Boosting Voter Registration:

New Evidence from Delaware

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Executive Summary

This report analyzes the impact of Delaware’s recent upgrade from a Partial Automatic Voter Registration (PAVR) system to the most robust form of the policy, Secure Automatic Voter Registration (SAVR). Delaware is one of ten states, in addition to Washington, D.C., that have adopted SAVR, a fully automated system for registering eligible people when they interact with state agencies like the Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV). It is only the second state behind Colorado to release data on its transition from PAVR to SAVR. Thus, Delaware serves as an important case study on the impact and benefits of upgrading voter registration systems.

With SAVR, eligible individuals interacting with the DMV automatically have their information shared with election officials, who register the voter and mail them a letter providing an opportunity to decline registration. Existing research has found that SAVR is substantially more effective at registering new voters and updating registrations than Partial AVR (PAVR) systems which are currently used by 15 states. With PAVR, individuals can decline registration within the DMV transaction. Research also finds that SAVR increases eligible voter turnout relative to PAVR and can save substantial time and money for DMV and election officials.

New data from Delaware confirms the strong impact of SAVR since its launch in June 2023, which built on an already very effective PAVR system. Since the switch from PAVR to SAVR, new registrations have increased by 26.1% at the Delaware DMV, with only 1.4% of newly registered voters using the post-transaction mailer to decline registration. Thanks to SAVR, Delaware is reaching substantially more eligible voters interacting with the DMV. These results validate the arguments made by the coalition advocating for the upgrade, which included the ACLU of Delaware, Common Cause Delaware, the League of Women Voters of Delaware, and the Delaware Chapter of the NAACP.

Delaware’s experience provides further evidence that when voter registration is fully streamlined, more eligible people are added to the rolls and have the opportunity to participate in our democracy. SAVR is a powerful reform that can bring thousands more people onto the voter rolls in a smaller state like Delaware, and millions more nationally, well in advance of election day, all while streamlining DMV license and ID transactions. In removing unnecessary obstacles to voting, SAVR facilitates political participation and lays the foundation for a more representative and inclusive democracy.
Introduction

Democracy is based on a simple principle – that the government reflects the will of the people. But which people? The often stark and troubling differences in civic participation rates between demographic groups can skew who is represented in our democracy. The civic participation gap first shows up in differing voter registration rates based on race, income and educational attainment and then manifests through the full spectrum of democratic participation, including in the rates of voter participation, political campaign donations and contact with elected officials. Addressing the issue will require a multi-pronged strategy that attacks both deeply rooted systemic problems, as well as unnecessary barriers to participation.

At the top of the list of policy reforms to narrow the civic participation gap should be automatic voter registration (AVR). Not only does it remove the administrative hassle of registering or updating voter information by the individual voter, but crucially it also frees up resources currently dedicated to voter registration drives so that community and political organizations can focus more on voter education and outreach. This shift to deeper and wider voter engagement activities holds the potential to narrow the voter participation gap.

In the last decade, 25 states and Washington, D.C. have embraced various degrees of automatic voter registration. Fifteen states have adopted a form of Partial Automatic Voter Registration (PAVR), while 10 states have adopted fully automatic voter registration, what is referred to here as Secure Automatic Voter Registration (SAVR). The differences between these systems is explored in further detail in the following section.

Several states, like Oregon and Minnesota, have adopted SAVR directly, while others have decided to upgrade from PAVR to fully automated registration. Colorado was the first state to make the switch from PAVR to SAVR between 2018 and 2020. Delaware and Massachusetts made the switch soon after, and Michigan, New Mexico, and Washington are all also moving to implement the same change. Several more states, including California, New York, and New Jersey, are considering upgrading their PAVR system to SAVR.

This policy brief seeks to add to the growing body of evidence and knowledge regarding SAVR by unpacking Delaware’s path to SAVR and the latest data from its implementation. Prior to Delaware, Colorado was the only state where data was available on the impact of its move from PAVR to SAVR. Data from Colorado demonstrated the significant gains in voter registration rates and voter file accuracy that can be achieved by transitioning from PAVR to SAVR. The first nine months of data from Delaware following the state’s switch from PAVR to SAVR affirms Colorado’s experience. The aim of this report is to widen and deepen the well of information available to policymakers and advocates interested in maximizing voter registration rates and ensuring more accurate voter rolls as a first step to narrowing the voter participation gap.
What is SAVR?

AVR is rooted in the idea that the government should make it as easy as possible for eligible Americans to exercise their right to vote. This means that the state should remove any unnecessary steps — such as the burden for eligible individuals to take proactive steps to register to vote or update voter file information — whenever it is possible in a secure manner. AVR shifts the burden of registering to vote from an individual to the government. The United States is one of the only advanced democracies where the onus falls on the individual to register to vote.4

SAVR works by requiring state agencies that already collect the information needed to establish voter eligibility to automatically share the names and information of qualified individuals with the chief state election official, typically the Secretary of State. State Departments of Motor Vehicles (DMVs) are usually the primary agency that participates in SAVR, although some states are working to expand this process to Medicaid. Without any additional administrative hassle, customers visiting the DMV will engage in their normal driver’s license and ID card transactions and those who provide proof of U.S. citizenship and are otherwise eligible will be automatically registered to vote through a seamless process. After the transaction, customers are provided with an opportunity to decline registration or affiliate with a political party through a mailer to their home address.

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SAVR also helps address other voter file updates, ensuring that voter rolls are as accurate as possible. When a registered voter interacts with a state agency that is designated for AVR, like the DMV, the address and name information they provide for their driver’s license is automatically used to update their voter registration record. Not only does this save taxpayers money by reducing the amount of return-to-sender mail and undeliverable ballots, but it also alleviates a common source of voter confusion or nonparticipation — not receiving election materials at their home or needing to cast a provisional ballot due to outdated voter file information. This is particularly relevant in states, such as California, that now send vote-by-mail ballots to all registered voters. Indeed, many vote-by-mail states like Colorado, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, and Washington D.C. have adopted SAVR.

SAVR is sometimes referred to as “back-end” registration in policy circles because the transfer of data between agencies happens seamlessly, behind the scenes. In contrast, PAVR systems add extra steps to the agency process, asking customers at the DMV or another state agency as part of their transaction if they would like to register to vote or decline registration. PAVR is often called a “front-end” system since it places the registration question in front of the customer during the DMV transaction process, explicitly prompting an individual to make a decision on the spot about whether to register. Depending on the state, this may be posed as an opt-in or an opt-out question. Requiring individuals to make a decision on whether to register to vote during an unrelated transaction makes the system less effective and efficient in a number of ways. Many customers are unprepared to make such a decision on the spot. They also may be in a hurry to complete a transaction at the DMV or another agency, either facing personal time constraints or social pressure from other customers to complete the transaction. Further, many customers are not clear on their current registration status, and may incorrectly believe they are already registered to vote. Others may be eligible, but unaware or unsure of their eligibility status. This is especially true for formerly incarcerated individuals, new citizens, or citizens whose first language is not English. Finally, some individuals may not be inclined to register to vote at that moment, but they may become interested in casting a ballot in the future as...
life circumstances change, political issues or candidates capture their attention, or through further conversation about the voting process.

Although an individual can always take it upon themselves to register to vote at a later time, it still poses additional steps for them and reduces the likelihood that they will complete the process, especially by the registration deadline for an election when interest in voting peaks. Even in states with same-day voter registration, a strong AVR system saves voters and election officials the paperwork of registering at the polls. Registering eligible voters well in advance of election day also allows them to benefit from vote-by-mail procedures and provides election officials with better information for planning. A seamless process at the DMV also shortens DMV transactions, reducing transaction and waiting times for customers.

By fostering cooperation among state agencies, SAVR removes the hassle of registering to vote for the overwhelming majority of eligible citizens in a state. This is an example of government operating at its finest — efficiently, effectively, and equitably. As states that have adopted this policy show, governments can facilitate the participation of all eligible voters, including historically marginalized communities who were excluded and have been disproportionately less likely to vote to this day.

What we know about SAVR

As more states implement SAVR, the mounting body of evidence shows SAVR is the gold standard in efficient and effective voter registration.

Registration rate

Logic would dictate that SAVR, as the fuller and more streamlined version of AVR, would boast higher registration rates than PAVR. Colorado’s experience confirms this logic. The state saw a sharp increase in its voter registration rates when it switched from PAVR to SAVR. A previous study by NextGen Policy found that Colorado increased DMV registrations by 74% after fully implementing SAVR. Similarly, a study from Professors Justin Grimmer and Jonathan Rodden at Stanford University found that Colorado’s implementation of SAVR led to between 29 and 38 additional voter registrations per 100 unregistered DMV customers.

The increased registration rate is a result of significantly lower declination rates compared to a PAVR system. When the opportunity to decline registration is moved from the DMV transaction to a post-transaction mailer, fewer people choose to opt out, supporting the idea that DMV transactions are not an ideal time to pose the voter registration question. In Colorado, where an average of 68% people declined voter registration when asked within the transaction, fewer than 1% returned the post-transaction mailer to decline registration. Oregon, another SAVR state, shares a similarly low declination rate, with fewer than 2.5% of those registered at the DMV choosing to remove themselves from the rolls.

Pre-registration rate

SAVR also holds the potential to turbocharge pre-registration rates in states where it is possible for eligible individuals to register before they turn 18 years old. NextGen Policy’s previous analysis of Colorado saw its pre-registration rate increase a staggering 173% following implementation of SAVR. The paper by Professors Rodden and Grimmer similarly found that the transition to SAVR in Colorado led to between 29 and 48 additional pre-registrations per 100 unregistered DMV customers under the age of 18.
Address Updates

SAVR also carries significant benefits for the accuracy of the voter file by automatically updating name and address records when a registered voter provides new information to the DMV. The paper by Professors Rodden and Grimmer found that when Colorado switched to an automated address update system as part of their SAVR upgrade, the state was updating 200,000 additional voter registrations per year. Rodden and Grimmer also found that of Colorado's registered voters who declined an update when offered the opportunity within the DMV transaction, roughly one in three appeared to have an out of date address or name. Switching to a fully automated system for address updates ensured that all of these individuals had their voter registration automatically updated, and the state had a more accurate voter file.

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Turnout

Research also reveals that SAVR boosts eligible voter turnout, relative to PAVR. A 2021 study by public policy researchers Eric McGhee, Mindy Romero, and Charlotte Hill found that SAVR increased eligible voter turnout by an average of 3.3% from baseline, more than double the turnout effect under PAVR (1.1-1.6% turnout increase depending on the design). The higher turnout effect from SAVR was confirmed in another study in 2023 by political scientists at Reed College and Lewis and Clark University.

This difference translates to millions of additional votes each election, and could decide the outcome of an election.

The larger turnout effect under SAVR highlights the fact that a significant portion of the population may opt out of registering when presented with the option at the DMV but may still be interested in voting in an upcoming election. Put another way, registration rates under PAVR systems may not accurately reflect the current or potential interest of an individual in participating in our democracy for reasons discussed in the previous section of this report.

Registering more people at the DMV also gives campaigns, organizers, and election officials the data necessary to reach people who would otherwise be unregistered, or who would remain unregistered until the final few weeks before the election. This outreach can provide a further boost to turnout. Likewise, with more people registered to vote through a DMV transaction, organizers and campaigns can focus more of their resources and efforts on voter education and turnout, rather than registration.

Government Efficiency and Cost Savings

Research also finds efficiency benefits from switching to SAVR. A Democracy Fund study found that Colorado's switch to SAVR reduced DMV transaction times by 90 seconds for customers routed into the SAVR process, helping to reduce overall wait times at the DMV.

In addition, by switching to SAVR, election officials can save money on processing paper forms that voters would otherwise file to register or update their registration. Research puts the cost of processing each paper registration form at roughly $4.72, and finds that these costs could be significantly reduced through the far more efficient process of registering and updating people automatically through the DMV.

In addition to registering more people electronically, SAVR also “flattens the curve” of registration, registering more people in advance of election day, helping to limit a crush of registration forms (both paper and online) in the weeks before the registration deadline. Limiting these late registrations, particularly paper forms which require manual entry of information, can save substantial time and money for election officials during the busiest time of the year.
Delaware Case Study

Delaware passed SAVR in 2021, making it the second state after Colorado to upgrade from PAVR to a fully automated system. The adoption of SAVR was the culmination of a series of reforms to improve and modernize the state’s voter registration infrastructure.

In the previous decades, Delaware had adopted a PAVR system as well as additional improvements to its motor voter process through administrative action. The SAVR legislation — passed in 2021 and implemented in 2023 — improved upon the administrative efforts to fully streamline voter registration in Delaware. Thus far, the results have shown a significant uptick in the voter registration rate at the DMV. The data out of Delaware adds to the growing body of evidence supporting SAVR as the most efficient and equitable way to add eligible voters to the rolls.

The Pre-Existing System (PAVR)

In the 2010s, using administrative power under state law, former State Election Commissioner Elaine Manlove modernized the transfer of information between the DMV and the Department of Elections, creating a process for registration information and signature images to be securely and electronically transmitted from DMV driver’s license and state ID card applications to election officials. The system required driver’s license and ID card applicants to electronically answer a voter registration question as part of their DMV application, forcing eligible applicants to affirmatively provide a “no” response if they did not wish to be registered to vote.13

This PAVR system also incorporated several other important components that went above and beyond many states’ AVR systems:14

- **Non-Citizen Filtering:** The administrative system utilized non-citizen filtering so that individuals who provided the DMV with proof of non-citizenship as part of their license transaction, like a green card, were not presented with the opportunity to register to vote. This important feature protected the 5% of Delaware’s population who are not U.S. citizens from erroneously registering to vote.

- **Registration Status Filtering:** The system also sorted applicants by existing voter registration status, allowing for questions tailored to individuals not already registered to vote, and streamlining the process for individuals already registered to vote.

- **Automatic Address Updates:** For DMV customers already registered to vote, the system automatically transmitted any new address information to election officials to use to update the existing voter registration record. This ensured that any updates were fully automated for people who were already registered to vote.

These administrative efforts gave Delaware one of the strongest PAVR systems in the country, creating an efficient and modern system at the DMV that incorporated important features to secure and streamline the registration process (Colorado implemented registration status filtering and automatic address updates as part of its transition to SAVR, after implementing non-citizen filtering several years earlier).15 However, in the years following adoption of Delaware’s system, other states took...
additional steps to further streamline and automate their AVR systems, revealing additional scope for improvement in Delaware.

**The Legislative Upgrade (SAVR)**

In 2021, legislators in the Delaware General Assembly noticed that states like Colorado and Oregon were passing Delaware as leaders in AVR. These states’ SAVR systems built on the features pioneered in Delaware. Indeed, Colorado incorporated non-citizen filtering, registration status filtering and automatic address updates on the way to fully adopting SAVR. However, states like Colorado and Oregon also went a step further to fully streamline and automate voter registration for eligible unregistered people interacting with the DMV.

Delaware State Representative David Bentz and Senator Kyle Evans Gay sponsored and championed SB 5, a bill to further upgrade the state system to SAVR. In drafting and passing the bill, Representative Bentz and Senator Gay consulted and closely collaborated with State Election Commissioner Anthony Albence, who succeeded Commissioner Manlove in 2019, and Secretary of the Delaware Department of Transportation Nicole Majeski.

SB 5 passed with overwhelming bipartisan support and was signed into law by Governor Carney in June 2021. Mirroring the systems used in other SAVR states, the bill moved Delaware to a fully opt-out process. When unregistered voting-age individuals provide the DMV with clear proof of citizenship as part of a driver’s license transaction, their information is automatically shared with the Department of Elections for processing. In the absence of information indicating that the person is ineligible, the Department of Elections then registers the person to vote and mails them a notice providing the opportunity to decline registration and select a political party. This change further streamlined the license application process, by moving the opportunity to decline registration to a post-transaction mailer for eligible people. SB 5 also codified the major administrative improvements of the previous decade, including registration status filtering, non-citizen filtering, and automated updates for existing registrants.

Because SB 5 built on existing infrastructure adopted through administrative action, the upgrade was extremely inexpensive, with an estimated fiscal cost of just $21,900. The bill also provided the DMV and the Department of Elections two years to implement the upgrade, allowing substantial time for development and deployment of the change.

SB 5 was strongly supported by voting rights groups in Delaware, including the ACLU of Delaware, Common Cause Delaware, the League of Women Voters of Delaware, and the Delaware Chapter of the NAACP. These groups, and several others in the Delaware Voting Rights Coalition, released a statement praising the opt-out system established by the bill and noting that it would register more voters, make voter rolls more accurate, save money, and reduce problems at the polls.

**Delaware’s Results**

Thanks to the hard work of Commissioner Albence and his team at the Division of Elections, and Secretary Majeski and her team at the Department of Transportation, Delaware’s SAVR system went live on June 21, 2023. The Delaware Division of Elections provided the Institute for Responsive Government with data showing the number of people registered to vote through DMV license and ID transactions in the twelve months prior to implementation and in the first nine months following implementation. Thus far, the data shows that SAVR has significantly increased the effectiveness of Delaware’s already well-functioning PAVR system.

SAVR has registered 26.1% more people than the PAVR system in place previously, a sharp increase that translates...
to thousands more voters on the rolls each election cycle. The rate of new registrations has risen from 97.6 new registrations per day to 123.1 new registrations per day.\textsuperscript{20} Over the course of a full year, the new SAVR upgrade would add roughly 9,300 additional registrations at the Delaware DMV, above the registration levels under PAVR.

The data from the first nine months of implementation shows that, as in other SAVR states, very few newly registered voters choose to opt out by using the post-transaction mailer. Only 1.4% of new registrants are declining registration in Delaware, as only 451 declinations have been received out of 31,588 new registrations. This is similar to data from Colorado, which likewise shows that less than 0.6% of newly registered voters returned the declination mailer.

\section*{Takeaways}

Delaware’s experience with SAVR confirms the significant impact of this policy, and reinforces similar data from other states. When voter registration is fully streamlined, more eligible people are added to the rolls and have the opportunity to participate in our democracy. This is a powerful reform that can bring thousands more people onto the rolls in Delaware, and millions more nationally, well in advance of election day, while also streamlining DMV license and ID transactions.

The results in Delaware are even more impressive because the state already had a very robust PAVR system in place. Indeed, Delaware had one of the strongest PAVR systems in the country before passage of SB 5, incorporating features that states like Colorado only adopted as part of its switch to SAVR. These earlier administrative improvements also helped Delaware achieve substantial increases in its voter registration rate. Yet, Delaware’s full switch to SAVR showed that there was still a substantial population not being reached by the pre-existing PAVR system, as registrations at the DMV increased by 26.1% following the change.

This finding confirms data from other SAVR states that SAVR is more effective than PAVR – registering a substantially larger share of the eligible voter population through this back-end process at the DMV. Simply put, moving the opportunity to decline from within the DMV transaction to a post-transaction mailer significantly increases the effectiveness of the AVR system.

Ultimately, the SAVR policy brings us one step closer to closing the voter participation gap. For the majority of the population, SAVR fully removes any hurdles associated with the voter registration process and opens a clear pathway to full voter participation. With the registration barrier removed, candidates, election officials, and advocates can more easily make the case for why every vote matters and help bring people off the sidelines and into the political process.
Appendix

The Delaware Division of Elections provided the Institute for Responsive Government with data showing the number of people registered to vote through DMV license and ID transactions in the twelve months prior to implementation and in the first nine months following implementation.

Table 1 below shows new DMV registrations in the first nine months since the launch of the SAVR system. For each month, new registrations equals the total number of SAVR transactions minus the number of people who returned mailers declining registration.

Table 2 below shows new registrations at the DMV for the twelve months before June 2023, when SAVR launched at the Delaware DMV. In this one-year period, the pre-existing PAVR system registered a total of 35,633 new people, for an average rate of 97.6 new registrations per day. Note that Table 2 for PAVR registration includes 12 months of data, whereas Table 1 on SAVR registration covers 253 days of data.

**TABLE 1: DMV Registrations under SAVR, June 2023 to February 2024**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>SAVR Transactions</th>
<th>New Registrations</th>
<th>Declinations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6/23 (from 6/21/23)</td>
<td>1,430</td>
<td>1,430</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>7/23</td>
<td>3,822</td>
<td>3,732</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8/23</td>
<td>4,154</td>
<td>4,009</td>
<td>145</td>
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<tr>
<td>9/23</td>
<td>3,612</td>
<td>3,570</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/23</td>
<td>3,756</td>
<td>3,709</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/23</td>
<td>3,633</td>
<td>3,591</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/23</td>
<td>3,742</td>
<td>3,717</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/24</td>
<td>3,452</td>
<td>3,430</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>2/24</td>
<td>3,987</td>
<td>3,969</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>31,588</td>
<td>31,137</td>
<td>451</td>
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</table>

**TABLE 2: DMV Registrations under PAVR, June 2022 to May 2023**

<table>
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<th>Month</th>
<th>New Registrations</th>
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<td>7/22</td>
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<td>3/23</td>
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<td>4/23</td>
<td>2,368</td>
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<tr>
<td>5/23</td>
<td>2,729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>35,633</td>
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</table>
Endnotes


3 See CA SB 299, NY S8752, NJ S636.


6 Ibid.

7 Oregon 2023 declination rates based on information provided by the Oregon Secretary of State to the Institute for Responsive Government. This data shows 2,818 declinations out of 112,756 AVR transactions.


15 See Rodden & Grimmer, supra note 5.


20 SAVR resulted in 31,137 new registrations in the 253 days between June 21, 2023 to February 29, 2023. For comparison, in the twelve months before SAVR launched at the Delaware DMV, the pre-existing PAVR system registered a total of 35,633 new people.