



DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

2020 NEW MEXICO ELECTION ADMINISTRATION, VOTER SECURITY, AND ELECTION REFORM REPORT

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Executive Summary

Overview of the 2020 New Mexico Presidential General Election

- There were 1,330,910 registered voters in the 2020 general election. Of those, 928,230 New Mexicans voted. This represents the largest turnout in recent NM history with a statewide turnout rate of 69.7% for registered voters and 61.3% of eligible voters.
- Democrats made up 48% of registered voters, but only 46% of voters in 2020. Republicans made up 31% of registered voters, but 34% of voters. Decline-to-State (DTS) and other party members made up 24% of registered voters, but only 18% of voters.
- Seventy percent of NM counties are landslide counties, and nearly 2/3 (66%) of 2020 voters live in a landslide county. Landslide counties are counties where the difference between the Democratic and Republican presidential candidate is larger than 20%. 45% of voters live in blue counties, while 21% of voters live in red counties.
- 35% of 2020 voters voted by mail, 49% voted early in-person, and 16% voted on Election Day.
- Historically there are only small differences in vote mode decisions across partisan groups. But in 2020 Democrats (45%) were more likely to vote-by-mail (VBM) than DTS/Other (34%), and Republicans (22%).
- 54% of 2020 voters were women, with men comprising the other 46%. These are the same percentages we saw in 2018. Women make up 53% of registered voters, which suggests that women have a slightly higher turnout rate than men.
- Women are far more likely to identify as a Democrat than men (49% vs 40%). Men are more likely to be DTS/other than women (26% vs. 22%). Men are also more likely to be GOP than women (34% vs 29%).
- Voters between the ages of 18 and 29 made up a larger proportion of voters in 2020 (13%) than they did in 2018 (10%). Voters ages 30-44 made up 21% of voters, voters ages 45-64 made up 34%, and voters age 65 and over made up 31% of the electorate.
- NM recently adopted very open policies for voter choice, such that voters who request an absentee VBM ballot could change their mind and vote a regular ballot in-person. To do so, voters are required to sign an affidavit indicating that they did not vote their absentee ballot. A small proportion (.9%) of voters, but a large number (33,309) of voters took advantage of this option, including the author. **Given the large number of voters who took this option, it appears to be both a popular and an effective policy and therefore we recommend continuing it.**

Summary of Key Findings from Voter Experiences with Voting Process and Voter Confidence

VBM Voters

- VBM voters typically only made up about 10% of voters in the last several elections, but in 2020 that number more than tripled to 35%. 22% percent of voters indicated they chose to VBM because of COVID, while other reasons for voting by mail included being out of town (3%), convenience (18%), other obligations on Election Day (2%), and a physical disability (3%).
- About three-fifths (59%) of VBM requests were completed online. A little over three in ten voters (32%) returned the received-in-mail application forms requesting an absentee ballot. About 4% of voters indicated they used a 3rd party VBM request, and 8% contacted the county clerk by phone, email, or in-person to request one.
- Absentee voters frequently logged on to their voter registration record to see if their ballot arrived at the county clerk's office or to check their voter registration. **We recommend adding a feature that provides information on whether the voter's ballot was accepted for counting.**
- We asked the following three questions: (1) "Who returned your ballot or dropped it in the mail?" (2) "Did you return someone else's ballot?" (3) and, if so, "Whose ballot did you return?"
- Nearly nine in ten (87%) voters returned their ballots themselves. One in ten voters (10%) indicated that a member of their family returned their ballot. About one in 100 voters (1%) said a friend returned their ballot. About two in ten voters (17%) indicated they returned someone else's ballot.
- Of those who indicated they returned another voters' ballot, nearly three in four (73%) indicated the ballot belonged to their spouse, while 15% of voters said they returned a parent's ballot and 15% indicated they returned a child's ballot. Over one in ten voters (12%) returned another family member's ballot, and one in 100 returned their friend's ballot.
- We also asked voters who returned someone else's ballot, "How many ballots did you return?" 73% returned one or two ballots, while about 12% returned three, 4% returned four, and 3% returned five. No one indicated that they returned more than 5 ballots.
- We find that 64% of VBM voters mailed their ballot through the USPS, with the remaining 36% of voters dropping it off at an early vote location, ballot drop box, or county clerk office.
- NM law requires that ballots be returned by either the voter or an immediate family member (NMSA section 1-6-9.4a). The outside envelope to VBM ballots has a place to indicate if it is not being returned by the voter and their relationship to the voter. In our observation of mail balloting, we noticed that different jurisdictions were handling ballots not returned by the voter differently. In some cases, ballots were being set aside if the person delivering the ballot was not an immediate family member, in other cases they were not. We asked a person in charge of a VBM precinct and she indicated that in previous years ballots were not processed if they were not delivered by a parent or child of a voter, however, this year the VBM precinct boards were instructed to count all the ballots regardless of who delivered them.

- There was a change in statute in 2019 regarding the issue of 3rd party VBM ballot delivery. The new language indicates it is a “violation of law for any person who is not an immediate family member to collect and deliver a ballot.” But there are no consequences for violating the law, and, therefore the law does not effectively prevent ballot harvesting. **We recommend clarification since similar laws without consequences in other states have resulted in political parties and other groups engaging in ballot harvesting.**

In-Person Voters

- NM in-person voters, on average, reported waiting about 20 minutes to vote. This is much longer than voters waited in line in 2018 (6 minutes).
- In NM, Election Day voters were in line for much shorter periods of time than early voters, 13 minutes versus 22 minutes. In 2018 early voting took, on average, 4.5 minutes, and Election Day voting lines averaged 8 minutes.
- We asked voters their level of agreement with the statement, “The poll workers were helpful.” 94% of voters agreed with this statement, with 53% strongly agreeing and 41% agreeing. Roughly 6% of voters disagreed with the above statement.
- To assess ballot privacy, we asked voters if poll workers looked at their ballot. Only 5% of voters indicated that this happened to them. We also asked if other voters looked at their ballot; 2% responded yes. We also found that 2% of voters indicated that another voter in line asked them who they voted for.
- Privacy sleeves help to increase voter confidence by protecting ballot privacy. Yet in 2020 we find that only about one in five voters were offered a privacy sleeve. About 29% of voters in Bernalillo County used a privacy sleeve, with rates of 35% in Colfax, 34% in Socorro, and 52% in Otero. In general, however, it was not broadly used. **We recommend the NMSOS encourage voting locations across the state to adopt voter privacy sleeves for in-person voting.**
- Following CDC guidelines regarding masks and social distancing¹ in the polling places appears to have been successful. Ninety-six percent of voters agreed with the statement “I felt safe voting in-person.” Only 4% indicated otherwise. We found over nine in ten (97%) voters said that all of the poll workers in their voting center wore a mask. We also found that 89% of voters were standing 6 feet apart inside the polling location.
- Overall, 99% of voters indicated their polling station was easy to find. Relatedly, we also found that the vast majority of voters (92%) did not feel that they had to go far out of their way to vote, regardless of whether they voted early or on Election day.
- Over 90% of voters found it easy to park at their polling location.
- We asked voters what type of identification they provided at the polls. About ½ of in-person voters statewide indicated that they provided the poll worker with the minimum identification--their name, address and birth year. But almost three in ten (31%) were asked for or provided a photo or non-photo ID.

- We estimate that 84% of voters were identified correctly with the minimum voter ID or with the voter's preferred method, while 16% were identified incorrectly, and about 5% were uncertain. This is very comparable to what we found in 2018.
- When we look at this by demographic groups, we find some small differences. For example, Asian voters indicated they were correctly identified the most frequently at 91% of the time, whites reported being identified correctly 87% of the time. Hispanics, biracial and multiracial voters indicated they were correctly identified 82% of the time. Blacks indicated they were correctly identified only 70% of the time, and Native Americans only 75% of the time.¹
- Other demographic groups were more consistent, with men, women, and age groups being correctly identified at about the same rate.

All Voters

- Just over half (56%) of voters were very confident and another one in five (21%) were somewhat confident that their vote was counted correctly. Thus, about three in four voters (77%) were very or somewhat confident that their ballot was counted correctly. About one in ten voters (12%) were not too confident and another one in ten (11%) were not at all confident (5%).
- Similar results are seen for county level voter confidence with 74% of voters indicating they were very (54%) or somewhat (20%) confident, while 16% stated that they are not confident, with 10% not too and 6% not at all confident.
- A majority (70%) of voters indicated their confidence in state-level results, with 51% reporting high confidence and 19% medium confidence. 29% were not confident with 14% not too confident and 15% not at all confident.
- Voters were least confident of the national results, with about three in five voters (59%) indicating they were very (41%) or somewhat (18%) confident and about two in five voters (41%) indicating they are not too (13%) or not at all (28%) confident.
- The average Democratic voter had a confidence level of 3.81 out of 4, close to "very confident." But the average personal voter confidence for Republicans was much lower, at 2.48. This would correlate with somewhere between "not too confident" and "somewhat confident." DTS and third-party voters had an average score of 3.16, which puts them close to "somewhat confident."
- Individual experiences matter to voter confidence. Feelings that ballot privacy was protected increases confidence. 21% of voters who thought their ballot privacy was not well protected were confident, compared to 72% of voters who thought their ballot privacy was protected. However, it is important to note that only 6% of all voters thought their privacy was not protected.

¹ Some of these groups may have had more first-time voters. First time voters are required to show an ID if they did not show one when they registered.

- Helpful poll workers also increase voter confidence. Only 10% of voters who thought a poll worker was not helpful were very confident, compared to 50% of voters who thought their poll worker was helpful.
- Similarly, having a positive interaction with the county clerk or the Secretary of State's office improves voter confidence. For example, one third of voters who were not satisfied with their county clerk's response when contacted were very confident, while 72% of those who were very satisfied were very confident.
- Interestingly, vote confidence was not dependent on voters' method of returning their ballot. Voters who dropped off their ballot in-person were equally confident as those who mailed it in.
- More than one-third (37%) of voters believe that their vote is not secret, while just over one-quarter (27%) believe that it is. The remainder (36%) were unsure.
- Voters who agreed that election officials could not access their voting records had an average personal confidence of 3.79. Voters who thought their records were accessible by officials had a personal confidence of 2.75, a full one-point difference. For those who didn't know, the difference was 0.4 points (average 3.39). Given the incredible size of the gap, **we recommend a campaign to inform voters that their ballot is secret and how that secrecy is maintained throughout the process.**
- This year we sampled and surveyed a random cross section of early and VBM voters both prior to and after the election. We compared these groups to see how winning and losing affected attitudes toward voter confidence.
- The results show that, even before the election, Biden voters were more confident in the election processes than Trump voters, but the size of the gap varies by level of administration. In the pre-election wave, national confidence was the closest, with only a 0.32 spread between the two groups, followed by personal confidence's 0.38 spread.
- After the election, Biden voters' confidence levels increased, while Trump voters' decreased. Biden voters increases were moderate for personal, county, and state, ranging from 0.25 (personal) to 0.38 (county), but at the national level, the increase was quite large increasing over a full point (1.03). Trump supporters' confidence decline ranged from -0.47 to -0.81 with the lowest decline at the state level (-.47) and the largest declines at both the personal (-.80) and national (-.81) levels. County confidence decreased by nearly three-fifths of a point (-.59).
- These changes in confidence post-election led to increasing voter confidence polarization across party supporters and consequently larger gaps between voting groups. The gap was monotonic, increasing between Biden and Trump voters as the level of administration increased from personal to national. Thus, the postelection gap was 1.46 points for personal confidence, but was 2.16 points for national confidence.
- This suggests that the impact of winning and losing is rather large, substantially increasing the gap once the winner is known. For example, the gap is 3.8 times larger for post-election voter confidence at the personal level and 6.75 times larger at the national level.

Summary of Key Findings from Beliefs about Ballot Privacy, Possibility of Voter Coercion, Fraud, and Attitudes toward Election Reforms

- Three-quarters (74%) of voters were at least sometimes asked by family and friends who they voted for. The remaining one out of four (26%) voters were rarely (16%) or never asked (10%) their candidate preference.
- When asked by a friend or family member which candidate a voter preferred, most voters named a candidate most of the time (23%) or almost all of the time (48%). Fewer voters sometimes (16%), rarely (6%), or never (13%) named a candidate.
- An overwhelming majority of voters were always (85%) or mostly (8%) truthful in naming the candidate they preferred when asked. Fewer voters were sometimes (4%), rarely (1%) or never (2%) truthful in stating the candidate they preferred.
- We asked whether voters believe that others could find out who they voted for without their personal disclosure. The questions were: 1) “How easy or hard do you think it would be for politicians, union officials, or the people you work for to find out who you voted for, even if you told no one?” and 2) “Do you think elected officials can access voting records and figure out who a voter had voted for?”
- Roughly one in six voters (16%) think that it is impossible for someone to find out who another person voted for, and another 12% indicated they didn’t know, leaving over 70% of voters believing it is possible to learn someone’s vote choices without their consent. Interestingly, one-third said it is somewhat or very easy.
- A plurality of voters (38%) believed that elected officials are able to learn who voters chose on their ballots. 28% of voters do not believe elected officials can determine their vote, and another 34% indicated they did not know.
- There appears to be a partisan dimension to ballot privacy, with more Democrats (25%) believing it is impossible for others to find out who they voted for compared to independents (12%) and Republicans (7%).
- Nearly four out of five NM voters (79%) said they did not have anyone try to convince, tell, threaten, or mark their ballot for a candidate they did not prefer to vote for.
- For those one in five voters (21%) who did report that they experienced one or more persuasive or coercive actions, 18% experienced someone trying to convince them to vote a particular way, 13% experienced someone telling them to vote for a certain candidate, and 3% were threatened. Hardly anyone (0.2%) experienced someone marking their ballot for them.
- We gave voters a list of possible illegal election activities and asked, “Which of the following situations did you personally observe in the 2020 general election?” Over three-quarters (77%) of NM voters indicated they did not personally witness any of these election fraud or irregular voting activities. 21% indicated they saw one or more election problems and 3% gave no response.
- Of these illegal activities, the highest response was for unsolicited absentee ballots that

did not belong to anyone in the household arriving at the voter's residence. This occurred 7% of the time, a surprisingly high frequency.

- Given the high percentage of responses from voters who received ballots for other voters not living in the household, **we recommend the NM SOS consider instructions to voters about what to do when they receive such ballots. In addition, we recommend the NMSOS set up an online registry that voters can use to identify and report these erroneous ballots so that the NMSOS can determine why ballots are being sent to wrong locations and their implications for ballot security and chain of custody issues.**
- We allowed voters to indicate if they were unsure about how frequently an activity may occur within the state. Across the 13 illegal activities, don't know responses ranged from 13%-33%. For one activity, tampering with ballots to change votes, the don't know response was the mode (33%).
- Among all possible activities we examined, voters were most concerned about the possibility the Secretary of State would make rules that favor one party or another. Nearly half (41%) of voters believe this happens at least some of the time with 21% indicating it happens all or most of the time and another 20% indicating it happens some of the time.
- Voters are split on the prevalence of non-US citizens voting in NM. Over one in three voters (36%) believe that non-US citizens vote all or most of the time (16%) or some of the time (20%), compared to 36% of voters who believe that non-US citizens hardly ever (21%) or never (15%) vote.
- About three in ten voters (29%) believe that someone pretends to be another person and casts a vote for them, while 51% believe it happens not much of the time (9%), hardly ever (21%), or never (21%).
- About three in ten New Mexicans believe that voters are intimidated into voting for someone other than their preferred candidate most or some of the time. A similar proportion believe that voted absentee ballots are stolen and thrown away after being submitted.
- Despite the rhetoric of the 2020 election regarding fraud, we found that belief in fraud was less in 2020 than it was in 2008.
- We also asked voters if they personally witnessed election or voter fraud in any election they participated in and if it changed the outcome of that election. 8% of voters said they witnessed election or voter fraud in a previous election. Among these, over one in three thought that the fraud changed the outcome of the election, while two in five (41%) indicated it did not.
- We asked respondents the degree to which they agreed with the statement "Photo identification should be required for each voter at the polls." We found that 77% of voters support voter ID requirements (with 57% indicating they strongly agree and 20% indicating they somewhat agree).

- A majority of voters in all partisan groups support voter identification policies. We found that 61% of Democrats, 77% of independents, and 96% of Republicans support voter ID laws.
- We asked respondents, “Thinking about elections and election reforms, which is more important to you, ensuring that everyone who is eligible has the right to vote or protecting the voting system against fraud?” In 2020, just over half (51%) indicated that ensuring that everyone who is eligible has the right to vote is more important, while 46% indicated that it was protecting the system against fraud, and 3% said don’t know.
- Nearly 78% of Democrats, compared to 18% of Republicans, believe it is more important to ensure that everyone who is eligible has the right to vote. Republicans express similar support in the opposite direction; 79% of Republicans believe that protecting the system against fraud is more important than expanding the franchise, compared to nearly two in ten Democrats.
- Gender does appear to influence responses. Women expressed more support for ensuring everyone has access to the vote (55%) than protecting the system against fraud (41%). 3% percent responded they don’t know. Women are more likely to be Democrats, so this finding is also related to partisanship.
- Black and Native American voters were the most likely racial groups to feel it was important to ensure everyone who is eligible has the right to vote (60% and 61%, respectively) over protecting the system against fraud (37% and 36%, respectively). Whites also were more likely to support ensuring everyone who is eligible has the right to vote (53%) compared to protecting the system against fraud 45%. Hispanics and Asian Americans were the most likely groups to feel that protecting the system from fraud was more important (51% and 62%, respectively) than ensuring everyone who is eligible has the right to vote (47% and 36%, respectively).
- Consistent with previous reports, more educated voters showed greater support for ensuring that everyone who is eligible has the right to vote. 60% of voters with at least a college degree indicated it was more important to ensure the right to vote, compared to only 38% of voters with a high school degree.
- 57% of voters with a high school degree indicated protecting the system against fraud was more important, compared to 37% of voters with at least a college degree. Education is also correlated with party, which influences these demographic differences.
- To assess how voters feel about the current NM voter ID law, we asked: “New Mexico’s in-person voter ID law requires voters to state their address, name and birth year. Do you think this requirement is: too strict, just right, or not strict enough?” Our findings indicate 55% of voters believe the current law is *just right* while 42% believe it is *not strict enough*. 3% of voters said the ID law was *too strict*. We can see over time that support for the current law has been increasing.
- There is a partisan divide related to attitudes towards NM’s voter ID law. Where 81% of Democrats believe the Voter ID law is *just right*, only 22% of Republicans feel the same. Likewise, 77% of Republicans believe the law is *not strict enough*, compared to 14% of

Democrats. DTS and other party voters indicated that NM's law was not strict enough, and 52% indicated it was just right.

- We asked, “How do you think we should elect the President: should it be the candidate who gets the most votes in all 50 states, or the current Electoral College system?” We find that 60% of voters supported electing the President based on who received the most votes across the U.S. and that 39% of voters believe we should keep the current Electoral College system. This number is similar to the 62% found in 2012, 2016, and 2018, but significantly less than the 72% found in 2014.
- In 2020, we find 83% of Democrats, 31% of Republicans, and 54% of Independents supported selecting the candidate who wins the most popular votes nationally to serve as President.
- Nearly three-quarters of voters (74%) support the change to keep the last four of a voter's SSN as part of VBM ballot integrity; only 14% indicated a signed affidavit was enough. 12% indicated they don't know.
- We asked voters whether they agreed with the following statement: “New Mexico should move to permanent all-mail elections.” Overall, more than seven out of ten (72%) NM voters disagreed with moving to all-mail elections. A majority (52%) of voters disagreed with it strongly, another one in five (20%) voters somewhat disagreed. Only 9% of voters strongly agreed that we should move to all-mail elections and another almost one in five (19%) somewhat agreed.
- While a majority of all partisan groups are opposed to moving to all mail elections, we do find a large disparity between groups. While 94% of Republicans are opposed, only 76% of independents and 53% of Democrats disagree with the potential change.
- A majority (51%) of VBM voters supported moving to all mail elections, but a huge majority of in-person early (83%) and Election Day voters (88%) expressed disagreement with moving to all-mail elections. Clearly experiencing the VBM process increases support for this election change, but even for those voters there is not a huge swell of support for all mail elections.
- We asked, “Ranked choice voting or instant run-off voting is an election reform that allows voters to rank candidates from their favorite to least favorite.” We found that a plurality of voters were unsure about this reform (41%), followed by 32% in favor and 26% opposed.
- When we consider how voters feel about Rank Choice Voting (RCV) in cities where it has been implemented we find that the mode moves from “don't know” to support for RCV, but it is not majority support. About two in five voters support RCV in the city of Las Cruces (41%) and the city of Santa Fe (40%), while three in 10 voters (31%) support RCV in locations where it has not been used.
- We asked how strongly voters agreed or disagreed with the following, “An Independent Redistricting Commission should be created to determine district boundaries after the 2020 Census.” In principle, voters support an independent commission, with 79% of voters in support. 47% of voters strongly supported and 32% of voters somewhat

supported such a change. A majority of Democrats (82%), independents (81%), and Republicans (75%) support an Independent Redistricting Commission.

- We asked, “Next year NM will draw new district lines in response to the U.S. Census. Do you think: They should create electoral districts that hold communities together even if it means that one party will dominate [or] they should create electoral districts where there is close competition between the two parties, even if it means that communities will be disconnected.” We found that the modal response was “don’t know” with two in five voters selecting that option (44%). Among partisan groups, Republicans’ mode response was competition (43%), while Democrats’ (48%) and independents’ (42%) was still don’t know.
- When asked whether they agreed with the statement, “All candidates for elected offices should be eligible to receive public financing for their campaigns,” voters were evenly split. Half indicated support for public financing and half did not, suggesting a decrease from 2018, when 65% were in support.
- Support for public financing also differed by party. A majority of Republicans (61%) and DTS/other (54%) voters did not support public financing, while a majority of Democrats (61%) supported it.

Introduction and Study Background

The 2020 New Mexico Election Administration, Voter Security and Election Reform Report represents a systematic examination of voter attitudes and experiences with the election, concerns about election security, and preferences for election reforms. The 2020 presidential election posed new challenges to the state and country because of the COVID-19 pandemic, which overshadowed a highly polarized electorate. New Mexico (NM) is a very accessible voting state with relatively weak voter ID law, no excuse absentee balloting, automatic voter registration, and same day registration.

Due to COVID-19 the NM Secretary of State (SOS), along with a majority of NM county clerks, petitioned the NM Supreme Court in April to move to a statewide, universal vote-by-mail (VBM) primary election with no in-person voting. The request if granted would have required all eligible registered voters in the state's June primary to be sent a VBM ballot.²

The NM Supreme Court ruled that they did not have the authority to move from in-person voting to a universal all-mail primary election, but they did require the county clerks to send vote-by-mail applications to all eligible voters in an effort to move voters from in-person to absentee voting.³

For the general election, a special session of the state legislature took up temporary election reform in response to COVID-19. The bill (known as SB4) was initially written to make the general election universal all-mail election, consistent with the lawsuit put forth during the primary by the NM SOS. However, the bill was amended in the Senate Rules Committee and this provision was struck. The amendment striking the provision passed on a very close vote, with two Senate Democrats voting with Republicans for a 6-5 victory.

Instead, the temporary law required county clerks to send out ballot applications 50 days before the election and changed the required dates for receiving VBM ballot requests. The bill stipulated that the last day for a VBM request was 14 days before the election. The law also required that voters provide both a signature that affirms they are the appropriate eligible voter and the last four of their social security number as voter identification measures. NM has never done signature matching for VBM ballots and prior to this legislation only required an affirming signature.

NM saw a substantial increase in VBM, moving from roughly 10% of the electorate in the last several elections to 35% in 2020. NM also saw the lowest amount of Election Day voters in its history, with only 16% of voters waiting until Election Day to cast their vote. Nevertheless, in-person voting was still the method of choice for NM voters, with 65% of voters choosing to vote in-person, 49% of which voted early in-person.

² NM is a closed primary state so only registered partisans are allowed to participate in the state's primary.

³ See Matthew Reichbach, "State Supreme Court Rejects Petition for All-Mail Primary Election," the NM Political Rept, April 14, 2021, available at: <https://nmpoliticalreport.com/2020/04/14/state-supreme-court-rejects-petition-for-all-mail-primary-election-orders-elections-officials-to-send-all-eligible-voters-absentee-applications/>.

Our research in this report focuses on an examination of turnout (Chapter 1), and a statewide survey of voters (Chapters 2 and 3), who are the primary customers in an election. We assess voter experiences with and attitudes toward the election process to evaluate the efficiency and quality of the voter experience and the perceived security of the election. Voter experiences with the ballot, the quality of the polling site, and the quality of the interaction with poll workers or other election officials provide important evidence about the voting process and the quality of the voter election experience.⁴ In addition, this year we have asked an extensive battery of questions on perceptions of ballot privacy and incidences of voter coercion. We have also asked a detailed set of questions about voters' experiences with absentee ballots since we know little about how voters interact with their VBM ballot. All these factors influence voter confidence and belief in the security and legitimacy of election outcomes.

Free and fair elections are one of the pillars of American democracy, but assuring a healthy democracy via a safe, secure, and efficient election process involves more than just making certain that elections work well. The public must perceive that voting is easy and accessible and that results are determined fairly and accurately without partisan bias or technical flaws. Information, opinion, and administration need to work hand in hand to demonstrate the functioning of the American election system and hence reinforce its legitimacy.

The 2016 presidential election elevated the issue of fair elections in a way that has not been seen in the United States since the days of machine politics. Then Republican candidate Donald Trump leveled charges of widespread “rigging” and raised the specter of voter fraud to new heights. In the 2018 midterm election allegations of fraud were made by NM candidate Yvette Herrell who lost her Congressional election campaign to a Democrat in a close contest.⁵ In 2020, charges of voter suppression on the left before the election, and voter fraud on the right before and after the election including the then Republican President have continued to raise doubts about the veracity of our election processes. Fortunately, NM has over time data that can examine these empirical questions to see if and how NM voter opinions have changed around them.

Measuring voter confidence is one method to determine how the public views the integrity of our elections, as well as the results. Because elections are the link between citizens and their elected representatives, it is necessary for voters to have confidence that elections result in impartial and legitimate outcomes. If voters lose faith, or have low confidence in one of the most fundamental aspects of a democratic society--the validity of the election outcomes and the correct counting of individual votes--then the legitimacy of representative democracy itself may be at risk.⁶ Voter

⁴ See R. Michael Alvarez, Lonna Rae Atkeson and Thad E. Hall. 2013. *Evaluating Elections: A Handbook of Methods and Standards*. Cambridge University Press; Lonna Rae Atkeson and Kyle L. Saunders, 2007, “Voter Confidence: A Local Matter?” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 40(October):655-660; Thad E. Hall, J. Quin Monson, and Kelly D. Patterson, 2007, “Poll Workers and the Vitality of Democracy: An Early Assessment,” *PS: Political Science and Society*, 647-654; Thad E. Hall, J. Quin Monson, and Kelly D. Patterson, 2009, “The Human Dimension of Elections: How Poll Workers Shape Public Confidence in Elections,” *Political Research Quarterly* 62(2): 507-522.

⁵ Algernon D’Amassa. 2018, “On FOX, Herrell alleged ‘documented complaints’ about election. Then she went silent,” Las Cruces Sun News, November 13, 2018 available at: <https://www.lcsun-news.com/story/news/politics/elections/2018/11/13/yvette-herrell-alleges-election-fraud-fox-news-jeanine-pirro/1991194002/>.

⁶ Atkeson, Lonna Rae, and Kyle L. Saunders. “The Effect of Election Administration on Voter Confidence: A Local Matter?” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 40 (2007): 655–60; Atkeson, Lonna Rae, R. Michael Alvarez, and Thad

confidence is different from diffuse system support, and can be viewed as a performance measure stemming from a very visible governmental process, one in which most citizens have personal experience.

Recently, legislators, jurists, citizen activists, and academics have linked voter fraud issues to voter confidence, making an important theoretical link in various policy debates on election reform. These actors have advocated for public policy that protect the system against fraud to increase voter confidence. The events surrounding this election make this question particularly pertinent. Therefore, it is important to extend our research efforts to understand how security measures influence voter confidence, and how voters view the efficacy and security of the voter system in NM. The Help America Vote Act (HAVA) resources from the Secretary of State's Office were used to fund this work, which seeks to help guide NM election policy and incorporate public understanding of the process into election reforms. It is also meant to serve as a guide to voters about the health of their state democracy and to provide NM citizens with information about the electorate, election administration processes, and to facilitate a transparent and open election system.

This is the eighth postelection survey we have fielded in NM. The first was in 2006 and we have fielded a state survey in every subsequent federal election.⁷ To our knowledge, no other state or election jurisdiction has had this kind of sustained and independent scrutiny over multiple elections. But NM is a unique environment culturally, politically, and electorally, and many county clerks here, as well as the Secretary of State Maggie Toulouse Oliver and a variety of activist organizations (e.g. Verified Voting NM and United Voters of New Mexico), have supported and encouraged our efforts. Moreover, feedback on our work from regular voters and poll workers, as well as responsiveness by local election administrators, has made our efforts productive and useful as NM continues to reform and improve its electoral processes.

In this report, we focus on an analysis of the NM election ecosystem. In Chapter 1 we provide an overview of the 2020 election, especially voter turnout, and use data from the voter registration file and aggregate level election data to tell the NM election story. Chapters 2 and 3 focus on our voter survey that includes information on voter election experiences as well as attitudes toward election reforms, election security, and actors in the election process, including candidates and election officials.

E. Hall. "Voter Confidence: How to Measure It and How It Differs from Government Support." *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* 14, no. 3 (June 18, 2015): 207–19. doi:10.1089/elj.2014.0293; Atkeson, Lonna Rae. 2014. "Voter Confidence in 2010: Local, State, and National Factors," in R. Michael Alvarez and Bernard Grofman (eds), "Election Administration in the United States: The State of Reform after Bush V. Gore. New York: Cambridge University Press.

⁷ In 2007, we released our first research report on New Mexico entitled the *New Mexico Election Administration Report*.⁷ At the beginning of 2010, we released our 2008 Ecosystem report.⁷ In early 2011, we released our 2010 New Mexico Election Administration Report; in May of 2013 our 2012 Bernalillo County Election Administration Report; in June of 2015 our 2014 Bernalillo Election Administration Report, and in June of 2017 our 2016 Bernalillo County Election Administration Report, and in June of 2020 we released our 2020 report. In 2017 we released the 2017 Campaign Finance Report, and in 2020 we released our analysis of the 2019 Las Cruces Ranked Choice Voting Exit Poll.⁷ These reports are available for download at: <https://polisci.unm.edu/c-sved/research.html>

Chapter 1 Overview of the 2020 New Mexico Presidential General Election

1.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 examines the characteristics of the New Mexico (NM) electorate for the 2020 general election and places these in a historical context. For this chapter, we rely mostly on administrative data, including the NM voter registration file, the NM voter absentee file, the official canvass, and other state and national administrative data.⁸

1.2 Voter Turnout

According to the voter registration file, 928,230 New Mexicans voted out of 1,330,960 registered voters in 2020.⁹ Figure 1.1 shows the number of NM voters participating in each election since 2000. Figure 1.2 shows turnout as a percentage of eligible voters. This includes the entire voting eligible population (VEP) regardless of their registration status.

The 2020 general election turnout was the highest turnout NM has seen in over 20 years. Over three in five (61.3%) New Mexicans participated in this historic election. The 2008 presidential contest showed similarly high turnout (61.2%). In that election, however, NM was considered a competitive state and the Obama campaign had campaign headquarters in every county. Thus, campaign mobilization was at its peak in 2008. By 2020 NM was no longer a battleground and was instead considered a solid Democratic state.¹⁰ Nevertheless, high turnout prevailed in NM and across the country.

⁸ The voter registration file had a time stamp of December 28, 2020. county clerks have 45 days after the election to complete data input, therefore this data set should provide complete information on 2020 voting history for all voters.

⁹ The NM SOS reports that 1,351,811 registered voters were eligible, however, because the file is dynamic and voters are being added and deleted continuously my number does not match her number.

¹⁰ Walter, Amy. 2020. "New 2020 Electoral College Ratings," available at: <https://cookpolitical.com/analysis/national/national-politics/new-2020-electoral-college-ratings>, accessed April 6, 2021.

Figure 1.1. NM Turnout by the Numbers

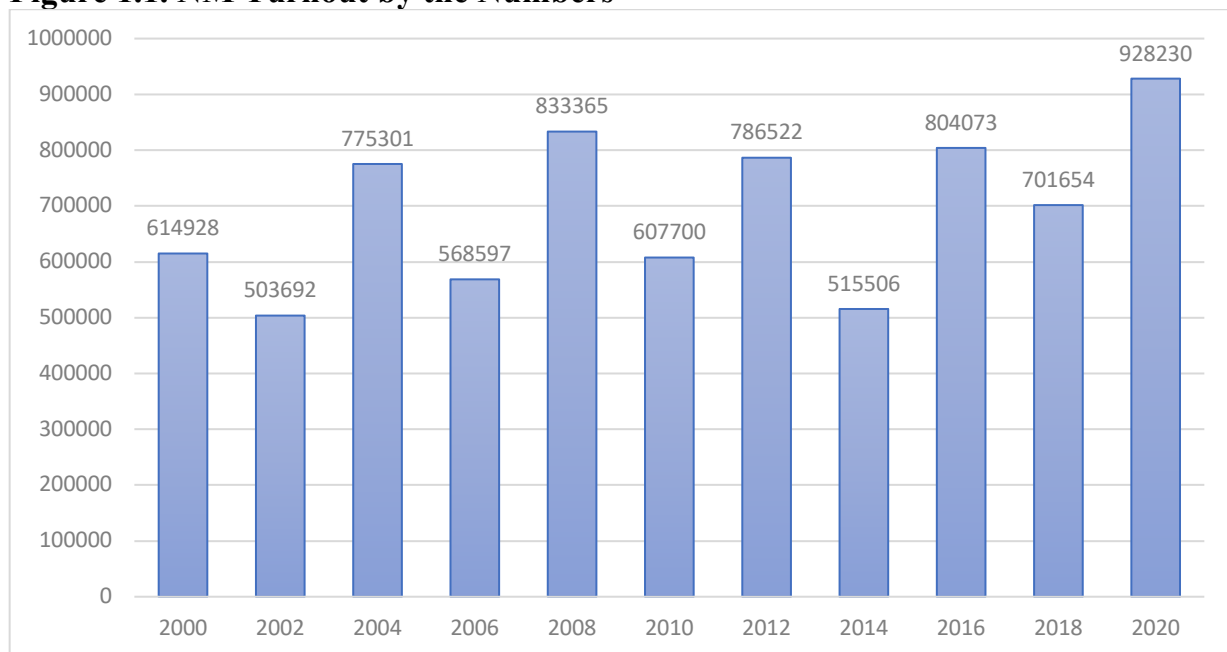


Figure 1.2. NM Turnout as a % of Eligible Voters

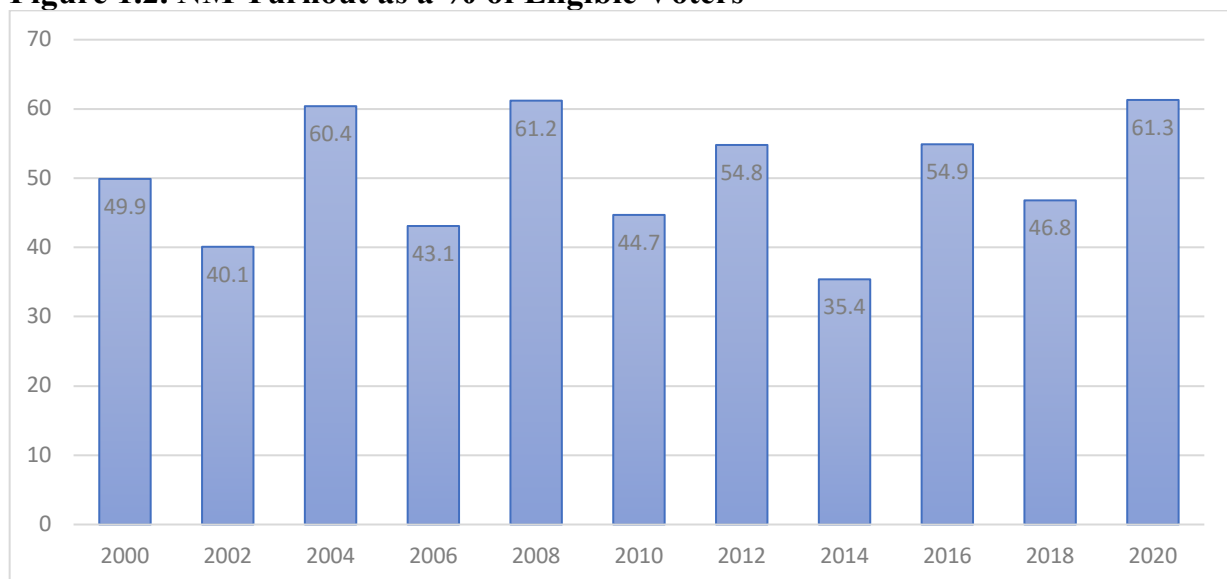
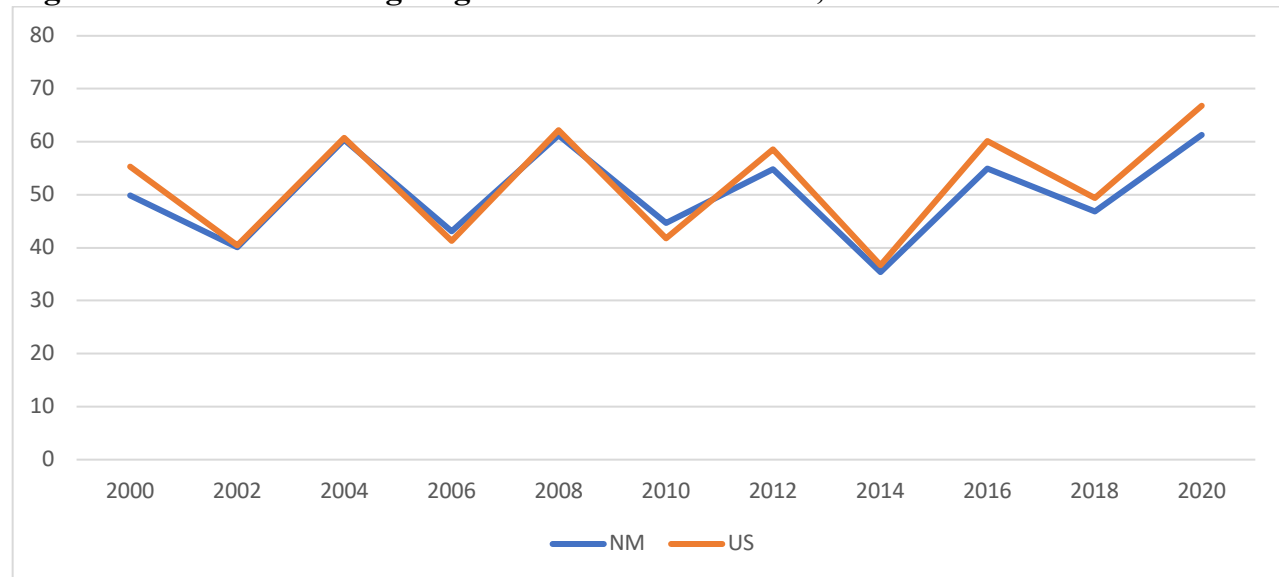


Figure 1.3. shows NM turnout as a percentage of eligible voters compared to average US turnout since 2000. NM's turnout was very close to the US average through most of the 2000s, but in the

2010s, turnout started to drift lower.¹¹ In 2012 it was 3.8% lower than the US average, in 2016 it was 5.3% lower, and in 2020 it was 5.5% lower. The declining turnout relative to the US average may be an indicator that NM is increasingly becoming a one-party and safe-blue state, as one-party states generally have lower turnout than competitive two-party states.

Figure 1.3. Percent Voting Eligible NM & US Turnout, 2000-2020



1.3. Is NM Blue?

Besides changes in turnout, another sign indicating NM is solidly blue is the fact that NM has a Democratic state government trifecta, holding the governor's office and majorities in both the state House of Representatives and Senate. In NM the Democratic majorities are very large, with 64% of the seats in both houses of the state legislature held by Democrats. Currently in the US, there are 23 GOP trifectas, 15 Democratic trifectas, and 12 states with divided government.

In addition, NM's down ballot statewide offices are currently held entirely by Democrats. In 2018, the governorship and the public lands commissioner were held by Republicans, but this changed in the 2018 election, when no state offices were won by GOP candidates. However, the GOP did win back the 2nd Congressional District (CD2), making NM's federal delegation mostly blue, with 4 Democrats (2 members of Congress and 2 Senators) and 1 Republican.

However, if we use partisanship as a tool to understand the state's partisan flavor, we find in Figure 1.4 that over the last 2 decades the proportion of major party registrants have declined. For Democrats, that decline has been fairly steep, moving from 52% in 2000 to 45% in 2020, while for Republicans the decline is less sharp, moving from 33% to 31%. These decreases have been off-set by an increase in "decline to states" (DTS) and other non major party members, who

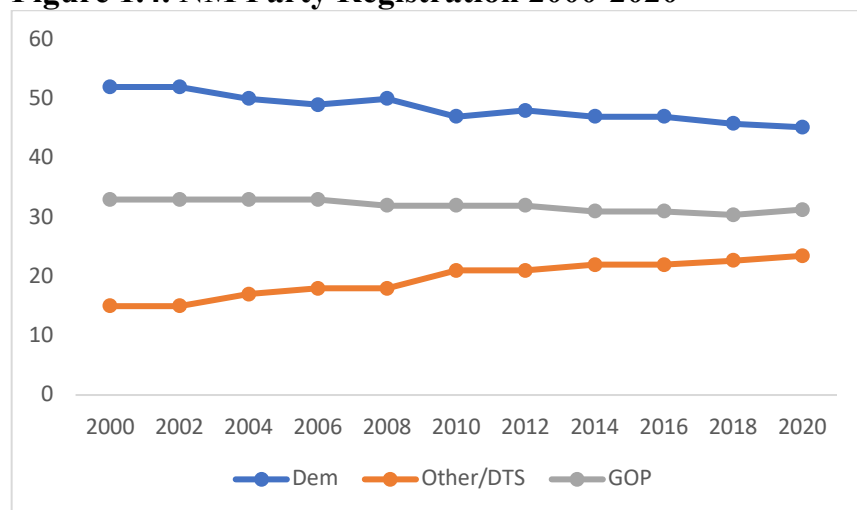
¹¹ See <http://www.electproject.org/> for more information on the VEP and voter participation rates across the US over time.

have increased from 15% of registered voters in 2000 to about 24% in 2020.¹² The changing nature of state partisanship suggests that NM is not a deep blue state, especially for statewide and federal offices, where larger numbers of DTS/other partisans are likely to participate.

1.4. Registration versus Turnout

NM is registering more voters through state agencies than ever before, especially through its automatic voter registration (AVR) system that operates through the Motor Vehicle Division (MVD). Voters obtaining a new license for any reason are automatically opted in for voter registration unless they refuse. This is increasing the number of registered voters, but it is not clear if it is increasing turnout. We note that 145,440 registered voters, representing about 12% of all registered voters in NM, have never participated in an election.

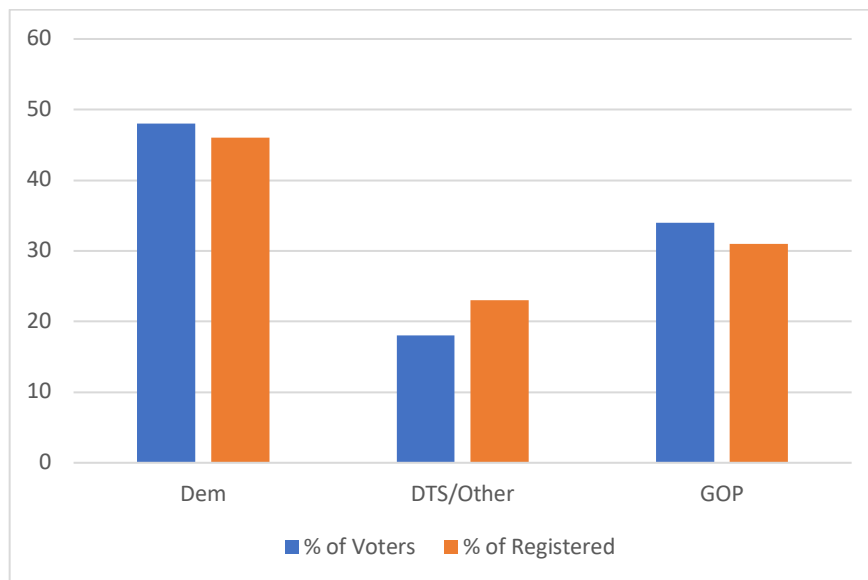
Figure 1.4. NM Party Registration 2000-2020



This means that when we look at the actual voters compared to registered voters, the electorate looks different, with more partisans and fewer independents/DTS/other party voters. As Figure 1.5 shows, Democrats comprised 48% and Republicans 34% of the 2020 electorate; each party is 3 points higher than their registration numbers. Consequently, other partisans and DTS made up only 18% of 2020 voters, 6 points lower than their registration numbers.

Figure 1.5. NM 2020 Registered & Voters by Party

¹² Throughout this report we combine Libertarian, Green, and other minor parties with DTS.



1.5. Campaigns and Voters 2020

In 2020 NM had 5 federal contests: the presidential election, a US Senate election, and three US House elections. The vote summaries for these contests are in Table 1.1. The 1st Congressional District (CD1), which is almost entirely the Albuquerque metropolitan area, was a non-competitive race between freshman Democratic incumbent Deb Haaland and Republican Michelle Garcia Holmes. Haaland easily won the contest with 58% of the vote.

The US House contest in the Southern 2nd Congressional District (CD2) was a rematch of the 2018 contest between freshman Democratic House member Xotchitl Torres Small, and Republican Yvette Harrell. Expected to be one of the most competitive contests in the nation, Harrell won the election with 54% of the vote, a quite astonishing victory given she lost the seat only 2 years before by 4 points (48% Harrell, 52% Torres Small).

The 3rd Congressional District (CD3) was an open contest in the heavily Democratic northern portion of the state. The Democratic candidate, Teresa Leger Fernandez, easily won the contest against Republican candidate Alexis Johnson with 59% of the vote.

The US Senate contest was between former incumbent Democratic House member Ben Ray Luján of CD3, Republican Mark Ronchetti, a local weather reporter, and Libertarian Bob Walsh. The race was much closer and competitive than expected, with Luján collecting only 52% of the vote, compared to 46% for Ronchetti and 3% for Walsh.

Table 1.1. Federal Campaigns 2020

Contest	Registered Voters	Actual Voters	% Vote D	% Vote R
President	1,333,960	923,965	54	43

Senate	1,333,960	917,237	52	46
CD1	460,579	321,290	58	42
CD2	415,730	264,946	46	54
CD3	457,651	317,448	59	41

The presidential contest, on the other hand, was not competitive. Former Vice President Joe Biden received 54% of the vote, while President Donald Trump received only 43% of the vote. Presidential campaign activity in the state was fairly limited, even though the Senate and the CD2 contest were very active.

The state is politically divided geographically between rural and urban counties and between Northern and Southern NM counties. Therefore, similar to other states, NM is sorted into political preferences by region. Americans have been sorting into more homogeneous political communities for nearly 4 decades.¹³ The effect of this is that Americans are increasingly living in landslide counties, which are defined as counties where the difference between the Democratic and Republican candidate is greater than +/- 20%.

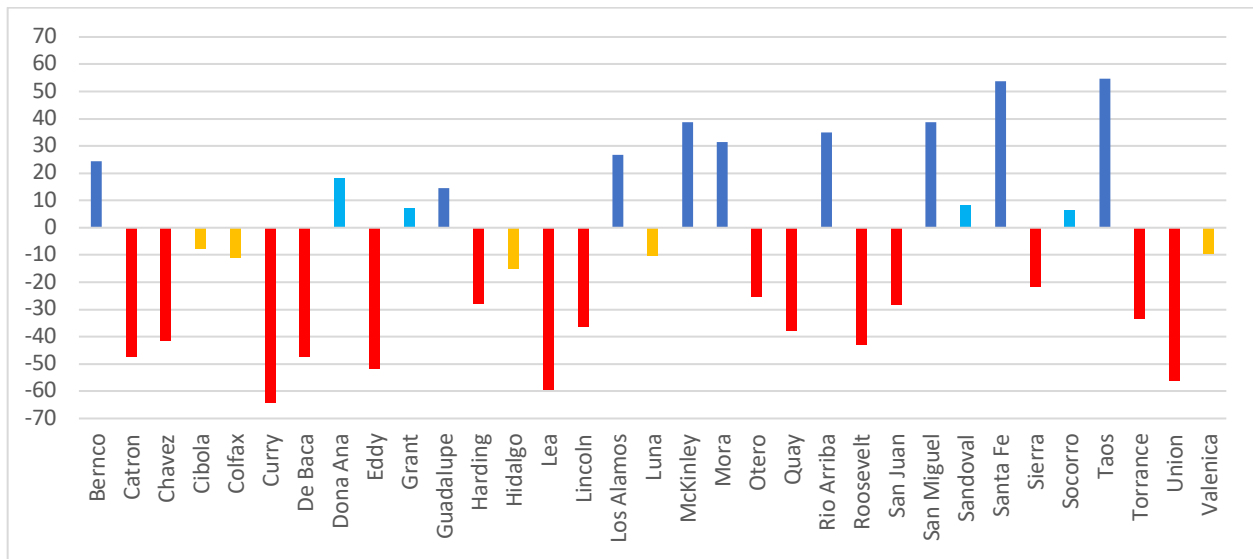
In 2020, 58% of Americans lived in counties that were considered red or blue landslides.¹⁴ Figure 1.6 shows the difference in support between Biden and Trump by county within NM. A positive number indicates a Democratic or blue victory; a dark blue bar represents a landslide (20% or more) county and a light blue bar represents non-landslide counties (<20%). Conversely, negative numbers represent GOP victories; red bars represent a GOP landslide county and orange bars represent GOP leaning, but non-landslide counties.

Seventy percent of NM counties are landslide counties, and nearly 2/3 (66%) of 2020 voters live in a landslide county. Forty-five percent of voters live in blue counties, while 21% live in red counties. About 1/3 (34%) of voters live in a non-landslide county.

Figure 1.6. Sorting in NM Counties: Dem Presidential Support - GOP Presidential Support

¹³ Bill Bishop. 2008. *The Big Sort: Why the Clustering of Like-Minded American is Tearing Us Apart*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

¹⁴ Bill Bishop. December 17, 2020. "For Most Americans the Local Presidential Vote Was a Landslide," *The Daily Yonder*, available at <https://dailyyonder.com/for-most-americans-the-local-presidential-vote-was-a-landslide/2020/12/17/>



1.4. Voting Mode

COVID-19 was the defining feature of this election and affected every aspect of it. Election administrators worked hard to process absentee ballot requests and create a safe election space for in-person voting. Absentee voters, who normally make-up about 10% of all voters, tripled to over one-third (35%) of all ballots cast (see Figure 1.7). Early voting remained high, with 49% of voters choosing to vote early, while Election Day voters plummeted to only 16%.

Figure 1.7. NM Voting Mode by Election Year

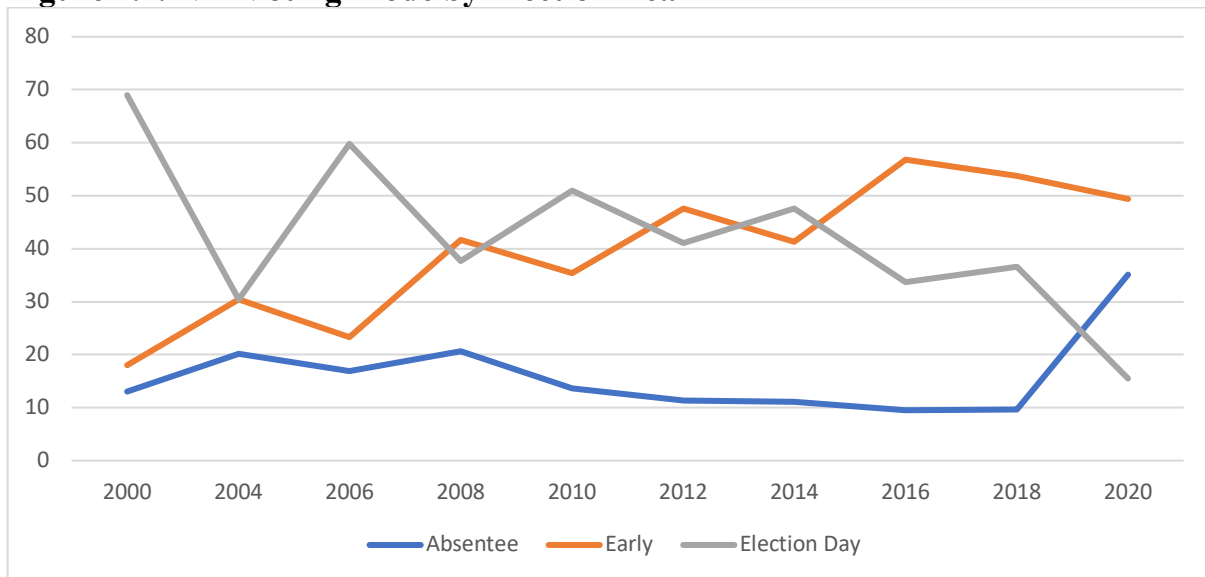


Figure 1.8 compares the percentage of voters turning out each day by the number of days before the election and vote mode –absentee or in-person –between 2018 and 2020. It is clear that

voters shifted their behavior to voting earlier in the process, as 2020 has higher proportion of voters on days further from the election.

Figure 1.8. % of NM Voters by Day 2018 & 2020

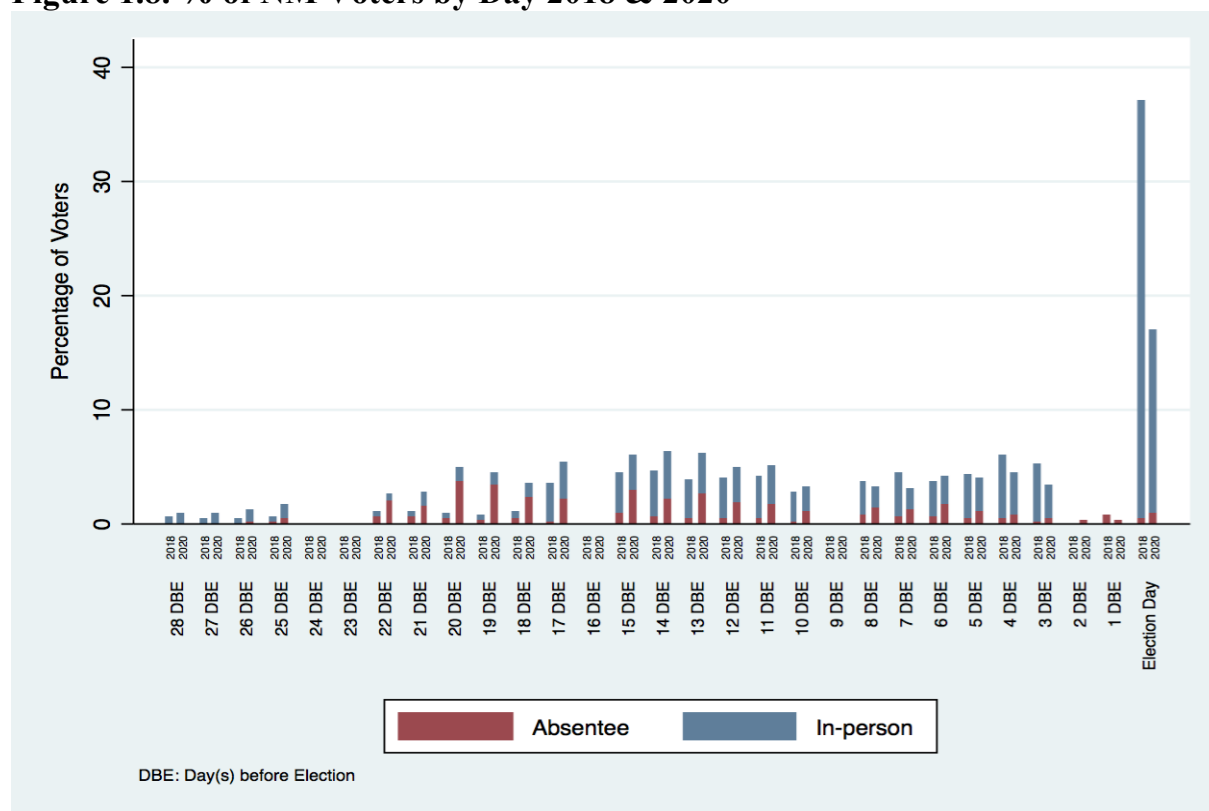


Figure 1.9 shows the relationship between age and vote mode data for 2016, 2018, and 2020, providing insight on how COVID impacted whether a voter chose to VBM, in-person early, or in-person Election Day. The graph shows that increasing age is always a strong predictor of voting-by-mail, but the magnitude of the slope is much greater in 2020. The graph shows that age was a strong predictor of absentee voting and monotonically increases with each age group. In 2020, about 26% of voters 18-49 voted by mail, while one-third of voters 40-64 did the same. 44% of voters 65-74 voted by mail, while a majority of voters 75 and over did. 52% of voters 75-84 voted by mail and 66% of those 85 and over did the same.

In addition to age, partisanship also affected vote choice. Figure 1.10 shows that Democrats were far more likely to vote-by-mail (45%) than Republicans (22%) and DTS voters (34%). In Figure 1.11 we show the breakdown of vote mode by party just for 2020. Both Figure 1.10 and Figure 1.11 reflects the rhetoric around voting in which Democratic leaders across the country were much more likely to encourage and support vote by mail than Republican leaders.

Figure 1.9. NM 2016-2020 VBM by CDC Age Groups

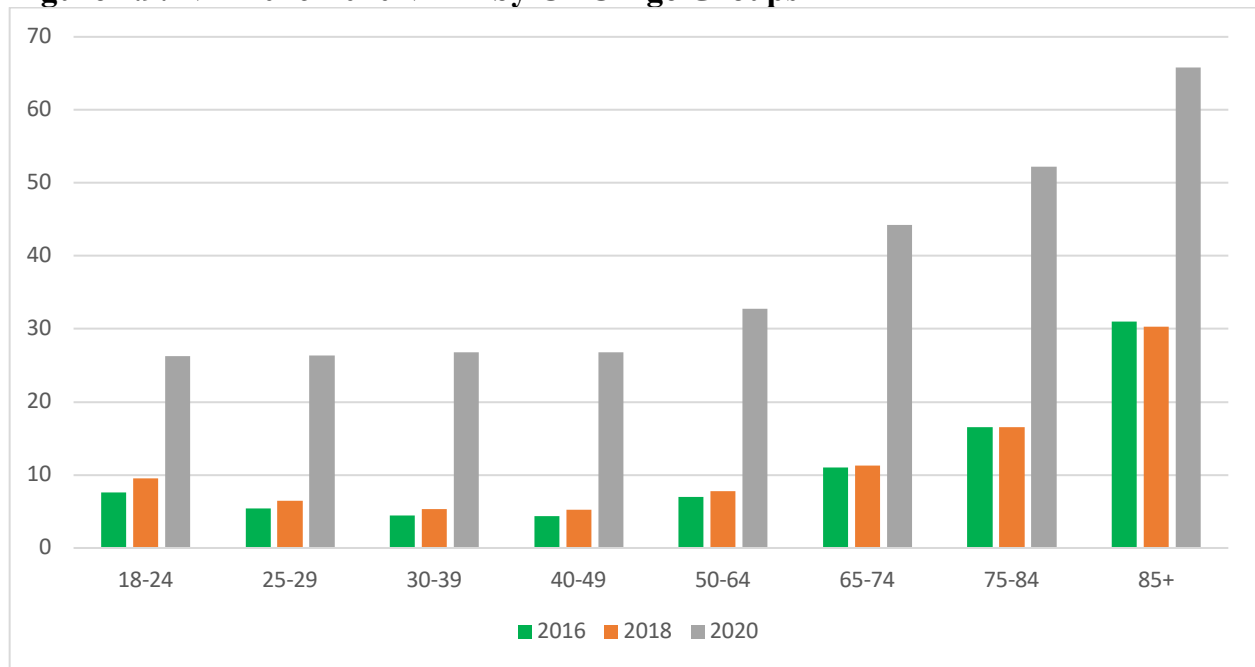


Figure 1.10. VBM by Party 2016-2020

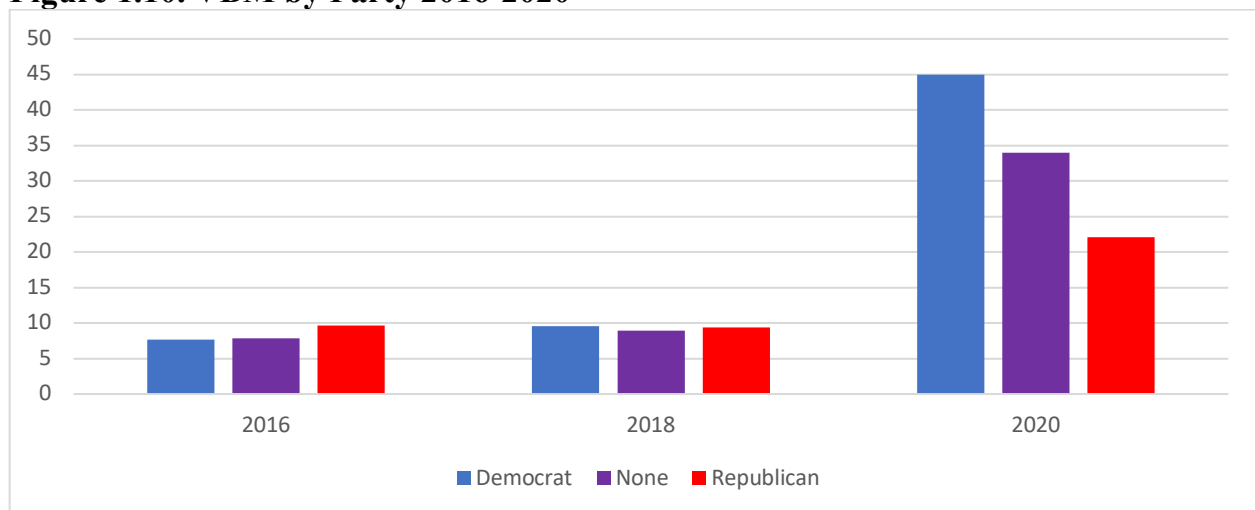
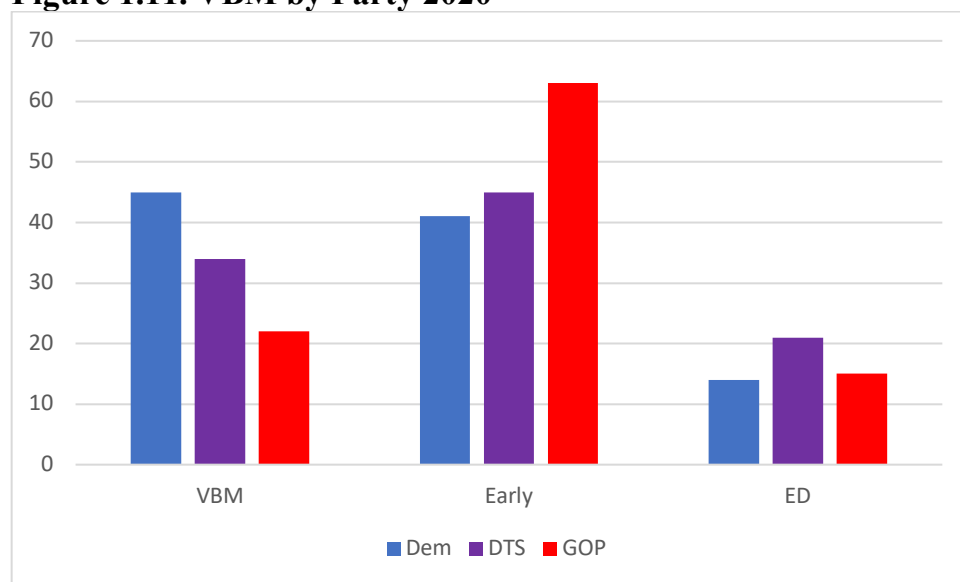


Figure 1.11. VBM by Party 2020



NM recently adopted very open policies for voter choice, such that voters who request an absentee VBM ballot could change their mind and vote a regular ballot in-person. To do so, voters are required to sign an affidavit indicating that they did not vote their absentee ballot. A small proportion (.9%) of voters, but a large number (33,309) of voters took advantage of this option, including the author. **Given the large number of voters who took this option, it appears to be both a popular and an effective policy and therefore we recommend continuing it.**

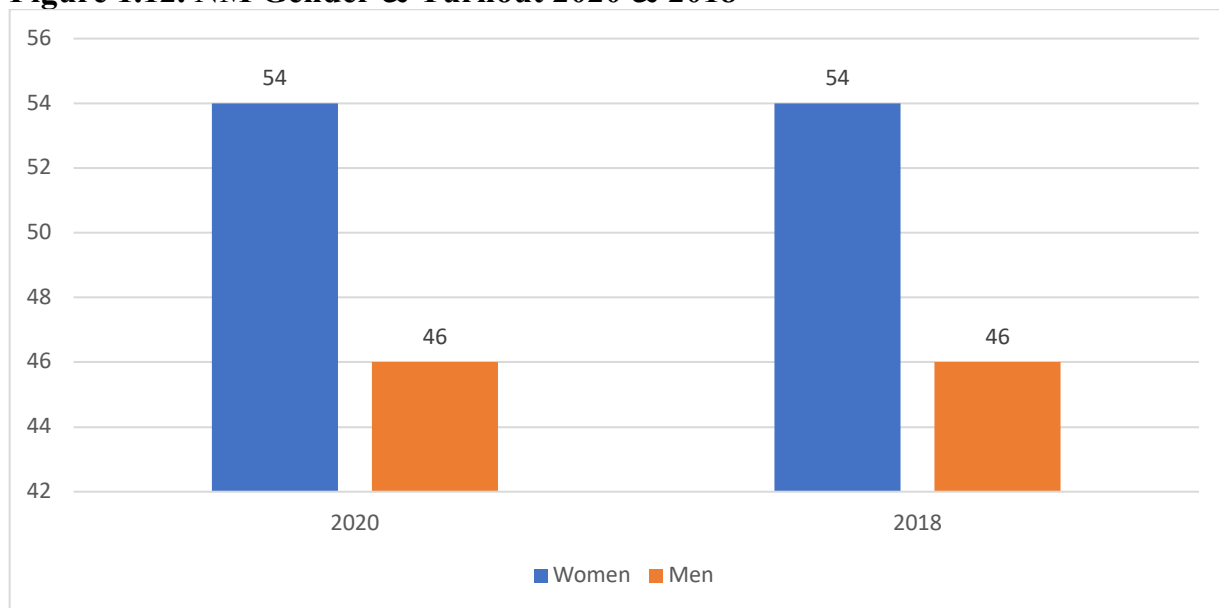
In addition, this was the first year that NM implemented Same-Day Registration (SDR). Registration had to take place at the county clerk's office, which likely limited its overall use, but SDR was very popular and registered 11,449 new voters. Registration patterns were quite different from what we see among registered voters at large. 34% of same day registrants identified with the Democratic Party, while 43% identified as GOP and 23% identified as Libertarian/DTS/other.

1.5 Demographics of Voters

In NM, women make up the majority of voters, see Figure 1.12. In both 2018 and 2020 women made up 54% of voters while men were only 46%. This represents a discrepancy from the voter registration file, as women make up 53%, and men make-up 47%, of registered voters. National data suggests NM's gender imbalance is in the same direction as national trends, but the gap is slightly larger in NM. The 2020 exit polls estimate that the electorate was 52% female and 48% male.¹⁵

¹⁵ See <https://www.cnn.com/election/2020/exit-polls/president/national-results/0> for 2020 exit poll data.

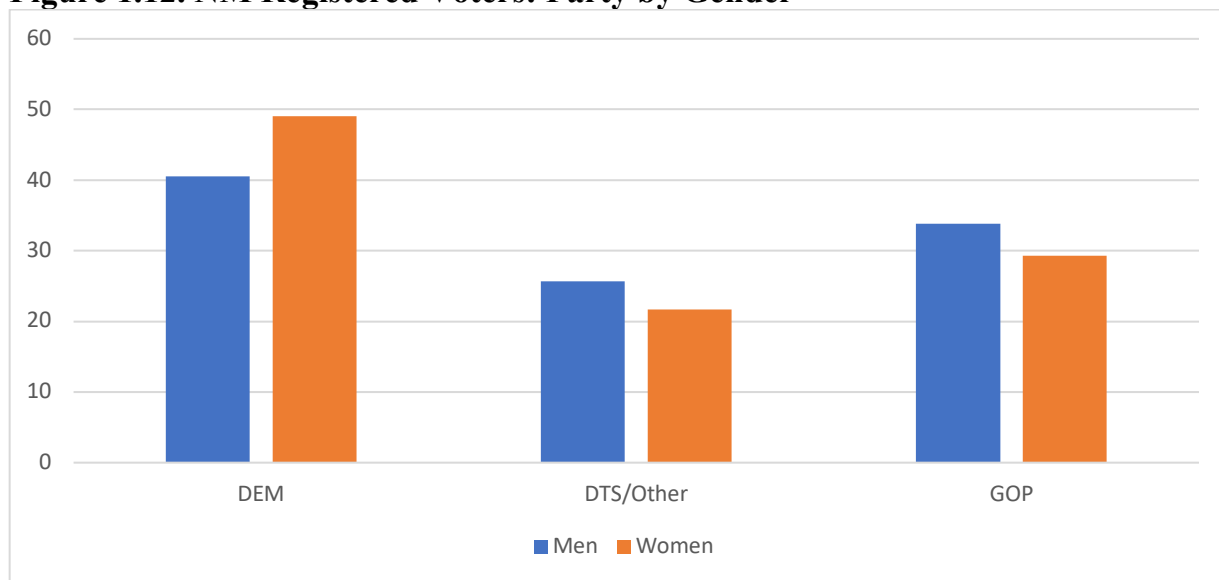
Figure 1.12. NM Gender & Turnout 2020 & 2018



As seen in Figure 1.12, women are also far more likely to belong to the Democratic Party than men. 49% of women and 40% of men identify as Democrats (9-point difference), while 29% of women and 34% of men identify as Republicans (5-point difference). 26% of men identify as DTS, compared to 22% of women. This is also comparable to national data, which shows that women are more likely to identify as Democrats (56%) than men (42%) and men are more likely to be Republicans (50%) than women (38%).¹⁶

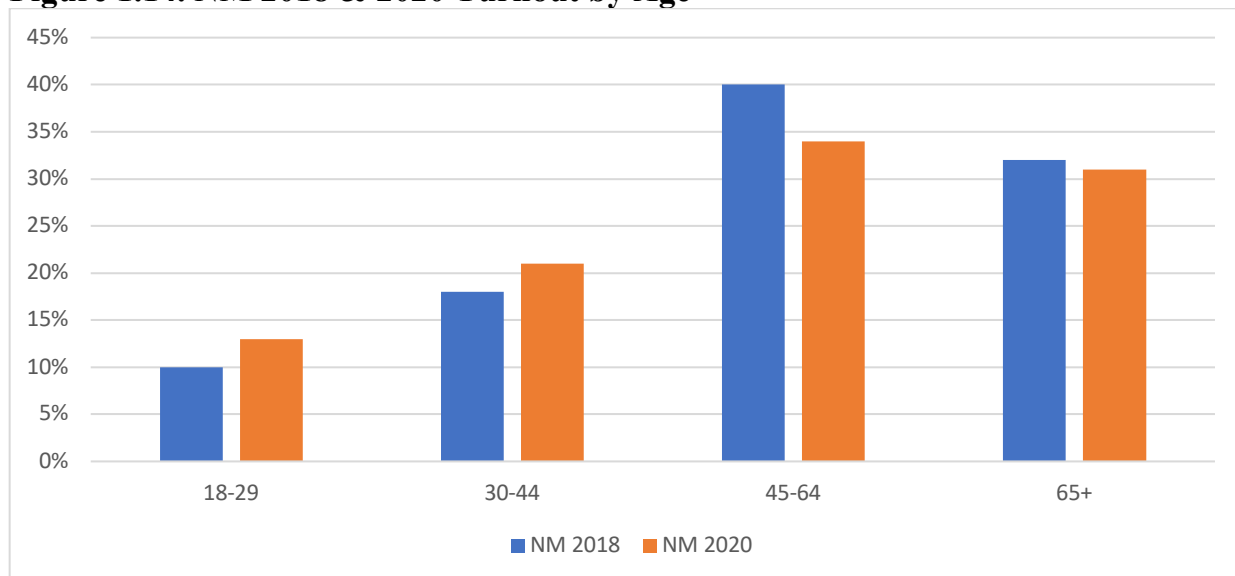
¹⁶ For a good recent discussion of national trends in partisanship in turnout by gender see, Ruth Igielnik, “Men and Women in the US Continue to Differ in Voter Turnout Rate, Party Identification,” August 18, 2020, available at: <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/08/18/men-and-women-in-the-u-s-continue-to-differ-in-voter-turnout-rate-party-identification/>

Figure 1.12. NM Registered Voters: Party by Gender



In terms of age, 2020 saw an increase in turnout of younger voters compared to 2018 (Figure 1.14). Those aged 18-29 made up 13% of voters, a 3-point increase over 2018, and those from 30-44 increased from 18% to 21%, also a 3-point jump. Voters aged 45-64 years old made up 40% of the electorate in 2018 but only 34% in 2020, and those 65 and over made up nearly the same amount in both elections, at 31% in 2020 and 32% in 2018.

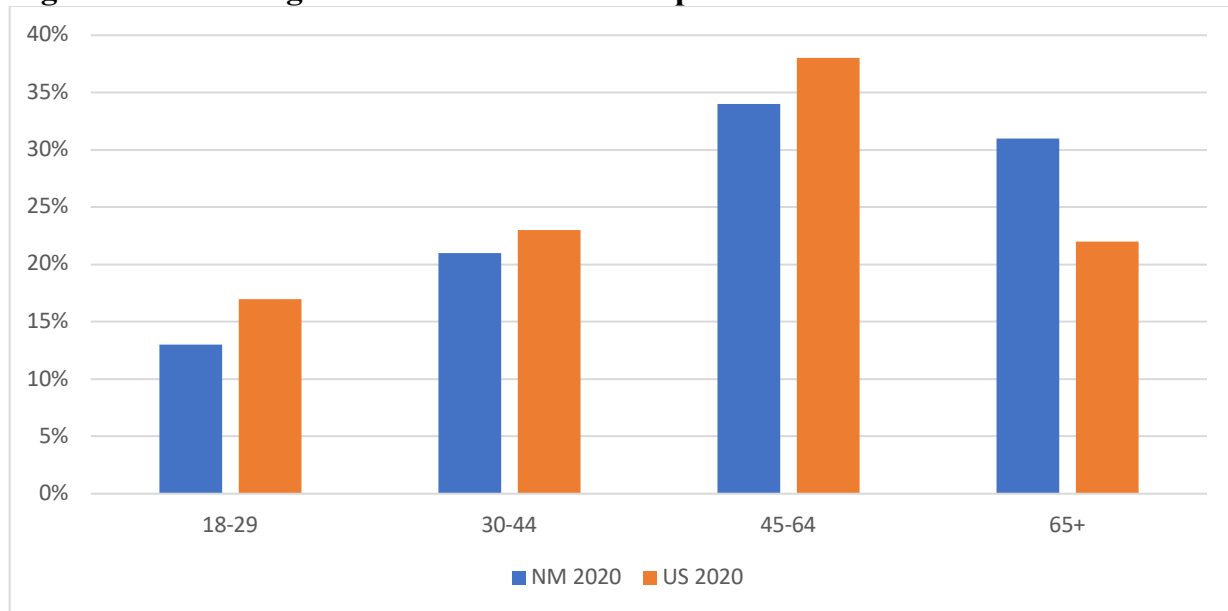
Figure 1.14. NM 2018 & 2020 Turnout by Age



If we compare NM voter turnout by age nationally (Figure 1.15), we can see that US turnout was higher for all age groups except 65 and over, where this group contributed much more to the

make-up of the NM electorate than they did nationally. This suggests that NM voters are older, on average, than voters nationally.

Figure 1.15. NM Age and Turnout 2020 Compared to US Exit Poll data



Chapter 2: Voter Experiences with the Voting Process and Voter Confidence

Voters are the cornerstone of democracy. Therefore, their experiences with voting are central to understanding the larger NM election ecosystem. Assessing voter experiences with, and attitudes toward, the election process provides important data on the effectiveness and efficiency of election administration procedures. Voter experiences with ballot delivery, ballot counting, the quality of the polling site, and interaction with poll workers provide important evidence about the voting process and the quality of the election experience. These experiences are the primary means through which election officials influence voter confidence. When voters have problems – for example, because poll workers are unhelpful or because they had problems requesting an absentee ballot – they are likely to feel less confident that their vote are counted correctly.¹⁷ Similarly, when voters have good experiences and feel that their ballot privacy was protected and processed smoothly, their voter confidence increases. Therefore, this report contains an examination of attitudes surrounding the voting experience. This will provide a broad look at the overall quality of the vote experience.

In this chapter, we focus on these assessments and experiences using a survey that includes a random stratified sample of NM voters by county, combined with a nonprobability sample of voters. Our sample included each type of vote mode (in-person early, in-person Election Day and absentee by mail). Our main sample of 6220 respondents consists of voters interviewed after the election (see Appendix A for the Post Election Frequency Report), but we also did a pre-election survey. The pre-election sample consists of 1,595 VBM and in-person early voters. These data allow us to assess voter confidence before the election outcomes were known. Because we know that winning and losing influences attitudes this gives us the opportunity to compare how attitudes changed. A matched sample of 3,621 VBM and in-person early voters were interviewed after the election to assess the same attitudes after the election outcome is known. Voters were asked about their voting experience, their confidence in the voting process, their attitudes toward voter identification, their attitudes toward poll workers, and their attitudes toward various election reforms and security. To investigate winning and losing effects we compared voter confidence before and after the election and how attitudes changed toward voting fraud (see Appendix B for the pre-election frequency report and Appendix C for the post-election VBM and early voter frequency report). The pre-election survey was in the field from 23 October to 2 November 2020. The post-election survey was in the field between 3 November 2020 and 7 January 2021 (see Appendix D for the survey methodology report).

The 2020 NM Election Study (NMES) represents the eighth post-election survey of voters in NM focusing on election administration and election security. Beginning in 2006, we surveyed voters in the 1st Congressional District (CD1), which encompasses 95% of Bernalillo County. In 2008, 2010, 2016, 2018, and 2020, we surveyed voters statewide. In 2012 and 2014, we surveyed voters in Bernalillo County only. The NMES provides us with a cross-sectional time-series data

¹⁷ See Lonna Rae Atkeson and Kyle L. Saunders, 2007, “Voter Confidence: A Local Matter?” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 40(October):655-660; Thad E. Hall, J. Quin Monson, and Kelly D. Patterson, 2007, “Poll Workers and the Vitality of Democracy: An Early Assessment,” *PS: Political Science and Society*, 647-654; Thad E. Hall, J. Quin Monson, and Kelly D. Patterson, 2009, “The Human Dimension of Elections: How Poll Workers Shape Public Confidence in Elections,” *Political Research Quarterly* 62(2): 507-522.

on NM voters, allowing us to compare voter attitudes and experiences over time, and provides us with an extended look at a variety of election administration issues. Wherever we can, we include over-time information on changing attitudes and experiences. This effort represents a unique, continuous time-series of a state election administration unit, which is unparalleled.¹⁸

NM voters have experienced quite a bit of change over the last 14 years. In 2006, NM voters switched to a unified paper ballot system statewide to ensure a paper and auditable record of every voter's ballot choices. NM was a state leader in paper ballot adoption. In 2012, some voters in NM switched from a traditional precinct model of election administration to a vote center model and that has expanded with each subsequent election. Currently, almost all NM counties use a vote center model, allowing voters more choices on where to vote on Election Day. In 2014, NM updated its vote tabulators from the ES&S vote tabulator to the Dominion vote tabulator, which we are still using. In 2020 NM adopted same day registration.

In 2020, NM voters could vote in-person at any time from October 6 through Election Day, November 3. Voters could request and vote a mail ballot or vote in-person at any vote center in their county through Election Day.

This chapter has the following 4 sections:

- Section 2.1 examines the voter experience for vote by mail (VBM) voters.
- Section 2.2 examines in-person voter experiences.
- Section 2.3 examines voter identification practices and experiences for in-person voters.
- Section 2.4 examines voter confidence at multiple levels of election administration including the voter's ballot at his or her vote center, all of the ballots in the county, all of the ballots in the state, and all of the ballots in the nation. We also examine voter confidence over time, comparing the current results with data collected between 2006-2016. We also compare pre and post-election voter confidence to better understand how winning and losing impacts it.

2.1 Vote-by-Mail

Absentee voters typically only made up about 10% of voters in the last several elections, but in 2020 that number more than tripled to 35%. Twenty-two percent of voters indicated they chose to VBM because of COVID, while other reasons for voting by mail included convenience (18%), being out of town (3%), a physical disability (3%), and other obligations on Election Day (2%).

Requesting an Absentee Ballot

Amid the novel coronavirus outbreak, mail balloting expanded tremendously as voters wanted to avoid possible COVID-related health risks associated with large crowds at polling locations. NM voters could request an absentee ballot in multiple ways, including through the SOS website,

¹⁸ Previous reports can be found at: <http://polisci.unm.edu/c-sved/index.html>.

through the county clerk's office, mailing or hand-delivering a physical application downloaded from the Internet, or returning the application form received in the mail. Table 2.1 displays the distribution of different methods used by voters to request an absentee ballot.

- The most popular method was online. About three-fifths (59%) of VBM requests were completed online. Having a central location to apply for VBM is a great resource for voters.
- A little over three in ten voters (28% county clerk, 4% third party) returned the received-in-mail application forms requesting an absentee ballot.
- Only about 4% of voters indicated they used a 3rd party VBM request, even though these were widely sent out by the political parties and various groups.
- Just about one in ten voters (8%) contacted the county clerk's office for an absentee ballot either by phone (4%), by email (3%), or in-person (1%).

Table 2.1. How did you request an absentee ballot?

I did it on-line	59%
I mailed a form letter to my county clerk that I got in the mail	28%
I emailed my county clerk	3%
I called my county clerk by phone	4%
I went to the county clerk's office and made the request in-person	1%
I mailed a form letter to my county clerk that I received in the mail from a third party (e.g. a political party, non-profit or other group)	4%
Other	1%

The NM SOS provides an online Voter Information Portal, a one-stop shop for voting information, which can be accessed by voters for election-related information. The Voter Information Portal provides a number of services including information about individual voter registration, voting locations, sample ballots, VBM application, VBM ballot status, and county clerk contact. **The voter information portal, however, does not tell voters whether their ballot was accepted for counting. We recommend adding this feature in the future.**

We asked voters if they logged on to their voter registration record to seek any of the above information; Table 2.2 shows the results. It is clear that the Voter Information Portal is a popular tool, with the vast majority of VBM voters accessing it.

- The most common reason for logging on was to check voter registration information. Nearly one-half (49%) of VBM voters reported this reason.
- Voters frequently sought information regarding the status of their absentee ballot. This suggests that expanding the data information to include accepted for counting will be valuable. Over 4 in 10 voters (44%) logged on to see if their absentee ballot arrived at the county clerk's office, while a little less than 4 in 10 (37%) voters did so to check if their absentee ballot was sent.
- About one in four (24%) visits were to view a sample ballot.

Table 2.2. Did you log on to your voter registration record to do any of the following?

Yes, to check my voter registration	49%
Yes, to check to see if my absentee ballot arrived at the county clerk's office	44%
Yes, to check to see when my absentee ballot was sent to me	37%
Yes, to look at a sample ballot	24%
No, I didn't log on to my voter registration record	11%

Returning VBM Ballots

Voters can return completed VBM ballots by mail, via a postage-paid envelope, by dropping it off at the county clerk's office, a vote center or a designated drop box. If the voter cannot drop off or deliver the ballot themselves, NM law requires that it be delivered by an immediate family member (NMSA section 1-6-9.4a). The outside envelope to VBM ballots has a place for a voter to indicate if it is not being returned by the voter, and to indicate the person's relationship to the voter. In our observation of mail balloting, we noticed that different jurisdictions were handling these ballots differently. In some cases, ballots were being set aside if the person delivering the ballot was not an immediate family member, in other cases they were not. We asked the person in charge of VBM precinct and she indicated that in previous years ballots were not processed if it was not delivered by a parent or child of a voter, however, this year they were instructed to count all the ballots regardless of who delivered them.

There was a change in statute in 2019 regarding this issue. The new language indicates it is a "violation of law for any person who is not an immediate family member to collect and deliver a ballot." But, there is no implication of violating the law. If the purpose of the law is to prevent ballot harvesting it has no teeth and there are no implications for misbehaving. **We recommend clarifying the law since similar laws in similar states have resulted in political parties and other groups engaging in ballot harvesting and not following the rules related to recording the 3rd party delivery on the outer envelope since there are no consequences for not doing so.**¹⁹

To determine how voters returned their ballot, we asked the following three questions: (1) "Who returned your ballot or dropped it in the mail?" (2) "Did you return someone else's ballot?", and if they returned another voter's ballot (3) "Whose ballot did you return?"

- Nearly nine in ten (89%) voters returned their ballots themselves.
- About one in ten voters (10%) indicated that a member of their family returned their ballot.
- Almost one in one hundred (.8%) voters said a friend returned their ballot.

¹⁹ See for example the situations that developed in California, <https://www.npr.org/2020/10/16/923969669/california-eases-off-legal-threats-over-gop-unauthorized-ballot-drop-boxes>

- We also had 2 respondents who indicated their employee dropped off their ballot and we had 1 respondent who indicated their caretaker did. We also had 1 respondent who indicated that a political party picked up their ballot.
- Almost two in ten voters (17%) indicated they returned someone else's ballot.
- Of those who indicated they returned another voter's ballot, nearly three in four (73%) voters indicated they returned their spouse's ballot, while 15% of voters said they returned their parent's/parents' ballot and 15% indicated they returned their child's/children's ballot.
- Over 1 in 10 voters (12%) returned another family member's ballot, and 1 in 100 returned their friend's ballot.
- We also asked voters that returned someone else's ballot, "How many ballots did you return?" Over 8 in 10 (73%) returned one or two ballots, while about one in eight (12%) returned 3, 4% returned 4 and 3% returned 5.

These data suggest that about 99% of voters either return it themselves or have a family member do so. But, one voter did indicate that a political party or interest group picked it up. We also had employees drop off ballots and a caretaker. **Therefore, along with our recommendation to clarify the law above, we think it is important to take into account extended family members and caretakers in any clarification.**

Ways of Returning an Absentee Ballot

To return their VBM ballots, voters could mail them through the USPS with a postage-paid envelope, hand-deliver them to the county clerk's office or a polling location, or drop them off at a drop-box. To ascertain the usefulness of these methods, we asked, "How did you return your ballot?" Tables 2.3 displays the results.

- We find that 64% of voters preferred mailing through USPS, while the remaining 36% of voters preferred dropping it off.
- Further, we asked voters how long they had to wait to drop off their ballot. About nine in ten voters indicated no wait time, while about 1 in 10 voters said they had to wait less than 10 minutes. Drop boxes appear to be very efficient.

Table 2.3. How did you return your ballot?

At a post office box at a U.S. Postal Service location	39%
At an official post office box not at a U.S. Postal Service location	7%
It was picked up by the postal worker who delivers mail to my home	18%
A drop box used only for ballots	6%
I dropped it off at the county clerk's office	13%
I dropped it off at an early voting vote center	17%

Table 2.3 shows that over three in ten voters (36%) dropped off their VBM ballot either in the absentee ballot drop box, at the county clerk’s office, or at an early voting vote center. We asked voters who dropped off their ballot, “Why did you decide to drop off your ballot rather than mail the ballot back in?” (see Table 2.4)

- A large majority of voters (77%) were concerned about its safe delivery.
- About four in ten voters said it was more convenient to drop off the ballot than to mail it.
- One-third (33%) of voters were worried that USPS might not deliver their ballot on time.
- Only about two out of every 100 (2%) voters did not have enough time to use USPS.

Table 2.4. Why did you decide to drop off your ballot rather than mail the ballot back in?

It was very convenient to drop it off.	38%
I didn't trust the USPS to deliver it on time.	33%
I didn't have enough time to use the USPS for return delivery.	2%
I wanted to be certain that it arrived.	77%

Over six in ten voters indicated they mailed their ballots, including dropping it off at a USPS location or at an official post office box (see Table 2.3). We asked these voters, “Why did you decide to mail your ballot back in rather than drop it off?” (see Table 2.5).

- About 1% used the mail due to not having a nearby drop off location.
- Over three in five (62%) voters found mailing their ballot convenient.
- Over one in ten (14%) voters mailed in their ballots due to COVID related reasons.
- About one in twelve (8%) voters listed their trust in the USPS as their reason.
- More than one in twenty (6%) voters said they had sufficient time to mail their ballots using USPS.
- More than one in twenty (6%) voters said they mailed their ballots due to being out of town.

Table 2.5. Why did you decide to mail your ballot back in rather than drop it off?

Convenience	62%
COVID reasons	14%
I trust the USPS.	8%
There was enough time to use the USPS for return delivery.	6%
Out of town/state	6%
No drop off location nearby	1%
Didn't think much about it; just did.	5%

2.2 Early and Election Day Voter Experience

Wait Times

Wait times and line length were one of the items addressed in *The American Voting Experience: Report and Recommendations of the Presidential Commission on Election Administration*.²⁰ The commission recommended that no voter wait in line longer than 30 minutes. In the 2020 general long election lines, especially in early voting, were commonplace nationally as voters switched their voting preferences in response to COVID-19. The CDC recommended that voters switch to early voting if they could, to ensure they were able to vote and prevent long lines on Election Day.²¹ However, fewer voting locations are available during early voting making for longer early voting lines. Line length also increased because, in many locations, fewer voters were allowed inside the voting location at the same time. In NM, the SOS ordered that the maximum number of voters allowed in a polling site was 20% of the maximum occupancy; and, mobile units allowed only 2 voters inside at any time.²² Thus, both COVID protocols and voter choices seem to have resulted in longer wait times.

- NM in-person voters, on average, reported waiting about 20 minutes to vote.²³ This is much longer than voters waited in line in 2018, when it took an average of 6 minutes.
- In NM, Election Day voters were in line for much shorter periods of time than early voters, 13 minutes versus 22 minutes. In 2018 early voting took, on average, 4.5 minutes, and Election Day voting lines averaged 8 minutes.
- Our data suggest that 20% of voters stayed in line longer than 30 minutes.
- We also asked voters their perception of the time it took to vote, “Did you consider the overall wait time at the vote center to be: no wait time, short wait time, moderate wait time, [or] long wait time?” 35% of voters indicated their wait time to be “no wait time” and another 35% indicated that it was short wait time. 24% indicated it was a moderate wait, and only 6% indicated it was a long wait time. For comparison, in 2018 56% indicated there was not wait time, 33% indicated it was a short wait, 9% indicated it was moderate and 2% indicated it was long. Clearly, voters waited much longer in line in 2020 than in 2018.
- Average wait times also varied by county (see Figure 2.1). Several counties had average line lengths greater than 30 minutes. These include Dona Ana, Lea, Otero, San Miguel, and Socorro.

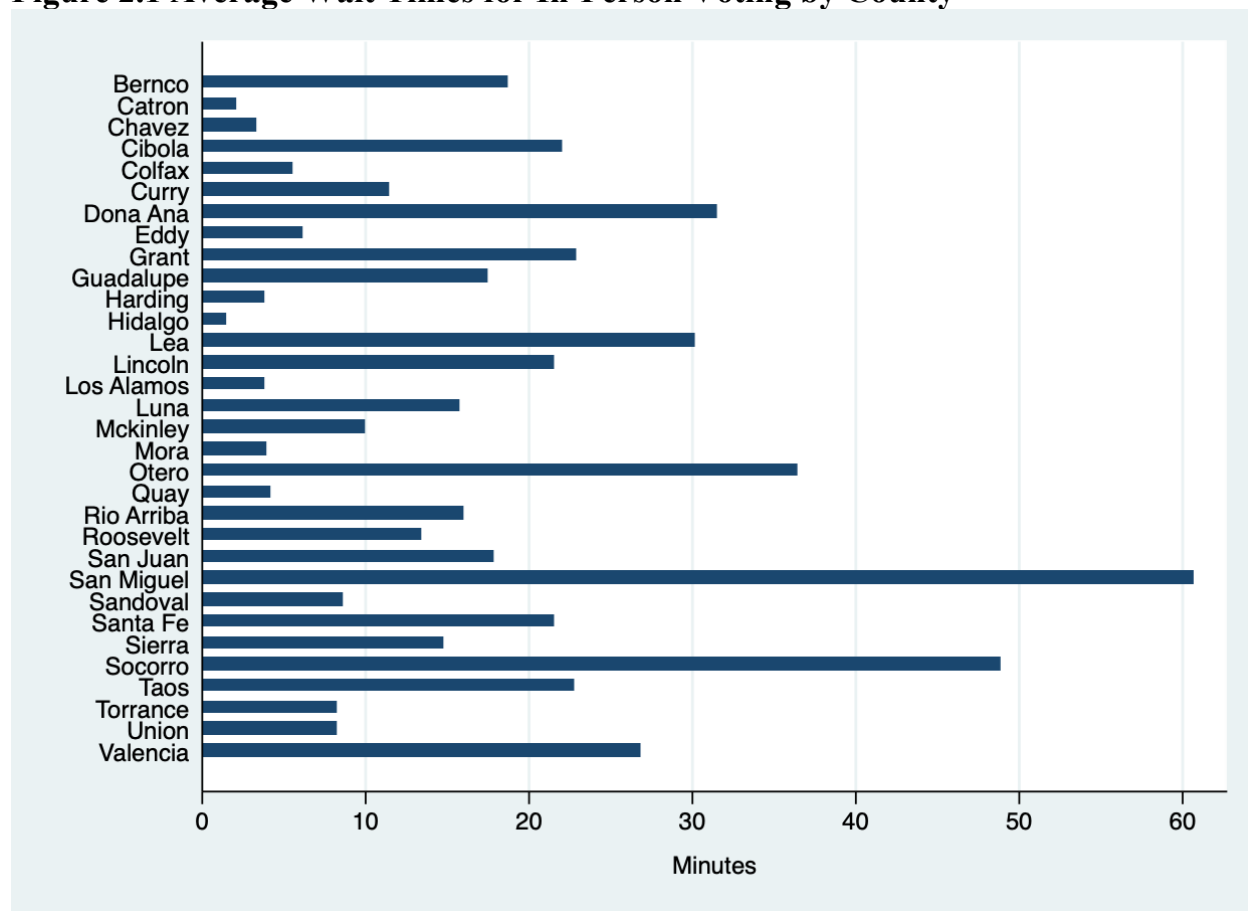
²⁰ The report can be found at: <http://www.supportthevoter.gov/>

²¹ See <https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/daily-life-coping/going-out/voting-tips.html> and <https://www.nga.org/center/publications/election-health-safety-covid-19/>.

²² Ibid <https://www.nga.org>.

²³ NM news media also reported longer wait times to vote, see Grace Reader, “Voters across the Metro Area Wait in Long Lines to Cast their Early Ballot,” available at: <https://www.kob.com/albuquerque-news/voters-across-the-metro-area-wait-in-long-lines-to-cast-their-early-ballot/5898139/>

Figure 2.1 Average Wait Times for In-Person Voting by County



Voter Interactions with Poll Workers and Other Voters: Privacy and safety in the Polling Location

Poll locations and poll worker-voter interactions are crucial components to election administration. Most voters in NM are likely to visit a voting convenience center (VCC) instead of a voting precinct. VCCs need to be in large areas with lots of parking to facilitate a high volume of voters at once. Additionally, it is important that poll worker interactions be positive for the voter, because voters' personal experience influences their level of confidence in their vote being counted correctly. In most voting locations in NM, poll workers are given a specific job and trained for that position. The 2020 election included an additional layer of complexity because poll workers and voters were advised to adhere to special public health guidelines to mitigate the spread of COVID-19.

- To assess general attitudes towards poll workers, we asked voters their level of agreement with the statement, “The poll workers were helpful.” We found 94% of voters agreed with this statement, with 53% strongly agreeing and 41% somewhat agreeing.

- Poll workers are not supposed to look at voter's voted ballots; when they do, voter confidence is negatively impacted. Therefore, we asked in-person voters whether poll workers looked at their ballot during their voting experience. We found that only 5% of voters reported a poll worker looking at their ballot. We found Republicans (9%) and Independents (7%) were more likely to report a poll worker looking at their ballot than Democrats (1%).
- To assess ballot privacy in the polling place we also asked whether another voter looked at a voter's ballot, only 2% of voters indicated that someone looked at their ballot. We also found that 2% of voters indicated that someone in line asked them their vote choice.
- Finally, many voting locations offer a privacy sleeve to voters to secure their ballot when they are moving about the vote center. We have found previously that a privacy sleeve helps to increase voter confidence since it protects ballot privacy and protecting ballot privacy is correlated with higher voter confidence.²⁴ Yet, we found that only about one in five voters were offered a privacy sleeve. About 29% of voters in Bernalillo County used a privacy sleeve, 35% in Colfax, 34% in Socorro, and over half (52%) in Otero, but, in general, it was not broadly used. We suggest the NM SOS encourage voting locations across the state to adopt voter privacy sleeves for in-person voting. Voters like the privacy and it helps them feel more positive about their voting experience.

We asked voters about their interactions with poll workers and other voters and the implementation of public health measures to mitigate the spread of COVID-19 in the polling location. We focused on the two most prominent strategies: mask wearing and social distancing. We found overwhelming compliance with COVID-19 precautions.

- We asked voters to estimate the percentage of poll workers wearing a mask in their voting center. We found over nine in ten (97%) voters said all poll workers in their voting center wore a mask.
- 95% of voters also wore masks while inside the voting center.
- A slightly lower percentage (91%) of voters were wearing masks while standing in line outside.
- We saw a similar pattern for social distancing, with voters indicating that 89% of voters were standing 6 feet apart inside the polling location, and a very slightly lower number of voters (87%) doing so outside.
- This led to almost all in-person voters feeling that they were safe voting-in-person. 96% of voters agreed with the statement, "I felt safe voting in-person", while only 4% indicated otherwise.

Finding Vote Convenience Centers

Despite fewer polling locations in a VCC environment, voters do not appear to be inconvenienced in terms of voting locations. Both early and Election Day voters reported that they easily found their voting location. These voters were asked to strongly agree, somewhat

²⁴ Lonna Atkeson, et al. 2018, "NM Election Administration, Security, and Reform Report," available at: https://polisci.unm.edu/c-sved/election_security_report__la7-1.pdf

agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statement, “The location was easy to find.”

- Overall, 99% of voters indicated their polling station was easy to find, with 72% strongly agreeing. This is higher than in 2018, when 97% of in-person voters indicated their voting location was easy to find.
- There were no significant differences by partisan groups, vote mode, ethnicity, age, or education. All groups of voters were able to easily find their polling location.
- We also found that a vast majority of voters (92%) did not feel that they had to go far out of their way to vote, regardless of whether they voted early or on Election Day.

Parking Problems

We found that most voters did not have problems parking during early or Election Day voting. We asked early and Election Day voters to agree or disagree with the statement, “It was hard to find a place to park.”

- Over 90% of voters found it easy to park at their polling location.
- There were no significant differences between vote mode (early vs. Election Day), gender, partisan groups, age, education levels, or racial groups in terms of parking access.

2.3. Voter Identification for In-Person Voters

Beginning in 2006, survey data showed that the voter identification law was not implemented uniformly. In Bernalillo County where we have looked at this issue extensively, we found that the VCC model of elections produced more uniform implementation than the precinct-based model. In 2020 nearly all the counties used the VCC model of voting.

The minimum identification required for voters under state law is to state their name, address, and birth year. Voters can also choose to show a physical form of identification, such as a voter registration card, driver’s license, or utility bill. If the voter opts for a photographic identification, it does not have to contain the voter’s address. If they opt for a non-photo form of identification, it must include an address, although it does not have to match the address in the voter registration rolls.

In 2020 we asked, “In New Mexico, the voter gets to choose how they want to be identified at the polls. They can provide (1) their name, address, and birth year, (2) a photo ID, or (3) a non-photo ID. What type of identification did you provide?”

- Table 2.6 shows the results for both 2018 and 2020; the results are somewhat similar. In both years, about one-half of in-person voters indicated that they provided the poll worker with the minimum identification--their name, address and birth year. However, almost one-third (31%) were asked for or provided a photo or non-photo ID.
- From experience, we know that voters often get in line and pull out their driver’s license

or other state-issued ID because they believe it's required, because they see someone else do it, or because they want to provide it. Therefore, we asked a follow-up question to voters who indicated they used a photo ID, "Thinking back, did a poll worker ask for a photo or non-photo ID or did you just provide it to them without being asked?" Over half (54%) recalled just providing it to the poll worker without being asked, but about one in three (31%) indicated that the poll worker asked for it.

- If we focus on only those voters who were certain about how they were authenticated, we estimate that 84% of voters were identified correctly—with the minimum voter ID or with the voter's preferred method, while 16% were identified incorrectly, and about 5% were uncertain. This is very comparable to what we found in 2018.
- When we look at this by demographics, we find some small differences between groups and sometimes no difference between groups. For example, Asian voters indicated they were correctly identified the most frequently at 91% of the time, whites reported being identified correctly 87% of the time. Hispanics, biracial and multiracial voters indicated they were correctly identified 82% of the time. Blacks indicated they were correctly identified only 70% of the time, and Native Americans only 75% of the time.²⁵
- There were some groups with similar rates of identification, such as men and women. Additionally, identification rates were very similar across age and partisan groups. High school graduates or less and those with some college indicated about 83% of the time they were identified correctly compared to 88% of college graduates.

Table 2.6. Frequency of Voter Identification Method, 2018 & 2020

	2018	2020
Name, address, and birth year	49%	50%
A photo id (driver's license, military ID or passport)	39%	31%
A non-photo ID (e.g. utility bill)	1%	0%
I didn't provide any sort of ID the poll worker knew me	2%	2%
Registration card/County Bar Code	7%	14%
Partial Verbal (name, name and address)	2%	3%
Photo Id	39%	31%
Poll worker asked for Photo ID	30%	31%
I just provided it to the PW	60%	54%
I don't remember	10%	15%

2.4. Voter Confidence

Voter confidence is a necessary component of a democratic society. Voter confidence represents a fundamental belief in the fairness of the electoral process and ultimately the legitimacy of the government. Even if citizens are unhappy with the choices their leaders make, they should feel

²⁵ Some of these groups may have had more first-time voters. First time voters are required to show an ID if they did not show one when they registered.

confident that the process that placed those individuals into power was fair and honest and that future elections can result in a change of leadership.²⁶

We focus on four levels of voter confidence.

- We asked in an independent question, “How confident are you that YOUR vote in the General Election was counted as you intended?” Response options were “very confident”, “somewhat confident”, “not too confident” and “not at all confident.” This level, the personal vote, is the most important level of voter confidence because it represents how the voter feels about his/her own voting experience and its accuracy.
- The second level is voter confidence in the county’s election system and was placed in a grid format with the other 2 remaining levels of voter confidence. The county is the primary administrative unit for the state and is responsible for all matters related to election administration including: poll worker training, logic and accuracy testing of the tabulating machines, the counting of ballots, the qualification of provisional ballots, the qualification of absentee ballots, the county canvass, etc.
- The third level is confidence in the process at the state level and therefore is an aggregation of how voters feel about the election process within their larger election administrative unit.
- The fourth level is confidence that all the ballots were counted correctly nationwide and is an aggregation of how voters feel about the election process across many election administrative units.
- The results are presented in Table 2.7 and show both the frequency of response and the confidence averages across levels of administration, for each voting mode (Election Day, early, and absentee), and by party. The variables are coded on a 4-point scale, from 1 to 4, so that a higher average indicates greater confidence. Overall, the results show that voters have very high confidence that their votes were counted correctly.
- Just over half (56%) of voters were very confident and another one in five (21%) were somewhat confident that their vote was counted correctly. Thus, over three in four voters (77%) were very or somewhat confident that their ballot was counted correctly. Over one in eight voters (12%) were not too confident and another roughly one in ten (11%) were not at all confident.
- Similar results are seen for county level voter confidence, with 74% of voter indicating they are very (54%) or somewhat (20%) confident. Only 26% reported being not too (10%) or not at all (16%) unconfident. Nevertheless, this is, on average, less confident than results at the personal level.
- A majority (51%) of voters also indicated they were very confident of state level results, and another 19% were somewhat confident. The remaining 29% were not too (14%) or not at all (15%) confident.

²⁶ Atkeson, Lonna Rae, R. Michael Alvarez, and Thad E. Hall. “Voter Confidence: How to Measure It and How It Differs from Government Support.” *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* 14, no. 3 (June 18, 2015).

- Voters were least confident of the nationwide results, with about three in five (59%) voters indicating they are very (41%) or somewhat (18%) confident. About two in five voters (41%) indicated they are not too (13%) or not at all confident (28%).

Table 2.7. Frequency and Means of Personal, County, State and National Voter Confidence

	Your Vote	Votes in your county	Votes in your state	Votes nationwide
Frequency				
(4) Very confident	56	54	51	41
(3) Somewhat confident	21	20	19	18
(2) Not too confident	12	10	14	13
(1) Not at all confident	11	16	15	28
Total	100	100	100	100
Averages				
Overall Average	3.21	3.12	3.07	2.72
Early voters	3.09	2.97	2.87	2.47
Absentee voters	3.56	3.52	3.52	3.24
Election Day voters	2.79	2.69	2.72	2.32
Democrats	3.81	3.78	3.82	3.59
DTS/Other	3.16	3.10	3.03	2.67
GOP	2.48	2.31	2.17	1.65

At the bottom of Table 2.7, average voter confidence levels are broken down by voting mode and party. Previous research has found that voting mode can influence voter confidence and there can be strong winner and loser effects.²⁷

When we look at absentee voters, we see relatively little change in assessment of confidence until we ask about vote counting at the national level. Historically, VBM voters were, if anything, less confident.²⁸ Similarly, early voters' confidence bunched closer together across the personal and state level administrative unit with a rather large drop in nationwide confidence. Election Day voters had the lowest confidence overall.

This election cycle offered up a very different picture of NM voter confidence than we have seen previously. The pandemic along with the actions and cues from party leaders clearly affected people's attitudes, which is why results are also presented by partisanship. Partisanship, as shown in Chapter 1, was highly correlated with vote mode. A plurality of Democrats (45%) voted absentee, while early-voting was the mode for Republicans (45%) and DTS (63%). These

²⁷ See Atkeson and Saunders, 2007; R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall and Morgan Llewellyn (2008), "Are Americans Confident Their Ballots are counted?" *The Journal of Politics* 70, 3: 754–66 and Atkeson, Lonna Rae, (2014) "Voter Confidence Ten Years after Bush V. Gore," in *Ten Years after Bush V. Gore*, edited by R. Michael Alvarez and Bernard Grofman, (Cambridge University Press), Charles Bullock and M.V. Hood III, (2005) "Punchcards, Jim Crow and Al Gore: Explaining Voter Trust in the Electoral System in Georgia", *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 5: 283-94.

²⁸ Atkeson and Saunders 2007; Alvarez, Hall Llewellyn 2007.

differences in behavioral choices led to very different partisan responses by voting mode with VBM voters having the highest level of confidence and dominated by Democrats, and in-person voters being the least confident, especially Election Day voters, which were dominated by Republicans.

- For example, the average Democratic voter evaluated personal voter confidence at a high 3.81 on a 4-point scale, close to “very confident.” Thus, on average, Democrats appear very confident their ballot was counted correctly.
- But, the average personal voter confidence for Republicans was a mere 2.48, about halfway between “not too confident” and “somewhat confident” on our 4-point scale.
- DTS and voters belonging to a non-major party were in-between the partisan groups, with an average score of 3.16, which puts them close to “somewhat confident.”

We do see a drop in nationwide voter confidence among all groups.

- Democrats’ confidence dropped from an average of 3.81 at a personal level to 3.59 at the national level.
- The drop in DTS confidence was almost double the change for Democrats, moving from 3.16 to 2.67
- GOP voters drop was substantially larger, moving from 2.68 to 1.65, doubling again to over a full point difference.

Figure 2.2 is an overtime graph of the average voter confidence in NM across personal vote confidence, state vote confidence, and national voter confidence.

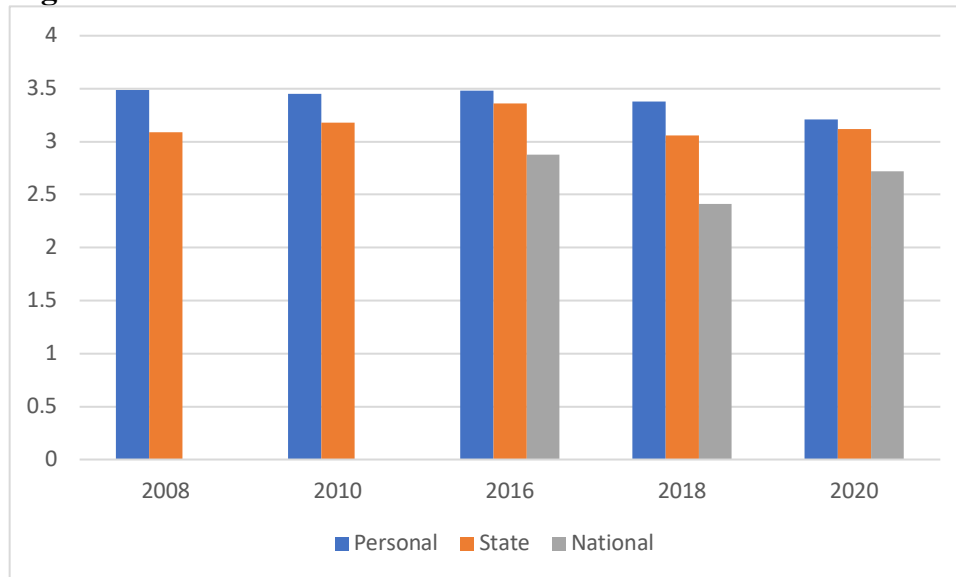
- The graph shows the monotonic nature of the relationship with confidence declining as the voter gets farther away from each administrative unit.²⁹ This is consistent across election years.
- However, in 2020 the gaps between administrative units are the smallest they have ever been. The gap between personal voter confidence and national voter confidence is .49, while it was .6 in 2016, and .97 in 2018. The results appear most similar to the 2016 election.
- When we compare over time, the results are rather interesting. In 2020, personal voter confidence is the lowest it has been across all years with an average of 3.21. Its highest value was in 2008 with an average score of 3.49. As the graph shows it has been on a small, but steady, decline over time.
- State voter confidence bounces around quite a bit more. State-level effects are likely influenced by local problems that get amplified across the state such as long lines or other administrative problems. In 2018, for example, delayed votes in southern NM likely led to lower levels of confidence along with local candidate claims of

²⁹ A paired t-test shows that there are significant declines in vote confidence as we move from personal vote to county to state and nation (all of these have $p < .001$).

inconsistencies.³⁰ Consequently, 2018 has the lowest state-level voter confidence of any year.

- But in 2018, national voter confidence was also the lowest at a mean of 2.41. In 2016, it was 2.88; in 2020, it was 2.72. This is likely due to the on-going rhetoric in the past 3 election cycles regarding rigged elections, and accusations made by both parties about voter irregularities, voter fraud, and voter suppression.³¹

Figure 2.2. NM Voter Confidence 2008-2020



Voter Confidence by County

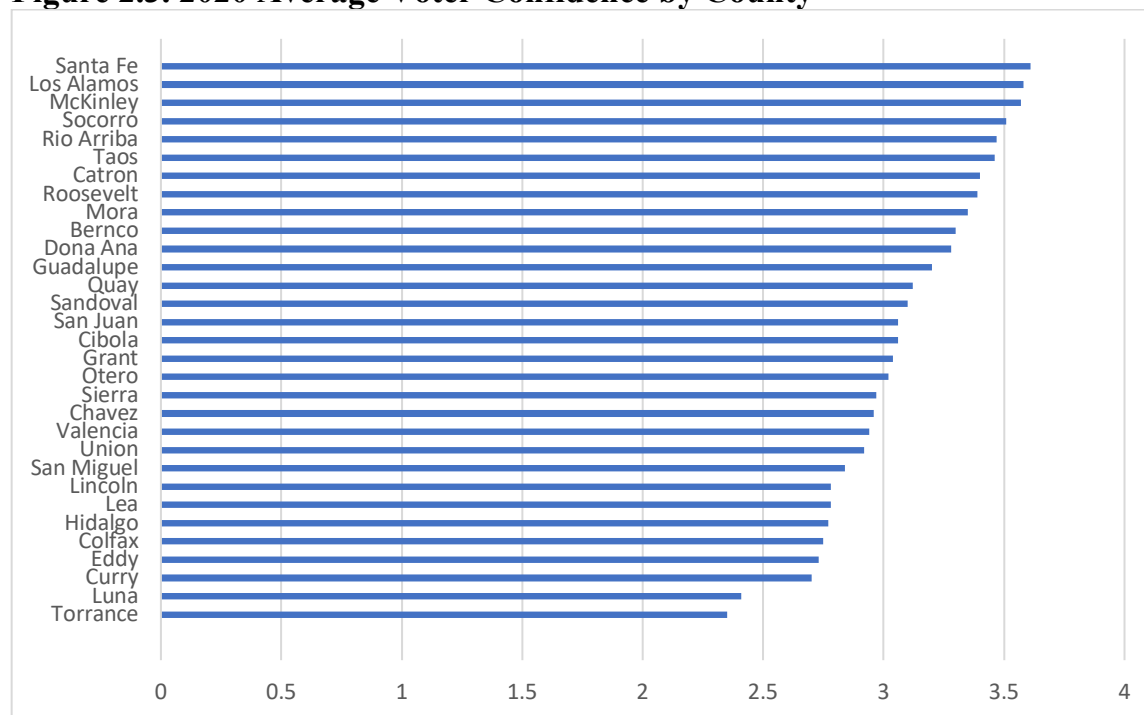
In Figure 2.3 we show average voter confidence by county.

- Voter confidence ranges from 2.35 to 3.58. Given the relationship between partisanship and voter confidence, it is not surprising that the more Democratic counties (e.g. Santa Fe, Taos, Rio Arriba, etc.) show greater voter confidence than the more Republican counties (e.g. Curry, Lea, Torrance, etc.).

³⁰ Atkeson et al, 2020, "The NM Election Administration, Security and Reform Report,".

³¹ Steven Smith, Betsy Sinclair and Patrick Tucker. "It's largely a rigged system: Voter Confidence and the Winner Effect in 2016." Forthcoming at Political Research Quarterly.

Figure 2.3. 2020 Average Voter Confidence by County



Voter Experiences, Demographics and Voter Confidence

Winning and losing, however, is not everything. Individual experiences also matter to the voter's evaluation. Experience with the ballot, the polling location, and interactions with poll workers or local officials are the objective experiences that also influence voter confidence in the election process.³² These experiences are the core local factors that election administrations can influence to improve voter confidence, such as a well-designed voting facility and well-trained poll workers. When voters have a good local experience, they feel more confident that their vote is counted correctly.³³ Local election officials should do as much as they can to make the local experience a completely positive one for voters.

For in-person voters:

- Feelings that ballot privacy was protected increases voter confidence. 21% of voters who thought their ballot privacy was not protected well were very or somewhat confident, while 72% of voters who thought their ballot privacy was protected were very or

³² See Atkeson and Saunders, 2007. Also see, Hall, Thad E., J. Quin Monson, and Kelly D. Patterson. 2007. "Poll Workers and the Vitality of Democracy: An Early Assessment. *PS: Political Science and Society*, 647-654, Atkeson, Lonna Rae, 2014, and Bullock and Hood, 2005.

³³ Voter confidence is also affected by winning and losing, such that winners are more confident than losers. In some years, voters win and lose elections resulting in changes in confidence between years. In 2008, for example, Democrats won overwhelmingly and won the House of Representatives, a win-win for Democrats. However, they lost the House in 2010 and then Republicans maintained the House again in 2012, despite Democratic gains in the Senate and a win in the White House.

somewhat confident. However, it is important to note that only 6% of all voters thought their privacy was not protected.

- Helpful poll workers increase voter confidence. Only 10% of voters who thought a poll worker was not helpful were very confident, compared to 50% of voters who thought their poll worker was helpful.
- Similarly, having a successful interaction with the county clerk or the Secretary of State's office improves voter confidence. For example, one third of voters who were not satisfied with their county clerk's response when contacted were very confident, as opposed to 72% of those who were very satisfied.

For VBM voters:

- Interestingly, vote confidence was not dependent on where a voter dropped off their ballot. Voters who dropped off their ballot in-person were as confident as those who mailed it in.

For both VBM and in-person voters

- More than one-third (37%) of voters believe that their vote is not secret, while just over one-quarter (27%) believe that it is and another roughly one-third indicate they don't know (36%). Voters who believe their ballot is not secret are, on average, much less confident that their ballot or other ballots across levels of election administration were counted correctly.
 - Voters who agreed that election officials could not access their voting records had an average personal confidence of 3.79. Voters who thought their records were accessible by officials had a personal confidence of 2.75, a full one-point difference. For those who didn't know, the difference was 0.4 points (average 3.39).
 - We see similar trends for county, state, and national levels of voter confidence. The gap between those who believed their ballot to be secret is at least a one-point difference between those who believe their privacy is protected and those who believe it is likely not.
 - Given the incredible size of the gap, **we recommend a campaign to inform voters that their ballot is secret and how that secrecy is maintained throughout the process.**

Finally, it is important to consider whether voters' demographic characteristics are associated with higher or lower voter confidence. In the past, we have typically found little correlation between gender, race/ethnicity, and age on voter confidence. In 2020, however, voter confidence was highly correlated with all these factors, see Table 2.8. Because these factors are correlated with party and elite rhetoric, which was fairly prevalent this year, we see clear differences across groups. The pandemic and elite rhetoric helped to make values like voter confidence salient in

ways that we have not seen before. Consequently, these messages had strong effects on the formation of attitudes and beliefs.

- Men and women had a small difference in personal level confidence, 0.10 points with women slightly higher than men.
- Voters 18-29 and voters 65 and over had the highest Personal voter confidence and have substantively the same evaluation. Voters aged 30-49 were the least confident with an average voter confidence of 2.94, and voters 50-64 were just slightly above them at 3.17.
- Education is monotonic, such that voters with lower levels of education were less confident than those with higher levels of education. College educated voters had the highest voter confidence of any group.
- Blacks had the highest personal voter confidence (3.75), followed by Native Americans (3.45). Whites had lower voter confidence (3.31) than both blacks and Native Americans, but were higher than Hispanics (3.06) and Asians (3.07) who displayed the lowest average voter confidence.

Table 2.8. Personal Voter Confidence & Demographics

Group	Mean
Gender	
Women	3.30
Men	3.10
Age	
18-29	3.29
30-49	2.94
50-64	3.17
65+	3.36
Education	
High School or Less	2.98
Some College	3.13
College +	3.46
Ethnicity	
White	3.31
Hispanic	3.06
Black	3.75
Native American	3.45
Asian	3.07
Bi or Multi Racial	3.14

Change in Voter Confidence Pre-election Post Election, Early Voters only

This year we sampled and surveyed a random cross section of early and VBM voters pre-election and a similarly constituted postelection group. The pre-election group responded to the survey the last 10 days before the election from October 23-November 2. There were 1,595 respondents in the pre-election wave and 3,621 early and VBM voters in the postelection wave.

This represents two cross sections of voters and represents a between-subjects experimental design to assess voter confidence before and after the election. We know from prior research that there is a gap between the winning and losing sides, but we know little about pre-election attitudes for already voters.³⁴

Table 2.9 shows the frequency of confidence for pre-election and post-election respondents. We see the largest change on personal voter confidence, which decreased one-quarter of a point from 3.44 to 3.19. County voter confidence also decreased, but by a substantively smaller amount (0.08) moving from 3.19 to 3.11. State voter confidence and national voter confidence, however, both rose slightly. State voter confidence rose from 3.04 to 3.13 and national voter confidence from 2.53 to 2.67.

Table 2.9. Voter Confidence Levels Pre vs Post Election

	Pre Election	Post Election
Personal Voter Confidence		
Very Confident	56%	55%
Somewhat Confident	36%	21%
Not too confident	6%	12%
Not at all confident	3%	12%
Average	3.44	3.19
County Voter Confidence		
Very Confident	43%	53%
Somewhat Confident	39%	20%
Not too confident	13%	11%
Not at all confident	6%	16%
Average	3.19	3.11
State Voter Confidence		
Very Confident	39%	50%
Somewhat Confident	41%	19%
Not too confident	13%	15%
Not at all confident	7%	16%
Average	3.04	3.13
National Voter Confidence		
Very Confident	13%	41%
Somewhat Confident	42%	16%
Not too confident	31%	13%
Not at all confident	14%	30%
Average	2.53	2.67

³⁴ But see Steven Smith, Betsy Sinclair and Patrick Tucker. 2019. "It's largely a rigged system: Voter Confidence and the Winner Effect in 2016." *Political Research Quarterly* 61:1-14.

These numbers, however, can hide the winner and loser effects due to complementary shifts, as winners increase their confidence and losers decrease their confidence. To address differences between winners and losers, Table 2.10 breaks the average confidence levels for those surveyed before and after Election Day by their presidential candidate choice. The table shows the difference between two sets of mean –the between candidate difference within the pre or post-election period and the gap between the same candidate, but across time (pre or post election).

- The table shows that, even before the election, Biden voters were more confident in the election process overall than Trump voters. The size of the gap varies across levels of administration. In the pre-election wave, national confidence was the closest, with only a 0.32 spread between Trump and Biden voters, followed by personal confidence with a spread of 0.38.
- The county-level and state-level confidence gap across partisan voters was rather high in the pre-election wave, with a spread of over a full point (0.96) for the state level and just over three-fifths of a point (0.62) for the county level. This may be due to perceived problems with voting in earlier election years.
- After the election, Biden supporters' voting confidence levels increased, while Trump supporters' decreased. For Biden voters, there are somewhat small increases for personal, county, and state confidence levels, ranging from 0.25 (personal) to 0.38 (county). Biden voters' confidence in the national vote jumped a full point (1.03) from 2.65 to 3.68. Trump supporters' confidence decline, however, was much greater on average, ranging from -0.47 to -0.81.
- These post-election confidence level changes led to increasing confidence polarization across party and consequently larger gaps between voting groups. The gap was monotonic, increasing between Biden and Trump voters as the level of administration increased from personal to national. Thus, the post-election gap was 1.46 points for personal confidence but 2.16 points for national confidence.
- This suggests that the impact of winning and losing effects are rather large, substantially increasing the gap once the winner is known. For example, the personal voter confidence gap is 3.8 times larger and the national confidence gap is 6.75 times larger.

Table 2.10 Voter Confidence by Presidential Support Pre vs Post Election

	Pre-Election	Post Election	Difference
Personal Confidence			
Biden	3.61	3.86	.25
Trump	3.20	2.40	-.80
Difference	.38	1.46	
County Confidence			
Biden	3.46	3.84	.38
Trump	2.84	2.25	-.59
Difference	.62	1.59	
State Confidence			
Biden	3.53	3.86	.33
Trump	2.57	2.10	-.47
Difference	.96	1.76	
National Confidence			
Biden	2.65	3.68	1.03
Trump	2.33	1.52	-.81
Difference	.32	2.16	

Chapter 3. Beliefs about Ballot Privacy, Possibility of Voter Coercion, Fraud, and Attitudes toward Election Reforms

This chapter focuses on voters' attitudes toward their ballot, fraud, and election reform. This is the first year we have explored voters' attitudes toward ballot privacy and voter coercion. We have explored attitudes toward voter fraud since 2008 and, where possible, we compare attitudes in 2020 with previous election attitudes to help us understand change.

- In section 3.1 we focus on whether voters feel their ballot is kept private and how willing they are to tell others their vote choice.
- In Section 3.2 we examine beliefs about voter fraud.
- In Section 3.3 we look at attitudes toward voter identification laws.
- In Section 3.4 we examine attitudes toward various election reforms including permanent VBM elections, public financing, ranked choice voting, the national popular vote and independent redistricting.

3.1 Ballot Privacy

Central to American elections are notions that a voter's ballot is secret and that who they voted for is private. Secrecy and privacy are intended to help prevent coercion and intimidation in voting and increase the integrity and confidence of the electoral process. Beliefs that the electoral process or outcomes are illegitimate can arise if there is a lack or perceived lack of vote secrecy and privacy.³⁵

In NM, ballot privacy is taken very seriously. VBM ballots use a double envelope so that ballot qualification and ballot counting do not happen simultaneously. In this way, ballots are kept secret from the poll workers who qualify the ballot and the person who tabulates it. For in-person voters privacy is also important and poll workers who work the tabulator are also taught not to look at the ballot. This is also why we recommend a voter privacy sleeve. Once the ballot is counted and in the tabulator bin it is impossible to determine the order of ballots or to identify anyone's ballot. In addition, some counties use voter privacy sleeves to enhance privacy while in the voting location. The voter privacy sleeve is a long legal-sized file folder that the voter can place their ballot into when they are moving from station-to-station in the polling location to ensure privacy.

This year we asked a large battery of questions about ballot privacy, which we discuss below.

Voters Disclosing Their Vote

Voters have complete control over their choice to disclose who they voted for to family, friends, and others. We asked if family or friends asked them who they voted for, whether they named

³⁵ See Dowling, Connor M., David Doherty, Seth J. Hill, Alan, S. Gerber, and Gregory A. Huber (2019), "The Voting Experience and Beliefs About Ballot Secrecy" *PloS One*, 14,1: e0209765.

the candidate, and if they are truthful in their disclosure of who they voted for. Table 3.1 shows the frequency results.

- Three-quarters (74%) of voters are at least sometimes asked by family and friends who they voted for. Nearly one out of four (26%) voters are rarely (16%) or never asked (10%) about their preferred candidate.
- When asked by a friend or family member which candidate they preferred, most voters named a candidate almost all of the time (48%) or most of the time (23%). Fewer voters sometimes (16%), rarely (6%), or never (13%) named a candidate.
- An overwhelming majority of voters were truthful in naming the candidate they prefer all the time (85%) and most of the time (8%). Fewer voters are sometimes (4%), rarely (1%) or never (2%) truthful in stating the candidate they prefer.
- There are no substantive differences among party identifiers or across demographic characteristics (e.g., age, gender, race, education) in discussing and disclosing the candidate voters preferred in an election.

Table 3.1. Percentage of Being Ask and Providing Who A Voter Voted For

	All or Almost all of the time	Most of the time	Sometimes	Rarely	Never or almost never
Does anyone, including friends or family, ever ask you which candidates you prefer or voted for?	17%	20%	37%	16%	10%
If a friend or family member asks you who you prefer in an election, do you name a candidate?	48%	23%	16%	6%	7%
If you tell a close friend or family member which candidate you prefer, do you tell the truth?	85%	8%	4%	1%	2%

Can Others Determine Your Vote If You Do Not Disclose It?

Next, we focus on two questions that ask if voters believe that others can find out who they voted for without their personal disclosure of such information. The questions are: 1) “According to the law, which candidate you vote for is supposed to be kept secret unless you tell someone. Even so, how easy or hard do you think it would be for politicians, union officials, or the people you work for to find out who you voted for, even if you told no one? 2) “Do you think elected officials can access voting records and figure out who a voter had voted for?”

- The response to these questions, shown in Table 3.2, is quite surprising, as many voters were either unsure or thought it likely that someone could find out who they voted for. One in six voters think that it is impossible (16%) for someone to find out who another person voted for, leaving the vast majority of voters thinking it at least possible and one-

third believing it somewhat or very easy.

- A plurality of voters (38%) believed that elected officials are able to figure out who someone voted for, while 28% of voters do not believe elected officials can determine their vote. Another 34% indicated they did not know if elected officials can figure out their vote.

Table 3.2. Percentage Response to Two Questions about Voters' belief that others can find out who they voted for even if the voter does not disclose this information to others

According to the law, which candidate you vote for is supposed to be kept secret unless you tell someone. Even so, how easy or hard do you think it would be for politicians, union officials, or the people you work for to find out who you voted for, even if you told no one	
Impossible, my vote is secret	16%
It would be very hard, but not impossible	25%
It would be somewhat hard	14%
It would be somewhat easy	16%
It would be very easy	17%
I don't know	12%
Do you think elected officials can access voting records and figure out who a voter had voted for?	
Yes	38%
No	28%
Don't Know	34%

Evaluating these responses, we found some interesting differences among party identifiers for these questions. These results are displayed in Figures 3.1 and 3.2.

- For example, more Democrats (25%) believe it is impossible for others to find out their vote compared to independents (12%) and GOP voters (7%).
- If we consider the average, we find that Democrats have a score of 2.43, clearly on the side of it being “hard” to determine. Independents are at 3.01, or “somewhat hard” and Republicans are at 3.46 between “somewhat hard” and “somewhat easy.”
- Similar to the previous question, the GOP are more skeptical than other partisan groups that their vote can be kept secret from elected officials.

Figure 3.1. How Easy or Hard is it For Politicians, Union Officials, or Employers to Find Out My Vote Even If I Told No One by Party

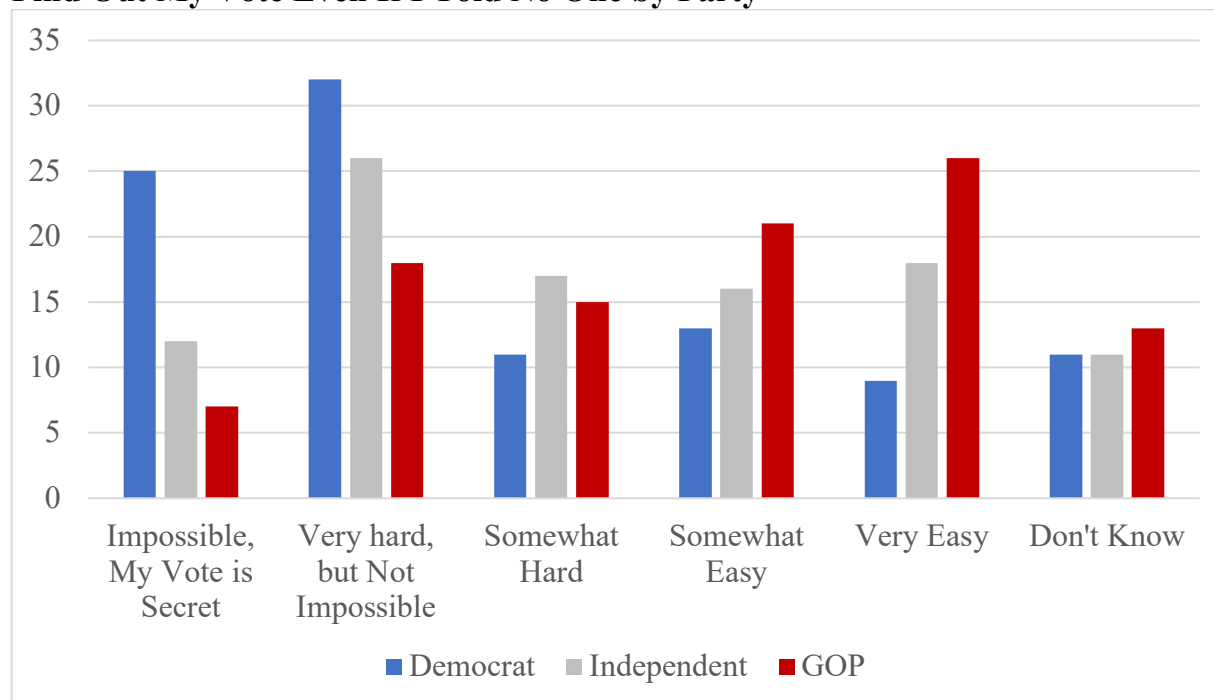
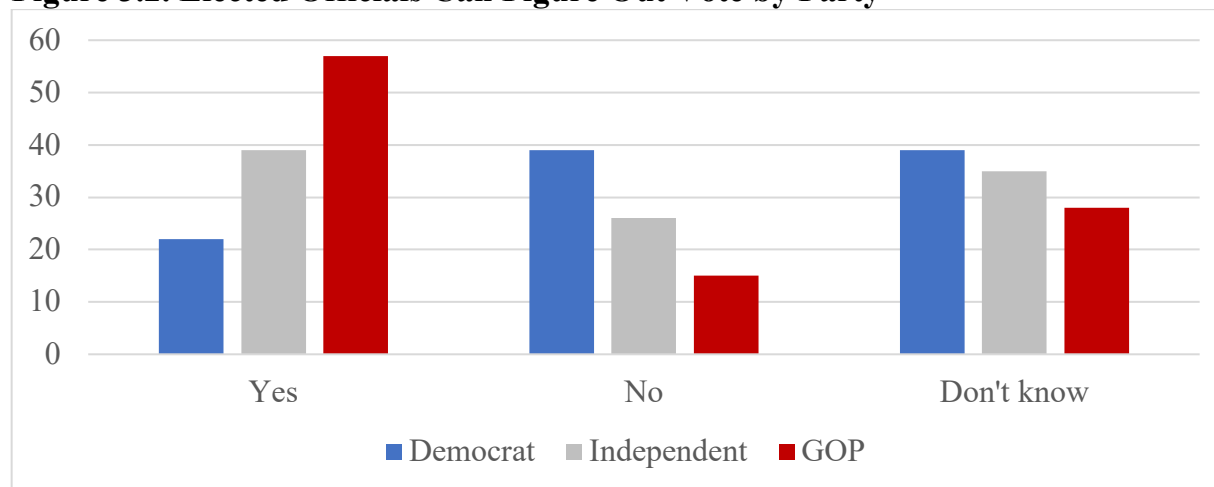


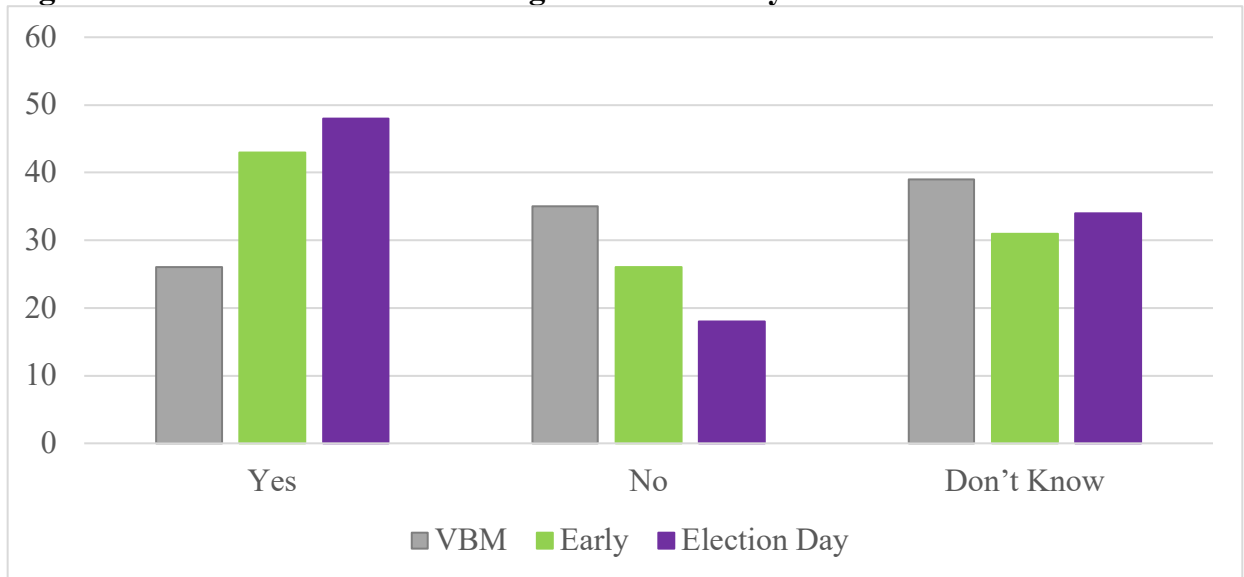
Figure 3.2. Elected Officials Can Figure Out Vote by Party



- We hypothesized that VBM voters would be the most likely to think that their vote might be identifiable, given that they include identifying references such as their signature and the last 4 digits of their social security numbers. However, we did not find this to be the case. Rather, Election Day voters were the most concerned about their ballot privacy. However, the high correlation of vote mode to partisanship may help to explain these facts.

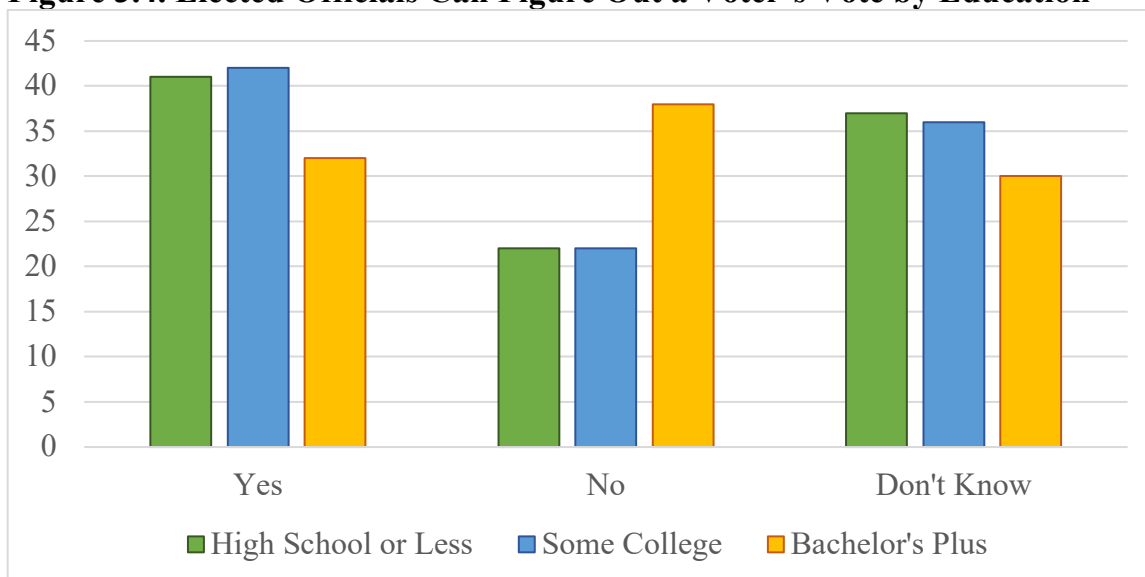
- Nearly half of Election Day voters (48%) reported election officials can figure out who a voter voted for, while 43% of early and only 26% of VBM voters feels the same way.

Figure 3.3. Elected Officials Can Figure Out Vote by Vote Mode



- Figure 3.4 shows the same results by level of education. These responses demonstrate a divergence in confidence of the maintenance of vote privacy and ballot secrecy by elected officials.
- A plurality of respondents with some college or less are more likely to believe that elected officials can determine who they voted for, whereas a plurality of those with bachelor's degrees disagree.

Figure 3.4. Elected Officials Can Figure Out a Voter's Vote by Education



Voting Coercion

Related to voting secrecy is the notion that voting should be free from voter intimidation and coercion which allows a voter to vote for the candidates that they prefer. Table 3.3 shows the percentages of voters who said they experienced one or more instances where others pressured them into voting for a particular candidate. We note that the first two are rather innocuous and not necessarily considered a form of intimidation; certainly people are allowed to talk to others about politics, and persuasion campaigns are part of political rhetoric.

- Nearly four out of five NM voters (79%) said they did not have anyone try to convince, tell, threaten, or mark their ballot for a candidate they did not prefer to vote for.
- Nearly one out of five voters (21%) reported that they experienced one or more persuasive, and in some cases coercive, actions in an attempt to get them to vote for a candidate they did not prefer.
- 18% experienced someone trying to convince them to vote a particular way, 13% experienced someone telling them to vote for a certain candidate, 3% were threatened, but hardly anyone (0.2%) experienced someone marking their ballot for them.

Table 3.3. % of Voters Who Experience a Persuasive or Coercive Action

Try and convince you to vote for someone that you didn't want to vote for	18%
Tell you to vote for someone that you didn't want to vote for	13%
Threaten you in some way to get you to vote for someone you didn't want to vote for	3%
Mark your ballot for you, making choices that you would not have	0.2%
No one did any of these	79%

There are interesting party and gender differences to consider, as well.

- From Figure 3.5, we can see that GOP voters (43%) were more likely to say they had someone try to convince them to vote for a certain candidate compared to Independents (29%) and Democrats (28%).

Figure 3.5. Did Someone Try and Convince You to Vote for Someone You Did Not Want to Vote For?

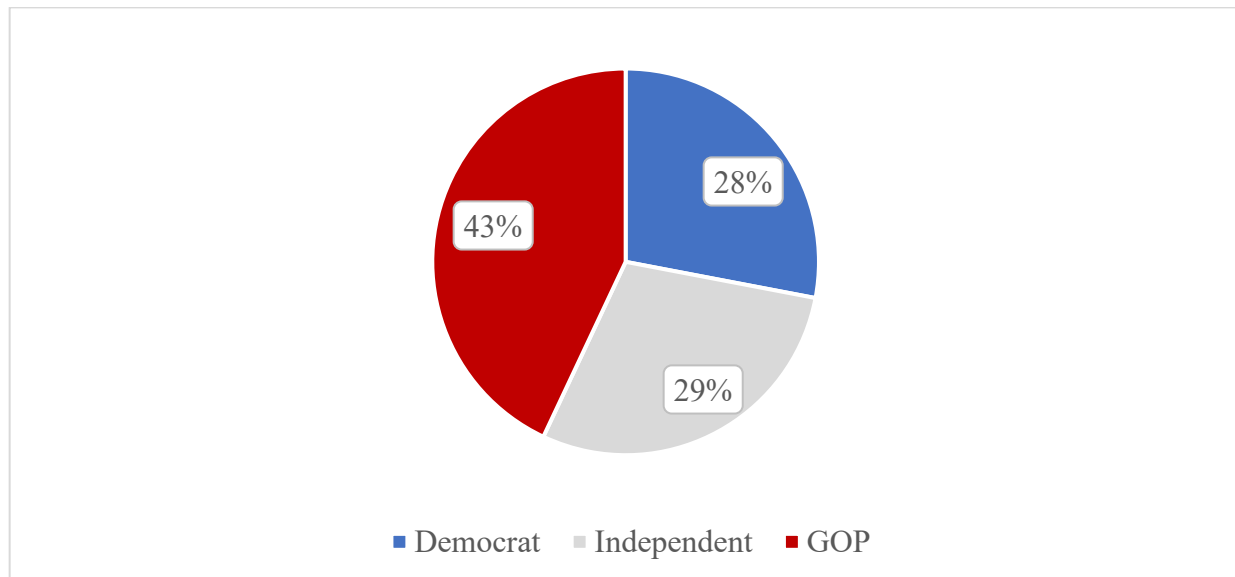
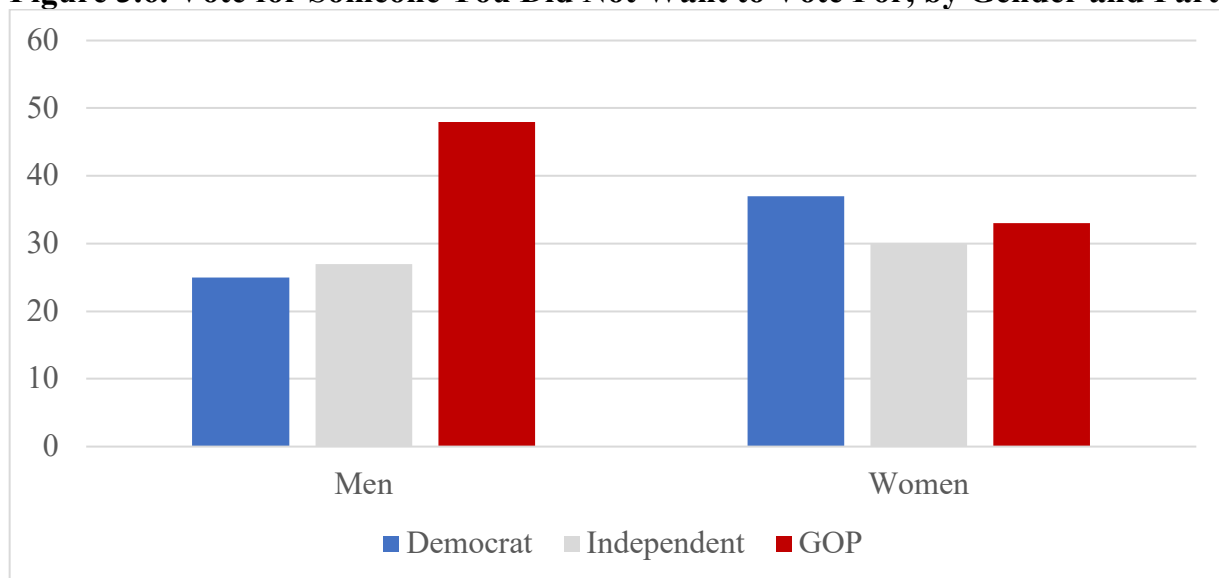


Figure 3.6 shows the same breakdown with both party and gender.

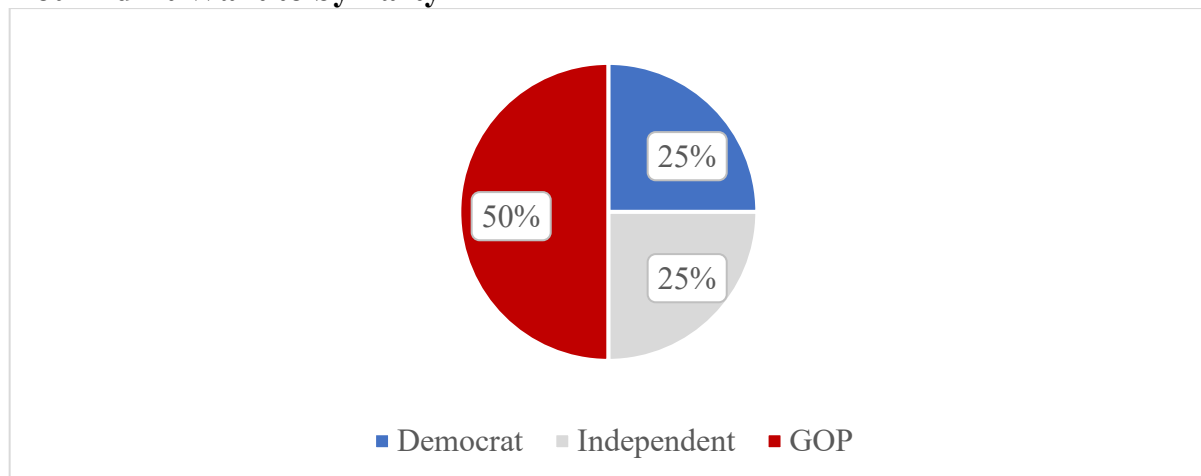
- Nearly half the men who say someone tried to convince them to vote for a candidate other than who they preferred were GOP (48%) voters. This is nearly double the independent (27%) or Democratic (25%) men.
- Conversely, more women who identify as Democrats (37%) said someone tried to convince them to vote for a candidate they didn't want to vote for. However, this was only 4 points higher than Republican women and 7 points higher than independent women.

Figure 3.6. Vote for Someone You Did Not Want to Vote For, by Gender and Party



- While only 3% of voters reported being threatened in some way to vote for someone they did not want to, this would imply that roughly 27,847 voters were threatened, which is disturbing.
- There are interesting divisions among party and age groups. There are little substantive differences among other demographic characteristics like race, ethnicity, or gender.
- Figure 3.7 shows that of voters who experienced a threat from others, half were GOP voters, 25% were Democrats, and 25% were Independents.

Figure 3.7. Did Anyone Threaten You in Some Way to Get You to Vote for Someone You Didn't Want to by Party



We also asked voters who experienced pressure or coercion, “Who tried to make you vote the way you didn’t want to?”

- Half of voters who experienced pressure to vote for a particular candidate were pressured by a friend or acquaintance.
- One of every four voters indicated that they were pressured by someone else, such as TV personalities, social media posts, strangers, and political workers. On the surface, these voters may not meet our more restrictive definition of intimidation.
- 24% of voters indicated that the pressure came from family members, with 2% from spouses.
- 1% of voters indicated they were coerced into voting for a particular candidate from their employer.

3.2. Beliefs about Election and Voter Fraud

Given the rhetoric in this election and the expanded use of mail balloting, we asked a number of different voter fraud questions to assess NM voters' beliefs about election and voter fraud. Some of these questions we have asked previously and, where appropriate, we bring in previous data to assess over-time trends.

Personal Observations of Fraud

The first set of questions gave voters a list of possible illegal election activities and asked voters, "Which of the following situations did you personally observe in the 2020 general election?" The situations are detailed in Table 3.4.

- Over three-quarters (77%) of NM voters indicated they did not personally witness any of these election fraud or irregular voting activities; 21% indicated they saw one or more election problems, and 3% gave no response.
- The highest frequency was for the activity "Unsolicited absentee ballots that did not belong to anyone in the household arrived at the voter's residence." This occurred 7% of the time, which is a surprisingly high percentage of unrequested ballots received at voters' homes.
- Given the high percentage of responses from voters who received ballots for other voters not living in the household, **we recommend the NM SOS provide instructions to residents about what to do when they receive such ballots.** This could include an online registry that voters can use to identify and report these erroneous ballots so that the NM SOS can determine why ballots are being sent to wrong locations and their implications for ballot security and chain of custody issues.

Table 3.4. Which of the following situations did you personally observe in the 2020 General Election? [check all that apply]

	Yes
None of these	77%
A ballot came to your house that did not belong to anyone in your household	7%
Other	6%
Intimidation at the polling place	5%
Someone being improperly denied the chance to vote	3%
Someone filling out an absentee ballot for someone else	3%
A ballot you or someone in your household requested that did not arrive	3%
Voting machines failing to record votes correctly	2%
Someone using a false identity to vote illegally	2%
Unrequested ballot arrived	2%
Bribery or paying for votes	1%
Someone stuffing a lot of ballots into an official ballot drop off	1%
Photo identification wasn't asked	1%
Someone having problem with stationery supplies at the polling station	1%

Believe in Frequency of Fraud

Just because voters have not witnessed unusual election activities does not mean they do not believe it happens. Therefore, in our next set of questions we asked about frequency of voter fraud with the following question, “Below is a list of possible illegal election activities that may or may not take place in New Mexico. Please tell me whether you think each event occurs all or most of the time, some of the time, not much of the time, hardly ever, never, or don’t know.” Table 3.5 shows a detailed display of the results in order from most to least believed types of fraud.

- First, we note that voters could indicate that they were unsure how frequently illegal election activities may occur in the state. Across the 13 illegal activities, don’t know responses range from 13%-33%. For one activity, tampering with ballots to change votes, the don’t know response was the mode at 33%.
- Among all possible activities we examined, voters were most concerned about the possibility the Secretary of State would make rules that favor one party or another. Nearly half (41%) of voters believe this happens at least some of the time with 21% indicating it happens all or most of the time and another 20% indicating it happens some of the time.
- Voters are split on whether non-US citizens vote in NM. Over one in three voters (36%) believe that non-US citizens vote all or most of the time (16%) or some of the time (20%), compared to 36% of voters who believe that non-US citizens vote hardly ever (21%) or never (15%).
- About three in ten voters (29%) believe that someone pretends to be another person when casting a vote. 51% believe it happens not much of the time (9%), hardly ever (21%), or never (21%).
- About three in ten voters believe that voters are intimidated into voting for a candidate they didn’t want to most or some of the time. A similar percentage of voters think that voted absentee ballots are stolen and thrown away after being submitted most or some of the time.

Table 3.5. % Belief in How Often Illegal Election Activities may take place in NM

	All or most of the time	Some of the time	Not much	Hardly ever	Never	Don't know
The secretary of state or other state or local election official makes rules that favor one party or another	21%	20%	6%	19%	10%	24%
<i>A non-US Citizen votes</i>	16%	20%	5%	21%	15%	23%
Voted absentee ballots are stolen and thrown away after being submitted	10%	21%	7%	22%	16%	24%
Voting machines fail to record votes correctly	9%	20%	9%	21%	21%	20%
Someone bribes someone or pays them money for their vote	7%	20%	13%	24%	19%	17%
<i>Tampering with ballots to change votes</i>	7%	17%	7%	21%	15%	33%
Someone intimidates a voter into voting for someone they didn't want to	6%	24%	14%	22%	21%	13%
Someone intimidates a voter into not voting	6%	23%	14%	24%	20%	13%
Someone steals an absentee ballot, changes or votes the ballot, and casts it	8%	19%	8%	24%	20%	21%
<i>Someone pretends to be another person and casts a vote for them</i>	8%	21%	9%	21%	21%	20%
<i>A voter casts more than one ballot</i>	7%	19%	8%	24%	23%	19%
Someone hacks into the vote tabulators and changes individuals votes	7%	13%	8%	27%	14%	31%
Someone being denied the opportunity to vote who is an eligible voter by a poll worker or other election official	5%	16%	12%	22%	21%	24%

We built an average index of fraud frequency that ranges from 1 (low fraud) to 5 (high fraud), using all 13 items to examine demographic and partisan differences.

- We find substantive differences between men and women's perceptions of fraud. Compared to women, men are more likely to believe that illegal election activities occur more frequently.
- We find large differences between partisans (see Figure 3.8). Democrats are far less likely to believe that fraud happens frequently than Republicans or DTS.
- We find that as education increases, estimates regarding the frequency of fraud decreases (see Figure 3.9). This suggests that knowledge and information are important to sifting through fraudulent claims about voting. Education materials focusing on election security could be valuable in reducing beliefs about fraud.
- We find that younger voters and older voters have the lowest estimates for the frequency of fraud, and middle-aged voters the highest (see Figure 3.10).
- We find that voters who refused to identify an ethnicity had the highest estimates for the frequency of fraud along with those who indicated two or more ethnicities. African Americans had the lowest estimates of fraud (see Figure 3.11).

Figure 3.8 Average Fraud Frequency by Party

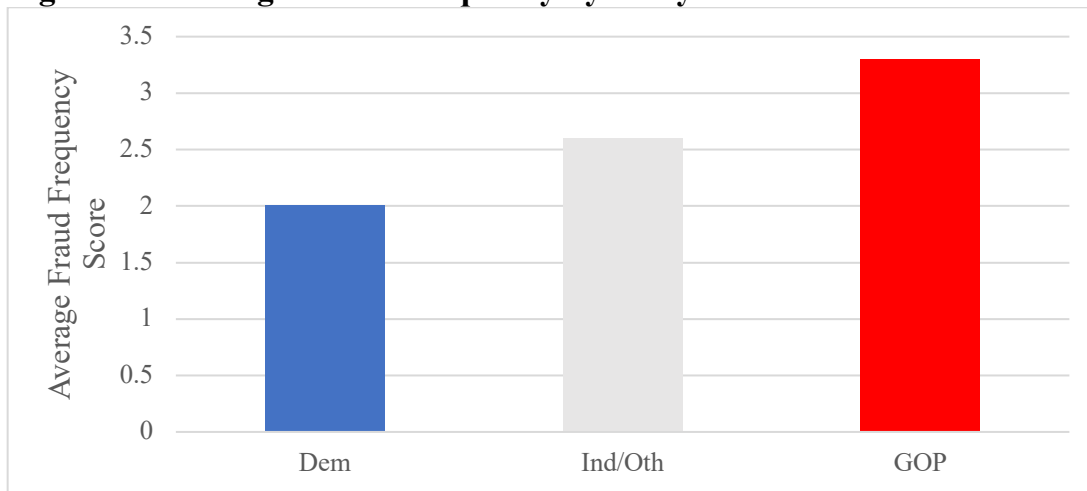


Figure 3.9. Average Fraud Frequency by Education

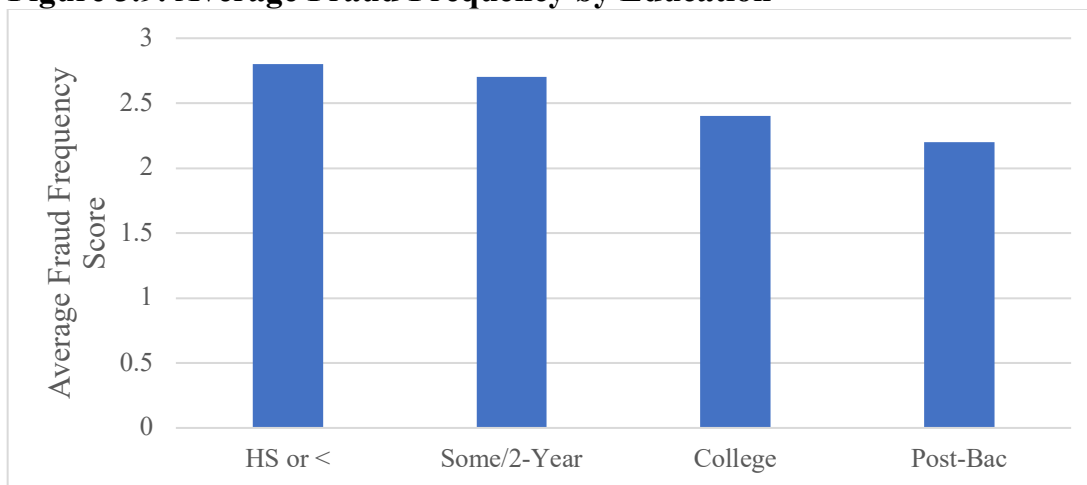


Figure 3.10. Average Fraud Frequency by Age

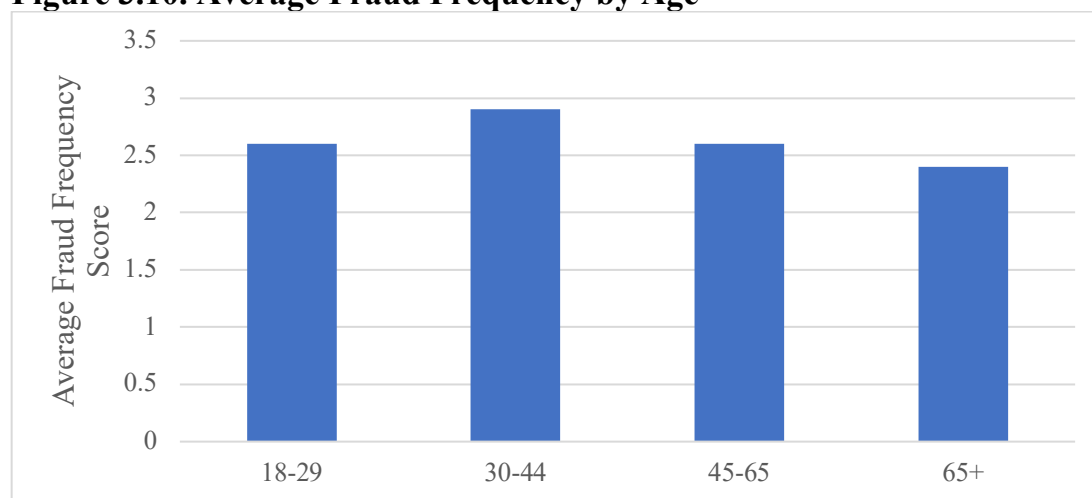
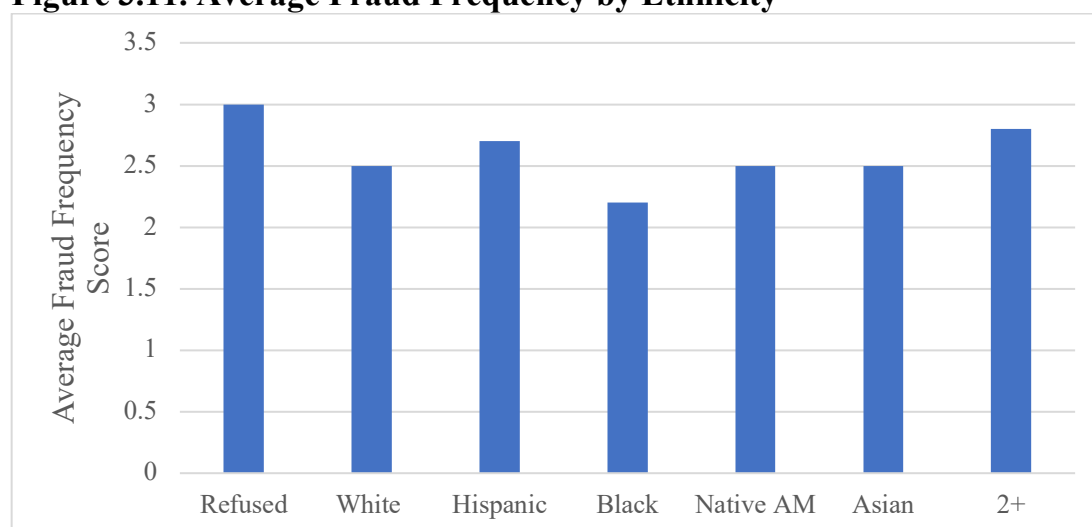


Figure 3.11. Average Fraud Frequency by Ethnicity



For the four questions that are italicized in Table 3.5, we have over-time data. In Figure 3.12 we show the over-time percentage of voters who indicated that this activity happens “all, most or some of the time”.³⁶

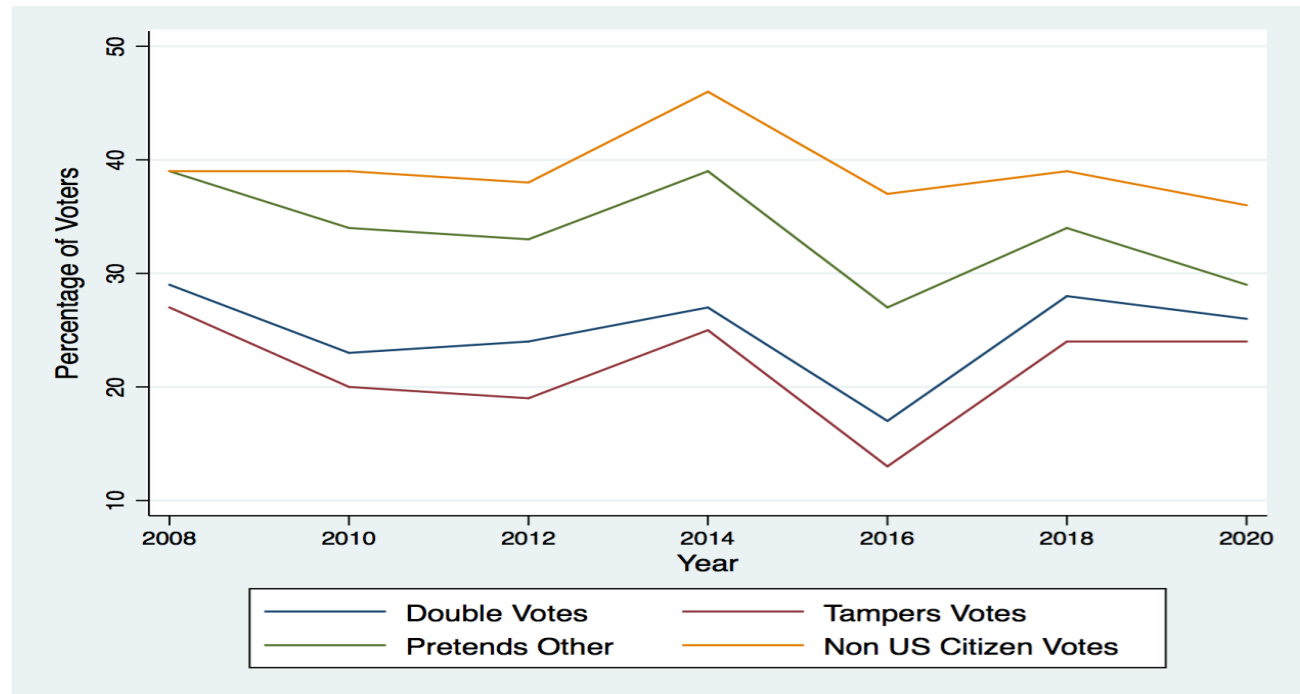
- Given the high frequency of talk about potential fraud in the 2020 election, we expected that beliefs about fraud would increase, but this pattern is not present in the data.
- The patterns are similar over time, with a non-US citizen voting the most likely to happen and tampering physically with votes the least likely to happen.
- The perceptions that non-citizens vote or that someone pretends to be another voter are at relative lows—near 2016 levels. Double voting and vote tampering in 2020 appear

³⁶ Statewide data are used for 2008, 2010, 2016, 2018, and 2020. Bernalillo County data are used for 2012 and 2014.

among the higher estimates—near 2018 and 2014 levels. Compared to 2008, the results suggest that New Mexicans are slightly less likely to believe illegal election activities happen frequently.

- Compared to 2008, the first year we asked these questions, perceptions of these types of fraud have gone down about 2 or 3 points for all activities except pretending to be another voter, which appears to have dropped significantly from about 39% in 2008 to 30% in 2020

Figure 3.12. Possible Illegal Election Activities Overtime % All, Most, or Some of the Time



Election Fraud

We also asked voters if they personally witnessed election or voter fraud in any previous election that they participated in and if it changed the outcome of the election. Tables 3.6 and 3.7 display the results.

- 8% of voters said they witnessed election or voter fraud in an election they had participated in. Among these witnesses, over one in three voters think that the fraud changed the outcome of the election.
- Still, more voters who personally witnessed election or voter fraud believe that it did not affect the outcome of the election in which they participated in (41%).

Table 3.6. Have you personally witnessed what you believe to be election fraud or voter fraud in ANY election that you participated in?

Yes	8%
No	92%

Table 3.7. Do you think election fraud has changed the outcome of any election in which you have participated?

Yes	36%
No	41%
Don't know	23%

Further analysis shows a significant relationship between election fraud and demographic and partisan variables, including gender, ethnicity, age, and party identification.

- Males, Hispanics, voters between 30-44 years old, and Republicans are more likely to say they have witnessed election or voter fraud than others.

3.3. Attitudes Toward Voter Identification

Voter authentication and identification is an important component of election administration because only qualified electors are allowed to vote. The 2002 Help America Vote Act (HAVA) established a minimum threshold for voter identification in federal elections, which requires voters who are voting for the first time and did not provide verification of their identity when they registered to show some sort of identification. This could be a current and valid photo identification or a non-photo id such as a utility bill, bank statement, paycheck, or any government document that has the name and address of the voter.³⁷

Thirty-six states have laws requiring some sort of voter identification at the polls for in-person voters.³⁸ The remaining 14 states and DC use other methods to identify voters. NM, for example, has no documents requirement, except for first time voters under HAVA. NM in-person voters are authenticated by stating verbally their name, address, and birth year.³⁹

We asked respondents questions related to voter ID requirements. Attitudes toward voter identification are complex and take on different perspectives depending on how the question is framed. Because of the complexities and the nature of the debates going on in the state legislature, across the states, and among activists, we examine an expanded set of questions and attitudes toward voter identification.

- First, we asked respondents the degree to which they agree with the statement “photo identification should be required for each voter at the polls.” We found that over three-quarters (77%) of voters’ support voter ID requirements. 57% indicated they strongly agree and 20% indicated they somewhat agree.
- Only 23% disagreed, with 12% somewhat disagreeing and 11% strongly disagreeing.

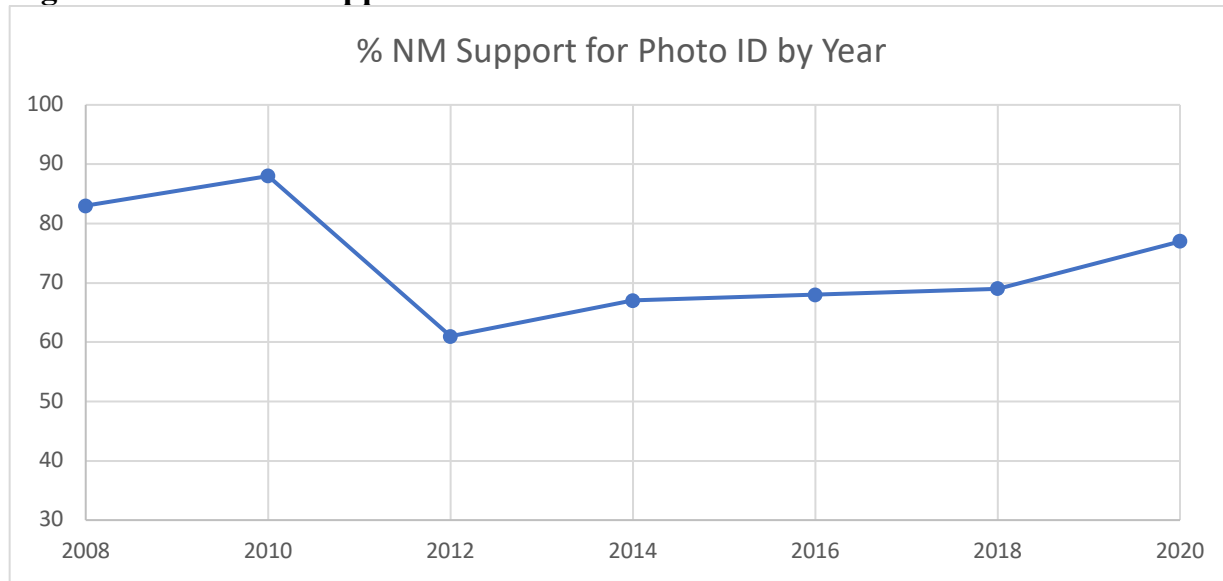
³⁷ See the Help America Vote Act section 15483(b)(2)(A).

³⁸ For a good overview of laws across states relating to voter ID in 2020 see: <https://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/voter-id.aspx>.

³⁹ See Section 1-12-10 NM Statutes.

- A majority of voters in all partisan groups supported voter identification policies. We found 61% of Democrats supported voter ID laws, while 39% did not. Almost all (96%) of Republicans support voter ID laws. DTS/other also support voter ID laws (78%).
- The findings suggest Democrats express more support for voter ID laws than they did in 2018 (48% 2018 vs 61% 2020); Republicans are consistent across time, and independents express slightly less support for voter ID laws than they did in 2018 (87% 2018 vs 78% 2020.).
- Figure 3.13 shows support for voter ID over time. In the earlier years, opinions were changing as voters learned about the issue and received cues from party elites that clarified their positions. However, opinion never fell below a 60% support level. Since 2012, support for vote ID policy has been creeping up from its all-time low.

Figure 3.13. % NM Support for Photo ID 2008-2020



To assess attitudes toward the trade-off between vote fraud and greater access, we repeated a question that we have asked respondents since 2006, asking “Thinking about elections and election reforms, which is more important to you, ensuring that everyone who is eligible has the right to vote or protecting the voting system against fraud?” Table 3.8 tracks changes over time.

- In 2020 the difference between ensuring the right to vote and protecting the system against fraud was relatively small compared to recent years, only 5 points. 2008 was the last time these numbers were similarly close, although the question was worded slightly differently due to respondents volunteering “equally important” as a response.
- Nevertheless, a slight majority favor access over system protection. However, that lead has been on the decline since its high in the 2012 election.

Table 3.8. Voter Attitudes toward Voter Identification over time?

2020 Which is more important?	
Ensuring that everyone who is eligible has the right to vote	51
Protecting the voting system against fraud	46
Don't know	3
2018 Which is more important?	
Ensuring that everyone who is eligible has the right to vote	58
Protecting the voting system against fraud	39
Don't know	3
2016 Which is more important?	
Ensuring that everyone who is eligible has the right to vote	58
Protecting the voting system against fraud	39
Don't know	3
2014 Which is more important?	
Ensuring that everyone who is eligible has the right to vote	58
Protecting the voting system against fraud	38
Don't know	4
2012 Which is more important?	
Ensuring that everyone who is eligible has the right to vote	62
Protecting the voting system against fraud	34
Don't know	4
2010 Which is More important?	
Ensuring that everyone who is eligible has the right to vote	44
Protecting the voting system against fraud	53
Don't Know	3
2008 Which is More important?	
Ensuring that everyone who is eligible has the right to vote	42
Protecting the voting system against fraud	39
Both are equally important/neither	16
Don't Know	3

A great deal of attitudes towards election reforms can be explained via partisanship.

- Similar to 2018, nearly eight in ten Democrats (78%), compared to almost two in ten Republicans (18%) believe it is more important to ensure that everyone who is eligible has the right to vote. These trends are consistent with previous reports and suggest that Democrats have increased support over time.
- Republicans express similar support in the opposite direction; almost eight in ten Republicans (79%), compared to nearly two in ten Democrats believe that protecting the system against fraud is more important than expanding the franchise.
- DTS other are in-between.
- Gender does appear to influence responses. Women expressed 14% more support for ensuring everyone has access to the vote (55%) than protecting the system against fraud (41%). Women are generally more Democratic, so this finding is also related to partisanship.

- Black and Native American voters were the most likely racial groups to feel it was important to ensure everyone who is eligible has the right to vote (60% and 61%, respectively) over protecting the system against fraud (37% and 36%, respectively). Whites also were more likely to support ensuring everyone who is eligible has the right to vote (53%) compared to protecting the system against fraud 45%. Hispanics and Asian Americans were the most likely groups to feel that protecting the system from fraud was more important (51% and 62%, respectively) than ensuring everyone who is eligible has the right to vote (47% and 36%, respectively).
- Consistent with previous reports, more educated voters had greater support for ensuring that everyone who is eligible has the right to vote. 60% of voters with at least a college degree indicated it was more important to ensure the right to vote, compared to only 38% of voters with a high school degree. 57% of voters with a high school degree indicated that protecting the system against fraud was more important, compared to 37% of voters with at least a college degree. Education is also correlated with party, which is influencing these demographic differences.

To assess how voters feel about the current NM Voter ID law, we asked a much more specific question that provided additional context about NM voter ID laws. We asked: “New Mexico’s in-person voter ID law requires voters to state their address, name and birth year. Do you think this requirement is: too strict, just right, or not strict enough?”

- Our findings indicate 55% of voters believe the current law is *just right* while 42% believe it is *not strict enough*. 3% of voters said the ID law was *too strict*. We can see over time that support for the NM law has been increasing.
- Not surprisingly, there is a partisan divide related to attitudes towards NM’s Voter ID law. Where 81% of Democrats believe the Voter ID law is *just right*, only 22% of Republicans feel the same. Likewise, where 77% of Republicans believe the law is *not strict enough*, only 14% of Democrats feel the same. 51% of Independents believe the law is *just right* and while 46% believe it is *not strict enough*.

Table 3.9 Voter Attitudes toward NM Voter ID Law by Partisanship

	Democrats	DTS /Other	Republican	All
2020				
Not Strict enough	14%	46%	77%	42%
Just Right	81%	52%	22%	55%
Too strict	5%	2%	1%	3%
2018				
Not strict enough	19%	57%	82%	46%
Just right	76%	41%	16%	50%
Too strict	5%	3%	2%	4%
2016				
Not strict enough	21%	56%	86%	48%
Just right	77%	43%	14%	51%
Too strict	2%	1%	0%	1%
2014				
Not strict enough	29%	61%	86%	54%
Just right	69%	39%	14%	45%
Too strict	2%	0	0%	1%
2012				
Not strict enough	31%	50%	87%	50%
Just right	69%	50%	13%	50%
Too strict	0%	0%	0%	0%
2010				
Not Strict Enough	39%	72%	83%	61%
Just right	60%	28%	17%	39%
Too Strict	1%	0%	0%	0%

3.4. Attitudes toward Election Reforms

Election reforms have been an expanding area of public policy over the last two decades. For example, over this time period NM has implemented numerous reforms. In 2006, after several problems were identified in the DRE machines that were used in the 2002 and 2004 elections, New Mexican election activists in 2005 filed a lawsuit to end the use of electronic voting machines that do not provide for a voter verifiable and auditable paper trail.⁴⁰ In 2005, NM mandated that voting systems include a paper trail.⁴¹ In 2006, during the legislative session NM legislators passed a bill to move to a statewide optical scan paper ballot system in time for the

⁴⁰ The Associated Press State & Local Wire, January 14, 2005, Friday, BC Cycle, accessed via Lexis-Nexis on May 31, 2007; also see

⁴¹ New Mexico Senate Rules Committee Substitute for Senate Bills 678, 680, 718 & 735. 2005. 47th New Mexico Legislative Session First Legislative Session, available at: <https://www.nmlegis.gov/Sessions/05%20Regular/bills/senate/SB0718RUS.pdf>

federal 2006 general election.⁴² NM was the first state that moved from a predominantly electronic voting system to one that mandated optical scan paper ballots statewide, with the intent of providing a paper trail so that elections could be audited for accuracy and to provide an environment that would promote greater voter confidence.⁴³ In 2010, NM moved from a precinct based voting system to one that allowed for voting convenience centers (VCCs), which provides voters the opportunity to vote at any VCC in their county. In 2019, a number of election reforms bills passed the legislature and were signed by Governor Lujan Grisham.

The National Popular Vote

In 2019, NM joined a number of other states in passing the National Popular Vote law. The law mandates NM's Electoral College votes go to the presidential candidate that wins the popular vote nationally, regardless of the vote outcome in NM. The law goes into effect once enough states pass the measure to ensure that the candidate that wins the national popular vote will also win the Electoral College. As of yet, counting the number of Electoral College votes by the states that have passed this law, the total is 196 (270 needed).

- We asked a number of questions related to this. The findings demonstrate strong support for some sort of national popular vote presidential system. We asked, "How do you think we should elect the President: should it be the candidate who gets the most votes in all 50 states, or the current Electoral College system?"
- We find that 60% of voters supported electing the President based on who received the most votes across the U.S. In 2018, that number was 62%, which was identical to what we found in 2012 and 2016; in 2014, 72% supported this idea.
- In 2020, 39% of voters believe we should keep the current Electoral College system.
- Under the current Electoral College system, Democrats have lost 2 of the last 6 Presidential elections even though they won the popular vote (Bush 2000 and Trump 2016). Thus, Republicans have won 2 of the last 6 elections despite losing the popular vote – making this a partisan issue. In 2020, we find 83% of Democrats, 31% of Republicans, and 54% of Independents supported selecting the candidate who wins the most popular votes nationally to serve as President. Interestingly enough, Democratic support decreased by 9% (92% in 2018) while Republican support increased by 6%, from 26% to 31% in 2018).

Using the Last 4 Digits of Voters' Social Security Numbers for Authentication on VBM Ballots

⁴² New Mexico Senate Bill 0295. 2006. 47th New Mexico 5th Session Second Legislative Session, available at: <https://www.nmlegis.gov/Sessions/06%20Regular/final/SB0295.pdf>

⁴³ Atkeson, Lonna Rae. R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall. 2010. "Assessing Electoral Performance in New Mexico using an Eco-system Approach: New Mexico 2008," Typescript, University of New Mexico. Available at: <https://polisci.unm.edu/common/c-sved/papers/2012-bernalillo-county-elections-administration-report.pdf>.

Vote-by-mail (VBM) increased dramatically across the country during the COVID-19 pandemic, including in NM. NM expanded VBM from about 10% of the electorate in the last several elections to 36% of all 2020 voters. In response to the pandemic the NM legislature made several changes to the law during a special legislative session.⁴⁴ One such change was having VBM voters include the last 4 digits of their social security numbers on the inner envelope as an election integrity measure. Prior to this NM had very minimal security and only required that voters sign the affidavit stating they were a qualified elector. NM has never done signature matching.

Therefore, we asked voters what they thought about the new voting measure with the following question, “New Mexico's absentee/vote by mail ballot voter ID in this election requires voters to sign their ballot envelope and include the last 4 digits of their social security number. Normally voters in NM only have to sign their ballot envelope (signatures are not matched in NM). Do you think the added security of the SSN should be kept or is a signature affidavit enough?”

- Nearly three-quarters of voters (74%) support the change to keep the last four of a voter’s SSN as part of VBM ballot integrity; only 14% indicated a signed affidavit was enough. 12% indicated they don’t know.
- Although a majority of all partisan groups supported the addition of the SSN, Republicans expressed more support for keeping the last four digits on one’s SSN on their ballot (85%), than Democrats (66%), and Independents (74%). This is consistent with previous sections of this report that suggest Republicans are more concerned with protecting election integrity.
- We do not find any substantive relationship between gender, education, race, or age and attitudes towards keeping the last four-digit rule.

All Mail Elections

We also asked voters their feelings towards moving to a universal all-mail election system, similar to the state of Oregon and the state of Colorado. These states send ballots to every registered voter automatically for every election in which the voter is qualified. We asked voters to strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with the following “New Mexico should move to permanent all-mail elections.” The frequency and party results are visible in Table 3.10.

- There is very little support for moving to all mail elections. Overall, more than seven out of ten (72%) NM voters disagreed with moving to all-mail elections. Fully a majority (52%) of voters disagreed with it strongly, another one in five (20%) voters somewhat disagreed.

⁴⁴ Jens Gould, June 19 2020, Watered-down Version of Election Bill Passes Senate, *The Santa Fe New Mexican*, available at: https://www.santafenewmexican.com/news/legislature/watered-down-version-of-election-reform-bill-clears-senate-panel/article_0dc8abca-b1a2-11ea-94f7-73855fdf0682.html

- Only 9% of voters strongly agreed that we should move to all-mail elections and another almost one in five (19%) somewhat agreed.
- We find a large partisan disparity between partisan groups. 94% of Republicans disagree, whereas 76% of DTS and 53% of Democrats also disagree, but nevertheless a majority of all partisan groups would prefer not to move to all mail in voting.
- We did not find any substantive differences in levels of agreement between gender, race/ethnicity, education, or age.

Table 3.10. Overall and Party Support and Opposition to “NM Should Move to all Mail Elections”

	Democrat	DTS/Other	GOP	Total
Strongly Disagree	25%	53%	86%	52%
Somewhat Disagree	28%	23%	8%	20%
Somewhat Agree	33%	17%	4%	19%
Strongly Agree	15%	8%	2%	9%

- Voters who voted by mail are much more supportive of moving to all mail elections than voters who voted in-person as shown in Table 3.11. A huge majority of **in-person** early (83%) and Election Day (88%) voters expressed disagreement with moving to all-mail elections. Meanwhile, just slightly less than a majority (49%) of VBM voters disagreed, with just over a majority (51%) supporting a change to all VBM elections.
- Clearly experiencing the VBM process increases support for this election change, but even for those voters there is not a huge swell of support for all mail elections.

Table 3.11. Vote Mode and Support and Opposition to “NM Should Move to All Mail Elections”

	VBM	Early	Election Day
Strongly Disagree	27%	65%	68%
Somewhat Disagree	22%	18%	20%
Somewhat Agree	33%	13%	9%
Strongly Agree	18%	4%	3%

- Compared to previous elections, this is a slight up-tick in support for all mail election. In 2010 moving to all mail elections was supported by 17% of voters, in 2016 it was 20%, in 2018 it was 19%. Therefore, the move to 28%, a 9% increase, was a clear shift in favor of all mail elections, but it only moved the needle a little.

Ranked Choice Voting/Instant Run-Off

Ranked choice voting (RCV) is an increasingly popular alternative style of voting across the U.S. RCV is a method of candidate selection in which voters rank each candidate in the contest from their most to least favored. Votes are counted in the “first round” based upon voters’ first ranked

choices. If a candidate wins a majority of the votes, he or she is declared the winner. If no candidate wins a majority, the candidate with the least number of votes is eliminated and his or her voter's second choice preference is counted and added to the total. At this point, a new tally is completed and if a majority candidate emerges then he or she is declared the winner. If not, the process is repeated until 1 candidate wins a majority of the votes. The State of Maine conducts all its elections via ranked choice voting. The cities of Santa Fe and Las Cruces both use ranked choice voting in their municipal elections.⁴⁵

Ranked choice voting is rather complicated, so in order to ensure voters understood how it works, we utilized a hover-tool that enabled them to access? more material to learn about it.

- We asked, “Ranked choice voting or instant run-off voting is an election reform that allows voters to rank candidates from their most favorite to least favorite. We found that a plurality of voters “don’t know” (41%), followed by 32% in favor and 26% opposed.
- When we consider how voters feel about RCV in cities where it has been used, we find that the mode moves from “don’t know” to support for RCV, but it is not majority support. About two in five voters support RCV in both the city of Las Cruces (41%) and the city of Santa Fe (40%), while three in 10 voters (31%) support RCV in locations where it has not been used.

Independent Redistricting

In 2018, 2019, and 2020 legislation was introduced in the NM House to create an Independent Redistricting Commission to facilitate a less partisan process in redistricting NM’s Congressional, Legislative, Public Regulation Commission, and other local districts across the state after the 2020 census. The first two times it failed, but in 2020 Senate Bill 304 was passed unanimously in the NM Senate with a 39-0 vote and nearly unanimously in the NM House with a 64-2 vote with a number of modifications.⁴⁶

The bill creates a 7-member commission to make redistricting recommendations to the state legislature. The members of the commission would be chosen by state House and Senate leaders from both parties as well as the State Ethics Commission. The commission is required to hold a minimum of 6 public meetings to gather public input and draft 3 possible district maps for the US Congress, the Public Education Commission and the state House and Senate. These plans would be submitted to the legislature for consideration during the special session that focuses on redistricting. However, the legislature is allowed to modify or change the plans and thus the independent commission’s power over the redistricting process is likely to be weak.

A total of 25 states have some sort of independent redistricting commission. Fourteen states have an Independent Redistricting Commission whose purpose is to draw plans for state legislative

⁴⁵ See the Center for the Study of Voting, Election & Democracy federal election reports available at: <https://polisci.unm.edu/c-sved/research.html>.

⁴⁶ For overviews see: Carol Clark, available at: <https://ladailypost.com/bill-to-ensure-new-mexico-has-independent-redistricting-commission-plan-passes-39-0-in-senate/>.

districts, 6 states have an advisory commission that assists in the process and five states have a backup commission that makes redistricting decisions if the legislature fails to do so.⁴⁷

Academic research has not found that independent redistricting commissions alter the redistricting process and that they appear to follow the same guiding principles as most state legislatures and build districts that favor incumbents.⁴⁸

Given the successful implementation of the 2020 Census, we asked two questions about the redistricting process in NM.

- First, we asked how strongly voters agreed or disagreed with the following, “An Independent Redistricting Commission should be created to determine district boundaries after the 2020 Census.” In principle, voters support an independent commission with nearly 8 in 10 voters in support (79%), 47% of voters strongly agree and 32% of voters somewhat agree.
- A majority of Democrats (82%), Independents (81%), and Republicans (75%) support it. These numbers are slightly down for each group from our last report in 2018. In 2018, 89% of Democrats, 81% of Independents, and 76% of Republicans supported the measure. Nonetheless, this still demonstrates a great degree of congruence between the parties in an era of polarization.

We followed up these questions about redistricting by asking voters more specific questions related to the general goals that should guide public policy related to redistricting. Even more so than in 2018, we found that voters are uncertain. The problem is very difficult because there are many ways to draw a district. Districts can be drawn based upon a variety of goals including 1) favoring one party over the other -- partisan gerrymandering, 2) matching the partisan breakdown of seats to the electorate, 3) maximizing competitiveness, 4) maximizing the number of majority-minority districts, 5) keeping communities together by making districts compact (using natural and administrative borders such as rivers, hills and lakes, or cities, counties, and neighborhoods).

We focused on two goals: keeping communities together and competitiveness.

We asked, “Next year NM will draw new district lines in response to the U.S. Census. Do you think: They should create electoral districts that hold communities together even if it means that one party will dominate [or] they should create electoral districts where there is close competition between the two parties, even if it means that communities will be disconnected.” Respondents were also given a “don’t know” option.

- We found that the modal response was *don’t know* with two in five voters selecting that option (44%).

⁴⁷ This information comes from the National Conference of State Legislatures and is available at: <http://www.ncsl.org/research/redistricting/2009-redistricting-commissions-table.aspx>.

⁴⁸ https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2961564

- We found a difference among partisans. For Democrats and Independents, the mode is don't know (48% and 42%, respectively). For Republicans, the mode response is competition (43%), whereas only 24% of Democrats and 31% of Independents supported ensuring close competition.
- In 2018, Independents are Republicans preferred competition, indicating independents shifted towards a more ambivalent attitude about redistricting as their modal response in 2020 was *don't know*.
- The Democratic Party dominates NM politics, so it is unsurprising that the modal Republican response was greater competition because that would increase their probability of winning elections.

Public Financing

NM is one of 13 states that have implemented some kind of a public financing system, with Albuquerque and Santa Fe among the few municipalities with such systems. At the state level, among the 22 states that elect judges to the State Supreme Court, NM is one of only two states (along with West Virginia) that offer public financing for candidates. NM also offers public financing for the Court of Appeals, and for Public Regulation Commissioners, who are elected in district-wide races. The cities of Albuquerque and Santa Fe both offer public financing systems for mayoral and city council candidates. We began asking questions about public financing in 2016.

- To gauge general sentiment towards public finance for elected office, we asked voters their level of agreement on the statement, "All candidates for elected offices should be eligible to receive public financing for their campaigns." Voters are evenly split on their support for public financing about ½ agreeing and ½ disagreeing with this election reform.
- These numbers suggest a decrease in support for public finance. In 2018, 65% of voters strongly (25%) or somewhat (40%) agreed with the above statement.
- We find differences across party support. A majority of Republicans (61%) and DTS/other (54%) voters did not support public financing, while a majority of Democrats (61%) of supported it.

Post Script: 2020 and Beyond

Table PS.1 provides an overview of the election studies we have completed in NM since 2006. These studies have provided many insights and recommendations on ways to enhance and improve the quality of the election experience for voters and increase efficiency and performance in election administration. In 2006, we did our first election ecosystem study that included a voter survey, Election Day observations, and a poll worker study. In 2008, we included everything from 2006 and expanded our study to provide additional analyses of New Mexico's first post-election audit. In 2010, we had to scale back some of our efforts, but managed to continue our statewide voter survey and poll worker survey in five counties (Bernalillo, Dona Ana, Santa Fe, San Juan, and Lincoln), which included four of the largest counties in the state. We also did 2010 Election Day observations in Bernalillo County. In 2012 and 2014, we focused all of our efforts on the biggest county in the state, Bernalillo County. In 2016, we have data for Bernalillo County and a separate statewide survey. This provides us with 7 successive elections on voters, 6 on poll workers, and 6 Election Day and early observations in Bernalillo County that resulted in a qualitative report. In 2018, we observed the election process in Bernalillo County, but did not write a report. In 2020, due to the pandemic we did not do any vote center observation. However, we did visit 3 counties (Santa Fe, Bernalillo, Dona Ana) and observed their VBM qualification process

To our knowledge, the New Mexico Election Studies (NMES) is a unique state level data set and one that demonstrates the power and value of a data driven approach to election administration. We commend the transparency and commitment of local election officials in NM and the Secretary of State to this endeavor. Their openness and willingness to be on the front burner and having us in their backyard all the time is a testament to their strong commitment to a high-quality voting experience.

Table PS.1 New Mexico Election Studies

	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020
CD1	X							
Bernco				X	X	X		
Statewide		X	X			X	X	X
Poll workers	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Election Observations	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Overall, we have found again and again a system that is fundamentally working as designed and where voters have a high degree of confidence that their votes were counted correctly. Compared to the 2006 study when we found many problems with our election system, today we see a much better run, more efficient, and voter centered election system.

Moreover, over the course of our efforts, we have continued to see improvements in election administration and increasing comfort with the paper ballot system adopted in 2006. Indeed, many positive responses regarding the security of elections in NM centered on the fact that we use paper ballots and have a post-election audit. New training methods and implementation of new reforms, especially the vote center model, have resulted in better run elections with a higher

degree of voter confidence and satisfaction with their election experience. That being said, there is always room for improvement, and we are confident that the information we provide here will be beneficial to that continuing effort. As we move into preparation for the 2022 election cycle, and possibly smaller off-year local contests, we hope that our report provides useful insights and information to improve the quality of the election experience and create greater uniformity in election administration at vote centers and precincts in NM and across the country.

Critical to continued improvement of the process is consistent systematic feedback on the process, which has been supported by NM election officials since 2006. We note that our 2006 study provided a baseline from which to examine events in subsequent elections and that, in general, we have seen tremendous change and improvement over the last decade. Making the voter the priority has made NM elections better run and more successful than many other states and has resulted in both greater confidence and satisfaction with the election than we saw when we started these studies. Nevertheless, it is important to continue to monitor the ecosystem to ensure continued progress and responsiveness to a system that is in on-going change due to changes in the law and in administrative guidelines and choices. So, we call for continued support for this evaluation in future elections and perhaps for helping voters gain information about the security of our election systems. In addition, an examination of election procedures including the voter registration process, the voter purging process, an audit of the quality and accuracy of the voter rolls, a consideration of processes at the state level, including resource allocation to counties as well as the counting of absentee and provisional ballots should be added. Each of these dimensions of election administration in NM merit independent study to create a long-term analysis that feeds back into the election administration improvement process, which we hope will be facilitated in the 2020 federal election and thereafter.

Appendix A 2020 Election Administration, Security and Reform Survey Frequency Report

1. How interested were you in the 2020 election? (n=4,619)

Very interested	91%
Somewhat interested	7%
Not too interested	1%
Not at all interested	1%

2. This general election how did you vote? (n=4,616)

Absentee/vote by mail --where your ballot was mailed to you by your county clerk	36%
Early in-person	49%
Election Day in-person	15%

3. Have you voted by absentee or vote by mail in a previous election? (n=4,615)

Yes	36%
No	64%

4. Thinking in political terms, would you say that you are: (n=4,605)

Very liberal	14%
Somewhat liberal	16%
Moderate	19%
Somewhat conservative	19%
Very conservative	21%
Haven't thought much about it	7%
Don't know	4%

5. Do you consider yourself to be any of the following?

	Yes	No	Don't know
Libertarian (n=4,249)	14%	71%	15%
Socialist (n=4,219)	12%	77%	11%
Progressive (n=4,343)	31%	54%	15%
Anarchist (n=4,138)	3%	88%	9%

6. How confident are you that **YOUR** vote in the General Election was counted as you intended? (n=4,614)

Very confident	56%
Somewhat confident	21%
Not too confident	12%
Not at all confident	11%

7. Thinking about your county, state, and the nation, how confident are you that all of the ballots were counted as the voters intended?

	Very Confident	Somewhat confident	Not too confident	Not at all confident
Your County (n=4,613)	54%	20%	10%	16%
The State of New Mexico (n=4,526)	52%	19%	14%	15%
Nationwide (n=4,526)	41%	18%	13%	28%

8. What is the longest amount of time you have ever waited in line to vote in-person? (n=4,585)

less than 15 minutes	42%
16-30 minutes	28%
31-59 minutes	17%
60 to 90 minutes	9%
91-240 minutes	2%
Don't Remember/NA	2%

9. Please answer the following statements.

	All or Almost all of the time	Most of the time	Some- times	Rarely	Never or Almost never
Does anyone, including friends or family, ever ask you which candidate you prefer or voted for? (n=4,617)	17%	20%	37%	16%	10%
If a friend or family member asks you who you prefer in an election, do you name a candidate? (n=4,598)	48%	23%	16%	6%	7%
If you tell a close friend or family member which candidate you prefer, do you tell the truth? (n=4,591)	85%	8%	4%	1%	2%

10. According to the law, which candidate you vote for is supposed to be kept secret unless you tell someone. Even so, how easy or hard do you think it would be for politicians, union officials, or the people you work for to find out who you voted for, even if you told no one? (n=4,152)

Impossible, my vote is secret	16%
It would be very hard, but not impossible	28%
It would be somewhat hard	14%
It would be somewhat easy	17%
It would be very easy	15%
Don't Know	10%

11. Do you think elected officials can access voting records and figure out who a voter had voted for? (n=4,616)

Yes	38%
No	28%
I don't know	34%

12. Did anyone? (Mark all that apply) (n=4,625)

Try and convince you to vote for someone that you didn't want to vote for	18%
Tell you to vote for someone that you didn't want to vote for	13%

Threaten you in some way to get you to vote for someone you didn't want to vote for	3%
Mark your ballot for you, making choices that you would not have	0.2%
No one did any of these	79%

13. [Yes to any questions in 12]: The result of this was? (n=919)

You ignored the request and marked your ballot the way you wanted	95%
You pretended to vote the way they wanted you to but marked the ballot with your choices	4%
You voted the way they told you to vote	1%
You couldn't resolve the conflict so you just didn't vote that race	0%

14. [Yes to any questions in 12]: Who tried to make you vote the way you didn't want to?
(n=901)

My spouse	2%
Another family member that wasn't my spouse	22%
My employer	1%
A friend or acquaintance	50%
Stranger(s)/Random people	4%
TV, Internet, Social Media, Advertising	7%
Political worker	3%
Republicans	2%
Democrats	2%
Colleagues, Neighbors, Community	2%
Random calls or texts	1%
Other	4%

15. Which of the following situations did you personally observe in the 2020 General Election? [Mark all that apply] (n=4,625)

Bribery or paying for votes	1%
Someone being improperly denied the chance to vote	3%
Someone filling out an absentee ballot for someone else	3%
Voting machines failing to record votes correctly	2%
Someone using a false identity to vote illegally	2%
Voter intimidation at the polling place	5%
A ballot came to your house that did not belong to anyone in your household	7%
A ballot you or someone in your household requested that did not arrive	3%
Someone stuffing a lot of ballots into an official ballot drop box	1%
Unrequested ballot arrived	2%
Photo identification wasn't asked	1%
Someone having problem with stationery supplies at the polling station	1%
Other:	6%
None of these	77%

16. How much do you think Russia, China or other foreign powers influenced voters in the 2020 general elections? (n=4,569)

A lot	16%
Somewhat	34%
Not too much	27%
Not at all	23%

17. Below is a list of possibly illegal election activities that may or may not take place in New Mexico. Please tell me how often you think each event occurs:

	All or most of the time	Some of the time	Not Much	Hardly ever	Never	Don't know
A voter casts more than one ballot, also known as double voting. (n=4598)	7%	19%	8%	24%	23%	19%
Ballots are tampered with to change votes by poll workers or other elected officials. (n=4590)	7%	17%	7%	21%	15%	33%
Someone pretends to be another person and casts a vote for them in-person. (n=4593)	8%	21%	9%	21%	21%	20%
A non-US citizen votes (n=4591)	16%	20%	5%	21%	15%	23%
Someone hacks into the vote tabulators and changes individual votes. (n=4583)	7%	13%	8%	27%	14%	31%
The Secretary of State or other state or local election officials makes rules that favor one party or another. (n=4591)	21%	20%	6%	19%	10%	24%

18. Below is a list of possible illegal election activities continued that may or may not take place in New Mexico. Please tell me how often you think each event occurs:

	All or most of the time	Some of the time	Not much	Hardly ever	Never	Don't know
Voted absentee ballots are stolen and thrown away after being submitted (n=4588)	10%	21%	7%	22%	16%	24%
Someone intimidates a voter into voting for someone they didn't want to. (n=4585)	6%	24%	14%	22%	21%	13%
Someone steals an absentee ballot, changes or votes the ballot, and casts it. (n=4581)	8%	19%	8%	24%	20%	21%
Someone bribes someone or pays them money for their vote. (n=4582)	7%	20%	13%	24%	19%	17%
Someone intimidates a voter into not voting.(n=4567)	6%	23%	14%	24%	20%	13%
Someone being denied the opportunity to vote who is an eligible voter by a poll worker or other election official. (n=4578)	5%	16%	12%	22%	21%	24%
Voting machines fail to record votes correctly (n=4570)	9%	20%	9%	21%	21%	20%

19. Have you personally witnessed what you believe to be election fraud or voter fraud in **ANY** election that you participated in? (n=4,611)

Yes	8%
No	92%

20. Do you think election fraud has changed the outcome of any election in which you have participated? (n=4,616)

Yes	36%
No	41%
Don't know	23%

Your Voting Experience Absentee Voters

21. How did you request an absentee ballot? (n=1,706)

I did it on-line	59%
I mailed a form letter to my county clerk that I got in the mail	28%
I emailed my county clerk	3%
I called my county clerk by phone	4%
I went to the county clerk's office and made the request in-person	1%
I mailed a form letter to my county clerk that I received in the mail from a third party (e.g. a political party, non-profit or other group)	4%
Other	1%

22. Did you log on to your voter registration record to do any of the following?

[Mark all that apply] (n=4,625)

Yes, to check to see when my absentee ballot was sent to me	37%
Yes, to check to see if my absentee ballot arrived at the county clerk's office	44%
Yes, to look at a sample ballot	24%
Yes, to check my voter registration	49%
No, I didn't logon to my voter registration record	11%

23. Why did you request an absentee ballot? [Mark all that apply]: (n=4625)

I was going to be out of town for this election	3%
Voting by mail or absentee was just more convenient for me this election	19%
I could not get to the poll on Election Day because of my work or school schedule	2%
I am in the armed forces / a domestic out of state voter	0.2%
I have a physical disability that makes it difficult for me to go to the polls	3%
I was an election official or poll worker	0.4%
Religious observances would have interfered with my going to the polls	0%
I was worried about COVID-19	23%
I used to voter absentee	0.3%
I was worried about voter intimidation	0.3%
Personal/Family reasons	0.3%
It was the secure way to vote	0.2%
It provided me chance to research candidates	0.2%
Something else	3%

24. Was your absentee ballot APPLICATION for an absentee ballot ever rejected? (n=1,707)

Yes	2%
No	93%
I don't know	5%

25. How easy or hard was it to resolve the problem? (n=30)

Very easy	42%
Somewhat easy	31%
Somewhat hard	6%
Very hard	21%

26. Was your absentee mail ballot sent to you by mail, e-mail, FAX, or some other way?
(n=1,707)

Sent to me by USPS mail	99.3%
Emailed	0.5%
FAX	0%
Other (Please specify)	0.2%

27. Did you know or have to look up the last 4 digits of your social security number (SSN) to place it on the envelope of your ballot? (n=1,705)

I knew the last 4 digits of my SSN.	99%
I had to look up the last 4 digits of my SSN.	1%

28. How easy or hard was it for you to find your social security number to place the last 4 digits on the outer envelope along with your signature? (n=11)

Very Easy	81%
Somewhat easy	8%
Somewhat hard	11%
Very hard	0%

29. Who returned your ballot or dropped it in the mail? (n=1,706)

I did	88%
A member of my family did	11%
A friend of mine did	0.7%
A political party or interest group member did	0%
A stranger did	0.3%

30. If someone else returned your ballot, how did they return your ballot? (n=192)

At a post office box or at a U.S. Postal Service location	54%
A drop box used only for ballots	8%
They dropped it off at the county clerk's office in-person	20%
They dropped it off at an early vote center	17%
They emailed it	1%

31. How did you return your ballot? (n=1,502)

At a post office box at a U.S. Postal Service location	39%
At an official post office box not at a U.S. Postal Service location	7%
It was picked up by the postal worker who delivers mail to my home	18%
A drop box used only for ballots	6%

I dropped it off at the county clerk's office	13%
I dropped it off at an early voting vote center	17%

32. Once you got to where you dropped off your ballot, how long did you have to wait before you could deposit your ballot and leave? (n=1,237)

Not at all	86%
Less than 10 minutes	12%
10-30 minutes	2%

33. Did you return anyone else's ballot? (n=1,398)

No	83%
Yes	17%

34. Whose ballot(s) did you return? [Mark all that apply] (n=253)

Spouse	75%
Parent/parents	15%
Child/children	15%
Other family member	12%
Friend	1%

35. How many ballots did you return? (n=243)

Number of Ballots	Percent
One	8%
Two	73%
Three	12%
Four	4%
Five	3%

36a. Why did you decide to drop off your ballot rather than mail the ballot back in? (Mark all that apply) (n=612)

It was very convenient to drop it off	38%
I didn't trust the USPS to deliver it on time	33%
I didn't have enough time to use the USPS for return delivery	2%
I wanted to be certain that it arrived	77%
Something else	5%

36b. Why did you decide to mail your ballot back in rather than drop it off? (n=827)

It was very convenient to drop it off.	62%
COVID reasons	14%
I trust the USPS.	8%
There was enough time to use the USPS for return delivery	6%
Out of Town/State	6%
No Drop Off Location	1%
Didn't think much about it; just did.	5%

37. Were you contacted by your local election official because something was missing from your ballot so it couldn't be counted? This might be because you forgot to sign it or include the last 4 of your social security number (n=1,705)

No	98%
Yes	2%

37a. [If Yes to Q37] Why were you contacted? (n=26)

Yes, I forgot my signature	25%
Yes, I forgot to include the last 4 digits of my SSN	21%
Yes, I forgot both my signature and the last 4 digits of my SSN	15%
Yes, my address was wrong	39%

38. Were you able to resolve the problem? (n=30)

No	25%
Yes	75%

38a. Were you able to resolve the problem? Yes. (n=25)

Corrected SSN, Signed and Returned Form	64%
Contacted/Went into the county clerk's Office	19%
Voted Replacement Ballot	13%
Discarded Incorrect Ballot	4%

38b. Were you able to resolve the problem? No. (n=3)

Mail notification was sent to previous mailing address (in spite of ballot being mailed to correct address). USPS forwarded letter weeks later but did not receive until the day after the election. No longer able to correct issue.	33%
Information not available online.	33%
I'm not certain my votes were ever counted or included!	33%

39. Overall, how easy or hard was it to follow all the instructions necessary to cast your ballot and return it to be counted? (n=1,705)

Very easy	82%
Somewhat easy	16%
Somewhat hard	1%
Very hard	1%

40. How concerned were you that your ballot would arrive at the county clerk's office in time to be counted? (n=1,707)

Very concerned	11%
Somewhat concerned	17%
Not too concerned	25%
Not at all concerned	46%

41. Did you encounter any problems marking or completing your ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended? (n=1,685)

No	98%
Yes	2%

41a. What problem did you encounter? (n=16)

Wrong Envelope/Ballot Marking	45%
Instruction not always clear	45%
Vision issues	10%

42. Has someone else ever filled out your ballot for you? (n=1,706)

Yes	1%
No	99%

43. Given your experience this year with absentee voting, how likely are you to vote absentee next time? (n=1,708)

Very likely	68%
Somewhat likely	23%
Not too likely	6%
Not at all likely	3%

Your Voting Experience In-Person Early and Election Day Voters

44. How long was the voting line when you got to your vote center or polling location? (n=2,905)

Very Long	7%
Somewhat long	17%
Not very long	25%
Not long at all	51%

45. Did you consider the overall wait time at the vote center to be: (n=2,904)

No wait time	35%
Short wait time	35%
Moderate wait time	24%
Long wait time	7%

46. About how many minutes did you wait in line in this election before you were able to vote?

Minutes	Early (n=1,903)	Election Day (n=1,004)	Total (n=2,907)
0 Minutes	10%	26%	8%
1-5 Minutes	28%	35%	21%
6-10 Minutes	11%	10%	8%
11-15 Minutes	10%	7%	8%
16-20 Minutes	8%	5%	6%
21-40 Minutes	13%	5%	10%
41-120 Minutes	21%	12%	16%
Average	22 minutes	13 minutes	17 minutes

47. In New Mexico, the voter gets to choose how they want to be identified at the polls. They can provide (1) their name, address, and birth year, (2) a photo ID, or (3) a non-photo ID. What type of identification did you provide? (n=2,899)

Name, address, and birth year	47%
A photo-id (e.g. driver's license, military ID, passport, Sam's Club)	30%
Voter Registration Card/Document	14%
Something else	6%
I didn't provide any sort of ID; the poll worker knew me	3%

48. Thinking back, did poll worker ask for a photo or non-photo ID or did you just provide it to them without being asked? (n=1,432)

Poll worker asked for the ID	32%
I just provided it to the poll worker	52%
I don't remember	17%

49. Please mark how much you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the voting location where you voted:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	n
The location was easy to find.	72%	27%	1%	1%	2,899
I had to go far out of my way to vote	2%	5%	34%	58%	2,879
It was hard to find a place to park.	2%	7%	40%	51%	2,888
The poll workers were helpful.	53%	41%	4%	2%	2,888
My ballot privacy was protected.	52%	42%	5%	1%	2,883
The ballot was too long.	4%	17%	58%	21%	2,872
I felt safe voting in-person.	61%	35%	3%	1%	2,887

50. Please answer yes or no to the following questions:

	Yes	No	n
Did a poll worker look at your ballot and see who you were voting for?	6%	94%	2,631
Did another voter look at your ballot while you were voting it or while you were in line to feed it into the vote tabulator?	2%	98%	2,740
Did someone in line at the polling place ask you who you were voting for?	2%	98%	2,892
Did you use a privacy sleeve to keep your ballot in while you were moving around the vote center?	21%	79%	2,770

51. What percentage:

	0-20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	81-100%	Average	n
of voters were wearing masks while standing in line outside of the vote center?	4%	1%	3%	4%	88%	91%	2,815
of voters were standing at least 6' apart while standing outside the vote center	4%	2%	5%	8%	82%	92%	2,787
of voters were wearing masks while inside the vote center	3%	1%	2%	2%	93%	96%	2,836
of voters were standing at least 6' apart inside the vote center	6%	2%	6%	8%	78%	90%	2,820
of poll workers were wearing masks inside the vote center	2%	1%	1%	1%	95%	97%	2,840

Your Voting Experience

52. How would you rate your voting experience overall? (n=4,620)

Excellent	51%
Good	35%
Fair	9%
Poor	4%

53. Did you visit the Secretary of State's website at any time to find election information?
(n=4,616)

Yes	48%
No	52%

54. [If yes in Q53] Why did you visit the Secretary of State's website? [mark all that apply]
(n=2,435)

Register to vote	19%
Check or update my voter registration (e.g. address or party change)	62%
Find information about my county clerk	25%
Request an absentee ballot	34%
File a voter complaint form	1%
Something else (please specify):	25%

55. [If yes in Q53] How easy or hard was it to find what you were looking for on the Secretary of State's website? (n=2,423)

Very easy	45%
Somewhat easy	45%
Somewhat hard	8%
Very hard	2%

56. Did you call or email your local county clerk or Secretary of State's Office?

	Call	Email	Call & Email	Neither	n
Secretary of State	4%	3%	1%	93%	4,505
county clerk	11%	3%	1%	84%	4,451

57. [Call or Email to Q56] Overall, how satisfied were you with your interaction with the Secretary of State's Office? (n=278)

Very Satisfied	58%
Somewhat Satisfied	19%
Not Very Satisfied	15%
Not at all Satisfied	8%

58. [Call or Email to Q56] Overall, how satisfied were you with your interactions with the county clerk?
(n=687)

Very satisfied	75%
Somewhat satisfied	16%
Not very satisfied	4%
Not at all satisfied	5%

59. How many contests did you vote on your 2020 ballot? (n=4,572)

All of the contests	72%
Nearly all of the contests	16%
Most of the contests	6%
About 1/2 of the contests	2%
Just a few contests	2%
No contests	2%

Thinking about Politics

60. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or member of another political party? (n=4,625)

Republican	35%
Democrat	44%
Independent	21%
Something else	1%

61. How long would you be willing to wait to do the following before leaving?

	Up to 5 mins	6-15 minutes	16-30 minutes	31-60 minutes	Up to 2 hours	As long as it takes	N
Vote	2%	4%	13%	17%	5%	59%	4,574
Get a driver's license	2%	4%	18%	31%	11%	35%	4,571
Purchase a cup of coffee	46%	42%	7%	1%	0%	5%	4,524
On the phone with your Internet provider	12%	28%	28%	14%	2%	16%	4,571
Purchase a new smart phone	14%	25%	29%	18%	3%	11%	4,531
To get a table at a restaurant	8%	30%	43%	15%	1%	4%	4,576

62. Compared to a year ago how are each of the following doing economically?

	Much better	Somewhat better	Same	Somewhat worse	Much worse	N
You and your family	14%	17%	43%	17%	9%	4,605
National economy	14%	10%	11%	31%	35%	4,574
State economy	5%	6%	14%	33%	43%	4,562

63. How much do you approve or disapprove of how the following individuals are handling their jobs:

	Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	N
President Donald Trump	31%	13%	6%	51%	4,533
Governor Michelle Lujan Grisham	34%	23%	9%	34%	4,479

Your US House Member (Haaland, Torres Small, Lujan)	24%	32%	16%	28%	3,954
Your county clerk	30%	59%	7%	4%	3,499
Secretary of State Maggie Toulouse Oliver	24%	47%	14%	16%	3,294
Senator Martin Heinrich	23%	38%	16%	23%	3,522

64. How much do you approve or disapprove of how the following are handling their jobs?

	Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	N
US Congress	5%	22%	30%	44%	4,315
New Mexico Supreme Court	14%	47%	19%	20%	2,968
New Mexico State Legislature	9%	43%	23%	25%	3,793
The University of New Mexico	19%	47%	19%	14%	2,713
US Supreme Court	15%	47%	25%	15%	4,110
New Mexico State University	19%	54%	16%	12%	2,259

65. Thinking in political terms, please rate the ideology of the following political leaders

	Very Liberal	Somewhat Liberal	Moderate	Somewhat Conservative	Very Conservative	N
President Donald Trump	4%	1%	4%	22%	70%	3,962
Vice President Joe Biden	41%	27%	28%	2%	2%	4,270
Senator Martin Heinrich	32%	34%	28%	4%	2%	3,141
Senator Kamala Harris	54%	28%	16%	2%	2%	4,149
Governor Michelle Lujan Grisham	45%	32%	19%	2%	2%	4,216
Vice President Mike Pence	2%	1%	5%	13%	79%	4,099
Mark Ronchetti	3%	3%	11%	31%	53%	3,418
Ben Ray Lujan	40%	36%	21%	1%	2%	3,656

66. Thinking in political terms, please rate the ideology of the following political institutions

	Very Liberal	Somewhat Liberal	Moderate	Somewhat Conservative	Very Conservative	Don't Know	N
Democratic Party	47%	28%	16%	2%	1%	7%	4,556
Republican Party	2%	2%	5%	23%	59%	9%	4,538
The University of New Mexico	20%	20%	18%	2%	1%	41%	4,486
New Mexico State University	13%	15%	19%	5%	1%	49%	4,484
Libertarian Party	19%	10%	19%	12%	9%	32%	4,512

67. Please rate how you feel towards the following groups. A score of 0 means you are very cold to them, while a score of 100 means you are very warm to them, a score of 50 means that you are neither cold or warm to them.

	0-25	26-50	51-75	76-100	Mean	N
Democratic Party	23%	18%	18%	41%	58	3,780
Republican Party	31%	18%	15%	36%	53	3,777
News Media	33%	27%	20%	20%	45	3,565

Conservatives	26%	24%	16%	34%	55	3,798
Liberals	29%	26%	20%	25%	49	3,502
Libertarians	30%	43%	18%	9%	41	3,516
Police	9%	17%	19%	55%	73	4,351
Socialists	43%	27%	16%	14%	37	2,244
Progressives	28%	25%	21%	26%	50	2,403
Anarchists	68%	21%	7%	4%	19	1,806

The next 3 questions ask your vote choice so that we can weight the data to be representative of the population.

68. For whom did you vote for in the race for U.S. President? (n=4447)

Joe Biden / Kamala Harris (Democratic)	54%
Donald Trump / Mike Pence (Republican)	43%
Other	4%

69. For whom did you vote for in the race for U.S. Senate? (n=4,387)

Ben Ray Luján (Democrat)	53%
Mark Ronchetti (Republican)	45%
Bob Walsh (Libertarian)	2%

70. For whom did you vote for in the race for US House? (n=4,337)

Republican Candidate (i.e. Holmes, Herrell, or Johnson)	45%
Democratic Candidate (i.e. Haaland, Torres Small, or Fernandez)	54%
Write-in Candidate (i.e. Jones)	1%

Thinking about Elections and Election Reform

71. Which is more important? (n=4,604)

Ensuring that everyone who is eligible has the right to vote	51%
Protecting the voting system against fraud	46%
Don't know	3%

72. New Mexico's in-person voter ID law requires voters to state their address, name, and birth year. Do you think this requirement is: (n=4,614)

Too strict	3%
Just right	55%
Not strict enough	42%

73. New Mexico's absentee/vote by mail ballot voter ID in this election requires voters to sign their ballot envelope and include the last 4 of their social security number. Normally voters in NM only have to sign their ballot envelope (signatures are not matched in NM).

Do you think the added security of the SSN should be kept or is a signature affidavit enough? (n=4,586)

Keep the last 4 of the social	74%
Just use signature affidavit	14%
I don't know	12%

74. How do you think we should elect the President: should it be the candidate who gets the most votes in all 50 states, or the current Electoral College system? (n=4,549)

The candidate who gets the most votes in all 50 states	61%
The current Electoral College system	39%

75. Please mark how much you agree or disagree with the following election reforms:

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	N
New Mexico should move to permanent all mail elections.	9%	19%	20%	52%	4,570
Photo identification should be required of each voter at the polls.	57%	20%	12%	11%	4,590
An independent redistricting commission should be created to determine district boundaries after the 2020 Census.	32%	47%	14%	7%	4,432
All candidates for elected offices should be eligible to receive public financing for their campaigns	16%	34%	22%	28%	4,447

76. Ranked choice voting or instant run-off voting is an election reform that allows voters to rank candidates from their favorite to least favorite.

Do you think: (n=4,521)

Ranked Choice voting should be used and winners should receive the majority of the votes	32%
The candidate with the most votes, but not necessarily a majority of the votes should	27%
Don't know	41%

77. Next year NM will draw new district lines in response to the US census. Do you think (n=4,540)

They should create electoral districts that hold communities together even if it means that one party will dominate.	23%
They should create electoral districts where there is close competition between the two parties, even if it means that communities will be disconnected	33%
Don't know	44%

78. Thinking about issues in politics today that matter to you, how often would you say your side has been winning or losing? (n=4,455)

Winning a great deal more often than losing	9%
Winning somewhat more often than losing	18%
Winning and losing about equally	39%
Losing somewhat more often than winning	24%
Losing a great deal more often than winning	11%

79. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	N
Public officials don't care much about what people like me think.	35%	40%	21%	5%	4,539
I have been discriminated against because of my gender.	11%	21%	22%	46%	4,493

I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics.	39%	42%	13%	6%	4,513
American society hasn't dealt fairly with people from my ethnic background.	17%	23%	23%	39%	4,478
After elections, elected representatives accommodate citizen wishes.	4%	30%	41%	25%	4,480
I have been discriminated against because of my race/ethnicity.	13%	20%	19%	48%	4,467
I have been discriminated against because of my political beliefs	17%	28%	23%	32%	4,454

The last section is for statistical purposes only.

80. What is your age (n=4,625)

18-24	10%
25-29	7%
30-39	11%
40-49	13%
50-59	18%
60-69	25%
70+	17%

81. Are you? (n=4586)

Male	46%
Female	54%

82. What is the highest grade of education you have completed? (n=4625)

Less than a High School degree	2%
High School degree	26%
Some college	22%
Completed trade school / associates degree	13%
College degree	19%
Master's degree	13%
JD/MD/PhD	5%

83. Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin? (n=4498)

Yes	38%
No	62%

83a. Would you describe your Hispanic/Latino origin as: (n=)

Mexican	38%
Spanish	52%
Puerto Rican	1%
Central American	1%
New Mexican	1%
Something else	8%

84. What racial group best describes you? (n=4466)

White	47%
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Hispanic	35%
Black	2%
Native American	10%
Asian	1%
Bi- or multiracial	1%
Refuse	5%

85. What is your current marital status? (n=4573)

Married	50%
Divorced	12%
Single	25%
Living with a partner	7%
Widowed	5%
Separated	1%

86. How attentive were you to the survey while you were taking it? (n=4595)

Very attentive	87%
Somewhat attentive	13%
Not too attentive	1%

87. Did you have any technical problems interacting with this survey? (n=4597)

Yes	4%
No	96%

Appendix B. 2020 Pre-Election Election Administration, Security, and Election Reform Frequency Report VBM and In-Person Early Voters

1. How interested were you in the 2020 election? (n=1,592)

Very interested	93%
Somewhat interested	5%
Not too interested	1%
Not at all interested	1%

2. This general election how did you vote? (n=1,592)

Absentee/vote by mail --where your ballot was mailed to you by your county clerk	41%
Early in-person	59%

3. Have you voted by absentee or vote by mail in a previous election? (n=1,591)

Yes	41%
No	59%

4. Thinking in political terms, would you say that you are: (n=1,570)

Very liberal	15%
Somewhat liberal	15%
Moderate	20%
Somewhat conservative	18%
Very conservative	20%
Haven't thought much about it	8%
Don't know	4%

5. Do you consider yourself to be any of the following? Not Asked in the Pre Sample

	Yes	No	Don't know
Libertarian			
Socialist			
Progressive			
Anarchist			

6. How confident are you that **YOUR** vote in the General Election was counted as you intended? (n=1,595)

Very confident	57%
Somewhat confident	34%
Not too confident	6%
Not at all confident	3%

7. Thinking about your county, state, and the nation, how confident are you that all of the ballots were counted as the voters intended?

	Very Confident	Somewhat confident	Not too confident	Not at all confident
Your County (n=1,581)	44%	38%	12%	6%
The State of New Mexico (n=1,517)	40%	41%	12%	7%
Nationwide (n=1,514)	13%	44%	30%	13%

8. What is the longest amount of time you have ever waited in line to vote in-person? (n=1,546)

less than 15 minutes	39%
16-30 minutes	29%
31-59 minutes	18%
60 to 90 minutes	10%
More than 90 minutes	4%
Don't Remember/NA	0%

9. Please answer the following statements.

	All or Almost all of the time	Most of the time	Some- times	Rarely	Never or Almost never
Does anyone, including friends or family, ever ask you which candidate you prefer or voted for? (n=1592)	19%	20%	35%	17%	9%
If a friend or family member asks you who you prefer in an election, do you name a candidate? (n=1576)	52%	21%	14%	6%	7%
If you tell a close friend or family member which candidate you prefer, do you tell the truth? (n=1574)	85%	7%	4%	1%	3%

10. According to the law, which candidate you vote for is supposed to be kept secret unless you tell someone. Even so, how easy or hard do you think it would be for politicians, union officials, or the people you work for to find out who you voted for, even if you told no one? (n=1,590)

Impossible, my vote is secret	14%
It would be very hard, but not impossible	32%
It would be somewhat hard	14%
It would be somewhat easy	15%
It would be very easy	12%
Don't Know	13%

11. Do you think elected officials can access voting records and figure out who a voter had voted for? (n=1,592)

Yes	33%
No	27%
I don't know	40%

12. Did anyone? (Mark all that apply) (n=1,595)

Try and convince you to vote for someone that you didn't want to vote for	16%
Tell you to vote for someone that you didn't want to vote for	12%
Threaten you in some way to get you to vote for someone you didn't want to vote for	2%
Mark your ballot for you, making choices that you would not have	0%
No one did any of these	82%

13. [Yes to any questions in 12]: The result of this was? (n=285)

You ignored the request and marked your ballot the way you wanted	94%
You pretended to vote the way they wanted you to but marked the ballot with your choices	5%
You voted the way they told you to vote	1%
You couldn't resolve the conflict so you just didn't vote that race	0%

14. [Yes to any questions in 12]: Who tried to make you vote the way you didn't want to? (n=280)

My spouse	2%
Another family member that wasn't my spouse	22%
My employer	1%
A friend or acquaintance	42%
Stranger(s)/Random people	6%
TV, Internet, Social Media, Advertising, Campaigns	12%
Republicans	3%
Democrats	1%
Colleagues, Neighbors, Community	7%
Other	2%%

15. Which of the following situations did you personally observe in the 2020 General Election? [Mark all that apply] (n=1,595)

Bribery or paying for votes	1%
Someone being improperly denied the chance to vote	3%
Someone filling out an absentee ballot for someone else	2%
Voting machines failing to record votes correctly	1%
Someone using a false identity to vote illegally	1%
Voter intimidation at the polling place	3%
A ballot came to your house that did not belong to anyone in your household	3%
A ballot you or someone in your household requested that did not arrive	1%
Someone stuffing a lot of ballots into an official ballot drop box	0.3%
Other:	5%
None of these	86%

16. How much do you think Russia, China or other foreign powers influenced voters in the 2020 general elections? (n=1,575)

A lot	17%
Somewhat	42%
Not too much	23%
Not at all	18%

17. Below is a list of possibly illegal election activities that may or may not take place in New Mexico. Please tell me how often you think each event occurs:

	All or most of the time	Some of the time	Not Much	Hardly ever	Never	Don't know
A voter casts more than one ballot, also known as double voting. (n=1,590)	3%	19%	11%	27%	24%	16%
Ballots are tampered with to change votes by poll workers or other elected officials. (n=1,573)	3%	13%	11%	29%	20%	24%
Someone pretends to be another person and casts a vote for them in-person. (n=1,578)	3%	19%	11%	29%	23%	15%
A non-US citizen votes (n=1,564)	9%	19%	8%	8%	17%	20%
Someone hacks into the vote tabulators and changes individual votes. (n=1,570)	2%	12%	12%	35%	18%	21%
The Secretary of State or other state or local election officials makes rules that favor one party or another. (n=1,562)	18%	20%	9%	21%	13%	19%

18. Below is a list of possible illegal election activities continued that may or may not take place in New Mexico. Please tell me how often you think each event occurs:

	All or most of the time	Some of the time	Not much	Hardly ever	Never	Don't know
Voted absentee ballots are stolen and thrown away after being submitted (n=1,579)	4%	25%	10%	28%	21%	12%
Someone intimidates a voter into voting for someone they didn't want to. (n=1,568)	3%	26%	16%	25%	21%	9%
Someone steals an absentee ballot, changes or votes the ballot, and casts it. (n=1,564)	3%	18%	13%	30%	23%	13%
Someone bribes someone or pays them money for their vote. (n=1,565)	3%	22%	14%	31%	20%	10%
Someone intimidates a voter into not voting. (n=1,563)	3%	25%	17%	28%	19%	8%
Someone being denied the opportunity to vote who is an eligible voter by a poll worker or other election official. (n=1,561)	1%	16%	15%	28%	24%	16%
Voting machines fail to record votes correctly (n=1,560)	2%	19%	13%	29%	25%	12%

19. Have you personally witnessed what you believe to be election fraud or voter fraud in **ANY** election that you participated in? (n=1,592)

Yes	5%
No	95%

20. Do you think election fraud has changed the outcome of any election in which you have participated? (n=1,592)

Yes	23%
No	33%
Don't know	44%

Your Voting Experience Absentee Voters

21. How did you request an absentee ballot? (n=662)

I did it on-line	65%
I mailed a form letter to my County Clerk that I got in the mail	25%
I emailed my County Clerk	1%
I called my County Clerk by phone	3%
I went to the County Clerk's office and made the request in-person	0%
I mailed a form letter to my county clerk that I received in the mail from a third party (e.g. a political party, non-profit or other group)	3%
Other	3%

22. Did you logon to your voter registration record to do any of the following?

[Mark all that apply] (n=1,595)

Yes, to check to see when my absentee ballot was sent to me	16%
Yes, to check to see if my absentee ballot arrived at the County Clerk's office	17%
Yes, to look at a sample ballot	10%
Yes, to check my voter registration	23%
No, I didn't logon to my voter registration record	11%

23. Why did you request an absentee ballot? [Mark all that apply]: (n=662)

I was going to be out of town for this election	9%
Voting by mail or absentee was just more convenient for me this election	58%
I could not get to the poll on Election Day because of my work or school schedule	6%
I am in the armed forces / a domestic out of state voter	1%
I have a physical disability that makes it difficult for me to go to the polls	10%
I was an election official or poll worker	1%
Religious observances would have interfered with my going to the polls	0%
I was worried about COVID-19	64%
I used to voter absentee	1%
I could not wait in line to vote	1%
I wanted to vote early	1%
It provided me chance to research candidates	1%
Something else	8%

24. Was your absentee ballot APPLICATION for an absentee ballot ever rejected? (n=660)

Yes	1%
No	94%
I don't know	5%

25. How easy or hard was it to resolve the problem? (n=5)

Very easy	42%
Somewhat easy	17%
Somewhat hard	22%
Very hard	19%

26. Was your absentee mail ballot sent to you by mail, e-mail, FAX, or some other way? (n=660)

Sent to me by USPS mail	99.2%
Emailed	0.2%
Other (Please specify)	0.7%

27. Did you know or have to look up the last 4 digits of your social security number (SSN) to place it on the envelope of your ballot? (n=663)

I knew the last 4 digits of my SSN.	99%
I had to look up the last 4 digits of my SSN.	1%

28. How easy or hard was it for you to find your social security number to place the last 4 digits on the outer envelope along with your signature? (n=7)

Very Easy	100%
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29. Who returned your ballot or dropped it in the mail? (n=663)

I did	88%
A member of my family did	10%
Other	2%

30. If someone else returned your ballot, how did they return your ballot? (n=88)

At a post office box or at a U.S. Postal Service location	57%
A drop box used only for ballots	10%
They dropped it off at the County Clerk's office in-person	22%
They dropped it off at an early vote center	7%
Other	2%
I don't know	2%

31. How did you return your ballot? (n=579)

At a post office box at a U.S. Postal Service location	40%
At an official post office box not at a U.S. Postal Service location	8%
It was picked up by the postal worker who delivers mail to my home	21%
A drop box used only for ballots	5%
I dropped it off at the County Clerk's office	12%
I dropped it off at an early voting vote center	13%
Other	1%

32. Once you got to where you dropped off your ballot, how long did you have to wait before you could deposit your ballot and leave? (n=449)

Not at all	93%
Less than 10 minutes	6%
10-30 minutes	1%

33. Did you return anyone else's ballot? (n=554)

No	84%
Yes	16%

34. Whose ballot(s) did you return? [Mark all that apply] (n=89)

Spouse	63%
Parent/parents	15%
Child/children	16%
Other family member	15%
Friend	3%
Other	2%

35. How many ballots did you return? (n=105)

Number of Ballots	Percent
One	92%
Two	6%
Three	2%

36a. Why did you decide to drop off your ballot rather than mail the ballot back in? (Mark all that apply) (n=157)

It was very convenient to drop it off.	41%
I didn't trust the USPS to deliver it on time.	34%
I didn't have enough time to use the USPS for return delivery.	1%
I wanted to be certain that it arrived.	87%
Something else	6%

36b. Why did you decide to mail your ballot back in rather than drop it off? (n=294)

It was very convenient to mail it.	30%
COVID reasons	13%
I trust the USPS.	15%
It was easier to mail than to drop it off	21%
Out of Town/State	7%
No Drop Off Location	5%
I lived too far away from the drop off location	4%
I could not drive to a drop off location	2%
Other	3%

37. Were you contacted by your local election official because something was missing from your ballot so it couldn't be counted? This might be because you forgot to sign it or include the last 4 of your social security number (n=660)

No	100%
Yes	0%

39. Overall, how easy or hard was it to follow all the instructions necessary to cast your ballot and return it to be counted? (n=663)

Very easy	82%
Somewhat easy	18%
Somewhat hard	0%

40. How concerned were you that your ballot would arrive at the County Clerk's office in time to be counted? (n=663)

Very concerned	18%
Somewhat concerned	20%
Not too concerned	25%
Not at all concerned	37%

41. Did you encounter any problems marking or completing your ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended? (n=663)

No	98%
Yes	2%

41a. What problem did you encounter? (n=3)

Wrong Envelope/Ballot Marking	33%
The ballot was damaged	33%
The ballot was hard to understand	33%

42. Has someone else ever filled out your ballot for you? (n=660)

No	100%
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43. Given your experience this year with absentee voting, how likely are you to vote absentee next time? (n=662)

Very likely	65%
Somewhat likely	28%
Not too likely	6%
Not at all likely	1%

Your Voting Experience In-Person Early and Election Day Voters

44. How long was the voting line when you got to your vote center or polling location? (n=926)

Very Long	6%
Somewhat long	25%
Not very long	22%
Not long at all	47%

45. Did you consider the overall wait time at the vote center to be: (n=926)

No wait time	29%
Short wait time	35%
Moderate wait time	30%
Long wait time	6%

46. About how many minutes did you wait in line in this election before you were able to vote?

Minutes	Early In-Person (n=887)
0 Minutes	14%
1-5 Minutes	25%
6-10 Minutes	10%
11-15 Minutes	8%
16-20 Minutes	9%
21-40 Minutes	14%
41-120 Minutes	20%
Average	21 minutes

47. In New Mexico, the voter gets to choose how they want to be identified at the polls. They can provide (1) their name, address, and birth year, (2) a photo ID, or (3) a non-photo ID. What type of identification did you provide? (n=920)

Name, address, and birth year	55%
A photo-id (e.g. driver's license, military ID, passport, Sam's Club)	29%
Voter Registration Card/Document	8%
Something else	7%
I didn't provide any sort of ID; the poll worker knew me	1%

48. Thinking back, did poll worker ask for a photo or non-photo ID or did you just provide it to them without being asked? (n=262)

Poll worker asked for the ID	32%
I just provided it to the poll worker	60%
I don't remember	8%

49. Please mark how much you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the voting location where you voted:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	n
The location was easy to find.	79%	20%	1%	0%	926
I had to go far out of my way to vote	1%	6%	34%	59%	917
It was hard to find a place to park.	2%	7%	35%	56%	918
The poll workers were helpful.	65%	32%	2%	1%	920
My ballot privacy was protected.	67%	31%	2%	0%	920
The ballot was too long.	4%	15%	55%	26%	914
I felt safe voting in-person.	74%	24%	1%	1%	919

50. Please answer yes or no to the following questions:

	Yes	No	I don't know	n
Did a poll worker look at your ballot and see who you were voting for?	2%	92%	6%	926
Did another voter look at your ballot while you were voting it or while you were in line to feed it into the vote tabulator?	1%	97%	2%	926
Did someone in line at the polling place ask you who you were voting for?	1%	99%	0%	924
Did you use a privacy sleeve to keep your ballot in while you were moving around the vote center?	16%	81%	3%	922

51. What percentage:

	0-20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	81-100%	Average	n
of voters were wearing masks while standing in line outside of the vote center?	5%	0%	1%	4%	90%	92%	912
of voters were standing at least 6' apart while standing outside the vote center	6%	2%	3%	8%	81%	88%	910
of voters were wearing masks while inside the vote center	3%	0%	1%	2%	94%	96%	916
of voters were standing at least 6' apart inside the vote center	4%	1%	4%	6%	85%	91%	909
of poll workers were wearing masks inside the vote center	2%	0%	1%	2%	95%	97%	913

Your Voting Experience

52. How would you rate your voting experience overall? (n=1,592)

Excellent	55%
Good	40%
Fair	4%
Poor	1%

53. Did you visit the Secretary of State's website at any time to find election information? (n=1,592)

Yes	51%
No	49%

54. [If yes in Q53] Why did you visit the Secretary of State's website? [mark all that apply] (n=810)

Register to vote	20%
Check or update my voter registration (e.g. address or party change)	66%
Find information about my County Clerk	23%
Request an absentee ballot	39%
File a voter complaint form	0.2%
Something else (please specify):	20%

55. [If yes in Q53] How easy or hard was it to find what you were looking for on the Secretary of State's website? (n=809)

Very easy	51%
Somewhat easy	41%
Somewhat hard	6%
Very hard	2%

56. Did you call or email your local County Clerk or Secretary of State's Office?

	Call	Email	Call & Email	Neither	n
Secretary of State	3%	2%	1%	94%	1,507
County Clerk	13%	5%	2%	80%	1,556

57. [Call or Email to Q56] Overall, how satisfied were you with your interaction with the Secretary of State's Office? (n=71)

Very Satisfied	58%
Somewhat Satisfied	25%
Not Very Satisfied	13%
Not at all Satisfied	4%

58. [Call or Email to Q56] Overall, how satisfied were you with your interactions with the County Clerk? (n=278)

Very satisfied	76%
Somewhat satisfied	14%
Not very satisfied	6%
Not at all satisfied	5%

59. How many contests did you vote on your 2020 ballot? (n=1,572)

All of the contests	72%
Nearly all of the contests	13%
Most of the contests	9%
About 1/2 of the contests	1%
Just a few contests	2%
No contests	3%

Thinking about Politics

60. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or member of another political party? (n=1,572)

Republican	33%
Democrat	41%
Independent	20%
Something else :	6%

61. How long would you be willing to wait to do the following before leaving?

	Up to 5 mins	6-15 minutes	16-30 minutes	31-60 minutes	Up to 2 hours	As long as it takes	N
Vote	2%	4%	11%	16%	7%	60%	1,571
Get a driver's license	1%	4%	18%	31%	12%	34%	1,566
Purchase a cup of coffee	45%	45%	6%	1%	0%	3%	1,545
On the phone with your Internet provider	13%	27%	30%	14%	2%	14%	1,561
Purchase a new smart phone	14%	24%	31%	18%	4%	9%	1,540
To get a table at a restaurant	6%	31%	47%	12%	0%	4%	1,550

62. Compared to a year ago how are each of the following doing economically?

	Much better	Somewhat better	Same	Somewhat worse	Much worse	N
You and your family	16%	17%	42%	17%	8%	1,586
National economy	14%	10%	9%	29%	38%	1,566
State economy	6%	6%	12%	33%	43%	1,556

63. How much do you approve or disapprove of how the following individuals are handling their jobs:

	Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	I don't know	N
President Donald Trump	30%	13%	5%	52%	1%	1,580
Governor Michelle Lujan Grisham	34%	24%	10%	30%	2%	1,578
Your US House Member (Haaland, Torres Small, Lujan)	23%	27%	13%	25%	12%	1,573
Your County Clerk	23%	46%	5%	3%	23%	1,567
Secretary of State Maggie Toulouse Oliver	16%	35%	8%	9%	32%	1,569
Senator Martin Heinrich	19%	27%	11%	19%	24%	1,569

64. How much do you approve or disapprove of how the following are handling their jobs?

	Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	I don't know	N
US Congress	5%	19%	24%	45%	7%	1,577
New Mexico Supreme Court	8%	33%	12%	11%	36%	1,565
New Mexico State Legislature	6%	36%	20%	19%	19%	1,563
The University of New Mexico	10%	28%	12%	8%	42%	1,567
US Supreme Court	11%	39%	20%	18%	12%	1,573
New Mexico State University	8%	29%	9%	5%	50%	1,568

65. Thinking in political terms, please rate the ideology of the following political leaders

	Very Liberal	Somewhat Liberal	Moderate	Somewhat Conservative	Very Conservative	I don't Know	N
President Donald Trump	2%	1%	4%	23%	57%	14%	1,552
Vice President Joe Biden	38%	25%	26%	2%	2%	7%	1,561
Senator Martin Heinrich	21%	26%	18%	3%	1%	31%	1,559
Senator Kamala Harris	46%	28%	14%	1%	2%	9%	1,564
Governor Michelle Lujan Grisham	42%	30%	17%	2%	2%	7%	1,562
Vice President Mike Pence	1%	1%	2%	11%	74%	11%	1,548
Mark Ronchetti	1%	2%	7%	24%	44%	22%	1,551
Ben Ray Luján	34%	30%	16%	2%	1%	17%	1,552

66. Thinking in political terms, please rate the ideology of the following political institutions

	Very Liberal	Somewhat Liberal	Moderate	Somewhat Conservative	Very Conservative	Don't Know	N
Democratic Party	45%	29%	15%	2%	1%	8%	1,564
Republican Party	2%	1%	4%	22%	61%	10%	1,547
The University of New Mexico	18%	21%	16%	2%	1%	42%	1,542
New Mexico State University	11%	13%	20%	6%	1%	49%	1,548
Libertarian Party	16%	9%	17%	15%	9%	34%	1,538

67. Please rate how you feel towards the following groups. A score of 0 means you are very cold to them, while a score of 100 means you are very warm to them, a score of 50 means that you are neither cold or warm to them.

	0-25	26-50	51-75	76-100	Mean	N
Democratic Party	24%	18%	16%	42%	59	1,311
Republican Party	39%	12%	14%	35%	52	1,251
News Media	32%	27%	21%	20%	46	1,281
Conservatives	31%	19%	15%	35%	53	1,261
Liberals	29%	24%	19%	28%	50	1,214
Libertarians	33%	41%	17%	9%	40	1,199
Police	10%	18%	20%	52%	71	1,502

The next 3 questions ask your vote choice so that we can weight the data to be representative of the population.

68. For whom did you vote for in the race for U.S. President? (n=1,469)

Joe Biden / Kamala Harris (Democratic)	55%
Donald Trump / Mike Pence (Republican)	40%
Jo Jorgensen / Spike Cohen (Libertarian)	1%
Write - in	4%

69. For whom did you vote for in the race for U.S. Senate? (n=1,459)

Ben Ray Lujan (Democrat)	55%
Mark Ronchetti (Republican)	42%
Bob Walsh (Libertarian)	3%

70. For whom did you vote for in the race for US House? (n=1,433)

Republican Candidate (i.e. Holmes, Herrell, or Johnson)	42%
Democratic Candidate (i.e. Haaland, Torres Small, or Fernandez)	57%
Write-in Candidate (i.e. Jones)	1%

Thinking about Elections and Election Reform

71. Which is more important? (n=1,590)

Ensuring that everyone who is eligible has the right to vote	56%
Protecting the voting system against fraud	42%
Don't know	2%

72. New Mexico's in-person voter ID law requires voters to state their address, name, and birth year. Do you think this requirement is: (n=1,588)

Too strict	3%
Just right	60%
Not strict enough	37%

73. New Mexico's absentee/vote by mail ballot voter ID in this election requires voters to sign their ballot envelope and include the last 4 of their social security number. Normally voters in NM only have to sign their ballot envelope (signatures are not matched in NM).

Do you think the added security of the SSN should be kept or is a signature affidavit enough? (n=1,591)

Keep the last 4 of the social	75%
Just use signature affidavit	13%
I don't know	12%

74. How do you think we should elect the President: should it be the candidate who gets the most votes in all 50 states, or the current Electoral College system? (n=1,578)

The candidate who gets the most votes in all 50 states	63%
The current Electoral College system	37%

75. Please mark how much you agree or disagree with the following election reforms:

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	N
New Mexico should move to permanent all mail elections.	9%	22%	22%	47%	1,567
Photo identification should be required of each voter at the polls.	55%	18%	14%	13%	1,579
An independent redistricting commission should be created to determine district boundaries after the 2020 Census.	30%	49%	12%	9%	1,535
All candidates for elected offices should be eligible to receive public financing for their campaigns	16%	35%	25%	24%	1,537

76. Ranked choice voting or instant run-off voting is an election reform that allows voters to rank candidates from their favorite to least favorite.

Do you think: (n=1,561)

Ranked Choice voting should be used and winners should receive the majority of the votes	33%
The candidate with the most votes, but not necessarily a majority of the votes should	27%
Don't know	40%

77. Next year NM will draw new district lines in response to the US census. Do you think (n=1,563)

They should create electoral districts that hold communities together even if it means that one party will dominate.	22%
They should create electoral districts where there is close competition between the two parties, even if it means that communities will be disconnected	30%
Don't know	48%

78. Thinking about issues in politics today that matter to you, how often would you say your side has been winning or losing? (n=1,511)

Winning a great deal more often than losing	11%
Winning somewhat more often than losing	22%
Winning and losing about equally	30%
Losing somewhat more often than winning	24%
Losing a great deal more often than winning	13%

79. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	N
Public officials don't care much about what people like me think.	29%	45%	22%	4%	1,557
I have been discriminated against because of my gender.	13%	23%	19%	45%	1,523
I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics.	41%	40%	11%	8%	1,544
American society hasn't dealt fairly with people from my ethnic background.	21%	21%	23%	35%	1,517
After elections, elected representatives accommodate citizen wishes.	3%	33%	43%	21%	1,541
I have been discriminated against because of my race/ethnicity.	13%	22%	18%	47%	1,513
I have been discriminated against because of my political beliefs	18%	26%	25%	31%	1,510

The last section is for statistical purposes only.

80. What is your age (n=1,595)

18-24	7%
25-29	5%
30-39	13%
40-49	13%
50-59	17%
60-69	22%
70+	23%

81. Are you? (n=1,583)

Male	45%
Female	54%
Other	1%

82. What is the highest grade of education you have completed? (n=1,595)

Less than a High School degree	5%
High School degree	23%
Some college	23%
Completed trade school / associates degree	11%
College degree	20%
Master's degree	13%
JD/MD/PhD	5%

83. Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin? (n=1,580)

Yes	40%
No	60%

83a. Would you describe your Hispanic/Latino origin as: (n=631)

Mexican	37%
Spanish	47%
Puerto Rican	1%
Central American	1%
Something else	14%

84. What racial group best describes you? (n=1,595)

White	46%
Hispanic	36%
Black	2%
Native American	10%
Asian	1%
Bi- or multiracial	2%
Refuse	3%

85. What is your current marital status? (n=1,586)

Married	50%
Divorced	12%
Single	22%
Living with a partner	9%
Widowed	6%
Separated	1%

86. How attentive were you to the survey while you were taking it? (n=1,590)

Very attentive	86%
Somewhat attentive	13%
Not too attentive	1%

87. Did you have any technical problems interacting with this survey? (n=1,590)

Yes	3%
No	97%

Appendix C. Post-Election Election Administration, Security, and Election Reform Frequency Report VBM and In-Person Early Voters

1. How interested were you in the 2020 election? (n=3,615)

Very interested	93%
Somewhat interested	6%
Not too interested	1%
Not at all interested	0%

2. This general election how did you vote? (n=3,477)

Absentee/vote by mail --where your ballot was mailed to you by your county clerk	42%
Early in-person	58%

3. Have you voted by absentee or vote by mail in a previous election? (n=3,615)

Yes	40%
No	60%

4. Thinking in political terms, would you say that you are: (n=3,606)

Very liberal	14%
Somewhat liberal	17%
Moderate	20%
Somewhat conservative	18%
Very conservative	22%
Haven't thought much about it	6%
Don't know	3%

5. Do you consider yourself to be any of the following?

	Yes	No	Don't know
Libertarian (n=3,333)	13%	74%	13%
Socialist (n=3,300)	11%	79%	10%
Progressive (n=3,375)	32%	56%	12%
Anarchist (n=3,325)	3%	89%	8%

6. How confident are you that **YOUR** vote in the General Election was counted as you intended? (n=3,605)

Very confident	58%
Somewhat confident	20%
Not too confident	12%
Not at all confident	10%

7. Thinking about your county, state, and the nation, how confident are you that all of the ballots were counted as the voters intended?

	Very Confident	Somewhat confident	Not too confident	Not at all confident
Your County (n=3,606)	56%	20%	10%	14%
The State of New Mexico (n=3,525)	53%	18%	14%	15%
Nationwide (n=3,531)	43%	17%	12%	28%

8. What is the longest amount of time you have ever waited in line to vote in-person? (n=3,581)

less than 15 minutes	40%
16-30 minutes	29%
31-59 minutes	17%
60 to 90 minutes	9%
91-240 minutes	5%

9. Please answer the following statements.

	All or Almost all of the time	Most of the time	Some- times	Rarely	Never or Almost never
Does anyone, including friends or family, ever ask you which candidate you prefer or voted for? (n=3,616)	17%	20%	37%	16%	10%
If a friend or family member asks you who you prefer in an election, do you name a candidate? (n=3,598)	48%	23%	16%	6%	7%
If you tell a close friend or family member which candidate you prefer, do you tell the truth? (n=3,596)	85%	8%	4%	1%	2%

10. According to the law, which candidate you vote for is supposed to be kept secret unless you tell someone. Even so, how easy or hard do you think it would be for politicians, union officials, or the people you work for to find out who you voted for, even if you told no one? (n=3,617)

Impossible, my vote is secret	17%
It would be very hard, but not impossible	26%
It would be somewhat hard	14%
It would be somewhat easy	16%
It would be very easy	16%
Don't Know	11%

11. Do you think elected officials can access voting records and figure out who a voter had voted for? (n=3,612)

Yes	37%
No	29%
I don't know	34%

12. Did anyone? (Mark all that apply) (n=3,621)

Try and convince you to vote for someone that you didn't want to vote for	17%
Tell you to vote for someone that you didn't want to vote for	12%
Threaten you in some way to get you to vote for someone you didn't want to vote for	3%
Mark your ballot for you, making choices that you would not have	0.2%
No one did any of these	80%

13. [Yes to any questions in 12]: The result of this was? (n=712)

You ignored the request and marked your ballot the way you wanted	94%
You pretended to vote the way they wanted you to but marked the ballot with your choices	4%
You voted the way they told you to vote	1%
You couldn't resolve the conflict so you just didn't vote that race	0%

14. [Yes to any questions in 12]: Who tried to make you vote the way you didn't want to? (n=695)

My spouse	2%
Another family member that wasn't my spouse	23%
My employer	1%
A friend or acquaintance	48%
Stranger	2%
A person at the polling place	2%
Phone calls/campaigns/advertisements	5%
Coworker	1%
Politician or Political Group	2%
Democrats	2%
Republicans	2%
Media	4%
Other	28%

15. Which of the following situations did you personally observe in the 2020 General Election? [Mark all that apply] (n=3,621)

Bribery or paying for votes	1%
Someone being improperly denied the chance to vote	2%
Someone filling out an absentee ballot for someone else	3%
Voting machines failing to record votes correctly	2%
Someone using a false identity to vote illegally	2%
Voter intimidation at the polling place	4%
A ballot came to your house that did not belong to anyone in your household	6%
A ballot you or someone in your household requested that did not arrive	3%
Someone stuffing a lot of ballots into an official ballot drop box	1%
Unrequested ballot arrived	
Photo identification wasn't asked	
Someone having problem with stationery supplies at the polling station	
Other:	7%
None of these	78%

16. How much do you think Russia, China or other foreign powers influenced voters in the 2020 general elections? (n=3,564)

A lot	16%
Somewhat	34%
Not too much	27%
Not at all	23%

17. Below is a list of possibly illegal election activities that may or may not take place in New Mexico. Please tell me how often you think each event occurs:

	All or most of the time	Some of the time	Not Much	Hardly ever	Never	Don't know
A voter casts more than one ballot, also known as double voting. (n=3,608)	7%	19%	8%	23%	24%	19%
Ballots are tampered with to change votes by poll workers or other elected officials. (n=3,592)	6%	16%	7%	21%	15%	35%
Someone pretends to be another person and casts a vote for them in-person. (n=3,603)	7%	20%	9%	21%	23%	20%
A non-US citizen votes (n=3,601)	16%	20%	5%	21%	15%	23%
Someone hacks into the vote tabulators and changes individual votes. (n=3,596)	7%	12%	8%	27%	14%	32%
The Secretary of State or other state or local election officials makes rules that favor one party or another. (n=3,601)	19%	20%	7%	18%	10%	26%

18. Below is a list of possible illegal election activities continued that may or may not take place in New Mexico. Please tell me how often you think each event occurs:

	All or most of the time	Some of the time	Not much	Hardly ever	Never	Don't know
Voted absentee ballots are stolen and thrown away after being submitted (n=3,592)	9%	20%	7%	22%	17%	25%
Someone intimidates a voter into voting for someone they didn't want to. (n=3,583)	6%	23%	14%	21%	22%	14%
Someone steals an absentee ballot, changes or votes the ballot, and casts it. (n=3,584)	8%	18%	8%	23%	21%	22%
Someone bribes someone or pays them money for their vote. (n=3,582)	7%	21%	12%	24%	19%	17%
Someone intimidates a voter into not voting.(n=3,562)	6%	22%	14%	23%	21%	14%
Someone being denied the opportunity to vote who is an eligible voter by a poll worker or other election official. (n=3,573)	4%	15%	12%	22%	22%	25%
Voting machines fail to record votes correctly (n=3,555)	8%	18%	10%	22%	22%	20%

19. Have you personally witnessed what you believe to be election fraud or voter fraud in ANY election that you participated in? (n=3,599)

Yes	8%
No	92%

20. Do you think election fraud has changed the outcome of any election in which you have participated? (n=3,617)

Yes	36%
No	42%
Don't know	22%

Your Voting Experience Absentee Voters

21. How did you request an absentee ballot? (n=1,456)

I did it on-line	58%
I mailed a form letter to my County Clerk that I got in the mail	29%
I emailed my County Clerk	2%
I called my County Clerk by phone	4%
I went to the County Clerk's office and made the request in-person	1%
I mailed a form letter to my county clerk that I received in the mail from a third party (e.g. a political party, non-profit or other group)	4%
Other	2%

22. Did you logon to your voter registration record to do any of the following?
[Mark all that apply] (n=3,621)

Yes, to check to see when my absentee ballot was sent to me	15%
Yes, to check to see if my absentee ballot arrived at the County Clerk's office	18%
Yes, to look at a sample ballot	10%
Yes, to check my voter registration	20%
No, I didn't logon to my voter registration record	14%

23. Why did you request an absentee ballot? [Mark all that apply]: (n=1,456)

I was going to be out of town for this election	7%
Voting by mail or absentee was just more convenient for me this election	55%
I could not get to the poll on Election Day because of my work or school schedule	4%
I am in the armed forces / a domestic out of state voter	0.2%
I have a physical disability that makes it difficult for me to go to the polls	9%
I was an election official or poll worker	1%
Religious observances would have interfered with my going to the polls	0%
I was worried about COVID-19	64%
I used to voter absentee	
I was worried about voter intimidation	
Personal/Family reasons	
It was the secure way to vote	
It provided me chance to research candidates	
Something else	11%

24. Was your absentee ballot APPLICATION for an absentee ballot ever rejected? (n=1,500)

Yes	1%
No	93%
I don't know	6%

25. How easy or hard was it to resolve the problem? (n=21)

Very easy	45%
Somewhat easy	29%
Somewhat hard	5%
Very hard	21%

26. Was your absentee mail ballot sent to you by mail, e-mail, FAX, or some other way? (n=1,497)

Sent to me by USPS mail	98%
Emailed	1%
Other (Please specify)	1%

27. Did you know or have to look up the last 4 digits of your social security number (SSN) to place it on the envelope of your ballot? (n=1,499)

I knew the last 4 digits of my SSN.	99%
I had to look up the last 4 digits of my SSN.	1%

28. How easy or hard was it for you to find your social security number to place the last 4 digits on the outer envelope along with your signature? (n=9)

Very Easy	78%
Somewhat easy	11%
Somewhat hard	11%

29. Who returned your ballot or dropped it in the mail? (n=1,500)

I did	87%
A member of my family did	11%
A friend of mine did	1%
Other	1%

30. If someone else returned your ballot, how did they return your ballot? (n=194)

At a post office box or at a U.S. Postal Service location	47%
A drop box used only for ballots	9%
They dropped it off at the County Clerk's office in-person	18%
They dropped it off at an early vote center	16%
Some other way	5%
I don't know	5%

31. How did you return your ballot? (n=1,299)

At a post office box at a U.S. Postal Service location	39%
At an official post office box not at a U.S. Postal Service location	6%
It was picked up by the postal worker who delivers mail to my home	18%
A drop box used only for ballots	6%
I dropped it off at the County Clerk's office	13%
I dropped it off at an early voting vote center	17%
Other	1%

32. Once you got to where you dropped off your ballot, how long did you have to wait before you could deposit your ballot and leave? (n=1,048)

Not at all	87%
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Less than 10 minutes	11%
10-30 minutes	2%

33. Did you return anyone else's ballot? (n=1,226)

No	83%
Yes	17%

34. Whose ballot(s) did you return? [Mark all that apply] (n=253)

Spouse	73%
Parent/parents	13%
Child/children	15%
Other family member	12%
Friend	1%
Other	7%

35. How many ballots did you return? (n=206)

Number of Ballots	Percent
One	8%
Two	74%
Three	12%
Four	4%
Five	2%

36a. Why did you decide to drop off your ballot rather than mail the ballot back in? (Mark all that apply) (n=1,072)

It was very convenient to drop it off.	17%
I didn't trust the USPS to deliver it on time.	14%
I didn't have enough time to use the USPS for return delivery.	1%
I wanted to be certain that it arrived.	23%
Something else	2%

36b. Why did you decide to mail your ballot back in rather than drop it off? (n=758)

It was very convenient to mail it.	40%
COVID reasons	14%
I trust the USPS.	13%
There was enough time to use the USPS for return delivery.	9%
Out of Town/State	10%
No Drop Off Location	4%
There was no line to mail the ballot	3%
Transportation issue	2%
Didn't think much about it; just did.	5%

37. Were you contacted by your local election official because something was missing from your ballot so it couldn't be counted? This might be because you forgot to sign it or include the last 4 of your social security number (n=1,495)

No	98%
Yes	2%

37a. [If Yes to Q37] Why were you contacted? (n=23)

Yes, I forgot my signature	22%
Yes, I forgot to include the last 4 of my SSN	17%
Yes, I forgot both my signature and the last 4 of my SSN	13%
Yes, my address was wrong	0%
Other	48%

38. Were you able to resolve the problem? (n=26)

No	21%
Yes	79%

38a. Were you able to resolve the problem? Yes. (n=26)

Corrected SSN, Signed and Returned Form	58%
Contacted/Went into the County Clerk's Office	27%
Voted Replacement Ballot	8%
Discarded Incorrect Ballot	7%

38b. Were you able to resolve the problem? No. (n=3)

Mail notification was sent to previous mailing address (in spite of ballot being mailed to correct address). USPS forwarded letter weeks later but did not receive until the day after the election. No longer able to correct issue.	33%
Information not available online.	33%
I'm not certain my votes were ever counted or included!	33%

39. Overall, how easy or hard was it to follow all the instructions necessary to cast your ballot and return it to be counted? (n=1,500)

Very easy	82%
Somewhat easy	16%
Somewhat hard	1%
Very hard	1%

40. How concerned were you that your ballot would arrive at the County Clerk's office in time to be counted? (n=1,500)

Very concerned	12%
Somewhat concerned	17%
Not too concerned	24%
Not at all concerned	47%

41. Did you encounter any problems marking or completing your ballot that may have interfered with your ability to cast your vote as intended? (n=1,495)

No	97%
Yes	2%
Don't know	1%

41a. What problem did you encounter? (n=36)

Wrong Envelope/Marked Ballot Wrong	25%
Used Wrong Pen	36%
Hard to Understand Ballot	31%
There was an issue with my signature	8%

42. Has someone else ever filled out your ballot for you? (n=1,500)

Yes	1%
No	99%

43. Given your experience this year with absentee voting, how likely are you to vote absentee next time? (n=1,501)

Very likely	69%
Somewhat likely	22%
Not too likely	6%
Not at all likely	3%

Your Voting Experience In-Person Early and Election Day Voters

44. How long was the voting line when you got to your vote center or polling location? (n=2,107)

Very Long	7%
Somewhat long	20%
Not very long	28%
Not long at all	45%

45. Did you consider the overall wait time at the vote center to be: (n=2,107)

No wait time	29%
Short wait time	36%
Moderate wait time	28%
Long wait time	7%

46. About how many minutes did you wait in line in this election before you were able to vote?

Minutes	Early (n=2,023)	Election Day (n=1,004)	Total (n=2,907)
0 Minutes	11%	26%	8%
1-5 Minutes	29%	35%	21%
6-10 Minutes	11%	10%	8%
11-15 Minutes	10%	7%	8%
16-20 Minutes	8%	5%	6%
21-40 Minutes	14%	5%	10%
41-120 Minutes	17%	12%	16%
Average	21 minutes	13 minutes	17 minutes

47. In New Mexico, the voter gets to choose how they want to be identified at the polls. They can provide (1) their name, address, and birth year, (2) a photo ID, or (3) a non-photo ID. What type of identification did you provide? (n=2,101)

Name, address, and birth year	47%
A photo-id (e.g. driver's license, military ID, passport, Sam's Club)	29%
Voter Registration Card/Document	15%
Something else	7%
I didn't provide any sort of ID; the poll worker knew me	2%

48. Thinking back, did poll worker ask for a photo or non-photo ID or did you just provide it to them without being asked? (n=608)

Poll worker asked for the ID	37%
I just provided it to the poll worker	56%
I don't remember	7%

49. Please mark how much you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the voting location where you voted:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	n
The location was easy to find.	73%	26%	1%	0%	2,097
I had to go far out of my way to vote	2%	5%	35%	58%	2,087
It was hard to find a place to park.	2%	8%	41%	49%	2,075
The poll workers were helpful.	54%	41%	3%	2%	2,087
My ballot privacy was protected.	54%	40%	4%	2%	2,076
The ballot was too long.	3%	17%	57%	23%	2,064
I felt safe voting in-person.	63%	33%	3%	1%	2,076

50. Please answer yes or no to the following questions:

	Yes	No	Don't know	n
Did a poll worker look at your ballot and see who you were voting for?	4%	87%	9%	2,101
Did another voter look at your ballot while you were voting it or while you were in line to feed it into the vote tabulator?	1%	93%	6%	2,094
Did someone in line at the polling place ask you who you were voting for?	1%	98%	0%	2,102
Did you use a privacy sleeve to keep your ballot in while you were moving around the vote center?	20%	76%	4%	2,095

51. What percentage:

	0-20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	81-100%	Average	n
of voters were wearing masks while standing in line outside of the vote center?	4%	1%	3%	4%	88%	91%	2,046
of voters were standing at least 6' apart while standing outside the vote center	5%	2%	5%	9%	79%	88%	2,027
of voters were wearing masks while inside the vote center	3%	1%	2%	2%	93%	95%	2,056

of voters were standing at least 6' apart inside the vote center	3%	2%	5%	7%	83%	90%	2,043
of poll workers were wearing masks inside the vote center	2%	1%	1%	1%	95%	97%	2,060

Your Voting Experience

52. How would you rate your voting experience overall? (n=3,618)

Excellent	54%
Good	35%
Fair	8%
Poor	3%

53. Did you visit the Secretary of State's website at any time to find election information? (n=3,613)

Yes	48%
No	52%

54. [If yes in Q53] Why did you visit the Secretary of State's website? [mark all that apply] (n=1,746)

Register to vote	17%
Check or update my voter registration (e.g. address or party change)	60%
Find information about my County Clerk	25%
Request an absentee ballot	37%
File a voter complaint form	1%
Something else (please specify):	25%

55. [If yes in Q53] How easy or hard was it to find what you were looking for on the Secretary of State's website? (n=1,739)

Very easy	46%
Somewhat easy	44%
Somewhat hard	7%
Very hard	3%

56. Did you call or email your local County Clerk or Secretary of State's Office?

	Call	Email	Call & Email	Neither	n
Secretary of State	4%	3%	1%	92%	3,476
County Clerk	12%	3%	2%	83%	3,499

57. [Call or Email to Q56] Overall, how satisfied were you with your interaction with the Secretary of State's Office? (n=241)

Very Satisfied	62%
Somewhat Satisfied	18%
Not Very Satisfied	12%
Not at all Satisfied	8%

58. [Call or Email to Q56] Overall, how satisfied were you with your interactions with the County Clerk? (n=533)

Very satisfied	77%
Somewhat satisfied	14%
Not very satisfied	4%
Not at all satisfied	5%

59. How many contests did you vote on your 2020 ballot? (n=3,548)

All of the contests	72%
Nearly all of the contests	17%
Most of the contests	5%
About 1/2 of the contests	2%
Just a few contests	2%
No contests	2%

Thinking about Politics

60. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or member of another political party? (n=3,597)

Republican	32%
Democrat	41%
Independent	20%
Something else	7%

61. How long would you be willing to wait to do the following before leaving?

	Up to 5 mins	6-15 minutes	16-30 minutes	31-60 minutes	Up to 2 hours	As long as it takes	N
Vote	2%	4%	13%	17%	6%	58%	3,584
Get a driver's license	1%	4%	19%	31%	11%	34%	3,576
Purchase a cup of coffee	46%	42%	7%	1%	0%	4%	3,548
On the phone with your Internet provider	12%	28%	29%	14%	2%	15%	3,577
Purchase a new smart phone	14%	24%	30%	18%	3%	11%	3,552
To get a table at a restaurant	7%	30%	44%	15%	1%	3%	3,579

62. Compared to a year ago how are each of the following doing economically?

	Much better	Somewhat better	Same	Somewhat worse	Much worse	N
You and your family	14%	18%	44%	16%	8%	3,597
National economy	13%	10%	10%	31%	36%	3,567
State economy	4%	6%	13%	34%	43%	3,550

63. How much do you approve or disapprove of how the following individuals are handling their jobs:

	Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	Don't know	N
President Donald Trump	30%	12%	5%	52%	1%	3,608
Governor Michelle Lujan Grisham	34%	23%	8%	32%	3%	3,593
Your US House Member (Haaland, Torres Small, Lujan)	22%	29%	13%	24%	12%	3,589
Your County Clerk	24%	46%	5%	3%	22%	3,594
Secretary of State Maggie Toulouse Oliver	18%	34%	9%	10%	29%	3,578
Senator Martin Heinrich	19%	28%	12%	18%	23%	3,579

64. How much do you approve or disapprove of how the following are handling their jobs?

	Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	Don't know	N
US Congress	5%	19%	28%	41%	7%	3,579
New Mexico Supreme Court	10%	32%	12%	13%	33%	3,563
New Mexico State Legislature	7%	36%	19%	20%	18%	3,585
The University of New Mexico	12%	30%	12%	8%	38%	3,577
US Supreme Court	13%	42%	23%	11%	11%	3,573
New Mexico State University	10%	28%	8%	6%	48%	3,564

65. Thinking in political terms, please rate the ideology of the following political leaders

	Very Liberal	Somewhat Liberal	Moderate	Somewhat Conservative	Very Conservative	Don't know	N
President Donald Trump	3%	1%	3%	19%	62%	13%	3,563
Vice President Joe Biden	37%	26%	28%	2%	2%	5%	3,574
Senator Martin Heinrich	23%	25%	20%	3%	1%	28%	3,551
Senator Kamala Harris	48%	26%	16%	1%	1%	8%	3,569
Governor Michelle Lujan Grisham	41%	31%	18%	2%	1%	7%	3,577
Vice President Mike Pence	2%	1%	4%	11%	73%	9%	3,568
Mark Ronchetti	2%	2%	9%	23%	42%	22%	3,553
Ben Ray Luján	33%	30%	18%	1%	1%	17%	3,551

66. Thinking in political terms, please rate the ideology of the following political institutions

	Very Liberal	Somewhat Liberal	Moderate	Somewhat Conservative	Very Conservative	Don't Know	N
Democratic Party	46%	29%	16%	1%	1%	7%	3,577
Republican Party	2%	1%	5%	23%	60%	9%	3,569
The University of New Mexico	19%	19%	17%	2%	1%	42%	3,565
New Mexico State University	12%	15%	18%	5%	1%	49%	3,562
Libertarian Party	18%	10%	18%	12%	9%	33%	3,563

67. Please rate how you feel towards the following groups. A score of 0 means you are very cold to them, while a score of 100 means you are very warm to them, a score of 50 means that you are neither cold or warm to them.

	0-25	26-50	51-75	76-100	Mean	N
Democratic Party	23%	16%	18%	43%	59	2,949
Republican Party	32%	17%	15%	36%	53	2,909
News Media	22%	21%	26%	32%	46	2,811
Conservatives	27%	23%	15%	35%	55	2,946
Liberals	29%	24%	20%	27%	50	2,726
Libertarians	32%	42%	18%	8%	40	2,733
Police	9%	17%	19%	55%	73	3,397
Socialists	44%	27%	16%	13%	37	1,641
Progressives	28%	24%	21%	27%	51	1,779
Anarchists	72%	19%	6%	3%	17	1,303

The next 3 questions ask your vote choice so that we can weight the data to be representative of the population.

68. For whom did you vote for in the race for U.S. President? (n=3,491)

Joe Biden / Kamala Harris (Democratic)	55%
Donald Trump / Mike Pence (Republican)	42%
Other	3%

69. For whom did you vote for in the race for U.S. Senate? (n=3,449)

Ben Ray Luján (Democrat)	55%
Mark Ronchetti (Republican)	44%
Bob Walsh (Libertarian)	1%

70. For whom did you vote for in the race for US House? (n=3,406)

Republican Candidate (i.e. Holmes, Herrell, or Johnson)	44%
Democratic Candidate (i.e. Haaland, Torres Small, or Fernandez)	55%
Write-in Candidate (i.e. Jones)	1%

Thinking about Elections and Election Reform

71. Which is more important? (n=3,607)

Ensuring that everyone who is eligible has the right to vote	52%
Protecting the voting system against fraud	45%
Don't know	3%

72. New Mexico's in-person voter ID law requires voters to state their address, name, and birth year. Do you think this requirement is: (n=3,610)

Too strict	3%
Just right	55%
Not strict enough	42%

73. New Mexico's absentee/vote by mail ballot voter ID in this election requires voters to sign their ballot envelope and include the last 4 of their social security number. Normally voters in NM only have to sign their ballot envelope (signatures are not matched in NM).

Do you think the added security of the SSN should be kept or is a signature affidavit enough? (n=3,603)

Keep the last 4 of the social	76%
Just use signature affidavit	14%
I don't know	10%

74. How do you think we should elect the President: should it be the candidate who gets the most votes in all 50 states, or the current Electoral College system? (n=3,560)

The candidate who gets the most votes in all 50 states	61%
The current Electoral College system	39%

75. Please mark how much you agree or disagree with the following election reforms:

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	N
New Mexico should move to permanent all mail elections.	10%	21%	19%	50%	3,571
Photo identification should be required of each voter at the polls.	57%	19%	12%	12%	3,594
An independent redistricting commission should be created to determine district boundaries after the 2020 Census.	33%	47%	12%	8%	3,475
All candidates for elected offices should be eligible to receive public financing for their campaigns	16%	34%	22%	28%	3,485

76. Ranked choice voting or instant run-off voting is an election reform that allows voters to rank candidates from their favorite to least favorite.

Do you think: (n=3,549)

Ranked Choice voting should be used and winners should receive the majority of the votes	32%
The candidate with the most votes, but not necessarily a majority of the votes should	27%
Don't know	41%

77. Next year NM will draw new district lines in response to the US census. Do you think (n=3,561)

They should create electoral districts that hold communities together even if it means that one party will dominate.	22%
They should create electoral districts where there is close competition between the two parties, even if it means that communities will be disconnected	33%
Don't know	45%

78. Thinking about issues in politics today that matter to you, how often would you say your side has been winning or losing? (n=3,501)

Winning a great deal more often than losing	9%
Winning somewhat more often than losing	18%
Winning and losing about equally	37%
Losing somewhat more often than winning	25%
Losing a great deal more often than winning	11%

79. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	N
Public officials don't care much about what people like me think.	34%	40%	21%	5%	3,556
I have been discriminated against because of my gender.	11%	20%	22%	47%	3,516
I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics.	40%	42%	12%	6%	3,537
American society hasn't dealt fairly with people from my ethnic background.	19%	22%	23%	36%	3,503
After elections, elected representatives accommodate citizen wishes.	4%	30%	41%	25%	3,514
I have been discriminated against because of my race/ethnicity.	14%	20%	18%	48%	3,494
I have been discriminated against because of my political beliefs	16%	27%	23%	34%	3,489

The last section is for statistical purposes only.

80. What is your age (n=3,621)

18-24	7%
25-29	5%
30-39	13%
40-49	13%
50-59	17%
60-69	22%
70+	23%

81. Are you? (n=3,596)

Male	45%
Female	54%
Other	1%

82. What is the highest grade of education you have completed? (n=3,621)

Less than a High School degree	2%
High School degree	26%
Some college	22%
Completed trade school / associates degree	12%
College degree	21%
Master's degree	12%
JD/MD/PhD	5%

83. Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin? (n=3,539)

Yes	40%
No	60%

83a. Would you describe your Hispanic/Latino origin as: (n=1,392)

Mexican	36%
Spanish	51%
Puerto Rican	1%
Central American	1%
Something else	11%

84. What racial group best describes you? (n=3,621)

White	46%
Hispanic	36%
Black	2%
Native American	10%
Asian	2%
Bi- or multiracial	1%
Refuse	3%

85. What is your current marital status? (n=3,589)

Married	53%
Divorced	12%
Single	22%
Living with a partner	7%
Widowed	5%
Separated	1%

86. How attentive were you to the survey while you were taking it? (n=3,602)

Very attentive	88%
Somewhat attentive	11%
Not too attentive	1%

87. Did you have any technical problems interacting with this survey? (n=3,604)

Yes	4%
No	96%

Appendix D. 2020 Election Administration, Security, and Election Reform Post Election Survey Methodology

The 2020 New Mexico Election Administration, Security and Reform Frequency Report was based on two probability samples that are representative of the population. One sample consisted of 13,550 voters in the 2020 election without emails. The second probability sample was sent to a sample of 34,795 voters who included emails with their voter registration. The data on voters was obtained from the New Mexico Secretary of State's office during and immediately following the election.

Survey questions asked about their election experience (voter confidence, voting problems, method of voting, experience with poll workers, experience with the ballot, etc.), their attitudes toward possible election reforms including fraud, voter access, voter identification, vote by mail, redistricting, ranked choice voting etc., as well as other political attitudes and behaviors including evaluations of the President, the congressional candidates and their local and state election administrators. They were also asked several questions related to statewide contests (vote choice, candidate evaluation, candidate ideology, etc.) and for a variety of demographic information.

Our non-email probability sampling method used a mixed mode design. All 13,550 sample members were sent first class postcards on November 18th, 2020 requesting their participation in our survey. The postcard provided sample respondents with a URL (vote2020.unm.edu) that directed them to the survey. Sampled voters who did not respond were re-contacted two times with an additional postcard. The second postcard was sent December 3 and the third was sent December 15th.

A total of 1,179 sample members from our probability sample responded to our request. The response rate is 8.7% using Response Rate 2 (RR2) calculations, as defined by the American Association for Public Opinion Research. It is important to note that this is the minimum response rate and includes all sample members who we tried to contact, regardless of whether we were able to contact them or not. A large number of postcards were returned undeliverable and therefore this is an underestimate based upon contact.

The e-mail probability sample was contacted via email with a link that connected them to the survey. Respondents were selected for the probability sample randomly. Most respondents were contacted three times. The post-election survey was in the field between November 6, 2020 and January 7, 2021.

A total of 3,350 sample respondents from our email probability sample responded to our request for a response rate of 9.6%. Again, this represents the minimum response rate and includes all sample members who we tried to contact, regardless of whether we were able to contact them or not.

In addition, we also completed a pre-election probability email sample of VBM and in-person early voters. The pre-election sample consists of 1,595 VBM and in-person early voters representing a 7.9% response rate. These data allow us to assess voter confidence before the election outcomes were known. Because we know that winning and losing influences attitudes this gives us the opportunity to compare how attitudes changed. A matched sample of 3,621

VBM and in-person early voters were interviewed after the election to assess the same attitudes after the election outcome is known. The pre-election survey was in the field from 23 October to 3 November 2020.

The data were weighted using a raking procedure based upon the following characteristics: age, sex, education, ethnicity, vote mode (early, absentee, Election Day), county, party and vote for President.