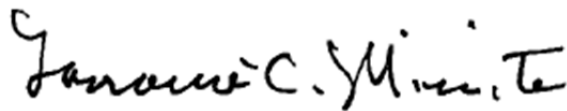


# EXPERT REPORT

*North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP*  
v.  
*McCrary, et al.*

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA  
Case No.: 1:13-cv-00658-TDS-JEP (D. N.C.)  
Judge Thomas D. Schroeder  
Magistrate Judge Joi Elizabeth Peake

April 11, 2014

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Lorraine C. Minnite". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

LORRAINE C. MINNITE, Ph.D.

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

I. Summary of Opinions ..... 1

II. Background & Qualifications ..... 1

III. Discussion..... 3

    A. Brief History of Voting Restrictions..... 3

    B. Defining “Voter Fraud” ..... 5

    C. Analysis of Voter Fraud..... 6

    D. Examination of Voter Fraud in North Carolina ..... 8

    E. The Legislative History to H.B. 589/S.L. 2013-381..... 12

    F. Public Perception of Voter Fraud ..... 13

IV. Conclusion ..... 18

## I. SUMMARY OF OPINIONS<sup>1</sup>

Based on my extensive research and analysis on contemporary voter fraud in United States elections, I conclude:

1. The empirical evidence makes clear that fraud committed by voters either in registering to vote or at the polls on Election Day is exceedingly rare, both nationally and in North Carolina.
2. Based on this lack of evidence, stringent photo identification requirements, including those in North Carolina, are not justified to reduce or prevent voter impersonation and other forms of voter fraud.

In Section II, I discuss my educational and professional background and qualifications. In Section III.A, I briefly discuss the historical background of voting requirements. In Section III.B, I examine the electoral process and define voter fraud as “the intentional corruption of the voting process by voters.” Next, in Section III.C, I review the research reported in my 2010 scholarly treatment of the subject of voter fraud, *The Myth of Voter Fraud*, and demonstrate that voter fraud does not pose a threat to elections as some claim. In Section III.D, I analyze the available data of specific cases of alleged voter fraud in North Carolina. In Section III.E, I review the legislative history of North Carolina’s voter identification (voter ID) law, including numerous references by lawmakers to an alleged problem with voter fraud, though no compelling evidence is ever presented. Finally, in Section III.F, I discuss arguments advanced by voter ID proponents relating to public confidence in the voting process, and conclude that the alleged public fear of voter fraud is unsupported and therefore inadequate as a justification for voter ID laws.

## II. BACKGROUND & QUALIFICATIONS

I am an associate professor in the Department of Public Policy and Administration at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey-Camden. I received a Bachelor of Arts degree in History from Boston University, and two Master’s Degrees and a Ph.D. in Political Science from the City University of New York. One of my areas of expertise is American Politics with a specialization in elections and the political process. Specifically, I study the incidence and effect of voter fraud in American elections.

In 2003, I co-authored a study of voter fraud with David Callahan for the public policy research and advocacy organization, Demos, titled, “Securing the Vote: An Analysis of Voter Fraud.” I updated this study with new material in 2007.<sup>2</sup> At that time, Demos published a

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<sup>1</sup> This report is based on information that is currently available for my review. Discovery in this matter is ongoing. Therefore, I reserve the right to update my report and opinions upon review of any additional documents or information previously unavailable to me.

<sup>2</sup> Lorraine C. Minnite, “An Analysis of Voter Fraud,” (New York: Demos, 2007), *available at*

preliminary report I wrote on voter fraud and same-day registration,<sup>3</sup> and in March of 2007, I published a report, “The Politics of Voter Fraud,” for Project Vote, a national nonpartisan, nonprofit voting rights organization.<sup>4</sup> In June 2010, Cornell University Press published *The Myth of Voter Fraud*, my full-length scholarly treatment of the subject. The book analyzes the evidence of voter fraud and concludes that the widespread allegation that voter fraud is a rampant problem of unknown proportions in contemporary U.S. elections is unsupported by evidence, and that actual voter fraud is extremely rare. In *The Myth of Voter Fraud*, I conclude and provide evidence to show that having no basis in fact, these allegations are motivated by political interests, and are designed to make voting harder for certain populations.

This report incorporates all of the research I have conducted on the subject of voter fraud and voter ID laws since 2001, cited above and published in peer-reviewed books and journals.<sup>5</sup> To expand my research on supposed recent evidence of voter fraud in North Carolina, I analyzed the following (as set forth in Appendices D and E):

- transcripts from hearings, proceedings, and floor debates of the full House and Senate of the North Carolina General Assembly, and various House committees, including the Elections, Finance, and Appropriations Committees, concerning HB 589 and amendments and substitutions, enacted as the Voter Information Verification Act;
- articles appearing in more than 50 different North Carolina newspapers and other news sources, focusing my analysis on articles appearing over the last ten years;
- all news releases by the North Carolina Attorney General’s Office, from May 22, 2003 to March 14, 2014, and any other relevant documents I could find on the Attorney General’s website;<sup>6</sup>
- a data table from a March 11, 2013 report by the North Carolina State Board of Elections (“SBOE”) titled, “Documented Cases of Voter Fraud in North Carolina,” reporting the number of cases of voter fraud that, after the SBOE’s investigation, merited a referral to district attorneys’ offices for prosecution; the table reports

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<http://www.demos.org/publication/analysis-voter-fraud-united-states-adapted-2003-report-securing-vote>.

<sup>3</sup> Lorraine C. Minnite, “Election Day Registration: A Study of Voter Fraud Allegations and Findings on Voter Roll Security,” (New York: Demos, 2007), *available at* <http://www.demos.org/publication/election-day-registration-study-voter-fraud-allegations-and-findings-voter-roll-security>.

<sup>4</sup> Lorraine C. Minnite, “The Politics of Voter Fraud,” (Washington, D.C.: Project Vote, 2007), *available at* <http://www.projectvote.org/newsreleases/222-new-report-examines-qthe-politics-of-voter-fraudq.html>.

<sup>5</sup> A complete list of my peer reviewed publications is set forth in my *Curriculum Vitae* at Appendix A.

<sup>6</sup> The only document I found was a letter dated July 26, 2013, from Attorney General Roy Cooper to Governor McCrory expressing the Attorney General’s “strong opposition to the election reforms contained in House Bill 589,” and asking the governor to veto the legislation. I found no relevant documents on the website of the North Carolina State Board of Investigations.

numbers for various forms of fraud by year over a 12-year period (2000-2012).

### III. DISCUSSION

#### A. Brief History of Voting Restrictions

Prior to the late nineteenth century, there were very limited voter registration requirements placed upon eligible voters.<sup>7</sup> The earliest of registration laws put the obligation on the government to enroll qualified voters, and allowed voters to register on Election Day.<sup>8</sup> The pool of eligible voters vastly expanded in the nineteenth century when property and tax-paying requirements for voter eligibility were mostly eliminated. By the end of the century, a competitive party system was helping to produce the highest rates of voter turnout in U.S. history. At the same time, however, states began adopting more onerous voter registration and voting laws, supplanting the restrictive effects of property requirements and shifting the burden of establishing voter eligibility away from the government to the individual.<sup>9</sup>

The United States has a long history of using electoral rules to suppress voting. Following the emancipation of African Americans and the enfranchisement of black men by the Civil War Amendments, a reactionary, white supremacist counter-movement in the South arose to re-erect a system of racial subordination. By the turn of the twentieth century, African Americans had been virtually purged from the electorate of the southern states, at first by the use of violent intimidation and trickery, and later by the introduction or reintroduction of a series of superficially color-blind requirements intended to circumvent the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.<sup>10</sup>

Voter registration requirements were especially important because of the degree to which they ceded discretion to local registrars and election officials. Thus, an 1873 Georgia law permitted local registrars to close their books to new registrants except during the planting and

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<sup>7</sup> Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the U.S.* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 151; Joseph P. Harris, *The Registration of Voters in the United States* (Baltimore: Lord Baltimore Press, 1929), 65-66; see also, John Mark Hansen, et al., "Voter Registration," Reports of The Task Force on the Federal Election System (to accompany the Report of the National Commission on Election Reform, *To Assure Pride and Confidence in the Electoral Process*), National Commission on Federal Election Reform, August 2001, 2 (on file with author).

<sup>8</sup> Charles Edward Merriam and Harold Foote Gosnell, *The American Party System: An Introduction to the Study of Political Parties in the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929); Harris, *Registration of Voters*, xi.

<sup>9</sup> Dayna L. Cunningham, "Who Are to Be the Electors? A Reflection on the History of Voter Registration in the United States," *Yale Law and Policy Review* 9, no. 2 (1991): 370-404.

<sup>10</sup> See Frances Fox Piven, Lorraine C. Minnite, and Margaret Groarke, *Keeping Down the Black Vote: Race and the Demobilization of American Voters* (New York: The New Press, 2009). The authoritative work on this subject is J. Morgan Kousser, *The Shaping of the Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

harvesting months, or in other words, during the time of the year that African American farm workers most likely would be able to make the trip to the county seat to register to vote. Once word of the effectiveness of this stratagem and other election administration techniques to disfranchise blacks spread, similar laws followed in North Carolina<sup>11</sup> and Alabama.

Laws requiring voters to show their registration certificates before they were permitted to cast ballots were also effective in disenfranchising African Americans in the South. Most states adopting personal registration closed registration periods long before an election, and it would not be uncommon for illiterate and impoverished migrant farmers to lose track of paperwork. In addition, this rule made blacks doubly vulnerable to harassment and attack as they made their way to the polling place. There are numerous accounts from the period of blacks walking to the county seat to vote and being set upon by white mobs who robbed them of their registration papers. For example, in November 1876, the Republican governor of Louisiana wrote to Republican National Committee officials in New York:

Dispatches from Ouachita and Morehouse Parishes, near the Arkansas line, and West Feliciana near the Mississippi line, report that their parishes are now patrolled by the White League, reinforced by armed bodies from Arkansas and Mississippi. Most of the Republican leaders have been driven away or murdered. Under the State law voters are entitled to vote at any poll in the parish in which they reside. The colored people generally are attempting to reach the parish seats of those parishes in order to vote under the protection of the authorities. Numbers of them have been intercepted by the White League pickets, and their registration papers destroyed.<sup>12</sup>

Election fraud documented by early election reformers was not primarily committed by individual voters, who are the target of election reforms to widen the franchise, but instead by election officials and politicians engaging in conspiracies who are unaffected by these types of reforms.<sup>13</sup> In some places, corrupt politicians used the police to “colonize” closely contested

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<sup>11</sup> Logan writes of the suffrage qualification laws passed in North Carolina during the 1876-1877 legislative session: “The most thorough and wide sweeping of these enactments was the act to regulate elections. The wide, almost autocratic powers granted to the registrars and judges of elections, the residence requirements, and the right of one voter to challenge another – all of these pointed to the intent of the framers to disfranchise or reduce the number of Negro voters.” See Frenise A. Logan, *The Negro in North Carolina, 1876-1894*, UNC Enduring Edition (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, [1964] 2011), 55. For more on North Carolina’s election law of 1877, see chapter 5 “Fusion Election Law,” in Helen G. Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics in North Carolina, 1894-1901* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, [1951] 1979).

<sup>12</sup> “The Close of the Canvass,” *New York Times*, November 7, 1876, 1.

<sup>13</sup> See Joseph P. Harris, *Election Administration in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1934), 375-376 (“Isolated, individual cases of election frauds are uncommon and unimportant. Election frauds cannot be carried on successfully and upon a wide scale without protection, without the pre-arrangement of election officers who will ‘deliver’ if necessary, and without the backing of a powerful political organization.”)

elections with fraudulently registered voters.<sup>14</sup> Reformers enacted voter registration as a means to subdue broader electoral fraud, yet it remains unclear whether the reforms played any part in reducing it.<sup>15</sup>

No conclusive tie between enfranchising reform and voter fraud has ever been proven. The Civil Rights Era in American history marked a time of activism to promote, amongst other goals, voting rights. At each significant effort to protect and extend the right to vote, franchising opponents argued that reduced barriers would lead to voter fraud. This alleged threat to election integrity created by reducing barriers of access has been taken up by congressional opponents time and time again, for example, in debates over the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Universal Voter Registration Act of 1977, and the National Voter Registration Act of 1993.<sup>16</sup> Prior to the widespread adoption of the secret ballot, party agents arguably used “inflationary” corruption by buying votes and recycling voters.<sup>17</sup> Afterward, parties pursued “deflationary” corruption by paying opponents to stay home or otherwise defeating their efforts to vote, using devices such as poll taxes, literacy tests, long residency periods and other onerous requirements for voter registration to further their means.

## **B. Defining “Voter Fraud”**

No statute exists specifically defining “voter fraud.” Instead, nefarious election-related practices are prevented by state laws making “double voting” or “falsifying records,” and the like illegal.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, the process of formulating precise definitions is critical in the social

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<sup>14</sup> Richard L. McCormick, *From Realignment to Reform: Political Change in New York State, 1893-1910* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 44.

<sup>15</sup> Paul Kleppner, *Who Voted? The Dynamics of Voter Turnout 1870-1980*, American Political Party and Election Series (New York: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., 1982), 59-60.

<sup>16</sup> See, e.g., U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, “To Enforce the 15th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States: Hearings on S.1564,” 89th Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., 1965; U.S. Congress, House Committee on House Administration, “To Establish a Universal Voter Registration Program, and for Other Purposes: Hearings on H.R. 5400,” 95th Cong., 1st sess., 1977; and U.S. Congress, House Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Elections, “Hearing on Voter Registration,” 103rd Cong., 1st sess., January 26, 1993. For an important account of the movement to reform voter registration laws leading to the passage of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993, see Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Why Americans Don’t Vote and Why Politicians Want It That Way* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000); see also, Piven, et al., *Keeping Down the Black Vote*.

<sup>17</sup> Gary W. Cox and J. Morgan Kousser, “Turnout and Rural Corruption: New York as a Test Case,” *American Journal of Political Science* 25, no. 4 (November 1981), 646-63.

<sup>18</sup> For example, in North Carolina, it is a Class 1 felony for any person to “knowingly to swear falsely with respect to any matter pertaining to any primary or election” or “to take corruptly the oath prescribed for voters.” N.C. Gen. Stat. § 163-275 (2013). In Texas it is a third degree felony to “vote or attempt to vote in an election in which the person knows the person is not eligible to vote; knowingly votes or attempts to vote more than once in an election; or knowingly impersonates another person and votes as the impersonated person.” Tex. Elec. Code Ann. § 64.012 (2003). California prohibits specific election related activity like fraudulent registration, voting in an election which

sciences because it allows accurate measurement of empirical phenomena.<sup>19</sup> To develop the definition of voter fraud, I examined the electoral process and looked at the capacity of various actors in the political process to impact the outcome and integrity of elections. Various actors with that capacity include, but are not limited to, voters, campaign officials, elected officials, and election poll workers.

I examined the parts of the political process that different actors could corrupt, and found a distinction between what voters can corrupt compared to what other electoral actors can corrupt. Voters are only capable of corrupting that part of the electoral process to which they have access. For example, voters cannot corrupt the election count; only an official with broad access could corrupt an entire count. But, individual voters can corrupt their registration process and balloting by falsifying their records or identity on a registration application and/or fraudulently misrepresenting themselves to poll workers.

By breaking up the electoral process according to its various stages and the actors that participate, I can specify my fraud definition to the data that I study: the behavior of individual voters. Accordingly, my definition of voter fraud is “the intentional corruption of the voting process by voters.” This definition is specific to the elements I research.<sup>20</sup>

I emphasize the importance of intent in my definition, distinguishing election errors such as misspelled names and recording mistakes. Although these mistakes can produce irregularities, they should not be included in a definition of fraud that limits itself to nefarious acts *intentionally* committed by voters.

### C. Analysis of Voter Fraud

To study and measure the contemporary incidence of voter fraud for *The Myth of Voter Fraud*, I used a “mixed methods” research approach, which is common in the social sciences.

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one is not entitled to vote in, voting more than once or to try to buy a vote with the promise of a job. Cal. Elec. Code § 18520 (1994). In Minnesota, it is a felony to submit more than one absentee ballot or to assist another in submitting more than one absentee ballot, or alter another’s absentee ballot. Minn. Stat. § 203B.03 (1999). In New Jersey, it is a third degree crime to “fraudulently vote...or in any manner so interfere...with the voters lawfully exercising their rights of voting at the election, as to prevent the election or canvass from being fairly had and lawfully conducted.” N.J. Stat. Ann. § 19:34-11 (2011).

<sup>19</sup> W. Phillips Shively, *The Craft of Political Research*, 5th ed. (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2002), 30-8.

<sup>20</sup> The next best definition I found is provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Their definition of “election fraud” is over-broad because it includes acts to intimidate voters and covers official malfeasance, such as ballot box stuffing or corruption of the count. See, Craig C. Donsanto and Nancy L. Simmons, *Federal Prosecution of Election Offenses*, 7th ed., U.S. Department of Justice, Criminal Division, Public Integrity Section (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2007). See also, U.S. Department of Justice, “Fact Sheet: Protecting Voting Rights and Preventing Election Fraud,” July 2, 2008, available at: <http://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/2008/July/08-crt-585.html>. Because voters do not have access to those activities, they are not included in my more accurate definition of voter fraud.



This methodology utilizes qualitative, quantitative and archival research. I interviewed a wide range of people, including, but not limited to, prosecutors, defense lawyers, election officials, voters, academics, and people working on voter registration drives. Allegations of voter fraud, with few exceptions, tend to fall into one of the three following categories: unsubstantiated or false allegations of voter fraud made by the losers of close elections,<sup>21</sup> mischief, and claims that later turned out to be based upon cases of voter error or administrative mistakes, but not fraud.<sup>22</sup>

The basis of the quantitative research in the book comes from a data set produced by the Administrative Office of the United States Courts that is available to researchers through the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (“ICPSR”).<sup>23</sup> This data set is a complete and total record of all indictments and cases tried annually in federal courts (district and appellate, including the United States Supreme Court).

In addition, I relied on the record of federal indictments generated during the first three years of a special program at the U.S. Department of Justice. In March 2001, United States Attorney General John Ashcroft announced the Ballot Access and Voting Integrity Initiative (“BAVII”).<sup>24</sup> The BAVII brought together civil rights and criminal division lawyers of the Justice Department for an Election Day program. The stated purpose of this program was to help attorneys recognize election fraud and voter intimidation and to provide their services to voters who receive complaints of the same.

After numerous unsuccessful attempts at locating information regarding voter fraud from the BAVII, including a Freedom of Information Act request made to four different units of the U.S. Department of Justice that took more than two years, an appeal, and the intervention of my U.S. Senator to process, I found a case list of indictments brought under the program in the records of a congressional hearing held in 2006.<sup>25</sup> The list, which was prepared by the U.S.

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<sup>21</sup> For a discussion of fraud and the sore loser, *see generally* Michelle L. Robertson, “Election Fraud – Winning at All Costs: Election Fraud in the Third Circuit (*Marks v. Stinson*),” *Villanova Law Review* 40, no. 3 (1995): 869-925.

<sup>22</sup> Minnite, “The Politics of Voter Fraud,” 12-13. I also reviewed hundreds of news articles cited in a report by the now defunct American Center for Voting Rights, which purported to be “the most comprehensive and authoritative review of the facts surrounding allegations of vote fraud, intimidation and suppression made during the 2004 presidential election.” From this review I concluded that “among the more than one hundred cases cited of alleged voter fraud implicating nearly 300,000 potentially fraudulent votes in the 2004 election cycle, only about 185 votes could be confirmed as *possibly* tainted by fraud [emphasis added].” *See also*, Minnite, *The Myth of Voter Fraud*, 12.

<sup>23</sup> The ICPSR is an international consortium of about 700 academic institutions and research organizations that maintains a data archive of more than half a million files of research in the social sciences. *See* [www.icpsr.umich.edu](http://www.icpsr.umich.edu) for more information.

<sup>24</sup> U.S. Department of Justice, press conference, Washington, D.C., March 7, 2001, *available at* <http://www.justice.gov/archive/ag/speeches/2001/0307civilrightspresconf.htm>. *See also*, Dan Eggen and David A. Vise, “Ashcroft Takes On Voting Issues; Enforcement, Monitoring of Election Laws to Be Increased,” *Washington Post*, March 8, 2001, A19.

<sup>25</sup> U.S. Congress, House Committee on House Administration, “Hearing on ‘You Don’t Need Papers to Vote?’:

Department of Justice, records 95 indictments over the first three years of the program (FY2002 to FY2005). I concluded that this was a complete list of indictments brought under the BAVII for those three years by comparing it to Justice Department press releases announcing numbers of indictments brought under the program. I researched the BAVII indictments and concluded that only 40 of the 95 people indicted were voters; the other 55 people were associated with elections in other ways, for example, serving as campaign, party or election officials. Of the 40 voters indicted, only one case was brought in North Carolina (discussed *infra*, Section III.D). Among the remaining 55 indictments of non-voters, there was one additional case in North Carolina involving five people in a vote-buying scheme. In other words, of the 95 indictments, there were only two cases in North Carolina, involving six people, and only one of those people may have committed voter fraud.

There are no officially compiled national or statewide statistics reliably reporting the instances of voter fraud. Using the same standard for judging voter fraud crime rates as we do for other crimes (which is to calculate the incidence of crime from law enforcement statistics on arrests, indictments and convictions), we must conclude that the scant evidence of arrests, indictments or convictions for any of the practices defined as voter fraud means that little fraud is being committed relative to the millions of votes cast each year in state, local and federal elections. In other words, the lack of an accurate centralized tracking system is itself evidence that voter fraud is not the threat to elections some claim it is.

#### **D. Examination of Voter Fraud in North Carolina**

North Carolina's principal elections agency, the SBOE, does not publish on its website press releases, research or data on voter fraud.<sup>26</sup> There are no records of meetings of the board,<sup>27</sup> no reports of investigations conducted by the agency,<sup>28</sup> no rules,<sup>29</sup> or even any links to the state's election code available on the SBOE website. The lack of basic information about the incidence of voter fraud in North Carolina is surprising given the SBOE's scope of statutory responsibility for election administration. Under North Carolina law, the SBOE is an "independent regulatory and quasi-judicial agency" with broad, centralized power to administer and supervise elections

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Non-Citizen Voting and ID Requirements in U.S. Elections," 109th Congress, 2d Sess., June 22, 2006, 245-54.

<sup>26</sup> See <http://www.ncsbe.gov/ncsbe/>, accessed March 17, 2014.

<sup>27</sup> Section 163-20(c) of the North Carolina General Statutes says that the minutes from SBOE board minutes "shall be recorded in a book which shall be kept in the office of the Board in Raleigh," but this does not mean that the minutes cannot be posted to the SBOE website.

<sup>28</sup> Section 163-22(d) gives the SBOE the power to "investigate when necessary or advisable, the administration of election laws, frauds and irregularities in elections in any county and municipality and special district, and shall report violations of the elections law to the Attorney General or district attorney or prosecutor of the district for further investigation and prosecution." In addition, the chairman of the SBOE has the power to issue subpoenas and summon witnesses and to compel the production of papers, books, records and other evidence (*see* Section 163-23)

<sup>29</sup> Section 163-22.2 provides the authority for the SBOE to promulgate temporary election rules and regulations in the event that any election law is held unconstitutional or in violation of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

statewide. For example, the five-member board, appointed by the Governor from lists of nominees provided by the two major political parties, itself appoints all of the members of the 100 county boards of elections, and has the power to remove county election board members for incompetence, neglect or failure to perform duties. It “shall require...reports from the county boards and election officers as are provided by law, or as are deemed necessary by the Board, and shall compel observance of the requirements of the election laws by county boards of elections and other election officers.”<sup>30</sup> Public disclosure of this information would go a long way toward educating citizens and lawmakers about the incidence of voter fraud in North Carolina.

The single case of voter fraud in North Carolina that was prosecuted by the federal government during the first three years of the U.S. Department of Justice’s BAVII (referenced *supra*, Section III.C) involved a young man named Joshua Workman, a Canadian citizen studying on a sports scholarship at Lees-McRae College in Banner Elk, North Carolina. Workman got involved with the local chapter of the College Republicans, and later was elected to the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Federation of College Republicans. At the age of 19, he was one of the youngest delegates to the Republican National Convention in 2000, and considered a rising star in the Republican Party. An article about Workman by Barry Yeoman that appeared in *IndyWeek* on August 9, 2000, states, that “At this moment, Joshua Workman might be the most sought-after North Carolinian anywhere in the country... Workman represents the best and brightest of this new generation [of young Republicans]... He recently became a U.S. citizen.”<sup>31</sup> But this was not true.

On April 7, 2003, the U.S. Department of Justice charged Workman, “a Canadian citizen, with voting and related offenses in the 2002 and 2000 primary and general elections in Avery County in violation of 18 U.S.C. §§ 611, 911, 1001, and 1015(f).”<sup>32</sup> Section 611 prohibits voting in federal elections by “any alien.” Section 911 states: “Whoever falsely and willfully represents himself to be a citizen of the United States shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than three years, or both.” Section 1001 pertains to making false statements, and Section 1015(f) makes it illegal to knowingly make false statements claiming citizenship in order to register to vote or to vote in any federal, state or local election. On June 30, 2003, in a plea agreement, Workman pleaded guilty to the lesser charges of providing false information to election officials and to a federal agency, and returned to Canada.

The only other case from North Carolina among the 95 indictments on the U.S. Justice Department’s BAVII case list is *U.S. v. Shatley*, a successfully prosecuted case of vote-buying in Caldwell County involving five people, two of whom, sisters Anita and Valerie Moore pleaded

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<sup>30</sup> Section 163-22(c).

<sup>31</sup> Barry Yeoman, “Generation Bush,” *IndyWeek*, August 9, 2000, accessed March 17, 2004 <http://baryyeoman.com/2000/08/generation-bush/>.

<sup>32</sup> The federal court records for *U.S. v. Workman* are not publicly available through the PACER system. However, the Workman indictment is briefly described in the BAVII case list, as discussed above (list on file with author).

guilty, with the other three indicted people later convicted in a jury trial. Wayne Shatley was the organizer of a widespread vote-buying scheme to buy votes for the Republican candidate for sheriff, Gary Clark, in the November 2002 election. According to court records, Shatley used \$5,000 to \$6,000 of his own money to pay individuals \$25 to vote for Clark. The court found that Shatley had induced Anita Moore to testify falsely before the Board of Elections that Shatley was not involved in the vote-buying scheme. Shatley had purchased Moore's house in a foreclosure auction and told her that whether she got her house back or not depended on her testimony.<sup>33</sup> It is important to note that in the context of contemporary U.S. elections, vote-buying, as a form of election corruption, always involves coercion and conspiracy. Given the secret ballot, it is not at all clear that paying a voter to vote one way or the other is ever effective. Unless there is collusion with corrupt election officials who find ways to observe vote choice, the vote purchaser has no way of knowing whether the financial incentive produces the desired result. Moreover, a voter taking money to vote for a particular candidate or party may not need the financial incentive to do so. Requiring voters to produce a government-issued photo identification has no prophylactic impact on vote-buying.

The News21 investigative journalism team at the Walter J. Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communications at Arizona State University compiled cases of alleged voter fraud in the United States.<sup>34</sup> The project adopted the data collection methodology I used in *The Myth of Voter Fraud*, sending out more than 2,000 public records requests to state elections and law enforcement authorities, and the U.S. Department of Justice (and FBI). They followed up these document requests with phone calls and emails, and reviewed more than 5,000 court documents, official records and media reports. North Carolina was not particularly forthcoming in responding to the public records requests. The project reports,

When North Carolina sent a summary without details, News21 queried the 44 district attorneys across the state and got a detailed response from one of them. But almost immediately, an official with the Administrative Office of the Courts intervened and told the others not to respond to the News21 request.<sup>35</sup>

One of the reporters with News21, Corbin Carson, reported that Mark Davis, from the General Counsel's Office of the Governor of North Carolina told him: "You're not going to find much. In the last 100 years, there have been [*sic*] a minuscule amount of voter fraud cases.

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<sup>33</sup> The details of the crime are cited in Shatley's unsuccessful appeal of his 33-month prison sentence, in *U.S. v. Shatley*, No. 05-4118, U.S. Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit. See also, Dave Cruz, "Vote-buying Defendants Guilty," *News-Topic*, May 17, 2004 (on file with author).

<sup>34</sup> See the project's website for more information, <http://votingrights.news21.com/> (accessed March 31, 2014). I served as an (unpaid) consultant on the research design and conducted a seminar for the students on the research methodology I used for *The Myth of Voter Fraud*. Their work replicates my approach and produces similar results with respect to a documented low incidence of voter fraud in contemporary U.S. elections.

<sup>35</sup> See: Corbin Carson, "Exhaustive Database of Voter Fraud Cases Turns Up Scant Evidence That It Happens," News21 ("What public-records obstacles were encountered?"), <http://votingrights.news21.com/article/election-fraud-explainer/index.html> (accessed March 31, 2014).

That's why we vetoed the voter ID bill, it's a non-issue."<sup>36</sup> While the News21 data from North Carolina may not be comprehensive, it reflects the best effort to obtain complete information about voter fraud since 2000 from state officials. A searchable database created from this effort includes just 15 cases of alleged voter fraud in North Carolina dating back to 2000 (the Workman case is the earliest listed). At the time of the publication of News21's online database in August 2012, the final disposition of 12 of the 15 cases was "unknown" or "pending" (these cases involved various forms of alleged illegal voting, including double voting, and so-called "felon" voting, but no cases of voter impersonation). Of the remaining three cases, two individuals pleaded guilty (one of these persons was Joshua Workman), and one case was dismissed.

I found no evidence presented by or to lawmakers that would suggest voter fraud is a problem in the state of North Carolina. The most authoritative information on voter fraud compiled by state officials that I found is provided by the North Carolina SBOE, in a table titled, "Documented Cases of Voter Fraud in North Carolina," dated March 11, 2013, and reproduced in Appendix E.<sup>37</sup>

This table contains the number of "voter fraud" cases referred to and investigated by the SBOE over a 12-year period, from 2000 to 2012, that the agency concluded merited referral to county district attorneys for further investigation. Across 11 types of voting or registration fraud (*i.e.*, double voting, non-citizen voting or registration, submitting fraudulent voter registration forms, etc.), by far, the largest category of alleged illegal votes cast is by people with felony convictions who have not yet had their voting rights restored (377 of 631 cases, or 60 percent, with 229 of those cases arising out of the 2008 election). In North Carolina, people convicted of felonies are prohibited from voting until they serve their entire sentence, including probation and parole. Their voter registration is cancelled, and they must re-register once their sentences are concluded. According Marshall Tutor, the elections investigator for the SBOE, many of the felon cases are people who are not aware of the law. "Some of them just don't know," he told the *Statesville Record & Landmark* in 2012.<sup>38</sup> Over the 12-year period of data summarized by the SBOE, only one case of voter impersonation merited a referral to a district attorney.

Based on my analysis of all of the materials noted in Section II *supra* and Appendices D and E, I conclude that in North Carolina the incidence of voter fraud, defined as the intentional corruption of the electoral process by voters, is exceedingly rare. Data from the different sources of information – the North Carolina General Assembly, the North Carolina Attorney General's

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<sup>36</sup> Email from Corbin Carson to Tasha Khan and Stephen Doig, dated July 20, 2012; <http://www.documentcloud.org/documents/402948-north-carolina-governors-office-response.html> (accessed March 31, 2014). The documents received from North Carolina officials may be viewed here: <http://votingrights.news21.com/interactive/document-cloud-all/index.html> (accessed March 31, 2014).

<sup>37</sup> The table can be found on numerous websites, including Democracy North Carolina; *see*: <http://www.democracy-nc.org/downloads/SBOEFraudMemo2013.pdf>.

<sup>38</sup> Jim McNally, "Official: Voting Fraud Rare in NC," *Statesville Record & Landmark*, September 10, 2012.

Office, the State Board of Elections, and the press reports from state newspapers and other news sources – each reiterate a common pattern of little to no voter fraud in the state.

### **E. The Legislative History to H.B. 589/S.L. 2013-381**

The legislative record and the testimony given at public hearings reveal a range of opinions about what problem the state's new photo identification requirement is meant to address. For example, in the legislative record I reviewed there are numerous references by lawmakers to an alleged problem with voter fraud, though no objective evidence was ever presented. In a March 16, 2013 interview broadcast on MSNBC, however, the Speaker of the House, Thom Tillis, when asked why the North Carolina General Assembly was considering a voter ID bill when voter fraud in the state “was not rampant,” and other pressing problems like high unemployment were of concern, Tillis replied,

Well, we call this [HB 589] ‘restoring confidence in elections.’ *There is some voter fraud, but that’s not the primary reason for doing this.* There’s [sic] a lot of people who are just concerned with the potential risk of fraud, and in our state it could be significant. This is just a measure that we think makes three-fourths, nearly three-fourths of the population more comfortable and more confident when they go to the polls.<sup>39</sup>

(Emphasis added).

Citizens testifying at a public hearing before the House Elections Committee expressed a variety of opinions on voter identification, but presented no credible evidence of voter fraud. For example, Jay Delancy, executive director of the Voting Integrity Project, testified at the April 10, 2013 hearing that, “Our biggest catch of the year was finding 33 people who had registered to vote in both North Carolina and Florida. Actually, we found more than 300, but 33 of them had actually – we thought they voted.”<sup>40</sup> The SBOE investigated the group’s list and found cause to

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<sup>39</sup> The MSNBC clip with Speaker Tillis’s comments is posted on WRAL’s website, *see* <http://www.wral.com/news/state/nccapitol/video/12231808/>, accessed March 17, 2014.

<sup>40</sup> North Carolina House Committee on Elections, “Public Hearing on Voter Identification,” April 10, 2013, 10. Delancy and the Voting Integrity Project of North Carolina have a poor track record of finding voter fraud. In 2012, they challenged the voter registration of 528 voters on the Wake County voter rolls who the group claimed were not citizens. Elections Board investigators found that 510 were U.S. citizens and dismissed the challenges at a preliminary hearing; it sustained just 18 challenges. Then, at a second hearing to further investigate, the Board dismissed nearly all of these challenges. According to a report by Laura Leslie for WRAL.com, “One voter was removed according to state law. Several others requested their own removal. About half supplied evidence of their eligibility to vote. Most of the rest were registered but had never voted.” *See* Laura Leslie, “Voter-fraud Activist ‘Frustrated’ by Outcome in Wake Co.,” WRAL.com, August 21, 2012, accessed March 17, 2014, [http://www.wral.com/news/state/nccapitol/blogpost/11454426/?keepThis=true&TB\\_iframe=true&height=600&width=800](http://www.wral.com/news/state/nccapitol/blogpost/11454426/?keepThis=true&TB_iframe=true&height=600&width=800). *See also*, Michael Hewlett, “County, Group at Odds Over Voter Rolls,” *Winston-Salem Journal*, September 27, 2012.

further investigate just five people for possible double voting.<sup>41</sup> Another speaker, Maria Gaither, who said she was a Certified Public Accountant, claimed erroneously that she could go into any polling place in her county during early voting, provide the names and addresses of her neighbors, obtain their ballots and vote, with the chances of being caught “slim.”<sup>42</sup> Many of the people testifying at the April 10 hearing supported a photo identification requirement, and appeared to have had their testimony prepared for them by the Voting Integrity Project of North Carolina.<sup>43</sup>

## F. Public Perception of Voter Fraud

In both the legislative record and the media reports in North Carolina I reviewed for this report, when supporters of a photo identification requirement who justify it as a solution to voter fraud are confronted with the fact that there is scant, if any, evidence of voter fraud in the state, the justification shifts to one of two arguments. One concedes the lack of evidence of voter fraud, but claims the perception of fraud indicates a lack of confidence in government. North Carolina House Speaker, Mr. Tillis, voiced this opinion when he said that the purpose of the (at the time) proposed legislation imposing a photo identification requirement on voters was to make three-fourths of the population feel more comfortable and confident when they go to the polls.

The second argument does not concede that there is very little voter fraud. Instead it turns logical inference on its head and sees what little evidence there is as the tip of the iceberg of *potentially* massive fraud. Scant evidence of *actual* voter fraud is interpreted as convincing evidence of official malfeasance or neglect. This argument, however, does not address why the appropriate response to the problem, if true, is to pass and implement voter ID legislation that further burdens voters rather than to advance agency reform. Faulty reasoning of this kind is frequently relied upon by proponents of voter ID, including Mr. Delancy of the Voting Integrity Project of North Carolina.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> See email exchange between Jay Delancy and Don Wright, General Counsel for the North Carolina State Board of Elections, January 28, 2013 to March 5, 2013 (various dates), posted on the Voting Integrity Project of North Carolina’s website, accessed March 15, 2014, <http://voterintegrityproject.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/FL-NC-Wright-email.pdf>.

<sup>42</sup> North Carolina House Committee on Elections, “Public Hearing on Voter Identification,” April 10, 2013, 13.

<sup>43</sup> See Zachary Roth, “Voter ID Supporters Stick to the Script – Literally,” MSNBC, April 11, 2013, accessed March 15, 2014, <http://www.msnbc.com/politicsnation/voter-id-supporters-stick-the-script-li>. The group later posted a “Statement on Possible Errors,” promulgated by their research and as reported by supporters at the public hearing. The statement is dated April 12, 2013, and in part, reads, “Late this afternoon, we learned that some of our findings, revealed in the April 10 public Legislative hearing, may be inaccurate... While we regret this human error and apologize for any embarrassment it may have caused to the presenters and to election officials, we caution the public against losing sight of the undeniable fact that North Carolina’s voter rolls are so corrupted that, without an effective voter ID law, it will be impossible to know who is really voting.” See, [http://voterintegrityproject.com/poss\\_errors/](http://voterintegrityproject.com/poss_errors/).

<sup>44</sup> For example, at the April 10 hearing, Delancy said, “Our State Board of Elections, in their view toward voter fraud, is more protective than proactive. We are very disappointed with them. We have done research. We have done the kind of data mining that we could do a lot better with it if we had the kind of information that our Election Board has. But the fact is, they don’t care to look at it; they are too busy doing other things.” See North Carolina

With respect to the first argument, there is no evidence in the political science literature that supports the claim that there is any sort of crisis of confidence in the electoral process, or specifically, in voting systems that do not require voters to present a photo ID to cast a ballot.<sup>45</sup> For voter ID laws to boost public confidence in voting systems, they must address a problem that depresses public confidence. In the case of voter ID laws, what is that problem if it is not actual voter fraud or the worry and concern that voter fraud might occur in some future election?

By this logic we should expect the perception of fraud to depress confidence in the integrity of the electoral process, which in turn should lead to lower levels of turnout.<sup>46</sup> In one of the few academic studies to directly test a version of the public confidence justification for photo identification laws, however, researchers found no relationship between beliefs about the frequency or level of voter fraud and the likelihood of voting. In “*Vote Fraud in the Eye of the Beholder*,” Stephen Ansolabehere and Nathaniel Persily conclude that, “[a]lthough a sizable share of the population believes that vote fraud commonly or occasionally occurs, there is little or no relationship between beliefs about the frequency of fraud and electoral participation (reported, validated, or intended);”<sup>47</sup> and that, “[t]he lack of empirical support leads us to conclude that, at least in the context of current American election practices and procedures, public perceptions do not provide a firm justification for voter identification laws.”<sup>48</sup>

Ansolabehere and Persily analyzed nationally representative surveys of the electorate in 2006, 2007, and 2008 that included questions about voter fraud. They define three distinct forms of fraud: what they called “voter fraud,” the illegal casting of ballots by non-citizens or double voting; “voter impersonation,” voting in the name of another; and “vote theft,” or the stealing or tampering with votes after they are cast. They then asked respondents to rate how frequently

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House Committee on Elections, “Public Hearing on Voter Identification,” April 10, 2013, 10.

<sup>45</sup> For political scientists, the issue of “public confidence” in societal or governmental institutions is a thorny one, both theoretically and methodologically. Novices will benefit from the essays in Mark E. Warren’s edited volume, *Democracy and Trust* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), which provides an overview of some of the issues and debates on this far-ranging subject. For a recent study of how different aspects of the voting experience, support for the winning candidate, and various demographic factors influence voter confidence in the electoral process, see Lonna Rae Atkeson, “Voter Confidence in 2010: Voter Identification Perceptions of Fraud, Winning and Losing and the Voting Experience,” Paper Prepared for Delivery to The Aftermath of *Bush v. Gore*; Ten Years Later, Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine, 2011; accessed June 27, 2013; <http://www.democracy.uci.edu/files/democracy/docs/conferences/2011/Voter%20Confidence%20-%20Lonna%20Atkeson.pdf>. It is important to point out that most academic studies of voter confidence assume the term means *confidence that one’s ballot was counted as cast*, not *confidence that no fraudulent ballot was cast*, which is more typical of how the concept is used by proponents of photo ID.

<sup>46</sup> Or, as Ansolabehere and Persily put it, “These arguments point to a specific empirical prediction. Perceptions of higher rates of vote fraud ought to correlate negatively with participation in the electoral process.” See Ansolabehere and Persily, “Vote Fraud in the Eye of the Beholder,” 1750.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 1759.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 1760.



they believed each of these forms of fraud occurred. Ansolabehere and Persily report that nationwide in 2008, only 13% of respondents believed illegal voting by non-citizens and double voting is common, and only 9% believed voter impersonation – the type of voter fraud that proponents claim this law would address – is very common.<sup>49</sup> A study by Lonna Rae Atkeson reports similar findings. In a post-election survey of New Mexico voters, “a rather paltry 8% mentioned [that over the last ten years, they had witnessed] illegal voting by non-citizens and filling out absentee ballots at senior homes.”<sup>50</sup>

When there is no evidence that voter fraud is an actual problem, proponents of voter ID laws shift to a fear of fraud as the justification. In the legislative debate over HB 589, the fear of fraud occurring in the future was expressed only by supporters of HB 589, who claimed voter ID would “protect integrity” and “increase confidence” in the electoral system, whereas no opponents expressed support for this theory. There is no evidence I could find in the public record of legislative debates that in general, the people of North Carolina have low confidence in the electoral system because photo identification is not required to vote. Further, there is no evidence in the public record that the public believes the existing identification rules (*i.e.*, various requirements to prove identity to register, signature-match to vote) are inadequate protection against voter fraud.

One important state court ruling on the constitutionality of a photo identification law addressed a problem with asserting a compelling state interest in combating the perception of voter fraud (*e.g.*, that it might be occurring now or that it might occur in the future) where no actual voter fraud could be found. In *Weinschenck v. State*, the Missouri Supreme Court states:

Appellants also urge that the State has a compelling interest in combating perceptions of voter fraud. While the State does have an interest in combating those perceptions, where the fundamental rights of Missouri citizens are at stake, more than mere perception is required for their abridgement. Perceptions are malleable.<sup>51</sup>

It is my opinion that developments in the public debate over HB589 fit a pattern observed in debates over voter ID laws elsewhere. Here, as elsewhere, proponents of photo identification requirements begin with justifications rooted in allegations about significant problems with voter fraud, and then, when no evidence can be mustered to document the alleged fraud, they cite concerns about perceptions and fears of fraud. They argue for greater prevention and the need to improve public confidence, and make claims about a lack of enforcement and prosecution of fraudsters. In my essay, “Voter Identification Laws: The Controversy Over Voter Fraud,”<sup>52</sup> I

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 1758.

<sup>50</sup> Atkeson, “Voter Confidence in 2010,” 17.

<sup>51</sup> 203 S.W.3d 201 (Mo. 2006), 218.

<sup>52</sup> Lorraine C. Minnite, “Voter Identification Laws: The Controversy Over Voter Fraud,” in Matthew J. Streb, ed., *Law and Election Politics: The Rules of the Game*, 2nd ed., New York: Routledge, 88-133.

discuss such a pattern of *ex post facto* shifting rationales:

The most common argument for voter ID has two parts: first, it presupposes voter impersonation is a real and present danger to the integrity of elections, and second, that more stringent voter ID laws will help prevent or deter fraud.

A second approach accepts that evidence of voter impersonation is scant, but reasons that voter ID nevertheless is necessary as a prophylactic remedy because it is always possible to commit voter fraud. Both of these arguments adopt the view of many opponents of voter ID that voting is a fundamental right, but interpret the meaning of a right to vote in light of what they claim is a second and equally important right, the right to an “undiluted” vote, one not canceled out by fraud.<sup>53</sup> Each fraudulent vote, proponents argue, harms voting rights by negating an equal number of legitimate votes. Thus, so much of proponents’ rhetoric and imagery is infused with a purity myth. Voter ID has a role to play in ensuring the sanctity of the ballot and in preserving the sacredness of voting rights by protecting voters from the pollution of electoral corruption and vote dilution.

A third approach of proponents of voter ID deviates from this focus on the sanctity of individual voting rights. This argument explicitly rejects the notion that voter fraud, real or possible, is important to a rationale for voter ID. Voting itself is minimized because it is rare for one vote to ever determine the outcome of an election. Voting is equated to keeping the streets clean, or getting on an airplane, or buying a beer – an inconsequential everyday act of inconsequential everyday people. Since voting is as important as keeping the streets clean, corrupting it is like littering. For the individual neither voting nor its corruption matters that much, except for the threat to authority that could spread if voters gather too much distrust (presumably from seeing too much litter). What is most important is keeping up the appearance of a concern about littering because keeping up appearances is important to the maintenance of order, and social and political order matter a lot. Arguments for voter ID in this vein are like the ‘broken windows’ or order-maintenance theory of crime control; both emphasize the importance of the appearance of order to the legitimacy of authority.<sup>54</sup> An order-maintenance argument for voter ID is concerned most with minimizing the appearance of corruption in elections. Voter ID laws are valued less as deterrents to voter fraud – since in fact, as adherents of this view usually concede, there may not even be a problem with voter fraud – and more for the signal they send to voters that authorities care about clean elections. This is believed to have a

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<sup>53</sup> J. Kenneth Blackwell and Kenneth A. Klukowski, “The Other Voting Right: Protecting Every Citizen’s Vote by Safeguarding the Integrity of the Ballot Box,” *Yale Law and Policy Review* 29 (2009), 107-123.

<sup>54</sup> Bradley Smith, “Broken Windows and Voting Rights,” *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 156 (2007), 241-246.

cascading positive effect on democracy; first, voter ID laws signal to voters that voting actually does matter as much if not more than buying alcohol, or boarding a plane, which should boost voter confidence. Knowing that the authorities are checking ID's in turn legitimizes electoral outcomes, and this legitimacy promotes trust in government. There are multiple problems with this reasoning, the most important of which is the utter lack of empirical evidence supporting it.<sup>55</sup>

Ansolahehere and Persily found that survey respondents who reported being asked to show voter ID “believe, if anything, that [voter impersonation] fraud is *more* prevalent,” not that the electoral system is more secure.<sup>56</sup> Interpreting this finding, they hypothesized that voter ID requirements “might be a symptom of voters’ fears of fraud, rather than a remedy,” likening a restrictive ID regime to the way a large police presence might heighten residents’ fears of crime. By this analogy, rather than alleviating a fear of fraud, stringent voter ID laws actually might cause voters to worry that a problem with voter fraud has made the laws necessary.<sup>57</sup> In other words, it is possible that restrictive ID laws could have the opposite effect on public confidence in the electoral process than what proponents of these laws allege.

Statements by elected and other government officials that voter fraud is a problem, therefore, can encourage a belief among the public that there is a big problem with voter fraud even when, as in the case of North Carolina, there is in fact no problem. Atkeson’s 2011 study of voters in New Mexico, for example, finds “that perceptions of fraud are mainly driven by media exposure to the 2000 and 2004 presidential election.”<sup>58</sup> Most citizens do not work in election administration or law enforcement, nor do they study the incidence of voter fraud. They are not equipped with the experience, knowledge or information they need to be able to judge the accuracy of claims about voter fraud made by politicians or other appropriately placed government officials to whom they may defer for authority on the subject.

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<sup>55</sup> Minnite, “Voter Identification Laws,” 105-106. In an unpublished working paper, Alvarez, Atkeson, Hall and Sinclair found that the partisanship of survey respondents strongly influenced attitudes toward voter ID requirements and voter confidence. See R. Michael Alvarez, Lonna Rae Atkeson, Thad E. Hall, and J. Andrew Sinclair, “The Balance Between Preventing Fraud and Ensuring Participation: Attitudes Towards Voter Identification in New Mexico,” VTP Working Paper 106, Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, July 2011. See also, Ansolahehere and Persily, “Vote Fraud in the Eye of the Beholder;” Stephen D. Ansolahehere, “Effects of Identification Requirements on Voting: Evidence from the Experiences of Voters on Election Day,” *PS* 42 (2009), 127-130; and Atkeson, “Voter Confidence in 2010,” 2011.

<sup>56</sup> Ansolahehere and Persily, “Vote Fraud in the Eye of the Beholder,” 1756. (emphasis added).

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 1755 (note 43).

<sup>58</sup> Atkeson, “Voter Confidence in 2010,” 24.

#### **IV. CONCLUSION**

Voters can only influence the part of the electoral process to which they have access, namely casting their own votes. There is virtually no evidence available suggesting that voters are intentionally corrupting the electoral process, either nationally or in North Carolina. Accordingly, I conclude that stringent photo identification requirements to vote are not justified by claims that such requirements are needed to reduce or prevent voter impersonation forms of election fraud because as the empirical record makes clear, fraud committed by voters either in registering to vote or at the polls on Election Day is exceedingly rare.

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**APPENDIX A**

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***Curriculum Vitae* of Lorraine C. Minnite, Ph.D**

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**EDUCATION**

**The Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York**

**Ph.D.** in Political Science, 2000

*Dissertation:* "Identity, Voting Rights and the Remapping of Political Representation in New York City"

*Honors:* Distinction

**M.Phil.** in Political Science, 1994

*Major field:* American Politics

*Minor field:* Public Policy

**M.A.** in Political Science, 1992

*Master's Thesis:* "The Ecology of the Underclass: William Julius Wilson and the Chicago School"

**Boston University, College of Liberal Arts**

**B.A.** in History, 1983

*Area of Concentration:* American Civilization

*Honors:* Cum Laude

**ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE**

**Associate Professor**

*Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey – Camden Campus, 2011 to present.*

Teach graduate courses in public policy and community development and undergraduate courses in urban studies.

**Assistant Professor**

*Barnard College, Columbia University, January 2000 to 2011.*

Taught undergraduate courses in American politics and urban studies.

**Associate Director**

*The Center for Urban Research and Policy, Columbia University, December 1993 to 2000.*

Responsible for the day-to-day management of the Center; wrote grant proposals and helped secure funding from government and private sources for all activities totaling nearly \$2,000,000.

**Instructor and Research Associate**

*Metropolitan Studies Department, New York University, Spring 1991.*

Designed and taught a core course for undergraduates on the political and economic development of post-war American cities.

**Assistant Program Director**

*Borough of Manhattan Community College, City University of New York, 1987 to 1990.*

Assisted the Director in all administrative aspects of the BMCC Summer Immersion Program, a non-traditional, intensive, remedial education program.

**Research Assistant and Data Analyst**

*CUNY Data Service, The Graduate School, City University of New York, 1987 to 1991.*

EXPERT REPORT OF LORRAINE C. MINNITE, PH.D

Programmed and analyzed large data sets from the 1980 STF and PUMS (microdata) Census files, and the New York City Housing and Vacancy Surveys.

**Research Assistant**

*Department of Political Science, The Graduate School, City University of New York, 1985 to 1987.*

Worked on various research projects for Prof. Marilyn Gittell.

**OTHER EMPLOYMENT**

**Research Director**

*Project Vote, 2010 to 2011.*

Developed a research program and conducted research for a non-profit organization that runs voter registration drives, litigates violations of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993, and advocates for the voting rights of minorities, youth and the poor.

**Issues Director**

*The Committee for David N. Dinkins, II, New York City, 1991 to 1993.*

Conducted research for Mayor David N. Dinkins' campaign committee on a wide range of public policy issues and problems facing New York City.

**Campaign Manager**

*McCabe for City Council, Brooklyn, New York, 1991.*

Organized and administered a successful campaign for the Democratic Party nomination and the New York City Council seat in the 38th Council District.

**Union Organizer**

*District 65/UAW, (AFL-CIO), Northeast Regional Office, Boston, Massachusetts, 1984 to 1985, Summer 1986.*

Participated in the planning and implementation of a union organizing campaign; served as editor of a union local's newsletter; assisted negotiating committee in contract negotiations.

**ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL HONORS**

Jay Sigler Award for Teaching Excellence, Rutgers-Camden Public Administration Student Association, 2013  
Affiliated Faculty, Center for Community Leadership, Rutgers-Camden, 2013 to present  
Affiliated Faculty, Center for Urban Research and Education, Rutgers-Camden, 2012 to present  
Civic Engagement Faculty Fellow, Rutgers-Camden, 2012  
Selected a "Top Work" in Democracy and Elections, The Agenda Project, 2012  
2011 *Choice* Magazine "Outstanding Academic Title" for *The Myth of Voter Fraud*  
Carnegie Corporation of New York Special Opportunities Fund Award (\$50,000), 2007  
Senior Fellow, Dēmos – A Network for Ideas and Action, 2006 to present  
Member, Working Group on Immigration Challenges, The Century Foundation Homeland Security Project, 2004  
Faculty Fellow, Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy, Columbia University, 2002 to 2011  
Member, Working Group on New York's Recovery from 9-11, Russell Sage Foundation, 2002 to 2005  
Curriculum Development Award (\$1,500), Barnard Project on Diaspora and Migration, 2000  
CUNY Graduate School Dissertation Year Fellowship (\$10,000), 1996-1997

**PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS**

American Political Science Association  
American Sociological Association  
European Sociological Association  
Planners Network  
Social Science History Association  
Urban Affairs Association

## COURSES

### *Rutgers-Camden*

Alternative Development Strategies for Distressed Cities  
Civic Engagement, Nonprofits and Community Development  
Foundations of Policy Analysis  
Politics of Community Development  
Poverty and the Urban Environment  
Research Workshop

### *Barnard College*

American Urban Politics  
Contemporary Urban Problems  
Dynamics of American Politics  
Participation and Democracy  
Senior Research Seminar in American Politics  
Urban Myths and the American City

### *New York University*

The Crisis of the Modern American City

### *Graduate Committees (Examiner)*

Columbia University Ph.D. Program in Political Science, Dissertation Committee, 12/00, 5/03, 5/09.  
Columbia University School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation, Dissertation Proposal Committee, 2/08.  
Columbia University School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation, Dissertation Committee, 4/10.  
CUNY Graduate Center Ph.D. Program in Political Science, Dissertation Committee, 4/05, 5/06, 8/06.  
CUNY Graduate Center Ph.D. Program in Political Science, Oral Doctoral Exam, 12/00.

## PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS

### *Books*

*The Myth of Voter Fraud*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2010.

*Keeping Down the Black Vote: Race and the Demobilization of American Voters*, New York: The New Press, 2009; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven and Margaret Groarke.

### *Journal Articles*

“New Challenges in the Study of Right-wing Propaganda: Priming the Populist Backlash to ‘Hope and Change,’” *New Political Science* 34:4 (2012), 506-526.

“Modeling Problems in the Voter ID-Voter Turnout Debate,” *Election Law Journal* 8:2 (2009), 85-102; co-authored with Robert S. Erikson.

“Models, Assumptions, and Model Checking in Ecological Regressions,” *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 164, Part 1 (2001), 101-118; co-authored with Andrew Gelman, David K. Park, Stephen Ansolabehere, and Phillip N. Price.

### *Chapters in Edited Volumes*

“Contested Concepts of Class: Implications and Applications,” in Mae Shaw and Marjorie Mayo, eds., *Class, Inequality and Community Development*, Bristol, UK: Policy Press at the University of Bristol, *in progress*; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.

“Making Policy in the Streets,” in James DeFilippis, *Urban Policy in the Age of Obama*, Minneapolis: University of

EXPERT REPORT OF LORRAINE C. MINNITE, PH.D

Minnesota Press, *in-progress*; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.

“Crisis, Convulsion and the Welfare State,” in Kevin Farnsworth and Zoë Irving, eds. *Social Policy in an Age of Austerity*, Policy Press, *in-progress*; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.

“Poor People’s Politics,” in David Brady, *Oxford Handbook of Poverty and Society*, New York: Oxford University Press, *in-progress*; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.

“Voter Identification Laws: The Controversy Over Voter Fraud,” in Matthew J. Streb, ed., *Law and Election Politics: The Rules of the Game*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed., New York: Routledge, 2012.

“Lost in Translation? A Critical Reappraisal of the Concept of Immigrant Political Incorporation,” in Jennifer Hochschild and John H. Mollenkopf, eds., *Bringing Outsiders In: Transatlantic Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2009.

“Environmental Risk and Childhood Disease in an Urban Working Class Caribbean Neighborhood,” in Sherrie L. Bayer and Barbara Lynch Deutsch, ed., *Beyond Sun and Sand: Caribbean Environmentalisms*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006; co-authored with Immanuel Ness.

“Outside the Circle: The Impact of Post-9/11 Responses on the Immigrant Communities of New York City,” in John H. Mollenkopf, ed., *Contentious City: The Politics of Recovery in New York City*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2005.

“Between White and Black: Asian and Latino Political Participation in the 2000 Presidential Election in New York City,” in William E. Nelson, Jr. and Jessica Lavariega Monforti, eds., *Black and Latino/a Politics: Issues in Political Development in the United States*, Miami: Barnhardt and Ash, 2005; co-authored with John Mollenkopf.

“The Changing Arab New York Community,” in Kathleen Benson and Philip M. Kayal, eds., *A Community of Many Worlds: Arab Americans in New York City*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002; co-authored with Louis Abdellatif Cristillo.

“Social Capital, Political Participation and the Urban Community,” in Susan Saegert, J. Phillip Thompson, and Mark Warren, eds., *Social Capital and Poor Communities*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001; co-authored with Ester R. Fuchs and Robert Y. Shapiro.

“Patterns of Neighborhood Change,” in John H. Mollenkopf and Manuel Castells, eds., *Dual City: Restructuring New York*, New York: Russell Sage, 1991; co-authored with Frank F. DeGiovanni.

## **OTHER PUBLICATIONS**

### ***Chapter in Conference Proceedings***

“The Political Participation of Immigrants in New York,” in *In Defense of the Alien: Proceedings of the 2000 Annual National Legal Conference on Immigration and Refugee Policy*, Vol. XXIII. New York: Center for Migration Studies, 2001; co-authored with Jennifer Holdaway and Ronald Hayduk.

### ***Encyclopedia Entries***

“The Underclass,” in *The International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Elsevier, *forthcoming*; co-authored with Paul J. Jargowsky.

“Welfare,” in *The International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Elsevier, *forthcoming*; co-authored with Joan Maya Mazelis.

“Voter Participation,” in *The Encyclopedia of Social Work*, 20<sup>th</sup> ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 2008, online version 2013; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.



“The Working Families Party,” in Immanuel Ness, ed. *The Encyclopedia of American Third Parties*, Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2000.

### **Book Reviews**

*Waiting for the Cemetery Vote*, by Tom Glaze, *American Review of Politics*, (Spring/Summer 2012).

*Election Fraud: Detecting and Deterring Electoral Manipulation* edited by R. Michael Alvarez, Thad Hall and Susan D. Hyde, *Election Law Journal* 8:3 (2009).

*Governing From Below: Urban Regions and the Global Economy* by Jefferey M. Sellers, Cambridge University Press, 2002, in *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 118, No. 4 (Winter 2003-2004).

*Social Class, Politics, and Urban Markets: The Makings of Bias in Policy Outcomes* by Herman L. Boschken, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002, in *The International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (December 2003).

*The Miami Fiscal Crisis: Can A Poor City Regain Prosperity?* by Milan J. Dluhy and Howard A. Frank, Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 2002, in *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 117, No. 4 (Winter 2002-2003).

### **Research Reports, Memoranda and Briefs**

*The Misleading Myth of Voter Fraud in American Elections*, Key Findings Brief, Scholars Strategy Network, February 2014.

*Latino New Yorkers in the 2008 Presidential Election: The New Americans Exit Poll*, New York Latino Research Network (NYLARNet) at The University of Albany, Fall 2011.

*Research Memo: First-time Voters in the 2008 Election*, Project Vote, Washington, D.C., April 2011.

*An Analysis of Who Voted (And Who Didn't Vote) in the 2010 Election*, Project Vote, Washington, D.C., November 2010.

*Research Memo: Debunking the Tea Party's Election Night Message*, Project Vote, Washington, D.C., October 26, 2010.

*What Happened to Hope and Change? A Poll of 2008 Voters*, Project Vote, Washington, D.C., September 2010.

*Election Day Registration: A Study of Voter Fraud Allegations and Findings on Voter Roll Security*, Dēmos – A Network for Ideas and Action, New York, November 2007.

*The Politics of Voter Fraud*, Project Vote, Washington, D.C., March 2007.

*Securing the Vote: An Analysis of Election Fraud*, Dēmos – A Network for Ideas and Action, 2003, New York; updated 2007; co-authored with David Callahan.

### **Journalism**

My expertise on elections and voter fraud was sought and widely cited and I was quoted in print and broadcast media during the 2008, 2010 and 2012 election seasons, including, for example, in the following: *The New Yorker Magazine*, *The New Republic*, *Mother Jones*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *In These Times*, *American Prospect*, *Washington Monthly*, *Monthly Review*, *New Left Review*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, Associated Press, McClatchy, Al Jazeera English (*Fault Lines*, Washington, D.C.), WZBC (*News*, Boston), WBAI (*Democracy Now!*, New York), WNYC (*The Brian Lehrer Show*, New York), WHYY (*Radio Times*, Philadelphia), NPR (*Morning Edition*, Washington, D.C.), CBS News, ABC News Radio, Salon.com, Talking Points Memo, Alternet, The Huffington Post, Slate Magazine, and CQ Researcher, among others.

“Movements Need Politicians – And Vice Versa,” *The Nation*, October 22, 2012; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.

“The Other Campaign: Who Gets To Vote,” *New Labor Forum*, May 2012; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.

“Why We Need ACORN,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 22, 2010; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.

“Re-Drawing the Map of U.S. Politics,” *Red Pepper*, April, 2008; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.

“N.C. Rejects Politics of Fear,” *The Charlotte Observer*, Charlotte, North Carolina, July 18, 2007.

“They Are Arriving: Immigrants Are Gaining Power in New York’s Voting Booths,” *New York Daily News*, New York, July 24, 2005.

“Albany’s Making Bad Elections Worse,” *New York Daily News*, New York, August 22, 2004.

## **UNPUBLISHED PAPERS, PRESENTATIONS AND REPORTS**

### ***Works in Progress***

“The Political Exclusion of the Urban Poor”

“Food Movements and Food Policy”

“Voter Purgings Under the National Voter Registration Act of 1993”

“Is Political Polarization Good or Bad for Democracy?”

“To Comply Or Not To Comply: Bureaucratic Barriers and Political Resistance in the Implementation of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993”

“Latino Voting Patterns in New York State”

“The Supreme Court’s Tortured Voting Rights Jurisprudence”

### ***Conference Participation, Papers and Invited Presentations***

“The Poverty of Politics in a Northern City: A Case Study of Democratic Inclusion and Economic Exclusion in Philadelphia, 1960-2010,” paper presented at the 39<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, Toronto, November 6-9, 2014.

“Crisis, Convulsion and the Welfare State,” roundtable presentation at the 109<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, August 16-19, 2014; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.

“Making Policy in the Streets,” paper presented at the 44<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Urban Affairs Association, San Antonio, March 20, 2014; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.

Invited Panelist, “Voter Suppression, Equal Rights, and the Promise of Democracy,” sponsored by the Scholars Strategy Network, the Center for American Political Studies, and the Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy, Harvard University, March 6, 2014.

“Crisis, Convulsion and the Welfare State,” paper presented at the 11<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the European Sociological Association, Torino, Italy, August 28-31, 2013; co-authored with Frances Fox Piven.

Invited Panelist, “Anatomy of A Public Interest Lawsuit: Voter ID Legislation – A Public Interest Legal Challenge,” sponsored by Penn Law Clinical Programs, Lawyering in the Public Interest, Toll Public Interest Center, American Constitution Society and the Civil Rights Law Project, University of Pennsylvania Law School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 5, 2012.

Invited Panelist, "The Voting Rights Act: Where Do We Go From Here?" Rutgers University Law Review Symposium, Trenton, New Jersey, April 13, 2012.

Invited Panelist, "Voting Rights," Civil Rights Law Society, Columbia University Law School, New York City, March 20, 2012.

Invited Panelist, "Race and Public Policy," conference at George Mason University School of Public Policy, Arlington, Virginia, October 10, 2011.

Invited Panelist, "Organizing the Poor for Rights: The Work of Frances Fox Piven," 107<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, September 1-4, 2011.

"Is Political Polarization Good or Bad for Democracy?," paper presented at the 69<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, March 30-April 2, 2011.

Invited Roundtable Participant, "Voter Disenfranchisement in American Politics," 82<sup>nd</sup> Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, January 6-8, 2011.

Invited Panelist, "Voter Participation," New York City Charter Revision Commission, New York City, June 2, 2010.

Discussant, "Immigrant Voters: Asian Americans and the 2008 Election," Immigration Seminar Series, Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York, May 4, 2009.

"Purging Voters Under the NVRA," paper presented at the 67<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2-5, 2009; co-authored with Margaret Groarke.

Invited Panelist, "Democracy in America: The African-American Experience – Then, Now and Future," U.S. Mission to the United Nations, New York, March 17, 2009.

Invited Speaker, "Voter Suppression in the 2008 Presidential Election," Funders Committee for Civic Participation, Washington, D.C., December 9, 2008.

Invited Panelist, "Stealing the Vote in 2008," A Panel Discussion at New York University, October 16, 2008.

Invited Panelist, "Keeping Down the Vote: Vote Suppression and the 2008 Election," Sarah Lawrence College, September 23, 2008.

"Modeling Problems in the Voter ID-Voter Turnout Debate," paper presented at the 8<sup>th</sup> Annual State Politics and Policy Conference, Temple University, Philadelphia, May 30-31, 2008; co-authored with Robert S. Erikson.

Panelist, "Keeping Down the Black Voter: Race and the Demobilization of American Voters," *Left Forum*, New York, March 16, 2008.

Panel Discussant, "Group Mobilization, Partisanship, Ideas, and Leadership: The Los Angeles and New York Mayoral Elections of 2005," 102<sup>nd</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August 31-September 3, 2006.

"Re-thinking Immigrant Political Incorporation," paper presented at the 36<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Urban Affairs Association, Montreal, Canada, April 19-22, 2006.

"Immigrant Politics in an Age of Terror," paper presented at the 101<sup>st</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1-4, 2005.

Panel Discussant, "Immigrants As Local Political Actors," 100<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 1-4, 2004.

Invited Lecturer, "Literature of Immigration," New Jersey Council for the Humanities Teacher Institute, Monmouth University, Long Branch, New Jersey, August 5, 2004.

"The Impact of 9/11 on Immigrant Politics in New York, With a Focus on Arab, Muslim, and South Asian Immigrant Communities," Columbia University Seminar on the City, New York City, March 23, 2004.

Invited Participant, "The Impact of Post-9/11 Immigration and Law Enforcement Policies," The Century Foundation, New York City, February 4, 2004.

Workshop Participant, Multi-race Study Group, *Harvard CAPS Workshop on Methodologies to Study Immigrant Political Incorporation*, Harvard University, Cambridge, October 30-31, 2003.

Invited Lecturer, "Literature of Immigration," New Jersey Council for the Humanities Teacher Institute, Monmouth University, Long Branch, New Jersey, July 10, 2003.

Panelist, "Rebuilding Post-War Iraq: Domestic and International Implications;" Community Forum, Barnard College, New York City, April 21, 2003.

"Political Participation and the Neglected Role of Spatial Form;" paper presented at the 33<sup>rd</sup> Annual Meeting of the Urban Affairs Association, Cleveland, Ohio, March 27-30, 2003.

Invited Speaker, "Teach-In on Iraq;" Barnard College, New York City, November 8, 2002.

Panelist, "Colloquium on Responding to Violence," in honor of Virginia C. Gildersleeve Lecturer, Jody Williams, Barnard Center for Research on Women, Barnard College, New York City, October 25, 2002.

Panel Moderator, "Who is Brooklyn?" at *The Future of Brooklyn* Conference, Brooklyn College, June 7, 2002.

"Asian and Latino Participation in New York City: The 2000 Presidential Election," paper presented at the 97<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 29 – September 2, 2001; co-authored with John H. Mollenkopf.

Organizer and Panelist, *The Changing Face of New York's Electorate: The Immigrant Vote in 2000 and Beyond*, A Panel Discussion and Media Briefing sponsored by the New York Immigration Coalition and Barnard College, New York City, May 2, 2001.

Organizer and Panelist, *The Muslim Communities in New York City Project; A One-Day Conference*, sponsored by the Center for Urban Research and Policy and the Middle East Institute at the School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, New York City, April 30, 2001.

Panelist, *Democratizing New York City; Re-imagining City Government*, sponsored by the Center for Humanities, CUNY Graduate Center, New York City, March 27, 2001.

Organizer and Panel Moderator, *Independent Politics in A Global World*, sponsored by the Independent Politics Group, CUNY Graduate Center, New York City, October 6-7, 2000.

"Political Capital and Political Participation," paper presented at the 96<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 31-September 3, 2000; co-authored with Ester R. Fuchs and Robert Y. Shapiro.

"The Political Participation of Immigrants in New York," at *Immigrant Political Participation in New York City; A One-Day Working Conference*, sponsored by the Center for Urban Research/CUNY and the International Center for Migration, Ethnicity, and Citizenship, New York City, June 16, 2000

"The Muslim Community in New York City Project," with Louis Abdellatif Cristillo; *Muslims in New York: An*

*Educational Program for Religious Leaders in New York City*, seminar on faith traditions in New York; sponsored by the Interfaith Center of New York and the Imans Council of New York, New York City, June 14, 2000.

“The Political Participation of Immigrants in New York,” Session VI on *Integration of Immigrants and Their Descendants*, Center for Migration Studies 20<sup>th</sup> Annual National Legal Conference on Immigration and Refugee Policy, Washington, D.C., March 30-31, 2000.

“The Changing Arab New York Community,” with Louis Abdellatif Cristillo; *A Community of Many Worlds: Arab Americans in New York City*, symposium sponsored by the Museum of the City of New York, New York City, February 5-6, 2000.

“The Political Incorporation of Immigrants in New York,” paper presented at the 95<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, September 1-4, 1999; co-authored with Jennifer Holdaway and Ronald Hayduk .

“Political Capital and Political Participation,” co-authored with Ester R. Fuchs and Robert Y. Shapiro; paper presented at the 58<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 15-17, 1999.

“Racial and Ethnic and Urban/Suburban Differences in Public Opinion and Policy Priorities,” paper presented at the 58<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 15-17, 1999; co-authored with Ester R. Fuchs, Robert Y. Shapiro, and Gustavo Cano.

“The Importance of Full Disclosure of Non-response Due to Refusals and the Nature of Potential Bias in Phone Surveys,” with Robert Y. Shapiro, evening workshop presentation to the New York City chapter of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, New York City, March 9, 1999.

“White, Black and Latino Voter Turnout in the 1993 New York City Mayoral Election: A Comparison of Ecological Regression Techniques and Exit Poll Data,” paper presented at the 94<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, September 4, 1998; co-authored with David K. Park and Daniel M. Slotwiner.

Panel Discussant, “Race, Rights, and American Politics,” panel at the 27<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Political Science Association and International Studies Association-Northeast, Newark, New Jersey, November 9-11, 1995.

“Assessing the Quality of Political Reform: Redistricting and the Case of New York City,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the New York State Political Science Association, Albany, New York, April 22, 1994.

### **Research Reports**

*How to Think About Voter Participation*, White Paper, New York City Charter Revision Commission, July 2010.

*The Myth of Voter Fraud*, White Paper, Dēmos – A Network for Ideas and Action, May 2002.

*Evaluation of the New York Immigration Coalition’s ‘200,000 in 2000: New Americans Pledging to Strengthen Democracy and New York’ Initiative*, Final Report to the New York Foundation, with John H. Mollenkopf, August 2001.

*A Study of Attitudes Among Low-Income Parents Toward Environmental Health Risks and Childhood Disease: The Brooklyn College COPC Survey*, with Immanuel Ness, June 2001.

*Political Participation and Political Representation in New York City; With a Special Focus on Latino New Yorkers*, Report of the Columbia University/Hispanic Education and Legal Fund Opinion Research Project, co-authored with Robert Y. Shapiro and Ester R. Fuchs, December 1997.

### **Congressional Testimony, Amicus Filings and Expert Witness Participation in Court Cases**

Expert Witness, *Applewhite v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania, 2012-2013.

Expert Witness, *LULAC (formerly Jones) et al. v. Deininger*, U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Wisconsin,

EXPERT REPORT OF LORRAINE C. MINNITE, PH.D

2012-2013.

*Shelby County, Alabama v. Holder*; U.S. Supreme Court, Brief of Historians and Social Scientists as *Amici Curiae* in Support of Respondents, February 1, 2013 (signatory).

Expert Certification, *Rutgers University Student Assembly et al. v. Middlesex County Board of Elections*, Superior Court of New Jersey/Middlesex County, 2011-present.

*League of Women Voters v. Rokita*; Supreme Court of Indiana, Brief of *Amici Curiae* Lonna Rae Atkeson, Matt A. Barreto, Lorraine C. Minnite, Jonathan Nagler, Stephen A. Nuño and Gabriel Ramon Sanchez in Opposition to Defendant's Petition to Transfer, November 2009.

Expert Witness, *Democratic National Committee, et al. v. Republican National Committee, et al.*, U.S. District Court in the District of New Jersey, 2008-2009.

U.S. Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, *Hearing on In-Person Voter Fraud: Myth and Trigger for Voter Disenfranchisement?*, March 12, 2008 (written testimony).

Expert Witness, U.S. House Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, *Oversight Hearing on Voter Suppression*, February 26<sup>th</sup>, 2008 (oral and written testimony).

*William Crawford, et al. v. Marion County Election Board, et al.; Indiana Democratic Party, et al. v. Todd Rokita et al.; U.S. Supreme Court*, Brief of *Amici Curiae* The Brennan Center for Justice, Demos: A Network for Ideas and Action, Lorraine C. Minnite, Project Vote, and People for the American Way Foundation in Support of Petitioners, November 2007.

*William Crawford, et al. v. Marion County Election Board, et al.; Indiana Democratic Party, et al. v. Todd Rokita et al.; U.S. Supreme Court*, Brief of *Amici Curiae* of Historians and Other Scholars in Support of Petitioners, November 2007 (signatory).

Fact Witness, *ACORN et al. v. Bysiewicz*, U.S. District Court in the District of Connecticut, 2004-2005.

## RESEARCH GRANTS

*Principle Investigator*, "The Political Exclusion of the Urban Poor," Rutgers Research Council Award, 2013-2014 (\$3,000).

*Recipient*, RU FAIR ADVANCE (NSF) Camden Travel Award, March/April 2013 (\$1,590).

Funded by the Rutgers University Office for the Promotion of Women in Science, Engineering, and Mathematics (SciWomen) Institutional Transformation grant from the ADVANCE program of the National Science Foundation.

*Principal Investigator*, "University Collaborative Exit Poll," November 2008 to October 2009 (\$30,000). Funded by Columbia University Institute of Social and Economic Research and Policy, Center for Urban Research at the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York, and the New York Latino Research and Resources Network at the University of Albany, State University of New York.

*Co-Principal Investigator*, "2006 New Americans Exit Poll," November 2006 to October 2007 (\$10,000). Funded by the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Columbia University.

*Recipient*, Special Assistant Professor Leave Travel Grant, September 2003 to September 2005 (\$7,700). Funded by the Provost's Office, Winston Fund, Barnard College.

*Recipient*, Conference Grant, September 2003 to September 2005 (\$3,000). Funded by the Provost's Office, Forman Fund, Barnard College.

*Member*, Working Group on New York's Recovery from September 11<sup>th</sup>, June 2002 to June 2005 (\$30,000). Funded by

the Russell Sage Foundation.

*Principal Investigator*, “2002 New Americans Exit Poll,” December 2002 to March 2003 (\$1,800). Funded by the Faculty Research Fund of Barnard College.

*Principal Investigator*, “Evaluation of the New York Immigration Coalition’s ‘200,000 in 2000’ Campaign,” July 2000 to July 2001 (\$40,000). Barnard College, Columbia University. Funded by the New York Foundation.

*Co-Principal Investigator*, “Muslim Communities in New York City,” July 1998 to July 2001 (\$350,000). The Center for Urban Research and Policy, Columbia University. Funded by the Ford Foundation.

## SERVICE

### *College and University*

Member, General Education Committee, Subcommittee on Engaged Civic Learning, 2013-2014.

Marshal, Rutgers-Camden Commencement, 2013.

Director, Undergraduate Urban Studies Program, Rutgers-Camden, 2011-to present.

Member, Ford Faculty Seminar on Inequality in New York, Barnard College, 2009-2010.

Panelist, “Obama and the Immigrant Vote,” Barnard Forum on Migration, October 30, 2008.

Panel Moderator, “Is Democracy Democratic?” at the Thirty-Third Annual *The Scholar and the Feminist Conference*, Barnard College, March 11, 2008.

Participant, Mellon 23 Assembly, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota, February 15-17, 2008.

Panelist, “Election Reflections: The Bush Legacy and the Coming Presidential Elections,” Barnard College, Oct. 8, 2007.

Member, *The Scholar and the Feminist Conference* Planning Committee, Barnard Center for Research on Women, 2006.

Member, Faculty Programs and Governance Committee, 2005-2007 (on leave Spring 2007).

Member, Faculty Committee, Barnard Leadership Initiative, 2005-2007 (on leave Spring 2007).

Member, Medalist Committee, Barnard College, 2004-2006, 2007-2009 (on leave Spring 2007).

Member, Columbia University Seminar in Political and Social Thought, 2004 to 2011.

Faculty Mentor, Francene Rodgers Scholarship Program, Barnard College, Summer 2004.

Panel Moderator, “Governance by the Media: Feminists and the Coming Election,” at the Twenty-Ninth Annual *The Scholar and the Feminist Conference*, Barnard College, April 3, 2004.

Member, Ph.D. Subcommittee in Urban Planning, Columbia University School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation, 2003 to 2011.

Member, Columbia University Seminar on Globalization, Labor, and Popular Struggles, 2001 to 2011.

Member, Columbia University Seminar on the City, 2001 to 2011.

Faculty Mentor, Columbia University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Summer Research Program, 2001.

Advisory Board Member, Barnard Center for Research on Women, 2000 to 2011.

First Year Adviser, Barnard College, 2000 to 2004, 2009 to 2011.

One-Year Replacement Member, Committee on Programs and Academic Standing, Barnard College, 2000-2001.

### *Professional*

I have reviewed numerous journal articles for the *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Review of Politics*, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Law and Society Review*, *New Political Science*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Urban Affairs Review*, and *Working U.S.A.: The Journal of Labor and Society*; and book proposals and manuscripts for Blackwell Publishers, Lexington Books, Routledge, M.E. Sharpe, Inc., and The New Press.

Seminar Speaker, Carnegie-Knight News21 Initiative Reporting Seminar on Voting Rights, The Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication, Arizona State University, February 2, 2012.

Member, Best Book Committee, Urban Section, American Political Science Association, 2010-2011, 2012-2013.

Executive Council Member, Urban Section, American Political Science Association, 2005-2006, 2008-2010.

Member, Charles A. McCoy Career Achievement Award Committee, New Politics Section, APSA, 2008-2009.

Member, Best Dissertation Committee, Urban Section, American Political Science Association, 2008-2009.

Co-chair, Local Host Committee, American Sociological Association Annual Conference, 2006-2007.  
Nominating Committee, Urban Section, American Political Science Association, 2006-2007.  
Chair, Piven and Cloward Award Committee, New Political Science Section, APSA, 2005-2006.  
Member, Best Paper Committee, Urban Section, American Political Science Association, 2005-2006.  
Editorial Board Member, *Working USA: The Journal of Labor and Society*, 2004 to present.  
Grant Reviewer, Research Award Program, The City University of New York, 2003.  
Member, New York Colloquium on American Political Development, 2001 to 2011.

### **Community**

Board Member, Participatory Budgeting in New York City Research Board, 2013 to present.  
Invited Speaker, Registrar's of Voters Association of Connecticut, Annual Meeting, Cromwell, CT, April 12, 2012.  
Keynote Speaker, Federal Aviation Administration William J. Hughes Technical Center 2012 Black History Month Celebration, Atlantic City, New Jersey, February 15, 2012.  
Organizer, "National Teach-in on Debt, Austerity and How People Are Fighting Back," Judson Memorial Church, New York City, April 11, 2011.  
Host Committee, New York State Immigrant Action Fund, 2010.  
Board Member, The Left Forum, 2009 to 2013.  
Member, New York City Comptroller-Elect John Liu Transition Committee Working Group on External Affairs, 2009.  
Board Member, Project Vote, 2008-2009.  
Speaker, "The Immigrant Voter in New York City," New York Voter Assistance Commission, New York City, May 19, 2005; Citizens Union, New York City, May 18, 2005; New York Immigration Coalition, New York City, February 17, 2005; New York City Central Labor Council, New York City, April 28, 2004.  
Speaker, "The Post-9/11 Crackdown on Immigrants," Coney Island Avenue Project, Brooklyn, NY, March 25, 2004.  
Volunteer, *New York Immigration Coalition*, Voter Registration at INS Naturalization Ceremonies, 1998 to 2002.

### **PAID CONSULTANTSHIPS**

#### ***Arnold & Porter LLP, 2012-2013.***

Wrote expert reports for plaintiffs (2012, 2013) and testified (2012) as an expert witness in *Applewhite v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania.

#### ***New York City Charter Revision Commission, 2010.***

Analyzed the problem of voter participation in New York City and possible solutions for consideration by Commissioners as they prepared ballot referenda to be placed before the voters in 2010.

#### ***New York Latino Research and Resources Network at the University of Albany, State University of New York, 2008.***

Analyzed survey and other data and wrote report on Latino political participation in New York City and New York State in the 2008 presidential election.

#### ***New York Immigration Coalition, New York, New York, 2006.***

Provided technical assistance to a three-city exit poll survey project for the 2006 national midterm elections.

#### ***Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law, 2004-2005.***

Provided expert report on voter fraud and testified as a fact witness in *ACORN, et al. v. Bysiewicz* (Civil Action No. 3:04-CV-1624 (MRK)).

#### ***Howard Samuels State Management and Policy Center, Graduate School and University Center of CUNY, 2002.***

Consulted on survey design for a project on the efficacy of community-based organizations.

#### ***Dēmos, New York, New York, 2001 to 2002.***

Researched and wrote a study of voter fraud in contemporary American politics.

#### ***1199 Child Care Fund, New York, New York, 2000 to 2002.***

Prepared demographic data for Fund-eligible union members and their children.



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**APPENDIX B**

**LIST OF EXPERT TESTIMONY SINCE 2010**

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- *Lulac v. Deininger*, Civ. No. 2:12-cv-00185 (E.D. Wis. 2013).
- *Applewhite v. Pennsylvania*, No. 330 MD 2012 (Pa. Cmmw. Ct. 2014).

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**APPENDIX C**

**STATEMENT OF COMPENSATION**

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- Lorraine C. Minnite, Ph.D                      \$100 per hour
- Travel & Expenses                              Reimbursed at cost

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**APPENDIX D**
**MATERIALS CONSIDERED AS OF APRIL 11, 2014  
IN SUPPORT OF EXPERT REPORT AND OPINIONS**


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This report incorporates all of the research I have conducted on the subject of voter fraud and voter identification laws since 2001, including the research that I conducted while writing *The Myth of Voter Fraud* and other articles that I have published in peer-reviewed journals. In addition to the materials cited in this report, I considered the following items:

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
3/11/2013	North Carolina State Board of Elections, Documented Cases of Voter Fraud			Data Table
3/12/2013	Public Hearing on Voter Identification	SBE00000698	SBE00000866	Public Hearing
3/13/2013	Testimony of Allison Riggs before the House Elections Committee	SBE00000867	SBE00000871	Legislative Testimony
3/13/2013	Testimony of Bob Hall before the North Carolina House Elections Committee	SBE00000872	SBE00000875	Legislative Testimony
3/13/2013	Testimony of Francis X. De Luca before the North Carolina House Elections Committee	SBE00000876	SBE00000879	Legislative Testimony
3/13/2013	Testimony of Hans A. von Spakovsky before the North Carolina House Elections Committee	SBE00000880	SBE00000892	Legislative Testimony
3/13/2013	Testimony of Keesha Gaskins before the North Carolina House Elections Committee	SBE00000893	SBE00000895	Legislative Testimony
3/13/2013	Transcript of Proceedings before the North Carolina House Elections Committee	SBE00000897	SBE00000988	Committee Proceeding
04/03/2013	CTRL-ADV-00010426 - Transcript of Proceeding before the North Carolina House Elections Committee			Committee Proceeding
4/10/2013	Transcript of the Proceedings	SBE00001018	SBE00001069	Committee Proceeding
4/10/2013	Public Hearing on Voter Identification	SBE00001070	SBE00001231	Public Hearing
4/17/2013	League of Women Voters of North Carolina, Super Majority Supports Giving Voters a Non-Photo Option And Opposes Restrictions that Target Particular Groups	SBE00001243	SBE00001246	Article
4/17/2013	Transcript of Proceedings before the North Carolina House Elections Committee	SEB00001261	SBE00001404	Hearing
4/18/2013	CTRL-ADV-00010918 - Transcript of Proceedings before the North Carolina House Finance Committee			Committee Proceeding
4/23/2013	Transcript of Proceeding before the North Carolina House Appropriations Committee	SBE00000613	SBE00000671	Committee Proceeding
4/24/2013	CTRL-ADV-00009671 - Hearing			Hearing

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
	Transcript			
4/24/2013	Proceedings of Floor Session	SBE00001688	SBE00001868	Hearing
7/23/2013	Senate Debate on HB 589 VIVA/Election Reform, Rules Meeting	SBE00001997	SBE00002074	Rules Meeting
7/24/2013	Senate Debate on HB 589 VIVA/Election Reform, Senate Session, 2nd Reading	SBE00002186	SBE00002328	Senate Session
7/25/2013	Trasncript of Floor Debate (Excerpted) HB 589 and Proposed Amendments	SBE00001869	SBE00001990	Floor Debate
7/25/2013	Senate Debate on HB 589 VIVA/Election Reform, Senate Session, 3rd Reading	SBE00002084	SBE00002185	Senate Session
7/26/2013	Letter from North Carolina Attorney General Roy Cooper to Governor Pat McCrory regarding HB 589			Letter
2011-2012 Session	CTRL-ADV-00013176 - NCGA Sessions			Hearing
5/22/2003-3/14/2014	News Releases, North Carolina Attorney General's Office			News Releases
No date	CTRL-ADV-00010958 - K&E LLP Hearing 01 Track 1			Hearing
No date	CTRL-ADV-00011118 - K&E LLP Hearing 04 Track 1			Hearing
4/3/2013	Transcript of Proceedings before the North Carolina House Elections Committee	SBE00001453	SBE00001539	
4/3/2013	Transcript of Proceedings before the North Carolina House Elections Committee	SBE00001540	SBE00001626	
	News21, Election Fraud in America			<a href="http://votingrights.news21.com/interactive/election-fraud-database/index.html">http://votingrights.news21.com/interactive/election-fraud-database/index.html</a>
5/22/2003-3/14/2014	News Releases - North Carolina Attorney General's Office			<a href="http://www.ncdoj.gov/News-and-Alerts/News-Releases-and-Advisories.aspx">http://www.ncdoj.gov/News-and-Alerts/News-Releases-and-Advisories.aspx</a>
6/14/2004	Autograph required to vote on July 20 (Robesonian, The (Lumberton NC))			Newspaper article
6/28/2004	Officials: Voters must now sign register at polls (Daily Advance, The (Elizabeth City NC))			Newspaper article
7/17/2004	Davis alleges voter fraud - Candidate wants feds to monitor Tuesday's vote (Daily Advance, The (Elizabeth City NC))			Newspaper article
7/21/2004	Butterfield rolls across 1st District (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
8/1/2004	Gauging the Integrity of N.C. elections (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
10/8/2004	Improper Voter Registrations Warrant			Newspaper

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
	Sheriff's Attention - Alamance County's Sheriff Finds Evidence that Illegal Immigrants Have Registered to Vote. The State Must Protect the Election System's Integrity. (Greensboro News & Record (NC))			article
10/24/2004	Voters Found on Both N.C., S.C. Rolls - Miscount, Fraud Possible As Election Officials Not Cross-Checking Lists (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
10/25/2004	Voters already casting ballots (Robesonian, The (Lumberton NC))			Newspaper article
10/28/2004	Elections officials field few registration complaints No suspected fraud in any of Durham, Orange reports (Herald-Sun, The (Durham NC))			Newspaper article
10/29/2004	State Preparing to Deal with Possible Voter Fraud - Officials Seeing Signs that Violations are Likely (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
10/31/2004	Protecting democracy on Election Day (Chapel Hill News, The (NC))			Newspaper article
10/31/2004	ID is the key (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
11/1/2004	Record Early Voter Turnout Changes Political Landscape - For Most People It's A Matter of Convenience, but Success Means Elections Officials Must Figure Out How to Keep the Process Running Smoothly (Greensboro News & Record (NC))			Newspaper article
11/3/2004	Orange voters swamp election count (Chapel Hill News, The (NC))			Newspaper article
11/14/2004	Ballot Blues: Poll problems hurt process (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
11/16/2004	Take the 'Surprise!' Out of Election System - Four Suggestions Could Go Far Toward Fixing Our Election Day Problems (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
12/1/2004	In Brief (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
12/2/2004	In Brief (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
1/19/2005	Justices Question Balloting - N.C.'s Top Court Asks State If Out-of-Precinct Voting Aids Fraud (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
7/25/2005	Imagine Voting At Your Local Mall, Uptown Hotel - Plan Would Let You Cast Ballot At A Place More Convenient To			Newspaper article

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
	Work (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			
7/27/2005	'Any precinct' passes key vote (Chapel Hill News, The (NC))			Newspaper article
10/17/2005	50 Workers Fired Amid Fraud Claims - 680 Ballot Boxes Removed From Tally Over Suspicions of Tampering (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
1/17/2006	Little Election Fraud Found - Commission Throws Out Less Than 1% of Ballots From December Vote (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
5/31/2006	GOP bill proposes photo IDs for voters (Greensboro News & Record (NC))			Newspaper article
8/30/2006	WEB: Morgan Loses Election Fraud Case on All Counts (Pilot, The (Southern Pines, NC))			Newspaper article
4/9/2007	Elections board's powers unique in N.C. (Star-News (Wilmington NC))			Newspaper article
5/13/2007	Ex-Aide on McHenry Campaign Indicted - Lay Faces Charges of Election Law Violation Available Details Hint at Residency Issue Case is Politically Motivated, Congressman Says (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
5/15/2007	Ex-DA Says Case Wasn't Blocked - Official Handed Off Voter Fraud Case After Being Elected District Judge (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
5/19/2007	Former Aide To McHenry Turns Himself In (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
6/5/2007	Senate committee OKs bill to allow one-stop voting (Laurinburg Exchange, The (NC))			Newspaper article
6/15/2007	N.C. Pressed On Voter Listings - State, Feds Say Rolls Out Of Date, Push Changes Official Says No Need (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
6/16/2007	State, feds examine possible voting problems (Greensboro News & Record (NC))			Newspaper article
6/17/2007	The Right To Vote - Auditor Merritt Has 'Sensitive Information' To Explain (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
6/20/2007	Auditor, Elections Director Clash Over Voter Rolls - Conflict Over Accuracy Of Voter Eligibility Also Brings Allegations Of Partisanship (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
6/21/2007	Voter Registration Bill Passes Senate - May Stall In House Because Of			Newspaper article

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
	Requirement For English-Only Ballots N.C. Legislature (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			
6/21/2007	'Awkward' Auditor - Merritt Didn't Produce When Lawmakers Provided Pulpit (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
6/21/2007	Senate OKs Early Vote - Backers Of Legislation Say It Will Help Increase Voter Registration (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
6/23/2007	Bill Put On Hold In State Senate - Spanish-Language Voter-Registration Forms Are Debated (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
7/12/2007	Form of same-day voter registration approved by NC Legislature Wednesday (Laurinburg Exchange, The (NC))			Newspaper article
7/12/2007	Voter Bill Heads To Governor - Revised Proposal Would Allow Registration At 'One-Stop' Sites (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
7/18/2007	N.C. Rejects Politics Of Fear - Republicans Are Using Fear Of Voter Fraud To Make It Harder To Vote (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
8/5/2007	Columbia Men Admit Federal Election Fraud - Officials Say Pair Sought Support For Proposed High-Stakes Bingo Hall (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
8/5/2007	Two Columbia men plead guilty to election fraud (Mt. Airy News, The (NC))			Newspaper article
8/10/2007	Probation For Former McHenry Worker (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
8/26/2007	Expanding Democracy - N.C. Lawmakers Remove An Unnecessary Limit On Voting (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
10/10/2007	Ex-Dunn mayor gets job back (Fayetteville Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
11/21/2007	Hearing set on Pittsboro election (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
11/26/2007	Race colors election fight (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
11/28/2007	Protest in mayoral election dismissed (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
12/7/2007	Election dispute goes to state (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
12/9/2007	State Board to decide local election protest (Chapel Hill News, The (NC))			Newspaper article
12/10/2007	Vote dispute going to new level - State board to hear Chatham allegations (Chapel			Newspaper article

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
	Hill Herald (NC))			
3/27/2008	SBI: No findings yet in Stallings fraud probe - Parrish sought agency probe in February (Daily Advance, The (Elizabeth City NC))			Newspaper article
5/2/2008	N.C. voters don't have to worry about Ids - Requirements different for one-stop voting (Mt. Airy News, The (NC))			Newspaper article
5/14/2008	No outcomes changed by canvass (Daily Reflector, The (Greenville, NC))			Newspaper article
9/19/2008	Elections chief asks for voter fraud probe - Ashe wants state to examine 80 registration forms (Herald-Sun, The (Durham NC))			Newspaper article
10/16/2008	GOP alleges voter fraud (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
10/16/2008	No evidence of voter purging in N.C. (Sampson Independent, The (Clinton NC))			Newspaper article
10/17/2008	FBI Investigating Phony Applications - Acorn Accused Of Coordinating The Fraud Timing Called 'Highly Suspicious.' (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
10/25/2008	Orange turns out for early voting - By Friday morning, 21% of those registered had voted (Chapel Hill Herald (NC))			Newspaper article
10/29/2008	Don't believe everything you read: E-mail making its way around the nation alleging voter fraud proves untrue (Free Press, The (Kinston NC))			Newspaper article
10/29/2008	New elections officer combats fraud (Princeton News-Leader (NC))			Newspaper article
10/29/2008	Council of State races will bring new faces to some offices (Star-News (Wilmington NC))			Newspaper article
10/30/2008	It's all hearsay: Lester Jarman attributes heart of his e-mail to a mystery man (Free Press, The (Kinston NC))			Newspaper article
10/31/2008	Bill Clinton, Obama And A Voting Law (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
11/1/2008	Durham early voting extended - Board votes to keep polls open until 5 p.m. today (Herald-Sun, The (Durham NC))			Newspaper article
11/2/2008	When voting early meant voter fraud (Herald-Sun, The (Durham NC))			Newspaper article
11/4/2008	Mother to challenge vote by her disabled son (Herald-Sun, The (Durham NC))			Newspaper article
11/7/2008	Does Voting Procedure Invited Possible Fraud? (Pilot, The (Southern Pines, NC))			Newspaper article
11/25/2008	Voter fraud appeal delays oath of office (Fayetteville Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article



Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
11/27/2008	Local GOP to take case to state (Fayetteville Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
2/19/2009	Two charged with voter fraud (Statesville Record & Landmark (NC))			Newspaper article
9/9/2009	State elections - board probes - possible 2007 - voter fraud (Star-News (Wilmington NC))			Newspaper article
9/16/2009	State officials to visit Topsail after allegations of voter fraud surface - TOPSAIL VOICE (Topsail Voice, The (Hampstead, NC))			Newspaper article
10/30/2009	City Council features four contested races - Economy, crime are top issues (Robesonian, The (Lumberton NC))			Newspaper article
12/3/2009	Fair Bluff on track to new election - Scott asks for four to be charged with voter fraud (News Reporter, The (Whiteville NC))			Newspaper article
12/5/2009	Four admit they voted in election but were ineligible - Others defend residency in Fair Bluff (News Reporter, The (Whiteville NC))			Newspaper article
12/1/2009	Dixon's election protest dropped (News Reporter, The (Whiteville NC))			Newspaper article
12/22/2009	State board rules on Fair Bluff race - Britt, Scott plan for new election. (News Reporter, The (Whiteville NC))			Newspaper article
12/30/2009	Topsail Beach voter fraud investigation ends without any charges (Star-News (Wilmington NC))			Newspaper article
1/6/2010	Topsail Beach commissioner cleared in voter fraud cases - TOPSAIL VOICE (Topsail Voice, The (Hampstead NC))			Newspaper article
2/16/2010	City feeling pressure to change its election system (News Herald, The (Morganton NC))			Newspaper article
4/3/2010	Meredith: 2003 election fraud allegations baseless (Fayetteville Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
5/6/2010	Legislator alleges fraud in his loss (Fayetteville Observer, the (NC))			Newspaper article
5/28/2010	Possible voter fraud under investigation (Fayetteville Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
6/29/2010	Blanks cleared of vote fraud (Fayetteville Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
7/2/2010	Blanks cleared - State investigation shows no wrongdoing in voting controversy (Bladen Journal (Elizabethtown NC))			Newspaper article
7/11/2010	Other Balloting Reforms Should Take Precedence (Pilot, The (Southern Pines NC))			Newspaper article

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
8/24/2010	Mayoral candidate accused of voter fraud (Robesonian, The (Lumberton NC))			Newspaper article
8/25/2010	Candidate allegedly voted for self twice (Fayetteville Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
9/25/2010	Meredith, GOP warn of possible lawsuits (Fayetteville Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
10/16/2010	Early voting period offers ease, convenience (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
10/27/2010	Poll observers upset voters - Randall supporters blamed (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
10/27/2010	Randall's tea party poll observers harass voters (Raleigh Examiner (NC))			Newspaper article
10/28/2010	Close eyes - Problems with some poll observers in Wake County indicate a possibility of intimidation. (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
10/28/2010	Editorial - Voting-machine problems caused by simple human error (Star-News (Wilmington NC))			Newspaper article
10/29/2010	Concerns grow about election fraud and voter intimidation (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
10/30/2010	More Vote Fraud in NC ? 2,660 People Over Age Of 110 Filing Absentee Ballots (Charlotte Examiner (NC))			Newspaper article
11/7/2010	Why the 'voter fraud' myth won't die (Herald-Sun, The (Durham NC))			Newspaper article
11/15/2010	State GOP seeks photo ID to vote (Fayetteville Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
12/6/2010	N.C. GOP Readies Push For Photo IDs For Voters - Backers Say It Will Prevent Fraud, But Foes Say That Isn't A Problem In State (Charlotte-Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
12/7/2010	Would photo ID fix non-existent problem? - Proposal isn't much of a barrier to voting, or voter fraud, either. (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
12/7/2010	The voter ID debate (Mt. Airy News, The (NC))			Newspaper article
12/8/2010	Top conservative priority symbolizes a dark, pessimistic new era (Richmond County Daily Journal (Rockingham NC))			Newspaper article
12/10/2010	Voter ID not a pressing issue (Greensboro News & Record (NC))			Newspaper article
1/22/2011	Coffman allegations examined (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
1/28/2011	Bob Hall - Requiring ID to vote a waste of time, tax dollars (StarNews (Wilmington			Newspaper article

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
	NC))			
1/30/2011	GOP lawmakers determined to pass voter ID bill (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
2/3/2011	Voter photo IDs will take money state doesn't have - N.C. Perspectives (Observer News Enterprise, The (Newton NC))			Newspaper article
2/4/2011	Voter ID: Throwback to Bad Old Days? (Pilot, The (Southern Pines NC))			Newspaper article
2/6/2011	Legislators split on vote ID (Robesonian, The (Lumberton NC))			Newspaper article
2/7/2011	League of Women Voters Opposes Voter Photo I D (StarNews (Wilmington NC))			Newspaper article
2/15/2011	Coffman's critics call for probe (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
2/17/2011	FSU students lobby against voter ID bill (Fayetteville Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
2/18/2011	SBI finds no voter fraud in Forsyth (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
2/19/2011	Vote probe involved a single case (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
2/19/2011	Correction (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
2/20/2011	The real cost of voter identification (Durham Examiner (NC))			Newspaper article
2/21/2011	ID opponents exaggerate threat (Fayetteville Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
2/24/2011	Elections board clears Coffman (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
2/26/2011	Coffman cleared, more political issues (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
2/27/2011	Critics united against Coffman (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
3/9/2011	A non-existent problem (Chapel Hill News, The (NC))			Newspaper article
3/13/2011	Legislators to take up voter ID - Republicans and Democrats debate the extent of voter fraud in the state. (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
3/15/2011	Voter ID bill gets first look by N.C. House panel (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
3/15/2011	N.C. considers whether to ask voters for IDs (Greensboro News & Record (NC))			Newspaper article
4/1/2011	Ex-official takes deal on voting fraud (Robesonian, The (Lumberton NC))			Newspaper article
4/3/2011	Meads: Bill puts voter ID burden on elections boards (Daily Advance, The (Elizabeth City NC))			Newspaper article
4/5/2011	Students protest GOP voter ID bill (Greensboro News & Record (NC))			Newspaper article
4/19/2011	Haley calls on tea partyers to push for			Newspaper

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
	voter IDs, other changes - Possible GOP presidential candidate Bachmann also speaks at tax day rally. (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			article
5/12/2011	Cut to early voting advances (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
5/23/2011	Savvy Citizen Elections - Voter ID laws take hold in other states - GOP officials says laws curb fraud at polls, but Democrats say the true motivation is political. (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
6/7/2011	Republican lawmakers return to stronger voter ID bill (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
6/8/2011	Bill backs partisan judicial races - GOP-led House vote among several that will change elections. Senate passes bill to end straight-ticket voting. (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
6/9/2011	Final vote on Voter ID Card legislation could come today (Charlotte Examiner (NC))			Newspaper article
6/9/2011	Big voter turnouts and perceptions of fraud (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
6/9/2011	N.C. voter ID bill gets final House approval (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
6/10/2011	Voter ID bill easily passes House (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
6/15/2011	GOP legislators continue push for photo ID of voters (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
6/16/2011	Final voter ID mandate appears headed for veto (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
6/17/2011	Voter ID bill advances to governor - Elected voices (Observer News Enterprise, The (Newton NC))			Newspaper article
6/22/2011	Voter ID bill should be signed into law - Editorial (Mt. Airy News, The (NC))			Newspaper article
6/22/2011	Perdue vows to fight voter ID legislation (Statesville Record & Landmark (NC))			Newspaper article
6/23/2011	Voting should require I.D. (Herald-Sun, The (Durham NC))			Newspaper article
6/23/2011	Even after veto, war of words over Voter ID bill continues (Raleigh Examiner (NC))			Newspaper article
6/23/2011	Governor vetoes voter ID pushed by Republicans (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
6/24/2011	Perdue vetoes voter ID bill - Daniel, Blackwell say law would help safeguard elections (News Herald, The (Morganton			Newspaper article

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
	NC))			
7/26/2011	House fails to override veto of voter ID mandate (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
6/27/2011	Perdue puts her stamp on GOP legislation (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
7/27/2011	Democrats fighting voter ID bill in General Assembly - Discussion of a new law that requires an ID to legally vote (Anson Record, The (Wadesboro NC))			Newspaper article
7/28/2011	Councilman investigated for dual vote registration (Daily News, The (Jacksonville NC))			Newspaper article
8/11/2011	3 Wake residents arrested for voter fraud (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
8/12/2011	Double-voting charges lodged - Wake DA says IDs not a factor (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
8/16/2011	Still one vote (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
8/17/2011	89-year-old man arrested in voter fraud sweep (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
8/18/2011	Elderly veteran takes issue with voting charge (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
11/21/2011	DA: Probe of votes 'shouldn't take long' (Statesville Record & Landmark (NC))			Newspaper article
11/30/2011	NC attorney says local voter ID laws have problems (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
12/1/2011	Sources say report calls for charges against Huggins (Statesville Record & Landmark (NC))			Newspaper article
12/21/2011	2 cases of voter fraud alleged (Daily Advance, The (Elizabeth City, NC))			Newspaper article
1/18/2012	In Catawba County voter fraud case, attorney says voter ID law could help (Hickory Daily Record (NC))			Newspaper article
2/18/2012	Jackson charged with voter fraud in Montgomery County (Courier-Tribune, The (Asheboro NC))			Newspaper article
2/21/2012	Kirkman: Video has slowed elections investigation (Statesville Record & Landmark (NC))			Newspaper article
3/6/2012	Council members standing by Huggins, (Statesville Record & Landmark (NC))			Newspaper article
3/7/2012	Politician charged in voter fraud case - A Statesville official is accused of helping family members vote illegally (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
3/8/2012	Laghari: Voter fraud charges have been upsetting (Statesville Record & Landmark			Newspaper article

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
	(NC))			
3/11/2012	NAACP to challenge state voting laws before U.N. (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
3/18/2012	Election errors (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
3/20/2012	Board endorses voter ID bill - Wake commissioners - vote along party lines; Democrats blast Chairman Coble for 'divisive' tactics (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
3/27/2012	Forsyth Backs Voter ID Measure (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
4/15/2012	Brooks: No plans to challenge Stallingses at polls (Daily Advance, The (Elizabeth City NC))			Newspaper article
5/17/2012	Blog refutes voter fraud allegations (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
5/24/2012	Sting' video of vote fraud called wrong (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
7/3/2012	No photo ID required for NC voters (Mt. Airy News, The (NC))			Newspaper article
7/6/2012	No Voter IDs for at Least This Year (Pilot, The (Southern Pines NC))			Newspaper article
7/30/2012	Watchdogs: Dead people still on voter list (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
8/4/2012	Could tougher voting laws squelch the youth vote (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
8/10/2012	DA mum on future of EC election case (Daily Advance, The (Elizabeth City NC))			Newspaper article
8/10/2012	Names of dead on voter rolls challenged (Daily Advance, The (Elizabeth City NC))			Newspaper article
8/15/2012	Ado About Little (Pilot, The (Southern Pines NC))			Newspaper article
9/2/2012	Group: 30,000 on voting rolls dead (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
9/6/2012	Moore lawmen say felon committed voter fraud (Fayetteville Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
9/8/2012	Our view: Never on a Sunday (Laurinburg Exchange The NC))			Newspaper article
9/9/2012	Group is pushing absentee voting (Greensboro News & Record (NC))			Newspaper article
9/10/2012	Official: Voting fraud rare in NC (Statesville Record & Landmark (NC))			Newspaper article
9/12/2012	Election board analyzes voter list - Nonprofit combed rolls for dead people (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
9/18/2012	Elections board already working on list of dead 'voters' (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
9/18/2012	NCCU panelists see voter suppression in state (Herald-Sun, The (Durham NC))			Newspaper article
9/20/2012	In voter ID rulings, an emerging message - Judges to states: Find ways to help voters meet requirements (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
9/24/2012	Republicans look for voter fraud, find little (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
9/24/2012	Voter ID battles churn in key states - Impact on election debated; appeals in some states continue, including S.C. (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
9/24/2012	Our View: Voter fraud hunt a solution in search of a problem (Daily Advance, The (Elizabeth City NC))			Newspaper article
9/24/2012	County Has Best Record in Removing Dead Voters from Rolls (Pilot, The (Southern Pines NC))			Newspaper article
9/27/2012	County, group at odds over voter rolls (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
10/1/2012	NC GOP fires voter sign-up firm over Florida fraud (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
10/1/2012	State looks at firm that GOP hired to enlist voters - Questionable registrations in Florida prompt N.C. leaders to fire firm amid election officials' review (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
10/1/2012	State looks at firm GOP hired - After Florida scandal, N.C. Republican Party fires voter recruiter (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
10/4/2012	Voter found party changed - Affiliation flipped in a GOP voter drive (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
10/6/2012	The Coffman Decision And Registration (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
10/13/2012	Efforts made in connection with Election Day program (Richmond County Daily Journal (Rockingham NC))			Newspaper article
10/14/2012	NAACP highlights report alleging racial bias in ID efforts - Civil rights group urges early voting at N.C. conference (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
10/21/2012	Voting By The Margins (Greensboro News & Record (NC))			Newspaper article
11/1/2012	Voting complaints up this year - Officials spending time debunking rumors on when and how to vote (News & Observer, The			Newspaper article

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
	(Raleigh NC))			
11/3/2012	Number of 112 Year Old Registered Democrat Voters Now at 3,020 in North Carolina (Charlotte Examiner (NC))			Newspaper article
11/3/2012	Early voting ends Saturday (Sun Journal (New Bern NC))			Newspaper article
11/5/2012	SBO: FB post not evidence of voter fraud (updated) (Carteret County News-Times, The (Morehead City NC))			Newspaper article
11/5/2012	Joke post on voter fraud draws threats (Carteret County News-Times, The (Morehead City NC))			Newspaper article
11/6/2012	Elections officials: Facebook post intended as joke (Daily News, The (Jacksonville NC))			Newspaper article
11/6/2012	Long-term care and dignified voting (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
11/7/2012	N.C. voting is largely free of problems (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
11/25/2012	Lyons pleads guilty in voter fraud case (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
12/1/2012	Steinburg: Challenges show need for voter ID (Daily Advance, The (Elizabeth City NC))			Newspaper article
12/21/2012	Elections Officials Cleaning up Rolls (Pilot, The (Southern Pines NC))			Newspaper article
12/22/2012	Election chaos has effect on entire state (Herald-Sun, The (Durham NC))			Newspaper article
1/7/2013	Huggins' case moved to next month (Statesville Record & Landmark (NC))			Newspaper article
1/8/2013	Board to pursue voter fraud case (Laurinburg Exchange, The (NC))			Newspaper article
1/9/2013	McCrary not wedded to photo ID requirement to vote (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
1/10/2013	Republicans take the reins - Party now rules House, Senate; offers softer stance on law requiring voters to show photo ID (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
1/11/2013	From O-pinion, the editorial board's blog - McCrary, Tillis wisely open to compromise on voter ID bill - About 613,000 N.C. voters, nearly 1 in 10, have no DMV-issued photo ID (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
1/11/2013	Scotland elections board pursues voter fraud case (Fayetteville Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
1/11/2013	Voter I.D. shift? (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article



Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
1/13/2013	Any NC voter ID law will face legal, GOP obstacles (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
1/13/2013	Voter ID agreement now looks possible (Greensboro News & Record (NC))			Newspaper article
1/14/2013	Voter ID push may soften (News Reporter, The (Whiteville NC))			Newspaper article
1/16/2013	Tar Heel View: On voter ID legislation (Richmond County Daily Journal (Rockingham NC))			Newspaper article
1/25/2013	Voter ID the hot topic in Raleigh (Free Press, The (Kinston NC))			Newspaper article
1/27/2013	Voter ID bound to pass; will photo be required? - Voter identification (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
02/15/2013	Lightfoot won't be charged with voter fraud (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
02/21/2013	Voter fraud cases won't be pursued (Statesville Record & Landmark (NC))			Newspaper article
2/22/2013	Bill targets immigrant licenses - Monroe lawmaker says Tata exceeds authority with plan for new IDs (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
2/22/2013	Non-citizen note on N.C. licenses unique (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
2/23/2013	Planned driver's license irks some noncitizens (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
3/6/2013	GOP preps for voter ID bill - Party remains confident it can pass measure; new Elon poll supports that (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
3/6/2013	Confidential GOP preps for voter ID bill - Democrats say it's more of the same; poll shows bill has support (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
3/7/2013	NAACP leader vows to fight voter ID effort (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
3/8/2013	NAACP to fight voter ID - Proposed photo requirement likened to discriminating poll tax (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
3/8/2013	NAACP leader vows to fight voter ID effort (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
3/12/2013	Public to speak out on photo ID to vote in NC (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
3/12/2013	Editorial: Debating Voter IDs (Daily Reflector, The (Greenville NC))			Newspaper article
3/13/2013	Public Speaks out on photo ID to vote in NC (Associated Press State Wire: North			Newspaper article

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
	Carolina (NC))			
3/13/2013	Crowd speaks out on voter ID - Opponents see bad faith; supporters say the idea is sensible (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
3/13/2013	Gilbert challenges 60 voters' residence (Daily Advance, The (Elizabeth City, NC))			Newspaper article
3/13/2013	Voter ID proposal attracts a crowd - Opponents see bad faith. Their anger confounds proponents. (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
3/13/2013	Public weighs in on voter ID (Robesonian, The (Lumberton NC))			Newspaper article
3/14/2013	NC House committee hears more about voter ID (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
3/14/2013	Voter ID law causes friction - Supporters, opponents cite data to back up their positions (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
3/19/2013	Voters' rights march planned for Sunday (Courier-Tribune, The (Asheboro NC))			Newspaper article
3/22/2013	Debate on Voter IDs Renewed (Pilot, The (Southern Pines NC))			Newspaper article
3/29/2013	NC NAACP, other groups oppose early voting limits (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
4/2/2013	Groups oppose reducing early voting (Daily Reflector, The (Greenville NC))			Newspaper article
4/3/2013	NC House committee hosts voter ID discussion (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
4/3/2013	Ignoring real voter fraud (Sylvia Herald & Ruralite, The (NC))			Newspaper article
4/5/2013	Early voting could shrink (Greensboro News & Record (NC))			Newspaper article
4/8/2013	House offers welcome changes to ID law (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
4/11/2013	Supporters of voter ID get their say at hearing (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
4/12/2013	For the Record - No voter fraud in North Carolina? Check provisional ballots (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
4/17/2013	Lawmakers not targeting true vote fraud (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
4/17/2013	Feedback - Nothing broken with N.C.'s provisional ballot system (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
4/21/2013	ESCU's Gilchrist vows voter address changes (Daily Advance, The (Elizabeth			Newspaper article

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
	City NC))			
4/22/2013	NC NAACP calls for protest of GOP initiatives (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
4/23/2013	Bill seeks to limit felon votes - Critics say the bill aims to suppress voting rights of African-Americans (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
4/23/2013	Ex-felons may have to wait to vote - Critics: Bill would block minority voting rights (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
4/24/2013	Voter ID bill passes NC House along party lines (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
4/24/2013	Costly solution to a nonexistent problem (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
4/24/2013	Voter ID bill passes NC House along party lines (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
4/25/2013	House passes voter ID bill - Measure to require photo at polls heads to Senate (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
4/25/2013	Voter ID takes step closer to law - State House passes measure 81-36; Democrats vow court challenge (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
4/27/2013	The voters no one is talking about (Herald-Sun, The (Durham NC))			Newspaper article
5/1/2013	State House passes Voter ID bill - Next stop is Senate approval (Anson Record, The (Wadesboro NC))			Newspaper article
5/2/2013	Goodman explains ID vote (Laurinburg Exchange, The (NC))			Newspaper article
5/3/2013	Possible voter fraud under investigation (News Reporter, The (Whiteville NC))			Newspaper article
5/8/2013	Panel indicts voter fraud suspect (McDowell News, The (Marion NC))			Newspaper article
6/19/2013	Double vote topic hearing (News Reporter, The (Whiteville NC))			Newspaper article
6/26/2013	NC senator: Voter ID bill moving ahead with ruling (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
7/18/2013	NC Senate rolls out voter ID proposal (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
7/19/2013	Senate voter ID bill cuts options - Unlike House version, student IDs not allowed (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
7/23/2013	NC bill would place new restrictions on			Newspaper

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
	voting (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			article
7/23/2013	Moral Monday rally held in Greensboro (Greensboro News & Record (NC))			Newspaper article
7/23/2013	Voter ID bill draws protesters - House, Senate versions differ on forms of acceptable identification (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
7/23/2013	N.C. bill would place new restrictions on voting (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
7/23/2013	'Raleigh is our Selma' (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
7/24/2013	NC bill would place new restrictions on voting (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
7/24/2013	Dems cry foul at sweeping vote changes - Bill cuts back early voting, easy registration, and requires photo IDs to vote (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
7/25/2013	NC Senate approves GOP-backed election changes (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
7/25/2013	Senate gives voter ID law initial OK - Final approval today would send measure to the N.C. House (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
7/25/2013	Elections officials split on Voter ID bill (Daily Advance, The (Elizabeth City NC))			Newspaper article
7/25/2013	Voter ID proposal reviews mixed (Fayetteville Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
7/25/2013	Lawmakers oppose voter ID bill (Laurinburg Exchange, The (NC))			Newspaper article
7/26/2013	NC lawmakers approve GOP-backed election changes (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
7/26/2013	Mooneyham: Fraud risk raised by bill encouraging absentee ballots (Daily Reflector, The (Greenville OH))			Newspaper article
7/26/2013	McLaurin: Voter bill strayed (Laurinburg Exchange, The (NC))			Newspaper article
7/27/2013	McCrory not familiar with all of bill he's to sign (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
7/31/2013	Sweeping regulations for North Carolina voters (Tribune, The (Elkin NC))			Newspaper article
8/3/2013	Governor set to sign voting bill (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
8/12/2013	McCrory quietly signs sweeping NC elections bill (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
8/13/2013	Pat McCrory: Voter ID central reform (Daily Reflector, The (Greenville NC))			Newspaper article
8/13/2013	NAACP files suit against voter bill (Daily Reflector, The (Greenville NC))			Newspaper article
8/14/2013	Suits fight new voting laws - People and organizations behind the legal challenges outline their strategies (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
8/14/2013	The battle of the ballot (Fayetteville Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
8/14/2013	Foolish fix - The governor offers shallow rhetoric to justify an oppressive Voter ID law. (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
8/14/2013	Lawsuits fight state's new voting laws - People, organizations behind legal challenges outline their strategies (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
8/14/2013	Experts: Voting law mirrors trend (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
8/15/2013	NC election boards move to curtail student voting (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
8/17/2013	The voters some would like to forget - Associate Editor (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
8/17/2013	Education, voting rights under attack (Fayetteville Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
8/17/2013	Elections law goes beyond voter ID (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
8/19/2013	Forsyth elections chair to move on student voting (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
8/22/2013	CEOs hear Colin Powell hit NC voting law changes (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
8/23/2013	Colin Powell slams N.C. voting law - New law will hurt GOP, minorities, he says (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
8/24/2013	Despite furor, voters won't see many changes - Biggest election changes hit in 2014, 2016 (News-Topic, The (Lenoir NC))			Newspaper article
8/24/2013	Full effects of new voting laws still unknown (StarNews (Wilmington NC))			Newspaper article
8/29/2013	Solving It Together - Crowd challenges N.C. lawmakers on voter ID, airport - Lively forum highlights partisan divide within Mecklenburg delegation (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
9/3/2013	Students to defend voting rights - N.C. elections board will hear 3 cases (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
9/17/2013	McCrory absent as NC NAACP protests at mansion (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
9/17/2013	Youths bring vigor to 'Moral Monday' - College NAACP groups fight GOP measures on education, voting rights (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
9/17/2013	Poll: Voter ID popular, other election changes less so (Greensboro News & Record (NC))			Newspaper article
9/26/2013	Special ID line (News & Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
9/27/2013	Email could create confusion about removing voters' names (Sun Journal (New Bern NC))			Newspaper article
9/28/2013	Southern states are moving to tighten voting rules (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
9/30/2013	Justice Dept sues North Carolina over voter law (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
9/30/2013	NC Republicans vow to fight US DOJ over voter laws (Associated Press State Wire: North Carolina (NC))			Newspaper article
10/1/2013	Voter ID suit spurs praise, caution U.S. Department of Justice says state's election law is discriminatory in intent (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
10/1/2013	Praise, trepidation greet voter ID lawsuit U.S. calls state's new law discriminatory (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
10/20/2013	Voting fight: Is it race or politics? Challengers to North Carolina's voting laws must prove 'intentional discrimination' (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
10/22/2013	Officials attack election-law suits Claims disputed that the objective is to suppress the African-American vote (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
10/23/2013	Elections board sets policy for colleges (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
10/26/2013	Star turn A Buncombe County GOP leader embarrasses himself and his party on national TV. (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
10/31/2013	Lawsuits over N.C. voting law head to			Newspaper

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
	court (Greensboro News & Record (NC))			article
11/12/2013	A vote for early voting (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
11/12/2013	Officials handling public record requests, accusations (Winston-Salem Journal (NC))			Newspaper article
11/13/2013	Voter fraud charges dropped in plea agreement (Courier-Tribune, The (Asheboro NC))			Newspaper article
11/15/2013	6 churches join elections suit NAACP challenges N.C. voting law changes; other plaintiffs sign on (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
12/10/2013	Unemployment Benefits to Require Photo ID (Pilot, The (Southern Pines NC))			Newspaper article
12/11/2013	Parties to argue voting law trial date At issue are challenges to extensive changes to N.C. elections (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
12/11/2013	State board to hear Sharpsburg election protest appeal (Rocky Mount Telegram (NC))			Newspaper article
12/16/2013	Judicial Watch supports voter ID Conservative group takes up cause of unsuccessful 2012 Buncombe County candidate (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
12/20/2013	State board orders new Pembroke election (Robesonian, The (Lumberton NC))			Newspaper article
12/21/2013	New election ordered for council (Fayetteville Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article
1/3/2014	Pembroke revote set for March 11 - Pridgen hired to lead elections office (Robesonian, the (Lumberton NC))			Newspaper article
1/5/2014	Voter watch group gets local data (Robesonian, The (Lumberton NC))			Newspaper article
1/6/2014	DMV issues no-fee voter ID, charges others (Tribune, The (Elkin NC))			Newspaper article
1/7/2014	The battles ahead (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
1/13/2014	Sides clash on new voting laws Advocates take issue to court - and the court of public opinion (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
1/18/2014	Voters can prepare for ID requirement (Carteret County News-Times, The (Morehead City NC))			Newspaper article
1/25/2014	Lawmakers try to block voter law subpoenas Critics of N.C.'s new ID legislation seek email, other correspondence (Charlotte Observer, The (NC))			Newspaper article

Document Date	Filename Or Description	Beg Bates	End Bates	Category
1/31/2014	Under wraps Republican lawmakers are hiding information on their negotiations on voter ID (News & Observer, The (Raleigh NC))			Newspaper article
2/2/2014	Barber: GOP, history at odds (Daily Advance, The (Elizabeth City NC))			Newspaper article
2/21/2014	Judge tells state to answer requests N.C. voter-law case (Greensboro News & Record (NC))			Newspaper article
2/21/2014	Hearing in voter-law case will focus on documents (Greensboro News & Record (NC))			Newspaper article
2/22/2014	Judge tells state to answer requests in voter-law case (Greensboro News & Record (NC))			Newspaper article
3/8/2014	New election laws present potential snags (Carteret County News-Times, The (Morehead City NC))			Newspaper article
3/11/2014	Do-over election flips Pembroke results - Three challengers elected; Dial ousted (Robesonian, The (Lumberton NC))			Newspaper article



**APPENDIX E**

**DOCUMENTED CASES OF VOTER FRAUD  
IN NORTH CAROLINA**

Documented Cases of Voter Fraud in North Carolina

Voter fraud may take various forms: double voting; impersonation; voting when ineligible (non- U.S. citizen or currently serving an active felony sentence) voter registration issues or matters related to absentee voting. The State Board of Elections, to the greatest extent permitted by resources, investigates all allegations of voter fraud. Most allegations prove to be unfounded, lack criminal intent, or cannot be substantiated; however, in those cases where there is reasonable suspicion of voter fraud, the matter is turned over to the appropriate district attorney's office.

We have made a careful review of our files and the table below shows the number of voter fraud matters by type, that after investigation, our office believed merited a referral to the district attorney's office.

Voter Fraud Type	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Voting - Double			6		3		2		4	26 <sup>1</sup>	14	6	30
Voting - Felons			12		37	7	2	1	6	229 <sup>2</sup>			83
Non-citizen voter registration/voting	1	2		13	1	1	5		23		7 <sup>3</sup>	3	2
Voting - Absentee Fraud				28						5	7	3	4
Voting - Vote Buying/Selling				5				16					1
Voting - Impersonation					1								1
Voting - Illegal voter assistance					1								
Misrepresentation of election law					1								
Voter Registration - Fraudulent forms					3		4	1	16			4	
Voter Registration - Residency							2			1			
Voter Registration - Failure to deliver					1								

<sup>1</sup> The majority of these incidents occurred in the 2008 General Election.

<sup>2</sup> The majority of the referrals in 2009 concluded investigations from the 2008 General Election.

<sup>3</sup> As of March 11, 2013, these matters are still pending investigation.