ELECTION REFORM Briefing

August 2003

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Roads to Reform: Planning for the Help America Vote Act

After President Bush signed the Help America Vote Act (HAVA) late last year, every state faced the same challenge – to reform elections to comply with new federal mandates.

That meant introducing new voter identification rules, modifying or purchasing accessible voting machines, establishing strict provisional voting guidelines and enacting statewide voter registration database requirements. For many states, HAVA provided the necessary funding to replace outdated voting equipment while requiring voter education

programs for those that decided to keep punch cards, lever machines or paper ballots.

As in virtually every other aspect of America's decentralized system of election administration, the way in which states have opted to meet the requirements and guidelines of the Act have varied greatly, as evidenced in the planning documents produced by task forces in 50 states and the District of Columbia.¹

Those documents, prepared for submission to the yet-to-beformed Election Administration Commission, reveal the wide variety of state approaches to comply with HAVA.



In New York and Connecticut, two states where nearly all voters cast ballots on lever machines, replacing or upgrading the voting system will take most of each state's allotment of federal election reform dollars.

In this sixth Election Reform Briefing, *electionline.org* gives a comprehensive analysis of state HAVA compliance plans. By placing the plans side-by-side, the Briefing offers an opportunity to compare state-by-state variation in both election reform goals and road maps.

A Matter of Focus

Despite the differences, patterns emerge. A number of states will have election systems that, if not alike in structure, show clear patterns in their focus.

The planning process in Florida and Maryland - two states which forged ahead with reform election before HAVA - will focus on shoring up registration databases and completing the compliance process with the introduction of accessible machines and polling places. New machines are already in place in Florida, Georgia, and parts of Maryland while statewide databases are in various stages of construction or refinement. These states tweaked rules to match federal

requirements, but otherwise did little else other than seek to recoup money already spent on election equipment purchases made ahead of the passage of federal election reform.

States that waited for the federal government to act – and have large numbers of punch-card machines in place – will focus on wide-scale equipment upgrades.

In a number of states, the primary focus of reform will be on upgrading machines. Ohio, for example, will allow localities to choose from a list of approved voting machines. All, however, will be required to replace punch cards. More than 80 percent of Ohio's

overall HAVA budget will be devoted to the purchase of new machines. In New York and Connecticut, two states where nearly all voters cast ballots on lever machines, replacing or upgrading the voting system will take most of each state's allotment of federal election reform dollars.

Besides variations in the emphasis of plans, the degree of specificity differs greatly as well from state to state. Arizona produced a detailed plan with exact dollar figures and plans for reform execution. New York and Utah's task forces wrote rather brief plans that were short on details, perhaps leaving open the opportunity for flexibility depending upon federal appropriation levels.

In the Details, Movement Toward Uniformity

By comparing the states' HAVA planning approaches, it becomes clear that while the Act's mandates will bring more uniformity to America's election process, it will in no way result in a "nationalized" election system.

It will in many cases, however, profoundly alter the relationship

continued on page 4

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Executive Summary

Tith its federal mandates, staggered deadlines and millions of dollars in election reform funds, the Help America Vote Act has given every state and territory a finish line for improving voting administration and equipment.

Variations in Planning

Differences in existing equipment and procedures have resulted in divergent state election reform plans. A number of states have chosen to release detailed election reform plans that will serve as a "road map" for HAVA compliance and election improvements. Other less-detailed plans will offer some flexibility in years to come if funding levels fail to reach Congressionally-authorized levels and new needs emerge as the result of election challenges.

A few states, such as Michigan, Georgia, Rhode Island and Delaware, will use the influx of HAVA funds to make their state systems, in the words of one secretary of state, "coordinated, seamless and integrated," while another said the money would allow "consistency from your smallest municipality to your largest county."

Other states have opted for a more locally-controlled election system. In Ohio, California and New Hampshire, voting machine purchases will remain a local decision (in one case, using a state list of approved vendors). In the case of the Granite State, paper ballots will continue to be used in the localities that choose to keep them.

Planning Trends

Recently released state plans reveal that while every state has chosen a different path based on its needs, trends that do arise reveal much about how elections will change for voters and administrators in each state.

New Machine Expenditures

- states will spend nearly all of their federal funds (81 to 100 percent) on new machines.
- states will spend between 61 and 80 percent of federal funds on new machines.
- states will spend between 41 and 60 percent of federal funds on new machines.
- states will spend between 21 and 40 percent of federal funds on new machines.
 - states will spend between 0 and 20 percent of federal funds on new machines.

(3 states did not provide specific budgetary information.)

Statewide Voter Registration Database Expenditures

- states will spend between 61 and 80 percent of federal funds on statewide databases.
- states will spend between 41 and 60 percent of federal funds on statewide databases.

- states will spend between 21 and 40 percent of federal funds on statewide databases.
- states will spend between 0 and 20 percent of federal funds on statewide databases. (3 states did not provide specific budgetary information. North Dakota does not require voter registration.)

Voter Identification Trends

With HAVA's requirement for voter identification for first-time voters who register by mail looming on January 1, 2004, a number of state legislatures moved quickly to enact compliant legislation that would match state law with federal mandates.

In four states – Alabama, Colorado, Montana and South Dakota – lawmakers opted to enact universal voter identification for all voters, essentially setting HAVA's mandate as a minimum standard and enacting more stringent requirements.

- states currently comply with HAVA identification requirements.
- states currently do not comply with HAVA identification requirements and have legislation or state action pending.
 - state (North Dakota) does not require voter registration and is exempt.

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between state and local election directors.² States will assume much of the day-to-day control over elections when they meet the HAVA-mandated requirement for state ownership of registration databases in 2006.³

The plans indicate that uniformity in election procedures will most certainly increase in almost every state – with the exception of a few states such as Rhode Island, Oklahoma and Delaware, where the responsibility for elections already lies with state officials.⁴

"HAVA increases the state's responsibility for election administration in order to establish consistency across the state," wrote Montana Secretary of State Bob Brown in June.⁵

Rhode Island Secretary of State Matthew Brown said the intent of his state's plan is to create a "coordinated, integrated and seamless statewide elections system."

In Michigan, uniformity means a statewide voting system – from registration processes to machines. "This will allow us some consistency from your smallest municipality to your biggest county," a spokeswoman for Michigan's secretary of state told *The Associated Press.*⁷

Taken together, the plans provide a detailed picture of where states believe they need to go to meet the requirements of HAVA and where the focus of reform should be. For voters, the plans reveal when reforms will be put in place – when the election system will tangibly change and, if executed properly, be improved.

Getting into Specifics: Varying Levels of Detail

Like every other aspect of elections and election reform, HAVA's planning requirements have resulted in a striking diversity of state approaches. As described elsewhere in this briefing, the 50 states and the District of Columbia have made a wide range of decisions about how to allocate the resources provided, and address the mandates imposed, pursuant to HAVA.

In the face of certain federal mandates and uncertain federal funding, states have had to make choices about how specific to be in their HAVA plans. Upon a careful reading of the plans, a spectrum emerges.

At one end, there are the states whose plans are rife with detail. For example, Arizona's plan – one of the first released – is full of specifics, with budget allocations to the hundredths of a percent and thoroughly-explained procedures for monitoring implementation of the HAVA mandates.⁸

At the other end of the spectrum are states who have written plans that would appear to keep their HAVA options open. Utah's 14-page plan makes many of the same commitments as Arizona's far more detailed plan but without the specificity that plan provides.⁹

In New York, the state's plan drew fire from critics who argued that it was vague to the point of being detrimental to reform efforts. "The report fails to provide the guidelines for improving elections that New Yorkers need and deserve. It is vague and almost entirely devoid of specifics as to how election reform will be carried out in New York," said Tova Wang, a senior program fellow at the Century Foundation. ¹⁰

Members of the State Board of Elections claimed that the plan was a work in progress and would become more specific with time.

"This is a living document," said Peter Kosinski, a deputy commissioner on the State Board. $^{\!11}$

The pros and cons of the specificity issue are evident in this debate. New York might have left itself some flexibility on future election issues, but the wide latitude it leaves to deal with contentious topics like voter identification and voting equipment accessibility could lead, critics claim, to Florida 2000-like confusion.

The detailed approach provides clarity in the near term, offering states like Arizona a road map for action in the months ahead and methods for measuring their progress. However, those states — who have, in essence, charted their full course at the outset of the journey — run the risk of scrambling to alter their plans if circumstances change.

States like Utah, on the other hand, maintain their flexibility in the long term – a potentially valuable commodity in a post-HAVA environment where neither federal funding nor the federal administrative structure is certain. However, an excessively vague plan puts state and local officials in the unenviable position of having to work toward HAVA compliance with little or no guidance.

Key Findings

lection reform around the country can be thought of as a race to the same finish line with 51 staggered starting places. Each state needs to make changes to certain aspects of its election system, but no state has identical needs.

With states in varying conditions of readiness to meet the mandates of the Help America Vote Act, the required election reform plans that are set to be submitted to the vet-to-be-formed Election Assistance Commission vary in emphasis, spending and strategy.¹²

This section of the report details some similarities between the state plans and summarizes the findings when the plans are analyzed together.

Ties That Bind

Those similarities are closely tied to the readiness to address specific concerns. In New York and Connecticut, lever machines are used almost universally and will be scrapped or upgraded in favor of more modern technology. The cost of this modernization will require

most of each states' HAVA funds. Both states plan to spend more than half of their election reform budgets on voting machines.

In Iowa, Louisiana, Ohio, South Dakota, Utah and West Virginia, more than 80 percent of election reform budgets will be spent on new voting machines. Reasons for the disproportionate investment in machines vary. Louisiana already has a statewide database so it can use its money on machines. Ohio needs to replace punch card machines in nearly all of its voting precincts.

Predictably, in states where more modern machines were in use before the passage of HAVA, the emphasis will be on the Act's other components, most notably the requirement for statewide voter registration databases by 2006. Maine, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Wisconsin and Oregon will spend close to or just over half of their federal allotment of election reform funds on the creation and maintenance of statewide databases.

States that forged ahead with reform plans, including Florida and Georgia, will seek federal funds to reimburse state and local coffers for the purchase of voting machines. In Ohio, where almost all of the state's voters cast ballots on punch cards in 2000, the bulk of Help America Vote Act funds will be spent on purchasing new machines.

New Machine Expenditures

As has been previously noted, there is no mandate for machine replacement. However, the state plans reveal that most states with punchcard and lever machines will take advantage of HAVA funds to replace those units with more up-to-date equipment.¹³ New machines will be either Direct Recording Electronic (DRE), commonly known as touchscreen machines, or optical scanners that tabulate and evaluate ballots for potential spoilage at voting precincts.

It should be noted that states opting to take funds to upgrade punch-card and lever machines must meet HAVA mandates statewide for voting machines. A state cannot secure funds to purchase machines for a few counties and leave in place non-compliant systems.¹⁴

In crafting their state election reform plans, states revealed a wide variety of strategies and planned expenditures for new voting machines based on how modern their current equipment is or how much money the state has spent on election reform upgrades already.

States that forged ahead with reform plans, including Florida and Georgia, will seek federal funds to reimburse state and local coffers for the purchase of voting machines.

New Machine Expenditures

- 3 states will spend between 0 and 20 percent of budget machine replacement
- and 41 percent of budget on machine replacement
- states will spend between 41 and 60 percent of budget on machine replacement
- states will spend between 61 and 80 percent of budget on machine replacement
- 7 states will spend between 81 and 100 percent of budget on machine replacement

*Three states - Kansas, New Mexico and Wyoming - provided no information

Three states, California, Colorado and Massachusetts, will spend only a small percentage of their HAVA funds - less than 20 percent in each state - on new machines. Reasons for the limited expenditure of course differ by state. In California, a bond measure approved by voters in 2002 paid for much of the upgrades from punch cards in the nine counties that used or continue to use them.¹⁵ In Massachusetts and Colorado, many localities have in place machines that detect over-votes and other ballot-spoiling marks.

Ten states will spend between 20 and 40 percent of their HAVA funds on purchasing or upgrading voting machines. Alaska, Hawaii, Idaho, Maine, Montana, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Oregon, Washington and Wisconsin have limited needs for machines. In the case of Oregon and Washington, vote-by-mail rules

The Search for Guidance

hen the Help America Vote Act passed last October, the U.S. Justice Department (DOJ) was tasked with enforcing compliance while the Election Assistance Commission was given the responsibility to help states implement the law.

It was a simple division of responsibility intended to help states navigate the complex Act. But there is a snag – there is no commission. It hasn't been created yet.

The absence of the Election Assistance Commission (EAC) has caused confusion among some states trying to implement HAVA-mandated reforms. Without the EAC, states fearing repercussions for failure to implement HAVA have turned to the Justice Department with questions about interpretation of the law. The Justice Department has shied away from revealing its intentions with regard to specific mandates in the Act, relying instead on a series of letters that discuss the new law without issuing formal interpretations. In areas outside its enforcement jurisdiction, DOJ has referred questions from states to other governmental agencies such as Health and Human Services, General Services Administration and the Office of Election Administration at the Federal Election Commission.²⁴

HAVA's sponsors envisioned the EAC as a crucial component of federal election reform. According to the Federal Election Commission's Web site, the EAC will study election administration issues, develop voluntary machine standards, certify voting systems, make grants for voting machines and voter education programs, audit grant recipients and develop and implement the Help America Vote College Program. So far, the establishment of the commission has taken nearly six months more than the 120 days after the date of enactment specified in HAVA.²⁵

Officials in the election reform community have expressed frustration at Congress' lack of movement on making the EAC active.

"They have delayed so long it's mind-numbing," said Doug Lewis, director of the Houston-based Election Center, an umbrella organization of election officials. "Until we get a commission, we can't do anything else. You can't expect to make things happen by November 2004."

For now, the states will use whatever information they can glean from answers to their questions from federal agencies, biding their time and continuing to implement reform as they await the creation of the commission that was supposed to steer them through the process.

reduce the need for precinct-based DREs and optical scanners, drastically diminishing the amount of

money to be spent on acquisitions. Machines already in place in Alaska reduce its need for HAVA funds to purchase more, while a planned voter education program in New Hampshire for municipalities that use paper ballots will limit the amount of money needed for newer, more modern units.16

Statewide Voter Registration Databases

Machines, however, are far from the only focus of state HAVA spending. The requirement for statewide voter registration databases nationwide by 2006 is a close second to the purchase of voting machines in its costliness - and most certainly a rival in its complexity.

According to the Act, by 2006 states must create and maintain an "interactive, centralized, and official Statewide computerized voter registration list accessible to all election officials in the State, and that contains registration information on every registered voter in the State."17

For the states that have no centralized modern list in place, the task of creating databases from disparate local lists, unifying the information and allowing local access for

Statewide Voter **Registration Databases**

- states will spend between 0 and 20 percent of budget on statewide databases
- states will spend between 21 and 40 percent of budget on statewide databases
 - states will spend between 41 and 60 percent of budget on statewide databases
- states will spend between 61 and 80 percent of budget on statewide databases

*Three states - Kansas, New Mexico and Wyoming - provided no information. North Dakota does not require voter registration.

updates and file sharing between counties will tax state planners and require the expenditure of millions of dollars in HAVA funds.

States that must spend a large portion of HAVA funds on databases include Idaho, Maine, Oregon, Nebraska, New Jersey and Wisconsin. All will spend at least 30 percent of their HAVA funds on creating or improving statewide

The requirement for statewide voter registration databases nationwide by 2006 is a close second to the purchase of voting machines in its costliness - and most certainly a rival in its complexity.

voter registration databases.

A number of states will spend only a fraction of their budgets on refining existing databases to be HAVA-compliant. Those include the District of Columbia, Connecticut, Delaware and Louisiana. All four plan to spend less than 12 percent of their federal election reform money on improving their statewide voter registration databases.

Then there are states where the planned expenditures on statewide databases seem to have little to do with how close their particular system is to HAVA compliance. Illinois, for example, reports having a non-compliant database, yet plans to spend only 2 percent of its HAVA budget - an estimated \$3.6 million - on making the system compliant.¹⁸

Alaska, which has an antiquated but technically compliant database will spend 62 percent of its election reform funds – or \$7.5 million – to fund the modernization effort.

Voter Identification

While all states were required to have new voters meet HAVA identification requirements at the time of registration, the mandates for first-time voters who register by mail to produce an acceptable form of identification begins in January 2004.

The plans indicate that half of the states are currently in compliance. Most of those that are not yet in compliance plan to enact HAVAcompliant standards, typically through the legislative process. In some states, such as Massachusetts, legislatures meet year-round and action is pending.

Voter Identification

- 25 states currently comply with HAVA identification requirements
- states currently do not comply and have legislation or other state action pending
 state (North Dakota) does not require voter registra-

tion and is exempt

Four states – Alabama. Colorado, Montana and South Dakota – enacted universal voter identification at the polls, essentially complying with HAVA by exceeding its mandated requirement for first-time voters. Tennessee specifies certain types of identification that must be used to verify a voter's signature while poll workers in Alaska are required to ask for identification if they do not recognize the voter.¹⁹ North Dakota, which is exempt from HAVA requirements because it does not have voter registration, nonetheless maintains poll rosters and now permits poll workers to ask any voter for identification.

Electronic Voting Machines and Audit Receipts

Many states are taking advantage of the unique opportunity provided by HAVA and are working to install modern touch-screen voting systems in their polling places.

But the electronic systems, critics say, are vulnerable to technological tampering. They claim a hacker seeking to disrupt the process could alter vote counts and throw an election. Similarly, critics say, an unethical programmer could rig a contest by tampering with the machine's operating code – which for many systems is a trade secret.²⁰

The best way to combat this danger, many argue, is to require that machines produce voter-verifiable audit trails. The machine would show a receipt to the voter before his or her vote was cast on the machine. This process would assure voters that their votes were counted and would provide physical proof in case machines were found to have been tampered with.

Six states – New Jersey, North Dakota, California, Georgia, Maryland and Ohio – expressed concern regarding the level of security provided by machines not able to produce voter-verified audit trails.

New Jersey's plan calls for the Attorney General to study "what constitutes an 'effective' paper trail mechanism under HAVA."²¹

North Dakota rewrote their plan to reflect growing concern over the issue. The updated document no longer contains reference to "touch screen" machines so the state can remain flexible as the issue continues to play out across the country.²²

And in California, the Secretary of State created the Ad Hoc Touch Screen Task Force to study and produce a report regarding the audit receipt issue. The resulting report failed to produce a consensus and the issue continues to divide the California election community.²³

Just as the movement to require voter-verifiable audit trails began in the Golden State, California's early experience in creating a state panel to study the issue could be an indicator of how the audit trail debate will play out across the country. There are two opposing viewpoints - one claiming the receipts are necessary to safeguard our elections and the other claiming sufficient safeguards are already built into the system - but neither side has convinced the other and the issue continues to divide the election community.

universal voter identification at the polls, essentially complying with HAVA by exceeding its mandated requirement for first-time voters.

Four states - Alabama, Colorado,

Montana and South Dakota - enacted



States Applying for HAVA Voting Machine Waivers and Registration Database Waivers

Current Voting Systems: What voting systems does the state currently use?

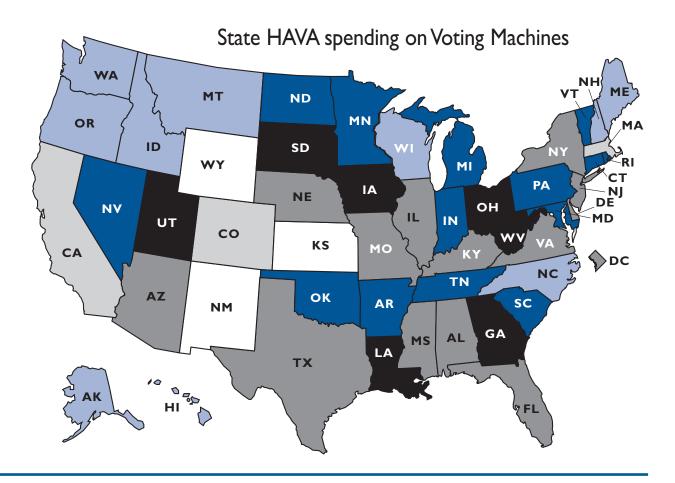
Punch Card and Lever Replacement:

Will the state replace punch-card and lever voting machines, and if so with what type of voting machine?

Machine Waiver: Will the state apply for a twoyear waiver of the January 1, 2004 deadline to replace punch-card and lever voting machines?

Database Waiver: Will the state apply for a twoyear waiver of the January 1, 2004 deadline to create a statewide voter registration database?

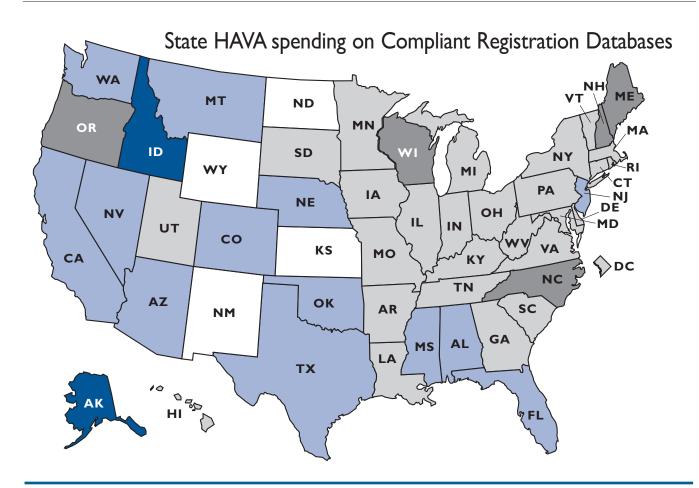
STATE	CURRENT VOTING SYSTEMS	PUNCH CARD AND LEVER REPLACEMENT	MACHINE WAIVER	DATABASE WAIVER
Alabama	Op-scan, DRE, lever	Op-scan	Ν	Ν
Alaska	Op-scan, paper	No	Ν	N
Arizona	Op-scan, punch card	Undecided	N	N
Arkansas	Op-scan, punch card, lever, paper, DRE	DRE	Ν	Undecided
California	Op-scan, punch-card, DRE	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided
Colorado	Op-scan, punch-card, paper	Undecided	N	Υ
Connecticut	Lever, op-scan	Undecided	Ν	N
DC	Op-scan	No	N	N
Delaware	DRE	No	N	N
Florida	DRE, op-scan	No	N	Υ
Georgia	DRE	No	N	N
Hawaii	Op-scan	No	N	N
Idaho	Op-scan, punch card, paper	Undecided	N	Υ
Illinois	Op-scan, punch card	Undecided	Υ	Υ
Indiana	Punch card, lever, op-scan, DRE	Op-scan and DRE	Y	Y
lowa	Op-scan, DRE, lever, paper	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided
Kansas	Op-scan, DRE, paper	No	N	Y
Kentucky	Op-scan, DRE, lever	Undecided	Undecided	N
Louisiana	Lever, DRE	DRE	Y	Y
Massachusetts	Lever, DRE, Op-scan, paper	Undecided	N	N
Maine	Op-scan, paper	No	N	Y
Maryland	DRE, op-scan	DRE	N	Y
Michigan	Op-scan, punch card, lever, paper, DRE	Op-scan	Undecided	 N
Minnesota	Op-scan, paper	Op-scan and DRE	N	Undecided
Mississippi	Punch card, lever, op-scan, DRE	DRE DRE	Y	Y
Missouri	Op-scan, punch card, paper	No	 N	 N
Montana	Op-scan, punch card, paper	Undecided	N	Y
North Carolina	Op-scan, punch card, lever, paper, DRE	DRE	Y	Y
North Dakota	Op-scan, punch card, paper	Undecided	 N	N/A
Nebraska	Op-scan, paper	Undecided	N	Y
Nevada	Op-scan, punch card, DRE	DRE	N	 N
New Hampshire	Op-scan, paper	No	N	Y
New Jersey	Lever, DRE	DRE	Y	Y
New Mexico	DRE, op-scan	No	 N	 N
New York	Lever	Undecided	Y	N
Ohio	Op-scan, DRE, lever, punch card	DRE	N	N
Oklahoma	_	Undecided	N	N
	Op-scan Op-scan, punch card		N	Y
Oregon	Op-scan, punch card, lever, paper, DRE	Op-scan DRE	Y	Y
Pennsylvania Rhode Island		No	N	N
South Carolina	Op-scan Op-scan, punch card, DRE			
	<u> </u>	DRE	N	N
South Dakota	Op-scan, punch card, paper	DRE	N	N
Tennessee	Op-scan, DRE, lever, punch card	Undecided	Y	Y
Texas	Op-scan, punch card, lever, paper, DRE	Undecided		Y
Utah	Punch card, paper, op-scan	DRE	Y	
Vermont	Op-scan, paper	Undecided	N	Y
Virginia	Op-scan, punch card, lever, paper, DRE	Undecided	Y	Y
Washington	Op-scan, punch card, DRE	Undecided	Y	Y
West Virginia	Op-scan, punch card, lever, paper, DRE	Undecided	Undecided	N
Wisconsin	Op-scan, paper, lever	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided
Wyoming	Op-scan, lever, punch card, DRE	Undecided	Y	Y



KEY TO MAP

This map provides the percentage of state HAVA budgets earmarked for voting machines.

	Summary			* N	lo info for KS, N
0–20%	0-20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	81-100%
	California	Alaska	Alabama	Arkansas	Georgia
21–40%	Colorado	Hawaii	Arizona	Connecticut	Iowa
	Massachusetts	Idaho	Delaware	Indiana	Louisiana
41–60%		Maine	District of	Maryland	Ohio
		Montana	Columbia	Michigan	South Dakota
61–80%		New Hampshire	Florida	Minnesota	Utah
		North Carolina	Illinois	Nevada	West Virginia
81-100		Oregon	Kentucky	North Dakota	
		Washington	Mississippi	Oklahoma	
No info given		Wisconsin	Missouri	Pennsylvania	
J			Nebraska	Rhode Island	
			New Jersey	South Carolina	
			New York	Tennessee	
			Texas	Vermont	
			Virginia		
		_	_		
	TOTAL = 3 STATES	TOTAL = 10 STATES	TOTAL = 14 STATES	TOTAL = 14 STATES	TOTAL = 7 STATI



KEY TO MAP

This map provides the percentage of state HAVA budgets earmarked for voter registration databases.

0–20%
21-40%
41-60%
61-80%
81-100
No info giver

0-20%		21-40%	41-60%	61-80%
Arkansas	Missouri	Alabama	Maine	Alaska
Connecticut	New York	Arizona	New Hampshire	Idaho
Delaware	Ohio	California	North Carolina	
District of	Pennsylvania	Colorado	Oregon	
Columbia	Rhode Island	Florida	Wisconsin	
Georgia	South Carolina	Mississippi		
Hawaii	South Dakota	Montana		
Illinois	Tennessee	Nebraska		
Indiana	Utah	Nevada		
Iowa	Vermont	New Jersey		
Kentucky	Virginia	Oklahoma		
Louisiana	West Virginia	Texas		
Maryland		Washington		
Massachusetts				
Michigan				
Minnesota				

Snapshot of the States

Total budget: What is the state's estimated HAVA budget? Voting Machines: How will the state comply with HAVA requirements? What percentage of its budget will it spend? Registration Database: How will the state comply with HAVA requirements? What percentage of its budget will it spend? Voter Identification: Does the state currently comply with HAVA requirements? If not, will state legislation/directive be introduced?

State HAVA Budget

Alabama



Total Budget: \$44 million. Voting Machines: Will convert 13 counties to precinct-level tabulation optical-scan voting systems, making the system uniform. Will spend 52 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Substantial HAVA compliance. Will spend 27 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVAcompliant standards.

Alaska



Total Budget: \$12 million. Voting Machines: Will continue to use optical-scan machines; will provide at least one DRE machine per polling place. Will spend 38 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Substantial HAVA compliance. Will spend 62 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant. Requires voters not personally known by poll workers to present identification before voting.

Arizona



Total Budget: \$51.7 million. Voting Machines: Will replace punch-card machines in 9 counties; will provide at least one DRE machine to each polling place. Will spend 56 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 25 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

Arkansas



Total Budget: \$30.6 million. Voting Machines: Will implement either a statewide DRE or opticalscan system, depending on the level of federal funding. Will spend 65 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 16 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

California



Total Budget: \$66.5 - \$352.5 million. Voting Machines: Will use Proposition 41, a \$200 million bond act, to encourage the use of DRE machines to replace all remaining punch-card machines. Will spend 14-15 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVAcompliant. Will spend 12 - 43 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

Colorado



Total Budget: \$48- \$67 million. Voting Machines: Will replace one county's punch-card system; will provide at least one DRE machine in each polling place. Will spend 15-21 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 21-43 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

Connecticut



Total Budget: \$27.8 million. Voting Machines: Statewide lever system will be replaced with DRE machines or retrofitted to create a paper record. Will spend 74 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Substantial HAVA compliance. Will spend 8 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant. Requires all voters to present identification before voting.

Delaware



Total Budget: \$12 million. Voting Machines: Will continue to use statewide DRE system; will replace or upgrade current machines to provide disabled access. Will spend 48 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: HAVA-compliant. Will spend 12 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVA-compliant standards. Requires all firsttime voters to show identification at the polls, but must do the same for voters who vote by mail.

Total budget: What is the state's estimated HAVA budget? Voting Machines: How will the state comply with HAVA requirements? What percentage of its budget will it spend? Registration Database: How will the state comply with HAVA requirements? What percentage of its budget will it spend? Voter Identification: Does the state currently comply with HAVA requirements? If not, will state legislation/directive be introduced?

State HAVA Budget

District of Columbia



Total Budget: \$16.7 million. Voting Machines: District-wide use of optical-scan systems; will provide at least one DRE machine per polling place. Will spend 61 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: HAVA-compliant. Will spend 8 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVA-compliant standards.

Florida



Total Budget: \$73 million. Voting Machines: Replaced all voting systems with DRE or optical-scan machines and is now seeking federal reimbursement. Will spend 55 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 29 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: Requires all voters to show identification before voting.

Georgia



Total Budget: \$88.2 - \$99.4 million. Voting Machines: Replaced all voting systems with DRE or optical-scan machines and is now seeking federal reimbursement. Will spend 82-93 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 5-15 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

Hawaii



Total Budget:: \$21.6 million. Voting Machines: Will continue to use statewide optical scan system; will provide at least one DRE machine to each polling place. Will spend 37% of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Substantial HAVA compliance. Will spend 19% of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

Idaho



Total Budget: \$5 million. Voting Machines: Statewide optical-scan, punch-card and paper ballot system will be replaced with DRE machines or retrofitted to create a paper record. Will spend 24 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 68 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

Illinois



Total Budget: \$179.7 million. Voting Machines: Will replace punch-card systems in 90 jurisdictions; will create education programs to allow the use of central- tabulation optical-scan machines. Will spend 41 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 2 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

Indiana



Total Budget: \$52.6 - \$60.6 million. Voting Machines: Will replace lever and punch-card machines with DRE or optical-scan machines; will provide at least one DRE machine to each polling place. Will spend 65-75 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 13-18 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

lowa



Total Budget: \$51.9 million. Voting Machines: Will evaluate which of its five various systems are in compliance, which need to be updated and which need to be replaced before making any decisions. Will spend 81 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 16 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVA-compliant standards.

Total budget: What is the state's estimated HAVA budget? Voting Machines: How will the state comply with HAVA requirements? What percentage of its budget will it spend? Registration Database: How will the state comply with HAVA requirements? What percentage of its budget will it spend? Voter Identification: Does the state currently comply with HAVA requirements? If not, will state legislation/directive be introduced?

State HAVA Budget

Kansas

Total Budget: N/A. Voting Machines: Will place at least one DRE machine in each polling place; will develop a plan to address the state's non-compliant optical-scan machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVA-compliant standards.

Kentucky



Total Budget: \$44 million. Voting Machines: Will continue to use its electronic or optical-scan machines; will provide a voter education program to ensure the compliance of central-count optical-scan systems. Will spend 44 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: HAVA-compliant. Will spend 37.5 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant. Requires all voters to present identification before voting.

Louisiana



Total Budget: \$50.2 million. Voting Machines: Will continue to use optical- scan machines; lever machines will be replaced or retrofitted. Will spend 92 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: HAVA-compliant. Will spend 4 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant. Requires all voters to present identification before voting.

Maine



Total Budget: \$20.7 million. Voting Machines: Will continue to use paper and optical-scan ballots; will provide at least one DRE machine per polling place. Will spend 34-40 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 53-55 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

Maryland



Total Budget: \$70-\$79 million. Voting Machines: Statewide replacement of current machines with a universal electronic system. Will spend 73-82 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 9-16 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

Massachusetts

Total Budget: N/A Voting Machines: Will continue to use optical- scan and paper-ballot systems; lever and data-vote systems will be replaced. Will spend 15 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Substantial HAVA compliance. Will spend 10 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVA-compliant standards.

Michigan



Total Budget: \$71 million. Voting Machines: Statewide replacement of lever, punch-card and paperballot systems with a universal optical scan system. Will spend 77 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Substantial HAVA compliance. Will spend 7 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVA-compliant standards.

Minnesota



Total Budget: \$39.9 - \$48.3 million. Voting Machines: Statewide optical- scan and paper-ballot system will be replaced with DREs or retrofitted. Will spend 62-76 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Substantial HAVA compliance. Will spend 13-21 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

Total budget: What is the state's estimated HAVA budget? Voting Machines: How will the state comply with HAVA requirements? What percentage of its budget will it spend? Registration Database: How will the state comply with HAVA requirements? What percentage of its budget will it spend? Voter Identification: Does the state currently comply with HAVA requirements? If not, will state legislation/directive be introduced?

State HAVA Budget

Mississippi



Total Budget: \$34.2 million. Voting Machines: Will replace optical-scan, lever and punch-card systems with DREs. Will spend 44 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 29 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

Missouri



Total Budget: \$76.5 million. Voting Machines: Will continue to use optical- scan and paper-ballot systems; will replace punch-card systems and provide one DRE machine per polling place. Will spend 46 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 13 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant. Requires all voters to present identification before voting.

Montana



Total Budget: \$8.1 million. Voting Machines: Will continue to use central-count and paper ballot systems; will replace punch-card systems and provide at least one DRE machine per polling place. Will spend 39 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Substantial HAVA compliance. Will spend 40 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

Nebraska



Total Budget: \$9.8 million. Voting Machines: Will replace paper ballot and central-count optical-scan systems and provide at least one DRE machine per polling place. Will spend 54 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 36 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

Nevada



Total Budget: \$11.7-\$12.7 million. Voting Machines: Will replace punch-card machines; optical-scan and electronic systems will be replaced with DREs or retrofitted. Will spend 67-73 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 26-31 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

New Hampshire



Total Budget: \$20.7 million. Voting Machines: Will continue statewide use of paper ballots and provide at least one DRE machine per polling place. Will spend 25 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 60 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVA-compliant standards.

New Jersey



Total Budget: \$ 68.1 million. Voting Machines: Will replace punch-card and lever systems; will update electronic systems. Will spend 57 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 29 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

New Mexico

Total Budget: \$5 million. Voting Machines: Will continue to use optical-scan systems and will provide at least one DRE machine per polling place. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

Total budget: What is the state's estimated HAVA budget? Voting Machines: How will the state comply with HAVA requirements? What percentage of its budget will it spend? Registration Database: How will the state comply with HAVA requirements? What percentage of its budget will it spend? Voter Identification: Does the state currently comply with HAVA requirements? If not, will state legislation/directive be introduced?

State HAVA Budget

New York



Total Budget: \$235.6 million. Voting Machines: Statewide replacement of lever systems. Will spend 59 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 8 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVA-compliant standards.

North Carolina



Total Budget: \$106 million. Voting Machines: Statewide replacement or upgrade of current opticalscan and DRE systems. Will spend 35 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 43 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVA-compliant standards.

North Dakota



Total Budget: \$7-\$8 million. Voting Machines: Will replace punch-card machines and update paperballot and optical-scan systems; will provide at least one DRE machine per polling place. Will spend 72-76 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Exempt from HAVA requirements because state does not register voters. Voter Identification: Exempt from HAVA requirements because state does not register voters.

Ohio



Total Budget \$155-\$165 million. Voting Machines: Will replace punch-card system with a DRE-dominant system. Will spend 82-88 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 3-6 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVA-compliant standards.

Oklahoma



Total Budget \$45.1 million. Voting Machines: Will upgrade or replace current optical-scan systems; will discuss a plan for compliance with HAVA disability requirements. Will spend 74 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Substantial HAVA compliance. Will spend 25 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVAcompliant standards.

Oregon



Total Budget \$13.7-\$19.7 million. Voting Machines: Will replace punch-card systems in three counties to match remaining optical-scan systems in the state, will maintain its vote-by-mail system; will provide at least one DRE machine per polling place. Will spend 18-26 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 44-61 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

Pennsylvania



Total Budget \$33.7 million. Voting Machines: Counties will decide if and how they are to upgrade existing paper ballots, lever machines, and electronic equipment; will provide at least one DRE machine per polling place. Will spend 68 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 9 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

Rhode Island



Total Budget \$23.3 million. Voting Machines: Statewide use of optical- scan machines; will provide at least one DRE machine per polling place. Will spend 71 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 15 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVA-compliant standards.

Total budget: What is the state's estimated HAVA budget? Voting Machines: How will the state comply with HAVA requirements? What percentage of its budget will it spend? Registration Database: How will the state comply with HAVA requirements? What percentage of its budget will it spend? Voter Identification: Does the state currently comply with HAVA requirements? If not, will state legislation/directive be introduced?

State HAVA Budget

South Carolina



Total Budget \$48.5 million. Voting Machines: Will replace existing systems with a uniform, electronic voting system. Will spend 75 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: HAVA-compliant. Will spend 4 percent of HAVA budget to upgrade its system. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVA-compliant standards for questions on registration cards. Requires all voters to present identification before voting.

South Dakota



Total Budget \$7.9 million. Voting Machines: Will eliminate all punch-card machines; will implement a system that uses paper ballots, optical-scan systems, and DRE systems. Will spend 96 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 3 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVAcompliant standards.

Tennessee



Total Budget \$26 million. Voting Machines: Will eliminate existing punch-card and lever machines and replace them with HAVA-compliant systems; will provide at least one DRE machine per polling place. Will spend 75 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 19 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

Texas



Total Budget \$73.8 - \$83.8 million. Voting Machines: Will provide at least one DRE machine per polling place; currently introducing legislation that would replace all paper ballots, central-count optical-scan systems, lever machines, and punch-card machines. Will spend 38-43 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 22-25 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVA-compliant standards.

Utah



Total Budget \$28 million. Voting Machines: Will replace all punch-card systems in 23 counties with a uniform DRE system; will continue to use optical-scan systems and paper ballots in remaining 6 counties. Will spend 84 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 4 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: HAVA-compliant.

Vermont



Total Budget \$9.4 million. Voting Machines: Will continue to use paper ballots in some municipalities; will choose a uniform system to be used by all municipalities that opt to use machines; will choose an accessible system for each polling place for the disabled. Will spend 71 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 16 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVA-compliant standards.

Virginia



Total Budget \$64.1 million. Voting Machines: Will replace all punch-card machines with systems that are HAVA-compliant; will provide at least one DRE machine per polling place. Will spend 52 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Substantial HAVA compliance. Will spend 20 percent of HAVA budget to upgrade its system. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVA-compliant standards. Requires all voters to present identification before voting.

Washington



Total Budget \$42.9 million. Voting Machines: Will provide DRE machines in each county to supplement its growing vote-by-mail system. Will spend 37 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 26 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVA-compliant standards.

Total budget: What is the state's estimated HAVA budget? Voting Machines: How will the state comply with HAVA requirements? What percentage of its budget will it spend? Registration Database: How will the state comply with HAVA requirements? What percentage of its budget will it spend? Voter Identification: Does the state currently comply with HAVA requirements? If not, will state legislation/directive be introduced?

State HAVA Budget

West Virginia



Total Budget \$20.3 million. Voting Machines: Will replace lever and punch-card machines, leaving paper ballots, optical-scan systems, and DRE systems as the three state voting systems. Will spend 81 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 15 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVA-compliant standards.

Wisconsin



Total Budget: \$44.3 million. Voting Machines: Will evaluate HAVA-compliant systems to add to or replace current optical-scan systems, paper ballots, and lever machines. Will spend 37 percent of HAVA budget on voting machines. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Will spend 59 percent of HAVA budget to make compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVA-compliant standards.

Wyoming

Total Budget: \$20 million. Voting Machines: Will replace lever machines, punch-card machines, and central-count optical-scan systems with HAVA-compliant systems; will provide at least one DRE machine per polling place. Registration Database: Not HAVA-compliant. Voter Identification: Plans to enact HAVA-compliant standards.

Methodology

Information for the maps and the state-by-state listings was culled from original source material – the state Help America Vote Act plans submitted for public comment and eventually to the Election Assistance Commission for publication in the Federal Register. The plans were written in the spring and summer of 2003. Some were reviewed while still in draft form.

Budget and waiver application information was derived from the state plans themselves and occasionally via subsequent phone calls to state election directors, secretaries of state, or their deputies for clarification. In the event of a discrepancy, the state election director, secretary or deputy was considered authoritative.

Statistical information and information on percentage spending on election reform needs was not provided by the states but rather was produced by electionline.org, using information provided by the states and through a comparison of state spending on various election reform needs around the country. Wide ranges were often provided to reflect the uncertainty about funding at the state level.

A few states did not have enough information available at press time for all of the categorization in the report. Those instances are noted in the text and/or in the endnotes.

Endnotes

- ¹ Plans were also required from American Samoa, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands but were not analyzed
- ² For more on the relationship between state and local election administrators, see "Election Reform Briefing 4: Working Together? State and Local Election Coordination," *electionline.org* and the Constitution Project's election reform initiative, September 2002.
- ³ H.R. 3295 The Help America Vote Act of 2002, Title III, Section 303. U.S. House of Representatives, October 2002.
- ⁴ Election Reform Briefing 4.
- ⁵ The Honorable Bob Brown, Secretary of State. *Montana Preliminary State Plan: Help America Vote Act of 2002*. June 2003.
- ⁶ The Honorable Matthew A. Brown, Secretary of State. *State of Rhode Island Preliminary State Plan*. June 2003.
- ⁷ "State Develops Plans to Revamp Elections," *The Associated Press.* June 30, 2003.
- ⁸ The Arizona plan is summarized in p. 12. The original source document is available online at: hava.sos.state.az.us/2003/state_plan/HAVA_Preliminary_State_Plan.pdf.
- ⁹ The Utah plan is summarized on p. 17. The original source document is available online at: elections.utah.gov/State.Planpdf.pdf.
- Wang, Tova. Testimony before the New York State Board of Elections, July 10, 2003.
- Roy, Yancey. "New York's Preliminary Plan Criticized," *The Journal News*, July 14, 2003.
- For more information on state readiness to comply with HAVA as of early 2003, please see: electionline.org, *Election Reform Briefing 5: Ready for Reform.* March 2003.
- ¹³ Idaho will not seek to replace punch cards.
- ¹⁴ One example would be Ohio, where the upgrade from punch cards in most counties will also mean modification to existing optical scanners in others to ensure HAVA complaint precinct counters that identify ballot errors. The Honorable J. Kenneth Blackwell, Ohio State Plan Committee. Help America Vote Act of 2002 Preliminary State Plan, May 2003. p. 46.

- ¹⁵ In 2001, California voters approved a bond measure to provide \$200 million to replace punch-card systems. The state decertified punch cards by January 1, 2004. The recall election of Gov. Gray Davis scheduled for October, means that the machines, which were expected to be discarded for the last time after 2003 spring municipal elections in some counties, will have to be brought into service
- New Hampshire will use an oft-forgotten part of HAVA that allows states to create a voter education program on how to correctly mark and review ballots instead of purchasing machines such as DREs and optical scanners that identify such errors for them.
- ¹⁷ H.R. 3295: Help America Vote Act of 2002, Title III, Section 301.
- For more details, see Snapshot of the States, p. 12
- $^{19}\,$ National Conference of State Legislatures, "2003 Voter Identification Legislation," August 2003.
- 20 "Response to the LCCR Policy Analysis on Voter-Verified Paper Trails," $\textit{VerifiedVoting.org}, July 16\,2003$.
- ²¹ The Honorable Peter C. Harvey, The New Jersey State Plan Committee. *Help America Act of 2002 Preliminary State Plan*, June 2003. p. 5.
- ²² Dale Wetzel. "Voting-Machine Concerns Prompt Changes in State Plan," *The Bismarck Tribune*, August 14, 2003.
- $^{23}\,$ The Honorable Kevin Shelley, The Ad Hoc Touch Screen Task Force. The Ad Hoc Touch Screen Task Force Report, July 2003.
- Walkinshaw, James. "Department of Justice Offers Much Needed Reform Guidance." electionline Weekly. August 7, 2003.
- Federal Election Commission, "Help America Vote Act (Web page http://www.fec.gov/hava/law_ext.txt)
- ²⁶ Seligson, Dan. "Congressional Delays Could Cause Election Reform Headaches," electionline Weekly, May 15, 2003.

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