

SAFEGUARDING OUR ELECTIONS

**Critical Reforms to Secure
Voter Integrity and Rebuild
Confidence in American Elections**

FEBRUARY 2025



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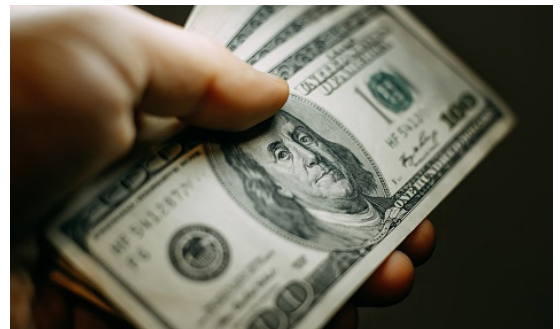
Critical Reforms to Secure Voter Integrity and Rebuild Confidence in American Elections

HONEST RULES FOR HONEST ELECTIONS

1. Stop foreign influence in elections.
2. Ban Ranked-Choice Voting.
3. Block “Zuck Bucks 2.0” and other private election funding schemes.
4. Require transparency and robust post-election audits of election processes and procedures.
5. Ban non-citizen voting in all elections.
6. Maintain clean and accurate voter rolls.
7. Require Voter ID for every ballot.
8. Ensure that elected lawmakers write election laws.
9. Require prompt and accurate election results.
10. Protect the integrity of the voter registration process.
11. Secure early and mail voting laws.
12. Protect vulnerable mail ballots.
13. Investigate and prosecute election crimes.
14. Consolidate election dates.

1. Stop foreign influence in elections.

It is illegal for foreign nationals to contribute to political candidates, but a legal loophole allows them to contribute both directly and indirectly to ballot measure campaigns. A single left-wing group, the Sixteen Thirty Fund, has simultaneously accepted approximately \$243 million from foreign billionaire Hansjörg Wyss and spent \$130 million supporting or opposing ballot issue campaigns in 25 states.¹ Ballot issues can rewrite election laws and change state Constitutions. These campaigns should not be a Trojan Horse for foreign influence, whether from activists like Wyss or hostile foreign powers like China and Russia.



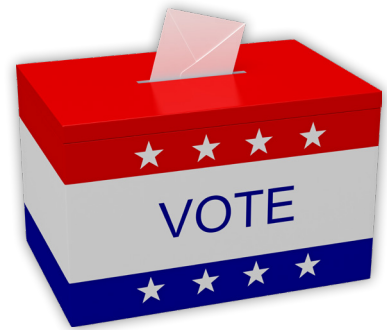
In 2024, Ohio enacted a groundbreaking new law banning foreign nationals from directly or indirectly financing ballot issue campaigns.² HEP has developed model state legislation to block foreign interference in state ballot issue campaigns.

- Recent polling shows that 78% of Americans do not want foreign nationals influencing elections.³
- To ban foreign influence in ballot measure campaigns, the HEP model⁴:
 - o Prohibits foreign nationals from directly or indirectly financing ballot measure campaigns.
 - o Prohibits foreign nationals from directly or indirectly financing independent expenditure campaigns supporting or opposing a ballot measure.
 - o Provides a range of enforcement mechanisms and penalties to ensure compliance.
 - o Protects against the risk of donor disclosure and safeguards the free speech and privacy rights of American citizens.



2. Ban Ranked-Choice Voting.

RCV makes it harder to vote, harder to understand election results, and harder to trust the voting process. Nevertheless, a small group of left-wing megadonors are pushing RCV as a way to drag politics to the left.⁵ In 2024, donors like John and Laura Arnold collectively spent \$100 million on ballot measures to bring RCV to six new states.⁶ Voters rejected them all, defeating ballot issues in states as diverse as Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, and Oregon.



As of 2024, eleven states have banned RCV, more than double the number in 2023. This includes Missouri where voters enshrined a ban in the state's constitution. The 2024 election proved that there is no public appetite for RCV. Nevertheless, the donors and groups behind RCV have already indicated they will double down and continue pushing for RCV nationwide.⁷

- State legislatures should ban RCV for public elections at all levels of government.⁸
- Ranked-choice voting is sometimes disguised using different names—Instant-runoff voting, “Final Four” or “Final Five” voting, and others—but it always involves ranking multiple candidates for public office.
- The most common variation of RCV is “Final Five Voting,” a scheme to replace party primaries with jungle primaries in which candidates from all parties compete in a single primary. The top five vote-getters then advance, and voters rank them in order of preference in the general election. The winner is computed by eliminating candidates and redistributing votes.⁹



3. Block “Zuck Bucks 2.0” and other private election funding schemes.

Elections should be accountable to the public, not to special interest groups and liberal megadonors. In 2020, left-wing nonprofits pumped more than \$400 million from Meta CEO Mark Zuckerberg into thousands of election offices, giving more money to places that ultimately voted for Joe Biden.



Dozens of states have banned or restricted private election grants, but the group behind “Zuck Bucks,” the Center for Tech and Civic Life (CTCL), created a new \$80 million program, the U.S. Alliance for Election Excellence, to skirt these laws and influence election offices across America. CTCL and its allies also continue to offer substantial grants to jurisdictions in states without private funding bans, such as a new program targeting rural offices in 2024.¹⁰

- The Alliance evades states’ “Zuck Buck” bans by operating as a membership-based organization. Election offices pay a fee to join and records show the fee is then converted into “credits” which can be used to “purchase” supplemented services from CTCL and its left-wing partners.¹¹
- Though the Alliance website now conceals its partner organizations, early announcements revealed its leading groups to be the Center for Tech and Civic Life, the Institute for Responsive Government, the Center for Secure and Modern Elections, the Elections Group, and more. All have deep ties to partisan-left-wing politics and major donors.
- Two of these groups, the Institute for Responsive Government and the Center for Secure and Modern Elections, are projects of New Venture Fund. NVF is a key part of the Arabella Advisors network, one of the largest hubs for left-wing dark money in the country. NVF has also received substantial donations from Swiss billionaire Hansjörg Wyss, raising concerns that the Alliance could be a conduit for foreign influence in elections.¹²
- To ban Zuck Bucks 2.0, states should:
 - Ban private election funding, including in-kind contributions.
 - Bar election officials from joining any programs operated by entities that offer private election grants.
 - Require organizations offering services or training to certify they are free of foreign funds.
 - Require officials that join Alliance-type programs in their private capacities to disclose membership to the public.¹³



4. Require transparency and robust post-election audits of election processes and procedures.

Transparency is key to public trust in elections. Election audits should go beyond merely confirming results, and ensure that election laws, policies, and procedures are properly followed.

- Elections offices should be subject to routine post-election process audits, with jurisdictions audited at least once every eight years.¹⁴
- The chief election officer for each state should produce a public report after each general election evaluating the performance of officials and equipment, identifying major issues, and recommending reforms to improve efficiency and security.
- Voting machines should be required to produce a voter-verifiable and auditable paper trail. States should require that jurisdictions maintain a full chain of custody for each ballot, and the use of multiparty teams.
- Ensure robust pre- and post-election logic and accuracy testing and auditing of voting machines and software in a public forum. Ensure that voting equipment is properly sealed and secured throughout the voting period.
- Every stage of voting, processing, and tabulation should be open to observation, with uniform standards that ensure authorized observers can adequately view all aspects of the process.



5. Ban noncitizen voting in all elections.

American elections should be decided by American citizens, but a growing number of cities including New York City and Washington, D.C., are responding to liberal pressure and working to enfranchise noncitizens and illegal aliens.

- Most state constitutions grant voting rights to “any” or “every” citizen, open-ended language that liberal activists argue permits localities to authorize noncitizen and even illegal alien voting. States should amend their constitutions to instead permit “only” citizens may vote.¹⁵
- Prior to 2024, seven states expressly banned noncitizen voting: Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Louisiana, North Dakota, and Ohio.
- During 2024, eight states considered—and all passed—ballot measures to require citizenship to vote. Those states are Iowa, Idaho, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Wisconsin.¹⁶
- Voters approve of constitutional amendments to ban noncitizen voting by overwhelming margins. Roughly 77% of Iowa voters and the same percentage of Ohio voters approved measures in 2024 and 2022, respectively, while nearly 63% of Colorado voters approved a similar measure in 2020.¹⁷



6. Maintain clean and accurate voter rolls.

Old and erroneous voter registrations must be removed, with adequate safeguards to protect valid registrations.

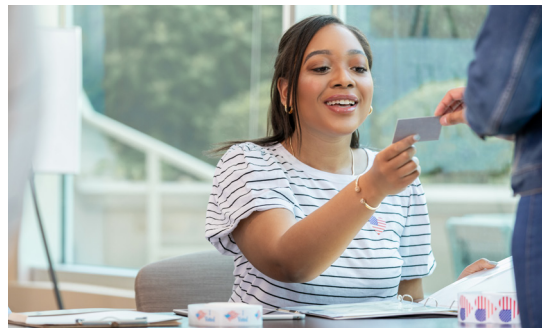
- State law should require election officials to promptly act upon information of outdated and inaccurate voter registrations, and initiate list maintenance procedures as expeditiously as the National Voter Registration Act permits.¹⁸
- Every state should provide voters with a means to cancel their voter registrations upon request, if such a mechanism does not already exist.
- Congress should amend the NVRA to require voters, as a condition of voter registration, to provide the previous address at which they were registered (if applicable) and to consent to the removal of their old registration.
- Each state’s chief election officer should be required to report to the legislature and public annually a complete account of all list maintenance actions taken, including the total number of registrations removed and added in a given year by category of action.
- State voter files should be publicly available and accessible. Chief election officers should be required to maintain monthly snapshots of the state’s voter file for at least six years.
- States should vet voter rolls routinely and periodically against National Change of Address (NCOA), Social Security Death Index, DMV, and other reliable and available records, including commercial databases’ and data from other states. Courts should be required to notify election officials of disqualifying felony convictions and juror dismissals due to non-citizenship.¹⁹
- States should explore and engage in interstate partnerships and other programs designed to facilitate cross-state voter list maintenance.



7. **Require voter ID for every ballot.**

Voter identification should be required for every ballot, whether it is voted in person or by mail. Objective identification standards will reduce errors and make cheating harder.

- In-person voters should be required to produce a government-issued photo ID to vote, with limited and clearly defined exceptions that allow a voter to vote using an acceptable form of non-photographic ID.²⁰
- Every driver's license and state ID issued to noncitizens should be required to list the word "NONCITIZEN" prominently on its face.²¹
- States should provide free photo IDs to any qualified voters unable to afford one.²²
- Absentee voters should be required to sign their ballots and date their ballots, and provide a driver license number, a state issued ID number, or the last four digits of a social security number.²³ First-time voters who vote using an absentee ballot should be required to include a copy of an acceptable photo ID at the time of registration, or with their absentee ballot.²⁴



States should prohibit sue-and-settle litigation, in which activists and partisans sue officials to secure an agreement to ignore or effectively rewrite election law.

8. **Ensure that elected lawmakers write election laws.**

Lawmakers, not courts and bureaucrats, make the laws that govern elections. But partisan special interests, spearheaded by left-wing lawyer Marc Elias and allied left-wing groups, use frivolous lawsuits and collusive settlements to weaken and rewrite election laws for political gain.²⁵

- In *Moore v. Harper*, the U.S. Supreme Court made clear that state courts cannot "arrogate to themselves the power vested in state legislatures to regulate federal elections."²⁶
- Legislatures should protect their constitutional authority to regulate elections by barring executive agencies from agreeing to legal settlements or consent decrees that substantively alter or weaken election laws.
- States should prohibit settlements or consent decrees that purport to ignore or rewrite election law. This strategy was widely used to undermine safeguards in 2020 battleground states: in Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina, for example, officials contravened state laws following lawsuits and agreed to count absentee ballots that were received late.



9. Ensure prompt and accurate election results.

Election results should be tallied and reported correctly and swiftly—on election night whenever possible.

- Each state should adopt a uniform protocol for counting and reporting vote totals, and timely and accurate totals of yet-to-be counted ballots including polling place ballots, absentee ballots, early votes, and provisional ballots. Jurisdictions should also be required to promptly reconcile total ballots cast and voter totals, and account for any differences.²⁷
- Once vote tallying begins, it should be required to continue until completion without interruption, absent an emergency that threatens officials' safety.
- Officials should be permitted to begin processing absentee ballots prior to election day and prepare them for tabulation, subject to public observation by authorized persons and strict secrecy rules.²⁸
- Jurisdictions should explain and justify, in real time, tallying slowdowns that delay the posting of election results more than 24 hours beyond the close of polls.
- States should require ballots be returned by the close of polls on Election Day. If jurisdictions permit ballots to be received after election day, a regularly updated and timely tally of the number of "not yet received" ballots should be made publicly accessible online.²⁹



10. Protect the integrity of the voter registration process.

Voters should know that only qualified, eligible citizens are able to cast ballots, and that groups engaged in voter registration activities are properly regulated to protect against fraud and error.

- New voter registrations should be thoroughly vetted to establish residency and qualification to vote, and to weed out duplicate registrations both from within and outside the state.
- Voters should be able to trust that voter registration groups will properly handle their registrations and personal information. States should establish standards for the handling and prompt return of voter registration applications, require groups engaged in voter registration drives (VRDs) to complete official training, and register with the state.³⁰
- Procedures should be put in place to sanction VRD organizations that repeatedly or intentionally produce inaccurate or incomplete voter registrations, or otherwise violate election laws.³¹
- Compensation for voter registration activities on the basis of a quota or per registration should be prohibited.



Voters should be able to trust that voter registration groups will properly handle their registrations and personal information.

- Voter registration should be suspended 30 days before an election to permit the validation of new voter registrations and the timely processing of all registrations received. Voters who will turn 18 on or before Election Day should be permitted to register to vote for that election prior to the registration cut-off.³²



11. Secure early and mail voting laws.

There is no constitutional right to vote early or by mail, but done correctly, early voting can be convenient and secure.

- States should offer no more than 14 days of early voting, including weekend time, and require uniform hours and availability throughout the state. Polling shows an overwhelming bipartisan majority of the public favors this policy.³³
- Mail ballots should be sent only at the specific request of a voter; unsolicited ballots should never be sent.³⁴ Inaccuracies in voter rolls lead to ballots being sent to deceased or ineligible voters.³⁵
- Mail ballots must be received by the close of polls on Election Day.³⁶
- The window to request ballots should end 15 days before an election, so requests can be received and processed, and ballots can be mailed to and from voters, in accordance with USPS delivery standards.³⁷
- States should establish secure online portals that verify voter identity using a driver's license number, state ID number, or the last four digits of a social security number, and allow voters to request mail ballots.
- Mail voters should be able to easily track their ballots in real time as they would a package, up to the point at which they are processed and accepted for counting.
- Voters should have the opportunity to cure defects with absentee ballots for a reasonable period of time, such as two days after Election Day. Cure opportunities should be applied uniformly throughout a state.³⁸



12. Protect vulnerable mail ballots.

Mail voting is uniquely vulnerable to error and fraud. States must take special steps to secure mail votes and protect mail voters against fraud and disenfranchisement.

- States should ban “ballot trafficking” (also known as “ballot harvesting”) by third parties. No one other than a voter’s caregiver, an immediate family member, or fellow household resident should be permitted to handle his or her ballot.³⁹
- Individuals should be permitted to “assist” no more than three voters with filling out or casting a ballot or ballot application in a given election.
- Prohibit all forms of compensation for the collection of ballots or ballot applications.⁴⁰
- Candidates for public office should be barred from collecting, returning, or assisting with the completion of absentee ballots.

Voters should be able to trust that voter registration groups will properly handle their registrations and personal information.

- Each absentee vote must have a clear and auditable chain of custody, including the identities of anyone who assists a voter in completing or returning a ballot.⁴¹
- Drop boxes should be subject to clear and uniform rules that govern placement.⁴² Drop boxes should be under constant video surveillance, located in a permanent government building, and available to receive ballots only during regular business hours. Drop boxes should be staffed when open, and physically secured during off hours. Logs should be maintained of all ballots received and of all ballot bearers depositing ballots at boxes.
- Secrecy envelopes including a signature and date should be required for all absentee ballots.



13. Investigate and prosecute election crimes. Election fraud and other crimes are seldom investigated or prosecuted. States should take steps to ensure that law enforcement agencies have the resources and training to enforce election laws and investigate potential crimes when the law and evidence warrants it.

- States should dedicate resources to developing units of law enforcement officers or investigators trained to investigate election crimes properly and thoroughly.⁴³
- States should, as their laws allow, develop a statewide prosecution unit dedicated to prosecuting election crimes.
- States should require a yearly report to the legislature and public regarding how many cases were investigated, referred for prosecution, and their ultimate disposition.



14. Consolidate election dates. Each year, countless elections are held on dates that do not line up with routine general elections. As a result, many consequential elections are decided with single-digit turnout. Consolidating elections boosts participation, reduces costs, and simplifies election administration.

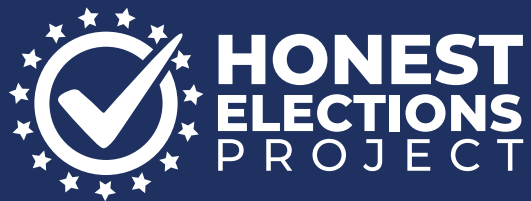
- States should consolidate all general elections onto the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. The only exceptions should be presidential preference elections, party primaries, special elections, and any required runoffs.⁴⁴
- Election turnout is significantly lower in non-November elections and provides opportunities for special interests to manipulate turnout through election timing. For example, in Texas, Harris County saw just 4.63% turnout in the Statewide Constitutional Election held in May 2022, yet saw 42.92% voter turnout in the November 8, 2022 General Election.⁴⁵ In May 2023, a local political subdivision held an election in which less than 1% of the registered voters of that political subdivision approved a proposition that authorized the board of directors to issue bonds up to \$31 million to be paid for through levying taxes on that political subdivision.⁴⁶
- Repeated, frequent elections create an enormous and costly workload for election administration officials tasked with planning and executing them.



ENDNOTES

- 1 "Foreign-Backed Spending in State Ballot Issue Campaigns," Americans for Public Trust (Oct. 19, 2024), <https://americansforpublictrust.org/document/apt-report-foreign-backed-spending-in-state-ballot-issue-campaigns/>.
- 2 Samana Sheikh, "Federal Court backs law banning foreign contributions to statewide ballot issues," Spectrum News 1 (Oct. 11, 2024), <https://spectrumnews1.com/oh/columbus/politics/2024/10/10/ballot--foreign--nationals>.
- 3 Polling Memo, Honest Elections Project, https://www.honestelections.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/July_2023_HEP- Polling_Memo.pdf.
- 4 Model Bill: Banning Foreign Funding in Ballot Measures, Honest Elections Project, <https://honestelections.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/HEP-Foreign-Funding-Model.pdf>.
- 5 For more on ranked-choice voting, see "Ranked Choice Voting Would Undermine Voter Confidence and Disenfranchise Voters," Honest Elections Project, https://www.honestelections.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/HEP-Ranked-Choice-Voting-Factsheet_2.pdf. Trent England, Jason Snead, "The Case Against Ranked-Choice Voting," Encounter Books, <https://www.encounterbooks.com/books/case-ranked-choice-voting/>. As of this report, more than 20 conservative organizations have united in opposition to ranked-choice voting and formed the Stop RCV coalition. <https://www.stoprcv.com>.
- 6 "Results for ranked-choice voting (RCV) and electoral system ballot measures, 2024," Ballotpedia (accessed Dec. 11, 2024), [https://ballotpedia.org/Results_for_ranked-choice_voting_\(RCV\)_and_electoral_system_ballot_measures_2024](https://ballotpedia.org/Results_for_ranked-choice_voting_(RCV)_and_electoral_system_ballot_measures_2024).
- 7 Russell Berman, "Why Voters Rejected Election Reform," The Atlantic (Dec. 8, 2024), <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2024/12/election-reform-ranked-choice-partisan-primaries/680912/>.
- 8 As of this report's publication, five states have passed legislation specifically banning RCV: Florida, Idaho, Montana, South Dakota, and Tennessee. For a model bill to ban ranked-choice voting, see <https://www.stoprcv.com>.
- 9 Shawn Fleetwood, "Ranked-Choice Voting Advocates Are Forced To Lie About 'Fairness' To Get Voters On Board," Federalist (Nov. 20, 2023), <https://thefederalist.com/2023/11/20/ranked-choice-advocates-are-forced-to-lie-about-fairness-to-get-voters-on-board/>. Shawn Fleetwood, "Ranked-Choice Voting Proponents Are Lying To Wisconsin Voters To Hide The System's Flaws," Federalist (Dec. 12, 2023), <https://thefederalist.com/2023/12/12/ranked-choice-voting-proponents-are-lying-to-wisconsin-voters-to-hide-the-systems-flaws/>.
- 10 Logan Washburn, "Here We Go Again: 'Zuckbucks' Group Announces Plans to Dump More Cash Into Election Offices," Federalist (Aug. 2, 2024), <https://thefederalist.com/2024/08/02/here-we-go-again-zuckbucks-group-announces-plans-to-dump-more-cash-into-election-offices/>.
- 11 For more on the Alliance, see "Zuck Bucks 2.0: The U.S. Alliance for Election Excellence," Honest Elections Project, https://www.honestelections.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/HEP-Alliance-for-Election_v5.pdf.
- 12 In August of 2023, Wyoming Secretary of State Chuck Gray warned election officials that participating in programs like the U.S. Alliance for Election Excellence put them at "growing risk of these foreign influences..." Andrew Mark Miller, "Wyoming secretary of state warns elections' vulnerability to foreign money," Fox News (Aug. 14, 2023), <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/wyoming-secretary-state-warns-elections-vulnerability-foreign-money-deeply-disturbing>. Wyss has contributed \$475 million to support left-wing political causes despite not being a U.S. citizen. "Foreign Influence in U.S. Elections," Americans for Public Trust, <https://americansforpublictrust.org/document/report-foreign-influence-in-u-s-elections/>.
- 13 Model bill: Zuck Bucks 2.0, https://www.honestelections.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/HEP_Model-Legislation-Zuckbucks-2.0_v3.pdf. Model bill: Foreign Funding Certification, https://www.honestelections.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/HEP_Model-Legislation-Foreign-Funding-Certification_v3.pdf.
- 14 Model Bill: Procedural Audit, Honest Elections Project, https://www.honestelections.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/HEP_Model-Legislation-Procedural-Audit_v3.pdf. [Texas SB 1] [Mississippi audit].
- 15 See, for instance, Article V, Section 1 of the Ohio Constitution as of 2022, which read, "Every citizen of the United States... is entitled to vote at all elections." That provision was amended to read "Only a citizen..."
- 16 "Results for voting-related and noncitizen voting ballot measures, 2024," Ballotpedia (accessed Dec. 20, 2024), https://ballotpedia.org/Results_for_voting-related_and-noncitizen_voting_ballot_measures_2024.
- 17 "Ohio Issue 2, Citizenship Voting Requirement Amendment (2022)," Ballotpedia, [https://ballotpedia.org/Ohio_Issue_2_Citizenship_Voting_Requirement_Amendment_\(2022\)](https://ballotpedia.org/Ohio_Issue_2_Citizenship_Voting_Requirement_Amendment_(2022)). "Colorado Amendment 76, Citizenship Requirement for Voting Initiative (2020)," Ballotpedia, [https://ballotpedia.org/Colorado_Amendment_76_Citizenship_Requirement_for_Voting_Initiative_\(2020\)](https://ballotpedia.org/Colorado_Amendment_76_Citizenship_Requirement_for_Voting_Initiative_(2020)).
- 18 The Supreme Court upheld Ohio's model for voter list maintenance as fully compliant with the NVRA in *Husted v. A. Philip Randolph Institute*. In general, the Ohio model requires that voters suspected of having moved be mailed a form asking them to confirm their registration. If a voter does not reply and does not vote for two federal elections, his registration is canceled. Ohio law also permits voters to request cancellation of their registration. (ORC Ann. § 3503.21).
- 19 Florida law requires state agencies to "furnish information relating to deceased persons, persons adjudicated mentally incapacitated, and persons convicted of a felony" to facilitated voter list maintenance (Fla. Stat. § 98.093).
- 20 Texas law requires that voters show an allowable photo ID or a specified non-photographic ID alongside a "Reasonable Impediment" declaration declaring under penalty of perjury that the voter lacks photo ID for one of a specified set of excuses (Tex. Elec. Code § 63.001).
- 21 Ohio's HB 458, signed into law in 2023, requires licenses to notate if a licensee is not a citizen. However, the law is being implemented by placing the notation on the back side of the envelope in small print. To ensure the notation is displayed prominently, lawmakers should consider explicitly requiring the word "NONCITIZEN" to be displayed on the front of the license in the same font size as the driver's license number. See, HB 458, https://search-prod.lis.state.oh.us/api/v2/general_assembly_134/legislation/hb458/06_EN/pdf/.
- 22 Alabama voters lacking acceptable ID may apply for and receive a free photo voter ID card (Ala. Code § 17-9-30(f)).
- 23 In 2021, Georgia enacted SB 202 and Texas enacted SB 1 bringing voter identification requirements to mail-in voting. In 2023, Ohio enacted HB 458 which similarly mandated voter ID for mail-in ballots. Each state allows the use of a driver license number, a state-issued ID number, or the last four digits of the voter's social security number.
- 24 See, for example, GA Code Ann. §§ 21-2-220, 21-2-385, 21-2-417.
- 25 Criticisms of Elias's legal strategy include that he has "created a legal strategy he has convinced people is a political strategy, that it is actually a business strategy" and that his litigation frequently backfires, as it did in the *Brnovich v. DNC* case before the U.S. Supreme Court. Alex Thompson, Hans Nichols, "Scoop: Why Biden's team soured on Dems' election lawyer," Axios (Jul. 31, 2023), <https://www.axios.com/2023/07/31/biden-marc-elias-democrats-election-lawsuits>.
- 26 *Moore v. Harper*, 600 U.S. ____ (2023), at 5. The Elections Clause of the U.S. Constitution (Article 1, Section 4) explicitly recognizes state legislatures are responsible for determining the "Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives" while the Electors Clause (Article 2, Section 1) similarly vests legislatures with the power to determine the manner of appointing presidential electors.
- 27 See the Texas preliminary and official reconciliation forms, available at <https://www.sos.texas.gov/elections/forms/pol-sub/9-13f.pdf>; <https://www.sos.texas.gov/elections/forms/pol-sub/9-12f.pdf>.
- 28 For example, Ohio permits pre-processing of ballots. ORC Ann. § 3509.06. Florida allows county canvassing boards to begin canvassing mail-in ballots before election day, but bars them from releasing any results. Fla. Stat. § 101.68(2)(a).
- 29 States may need to modify absentee voting procedures for military and overseas voters in order to comply with the requirements of the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act, 52 U.S.C. §§ 20301-20311.
- 30 At least eleven states, including Colorado, Georgia, and Texas, regulate voter registration training. See Georgia SEB R. 183-1-6-.02(5), or Fla. Stat. § 97.0575 (2023).
- 31 Florida's S7050 amended Fla. Stat. § 97.0575 (2023) to include additional penalties for third party voter registration entities that violate Florida election laws, including penalties for mishandling or failing to promptly return voter registration applications.
- 32 For example, see Texas V.T.C.A., Election Code §13.143.
- 33 78% of Americans believe states should offer 14 days or less of early in-person voting. 52% support just seven days or less, including 59% of Black and 59% of Hispanic voters who view one week as sufficient. Polling Memo, Honest Elections Project, https://www.honestelections.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/July_2023_HEP- Polling_Memo.pdf.
- 34 New Jersey and Clark County, Nevada, chose to mail unsolicited ballots to all voters during the 2020 primaries. Undeliverable ballots were reported to have been dumped in trash cans and abandoned on sidewalks. Andrew O'Reilly, "Nevada's Vote-By-Mail Primary Stirs Fraud Concerns, As Unclaimed Ballots Pile Up: 'Something Stinks Here,'" Fox News (May 14, 2020), <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/nevadas-vote-by-mail-primary-fraud-concerns>.

- 35 In 2012, Pew researchers estimated that one in eight voter registrations nationwide—24 million in all—were inaccurate, outdated, or duplicative. In 2020, Michigan mailed absentee ballot applications to all voters on file, with at least 500,000 being returned undeliverable. Ten percent of the ballots automatically sent to Baltimore residents during an all-mail special election in May 2020 were undeliverable. "Inaccurate, Costly, and Inefficient: Evidence That America's Voter Registration System Needs an Upgrade, Pew Center for the States," Feb. 2012, https://www.pewtrusts.org/-/media/legacy/uploadedfiles/pcs_assets/2012/pewupgradingvoterregistrationpdf.pdf, at 1; Emily Opilo, "About 1 in 10 Ballots Went Undelivered to Baltimore City Voters During 7th Congressional District Special Election," Baltimore Sun (May 13, 2020), <https://www.baltimoresun.com/politics/bs-md-pol-ballots-undeliverable-baltimore-voters-20200513-qw6rllrv3bdbjm2xup4d3td5aq-story.html>; Beth LeBlanc, "Benson: 500,000 Could Be Removed From Michigan's Voting Rolls, But Not Before Nov. 3," The Detroit News (Sep. 9, 2020), <https://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/local/michigan/2020/09/09/benson-500000-could-removed-michigan-voting-rolls-not-before-nov-3/5759559002/>.
- 36 According to NCSL, 30 states require mail ballots to be received on or before Election Day. "Receipt and Postmark Deadlines for Absentee/Mail Ballots," NCSL (July 12, 2022), <https://www.ncsl.org/elections-and-campaigns/table-11-receipt-and-postmark-deadlines-for-absentee-mail-ballots>.
- 37 A 15 day cutoff comports with U.S. Postal Service recommendations. "FAQ: Voting by Mail," USPS (Oct. 8, 2020), https://faq.usps.com/s/article/Voting-by-Mail#when_to_mail. The County Commissioners Association of Pennsylvania recently endorsed a 15 day cutoff. "CCAP Election Reform Preliminary Report," CCAP (Jan. 2021), <https://www.pacounties.org/GR/Documents/CCAPElectionsReformReportJanuary2021.pdf>.
- 38 For reference, see Fla. Stat. § 101.68 (4). Officials must "attempt to notify" a voter of a curable ballot deficiency "[a]s soon as practicable" and voters have until "5 p.m. on the 2nd day after the election" to submit a cure affidavit.
- 39 State laws commonly limit who may possess another's ballot. Ohio limits ballot delivery to family members of a voter, and establishes an alternate approach in cases of disability or confinement (ORC Ann. §§ 3509.05, 3509.08).
- 40 North Dakota bars all compensation for "acting as an agent" for a voter (N.D. Cent. Code § 16.1-07-08).
- 41 Arkansas further requires "designated bearers" to sign an oath and show photographic ID when collecting or returning an absentee ballot (Ark. Code Ann. § 7-5-403).
- 42 For example, Georgia's SB 202 (2021) allowed drop boxes by statute for the first time. The law required one drop box per county, with additional drop boxes allowed at a rate equal to the number of advance voting locations or one box per 100,000 active registered voters, whichever number is lower. The law further required that boxes be evenly distributed geographically throughout a county.
- 43 Florida has led the way in this area with the creation of its Office of Election Crimes and Security. Fla. Stat. Ann. § 97.022; see also <https://www.flgov.com/2023/07/14/governor-ron-desantis-highlights-accomplishments-during-first-year-of-election-integrity-office/>. Arkansas passed a similar law in 2023, creating an Election Integrity Unit. Ark. Code Ann. § 7-4-304.
- 44 Model Bill: Uniform Election Dates, <https://www.honestelections.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/Model-Bill-Uniform-Election-Dates.pdf>.
- 45 [Texas Secretary of State: Texas Election Results](#). These types of statistics and their implications are not unique to Harris County. Researchers have found, for example, that voter turnout is significantly lower in local elections that do not coincide with the dates of national elections and that election timing creates strategic opportunities for organized interest groups. Hajnal, Z. L., & Lewis, P. G. (2003). Municipal Institutions and Voter Turnout in Local Elections. *Urban Affairs Review*, 38(5), 645-668; Neal Caren (2007) Big City, Big Turnout? Electoral Participation in American Cities, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 29:1, 31-46; Anzia, S. F. (2011). Election Timing and the Electoral Influence of Interest Groups. *The Journal of Politics*, 73(2), 412-427.
- 46 [Harris County May 6, 2023 Official Canvass Results](#); [Certificate for Order Canvassing Returns and Declaring Results of 2023 Bond Election](#).



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