EFFECT OF DISTRIBUTION OF VOTERS’ GUIDE ON VOTER ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR
REPORT ON PROJECTS CONDUCTED IN 2018

SUMMARY
In the 2018 election cycle, the League of Women Voters of Montgomery County, Maryland, a non-partisan non-profit organization, used several measures to assess the effect on voting behavior of the distribution of its Voters’ Guide to selected voters for both the primary and general elections.

1. One project involved distribution of the Voters’ Guide to newly registered voters, funded in part with a grant from the Montgomery County Council.
2. A second project, funded exclusively by the League, involved mailing of the Voters’ Guide to the households of registered voters in selected precincts with histories of low voter turnout.
3. In a third research effort conducted during the general election, League volunteers invited voters to respond to an exit survey about the sources of information they used to select candidates and their confidence that they had sufficient information to make their choices.

The study demonstrated that voters who receive the Voters’ Guide published by the League are more confident that they have sufficient information about the candidates and are more likely to vote in more of the contests on the ballot when compared to voters in general. The effect on overall voter turnout was less clear, however, suggesting that other factors were influencing voter turnout.

BACKGROUND
The League of Women Voters of Montgomery County, Maryland, a non-partisan non-profit organization, has published a Voters’ Guide prior to each election since at least 1946. Although the format has varied over the years, it has always included candidates’ responses to questions posed by the League on a range of issues relevant to the office being sought. In recent years, candidates have been invited to provide website and social media addresses so that voters can obtain additional information about them. The League’s Voters’ Guide is distinctive in that it does not endorse or rank candidates but simply presents the candidates’ statements exactly as they are submitted. The Voters’ Guide is sent to all members of the League as well as any person who requests a copy and thousands more are distributed through county libraries and service centers. Although voters have often expressed appreciation for the Voters’ Guide, the League was interested in determining whether its effectiveness could be measured more objectively.

Target Precinct Project
In preparing for the 2016 elections, the League reviewed voter turnout data from the Montgomery County Board of Elections and demographic data from the U.S. Census Bureau to identify ten precincts in Montgomery County that had a history of low voter turnout. From that group of ten, five precincts were selected that were from different areas of the county and had differing ethnic composition (designated the “target precincts”). The remaining five precincts, which had somewhat similar demographic characteristics and were also located in different areas of the county, did not receive any special treatment, allowing them
to be used as a “control” for comparative purposes. See Appendix 1. The *Voters’ Guide* was distributed to the household of each registered voter in the target precincts before the primary and the general election.\(^1\) For the 2018 election cycle, because voter turnout in gubernatorial elections has generally been much lower than in presidential elections, it was determined that the mailing to the same target precincts should be continued to see if the impact of the *Voters’ Guide* varied.

**New Voters Project**
The League applied for grants available from the Montgomery County Council for both the 2016 and 2018 election cycles. The grants were awarded for printing and mailing the *Voters’ Guide* to newly-registered voters. For the primary elections, this included all voters registering since the preceding general election.\(^2\) For the general election, this included all voters registering after the primary election as well as those who had registered before the primary but had not been included in the preceding mailing.

**Evaluation Methods**

**Voter Confidence** – The purpose of the *Voters’ Guide* is to inform voters about the candidates’ views. Accordingly, the most direct measure of its effectiveness would be the voters’ confidence that they had sufficient information about the candidates. To measure voter confidence in their level of knowledge about their election choices, League volunteers conducted an exit survey that included 2,300 respondents. Volunteers asked voters leaving polling places\(^3\) to rank from 1 to 3 the main sources of information they used to select candidates and to rate their resulting level of confidence.\(^4\) See Appendix 2. We reviewed the frequency with which voters cited each of the sources as well as the correlation of the level of confidence with the cited sources.

\(^1\)To control costs, the voter registration list obtained from the Board of Elections was reviewed to eliminate duplicate mailings where multiple voters resided at the same address. Also, in the 2016 primary election, copies were mailed to multi-family residences and hand-delivered by League volunteers to single family homes in the target precincts. Hand delivery was found to be too labor-intensive and in subsequent elections the *Voters’ Guide* was mailed.

\(^2\)Due to the lead time required to obtain voter addresses from the Board of Elections and transfer that data to the mailing house for distribution of the *Voters’ Guide* in advance of Early Voting, the cutoff for inclusion in the mailing was several months before the primary.

\(^3\)Anticipating that many voters would feel confident about their choices of candidates as they entered the polling place but would discover that the ballot included many more offices and candidates than they had anticipated, volunteers were instructed to survey voters leaving the polling place. At one Early Voting center, a volunteer invited voters entering the polling place to complete the survey. That group of voters reported a higher level of confidence than all other survey participants, validating the decision to survey voters upon exit.

\(^4\)Although voters were asked to rank the sources of information, many simply marked three or more of the options. Responses that marked more than three options without indicating any ranking were excluded from the analysis of the data.
**Voter Turnout** – The most obvious measure of the effect of the Voters’ Guide appeared to be voter turnout, the percentage of registered voters who actually cast a ballot. For the target precincts, we compared the rate of voter turnout with previous levels for those precincts as well as for the control precinct group. For the newly registered voters, the rate of turnout was compared to turnout of newly registered voters in nearby counties where the local Leagues were not able to distribute their Voters’ Guides to new voters. It should be noted that 2018 was a year of very high voter turnout throughout Maryland. One consequence may be that the influence of the Voters’ Guide was overshadowed by the other trends influencing voter behavior.

**Voter Dropoff** – In any election, the share of voters who mark selections for the various offices declines as the voter moves down the ballot. Almost everyone votes for Governor, but nearly a third did not cast a vote for Board of Education candidates. It is possible that voters do not care as much about the Board of Education, but it also seems likely that voters lack information about the candidates. Large sums are spent by candidates for Governor and President and campaign advertising is almost inescapable. In contrast, very little is spent on Board of Education campaigns and information on the candidates is not conveniently available to the voters. We compared the voter dropoff in our target precincts to that for the control precincts as well as the county as a whole.

**VOTER CONFIDENCE: SURVEY DATA**

The LWVMC Survey team recruited volunteers to conduct an exit survey both during early voting (Oct 25 – Nov. 1 2018) and on election day (Nov 6). The locations for early voting were selected to represent a range of polling locations within the county. The election day precinct locations were a mix of equal numbers of "target" versus "control" precincts (i.e., those where registered voters all received the LWV Voters' Guide in the mail, and the matched precincts where only newly-registered voters received it). A total of 2,428 valid responses were obtained. The questionnaire is presented below in Appendix 2.

The Early Voting locations, and valid survey responses obtained from each were:
- Damascus Community Recreation Center: 314
- Marilyn Praisner Community Recreation Center: 286
- Executive Office Building: 555
- Silver Spring Civic Building: 484

The precincts included on election day for target precincts were:
- Lakewood Elementary School (Precinct 4-24): 258
- Leleck Elementary School (5-14): 137
- East County Community Recreation Center (5-21): 83

Election day Control Precincts:
- Waters Landing Elementary School (2-03): 198
- Viers Mill Elementary School (13-25): 113

Anecdotally, several League members who had worked as election judges reported that voters expressed frustration that they did not have information about candidates for lower offices.
Most volunteers worked for two-hour shifts. Instructions for volunteers are presented below in Appendix 3. After the first morning, based on volunteer feedback, volunteers were requested to verbally instruct survey participants (as much as possible) to follow the survey instructions, i.e., to rank their top three sources of information and not to forget to answer the second question about whether they had "enough information about the candidates and issues to make informed decisions." On the basis of instructions received from election officials, volunteers stressed to voters that the survey was strictly voluntary. The survey team also explicitly encouraged volunteers to make an effort to ensure diversity among survey participants by age, gender, and race.

Two versions of the survey were printed, with the order of presentation of the sources reversed to overcome bias among respondents to focus on the first options they see on the questionnaire. Volunteers reported generally good cooperation from voters, with relatively few declining to participate.

In spite of both the written instructions on the survey form and the reinforcing oral instructions offered by the volunteers, a substantial minority 21% used check-marks or an "x" instead of numbered rankings for their top sources of information. Some also failed to answer the question about their level of confidence – 46 responses, or 1.9% of all responses. Additional volunteers were recruited to assist the survey team with data entry, for which we used an excel spreadsheet.

Fields included:
1) location where collected
2) date
3) separate field for each of the response categories in Question 1
4) field for comments made by voter in Question 1
5) Numeric value for Question 2
6) field for comments in Question 2.

For survey respondents who used marks other than numbers for Question 1, we recorded in the Excel sheet with "Y"; for those who wrote more than "1, 2, and 3" (e.g., "4, 5") we ignored the numbers above three; for those who put more than three checkmarks or wrote multiple 1s, 2s or 3s we invalidated their questionnaires and did not record their responses for analysis. A total of 61 (2.6% of all responses) were invalidated for these reasons.

Written responses by survey participants are presented below in Appendix 4. Many of them are similar, as those referring to internet research. Others are cryptic or vague, such as "my brain," and some overlap with the listed categories, for example references to news outlets such as NPR or the New York Times seem to fall in the category "news stories." Nonetheless, the supplemental responses are indicative of voters' wide-ranging search for candidate information.

The other sources that were most frequently cited included the following: Internet, web, or "online" searches or research (46 times); Research, personal research, or "my research" (34 times); Party Affiliation/commitment (16 times); Apple Ballot (14 times); and "Teacher apple;" Knowledge of candidates and their positions (11 times); Washington Post endorsement (3 times); and Mother/mom (3 times).

There were also references to an official Voter Guide, sample in mail; State Sample Ballot; County Voter Guide and Sample Ballot. Some voters confuse the sample ballot with the League's Voters' Guide, however, and some voters may assume that the League's publication is "official." In addition, sample ballots may have been distributed by parties and endorsing organizations, so it was not clear how to
categorize these responses. Overall, the responses reflect a trend, however, toward reliance on internet research, whether the voter searches for candidate websites or relies on the ratings by endorsing organizations.

**Sources of Information - Frequency of Use**

Chart 1 shows the percentage of times that voters cited each of the options as one of their top three sources of information about candidates.

![Chart 1: Sources by Frequency Cited](image)

*Data Source: Exit survey of voters, 2,428 responses.
Each respondent could mark three sources of information, so the total exceeds 100%.*

News reports are the most frequently cited source of information, followed by family and friends were also frequently cited as a source of information, but see below for how reliance on these sources affected the level of voter confidence. The reliance on sample ballots appears to be a reflection of strong party loyalties among many voters. Candidates spend a significant share of their campaign funds on mailings to voters, so it is interesting to note that the voters rank campaign mailings relatively low as sources of information.

**Level of Confidence**

Chart 2 shows the correlation between the sources of information cited by respondents and their level of confidence that they had enough information to choose among the candidates.

![Confidence Level by Source in Top 3](image)

*Source: Exit survey of voters - 2,428 responses
Respondents were asked to rate on a scale of 1 to 5 their level of confidence that they had enough*
information to make an informed choice. ("1" was most confident, "5" was least confident.) The average for all persons surveyed was 1.972.

For purposes of this chart, the source of information was cited as one of the top 3 sources by the voter.

Voters who relied on the *Voters' Guide* as one of their top three sources of candidate information were significantly more confident that they had sufficient information about the candidates. Reliance on political advertisements correlated with the lowest level of confidence. Despite the large number of people who reported relying on family and friends, those respondents also expressed a low level of confidence. Voters' high regard for the *Voters' Guide* can be confirmed anecdotally. League volunteers handed out copies at Metro stations in the weeks preceding the election and many voters were eager to obtain copies. On one occasion, the people leaving the Silver Spring Metro station were met by a phalanx of a dozen campaign workers handing out literature and one League member giving out the *Voters' Guide*. Most people sought to avoid contact with the campaign canvassers but many turned around to take the *Voters' Guide*. One of the campaigners walked up to the League member, pointed at the *Voters' Guide* and said "That's what people want."

**Target Precincts**

The exit survey for the 2018 general election included three of the five target precincts as well as two of the control precincts. There were 478 responses from voters in the target precincts and 310 responses from voters in the control precincts.

As shown in Chart 3, a higher percentage of respondents in the target precincts reported using the *Voters’ Guide* than was true of the control precincts, but both were lower than the general population.

![Chart 3: Respondents Listing Voters' Guide Among Top Three Sources](chart.png)

Source: Exit survey of voters; 478 responses from target precincts, 311 responses from control precincts, and 2,428 responses from all sources.

Although it was disappointing that the responses in the target precincts did not show 100% of voters using the *Voters' Guide*, the percentage was greater than in the control precincts. It is important to note that the target and control precincts were selected based on their histories of low voter turnout. Every household in the target precincts received the *Voters' Guide*, but other factors may have influenced voters’ awareness of or reliance on the *Voters’ Guide*. In general, the low-turnout precincts have a higher proportion of low-income residents who often have lower education levels and fewer connections to the political process. Accordingly, the *Voters’ Guide* would not have attracted the same attention it would receive from people who are more aware of issues at stake in the election and therefore more interested in obtaining information about candidates.
Chart 4 displays the level of voters’ confidence that they had sufficient information to select candidates.

Source: Exit survey, 478 responses from target precincts, 311 responses received from control precincts, and 2,428 responses from all sources.

Numbers represented by the bars reflect responses to the second question in the survey: "I had enough information about the candidates and issues to make informed decisions." A rating of "Strongly Agree" was ranked as a 1 and "Strongly Disagree" was ranked as a 5. Accordingly, a lower rating indicates greater confidence.

The survey results demonstrate that use of the Voters’ Guide significantly increased voters’ confidence. The average level of confidence for the all respondents was 1.97. Those relying on the Voters’ Guide in both the target and control precincts had greater confidence than the average for all respondents. The improvement in confidence appears to be greater for the target precincts than for the control group. It is also noteworthy that voters in both the target and control precincts had less confidence than the average participant in the survey. This may be because the residents in the low-turnout precincts, which also had lower income and education levels than the county as a whole, had less access to political information or fewer connections to groups that would have been sources of political information. Those who reported using the Voters’ Guide were much more confident than the average voter. This effect appears to be particularly strong for the voters in the target precinct group. It is still possible that an unknown variable is affecting the data.

**VOTER TURNOUT**

**Target Precincts**

Did receiving the Voters’ Guide increase the likelihood that registered voters would show up at the polls? We analyzed records of voter participation for the target and control precincts for primary and general elections from 2012 (before the League began sending the Voters’ Guide to the target precincts) through 2018. It was immediately apparent that the increase in voter turnout in all precincts for the 2018 election was so great that it might be difficult to determine how much of any change in voter behavior could be attributed to the Voters’ Guide. We first included in our analysis only those voters who had been registered in Maryland for the entire period 2012-2018 so that the population would be constant. Next, we excluded those voters who had voted in every primary and general election in the time period, as their voting behavior could not have been affected by receiving the Voters’ Guide - they were going to the polls anyway. As explained below, we used different approaches for the primary and general elections.
In Maryland, only those voters affiliated with the Democratic or Republican parties may vote for most offices in the primary election. Unaffiliated voters and those affiliated with the Green Party or Libertarian Party may vote only for the nonpartisan Board of Education contests, which draw much less interest than the race for President, Governor, and other partisan offices. Accordingly, we compared the primary election turnout among only those voters who were affiliated with the Republican or Democratic parties.

Table 1 - Turnout for Primary in Presidential Election Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Election</th>
<th>Target Precinct Turnout</th>
<th>Control Precinct Turnout</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2012 Primary (Presidential)</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016 Primary (Presidential)</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>38.5%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Board of Elections records of voter participation

The heavily Democratic registration in these precincts accounts for the increase in turnout for the 2016 primary (when Senators Clinton and Sanders were in a tight race) over the 2012 primary (when President Obama was unopposed for renomination by the Democratic party).

Table 2 - Turnout for Primary in Gubernatorial Election Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Election</th>
<th>Target Precinct Turnout</th>
<th>Control Precinct Turnout</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2014 Primary (Gubernatorial)</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018 Primary (Gubernatorial)</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Board of Elections records of voter participation

There was a large increase in turnout for the 2018 primary compared to the 2014 primary. This was true throughout Maryland and appears reflect political opposition to the Trump administration, which energized many Democratic voters. The difference in turnout between the target and control precincts, however, was unchanged for the primary election. Low turnout for the primary election is due to many factors, including an apparent lack of interest on the part of some voters – one League volunteer distributing Voters' Guides before the 2018 primary election was asked “When is the real election?” Given the overwhelming dominance of the Democratic Party in Montgomery County, which currently has no elected Republicans, many would argue that the primary is the real election.

Our analysis of general election data included voters in all parties as well as unaffiliated voters, but again we excluded those who had participated in every previous primary and general election in the 2012-2018 time period:

Table 3 - Turnout for General Election in Presidential Election Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Election</th>
<th>Target Precinct Turnout</th>
<th>Control Precinct Turnout</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2012 General (Presidential)</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>69.8%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016 General (Presidential)</td>
<td>66.4%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Board of Elections records of voter participation
Table 4 - Turnout for General Election in Gubernatorial Election Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Election</th>
<th>Target Precinct Turnout</th>
<th>Control Precinct Turnout</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2014 General (Gubernatorial)</td>
<td>30.3%</td>
<td>32.9%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018 General (Gubernatorial)</td>
<td>56.7%</td>
<td>57.1%</td>
<td>.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Board of Elections records of voter participation

For the general elections, the gap in turnout between the target precincts and the control group narrowed significantly in 2016 and 2018, the years when the *Voters’ Guide* was delivered to the home of each voter in the target precincts. The variance between the presidential elections (2012 and 2016) and the gubernatorial elections (2014 and 2018) is still very great and the increase in turnout for the 2018 election over the 2014 gubernatorial election is also very great. Those differences alone are a reminder that many factors affect voter turnout so we would not conclude that receiving the *Voters’ Guide* was the sole reason that turnout improved in the target precincts.

The above turnout comparisons were conducted on at the precinct level. However, there is great variety within each precinct from individual to individual as to how likely they are to vote regardless of external factors. For example, a voter that had voted at every prior opportunity would be quite likely to a vote, regardless of whether they received the *Voter's Guide*. To capture this variation our analysis included a variant simple logistic regression model to evaluate the likelihood that an individual would be likely to vote. The results did not find an effect on the overall electorate but did find a significant influence for specific subgroups and election. Namely, for the primary, voters with a history of missing elections proved more likely to vote if they received the guide. The size of this effect varied based on the model type.

**Caveats Regarding Target and Control Precinct Analysis**

Although we labeled the precincts “target” and “control,” the distinction between the two groups is not perfect. In particular, it is likely that some of the voters in the control precincts received a *Voters’ Guide* because the League mailed a copy to every newly registered voter and also distributed thousands of copies through the libraries, community recreation centers, and at Metro stations. As Chart 3 above indicates, there was only a modest difference between the target and control precincts in the number of respondents who reported relying on the *Voters’ Guide*.

Although it was not possible to identify voters who may have picked up a *Voters’ Guide* at a library or other location, we did conduct an analysis of voters who were mailed a *Voters’ Guide* vs. those who had not been mailed a *Guide*. This analysis included all eligible target and control precinct voters. It distinguished several subcategories of voters based on their history and whether their household received a *Voters’ Guide*. That analysis disclosed no significant differences from the data presented above.
New Voters
As noted above, the League received a grant from Montgomery County to send its Voters’ Guide to voters who had registered since the previous election. To evaluate the effect of this distribution, we compared voter turnout among those Montgomery County voters with the turnout of voters who registered in the same time period in Baltimore County, Howard County, and Prince George's County, suburban counties with large populations but in which distribution of the Voters' Guide was much more limited.

Table 5 - Voter Turnout: Total and New Voters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>All Voters</th>
<th>New Voters</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery County</td>
<td>63.03%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>-15.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore County</td>
<td>59.39%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>-16.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howard County</td>
<td>67.59%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>-17.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince George's County</td>
<td>55.8%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>-12.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: "All Voters" turnout is from State Board of Elections website
"New Voter" turnout is from Board of Elections voter participation records

Turnout among Montgomery County’s new voters was higher than in other urbanized counties but the overall turnout in Montgomery County was also higher than those other counties. Howard County’s new voter turnout was slightly higher than Montgomery’s new voters, but this may have been influenced by a hotly contested race for Howard County Executive, in which the winning margin of only 5.7%, contrasted with a margin of 45.7% in Montgomery County. Note that the newly registered voters have a lower rate of participation than that for all voters. This reflects the large number of young voters registering for the first time. The gap between these new voters and the general population was slightly narrower in Montgomery County further suggest that the receipt of the Voters’ Guide may have modestly narrowed the gap between new voters and the general voting population.

VOTER DROPOFF

Many voters who mark their ballot for the top races on the ballot (President or Governor) do not vote in contests farther down the ballot, such as Board of Education. We label this "voter dropoff." In the following tables, if a voter did not mark the ballot for a candidate in the Board of Education At Large contest, that is shown in the "dropoff" column. Voter dropoff is shown for the individual target and control precincts and the county as a whole.
Table 6 - Voter Dropoff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Precinct</th>
<th>2018 Primary Election</th>
<th>2018 General Election</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ballots Cast</td>
<td>Dropoff (did not vote for Bd of Ed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precinct 4-24</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precinct 5-14</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precinct 5-21</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precinct 9-16</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precinct 9-18</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Target Average</td>
<td>1,427</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precinct 2-03</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precinct 9-37</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precinct 10-11</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precinct 13-25</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precinct 13-55</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control Average</td>
<td>1,583</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Countywide Average</td>
<td>157,378</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Montgomery County Board of Elections website

Voter dropoff in the target precincts was slightly smaller than the control precincts in the 2018 general election, though it had been slightly larger in the 2018 primary election. Both target and control groups had lower dropoff than the county as a whole. In both the target and control groups there were outlier precincts with much larger dropoff than the group as a whole.

It is important to note that voter dropoff could be calculated for the target and control precincts only for those voters who cast their ballots on election day. To protect the privacy of voters, the totals for absentee and provisional ballots are aggregated for all precincts. In addition, votes cast during early voting are not allocated to the precinct level. Accordingly, the tables do not reflect any information about voters in the target or control precincts who voted by absentee or provisional ballot or who voted at an early voting center.

The small sample size for each precinct may account for what appear to be substantial variations. The number of election day voters in each control precinct ranged from 217 up to 387 for the primary election and from 670 to 1,081 for the general election. Similarly, the control precincts ranged from 166 to 445 voters for the primary election and from 572 up to 1,208 for the general election. In the smaller precincts, a change of fewer than 10 voters produced a 1% change in the general election turnout rate.
Limitations of Available Data
Many factors affect voter behavior, including multiple sources of information such as interest group endorsements, education and income levels of voters, and even the weather on election day. This study considered only the distribution of the printed *Voters’ Guide*. It did not assess the effect of providing information about Montgomery County candidates online at VOTE411.org and on the Montgomery County LWV website. Data for VOTE411.org indicated that nearly 15,000 voters used that website before the 2018 general election but usage of the Montgomery County LWV website was not tracked.

Further, election data is reported in ways that protect the secrecy of voters’ ballots. Board of Elections data reflects whether an individual voter cast a ballot, but it does not reflect whether that voter marked their ballot for all contests. Although votes are reported in the aggregate for each precinct, the ballots cast during early voting or by absentee are not included in the precinct totals. Accordingly, voter dropoff can be determined at the precinct level only for those voters who cast their ballots on election day. Increasing numbers of voters are choosing to vote during early voting or by absentee ballot. In the 2018 general election, approximately 17.5% of Montgomery County voters chose to vote during early voting, for a total of 28% of all those who voted in the general election. It is likely that a similar share of voters from the target and control precincts chose to vote during early voting, which could affect the reliability of our analysis of voter dropoff.

Finally, the survey had some limitations. The survey listed sources of information about candidates but it did not distinguish among the types of offices. Voters may well have obtained information about candidates for Governor from news sources, but news reports on candidates for Board of Education were very sparse and voters would have relied upon other sources. In an effort to collect a large number of responses, voters were not asked to provide demographic information (age, gender, race, etc.), so it is not possible to determine if the respondents were a representative sampling of Montgomery County voters.

Despite the limitations of the analyses described here, the data suggests that significant improvements in voter participation may result from delivery of the *Voters’ Guide*. We hope that this report will spur interest in conducting a more rigorous research project in the future.

Cost Effectiveness
The benefits of the *Voters’ Guide* are obtained at very low cost. The work of gathering responses from candidates is performed entirely by League volunteers. The total cost for printing and mailing the *Voters’ Guide* in 2018 was $45,958 ($24,555 for the primary election and $21,403 for the general election). For the 80,000 copies printed for each election, the cost was less than $.20 per copy. The great majority of the copies of the *Voters’ Guide* were picked up in libraries or handed out by League volunteers at Metro stops and other locations, with only 50,000 copies being mailed directly to voters, at a cost of approximately $8,000 for postage for each election, or $.16 per copy. Thus, the combined cost of printing and mailing copies to voters for both elections was approximately $.72. In contrast, candidates for County Executive and County Council in 2018 spent well over $15 for every registered voter for their mailings and other forms of campaign advertising.

Report Team: Marcia Bond, Jackie Coolidge, Barbara Sanders, Greg Sanders, and Ralph Watkins

Thanks to Albert Kingman, Steve Kronheim, and Dickson Benesh for reviewing the report and providing helpful comments.