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The Unexamined Element of Election Administration: Why Citizens Choose to Serve as Poll Workers on Election Day

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THE UNEXAMINED ELEMENT OF ELECTION ADMINISTRATION:
WHY CITIZENS CHOOSE TO SERVE AS POLL WORKERS ON ELECTION DAY

By

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This work is dedicated to my family: husband, Sean; son, Robert; brother, Francis Gibbs; parents, Frances and Bo Taber and Susan and Bob Winslow. You provided me with the support to start this research and the impetus to finish it. I also devote this work in honor of my deceased grandparents, Elizabeth and Ralph Boll, whose legacy made it possible for me to earn my Ph.D., and in memory of my deceased grandfather, Bill Winslow. And to my grandmother, Alice Winslow: Thank you for exemplifying the kind of inner fortitude I have tried to draw on in this effort.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	ix
Abstract	x
1. INTRODUCTION	1
Significance of Research Question	1
U.S. Elections: A History of Decentralization	4
Poll Workers Historically	8
Poll Workers Today	9
Qualitative Research on Poll Workers	15
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	18
Social Capital and Democratic Theory	18
Volunteer and Public Service Motivation	25
Coproduction	29
Principal-Agent Theory	32
Model and Hypotheses	38
3. RESEARCH METHODS	47
Poll Workers in Leon County, Florida	47
Data Collection	52
Variables and Hypotheses	59
Survey Delivery and Response Rate	65
Other Demographics	69
Analytic Techniques	70
4. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS	72
PSM Factor Analysis	72
Hypotheses 1 – 4: Social Capital	73
Hypotheses 5 – 13: PSM as Dependent Variable	77
Hypotheses 14 – 15: PSM and Principal-Agent Theory	81
Hypotheses 16 – 18: PSM as Independent Variable	83
Comparison of PSM Scores Across Samples	85
5. CONCLUSION	87
Key Findings	87
Theoretical Implications	88
Policy Implications	90

Limitations and Future Research Recommendations	92
APPENDICES	94
Appendix A: FSU Institutional Review Board Approval Memorandum	94
Appendix B: Survey Instrument Verbal Consent Script	96
Appendix C: Response Frequency Percentages	98
REFERENCES	103
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	110

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1. Theoretical Foundations and Authors	4
Table 1.2. Legislation Pertaining to the Elections Process	5
Table 1.3. Resources Related to Elections and Poll Workers	12
Table 1.4. Qualitative Concepts and Related Dimensions	16
Table 3.1. Leon County, Florida, and U.S. Demographic Information	47
Table 3.2. 2006 General Election Voter and Elections Profiles: Leon County vs. Florida	48
Table 3.3. Leon County, Florida Poll Workers, 2008	49
Table 3.4. Poll Worker Positions and Pay	51
Table 3.5. Working Poll Workers	52
Table 3.6. Poll Worker Training Session Responses	66
Table 3.7. Comparison of Poll Worker Population and Sample	67
Table 3.8. Descriptive Statistics of the Survey Items	68
Table 3.9. Descriptive Statistics for Current Employment Status	69
Table 3.10. Descriptive Statistics for Employment Sector	70
Table 3.11. Descriptive Statistics for Position Working	70
Table 4.1. Principal Component Analysis Results	72
Table 4.2. Correlations: Social Capital Hypotheses - Independent Variable PSM	73
Table 4.3. Hypotheses 1 – 4: Confirmed or Unconfirmed	74
Table 4.4. Regression Analysis: Dependent Variable PSM	77
Table 4.5. Hypotheses 5-13: Confirmed or Unconfirmed	78
Table 4.6. Regression Analysis: Dependent Variable Poll Worker Pay	81
Table 4.7. Hypotheses 14-15: Confirmed or Unconfirmed	82

Table 4.8. Correlations: Hypotheses 16-18 - Independent Variable PSM	83
Table 4.9. Hypotheses 16-18: Confirmed or Unconfirmed	84
Table 4.10. Perry's Sample PSM vs. Poll Worker PSM	85

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1. Model of Poll Worker Motivation	39
Figure 3.1. Survey Instrument	53

ABSTRACT

With the approach of the 2008 presidential election, there is both hopeful anticipation and trepidation over how electoral processes will fare on Election Day. Yet the conversation, to this point, has been limited. Most discussion focuses on election technology, which is ever-changing. When attention turns to poll workers, it most often relates to that technology: Will a continually-graying semi-volunteer contingent of poll workers be able to successfully administer use of touch-screen machines, Scantron ballots, or other machinery? That question is not addressed in this research. Instead, poll workers are given voice as singular entities. They are given the credit they deserve as a primary component of democracy in the U.S.

Over 800,000 poll workers staffed more than 100,000 polling places during the 2004 presidential election (EAC, 2005). Even higher staffing levels and turnout are expected for 2008. Poll workers work as many as 14 consecutive hours for pay approximating minimum wage. What motivates them to do so is the subject of this research. There is very little existing research on poll workers, and none on their motivation. It is becoming more and more difficult for elections offices to staff polling precincts, given the graying of the polls and the increasingly sophisticated technology used there. This research is important because it can contribute both theoretically and practically to recruitment and staffing strategies.

Several bodies of literature are drawn from for this research: social capital and democratic theory, public service and volunteer motivation, coproduction, and principal-agent theory. Prior to this research, of these theoretical frameworks, only principal-agent addressed poll workers specifically (and then, in only one study; Alvarez & Hall, 2006). These theories were synthesized to generate 18 hypotheses and to create a 35-question survey instrument that was distributed and collected on-site at poll worker training sessions in Leon County, Florida. A total of 845 completed surveys were returned.

Analytic techniques included factor analysis, ordinary least squares (OLS), and bivariate correlation. Findings reveal the connections between public service motivation (PSM) and various characteristics of the polls, between PSM and principal-agent theory, and between PSM and demographic and attitudinal variables of poll workers. The result is a unique contribution to both theory and practice, with acknowledgement of poll workers as a singular hybrid of volunteer and public servant.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since the 2000 U.S. Presidential election, there has been a great deal of media coverage and discussion about problems with polling procedures. The focus has been primarily on the mechanics of the voting process: touch-screen machines, paper trails, and hanging and dimpled chads, for example. Although these issues are central to the electoral process, so, too, is government's reliance on citizens to administer the polls. The popular media, as well as various government and nonprofit organizations, is beginning to recognize and report on this major human element in election administration. *The New York Times* ("The Right to Vote," 2008), in a recent editorial, expressed concerns about election mismanagement and a lack of lessons learned from 2000. What is missing is a scholarly examination of poll workers. The traditional use of ordinary citizens to staff the polls has worked so successfully for so long that it is hardly noted. This system of coproduction between county governments and volunteers deserves more attention, especially with growing concern about the degradation of civil society.

The electoral process is at the heart of U.S. democracy. Ballots do not get cast, however, unless there are citizens to staff the polls. For the 2004 U.S. presidential election, there were over 800,000 poll workers staffing almost 114,000 polling places, where voters cast at least 121.9 million ballots (EAC, 2005). As expected, fewer ballots were cast and poll workers employed for the 2006 mid-term elections (EAC, 2007b), but 2008 is widely anticipated as a major year for elections. These critical components of the electoral process—citizen poll workers—arrive at their polling precincts between 5 and 6am and remain until 8pm or later. What motivates poll workers to work a 14-hour day with pay approximating minimum wage? Specifically, How are poll workers differentiated from those who do not work the polls, in terms of personal qualities and motivation?

My preliminary research indicates that there are indeed characteristics that are common to poll workers. The purpose of this study is to learn whether and how poll workers are differentiated from the general population in distinct ways.

Significance of Research Question

The U.S. Election Assistance Commission (2007b), in its *2006 Election Administration and Voting Survey*, defines poll workers as “persons who...verified the identity of a voter, assisted the voter with signing the register, affidavits or other documents required to cast a ballot, assisted the voter by providing a ballot or setting up the voting machine, or served other functions dictated by State law” (p. 25). Today’s poll workers are mostly nonpartisan, temporary employees. Yet poll workers are truly a hybrid of temporary public sector worker and volunteer. The institution of poll worker is not a career. It is episodic employment that requires its employees be present sometimes once per year or more, sometimes less frequently, depending on the frequency of local, state, and national elections. It is compensated work, normally at approximately minimum wage. There are no tangible fringe benefits with poll work, however, and it shares much with volunteerism.

Citizen poll workers make the electoral process work. Every U.S. state with the exception of Oregon conducts elections in neighborhood precincts. There are various proposed alternatives to the precinct voting model: voting centers, which are fewer and larger voting sites; voting by mail; Internet voting; and early voting. Each of these methods would reduce the need for the traditional poll worker. Voting centers, mail voting, and early voting have all been implemented in the U.S., at least on small-scale bases. However, mail voting and Internet voting raise fraud concerns, and voting centers and early voting threaten to detract from the uniqueness of the election as casting a ballot on one day in one’s own neighborhood. At any rate, these competing models will not eclipse the standard model in the near future. In the U.S. in 2006, almost 80% of ballots were cast in polling places on Election Day (EAC, 2007b).

Today, and for the foreseeable future, the citizen poll worker collects her neighbors’ ballots. These poll workers are critical to the democratic process in America, but citizens do not staff the polls unless they are successfully recruited. Anecdotal evidence and reports from a county Elections Supervisor reveal that poll workers are disproportionately retirees. Putnam (2000) found that today’s overall volunteer demographic is concentrated on those born before 1946. As the population in this generation starts to decline, it is unclear if the next generation of retirees—baby boomers—will assume the volunteer mantle. Hence, the pool from which to draw poll workers may eventually contract dangerously. A recent *Governing* magazine article (Goodman, 2008) reports that the national average age of poll workers is 72, and poll worker

staffing problems have led to increased voting by mail, as well as to a reduction in polling locations.

Other factors complicating recruitment include that jurisdictions with lower income and education have more staffing problems, as do small, rural jurisdictions and large, urban jurisdictions, with small towns and suburban jurisdictions better staffed (EAC, 2005). As recruitment of poll workers becomes more difficult, states and their agents, county elections supervisors, need to identify the types of people who would be interested in poll work. Why do poll workers volunteer for these minimally-paid jobs? What qualities and beliefs do they possess that make them more likely to choose to work elections? There is no existing research on poll worker motivation, and little examination of poll workers generally. *Public Administration Review's* "Special Symposium on Election Administration" (Montjoy, 2008) speaks to the recognized importance of the human element in elections, but only touches on poll workers. This author's April 2008 search of 45 public administration and political science journals, including three journals specific to elections, yielded one article with poll workers as the primary topic in which possible motivation is also cursorily addressed (Alvarez & Hall, 2006). Other existing research is minimal and primarily addresses voter confidence in poll workers (Claassen, Magleby, Monson, & Patterson, 2008; Hall, Monson, & Patterson, 2008) or poll worker demographics and satisfaction (Hall, Monson, & Patterson, 2007). This search was not limited to contemporary articles but included journal issues from as many as 10 years previous. Similarly, a search of dissertation abstracts subsequent to 1999 was unsuccessful. With knowledge of poll worker motivation, elections supervisors can tailor and target their recruitment efforts to the appropriate audience. Additionally, the body of literature on volunteer motivation and public service motivation may be enhanced. Such information can be vital to the health of the institution of the poll worker and, by extension, to the robustness of American democracy.

There are several bodies of literature from which to draw the theoretical basis of this research question. The social capital, civic engagement, and democratic theory traditions, often linked, are obvious theoretical bases. Poll work appears to epitomize social capital and civic engagement. Poll workers apparently have ample stores of social capital and embody civic engagement. With regard to democratic theory, poll workers contribute to the Republic and are integral components of democracy. The public service motivation literature and research is a natural building block of this research as well. Poll work clearly fits the "public sector" label,

and public service motivation research should be able to inform the question of poll worker motivation. Public service motivation has also been applied to volunteerism, and poll work combines aspects of both public sector work and volunteerism. Additionally, poll work is an act of coproduction between government and citizens; hence, the coproduction literature will be cited. Brudney and England (1983) define coproduction as “the critical mix of activities that service agents and citizens contribute to the provision of public services” (p. 59). Finally, principal-agent theory suggests the “dark side” of citizen participation in election administration. Assuming that poll workers are the uncontrolled and uncontrollable agents of professional elections administrators and of the public casts a dark shadow on the citizen aspect of elections. Table 1.1 indicates the authors to be cited from each of these theoretical traditions.

Table 1.1 Theoretical Foundations and Authors

Body of Literature	Authors
Social capital/civic engagement/democratic theory	Addams, 1907; Clemens, 1999; Coleman, 1990; Follett, 1918; Granovetter, 1973; Putnam, 2000; Rahn et al., 1999; Skocpol, 1999; Skocpol & Fiorina, 1999
Public service and volunteer motivation	Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Borzaga & Tortia, 2006; Brewer, 2003; Brewer & Selden, 2000; Brewer, Selden, & Facer, 2000; Clary & Snyder, 1999; Clerkin et al., 2007; Coursey et al., 2008; Crewson, 1997; DeHart-Davis et al., 2006; Houston, 2000; Kim, 2005; Macduff, 2005; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007; Naff & Crum, 1999; Okun & Schultz, 2003; Park, 2007; Partnership for Public Service, 2005; Perry, 1996, 1997; Perry & Wise, 1990; Perry et al., 2008; Wright, 2007; Wright & Christensen, 2007; Wright & Pandey, 2007
Coproduction between government and citizens	Bovaird, 2007; Brudney & England, 1983; Ostrom, 1996; Sharp, 1980; Swindell, 2006; Whitaker, 1980
Principal-agent theory	Alvarez & Hall, 2006; Bendor, 1988; Horn, 1995; Moe, 1984; Simon, 1957; Williamson, 1981

U.S. Elections: A History of Decentralization

Across the U.S., elections staffs are skeletal, boosted at election time with a huge volunteer contingent. Decentralization is a defining characteristic of the American elections process. Federal legislation related to elections is minimal, as reflected in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 Legislation Pertaining to the Elections Process

Law/Amendment	History/Elections Process Impact(s)
<p>U.S. Constitution Article I, Section 2:¹ <i>The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.</i></p>	<p>States determine qualifications to vote.</p>
<p>U.S. Constitution Article I, Section 4:¹ <i>The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of choosing Senators.</i></p>	<p>States conduct Congressional elections.</p>
<p>U.S. Constitution Article II, Section 1:¹ <i>Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector...The Congress may determine the Time of choosing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.</i></p>	<p>States conduct Presidential elections. Congress determines when electors are chosen and when voting takes place, to be consistent across the country.</p>
<p>10th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution:¹ <i>The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.</i></p>	<p>Ratified 12/15/1791. Implies that states dictate their own elections processes, including how Supervisors enter office and are trained, as well as roles and responsibilities.</p>
<p>15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution:¹ <i>The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.</i></p>	<p>Ratified 1870. In theory, eliminated racial barriers to voting.</p>

Table 1.2 – Continued

Law/Amendment	History/Elections Process Impact(s)
<p>19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution:¹ <i>The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.</i></p>	<p>Ratified 1920. Allowed for women’s suffrage.</p>
<p>24th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution:¹ <i>The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.</i></p>	<p>Ratified 1964. Eliminated poll taxes.</p>
<p>Voting Rights Act of 1965²</p>	<p>Response to racial disenfranchisement. Acknowledged that existing federal anti-discrimination laws were inadequate to enforce the 15th Amendment. Amended in 1970, 1975, 1982. Banned literacy tests; provided for the appointment of federal examiners who could register citizens to vote; “covered” jurisdictions were ordered to obtain permission for new voting practices and procedures; enacted a national prohibition of denial or abridgment of the right to vote because of race or color.</p>
<p>26th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution:¹ <i>The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.</i></p>	<p>Ratified 1971. Lowered the voting age from 21 to 18.</p>
<p>Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990³</p>	<p>Designed to help achieve equal opportunity for people with disabilities. Parts of this Act relate to accessibility at polling locations: parking, passenger drop-off areas, sidewalks and walkways, mobility aids, vision impairment, building entrance, halls and corridors, and voting area. Polling places must by law meet these standards.</p>

Table 1.2 – Continued

Law/Amendment	History/Elections Process Impact(s)
National Voter Registration Act of 1993 ⁴ (aka “Motor Voter Act”)	Designed to enhance voting opportunities for all citizens. Introduced “motor voter” procedures whereby citizens can register to vote when getting a new or renewed driver’s license. Allowed for agency-based registration and mail-in voter registration
Help America Vote Act (HAVA) ⁵	Enacted in 2002. Result of 2000 election problems; represents a change from prior federal government reluctance to be involved in a state and local governance issue. Introduced new elections process standards for states to meet. States must develop and implement reform plans. Offered funding for states and local districts to replace punch-card and lever voting machines. Established the Election Assistance Commission (EAC), which provides technical assistance and establishes standards for voting technology.

1. Source: USConstitution.net (2006).
2. Source: U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, Voting Section (2000).
3. Source: U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, Disability Rights Section (2004).
4. Source: EAC (n.d.).
5. Source: HAVA (2002).

It is worth noting the most recent major election administration legislation debated in Congress. In September 2006, the U.S. House passed the *Federal Election Integrity Act of 2006*. This was intended to amend both the *National Voter Registration Act of 1993* and HAVA, and it would have required proof of U.S. citizenship to register and photo identification to vote. This proposed Act was part of the ongoing immigration reform debate. The Senate did not take up the bill, and it died. However, 25 states require some form of identification, and the U.S. Supreme Court recently upheld the state of Indiana’s photo ID requirement (Sherman, 2008). This decision is likely to encourage other states to add identification requirements.

It is states, primarily through their counties, that are responsible for conducting elections. Secretaries of State have that specific responsibility in 39 states (National Association of Secretaries of State, 2007). Election responsibilities are further delegated to counties, often in the person of a Supervisor of Elections. In Florida, for example, each county has an elected Supervisor of Elections (with the exception of Miami-Dade, which has an appointed elections

supervisor). Elections supervisors manage the elections process for their counties. This diffusion of responsibility and accountability means that the elections process varies across jurisdictions. Adding to that absence of standardization is the lack of formal training for elections administrators. There is no training program that is required across the country for elections officials.

The *Help America Vote Act* (HAVA) is a tentative step toward standardization of elections administration. HAVA was the federal government's response to widespread problems at the polls in the 2000 general election. It established the Election Assistance Commission (EAC) and set certain requirements for voting and election administration, but it did not remove local control (HAVA, 2002). HAVA has been plagued with delayed funding, underfunding, and controversial requirements (Fischer & Coleman, 2007). Furthermore, HAVA did not specifically address poll workers other than establishing high school and college student recruitment programs and authorizing the commissioning of poll worker best practices research (HAVA, 2002). Hence, the most recent federal U.S. elections legislation does nothing to standardize elections administration's citizen element.

Poll Workers Historically

Prior to the Progressive movement in the 19th century, poll workers were typically representatives of political parties. Corruption at the polls was not uncommon. Partisan precinct clerks and poll workers committed massive fraud in Louisville, Kentucky in 1903, resulting in the ouster of dozens of municipal officials (Woodruff, 1908). Reformers at the turn of the century developed standards such as the New York *Elmira Compact*, which many other communities observed (Woodruff, 1908). In the *Compact*, the punishment for bribery and corruption included fines and arrests. Other efforts of that time centered on state elections. In New Jersey, political parties, politicians, and the Society for Preventing Corruption at Elections signed an agreement that (among other admonitions) the parties would mutually determine poll worker wages, as well as that poll workers were to be eligible voters (Woodruff, 1908). As late as the 1950s, a mix of political party and statutory committees selected paid poll workers in Wisconsin (Sorauf, 1954). Though some jurisdictions still require that political parties provide lists of or nominate poll workers, hiring and selecting poll workers is today overwhelmingly a nonpartisan process.

In addition to these reform efforts, poll workers faced other changes over the years. Technological advances, including the transition from paper to electronic vote counting in some areas in the 1960s (Willis, 1966), created the need for advanced poll worker training. Technology's impact at the polls has increased over the years, lately eclipsing other aspects of election administration. Another evolving dimension of poll worker history is gender. As often noted, women form a majority of poll workers today. This phenomenon is traced to pre-suffrage, when women served as poll workers before they could even vote (Formisano, 1999). It seems reasonable to assume that women's presence at the polls increased steadily, through eras of women's activism and increased independence and until greater numbers of women entered the workforce. Though women still dominate the poll worker scene, they are increasingly likely to be retired.

Poll Workers Today

The 2004 Election Day Survey, commissioned by the U.S. Election Assistance Commission (2005), illuminates the milieu of poll workers in America today. As noted above, for the 2004 U.S. presidential election, more than 800,000 poll workers staffed almost 114,000 polling places, and voters cast at least 121.9 ballots. There were, on average, 7.9 poll workers per polling place. Other sources (electionline.org, 2007) state that the total number of poll workers per federal election is 2 million. Midterm elections typically have smaller turnout and smaller staffing requirements. Some 82 million ballots were cast in 2006, and the two thirds of jurisdictions responding to the Election Assistance Commission 2007 survey reported almost 700,000 poll workers employed. There were approximately four poll workers per polling place.

Poll worker compensation today usually hovers around minimum wage, but there are pay extremes. In some Vermont jurisdictions, there is no pay, and in New York, some poll workers can earn up to \$325 per election day (electionline.org, 2007).

Poll workers usually receive training, usually paid, prior to elections, but the quality of that training can vary widely. With continuing technological advances, the job of poll worker has become both more complicated and more specialized, but training lacks uniformity. Inadequate training and discomfort with electronic voting equipment led to occasional problems at the polls in the 2006 mid-term elections (electionline.org, 2006). Such problems can lead to poor morale

among poll workers. There have even been isolated incidents of assault on or by a poll worker (electionline.org, 2006).

Other problems at the polls include absenteeism and other staffing issues. Of the 113,749 reported polling places in the 2004 general election, 5,252 (or 5.8%) were understaffed (EAC, 2005). (With smaller staffing needs, the 2006 midterm elections experienced 3% of polling places understaffed [EAC, 2007b]). Staffing is related to several variables. In 2004, the South had the highest rate of inadequate staffing, regionally (EAC, 2005). Urban jurisdictions had the highest percentage of staffing problems, followed by rural jurisdictions. Though predominantly non-Hispanic Black jurisdictions had the highest number of poll workers per polling place, they were also the most inadequately staffed. This seeming inconsistency might be attributable to the existence of high-density urban precincts that require high levels of staffing. As jurisdiction median income decreased, staffing problems increased. Of further note is that lower levels of jurisdiction education were correlated with more staffing problems.

HAVA's Election Assistance Commission and other organizations have developed various resources, available to poll workers and elections managers, which aim to combat some of the above problems. The development of these resources appears to reflect a slowly evolving recognition of the importance of poll workers. Several of these organizations have been identified and are listed in Table 1.3 below.

The Election Assistance Commission has tried to respond to staffing and other poll worker problems first with its *Best Practices Tool Kit* (2006) and later with its *Guidebook on Successful Practices for Poll Worker Recruitment, Training, and Retention* (2007a). The *Guidebook* was compiled with input from local elections administrators, voter advocates, and academics, and was a collaborative effort by the EAC, IFES, the Poll Worker Institute, and the League of Women Voters.

The *Guidebook's* primary recommendation for poll worker recruitment is partnering with "intermediary organizations": local businesses; political parties; colleges, universities, and high schools; the media; local government agencies; and nonprofit organizations (EAC, 2007a). The *Guidebook* also stresses tracking recruiting efforts with technology. With regard to training, it offers myriad specific methods. Additionally, the *Guidebook* emphasizes organizational learning with feedback loops and limiting new material introduced to a realistic amount. The section on retention focuses advises elections administrators to "cultivate strong personal relationships,

offer them the potential for growth, and reward them” (p. 156). Finally, the *Guidebook* provides a number of means for improving poll worker management, including using early voting sites, developing and using blended poll worker teams, and employing Election Day troubleshooters. It advises elections administrators to understand the skills and knowledge of their poll workers.

The EAC has also developed a separate *Guidebook for Recruiting College Poll Workers*. As mentioned above, HAVA provided funds for recruiting college students to work the polls. Typically, colleges apply for and receive grants to help local jurisdictions recruit poll workers from the student body. At the end of 2007, over \$900,000 had been awarded, and 19 grants were distributed in 2006 (Zambon, 2007). One difficulty in recruiting from local college populations is that students are often registered to vote “back home,” if registered at all, and poll workers usually must be registered voters in the jurisdiction. Still, students and election officials alike reported satisfaction with student participation at the polls in 2006 (Zambon, 2007).

The League of Women Voters has also independently offered a prescription for what ails poll worker recruitment and training (LWV, 2007): (a) Elections officials should improve and increase information sharing among themselves regarding management practices; (b) elections officials should increase public awareness of the poll worker shortage, as well as make it easy for the public to work the polls; (c) poll worker training should have flexible schedules; and (d) poll workers should be rewarded with timely payment and a personal touch.

In Nebraska, state code allows county election commissions to summon poll workers, much like the manner in which jury summons work (Justia.com, n.d.). Prospective poll workers are excused only for medical reasons, and employers cannot penalize poll workers. Employers must pay regular wages while employees are staffing the polls, but they are able to deduct the wages paid by the election commission. The Ohio Secretary of State also proposed drafting poll workers to improve staffing levels (“Ohio Official,” 2007). The Secretary of State’s plan called for drafting poll workers for a reduced eight-hour day, citing an aging work force (average age of 72) and the poll worker’s long day as current problems. Schemes such as these would seem to negate the social capital aspect of poll work, but such problems were expected to only be exacerbated with the early primary elections planned for 2008 (Wolf, 2007). Earlier-than-usual, winter primaries could have made it harder to recruit the many retirees staffing the polls who travel seasonally to warmer climes. Furthermore, increased incidence of snow and ice might have made it difficult for poll workers to reach their precincts.

Table 1.3 Resources Related to Elections and Poll Workers

Organization	Mission	Activities/Publications
U.S. Election Assistance Commission	<i>...established by the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (HAVA). EAC is an independent, bipartisan commission charged with developing guidance to meet HAVA requirements, adopting voluntary voting system guidelines, and serving as a national clearinghouse of information about election administration. EAC also accredits testing laboratories and certifies voting systems, as well as audits the use of HAVA funds. (EAC, n.d.)</i>	In addition to publishing the <i>2004 and 2006 Election Day Surveys and Guidebook on Successful Practices for Poll Worker Recruitment, Training, and Retention</i> (2007a), the EAC maintains a list of poll worker requirements by state. The EAC also manages testing of voting equipment.
Electionline.org	<i>...a project of the Pew Center on the States, is the nation's only nonpartisan, non-advocacy website providing up-to-the-minute news and analysis on election reform. Established by Pew after the November 2000 vote, electionline has become the leading source for journalists, policymakers, election officials, academics, and concerned citizens to learn about, discuss and debate election administration issues. (electionline.org, n.d.)</i>	Electionline.org disseminates a weekly e-newsletter and publishes periodic briefings on election reform. Two publications of particular note are the briefings <i>The 2006 Election</i> (2006) and <i>Helping Americans Vote: Poll Workers</i> (2007).
League of Women Voters	<i>...a nonpartisan political organization, encourages informed and active participation in government, works to increase understanding of major public policy issues, and influences public policy through education and advocacy. (League of Women Voters, n.d.)</i>	LWV publishes the <i>National Voter</i> , often defending poll workers' contribution to elections and lamenting the low pay and minimal training provided poll workers. LWV has also noted the demographic profile of the polls and the concern about sustainability of that profile (LWV, 2007).

Table 1.3 – Continued

Organization	Mission	Activities/Publications
The Pollworker Institute	<i>...a nonprofit education, research, and technical assistance organization, was founded in 2005...[Its] purpose is to provide strategic management consulting services and support to election officials by developing successful, professional programs, practices, and procedures that can be adapted and implemented in jurisdictions at the local, state, and national level[s]. (Pollworker Institute, n.d.)</i>	The Pollworker Institute is contracted by other organizations (including the EAC) for election reform projects focused on poll workers.
The Election Center (National Association of Election Officials)	<i>The Election Center is a nonprofit organization dedicated to promoting, preserving, and improving democracy. Its members are government employees whose profession is to serve in voter registration and elections administration. (The Election Center, n.d.)</i>	The Election Center offers a certification program for Supervisors of Elections, but most states do not require elections officials to take the course (Election Center, n.d.).
National Association of Secretaries of State	<i>Founded in 1904, NASS is the nation's oldest, nonpartisan professional organization for state officials. (NASS, 2007)</i>	As the professional association/lobbying organization for secretaries of state, NASS's interests include elections administration. It conducts informal election surveys and writes public statements and letters to Congress.

Table 1.3 – Continued

Organization	Mission	Activities/Publications
National Association of State Election Directors	<i>NASED was formed in 1989 when a group of state election directors and administrators met in Reno, Nevada. The driving issue at that time that spurred the group to organize was the concern that national networks were releasing presidential election results before all polls had closed. (NASED, n.d.)</i>	NASED previously was an independent tester of voting equipment. It currently holds conferences focusing on elections best practices and election directors' professional and social networking.
Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project	<i>Established...to prevent a recurrence of the problems that threatened the 2000 U.S. Presidential Election. Specific tasks of the project include (a) Evaluate the current state of reliability and uniformity of U.S. voting systems, (b) Establish uniform attributes and quantitative guidelines for performance and reliability of voting systems, and (c) Propose specific uniform guidelines and requirements for reliable voting systems. (Caltech/MIT, n.d.)</i>	Academics from two universities conduct election reform research, publishing journal articles and working papers, as well as managing an election reform Web log (blog).
Pollworkers for Democracy	<i>Pollworkers for Democracy is a non-partisan election integrity campaign recruiting a new wave of informed American pollworkers to work the 2006 elections (Pollworkers for Democracy, 2006).</i>	Three non-profit/advocacy groups, Mainstreet Moms, VoteTrustUSA, and Working Assets, formed this group to recruit poll workers and watchers. It encourages elections workers to adhere to high ethical standards and to report ethical lapses.

As helpful as these resources might be, they offer mostly voluntary guidelines that are only sporadically implemented.

Qualitative Research on Poll Workers

This research will not include a qualitative component, but the research question is based in part on qualitative research I have previously carried out. This research aided in formulating my inquiry of who poll workers are and why they do what they do. It was exploratory in nature and allowed poll workers to speak for themselves. I conducted semi-structured interviews with four respondents: two men and two women of varying age, race/ethnicity, and tenure as poll workers. One respondent I interviewed a second time, in a more focused approach. This sample was not recruited in a true probability manner, though I did attempt to have a mix by gender and race/ethnicity. I have worked as a poll worker on multiple occasions, and I became acquainted with two of the respondents at my polling precinct. I have worked with the other two respondents in other capacities. The respondents range in age from early 40s to mid-50s. All have bachelor's degrees or higher.

I gave respondents the choice of meeting location. One interview took place at a doughnut shop, and the other three occurred at a coffee shop. Each respondent agreed to be tape-recorded and signed a university human subjects release form. Each interview was conducted in person and was fully transcribed. Additionally, I took notes on my observations and impressions from each interview. I also used archival data for this project: two lists of poll workers, containing contact information, from 2004. I utilized these lists to solicit interviews with the respondents.

I analyzed my data using grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1999; Martin & Turner, 1986). Interviews were open coded using Atlas/ti software, identifying and labeling relevant concepts and themes. I wrote memos on theoretical concepts in order to explore, define, and refine them (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). The constant comparative method was also used to sort and group data and to eliminate irrelevant data (Glaser & Strauss, 1999).

By analyzing the respondents' own words and allowing relevant concepts to emerge, I identified three concepts as being integral to the poll worker experience. These three features are characteristic of the poll workers I interviewed, and appeared to motivate them to desire to work the polls. They form a basis for further, quantitative research. They are *democracy* or the *democratic process*, *civic responsibility*, and *public service*. Based on the data I collected, each concept has embedded dimensions. These three concepts and their corresponding dimensions are detailed below in Table 1.4.

Table 1.4 Qualitative Concepts and Related Dimensions

Concept	Dimensions
<i>Democracy/democratic process</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation in government equals voting • Education and information are critical to the democratic process • Decision-making by proxy is a feature of the democratic process • The democratic process is both a right and a responsibility
<i>Civic responsibility</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Voting and/or working the polls is part of civic responsibility • Civic responsibility includes the giver, the poll worker herself • Civic responsibility includes others around us • Civic responsibility has an intrinsic value
<i>Public service</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public service includes helping people • Public service includes micro and macro levels • Public service is both innate and learned • Public service includes a focus on intrinsic rewards • Public service involves stewardship

These concepts are all intertwined and common to the poll workers whom I interviewed. Poll workers support the ideals of democracy, they share a sense of civic responsibility, and they feel they are public servants. From this analysis, it can be concluded that poll workers truly are a breed apart, and the things that motivate them are different from others' motivating factors.

Despite the presence of committed, civic-minded poll workers such as these, there is a crisis at the polls and with the democratic process. The jurisdictions described above as being understaffed are precisely those jurisdictions that have felt or been disenfranchised in the past. Incomplete staffing potentially creates voting problems or exacerbates those problems already occurring. Though supervisors of elections across the country are aware of this staffing problem, they may not understand root causes or know how to attack the problem. As mentioned previously, all too often the focus of corrective action is on the mechanics of the voting process rather than on the citizen poll workers facilitating voting as a whole. However, poll workers

should be a major concern, as noted in the most recent Congressional Research Service Report (Fischer & Coleman, 2007) on election reform:

The age and number of poll workers is also of concern to many, especially in elections with high turnout. Many jurisdictions have apparently expressed concerns that recruiting enough poll workers has become more difficult (EAC, 2004). An insufficient workforce at the polling place, or poll workers who are insufficiently or improperly trained, especially if they are using new equipment, may lead to errors that can create problems for voters or even impact the outcome of an election. (p. 13)

The research I propose will potentially mitigate such problems by highlighting how poll workers are motivated and, by extension, how they can better be recruited. The following chapter draws from four bodies of literature. With the confluence of these four foundations, I construct a theoretical lens through which the subject of poll workers may be meaningfully examined.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As described above, there are four major bodies of literature with which to examine the institution of poll worker. These perspectives all make recognized contributions to the study of public administration. They each speak to motivational bases of action to greater or lesser degrees, and hence, they are appropriate for theorizing poll worker motivation. In each case with the exception of one, however, they have not been previously used for building theory with regard to poll workers. Therefore, I will use extrapolation to build my own theory. In this chapter, I will provide an overview of each body of literature and then suggest how it may apply to poll workers. This will not be an exhaustive account of each theory but rather an overview with a focus on applicability to poll workers. Finally, I will construct a model and hypotheses based on links in the chain of theories.

Social Capital and Democratic Theory

For most people, voting is not a solitary process. Most voters still make the trip to their neighborhood precincts, where they will likely see their neighbors working the polls. This act of voting, afterward receiving one's "I voted" sticker, is a source of *social capital*. Putnam (2000) focuses on social capital in *Bowling Alone*. "...[S]ocial capital refers to connections among individuals—social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam, 2000, p. 19). Putnam relates social capital to civic virtue, distinguishing social capital by stating that virtuous individuals in isolation do not exhibit social capital. Poll workers surely exemplify civic virtue, but they also are rich in and draw on social capital to achieve their aims. With pay approximating minimum wage, the bulk of volunteer poll workers are not motivated primarily by financial reward. Frequently, once recruited, poll workers become "addicted" and form informal poll worker clubs. A happy cycle may ensue whereby a poll worker recruits her friends, who next election recruit their work colleagues, etc. Observation at Leon County, Florida, poll worker focus groups recorded comments such as, "I'm recruiting all year long. I make it fun." Another veteran said, "I tell people it's their obligation." It is appropriate then, to incorporate into this research the question of how much social capital influences one's motivation to work the polls.

For Putnam (2000), social capital is both a private good and a public good. The costs and benefits of social capital are both individual and collective. Social contacts benefit (or harm) the individuals with those contacts, but they also benefit (or harm) others. There are externalities. For example, voluntary work in an organization such as Habitat for Humanity benefits the volunteers through increased business and personal relationships, and such work has beneficiaries in the larger community as well. In the case of the polls, paid employees who draw on their contacts to recruit poll workers benefit themselves and the community at large: By successfully staffing the polls, they achieve an objective of their jobs, and they facilitate the democratic process for voters.

Yet Putnam (2000) is quick to point out that social capital does not consist merely of “contacts.” Social capital entails mutual obligation, but not only the pedestrian “I’ll scratch your back if you scratch mine” type. Those with social capital do not help a friend or organization simply because they expect a specific favor in return from that individual or institution. Holders of social capital do unto others as they would have others do unto them. Trust is an important component of this generalized reciprocity. And, as Putnam says, “A society characterized by generalized reciprocity is more efficient than a distrustful society...” (p. 21). When it is not necessary to place tick marks on a balance sheet, more gets accomplished.

There are different manifestations of social capital. Some types are informal but repeated, e.g., a group of office buddies meeting regularly for after-work drinks. Others are informal and occur among relative strangers, such as the occasional exchange between a coffee shop clerk and a patron. An example of formal social capital is when individuals organize themselves into a political or service club with formal bylaws and regulations. Elections staff and poll workers might draw on any of these types of social capital to help staff the polls. Once poll workers are recruited, social capital expands as new and veteran poll workers periodically come together for the formal purpose of staffing the polls.

Putnam (2000) distinguishes between *bridging* and *bonding* social capital. Bridging forms of social capital are inclusive and encourage the involvement of individuals across all demographic groups. Nonpartisan good government groups would exemplify bridging social capital. Bonding social capital, on the other hand, is by nature exclusive. A lineage organization such as the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) is an example of bonding social capital. Both bridging and bonding social capital can be efficacious, though for different types of

ends. Bonding social capital helps with “undergirding specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity” (Putnam, 2000, p. 22). This type of capital is akin to Granovetter’s (1973) *strong ties*, which link individuals to friends and relatives of the same socioeconomic status. Bridging social capital helps individuals achieve ends outside their demographic enclave. These are Granovetter’s *weak ties*, which can be extremely useful for obtaining jobs or other goals outside one’s own social niche. Presumably, elections staff and poll workers use both types of social capital when recruiting new poll workers. They may draw from their family and close friends, but may also solicit casual acquaintances. Once recruited, poll workers further engage in both bonding and bridging activities. The polls are inclusive (bridging) institutions in that the requirements to be a poll worker are minimal. Yet the demographics of many precincts clearly reflect a bonding atmosphere. Because poll workers must work on a weekday, many working-age individuals are not available to work the polls; hence, part of the reason for the skewed demographic of the polls.

Social capital is not always benign. Clearly, the September 11 terrorists relied on social capital to accomplish their acts. They achieved their own means, and there were also profound externalities to their actions. There is no reason to believe that poll workers and elections staff use their social capital to recruit poll workers for malevolent purposes. However, one negative externality of networks to recruit poll workers is that the polls are graying: The Leon County, Florida, Supervisor of Elections Office (D. Mitchell, personal communication, February 28, 2008) reports that the median age of the county’s poll workers is 58. There are at least two concerns regarding this phenomenon. First, there is a growing generational mismatch between older poll workers who are accustomed to paper and pencil ballots or mechanical machines, and the technical skills required by the electronic equipment used today. Second, as Putnam (2000) indicates, today’s overall volunteer demographic is skewed toward those born before 1946. As the population in this generation starts to decline, it is unclear if the next generation of retirees—baby boomers—will assume the volunteer mantle.

Related to this concern about an aging volunteer contingent at the polls, an oft-repeated question is whether the U.S. is experiencing a decline in social capital. If so, to what degree and what are the repercussions? Putnam (2000) believes (and documents that) there has been such a decline over the last 30 or so years. The assumption of this research is that the pool of individuals possessing high levels of social capital is, at present, both aging and contracting. The

impacts to the vitality of the institution of citizen poll worker are obvious. But the picture is not entirely gloomy. Social capital—via networks—has been successfully employed to staff the polls. While it is important to ask why there are chinks in a system, it is also critical to ask why (and how) a system is still humming along, faithfully generating its designated product. Citizens do not “vote alone.” They do so with the assistance of citizen poll workers who offer their time for minimal pay. This massive volunteer effort seems to contradict projections of demise in social capital. Working the polls does not appear to be about money. It is about civic engagement and responsibility, about camaraderie and friendship. It is about drawing on existing personal and professional networks and about building new ones. It is clear that these processes work. How they work, and whether they can continue to be successful, is a question critical to the democratic process.

Coleman (1990) is another modern writer concerned with social capital. He would agree with Putnam (2000) on many points. He notes that individuals do not act alone selfishly toward the achievement of individual goals; this is a fallacy. There is an individual bias in neoclassical economics, but it is in fact social ties that are useful in accomplishing goals. Obligations and expectations allow social capital to be created within transactions. Transaction costs will be discussed further below, but transaction costs can even be addressed within the context of social capital. Information is costly, but social capital can help mitigate those costs. One can use one’s social relationships (that exist anyway for other reasons) to get information on anything. For example, if A’s friend B is an expert in some field where A’s expertise is lacking, A can use a shortcut to obtain the information by merely asking B. With regard to the polls, experienced poll workers can provide such expertise to their friends who are new to the job.

Coleman (1990) distinguishes between “voluntary” and “intentional” organizations. “Voluntary organizations are brought into being to further some purpose of those who initiate them” (p. 311). Voluntary organizations that are originated for one purpose can be used by their members for another purpose, such as finding jobs. For example, the local Humane Society’s primary objective is to care for unwanted pets. But the organization can also be a social outlet for its members. The intentional organization is a corporation, but social capital can be a by-product here as well. Even though they may be brought into being only to make a profit for the founder(s), these organizations can benefit the greater good, too, thus increasing social capital. Because of their unique characteristics, the polls are something of a hybrid of intentional and

voluntary organization. It can even be said that the overt objective of poll work is to increase social capital. Facilitating voting does just that. At the polls, social capital is both primary product and by-product.

Coleman (1990) also describes the public-good aspect of social capital: "...[I]t [social capital] cannot be easily exchanged. As an attribute of the social structure in which a person is embedded, social capital is not the private property of any of the persons who benefit from it" (p. 315). This is one way it differs from physical capital. The social capital generated at the polls is diffuse. Everyone benefits, potentially even those who do not vote. The civic engagement that benefits society when one votes is available to all, and poll workers certainly contribute to that benefit.

Coleman (1990) further notes the factors important to the creation, maintenance, and destruction of social capital. Closure and stability within networks or formal organizations strengthen social capital. The third factor, ideology, can enhance or inhibit social capital; it depends on whether the ideology is supportive of social connectedness or isolation. It is intuitive that stability at the polls—do the same set of poll workers work the same precinct most elections?—enhances social capital and the “organization” itself. What is not clear is what effect ideology has on poll workers’ motivation to work the polls or on the neighborhood precinct.

Other contemporary theorists write about social capital with an emphasis on civic engagement and democratic theory. Skocpol and Fiorina (1999) note that civic engagement in the U.S. seems to be decreasing. Scholars on both ends of the political spectrum are concerned with this phenomenon. There have been societal transformations (technology, economic anxiety, immigration, etc.) that contrast with earlier, perceived more stable periods. “Despite all of the progress in our economy and culture, there may be good things we Americans have lost” (p. 7). The authors appear to agree with Putnam (2000) here.

In order to help determine all the reasons for this decline in social capital, Skocpol (1999) discusses how Americans became “civic” in the first place. In the 1960s, researchers commonly found that compared to citizens of other countries, Americans were especially participatory in public affairs and various associations. Why those findings at that time? The conventional wisdom says that voluntary groups became important because the U.S. did not have a strong central state. Changes came with industrialization. “According to the standard wisdom, the associational life of Americans changed in a parallel fashion, moving from small, local, and

informal to big, national, and bureaucratic” (p. 32). Conservatives see modernization (as with the welfare state) as a problem threatening voluntary groups, but Skocpol disagrees. She cites evidence that government institutions encouraged the development of voluntary groups, and says that even wars (especially the Civil War) have helped mobilize Americans into voluntary associations. By the time of the Civil War, there was a recognizable national civil society. Churches grew, as did Masonic organizations, temperance movements, and the mass media.

Furthermore, unions, businesses, and professional groups originated and grew as a result of the industrial revolution. These include service groups such as Rotary and the Lions Club. For Skocpol (1999), modern voluntary associations have been successful because of, not in spite of, the growth of national government, and she refers specifically to the PTA and the Red Cross as adjunct voluntary organizations. Many groups helped the government to deliver social programs. Citizens chose to participate because of the social outlet, reinforcing family roles, and especially providing connections to “broader social and political movements” (p. 66). As to what effect this participation had on U.S. democracy, “[i]n part, local-state-national federations constituted mobility ladders with rungs from the modest reaches of society to the national leadership. At the same time, they encouraged persons of high status or leadership rank to interact with a wide range of their fellow citizens” (p. 66). Members also learned things critical to American citizenship, because group procedures mimicked U.S. taxpaying rules and representative governance. “Regular” people could participate democratically. The application to poll workers is obvious. By organizing themselves in neighborhood precincts, poll workers see American citizenship close-up.

Other historic trends in the U.S. also increased social capital, within some specific groups (Clemens, 1999). Women were a force in lobbying even before they could vote. Women’s groups that originated as the year approached 1900 distanced themselves from traditional women’s associations such as religious groups and charities. Women’s groups could co-opt existing organizational models. Women adopted “business practices” that promoted their “civic maturity”—“increasing isomorphism between women’s associations and state agencies” (p. 95). Though women were still mostly excluded from areas of electoral politics, they drew upon those available alternative models of organization. As noted above, women worked the polls even before they could vote. And women are still the majority gender behind the voter registry books in neighborhood precincts.

Other contemporary authors (Rahn, Brehm, & Carlson, 1999) have noted that national elections are institutions generating social capital, though they do not directly address the citizen poll worker aspect. But social capital and democratic theory are not new concepts. Jane Addams (1907) was a Progressive who, although not using the modern social capital term, wrote that social morality is more important than individual morality. She exhorted members of society to mix with others to practice social morality and democracy. It is important to get to “know” different types of people and the problems they face and to feel affinity with them. The alternative, restricting ourselves to interaction with only certain types of people, “limit[s] the scope of our ethics” (p. 10). “Thus the identification with the common lot which is the essential idea of Democracy becomes the source and expression of social ethics” (p. 11). The type of social intercourse at the polls, among poll workers as well as between poll workers and voters, seems just the type of activity in which to develop social ethics. The family unit is important, but it is critical to move beyond the family unit and to recognize one’s larger social obligation. Furthermore, Addams seems to acknowledge that democracy is a messy business and requires the efforts of the whole of society, but it is a worthwhile effort. Addams might have been writing specifically about such activity as poll work.

Mary Parker Follett (1918) was a kindred spirit writing in the same era:

Democratic ideals will never advance unless we are given the opportunity of constantly embodying them in action, which action will react on our ideals. Thought and will go out into the concrete world in order to generate their own complete form. This gives us both the principle and the method of democracy. (p. 51)

Citizens can be said to belong to a community only as far as they help to create that community. Follett differentiated between crowds and groups, however. A group is an “articulated whole” that facilitates progress. Poll workers, as deliberate neighborhood groups, help to create their communities. Follett admonishes her readers to live democracy every day in order to preserve it. This is possible by participation in neighborhood organizations, the core component of civic life. Working within the neighborhood group, one can help to build the larger state:

Citizenship is not a right nor a privilege nor a duty, but an activity to be exercised every moment of the time. Democracy does not exist unless each man is doing his part fully every minute, unless every one is taking his share in building the state-to-be. (p. 335)

Such sentiments seem tailor-made to the poll worker institution:

Citizenship is not to be learned in good government classes or current events courses or lessons in civics. It is to be acquired only through those modes of living and acting which shall teach us how to grow the social consciousness. (p. 363)

Ending the discussion of social capital and democratic theory necessitates identifying their contributions to the poll worker institution. Several such questions should be addressed by this research. To what extent are poll workers recruited by other poll workers? How do poll workers rate camaraderie as a reason to work the polls? Also, do the polls reflect the strong measures of stability that Coleman (1990) discussed? How much, if at all, do poll workers depend on others at the polls to help guide or assist them both at the polls and away?

Volunteer and Public Service Motivation

The current environment of volunteerism and public sector employment can be illuminated by the results of a recent survey. The Partnership for Public Service (2005) conducted a survey to the university graduating class of 2005, the class that began its education in the midst of the terrorist attacks of 9/11. The Partnership was interested in determining whether this cohort would be differentiated by a keen interest in public service. Briefly stated, the answer is no. Only 20% of respondents said that 9/11 made them more interested in government service. Most respondents did not perceive government employment to be public service, but most did think that volunteering was. Poll work is a hybrid of volunteer and government work, and it is unclear how, if at all, 9/11 affected this young generation's perception of and motivation toward working the polls. Although poll workers do earn approximately minimum wage, they can be in some ways considered volunteers for the purposes of this research, because of the nominal remuneration and the fact that working the polls is not a regular job. Poll workers can be considered *episodic volunteers* (Macduff, 2005). Specifically, they are occasional episodic volunteers, "providing service at regular intervals for short periods of time" (p. 51).

Clary and Snyder (1999) also examined volunteer motivation, identifying six different functions that can be served by volunteer work: values, understanding, enhancement, career, social, and protective. The researchers developed a Volunteer Functions Inventory to assess each of the six functions. They found that values, understanding, and enhancement were most important to volunteers, while the other three were less important. As with other researchers,

Clary and Snyder determined that recruitment efforts will best succeed where they address motivations.

Other research has also addressed volunteer motivation. Okun and Schultz (2003) found that motivation to volunteer changed with age. Enhancing career experience and learning more about the world were not strong motivators of older volunteers; in contrast, volunteering to strengthen social relationships was more common with older volunteers.

Public service motivation (PSM), according to Perry and Wise (1990), is “an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations” (p. 368). Perry and Wise refer to an individual’s motives as falling within three categories: rational, norm-based, and affective. Rational motives refer to the attempt to maximize individual utility. Norm-based motives concern efforts to conform to norms. Finally, affective motives are emotional in character. Within these categories fall specific motives: attraction to public policy, commitment to the public interest, a sense of civic duty, desire for social justice, compassion, and self-sacrifice (Perry, 1996). Perry (1996) conducted research on these six dimensions, and later collapsed them to four: attraction to public policy making, compassion, commitment to civic duty/public interest, and self-sacrifice. Based on reliability and validity testing, Perry developed a 24-item scale of public service motivation. This scale has been compressed to five items by several researchers (Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Brewer & Selden, 2000; Kim, 2005; Wright & Pandey, 2007), with resulting alpha scores of .7 or higher. The compressed scale will be used in this research.

Perry and Wise (1990) developed three behavioral implications to accompany their public service motivation construct:

The greater an individual’s public service motivation, the more likely the individual will seek membership in a public organization...In public organizations, public service motivation is positively related to individual performance...Public organizations that attract members with high levels of public service motivation are likely to be less dependent on utilitarian incentives to manage individual performance effectively. (pp. 370-371)

These implications and other assumptions about public service motivation have largely been supported by research. Crewson (1997) found that public employees placed greater emphasis on aiding others and being useful to society than private-sector employees did.

However, the sectors did not differ with regard to importance placed on high pay. Still, federal employees rated intrinsic rewards higher than extrinsic rewards, a result not seen with private-sector employees. Crewson further found that public employees who prefer service to economic benefits were likely to be more committed to their work than were employees with an economic orientation. Houston's (2000) research confirmed previous findings that public sector employees emphasize higher pay less and important work more than private sector employees.

Naff and Crum (1999) found greater job satisfaction, as well as higher performance appraisals, among high PSM scorers. Naff and Crum also looked at PSM scores across demographic variables. They found that minorities, women, and educated individuals had slightly higher PSM scores than Whites, men, and those without at least a bachelor's degree, respectively.

DeHart-Davis, Marlowe, and Pandey (2006) also researched a demographic dimension related to PSM, namely gender. They hypothesized that women would score higher than men on the PSM compassion factor, and that men would score higher on attraction to policy making and commitment to public service. Compassion is a traditionally "feminine" quality, whereas the other two dimensions have been identified more with men. Whereas their hypothesis was confirmed with regard to compassion, the authors found that attraction to policy making was more typical of women. There were no significant differences for commitment to public service.

Brewer, Selden, and Facer (2000) identified four factors that represented individuals' conceptions of public service motivation: Samaritans, communitarians, patriots, and humanitarians. Samaritans are committed to helping others, yet their motives are not entirely altruistic. Communitarians are motivated by civic duty and public service. Patriots are concerned about causes bigger than themselves. Finally, humanitarians care about social justice and public service. Brewer et al. found that Samaritans and communitarians were willing to sacrifice economic rewards, and none of the conceptions was characterized by a desire for economic rewards. Perhaps surprisingly, each of the four groups communicated a dislike of politics and politicians. This result stands in opposition to Perry's (1996) identification of "attraction to public policy making" as one of the PSM dimensions.

Recent research has been conducted to try to identify the experiences that shape PSM. Perry (1997) found that closeness to God, parental modeling, education, and age were all significantly and positively related to PSM. Moynihan and Pandey (2007) also found that

education is positively related to PSM. Wright (2007) found that New York state public employees' work motivation was stronger when there were demonstrated job-goal importance and mission valence. Wright also found that self-efficacy and job-goal specificity positively influenced work motivation. Perry, Brudney, Coursey, and Littlepage (2008), applying the PSM survey instrument to a nationally recognized volunteer group, found that PSM is strongly and positively related to family socialization, religious activity, and volunteer experiences.

Other research has examined the behavior and beliefs resulting from PSM. Park (2007), using a survey of Illinois and Georgia public managers, found that as PSM increased, so did job involvement and employee perceptions of organizational effectiveness. Using private and public sector lawyers as their subjects, Wright and Christensen (2007) researched the degree to which PSM might influence individuals' choice of the public sector and their longevity there. The researchers found that those with PSM were more likely to be employed in the public sector at a future point in time than those not exhibiting PSM. Querying undergraduate students, Clerkin, Paynter, and Taylor (2007) found that those with higher levels of PSM were more likely to volunteer their time and make monetary donations than those with lower levels. Moynihan and Pandey (2007) demonstrated that reform orientation is positively related to PSM. In their research, individuals who believe that their organization is forward-looking and striving for continuous improvement are expected to exhibit higher PSM.

Alonso and Lewis' (2001) research stands as a dissenting voice to the other findings on public sector employees and PSM. Public service motivation did have a positive impact on performance ratings, but those who placed an emphasis on service to others did not necessarily receive higher ratings.

Brewer (2003) did not look specifically at PSM but at the civic attitudes and behavior of public servants in contrast with other citizens. He found that social trust, social altruism, support for equality, tolerance, and humanitarianism were higher for public servants than for others. These findings are relatable to PSM research and support previous studies.

The research on public sector employee motivation and the research on volunteer motivation are applicable to poll workers because of their "hybrid" nature. The volunteer and public service motivation findings above make several contributions to the research here. Specifically, this research will ask, How do poll workers rate on PSM dimensions? How do job-goal importance, mission valence, self-efficacy, and job-goal specificity affect poll workers'

PSM? Does it matter if poll workers believe the Supervisor of Elections' office has a reform orientation? Furthermore, are poll workers with higher PSM more likely to volunteer their time or make financial donations? And how does poll worker PSM affect job involvement? Does level of spirituality affect PSM? How does PSM for poll workers vary by gender, age, education, party, income, and ethnicity? For some of the demographic questions, data will be captured and reported on for control purposes and to compare known demographic data for the population with those of the sample.

Coproduction

The coproduction concept is most commonly applied to provision of local government services. Citizens and local governments team up to provide election “services” that benefit not only citizen-poll workers but all citizens of a given jurisdiction. Whitaker (1980) was among the first to define and discuss coproduction, and there was a flurry of research about this topic in the early 1980s, generated by the then-current citizen-participation and service delivery approaches to public administration. These concepts were then in vogue and even revolutionary, but coproduction was still more radical.

Whitaker (1980) noted that in government scenarios where agents “deliver” services rather than products, the transaction is especially suited for citizen participation or coproduction. The agent can only get so far on his or her own—setting up the circumstances for the citizen to take the desired action—and the citizen must act in order for there to be a “finished product.” The act of voting itself can hence be viewed as coproduction. The finished product—the vote—is a result of joint effort of the elections office and the voter. Whitaker mentions this type of citizen participation as one of several major kinds. With the citizen-poll worker, there is something like coproduction to maximum effect. The “agent” (of the elections office) is citizen, and voter is citizen; citizen participation is maximized.

Whitaker (1980) discusses other uses of the concept of citizen participation. Public interest groups lobby and litigate to have their voices heard. This meaning is more concerned with public policymaking than with policy execution. Other citizen participation is the then-relatively new way that local citizens participated in service delivery by “constitute[ing] adjunct public authorities or representative bodies” (p. 241). In addition to these several uses of the citizen participation concept, there are different types of activities that amount to coproduction (Whitaker, 1980): “(a) citizens requesting assistance from public agents, (b) citizens providing

assistance to public agents, and (c) citizens and agents interacting to adjust each other's service expectations and actions" (p. 242). The first type includes traditional government functions such as government financial aid and police or fire emergencies. The third kind of coproduction occurs when the citizen and the agent must each take action and modify their behavior to reach the desired mutual outcome. Public school teachers facilitate their students' learning in this way. It is the second type of coproduction that most closely mirrors the citizen-poll worker's activity. Poll workers actually provide the assistance instead of regular, full-time elections employees. This type of coproduction emphasizes cooperation between citizens and government.

Sharp (1980) wrote in the same milieu as Whitaker (1980). She describes coproduction as a major departure from the then—"dominant model of the citizen-local government relationship—a model that ignores significant aspects of citizenship" (p. 105). For Sharp, the dominant model of citizen participation is where urban officials are responsible for "performing"; where the citizen makes demands on government; and where accountable government performs effectively. Citizens are seen as consumers of government services, and their satisfaction is important. Like Whitaker, Sharp feels that the typical view of citizen participation ignores execution and implementation. Sharp recommends moving from the dominant model to one with "conjoint responsibility—urban services are created through the interaction of citizen behaviors and the activities of public officials, and both contribute to the resulting quality of urban services" (p. 109). Here, citizens are evaluators and students of public affairs, not simply consumers. Accountability means that government is effective because it incorporates citizen contributions. Each of these aspects is applicable to poll workers. They are jointly responsible for successful elections with elections officials. The quality of "service" at the polls is dependent on both citizens and full-time, permanent elections staff.

The advantages of the coproduction concept are multiple, for Sharp (1980). Viewing citizen participation in this manner helps citizens to understand what is involved in providing services. It helps to prevent the kind of citizen disillusionment that occurs when citizens have a voice in policy creation but not in policy execution. With poll work, citizens have a great deal to do with policy execution. Civic health is enhanced when citizens see policy and even implement policy at the street level.

Brudney and England (1983) elaborate on Whitaker (1980) and Sharp (1980). They emphasize the economics of coproduction—the fact that coproduction addresses citizen demands

for more services and fewer taxes. They are concerned, however, that coproduction has not been adequately defined, that it is too nebulous a term. They therefore attempt to hone the concept for it to be useful. For Brudney and England, coproduction emphasizes citizen participation over government responsiveness. It is positive rather than negative, meaning that it contributes to the production and not the destruction of services. Coproduction is active—deliberate—action rather than passive. For citizens simply to refrain from criminal activity, for example, is compliance rather than active coproduction. Organization is a variable critical to coproduction, and coproduction is more important when it is collective rather than individual. Each of these dimensions is appropriately applied to poll workers. Citizen involvement in elections is more concerned with citizen participation than with making demands on government services. Working the polls is certainly positive rather than negative as well as active and not passive. Working the polls contributes to the commons and not solely to isolated individuals, making it a collective, organized activity.

Ostrom (1996) is concerned with the “commons,” too. Her research has been devoted to the “tragedy of the commons,” typifying thorny collective action problems. Ostrom does not think that individuals alone or government alone hold the key to solving society’s most pressing problems. Coproduction can help to mitigate such dilemmas. For her, it is “the process through which inputs used to produce a good or service are contributed by individuals who are not ‘in’ the same organization” (p. 1073). True of the polls, poll workers are not “in” or permanently of the organization. Often writing about developing countries, Ostrom here offers two examples of coproduction and their resultant varying success counterintuitively, coproduction was successful in resolving water and sanitation issues in Brazil, less so with primary education in Nigeria. The institutions must be in place to encourage true coproduction. Clearly, they are so with poll workers. The modern-day institution of poll worker has been extant for a century.

Not every production process is suited for coproduction, however (Ostrom, 1996):

The relative role of public or private sector depends on the relative costs of the inputs contributed by these sources of potentially productive labor...When the inputs from a government and citizens are complementary, output is best produced by some combination of input from both sources. (pp. 1079-1080)

Poll work meets these criteria; the inputs from government and citizens are complementary at the polls.

Between the early literature on coproduction and Ostrom (1996), and on to the present, coproduction is now assumed for many urban service delivery functions. Contemporary writers continue to provide examples of successful coproduction applied to new arenas. Swindell (2006) found that neighborhood-based organizations were commonly involved in urban service delivery, including activities such as landscaping, crime watch, and clean-up. There are positive implications for social capital with such participation. Bovaird (2007) reports on a participatory budgeting process in Brazil; a United Kingdom family services program; community redevelopment, also in Great Britain; and elder care services in France. As Bovaird notes, “coproduction is not a panacea,” but when properly supported and institutionalized, it can epitomize democratic citizen participation.

The coproduction literature does not speak to poll worker motivation, but it does provide a theoretical backdrop and justification for citizens to operate the polls. Citizens have done so for significantly longer than public administration has given such activity the “coproduction” moniker, of course.

Principal-Agent Theory

There is extant research on elections that alludes to a possible principal-agent problem with poll workers. DeHaven-Smith (2005) describes the myriad of problems from the 2000 presidential election, and he asks whether systematic elections administration abuses occurred. Alvarez and Hall (2006) more specifically apply principal-agent theory to poll workers. Principal-agent theory is part of the economic paradigm of individual human and institutional behavior and motivation. Central to this school of thought is “rational choice.” Humans are thought to be rational, using reason to pursue self-interest (Horn, 1995). Therefore, decisions are made that protect the individual and promote his or her well-being. This does not mean that humans have a nefarious motivation and necessarily seek to harm others, only that they put their own self-interest above all others. In any decision calculus, actions that benefit oneself are superior to those that solely benefit others.

How do humans know which behaviors will achieve their self-interested goals? They must gather information that will enable them to make an enlightened decision. In mundane terms, a person deciding to purchase a car must conduct research, and such research includes speaking with other car owners, checking Web sites, and taking test drives. However, information is costly, and hence, humans will knowingly make decisions with less than total

information. In the case of the car buyer, taking time off work to test drive 10 different vehicles is expensive, literally. She may select her car based on four test drives, in essence compromising or what Simon (1957) termed “satisficing.” Satisficing is a combination of being satisfied and sufficing with one’s decision. Humans are not irrational; they are intendedly rational but experience limits. Simon’s contribution to economic theories of behavior is significant. His “bounded” rationality helped to shape the “new institutional economics,” from which transaction cost and principal-agent theory evolved.

For Williamson (1981), a transaction is “when a good or service is transferred across a technologically separable interact. One stage of activity terminates and another begins” (p. 552). Boundedly rational individuals and organizations relate with each other this way. For the car buyer above, the transaction is the car purchase, and she interacts with the seller of the car. These two individuals are both principals and have a contractual relationship. Transactions can be smooth: The buyer understands the purchasing process and is willing to pay the seller’s asking price. The car is delivered as promised. Alternatively, there can be friction (Williamson, 1981): The buyer is confused about auto financing, she is dissatisfied with the price, or the car is delivered late. In the first scenario, transaction costs are low, and in the second, high. Transaction costs are also affected by asymmetrical information. If the buyer has more information than the seller—the wholesale price of the car, the fact that newer-year models are about to arrive—the transaction is likely to be more advantageous for her; the converse is also true.

Agents, with whom principals have a hierarchical relationship, can help to reduce costs. The agent is a proxy for the principal and (ideally) pursues the principal’s interests. The auto buyer (the principal) can use her bank’s car purchasing service, which will use a standard formula to obtain the chosen car at the best price. However, agents can also increase transaction costs. The new administrator of the car purchasing system may be incompetent and unethical. This can exemplify both adverse selection and moral hazard (Moe, 1984). Adverse selection “derives from unobservability of the information, beliefs, and values on which the decisions of others are based” (Moe, 1984, p. 754). The principal cannot know with 100% certainty that the agent’s work is thorough and that he is honest. Before choosing the agent, the principal can only depend on “rough indicators,” such as positive word-of-mouth or advertisements. Moral hazard “arises from the unobservability of actual behavior in the ex post contracting situation” (Moe,

1984, p. 755). That is, once the agent has been contracted, he might shirk—deviate from the promises and expectations under which he was contracted.

As with principal-principal relationships, principal-agent relationships can experience information asymmetry, which is the cause of both adverse selection and moral hazard. “The agent knows something the principal does not and there is a danger that the agent will exploit this edge strategically” (Bendor, 1988). (It is worthwhile to note that Bendor [1988] believes that inefficient transactions can occur even when the principal is very knowledgeable.) The principal is advised to design an incentive structure to ensure that the agent pursues the principal’s interest (Moe, 1984). This task involves developing monitoring systems and persuading the agent to reveal privately held information.

In sum, the principal-agent problem is one in which (a) the principal must rely on the agent—or delegate—to pursue the principal’s interests, (b) the agent does not necessarily share the objective of the principal, and (c) it is difficult for the principal to monitor the agent and induce him to protect the principal’s interests (Horn, 1995). The principal-agent problem creates agency costs, those costs required for monitoring and rewards.

How any of this applies to poll workers is the explicit focus of Alvarez and Hall (2006). They address poll workers and polling places, but the concern for this research is solely with poll workers. The authors believe that elections administration “has complicated principal-agent problems that are not easily resolved” (p. 493). They describe election administration as a multistage project, with multiple actors—multiple principals and agents. There are interactions between the elections supervisor and the candidates, as well as interactions between elections administrators and other actors. Alvarez and Hall cite the irregular nature of elections and increasingly complicated voting systems as reasons for agency problems. Professional elections supervisors are “at the mercy” of poll workers for successful elections. There is a high level of delegation from principal (elections supervisor) to agent (poll worker), which is a “recipe for problems.”

A primary challenge, creating adverse selection, is that elections supervisors do not want to turn away many potential poll workers, given the small pool from which to draw. Additionally, larger jurisdictions have greater problems with poll worker screening. The more poll workers the elections supervisor must hire, the greater the cost to screen them. A further problem for adverse selection is the typically low pay rate for poll workers, which, according to

Alvarez and Hall (2006), affects the quality of applicants. Elections supervisors therefore depend on the jurisdiction's civic-minded citizenry who have the time to work the polls. The authors say that such reliance is a mistake.

Screening of poll workers—prevention of adverse selection—is so important because poll workers are substantially autonomous on Election Day (Alvarez & Hall, 2006). Even if they are not granted legal authority to make decisions about voter eligibility and intent, poll workers in fact regularly make such decisions, leading to concerns about moral hazard. It is very difficult for elections supervisors to monitor poll worker behavior, given the sheer number of voting jurisdictions and poll workers. Likewise, there are few incentives to prevent poll workers from using individual discretion. Poll worker authority-in-practice can concern voter identity requirements, voter eligibility, and ballot interpretation. The handling of provisional ballots can be especially uneven, with serious consequences. Mishandling any of these activities can lead to voter disenfranchisement, and at the macro level, a weakening of the democratic process. Alvarez and Hall cite examples of incorrect posting of election signs, voters receiving the wrong ballots, and poll worker problems with voting technology.

Alvarez and Hall (2006) acknowledge that poll worker training is one means of reducing moral hazard, but they warn that it is not a “panacea,” citing problems with trained poll workers. Even after training, monitoring is difficult and expensive. Again, because of the large number of poll workers and polling locations, evaluating poll workers is hard. Sometimes problems are identified only after citizens or interest groups complain about activities at the polls, and by then, voters may have been disenfranchised. Real-time monitoring is at present hardly possible. Even when elections supervisors identify individual or systemic problems, they can only take steps to improve the process for the next election.

Alvarez and Hall (2006) identify four alternatives to the traditional voting paradigm, which have the potential to mitigate these principal-agent problems. These alternatives are voting by mail, early voting, vote centers, and Internet voting. Voting by mail has been used in Oregon and in the United Kingdom, successfully in both cases. Voter turnout is similar to or higher than traditional voting. The principal-agent problem is overcome because elections supervisors no longer need to delegate to off-site, temporary poll workers. Early voting, which allows voters to vote prior to the traditional Election Day, has already been implemented in several states. Because it is generally conducted at the elections supervisor's office, it provides for direct

supervision of elections workers. Vote centers, which are few centralized locations rather than many precincts, have been used in some locations as well. Centralized electronic voter rolls allow citizens to vote at any vote center in the county. Fewer locations translate into fewer poll workers (as each individual precinct requires at least a base level of staff). This in turn means fewer poll workers to supervise and more direct supervision possible. Finally, although Internet voting has not been implemented to any great extent, it alleviates the principal-agent problem by eliminating poll workers and polling sites.

The fact remains, however, that the majority of voting in the U.S. takes place in polling places on Election Day—almost 80% of ballots cast in 2006 (EAC, 2007b). And the proposals for alternatives are not without criticisms. There are concerns about potential fraud with mail voting and Internet voting. More significantly for the purposes of this research, voting centers and early voting may threaten the nation’s civic values by removing the Election Day neighborhood voting experience. Alvarez and Hall (2006) believe that these problems can be overcome to greater or lesser degrees, and they recommend the four alternatives to elections administrators. “Of course, this analysis is not meant to diminish the well-meaning nature of everyone involved in the election process, but instead to show the problems this system can entail” (Alvarez & Hall, 2006, p. 499). Yet the authors indeed seem pessimistic about the role of poll workers in the election process.

Nevertheless, this article and the other works cited above make a contribution to this research. The transaction here is the casting of the vote, and poll workers are indeed agents, of both voters and elections supervisors. Poll workers have a hierarchical relationship with elections supervisors in order to fulfill this transaction. It is a given that there is asymmetrical information between poll workers and elections supervisors. Elections supervisors necessarily have a great deal more information about the election process. Adverse selection and moral hazard can certainly occur with information asymmetry in staffing the polls; even if the elections supervisor finds and hires only civic-minded, competent poll workers, he may still be understaffed. Not all qualified candidates may be found, because the elections supervisor may not have the information needed to identify those candidates. And even if all poll workers share the same goals as elections supervisors—ostensibly fair elections—they may not have all of the information necessary to ensure a trouble-free Election Day.

Furthermore, it is enlightening to think of poll workers in radically different terms from conventional wisdom, anecdote, or isolated experience. Perhaps poll workers are not single-minded, saintly agents of democracy. When applied to poll workers, the economic-oriented literature serves as a stark counterpoint to the social capital, PSM, volunteer, and co-production literatures. Principal-agent shines a light on the dark side of the poll worker institution. Perhaps poll workers are as self-interested as the rest of the boundedly rational human race and do not share the goals of elections supervisors. Perhaps they are simply financially destitute and really need the negligible sum of money offered. Or maybe they misrepresent themselves in order to influence an election. These two scenarios depict poll workers whose motives are, respectively, merely mundane and truly nefarious.

Another way to incorporate agency into a coherent theory of poll worker motivation is to consider the other incentives available to poll workers—vastly different from typical private-sector and some public-sector incentives. Poll workers are clearly not working Election Day to earn a greater pension, more vacation days, or an earlier retirement. They are not working to advance within an organization for promotion, strictly speaking (though poll workers can and do migrate from the entry-level inspector position to that of supervising clerk). Poll workers do not have a quota, nor do they receive any bonuses. Poll workers are paid the same regardless of the number of voters served or the amount of effort exerted. Poll workers are not given regular evaluations. Typically, only if a poll worker has made repeated and egregious errors is she dismissed. How, therefore, does a boundedly rational self-interested citizen gravitate toward work at the polls? Beyond the pecuniary and influence-related motivators noted above, citizens can be motivated by multiple aspects of working the polls.

Self-interest is by definition what benefits oneself. The camaraderie poll workers experience, with opportunities to see neighbors and to have potluck meals, is undoubtedly positive and a potential draw. Poll workers also conceivably conduct professional networking at the polls, finding out about jobs and displaying their skills. Principal-agent theory can add significantly to the study of poll worker motivation. Based on this review of the literature, I will include pay as a variable in this research. With increased levels of PSM, does the importance of poll worker pay decrease? Does importance placed on pay depend on poll worker family income? The other rewards that might represent self-interest—networking, and camaraderie—will be addressed within the social capital hypotheses.

Model and Hypotheses

Based on the above literature review, this research will combine social capital, volunteer and public service motivation, and principal-agent theory measures into a unified whole to examine poll worker motivation. The overarching hypothesis for this research is that poll workers' PSM is affected by and affects their social capital, demographic characteristics, and sociohistorical experiences, as well as the characteristics of the polling place. Figure 2.1 depicts the research model.

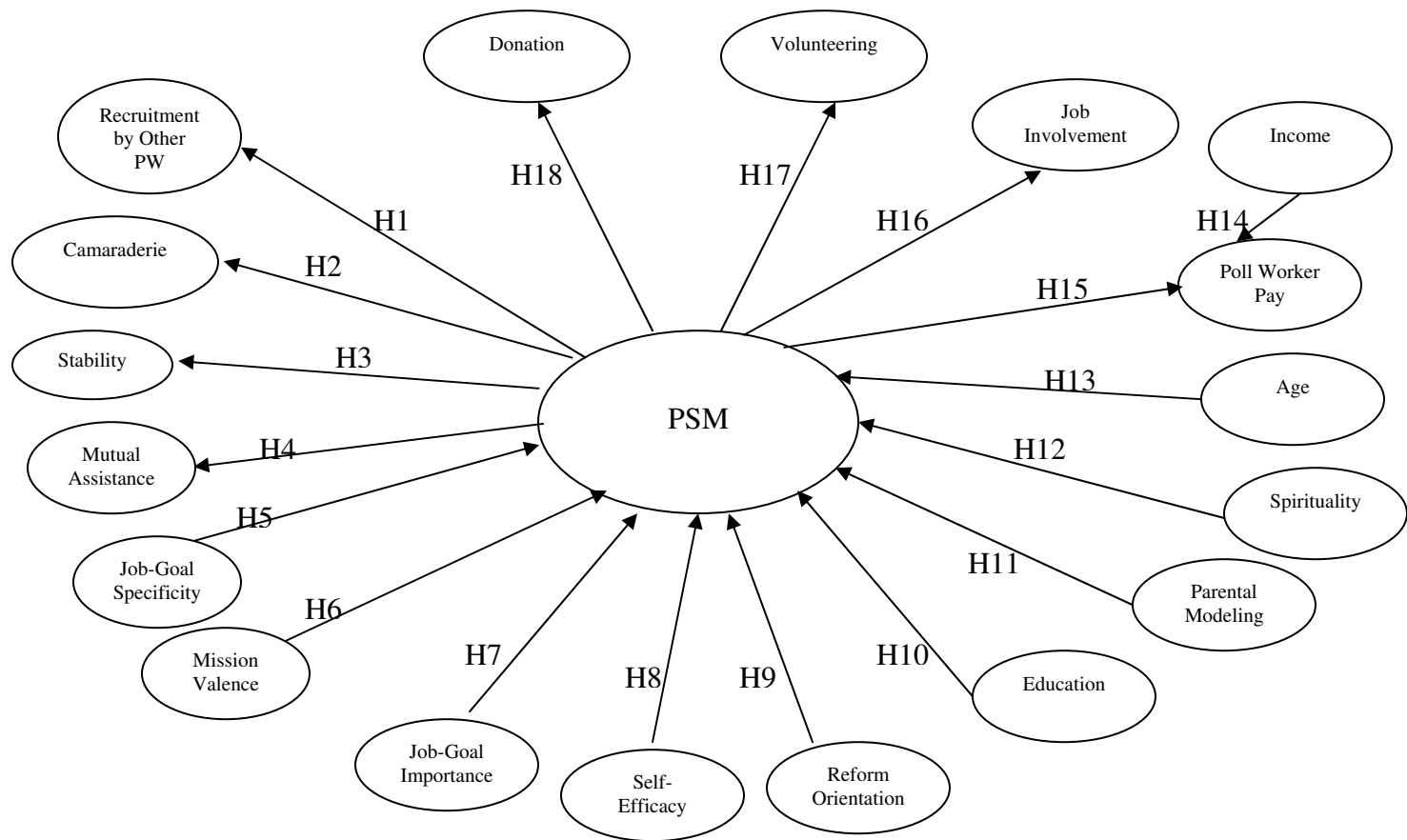


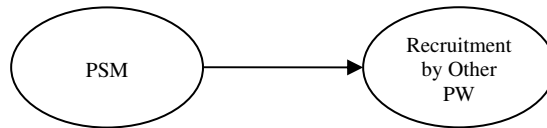
Figure 2.1 Model of Poll Worker Motivation

Following are the specific hypotheses to be tested in this research:

Dependent Variable: Recruitment by Other Poll Workers

This hypothesis is based on social capital theory and asks to what extent poll workers are recruited by other poll workers. Poll workers with higher measures of PSM are expected to be likelier to have been recruited by other poll workers.

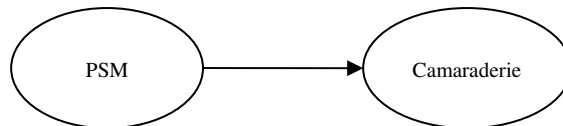
Hypothesis 1: As scores for PSM increase, scores for recruitment by other poll workers are expected to increase.



Dependent Variable: Camaraderie

This hypothesis is based on social capital theory and asks to what extent camaraderie is a reason that poll workers work the polls. Poll workers with higher measures of PSM are expected to be likelier to work the polls because of camaraderie with other poll workers.

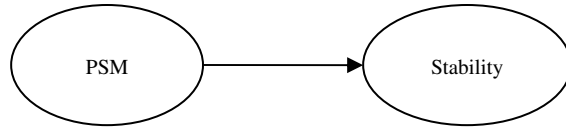
Hypothesis 2: As scores for PSM increase, scores for camaraderie are expected to increase.



Dependent Variable: Stability

This hypothesis is based on social capital theory and asks to what extent the polls are stable places, as Coleman (1990) discussed. Poll workers with higher measures of PSM are expected to plan to work future elections and are likely to have worked elections in the past. They are also expected to be more likely to work in the precinct where they are registered to vote and to have lived in the state of Florida longer. These are all assumed to be measures of stability at the polls.

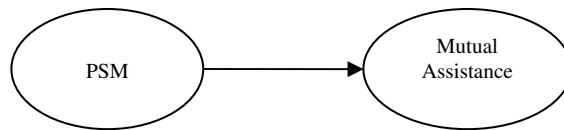
Hypothesis 3: As scores for PSM increase, scores for stability are expected to increase.



Dependent Variable: Mutual Assistance at and Away From the Polls

This hypothesis is based on social capital theory and asks to what extent poll workers depend on others at the polls to help guide or assist them both at the polls and away. Poll workers with higher measures of PSM are expected to depend on each other for assistance at and outside of the polls.

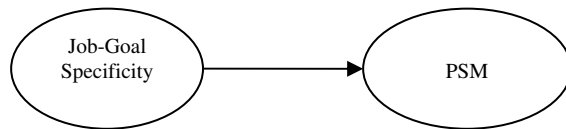
Hypothesis 4: As scores for PSM increase, scores for mutual assistance are expected to increase



Independent Variable: Job-Goal Specificity

This hypothesis follows Wright (2007) and his work on PSM, which demonstrates that job-goal specificity is positively related to PSM. Poll workers who believe that they are given clear direction on how to do their jobs are expected to exhibit higher PSM.

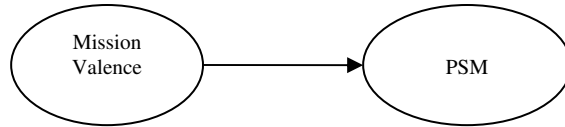
Hypothesis 5: As scores for job-goal specificity increase, PSM is expected to be higher.



Independent Variable: Mission Valence

This hypothesis follows Wright (2007) and his work on PSM, which demonstrates that mission valence is positively related to PSM. Poll workers who believe that their organization does important work are expected to exhibit higher PSM.

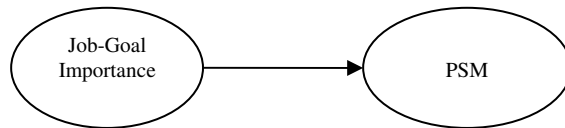
Hypothesis 6: As scores for mission valence increase, PSM is expected to be higher.



Independent Variable: Job-Goal importance

This hypothesis follows Wright (2007) and his work on PSM, which demonstrates that job-goal importance is positively related to PSM. Poll workers who believe that they are doing important work are expected to exhibit higher PSM.

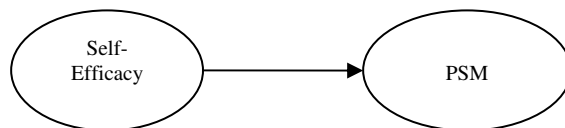
Hypothesis 7: As scores for job-goal importance increase, PSM is expected to be higher.



Independent Variable: Self-Efficacy

This hypothesis follows Wright (2007) and his work on PSM, which demonstrates that self-efficacy is positively related to PSM. Poll workers who believe that they are prepared to do their jobs are expected to exhibit higher PSM.

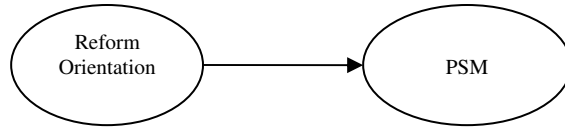
Hypothesis 8: As scores for self-efficacy increase, PSM is expected to be higher.



Independent Variable: Reform Orientation

This hypothesis follows Moynihan and Pandey (2007) and their work on PSM, which demonstrates that reform orientation is positively related to PSM. Poll workers who believe that their organization is forward-looking and striving for continuous improvement are expected to exhibit higher PSM.

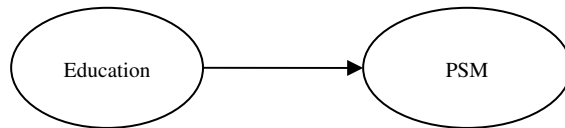
Hypothesis 9: As scores for perception of reform orientation increase, PSM is expected to be higher.



Independent Variable: Education

This hypothesis follows Moynihan and Pandey (2007) and Perry (1997) and their work on PSM, which demonstrates that education is positively related to PSM. Poll workers who have higher levels of education are expected to exhibit higher PSM.

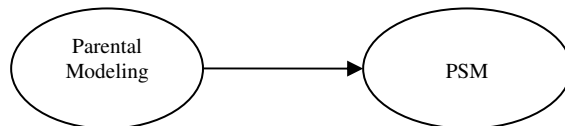
Hypothesis 10: As level of education of poll worker increases, PSM is expected to be higher.



Independent Variable: Parental Modeling

This hypothesis follows Perry (1997) and his work on PSM, which demonstrates that parental modeling is positively related to PSM. Poll workers who indicate that their family volunteered when they were growing up are expected to exhibit higher PSM.

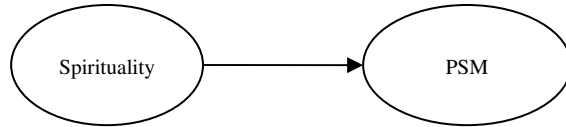
Hypothesis 11: As family history of volunteering increases, PSM is expected to be higher.



Independent Variable: Spirituality

This hypothesis follows Perry (1997) and his work on PSM, which demonstrates that spirituality or a closeness to God is positively related to PSM. Poll workers who rate spirituality as important to them are expected to exhibit higher PSM.

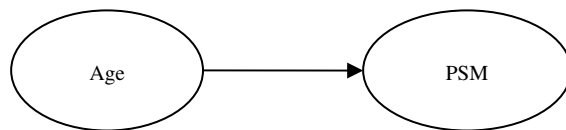
Hypothesis 12: As self-reported poll worker spirituality increases, PSM is expected to be higher.



Independent Variable: Age

This hypothesis follows Perry (1997) and his work on PSM, which demonstrates that age is positively related to PSM. Poll workers who are older are expected to exhibit higher PSM.

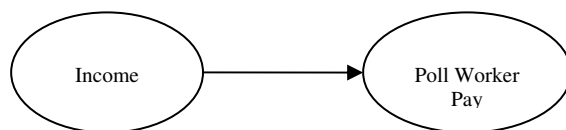
Hypothesis 13: As poll worker age increases, PSM is expected to be higher.



Independent Variable: Income

This question serves as an independent variable for the dependent variable poll worker pay (Hypothesis 15, below). It is expected that as poll worker income increases, the importance of poll worker pay decreases. Poll workers with higher incomes are expected to deem less important the money they make on Election Day.

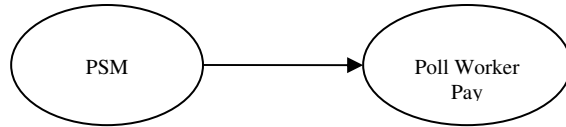
Hypothesis 14: As self-reported poll worker income increases, importance of poll worker pay will be lower.



Dependent Variable: Poll Worker Pay

See Income and Hypothesis 14, above for use with Hypothesis 14. Additionally, contrary to principal-agent theory, poll workers are not expected to work the polls primarily from self- (pecuniary) interest. Poll workers with higher levels of PSM are expected to rate poll worker pay lower.

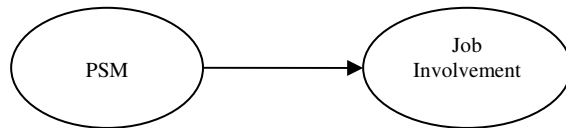
Hypothesis 15: As scores for PSM increase, importance of poll worker pay will be lower.



Dependent Variable: Job Involvement

This hypothesis follows Park (2007), who demonstrated that PSM is positively related to job involvement. Poll workers with high PSM scores are expected have a higher degree of job involvement, e.g., willingness to do the best job possible.

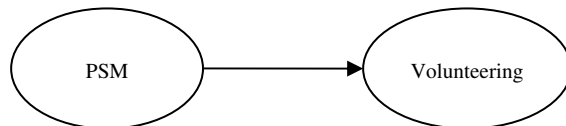
Hypothesis 16: As scores for PSM increase, poll workers are expected to have higher job involvement.



Dependent Variable: Volunteering

This hypothesis follows Clerkin, Paynter, and Taylor (2007), who demonstrated that PSM is positively related to likelihood to volunteer. Poll workers with high PSM scores are expected be more likely to volunteer.

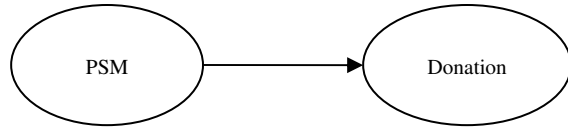
Hypothesis 17: As scores for PSM increase, likelihood of poll worker volunteering will be higher.



Dependent Variable: Donation

This hypothesis follows Clerkin, Paynter, and Taylor (2007), who demonstrated that PSM is positively related to likelihood of donating money. Poll workers with high PSM scores are expected be more likely to donate.

Hypothesis 18: As scores for PSM increase, likelihood of poll worker financial donation will be higher.



CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHODS

In this chapter, I describe my research site and data collection method; operationalize each of my hypotheses; and outline my proposed analytic techniques.

Poll Workers in Leon County, Florida

The site of my research is Leon County, Florida, with approximately 245,000 residents (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.). The county has a large state government presence plus two major universities. The presence of these institutions makes this county an interesting venue for this research. Leon County’s demographics are atypical of the state (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.). The population is younger, more educated, more African American, and less Hispanic than the state as a whole. There are one fourth as many foreign-born persons, proportionally, in Leon County than in the state. Consistent with its college student demographics, there are fewer homeowners. Similarities to the rest of the state include percentage White not Hispanic, median household income, and persons below the poverty line. Table 3.1 further details demographics for the county and the state, as well as for the U.S.

Table 3.1 Leon County, Florida, and U.S. Demographic Information¹

Demographic Information	Leon County	Florida	U.S.
Population			
Population (2006 estimate)	245,625	18,089,888	299,398,484
Population, percentage change, 4/1/2000 to 7/1/2006	2.6%	13.2%	6.4%
Foreign-born persons (2000)	4.7%	16.7%	11.1%
Age, Gender, and Race			
Median age (2000)	29.5	38.7	35.3
Male (2006)	48.0%	49.1%	49.3%
Female (2006)	52.0%	50.9%	50.7%
White, not Hispanic (2006)	62.0%	61.3%	66.4%
Hispanic or Latino (2006)	4.1%	20.2%	14.8%
Black or African American (2006)	30.2%	15.8%	12.8%

Table 3.1 - Continued

Demographic Information	Leon County	Florida	U.S.
Age, Gender, and Race			
American Indian/Alaska Native (2006)	0.3%	0.4%	1.0%
Asian (2006)	2.6%	2.2%	4.4%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander (2006)	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%
Education and Economic Factors			
High school graduates, age 25+ (2000)	89.1%	79.9%	80.4%
Bachelor's degree or higher, age 25+ (2000)	41.7%	22.3%	24.4%
Homeownership rate (2000)	57.0%	70.1%	66.2%
Median household income (2004)	\$39,562	\$40,900	\$44,334
Percentage below poverty line (2004)	12.7%	11.9%	12.7%
Persons per square mile (2000)	359.0	296.4	79.6

¹Source: U.S. Census Bureau (n.d.). Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

Leon County is more Democratic and less Republican than the state as a whole, with more than twice as many registered Democrats than Republicans (Florida Department of State Division of Elections, 2006). The county typically has turnout higher than the state average, with the highest turnout of any county in the 2006 general election (64% compared to 47%; Florida Department of State Division of Elections, 2006). This turnout demographic is a potential indicator of high social capital. This characteristic might translate into fewer poll worker recruitment problems than other geographic areas. Table 3.2 reflects these differences.

Table 3.2 2006 General Election Voter and Elections Profiles: Leon County vs. Florida¹

Voter/Elections Profile	Leon County	Florida
Total Registered Voters	143,482	10,433,849
Registered Democrat	81,960 (57%)	4,219,531 (40%)
Registered Republican	40,630 (28%)	3,935,675 (38%)
Voter Turnout	64%	47%
Number of Precincts	175	6,922

¹Source: Florida Department of State Division of Elections (2006).

The Leon County Supervisor of Elections (D. Mitchell, personal communication, February 28, 2008) tracks certain demographic information of its list of active poll workers, of which there are 1,941. Following are those demographics, as of February 2008.

Table 3.3 Leon County, Florida Poll Workers, 2008¹

Race (percentages)	
White, Not Hispanic	58%
Hispanic	1%
Black, Not Hispanic	37%
American Indian/Alaskan	1%
Asian or Pacific Islander	1%
Other/No Response	2%
Other Data	
Median age	58
Male	28%
Female	71%
Registered Democrat	67%
Registered Republican	25%
Have worked previous election(s)	69%

¹Source: D. Mitchell, personal communication, February 28, 2008.

Leon County poll workers, then, represent African Americans to a greater degree than either the county or the state. These poll workers are also significantly older than the rest of the county or the state, significantly more female, and even more Democratic than the rest of the county. Because polling precincts in Leon County are overwhelmingly female, it is interesting to compare gender in each jurisdiction. As noted above, Leon County is 48% male and 52% female, and poll workers are 28% male and 71% female. Forty-four percent of registered voters in Leon County are male, and 56% are female (Leon County Supervisor of Elections, 2008). Hence, the polls are vastly more female even compared to registered voters.

The vast majority of Leon County poll workers have worked elections previously. Poll workers must be registered voters; therefore, all 1,941 poll workers on the county's active list are registered to vote. Not every person on the list of 1,941 is required to work, or works, each election.

The Leon County Supervisor of Elections Office uses a variety of methods to recruit poll workers (I. Sancho, personal communication, June 14, 2004). There is space on the voter registration form where citizens can express an interest in working the polls. Recruiting information is featured in city and county publications, such as utility bill inserts, as well as on local cable television. The Supervisor's Office advertises in local cinemas and in city buses and taxicabs. It is possible to register to be considered as a poll worker at drivers' license offices in Leon County. Potential poll workers can also apply online at the Supervisor of Elections Web site.

Requirements for poll workers in Leon County are the following (Leon County Supervisor of Elections, 2006):

- Be a registered voter in Leon County
- Be able to speak, read and write English
- Be able to work at the polling location from 6:00 a.m. until after the polls close at 7:00 p.m.
- Be able to deal with the public in a courteous, patient and efficient manner
- Not be a candidate, or the immediate family member of a candidate, on the ballot of the Election that the poll worker is working
- Physical requirements include standing, bending, stooping, lifting approximately 25 pounds, normal vision, and manual/physical dexterity

Poll workers are also required and paid to attend training sessions prior to each election, per Florida election law (Leon County Supervisor of Elections, 2006). Training time varies by position and experience, ranging from two to three hours.

Polls worker positions consist of Clerk, Operational Assistant Clerk, Technical Assistant Clerk, Inspector, and Deputy. These positions are described below, including hourly pay, in Table 3.4:

Table 3.4 Poll Worker Positions and Pay¹

Position	Training	Duties	Hourly Pay
Clerk	3 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Oversee operations at the polling location Complete required paperwork Transmit election results to the Leon County Supervisor of Elections Office Pick up and drop off polling location supplies 	\$11.00 (plus \$65.00 flat rate supply pick up/drop off)
Operational Assistant Clerk	3 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provide assistance to the Clerk and take on those responsibilities if Clerk unable to work Election Day 	\$9.25
Technical Assistant Clerk	3 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Handle the touch-screen technology used at the precincts 	\$9.25
Inspector	2.5 hours	<p>Precinct Register Inspector</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Find voter's name in register Have voter sign register Assign voter correct ballot Instruct voter on marking ballot <p>Privacy Booth Inspector/ Greeter</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Floater" position Keep privacy booths free of litter/political materials Help with traffic flow <p>Machine Inspector</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Greet voters at AccuVote machine Instruct voters on ballot insertion 	\$7.75
Deputy	2 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Monitor parking area Post election signs Remove illegal campaign signs Assist voters in locating entrance Assist with set-up and clean-up of polling area 	\$7.75

¹Source: Leon County Supervisor of Elections, 2006.

Following in Table 3.5 are the numbers of working poll workers for recent and future elections.

Table 3.5 Working Poll Workers¹

2004	
Primary	846
General	1,168
2006	
Primary	975
General	1,105
2008	
Presidential Preference Primary	1,019
Primary (projected)	1,200
General (projected)	1,400

¹Source: D. Mitchell, personal communication, February 28, 2008.

Data Collection

The research population is Leon County poll workers working the 2008 primary election, and the units of analysis are individual poll workers. Data collection consisted of a precoded, self-administered 35-question survey instrument. I obtained approval from the Leon County Supervisor of Elections Office to attend poll worker training sessions for the August 2008 primary election and distribute the surveys there. This training occurred in multiple sessions over the last two weeks of July and the first two weeks of August 2008. The Supervisor's Office anticipated that between 1,200 and 1,400 poll workers would be trained during this time. On June 26, I met with the poll worker trainers and prepared them for participation in my research. They reviewed the survey and verbal script and approved each. I expected there to be at least a 75% response rate, resulting in 900-1,050 completed surveys.

The survey was expected to take no more than 15 minutes to complete. I piloted the survey to an individual Leon County poll worker, as well as to two graduate-level public administration classes at Florida State University. These pilot survey respondents completed the survey in an average of 10 minutes. Based on feedback from the pilot, I reworded some items for sake of clarity, and I reordered some of the questions to improve flow. Furthermore, I submitted the survey for review to James L. Perry, upon whose survey (1996) mine is based in part. I reworded several items accordingly. The survey was completely anonymous. I did not capture names on the survey, nor was there coding of any kind to link surveys to individuals. I did not access the list of training attendees at each session.

I submitted my research protocol to the Florida State University Institutional Review Board (IRB) for approval in March 2008. The package I forwarded to them included a description of my research, the survey instrument, the verbal script I used to introduce the survey to respondents, and a letter from the Supervisor of Elections Office stating its willingness to participate on-site at poll worker training. (Please refer to the verbal script in Appendix A.) I received approval for my research from the IRB on July 2.

On the survey instrument are a series of statements (see Figure 3.1 below), to which respondents agreed or disagreed using a 5-point Likert scale. Questions 1-23 utilize the Likert scale. Questions 24-35 required respondents to select the response that applies to them from a series of precoded questions. The questions seek to capture data on social capital, PSM, principal-agent theory, and various antecedents and results of poll workers' PSM. Demographic questions are included, and respondents could select from various ranges and choose not to respond to items if they were uncomfortable with them. These demographic questions allow me to compare this sample with the population of poll workers with regard to age, gender, political party, race, and whether they have worked the polls previously (and if so, how many elections). Additionally, I captured income, employment status and whether they have worked in the public or private sector, how long they have resided in Florida, education, and position at the polls. Finally, I asked respondents whether they work in the precinct where they are registered to vote, so that I might draw some preliminary conclusions regarding stability at the polls.

Poll Worker Survey

Please read the statements below and check (✓) the box to the right that best describes your opinion.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
<i>The following 10 questions, 1-10, ask about how you feel about being a poll worker.</i>					
1. I decided to become a poll worker because I knew a poll worker.					
2. I plan to work future elections after the August 26 election.					

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
3. The trainers from the Supervisor of Elections Office clearly explain the work I am supposed to do at my precinct.					
4. Being with my friends on Election Day is an important reason that I work the polls.					
5. I would work the polls even if I didn't get paid.					
6. The Supervisor of Elections Office provides a valuable service to the public.					
7. I decided to become a poll worker when someone asked me to work the polls.					
8. I feel that the work I have done or will do at my precinct is important.					
9. After today's training, I feel confident that I can serve the voters at my precinct.					
10. I feel the Supervisor of Elections Office is always trying to improve elections for the citizens of Leon County.					
<i>The next four questions, 11-14, may not apply to you if you have never worked an election. If a question does not apply to you, please leave it blank.</i>					

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
11. The poll workers at my precinct help each other out on Election Day with anything that needs to be done.					
12. Some poll workers at my precinct socialize with each other than on Election Day.					
13. I put forth my best effort to get the job done at my precinct, regardless of the difficulties.					
14. It is common for poll workers at my precinct to help each other with personal matters outside of Election Day.					
<i>The following nine questions, 15-23, ask about some of your beliefs and activities.</i>					
15. Making a difference in society means more to me than personal achievements.					
16. I am often reminded by everyday events about how much we depend on each other in our society.					
17. I am prepared to make big sacrifices for the good of society.					
18. Meaningful public service is very important to me.					
19. I am not afraid to stand up for the rights of others, even if it means I will be ridiculed.					

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
20. When I was growing up, my family actively volunteered for different activities or organizations.					
21. I consider myself a religious person.					
22. I regularly serve as a volunteer in organizations such as church, schools, political organizations, human service organizations, or other.					
23. I regularly donate money to organizations whose goals I support (for example, church, school associations, political organizations, human service organizations, or other).					

The questions below ask for personal information about you. This survey is completely anonymous and will not be connected with you individually. Please check the response that applies to you.

24. Which one of the following best describes your political views?

- Democrat
- Independent, other party, or no party affiliation
- Republican

25. What is your age?

- 18-24
- 25-31
- 32-38
- 39-45
- 46-52
- 53-59
- 60-66
- 67-73
- 74 or older
- Prefer not to answer

26. What is your current employment status?

- Work full-time
- Work part-time
- Unemployed (not retired)
- Retired and not working outside the home

27. Please indicate whether you have worked mainly in the public or private sector. Public-sector work includes work at non-profit organizations and local, state, or federal government. Private-sector work is working for yourself or others at a for-profit business or corporation.

- Most of my work experience is in the public sector
- Most of my work experience is in the private sector
- I have worked a great deal in both the public and the private sectors
- I have not worked outside the home

28. What is your gender?

- Male
- Female

29. What is your race/ethnicity?

- White, not Hispanic
- Black or African American
- Hispanic or Latino
- Asian or Pacific Islander
- American Indian or Alaskan Native
- Other or more than one race
- Prefer not to answer

30. What is your approximate annual family or single household income?

- less than \$20,000
- \$20,000-\$39,999
- \$40,000-\$59,999
- \$60,000-\$79,999
- \$80,000 or higher
- Prefer not to answer

31. Please indicate your highest level of education completed:

- less than high school and have not earned GED
- high school diploma or GED
- up to two years of college or university without degree
- associate's degree
- bachelor's degree
- graduate or professional degree

32. Please indicate how many elections you have worked prior to the upcoming election:

- 0
- 1-3

- 4-6
- 7 or more

33. Please indicate the position you will be working during the August 26 election:

- Clerk
- Operational Assistant Clerk
- Technical Assistant Clerk
- Inspector
- Deputy

34. Please indicate if the precinct where you will work the upcoming election is the same as the precinct where you are registered to vote:

- yes
- no

35. How long have you lived in Florida?

- 0-5 years
- 6-10 years
- 11-15 years
- 16-20 years
- 21 or more years

Figure 3.1 Survey Instrument

Variables and Hypotheses

Hypotheses were presented in Chapter 2, with applicable supporting theory. Here I operationalize these hypotheses in terms of corresponding survey questions. Several constructs have multiple indicators. These are Hypotheses 1 through 4, where PSM is the independent variable. For these, reliability analyses were conducted to determine if creation of summated scores were justifiable. For each relevant hypothesis, summary reliability results are provided.

Dependent Variable: Recruitment by Other Poll Workers

Question 1: I decided to become a poll worker because I knew a poll worker.

Question 7: I decided to become a poll worker when someone asked me to work the polls.

Reliability analysis found a standardized Cronbach's alpha of 0.688, which was considered acceptable support for a summated score for the "recruitment by other poll workers" variable. Hence, these questions serve as one combined dependent variable for H1.

Dependent Variable: Camaraderie

Question 4: Being with my friends on Election Day is an important reason that I work the polls.

Question 12: Besides Election Day, some poll workers at my precinct socialize with each other.

Reliability analysis found a standardized Cronbach's alpha of 0.511. There is an acceptable higher tolerance for measurement error when using newer items, especially when combining only two items, conditions that apply to this variable. "Cronbach alpha levels are...quite sensitive to the number of items in the scale. With short scales, e.g., scales with fewer than 10 items, it is common to find quite low Cronbach values (e.g., .5)" (Pallant, 2007, p. 95). Additionally, several researchers (Anastasi, 1982; Bernardi, 1994; Lehmann, 1985) have stated that sample homogeneity affects reliability: the more homogenous the sample (as with this sample of poll workers), the greater the likelihood of lower Cronbach's alpha. Furthermore, Hotelling and Tukey's tests were run, checking whether the items have the same mean, and both were significant. Hence, .511 was considered acceptable support for a summated score for the "camaraderie" variable, and these two questions serve as one combined dependent variable for H2.

Dependent Variable: Stability

Question 2: I plan to work future elections after the August 26 election.

Question 32: Please indicate how many elections you have worked prior to the upcoming election.

Question 34: Please indicate if the precinct where you will work the upcoming election is the same as the precinct where you are registered to vote.

Question 35: How long have you lived in Florida?

For these four items, reliability analysis did not support a summated score (i.e., standardized Cronbach's alpha = 0.273). Hence, the items are not combined into a single, summated measure but instead related as singular measures.

Dependent Variable: Mutual Assistance at and Away From the Polls

Question 11: The poll workers at my precinct help each other out on Election Day with anything that needs to be done.

Question 14: It is common for poll workers at my precinct to help each other with personal matters outside of Election Day.

For these four items, reliability analysis did not support a summated score (i.e., standardized Cronbach's alpha = 0.204). Hence, the items are not combined into a single, summated measure but instead related as singular measures.

Independent Variable: Job-Goal Specificity

Question 3: The trainers from the Supervisor of Elections Office clearly explain the work I am supposed to do at my precinct.

This question serves as an independent variable. Poll workers who score higher on this item are expected to score higher on PSM measures (questions 15-19).

Hypothesis 5: As scores for Item 3 increase, responses to Items 15-19 will be higher.

Independent Variable: Mission Valence

Question 6: The Supervisor of Elections Office provides a valuable service to the public.

This question serves as an independent variable. Poll workers who score higher on this item are expected to score higher on PSM measures (questions 15-19).

Hypothesis 6: As scores for Item 6 increase, responses to Items 15-19 will be higher.

Independent Variable: Job-Goal importance

Question 8: I feel that the work I have done or will do at my precinct is important.

This question serves as an independent variable. Poll workers who score higher on this item are expected to score higher on PSM measures (questions 15-19).

Hypothesis 7: As scores for Item 8 increase, responses to Items 15-19 will be higher.

Independent Variable: Self-Efficacy

Question 9: After today's training, I feel confident that I can serve the voters at my precinct.

This question serves as an independent variable. Poll workers who score higher on this item are expected to score higher on PSM measures (questions 15-19).

Hypothesis 8: As scores for Item 9 increase, responses to Items 15-19 will be higher.

Independent Variable: Reform Orientation

Question 10: I feel that the Supervisor of Elections Office is always trying to improve elections for the citizens of Leon County.

This question serves as an independent variable. Poll workers who score higher on this item are expected to score higher on PSM measures (questions 15-19).

Hypothesis 9: As scores for Item 10 increase, responses to Items 15-19 will be higher.

Independent Variable: Education

Question 31: Please indicate your highest level of education completed.

This question serves as an independent variable. Poll workers who score higher on this item are expected to score higher on PSM measures (questions 15-19).

Hypothesis 10: As scores for Item 31 increase, responses to Items 15-19 will be higher.

Independent Variable: Parental Modeling

Question 20: When I was growing up, my family actively volunteered for different activities or organizations.

This question serves as an independent variable. Poll workers who score higher on this item are expected to score higher on PSM measures (questions 15-19).

Hypothesis 11: As scores for Item 20 increase, responses to Items 15-19 will be higher.

Independent Variable: Spirituality

Question 21: I consider myself a religious person.

This question serves as an independent variable. Poll workers who score higher on this item are expected to score higher on PSM measures (questions 15-19).

Hypothesis 12: As scores for Item 21 increase, responses to Items 15-19 will be higher.

Independent Variable: Age

Question 25: What is your age?

This question serves as an independent variable. Poll workers who score higher on this item are expected to score higher on PSM measures (questions 15-19).

Hypothesis 13: As scores for Item 25 increase, responses to Items 15-19 will be higher.

Independent Variable: Income

Question 30: What is your approximate annual family or single household income?

This question serves as an independent variable for the dependent variable poll worker pay (Question 5, below). Poll workers who score higher on this item are expected to score higher on willingness to work the polls without pay (question 5).

Hypothesis 14: As scores for Item 30 increase, responses to Items 5 will be higher.

Dependent Variable: Poll Worker Pay

Question 5: I would work the polls even if I didn't get paid.

See Income and Question 30, above for use with Hypothesis 14. Poll workers with higher levels of PSM are expected to rate poll worker pay lower.

Hypothesis 15: As scores for Items 15-19 increase, responses to Items 5 will be higher.

Dependent Variable: Job Involvement

Question 13: I put forth my best effort to get the job done at my precinct, regardless of the difficulties.

This question serves as a dependent variable. Poll workers with high PSM scores (questions 15-19) are expected to score higher on this item.

Hypothesis 16: As scores for Items 15-19 increase, responses to Item 13 will be higher.

Dependent Variable: Volunteering

Question 22: I regularly serve as a volunteer in organizations such as church, schools, political organizations, human service organizations, or other.

This question serves as a dependent variable. Poll workers with high PSM scores (questions 15-19) are expected to score higher on this item.

Hypothesis 17: As scores for Items 15-19 increase, responses to Item 22 will be higher.

Dependent Variable: Donation

Question 23: I regularly donate money to organizations whose goals I support (for example, church, school associations, political organizations, human service organizations, or other).

This question serves as a dependent variable. Poll workers with high PSM scores (questions 15-19) are expected to score higher on this item.

Hypothesis 18: As scores for Items 15-19 increase, responses to Item 23 will be higher.

Dependent and Independent Variable: PSM

Question 15: Making a difference in society means more to me than personal achievements.

Question 16: I am often reminded by everyday events about how much we depend on each other in our society.

Question 17: I am prepared to make big sacrifices for the good of society.

Question 18: Meaningful public service is very important to me.

Question 19: I am not afraid to stand up for the rights of others, even if it means I will be ridiculed.

These questions follow Perry (1996), who developed a scale of public service motivation. Whereas the original scale contained 24 items, it has been compressed to five items here, following several researchers (Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Brewer & Selden, 2000; Kim, 2005; Wright & Pandey, 2007) who achieved alpha scores of .7 or higher. Due to the age of Perry's (1996) original work, and the fact that his respondents included both private- and public-sector workers, hypotheses will not be generated positing how high poll workers will score. It is assumed that poll workers' PSM is affected by and affects their social capital, demographic characteristics, and sociohistorical experiences, as well as the characteristics of the polling place.

For comparative purposes, however, it is worth noting the mean scores of Perry's (1996) respondents for each of the five PSM items to be used in this research:

Item 15: 3.4918

Item 16: 4.1038

Item 17: 2.9426

Item 18: 3.8115

Item 19: 4.0109

Poll workers' scores will be reported and compared to the above scores. PSM is a dependent variable in hypotheses 5-13, and is an independent variable in hypotheses 1-4 and 15-18.

Other Questions and Variables

Various demographic/control variables will be used, for which no hypotheses will be generated:

Question 24: Which one of the following best describes your political views?

Question 28: What is your gender?

Question 29: What is your race/ethnicity?

Political party, gender, and race/ethnicity of Leon County voters and poll workers are already known (see Tables 3.1-3.3). These questions will be asked in order to compare the population of poll workers with the respondents in this sample.

Question 26: What is your current employment status?

Based on a median Leon County poll worker age of 58 (D. Mitchell, personal communication, February 28, 2008), it is assumed that a high number of respondents will have retirement status. Descriptive statistics will be reported here.

Question 27: Please indicate whether you have worked mainly in the public or private sector.

Based on the high percentage of Leon County jobs in the public sector (especially in state government, including colleges and universities), it is expected that a high percentage of poll workers currently work or previously worked in the public sector. However, no hypothesis will be generated.

Question 33: Please indicate the position you will be working during the August 26 election.

No hypothesis will be generated from this question.

Survey Delivery and Response Rate

I attended poll worker training sessions beginning on July 19, 2008, through August 23, 2008—20 sessions in all. At each session, once the trainer had covered all the required training material, I introduced myself, using my verbal script, and distributed the surveys. There were different types of training sessions, distinguished by position worked at polls, poll worker level of experience, and whether the session was a make-up session. I attended 4 Experienced Clerk/Operational Assistant Clerk sessions, 10 Inspector sessions, and 4 Deputy sessions. (I missed one Inspector session—which would have been the 11th. There were approximately 50 trainees in attendance. There is no reason to assume that this group differed in any substantive way from the other 10 groups I did attend.) I also attended a make-up session, at the end of the training cycle, for those poll workers unable to attend earlier sessions. At this same location and time was a laboratory class for Technical Assistant Clerks. This was separate from the regularly scheduled Technical Assistant Clerk training sessions, which I did not attend. The Elections Coordinator had been concerned that, due to the complex nature of the technology being taught and the likelihood that the sessions would run past their allotted time, it would be onerous to ask these trainees to complete a survey at the end of training. I was given approval to attend this laboratory, however, and collected surveys from this and combined them with those of the make-up session. Additionally, I attended the one New Clerk training session, but because of the Election Coordinator's concerns that this session would run over the allotted time, I introduced the survey and then provided trainees with a self-addressed stamped envelope to return to me.

Response rates varied from 41% (the returned mail survey) to 100% (at eight sessions), for an overall response rate of 93% (higher than that expected). Response rates generally varied by how much time remained in the training session. It would be expected that in sessions that finished late, trainees would be less willing to complete the survey. There were two different trainers, and one tended to take significantly longer than the other. A total of 845 completed surveys were returned. Table 3.6 below details the training sessions and response rates.

Table 3.6 Poll Worker Training Session Responses

Date	Time	Session	Type of Training	# Attendees	# Responses	Response Rate
7/19	9:00 AM	A	Exp. Clerk/A/C	37	34	91.89%
7/21	6:00 PM	B	Exp. Clerk/A/C	44	43	97.73%
7/30	6:00 PM	C	Inspector	88	77	87.50%
7/31	9:00 AM	D	Exp. Clerk/A/C	40	38	95.00%
7/31	1:00 PM	E	Inspector	62	62	100.00%
8/2	9:00 AM	F	Inspector	60	56	93.33%
8/2	1:00 PM	G	Deputy	27	27	100.00%
8/4	6:00 PM	H	Inspector	71	71	100.00%
8/5	9:00 AM	I	Deputy	30	30	100.00%
8/5	1:00 PM	J	Inspector	60	53	88.33%
8/6	9:00 AM	K	Exp. Clerk/A/C	55	55	100.00%
8/6	1:00 PM	L	Inspector	41	39	95.12%
8/8	1:00 PM	M	Inspector	37	37	100.00%
8/9	9:00 AM	N	Inspector	32	30	93.75%
8/9	1:00 PM	O	Deputy	5	5	100.00%
8/12	6:00 PM	P	Inspector	62	59	95.16%
8/14	9:00 AM	Q	Inspector	51	48	94.12%
8/15	9:00 AM	R	Deputy	17	17	100.00%
8/23	9:00 AM	S	Combined (all w/TAC)	59	52	88.14%
7/24	6:00 PM	T	New Clerk/A/C (mail)	29	12	41.38%
				907	845	93.07%

Table 3.7 below compares the Leon County poll worker population demographically, with the sample responding to the survey in this research. The information from the population is drawn from Table 3.3 above. The comparison reflects that the sample essentially mirrors the population. The poll workers sampled are mostly white, female, Democrat, and they have worked previous elections.

Table 3.7. Comparison of Poll Worker Population and Sample

Race (percentages)		
	Pop.	Sample
White, Not Hispanic	58%	62%
Hispanic	1%	1%
Black, Not Hispanic	37%	32%
American Indian/Alaskan	1%	0%
Asian or Pacific Islander	1%	1%
Other/No Response	2%	4%
Other Data		
	Pop.	Sample
Median age	58	N/A
Male	28%	29%
Female	71%	71%
Registered Democrat ¹	67%	62%
Registered Republican ¹	25%	29%
Have worked previous election(s) ²	69%	82%

1. For sample, question was not “how registered” but “Which of the following best describes your political views,” and possible responses were: (a) Democrat, (b) Independent, other party, or no party affiliation, and (c) Republican.

2. The population consists of those who have either worked elections before or who have expressed interest in working an election. Therefore, it is not surprising that more respondents, i.e., those who committed to working the August election, have worked elections before than the population. It stands to reason that those who have worked before are more likely to work in the future.

Table 3.8 below provides the descriptive statistics of the survey items. Number of cases range from a low of 645 to a high of 840. Respondents were advised not to answer Questions 11-14 unless they were applicable (not applicable if respondent had not previously worked the polls); hence, these questions had a lower response rate relative to the other questions.

Additionally, the questions 25, 29, and 30 asked questions that might be perceived as sensitive (age, race/ethnicity, and income, respectively). Even though there was an option for “prefer not to answer,” some respondents still left the items blank. The table below reports cases on these three items as “missing,” whether respondents checked “prefer not to answer” or left the item blank. Additionally, Appendix C reports the percentage frequencies for each response.

Table 3.8 Descriptive Statistics of the Survey Items

Items	Number of Cases	Min.	Max.	Mean		Standard Deviation	
				Original Data Set	Missing Data Adjusted Data Set ¹	Original Data Set	Missing Data Adjusted Data Set ¹
Q1	824	1	5	3.50	3.50	1.464	1.454
Q2	835	1	5	4.60	4.59	.734	.733
Q3	840	1	5	4.55	4.55	.740	.739
Q4	829	1	5	2.90	2.91	1.267	1.260
Q5	824	1	5	3.26	3.25	1.251	1.242
Q6	833	1	5	4.67	4.67	.663	.661
Q7	828	1	5	3.61	3.62	1.380	1.373
Q8	834	1	5	4.70	4.70	.594	.600
Q9	835	1	5	4.62	4.62	.611	.610
Q10	827	1	5	4.63	4.63	.639	.642
Q11	695	1	5	4.62	4.59	.639	.626
Q12	662	1	5	3.55	3.51	1.035	.961
Q13	696	1	5	4.71	4.70	.603	.587
Q14	645	1	5	3.31	3.27	1.079	1.004
Q15	802	1	5	4.09	4.09	.852	.839
Q16	810	1	5	4.28	4.27	.735	.728
Q17	810	1	5	3.88	3.89	.804	.794
Q18	813	1	5	4.31	4.31	.646	.640
Q19	812	1	5	4.17	4.16	.787	.776
Q20	808	1	5	3.51	3.51	1.169	1.151
Q21	817	1	5	4.25	4.25	1.063	1.051
Q22	815	1	5	4.14	4.13	.994	.985
Q23	819	1	5	4.19	4.19	.908	.898
Q24	791	1	3	1.67	1.68	.897	.879
Q25	811	1	9	6.4612	6.45	2.13366	2.102
Q26	814	1	4	2.72	2.71	1.327	1.311
Q27	798	1	4	1.67	1.67	.862	.846
Q28	815	1	2	1.71	1.72	.452	.448

Table 3.8 - Continued

Items	Number of Cases	Min.	Max.	Mean		Standard Deviation	
				Original Data Set	Missing Data Adjusted Data Set ¹	Original Data Set	Missing Data Adjusted Data Set ¹
Q29	791	1	6	1.4627	1.47	.80241	.790
Q30	684	1	5	2.9810	2.95	1.34565	1.273
Q31	792	1	6	4.0	3.99	1.592	1.554
Q32	801	1	4	2.62	2.63	1.077	1.058
Q33	793	1	5	3.42	3.43	1.241	1.214
Q34	791	1	2	1.60	1.59	.491	.492
Q35	802	1	5	4.49	4.50	1.126	1.104

1. Please see Analytic Techniques, below, for an explanation of data in these columns.

Other Demographics

Survey questions 26, 27, and 33 ask demographic information: employment status, work(ed) in public or private sector, and position to be worked for the August 26 election, respectively. No hypotheses were generated for these items; however, the responses are of interest to note. Tables 3.9-3.11 below provide detailed descriptive statistics for these items.

Table 3.9 Descriptive Statistics for Current Employment Status

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Work full-time	251	29.7
Work part-time	129	15.3
Unemployed (not retired)	77	9.1
Retired and not working outside the home	388	45.9

It is not surprising that the majority of poll workers are retired, given what is known about the age of poll workers in Leon County and nationally. However, the percentage unemployed (9.1%) is higher than the presumed Leon County and national averages of unemployment.

Table 3.10 Descriptive Statistics for Employment Sector

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Most of my work experience is in the public sector.	475	56.2
Most of my work experience is in the private sector.	183	21.7
I have worked a great deal in both the public and the private sectors.	176	20.8
I have not worked outside the home.	11	1.3

It is unsurprising that most poll workers' experience is in the public sector, given the high percentage of Leon County public sector jobs.

Table 3.11 Descriptive Statistics for Position Working

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Clerk	115	13.6
Operational Assistant Clerk	89	10.5
Technical Assistant Clerk	42	5.0
Inspector	515	60.9
Deputy	84	9.9

These statistics are to be expected. There is only one clerk per precinct, but multiple inspectors. Additionally, I was only able to survey a small percentage of technical assistant clerks; there are as many technical assistant clerks as clerks and operational assistant clerks per election.

Analytic Techniques

Both descriptive and inferential statistics were used for this study. Bivariate and multivariate analyses were conducted. Data were primarily at the ordinal level, with some at the nominal and some at the scale level. The analyses of data were performed using statistical software packages SPSS 16.0, Microsoft Excel, and LISREL 8.71.

First, using Microsoft Excel, I tracked each training session with running response rates. Once all of the surveys were collected, I input each survey into SPSS 16.0. I generated descriptive statistics, including minimum, maximum, range, mean, and standard deviation (see above Tables 3.7-3.11). The summary measure of public service motivation (PSM) was created for the PSM questions, 15-19. The PSM indicator was generated as a singular factor from a principal component analysis. New variables were created for three items, questions 25, 29, and 30 (age, race/ethnicity, and income, respectively), as these questions had a “prefer not to answer” response available. These original responses were coded “99,” and the fixed variables coded that response as missing.

Analyses were divided into four groupings. First, Hypotheses 5 -13, where PSM is the dependent variable, were tested using ordinary least squares (OLS). Second, where PSM is the only independent variable (Hypotheses 1 - 4 and 16 – 18), Kendall’s Tau B and Pearson’s R correlations were run, with the exception of Hypotheses 14-15, where PSM is one of two independent variables theorized to relate to poll worker pay.

As noted in Table 3.8, survey results yielded significant missing data issues with such variables as age (question 25), race/ethnicity (question 29), and income (question 30), with 4%, 6%, and 19% missing, respectively. These could be perceived to be sensitive questions for respondents, and even though there were “prefer not to answer” responses available, as noted above, some respondents chose not to respond at all. (Questions 11-14 also had significant missing responses; however, this is not problematic as respondents were instructed to answer these questions only if they applied. They may not have applied if the respondent had never worked an election before.) A variety of quite sophisticated techniques exist to adjust for missing data bias in SEM, with full information maximum likelihood (FMIL) likely the best alternative. However, given the ordinal nature of many of the indicators and the nominal nature of gender and youthful volunteering, FMIL was not usable. Instead, the EM algorithm was used, generating estimated values through a series of Markov chains around the covariance matrix of the entire set of indicators used in the analysis (for mathematical details, see Toit & Toit, 2001, pp. 387-388). As reflected above in Table 3.8, means and standard deviations in the two data sets varied only minimally.

CHAPTER 4
FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

PSM Factor Analysis

This study uses five measures from Perry’s (1996) scale. Although there are admittedly significant limitations in using a shortened set (e.g., Coursey et al., 2008), the items as chosen have been used in previous research (e.g., Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Brewer & Selden, 2000; Kim, 2005; Wright & Pandey, 2007) by researchers achieving alpha scores of .7 or higher. Here, the five items generated a standardized Cronbach’s alpha slightly better than Wright and Pandey’s (2007) findings (i.e., .820 > .740). Principal component analysis was used to generate a factor score from these items as a summary measure (extracted variance = 58.405%), and results did not indicate any evidence of a second factor based on Eigenvalues. Please refer to Table 4.1 for details.

Table 4.1 Principal Component Analysis Results

	Question	Component	Initial Extraction
15	Making a difference in society means more to me than personal achievements.	.774	.600
16	I am often reminded by everyday events about how much we depend on each other in our society.	.775	.601
17	I am prepared to make big sacrifices for the good of society.	.808	.653
18	Meaningful public service is very important to me.	.802	.643
19	I am not afraid to stand up for the rights of others, even if it means I will be ridiculed.	.651	.424

Note: Cronbach’s alpha: .820. Eigenvalue total, 2.920; cumulative, 58.405%.

Hypotheses 1 – 4: Social Capital

PSM is the only independent variable in Hypotheses 1 - 4. Kendall's Tau B and Pearson's R correlations were run for these. Table 4.2 below provides correlation scores and significance.

Table 4.2 Correlations: Social Capital Hypotheses - Independent Variable PSM

Hypothesis	Dependent Variable	<i>r</i>	Sig.	Tau B	Sig.
H1	Recruitment by other poll workers (summated measure)	.129	.000	.071	.007
H2	Camaraderie (summated measure)	.188	.000	.093	.001
H3	Stability (individual measures)				
	Plan to work future elections	.342	.000	.238	.000
	Number of elections previously worked	-.031	.394	-.012	.668
	Work in home precinct	.023	.537	.024	.437
	How long lived in Florida	.040	.273	.031	.288
H4	Mutual assistance at and away from the polls (individual measures)				
	Poll workers help each other at the precinct	.394	.000	.242	.000
	Poll workers help each other with personal matters	.264	.000	.176	.000

One measure of stability, “plan to work future elections,” reflects a positive relationship, relatively strong and significant. The two mutual assistance measures were sufficiently strong and significant and indicated positive relationships. Recruitment by other poll workers and camaraderie reflected weak relationships with PSM, though statistically significant. Regarding three measures of stability, number of elections worked had no relationship with PSM here. Working in home precinct had an insignificant relationship to PSM, as did how long the poll worker had lived in Florida.

Following, in Table 4.3, are the individual hypotheses and whether each was supported.

Table 4.3 Hypotheses 1 – 4: Confirmed or Unconfirmed

Hypothesis	Confirmed or Unconfirmed
H1: Poll workers with higher PSM will be more likely to have been recruited by other poll workers.	Confirmed
H2: Poll workers with higher PSM will be more likely to place a value on camaraderie or to report non-Election day socializing.	Confirmed
H3: Poll workers with higher PSM will be more likely to exhibit measures of stability.	Partially confirmed
H4: Poll workers with higher PSM will be more likely to witness mutual assistance at and away from the polls.	Confirmed

Following, each of the hypothesis testing results is detailed.

Dependent Variable: Recruitment by Other Poll Workers

Hypothesis 1: Poll workers with higher PSM will be more likely to have been recruited by other poll workers.

This hypothesis was supported. There was a statistically significant but weak relationship between PSM and recruitment by other poll workers. Poll workers with higher PSM scores were slightly more likely to have been recruited by other poll workers. This finding supports social capital/network theory and exhibits a link between PSM and one aspect of social capital. This hypothesis was exploratory in nature and attempted to determine a link between PSM level and likelihood of being recruited by other poll workers. Putnam (2000), Coleman (1990), and others referred to the power of networks, and it is reasonable to posit that networks exist at the polls. This question asks whether having high PSM makes it more likely that a poll worker is susceptible to being recruited by another poll worker. The findings support the affirmative.

Dependent Variable: Camaraderie

Hypothesis 2: Poll workers with higher PSM will be more likely to place a value on camaraderie or to report non-Election day socializing.

This hypothesis was supported. There was a statistically significant but weak relationship between PSM and camaraderie. Poll workers with higher PSM scores were slightly more likely to place a value on camaraderie or to report non-Election day socializing. This finding supports

social capital/network theory and exhibits a link between PSM and one aspect of social capital. As with H2, this hypothesis was exploratory, attempting to find a link between PSM and value or existence of camaraderie with other poll workers. Again, theorists such as Putnam (2000) and Coleman (1990) reported the existence of camaraderie in various voluntary organizations. The findings from testing this hypothesis confirm that camaraderie indeed exists at the polls, specifically with poll workers with higher PSM.

Dependent Variable: Stability

As mentioned in Chapter 3, in the Variables and Hypotheses section, an attempt was made to create a summated score for this variable. Because reliability analysis did not support a summated score, the items are not combined into a single, summated measure but instead related as individual measures.

Measure 1: Plan to work future elections.

This measure of stability was supported.

Measure 2: Number of elections previously worked.

This measure of stability was not supported.

Measure 3: Work in home precinct.

This measure of stability was not supported.

Measure 4: 35: How long lived in Florida.

This measure of stability was not supported.

Hence, Hypothesis 3, poll workers with higher PSM will be more likely to exhibit measures of stability, was only partially supported. This hypothesis is investigative in nature, borrowing Coleman's (1990) assertion that stability is critical to social capital. Planning to work future elections, having worked elections previously, working in one's home precinct, and length of time in Florida were all taken to be proxy measures of stability. Planning to work future elections, the first measure, was confirmed. Poll workers with higher PSM were more likely to plan to work future elections. The second measure of stability, number of elections previously worked, was not confirmed. Having higher PSM did not seem to relate to how many elections poll workers had already worked. It is possible that these high-PSM poll workers had simply not found the opportunity early enough to have worked many previous elections. Perhaps their PSM exhibited itself before through other outlets—volunteer organizations, church, etc.

The third measure of stability, working in home precinct, was unconfirmed. The majority of all poll workers do not work in their home precincts. It could be that higher-PSM individuals are simply willing to go anywhere to fulfill their self-declared duties as poll workers. It could also be the case that higher-PSM individuals are concentrated in certain geographic areas or that social capital is found in lesser degrees in specific geographic areas. At any rate, no relationship was found. Finally, for the fourth measure of stability, length of time lived in Florida, no relationship was found between this measure and PSM. The mean response to this question, for all poll workers, was 4.49. The response coded “4” was 16-20 years, and the “5” coded response was 21 or more years. Hence, poll workers overall reported long tenures in Florida. As detailed above in Table 3.1, Leon County’s population is very stable compared with Florida and the U.S. overall: population change over six recent years at 2.6% and foreign-born persons at 4.7% (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.). Therefore, the pool from which to draw poll workers in Leon County is already highly stable.

Dependent Variable: Mutual Assistance at and Away From the Polls

As mentioned in Chapter 3, in the Variables and Hypotheses section, an attempt was made to create a summated score for this variable. Because reliability analysis did not support a summated score, the items are not combined into a single, summated measure but instead related as individual measures.

Measure 1: Poll workers help each other at the precinct.

This measure of mutual assistance was supported.

Measure 2: Poll workers help each other with personal matters.

This measure of mutual assistance was supported.

Putnam (1990) and Coleman (2000) both discussed mutual assistance as a feature of networks and social capital. Sometimes this assistance is an explicit expectation, and sometimes it is a byproduct of the stated goal of the network or organization. There is an expectation at the polls, which is stressed during poll worker training, that each poll worker pitches in to get the job done. Poll workers in general would be expected to follow this prescription, and those with higher PSM would be anticipated even more to abide by this code. This measure of mutual assistance was confirmed. Sometimes mutual assistance manifests itself in personal assistance. For example, one poll worker might help another find a job, because of the formal organization (the polls) in which they are both embedded, even though helping one find employment is not a

formal goal of the Supervisor of Elections Office. This measure of mutual assistance was also confirmed. Poll workers with higher PSM do report more personal assistance at the polls. Hence, Hypothesis 4, poll workers with higher PSM will be more likely to witness mutual assistance at and away from the polls, was confirmed.

Hypotheses 5 – 13: PSM as Dependent Variable

Hypotheses 5 -13 each utilize PSM is the dependent variable and examine which aspects of the polls might contribute to higher levels of PSM. These hypotheses were tested using ordinary least squares (OLS). The resulting *R* square was .358, indicating the proportion of variance in the dependent variable accounted for by the independent variables. The adjusted *R* square was .349, which adjusts for the number of variables. These are relatively strong results. Please see Table 4.2 below for direction of relationship and significance of each variable.

Table 4.4 Regression Analysis: Dependent Variable PSM

Hypothesis	Independent Variable	<i>b</i>	Sig.
	(Constant)	-5.161	.000
H5	Job-goal specificity	-.023	.647
H6	Mission valence	.314	.000
H7	Job-goal importance	.243	.000
H8	Self-efficacy	.237	.000
H9	Reform orientation	.096	.084
H10	Education	.035	.056
H11	Parental modeling	.146	.000
H12	Spirituality	.142	.000
H13	Age	-.022	.096

Note: $R^2 = .358$, Adj. $R^2 = .349$.

Mission valence, job-goal importance, self-efficacy, parental modeling, and spirituality are significant at the .05 level. Education is borderline at .056. Each of these relationships is positive.

Multicollinearity diagnostics were run for this model. Tolerance scores of .1 or less, and VIF scores of above 10, can indicate a multicollinearity problem. Additionally, condition indexes above 30, with two or more independent variables loading about .9, can also indicate a multicollinearity problem. There were no indications of multicollinearity with any of these diagnostics. Furthermore, only five cases were outside of three standard deviations, an acceptable number given the number of cases within bounds. Error diagnostics indicated no difficulties in normality, with a normal error distribution shape. The standardized residual histogram reflected an almost perfectly normal curve, and the normal probability plot was a virtually perfect line. With regard to variance, there was no pattern to error term values across predicted values of the dependent variable. The predicted value scatterplot reflected even distribution across values.

Following, in Table 4.5, are the individual hypotheses and whether each was supported.

Table 4.5 Hypotheses 5-13: Confirmed or Unconfirmed

Hypothesis	Confirmed or Unconfirmed
H5: Poll workers reporting high job-goal specificity will score higher on PSM.	Unconfirmed
H6: Poll workers reporting high mission valence will score higher on PSM.	Confirmed
H7: Poll workers reporting high job-goal importance will score higher on PSM.	Confirmed
H8: Poll workers reporting high self-efficacy will score higher on PSM.	Confirmed
H9: Poll workers reporting high reform orientation of the Supervisor of Elections Office will score higher on PSM.	Unconfirmed
H10: Poll workers with higher self-reported education levels will score higher on PSM.	Confirmed

Table 4.5 – Continued

Hypothesis	Confirmed or Unconfirmed
H11: Poll workers with a higher experience of parental modeling will score higher on PSM.	Confirmed
H12: Poll workers with higher self-reported spirituality will score higher on PSM.	Confirmed
H13: Older poll workers will score higher on PSM.	Unconfirmed

Following, each of the hypothesis testing results is detailed.

Independent Variable: Job-Goal Specificity

Hypothesis 5: Poll workers reporting high job-goal specificity will score higher on PSM.

This hypothesis was not supported. Wright (2007) found a relationship between PSM and high job-goal specificity. In this research, this question was investigated asking whether the Supervisor of Elections Office clearly explained the expectations of the job. In a 1-5 scale, poll workers responded with a mean of 4.55. In large numbers, poll workers believe there is high job-goal specificity, and there does not appear to be a relationship between high job-goal specificity and higher levels of PSM.

Independent Variable: Mission Valence

Hypothesis 6: Poll workers reporting high mission valence will score higher on PSM.

This hypothesis was supported. This hypothesis also follows Wright (2007), who found that mission valence was associated with higher levels of PSM. Those poll workers who believe that their organization (the Supervisor of Elections Office) provides a valuable service are more likely to exhibit higher levels of PSM.

Independent Variable: Job-Goal importance

Hypothesis 7: Poll workers reporting high job-goal importance will score higher on PSM.

This hypothesis was supported. It also tracks Wright (2007) and his findings that job-goal importance is related to higher levels of PSM. Poll workers who believe that the work they do at their precinct is important are more likely to have high PSM.

Independent Variable: Self-Efficacy

Hypothesis 8: Poll workers reporting high self-efficacy will score higher on PSM.

This hypothesis was supported. Wright (2007) reported that self-efficacy was positively related to higher levels of PSM. When poll workers indicate they feel confident and prepared to do their jobs, they are more likely to have high levels of PSM.

Independent Variable: Reform Orientation

Hypothesis 9: Poll workers reporting high reform orientation of the Supervisor of Elections Office will score higher on PSM.

This hypothesis was not supported. This hypothesis follows Moynihan and Pandey (2007) and their work on PSM, which found that reform orientation is positively related to PSM. Poll workers who believe that their organization is forward-looking and striving for continuous improvement were expected to exhibit higher PSM. However, in a 1-5 scale, poll workers responded to this question with a mean of 4.63. In large numbers, poll workers believe the Supervisor of Elections Office has a reform orientation, and there does not appear to be a relationship between perceived high reform orientation and higher levels of PSM.

Independent Variable: Education

Hypothesis 10: Poll workers with higher self-reported education levels will score higher on PSM.

This relationship was positive and significant at the .056 level, close enough to .05 to reasonably confirm the hypothesis. This hypothesis follows Moynihan and Pandey (2007) and Perry (1997) and their work on PSM, which demonstrates that education is positively related to PSM. Poll workers who have higher levels of education were expected to exhibit higher PSM, and they did.

Independent Variable: Parental Modeling

Hypothesis 11: Poll workers with a higher experience of parental modeling will score higher on PSM.

This hypothesis was supported. Perry (1997) also found that parental modeling was associated with higher levels of PSM. Poll workers were asked if, when they were growing up, their families actively volunteered for different activities or organizations, and those responding affirmatively had higher levels of PSM.

Independent Variable: Spirituality

Hypothesis 12: Poll workers with higher self-reported spirituality will score higher on PSM.

This hypothesis was supported. Perry’s (1997) findings that closeness to God was associated with higher levels of PSM was mirrored here. Poll workers who reported higher levels of spirituality also reported higher levels of PSM.

Independent Variable: Age

Hypothesis 13: Older poll workers will score higher on PSM.

This hypothesis was not supported. Another of Perry’s (1997) research results was that PSM increased as age did. However, in a 1-9 scale, poll workers responded to the age question with a mean of 6.46. The response coded “6” on the scale was ages 53-59, and the response coded “7” was 60-66. It is known that the median age of the population of poll workers in Leon is 58 (D. Mitchell, personal communication, February 28, 2008); hence, this sample is older than the population. In large numbers, poll workers are of older age, and there does not appear to be a relationship between age and higher levels of PSM.

Hypotheses 14 – 15: PSM and Principal-Agent Theory

In hypotheses 14-15, PSM and income are independent variables theorized to relate to poll worker pay. These hypotheses were tested using ordinary least squares (OLS). The resulting *R* square was .092, indicating the proportion of variance in the dependent variable accounted for by the independent variables. The adjusted *R* square was .089, which adjusts for the number of variables. These results suggest a weak relationship. Additionally, ordinal regression was conducted, in order to confirm these results. No difference in substantive conclusions was found. However, because of the large number of missing cells, ordinal regression was determined not to be an appropriate analysis. Please see Table 4.6 below for direction of effects and significance of each variable.

Table 4.6 Regression Analysis: Dependent Variable Poll Worker Pay

Hypothesis	Independent Variable	<i>b</i>	Sig.
	(Constant)	3.0399	.000
H14	Income	.097	.005
H15	PSM	.381	.000

Note: $R^2 = .092$, Adj. $R^2 = .089$.

Income and PSM are significant at the .05 level. Each of these relationships is positive; however, as reflected by the R^2 and adjusted R^2 , they are not powerful relationships.

Multicollinearity diagnostics were run for this model. Tolerance scores of .1 or less, and VIF scores of above 10, can indicate a multicollinearity problem. Additionally, condition indexes above 30, with two or more independent variables loading about .9, can also indicate a multicollinearity problem. There were no indications of multicollinearity with any of these diagnostics. Finally, the standardized residual histogram, normal probability plot, and predicted value scatterplot were normal.

Table 4.7 below indicates whether H14-15 were confirmed.

Table 4.7 Hypotheses 14-15: Confirmed or Unconfirmed

Hypothesis	Confirmed or Unconfirmed
H14: Poll workers with higher income are expected to exhibit more willingness to work the polls without pay.	Confirmed
H15: Poll workers with higher PSM are expected to exhibit more willingness to work the polls without pay.	Confirmed

Following, each hypothesis and related findings are detailed.

Independent Variable: Income

Hypothesis 14: Poll workers with higher income are expected to exhibit more willingness to work the polls without pay.

This hypothesis was supported, though weakly. This hypothesis was exploratory in nature, assuming that the amount earned at the polls would not be as important to higher-income poll workers. Of the Likert 1-5 scale, the mean response to the statement, “I would work the polls even if I didn’t get paid” was 3.26, relatively high. The mean response to the income question was 2.98. This puts the mean in the \$40,000 to \$59,000 income group, middle income. Higher income poll workers were shown to be slightly more willing to work the polls without pay. Pay cannot be discounted as a motivator, however. Just under half of all respondents (47%) agreed or strongly agreed that they would work the polls without pay, greater than the percentage

disagreeing or strongly disagreeing (30%). However, adding the percentage of neutral responses, 53% were neutral, disagreed, or strongly disagreed that they would work the polls without pay.

Independent Variable: PSM

Hypothesis 15: Poll workers with higher PSM are expected to exhibit more willingness to work the polls without pay.

This hypothesis was supported, though weakly. It was expected that, contrary to principal-agent theory, poll workers would not work the polls primarily from self- (pecuniary) interest. High-PSM individuals are more oriented toward intrinsic rewards, as Crewson (1997) and Houston (2000) found with public-sector employees. This research has shown that poll workers with higher PSM are slightly more willing to work the polls without pay, regardless of their income. Again, however, pay cannot be discounted as a motivator.

Hypotheses 16 – 18: PSM as Independent Variable

PSM is the only independent variable in Hypotheses 16 – 18. These hypotheses investigate the relationship between several dependent variables with previous relationships demonstrated with PSM. Kendall’s Tau B and Pearson’s R correlations were run for these. Table 4.8 below provides correlation scores and significance.

Table 4.8 Correlations: Hypotheses 16-18 - Independent Variable PSM

Hypothesis	Dependent Variable	<i>r</i>	Sig.	Tau B	Sig.
H16	Job involvement	.453	.000	.303	.000
H17	Volunteering	.354	.000	.286	.000
H18	Donation	.315	.000	.259	.000

Job involvement, volunteering, and donation were all sufficiently strong and significant and indicated positive relationships.

Following, in Table 4.9, are the individual hypotheses and whether each was supported.

Table 4.9 Hypotheses 16-18: Confirmed or Unconfirmed

Hypothesis	Confirmed or Unconfirmed
H16: Poll workers with higher PSM will be more likely to report high job involvement.	Confirmed
H17: Poll workers with higher PSM will report higher levels of volunteering.	Confirmed
H18: Poll workers with higher PSM will report higher levels of financial donations.	Confirmed

Following, each of the hypothesis testing results is detailed.

Dependent Variable: Job Involvement

Hypothesis 16: Poll workers with higher PSM will be more likely to report high job involvement.

This hypothesis was supported. Park (2007) demonstrated that PSM is positively related to job involvement, e.g., willingness to do the best job possible. Poll workers with higher PSM are indeed more likely to agree with the statement, “I put forth my best effort to get the job done at my precinct, regardless of the difficulties.

Dependent Variable: Volunteering

Hypothesis 17: Poll workers with higher PSM will report higher levels of volunteering.

This hypothesis was supported. This hypothesis follows Clerkin, Paynter, and Taylor (2007), who found that PSM is positively related to likelihood to volunteer. Poll workers with high PSM scores are indeed more likely to agree with the statement, “I regularly serve as a volunteer in organizations such as church, schools, political organizations, human service organizations, or other.”

Dependent Variable: Donation

Hypothesis 18: Poll workers with higher PSM will report higher levels of financial donations.

This hypothesis was supported. Clerkin, Paynter, and Taylor’s (2007) research found that PSM is positively related to likelihood of donating money. Poll workers with high PSM scores are, in fact, more likely to agree with the statement, “I regularly donate money to organizations

whose goals I support (for example, church, school associations, political organizations, human service organizations, or other).”

Comparison of PSM Scores Across Samples

Perry’s (1996) early research on PSM used a sample inappropriate to generate hypotheses for this research. The age of the findings (i.e., now 12 years old) and the difference in sample composition (Perry’s sample included both public- and private-sector workers) make it inadvisable to draw conclusions based on mean PSM scores of Perry’s respondents and the poll worker respondents in this survey. For comparative purposes, however, it is worth noting the differences in respective means for the five items from which the PSM factor was created for this research. Please refer to Table 4.10 below for details.

Table 4.10 Perry’s Sample PSM vs. Poll Worker PSM

	Item	Perry’s (1996) Sample Mean Score	Poll Worker Sample Mean Score
15	Making a difference in society means more to me than personal achievements.	3.4918	4.09
16	I am often reminded by everyday events about how much we depend on each other in our society.	4.1038	4.28
17	I am prepared to make big sacrifices for the good of society.	2.9426	3.88
18	Meaningful public service is very important to me.	3.8115	4.31
19	I am not afraid to stand up for the rights of others, even if it means I will be ridiculed.	4.0109	4.17

Poll workers in this sample scored higher on each question than those in Perry's (1996) research. Again, it is unfair to draw conclusions such as that these poll workers have PSM that is higher than workers in a certain sector. These poll workers are a self-selected group and would be expected to have higher PSM than a more random sample.

The following and final chapter, Chapter 5, states key findings and identifies theoretical and policy implications, research limitations, and future research recommendations.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

Key Findings

Below I restate the major findings of this research.

Findings on PSM's Relationship to Social Capital

1. Poll workers with higher PSM are slightly more likely to have been recruited by other poll workers.
2. Poll workers with higher PSM are slightly more likely to place a value on camaraderie or to report non-Election day socializing.
3. Poll workers with higher PSM are more likely to work future elections.
4. Poll workers with higher PSM are more likely to help each other out at the precinct and with personal matters.
5. There is no relationship between PSM and likelihood of having worked previous elections.
6. There is no relationship between PSM and likelihood of working in home precinct.
7. There is no relationship between PSM and tenure of residence in Florida.

Findings on PSM's Relationship to Certain Activities

1. Poll workers with higher PSM are more likely to report high job involvement.
2. Poll workers with higher PSM are more likely to volunteer.
3. Poll workers with higher PSM are more likely to make financial donations.

Findings on PSM and Principal-Agent Theory

1. Poll workers with higher PSM are slightly more willing to work the polls without pay.
2. Poll workers with higher income are slightly more willing to work the polls without pay.

Findings on Demographic and Attitudinal Variables' Relationship to PSM

1. Poll workers reporting high mission valence score higher on PSM.
2. Poll workers reporting high job-goal importance score higher on PSM.
3. Poll workers reporting high self-efficacy score higher on PSM.
4. Poll workers with higher self-reported education levels score higher on PSM.
5. Poll workers with a higher experience of parental modeling score higher on PSM.
6. Poll workers with higher self-reported spirituality score higher on PSM.

7. There is no relationship between job-goal specificity and PSM.
8. There is no relationship between perceived reform orientation of the Supervisor of Elections Office and PSM.
9. There is no relationship between poll worker age and PSM.

Theoretical Implications

The research presented here makes contributions to extant theory, and it also breaks new ground. As noted in the Introduction, there is little existing research on poll workers and none on poll worker motivation. Furthermore, this research adds to each of the theoretical frameworks identified here previously: social capital and democratic theory, public service and volunteer motivation, coproduction, and principal-agent theory. Following are detailed contributions to each of these theoretical frameworks.

Social Capital and Democratic Theory

First, this research found that several measures of social capital apply to poll workers, within the context of PSM. Poll workers with higher PSM scores were slightly more likely to have been recruited by other poll workers and to place a value on camaraderie or to report non-Election day socializing. Putnam (2000), Coleman (1990), and others referred to the power of networks, and these networks appear to exist at the polls. Only one measure of the social capital feature stability (Coleman, 1990) was found to apply to poll workers: Poll workers with higher PSM are more likely to work future elections. Furthermore, poll workers with higher PSM are more likely to witness mutual assistance at and away from the polls. Putnam and Coleman each enumerated mutual assistance as a feature of networks and social capital. Each of these findings contributes to social capital theory by demonstrating a link between social capital and PSM and by applying social capital theory to a previously unexamined group, poll workers.

With regard to democratic theorists cited in Chapter 2, this research provides another example of civic engagement, examining a previously unobserved case of democracy in action. The democratic ideal that Follett (1918) discussed—citizens following their ideas with concrete action—certainly applies to poll workers.

Public Service and Volunteer Motivation

A primary contribution that this research makes to PSM theory specifically is confirming the utility of an abbreviated PSM scale. Perry's (1996) PSM scale contained 24 items.

Subsequent research (Alonso & Lewis, 2001; Brewer & Selden, 2000; Kim, 2005; Wright & Pandey, 2007) compressed the scale to five items, with resulting alpha scores of .7 or higher. This poll worker research generated a superior standardized Cronbach's alpha, at .820. Hence, this research confirms that it is reasonable to use the abbreviated scale. This finding is helpful because it can save space in researchers' survey instruments and increase response rates, while obtaining results similar to the original 24-item survey.

Following Perry and Wise (1990), PSM can be considered a proxy for choosing to work the polls: "The greater an individual's public service motivation, the more likely the individual will seek membership in a public organization" (p. 370). Individuals with higher PSM should gravitate to poll work. Furthermore, Perry (1997) found that spirituality, parental modeling, and education had positive relationships with PSM. This poll worker research confirmed this finding. Hence, the research confirms previous findings regarding PSM and also adds new units of analysis: poll workers.

This research on poll workers and PSM also confirms other researchers' findings. Wright (2007) found that mission valence, job-goal importance, and self-efficacy were associated with higher levels of PSM, results that were duplicated here. In addition to confirming Wright's findings, those results are applied to poll workers, a new research subject. Another discovery in this poll worker research is that poll workers with higher PSM are slightly more willing to work the polls without pay. This finding confirms that high-PSM individuals are more oriented toward intrinsic rewards, similar to Crewson's (1997) and Houston's (2000) results with public sector employees.

Park (2007) found that PSM is positively related to job involvement, that is, a willingness to put forth best effort on the job. These findings were mirrored in this research on poll workers, providing confirmation plus a new set of research subjects. Clerkin, Paynter, and Taylor (2007) identified that PSM is positively related to likelihood to volunteer and to make financial donations. These results apply to poll workers as well.

One role this research plays in the extant volunteer research is to give appropriate categorization to poll workers. As noted in the Introduction, poll workers are a hybrid of volunteer and public servant. They can be considered part of what Macduff (2005) labeled episodic volunteers, because although they are minimally paid, their work is close to volunteerism and they provide "service at regular intervals for short periods of time" (p. 51).

Coproduction

Coproduction, as outlined in Chapter 2, has been described by Whitaker (1980), Sharp (1980), Brudney and England (1983), Ostrom (1996) and others. Previously, the concept has been applied to citizen participation in government service delivery. Rather than traditional ideas of government bureaucrats or elected officials delivering services to passive citizens, with coproduction citizens are active participants and not merely consumers. The act of citizen poll worker facilitating the democratic process for fellow citizens certainly earns the moniker of coproduction. Prior to this research on poll workers, however, this concept had not been applied. Although this research does not test specific theories of coproduction, it adds to the coproduction literature by citing poll work as one more example of the concept.

Principal-Agent Theory

Principal-agent theory is the one theoretical framework with which poll workers have previously been viewed. But Alvarez and Hall (2006) believe that the polls are ripe for principal-agent problems. With so many actors—multiple principals and agents—agency problems are to be expected. The typically low pay rate for poll workers can contribute to adverse selection and low quality of applications, the authors posit. Contrary to these expectations, however, this research found that poll workers higher PSM are slightly more willing to work the polls without pay. This finding does not mean that poll workers are not self-interested, however, only that they (especially with higher levels of PSM) are more oriented toward intrinsic rewards: camaraderie, for example. Not surprisingly, though, importance placed on poll worker pay was related to poll worker income. The higher poll worker income, the more willing individuals are to work the polls without pay. These findings contribute to principal-agent theory by serving as a counterpoint to Alvarez and Hall’s theorizing the “dark side” of the polls.

Policy Implications

There are several actionable policy implications to this research that may apply locally in Leon County, statewide in Florida, or even nationally. I will provide the Leon County Supervisor of Elections with the survey instrument annotated to reflect the percentages of poll workers agreeing with each possible response. This will provide the Supervisor’s Office with feedback on poll worker perception of the Office—training, reform orientation, etc. It will further give

demographic data and reasons why poll workers work the polls. This information can provide the Supervisor's Office with the following information:

- How likely it is that poll workers will work future elections: This will assist with staffing plans.
- How common it is for poll workers to be recruited by other poll workers: This will help in understanding and improving recruitment methods.
- How poll workers rate the training they receive from the Supervisor's Office: This will provide opportunities to improve training.
- How important camaraderie is to poll workers at voting precincts: This will allow the Office to capitalize on those aspects of camaraderie for recruitment and retention, e.g., promoting this aspect of poll work in recruitment messages and newsletters.
- How important pay is to poll workers: This will help the Office to make decisions on increasing pay, if applicable.
- How poll workers rate the service that the Office provides: This will help the Office to improve communication of its accomplishments, if necessary.
- How poll workers rate the importance of the work they do at the polls: This will aid the Office in shaping communication of the value of poll work, if applicable.
- How poll workers feel the Office strives for continuous improvement: This will assist the Office in either increasing those efforts or better communicating them.
- How likely it is that poll workers help each other on and outside of Election Day: This will help the Office to understand the amount of teamwork existing at the polls and to make efforts to increase it, if necessary.
- How committed poll workers are to putting forth their best effort, despite the difficulties. This information will allow the Office to attempt to increase that commitment via training and other communication, if required.
- How poll workers score on the PSM scale: This information is useful when viewed in the context of the other variables.
- How religious poll workers self-identify: This will allow the Office to expand recruitment to religious settings, e.g., churches, if desired.
- How frequently poll workers volunteer: This will aid the Office in expanding recruitment to use synergies with local volunteer organizations.

- How frequently poll workers donate money: This information may not be actionable but may nevertheless be of interest to the Office.
- Employment status of poll workers: This will help the Office to modify recruitment efforts, if desired, to include settings where retirees gather or professional organizations, for example.
- Poll worker income: This information may not specifically be actionable but may still interest the Office, especially when combined with the findings on importance of poll worker pay.
- Length of poll worker residence in Florida: This data may be actionable in that the Office may attempt to draw on newer Florida residents, if desired; for example, recruitment at newcomers' organizations.

This information would be useful to other Supervisor of Elections Offices around the state, and I will attempt to disseminate it to them as well as to the Florida State Division of Elections. Additionally, I will distribute a condensed version of the statistical findings and relationships to aid in practitioners' understanding of PSM and its relationship with poll workers. I will attempt to publish these results, at least in part, for a national audience of practitioners. Possible venues include electionline.org, the U.S. Election Assistance Commission, the League of Women Voters, The Pollworker Institute, The Election Center, National Association of Secretaries of State, National Association of State Election Directors, and Pollworkers for Democracy.

Limitations and Future Research Recommendations

The sample in this research was limited to poll workers in Leon County, Florida. Leon County, as noted in Chapter 3, differs demographically from the state as a whole. Additionally, the Supervisor of Elections has a national reputation as a highly ethical and efficient elections administrator. Both of these factors potentially limit the broad applicability of these findings. Future research should include the demographic characteristics as control variables. Furthermore, the research could be extended by using additional counties in Florida as well as in other states. On-site survey distribution and collection would not be possible in this case, however, and mail and/or electronic surveys would have to be used. Additionally, cooperation with other election

jurisdictions to allow survey distribution and provide poll worker contact information would have to be obtained.

This research could also be extended by crafting a survey that is applicable to poll workers and two additional groups: public- and private-sector workers. In this way, PSM levels could be compared across groups and sectors.

Additionally, deeper investigation is possible regarding some of the findings here. In what settings do poll workers recruit new poll workers? What specifically about the polls contributes to feelings of camaraderie or outside socializing? What do poll workers think is important about their jobs and the overall work that the Elections Office performs? What can contribute to poll workers' feelings of self-efficacy? Survey questions could be retooled to arrive at some of these answers. The possibility of responding to open-ended questions could be added.

This research on poll workers has much to say about social capital, public service and volunteer motivation, coproduction, and principal-agent theory. Furthermore, it has actionable policy implications for elections officials and practitioners. However, it is the beginning and not the end of a conversation about this integral aspect of American democracy.

APPENDIX A

FSU INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL MEMORANDUM

Subject Use of Human Subjects in Research - Approval Memorandum
From Human Subjects <humansubjects@magnet.fsu.edu>
Date Wednesday, July 2, 2008 10:40 am
To ebw02d@fsu.edu
Cc mguy@fsu.edu

Office of the Vice President For Research
Human Subjects Committee
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2742
(850) 644-8673 · FAX (850) 644-4392

APPROVAL MEMORANDUM

Date: 7/2/2008

To: Elizabeth McAuliffe

Address: 819 Greenbrier Lane, Tallahassee, FL 32308
Dept.: PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY

From: Thomas L. Jacobson, Chair

Re: Use of Human Subjects in Research
The Motivation of Poll Workers

The application that you submitted to this office in regard to the use of human subjects in the proposal referenced above have been reviewed by the Secretary, the Chair, and two members of the Human Subjects Committee. Your project is determined to be Expedited per 45 CFR § 46.110(7) and has been approved by an expedited review process.

The Human Subjects Committee has not evaluated your proposal for scientific merit, except to weigh the risk to the human participants and the aspects of the proposal related to potential risk and benefit. This approval does not replace any departmental or other approvals, which may be required.

If you submitted a proposed consent form with your application, the approved stamped consent form is attached to this approval notice. Only the stamped version of the consent form may be used in recruiting research subjects.

If the project has not been completed by 7/1/2009 you must request a renewal of approval for continuation of the project. As a courtesy, a renewal notice will be sent to you prior to your expiration date; however, it is your responsibility as the Principal Investigator to timely request renewal of your approval from the Committee.

You are advised that any change in protocol for this project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee prior to implementation of the proposed change in the protocol. A protocol change/amendment form is required to be submitted for approval by the Committee. In addition, federal regulations require that the Principal Investigator promptly report, in writing any unanticipated problems or adverse events involving risks to research subjects or others.

By copy of this memorandum, the Chair of your department and/or your major professor is reminded that he/she is responsible for being informed concerning research projects involving human subjects in the department, and should review protocols as often as needed to insure that the project is being conducted in compliance with our institution and with DHHS regulations.

This institution has an Assurance on file with the Office for Human Research Protection. The Assurance Number is IRB00000446.

Cc: Mary Guy, Advisor
HSC No. 2008.1243

APPENDIX B

SURVEY INSTRUMENT VERBAL CONSENT SCRIPT

*Florida State University
Askew School of Public Administration and Policy*

VERBAL CONSENT SCRIPT

Please note: Completing this survey and turning it in will serve as your consent to participate in this research.

The Motivation of Poll Workers

Hello, my name is Elizabeth McAuliffe, and I am involved in a research study called *The Motivation of Poll Workers* at Florida State University. I have also been a poll worker since 2004. The Supervisor of Elections Office has allowed me to come here today, to poll worker training, to speak with you and ask you to take part in my research. Because you are all active poll workers, you are eligible to participate.

I am asking you to take part in this research study because I am trying to learn more about what makes poll workers want to work on Election Day. To date, there has not been any research on this subject. Some counties have a difficult time getting all the poll workers they need for elections. Leon County has a great group of dedicated poll workers. Many of you have worked many elections. If we can identify what makes you want to work the polls, we can help the Supervisor's Office and other counties do a better job of recruiting.

You will be asked to complete a 35-question survey now here at the training site. I do not expect it to take more than 15 minutes of your time. I am attending each training session for this election, so I hope to be able to distribute the survey to all poll workers working the upcoming election. That will be between 1,200 and 1,400 poll workers. This survey is based on another survey that has been given many times to government workers, to help to understand why they want to work in the public sector. The survey asks you to identify some of your attitudes and behaviors. You have the option of answering from a range of responses from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree". Please answer based on how you usually behave or feel. If you have not yet worked an election, some of the questions will not apply to you, and you can leave them blank. At the end of the survey are questions about personal information about yourself, such as age and race. Please be assured that the survey is completely anonymous. I do not want you to put your name on the survey, and I do not know the names of poll workers attending the training here today. There will be no way for me to connect your survey to you individually. Your participation is voluntary, and you can stop the survey at any time without any penalty to you.

Your participating or not will have no effect on your status as poll workers. If you choose to participate, you do not have to answer every question. You can later decide to withdraw and not complete the survey or turn it in.

Though you will not benefit directly from participating in this research study, the Leon County Supervisor of Elections Office and other counties may benefit from identifying poll worker motivation and better recruitment methods.

Other than the pay you are receiving to attend poll worker training today, you will not be paid extra for participating in this research study.

Again, nothing in this survey will identify you individually. I will collect all the paper surveys and input them into a database so that I can analyze the responses. I will destroy the paper surveys within one year. The database is on my home computer, and I will keep it indefinitely as a record of my research. This does not present a risk to you, because I am not collecting your names or anything else about you that identifies you as an individual.

Do you mind spending about 15 minutes to participate in this research study?

Answering the survey questions that I will ask means that you consent to participate in this research project. Do you have any questions? As you are answering the survey, please feel free to ask if you have any questions about an item.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact me, Elizabeth McAuliffe, at 321-1935, or by e-mail at ebw02d@fsu.edu.

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact the FSU IRB at 850-644-8633 or Ms. Julie Cooper at jjcooper@admin.fsu.edu.

APPENDIX C

RESPONSE FREQUENCY PERCENTAGES

Please read the statements below and check (✓) the box that best describes your opinion.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
<i>The following 10 questions, 1-10, ask about how you feel about being a poll worker.</i>					
24. I decided to become a poll worker because I knew a poll worker.	15%	14%	11%	26%	35%
25. I plan to work future elections after the August 26 election.	2%	1%	3%	25%	69%
26. The trainers from the Supervisor of Elections Office clearly explain the work I am supposed to do at my precinct.	2%	1%	4%	30%	65%
27. Being with my friends on Election Day is an important reason that I work the polls.	18%	21%	29%	20%	13%
28. I would work the polls even if I didn't get paid.	10%	20%	23%	28%	19%
29. The Supervisor of Elections Office provides a valuable service to the public.	1%	0%	2%	22%	74%
30. I decided to become a poll worker when someone asked me to work the polls.	11%	16%	10%	28%	35%
31. I feel that the work I have done or will do at my precinct is important.	1%	0%	1%	23%	75%

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
32. After today's training, I feel confident that I can serve the voters at my precinct.	1%	0%	2%	31%	66%
33. I feel the Supervisor of Elections Office is always trying to improve elections for the citizens of Leon County.	1%	0%	4%	26%	69%
<i>The next four questions, 11-14, may not apply to you if you have never worked an election. If a question does not apply to you, please leave it blank.</i>					
34. The poll workers at my precinct help each other out on Election Day with anything that needs to be done.	1%	0%	3%	28%	68%
35. Besides Election Day, some poll workers at my precinct socialize with each other.	4%	9%	36%	31%	21%
36. I put forth my best effort to get the job done at my precinct, regardless of the difficulties.	1%	0%	1%	22%	76%
37. It is common for poll workers at my precinct to help each other with personal matters outside of Election Day.	6%	12%	45%	20%	18%
<i>The following nine questions, 15-23, ask about some of your beliefs and activities.</i>					
38. Making a difference in society means more to me than personal achievements.	1%	3%	17%	45%	35%

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
39. I am often reminded by everyday events about how much we depend on each other in our society.	1%	1%	7%	50%	40%
40. I am prepared to make big sacrifices for the good of society.	1%	4%	24%	50%	22%
41. Meaningful public service is very important to me.	1%	1%	5%	54%	39%
42. I am not afraid to stand up for the rights of others, even if it means I will be ridiculed.	1%	2%	12%	49%	36%
43. When I was growing up, my family actively volunteered for different activities or organizations.	5%	17%	22%	34%	22%
44. I consider myself a religious person.	4%	4%	10%	27%	55%
45. I regularly serve as a volunteer in organizations such as church, schools, political organizations, human service organizations, or other.	2%	6%	14%	32%	46%
46. I regularly donate money to organizations whose goals I support (for example, church, school associations, political organizations, human service organizations, or other).	2%	4%	14%	37%	44%

The questions below ask for personal information about you. This survey is completely anonymous and will not be connected with you individually. Please check the response that applies to you.

36. Which one of the following best describes your political views?

- 62% Democrat
- 9% Independent, other party, or no party affiliation
- 29% Republican

37. What is your age?

- 3% 18-24 17% 53-59
- 4% 25-31 17% 60-66
- 4% 32-38 20% 67-73
- 6% 39-45 19% 74 or older
- 11% 46-52 1% Prefer not to answer

38. What is your current employment status?

- 31% Work full-time
- 15% Work part-time
- 8% Unemployed (not retired)
- 47% Retired and not working outside the home

39. Please indicate whether you have worked mainly in the public or private sector. Public-sector work includes work at non-profit organizations and local, state, or federal government. Private-sector work is working for yourself or others at a for-profit business or corporation.

- 58% Most of my work experience is in the public sector
- 19% Most of my work experience is in the private sector
- 22% I have worked a great deal in both the public and the private sectors
- 1% I have not worked outside the home

40. What is your gender?

- 29% Male
- 71% Female

41. What is your race/ethnicity?

- 62% White, not Hispanic
- 32% Black or African American
- 1% Hispanic or Latino
- 1% Asian or Pacific Islander
- 0% American Indian or Alaskan Native
- 1% Other or more than one race
- 2% Prefer not to answer

42. What is your approximate annual family or single household income?

- 14% less than \$20,000
- 23% \$20,000-\$39,999
- 20% \$40,000-\$59,999
- 15% \$60,000-\$79,999
- 17% \$80,000 or higher
- 12% Prefer not to answer

43. Please indicate your highest level of education completed:

- 3% less than high school and have not earned GED
- 23% high school diploma or GED
- 19% up to two years of college or university without degree
- 9% associate's degree
- 23% bachelor's degree
- 24% graduate or professional degree

44. Please indicate how many elections you have worked prior to the upcoming election:

- 18% 0
- 30% 1-3
- 24% 4-6
- 28% 7 or more

45. Please indicate the position you will be working during the August 26 election:

- 15% Clerk
- 11% Operational Assistant Clerk
- 3% Technical Assistant Clerk
- 62% Inspector
- 10% Deputy

46. Please indicate if the precinct where you will work the upcoming election is the same as the precinct where you are registered to vote:

- 41% yes
- 60% no

47. How long have you lived in Florida?

- 6% 0-5 years
- 5% 6-10 years
- 4% 11-15 years
- 7% 16-20 years
- 79% 21 or more years

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Elizabeth Winslow McAuliffe was born in Yokosuka, Japan and grew up on Amelia Island, Florida. She earned a Bachelor of Arts in English from the University of Florida in 1989. After graduation, she worked as a customer service and marketing manager at AT&T in Jacksonville, Florida, for six years. McAuliffe later owned and operated a small business in Jacksonville. She was a Peace Corps Volunteer in Estonia from 1999 to 2001, teaching English at a village high school. In 2004, McAuliffe earned a Master of Public Administration degree from Florida State University's Askew School of Public Administration and Policy. She remained at FSU to earn a Ph.D. in Public Administration in 2009.

While at FSU, McAuliffe served as Assistant Managing Editor of *Review of Public Personnel Administration* for five years and taught an undergraduate public administration course. She presented papers at three academic conferences and was the student coordinator of the 2006 Academy of Management Conference Public and Nonprofit Doctoral Consortium. McAuliffe had articles published in *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, *Public Integrity*, and *PA Times*. She was an office holder in the Public Administration Graduate Association and was inducted into the Phi Kappa Phi and Pi Alpha Alpha honor societies. She was on the Dean's list during her entire time at FSU and was the recipient of the Jerry Collins Eminent Scholar Chair Scholarship from 2003 through 2008. She also received the Ruth "Sweetie" Cox Dissertation Scholarship in 2006.

McAuliffe tutored non-native speakers of English through Literacy Volunteers of America, interned with the Florida House of Representatives, and has served as a poll worker in Leon County, Florida, since 2004. She is married to Sean McAuliffe, and they have a son, Robert.