SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELECTIONS

REPORT ON

Voting Rights and Election Administration in the United States of America

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

“In voting is the right that is ‘preservative of all rights,’ because it empowers people to elect candidates of their choice, who will then govern and legislate to advance other rights.”

— Kristen Clarke, Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law

In 1965, following years of suppression, discrimination, protest, and a fight for equality that led to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (“Voting Rights Act”).\(^1\) The Voting Rights Act was created to address long entrenched racial discrimination in voting, “an insidious and pervasive evil which had been perpetuated in certain parts of our country through unremitting and ingenious defiance of the Constitution.”\(^2\) The Voting Rights Act protected the American people from racial discrimination in voting for nearly 50 years. In 2013, the Supreme Court of the United States (“the Court”) struck down portions of the 2006 Voting Rights Act reauthorization in Shelby County v. Holder (“Shelby County”), leaving American voters vulnerable to tactics of suppression and discrimination.\(^3\) In the aftermath of the Court’s decision, the duty of Congress remains unchanged – the Legislative Branch is entrusted with protecting the right to vote for every eligible American. This is as essential today as it was in 1965.

In North Dakota, Native Americans, this land’s first inhabitants, have been forced to obtain identification cards they would never have otherwise needed, or face being stripped of their right to vote. In advance of the 2018 election, tribes went to great lengths to ensure tribal members could vote, often producing ID cards for free, working overtime, to ensure members who did not otherwise have a home address had what they needed to vote. The resulting turnout for tribal members in the 2018 election was higher due to these efforts. However, crisis is not—nor should it be—a “get out the vote” strategy.

Less than two months after the Court struck down the preclearance provisions of the Voting Rights Act, North Carolina state legislators wasted no time passing an omnibus “monster law.” State Senator Tom Apodaca (then-Chairman of the North Carolina Senate Rules Committee) said the State did not want the “legal headaches” of preclearance if it was not necessary to determine which portions of the proposal would be subject to federal scrutiny, “so, now we can go with the full bill,” he added. He predicted an omnibus voting bill would surface in the

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Senate the next week that could go beyond voter ID to include issues such as reducing early voting, eliminating Sunday voting, and barring same-day voter registration.⁴

These are just two examples of the many egregious stories the Subcommittee on Elections heard as it convened hearings across the country examining the state of voting rights and election administration in America.

**THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELECTIONS**

At the outset of the 116th Congress, Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi and Committee on House Administration Chairperson Zoe Lofgren reconstituted the Committee on House Administration’s Subcommittee on Elections, which House Republicans eliminated six years earlier. The Subcommittee is now chaired by Congresswoman Marcia L. Fudge of Ohio. The Subcommittee planned to take Congress to the American people, engage with voters, stakeholders, officials and election administrators, and collect testimony and evidence on the state of voting rights and election administration to ensure every eligible American has equal and fair access to the ballot and the confidence their ballot is counted as cast.

The Subcommittee reviewed the landscape of voting in America post-*Shelby County* to determine whether Americans can freely cast their ballot. The Subcommittee examined arbitrary barriers that have been erected to impede access and block ballots from being counted. The wide-ranging and voluminous testimony received by the Subcommittee form the basis of this report.

Writing for the majority in the 5-4 *Shelby County* decision, Chief Justice John Roberts acknowledged that “voting discrimination still exists; no one doubts that.”⁵ However, the Court held that Section 4(b) of the Voting Rights Act was unconstitutional and the coverage formula could “no longer be used as a basis for subjecting jurisdictions to preclearance.”⁶ Chief Justice Roberts held that “nearly 50 years later things have changed dramatically. … The tests and devices that blocked ballot access have been forbidden nationwide for over 40 years.⁷… The [15th] Amendment is not designed to punish for the past; its purpose is to ensure a better future. To serve that purpose, Congress —if it is to divide the States —must identify those jurisdictions to be singled out on a basis that makes sense in light of current conditions.”⁸

To collect the contemporaneous evidence called for by the Chief Justice, the Subcommittee on Elections worked over the first 10 months of the 116th Congress, traveling across the country to meet voters where they live and vote. Hearings were held in Atlanta, Georgia; Standing Rock Sioux Reservation, North Dakota; Halifax County, North Carolina; Cleveland, Ohio; Fort Lauderdale, Florida; Birmingham, Alabama; Phoenix, Arizona; and Washington,
District of Columbia. An inaugural listening session was also held in Brownsville, Texas. The Subcommittee called more than 60 witnesses, gathered several thousand pages of testimony, documents, and transcripts, and hours of oral testimony were delivered before Members of the Subcommittee.

The Subcommittee heard testimony describing polling place closures; frequent polling place movements; cutbacks and restrictions on early voting; voter ID requirements that disenfranchise targeted populations; purges of otherwise eligible voters from the registration rolls; the enormous expense of enforcing the Voting Rights Act through Section 2 litigation; the disenfranchisement of millions of formerly incarcerated Americans; and a lack of access to multilingual ballots and assistance, among the many voter suppressive laws implemented by states post-Shelby County. The Subcommittee heard a common refrain across the country that poverty and a lack of access to adequate transportation are significant barriers to voting that, when coupled with state-sponsored voter suppression, can lead to a complete deprivation of the franchise.

The Subcommittee’s work took place in six states formerly covered, partially or completely, by the Section 4(b) formula and Section 5 preclearance provisions of the Voting Rights Act, and two states that were never covered. The Subcommittee visited states where there had been reports of barriers to voting in the years since Shelby County to get a sense of how Congress can help every American exercise his or her right to vote. For example, North Dakota and Ohio were never required to preclear their voting changes with the Department of Justice. As the Subcommittee found, this does not render the state’s voters immune to voter suppression and election administration issues.

In North Dakota, Members heard testimony on issues unique to the Native American communities. The North Dakota legislature passed a voter ID law that disproportionately impacted Native Americans, effectively creating a poll tax and forcing voters to get IDs they would not otherwise need. The North Dakota field hearing also included witnesses and testimony regarding issues in South Dakota, which was a partially covered state under the Voting Rights Act.9

Ohio was recently a progressive voting state, after correcting issues from the 2004 election that left voters “effectively disenfranchised” in the words of one court.10 The state implemented 35 days of in-person early voting and effectively created a week of early, same-date voter registration, dubbed “Golden Week.” In 2014, Ohio changed course, reducing early voting hours and days, eliminating Golden Week, and reducing early voting locations, all while constantly altering the rules and procedures around voting and implementing an aggressive voter purge system.

The hearings conducted by the Subcommittee on Elections, detailed in this report, show the right to vote is not yet shared equally among all Americans. As a nation, we have made significant progress, but it is apparent more remains to be achieved before America truly

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10  See Ohio State Conference of the NAACP et al v. Husted et. al., 786 F.3d 524, 531 (6th Cir. 2014).
becomes the democracy she strives to be. The right to vote is fundamental to American democracy, yet our country has struggled to provide full, free, and fair access to the ballot box to all her citizens. As we see with each passing election, the struggle is far from over, and matters have too often worsened since Shelby County. Since then, voters have gone to the polls without the full protection of the Voting Rights Act for three federal elections, with a fourth rapidly approaching.

**FINDINGS**

During the field hearings, the Subcommittee heard testimony from lawyers, advocates, elected officials, tribal officials, and voters about the array of tactics used to suppress the votes of targeted communities. Some are more overt than others, but all have the same effect of erecting barriers that impede the free exercise of the right to vote.

Chapter One of this report outlines the state of voting rights and access to the ballot before the Court significantly undermined the Voting Rights Act in Shelby County. On March 7, 1965, Americans were forced to confront the vicious and persistent reality of racially-motivated voter discrimination. On Bloody Sunday, marchers on the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama were attacked with clubs, whips, and tear gas by state troopers and local lawmen on their 54-mile journey to Montgomery to call attention to the Black struggle for full and equal voting rights. Shortly after Selma, President Lyndon B. Johnson called on Congress to act.

On August 6, 1965, the Voting Rights Act was signed into law, 95 years after the 15th Amendment first granted Black men the right to vote and 45 years after the 19th Amendment granted women the right to vote. Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act applied a nationwide ban on the denial or abridgment of the right to vote based on race or color, and was later amended to include language minorities.\(^1\) Section 4(b) became known as the “coverage formula,” setting forth the criteria for determining which states and localities were covered under the

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preclearance provisions of Section 5.\textsuperscript{12} Sections 4(e) and 4(f)(4), along with portions of Section 2, ensure access for limited-English proficiency voters.\textsuperscript{13} Section 5, the “preclearance” provision, required states with a history of discrimination in voting to submit all voting changes for approval by the federal government or judiciary to determine whether they would be discriminatory prior to implementation.\textsuperscript{14}

Under Sections 4(b) and 5, Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia were all covered in their entirety. California, Florida, New York, North Carolina, South Dakota, and Michigan each had counties and townships covered under the Voting Rights Act, but were not wholly covered.

Initially scheduled to expire in 1970, Congress voted to amend and expand the Voting Rights Act five times: in 1970, 1975, 1982, 1992, and 2006. The Fannie Lou Hamer, Rosa Parks, and Coretta Scott King Voting Rights Act Reauthorization and Amendments Act of 2006 passed the House overwhelmingly, the Senate unanimously, and was signed into law by President George W. Bush, extending the Voting Rights Act until 2032.\textsuperscript{15}

During the time preclearance was in effect, the Department of Justice reviewed thousands of voting changes, objecting to hundreds that would have a discriminatory effect and limited access to the vote had they been implemented.\textsuperscript{16} According to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (“USCCR”) 2018 Minority Voting Report, from 2006-2013, the Department of Justice issued 30 objections to voting changes. Furthermore, the Department of Justice sent 144 letters informing jurisdictions that the information provided in their submission was insufficient and the Attorney General required more information.\textsuperscript{17} Testimony heard by the USCCR and the Subcommittee on Elections illustrated how the process forced jurisdictions to rethink their changes and amend proposals that would have been discriminatory.\textsuperscript{18}

In 2013, Section 4(b) of the Voting Rights Act was successfully challenged in \textit{Shelby County}. The Court’s decision struck down Section 4(b) as unconstitutional, effectively rendering Section 5’s preclearance requirements obsolete and undermining critical enforcement provisions of the Voting Rights Act. Congress has since failed to enact legislation restoring the necessary protections to ensure every American can access the ballot without discrimination and undue barriers. The struggle for free and fair access to the right to vote continues. The poll taxes and literacy tests of pre-1966 may be gone, but without the full protection of Sections 4(b) and 5 of the Voting Rights Act, the nation has seen the development of a new generation of poll taxes and discriminatory tactics.


\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Id.}

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Id.} at p. 37.


\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Id.} at p. 245.
Chapter Two of this report explores how undermining the Voting Rights Act has made casting a ballot more difficult. The various sections of this chapter cover overt tactics of voter suppression, the more subtle tactics that lead to suppression, and a new generation of voter suppression. This chapter explores the most common voter suppression tactics discussed during the Subcommittee’s field hearings, many of which have become more pervasive post-Shelby County, as there is no longer any check on these practices.

While the evidence collected by the Subcommittee shows many legacy voter suppression tactics are still pervasive, a new wave of surreptitious tactics has also emerged. To suppress the vote, states have aggressively purged otherwise eligible voters from the voter registration rolls, made cuts to early voting and same-day registration, moved, closed, or consolidated polling places without adequate notice to voters, required exact name or signature match, engaged in discriminatory gerrymandering, and restricted language access and assistance, among other devices. Some of these tactics could be viewed as issues of election administration, and while that may be accurate, when combined with other insidious measures or when allowed to persist without consideration for their discriminatory impact, these changes undeniably result in voter suppression.

Except for North Dakota, which does not have voter registration, Members of the Subcommittee heard evidence of states purging otherwise eligible voters from the voter rolls. Time and again, purging voters from the registration rolls is billed as “list maintenance” and a necessary measure to combat “voter fraud.” However, there is no credible evidence of voter fraud in American elections. Nevertheless, a 2018 study by the Brennan Center for Justice (“Brennan Center”) found that between 2014 and 2016, states purged more than 16 million voters from the rolls.19 An updated analysis found that at least 17 million voters were purged nationwide between 2016 and 2018.20

Persistent cutbacks and restrictions to early voting opportunities result in longer lines and wait times on Election Day. These cutbacks also disenfranchise those who cannot make it to the polls. Voters who work hourly jobs cannot take multiple hours

![Figure 2: Lines of voters waiting outside the Cuyahoga County Board of Elections, Cleveland, Ohio, to cast their ballot on Election Day in 2016; provided by Inajo Davis Chappell at the Ohio Field Hearing.](image-url)

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off on a workday to stand in line to vote. Additionally, signature match and exact name match requirements can disenfranchise voters, sometimes without their knowledge. In Florida, reports during the 2018 election demonstrated that voters’ ballots were rejected for failing to match signatures without any notification sent to voters, providing no opportunity for the voter to correct the signature or contest the rejection.21 In Georgia, thousands of voter registrations were put on hold because the name on the registration form did not exactly match specific government records.22

Laws requiring voters to show specific forms of ID have, unfortunately, become a common voter suppression tactic. In nearly every state, the Subcommittee heard testimony regarding issues with state-imposed voter ID laws. In Texas, North Dakota, and Alabama, witnesses testified that voter IDs are financially burdensome, disproportionately impact minority voters, and effectively impose a poll tax.23 In North Carolina, the state’s attempt to implement a voter ID law was struck down. Subsequently, voter ID was placed on the ballot as a measure and passed as a state constitutional amendment.24 The state legislature passed implementing legislation and subsequently overrode the Governor’s veto. The law is currently being challenged in court but remains in effect for the 2020 election.25

Another obstacle is lack of access to multi-lingual ballots, even when required under the Voting Rights Act, as well as assistance at the polls for those who are not proficient in English. In August 2018, a group of voting rights advocacy organizations sued the Florida Secretary of State and the Supervisors of Elections in 32 Florida counties for violating the Voting Rights Act’s requirement to provide bilingual voting materials and assistance for Spanish-speaking U.S. citizens.26

Finally, the Subcommittee heard testimony at every field hearing describing how reactive litigation under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act is prohibitively expensive, lengthy, and ineffective at combating voter disenfranchisement. In Texas, Georgia, and North Carolina specifically, the Subcommittee heard testimony describing how the loss of preclearance created an environment in which litigators and stakeholders are forced to expend significant resources to play what was described as a “whack-a-mole” defense against persistent, discriminatory voting changes.27 Moreover, it is now nearly impossible to know all the voting changes made by states and monitor their potential discriminatory effect without the benefit of Section 5 preclearance. In North Carolina, USCCR Vice-Chair Patricia Timmons-Goodson

testified there is no longer a database of the changes made in the most at-risk jurisdictions, making it much more difficult to track, combat, and evaluate the impact of changes made to voting laws.28

Chapter Three focuses on issues that particularly affect Native American voters.

North Dakota is unique for being the only state with no voter registration – a citizen may simply arrive at the polls on Election Day and cast a ballot.

In 2013, North Dakota required voter IDs to contain the voter’s residential address, and expressly excluded Post Office Box numbers as an acceptable form of address. This law, and specifically the residential address requirement, has a disproportionately negative impact on Native American voters.29

While the State of North Dakota claims tribal IDs qualify under its law, most tribal IDs do not include a residential address. This is due, in part, to the fact that the United States Postal Service does not provide residential delivery in these rural Native American communities, forcing most tribal members to rely on a Post Office Box instead. If a tribal ID has an address, it is typically the Post Office Box, which does not satisfy North Dakota’s restrictive voter ID law. Further, Native Americans as a group are disproportionately homeless and – due to overcrowding in homes, the prevalence of transience, and inconsistent addresses – identifying a consistent, accurate address for an ID remains a challenge.30

The voter ID law effectively created a poll tax on Native American voters. A tribal ID generally comes at a fee to cover the costs of printing and provide income for the Tribe. Alysia LaCounte, General Counsel for the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, testified that the unemployment rate on the Turtle Mountain Reservation hovers near 70 percent: “$15 for an ID is milk and bread for a week for a poor family.”31 Many North Dakota Tribes waived these fees so their members could vote in the 2018 midterm election. This equated to an

unfunded mandate on the Tribes despite their status as sovereign entities with a trust and treaty relationship with the federal government, not the state.32

In Arizona, tribal leaders and advocates attested to the difficulties tribal members face when voting on reservations. Rural reservation voters often do not have traditional mailing addresses, creating difficulties in registering to vote, receiving and returning mail-in ballots, and accessing consolidated polling locations when unsure of where to vote. Additionally, access to properly translated voting materials for Native-language speaking voters, as well as proper assistance at the polls, poses a challenge for Native voters. Since Shelby County, the state of Arizona has closed hundreds of polling locations, moving toward vote-by-mail and voting centers, which has significantly impacted Native American voters given their heavy reliance on Post Office Boxes, long distances to mail services, and the demonstrated cultural significance of in-person voting on Election Day.33

Chapter Four examines how the administration of elections can be improved to ensure that all eligible voters are able to cast their ballots.

General election administration issues existed prior to the Shelby County decision, but they are also barriers to voting, especially when compounded with the suppressive, discriminatory tactics deployed in states across the country. A lack of compliance with the National Voter Registration Act (“NVRA”) inhibits voters’ ability to register to vote. Inconsistent poll worker training and lack of adequate resources can lead to erratic enforcement of voting laws, disenfranchise voters, and lead to the overuse of provisional ballots. Proper poll worker training can make the difference between a voter being denied access to a ballot, casting a provisional ballot, or being turned away completely. Provisional ballots do serve a purpose, giving voters an alternative if prevented from casting a traditional ballot, but they can also disenfranchise voters when misused.

Several states have attempted to force voters to provide proof of citizenship before they are allowed to register to vote. Alabama is one of four states that have attempted to require documentary proof of citizenship when registering to vote, as have Arizona, Kansas, and Georgia. Generally, a sworn statement is considered sufficient to prove citizenship. In Arizona, the state’s insistence on requiring documentary proof of citizenship has led to a two-tiered registration system after the Court said states could not require proof of citizenship on the federal voter registration form. An ongoing federal lawsuit has partially blocked the implementation of the unilateral policy decision made by then-Election Assistance Commission (“EAC”) Executive Director Brian Newby allowing Alabama, Georgia, and Kansas to require applicants using the federal voter registration form to provide documentary proof of citizenship.34


Millions of Americans are disenfranchised after states strip them of their right to vote following a felony conviction. The Subcommittee heard testimony at multiple hearings about barriers to re-enfranchisement for formerly incarcerated individuals. In various states and D.C., witnesses testified that requiring repayment of fines and fees before re-enfranchisement was a significant burden on low-income and minority Americans. The full impact of efforts to roll back Florida’s restoration of voting rights is not yet known, but a report in the Sun Sentinel found that Florida’s new law could cost formerly incarcerated persons with a felony conviction more than $1 billion in past fines and fees in just three South Florida counties to regain their right to vote. Mandating otherwise eligible Americans pay all fines and fees before regaining their right to vote, a right they never constitutionally lost, is effectively a modern-day poll tax.

The 2016 and 2018 elections opened a new frontier of voter suppression – the dissemination of misinformation and disinformation by both foreign and domestic actors specifically targeting minority voters to sow division and depress turnout. A bipartisan report by the Senate Intelligence Committee found the Russian Internet Research Agency’s social media influence campaign during the 2016 election made an extraordinary effort to target Black Americans, using a variety of tactics to suppress Democratic turnout on an array of social media platforms. The use of fake accounts and bots to spread false information continues and remains a concern for upcoming elections.

The increasing frequency and intensity of natural disasters require effective climate disaster responses to ensure voters displaced by these events are not disenfranchised because of missed voter registration deadlines or polling locations moved due to damage. Finally, conflicts of interest arising from candidates serving as both arbiter and candidate has occurred in multiple elections and raises questions of voter confidence in the process.

**CONCLUSION**

The federal government has a responsibility to protect the right to vote of every eligible American. Congress must take full stock of the evidence before it, acknowledge widespread voter fraud does not exist, recognize the barriers preventing our constituents from voting, and act to remove them. This report details the Subcommittee’s findings to enable Congress to move forward in ensuring the unimpeded right to vote for all Americans.

The right to vote is at the core of what it means to participate in our democracy, and it must be protected.

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CHAPTER ONE

Voting Rights in America Before Shelby County v. Holder (2013)

AMERICA'S FOUNDING

At her founding, America claimed a commitment to equality. Yet in practice, not all men, nor women, were treated equally. In declaring independence from the British Crown in 1776, the founders wrote:

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed…”

For more than two centuries, America has struggled to achieve racial equality. During the writing of the Constitution in 1787, the practice of slavery was widespread in many parts of America and would persist for nearly 80 years. During the first apportionment for the House of Representatives, while indentured servants were counted as whole persons, enslaved people were each counted as three-fifths of a person, and “Indians not taxed” were not counted.

In 1857, the Court held in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* that, even if enslaved people were freed, the formerly enslaved and their descendants were each legally three-fifths of a person and not to be recognized as citizens. On January 1, 1863, as the Civil War raged on, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, declaring “that all persons held as slaves” in the rebelling states, “are, and henceforward shall be free.” However, the Proclamation only


“In the opinion of the court, the legislation and histories of the times, and the language used in the Declaration of Independence, show, that neither the class of persons who had been imported as slaves, nor their descendants, whether they had become free or not, were then acknowledged as a part of the people, nor intended to be included in the general words used in that memorable instrument.”


“That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.”
freed those enslaved persons held in states that had seceded from the Union, leaving enslaved those living in border states.42

Slavery was abolished nationwide in 1865, with the passage and ratification of the 13th Amendment, though other vestiges of slavery persisted. In 1868, the 14th Amendment established that all persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens and forbade states from denying any person due process or equal protection under the law.44 The 15th Amendment, ratified in 1870, guaranteed all United States citizens the right to vote regardless of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude,” and gave Congress the power to enforce the amendment through appropriate legislation.46 However, the 15th Amendment did not guarantee the right to vote based on gender. Collectively, the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments are known as the “Reconstruction Amendments.”

As Black voter registration and participation soared in the post-Civil War Reconstruction Era, efforts to dampen the effects of the Reconstruction Amendments began, resulting in a backlash that would limit access to voting for Black Americans for decades.

Other minority groups also faced restrictions to their citizenship and voting rights. In 1884, the Court held in *Elk v. Wilkins* that the 14th Amendment did not provide citizenship to Native Americans.47 Not until 1924, with the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act, did Native Americans gain full citizenship and voting rights without impairing the right to remain a member of their tribe.48 As late as 1948, Arizona and New Mexico had state laws expressly barring many Native Americans from voting.49 In 1962, Utah became the last state to remove formal barriers and guarantee voting rights for Native American peoples.50 As detailed in this report, Native Americans still face discrimination and barriers to freely exercising their right to vote.

The United States government has also systematically denied citizenship to Asian Americans. Not until 1898, with the Court’s decision in *United States v. Wong Kim Ark*, was it made clear

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43 U.S. Const. amend. XIII, sec. 1.
   “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.”
44 U.S. Const. amend. XIV, sec. 1.
   “All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.”
45 U.S. Const. amend. XV, sec. 1.
   “The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”
46 *Id.* at sec. 2.
   “The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.”
47 *Elk v. Wilkins*, 112 U.S. 94 (1884).
48 Indian Citizenship Act, Pub. L. No. 68-175, 43 Stat. 253, authorized the Secretary of the Interior to issue certificates of citizenship to Indians.
50 *Id.*
that children of non-White immigrants were entitled to birthright citizenship.\footnote{U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, An Assessment of Minority Voting Rights Access in the United States, 2018 Statutory Report (Sept. 2018) at p. 17, citing United States v. Wong Kim Ark, 169 U.S. 649, 705 (1884).} In the 1920s, the Court held in two cases that Asian immigrants were not “free White people” and therefore ineligible for naturalized citizenship.\footnote{Terry Ao Minnis and Mee Moua, 50 Years of the Voting Rights Act: The Asian American Perspective, Asian Americans Advancing Justice | AAJC (Aug. 4, 2015), https://www.advancingjustice-aajc.org/sites/default/files/2016-09/50-years-of-VRA.pdf.} Not until the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943 and the passage of the McCarran-Walter Act in 1952 were all Asian Americans granted the right to become citizens and therefore eligible to vote.\footnote{Id.}

Women also faced restrictions to their citizenship and voting rights. Women did not gain the right to vote until 1920, with the ratification of the 19th Amendment.\footnote{U.S. Const. amend. XIX, sec. 1.} However, ratification did not fully extend that right to all women. Native American women did not have citizenship, nor did many Asian women, and Black women still faced post-Reconstruction, Jim Crow Era discrimination at the polls.

To this day, more than 4.4 million residents of the U.S. Territories and the District of Columbia still do not have full voting rights and representation equal to that of their counterparts living in the 50 states.\footnote{Aaron Stockelberg and Chiqui Esteban, More than 4 million Americans don’t have anyone to vote for them in Congress, The Washington Post (Sept. 28, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/national/fair-representation/?utm_term=.40b8e64885f8.} Residents of the U.S. Virgin Islands (“USVI”), the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (“CNMI”) (collectively “the Territories”), along with the District of Columbia (“D.C.”), can each select one Delegate (or in the case of Puerto Rico, the Resident Commissioner) to send to the House of Representatives. However, that Delegate or Resident Commissioner does not have the same voting privileges in the House of Representatives as other Members of Congress, and their constituents do not have any representation in the Senate. Together, the Territories and D.C. have a combined population nearly equal to that of Delaware, South Dakota, North Dakota, Alaska, Vermont, and Wyoming.\footnote{Id.} Those states have a combined six Members of Congress and 12 Senators, while in contrast the Territories and D.C. have no voting representation in Congress. In 1961, the 23rd Amendment gave D.C. residents the right to vote for President and Vice President.\footnote{U.S. Const. amend. XXIII.} Residents of the Territories can still only vote for President and Vice President in the primary election, not in the general election.
POST-CIVIL WAR RECONSTRUCTION AND THE RISE OF THE JIM CROW ERA

Following the Civil War, America entered what became known as the “Reconstruction Era.” From 1865 to 1877, the country attempted to address the inequities of slavery and its legacy while reuniting with the 11 states that had seceded from the Union. Passage of the Reconstruction Amendments paved the way for the first Black Members of Congress to take their seats in 1870.

Hiram Rhodes Revels was elected to fill a vacant Senate seat from Mississippi by the state Senate and Joseph H. Rainey was elected to fill a vacant seat in the House of Representatives in the South Carolina delegation. Black officials were elected at all levels of government and began to be appointed to federal positions, including as ambassadors, Census officials, customs appointments, U.S. Marshals and Treasury agents, and more. In many former Confederate states, Black officeholders were elected in large numbers during the Reconstruction period, including: Alabama (167), Georgia (108), Louisiana (210), Mississippi (226), North Carolina (180), and South Carolina (316).

The Reconstruction Amendments led to Black voter registration rates that surpassed White registration rates in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Mississippi. In Alabama and Georgia, Black citizens were nearly 40 percent of all registered voters. In the 1868 presidential election, more than 700,000 Black citizens voted for the first time. As more Black Americans gained access to the franchise, a more representative government began to take shape.

This exercise of power and voting freedom did not go unchallenged. In 1866, President Andrew Johnson wrote, “This is a country for White men, and by God, as long as I am President, it shall be a government for White men.” The Ku Klux Klan (“KKK”), a White supremacist terrorist organization, was founded in Tennessee in 1866 and soon embarked on a “reign of terror” across the South, including lynchings, bombings, and assassinations of

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   “In many of the former Confederate states, hundreds of black officeholders were elected in the Reconstruction period, including Alabama (167), Georgia (108), Louisiana (210), Mississippi (226), North Carolina (180), and South Carolina (316).”
63 Id.
64 Id.
political leaders. The KKK was not the only White supremacist organization formed at the time, and horrific violence against Black Americans spread at a shocking rate.

White supremacist organizations are far from a relic of the past. The Southern Poverty Law Center (“SPLC”) tracks more than 1,600 extremist groups operating across the country. According to their “Hate Map,” there were 1,020 hate groups operating in the United States in 2018. This list includes many of the hate groups, individuals, and symbols present at the deadly Charlottesville, Virginia White supremacist rally in August 2017.

Reconstruction came to an end in 1877. Following the disputed presidential election of 1876 and the Compromise of 1877, the government removed the remaining federal troops from the South. Once federal oversight was removed, southern legislatures began passing laws that institutionalized racial segregation and racial discrimination that suppressed the voting rights of minorities, solidifying White dominance in the political structure, and giving rise to what would become known as the Jim Crow Era.

States, predominantly southern, organized state constitutional conventions with the express intent of enacting policies that would prevent Black Americans from voting. Operating without federal involvement, Mississippi led the way with a new state constitution enacted in 1890. Although the 15th Amendment did not allow for direct disenfranchisement, Mississippi enacted a discriminatory poll tax that disproportionately burdened Black Americans, as well as a literacy test requiring those seeking to register to vote to read a portion of the state constitution and explain it, subject to the discretion of the county clerk, who was nearly, if not always, White. The barriers were not limited to poll taxes and literacy tests. South Carolina followed with a constitutional convention in 1895 that adopted a two-year residence requirement, a poll tax, a literacy test, or ownership of property worth $300, and

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67 Kevin J. Coleman, The Voting Rights Act of 1965: Background and Overview, CRS Report R43626 (updated July 20, 2015) at p. 7. “In one Louisiana parish, a mob destroyed the Republican newspaper and drove the editor out of town before turning on the local Black population and killing 200. A local sheriff in Camilla, Georgia, led an armed group of 400 Whites to attack a Black election parade and then track down and kill many who had fled to the countryside. In Louisiana alone in the presidential election year of 1868, an estimated 1,081 persons, most of them Black, were killed by state Democrats. The number of Blacks killed in southern cities was likewise shocking: 46 in Memphis and 34 in New Orleans in 1866, 25-30 in Meridian, Mississippi, and 34 in Vicksburg in 1875, and 105 in Colfax, Louisiana on Easter Sunday, 1873.”
71 Kevin J. Coleman, The Voting Rights Act of 1965: Background and Overview, CRS Report R43626 (updated July 20, 2015) at p. 8-9 (see Table 2 in source report).
the disqualification of convicts. In the former Confederacy, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia enacted similar barriers.

The state-adopted literacy tests disproportionately disenfranchised Black Americans. For example, at the time these tests were being implemented, over 70 percent of Black citizens were illiterate, compared to less than 20 percent of White citizens. However, states exempted prior (White) registrants and veterans of the Civil War and other wars from literacy test requirements. Black voters also faced significant violence and overt intimidation when attempting to register and vote.

The effects were significant. For example, in Alabama, only 3,000 of the 181,471 voting-age Black males were registered in 1900. In Louisiana, there were 130,344 Black citizens registered to vote in 1896 – that number dropped to 5,320 by 1900.

Black Americans were not the only targets of Jim Crow Era voter suppression during this period. Native Americans and Asian Americans were also denied equal voting rights. Additionally, in New York, newly arriving citizens from Puerto Rico had their voting rights hindered by complex English-literacy tests.

Some progress was made through litigation. In 1944, the Court invalidated the Texas “White primary” in Smith v. Allwright. White primaries were primary elections in the South where only White voters could vote. Because of the power of the primary process, White primaries essentially prevented Black voters from having any significant effect on elections despite their ability to vote in the general election.

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75 Id. at p. 8-9.
78 Id.
79 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, An Assessment of Minority Voting Rights Access in the United States, 2018 Statutory Report (Sept. 2018) at p. 18, citing Juan Cartagena, Latinos and Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act: Beyond Black and White, 18 Nat’l Black L.J. 201, 206 (2005); see also Voting Rights: Hearings on H.R. Doc. No. 6400 Before Subcomm. No. 5 of the House Comm. on the Judiciary, 89th Cong., 1st Sess. 508-17 (1965) (statement of U.S. Rep. Herman Badillo, Judge Vidal Santaella, and community activist Gilberto Gerena-Valentín); see also United States v. Cty. Bd. of Elections of Monroe Cty., 248 F. Supp. 316, 317 (W.D.N.Y. 1965) (invalidating New York State’s English-language literacy test, holding Section 4(e) of the Voting Rights Act prohibiting the condition of Puerto Rican’s voting rights on speaking English to be constitutional, and noting that though the Voting Rights Act was “[b]orn out of the civil rights problems currently plaguing the [S]outh ... this Act ... was not designed to remedy deprivations of the franchise in only one section of the country. Rather, it was devised to eliminate second-class citizenship wherever present.”).
80 For more case law see also South Carolina v. Katzenbach, 383 U.S. 301 (1966), citing
82 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, An Assessment of Minority Voting Rights Access in the United States, 2018 Statutory Report (Sept. 2018) at p. 19, citing 321 U.S. 649, 664 (1944); see also O. Douglas Weeks, The White Primary: 1944-1948, 42 AM. POL. SCI. REV. 500-10, n.3 (1948) (noting that white primaries were primary elections in the South where only White voters were allowed to vote.)
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Some states, including Texas, actively defied federal court orders. The Court had repeatedly held that Texas’ all-White primary violated the 14th Amendment. The Court first ruled the primary violated the Constitution in 1927 and then again in 1932. The Court was confronted by Texas’ actions again in 1953 after the state tried to circumvent the 15th Amendment with another variant of the all-White primary.83

The courts proved insufficient in combating discrimination and enforcing the right to vote.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ERA AND THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

The voting barriers erected in the late-19th and early 20th centuries demonstrated that protections were needed to ensure full access to the right to vote for all Americans. As discriminatory laws were struck down through litigation, new discriminatory laws were implemented to take their place. Federal action proved to be the only remedy.

The Civil Rights Movement began in the 1950s. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 sought to protect voting rights, giving the Attorney General authority to sue local election officials in jurisdictions with a pattern of discriminating against voters and secure preventative relief.84 This removed the burden from private individuals to sue at their own expense and outlawed intimidation, threats, or coercion that interfered with the right to vote.85

This law proved insufficient. Reports from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, established under the 1957 Civil Rights Act, documented the persistent discrimination faced by Black voters.86 The Commission held a hearing in Jackson, Mississippi, where it found Black voter registration was declining and outlined the barriers, such as poll taxes and registration tests, experienced by Black voters.87

Since the Democratic Party dominated Southern elections, positions were often determined during the party’s primary elections since there was little chance of a Democrat losing in a general election. Therefore, White primaries essentially prevented Black voters from having any significant effect on elections in the South despite their ability to vote in general elections.)


“Whenever any person has engaged or there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about to engage in any act or practice which would deprive any other person of any right or privilege secured by subsection (a) or (b), the Attorney General may institute for the United States or in the name of the United States, a civil action or other proper proceeding for preventative relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order. In any proceeding hereunder the United States shall be liable for the costs the same as a private person.”


“No person, whether acting under color of law or otherwise, shall intimidate, threaten, coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any other person for the purpose of interfering with the right of such other person to vote or to vote as he may choose, or of causing such other person to vote for, or not to vote for, any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, presidential elector, Member of the Senate, or Member of the House of Representatives, Delegates or Commissioners from the Territories or possession, at any general, special, or primary election held solely or in part for the purpose of selecting or electing any such candidate.”


Subsequent Civil Rights Acts in 1960 and 1964, while milestones at the time, also proved inadequate in protecting against discrimination in voting. At the time, Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach said the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964, when it came to ensuring the right to vote, “had only minimal effect. They [were] too slow.”

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was the culmination of a long, non-violent movement for equal voting rights led by civil rights organizations such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), launched by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and other civil rights activists, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). This peaceful movement was often met with violence. Civil rights workers involved in voter registration campaigns were beaten and jailed, and churches, homes, and other buildings were bombed. In 1964, three activists working on SNCC’s voter registration campaigns were murdered in Neshoba County, Mississippi.

On March 7, 1965, in Selma, Alabama, when civil rights advocates peacefully marched across Edmund Pettis Bridge to condemn such violence and bring attention to the struggle for equal voting rights, state troopers and local law enforcement viciously attacked them with clubs, whips, and tear gas. That day would become known as “Bloody Sunday.” Two days later, Dr. King led a second peaceful march from Selma to Montgomery, at which he critically noted in a speech that, “the Civil Rights Act of 1964 gave Negroes some part of their rightful dignity, but without the vote, it was dignity without strength.”

On March 15, 1965, shortly after Bloody Sunday, President Lyndon B. Johnson spoke before a Joint Session of Congress, in a nationally televised address calling on Congress to act. He said:

“There is no cause for pride in what has happened in Selma. There is no cause for self-satisfaction in the long denial of equal rights of millions of Americans. But there is cause for hope and for faith in our democracy in what is happening tonight. … Our mission is at once the oldest and the most basic of this country—to right wrong, to do justice, to serve man. … Our fathers believed that if this noble view of the rights of


“In recent years, Congress has repeatedly tried to cope with the problem by facilitating case-by-case litigation against voting discrimination. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 authorized the Attorney General to seek injunctions against public and private interference with the right to vote on racial grounds. Perfecting amendments in the Civil Rights Act of 1960 permitted the joinder of States as parties defendant, gave the Attorney General access to local voting records, and authorized courts to register voters in areas of systematic discrimination. Title I of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 expedited the hearing of voting cases before three-judge courts and outlawed some of the tactics used to disqualify Negroes from voting in federal elections.

Despite the earnest efforts of the Justice Department and of many federal judges, these new laws have done little to cure the problem of voting discrimination. According to estimates by the Attorney General during hearings on the Act, registration of voting-age Negroes in Alabama rose only from 14.2% to 19.4% between 1958 and 1964; in Louisiana it barely inched ahead from 31.7% to 31.8% between 1956 and 1965; and in Mississippi it increased only from 4.4% to 6.4% between 1954 and 1964. In each instance, registration of voting-age Whites ran roughly 50 percentage points or more ahead of Negro registration.”


90 Id. at p. 11.

91 Id.

man was to flourish it must be rooted in democracy. The most basic right of all was the right to choose your own leaders. The history of this country in large measure is the history of expansion of that right to all of our people. Many of the issues of civil rights are very complex and most difficult. But about this there can and should be no argument: every American citizen must have an equal right to vote. … Experience has clearly shown that the existing process of law cannot overcome systematic and ingenious discrimination. No law that we now have on the books … can ensure the right to vote when local officials are determined to deny it. In such a case, our duty must be clear to all of us. The Constitution says that no person shall be kept from voting because of his race or his color.”

In passing the Voting Rights Act, Congress observed, “there is little basis for supposing that without action, the States and subdivisions affected will themselves remedy the present situation in view of the history of the adoption and administration of the several tests and devices reached by this bill.” Congress was presented with a record revealing more than 95 years of pervasive racial discrimination in certain areas of the country. Before enacting the Voting Rights Act, the House and Senate Judiciary Committees each held nine days of hearings and received testimony from a total of 67 witnesses.

Congress found the Department of Justice’s attempt to protect the right to vote through case-by-case enforcement to be inadequate, as states determined to discriminate still found ways to defy court orders and enact new laws. The Voting Rights Act called for a new approach – direct federal intervention and prescription to ensure constitutional rights were protected. Key provisions of the bill required certain states to submit to the federal government for oversight and approval — or “preclearance” — of any and all voting changes prior to implementation. In subsequently upholding the constitutionality of the Voting Rights Act, the Court recognized Congress’s broad authority to correct the history of discrimination in voting, reiterating that while states have broad powers to determine conditions under which the right to vote is exercised, states are not insulated from federal involvement when “State power is used as an instrument for circumventing a Federally protected right.”

Nearly five months after President Johnson’s address, on August 6, 1965, he signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965 into law, 95 years after the 15th Amendment first granted Black men the right to vote and 45 years after the 19th Amendment granted women the franchise. The bill passed the House on August 3 (328-74) and the Senate on August 4 (79-18). In the words of President Johnson, the Voting Rights Act was designed to “help rid the Nation of racial discrimination in every aspect of the electoral process and thereby insure the right of all to vote.”

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95 Id.
98 Communication From the President of the United States Transmitting a Draft of Proposed Legislation Entitled, “A Bill to Enforce the 15th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States,” H.R. Doc. 89-120 at p. 1 (1965)
The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was a necessary response to the years of discrimination and voter suppression experienced by Black Americans and other minority voters in the decades following Reconstruction. The Voting Rights Act and its subsequent reauthorizations took several key steps to protect voting rights. First, it prohibited discrimination in voting on the basis of race, creating a standard under which the Attorney General and private citizens could sue states and localities. Second, it created a formula for determining which states would become subject to federal government review of their voting law changes. Third, it required these states to get approval from the federal government or a court before making any changes to voting laws. Fourth, the Voting Rights Act authorized federal election observers and examiners to monitor what was happening in states. Finally, subsequent versions of the Voting Rights Act expanded these protections to include language minorities, prohibiting discrimination in voting on the basis of a person’s ability to read and understand the English language.

The original Voting Rights Act placed a nationwide prohibition on states, or any political subdivision, from implementing voting qualifications or prerequisites, standards, practices, or procedures to “deny or abridge the right of any citizen to vote on the basis of race or color.”99 Section 2 allows both the Attorney General and private citizens to sue to enforce the law’s protections. The Section 2 standard was expanded during subsequent reauthorizations and does not expire. While Section 2 is still in place and can be used to combat any discriminatory voting standard, practice, or procedure,100 it is costly, time-consuming, and inadequate without the full complement of an enforceable Section 5.

Section 3 authorized the appointment of federal election examiners to observe voter registration and elections and register voters. Section 3 also contained what became known as the “bail in” provision — if a court finds violations of the 15th Amendment justifying relief, the court could retain jurisdiction over changes in voting laws.101

Section 4 created what has become known as the “coverage formula.” This set forth the criteria by which jurisdictions with a history of voter discrimination were identified and covered under the preclearance requirements of Section 5.102 states and localities were covered under the Voting Rights Act if they used any “test or device” as a condition of voter registration on


"No voting qualifications or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure shall be imposed or applied by any State or political subdivision to deny or abridge the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color."


101 Voting Rights Act of 1965, Pub. Law No. 89-110, at Sec. 3(c) – Section 3(c) is still in effect and was expanded to include Fourteenth Amendment violations in a later reauthorization.

102 Id. at Sec. 4(b).

“(b) The provisions of subsection (a) shall apply in any State or in any political subdivision of a state which (1) the Attorney General determines maintained on November 1, 1964, any test or device, and with respect to when (2) the Director of the Census determines that less than 50 per centum of the persons of voting age residing therein were registered on November 1, 1964, or that less than 50 per centum of such persons voted in the presidential election of November 1964. A determination or certification of the Attorney General or of the Director of the Census under this section or under section 6 or section 13 shall not be reviewable in any court and shall be effective upon publication in the Federal Register.”
November 1, 1964, and either less than 50 percent of voting age persons living there were registered to vote or less than 50 percent voted in the presidential elections that year.\(^{103}\)

This provision was justified by the evidence Congress collected, outlining the rampant discrimination and violation of the 14\(^{th}\) and 15\(^{th}\) Amendments.\(^{104}\) At the time of enactment, the jurisdictions covered were Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia, 39 counties in North Carolina, and specific counties in Arizona and Hawaii.\(^{105}\) As Congress amended the Voting Rights Act and added new criteria, the coverage formula encompassed additional states and localities. Furthermore, Section 4 contained a “bail out” provision under which states and localities could seek termination of Voting Rights Act coverage from a three-judge panel in the D.C. District Court.\(^{106}\)

Section 4 of the Voting Rights Act also prohibited states from discriminating against non-English speakers educated in American schools. States could no longer condition the right to vote on a person’s ability to read, write, understand, or interpret something in the English language if they were educated in American-flag schools.\(^{107}\) Section 4(e)(2) specifically protected the right to vote for people who successfully completed the sixth grade and were educated in schools in any state or territory, the District of Columbia and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in a language other than English.\(^{108}\) Between 1950 and 1963, an average of 50,000 people migrated from Puerto Rico to New York City per year.\(^{109}\)

Section 5 is the enforcement mechanism for Section 4. Known as “preclearance,” Section 5 requires any state or locality encapsulated by Section 4’s coverage formula to clear any voting changes with the federal government or the U.S. District Court for the District of

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103 Id.
108 “(e)(1) Congress hereby declares that to secure the rights under the fourteenth amendment of persons educated in American-flag schools in which the predominant classroom language was other than English, it is necessary to prohibit the States from conditioning the right to vote of such persons on ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter in the English language.”
Columbia before implementation. This effectively froze in place existing voting procedures and created a structure through which all voting changes would need to be analyzed for potential discriminatory effect before they were allowed to proceed.\(^{110}\) In contrast to Section 2, preclearance is prospective, preventing discrimination before it happens. Preclearance negated the state’s ability to circumvent court rulings by allowing the Attorney General or the D.C. Court to block discriminatory laws before voters were disenfranchised, and created an administrative procedure to evaluate proposed voting changes for potential discriminatory effect. It also prevented the state practice of enacting another discriminatory law once the original was struck down by the courts.

Sections 6, 7, and 8 of the Voting Rights Act addressed the appointment of federal election examiners for voter registration and the deployment of federal election observers. Section 6 allowed the Attorney General to request election examiners be deployed to jurisdictions.\(^{111}\) Section 7 outlines how these examiners shall register voters.\(^{112}\) Section 8 allows for federal monitors to observe inside polling places and ensure Voting Rights Act compliance on Election Day.\(^{113}\)

The Voting Rights Act also suspended the use of literacy tests.\(^{114}\) Further, the law included a congressional finding that poll taxes are a barrier to voting for people of limited means and impose “unreasonable financial hardship upon such a person as a precondition to their exercise of the franchise,” bear no reasonable relationship to a legitimate state interest, are used for discriminatory purposes,\(^ {115}\) and are prohibited.\(^ {116}\) While the Voting Rights Act did not explicitly outlaw poll taxes, it did direct the Attorney General to challenge the issue in court. The Court held poll taxes unconstitutional under the 14\(^{th}\) Amendment in 1966.\(^ {117}\)

\(^{110}\) Voting Rights Act of 1965, Pub. L. No. 89-110, at Sec. 5.

> “Whenever a State or political subdivision with respect to which the prohibitions set forth in section 4(a) are in effect shall enact or seek to administer any voting qualifications or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure with respect to voting different from that in force or effect on November 1, 1964, such State or subdivision may institute an action in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia for a declaratory judgment that such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure does not have the purpose and will not have the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color, and unless and until the court enters such judgment no person shall be denied the right to vote on account of race or color, and unless and until the court enters such judgment no person shall be denied the right to vote for failure to comply with such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure. Provided, That such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure may be enforced without such proceeding if the qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure has Page 4 of 26 been submitted by the chief legal officer or the appropriated official of such State or subdivision to the Attorney General and the Attorney General has not interposed an objection within sixty days after such submission, except that neither the Attorney General’s failure to object nor a declaratory judgment entered under this section shall bar a subsequent action to enjoin enforcement of such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure. Any action under this section shall be heard and determined by a court of three judges in accordance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28 of the United States Code and any appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court.”

\(^{111}\) Id. at Sec. 6.

\(^{112}\) Id. at Sec. 7.

\(^{113}\) Id. at Sec. 8.

\(^{114}\) Id. at Sec. 4.

\(^{115}\) Id. at Sec. 10.

\(^{116}\) Id. at Sec. 11.


*Held:* A State’s conditioning of the right to vote on the payment of a fee or tax violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.
The effects of the Voting Rights Act were immediate and significant. Nearly 1 million Black voters were registered within four years of the Act’s passage.\textsuperscript{118} More than 50 percent of the Black voting age population in each of the southern states were registered.\textsuperscript{119} Additionally, the number of Black officials elected in the South more than doubled following the 1966 elections.\textsuperscript{120}

### REAUTHORIZATIONS OF AND AMENDMENTS TO THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT

Originally set to expire five years after enactment, the Voting Rights Act was amended and extended by Congress on a bipartisan basis several times. Congress continued to support the underlying policy of the Voting Rights Act while voting to amend, expand, and extend the law five times: in 1970, 1975, 1982, 1992, and 2006.

The Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970 passed on a bipartisan basis\textsuperscript{121} in both the House (272-132) and Senate (64-12) and was signed into law by President Richard Nixon on June 22, 1970.\textsuperscript{122} In extending the provisions, Congress reviewed the progress of the previous five years and extended the Voting Rights Act for another five years, and extended the prohibition on literacy and similar tests as a prerequisite to voting or voter registration for 10 years.\textsuperscript{123} Congress determined that there had been a lack of enforcement by the Department of Justice over the previous years.\textsuperscript{124} The preclearance formula updated the turnout disparities formula, thus updating Section 5’s preclearance requirements.\textsuperscript{125} The new formula resulted in the inclusion of parts of Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, New York, and Oregon under Section 5 preclearance.\textsuperscript{126}

\textsuperscript{121} Kevin J. Coleman, \textit{The Voting Rights Act of 1965: Background and Overview}, CRS Report R43626 (updated July 20, 2015) at p. 18, \textit{see} H.R. 4249 – passed the Senate on March 13, 1970 (64-12); House passed the Senate amendments on June 17, 1970 (272-132); signed into law June 22, 1970.
\textsuperscript{123} Id.
“Sec. 4. Section 4(b) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (79 Stat. 438; 42 U.S.C. 1973b) is amended by adding at the end of the first paragraph thereof the following new sentence: “On and after August 6, 1970, in addition to any State or political subdivision of a State determined to be subject to subsection (a) pursuant to the previous sentence, the provisions of subsection (a) shall apply in any State or any political subdivision of a State which (i) the Attorney General determines maintained on November 1, 1968, any test or device, and with respect to which (ii) the Director of the Census determines that less than 50 per centum of the persons of voting age residing therein were registered on November 1, 1968, or that less than 50 per centum of such persons voted in the presidential election of November 1968.”
The 1970 updates also abolished durational residency requirements in the presidential elections and directed the states to provide voter registration for eligible voters who apply at least 30 days before an election, as well as allow voters who move within 30 days of an election to vote in their previous precinct or by absentee ballot.\textsuperscript{127} Section 301 of the Amendments lowered the voting age to 18 for voting in federal elections.\textsuperscript{128} In 1971, the 26th Amendment lowered the voting age from 21 to 18 for all elections.\textsuperscript{129}

The Voting Rights Act Extension of 1975 again passed on a bipartisan basis\textsuperscript{130} in both the House (341-70) and the Senate (77-12), and was signed into law by President Gerald Ford. The legislation extended the Voting Rights Act for another seven years and expanded the definition of permanently prohibited “tests and devices” to address language minorities.\textsuperscript{131} This expanded Sections 5 and 8 to cover jurisdictions where five percent of the voting-age citizens were from a single language minority, election materials were printed only in English, and less than 50 percent of the voting age citizens were registered to vote or voted in the 1972 presidential election.\textsuperscript{132} Congress found that “while minority political progress [that] had been made under the Voting Rights Act is undeniable … the nature of that progress has been limited.”\textsuperscript{133}

The bill also included a requirement for bilingual elections if the illiteracy rate in English was greater than the national illiteracy rate, and a formula for determining when those materials must be provided. Section 203 of the amendments required voting materials be available in the language of the “applicable minority” within the jurisdiction, including Latinos, Asian and Pacific Islanders, Native Alaskans, and Native Americans.\textsuperscript{134} The 1975 extension also made permanent the ban on literary tests nationally, directed the Attorney General to enforce the 26th Amendment, and established a federal penalty for voting more than once in a federal election.\textsuperscript{135}

The Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1982 again passed with largely bipartisan votes\textsuperscript{136} in both chambers (389-24 in the House; 85-8 in the Senate) and was signed into law by President

\textsuperscript{128} Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970, Pub. L. No. 91-285, Sec. 301(a); Oregon v. Mitchell, 400 U.S. 112 (1970) \textit{held} that Congress had the power to lowering the voting age to 18-year-old citizens in national elections, such as congressional, senatorial, vice-presidential, and presidential elections, but cannot set the voting age in state and local elections.
\textsuperscript{129} U.S. Const. amend. XXVI, Sec. 1.
\textsuperscript{130} Kevin J. Coleman, \textit{The Voting Rights Act of 1965: Background and Overview}, CRS Report R43626 (updated July 20, 2015) at p. 19, see H.R. 6219 passed the House on June 4, 1975 (341-70); passed the Senate on June 24, 1975 (77-12); and the House agreed to the Senate amendments on July 28, 1975 (346-56); signed into law August 6, 1975.
\textsuperscript{134} Voting Rights Act Extension of 1975, Pub. L. No. 94-73, Sec. 203, https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-89/pdf/STATUTE-89-Pg400.pdf#page=3
\textsuperscript{136} Id. at p. 20-21, see H.R. 3112 – passed the House on October 15, 1981 (389-24); passed the Senate with amendments on June 18, 1982 (85-8) following a filibuster; the House approved the Senate amendments by unanimous consent on October 5, 1982; signed into law June 29, 1982.
Ronald Reagan. The law extended preclearance for another 25 years, leaving in place the same coverage formula.\textsuperscript{137} Congress found that, “despite the gains in increased minority registration and voting and in the number of minority elected officials … continued manipulation of registration procedures and the electoral process, which effectively exclude minority participation from all stages of the political process” was occurring.\textsuperscript{138} Congress reemphasized its intent that, “protection of the franchise extend beyond mere prohibition of official actions designed to keep voters away from the polls … [and] include prohibition of State actions which so manipulate the elections process as to render the vote meaningless.”\textsuperscript{139}

The requirement for bilingual elections was also extended for 10 years.\textsuperscript{140} Jurisdictions could now also petition to be “bailed out” separately from states.\textsuperscript{141} A significant change was also made to Section 2 – plaintiffs could now challenge laws and election practices without needing to prove discriminatory intent, adjusting the burden of proof requirement to necessitate a “results” or “effects” test, lowering the evidentiary burden on the plaintiffs.\textsuperscript{142}

This change addressed the Court’s ruling in \textit{City of Mobile v. Bolden}, which held that Section 2 required proof of a discriminatory intent to challenge a law.\textsuperscript{143} This adjustment also reflected the changing landscape of discrimination in voting laws. Poll taxes and literacy tests were no longer as prevalent as they were pre-Voting Rights Act, but a new generation of discriminatory practices had begun to emerge. This “second generation” of suppression tactics included discriminatory redistricting, annexations, and at-large elections meant to dilute the minority vote.\textsuperscript{144} Eliminating the intent requirement made it possible to challenge and prosecute these types of practices that were discriminatory in their application and effect, regardless of their intent.

The Voting Rights Language Assistance Act of 1992, again bipartisan (237-125 in the House; 75-20 in the Senate),\textsuperscript{145} was signed into law by President George H. W. Bush. The law extended the bilingual voting assistance requirement until 2007 (another 15 years) and expanded the scope of bilingual voting assistance coverage to include jurisdictions with 10,000 members of a language minority whose members have limited English proficiency (“LEP”).\textsuperscript{146} This change ensured the protections covered jurisdictions where LEP voters did not make up five percent of the eligible voters, reaching Latino and Asian American voters in

\textsuperscript{141} \textit{Id.}
\textsuperscript{142} \textit{Id.}
\textsuperscript{143} \textit{Id.} at p. 35, see also \textit{City of Mobile v. Bolden}, 446 U.S. 55, 75 (1980).
\textsuperscript{145} Kevin J. Coleman, \textit{The Voting Rights Act of 1965: Background and Overview}, CRS Report R43626 (updated July 20, 2015) at p. 21, see H.R. 4312 – passed the House on June 24, 1992 (237-125); passed the Senate on August 7, 1992 (75-20); signed into law August 26, 1992.
larger cities.\textsuperscript{147} The law also included more expansive coverage formulas for language access for Native American voters living on reservations.\textsuperscript{148}

The last reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act took place in 2006. President George W. Bush signed H.R. 9, the Fannie Lou Hamer, Rosa Parks, and Coretta Scott King Voting Rights Act Reauthorization and Amendments Act of 2006 into law following a largely bipartisan vote in the House (390-33) and unanimous passage in the Senate on July 13, 2006.\textsuperscript{149} Upon signing the reauthorization, President Bush said, “In four decades since the Voting Rights Act was first passed, we’ve made progress toward equality, yet the work for a more perfect union is never ending. We’ll continue to build on the legal equality won by the civil rights movement to help ensure that every person enjoys the opportunity that this great land of liberty offers.”\textsuperscript{150}

The 2006 reauthorization extended the bulk of the Voting Rights Act for another 25 years, though it did eliminate the ability of federal election examiners to register voters under Section 5.\textsuperscript{151} Prior to introducing H.R. 9, the House Committee on Judiciary held 10 oversight hearings before the Subcommittee on the Constitution examining the effectiveness of the temporary provision of the Voting Rights Act over the last 25 years.\textsuperscript{152} The Subcommittee heard testimony from 39 witnesses and assembled over 12,000 pages of testimony, documentary evidence and appendices.\textsuperscript{153} Additionally, the Subcommittee held two legislative hearings and heard from seven additional witnesses.\textsuperscript{154} When combined with the work of the Senate, the two Judiciary Committees held 21 hearings, heard from numerous witnesses, received reports and documents illustrating continued discrimination, and, in all, compiled a legislative record totaling more than 15,000 pages.\textsuperscript{155}

In the absence of a full Voting Rights Act, during the first year of the 116\textsuperscript{th} Congress, the Subcommittee on Elections of the Committee on House Administration held eight hearings and one listening session in eight states and the House of Representatives, heard testimony from more than 60 witnesses, and collected more than 3,000 pages of testimony and documents.

\textsuperscript{148} Id. at p. 37.
\textsuperscript{149} Kevin J. Coleman, \textit{The Voting Rights Act of 1965: Background and Overview}, CRS Report R43626 (updated July 20, 2015) at p. 22, see H.R. 9 – passed the House on July 13, 2006 (390-33); passed the Senate on July 20, 2006 (unanimous); signed into law July 27, 2006.
\textsuperscript{153} Id.
\textsuperscript{154} Id.
THE CONSTITUTIONALITY AND ENFORCEMENT OF THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT AND ITS PROVISIONS

The Court upheld the constitutionality of the Voting Rights Act in 1966, in *South Carolina v. Katzenbach*. Seeking to block its enforcement, the State of South Carolina alleged that provisions of the Voting Rights Act violated the Constitution and infringed on states’ rights.

Congress exercised its power to create the law through Section 2 of the 15th Amendment, which gave power to the Congress to create laws necessary to uphold the constitutional prohibition against racial discrimination in voting. The Court held that, “After enduring nearly a century of widespread resistance to the Fifteenth Amendment, Congress has marshalled an array of potent weapons against the evil, with authority in the Attorney General to employ them effectively. … We here hold that the portions of the Voting Rights Act properly before us are a valid means for carrying out the commands of the Fifteenth Amendment. Hopefully, millions of non-White Americans will now be able to participate for the first time on an equal basis in the government under which they live. We may finally look forward to the day when truly ‘[t]he right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.’”

Also, in 1966, the Court held in *Katzenbach v. Morgan* that Section 4(e) of the Voting Rights Act was a proper exercise of Congress’s powers under Section 5 of the 14th Amendment, rendering New York’s English literacy requirements unenforceable to the extent they conflicted with the Voting Rights Act.

Prior to 2013, any voting change in a jurisdiction covered under Section 4 was subject to review. Many of these changes include current issues discussed in this report, including: redistricting, closing or moving polling locations, new procedures for purging voters from the rolls, English-language literacy tests, voter ID laws, cutting early voting or same-day registration, and any other changes to voting procedures. The goal of the Voting Rights Act and its enforcement mechanisms was to block the implementation of racially discriminatory voting practices and prevent these practices from disenfranchising voters.

From 1982 to 2006, there were more than 700 objections to voting changes under the Voting Rights Act’s Section 5 preclearance provisions because the Department of Justice or the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia considered them to be racially discriminatory. More than 800 proposed changes were also withdrawn or amended after the Department of Justice requested additional information. During the 2006 reauthorization, “Congress found there were more Department of Justice objections [blocking proposed voting changes under

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157 Id.
158 Id. at p. 328.
Section 5 due to determinations that they would be discriminatory] between 1982 and 2004 (626) than there were between 1965 and the 1982 reauthorization (490)."\textsuperscript{162}

During the 2006 Voting Rights Act reauthorization, the Department of Justice reported receiving between 4,000 and 6,000 submissions annually from jurisdictions covered by the Voting Rights Act.\textsuperscript{163} The Judiciary Committee found that, “The changes sought by covered jurisdictions were calculated decisions to keep minority voters from fully participating in the political process. This increased activity shows that attempts to discriminate persist and evolve, such that Section 5 is still needed to protect minority voters in the future.”\textsuperscript{164}

During the 2006 reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act, Congress received testimony from the National Commission on the Voting Rights Act that the number of elected officials serving in the original six states covered by the temporary provisions of the Voting Rights Act (Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, and Alabama) increased by approximately 1,000 percent since 1965.\textsuperscript{165}

Section 2, in concert with Sections 4 and 5, also proved a powerful tool to protect the right to vote and enforce the Voting Rights Act. At its enactment, Section 5 left in place longstanding, racially discriminatory practices that were not already struck down because they were not enacted after 1965. Preclearance was prospective and did not preclear existing voting laws.\textsuperscript{166} For example, when Black voters wanted to challenge Mississippi’s historic dual voter registration system that had been enacted a century before, they had to do so under Section 2.\textsuperscript{167} After the success of this case, when Mississippi tried to resurrect the dual system, it was successfully challenged under Section 5.\textsuperscript{168} Section 2 is also critical to protecting the voting rights of Americans living in states not covered under Section 5 preclearance. Section 2 is still in effect nationwide, the implications of which will be discussed in greater detail later in this report.

Over the lifetime of the Voting Rights Act, states and localities have been “bailed in” under the coverage formula, as well as successfully petitioned to “bail out.” As of 2013, Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia were covered in their entirety.\textsuperscript{169} California, Florida, New York, North Carolina, South Dakota, and Michigan each contained covered counties or townships, but the state as a whole was

\textsuperscript{162} U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, \textit{An Assessment of Minority Voting Rights Access in the United States, 2018 Statutory Report} (Sept. 2018) at p. 45, \textit{citing Shelby Cty.}, 570 U.S. at 571 (Ginsburg, J., dissenting) ("On that score, the record before Congress was huge. In fact, Congress found there were more DOI objections between 1982 and 2004 (626) than there were between 1965 and the 1982 reauthorization (490)."), Voting Rights Act: Evidence of Continued Need: Hearing Before the H. Subcomm. on the Constitution of the H. Comm. on the Judiciary, 109th Cong. 172 (2006).


\textsuperscript{164} Id.

\textsuperscript{165} Id.


\textsuperscript{169} U.S. Department of Justice, \textit{Jurisdictions Previously Covered by Section 5} (updated Aug. 6, 2015), \url{https://www.justice.gov/crt/jurisdictions-previously-covered-section-5}. 
From 1967 until 2013, sixteen jurisdictions in North Carolina, New Mexico, Maine, Oklahoma, Wyoming, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Virginia, Texas, Georgia, California, Alabama, and New Hampshire successfully availed themselves of the Section 4 bailout mechanism and were no longer individually subject to Section 5.

This section is not designed to be an exhaustive examination of the various provisions of the Voting Rights Act or the relevant case law.

SHELBY COUNTY AND THE UNDERMINING OF THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT

Following the 2006 reauthorization, the Voting Rights Act was again challenged in *Northwest Austin Utility District Number One v. Holder*. Though the Court specifically did not rule on the constitutionality of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, the majority raised significant concerns. These concerns served as a predicate to the Court’s actions in 2013.

On June 25, 2013, the Court struck down Section 4(b) of the Voting Rights Act, finding the coverage formula unconstitutional in the 5-4 decision in *Shelby County*. The Court specifically did not rule on the constitutionality of Section 5 preclearance, only the formula determining which jurisdictions were subject to coverage. The decision effectively returned the United States to a reactive state of voting rights protection, eliminating the proactive protections that had worked for decades to ensure equal access to the ballot.

The *Shelby County* decision changed the landscape of voting rights and efforts to prevent discriminatory voting laws. Striking down Section 4(b) effectively rendered Section 5 inoperable. The Department of Justice no longer has the authority to review proposed voting changes before they go into effect, leaving it to voters and litigators to identify when discrimination has occurred and to undertake the lengthy and costly process of challenging
these laws in court. States and localities are no longer required to collect and evaluate racial impact data when making changes to voting laws.

Chief Justice Roberts, writing for the majority, acknowledged that “voting discrimination still exists, no one doubts that.”\footnote{176 Id. at p. 2619.} While acknowledging that the progress made was “largely because of the Voting Rights Act,” the question, Roberts said, was “whether the Act’s extraordinary measures, including its disparate treatment of the States, continue to satisfy constitutional requirements;”\footnote{177 Id., citing Northwest Austin, “the Act imposes current burdens and must be justified by current needs.”} “The [15th] Amendment is not designed to punish for the past; its purpose is to ensure a better future.”\footnote{178 Id. at p. 2629.}

In declaring Section 4(b) unconstitutional, the Roberts Court held that the coverage formula in the 2006 reauthorization “could no longer be used as a basis for subjecting jurisdictions to preclearance,”\footnote{179 Id. at p. 2631.} finding that 40 years had passed since the enactment of the original Voting Rights Act and the 2006 law ignored these developments in the coverage formula “keeping the focus on decades-old data relevant to decades-old problems, rather than on current data reflecting current needs.”\footnote{180 Id. at p. 2628-29.} Shelby County did not rule on Section 5 itself, nor did it affect the permanent, nationwide ban on racial discrimination in Section 2. Additionally, Chief Justice Roberts said, “Congress may draft another formula based on current conditions,” leaving open the possibility that the Court could find an updated formula to be constitutional.\footnote{181 Id. at p. 2631.}

Section 5 prohibited retrogression — going backwards by restricting access to the polls for minority voters.\footnote{182 Beer v. United States, 425 U.S. 130, 141 (1976).} The Court’s decision in Shelby County has left voters across America vulnerable to the discrimination and disenfranchisement the Voting Rights Act sought to eradicate.\footnote{183 For a summary of the impact of the Shelby County decision, see U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, An Assessment of Minority Voting Rights Access in the United States, 2018 Statutory Report (Sept. 2018) at p. 59.} The American people have now gone to the polls in three federal elections without the full protections of the Voting Rights Act. The next chapters of this report illustrate how, without the full protection of the Voting Rights Act and support of the Department of Justice,\footnote{184 U.S. Department of Justice, Fact Sheet on Justice Department’s Enforcement Efforts Following Shelby County Decision, https://www.justice.gov/crt/file/876246/download.} states have retrogressed, limiting access to the polls and suppressing the vote of Americans of color.
CHAPTER TWO

The State of Voting Rights and Election Administration post-Shelby County

THE CURRENT LANDSCAPE

“As a people, the most important right that we have is the right to vote. ... Other rights, even the most basic, are illusory if the right to vote is undermined.”

— Irving Joyner, NCCU School of Law

The Court’s decision in Shelby County fundamentally undermined the manner in which voting rights are protected and enforced across America, including pursuant to the 14th and 15th Amendments. Before Shelby County, all voting changes in covered jurisdictions had to be cleared through the Department of Justice or the Federal Court in the District of Columbia.185

Now, without the Section 4(b) coverage formula, no jurisdiction falls under Section 5 preclearance, rendering this critical portion of the Voting Rights Act effectively unenforceable. Previously covered states are now free to enact discriminatory and suppressive laws that may have otherwise been denied under a preclearance review. This leaves the voting rights of millions of Americans vulnerable to suppression and disenfranchisement.

Shelby County opened the door for a new generation of voter suppression. Its effects were sudden.

Hours after Shelby County, Texas revived a previously blocked voter ID law. Within days, Alabama announced it would move to enforce a photo ID law it had previously refused to submit to the Department of Justice for preclearance. Within months, New York broke from past practices and declined to hold special elections to fill 12 legislative vacancies, denying 800,000 voters of color representation.186

In North Carolina, State Senator Tom Apodaca announced the state’s General Assembly leadership no longer had to worry about the “legal headache” of preclearance, and the state


moved ahead with a law to remake the state’s elections system. Less than two months after *Shelby County*, the North Carolina General Assembly passed, and the Governor signed into law, what became known as the “monster law,” a sweeping voter suppression bill requiring strict forms of voter ID, cuts to early voting, and eliminating key election administration practices, including:

- One of two “Souls to the Polls” Sundays (these are early voting events, traditionally held the Sunday before Election Day and heavily utilized by Black faith communities to get voters to the polls);
- Same-day voter registration;
- Out-of-precinct voting which allowed voters to cast provisional ballots if they appeared at the wrong precinct but in the correct county; and
- Preregistration of 16- and 17-year old voters.

Litigation against the law, captioned *NC NAACP v. McCrory*, demonstrated there was no legitimate reason for North Carolina’s law. It was enacted specifically to target minority voters. The court characterized H.B. 589 as “the most restrictive voting law North Carolina has seen since the era of Jim Crow”.

Before *Shelby County*, the Department of Justice issued over 50 objection letters under Section 5 from 1980 to 2013 regarding proposed voting changes in North Carolina, including several after 2000. During the same period, plaintiffs brought 55 successful Section 2 cases in North Carolina. Post-*Shelby County*, the monster law attempted to usher in a suite of suppressive laws that could have almost certainly not passed preclearance scrutiny, crafted in such a way.

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191 “Finding in favor of plaintiffs, the court concluded that ‘[t]he new provisions target African Americans with almost surgical precision’ and ‘impose cures for problems that did not exist.’ ‘Upon receipt of [racially disaggregated data on voting patterns and usage],’ the Fourth Circuit found that ‘the General Assembly enacted legislation that restricted voting and registration in five different ways, all of which disproportionately affected African Americans.’ ‘With race data in hand,’ the General Assembly had crafted a photo ID requirements that excluded the specific types of photo IDs that it knew Black voters disproportionately lacked, and enacted other provisions after learning that Black voters used early voting at a much higher rate than Whites, Black voters specifically used the first week of early voting more heavily than Whites, Black voters voted out-of-precinct at higher rates than whites and thus benefited more from the partial counting of those ballots, and Black youth used preregistration at higher rates than Whites. … This case ‘comes as close to [including] a smoking gun as we are likely to see in modern times,’ the court explained, ‘[w]hen the State’s very justification for a challenged statute hinges explicitly on race—specifically its concern that African Americans, who had overwhelmingly voted for Democrats, had too much access to the franchise.’”


“Prior to Shelby, covered jurisdictions had to provide notice to the federal government – which meant notice to the public – before they could implement changes in their voting practices or procedures. Such notice is of paramount importance, because the ways that the voting rights of minority citizens are jeopardized are often subtle. They range from the consolidation of polling places so as to make it less convenient for minority voters to vote, to the curtailing of early voting hours that makes it more difficult for low-income people of color to vote, to the disproportionate purging of minority voters from voting lists under the pretext of “list maintenance.”

— Kristen Clarke, Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law

discriminatory manner a three-judge panel found they “target[ed] African Americans with almost surgical precision” and “impose[d] cures for problems that did not exist.”

By 2016, 14 states had enacted new voting restrictions for the first time, including previously covered states such as Alabama, Arizona, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia. In 2017, two additional states, Arkansas and North Dakota, enacted voter ID laws. In 2018, Arkansas, Indiana, Montana, New Hampshire, North Carolina, and Wisconsin enacted new restrictions on voting, ranging from restrictions on who can collect absentee ballots, to cuts to early voting, restrictions on college students, and enshrining voter ID requirements in a state constitution.

In 2018, more than 60 percent of Florida’s voters passed a ballot initiative automatically restoring the voting rights of more than 1 million formerly incarcerated individuals with past felony convictions. Amendment 4 would apply once an individual had completed his or her sentence, including parole and probation, except for murder or felony sex offenses. In 2019, the Florida legislature passed, and the Governor signed a new law effectively overruling the will of more than 60 percent of the state’s voters, requiring all formerly incarcerated individuals to pay fines and fees before they can be re-enfranchised.

196 Id.
197 Id.
198 Amendment 4 passed overwhelmingly, yet the Florida State Legislature passed S.B. 7066 and Governor DeSantis signed it into law in 2019. The law is currently being challenged in court, see also Voting Laws Roundup 2019, Brennan Center for Justice (July 10, 2019),
Also in 2019, Arizona enacted laws extending voter ID requirements to early voting and emergency early and absentee voting.\textsuperscript{199}

Without the full protection of the Voting Rights Act, voters and litigators are left to rely primarily on lawsuits to protect the franchise. Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act provides a private right of action to sue in cases of voting rights violations. However, as discussed in this report, Section 2 litigation has been time consuming and costly, and is only available to block existing or newly instituted discriminatory policies or procedures. Since \textit{Shelby County}, the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (“Lawyers’ Committee”) alone has been involved in 41 cases related to discriminatory practices in voting or adverse effects on the voting rights of minority voters.\textsuperscript{200} Twenty-four of these actions have been filed since January 20, 2017.\textsuperscript{201} By contrast, the Department of Justice has filed no cases in that time.\textsuperscript{202}

In the same timeframe, the American Civil Liberties Union (“ACLU”) has opened more than 60 new voting rights matters, including cases filed, amicus briefs, and investigations.\textsuperscript{203} The organization currently has more than 30 active matters.\textsuperscript{204} Between the 2012 and 2016 presidential elections, the ACLU and its affiliates won 15 voting rights victories protecting more than 5.6 million voters in 12 states, collectively home to 161 members of the House and 185 Electoral College votes.\textsuperscript{205} Between the \textit{Shelby County} decision and the September 2018 issuance of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights’ report entitled “An Assessment of Minority Voting Rights Access in the United States” at least 23 states had enacted newly restrictive statewide voter laws.\textsuperscript{206}

Reliance on Section 2 also shifts the burden to the citizen, rather than the state or local government seeking to enact a change to its voting laws, to prove disenfranchisement. Suppressive laws can potentially disenfranchise voters for years before they are identified.
challenged, and litigated to a conclusion. In addition, the Department of Justice has also interpreted Shelby County to mean it can now only send election observers if ordered by a court, removing a critical tool for gathering evidence of voting discrimination and firsthand knowledge.

The 2014 midterm was the first election since the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965 that Americans went to register and cast their votes without the full might of the federal government protecting their right to do so.

In 2018, more than 50 percent of eligible Americans cast a ballot in the midterm elections. The U.S. Census Bureau reported voter turnout was up among all voting age and major racial and ethnic groups. 2018 saw the highest midterm turnout in four decades. The increased turnout resulted in reports of long lines stretching for multiple hours; voting machines that did not work or were not plugged in; and polling locations that did not open on time or were moved. There is no way to know how many voters were disenfranchised because they had to leave the line or were turned away inside the polling place. It is also unknown how many voters were forced to cast a provisional ballot because of haphazard enforcement of voting regulations, or a lack of proper poll worker training, or their name was improperly removed from the voter rolls.

The Committee on House Administration Subcommittee on Elections held hearings in communities across the country, collecting contemporaneous data that clearly illustrates the ongoing attempts to suppress the votes of minority communities. The hearings provided clear evidence that discrimination and suppression are alive and well – the overt poll taxes and literacy tests as experienced during the Jim Crow Era may be resigned to the past, but discrimination in voting is not. Across the country, the Subcommittee on Elections heard testimony and gathered evidence of ongoing voter suppression. Six years after the Court’s decision in Shelby County, Americans, including policymakers, have a more in-depth understanding of the measures taken by states to restrict and subvert the right to vote. Lawsuits over discriminatory voting changes lay bare the persistent opposition that some states and localities have toward equal access to the ballot. Furthermore, the evidence is clear that Sections 4(b) and 5 of the Voting Rights Act remain just as critical to protecting the right to vote and enforcing the 14th and 15th Amendments as they were in 1965.

Voters now face pervasive subtle and overt suppression tactics, many (if not all) of which would have been vetted through a transparent and thorough process under Section 5. Under current law, these changes can be enacted under the cover of darkness, with little to no public notice and no evaluation of the potential impact on voters. This chapter explores these tactics, highlighting testimony received at Subcommittee hearings, as well as how voter suppression

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209 Id.

210 Id.
techniques have evolved. This chapter also examines the role of Section 2 litigation (one of the key remaining tools in the Voting Rights Act arsenal). It examines the critical role it still plays in helping protect the right to vote, but also examines the limitations in relying on Section 2 to address the disenfranchisement that a full Voting Rights Act would have prevented.

In Brownsville, Texas, Mimi Marziani of the Texas Civil Rights Project testified that, “long lines and late openings are, unfortunately, such a common feature of Texas elections that they are deemed ‘typical’ by election officials.” Ms. Marziani further testified that, in Harris County, home to the city of Houston, numerous polling places opened more than an hour late on Election Day. The county had to be sued to keep the polls open longer to compensate.

In Georgia, Gilda Daniels of the Advancement Project testified that at the Pittman Park voting sites they received calls that lines were “reportedly 300 people deep with a wait time of 3.5 hours.” Ultimately, Ms. Daniels testified she was involved in advocacy and litigation to extend hours of several polling locations in Fulton County, Georgia. The League of Women Voters of Georgia submitted testimony that voters in Gwinnett County and Atlanta precincts waited at least four hours to cast their vote. Voters in Georgia experienced issues with the voting rolls, receiving and returning absentee ballots, and being forced to cast provisional ballots. Witnesses testified that elections officials refused to provide provisional ballots, citing a paper shortage.

“[A]t the Pittman Park voting station, we received calls lines that were reportedly 300 people deep with a wait time of 3.5 hours. Long lines and broken or inoperable voting machines also led to people getting turned away or given provisional ballots. Ultimately, I was involved in advocacy and litigation to extend the hours of several polling locations in Fulton County, Georgia, that particularly impacted Atlanta University Center students at Morehouse, Spelman, and Clark Atlanta University at the Booker T. Washington High School polling place locations.”
— Gilda Daniels, Advancement Project

212 Id.
214 Id.

“In counties, polling locations ran out of provisional and back-up paper ballots. Frustrated voters received inaccurate information regarding their rights; and thousands of voters were forced to vote using provisional ballots due to long lines. An untold number simply gave up, unable to bear the financial cost of waiting in line because Georgia does not guarantee paid time off to vote.”
“States and localities should be prepared for elections, no matter how high the turnout, and federal and state laws and regulations should support a robust democracy – not make it difficult for eligible voters to exercise the franchise.

After the Court struck down Section 4(b) and rendered Section 5 effectively inoperable, many states and counties, which were once required to clear any proposed voting changes through the Department of Justice or federal court before they could go into effect, have moved to restrict access to the ballot. Some states made overt moves to restrict access to the franchise implementing barriers such as: discriminatory gerrymandering that dilutes minority voting power, cutbacks or elimination of early voting, forcing more people to miss work in order to cast their vote, creating longer lines at polling locations on Election Day, and impeding voters that rely on others for transportation, frequently changing rules and regulations that confuse poll workers and voters, and denying access to language assistance.

Other changes may seem innocuous on their face, such as consolidating or moving polling locations, coloring voter purges as “list maintenance,” or requiring specific forms of voter identification to be presented when voting. However, without Section 5 preclearance, none of these changes were evaluated for their potential discriminatory effect before implementation. As the testimony and evidence collected during the Subcommittee’s hearings demonstrate, these voting changes jeopardize millions of Americans’ right to vote and have a disparate impact on the ability of minority voters to cast a ballot.

Much of the testimony and evidence the Subcommittee received demonstrates that states use a combination of these tactics. In Ohio, for example, the state has cut back early voting, eliminated what was once referred to as “Golden Week” (when voters could register and vote...
on the same day), consolidated early voting sites, and purged thousands of voters from the registration rolls, among other things.\footnote{Voting Rights and Election Administration in Ohio: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019).}

In Florida, a lack of language access and language assistance remains a critical barrier to voting.\footnote{Voting Rights and Election Administration in Florida: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019).} In Alabama, the home of \textit{Shelby County} and the infamous Bloody Sunday, the state is still attempting to suppress the vote of minority communities through implementation of strict voter ID requirements, attempts to require proof of citizenship for voter registration, and polling place closures.\footnote{Voting Rights and Election Administration in Alabama: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019).}

When compounded with poverty, a lack of adequate transportation, and/or other socioeconomic constraints, these tactics result in the disenfranchisement of thousands of otherwise eligible voters. This refrain was heard time and again, across all field hearings.

Some argued over the course of the field hearings that “voter turnout is up,” so there must not be a problem. As this report demonstrates, that sentiment is inaccurate. Overcoming barriers to exercise the right to vote does not excuse the barriers’ existence. The will and stamina that voters take to overcome suppressive laws is not an excuse to keep the unjust barriers in place. Congress and the American people made that clear nearly 55 years ago with the passage of the Voting Rights Act and its five subsequent reauthorizations.

\begin{quote}
\textit{“We ought to be celebrating increased turnout wherever it exists. And we also ought to be recognizing that, across the board, in this country, we have very, very low turnout for voters. And that is, in itself, a concern.”}
— Catherine Lhamon, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
\end{quote}

Others posit that purging voter rolls, requiring voter ID, and banning people from putting a neighbor’s ballot in the mail is necessary to prevent voter fraud. Voter fraud has long been a red herring in the attempt to suppress the right to vote. The Subcommittee received testimony and evidence of how purge processes often inaccurately sweep up people who are, in fact, eligible to vote and disproportionately affect minority voters and naturalized citizens. There have been very few, if any, cases of in-person voter fraud, which is the only type of fraud voter ID would purportedly prevent.

The Subcommittee received no testimony in Arizona, a state that has seen a large shift toward mail-in ballots, warranting its suppressive ban on “ballot harvesting” that recently became law. In North Carolina’s Ninth Congressional District, the recent issues with ballot collection were the result of election fraud, not voter fraud. Despite repeated unsubstantiated claims, there were no accounts of voter fraud in California’s vote-by-mail and ballot collection system in the 2018 election.
In Ohio, Inajo Davis Chappell, a member of the Cuyahoga County Board of Elections for the last 12 years, testified in her personal capacity that she believes the “constant clamoring about rampant voter fraud is [also] discouraging voter participation.”\textsuperscript{220} Ms. Chappell went on to say, “my experience in administering elections in Cuyahoga County over the last twelve years permits me to say with confidence that claims of voter fraud in the elections process are wholly without merit. Indeed, the voter fraud narrative is a patently false narrative.”\textsuperscript{221}

As U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Chair Catherine Lhamon testified, “[N]ot only was there no evidence given to the Commission about widespread voter fraud, the data and the research that is bipartisan reflect that voter fraud is vanishingly rare in this country. … [A]nd so, it is duplicative and also harmful to initiate strict voter ID, among other kinds of requirements, in the name of combating voter fraud.”\textsuperscript{222} The very real issue at hand is the lack of access to the ballot and the increase in discriminatory, suppressive voting laws faced by voters. As a guardian of democracy, this is where Congress’s focus must lie.

**VOTER SUPPRESSION EFFORTS ACROSS AMERICA**

The post-*Shelby County* voting rights landscape has seen the rise of a new generation of voter suppression tactics. Some may appear sensible on their face, but in their intent and practical impact, they discriminate, frustrate, and ultimately suppress the votes of targeted communities. Some of these laws amount to a modern-day poll tax, such as requiring voter ID that is difficult and prohibitively expensive to obtain or requiring formerly incarcerated individuals to pay all fines and fees before their right to vote is restored.

The denial of, or lack of availability of, multi-language access or assistance at the polls disenfranchises voters whose right to those services is still protected under the Voting Rights Act. Discriminatory and over-aggressive methods of purging voter rolls disenfranchise

\textsuperscript{220} *Voting Rights and Election Administration in Ohio*: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116\textsuperscript{th} Cong. (2019); written testimony of Inajo Davis Chappell at p. 3.

\textsuperscript{221} Id.

\textsuperscript{222} *Voting Rights and Election Administration in America*: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116\textsuperscript{th} Cong. (2019), hearing transcript, Catherine Lhamon answering Congressman Pete Aguilar at p. 51-52.

“Mr. Aguilar: But this is becoming hyper-political. And some of my colleagues across the aisle are conflating voter fraud with legitimate exercising of our electoral process. And they have blamed losses, congressional losses, on this, basically telling folks that thousands of ballots just kind of show up, the inference being that individuals are just grabbing other people’s ballots. I mean, you know, it is just becoming hyper-political.

So, can you talk a little bit about ballot harvesting? And is there evidence? Was there any testimony given to you and your Commission supporting claims of widespread voter fraud that a lot of my colleagues have used, obviously, to pass increased voter suppression laws?

Ms. Lhamon: Not only was there no evidence given to the Commission about widespread voter fraud, the data and the research that is bipartisan reflect that voter fraud is vanishingly rare in this country.

So, the concerns about that type of vote misuse both have existing criminal penalties in the Voting Rights Act for voting twice and State and Federal penalties for the kinds of voter fraud that already exist. And so it is duplicative and also harmful to initiate strict voter ID, among other kinds of requirements, in the name of combating voter fraud.

But, also, the existence of voter fraud, as I mentioned, essentially does not exist. And the testimony, both that we at the Commission received and also that our State advisory committees received across the many States that investigated this question, just don’t find the existence of voter fraud at all.”
otherwise eligible voters, often without their knowledge until they arrive at the polls and are turned away or forced to cast a provisional ballot that may not be counted.

Some states require an exact signature match for a ballot to be accepted, a challenge for elderly and disabled voters. This is often enforced by a lay-person with no training in handwriting analysis. Thousands of Georgia voters had their registrations put on hold because the name on the registration form did not “exact match” the name on file with certain government records. Hundreds of polling locations have closed since Shelby County was decided, early voting hours have been cut, and same-day registration has been eliminated in some instances. Discriminatory gerrymandering has once again diluted the vote and voice of minority populations.

This chapter will explore the most common voter suppression tactics discussed during the Subcommittee’s field hearings, which have become more pervasive post-Shelby County, as there is no longer any check on these practices (other than costly litigation and ballot measures):

- Purging voter registration rolls
- Cutbacks to early voting
- Polling place closures and movements
- Voter Identification (voter ID) requirements
- Use of exact match and signature match
- Lack of language access and assistance
- Discriminatory gerrymandering

**Purging Voter Registration Rolls**

Voter purges refer to the process by which election officials attempt to remove the names of allegedly ineligible voters from the voter registration lists. Voter purges have taken various forms in recent years, and when done improperly, disenfranchise otherwise eligible voters and increase the risk that minority voters will be disproportionately impacted. Often this happens too soon before an election for a voter to correct the error.

Florida has attempted to purge voters based on alleged ineligibility; Georgia came under increased scrutiny for placing voter registrations on hold and purging voters based on minor errors under the “exact match” procedures; North Carolina purges voters based on challenges by private parties; Florida and Pennsylvania purge voters based on felony convictions; and Georgia, and Ohio purge voters based on inactivity, to name a few. While states must

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maintain accurate voter rolls, practices of purging voters from rolls have raised serious concerns in recent years. Some states enacted unnecessary restrictions on voter registration and requirements to remain on the rolls, while others have purged otherwise eligible voters based on exaggerated assertions of non-citizens registering to vote and on the use of faulty databases.

The Brennan Center for Justice found that between 2014 and 2016, states removed almost 16 million voters from the registration rolls.225 This purge rate resulted in almost 4 million more names being purged from the rolls between 2014 and 2016 than between 2006 and 2008.226 The purge rate outpaced growth in voter registration (18 percent) or population (6 percent).227 The Brennan Center calculated that 2 million fewer voters would have been purged between 2012 and 2016 if jurisdictions previously covered by Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act had purged their voter rolls at the same rate as other non-covered jurisdictions.228

Follow-on research by the Brennan Center found that at least 17 million voters were purged nationwide between 2016 and 2018.229 According to testimony from Michael Waldman, President of the Brennan Center, the median purge rate was 40 percent higher in jurisdictions previously covered by Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act than elsewhere.230 Had the purge rate in previously covered jurisdictions been consistent with the rest of the country, as many as 1.1 million fewer people would have been purged from the rolls.231

Federal law governing purges allows a voter’s name to be removed from the voter rolls on the following grounds: (1) disenfranchising criminal conviction; (2) mental incapacity; (3) death; and (4) change in residence.232 Additionally, individuals who were never eligible may be removed. Voters may be removed at their own request (even if they remain eligible).233

226 Id.
227 “Almost 4 million more names were purged from the rolls between 2014 and 2016 than between 2006 and 2008. This growth in the number of removed voters represented an increase of 33 percent — far outstripping growth in both total registered voters (18 percent) and total population (6 percent).”
229 Id.
233 “The law discusses five categories of removal from voter rolls: (1) request of the registrant; (2) disenfranchising criminal conviction; (3) mental incapacity; (4) death; and (5) change in residence. The NVRA sets forth a series of specific requirements that apply to purges of registrants believed to have changed residence. The law also contains a series of additional proscriptions on state practices. For example, it provides that list maintenance must be uniform, nondiscriminatory, and in accordance with the Voting Rights Act. It also prohibits systematic voter purges (those programs that remove groups of voters at once) within 90 days of a federal election. The Act also has provisions that apply on Election Day if a voter has changed address. Voters who have moved within a jurisdiction are permitted to vote at either their new or old polling place (states get to choose), while purged voters — mistakenly believed to have moved — who show up on Election Day have the right to correct the error and cast a ballot that will count.”
Notably, the statute does not allow states to purge voters solely based on inactivity. The Department of Justice supported plaintiffs who successfully challenged state purge practices until the change in presidential administrations following the 2016 election. The new administration reversed course on a brief filed by the Obama administration in support of plaintiffs challenging Ohio’s purge practice, and instead filed a brief in support of Ohio.\textsuperscript{234}

In 2018, the Ohio Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Advisory Memorandum stated that Ohio is currently one of the most aggressive states in purging voter registrations.\textsuperscript{235} The Court’s decision in \textit{Husted v. A. Philip Randolph Institute}, which upheld Ohio’s practice,\textsuperscript{236} paved the way for states to conduct more aggressive voter purges. Under Ohio law, voters were being removed from the voter rolls based on failure to vote. Voters who miss a single federal election are flagged to receive a postage prepaid notice to confirm the voter still lives at the same address. If the voter fails to respond to that notice and does not vote within the next four years (two federal elections), the state removes them from the voter rolls, citing change of residence, with no further notice. If a person attempts to vote after her registration has been canceled, she is given a provisional ballot. The provisional ballot is not counted for the current election cycle, but the envelope containing the provisional ballot, if filled out correctly, can double as a voter registration form, re-registering the voter for the next election cycle.\textsuperscript{237} As of publication of the Ohio State Advisory Memorandum, Ohio had purged more than 2 million people since 2011 for failure to vote in two consecutive elections.\textsuperscript{238}

On June 11, 2018, the Court ruled that Ohio’s purge law was permissible.\textsuperscript{239} The Court’s decision was based on its interpretation of the National Voter Registration Act and did not address any possible claims regarding a Section 2 discrimination claim.\textsuperscript{240} The \textit{Husted} decision effectively punishes voters for failing to vote, contrary to how the law was written and the system is intended to function. In practice, if a voter skips voting in the midterms and one presidential election, they are placed into the process for purging.

A 2016 Reuters analysis of Ohio’s voter purge found that “in predominantly African American neighborhoods around Cincinnati, 10 percent of registered voters had been removed due to inactivity since 2012, compared to just four percent in the suburban Indian Hill. The study


“After the 2016 presidential election, the DOJ changed its position in this case through a brief filed in Aug. 2017, signed by no career staff. Brief for the United States as Amicus Curiae in Support of Petitioner-Defendant, \textit{Husted v. A. Philip Randolph Inst.}, \url{https://www.usccr.gov/sites/default/files/briefs/2017/08/07/16-980_husted_v_randolph_institute_ac_merits.pdf}. In the meantime, 17 former DOJ leaders including former Attorney General Eric Holder and career voting rights attorneys filed an amicus before the Supreme Court, arguing that the NVRA protects the right to vote and the right not to vote, and clearly prohibits removals for inactivity, noting that “from 1994 until the Solicitor General’s brief in this case, the DOJ had repeatedly interpreted the NVRA to prohibit a state from using a registrant’s failure to vote as the basis for initiating the Section 8(d) voter-purge process.” Brief for Eric Holder et al. as Amici Curiae in Support of Respondents, \textit{Husted v. A. Philip Randolph Inst.} at 31.”


\textsuperscript{236} \textit{Husted v. A. Philip Randolph Inst.}, 138 S. Ct. 1833 (2018).

\textsuperscript{237} \textit{Id}.

\textsuperscript{238} \textit{Id}.


\textsuperscript{240} \textit{Id}.
further found that more than 144,000 people were removed from the rolls in Ohio’s three largest counties, which includes the cities of Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Columbus—hitting hardest neighborhoods that are low-income and have a high proportion of Black voters.241 Ohio’s Secretary of State Frank LaRose recently revealed errors in the state’s purge list as groups found tens of thousands of people were wrongfully on the list.242

The purported rationale behind these purges often exaggerates the alleged problem of non-citizens voting, while the practical result is the removal of otherwise eligible citizens from the voting rolls. Sometimes, this concern is perpetuated by public officials who may have ulterior political motives. The words of election officials have a significant impact on the public’s trust in the voting process. In Texas, the Secretary of State made wildly inaccurate claims about non-citizens registering to vote.

On January 25, 2019, Texas Secretary of State David Whitley issued an advisory to county voter registrars about non-citizens and voter registration.243 In an accompanying press release, Secretary Whitley claimed that “approximately 95,000 individuals identified by [the Texas Department of Public Safety (DPS)] as non-U.S. citizens have a matching voter registration record in Texas” and “58,000 of whom have voted in one or more Texas elections.”244 This claim was demonstrably false. Within a week, the facts bore out that many of these voters were in fact naturalized citizens who had already confirmed their citizenship.245 As Kristen Clarke of the Lawyers’ Committee testified, “the list was based on DMV data that the state knew was flawed and would necessarily sweep in thousands of citizens who completed the naturalization process after lawfully applying for a Texas drivers’ license.”246 According to testimony from Dale Ho of the ACLU, in Harris County, Texas alone, about 60 percent of the 30,000 voters flagged had already confirmed their citizenship.247 Advocates sued, challenging the purge process; the case settled immediately and Texas abandoned the process.248 The court


found that Texas “created a mess” which “exemplified the power of the government to strike fear and intimidate the least powerful among us.”

Purges have also been implemented in Georgia, where then-Secretary of State Brian Kemp’s office purged approximately 1.5 million registered voters between 2012 and 2016. Between 2016 and 2018, Georgia purged more than 10 percent of its voters. Secretary of State Kemp then ran for Governor of Georgia in 2018, winning by 54,723 votes, a 1.4 percentage point margin. In October 2019, Georgia officials announced they would be removing approximately 300,000 names from the voter rolls, almost four percent of those registered to vote.

Between 2000 and 2012, the state of Florida was repeatedly charged with allegations it engaged in systematic purges impacting voters of color. In 2012, Florida attempted to remove voters who were allegedly non-citizens from its voter rolls by comparing rolls to driver’s license data, an unreliable method as Florida’s driver’s license databases do not reflect citizenship. Utilizing this method, the state identified over 180,000 “questionable” voters before eventually cutting it down to 2,600. In addition, the purge had suspicious timing as it took place within 90 days of the 2012 election. According to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights:

“The vast majority of voters on Florida’s 2012 purge list were people of color. The data in a federal complaint alleging Section 2 violations (based on Florida voter registration data) showed that 87 percent were voters of color: 61 percent were Hispanic (whereas 14 percent of all registered voters in Florida were Hispanic); 16 percent were Black (whereas 14

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250 Id. at p. 147.


254 Id.

255 Id. at p. 147.
percent of all registered voters were Black); 16 percent were White (whereas 70 percent of registered voters were White); and 5 percent were Asian American (whereas only 2 percent of registered voters were Asian).258

In ensuing litigation, Florida was blocked from continuing this practice. In 2014, then-Governor, now Senator, Rick Scott again attempted to purge alleged non-citizens from the voter rolls using the Department of Homeland Security’s Systematic Alien Verification for Entitlements ("SAVE") database. Use of the SAVE database is also highly problematic as it is not updated to include all naturalized citizens.259 This faulty method of purging voter rolls has a disproportionate impact on people of color.

Judith Browne Dianis, Executive Director of the Advancement Project, testified in Florida that the Advancement Project’s research found 87 percent of Florida’s purge list comprised people of color, and more than 50 percent of the list was Latino.260 Florida has again moved aggressively to purge voters: an estimated seven percent of voters have been purged in the last two years.261

In Alabama, since taking office in 2015, Secretary of State John Merrill has purged 780,000 voters from the state’s rolls.262 In 2017, more than 340,000 additional voters were listed as inactive, a precursor to being removed from the rolls if the voter does not vote in the next four years.263 Nancy Abudu, Deputy Legal Director, Voting Rights at the Southern Poverty Law Center testified that, although Alabama law allows voters placed on the inactive list to update their voter registration and cast a regular ballot even on the day of the election, Southern Poverty Law Center employees on the ground as part of the Alabama Voting Rights Project, "spoke to dozens of voters who were forced to cast provisional ballots because of their ‘inactive’ status.”264

New York has also had issues with improperly removing otherwise eligible voters from the rolls. In November 2016, the Lawyers’ Committee and Common Cause filed suit alleging the New York City Board of Elections (NYCBOE) had purged voters from the rolls in violation of the National Voter Registration Act.265 Earlier in 2016, NYCBOE had confirmed that more than 126,000 Brooklyn voters were removed from the rolls between the summer of 2015 and the April 2016 presidential primary election.266 After the State of New York and the Department of Justice entered the case, the NYCBOE agreed to place persons who were removed from the rolls or were on inactive status back on the rolls if they met certain

259  Id. at p. 148.
261  Id.
264  Id. at p. 4-5.
266  Id.
requirements. Subsequently, a Consent Decree was negotiated whereby the NYCBOE agreed to comply with the NVRA before purging anyone from the rolls and subject itself to four years of monitoring and auditing.267

In 2016, Arkansas purged thousands of voters due to supposed felony convictions, but the lists used to conduct the purge where highly inaccurate and included many voters who had never committed a felony or whose voting rights had been restored.268

Improper purges are exacerbated by the use of inaccurate databases. The SAVE database is at times used to verify immigration status when an individual interacts with a state, however SAVE does not include a comprehensive and definitive listing of U.S. citizens and states have been cautioned against using it to check voter eligibility.269 Additionally, driver’s license databases have proven inaccurate for verifying voter registration lists.270

States have also attempted to address voters rolls through coordinated information sharing. Two systems developed to facilitate this are the Interstate Voter Registration Crosscheck Program (“Crosscheck”) and the Electronic Registration Information Center (“ERIC”). Crosscheck was created by the State of Kansas and has been found to have high error rates.271 The system includes data from registered voters in participating states and compares their first names, last names, and date of birth to generate lists of voters who may be registered to vote in more than one state.272 The system has proved highly problematic. A 2017 study found that, if applied nationwide, Crosscheck would “impede 300 legal votes for every double vote prevented.”273 Several states have left the program in recent years or stopped using it.274 Since Kris Kobach lost his election for governor of Kansas in 2018, the future of the Crosscheck system has become uncertain and data has not been loaded into Crosscheck since 2017 due to security concerns.275

269 Id., written testimony of Dale Ho at p. 8-9.
270 Id. at p. 12.
272 Id. at p. 109-110.
274 Id. at p. 7-8.
The ERIC system uses far more data points than Crosscheck to attempt to identify when voters move, including voter registration data, DMV licensing information, Social Security Administration data, and National Change of Address information.\(^{276}\) As of July 2019, 28 states and the District of Columbia participate in ERIC.\(^{277}\)

This problem could be ameliorated by implementing same-day registration. Dale Ho testified that states that have Election Day registration “tend to have turnout that is about 5 to 10 percentage points higher than the states that don’t.”\(^{278}\) Allowing voters to same-day register could ensure that voters who are erroneously purged from the rolls are not forced to cast a provisional ballot that may never be counted or do not vote at all.

**Cutbacks to Early Voting**

In the 2016 election cycle, 23,024,146 Americans used in-person early voting.\(^{279}\) Since 2010, several states have reduced the hours and/or days of early, in-person voting available to voters.\(^{280}\) The USCCR Minority Voting Report found cuts to early voting can cause long lines with a disparate impact on voters of color.\(^{281}\) Long lines at the polls during the 2012 elections led to the creation of the Presidential Commission on Election Administration (PCEA). The PCEA found that “over five million voters in 2012 experienced wait times exceeding one hour and an additional five million waited between a half hour and an hour.”\(^{282}\) According to the National Conference of State Legislatures, 39 states (including three that mail ballots to all voters) and the District of Columbia allow any qualified voter to cast an in-person vote during a designated early voting period prior to Election Day with no excuse or justification needed.\(^{283}\) Eleven states have no early voting and an excuse is required to request an absentee ballot.\(^{284}\) Since 2010, at least seven states have reduced in-person early voting, limiting the days and hours sites are open, and closed locations, all of which disproportionately impacts voters of color.\(^{285}\)

One of the most severe examples of cuts to early voting was examined at the Subcommittee’s field hearing in Ohio. For nearly a decade, Ohio expanded voters’ access to the ballot before reversing course and drastically constricting access, limiting early voting and creating frequent

\(^{276}\) Id. at p. 8.
\(^{280}\) Id. at p. 159.
\(^{281}\) Id.
\(^{284}\) Id.

confusion for voters. During the 2004 general election, Ohio voters faced exceptionally long lines which left them (in the words of one court) “effectively disenfranchised.”

Ohio established early, in-person voting largely in response to the well-documented problems of the 2004 general election. The Sixth Circuit summarized the problems in League of Women Voters of Ohio v. Brunner as:

“Voters were forced to wait from two to twelve hours to vote because of inadequate allocation of voting machines. Voting machines were not allocated proportionately to the voting population, causing more severe wait times in some counties than in others. At least one polling place [sic], voting was not completed until 4:00 a.m. on the day following Election Day. Long wait times caused some voters to leave their polling places without voting in order to attend school, work, or to family responsibilities or because a physical disability prevented them from standing in line. Poll workers received inadequate training, causing them to provide incorrect instructions and leading to the discounting of votes. In some counties, poll workers misdirected voters to the wrong polling place, forcing them to attempt to vote multiple times and delaying them by up to six hours.”

In response, Ohio adopted a measure allowing 35 days of in-person early voting. Ohio law allows voter registration up to 30 days before the Election Day, essentially creating five days in which voters could register and vote at the same time, a practice which became known as Golden Week. In 2014, the state eliminated Golden Week, claiming it would help combat voter fraud, despite no evidence of widespread fraud. In May 2016, the U.S. District Court of the Southern District of Ohio found that the elimination of Golden Week violated the Constitution and Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act by placing a disproportionate burden on minority voters.

In 2014, then-Secretary of State, now Lieutenant Governor, Jon Husted also issued a directive eliminating Sunday voting. During the presidential election cycle, voting lines are long, especially during periods of heavy voting, long lines can be wrapped around the building and down the street for several blocks.”

— Inajo Davis Chappell, Cuyahoga County Board of Elections Member

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286 Ohio State Conference of the NAACP et al v. Husted et al., 768 F.3d 524, 531 (6th Cir. 2014).
voting, except the Sunday before the election, and evening voting after 5 p.m.\textsuperscript{291} In addition to eliminating Golden Week, Ohio allows each county only one early, in-person voting site, regardless of population size. Cuyahoga County, with a population of more than 1.2 million people,\textsuperscript{292} is allotted the same, single early voting site as the smallest counties in the state, such as Vinton County with a population of just over 13,100 people.\textsuperscript{293}

In 2014, the Brennan Center gathered stories from Ohio organizers and religious leaders illustrating how last-minute changes caused confusion and limited voters’ access to the polls. That year many pastors and elected officials said confusion about early voting made it more difficult to coordinate their efforts.\textsuperscript{294} In 2015, state officials and voting rights advocates settled a separate ongoing lawsuit over early voting hours, which restored one day of Sunday voting and added early voting hours on weekday evenings. The settlement remained in place through 2018.\textsuperscript{295}

At the Ohio field hearing, Inajo Davis Chappell testified that the Secretary of State, Ohio Legislature, and Ohio Association of Election Officials decided in 2014 that uniformity in the rules governing elections in all 88 counties would be the key organizing principle for the 88 county boards of election in Ohio.\textsuperscript{296} Uniform rules have been adopted and implemented in a manner that limits, rather than expands, ballot access.\textsuperscript{297} Secretary Husted claimed he was creating uniformity, so all Ohioans had the same opportunity

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Figure3.jpg}
\caption{Lines of voters waiting to cast a ballot during 2018 early voting in Cleveland, Ohio. Photo provided by Inajo Davis Chappell at the Ohio Field Hearing.}
\end{figure}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[292] U.S. Census Bureau, \textit{Quick Facts: Cuyahoga County, Ohio} (as of July 1, 2018), \url{https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/cuyahogacountyohio}.
\item[293] U.S. Census Bureau, \textit{Quick Facts: Vinton County, Ohio} (as of July 1, 2018), \url{https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/vintoncountyohio,cuyahogacountyohio/PST045218}.
\item[297] Id. at p. 2.
\end{footnotes}
to vote; however, uniformity has the effect of disadvantaging citizens who live in more populous counties.

In one of the largest counties in Ohio, Cuyahoga County, early voting (both in-person and vote-by-mail) represents 35-40 percent of the votes cast in elections in Cuyahoga County since 2010.\footnote{Id. at p. 2.} Ms. Chappell testified that, “in effect, early in-person voting is restricted to one location for all counties, regardless of size.”\footnote{Id.} She testified that in limiting early voting to one location, the location in Cuyahoga County is the central elections office building which is downtown, and at which they “have significant space constraints, parking is limited and the site is congested and difficult to manage during periods of heavy voting.”\footnote{Id.}

In Florida, voters – particularly voters of color – used early voting in high numbers.\footnote{Voting Rights and Election Administration in Florida: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), written testimony of Judith Browne Dianis at p. 2.} However, in 2011 Florida enacted H.B. 1355, which cut early voting and eliminated the final Sunday of early voting.\footnote{Voting Rights and Election Administration in Florida: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), hearing transcript, Judith Browne Dianis at p. 68.} Ms. Dianis testified that the cuts to early voting “led to long lines and massive wait times on Election Day that year – wait times that were two to three times longer in Black and Latino precincts than in White precincts.”\footnote{Voting Rights and Election Administration in Florida: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), written testimony of Judith Browne Dianis at p. 3.}

In July 2018, a federal court struck down Florida’s ban on early voting at public colleges. Hannah Fried, National Campaign Director of All Voting is Local, testified that a post-election analysis published by the Andrew Goodman Foundation found that “nearly 60,000 voters cast early in-person ballots at campus sites that advocates, including [All Voting is Local], helped secure” in the aftermath of the court’s decision.\footnote{Voting Rights and Election Administration in America: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), written testimony of Hannah Fried at p. 6.} However, Florida’s only public Historically Black University was the only major public campus without an early voting site.\footnote{Voting Rights and Election Administration in America: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), written testimony of Judith Browne Dianis at p. 3.}

In particular, AVL helped place an early voting site at the predominantly Hispanic Florida International University. A post-election analysis published by the Andrew Goodman Foundation found that nearly 60,000 voters cast early in-person ballots at campus sites that advocates, including AVL, helped to secure. However, Florida A&M University (FAMU) – the state’s sole public Historically Black University – was the only major public campus without an early voting location.”

- almost 30 percent of campus early vote ballots were cast by Hispanic voters, compared to just under 13 percent of early ballots cast at non-campus locations, and
In Texas, just before the 2018 election, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. (“LDF”) filed a motion for a temporary restraining order on behalf of Black students at the historically Black university (“HBCU”) Prairie View A&M University in Waller County, Texas. The students sought to stop cuts to early voting hours — cuts that would have left Prairie View without any early voting opportunities on weekends, evenings, or during the first week of early voting. In response to the ongoing litigation, County officials agreed to add several hours of early voting in Prairie View for the 2018 election.

In Georgia, state elected officials have repeatedly tried to eliminate early voting on Sundays, days that many Black churches utilize for Souls to the Polls initiatives. Sean Young, Legal Director of the ACLU of Georgia testified that in 2014, a state representative criticized his county elections officials for allowing Sunday voting at a convenient location because “this location is dominated by African American shoppers and it is near several large African American mega churches,” and that he would “prefer more educated voters.” Legislators in the state continue to introduce legislation preventing early voting on Sundays and advocates have had to work repeatedly to defeat them without the backstop of Section 5 evaluations.

In North Carolina, leading up to the 2016 presidential election, at least 17 counties made significant cuts to early voting days and hours, and early voter turnout among Black voters

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“The Andrew Goodman study, written by Professor Daniel A. Smith of the University of Florida, found high rates of campus early voting among historically disenfranchised groups, including:

- almost 30 percent of campus early vote ballots were cast by Hispanic voters, compared to just under 13 percent of early ballots cast at non-campus locations
- more than 22 percent of campus early vote ballots were cast by Black voters, compared to 18 percent of early ballots cast at non-campus locations.”


“LDF also has several pending cases in formerly covered states opposing voting changes under Section 2 or the U.S. Constitution. For instance, on the eve of the 2018 election, LDF filed a motion for a temporary restraining order on behalf of Black students at the historically Black Prairie View A&M University in Waller County, Texas. County officials have long discriminated against Black students in Prairie View. In 2018, the students sought to stop cuts to early voting hours, which would have left Prairie View without any early voting opportunities on weekends, evenings, or during the first week of early voting. In response to LDF’s ongoing case, however, county officials agreed in 2018 to add several hours of early voting in Prairie View.”

308 Id.


“In 2016, in an attempt to blunt the impact of the Fourth Circuit’s decision to restore the first week of early voting, many of the Republican-led county BOEs adopted early voting plans with fewer hours and sites during the first restored week. There were dramatic reductions in early voting hours in Guilford (-660), Mecklenburg (-282), Brunswick (-165), Craven (-141), Johnston (-124), Robeson (-121), and Jackson (-113) counties. Of those, Guilford, Craven, and Robeson counties were previously covered
declined almost nine percent statewide compared to 2012. Additionally, the North Carolina legislature passed a 2018 law requiring counties to stage early voting for the same hours across all sites.

As in Ohio, while uniformity presents theoretical benefits, Tomas Lopez, Executive Director of Democracy North Carolina testified that it has, in practice, reduced the availability of early voting. Counties, especially low-resourced areas, had previously made early voting available at different times across a variety of locations during the early voting window, but “the 2018 law makes it impossible by requiring counties that are early voting sites to be open for the same amount of hours if they are open during the week.” As such, “the most popular way to cast a ballot in North Carolina,” via early voting, is rendered less available. Post-Shelby County, neither the state, nor any of the previously covered counties in North Carolina were required to conduct any analysis of how these changes would impact minority voters and whether or not they would have a discriminatory impact.

Congressman G. K. Butterfield (D-NC-01), a member of the Subcommittee on Elections, noted that in Halifax County, a previously covered county, there is presently only one early voting site to serve the entire county—a county with a poverty rate of 28 percent and in which one in eight households lack transportation. In 2012, 2014, and 2016, there were three early voting sites, but after the 2018 uniformity law, the county is left with one. In the 2018 midterm election, turnout was up across the state of North Carolina except in three counties, one of which was Halifax County. The 2018 law had wide-ranging consequences. Forty-three counties reduced the number of early voting sites in 2018 compared to 2014 and 51 counties reduced the number of weekend days offered. On October 28, 2019, state and

under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, and Mecklenburg and Johnston have significant Black voting populations, 33% and 16% of all registered voters (as of October 22, 2016) respectively.”

313 Id. at p. 15.
314 Id.
315 Id.

“So, we have 43 counties reducing the number of early voting sites in 2018 compared to the last midterm, 51 that have reduced the number of weekend days offered, 67 that have reduced the number of weekend hours. In 8 counties where a majority of voters are Black, 4 have reduced sites, 7 have reduced weekend days, and all 8 reduced the number of weekend hours during early voting, and none saw increases in sites or weekend options.”

318 Id.

“This has produced several consequences in practice:

● 43 counties reduced the number of early voting sites in 2018 compared to 2014.
● 51 counties reduced the number of weekend days offered.
● 67 counties — over two-thirds of North Carolina’s 100 counties — reduced the number of weekend hours.
● Of the eight counties where a majority of voters are Black, four reduced sites, seven reduced weekend days, and all eight reduced the number of weekend hours during early voting. None saw increases in sites or weekend options.
national Democrats filed a lawsuit challenging the restrictions on early voting put in place in 2018. These restrictions also eliminated early voting the Saturday before Election Day, a day on which Democrats and Black Americans tend to vote and on which more than 6.9 percent (135,000) of early voters cast their ballot.

Alabama continues to have no early, in-person voting. Alabama’s Secretary of State, John Merrill, is opposed to any additions, telling a local media outlet in 2018, “[T]here is no future for early voting as long as I’m Secretary of State.”

Kristen Clarke, President and Executive Director of the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (“Lawyers’ Committee”) highlighted an instance in Utah that required litigation after San Juan County, Utah made a decision in 2014 to move to all-mail balloting, but allowed in-person early voting at a single location, noting that location was “easily accessible to the White population, but three times less accessible to the sizable Navajo population, who had to drive on average three hours to get to the polling place.” The case was settled with the establishment of three polling locations on Navajo Nation land.

Early, in-person voting is a method of accessing the ballot disproportionately used by voters of color. When states target early voting for cutbacks and changes, it can have a disproportionate impact on minority communities that would have otherwise been protected by a Section 5 review.

Polling Place Closures and Movements

A 2019 study published by The Leadership Conference Education Fund examined 757 (nearly 90 percent) of the approximately 860 counties (or county-level equivalent) once covered by Section 5 and found 1,688 polling place closures between 2012 and 2018. The study found 69 percent of the polling place closures occurred after the 2014 midterm election despite increased voter turnout.

Prior to Shelby County, states and localities were required to notify voters well in advance of polling location closures, to prove that those changes would not have a disparate impact on minority voters, and to provide data to the Department of Justice about the impact. Now,
notification is no longer required, and the Department of Justice is not required to evaluate the impact of changes.

There may be legitimate reasons for closing, consolidating, or moving polling locations, but without the disparate impact data, community consultation, and evaluation to support these changes, there is no way to ensure these closures do not discriminate against minority voters. If Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act was still enforceable, covered jurisdictions would need to collect and analyze this data and submit it to the Department of Justice for approval before closing, consolidating, or moving polling locations.

Polling place closures can lead to long lines and extreme wait times and can require voters to drive for miles to reach a polling place. Closing, moving and consolidating polling locations impacts all voters. The Subcommittee heard testimony detailing how decreased access to polling places increases the burden on the voter, leading to long lines and sometimes overly burdensome travel.

Georgia closed nearly 214 polling places from 2012 to 2016.328 Georgia’s population is 31 percent Black and nine percent Latino.329 The Leadership Conference report identified Georgia as a state of concern because “its counties have closed higher percentages of voting locations than any other state in our study.”330

“Last August, in Randolph County, the Board of Elections tried to close 7 out of 9 polling places in a county whose population is 60% Black, affecting thousands of voters on the eve of the state’s high-profile 2018 general election. ... Located in the southwest corner of the state, Randolph County is part of what is known as the Black Belt. [Our] client read the small notice that the county board placed in the legal section of a local weekly paper and reached out for [our] help. With less than two weeks to protect the voter rights of the Randolph County citizens, the ACLU of Georgia immediately implemented a three-pronged strategy that incorporated legal, media, and on-the-ground community organizing.”

— Sean J. Young, ACLU of Georgia

329 Id. at p. 14.
330 Id. at p. 18.
Gilda Daniels, Director of Litigation at the Advancement Project, testified that many of those voting precincts were in communities of color and disadvantaged areas. In August 2018, the Board of Elections in Randolph County, Georgia, attempted to close seven of nine polling places in a county whose population is 60 percent Black. The ACLU of Georgia became involved after their client “read the small notice that the county board placed in the legal section of a local weekly paper and reached out” for help. The county ultimately reversed its decision to close over 75 percent of the county’s polling places. In the course of their work, the ACLU of Georgia learned “that the board had hired a consultant handpicked by the Secretary of State who had been recommending polling place closures in counties that were almost all disproportionately Black.”

Additionally, in Georgia, the Board of Elections in County violated state law requiring proper public notice in its attempt to close polling places in neighborhoods that were over 80 percent Black, affecting over 14,000 voters. In Irwin County, the Board of Elections attempted to close the only polling place in the county’s sole Black neighborhood, potentially impacting thousands of voters. This was contrary to the recommendations of the non-partisan Association of County Commissioners of Georgia and all while keeping open a polling place at the Jefferson Davis Memorial Park, a 99 percent White neighborhood.

Despite these issues in the lead-up to the 2018 midterms, Georgia has continued efforts to close and move polling places. In testimony provided in Washington, D.C., Hannah Fried, Director of All Voting is Local, drew attention to the fact that on September 3, 2019, the City Council of Jonesboro, Georgia voted to move the city’s only polling location to its police department, “without providing the public notice required by Georgia law and without taking into consideration the possible deterrent effect to voters of color.”

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333 Id.
334 Id. at p. 2-3.
335 "In Fulton County, the Board of Elections violated state law that required proper public notice in its attempt to close polling places in neighborhoods that were over 80% African-American, affecting over 14,000 voters. See Exhibit 3 (proposed polling place changes and number of voters of each race affected). Just to put this into perspective, that was the same year that Atlanta had a high-profile mayoral election that was decided by less than 1,000 votes.

Even after the ACLU of Georgia testified about the discriminatory impact, the board voted to close the polls. The ACLU of Georgia then filed a successful lawsuit over the board’s violation of the state’s public notice law—which we had to put together within days, to nullify the decision. After the ACLU of Georgia nullified the decision through the courts, a coalition of community organizers had to quickly recruit dozens of neighborhood canvassers who worked tirelessly over several days to organize overwhelming opposition. It was only after this furious amount of activity compressed in less than a one-month timeframe that the local board of elections unanimously reversed its prior decision.”
336 Id. at p. 3.
337 "In Irwin County, the Board of Elections tried to close the only polling place that existed in the only Black neighborhood of the county, affecting thousands of voters, contrary to the recommendations of the non-partisan Association of County Commissioners of Georgia… The board alleged that it wanted to close this polling place to save costs, all while keeping open a polling place located at the Jefferson Davis Memorial Park in a neighborhood that was 99% White. After the ACLU of Georgia threatened litigation, the board rejected this discriminatory proposal. The ACLU of Georgia only learned about these proposed closures in this rural Georgia county because one of its members just happened to live in the area and alert us to it.”
338 Voting Rights and Election Administration in America: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), written testimony of Hannah Fried at p. 4, see also Mark Niesse, Groups Oppose Moving Voting Precinct to Jonesboro Police Station, Atlanta
Texas has closed at least 750 polling locations since Shelby County;\(^{337}\) 590 of these closures took place after the 2014 midterm election.\(^{338}\) Six of the 10 largest polling place closures nationwide were in Texas;\(^{339}\) 14 Texas counties closed at least 50 percent of polling places post-Shelby County.\(^{340}\) The State of Texas is 39 percent Latino and 12 percent Black.\(^{341}\)

Arizona, a state where 30 percent of the population is Latino, four percent is Native American, and four percent is Black, has the most widespread reduction in polling places, closing 320 locations since 2012.\(^{342}\) Post-Shelby County, Arizona no longer must analyze and report on the potential disparate impact of these actions on Black, Latino, Native American, and Asian American voters. Four of the top 10 counties with the largest number of poll closures are in Arizona.\(^{343}\)

The Leadership Conference found:

> “Almost every county (13 of 15 counties) [in Arizona] closed polling places since preclearance was removed—some on a staggering scale. Maricopa County, which is 31 percent Latino, closed 171 voting locations since 2012—the most of any county studied and more than the two next largest closers combined. Many Arizona counties shuttered significant numbers of polling places, including Mohave, which is 16 percent Latino (–34); Cochise, which is 35 percent Latino (–32); and Pima, which is 37 percent Latino (–31).”\(^{344}\)

One reason Arizona may have closed so many polling places is because Arizona, along with Texas, has moved to a “vote center” model of voting.\(^{345}\) Under this model, voters are not assigned a specific polling place, but instead can cast a ballot at a polling place of his or her choosing.\(^{346}\) Arizona and Texas are the only previously covered states that have made clear moves to implement this program. While this could enhance access to voting, this model often leads to massive reductions in polling places.

For example, in 2014, Graham County, Arizona which is 33 percent Latino and 13 percent Native American, closed half of its polling places when it converted to vote centers.\(^{347}\)


338 Id.

339 Id.

340 Id.

341 Id. at p. 14.

342 Id.

343 Id. at p. 16.

344 Id. at p. 17.

345 Id. at p. 23.

346 Id.

Additionally, Cochise County, Arizona which is 35 percent Latino, closed nearly two-thirds of its polling places once the county converted to vote centers – from 49 in 2012 to 17 in 2018.\(^{348}\) Gila County, which is 16 percent Native American and 19 percent Latino also closed almost half its polling places (33 in 2012 to 17 in 2018).\(^{349}\)

In the March 2016 presidential primary, Maricopa County, Arizona received national attention when reports surfaced that frustrated voters waited as long as five hours to cast a ballot.\(^{350}\) At the time, there were 60 polling locations – roughly one polling location for every 21,000 voters.\(^{351}\) In part, this was due to Maricopa County officials’ approval of a plan to cut polling locations by 85 percent compared to 2008 and 70 percent compared to 2012.\(^{352}\)

Tribal leaders and Professor Patty Ferguson-Bohnee, Director of the Indian Legal Clinic at the Sandra Day O’Connor School of Law, testified in Arizona that the move toward mail-in voting, closure of polling locations, and consolidation to voting centers disenfranchise Native voters. Native American voters face barriers such as lack of access to transportation, lack of residential addresses, lack of access to mail, and distance.\(^{353}\) Only 18 percent of Arizona’s reservation voters outside of Maricopa and Pima Counties have physical addresses and are able to receive mail at home.\(^{354}\)

Professor Ferguson-Bohnee testified that Arizona counties that do not have vote centers require that voters be in the proper precinct in order for their ballot to be counted. However, poll workers sometimes give voters provisional ballots without disclosing that their ballot will not be counted if they are in the incorrect precinct.\(^{355}\) Both President Jonathan Nez of the Navajo Nation and Governor Stephen Roe Lewis of the Gila Indian River Community testified that the lack of traditional addresses and regular mailing services make Arizona’s move toward mail-in ballots difficult for Native voters. Both President Nez and Governor Lewis testified that their members prefer in-person voting, and that it is a time of gathering within the community.\(^{356}\)

In North Dakota, Roger White Owl, Chief Executive Officer of the Mandan Hidatsa and Arikara Nation (“MHA Nation”) testified that MHA Nation does not have enough polling places:

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348 Id.
349 Id.
352 Id. at p. 2.
354 Id. at p. 3.
355 Id. at p. 7.
“Two important polling places on our Four Bear segment and Mandaree segments were recently closed. Four Bears is one of the major economic hubs in our capital. With only a couple polling places, many Tribal members had to drive 80 to 100 miles round trip to cast their vote. This is unacceptable.”

In Alaska, at one point a polling place was “moved away from a village, and thereafter, Native Alaskan voters could only access their polling place by plane.” Additionally, Catherine Lhamon, Chair of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, testified that the Commission’s Louisiana Advisory Committee received testimony which “demonstrated that the racial makeup of an area is a predictor of the number of polling locations in that area and that there are fewer polling locations per voter in a geographical area if it has more Black residents.”

In Ohio, during the November 2018 elections, All Voting is Local and other organizations partnered to coordinate non-partisan election protection. During their determination of where to deploy poll observers in Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), All Voting is Local observed that several polling places had been consolidated and precincts moved. Ms. Fried testified that, after the 2018 election, All Voting is Local determined that between 2016 and 2018, “there was a reduction of 41 polling locations countywide, with 15.7 percent of all precincts experiencing a change in location.”

Furthermore, the Subcommittee received testimony that polling locations across the country have been moved to places where many voters may feel intimidated to cast a ballot, including police stations. Elena Nunez, Director of State Operations and Ballot Measure Strategies at Common Cause testified that, in 2016, election officials in Macon, Georgia tried to move a voting precinct to a police station in a largely Black community. Additionally, in September

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358 Voting Rights and Election Administration in America: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), hearing transcript, Catherine Lhamon at p. 38, see also U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, An Assessment of Minority Voting Rights Access in the United States, 2018 Statutory Report (Sept. 2018), citing Natalie Landreth, Why Should Some Native Americans Have to Drive 163 Miles to Vote?, The Guardian, (June 10, 2015), https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jun/10/native-americans-voting-rights (“[I]magine if you had to take a plane flight to the nearest polling place because you cannot get to it by road, which was the case for several Native communities in 2008, when the state of Alaska attempted a “district realignment” to eliminate polling places in their villages. And that’s just half the trip”).
359 Id.
361 Id.
362 Id.
363 Id.
2019, in Jonesboro, Georgia, the nearly all-White city council announced it would move a polling place to a police station in a locality that is 60 percent Black. Ahead of the 2018 election, the President took to his Twitter account to threaten the use of law enforcement to observe polling locations, potentially intimidating and deterring voters.

Ms. Fried testified that election officials too often close polling places with “little notice to, or meaningful input from, the communities they serve.” Ms. Fried also testified there are processes put in place throughout the country, such as “thoughtful studies of the impact on voters from all backgrounds, approval of proposed changes from diverse cross-sections of the community, and outreach to impacted voters through mailed and emailed correspondence, text messages, and public service announcements on local radio,” that could ensure polling place reductions do not discriminate against voters of color. Without these safeguards in place, and without Section 5, “widespread polling place closures create barriers to the ballot box that are incredibly difficult, if not impossible, to overcome.”

The rampant closure of polling places is exactly the type of suppressive voting changes the Voting Rights Act was designed to prevent. If the full force of the law was in effect, states and localities would be required to perform the requisite evaluation of racial impact data, correct for disparate impacts, and justify to the Department of Justice how such a widespread closure of polling locations is not discriminatory. A robust democracy requires all eligible voters have access to the ballot box; traveling long distances and waiting in protracted lines is not true access.

**Voter Identification**

Voter ID requirements have become a ubiquitous, next-generation poll tax in the 21st century. Requiring voters to show state-specified ID in order to vote is an increasingly common suppression tactic in both previously covered and non-covered jurisdictions. Proponents of voter ID requirements argue that such identification is necessary to prevent voter fraud. However, widespread voter fraud has repeatedly proven to be a myth. These ID

> “The Brennan Center’s research has shown that, in terms of in-person voter impersonation, you are more likely to be struck by lightning than to commit voter fraud in the United States.”

—Michael Waldman, Brennan Center for Justice

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364 Id.
365 Id. at p. 2-3.
367 Id.
368 Id.
laws place an unnecessary and often discriminatory burden on voters and lack a legitimate governmental purpose.\textsuperscript{370}

In the post-\textit{Shelby County} landscape, no state or locality is required to evaluate a new voter ID law for discriminatory impact on voters. The Subcommittee repeatedly heard testimony from witnesses describing how voter ID laws are financially burdensome, effectively create a new poll tax, and disproportionately impact minority and low-income voters. In nearly every scenario, obtaining a new ID to vote is not free. Even in cases where the state claims the new IDs are “free,” the documents required to obtain an ID, such as a birth certificate, marriage license, or other documents often cannot be obtained without paying a fee for copies.\textsuperscript{371} Not only do the documents cost money, or the IDs themselves come at a cost, but the transportation and time associated with traveling to and from the DMV or other government agencies often comes at a cost insurmountable for many low-income voters. Imposing a cost on accessing the ballot is a poll tax.

In North Carolina, the day after the \textit{Shelby County} decision, the North Carolina General Assembly amended a pending bill to make the state’s voter ID laws stricter.\textsuperscript{372} This was a provision of the monster law, which was ultimately found to be racially discriminatory. Since the federal courts invalidated North Carolina’s monster law, the state has moved to resurrect the law via piecemeal approach, including a voter ID requirement. The North Carolina General Assembly introduced, and voters passed, a ballot measure amending the North Carolina Constitution to require photo ID from voters casting in-person ballots, with exceptions.\textsuperscript{373} Tomas Lopez testified that, while voters approved broadly worded constitutional language, the North Carolina General Assembly enacted implementing legislation closely mirroring the invalidated voter ID statute during a lame-duck session after an election in which the majority party had lost its ability to override gubernatorial vetoes.\textsuperscript{374} The North Carolina legislature later overrode the Governor’s veto to enact the voter ID law.\textsuperscript{375}

North Carolina Senate Minority Leader Dan Blue further testified the new voter ID law “puts a tremendous burden on the State and Local Boards of Election without the funding to back

\textsuperscript{370} Voting Rights and Election Administration: Hearings Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), see Texas Listening Session; Georgia Field Hearing; North Dakota Field Hearing; North Carolina Field Hearing; Alabama Field Hearing; Arizona Field Hearing.


“Despite any potential benefits, many opponents of voter ID laws equate these laws to the poll taxes of the Jim Crow era. They argue that even if the ID itself is offered free of charge, there are other costs citizens must pay in order to receive these IDs. For instance, expenses for documentation (e.g., birth certificate), travel, and wait times are significant—especially for low-income voters (who are often voters of color)—and they typically range anywhere from $75 to $175. According to Professor Richard Sobel, even after being adjusted for inflation, these figures represent far greater costs than the $1.50 poll tax outlawed by the 24th Amendment in 1964.”


\textsuperscript{374} Id., see also S.L. 2018-144.

up these obligations” and said the law will cost $17 million to implement. The new law has language allowing the use of student IDs for voting. However, at the time of the hearing, of the over 100 eligible institutions, only 37 community colleges, colleges, and universities had submitted the necessary documentation to the State Board of Elections to have their IDs approved for voting in 2020 – of those, 11 were denied, including the University of North Carolina flagship school at Chapel Hill and one HBCU. At the time of this writing, many North Carolina college and university student IDs are still not approved as qualified IDs for voting.

In 2011, before the Court invalidated the Voting Rights Act’s preclearance formula, then-Texas Governor Rick Perry signed into law S.B. 14, one of the strictest photo identification laws in the country. Because Texas was subject to preclearance requirements, the law did not go into immediate effect. In 2012, a federal court rejected Texas’ law and denied preclearance on the grounds that S.B. 14 discriminated against Black and Latino voters. Less than one year later, after the Court decided Shelby County, then-Attorney General Greg Abbott, now Governor Abbott, declared within hours that the state would implement its restrictive voter ID law. This despite the previous federal court ruling that held that the same Texas law could not receive preclearance due to its retrogressive effects on people of color.

According to the Brennan Center for Justice, approximately 1.2 million eligible voters in Texas lacked the specific form of ID that S.B. 14 required. This included 555,000 eligible Latino voters and 180,000 eligible Black voters. Latino voters were 242 percent more likely than White voters to lack the required ID, and Black voters were 19 percent more likely than White voters to lack the required ID. Moreover, more than one in five low-income voters lacked the required Texas photo ID. Litigants immediately sued, arguing that Texas’ law racially discriminated against eligible voters and was passed with a discriminatory purpose. In a 2016 ruling rejecting the law, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals rejected lawmakers’ argument that the bill would stop voter fraud, finding only two convictions for in-person voter fraud out of 20 million ballots cast in the decade before the law was passed in 2011.

In 2017, Texas passed a new law photo ID law–S.B. 5–which is slightly less strict than S.B. 14. This new identification law, now in place, still requires photo ID. However, if a voter lacks one of the acceptable photo IDs, they may provide an alternative non-photo document (options include bank statements and utility bills, among other documents) and execute an

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381 Id.
383 Id.
384 Id.
385 Id.
386 Veasey, et. al. v. Abbott, No. 14-41127 (5th Cir. 2016) at p. 27.
accompanying “reasonable impediment declaration” explaining why they do not have the requisite photo ID. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld S.B. 5 in 2018.  

According to the Texas Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, “there are intimidating criminal sanctions associated with incorrectly executing the affidavit necessary to claim the ‘reasonable impediment’ exception to the ID law and stakeholders are concerned that this will deter voters who in fact fall under the ID law’s exception.”

In North Dakota, the Subcommittee heard an egregious example of how voter ID laws target and disenfranchise protected communities. North Dakota enacted a voter ID law that had a significantly disproportionate impact on the state’s Native American communities.

North Dakota has had voter ID laws in place since 2004. At the North Dakota field hearing, Jacqueline De León, Staff Attorney at the Native American Rights Fund (NARF) testified that, prior to changes to the law in 2013 the state’s voter ID law was “likely the most friendly in the nation.”

North Dakota’s voter ID law, while always containing residential address requirements, had built-in fail-safes that allowed voters to cast their ballot if a poll worker could vouch for their identity or the voter signed an affidavit, under penalty of perjury, that they were qualified to vote. The affidavit fail-safe was in place for nearly a century in North Dakota and provided critical protections for Native American voters who lack residential addresses.

North Dakota debated a new voter ID law in 2011 that would have eliminated these fail-safes. Throughout consideration, concerns about disenfranchisement were raised on both sides of the debate. State Senator Sorvaag noted that “[w]e don’t want people voting if they are not suppose [sic] to vote but we don’t want to disenfranchise people either by making the process too [sic] cumbersome.”

In response to concerns raised by state senators, the legislature was notified that “some Native Americans would have a difficult or impossible time obtaining an ID that required a street address.” The state legislature ultimately decided not to enact the proposed changes.

Despite all the concerns raised in 2011, the North Dakota state legislature moved ahead with new restrictive voter ID requirements in 2013. H.B. 1332 “significantly altered the voter...
ID requirements and eliminated the “fail-safe’ voucher and affidavit provisions” that had long protected voters.\(^\text{397}\) Ms. De León further testified the legislature never analyzed whether the Native American voters who lacked addresses in 2011 still lacked addresses. Many Native voters still lack the required addresses to this day. The state legislature utilized a “hoghouse” amendment, a parliamentary procedure replacing the entire text of an unrelated bill with the new text, in order to pass the bill without debate and circumvent input from the public and impacted agencies.\(^\text{398}\)

During the 2014 election, North Dakota voters were only allowed to vote with a North Dakota Driver’s License or non-driver’s identification card, a tribal government ID, or an alternative form of ID prescribed by the Secretary of State.\(^\text{399}\) Ms. De León testified that, “as expected, the impact on the Native American vote in 2014 was severe.”\(^\text{400}\) The voter ID law was amended again the following legislative session, further restricting the forms of qualifying ID.\(^\text{401}\) NARF sued North Dakota on the grounds that the law disenfranchised Native American voters and the U.S. District Court in North Dakota agreed, granting an injunction and requiring the state to provide an affidavit failsafe.\(^\text{402}\)

North Dakota again amended the voter ID law in 2017. Rather than providing the affidavit failsafe mandated by the District Court, the legislature implemented a provisional ballot.\(^\text{403}\) This allowed voters without a valid ID to vote, but the ballot would be thrown out unless the voter could return with a qualifying ID within six days of the election.\(^\text{404}\) Prior to passage, State senators raised concerns that the new law did little to mitigate the discriminatory impact of the law. The legislature chose to move forward, knowing the disparate impact it would have on the Native American community.\(^\text{405}\) Post Office (P.O.) Boxes are utilized significantly by the Native American community — requiring IDs have a residential address disproportionately impacts Native American voters.

Despite efforts to overturn this suppressive requirement, the law remains in effect today. Voters are still required to present a qualifying ID that lists a residential address in order to vote. As the Subcommittee learned at the North Dakota field hearing, obtaining a new ID with a residential address is overly burdensome for many Native American residents.

\(^\text{397}\) Brakebill First Amend. Compl. ¶ 49, ECF No. 77.
\(^\text{399}\) Id. at p. 4, citing N.D. Cent. Code § 16.1-05-07.
\(^\text{400}\) Id. at p. 4.
\(^\text{401}\) Id., citing Brakebill First Amend. Compl. ¶ 87-89, ECF No. 77.
\(^\text{402}\) Id. at p. 4.

“Following NARF’s investigation, in 2016, NARF filed suit on behalf of seven Turtle Mountain plaintiffs that were disenfranchised by the laws. NARF showed that the law disenfranchised Native American voters and violated both the U.S. and North Dakota Constitutions as well as the Voting Rights Act. The U.S. District Court in North Dakota agreed, granting an injunction in favor of the Native American plaintiffs. The Court found that the law violated the U.S. Constitution and required that North Dakota provide a fail-safe mechanism for the 2016 general election. In his decision, Judge Hovland stated, “it is clear that a safety net is needed for those voters who simply cannot obtain a qualifying ID with reasonable effort.” The injunction required that the state provide an affidavit fail safe, allowing voters without proper ID to sign an affidavit swearing to their qualifications, similar to the law in place for nearly a century.”

\(^\text{403}\) Id. at p. 4-5.
\(^\text{405}\) Id., citing Brakebill First Amend. Compl. ¶ 72, ECF No. 77.
Native Americans in North Dakota face a housing crisis across the reservations. Tribal leaders testified that their reservations face significant poverty, unemployment, and homelessness. Many tribal members do not have stable, permanent housing and move from home to home frequently. Many also live in multi-generational homes or in homes that have not been adequately addressed by the state. Addresses listed on IDs made for the 2018 election may become outdated by 2020, and tribes cannot keep issuing new IDs for free.

Chairwoman Myra Pearson of the Spirit Lake Tribe testified that 47.8 percent of residents live below the poverty line, compared to the national average of 13.8 percent. Many members do not have an ID since they do not need one to live day-to-day and IDs cost money. A tribal ID for a Spirit Lake member ordinarily costs $11, but the tribe waived the cost leading up to the election. The tribe issued 655 ID cards between October 22, 2018 and November 8, 2018, costing the tribe $7,315.

Alysia LaCounte, General Counsel to the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians testified that the Tribe currently has an unemployment rate around 69.75 percent. Generally, the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians charges $15 for a tribal ID. As Ms. LaCounte testified, while the fee for an ID may not seem high, for many the fee poses a choice between voting and feeding a family.

Issuing 2,400 new IDs at no charge was burdensome for the Tribe. The undertaking took a significant amount of financial resources and time. Ms. LaCounte testified that, while the Tribe

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“Many of our members struggle with housing instability, unemployment, and poverty. In 2015, a survey of 285 people living on the Spirit Lake Reservation indicated that 38 percent of people have an individual income of under $5,000, and 73 percent have an income of under $20,000 a year. 47.8 percent of the residents live below the poverty line, as compared to the national average of 13.8 percent. 41 percent reported that they had been homeless at some point in their lives. The Candeska Cikana Community College estimated in September 2014 that there are around 300 homeless people residing on or around the reservation, but also noted that estimate might be conservative due to many members not signing up for housing assistance.

Given these realities, and the fact that many parts of the reservation have not been thoroughly addressed, many members do not have ID since they do not need one to live their lives and they cost money. If the members have IDs at all, they hold tribal IDs that list their address as a P.O. Box if they have one. There are many streets on the reservation that are not labeled, and there are many houses which lack numbers. And even if the county 911 coordinator has assigned a residential address to someone’s home, many are never notified of this address. Mail services do not extend to certain parts of the reservation. For example, in Fort Totten all residents receive their mail through a P.O. Box. There is no U.S. Postal Service delivery to residents in this area so they must rely on a P.O. Box to conduct their affairs.”


409 Id. at p. 2.
does not comment on the intent of the law, “its practical implication acted to disenfranchise the people of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians.”

Similar facts were echoed by Charles Walker, Judicial Committee Chairman of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. Mr. Walker testified that many people on Standing Rock do not have an ID. It is not necessary for everyday life, most people know each other, and many do not have a vehicle. The family poverty rate in Sioux County, North Dakota is 35.9 percent and the nearest Driver’s License Site is approximately 40 miles away.

“… are you going to eat or are you going to vote? When you have to choose between having supper for your children or grandchildren or multigenerational living units, you are going to choose to take care of your family first.”

—Charles Walker, Standing Rock Sioux Tribe

Additionally, the Tribe normally charges a $5 fee to print a new ID, a fee they waived so members could obtain an ID to vote. In the lead up to the 2018 election, the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe issued “807 new tribal IDs between October 15, 2018 and November 6, 2018.” The Tribe could have charged a fee for 486 of those IDs, meaning the Tribe lost “nearly $2,500 in income.”

Furthermore, the United States Postal Service does not always operate in the rural areas of Reservations. For many people, even if the 911-system or the state government has assigned them an address, it may never have been communicated to them. Many voters move from home to home because they do not have housing of their own. Even though they remain within the reservation, they do not have a consistent address. Mr. Walker further testified the “failsafe mechanisms” in the latest iteration of the voter ID law do not address the problems Native American voters face. If a voter does not have a legitimate residential address, they likely do not have a utility bill or other document required to satisfy the failsafe.

Roger White Owl, Chief Executive Officer of MHA Nation testified the Tribe estimates 75-80 percent of the tribal members who received a new ID leading up to the November 6, 2018
election did not have another form of ID that would have complied with North Dakota’s law; many still do not have an ID that would allow them to vote.418

This disparate, discriminatory impact is the type of voting barrier the Voting Rights Act was enacted to prevent. The North Dakota voter ID law is a poll tax on many Native Americans, a practice Congress outlawed decades ago.

Alabama also enacted a voter ID law. The law was enacted in 2011, but implementation was delayed pending the decision in Shelby County, meaning Alabama was not required to seek preclearance nor prove the law would not have a discriminatory impact. Alabama’s law requires voters to present one of eleven forms of identification to vote either in-person or absentee, or be positively identified by two election officials.419 If a voter does not have an approved voter ID and cannot be positively identified, the voter may cast a provisional ballot.420 The voter has until 5:00 p.m. on the Friday following Election Day to present “a proper form of photo identification to the Board of Registrars.”421 Republicans in Alabama and proponents of the law said strict ID was needed to guard against voter fraud, while some Democrats and opponents argued the law was aimed at making it harder for the poor, elderly and minorities to vote.422 The day after the Shelby County decision, Alabama announced it would implement the photo ID law for the 2014 election.423

On its face, the Alabama voter ID law could appear not to have a discriminatory intent or purpose. However, the Subcommittee heard testimony at the Alabama field hearing of the discriminatory intent underlying its passage. Nancy Abudu of the Southern Poverty Law Center testified the “bill’s proponents in the state legislature had long been explicitly clear about the racist intent behind the legislation.”424 A State Senator who worked for years to pass voter ID told local media his photo ID law would “undermine Alabama’s ‘Black power structure,’ and that the absence of a voter ID law ‘benefits Black elected officials.’”425


“Between the time of the Eight Circuit decision and the November 6, 2018 election our Tribal Enrollment Office issued 456 new IDs to tribal members. Normally we issue about 150 to 200 IDs a month. This burdened our system, limited our ability to provide other important services to tribal members, and the MHA Nation absorbed the cost of issuing these IDs. We estimate the about 75 to 80 percent of the tribal members who received a new ID during this time did not have another form of ID that would have complied with North Dakota’s law. Even with all of this additional work, about one-third of our members still do not have a tribal ID.”


420 Id.

421 Id.


425 Id. at p. 3, citing John Sharp, After Midterms, Will Alabama Reform the Way You Vote?, al.com (Nov. 18, 2018), https://www.al.com/election/2018/11/after-midterms-will-alabama-reform-the-way-you-vote.html, in a supplemental submission for the record, Ms. Abudu highlighted addition racist statements made by the former State Senator long seen as a leader on voter ID and photo ID:

“The Alabama NAACP and Greater Birmingham Ministries challenged Alabama’s 2011 photo ID law as a violation of the Voting Rights Act, the Fourteenth Amendment, and the Fifteenth Amendment given its disproportionate and discriminatory impact on Black voters. In the plaintiffs’ opposition to the state’s motion for summary judgment, they presented evidence showing that as
Jenny Carroll, Professor of Law and Chair of the Alabama State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights testified that her Committee “heard testimony that suggests that the reality is that Alabama’s voter identification law creates impediments for the poor and rural voter who may have limited access to locations that can issue identification, may lack the underlying documentation necessary to receive such identification, or have neither the time nor transportation to gain such identification.”

Ms. Abudu testified the voter ID laws do have a disparate impact on communities of color, “Black and Latinx voters are about twice as likely as White voters to lack an acceptable form of identification.” The NAACP LDF estimated 118,000 registered voters in Alabama lacked the necessary ID, or almost five percent of registered voters. A study by Dr. Zoltan Hajnal at the University of California, San Diego found that turnout in Alabama’s most racially diverse counties declined by almost five percentage points after implementation of the voter ID law when comparing the 2012 and 2016 presidential elections.

Even though the state claims “free state-issued photo IDs” are available, there are costs associated with obtaining the documents required to obtain an ID such as birth certificates and the transportation necessary to get to and from agencies to retrieve documents, and time off from work to do so.

In October 2015, Governor Robert Bentley drastically increased the burden of voter ID requirements by moving to close 31 driver’s license issuing offices, predominantly located in Alabama’s rural “Black Belt” in response to a budget dispute. A 2012 Brennan Center

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427 Id.
429 Id.

In an analysis of the planned closures, the Brennan Center found:

● 26.3 percent of the total Alabama population is African American.
report found that more than a quarter of voting-age citizens in Alabama lived more than 10 miles from an ID-issuing office and did not have vehicle access.\textsuperscript{432} Public pressure resulted in a partial reversal. Rather than permanently closing the offices, the State decided to keep the offices open one day a month, still severely restricting access to photo ID.\textsuperscript{433}

The U.S. Department of Transportation launched an investigation which eventually resulted in the Department of Transportation and the State of Alabama entering into a settlement agreement. The investigation alleged Alabama’s closure of the 31 DMV offices disparately occurred in the “Black Belt” and disproportionately impacted Black and Latino voters in violation of the Civil Rights Act.\textsuperscript{434} The Department of Transportation’s investigation found that:

“The African-Americans in the Black Belt region are disproportionately underserved by ... [the state’s] driver’s licensing services, causing ‘a disparate and adverse impact on the basis of race, in violation of Title VI.”\textsuperscript{435}

The agreement reopened and fully restored the hours of driver’s license offices in nine predominantly Black counties in the Black Belt. The agreement also requires Alabama to seek pre-approval from the Department of Transportation before initiating any office closures or other reductions in service.

Arizona recently expanded the scope of its photo ID requirement. If a voter casts a ballot by mail, the voter’s signature on the envelope serves as the required ID.\textsuperscript{436} For years, early in-person voting was conducted in the same manner. However, in the spring of 2019, the Arizona state legislature passed S.B. 1072, a new law requiring a photo ID for in-person, early voting, in addition to a voter’s signature.\textsuperscript{437} Now, voters who cast an early, in-person ballot must produce both a photo ID and a matching signature. Without Section 5, the state was not required to evaluate if this new law was racially neutral.\textsuperscript{438}

- Currently, in 11 Alabama counties, African Americans comprise more than 50 percent of the population. Driver’s license offices will close in eight of these counties, which will leave only three majority-African American counties with a driver’s license office.
- Under Alabama’s plan, license-issuing offices will close in all six counties in which African Americans comprise over 70 percent of the population.
- Conversely, 40 license-issuing offices will remain open in the 55 Alabama counties in which Whites comprise more than 50 percent of the population.
- In 2012, the Brennan Center reported that 32 percent of Alabama’s voting-age population lived more than 10 miles away from the nearest license issuing office that was open more than two days per week.

See also Alabama Field Hearing, written testimony of Nancy Abudu at p. 3.


\textsuperscript{435} Id.


\textsuperscript{437} Id.

\textsuperscript{438} Id.
Additionally, LDF filed an amicus brief in a case before the Arkansas Supreme Court in 2014 in a successful challenge to the state’s voter ID law.\(^{439}\) According to testimony from Deuel Ross, Senior Counsel at NAACP LDF, “LDF offered unique evidence that 1,000 ballots were rejected because of this law.”\(^{440}\) Ms. Fried testified that, in Wisconsin, “the All Voting is Local campaign assisted hundreds of Wisconsin voters through the arduous process of getting an ID, which can include providing officials with a birth certificate or passport, filling out multiple forms, and repeat trips to the DMV” in the lead-up to the 2018 election.\(^{441}\) Wisconsin enacted a strict voter ID law in 2011, and a recent study by the University of Wisconsin-Madison found 6 percent of registered voters in Dane and Milwaukee counties who did not vote in the 2016 general election were prevented from doing so because they did not have the requisite ID.\(^{442}\) Additionally, the study found 11.2 percent of registered voters who did not vote in the 2016 election were deterred by the ID law; the study’s author noted 11.2 percent represents the lower bound of those voters affected.\(^{443}\) The study also found that the law does not impact all voters equally, impacting low-income and Black voters more severely.\(^{444}\)

Brenda Wright, Senior Advisor for Legal Strategies at Demos said, “a lot of harm has been done in the name of combating voter fraud.”\(^{445}\) One example cited is the disenfranchisement of a group of nuns following the implementation of Indiana’s voter ID law. The nuns did not have driver’s licenses, they did not have passports, and they had to be turned away from the polls, even though the poll worker was a nun who lived with them at the convent and they had always voted at that polling place.\(^{446}\) Chasing the specter of non-existent voter fraud should not prevent otherwise eligible voters from casting their ballot.

**Exact Match and Signature Match**

**Exact Match**

In the lead up to the 2018 midterm elections, Georgia put on hold 53,000 voter registrations due to lacking an “exact match” in name, Social Security number, or other discrepancies.\(^{447}\) While the population of Georgia is 32 percent Black, Black voters were more than 70 percent

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\(^{443}\) *Id.*

\(^{444}\) *Id.* at p. 11-12.

“More troubling still, the impact of Wisconsin’s strict photo ID law is not felt equally by all Wisconsin voters. This same study further found that the law deterred:

- 21.1 percent of low-income registrants (household income under $25,000) compared to 7.2 percent for those over $25,000 and 2.7 percent of high-income registrants (over $100,000 household income)

- 27.5 percent of African-American registrants compared to 8.3 percent of White registrants.”


\(^{446}\) *Id.*

of the names on the hold list. Eighty percent of applicants on the list were Black, Asian, or Latino voters.\textsuperscript{448}

Civil rights organizations have sued the State of Georgia three times to stop this exact match practice.\textsuperscript{449} The state’s exact match practice required information on voter registration forms to exactly match information about the applicant on Social Security Administration or the state’s Department of Driver’s Services (DDS) databases.\textsuperscript{450} In 2019, the Georgia legislature amended the exact match law to permit applicants who fail the exact match process for reasons of identity to become active voters, but made no changes to reform the process that continues to inaccurately flag U.S. citizens as non-citizens.\textsuperscript{451}

**Signature Match**

Some states have moved to an “exact match” for voters’ signatures, both on in-person and absentee ballots.\textsuperscript{452} Some state laws require the voter’s signature on file to match the signature on one’s ballot, a practice Elena Nunez testified has been used increasingly to arbitrarily disenfranchise voters.\textsuperscript{453} Georgia law provides that election officials are required “to reject absentee ballots (and absentee ballot applications) if the absentee ballot signature does not match the signature elections officials have on file.”\textsuperscript{454} Signature laws such as Georgia’s “primarily affect the disabled, the elderly, and people of color.”\textsuperscript{455}

In Florida, ballots can be marked “invalid” because of a missing signature or signature mismatch.\textsuperscript{456} Eighty-three thousand votes in the 2018 election were rejected for signature mismatch.\textsuperscript{457} In Florida, Andrew Gillum, former Mayor of Tallahassee and 2018 Gubernatorial candidate testified that, in a recent case regarding whether Florida’s law allowing county election officials to reject vote-by-mail and provisional ballots for mismatched signatures passes constitutional muster, Judge Mark Walker of the Northern District of Florida found it did not.\textsuperscript{458} Additionally, the ACLU of Florida and the University of Florida produced a report analyzing the 2014 and 2016 elections, which found younger and ethnic minority voters were

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{448} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{449} Voting Rights and Election Administration in America: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), written testimony of Kristen Clarke at p. 6.
\item \textsuperscript{450} Voting Rights and Election Administration in America: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), written testimony of Kristen Clarke at p. 6.
\item \textsuperscript{452} Voting Rights and Election Administration in America: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), written testimony of Elena Nunez at p. 4.
\item \textsuperscript{453} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{456} Voting Rights and Election Administration in Florida: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), written testimony of Andrew Gillum.
\item \textsuperscript{457} Id. at p. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{458} Voting Rights and Election Administration in Florida: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), hearing transcript, Andrew Gillum at p. 16.
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much more likely to have their vote-by-mail ballots rejected and less likely to have their vote-by-mail ballots cured when flagged for a signature mismatch.\(^{459}\) Nancy Batista, Florida State Director of Mi Familia Vota, testified her own mail-in ballot was voided due to a signature mismatch in the primary election, even though she had not changed her signature since high school.\(^{460}\)

In striking down Florida’s signature matching law, Judge Walker found Florida’s practice of curing signature mismatch had “no standards, an illusory process to cure and no process to challenge the rejection” and was therefore unconstitutional.\(^{461}\) Judge Walker further noted that it was problematic that the boards are staffed by laypersons who are not required to undergo formal handwriting-analysis education or training.

In 2017, California was sued by the ACLU for invalidating tens of thousands of voters’ vote-by-mail ballots without warning.\(^{462}\) At issue was a state law allowing election officials with no expertise in handwriting to reject vote-by-mail ballots without providing notice if they feel the signature on the envelope did not match the one on file.\(^{463}\) The complaint filed by the ACLU alleged as many as 45,000 ballots were rejected in the 2016 general election due to perceived signature mismatch.\(^{464}\) In 2018, a judge in San Francisco ruled the state must notify voters before rejecting their mail-in ballots for signature concerns.\(^{465}\)

### Language Access and Assistance

Over time, the protections of the Voting Rights Act were expanded to prohibit discrimination against language minority, or limited-English proficiency (LEP), voters. These sections were not overturned by *Shelby County*, and they remain key components of the Voting Rights Act. As this report shows, more must be done to ensure states and localities are following through on the legal protections afforded language minority voters. As this section will illustrate, we are falling short on those protections still enshrined into law.

Sections 4(e) and 4(f)(4), along with Sections 203 and 208, are considered the “language minority” provisions of the Voting Rights Act.\(^{466}\) Section 4(e) provides rights to U.S. citizens educated “in American flag schools” in a language other than English.\(^{467}\) This provides specific protections to citizens educated in Puerto Rico in Spanish, prohibiting the conditioning of their right to vote on the ability to read, write, understand, or interpret English. This

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\(^{459}\) Id.

\(^{460}\) Id.

\(^{461}\) Id.


\(^{465}\) Id., filing La Follette v. Padilla.


\(^{469}\) 52 U.S.C. § 10303(c).
protection exists within all 50 states, whether the voter lives in a jurisdiction covered under the population threshold of Section 203 or not.\textsuperscript{468}

Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act requires that language access for limited-English proficient (LEP) voters be equal to that of English-speaking voters. Section 203 was created during the 1975 reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act after congressional findings of discrimination and intimidation of voters with limited-English proficiency. The Voting Rights Act’s language access requirements were not affected by the \textit{Shelby County} ruling. According to data from the 2018 American Community Survey, nearly 22 million adult U.S. citizens speak Spanish; approximately 6,320,000 of whom are not fluent in English.\textsuperscript{469} Another 5,089,000 adult citizens speak another language and are not fluent in English.\textsuperscript{470} Arturo Vargas of NALEO testified that, “Americans who depend upon language assistance are becoming more diverse and more geographically dispersed, and these factors heighten the importance of effective language assistance.”\textsuperscript{471}

Section 203 requires the Director of the Census Bureau to publish his or her determinations as to which political subdivisions are subject to the minority language assistance provisions. The Census Bureau makes this determination every five years, the last being in December 2016.\textsuperscript{472} Under the 2006 reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act, the language minority assistance provisions were extended until August 5, 2032. In its 2016 evaluation, the Census Bureau found 263 jurisdictions met the threshold of coverage under Section 203.\textsuperscript{473} Between 2011 and 2016, 15 additional counties and cities were added to the list of localities required to provide language assistance materials, as well as four new states.\textsuperscript{474,475} Political subdivisions within Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin currently fall under Section 203 coverage.\textsuperscript{476}

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\item[470] \textit{Id.}
\item[471] \textit{Id} at p. 4-5.
\item[474] “The Census found 68,800,641 eligible voting-age citizens in the covered jurisdictions, or 31.3% of the total U.S. citizen voting-age population.” Moreover, 16,621,136 Latino, 4,760,782 Asian, and 357,409 American Indian and Alaska Native voting-age citizens live in the covered jurisdictions.”
\item[475] Section 203 applies in jurisdictions in which (1) more than 5 percent of citizens of voting age are members of a single language minority group and are LEP; or in which over 10,000 citizens of voting age meet the same criteria; or in Indian Reservations in which a whole or part of the population meets the 5 percent threshold; and (2) the literacy rate of the citizens in the language minority as a group is higher than the national illiteracy rate. See 52 U.S.C. § 10503(b)(2)(A)(i) and (ii).
\end{itemize}
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The importance of the Voting Rights Act’s language access provisions and continued lack of compliance with language access requirements was highlighted during the Subcommittee’s field hearing in Broward County, Florida. Florida has a rapidly growing Puerto Rican population.\textsuperscript{477} As of 2016, in addition to statewide coverage for Florida, 10 counties are required to provide Spanish-language assistance under Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act.\textsuperscript{478} The first time Florida was covered under Section 203 for Spanish was 2011.\textsuperscript{479} Despite this, no significant changes for Spanish speakers were made to the materials produced by the Florida Division of Elections.\textsuperscript{480} Anjenys Gonzalez-Eilert, Program Director of Common Cause Florida, testified that the first time the Division of Elections made a statewide Voter Registration and Voting Guide in Spanish available was just three weeks before the August 2014 primary.\textsuperscript{481} Language minority voters must rely on programs like Google translate to access the Division of Elections website.\textsuperscript{482}

“\textit{It is remarkable that it takes a coalition of voting rights organizations and individuals to sue in federal court to seek minimal compliance with the plain language of a venerable 53-year-old law.}”

— Judge Mark Walker, Northern District of Florida

Juan Cartagena, President and General Counsel of LatinoJustice, testified that, though Florida is a covered state, “it usually takes litigation to force Florida election officials to abide by the will of Congress.”\textsuperscript{483} Florida was sued in 2000 by the Department of Justice for failure to provide the proper language materials and in 2009 by LatinoJustice for failure to provide required assistance to voters from Puerto Rico.\textsuperscript{484} Again, in \textit{Rivera Madera v. Detzner (now Lee)}, LatinoJustice and others sued 32 Florida counties in August 2018 for failing to comply with Section 4(e) of the Voting Rights Act. In his order, Judge Mark Walker made a telling observation about the state of voting rights protection in Florida: “It is remarkable that it takes a coalition of voting rights

\textsuperscript{477} \textit{Voting Rights and Election Administration in Florida}: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116\textsuperscript{th} Cong. (2019), written testimony of Juan Cartagena at p. 2.

\textsuperscript{478} \textit{Id}. at p. 3.

\textsuperscript{479} \textit{Id}. at p. 4.

\textsuperscript{480} \textit{Id}. at p. 4.

\textsuperscript{481} \textit{Id}.

\textsuperscript{482} \textit{Id}.

\textsuperscript{483} \textit{Id}, discussing a 2002 Department of Justice suit against Osceole County resulting in a settlement to stop the discriminatory failure to provide voting access to Spanish-speaking voters under Section 2; also discussing a 2009 LatinoJustice suit against Volusia County to provide Spanish-language assistance to Puerto Rican voters under Section 4(e), which was settled.
organizations and individuals to sue in federal court to seek minimal compliance with the plain language of a venerable 53-year-old law.\(^{485}\)

As Mr. Cartagena further explained, the population on the island of Puerto Rico is roughly 65 percent Spanish-language dominant.\(^{486}\) In Puerto Rico, all government proceedings happen in Spanish, and voter turnout for elections is upwards of 80 percent.\(^{487}\) This makes the language access protections afforded to Puerto Ricans educated on the island of Puerto Rico under Section 4(e) critical to their ability to fully participate in elections in the 50 states.

In Georgia, only Gwinnett County has been designated under Section 203,\(^{488}\) but all localities are also required under Section 4(e) to provide Spanish language materials to U.S. citizens from Puerto Rico. During his testimony in Georgia, Sean Young noted, for example, that Hall County was obligated to provide these materials – but the board refused.\(^{489}\)

Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act requires Arizona to provide election materials and assistance in Spanish, Navajo, and Apache.\(^{490}\) As of 2016, at least 10 of Arizona’s 15 counties must comply with Section 203 by providing translated election materials in Spanish or Native American languages.\(^{491}\) Providing only written materials in multiple languages may not serve all voters. Some Native languages are not traditionally written, and a written ballot sent to an interpreter may not be the proper way to ensure adequate language access. Some voters may need a physical polling place so voters can obtain oral language assistance,\(^{492}\) which can be difficult depending on the distance to the polls and access to transportation. Plaintiffs in San Juan County, Utah, alleged the county failed to meet the standard set forth in Section 203 for Navajo speakers. A settlement reached by the Lawyers’ Committee and partner organizations requires the county to provide in-person language assistance on the Navajo reservation for 28 days prior to each election through the 2020 general election and take additional action to ensure quality interpretation of election information and materials.\(^{493}\)

According to the U.S. Census, Asian Americans are the nation’s fastest growing racial group; there are now 22.6 million Asian Americans living in the U.S.\(^{494}\) Asian Americans are not monolithic, instead consisting of a multitude of cultures and languages. According to John C. Yang, President and Executive Director of Asian Americans Advancing Justice | AAJC,
“[T]he country’s fastest growing Asian American ethnic groups were South Asian, with the Bangladeshi and Pakistani American populations doubling in size between 2000 and 2010. Chinese Americans continue to be the largest Asian American ethnic group, numbering nearly 3.8 million nationwide in 2010, followed in size by Filipino, Indian, Vietnamese, and Korean Americans.”

Mr. Yang testified that a major obstacle facing Asian American voters is the language barrier. Nationally, about three out of every four Asian Americans speak a language other than English at home and one-third of the population is limited-English proficient (LEP). Access to properly translated materials and assistance at the polls is essential to allowing Asian Americans full access to the vote, “when properly implemented, Section 203 increases civic engagement among Asian American citizens.”

Additionally, Section 208 is critical to ensuring every citizen has access to the assistor of their choice when voting. Section 208 provides voters the right to assistance in the voting booth from a person of the voter’s choice because of blindness, disability, or inability to read or write, and has been used as an important complement to Section 203. Section 208 protections have been interpreted to include a right to in-person assistance for LEP voters. While Section 203 does not apply nationwide, Section 208 does. As Mr. Yang testified, “all citizens who have difficulty with English, no matter where they live or what their native language is, have the right through Section 208 to an assistor of their choice to help them in the voting booth.”

Language accessibility remains a fundamental component to ensure access to the ballot. The language access provisions of the Voting Rights Act are critical to ensuring free and fair access to the ballot box. While these provisions were not struck down in Shelby County, the Subcommittee’s hearings clearly show a need for better implementation. This will continue to be important as new American populations move about the country, bringing new localities under compliance requirements.

**Discriminatory Gerrymandering**

At nearly every hearing, the Subcommittee heard about the use of gerrymandering as a suppression tool and the effect gerrymandering can have on diluting the voting power and voice of minority voters. This is especially true of states where partisan legislatures are responsible for drawing maps. Discriminatory gerrymandering and vote dilution affect elections from school boards to congressional districts.

After Shelby County, redistricting plans are no longer precleared, meaning states with and without a history of racial discrimination can implement new districts for state and federal needs.
offices following the 2020 census that could be in effect for several election cycles, while simultaneously being challenged in court as discriminatory. If the Supreme Court had not gutted Section 4(b), covered states would have been required to send their new district lines for preclearance approval before implementation and before any discriminatory impact occurred.

North Carolina has been particularly egregious in its use of redistricting to dilute and suppress voters’ power. In 2016, after the District Court ruled against the state’s maps, North Carolina Republican legislators drew new maps, this time admitting the purpose of the maps was partisan. In 2017, the Court upheld the lower court’s rejection of two North Carolina congressional maps on the grounds that North Carolina’s Republican-controlled legislature relied too heavily on race in drawing the maps.

According to Tomas Lopez of Democracy North Carolina, North Carolina’s maps have been the subject of continuous litigation since the 2011 redistricting. Mr. Lopez went on to say that this continuous litigation “suggests the current remedies against gerrymandering are ineffective; if the courts take nearly a decade to address the problem, and legislatures are able to avoid penalties for their bad behavior, then the incentive to distort the maps will only be reinforced.”

In 2019, the Court decided another case involving North Carolina’s gerrymandered maps. In a case combined with a partisan gerrymandering case originating in Maryland, the Court ruled that federal judges have no power to stop politicians from drawing electoral districts based on partisan power. The Majority abdicated the role of the Court in deciding when partisan gerrymandering has crossed constitutional bounds, with Chief Justice Roberts writing, “but the fact that such gerrymandering is incompatible with democratic principles does not mean that the solution lies with the federal judiciary.” In writing for the dissent, Justice Kagan strongly disagreed, writing that “the gerrymanders here – and others like them – violated the constitutional rights of many hundreds of thousands of American citizens.”

The Court’s decision jeopardizes the rights of millions of minority voters. By ceding the field to state courts, the Court fails to set a national protection standard, leaving the rights of voters open to 50 different interpretations of what a gerrymandered district looks like.


504 Id.


Chief Justice Roberts writing for the majority: “We conclude that partisan gerrymandering claims present political questions beyond the reach of the federal courts … Federal judges have no license to reallocate political power between the two major political parties, with no plausible grant of authority in the Constitution, and no legal standards to limit and direct their decisions.”

506 Id.

507 Id.
Without the full protection of the Voting Rights Act requiring states and localities with a history of discriminatory practices to preclear their new maps, states could arguably create discriminatory maps, but color them in the rhetoric of party affiliation, not race.

Despite the Court’s decision to render federal courts powerless to act, on October 28, 2019, a North Carolina state court again threw out the state’s congressional district maps, saying the record of partisan intent was so extensive that opponents of the maps were poised to show “beyond a reasonable doubt” that the maps were unconstitutionally gerrymandered to favor the Republican Party over the Democratic Party, and North Carolina voters would be irreparably harmed if the 2020 elections were held using these maps.508

One of the map’s primary drafters, Republican State Representative David Lewis was quoted in 2016 as saying he wanted maps drawn that would give a partisan advantage to 10 Republicans and three Democrats because “I do not believe it’s possible to draw a map with 11 Republicans and 2 Democrats.”509 The same three-judge panel struck down most of the State Legislature’s maps in September as an impermissible partisan gerrymander.510 Republicans decided to redraw the maps, which were approved by the same court on October 28.511

In a separate yet related case, hard drives belonging to Thomas Hofeller, a consultant who helped draw North Carolina’s maps, were recently discovered. The recovered data outlined the significant role racial discrimination played in drawing legislative maps. Hofeller played a critical part in the administration’s attempt to add a citizenship question to the 2020 census,512 which is the constitutionally mandated instrument that counts all persons living in the United States and whose data congressional representation is based upon when states draw their legislative districts.

Hofeller’s hard drives included files proving he wrote a 2015 study which concluded that “adding a citizenship question to the census would allow Republicans to draft even more extreme gerrymandered maps to stymie Democrats.”513 Hofeller also wrote a significant portion of the Department of Justice’s letter claiming the citizenship question was needed to enforce the Voting Rights Act of 1965, a justification later used by the Administration.514

Critics of the proposed policy argued that it would likely depress responses from minority groups and non-citizens, leading to a potential undercount and skewing the results. Maps are traditionally drawn based on a state’s total population, not just the population of voting-age citizens. Following his analysis of Texas state legislative districts, Mr. Hofeller concluded such maps “would be advantageous to Republicans and non-Hispanic Whites,” diluting the power of the state’s Hispanic residents.515


509 Id.

510 Id.

511 Id.


513 Id.

514 Id.

515 Id.
In a 5-4 decision, the Court blocked the addition of a citizenship question to the 2020 census, upholding the lower court’s decision to remand the case back to the agency, writing, “[A]ltogether, the evidence tells a story that does not match the Secretary’s explanation for his decision.”516 Secretary of Commerce Wilbur Ross had stated his reason was to better enforce the Voting Rights Act, but the Court found, “[U]nlke a typical case in which an agency may have both stated and unstated reasons for a decision, here the Voting Rights Act enforcement rationale—the sole stated reason—seems to have been contrived.”517

In North Dakota, tribal leaders raised concerns that, though there is only one at-large representative at the federal level, their reservations are divided in such a way during state-level redistricting that no Native American can win a seat representing the tribal lands.518 State Representative Ruth Buffalo is the only Native American serving in the North Dakota State House. Representative Buffalo represents District 27 — Fargo, North Dakota — which is 370 miles from her traditional homelands of the Fort Berthold Reservation.519 The District that represents Fort Berthold encompasses a White population that overwhelms the Native American population.520

In Alabama, Georgia, Ohio, and Texas, the Subcommittee heard additional testimony regarding the impact of discriminatory gerrymandering. An attempted move to at-large districts in a City Council race in Alabama was denied by the Department of Justice on the grounds it was racially discriminatory and gave rise to the lawsuit that became Shelby County.521 In the Texas case Veasey v. Abbott, the court found that “[i]n every redistricting cycle since 1970, Texas has been found to have violated the Voting Rights Act with racially gerrymandered districts.”522 Since Texas came under Section 5 preclearance in 1965, it has been barred by law from discriminating against minority voters, yet Federal judges have ruled at least once every decade since then that Texas violated federal protections for voters in redistricting.523

As described in this report, the ACLU of Georgia engaged in a lawsuit to overturn a discriminatory gerrymandering plan in Sumter County, Georgia, that would take five years to resolve.524 Deuel Ross of NAACP LDF testified that, in 2015, in Fayette County, Georgia, “the County Commission tried to revert to an at-large voting system in a special election to replace a Black Commissioner who had died unexpectedly.”525 LDF filed a lawsuit under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act to stop this move and require the election to use single-member

517 Id. at p. 5.
519 Id.
520 Id.
districts, allowing Black voters to again elect the candidate of their preference. In Emanuel County, the Lawyers’ Committee represented plaintiffs who alleged the boundaries for seven school board districts “impermissibly diluted the voting strength of African American voters by ‘packing’ them into one district.” A negotiated settlement resulted in the creation of two majority-minority single-member districts.

In Arizona, Professor Ferguson-Bohnee testified that, without Section 5 review, tribes are concerned the Redistricting Commission may not consider retrogression when drawing the maps since the state is no longer required to seek preclearance. Tribes participated in the previous round of redistricting and defended the single majority-minority Native American legislative district. Tribal communities remain concerned they may lose the limited opportunity to elect candidates of their choice in state government. The testimony collected during the Subcommittee’s field hearings clearly demonstrates that discriminatory gerrymandering is rampant. Without the pre-\textit{Shelby County} protections in place, the maps drawn after the 2020 census are likely to exacerbate this problem and it will take years for courts to remedy the issue. In the meantime, citizens will continue to be denied meaningful representation.

\textbf{Section 2 Litigation}

While important components of the Voting Rights Act were overturned by the \textit{Shelby County} decision, many critical elements remain, including the ability to pursue litigation under Section 2. Section 2 allows both the Attorney General and private citizens to challenge a practice or procedure on discriminatory grounds. This standard was expanded during subsequent reauthorizations, allowing plaintiffs to challenge laws and election practices without needing to prove discriminatory intent and adjusting the burden of proof requirement to a “results or effects” test, reducing the burden on the plaintiffs. Section 2 applies nationwide and does not expire.

At each field hearing, the Subcommittee heard that while critical, litigation under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act is not, and cannot, be an adequate remedy on its own. Section 2 was designed as a tool for the Attorney General and private citizens to enforce 14\textsuperscript{th} and 15\textsuperscript{th} Amendment protections nationwide. After the \textit{Shelby County} decision, Section 2 is one of the few mechanisms left for enforcing the right to vote and preventing voting changes that have a disparate impact on, and reduce the ability of, minority citizens to vote.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, in their 2018 statutory Minority Voting Access report, found the number of Section 2 cases increased fourfold following the \textit{Shelby County}
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decision. The Department of Justice has litigated far fewer enforcement suits than private groups. At the time of the report’s publishing, the Department of Justice had filed four of the 61 Section 2 cases since the Shelby County decision, including one case about the required language access measures, and no cases on the right to voting assistance. There is disagreement over whether the Department of Justice is failing to adequately enforce the Voting Rights Act or voting discrimination has decreased. As this report clearly demonstrates, discrimination in voting has not decreased.

Additionally, USCCR Vice-Chair Patricia Timmons-Goodson testified that, from the USCCR’s perspective, the loss of Section 5 preclearance has made tracking voting changes more difficult; “at one point, there was a single source or a limited number of places that we could go to get that information, but when it is left to individual citizens and organizations to do the filing, it makes it far more difficult to track them.” Illustrative of the scope of changes voters and advocates now have to track and potentially reactively litigate against, the Department of Justice reported that in just the three years before Shelby County, between 2010-2013, it considered 44,790 voting changes under Section 5.

Section 2 lawsuits can be very lengthy, often taking years to fully litigate. This can result in discriminatory laws that may have otherwise been prevented from implementation under Section 5 remaining in place for multiple election cycles, denying voters access to the ballot while lawsuits move through the court process. According to Dale Ho, Director of the ACLU’s Voting Rights Project, “in 10 recent Section 2 cases that resulted in favorable outcomes for [our] clients, more than 350 federal, state, and local government officials were elected under regimes that were later found by a court to be racially discriminatory or were later abandoned by the jurisdiction.”

Section 2 also reverses the burden of proof, requiring the federal government or citizens to prove the voting change is discriminatory and harms minority voters, rather than the burden being on the state or locality to prove they are not violating peoples’ constitutional right to vote. Kristen Clarke of the Lawyers’ Committee testified that, “although Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act remains a viable weapon in the fight against racial discrimination in voting, it is nowhere near as potent a weapon as was Section 5.” These challenges are only exacerbated by the shifting priorities of the Department of Justice. Ms. Clarke testified that,

532 Id. at p. 9.
533 Id. at p. 10.
536 U.S. Department of Justice, Section 5 Changes By Type and Year, Total Section 5 Changes Received By The Attorney General 1965 Through 2013 (updated Aug. 6, 2015), https://www.justice.gov/crt/section-5-changes-type-and-year-2.
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as of the date of the Subcommittee’s Washington, D.C. hearing, the current administration has not filed a single Section 2 lawsuit.539

Overreliance on Section 2 forces private citizens to recognize when they are discriminated against and muster the resources to challenge the state or local government. In every state the Subcommittee visited, witnesses provided testimony outlining just how burdensome relying on Section 2 to protect voting rights can be.

“The ACLU of Georgia’s litigation in Sumter County perfectly illustrates the damage that the Shelby decision has caused. In 2011, 67 percent of the Sumter County Board of Education was African American. Then, the General Assembly proposed a plan that would reduce that percentage to 28 percent. The DOJ did not preclear the plan, but then the Shelby County decision was handed down, and that discriminatory plan was put into effect immediately. So, the ACLU filed a voting rights lawsuit under Section 2. And last summer, after 5 years of litigation, the Federal District Court issued a ruling finding that the plan was discriminatory and violated the Voting Rights Act. That is 5 years of time consuming litigation, hundreds if not thousands of attorney hours, and thousands of dollars in expert fees. That is 5 years of discriminatory elections taking place over and over again in Sumter County. And that is 5 years in which African American school children and their parents did not have their interests adequately represented in the board. And we are 2 years away from another round of redistricting, in which all of this can happen again. If the preclearance requirement were in place, none of this would have happened and that plan wouldn’t have seen the light of day.”

— Sean J. Young, ACLU of Georgia

In Atlanta, Georgia, Sean Young, Legal Director, ACLU of Georgia, gave testimony about the ACLU of Georgia’s litigation in Sumter County.\footnote{Voting Rights and Election Administration in Georgia: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), hearing transcript, Sean J. Young at p. 26.} The Department of Justice did not preclear a redistricting plan that would have diluted the Black population of the Sumter County Board of Education from 67 percent in 2011 to 28 percent. Following the \textit{Shelby County} decision, the discriminatory plan was put into effect immediately. The Section 2 suit filed by the ACLU went on for five years, requiring “hundreds if not thousands of attorney hours,” and costing “thousands of dollars in expert fees.”\footnote{Id.} All the while, years of voting took place under these discriminatory practices. Gilda Daniels, Litigation Director at the Advancement Project reiterated the time and expense of Section 2, saying “Section 2 cases last an average of three years, and cost more than $1 million.”\footnote{Id.}

In North Carolina, Caitlin Swain, Co-Director of Forward Justice, estimated the recent Section 2 litigation in North Carolina cost more than $10 million on the plaintiff’s side alone.\footnote{Voting Rights and Election Administration in North Carolina: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), hearing transcript, Caitlin Swain at p. 46.} Ms. Swain continued, saying the cost more than doubled when including nonprofit groups, as well as the State’s costs associated with outside counsel representing the Governor and the General Assembly.\footnote{Id.}, \footnote{Id.} When the state is sued, the state’s costs are then often borne disproportionately by the taxpayers,\footnote{Id.} placing burdens on the voter at both ends of the lawsuit. Deuel Ross, of the NAACP LDF, testified that it has been found that voting rights cases take up the sixth most judicial resources in terms of cases.\footnote{Voting Rights and Election Administration in the Dakotas: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), written testimony of Jacqueline De León at p. 4.}

In North Dakota, Jacqueline De León, Staff Attorney at NARF, testified that Section 2 litigation is very expensive and “it is prohibitively expensive for a small organization like NARF to reach every single instance of discrimination that is happening across the country.”\footnote{Voting Rights and Election Administration in America: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), hearing transcript, Jacqueline De León at p. 64.} In NARF’s 2016 challenge to the North Dakota voter ID law, the total sought for Plaintiffs’ attorneys’ fees and litigation expenses was $1,132,459.41. This included attorneys’ fees and litigation expenses, including expert reports. The case necessitated thousands of attorney hours over almost two years to build a legal record and respond to the State’s defense of the law.\footnote{Voting Rights and Election Administration in the Dakotas: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), supplemental written statement for the record, Naila Awan.}

In Ohio, Naila Awan, Senior Counsel at Demos, testified that Plaintiff-side expenses in bringing Section 2 litigation often reach the six- and seven-figure range.\footnote{Voting Rights and Election Administration in Ohio: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), supplemental written statement for the record, Naila Awan.} In Alabama,
Attorney James Blacksher testified it would cost “at least hundreds of thousands of dollars” to bring a successful case challenging polling place changes. Mr. Blacksher further testified that it “cost us millions of dollars in the last go-around of redistricting the House and Senate of Alabama” to challenge discriminatorily gerrymandered maps. Mr. Blacksher elaborated that, “in fact, today, it is impossible for private counsel like [him] to bring one of these [Section 2] lawsuits without substantial assistance, financial and legal, from big law firms.”

In Arizona, Professor Ferguson-Bohnee testified she has been involved in several Section 2 cases in the State of Arizona, one after the 2000 redistricting on behalf of the Navajo Nation and another on the voter ID litigation brought on behalf of the Navajo Nation and other Native American citizens in the State. Currently, there is ongoing Section 2 litigation in Arizona Federal District Court dealing with the lack of access to early voting, voter registration, and noncompliance with Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act. In the two decades Professor Ferguson-Bohnee has been working on voting litigation in the State of Arizona, the Department of Justice has not initiated any Section 2 cases on behalf of Arizona Tribes. Additionally, Professor Ferguson-Bohnee testified that “Tribes have limited resources to bring voting litigation,” and that Section 2 cases can cost up to $1 million.

As the Subcommittee’s hearings illustrate, Section 2 is a critical tool for protecting the right to vote and preventing discrimination, but, alone, it is not enough.

CONCLUSION

Without federal protections, new and old barriers to voting have emerged. Improperly purging voter registration rolls can disproportionately impact minority voters and recently naturalized citizens, and lead to the disenfranchisement of otherwise eligible voters. Cutbacks to early voting have a disparate impact on minority communities, working people, students, and the poor, leading to long wait times voters often cannot endure. In the post-Shelby County era, previously covered jurisdictions have closed over one thousand polling places. Jurisdictions not previously covered have also closed, moved, or consolidated polling places, leading to voter confusion and disenfranchisement. After the Shelby County decision, states and localities are no longer required to evaluate these decisions for their potential discriminatory impact.

551 Id. at p. 27.
552 Id. – at the time of the hearing, Mr. Blacksher testified he had four cases where he was local counsel “for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, who is challenging photo ID; for the Campaign Legal Center, who is challenging the felon disenfranchisement; for the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights, who is challenging the at-large election of the Alabama Supreme Court; and the SEIU, Service Employees International Union…”
554 Id. at p. 55.
555 Id. at p. 56.
Voter ID requirements disproportionately impact minority voters who are less likely than White voters to have the required ID. Voter ID also creates a modern-day poll tax, requiring voters to purchase an ID to vote or, even in cases in which states purport to provide free IDs, the requisite underlying documents are often not free for voters. There are also costs associated with time off from work and transportation required to reach the agency dispensing the IDs. The use of exact match and signature match requirements can disenfranchise voters. The language access provisions of the Voting Rights Act remain intact, but far more needs to be done to ensure limited-English proficiency voters have access to the properly translated materials and assistance they need to fully participate in the election process. Finally, discriminatory gerrymandering persists, diluting the vote and voice of minority communities. As the 2020 Census approaches, followed swiftly by a cycle of redistricting, a lack of preclearance puts at risk the state, local, and federal representation of communities for the next decade.

While Section 2 is a vital tool to protecting the right to vote, it is not a panacea. Litigation under Section 2 requires a significant investment of time and resources, neither of which most voters have. Without a proactive Section 5, and without a Department of Justice actively protecting the right to vote, advocates and litigators are left to fill in the gap. Section 2 is also a reactive solution, only to be deployed after a discriminatory practice or procedure is instituted. A case can take years to litigate, leaving voters vulnerable while the court process unfolds. To truly protect the right to vote, Congress must act proactively to protect a right as fundamental as participation in the democratic process.
CHAPTER THREE
Obstacles Faced by Native American Voters

BACKGROUND

Native Americans have historically faced significant barriers to full participation in our democracy. This land’s original inhabitants were disenfranchised at the time of our nation’s founding, and since then their votes and voices have been systematically suppressed. When the Constitution was written and ratified, it provided for representation of “the whole number of free Persons,” fully including indentured servants who were mostly White, but counting enslaved persons as only three-fifths of a person and excluding “Indians not taxed.”558 Native Americans were not considered citizens in the 1800s, were specifically excluded from the 14th Amendment, and were not granted full voting rights until the 1920s. Even after these advances, it took decades for every state to fully comply with federal guarantees.

For many years, Native Americans were denied the same rights as other Americans. The Court distinguished tribal nations from sovereign foreign nations or official parts of the United States, instead considering them domestic dependent nations.559 In 1856, Attorney General Caleb Cushing outlined the federal government’s rationale as to why domestic subjects could not be made citizens absent a treaty or specific congressional act, explaining that general naturalization statutes did not apply to Native Americans because “Indians are not foreigners” and have no other allegiance, but are “within our allegiance, without being citizens of the United States.”560 This meant Native Americans did not have access to the same naturalization process as immigrants, nor did they have the same rights as other natural-born citizens. It was effectively impossible for Native Americans to realize the same rights as other American citizens, including the right to vote.

When emancipated enslaved people were granted citizenship rights under the 14th Amendment in 1868, the U.S. government interpreted the Amendment to exclude Native Americans on reservations.561 The Reconstruction amendments and implementing legislation excluded Native Americans, rationalizing that tribal members were in fact citizens of Indian nations, not the United States,562 and were ineligible to vote.563 Then-Michigan Senator Jacob Howard said,

558 U.S. Const., Art. I, § 2, cl. 3.
563 Id.
“I am not yet prepared to pass a sweeping act of naturalization by which all the Indian savages, wild or tame, belonging to a tribal relation, are to become my fellow-citizens and go to the polls and vote with me[.]”564 The 14th Amendment itself expressly states that Native Americans did not count for the purposes of representative apportionment.565

The Civil Rights Act of 1866 also specifically excluded Native Americans. Under this law, tribal citizens were “subjects of” the United States, but not “subject to” the jurisdiction of the United States and therefore not citizens.566 In 1884, the Court held that Native Americans could not become citizens through naturalization or birth.567 When women gained the right to vote under the 19th Amendment, it enfranchised predominantly White women because many Native American women still lacked citizenship.568

It was not until 1924, under the Indian Citizenship Act, that Native Americans won full citizenship and voting rights without impairing their right to remain a tribal member.569 Prior to passage of the Indian Citizenship Act, obtaining citizenship required tribal members to sever tribal ties, renounce tribal citizenship, and assimilate to the dominant culture.570 Native Americans had been denied citizenship and the right to vote “based on the underlying trust relationship between the federal government and the tribes and their status as tribal citizens.”571 With the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act, a Native American who is a citizen of the United States is also a citizen of his or her state of residence.572 However, some states continued to deny Native Americans the right to vote in state and federal elections through the same suppressive tactics used to disenfranchise other minority voters, including poll taxes, literacy tests, and intimidation.573

In 1928, Peter Porter and Rudolph Johnson of the Gila River Indian Community, were denied the right to register to vote in Pinal County.574 The County recorder deemed Porter and Johnson unqualified to vote for two reasons: (1) they resided on the reservation and thus not within the State of Arizona; and (2) as Native Americans they remained under guardianship of the federal government and under Arizona law, individuals under guardianship were not entitled to vote in Arizona elections for state and federal officers.575

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565 U.S. Const. amend. XIV.
568 U.S. Const. amend. XIX – passed by Congress June 4, 1919; ratified August 18, 1920.
571 Id. at p. 1103.
572 Id.
573 Id.
Congress’ passage of the Nationality Act of 1940 reaffirmed the citizenship of Native Americans. As late as 1948, Arizona and New Mexico enforced state laws expressly barring many Native Americans from voting. Professor Patty Ferguson-Bohnee testified that, historically, despite the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924 and the Arizona Supreme Court affirming the right of Native Americans to vote in *Harrison v. Laveen*, the right to vote for Native Americans was still not secure. Native American voters continued to be disenfranchised by literacy tests for decades. Many Native voters did not vote because they were illiterate and could not speak English; English literacy tests were the biggest obstacle preventing Native Americans from voting. Illiteracy rates for Native Americans in 1948 were estimated at 80 to 90 percent. In 1970, the right was finally affirmed when the Court upheld the ban on literacy tests.

A recent study conducted by the Native American Voting Rights Coalition found that low levels of trust in government, lack of information on how and where to register, long distances to register and to vote, low levels of internet access, hostility towards Native Americans, and intimidation are obstacles to Native American voter participation in Arizona. Research by the National Congress of American Indians indicates the voter turnout rate among American Indian and Alaska Native registered voters is five to 14 percentage points lower than the rate of many other racial and ethnic groups.

The Subcommittee on Elections held field hearings in North Dakota and Arizona, gathering testimony and evidence from tribal leaders, litigators, and advocates about the barriers Native American communities continue to face when attempting to cast a ballot. These two hearings were not an exhaustive evaluation of the barriers faced by Native American voters but provided critical insight and testimony on the barriers faced by voters living on reservations.
and the need for consultation with tribes when crafting voting laws. The Native American Rights Fund and their collaborative partners conducted a series of independent hearings and plan to publish their finding in a forthcoming report.

This chapter focuses on barriers to voting as expressed and experienced by the Native American community. Their barriers include: nontraditional addresses that lead to issues with voter ID laws, vote-by-mail, and voter registration requirements; lack of access to early voting, polling locations, and resources for on-reservation voting; vote dilution due to gerrymandering; and lack of language access materials and assistance in Native languages. Some barriers are similar to those experienced by non-Native voters and discussed elsewhere in this report, while others are unique to the experience of Native Americans.

VOTING RIGHTS ACT PROTECTIONS FOR NATIVE AMERICANS

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 prohibited discrimination in voting on the basis of race. As discussed earlier, Sections 4(b) and 5 of the Voting Rights Act required covered states to seek preclearance for changes to “any voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure with respect to voting.” Native American voters were included as a protected class when the federal government was reviewing proposed voting changes for potential discrimination.

Subsequently, the 1975 amendments to the Voting Rights Act created Section 203 which required voting materials be provided in the language of the “applicable minority language group,” including Native Americans and Native Alaskans. Section 203 includes a formula for determining which jurisdictions are required to provide bilingual materials and assistance.

The 1992 amendments to the Voting Rights Act expanded the coverage formulas for language access to include not only jurisdictions where five percent of eligible voters have limited-English proficiency (LEP), but also those that have at least 10,000 LEP citizens who are members of a single language minority group. The amendments also expanded language access coverage formulas for Native Americans living on Indian Reservations. Additionally, Section 208 allows a disabled or LEP individual to bring an assistant of their choosing to help them vote.

587 Voting Rights Act of 1965, Pub. Law No. 89-110, Sec. 2.
589 Id.
591 Id.
Arizona was brought under Voting Rights Act preclearance following the 1975 reauthorization, which expanded coverage to more fully include language minority populations, including Latino, Asian American, and Native American populations.\(^{593}\) North Dakota was never covered under Sections 4(b) and 5, however, neighboring South Dakota was a partially-covered state, with two counties covered.\(^{594}\)

Native Americans have been particularly hurt by the *Shelby County* decision, and it is clear that Section 2 litigation alone is not an adequate protection of the right to vote for tribal members. In North Dakota, Jacqueline De León testified that the lawsuit challenging North Dakota’s discriminatory voter ID law in 2016 cost over $1.1 million in plaintiff’s attorneys’ fees and litigation expenses and took thousands of attorney hours to develop.\(^{595}\) Professor Ferguson-Bohnee testified that she has been involved in several Section 2 cases in the State of Arizona, including one after the 2000 redistricting cycle on behalf of the Navajo Nation and another regarding voter ID brought on behalf of the Navajo Nation and other Native American citizens in Arizona. She is also involved in ongoing litigation in Federal District Court regarding the lack of access to early voting, voter registration, and noncompliance with Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act.\(^{596}\) However, Professor Ferguson-Bohnee went on to note that in the two decades she has been working on voting litigation in the State of Arizona, the Department of Justice has not initiated any cases on behalf of tribes.\(^{597}\) Tribes have limited resources and Section 2 is not a viable replacement for Section 5 oversight given that a Section 2 case can cost up to $1 million.\(^{598}\)

### ONGOING BARRIERS FACED BY NATIVE AMERICANS

**“Native Americans do not have equal access to voter registration. Many voters must travel long distances off-reservation to register to vote, in some cases 95 miles one way.”**

— Patty Ferguson-Bohnee, Sandra Day O’Connor School of Law

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596 Voting Rights and Election Administration in Arizona: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019); hearing transcript, Patty Ferguson-Bohnee at p. 54.

597 Id. at p. 56.

598 Id. at p. 55-56.
have unstable housing situations, or live in rural areas that have not been provided traditional street addresses.

For example, Professor Ferguson-Bohnee testified that, in Arizona only, “18 percent of reservation voters outside of Maricopa and Pima Counties have physical addresses and receive mail at home.”

North Dakota

To vote in North Dakota, voters must present a residential address on one of the following IDs: a North Dakota Driver’s License or nondriver’s identification card, a tribal government ID, or an alternative form of identification prescribed by the Secretary of State, which included a student identification certificate or a long-term care identification certificate. North Dakota’s voter ID law has been amended multiple times over the last several years. As the evidence below illustrates, these changes have a disparate impact on North Dakota’s Native American voters.

In 2011, concerns over disenfranchising voters led the state Senate, on a bipartisan basis, to vote 38-8 to reject changes to the state’s voter ID law that would have eliminated long-standing fail-safe provisions that provided critical protections, especially for Native American voters who lacked a qualifying residential street address. However, following the 2012 election, in which Senator Heidi Heitkamp won the North Dakota Senate race, the state changed course, enacting strict changes to its voter ID requirement in 2013 and eliminating the fail-safe mechanisms that had protected voters. Senator Heitkamp narrowly won her 2012 Senate race by less than 3,000 votes, or just fewer than one percentage point, which media outlets at the time and witnesses at the Subcommittee hearing attributed to the voters of the Native American community.

The fail-safe mechanisms that were eliminated by the 2013 law had allowed a voter to cast their ballot if a poll worker could vouch for their identity or the voter signed an affidavit, under penalty of perjury, that they were qualified to vote. This fail-safe system worked well, particularly for the tribal communities. Tribal leaders testified that their members serve as poll workers and can vouch for almost every person within their small communities. Prior to passing the new law, the North Dakota state legislature failed to analyze whether the Native American voters who lacked addresses during the 2011 legislative debate still lacked...
addresses in 2013. In fact, the state still had data from previous legislative debates indicating that many Native Americans lacked proper street addresses.

The legislature nevertheless passed a law restricting the acceptable forms of ID and eliminating the poll worker voucher and affidavit fail-safes, aware that such a requirement would disenfranchise Native American voters. Indeed, many Native American voters continue to lack addresses to this day. Jacqueline De León testified that the legislature used a hothouse amendment, a parliamentary procedure in which an unrelated bill was replaced with the voter ID bill, for the purposes of enabling the legislature to pass the bill without public hearings. North Dakota State Representative Corey Mock objected to the passage of the bill without debate because it would “completely change the way North Dakota handles voters” and circumvent input from the public and agencies impacted by the bill.

In the 2015 legislative session, North Dakota again amended its voter ID laws, further restricting the forms of acceptable ID. In 2016, NARF filed suit on behalf of Turtle Mountain plaintiffs that were disenfranchised by the laws. The U.S. District Court in North Dakota found for the voters, finding the law violated both the U.S. and North Dakota constitutions as well as the Voting Rights Act and required North Dakota to provide a fail-safe mechanism for the 2016 election.

In April 2017, the North Dakota enacted H.B. 1369, preserving the previously enacted strict voter ID requirements, requiring a street address, and failing to preserve the affidavit option as required by the court. The legislature instead allowed for a provisional ballot. While a provisional ballot would allow voters without a proper ID to cast a ballot, the ballot would ultimately be thrown out if the voter could not return with a qualifying ID within six days of the election. This failed to address disenfranchisement concerns for

“Bottom line, members of Standing Rock Sioux Tribe feel that the North Dakota ID law was meant to target them and dissuade them from exercising their constitutional right to vote. It was hurtful to our members to be excluded this way, and our community remains outraged.”

— Charles Walker, Standing Rock Sioux Tribe
voters who are otherwise qualified to vote but could not obtain a qualifying ID or who had no residential address to put on an ID. NARF again filed suit on behalf of voters. Ultimately, on September 27, 2018, the Court denied an emergency appeal and allowed a decision by the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals to stand, allowing the state to implement the strict voter ID for the 2018 election.

The law in place for the 2018 election required a residential address and did not allow for the use of a Post Office Box. The impact on Native American voters and response from the community was significant. Tribal leaders, litigators, and advocates testified about the barriers requiring a residential street address places on their tribal members. The resources marshalled to ensure voters received an ID, compounded with the burden it placed on the tribes to comply, amounted to an unfunded mandate and a poll tax.

Chairwoman Myra Pearson of the Spirit Lake Tribe said, “many of our members struggle with housing instability, unemployment, and poverty.” The Candeska Cikana Community College estimated in September 2014 that there are approximately 300 homeless people residing on or around the Spirit Lake reservation, but that estimate may be an undercount, as not all homeless tribal members sign up for housing assistance. A 2015 survey of 285 people living on the Spirit Lake Reservation indicated that 38 percent of people have an income under $5,000, and 73 percent have an income less than $20,000 per year.

Many parts of the Spirit Lake reservation have not been provided acceptable forms of street addresses and many members do not have ID, nor do they need one to live their lives. If members do have IDs, they are predominantly tribal IDs that list a Post Office Box. The United States Postal Service does not deliver to certain parts of the reservation, and if the county 911 coordinator has assigned a residential address to someone’s home, they may never be notified of that address.

“The Tribe does not have the resources to indefinitely provide adequate IDs to tribal members in order to vote in all future elections.”
— Chairwoman Myra Pearson, Spirit Lake Tribe

Chairwoman Pearson testified to the effort undertaken by the Tribe to ensure every possible voter obtained state sanctioned ID. Between October 22, 2018 and November 8, 2018, the Tribal Enrollment Office was open overtime. Robin Smith, Director of the Enrollment Department for the Spirit Lake Tribe, worked 21.25 hours of overtime, costing the Tribe additional money in overtime.

616 Id. at p. 5.
617 Id. at p. 6.
619 Id. at p. 1.
620 Id.
621 Id.
622 Id.
The Tribe also waived the traditional $11 fee for the ID. The Spirit Lake Tribe purchased a new printer and supplies, incurring costs upwards of $3,500. The Tribe issued 665 ID cards between October 22 and November 8. Typically, the Tribe issues approximately 30 IDs per month. The fee waiver cost the Spirit Lake Tribe $7,315 in income.

Issuing IDs also proved difficult. When tribal staff encountered an individual without a street address, staff would attempt to determine an address or contact a 911 coordinator. If an applicant was homeless or relied on a Post Office Box, staff would attempt to determine where the individual stayed most recently and most often. One tribal member made three separate visits to finally obtain an acceptable address. Given that Spirit Lake tribal IDs expire every five years and many residents move frequently, there are concerns the voter ID law will disenfranchise tribal residents and continue doing so in a discriminatory manner.

The Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians faced similar struggles. Unemployment on the Turtle Mountain reservation hovers at 69.75%.

“... we are not a wealthy tribe, we have scrapped and scrimped to survive these past 200 years. With this understanding the government waived fees for Tribal Identifications to meet the requirements to allow our members to vote.”

— Alysia LaCounte, Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians

623 Id. at p. 2.

“In order to ensure that its members had valid IDs the Tribe chose to extend its hours at the Tribal Enrollment Office. Between October 22, 2018 and November 8, 2018, the enrollment office was open from 8:00AM until as late as 7:00PM, depending on need. Robin Smith, the Director of the Enrollment Department for the Spirit Lake Tribe, had to work through her lunch break on a regular basis in order to ensure that needs were met. Ms. Smith worked a total of 21.25 hours of overtime between this timeframe at a rate of $37.50/hr., which cost the Tribe an additional $796.88.”

624 Id.
625 Id.

“In order to meet the needs of the members and the additional requests for IDs, the Tribe purchased a new printer for $2,655.95 and $1,105.78 worth of supplies such as ink and the cards themselves. The Tribe issued a total of 665 ID cards between October 22, 2018 and November 8, 2018. Normally the Tribe issues about 30 IDs per month. Due to the fee waiver, the Tribe lost $7,315.00 in income during that time.”

626 Id.
627 Id.
628 Id.
629 Id. at p. 2.

“There were several difficulties in issuing the IDs. For instance, if a person was homeless or relied on a P.O. Box number because they did not have a consistent address, the enrollment staff would have to find out where the individual stayed most recently and most often. Usually, the individual would give a relative or a friend’s house. Enrollment staff would then have to look up the relative or friend and verify with that person that the individual had stayed there. In other instances, members would arrive and not know their physical address. In those circumstances, enrollment staff had to assist the member in determining their physical address. This process involves checking internal records about the physical addresses of other members that live at the same residence. If that did not determine an address, staff would then call the Benson County 911 coordinator to determine the address or have an address assigned.”

630 Id. at p. 3.
percent, along with a high poverty rate.\textsuperscript{631} To ensure members could vote in the 2018 election, the Tribal government enacted a law enabling voters to receive tribal IDs for free.\textsuperscript{632} Generally, Turtle Mountain Tribal IDs cost $15.\textsuperscript{633} As discussed in Chapter 2, $15 may not seem like a significant expense, but to a tribal member it can mean a week’s worth of milk and bread.\textsuperscript{634} The Tribe issued 2,400 new ID cards,\textsuperscript{635} at an estimated cost of at least $36,000.

“Ath day of free tribal IDs our ID machine melted down the actual physical IDs because it became too hot. As a result, we sought assistance through any means necessary, social media, news outlets, and moccasin telegraph.”

— Alysia LaCounte, Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians

Alysia LaCounte testified that the use of addresses and street names began only recently on the Turtle Mountain Reservation — “uniform addressing, and numbering of residences only occurred within the last ten years.”\textsuperscript{636} Most private residences still lack a house number. The Tribe experienced numerous technical difficulties issuing 2,400 IDs. Still, the Tribe undertook significant efforts to ensure everyone who wanted one could obtain an ID and vote. The Tribal college opened a help line, the Tribe purchased new machines to produce the IDs and placed them throughout the community, staff worked 14 hours a day for two weeks before the election, and they held get-out-the-vote rallies.\textsuperscript{637} Organizing a response to this discriminatory law required a great amount of time and resources.

The people of Mandan Hidatsa and Arikara Nation (“MHA Nation”) faced similar obstacles. The MHA Nation has more than 5,600 members of voting age that live on or near the Reservation.\textsuperscript{638} Until 2016, the Tribe allowed members to list a Post Office Box as their address on their tribal ID cards, as MHA Nation also has parts of the reservation with homes without assigned street addresses.\textsuperscript{639} Following the decisions of the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals and the Court, the Tribe began allowing tribal members to exchange their IDs with Post Office Boxes for new IDs with residential street addresses free of charge.\textsuperscript{640} Shortly thereafter, the Tribe began issuing new, free tribal IDs to members for any reason.\textsuperscript{641}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{631} Voting Rights and Election Administration in the Dakotas: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116\textsuperscript{th} Cong. (2019), written testimony of Alysia LaCounte at p. 1.
  \item \textsuperscript{632} Id. at p. 2.
  \item \textsuperscript{633} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{634} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{635} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{636} Id. at p. 3.
  \item \textsuperscript{637} Id. at p. 3.
  \item \textsuperscript{638} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{639} Id. at p. 2-3.
  \item \textsuperscript{640} Id. at p. 3.
  \item \textsuperscript{641} Id.
\end{itemize}
Roger White Owl, Chief Executive Officer of MHA Nation, testified their efforts were slowed by a lack of staff resources to do the unexpected work and significant distances separating communities. Between September 24, 2018 and November 6, 2018, MHA Nation issued 456 new IDs. In contrast, they typically issue about 150 to 200 IDs a month. Mr. White Owl testified, “some tribal members had to drive for hours just to get a new ID.” MHA Nation estimated about 75 to 80 percent of the tribal members who received a new ID leading up to the election did not have an ID that complied with North Dakota’s law. Furthermore, the addresses on the new IDs may not be accurate in future years, as “about one in four tribal members who came in for a new ID did not know their residential address.” Despite these efforts, Mr. White Owl said roughly one-third of MHA Nation members still do not have a tribal ID. The Tribe was also unable to count the number of members who never received a new ID, were discouraged from voting, or were unable to vote due to the new voter ID law. In addition to the ID barriers voters were required

“In many cases we could not identify an address for someone even when looking at a map of their house. Or, they may have given me a family member’s house address where they are currently staying. This is not voter fraud. This is the result of unworkable state laws being applied to our Reservation.”

— Roger White Owl, MHA Nation

“Once again, the MHA Nation was forced to bear the burden of federal laws, policies and decisions giving improper authority to the State over elections on our Fort Berthold Indian Reservation.”

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642 Id.
643 Id.
644 Id.
645 Id.
646 Id.
647 Id. at p. 3.
to surmount, MHA Nation had to provide buses to bring voters to the polls after two polling locations were closed, requiring some members to travel 30 to 45 miles to vote.648

The people of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe faced a similar challenge. Charles Walker testified that many people on Standing Rock do not have an ID because “it is simply not necessary for everyday life.”649 The family poverty rate in Sioux County, North Dakota, is 35.9 percent.650 The nearest driver’s license site is approximately 40 miles away.651 Generally, unless a member is elderly, the Tribe charges for an ID to fund the cost of staff time and printing.

The United States Postal Service does not always operate in the rural areas of the Standing Rock Reservation. Like other reservations, many members use and share Post Office Boxes, many of the homes are not marked with house numbers, and many streets lack signage. Even if the state government has an address listed for a residence, it may never have been communicated to the homeowners.652 Charles Walker testified the state also uses multiple addressing systems, so an address may be different across different government agencies.653 Additionally, Alysia LaCounte testified that the 911 system fails to enumerate unit numbers, making proper addressing difficult.654 Chairwoman Pearson testified that she has lived at the same home for more than 20 years, and a company could not verify her address for a delivery.655 A significant portion of the population also moves from home to home because they do not have housing of their own, meaning they do not have a consistent address even if they remain within the reservation.656

During the 2018 election cycle, the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe waved a $5 fee usually charged to members under age 60 for a new ID. The Tribe issued 807 new tribal IDs between October 15, 2018, and November 6, 2018.657 During this time, the Tribe would have charged a fee for 486 of those IDs. As a result, the Tribe lost nearly $2,500 in income and spent almost $500 to print them.658 Previously, the Fort Yates office printed an average of only 47 IDs per month.659

648 Id. at p. 3–4.
650 Id.
651 Id.
652 Id.
653 Id.
655 Id.
656 Id.
657 Id. at p. 4.
658 Id. at p. 4-5.
659 Id.

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The North Dakota legislature claimed changes to the voter ID law were necessary to prevent voter fraud. None of the witnesses testifying at the North Dakota field hearing cited any risk of voter fraud. In fact, the Subcommittee heard the opposite—“There is little to no risk of voter fraud on the Standing Rock Reservation, and there has never been an issue with it before with more lenient voter ID laws.” 660 Implementation of a strict voter ID requirement runs counterintuitive to North Dakota’s lack of a voter registration requirement, 661 and witnesses at the hearing reiterated that they do not want a voter registration requirement. 662

There is also evidence the new fail-safe mechanism does not address the problems faced by Native American voters. While the law allows voters to supplement a non-qualifying ID with a utility bill, bank statement, check, or government issued document, this fails to address the issues faced by voters who could not reasonably obtain an ID or who had no residential address to place on the ID. 663 If the issue is a lack of residential address, the voter likely does not have a utility bill or other document addressed to that address. 664 Each tribal leader who testified at the North Dakota field hearing highlighted the high levels of housing insecurity, homelessness, and poverty experienced by residents on their reservations. These factors contribute to the likelihood that residents will not have utility bills with an address on them.

Additionally, if a voter casts a set-aside ballot on Election Day because they could not obtain an address in time for the election, there is little evidence suggesting they would be able to do so in the six days following the election as the law now requires. 665

The state failed to offer any resources to help tribes provide IDs that complied with the new law. Mr. Walker testified that the state has not offered any money or assistance in complying with the law, no effort to update the addressing system, make it 911-compliant, or mark unmarked homes. 666 Additionally, there was a lack of communication between tribes and the state as to what addresses the state would accept.

660 Id. at p. 4.
661 North Dakota is the only state without a voter registration requirement.
664 Id. at p. 4.
665 Id. at p. 4.
666 Id. at p. 5.

“Simply put, it is a massive hurdle for many on the Standing Rock Reservation to figure out their actual residential address.”
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Arizona

The State of Arizona is home to 22 federally recognized Native American Tribes and 21 reservations. Roughly 27 percent of the land in the state is tribal land, and more than five percent of the state’s population is Native American. The poverty rate for Native Americans in Arizona is 35.7 percent. Comparatively, Non-Hispanic Whites in Arizona experience a poverty rate of 10.9 percent. Native Americans in Arizona are more likely to work multiple jobs, lack reliable transportation, and lack adequate childcare resources. These factors, when compounded with barriers erected by the state, can impact a Native voter’s ability to access the ballot.

Native Americans in Arizona also face significant homelessness or near homelessness due to extreme poverty and a lack of affordable housing. Many residents also lack traditional street addresses. In Arizona, only 18 percent of reservation voters outside of Maricopa and Pima Counties have physical addresses and receive mail at home. Many Native American voters in Arizona, similar to North Dakota, rely on Post Office Boxes to receive their mail. Some tribal members must travel up to 140 miles round trip to receive mail.

Professor Ferguson-Bohnee testified the lack of formal addresses in Indian Country makes it “especially hard for voters to comply with address requirements to register to vote or to produce identification in order to vote on Election Day.” President Jonathan Nez, of the Navajo Nation, testified a majority of Navajo citizens residing on the reservation do not have traditional street addresses, with the reservation having at least 50,000 unmarked properties.

“Access to the polls and participation in the political process are impacted by isolating conditions such as language barriers, socioeconomic disparities, lack of access to transportation, lack of residential addresses, lack of access to mail, the digital divide, and distance.”

— Patty Ferguson-Bohnee, Sandra Day O’Connor School of Law
Arizona’s voter registration forms allow a space for an individual to draw a map location of their home, but these maps often do not allow for enough detail to properly locate their residence, resulting in registrars assigning voters to incorrect precincts. Incorrect precincts can result in longer travel times, the county rejecting ballots, or the county failing to process their registration form.

For residents of the Navajo Nation, which spans three states, a voter’s Post Office Box could be in a different state or county than their residence. President Nez stated that a discrepancy in the state or county location between an individual’s [Post Office] Box and their physical residence leads to difficulties for individual Navajos in registering to vote.

Multiple family members also share Post Office Boxes, which can lead to lost or delayed ballots and other voter notifications. Additionally, the number of Post Office Boxes per location is limited.

If a voter is unable to secure a Post Office Box or is removed from their family box, they may have to travel 30 to 40 miles to the next closest post office, at times in addition to the 30 miles they already traveled to reach their local post office. President Nez testified that some Navajo citizens must drive more than 100 miles to register to vote. Governor Stephen Roe Lewis, of the Gila River Indian Community, testified that non-traditional addresses and inaccurate poll address lists present barriers to voting for their members as well. Governor Lewis testified, “Reservation voters in Maricopa County were assigned standard addresses prior to the 2012 General Election, which changed their voting precincts. Unfortunately, these changes were neither communicated in advance nor delivered clearly to voters.” This resulted in frustrated voters being turned away from the polling location without casting a ballot. In very few instances, voters cast a provisional ballot.

The move toward mail-in ballots, online registration, and voting centers in Arizona has a significant impact on Native American voters. As has been discussed extensively, Native

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677 Id. at p. 1.
678 Id.
679 Id. at p. 2.
680 Id.
681 Id. at p. 2-3.
682 Id. at p. 3.
684 Id.
voters living on reservations have limited access to adequate addressing, Post Office Boxes, and postal services that limit utilization of vote-by-mail. Additionally, less than half of homes on tribal lands in Arizona have reliable broadband internet access, limiting access to online voter registration for Native Americans living on reservations. Individuals with non-traditional addresses cannot use the online voter registration system.

Voter ID is also a problem for Native American voters in Arizona. Even valid tribal IDs can be (and are) rejected on Election Day due to insufficient poll worker training or issues arising from nonstandard addresses. During the 2006 election, 428 Navajos voted using provisional ballots that went uncounted because they could not verify their identification. The Navajo Nation sued, alleging a violation of Section 2 and the case was settled to expand the acceptable forms of ID. Governor Lewis explained that, in 2012, voter ID laws were strictly enforced on the Pinal County portion of the Reservation and “many Community voters were turned away from the polls when their address did not match the voter rolls at the polls.” In very few instances, voters were offered and allowed to cast a provisional ballot, but the majority who were turned away were denied a ballot altogether. It was later discovered that Community members’ addresses did not match the rolls because the County had reassigned the physical addresses of all Community voters to match the service center where they vote, and no voter’s address matched the rolls.

In 2019, the State enacted a law requiring voters show ID if they vote early in-person, resulting in an additional burden on voters who chose in-person early voting as opposed to voting by mail. Previously, voters could vote early in-person without showing an ID. Voters who vote early by mail still do not have an ID requirement. Professor Ferguson-Bohnee testified this violates equal protection and disproportionately impacts Native American voters, specifically Native language speakers who only receive language assistance in person. Professor Ferguson-Bohnee also testified that poll workers sometimes provide voters provisional ballots without telling voters it will not count if they are in the wrong precinct.

In addition to proper addressing issues, Election Day is a culturally significant event for tribal members. President Nez testified that “when there is a day of elections, it is a day to bring everybody together, to catch up with family member(s), to catch up on politics, and it

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685 Voting Rights and Election Administration in Arizona: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019); hearing transcript, Patty Ferguson-Bohnee at p. 35.
686 Id.
687 Id. at p. 36.
689 Id.
691 Id.
693 Id. at p. 36.
The Navajo Nation held Navajo elections alongside County, State, and Federal elections. State Senate Bill 1154, which would change the elections to the first Tuesday in August, significantly impacts voter turnout and tribal elections, because tribes will be forced to move their elections to maintain voter turnout or Tribal members will have to travel to vote two times a year.

Election Day is similarly important to the Gila River Indian Community—it centers around family and community. The Tribe sponsors traditional meals at polling sites while community members “proudly come out and vote as their right as U.S. citizens but also members of sovereign nations[.]” Governor Lewis testified that a significantly smaller percentage of Gila River Indian Community members vote by mail than among the general population.

Recently, Arizona enacted H.B. 2023, which prohibits the gathering of ballots and places heavy penalties on individuals who turn in ballots other than their own unless they meet certain stringent exceptions – like being a family member or caretaker. Proponents of this ban argue it is intended to combat voter fraud, however neither President Nez nor Governor Lewis had ever heard of issues relating to voter fraud on their respective reservations. When questioned about how significant a problem “ballot harvesting” is in Arizona at the Arizona Field Hearing, State Senator Michelle Ugenti-Rita stated that “maybe a dozen” people came to speak with her about the alleged problem of “ballot harvesting” before she created the current law.

Chairwoman Fudge: … Secondly, and I think, to the senator, I understand clearly what you have been saying to me. I am just curious; how many people came to you about the harvesting that it was so important an issue that you needed to take it to make a law?

Ms. Ugenti-Rita: Yes. Thank you, ma’am. Generally speaking, probably maybe a dozen.

Chairwoman Fudge: And what is the size of the State of Arizona?

Ms. Ugenti-Rita: It is — the population?

Chairwoman Fudge: Yes.

Ms. Ugenti-Rita: 6.5 million, but there is no correlation between the two, if that is what you are trying to —

Chairwoman Fudge: Well, no. That is your decision. My thinking is that if 12 people come, and you are going to make a law that affects 6-1/2 million people, I think that that is a problem, but that is just — I am not asking to debate it. That is my opinion.

The other thing that I really do want to address, and I am solely truly not trying to pick on you, but you just have said some things that I think concern me. Let me just say to you that mailing a bill is not a right. Voting is. You cannot compare those two things, because voting is a right given to us by the Constitution — I am not asking you a question — by the Constitution of the United States. And I can promise you that if my neighbor wanted me to mail their bill, I could, but I can’t take their ballot. You cannot compare those two things.

Because what I know is there was a time in this Nation where being a good neighbor meant something. We helped elderly people. We helped sick people. We helped the people who were disabled. We helped people. Now what we have done is say, I can’t help you if you have a problem. That is — and I don’t see that harvesting has been a major problem anywhere other than in North Carolina. It is the only place that I am aware of that it ever has been a problem. So, we continue to find solutions for problems that don’t exist.”
population of the State of Arizona is approximately more than 7 million people.\textsuperscript{701} Similarly, at the time North Dakota was contemplating a voter ID requirement in 2013, there were also no instances of voter fraud during the 2012 election.\textsuperscript{702} There were only two probable cases of double voting arising during the 2016 election.\textsuperscript{703}

Additionally, President Nez and Governor Lewis raised a concern that laws enacted without consideration of cultural differences can disenfranchise tribal voters. The definition of “family” is different for Native American families than it is for Anglo-centric families. Barring certain individuals from turning in ballots without input from the tribes has a deleterious effect on their ability to participate in government and the democratic process.\textsuperscript{704}

**Alaska**

The Alaska State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights included an evaluation of Alaska’s proposed shift to vote by mail and its potential impact on Alaskan Native voters. The Committee included findings in its recent report despite the state’s position that it is not moving to a vote-by-mail process at this time. As a shift toward vote by mail has happened elsewhere across the country, it is important that jurisdictions evaluate how this change would impact the most rural communities in America.

Mail delivery is a significant issue in Alaska. The State Advisory Committee reported serious concerns regarding the interest in vote by mail, as mail delivery is slow in Alaska and can take up to two to three weeks.\textsuperscript{705} Mail delivery often relies on air service, and testimony before the State Advisory Committee revealed that some villages may be inaccessible by air for several weeks at a time due to inclement weather.\textsuperscript{706} Voters faced similar issues with Post Office Boxes as expressed by rural tribal communities in Arizona. Post Office Boxes are often shared, sometimes with multiple families. As such, voters may not be receiving sufficient or complete election-related materials.\textsuperscript{707}

The United States Postal Service transfers mail from villages to a central hub in Anchorage, where it is then postmarked. Rural residents who vote in a village and mail their ballot on time may not have their ballots counted because they are postmarked late.\textsuperscript{708} A shift to vote by mail requires reliable postal services, which many rural voters cannot access. States conducting elections via vote-by-mail are still required to comply with Section 203 language requirements. Prior to implementing a vote-by-mail system, tribes must be consulted to ensure their voters can avail themselves of all necessary avenues to cast a ballot and receive that ballot adequately translated.

\textsuperscript{701} United States Census Bureau, *Quick Facts: Arizona* (July 1, 2018), https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/AZ.

\textsuperscript{702} Brakebill *First Amend. Compl.* at p. 17.

\textsuperscript{703} Id. at p. 29.


\textsuperscript{706} Id.

\textsuperscript{707} Id.

\textsuperscript{708} Id.
LACK OF ACCESS TO THE POLLS AND RESOURCES

The closing of polling locations, lack of on-reservation sites, distance from reservations, and lack of resources can impose unreasonable difficulties for Native Americans seeking to cast a ballot.

During the 2018 elections, two long-standing voting locations were closed within the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota. North Dakota State Representative Buffalo argued that if the state’s elected representatives “more accurately reflected the MHA people, they would have known that these were important voting sites and would not have shut them down.”

In Arizona, eight tribes are located across two or more counties, subjecting one reservation to two or more sets of local election policies. Four reservations span three counties, increasing the disparate standards of election requirements with which they must comply and compounding the difficulties for tribal voters. In parts of the Navajo Nation, only one in 10 families owns a vehicle, limiting transportation options and access to services.

“One of the most egregious examples of lack of access to in-person early voting involves the Kaibab Paiute Tribe. Kaibab Paiute residents must travel over 280 miles one way to participate in early voting. These voters do not have a polling location on or near the reservation on Election Day.”

— Patty Ferguson-Bohnee, Sandra Day O’Connor School of Law

President Nez highlighted how transportation challenges affect a voter’s access to the polls, especially when polling places are located at great distances. In 2018, Apache County had only two early voting locations on the Navajo Nation, in the southern part of the reservation. Community members from the Teec Nos Pos Chapter of Navajo Nation, located near the Utah border, were forced to drive 95 miles each way to cast an early ballot.

The Leadership Conference’s report on polling place closures found that Arizona closed 320 polling locations

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710 Id.
711 Id.
712 Id.
713 Id.
714 Id.
since 2012.\textsuperscript{715} After \textit{Shelby County}, Arizona is no longer required to analyze and report on the potential disparate impact of these closures on Native American voters. Nearly every county has closed polling places since preclearance was removed.\textsuperscript{716} Professor Ferguson-Bohnee testified that, while every county has in-person early voting off-reservation, there are limited opportunities for in-person early voting on-reservation.\textsuperscript{717} In 2016, 10 reservations had some form of in-person early voting. Only five reservations had in-person early voting in 2018.\textsuperscript{718}

A lack of adequate resources is a common issue heard from tribal witnesses. Four Directions, Inc.,\textsuperscript{719} sued and assisted in suits in multiple states after state and county public officials refused to provide satellite voting offices on American Indian Reservations, violating Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act.\textsuperscript{720} The court found in \textit{Sanchez v. Cegavske} that tribes and tribal citizens are not required to fund equal access to the ballot box by counties.\textsuperscript{721} O.J. Semans testified Four Directions has found “Secretaries of State and local officials do not believe they are under any obligation under Section 2 to provide equal access to in-person voter registration locations, in-person early voting locations, and in-person Election Day polling places on American Indian Reservations.”\textsuperscript{722} Voting options such as mail-in ballots are not an adequate substitute for access to polling locations and early voting, and a lack of these alternatives disenfranchises Native voters.

Four Directions was successful in 2014, and to the present, in persuading the South Dakota Board of Elections to utilize HAVA funds to pay for satellite voting offices on Indian Reservations in South Dakota.\textsuperscript{723} However, Mr. Semans detailed several instances in which officials declined to establish satellite voting locations on reservations, both with funding offered and without, even when voting locations are available to state residents not living on reservations.\textsuperscript{724} Mr. Semans testified that Standing Rock Chairman Mike Faith made a written request to North Dakota Secretary of State Jaeger to establish early voting on Standing Rock – which was available in Fargo, Bismarck, Manda, Grand Forks, and Minot, North Dakota – on October 28, 2018.\textsuperscript{725} Secretary Jaeger declined the request, highlighting a need for Congress to act by providing HAVA funding for Indian Country. Mr. Semans recommended Congress


\textsuperscript{716} Id. at p. 17.

\textsuperscript{717} \textit{Voting Rights and Election Administration in Arizona}: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), hearing transcript, Patty Ferguson-Bohnee at p. 35.

\textsuperscript{718} Id.


“Four Directions, Inc. is a nonprofit organized to benefit the social welfare of Native American citizens by conducting extraordinarily successful Native voter registration and get-out-the-vote drives, voter protection programs, and improved Native voter access through litigation, litigation threats, and persuasion with local and state government officials in Nevada, Arizona, North Carolina, Montana, Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota over the past 16 years.”


\textsuperscript{721} Id. at p. 7.

\textsuperscript{722} Id. at p. 7.

\textsuperscript{723} Id. at p. 4.

\textsuperscript{724} Id. at p. 7-9.

\textsuperscript{725} Id. at p. 8.
appropriate additional HAVA funds explicitly for “in-person equal access to the ballot box for Native voters living on tribal lands.”

President Nez testified there are limited resources available for providing information to Navajo citizens. The Navajo reservation is rural, and they lack broadband capability to allow for better information on elections and changes in election law. Governor Lewis highlighted the need for improved poll worker training. The Gila River Indian Community found “numerous instances of poll workers not even offering provisional ballots as an option for Community members” when issues arise. Proper training along with cultural sensitivity could address these election administration issues to ensure tribal voters can cast their ballot with assistance from poll workers.

At the Subcommittee’s hearing in Washington, D.C., USCCR Chair Catherine Lhamon testified that the Native American Rights Fund highlighted one polling place which was moved away from a village. As a result, Native Alaskan voters’ only option to travel to their polling place was by plane. A 2015 investigation by the Department of Justice found Native voters had to travel farther distances than White voters in a number of states. Subsequently, the Department of Justice proposed legislation to require jurisdictions “whose territory includes part or all of an Indian reservation, an Alaska Native village, or other tribal lands to locate at least one polling place in a venue selected by the tribal government,” and to require an equal number of resources at those polling sites. This bill, known as the Native American Voting Rights Act, has yet to pass Congress.

In the Alaska State Advisory Report, the State Committee noted that some rural Alaska Native villages have unreliable internet service or may lack access to broadband internet, which is often necessary to meaningfully participate in elections. The Report highlighted that “an Alaska Native elder walked two miles from her home to the nearest public library that had internet access to download the necessary election forms to participate in early voting.”

**VOTE DILUTION**

Representative Ruth Buffalo is the only Native American representative in the North Dakota State House. The district she represents is 370 miles from her traditional homelands of the

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726 Id. at p. 9 – Four Directions estimates $20 million in HAVA per election cycle would likely provide the financial resources necessary.
730 Id.
Fort Berthold Reservation. She testified that if she were to run for elected office on the Fort Berthold Reservation, the district would not be majority Native American due to the way the district is drawn, as the White population overwhelms the Native population. Furthermore, the reservation is divided into six counties, effectively diluting the Native American presence to the point that they have no representation among county seats.

In Arizona, tribes have fought to preserve the sole majority-minority Native American state legislative district. In the 2010 redistricting cycle, Arizona’s Redistricting Commission consulted an expert to ensure district maps did not retrogress. As a result, Arizona’s maps received preclearance on its first submission for the first time since it became a covered jurisdiction. There is concern that the Commission might not consider retrogression in the next cycle, as the state is no longer required to seek preclearance approval, leading to tribal communities losing their limited opportunity for elected representation.

**LANGUAGE ACCESS**

**Arizona**

In Arizona, the language access provisions of Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act mandate coverage of several Native languages for minority language access assistance. In 2000, Arizona was required to provide bilingual registration and voting materials in six different Native American languages, while after 2015 only two were still required. Arizona is currently required to provide language assistance for Navajo and Apache speakers.

The Navajo language is widely spoken by Navajo voters and is covered under Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act. The State is required to provide all elections materials in English and Navajo. Professor Ferguson-Bohnee testified only one of nine covered jurisdictions in 2016 subject to Section 203 for Native American languages provided translated voter registration.
information in the covered language.\textsuperscript{743} Furthermore, “potential voters had to travel 95 miles one way to obtain in-person voter registration assistance.”\textsuperscript{744}

Written language materials are only one form of assistance. Some Native languages are not traditionally written, they are spoken. Moving to predominantly vote-by-mail and providing voting materials in only written translations disenfranchises voters who need a physical polling place so voters can obtain oral language assistance.\textsuperscript{745}

**Alaska**

In a recently submitted report, the Alaska State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights examined Alaska’s implementation and compliance with the *Toyukak v. Mallott* settlement and order related to language access.\textsuperscript{746} Alaska has been required to provide language access materials to limited-English proficiency voters since the 1975 extension of the Voting Rights Act. Alaska was subject to statewide Section 5 requirements at the time of *Shelby County*.\textsuperscript{747} In the last 30 years, Alaska has undergone, and lost, two court cases regarding compliance with Section 203.\textsuperscript{748}

In July 2013, two Alaska Native citizens and four tribal governments sued the Lieutenant Governor of Alaska and the Division of Elections for failing to provide effective language assistance to limited-English proficient Alaska Native voters in certain areas covered by Section 203.\textsuperscript{749} They alleged the state failed to produce an Official Election Pamphlet and other pre-election information in any of the covered Alaska Native languages, effectively denying an opportunity to meaningfully participate in elections.\textsuperscript{750} The State reached a settlement to provide materials in Yup’ik and Gwich’in and make additional election administration changes.\textsuperscript{751}

During the August 2016 primary election, federal observers visited 19 villages and found no translated voting materials available in six villages, while others were severely lacking in


\textsuperscript{744} *Id.*


*Toyukak v. Mallott* is only the second Section 203 case fully tried and the first one since the Reagan Administration.


“Section 203 provides: “Whenever any State or political subdivision [covered by the section] provides registration or voting notices, forms, instructions, assistance, or other materials or information relating to the electoral process, including ballots, it shall provide them in the language of the applicable minority group as well as in the English language.”


\textsuperscript{750} *Id.*

\textsuperscript{751} *Id.*
translated materials. Observers returned for the general election and found six of 12 polling locations had no translated sample ballot for voters. Testimony before the State Advisory Committee noted that while progress has been made, much work still needs to be done.  

CONCLUSION

It was not until 1924 that Native Americans gained equal citizenship and the right to vote. Despite this, Native American voting rights were not fully affirmed until the Court outlawed literacy tests in 1970. Today, Native American voters still face barriers to their full and equal exercise of the franchise.

Unique voting barriers faced by Native Americans must be properly considered before states and localities implement voting changes. Native Americans living on reservations experience high rates of poverty and homelessness, a lack of traditional addresses, difficulties obtaining required IDs and registering to vote, and long distances to travel to polling locations, among other issues.

The issues discussed in this Chapter are just a small cross-section of issues faced by Native voters and do not constitute an exhaustive evaluation of barriers faced by Native American voters. Native voters are considered a protected class under the Voting Rights Act. Testimony shows that tribes must be consulted as changes to voting laws and procedures are considered. The federal government must bear in mind the historic government-to-government relationship between tribes and the federal government, re-evaluate whether states should dictate how elections are administered on reservations, and consider tribal needs in crafting federal voting laws.


“Dr. Tucker testified that there was a lack of translated written materials required under the Toyukak Order despite reporting from the Division of Elections that the majority of materials had been translated. For example, when federal observers visited 19 villages during the August 2016 primary election, they found: no translated voting materials were available in six villages (Alakanuk, Kotlik, Arctic Village, Beaver, Fort Yukon, and Venetie); the ‘I voted’ sticker was the only material in an Alaska Native language in Marshall and Mountain Village; in Emmonak, the Yup’ik glossary was the only translated material available; and 10 villages had a sample ballot written in Yup’ik but only two (Koliganek and Manokotak) had written translations of the candidate lists.”

753 Id.
CHAPTER FOUR

Election Administration Barriers Hindering the Right to Vote

How elections are administered significantly impacts a voter’s experience and access to the ballot. Congress has passed legislation to alleviate burdens and ease access, including the National Voter Registration Act (NVRA) of 1993 and the Help America Vote Act (HAVA) of 2002. These laws were intended to increase access to voter registration opportunities and improve voting systems and voter access. As the Subcommittee learned over the course of its hearings, many issues facing election administration have not been adequately addressed, including:

- General election administration, such as:
  - Lack of compliance with the National Voter Registration Act (NVRA);
  - Attempts to add documentary proof of citizenship requirements;
  - Inconsistent poll worker training;
  - Lack of adequate resources; and
  - The use (and potential overuse) of provisional ballots
- Continued disenfranchisement of American citizens, including those that:
  - Were formerly incarcerated; and
  - Those in prison/jail
- Misinformation and disinformation campaigns
- Climate disaster response
- The conflict of interest presented when individuals serve as both candidate in and arbiter of the same election

GENERAL ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

Failure to Comply with the National Voter Registration Act (NVRA)

The NVRA, commonly referred to as the “motor-voter” law, was enacted by Congress in 1993 and requires states to establish voter registration procedures for federal elections that enable all eligible voters to register to vote when applying for a driver’s license both by mail and at public assistance or disability agencies. The NVRA also created a federal mail-based form

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for voter registration that all states are required to accept. Various proposals were introduced in Congress during the 1970s and 1980s to set national standards for voter registration, but passage of the NVRA in 1993 marked the first comprehensive federal effort to address voter registration.

Brenda Wright of Demos testified that “the requirement of pre-registration to exercise the right to vote is still the number one barrier to participation in our democracy. Fifty to 60 million eligible voters, disproportionately people of color, young people, and low-income people, remain unregistered.” Failure to properly comply with and enforce the NVRA hinders access to the franchise. Ms. Wright further testified that, in the November 2016 general election, nearly 1 in 5 people who were eligible but did not vote cited registration issues as their main reason for not doing so.

As the Subcommittee learned in Texas, the state has failed to comply with the NVRA. Mimi Marziani testified at the Texas listening session that, “Texas does not offer simultaneous voter registration, as required by the NVRA, to the 1.5 million Texans who update their driver’s licenses online each year.” Failure to properly implement the NVRA makes registering to vote and keeping accurate, up-to-date voter rolls more difficult for both voters and the state. It places a heavier burden on voters who are frequent movers, applicants who tend to be poorer, younger and – in Texas– more often people of color.

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“The experience of one Black mother of two from Irving is illustrative. After moving to a new neighborhood, Totysa Watkins went online to update her driver’s license and checked “yes” in response to a question in the online form asking whether she wanted to register to vote. She did not learn that, in fact, her attempt at registration would not count under the State’s policies until she showed up at the polling place in 2014, children in tow.”

— Mimi Marziani, Texas Civil Rights Project

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758 Id. at p. 8, citing Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 2016 Voting and Registration Supplement. Reasons cited for not voting include “did not meet registration deadlines,” “did not know where or how to register,” and “did not meet residency requirements/did not live here long enough.”
760 Id.
The Lawyers’ Committee, along with other civil rights organizations, brought actions to enforce Sections 5 and 7 of the NVRA, which require states to provide voter registration assistance to individuals visiting motor vehicle and public assistance agencies. North Carolina settled one case in 2018 by agreeing to substantial improvements in how the department of motor vehicle and social services agencies offer and process voter registration applications.761 The Lawyers’ Committee also successfully challenged Georgia’s runoff election voter registration in 2017 for violating Section 8 of the NVRA.762 At the time, Georgia required voters register approximately three months before the federal runoff election – the NVRA deadline is set at 30 days.763

In Washington, D.C., Brenda Wright of Demos testified there have been no actions to enforce Section 5 or Section 7 of the National Voter Registration Act.764 Deuel Ross testified that NAACP LDF was successful in a 2014 suit against the Louisiana Secretary of State in which the Fifth Circuit ruled the Secretary is responsible for enforcing compliance with the NVRA across relevant state agencies.765

### Attempts to Add Documentary Proof of Citizenship Requirements

All states require proof of citizenship to register to vote. However, an attestation of citizenship under penalty of perjury has generally been considered sufficient.766 Some states have attempted to add stricter proof of citizenship requirements to voter registration forms, purporting to combat non-citizens voting in American elections. These claims have been proven false.

Alabama, Arizona, Kansas, and Georgia have enacted laws requiring voters produce documentary proof of citizenship when registering to vote. Additionally, former Election Assistance Commission (EAC) Executive Director Brian Newby attempted to allow Alabama, Georgia, and Kansas to require stringent proof of citizenship instruction when registering to vote using the federal form. The court has currently stopped this practice from moving forward. According to a 2017 analysis by the Brennan Center, between five and seven percent of the citizen voting age population, millions of otherwise eligible voters, do not have ready...
access to documents that would prove their citizenship. This rate is twice as high among citizens earning less than $25,000 per year. Arizona, along with Kansas, sued the EAC seeking to require the agency to modify the federal voter registration form to require proof of citizenship.

In 2013, the Court held that requiring proof of citizenship was inconsistent with the NVRA. Arizona contends the Court’s ruling in Arizona v. The Inter Tribal Council of Arizona applies only to federal elections, and created a two-tiered registration system allowing individuals to register with the federal registration form for federal elections, while requiring voters in state and local elections to meet a new, strict citizenship requirement. Civil rights organizations sued, alleging the two-tiered system is an unconstitutional burden on the right to vote.

The ensuing settlement allows the state to continue requiring proof of citizenship to register in state elections, but requires the state to treat federal and state registration forms the same and check motor vehicle databases for citizenship documentation prior to limiting residents to vote only in federal elections. In 2013, the Lawyers’ Committee intervened on behalf of the Inter Tribal Council of Arizona to defeat yet another attempt by Arizona and Kansas to modify the state-specific instructions of the federal mail voter registration form to require applicants residing in those states submit proof of citizenship in accordance with state law.

Under Arizona’s documentary proof of citizenship law, only limited forms of documents were accepted. While copies of passports and birth certificates could be submitted by mail, naturalization papers were required to be original papers and must be presented in person or be verified with the federal government.

Notwithstanding the litigation history and precedent established around proof of citizenship requirements, Alabama, Georgia, and Kansas again requested changes be made in 2016 to the federal form allowing documentary proof of citizenship requirements. Then-EAC Executive

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768 Id.
769 See Arizona v. Inter Tribal Council of Arizona, 570 U.S. 1, 15 (2013).
773 Id., citing Kobach v. U.S. Election Assistance Commission, 772 F. 3d 1183 (10th Cir. 2015).
Director Brian Newby unilaterally acted to change the instructions accompanying the federal voter registration form to respond to these states’ request.\textsuperscript{776}

In February 2016, the Brennan Center and others filed suit on behalf of the League of Women Voters and state affiliates (\textit{League of Women Voters v. Newby}) challenging the letter sent by EAC Executive Director Brian Newby in January 2016 allowing Alabama, Georgia, and Kansas to require applicants using the federal voter registration form to provide documentary proof of citizenship.\textsuperscript{777} In September 2016, the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals enjoined the EAC from changing the federal voter registration form. In February 2017, the court remanded the matter to the EAC to determine whether Mr. Newby had authority to allow states to require proof of citizenship. The preliminary injunction remains in place and a final decision is pending.\textsuperscript{778} Documentary proof of citizenship is not currently on the federal form.

Kansas enacted a requirement in 2011 that voter registration applicants submit a copy of a legal document establishing U.S. citizenship, such as a birth certificate or a passport.\textsuperscript{779} At the time, Kansas was the only state to require a copy of a physical citizenship document to register to vote.\textsuperscript{780} The Kansas law went into effect in 2013 and, as Dale Ho testified, the law had a significant effect on the ability of Kansas residents to register to vote.\textsuperscript{781}

Little more than three years after the law had gone into effect, 30,732 voter registration applications (approximately 12 percent of the total applications submitted) had been denied.\textsuperscript{782} The ACLU challenged the law. Kansas’ then-Secretary of State Kris Kobach claimed there were more than 18,000 non-citizens registered to vote in Kansas, but Kobach’s own expert witness during trial estimated that of the 30,000 people whose registrations were blocked, more than 99 percent were in fact United States citizens.\textsuperscript{783} In a 2016 preliminary injunction, Judge Jerome Holmes of the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals found the law had caused a


\textsuperscript{778} Id.


“Kansas’s law went into effect in 2013, and the effects were devastating for voter registration in the state. By March 2016, after the law had been in effect for a little more than three years, a total of 30,732 voter registration applicants had been denied registration, representing “approximately 12% of the total voter registration applications submitted since the law was implemented.” It was as if one out of every eight voter registration applications were thrown in the trash. An analysis by political scientist Michael McDonald from the University of Florida determined that affected voters were disproportionately under the age of 30 (43.2% of rejected registration applicants) and unaffiliated with a political party (53.4% of rejected applicants). And voter registration drives ground to a halt, as the League of Women Voters reported that, after the law went into effect, the number of completed registrations it collected from drives fell by 90%.”

\textsuperscript{780} Id., see also footnote 10: Three states have similar laws: Alabama, Arizona, and Georgia. Alabama and Georgia have never enforced their respective documentary proof-of-citizenship laws and have indicated no definitive plans to do so; Arizona’s law is less stringent, and can be satisfied with a driver’s license number, in lieu of a copy of a document. See A.R.S. § 16-166(F)(1).

\textsuperscript{781} Id.


\textsuperscript{783} \textit{Voting Rights and Election Administration in America: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019)}, hearing transcript, Dale Ho at p. 16-17.

“The court found that the number of non-citizens on the list was, in fact, statistically indistinguishable from zero.”
“mass denial of a fundamental constitutional right,” and partially blocked the law for the 2016 election. At trial in 2018, evidence presented by the State of Kansas from its own investigation showed that, only 39 non-citizens had been registered to vote in Kansas over the last 19 years—about two per year, which could be “largely explained by administrative error, confusion, or mistake.”

The cost of adding a proof of citizenship question is not limited to the potential disenfranchisement of voters. Taxpayers often bear the brunt of litigation costs as well. As Dale Ho testified, four separate lawsuits were needed to block the Kansas law. These suits were not without cost. Secretary Kobach was sanctioned for concealing relevant documents—“taxpayers paid a thousand dollar fine for that” behavior. The court also found Kobach willfully disobeyed a preliminary injunction, writing, “Kansas taxpayers paid approximately $26,000 for that.” Additionally, the court found “a pattern of flaunting disclosure and discovery rules” ordering Secretary Kobach to take several hours of continuing legal education.

“In 2011, Kansas passed a law requiring voter registration applicants submit a citizenship document, like a birth certificate or a passport. It sounds innocuous, but the effects were devastating. Over 3 years, more than 30,000 voter registration applicants were denied, about 12 percent of all applications during that period. One was our client Donna Bucci, who did not possess a copy of her birth certificate and couldn’t afford one. Another was our client Wayne Fish, who was born on a decommissioned Air Force Base in Illinois and spent 2 years searching for his birth certificate. Two others were our clients Tad Stricker and T.J. Boynton, who actually showed their birth certificates at the DMV, which then failed to forward them along with their voter registration applications. All four were disenfranchised in the 2014 midterms.”

— Dale Ho, ACLU Voting Rights Project

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785 Id. at p. 6, citing Fish v. Kobach, 309 F. Supp. 3d 1048, 1092 (D. Kan. 2018).
787 Id.
788 Id.
Poll Worker Training

The individuals working polling locations each election cycle, the training they receive, and the manner in which they administer election laws are critical to ensuring equal access to the ballot. A poll worker’s understanding of voting rights, election administration rules, and language access can make the difference between a voter successfully casting a ballot, being forced to cast an unnecessary provisional ballot that may never be counted, or never casting a ballot at all.

In Arizona, Governor Stephen Roe Lewis of Gila Indian River Community testified that poll workers are often not trained in a culturally appropriate manner to work within tribal populations and do not effectively help and inform tribal voters who may not understand how to best handle issues at the polls.789

In Florida, Ms. Gonzalez-Eilert highlighted how more stringent training for poll workers could reduce the improper issuance of provisional ballots. For example, when workers do not check whether a vote-by-mail ballot has been received by the Supervisor of Elections’ office, they erroneously issue a provisional ballot when a voter should have been provided a regular ballot.790 Additionally, there is currently no set of standardized instructions for poll workers to refer to in the Polling Procedures Manual for Language Assistance, which could help poll workers assist limited-English proficiency voters.791

Mr. Yang testified language minority voters are often denied much-needed and federally required assistance at polling places for a variety of reasons, including poll workers who do not fully understand voting rights laws.792 Specifically, poll workers have denied Asian Americans their right to an assistor of their choice or asked for ID when it is not needed.793 Additionally, poll workers have been hostile to, or discriminated against, Asian American voters at the polls.794

In Ohio, a State General Assembly bill considered reducing the number of poll workers per precinct from four to two. Elaine Tso, Chief Executive Officer of Asian Services In Action, Inc. (ASIA, Inc.) testified would “disproportionately impact anyone who needed additional

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791 Id. at p. 4.
793 Id.
794 Id.

“For example, during the 2012 general election, a poll worker in New Orleans [mistakenly] thought only LEP voters of languages covered by Section 203 of the VRA were entitled to assistance in voting under Section 208. Since Vietnamese was not a Section 203-covered language either for the county or the state, the poll worker denied LEP Vietnamese voters the assistance of their choice when voting.”

“For example, during the 2008 election, in Washington, D.C., an Asian American voter was required to present identification several times, while a White voter in line behind her was not similarly asked to provide identification. Also, in 2008, poll workers only asked a Korean American voter and his family, but no one else, to prove their identity in Centreville, VA.”
assistance at the polls, whether that is inviting a helper for a limited English proficient voter or anyone who needs an accommodation of some sort, because that would need some approval from a poll worker.\footnote{Voting Rights and Election Administration in Ohio: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), hearing transcript, Elaine Tso at p. 29-30.} Inajo Davis Chappell testified that the Board of Elections hires “a huge group of individuals to work the polls.” Moving the marathon day of voting to the weekend may help improve the number and quality of poll workers they are able to recruit.\footnote{Voting Rights and Election Administration in Ohio: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), hearing transcript, Inajo Davis Chappell at p. 70.}

### Lack of Resources

A lack of adequate resources impacts a voter’s ability to access the polls, as well as the ability of states and localities to carry out elections. This includes the lack of accessible polling locations for voters with disabilities.

Michelle Bishop, Voting Rights Specialist for the National Disability Rights Network (NDRN), testified at a Washington, D.C. hearing that, according to an ongoing Government Accountability Office (GAO) study, only 40 percent of polling places surveyed had an accessible path of travel in 2016,\footnote{Voting Rights and Election Administration in America: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong. (2019), written testimony of Michelle Bishop at p. 2.} an all-time high, and up from just 16 percent in 2000.\footnote{Id.} Accessibility at voting stations is decreasing, with 65 percent deemed inaccessible in 2016.\footnote{Id. at p. 2-3.} In 2016, after GAO combined architectural access data with voting station data, only 17 percent of polling places in America were considered fully accessible for voters with disabilities.\footnote{Id. at p. 3.}

The large shift in polling place closures discussed in Chapter Two does not only impact minority voters, but also voters with disabilities.\footnote{Id. at p. 3.} Ms. Bishop testified that some jurisdictions are claiming “lack of ADA compliance,” including “grossly inflated cost estimates for bringing polling places into compliance with the ADA” as a pretext for closing polling locations.\footnote{Id.} Disability rights advocates and the Department of Justice do not advocate for closing polling locations due to lack of ADA compliance, but instead prefer low-cost best practices to ensure accessible polling places.\footnote{Id. at p. 4.}

The Help America Vote Act and the resources it provides are critical to increasing accessibility. Ms. Bishop testified, that “immediately preceding the passage of the Help America Vote Act, the gap in voter participation between those with and without disabilities was closer to 20 percent;” in 2018, it was 4.7 percent.\footnote{Id. at p. 4.}

In Florida, Ms. Gonzalez-Eilert testified that county election offices are funded by the Board of County Commissioners and augmented by federal HAVA funds via grants from the states.
The state’s original HAVA funds are projected to be fully expended at the end of Fiscal Year 2020, leaving a hole in election resources.805

Michael Waldman of the Brennan Center testified his organization’s study found that, in the 2012 election, voters in precincts with more minority voters experienced longer waits and tended to have fewer voting machines.806 A more recent study led by economist Keith Chen of the University of California – Los Angeles, found voters in Black neighborhoods waited longer to cast a ballot than voters in White neighborhoods, and were approximately 74 percent more likely to wait longer than half an hour.807

Ms. Bishop testified, “congressional funding is sorely needed to ensure that elections officials can continually acquire, maintain, and improve their polling locations and equipment.”808 O.J. Semans of Four Directions testified in North Dakota that “Congress should urge the EAC to make clear to States that the funds added to HAVA in 2018 by Congress can be used to improve the administration of federal elections, and therefore can be used to fund satellite offices on American Indian Reservations.”809

**Use and Potential Overuse of Provisional Ballots**

HAVA also created a fail-safe in the voting process if voters do not bring ID to the polls, providing for the use of provisional ballots.810 Provisional ballots are offered to voters who believe they are eligible to vote, but are turned away at the polls.811 HAVA does not require states to count provisional ballots, but administrators must notify voters as to whether the ballot was counted.812 Voters may cast a provisional ballot because their name does not appear in the poll book, they lack proper identification, or have recently moved or changed their name.813

Ms. Hannah Fried testified that, “widespread polling place changes lead to the overuse of provisional ballots.”814 All Voting is Local’s analysis of 717 former Section 5-covered counties found that voters in counties with polling place closures are more likely to be asked to cast

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811 *Id.*
812 *Id.*
provisional ballots.815 Ms. Fried testified further that, “HAVA contemplated that provisional ballots would be used as a failsafe, but they are less likely to be counted than a regular ballot. Their overuse is the canary in the coal mine, signaling systemic problems that result in voters not knowing where or how to vote.”816

In Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, which is 41 percent Black, voters are five times more likely to be given a provisional ballot than voters in Allegheny, which is 12.7 percent Black, or Berks, which is four percent Black.817 In 2018, at Ohio’s two Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), voters cast a “disproportionate number of provisional ballots and were twice as likely to have their ballots rejected than voters countywide.”818

Mike Brickner, Director of All Voting is Local in Ohio, testified that Ohioans, particularly people of color, face high rejection rates for provisional ballots.819 While the number of provisional ballots cast in Ohio has decreased recently, Ohio still has one of the highest overall numbers of provisional ballots cast.820 In a study of Franklin County, one of Ohio’s largest counties, All Voting is Local found “people of color, millennials, and low-income voters were all significantly more likely to cast a provisional ballot.”821 In the 2018 general election, over one in five provisional ballots rejected statewide came from Franklin County.822 In Greene County, home to one of Ohio’s HBCUs, nearly half the ballots cast in the precinct that serves Central State University were provisional ballots.823

In Arizona, when individuals are unable to produce required identification at the polls when voting early in-person or on Election Day they are forced to use a provisional ballot. However, individuals who vote early by mail do not have to show ID to have their ballot counted.824 This means that provisional ballot voters without the required ID in-person would have been able to vote using a regular ballot if they had voted by mail. Additionally, Professor Ferguson-Bohnee testified that counties in Arizona that do not have vote centers require voters to vote in their proper precinct in order to have their voters counted, but poll workers sometimes give provisional ballots to voters without telling them they will not count if they are at the wrong precinct.825

815 Id.
816 Id.
817 Id. at p. 70.
818 Id.
820 Id. at p. 5.
821 Id.
822 Id.
823 Id. at p. 5-6.
825 Id., written testimony of Patty Ferguson-Bohnee at p. 7.
CONTINUED DISENFRANCHISEMENT OF AMERICAN CITIZENS

Disenfranchisement of Formerly Incarcerated Persons

Each year, millions of Americans who are no longer incarcerated are denied their constitutional right to vote because of a past felony conviction. The number of Americans disenfranchised because of a felony conviction has risen substantially as the U.S. prison population has grown, rising from 1.17 million in 1976 to 6.1 million in 2016.826 The Sentencing Project estimates more than 6 million Americans were ineligible to vote in the 2018 midterm elections because of a felony conviction.827 The Sentencing Project further estimated that nearly 4.7 million of these individuals are not incarcerated, but live in one of the 34 states that, at the time of the election, prohibited voting by people on probation, parole, or who have completed their sentence.828

The United States’ criminal justice system disproportionately targets, arrests, sentences, and incarcerates people of color.829 According to The Sentencing Project, disenfranchisement policies for felony convictions also disproportionately impact communities of color.830 Voting-age Black Americans are four times more likely to lose their right to vote than the rest of the population.831 Black Americans and Whites use drugs at similar rates, yet the imprisonment rate of Black Americans for drug charges is almost six times that of Whites.832 Because of these disparities in the criminal justice system, felony disenfranchisement law have stripped one in every 13 Black Americans of their right to vote, four times the disenfranchisement rate of non-Black Americans.833

Eleven states continue restricting voting rights even after a person has served his or her prison sentence and is no longer on probation or parole – these individuals account for over 50

830 Id.
831 Id.
832 Id.
833 Id.
percent of disenfranchised persons.\textsuperscript{834} Four states, Florida, Kentucky, Iowa, and Virginia, have constitutions that permanently disenfranchise citizens with felony convictions and grant the governor authority to restore voting rights.\textsuperscript{835} Iowa and Kentucky permanently disenfranchise anyone convicted of a felony. Florida recently passed Amendment 4 which restores the rights of more than one million Floridians, while in Virginia, the restoration of voting rights is dependent upon the governor.

Some states have moved to re-enfranchise formerly incarcerated individuals, while others continue to restrict the constitutional rights of otherwise eligible Americans. In North Carolina, state law restores the right to vote automatically upon completion of a sentence for a felony conviction, however the bar continues based on a person’s probation or parole status, including when fines and fees are not fully paid, which Caitlin Swain of Forward Justice testified results in both confusion and discriminatory denial of the right to vote.\textsuperscript{836}

Prior to 2018, Florida was among four states that permanently denied voting rights to every citizen with a felony conviction,\textsuperscript{837} one of the most punitive disenfranchisement policies in the nation. The power to restore voting rights was delegated to the Governor, who was able to set his own clemency policy. Former Governor Rick Scott’s clemency policy was among the most restrictive in years. After nearly five years in office (by December 2015), Governor Scott had restored the rights of fewer than 2,000 individuals, while more than 20,000 applications remained pending.\textsuperscript{838}

Between 2010 and 2016, the number of disenfranchised Floridians grew from 150,000 to approximately 1.68 million.\textsuperscript{839} Fully 10 percent of Florida’s voting population was excluded from voting, including one in five Black Americans.\textsuperscript{840} According to Advancement Project’s Democracy Rising report, 43-44 percent of Florida’s Returning Citizen (persons’ released from incarceration and reentering the community) population is Black, while the state’s Black population is only about 17 percent.\textsuperscript{841} The vast majority of those denied the right to vote due to a criminal record are no longer incarcerated, have served their time and living in the communities with no voice in how they are governed.\textsuperscript{842} Twenty-seven and one half percent of the country’s disenfranchised, formerly incarcerated citizen population lives in Florida.\textsuperscript{843}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Voting Rights and Election Administration in North Carolina: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116\textsuperscript{th} Cong. (2019), written testimony of Caitlin Swain at p. 3.
\item Voting Rights and Election Administration in Florida: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116\textsuperscript{th} Cong. (2019), written testimony of Judith Browne Dianis at p. 4.
\item Voting Rights and Election Administration in Florida: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116\textsuperscript{th} Cong. (2019), written testimony of Judith Browne Dianis at p. 4.
\item Voting Rights and Election Administration in Florida: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116\textsuperscript{th} Cong. (2019), written testimony of Judith Browne Dianis at p. 4.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
In 2018, as noted above, after years of advocacy, Florida voters approved Amendment 4 by nearly 65 percent of the statewide vote. The passage of Amendment 4 intended to restore the franchise to 1.4 million Floridians. The Amendment became effective on January 8, 2019. On May 3, 2019, the State Legislature undermined the will of the voters with legislation requiring individuals to pay all fines and fees before their rights are restored, or have them forgiven by a judge.844 S.B. 7066 was signed into law by Governor Ron DeSantis on June 28, 2019.845 The exact amount of fines and fees owed statewide is unclear, but the South Florida Sun Sentinel estimated in May 2019 that the amount exceed more than $1 billion in just three of Florida’s counties.846 This amounts to a modern-day poll tax. In June 2019, NAACP LDF and others filed a lawsuit to halt the implementation of S.B. 7066.847

On October 19, 2019, a federal judge ruled the state cannot prevent formerly incarcerated persons with a felony conviction from voting, even if they fail to pay court-ordered fines and fees.848 U.S. District Judge Robert Hinkle ruled that the state can ask that the fines be paid, but cannot bar anyone from voting if they cannot afford it, writing “when an eligible citizen misses an opportunity to vote, the opportunity is gone forever; the vote cannot later be cast. So, when the state wrongly prevents an eligible citizen from voting, the harm is irreparable.”849 The ruling only applies to the 17 individuals named in the lawsuit, but the Florida Supreme Court is slated to hear a separate suit on the issue in November 2019.850

This problem extends beyond Florida. The 1901 Alabama constitution permits disenfranchisement of individuals convicted of crimes involving “moral turpitude.” Until

845 Id.
849 Id.
850 Id.
2017, the state of Alabama did not define which crimes involved “moral turpitude,” leaving who was to be disenfranchised open to interpretation by individual county voter registrars.851

In 2016, Greater Birmingham Ministries and disenfranchised individuals challenging the state’s disenfranchisement process in court. Plaintiffs argued that the state’s disenfranchisement of individuals convicted of a “felony involving moral turpitude” and its conditional restoration of voting rights based on the payment of fines, court costs, fees, and restitution violates the U.S. Constitution and Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act.852

In 2017, Governor Ivey signed a law defining moral turpitude and restoring voting rights to many people with previous felony convictions.853 In 2017, the court allowed part of the plaintiff’s case to move forward, challenging that the “moral turpitude” provision of the Alabama Constitution violates the 8th, 14th, and 15th Amendments as well as the Ex Post Facto clause of the Constitution, and that the fees and fines provision of state law violates the 14th Amendment.854 The case remains pending.

Despite the recent law standardizing and limiting disenfranchisement crimes, Professor Carroll, Chair of the Alabama State Advisory Committee to the USCCR testified that studies suggest 286,266 people (7.62 percent) of Alabama’s voting age population are disenfranchised.855 The law affected close to 60,000 Alabamians. However, Secretary of State Merrill reportedly refused to publicize the change or inform those who had been re-enfranchised and incorrectly stated that eligibility was dependent on paying all outstanding fines and fees, a statement he later clarified.856 The Alabama Voting Rights Project submitted supplemental written testimony that, in their efforts to assist more than 2,500 Alabamians with past convictions in regaining their right to vote, they have encountered many individuals who are now eligible under the 2017 law but were unaware because Alabama has not promoted or explained the change.857

Arizona has the eighth highest rate of felon disenfranchisement in America.858 According to testimony from Darrell Hill of the ACLU of Arizona, over 220,000 potential voters, or 4.25 percent of Arizona’s voting-age population are ineligible due to a felony conviction.859 Arizona’s rate of felony disenfranchisement has nearly tripled over the last 25 years.860 Disenfranchisement laws disproportionately impact minority voters, with more than one in

851 Alabama State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Access to Voting in Alabama: A Summary of Testimony received by the Alabama Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights (June 2018) at p. 16.
854 Id.
859 Id. at p. 7.
860 Id. at p. 8.
10 Black adults ineligible to vote in Arizona.\textsuperscript{861} Additionally, over 115,000 of those voters ineligible because of a felony conviction have completed their sentence, probation and/or parole.\textsuperscript{862} Several aspects of the process for rights restoration are prescribed by statute, but others are left to the discretion of state and county officials.\textsuperscript{863} In April 2019, Governor Doug Ducey signed a law alleviating requirements that people convicted of a first-time felony offense pay outstanding fines in order to have their rights automatically restored.\textsuperscript{864}

In 2018, Texas charged Crystal Mason with illegally voting in the 2016 presidential election. Ms. Mason had been recently released from prison and was still on community supervision at the time of the elections but was never informed she could not vote. Ms. Mason was indicted on a charge of illegally voting in Tarrant County, Texas, found guilty, and sentenced to five years in prison – for voting while on probation.\textsuperscript{865} In Texas, the right to vote is restored upon completion of a sentence, including prison, parole, and probation.

The point at which the right to vote is restored for formerly incarcerated individuals varies widely from state to state and, in some instances, is subject to the whim of the Governor. In Iowa, then-Governor Vilsack issued an Executive Order in 2005 automatically restoring voting rights for all persons who had completed their sentence. This order was subsequently rescinded by Governor Branstad in 2011.\textsuperscript{866} New York Governor Andrew Cuomo used his clemency power in 2018 to restore the voting rights of approximately 35,000 New Yorkers under parole supervision and vowed to continue the practice as new residents enter the parole system.\textsuperscript{867} Between 2016 and 2018, then-Governor Terry McAuliffe used his power to individually restore the right to vote to 173,000 Virginians who had completed their sentence.\textsuperscript{868} In contrast, current Governor Ralph Northam has only restored the voting rights of just over 22,000 individuals during his two years in office.\textsuperscript{869}

\textbf{Disenfranchisement of Incarcerated Persons}

Several million Americans are also disenfranchised while currently incarcerated. According to the Sentencing Project, 2.2 million people reside in America’s prisons or jails, an increase of 500 percent over the last 40 years, making the United States the world’s leader in incarceration.\textsuperscript{870} More than 1 million are disenfranchised because of a felony conviction. Incarceration and disenfranchisement disproportionately affect communities of color.

\textsuperscript{861} Id.  
\textsuperscript{862} Id.  
\textsuperscript{863} Id.  
\textsuperscript{865} Meagan Flynn, \textit{Texas woman sentenced to 5 years in prison for voting while on probation}, The Washington Post (Mar. 20, 2018), \url{https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2018/03/30/texas-woman-sentenced-to-5-years-in-prison-for-voting-while-on-probation/}.  
\textsuperscript{866} Jean Chung, \textit{Felony Disenfranchisement: A Primer}, The Sentencing Project (June 27, 2019), \url{https://www.sentencingproject.org/publications/felony-disenfranchisement-a-primer/}.  
\textsuperscript{867} Id.  
\textsuperscript{868} Id.  
\textsuperscript{869} Associated Press, \textit{Northam says he’s restored voting rights to more than 22k felons}, The Virginia-Pilot (Oct. 10, 2019), \url{https://www.pilotonline.com/government/virginia/vp-nw-northam-voting-rights-felons-20191010-jes7c54mancv3kgysylculegar-story.html}.  
\textsuperscript{870} The Sentencing Project, \textit{Criminal Justice Facts}, \url{https://www.sentencingproject.org/criminal-justice-facts/}.  

People of color make up 37 percent of the U.S. population, but 67 percent of the country’s incarcerated population. As of June 2019, only two states, Maine and Vermont, did not restrict the right to vote of anyone with a felony conviction, including allowing those in prison to vote.

Prison-based gerrymandering has also long distorted democratic representation. The United States Census counts incarcerated persons as residents of the prison where they are incarcerated, rather than as a resident of their home community. Whole prisons are counted as resident populations in electoral districts, yet in all but two states the people incarcerated within those prisons for felony convictions are denied the right to vote. Ms. Wright testified, because prisons are often located far from the home community of incarcerated persons, counting them in this manner “awards disproportionate representation to rural or semi-rural communities containing prisons at the expense of representation for the home communities of incarcerated persons.”

When a state does allow incarcerated persons the right to vote, they typically cannot vote as residents of the prison where they are counted for Census purposes, but instead must vote absentee in the community where they resided before incarceration. Ms. Wright also testified that the practice of prison gerrymandering “defies most state constitutions and statutes, which explicitly state that incarceration does not change a person’s legal residence.”

Additionally, in Ohio, Naila Awan of Demos testified that, under Ohio law, registered voters arrested and held in Ohio jails after the absentee ballot request deadline and detained through Election Day are prevented from obtaining and casting an absentee ballot. Demos, along with partner organizations, filed a challenge to this practice which is estimated to disenfranchise approximately 1,000 voters each election.

Each election, millions of otherwise eligible Americans are prevented from casting a ballot due to prior convictions or current incarceration. When a citizen is incarcerated, we do not take their citizenship from them, yet we continue to deny their basic right of participation in our democracy.

871 Id.
872 Id.
877 Id. at p. 11.
879 Id. at p. 9.
MISINFORMATION AND DISINFORMATION

Top U.S. intelligence and law enforcement officials have repeatedly warned of the need to bolster our election security, including guarding against interference from foreign powers using misinformation and disinformation campaigns to disseminate incorrect information and sow division among our electorate. Special Counsel Robert Mueller concluded in his March 2019 report on the investigation into Russian election interference that the “Russian government interfered in the 2016 presidential election in sweeping and systematic fashion.”

The report detailed how Russian operatives used social media and cyberattacks to influence the 2016 presidential election. As to involvement in future American elections, Special Counsel Mueller testified before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence that “[t]hey’re doing it as we sit here.” Interference is not limited to the Russian government, nor is it limited to foreign state actors.

The tactics utilized during 2016 included efforts to mislead and deceive voters about the mechanics and requirements of voting and participating in elections. For example, automated social media accounts targeted Black and Latino voters with information claiming incorrectly that voters could “vote from home” for Hillary Clinton. Researchers found that some Russian tactics of “malicious misdirection” included “Twitter-based text-to-vote scams” and “tweets designed to create confusion about voting rules.”

In a recently released bipartisan report, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence detailed the extent to which the Russian government specifically targeted minority voters. The panel found, “[N]o single group of Americans was targeted by [Internet Research Agency] information operatives more than African-Americans. By far, race and related issues were the preferred target of the information warfare campaign designed to divide the country in 2016.” The Senate report’s finding supports the earlier assessment by the United States intelligence community that one of the IRA’s information warfare campaign goals was to undermine public faith in the democratic process.

The dissemination of misinformation and disinformation did not end with the presidential election in 2016. During the 2018 midterms, misinformation campaigns were used to attempt to deter voters, and some organizations sent incorrect information to voters. In late October, the Republican National Committee (RNC) sent a mailer to registered voters in Montana stating they could mail absentee ballots postmarked the day before Election Day as long

885 Id.
as they were received by election officials by November 16 (10 days after Election Day). Montana state law requires that absentee ballots must be received by 8:00 p.m. on Election Day.\footnote{\textit{Voting Rights and Election Administration in America: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116\textsuperscript{th} Cong. (2019), written testimony of Elena Nunez at p. 3, see also https://billingsgazette.com/news/local/mailer-promoting-absentee-voting-in-montana-has-wrong-information-elections/article_5485a8b4-2500-52f6-bd11-6688cc818008.html.}} In Montana, a mailer was sent to 90,000 voters incorrectly stating they were not registered to vote.\footnote{Id.}

In her testimony, Elena Nunez detailed how, in Missouri, the state Republican Party sent mailers to 10,000 voters with incorrect information about when their absentee ballots were due.\footnote{Id.} Voters in some states received text messages with incorrect information about their polling locations, as a result, some appeared at wrong location and were subsequently turned away.\footnote{Id.} In Texas, “thousands of students who live on campus at Prairie View A&M had been incorrectly told to register to vote using an address in a different precinct and would need to fill out a change-of-address form before casting a ballot.”\footnote{Id.}

Michael Waldman testified that in a recent analysis for the Brennan Center, University of Wisconsin Professor Young Mie Kim documented hundreds of messages on Facebook and Twitter designed to discourage or prevent people from voting in the 2018 election.\footnote{\textit{Voting Rights and Election Administration in America: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116\textsuperscript{th} Cong. (2019), written testimony of Michael Waldman at p. 7, see also Young Mie Kim, Voter Suppression Has Gone Digital (Nov. 20, 2018), https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/voter-suppression-has-gone-digital.}}

**CLIMATE DISASTER RESPONSE**

As climate change continues to intensify, so have natural disasters. With Election Day in November, voter registration deadlines and early voting have fallen victim to hurricane season. In 2012, Hurricane Sandy damaged polling places in New Jersey, necessitating backup plans for polling stations.\footnote{Michael Cooper, \textit{Disruption From Storm May Be Felt at the Polls}, N.Y. Times (Nov. 2, 2012), https://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/03/us/politics/hurricane-sandy-threatens-to-disrupt-voting-on-election-day.html.} In 2019, voters in North Carolina’s special congressional elections received conflicting messages. Voters were encouraged to cast their ballots during early voting to avoid potential disruptions from Hurricane Dorian.\footnote{Associated Press, \textit{NC voters encouraged to cast early ballots as Dorian looms} (Sept. 1, 2019), https://apnews.com/\texttt{e95781ce884c34efdf983b6d7b4d0f01ab}.} However, North Carolina counties then made changes to early voting schedules with some shutting down early voting sites or shifting hours.\footnote{Dan Kane, \textit{Dorian halts early voting in some NC counties for special congressional elections}, The News & Observer (Sept. 4, 2019), https://www.newsobserver.com/news/weather-news/article234728472.html.}

Florida has been struck by several natural disasters during election season in recent years. Hurricanes Matthew (2016) and Michael (2018) both arrived around the voter registration deadline in Florida – 29 days before Election Day.\footnote{\textit{Voting Rights and Election Administration in Florida: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116\textsuperscript{th} Cong. (2019), written testimony of Anjenys Gonzalez-Eilert at p. 5.}} Hurricane Irma (2017) arrived around
special and municipal elections. It is likely hurricanes will continue to impact Florida throughout future election seasons.

Florida has had inconsistent election practices dealing with hurricanes. The Secretary of State has been reluctant to extend registration deadlines as a result of recent hurricanes and court action had to be taken. Preparations were made by the governor ahead of Hurricane Michael for the election, but without proper communications and consultation that these preparations and changes can still negatively impact voters. Ms. Gonzalez-Eilert testified 90 percent of the Black community in Panama City were not close to the six voting centers set up to replace precinct voting. After the Supervisor of Elections was contacted by organizations, a vote center was provided for only one day, the day before the election.

In 2016, Chatham County, Georgia was hit by Hurricane Matthew, just a few days before voter registration closed. Almost half the residents lost power during the storm and the county was subject to mandatory evacuation, yet the Governor and then-Secretary of State Brian Kemp refused to extend the voter registration deadline. The Lawyers’ Committee sought and obtained emergency relief to extend the registration deadline. Chatham County has over 200,000 voting age citizens, more than 40 percent of whom are Black. The relief obtained by the Lawyers’ Committee allowed over 1,400 primarily Black and Latino citizens to vote.

Standardizing election procedures specifically to deal with natural disaster scenarios will help ensure no voter is disenfranchised because of a missed deadline or closed polls. The Election Assistance Commission held its inaugural meeting of the Disaster Preparedness and Recovery Working Group on April 10, 2019, to share information and lay the groundwork for future materials from the Commission designed to assist election officials facing disasters.

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST: CANDIDATES AS ELECTION ADMINISTRATORS

The 2018 Governor’s race in Georgia forced a reexamination of the roll of Secretaries of State running elections when that Secretary is running for office in the same election. Then-Secretary of State Brian Kemp refused to step down or recuse himself from the election administration roll while he simultaneously ran for Governor of Georgia.

896 Id.
897 Id. at p. 5-6.
898 Id.
899 Id.
901 Id. citing Georgia Coalition for the Peoples’ Agenda, et al., v. John Nathan Deal, et al. (S.D. Ga., No. 4:16-cv-0269-WTM-GRS, October 12, 2016).
902 Id.
903 Id.
As discussed in this report, the State of Georgia and former Secretary Kemp have a record of aggressive purge practices and other actions that undermined confidence in fair election administration. At one point during the gubernatorial campaign, now-Governor Kemp said at a public event that his opponent’s (Stacey Abrams) campaign’s voter turnout effort “continues to concern us, especially if everybody uses and exercises their right to vote.” Throughout the gubernatorial race, then-Secretary Kemp declined to recuse himself from managing the election.

Former President Jimmy Carter criticized Kemp for refusing to step down, calling Kemp’s refusal “counter to the most fundamental principle of democratic elections — that the electoral process be managed by an independent and impartial election authority.”

The NAACP LDF urged Kemp to recuse himself, noting his voter suppression tactics “would appear to create needless barriers to the exercise of the fundamental right to vote and abridge the ability of voters of color to elect their candidates of choice in violation of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and to vote free from racial discrimination in violation of the 14th and 15th Amendments and other laws.” Kemp eventually resigned his post as Secretary of State after claiming victory in November 2018, while ballots were still being counted. The Georgia race raised serious concerns regarding Secretaries of State maintaining oversight of the very races in which they are also a candidate.

In Kansas, Secretary of State Kris Kobach campaigned for Governor of Kansas while maintaining his position as Secretary, overseeing the election and initially refusing to recuse himself from the possibility of overseeing a recount.

This issue predates the 2018 election. During the 2000 presidential election in Florida, Republican Katherine Harris served as both the Secretary of State overseeing the recounts and as co-chair of George W. Bush’s Florida campaign. The Gore campaign accused Harris of a conflict of interest in the manual recount efforts. The Florida State Attorney General also headed the Gore campaign. Harris’ decision to certify George W. Bush the winner led to Democrats suing to enforce a recount, ultimately leading to the infamous case of Bush v. Gore, in which the Court ruled that no alternative method of recount could be established in a timely manner and ultimately made George W. Bush president.

907 Id.
911 Id.
CONCLUSION

Problems in election administration existed before *Shelby County* and they persist as barriers to accessing the ballot. When compounded with the suppressive, discriminatory tactics being deployed throughout states, election administration affects voters’ ability to access the polls. Voter registration hurdles, inadequate funding to states to maintain and secure their election infrastructure, poll worker training, overuse of provisional ballots, disenfranchisement of formerly incarcerated people, and protecting elections in the face of natural disasters continue to be areas of concern.
CONCLUSION

THE PURPOSE OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE’S HEARINGS

“Voting discrimination still exists; no one doubts that,” Chief Justice Roberts said in Shelby County.\(^{913}\) While the Chief Justice acknowledged discrimination exists, he went on to write that the question at hand was whether “extraordinary measures” in the Voting Rights Act were necessary.\(^{914}\) The Voting Rights and Election Administration hearings held by the Subcommittee on Elections of the Committee on House Administration show the answer to that question is an unequivocal yes. Discrimination in voting does still exist, as detailed in this report, as well as the supporting testimony and documents gathered by the Subcommittee. Without the protections of federal oversight, it is nearly impossible to recognize and combat every instance of voter suppression and discrimination.

As Justice Ginsburg pointed out in her dissent, “[T]he Voting Rights Act of 1965 (VRA) has worked to combat voting discrimination where other remedies had been tried and failed.”\(^{915}\) When the Court struck down Section 4(b) of the Voting Rights Act in 2013, the Court rendered the protective structure of Section 5 effectively unenforceable. This decision unleashed a modern-day era of discrimination against minority voters and voter suppression tactics. After Shelby County, the nation saw an increase in voter suppression. Previously covered states began passing and implementing laws that would have or had already failed the preclearance process. States that were not covered enacted laws of their own as the Court signaled an end to the longstanding federal protection of the right to vote.

Without congressional action, the right to vote for millions of Americans is left vulnerable to suppressive laws and discriminatory tactics outlawed by Congress and the courts decades ago. Congress has a duty to act. At the beginning of the 116th Congress, Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi and Committee on House Administration Chairperson Zoe Lofgren reconstituted the Committee on House Administration’s Subcommittee on Elections which House Republicans eliminated six years earlier. The Subcommittee, which is now chaired by Congresswoman Marcia L. Fudge, determined that its first priority would be collecting evidence illustrating the state of voting rights and election administration in America. The Subcommittee then worked to take Congress to the people, collecting stories and evidence from voters and advocates working to combat these tactics within the states and on a national scale.

The Subcommittee on Elections examined the landscape of voting rights and election administration in America post-Shelby County to determine whether Americans can freely

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\(^{914}\) Id., also citing Northwest Austin, 557 U.S., at 203.

“The question is whether the Act’s extraordinary measures, including its disparate treatment of the States, continue to satisfy constitutional requirements. As we put a short time ago, ‘the Act imposes current burdens and must be justified by current needs.’”

\(^{915}\) Id., Justice Ginsberg writing for the dissent.
cast their ballot and if not, what barriers lay in their way. As the Subcommittee held hearings throughout the country, Members of Congress heard time and again that states, both formerly covered and not, have implemented tactics that suppress the votes of minority communities, students, and the poor.

The Subcommittee on Elections held one listening session and eight hearings across eight states and in Washington, D.C. to gather the testimony and evidence analyzed in this report. The Subcommittee heard from 68 witnesses, 66 called by the Majority and 2 called by the Minority, and gathered more than 3,000 pages of testimony and documents. The evidence gathered proves the need for congressional action to protect the right to vote.

**FINDINGS**

**Discrimination in Voting Still Exists**

In evaluating the state of minority voting rights in its 2018 statutory report, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights found on a unanimous and bipartisan basis that race discrimination in voting has been pernicious and endures today, voter access issues and discrimination continue today for voters with disabilities and limited-English proficiency, and the right to vote “has proven fragile and to need robust statutory protection in addition to Constitutional protection.” Following *Shelby County*, the elimination of the coverage formula and subsequent unenforceability of the preclearance requirement means voters in previously covered jurisdictions with “long histories of voting discrimination have faced discriminatory voting measures that could not be stopped prior to elections because of the cost, complexity and time limitations of the remaining statutory tools;” and that *Shelby County* effectively signaled a loss of critical federal voting rights supervision.

The Subcommittee heard testimony and collected documents outlining persistent discrimination in voting law changes such as purging voter registration rolls, cut backs to early voting, polling place closures and movements, voter ID requirements, implementation of exact match and signature match requirements, lack of language access and assistance, and discriminatory gerrymandering of districts at the state, local, and federal level.

Improperly executed, “list maintenance” can result in voter purges that have a disproportionate and discriminatory impact on minority voters. At least 17 million voters were purged nationwide between 2016 and 2018. The State of Ohio won a case before the Court, allowing it to implement a purge policy that effectively punishes voters for failing to vote.

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Yet, Ohio’s Secretary of State recently admitted the program was rife with error.920 In multiple states, eligible citizens were wrongfully flagged as potential non-citizens and placed on a purge list.921 While states must maintain accurate voter rolls, there are ways to do so that do not have a disproportionate impact on minority voters.

Millions of Americans take advantage of in-person early voting. Despite the high rate of utilization, some states have moved to cut back on early voting, while the Secretary of State in Alabama refuses to endorse early voting. Ohio not only cut back the early voting that had been implemented to alleviate egregiously long lines in previous elections, it eliminated a full week in which voters were able to register and cast their ballot on the same day. Some states have cut early voting on college campuses, while others still have specifically targeted “Souls to the Polls” Sundays traditionally utilized by predominantly Black churches. In Florida, it was estimated that more than 200,000 Floridians did not vote in 2012 due to long lines resulting from cuts to early voting.922 Increased access to early voting is a simple yet substantial way to increase access to the ballot and states should halt efforts to eliminate days Americans can cast their ballots.

Since the Shelby County decision, hundreds of polling places have been closed in states previously covered under Section 5. Post-Shelby County, states and localities are no longer required to perform disparate impact analyses to determine whether these actions will have a discriminatory impact on voters. Since 2012, Georgia has closed more than 200 polling locations, Texas has closed at least 750, and Arizona has closed 320.923 In Arizona, the closure of polling places, coupled with a movement toward vote-by-mail and voting centers, has had an outsized impact on Native American voters that should be evaluated and taken into consideration before policy changes are made.

Voter ID has been championed as a necessary move to combat alleged voter fraud by its proponents. While there is no credible evidence of widespread, in-person voter fraud – the only type of fraud voter ID would prevent – these policies continue to be implemented across the country and have a discriminatory impact on minority voters. Voter IDs are financially burdensome for low-income voters, effectively imposing a second-generation poll tax. Even when proponents claim that “free” IDs are available, the IDs are not truly free: acquiring such IDs often requires an applicant to provide underlying documents they may not have and that cost money to obtain and the time and transportation necessary to complete the process is a

cost many voters cannot pay. In North Dakota, Native American voters were significantly and disproportionately impacted by the state’s voter ID law requiring a residential street address, since many Native Americans have unstable housing situations or live in homes that do not have street addresses, while many tribal members use Post Office Boxes.

Some states have implemented “exact match” requirements, requiring that a voter’s name and information on his or her registration form exactly match the form of their name on file with certain state agencies. In Georgia, this resulted in the voter registration forms of more than 50,000 predominantly Black, Asian, or Latino voters, being put on hold by the Secretary of State’s office. Other states have carried exact match requirements over to signature match requirements, both on in-person and absentee ballots. When enforced by poll workers who are untrained in handwriting analysis, these policies have arbitrarily disenfranchised voters; sometimes without their knowledge.

The language access provisions of the Voting Rights Act remain intact despite the decision in Shelby County, but that does not mean they are being properly followed or enforced. In Florida, 32 counties were sued in August 2018 to force compliance with Section 4(e) of the Voting Rights Act. The Judge made a telling observation, noting “[I]t is remarkable that it takes a coalition of voting rights organizations and individuals to sue in federal court to seek minimal compliance with the plain language of a venerable 53-year-old law.” More needs to be done to ensure states and localities are following through on the legal protections afforded to language minority voters.

Some jurisdictions are still attempting to dilute the voice and vote of minority communities through discriminatory gerrymandering. Before Shelby County, preclearance required covered jurisdictions to submit their redistricting plans to the Department of Justice or the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia for approval before implementation. After Shelby County, redistricting plans are no longer subject to preclearance. This means states with a history of racial discrimination can implement new political boundaries for districts for state and federal offices following the 2020 census that could be in effect for several election cycles, since as discussed in this report, it could take years of litigation to challenge those redrawn boundaries in court as discriminatory under Section 2.

**Election Administration Needs Improvement**

Problems in election administration existed before Shelby County, but today, new barriers to voting are compounded by the suppressive, discriminatory tactics being deployed across the country. The Subcommittee received testimony on election administration issues that include, but are not limited to: voter registration hurdles, a lack of funding for states to maintain and secure their election infrastructure, insufficient poll worker training, overuse of provisional ballots, disenfranchisement of formerly incarcerated people, and protecting elections in the face of natural disasters.

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Congress passed the National Voter Registration Act in 1993, but more needs to be done to ensure states follow the law and voters are being properly registered. Congress must ensure states have proper funding to carry out critical election duties through Help America Vote Act (HAVA) funds. This includes funding to replace outdated voting equipment and other functions. Funding for proper training of poll workers is critical. The Subcommittee heard numerous times how the actions and interpretations of a poll worker can mean the difference between a voter being able to cast a ballot, being forced to cast a provisional ballot, or being turned away entirely.

Congress should make it clearer that proof of citizenship requirements above and beyond the traditional use of an affidavit were not the intent of Congress. HAVA requires election officials offer a voter a provisional ballot in the event of a question concerning their eligibility. Uneven implementation of election laws and inadequate training of poll workers, among other factors, lead to the overuse of provisional ballots. As Hannah Fried, Director of All Voting Is Local, testified, provisional ballots should be used as a “last resort” for voters who encounter a problem that cannot be resolved at the time they cast their ballot. They are less likely to be counted than a regular ballot and every effort should be made to ensure voters cast ballots that will be counted.

We must also address the continued disenfranchisement of formerly incarcerated individuals and the inherent discrimination at hand when otherwise eligible Americans are denied their right to vote. Nearly 6 million American citizens are disenfranchised due to a prior felony conviction, while millions more are incarcerated. Maine and Vermont are the only states that allow incarcerated individuals to vote while in prison but, while the census counts them as residents of the location where they are serving their sentence, they vote absentee in the district in which they previously resided. Disenfranchisement of incarcerated or formerly incarcerated persons is not mandated by the Constitution or federal law, and the formerly incarcerated are not stripped of their citizenship. If the fundamental measure of eligibility to vote is citizenship, perhaps all citizens should be allowed to vote.

A new generation of attacks on voting emerged during the 2016 election. Top U.S. intelligence and law enforcement officials have repeatedly warned about the need to bolster our elections, including guarding against interference from foreign powers using misinformation and disinformation campaigns to disseminate incorrect information and sow division. The Senate Intelligence Committee published a report detailing how the Russian Internet Research Agency (IRA) specifically targeted Black Americans with disinformation campaigns meant to suppress and divide voters. During the 2018 election, hundreds of messages on Facebook and Twitter were documented, designed to discourage or prevent people from voting in the 2018 midterm election.

927 Id. at p. 9.
Finally, as climate change intensifies, natural disasters have become more severe. With Election Day in November, voter registration deadlines and early voting have been impacted by hurricane season, with mixed levels of protection from state officials. As the frequency and intensity of natural disasters escalate, standardized election procedures and protections for these events would ensure voters are not disenfranchised by circumstances beyond their control.

**Section 2 is an Insufficient Replacement for Section 5**

Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act was, and remains, a critical tool in the fight to protect the right to vote. However, Section 2 was not intended to work in isolation. It was intended to work in concert with the other vital provisions of the Act, including Section 5. Without the full force of those provision in effect as Congress intended, Section 2 is a reactive, inadequate substitute for the proactive preclearance regime. Section 2 lawsuits can be very lengthy, often taking years to fully litigate and can be very expensive. This can result in discriminatory laws, that may have otherwise been blocked from being implemented in the first place under Section 5, remaining in place for multiple election cycles and denying voters access to the ballot while lawsuits move through the court process.

Section 2 also reverses the burden of proof, requiring the federal government, citizens, and advocates to prove the voting change is discriminatory and harms minority voters, rather than the burden being on the state or locality to prove they are not violating the constitutional right to vote, as was the case under preclearance. In the wake of Shelby County, civil rights and voting rights organizations have filed numerous lawsuits seeking to protect the right to vote, while the current Administration’s Department of Justice has not filed any Section 2 lawsuits and reversed its position in others. Section 2 cases require resources the average voter simply does not have. On average, these cases can cost millions of dollars and take two to five years to be completed.929

**Voter Turnout is Up, In Spite of Suppressive Practices**

A familiar refrain heard from proponents of suppressive voter measures is that voter turnout is up, so the laws passed by states must not be suppressive as advocates and voters claim. In the first election following Shelby County, in 2014, voter turnout was the lowest since World War II.930 Although the 2018 election saw the highest voter turnout since 1914, this has been attributed to historic voter enthusiasm.931 This is despite the suite of suppressive, discriminatory laws states have enacted throughout the country – not because of them. While

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voter turnout is up, nearly 50 percent of Americans did not vote in the last election.\textsuperscript{932} Without such restrictive and suppressive barriers in place, turnout could have been higher.

Prior to passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Black Americans who were able to cast a ballot overcame immense barriers to do so. That some voters overcame the barriers put between them and the ballot box, does not excuse or make those barriers just.

Throughout American history, wholly unjust practices were held to be legal, until the American people overcame them. After long, hard-fought battles, they were no longer legal. Slavery was legal, but slavery was not just. Jim Crow was legal, but Jim Crow was not just. Separate but equal was legal, but separate but equal was not just. Suppressive voting laws were at times legal, but they were deemed unjust by the American people and the passage of the Voting Right Act and subsequent reauthorizations. Every eligible American is entitled to the unfettered, unabridged right to vote.

To the extent that turnout was up in 2018, it was the result of a concerted effort by advocates and individuals to cast their ballot despite the obstacles before them. Native American tribes in North Dakota spent considerable resources to ensure their members could vote, despite an unjust voter ID law.\textsuperscript{933} Turnout among Native American voters remains below the 50 percent threshold that was the basis for enacting the Voting Rights Act.\textsuperscript{934} When turnout increases, states and localities should not be closing polling locations, potentially creating long lines and unacceptable wait times many voters cannot endure. Polling conducted ahead of the 2018 elections by Advancement Project, in collaboration with the NAACP and African American Research Collaborative showed that voters of color were driven to vote by widespread attacks on people of color and their access to democracy.\textsuperscript{935}

As Catherine Lhamon, Chair of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights stated, “we ought to be celebrating increased turnout wherever it exists. And we also ought to be recognizing that, across the board, in this country, we have very, very low turnout for voters. And that is, in itself, a concern.”\textsuperscript{936}

In a democracy, government should enable its citizens to easily register and cast their ballots. These voter suppression measures are fundamentally anti-democratic as they have shifted the burden onto individuals and advocacy groups to find the means and resources to overcome them.


\textsuperscript{933} \textit{Voting Rights and Election Administration in the Dakotas: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong.} (2019), testimony of Tribal leaders, advocates and litigators throughout.

\textsuperscript{934} \textit{Voting Rights and Election Administration in America: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong.} (2019), hearing transcript, Catherine Lhamon at p. 56.


\textsuperscript{936} \textit{Voting Rights and Election Administration in America: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Elections, 116th Cong.} (2019), hearing transcript, Catherine Lhamon responding to Congressman Rodney Davis at p. 57.
MOVING FORWARD

The fundamental right to vote is under attack. The Court’s decision in *Shelby County* has served to accelerate the process, giving a green light to historically discriminatory jurisdictions to implement laws once put on hold because they could not clear federal administrative review. Some may seem innocuous on their face, but these laws have a disparate impact on minority voters. Without the full protection of the Voting Rights Act, states are no longer required to perform an analysis of their proposals’ effect or justify their actions to a neutral clearing house.

Some states are taking positive steps to protect voting rights. According to the Brennan Center’s *Voting Laws Roundup*, 688 pro-voter bills were introduced in 46 states during their 2019 legislative sessions, leading to reforms across the country.937 For example, New York passed a package of voting reforms including early voting, pre-registration for 16- and 17-year-olds, portability of registration records, consolidated dates for state and federal primaries, and requiring ballots to be distributed to military voters further in advance.938 Additionally, New York passed constitutional amendments permitting same-day registration and no-excuse absentee voting, which need to be passed again and ratified by the voters.939

In Colorado, the state enacted a law restoring voting rights to individuals on release from incarceration and expanded automatic voter registration (AVR).940 Maine also enacted AVR. Nevada enacted immediate rights restoration to people on release from incarceration, authorized same-day registration, and other reforms. New Mexico also enacted same-day voter registration.941 Delaware enacted early in-person voting, Virginia enacted no-excuse early in-person voting, and Washington enacted a Native American voting rights act.942 In March 2018, Washington State’s Governor signed AVR into law, along with Election Day registration, pre-registration for 16- and 17-year-old, and a state-level Voting Rights Act.943 In April 2018, New Jersey’s Governor also signed AVR into law. Prior to authorizing AVR, New Jersey launched electronic voter registration in 2007 and allowed 17-year-olds to pre-register to vote.944

THE ROLE OF CONGRESS

Article I, Section 4, of the Constitution expressly empowers the Congress with significant

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938 Id.
939 Id.
940 Id.
941 Id.
942 Id.
authority to enact legislation regulating “time, place, and manner” of elections. Although that provision makes states primarily responsible for administering congressional elections, it vests ultimate power in Congress.

The Congress has a clear role in protecting the right of every eligible American to cast his or her ballot. Congress charted a path with the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, one the courts upheld until 2013. The Voting Rights Act was repeatedly reauthorized on a bipartisan basis over the following decades, as Congress continued to hold hearings and gather evidence documenting that ongoing discrimination continued to necessitate congressional action to protect the constitutional right to vote. It is time again to fulfill this obligation.

As the Subcommittee found and has thoroughly documented, the evidence is clear: discrimination in voting still exists. Moreover, states are enacting new suppressive laws that force voters to overcome new hurdles at every turn. Every eligible American has the basic right to participate in our democracy. Even without the full protection of the Voting Rights Act or a Department of Justice that argues cases on behalf of the voter, Congress must uphold its responsibility.

Congress has the constitutional authority to regulate the time, place and manner of federal elections. Congress also has a responsibility to conduct oversight, to gather evidence to inform the legislative process, and to ensure constitutional rights are protected and federal laws are carried out in a manner consistent with congressional intent. Protecting the right to vote is no exception to this responsibility.

The evidence detailed in this report demonstrates the clear need for congressional action. It is time to fulfill the responsibility Congress has abdicated since June 2013 and protect the right to vote for every eligible American.


“The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.”


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“All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.”

949 The power to conduct investigations, while not explicitly laid out in the Constitution, has long been understood to reside in the “legislative powers” of U.S. Const. Art. I, sec. 1, see also McGrain v. Daugherty, 273 U.S. 135 (1927).

“In actual legislative practice power to secure needed information by such means has long been treated as an attribute of the power to legislate. It was so regarded in the British Parliament and in the Colonial legislatures before the American Revolution; and a like view has prevailed and been carried into effect in both houses of Congress and in most of the state legislatures. … We are of opinion that the power of inquiry — with process to enforce it — is an essential and appropriate auxiliary to the legislative function. It was so regarded and employed in American legislatures before the Constitution was framed and ratified.”
In a bipartisan manner, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and reauthorized and expanded protections in 1970, 1975, 1982, 1992, and most recently in 2006. The last reauthorization, in 2006, passed the House of Representatives 390-33, passed the Senate unanimously, and was signed into law by Republican President George W. Bush. As the Court acknowledged in *Shelby County*, a federal district court subsequently found that “the evidence before Congress in 2006 was sufficient to justify reauthorizing” Section 5 and continuing the Section 4(b) coverage formula, and the Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit affirmed that decision.950

When the Court disagreed – in the face of the overwhelming evidence Congress gathered demonstrating a long history of discriminatory voting practices, its reliance on that record to forge bipartisan congressional intent to take action, and two lower court decisions upholding the reauthorized Voting Rights Act – the Court’s conclusions were based on the determination that “Nearly 50 years later, things have changed dramatically.”951 While Congress and the lower courts clearly disagreed with that assessment at the time, as the Subcommittee found, in the wake of *Shelby County*, it is ironically the Court’s decision that has precipitated a dramatic change in conditions. This report details a wide range of new discriminatory practices that suppress the vote and not only justify but demand renewed congressional action.

America is not great because she is perfect, America is great because she is constantly working to repair her faults. It is time to repair this fault and recommit to the ideal that every eligible American has the right to vote, free from discrimination and suppression. The Voting Rights Act proved a powerful tool for protecting the cornerstone of American democracy, the right to vote, and to do so freely and fairly. Congress must honor this principle and basic right.
