

Voter Registration Fraud

5/9/2007

Partisan Allegation	Other Source for Allegation?	Investigation?	Other Official involvement?	Charged (Individuals)	Acquitted/Dismissal	Convicted/guilty pleas (Individuals)	Other determination	Follow-up possible? (Open investigations and/or pending charges)	City / County	State	Date	Type of Election	Alleged instance of fraud	Original Source	Source 1	Resolution of Incident / allegation	Source of Resolution 1	Source of Resolution 2
Yes									Milwaukee	Wisconsin	31-Oct-04	presidential	Citing a new list of more than 37,000 questionable addresses, the state Republican Party demanded that city officials require identification from all of those voters. If the city doesn't, the party says it is prepared to have volunteers challenge each individual -- including thousands who might be missing an apartment number on their registration -- at the polls. Democrats say this is a last minute effort to suppress turnout by creating long delays at the polls. This is in addition to the 5,619 bad addresses the party claimed. The state GOP chair said they had just focussed on Milwaukee because its voter list is a mess and cause for great alarm.	Milwaukee Journal Sentinel				
		Unknown					Yes		Madison	Wisconsin	10-May-05	presidential	The vast majority of voters alleged to have been phantoms because their verification forms were returned as undeliverable really exist and their cards were returned because of innocent mistakes in filling out voter registration forms. Of 1,194 verification cards returned, 16 are still be examined	Wisconsin State Journal				
				2			Yes		Milwaukee	Wisconsin	11-May-05	presidential	Arrest warrants issued and felony charges filed against two workers for Project Vote who admitted to filling out multiple registration cards using fictitious information to earn money	Milwaukee Journal Sentinel				
				2					Milwaukee	Wisconsin	6-Dec-05	presidential	County DA charges two people affiliated with ACORN for filing false voter registrations	AP				

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Voter Registration Fraud

5/9/2007

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Voter Registration Fraud

5/9/2007

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EAC Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Preliminary Research
 Nexis Articles - Wrongful Removal from Registration Lists

City / County	State	Date	Type of Election	Alleged Instance of fraud	Original Source	Source1	Source 2	Source 3
Pulaski	Arkansas	16-Apr-04		The US Department of Justice says county officials have violated election law and proposed a consent decree with the county regarding ballot gathering and counting. The Department investigated registration practices that may have disenfranchised numerous voters, including sending voters to multiple poll sites and voters wrongly missing from the registration list. Under the agreement, the county will fix the problems in the database and DOJ lawyers will monitor polling places and the clerk's office	AP			
	Colorado	31-Oct-04	presidential	Democrats are complaining about an attempt to remove up to 6,000 convicted felons from the electoral roll, at the behest of the state's Republican secretary of state, Donetta Davidson, despite a US federal law that prohibits eliminating a voter's rights within 90 days of an election to give time for the voter to protest.	The Observer			
	Florida	29-Sep-04	presidential	Secretary of State Hood tried to revive the discredited 2000 statewide purge list of suspected felons and ex-felons for 2004. That list disproportionately removed black voters from the rolls. The state tried to keep the list secret until forced to release it by court order. When it was released, it was found to contain a disproportionate number of black voters, including 2,000 who had had their rights restored and included several people who could show they had not criminal record at all. In addition, the list of 48,000 contained only 61 Hispanic names, way out of line with the strength of both the general Hispanic population and prison population. Hood was forced to drop the list	The Independent (UK)			
Newark	New Jersey	2-Nov-04	presidential	More than 200 voters sought court orders because they were turned away from a polling place, mostly because their names were not on voter lists. In 95% of the cases the judges ruled they could cast ballots.	AP			
Albany	New York	2-Nov-04	presidential	Students at SUNY Albany found their names no longer on the voter registration rolls, even though they had voted at the same location in the past	AP			

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**EAC Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Preliminary Research
Nexis Articles - Wrongful Removal from Registration Lists**

Resolution of incident / allegation	Source of Resolution 1	Source of Resolution 2

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EAC Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Preliminary Research
 Nexis Articles - Voter Registration Fraud

City/ County	State	Date	Type of Election	Alleged Instance of fraud	Original Source	Source 1	Source 2	Source 3
	Arkansas	23-Oct-02		At least six dead people tried to register to vote, including one helped by a person also listed on campaign-spending reports as having received \$100 from the state Democratic party, said Marty Ryall, Republican Party chairman. Michael Cook, executive director of the Arkansas Democratic Party, said a former staffer had hired two teenagers to register voters and that they took names directly from the phone book. He said the incident happened seven months ago and that party officials are cooperating with the U.S. Attorney's Office.	Washington Times			
0	California	16-May-02		A Lafayette man has been charged with voter fraud after registering his toy poodle, Barnabas, to vote, a move he says was meant to show lax registration oversight. Donald Miller, 78, has been charged with misdemeanor voter fraud. The Contra Costa County district attorney's office found out about the stunt after reports about Barnabas being called for jury duty in March.	AP			
18th CD	California	3-Jun-02	congressional	Several voters have said they were tricked into registering to vote as Republicans when they were told they were signing a petition to lower taxes or applying for a rebate from the power company or some other falsehood.	Roll Call			
Stockton	California	13-Jul-02	congressional	A Stockton man hired to register Republican voters pleaded guilty to forging someone's name on a voter registration card. The conviction is the first arising from a Republican funded voter registration drive that Democrats allege involved fraud.	Modesto Bee			
Lynwood	California	16-Oct-03	city council	Eight family members of a councilman are charged with registering at nonexistent addresses	Los Angeles Times			
Stockton	California	24-Mar-04	unclear	paid worker pleads guilty to a misdemeanor charge of forging six registration cards in 2001	Recordnet			
Solano	California	20-Oct-04	presidential	Solano County elections officers, suspecting fraud, have sent about 150 voter registration forms to the California Secretary of State's Office for examination. Officials say the questionable forms are the products of intense efforts by both Democrats and Republicans to register voters for the upcoming presidential election. That zeal, further fueled by cash given to so-called "bounty hunters" who sign up voters, may lead to intentional errors on voter forms, officials said - a misspelled name, a fabricated street address, a rearranged Social Security number.	Tri-Valley Herald (Pleasanton, CA)			
Hayward City	California	1-Nov-05	school board	Roger Treskunoff, 51, a former school board candidate and former Hayward City Councilman was charged with creating fictitious names and registering those names as voters with the Alameda County Registrar of Voters.	Contra Costa Times			
San Joaquin	California	March 24, 200; 4/8/16/2005	state senate	County says it is examining 1500 voter registration cards for fraud because of similar looking signatures.	Recordnet			

EAC Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Preliminary Research
 Nexis Articles - Voter Registration Fraud

Denver	Colorado	16-Oct-04	presidential	A worker at the Election Commission found a registration form with her own name on it. When another form was cross-referenced with Vital Records, it was found to be from a dead person. Denver workers have forwarded 200 suspicious registrants to the DA. The voter outreach coordinator says the computer immediately flags names of voters who have registered more than once. Several other counties have found suspect voter registration forms.	Rocky Mountain News			
	Colorado	17-Oct-04	presidential	The Secretary of State accused the Attorney General of not doing enough to prosecute potential ballot crimes. The Secretary confirmed that 6,000 felons are registered to vote. A Denver woman told a TV station she had registered to vote 25 times and signed up several friends up to 40 times to help her boyfriend, a paid staffer for a community group registering voters	Atlanta Journal Constitution			
	Colorado	18-Oct-04	presidential	With just two weeks before the Nov. 2 election, the state has been rocked by evidence that some voter-registration drives have submitted applications with forged signatures. In other cases, would-be voters have applied to vote as many as 40 times. At the same time, some registration drives have collected applications and then failed to submit them by the Oct. 4 deadline, prompting Secretary of State Donetta Davidson to announce the use of provisional ballots last week. At yesterday's meeting with county clerks and district attorneys, Mrs. Davidson announced procedures for accepting provisional ballots, which are issued to people who say they have registered but whose names fail to appear on the voter roll. Such ballots would be marked "VRD," for "Voter Registration Drive." The would-be voter would have to produce identification and tell when and where they registered. The ballot later would be checked against the state's voter data-bases. The clerks are referring cases that appear to be blatant fraud, such as forged signatures, to the county attorneys. Bill Ritter, the Denver district at-t But he said he saw no pattern of a conspiracy to co	Washington Times			
Denver	Colorado	28-Oct-04	presidential	Denver prosecutors charged two people Wednesday with falsely filling out mul-tiple voter forms to boost their pay in a paid registration drive. Criminal cases are pending against four people for questionable registrations in the metro area, and there may be more before investigations are completed.	Rocky Mountain News			
Orange	Florida	31-Oct-02	state senate	The State Attorney is investigating charges of illegal changes to party affiliations on voter registration cards for a primary. The scheme seems to have been targetted at Hispanics.	Orlando Sentinel			

EAC Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Preliminary Research
 Nexis Articles - Voter Registration Fraud

	Florida	23-Oct-04	presidential	Officials say that more than 4,200 students from many colleges and universities in the state had their party affiliation switched without them knowing and tricked into registering Republican when they were asked to sign an assortment of petitions and forms. Some students attributed the work to a company working for the Republican Party	AP			
Duval	Florida	29-Oct-04	presidential	Elections officials asked prosecutors to investigate possible voter fraud involving 25 registration forms with apparently bogus addresses.	Telegraph Herald (IA)			
	Florida	31-Oct-04	presidential	Students at Florida State and Florida A&M universities, some of whom signed petitions to legalize medical marijuana or impose stiffer penalties for child molesters, unknowingly had their party registration switched to Republican and their addresses changed. Officials say students at the University of Florida in Alachua County have made similar complaints and that about 4,000 potential voters in all have been affected. Local papers have traced some of the problems to a group hired by the Florida Republican Party, which has denounced the shenanigans. Switching voters' party affiliations does not affect their ability to vote, but changing addresses does, because when voters shows up at their proper polling places, they will not be registered there.	Washington Post			
	Florida	15-Dec-05	constitutional amendment	Fourteen months after a campaign to increase Florida's minimum wage drew allegations of voter fraud, a federal judge in South Florida has ruled at least some of those accusations against grass roots political group ACORN were so baseless they amount to defamation. Stuart alleged that ACORN improperly handled registration forms when it conducted voter registration drives, including not submitting Republican registrations to election officials. The judge upheld ACORN's counterclaim that Stuart's lack of evidence made his allegations libel and slander. An investigation by the Florida Department of Law Enforcement also found no evidence of criminal activity at ACORN, department officials confirmed Wednesday.	St. Petersburg Times			

EAC Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Preliminary Research
 Nexis Articles - Voter Registration Fraud

Fulton County	Georgia	4-Nov-05	presidential	The U.S. attorney for Georgia's Northern District is investigating the circumstances surrounding more than 2,400 "entirely fraudulent" voter registration applications submitted to Fulton County prior to the November 2004 elections, county elections officials say. Most of those suspect applications were submitted to the Georgia Secretary of State in September 2004 by the Georgia Coalition for the Peoples' Agenda, according to Atlanta attorney Harry W. MacDougald, a member of the Fulton County Board of Registration and Elections. Details of the federal investigation surfaced as part of litigation that challenges as unconstitutional Georgia's new voter photo identification law. Common Cause v. Billups. No. 4:05CV201 (N.D. Ga.). MacDougald made the investigation public in an affidavit submitted on behalf of defendants in the case	Fulton County Daily Report			
Chicago	Illinois	12-Mar-04	primary	Chicago election officials say as many as 2,000 fraudulent voter registrations have turned up in advance of Tuesday's primary election. Two suspects are under investigation, the Chicago Tribune said, both of whom gathered registrations on behalf of the Puerto Rico Federal Affairs Administration.	UPI			
East St. Louis	Illinois	30-Oct-04	supreme court	Illinois Republicans on Friday urged officials to look into "potential instances of massive voter fraud" in East St. Louis, showing pictures of an East St. Louis Democratic precinct committeemen's home that dozens of people registered to vote have listed as their address. But it turns out that that address and another called into question aren't single-family homes but are boarding houses or apartments that may house dozens of people.	St. Louis Post Dispatch			
Anderson	Indiana	11-Mar-04	unclear	Voter registered under the address of his rental property in another town faces perjury charges	WishTV			
St. Martinville	Louisiana	17-Jul-03	city council	5 people are arraigned on charges of including false information on their voter registration cards	Daily Advertiser			
St. Martinville	Louisiana	17-Dec-03	city council	City Councilwoman indicted for submitting false information to register to vote during her re-election campaign and persuaded three people not in the district to fill out registration forms; the voters were charged as well	2 The Advocate			
	Maryland	17-Jun-01		An 82-year-old woman signed her dog's name on a voter registration card to test the system. No charges were filed.	Washington Post			
Lansing	Michigan	28-Oct-04	presidential	Ingham County sheriff's detectives have turned over to prosecutors the findings of their investigation into hundreds of phony voter registration forms from a state advocacy group. It appeared that some PIRGIM workers went through a Lansing phone book and forged people's signatures on forms	Lansing State Journal			
Coates	Minnesota	31-Oct-02	all	84 voter registration forms had false addresses matching a strip club	Washington Times			

EAC Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Preliminary Research
 Nexis Articles - Voter Registration Fraud

Minneapolis	Minnesota	17-Oct-04	presidential	A former ACORN official arrested for running a stop sign had 300 voter registration forms, some of them months old, in his trunk. State law requires they be submitted to the secretary of state within 10 days.	Atlanta Journal Constitution			
St. Louis	Missouri	7-Mar-01	city	St. Louis Prosecutor Jennifer Joyce convened a grand jury that is investigating 3,800 suspect voter registration cards, including several for dead aldermen. The cards were turned in Feb. 7, the deadline to register voters. Joyce said there have been no indictments.	St. Louis Post-Dispatch			
St. Louis	Missouri	17-Apr-01	presidential general election and mayoral primary	FBI subpoenas election board records on all people who registered to vote, cast ballots, was turned away at the polls, or whose voter registration was rejected from October 1 [2000] through March 6 [2001]; Senator Bond calls for further investigations because his office learned from state election officials that 24,000 registered voters in the city and 33,000 voters in the county were registered to vote somewhere else	St. Louis Post-Dispatch			
St. Louis	Missouri	17-Dec-04	mayoral	Six plead guilty to dozens of crimes involving falsifying voter registration forms	St. Louis Post Dispatch			
	Nevada	17-Oct-04	presidential	Democrats said Voters Outreach of America, a Republican funded registration group run by Sprouls & Associates, destroyed Democratic voter registration forms. A former employee of the group told a Nevada TV station that registrations collected from Democrats had been destroyed instead of filed with the elections office. The head of the company denied the accusations	Atlanta Journal Constitution			

EAC Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Preliminary Research
 Nexis Articles - Voter Registration Fraud

				<p>Voting Registrar Lomax said he found that canvassers returned stacks of 1,000 completed registration forms that often contained 30 to 50 applications filled out in the same handwriting. Lomax had no total figure for such fraudulent registrations.</p> <p>He also found that canvassers registered the same individuals several times over the span of a week.</p> <p>Some legitimately registered voters called to ask why they were getting registration forms--with their party affiliation changed, Lomax said. Apparently some canvassers went through the phone book and reregistered people without their consent, listing their parties incorrectly, Lomax said. Though registration drive organizers told Lomax's office that canvassers were paid by the hour, many canvassers told his staff and even provided pay stubs that showed they were paid \$2 for every completed registration form they collected in malls, stores and neighborhoods, Lomax said. "They were on both sides. It wasn't just Democrats, it wasn't just Republicans," Lomax said. "The money was clearly the root of all evil here. They were paying people to register the voters."</p>				
Clark County	Nevada	31-Oct-04	presidential		Chicago Tribune			
	New Mexico	10-Sep-04		US Attorney forms a task force after finding two teenagers registered to vote	Albuquerque Journal			
Bernalillo County	New Mexico	15-Sep-04	presidential	Three Republican candidates want to examine all voter registration forms submitted by a woman who, while working for a group that signs up new voters, registered a 13-year-old New Mexico boy.	AP			
	New York	19-Sep-02	gubernatorial	Dead voters were among the thousands of flawed voter registrations submitted by campaign workers of Governor Pataki during an enrollment drive, New York City officials determined	Poughkeepsie Journal			
Bronx	New York	23-Jun-03	gubernatorial	Bronx DA and a grand jury investigate whether Rikers Island supervisors filled out registration cards in the names of inmates (such inmates are eligible to vote)	Newsday			
Queens	New York	15-Sep-04	state assembly	About 100 people in the Flushing area gave commercial addresses on voter registration forms, raising suspicion at polling sites yesterday that may cast a shadow over the assembly race.	Newsday			
Greensboro	North Carolina	6-Dec-01		Imtiaz Ahmed Siddiqui pleaded guilty Thursday to voter fraud in a brief federal court hearing that included no mention of the allegation that he may be acquainted with terrorists. Siddiqui, 31, answering questions in halting English, admitted he signed a voter registration form that identified him as a U.S. citizen when he got a driver's license in Durham in August. He is a citizen of Pakistan.	AP			

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 Nexis Articles - Voter Registration Fraud

Charlotte	North Carolina	24-Oct-04	presidential	Officials are investigating ACORN because an ACORN organizer found that one of its workers had faked about 70 registrations. The worker was fired and the information turned over to the state board. A similar problem with a consumer interest group in Wake County has also been turned over to state officials	Charlotte Observer			
	North Carolina	24-Oct-04		The Charlotte Observer found more than 60,000 people who appear to be registered in both Carolinas. Alamance County Sheriff says illegal immigrants are registering to vote using false documents at drivers license offices. North Carolina is investigating two groups that may have falsely registered new voters. Some are worried that noncitizens could vote because in North Carolina one can get a drivers license without a social security number. The Elections division and the DMV ran two checks of people who received drivers licenses without proof of citizenship and found only a handful who had resgistered to vote.	AP			
Mecklenburg County	North Carolina	28-Sep-05		Mecklenburg County commissioner Bill James and Libertarian Lewis Guignard formally challenged the registration of more than 400 homeless voters Tuesday, saying they had improperly registered using commercial addresses. James and Guignard said the 464 voters challenged in their complaint incorrectly used the addresses of the Urban Ministries at 945 N. College St., the Charlotte Rescue Mission at 907 W. First St. or the Salvation Army at 534 Spratt St. to register, even though those are commercial addresses where the voters could not permanently live.	Charlotte Observer			
Cincinnati	Ohio	20-Aug-03	city council	More than 70 people have claimed a Walnut Hills tailoring shop as their home address while registering to vote, leading the Hamilton County Board of Elections to subpoena the tailor, who is a candidate for Cincinnati City Council.	Cincinnati Enquirer			
Franklin	Ohio	8-Sep-04	presidential	A part-time worker for ACORN was indicted for falsely filling out and signing a voter registration card	Columbus Dispatch			
	Ohio	15-Oct-04	presidential	In Hamilton County, the Board of Elections has subpoenaed 19 registered voters who elections officials don't believe exist. The Summit County Board of Elections in Akron has asked Ohio Attorney General Jim Petro to investigate 803 allegedly fraudulent voter-registration cards, many of which appeared to be in the same handwriting. In Lake County, east of Cleveland, several voter-registration cards seem to have forged signatures, elections officials say.	Cincinnati Enquirer			

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 Nexis Articles - Voter Registration Fraud

	Ohio	20-Oct-04	presidential	State GOP Chair says that the party tried to contact 231,834 new registrants in the five largest counties and had 5.7% returned as undeliverable.	Columbus Dispatch			
Defiance	Ohio	31-Oct-04	presidential	The sheriff arrested a man for submitting 130 phony registration forms with such names as Mary Poppins and Dick Tracy. Authorities say he confessed to being paid in crack cocaine by an NAACP volunteer.	Dallas Morning News			
Parma	Ohio	9-Jan-05	presidential	Three police officers are being investigated on accusations that they listed police headquarters as their home addresses when registering for the Nov. 2 election, officials said.	AP			
	Oregon	17-Oct-04	presidential	The Secretary of State announced an investigation into allegations that a paid canvasser with Sproul & Associates had been told to register only Republicans. The head of the organization denied the accusations.	Atlanta Journal Constitution			
	Oregon	30-Oct-04	presidential	Chemeketa community colleges, Western Oregon University and the University of Oregon all told similar stories: They were approached on campus and asked to sign a petition, often urging lower auto-mobile insurance rates for students, and then asked to sign or initial a second document, which turned out to be a voter registration card. Many of the students were urged to mark Republican as their party affiliation; others were told to leave the party affiliation section blank but to put their initials next to Republican on that part of the form. Many of the students already were registered voters. Some students didn't realize they were registering to vote, or that their party affiliation was about to change. Nathan Sproul, whose company conducted the registration drive, did not respond to calls seeking comment. His firm has been accused of using similar tactics involving bogus petitions at colleges in Pennsylvania, according to the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. In an earlier interview with The Oregonian, Sproul confirmed that his canvassers are paid a "bounty"	Newhouse News Service			

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 Nexis Articles - Voter Registration Fraud

	Pennsylvania	25-Oct-04	presidential	Republicans mailed letters to 130,000 people who had registered to vote in the last 6 months. 10,000 came back as undeliverable. The legal counsel to the state party said Republicans had looked at a sample of the letters and found 15 of 100 of the registrants were dead. The director of a nonpartisan organization says in a transient city many people may have moved over a six month period, and many letters might not have reached people living in shelters or substandard housing.	Philadelphia Inquirer			
Allegheny	Pennsylvania	28-Oct-04	presidential	County investigators have launched an investigation into a scam in which University of Pittsburgh and Community College of Allegheny County students believed they were signing petitions to legalize marijuana for medical use, only to find themselves registered as Republicans.	Pittsburgh Tribune Review			
East Providence	Rhode Island	20-Aug-05	town primary	Four people charged with using business addresses to register to vote	Pawtucket Times			
East Providence	Rhode Island	2-Dec-05	municipal	Nine people are accused of registering at business addresses. Charges against two are dropped because they did not sign the registration cards. Three other defendants have been invited to apply to the adult diversion program. Arraignments were postponed for four others. October 30, 2004: As many as 287 people were originally suspected.	Providence Journal			
Rapid City	South Dakota	19-Oct-02	unclear	forged registration applications by a worker being paid by the application	Argus Leader			
	South Dakota	21-Oct-02	statewide	Several counties, almost all of them adjoining an American Indian reservation, submit questionable registration forms to law enforcement	Argus Leader			
Rapid City	South Dakota	12-Jul-03	unclear	Individual reaches plea agreement for falsifying registration cards	Midwest News			
Codington	South Dakota	28-Jul-04		A Phoenix man accused of forging voter registration forms in Codington County has been sentenced to prison. Howard L. Brewer, 44, pleaded guilty last month to three counts of forgery. He was charged after the county auditor's office received an envelope in April that contained 20 voter registrations. Eight to 10 of the forms were suspicious.	AP			
Harris	Texas	5-Feb-05	state legislature	County Tax Assessor-Collector alleges 157 registered had false addresses. County officials are investigating	Houston Chronicle			
Prince William	Virginia	5-May-05	state legislature	Candidate charged with lying on a registration card and voting in a district where he did not reside.	Washington Times			

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 Nexis Articles - Voter Registration Fraud

				Citing a new list of more than 37,000 questionable addresses, the state Republican Party demanded that city officials require identification from all of those voters. If the city doesn't, the party says it is prepared to have volunteers challenge each individual -- including thousands who might be missing an apartment number on their registration - at the polls. Democrats say this is a last minute effort to suppress turnout by creating long delays at the polls. This is in addition to the 5,619 bad addresses the party claimed. The state GOP chair said they had just focussed on Milwaukee because its voter list is a mess and cause for great alarm.				
Milwaukee	Wisconsin	31-Oct-04	presidential		Milwaukee Journal Sentinel			
				The vast majority of voters alleged to have been phantoms because their verification forms were returned as undeliverable really exist and their cards were returned because of innocent mistakes in filling out voter registration forms. Of 1,194 verification cards returned, 16 are still be examined				
Madison	Wisconsin	10-May-05	presidential		Wisconsin State Journal			
				Arrest warrants issued and felony charges filed against two workers for Project Vote who admitted to filling out multiple registration cards using fictitious information to earn money				
Milwaukee	Wisconsin	11-May-05	presidential		Milwaukee Journal Sentinel			
Milwaukee	Wisconsin	6-Dec-05	presidential	County DA charges two people affiliated with ACORN for filing false voter registrations	AP			

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 Nexis Articles - Voter Registration Fraud

Resolution of Incident / allegation	Source of Resolution 1	Source of Resolution 2
June 2005: Paid worker charged with five felony counts of forging voter registration cards (none resulted in fraudulent votes)	Modesto Bee	

015801

EAC Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Preliminary Research
Nexis Articles - Voter Registration Fraud

<p>Nine people are slated to be indicted today on charges of collecting or de-stroying 3,800 bogus voter registration cards that were submitted to the St. Louis Election Board on Feb. 7, 2001, the last day for registering to vote in the hotly contested mayoral primary in March</p> <p>Nine people have been indicted for trying to register fraudulent voters and destroy the evidence. State registration forms now are numbered and a record is kep of which cards have gone to which groups for voter registration drives. The fake registrations are linked to four temporary workers who had been employed by ACORN.</p>	<p>11/7/2003, St. Louis Post Dispatch</p>	<p>11/11/2003, St. Louis Post Dispatch</p>
<p>Three workers are charged with turning in fraudulent voter registration applications a few weeks before the mayoral primary</p>	<p>St. Louis Post-Dispatch (March 5, 2002)</p>	
<p>Prosecutor says all the cards were caught and no one voted illegally</p>	<p>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</p>	

015804

015805

An Akron woman was charged with filling out false registration cards. She may be the only person to face criminal charges after a yearlong state and federal investigation. A task force of state, federal and local investigators was launched last year after hundreds of fake registrations were apparently filed throughout Ohio. The investigation resulted in no federal indictments. The two fake registration cards traced to the woman were turned in by Project Vote and not submitted to the Board because the organization thought they were suspicious.	11/8/2005	Akron Beacon Journal

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015807

one indictment on five counts of forgery	Argus Leader	
Red Eart h Villeda, a contractor for the Democratic Party, is investigated. SEE SOUTH DAKOTA SUMMARY	Argus Leader	

EAC SUMMARY OF EXPERT INTERVIEWS FOR
VOTING FRAUD-VOTER INTIMIDATION RESEARCH

Wade Henderson, Executive Director, Leadership Conference for Civil Rights

Data Collection

Mr. Henderson had **several recommendations as to how to better gather additional information and data on election fraud and intimidation in recent years**. He suggested interviewing the following individuals who have been actively involved in Election Protection and other similar efforts:

- Jon Greenbaum, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights
- Tanya Clay, People for the American Way
- Melanie, Campbell, National Coalition for Black Political Participation
- Larry Gonzalez, National Association of Latino Election Officers
- Jacqueline Johnson, National Congress of American Indians
- Chellie Pingree, Common Cause
- Jim Dickson, disability rights advocate
- Mary Berry, former Chair of the US Commission on Civil Rights, currently at the University of Pennsylvania
- Judith Browne and Eddie Hailes, Advancement Project (former counsel to the US Commission on Civil Rights)
- Robert Rubin, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights – San Francisco Office
- Former Senator Tom Daschle (currently a fellow at The Center for American Progress)

He also recommended we **review the following documents and reports**:

- The 2004 litigation brought by the Advancement Project and SEIU under the 1981 New Jersey Consent Decree
- Forthcoming LCCR state-by-state report on violations of the Voting Rights Act
- Forthcoming Lawyers Committee report on violations of the Voting Rights Act (February 21)

Types of Fraud and Intimidation Occurring

Mr. Henderson said he believed that the kinds of **voter intimidation and suppression tactics employed over the last five years are ones that have evolved over many years**. They are **sometimes racially based, sometimes based on partisan motives**. He believes the **following types of activity have actually occurred, and are not just a matter of anecdote and innuendo, and rise to the level of either voter intimidation or vote suppression**:

- **Flyers with intentional misinformation, such as ones claiming that if you do not have identification, you cannot vote, and providing false dates for the election**
- **Observers with cameras, which people associate with potential political retribution or even violence**
- **Intimidating police presence at the polls**
- **Especially in jurisdictions that authorize challenges, the use of challenge lists and challengers goes beyond partisanship to racial suppression and intimidation**
- **Unequal deployment of voting equipment, such as occurred in Ohio. Also, he has seen situations in which historically Black colleges will have one voting machine while other schools will have more.**

Mr. Henderson **believes that these matters are not pursued formally because often they involve activities that current law does not reach**. For example, there is no law prohibiting a Secretary of State from being the head of a political campaign, and then deploying voting machines in an uneven manner. There is no way to pursue that. Also, **once the election is over, civil litigation becomes moot**. Finally, sometimes upon reflection **after the campaign, some of the activities are not as sinister as believed at the time**.

Mr. Henderson believes **government does not engage in a sustained investigation of these matters or pursue any kind of resolution to**

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them. LCCR has filed a FOIA request with both the Civil Rights Division and the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice to examine this issue.

Election Protection activities will be intensified for the 2006 elections, although the focus may shift somewhat given the implementation of new HAVA requirements.

Recommendations for Reform

There was tremendous concern after the 2004 election about conflicts of interest – the “Blackwell problem” – whereby a campaign chair is also in charge of the voting system. We need to get away from that.

He also **supports Senator Barak Obama’s bill regarding deceptive practices**, and is opposed to the voter identification laws passing many state legislatures.

- States should adopt **election-day registration**, in order to boost turnout as well as to allow eligible voters to immediately rectify erroneous or improperly purged registration records
- **Expansion of early voting & no-excuse absentee voting**, to boost turnout and reduce the strain on election-day resources.
- **Provisional ballot reforms:**
 - Should be **counted statewide** – if cast in the wrong polling place, votes should still be counted in races for which the voter was eligible to vote (governor, etc.)
 - Provisional ballots should also **function as voter registration applications**, to increase the likelihood that voters will be properly registered in future elections
- Voter ID requirements: **states should allow voters to use signature attestation to establish their identity**
- The **Department of Justice should increase enforcement of Americans with Disabilities Act and the accessibility requirements of the Help America Vote Act**
- **Statewide registration databases should be linked to social service agency databases**
- **Prohibit chief state election officials from simultaneously participating in partisan electoral campaigns within their states**
- Create and enforce **strong penalties for deceptive or misleading voting practices**

Wendy Weiser, Deputy Director, Democracy Program, The Brennan Center

Brennan Center findings on fraud

The Brennan Center's primary work on fraud is their report for the Carter Baker Commission with commissioner Spencer Overton, written in response to the Commission's ID recommendations. Brennan reviewed all existing reports and election contests related to voter fraud. They believe the contests serve as an especially good record of whether or not fraud exists, as the parties involved in contested elections have a large incentive to root out fraudulent voters. Yet despite this, the incidence of voter impersonation fraud discovered is extremely low—something on the order 1/10000th of a percentage of voters. See also the brief Brennan filed on 11th circuit in Georgia photo ID case which cites sources in Carter Baker report and argues the incidence of voter fraud too low to justify countermeasures.

Among types of fraud, they **found impersonation, or polling place fraud, is probably the least frequent type, although other types, such as absentee ballot fraud are also very infrequent. Weiser believes this is because impersonation fraud is more likely to be caught and is therefore not worth the risk. Unlike in an absentee situation, actual poll workers are present to disrupt impersonation fraud, for instance, by catching the same individual voting twice. She believes perhaps one half to one quarter of the time the person will be caught.** Also, there is a chance the pollworker will have personal knowledge of the person. Georgia Secretary of State Cathy Cox has mentioned that there are many opportunities for discovery of in person fraud as well. For example, **if one votes in the name of another voter, and that**

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voter shows up at the polls, the fraud will be discovered.

Weiser believes court proceedings in election contests are especially useful. Some are very extensive, with hundreds of voters brought up by each side and litigated. In both pre-election challenges and post-election contests, **parties have devoted extraordinary resources into 'smoking out' fraudulent voters.** Justin Leavitt at Brennan scoured such proceedings for the Carter Baker report, which includes these citations. Contact him for answers to particular questions.

Countermeasures/statewide databases

Brennan has also considered what **states are doing to combat impersonation fraud besides photo ID laws**, although again, it seems to be the rarest kind of fraud, beyond statistically insignificant. In the **brief Brennan filed in the Georgia case, the Center detailed what states are already doing to effectively address fraud.** In another **on the web site includes measures that can be taken that no states have adopted yet.** Weiser adds that an effort to look at strategies states have to prevent fraud, state variations, effectiveness, ease of enforcement would be very useful.

Weiser believes the **best defense against fraud will be better voter lists**—she argues the fraud debate is actually premature because states have yet to fully implement the HAVA database requirement. This should eliminate a great deal of 'deadwood' on voter rolls and undermine the common argument that fraud is made possible by this deadwood. This was the experience for Michigan, which was able to remove 600,000 names initially, and later removed almost 1 million names from their rolls. It is fairly easy to cull deadwood from lists due to consolidation at the state level—most deadwood is due to individuals moving within the state and poor communication between jurisdictions. (Also discuss with Chris Thomas, who masterminded the Michigan database for more information and a historical perspective.)

Regarding the question of whether the effect of this maintenance on fraud in Michigan can be quantified, Weiser would caution against drawing direct lines between list problems and fraud. **Brennan has found various groups abusing the existence of list deadwood to make claims about fraudulent voting.** This is analyzed in greater detail in the Brennan Center's critique of a purge list produced by the NJ Republican party, and was illustrated by the purge list produced by the state of Florida. **When compiling such lists and doing comparisons, sound statistical methods must be utilized, and often are not.**

The NJ GOP created a list and asked NJ election officials to purge names of ineligible voters on it. Their list assumed that people appearing on the list twice had voted twice. Brennan found their assumptions shoddy and based on incorrect statistical practices, such as treating individuals with the same name and birthdays as duplicates, although this is highly unlikely according to proper statistical methods. **Simply running algorithms on voter lists creates a number of false positives, does not provide an accurate basis for purging, and should not be taken as an indicator of fraud.**

Regarding the Florida purge list, faulty assumptions caused the list to systematically exclude Hispanics while overestimating African Americans. **Matching protocols required that race fields match exactly, despite inconsistent fields across databases.**

The kinds of list comparisons that are frequently done to allege fraud are unreliable. Moreover, **even if someone is on a voter list twice, that does not mean that voter has voted twice. That, in fact, is almost never the case.**

Ultimately, **even matching protocols without faulty assumptions will have a 4 percent to 35 percent error rate—that's simply the nature of database work.** Private industry has been working on improving this for years. Now that HAVA has introduced a matching requirement, even greater skepticism is called for in judging the accuracy of list maintenance.

Intimidation and Suppression

Brennan does not have a specific focus here, although they do come across it and have provided assistance on bills to prevent suppression and intimidation. They happen to have **an extensive paper file of intimidating fliers and related stories from before the 2004 election.** (They can supply copies after this week).

Challengers

Brennan has analyzed cases where challenger laws have been beneficial and where they have been abused. See the decision and record

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from the 1982 NJ vs. RNC case for some of the history of these laws. **Brennan is currently working on developing a model challenger law. Weiser believes challenge laws with no requirement that the challenger have any specific basis for the challenge or showing of ineligibility are an invitation to blanket harassing challenges and have a range of pitfalls.** State laws are vague and broad and often involve arcane processes such as where voters are required to meet a challenge within 5 days. **There are incentives for political abuse, potential for delaying votes and disrupting the polls, and they are not necessarily directed toward the best result.** Furthermore, **when a voter receives a mailer alleging vote fraud with no basis, even the mere fact of a challenge can be chilling.** A voter does not want to have to go through a quasi-court proceeding in order to vote.

Brennan recommends challenge processes that get results before election, minimize the burden for voters, and are restricted at polling place to challenges by poll workers and election officials, not voters. They believe limitless challenges can lead to pandemonium—that once the floodgates are open they won't stop.

Recommendations

- **Intimidation— Weiser believes Sen. Barak Obama's bill is a good one for combating voter harassment and deceptive practices. Many jurisdictions do not currently have laws prohibiting voter harassment and deceptive practices.**
- **Fraud— Current state and federal codes seem sufficient for prosecuting fraud. Weiser doesn't consider them under-enforced, and sees no need for additional laws.**
- **Voter lists— New legislation or regulations are needed to provide clear guidance and standards for generating voter lists and purging voters, otherwise states could wrongfully disenfranchise eligible voters.**
- **Challengers—Challenge laws need to be reformed, especially ones that allow for pre-election mass challenges with no real basis. There is no one size fits all model for challenger legislation, but some bad models involving hurdles for voters lead to abuse and should be reformed. There should be room for poll workers to challenge fraudulent voters, but not for abuse.**

Also useful would be recommendations for prosecutors investigating fraudulent activity, How should they approach these cases? How should they approach cases of large scale fraud/intimidation? While there is sufficient legislative cover to get at any election fraud activity, questions remain about what proper approaches and enforcement strategies should be.

William Groth, attorney for the plaintiffs in the Indiana voter identification litigation

Fraud in Indiana

Indiana has never charged or prosecuted anyone for polling place fraud. Nor has any empirical evidence of voter impersonation fraud or dead voter fraud been presented. In addition, there is **no record of any credible complaint about voter impersonation fraud in Indiana.** State legislators signed an affidavit that said there had never been impostor voting in Indiana. At the same time, the Indiana Supreme Court has not necessarily required evidence of voter fraud before *approving* legislative attempts to address fraud.

The state attorney general has conceded that there is no concrete fraud in Indiana, but has instead referred to instances of fraud in other states. Groth filed a detailed motion to strike evidence such as John Fund's book relating to other states, arguing that none of that evidence was presented to the legislature and that it should have been in the form of sworn affidavits, so that it would have some indicia of verifiability.

Photo ID law

By imposing restrictive ID measures, Groth contends you will discourage 1,000 times more legitimate voters than illegitimate voters you might protect against. He feels the implementation of a REAL ID requirement is an inadequate justification for the law, as it will not affect the upcoming 2006 election where thousands of registered voters will be left without proper ID. In addition, he questions whether REAL ID will be

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implemented as planned in 2008 considering the backlash against the law so far. **He also feels ID laws are unconstitutional because of inconsistent application.**

Statewide database as remedy

Groth believes **many problems will be addressed by the statewide database required under HAVA.** To the extent that the rolls in Indiana are bloated, it is because state officials have not complied with NVRA list maintenance requirements. Thus, it is somewhat disingenuous for them to use bloated voter rolls as a reason for imposing additional measures such as the photo ID law. Furthermore, the state has ceded to the counties the obligation to do maintenance programs, which results in a hit or miss process (see discussion in reply brief, p 26 through p. 28).

Absentee fraud

To the extent that there has been an incidence of fraud, these have all been confined to absentee balloting. Most notably the East Chicago mayoral election case where courts found absentee voting fraud had occurred. See: Pabey vs. Pastrick 816 NE 2nd 1138 Decision by the Indiana Supreme Court in 2004.

Intimidation and vote suppression

Groth is only aware of anecdotal evidence supporting intimidation and suppression activities. While he considers the sources of this evidence credible, it is still decidedly anecdotal. Instances he is aware of include **police cars parked in front of African American polling places.** However, **most incidents of suppression which are discussed occurred well in the past.** Trevor Davidson claims a fairly large scale intimidation program in Louisville.

Challengers

There was **widespread information that the state Republican Party had planned a large scale challenger operation in Democratic precincts for 2004, but abandoned the plan at the last minute.**

Last year the legislature made a **crucial change to election laws which will allow partisan challengers to be physically inside the polling area next to members of the precinct board.** Previously, **challengers at the polling place have been restricted to the 'chute,'** which provides a buffer zone between voting and people engaging in political activity. That change will make **it much easier to challenge voters.** As there is no recorded legislative history in Indiana, it is difficult to determine the justification behind this change. As both chambers and the governorship are under single-party control, the challenger statute was passed under the radar screen.

Photo ID and Challengers

Observers are especially concerned **about how this change will work in conjunction with the photo ID provision.** Under the law, there are at least two reasons why a member of the precinct board or a challenger can raise object to an ID: whether a presented ID conforms to ID standards, and whether the photo on an ID is actually a picture of the voter presenting it. The law does not require bipartisan agreement that a challenge is valid. **All it takes is one challenge to raise a challenge to that voter, and that will lead to the voter voting by provisional ballot.**

Provisional ballot voting means that voter must make a second trip to the election board (located at the county seat) within 13 days to produce the conforming ID or to swear out an affidavit that they are who they claim to be. This may pose a considerable burden to voters. For example, Indianapolis and Marion County are coterminous—anyone challenged under the law will be required to make second trip to seat of government in downtown Indianapolis. If the voter in question did not have a driver's license in the first place, they will likely need to arrange transportation. Furthermore, in most cases the election result will already be known.

The law is **vague about acceptable cause for challenging a voter's ID.** Some requirements for valid photo ID include being issued by state or fed gov't, w/ expiration date, and the names must conform exactly. The **League of Women Voters is concerned about voters with hyphenated names, as the Indiana DMV fails to put hyphens on driver's licenses potentially leading to a basis for challenge.** Misspelling of names would also be a problem. The other primary mode of challenge is saying the photo doesn't look like the voter, which could be happen in a range of instances. Essentially, the law gives unbridled discretion to challengers to decide what conforms and what does not.

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Furthermore, there is **no way to determine whether a challenge is in good or bad faith, and *there is little penalty for making a bad faith challenge.*** The fact that there are no checks on the challenges at the precinct level, or even a requirement of concurrence from an opposing party challenger leads to the concern that challenge process will be abused. The voter on the other hand, will need to get majority approval of county election board members to defeat the challenge.

Groth suggests the political situation in Indianapolis also presents a temptation to abuse this process, as electoral margins are growing increasingly close due to shifting political calculus.

Other cases

Groth's other election law work has included a redistricting dispute, a dispute over ballot format, NVRA issues, and a case related to improper list purging, but nothing else related to fraud or intimidation. The purging case involved the election board attempting to refine its voter list by sending registration postcards to everyone on the list. When postcards didn't come back they wanted to purge those voters. Groth blames this error more on incompetence, than malevolence, however, as the county board is bipartisan. (The Indiana Election Commission and the Indiana election division are both bipartisan, but the 92 county election boards which will be administering photo id are controlled by one political party or the other—they are always an odd number, with the partisan majority determined by who controls the clerk of circuit court office.)

Recommendations

- **Supports nonpartisan administration of elections.**
- Indiana specific recommendations including a longer voting day, time off for workers to vote, and an extended registration period.
- He views the central problem of the Indiana photo ID law is that the list of acceptable forms of ID is too narrow and provides no fallback to voters without ID. At the least, he believes the state **needs to expand the list so that most people will have at least one.** If not, **they should be allowed to swear an affidavit regarding their identity, under penalty of perjury/felony prosecution. This would provide sufficient deterrence for anyone considering impersonation fraud. He believes absentee ballot fraud should be addressed by requiring those voters to produce ID as well, as under HAVA.**
- His personal preference would be **signature comparison.** Indiana has never encountered an instance of someone trying to forge a name in the poll book, and while this leaves open the prospect of dead voters, that danger will be substantially diminished by the statewide database. But if we are going to have some form of ID, he believes we should apply it to everyone and avoid disenfranchisement, provided they swear an affidavit.

Lori Minnite, Barnard College, Columbia University

Securing the Vote

In Securing the Vote, Ms. Minnite found very **little evidence of voter fraud because the historical conditions giving rise to fraud have weakened over the past twenty years.** She stated that for fraud to take root a conspiracy was needed with a strong local political party and a complicit voter administration system. **Since parties have weakened and there has been much improvement in the administration of elections and voting technology, the conditions no longer exist for large scale incidents of polling place fraud.**

Ms. Minnite concentrates on fraud committed by voters not fraud committed by voting officials. She has looked at this issue on the national level and also concentrated on analyzing certain specific states. Ms. Minnite stressed that it is **important to keep clear who the perpetrators of the fraud are and where the fraud occurs because that effects what the remedy should be.** Often, voters are punished for fraud committed by voting officials.

Other Fraud Issues

Ms. Minnite found **no evidence that NVRA was leading to more voter fraud.** She supports non-partisan election administration. Ms.

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Minnite has found evidence that there is absentee ballot fraud. She can't establish that there is a certain amount of absentee ballot fraud or that it is the major kind of voter fraud.

Recommendations

- **Assure there are accurate voter records and centralize voter databases**
- **Reduce partisanship in electoral administration.**

Neil Bradley, ACLU Voting Rights Project

Voter Impersonation Cases (issue the Georgia ID litigation revolves around)

Mr. Bradley asserted that Georgia **Secretary of State Cox** stated in the case at issue: that she clearly would know if there had been any instances of voter impersonation at the polls; that she works very closely with the county and local officials and she **would have heard about voter impersonation** from them if she did not learn about it directly; and that she said that she had not heard of "any incident"---which includes acts that did not rise to the level of an official investigation or charges.

Mr. Bradley said that it is also **possible to establish if someone has impersonated another voter at the polls. Officials must check off the type of voter identification the voter used. Voters without ID may vote by affidavit ballot. One could conduct a survey of those voters to see if they in fact voted or not.**

The type of **voter fraud that involves impersonating someone else is very unlikely to occur.** If someone wants to steal an election, it is **much more effective to do so using absentee ballots.** In order to change an election outcome, one must steal many votes. Therefore, one would have to have lots of people involved in the enterprise, meaning there would be many people who know you committed a felony. It's simply not an efficient way to steal an election.

Mr. Bradley is not **aware of any instance of voter impersonation anywhere in the country except in local races. He does not believe it occurs in statewide elections.**

Voter fraud and intimidation in Georgia

Georgia's **process for preventing ineligible ex-felons from casting ballots has been improved** since the Secretary of State now has the power to create the felon purge list. When this was the responsibility of the counties, there were many difficulties in purging felons because local officials did not want to have to call someone and ask if he or she was a criminal.

The **State Board of Elections has a docket of irregularity complaints. The most common involve an ineligible person mailing in absentee ballots on behalf of another voter.**

In general, Mr. Bradley **does not think voter fraud and intimidation is a huge problem in Georgia** and that people have confidence in the vote. The biggest problems are the new ID law; misinformation put out by elections officials; and **advertisements that remind people that vote fraud is a felony, which are really meant to be intimidating. Most fraud that does occur involves an insider, and that's where you find the most prosecutions. Any large scale fraud involves someone who knows the system or is in the courthouse.**

Prosecution of Fraud and Intimidation

Mr. Bradley stated that **fraud and intimidation are hard to prosecute.** However, Mr. Bradley made contradictory statements. When asked whether the decision to prosecute on the county level was politically motivated, he first said "no." Later, Mr. Bradley reversed himself stating the opposite.

Mr. Bradley also stated that **with respect to US Attorneys, the message to them from the top is that this is not a priority. The Georgia ACLU has turned over information about violations of the Voting Rights Act that were felonies, and the US Attorney has done nothing with the information. The Department of Justice has never been very aggressive in pursuing cases of vote suppression, intimidation**

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and fraud. But, the Georgia ACLU has not contacted Craig Donsanto in DC with information of voter fraud. Mr. Bradley believes that **voter fraud and intimidation is difficult to prove. It is very hard to collect the necessary factual evidence to make a case, and doing so is very labor-intensive.**

Recommendations

In Georgia, the Secretary of State puts a lot of work into training local officials and poll workers, and much of her budget is put into that work. **Increased and improved training of poll workers**, including training on how to respectfully treat voters, is the most important reform that could be made. Mr. Bradley also suggested that **increased election monitoring** would be helpful.

Nina Perales, Counsel, Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund

Ms. Perales did not seem to have a sense of the overall electoral issues in her working region (the southwest) effecting Hispanic voters and did not seem to want to offer her individual experiences and work activities as necessarily a perfect reflection of the challenges Hispanic voters face.

Largest Election Problems Since 2000

- Santa Anna County, New Mexico-2004-intimidated voters by video taping them.
- San Antonio-One African American voter subjected to a racial slur.
- San Antonio-Relocated polling places at the last minute without Section 5 pre-clearance.
- San Antonio-Closed polls while voters were still in line.
- San Antonio-2003-only left open early voting polls in predominantly white districts.
- San Antonio-2005-racially contested mayoral run-off election switched from touch screen voting to paper ballots.

Voter Fraud and Intimidation

In Texas, the counties are refusing to open their records with respect to Section 203 compliance (bilingual voting assistance), and those that did respond to MALDEF's request submitted incomplete information. Ms. Perales believes this in itself is a form of voter intimidation.

Ms. Perales said it is hard to say if the obstacles minorities confront in voting are a result of intentional acts or not because the county commission is totally incompetent. There have continuously been problems with too few ballots, causing long lines, especially in places that had historically lower turnout. There is no formula in Texas for allocating ballots – each county makes these determinations.

When there is not enough language assistance at the polls, forcing a non-English speaker to rely on a family member to vote, that can suppress voter turnout.

Ms. Perales is not aware of deceptive practices or dirty tricks targeted at the Latino community.

There have been no allegations of illegal noncitizen voting in Texas. Indeed, the sponsor of a bill that would require proof of citizenship to vote could not provide any documentation of noncitizen voting in support of the bill. The bill was defeated in part because of the racist comments of the sponsor. In Arizona, such a measure was passed. Ms. Perales was only aware of one case of noncitizen voting in Arizona, involving a man of limited mental capacity who said he was told he was allowed to register and vote. Ms. Perales believes proof of citizenship requirements discriminate against Latinos.

Recommendations

Ms. Perales feels the laws are adequate, but that her organization does not have enough staff to do the monitoring necessary. This could be done by the federal government. However, even though the Department of Justice is focusing on Section 203 cases now, they have not even begun to scratch the surface. Moreover, the choices DOJ has made with respect to where they have brought claims do not seem to be based on any systematic analysis of where the biggest problems are. This may be because the administration is so ideological and partisan.

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Ms. Perales does not believe making election administration nonpartisan would have a big impact. In Texas, administrators are appointed in a nonpartisan manner, but they still do not always have a nonpartisan approach. Each administrator tends to promote his or her personal view regardless of party.

Pat Rogers, attorney, New Mexico

Major issues in NM w/ regard to vote fraud

Registration fraud seems to be the major issue, and while the legislature has taken some steps, Rogers is skeptical of the effect they will have, considering the history of unequal application of election laws. He also believes there are **holes in the 3rd party registration requirement deadlines**.

Rogers **views a national law requiring ID as the best solution to registration problems**. Rather than imposing a burden he contends it will enhance public confidence in the simplest way possible.

Registration Fraud in 2004 election

It came to light that **ACORN had registered a 13 year old**. The father was an APD officer and received the confirmation, but it was sent to the next door address, a vacant house. They traced this to an ACORN employee and it was established that this employee had been registering others under 18.

Two weeks later, in a crack cocaine bust of Cuban nationals, one of those raided said his job was registering voters for ACORN, and the police found signatures in his possession for fictitious persons.

In a suspicious break-in at an entity that advertised itself as nonpartisan, only GOP registrations were stolen.

In another instance, **a college student was allegedly fired for registering too many Republicans.**

Rogers said he **believed these workers were paid by the registration rather than hourly.**

There have been **no prosecution or convictions related to these incidents**. In fact, there have been no prosecutions for election fraud in New Mexico in recent history. However, Rogers is skeptical that much action can be expected considering the positions of Attorney General, Governor, and Secretary of State are all held by Democrats. Nor has there been any interest from the U.S. attorney—**Rogers heard that U.S. attorneys were given instruction to hold off until after the election in 2004 because it would seem too political.**

As part of the case against the Secretary of State regarding the identification requirement, the parties also sued ACORN. At a hearing, the head of ACORN, and others aligned with the Democratic Party called as witnesses, took the 5th on the stand as to their registration practices.

Other incidents

Very recently, there have been reports of vote buying in the town of Espanola. Originally reported by the *Rio Grande Sun*, a resident of a low-income housing project is quoted as saying it has been going on for 10-12 years. The Albuquerque Journal is now reporting this as well. So far the investigation has been extremely limited.

In 1996, there were some prosecutions in Espanola, where a state district judge found registration fraud.

In 1991, the chair of Democratic Party of Bertolino County was convicted on fraud. Yet she was pardoned by Clinton on same day as Marc Rich.

Intimidation/Suppression

Rogers believes the most notable example of intimidation in the 2004 election was the discovery of a DNC Handbook from Colorado advising Democratic operatives to widely report intimidation regardless of confirmation in order to gain media attention.

In-person polling place fraud

There have **only been isolated instances of people reporting that someone had voted in their name, and Rogers doesn't believe there is any large scale conspiracy**. Yet he contends that **perspective misses the larger point of voter confidence**. Although there has been a large

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public outcry for voter ID in New Mexico, it has been deflected and avoided by Democrats.

In 2004, there were more Democratic lawyers at the polls than there are lawyers in New Mexico. Rogers believes these lawyers had a positive impact because they deterred people from committing bad acts.

Counting Procedures

The **Secretary of State has also taken the position that canvassing of the vote should be done in private.** In NM, they have a 'county canvas' where they review and certify, after which all materials—machine tapes, etc.—are centralized with the Secretary of State who does a final canvass for final certification. Conducting this in private is a serious issue, especially considering the margin in the 2000 presidential vote in New Mexico was only 366 votes. **They wouldn't be changing machine numbers, but paper numbers are vulnerable.**

On a related note, NM has adopted state procedures that will ensure their reports are slower and very late, considering the 2000 late discovery of ballots. In a close race, potential for fraud and mischief goes up astronomically in the period between poll closing and reporting. Rogers believes these changes are going to cause national embarrassment in the future.

Rogers attributes other harmful effects to what he terms the Secretary of State's incompetence and inability to discern a nonpartisan application of the law. **In the 2004 election, no standards were issued for counting provisional ballots.** Furthermore, the Secretary of State spent over \$1 million of HAVA money for 'voter education' in blatant self-promotional ads.

Recommendations

- Rogers believes it would be unfeasible to have nonpartisan election administration and favors transparency instead. To make sure people have confidence in the election, there must be transparency in the whole process. Then you don't have the 1960 vote coming down to Illinois, or the Espanola ballot or Dona Anna County (ballots found there in the 2000 election). HAVA funds should also be restricted when you have an incompetent, partisan Secretary of State.
- There should be national standards for reporting voting results so there is less opportunity for fraud in a close race. Although he is not generally an advocate of national laws, he does agree there should be more national uniformity into how votes are counted and recorded.

Rebecca Vigil-Giron, Secretary of State, New Mexico

Complaints of election fraud and intimidation are filed with the SOS office. She then decides whether to refer it to the local district attorney or the attorney general. Because the complaints are few and far between, the office does not keep a log of complaints; however, they do have all of the written complaints on file in the office.

Incidents of Fraud and Intimidation

During the **2004** election, there were a couple of complaints of polling place observers telling people outside the polling place who had just voted, and then **the people outside were following the voters to their cars and videotaping them. This happened in areas that are mostly second and third generation Latinos.** The Secretary sent out the sheriff in one instance of this. The perpetrators moved to a different polling place. This was the **only incident of fraud or intimidation Vigil-Giron was aware of in New Mexico.**

There have **not been many problems on Native reservations because, unlike in many other states, in New Mexico the polling place is on the reservation and is run by local Native Americans.** Vigil-Giron said that it does not make sense to have non-Natives running those polls because it is necessary to have people there who can translate. Because most of the languages are unwritten, the HAVA requirement of accessibility through an audio device will be very helpful in this regard. Vigil-Giron said she was surprised to learn while testifying at the Voting Rights Act commission hearings of the lack of sensitivity to these issues and the common failure to provide assistance in language minority areas.

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In 2004 the U.S. Attorney, a Republican, suddenly announced he was launching an investigation into voter fraud without consulting the Secretary of State's office. After all of that, there was maybe one prosecution. Even the allegations involving third party groups and voter registration are often misleading. People doing voter registration drives encourage voters to register if they are unsure if they are already registered, and the voter does not even realize that his or her name will then appear on the voter list twice. The bigger problem is where registrations do not get forwarded to election administrators and the voter does not end up on the voting list on Election Day. This is voter intimidation in itself, Vigil-Giron believes. It is very discouraging for that voter and she wonders whether he or she will try again.

Under the bill passed in 2004, third parties are required to turn around voter registration forms very quickly between the time they get them and when they must be returned. If they fail to return them within 48 hours of getting them, they are penalized. This, Vigil-Giron believes, is unfair. She has tried to get the Legislature to look at this issue again.

Regarding allegations of vote buying in Espanola, Vigil-Giron said that the Attorney General is investigating. The problem in that area of New Mexico is that they are still using rural routes, so they have not been able to properly district. There has, as a result, been manipulation of where people vote. Now they seem to have pushed the envelope too far on this. The investigation is not just about vote buying, however. There have also been allegations of voters being denied translators as well as assistance at the polls.

Vigil-Giron believes there was voter suppression in Ohio in 2004. County officials knew thirty days out how many people had registered to vote, they knew how many voters there would be. Administrators are supposed to use a formula for allocation of voting machines based on registered voters. Administrators in Ohio ignored this. As a result, people were turned away at the polls or left because of the huge lines. This, she believes, was a case of intentional vote suppression.

A few years ago, Vigil-Giron heard that there may have been people voting in New Mexico and a bordering town in Colorado. She exchanged information with Colorado administrators and it turned out that there were no cases of double voting.

Recommendations

- Vigil-Giron believes that linking voter registration databases across states may be a way to see if people who are registered twice are in fact voting twice.
- The key to improving the process is better trained poll workers, who are certified, and know what to look for on Election Day. These poll workers should then work with law enforcement to ensure there are no transgressions.
- There should be stronger teeth in the voter fraud laws. For example, it should be more than a fourth degree felony, as is currently the case.

Sarah Ball Johnson, Executive Director of the State Board of Elections, Kentucky

Procedures for Handling Fraud

Fraud complaints are directed first to the state Board of Elections. Unlike boards in other states, Kentucky's has no investigative powers. Instead, they work closely with both the Attorney General and the U.S. Attorney. Especially since the current administration took office, they have found the U.S. Attorney an excellent partner in pursuing fraud cases, and have seen many prosecutions in the last six years. She believes that there has been no increase in the incidence of fraud, but rather the increase in prosecutions is related to increased scrutiny and more resources.

Major Types of Fraud and Intimidation

Johnson says that vote buying and voter intimidation go hand in hand in Kentucky. While historically fraud activity focused on election day, in the last 20 years it has moved into absentee voting. In part, this is because new voting machines aren't easy to manipulate in the way

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that paper ballots were open to manipulation in the past, especially in distant rural counties. For this reason, she is troubled by the proliferation of states with early voting, but notes that there is a difference between absentee ballot and early voting on machines, which is far more difficult to manipulate.

Among the cases of absentee ballot fraud they have seen, **common practice involves a group of candidates conspiring together to elect their specific slate. Nursing homes are an especially frequent target.** Elderly residents request absentee ballots, and then workers show up and 'help' them vote their ballots. **Though there have been some cases in the Eastern district of election day fraud, most have been absentee.**

Johnson argues that it is **hard to distinguish between intimidation and vote buying.** They have also **seen instances where civic groups and church groups intimidate members to vote in a specific manner, not for reward, but under threat of being ostracized or even telling them they will go to hell.**

While she is **aware of allegations of intimidation by the parties regarding minority precincts in Louisville, the board hasn't received calls about it and there haven't been any prosecutions.**

Challengers

Challengers are permitted at the polls in Kentucky. Each party is allowed two per location, and they must file proper paperwork. **There is a set list of defined reasons for which they can challenge a voter, such as residency, and the challengers must also fill out paperwork to conduct a challenge.**

As for allegations of challengers engaging in intimidation in minority districts, Johnson notes that challengers did indeed register in Jefferson County, and filed the proper paperwork, although they ultimately did not show up on election day.

She finds that **relatively few challengers end up being officially registered, and that the practice has grown less common in recent years.** This is due more to a change of fashion than anything. And after all, **those wishing to affect election outcomes have little need for challengers in the precinct when they can target absentee voting instead.**

In the event that intimidation is taking place, Kentucky has provisions to remove disruptive challengers, but this hasn't been used to her knowledge.

Prosecutions

Election fraud prosecutions in Kentucky have only involved vote buying. This may be because that it is easier to investigate, by virtue of a cash and paper trail which investigators can follow. It is difficult to quantify any average numbers about the practice from this, due in part to the five year statute of limitations on vote buying charges. However, she does not believe that vote-buying is pervasive across the state, but rather confined to certain pockets.

Vote-hauling Legislation

Vote hauling is a common form of vote buying by another name. Individuals are legally paid to drive others to the polls, and then divide that cash in order to purchase votes. Prosecutions have confirmed that vote hauling is used for this purpose. While the Secretary of State has been committed to legislation which would ban the practice, it has failed to pass in the past two sessions.

Paying Voter Registration Workers Legislation

A law forbidding people to pay workers by the voter registration card or for obtaining cards with registrations for a specific party was passed this session. Individuals working as part of a registration campaign may still be paid by hour. Kentucky's experience in the last presidential election illustrates the problems arising from paying individuals by the card. That contest included a constitutional amendment to ban gay marriage on the ballot, which naturally attracted the attention of many national groups. **One group paying people by the card resulted in the registrar being inundated with cards, including many duplicates in the same bundle, variants on names, and variants on addresses.** As this practice threatens to overwhelm the voter registration process, Kentucky views it as constituting malicious fraud.

Deceptive practices

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Other than general reports in the news, Johnson hasn't received any separate confirmation or reports of deceptive practices, i.e., false and misleading information being distributed to confuse voters.

Effect of Kentucky's Database

Johnson believes Kentucky's widely praised voter registration database is a key reason why the state doesn't have as much fraud as it might, especially the types alleged elsewhere like double and felon voting. While no database is going to be perfect, the connections with other state databases such as the DMV and vital statistics have been invaluable in allowing them to aggressively purge dead weight and create a cleaner list. When parties use their database list they are notably more successful. Johnson wonders how other states are able to conduct elections without a similar system.

Some factors have made especially important to their success.

- When the database was instituted in 1973, they were able to make everyone in the state re-register and thus start with a clean database. However, it is unlikely any state could get away with this today.
- She is also a big supporter of a full Social Security number standard, as practiced in Kentucky. The full Social Security, which is compared to date of birth and letters in the first and last name, automatically makes matching far more accurate. The huge benefits Kentucky has reaped make Johnson skeptical of privacy concerns arguing for an abbreviated Social Security number. Individuals are willing to submit their Social Security number for many lesser purposes, so why not voting? And in any event, they don't require a Social Security number to register (unlike others such as Georgia). Less than a percent of voters in Kentucky are registered under unique identifiers, which the Board of Elections then works to fill in the number through cross referencing with the DMV.

Recommendations

- Johnson believes the backbone of effective elections administration must be standardized procedures, strong record keeping, and detailed statutes. In Kentucky, all counties use the same database and the same pre election day forms. Rather than seeing that as oppressive, county officials report that the uniformity makes their jobs easier.
- This philosophy extends to the provisional ballot question. While they did not have a standard in place like HAVA's at the time of enactment, they worked quickly to put a uniform standard in place.
- They have also modified forms and procedures based on feedback from prosecutors. Johnson believes a key to enforcing voting laws is working with investigators and prosecutors and ensuring that they have the information they need to mount cases.
- She also believes public education is important, and that the media could do more to provide information about what is legal and what is illegal. Kentucky tries to fulfill this role by information in polling places, press releases, and high profile press conferences before elections. She notes that they deliberately use language focusing on fraud and intimidation.
- Johnson is somewhat pessimistic about reducing absentee ballot fraud. Absentee ballots do have a useful function for the military and others who cannot get to the polling place, and motivated individuals will always find a way to abuse the system if possible. At a minimum, however, she recommends that absentee ballots should require an excuse. She believes this has helped reduce abuse in Kentucky, and is wary of no-excuse practices in other states.

Stephen Ansolobhere, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Chandler Davidson, Rice University

Methodology suggestions

In analyzing instances of alleged fraud and intimidation, we should look to criminology as a model. In criminology, experts use two sources:

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the Uniform Crime Reports, which are all reports made to the police, and the Victimization Survey, which asks the general public whether a particular incident has happened to them. After surveying what the most common allegations are, we should conduct a survey of the general public that asks whether they have committed certain acts or been subjected to any incidents of fraud or intimidation. This would require using a very large sample, and we would need to employ the services of an expert in survey data collection. Mr. Ansolobehere recommended Jonathan Krosnick, Doug Rivers, and Paul Sniderman at Stanford; Donald Kinder and Arthur Lupia at Michigan; Edward Carmines at Indiana; and Phil Tetlock at Berkeley. In the alternative, Mr. Ansolobehere suggested that the EAC might work with the Census Bureau to have them ask different, additional questions in their Voter Population Surveys.

Mr. Chandler further suggested it is important to talk to private election lawyers, such as Randall Wood, who represented Ciro Rodriguez in his congressional election in Texas. Mr. Ansolobehere also recommended looking at experiments conducted by the British Election Commission.

Incidents of Fraud and Intimidation

Mr. Davidson's study for the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights on the Voting Rights Act documented evidence of widespread difficulty in the voting process. However, he did not attempt to quantify whether this was due to intentional, malevolent acts. In his 2005 report on ballot security programs, he found that there were many allegations of fraud made, but not very many prosecutions or convictions. He saw many cases that did go to trial and the prosecutors lost on the merits.

In terms of voter intimidation and vote suppression, Mr. Davidson said he believes the following types of activities do occur:

- videotaping of voters' license plates;
- poll workers asking intimidating questions;
- groups of officious-looking poll watchers at the poll sites who seem to be some sort of authority looking for wrongdoing;
- spreading of false information, such as phone calls, flyers, and radio ads that intentionally mislead as to voting procedures.

Mr. Ansolobehere believes the biggest problem is absentee ballot fraud. However, many of these cases involve people who do not realize what they are doing is illegal, for example, telling someone else how to vote. Sometimes there is real illegality occurring however.

For example:

- vote selling involving absentee ballots,
- the filling out of absentee ballots en masse,
- people at nursing homes filling out the ballots of residents, and
- there are stories about union leaders getting members to vote a certain way by absentee ballot.

This problem will only get bigger as more states liberalize their absentee ballot rules. Mr. Chandler agreed that absentee ballot fraud was a major problem.

Recommendations

- Go back to "for cause" absentee ballot rules, because it is truly impossible to ever ensure the security of a mail ballot. Even in Oregon, there was a study showing fraud in their vote by mail system.
- False information campaigns should be combated with greater voter education. Los Angeles County's voter education program should be used as a model.

Tracey Campbell, author, *Deliver the Vote*

While less blatant than in previous eras, fraud certainly still occurs, and he mentions some examples in his book. The major trend of the past 60-70 years has been that these tactics have grown more subtle.

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While he hasn't conducted any scientific study of the current state of fraud, his sense as a historian is that it seems naive, after generations of watching the same patterns and practices influence elections, to view suspect election results today as merely attributable to simple error.

Vote-buying and absentee fraud

Campbell sees fraud by absentee ballot and vote buying as the greatest threats to fair elections today. He says vote fraud is like real estate: location, location, location—the closer you can keep the ballots to the courthouse the better. Absentee ballots create a much easier target for vote brokers who can manage voting away from the polling place, or even mark a ballot directly, in exchange for, say, \$50—or even more if an individual can bring their entire family. He has noted some small counties where absentee ballots outnumber in-person ballots.

However, few people engaged in this activity would call it 'purchasing' a vote. Instead, it is candidate Jones' way of 'thanking' you for a vote you would have cast in any event. The issue is what happens if candidate Smith offers you more. Likewise, the politicians who engage in vote fraud don't see it as a threat to the republic but rather as a game they have to play in order to get elected.

Regional patterns

Campbell suggests such practices are more prevalent in the South than the Northern states, and even more so compared to the West. The South has long been characterized as particularly dangerous in intimidation and suppression practices—throughout history, one can find routine stories of deaths at the polls each year. While he maintains that fraud seems less likely in the Western states, he sees the explosion of mail in and absentee ballots there as asking for trouble.

Poll site closings as a means to suppress votes

Campbell points to a long historical record of moving poll sites in order to suppress votes. Polling places in the 1800s were frequently set-up on rail cars and moved further down the line to suppress black votes. He would include door-to-door canvassing practices here, as well as voting in homes, which was in use in Kentucky until only a few years ago. All of these practices have been justified as making polling places 'more accessible' while their real purpose has been to suppress votes.

Purge lists

Purge lists are, of course, needed in theory, yet Campbell believes the authority to mark names off the voter rolls presents extensive opportunity for abuse. For this reason, purging must be done in a manner that uses the best databases, and looks at only the most relevant information. When voters discover their names aren't on the list when they go to vote, for example, because they are "dead," it has a considerable demoralizing effect. Wrongful purging takes place both because of incompetence and as a tool to intentionally disenfranchise.

Campbell believes transparency is the real issue here. An hour after the polls close, we tend to just throw up our hands and look the other way, denying voters the chance to see that discrepancies are being rectified. He believes the cost in not immediately knowing election outcomes is a small price to pay for getting results right and showing the public a transparent process.

Deceptive practices

Today's deceptive practices have are solidly rooted in Reconstruction-era practices—i.e. phony ballots, the Texas 'elimination' ballot. The ability to confuse voters is a powerful tool for those looking to sway elections.

Language minorities

Campbell argues there is a fine line between offering help to non-English speakers and using that help against them. A related issue, particularly in the South, is taking advantage of the illiterate.

Current intimidation

Another tactic Campbell considers an issue today is polling place layout: the further vote suppressers can keep people away from the

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polls, the better. Practices such as **photographing people leaving a polling place may also tie into vote-buying, where photos are used to intimidate and validate purchased votes. A good way to combat such practices is by keeping electioneering as far from the polls as possible.**

Recommendations

- Specific voting administration recommendations Campbell advocates would include **reducing the use of absentee ballots and improving the protective zone around polling places.**
- Campbell would also like to see **enforcement against fraud stepped up and stiffer penalties enacted, as current penalties make the risk of committing fraud relatively low.** He compares the risk in election fraud similar to steroid use in professional sports—the potential value of the outcome is far higher than the risk of being caught or penalized for the infraction, so it is hard to prevent people from doing it. People need to believe they will pay a price for engaging in fraud or intimidation. Moreover, we need to have the will to kick people out of office if necessary.
- He is **skeptical of the feasibility of nonpartisan election administration**, as he believes it would be difficult to find people who care about politics yet won't lean one way or the other—such an attempt would be unlikely to get very far before accusations of partisanship emerged. He **considers the judiciary the only legitimate check on election fraud.**

Douglas Webber, Assistant Attorney General, Indiana, (defendant in the Indiana voter identification litigation)

Litigation

Status of litigation in Indiana: On January 12 the briefing was completed. The parties are waiting for a decision from the U.S. district judge. The judge understood that one of the parties would seek a stay from the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals. The parties anticipate a decision in late March or early April. Mr. Webber did the discovery and depositions for the litigation. Mr. Webber feared the plaintiffs were going to state in their reply brief that HAVA's statewide database requirement would resolve the problems alleged by the state. However, the plaintiffs failed to do so, relying on a Motor Voter Act argument instead. **Mr. Webber believes that the voter ID at issue will make the system much more user-friendly for the poll workers.** The Legislature passed the ID legislation, and the state is defending it, on the basis of the problem of the *perception* of fraud.

Incidents of fraud and intimidation

Mr. Webber thinks that **no one can put his or her thumb on whether there has been voter fraud in Indiana.** For instance, **if someone votes in place of another, no one knows about it. There have been no prosecuted cases of polling place fraud in Indiana. There is no recorded history of documented cases, but it does happen.** In the litigation, he used articles from around the country about instances of voter fraud, but even in those examples there were ultimately no prosecutions, for example the case of Milwaukee. He also stated **in the litigation that there are all kinds of examples of dead people voting---totaling in the hundreds of thousands of votes across the country.**

One interesting **example of actual fraud in Indiana occurred when a poll worker, in a poll using punch cards, glued the chads back and then punched out other chads for his candidate.** But this would not be something that would be addressed by an ID requirement.

He also believes that the perception that the polls are loose can be addressed by the legislature. The legislature does not need to wait to see if the statewide database solves the problems and therefore affect the determination of whether an ID requirement is necessary. When he took the deposition of the Republican Co-Director, he said he thought Indiana was getting ahead of the curve. That is, there have been problems around the country, and confidence in elections is low. Therefore Indiana is now in front of getting that confidence back.

Mr. Webber stated that the **largest vote problem in Indiana is absentee ballots. Absentee ballot fraud and vote buying are the most documented cases.** It used to be the law that applications for absentee ballots could be sent anywhere. **In one case absentee votes were**

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exchanged for "a job on election day"---meaning one vote for a certain price. The election was contested and the trial judge found that although there was vote fraud, the incidents of such were less than the margin of victory and so he refused to overturn the election. Mr. Webber appealed the case for the state and argued the judge used the wrong statute. The Indiana Supreme Court agreed and reversed. **Several people were prosecuted as a result – those cases are still pending.**

Process

In Indiana, voter complaints first come to the attorney for the county election board who can recommend that a hearing be held. If criminal activity was found, the case could be referred to the county prosecutor or in certain instances to the Indiana Attorney General's Office. In practice, the Attorney General almost never handles such cases.

Mr. Webber has had experience training county of election boards in preserving the integrity and security of the polling place from political or party officials. Mr. Webber stated that **the Indiana voter rolls need to be culled.** He also stated that **in Southern Indiana a large problem was vote buying while in Northern Indiana a large problem was based on government workers feeling compelled to vote for the party that gave them their jobs.**

Recommendations

- Mr. Webber believes that **all election fraud and intimidation complaints should be referred to the Attorney General's Office to circumvent the problem of local political prosecutions.** The Attorney General should take more responsibility for complaints of fraud because at the local level, politics interferes. At the local level, everyone knows each other, making it harder prosecute.
- Indiana currently votes 6 am to 6 pm on a weekday. Government workers and retirees are the only people who are available to work the polls. Mr. Webber suggested that the biggest change should be to **move elections to weekends. This would involve more people acting as poll workers who would be much more careful about what was going on.**
- **Early voting at the clerk's office is good because the people there know what they are doing. People would be unlikely to commit fraud at the clerk's office. This should be expanded to other polling places in addition to that of the county clerk.**
- Finally, Mr. Webber believes **polling places should be open longer, run more professionally but that there needs to be fewer of them so that they are staffed by only the best, most professional people.**

Heather Dawn Thompson, Director of Government Relations, National Congress of American Indians

Recent trends

Native election protection operations have intensified recently for several reasons. While election protection efforts in Native areas have been ongoing, leaders realized that they were failing to develop internal infrastructure or cultivate locally any of the knowledge and expertise which would arrive and leave with external protection groups.

Moreover, in recent years partisan groups have become more aware of the power of the native vote, and have become more active in native communities. This has partly resulted in an **extreme increase in voter intimidation tactics. As native communities are easy to identify, easy to target, and generally dominated by a single party, they are especially vulnerable to such tactics.**

Initially, reports of intimidation were only passed along by word of mouth. But it became such a problem in the past 5 to 6 years that tribal leaders decided to raise the issue to the national level. Thompson points to the Cantwell election in 2000 and the Johnson election in South Dakota in 2002 as tipping points where many began to realize the Indian vote could matter in Senate and national elections.

Thompson stressed that Native Vote places a great deal of importance on being nonpartisan. While a majority of native communities vote Democratic, there are notable exceptions, including communities in Oklahoma and Alaska, and they have both parties engaging in aggressive tactics. However, she believes the most recent increase in suppression and intimidation tactics have come from Republican Party organizations.

Nature of Suppression/Intimidation of Native Voters

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Thompson categorizes suppression into judge related and poll-watcher related incidents, both of which may be purposeful or inadvertent, as well as longstanding legal-structural constraints.

Structural problems

One example of inadvertent suppression built into the system stems from the fact that many Indian communities also include significant numbers of non-Indians due to allotment. Non-Indians tend to be most active in the state and local government while Indians tend to be more involved in the tribal government. Thus, the individuals running elections end up being non-Indian. Having Indians vote at polling places staffed by non-Indians often results in incidents of disrespect towards Native voters (Thompson emphasized the considerable racism which persists against Indians in these areas). Also, judges aren't familiar with Indian last names and are more dismissive of solving discrepancies with native voters.

Structural problems also arise from laws which mandate that the tribal government cannot run state or local elections. In places like South Dakota, political leaders used to make it intentionally difficult for Native Americans to participate in elections. For example, state, local and federal elections could not be held in the same location as tribal elections, leading to confusion when tribal and other elections are held in different locations. Also, it is common to have native communities with few suitable sites, meaning that a state election held in a secondary location can suddenly impose transportation obstacles.

Photo ID Issues

Thompson believes both state level and HAVA photo ID requirements have a considerable negative impact. For a number of reasons, many Indian voters don't have photo ID. Poor health care and poverty on reservations means that many children are born at home, leading to a lack of birth certificates necessary to obtain ID. Also, election workers and others may assume they are Hispanic, causing additional skepticism due to citizenship questions. There is a cultural issue as well—historically, whenever Indians register with the federal government it has been associated with a taking of land or removal of children. Thus many Indians avoid registering for anything with the government, even for tribal ID.

Thompson also offered examples of how the impact of ID requirements had been worsened by certain rules and the discriminatory way they have been carried out. In the South Dakota special election of 2003, poll workers told Native American voters that if they did not have ID with them and they lived within sixty miles of the precinct, the voter had to come back with ID. The poll workers did not tell the voters that they could vote by affidavit ballot and not need to return, as required by law. This was exacerbated by the fact that the poll workers didn't know the voters—as would be the case with non-Indian poll workers and Indian voters. Many left the poll site without voting and did not return.

In Minnesota, the state tried to prohibit the use of tribal ID's for voting outside of a reservation, even though Minnesota has a large urban Native population. Thompson believes this move was very purposeful, and despite any reasonable arguments from the Secretary of State, they had to file a lawsuit to stop the rule. They were very surprised to find national party representatives in the courtroom when they went to deal with lawsuit, representatives who could only have been alerted through a discussion with the Secretary of State.

Partisan Poll-Monitoring

Thompson believes the most purposeful suppression has been perpetrated by the party structures on an individual basis, of which South Dakota is a great example.

Some negative instances of poll monitoring are not purposeful. Both parties send in non-Indian, non-Western lawyers, largely from the East Coast, which can lead to uncomfortable cultural clashes. These efforts display a keen lack of understanding of these communities and the best way to negotiate within in them. But while it may be intimidating, it is not purposeful.

Yet there are also many instances of purposeful abuse of poll monitoring. While there were indeed problems during the 2002 Johnson election, it was small compared to the Janklow special election. Thompson says Republican workers shunned cultural understanding outreach, and had an extensive pamphlet of what to say at polls and were very aggressive about it. In one tactic, every time a voter

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would come up with no ID, poll monitors would repeat “You can’t vote” over and over again, causing many voters to leave. This same tactic appeared across reservations, and eventually they looked to the Secretary of State to intervene. In another example, the head of poll watchers drove from poll to poll and told voters without IDs to go home, to the point where the chief of police was going to evict him from the reservation. In Minnesota, on the Red Lake reservation, police actually did evict an aggressive poll watcher—the fact that the same strategies are employed several hundred miles apart points to standardized instructions.

None of these incidents ever went to court. Thompson argues this is due to few avenues for legal recourse. In addition, it is inherently difficult to settle these things, as they are he said-she said incidents and take place amidst the confusion of Election Day. Furthermore, poll watchers know what the outline of the law is, and they are careful to work within those parameters, leaving little room for legal action.

Other seeming instances of intimidation may be purely inadvertent, such as when, in 2002, the U.S. Attorney chose Election Day to give out subpoenas, and native voters stayed in their homes. In all fairness, she believes this was a misunderstanding.

The effect of intimidation on small communities is especially strong and is impossible to ultimately measure, as the ripple effect of rumors in insular communities can’t be traced. In some communities, they try to combat this by using the Native radio to encourage people to vote and dispel myths.

She has suggestions for people who can describe incidents at a greater level of detail if interested.

Vote Buying and Fraud

They haven’t found a great deal of evidence on vote-buying and fraud. When cash is offered to register voters, individuals may abuse this, although Thompson believes this is not necessarily unique to the Native community, but a reflection of high rates of poverty. This doesn’t amount to a concerted effort at conspiracy, but instead represents isolated incidents of people not observing the rules. While Thompson believes looking into such incidents is a completely fair inquiry, she also believes it has been exploited for political purposes and to intimidate. For example, large law enforcement contingents were sent to investigate these incidents. As Native voters tend not to draw distinctions between law enforcement and other officials, this made them unlikely to help with elections.

Remedies

- As far as voter suppression is concerned, Native Vote has been asking the Department of Justice to look into what might be done, and to place more emphasis on law enforcement and combating intimidation. They have been urging the Department to focus on this at least much as it is focusing on enforcement of Section 203. Native groups have complained to DOJ repeatedly and DOJ has the entire log of handwritten incident reports they have collected. Therefore, Thompson recommends more DOJ enforcement of voting rights laws with respect to intimidation. People who would seek to abuse the process need to believe a penalty will be paid for doing so. Right now, there is no recourse and DOJ does not care, so both parties do it because they can.
- Certain states should rescind bars on nonpartisan poll watchers on Election Day; Thompson believes this is contrary to the nonpartisan, pro-Indian presence which would best facilitate voting in Native communities.
- As discussed above, Thompson believes ID requirements are a huge impediment to native voters. At a minimum, Thompson believes all states should be explicit about accepting tribal ID on Election Day.
- Liberalized absentee ballot rules would also be helpful to Native communities. As many Indian voters are disabled and elderly, live far away from their precinct, and don’t have transportation, tribes encourage members to vote by absentee ballot. Yet obstacles remain. Some voters are denied a chance to vote if they have requested a ballot and then show up at the polls. Thompson believes South Dakota’s practice of tossing absentee ballots if a voter shows up at the ED would serve as an effective built-in protection. In addition, she believes there should be greater scrutiny of GOTV groups requesting absentee ballots without permission. Precinct location is a longstanding issue, but Thompson recognizes that states have limited resources. In the

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absence of those resources, better absentee ballot procedures are needed.

- **Basic voter registration issues and access** are also important in native communities and **need to be addressed.**
- Thompson is **mixed on what restrictions should be placed on poll watcher behavior, as she believes open elections and third party helpers are both important.** However, she would be **willing to explore some sort of stronger recourse and set of rules concerning poll watchers' behavior. Currently, the parties are aware that no recourse exists, and try to get away with what they will.** This is not unique to a single party—both try to stay within law while shaking people up. The existing VRA provision is 'fluffy'—unless you have a consent decree, you have very little power. Thompson thinks **a general voter intimidation law that is left a bit broad but that nonetheless makes people aware of some sort of kickback could be helpful.**

Jason Torchinsky, Assistant General Counsel, American Center for Voting Rights

Regarding the August 2005 Report

ACVR has not followed up on any of the cases it cited in the 2005 report to see if the allegations had been resolved in some manner. Mr. Torchinsky stated that **there are problems with allegations of fraud in the report and prosecution---just because there was no prosecution, does not mean there was no vote fraud.** He believes that it is **very hard to come up with a measure of voter fraud short of prosecution.** Mr. Torchinsky does not have a good answer to resolve this problem.

P. 35 of the Report indicates that there were coordinated efforts by groups to coordinate fraudulent voter registrations. P. 12 of the Ohio Report references a RICO suit filed against organizations regarding fraudulent voter registrations. Mr. Torchinsky does not know what happened in that case. He stated that there was a drive to increase voter registration numbers regardless of whether there was an actual person to register. He stated that when you have an organization like ACORN involved all over the place, there is reason to believe it is national in scope. When it is the same groups in multiple states, this leads to the belief that it is a concerted effort.

Voting Problems

Mr. Torchinsky stated **there were incidents of double voting---ex. a double voter in Kansas City, MO. If the statewide voter registration database requirement of HAVA is properly implemented, he believes it will stop multiple voting in the same state. He supports the HAVA requirement, if implemented correctly. Since Washington State implemented its statewide database, the Secretary of State has initiated investigations into felons who voted. In Philadelphia the major problem is permitting polling places in private homes and bars – even the homes of party chairs.**

Mr. Torchinsky believes that **voter ID would help, especially in cities in places like Ohio and Philadelphia, PA. The ACVR legislative fund supports the Real ID requirements suggested by the Carter-Baker Commission. Since federal real ID requirements will be in place in 2010, any objection to a voter ID requirement should be moot.**

Mr. Torchinsky stated that there are **two major poll and absentee voting problems---(1) fraudulent votes-ex. dead people voting in St. Louis and (2) people voting who are not legally eligible-ex. felons in most places.** He also believes that **problems could arise in places that still transport paper ballots from the voting location to a counting room. However, he does not believe this is as widespread a problem now as it once was.**

Suggestions

Implement the Carter-Baker Commission recommendations because they represent a reasonable compromise between the political parties.

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Robin DeJarnette, Executive Director, American Center for Voting Rights

[NO SUMMARY FOUND]

Joseph Rich, former Director of the Voting Section, Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice

Data Collection and Monitoring

- The (Voting) section developed a new database before the 2004 election to log complaint calls and what was done to follow up on them. They opened many investigations as a result of these complaints, including one on the long lines in Ohio (see DOJ letter on website, as well as critical commentary on the DOJ letter's analysis). DOJ found no Section 2 violation in Ohio. John Tanner should be able to give us this data. However, the database does not include complaints that were received by monitors and observers in the field.
- All attorney observers in the field are required to submit reports after Election Day to the Department. These reports would give us a very good sense of the scope and type of problems that arose on that day and whether they were resolved on the spot or required further action.
- The monitoring in 2004 was the biggest operation ever. Prior to 2000, only certain jurisdictions could be observed – a VRA covered jurisdiction that was certified or a jurisdiction that had been certified by a court, e.g. through a consent decree. Since that time, and especially in 2004, the Department has engaged in more informal "monitoring." In those cases, monitors assigned to certain jurisdictions, as opposed to observers, can only watch in the polling place with permission from the jurisdiction. The Department picked locations based on whether they had been monitored in the past, there had been problems before, or there had been allegations in the past. Many problems that arose were resolved by monitors on the spot.

Processes for Cases not Resolved at the Polling Site

- If the monitor or observer believes that a criminal act has taken place, he refers it to the Public Integrity Section (PIN). If it is an instance of racial intimidation, it is referred to the Civil Rights Criminal Division. However, very few such cases are prosecuted because they are very hard to prove. The statutes covering such crimes require actual violence or the threat of violence in order to make a case. As a result, most matters are referred to PIN because they operate under statutes that make these cases easier to prove. In general, there are not a high number of prosecutions for intimidation and suppression.
- If the act is not criminal, it may be brought as a civil matter, but only if it violated the Voting Rights Act – in other words, only if there is a racial aspect to the case. Otherwise the only recourse is to refer it to PIN.
- However, PIN tends not to focus on intimidation and suppression cases, but rather cases such as alleged noncitizen voting, etc. Public Integrity used to only go after systematic efforts to corrupt the system. Now they focus on scattered individuals, which is a questionable resource choice. Criminal prosecutors over the past 5 years have been given more resources and more leeway because of a shift in focus and policy toward noncitizens and double voting, etc.
- There have been very few cases brought involving African American voters. There have been 7 Section 2 cases brought since 2001 – only one was brought on behalf of African American voters. That case was initiated under the Clinton administration. The others have included Latinos and discrimination against whites.

Types of Fraud and Intimidation Occurring

- There is no evidence that polling place fraud is a problem. There is also no evidence that the NVRA has increased the opportunity for fraud. Moreover, regardless of NVRA's provisions, an election official can always look into a voter's registration if he or she believes that person should no longer be on the list. The Department is now suing Missouri because of its poor registration list.

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- The **biggest problem is with absentee ballots**. The photo ID movement is a **vote suppression strategy**. This type of suppression is a bigger problem than intimidation. There has been an increase in vote suppression over the last five years, but it has been indirect, often in the way that laws are interpreted and implemented. Unequal implementation of ID requirements at the polls based on race would be a VRA violation.
- The **most common type of intimidation occurring is open hostility by poll workers toward minorities**. It is a judgment call whether this is a crime or not – Craig Donsanto of PIN decides if it rises to a criminal matter.
- **Election Day challenges at the polls could be a VRA violation but such a case has never been formally pursued**. Such cases are often resolved on the spot. Development of a pre-election challenge list targeted at minorities would be a VRA violation but this also has never been pursued. These are choices of current enforcement policy.
- **Long lines due to unequal distribution of voting machines based on race, list purges based on race and refusal to offer a provisional ballot on the basis of race would also be VRA violations.**

Recommendations

- Congress should **pass a new law that allows the Department to bring civil actions for suppression that is NOT race based, for example, deceptive practices or wholesale challenges to voters in jurisdictions that tend to vote heavily for one party.**
- **Given the additional resources and latitude given to the enforcement of acts such as double voting and noncitizen voting, there should be an equal commitment to enforcement of acts of intimidation and suppression cases.**
- There should also be increased **resources dedicated to expanded monitoring efforts**. This might be the best use of resources since **monitors and observers act as a deterrent to fraud and intimidation.**

Joseph Sandler, Counsel to the Democratic National Committee

2004-Administrative Incompetence v. Fraud

Sandler believes the **2004 election was a combination of administrative incompetence and fraud**. Sandler stated there was a deliberate effort by the Republicans to disenfranchise voters across the country. This was accomplished by **mailing out cards to registered voters and then moving to purge from the voters list those whose cards were returned**. Sandler indicated that in **New Mexico there was a deliberate attempt by Republicans to purge people registered by third parties**. He stated that there were intentional efforts to disenfranchise voters by election officials like Ken Blackwell in Ohio.

The problems with machine distribution in 2004 were not deliberate. However, Sandler believes that a large problem exists in the states because there are no laws that spell out a formula to allocate so many voting machines per voter.

Sandler was asked how often names were intentionally purged from the voter lists. He responded that there will be a lot of names purged as a result of the creation of the voter lists under HAVA. However, Sandler stated **most wrongful purging results from incompetence**.

Sandler also said there was not much intimidation at the polls because most such efforts are deterred and that the last systematic effort was in Philadelphia in 2003 where Republicans had official looking cars and people with badges and uniforms, etc.

Sandler stated that **deliberate dissemination of misinformation was more incidental, with individuals misinforming and not a political party**. Disinformation did occur in small Spanish speaking communities.

Republicans point to instances of voter registration fraud but Sandler believes it did not occur, except for once in a blue moon. Sandler did not believe non-citizen voting was a problem. He also does not believe that there is voter impersonation at the polls and that

Republicans allege this as a way of disenfranchising voters through restrictive voter identification rules.

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Fraud and Intimidation Trends

- Sandler stated that over the years there has been a shift from organized efforts to intimidate minority voters through voter identification requirements, improper purging, failure to properly register voters, not allocating enough voting machines, failure to properly use the provisional ballot, etc., by voter officials as well as systematic efforts by Republicans to deregister voters.
- At the federal level, Sandler said, the voting division has become so politicized that it is basically useless now on intimidation claims. At the local level, Sandler does not believe politics prevents or hinders prosecution for vote fraud.

Sandler's Recommendations:

- Moving the voter lists to the state level is a good idea where carefully done
- Provisional ballots rules should follow the law and not be over-used
- No voter ID
- Partisanship should be taken out of election administration, perhaps by giving that responsibility by someone other than the Secretary of State. There should at least be conflict of interest rules
- Enact laws that allow private citizens to bring suit under state law

All suggestions from the DNC Ohio Report:

1. The Democratic Party must continue its efforts to monitor election law reform in all fifty states, the District of Columbia and territories.
2. States should be encouraged to codify into law all required election practices, including requirements for the adequate training of official poll workers.
3. States should adopt uniform and clear published standards for the distribution of voting equipment and the assignment of official pollworkers among precincts, to ensure adequate and nondiscriminatory access. These standards should be based on set ratios of numbers of machines and pollworkers per number of voters expected to turn out, and should be made available for public comment before being adopting.
4. States should adopt legislation to make clear and uniform the rules on voter registration.
5. The Democratic Party should monitor the processing of voter registrations by local election authorities on an ongoing basis to ensure the timely processing of registrations and changes, including both newly registered voters and voters who move within a jurisdiction or the state, and the Party should ask state Attorneys General to take action where necessary to force the timely updating of voter lists.
6. States should be urged to implement statewide voter lists in accordance with the Help America Vote Act ("HAVA"), the election reform law enacted by Congress in 2002 following the Florida debacle.
7. State and local jurisdictions should adopt clear and uniform rules on the use of, and the counting of, provisional ballots, and distribute them for public comment well in advance of each election day.
8. The Democratic Party should monitor the purging and updating of registered voter lists by local officials, and the Party should challenge, and ask state Attorneys General to challenge, unlawful purges and other improper list maintenance practices.
9. States should not adopt requirements that voters show identification at the polls, beyond those already required by federal law (requiring that identification be shown only by first time voters who did not show identification when registering.)
10. State Attorneys General and local authorities should vigorously enforce, to the full extent permitted by state law, a voter's right to vote without showing identification.
11. Jurisdictions should be encouraged to use precinct-tabulated optical scan systems with a computer assisted device at each precinct, in preference to touchscreen ("direct recording equipment" or "DRE") machines.

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12. Touchscreen (DRE) machines should not be used until a reliable voter verifiable audit feature can be uniformly incorporated into these systems. In the event of a recount, the paper or other auditable record should be considered the official record.
13. Remaining punchcard systems should be discontinued.
14. **States should ask state Attorneys General to challenge unfair or discriminatory distribution of equipment and resources** where necessary, and the Democratic Party should bring litigation as necessary.
15. Voting equipment vendors should be required to disclose their source code so that it can be examined by third parties. No voting machine should have wireless connections or be able to connect to the Internet.
16. Any equipment used by voters to vote or by officials to tabulate the votes should be used exclusively for that purpose. That is particularly important for tabulating/aggregating computers.
17. States should adopt "no excuse required" standards for absentee voting.

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