Members

Sen. Sue Landske, Chairperson
Sen. Randall Head
Sen. James Arnold
Sen. Timothy Lanane
Rep. Kathy Kreag Richardson
Rep. Peggy Mayfield
Rep. John Bartlett
Rep. Phil GiaQuinta

CENSUS DATA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Legislative Services Agency
200 West Washington Street, Suite 301
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204-2789
Tel: (317) 233-0696 Fax: (317) 232-2554

LSA Staff:

Chris Baker, Fiscal Analyst for the Committee
Robert Rudolph, Attorney for the Committee

Authority: IC 2-5-19

MEETING MINUTES[1]

Meeting Date:	**October 23, 2013**
Meeting Time:	**1:00 P.M.**
Meeting Place:	**State House, 200 W. Washington St., Room 156 A**
Meeting City:	**Indianapolis, Indiana**
Meeting Number:	**3**

Members Present: **Sen. Timothy Lanane; Rep. Kathy Kreag Richardson; Rep. Peggy Mayfield; Rep. John Bartlett.**

Members Absent: **Sen. Sue Landske, Chairperson; Sen. Randall Head; Sen. James Arnold; Rep. Phil GiaQuinta.**

The Census Data Advisory Committee was not able to achieve a quorum to convene officially, but Representative Kathy Richardson, filling in as Chairwoman of the Committee, began taking testimony at 1:10 P.M.

Agenda Item II- Secretary of State Connie Lawson began the testimony. She said she was testifying in response to the testimony provided by Ms. Ruth Greenwood of the Chicago Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights (CLCFCR) during the Census Data Advisory Committee's August 29 meeting. She passed out documents as a supplement to her testimony. (Exhibit A.)

Secretary Lawson commended the CLCFCR's effort to help insure that voters are not disfranchised. However, she said that she was troubled and surprised by the news from the CLCFCR's report of a large number of complaints regarding voter suppression in Indiana that the CLCFCR had claimed to have received. She cited the CLCFCR report that the CLCFCR hotline had received 800 phone calls on complaints of voter suppression. (*Please see the exhibits from the August 29 meeting minutes of the Committee to review the report.*)

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[1] These minutes, exhibits, and other materials referenced in the minutes can be viewed electronically at http://www.in.gov/legislative Hard copies can be obtained in the Legislative Information Center in Room 230 of the State House in Indianapolis, Indiana. Requests for hard copies may be mailed to the Legislative Information Center, Legislative Services Agency, West Washington Street, Indianapolis, IN 46204-2789. A fee of $0.15 per page and mailing costs will be charged for hard copies.

Secretary Lawson said her office had contacted the CLCFCR to question the number of calls and that the CLCFCR later sent a revision of their comments from the August 29 meeting. (*Please see exhibits from the October 9 meeting minutes of the Committee for further information.*)

Secretary Lawson said she takes the allegations of voter suppression very seriously. She said that further inquiry clarified that the CLCFCR had actually fielded 800 calls with fewer than 100 cited as actual complaints of voter suppression.

Secretary Lawson reported that the Secretary of State's voter hotline received 343 calls on that election day, but that most of the calls were of a more general nature, such as where is a poll location, complaints of overzealous poll workers checking for IDs, and rude poll workers. She said none of those calls to the state hotline complained of voter suppression or disfranchisement.

She said that the CLCFCR's initial study did not ask questions of their callers such as race or other vital statistics. She said they did not take down the names or contact information of the callers, which she continued, makes it impossible for her office to follow up and investigate these complaints. She said that the only response of action by the CLCFCR was to inform Lake County election officials of a single incorrect polling location address.

Secretary Lawson then cited a finding of the CLCFCR's initial report that claimed that Indiana's voter ID law had reduced voter turnout by 2% to 3%. She said that the sources cited by the CLCFCR to support their claims did not in fact support them when checked into further.

She cited a University of Missouri study that found that Indiana's voter ID law had, instead, increased turnout.

Secretary Lawson concluded that the state is committed to insuring the rights of voters and will investigate reports of any citizen being disfranchised or suppressed from their right to vote.

In response to a comment from Representative Bartlett regarding African-American confidence in the election process, Secretary Lawson said that she would do whatever is necessary to insure the African-American community that her office will do whatever it takes to insure their voting rights are protected.

Senator Lanane commented about a portion in the CLCFCR that the Secretary's office quickly took action against a robocall effort by a private entity saying people could vote by phone. He thanked her for that quick response. He said that the example shows that there are people out there trying to subvert the election process.

Jerry Bonnet, chief counsel to Secretary Lawson, said that the entity sending out the robocalls was based in Virginia. He reported that the Secretary's office had received five complaints on the matter. He continued that within a day or two that the newspapers were able to get out a response to voters indicating that these calls were not official, were fraudulent, and should be disregarded.

<u>Agenda Item III-</u> Testimony was taken on the following assigned study topics:

(A) First Responder Receiving Absentee Ballot via Electronic Mail or Facsimile During Time of Emergency Declaration.

Ms. Christa Coffey, Tippecanoe County Clerk of the Circuit Court, said that the state of

emergency caused by Hurricane Sandy had several Tippecanoe County first responders out of the state during election day. She said that the Tippecanoe County Election Board voted unanimously to allow those first responders to vote as absentee via a faxed or emailed absentee ballot. She believed that her county election board acted in the best interests of the election process and said the board decided it would deal with any aftermath of a contested election stemming from allowing the responders to vote.

Ms. Wendy Hudson, Elkhart County Clerk of the Circuit Court, said that her county first contacted the Indiana Election Division (IED) for advice on how to proceed with first responders in her county that had gone to aid in the wake of Hurricane Sandy. She said that the response from the IED was that there were no provisions in state law that, under any circumstances, allowed authority for a county election board to offer absentee ballots to the 'Sandy voters'.

Ms. Hudson offered that the Committee members consider an affidavit or special ballot for these persons. She said she thought use of the standard military and oversees voter absentee ballot application (ABS-15) to emergency first responders would apply for too long of a time period to be an effective solution to the problem. She said that an ABS-15 would affect their voting status in the next election. [The expiration of an ABS-15 application is December 31 of the year the application was submitted. If the application was submitted before for a primary election, the expiration date would place an applicant's general election status as absentee.]

Representative Mayfield commented that she thought that oversees and military voter law could be looked at to try and accommodate first responders responding to a state or federal emergency on election day.

Mr. Trent Deckard, Co-Director of the IED, passed out documents to supplement his testimony (Exhibit B). He said his first handout illustrated what some other states have done with regard to first responder voting in a state of emergency. He continued that the IED did not have a good answer for clerks on what to do to accommodate the 'Hurricane Sandy responders'. He said that that emergency brought the worst possible timing for a responder wishing to vote.

(B) Impact of Sending False Voter Histories in a Written Communication to Voters.

Mr. Deckard distributed an exhibit listing a sample of a fraudulent written communication sent to voters (Exhibit C). He said that the communication appeared to be an audit of voters' voting history in a previous election. He continued that the audit appeared to be official in appearance, but, in actuality, was sent by a private organization.

Mr. Deckard said that the communication was, in fact, totally inaccurate over the population it was sent to. He said the people who received the communication believed their voting record had been released to others from government sources. He said to falsify and present such information in a written communication is a Class D felony. He added that the IED tried to reach out to the organization from which the communications had originated, which was flippant in their response. He explained further that the organization believed their actions were based on scholarly advice. He said the whole experience placed a burden on the election process in Indiana via greater telephone hotline use. He concluded that these incidents undermine the election system as a whole and would not want to see it replicated in the future.

(C) Electioneering at Polls, Vote Centers, Clerk's Office and Satellite Offices.

No testimony was offered on this topic.

(D) Allegations of Election Fraud in Absentee Voting, Candidate Filings, Voter Registration, and Voting Processes.

Ms. Danielle Coulter, with the Association of Indiana Counties, suggested that any changes decided upon by the General Assembly not place liability on county clerks in determining the validity of information they receive on absentee voting applications, candidate filings, and voter registration. She said that when fraud is discovered, the clerk should not be at fault nor should it be their responsibility to deal with it. She said that the current remedies in place (prosecution at the county level) are sufficient and that she had no additional recommendations on how to combat the issue. She said as fraud arises, it is being sufficiently dealt with locally.

No further testimony was offered. The Committee, given the lack of a quorum, could not adopt any recommendations for proposed legislation. Seeing no further business before the Committee, Representative Richardson ended the meeting at 2:00 P.M.

October 23, 2013

Indiana Secretary of State Connie Lawson's report to the Indiana General Assembly Census Data Advisory Committee

Thank you Madam Chair and members of the committee.

I appreciate the opportunity to be on the agenda to discuss the Secretary of State's office review of allegations of voter suppression. At a recent meeting of this body, discussion was held regarding "*allegations of voter suppression of African-Americans, Latinos, other ethnic minorities, and the elderly*." A portion of that hearing was devoted to the testimony of a representative of the Chicago Lawyers Civil Rights Committee, who seemed to say that their staff and volunteers received hundreds of reports of voter suppression in last year's General Election. Our office was surprised to learn of the size and scope of the allegations especially more than 8 months after the election. My office takes seriously all allegations of irregularities in the voting process. So I sought to connect with the organization making these claims and to investigate further whether there were any actions that would rise to referral to a county prosecutor or county election board.

Today I would like to respond to certain testimony the committee previously received on this topic and to offer my office's perspectives on the study topic. In consideration of the committee's full agenda, I'll offer a few brief remarks and leave more detailed comments and information with the committee.

Exhibit A
Census Data Advisory Committee
Meeting #3 October 23, 2013

First, our office commends the Chicago Lawyer's Committee for their work in support of voter's rights, voter education and election assistance. We also appreciate the time and effort taken for a Chicago Lawyer's Committee representative to travel to Indianapolis and testify about their 2012 General Election voter participation project back on August 29th.

I was troubled by the news accounts of the Chicago Lawyers' Committee testimony that they had received a large number of complaints of voter suppression and voter disenfranchisement in Indiana during the 2012 General Election. The initial reports were 800 complaints. Our Indiana Election Hotline which has been in operation for nearly a decade and staffed by the bipartisan Election Division, fielded just 343 calls. Most calls were questions about poll locations and procedures. Some callers were referred to their county election offices. I am not aware that our office received any reports of outright voter suppression or disenfranchisement – which I would define as a case where someone was willing and able to vote and being restrained from doing so. Following the testimony of Ms. Greenwood, we immediately contacted the Chicago Lawyers' Committee to get a hold of the 800 complaints so that we could begin investigating. The Committee quickly clarified that they "fielded 800 phone calls", of which they considered the reports of voter intimidation to be a number "much lower than 100". I believe that the Chicago Lawyers' Committee provided revised testimony to the committee. We appreciate their taking steps to clarify the record.

Still, any report of voter suppression, disenfranchisement or intimidation is worthy of investigation. We are grateful and appreciative of the Chicago Lawyers' Committee's cooperation. I feel that, in the interests of accuracy of information, I should come today and report what my staff learned in following up with the organization.

a) Though Chicago Lawyers Committee and volunteers fielded many calls, we were told that they did not collect information regarding the voter's race, ethnicity, age, gender or income level. Since the General Assembly has asked to study allegations of voter suppression of African-Americans, Latinos, other ethnic minorities, and the elderly, their data would certainly be more useful had it tracked any effect on the specific groups..

b) The definition of "voter suppression" adopted by the Chicago Lawyer's Committee is so all encompassing that it is virtually impossible to distinguish unlawful activity like actual voter intimidation from the unavoidable and inconvenient activity, procedures and bureaucracy like poll workers giving mistaken information.

c) For all the calls fielded on Election Day, the committee and its volunteers did not collect names or contact information for the individuals they spoke with. The lack of names and contact information makes it impossible for my office, local election officials or law enforcement agencies we work with to respond and investigate these serious allegations.

d) Despite the large Election Day effort by the Chicago Lawyers' Committee, the only specific action taken by the Chicago Committee, other than testifying to this committee in August, was the sending of a single letter to a Lake County election

official, reporting the incorrect location of a single poll location among hundreds in Lake County.[1]

e) The Committee was only able to provide the Secretary of State's office with information on 185 of the 800 calls they reported receiving. Staff reviewed the call information provided and noted the following:

- 124 of the 185 calls were requests for information, like where is my polling place, rather than to complain.
- 30 calls were about poll workers providing inaccurate information, overzealously enforcement of polling place conduct rules and acting discourteously.
- 11 calls were from voters who reported they had not received their mail-in ballot after requesting one in a timely manner.
- 10 calls related to voter registration problems where the voter believed he or she was registered but did not appear on any poll book.
- 4 of 185 calls came from voters reporting that poll workers did not offer ineligible voters the opportunity to cast a provisional ballot.
- 4 of 185 calls reported problems with voting machines.
- 10 calls (among the 61 calls that were not information requests) were classified as "complaints" but on review, were in fact complaints about the correct application of Indiana election law. Examples included enforcement of the statutory time limit in which voters may cast their vote; enforcement of the "chute" and disallowing voters not inside the "chute" at

[1] According to the call report, the caller did report however, that a hand-written note was posted at the incorrect location directing voters to the correct location of the precinct.

6 pm on Election Day; and enforcing the rule that voters must be registered no later than 30 days before the upcoming election.

f) The Chicago Lawyers' Committee's report to this committee states as fact that "requiring a photo ID has been shown to reduce overall turnout by at least 2-3%." The source cited for this statistic does ***not*** say that this effect has "been shown". What the source actually says is that this effect is only an ***estimate***, based on theoretical and voter opinion polls. After further review, the primary and secondary sources were not even based on Indiana's actual election data. Rather than studying recent, actual election data the academic studies cited were based on 2006 and earlier census data, subjective survey data and statistical forecast models. To clarify, for this committee, I want to point you to two studies based on Indiana's actual experience with its photo ID law that determined Indiana voter turnout has actually increased since implementation of photo ID:

> *Jeffery Milo of the University of Missouri showed that turnout increased by about two percentage points overall in (Indiana) in 2006 compared to 2002. There was no evidence that counties with higher percentages of minorities, poor, or elderly, or a less-educated population suffered any reduction in voter turnout. In fact, according to Milo, "the only consistent and statistically significant impact of photo ID in Indiana was to increase voter turnout in counties with a greater percentage of Democrats relative to other counties."*[2] *SEE ATTACHEMENTS B & C*

[2] http://www.nationalreview.com/article/361645/right-first-time-hans-von-spakovsky. Discussing Jeffrey Milyo (2007) *The Effects of Photographic Identification on Voter Turnout in Indiana: A County-Level Analysis.*,

As Indiana's Chief Election Officer, I want to be very clear: on behalf of myself, my staff, and the Indiana Election Division: our state is committed to the rights of every voter and willing to pursue any report of election law violation, voter intimidation or disenfranchisement. The constitutions of the United States and Indiana guarantee the right of every citizen to participate in elections. Our laws are also designed to ensure confidence in election outcomes as well as provide accountability and efficiency in the voting process. I want to be respectful of your time today, so I'll end my remarks there and field any questions you might have.

POSSIBLE Q & A REGARDING PHOTO ID

Vast majority of Americans support photo identification to vote.

- Voter turnout in any given election is highly variable.
    - weather
    - what offices are on the ballot
    - the issues
- Recent USA TODAY bipartisan policy poll reported that more that 80% of Americans support the idea of photo-ID to vote. SEE ATTACHMENT A

Institute of Public Policy. URL: https://mospace.umsystem.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10355/2549/EffectsPhotographicIdentificationVoter.pdf?sequence=1. See also: David Muhlhausen and Keri Webber Sikich (2007) *New Analysis Shows Voter Identification Laws Do Not Reduce Turnout.*, The Heritage Foundation. URL: http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2007/09/new-analysis-shows-voter-identification-laws-do-not-reduce-turnout.

- 94% of republicans and 70% of democrats
- 25% of those polled believe that illegal voting still occurs.

JUDGE POSNER just announced his opposition to writing the majority opinion supporting Indiana's photo ID law.

- I understand that Chief Judge Posner is a distinguished, prolific member of the federal Court of Appeals
- In contemplation of his upcoming retirement from the bench he's published a memoir - aimed primarily at an audience of attorneys and law students.
- I think Chief Judge Posner has earned a right to speak his mind. But there are several things to point out.
    - First, whether he authored the majority or dissenting opinion, the Supreme Court upheld *Crawford v. Rokita.*
    - Second, our own Indiana Court of Appeals rejected our photo-ID law in *Rokita v. League of Women Voters*, but the Indiana Supreme Court also upheld our photo ID law.
- It is important for people to share their opinion in books and articles. But a single sentence in a memoir does not, in my opinion, establish evidence that our photo ID law is on a shaky foundation.

Attachment A

USA Today (in collaboration with bipartisan Policy Center)

Poll: Americans support fine-tuning election policy, Oct. 14, 2013

SHOULD VOTING BE HARDER?

Moves by Texas and elsewhere to require photo IDs for voters have sparked controversy, Democratic protests and Justice Department investigations. But in the survey, eight in 10 Americans support the idea, including 70% of Democrats.

Indeed, the practice already seems common. Seven in 10 voters say they had to show a photo ID before casting a ballot in last year's presidential election.

Democrats warn that some voters will be disenfranchised. "In this country, you should be able to cast your ballot without a cost, without an obstacle, and it shouldn't be hard," Democratic National Chair Debbie Wasserman Schultz, a Florida congresswoman, said in an interview.

Republicans call it a common-sense requirement. "It would build confidence in the system; it would build confidence in the integrity of the ballot, and it's supported overwhelmingly by all three partisan groups," Ayres says. The GOP pollster notes the survey found significant concern about voter fraud. "While it's far from a majority, it's troubling when 20 to 25% of voters think illegal voting occurs frequently."

Law enforcement authorities and election scholars say voter fraud is rare, but Republicans aren't convinced: 39% of Republicans say they believe non-citizens frequently vote; 13% of Democrats say that happens a lot. Still, almost everyone endorses voter IDs.

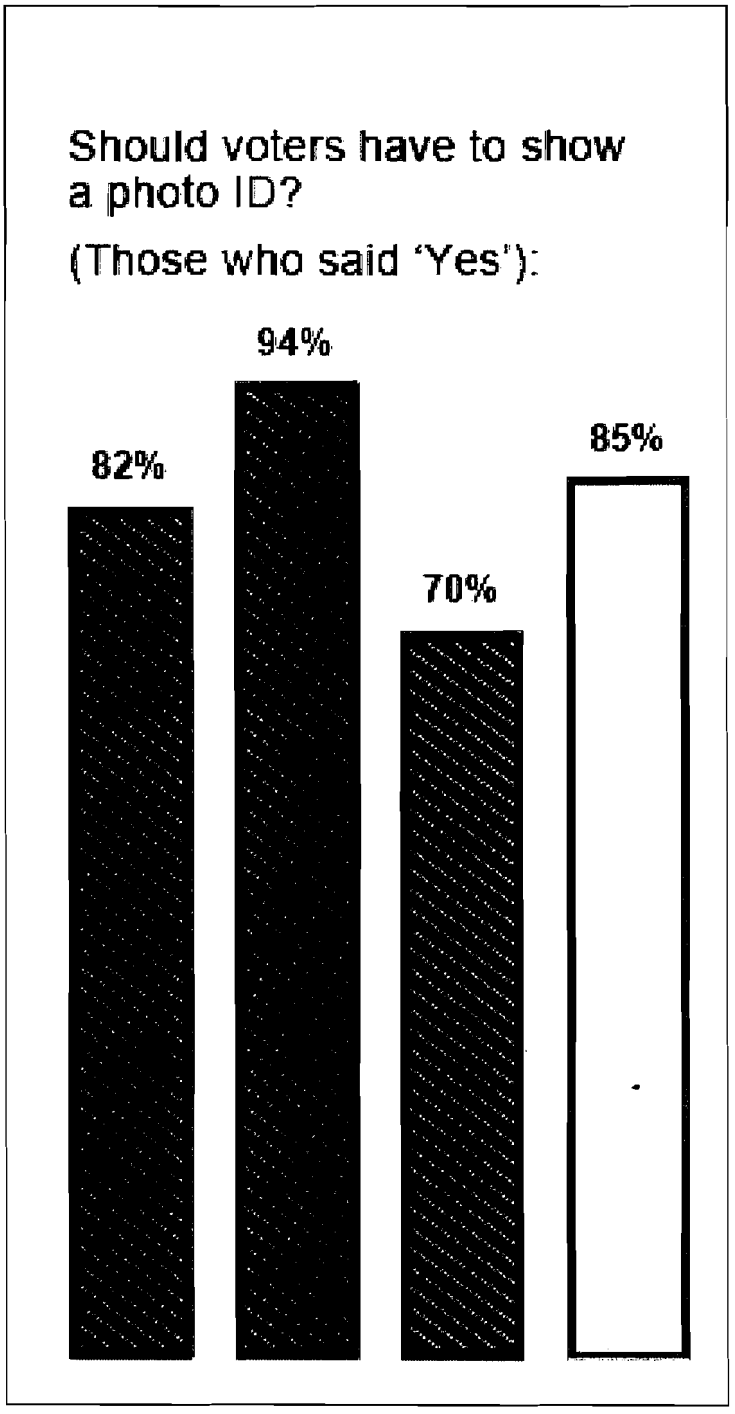
"I have to show my ID to go to a bar and have a beer or to go to the store and buy a pack of cigarettes or to get a job or anything else in this country," says Jon Haubenstricker, 27, an engineer from East Dubuque, Ill., who was among those surveyed. A libertarian, he tends to vote Republican. Though he doesn't think voting illegalities are widespread, he says, "It would eliminate a lot of the arguments the more conservative base has regarding voter fraud."

Republicans and Democrats have sharply different priorities when it comes to elections. By 54%-43%, a majority of Republicans say it's more important to make sure no one commits voter fraud and harms the rights of legitimate voters. By 78%-20%, Democrats say it's more important to make sure every individual who has the right to vote is allowed to exercise that right.

No change in the way elections are run is going to eliminate the partisan divide on that or other issues, but analysts say some steps might help ameliorate the political impasse or make it easier to govern despite it.

"We know the polarization is deep and is not going to go away," says John Fortier, director of the BPC's Democracy Project. "So how do you govern with divided government? You have to do things like pass a budget and reach some agreements across party lines. Institutions have to adjust or find a way to work even though they're polarized."

Deborah Wright, the lawyer from Atlantic City, agrees. "They've got to get it together," she says.



OVERALL REPUBLICANS DEMOCRATS INDEPENDENTS

http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2013/10/14/americans-election-policy-usa-today-bipartisan-policy-center-poll/2983159/

BIPARTISAN POLICY CENTER/USA TODAY
NATIONAL SURVEY OF ADULTS REGARDING THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

SEPTEMBER 19-23, 2013

Hello, this is _____ with SSI, a national public opinion research company. We're talking with people in your area today about the way we conduct elections. We are not trying to sell anything, your answers are completely confidential, and we would really appreciate your cooperation (DO NOT PAUSE).

FOR CELL PHONE SAMPLE:

CELL 1. Have I reached you on a cell phone?

YES	1	GO TO Q. CELL 2
NO	2	THANK AND TERM

CELL 2. Are you in a place right now where you can safely take the survey?

YES	1	GO TO Q. CELL 3
NO	2	SCHED CALLBACK
NOT WILLING TO TAKE SURVEY	3	THANK AND TERM
DON'T KNOW/REFUSED	4	CALLBACK/TERM

CELL 3. And are you at least 18 years old?

YES	1	GO TO Q. 1
NO	2	THANK AND CLOSE
REFUSED	3	THANK AND CLOSE

FOR LANDLINE SAMPLE:

A. May I speak to the youngest adult in your household who is at home right now?

YES, CORRECT PERSON ON PHONE	1	GO TO Q. 1
YES, GETTING ANOTHER PERSON TO PHONE	2	REINTRODUCE
NO	3	SET UP CALLBACK
REFUSED	4	TERMINATE

Voting in the 2012 Presidential Election

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1. Are you registered to vote in the county in which you live?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
YES	89%	96%	85%	91%
NO	11%	4%	15%	9%
DON'T KNOW/REFUSED	0%	0%	0%	0%

Results are based on 1000 weighted respondents, MoE = ±3.10 percent. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

2. Which one of the following best describes you: (ROTATE TOP TO BOTTOM; BOTTOM TO TOP)

a. I did not vote in the Presidential election last November.

b. I thought about voting, but didn't.

c. I usually vote, but didn't this time.

d. I tried to vote, but was not allowed to when I tried.

e. I tried to vote, but it ended up being too much trouble.

f. I definitely voted in the Presidential election last November.

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
DID NOT VOTE	6%	4%	9%	4%
THOUGHT ABOUT IT BUT DIDN'T	3%	1%	4%	2%
USUALLY VOTE BUT DIDN'T THIS TIME	1%	1%	1%	2%
TRIED TO VOTE BUT WAS NOT ALLOWED	1%	1%	0%	1%
TRIED TO VOTE BUT TOO MUCH TROUBLE	1%	1%	1%	0%
DEFINITELY VOTED	88%	92%	84%	90%
DON'T KNOW/REFUSED	0%	0%	0%	0%

Note: Results based on 891 respondents who are registered to vote.

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3. When did you vote? Did you vote on Election Day, before Election Day by mail, or before Election Day in person?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
VOTED ON ELECTION DAY	61%	61%	64%	57%
VOTED EARLY BY MAIL	16%	16%	18%	16%
VOTED EARLY IN PERSON	22%	23%	18%	25%
DON'T KNOW/REFUSED	1%	1%	1%	1%

Note: Results based on 785 respondents who voted last November.

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4. About how long did you have to wait to cast your vote (ROTATE FRONT TO BACK, BACK TO FRONT: not at all, 1 to 10 minutes, 11 to 30 minutes, 31 minutes to an hour, or more than an hour)?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
NOT AT ALL	24%	24%	23%	24%
1 TO 10 MINUTES	43%	46%	46%	38%
11 TO 30 MINUTES	20%	19%	18%	23%
31 MINUTES TO AN HOUR	9%	8%	8%	11%
MORE THAN AN HOUR (SPECIFY IN MINUTES)	2%	1%	2%	3%
DON'T KNOW	2%	2%	3%	1%

Note: Results based on 649 respondents who voted in person.

Results are based on 1000 weighted respondents, MoE = ±3.10 percent. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

5. Were you asked to show picture identification, such as a driver's license, at your polling place last November?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
YES	69%	69%	68%	69%
NO	26%	27%	25%	26%
DON'T KNOW/DON'T REMEMBER	5%	3%	7%	5%

Note: Results based on 649 respondents who voted in person.

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6. Was this the first election in which you voted, or have you voted before?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
FIRST ELECTION	6%	4%	9%	5%
VOTED BEFORE	94%	96%	91%	95%
DON'T KNOW	0%	0%	0%	0%

Note: Results based on 785 respondents who voted last November.

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7. How would you rate the ease or difficulty of voting in this past election (ROTATE: very easy, somewhat easy, somewhat difficult, or very difficult)?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
VERY EASY	76%	79%	79%	69%
SOMEWHAT EASY	19%	18%	16%	25%
SOMEWHAT DIFFICULT	3%	1%	4%	3%
VERY DIFFICULT	1%	1%	1%	2%
DON'T KNOW	1%	1%	0%	1%

Note: Results based on 785 respondents who voted last November.

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8. How confident are you that your vote was counted correctly in this past election: very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, or not at all confident?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
VERY CONFIDENT	66%	62%	61%	73%
SOMEWHAT CONFIDENT	24%	23%	29%	21%
NOT TOO CONFIDENT	3%	6%	2%	1%
NOT AT ALL CONFIDENT	4%	5%	5%	2%
DON'T KNOW	3%	4%	3%	2%

Note: Results based on 785 respondents who voted last November.

Results are based on 1000 weighted respondents. MoE = =3.10 percent. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

Voting in Primary Elections

9. The (ROTATE: Republican and Democratic) parties sometimes hold primary elections to determine who their party's candidate will be for various offices. Do you generally (ROTATE: vote in Republican primaries, vote in Democratic primaries), choose not to vote in primary elections, or are you not able to vote in primary elections?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
VOTE/REPUBLICAN	28%	70%	26%	3%
VOTE/DEMOCRATIC	34%	5%	18%	78%
CHOOSE NOT TO VOTE	20%	19%	26%	12%
NOT ABLE TO VOTE	9%	4%	19%	4%
DON'T KNOW	8%	2%	12%	3%

Note: Results based on 891 respondents who are registered to vote.

10. Do you think Independents, who are not registered with either party, should be allowed to vote in (ROTATE: Republican or Democratic) primary elections, or do you think only members of that political party should be allowed to vote in primary elections?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
INDEPENDENTS SHOULD VOTE IN PRIMARIES	67%	59%	72%	70%
ONLY PARTY MEMBERS SHOULD VOTE	24%	32%	22%	24%
DON'T KNOW	9%	9%	6%	7%

11. Now I would like to read you two arguments on the issue of independents voting in primary elections, and see which comes closer to your view: (ROTATE)

a. Independents should be allowed to vote in party primaries, because it will help produce candidates in both parties who are more moderate and more willing to compromise.

b. The members of each party should choose their own nominees, so that they are represented by candidates who closely share their views and will stand for party principles.

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
INDEPENDENTS SHOULD VOTE IN PRIMARIES	54%	45%	61%	56%
PARTY MEMBERS SHOULD CHOOSE	38%	50%	32%	36%
DON'T KNOW	8%	5%	7%	8%

Ease of Voting and Ballot Integrity

12. Which of the following is more important to you: (ROTATE)

a. Making sure that every individual who has the right to vote is allowed to exercise that right.

b. Making sure that no one commits voter fraud and harms the rights of legitimate voters.

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
ALLOWED TO EXERCISE	61%	43%	58%	78%
PREVENT VOTER FRAUD	35%	54%	38%	20%
DON'T KNOW	4%	4%	4%	2%

Results are based on 1000 weighted respondents, MoE = ±3.10 percent. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

13. Which of the following concerns you more: (ROTATE)

a. We will have too many regulations concerning voting that will keep eligible people from voting.

b. We will have too few regulations concerning voting and people will commit voter fraud.

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
TOO MANY REGULATIONS	46%	30%	43%	61%
TOO FEW REGULATIONS	44%	60%	46%	31%
DON'T KNOW	10%	10%	11%	8%

Now I would like to read you a list of activities related to voting that are against the law. For each one, would you please tell me if you think that happens in the United States frequently, occasionally, rarely, or never? (RANDOMIZE)

		FRE-QUENTLY	OCCAS-IONALLY	RARELY	NEVER	DON'T KNOW
14. People voting more than once in an election.	ALL	20%	27%	31%	17%	6%
	REP	25%	35%	25%	10%	5%
	IND	24%	26%	34%	10%	5%
	DEM	10%	22%	33%	30%	5%
15. People stealing or tampering with ballots that have been cast.	ALL	19%	31%	33%	11%	6%
	REP	21%	33%	30%	9%	8%
	IND	21%	31%	32%	10%	5%
	DEM	13%	30%	38%	14%	5%
16. People pretending to be someone else when going to vote.	ALL	22%	32%	28%	12%	5%
	REP	29%	37%	20%	7%	6%
	IND	27%	31%	30%	9%	3%
	DEM	12%	29%	36%	18%	5%
17. People voting who are not U.S. citizens.	ALL	26%	25%	28%	15%	6%
	REP	39%	24%	19%	11%	7%
	IND	28%	26%	30%	10%	6%
	DEM	13%	23%	35%	24%	5%
18. People voting with an absentee ballot addressed to another person.	ALL	20%	36%	26%	9%	8%
	REP	27%	37%	20%	6%	10%
	IND	22%	40%	25%	5%	8%
	DEM	12%	33%	34%	14%	7%
19. Election officials changing the reported vote count to help one candidate and hurt another.	ALL	20%	29%	32%	11%	7%
	REP	16%	34%	34%	10%	6%
	IND	24%	28%	31%	11%	7%
	DEM	17%	28%	36%	13%	5%

Results are based on 1000 weighted respondents, MoE = ±3.10 percent. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

Possible Changes to the Voting Process

Now I would like to read you a list of possible changes to the election process. For each one, please tell me if you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose that change? (RANDOMIZE)

		STRONGLY SUPPORT	SOMEWHAT SUPPORT	SOMEWHAT OPPOSE	STRONGLY OPPOSE	DON'T KNOW
20. Allowing absentee voting on secure internet sites.	**ALL**	19%	21%	15%	42%	4%
	REP	13%	20%	16%	48%	3%
	IND	19%	22%	16%	40%	3%
	DEM	26%	23%	13%	35%	4%
	ALL	**40%**		**57%**		
	REP	**33%**		**64%**		
	IND	**41%**		**56%**		
	DEM	**49%**		**48%**		
21. Mail a ballot to each registered voter and allow them to send in their signed ballot by mail.	**ALL**	25%	22%	16%	33%	3%
	REP	16%	18%	18%	44%	3%
	IND	22%	25%	17%	32%	4%
	DEM	37%	23%	14%	24%	1%
	ALL	**47%**		**49%**		
	REP	**34%**		**62%**		
	IND	**47%**		**49%**		
	DEM	**60%**		**38%**		
22. Allowing people to register to vote on Election Day at the polls.	**ALL**	37%	21%	13%	27%	2%
	REP	24%	19%	17%	36%	4%
	IND	38%	21%	13%	26%	2%
	DEM	47%	22%	9%	20%	1%
	ALL	**58%**		**40%**		
	REP	**43%**		**53%**		
	IND	**59%**		**39%**		
	DEM	**69%**		**29%**		
23. Requiring all people to show a government-issued photo ID such as a driver's license or passport when they vote.	**ALL**	71%	11%	6%	11%	1%
	REP	86%	8%	2%	4%	0%
	IND	74%	11%	6%	8%	2%
	DEM	57%	13%	10%	20%	0%
	ALL	**82%**		**17%**		
	REP	**94%**		**6%**		
	IND	**85%**		**14%**		
	DEM	**70%**		**30%**		

Results are based on 1000 weighted respondents, MoE = ±3.10 percent. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

		STRONGLY SUPPORT	SOMEWHAT SUPPORT	SOMEWHAT OPPOSE	STRONGLY OPPOSE	DON'T KNOW
24. Moving Election Day to a Saturday or Sunday instead of Tuesday.	**ALL**	36%	23%	12%	22%	7%
	REP	24%	21%	14%	30%	12%
	IND	41%	23%	13%	17%	6%
	DEM	42%	23%	9%	22%	5%
	ALL	**59%**		**34%**		
	REP	**45%**		**44%**		
	IND	**64%**		**30%**		
	DEM	**65%**		**31%**		
25. Allowing anyone to cast a ballot early by mail, without requiring an excuse.	**ALL**	25%	21%	19%	30%	4%
	REP	17%	20%	19%	40%	3%
	IND	25%	23%	18%	29%	4%
	DEM	35%	21%	18%	23%	3%
	ALL	**46%**		**49%**		
	REP	**37%**		**59%**		
	IND	**48%**		**47%**		
	DEM	**56%**		**41%**		
26. Allowing early voting at regular polling places in the days leading up to Election Day.	**ALL**	46%	28%	10%	14%	3%
	REP	39%	28%	11%	19%	3%
	IND	44%	31%	10%	13%	3%
	DEM	56%	25%	8%	9%	2%
	ALL	**74%**		**24%**		
	REP	**67%**		**30%**		
	IND	**75%**		**23%**		
	DEM	**81%**		**17%**		

27. Which of the following comes closer to your view about efforts in some states to tighten voter laws, including requiring photo IDs and limiting early voting: (ROTATE)

a. These changes are a good idea, because they reduce opportunities for voter fraud and protect the principle of one-person-one-vote.

b. These changes are a bad idea, because they make it harder for legitimate voters to exercise their right to vote and are an attempt to gain a political advantage with those restrictions.

	ALL	**REP**	**IND**	**DEM**
GOOD IDEA	63%	78%	67%	51%
BAD IDEA	31%	17%	27%	45%
DON'T KNOW	6%	5%	6%	5%

Results are based on 1000 weighted respondents, MoE = ±3.10 percent. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

28. Which of the following comes closer to your view about efforts in some states to require voters to show photo ID in order to vote: (ROTATE)

a. These changes help ensure that only eligible voters cast a ballot. If you can register to vote, you can take the time to obtain a free photo ID, whether that is a driver's license or another federal- or state-issued document.

b. These changes make it more difficult for eligible voters to cast a ballot. Since seniors and minorities are less likely to have driver's licenses, it particularly restricts their right to vote.

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
ENSURE ONLY ELIGIBLE VOTERS CAST BALLOT	66%	79%	69%	54%
MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO CAST A BALLOT	29%	17%	24%	42%
DON'T KNOW	6%	5%	7%	4%

Redistricting

29. As you may know, redistricting involves redrawing boundaries of legislative districts for the state legislature and for Congress. In your opinion, who should be responsible for drawing legislative districts (ROTATE: the state legislature and governor, a bi-partisan commission of selected state officials, or the state supreme court)?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
STATE LEGISLATURE AND GOVERNOR	28%	37%	27%	25%
BI-PARTISAN COMMISSION OF STATE OFFICIALS	35%	34%	38%	36%
STATE SUPREME COURT	22%	14%	21%	29%
DON'T KNOW	14%	15%	14%	11%

Demographics

Now I have a few questions just for statistical purposes.

30. In politics today, do you normally think of yourself as (ROTATE: a Republican, an independent, or a Democrat)?

IF "REP" OR "DEM", ASK:
Would you consider yourself a strong or a not-so-strong Republican/Democrat?

IF "IND," ASK:
Do you think of yourself as closer to the (ROTATE: Republican or Democratic Party)?

STRONG REP	16%
NOT-SO-STRONG REP	8%
IND LEAN REP	12%
IND/NO PREF	12%
IND LEAN DEM	11%
NOT-SO-STRONG DEM	11%
STRONG DEM	22%
REFUSED	8%

Results are based on 1000 weighted respondents, MoE = ±3.10 percent. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

31. When thinking about politics today, do you normally consider yourself to be (ROTATE: very conservative, somewhat conservative, moderate, somewhat liberal, or very liberal)?

IF MODERATE, ASK: Do you lean toward being (ROTATE: liberal or conservative)?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
VERY LIBERAL	9%	2%	7%	17%
SOMEWHAT LIBERAL	18%	6%	21%	28%
MODERATE LEAN LIBERAL	7%	2%	8%	9%
MODERATE	8%	5%	10%	8%
MODERATE LEAN CONSERVATIVE	9%	10%	12%	6%
SOMEWHAT CONSERVATIVE	24%	38%	22%	19%
VERY CONSERVATIVE	18%	35%	14%	10%
DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION	8%	2%	7%	2%

32. Would you say you strongly support, somewhat support or do not support the goals of the Tea Party Movement?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
STRONGLY SUPPORT	16%	30%	16%	10%
SOMEWHAT SUPPORT	31%	45%	28%	26%
DO NOT SUPPORT	36%	13%	38%	55%
UNDECIDED/DON'T KNOW/REFUSED	17%	12%	18%	9%

33. Are you, or is any member of your immediate family, a member of a labor union?

IF YES, ASK: Is that a public-sector union, or a private-sector union?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
YES/PUBLIC SECTOR	10%	7%	9%	14%
YES/PRIVATE SECTOR	7%	3%	8%	9%
NO, NOT UNION MEMBER	77%	88%	78%	72%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	6%	2%	5%	4%

34. Would you please stop me when I read the last level of education you completed?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL	4%	3%	4%	4%
HIGH SCHOOL GRAD	19%	16%	18%	22%
SOME COLLEGE	26%	26%	27%	26%
COLLEGE GRAD	31%	39%	29%	30%
GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL	16%	14%	18%	15%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	5%	3%	4%	3%

Results are based on 1000 weighted respondents, MoE = ±3.10 percent. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

35. Are you single, married, divorced, or widowed?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
SINGLE	25%	15%	29%	30%
MARRIED	53%	69%	50%	47%
DIVORCED	10%	8%	10%	12%
WIDOWED	6%	6%	6%	7%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	6%	2%	5%	4%

36. Would you say the area where you live is urban, suburban, small town, or rural?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
URBAN	25%	19%	23%	32%
SUBURBAN	29%	30%	32%	28%
SMALL TOWN	23%	24%	24%	22%
RURAL	15%	23%	14%	13%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	7%	3%	6%	6%

37. About how often do you attend church, a synagogue, or mosque: more than once a week, once a week, a few times a month, a few times a year, or almost never?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
MORE THAN ONCE A WEEK	11%	18%	9%	10%
ONCE A WEEK	27%	33%	22%	28%
FEW TIMES A MONTH	13%	15%	13%	12%
FEW TIMES A YEAR	14%	13%	15%	15%
ALMOST NEVER	28%	19%	35%	29%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	8%	3%	6%	6%

38. Would you please stop me when I read the correct category for your age?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
18 TO 24	14%	8%	18%	12%
25 TO 29	8%	8%	10%	7%
30 TO 34	5%	4%	5%	6%
35 TO 39	8%	10%	9%	7%
40 TO 44	13%	14%	15%	10%
45 TO 49	7%	11%	6%	7%
50 TO 54	10%	12%	10%	9%
55 TO 59	10%	11%	7%	14%
60 TO 64	8%	6%	7%	10%
65 OR OLDER	17%	16%	14%	19%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	0%	0%	0%	0%

Results are based on 1000 weighted respondents, MoE = ±3.10 percent. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

39. Would you please stop me when I read the correct category for your total household income?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
$25,000 OR LESS	17%	10%	17%	22%
$25,000 TO $50,000	18%	14%	18%	22%
$50,000 TO $75,000	15%	20%	16%	15%
$75,000 TO $100,000	13%	18%	12%	11%
$100,000 TO $150,000	10%	14%	10%	9%
$150,000 TO $200,000	5%	5%	5%	5%
$200,000 OR MORE	4%	4%	4%	4%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	19%	15%	19%	13%

40. Are you from a Hispanic or Spanish-speaking background?

IF NO, ASK: What would you say is your main race: white, African American, Asian, or something else?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
YES/HISPANIC	14%	8%	13%	17%
NO/WHITE	66%	85%	70%	51%
NO/BLACK/AFRICAN AMERICAN	12%	2%	6%	25%
NO/ASIAN	2%	2%	3%	3%
NO/OTHER	5%	3%	7%	4%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ)	1%	0%	1%	1%

41. Gender (from observation):

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
MALE	50%	51%	55%	43%
FEMALE	50%	49%	45%	57%

ASK IN CELL SAMPLE ONLY:

42. Thinking about your telephone use, is there at least one telephone inside your home that is working and is not a cell phone?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
YES	46%	53%	37%	49%
NO	49%	46%	55%	49%
DON'T KNOW/REFUSED	6%	2%	8%	1%

Note: Results based on 281 respondents.

Results are based on 1000 weighted respondents, MoE = ±3.10 percent. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

ASK IN LANDLINE SAMPLE ONLY:

43. Thinking about your telephone use, do you have a working cell phone?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
YES	81%	84%	85%	82%
NO	12%	13%	11%	12%
DON'T KNOW/REFUSED	7%	3%	4%	7%

Note: Results based on 722 respondents.

DO NOT ASK IF Q. 42 IS NO OR IF Q.43 IS NO:

44. Of all the personal telephone calls that you receive, do you get all of them on cell phones, almost all of them on cell phones, some on cell and some on your regular home phone, almost all on your regular home phone, or all on your regular home phone?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
ALL ON CELL PHONE	9%	6%	10%	10%
ALMOST ALL ON CELL PHONES	25%	28%	27%	23%
SOME ON CELL/SOME ON HOME PHONE	32%	36%	31%	33%
ALMOST ALL ON HOME PHONE	15%	17%	12%	17%
ALL ON HOME PHONE	10%	8%	11%	9%
DON'T KNOW/REFUSED	10%	5%	9%	7%

Note: Results based on 776 respondents.

PHONE USE BASED ON FULL SAMPLE

ONLY CELL	20%	15%	25%	20%
MOSTLY CELL	19%	22%	20%	18%
DUAL USE	25%	29%	23%	26%
MOSTLY LANDLINE	12%	13%	9%	14%
ONLY LANDLINE	17%	16%	16%	16%
DON'T KNOW/REFUSED	7%	4%	7%	5%

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45. In what state do you live?

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46. And finally, it is possible that a reporter for USA Today may do a news story based on some of these topics and may want to ask a few follow-up questions of some of the people we spoke to tonight. Would you be willing to have a USA Today reporter have your responses on the questions about the issues we discussed and possibly call you for a brief interview?

	ALL	REP	IND	DEM
YES (COLLECT FULL NAME AND PHONE NUMBER)	39%	41%	39%	43%
NO	53%	55%	53%	51%
DON'T KNOW/REFUSED	8%	3%	8%	6%

Those are all the questions I have. Thank you very much for sharing your opinions with us.

Results are based on 1000 weighted respondents, MoE = ±3.10 percent. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

Attachment B

The Effects of Photographic Identification on Voter Turnout in Indiana: A County-Level Analysis*

Jeffrey Milyo

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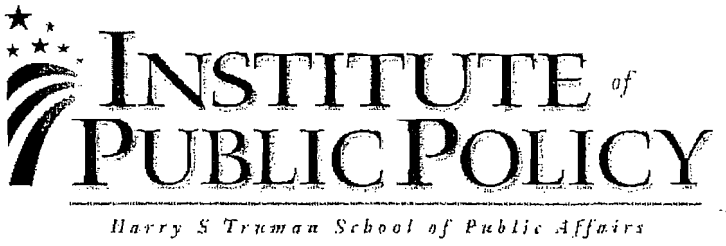
Institute of Public Policy
University of Missouri
137 Middlebush Hall
Columbia, MO 65211



*Funded by the Center for Research in Ethics. The conclusions are those of the author, not necessarily those of the Institute of Public Policy or the Truman School of Public Affairs.

Abstract:

I examine the change in voter turnout across Indiana counties before and after the implementation of photo ID requirements. Overall, statewide turnout increased by about two percentage points after photo ID; further, there is no consistent evidence that counties that have higher percentages of minority, poor, elderly or less-educated population suffer any reduction in voter turnout relative to other counties. In fact, the estimated effect of photo ID on turnout is positive for counties with a greater percentage of minorities or families in poverty. The only consistent and frequently statistically significant impact of photo ID in Indiana is to increase voter turnout in counties with a greater percentage of Democrats relative to other counties. These findings run counter to some recent and prominent concerns that have been raised about voter identification reforms; however, these results are consistent with both existing theory on voter behavior and the most recent and reliable empirical evidence on the effects of voter identification requirements on turnout.

The Effects of Photographic Identification on Voter Turnout in Indiana: A County-Level Analysis

Jeffrey Milyo

1. Introduction

This study evaluates the effects of photographic voter identification requirements implemented in Indiana prior to the 2006 general election. Previous studies have examined the effects of voter identification laws more generally, but none of these separately analyzes the effects of so-called "mandatory photo ID" (hereafter simply, "photo ID") on turnout in Indiana.[1] Nevertheless, the existing scholarly literature on voter identification does strongly suggests that photo ID requirements are likely to have only a negligible impact on overall voter turnout; further, previous studies indicate that photo ID is unlikely to reduce the relative participation of minorities (e.g., Alvarez et al. 2007 and Mycoff et al. 2007). Given that these lessons from social science research run counter to the conventional wisdom, at least that espoused in some quarters,[2] I first review the most recent and relevant literature on the effects of voter identification on turnout, then present the findings from my empirical analysis of turnout in Indiana.

The change in voter turnout from the 2002 to 2006 general elections provides a nearly ideal natural experiment for estimating the effects of photo ID on voter turnout across the 92 counties in Indiana. Both years were midterm election years and in neither year was there a major contested statewide race (i.e., for governor or U.S. Senate); however, 2006 was the first general election year in which Indiana's photo ID law was actually implemented. I exploit this natural experiment to identify the effects of photo ID on turnout in counties with a greater percentage of minority, poor, elderly, or less educated populations.

I examine a variety of models of voter turnout and control for the influence of several other factors that may influence turnout. Overall, voter turnout in Indiana increased about two percentage points from 2002 to 2006; however, in counties with greater percentages of minority or poor voters, turnout increased by even more, although this increase is not statistically significant. For counties with greater percentages of elderly or less educated voters, results are more mixed, but not consistently significant or negative. The only consistent and frequently significant effect of voter ID that I find is a positive effect on turnout in counties with a greater percentage of Democrat-leaning voters.

2. Voter ID and Turnout: Lessons from the Social Science Literature

The public debate over photo identification requirements for voters has been marked by oft-repeated concerns about the possible dramatic and detrimental effects of state voter identification requirements on voter turnout. The political rhetoric has become so super-heated that recent attempts to reform voter identification laws have been met with explicit accusations of racism on the part of reformers, dire warnings of a coming "disenfranchisement," and assertions that such reforms, though popular across party lines, are a "thinly veiled" attempt to prevent Democrats from voting.

In contrast, political theory suggests that the effects of voter identification laws on voter turnout are ambiguous. Such reforms increase the effort required to vote for some persons without proper identification (at least one time, anyway). Of course, some of these persons may be eligible voters and others will be ineligible voters. However, voter identification reforms may also instill greater confidence in the electoral process among eligible voters, making them more willing to participate in elections. Consequently, the actual impact of voter identification on turnout is an

empirical question; and even if turnout decreases with voter identification laws, it is by no means apparent that it is eligible voters that are being affected.

Until very recently, there were no systematic statistical studies of the effects of photo ID requirements for voting, although it is has long been understood that many other countries both require such identification and experience higher rates of turnout than in the U.S. Studies of voter turnout across countries have instead focused on voter registration, the frequency of elections, non-compulsory voting, and single-member districts (as opposed to proportional representation) as reasons that turnout in the U.S. is low relative to other developed democracies (Powell 1986 and Blaise 2006). The fact that such cross country studies do not even entertain the possibility that photo ID requirements reduce turnout is itself informative about the long-standing opinion of the political science profession regarding the relative unimportance of such laws for turnout.

In contrast, numerous studies analyze the effects of voting institutions other than voter identification on turnout. In general, these studies find at best very modest effects of post-registration laws such as time off work for voting, opening polls early or keeping polls open late, mailing sample ballots, etc. (Primo, et al. 2007). This is because voter registration is a relatively high hurdle compared to these post-registration requirements; adding or removing some marginal costs of voting beyond registration has virtually no observable effect on turnout. Applying these lessons to voter identification, it is highly unlikely that anyone sufficiently motivated to register to vote, inform themselves about the current election issues, and transport themselves to a polling place will then be deterred by the incremental requirement of presenting proper identification at the polls.

In fact, there is an even more fundamental reason to expect that the impact voter identification requirements on turnout are likely to be negligible. This is because very few eligible voters lack official identification and presumably even fewer (if any) lack the capacity to produce sufficient identification should they have a need and inclination to do so.[3] Finally, the ability to cast a provisional ballot reduces further the potential for a legitimate voter to be disenfranchised, even when that person lacks proper identification.

On this point, Ansolabehere (2007) notes that in a recent national survey with 36,500 respondents, only 23 persons self-reported that they were not permitted to cast a regular ballot at the polls in 2006 because of identification problems. Further, it is not clear how many of these 23 persons cast a provisional ballot, although it appears that most did;[4] nor is it ascertainable from the survey whether any of these persons were actually eligible to vote, or whether they were honestly reporting problems at the polls.[5] It is nonetheless apparent that recent claims of a coming "disenfranchisement" are nothing more than irresponsible and ignorant exaggerations (e.g., Schulz 2007).

On the other hand, the widespread popularity of voter identification requirements suggests that the general public is indeed concerned about vote dilution from ineligible votes.[6] Lott (2006) has argued that confidence in the fairness of elections translates directly into higher voter turnout; such an effect, if it existed, might also reasonably be expected to be most pronounced for groups that tend to have less trust in the efficacy American democracy (e.g., racial and ethnic minorities, the poor and the less educated).

In fact, scholars of American politics generally agree that voter turnout is determined largely by idiosyncratic factors, such as an individual's intrinsic value of voting (i.e., does the individual feel a duty to vote) as opposed to political institutions (Matsusaka and Palda 1999; Mycoff et al., 2007).[7] For this reason, factors that influence trust and confidence in the integrity of the electoral process are generally thought to be important determinants of an individual's decision to vote (Putnam 2000).[8] For all these reasons, it is theoretically plausible that photo identification requirements actually increase voter turnout. Consequently, there exists a long-standing political science literature that does not support recent assertions that photo ID requirements have dramatic and detrimental effects on turnout.

Recent empirical studies of state voter identification laws

In the wake of recent legislation implementing voter identification reforms in the states, a flurry of new empirical studies have appeared that more directly address the question of how state voter identification laws impact voter turnout. Unfortunately, the two

studies that have received the most coverage in the press (Eagleton 2006 and Vercellotti and Anderson 2006; hereafter, the "Rutgers studies") are fatally flawed on several counts.[9] For example, several authors note that these studies examine only a single cross-section of turnout data from 2004, so cannot properly estimate the treatment effect of state voter identification laws; nor can these studies properly estimate the effects of mandatory photo ID requirements (Alvarez, et al 2007, Mycoff, et al 2007 and Muhlhausen and Sikich 2007). Further, the Rutgers studies miscode several state identification laws (Mycoff, et al. 2007 and Muhlhausen and Sikich 2007). Finally, the findings reported in the Rutgers studies are not robust to reasonable changes in their statistical model (Alvarez, et al. 2007 and Muhlhausen and Sikich 2007).

The flawed Rutgers studies are also the only systematic studies of voter identification for which the authors conclude that ID laws have strong or consistently negative consequences for voter turnout overall, and especially for minorities. However, even ignoring the methodological problems with the Rutgers studies, the authors do an additional disservice to the public debate by mischaracterizing their own findings. For example, taken at face value, the results presented in the Rutgers studies imply that the most strict forms of voter identification laws examined in their data (voluntary photo ID) are associated with higher voter turnout among Black, Hispanic and Asian minorities than are the next most strict category of identification laws that they examine (non-photo ID). Further, the Rutgers studies also find that voluntary photo ID requirements yield no difference in overall turnout compared to non-photo ID requirements. The authors of the Rutgers studies fail to note any of these findings; this is a serious error that leads them to make conclusions that are not supported by their own evidence.

In contrast to the Rutgers studies, more recent studies stand out for both their methodological rigor and the fact that they examine voter turnout through the 2006 general elections (Alvarez, et al. 2007 and Mycoff, et al 2007). However, both of these studies are work in progress, so results must be interpreted with care.

Mycoff et al. (2007) examine the effects of voter identification laws on state level voter turnout, as well as individual-level self-reported voter turnout from the National Election Studies (a large national survey that is conducted each election year). The authors examine turnout from 2000 to 2006 using a random-effects model; they find that voter ID laws are not significantly related to turnout in either the aggregate state data or the individual level data. The individual-level analysis in Mycoff et al. is a particularly valuable innovation, since it allows the researchers to more confidently discuss the impacts of voter identification on minorities, the poor, the elderly, etc. However, the original analysis in Mycoff et al. does not examine these differential effects, nor do the authors separately investigate the effects of photo ID apart from other voter identification requirements.

More recently, however, Mycoff et al. have analyzed the effects of mandatory photo ID on individual level turnout after controlling for state fixed effects. In this most recent analysis, Mycoff et al. cannot reject the null hypothesis that the within state effects of photo ID on overall turnout are zero; likewise, the null of zero effect cannot be rejected for turnout across race, ethnicity, income or age categories.[10] Overall, Mycoff et al. (2007) find that idiosyncratic factors, such as an individual's interest in politics, are far more important determinants of turnout than are institutional factors like voter identification.

The most recently available study of the effects of voter identification on voter turnout is by Alvarez, et al. (2007); these authors also examine the effects of voter identification on both state-level turnout and individual level turnout (from the Current Population Survey). Alvarez et al. control for state fixed effects in their analysis, but they fail to control for the presence and competitiveness of statewide races in the different states and years in their study. This unfortunate oversight should be corrected in future iterations of the study, but for now this shortcoming undermines the usefulness of the authors' findings. Ignoring this methodological problem, Alvarez et al. (2007) report that voter ID laws are associated with higher (albeit not significant) voter turnout in the analysis of state-level turnout from 2000-2006. The individual-level analysis suggests that voter identification requirements have a modest negative impact on overall turnout, no differential impacts by race or ethnicity and a slightly more negative impact on elderly or poor voters.

The results reported in Alvarez et al. (2007) also suggest that there is no significant change in voter turnout for any population subgroup when comparing the effects of mandatory photo ID laws to voluntary photo ID, although the authors do not conduct a formal test of this hypothesis. However, it is unclear at this point how sensitive the estimates reported by Alvarez et al. will be to the inclusion of controls for the presence and competitiveness of statewide races. Consequently, the recent and on-going study by Mycoff et al. (2007) remains the most reliable and thorough systematic evaluation of the effects of photo ID laws on voter turnout to date.

In this review, I have demonstrated that both theory and the best evidence to date strongly suggest that the effects of photo ID on overall turnout are likely to be very modest (and may even be positive). Further, the best analyses of the differential impact of photo ID indicate no deleterious effects on minorities, the poor, or the elderly. In the next section, I demonstrate that these conclusions are borne out in the county-level election returns for Indiana.

3. Data and Methods

The subsequent empirical analysis examines the effects of photographic identification requirements on county-level turnout in Indiana. I analyze the change in voter turnout in the general midterm elections of 2002 and 2006; these elections offer a nearly ideal natural experiment for identifying the effects of photo ID on turnout. This is because there were no other major changes in Indiana election laws during this time period, so the impact of photo ID will not be confounded with other changes in state election administration. Further, because some demographic groups tend to have higher turnout in presidential election years, it is appropriate to compare turnout in the two most recent midterm elections. Finally, these two midterm elections are also relatively comparable since there were no major contested statewide races in either year.[11] Even so, I also check the whether the resulting estimates are sensitive to the inclusion of additional midterm and\ or presidential election years; to preview: they are not.

I measure voter turnout as the percent of voting age population (VAP) in each election year; VAP is estimated by the U.S. Census as of July 1st of the election year.[12] This measure is commonly employed in studies of voter turnout in aggregate data, since voter registration data is not of a consistent quality across time or jurisdiction. However, voting age population estimates including non-citizens and other persons that are not eligible to vote. While this is more problematic for studies of turnout in states with larger populations of ineligible voters, it is less likely to be a concern in a state like Indiana. Further, to the extent that the number of non-citizens is growing over time, and is disproportionately of Hispanic ethnicity, this has the effect of understating overall turnout in 2006, especially in areas with higher Hispanic populations.

For this reason, I also measure voter turnout as the percentage of the estimated number of citizens of voting age (CVAP) in each year. However, reliable estimates of CVAP at the county-level are not readily available, so I generated my own estimate based upon U.S. Census counts of non-citizens in 2000. In order to estimate CVAP by county in each year, I first calculate the ratio of citizens of voting age population to all the total voting age population for each county in 2000 from Census data. I then multiply the estimated VAP for each county and year by this ratio. However, the question of whether voter turnout should be measured as a percentage of VAP or CVAP is not surprisingly a non-issue in the present context; the correlation between the two measures is better than 98% for the time periods examined in this study.

In order to measure the overall effect of photo ID on voter turnout across the 92 Indiana counties, I estimate an ordinary least squares regression controlling for county-fixed effects and year effects. The county fixed-effects account for factors such as demographic differences across counties, while the year effects account for the different composition of state races in each election year. However, there has only been one general election in Indiana post-photo ID, so it is not possible to separately identify the overall effects of photo-ID on voter turnout absent additional assumptions. For this reason, the present analysis focuses on the effects of photo ID on different groups of eligible voters.

I evaluate claims about the relative effects of voter ID on racial and ethnic minorities, the poor, the elderly, persons without a high school diploma and Democrats by estimating the effects of photo ID on

turnout in counties with greater percentages of those groups as a percent county population. However, these demographic variables do not vary over time, since they are taken from the 2000 U.S. Census. This means that it is not possible to control for county-fixed effects when estimating the effects of photo ID on these particular demographic groups. For this reason, I account for differences in the demographic composition of counties by including control variables for per capita income and the percent of county population by several categories, including: age, education, ethnicity, female labor force participation, military status, non-citizens, party, poverty, race, and rural status (see Appendix). I also check the sensitivity of results when this list of control variables is pared down to just age, education, ethnicity, income and race.

Despite the plethora of county-level control variables described above, it is possible that there remain some unobserved county-level phenomena that may bias the estimated effects of photo ID on turnout in some unknown way. For this reason, I also examine the effects of photo ID on the within-county change in voter turnout since the most recent general election (i.e., the change in voter turnout from 2004 to 2006 compared to the change from 2000 to 2002). This alternative model effectively purges voter turnout of the county-specific factors mentioned above and so provides an important check on the estimates obtained form the basic model. Finally, because repeated observations at the county-level over time are not necessarily independent observations, I also control for clustering of standard errors by county in every regression model.

While most authors examine the effects of voter identification on voter turnout, some (e.g., Alvarez et al. 2007) look at the effects on the natural logarithm of voter turnout (i.e. "log turnout"); for this reason, I use both of these measures in my analysis. Therefore, in the next section I present estimates for four basic statistical models, where the dependent variable is i) turnout, ii) log turnout, iii) change in turnout, and iv) change in log turnout. I also discuss the sensitivity of these results to different measures of turnout, time periods or sets of control variables; for the most part, the key findings are quite robust to these alternative specifications.

4. Results

Voter turnout as a percentage of VAP in Indiana was about 2 percentage points higher in 2006 compared to 2002. This increase in turnout was fairly uniform across all counties; the mean within-in county change in turnout was +1.76% ($p<.001$). However, it is not possible to discern how much of this increase in turnout is attributable solely to the effects of photo ID; this is because there was also an uncompetitive Senate race in 2006. For example, the presence of a U.S. Senate election in 2006 might have led to an increase in turnout above what it would have been otherwise. On the other hand, the fact that there was no Democrat candidate in the 2006 Senate race might have led to lower turnout than otherwise. In fact, my examination of historical Senate election data does indeed suggest that state voter turnout tends to be lower when there is an uncompetitive Senate election at the top of the state ticket, all else constant. Assuming that this phenomenon occurred in 2006 in Indiana, then the photo ID likely led to an even greater increase in voter turnout than the 2% observed in the raw data.

Even so, I prefer to err on the side of caution in this report, so I focus only on the differential impact of photo ID across Indiana counties. In contrast to the situation for overall turnout in 2006, there is no a priori reason to believe that the uncompetitive 2006 Senate election influenced voter turnout in some counties more than others. Consequently, the effects of photo ID on turnout across counties with differing populations of minority, poor, low education, elderly voters, or Democrat voters can be identified and estimated in the available election data.

In Table 1A, I report the estimated effects of photo ID on both turnout and the change in turnout for counties with higher proportions of minority population. The table is divided into two panels; one for each model. For example, the results in the top panel of the table under column one indicate that photo ID increased voter turnout in counties with higher percentage of black population, albeit this estimate is not statistically significant ($t=1.23$). However, the estimated magnitude of this effect is quite large; for each percentage point increase in black population in a county, voter turnout increases by 0.1 percentage points. Looking to the bottom panel of Table 1A under the same column, the estimated effect

of photo ID on the change in turnout for counties with a higher percentage of Black population is also positive, nearly identical in magnitude, although again not statistically distinguishable from zero (t=0.59).

Moving to column two of Table 1A, the estimated effect of photo ID on voter turnout (top panel) for counties with larger Hispanic populations is negative, but much smaller in magnitude than that for Black population and also statistically insignificant. However, the impact of voter ID on the change in voter turnout for counties with greater Hispanic population is positive (even more so than for Black population), but once again not significantly different from zero (bottom panel).

In column three, I report the estimated effects of photo ID for both the Black and Hispanic variables; this model exhibits a similar pattern as when the variables are estimated separately. In all but one case the estimated effect of photo ID on turnout is positive for counties with more Black or Hispanic population. However, in no case are these variables individually or jointly significant.

The final column of Table 1A reports the effects of photo ID on turnout in counties with higher total minority population (non-white and\or Hispanic). The estimates are identical for both turnout and the change in turnout models. For each one percentage point increase in minority population, county turnout increases by 0.7 percentage points after the implementation of photo ID. Again, these effects are imprecisely estimated, so the null hypothesis of a zero differential effect of voter ID on turnout in counties with higher minority populations cannot be rejected.

My analysis of the effects of photo ID on turnout by race and ethnicity continues with an examination of the impact on both the log of turnout and the change in the log of turnout. The results of this estimation are reported in Table 1B; however, because this is a non-linear model, the coefficients do not have a similarly straightforward interpretation as before. For example, the point estimate of .003 for %Black in the top panel under column one of Table 1B has the following interpretation: for each percentage point increase in Black population in a county, voter turnout increases by .003 times voter turnout in 2002. For example, given a county-wide voter turnout rate of 30% in 2002, the implementation of photo ID is associated with a .09 percentage point increase in 2006 turnout for each percentage point of black population (or a nearly identical effect as was observed in Table 1A).

Given the complexity of interpreting the estimates in Table 1B, and the fact that none of these estimates are significantly different from zero (either individually, or in the case of column three, jointly), I will only note that the pattern of qualitative results obtained in the log models of turnout is very similar to that seen in Table 1A. In fact, the only substantive difference is that the effect of photo ID on Hispanic population is uniformly more positive.

To this point, there is no evidence that photo ID requirements in Indiana reduced voter turnout, either overall, or in counties with relatively larger racial or ethnic minority populations. Re-estimating these models for the three most recent midterm elections (1998, 2002 and 2006) yields a similar pattern of results, with one exception: the effect of photo ID on counties with more Hispanic population is consistently positive. Similarly, including presidential election years, along with additional controls for the differing turnout tendencies in midterm versus presidential election years, likewise produces nearly identical results. Finally, substituting citizen voting age population (CVAP) for VAP in any of the models discussed above has the effect of making the estimated effects of photo ID on Hispanic population positive, but otherwise yields no appreciable difference.

The analysis above is repeated for other demographic groups in Tables 2A and 2B. Specifically, I examine the effects of photo ID on turnout in counties with higher percentages of families below the poverty line (%Poverty), persons with less than a high school degree (%No High School) education, and persons over 65 years of age (%Elderly). These demographic variables are never statistically significant in the turnout models shown in panel one of Table 2A. although both the percent of county population in poverty or elderly approach statistical significance ($p<.15$). The effect of photo ID on turnout in counties with more poor families is positive, while the effect on turnout in counties with more elderly population is negative. However, these effects are largely attenuated for the change in turnout, and especially so for the percentage elderly (bottom panel of Table 2B). The effect of photo ID on turnout in counties with relatively fewer high school graduates exhibits a similar

pattern; it is negative and insignificant in panel one, but closer to zero and less precisely estimated in panel two. Further, these three demographic variables are jointly insignificant in both models. Finally, all of the race, ethnicity and demographic variables examined to this point are also not jointly significant when they are all simultaneously included in these turnout models.

As was the case for the race and ethnicity variables, the same general pattern of qualitative effects are observed in the log turnout and change in log turnout models (Table 2B); in addition, the demographic variables (poverty, no high school and elderly) are not jointly significant, nor is the combination of these demographic variables with the race and ethnicity variables examined in Table 1A and 1B. Re-estimating these four models for additional years, and\or substituting CVAP for VAP likewise yields no major changes, although the estimated effects of photo ID on counties with more elderly or low-education population become more positive and less precisely estimated.

The final variable examined is the extent of Democrat voting preferences in a county; this is measured using a common proxy in the political science literature, the county vote percentage for the Democrat presidential candidate in 2004 (John Kerry). The results for this variable are found in column four of Tables 2A and 2B. In all but one case, the effect of voter ID on turnout in highly Democrat-leaning counties is statistically significant or marginally so ($p<.10$ or better). In every case examined in Tables 2A and 2B, photo ID is associated with higher turnout in counties with a greater share of Democrat leaning voters. The magnitude of this estimated effect is about 0.1 percentage points higher voter turnout in 2006 per percentage point increase in John Kerry's 2004 vote percentage in the county. [This result holds up even when the model is estimated using additional election years or citizen voting age population, as above.]

I have also estimated all of the models described above with a more sparse set of control variables, only including controls for age, education, ethnicity, income, and race. However, the choice of these control variables does not yield any notable changes in the pattern of results discussed here.

As a final sensitivity check, all of the models above have been estimated without the adjustment for clustering of observations at the county level. This does not affect the estimated coefficients in these models but in general will affect the standard errors of the estimates. The effect of the cluster-adjustment to standard errors is to make some of the key estimates described above more precise; without the cluster-adjustment, none of the coefficients on percent elderly or percent poor remain even marginally statistically significant (i.e., $p>.10$ in every case). The only coefficient estimates that remain statistically significant without the cluster-adjustment are those for the percent Democrat in the county.

5. Discussion

Given the context of the existing research on voter turnout, my findings for Indiana are completely unsurprising. Despite the attention-grabbing and often strident claims that voter identification is the modern version of the poll tax and the like, nothing could be further from the truth. Existing theory and evidence from decades of social science research do not support the contention that photo ID requirements are likely to have a large and detrimental impact on turnout; nor does the previous empirical evidence find any significant impact of photo identification on racial or ethnic minorities. Further, the best previous evidence to date also finds no significant impact of photo ID on the poor or the elderly.

In this study, I exploit the existence of a natural experiment on the impact of photo ID: the change in turnout between the 2002 and 2006 midterm elections in Indiana. My analysis is novel not only for its focus on the effects of photo ID in Indiana, but because I subject my findings to a battery of sensitivity checks. This is also the first study to analyze the differential impact of photo ID requirements on turnout among more Democrat-leaning voters.

The findings that emerge from my analysis are that photo ID is associated with: i) an overall county-level turnout increase of almost two percentage points, ii) an insignificant increase in relative turnout for counties with a greater percentage of minority and poor population, iii) no consistent or significant impact on relative turnout in counties with a greater percentage of less educated or elderly voters, and iv) a significant relative increase in turnout for counties with a higher percentage of Democrat voters.

1 The term "mandatory" is a misnomer, since voters without proper photo ID are still allowed to cast a provisional ballot at the polls.

2 For example, see the recent brief for certiorari submitted to the U.S. Supreme Court by the Indiana Democratic Party and Marion County Democratic Central Committee (Indian Democratic Party, et al. v. Todd Rokita, et. al.).

3 Hood and Bullock (2007) argue that about 5% of registered voter names in Georgia do not have a valid driver's license or state identification card; however, the authors make no attempt to investigate how many of the registered voter names are actually attached to eligible voters. This is a rather egregious error, since it is well known that voter registration lists overstate, sometimes quite dramatically, the number of valid eligible voters due to duplicate, erroneous, out-dated and even fraudulent registrations. For example, in Indiana, the number of registered voters exceeds the number of voters that report being registered by more than 40% (Schulz 2007).

4 Ansolabehere (2007) does not explicitly report how many of the 23 persons with voter identification issues cast provisional ballots, although it would appear to be nearly all of them, since elsewhere he writes: "an almost immeasurably small number of people who tried to vote were excluded because of identification requirements or questions with their qualifications;" also, Ansolabehere notes that only three persons did not vote because of any problems with their voter registration.

5 Given the bitter partisan debate over voter identification, it would not be surprising if a handful of respondents chose to exaggerate their experience at the polls; in light of this, it is quite amazing that so few respondents self-report problems voting.

6 Ansolabehere (2007) reports that large majorities support voter identification reforms, including 70% of Blacks, 78% of Hispanics and 67% of all Democrats; in fact, persons who were asked to show identification when voting in 2006 were even more supportive of voter identification requirements than other respondents.

7 Also, see Primo and Milyo 2006a,b on the effects of political institutions on citizen trust and voter turnout.

8 For example, influential evidence on the importance of the intrinsic value of voting comes from field experiments in which those individuals that receive reminders about their civic duty to vote are more likely to do so (Gerber and Green 2000). Further evidence comes from Ansolabehere, et al (1999); they argue that negative campaign advertising reduces voter turnout primarily because of its detrimental effect on public trust in the political process.

9 In fact, the two studies are nearly identical, as Vercellotti and Anderson were part of the research team that produced the Eagleton (2006) report.

10 Personal communication with Jason Mycoff (November 9, 2007).

11 There was not a gubernatorial or U.S. Senate election in Indiana in 2002. In 2006, there was a U.S. Senate race in which Richard Luger, a Republican, was not opposed by a Democrat; Lugar defeated his closest opponent, a Libertarian candidate, by 87.3% to 12.6% of the total vote.

12 All data employed in this study were provided by Polidata (www.Polidata.org).

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Table 1A: Effects of Photo ID by Race and Ethnicity (County Turnout in 2002 and 2006)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel One: % Voting Age Pop. (% VAP)				
%Black*PhotoID	0.10		0.12	
	(1.23)		(1.44)	
%Hispanic*PhotoID		-0.03	-0.15	
		(0.21)	(0.97)	
%Minority*PhotoID				0.07
				(1.27)
Panel Two: Change in % Voting Age Pop.				
%Black*PhotoID	0.09		0.08	
	(0.59)		(0.45)	
%Hispanic*PhotoID		0.13	0.06	
		(0.83)	(0.28)	
%Minority*PhotoID				0.07
				(0.72)

NOTES: Absolute values of t-statistics in parentheses (adjusted for clustering by counties). The estimated effects of photo ID interacted with percent Black and Hispanic are also not jointly significant in either panel above. All models include controls for year and characteristics of county population, including: age, education, ethnicity, female labor force participation, income per capita, military status, non-citizens, party, poverty, race, and rural status.

Table 1B: Effects of Photo ID by Race and Ethnicity (Natural Logarithm of County Turnout in 2002 and 2006)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel One: Log of % Voting Age Pop. (%VAP)				
%Black*PhotoID	.003		.004	
	(1.42)		(1.50)	
%Hispanic*PhotoID		.000	-.003	
		(0.08)	(0.82)	
%Minority*PhotoID				.002
				(1.55)
Panel Two: Change in Log of% Voting Age Pop.				
%Black*PhotoID	.002		.002	
	(0.67)		(0.58)	
%Hispanic*PhotoID		.002	-.000	
		(0.55)	(0.00)	
%Minority*PhotoID				.002
				(0.82)

NOTES: Absolute values of t-statistics in parentheses (adjusted for clustering by counties). The estimated effects of photo ID interacted with percent Black and Hispanic are also not jointly significant in either panel above. All models include controls for year and characteristics of county population, including: age, education, ethnicity, female labor force participation, income per capita, military status, non-citizens, party, poverty, race, and rural status.

Table 2A: Effects of Photo ID by Poverty, Education, Age, and Party (County Turnout in 2002 and 2006)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel One: % Voting Age Pop. (% VAP)				
%Poverty*PhotoID	0.29			
	(1.67)			
%NoHighSchool*PhotoID		-0.08		
		(1.25)		
%Elderly*PhotoID			-0.36	
			(1.89)	
%Democrat*PhotoID				0.10
				(2.22)
Panel Two: Change in % Voting Age Pop.				
%Poverty*PhotoID	0.17			
	(0.98)			
%NoHighSchool*PhotoID		-0.01		
		(0.11)		
%Elderly*PhotoID			-0.08	
			(0.41)	
%Democrat*PhotoID				0.11
				(1.59)

NOTES: Absolute values of t-statistics in parentheses (adjusted for clustering by counties). The estimated effects of photo ID interacted with percent poverty, no high school degree and elderly are also not jointly significant in either panel above. All models include controls for year and characteristics of county population, including: age, education, ethnicity, female labor force participation, income per capita, military status, noncitizens, party, poverty, race, and rural status.

Table 2B: Effects of Photo ID by Poverty, Education, Age, and Party (Naural Logarithm of County Turnout in 2002 and 2006)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel One: Log of % Voting Age Pop. (% VAP)				
%Poverty*PhotoID	.007			
	(1.56)			
%NoHighSchool*PhotoID		-.003		
		(1.60)		
%Elderly*PhotoID			-.011	
			(2.08)	
%Democrat*PhotoID				.003
				(2.28)
Panel Two: Change in Log of % Voting Age Pop.				
%Poverty*PhotoID	.004			
	(0.88)			
%NoHighSchool*PhotoID		-.001		
		(1.05)		
%Elderly*PhotoID			-.005	
			(0.99)	
%Democrat*PhotoID				.003
				(1.87)

NOTES: Absolute values of t-statistics in parentheses (adjusted for clustering by counties). The estimated effects of photo ID interacted with percent poverty, no high school degree and elderly are also not jointly significant in either panel above. All models include controls for year and characteristics of county population, including: age, education, ethnicity, female labor force participation, income per capita, military status, noncitizens, party, poverty, race, and rural status.

APPENDIX :

The following county-level census variables are included as controls in the statistical analysis:

Percent non-Hispanic Black
Percent Hispanic
Percent non-white and\or Hispanic

Natural logarithm of per-capita income
Percent of families in poverty

Percent without a high school degree (omitted category)
Percent with at most a high school degree
Percent with some college education
Percent with college degree
Percent with post-graduate education

Percent age less than 5 years (omitted category)
Percent age between 5 and 17 years
Percent age between 19 and 24 years
Percent age between 25 and 44 years
Percent age between 45 and 64 years
Percent age 65 or more

Percent voting for John Kerry in 2004 (of those casting votes in 2004)

Percent active military
Percent female labor force participation
Percent non-citizens
Percent retired military
Percent rural

Jeffrey Milyo is a professor in the Truman School of Public Affairs and the department of economics at the University of Missouri; he is also the Hanna Family Scholar in the Center for Applied Economics at the University of Kansas School of Business and a Senior Fellow at the Cato Institute in Washington, D.C. Comments are welcome; please contact the author at: milyoj@missouri.edu.

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Institute of Public Policy
137 Middlebush
University of Missouri
Columbia, MO 65211
http://www.truman.missouri.edu/ipp

An Example of the Evolution of an Opinion to a Fact

I. A statistic about the suppressive effect of voter ID is presented as fact:

On August 29th 2013 Ruth Greenwood, Attorney with the Chicago Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law testified before the Indiana Census Data Advisory Committee on the topic of "allegations of voter suppression of African-Americans, Latinos, other ethnic minorities, and the elderly". In addition to brief oral testimony she provided written testimony. The written testimony (revised Sept. 27th 2013) contains the following statement:

> ***Requiring a photo ID to be shown before a voter can vote at a polling place has been shown to reduce overall turnout by at least 2-3%[x].***

And:

> ***While the intent of enacting the photo ID law may not have been to suppress voters, the effect of it is clear.***

II. The source cited for the voter suppression statistic:

Greenwood's statement is accompanied by an endnote citation ([x]) which attributes the statistic to ***Elections and Alignment*** - "forthcoming Chicago Public Law and Legal Theory Working Paper No. 443" by Nicholas O. Stephanopoulos, Assistant Professor of Law, University of Chicago Law School.[1] As explained in the abstract to the article cited:

> *For the last generation, the election law literature has emphasized structural values that relate to the functional realities of the electoral system competition chief among them. This article introduces a new structural theory – the alignment approach- that has the potential to reframe and unify many election law debates. The crux of the approach is that voters' preferences ought to be congruent with those of their elected representatives.*

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[1] Nichilas Stephanopoulas, Elections and Alignment, COLUMBIA L. REV. forthcoming. Available at: http://w2ww.papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2313941

Professor Stephanopoulos' paper is ***not*** an account of his research and statistical analysis of the effects of voter ID requirements on voter turnout. It focus is public policy, legal theory and laws. In the author's words "election law doctrine". In the paper, Stephanopoulos describes several types of election laws, such as residency and registration requirements, primary elections, campaign finance restrictions and voter ID, as "partisan distortions of the electorate". Regarding voter ID laws, he writes (pages 39-40):

> *...the partisan impact of the most controversial modern restrictions, photo ID requirements for voting,* ***is still hotly debated****. Surveys of eligible voters typically find substantial differences in the possession of valid IDs between Democratic- and Republican-leaning constituencies. However, studies that examine actual election results* ***usually*** *conclude that photo ID laws have* ***smaller*** *effects. The* ***best estimates*** *are that such laws reduce overall turnout by 2-3% and produce a pro-Republican swing of 1-2%.*[177]

On careful reading, the source attributed for the statistic given to the Indiana General Assembly committee *does not* establish, or even report that photo ID requirements "have been ***shown*** to reduce overall turnout ***by at least*** 2-3%". In summary, the conclusion of the Stephanopoulos paper is that; a) the effect of photo ID laws are still being debated; b) studies of actual election results usually show a smaller effect than expected; and c) the 2-3% overall turnout reduction statistic is not a fact, but a "***best***" estimate culled from a number of studies with wide ranging and debatable conclusions.

Professor Stephanopoulos however, is not the source of the voter turnout research mentioned in his article, and appropriately, he cited his sources for the statistics reported (endnote [177]).

III. Primary sources for the voter suppression statistics:

The New Republic™, founded in 1914, is the country's leading journal of opinion on politics and the arts.
Source: www.ebscohost.com/archives/**magazine**-archives/**new-republic**

The-New-Republic journal of opinion edited in Washington, D.C., that remained one of the most influential liberal *magazines* in the United States from its founding in 1914.
Source: www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/411988/The-**New-Republic**

The New Republic tackles politics, culture, and big ideas from an unbiased and thought-provoking perspective.
Source: www.**newrepublic**.com

Attachment C

A Report of The Heritage Center for Data Analysis

New Analysis Shows Voter Identification Laws Do Not Reduce Turnout

David B. Muhlhausen, Ph.D., and Keri Weber Sikich

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The Heritage Foundation
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NEW ANALYSIS SHOWS VOTER IDENTIFICATION LAWS DO NOT REDUCE TURNOUT

DAVID B. MUHLHAUSEN, PH.D., AND KERI WEBER SIKICH

OVERVIEW

The 2000 presidential election sparked a firestorm of debate relating to election reform in the United States. Since then, academics, the media, and elected officials have proffered opinions and implemented policies related to this important political issue. Topics that have been addressed in recent years range from modernizing voting machines and updating voter registration rolls to implementing stricter identification requirements for voting.

In 2002, Congress passed the Help America Vote Act (HAVA).[1] HAVA affects only federal elections and, among other things, requires that the states provide for provisional voting; create a computerized, centralized list of registered voters; and ensure that new voters who register by mail present identification before being allowed to vote in person. HAVA established the Election Assistance Commission (EAC) to serve as "a national clearinghouse and resource for information and review of procedures with respect to the administration of federal elections."[2] Additionally, many state legislatures have enacted their own election reform legislation.[3]

Of the many election reforms currently being considered, one that has incited some of the most cantankerous debate is that of voter identification at the polls. For many, the idea of requiring voters to present identification in order to vote is anathema, tantamount to the poll taxes that were once used to prevent African–Americans from voting.[4] They contend that requiring identification at the polls will lead to lower voter turnout, especially among the poor, certain minorities, and the elderly. For others, such as the Protect Arizona Now organization that lobbied in favor of identification requirements for Arizona voters, the problem of voter fraud makes voter identification requirements a common-sense solution.[5] The standard argument goes that if a person has to show identification to board a plane or cash a check, why shouldn't he have to do the same in order to vote? Additionally, the proponents of stricter voter identification requirements argue that such a policy would bolster the public's faith in the legitimacy of elections and lead to greater voter turnout, not less.

Both sides raise valid concerns. However, even a cursory glance at the literature on voter identification requirements shows that there is a dearth of

1. Public Law 107-252.
2. Election Assistance Commission, "About the EAC," at *www.eac.gov/about.asp?format=none* (June 28, 2007).
3. For a review of recent state legislative activity on voter identification laws, see National Council of State Legislatures, "Requirements for Voter Identification," February 1, 2007, at *www.ncsl.org/programs/legismgt/elect/taskfc/voteridreq.htm* (July 23, 2007).
4. John Fund, *Stealing Elections: How Voter Fraud Threatens Our Democracy* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2004), p. 137.
5. Protect Arizona Now, "Background Information," at *www.pan2004.com/background.htm* (July 24, 2007).

empirical research on this issue. While there have been a few studies to address the effect of voter identification requirements using election data,[6] more research is needed in order to appropriately assess the legitimacy of either side's claims.

In response to this debate, the EAC awarded a grant to Rutgers University's Eagleton Institute of Politics and the Moritz College of Law at Ohio State University to study voter identification requirement laws. The resulting study, *Report to the U.S. Election Assistance Commission on Best Practices to Improve Voter Identification Requirements Pursuant to the Help America Vote Act of 2002*,[7] included a statistical analysis of the effect of voter identification requirements on voter turnout during the 2004 election by Professor Timothy Vercellotti of the Eagleton Institute.[8] A new version of the analysis with Timothy Vercellotti and David Anderson as authors was presented to the 2006 American Political Science Association conference.[9] Hereinafter, this study will be referred to as the "Eagleton Institute study."

The Eagleton Institute study found that more stringent voter identification requirements appeared to reduce voter turnout in 2004.[10] In the media, their study has been cited as demonstrating that the strengthening of voter identification requirements to reduce fraud has the side effect of suppressing minority voter turnout.[11]

This Center for Data Analysis report attempts to replicate the part of the Eagleton Institute study that used the publicly available November 2004 Current Population Survey (CPS).[12] This analysis was done because several aspects of the Eagleton Institute study cast doubt on the validity of its findings:

- The Eagleton Institute used one-tailed hypothesis tests instead of the more commonly accepted two-tailed tests. The one-tailed test allows researchers to double their chances of finding statistically significant results.
- The 2004 voter identification laws of certain states were misclassified. For example, Arizona and Illinois were incorrectly classified as requiring voters to provide identification and state their name for authentication, respectively. However, in 2004 Arizona only required voters at polling stations to sign their name for authentication, while Illinois required poll workers to match the signatures of voters.
- Some of the variables used to predict the decision to vote were used inappropriately. For example, the Eagleton Institute study used the November 2004 CPS family income variable, which is an ordinal variable of unequal income ranges, as an interval-ratio variable. Using categorical variables as interval-ratio variables can lead to estimation problems.

After addressing these issues, our reanalysis finds that some of the original findings of the Eagleton Institute study are unfounded. Controlling for factors that influence voter turnout, voter identification laws largely do not have the negative impact on voter turnout that the Eagleton Institute suggests. When statistically significant and negative relation-

6. Timothy Vercellotti and David Anderson, "Protecting the Franchise, or Restricting It?" The Effects of Voter Identification Requirements on Turnout," American Political Science Association conference paper, Philadelphia, Pa., August 31–September 3, 2006, and John R. Lott, Jr., "Evidence of Voter Fraud and the Impact that Regulations to Reduce Fraud Have on Voter Participation Rates," Department of Economics, SUNY Binghamton, August 18, 2006.
7. *Report to the U.S. Election Assistance Commission on Best Practices to Improve Voter Identification Requirements Pursuant to the Help America Vote Act of 2002*, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, and Moritz College of Law, Ohio State university, June 28, 2006.
8. Timothy Vercellotti, "Appendix C: Analysis of Effects of Voter ID Requirements on Turnout," in *Report to the U.S. Election Assistance Commission on Best Practices to Improve Voter Identification Requirements Pursuant to the Help America Vote Act of 2002*.
9. Vercellotti and Anderson, "Protecting the Franchise, or Restricting It?"
10. *Ibid.*
11. Christopher Drew, "Lower Voter Turnout Is Seen in State that Require ID," *The New York Times*, February 21, 2007, p. A16; Richard Wolf, "Study: Stricter Voting ID Rules Hurt '04 Turnout," *USA Today*, February 19, 2007, p. A5; Matthew Murray, "EAC Blasted Again for Burying Study," *Roll Call*, April 9, 2007; Tom Baxter and Jim Galloway, "Wonk Alert: Study Says the Heavier the Voter ID Requirements, the Lower the Turnout," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, February 21, 2007, Metro News.
12. Current Population Survey, November 2004: Voting and Registration Supplement, machine-readable data file, conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2005.

ships are found, the effects are so small that the findings offer little policy significance. For example, our analysis indicates that:

- White survey respondents in photo identification states are 0.002 percent less likely to report voting than white respondents from states that only required voters to state their name.
- African–American respondents in non-photo identification states are 0.012 percent less likely to report voting than African–American respondents from states that only required voters to state their name.

In other cases, no effect was found.

- In general, respondents in photo identification and non-photo identification states are *just as likely* to report voting compared to respondents from states that only required voters to state their name.
- African–American respondents in photo identification states are *just as likely* to report voting compared to African–American respondents from states that only required voters to state their name.
- Hispanic respondents in photo identification states are *just as likely* to report voting compared to Hispanic respondents from states that only required voters to state their name.

BACKGROUND

When discussing voting behavior, it is important to consider the factors that influence whether an individual votes or not. According to the "Calculus of Voting" model, an individual will vote when the rewards from voting are positive and will abstain when they are not. The equation for the Calculus of Voting model is as follows:

$$R = PB - C + D.$$

The rewards (R) from voting are determined by multiplying the benefits (B) an individual receives when his preferred candidate wins over a less preferred candidate by the probability (P) that his vote will make a difference plus the benefits one receives from voting as an act of fulfilling one's duty or civic obligation (D) minus the costs of voting (C).[13] This is the standard, rational model of voting and will be used to inform the following discussion of voter identification requirements and their effect on voter turnout.

The voter identification issue is often framed as being torn between the opposing aims of "access and integrity."[14] By this we mean that it is commonly perceived that while voter identification laws may be effective at preventing ineligible individuals from voting (integrity), they may have an adverse effect on the ability of every eligible voter to vote (access). There have been only a few empirical studies on the impact of voter identification requirements,[15] but this does not translate into a lack of opinions on this topic.

Advocates for more stringent voter identification laws contend that this reform is vital to prevent voter fraud.[16] As more and more elections are won by slim margins, proponents of identification requirements argue that the chances are greater that voter fraud could affect election outcomes.[17] The potential for a small number of voters to have a significant impact on the outcome of an election became all too evident in the 2000 presidential election. Given that George W. Bush was declared the winner in Florida (and the next President) by a margin of 537 votes, it follows that even a small number of fraudulent votes (537+1) would matter a great deal.[18] In 2004, there were allegations of voter fraud in the Washington gubernatorial election in which Christine Gregoire won by a margin of 129

13. William Riker and Peter Ordeshook, "A Theory of the Calculus of Voting," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 62, No. 1 (March, 1968), pp. 25–42.
14. Spencer Overton, "Voter Identification," *Michigan Law Review*, Vol. 105, No. 631 (February 2007), p. 636.
15. Lott, "Evidence of Voter Fraud and the Impact that Regulations to Reduce Fraud Have on Voter Participation Rates," and Vercellotti and Anderson, "Protecting the Franchise, or Restricting It?"
16. Protect Arizona Now, "Background Information."
17. Commission on Federal Election Reform, *Building Confidence in U.S. Elections*, September 2005, p. 18, at *www.american.edu/iacfer/report/full_report.pdf* (July 24, 2007). Additionally, John Fund writes that "Election fraud...can be found in every part of the United States, although it is probably spreading because of the ever-so-tight divisions that have polarized the country and created so many close elections lately." Fund, *Stealing Elections*, p. 5.
18. M.V. Hood III and Charles S. Bullock, "Worth a Thousand Words? An Analysis of Georgia's Voter Identification Statute," April 2007, p.1, at *http://electionlawblog.org/archives/GA%20Voter%20ID%20(Bullock%20&%20Hood).pdf* (July 24, 2007).

votes.[19] Certainly the potential of voter fraud is a matter of concern.

Broadly defined, voter fraud is "the intentional corruption of the electoral process by voters."[20] While voter fraud manifests itself in different forms, examples include individuals who vote but are ineligible (such as non-citizens and felons), individuals who vote multiple times in various precincts, and individuals who vote using someone else's name. Because of the lack of research and the difficulty of collecting data on voter fraud, the extent to which these kinds of voter fraud occur is unknown. Additionally, for similar reasons, we are unaware of the extent to which voter identification laws would curb the type of voter fraud they are intended to prevent.

However, there are some examples of recorded voter fraud. The Department of Justice asserts that since the inception of the Attorney General's Ballot Access and Voting Integrity Initiative in 2002, 120 people have been charged with election fraud, of which 86 have been convicted.[21] Additionally, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* reports that prosecutors in Milwaukee filed charges against 14 individuals for voter fraud in the 2004 election.[22] Of the 14, 10 were felons accused of voting and four were accused of double voting. Prosecutors obtained five convictions. For proponents of strict voter identification requirements, the knowledge that any voter fraud occurs is sufficient to argue that more needs to be done to curb this problem.[23]

The most prevalent critique of the voter fraud argument is that "voter-fraud anecdotes are often misleading, incomplete, and unrepresentative."[24] Proponents of this view contend that upon closer examination of claims of voter fraud, such charges turn out to be either nonexistent or infrequent. For instance, the Brennan Center for Justice at the New York University School of Law found that in 2004, voter fraud occurred 0.0009 percent of the time in the gubernatorial election in Washington and 0.00004 percent of the time in Ohio. They report that these percentages are akin to the likelihood of an American's being killed by lightning.[25]

Opponents of voter identification requirements also argue that the few instances of voter fraud that may be prevented by identification laws do not outweigh the thousands of legitimate voters who would be disenfranchised because they lacked the necessary identification.[26] These critics argue that identification laws will have a negative impact on the ability of certain minorities, the elderly, the disabled, and the poor to vote.[27] It is presumed, and some studies have found, that people from these groups are less likely to possess drivers' licenses or other government-issued identification.[28] It is also assumed that many from these groups would be unable or unwilling acquire the necessary docu-

19. Commission on Federal Election Reform, *Building Confidence in U.S. Elections*, p. 4.
20. Lorraine Minnite, "The Politics of Voter Fraud," Project Vote, p. 6, at *http://projectvote.org/fileadmin/ProjectVote/Publications/Politics_of_Voter_Fraud_Final.pdf* (July 24, 2007).
21. U.S. Department of Justice, "Fact Sheet: Protecting Voting Rights and Prosecuting Voter Fraud," press release, October 31, 2006, at *www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2006/November/06_crt_738.html* (July 23, 2007).
22. Bill Glauber, "Her first vote put her in prison; Woman is one of five from city convicted of voter fraud," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, May 21, 2007, p. A1.
23. Overton, "Voter Identification," p. 648.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 644.
25. Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law, "The Truth About 'Voter Fraud,'" September 2006, p. 1, at *www.brennancenter.org/ dynamic/subpages/download_file_38347.pdf* (July 24, 2007).
26. Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law and Spencer Overton, "Response to the Report of the 2005 Commission on Federal Election Reform," September 19, 2005, p. 2, at *www.carterbakerdissent.com/final_carterbaker_rebuttal092005.pdf* (July 24, 2007).
27. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
28. See John Pawasarat, "The Driver License Status of the Voting Age Population in Wisconsin," June 2005, at *www.uwm.edu/Dept/ETI/barriers/DriversLicense.pdf* (July 24, 2007); Hood and Bullock, "Worth a Thousand Words?"; and Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law, "Citizens Without Proof: A Survey of Americans' Possession of Documentary Proof of Citizenship and Photo Identification," November 2006, at *www.federalelectionreform.com/pdf/Citizens%20Without%20Proof.pdf* (July 25, 2007).

mentation. Critics of strict identification laws further argue that the costs (in both time and money) of obtaining such documentation would be a deterrent to voting and would likely result in lower voter turnout among poor voters and those who do not have easy access to government offices.[29] It is for this reason that "ID requirements are compared to modern poll taxes."[30]

While it is difficult to accurately assess the number of eligible voters who would be rendered unable to vote because they lack proper identification, some studies have attempted to estimate such figures by looking at the percentage of the population who do not have driver's licenses. For instance, a Wisconsin study found that when considering the entire state, 80 percent of men and 81 percent of women had valid driver's licenses. In contrast, only 45 percent of African–American men and 51 percent of African–American women had valid driver's licenses. The percentages for Latinos were also lower (54 percent for men and 41 percent for women).[31] Similarly, a Georgia study found that among registered voters, non-whites, women, and the elderly were less likely to have government-issued photo identification (either a driver's license or state identification).[32]

Although these figures shed light on the types of people who are less likely to have driver's licenses, it is unadvisable to focus on this statistic alone. First, the data still cannot tell us whether those individuals without driver's licenses have some other form of identification, such as an employee ID, student ID, social security card, or any other form of identification currently accepted in many states. Second, it cannot tell us about future behavior. Do voters in photo identification states who lack the necessary identification obtain the required identification (such as a driver's license) when the state law is changed? Take for instance the previous study conducted in Wisconsin, which currently does not require identification before voting (except for those requirements set forth in HAVA for new voters). Although approximately half of African-Americans in the state are currently without driver's licenses, we do not know if those individuals will get driver's licenses or state IDs if Wisconsin were to require voters to show identification before voting.

For these reasons, proponents of voter identification requirements are convinced that requiring identification at the polls would not be an excessive burden to voters. As previously mentioned, identification is required for many things that are considerably less important than voting (flying in a plane, buying alcohol, etc.). As "voting is equally important," if not more important, the argument goes that it makes sense for someone to be required to show identification in order to cast a ballot.[33] Additionally, Senior Research Scientist John Lott at the University of Maryland Foundation points out that as "almost 100 countries require photo identifications to vote," the United States would be hardly alone in requiring voters to show some form of identification at the polls.[34]

Those who oppose voter identification at the polls argue that other reforms are better suited to preventing voter fraud. For instance, critics of voter identification point to absentee ballots as "the Achilles heel of election security" because voters are often not required to show identification at all.[35] Yet absentee ballots have been largely left out of the voter identification requirement debate. This apparent discrepancy has been used by opponents of voter identification laws as evidence that supporters of such legislation are not interested in real voter fraud reform.[36] Rather, critics argue that voter identification supporters are using such laws

29. Task Force on the Federal Election System, John Mark Hansen, "Chapter 6: Verification of Identity," July 2001, p. 4, at *www.tcf.org/Publications/ ElectionReform/NCFER/hansen_chap6_verification.pdf* (July 24, 2007).
30. Timothy Ryan, "Voter ID Laws Need Measured Implementation," AEI–Brookings *Election Reform Project Newsletter*, April 17, 2007, at *www.reformelections.org/commentary.asp?opedid=1555* (July 24, 2007).
31. Pawasarat, "The Driver License Status of the Voting Age Population in Wisconsin," p. 3.
32. Hood and Bullock, "Worth a Thousand Words?" p. 14.
33. Commission on Federal Election Reform, *Building Confidence in U.S. Elections*, p. 18.
34. Lott, "Evidence of Voter Fraud and the Impact that Regulations to Reduce Fraud Have on Voter Participation Rates," p. 2.
35. Ryan, "Voter ID Laws Need Measured Implementation."
36. Editorial, "Voter Suppression in Missouri," *The New York Times*, August 10, 2006, p. 22, and Lott, "Evidence of Voter Fraud and the Impact that Regulations to Reduce Fraud Have on Voter Participation Rates," p. 6.

as an attempt to suppress voter turnout by increasing the costs of voting (the "C" from the Calculus of Voting model).[37]

Another argument proffered by supporters of voter identification requirements is that such laws are necessary to maintain the public's faith in the integrity of elections. The Commission on Federal Election Reform (Carter–Baker Commission) at American University asserts that "the electoral system cannot inspire public confidence if no safeguards exist to deter or detect fraud or to confirm the identity of voters."[38] This argument, "the ensuring integrity hypothesis," contends that public faith in the honesty of elections actually "encourages additional voter participation."[39] Proponents argue that voter identification laws will bolster the public's faith in the outcome of elections. This will increase, not decrease, turnout because voters will feel a greater pride in voting (increasing the "D" or duty component of voting).

Voter identification laws are exceptionally popular among the general public. In a survey of some 36,000 voters, Professors Stephen Ansolabehere and Elting R. Morison of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology found that 77 percent of respondents supported voter identification requirements.[40] For the most part, the majority of respondents supported such laws regardless of race, location (Northeast, Midwest, etc.), and political ideology. While those who identified themselves as conservatives had the highest percentage of agreement with identification requirements (at 95 percent), even those who identified themselves as "very liberal" had 50 percent agreement with voter identification laws.[41] Regarding race, more than 70 percent of whites, African-Americans, and Hispanics supported voter identification laws.[42] Additionally, Ansolabehere found only 23 instances out of 36,000 where an individual reported being unable to vote because he lacked the necessary identification.[43]

These survey data are supported by actual voter behavior. In 2004, when Arizonans voted on Proposition 200, which would require voter identification at the polls as evidence of citizenship, it passed with 56 percent of the vote.[44]

Ultimately, it is not the intent of this paper to debate the merits of either side's arguments. Rather, we want to present the major arguments on either side of this issue as background to our analysis. However, the paper does intend to examine more closely one of the claims of this debate: that stricter voter identification requirements depress voter turnout. In order to do that, it is necessary to discuss the different voter identification requirements across the 50 states and the District of Columbia.

Voter identification requirements, if any, differ by state, so there is great variability in the way voters from different parts of the country are required to verify their identity before casting a ballot. Some states rely on the honor system where voters merely have to give their names to the election official.[45] Other states only require a signature,[46] with some states going a step further and actually matching the signature to a previously signed document.[47] States with more stringent requirements ask that voters provide identification[48] or photo identification.[49]

The Eagleton Institute study identified two categories of identification requirements (maximum

37. Editorial, "Voter Suppression in Missouri."
38. Commission on Federal Election Reform, *Building Confidence in U.S. Elections*, p. 18.
39. Lott, "Evidence of Voter Fraud and the Impact that Regulations to Reduce Fraud Have on Voter Participation Rates," p. 4.
40. Stephen Ansolabehere and Elting R. Morison, "Access Versus Integrity in Voter Identification Requirements," Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, February 2007, at *http://web.mit.edu/polisci/portl/cces/material/NYU_Identification1.pdf* (July 24, 2007).
41. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
44. Election returns obtained from Arizona Secretary of State's Web site at *www.azsos.gov/election/2004/General/Canvass2004General.pdf*.
45. As of 2004, such states included Maine, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, among others.
46. For instance, California, the District of Columbia, and Michigan were all "sign name" states in 2004.
47. Nevada, Oregon, and Pennsylvania were all "signature match" states in 2004.

requested and minimum required) and five types of identification requirements (stating name, signing name, signature match, present ID, and photo ID).[50] It is important to note that in 2004, there were no states that had photo ID as a minimum requirement. All states that had a photo ID requirement permitted voters who did not have such documentation to present alternative forms of ID or sign an affidavit attesting to their identity.[51]

By the maximum requested, the Eagleton Institute study refers to the most identification that an individual can be asked to present in order to vote using a regular ballot. Conversely, the minimum is the least identification that will be accepted to vote.[52] For example, when voting in Louisiana in 2004, a voter would be asked by poll workers to present photo identification. If the individual was unable to present an acceptable form of ID, he was allowed to vote after signing an affidavit stating he is the person he claims to be.[53] In that case, photo ID would be the maximum requested, and affidavit would be the minimum required.

Within the states that require some form of documentation as proof of identity, there are also significant differences. For instance, some states, like Massachusetts, "may" ask that a voter show identification, but identification is not automatically requested of all voters.[54] In Alabama and Alaska, two states that request identification, this requirement can be waived if a poll worker knows the voter and can attest to his identity.[55] This is an important issue to consider because it means that different voters within the same state may be affected by different identification requirements.

Furthermore, by the 2004 election, many states had become compliant with certain provisions in the Help America Vote Act (HAVA) which required identification at the polls from first-time voters who registered by mail and who did not show identification at the time of registration. One state, Pennsylvania, actually went above and beyond HAVA requirements and mandated that all first-time voters needed to show identification at the polls regardless of whether they showed identification when they registered to vote.[56] Because of HAVA, many first-time voters had to show identification at the polls even in states that did not otherwise require identification from all voters.

Even among states that require documentation, there is great variability in the types of documentation that is accepted. Some accept only a government-issued photo identification, while others accept almost any document that demonstrates a person's identity. For example, in 2004, acceptable documentation in Florida ranged from a driver's license and passport to credit card and buyer's club card to utility bill, bank statement, or paycheck (as long as they contained the name and address of the individual).[57] In contrast, some states that required identification to vote are much more restrictive with respect to acceptable forms of identification. One such state, Virginia, only allowed voters to present a voter registration card, Social Security card, employer-issued identification card (as long as it contained a photo), Virginia driver's license, or other Commonwealth or government-issued identification.[58] Furthermore, in many states, individuals who are unable to provide the appropriate documentation are given an alternative, such as signing

48. Alabama, Alaska, and Connecticut are just a few of the states that required voters to show some form of identification at the polls in 2004.
49. Florida, Hawaii, Louisiana, South Carolina, and South Dakota were all of the states requiring photo ID during the 2004 election.
50. *Report to the U.S. Election Assistance Commission on Best Practices to Improve Voter Identification Requirements Pursuant to the Help America Vote Act of 2002*, p. 8.
51. *Ibid*, p. 9.
52. *Ibid.*
53. La. R.S. 18:562.
54. 950 C.M.R. § 53.03(5B); 950 C.M.R. § 54.04(6B).
55. Ala. Code § 17-9-30; Alaska Statute § 15.15.225.
56. Pa. Stat. Ann. Tit. 25 § 3050.
57. West's Fla. Stat. Ann § 101.043.
58. Va. Code Ann. § 24.2-643.

an affidavit, in order to vote. Finally, Section 302 of HAVA requires that an individual who fails to meet the identification requirements of voting can still vote using a provisional ballot.[59]

The key aspects of this brief overview of identification requirements of voting is that there is a lot of variability by states as to what is required, and not all identification requirements are created equal. By that we mean that required identification documentation for one state may not meet the identity requirements in another state. This is just one of the reasons that it is particularly difficult to study the effect of such laws on voter turnout.

THE DATA

In order to analyze individual voter turnout, this study uses data from the U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Survey, November 2004: Voting and Registration Supplement File.[60] The November 2004 CPS voting supplement contains interviews from about 57,000 households. Based on self-described registered voters, the data allow us to model the decision to vote based on individual and household characteristics.

Dependent Variable. The dependent variable is whether or not the respondent reported that he or she voted in the November 2004 election. Respondents who admitted to not being registered voters were omitted, along with those reporting that they were not United States citizens. We also omitted those reported to be voting through absentee ballots.[61]

According to the U.S. Census Bureau's analysis of the November 2004 CPS data, 89 percent of registered voters voted in the November 2004 election.[62] This estimate is drawn from a sample of respondents reporting to be registered voters and is much higher than estimates based on samples of the voting-age population. However, the EAC estimates that 70.4 percent of registered voters turned out to vote.[63] The CPS estimate of 89 percent may be biased upward because it is based on the reported vote, which may be overstated because survey respondents may be disinclined to admit that they did not vote.[64] When turnout is based on the total population over 18 years old, 55.8 percent of persons over age 18 voted.[65]

Voter Identification Requirements. The voter identification requirements included in the analysis capture the degree to which a registered voter has to prove his or her identity at the polling station. Two sets of five dichotomous voter identification variables are used in the analysis. The first set is based on the maximum amount of identification that the voter is required to produce in order to prove his or her identity. The maximum state voter identification requirements are broken down into the following classification: state name, sign name, match signature, provide non-photo identification, and provide photo identification. Table 1 presents the voter identification classifications by state used by the Eagleton Institute and the Moritz College of Law at Ohio State University.

For all but two of the states, Illinois and Arizona, we used the classifications that were provided to us by the Eagleton Institute. We recoded these two states because upon researching state election laws, we discovered that the Eagleton Institute had erroneously reported the identification requirements for these two states. The Eagleton Institute study has Illinois listed as a "state name" state. In actuality, Illinois poll workers match a prospective voter's signature to a signature already on file, making Illinois a "match signature" state.[66]

The Eagleton Institute has Arizona listed as a "provide ID" state although Arizona was a "sign

59. Public Law 107-252.

60. Current Population Survey, November 2004: Voting and Registration Supplement.

61. To account for Oregon's elections that are conducted entirely through mail, Oregon voters are treated in this analysis as if they vote in person in the polling both. Oregon is classified as a signature match state for voter identification purposes.

62. U.S. Census Bureau, "U.S. Voter Turnout Up in 2004, Census Bureau Reports," press release, May 26, 2004, at *www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/voting/004986.html* (July 2, 2007).

63. Kimball W. Brace and Michael P. McDonald, *Final Report of the 2004 Election Day Survey*, U.S. Election Assistance Commission, September 27, 2005, at *www.eac.gov/election_survey_2004/pdf/EDS-Full_Report_wTables.pdf* (July 5, 2007).

64. William H. Flanigan and Nancy H. Zingale, *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, 11th edition (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2006).

65. Brace and McDonald, *Final Report of the 2004 Election Day Survey.*

Table 1 CDA 07-04

Maximum and Minimum Voter Identification Requirements, November 2004 Election

State	Eagelton Institute Maximum Requirement	Corrected Maximum Requirement	Eagelton Institute Minimum Requirement
Alabama	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID
Alaska	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID
Arizona	Provide non-photo ID	Sign name	Provide non-photo ID
Arkansas	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID	State name
California	Sign name	Sign name	Sign name
Colorado	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID
Connecticut	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID
Delaware	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID	State name
District of Columbia	Sign name	Sign name	Sign name
Florida	Provide photo ID	Provide photo ID	Swear affidavit
Georgia	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID
Hawaii	Provide photo ID	Provide photo ID	Provide non-photo ID
Idaho	Sign name	Sign name	Sign name
Illinois	State name	Match signature	State name
Indiana	Sign name	Sign name	Swear affidavit
Iowa	Sign name	Sign name	Sign name
Kansas	Sign name	Sign name	Sign name
Kentucky	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID
Louisiana	Provide photo ID	Provide photo ID	Swear affidavit
Maine	State name	State name	State name
Maryland	Sign name	Sign name	Sign name
Massachusetts	State name	State name	State name
Michigan	Sign name	Sign name	Sign name
Minnesota	Sign name	Sign name	Sign name
Mississippi	Sign name	Sign name	Sign name
Missouri	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID
Montana	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID
Nebraska	Sign name	Sign name	Sign name
Nevada	Match signature	Match signature	Match signature
New Hampshire	State name	State name	State name
New Jersey	Match signature	Match signature	Match signature
New Mexico	Sign name	Sign name	Sign name
New York	Match signature	Match signature	Sign name
North Carolina	State name	State name	State name
North Dakota	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID	Swear affidavit
Ohio	Match signature	Match signature	Match signature
Oklahoma	Sign name	Sign name	Sign name
Oregon	Match signature	Match signature	Match signature
Pennsylvania	Match signature	Match signature	Match signature
Rhode Island	State name	State name	State name
South Carolina	Provide photo ID	Provide photo ID	Provide non-photo ID
South Dakota	Provide photo ID	Provide photo ID	Provide non-photo ID
Tennessee	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID	Match signature
Texas	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID
Utah	State name	State name	State name
Vermont	State name	State name	State name
Virginia	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID	Provide non-photo ID
Washington	Sign name	Sign name	Sign name
West Virginia	Match signature	Match signature	Sign name
Wisconsin	State name	State name	State name
Wyoming	State name	State name	State name

Sources: Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers; State University of New Jersey; and Moritz College of Law, Ohio State University, *Report to the U.S. Election Assistance Commission on Best Practices to Improve Voter Identification Requirements Pursuant to the Help America Vote Act Of 2002*, June 28, 2006, at *www.eac.gov/docs/VoterIDReport%20062806.pdf* (July 30, 2007), and author's personal communication with Timothy Vercellotti (June 1, 2001).

name" state at the time of the 2004 election.[67] Identification laws did not go into effect in Arizona until some time after the 2004 election. Arizona could not have been a "provide ID" state before the November 2004 election because Arizonans voted on and approved Proposition 200 on the November 2004 ballot. This initiative is the impetus for the requirement that voters show identification before voting as proof of citizenship.[68]

The second set of voter identification variables recognizes that some states allow voters without proper identification to vote after demonstrating their identity through other means. This minimum requirement set of variables includes state name, sign name, match signature, provide non-photo identification, and swear affidavit. For the probit regressions, the variable for voters stating their names for identification is omitted for reference purposes.

Individual Factors. The individual factors included in the analysis capture differences in the race and ethnicity, age, education, household income, marital status, gender, employment status, citizenship, residential mobility, and home ownership of the individual respondents. Controlling for such variables as education and age is important because research indicates that these variables are good predictors of voting turnout.[69] The analysis controls for the effect of the individual's race and ethnicity through a set of mutually exclusive dichotomous variables for the following categories: non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic African–American, Hispanic, non-Hispanic American Indians, non-Hispanic Asians (including Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders), and other races, including those reporting multiple races and ethnicities. The specification of these variables allows us to compare the voting patterns of minorities to those of whites.

A set of dichotomous variables control for the age of the individual respondents that fall into the following categories: 18- to 24-year-olds, 25- to 44-year-olds, 45- to 64-year-olds, and 65 years and older. For education, the respondents were classified as either having less than a high school diploma, high school diploma or equivalent, some college, bachelor's degree, or a graduate school degree.

For family income, the Eagleton Institute study used an ordinal family income variable as an interval-ratio variable.[70] The family income variable is coded as 1 through 16 with units containing unequal income ranges. For the purposes of this analysis, the effect of family income is controlled for by the inclusion of a series of income range dichotomous variables: under $15,000, $15,000 to $29,999, $30,000 to $49,999, $50,000 to $74,999, $75,000 to $149,999, and $150,000 or more.

To control for the influence of marital status, five dichotomous variables signifying being single, married, separated, divorced, and widowed are included in the model. Single individuals are the default. A dichotomous variable identifying the gender of the individual as a female is also included in the models.

Two dichotomous variables are included to control for the effect of employment. The first is a dichotomous variable signifying whether or not the individual is employed; the second is a dichotomous variable for whether or not the person is in the labor force.

To control for whether native-born citizens are more likely to vote than naturalized citizens, a dichotomous variable identifying native-born citi-

66. Documentation supporting the signature match requirement can be found at the following: ILCS 5/6-66; electionline.org, Election Reform Briefing, April, 2002, p. 12, at *www.electionline.org/Portals/1/Publications/ Voter%20Identification.pdf*; Punchcard Manual of Instructions for Illinois Election Judges, 2005, at *www.elections.il.gov/Downloads/ ElectionInformation/ PDF/03selfsec.pdf*; and Election Law @ Moritz, 50 Questions for 5 States, Illinois, last updated 1/19/07, at *moritzlaw.osu.edu/ electionlaw/election06/50-5_Illinois.php#14*.

67. Arizona Secretary of State, 2004 Ballot Propositions, "Instructions to Voters and Election Officers," September, 2004, at *www.azsos.gov/election/2004/Info/PubPamphlet/Sun_Sounds/english/contents.htm*.

68. The text of Proposition 200 is available at *www.pan2004.com/docs/initiative_petition.pdf*.

69. Flanigan and Zingale, *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*.

70. The variable "HUFAMINC" in the November 2005 CPS has the following coding: 1 for less than $5,000; 2 for $5,000 to $7,499; 3 for $7,500 to $9,999; 4 for $10,000 to $12,499; 5 for $12,500 to $14,999; 6 for $15,000 to $19,000; 7 for $20,000 to $24,999; 8 for $25,000 to $29,999; 9 for $30,000 to $34,999; 10 for $35,000 to $39,999; 11 for $40,000 to $49,999; 12 for $50,000 to $59,999; 13 for $60,000 to $74,999; 14 for $75,000 to $99,999; 15 for $100,000 to $149,999; and 16 for $150,000 or more.

zens is included. Two dichotomous variables are included to control for community ties. The models control for whether or not the individual has moved within the last year and whether or not the individual owns or rents his or her home. These two variables are included to help control for social connectedness under the theory that those with stronger community ties will be more likely to vote.

State Political Factors. As with the Eagleton Institute study, two dichotomous variables indicate whether a state is considered a battleground state and a competitive state. A state is designated as a battleground state if the margin of victory for the winning 2004 presidential candidate was 5 percent or less. A state was designated as competitive if the margin of victory for governor and/or U.S. Senate races was 5 percent or less.

FINDINGS

The probit regression analyses that follow examine the effects of voter identification requirements on voter turnout. Table 2 presents the original findings of the Eagleton Institute's probit regression analysis. Table 3 presents the descriptive statistics of the data used in Table 4. Based on our analyses, six sets of probit regression models are presented in Tables 4 to 9.

The first set of probit regressions contains our replication of the Eagleton Institute study for their analysis of all voters (Table 4). The second set of probit regressions presents the findings for all voters under a different model specification and the corrected classification of state identification requirements for Arizona and Illinois (Table 5). The sixth through ninth sets of probit regressions present our findings for the different model specification and corrected coding for state identification requirements for whites, African–Americans, Hispanics, and Asians (Tables 6 through 9).

For all of the models, robust standard errors are estimated to correct for correlated error terms within each state. For tests of statistical significance, the standard two-tailed tests are used. See below for a discussion of one-tailed versus two-tailed tests of statistical significance. The calculations in Tables 3 through 9 use the CPS weight, PWSSWGT, as recommended by the Bureau of the Census.

ONE-TAILED VERSUS TWO-TAILED TESTS OF STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE

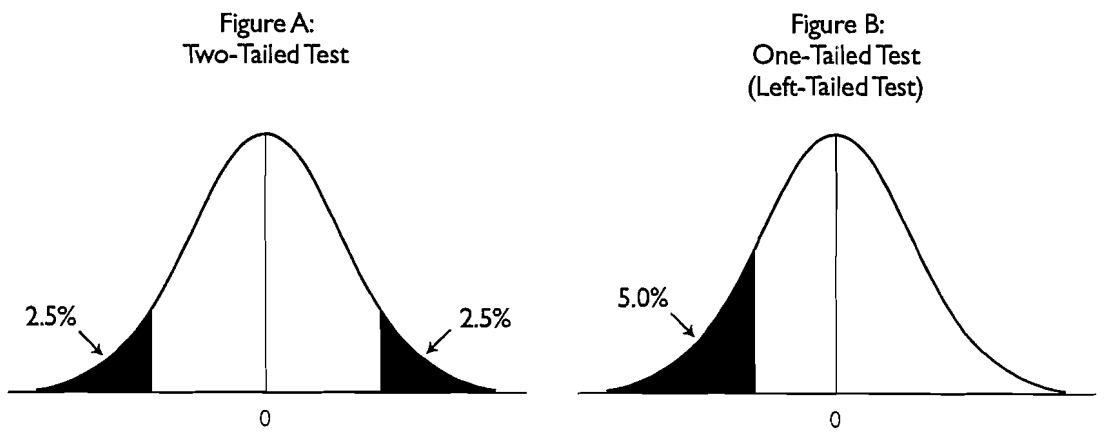
When doing tests of statistical significance for hypotheses, social scientists generally use two-tailed tests. Two-tailed tests are used to check for a difference while ignoring in which direction the difference lies.

For example, a social scientist would use a two-tailed test to determine whether voters in photo identification and give name states have different probabilities of reporting having voted in the 2004 election, regardless of the direction of the relationship. By using a two-tailed test, the 5 percent probability is split between both ends of the bell-shaped curve. (See Figure A in Chart 1.) That is, 2.5 percent of the probability that the difference is due to chance is placed in the side that represents respondents in photo identification states being less likely to vote, while 2.5 percent is placed in the side that represents respondents in photo identification states being more likely to vote. If the probit coefficient for photo identification states falls within either of the 2.5 percent shaded regions, this finding is determined to be statistically significant. If the coefficient falls within the left (right) tail, photo identification requirements have a negative (positive) relationship with reported voter turnout. If the coefficient falls between the 2.5 percent shaded regions, photo identification requirements are said have no relationship with voter turnout.

When one-tailed tests are used, social scientists are hypothesizing that the relationship between photo identification requirements and reported voting has a specific direction: for example, voter identification requirements decrease (increase) reported voting. As determined by the social scientist, all of the 5 percent of chance is placed in one end of the bell-shaped curve. If the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized, placing the entire 5 percent chance in one side makes it is *twice as easy* to achieve a statistically significant finding with a one-tailed test as with a two-tailed test. Figure B in Chart 1 is an example of a one-tailed test where the researcher believes a negative relationship exists. In the case of photo identification requirements and voter turnout, if the coefficient falls within the 5 percent shaded region of the left tail, photo identification requirements would then be said to have a negative relationship. If the coefficient does not fall within the 5 percent region, then photo identifica-

Chart 1 CDA 07-04

Two-Tailed Versus One-Tailed Hyphothesis Tests



Source: The Heritage Foundation.

tion requirements are said to have no relationship with voter turnout.

According to norms of the social sciences, researchers generally use two-tailed tests. When they deviate from this norm, social scientists generally provide a justification for why they have done so. Consumers of statistical research should be skeptical of findings based on one-tailed tests, especially when such findings do not hold up under two-tailed testing.

Replicating the Eagleton Institute's Findings for All Voters

Table 2 contains the findings from the Eagleton Institute's probit regression for all registered voters as presented in their paper. Table 3 presents the findings from our attempt to replicate the Eagleton Institute study findings for all voters. In our attempt at replicating the Eagleton Institute's study, we could not entirely match the same number of respondents. The Eagleton Institute's probit regression of all voters is based on 54,973 respondents.[71] Our best attempt at replicating their analysis produced 54,829 respondents—144 fewer respondents. In addition, the results reported in Table 3 use the more commonly accepted two-tailed significance tests.

While the Eagleton Institute reported that states with sign name, non-photo identification, and photo identification requirements have lower voter turnout than states with only the state name requirement, only the photo identification coefficient in our attempt at replication (Model 1) is statistically significant at the 95 percent confidence level. Respondents from photo identification states are less likely to have reported voting compared to respondents in states that only required voters to say their names at the polling stations. The magnitude of the negative relationship between photo identification requirements and voter turnout is difficult to interpret with probit coefficients, so the elasticity was calculated. The elasticity figures used in this analysis represent the percentage change in the probability of reporting to vote given a one-unit change in a particular dichotomous independent variable. The survey respondents in photo identification states are 0.002 percent less likely to report voting than respondents from states that only required voters to give their name for identification.

Model 2 corrects for the Eagleton Institute study's misclassification of the voter identification requirements in Arizona and Illinois. With the correction, all of the state voter identification variables are statistically insignificant—meaning that none of these requirements has a statistically measurable relationship with voting turnout.

71. Vercellotti and Anderson, "Protecting the Franchise, or Restricting It?" Table 3, p. 23.

Model 3 attempts to replicate the findings of the Eagleton Institute's examination of the effect of minimum requirements. As seen in Table 2, the Eagleton Institute found that the coefficients for sign name, non-photo identification, and swear affidavit states had statistically significant, negative relationships with voter turnout using one-tailed significant tests. However, our analysis presented in Model 3 using two-tailed statistical significance tests finds only the swear affidavit coefficient to be statistically significant at the 95 percent confidence level. The survey respondents in swear affidavit states are 0.002 percent less likely to report voting than respondents from states that only required voters to state their name for identification.

Table 2 CDA 07-04

Copies of Eagleton Institute's Probit Models of Voter Turnout

	Maximum Requirement		Minimum Requirement	
Variable	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.
Sign name	-0.11*	0.05	-0.08*	0.04
Match signature	-0.04	0.05	-0.03	0.05
Non-photo ID	-0.16**	0.06	-0.15**	0.05
Photo ID	-0.17**	0.07	--	--
Affidavit	--	--	-0.23**	0.06
Hispanic	-0.08	0.05	-0.08	0.05
African–American	0.24**	0.04	0.24**	0.04
Asian American	-0.37**	0.07	-0.38**	0.07
Age 25–44	0.004	0.02	0.003	0.02
Age 45–64	0.26**	0.03	0.26**	0.03
Age 65+	0.43**	0.03	0.43**	0.03
High school	0.31**	0.02	0.31**	0.02
Some college	0.57**	0.03	0.57**	0.03
College	0.88**	0.04	0.88**	0.04
Graduate school	0.98**	0.05	0.98**	0.05
Household income	0.03**	0.003	0.03**	0.003
Married	0.23**	0.02	0.23**	0.02
Female	0.10**	0.01	0.10**	0.01
Battleground state	0.17**	0.04	0.18**	0.04
Competitive race	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.05
Employed	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
Member of workforce	-0.05	0.05	-0.05	0.05
Native-born citizen	0.02	0.04	0.02	0.04
Moved within past 6 months	-0.29**	0.03	-0.29**	0.03
Constant	-0.09	0.10	-0.09	0.09
Pseudo R-squared	0.09		0.10	
N	54,973		54,973	

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Note: One-tailed significance tests were used.

Source: Timothy Vercellotti and David Anderson, "Protecting the Franchise, or Restricting It? The Effects of Voter Identification Requirements on Turnout," American Political Science Association conference paper, Philadelphia, Pa., August 31–September 3, 2006, p. 23, Table 3.

It should be noted that although we ran the minimum identification requirement model using the classifications assigned to the states by the Eagleton Institute study, there are some issues with the states considered to have an affidavit as the minimum requirement. These issues should be addressed in follow-up studies. First, the Eagleton Institute study identified only four states as having a minimum requirement of sign affidavit. They are Florida, Indiana, Louisiana, and North Dakota. All but one of these states, Indiana, require some form of identification as the maximum requested. This puts Indiana in the precarious position of requiring, at a maximum, that a voter sign his name before receiving a ballot; if he is unable to do so, he can sign an affidavit and vote. This does not make sense, because Indiana in 2004 did not require identification before voting (other than for those affected by HAVA requirements).

We believe this to be another classification error on the part of the Eagleton Institute. According to the "2004 Indiana Election Day Handbook," the procedure for signing an affidavit only applies to challenged voters who are then given a provisional ballot if they sign the affidavit.[72] This voting method would not fall under the guidelines set forth by the Eagleton Institute because it applies to provisional, and not regular, ballots.[73] For these reasons, we believe Indiana should have a minimum identification requirement of sign name, the same as its maximum.

Additionally, there are five other states (Connecticut,[74] Delaware,[75] Georgia,[76] South Dakota,[77]

72. Indiana Election Division, "2004 Indiana Election Day Handbook: A Guide for Precinct Election Boards and Poll Workers," December 2003, pp. 13–17.

73. *Report to the U.S. Election Assistance Commission on Best Practices to Improve Voter Identification Requirements Pursuant to the Help America Vote Act of 2002*, p. 8.

Table 3 CDA 07-04

Replicating Vercellotti: Probit Models of Overall Voter Turnout Based on the Eagleton Institute's Specification

	Maximum Requirement				Minimum Requirement	
	Model 1 Replication		Model 2 Recoded States		Model 3 Replication	
Variable	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.
Sign name	-0.08	0.04	-0.06	0.06	-0.03	0.05
Match signature	-0.01	0.05	0.01	0.06	-0.02	0.07
Non-photo ID	-0.10	0.06	-0.10	0.07	-0.08	0.06
Photo ID	-0.10*	0.05	-0.10	0.06	--	--
Affidavit	--	--	--	--	-0.10*	0.05
Hispanic	-0.08	0.05	-0.08	0.05	-0.08	0.05
African–American	0.29***	0.04	0.29***	0.05	0.24**	0.05
Asian American	-0.45***	0.07	-0.45***	0.08	-0.46**	0.07
Age 25–44	-0.01	0.02	-0.01	0.03	-0.11	0.03
Age 45–64	0.27***	0.03	0.27***	0.03	0.27***	0.03
Age 65+	0.44***	0.03	0.44***	0.03	0.45***	0.03
High school	0.32***	0.03	0.32***	0.25	0.32***	0.03
Some college	0.611***	0.03	0.61***	0.03	0.61***	0.03
College	0.90***	0.04	0.90***	0.04	0.90***	0.04
Graduate school	1.04***	0.05	1.04***	0.05	1.05***	0.05
Household income	0.04***	0.003	0.04***	0.003	0.04***	0.003
Married	0.21***	0.03	0.21***	0.03	0.21***	0.03
Female	0.10***	0.02	0.10***	0.02	0.10***	0.02
Battleground state	0.20***	0.04	0.20***	0.04	0.21***	0.05
Competitive race	-0.03	0.06	-0.02	0.06	-0.02	0.06
Employed	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.05
Member of workforce	0.07	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.07	0.07
Native-born citizen	-0.02	0.05	-0.01	0.05	-0.02	0.05
Moved within past 6 months	-0.36***	0.04	-0.36***	0.04	-0.36***	0.04
Constant	-0.11	0.09	-0.12	0.10	-0.13	0.09
Pseudo R-squared	0.10		0.10		0.10	
N	54,829		54,829		54,829	

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Two-tailed significance tests were used. Robust standard errors adjusted for state clustering are reported. The CPS population weights were used.

Source: Heritage Foundation calculations.

and Virginia[78]) that require some form of identification but make exceptions and allow voters without the required documentation to sign an affidavit in order to vote. To be classified correctly, these states should also be considered to have a minimum requirement of sign affidavit as they too provide opt outs for voters unable to show appropriate forms of identification.

As for the socioeconomic variables in Models 1 through 3, African–Americans are more likely to have reported voting in the election than a grouping of non-Hispanic whites, American Indians, Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders, and others. In contrast, Asians are less likely to report voting. Respondents aged 45 and above are more likely to report voting than those 18 to 24 years old. Those with an

74. Conn. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 9-261.
75. 15 Del. Code. § 4937.
76. Ga. Code. Ann. § 21-2-417.
77. S.D. Codified Laws § 12-18-6.2.
78. Va. Code. Ann. § 24.2-643.

education at or above a high school diploma are more likely to report voting than those without a high school degree. Family income has a positive relationship with the probability of reporting having voted. Married and female respondents are more likely to report voting than not married and male respondents, respectively. Respondents residing in battleground states are more likely to vote, while respondents who moved within the last six months are less likely to report voting.

Table 4 CDA 07-04

Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Voted	0.87	0.33	0	1
Sign name	0.26	0.44	0	1
Match signature	0.17	0.38	0	1
Non-photo ID	0.26	0.44	0	1
Photo ID	0.09	0.28	0	1
Recoded sign name	0.27	0.44	0	1
Recoded match signature	0.21	0.41	0	1
Recoded non-photo ID	0.25	0.43	0	1
Recoded photo ID	0.09	0.28	0	1
Hispanic	0.05	0.21	0	1
African–American	0.09	0.29	0	1
American Indian	0.01	0.09	0	1
Asian American	0.02	0.14	0	1
Other race	0.02	0.12	0	1
Age 25–44	0.37	0.48	0	1
Age 45–64	0.38	0.48	0	1
Age 65+	0.17	0.37	0	1
High school	0.30	0.46	0	1
Some college	0.31	0.46	0	1
College	0.20	0.40	0	1
Graduate school	0.10	0.31	0	1
Family income, $15,000–$29,999	0.15	0.36	0	1
Family income, $30,000–$49,999	0.22	0.42	0	1
Family income, $50,000–$74,999	0.22	0.42	0	1
Family income, $75,000–$149,999	0.24	0.42	0	1
Family income, $150,000 or more	0.06	0.24	0	1
Married	0.63	0.48	0	1
Widowed	0.06	0.24	0	1
Divorced	0.10	0.30	0	1
Seperated	0.02	0.13	0	1
Female	0.53	0.50	0	1
Battleground state	0.28	0.45	0	1
Competitive race	0.19	0.39	0	1
Employed	0.69	0.46	0	1
Member of workforce	0.72	0.45	0	1
Native-born citizen	0.96	0.20	0	1
Moved within last year	0.13	0.33	0	1
Home ownership	0.80	0.40	0	1
N = 54,695				

Source: Heritage Foundation calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 2004: Voting and Registration Supplement, 2005.

Alternative Model Specifications

Concerns regarding some of the variables used in the Eagleton Institute study led us to estimate alternative specifications that use the November 2004 CPS data more appropriately.

First, the Eagleton Institute's race and ethnicity dichotomous variables compare African–Americans, Hispanics, and Asians to the default group of whites, American Indians, Alaskan Natives, Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders, and those reporting to be more than one race and/or ethnicity. For example, the Eagleton Institute found that African–Americans were more likely to report voting compared to whites, American Indians, Alaskan Natives, Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders, and those reporting to be more than one race and/or ethnicity.

The descriptive statistics of the data used for the alternative specifications are presented in Table 4. The analyses in Table 5 control for the effect of the individual's race and ethnicity through a set of mutually exclusive dichotomous variables for the following categories: non-Hispanic whites, non-Hispanic African–Americans, Hispanics, non-Hispanic American Indians and Alaskan Natives, non-Hispanic Asians (including Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders), and other races, including those reporting multiple races and ethnicities. For example, this division of race and ethnic groups allows us to present clearer estimates of how voter identification laws affect the voting probabilities of minorities compared to whites.

Second, the Eagleton Institute study used an ordinal family income variable as an interval-ratio variable. Using categorical variables as interval-ratio variables can lead to estimation problems, so for the purposes of this analysis, the effect of family income is controlled for by the inclusion of a series of income range dichotomous variables.

Table 5 CDA 07-04

Alternative Specifications of Probit Models of Overall Voter Turnout

	Maximum Requirement								Minimum Requirement	
	Model 4 Vercellotti Categories		Model 5 Vercellotti Categories		Model 6 Recoded States		Model 7 Recoded States		Model 8 Vercellotti Categories	
Variable	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.
Sign name	-0.07	0.05	-0.07	0.05	-0.06	0.06	-0.06	0.06	-0.03	0.05
Match signature	-0.001	0.06	-0.00003	0.06	0.01	0.07	0.01	0.06	-0.01	0.07
Non-photo ID	-0.10	0.06	-0.10	0.06	-0.11	0.07	-0.11	0.07	-0.08	0.06
Photo ID	-0.10*	0.05	-0.10	0.05	-0.10	0.06	-0.095	0.06	--	--
Affidavit	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-0.10*	0.05
Hispanic	-0.07	0.06	-0.07	0.06	-0.07	0.06	-0.07	0.06	-0.7	0.06
African–American	0.30***	0.05	0.29***	0.05	0.30***	0.05	0.29***	0.05	0.29***	0.05
American Indian	-0.10	0.08	-0.10	0.08	-0.11	0.08	-0.11	0.07	-0.11	0.08
Asian American	-0.43***	0.07	-0.44***	0.07	-0.44***	0.07	-0.44***	0.07	-0.45***	0.07
Other race	-0.02	0.06	-0.02	0.06	-0.02	0.06	-0.02	0.06	-0.03	0.06
Age 25–44	-0.01	0.03	0.05	0.03	-0.01	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.06	0.03
Age 45–64	0.25***	0.03	0.33***	0.04	0.25***	0.04	0.33***	0.04	0.33***	0.04
Age 65+	0.40***	0.03	0.53***	0.04	0.40***	0.03	0.53***	0.04	0.53***	0.04
High school	0.33***	0.03	0.32***	0.03	0.33***	0.03	0.32***	0.03	0.32***	0.03
Some college	0.62***	0.03	0.61***	0.03	0.62***	0.03	0.61***	0.03	0.61***	0.03
College	0.91***	0.04	0.90***	0.04	0.91***	0.04	0.90***	0.04	0.90***	0.04
Graduate school	1.05***	0.05	1.04***	0.05	1.05***	0.05	1.04***	0.05	1.04***	0.05
Family income, $15,000–$29,999	0.17***	0.02	0.16***	0.02	0.17***	0.02	0.16***	0.02	0.16***	0.02
Family income, $30,000–$49,999	0.21***	0.03	0.19***	0.03	0.21***	0.03	0.19***	0.03	0.20***	0.03
Family income, $50,000–$74,999	0.24***	0.03	0.23***	0.03	0.24***	0.03	0.23***	0.03	0.23***	0.03
Family income, $75,000–$149,999	0.39***	0.04	0.38***	0.04	0.39***	0.04	0.38***	0.04	0.39***	0.04
Family income, $150,000 or more	0.37***	0.05	0.36***	0.05	0.37***	0.05	0.36***	0.05	0.36***	0.05
Married	0.20***	0.03	0.10**	0.04	0.20***	0.03	0.11**	0.04	0.10**	0.04
Widowed	--	--	-0.24***	0.04	--	--	-0.24***	0.04	-0.25***	0.04
Divorced	--	--	-0.10**	0.04	--	--	-0.10**	0.04	-0.11**	0.04
Seperated	--	--	-0.24***	0.04	--	--	-0.24***	0.04	-0.24***	0.04
Female	0.10***	0.02	0.11***	0.02	0.10***	0.02	0.11***	0.02	0.11***	0.02
Battleground state	0.20***	0.04	0.19***	0.04	0.19***	0.04	0.19***	0.04	0.20***	0.05
Competitive race	-0.03	0.06	-0.03	0.06	-0.02	0.06	-0.02	0.06	-0.02	0.06
Employed	0.03	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.03	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.05
Member of workforce	0.08	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.08	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.06
Native-born citizen	-0.02	0.05	-0.02	0.05	-0.02	0.05	-0.02	0.05	-0.03	0.05
Moved within last year	-0.27***	0.03	-0.27***	0.03	-0.27***	0.03	-0.27***	0.03	-0.27***	0.03
Home ownership	0.16***	0.03	0.17***	0.03	0.16***	0.03	0.17***	0.03	0.17***	0.03
Constant	-0.08	0.09	-0.05	0.09	-0.11	0.09	-0.06	0.11	-0.07	0.09
Pseudo R-squared	0.10		0.10				0.11		0.10	
N	54,695		54,695		54,695		54,695		54,695	

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Two-tailed significance tests were used. Robust standard errors adjusted for state clustering are reported. The CPS population weights were used.

Source: Heritage Foundation calculations.

Third, the effect of photo identification variables on voter turnout is very sensitive to how the models control for marriage. In addition to a dichotomous variable for whether or not the respondent reported being married, additional dichotomous variables were added for those reporting to be widowed, separated, and divorced. This minor change in marital control variables has a significant impact on the results for the relationship between voter turnout and some of the voter identification variables.

Fourth, the alternative models control for whether or not the individual has moved within the last year instead of the six-month time period used by the Eagleton Institute.

Fifth, a variable indicating whether or not the respondent owns or rents his or her home was added to the alternative models. The residential mobility and home ownership variables help to control for how connected the respondents are to their communities.

Table 5 presents the findings of the alternative model specification for all respondents. Model 4 contains the revised race/ethnicity and income variables along with the variables for residential mobility and home ownership. Of the four voter identification variables, only the photo identification variable is statistically significant. Photo identification states have respondents that are less likely to have reported voting compared to respondents in states that only required voters to say their names at the polling stations. However, the difference is very small. The survey respondents in photo identification states are 0.002 percent less likely to report voting than respondents from states that only required voters to state their name for identification.

A slight change in how marital status is controlled for in Model 5 makes the findings in Model 4 for photo identification requirements disappear. The inclusion of dichotomous variables to identify respondents if they are widowed, divorced, or separated, in addition to being married, significantly changes the results for the photo identification variable. A photo identification requirement no longer has a statistically significant relationship with voter turnout. Thus, the finding that photo identification requirements reduce voter turnout in Model 4 is not robust to an alternative model specification.

In Models 6 and 7, Arizona and Illinois are reclassified correctly as requiring voters at polling stations to sign their name and match signatures, respectively. As with Model 4, Model 6 uses only a married dichotomous variable to control for marital status. Model 7 includes additional marital status variables as used in Model 5. After correctly designating Arizona and Illinois, the different ways to control for marital status have no effect on the outcomes for the voter identification variables. All of the state voter identification variables are statistically insignificant—meaning that none of these requirements has a statistically measurable relationship with voter turnout.

Model 8 uses the minimum requirements for voter identification as used by the Eagleton Institute. The only voter identification coefficient to be statistically significant is the swear affidavit coefficient. The survey respondents in swear affidavit states are 0.002 percent less likely to report voting than respondents from states that only require voters to state their name for identification.

As for the socioeconomic variables in Models 4 through 8, the findings are similar to the previous findings. African–Americans are more likely to have reported voting in the election than non-Hispanic whites, while Asians are less likely to report voting. Older respondents and those with higher incomes and more education are more likely to report voting. Widowed, divorced, and separated respondents are less likely to report voting than singles, while married respondents are more likely to report voting. Female respondents are more likely to report voting than male respondents. Respondents residing in battleground states are more likely to vote, while respondents who moved within the last twelve months are less likely to have reported voting.

Findings by Race and Ethnicity

The impact of voter identification requirements on minority voters has received much media attention recently.[79] To analyze the relationship between race and ethnicity and voter identification requirements, Tables 6 through 9 present the findings of the probit analyses.

79. Tom Baxter and Jim Galloway, "Wonk Alert: Study Says the Heavier the Voter ID Requirements, the Lower Turnout"; Wolf, "Study: Stricter Voting ID Rules Hurt '04 Turnout"; and Dave Zweifel, "Voter ID Reducing Minority Turnout," *The Capital Times* (Madison, Wisconsin), February 28, 2007, p. A6.

Table 6 CDA 07-04

Alternative Specifications of Probit Models of Voter Turnout of Whites

	Maximum Requirement				Minimum Requirement	
	Model 9		Model 10		Model 11	
	Vercellotti Categorizations		Recoded States		Vercellotti Categorizations	
Variable	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.
Sign name	-0.05	0.05	-0.06	0.07	-0.02	0.05
Match signature	0.01	0.06	-0.01	0.07	-0.01	0.08
Non-photo ID	-0.04	0.07	-0.06	0.08	-0.05	0.07
Photo ID	-0.12*	0.05	-0.14*	0.06	--	--
Affidavit	--	--	--	--	-0.13**	0.04
Age 25–44	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.04
Age 45–64	0.34***	0.04	0.34***	0.04	0.34***	0.04
Age 65+	0.54***	0.05	0.54***	0.05	0.54***	0.05
High school	0.38***	0.03	0.38***	0.03	0.38***	0.03
Some college	0.70***	0.03	0.70***	0.03	0.70***	0.03
College	1.00***	0.04	1.00***	0.04	1.00***	0.04
Graduate school	1.13***	0.05	1.13***	0.05	1.13***	0.05
Family income, $15,000–$29,999	0.16***	0.04	0.16***	0.04	0.16***	0.03
Family income, $30,000–$49,999	0.22***	0.03	0.22***	0.03	0.22***	0.03
Family income, $50,000–$74,999	0.24***	0.03	0.24***	0.04	0.24***	0.03
Family income, $75,000–$149,999	0.36***	0.05	0.36***	0.05	0.36***	0.05
Family income, $150,000 or more	0.36***	0.05	0.36***	0.05	0.36***	0.05
Married	0.16**	0.04	0.17***	0.04	0.16**	0.04
Widowed	-0.20***	0.04	-0.20***	0.04	-0.20***	0.04
Divorced	-0.10**	0.04	-0.10**	0.04	-0.10**	0.04
Seperated	-0.33***	0.07	-0.33***	0.07	-0.33***	0.07
Female	0.09***	0.01	0.09***	0.01	0.09***	0.03
Battleground state	0.19***	0.05	0.19***	0.05	0.19***	0.05
Competitive race	-0.04	0.06	-0.04	0.06	-0.04	0.06
Employed	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.06
Member of workforce	-0.001	0.06	-0.001	0.06	0.002	0.06
Native-born citizen	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.09	-0.09	0.09
Moved within last year	-0.25***	0.03	-0.25***	0.03	-0.25***	0.03
Home ownership	0.15***	0.03	0.15***	0.03	0.15***	0.03
Constant	-0.05	0.12	-0.05	0.13	-0.26*	0.12
Pseudo R-squared	0.11		0.11		0.11	
N	44,762		44,762		44,762	

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Two-tailed significance tests were used. Robust standard errors adjusted for state clustering are reported. The CPS population weights were used.

Source: Heritage Foundation calculations.

Non-Hispanic Whites. The probit regression results presented in Table 6 contain data for respondents reporting to be non-Hispanic whites. Models 9 and 10 present the findings for the maximum requirements with Model 10 including the correct voter identification classifications for Arizona and Illinois. Except for the photo identification coefficient, none of the coefficients for the voter identification variables are statistically different from zero. In both Models 9 and 10, white respondents in photo identification states are less likely to have reported voting compared to white respondents in states that only required voters to say their names at the polling stations. Under both models, white survey respondents in photo identification states are 0.002 percent less likely to report voting than white respondents from states that only required voters to state their name.

The analysis of minimum voter identification requirements in Model 11 finds that white respondents are less likely to vote when the minimum requirement entails a sworn affidavit. White survey respondents in swear affidavit states are 0.002 percent less likely to report voting than white respondents from states that only required voters to give their name.

Table 7 CDA 07-04

Alternative Specifications of Probit Models of Voter Turnout of African–Americans

	Maximum Requirement				Minimum Requirement	
	Model 12		Model 13		Model 14	
	Vercellotti Categories		Recoded States		Vercellotti Categories	
Variable	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.
Sign name	-0.20	0.12	-0.09	0.11	-0.03	0.14
Match signature	-0.13	0.10	-0.06	0.11	-0.03	0.15
Non-photo ID	-0.30***	0.09	-0.19*	0.08	-0.12	0.12
Photo ID	-0.15	0.15	-0.03	0.14	--	--
Affidavit	--	--	--	--	0.0002	0.21
Age 25–44	0.03	0.10	0.03	0.10	0.03	0.10
Age 45–64	0.13	0.11	0.13	0.11	0.13	0.11
Age 65+	0.35*	0.14	0.35*	0.14	0.36*	0.14
High school	0.30***	0.05	0.30***	0.05	0.30***	0.05
Some college	0.44***	0.08	0.44***	0.08	0.44***	0.08
College	0.70***	0.10	0.70***	0.10	0.69***	0.10
Graduate school	0.88***	0.13	0.89***	0.13	0.86***	0.13
Family income, $15,000–$29,999	0.21**	0.08	0.21**	0.08	0.21**	0.08
Family income, $30,000–$49,999	0.27**	0.08	0.27**	0.08	0.28***	0.08
Family income, $50,000–$74,999	0.39**	0.13	0.38**	0.13	0.39***	0.12
Family income, $75,000–$149,999	0.68***	0.14	0.67***	0.14	0.68***	0.14
Family income, $150,000 or more	0.82*	0.32	0.82**	0.32	0.83*	0.32
Married	0.03	0.08	0.03	0.08	0.03	0.08
Widowed	-0.10***	0.11	-0.10***	0.11	-0.10***	0.11
Divorced	0.13	0.07	0.13	0.07	0.12	0.07
Seperated	-0.11	0.09	-0.11	0.09	-0.09	0.10
Female	0.16	0.07	0.16	0.07	0.16	0.07
Battleground state	0.15	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.16	0.13
Competitive race	-0.01	0.11	0.04	0.11	0.02	0.10
Employed	-0.10	0.13	-0.11	0.13	-0.10	0.13
Member of workforce	0.37**	0.13	0.38**	0.13	0.37**	0.13
Native-born citizen	0.22	0.13	0.25	0.13	0.21	0.14
Moved within last year	-0.31***	0.07	-0.31***	0.07	-0.33***	0.07
Home ownership	0.20***	0.07	0.20***	0.07	0.19**	0.07
Constant	0.07	0.17	0.08	0.17	0.06	0.18
Pseudo R-squared	0.11		0.11		0.10	
N	4,958		4,958		4,958	

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Two-tailed significance tests were used. Robust standard errors adjusted for state clustering are reported. The CPS population weights were used.

Source: Heritage Foundation calculations.

Non-Hispanic African–Americans. The probit regression results presented in Table 7 contain data for respondents reporting to be non-Hispanic African–Americans. Models 12 and 13 present the findings for the maximum requirements with Model 13 including the correct voter identification classifications for Arizona and Illinois. Except for the non-photo identification coefficient, none of the coefficients for the voter identification variables are statistically different from zero. In both Models 12 and 13, African–American respondents in non-photo identification states are less likely to have reported voting compared to African–American respondents in states that only required voters to say their names at the polling stations. In Model 12, African–American respondents in non-photo identification states are 0.019 percent less likely to report voting than African–American respondents from states that only required voters to state their name. For Model 13, the elasticity for non-photo identification states is 0.012 percent.

The analysis of minimum voter identification requirements in Model 14 fails to find any statistically significant relationships between African–American voter turnout and the minimum voting requirements.

Table 8 CDA 07-04

Alternative Specifications of Probit Models of Voter Turnout of Hispanics

	Maximum Requirement				Minimum Requirement	
	Model 15		Model 16		Model 17	
	Vercellotti Categories		Recoded States		Vercellotti Categories	
Variable	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.
Sign name	-0.27	0.14	-0.11	0.18	-0.21	0.14
Match signature	-0.16	0.14	0.03	0.18	-0.16	0.14
Non-photo ID	-0.44**	0.15	-0.35*	0.18	-0.40*	0.15
Photo ID	-0.12	0.16	-0.02	0.18	--	--
Affidavit	--	--	--	--	-0.16	0.16
Age 25–44	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.08	0.08	0.08
Age 45–64	0.38***	0.07	0.39***	0.07	0.39***	0.07
Age 65+	0.40**	0.12	0.40***	0.12	0.41***	0.12
High school	0.11	0.07	0.10	0.07	0.11	0.07
Some college	0.44***	0.04	0.43***	0.04	0.44***	0.04
College	0.53***	0.10	0.52***	0.10	0.53***	0.10
Graduate school	0.78***	0.20	0.78***	0.20	0.78***	0.20
Family income, $15,000–$29,999	0.12	0.08	0.13	0.08	0.12	0.08
Family income, $30,000–$49,999	0.01	0.15	0.001	0.15	0.01	0.15
Family income, $50,000–$74,999	0.21**	0.08	0.20**	0.07	0.21**	0.08
Family income, $75,000–$149,999	0.40***	0.10	0.39***	0.09	0.40***	0.10
Family income, $150,000 or more	0.09	0.16	0.08	0.16	0.09	0.16
Married	-0.12	0.08	-0.11	0.08	-0.12	0.08
Widowed	-0.40***	0.13	-0.40***	0.13	-0.41***	0.13
Divorced	-0.14	0.11	-0.13	0.11	-0.14	0.11
Seperated	-0.001	0.10	-0.003	0.10	-0.01	0.10
Female	0.16***	0.04	0.16***	0.04	0.16***	0.04
Battleground state	0.41***	0.08	0.39***	0.08	0.42***	0.08
Competitive race	-0.29**	0.11	-0.23**	0.11	-0.25*	0.11
Employed	-0.17	0.09	-0.17	0.10	-0.18	0.09
Member of workforce	-0.11	0.09	-0.11	0.10	-0.12	0.09
Native-born citizen	-0.26***	0.08	-0.25***	0.08	-0.27***	0.08
Moved within last year	-0.26***	0.07	-0.26***	0.07	-0.27***	0.07
Home ownership	0.32***	0.04	0.34***	0.05	0.31***	0.04
Constant	0.53**	0.19	0.38	0.20	0.51**	0.19
Pseudo R-squared	0.11		0.11		0.11	
N	2,862		2,862		2,862	

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Two-tailed significance tests were used. Robust standard errors adjusted for state clustering are reported. The CPS population weights were used.

Source: Heritage Foundation calculations.

Hispanics. The probit regression results presented in Table 8 contain data for respondents reporting to be Hispanic. Models 15 and 16 present the findings for the maximum requirements with Model 16 including the correct voter identification classifications for Arizona and Illinois. Model 17 presents the findings for the minimum voter identification requirements. All three models find that Hispanics reported lower voter turnout rates in states with non-photo identification requirements compared to states that only require voters to state their names at the polling stations. All three of these findings are statistically significant at the 95 percent confidence level. Hispanic respondents in non-photo identification states are 0.035 percent to 0.049 percent less likely to report voting than Hispanic respondents from states that only required voters to state their name.

Asian Americans. The probit regression results presented in Table 9 contain data for respondents reporting to be non-Hispanic Asian American (including Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders). Models 18 and 19 present the findings for the maximum requirements with Model 19 including the correct voter identification classifications for Arizona and Illinois. Model 20 presents the findings for the

Table 9 CDA 07-04

Alternative Specifications of Probit Models of Voter Turnout of Asians

	Maximum Requirement				Minimum Requirement	
	Model 18		Model 19		Model 20	
	Vercellotti Categories		Recoded States		Vercellotti Categories	
Variable	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.	Coefficient	Robust S.E.
Sign name	-0.19	0.19	-0.22	0.28	-0.20	0.19
Match signature	0.14	0.19	0.06	0.29	0.10	0.19
Non-photo ID	-0.28	0.21	-0.33	0.29	-0.30	0.21
Photo ID	-0.09	0.21	-0.13	0.29	--	--
Affidavit	--	--	--	--	0.19	0.21
Age 25–44	-0.39**	0.15	-0.39**	0.15	-0.37*	0.15
Age 45–64	-0.04	0.19	0.03	0.19	-0.005	0.19
Age 65+	-0.001	0.32	-0.005	0.32	-0.04	0.32
High school	0.46	0.28	0.47	0.28	0.47	0.28
Some college	0.21	0.43	0.21	0.43	0.22	0.43
College	0.42	0.33	0.42	0.33	0.42	0.33
Graduate school	0.39	0.37	0.39	0.37	0.39	0.37
Family income, $15,000–$29,999	-0.06	0.24	-0.06	0.25	-0.05	0.24
Family income, $30,000–$49,999	-0.37	0.19	-0.36	0.19	-0.35	0.19
Family income, $50,000–$74,999	-0.30	0.23	-0.30	0.23	-0.29	0.23
Family income, $75,000–$149,999	0.26	0.23	0.27	0.24	0.25	0.23
Family income, $150,000 or more	0.09	0.26	0.09	0.27	0.10	0.26
Married	0.36*	0.18	0.36*	0.18	0.34	0.18
Widowed	-0.43	0.32	-0.43	0.32	-0.43	0.32
Divorced	0.13	0.23	0.12	0.23	0.08	0.23
Seperated	0.19	0.41	0.18	0.41	0.15	0.41
Female	0.13	0.07	0.14***	0.07	0.13	0.07
Battleground state	0.23	0.13	0.24	0.13	0.17	0.13
Competitive race	0.30	0.21	0.30	0.20	0.21	0.21
Employed	-0.28	0.37	-0.28	0.37	-0.28	0.37
Member of workforce	0.59	0.43	0.59	0.43	0.58	0.43
Native-born citizen	0.11	0.14	0.11	0.14	0.13	0.14
Moved within last year	-0.41**	0.13	-0.42***	0.13	-0.45***	0.13
Home ownership	-0.09	0.10	-0.09	0.10	-0.11	0.10
Constant	0.40	0.48	0.44	0.55	0.46	0.48
Pseudo R-squared	0.11		0.11		0.10	
N	1,029		1,029		1,029	

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Two-tailed significance tests were used. Robust standard errors adjusted for state clustering are reported. The CPS population weights were used.

Source: Heritage Foundation calculations.

minimum voter identification requirements. All three models find that the various state voter identification requirements do not have a statistically measurable relationship with voter turnout of Asian Americans.

DISCUSSION

The findings of this analysis suggest that voter identification requirements, such as requiring non-photo and photo identification, have virtually no suppressive effect on reported voter turnout.

Caution is needed in interpreting the Eagleton Institute's findings, for at least three reasons.

First, their study used one-tailed significance tests that can be used to double the chances of finding statistically significant findings.

Second, the voter identification laws for two states, Arizona and Illinois, were incorrectly classified. From our modeling, this misclassification leads to a negative and statistically significant relationship between photo identification requirements and voter turnout for all registered voters. When Arizona and Illinois are correctly classified, the relationship in our modeling is statistically indistinguishable from zero.

Third, the findings for photo identification requirements are sensitive to model specification. Us-

ing the Eagleton Institute's state voter identification classifications and controlling for marriage with a married or not dichotomous variable, our analysis of overall voter turnout finds that photo identification requirements have a negative and statistically significant relationship with overall voter turnout. However, when additional marital status variables—widowed, divorced, separated—are included, the statistically significant relationship for photo identification requirements disappears.

Controlling for factors that influence voter turnout, states with stricter voter identification laws largely do not have the claimed negative impact on voter turnout when compared to states with more lenient voter identification laws. Based on the Eagleton Institute's findings, some members of the media have claimed that voter identification law suppress voter turnout, especially among minorities.[80] Their conclusion is unfounded. When statistically significant and negative relationships are found in our analysis, the effects are so small that the findings offer little policy significance.

More important, minority respondents in states that required photo identification are just as likely to report voting as are minority respondents from states that only required voters to say their name.

Nevertheless, using data from the November 2004 CPS to study the impact of voter identification requirements on voter turnout does have its limitations. The November 2004 CPS is a cross-sectional data set that does not allow social scientists to estimate the effect of changing voter identification requirements within states over time. Studies using the November CPS can only provide information on how voter patterns differed between states with different voter identification requirements. These studies cannot provide information on how enacting stiffer voter identification requirements will affect voter turnout within states over time. While it is reasonable to assume that voters will respond to stricter voter identification requirements by obtaining the necessary documentation, we would need to use panel data sets that consist of cross-sectional and time-series data in order to conduct such an analysis. Panel studies observe multiple units (e.g., individual voters, voting precincts, and counties) over several time periods.

To the best of our knowledge, there is only one voter identification study that utilizes the benefits of panel data. The study, by John R. Lott of the University of Maryland Foundation, analyzed the effect of stricter voter identification requirements on U.S. primary and general elections from 1996 to 2006.[81] Dr. Lott found little support for the notion that non-photo and photo identification requirements suppress voter turnout.

As states adopt stricter voter identification requirements to deter voter fraud, future research needs to adopt panel data methods to determine how the laws affect voter turnout.

CONCLUSION

Controlling for factors that influence voter turnout, voter identification laws largely do not have the claimed negative impact on voter turnout based on state-to-state comparisons. When statistically significant and negative relationships are found, the effects are so small that the findings offer little policy significance. White survey respondents in photo identification states are 0.002 percent less likely to report voting than white respondents from states that only required voters to state their name. African–American respondents in non-photo identification states are 0.012 percent less likely to report voting than African–American respondents from states that only required voters to state their name.

In other cases, no effect was found. In general, respondents in photo identification and non-photo identification states are *just as likely* to report voting compared to respondents from states that only required voters to state their name. African–American respondents in photo identification states are *just as likely* to report voting compared to African–American respondents from states that only required voters to state their name. Hispanic respondents in photo identification states are *just as likely* to report voting compared to Hispanic respondents from states that only required voters to state their name.

—David B. Muhlhausen, Ph.D., is a Senior Policy Analyst and Keri Weber Sikich is a research assistant in the Center for Data Analysis at The Heritage Foundation.

80. Baxter and Galloway, "Wonk Alert: Study Says the Heavier the Voter ID Requirements, the Lower Turnout"; Wolf, "Study: Stricter Voting ID Rules Hurt '04 Turnout"; and Zweifel, "Voter ID Reducing Minority Turnout."

81. Lott, "Evidence of Voter Fraud and the Impact that Regulations to Reduce Fraud Have on Voter Participation Rates."

505

State Responses to Hurricane Sandy and First Emergency Responders
Prepared by Amar Iyengar, Intern, Indiana Election Division

On October 29, 2012, Hurricane Sandy hit the Eastern Seaboard causing an emergency in which public safety officers, utility workers and other emergency responders from all over the country were designated to restore electricity and transportation for the areas affected. Many of these first responders had not voted early and their work prevented them from being able to vote on Election Day, November 6th. October 29th also happened to be the 2012 deadline for requesting an absentee ballot by mail in Indiana. Here are some examples of how other jurisdictions responded to the disaster:

Alabama

The only state to enact a law regarding absentee balloting for emergency first responders has been Alabama, although other states offered executive orders. Enrolled Act 2013-202 amended the state's absentee balloting procedures by declaring in subsection (e) that

If the occurrence of a state of emergency as declared in this or any other state, or by the federal government, renders substantial compliance with this article impossible or unreasonable for a group of qualified voters to respond to the emergency, the Secretary of State, pursuant to Section 41-22-5 of the Alabama Administrative Procedure Act, may promulgate an emergency rule to allow those qualified voters to vote by absentee ballot.

Notwithstanding any other laws to the contrary, all expenses and costs incurred by the state of any county in carrying out the responsibilities and duties included in an emergency rule promulgated pursuant to this subsection shall be paid by the State of Alabama from any funds made available for election expenses under state and federal law.

Governor Robert Bentley signed the bill into law on July 22, 2013.

Source: Alabama House Bill No. 373, House Enrolled Act 2013-202

New Jersey

Following Hurricane Sandy, Governor Chris Christie issued Executive Order No. 104, which declared a State of Emergency and permitted the head of any agency to promulgate emergency rules. Under the power issued to her in Executive Order 104, the State's Chief Election Official Secretary of State Kim Guadagno, declared that any voter who was displaced from his/her primary residence due to the hurricane was designated as an "overseas voter" and could submit their applications by email or fax. Upon receipt of the application, the County Clerks were to electronically send the ballot and waiver of secrecy form to the voter by the same method chosen by the voter (email/fax).

Sources: New Jersey Executive Order No. 104 and Secretary of State's "Directive Regarding Email Voting and Mail-In Ballots for Displaced Voters"

Maryland

Following Hurricane Sandy, a State of Emergency was declared in the state of Maryland under Executive Order 01.01.2012.26. Under the Executive Order, Governor Martin O'Malley extended the deadline for applying for an absentee ballot by declaring that "all registered voters whose application for an absentee ballot is received by mail by a local board by 8pm on Thursday, November 1, 2012" could vote. He also declared that registered voters who were out of the county due to Hurricane Sandy (either displaced or first responders) "are authorized to apply for an absentee ballot up to 5pm on Monday, November 5, 2012" and provided that ballots be delivered electronically if requested in a similar manner as for absentee military and overseas voters.

Sources: Maryland Executive Order 01.01.2012.26

Pennsylvania

Governor Tim Corbett issued an Executive Order that recognized certain medical personnel, utility workers, and others placed into service outside of their county of residence by their employers in response to Hurricane Sandy. His order permitted those who were absent from their county of residence as required by their employer in response to the recovery efforts to submit applications and transmit ballots by electronic means in a manner similar to absent military and overseas voters.

Pennsylvania Executive Order No. 2012-16

Ohio

State Representative Tracy Maxwell Heard proposed legislation for emergency first responders to be eligible for absentee ballot applications. When her office was contacted, a staffer communicated that due to other priorities; the issue had not been discussed or pursued by the state of Ohio, although this did not neccesarily mean that the Governor or members of their legislature disagreed with the position of Rep. Heard.

Indiana proposal in 2012: The proposal by Rep. Bartlett in House Bill No. 1404, is similar to the law passed in Alabama and executive orders issued in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland and "defines for purposes of Indiana election law 'emergency first responder' to include a member of the military, public safety officer, an employee of a public utility or a physician with an unlimited license to practice medicine or osteopathic medicine. Permits an emergency first responder to: (1) vote an absentee ballot by mail; and (2) apply for an absentee ballot by electronic mail or fax and receive absentee ballots by electronic mail or fax when absent from their place of residence within the last eight (8) days before an election due to responding to a declared emergency." Bill was referred for Summer Study.

HOUSE BILL No. 1404

DIGEST OF INTRODUCED BILL

Citations Affected: IC 3-5-2; IC 3-11; IC 3-11.5-4; IC 3-12-3-5; IC 3-14-2-31; IC 35-51-3-1.

Synopsis: Various election law matters. Defines for purposes of Indiana election law "emergency first responder" to include a member of the military, a public safety officer, an employee of a public utility, or a physician with an unlimited license to practice medicine or osteopathic medicine. Permits an emergency first responder who is responding to an emergency declaration to apply for an absentee ballot by electronic mail or fax and receive absentee ballots by electronic mail or fax under stated conditions. Defines "false vote history communication" as a written communication sent to an individual that contains information about the individual's voting history that is false. Provides that a person who knowingly or intentionally sends a false vote history statement to five or more individuals commits a Class D felony.

Effective: July 1, 2013.

Bartlett

January 22, 2013, read first time and referred to Committee on Elections and Apportionment.

C O P Y

Introduced

First Regular Session 118th General Assembly (2013)

PRINTING CODE. Amendments: Whenever an existing statute (or a section of the Indiana Constitution) is being amended, the text of the existing provision will appear in this style type, additions will appear in **this style type**, and deletions will appear in ~~this style type.~~

Additions: Whenever a new statutory provision is being enacted (or a new constitutional provision adopted), the text of the new provision will appear in **this style type**. Also, the word **NEW** will appear in that style type in the introductory clause of each SECTION that adds a new provision to the Indiana Code or the Indiana Constitution.

Conflict reconciliation: Text in a statute in *this style type* or ~~*this style type*~~ reconciles conflicts between statutes enacted by the 2012 Regular Session of the General Assembly.

COPY

HOUSE BILL No. 1404

A BILL FOR AN ACT to amend the Indiana Code concerning elections.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana:

SECTION 1. IC 3-5-2-21.1 IS ADDED TO THE INDIANA CODE AS A **NEW** SECTION TO READ AS FOLLOWS [EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 2013]: **Sec. 21.1. "Emergency declaration" refers to a declaration:**

(1) issued by:

(A) the President of the United States under federal law; or

(B) the governor under Indiana law; and

(2) that declares a state of emergency or disaster.

SECTION 2. IC 3-5-2-21.3 IS ADDED TO THE INDIANA CODE AS A **NEW** SECTION TO READ AS FOLLOWS [EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 2013]: **Sec. 21.3. "Emergency first responder" refers to any of the following:**

(1) A member of the military or a public safety officer.

(2) An employee of a public utility (as defined in IC 8-1-2-1).

(3) A physician with an unlimited license to practice medicine or osteopathic medicine.

SECTION 3. IC 3-11-4-3, AS AMENDED BY P.L.225-2011,

SECTION 54, IS AMENDED TO READ AS FOLLOWS [EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 2013]: Sec. 3. (a) Except as provided in section 6 of this chapter, an application for an absentee ballot must be received by the circuit court clerk (or, in a county subject to IC 3-6-5.2, the director of the board of elections and registration) not earlier than the date the registration period resumes under IC 3-7-13-10 nor later than the following:

(1) Noon on election day if the voter registers to vote under IC 3-7-36-14.

(2) Noon on the day before election day if the voter:

(A) completes the application in the office of the circuit court clerk; ~~or~~

(B) is an absent uniformed services voter or overseas voter who requests that the ballot be transmitted by electronic mail or fax under section 6(h) of this chapter; **or**

(C) is an emergency first responder who has applied for an absentee ballot under section 6.3 of this chapter and requests that the ballot be transmitted by fax or electronic mail under section 6.3(e) of this chapter.

(3) Noon on the day before election day if:

(A) the application is a mailed, transmitted by fax, or hand delivered application from a confined voter or voter caring for a confined person; and

(B) the applicant requests that the absentee ballots be delivered to the applicant by an absentee voter board.

(4) 11:59 p.m. on the eighth day before election day if the application:

(A) is a mailed application; or

(B) was transmitted by fax;

from other voters.

(b) An application for an absentee ballot received by the election division by the time and date specified by subsection (a)(2)(B), (a)(3), or (a)(4) is considered to have been timely received for purposes of processing by the county. The election division shall immediately transmit the application to the circuit court clerk, or the director of the board of elections and registration, of the county where the applicant resides. The election division is not required to complete or file the affidavit required under section 2(h) of this chapter whenever the election division transmits an application under this subsection.

SECTION 4. IC 3-11-4-4, AS AMENDED BY P.L.66-2010, SECTION 11, IS AMENDED TO READ AS FOLLOWS [EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 2013]: Sec. 4. (a) Applications may be made on application

C O P Y

forms approved by the commission by any of the following means:

(1) In person.

(2) By fax transmission.

(3) By mail (including United States mail or bonded courier).

(4) By electronic mail with a scanned image of the application and signature of the applicant, if transmitted by:

(A) an absent uniformed services voter or an overseas voter acting under section 6 of this chapter;

(B) an emergency first responder acting under section 6.3 of this chapter.

(b) Application forms shall:

(1) be furnished to a central committee of the county at the request of the central committee;

(2) be:

(A) mailed;

(B) transmitted by fax; or

(C) transmitted by electronic mail with a scanned image of the application;

upon request, to a voter applying by mail, by telephone, by electronic mail, or by fax; and

(3) be delivered to a voter in person who applies at the circuit court clerk's office.

(c) A county election board shall accept an application for an absentee ballot transmitted by fax even though the application is delivered to the county election board by a person other than the person submitting the application.

(d) When an application is received under subsection (a)(4), the circuit court clerk's office (or, in a county subject to IC 3-6-5.2 or IC 3-6-5.4, the office of the board of elections and registration) shall send an electronic mail receipt acknowledging receipt of the voter's application.

SECTION 5. IC 3-11-4-6.3 IS ADDED TO THE INDIANA CODE AS A **NEW** SECTION TO READ AS FOLLOWS [EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 2013]: **Sec. 6.3. (a) An emergency first responder may apply to vote by absentee ballot under this section.**

(b) An application for an emergency first responder must, in addition to the information required by the commission under section 4 of this chapter, contain the following information:

(1) A statement that the applicant is an emergency first responder.

(2) The applicant has been assigned to respond to an emergency under an emergency declaration.

C O P Y

(3) The location of the applicant's assignment.

(4) A statement that the applicant's assignment was made within eight (8) days before the election for which the applicant is applying for an absentee ballot.

(5) Whether the applicant wants to receive absentee ballots by electronic mail or by fax.

(c) The election division and county election boards shall make blank absentee ballot forms available online.

(d) If the county election board receives an absentee ballot application from an emergency first responder, the circuit court clerk shall mail to the person, free of postage as provided by 39 U.S.C. 3406, all ballots for the election, unless the individual has indicated under subsection (e) that the person wishes to receive the absentee ballot by electronic mail or fax.

(e) The county election board shall by fax or electronic mail transmit an absentee ballot to and receive an absentee ballot from an emergency first responder by fax or electronic mail at the request of the voter indicated in the application filed under this section. If the voter wants to submit absentee ballots by fax or electronic mail, the voter must separately sign and date a statement submitted with the fax or electronic mail transmission that states substantively the following: "I understand that by faxing or e-mailing my voted ballot I am voluntarily waiving my right to a secret ballot.".

(f) The county election board shall send confirmation to a voter described in subsection (e) that the voter's absentee ballot has been received as follows:

(1) If the voter provides a fax number to which a confirmation may be sent, the county election board shall send the confirmation to the voter at the fax number provided by the voter.

(2) If the voter provides an electronic mail address to which a confirmation may be sent, the county election board shall send the confirmation to the voter at the electronic mail address provided by the voter.

(3) If:

(A) the voter does not provide a fax number or an electronic mail address; or

(B) the number or address provided does not permit the county election board to send the confirmation not later than the end of the first business day after the county election board receives the voter's absentee ballot;

C O P Y

the county election board shall send the confirmation by United States mail.

The county election board shall send the confirmation required by this subsection not later than the end of the first business day after the county election board receives the voter's absentee ballot.

(g) A county election board may transmit an absentee ballot to an emergency first responder directly to the voter at the voter's electronic mail address, if requested to do so by the voter. A voter described by this section may transmit the voted absentee ballot to a county election board by electronic mail. An electronic mail message transmitting a voted absentee ballot under this subsection must include an optically scanned image of the voter's signature on the statement required under subsection (e).

SECTION 6. IC 3-11-4-7 IS AMENDED TO READ AS FOLLOWS [EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 2013]: Sec. 7. (a) An absentee ballot application under section 6 of this chapter must be made on a standard form approved under 42 U.S.C. 1973ff(b) or on the form prescribed by the commission under section 5.1 of this chapter. **An absentee ballot application under section 6.3 of this chapter must be made on a standard form prescribed by the commission under section 5.1 of this chapter.**

(b) An absentee ballot application under section 6 of this chapter from an:

(1) absent uniformed services voter; or

(2) address confidentiality program participant (as defined in IC 5-26.5-1-6);

must show that the voter or program participant is a resident otherwise qualified to vote in the precinct. **An absentee ballot application under section 6.3 of this chapter from an emergency first responder must show that the voter is a resident otherwise qualified to vote in the precinct.**

(c) An absentee ballot application under section 6 of this chapter from an overseas voter must show that the overseas voter was a resident and otherwise qualified to vote in the precinct where the voter resided before leaving the United States.

SECTION 7. IC 3-11-10-1, AS AMENDED BY P.L.198-2005, SECTION 7, IS AMENDED TO READ AS FOLLOWS [EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 2013]: Sec. 1. (a) A voter voting by absentee ballot shall make and subscribe to the affidavit prescribed by IC 3-11-4-21. The voter then shall, except as provided in subsection (b), do the following:

(1) Mark the ballot in the presence of no other person.

(2) Fold each ballot separately.

C O P Y

(3) Fold each ballot so as to conceal the marking.
(4) Enclose each ballot, with the seal and signature of the circuit court clerk on the outside, together with any unused ballot, in the envelope provided.
(5) Securely seal the envelope.
(6) Do one (1) of the following:
(A) Mail the envelope to the county election board, with not more than one (1) ballot per envelope.
(B) Deliver the envelope to the county election board in person.
(C) Deliver the envelope to a member of the voter's household or a person designated as the attorney in fact for the voter under IC 30-5 for delivery to the county election board:
(i) in person;
(ii) by United States mail; or
(iii) by a bonded courier company.

(b) A voter permitted to transmit the voter's absentee ballots by fax or electronic mail under IC 3-11-4-6 **or IC 3-11-4-6.3** is not required to comply with subsection (a). The individual designated by the circuit court clerk to receive absentee ballots transmitted by fax or electronic mail shall do the following upon receipt of an absentee ballot transmitted by fax:
(1) Note the receipt of the absentee ballot in the records of the circuit court clerk as other absentee ballots received by the circuit court clerk are noted.
(2) Fold each ballot received from the voter separately so as to conceal the marking.
(3) Enclose each ballot in a blank absentee ballot envelope.
(4) Securely seal the envelope.
(5) Mark on the envelope: "Absentee Ballot Received by Fax or Electronic Mail".
(6) Securely attach to the envelope the faxed affidavit received with the voter's absentee ballots.

(c) Except as otherwise provided in this title, absentee ballots received by fax or electronic mail shall be handled and processed as other absentee ballots received by the circuit court clerk are handled and processed.

SECTION 8. IC 3-11-10-4, AS AMENDED BY P.L.198-2005, SECTION 8, IS AMENDED TO READ AS FOLLOWS [EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 2013]: Sec. 4. (a) Upon receipt of an absentee ballot, a county election board (or the absentee voter board in the office of the circuit court clerk) shall immediately examine the signature of the absentee

C O P Y

voter to determine its genuineness.

(b) This subsection does not apply to an absentee ballot cast by a voter permitted to transmit the voter's absentee ballots by fax or electronic mail under IC 3-11-4-6 **or IC 3-11-4-6.3.** The board shall compare the signature as it appears upon the envelope containing the absentee ballot with the signature of the voter as it appears upon the application for the absentee ballot. The board may also compare the signature on the ballot envelope with any other admittedly genuine signature of the voter.

(c) This subsection applies to an absentee ballot cast by a voter permitted to transmit the voter's absentee ballots by fax or electronic mail under IC 3-11-4-6 **or IC 3-11-4-6.3.** The board shall compare the signature as it appears on the affidavit transmitted with the voter's absentee ballot to the voter's signature as it appears on the application for the absentee ballot. The board may also compare the signature on the affidavit with any other admittedly genuine signature of the voter.

(d) If a member of the absentee voter board questions whether a signature on a ballot envelope or transmitted affidavit is genuine, the matter shall be referred to the county election board for consideration under section 5 of this chapter.

SECTION 9. IC 3-11-10-14, AS AMENDED BY P.L.198-2005, SECTION 10, IS AMENDED TO READ AS FOLLOWS [EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 2013]: Sec. 14. Subject to section 11 of this chapter, absentee ballots received by mail (or by fax or electronic mail under IC 3-11-4-6 **or IC 3-11-4-6.3**) after the county election board has started the final delivery of the ballots to the precincts on election day are considered as arriving too late and need not be delivered to the polls.

SECTION 10. IC 3-11-10-17, AS AMENDED BY P.L.225-2011, SECTION 60, IS AMENDED TO READ AS FOLLOWS [EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 2013]: Sec. 17. (a) If the inspector finds under section 15 of this chapter that any of the following applies, a ballot may not be accepted or counted:

(1) The affidavit is insufficient or the ballot has not been endorsed with the initials of:

(A) the two (2) members of the absentee voter board in the office of the circuit court clerk under IC 3-11-4-19 or section 27 of this chapter;

(B) the two (2) members of the absentee voter board visiting the voter under section 25(b) of ~~the~~ **this** chapter; or

(C) the two (2) appointed members of the county election board or their designated representatives under IC 3-11-4-19.

(2) A copy of the voter's signature has been furnished to the

C O P Y

precinct election board and that the signatures do not correspond or there is no signature.

(3) The absentee voter is not a qualified voter in the precinct.

(4) The absentee voter has not registered.

(5) The ballot is open or has been opened and resealed. This subdivision does not permit an absentee ballot transmitted by fax or electronic mail under IC 3-11-4-6 **or IC 3-11-4-6.3** to be rejected because the ballot was sealed in the absentee ballot envelope by the individual designated by the circuit court to receive absentee ballots transmitted by fax or electronic mail.

(6) The ballot envelope contains more than one (1) ballot of any kind for the same office or public question.

(7) In the case of a primary election, if the absentee voter has not previously voted, the voter failed to execute the proper declaration relative to age and qualifications and the political party with which the voter intends to affiliate.

(8) The ballot has been challenged and not supported.

(b) Subsection (c) applies whenever a voter with a disability is unable to make a signature:

(1) on an absentee ballot application that corresponds to the voter's signature in the records of the county voter registration office; or

(2) on an absentee ballot secrecy envelope that corresponds with the voter's signature:

(A) in the records of the county voter registration office; or

(B) on the absentee ballot application.

(c) The voter may request that the voter's signature or mark be attested to by:

(1) the absentee voter board under section 25(b) of this chapter;

(2) a member of the voter's household; or

(3) an individual serving as attorney in fact for the voter.

(d) An attestation under subsection (c) provides an adequate basis for an inspector to determine that a signature or mark complies with subsection (a)(2).

SECTION 11. IC 3-11-10-24, AS AMENDED BY P.L.225-2011, SECTION 61, IS AMENDED TO READ AS FOLLOWS [EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 2013]: Sec. 24. (a) Except as provided in subsection (b), a voter who satisfies any of the following is entitled to vote by mail:

(1) The voter has a specific, reasonable expectation of being absent from the county on election day during the entire twelve (12) hours that the polls are open.

(2) The voter will be absent from the precinct of the voter's

C O P Y

residence on election day because of service as:

(A) a precinct election officer under IC 3-6-6;

(B) a watcher under IC 3-6-8, IC 3-6-9, or IC 3-6-10;

(C) a challenger or pollbook holder under IC 3-6-7; or

(D) a person employed by an election board to administer the election for which the absentee ballot is requested.

(3) The voter will be confined on election day to the voter's residence, to a health care facility, or to a hospital because of an illness or injury during the entire twelve (12) hours that the polls are open.

(4) The voter is a voter with disabilities.

(5) The voter is an elderly voter.

(6) The voter is prevented from voting due to the voter's care of an individual confined to a private residence because of illness or injury during the entire twelve (12) hours that the polls are open.

(7) The voter is scheduled to work at the person's regular place of employment during the entire twelve (12) hours that the polls are open.

(8) The voter is eligible to vote under IC 3-10-11 or IC 3-10-12.

(9) The voter is prevented from voting due to observance of a religious discipline or religious holiday during the entire twelve (12) hours that the polls are open.

(10) The voter is an address confidentiality program participant (as defined in IC 5-26.5-1-6).

(11) The voter is ~~a member of the military or public safety officer.~~ **an emergency first responder.**

(b) A voter with disabilities who:

(1) is unable to make a voting mark on the ballot or sign the absentee ballot secrecy envelope; and

(2) requests that the absentee ballot be delivered to an address within Indiana;

must vote before an absentee voter board under section 25(b) of this chapter.

(c) If a voter receives an absentee ballot by mail, the voter shall personally mark the ballot in secret and seal the marked ballot inside the envelope provided by the county election board for that purpose. The voter shall:

(1) deposit the sealed envelope in the United States mail for delivery to the county election board; or

(2) authorize a member of the voter's household or the individual designated as the voter's attorney in fact to:

(A) deposit the sealed envelope in the United States mail; or

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(B) deliver the sealed envelope in person to the county election board.

(d) If a member of the voter's household or the voter's attorney in fact delivers the sealed envelope containing a voter's absentee ballot to the county election board, the individual delivering the ballot shall complete an affidavit in a form prescribed by the commission. The affidavit must contain the following information:

(1) The name and residence address of the voter whose absentee ballot is being delivered.

(2) A statement of the full name, residence and mailing address, and daytime and evening telephone numbers (if any) of the individual delivering the absentee ballot.

(3) A statement indicating whether the individual delivering the absentee ballot is a member of the voter's household or is the attorney in fact for the voter. If the individual is the attorney in fact for the voter, the individual must attach a copy of the power of attorney for the voter, unless a copy of this document has already been filed with the county election board.

(4) The date and location at which the absentee ballot was delivered by the voter to the individual delivering the ballot to the county election board.

(5) A statement that the individual delivering the absentee ballot has complied with Indiana laws governing absentee ballots.

(6) A statement that the individual delivering the absentee ballot is executing the affidavit under the penalties of perjury.

(7) A statement setting forth the penalties for perjury.

(e) The county election board shall record the date and time that the affidavit under subsection (d) was filed with the board.

(f) After a voter has mailed or delivered an absentee ballot to the office of the circuit court clerk, the voter may not recast a ballot, except as provided in section 1.5 of this chapter.

SECTION 12. IC 3-11.5-4-10, AS AMENDED BY P.L.198-2005, SECTION 12, IS AMENDED TO READ AS FOLLOWS [EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 2013]: Sec. 10. Subject to section 7 of this chapter, absentee ballots received by mail (or by fax or electronic mail under IC 3-11-4-6 **or IC 3-11-4-6.3)** after noon on election day are considered as arriving too late and may not be counted.

SECTION 13. IC 3-11.5-4-13, AS AMENDED BY P.L.198-2005, SECTION 13, IS AMENDED TO READ AS FOLLOWS [EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 2013]: Sec. 13. (a) If the absentee ballot counters find under section 11 of this chapter that any of the following applies, the ballots shall be rejected:

C O P Y

(1) The affidavit is insufficient or that the ballot has not been endorsed with the initials of:

(A) the two (2) members of the absentee voter board in the office of the clerk of the circuit court under IC 3-11-4-19 or IC 3-11-10-27;

(B) the two (2) members of the absentee voter board visiting the voter under IC 3-11-10-25; or

(C) the two (2) appointed members of the county election board or their designated representatives under IC 3-11-4-19.

(2) The signatures do not correspond or there is no signature.

(3) The absentee voter is not a qualified voter in the precinct.

(4) The absentee voter has voted in person at the election.

(5) The absentee voter has not registered.

(6) The ballot is open or has been opened and resealed. This subdivision does not permit an absentee ballot transmitted by fax or electronic mail under IC 3-11-4-6 **or IC 3-11-4-6.3** to be rejected because the ballot was sealed in the absentee ballot envelope by the individual designated by the circuit court to receive absentee ballots transmitted by fax or electronic mail.

(7) The ballot envelope contains more than one (1) ballot of any kind for the same office or public question.

(8) In case of a primary election, if the absentee voter has not previously voted, the voter failed to execute the proper declaration relative to age and qualifications and the political party with which the voter intends to affiliate.

(9) The ballot has been challenged and not supported.

(b) Subsection (c) applies whenever a voter with a disability is unable to make a signature:

(1) on an absentee ballot application that corresponds to the voter's signature in the records of the county voter registration office; or

(2) on an absentee ballot security envelope that corresponds with the voter's signature:

(A) in the records of the county voter registration office; or

(B) on the absentee ballot application.

(c) The voter may request that the voter's signature or mark be attested to by any of the following:

(1) The absentee voter board under section 22 of this chapter.

(2) A member of the voter's household.

(3) An individual serving as attorney in fact for the voter.

(d) An attestation under subsection (c) provides an adequate basis for the absentee ballot counters to determine that a signature or mark

C O P Y

complies with subsection (a)(2).

(e) If the absentee ballot counters are unable to agree on a finding described under this section or section 12 of this chapter, the county election board shall make the finding.

(f) The absentee ballot counters or county election board shall issue a certificate to a voter whose ballot has been rejected under this section if the voter appears in person before the board not later than 5 p.m. on election day. The certificate must state that the voter's absentee ballot has been rejected and that the voter may vote in person under section 21 of this chapter if otherwise qualified to vote.

SECTION 14. IC 3-12-3-5, AS AMENDED BY P.L.198-2005, SECTION 16, IS AMENDED TO READ AS FOLLOWS [EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 2013]: Sec. 5. (a) If a ballot card is damaged or defective so that it cannot properly be counted by the automatic tabulating machines, then a remake team composed of one (1) person from each of the major political parties of the county shall have the card prepared for processing so as to record accurately the intention of the voter insofar as it can be ascertained.

(b) If the ballot card voting system is designed to allow the counting and tabulation of votes by the precinct election board, the members of the remake team must be members of the precinct election board in which the ballot was cast.

(c) If necessary, a true, duplicate copy shall be made of the damaged ballot card in the presence of witnesses and substituted for the damaged card. Similarly, a duplicate ballot card shall be made of a defective card, not including the uncounted votes.

(d) This subsection applies to:

(1) an absent uniformed services voter or overseas voter permitted to transmit an absentee ballot by fax or electronic mail under IC 3-11-4-6; **or**

(2) an emergency first responder permitted to transmit an absentee ballot by fax or electronic mail under IC 3-11-4-6.3.

To facilitate the transmittal and return of the voter's absentee ballot by fax or electronic mail, the county election board may provide the voter with a paper ballot rather than a ballot card. The paper ballot must conform with the requirements for paper ballots set forth in IC 3-10 and IC 3-11. After the voter returns the ballot by fax or electronic mail, a remake team appointed under this section shall prepare a ballot card for processing that accurately records the intention of the voter as indicated on the paper ballot. The ballot card created under this subsection must be marked and counted as a duplicate ballot under sections 6 through 7 of this chapter.

C O P Y

(e) If an automatic tabulating machine fails during the counting and tabulation of votes following the close of the polls, the county election board shall immediately arrange for the repair and proper functioning of the system. The county election board may, by unanimous vote of its entire membership, authorize the counting and tabulation of votes for this election on an automatic tabulating machine approved for use in Indiana by the commission:

(1) until the repair and retesting of the malfunctioning machine; and

(2) whether or not the machine was tested under IC 3-11-13-22.

SECTION 15. IC 3-14-2-31 IS ADDED TO THE INDIANA CODE AS A **NEW** SECTION TO READ AS FOLLOWS [EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 2013]: **Sec. 31. (a) As used in this section, "false vote history communication" means a written communication sent to an individual that contains information about the individual's or another individual's voting history that is false.**

(b) As used in this section, "multiple" means five (5) or more.

(c) A person who knowingly or intentionally sends a false vote history communication to multiple individuals commits a Class D felony.

SECTION 16. IC 35-51-3-1, AS ADDED BY P.L.70-2011, SECTION 1, IS AMENDED TO READ AS FOLLOWS [EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 2013]: Sec. 1. The following statutes define crimes in IC 3:

IC 3-14-1-1 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election campaign violations).**

IC 3-14-1-2 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election campaign violations).**

IC 3-14-1-3 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election campaign violations).**

IC 3-14-1-6 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election campaign violations).**

IC 3-14-1-7 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election campaign violations).**

IC 3-14-1-10 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election campaign violations).**

IC 3-14-1-10.5 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election campaign violations).**

IC 3-14-1-11 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election campaign violations).**

IC 3-14-1-13 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election campaign violations).**

IC 3-14-1-14 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election campaign**

violations).
IC 3-14-1-14.5 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election campaign violations).**
IC 3-14-1-17 (Concerning election campaign violations).
IC 3-14-2-1 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-2 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-2.5 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-3 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-4 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-5 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-6 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-7 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-8 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-9 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-10 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-11 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-12 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-13 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-14 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-15 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-16 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-17 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-18 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-19 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-20 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-21 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-22 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-23 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-24 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-25 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-26 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-27 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-28 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-29 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-30 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **vote fraud).**
IC 3-14-2-31 (Concerning vote fraud).
IC 3-14-3-1.1 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-2 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-3 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**

C O P Y

IC 3-14-3-4 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-5 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-6 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-7 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-8 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-9 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-10 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-11 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-12 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-13 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-14 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-15 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-16 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-17 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-18 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-19 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-20 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-20.5 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-21 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-3-21.5 (Concerning ~~voting).~~ **interfering with free elections).**
IC 3-14-4-1 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election procedural offenses).**

C O P Y

IC 3-14-4-2 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election procedural offenses).**
IC 3-14-4-3 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election procedural offenses).**
IC 3-14-4-3.5 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election procedural offenses).**
IC 3-14-4-4 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election procedural offenses).**
IC 3-14-4-6 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election procedural offenses).**
IC 3-14-4-7 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election procedural offenses).**
IC 3-14-4-8 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election procedural offenses).**
IC 3-14-4-9 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election procedural offenses).**
IC 3-14-4-10 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election procedural offenses).**
IC 3-14-6-1.1 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election profiteering).**
IC 3-14-6-2 (Concerning ~~elections).~~ **election profiteering).**

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2012 Military & Overseas Voters' Guid

Provided by the Indiana Secretary of State
and the Indiana Election Division
Revised December 2011

Military & Overseas Voters

Introduction

Dear Indiana Voter:

As Co-Directors of the Indiana Election Division, it is our great pleasure to provide you with the *2012 Indiana Military and Overseas Voters' Guide.* Within this guide, you will find the information and the application forms necessary for you to vote in Indiana this election year.

Our office, your local election administrators, and the federal government want to provide you with every opportunity to cast your ballot regardless of where you currently serve or reside.

In 2002, Congress passed, and the President signed, a significant piece of election reform legislation – the Help America Vote Act. Some of the most important measures included in this law pertain to members of the military and U.S. residents living abroad.

Federal law now requires that Military Voting Assistance Officers be given the time and resources they need to help military personnel vote. Likewise, the Department of Defense must provide timely information about voting deadlines and make certain all military ballots are properly postmarked.

States may not refuse absentee ballot applications for being submitted earlier than the general deadline and if a state rejects an absentee ballot application from a military or overseas voter, the voter must be notified why the application was rejected.

In 2010, the Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment Act (MOVE) became law. Under this new federal legislation, military and overseas voters have greater opportunities to use email to receive and return voter registration applications, absentee ballot applications, and even the absentee ballot itself. In addition to MOVE, Indiana passed its own law in 2010 to make it easier for military and overseas voters to cast a write-in vote for any candidate or public question on the ballot. Indiana's expanded version of the Federal Write-In Absentee ballot (FWAB) protects the rights of military and overseas voters to have their votes counted, even if there is a delay in receiving their official ballot.

The right of citizens to popularly elect those who will represent them is among the most important civil liberties. This right does not end at Indiana's state line or our nation's border. We hope you will find this information useful and in return will take the opportunity to cast your vote this year.

Sincerely,

Trent Deckard
Co-Director

J. Bradley King
Co-Director

General Information

WHO CAN VOTE?

You have the right to vote in an Indiana election if you meet ALL of the following criteria:

- You are a U.S. citizen; *AND*
- You are a resident of Indiana; *AND*
- You will be at least 18 years of age at the next general or municipal election; *AND*
- You have lived in the precinct where you vote for at least 30 days before the election; *AND*
- You are not currently in prison after being convicted of a crime; *AND*
- You are registered to vote.

WHO IS A MILITARY VOTER?

A military voter, otherwise known as an "absent uniformed services voter," is an individual serving away from his/her place of permanent residence who is also:

- A member of the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, or other uniformed service on active duty who, by reason of active duty, is absent from the place of residence where the member is otherwise qualified to vote.
- A member of the Merchant Marine who, by reason of service in the Merchant Marine, is absent from the place of residence where the member is otherwise qualified to vote.
- A member of the Indiana National Guard deployed or on assignment outside of Indiana.
- A spouse or dependent of a member referred to above who, by reason of the active duty or service of the member, is absent from the place of residence where the spouse or dependent is otherwise qualified to vote.

(See Indiana Code 3-5-2-1.5 for definition of "absent uniformed services voter")

WHO IS AN OVERSEAS VOTER?

An overseas voter is:

- A person who resides outside of the United States AND who is qualified to vote in the last place in which the person was domiciled before leaving the United States
- A person who resides outside the United States and, but for such residence, would be qualified to vote in the last place in which the person was domiciled before leaving the United States.

(See Indiana Code 3-5-2-34.5 for the definition of "overseas voter")

A voter who lives abroad and no longer has a legal residence in Indiana may only vote for federal offices.

HOW DO I CAST MY VOTE?

You have four choices of methods to cast your ballot in Indiana.

- **Vote by mail:** You may submit an absentee ballot application to the county of your permanent residence, and your ballot will be sent to you. The ballot must be postmarked by the date of the election and received in the office of the circuit court clerk by noon 10 days after the election to be counted.
- **Vote by fax:** When you fax your absentee ballot application to your county election office, you may request that an official election ballot be faxed back to you.
- **Vote by email:** Indiana law now allows you to receive and return your ballot through email using a program operated by the Federal Voting Assistance Program (www.FVAP.gov) of the U.S. Department of Defense or directly through your county election office.
- **Vote in person:** If your circumstances change and you are able to vote at the designated polling place for your permanent residence, then you should contact your county election office for instructions on how to proceed.

Military & Overseas Voters

Voter Registration and Absentee Ballot Q&A

HOW DO I REGISTER TO VOTE AND REQUEST AN ABSENTEE BALLOT?

- Fill out a registration and absentee ballot Federal Post Card Application, Standard Form 76A (enclosed). Be certain to read the directions carefully and complete all areas of the form. This form is also available at www.FVAP.gov. (Remember, for the May 8, 2012 Primary Election you must indicate your party affiliation in Box 6 in order to vote.)

I'M NOT REGISTERED TO VOTE. WHEN IS THE DEADLINE?

In most cases, your county voter registration office must receive your registration application by April 9, 2012 (29 days before the Primary Election), or by October 9, 2012 (29 days before the General Election). **However, under a new Indiana law, the deadline for a county voter registration office to receive a registration application from a military or overseas voter has been extended to 10 days before the election (April 30, 2012 before the Primary Election, or October 29, 2012 before the General Election).**

ARE THERE ANY EXCEPTIONS TO MISSING THIS REGISTRATION DEADLINE?

Yes, certain military voters and their family members meeting the following criteria can still register after the 10 day deadline.

TO QUALIFY FOR EXTENDED REGISTRATION, YOU MUST

- Meet the other general qualifications to vote in Indiana (Listed on page 2).
- Complete a voter registration application.
- Not have already voted at any other precinct in the election.
- For the **May 8, 2012** Primary Election
  - ⇒ Have been absent from Indiana from December 1, 2011 through April 9, 2012.
  - ⇒ Have returned to Indiana after April 9, 2012.
  - ⇒ Provide your discharge papers (dated on or after December 1, 2011) or a government movement order (with a reporting date on or after December 1, 2011) to your county.
- For the **November 6, 2012** General Election
  - ⇒ Have been absent from Indiana from May 22, 2012 through October 9, 2012.
  - ⇒ Have returned to Indiana after October 11, 2011.
  - ⇒ Provide your discharge papers (dated on or after May 22, 2012) or a government movement order (with a reporting date on or after May 22, 2012) to your county.

WHAT HAPPENS AFTER I RETURN MY VOTER REGISTRATION APPLICATION?

Your county election office will process your voter registration. You will be notified of the status of your application, and if your registration is rejected, you will be notified with the reason. You can also monitor the status of your absentee application and ballot at www.IndianaVoters.com.

WHAT IS THE DEADLINE FOR RETURNING MY MAILED ABSENTEE BALLOT?

- Your ballot must be received in the clerk's office in time to be added to the official election results. Your ballot will be counted as long as:
  - (1) The absentee ballot envelope is **postmarked** no later than the date of the election; and
  - (2) The absentee ballot is **received** no later than the deadline for counting provisional ballots, **May 18, 2012** (by noon 10 days after the May 8, 2012 Primary Election), or by **November 16, 2012** (by noon 10 days after the November 6, 2012 General Election).

Vote by Fax and Email Q&A

I WILL NOT BE IN INDIANA ON ELECTION DAY, AND I DO NOT HAVE TIME TO GET MY ABSENTEE BALLOT RETURNED THROUGH THE MAIL. WHAT CAN I DO?

- If you are a military voter, a military family member or an overseas voter as defined before, you can receive and return an absentee ballot to your county election office via fax.
- Also, if you are a military voter, a military family member, or an overseas voter, you are now able to receive and return your ballot by email.

HOW CAN I APPLY FOR MY ABSENTEE BALLOT USING THESE SPECIAL PROCEDURES?

- You may apply to vote an **absentee ballot by:**
  1. **Mail:** Complete and return the **ABS- 15** form and return it to your county clerk's office by mail.
  2. **Fax or email:** Complete and return the **ABS-15** form and return it to your county clerk's office by fax or email.
  3. **Email using the Federal Post Card Application:** Visit the FVAP website (www.FVAP.gov) for details.
- These forms are available in this manual, on the Secretary of State's web page (www.in.gov/sos/elections) or from your county election office.

WHAT IS THE DEADLINE FOR APPLYING FOR AN ABSENTEE BALLOT BY FAX OR EMAIL?

- To vote an absentee ballot by email or fax for the **May 8, 2012 Primary Election**, return the absentee ballot request form by email or fax no later than **Noon, Monday, May 7th, 2012.**
- To vote an absentee ballot by email or fax for the **November 6, 2012 General Election**, return the absentee ballot request form by email or fax no later than **Noon, Monday, November 5, 2012.**

WHAT HAPPENS AFTER I FAX OR EMAIL MY ABSENTEE BALLOT APPLICATION?

- Your county election office (usually the circuit court clerk) will review your application. If it is complete and you are otherwise qualified, the clerk will fax a blank ballot back to the fax number on your application or email you the scanned ballot.
- In some counties your ballot may have to be "homemade" by the clerk since your mark on a fax or email could not be read if you used the ordinary ballot given to voters at the polls. Even if your ballot looks a little different than the ballot you used in other elections, it will still be cast and counted if you complete and return it properly.
- Your approved absentee ballot application remains in effect until December 31 following the date of your application. Your ballot will automatically be sent to the address you listed on your application. You do not need to re-apply for a ballot while your application remains in effect.
- If the address listed on your application changes due to reassignment or if you return to the states, you will need to update your voter registration by contacting your county election office.

WHAT IS THE DEADLINE FOR RETURNING MY FAXED OR EMAILED ABSENTEE BALLOT?

- Your ballot must be received in time for the ballot to be delivered to the appropriate precinct, generally 12:00 noon on Election Day.
- We recommend that you fax or email your ballot back **BEFORE** Election Day if possible. If your emailed or faxed ballot is received after Election Day, it will not be counted!

HOW CAN MY BALLOT BE SECRET IF I FAX OR EMAIL IT BACK?

- In return for the convenience of faxing or emailing back your completed ballot, you will have to sacrifice some ballot secrecy. The ABS-9 form is a cover sheet and affidavit in which you will sign the "Voluntary Waiver of Secret Ballot" and thus concede your right to a secret ballot. Your county election office will require that you send this form along with your completed ballot.
- Once your faxed or emailed ballot is received, your county election office will take every possible precaution to preserve your ballot's secrecy as it is counted with the other absentee ballots.

WHAT IF I HAVE MORE QUESTIONS?

- Please feel free to contact your county election office using the contact information starting on page 10 or contact any of the statewide election offices using the contact information starting on page 7.

Election Resources

HOW TO FIND INFORMATION ABOUT ELECTIONS & CANDIDATES

Elections:
Information about elections can be found on the Secretary of State's website at www.in.gov/sos/elections.

Candidates:
Please see "Who's On Your Ballot?" at www.IndianaVoters.com. For additional candidate information, the best reference you have is your local paper or news source. Additionally, your county circuit court clerk is a good source to contact to request additional information about candidates. Thirdly, you may also wish to contact the political parties listed in this packet for information about candidates and their platforms.

ELECTION CALENDAR

Saturday, March 24, 2012: Deadline for the county election board to send primary absentee ballots to voters who have already filed an application with the circuit court clerk or the boards of elections and registration.

Monday, April 30, 2012: VOTER REGISTRATION ENDS. Deadline for military and overseas voters to register or to transfer registration in the county voter registration office (unless qualified for extended registration as explained on page 3). (April 9, 2012 is the registration deadline for other voters.)

Monday, May 7, 2012: Deadline, by noon, for a Military and Overseas Voter's absentee ballot application requesting that an absentee ballot be sent by email or fax to be received by your county election office for the Primary Election on May 8, 2012.

Tuesday, May 8, 2012: PRIMARY ELECTION DAY.
Polls are open 6:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., prevailing local time. **Deadline** for military and overseas voters' faxed or emailed absentee ballots to be received in the County Election Board Office. They must be received in time to be distributed to the appropriate precinct, generally 12:00 Noon—If possible, **SEND BALLOT BEFORE ELECTION DAY.** Absentee ballots sent through the mail must be postmarked by Election Day.

Friday, May 18, 2012: Deadline, by noon, for the county election board to receive mailed absentee ballots from overseas voters (must be postmarked by Election Day).

Saturday, September 22, 2012: Deadline for the county election board to send absentee ballots to voters who have already filed an application with the circuit court clerk or the boards of elections and registration.

Monday, October 29, 2012: VOTER REGISTRATION ENDS. Deadline for military and overseas voters to register or to transfer registration in the county voter registration office (unless qualified for extended registration as explained on page 3). (October 9, 2012 is the deadline for other voters.)

Monday, November 5, 2012: Deadline, by noon, for a Military or Overseas Voter's absentee ballot application requesting that an absentee ballot be sent by email or fax to be received by your county election office for the General Election.

Tuesday, November 6, 2012: GENERAL ELECTION DAY
Polls are open 6:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., prevailing local time. **Deadline** for military and overseas voters' faxed or emailed absentee ballots to be received in the County Election Board Office. They must be received in time to be distributed to the appropriate precinct, generally 12:00 Noon—If possible, **SEND BALLOT BEFORE ELECTION DAY.** Absentee ballots sent through the mail must be postmarked by Election Day.

Friday, November 16, 2010: Deadline, by noon, for the county election board to receive mailed absentee ballots from overseas voters (must be postmarked by Election Day).

TOLL-FREE ACCESS TO FVAP AND THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Below are toll-free telephone numbers from the countries listed to the FVAP offices in Washington, DC. No cost is incurred by the caller.

You can also use these numbers to contact the DOD Voting Information Center (VIC). The VIC allows you to transfer directly to the office of your elected officials in the U.S. Congress, your State Governor and State Chief Election Official.

When leaving a message, please include your complete name, telephone number, e-mail address (if available) and country from which you are calling.

The United States, Canada, Guam, Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands share one set of Toll-Free Numbers: Phone: 1-800-438-8683, Fax: 1-800-368-8683. Callers who have access to the Defense Switched Network may dial 425-1584.

American Samoa	633-2872, Then 800-323-8180
Antigua	1-8778333886
Australia	1-800-836325
Austria	0800-293478
Bahamas	1-8778333886
Bahrain	80-965
Barbados	1-800-534-2104
Belgium	0800-11402
Bermuda	1-8778333886
Brazil	0800-891-0619
Canada	1-800-438-8683
Cayman Islands	1-8778333886
Chile	123-0-020-3232
China	10-800-120-0925
Colombia	01-800-9155-345
Costa Rica	0800-0121201
Denmark	80-884048
Dominican Republic	1-888-1562025
Finland	0-800-1-17988
France	0800-917-304
Germany	0800-1007428
Greece	00800-12-5268
Guam	1-800-438-8683
Guyana	1-8004388683
Hong Kong	800-962191
Hungary	06-800-15007
Indonesia	001-803-011-3116
Ireland	1-800-312340
Israel	1-800-9203230
Italy	800-784460
Jamaica	1-800-6663819
Japan	00531-120896
Japan--Yokohama	00531-1208-96
Korea	00798-14-800-5748
Latvia	800-0154
Luxembourg	8002-9087
Malaysia	1-800-80-7684
Marshall Islands	1-8778333886
Mexico	001-8004388683
Neth Antilles	001-8004388683
Netherlands	0800-02228213
New Zealand	0800-446524
Nicaragua	001-800-2201349
Norway	800-10520
Panama	001-800-5071699
Philippines	1-800-1-1114-1341
Poland	0-0-800-1112-078
Portugal	8008-12543
Puerto Rico	1-800-438-8683
Russia	8-10-8002-3333-011
Singapore	800-1203891
South Africa	080-09-90886
St Lucia	1-877-8333886
St Kitts/Nevis	1-8778333886
St Vincent	1-877-8333886
Spain	900-961-668
Sweden	020-79-2242
Switzerland	0800-564294
Taiwan	00801-13-7322
Thailand	001-800-12-0664536
Trinidad & Tobago	1-800-934-7340
Turkey	008 00151 1163
United Kingdom	08-0002-88056
United States	1-800-438-8683
Uruguay	000-413-598-2849
Venezuela	0800 100 3678
Virgin Islands	1-800-438-8683

ELECTRONIC TRANSMISSION (FAXING) OF ELECTION MATERIALS

The FVAP's Electronic Transmission (Faxing) Service (ETS) allows citizens and state and local government officials to fax and email election materials, such as a request for registration and/or ballot (FPCA), a blank ballot sent to the voter by the local election official, a voted ballot returned to the local election official, and other election materials when conditions do not allow for timely receipt and return of these materials as allowed by state law.

To maintain the integrity of the electoral process and provide an audit trail of transmissions, all faxing must be done to one of the following numbers: (or to your county directly—see the following pages for county fax numbers)

Australia	1-800-887858
Austria	0800-292502
Bahamas	1-8665605844
Bahrain	80-921
Belgium	0800-72216
Brazil	0800-891-0656
Canada	1-800-368-8683
Chile	123-0-020-2892
China	10-800-120-0855
Colombia	01800-9-155253
Costa Rica	0800-012-1163
Denmark	8088-4568
Dominican Republic	1-8881562004
Finland	0-800-1-17346
France	0800-916557
Germany	0 800-1002793
Greece	00800-12-5816
Guam	1-800-368-8683
Guyana	1-8665605844
Hong Kong	800-968820
Hungary	06-800-14980
Indonesia	001-803-011-3094
Ireland	1-800-300015
Israel	1-800-9213783
Italy	800-783943
Jamaica	1-800-9266606
Japan	00531-1-20833
Korea	00798-14-800-5648
Latvia	800-0069
Malaysia	1-800-8-07238
Mexico	001-8665605844
Netherlands	0800-0223962
New Zealand	0800-445874
Nicaragua	001-800-2201638
Norway	800-18037
Panama	001-800-507-1671
Philippines	1-800-1-114-1303
Poland	00-800-1112004
Portugal	800-8-12463
Puerto Rico	1-800-368-8683
Russia	8-10-8002-3953011
Singapore	800 1201687
South Africa	080-09-90857
Spain	900-961800
St Lucia	1-8665605844
Sweden	020-79-1472
Switzerland	0800-564752
Taiwan	00801-13-7287
Thailand	001-800-12-066-4459
Turkey	00-800-151-1139
United Kingdom	08-000280262
United States	**1-800-368-8683**
Uruguay	000-413-598-2820
Virgin Islands	1-800-368-8683

If your country is not listed above, please use one of the central numbers: (703) 693-5527 or DSN 223-5527

For technical assistance when faxing, contact the FVAP toll free in the U.S. by calling the toll-free numbers from 66 countries (including the United States). After faxing or emailing any election material **always mail the original to the appropriate state or local election official in your state or territory**. Generally, all election-related materials may be mailed postage-paid in the U.S. mails, including APO/FPO facilities and all U.S. Embassies and Consulates. You must pay postage if the materials are mailed from a non-U.S. postal facility.

COUNTY CONTACT INFORMATION

County	Address	City	Zip	Telephone	Fax
Adams	PO Box 189	Decatur	46733	(260) 724-5309	(260) 724-5313
Allen	One E. Main Street, Room 132	Fort Wayne	46802	(260) 449-7154	(260) 449-7946
Bartholomew	PO Box 924	Columbus	47201	(812) 379-5363	(812) 379-1675
Benton	706 E. Fifth Street, Suite #37	Fowler	47944	(765) 884-0930	(765) 884-0322
Blackford	110 W. Washington	Hartford City	47348	(765) 348-1130	(765) 348-7234
Boone	212 Courthouse Square	Lebanon	46052	(765) 482-3510	(765) 485-0150
Brown	PO Box 85	Nashville	47448	(812) 988-5512	(812) 988-5562
Carroll	101 W. Main Street	Delphi	46923	(765) 564-4485	(765) 564-1835
Cass	200 Court Park #105	Logansport	46947	(574) 753-7740	(574) 722-1556
Clark	501 E. Court Avenue, Room 137	Jeffersonville	47130	(812) 285-6329	(812) 280-5652
Clay	609 E. National Avenue, Room 213	Brazil	47834	(812) 448-9024	(812) 446-9602
Clinton	265 Courthouse Square	Frankfort	46041	(765) 659-6335	(765) 659-6347
Crawford	PO Box 375	English	47118	(812) 338-2565	(812) 338-2507
Daviess	200 East Walnut, PO Box 739	Washington	47501	(812) 254-8679	(812) 254-8698
Dearborn	215 W. High Street	Lawrenceburg	47025	(812) 537-1877	(812) 532-2021
Decatur	150 Courthouse Square, Suite 244	Greensburg	47240	(812) 663-8223	(812) 662-6627
DeKalb	PO Box 230	Auburn	46706	(260) 925-9787	(260) 925-5126
Delaware	PO Box 1089	Muncie	47308	(765) 747-7726	(765) 747-7768
Dubois	One Courthouse Square	Jasper	47546	(812) 481-7037	(812) 481-7044
Elkhart	101 N. Main Street, Room 204	Goshen	46526	(574) 535-6469	(574) 535-6471
Fayette	401 Central Avenue	Connersville	47331	(765) 825-1813	(765) 827-4902
Floyd	311 W. First Street, Room #235	New Albany	47150	(812) 948-5415	(812) 948-4711
Fountain	PO Box 183	Covington	47932	(765) 793-2192	(765) 793-5002
Franklin	459 Main Street	Brookville	47012	(765) 647-5111	(765) 647-3224
Fulton	PO Box 524	Rochester	46975	(574) 223-4824	(574) 223-8304
Gibson	PO Box 630	Princeton	47670	(812) 385-2541	(812) 385-5025
Grant	101 E. 4th Street	Marion	46952	(765) 664-9880	(765) 664-4515
Greene	PO Box 229	Bloomfield	47424	(812) 384-2015	(812) 384-8458
Hamilton	One Hamilton County Square, #106	Noblesville	46060	(317) 776-8476	(317) 776-8218
Hancock	9 E. Main Street, Room 201	Greenfield	46140	(317) 477-1109	(317) 477-1163
Harrison	300 N. Capitol Avenue, Room 203	Corydon	47112	(812) 738-4289	(812) 738-3126

COUNTY CONTACT INFORMATION (CONTINUED)

County	Address	City	Zip	Telephone	Fax
Hendricks	51 W. Main Street, Suite 104	Danville	46122	(317) 745-9249	(317) 745-9452
Henry	PO Box B	New Castle	47362	(765) 529-9310	(765) 521-7046
Howard	104 N. Buckeye, Room 114	Kokomo	46904	(765) 456-2204	(765) 456-2267
Huntington	PO Box 228	Huntington	46750	(260) 358-4819	(260) 358-4880
Jackson	PO Box 318	Brownstown	47220	(812) 358-6117	(812) 358-6187
Jasper	115 W. Washington Street, Suite 204	Rensselaer	47978	(219) 866-4929	(219) 866-9450
Jay	120 Court Street	Portland	47371	(260) 726-6915	(260) 726-6922
Jefferson	300 E. Main St., #203	Madison	47250	(812) 265-8926	(812) 273-4980
Jennings	PO Box 385	Vernon	47282	(812) 352-3070	(812) 352-3076
Johnson	PO Box 368	Franklin	46131	(317) 346-4466	(317) 736-3749
Knox	101 N. 7th Street	Vincennes	47591	(812) 885-2521	(812) 894-4929
Kosciusko	121 N. Lake Street	Warsaw	46580	(574) 372-2332	(574) 372-2338
LaGrange	105 N. Detroit	LaGrange	46761	(260) 499-6392	(260) 499-6304
Lake	2293 N. Main Street, A-205	Crown Point	46307	(219) 755-3795	(219) 755-3810
LaPorte	813 Lincolnway, Suite 105	LaPorte	46350	(219) 326-6808	(219) 326-6626
Lawrence	916 15th Street, Room 20	Bedford	47421	(812) 277-2036	(812) 275-4142
Madison	16 E. 9th	Anderson	46016	(765) 641-9457	(765) 640-4203
Marion	200 E. Washington St., Suite W-122	Indianapolis	46204	(317) 327-4815	(317) 327-3893
Marshall	211 W. Madison, Room 101	Plymouth	46563	(574) 935-8713	(574) 936-8893
Martin	PO Box 120	Shoals	47581	(812) 247-3651	(812) 247-2791
Miami	PO Box 184	Peru	46970	(765) 472-3901	(765) 472-1778
Monroe	PO Box 547	Bloomington	47402	(812) 349-2600	(812) 349-2610
Montgomery	PO Box 768	Crawfordsville	47933	(765) 364-6434	(765) 364-6355
Morgan	180 S. Main Street, Box 13	Martinsville	46151	(765) 342-1029	(765) 349-5370
Newton	PO Box 49	Kentland	47951	(219) 474-6081	(219) 474-5749
Noble	101 N. Orange Street	Albion	46701	(260) 636-2736	(260) 636-4000
Ohio	PO Box 185	Rising Sun	47040	(812) 438-2610	(812) 438-1215
Orange	1 Court Street	Paoli	47454	(812) 723-2649	(812) 723-0239
Owen	PO Box 146	Spencer	47460	(812) 829-5015	(812) 829-5147
Parke	116 West High Street, Room 204	Rockville	47872	(765) 569-5132	(765) 569-4222

Military & Overseas Voters

Election Resources

COUNTY CONTACT INFORMATION (CONTINUED)

County	Address	City	Zip	Telephone	Fax
Perry	2219 Payne Street	Tell City	47586	(812) 547-3741	(812) 547-9782
Pike	PO Box 125	Petersburg	47567	(812) 354-6025	(812) 354-6369
Porter	155 Indiana Avenue, Suite 105	Valparaiso	46383	(219) 465-3484	(219) 465-3497
Posey	PO Box 606	Mt. Vernon	47620	(812) 838-1339	(812) 838-1307
Pulaski	112 E. Main Street, Room 230	Winamac	46996	(574) 946-6038	(574) 946-4953
Putnam	PO Box 546	Greencastle	46135	(765) 655-1538	(765) 653-7030
Randolph	PO Box 230	Winchester	47394	(765) 584-4214	(765) 584-2958
Ripley	PO Box 177	Versailles	47042	(812) 689-6115	(812) 689-6000
Rush	PO Box 429	Rushville	46173	(765) 932-2086	(765) 932-4165
Scott	1 E. McClain Avenue, Suite 120	Scottsburg	47170	(812) 752-8420	(812) 752-5459
Shelby	407 S. Harrison Street, Suite 111	Shelbyville	46176	(317) 392-6320	(317) 392-6339
Spencer	PO Box 12	Rockport	47635	(812) 649-6017	(812) 649-2139
St. Joseph	101 S. Main Street	South Bend	46601	(574) 235-9831	(574) 235-9838
Starke	PO Box 395	Knox	46534	(574) 772-9160	(574) 772-9169
Steuben	55 S. Public Square	Angola	46703	(260) 668-1000	(260) 668-3702
Sullivan	PO Box 370	Sullivan	47882	(812) 268-4657	(812) 268-7027
Switzerland	212 W. Main Street	Vevay	47043	(812) 427-3175	(812) 427-2017
Tippecanoe	PO Box 619	Lafayette	47902	(765) 423-9220	(765) 423-9386
Tipton	101 E. Jefferson	Tipton	46072	(765) 675-2795	(765) 675-4103
Union	26 W. Union Street	Liberty	47353	(765) 458-6121	(765) 458-5263
Vanderburgh	1 NW Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd, Rm 106	Evansville	47708	(812) 435-5222	(812) 435-5013
Vermillion	PO Box 10	Newport	47966	(765) 492-3500	(765) 492-5001
Vigo	PO Box 8449	Terre Haute	47808	(812) 462-3235	(812) 462-3113
Wabash	69 W. Hill St.	Wabash	46992	(260) 563-0661	(260) 569-1352
Warren	125 N. Monroe	Williamsport	47993	(765) 762-3510	(765) 762-7251
Warrick	1 County Square, Suite 200	Boonville	47601	(812) 897-6163	(812) 897-6400
Washington	99 Public Square, Suite 102	Salem	47167	(812) 883-5748	(812) 883-8108
Wayne	301 E. Main Street	Richmond	47374	(765) 973-9304	(765) 973-9490
Wells	102 W. Market Street	Bluffton	46714	(260) 824-6482	(260) 824-6559
White	PO Box 350	Monticello	47960	(574) 583-1530	(574) 583-1532
Whitley	101 W. Van Buren Street, Room 18	Columbia City	46725	(260) 248-3164	(260) 248-3137

TRENT (B)

STATE OF INDIANA
OFFICE OF THE INDIANA ATTORNEY GENERAL
CONSUMER PROTECTION DIVISION
GREG ZOELLER
INDIANA ATTORNEY GENERAL
302 W. WASHINGTON STREET, 5TH FLOOR • INDIANAPOLIS, IN 46204-2770
www.IndianaConsumer.com
PHONE: 317.232.6330
FAX: 317.233.4393

November 13, 2012

INDIANA ELECTION DIVISION
2012 NOV 15 AM 11:39

Secretary of State – Election Division
302 West Washington Street, Room E-204
Indianapolis, IN 46204

Re: [redacted] AG File No. [redacted]

Dear Secretary of State – Election Division:

Enclosed is a consumer complaint that our office received from the above-referenced consumer. Since it appears that your office may be in a better position to assist in this matter, we are referring it to your attention.

Indiana law requires that we request that you investigate this complaint and report to us upon your disposition of the complaint. Ind. Code § 4-6-9-4 (a) (6). The enclosed information and above-referenced request are submitted in accordance with the statute.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Allison Vetor

Allison Vetor

Exhibit C
Census Data Advisory Committee
Meeting #3 October 23, 2013

CONSUMER COMPLAINT FORM

Office of the Indiana Attorney General

RECEIVED
NOV 05 2012
ATTORNEY GENERAL OF INDIANA
CONSUMER PROTECTION

To prevent delay, please be sure to complete **both sides** of this form in full. Please print clearly or type. **DO NOT** include your **Social Security Number** on this form or in any accompanying documents.

1. YOUR INFORMATION

☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐ Miss ☒ Ms. ☐ Dr.

Name [redacted]

Address [redacted]

City LaFontaine State IN

ZIP 46940 County Wabash

Age ☐18-24 ☐25-34 ☐35-44 ☐45-54 ☐55-64 ☒65+

Phone ([redacted] Day

Are you or your spouse active military? ☐ Yes ☒ No

E-mail [redacted]

2. WHO IS YOUR COMPLAINT AGAINST?

Name/Firm Americans for limited Government

Address 9900 Main Street, Suite 303

City Fairfax State VA

ZIP 22031 County

Phone ( )

E-mail info@getliberty.org

Person you dealt with William Wilson

3. WHEN DID TRANSACTION/INCIDENT OCCUR? Date First letter Oct. 22, the second letter Nov. 2

4. WHERE DID THE TRANSACTION/INCIDENT YOU ARE COMPLAINING ABOUT TAKE PLACE? (Check box when applicable)

- ☐ At the firm's place of business
- ☐ My home
- ☐ Away from the firm's place of business (work, convention, etc.)
- ☐ Other
- ☒ By Mail
- ☐ By Internet/e-mail
- ☐ By telephone

5. WHAT WAS THE VERY FIRST CONTACT BETWEEN YOU AND THE FIRM?

- ☐ I telephoned the firm
- ☐ I responded to a TV/radio ad
- ☐ A person came to my home
- ☐ I received information by e-mail
- ☒ I received information in the mail
- ☐ I went to the firm's place of business
- ☐ I received a telephone call from the firm
- ☐ I responded to an offer on the Internet
- ☐ I responded to a printed advertisement
- ☐ Other

6. DO YOU CONSENT TO DISCLOSING THE FOLLOWING TO THE PUBLIC?

The nature and status of your complaint and the name of the firm?	☒ Yes	☐ No
Your name?	☒ Yes	☐ No
Your phone number?	☐ Yes	☒ No

7. WHAT WAS THE TRANSACTION FOR?

- ☒ My business
- ☐ My family/household
- ☐ My farm

8. HOW DID YOU PAY?

- ☐ Cash
- ☐ Check
- ☐ Credit Card
- ☐ Installment Loan
- ☐ Medicaid
- ☐ Medicare
- ☐ Private Insurance
- ☒ Other no money involved

9. DID YOU SIGN ANY WRITTEN AGREEMENT? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF THE AGREEMENT. ☐ Yes ☒ No

For Office Use Only:

Ind	Prac	PL	MO	NL	NJ	OA	Inv.	Sec	File #
237	72					SOS-ED			-CP-

10. HAVE YOU COMPLAINED TO THE BUSINESS? (Check box when applicable) ☒ Yes ☐ No

When? Nov. 2 Action taken? no

11. WITH WHAT OTHER AGENCY HAVE YOU FILED THIS COMPLAINT? no

When? Action taken?

12. HAVE YOU CONTACTED A PRIVATE ATTORNEY? ☐ Yes ☒ No

13. HAVE YOU STARTED A COURT ACTION? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

14. HAVE YOU BEEN SUED OVER THIS ISSUE? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

15. DOLLAR AMOUNT ASSOCIATED WITH YOUR LOSS, IF ANY. $ none

16. PLEASE DESCRIBE YOUR COMPLAINT IN DETAIL (ATTACH ADDITIONAL PAGES IF NECESSARY)

Please attach a copy of all papers involved (order blank, warranty, credit card receipt and statement, invoice, contract or written agreement, advertisement, cancelled check, correspondence and all other related documents). Please print clearly or type. DO NOT INCLUDE YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.

It is a voting history audit. They are sending my personal information to the neighbors. The audit is not correct, it lists people that have not lived in this neighborhood for up to ten years. It does not list a spouse giving the idea that you live alone which is a security risk. Voting is a priviledge and supposedly private. This does not make it private. I dont want people to know if I vote or how I vote. I have always voted but if they are going to start doing this I will quit. There is a hippa law about revealing information about people. I think this should also be covered. I have received two letters a week apart and they say after the election they will send another one. Why would I want to know my neighbors voting history. I looked up a poll on the subject and 89% of the people are against it. The news media are advising people to just forget it and throw it away. When most people throw things away they do not destroy first and that leave you open for identity theft. Everyone that I have talked to about this is mad and against it. What can we do?

17. HOW WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR COMPLAINT RESOLVED?

I want them to be forced to stop sending out this information. I feel that my safety is involved. I have been the victim of identy thieft and this makes it too easy especially if they think that a woman is living alone back a long lane in the country. Last year there was an epidemic of houses being broken into on single women.

18. CONSENT AND VERIFICATION

I affirm, under the penalties for perjury, that the foregoing representations are true. I consent to the Consumer Protection Division obtaining or releasing any information in furtherance of the disposition of this complaint. I consent to the release of information included in this complaint to other public agencies attempting to discover ongoing fraudulent patterns or practices and for the purpose of law enforcement.

I understand that I should not include my Social Security Number in any information submitted to the Consumer Protection Division. If I do provide my Social Security Number, I expressly consent to the disclosure of my Social Security Number in accordance with Indiana Code § 4-1-10-5(2).

[redacted] 11/2/2012 7:10:11 PM

Your Signature Date

WHAT WILL HAPPEN NOW? WHAT ELSE SHOULD YOU DO?

The Consumer Protection Division will send a copy of your complaint to the respondent firm or licensed professional. This office cannot disclose your complaint against a licensed professional to the public unless this office files a disciplinary action against the licensed professional. This office represents the State of Indiana and is limited in the remedies it can pursue. You may be entitled to compensation or other rights that we cannot pursue for you. In addition to filing this complaint, you may want to consider contacting a private attorney or your local small claims court.

MAIL COMPLETED FORMS TO:

Attorney General Greg Zoeller
Consumer Protection Division
Government Center South, 5th floor
302 West Washington Street
Indianapolis, IN 46204
PH: 317-232-6330 • FAX: 317-233-4393
www.IndianaConsumer.com

STATE OF INDIANA
OFFICE OF THE INDIANA ATTORNEY GENERAL
CONSUMER PROTECTION DIVISION
302 W. WASHINGTON STREET, 5TH FLOOR • INDIANAPOLIS, IN 46204-2770
www.IndianaConsumer.com

GREG ZOELLER
INDIANA ATTORNEY GENERAL

PHONE: 317.232.6330
FAX: 317.233.4393

November 15, 2012

Secretary of State – Election Division
302 West Washington Street, Room E-204
Indianapolis, IN 46204

INDIANA ELECTION DIVISION
2012 NOV 16 AM 10:54

Re: [redacted] **AG File No.** [redacted]

Dear Secretary of State – Election Division:

Enclosed is a consumer complaint that our office received from the above-referenced consumer. Since it appears that your office may be in a better position to assist in this matter, we are referring it to your attention.

Indiana law requires that we request that you investigate this complaint and report to us upon your disposition of the complaint. Ind. Code § 4-6-9-4 (a) (6). The enclosed information and above-referenced request are submitted in accordance with the statute.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Allison Vetor

Allison Vetor

CONSUMER COMPLAINT FORM

Office of the Indiana Attorney General

RECEIVED
NOV 07 2012
ATTORNEY GENERAL OF INDIANA
CONSUMER PROTECTION

To prevent delay, please be sure to complete **both sides** of this form in full. Please print clearly or type. **DO NOT** include your **Social Security Number** on this form or in any accompanying documents.

1. YOUR INFORMATION

☐ Mr. ☒ Mrs. ☐ Miss ☐ Ms. ☐ Dr.

Name [redacted]

Address [redacted]

City Danville State In

ZIP 46122 County Hendricks

Age ☐18-24 ☐25-34 ☐35-44 ☒45-54 ☐55-64 ☐65+

Phone [redacted] Day

Are you or your spouse active military? ☐ Yes ☒ No

E-mail

2. WHO IS YOUR COMPLAINT AGAINST?

Name/Firm American for Limited Gouerment

Address 9900 Main St, Suite 303

City Fairfax State VA

ZIP 22031 County

Phone ( )

E-mail

Person you dealt with

3. WHEN DID TRANSACTION/INCIDENT OCCUR? Date 10/22/12 & 11/1/12

4. WHERE DID THE TRANSACTION/INCIDENT YOU ARE COMPLAINING ABOUT TAKE PLACE? (Check box when applicable)

- ☐ At the firm's place of business
- ☐ My home
- ☐ Away from the firm's place of business (work, convention, etc.)
- ☐ Other
- ☒ By Mail
- ☐ By Internet/e-mail
- ☐ By telephone

5. WHAT WAS THE VERY FIRST CONTACT BETWEEN YOU AND THE FIRM?

- ☐ I telephoned the firm
- ☐ I responded to a TV/radio ad
- ☐ A person came to my home
- ☐ I received information by e-mail
- ☒ I received information in the mail
- ☐ I went to the firm's place of business
- ☐ I received a telephone call from the firm
- ☐ I responded to an offer on the Internet
- ☐ I responded to a printed advertisement
- ☐ Other

6. DO YOU CONSENT TO DISCLOSING THE FOLLOWING TO THE PUBLIC?

The nature and status of your complaint and the name of the firm?	☒ Yes	☐ No
Your name?	☒ Yes	☐ No
Your phone number?	☐ Yes	☒ No

7. WHAT WAS THE TRANSACTION FOR?

- ☐ My business
- ☒ My family/household
- ☐ My farm

8. HOW DID YOU PAY?

- ☐ Cash
- ☐ Check
- ☐ Credit Card
- ☐ Installment Loan
- ☐ Medicaid
- ☐ Medicare
- ☐ Private Insurance
- ☒ Other

9. DID YOU SIGN ANY WRITTEN AGREEMENT? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF THE AGREEMENT. ☐ Yes ☒ No

For Office Use Only:

Ind	Prac	PL	MO	NL	NJ	OA	Inv.	Sec	File #
239	72					SOS-EB			-CP-

10. HAVE YOU COMPLAINED TO THE BUSINESS? (Check box when applicable) ☐ Yes ☒ No

When? Action taken?

11. WITH WHAT OTHER AGENCY HAVE YOU FILED THIS COMPLAINT?

When? Action taken?

12. HAVE YOU CONTACTED A PRIVATE ATTORNEY? ☐ Yes ☒ No

13. HAVE YOU STARTED A COURT ACTION? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

14. HAVE YOU BEEN SUED OVER THIS ISSUE? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

15. DOLLAR AMOUNT ASSOCIATED WITH YOUR LOSS, IF ANY. $ Ø

16. PLEASE DESCRIBE YOUR COMPLAINT IN DETAIL (ATTACH ADDITIONAL PAGES IF NECESSARY)

Please attach a copy of all papers involved (order blank, warranty, credit card receipt and statement, invoice, contract or written agreement, advertisement, cancelled check, correspondence and all other related documents). Please print clearly or type. DO NOT INCLUDE YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.

2 mailings sent with my info and neighbors voting history published. I realize this is public knowledge but I did not authorize publication to be sent with my info on it.

17. HOW WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR COMPLAINT RESOLVED?

Want my name & info taken off any mailings or any other information they publish

18. CONSENT AND VERIFICATION

I affirm, under the penalties for perjury, that the foregoing representations are true. I consent to the Consumer Protection Division obtaining or releasing any information in furtherance of the disposition of this complaint. I consent to the release of information included in this complaint to other public agencies attempting to discover ongoing fraudulent patterns or practices and for the purpose of law enforcement.

I understand that I should not include my Social Security Number in any information submitted to the Consumer Protection Division. If I do provide my Social Security Number, I expressly consent to the disclosure of my Social Security Number in accordance with Indiana Code § 4-1-10-5(2).

[redacted] 11-5-12

Your Signature Date

WHAT WILL HAPPEN NOW? WHAT ELSE SHOULD YOU DO?

The Consumer Protection Division will send a copy of your complaint to the respondent firm or licensed professional. This office cannot disclose your complaint against a licensed professional to the public unless this office files a disciplinary action against the licensed professional. This office represents the State of Indiana and is limited in the remedies it can pursue. You may be entitled to compensation or other rights that we cannot pursue for you. In addition to filing this complaint, you may want to consider contacting a private attorney or your local small claims court.

MAIL COMPLETED FORMS TO:

Attorney General Greg Zoeller
Consumer Protection Division
Government Center South, 5th floor
302 West Washington Street
Indianapolis, IN 46204
PH: 317-232-6330 • FAX: 317-233-4393
www.IndianaConsumer.com

Americans for Limited Government
9900 Main Street, Suite 303
Fairfax, VA 22031

Notice Number: [redacted]
Notice Date: October 22, 2012
Voter Name: [redacted]t

Dear [redacted]:

Thank you for your dedication to voting in past presidential elections. Our American democracy is stronger because of civic-minded citizens like you.

We have conducted an audit of public voting records in your neighborhood, and wanted to present you with findings of past civic participation in your community.

VOTE HISTORY AUDIT

November 4, 2008 - November 6, 2012

Voter Name	Street Address	Voted in 2008	Voted in 2010	Voted in 2012
[redacted]	[redacted]Dr	Yes	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	No	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	No	No	Pending
[redacted]k	[redacted]	No	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	Yes	Yes	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	Yes	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	No	No	Pending

Again, I would like to thank you for your active civic participation. I hope the above vote history record is informative.

As a further service, we will be updating our records after the expected high turnout for the Tuesday, November 6, 2012 election. We will then send an updated vote history audit to you and your neighbors with the results.

Please be sure to continue your participation and exercise your right and responsibility to vote.

Sincerely,

Americans for Limited Government
9900 Main Street, Suite 303
Fairfax, VA 22031

Notice Number: [redacted]
Notice Date: November 1, 2012
Voter Name: [redacted]

Dear [redacted]:

Thank you for your dedication to voting in past presidential elections. Our American democracy is stronger because of civic-minded citizens like you.

We have conducted an audit of public voting records in your neighborhood, and wanted to present you with findings of past civic participation in your community.

VOTE HISTORY AUDIT

November 4, 2008 - November 6, 2012

Voter Name	Street Address	Voted in 2008	Voted in 2010	Voted in 2012
[redacted]	[redacted]	Yes	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	Yes	Yes	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	No	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	No	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	Yes	Yes	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	Yes	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	No	No	Pending

Again, I would like to thank you for your active civic participation. I hope the above vote history record is informative.

As a further service, we will be updating our records after the expected high turnout for the Tuesday, November 6, 2012 election. We will then send an updated vote history audit to you and your neighbors with the results.

Please be sure to continue your participation and exercise your right and responsibility to vote.

Sincerely,

STATE OF INDIANA
OFFICE OF THE INDIANA ATTORNEY GENERAL
CONSUMER PROTECTION DIVISION
302 W. WASHINGTON STREET, 5TH FLOOR • INDIANAPOLIS, IN 46204-2770
www.IndianaConsumer.com

GREG ZOELLER
INDIANA ATTORNEY GENERAL

PHONE: 317.232.6330
FAX: 317.233.4393

November 13, 2012

Secretary of State – Election Division
302 West Washington Street, Room E-204
Indianapolis, IN 46204

INDIANA ELECTION DIVISION
2012 NOV 15 AM 11:33

Re: [redacted] AG File No. [redacted]

Dear Secretary of State – Election Division:

Enclosed is a consumer complaint that our office received from the above-referenced consumer. Since it appears that your office may be in a better position to assist in this matter, we are referring it to your attention.

Indiana law requires that we request that you investigate this complaint and report to us upon your disposition of the complaint. Ind. Code § 4-6-9-4 (a) (6). The enclosed information and above-referenced request are submitted in accordance with the statute.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Allison Vetor

Allison Vetor

CONSUMER COMPLAINT FORM

Office of the Indiana Attorney General

RECEIVED
NOV 05 2012
ATTORNEY GENERAL OF IN
CONSUMER PROTECTION

To prevent delay, please be sure to complete **both sides** of this form in full. Please print clearly or type. **DO NOT** include your **Social Security Number** on this form or in any accompanying documents.

1. YOUR INFORMATION

☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐ Miss ☒ Ms. ☐ Dr.

Name [redacted]

Address [redacted]

City Versailles State IN

ZIP 47042 County Ripley

Age ☐18-24 ☐25-34 ☐35-44 ☒45-54 ☐55-64 ☐65+

Phone [redacted] Day

Are you or your spouse active military? ☐ Yes ☒ No

E-mail [redacted]

2. WHO IS YOUR COMPLAINT AGAINST?

Name/Firm Americans for Limited Government

Address 9900 Main St, Suite 303

City Fairfax State VA

ZIP 22031 County

Phone ( )

E-mail

Person you dealt with In the form of a letter mailed to our hom

3. WHEN DID TRANSACTION/INCIDENT OCCUR? Date 11/02/2012

4. WHERE DID THE TRANSACTION/INCIDENT YOU ARE COMPLAINING ABOUT TAKE PLACE? (Check box when applicable)

☐ At the firm's place of business
☒ My home
☐ Away from the firm's place of business (work, convention, etc.)
☐ Other
☐ By Mail
☐ By Internet/e-mail
☐ By telephone

5. WHAT WAS THE VERY FIRST CONTACT BETWEEN YOU AND THE FIRM?

☐ I telephoned the firm
☐ I responded to a TV/radio ad
☐ A person came to my home
☐ I received information by e-mail
☒ I received information in the mail
☐ I went to the firm's place of business
☐ I received a telephone call from the firm
☐ I responded to an offer on the Internet
☐ I responded to a printed advertisement
☐ Other

6. DO YOU CONSENT TO DISCLOSING THE FOLLOWING TO THE PUBLIC?

The nature and status of your complaint and the name of the firm?	☐ Yes	☒ No
Your name?	☐ Yes	☒ No
Your phone number?	☐ Yes	☒ No

7. WHAT WAS THE TRANSACTION FOR?

☐ My business
☒ My family/household
☐ My farm

8. HOW DID YOU PAY?

☐ Cash ☐ Credit Card ☐ Medicaid ☐ Private Insurance
☐ Check ☐ Installment Loan ☐ Medicare ☒ Other N/A

9. DID YOU SIGN ANY WRITTEN AGREEMENT? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF THE AGREEMENT. ☐ Yes ☒ No

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R

10. HAVE YOU COMPLAINED TO THE BUSINESS? (Check box when applicable) ☐ Yes ☒ No

When? Action taken?

11. WITH WHAT OTHER AGENCY HAVE YOU FILED THIS COMPLAINT? No

When? Action taken?

12. HAVE YOU CONTACTED A PRIVATE ATTORNEY? ☐ Yes ☒ No

13. HAVE YOU STARTED A COURT ACTION? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

14. HAVE YOU BEEN SUED OVER THIS ISSUE? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

15. DOLLAR AMOUNT ASSOCIATED WITH YOUR LOSS, IF ANY. $

16. PLEASE DESCRIBE YOUR COMPLAINT IN DETAIL (ATTACH ADDITIONAL PAGES IF NECESSARY)

Please attach a copy of all papers involved (order blank, warranty, credit card receipt and statement, invoice, contract or written agreement, advertisement, cancelled check, correspondence and all other related documents). Please print clearly or type. DO NOT INCLUDE YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.

A letter arrived to our home on 10/31/2012 with information about us and our neighbors voting history. Seven of our neighbors names were listed including my husbands name and they claimed to identify a VOTE HISTORY AUDIT from 2008, 2010 which indicates which neighbors voted. Number one the information is not correct and number two I do not think this is anyones business. If this is meant to encourage people to vote then I think it is a bad idea.
I want to report this to the ATTY Generals office because it is an invasion of privacy and the information is false too.

17. HOW WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR COMPLAINT RESOLVED?

Please notify this Americans for Limited Government and let them know there were consumer complaints and then notify me if there was a response from them.
I would like to know how they got our address and the surrounding neighbors addresses too.

18. CONSENT AND VERIFICATION

I affirm, under the penalties for perjury, that the foregoing representations are true. I consent to the Consumer Protection Division obtaining or releasing any information in furtherance of the disposition of this complaint. I consent to the release of information included in this complaint to other public agencies attempting to discover ongoing fraudulent patterns or practices and for the purpose of law enforcement.
I understand that I should not include my Social Security Number in any information submitted to the Consumer Protection Division. If I do provide my Social Security Number, I expressly consent to the disclosure of my Social Security Number in accordance with Indiana Code § 4-1-10-5(2).

[redacted] 11/2/2012 8:30:31 AM

Your Signature Date

WHAT WILL HAPPEN NOW? WHAT ELSE SHOULD YOU DO?

The Consumer Protection Division will send a copy of your complaint to the respondent firm or licensed professional. This office cannot disclose your complaint against a licensed professional to the public unless this office files a disciplinary action against the licensed professional. This office represents the State of Indiana and is limited in the remedies it can pursue. You may be entitled to compensation or other rights that we cannot pursue for you. In addition to filing this complaint, you may want to consider contacting a private attorney or your local small claims court.

MAIL COMPLETED FORMS TO:

Attorney General Greg Zoeller
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Government Center South, 5th floor
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Indianapolis, IN 46204
PH: 317-232-6330 • FAX: 317-233-4393
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OFFICE OF THE INDIANA ATTORNEY GENERAL
CONSUMER PROTECTION DIVISION
302 W. WASHINGTON STREET, 5TH FLOOR • INDIANAPOLIS, IN 46204-2770
www.IndianaConsumer.com

GREG ZOELLER
INDIANA ATTORNEY GENERAL

PHONE: 317.232.6330
FAX: 317.233.4393

INDIANA ELECTION DIVISION
2012 NOV 16 AM 10:54

November 15, 2012

Secretary of State – Election Division
302 West Washington Street, Room E-204
Indianapolis, IN 46204

Re: J[redacted] AG File No. [redacted]

Dear Secretary of State – Election Division:

Enclosed is a consumer complaint that our office received from the above-referenced consumer. Since it appears that your office may be in a better position to assist in this matter, we are referring it to your attention.

Indiana law requires that we request that you investigate this complaint and report to us upon your disposition of the complaint. Ind. Code § 4-6-9-4 (a) (6). The enclosed information and above-referenced request are submitted in accordance with the statute.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Allison Vetor

Allison Vetor

CONSUMER COMPLAINT FORM

Office of the Indiana Attorney General

RECEIVED
NOV 05 2012
ATTORNEY GENERAL OF INDIANA
CONSUMER PROTECTION

To prevent delay, please be sure to complete **both sides** of this form in full. Please print clearly or type. **DO NOT** include your **Social Security Number** on this form or in any accompanying documents.

1. YOUR INFORMATION

☐ Mr. ☒ Mrs. ☐ Miss ☐ Ms. ☐ Dr.

Name [redacted]

Address [redacted]

City New Albany State IN

ZIP 47150 County Floyd

Age ☐18-24 ☐25-34 ☐35-44 ☐45-54 ☐55-64 ☒65+

Phone [redacted] Day

Are you or your spouse active military? ☐ Yes ☒ No

E-mail [redacted]

2. WHO IS YOUR COMPLAINT AGAINST?

Name/Firm Americans for Limited Government

Address 9900 Main St., Suite 303

City Fairfax State VA

ZIP 22031 County ?

Phone (703) 383 0080

E-mail info@getliberty.org

Person you dealt with

3. WHEN DID TRANSACTION/INCIDENT OCCUR? I received 2 letters, one on 10-27-12 and the 2nd one on 10-31-12 Date

4. WHERE DID THE TRANSACTION/INCIDENT YOU ARE COMPLAINING ABOUT TAKE PLACE? (Check box when applicable)

- ☐ At the firm's place of business
- ☐ My home
- ☐ Away from the firm's place of business (work, convention, etc.)
- ☐ Other
- ☒ By Mail
- ☐ By Internet/e-mail
- ☐ By telephone

5. WHAT WAS THE VERY FIRST CONTACT BETWEEN YOU AND THE FIRM?

- ☐ I telephoned the firm
- ☐ I responded to a TV/radio ad
- ☐ A person came to my home
- ☐ I received information by e-mail
- ☒ I received information in the mail
- ☐ I went to the firm's place of business
- ☐ I received a telephone call from the firm
- ☐ I responded to an offer on the Internet
- ☐ I responded to a printed advertisement
- ☐ Other

6. DO YOU CONSENT TO DISCLOSING THE FOLLOWING TO THE PUBLIC?

The nature and status of your complaint and the name of the firm?	☒ Yes	☐ No
Your name?	☒ Yes	☐ No
Your phone number?	☒ Yes	☐ No

7. WHAT WAS THE TRANSACTION FOR?

- ☐ My business
- ☐ My family/household
- ☐ My farm

Personal information of neighbors' voting record.

8. HOW DID YOU PAY? N/A

- ☐ Cash
- ☐ Check
- ☐ Credit Card
- ☐ Installment Loan
- ☐ Medicaid
- ☐ Medicare
- ☐ Private Insurance
- ☐ Other

9. DID YOU SIGN ANY WRITTEN AGREEMENT? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF THE AGREEMENT. ☐ Yes ☒ No

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237	72					505-ED			-CP-

10. HAVE YOU COMPLAINED TO THE BUSINESS? (Check box when applicable) ☒ Yes ☐ No

When? I sent email to info@getliberty.org (copy is attached) Action taken? on Oct. 28, 2012

11. WITH WHAT OTHER AGENCY HAVE YOU FILED THIS COMPLAINT? None

When? Action taken?

12. HAVE YOU CONTACTED A PRIVATE ATTORNEY? ☐ Yes ☒ No

13. HAVE YOU STARTED A COURT ACTION? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

14. HAVE YOU BEEN SUED OVER THIS ISSUE? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

15. DOLLAR AMOUNT ASSOCIATED WITH YOUR LOSS, IF ANY. $ N/A

16. PLEASE DESCRIBE YOUR COMPLAINT IN DETAIL (ATTACH ADDITIONAL PAGES IF NECESSARY)

Please attach a copy of all papers involved (order blank, warranty, credit card receipt and statement, invoice, contract or written agreement, advertisement, cancelled check, correspondence and all other related documents). Please print clearly or type. DO NOT INCLUDE YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.

On Oct. 27 I received in the mail, unexpected and unsolicited, the attached copy A. I looked up the web site for Americans for Limited Government and tried to call to complain but the phone number did not connect. I emailed my complaint (copy C). I received another mailing from them on Oct. 31st. I do not want my voting record mailed to anyone else, nor do I want to know the voting records of my neighbors. I feel it is a disgusting invasion of our privacy.

17. HOW WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR COMPLAINT RESOLVED?

I would like mailing of this personal information stopped.

18. CONSENT AND VERIFICATION

I affirm, under the penalties for perjury, that the foregoing representations are true. I consent to the Consumer Protection Division obtaining or releasing any information in furtherance of the disposition of this complaint. I consent to the release of information included in this complaint to other public agencies attempting to discover ongoing fraudulent patterns or practices and for the purpose of law enforcement.

I understand that I should not include my Social Security Number in any information submitted to the Consumer Protection Division. If I do provide my Social Security Number, I expressly consent to the disclosure of my Social Security Number in accordance with Indiana Code § 4-1-10-5(2).

[redacted] 11-3-12

Your Signature Date

WHAT WILL HAPPEN NOW? WHAT ELSE SHOULD YOU DO?

The Consumer Protection Division will send a copy of your complaint to the respondent firm or licensed professional. This office cannot disclose your complaint against a licensed professional to the public unless this office files a disciplinary action against the licensed professional. This office represents the State of Indiana and is limited in the remedies it can pursue. You may be entitled to compensation or other rights that we cannot pursue for you. In addition to filing this complaint, you may want to consider contacting a private attorney or your local small claims court.

MAIL COMPLETED FORMS TO:

Attorney General Greg Zoeller
Consumer Protection Division
Government Center South, 5th floor
302 West Washington Street
Indianapolis, IN 46204
PH: 317-232-6330 • FAX: 317-233-4393
www.IndianaConsumer.com

Americans for Limited Government
9900 Main Street, Suite 303
Fairfax, VA 22031

phone # given on web page
703 - 353 - 0330

email address given on web page
info@getliberty.org

Notice Number: [redacted]
Notice Date: October 22, 2012
Voter Name: [redacted]

A

Dear Jeanne:

Thank you for your dedication to voting in past presidential elections. Our American democracy is stronger because of civic-minded citizens like you.

We have conducted an audit of public voting records in your neighborhood, and wanted to present you with findings of past civic participation in your community.

VOTE HISTORY AUDIT
November 4, 2008 - November 6, 2012

Voter Name	Street Address	Voted in 2008	Voted in 2010	Voted in 2012
[redacted]	[redacted]	Yes	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	Yes	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	Yes	Yes	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	Yes	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	Yes	Yes	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	Yes	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	Yes	No	Pending

Again, I would like to thank you for your active civic participation. I hope the above vote history record is informative.

As a further service, we will be updating our records after the expected high turnout for the Tuesday, November 6, 2012 election. We will then send an updated vote history audit to you and your neighbors with the results.

Please be sure to continue your participation and exercise your right and responsibility to vote.

Sincerely,

William A. Wilson

Americans for Limited Government
9900 Main Street, Suite 303
Fairfax, VA 22031

received 10-31-12

Notice Number: [redacted]
Notice Date: November 1, 2012
Voter Name: [redacted]

B

Dear Jeanne:

Thank you for your dedication to voting in past presidential elections. Our American democracy is stronger because of civic-minded citizens like you.

We have conducted an audit of public voting records in your neighborhood, and wanted to present you with findings of past civic participation in your community.

VOTE HISTORY AUDIT

November 4, 2008 - November 6, 2012

Voter Name	Street Address	Voted in 2008	Voted in 2010	Voted in 2012
[redacted]	[redacted]	Yes	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	Yes	Yes	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	Yes	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	No	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	Yes	Yes	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	Yes	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	Yes	No	Pending

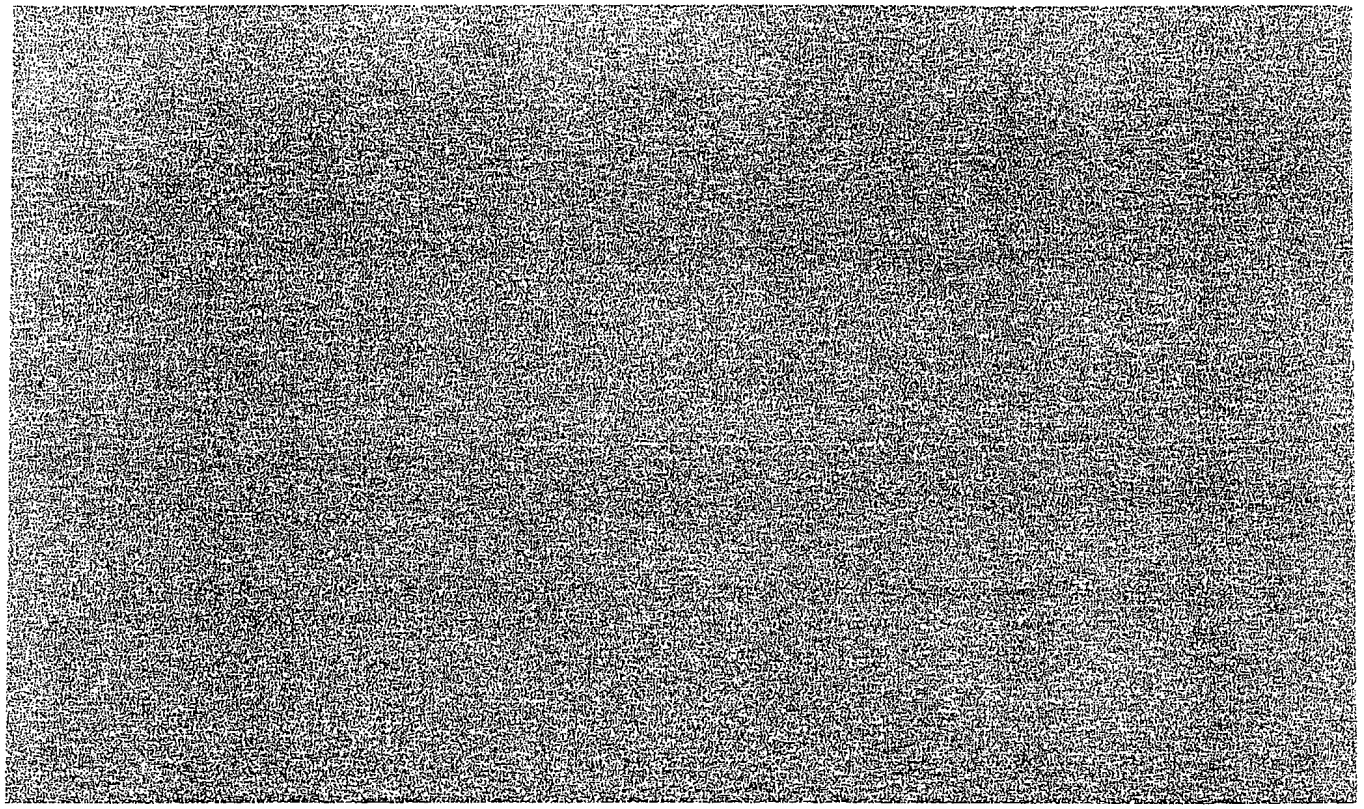
Again, I would like to thank you for your active civic participation. I hope the above vote history record is informative.

As a further service, we will be updating our records after the expected high turnout for the Tuesday, November 6, 2012 election. We will then send an updated vote history audit to you and your neighbors with the results.

Please be sure to continue your participation and exercise your right and responsibility to vote.

Sincerely,

William A. White

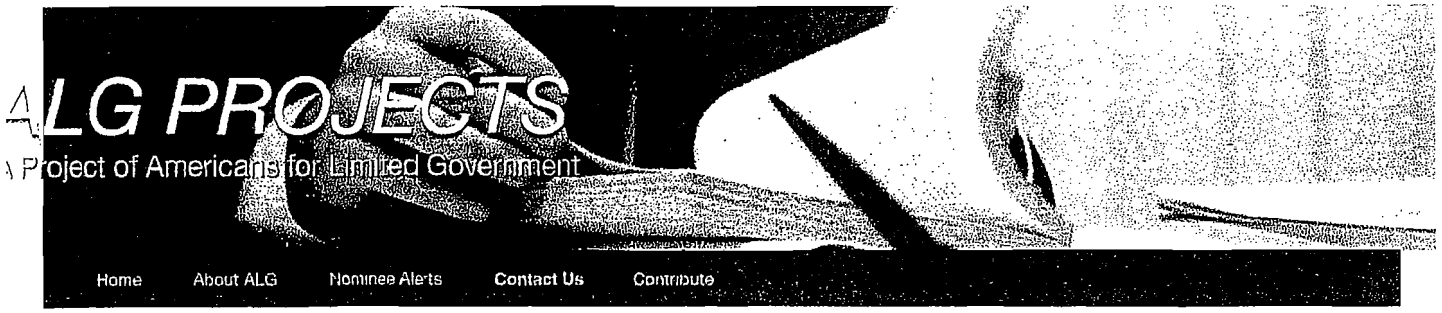


Americans for Limited Government
9900 Main Street, Suite 303
Fairfax, VA 22031

NON-PROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
LANCASTER, OH
PERMIT NO. 376

**********AUTO**5-DIGIT 47150
172234 * B * 1163644 * 1 * 2398
[redacted]
New Albany IN 47150-6252

VOTE HISTORY AUDIT ENCLOSED



Contact Us

Greg Zoeller Atty Gen. for IN
317-232-6201

Your Name (required)

[redacted]

Your Email (required)

[redacted] I sent a false email.

Subject

your lettter

Your Message

I received a letter from your organization sharing the public voting records of me and my husband and five other residents of our street. It is none of your business who votes and who does not, nor is it my business whether my neighbors vote or not. I am appalled that you would delve into my neighbors' personal business in such a way. I intend to find out if mailing out such information is legal and will file a complaint when I know to whom to address it. Please stay out of my business and take care of your own. I tried to call your phone number and was not surprised that I could not get through to speak to someone in person. I cannot tell you how disgusted I am by your tactics to shame people into voting. Please do not ever thank me again for "my active civic participation" (again, it is none of your business), and I do not want to receive your "updated vote history audit" after the 2012 election.

Send

Email +1

STATE OF INDIANA
OFFICE OF THE INDIANA ATTORNEY GENERAL
CONSUMER PROTECTION DIVISION
302 W. WASHINGTON STREET, 5TH FLOOR • INDIANAPOLIS, IN 46204-2770
www.IndianaConsumer.com

GREG ZOELLER
INDIANA ATTORNEY GENERAL

PHONE: 317.232.6330
FAX: 317.233.4393

2012 NOV 16 AM 10:54
INDIANA ELECTION DIVISION

November 15, 2012

Secretary of State – Election Division
302 West Washington Street, Room E-204
Indianapolis, IN 46204

Re: [redacted] **AG File No.** [redacted]

Dear Secretary of State – Election Division:

Enclosed is a consumer complaint that our office received from the above-referenced consumer. Since it appears that your office may be in a better position to assist in this matter, we are referring it to your attention.

Indiana law requires that we request that you investigate this complaint and report to us upon your disposition of the complaint. Ind. Code § 4-6-9-4 (a) (6). The enclosed information and above-referenced request are submitted in accordance with the statute.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Allison Vetor

Allison Vetor

CONSUMER COMPLAINT FORM

Office of the Indiana Attorney General

RECEIVED
NOV 07 2012
ATTORNEY GENERAL OF INDIANA
CONSUMER PROTECTION

To prevent delay, please be sure to complete **both sides** of this form in full. Please print clearly or type. **DO NOT** include your **Social Security Number** on this form or in any accompanying documents.

1. YOUR INFORMATION

☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☒ Miss ☐ Ms. ☐ Dr.

Name [redacted]

Address [redacted]

City Valparaiso State IN

ZIP 46385 County Porter

Age ☐ 18-24 ☐ 25-34 ☐ 35-44 ☒ 45-54 ☐ 55-64 ☐ 65+

Phone [redacted] Day

Are you or your spouse active military? ☐ Yes ☒ No

E-mail [redacted]

2. WHO IS YOUR COMPLAINT AGAINST?

Name/Firm Working American

Address 815 16th Street, NW, Suite 9000

City Washington State DC

ZIP 20006 County

Phone ( )

E-mail info@voterReportCard.org

Person you dealt with Received Postcard in Mail

3. WHEN DID TRANSACTION/INCIDENT OCCUR? Date Received Postcard in US Mail on 11/04/2012

4. WHERE DID THE TRANSACTION/INCIDENT YOU ARE COMPLAINING ABOUT TAKE PLACE? (Check box when applicable)

- ☐ At the firm's place of business
- ☒ My home
- ☐ Away from the firm's place of business (work, convention, etc.)
- ☐ Other
- ☐ By Mail
- ☐ By Internet/e-mail
- ☐ By telephone

5. WHAT WAS THE VERY FIRST CONTACT BETWEEN YOU AND THE FIRM?

- ☐ I telephoned the firm
- ☐ I responded to a TV/radio ad
- ☐ A person came to my home
- ☐ I received information by e-mail
- ☒ I received information in the mail
- ☐ I went to the firm's place of business
- ☐ I received a telephone call from the firm
- ☐ I responded to an offer on the Internet
- ☐ I responded to a printed advertisement
- ☐ Other

6. DO YOU CONSENT TO DISCLOSING THE FOLLOWING TO THE PUBLIC?

The nature and status of your complaint and the name of the firm?	☒ Yes	☐ No
Your name?	☐ Yes	☒ No
Your phone number?	☐ Yes	☒ No

7. WHAT WAS THE TRANSACTION FOR?

- ☐ My business
- ☒ My family/household
- ☐ My farm

8. HOW DID YOU PAY?

- ☐ Cash
- ☐ Check
- ☐ Credit Card
- ☐ Installment Loan
- ☐ Medicaid
- ☐ Medicare
- ☐ Private Insurance
- ☒ Other It was not a financial transaction

9. DID YOU SIGN ANY WRITTEN AGREEMENT? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF THE AGREEMENT. ☐ Yes ☒ No

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Ind	Prac	PL	MO	NL	NJ	OA	Inv.	Sec	File #
237	72					505-ED			-CP-

10. HAVE YOU COMPLAINED TO THE BUSINESS? (Check box when applicable) ☒ Yes ☐ No

When? 11/05/20123 Action taken? Have not responded

11. WITH WHAT OTHER AGENCY HAVE YOU FILED THIS COMPLAINT? No

When? Action taken?

12. HAVE YOU CONTACTED A PRIVATE ATTORNEY? ☐ Yes ☒ No

13. HAVE YOU STARTED A COURT ACTION? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

14. HAVE YOU BEEN SUED OVER THIS ISSUE? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

15. DOLLAR AMOUNT ASSOCIATED WITH YOUR LOSS, IF ANY. $

16. PLEASE DESCRIBE YOUR COMPLAINT IN DETAIL (ATTACH ADDITIONAL PAGES IF NECESSARY)

Please attach a copy of all papers involved (order blank, warranty, credit card receipt and statement, invoice, contract or written agreement, advertisement, cancelled check, correspondence and all other related documents). Please print clearly or type. DO NOT INCLUDE YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.

I received a large postcard in the mail yesterday, 11/4/2012, containing what the organization Working America proported to be my "voting record" for all the world to see.

Besides being totally innaccurate, it violates my right to privacy. I was astonished and outraged to receive that postcard entitled "[redacted] Voter Report Card." It is particularly objectionable given that postcards can be read by anyone; it is totally inaccurate; and violates my right to privacy and the confidentiality assured in the voting process.

Further, I have no idea how (or why) they have access to my voting record in the first place. I am outraged that they do, or are at least pretending that they do, as I was under the impression that voting records are confidential and cannot be made public.

Im not sure if you are the right government agency to which I should file this complaint. If you are not, please kindly direct me to the appropriate one. Either way, I would greatly appreciate hearing back from you regarding my rights and the appropriate actions I can take in this situation.

Most Sincerely,

[redacted]

17. HOW WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR COMPLAINT RESOLVED?

I would like,
1) To know from whom and how they obtained my supposed voting records,
2) If it is legal for them to do so,
3) How to get them to correct inaccuracies,and
4) Which local, state and federal govt agency oversees such things

18. CONSENT AND VERIFICATION

I affirm, under the penalties for perjury, that the foregoing representations are true. I consent to the Consumer Protection Division obtaining or releasing any information in furtherance of the disposition of this complaint. I consent to the release of information included in this complaint to other public agencies attempting to discover ongoing fraudulent patterns or practices and for the purpose of law enforcement.
I understand that I should not include my Social Security Number in any information submitted to the Consumer Protection Division. If I do provide my Social Security Number, I expressly consent to the disclosure of my Social Security Number in accordance with Indiana Code § 4-1-10-5(2).

[redacted] 11/5/2012 1:09:41 PM

Your Signature Date

WHAT WILL HAPPEN NOW? WHAT ELSE SHOULD YOU DO?

The Consumer Protection Division will send a copy of your complaint to the respondent firm or licensed professional. This office cannot disclose your complaint against a licensed professional to the public unless this office files a disciplinary action against the licensed professional. This office represents the State of Indiana and is limited in the remedies it can pursue. You may be entitled to compensation or other rights that we cannot pursue for you. In addition to filing this complaint, you may want to consider contacting a private attorney or your local small claims court.

MAIL COMPLETED FORMS TO:

Attorney General Greg Zoeller
Consumer Protection Division
Government Center South, 5th floor
302 West Washington Street
Indianapolis, IN 46204
PH: 317-232-6330 • FAX: 317-233-4393
www.IndianaConsumer.com

STATE OF INDIANA
OFFICE OF THE INDIANA ATTORNEY GENERAL
CONSUMER PROTECTION DIVISION
302 W. WASHINGTON STREET, 5TH FLOOR • INDIANAPOLIS, IN 46204-2770
www.IndianaConsumer.com

GREG ZOELLER
INDIANA ATTORNEY GENERAL

PHONE: 317.232.6330
FAX: 317.233.4393

INDIANA ELECTION DIVISION
2012 NOV 16 AM 10: 51

November 15, 2012

Secretary of State – Election Division
302 West Washington Street, Room E-204
Indianapolis, IN 46204

Re: [redacted] **AG File No.** [redacted]

Dear Secretary of State – Election Division:

Enclosed is a consumer complaint that our office received from the above-referenced consumer. Since it appears that your office may be in a better position to assist in this matter, we are referring it to your attention.

Indiana law requires that we request that you investigate this complaint and report to us upon your disposition of the complaint. Ind. Code § 4-6-9-4 (a) (6). The enclosed information and above-referenced request are submitted in accordance with the statute.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Allison Vetor

Allison Vetor

CONSUMER COMPLAINT FORM

Office of the Indiana Attorney General

RECEIVED
NOV 02 2012
ATTORNEY GENERAL OF INDIANA
CONSUMER PROTECTION

To prevent delay, please be sure to complete **both sides** of this form in full. Please print clearly or type. **DO NOT** include your **Social Security Number** on this form or in any accompanying documents.

1. YOUR INFORMATION

☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐ Miss ☒ Ms. ☐ Dr.

Name [redacted]

Address [redacted]

City Pendleton State IN

ZIP 46064 County Madison

Age ☐ 18-24 ☐ 25-34 ☒ 35-44 ☐ 45-54 ☐ 55-64 ☐ 65+

Phone [redacted] Day

Are you or your spouse active military? ☐ Yes ☒ No

E-mail [redacted]

2. WHO IS YOUR COMPLAINT AGAINST?

Name/Firm Americans for Limited Government

Address 9900 Main Street, Suite 303

City Fairfax State IN

ZIP 46064 County Madison

Phone ( )

E-mail

Person you dealt with Letter in the mail

3. WHEN DID TRANSACTION/INCIDENT OCCUR? Date 11/01/2012

4. WHERE DID THE TRANSACTION/INCIDENT YOU ARE COMPLAINING ABOUT TAKE PLACE? (Check box when applicable)

- ☐ At the firm's place of business
- ☐ My home
- ☐ Away from the firm's place of business (work, convention, etc.)
- ☐ Other
- ☒ By Mail
- ☐ By Internet/e-mail
- ☐ By telephone

5. WHAT WAS THE VERY FIRST CONTACT BETWEEN YOU AND THE FIRM?

- ☐ I telephoned the firm
- ☐ I responded to a TV/radio ad
- ☐ A person came to my home
- ☐ I received information by e-mail
- ☒ I received information in the mail
- ☐ I went to the firm's place of business
- ☐ I received a telephone call from the firm
- ☐ I responded to an offer on the Internet
- ☐ I responded to a printed advertisement
- ☐ Other

6. DO YOU CONSENT TO DISCLOSING THE FOLLOWING TO THE PUBLIC?

The nature and status of your complaint and the name of the firm?	☒ Yes	☐ No
Your name?	☐ Yes	☒ No
Your phone number?	☐ Yes	☒ No

7. WHAT WAS THE TRANSACTION FOR?

- ☐ My business
- ☒ My family/household
- ☐ My farm

8. HOW DID YOU PAY?

- ☐ Cash
- ☐ Check
- ☐ Credit Card
- ☐ Installment Loan
- ☐ Medicaid
- ☐ Medicare
- ☐ Private Insurance
- ☒ Other N/A

9. DID YOU SIGN ANY WRITTEN AGREEMENT? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF THE AGREEMENT. ☐ Yes ☒ No

For Office Use Only:

Ind	Prac	PL	MO	NL	NJ	OA	Inv.	Sec	File #
237	TL					505-E			-CP-

10. HAVE YOU COMPLAINED TO THE BUSINESS? (Check box when applicable) ☐ Yes ☒ No

When? Action taken?

11. WITH WHAT OTHER AGENCY HAVE YOU FILED THIS COMPLAINT?

When? Action taken?

12. HAVE YOU CONTACTED A PRIVATE ATTORNEY? ☐ Yes ☒ No

13. HAVE YOU STARTED A COURT ACTION? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

14. HAVE YOU BEEN SUED OVER THIS ISSUE? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

15. DOLLAR AMOUNT ASSOCIATED WITH YOUR LOSS, IF ANY. $

16. PLEASE DESCRIBE YOUR COMPLAINT IN DETAIL (ATTACH ADDITIONAL PAGES IF NECESSARY)

Please attach a copy of all papers involved (order blank, warranty, credit card receipt and statement, invoice, contract or written agreement, advertisement, cancelled check, correspondence and all other related documents). Please print clearly or type. DO NOT INCLUDE YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.

We received a "Vote History Audit" from the Americans for Limited Government organization. After opening it, we saw my husbands name ([redacted]) in addition to 6 other individuals in our neighborhood, the addresses AND "voting history" for 2008 and 2010.

Im not sure if anyone else in the neighborhood got one. However, Im sure none of us gave permission to have our name, address or voting information mailed out to others. The worst part is that it is not even completely accurate...the addresses are, but not the voting history.

It states that they conducted an audit of public voting records in our neighborhood. Fine...but I dont think it is their responsibility to personally identify any of the individuals and announce it to the rest of the neighbors.

If they wanted to send an overall statistical evaluation of residents in the neighborhood, Im fine with that. But, I feel they went too far.

I have a copy of the letter if it needs to be forwarded to you.

17. HOW WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR COMPLAINT RESOLVED?

I would like something to be done about it...make them change their marketing strategies and leave out individual voter names from mailings.

18. CONSENT AND VERIFICATION

I affirm, under the penalties for perjury, that the foregoing representations are true. I consent to the Consumer Protection Division obtaining or releasing any information in furtherance of the disposition of this complaint. I consent to the release of information included in this complaint to other public agencies attempting to discover ongoing fraudulent patterns or practices and for the purpose of law enforcement.

I understand that I should not include my Social Security Number in any information submitted to the Consumer Protection Division. If I do provide my Social Security Number, I expressly consent to the disclosure of my Social Security Number in accordance with Indiana Code § 4-1-10-5(2).

[redacted] 11/1/2012 10:43:58 AM

Your Signature Date

WHAT WILL HAPPEN NOW? WHAT ELSE SHOULD YOU DO?

The Consumer Protection Division will send a copy of your complaint to the respondent firm or licensed professional. This office cannot disclose your complaint against a licensed professional to the public unless this office files a disciplinary action against the licensed professional. This office represents the State of Indiana and is limited in the remedies it can pursue. You may be entitled to compensation or other rights that we cannot pursue for you. In addition to filing this complaint, you may want to consider contacting a private attorney or your local small claims court.

MAIL COMPLETED FORMS TO:

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www.IndianaConsumer.com

No. 27. ... STATE OF INDIANA ... 0962 P. 2

CONSUMER COMPLAINT FORM

Office of the Indiana Attorney General

INDIANA ELECTION DIVISION 2012 NOV 27 AM 11:44

RECEIVED NOV 13 2012 ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE CONSUMER PROTECTION

To prevent delay, please be sure to complete **both sides** of this form in full. Please print clearly or type. **DO NOT include your Social Security Number** on this form or in any accompanying documents.

1. YOUR INFORMATION

☐ Mr ☒ Mrs. ☐ Miss ☐ Ms. ☐ Dr.

Name [redacted]

Address [redacted]

City EVANSVILLE State IN

ZIP 47712 County VANDERBURGH

Age ☐ 18-24 ☐ 25-34 ☐ 35-44 ☐ 45-54 ☐ 55-64 ☒ 65+ 82

Phone [redacted] Day

Are you or your spouse active military? ☐ Yes ☒ No

E-mail

2. WHO IS YOUR COMPLAINT AGAINST?

Name/Firm AMERICAN FOR-LIMITED GOVERNMENT

Address 9900 MAIN ST. SUITE 303

City FAIRFAX State VA

ZIP 22031 County

Phone ( )

E-mail

Person you dealt with JUST THIS LETTER

3. WHEN DID TRANSACTION/INCIDENT OCCUR?

Date OCT-22-2012

4. WHERE DID THE TRANSACTION/INCIDENT YOU ARE COMPLAINING ABOUT TAKE PLACE? (Check box when applicable)

- ☐ At the firm's place of business
- ☐ My home
- ☐ Away from the firm's place of business (work, convention, etc.)
- ☐ Other
- ☒ By Mail
- ☐ By Internet/e-mail
- ☐ By telephone

5. WHAT WAS THE VERY FIRST CONTACT BETWEEN YOU AND THE FIRM?

- ☐ I telephoned the firm
- ☐ I responded to a TV/radio ad
- ☐ A person came to my home
- ☐ I received information by e-mail
- ☒ I received information in the mail
- ☐ I went to the firm's place of business
- ☐ I received a telephone call from the firm
- ☐ I responded to an offer on the Internet
- ☐ I responded to a printed advertisement
- ☐ Other

6. DO YOU CONSENT TO DISCLOSING THE FOLLOWING TO THE PUBLIC?

The nature and status of your complaint and the name of the firm?	☐ Yes	☒ No
Your name?	☐ Yes	☒ No
Your phone number?	☐ Yes	☒ No

7. WHAT WAS THE TRANSACTION FOR?

- ☐ My business
- ☐ My family/household
- ☐ My farm

8. HOW DID YOU PAY?

- ☐ Cash
- ☐ Check
- ☐ Credit Card
- ☐ Installment Loan
- ☐ Medicaid
- ☐ Medicare
- ☐ Private Insurance
- ☐ Other

9. DID YOU SIGN ANY WRITTEN AGREEMENT? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF THE AGREEMENT. ☐ Yes ☐ No

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Ind	Prac	PL	MO	NI	NJ	OA	Inv.	Sec	File #
737	77					SOS-ED			-CP-

Americans for Limited Government
9900 Main Street, Suite 303
Fairfax, VA 22031

INDIANA ELECTION DIVISION
2012 NOV 27 AM 11:44

Notice Number: [redacted]
Notice Date: October 22, 2012
Voter Name: [redacted]

Dear [redacted]

Thank you for your dedication to voting in past presidential elections. Our American democracy is stronger because of civic minded citizens like you.

We have conducted an audit of public voting records in your neighborhood, and wanted to present you with findings of past civic participation in your community.

VOTE HISTORY AUDIT

November 4, 2008 - November 6, 2012

Voter Name	Street Address	Voted in 2008	Voted in 2010	Voted in 2012
[redacted]	[redacted]	No	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	No	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	No	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	No	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	No	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	No	No	Pending
[redacted]	[redacted]	No	No	Pending

Again, I would like to thank you for your active civic participation. I hope the above vote history record is informative.

As a further service, we will be updating our records after the expected high turnout for the Tuesday, November 6, 2012 election. We will then send an updated vote history audit to you and your neighbors with the results.

Please be sure to continue your participation and exercise your right and responsibility to vote.

Sincerely,

William A. Wilson

No. 37. STATE OF INDIANA

Sir,

No 0962 P 5

I got this in the mail and did not like my voting record for public eyes.

Thought that was my business not everyone else. Thought it was private.

One thing that got me was [redacted] dead. Seven years ago. I got that apartment then. Others on list not here now. Let someone who's name is ~~list~~ listed on here they out and out got mad.

We Don't want an ~~of~~ Updated account. It is our business Only.

Don't think you will do much but just want an heads up on this

INDIANA ELECTION DIVISION
2012 NOV 27 AM 11:44

[redacted]

Evansville In. 47712

Ph: [redacted]

P.S. Thank you for taking the time to read this. May God Bless You.

P.S. It looks like just got to find its a little

10. HAVE YOU COMPLAINED TO THE BUSINESS? (Check box when applicable) ☐ Yes ☒ No

When? Action taken?

11. WITH WHAT OTHER AGENCY HAVE YOU FILED THIS COMPLAINT?

INDIANA ELECTION DIVISION

When? Action taken?

2012 NOV 27 AM 11:44

12. HAVE YOU CONTACTED A PRIVATE ATTORNEY? ☐ Yes ☒ No

13. HAVE YOU STARTED A COURT ACTION? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

14. HAVE YOU BEEN SUED OVER THIS ISSUE? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

15. DOLLAR AMOUNT ASSOCIATED WITH YOUR LOSS, IF ANY. $

16. PLEASE DESCRIBE YOUR COMPLAINT IN DETAIL (ATTACH ADDITIONAL PAGES IF NECESSARY)

Please attach a copy of all papers involved (order blank, warranty, credit card receipt and statement, invoice, contract or written agreement, advertisement, cancelled check, correspondence and all other related documents). Please print clearly or type. DO NOT INCLUDE YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.

17. HOW WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR COMPLAINT RESOLVED?

Just stop it. That is all we want

18. CONSENT AND VERIFICATION

I affirm, under the penalties for perjury, that the foregoing representations are true. I consent to the Consumer Protection Division obtaining or releasing any information in furtherance of the disposition of this complaint. I consent to the release of information included in this complaint to other public agencies attempting to discover ongoing fraudulent patterns or practices and for the purpose of law enforcement.
I understand that I should not include my Social Security Number in any information submitted to the Consumer Protection Division. If I do provide my Social Security Number, I expressly consent to the disclosure of my Social Security Number in accordance with Indiana Code § 4-1-10-5(2).

[redacted] 11/5/12

Your Signature Date

WHAT WILL HAPPEN NOW? WHAT ELSE SHOULD YOU DO?

The Consumer Protection Division will send a copy of your complaint to the respondent firm or licensed professional. This office cannot disclose your complaint against a licensed professional to the public unless this office files a disciplinary action against the licensed professional. This office represents the State of Indiana and is limited in the remedies it can pursue. You may be entitled to compensation or other rights that we cannot pursue for you. In addition to filing this complaint you may want to consider contacting a private attorney or your local small claims court

MAIL COMPLETED FORMS TO:

Attorney General Greg Zoeller
Consumer Protection Division
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Indianapolis, IN 46204
PH: 317-232-6330 • FAX: 317-233-4393
www.IndianaConsumer.com

STATE OF INDIANA
OFFICE OF THE INDIANA ATTORNEY GENERAL
CONSUMER PROTECTION DIVISION
GREG ZOELLER
INDIANA ATTORNEY GENERAL
302 W. WASHINGTON STREET, 5TH FLOOR • INDIANAPOLIS, IN 46204-2770
www.IndianaConsumer.com
PHONE: 317.232.6330
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INDIANA ELECTION DIVISION
2012 NOV 16 AM 10:54

November 15, 2012

Secretary of State – Election Division
302 West Washington Street, Room E-204
Indianapolis, IN 46204

Re: [redacted] AG File No: [redacted]

Dear Secretary of State – Election Division:

Enclosed is a consumer complaint that our office received from the above-referenced consumer. Since it appears that your office may be in a better position to assist in this matter, we are referring it to your attention.

Indiana law requires that we request that you investigate this complaint and report to us upon your disposition of the complaint. Ind. Code § 4-6-9-4 (a) (6). The enclosed information and above-referenced request are submitted in accordance with the statute.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Allison Vetor

Allison Vetor

CONSUMER COMPLAINT FORM

Office of the Indiana Attorney General

RECEIVED
NOV 05 2012
ATTORNEY GENERAL
CONSUMER PROTECTION
INDIANA

To prevent delay, please be sure to complete **both sides** of this form in full. Please print clearly or type. **DO NOT** include your **Social Security Number** on this form or in any accompanying documents.

1. YOUR INFORMATION

☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐ Miss ☒ Ms. ☐ Dr.

Name [redacted]

Address [redacted]

City Danville State IN

ZIP 46122 County Hendricks

Age ☐ 18-24 ☐ 25-34 ☐ 35-44 ☒ 45-54 ☐ 55-64 ☐ 65+

Phone [redacted] Day

Are you or your spouse active military? ☐ Yes ☒ No

E-mail

2. WHO IS YOUR COMPLAINT AGAINST?

Name/Firm Americans for Limited Government

Address 9900 Main Street, Suite 303

City Fairfax State VA

ZIP 22031 County

Phone ( )

E-mail

Person you dealt with

3. WHEN DID TRANSACTION/INCIDENT OCCUR? Date

4. WHERE DID THE TRANSACTION/INCIDENT YOU ARE COMPLAINING ABOUT TAKE PLACE? (Check box when applicable)

- ☐ At the firm's place of business
- ☐ My home
- ☐ Away from the firm's place of business (work, convention, etc.)
- ☐ Other
- ☒ By Mail
- ☐ By Internet/e-mail
- ☐ By telephone

5. WHAT WAS THE VERY FIRST CONTACT BETWEEN YOU AND THE FIRM?

- ☐ I telephoned the firm
- ☐ I responded to a TV/radio ad
- ☐ A person came to my home
- ☐ I received information by e-mail
- ☒ I received information in the mail
- ☐ I went to the firm's place of business
- ☐ I received a telephone call from the firm
- ☐ I responded to an offer on the Internet
- ☐ I responded to a printed advertisement
- ☐ Other

6. DO YOU CONSENT TO DISCLOSING THE FOLLOWING TO THE PUBLIC?

The nature and status of your complaint and the name of the firm?	☒ Yes	☐ No
Your name?	☐ Yes	☒ No
Your phone number?	☐ Yes	☒ No

7. WHAT WAS THE TRANSACTION FOR?

- ☐ My business
- ☒ My family/household
- ☐ My farm

8. HOW DID YOU PAY?

- ☐ Cash
- ☐ Check
- ☐ Credit Card
- ☐ Installment Loan
- ☐ Medicaid
- ☐ Medicare
- ☐ Private Insurance
- ☒ Other No $ transaction

9. DID YOU SIGN ANY WRITTEN AGREEMENT? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF THE AGREEMENT. ☐ Yes ☒ No

For Office Use Only:

Ind	Prac	PL	MO	NL	NJ	(OA)	Inv.	Sec	File #
231	72					SOS-ED			-CP-

10. HAVE YOU COMPLAINED TO THE BUSINESS? (Check box when applicable) ☒ Yes ☐ No

When? 11/2/12 Action taken? NOt yeat

11. WITH WHAT OTHER AGENCY HAVE YOU FILED THIS COMPLAINT?

When? Action taken?

12. HAVE YOU CONTACTED A PRIVATE ATTORNEY? ☐ Yes ☒ No

13. HAVE YOU STARTED A COURT ACTION? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

14. HAVE YOU BEEN SUED OVER THIS ISSUE? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

15. DOLLAR AMOUNT ASSOCIATED WITH YOUR LOSS, IF ANY. $ zero

16. PLEASE DESCRIBE YOUR COMPLAINT IN DETAIL (ATTACH ADDITIONAL PAGES IF NECESSARY)

Please attach a copy of all papers involved (order blank, warranty, credit card receipt and statement, invoice, contract or written agreement, advertisement, cancelled check, correspondence and all other related documents). Please print clearly or type. DO NOT INCLUDE YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.

Received a vote history audit in the mail with mine and my neighbors voting history. I realize this is public record, but if I want to know my neighbors history I will investigate myself. No persmission was given to publish this. What a waste of money and some information is false. Very upsetting!

17. HOW WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR COMPLAINT RESOLVED?

Have my name removed from Americans for Limited Government list. Have them put out of business for wasting money on mailings such as this.

18. CONSENT AND VERIFICATION

I affirm, under the penalties for perjury, that the foregoing representations are true. I consent to the Consumer Protection Division obtaining or releasing any information in furtherance of the disposition of this complaint. I consent to the release of information included in this complaint to other public agencies attempting to discover ongoing fraudulent patterns or practices and for the purpose of law enforcement.

I understand that I should not include my Social Security Number in any information submitted to the Consumer Protection Division. If I do provide my Social Security Number, I expressly consent to the disclosure of my Social Security Number in accordance with Indiana Code § 4-1-10-5(2).

[redacted] 11/3/2012 10:39:05 AM

Your Signature Date

WHAT WILL HAPPEN NOW? WHAT ELSE SHOULD YOU DO?

The Consumer Protection Division will send a copy of your complaint to the respondent firm or licensed professional. This office cannot disclose your complaint against a licensed professional to the public unless this office files a disciplinary action against the licensed professional. This office represents the State of Indiana and is limited in the remedies it can pursue. You may be entitled to compensation or other rights that we cannot pursue for you. In addition to filing this complaint, you may want to consider contacting a private attorney or your local small claims court.

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www.IndianaConsumer.com

GREG ZOELLER
INDIANA ATTORNEY GENERAL

PHONE: 317.232.6330
FAX: 317.233.4393

2012 NOV 16 AM 10:54
INDIANA ELECTION DIVISION

November 15, 2012

Secretary of State – Election Division
302 West Washington Street, Room E-204
Indianapolis, IN 46204

Re: [redacted] **AG File No.** [redacted]

Dear Secretary of State – Election Division:

Enclosed is a consumer complaint that our office received from the above-referenced consumer. Since it appears that your office may be in a better position to assist in this matter, we are referring it to your attention.

Indiana law requires that we request that you investigate this complaint and report to us upon your disposition of the complaint. Ind. Code § 4-6-9-4 (a) (6). The enclosed information and above-referenced request are submitted in accordance with the statute.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Ailison Vetor

Ailison Vetor

CONSUMER COMPLAINT FORM

Office of the Indiana Attorney General

RECEIVED
NOV 02 2012
ATTORNEY GENERAL OF INDIANA
CONSUMER PROTECTION

To prevent delay, please be sure to complete **both sides** of this form in full. Please print clearly or type. **DO NOT** include your **Social Security Number** on this form or in any accompanying documents.

1. YOUR INFORMATION

☒ Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐ Miss ☐ Ms. ☐ Dr.

Name [redacted]

Address [redacted]

City Indianapolis State IN

ZIP 46254 County Marion

Age ☐ 18-24 ☐ 25-34 ☐ 35-44 ☐ 45-54 ☒ 55-64 ☐ 65+

Phone [redacted] Day

Are you or your spouse active military? ☐ Yes ☒ No

E-mail [redacted]

2. WHO IS YOUR COMPLAINT AGAINST?

Name/Firm Americans for Limited Government

Address 9900 Main St
Suite 303

City Fairfax State VA

ZIP 22031 County

Phone (703) 383-0880

E-mail info@getliberty.org

Person you dealt with Phone Not Answered

3. WHEN DID TRANSACTION/INCIDENT OCCUR? Date N/A

4. WHERE DID THE TRANSACTION/INCIDENT YOU ARE COMPLAINING ABOUT TAKE PLACE? (Check box when applicable)

- ☐ At the firm's place of business
- ☐ My home
- ☐ Away from the firm's place of business (work, convention, etc.)
- ☐ Other
- ☒ By Mail
- ☐ By Internet/e-mail
- ☐ By telephone

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- ☐ I telephoned the firm
- ☐ I responded to a TV/radio ad
- ☐ A person came to my home
- ☐ I received information by e-mail
- ☒ I received information in the mail
- ☐ I went to the firm's place of business
- ☐ I received a telephone call from the firm
- ☐ I responded to an offer on the Internet
- ☐ I responded to a printed advertisement
- ☐ Other

6. DO YOU CONSENT TO DISCLOSING THE FOLLOWING TO THE PUBLIC?

The nature and status of your complaint and the name of the firm?	☒ Yes	☐ No
Your name?	☒ Yes	☐ No
Your phone number?	☐ Yes	☒ No

7. WHAT WAS THE TRANSACTION FOR?

- ☐ My business
- ☒ My family/household
- ☐ My farm

8. HOW DID YOU PAY?

- ☒ Cash
- ☐ Check
- ☐ Credit Card
- ☐ Installment Loan
- ☐ Medicaid
- ☐ Medicare
- ☐ Private Insurance
- ☐ Other I never entered into a transaction

9. DID YOU SIGN ANY WRITTEN AGREEMENT? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF THE AGREEMENT. ☐ Yes ☒ No

For Office Use Only:

Ind	Prac	PL	MO	NL	NJ	OA	Inv.	Sec	File #
237	72					505-ED			-CP-

10. HAVE YOU COMPLAINED TO THE BUSINESS? (Check box when applicable) ☒ Yes ☐ No

When? I attempted to complain today; but, they had a phone Action taken? N/A

11. WITH WHAT OTHER AGENCY HAVE YOU FILED THIS COMPLAINT? No

When? N/A Action taken? N/A

12. HAVE YOU CONTACTED A PRIVATE ATTORNEY? ☐ Yes ☒ No

13. HAVE YOU STARTED A COURT ACTION? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

14. HAVE YOU BEEN SUED OVER THIS ISSUE? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

15. DOLLAR AMOUNT ASSOCIATED WITH YOUR LOSS, IF ANY. $ None

16. PLEASE DESCRIBE YOUR COMPLAINT IN DETAIL (ATTACH ADDITIONAL PAGES IF NECESSARY)

Please attach a copy of all papers involved (order blank, warranty, credit card receipt and statement, invoice, contract or written agreement, advertisement, cancelled check, correspondence and all other related documents). Please print clearly or type. DO NOT INCLUDE YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.

I received printed document in the mail that displayed the voting history of my neighbors. It also included my wifes name, and my name. The information for me is wrong. (That really upsets me, by the way. The information is probably for my son of the same name who graduated from college 2-1/2 years ago.)

I also strongly disagree with this type of mail being subsidized (i.e. postage as a non-profit).

17. HOW WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR COMPLAINT RESOLVED?

I would like for my name, and my wifes name to be removed from the mailing list and database. I do not want my voting history presented to my neighbors.

I also would like them prohibited from using a non-profit status for mailings.

18. CONSENT AND VERIFICATION

I affirm, under the penalties for perjury, that the foregoing representations are true. I consent to the Consumer Protection Division obtaining or releasing any information in furtherance of the disposition of this complaint. I consent to the release of information included in this complaint to other public agencies attempting to discover ongoing fraudulent patterns or practices and for the purpose of law enforcement.
I understand that I should not include my Social Security Number in any information submitted to the Consumer Protection Division. If I do provide my Social Security Number, I expressly consent to the disclosure of my Social Security Number in accordance with Indiana Code § 4-1-10-5(2).

[redacted] 11/1/2012 10:51:30 AM

Your Signature Date

WHAT WILL HAPPEN NOW? WHAT ELSE SHOULD YOU DO?

The Consumer Protection Division will send a copy of your complaint to the respondent firm or licensed professional. This office cannot disclose your complaint against a licensed professional to the public unless this office files a disciplinary action against the licensed professional. This office represents the State of Indiana and is limited in the remedies it can pursue. You may be entitled to compensation or other rights that we cannot pursue for you. In addition to filing this complaint, you may want to consider contacting a private attorney or your local small claims court.

MAIL COMPLETED FORMS TO:

Attorney General Greg Zoeller
Consumer Protection Division
Government Center South, 5th floor
302 West Washington Street
Indianapolis, IN 46204
PH: 317-232-6330 • FAX: 317-233-4393
www.IndianaConsumer.com

STATE OF INDIANA
OFFICE OF THE INDIANA ATTORNEY GENERAL
CONSUMER PROTECTION DIVISION
302 W. WASHINGTON STREET, 5TH FLOOR • INDIANAPOLIS, IN 46204-2770
www.IndianaConsumer.com

GREG ZOELLER
INDIANA ATTORNEY GENERAL

PHONE: 317.232.6330
FAX: 317.233.4393

INDIANA ELECTION DIVISION
2012 NOV 16 AM 10: 54

November 15, 2012

Secretary of State – Election Division
302 West Washington Street, Room E-204
Indianapolis, IN 46204

Re: [redacted] **AG File No.** [redacted]

Dear Secretary of State – Election Division:

Enclosed is a consumer complaint that our office received from the above-referenced consumer. Since it appears that your office may be in a better position to assist in this matter, we are referring it to your attention.

Indiana law requires that we request that you investigate this complaint and report to us upon your disposition of the complaint. Ind. Code § 4-6-9-4 (a) (6). The enclosed information and above-referenced request are submitted in accordance with the statute.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Allison Vetor

Allison Vetor

CONSUMER COMPLAINT FORM

Office of the Indiana Attorney General

RECEIVED
NOV 02 2012
ATTORNEY GENERAL OF INDIANA
CONSUMER PROTECTION

To prevent delay, please be sure to complete **both sides** of this form in full. Please print clearly or type. **DO NOT** include your Social **Security Number** on this form or in any accompanying documents.

1. YOUR INFORMATION

☒ Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐ Miss ☐ Ms. ☐ Dr.

Name [redacted]

Address [redacted]

City Kendallville State IN

ZIP 46755 County Noble

Age ☐ 18-24 ☐ 25-34 ☐ 35-44 ☐ 45-54 ☒ 55-64 ☐ 65+

Phone [redacted] Day

Are you or your spouse active military? ☐ Yes ☒ No

E-mail [redacted]

2. WHO IS YOUR COMPLAINT AGAINST?

Name/Firm Americans for Limited Government

Address 9900 Main Street, Suite 303

City Fairfax State VA

ZIP 22031 County

Phone (703) 383-0880

E-mail info@getliberty.org

Person you dealt with

3. WHEN DID TRANSACTION/INCIDENT OCCUR? Date Nov 1, 2012

4. WHERE DID THE TRANSACTION/INCIDENT YOU ARE COMPLAINING ABOUT TAKE PLACE? (Check box when applicable)

- ☐ At the firm's place of business
- ☒ My home
- ☐ Away from the firm's place of business (work, convention, etc.)
- ☐ Other by mail
- ☐ By Mail
- ☐ By Internet/e-mail
- ☐ By telephone

5. WHAT WAS THE VERY FIRST CONTACT BETWEEN YOU AND THE FIRM?

- ☐ I telephoned the firm
- ☐ I responded to a TV/radio ad
- ☐ A person came to my home
- ☐ I received information by e-mail
- ☒ I received information in the mail
- ☐ I went to the firm's place of business
- ☐ I received a telephone call from the firm
- ☐ I responded to an offer on the Internet
- ☐ I responded to a printed advertisement
- ☐ Other

6. DO YOU CONSENT TO DISCLOSING THE FOLLOWING TO THE PUBLIC?

The nature and status of your complaint and the name of the firm?	☒ Yes	☐ No
Your name?	☒ Yes	☐ No
Your phone number?	☒ Yes	☐ No

7. WHAT WAS THE TRANSACTION FOR?

- ☐ My business
- ☒ My family/household
- ☐ My farm

8. HOW DID YOU PAY?

- ☐ Cash
- ☐ Check
- ☐ Credit Card
- ☐ Installment Loan
- ☐ Medicaid
- ☐ Medicare
- ☐ Private Insurance
- ☒ Other exposed my private info

9. DID YOU SIGN ANY WRITTEN AGREEMENT? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF THE AGREEMENT. ☐ Yes ☒ No

For Office Use Only:

Ind	Prac	PL	MO	NL	NJ	OA	Inv.	Sec	File #
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10. HAVE YOU COMPLAINED TO THE BUSINESS? (Check box when applicable) ☒ Yes ☐ No

When? 11/1/12 Action taken? no

11. WITH WHAT OTHER AGENCY HAVE YOU FILED THIS COMPLAINT? no

When? Action taken?

12. HAVE YOU CONTACTED A PRIVATE ATTORNEY? ☐ Yes ☒ No

13. HAVE YOU STARTED A COURT ACTION? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

14. HAVE YOU BEEN SUED OVER THIS ISSUE? IF YES, PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL COURT PAPERS. ☐ Yes ☒ No

15. DOLLAR AMOUNT ASSOCIATED WITH YOUR LOSS, IF ANY. $

16. PLEASE DESCRIBE YOUR COMPLAINT IN DETAIL (ATTACH ADDITIONAL PAGES IF NECESSARY)

Please attach a copy of all papers involved (order blank, warranty, credit card receipt and statement, invoice, contract or written agreement, advertisement, cancelled check, correspondence and all other related documents). Please print clearly or type. DO NOT INCLUDE YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.

This group sent me the history of whether my neighbors and I have voted in the last two elections. I feel this is not information for public knowledge.

17. HOW WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR COMPLAINT RESOLVED?

stop this practice please

18. CONSENT AND VERIFICATION

I affirm, under the penalties for perjury, that the foregoing representations are true. I consent to the Consumer Protection Division obtaining or releasing any information in furtherance of the disposition of this complaint. I consent to the release of information included in this complaint to other public agencies attempting to discover ongoing fraudulent patterns or practices and for the purpose of law enforcement.

I understand that I should not include my Social Security Number in any information submitted to the Consumer Protection Division. If I do provide my Social Security Number, I expressly consent to the disclosure of my Social Security Number in accordance with Indiana Code § 4-1-10-5(2).

[redacted] 11/1/2012 4:09:16 PM

Your Signature Date

WHAT WILL HAPPEN NOW? WHAT ELSE SHOULD YOU DO?

The Consumer Protection Division will send a copy of your complaint to the respondent firm or licensed professional. This office cannot disclose your complaint against a licensed professional to the public unless this office files a disciplinary action against the licensed professional. This office represents the State of Indiana and is limited in the remedies it can pursue. You may be entitled to compensation or other rights that we cannot pursue for you. In addition to filing this complaint, you may want to consider contacting a private attorney or your local small claims court.

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TRENT (C)