

Founder, President, General Counsel; Arkansans for Fair Elections (1994-1999)

In 1994, Gov. Mike Huckabee (R), then a candidate for lieutenant governor, asked me to serve as his general counsel for ballot fraud protection. Thinking it best to act independently of any candidate, I formed Arkansans for Fair Elections. I served as the organization's president and, later, general counsel. This group launched a statewide educational campaign to train poll watchers to recognize irregular or fraudulent electoral procedures; this included the creation of literature and a video. Our extensive public relations campaign brought media attention to the issue. We also organized a statewide team of citizen poll watchers and attorneys to ensure that the election laws were fairly enforced. We were so successful in the lieutenant governor's race that Arkansans for Fair Elections was asked to continue the effort until 1999 when I moved to Louisiana.

General Counsel - Ballot Fraud Protection Committee, Republican Party of Arkansas (1995-1999)

In late 1995, Asa Hutchinson, chairman of the Republican Party of Arkansas, appointed me as general counsel for the newly formed Ballot Fraud Protection Committee of the state party. I retained this position until 1999. I was responsible for coordinating statewide enforcement efforts and directing a legal team to respond to problematic situations prior to and on election day.

(Through my role with Arkansans for Fair Elections and the Ballot Fraud Protection Committee, I successfully sued or negotiated a settlement in more than two-thirds of the 75 counties in Arkansas over electoral irregularities.)

Legal Consultant to Republican Members of the Arkansas General Assembly (1994-1996)

Republicans in the General Assembly requested that I review and draft suggested changes to Arkansas election law. Based on my personal experience as an election commissioner and as an election attorney, I identified a number of areas of concern and drafted new statutes modeled on the best examples that I could find from other states. My proposal was not passed by the Democrat-controlled General Assembly as a package, however, several of its components were passed into law.

Consultant to the Arkansas Court of Appeals Redistricting Commission (1996-1999)

I drafted five redistricting bills and maps for the

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constitutionally required redistricting of the Arkansas Court of Appeals. These bills were based on current U.S. Supreme Court precedent regarding gerrymandering. I had to present each bill and give supporting testimony to the commission.

Director of International Development - Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana (2000-2003)

Part of my duties as director was to develop international cooperative projects. The theme of several of these proposals was democratization. In each case, I required review of the national election code of the country involved.

My activities in Namibia led to a request by the director of the Namibian Election Commission, Joram Rukambe and the Speaker of the Namibian National Assembly, Dr. Mose Tjitendero to review and suggest changes to the Namibian election code. This review took three months and resulted in proposed alterations a number of code sections. These suggestions were considered by the Namibian National Assembly and a number were incorporated into the code revisions. Additionally, I drafted legislation for the Speaker to guarantee voting rights to agricultural workers that were being denied by the owners of the farms. This legislation also was passed into law.

During this time, I was qualified as an election expert and placed on an election consultant list by the United Nations, IFES and the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa.

Related Memberships

- Republican Party of Arkansas (1990-1999)
- Benton County, Arkansas, Republican Committee (1996-1999)
- Washington County, Arkansas, Republican Committee (1990-1996)

(When we moved to Louisiana in 1999, the party was in such turmoil that it was difficult to get involved. This past year, I have been prohibited by the Hatch Act from participating in partisan politics. This prohibition ends August 19 when my judicial clerkship ends.)

Related Education

- Graduate certificate in electoral governance, Griffith University, Queensland, Australia (2003)

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Karen Lynn-Dyson/EAC/GOV

11/14/2005 05:35 PM

To Paul DeGregorio/EAC/GOV@EAC, Gracia Hillman/EAC/GOV@EAC, Raymundo Martinez/EAC/GOV@EAC, Donetta L. Amie J. Sherrill/EAC/GOV@EAC, Sheila A. Banks/EAC/GOV@EAC, Adam Ambrogi/EAC/GOV@EAC, Elieen L. Collver/EAC/GOV@EAC, Bert A.

bcc

Subject Fw: October Progress Report

FYI-

Karen Lynn-Dyson
Research Manager
U.S. Election Assistance Commission
1225 New York Avenue , NW Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20005
tel:202-566-3123

— Forwarded by Karen Lynn-Dyson/EAC/GOV on 11/13/2005 05:32 PM —



"Tom O'Neill"

11/14/2005 05:27 PM

To klynndyson@eac.gov

cc tokaji.1@osu.edu, foley.33@osu.edu, lauracw@columbus.rr.com, Vincelli@rutgers.edu, arapp@rci.rutgers.edu, davander@eden.rutgers.edu, dlinky@rci.rutgers.edu, ireed@rutgers.edu, joharris@eden.rutgers.edu, john.weingart@rutgers.edu, rmandel@rci.rutgers.edu, "Johanna Dobrich" <jdobrich@eden.rutgers.edu>

Subject FW: October Progress Report

Tom O'Neill

-----Original Message-----

From: Tom O'Neill [mailto: [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, November 14, 2005 5:26 PM
To: klynndyson@eac.gov
Cc: Vincelli@rutgers.edu; arapp@rci.rutgers.edu; davander@eden.rutgers.edu; dlinky@rci.rutgers.edu; ireed@rutgers.edu; joharris@eden.rutgers.edu; john.weingart@rutgers.edu; rmandel@rci.rutgers.edu; 'Johanna Dobrich'; tokaji.1@osu.edu; foley.33@osu.edu; lauracw@columbus.rr.com
Subject: October Progress Report

Karen,

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Attached is the Progress Report for October. Please note that this report includes an attachment showing how our study classifies each state on key variables, such as counting out-of-precinct ballots, requirements for ballot evaluation, and other variables. It also displays how the data we used differs for some states for the vote counts reported by the Election Day Survey. We believe that our data is more accurate and complete (see for example the data for New Mexico and Pennsylvania).

I look forward to responding to any questions or concerns you or others at the EAC may have.

Tom O'Neill



OctoberFinal.doc



EAGLETON INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

***Contract to Provide Research Assistance to the EAC For
the Development of Voluntary Guidance on Provisional
Voting and Voter Identification Procedures***

**MONTHLY PROGRESS REPORT
October 2005**

For
UNITED STATES ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION
1225 New York Avenue N.W., Suite - 1100
Washington, DC 20005

November 15, 2005

Prepared by:
Eagleton Institute of Politics
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
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**Deliberative Process
Privilege**

OUTLINE

- Introduction
- Provisional Voting
 - Task 3.5
- Voter Identification Requirements
 - Task 3.10
 - Task 3.11
- Project Management
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- Financial Report

INTRODUCTION

This report describes our progress from October 1 through October 31, 2005. It includes brief descriptions of key tasks; progress made; challenges encountered or anticipated; milestones reached; and projections for work to be completed in the coming month.

In October we focused on finalizing our Provisional Voting analysis paper, including the development of recommendations to the EAC for a draft guidance document and best practices. These policy prescriptions are based on our research and the comments of the Peer Review Group. We completed a careful review of our data to reconcile it with other sources and identify the latest, most reliable information to use in the analysis. (See the attachment to this Progress Report for the details.) The importance of this demanding effort was described in September's Progress Report.

Also in October we revised the schedule for the project in light of the additional time that has been needed for review of earlier drafts by the EAC and the late completion of the Election Day Study. We will seek a meeting with the EAC in the next several weeks to confer about the schedule to complete the project and alternative approaches that could speed the conclusion of our work.

We will submit to the EAC a final draft of our report, a preliminary guidance document, and draft best practices before Thanksgiving. We project that EAC will take 3 to 4 weeks to review and react to that final draft. And we understand that after its review, the EAC will decide if it should move towards issuing a Guidance Document or recommending best practices. If the EAC does decide to issue a Guidance Document on Provisional Voting, the time needed for a review by the advisory boards is likely to delay a public hearing until early February.

This report is divided into 3 sections: Provisional Voting, Voter Identification Requirements, and Project Management. Each section references specific tasks described in paragraph 3 of the contract. The Financial Report will be sent separately by the Rutgers Division of Grant and Contract Accounting.

Please direct questions or comments about this report to [REDACTED]

PROVISIONAL VOTING

Tasks 3.4 – 3.9 in our contract relate to Provisional Voting. Work on the first of these must be complete before proceeding to later tasks. Task 3.4 was completed in August, Tasks 3.5 and 3.6 are nearing completion.

Task 3.5: Analysis and Alternative Approaches. Assess the potential, problems, and challenges of Provisional Voting and develop alternative means to achieve the goals of Provisional Voting.

LEGISLATION, REGULATIONS, AND LITIGATION

The research team at the Moritz College of Law has the lead responsibility for the collection and analysis of legislation, administrative procedures and litigation. This information constitutes the compendium of legislation, administrative regulations, and case law called for under this task. It has provided a base of understanding for the analysis of states' actual experience with Provisional Voting in 2004, for which the Eagleton team has lead responsibility.

Description: The Moritz team has created a 50-state chart to summarize information on Provisional Voting, compiled statutes, case law and administrative procedures regarding Provisional Voting and has completed this research.

Progress: We have completed the memorandum outlining Provisional Voting legislative changes since the 2004 election and we are continuing to clarify the laws prior to these changes.

Challenges: The variety in the form and frequency of Provisional Voting legislation from state to state makes creating a snap-shot view across states a challenge.

Work Plan: The final analysis will be sent to the EAC by Thanksgiving.

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PREPARATION FOR AND EXPERIENCE WITH PROVISIONAL VOTING

The Eagleton team has researched and compiled a narrative of each state's experience with Provisional Voting in 2004. The report findings from the survey of 400 local election officials are now complete. The survey results have proven to be instrumental in shaping our understanding of actual practice in administering Provisional Voting, including the steps local officials took to prepare for the election.

PROVISIONAL VOTING NARRATIVES

Description: To construct the narratives, a researcher examined newspaper accounts, state websites, and reports from third-party organizations to gather information on the experience with Provisional Voting in the 2004 election. To organize the information derived from this examination, we created an information system that catalogues information about the states (i.e. whether a state was new to Provisional Voting, the percentage of provisional votes counted, the method of notifying voters if their vote was counted, etc.) and combined it with Moritz's collection and analysis of statutes, regulations and litigation.

Progress: We completed a state-by-state narrative of developments in Provisional Voting and distributed it to the EAC and the PRG. This work has been helpful in understanding the context of the data collected on provisional voting from the states.

Challenges: The primary obstacle to constructing the narratives was difficulty in communicating and obtaining necessary information from various state officials. As a result, the narratives underwent several revisions to incorporate up-to-date and reliable information. Now that so many other analyses, including the Election Day Survey, have been released, we were challenged by different interpretations of the same basic facts. But the reconciliation of interpretation and data collection has been invaluable in establishing rigor in our report.

Work Plan: We completed revisions of the narratives incorporating comments from the PRG and addressing any discrepancies between our findings and other interpretations of similar information included in other studies.

PROVISIONAL VOTING STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Description: During October the Eagleton research team continued to check its statistical analysis, and worked to reconcile the classifications of this analysis (such as states counting only those provisional ballots cast within the proper precinct versus states that counted ballots cast within the proper county) with the classification made in other parts of this study or in other studies (such as the Election Day Study or *Electionline* reports).

Progress: The effort to double check all of the classifications used in the study is complete. The results of this effort are displayed in the attachment to this progress report, "Characteristics of the Provisional Voting Process -- Classification of the States,"

beginning on page 9. Only Delaware and Arkansas remain unclear in regard to one of the measures, and both states have been contacted to receive clarification in this area..

Challenges: The difficulties encountered have been a result of communication delays and time constraints. Some states have been more responsive to our inquiries about their practices than others. Overall, this is not an irresolvable problem but it does slow the process of completion down.

Work Plan: By early-November the final revision of the statistical analysis, which includes full reconciliation of all data within the study, will be complete. The reconciliation of data is displayed in the attachment to this progress report.

SURVEY OF COUNTY ELECTION OFFICIALS

Description: The Eagleton Center for Public Interest Polling (CPIP) conducted a national survey of county election officials to measure several aspects of Provisional Voting.

Progress: The analysis of the survey results and findings report is complete. As a result of the critique by the PRG, the research team is revising and clarifying the descriptions of the survey design and sample selection process to make the research methods more transparent.

Work Plan: We used the information from the survey in drafting the analysis and alternatives document required under Task 3.5. We will include necessary clarifications regarding survey design and sample selection in the final analysis and alternatives document.

<p>Task 3.6: Prepare preliminary draft guidance document.</p>
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The report and recommendations now nearing completion constitutes the draft preliminary guidance document. Based on our conversation with the EAC, the draft gives the EAC the option of proceeding with a guidance document or issuing recommendations to the state for best practices, recommendations that would not constitute voluntary guidance. Before proceeding to Task 3.7 (revise the guidance document for publication) or 3.8 (arrange a public hearing on the draft guidance), we will await the EAC's decision on how to proceed.

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VOTER IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS

The contract lists 7 tasks (3.10 – 3.16) related to Voter Identification Requirements. The research on Voter ID requirements is proceeding concurrently with our work on the experience of Provisional Voting, and is becoming the principal focus of our research.

Task 3.10: Legislation, regulations, and litigation

The research team at the Moritz College of Law has the lead responsibility for the collection and analysis of legislation, administrative procedures and litigation with regard to Voter Identification Requirements. This collection of material is nearing completion. It will constitute the compendium of legislation, administrative regulations, and case law called for under this task.

Description: The Moritz team has compiled statutes on Voter Identification, and will provide a summarized analysis of this research to the project team for review.

Progress: The 50 State (plus the District of Columbia) chart has been completed, the voter identification statutes have been collected for all states and D.C., and summaries of the existing voter identification statutes have been written for all states and D.C.

Challenges: Identifying the relevant statutes has been challenging because of the different terminology used from state to state to codify voter identification issues, and because many states have scattered election law provisions throughout their codes. This variety from state to state makes creating a snap-shot view across states a challenge.

Work Plan: Analysis of voter identification data has begun and will increasingly become the central focus of our work.

SUPPLEMENTS TO LEGAL ANALYSIS

To supplement the legal analysis, the Eagleton team is undertaking two research efforts: First, compiling information on the debate over voter ID in the states; and second, estimating the effect on turnout of different voter ID regimes. Tracking the continuing political debate over voter identification reveals that the relatively narrow HAVA requirements for voter identification have apparently sparked in many states a broader concern and a sharp political debate over rigorous identification requirements for all voters. The research follows these developments both to monitor possible secondary effects of HAVA on voter ID, and to provide a rich collection of alternative approaches for consideration.

VOTER ID AND TURNOUT ANALYSIS

The second supplemental analysis will provide objective information on a contentious feature of the debate over voter ID in the states: the effects of more rigorous voter ID regimes on voter turnout and the relationship between the voter ID regime and vote fraud. As part of this effort, Eagleton is undertaking a statistical analysis to gauge the effect of a state's voter ID regime on turnout, especially turnout by minority and elderly voters.

Description: We have created a database and gathered statistics on the effects of state-level voter identification requirements on voter turnout at the county-level in the 2004 election

Progress: The collection of data for the Voter ID-Turnout analysis is complete. The assembled database contains population demographic data, voter registration data and voter turnout data from all 50 states, 3113 Counties, and the District of Columbia. We have also used exit poll data collected on Election Day 2004 as a resource for understanding the demographics of voter turnout.

Challenges: The analysis of these data had been postponed until the data reconciliation of Provisional Voting is complete. As a result of the extensive revision and data reconciliation efforts aimed at the Provisional Voting section of our work VID had been temporarily placed on hold. We are now beginning data analysis on the impact of voter identification requirements on voter turnout.

Work Plan: The analysis of the impact that voter identification requirements have upon voter turnout should be completed by early December. Early January is our target to deliver the draft report and outline of alternative policies to the Peer Review Group. In mid January, the EAC would receive a draft report and recommendations that take into account the comments of the PRG.

PROJECT MANAGEMENT

PEER REVIEW GROUP

Description: A feature of our proposal was the creation of a Peer Review Group (PRG). It reviews our research and methodology and provides valuable feedback and suggestions for the direction of our work.

Progress: Eagleton has stayed in touch with members of the Peer Review Group since the September 21st conference call, and has solicited their final comments on the Provisional Voting research. During October, we telephoned two members who did not participate in the conference call to confirm their commitment to serving as members of the Peer Review Group. Profess Guy Charles affirmed his interest. Professor Pamela Karlan did not return the call. The revisions in the schedule for the project have now made it possible to begin the process of scheduling a meeting of the PRG to consider our draft report and recommendations on Voter Identification Issues. We anticipate that meeting will take place the second week of January.

Challenges: No new challenges were encountered during October.

COORDINATION AND INFORMATION MANAGEMENT

Collecting and merging information and data from myriad sources is a demanding requirement of this research. We have developed two principal mechanisms to facilitate the analysis of the material collected or created in the project: an information system and an internal website for easy access to drafts and reports.

INFORMATION SYSTEM

Description: The statutory data and reports prepared by the Moritz College of Law is being merged with the political and procedural data and analysis prepared by the Eagleton Institute of Politics to provide a cohesive final product to the EAC, which will include a compendium of case law and statutes regarding Provisional Voting and voter identification.

Progress: At this point in the research process, many documents are complete after a lengthy process of circulating drafts among team members. We have reorganized our system by separating final drafts from earlier versions of documents, discarding dated files contained in the Information System, and updating the system as a whole. Upon their completion, new documents continue to be added.

Projections: The entire project team continues to use the Information System which contains the above referenced research, in working toward the preparation for our final reports to the EAC.

INTRANET

Description: All project team members have signed on to the Intranet site, and regularly post drafts, completed materials and spreadsheets online for internal review. The Intranet facilitates the exchange of information and collaboration among project participants.

FINANCIAL REPORT

The financial reporting for this project is supervised and prepared by the Division of Grant and Contract Accounting (DGCA) at Rutgers. Financial reporting on grant accounts is limited to actual expenses that have been incurred during the reporting period. Our contact at DGCA is: Constance Bornheimer, (732) 932-0165, EXT. 2235.

A detail of expenses incurred from project October 1- October 31, 2005, will be sent under separate cover to: Ms. Dianna Scott, Administrative Officer at the EAC.

ATTACHMENT TO OCTOBER PROGRESS REPORT

Characteristics of the Provisional Voting Process

Classification of the States

Our research on provisional voting divided the various states into several categories to allow an assessment of how different factors may have influenced the process of casting and counting provisional ballots. This analysis was conducted before the release of the Election Day Study, and the categories we used may differ in some respects from its work. The categories analyzed here are:

1. New vs. Old (states that used a provisional ballot before the 2004 election)
2. Use of a statewide database of registered voters vs. no use of a statewide database
3. Counting out-of-precinct ballots vs. not counting out-of-precinct ballots
4. Voter identification requirements
5. Method used to verify provisional ballots
6. Levels of provisional ballots cast and counted

We first assigned states within these categories based on classifications done by Electionline.org in its studies. The Electionline data was the only published information available at the time of our research. We reviewed the Electionline data carefully, and, in select cases, updated it with new, detailed information that had become available after its publication. The changes we made are explained below.

Please note that:

--Idaho, Maine, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Wisconsin and Wyoming were excluded from our analysis. They have election-day registration systems, and did not need to use HAVA-compliant provisional ballots.

--North Dakota does not register voters, so it also was excluded from HAVA requirements and did not use provisional voting.

--Mississippi has not reported its provisional voting results and could not be included in our analysis, though it was compliant in 2004.

--Pennsylvania did not report its totals for the Election Day Study, but we obtained information on Pennsylvania and did include it in our analysis.

New vs. Old States

We classified states as “new” or “old” based on the 2001 Electionline study of provisional voting¹ and condensing its classifications into a single dichotomous variable, new/old with all other cases excluded. The Electionline study divided states into five categories of their use of provisional ballots in the 2000 election:

1. Use of provisional ballots (P)
2. Limited use of provisional ballots (LP)
3. Affidavit ballots (A)
4. No system in place (N)
5. Unnecessary/Not Applicable (U/NA)

We collapsed all of the states listed as using provisional ballots, limited use of provisional ballots or affidavit ballots as “old” states, because the states in all three categories would have been familiar with key aspects of provisional voting.. States that had no provisional voting system in place for the 2002 election, and were HAVA compliant in 2004, were listed as “new” states, as 2004 would have been the first year in which they would be offering the option of provisional voting. States that were listed as unnecessary or not applicable were excluded from this study, as they were exempt from the HAVA regulations in 2004 because they either allowed same-day registration or did not register voters.

Rhode Island is the only state categorized as an old state by Electionline that we moved into the list of new states. Electionline’s map shows Rhode Island as a state that used provisional voting in 2000, but in the state description, it is listed as having no system in place. We learned from the Rhode Island Board of Elections that the state had previously permitted potential voters to sign an affidavit if they did not appear on a precinct’s list of registered voters, but felt they were registered to vote. Based on the signed affidavit, the election official would then contact a county official to see if the voter was on a more complete registration list. If the voter’s name was on the complete list, that voter was permitted to cast a regular ballot. As this process did not grant the voter a provisional ballot, but served as a different type of administrative failsafe, we concluded that Rhode Island’s first use of provisional voting was in 2004 and, therefore, classified the state as “new” to the system of provisional balloting.

¹ This study can be found at: <http://electionline.org/Portals/1/Publications/Provisional%20Voting.pdf>.

Table 1 CATEGORIZATION OF STATES -- Old vs New		
Old States	New States	HAVA Exempt or NA
Alaska	Connecticut	Idaho
Alabama	Delaware	Maine
Arkansas	Georgia	Minnesota
California	Hawaii	New Hampshire
Colorado	Illinois	North Dakota
DC	Indiana	Wisconsin
Florida	Louisiana	Wyoming
Iowa	Massachusetts	
Kansas	Missouri	
Kentucky	Montana	
Maryland	Nevada	
Michigan	Oklahoma	
Mississippi	Pennsylvania	
Nebraska	Rhode Island	
New Jersey	South Dakota	
New Mexico	Tennessee	
New York	Utah	
North Carolina	Vermont	
Ohio		
Oregon		
South Carolina		
Texas		
Virginia		
Washington		
West Virginia		
26	18	7

Statewide List of Registered Voters

The Electionline preview of the 2004 Election² was the starting point for compiling a list of states that had a statewide database of registered voters. That study listed 34 States that did not have their statewide database systems complete, and 16 that did, including the District of Columbia. North Dakota does not register voters, so does not need to compile such a database. Electionline's criterion for concluding that a state had a statewide list was that the state have participation from all jurisdictions in a statewide system. We added Oklahoma to the list of states with statewide databases

² "Election Preview 2004: What's changed, What Hasn't and Why". This study can be found at: <http://electionline.org/Portals/1/Publications/Election.preview.2004.report.final.update.pdf>

because we found they had met the Electionline criteria by the 2004 election, albeit too late for inclusion in the Electionline survey.

Had Database 2004	No Database A-N	No Database N-W	HAVA Exempt or NA
Alaska	Alabama	Ohio	Idaho
Arizona	Arkansas	Oregon	Maine
Connecticut	California	Pennsylvania	Mississippi
Delaware	Colorado	Rhode Island	Minnesota
District of Columbia	Florida	Tennessee	New Hampshire
Georgia	Iowa	Texas	North Dakota
Hawaii	Illinois	Utah	Wisconsin
Kentucky	Indiana	Vermont	Wyoming
Louisiana	Kansas	Virginia	
Massachusetts	Maryland	Washington	
Michigan	Missouri		
New Mexico	Montana		
Oklahoma	Nebraska		
South Carolina	Nevada		
South Dakota	New Jersey		
West Virginia	New York		
	North Carolina		
16	27		8

Minnesota has a statewide database but was excluded from the analysis because it did not offer provisional ballots and was exempt from the HAVA requirements.

Out-of-Precinct Ballots

We based our classification of states that allow the counting of ballots cast outside the correct precinct on the data in the 2004 Electionline preview of the 2004 election². States that evaluated ballots cast in a precinct where the voter was not registered were categorized as “out-of-precinct.” States that invalidated such ballots were categorized as “In-precinct only.”

Table 3 CATEGORIZATION OF STATES -- Counting Out-Of-Precinct Ballots		
Out-of-Precinct	In-Precinct Only	HAVA EXEMPT OR NA
Alaska	Alabama	Idaho
Arkansas	Arizona	Maine
California	Colorado	Mississippi
Delaware	Connecticut	New Hampshire
Georgia	District of Columbia	North Dakota
Illinois	Florida	Wisconsin
Kansas	Hawaii	Wyoming
Louisiana	Indiana	
Maryland	Iowa	
New Mexico	Kentucky	
North Carolina	Massachusetts	
Oregon	Michigan	
Pennsylvania	Missouri	
Rhode Island	Montana	
Utah	Nebraska	
Vermont	Nevada	
Washington	New Jersey	
	New York	
	Ohio	
	Oklahoma	
	South Carolina	
	South Dakota	
	Tennessee	
	Texas	
	Virginia	
	West Virginia	
17	26	7

Voter Identification

We relied on Electionline studies, including the Voter Identification study³ and the 2004 Election Preview, to classify the states on their requirements for voter identification. Each state's categorization is taken directly from the Electionline studies except Hawaii.⁴ The five different, and increasingly rigorous, categories are: Give Name (8 states), Sign Name (14 states), Match Signature (8 states), Provide ID (15 states), and Photo ID (5 states).

³ This study can be found at: <http://electionline.org/Portals/1/Publications/Voter%20Identification.pdf>

⁴ In 2004, ElectionLine listed Hawaii as requiring identification. Our review of statutes revealed that Hawaii could require photo ID. Since that is the most rigorous form of identification that may be required of voters, we classified Hawaii under this category.

Table 4**CATEGORIZATION OF STATES -- Forms of Identification Required**

States in italics are exempt from HAVA or did not report Provisional Ballot data and are not included in the analysis.

Give Name	Sign Name	Match Signature	Provide ID	Photo ID
<i>Maine</i>	California	Illinois	Alabama	Florida
Massachusetts	DC	Nevada	Alaska	Hawaii
<i>New Hampshire</i>	<i>Idaho</i>	New Jersey	Arizona	Louisiana
North Carolina	Indiana	New York	Arkansas	South Carolina
Rhode Island	Iowa	Ohio	Colorado	South Dakota
Utah	Kansas	Oregon	Connecticut	
Vermont	Maryland	Pennsylvania	Delaware	
<i>Wisconsin</i>	Michigan	West Virginia	Georgia	
<i>Wyoming</i>	Minnesota		Kentucky	
	<i>Mississippi</i>		Missouri	
	Nebraska		Montana	
	New Mexico		<i>North Dakota</i>	
	Oklahoma		Tennessee	
	Washington		Texas	
			Virginia	
9	14	8	15	5

South Dakota complicates the effort to assign each state to a category. It permits voters to sign an affidavit that would allow them to vote without presenting photo ID. While Hawaii did not normally require photo ID, its statutes gave challenged voters the opportunity to respond by producing a photo ID.

Verification Method

We identified four different ways states assessed provisional ballots to determine if they should be counted: signature match, match voter data, signed affidavits, and bringing back identification later. We gathered information about these verification techniques by checking state websites and consulting journalistic accounts. We consulted state legislation to provide further information where needed.

Table 5**CATEGORIZATION OF STATES -- Ballot Evaluation Methods**

States in italics are exempt from HAVA or did not report Provisional Ballot data and are not included in the analysis.

Signature Match	Data Match	Affidavit	Return with ID	NA
Alaska	Alabama	Connecticut	Indiana	Idaho
California	Arizona	Delaware	Iowa	Maine
Florida	Arkansas	Georgia	Kansas	Mississippi
Oregon	Colorado	Hawaii	Maryland	Minnesota
	DC	Illinois	Michigan	New Hampshire
	Louisiana	Kentucky	Montana	N. Carolina*
	Missouri	Massachusetts	New Jersey	N. Dakota
	Ohio	Nebraska	New Mexico	Wisconsin
	Oklahoma	Nevada	Texas	Wyoming
	Pennsylvania	New York	Utah	
	Rhode Island	South Dakota		
	S. Carolina	Tennessee		
	Washington	Vermont		
	West Virginia	Virginia		
4	14	14	10	9

Data Collection

To assemble our data for analysis, we began by using the data on provisional votes cast and counted reported by Electionline. To increase the accuracy of this data, we surveyed each state's election websites for updated data, and for reported numbers on the county level. We then sent emails to 49 (we excluded Alaska, see below) states and the District of Columbia, requesting updated data on the number of provisional votes cast and counted by county. We received information from 25 states by our cut-off date of August 25, 2005.

* North Carolina lacked clear standards to evaluate provisional ballots and is excluded from this analysis.

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Table 6	
Updated information by State	
Received Updated Data	Did Not Receive Updated Data
California	Alabama
District of Columbia	Alaska ⁵
Florida	Arizona
Hawaii	Arkansas
Indiana	Colorado
Iowa	Connecticut
Kansas	Delaware
Louisiana	Georgia
Maryland ⁶	Idaho
Missouri	Illinois
Montana	Kentucky
Nebraska ⁷	Maine
Nevada	Massachusetts
New Jersey	Michigan
New Mexico	Minnesota
Ohio	Mississippi
Oklahoma	New Hampshire
Oregon	New York
Pennsylvania	North Carolina
Rhode Island	North Dakota
South Dakota	South Carolina
Tennessee	Utah
Texas	Vermont
Virginia	Wisconsin
Washington	Wyoming
West Virginia	
26 States	25 States

⁵ Alaska was not contacted via email, as the state does not have voting districts comparable to counties in other states and could not be matched with comparable census data.

⁶ Maryland reported provisional ballots that were counted per county, but not number cast.

⁷ Nebraska reported an incomplete list of provisional ballots cast and counted by county, but designated counties by number, rather than by name.

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Data Differences with Election Day Study

The data used in this study differs from the data reported in the Election Day Study for 19 states. The Election Day Study was not completed until well after our statistical analysis of provisional voting was finished, on the schedule laid out in our work plan. Where there are differences, they are typically very small, usually fewer than 100 votes either cast or counted. Of the 9 states that have differences of more than 100 votes cast or counted, 7 have reported their numbers directly to us and can be considered updated data that EDS had not obtained. For one of those states, New Mexico, EDS had incomplete data, and for another, Pennsylvania, EDS had no data at all. The data that we have collected reflects updated numbers from the states that have changed following recounts and litigation that altered how ballots were evaluated.

State	EDS Numbers Cast/Counted	Our Numbers Cast/Counted	Differences	Updated Info from State?
Alabama	6,478/1,865	6560/1836	82/29	No
Alaska	23,285/22,498	23,275/22,498	10/0	No
Colorado	51,529/39,086	51,477/39,163	52/77	No
Georgia	12,893/4,489	12,893/3,839	0/650	No
Hawaii	346/25	348/25	2/0	Yes
Iowa	15,406/8,038	15,454/8,048	48/10	Yes
Kansas	45,535/32,079	45,563/31,805	28/274	Yes
Montana	688/378	653/357	35/21	Yes
Nebraska	17,421/13,788	17,003/13,298	418/490	Yes
Nevada	6,153/2,446	6,154/2,447	1/1	Yes
New Mexico	6,410/2,914	15,360/8,767	8,950/5,853	Yes
N. Carolina	77,469/50,370	77,469/42,348	0/8,022	No
Ohio	157,714/123,902	158,642/123,548	928/354	Yes
Pennsylvania	No data	53,698/26,092	N/A	Yes
Texas	35,282/7,156	36,193/7,770	911/614	Yes
Vermont	121/30	101/37	20/7	No
Virginia	4,608/728	4,609/728	1/0	Yes
Washington	92,402/73,806	86,239/69,273	6,163/4,533	Yes
Wisconsin	374/119	373/120	1/1	No

Karen Lynn-Dyson/EAC/GOV

12/13/2005 01:41 PM

To Adam Ambrogi/EAC/GOV@EAC, Amie J. Sherrill/EAC/GOV@EAC, Sheila A. Banks/EAC/GOV@EAC, Eileen L. Colver/EAC/GOV@EAC

cc

bcc

Subject Fw: November's Progress Report

Eagleton's latest monthly report for your Commissioner's review.

K
Karen Lynn-Dyson
Research Manager
U.S. Election Assistance Commission
1225 New York Avenue, NW Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20005
tel:202-566-3123

— Forwarded by Karen Lynn-Dyson/EAC/GOV on 12/12/2005 01:39 PM —



"Johanna Dobrich"
<jdobrich@eden.rutgers.edu>

12/13/2005 12:29 PM

To klynndyson@eac.gov

cc "tim.vercellotti@rutgers.edu" <tim.vercellotti@rutgers.edu>, davander@eden.rutgers.edu, dlinky@rci.rutgers.edu, ireed@rutgers.edu, joharris@eden.rutgers.edu, john.weingart@rutgers.edu, tokaji.1@osu.edu, foley.33@osu.edu, lauracw@columbus.rr.com,

Subject November's Progress Report

Dear Ms. Karen Lynn-Dyson:

Attached please find the Eagleton/Moritz Progress Report for the month of November.

Please direct any questions about this report to Tom O'Neill

Sincerely,

Johanna Dobrich

--

Johanna Dobrich
jdobrich@eden.rutgers.edu



ProgressReport_NOVEMBER 2005_Eagleton Institute of Politics.doc

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EAGLETON INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

***Contract to Provide Research Assistance to the EAC For
the Development of Voluntary Guidance on Provisional
Voting and Voter Identification Procedures***

**MONTHLY PROGRESS REPORT
November 2005**

**For
UNITED STATES ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION
1225 New York Avenue N.W., Suite - 1100
Washington, DC 20005**

December 15, 2005

**Prepared by:
Eagleton Institute of Politics
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
191 Ryders Lane
New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8557**

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**Deliberative Process
Privilege**

OUTLINE

- Introduction
- Provisional Voting
 - Task 3.7
 - Task 3.8
- Voter Identification Requirements
 - Task 3.10
 - Task 3.11
- Project Management
 - Task 3.1
- Financial Report

INTRODUCTION

This report describes our progress from November 1 through November 30, 2005. It includes brief descriptions of key tasks; progress made; challenges encountered or anticipated; milestones reached; and projections for work to be completed in the coming month.

In November we completed and submitted our Provisional Voting analysis paper, including recommendations to the EAC for best practices. These policy prescriptions are based on our research and the comments of the Peer Review Group on that research. We completed a careful review of our data to reconcile it with other sources and identify the latest, most reliable information to use in the analysis. The importance of this demanding effort was described in October's Progress Report. We continue to await the EAC's comments on that final draft.

Also in November we revised the schedule for the project in light of the additional time that has been needed for review of earlier drafts by the EAC and the late completion of the Election Day Study. We made a written request to the EAC for a no-cost extension of the contract through the end of February which we understand is likely to be approved before Christmas.

Since the submission of our Provisional Voting report to the EAC on November 28, 2005, our efforts have been entirely aimed at the completion of the voter identification research. We have been advised that EAC will take several weeks to review and react to our final draft on provisional voting. As we await a January meeting on that topic, we are moving ahead

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quickly on the statistical analysis of voter identification data and summarizing the legal research that was completed earlier.

This Monthly Progress Report is divided into 3 sections: Provisional Voting, Voter Identification Requirements, and Project Management. Each section references specific tasks described in paragraph 3 of the contract. The Financial Report will be sent separately by the Rutgers Division of Grant and Contract Accounting.

Please direct questions or comments about this report to [REDACTED] or by telephone at [REDACTED].

PROVISIONAL VOTING

Tasks 3.4 – 3.9 in our contract relate to Provisional Voting. Task 3.4 was completed in August, and Tasks 3.5 and 3.6 were completed in November.

Task 3.6: Prepare preliminary draft guidance document.

The report and recommendations which were sent to the EAC on November 28, 2005 recommends against the adoption of a guidance document per se and advises that the EAC adopt its recommendations as best practices. That recommendation followed agreement by the EAC with that course of action. The submission of that report and recommendations, however, constitutes the document required under this task. Before proceeding to Task 3.7 (revise the guidance document for publication) or 3.8 (arrange a public hearing on the draft guidance), we await the EAC's decision on how to proceed.

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VOTER IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS

The contract lists 7 tasks (3.10 – 3.16) related to Voter Identification Requirements. The research on Voter ID requirements is proceeding concurrently with our work on the experience of Provisional Voting, and is the principal focus of our research at this time.

Task 3.10: Legislation, regulations, and litigation

The research team at the Moritz College of Law has the lead responsibility for the collection and analysis of legislation, administrative procedures and litigation with regard to Voter Identification Requirements. This collection of material is nearing completion. It will constitute the compendium of legislation, administrative regulations, and case law called for under this task.

Description: The Moritz team has compiled statutes on Voter Identification, and will provide a summarized analysis of this research to the project team for review.

Progress: The 50 state (plus District of Columbia) chart has been completed, the voter identification statutes have been collected for all states and D.C., and summaries of the existing voter identification statutes have been written for all states and D.C. Moritz has completed its review of voter identification litigation. Moritz and Eagleton have worked together to review the research, clarify the categorization of that research on our charts, and reconcile the data developed in our two different research techniques categorizations.

Challenges: The biggest challenge facing the reconciliation process of research findings, descriptions and categorizations is that it is being done by two different teams (Moritz and Eagleton) who rely on different primary source materials. Despite the necessity this has created to reconcile conflicting data from time to time, the collaboration has also been very beneficial because it has made our research efforts more rigorous.

Work Plan: During December we will conclude our reconciliation and continue analysis of voter identification research, including an analysis of the most important issues and trends in voter identification litigation.

SUPPLEMENTS TO LEGAL ANALYSIS

To supplement the legal analysis, the Eagleton team is undertaking two research efforts: First, compiling information on the debate over voter ID in the states; and second, estimating the effect on turnout of different voter ID regimes. Tracking the continuing political debate over voter identification reveals that the relatively narrow HAVA requirements for voter identification have apparently sparked in many states a broader concern and a sharp political debate over rigorous identification requirements for all voters. The research follows these developments both to monitor possible secondary effects of HAVA on voter ID, and to provide a rich collection of alternative approaches for consideration.

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During the month of November, we developed narratives to establish how laws were passed, looking at when they were proposed and when they were eventually enacted. In the upcoming month, Eagleton will examine voter registration forms across the states to see what forms of identification are requested from mail-in registrants. The difficulty will be determining the 2004 status of the states.

VOTER ID AND TURNOUT ANALYSIS

Now under way is a statistical analysis to gauge the effect of a state's voter ID regime on turnout, especially turnout by minority and elderly voters.

Description: We have created a database and gathered statistics on the effects of state-level voter identification requirements on voter turnout at the county-level in the 2004 election. In November, we have analyzed both aggregate- and individual-level data to determine whether there is any relationship between voter turnout and the various forms of voter identification states require.

Progress: Analysis is under way for two data sets: County-level data that includes registration and turnout rates for 2000 and 2004, as well as Census measures and indicators of the type of voter identification requirements that were in existence at the time of the 2004 presidential election. The second data set consists of the voter supplement to the November 2004 Current Population Survey. This data set allows for testing of the same hypotheses at the individual level. Preliminary findings from the aggregate data set suggest that voter ID requirements have their greatest effect at the registration stage, as opposed to the turnout stage. This is a first cut at the data, however, and we will be adding a number of control variables to the analysis to see if the relationship holds.

Challenges: These analyses use hierarchical linear modeling. Because voter identification requirements vary by state, one must pay special attention to other, unseen state-level influences on the data. The models are difficult to run and interpret, so the analyses are time-consuming.

Work Plan: The statistical analyses will continue during the month of December, and a draft of the findings is anticipated by the end of the month.

PROJECT MANAGEMENT

PEER REVIEW GROUP

Description: A feature of our proposal was the creation of a Peer Review Group (PRG). It reviews our research and methodology and provides valuable feedback and suggestions for the direction of our work.

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Progress: During the month of November, Eagleton contacted the PRG Members on two occasions. First, all members received the final draft provisional voting report that was submitted to the EAC. Further comments are welcome but not expected from the PRG. Second, we have asked PRG members to reserve two dates in mid-January for potential conference call sessions to review the voter identification report.

Challenges: No new challenges were encountered during November.

COORDINATION AND INFORMATION MANAGEMENT

Collecting and merging information and data from myriad sources is a demanding requirement of this research. We have developed two principal mechanisms to facilitate the analysis of the material collected or created in the project: an information system and an internal website for easy access to drafts and reports.

INFORMATION SYSTEM

Description: The statutory data and reports prepared by the Moritz College of Law is being merged with the political and procedural data and analysis prepared by the Eagleton Institute of Politics to provide a cohesive final product to the EAC, which will include a compendium of case law and statutes regarding Provisional Voting and voter identification.

Progress: At this point in the research process, many documents are complete after a lengthy process of circulating drafts among team members. We have reorganized our system by separating final drafts from earlier versions of documents, discarding dated files contained in the Information System, and updating the system as a whole. Upon their completion, new documents continue to be added.

Projections: The entire project team continues to use the Information System which contains the above referenced research, in working toward the preparation for our final reports to the EAC.

INTRANET

Description: All project team members have signed on to the Intranet site, and regularly post drafts, completed materials and spreadsheets online for internal review. The Intranet facilitates the exchange of information and collaboration among project participants.

FINANCIAL REPORT

The financial reporting for this project is supervised and prepared by the Division of Grant and Contract Accounting (DGCA) at Rutgers. Financial reporting on grant accounts is limited to actual expenses that have been incurred during the reporting period. Our contact at DGCA is: Constance Bornheimer, (732) 932-0165, EXT. 2235.

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A detail of expenses incurred from project November 1- November 30, 2005, will be sent under separate cover to: Ms. Dianna Scott, Administrative Officer at the EAC.

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U.S. ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION

**Status Report on the
Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Research
Project**

May 17, 2006

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INTRODUCTION

Section 241 of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (HAVA) requires EAC to conduct research on election administration issues. Among the tasks listed in the statute is the development of:

- nationwide statistics and methods of identifying, deterring, and investigating voting fraud in elections for Federal office [section 241(b)(6)]; and
- ways of identifying, deterring, and investigating methods of voter intimidation [section 241(b)(7)].

EAC's Board of Advisors recommended that the agency make research on these matters a high priority.

FOCUS OF CURRENT RESEARCH

In September 2005, the Commission hired two consultants with expertise in this subject matter, Job Serebrov and Tova Wang, to:

- develop a comprehensive description of what constitutes voting fraud and voter intimidation in the context of Federal elections;
- perform background research (including Federal and State administrative and case law review), identify current activities of key government agencies, civic and advocacy organizations regarding these topics, and deliver a summary of this research and all source documentation;
- establish a project working group, in consultation with EAC, composed of key individuals and representatives of organizations knowledgeable about the topics of voting fraud and voter intimidation;
- provide the description of what constitutes voting fraud and voter intimidation and the results of the preliminary research to the working group, and convene the working group to discuss potential avenues for future EAC research on this topic; and
- produce a report to EAC summarizing the findings of the preliminary research effort and working group deliberations that includes recommendations for future research, if any;

As of the date of this report, the consultants have drafted a definition of election fraud, reviewed relevant literature and reports, interviewed persons from government and private sectors with subject matter expertise, analyzed news reports of alleged election fraud, reviewed case law, and established a project working group.

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DEFINITION OF ELECTION FRAUD

The consultants drafted a definition of election fraud that includes numerous aspects of voting fraud (including voter intimidation, which is considered a subset of voting fraud) and voter registration fraud, but excludes campaign finance violations and election administration mistakes. This draft will be discussed and probably refined by the project working group, which is scheduled to convene on May 18, 2006.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The consultants found many reports and books that describe anecdotes and draw broad conclusions from a large array of incidents. They found little research that is truly systematic or scientific. The most systematic look at fraud appears to be the report written by Lori Minnite, entitled "Securing the Vote: An Analysis of Election Fraud". The most systematic look at voter intimidation appears to be the report by Laughlin McDonald, entitled "The New Poll Tax". The consultants found that books written about this subject all seem to have a political bias and a pre-existing agenda that makes them somewhat less valuable.

Moreover, the consultants found that reports and books make allegations but, perhaps by their nature, have little follow up. As a result, it is difficult to know when something has remained in the stage of being an allegation and gone no further, or progressed to the point of being investigated or prosecuted or in any other way proven to be valid by an independent, neutral entity. This is true, for example, with respect to allegations of voter intimidation by civil rights organizations, and, with respect to fraud, John Fund's frequently cited book, "Stealing Elections".

Consultants found that researchers agree that measuring something like the incidence of fraud and intimidation in a scientifically legitimate way is extremely difficult from a methodological perspective and would require resources beyond the means of most social and political scientists. As a result, there is much more written on this topic by advocacy groups than social scientists.

Other items of note:

- There is as much evidence, and as much concern, about structural forms of disenfranchisement as about intentional abuse of the system. These include felon disenfranchisement, poor maintenance of databases and identification requirements.
- There is tremendous disagreement about the extent to which polling place fraud, e.g. double voting, intentional felon voting, noncitizen voting, is a serious problem. On balance, more researchers find it to be less of a problem than is commonly described in the political debate; but some reports say it is a major problem, albeit hard to identify.

- There is substantial concern across the board about absentee balloting and the opportunity it presents for fraud.
- Federal law governing election fraud and intimidation is varied and complex and yet may nonetheless be insufficient or subject to too many limitations to be as effective as it might be.
- Deceptive practices, e.g. targeted flyers and phone calls providing misinformation, were a major problem in 2004.
- Voter intimidation continues to be focused on minority communities, although the American Center for Voting Rights uniquely alleges it is focused on Republicans.

Recommendations

The consultants recommend that subsequent EAC research include a follow up study of allegations made in reports, books and newspaper articles. They also suggest that the research should focus on filling the gap between the lack of reports based on methodical studies by social or political scientists and the numerous, but less scientific, reports published by advocacy groups.

INTERVIEWS

The consultants jointly selected experts from the public and private sector for interviews. The consultants' analysis of their discussions with these members of the legal, election official, advocacy, and academic communities follows.

Common Themes

- There is virtually universal agreement that absentee ballot fraud is the biggest problem, with vote buying and registration fraud coming in after that. The vote buying often comes in the form of payment for absentee ballots, although not always. Some absentee ballot fraud is part of an organized effort; some is by individuals, who sometimes are not even aware that what they are doing is illegal. Voter registration fraud seems to take the form of people signing up with false names. Registration fraud seems to be most common where people doing the registration were paid by the signature.
- There is widespread but not unanimous agreement that there is little polling place fraud, or at least much less than is claimed, including voter impersonation, "dead" voters, noncitizen voting and felon voters. Those few who believe it occurs often enough to be a concern say that it is impossible to show the extent to which it happens, but do point to instances in the press of such incidents. Most people believe that false registration forms have not resulted in polling place fraud,

although it may create the perception that vote fraud is possible. Those who believe there is more polling place fraud than reported/investigated/prosecuted believe that registration fraud does lead to fraudulent votes. Jason Torchinsky from the American Center for Voting Rights is the only interviewee who believes that polling place fraud is widespread and among the most significant problems in the system.

- Abuse of challenger laws and abusive challengers seem to be the biggest intimidation/suppression concerns, and many of those interviewed assert that the new identification requirements are the modern version of voter intimidation and suppression. However there is evidence of some continued outright intimidation and suppression, especially in some Native American communities. A number of people also raise the problem of poll workers engaging in harassment of minority voters. Other activities commonly raised were the issue of polling places being moved at the last moment, unequal distribution of voting machines, videotaping of voters at the polls, and targeted misinformation campaigns.
- Several people – including representatives from the Department of Justice (DOJ) - indicate that, for various reasons, DOJ is bringing fewer voter intimidation and suppression cases now, and has increased its focus on matters such as noncitizen voting, double voting, and felon voting. While DOJ's Voting Section, Civil Rights Division, focuses on systemic patterns of malfeasance, the Election Crimes Branch, Public Integrity Section, has increased prosecutions of individual instances of felon, alien, and double voting at the same time as it maintains an aggressive pursuit of systematic schemes to corrupt the electoral process.
- The problem of badly kept voter registration lists, with both ineligible voters remaining on the rolls and eligible voters being taken off, remains a common concern. A few people are also troubled by voters being on registration lists in two states. They said that there was no evidence that this had led to double voting, but it opens the door to the possibility. There is great hope that full implementation of the new requirements of HAVA – done well, a major caveat – will reduce this problem dramatically.

Common Recommendations:

- Many of those interviewed recommend better poll worker training as the best way to improve the process; a few also recommended longer voting times or voting on days other than election day (such as weekends) but fewer polling places so only the best poll workers would be employed.
- Many interviewed support stronger criminal laws and increased enforcement of existing laws with respect to both fraud and intimidation. Advocates from across the spectrum expressed frustration with the failure of the Department of Justice to pursue complaints.

- With respect to DOJ's Voting Section, Civil Rights Division, John Tanner indicated that fewer cases are being brought because fewer are warranted – it has become increasingly difficult to know when allegations of intimidation and suppression are credible since it depends on one's definition of intimidation, and because both parties are doing it. Moreover prior enforcement of the laws has now changed the entire landscape – race based problems are rare now. Although challenges based on race and unequal implementation of identification rules would be actionable, Mr. Tanner was unaware of such situations actually occurring and his office has not pursued any such cases.
- Craig Donsanto of DOJ's Election Crimes Branch, Public Integrity Section, says that while the number of election fraud related complaints have not gone up since 2002, nor has the proportion of legitimate to illegitimate claims of fraud, the number of cases DOJ is investigating and the number of indictments his office is pursuing are both up dramatically. Since 2002, DOJ has brought more cases against alien voters, felon voters and double voters than ever before. Mr. Donsanto would like more resources so that his agency can do more and would like to have laws that make it easier for the federal government to assume jurisdiction over voter fraud cases.
- A couple of interviewees recommend a new law that would make it easier to criminally prosecute people for intimidation even when there is not racial animus.
- Several advocate expanded monitoring of the polls, including some associated with the Department of Justice.
- Almost everyone hopes that administrators will maximize the potential of statewide voter registration databases to prevent fraud.
- Challenge laws, both with respect to pre-election day challenges and challengers at the polls, need to be revised by all states to ensure they are not used for purposes of wrongful disenfranchisement and harassment.
- Several people advocate passage of Senator Barak Obama's "deceptive practices" bill.
- There is a split on whether it would be helpful to have nonpartisan election officials – some indicated they thought even if elections officials are elected as non partisan officials, they will carry out their duties in biased ways nonetheless. However, most agree that elections officials pursuing partisan agendas are a problem that must be addressed in some fashion. Suggestions included moving election responsibilities out of the secretary of states' office; increasing transparency in the process; and enacting conflict of interest rules.
- A few recommend returning to allowing use of absentee ballots "for cause" only if it were politically feasible.

- A few recommend enacting a national identification card, including Pat Rogers, an attorney in New Mexico, and Jason Torchinsky from ACVR, who advocates the proposal in the Carter-Baker Commission Report.
- A couple of interviewees indicated the need for clear standards for the distribution of voting machines

NEWS ARTICLES

Consultants conducted a Nexis search of related news articles published between January 1, 2001 and January 1, 2006. A systematic, numerical analysis of the data collected during this review is currently being prepared. What follows is an overview of these articles provided by the consultants.

Absentee Ballots

According to press reports, absentee ballots are abused in a variety of ways:

- Campaign workers, candidates and others coerce the voting choices of vulnerable populations, usually elderly voters.
- Workers for groups and individuals have attempted to vote absentee in the names of the deceased.
- Workers for groups, campaign workers and individuals have attempted to forge the names of other voters on absentee ballot requests and absentee ballots and thus vote multiple times.

It is unclear how often actual convictions result from these activities (a handful of articles indicate convictions and guilty pleas), but this is an area in which there have been a substantial number of official investigations and actual charges filed, according to news reports where such information is available. A few of the allegations became part of civil court proceedings contesting the outcome of the election.

While absentee fraud allegations turn up throughout the country, a few states have had several such cases. Especially of note are Indiana, New Jersey, South Dakota, and most particularly, Texas. Interestingly, there were no articles regarding Oregon, where the entire system is vote by mail.

Voter Registration Fraud

According to press reports, the following types of allegations of voter registration fraud are most common:

- Registering in the name of dead people;
- Fake names and other information on voter registration forms;
- Illegitimate addresses used on voter registration forms;
- Voters being tricked into registering for a particular party under false pretenses;
and
- Destruction of voter registration forms depending on the party the voter registered with.

There was only one self evident instance of a noncitizen registering to vote. Many of the instances reported included official investigations and charges filed, but few actual convictions, at least from the news reporting. There have been multiple reports of registration fraud in California, Colorado, Florida, Missouri, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, South Dakota and Wisconsin.

Voter Intimidation and Suppression

This is the area which had the most articles, in part because there were so many allegations of intimidation and suppression during the 2004 election. Most of these remained allegations and no criminal investigation or prosecution ensued. Some of the cases did end up in civil litigation.

This is not to say that these alleged activities were confined to 2004 – there were several allegations made during every year studied. Most notable were the high number of allegations of voter intimidation and harassment reported during the 2003 Philadelphia mayoral race.

A very high number of the articles were about the issue of challenges to voters' registration status and challengers at the polling places. There were many allegations that planned challenge activities were targeted at minority communities. Some of the challenges were concentrated in immigrant communities.

However, the tactics alleged varied greatly. The types of activities discussed also include the following:

- Photographing or videotaping voters coming out of polling places;
- Improper demands for identification;

- Poll watchers harassing voters;
- Poll workers being hostile to or aggressively challenging voters;
- Disproportionate police presence;
- Poll watchers wearing clothes with messages that seemed intended to intimidate; and
- Insufficient voting machines and unmanageably long lines.

Although the incidents reported on occurred everywhere, not surprisingly, many came from “battleground” states. There were several such reports out of Florida, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

“Dead Voters and Multiple Voting”

There were a high number of articles about people voting in the names of the dead and voting more than once. Many of these articles were marked by allegations of big numbers of people committing these frauds, and relatively few of these allegations turning out to be accurate according to investigations by the newspapers themselves, elections officials, and criminal investigators. Often the problem turned out to be a result of administrative error, poll workers mis-marking voter lists, a flawed registration list and/or errors made in the attempt to match names of voters on the list with the names of the people who voted. In a good number of cases, there were allegations that charges of double voting by political leaders were an effort to scare people away from the voting process.

Nonetheless there were a few cases of people actually being charged and/or convicted for these kinds of activities. Most of the cases involved a person voting both by absentee ballot and in person. A few instances involved people voting both during early voting and on Election Day, which calls into question the proper marking and maintenance of the voting lists. In many instances, the person charged claimed not to have voted twice on purpose. A very small handful of cases involved a voter voting in more than one county and there was one substantiated case involving a person voting in more than one state. Other instances in which such efforts were alleged were disproved by officials.

In the case of voting in the name of a dead person, the problem lay in the voter registration list not being properly maintained, i.e. the person was still on the registration list as eligible to vote, and a person took criminal advantage of that. In total, the San Francisco Chronicle found five such cases in March 2004; the AP cited a newspaper analysis of five such persons in an Indiana primary in May 2004; and a senate committee found two people to have voted in the names of the dead in 2005.

As usual, there were a disproportionate number of such articles coming out of Florida. Notably, there were three articles out of Oregon, which has one hundred percent vote-by-mail.

Vote Buying

There were a surprising number of articles about vote buying cases. A few of these instances involved long-time investigations concentrated in three states (Illinois, Kentucky, and West Virginia). There were more official investigations, indictments and convictions/pleas in this area.

Deceptive Practices

In 2004 there were numerous reports of intentional disinformation about voting eligibility and the voting process meant to confuse voters about their rights and when and where to vote. Misinformation came in the form of flyers, phone calls, letters, and even people going door to door. Many of the efforts were reportedly targeted at minority communities. A disproportionate number of them came from key battleground states, particularly Florida, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. From the news reports found, only one of these instances was officially investigated, the case in Oregon involving the destruction of completed voter registration applications. There were no reports of prosecutions or any other legal proceeding.

Non-citizen Voting

There were surprisingly few articles regarding noncitizen registration and voting – just seven all together, in seven different states across the country. They were also evenly split between allegations of noncitizens registering and noncitizens voting. In one case, charges were filed against ten individuals. In another case, a judge in a civil suit found there was illegal noncitizen voting. Three instances prompted official investigations. Two cases, from this Nexis search, remained just allegations of noncitizen voting.

Felon Voting

Although there were only thirteen cases of felon voting, some of them involved large numbers of voters. Most notably, of course, are the cases that came to light in the Washington gubernatorial election contest (see Washington summary) and in Wisconsin (see Wisconsin summary). In several states, the main problem was the large number of ineligible felons that remained on the voting list.

Election Official Fraud

In most of the cases in which fraud by elections officials is suspected or alleged, it is difficult to determine whether it is incompetence or a crime. There are several cases of ballots gone missing, ballots unaccounted for and ballots ending up in a worker's possession. In two cases workers were said to have changed peoples' votes. The one

instance in which widespread ballot box stuffing by elections workers was alleged was in Washington State. The judge in the civil trial of that election contest did not find that elections workers had committed fraud. Four of the cases are from Texas.

Recommendation

The consultants recommend that subsequent EAC research should include a Nexis search that specifically attempts to follow up on the cases for which no resolution is evident from this particular initial search.

CASE LAW RESEARCH

After reviewing over 40,000 cases from 2000 to the present, the majority of which came from appeals courts, the consultants found comparatively few applicable to this study. Of those that were applicable, the consultants found that no apparent thematic pattern emerges. However, it appears to them that the greatest areas of fraud and intimidation have shifted from past patterns of stealing votes to present problems with voter registration, voter identification, the proper delivery and counting of absentee and overseas ballots, provisional voting, vote buying, and challenges to felon eligibility.

Recommendation

Because so few cases provided a picture of these current problems, consultants suggest that subsequent EAC research include a review of state trial-level decisions.

PROJECT WORKING GROUP

Consultants and EAC worked together to select members for the Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Working Group that included election officials and representatives of advocacy groups and the legal community who have an interest and expertise in the subject matter. (See Attachment A for a list of members.) The working group is scheduled to convene at EAC offices on May 18, 2006 to consider the results of the preliminary research and to offer ideas for future EAC activities concerning this subject.

FINAL REPORT

After convening the project working group, the consultants will draft a final report summarizing the results of their research and the working group deliberations. This report will include recommendations for future EAC research related to this subject matter. The draft report will be reviewed by EAC and, after obtaining any clarifications or corrections deemed necessary, will be made available to the EAC Standards Board and EAC Board of Advisors for review and comment. Following this, a final report will be prepared.

Attachment A

Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Project Working Group

The Honorable Todd Rokita

Indiana Secretary of State
Member, EAC Standards Board and the Executive Board of the Standards Board

Kathy Rogers

Georgia Director of Elections, Office of the Secretary of State
Member, EAC Standards Board

J.R. Perez

Guadalupe County Elections Administrator, TX

Barbara Arnwine

Executive Director, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law
Leader of Election Protection Coalition
(To be represented at May 18, 2006 meeting by Jon M. Greenbaum, Director of the Voting Rights Project for the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law)

Robert Bauer

Chair of the Political Law Practice at the law firm of Perkins Coie, DC
National Counsel for Voter Protection, Democratic National Committee

Benjamin L. Ginsberg

Partner, Patton Boggs LLP
Counsel to national Republican campaign committees and Republican candidates

Mark (Thor) Hearne II

Partner-Member, Lathrop & Gage, St Louis, MO
National Counsel to the American Center for Voting Rights

Barry Weinberg

Former Deputy Chief and Acting Chief, Voting Section, Civil Rights Division, U.S.
Department of Justice

EAC Invited Technical Advisor:

Craig Donsanto

Director, Election Crimes Branch, U.S. Department of Justice

Karen Lynn-Dyson/EAC/GOV
06/27/2005 05:45 PM

To "Tom O'Neill" [REDACTED] GSAEXTERNAL
cc
bcc Adam Ambrogi/EAC/GOV
Subject RE: Peer Review Group [REDACTED]

Tom-

Had a very good review and discussion of the PRG at this morning's Commissioner meeting.

Also, the Commissioners have marked their calendars for a conference call with the Eagleton/Moritz team on July 12 at 9:30 AM.

Several concerns were raised about the composition of the PRG and, after some discussion, I indicated that Eagleton will provide the EAC with a revised participant list, and with a more detailed description of the PRG's mission, goals, objectives, workplan and timelines for accomplishing its work.

The Vice Chair is concerned that there is not sufficient conservative representation on the PRG. I would suggest the team do more research to identify well-recognized conservative academics to put on the Group.

Further, the Commissioners recommend a tiered process in which the PRG will prepare a "dispassionate" analysis of the issues and draw some tentative conclusions. This analysis and these conclusions will then be vetted with a defined/select group of local election officials, and then, with a defined/select group of advocacy organizations.

It was also suggested that a final round of focus group meetings be held with a cross-section of these election officials, advocates and academics for an overall interactive reaction to the analysis and recommendations.

Hope this helps clarify concerns; I look forward to sharing your revisions to the PRG with them.

Regards-

Karen Lynn-Dyson
Research Manager
U.S. Election Assistance Commission
1225 New York Avenue , NW Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20005
tel:202-566-3123

"Tom O'Neill" [REDACTED]



"Tom O'Neill"
[REDACTED]
06/23/2005 02:43 PM

To klynndyson@eac.gov
cc
Subject RE: Peer Review Group

014227

Thanks, Karen.

Tom

-----Original Message-----

From: klynndyson@eac.gov [mailto:klynndyson@eac.gov]

Sent: Thursday, June 23, 2005 2:24 PM

To: [REDACTED]

Subject: Re: Peer Review Group

Tom-

I will be back to you early next week with EAC's feedback on this.

Our initial reaction is that the group needs to include some local and/or state-level election officials, who have first-hand experience with these issues.

We will get you additional names and reactions by mid-week next week.

Thanks

K

Karen Lynn-Dyson
Research Manager
U.S. Election Assistance Commission
1225 New York Avenue, NW Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20005
tel:202-566-3123

"Tom O'Neill" [REDACTED]

06/22/2005 03:29 PM

To klynndyson@eac.gov

cc

Subject Peer Review Group

Karen,

As you probably recall, one of the features of our proposal was the creation of a Peer Review Group to look over our findings, conclusions and draft reports before we prepare final drafts for the EAC's review. The EAC asked that before recruiting members of the PRG we submit names for EAC's review. The aim, course, is to assemble a panel that is experienced, informed, and

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balanced.

Attached is a list of potential PRG members drawn from academia, the law, and non-profit organizations with interests in this area. Please look it over.

We may conclude that the PRG should also include two or three former government officials now in academia or related fields. We have a conference call with our partners at Moritz planned for tomorrow or Friday to decide a) if former officials should be included in the PRG and b) if so, who they should be. I'll keep you informed of our thinking as it develops.

Tom

014229

Karen Lynn-Dyson/EAC/GOV

07/15/2005 04:16 PM

To Thomas R. Wilkey/EAC/GOV@EAC, Juliet E. Thompson/EAC/GOV@EAC
cc Sheila A. Banks/EAC/GOV@EAC, Adam Ambrogi/EAC/GOV@EAC, Amie J. Sherrill/EAC/GOV@EAC
bcc

Subject Fw: Eagleton Institute June 2005 Progress Report

Should any of you all need or want a sense of what Eagleton has done on provisional voting and voter identification in preparation for the Cal Tech meeting, attached is their June monthly report.

K

Karen Lynn-Dyson
Research Manager
U.S. Election Assistance Commission
1225 New York Avenue , NW Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20005
tel:202-566-3123

— Forwarded by Karen Lynn-Dyson/EAC/GOV on 07/15/2005 03:57 PM —



"Lauren Vincelli "
<Vincelli@rutgers.edu>

07/14/2005 04:43 PM

Please respond to
Vincelli@rutgers.edu

To klynndyson@eac.gov

cc "Tom O'Neill" [REDACTED]
john.weingart@rutgers.edu

Subject Eagleton Institute June 2005 Progress Report

Ms. Dyson,

Attached please find the June 2005 Progress Report for the project entitled, "Contract to Provide Research Assistance to the EAC for the Development of Voluntary Guidance on Provisional Voting and Voter Identification Procedures." If you have any questions regarding any part of this document please direct them to Tom O'Neill at [REDACTED]

The financial reporting for this project is performed by the Division of Grant and Contract Accounting at Rutgers University. A copy of this report was not made available to us in an electronic format. Hard copies of the Progress Report and Financial Report have been Fedex'ed to you this afternoon and should arrive to your attention tomorrow morning. Please let me know if you do not receive this package by tomorrow afternoon.

Thank you for your time, have a great evening.

Best,
Lauren Vincelli

Lauren Vincelli
Business Assistant, Eagleton Center for Public Interest Polling
Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University
Carriage House, 185 Ryders Lane
New Brunswick, NJ 08901
Phone: (732) 932-9384, ext. 237

014230

Fax: (732) 932-1551



ProgressReport_JUNE2005_EagletonInst.doc

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EAGLETON INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

*Contract to Provide Research Assistance to The EAC
For the Development of Voluntary Guidance on
Provisional Voting and Voter Identification Procedures*

**MONTHLY PROGRESS REPORT
JUNE 2005**

For
UNITED STATES ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION
1225 New York Avenue N.W., Suite - 1100
Washington, DC 20005

July 14, 2005

Prepared by:
Eagleton Institute of Politics
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
191 Ryders Lane
New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8557

014232

OUTLINE

- Introduction
- Provisional Voting
 - Task 3.4
- Voter Identification Requirements
 - Task 3.10
 - Task 3.11
- Project Management
 - Task 3.1
- Financial Report

INTRODUCTION

This report describes our progress from the start of the project on May 26 through June 30, 2005. It includes brief descriptions of key tasks; progress made; challenges encountered or anticipated; milestones reached; and projections for work to be completed in the coming month.

The objective of the contract is to assist the EAC in the collection, analysis and interpretation of information regarding HAVA provisional voting and voter identification requirements on which to base policy recommendations as guidance for the states in the conduct of the 2006 elections. The work has begun well, thanks to the clarity of the EAC's expectations and the strong collaboration by the scholars and staff at the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, and the Moritz College of Law at the Ohio State University.

The document report is divided into 4 sections that cover: Provisional Voting, Voter Identification Requirements, Project Management, and the Financial Report. Each section references the specific tasks described in paragraph 3 of the contract.

Please direct any questions or comments about this report to Tom O'Neill at:

[REDACTED]

014233

PROVISIONAL VOTING

Tasks 3.4 – 3.9 in our contract relate to provisional voting. Work on the first of these must be complete before proceeding to later tasks. The work plan provides for two months to complete Task 3.4. Work on this task is on schedule.

Task 3.4: Collect and analyze state legislation, administrative procedures, and court cases. Understand the disparities and similarities of how provisional voting was implemented around the country.

LEGISLATION, REGULATIONS, AND LITIGATION

The research team at the Moritz College of Law has the lead responsibility for the collection and analysis of legislation, administrative procedures and litigation. When complete, this information will constitute the compendium of legislation, administrative regulations, and case law called for under this task. It also will provide a base of understanding for the analysis of states' actual experience with provisional voting in 2004, for which the Eagleton team has lead responsibility.

Description: The Moritz team includes faculty, an executive administrator, a reference librarian, and several research assistants. It began immediately to compile statutes, case law and administrative procedures regarding Provisional Voting. The team has created a 50 state chart to summarize information on provisional voting. Categories for which state statutes and administrative procedures are being reviewed include:

- *When did the state create a system compliant with the HAVA provisional ballot requirements?*
- *Who may be eligible to cast a provisional ballot? and*
- *What is the process for discovering whether your provisional ballot was counted in the election?*

Progress: Initial research for 27 states, including the collection of provisional voting statutes is complete. This phase of the work is on schedule for completion by August 1. By the beginning of the week of July 11, Moritz's full time research assistant will move from voter identification research to gathering and organizing case law on provisional voting.

Challenges: Identifying the relevant statutes has been challenging; states use different terminology to codify provisional voting issues. Many states have scattered election law provisions throughout their codes. This variation from state to state makes creating a snapshot view across states a challenge. The team is meeting this challenge, and the work is on schedule.

014234

PREPARATION FOR AND EXPERIENCE WITH PROVISIONAL VOTING

The Eagleton team is constructing a narrative description for each state of the 50 states and the District of Columbia. It is also surveying a stratified random sample of county election officials to improve its understanding of actual practice in administering provisional voting.

Description: To construct the narratives, a researcher is examining newspaper accounts, state websites, and reports from third-party organizations to determine what information is publicly available about these issues during the 2004 election. To organize the information derived from this examination, we are creating an information system that will make it possible to catalog the basic information about the states (i.e. whether a state was new to provisional voting, the percentage of provisional votes counted, the method of notifying voters if their vote was counted, etc.) and combine it with Moritz's collection and analysis of statutes, regulations and litigation. The information system will make it possible to provide answers to such topics of particular interest listed in the contract as: How did preparation for provisional voting vary between states that had some form of provisional voting and those that did not?" and "How did litigation affect implementation?"

Progress: The researcher in this area has identified sources of information for every state and the collection process is well underway. Verified database entries for 24 states are complete, as are two state narrative summaries. This phase of the research is on schedule for completion by the end of July.

Challenges: A key challenge is determining just what states actually did in practice to verify and count provisional ballots. A second challenge has been determining the variations in policy within individual states. We are still wrestling with resolving this challenge, but the work is on schedule.

Work Plan: By the end of the July, the compilation of statutes, administrative regulations, and litigation will be complete and ready to be combined with the state-by-state narrative compiled by Eagleton. That will form the basis for the analysis and recommendation of alternative approaches for provisional voting required under Task 3.5.

SURVEY OF COUNTY ELECTION OFFICIALS

This survey will help the research team understand more about such key topics of interest as:

- "How did the experience of provisional voting vary between states that previously had some form of provisional voting and those where provisional voting was new in 2004?"
- "Did state and local processes provide for consistent counting of provisional ballots?"
- "Did local officials have a clear understanding of how to implement provisional voting?"

The survey results will supplement the information on these topics from the compilation of statutes, regulations and cases and from the narrative we are constructing for each state.

Description: The Center for Public Interest Polling (CPIP) at Eagleton is conducting a national survey of county election officials to measure several aspects of provisional voting. The survey is designed to determine the following factors related to provisional voting at the county level:

- The content and quality of instructions provided to county officials by the states
- The steps taken by county officials to pass information on to poll workers;
- Differences in experience between states new to provisional voting and those that had some form of provisional ballot before HAVA; and
- Recommendations to improve and/or reduce the need for provisional voting

Progress: The survey instrument is complete. CPIP has compiled a list of election officials at the county level and at the municipal or regional level for states that do not assign the election responsibility to counties. It was forwarded to the call center, Schulman, Ronca & Bucuvalas Inc., (SRBI) the week of July 5, 2005. A sample will be drawn the week of July 12. Human Subjects Approval from Rutgers University was granted July 12. Pre-notification letters will be sent to election officials around July 12-13, 2005. The EAC has reviewed a draft of this letter, which we have now revised to make clear that the survey will increase our understanding of the provisional voting process, but is not being conducted on behalf of the EAC.

Challenges: We made special efforts to expedite Human Subject Approval to meet the schedule in the work plan. In the absence of an existing, reliable database of local election officials, we had to create one especially for this project. In order to provide a valid comparison between the states new to provisional voting with those that previously had some form of provisional ballot we doubled the sample size from 200 to 400. This increase will require an increase in the budget for the survey from \$15,000 to about \$24,000. We intend to reallocate costs within the existing budget to make this improvement possible, and will submit a letter describing the reallocation to the EAC in mid-July.

The sample has been, and will continue to represent the biggest challenge in this survey. Compiling the sample required substantial coordination and research to determine the accuracy of the identity and contact information for potential respondents. The difficulty in determining the appropriate contact is attributed to variation in county election officials' titles, jurisdiction types, and state and county election structures across the country. In addition to the potential pitfalls of reaching the appropriate county official, another factor in actually making contact with this special population will be dependent upon the hours that they keep, and may be hindered by the summer season.

Work Plan: This questionnaire will be pre-tested by July 15, and will field July 18 through August 5, 2005. This is somewhat later than projected in the revised work plan, but the information will arrive in time to be considered in drafting the analysis and alternatives document required under Task 3.5.

VOTER IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS

The contract lists 7 tasks (3.10 – 3.16) related to Voter Identification Requirements. During the reporting period, we have made substantial progress in the first two tasks, which constitute the information-gathering phase of the work on Voter ID. The research of Voter ID requirements is proceeding concurrently with our work on the experience of provisional voting.

Task 3.10: Legislation, regulations, and litigation

The research team at the Moritz College of Law has the lead responsibility for the collection and analysis of legislation, administrative procedures and litigation. When complete, this information will constitute the compendium of legislation, administrative regulations, and case law called for under this task.

Description: A team of Election Law@Moritz faculty, executive administrator, a reference librarian, and several research assistants is compiling statutes on Voter Identification, and providing a summarized analysis of this research.

Progress: The Moritz team has created a 50-state chart to record data on voter identification. Categories for which state statutes and administrative regulations are being reviewed include: “*Who is required to present ID*”, “*Types of ID required*”, and “*Consequences of having no ID*”. We have completed the initial research for 45 states and have collected the voter identification statutes for those states. An *Election Law@Moritz* Fellow is conducting an academic literature review on voter identification. This literature review will help shape the analytical framework that will guide us when the compendium of statutes and administrative regulations is complete.

Challenges: Identifying the relevant statutes has been challenging because of the different terminology used from state to state to codify voter identification issues, and because many states have scattered election law provisions throughout their codes. This variety from state to state makes creating a snap-shot view across states a challenge.

Projections: At the current rate, a draft of the voter identification chart should be complete on schedule, by the end of July. Work on the literature review will continue into August, but will be available to inform the analysis of alternative approaches for voter identification called for by Task 3.12 of the contract.

SUPPLEMENTS TO LEGAL ANALYSIS

To supplement the legal analysis, the Eagleton team is undertaking two research efforts: First, compiling information on the debate over voter in the states; and second, estimating the effect on turnout of voter id requirements. Tracking the continuing political debate over voter identification reveals that the relatively narrow HAVA requirements for voter identification have apparently sparked in many states a broader concern with more rigorous identification requirements for all voters. We are following these developments both to

monitor possible secondary effects of HAVA on voter ID, and to provide a rich collection of alternative approaches for consideration.

Individual narratives for the states with significant activity in voter ID will provide a resource for understanding the wide range of experience in the 2004 election. The narratives will include an appraisal of the prevalence and nature of vote fraud, a focus of the concern with increasing the rigor of voter ID requirements. This work is on schedule to be completed by the end of July. The next key milestones will be the completion of the state database and drafting the first narratives.

VOTER ID AND TURNOUT ANALYSIS

The second supplemental analysis will provide objective information on a contentious feature of the debate over voter ID in the states: the effects of more rigorous voter ID regimes on voter turnout and the relationship between the voter ID regime and vote fraud. As part of this effort, Eagleton is undertaking a statistical analysis to gauge the effect of a state's voter ID regime on turnout, especially turnout by minority and elderly voters.

Description: We are creating a database and gathering statistics on the effects of state-level voter identification requirements on voter turnout at the county-level in the 2004 election. Analysis on the county-level will enable us to estimate the influence of ID requirements on various age groups, races, ethnicities and gender groups. We are compiling data from both the 2000 and 2004 Presidential elections to measure the effect that changes in ID requirements may have had on voter turnout through two national election cycles.

Progress: The structure of the database is complete. It contains demographic information from the Census, and turnout data from various sources. The researcher assigned to this task is devising the syntax that will be required to run the statistics when the dataset is complete. The methodology for this part of the study is complete, and the actual data collection will soon be finished.

Projection: We are waiting for the Census Bureau to release the 2004 County Demographic Estimates. We have ordered and await the arrival of 2 datasets that contain voter turnout and voter registration numbers on the county-level for both the 2000 and 2004 elections. Once these two sources of information are received, the researcher will insert this information into the existing database, clean up the dataset, and begin to run the statistics. By that point, the researcher will have separated the states into various ID-requirement groupings that have been determined by the team, which will require coordination with several other parts of the study. This work is on schedule. By the end of July, the researcher should have county-level and state-level statistics on the impact of each ID system upon turnout, analyzed through various demographic features on the county-level.

Task 3.11 Public meeting on Voter Identification Requirements

Description: We are working closely with EAC staff, particularly the General Counsel, to plan a half day public meeting on Voter ID requirements. Presentations at the meeting will form an important part of the information we are compiling about Voter ID requirements and the strengths and shortcomings of a range of alternative approaches.

Progress: We have recommended a focus on the debate over Voter ID now underway in the states. To provide a vivid picture of the debate, we have recommended that one panel include legislators on opposite sides of the issue from two different states. Our research identified Mississippi and Wisconsin as two states to focus on, and we have recommended specific legislators from each. We have discussed with staff adding a researcher to the panel to put the debate in Wisconsin and Mississippi in either a national or historic context. We also recommended two researchers from contrasting points of view, to address the effects of Voter ID provisions under HAVA and broader provisions that are now the subject of national debate. EAC staff recommended a panel of two state election directors to address the interaction of Voter ID with HAVA. We are awaiting a decision on our recommendations from EAC staff. We have no reason not to believe that the work is on schedule to be completed in time to organize a productive meeting on July 28.

Challenges: The date and location of this hearing has been changed twice since the beginning of the project. It was originally scheduled to take place in late June, but was rescheduled for July to allow the June hearing to focus on voting machine technology. The regular meeting was rescheduled for July 26 in Minneapolis, and was recently changed to July 28 in Pasadena. The changes in the scheduling of the July meeting have complicated our choice of panelists. More seriously, the changes mean that information from the hearing will not be available as early in the research process as contemplated in the contract. This timeframe will now require the team to summarize the hearing events at the same time that we are drafting the analysis and alternatives paper in early August.

Additionally, while our contract states that the "Contractor shall be responsible for all aspects of planning and conducting this hearing in consultation with the EAC," we have been asked only to make recommendations of topics and panelists, and the arrangements for the organization of the hearing are in other hands. This lack of clarity has caused some confusion and has delayed invitations to panelists. Thanks to frequent communication with members of the EAC, the process now seems to be working smoothly.

Projection: We believe the work is on schedule for completion in time to recruit the panelists for the July 28 hearing. Preparation of the hearing summary will likely be delayed because of the need to complete the analysis and alternatives paper.

PROJECT MANAGEMENT

Immediately after announcement of the award of the contract, Eagleton and Moritz began supplementing the core group that had prepared to proposal to building a highly qualified team to undertake the work. That team was in place by mid June, just a few weeks after the contract award.

As described in the proposal, the direction of the project is the responsibility of a five-person committee of faculty and staff from Eagleton and Moritz, chaired by Dr. Ruth Mandel, Director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics. Project Director Thomas O'Neill, a consultant to Eagleton, reports to this team and provides day-to-day guidance and coordination for the research. A weekly meeting of all the researchers engaged in the project if the primary means of coordinating the work. We have recently added an internal website to facilitate the review and revision of written materials.

Task 3.1 Update the Work Plan

The first task was completed on time with the submission of a detailed work plan and timeline. EAC staff requested that the work plan be supplemented with a Gantt chart created on MS Project, and we submitted that a few days later.

PEER REVIEW GROUP

Description: A feature of our proposal was the creation of a Peer Review Group (PRG). The EAC indicated at our first meeting in May that it would review our recommendations for members of the PRG. Our initial vision of the PRG was a small group of scholars and representatives of advocacy organizations that would comment on the research design, review drafts of our analyses and reports, and, in general, identify areas of the research that should be strengthened and help us improve the breadth, depth and clarity of reports based on that research.

Progress: Upon reflection, the project team agreed that the PRG should not include representatives of advocacy groups. We concluded, as representatives they would feel obligated to act as advocates for positions already taken by their groups. While advocacy organizations should be consulted as stakeholders during the course of our work, they were unlikely to achieve the goals we had in mind for the PRG as a source of advice on research design, methodology, and analysis. We submitted a revised list of potential members, substantially comprised of academics, to EAC for review.

The EAC responded with suggestions concerning both the balance of the PRG's membership and the creation of additional committees to review our work. We answered with an analysis of the cost and time involved adopting the EAC's suggestions as well as with suggestions for a balanced selection of academics for the Peer Review Group. We have not received response on this correspondence from the EAC, and the recruitment of the group is on hold.

Challenges: Communications on this issue with the EAC have not been clear or timely. The PRG should be in place now to comment on our research design while there is still time to refine it. While we are confident in the quality of our work, the wisdom and perspective of the outstanding candidates we have proposed for membership would strengthen the analysis and reports of our work.

Projections: We have effectively brought these challenges to the attention of EAC staff and look forward to a resolution speedy enough to allow recruitment of the PRG's members before the end of the month. If we meet that goal, the work of the PRG will be about 2 weeks behind the milestones indicated in the work plan.

COORDINATION AND INFORMATION MANAGEMENT

Collecting and merging information and data from myriad sources is a demanding requirement of this research. We have developed two principal mechanisms to facilitate the analysis of the material collected or created in the project: an information system and a website for easy access to drafts and reports.

INFORMATION SYSTEM

Description: The statutory data and reports prepared by the Moritz College of Law will be merged with the political and procedural data and analysis prepared by the Eagleton Institute of Politics to provide a cohesive final product to the EAC, which will include a compendium of case law and statutes regarding provisional voting and voter identification.

Progress: The Moritz team has provided Eagleton staff with samples of the work that they are performing. An Eagleton staff member will be reviewing the content and formats of data from all supporting research and (re-)formatting once the work has been completed. The researchers and staff at Eagleton have created a shared folder on the Institute's server for the safe storage of work and access for those staff members. All of this work is being reviewed by the project team to ensure that a broad survey is being performed.

Challenges: There are no evident challenges to this task at this time.

Projections: By the end of July 2005, much of the above referenced research will have been completed with respective materials and charts near completion. At that time, staff at Eagleton will review, combine and format all documents and materials in preparation for our final reporting to the EAC.

INTRANET

Description: A trial Intranet for the project became available during the week of June 26. The Intranet will facilitate the exchange of information and collaboration among project participants.

Progress: After meetings with staff members of Rutgers University Computer Services (RUCS) and subsequent submission of a proposal by RUCS for technical support and hosting of the Intranet and the evaluation of alternative commercial services, the project team decided at its June 28th meeting to publish the Intranet through www.intranets.com,

one of the leading commercial services. This decision was based on lower costs and earlier publication schedules than offered under the RUCS proposal. The Intranet services were evaluated during a free trial period, which demonstrated the ease of design and navigation of the proposed service.

Challenges: There are no immediate challenges to completion of this task by the timeframe specified below.

Projections: Design, testing and publication of initial content of the Intranet service is continuing, with all participants expected to be provided access by July 8, 2005.

FINANCIAL REPORT

The financial reporting for this project is supervised and prepared by the Division of Grant and Contract Accounting (DGCA) at Rutgers. Financial reporting on grant accounts is limited to actual expenses that have been incurred during the reporting period. Given that the report reflects the first month of the project, several procedures for payment of subcontractors on the project were initiated. Expenses related to those members of the team are not reflected in this report because they have not yet been incurred.

Our contact at DGCA is: Constance Bornheimer, (732) 932-0165, EXT. 2235.

A detail of expenses incurred from project inception through June 30, 2005, is attached.

Karen Lynn-Dyson/EAC/GOV

08/15/2005 04:43 PM

To Thomas R. Wilkey/EAC/GOV@EAC, Adam
Ambrogi/EAC/GOV@EAC, Juliet E.
Thompson/EAC/GOV@EAC
cc Raymundo Martinez/EAC/GOV@EAC

bcc

Subject Fw: Eagleton Institute of Politics - July 2005 - Monthly
Progress Report

FYI-

Karen Lynn-Dyson
Research Manager
U.S. Election Assistance Commission
1225 New York Avenue, NW Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20005
tel:202-566-3123

— Forwarded by Karen Lynn-Dyson/EAC/GOV on 08/14/2005 04:42 PM —



"Lauren Vincelli"
<Vincelli@rutgers.edu>

08/15/2005 03:01 PM

Please respond to
Vincelli@rutgers.edu

To klynndyson@eac.gov

cc "Tom O'Neill" [REDACTED]
rmandel@rci.rutgers.edu, john.weingart@rutgers.edu

Subject Eagleton Institute of Politics - July 2005 - Monthly Progress
Report

Ms. Dyson,

Attached please find the July 2005 Progress Report for the project entitled, "Contract to Provide Research Assistance to the EAC for the Development of Voluntary Guidance on Provisional Voting and Voter Identification Procedures." If you have any questions regarding any part of this document please contact Tom O'Neill at: [REDACTED]

The financial reporting for this project is performed by the Division of Grant and Contract Accounting at Rutgers University. A copy of this report was not made available to us in an electronic format. Hard copies of the Progress Report and Financial Report have been Fedex'ed to you this afternoon and should arrive to your attention tomorrow morning. Please let me know if you do not receive this package by tomorrow afternoon.

Thank you for your time, have a great evening.

Best,
Lauren Vincelli

Lauren Vincelli
Business Assistant, Eagleton Center for Public Interest Polling
Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University
Carriage House, 185 Ryders Lane

014243

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EAGLETON INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

*Contract to Provide Research Assistance to The EAC
For the Development of Voluntary Guidance on
Provisional Voting and Voter Identification Procedures*

**MONTHLY PROGRESS REPORT
JULY 2005**

For
UNITED STATES ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION
1225 New York Avenue N.W., Suite - 1100
Washington, DC 20005

August 15, 2005

Prepared by:
Eagleton Institute of Politics
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
191 Ryders Lane
New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8557

014245

**Deliberative Process
Privilege**

OUTLINE

- Introduction
- Provisional Voting
 - Task 3.4
- Voter Identification Requirements
 - Task 3.10
 - Task 3.11
- Project Management
 - Task 3.1
- Financial Report

INTRODUCTION

This report describes our progress from July 1 through July 31, 2005. It includes brief descriptions of key tasks; progress made; challenges encountered or anticipated; milestones reached; and projections for work to be completed in the coming month.

The effort this month continued to focus on research for the analysis and alternatives paper, including the compilation of Provisional Voting statutes, regulations, and litigation from the 50 states. We also prepared and delivered testimony at the EAC's regular monthly meeting in Pasadena on July 28.

The data collection, analysis, and compilation are all on schedule. Because of delays in agreeing on the composition of the Peer Review Group with EAC, however, the actual completion and submission of the analysis and alternatives paper to the EAC will most likely be delayed about a week beyond the target date in the work plan. We are scheduled to discuss the draft paper and guidance document prior to submission, with the EAC on September 6, and the final draft cannot be completed until several days after that date.

The document report is divided into 4 sections that cover: Provisional Voting, Voter Identification Requirements, Project Management, and the Financial Report. Each section references the specific tasks described in paragraph 3 of the contract.

Please direct any questions or comments about this report to Tom O'Neill at:

[REDACTED]

014246

PROVISIONAL VOTING

Tasks 3.4 – 3.9 in our contract relate to provisional voting. Work on the first of these must be complete before proceeding to later tasks. Task 3.4 was completed this month.

Task 3.4: Collect and analyze state legislation, administrative procedures, and court cases. Understand the disparities and similarities of how provisional voting was implemented around the country.

LEGISLATION, REGULATIONS, AND LITIGATION

The research team at the Moritz College of Law has the lead responsibility for the collection and analysis of legislation, administrative procedures and litigation. This information constitutes the compendium of legislation, administrative regulations, and case law called for under this task. It also will provide a base of understanding for the analysis of states' actual experience with provisional voting in 2004, for which the Eagleton team has lead responsibility.

Description: The Moritz team has created a 50-state chart to summarize information on provisional voting, compiled statutes, case law and administrative procedures regarding Provisional Voting.

Progress: The 50-state (plus District of Columbia) chart created to collect data on provisional voting is complete. We have collected the statutes for all states. State by state summaries of provisional voting have been written for 47 states and D.C. A memorandum summarizing provisional voting litigation is complete. The collection of the documents associated with the litigation is nearing completion.

Challenges: The variety in the form of provisional voting legislation from state to state makes creating a snap-shot view across states a challenge.

Work Plan: The remaining 3 state summaries of provisional voting will be completed by August 8. Analysis of all the information, data, and survey results concerning provisional voting data will be performed in August.

PREPARATION FOR AND EXPERIENCE WITH PROVISIONAL VOTING

The Eagleton team has researched and compiled a narrative of each state's experience with provisional voting in 2004. At the end of July the survey of 400 local election officials was nearing its end, and – as of this writing – is now complete with an analysis and report in draft form. We will rely on the survey results to improve our understanding of actual practice in administering provisional voting, including the steps local officials took to prepare for the election.

PROVISIONAL VOTING NARRATIVES

Description: To construct the narratives, a researcher examined newspaper accounts, state websites, and reports from third-party organizations to gather information on the experience with provisional voting in the 2004 election. To organize the information derived from this examination, we created an information system that catalogues information about the states (i.e. whether a state was new to provisional voting, the percentage of provisional votes counted, the method of notifying voters if their vote was counted, etc.) and combined it with Moritz's collection and analysis of statutes, regulations and litigation.

Progress: The state-by-state database is complete, as is a first draft of all state narratives. This work has been shared with the larger team and is being reviewed currently in preparation for constructing analysis and recommendation of alternative approaches for provisional voting required under Task 3.5.

Work Plan: In the next month, revisions of the narratives will be complete. In addition to this research, we will expand upon vote fraud research and examine further the relationship between instances of vote fraud and ensuing election reforms.

SURVEY OF COUNTY ELECTION OFFICIALS

Description: The Center for Public Interest Polling (CPIP) at Eagleton conducted a national survey of county election officials to measure several aspects of provisional voting. The survey was designed to determine the following factors related to provisional voting at the county (or equivalent election jurisdiction) level:

- The content and quality of instructions provided to county officials by the states;
- The steps taken by county officials to pass information on to poll workers;
- Differences in experience between states new to provisional voting and those that had some form of provisional ballot before HAVA; and
- Recommendations to improve and/or reduce the need for provisional voting.

Progress: The fielding and initial analysis of the survey results are complete.

Work Plan: The information derived from the survey will be considered in drafting the analysis and alternatives document required under Task 3.5.

VOTER IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS

The contract lists 7 tasks (3.10 – 3.16) related to Voter Identification Requirements. During the reporting period, we have completed tasks 3.10 and 3.11. The research on Voter ID requirements is proceeding concurrently with our work on the experience of provisional voting.

Task 3.10: Legislation, regulations, and litigation

The research team at the Moritz College of Law has the lead responsibility for the collection and analysis of legislation, administrative procedures and litigation with regard to Voter Identification Requirements. When complete, this information will constitute the compendium of legislation, administrative regulations, and case law called for under this task.

Description: The Moritz team has compiled statutes on Voter Identification, and will provide a summarized analysis of this research to the project team for review.

Progress: The chart created to collect data on voter identification is complete and is now being reviewed. Voter identification statutes are being collected.

Challenges: Identifying the relevant statutes has been challenging because of the different terminology used from state to state to codify voter identification issues, and because many states have scattered election law provisions throughout their codes. This variety from state to state makes creating a snap-shot view across states a challenge.

Work Plan: Review of the voter identification chart, the collection of the voter identification statutes, and the writing of the state by state summaries will be completed by the end of August.

SUPPLEMENTS TO LEGAL ANALYSIS

To supplement the legal analysis, the Eagleton team is undertaking two research efforts: First, compiling information on the debate over voter ID in the states; and second, estimating the effect on turnout of voter ID requirements. Tracking the continuing political debate over voter identification reveals that the relatively narrow HAVA requirements for voter identification have apparently sparked in many states a broader concern with more rigorous identification requirements for all voters. We are following these developments both to monitor possible secondary effects of HAVA on voter ID, and to provide a rich collection of alternative approaches for consideration.

Individual narratives for the states with significant activity in voter ID will provide a resource for understanding the wide range of experience in the 2004 election. The narratives will include an appraisal of the prevalence and nature of vote fraud, a focus of the concern

with increasing the rigor of voter ID requirements. The next key milestones will be the completion of the state database and drafting the first narratives.

VOTER ID AND TURNOUT ANALYSIS

The second supplemental analysis will provide objective information on a contentious feature of the debate over voter ID in the states: the effects of more rigorous voter ID regimes on voter turnout and the relationship between the voter ID regime and vote fraud. As part of this effort, Eagleton is undertaking a statistical analysis to gauge the effect of a state's voter ID regime on turnout, especially turnout by minority and elderly voters.

Description: We are creating a database and gathering statistics on the effects of state-level voter identification requirements on voter turnout at the county-level in the 2004 election.

Progress: The collection of data for the Voter ID-Turnout analysis is complete. The assembled database contains population demographic data, voter registration data and voter turnout data from all 50 states, 3113 Counties, and the District of Columbia. It also contains exit poll data from the 50 states, providing demographic data of voter turnout. The analysis of that data is well underway.

Challenges: The initial methodology that was devised to investigate the questions involved in this part of the study proved insufficient, as the necessary data was unobtainable (the Census Bureau has not yet released their 2004 data). After re-developing an appropriate methodology, the necessary data has been assembled, we have resumed the analysis of this data.

Projection: The analysis of the impact that voter identification requirements have upon voter turnout should be completed around mid-August.

Task 3.11 Public meeting on Voter Identification Requirements

Description: In early July, we continued our efforts to identify specific Voter ID topics or issues and panelists who could shed light on them. We recommended a focus on the debate over Voter ID now underway in the states. To provide a vivid picture of the debate, we recommended that one panel include specific legislators on opposite sides of the issue from two different states, Mississippi and Wisconsin. We also discussed adding a researcher to the panel in order to place the debate in a national or historical context. We also recommended a panel of two academic researchers with contrasting points of view, to address the effects of Voter ID provisions under HAVA. In response to our suggestions, EAC staff recommended a panel of two state election directors to address the interaction of Voter ID with HAVA.

By mid-July, the EAC had decided which topics and speakers should be invited, however most of those speakers proved unable to attend.

Progress: Tom O'Neill and Dan Tokaji attended the EAC Public Meeting held in Pasadena on July 28. Their presentations at the meeting described the progress of the research and our developing perspective on how to assess the quality of the provisional voting process in the states and identify possible steps for improvement.

Challenges: The changes in the scheduling of the July meeting delayed and ultimately made it impossible to assemble a panel, from which we could derive substantive insight into voter identification issues as they are playing out in the states. Additionally, due to the date of the hearing, the information from the hearing was not available as early in the research process as contemplated in the contract.

Projection: Preparation of the hearing summary will likely be delayed, due to the team's focus on preparation of the analysis and alternatives paper.

PROJECT MANAGEMENT

PEER REVIEW GROUP

Description: A feature of our proposal was the creation of a Peer Review Group (PRG). The EAC indicated at our first meeting in May that it would review our recommendations for members of the PRG. Our initial vision of the PRG was a small group of scholars and representatives of advocacy organizations that would comment on the research design, review drafts of our analyses and reports, and, in general, identify areas of the research that should be strengthened and help us improve the breadth, depth and clarity of reports based on that research.

Progress: Upon reflection, the project team agreed that the PRG should not include representatives of advocacy groups. We concluded that as representatives they would feel obligated to act as advocates for positions already taken by their groups. While advocacy organizations might be consulted as stakeholders during the course of our work, they were unlikely to achieve the goals we had in mind for the PRG as a source of advice on research design, methodology, and analysis. We submitted a revised list of potential members, substantially comprised of academics, to the EAC for review.

The EAC responded with suggestions concerning both the balance of the PRG's membership and the creation of additional committees to review our work. We provided an analysis of the cost and time involved in adopting the EAC's suggestions as well as with suggestions for a balanced selection of academics for the Peer Review Group. In the end, the EAC determined that Eagleton should appoint a balanced Peer Review Group of its own choosing. Initial phone calls were made to all members of that group by the end of July, and written invitations and descriptions of the process have gone to all possible members who had indicated their interest in serving.

Challenges: Communications on this issue with the EAC were not clear or timely. The purpose of the PRG is to review our work, and to comment on our research design, which is well underway. We had planned to have the PRG in place early enough in the project to enable them to provide feedback, including the research design. While we are

confident in the quality of our work, the experience and perspective of the Peer Review Group will strengthen our analysis and recommendations as we find a way to receive its critique in the more limited time now available. The delay in creating the Peer Review Group will result in a delay in the completion of the final draft of the analysis and alternatives paper and in the preliminary guidance document.

Projections: The work of the PRG will be about 2 weeks behind the milestones indicated in the work plan.

COORDINATION AND INFORMATION MANAGEMENT

Collecting and merging information and data from myriad sources is a demanding requirement of this research. We have developed two principal mechanisms to facilitate the analysis of the material collected or created in the project: an information system and an internal website for easy access to drafts and reports.

INFORMATION SYSTEM

Description: The statutory data and reports prepared by the Moritz College of Law will be merged with the political and procedural data and analysis prepared by the Eagleton Institute of Politics to provide a cohesive final product to the EAC, which will include a compendium of case law and statutes regarding provisional voting and voter identification.

Progress: The Moritz team has provided Eagleton staff with all completed work. An Eagleton staff member reviews the content and formats of data from all supporting research and will (re-)format once the work has been completed for the compendium and reports submitted to the EAC. The researchers and staff at Eagleton have created a shared folder on the Institute's server for the safe storage of work and access for those staff members. All of this work is being reviewed by the project team to ensure that a broad survey is being performed.

Projections: By the end of July 2005, much of the above referenced research has been completed. The entire project team has begun the process of reviewing all work, and will combine and format all documents and materials in preparation for our final reporting to the EAC.

INTRANET

Description: All project team members have signed on to the Intranet site. The Intranet facilitates the exchange of information and collaboration among project participants.

Progress: Project team members regularly post drafts, completed materials and spreadsheets online for internal review. The intranet has been extremely helpful to team members and serves as an internal website with announcements and important documents readily available to all team members.

FINANCIAL REPORT

The financial reporting for this project is supervised and prepared by the Division of Grant and Contract Accounting (DGCA) at Rutgers. Financial reporting on grant accounts is limited to actual expenses that have been incurred during the reporting period. Our contact at DGCA is: Constance Bornheimer, (732) 932-0165, EXT. 2235.

A detail of expenses incurred from project inception through June 30, 2005, is attached.

014253

Karen Lynn-Dyson/EAC/GOV
08/19/2005 03:41 PM

To "Tom O'Neill" [REDACTED]@GSAEXTERNAL
cc
bcc Adam Ambrogi/EAC/GOV
Subject Re: Peer Review Group [REDACTED]

Tom-

Thank you for sharing this list of your Peer Review Group members, to-date. I will share this list with the Commissioners and will be certain to let your know of their feedback, if any.

I will also be back in touch regarding Eagleton's research around voter fraud and the research project EAC will be undertaking, this fall, around voting fraud and voter intimidation. The EAC is presently in the process of finalizing a work and staff plan for this project and once it is completed, I will be certain to brief you on it.

In the meantime, EAC staff and several of the Commissioners looks forward to meeting with the Eagleton/Moritz team on September 6 at 1:30 PM.

Regards-

Karen Lynn-Dyson
Research Manager
U.S. Election Assistance Commission
1225 New York Avenue, NW Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20005
tel:202-566-3123

"Tom O'Neill" [REDACTED] >



"Tom O'Neill"
[REDACTED]
08/19/2005 02:20 PM

To klynndyson@eac.gov
cc
Subject Peer Review Group

Karen,

Attached is a report on the status of recruitment of members of the Peer Review Group. We extended 9 invitations. We have four confirmed members, one reluctant turn-down, one who has yet to respond to an initial inquiry, and are awaiting confirmation from 3 others who initially agreed. Please let me know if you need additional information.

Tom O'Neill



RecruitmentStatus.doc

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STATUS OF PEER REVIEW GROUP RECRUITMENT

(As of August 17, 2005)

R. Michael Alvarez, Ph.D. Professor of Political Science California Institute of Technology	YES/CONFIRMED
Guy-Uriel Charles Associate Professor, School of Law University of Minnesota 612-626-9154	YES*
Brad Clark Professor of Law George Washington University School of Law	NO
Pamela Susan Karlan Montgomery Professor of Public Interest Law Stanford Law School 650-725-4851	YES
Martha E. Kropf, Ph.D. Assistant Professor of Political Science University of Missouri-Kansas City 816-235-5948; KropfM@umkc.edu	YES/CONFIRMED
Daniel H. Lowenstein Professor of Law UCLA 310-825-4841	YES
John F. Manning Professor Harvard Law School	NO RESPONSE
Tim Storey Program Principal Legislative Management Program National Conference of State Legislatures	YES/CONFIRMED
Peter G. Verniero, Esq. Counsel Sills, Cummis, Epstein and Gross, PC (Former NJ Attorney General and Supreme Court Justice)	YES/CONFIRMED

Karen Lynn-Dyson/EAC/GOV

09/19/2005 01:05 PM

To Gracia Hillman/EAC/GOV@EAC, Paul DeGregorio/EAC/GOV@EAC, Raymundo Martinez/EAC/GOV@EAC, Donetta L. cc Sheila A. Banks/EAC/GOV@EAC, Amie J. Sherrill/EAC/GOV@EAC, Adam Ambrogio/EAC/GOV@EAC bcc

Subject Fw: August Progress Report - Eagleton Institute of Politics

Commissioners-

FYI-

Eagleton's August progress report.

Karen Lynn-Dyson
Research Manager
U.S. Election Assistance Commission
1225 New York Avenue , NW Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20005
tel:202-566-3123

— Forwarded by Karen Lynn-Dyson/EAC/GOV on 09/18/2005 01:02 PM —



"Lauren Vincelli "
<Vincelli@rutgers.edu>

09/15/2005 12:04 PM

Please respond to
Vincelli@rutgers.edu

To klynndyson@eac.gov

cc [REDACTED] jdobrich@eden.rutgers.edu

Subject August Progress Report - Eagleton Institute of Politics

Hi Karen,

Attached is the August progress report in fulfillment of our Contract to Provide Research Assistance to the EAC for the Development of Voluntary Guidance on Provisional Voting and Voter Identification Procedures. Please note, as per your instructions earlier this month, that the financial report will be sent via Fedex under separate cover to: Ms. Dianna Scott, Administrative Officer, EAC. Also attached to the progress report is a finalized list of our Peer Review Group members. If you have any questions regarding this report, please contact Tom O'Neill [REDACTED]

Have a great day,
Lauren Vincelli

Lauren Vincelli
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Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University
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Phone: (732) 932-9384, ext. 237
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Progress Report_AUGUST2005_EagletonInst.pdf

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EAGLETON INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

*Contract to Provide Research Assistance to The EAC
For the Development of Voluntary Guidance on
Provisional Voting and Voter Identification Procedures*

**MONTHLY PROGRESS REPORT
AUGUST 2005**

For
UNITED STATES ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION
1225 New York Avenue N.W., Suite - 1100
Washington, DC 20005

September 15, 2005

Prepared by:
Eagleton Institute of Politics
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
191 Ryders Lane
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**Deliberative Process
Privilege**

OUTLINE

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INTRODUCTION

This report describes our progress from August 1 through August 31, 2005. It includes brief descriptions of key tasks; progress made; challenges encountered or anticipated; milestones reached; and projections for work to be completed in the coming month.

Research on Provisional Voting and a draft of reports on the analysis and alternatives were substantially completed in preparation for the September 6 briefing for the EAC. Important reports such as the National Survey of Local Election Officials' Experience with Provisional Voting; Statistical Review Provisional Voting in the 2004 Election; State-by-state Narrative of Developments in Provisional Voting; and the compilation of Provisional Voting statutes, regulations, and litigation from the 50 states, were all completed in August.

We made further progress on recruiting a balanced and authoritative Peer Review Group (which, as this report is written, is receiving all the documents listed above for review). Ingrid Reed of Eagleton will coordinate the work of the Peer Review Group. A list of the members of the Peer Review Group is attached.

This report is divided into 3 sections: Provisional Voting, Voter Identification Requirements, and Project Management. Each section references specific tasks described in paragraph 3 of the contract. The Financial Report will be sent separately by the Rutgers Division of Grant and Contract Accounting.

Please direct questions or comments about this report to Tom O'Neill at:

[REDACTED]

014259

PROVISIONAL VOTING

Tasks 3.4 – 3.9 in our contract relate to provisional voting. Work on the first of these must be complete before proceeding to later tasks. Task 3.4 was completed in August, and Task 3.5 is well underway.

Task 3.5: Analysis and Alternative Approaches. Assess the potential, problems, and challenges of provisional voting and develop alternative means to achieve the goals of provisional voting.

LEGISLATION, REGULATIONS, AND LITIGATION

The research team at the Moritz College of Law has the lead responsibility for the collection and analysis of legislation, administrative procedures and litigation. This information constitutes the compendium of legislation, administrative regulations, and case law called for under this task. It has provided a base of understanding for the analysis of states' actual experience with provisional voting in 2004, for which the Eagleton team has lead responsibility.

Description: The Moritz team has created a 50-state chart to summarize information on provisional voting, compiled statutes, case law and administrative procedures regarding Provisional Voting and is near completion with this research.

Progress: We completed the state by state summaries of provisional voting in August. Also complete is a memorandum outlining provisional voting legislative changes since the 2004 election. This material was sent to the EAC as part of the package for briefing on September 6.

Challenges: The variety in the form and frequency of provisional voting legislation from state to state makes creating a snap-shot view across states a challenge.

Work Plan: The analysis of all the information, data, and survey results concerning provisional voting data will be completed in September, on schedule. The alternatives document should also be complete in September, pending response from the EAC on which direction those alternatives should follow.

PREPARATION FOR AND EXPERIENCE WITH PROVISIONAL VOTING

The Eagleton team has researched and compiled a narrative of each state's experience with provisional voting in 2004. The report findings from the survey of 400 local election officials is now complete. The survey results improve our understanding of actual practice in administering provisional voting, including the steps local officials took to prepare for the election.

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PROVISIONAL VOTING NARRATIVES

Description: To construct the narratives, a researcher examined newspaper accounts, state websites, and reports from third-party organizations to gather information on the experience with provisional voting in the 2004 election. To organize the information derived from this examination, we created an information system that catalogues information about the states (i.e. whether a state was new to provisional voting, the percentage of provisional votes counted, the method of notifying voters if their vote was counted, etc.) and combined it with Moritz's collection and analysis of statutes, regulations and litigation.

Progress: A state-by-state narrative of developments in Provisional Voting is complete and has been distributed to the EAC and the Peer Review Group. This work has been crucial to the process of constructing our draft analysis and recommendation of alternative approaches for provisional voting required under Task 3.5.

Challenges: The primary obstacle to constructing the narratives was difficulty in communicating and obtaining necessary information from various state officials. As a result, the narratives underwent multiple revisions in order to incorporate the most up-to-date material available. Had the Election Day Study been available, this task would probably have been simplified considerably.

Work Plan: We completed revisions of the narratives.

SURVEY OF COUNTY ELECTION OFFICIALS

Description: The Center for Public Interest Polling (CPIP) at Eagleton conducted a national survey of county election officials to measure several aspects of provisional voting.

Progress: The analysis of the survey results and findings report are complete.

Work Plan: We used the information from the survey in drafting the analysis and alternatives document required under Task 3.5.

014261

VOTER IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS

The contract lists 7 tasks (3.10 – 3.16) related to Voter Identification Requirements. The research on Voter ID requirements is proceeding concurrently with our work on the experience of provisional voting, and is becoming the principal focus of our research.

Task 3.10: Legislation, regulations, and litigation

The research team at the Moritz College of Law has the lead responsibility for the collection and analysis of legislation, administrative procedures and litigation with regard to Voter Identification Requirements. This collection of material is nearing completion. It will constitute the compendium of legislation, administrative regulations, and case law called for under this task.

Description: The Moritz team has compiled statutes on Voter Identification, and will provide a summarized analysis of this research to the project team for review.

Progress: We are refining the 50 state (plus District of Columbia) chart of data on voter identification. So far collected are voter identification statutes for 35 states. Summaries of the existing voter identification statutes have been written for forty states.

Challenges: Identifying the relevant statutes has been challenging because of the different terminology used from state to state to codify voter identification issues, and because many states have scattered election law provisions throughout their codes. This variety from state to state makes creating a snap-shot view across states a challenge.

Work Plan: The state by state voter identification statute summaries will be completed for the remaining ten states and D.C. and the review of the chart will be completed. Analysis of voter identification data will begin.

SUPPLEMENTS TO LEGAL ANALYSIS

To supplement the legal analysis, the Eagleton team is undertaking two research efforts: First, compiling information on the debate over voter ID in the states; and second, estimating the effect on turnout of different voter ID regimes. Tracking the continuing political debate over voter identification reveals that the relatively narrow HAVA requirements for voter identification have apparently sparked in many states a broader concern, and a sharp political debate over rigorous identification requirements for all voters. The research follows these developments both to monitor possible secondary effects of HAVA on voter ID, and to provide a rich collection of alternative approaches for consideration.

Individual narratives for the states with significant activity in voter ID will provide a resource for understanding the wide range of experience in the 2004 election. The narratives will include an appraisal of the prevalence and nature of vote fraud, a focus of the concern with

increasing the rigor of voter ID requirements. The next key milestones will be the completion of the state database and drafting the first narratives.

VOTER ID AND TURNOUT ANALYSIS

The second supplemental analysis will provide objective information on a contentious feature of the debate over voter ID in the states: the effects of more rigorous voter ID regimes on voter turnout and the relationship between the voter ID regime and vote fraud. As part of this effort, Eagleton is undertaking a statistical analysis to gauge the effect of a state's voter ID regime on turnout, especially turnout by minority and elderly voters.

Description: We are creating a database and gathering statistics on the effects of state-level voter identification requirements on voter turnout at the county-level in the 2004 election.

Progress: The collection of data for the Voter ID-Turnout analysis is complete. The assembled database contains population demographic data, voter registration data and voter turnout data from all 50 states, 3113 Counties, and the District of Columbia. We have also utilized exit poll data collected on Election Day 2004 as a resource for understanding the demographics of voter turnout. The analysis of that data is underway.

Challenges: The main challenges to this task include gathering the complete set of changes to Voter ID laws over the past 5 years, and then incorporating those changes into a sound statistical methodology.

Projection: We will continue to work towards resolving the methodology issue, and ultimately produce a final report on this subject. The analysis of the impact that voter identification requirements have upon voter turnout should be completed around mid-September.

PROJECT MANAGEMENT

PEER REVIEW GROUP

Description: A feature of our proposal was the creation of a Peer Review Group (PRG). The Peer Review Group will review our research and methodology and provide valuable feedback and suggestions for the direction of our work.

Progress: The composition of the Peer Review Group has been determined and the membership has been submitted to the EAC. Additionally, as of the date of this report all PRG members have received their first mailing, which included several reports from our research, and a draft of our analysis and alternatives outline for their review.

Challenges: Our timeline for circulating and discussing our research with the PRG has been compromised due to delays in completing the recruitment of members of the group.

Projections: We are in the process of scheduling our first conference call with PRG members for the week of Sept. 19, 2005.

COORDINATION AND INFORMATION MANAGEMENT

Collecting and merging information and data from myriad sources is a demanding requirement of this research. We have developed two principal mechanisms to facilitate the analysis of the material collected or created in the project: an information system and an internal website for easy access to drafts and reports.

INFORMATION SYSTEM

Description: The statutory data and reports prepared by the Moritz College of Law is being merged with the political and procedural data and analysis prepared by the Eagleton Institute of Politics to provide a cohesive final product to the EAC, which will include a compendium of case law and statutes regarding provisional voting and voter identification.

Progress: At this point in the research process, many documents are complete after a lengthy process of circulating drafts among team members. As we near the end of the Provisional Voting research and move into the Voter Identification research, we will re-evaluate the volume of files contained in the Information System and update the system.

Projections: The entire project team continues to review all project drafts, and will staff members combine and format all documents and materials in preparation for our final reporting to the EAC.

INTRANET

Description: All project team members have signed on to the Intranet site. The Intranet facilitates the exchange of information and collaboration among project participants.

Progress: Project team members regularly post drafts, completed materials and spreadsheets online for internal review. The intranet has been extremely helpful to team members and serves as an internal website with announcements and important documents readily available to all team members.

FINANCIAL REPORT

The financial reporting for this project is supervised and prepared by the Division of Grant and Contract Accounting (DGCA) at Rutgers. Financial reporting on grant accounts is limited to actual expenses that have been incurred during the reporting period. Our contact at DGCA is: Constance Bornheimer, (732) 932-0165, EXT. 2235.

A detail of expenses incurred from project August 1 - August 31, 2005, will be sent under separate cover to: Ms. Dianna Scott, Administrative Officer, EAC .

014265

**ATTACHMENT:
PEER REVIEW GROUP
FINAL LIST (09/13/05)**

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Timothy G. O'Rourke

Dean, Fulton School of Liberal Arts
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Karen Lynn-Dyson/EAC/GOV

11/14/2005 05:35 PM

To Paul DeGregorio/EAC/GOV@EAC, Gracia Hillman/EAC/GOV@EAC, Raymundo Martinez/EAC/GOV@EAC, Donetta L. Amie J. Sherrill/EAC/GOV@EAC, Sheila A. Banks/EAC/GOV@EAC, Adam Ambrogio/EAC/GOV@EAC, Elieen L. Collver/EAC/GOV@EAC, Bert A.
bcc

Subject Fw: October Progress Report

FYI-

Karen Lynn-Dyson
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U.S. Election Assistance Commission
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— Forwarded by Karen Lynn-Dyson/EAC/GOV on 11/13/2005 05:32 PM —



"Tom O'Neill"

11/14/2005 05:27 PM

To klynndyson@eac.gov

cc tokaji.1@osu.edu, foley.33@osu.edu, lauracw@columbus.rr.com, Vincelli@rutgers.edu, arapp@rci.rutgers.edu, davander@eden.rutgers.edu, dlinky@rci.rutgers.edu, ireed@rutgers.edu, joharris@eden.rutgers.edu, john.weingart@rutgers.edu, rmandel@rci.rutgers.edu, "Johanna Dobrich" <jdobrich@eden.rutgers.edu>

Subject FW: October Progress Report

Tom O'Neill

-----Original Message-----

From: Tom O'Neill [redacted]
Sent: Monday, November 14, 2005 5:26 PM
To: klynndyson@eac.gov

Cc: Vincelli@rutgers.edu; arapp@rci.rutgers.edu; davander@eden.rutgers.edu; dlinky@rci.rutgers.edu; ireed@rutgers.edu; joharris@eden.rutgers.edu; john.weingart@rutgers.edu; rmandel@rci.rutgers.edu; 'Johanna Dobrich'; tokaji.1@osu.edu; foley.33@osu.edu; lauracw@columbus.rr.com
Subject: October Progress Report

Karen,

014287

Attached is the Progress Report for October. Please note that this report includes an attachment showing how our study classifies each state on key variables, such as counting out-of-precinct ballots, requirements for ballot evaluation, and other variables. It also displays how the data we used differs for some states for the vote counts reported by the Election Day Survey. We believe that our data is more accurate and complete (see for example the data for New Mexico and Pennsylvania).

I look forward to responding to any questions or concerns you or others at the EAC may have.

Tom O'Neill



OctoberFinal.doc



EAGLETON INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

*Contract to Provide Research Assistance to the EAC For
the Development of Voluntary Guidance on Provisional
Voting and Voter Identification Procedures*

**MONTHLY PROGRESS REPORT
October 2005**

For
UNITED STATES ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION
1225 New York Avenue N.W., Suite - 1100
Washington, DC 20005

November 15, 2005

Prepared by:
Eagleton Institute of Politics
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
191 Ryders Lane
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**Deliberative Process
Privilege**

OUTLINE

- Introduction
- Provisional Voting
 - Task 3.5
- Voter Identification Requirements
 - Task 3.10
 - Task 3.11
- Project Management
 - Task 3.1
- Financial Report

INTRODUCTION

This report describes our progress from October 1 through October 31, 2005. It includes brief descriptions of key tasks; progress made; challenges encountered or anticipated; milestones reached; and projections for work to be completed in the coming month.

In October we focused on finalizing our Provisional Voting analysis paper, including the development of recommendations to the EAC for a draft guidance document and best practices. These policy prescriptions are based on our research and the comments of the Peer Review Group. We completed a careful review of our data to reconcile it with other sources and identify the latest, most reliable information to use in the analysis. (See the attachment to this Progress Report for the details.) The importance of this demanding effort was described in September's Progress Report.

Also in October we revised the schedule for the project in light of the additional time that has been needed for review of earlier drafts by the EAC and the late completion of the Election Day Study. We will seek a meeting with the EAC in the next several weeks to confer about the schedule to complete the project and alternative approaches that could speed the conclusion of our work.

We will submit to the EAC a final draft of our report, a preliminary guidance document, and draft best practices before Thanksgiving. We project that EAC will take 3 to 4 weeks to review and react to that final draft. And we understand that after its review, the EAC will decide if it should move towards issuing a Guidance Document or recommending best practices. If the EAC does decide to issue a Guidance Document on Provisional Voting, the time needed for a review by the advisory boards is likely to delay a public hearing until early February.

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This report is divided into 3 sections: Provisional Voting, Voter Identification Requirements, and Project Management. Each section references specific tasks described in paragraph 3 of the contract. The Financial Report will be sent separately by the Rutgers Division of Grant and Contract Accounting.

Please direct questions or comments about this report to [REDACTED] or by [REDACTED]

PROVISIONAL VOTING

Tasks 3.4 – 3.9 in our contract relate to Provisional Voting. Work on the first of these must be complete before proceeding to later tasks. Task 3.4 was completed in August, Tasks 3.5 and 3.6 are nearing completion.

Task 3.5: Analysis and Alternative Approaches. Assess the potential, problems, and challenges of Provisional Voting and develop alternative means to achieve the goals of Provisional Voting.

LEGISLATION, REGULATIONS, AND LITIGATION

The research team at the Moritz College of Law has the lead responsibility for the collection and analysis of legislation, administrative procedures and litigation. This information constitutes the compendium of legislation, administrative regulations, and case law called for under this task. It has provided a base of understanding for the analysis of states' actual experience with Provisional Voting in 2004, for which the Eagleton team has lead responsibility.

Description: The Moritz team has created a 50-state chart to summarize information on Provisional Voting, compiled statutes, case law and administrative procedures regarding Provisional Voting and has completed this research.

Progress: We have completed the memorandum outlining Provisional Voting legislative changes since the 2004 election and we are continuing to clarify the laws prior to these changes.

Challenges: The variety in the form and frequency of Provisional Voting legislation from state to state makes creating a snap-shot view across states a challenge.

Work Plan: The final analysis will be sent to the EAC by Thanksgiving.

014271

PREPARATION FOR AND EXPERIENCE WITH PROVISIONAL VOTING

The Eagleton team has researched and compiled a narrative of each state's experience with Provisional Voting in 2004. The report findings from the survey of 400 local election officials are now complete. The survey results have proven to be instrumental in shaping our understanding of actual practice in administering Provisional Voting, including the steps local officials took to prepare for the election.

PROVISIONAL VOTING NARRATIVES

Description: To construct the narratives, a researcher examined newspaper accounts, state websites, and reports from third-party organizations to gather information on the experience with Provisional Voting in the 2004 election. To organize the information derived from this examination, we created an information system that catalogues information about the states (i.e. whether a state was new to Provisional Voting, the percentage of provisional votes counted, the method of notifying voters if their vote was counted, etc.) and combined it with Moritz's collection and analysis of statutes, regulations and litigation.

Progress: We completed a state-by-state narrative of developments in Provisional Voting and distributed it to the EAC and the PRG. This work has been helpful in understanding the context of the data collected on provisional voting from the states.

Challenges: The primary obstacle to constructing the narratives was difficulty in communicating and obtaining necessary information from various state officials. As a result, the narratives underwent several revisions to incorporate up-to-date and reliable information. Now that so many other analyses, including the Election Day Survey, have been released, we were challenged by different interpretations of the same basic facts. But the reconciliation of interpretation and data collection has been invaluable in establishing rigor in our report.

Work Plan: We completed revisions of the narratives incorporating comments from the PRG and addressing any discrepancies between our findings and other interpretations of similar information included in other studies.

PROVISIONAL VOTING STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Description: During October the Eagleton research team continued to check its statistical analysis, and worked to reconcile the classifications of this analysis (such as states counting only those provisional ballots cast within the proper precinct versus states that counted ballots cast within the proper county) with the classification made in other parts of this study or in other studies (such as the Election Day Study or *Electionline* reports).

Progress: The effort to double check all of the classifications used in the study is complete. The results of this effort are displayed in the attachment to this progress report, "Characteristics of the Provisional Voting Process -- Classification of the States,"

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beginning on page 9. Only Delaware and Arkansas remain unclear in regard to one of the measures, and both states have been contacted to receive clarification in this area.

Challenges: The difficulties encountered have been a result of communication delays and time constraints. Some states have been more responsive to our inquiries about their practices than others. Overall, this is not an irresolvable problem but it does slow the process of completion down.

Work Plan: By early-November the final revision of the statistical analysis, which includes full reconciliation of all data within the study, will be complete. The reconciliation of data is displayed in the attachment to this progress report.

SURVEY OF COUNTY ELECTION OFFICIALS

Description: The Eagleton Center for Public Interest Polling (CPIP) conducted a national survey of county election officials to measure several aspects of Provisional Voting.

Progress: The analysis of the survey results and findings report is complete. As a result of the critique by the PRG, the research team is revising and clarifying the descriptions of the survey design and sample selection process to make the research methods more transparent.

Work Plan: We used the information from the survey in drafting the analysis and alternatives document required under Task 3.5. We will include necessary clarifications regarding survey design and sample selection in the final analysis and alternatives document.

<p>Task 3.6: Prepare preliminary draft guidance document.</p>
--

The report and recommendations now nearing completion constitutes the draft preliminary guidance document. Based on our conversation with the EAC, the draft gives the EAC the option of proceeding with a guidance document or issuing recommendations to the state for best practices, recommendations that would not constitute voluntary guidance. Before proceeding to Task 3.7 (revise the guidance document for publication) or 3.8 (arrange a public hearing on the draft guidance), we will await the EAC's decision on how to proceed.

VOTER IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS

The contract lists 7 tasks (3.10 – 3.16) related to Voter Identification Requirements. The research on Voter ID requirements is proceeding concurrently with our work on the experience of Provisional Voting, and is becoming the principal focus of our research.

Task 3.10: Legislation, regulations, and litigation

The research team at the Moritz College of Law has the lead responsibility for the collection and analysis of legislation, administrative procedures and litigation with regard to Voter Identification Requirements. This collection of material is nearing completion. It will constitute the compendium of legislation, administrative regulations, and case law called for under this task.

Description: The Moritz team has compiled statutes on Voter Identification, and will provide a summarized analysis of this research to the project team for review.

Progress: The 50 State (plus the District of Columbia) chart has been completed, the voter identification statutes have been collected for all states and D.C., and summaries of the existing voter identification statutes have been written for all states and D.C.

Challenges: Identifying the relevant statutes has been challenging because of the different terminology used from state to state to codify voter identification issues, and because many states have scattered election law provisions throughout their codes. This variety from state to state makes creating a snap-shot view across states a challenge.

Work Plan: Analysis of voter identification data has begun and will increasingly become the central focus of our work.

SUPPLEMENTS TO LEGAL ANALYSIS

To supplement the legal analysis, the Eagleton team is undertaking two research efforts: First, compiling information on the debate over voter ID in the states; and second, estimating the effect on turnout of different voter ID regimes. Tracking the continuing political debate over voter identification reveals that the relatively narrow HAVA requirements for voter identification have apparently sparked in many states a broader concern and a sharp political debate over rigorous identification requirements for all voters. The research follows these developments both to monitor possible secondary effects of HAVA on voter ID, and to provide a rich collection of alternative approaches for consideration.

014274

VOTER ID AND TURNOUT ANALYSIS

The second supplemental analysis will provide objective information on a contentious feature of the debate over voter ID in the states: the effects of more rigorous voter ID regimes on voter turnout and the relationship between the voter ID regime and vote fraud. As part of this effort, Eagleton is undertaking a statistical analysis to gauge the effect of a state's voter ID regime on turnout, especially turnout by minority and elderly voters.

Description: We have created a database and gathered statistics on the effects of state-level voter identification requirements on voter turnout at the county-level in the 2004 election

Progress: The collection of data for the Voter ID-Turnout analysis is complete. The assembled database contains population demographic data, voter registration data and voter turnout data from all 50 states, 3113 Counties, and the District of Columbia. We have also used exit poll data collected on Election Day 2004 as a resource for understanding the demographics of voter turnout.

Challenges: The analysis of these data had been postponed until the data reconciliation of Provisional Voting is complete. As a result of the extensive revision and data reconciliation efforts aimed at the Provisional Voting section of our work VID had been temporarily placed on hold. We are now beginning data analysis on the impact of voter identification requirements on voter turnout.

Work Plan: The analysis of the impact that voter identification requirements have upon voter turnout should be completed by early December. Early January is our target to deliver the draft report and outline of alternative policies to the Peer Review Group. In mid January, the EAC would receive a draft report and recommendations that take into account the comments of the PRG.

PROJECT MANAGEMENT

PEER REVIEW GROUP

Description: A feature of our proposal was the creation of a Peer Review Group (PRG). It reviews our research and methodology and provides valuable feedback and suggestions for the direction of our work.

Progress: Eagleton has stayed in touch with members of the Peer Review Group since the September 21st conference call, and has solicited their final comments on the Provisional Voting research. During October, we telephoned two members who did not participate in the conference call to confirm their commitment to serving as members of the Peer Review Group. Profess Guy Charles affirmed his interest. Professor Pamela Karlan did not return the call. The revisions in the schedule for the project have now made it possible to begin the process of scheduling a meeting of the PRG to consider our draft report and recommendations on Voter Identification Issues. We anticipate that meeting will take place the second week of January.

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Challenges: No new challenges were encountered during October.

COORDINATION AND INFORMATION MANAGEMENT

Collecting and merging information and data from myriad sources is a demanding requirement of this research. We have developed two principal mechanisms to facilitate the analysis of the material collected or created in the project: an information system and an internal website for easy access to drafts and reports.

INFORMATION SYSTEM

Description: The statutory data and reports prepared by the Moritz College of Law is being merged with the political and procedural data and analysis prepared by the Eagleton Institute of Politics to provide a cohesive final product to the EAC, which will include a compendium of case law and statutes regarding Provisional Voting and voter identification.

Progress: At this point in the research process, many documents are complete after a lengthy process of circulating drafts among team members. We have reorganized our system by separating final drafts from earlier versions of documents, discarding dated files contained in the Information System, and updating the system as a whole. Upon their completion, new documents continue to be added.

Projections: The entire project team continues to use the Information System which contains the above referenced research, in working toward the preparation for our final reports to the EAC.

INTRANET

Description: All project team members have signed on to the Intranet site, and regularly post drafts, completed materials and spreadsheets online for internal review. The Intranet facilitates the exchange of information and collaboration among project participants.

FINANCIAL REPORT

The financial reporting for this project is supervised and prepared by the Division of Grant and Contract Accounting (DGCA) at Rutgers. Financial reporting on grant accounts is limited to actual expenses that have been incurred during the reporting period. Our contact at DGCA is: Constance Bornheimer, (732) 932-0165, EXT. 2235.

A detail of expenses incurred from project October 1- October 31, 2005, will be sent under separate cover to: Ms. Dianna Scott, Administrative Officer at the EAC.

014276

ATTACHMENT TO OCTOBER PROGRESS REPORT
Characteristics of the Provisional Voting Process
Classification of the States

Our research on provisional voting divided the various states into several categories to allow an assessment of how different factors may have influenced the process of casting and counting provisional ballots. This analysis was conducted before the release of the Election Day Study, and the categories we used may differ in some respects from its work. The categories analyzed here are:

1. New vs. Old (states that used a provisional ballot before the 2004 election)
2. Use of a statewide database of registered voters vs. no use of a statewide database
3. Counting out-of-precinct ballots vs. not counting out-of-precinct ballots
4. Voter identification requirements
5. Method used to verify provisional ballots
6. Levels of provisional ballots cast and counted

We first assigned states within these categories based on classifications done by Electionline.org in its studies. The Electionline data was the only published information available at the time of our research. We reviewed the Electionline data carefully, and, in select cases, updated it with new, detailed information that had become available after its publication. The changes we made are explained below.

Please note that:

--Idaho, Maine, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Wisconsin and Wyoming were excluded from our analysis. They have election-day registration systems, and did not need to use HAVA-compliant provisional ballots.

--North Dakota does not register voters, so it also was excluded from HAVA requirements and did not use provisional voting.

--Mississippi has not reported its provisional voting results and could not be included in our analysis, though it was compliant in 2004.

--Pennsylvania did not report its totals for the Election Day Study, but we obtained information on Pennsylvania and did include it in our analysis.

014277

New vs. Old States

We classified states as “new” or “old” based on the 2001 Electionline study of provisional voting¹ and condensing its classifications into a single dichotomous variable, new/old with all other cases excluded. The Electionline study divided states into five categories of their use of provisional ballots in the 2000 election:

1. Use of provisional ballots (P)
2. Limited use of provisional ballots (LP)
3. Affidavit ballots (A)
4. No system in place (N)
5. Unnecessary/Not Applicable (U/NA)

We collapsed all of the states listed as using provisional ballots, limited use of provisional ballots or affidavit ballots as “old” states, because the states in all three categories would have been familiar with key aspects of provisional voting. States that had no provisional voting system in place for the 2002 election, and were HAVA compliant in 2004, were listed as “new” states, as 2004 would have been the first year in which they would be offering the option of provisional voting. States that were listed as unnecessary or not applicable were excluded from this study, as they were exempt from the HAVA regulations in 2004 because they either allowed same-day registration or did not register voters.

Rhode Island is the only state categorized as an old state by Electionline that we moved into the list of new states. Electionline’s map shows Rhode Island as a state that used provisional voting in 2000, but in the state description, it is listed as having no system in place. We learned from the Rhode Island Board of Elections that the state had previously permitted potential voters to sign an affidavit if they did not appear on a precinct’s list of registered voters, but felt they were registered to vote. Based on the signed affidavit, the election official would then contact a county official to see if the voter was on a more complete registration list. If the voter’s name was on the complete list, that voter was permitted to cast a regular ballot. As this process did not grant the voter a provisional ballot, but served as a different type of administrative failsafe, we concluded that Rhode Island’s first use of provisional voting was in 2004 and, therefore, classified the state as “new” to the system of provisional balloting.

¹ This study can be found at: <http://electionline.org/Portals/1/Publications/Provisional%20Voting.pdf>.

Table 1 CATEGORIZATION OF STATES – Old vs New		
Old States	New States	HAVA Exempt or NA
Alaska	Connecticut	Idaho
Alabama	Delaware	Maine
Arkansas	Georgia	Minnesota
California	Hawaii	New Hampshire
Colorado	Illinois	North Dakota
DC	Indiana	Wisconsin
Florida	Louisiana	Wyoming
Iowa	Massachusetts	
Kansas	Missouri	
Kentucky	Montana	
Maryland	Nevada	
Michigan	Oklahoma	
Mississippi	Pennsylvania	
Nebraska	Rhode Island	
New Jersey	South Dakota	
New Mexico	Tennessee	
New York	Utah	
North Carolina	Vermont	
Ohio		
Oregon		
South Carolina		
Texas		
Virginia		
Washington		
West Virginia		
26	18	7

Statewide List of Registered Voters

The Electionline preview of the 2004 Election² was the starting point for compiling a list of states that had a statewide database of registered voters. That study listed 34 States that did not have their statewide database systems complete, and 16 that did, including the District of Columbia. North Dakota does not register voters, so does not need to compile such a database. Electionline’s criterion for concluding that a state had a statewide list was that the state have participation from all jurisdictions in a statewide system. We added Oklahoma to the list of states with statewide databases

² “Election Preview 2004: What’s changed, What Hasn’t and Why”. This study can be found at: <http://electionline.org/Portals/1/Publications/Election.preview.2004.report.final.update.pdf>

014279

because we found they had met the Electionline criteria by the 2004 election, albeit too late for inclusion in the Electionline survey.

Table 2 CATEGORIZATION OF STATES -- Statewide Registration Database			
Had Database 2004	No Database A-N	No Database N-W	HAVA Exempt or NA
Alaska	Alabama	Ohio	Idaho
Arizona	Arkansas	Oregon	Maine
Connecticut	California	Pennsylvania	Mississippi
Delaware	Colorado	Rhode Island	Minnesota
District of Columbia	Florida	Tennessee	New Hampshire
Georgia	Iowa	Texas	North Dakota
Hawaii	Illinois	Utah	Wisconsin
Kentucky	Indiana	Vermont	Wyoming
Louisiana	Kansas	Virginia	
Massachusetts	Maryland	Washington	
Michigan	Missouri		
New Mexico	Montana		
Oklahoma	Nebraska		
South Carolina	Nevada		
South Dakota	New Jersey		
West Virginia	New York		
	North Carolina		
16	27		8

Minnesota has a statewide database but was excluded from the analysis because it did not offer provisional ballots and was exempt from the HAVA requirements.

Out-of-Precinct Ballots

We based our classification of states that allow the counting of ballots cast outside the correct precinct on the data in the 2004 Electionline preview of the 2004 election². States that evaluated ballots cast in a precinct where the voter was not registered were categorized as “out-of-precinct.” States that invalidated such ballots were categorized as “In-precinct only.”

014280

Table 4**CATEGORIZATION OF STATES -- Forms of Identification Required**

States in italics are exempt from HAVA or did not report Provisional Ballot data and are not included in the analysis.

Give Name	Sign Name	Match Signature	Provide ID	Photo ID
<i>Maine</i>	California	Illinois	Alabama	Florida
Massachusetts	DC	Nevada	Alaska	Hawaii
<i>New Hampshire</i>	<i>Idaho</i>	New Jersey	Arizona	Louisiana
North Carolina	Indiana	New York	Arkansas	South Carolina
Rhode Island	Iowa	Ohio	Colorado	South Dakota
Utah	Kansas	Oregon	Connecticut	
Vermont	Maryland	Pennsylvania	Delaware	
<i>Wisconsin</i>	Michigan	West Virginia	Georgia	
<i>Wyoming</i>	Minnesota		Kentucky	
	<i>Mississippi</i>		Missouri	
	Nebraska		Montana	
	New Mexico		<i>North Dakota</i>	
	Oklahoma		Tennessee	
	Washington		Texas	
			Virginia	
9	14	8	15	5

South Dakota complicates the effort to assign each state to a category. It permits voters to sign an affidavit that would allow them to vote without presenting photo ID. While Hawaii did not normally require photo ID, its statutes gave challenged voters the opportunity to respond by producing a photo ID.

Verification Method

We identified four different ways states assessed provisional ballots to determine if they should be counted: signature match, match voter data, signed affidavits, and bringing back identification later. We gathered information about these verification techniques by checking state websites and consulting journalistic accounts. We consulted state legislation to provide further information where needed.

014282

Table 5**CATEGORIZATION OF STATES – Ballot Evaluation Methods**

States in italics are exempt from HAVA or did not report Provisional Ballot data and are not included in the analysis.

Signature Match	Data Match	Affidavit	Return with ID	NA
Alaska	Alabama	Connecticut	Indiana	Idaho
California	Arizona	Delaware	Iowa	Maine
Florida	Arkansas	Georgia	Kansas	Mississippi
Oregon	Colorado	Hawaii	Maryland	Minnesota
	DC	Illinois	Michigan	New Hampshire
	Louisiana	Kentucky	Montana	N. Carolina*
	Missouri	Massachusetts	New Jersey	N. Dakota
	Ohio	Nebraska	New Mexico	Wisconsin
	Oklahoma	Nevada	Texas	Wyoming
	Pennsylvania	New York	Utah	
	Rhode Island	South Dakota		
	S. Carolina	Tennessee		
	Washington	Vermont		
	West Virginia	Virginia		
4	14	14	10	9

Data Collection

To assemble our data for analysis, we began by using the data on provisional votes cast and counted reported by Electionline. To increase the accuracy of this data, we surveyed each state's election websites for updated data, and for reported numbers on the county level. We then sent emails to 49 (we excluded Alaska, see below) states and the District of Columbia, requesting updated data on the number of provisional votes cast and counted by county. We received information from 25 states by our cut-off date of August 25, 2005.

* North Carolina lacked clear standards to evaluate provisional ballots and is excluded from this analysis.

014283

Table 6	
Updated information by State	
Received Updated Data	Did Not Receive Updated Data
California	Alabama
District of Columbia	Alaska ⁵
Florida	Arizona
Hawaii	Arkansas
Indiana	Colorado
Iowa	Connecticut
Kansas	Delaware
Louisiana	Georgia
Maryland ⁶	Idaho
Missouri	Illinois
Montana	Kentucky
Nebraska ⁷	Maine
Nevada	Massachusetts
New Jersey	Michigan
New Mexico	Minnesota
Ohio	Mississippi
Oklahoma	New Hampshire
Oregon	New York
Pennsylvania	North Carolina
Rhode Island	North Dakota
South Dakota	South Carolina
Tennessee	Utah
Texas	Vermont
Virginia	Wisconsin
Washington	Wyoming
West Virginia	
26 States	25 States

⁵ Alaska was not contacted via email, as the state does not have voting districts comparable to counties in other states and could not be matched with comparable census data.

⁶ Maryland reported provisional ballots that were counted per county, but not number cast.

⁷ Nebraska reported an incomplete list of provisional ballots cast and counted by county, but designated counties by number, rather than by name.

Data Differences with Election Day Study

The data used in this study differs from the data reported in the Election Day Study for 19 states. The Election Day Study was not completed until well after our statistical analysis of provisional voting was finished, on the schedule laid out in our work plan. Where there are differences, they are typically very small, usually fewer than 100 votes either cast or counted. Of the 9 states that have differences of more than 100 votes cast or counted, 7 have reported their numbers directly to us and can be considered updated data that EDS had not obtained. For one of those states, New Mexico, EDS had incomplete data, and for another, Pennsylvania, EDS had no data at all. The data that we have collected reflects updated numbers from the states that have changed following recounts and litigation that altered how ballots were evaluated.

State	EDS Numbers Cast/Counted	Our Numbers Cast/Counted	Differences	Updated Info from State?
Alabama	6,478/1,865	6560/1836	82/29	No
Alaska	23,285/22,498	23,275/22,498	10/0	No
Colorado	51,529/39,086	51,477/39,163	52/77	No
Georgia	12,893/4,489	12,893/3,839	0/650	No
Hawaii	346/25	348/25	2/0	Yes
Iowa	15,406/8,038	15,454/8,048	48/10	Yes
Kansas	45,535/32,079	45,563/31,805	28/274	Yes
Montana	688/378	653/357	35/21	Yes
Nebraska	17,421/13,788	17,003/13,298	418/490	Yes
Nevada	6,153/2,446	6,154/2,447	1/1	Yes
New Mexico	6,410/2,914	15,360/8,767	8,950/5,853	Yes
N. Carolina	77,469/50,370	77,469/42,348	0/8,022	No
Ohio	157,714/123,902	158,642/123,548	928/354	Yes
Pennsylvania	No data	53,698/26,092	N/A	Yes
Texas	35,282/7,156	36,193/7,770	911/614	Yes
Vermont	121/30	101/37	20/7	No
Virginia	4,608/728	4,609/728	1/0	Yes
Washington	92,402/73,806	86,239/69,273	6,163/4,533	Yes
Wisconsin	374/119	373/120	1/1	No