

## Conclusion

Building confidence in U.S. elections is central to our nation's democracy. The vigor of our democracy depends on an active and engaged citizenry who believe that their votes matter and are counted accurately. The reforms needed to keep our electoral system healthy are an inexpensive investment in the stability and progress of our country.

As a nation, we need to pursue the vision of a society where most Americans see their votes as both a right and a privilege, where they cast their votes in a way that leaves them proud of themselves as citizens and of democracy in the United States. Ours should be a society where registering to vote is convenient, voting is efficient and pleasant, voting machines work properly, fraud is minimized, and disputes are handled fairly and expeditiously.

This report represents a comprehensive proposal for accomplishing those goals and modernizing our electoral system. We have sought to transcend partisan divides with recommendations that will both assure the integrity of the system and widen access. No doubt, there will be some who prefer some recommendations and others who prefer other proposals, but we hope that all will recognize, as we do, that the best way to improve our electoral system is to accept the validity of both sets of concerns.

The five pillars of our proposal represent an innovative and comprehensive approach. They break new ground in the following ways:

First, we propose a universal, state-based, top-down, interactive, and interoperable registration list that will, if implemented successfully, eliminate the vast majority of complaints currently leveled against the election system. States will retain control over their registration lists, but a distributed database offers a way to remove interstate duplicates and maintain an up-to-date, fully accurate registration list for the nation.

Second, we propose that all states require a valid photo ID card, which would be a slightly modified REAL ID or a photo ID that is based on an EAC-template (which is equivalent to the REAL ID without the drivers license). However, instead of allowing the ID to be a new barrier to voting, we propose using it to enfranchise new and more voters than ever before. The states would play a much more affirmative role of reaching out to the underserved communities by providing them more offices, including mobile ones, to register them and provide photo IDs free of charge. In addition, we offer procedural and institutional safeguards to make sure that the card is not abused and that voters will not be disenfranchised because of the need for an ID.

Third, we propose measures that will increase voting participation by connecting registration and the ID process, making voting more convenient, diminishing irregularities, and offering more information on voting.



Commission Co-Chair Jimmy Carter  
and Executive Director Robert Pastor  
(American University Photo/Wilford Harewood)

Fourth, we propose ways to give confidence to voters that use the new electronic voting machines to ensure that their vote will be recorded accurately and there will be an auditable backup on paper (with the understanding that alternative technologies may be available in the future). Our proposals also aim to make sure that people with disabilities have full access to voting and the opportunity to do so privately and independently like other voters.

Finally, we recommend a restructuring of the system by which elections have been administered in our country. We propose that the Election Assistance Commission and state election management bodies be reconstituted on a nonpartisan basis to become more professional, independent, and effective.

Election reform is neither easy nor inexpensive. Nor can we succeed if we think of providing funds on a one-time basis. We need to view the administration of elections as a continuing challenge for the entire government, and one that requires the highest priority of our citizens and our government.

For more than two centuries, our country has taught the world about the significance of democracy, but more recently, we have evinced a reluctance to learn from others. Typical of this gap is that we insist other countries open their elections to international observers, but our states close their doors or set unfair restrictions on election observing. We recommend changing that provision and also building on the innovations of the new democracies by establishing new election management bodies that are independent, nonpartisan, and effective with a set of procedures that would make American democracy, once again, the model for the world.

The new electoral edifice that we recommend is built on the five pillars of reforms. Democrats, Republicans, and Independents may differ on which of these pillars are the most important, but we have come to understand that all are needed to improve our electoral system. Indeed, we believe that the structure is greater than the sum of its pillars. Substantively, the system's integrity is strengthened by the increased access of its citizens, and voter confidence is raised by accuracy and security of new technology and enforcement of election laws. And the political support necessary to implement these reforms is more likely to materialize if all the pillars are viewed as part of an entire approach. If adequately funded and implemented, this new approach will move America down the path of transforming the vision of a model democracy into reality.

## APPENDIX

# Estimated Costs of Recommended Improvements

The Commission's recommendations are estimated to cost \$1.35 billion to implement. This estimate is the sum of the cost of making state voter databases interoperable and upgrading voting machines to make them both accessible and transparent.

The total cost for making voter databases interoperable is estimated at \$287 million. This cost breaks down as follows:

- The 11 states without top-down voter registration systems will need to spend a total of \$74 million to build such systems.<sup>78</sup>
- The system to share voter data among states is estimated to cost \$77 million.<sup>79</sup>
- The cost for all states to adopt the recommended template for shared voter data is estimated at \$21 million. Since every state except Vermont requires a Social Security number to issue a driver's license, states will need to collect Social Security numbers from only a small portion of the adult population.<sup>80</sup>
- Since all states currently collect digital images of signatures when they issue driver's licenses, there will be no significant cost for collecting signature images for voter registration.
- For voter identification, states that use REAL ID for voting purposes will need additional funds only to provide a template form of ID to non-drivers. The template form of ID will be issued to an estimated 23 million U.S. citizen non-drivers at a cost of \$115 million.<sup>81</sup>

The total cost for upgrading voting machines, to make them both accessible and transparent, is estimated at \$1.06 billion. This is the amount needed, in addition to the HAVA funds already obligated, to replace remaining punch card and lever machines with direct recording electronic (DRE) systems or with optical scan systems with a computer-assisted marking device for blind and visually impaired voters, to retrofit DREs with a voter-verifiable paper audit trail, and to add a ballot marking device for blind voters to existing optical scan systems. The estimates are based on current distributions of various voting machines and on current costs for DREs, voter-verifiable paper audit trails, and ballot-marking devices for optical scan systems.

The Commission recommends that Congress provide \$1.35 billion in funding over a two-year period, so that voter databases will be made interoperable and voting machine upgrades will be completed before the 2008 elections.

## ENDNOTES

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- <sup>2</sup> The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, “Voters Liked Campaign 2004, But Too Much ‘Mud-Slinging,’” November 11, 2004, available at <<http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=233>>.
- <sup>3</sup> Milwaukee Police Department, Milwaukee County District Attorney’s Office, Federal Bureau of Investigation, and United States Attorney’s Office Task Force, *Preliminary Findings of Joint Task Force Investigating Possible Election Fraud*. May 10, 2005. Available at <<http://www.wispolitics.com/1006/electionfraud.pdf>>.
- <sup>4</sup> “Dead voters on rolls,” *Chicago Tribune*, December 4, 2004.
- <sup>5</sup> The following democracies constitute some of the nearly 100 countries that utilize a national ID system: Belgium, Cost Rica, Germany, India, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, South Africa, and Spain. See Privacy.org, “Identity Cards: FAQ,” August 24, 1996, available at <[http://www.privacy.org/pi/activities/idcard/idcard\\_faq.html](http://www.privacy.org/pi/activities/idcard/idcard_faq.html)>
- <sup>6</sup> Jason P. Schacter, “Geographical Mobility: 2002 to 2003.” *Current Population Reports*. US Census Bureau (March 2004). Available at: <http://www.census.gov/prod/2004pubs/p20-549.pdf>.
- <sup>7</sup> In addition to the 38 states with top-down voter registration systems, 6 states are developing bottom-up systems, 2 will use systems with both top-down and bottom-up elements, and 3 have yet to finalize their plans. North Dakota does not require voter registration. See Electionline.org, *Assorted Rolls: Statewide Voter Registration Databases Under HAVA*, June 2005, p. 3, available at <[www.electionline.org/Portals/1/Assorted percent20Rolls.pdf](http://www.electionline.org/Portals/1/Assorted%20Rolls.pdf)>.
- <sup>8</sup> “Exposed: Scandal of double voters,” *New York Daily News*, August 21, 2004 and “Double votes taint Florida, records show,” *Orlando Sentinel*, October 23, 2004.
- <sup>9</sup> “Report: As many as 60,000 people file to vote in both Carolinas,” Associated Press, October 24, 2004.
- <sup>10</sup> “Exposed: Scandal of Double Voters,” *New York Daily News*, August 21, 2004.
- <sup>11</sup> The introduction of electronic transaction standards would also facilitate cross-state exchanges of voter data, see R. Michael Alvarez and Thad E. Hall, “The Next Big Election Challenge: Developing Electronic Data Transaction Standards for Election Administration,” Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, July 2005, pp. 19-21.
- <sup>12</sup> “Overview of States Driver’s License Requirements”, National Immigration Law Center, July 12, 2005, available at <[www.nilc.org/immspbs/DLs/state\\_dl\\_rqrmts\\_ovrvw\\_071205.pdf](http://www.nilc.org/immspbs/DLs/state_dl_rqrmts_ovrvw_071205.pdf)>. Alabama also collects Social Security numbers for driver’s licenses, according to Commission staff conversation with Alabama’s Motor Vehicle Division in August 2005.
- <sup>13</sup> Except for Vermont, all states require a Social Security Number for a driver’s license, at least from people who were assigned a Social Security Number or are eligible for one.

- <sup>14</sup> Voters should also have the opportunity to check their registration over the phone, via a toll-free number, or in person at the elections office.
- <sup>15</sup> Electionline.org, *Solution or Problem? Provisional Ballots in 2004*, April 2005, p. 2, available at <<http://electiononline.org/Portals/1/Publications/ERIP10Apr05.pdf>>.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid, p.5.
- <sup>17</sup> In states with unified databases, provisional ballots constituted .85 percent of the total ballots cast whereas in the states without unified databases, provisional ballots constituted 1.76 percent of the total. See Electionline.org, *Solution or Problem? Provisional Ballots in 2004*, Washington, D.C., April 2005.
- <sup>18</sup> Testimony before the Commission by Ken Smukler, President of Info Voter Technologies, on June 30, 2005.
- <sup>19</sup> Details were provided in Section 1.1.
- <sup>20</sup> ID is required of all voters in 22 states and of all first-time voters in another two states, according to Electionline.org, <<http://electionline.org/Default.aspx?tabid=364>>.
- <sup>21</sup> Provided by Electionline.org, <[www.electionline.org/Default.aspx?tabid=473](http://www.electionline.org/Default.aspx?tabid=473)>.
- <sup>22</sup> A comparison of driver's license records and census data for 2003 suggests that about 88 percent of Americans aged 18 and over have a driver's license, see U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, *Licensed Total Drivers, By Age, 2003*, Table DL-22, Oct. 2004, at <[www.fhwa.dot.gov/policy/ohim/hs03/htm/dl22.htm](http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/policy/ohim/hs03/htm/dl22.htm)>, and U.S. Census Bureau, *Annual Estimates of the Population by Selected Age Groups and Sex for the United States: April 1, 2000 to July 1, 2004*, (June 2005), available at <[www.census.gov/popest/national/asrh/NC-EST2004-sa.html](http://www.census.gov/popest/national/asrh/NC-EST2004-sa.html)>.
- <sup>23</sup> U.S. Government Accountability Office, *Elections: Additional Data Could Help State and Local Elections Officials Maintain Accurate Voter Registration Lists*, GAO-05-478, June 2005, pp. 13-29.
- <sup>24</sup> U.S. Election Assistance Commission, *The Impact of the National Voter Registration Act, 2003-2004*, June 30, 2005, pp. 16 and 20.
- <sup>25</sup> Data on voter registration in Alaska is contained in U.S. Election Assistance Commission, "The Impact of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 on the Administration of Elections for Federal Office: 2003-2004," Table 1: Registration History. Other examples include 34 of the 82 counties in Mississippi and the City of East St. Louis, see Emily W. Pettus, "Secretary of state seeks proposals on statewide voter roll," *Associated Press*, September 1, 2004, and Mike Fitzgerald, "Dual registration: a recipe for fraud?" *Belleview News-Democrat*, November 28, 2004.
- <sup>26</sup> For example, see Australian National Audit Office, *Integrity of the Electoral Roll*, April 2002: <[www.anao.gov.au/WebSite.nsf/Publications/4A256AE90015F69BCA256B9E007B5F52](http://www.anao.gov.au/WebSite.nsf/Publications/4A256AE90015F69BCA256B9E007B5F52)>. This audit estimated that Australia's electoral rolls were 96 percent accurate, 95 percent complete, and 99 percent valid.
- <sup>27</sup> The residual vote rates fell by 0.79 percent in counties where lever machines were replaced by direct recording electronic (DRE) machines and by 1.46 percent in counties where punch cards were replaced by DREs, according to Charles Stewart, *Residual Vote in the 2004 Election*, Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project Working Paper, February 2005, Table 2.

- <sup>28</sup> Election Data Services, <[www.electiondataservices.com/VotingSummary2004\\_20040805.pdf](http://www.electiondataservices.com/VotingSummary2004_20040805.pdf)>.
- <sup>29</sup> Dan Keating, “Lost Votes in N.M. a Cautionary Tale,” *Washington Post*, August 22, 2004, and “Nearly 40 votes may have been lost in Palm Beach County,” *Associated Press*, November 2, 2004.
- <sup>30</sup> Electionline.org, <<http://www.electionline.org/Default.aspx?tabid=290>>.
- <sup>31</sup> Ted Selker, “Processes Can Improve Electronic Voting,” Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, October 2004, available at <[http://www.vote.caltech.edu/media/documents/vtp\\_wp17.pdf](http://www.vote.caltech.edu/media/documents/vtp_wp17.pdf)>.
- <sup>32</sup> Manual audits of voting machines are required in Colorado, Connecticut, Hawaii, Illinois, Minnesota, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Washington, and West Virginia, according to Verified Voting Foundation, “Manual Audit Requirement,” August 18, 2005, available at <[www.verifiedvoting.org/downloads/Manual\\_Audit\\_Provisions.pdf](http://www.verifiedvoting.org/downloads/Manual_Audit_Provisions.pdf)>.
- <sup>33</sup> Ted Selker and Jon Goler, “Security Vulnerabilities and Problems with VVPT,” Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, April 2004, available at <[http://vote.caltech.edu/media/documents/wps/vtp\\_wp16.pdf](http://vote.caltech.edu/media/documents/wps/vtp_wp16.pdf)>.
- <sup>34</sup> “Voting Machine Fails Inspection,” *CNETNews.com*, July 23, 2003 and “New Security Woes for E-Vote Firm,” *WiredNews.com*, August 7, 2003.
- <sup>35</sup> In California’s field test, about one in ten machines malfunctioned, see “Voting Machines Touch and Go,” *Associated Press*, July 30, 2005.
- <sup>36</sup> Internet Policy Institute, *Report of the National Workshop on Internet Voting: Issues and Research Agenda*, March 2001. Available at <<http://news.findlaw.com/hdocs/docs/election2000/nsfe-voterprt.pdf>>.
- <sup>37</sup> Curtis Gans, “Making it Easier Doesn’t Work: No Excuse Absentee and Early Voting Hurt Voter Turnout,” Center for the Study of the American Electorate, September 13, 2004, available at <[http://www.american.edu/ia/cfer/research/csae\\_09132004.pdf](http://www.american.edu/ia/cfer/research/csae_09132004.pdf)>.
- <sup>38</sup> Testimony before the Commission by Robert Stein, Dean of Social Sciences at Rice University, on June 30, 2005.
- <sup>39</sup> *Balancing Access and Integrity: The Report of the Century Foundation working Group on State Implementation of Election Reform* (N.Y. the Century Foundation Press, 2005), pp. 25-26.
- <sup>40</sup> Curtis Gans, “Making it Easier Doesn’t Work: No Excuse Absentee and Early Voting Hurt Voter Turnout,” Center for the Study of the American Electorate, September 13, 2004, available at <[http://www.american.edu/ia/cfer/research/csae\\_09132004.pdf](http://www.american.edu/ia/cfer/research/csae_09132004.pdf)>.
- <sup>41</sup> Superior Court of the State of Washington for Chelan County, Final Judgment Dismissing Election Contest with Prejudice and Confirming Certification of Election of Christine Gregoire, Court Decision No. 05-2-00027-3, June 6, 2005.
- <sup>42</sup> United States General Accounting Office. “Elections: Issues Affecting Military and Overseas Absentee Voters,” May 2001, available at: <<http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d01704t.pdf>>, p.1.
- <sup>43</sup> National Defense Committee, *Military and Overseas Absentee Voting in the 2004 Presidential Election*, March 30, 2005, available at <[www.nationaldefensecommittee.org/media/pdf/NDCmavexecsumfinal-33005.pdf](http://www.nationaldefensecommittee.org/media/pdf/NDCmavexecsumfinal-33005.pdf)>.

- <sup>44</sup> David Jefferson, Aviel D. Rubin, Barbara Simons, and David Wagner, *A Security Analysis of the Secure Electronic Registration and Voting Experiment*, January 20, 2004, <[www.servesecurityreport.org/](http://www.servesecurityreport.org/)>.
- <sup>45</sup> Information provided to the Commission by the Federal Voting Assistance Program.
- <sup>46</sup> Testimony before the Commission by James Dickson, Vice President at the American Association of People with Disabilities, on April 18, 2005.
- <sup>47</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>48</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>49</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>50</sup> Alabama, Arizona, Delaware, Maryland, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, Tennessee, Washington, and Wyoming have a permanent ban on voting by certain categories of ex-felons, according to the Sentencing Project, <[www.sentencingproject.org/pdfs/1046.pdf](http://www.sentencingproject.org/pdfs/1046.pdf)>.
- <sup>51</sup> Census data provided by the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE), available at <[www.civicyouth.org/PopUps/ReleaseCPS04\\_Youth.pdf](http://www.civicyouth.org/PopUps/ReleaseCPS04_Youth.pdf)>.
- <sup>52</sup> Karl T. Kurtz, Alan Rosenthal, and Cliff Zukin, *Citizenship: A Challenge for All Generations*, National Conference of State Legislatures, September 2003, available at <[www.ncsl.org/public/trust/citizenship.pdf](http://www.ncsl.org/public/trust/citizenship.pdf)>.
- <sup>53</sup> Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools and Alliance for Representative Democracy, “From Classroom to Citizen: American Attitudes on Civic Education,” December 2004, available at <[www.representativedemocracy.org/CivicEdSurveyReport.pdf](http://www.representativedemocracy.org/CivicEdSurveyReport.pdf)>.
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- <sup>55</sup> U.S. Government Accountability Office, *Elections: Additional Data Could Help State and Local Elections Officials Maintain Accurate Voter Registration Lists*, GAO-05-478, June 2005, pp. 59-60.
- <sup>56</sup> *Balancing Access and Integrity: The Report of the Century Foundation working Group on State Implementation of Election Reform* (N.Y. the Century Foundation Press, 2005), pp. 67-69.
- <sup>57</sup> John Fund, *Stealing Elections: How Voter Fraud Threatens Our Democracy* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2004), p. 103.
- <sup>58</sup> Joe Stinebaker, “Loophole lets foreigners illegally vote,” *Houston Chronicle*, January 16, 2005, and Robert Redding, “Purging illegal aliens from voter rolls not easy: Maryland thwarted in tries so far,” *Washington Times*, August 23, 2004.
- <sup>59</sup> Susan Greene and Karen E. Crummy, “Vote Fraud Probed In State,” *Denver Post*, March 24, 2005; Brendan Farrington, “Fla. Officials Asked To Probe Vote Fraud,” *Associated Press*, October 7, 2004; Dawson Bell, “Campaign Workers Suspected Of Fraud,” *Detroit Free Press*, September 23, 2004; “Man Pleads Guilty In Voter Registration Scam,” *Associated Press*, December 7, 2004; Robert Patrick, “Jury Finds Montgomery Guilty In Vote Fraud Case,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 11, 2005; Nevada Secretary Of State, “Alleged Vote Fraud Investigations Ongoing,” Press Release, October 28, 2004; Dan McKay, “Election ‘Mischief’ Under Scrutiny,” *Albuquerque Journal*, September 10, 2004; “Voter Registration Investigation One Of Largest In Recent Years,” *Associated Press*, September 23, 2004; Greg

J. Borowski, "Inquiry Finds Evidence Of Fraud In Election," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, May 11, 2005; U.S. Department of Justice, Criminal Division, Public Integrity Section, *Election Fraud Prosecutions and Convictions: Ballot Access & Voting Integrity Initiative*, October 2002 - July, 2005.

- <sup>60</sup> A Rasmussen Reports poll just before the November 2004 elections showed that 58 percent of American voters believed there was "a lot" or "some" fraud in U.S. elections, and in a post-election NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* poll, more than a quarter of Americans worried that the vote count for president in 2004 was unfair, quoted in Rick Hasen, "Beyond the Margin of Litigation: Reforming Election Administration to Avoid Electoral Meltdown," Paper prepared for American Political Science Association meeting, September 1, 2005, pp. 7-8, available at [http://convention2.allacademic.com/getfile.php?file=apsa05\\_proceeding/2005-07-29/41404/apsa05\\_proceeding\\_41404.pdf&PHPSESSID=c47830ae1716d461356f998599faea17](http://convention2.allacademic.com/getfile.php?file=apsa05_proceeding/2005-07-29/41404/apsa05_proceeding_41404.pdf&PHPSESSID=c47830ae1716d461356f998599faea17) >.
- <sup>61</sup> *Ibid*, p. 9.
- <sup>62</sup> *Ibid*, p. 29.
- <sup>63</sup> International IDEA, Code of Conduct for the Ethical and Professional Administration of Elections, 1997, <[www.idea.int/publications/conduct\\_admin/upload/adm\\_english.pdf](http://www.idea.int/publications/conduct_admin/upload/adm_english.pdf)>.
- <sup>64</sup> United States Election Assistance Commission, *Background on the Help America Vote College Poll Worker Program*. <[http://www.eac.gov/coll\\_poll\\_background.asp](http://www.eac.gov/coll_poll_background.asp)>; Associated Press, "US short of poll workers" November 1, 2004, *Fox News*. Available at: <<http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,137242,00.html>>
- <sup>65</sup> The Voting Rights Institute, *Democracy at Risk: the 2004 Election in Ohio* (Washington, D.C.: Democratic National Committee, 2005).
- <sup>66</sup> U.S. Department of Justice's investigations in Franklin County and in Knox County, Ohio found no evidence that the allocation of voting machines was conducted in a discriminatory manner, see <[www.usdoj.gov/crt/voting/misc/franklin\\_oh.htm](http://www.usdoj.gov/crt/voting/misc/franklin_oh.htm)> and <[www.usdoj.gov/crt/voting/misc/knox.htm](http://www.usdoj.gov/crt/voting/misc/knox.htm)>. In fact, the distribution of voting machines was determined by each county's Board of Elections, and half the members of each Board of Elections are Democrats.
- <sup>67</sup> Rule §81.125 of Texas Administrative Code, available at <[http://info.sos.state.tx.us/pls/pub/readtac\\$ext.TacPage?sl=R&app=9&p\\_dir=&p\\_rloc=&p\\_tloc=&p\\_ploc=&pg=1&p\\_tac=&ti=1&pt=4&ch=81&rl=125](http://info.sos.state.tx.us/pls/pub/readtac$ext.TacPage?sl=R&app=9&p_dir=&p_rloc=&p_tloc=&p_ploc=&pg=1&p_tac=&ti=1&pt=4&ch=81&rl=125)>.
- <sup>68</sup> A strong example of funding for elections research is the \$7.5 million awarded by the National Science Foundation on August 15, 2005 for a collaborative project of six institutions to study the reliability, security, transparency, and auditability of voting systems.
- <sup>69</sup> California Secretary of State *Historical Close Of Registration Statistics: Presidential General Elections*, May 2004, available at <[www.ss.ca.gov/elections/ror/reg\\_stats\\_10\\_18\\_04.pdf](http://www.ss.ca.gov/elections/ror/reg_stats_10_18_04.pdf)>; Wyoming Secretary of State, *Profile of Wyoming's Voters: Voter Registration and Voter Turnout*, Associated Press, 2004. Available at <[sos.wy.state.wy.us/election/profile.htm](http://sos.wy.state.wy.us/election/profile.htm)>. *Election cost — \$4 billion and climbing: most money went for ads, but other expenses not chicken feed*. Available at <[www.msnbc.msn.com/id/6388580/](http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/6388580/)>.

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- <sup>73</sup> Analysis by the Norman Lear Center at the Annenberg School for Communication of the University of Southern California, <[www.bettercampaigns.org/standard/display.php?StoryID=328](http://www.bettercampaigns.org/standard/display.php?StoryID=328)>.
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- <sup>76</sup> National Association of Secretaries of State, “International Election Protocol Resolution,” and supporting language, July 24, 2005, available at <[www.nass.org/International Election Protocol Resolution.pdf](http://www.nass.org/International%20Election%20Protocol%20Resolution.pdf)> and <[www.nass.org/International Elections Protocol Language.pdf](http://www.nass.org/International%20Elections%20Protocol%20Language.pdf)>.
- <sup>77</sup> Six states passed measures to move forward the date of their presidential primaries and eight states passed measures to cancel their presidential primary for 2004, see <[www.ncsl.org/programs/legman/elect/taskfc/Changing-EliminatingPP.htm](http://www.ncsl.org/programs/legman/elect/taskfc/Changing-EliminatingPP.htm)>.
- <sup>78</sup> Estimate is based on the average amounts other states are currently spending to build top-down voter registration systems and excludes HAVA funds that have already been disbursed for this purpose see Electiononline.org, *Assorted Rolls: Statewide Voter Registration Databases Under HAVA*, <[http://electionline.org/Portals/1/Assorted Rolls.pdf](http://electionline.org/Portals/1/Assorted%20Rolls.pdf)>.
- <sup>79</sup> Figure includes both the cost to upgrade existing state databases to make them interoperable in real time and the cost to build a voter registration distributed database linked to the individual state servers. The former (\$48 million) is based on the average cost to make existing state driver’s license databases interoperable with each other as determined by the Congressional Budget Office, see “H.R. 418: REAL ID Act of 2005,” Congressional Budget Office, <<http://www.cbo.gov/showdoc.cfm?index=6072&sequence=0>>. The latter (\$29 million) is based on the market cost to purchase, secure, maintain, and link to the states through leased lines a central database that benchmarks 57,346 transactions per minute.

- <sup>80</sup> The cost to collect Social Security numbers is tantamount to registering voters. The Office of the Chief Electoral Officer of Canada calculates the cost to registering 19.6 million voters in the 1997 national elections at approximately \$18 million. This produces a statistic of \$0.92 to register each person, see *Voter Turnout*, electionguide.org, <<http://www.electionguide.org/turnout.htm>> and *Voting for Democracy: Notes on the Canadian Experience*, Office of the Chief Electoral Officer of Canada, March 1998, <[http://www.aceproject.org/main/samples/vr/vrx\\_w005.pdf](http://www.aceproject.org/main/samples/vr/vrx_w005.pdf)>. For data on the distribution of driver's licenses, see "Highway Statistics 2003," U.S. Department of Transportation, <<http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/policy/ohim/hs03/hm/dl22.htm>>.
- <sup>81</sup> The cost per card is estimated at \$5. This figure includes approximate administrative, infrastructure, and issuance costs, see Stephen Moore, "Congressional testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Immigration and Claims, Judiciary Committee," May 13, 1997, available at <<http://www.cato.org/testimony/ct-sm051397.html>> and "The debate over a national identification card," The Century Foundation, Homeland Security Project, available at <[http://www.tcf.org/Publications/HomelandSecurity/National\\_ID\\_Card.pdf](http://www.tcf.org/Publications/HomelandSecurity/National_ID_Card.pdf)>.
- <sup>82</sup> The estimated costs for the various voting machines are as follows: Direct Recording Electronic with a Voter-Verified Paper Audit Trail (DRE/VVPAT)—\$4,000; retrofitting a DRE machine with a VVPAT—\$1,000; optical scanner (OS)—\$5,000; and ballot marking device for an optical scan system—\$4,500. Machine cost data is collected from many sources, including: Verifiedvoting.org, "Appendix 4: Cost Comparison of Alternative Solutions," <[http://www.verifiedvoting.org/downloads/CT\\_SOTS1appendix\\_43.pdf](http://www.verifiedvoting.org/downloads/CT_SOTS1appendix_43.pdf)>; Caleb Kleppner, *State of the Industry: Compatibility of Voting Equipment with Ranked Ballots*, Center for Voting and Democracy, 2001, <<http://www.fairvote.org/administration/industry.rtf>>; Bo Lipari, "Analysis of Acquisition Costs of DRE and Precinct Based Optical Scan Voting Equipment for New York State," New Yorkers for Verified Voting, 2005, <<http://www.nyv.org/doc/AcquisitionCostDREvOptScanNYS.pdf>>. For details on the distribution of machine technology, see Election Data Services, *Voting Equipment Summary by Type*, 2004, <[http://www.electiondataservices.com/VotingSummary2004\\_20040805.pdf](http://www.electiondataservices.com/VotingSummary2004_20040805.pdf)>.