# **Report Card on State Elections**

By the Voting Rights Committee of ThePeople.org Draft 4/17/2021 ReportCard@ThePeople.org



## **Overview**

## This Report Card compares states on 16 aspects of their elections.

The goal is to encourage everyone to think about how to make our elections better, so we can all vote and trust the results.

- 1. The first topics cover **campaigns**: gerrymandering, political contributions and competitive candidates.
- 2. The next topics cover **turnout**: total, youth, minorities. It reflects access and appealing candidates.
- **3.** The next topics cover **access to voting:** early voting on weekends, making mail voting easy, with good methods to avoid fraud.
- **4.** The last topics cover election integrity, which are official efforts to **check for errors and disclose** them.

These four areas have 17 detailed topics, and each is worth five points. State totals range from 19 to 61 and a third of states get each grade from A to C. You can choose other weights and see new scores by making changes in a spreadsheet at votewell.net/card.xlsx

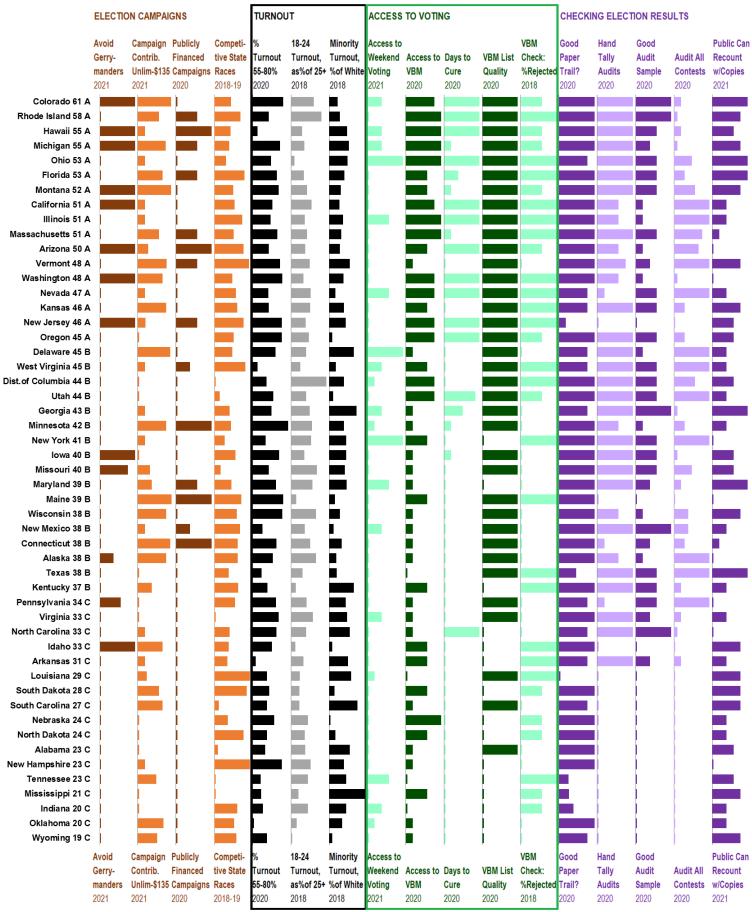
While every state can do better, the best scores are in Colorado, Rhode Island, and Hawaii. Two of them have nonpartisan redistricting commissions, two have public campaign finance, voters have paper ballots, and mailed ballots are easy to use. Staff hand-tally good samples of ballots, to check a few contests.

The worst scores are in Wyoming, Oklahoma, and Indiana. These states do not audit machine tallies of results. Turnout is low. Registration lists are not thoroughly maintained; ballots are accepted without careful checks; and voters cannot cure problems with mailed ballots. Partisan legislatures draw voting boundaries. Still, these states do some things well. All three have more competitive state elections than many states. Wyoming releases anonymous copies of the ballots, so the public can check counts. Wyoming and Oklahoma have largely handmarked paper ballots and decent limits on political contributions, at \$700-\$1,100 per candidate per year.

Where readers have concerns about these and other states, they will often see those issues in the scores for that state. For example Colorado has low minority turnout, not-very-competitive elections and designs audit samples to be enough for only 2 contests per county. Rhode Island does not require early voting to be open on weekends and only audits 1 contest.

State Grades - Big	Dist.of Columbia 44 B	Maine 39 B	New Jersey 46 A	South Dakota 28 C
numbers are better.	Florida 53 A	Maryland 39 B	New Mexico 38 B	Tennessee 23 C
numbers are better.	Georgia 43 B	Massachusetts 51 A	New York 41 B	Texas 38 B
Alabama 23 C	Hawaii 55 A	Michigan 55 A	North Carolina 33 C	Utah 44 B
Alaska 38 B	Idaho 33 C	Minnesota 42 B	North Dakota 24 C	Vermont 48 A
Arizona 50 A	Illinois 51 A	Mississippi 21 C	Ohio 53 A	Virginia 33 C
Arkansas 31 C	Indiana 20 C	Missouri 40 B	Oklahoma 20 C	Washington 48 A
California 51 A	Iowa 40 B	Montana 52 A	Oregon 45 A	West Virginia 45 B
Colorado 61 A	Kansas 46 A	Nebraska 24 C	Pennsylvania 34 C	Wisconsin 38 B
Connecticut 38 B	Kentucky 37 B	Nevada 47 A	Rhode Island 58 A	Wyoming 19 C
Delaware 45 B	Louisiana 29 C	New Hampshire 23 C	South Carolina 27 C	

**Chart: Report Card on State Elections** – Definitions are on next page. State data are in Appendix, page 9.



**Action:** When you look at your state, do you want improvements? There are many ways to start. It will take people, time and thought. Find <u>groups</u> in your state working for better elections. Working in groups is one of our oldest and strongest approaches, cited by <u>de Tocqueville</u> as a reason why the US avoided the extremism of the French Revolution.

Talk with friends. Write <u>letters</u> to the editor. Tell your state <u>legislators</u>. In some states, people can put <u>initiatives</u> on the ballot.

If you have time in the day, apply to work in the election office or at the polls, so you gain credibility and see the process from the inside. Election offices hire and train temporaries for each election. Or you can observe as a volunteer. If you have even more time, get a paid or unpaid government internship in any office to see how government works, or volunteer for a candidate, or run for office, from city council up: Campaigns publicize your concerns, and winning office lets you vote on budgets, policies and appointments. Filing deadlines are 4-12 months before the election, so start now. Many groups train candidates.

## **Definitions of Columns in Chart**

Sources are at the end of the appendix table. All calculations are in a <u>spreadsheet</u>. Improvements require more than government action:

## **Campaigns**

## **Avoid Gerrymanders:**

- 5 = Nonpartisan or bipartisan commissions draw congressional and state legislature district boundaries.
- 4 = Nonpartisan staff draw boundaries so districts are competitive and statewide results match votes
- 3 = Congressional boundaries are partisan, while local boundaries are nonpartisan.
- 2 = Partisan officials draw boundaries under nonpartisan rules.
- 0 = Partisan boundaries.

**Campaign Contribution Limits:** States vary in how much they limit contributions to candidates for state office. Timing also varies, whether limits apply to each year, each election, or total for a 4-year cycle. For comparability the appendix table shows total contribution limit over 4 years, average for state senate and house or assembly candidates. This item does not reflect limits on contributions to federal candidates, which are the same in all states.

- 1-5 = Score is proportional to limits of \$2,000 to \$135 per year per candidate, or 4-year total of \$8,000 (score=1) to \$540 (score=5). It averages in low limits for candidates who take public money in AZ, CT, ME.
- 1 = Limit is \$2,000 or more per year per candidate per donor, or 4-year total \$8,000 or more.
- 0 = No limit on contributions to campaigns for state elections.

### **Public Financing of Campaigns:** Rules and amounts vary widely

- 5 = Offered to candidates for legislature, Governor, and sometimes other offices
- 3 = Offered to candidates for Governor and sometimes other statewide offices, but not legislature
- 2 = Offered to candidates for supreme court justice (NM and WV), and Utility Commissioners (NM)
- 0 = None

### **Competitive State Races** (average margin of victory in state legislative general elections, 2018-2019):

- 5 = The most competitive general elections. Average 11% margin of victory in NH. Competitiveness means the top 2 candidates appealed to enough voters so that the margin between them was small.
- 0-5 = Range of competitiveness from 40% to 11%, average among all legislative districts in the state
- 0 = Least competitive states: average margin of victory 40% or more. Some of these states do have competitive primaries. Fewer voters vote in those primaries.

#### **Turnout**

- **% Turnout:** Shows what percent of eligible citizens came out to vote in the November 2020 election. The count of eligible citizens excludes felons to the extent of each state's rules. High turnout depends on good candidates, an easy voting system with few barriers, and public trust.
- **18-24 Turnout:** Turnout among people 18 to 24 as a percent of turnout for ages 25 or more. This reflects the candidates' appeal to youth, barriers facing young voters and their mistrust of the system.
- **Minority Turnout:** As a percent of turnout among non-Hispanic whites. It reflects candidates' appeal, barriers facing minority voters, and their mistrust of the system. Numbers are from a Census Bureau <u>survey</u> which asks citizens about ethnicity, and if they voted.

Access to Voting (includes <u>Georgia</u> changes <u>3/25/2021</u>, and will update as other states change centerforcommonground.org)

Access to Weekend Voting (All states offer early voting on weekdays):

- 1-5 = States require 1-5 weekend days of early voting. Extra point if at least one Sunday is required, helping people who observe their Sabbath on Saturday.
- 0 =No weekend days required, though some places offer it.

## Access to Voting by Mail (VBM) (see special topic below):

- 5 = State mails VBM application to all registered voters.
- 4 = State mails ballot to all registered voters
- 3 = Voter can request ballot, and does not need a specific reason.
- 1 = State does not check signatures on VBM, removing a bit of security.
- 0 = Voter needs a specific reason to vote by mail.

**Days to Cure** rejected envelopes by giving a signature or a clearer signature:

- 5 =Voters have a week or more after election day to cure.
- 2-4 = Cure deadline is 2-6 days after election day.
- 1 =Voters must cure by election day.
- 0 = No cure allowed, though court may consider this a lack of due process.

**VBM List Quality:** The list used to mail ballots (vote by mail, VBM) is reliably updated for address changes and deaths, as measured by the National Vote at Home Institute.

## VBM Check: % Rejected (2018):

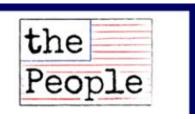
- 5 = State checks signatures and accepts up to 99%
- 3 =State accepts over 99%, more lax than expert signature reviews, who accept up to 90% of true signatures
- 0 = Envelopes are accepted based on tracking numbers and postmark, without proof of identity.

### **Checking Election Results**

## Good Paper Trail? (2022):

5 = All voters have hand-marked paper ballots, except up to 10% marked by computer for voters with disabilities or overseas.





- 4 = Computers mark more than 10% of ballots (Ballot Marking Devices, BMDs, which <u>can be audited</u> but are not).
- 0-3 = Lack paper trail for all or some voters, higher scores for states where fewer voters lack paper trail **Hand Tally Audits:** 
  - 5 =Staff hand count a sample of ballots.
  - 4 = Staff re-run a sample of ballots on different machines.
  - 3 =State omits many ballots from the audit.
  - 1 =Staff re-run ballots on the same machines as the election.
  - 0 =No audit of computer results.

Good Audit Sample (Discussion of statistical and other approaches):

- 5 =Statistical sample.
- 3 = Some precincts or machines, but not enough to be statistically reliable for small contests.
- 2 = Audit unusable, since available too late for candidates to get recount or correction.
- 1 = Big omissions or sample has only a handful of machines
- 0 = No audit

#### **Audit All Contests?**

- 5 = Audit all contests on the sampled ballots.
- 1-3 = Audit one to six contests, with extra point if some are randomly chosen.
- 0 = No audit

## **Public Can Recount with Copies:**

- 5 = Election offices keep images, at least in many counties, & can release, so the public can check any of the counts. People's names are never attached, just the anonymous ballots.
- 4 = Yes public can get copies of ballots; unknown if ballot images are kept.
- 3 = Legal rules are unclear.
- 2 = Legal rules unclear. Firm policy against release.
- 1 = States not allowed to release paper copies, and status of electronic copies is unknown.
- 0 = States have decided to release neither paper nor electronic copies.

## **Other State Report Cards on Election Issues:**

2021-Mar Nonprofit Vote	2008-2018 MIT Election Lab
2020-Nov Brookings	2018 Center for American Progress
2020-June Sightline	2015 Center for Public Integrity
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<u>2020-May</u> Vote at Home Institute <u>2008</u> Brennan, Common Cause, Verified Voting

## **Special Topics**

## **Special Topic on Eligibility of Felons**

Opinions and <u>rules</u> vary widely about letting people vote after conviction for crimes. This topic is not in the report card scores.

- In 3 states even people in prison can register to vote: DC, ME, VT.
- In 19 states people can register to vote as soon as they leave prison: CA, CO, HI, IL, IN, MD, MA, MI, MT, NV, NJ, NH, ND, NY, OH, OR, PA, RI, UT.
- In 19 states people can register to vote after they finish parole or probation: AK, AR, CT, FL, GA, ID, KS, LA, MN, MO, NM, NC, OK, SC, SD, TX, WA, WV, WI.
- In 10 states people cannot register even after parole or probation, or have a long delay, unless the court or governor makes an exception: AL, AZ, DE, IA, KY, MS, NE, TN, VA, WY.

## **Special Topic on Partisan Election Managers**

Elections are <u>managed</u> by town, county and state officials. Town and county officials are usually partisan. So are chief state election officials (usually Secretaries of State), No matter how non-partisan they try to be, it is easy for voters and candidates in another party to mistrust them. Besides these managers, at the end of the process there are sometimes separate canvassing boards, which are not yet covered here.

## **State election managers:**

- 4 states have bipartisan boards supervising elections
  - o HI: 8 members, half appointed by each party, choose 9th member and hire state election director
  - o IL: 8 members, half nominated by top elected official in each of top 2 parties
  - o NY: 4 members, 2 from each major party, with 2 executive directors
  - o WI: <u>6 members</u>: 3 from each of biggest 2 parties, appointed 2 by legislative leaders, 1 by governor
- 5 states have boards where one party has a majority

- o MD: <u>5 members</u>, 3 from majority party, 2 from minority party
- o NC: 5 members, up to 3 from one party
- OK: 3 members, nominated by 2 biggest parties
- o SC: <u>5 members</u>, at least 1 from each of top 2 parties
- o VA: <u>3 members</u>, 2 from majority party, 1 from minority party
- 7 states have a partisan Secretary of State and a board: AK, GA, IN, KY, RI, WV.
- 26 states have a partisan elected Secretary of State or Lieutenant Governor: AL, AK, AZ, CA, CO, CT, ID, IA, KS, LA, MA, MI, MN, MS, MO, MT, NE, NV, NM, ND, OH, OR, SD, UT, VT, WA, WY.
- 8 states have an official appointed by the partisan Governor or legislature: DE, FL, ME, NH, NJ, PA TN, TX.

## **Local election managers:**

- 22 states have a single manager in each jurisdiction, usually elected on a partisan basis
- 10 states have bipartisan boards; one party may have a majority.
- 18 states have 2 officials or an official and a board.

## **Special Topic on Voter ID**

Opinions vary widely and rules vary somewhat about requiring identification for voting. This topic is not in the report card scores, because there is no consensus on which approaches should score high or low..

<u>The first time</u> people register in a state (or in a jurisdiction in states without statewide computerized system, if any are left), there are requirements in federal law:

- If they register in person, they must provide the *number* of their driver's license, or if they have none, the last 4 digits of their social security *number*, or if they have neither, the state assigns a unique number [52USC§21083(a)(5)]. The jurisdiction will check the number, and might ask to see ID, but there is no federal requirement to show ID for in-person registrations, or voting.
- If they don't register in person, then the first time they vote, federal law requires them to show ID at the polling place, or enclose a copy with their first mailed ballot. The ID must be a photo ID or government document, utility bill or bank statement showing name and address [52USC§21083(b)(2)].

### **Voting by Mail.** A few states require ID with the application or the ballot:

- AL and AR require voters to enclose a copy of an ID when they vote by mail.
- WI requires a copy of an ID when name or address changes.
- OK, MS, MO require a statement sworn before a notary (or other official), and the notary might need to see the ID.
- SD requires a notarized statement or copy of the ID.
- GA, KS, MN, OH require the *number* of the ID.

### **Voting in Person**

- **26 Signature-cure states** in which voters who come to polls without ID, can vote provisionally. Their signature will be checked later against the signature on file from their voter registration or other source. These voters don't need to take any further action if the signature matches:
  - o **14 states do not require a photo ID,** though they do require an ID, so it can be a utility bill, bank statement, or sometimes a signed affidavit by themselves or by other voters: AK, CO, CT, DE, IA, KY, MO, MT, NH, OK, UT, VA, WA, WV.
  - o 11 states require a photo ID: AR, AL, FL, HI, ID, LA, RI, SC, SD, TX.
- 9 Strict states in which voters who come to polls without ID, can vote provisionally, and must take their ID to an election office within a few days.
  - o **3 states do not require a photo ID,** though they do require an ID, so it can be a utility bill, bank statement, etc: AZ, ND, OH.

- o 6 states require a photo ID: GA, IN, KS, MS, TN, WI.
- 16 Non-ID states do not require voter ID at the polls.
  - o **5 states check the signature** at the polling place matches the signature on file. NY also checks their physical description. If they don't match, voters can vote provisional ballots, which will get more signature-checking in the office: NV, NJ, NY, OR, PA.
  - 13 states check the name is on the registration list. Some of these states check address too. MD, MI, NM check birthdate too. MN can choose to check birthdate. IL, MI, NE, NC collect signature, but don't check it. MI asks for picture ID; voters who have none or did not bring it can sign an affidavit and vote normally: CA, DC, IL, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, NE, NM, NC, VT, WY.

**Value of Voter IDs.** A 2015 Governmental Accountability Office (GAO) <u>study</u> found few instances of voter fraud which ID laws would prevent, and very limited data. On availability of IDs, they cited a study saying 15% of whites and 19% of blacks did not have IDs which would satisfy voter ID requirements, and that getting one cost \$14 to \$59. GAO estimated that adopting ID laws in Kansas and Tennessee reduced turnout among people under 24, recent registrants and African-Americans, not Hispanics or Asian-Americans

The first voter ID law was in SC in 1950. The first strict laws were in GA and IN in 2005.

Lack of data is not surprising, given the intermittent, dispersed nature of voting, which is hard for law enforcement to monitor or develop expertise in. Brennan Center in 2017 analyzed a Heritage Foundation national database and found 488 instances of all kinds of election fraud from 2007-2017. Three quarters of the database involved ineligible people voting or attempting to vote, which suggests 64 voter fraud cases detected per 2-year election cycle.

<u>Getting an ID</u> must usually be done in person, with long waits. It can be hard for people who don't have their birth certificate or don't have rent or utilities in their own name. People who have changed names in marriage or divorce need to find or get certified copies of the court documents ordering their name changes, sometimes from distant courts.

## **Special Topic on Voting by Mail**

Opinions on voting by mail (VBM) vary widely, since people put different weight on convenience and the ability of election administrators to handle VBM accurately. The report card takes a middle path, to measure voters' access to voting, while keeping it as secure as possible. The term VBM here includes all ballots submitted in vote-by-mail envelopes, including those taken to mailboxes, drop boxes or polling places.

The appendix table shows issues affecting accurate VBM. Voters and election officials need to minimize problems, especially by developing more reliable methods to verify ballots than signature reviews.

People <u>suggest</u> thumbprints, though (like signatures) <u>checking</u> is <u>costly</u> and <u>error-prone</u>, hackers can get them from private files to create forgeries, and many people, poor or rich, <u>dislike</u> providing fingerprints.

Column B shows states which do not check voter signatures on the envelope that the ballot comes back in. These states count on the security of the numbering system which they and their printers used when printing and sending out the ballots and envelopes. Hackers and accidents can threaten the security of those secret numbers.

Α	В	С	D
	Signatures	Amazingly	VBM
	<u>not</u>	Few VBM	Rejection
	<u>Checked</u>	Rejected	Rate
Sent	CT	MI 0.6%	OH 1.2%
application to	DE	NE 0.9%	IL 2.2%
all	IA		RI 2.9%
	MD		MA 5.8%
	WI		
Sent ballot to	VT	OR 0.0%	CA 2.0%
all		HI 0.7%	NV 2.1%
		CO 0.8%	NJ 2.9%
		UT 0.9%	DC 3.6%
		WA 1.0%	
Voters must	AK	SD 0.3%	KS 1.1%
ask for VBM	AL	AZ 0.5%	ME 1.1%
	MN	MT 0.4%	FL 1.2%
County option to	MO	ND 0.6%	ID 1.6%
send application	NC	MS 0.8%	GA 3.1%
in NM, or ballot	NH	WV 1.0%	KY 6.8%
in MT to all	NM		AR 7.6%
	OK		NY 13.7%
	PA		
	SC		
	VA		
Votor roads	WY	INI O 50/	TV 4.00/
Voter needs		IN 0.5%	TX 1.8% TN 2.2%
special reason for VBM			TN 2.2% LA 5.9%
IOI VDIVI			LA 3.9%
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Column C shows states which check signatures and accept almost all. Handwriting experts, at their <u>best</u>, reject 10-17% of true signatures. Telling 10% of voters to cure their ballot is not acceptable, so states loosen the reviews and their lightly-trained temporary staff reject few signatures, at the cost of accepting more forgeries. States get lower scores on the score card when they are so permissive that they only reject 1% of signatures.

Most states in column D may be too permissive too, especially since these rates include rejections for lack of a signature, as well as non-matching signatures.

States which send *ballots* to everyone on the registration rolls run a risk that ballots of deceased voters can pile up at nursing homes and assisted living, so ballot harvesters can collect and forge them. These states also miss out on getting a recent signature from each voter, as do states which let voters apply online.

States which require a signed application before mailing the ballot have a recent signature on the application, and have time to check it before providing the ballot. Hawaii mails out ballots, and also encourages everyone to send in a new signature. Other states, which use old signatures, disproportionately reject people who have changed names, developed a disability in their hand or eyes, normally use non-Roman characters or print. Georgia and Florida have measured rejection rates by type of voter, and found wide variations.

On a wider scale, businesses have signatures of most <u>consumers</u>, so hackers do too, and can forge them on ballot envelopes if they also learn the numbering system, by hacking election offices or printing companies.

The report card gives lower scores for not checking signatures, and better scores for mailing applications to all voters than for mailing actual ballots. Readers can use the spreadsheet to change these values. A separate item addresses whether states maintain the registration list accurately, by removing people who move away or die.

Appendix: Table of State Data: Report Card on State Elections, from Highest Score to Lowest Score. Send corrections to ReportCard@ThePeople.org

States		aigns			Turnou			Early Voting ar (VBM)					ng Election Resu		.org			
	tisan Redis-	of Victory , State Legis- lature,	bution Limits per 4	Cam- paign Finan-	% of Voting- age Citizens	18-24 Turnout	Minority to Non- minority Turnout	Voting, State Minimum	Access to Vote by Mai	of Days when Voters Can Cure	List, Tracks Address Changes & Deaths	Rejection Rate, 2018	Do Votes Have a Paper Trail? 2022		Good Audit Sample, to Check Computer Tallies?	Audit All Contests? Number of Contests Checked		
System, bigger numbers are better	non- or bi- partisan commis- sions draw districts. 4-Staff 3-Partisan congress districts, non- partisan local 2-Nonpar- tisan rules for parti- san officials 1-No: districts drawn by	avge margin of victory, then propor- tional down to 0-40% or more	limit, then propor- tional up to 1- Highest limit 0-No	nor+ legisla- ture 3- Govern or, not	Proportic nal to turnout	Proportional to	0-5- Proportic nal to ratio	extra point if at least 1 Sunday required 0-No weekend days required	5-No specific reason needed, application sen to all 4-No specific reason needed, ballot sent to al 3-No specific reason needed, voter must ask for VBM 1-No signature checks 0-Needs a specific reason to vote by mail	5-Week or tmore after election day. I2-5-Two to seven days after	Vote at Home Inst. finds good data integrity. 0-Poor data integrity on mailing ballots	over 1% of VBM, though experts would reject at least 10%.	disabilities+oversea s. 4-Computers mark 10% or more of ballots (bmd) 0-3 Lack paper trail on all or some (dre noVvpat)	4-Re-run on different machines. 3-Big omissions. 1-Re-run on same machines. 0-No checking.	sample. 3-Sample, but not enough for small contests 2-Results too late to get recount or	1-3-One to six contests checked, extra point for random 0-No	5-Keep images, at least i many counties, & release to public. 4-Yes release copies of ballots to public, Unknow if images kept. 3-Unknown release policy. 2-No ballots, Images unknown. 0-No ballots or images released	e to 61
A Colorado	yes Yes	27%	\$600	No	76%	68.4%	68.6%	2Sat: last 2 Sat	Broad VBM, Ballot sent to all	8	Yes	0.8%	hmpb+bmd4access	s Hand count	Statistical	2 have enough sample. Limited info	Keep+release images & ballots after recount	61.0
A Rhode Island	No	19%	\$4,000	Statewi de	66%	79.3%	72.1%	No rule	Broad VBM, Applic.sent	t 7	Yes	2.9%	hmpb+bmd4access	s Hand count	Statistical	1	Yes, unknown if images kept	57.6
A Hawaii	Yes	28%	\$8,000	) Both	58%	50.9%	83.9%	2Sat 8-4:30 last 2 Sat	Broad VBM, Ballot to all Signature update from all	, 7	Yes	0.7%	hmpb+vvpat4acces	Hand count	10%	?	Unknown release policy	55.0
A Michigan	Yes	29%	\$2,100	) Gov	74%	54.1%	86.6%	1Sat+/orSun: 8hrs in last weekend	Broad VBM, Applic.sent	t 0	Yes	0.6%	hmpb+bmd4access	s Hand count	5%, after results are fina	1	Yes ballots; most don't keep images	55.0
A Ohio	Partisan officials		\$39,886	S No	67%	39.8%	85.0%	5Sat: 8-4 last 4 Sat 8-4. last Sun 1-5	Broad VBM, Applic.sent	t 7	Yes	1.2%	bmd34% hmpb49%	Hand count	5%	3 random	Keep images in many counties. Release image & ballots after recount	s 53.3
A Florida	No	15%	\$3,000	Gov+C abinet	72%	53.8%	79.7%	No rule	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	2	Yes	1.2%	hmpb+bmd4access	s Hand count	1%	1 random	Keep images in many counties+release images+ballots	53.0

States	C	ampa	aigns		Т	urnout	Access to	Early Voting ar (VBM)	nd Vote	by Mail		Checkin	g Election Resu	ılts			
	Nonpar- tisan or Bipar- tisan Redis- tricting, to Avoid Gerry- manders	of Victory , State Legis- lature,	Contri- bution Limits per 4 Years	Cam- paign Finan-	% of Voting- age Citizens , 2020	Ratio Ratio 18-24 Minor Turnout to No minor Turnout Turno 25 and 2016 Older, 2018	ty Voting, State n- Minimum ity ut,	Access to Vote by Mai	of Days when Voters	List, Tracks Address Changes & Deaths	VBM Review: Rejection Rate, 2018	Do Votes Have a Paper Trail? 2022	Hand Tally Audits, to Check Computer Tallies?	Good Audit Sample, to Check Computer Tallies?	Audit All Contests? Number of Contests Checked		
A Montana	Yes, 1 CD	25%	\$540	No	73%	58.4% 74.1%	No rule	Broad VBM, County option to send ballot	0	Yes	0.4%	hmpb+bmd4access	Hand count	5%	4 random	Yes, unknown if images kept	52.4
A California	Yes	24%	\$14,100	No	68%	65.2% 71.7%	No rule	Broad VBM, Ballot sent	t 8	Yes	2.0%	hmpb+bmd4access	Hand count, ex. ballots tallied after election day	1%	All	No ballots, images unknown	51.4
A Illinois	No	17%	\$17,400	No	67%	55.1% 77.3%	2Sat+Sun: 14 hours on last Sat+Sun	Broad VBM, Applic.sent to all	t 14	Yes	2.2%	hmpb+bmd4access	Different machine, except VBM, provisional	5%	All	No ballots, images unknown	50.8
A Massa- chusetts	No	25%	\$4,000	Statewi	72%	58.2% 74.7%		Broad VBM, Applic.sent	t 0	Yes	5.8%	hmpb+bmd4access	Hand count	3%	6, 1 is random	Unknown release policy, not keep images	50.6
A Arizona	Yes		\$7,035			56.1% 72.4%	No rule	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	7	Yes	0.5%	hmpb+bmd4access	Hand count, except provisionals and counties where a party refuses	1%-2%		No ballots or images	50.4
A Vermont	No, 1CD	12%	\$1,820	Gov+Lt .Gov	74%	62.4% 88.4%	No rule	Broad VBM, Ballot sent to all	No cure	Yes	No signature checks	hmpb+bmd4access	Different machine	6 town, after results are fina	All	Yes ballots after 3 months, image keeping+release unknown	48.2
A Wash- ington	Yes	26%	\$3,000	No	76%	53.4% 78.3%	No rule	Broad VBM, Ballot sent	t 21	Yes	1.0%	hmpb+bmd4access	Hand count, ex.can audit just in-person machines	1%-4%	1-3	No ballots or images	48.1
A Nevada	No	23%	\$15,000	No	65%	63.8% 65.2%	3Sat. 4+hours each last 3 Sat	Broad VBM, Ballot sent	t 7	Yes	2.1%	vvpat on dre	Machines or by hand	2%	All	No ballots, images unknown	47.3
A Kansas	No	22%	\$2,000	No	66%	63.3% 79.3%	No rule	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	No cure	Yes	1.1%	bmd28% hmpb71%	Hand count	1%	3-4	Yes after certification, bu 28% DRE	<sup>Jt</sup> 45.7
A New Jersey	Yes	16%	\$7,800	Gov	75%	56.4% 81.8%	No rule	Broad VBM, Ballot sent to all	t 15	Yes	2.9%	dre72% bmd16%	No audit of dre			Unknown release policy	45.5
A Oregon	No	25%	no limi	t No	76%	60.8% 59.8%	No rule	Broad VBM, Ballot sent to all	t 14	Yes	0.0%	hmpb+bmd4access	Hand count	3-10%	3	Unknown release policy	45.1
B Delaware	No, 1CD	26%	\$900	No	71%	57.3% 95.0%	4Sat+Sun. 8 hrs/day. 7am half the days	Broad VBM, Applic.sent to all	t No cure	Yes	No signature checks	bmd	Hand count	2 machines per county, 3 districts in Wilmington	All	No ballots, images unknown	44.8
B West Virginia	No	15%	\$8,400	Justice s	58%	48.2% 65.6%	2Sat: 9-5 last 2 Sat	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	No cure	Yes	1.0%	bmd67% vvpat29%	Hand count	3%	All	No ballots, images unknown	44.7
B Dist.of Columbia	No, 1CD	58%	no limi	t No	64%	86.9% 78.6%	1Sat. 8:30-7	Broad VBM, Ballot sent to all	No cure	Yes	3.6%	hmpb+bmd4access	Hand count	5%	4 random	Unknown release policy	44.0
B Utah	Gov names tiebreaker	37%	no limi	t No	69%	57.1% 61.7%	No rule	Broad VBM, Ballot sent to all	6	Yes	0.9%	hmpb+bmd4access	Hand count	1%	All ex. Judge	No ballots, images unknown	43.6
B Georgia	No	28%	\$8,400	No	68%	62.4% 99.19	6 2Sat 9-5	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	3	Yes	No signature, use ID number	bmd	Hand count	Statistical	1	Keep images & release	43.0
B Minnesot a	No	27%	\$2,000	Both	80%	65.4% 79.2%	1Sat 10-3, last Sat	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	0	Yes	No cianaturo	hmpb+bmd4access	Hand count, except primaries	3%	3	No ballots, images unknown	42.3
B New York	No	33%	\$19,050	No	63%	64.6% 82.3%	4Sat+Sun 5+hrs both weekends	Broad VBM, ?	No cure	No	13.7%	hmpb+bmd4access	Hand count	3%	All	No ballots or images	41.5

States	С	ampa	igns		T	urnout	Access to	Early Voting an (VBM)	d Vote	by Mail		Checkin	g Election Resu	ılts			
	tisan Redis-	of Victory , State Legis- lature,	bution Limits	Cam- paign Finan-	% of Voting- age Citizens	Ratio 18-24 Minority Turnout to Non- to minority Turnout Turnout 25 and Older, 2018	Voting, State Minimum	Access to Vote by Mail	Number of Days when Voters Can Cure Signature Problems , after Election Day	List, Tracks Address Changes &	Rejection Rate, 2018	Do Votes Have a Paper Trail? 2022	Hand Tally Audits, to Check Computer Tallies?	Good Audit Sample, to Check Computer Tallies?	Audit All Contests? Number of Contests Checked	Public Can Recount with Copies of Ballots	
B lowa	Yes	23%	no limit	No	73%	54.3% 82.7%	No rule	Broad VBM, Applic.sent to all	0	Yes	No signature checks	hmpb+bmd4access	Hand count	?	1	Unknown release policy	40.3
B Missouri	Staff goals: competitiv e + fair	36%	\$6,500	No	66%	73.1% 80.7%	No law	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	No cure	Yes	No signature	hmpb+bmd4access	Hand count	5%	5	Unknown release policy	40.1
B Maryland	No	27%	\$6,000	Gov+Lt .Gov	71%	66.4% 83.4%	2Sat+Sun:last weekend	Broad VBM, Applic.sent to all	No cure	No	No signature checks	hmpb+bmd4accessi	Hand count & ndependent tally of 100% images	1%-2%, after results are fina	?	Keep+release images & ballots after recount	39.0
B Maine	No	18%	\$497	Both	76%	42.3% 64.4%	No rule	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	No cure	Yes	1.1%	hmpb+bmd4access	No audit			No ballots or images	38.8
B Wisconsi n	No	22%	\$2,000	No	76%	71.6% 72.5%	No rule	Broad VBM, Applic.sent to all	No cure	Yes	No signature checks	hmpb+bmd4access	Hand count, except primaries+early+VBM+pr ov. ballots	5%	4	Yes, unknown if images kept	38.4
B New Mexico	No	19%	\$15,000	Justice s	61%	54.9% 62.4%	2Sat: 8hrs each, last 2 Sat	Broad VBM, County option to send applic.	No cure	Yes	No signature checks	hmpb+bmd4access	Hand count	Statistical	4	No ballots, images unknown	38.2
B Connectic ut	No	21%	\$900	Both	71%	62.9% 75.0%	No law	Broad VBM, Applic.sent to all	No cure	Yes	No signature checks	hmpb+bmd4access	Machines or hand, exceptearly+VBM+prov.	5%, after results are fina	3	Law untested. Policy not to release	t 37.9
-	Nonpartis an, named by partisan officials, 1CD		\$2,000	No	69%	71.4% 66.9%	No rule	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	No cure	Yes	No signature checks	hmpb+bmd4access	Hand count, except small precincts	5%	All	No ballots or images	37.7
B Texas	No	29%	no limit	No	60%	51.9% 67.2%	No rule	VBM for limited reasons	No cure	Yes	1.8%	dre20% bmd67%	Hand count	1%		Keep+release images & ballots after 22 months, 20% DRE	37.6
B Kentucky	No	21%	\$6,000	No	65%	41.7% 94.5%	No law	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	No cure	No	6.8%	hmpb+bmd or dre,noVvpat	Hand count	3%	?	No ballots, images unknown	36.6
C Pennsylv ania	Local only	23%	no limit	No	71%	57.4% 81.8%	No rule	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	No cure	Yes	No signature checks	bmd31% hmpb69%	Machines or by hand	2%	All	No ballots or images	33.9
C Virginia	No	47%	no limit	No	73%	66.8% 84.1%	2Sat 8-5 last 2 Sat	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	No cure	Yes	No signature checks	hmpb+bmd4access	Hand count	Statistical, after results are final	?	No ballots, images unknown	33.5
C North Carolina	No	28%	\$16,200	No	71%	57.0% 88.0%	No rule	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	8	No	No signature checks	bmd14% hmpb86%	Hand count	Statistical	1	No ballots or images	33.2
C Idaho	Yes	29%	\$3,000	No	68%	41.1% 60.3%	No rule	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	No cure	No		hmpb+bmd4access	No audit, unless recount happens			Yes after recount, unknown if images kept	32.7
C Arkansas	Partisan officials	30%	\$8,100	No	56%	53.0% 85.8%	No rule	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	No cure	No	7.6%	bmd	Hand count	Statistical, after results are final		No ballots, images unknown	30.7

States	C	ampa	igns		Т	urnou	ıt	Access to	Early Voting an (VBM)	d Vote	by Mail		Checkir	g Election Resu	ults			
	Nonpar- tisan or Bipar- tisan Redis- tricting, to Avoid Gerry- manders	of Victory , State Legis- lature,	bution Limits	Cam- paign Finan-	% of Voting- age	18-24 Turnout to	Ratio Minority to Non- minority Turnout, 2018	Voting, State Minimum	Access to Vote by Mai	of Days when Voters Can Cure	List, Tracks Address Changes & Deaths	Rejection Rate, 2018	Do Votes Have a Paper Trail? 2022	Hand Tally Audits, to Check Computer Tallies?	Good Audit Sample, to Check Computer Tallies?	Audit All Contests? Number of Contests Checked	Public Can Recount with Copies of Ballots	
C Louisiana	No	11%	\$7,500	) No	65%	47.5%	90.6%	1Sat 8:30-6 M- Sa	VBM for limited reasons	No cure	Yes	5.9%	dre100%,noVvpat	No audit			Yes, but 100% DRE	29.2
C South Dakota	No, 1CD	13%	\$4,000	) No	66%	46.9%	63.9%	No rule	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	No cure	No	0.3%	hmpb+bmd4access	No audit			Yes, unknown if images kept	28.4
C South Carolina	No	37%	\$3,000	) No	65%	46.9%	100.7%	No law	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	No cure	Yes	No signature checks	bmd	No audit			Yes, unknown if images kept	26.9
C Nebraska	No	30%	no limi	t No7	70%	60.0%	57.6%	No rule	Broad VBM, Applic.sent to all	No cure	No	0.9%	hmpb+bmd4access	Not required			No ballots, images unknown	24.4
C North Dakota	No, 1CD	16%	no limi	t No6	64%	54.9%	65.2%	No rule	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	No cure	No	0.6%	hmpb+bmd4access	No audit			No ballots, images unknown	23.8
C Alabama	No	38%	no limi	t No6	63%	55.8%	88.6%	No rule	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	No cure	Yes	No signature checks	hmpb+bmd4access	No audit			Unknown release policy	23.0
C New Hampshir e	No	11%	\$15,000	) No	75%	63.4%	79.2%	No law	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	No cure	No	No signature checks	hmpb+bmd4access	No audit			No ballots or images	23.0
C Tennesse e	No	44%	\$4,800	) No	60%	59.7%		3Sat 3 hours each, last 3 Sat	VBM for limited reasons	No cure	No	2.2%	dre59% bmd27%	No audit of dre			Unknown release policy	22.7
C Mississip pi	No	78%	no limi	t No	60%	46.0%	112.2%	No law	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	No cure	No	0.8%	dre57% hmpb43%	No audit			Yes after canvass, but 57% DRE	20.7
C Indiana	No	22%	no limi	t No6	61%	60.0%	82.7%	2Sat: last 2	VBM for limited reasons	No cure	No	0.5%	dre34% bmd30%	Not required			No ballots, images unknown	20.3
C Oklahoma	No.	24%	\$2,700	) No	55%	43.0%	76.2%	1Sat 9-2	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	No cure	No	No signature checks	hmpb+dre,noVvpat 4access	Not required			No ballots, images unknown	19.9
C Wyoming	No, 1CD	22%	\$4,500	) No6	65%	36.7%	60.1%	No rule	Broad VBM, if Voter asks	No cure	No	No signature checks	bmd16% hmpb84%	No audit			Yes, unknown if images kept	19.3
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States	Campaigns  Nonpar- Margin Contri- Public T			Turnout			Access to	Early Voting an (VBM)	d Vote	by Mail	Checking Election Results							
	tisan or Bipar- tisan	of Victory , State Legis- lature,	bution Limits per 4	Cam- paign Finan-	% of Voting- age Citizens	18-24 Turnout to	Minority to Non- minority Turnout,	Voting, State Minimum	Access to Vote by Mai	of Days when Voters	List, Tracks Address Changes &	VBM Review: Rejection Rate, 2018	Do Votes Have a Paper Trail? 2022	Hand Tally Audits, to Check Computer Tallies?	Good Audit Sample, to Check Computer Tallies?	Audit All Contests? Number of Contests Checked	Public Can Recount with Copies of Ballots	
			019-10- 02- 132802- 117	w.aspx						cies.aspx								
		www.n ytimes. com/int eractiv e/2020/ 11/03/u s/electi		ballotp edia.or g/Publi c_finan cing_of _camp					https://www.gpb.org/ne ws/2021/03/26/what- does-georgias-new- voting-law-sb-202-do			https://www.nyt imes.com/inter active/2020/10/ 07/upshot/mail -voting-ballots- signature- matching.html		http://www.votewell.net/au dits.html			nttps://www.rcfp.org/oper government-sections/i- election-records/	n
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Sources: US Elections Project, Census Bureau, Ballotpedia, National Conference of State Legislators, Vote at Home Institute, Election Assistance Commission, Verified Voting, Reporters' Committee for Freedom of the Press, National Council of Secretaries of State