We do not know the voting preferences of these approximately 47,979 voters. However, even if they had all chosen Kerry, his overall gain of 52,777 votes would not have erased Bush's 118,000 vote margin in the state.

Polling Place Problems

More than one-fourth (26 percent) of voters experienced polling place problems.² These problems included going to more than one poll, waiting on line to vote for more than twenty minutes, or leaving the polling place without voting. African Americans and voters using DRE machines experienced the most polling place problems.

African Americans were twice as likely to experience polling place problems as white voters. As Table 1 shows, nearly half (46 percent) of African Americans

² There were two subdivisions of voters in the survey: Those who voted by absentee and those who went to the polls to vote. Most percentages cited in this memo refer voters *who went to the polls*, rather than all voters. Exceptions include the "Ballot Problems" and "Demographic Differences" sections, which use percentages referencing *all* voters.