administrative costs to submit the law to the Justice Department under the Voting Rights Act and to defend it in court can easily reach into the millions of dollars.

Carter-Baker Commission

The Commission on Federal Election Reform, chaired by former President Jimmy Carter and former Secretary of State Jimmy Baker, included a recommendation for voter ID among the 87 recommendations for improving U.S. elections. These recommendations were targeted at a crisis in confidence in American elections created not by the threat of fraud but by administrative and technological failures, and the partisan control of elections in this country. The voter ID recommendation was not a blanket endorsement of voter ID laws; in fact, Carter and Baker strongly condemned the 2005 Georgia law that is a close model for the present Texas bill. There were other significant differences:

- The Commission based its recommendation on the availability of national REAL ID cards;
- The recommendation is a compromise that called for a much greater role for the government in registering voters and providing them with the required ID;
- It called for a phased-in implementation, which the Texas bill does not include;
- The Commission also envisioned a national standard, and explicitly condemned the patchwork nature of today’s ID laws.

Conclusions

In public debate, unfortunately, there is a tendency to treat all ID laws as the same. In fact, there are many ways to reasonable ensure the identity of voters without disenfranchising those without ID or placing unnecessary barriers to the voting booth. The use of affidavits, in particular, creates a paper trail that allows for enforcement and analysis. A state could run its elections under this sort of law for an election or two, then survey those voters who vote via the affidavit. This is the pool of voters who would be effected by an absolute photo ID requirement. If the survey finds evidence of fraud, if the affidavit voters were not citizens or voted on bad voter registrations, the law can be tightened. If not, the data from the affidavits should reassure the public of the integrity of the voting system. Nobody would lose their right to vote because they lack an ID, yet it would create a paper trail for detecting fraud and the impact of ID laws that we have so far lacked.

The state should take seriously its obligation to carefully implement any ID law. IDs should be provided for free. The state should take an affirmative role in educating voters, poll workers and election officials on the requirements. Without an investment in state resources, enforcement in the polling place will be uneven.

Finally, we should all be reminded that America has both a long history of attempts to manipulate electoral outcomes, and a long history of using fraud as a pretext for laws favoring
one party or group over another. I don’t mean this as an indictment of current attempts to implement voter ID laws, but as a plea from a scholar of the American South for both sides to be sensitive to the way America’s sometimes sad history of restricting the franchise informs the current suspicion in some quarters that voter ID requirements are intended to disenfranchise.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify today and I would be happy to answer any questions.
According to the DPS Website, there are no places to obtain a Identity Card within Loop 610 in Harris County. This is probably the greatest minority concentration in the state.
TESTIMONY OF FRANK B. STRICKLAND
TEXAS STATE SENATE
March 10, 2009

Senator Duncan, members of the Senate, my name is Frank Strickland. I am a partner in the law firm of Strickland Brockington Lewis LLP in Atlanta, Georgia, a firm which together with its predecessors, dates back to 1971. My experience with elections comes primarily from two sources: serving as a member of the election board for the largest county in Georgia and litigating various election and other political cases over a period of many years.

Although I am not here in an official capacity, I am one of five members of the Fulton County Board of Registration and Elections (the “Election Board”), a bipartisan board appointed by the Board of Commissioners of Fulton County, which has general supervision of all voter registration and election processes in Georgia’s largest county. I previously served on the Election Board from 1971 to 1977. Substantially all of the City of Atlanta is located in Fulton County. The Election Board is independent in that it does not report to the Board of Commissioners, and its decisions on registration and election matters in Fulton County, including the appointment of the department director, are final.

Fulton County is Georgia’s largest county with a population of approximately 850,000. There are 552,559 registered voters in Fulton County.

In 2005 Georgia first adopted a law requiring a form of photo identification when voting. A substantial number of persons over age 18 already had a Georgia driver’s license, which was one of the acceptable forms of identification. The 2005 statute provided for issuance of a state photo ID card for a nominal fee to persons who did not have a driver’s license or another acceptable form of photo ID such as a government
employment ID card, voter ID card, U.S. military ID card, tribal ID card or United States passport. As a result of federal court litigation before U.S. District Judge Harold L. Murphy in Rome, Georgia, the law was changed in 2006 to provide for the issuance of a free photo ID card at any registrar’s office in one of Georgia’s 159 counties.

Notwithstanding the availability of a free photo ID to anyone who did not have another acceptable form of identification, the 2006 statute was also litigated before Judge Murphy in a case entitled Common Cause v. Billups. In ruling for the State of Georgia, Judge Murphy, a Carter appointee to the bench, recognized the state’s interest in passing a photo identification law to prevent fraud:

“Additionally, Plaintiffs have failed to demonstrate that the Photo ID requirement is not reasonably related to the State’s interest in preventing fraud in voting.”

Other plaintiffs filed suit in state courts to challenge the photo ID statute under state law. These efforts were also unsuccessful after appeals to the Supreme Court of Georgia.

In addition to arguing that in-person voter fraud does not occur and remedies like voter identification laws are unnecessary, opponents of photo identification requirements have long argued – quite vocally and emphatically – that these laws would lead to the disenfranchisement of, in Georgia’s case, hundreds-of-thousands of voters.

But, when the State of Georgia finally had its day in court, it became clear that the emotional and hyperbolic arguments used to argue against the state’s photo identification law was simply empty rhetoric.

Judge Murphy also addressed this argument in his decision for the state:
"As the Rokita court noted, voters who lack Photo ID undoubtedly exist somewhere, but the fact that Plaintiffs, in spite of their efforts, have failed to uncover anyone ‘who can attest to the fact that he/she will be prevented from voting’ provides significant support for a conclusion that the Photo ID requirement does not unduly burden the right to vote."

Judge Murphy further stated "Plaintiffs have failed to produce any evidence of any individual ... who would undergo any appreciable hardship to obtain photo identification in order to be qualified to vote."

The plaintiffs’ inability to produce a single voter who would be adversely impacted by the law was important to Judge’s Murphy’s determination that there was no significant burden posed by the photo ID law and should also be a very important consideration for the Texas State Senate. Of the two individual plaintiffs named in the Common Cause case, one individual testified that she did not mind getting a photo identification and did not think it would be hard to get one. The other Plaintiff said that he thought he could get a photo ID and that it would probably “help a lot.” Interestingly, the same lawyers who argued that Plaintiff simply could not find a way to travel seven miles to his registrar’s office to get a photo ID also drove that Plaintiff nearly 200 miles to testify at trial – past many locations where he could have obtained a free photo ID.

Likewise, the other witnesses relied upon by the lawyers for the Plaintiff to establish that obtaining a photo ID was too burdensome ultimately agreed that, in fact, they were perfectly capable of obtaining the ID. One woman who signed an affidavit prepared by the Plaintiffs’ counsel asserting that it was too far to go to the county courthouse and get a photo ID from the registrar, freely admitted on her deposition that
she regularly traveled to the courthouse and could pick up an ID the next time she was there. Another witness who also gave an affidavit that he would have a hard time obtaining a photo ID testified differently on deposition. When asked if he thought he could get a ride to the registrar’s office to get a photo ID, he replied that he didn’t need a ride and could go get one anytime – because the registrar’s office was within walking distance of his home.

Judge Murphy’s decision in the Common Cause case was upheld on January 14, 2009, in a unanimous opinion of a three judge panel of the United States Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit. The court stated:

“We conclude, based on the decision in Crawford v. Marion County Election Board, 128 S.Ct. 1610 (2008), which upheld a similar law in Indiana, that the burden imposed by the requirement of photo identification is outweighed by the interests of Georgia in safeguarding the right to vote.”

Plaintiffs intend to petition for certiorari. However, because the Crawford case really is on all fours with the Georgia’s case – except Georgia’s law was deemed less strict by Justice Kennedy – a grant of that petition for cert is unlikely.

After Judge Murphy’s September 2007 decision upholding the photo ID law, Georgia held numerous elections during 2007 and 2008. In November 2007, more than 100 Georgia counties and municipalities held elections with the photo identification law in place. Every one of those elections occurred without incident or legal challenge related to the photo ID requirement. In July 2008, partisan primaries were held with a large turnout. Again, no problems related to photo ID.
Most importantly, in the 2008 General Election – with the highest turnout ever seen in Georgia (>3.9 million) – the photo ID law posed no problem. That fact is particularly important because of the 3.9 million votes cast, 92 percent were cast in person, meaning that the voter had to show a proper form of photo ID. Again, no problems. Although the turnout was much lighter for the December 2 runoff, the fact remained constant that the photo ID requirement did not result in any disenfranchisement statewide.

From the perspective of an elections administration official in Fulton County, I can also say without hesitation that county-wide, the photo ID requirement did not result in the mass disenfranchisement its opponents predicted. The requirement did not result in any disenfranchisement at all. Focusing on the general election in November 2008, the voter turnout was 405,628 out of 552,559 registered voters, a turnout of approximately 73 percent, a record for Fulton County both in terms of the number of registered voters and voter turnout. Only 93 voters did not have an acceptable form of photo ID. Each such voter was given a provisional ballot and in accordance with the statute was instructed to present a valid photo ID within 48 hours. While only one did so, there is no way to know why the others did not. Maybe the voter was an imposter. Maybe in the age of instant information, the voter knew the result and also knew that returning to have one more vote counted would not make a difference. We don’t know the answer to why people did not return but we do know this: not one person filed a complaint regarding the photo ID requirement.

We also know that the overwhelming majority of people had and showed their photo IDs. Why was that? Well, even before the adoption of the current photo ID law in
2006, many if not all polling places in Fulton County routinely asked voters to identify themselves, most often by asking to see the voter’s driver’s license. That has been the case in my polling places for at least 30 years, so the actual requirement for presentation of a form of photo ID was likely a non-event in hundreds of polling places.

However, a great deal of credit must also go to the Georgia Secretary of State Karen Handel, her staff, the members of the State Election Board and county election officials who worked tirelessly to educate Georgia voters about several things: First, you need one of six forms of photo ID to vote in person. Second, if you don’t have one of those forms of photo ID, here’s how you get one – free. Third, if you prefer not to get a photo ID, you can always vote an absentee ballot by mail – without excuse and without a photo ID. Fourth and finally, for those people who showed up without a photo ID, voted a provisional ballot and never returned, a letter was sent to remind them again about the availability of the photo ID. I’d urge the Texas legislature to provide for a similar educational program for the benefit of voters.

From time to time, the argument has been made that no matter how much election officials and poll workers are educated on the topic, the requirement will be administered in a racially discriminatory fashion. That argument is a red herring and frankly, nonsense. An examination of the people running elections in Fulton County is illuminating. The Election Board appoints a full time director of the election department, who for several years has been an African American woman. Approximately 95 percent of the full time election department staff is African American. In primary and general elections more than half of the paid poll workers in the 356 precincts in Fulton County are African American. While critics of the photo ID law contend that it will be
administered in a racially discriminatory fashion, there is absolutely no support for that allegation, just as there is no support for the notion that requiring a photo ID is unconstitutionally burdensome.

The Georgia experience is useful for any number of reasons but I’ll leave you with three:

1. Although the charge was made that “hundreds of thousands” of voters would be disenfranchised, in the end – when put to the proof and cross examination – the Plaintiffs could not show that even one person was unable to obtain a photo ID if he or she so desired.

2. The educational program is a must for any photo ID law – in addition to making sure that people know the requirements for voting, the educational pieces are also an opportunity for election officials to remind voters to vote.

3. The debate over photo ID has been hijacked by politics. However, if one were to peel back the onion, the issue is this: Should you have to prove who you are when you vote? Who can really argue with the answer to that?
Testimony of

Adam Skaggs
Counsel, Democracy Program
Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law

Before the
Committee of the Whole
of the Texas Senate

regarding

The Myth of Voter Impersonation Fraud at the Polls

March 10, 2009
On behalf of the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law, I want to thank you for the opportunity to speak with you today.

My name is Adam Skaggs, and I am counsel at the Brennan Center. The Brennan Center is a non-partisan public policy and legal advocacy organization that focuses on fundamental issues of democracy and justice. Among other things, we seek to promote policies that ensure fair and accurate elections and that maximize citizen enfranchisement and participation in the electoral process. The Brennan Center works to remove barriers to voting while ensuring that the integrity of our elections is protected, because we believe electoral integrity is advanced when all eligible citizens are able to participate in elections. Our work toward these goals has included extensive research and the publication of studies and reports; assistance to state and federal policy makers and advice on electoral legislation; and — when it has been necessary — litigation to protect the fundamental right to vote.

As part of this work, we have paid particular attention to the debate over strict voter identification policies. We have commissioned research on the number of citizens who lack certain forms of documentary proof of identity and we have participated as amicus in litigation over strict voter identification policies in Indiana, Georgia, Arizona and Albuquerque, New Mexico. A central facet of these efforts has been our research on allegations of voter fraud. We have analyzed claims of rampant voter fraud in order to distinguish unfounded and exaggerated tales of fraud from reliable, verified claims of election misconduct. We published the results of our analysis in a monograph entitled “The Truth About Voter Fraud,” which compiles the methodological flaws that lead to allegations of voter fraud, and debunks baseless — though often repeated — reports of voter fraud. In my testimony here today, I will share some of our findings.

Our findings illustrate that S.B. 362 makes little sense as a matter of policy, for three reasons. First, it does not fix any notable problem that Texans have had. Second, to bolster their case, supporters highlight problems that S.B. 362 would not correct, which misleads the public into thinking that S.B. 362 will accomplish more than it ever could. Lastly, and perhaps most important, S.B. 362 is likely to create problems far worse than the one it could possibly address. I will focus my testimony today on the first two issues, and leave to my colleagues addressing the third point — whether the proposed solution actually creates problems that are worse than the one S.B. 362 is designed to address.

Because we have found virtually no fraud of the type that an ID requirement could fix, the Brennan Center is often charged with denying the existence of election irregularities. This is not accurate, and I would like to state this with absolute clarity: unfortunately, some forms of election misconduct and fraud do occur with some frequency.

Last year, as in the past, there were repeated instances of voter misinformation and intimidation — such as when voters in particular communities were informed that they would be arrested if they had unpaid parking tickets, or voters were given inaccurate information about where their polling places were located. There have been repeated instances in which election officials have denied registration to individuals without legal justification; we saw this problem with college students in multiple communities last fall.
Occasionally, individuals offer to sell their votes, or vote where they do not actually reside. And there have been confirmed examples of fraudulent activity involving absentee ballots. Some of these incidents involve absentee voters being coerced or bribed; others involve schemes to submit multiple fraudulent absentee ballots.

All these acts should be condemned. Where it does exist, election misconduct should be, investigated and punished. And it often is.

Finally, some reports of voter fraud result from mistakes by individuals who register or vote without realizing they are not eligible. For example, in Arizona, individuals in the process of becoming naturalized citizens registered after they received letters from immigration authorities telling them that their “application for citizenship ha[d] been approved” — but before they’d formally taken the oath of citizenship. In Wisconsin, we saw a citizen show up to vote and present his prisoner ID card — prominently stamped with the word “offender.” Unfortunately, the poll worker in Wisconsin let this individual cast a ballot in spite of his conviction status. But these are examples of human error; these individuals were not trying to misrepresent their status, and they were not trying to commit fraud.

No one is arguing that ineligible individuals should be permitted to vote, but publicizing eligibility requirements and training poll workers is a more effective answer to preventing non-citizens or felons from voting than requiring identification from every legitimate voter.

As to allegations of other types of voter fraud, our research indicates that these claims often prove baseless upon inspection: except in the rarest of cases, those who are screaming about fraud are crying wolf. This is true of the most frequently reported forms of putative voter fraud — including double voting, voting in the name of dead people, and — most importantly for the purposes of this hearing — individuals impersonating registered voters at the polls. The Brennan Center’s exhaustive research revealed that there is little to no reliable evidence of in-person impersonation fraud in Texas or elsewhere in the country. And, of course, this form of fraud is the only misconduct that a voter identification requirement will address.

This is worth repeating: the only problem that a voter ID requirement could possibly fix usually doesn’t exist. Texans are struck and killed by lightning more often. And there are far, far more reports of UFOs every year than instances of impersonation at the polls.

There are several reasons why reports of fraud at the polling place crumble when they’re subjected to real scrutiny.

First, many claims of impersonation fraud are based on record matching processes that are inherently flawed. Using data matching in order to identify suspected cases of voter fraud involves the comparison of computerized lists of voters with other computerized lists. For example, voter lists may be matched with lists of deceased individuals. Unfortunately, this data matching is often unreliable.
For example, a father may be confused with a son of the same name; without controlling for suffixes like “Jr.” “John Smith, Jr.” may be misidentified as the same voter as “John Smith, Sr.” These problems also occur when records are deemed to match if they share a middle initial, without requiring a full match of the middle name. And they occur when similar — but not identical — names are said to match.

A very highly publicized example of this problem occurred when the Atlanta Journal Constitution attempted to find voter fraud by matching a list of voters against Social Security death records. The article cited the example of a dead voter named Alan Jay Mandel, and said that someone had “definitely” impersonated Mr. Mandel and signed his name in the pollbooks. The alleged example of impersonation fraud was widely cited by numerous public officials, but it didn’t pan out: it turned out that the signature actually belonged to one Alan J. Mandell — with 2 “l”s — not the dead Mr. Mandel, with just one “l”. The actual voter — the one with 2 “l”s — was very much alive and well when he voted.

Second, many erroneous reports of impersonation fraud are attributed to clerical errors, such as a legitimate voter signing the pollbook on the line meant for a voter with a very similar name, or a pollworker scanning the wrong voter’s bar code at the end of the day. “The Truth About Voter Fraud” catalogues numerous examples of such clerical errors. As the report makes clear, after initial claims of polling place fraud are investigated thoroughly, they are very frequently revealed to be the result of understandable human error — not any attempt to defraud the election system.

Both of these problems turned up in the claims of impersonation fraud lobbed by the Texas Watchdog website in the weeks before the 2008 election. In a story headlined “Dead Voters Cast Ballots in Dallas County” — later changed to reflect reality — 48 specific votes were questioned. Poll books and signature rosters were available for 47 of those votes, and after a more careful review, the Dallas Morning News “concluded that none involved a fraudulently cast vote.”

To summarize, there are plenty of since-debunked reports of voter fraud — but virtually no confirmed examples of impersonation fraud. And, notably, this isn’t for lack of trying. It’s widely known that, under the previous administration, the U.S. Department of Justice prioritized investigation and prosecution of voter fraud. But in five years of effort, they did not prosecute a single case of impersonation fraud. The crimes the DOJ did prosecute — campaign finance violations, voter harassment, and vote buying, among others — would not be prevented by S.B. 362. Texas Attorney General Abbott similarly spent two years and $1.4 million dollars to fight voter fraud, yielding indictments for all sorts of things that identification rules would not prevent, but not a single case that S.B. 362 could fix. Moreover, the scarcity is not confined to indictments or prosecutions; in the past few years, with immense prosecutorial resources diverted to voter fraud, even allegations of impersonation at the polls have been strikingly rare.

There is an obvious reason why impersonation fraud — the only thing S.B. 362 would address — is such a rarity: the risk of getting caught is high, the penalties are extreme, and there is hardly any payoff. Under federal law, any voter impersonator faces up to
five years in prison, and fines of $10,000.iii Texas law allows up to ten years in prison and a $10,000 fine.iv For a non-citizen, deportation is added to that calculus. And there is very little incremental value to a single vote: in the vast majority of elections or referenda, a single vote will not provide the margin of victory. So there is little incentive to risk the severe penalties for the crime. Anyone who truly is willing to risk the severe criminal sanctions for voter fraud would be much more likely to commit a crime with “more bang for the buck” than one single vote.

As Texas Republican campaign consultant Royal Masset put it, “in-person voter fraud is non-existent. It doesn’t happen, and . . . makes no sense because who’s going to take the risk of going to jail on something so blatant that maybe changes one vote?”

There is an additional reason why impersonation fraud is so rare in Texas: voters must already prove their identity before voting.xv They do so by signing their name in the pollbook, and swearing an oath before an election official. They also must show documentation – either a registration certificate, or one of a broad series of documents designed to accommodate the diversity of Texas’s population. S.B. 362 makes the existing law substantially more strict without a reason for doing so – there is no indication that the existing law is failing in any way.

A Strict Voter ID Policy Does Not Address the Real Threats of Voter Fraud

This brings me to the last point that I would like to address briefly: whether the “solution” that S.B. 362 proposes actually fits the problem.

As I’ve explained, the problem that S.B. 362 potentially could address — impersonation fraud — has been thoroughly discredited as a national problem. And we’ve not seen any credible evidence that Texas bucks this trend significantly: impersonation fraud doesn’t occur in Texas any more than it occurs elsewhere, as the investigation by Attorney General Abbot proved. The few allegations that have emerged in the last several weeks regarding the City of Progresso don’t change this conclusion. There was one report of a woman in the City of Progresso who signed her own name under a different voter’s name, and then herself reported this mistake to election officials. And there have been allegations of Progresso voters being paid to vote for a specific slate of candidates. These examples simply do not establish that impersonation fraud is a prevalent problem; and, in any event, S.B. 362 would not stop fraud involving vote buying if the voters and voter-buyers were willing to risk the relevant punishment.

The other problems that have been reported, in Progresso and elsewhere, involved issues that wouldn’t even remotely be addressed by voter ID. These include ineligible non-citizens voting; voting by individuals who resided outside city limits; and, significantly, eligible citizens who were wrongly prevented from voting. These issues have nothing to do with S.B. 362. But because there’s no evidence of impersonation fraud, backers of bills like S.B. 362 trumpet these other types of misconduct.

They’ve got no other choice to resort to this sleight of hand. S.B. 362 addresses a so-called problem that doesn’t exist in any real sense — and that isn’t likely to develop for
numerous reasons. So its backers must lump together a series of other vices that are
admittedly bad, but that are really just distractions here.

If voter intimidation, or vote buying, or absentee ballots cause real problems, then
regulate these ills. But don’t cite them in support of a policy that will do nothing to stop
them. It doesn’t follow, as a simple matter of logic.

And it doesn’t make sense as a policy matter either. A law that will discourage voting by
the groups who historically vote at disproportionately low levels, and that will actually
lock eligible citizens out of the electoral process — something my colleagues will say
more about — had better be justified as a reliable fix for a real and very serious problem.

That simply is not the case with S.B. 362.

I thank you for your time, and am happy to answer any questions that you might have.

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1 See Brief of the Brennan Center for Justice et al. as Amici Curiae Supporting Petitioners, Crawford v.
Marion County Election Board, Nos. 07-21, 07-25 (U.S. Nov. 13, 2007); Brief of Brennan Center for
Justice at NYU School of Law as Amicus Curiae in Support of Plaintiffs-Appellants and Reversal,
Crawford v. Marion County Election Board, 472 F.3d 949 (7th Cir. 2007); Brief Amicus Curiae of the
Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law in Support of Plaintiffs/Appellants and Reversal,
Gonzalez v. Arizona, 485 F.3d 1041 (9th Cir. 2007); Brief of Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of
Law as Amicus Curiae in Support of Plaintiffs/Appellees and Affirmance, Case No. 07-02067 (10th Cir.
Sept. 17, 2007); Brief of Brennan Center for Justice at N.Y.U. Law School as Amicus Curiae in Support of
Plaintiffs-Appellees and Affirmance, Common Cause/Georgia v. Cox, Case No. 05-15784-G (11th Cir. Jan.
14, 2006); Brief of Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law as Amicus Curiae in Support of
Plaintiffs’ Motion for Summary Judgment, ACLU of N.M. v. Santillanes, 506 F. Supp. 2d 598 (D.N.M.
2007).

2 Justin Levitt, The Truth About Voter Fraud (2007), available at http://www.brennancenter.org/content/
resources/truthaboutvoterfraud/.

http://www.brennancenter.org/content/resource/voter_suppression_incidents/.

4 See, e.g., Ronald L. Holle, Lightning Deaths by State, 1997 to 2006 (2007), at


7 See Secretary of State Cathy Cox, The 2000 Election: A Wake-Up Call for Reform and Change 11 n.3


31ad7c1.html.


xiii See Tex. Elections Code § 64.012; Tex. Penal Code § 12.34.


Written Testimony of  
Robert A. Simms, Georgia Deputy Secretary of State  
Before the United States Senate  
Committee on Rules & Administration  

Chairwoman Feinstein, Senator Bennett and members of the Committee: I would like to thank you for the opportunity to testify before you today about voter fraud, voter identification laws and ways in which states are addressing these issues.

Today’s hearing is very important, and it is my hope that this occasion will be the beginning of a substantive discussion on the important issue of voter fraud and steps elections officials are taking to combat it. Unfortunately, much of the debate on one of the remedies states are considering -- the issue of photo identification requirements in connection with voting -- is most times driven by rhetoric, hyperbole, and lacking in facts and data.

In this regard, I view my testimony today as an opportunity to be a “Myth-buster” of sorts, because in-person voter fraud has in fact occurred in Georgia, and our state’s photo identification law has been successfully implemented and enforced without incident, controversy and, most importantly, without a negative impact on Georgia’s voters.

I think all of us can – and should – agree that everyone involved in this dialogue is motivated by the best of intentions. It has been too easy for individuals on both sides of the debate to resort to the basest forms of criticisms of those on the other side. Supporters of photo identification requirements are too often derided as ‘insensitive’; ‘racist’; or part of some conscious conspiracy to suppress voters who may not support a particular party’s candidates.

On the other hand, those who oppose voter identification laws are often accused of supporting cheating and fraud; lacking common sense or judgment; or being motivated by purely partisan political motives. For the elected state officials charged by their citizens with making these policy decisions, the considerations are very real. Ultimately, it is the best interests of the state – and the people – that truly motivate our elected officials.
I’d like to address one of the myths being discussed by the Committee today which has been hotly debated: does in-person voter fraud ever occur? Opponents of photo identification laws say that it does not; proponents say that it can and does occur.

In-person voter fraud does in fact occur and has occurred in the state of Georgia. Deceased voters have cast votes in Georgia elections. This is a fact. Analysis conducted by the Atlanta Journal-Constitution and WSB-TV found that more than 5,000 votes had been cast in the names of deceased voters over the past 20 years.

Georgia has also been the site of one of the largest voting fraud cases prosecuted in the country. A 1997 federal and state investigation in Dodge County led to the indictments of more than 20 local residents who were engaging in a vote-buying scheme for 2 local candidates.

It is also very important to recognize that in-person voter fraud may not even be evident until AFTER the election has occurred or is even certified. In-person voter fraud is a crime for which there are often no witnesses, and the victims may even be unaware that a crime has occurred.

Because of the nature of voter fraud and the difficulties in pursuing these cases states, are left with passing laws to address these issues proactively, meaning that they have to put laws and procedures in place to prevent fraud from occurring before it occurs.

In his ruling for the State of Georgia in the federal court challenge to the state’s photo identification law, United States District Court Judge Harold T. Murphy, a President Jimmy Carter appointee to the bench, recognized the state’s interest in passing a photo identification law to prevent fraud:

“Additionally, Plaintiffs have failed to demonstrate that the Photo ID requirement is not reasonably related to the State's interest in preventing fraud in voting.”
In addition to arguing that in-person voter fraud does not occur and remedies like voter identification laws are unnecessary, opponents of photo identification requirements have long argued – quite vocally and emphatically – that these laws would lead to the disenfranchisement of, in Georgia’s case, hundreds-of-thousands of voters.

But, when the State of Georgia finally had its day in court and evidence was proffered and considered, it became clear that the emotional and hyperbolic arguments used to argue against the state’s photo identification law was simply empty rhetoric.

Judge Murphy also addressed this argument in his decision for the state:

“As the Rokita court noted, voters who lack Photo ID undoubtedly exist somewhere, but the fact that Plaintiffs, in spite of their efforts, have failed to uncover anyone “who can attest to the fact that he/she will be prevented from voting” provides significant support for a conclusion that the Photo ID requirement does not unduly burden the right to vote.”

Judge Murphy further stated “Plaintiffs have failed to produce any evidence of any individual ... who would undergo any appreciable hardship to obtain photo identification in order to be qualified to vote.”

The plaintiffs’ inability to produce a single voter who would be adversely impacted by the law should be a very important consideration for this Committee. Of the two individual plaintiffs named in the Common Cause case, one individual testified that she did not mind getting a photo identification and did not think it would be hard to get one, while the other’s lawyers drove him nearly 200 miles to testify at trial while at the same time arguing that traveling seven miles to his county registrar’s office, or voting by absentee ballot, was too great a burden.

In the three months after the September 2007 federal court challenge to the Georgia law was decided for the state, more than 100 Georgia counties and municipalities held elections with the photo identification law in place. All occurred without incident or legal challenge.
The first statewide test of the law occurred on February 5, 2008 with the administration of the Presidential Preference Primaries. Once again, photo identification opponents' inflammatory rhetoric was shown to be hollow and empty.

Turnout for the Presidential Preference Primaries surpassed expectations and set state records. Over 2,000,000 Georgians cast votes for their preferred nominee, while having to show a photo identification at the polls. For comparison purposes, this turnout represented a nearly 1,000,000 vote increase from 2004 and accounted for nearly 45% of the state’s registered voters. There were nearly 100,000 more votes cast in the Democratic primary than the Republican primary, and turnout in the state’s urban areas was also very high.

However, the most important statistic from the primaries is that of the more than 2,000,000 votes cast; only 409 voters did not possess photo identification at the time they came to vote in person. This represents a microscopic percentage of the votes cast, 0.02%.

That figure, however, was even further reduced. Under Georgia’s photo identification law, voters who lack photo identification at the time of voting in-person are allowed to cast a provisional ballot. Voters then have two days to return to their local registrar’s office to verify their identities and have their votes counted. Of the 409 voters who cast a provisional ballot in Georgia’s Presidential Preference Primaries, 155 returned with photo identification to verify their identity. When the results of the election were certified, 0.01% of the voters were not able to have their ballots counted because they did not return to the registrar’s office with one of the acceptable forms of identification.

In short, the predictions of mass disenfranchisement simply did not come to fruition. A very small number of voters showed up at the polls without a Photo ID and an even fewer number chose not to return with one in order to have their provisional votes cast, a decision for which no one knows the reason.
Opponents of the law argue that it is not simply the number of people who show up without an ID or fail to return to validate their ballots that count, but that the law discourages people from bothering to vote at all. The sheer turnout in Georgia on February 5 (and before, due to advance voting) itself casts doubt on that argument.

In addition to the huge turnout, Georgia also saw a substantial increase in voter registration in the six months prior to the primaries, particularly among minority voters. Registration among African American females increased by more than 20%, while registration among African American males increased by more than 14%.

Thus, while opponents have long contended that the laws would suppress turnout and participation, once again, the experiences in Georgia have proven those arguments to be untrue as well.

It is also important to acknowledge that these changes did not occur in a vacuum or that the state changed the law and simply hoped for the best. The Office of Georgia Secretary of State Karen C. Handel developed and implemented a voter education and outreach program to inform Georgia voters of the photo identification requirement.

This effort fulfilled a commitment that Secretary Handel made to Georgia voters when she took office in January 2007. As a strong and vocal supporter of photo identification laws, she also understands that the state has a responsibility to the voters to inform them about the law and to help them comply with it.

The education and outreach program included direct voter contacts by mail, public service announcements, and commercial radio advertising. In the six months before the primaries, Secretary Handel mailed and distributed more than 2 million brochures to voters and through churches, community groups, and non-governmental organizations. In addition, Georgia utilities and cable service providers provided invaluable help by including messages on customer bills and through newsletters and updates.
Consistent with the lack of negative impact that the photo identification law has had on Georgia voters, in the days leading to the primaries, the 1-800 phone number established by Secretary Handel to address potential questions by voters received more complaints about utility bills than questions about the photo identification requirements.

It is incumbent upon the Committee to consider that yes, there are myths concerning in-person voter fraud and photo identification laws. And then, there are facts. Contrary to what has been widely reported and what is likely to be heard in testimony today, the myths are from those who oppose photo identification laws and the facts are with those who have implemented them.

Our experiences in Georgia – much like those in Indiana – show that states can take real and meaningful steps to combat voter fraud by passing photo identification laws without disenfranchising our voters.

I would like to thank the Committee for giving me the opportunity today to testify and for taking the time to conduct a hearing on these very important issues.
TESTIMONY OF J. GERALD HEBERT
Attorney at Law
Alexandria, VA 22304

before

TEXAS SENATE
COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

March 10, 2009
Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today and provide the views of the Campaign Legal Center on the subject of enacting a photo ID law in Texas.

My name is J. Gerald Hebert and I am a voting rights attorney. I spent over 20 years at the United States Department of Justice administering the Voting Rights Act, and I have taught courses on voting rights at Georgetown University Law Center in Washington, DC, and at the University of Virginia Law School.

Let's me start by making clear what's really going on today. Republicans in the Texas Senate are using their majority status to enact legislation that cannot be justified by urgency or need. It will make it harder for hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of Texans to vote. They have cast aside the bipartisan legislative tradition of requiring a 2/3 majority before taking up the issue so they can ramrod the voter
ID bill down the throats of the minority. And they have done so even though implementation of a photo ID bill will cost the State of Texas millions of dollars to defend the measure before the Department of Justice and in federal courts, and then to implement and administer it if ever approved.

These are serious charges, and so I want to take a few minutes to make it clear on what I base them. The Voter Photo ID issue being considered is without policy substance. There is no widespread, organized or even occasional voter fraud in Texas that will be addressed by a photo ID. I have experience with this as I was the chief counsel in a federal lawsuit against the Texas Attorney General and the Texas Secretary of State challenging assertions of State officials that there was a voter fraud epidemic. Our lawsuit led Attorney General Greg Abbott to admit that persons he had prosecuted for what he called “voter fraud”—and they were with one exception all elderly black and Latino political activists, and all were Democrats—had not engaged in any fraudulent activity whatsoever.
The particular type of voter fraud this legislation is purported to address - voter impersonation - is virtually unheard of. Any examples are highly rare, very local and very, very limited in scope. The reason for this is that anyone who seeks to impersonate a voter is likely to be caught (because unlike mail-in ballot voter fraud there are eye witnesses to voter impersonation) and the penalty for doing so in Texas is a third degree felony which can mean significant jail time and a hefty fine. I have not seen a single circumstance of voter fraud that cannot be investigated and prosecuted using laws currently on the books.

There is considerable evidence, however, that enacting a Voter Photo ID bill will create a series of barriers making it harder for senior citizens, younger voters, poor people, people of color and women in general to exercise their right to vote. The fact that most if not all of these groups are growing as a percentage of the Texas voting population and tend to vote Democratic explains the urgency of the Republican leadership in pushing this bill. This effort is entirely about partisan politics and using
power to protect power and marginalize the opposition. It is not about anything else.

Certainly the Republican members can choose to use their majority status to waste the tax dollars of hard working Texans during the short legislative session in this way. It is important, though, to realize that the path being taken and the methods used by the Republican have ramifications that extend beyond politics. What’s at stake is much bigger than a Republican majority imposing its will on a Democratic minority. The path and method in enacting a photo ID bill are the latest in a long series of relentless attacks on the voting strength of minority citizens in the State of Texas- an attack on their basic rights protected which are protected by our Constitution and federal law.

Texas, along with the other Deep South States, has a long and dark history of using the election administrative process and election laws to single out and suppress minority voters. I don't have to recount the many instances from history to make this point. Dr. Chandler Davidson, a nationally recognized expert on
voting rights, has done so. Instead I can provide very recent examples involving the office of the current Attorney General Greg Abbott, who has used his office to manufacture and promote his false claims of voter fraud. These examples include:

- The creation of a mail ballot training manual that advised treating a mail ballot or application with a sickle cell stamp (which features the picture of an African-American woman holding her baby) as being an indicator of likely voter fraud.

- Sending investigators from the AG Abbott's office to the homes of minority senior citizens to peep through their windows (and in one instance to peep through their bathroom window) and then to hassle and interrogate them.

- Refusing to protect the rights of minority students to register and vote in Waller County, Texas. The situation got so bad in Waller County that the U.S. Justice Department had to step in last
year after two years of inaction by the Texas Attorney General who refused to act and protect the right to vote for hundreds of African-American students at the University.

- Targeting minority senior citizens for investigation of hyper-technical mistakes like helping their disabled neighbors vote by mailing a ballot for them and forgetting to sign the ballot envelope even though the envelope and mail-in ballot instructions contained no such warning and the envelope itself contained no place for a mailer to sign. And what was the reward for these minority senior citizens helping their shut-in neighbors vote? They were indicted and prosecuted by Greg Abbott for what he called voter fraud even though the Attorney General never accused any of them of mis-marking a ballot, putting any pressure on anyone to vote a certain way, or otherwise engaging in any actions remotely fraudulent. To be sure, these actions by
Attorney General Abbott were designed to intimidate senior citizens who have historically helped their neighbors and had their intended effects.

- When these minority citizens stood up for their rights and filed a lawsuit in federal court to challenge these actions by AG Greg Abbott, the state’s former Solicitor General responded by issuing a press release insulting them, calling the people who filed the lawsuit to protect the right to vote criminals.

- And, just last week, we find that the Attorney General Abbott’s office failed to comply with proper open records requests from Texas legislators who asked him for records about voter impersonation fraud, the so-called target of the photo ID bill.

These recent actions by the sitting Attorney General, along with the long history of minority vote suppression in Texas, should serve as an important warning to those of you preparing to vote on this legislation. As a
former DOJ official, I can assure you that these matters will certainly be important to Justice Department officials who will review this bill under the Voting Rights Act if it should pass.

For the State to consider enacting a bill affecting the fundamental right to vote, and utterly failing to provide reliable statistics showing who will be affected by the bill, is strong proof that state officials have failed to consider the Voting Rights Act implications of a photo ID bill. That will go a long way to dooming the bill’s chances of approval when it is reviewed by the Justice Department. If this bill ever becomes law, given the history of vote suppression in Texas and the recent actions of your Attorney General carrying this scheme into the modern era, a Voter Photo ID requirement in Texas could prove to be an irresistible tool for those in positions of power here in Texas to suppress the vote of senior citizens, young people, women and minority citizens - all groups whose political judgment they fear. But one thing these voters have on their side and that is the simple truth that their voting rights are protected by federal law.
Additional testimony of J. Gerald Hebert on the subject of voter fraud and photo ID.

I want to provide additional details about voter fraud in Texas elections, prosecution of cases, and identification of other matters that will help guarantee that eligible voters are able to vote in Texas elections. As noted above, I spent over 20 years as a federal prosecutor in the U.S. Department of Justice, most of that time prosecuting cases that involved the right to vote. So hopefully my experiences will be of assistance to you as you study and make recommendations on these important matters.

At the outset, let me set out a few areas where legislators should be able to agree, regardless of party affiliation. First, legislators should recognize that the right to vote is a fundamental right. That right should not be burdened by either the federal government or the state government without heightened justification. Second, the US Congress and state legislatures across the country, in the wake of the Florida debacle from 2000, should be undertaking steps to guarantee the fairness and integrity of our nation’s elections, which means protecting voters from interference and intimidation, insuring that our voting machines are safe, accurate and secure; and that the elections are held on a level playing field. Unfortunately, since 2000, legislators today seem even more intent on gaming the system than fixing it. Third, voter fraud is a crime and when it occurs, those who perpetrate it should be punished.

Some claim that voter fraud is epidemic. That is clearly not the case, as every single reputable study of the issue has found. Are there examples of voter fraud out there? Of course there are, but they remain fairly isolated instances, and that is true not just here in Texas, but across the country.

In Texas, an average of over 6 million votes has been cast in each General election since 1998. As of 2006, Texas Attorney General Greg Abbott’s voter fraud task force had indicted only 13 individuals, involving fewer than 50 ballots, which represents less than one of every 230,000 ballots typically cast in Texas. Let’s look at the numbers:

**Ballots Cast in Texas Elections**

**Election Turnout**

- 2008 General: 8,077,795
- 2006 General: 4,399,068
- 2004 General: 7,410,749
- 2002 General: 4,553,979
- 2000 General: 6,407,637
Average Votes Cast in the Last 4 General Elections: 6,110,397

Ballots in Question in all the AG Abbott indictments as of 2008: 50

Percentage of Ballots in Question: 0.000007%

(Source: Secretary of State Election Returns, TX Attorney General Press Releases)

Let me add some additional specific comments about the 13 indictments that Attorney General Abbott secured. They did not involve massive, or even organized, voter fraud. In fact, 10 of Abbott’s 13 indictments did not even allege that an individual voter was defrauded. In these 10 instances, Abbott prosecuted individuals who appear to have done little more than mistakenly help senior citizens by delivering already completed and sealed ballots to the post office or an elections administration office.

I was one of the attorneys in a lawsuit that challenged a number of Texas laws enacted in 2003, one of which makes it a crime merely to possess the mail-in ballot of another person. Thus, a nursing home worker who takes the mail into a disabled, elderly resident that happens to include that resident’s mail-in ballot, has committed a crime under Texas law. Similarly, if a friend mails such a ballot for the resident, or perhaps a physically disabled home bound voter, that helper can also be prosecuted under Texas law.

Now you might ask: who would prosecute someone for simply helping a voter, particularly an elderly or physically disabled voter who is homebound? The answer is Attorney General Greg Abbott. You may be under the impression that surely someone who helps a voter would only be prosecuted if the helper engaged in some fraudulent activity, such as marking a ballot for another, or changing someone’s vote. In other words, surely the helper would not be indicted for simply dropping the envelope in the mailbox at the request of a friend. You’d be wrong. As I noted above, 10 of the 13 persons were indicted and prosecuted merely for mailing the ballot of another voter. And yet in each instance when these persons were indicted for mailing someone else’s ballot, Attorney General Abbott issued press releases claiming this was proof positive that Texas elections are rife with voter fraud. In fact, the only fraud was that being perpetrated on the Texas public by Texas Attorney General Greg Abbott, who was using these phony fraud charges to try and create the appearance of a voter fraud epidemic.

What is even more troubling about the 13 “voter fraud” indictments that Abbott and his minions secured is that virtually all of those prosecuted are African-American or Hispanic senior citizens with a Democratic voting history. Most of these cases involve very elderly or disabled voters who depend on trusted friends to help them vote, and without whose assistance, they would have no way to cast a ballot at all.

Here is a breakdown of Abbott’s 13 indictments:

Minorities Indicted: 12 (92%); (9 Hispanics, 3 African Americans)
Democrats Indicted: 13 (100%)

(Source: TX Attorney General Press Releases and Secretary of State Voting Records)

Just before the 2006 elections, Abbott’s agents went so far as to “peep” into the window of one of my clients, Ms. Gloria Meeks, an elderly African American Fort Worth woman, while she was stepping out of the shower. Ms. Meeks had been a local community activist who often assisted friends and neighbors with many tasks including applying for a mail ballot. (Source: Fort Worth Star-Telegram, September 22, 2006). Ms. Meeks was never formally charged, or even officially accused of any wrong doing, but Abbott’s agents went to her home to "investigate" possible voter fraud. Following the "peeping" incident by Greg Abbott’s investigators and other harassing actions by Abbott’s agents, Ms. Meeks fell ill. She later suffered a severed stroke and has never fully recovered.

Despite what appear to be cases of victimless errors by well-meaning citizens, Abbott has diligently sought press and political attention to take credit for these prosecutions.

- Abbott has established a political online activist group called "Abbott’s Army" and repeatedly bragged to them about his efforts to prosecute mail ballot community activists.
- Abbott’s official office has issued dozens of self-congratulatory press releases paid for with taxpayer funds and then posted them word-for-word on his campaign website.

(Source: Texans for Greg Abbott website).

It should also be of concern to you that Attorney General Abbott and Governor Rick Perry are using federal grant funds (called Byrne grant money) to operate this voter fraud unit. Attorney General Abbott has applied for and received over $2 million in federal funds that should be used to prosecute child predators or catch online thieves. (Source: Attorney General Grant Application Forms).

One has to ask why no Anglos (save one) or Republicans have been indicted by Texas’ Republican Attorney General for merely mailing ballots? After all, the practice of assisting elderly disabled voters in Texas has been around for years throughout the state. What is especially troubling is that while Greg Abbott’s office has prosecuted minority seniors and Democratic activists for simply mailing ballots, he has not prosecuted anyone on the other side of the aisle for what appear to be open and shut cases of real voter fraud.

Take, for example, the situation in Highland Park, an area of Dallas County, Texas.

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1 According to the Department of Justice website, “the Edward Byrne Memorial State and Local Law Enforcement Assistance Grant Program (Byrne Formula Grant Program) is a partnership among federal, state, and local governments to create safer communities.” These grants are “for use by states and units of local government to improve the functioning of the criminal justice system—with emphasis on violent crime and serious offenders—and enforce state and local laws that establish offenses similar to those in the federal Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 802(6) et seq.).” (emphasis added).
Highland Park is one of the wealthiest neighborhoods in the country with over 500 houses valued at over $1 million and is a GOP stronghold, voting overwhelmingly for George Bush in 2004. (Census Bureau, Secretary of State records). Both George W. Bush and Dick Cheney lived in Highland Park prior to the 2000 election. (Houston Chronicle, 12/9/2006 and Dallas Morning News 5/12/2006).

A November 21, 2005 memo written by Dallas Assistant Criminal District Attorney, Ben Stool, details that Republican precinct election officials and Republican County Judge Margaret Kelleher participated in improper election activities that resulted in the mishandling of over 100 ballots in Highland Park. Prosecutor Stool’s memo directly called on the Texas Attorney General to investigate the complaint and plainly states that an investigation may produce evidence to bring criminal prosecution against the sitting Republican County Judge and the presiding Republican Election Judge. Excerpts from the Assistant DA Stool’s memo, email correspondence and news accounts on this matter include the following:

“I believe that a criminal investigation may produce sufficient evidence to bring a criminal prosecution against the County Judge [Margaret Kelleher] and/or Election Judge Jim Hairston for incidents occurring at the polling place at Highland Park Middle School during the 2006 Constitutional Election.” (Dallas Assistant Criminal District Attorney Memo November 21, 2005)

“A boy who appeared to be about 10 years old went down that line passing out ballots. Some people took more than one and filed them out...no one checked voter registration cards or identification.” (Dallas Morning News 11/10/2005)

“The emails, news articles and fax that I already have indicate that the County Judge and/or Election Judge may have unlawfully permitted many ineligible voters to vote.” (Dallas Assistant Criminal District Attorney Memo November 21, 2005)

“It appears he [the Election Judge] ordered or permitted others to hand out regular ballots to voters without those voters presenting voter registration certificates.” (Dallas Assistant Criminal District Attorney Memo November 21, 2005)

The County Judge [Margaret Kelleher] may have directed the Election Judge or his clerks to hand out regular ballots to voters without requiring the voters to go through the basic required procedures.” (Dallas Assistant Criminal District Attorney Memo November 21, 2005)

Bruce Sherbet, the Elections Administrator, informed me that over 100 more ballots were cast at this particular polling place than there were signatures on the roster.” (Dallas Assistant Criminal District Attorney Memo November 21, 2005)
Here we are more than 3 and a half years later and Attorney General Abbott’s office has done virtually nothing. Inexplicably, Abbott’s office sent a letter to the Secretary of State (SOS) in January 2006 “for evaluation of as potential criminal prosecution.” This was clearly a stalling tactic because the Attorney General is the office that evaluates criminal prosecutions. Indeed, the Texas SOS just a month later returned the matter to the Attorney General’s office “requesting assistance in reviewing an allegation of criminal activity in connection with November 8, 2005.” It appears nothing has happened since that time. It also seems as if neither the Texas AG nor the Texas Secretary of State have issued any findings or taken any action on the Highland Park incidents.

As noted earlier, rather than exercise his discretion to act directly on the DA’s request and immediately investigate the voting irregularities and potential voter fraud in Highland Park, Mr. Abbott’s office has instead used his office’s resources to prosecute elderly political activists whose only “crime” was assisting elderly and disabled voters cast a vote by mail. One can only conclude that Greg Abbott is using the official resources of the State of Texas to relentlessly pursue and prosecute minorities and Democrats who may have unknowingly violated a narrow, flawed and controversial provision in Texas law. None of the ten persons prosecuted have been charged with or admitted to defrauding a single voter. At the same time, Abbott’s office has failed to seek prosecution of a single Republican or any individual involved with Republican election activities, even after being provided clear evidence that Republican office holders and Republican election officials engaged in improper activities that may have involved 100 or more ballots.

The Heflin v. Vo election of 2004:

It is fairly common when one candidate loses to another in a close election for the losing candidate, or the attorney for the losing candidate, to claim voter fraud as the reason for the defeat. In this election for state representative, Heflin lost the election in a very close election. Initial vote counts showed Vo, the Democratic candidate, had beaten Heflin by just 32 votes out of over 41,000 cast in that election.

Immediately, Heflin’s attorney, Andy Taylor (who once worked in the office of the Texas Attorney General) started the drumbeat of alleged voter fraud: “Heflin’s attorney, Andy Taylor, said the election results in state House District 149 in southwest Harris County were fraught with voting irregularities and potential fraud, most of which occurred in predominantly Democratic precincts.” Houston Chronicle, November 24, 2004, page 1B. Following an exhaustive investigation during an election contest brought by Heflin in the Texas House of Representatives, the special Master found that “there was no evidence of voter fraud generated by or for any candidate in this race.” Report and Findings of Master of discovery to select Committee on Election Contests, February 7, 2005. Significantly, the report did find that some voters’ registration records had been changed within the offices of the Harris County voter registration office resulting in the voter being “deported” to a new district, but no evidence was presented where any voter engaged in any intentional fraudulent activity.
In my experience, that is typically the case. Most voters want to get to the polls, cast a ballot, and do so without having to wait in a long line. Some officials claim that thousands of non-citizens are voting in Texas elections. Allegations of non-citizen voting are widespread, but actually proof of this happening is virtually nonexistent.

I know of only a handful of non-citizens voting in a Texas election. One was in the Heflin-Vo race described above. In that election, according to the Master’s Report, a citizen of Norway submitted a voter registration application to the Harris County elections office and on his application he indicated he was a non-citizen. The Harris county elections office sent him a voter registration card and he cast a ballot in the 2004 election. During the election contest, he testified he voted a straight Republican ticket and his vote (for Heflin) was declared illegal.

I am aware of only three other non-citizens who voted illegally in Texas, and that was in Calhoun County. According to the Attorney General’s website, a candidate for justice of the peace visited non-citizens in the county and helped them register to vote, indicating to them that they only needed a driver’s license to become registered to vote. The candidate reportedly “filled out the portion of the registration application inquiring of citizenship and affirmatively marked that these residents were citizens.” The candidate then mailed the voter registration applications and according to the Texas Attorney General, “three of these ineligible voters did cast ballots.” The candidate was prosecuted and sentenced to five years in prison. What is important about this case are the following: none of the non-citizens attempted to register illegally on their own and they apparently voted based on the incorrect advice of the candidate. Moreover, since each of the non-citizens apparently had a driver’s license, a voter ID law would not have stopped this type of mail-in voter fraud. And last, the current laws were effective in dealing with this issue. In other words, the system appears to have worked in this highly isolated instance of actual voter fraud.

The Texas Secretary of State’s office acknowledged that it has no hard evidence of voting by non-citizens, and it is reasonable to think that office would have such information, if it exists.

Of course, it is possible that persons identified as non-citizens may end up on the voter registration rolls. But that is a far cry from whether such persons ever actually cast a ballot. Moreover, if a citizen inadvertently checks off non-citizen on a jury selection notice, that voter may be incorrectly removed from the voter registration rolls. And if they had voted in a prior election, that would not be evidence of non-citizen voting. Further, if a citizen checks off non-citizen on a jury selection notice in order to avoid jury duty, that person is removed from the voter rolls as a non-citizen, even though they may in fact be a citizen. So one has to be very precise in making claims about non-citizens voting, and it is essential to distinguish between non-citizens on the voter rolls and those actually voting.

Lieutenant Governor David Dewhurst is one example of a top state official who commits this error. He has falsely said thousands of non-citizens are voting in Texas elections,
and then cites statistics reporting non-citizens who are alleged to be on the voter rolls, without any proof that such persons have voted.

In any event, even if non-citizens do appear on the voter registration rolls, there appears to be a procedure in place here in Texas that allows voting officials to use returned jury selection notices to identify persons who have self-identified themselves as non-citizens and remove such persons from the rolls.

Let me conclude with some observations about the voter ID issue here in Texas. It is important to note that all of the so-called vote prosecutions in Texas have involved voting by mail. To my knowledge, not a single person in Texas has been prosecuted for voter impersonation at the polls in the last 20 years. Instead, it is simply assumed that this could happen and thus a voter ID should be enacted to prevent it. There are several problems with this theory. First, there are already laws on the books that make it a crime to impersonate another voter and cast a ballot in that voter’s name. That could explain why there is no proof of it happening. Second, someone intent on stealing an election is more likely going to engage in a more sophisticated and broader form of fraud, such as programming voting machines or altering vote totals, or changing voter registration forms at the Registrar’s office (as appears to have happened in 2004 in Harris County). In other words, the most likely perpetrators of vote fraud are not voters, but election officials or those who have access to voting records or voting machines. Here again, there are laws on the books that make it a crime to tamper with vote machines or altering election results or documents. No voter ID law will prevent such abuses from occurring.

Republicans in Texas claim they need a voter ID bill to combat voter impersonation fraud (even though none exists). Lieutenant Governor Dewhurst claimed such a bill was needed to protect one-person, one vote principles. Presumably, he means that illegal votes shouldn’t cancel out legal votes. Of course, nearly everyone agrees with that concept but the real problem is that the voter ID bill would do nothing to combat the few instances of voter fraud that have occurred in Texas—cases like Starr County where it is alleged several people applied for mail in ballots at allegedly fictitious addresses. No voter ID bill would have blocked such fraud.

If Republicans like Greg Abbott and David Dewhurst were truly interested in preserving the voting rights of Texans, they would scream bloody murder and prosecute those who perpetrate voter intimidation tactics and harassment of minority voters. Unfortunately, however, their political party has been involved in this vote suppression effort for years, particularly at the national level. Indeed, vote caging has been the vote suppression weapon of choice for the GOP for many years. That’s the area where we need a legislative fix, to protect voters from being the victims of racially or ethnically targeted vote caging schemes. And I am pleased that United States Senator Whitehouse is introducing a bill to do just that.

In conclusion, there is a fraud being perpetrated on Texas voters, but it’s not what you think. It is being perpetrated on Texas voters by Attorney General Greg Abbott, Lieutenant Governor David Dewhurst, and others who claim that voter fraud in Texas has
reached epidemic proportions. Their false and unsubstantiated claims are the real fraud, and your enactment of a photo ID bill will have no impact on the only real fraud going on here in the Lone Star state.
RENE GUERRA

March 6, 2009

To the Senate Committee-of-the-Whole, Voter Identification Legislation:

Allegations of a few cases of voter impersonation occurring in Hidalgo County during 2008 came to my attention on Thursday, March 5, 2009, by several members and staff members in the Texas Legislature. Apparently they were obtained from the Texas Secretary of State’s Office, who along with the Office of the Attorney General, have been in possession of this evidence for a time.

Without discussing the details of allegations currently pending, I can tell you that I believe that if there is a problem with compliance with the law, it lies more in the quality of the administration of elections, than in law itself.

The irregularities we have seen occur mostly in non-partisan local elections of small governmental entities such as school districts, water districts, and municipalities, some of which decline to contract the administration of their elections to the County election administrators office. This has in the past led to questions.

If I were to recommend an amendment to the Texas Election Code, it would not be to increase burdens placed on honest voters attempting to cast their ballots, but instead to further professionalize the administration of elections by requiring small governmental entities to contract with their county’s elections administrator, instead of administering those elections themselves.

Further, I would require the Secretary of State, and/or the Office of Attorney General, to very quickly forward to local District or County Attorneys the irregularities of which they have credible evidence, so that we can investigate those incidents, and prosecute them when the evidence suggests a violation of the law.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to share my views.

Respectfully Yours,

Rene Guerra
Criminal District Attorney
Hidalgo County, Texas
March 4, 2009

Senator Troy Fraser
The Senate of the State of Texas

Re: Senate Bill 362

Honorable Senators:

At the invitation of Senator Fraser, I would like to share with you Indiana’s experiences with regard to our photo ID voting requirement.

As my state’s Chief Election Officer, during last fall’s unprecedented General Election, in which Indiana played an unexpected national role as a hotly contested battleground state it felt at times as if I were running an election under siege. Before the close of voter registration in October, it was revealed that the ACORN organization had submitted thousands of bogus voter registration applications to voter registration offices in certain Indiana counties. One of the most populated counties in the state had some 90,000 inactive voters its election board refused to remove from the roles. Voter registration rates in some counties exceeded 100% of the estimated voting eligible population. And the Social Security Administration interfered with our new voter registration verification process by shutting off its databases four weeks prior to the November election – reportedly for “routine” system maintenance.

In spite of these potential obstacles to an accurate and fair election, I could not have been more confident of the outcome of our election because of Indiana’s Photo ID law.

Indiana’s 2005 law requires that all Indiana residents present photo ID before casting a ballot in person at the polls on Election Day. The photo ID must meet 4 criteria to be acceptable for voting purposes. The ID must:

- Be issued by the State of Indiana or the U.S. government
- Display the voter’s photo
- Display an expiration date – that is either current or expired no earlier than the date of the last General Election.
- Display the voter’s name – such that it reasonably conforms with the name on the voter registration record (poll book).

Voters with limited incomes, religious objections to having their photos taken, and those who forget to bring adequate identification to the polls may cast a provisional in-person ballot – which must then be verified at the county clerk’s office within 10 days following the election.
Signage at all Bureau of Motor Vehicle facilities.
Major political parties.
League of Women Voters.
Department of Health – via a mailing to all nursing facilities.
All 107 county offices of Indiana’s Family and Social Services Agency.
Most colleges and universities through student body e-mail distribution.
Many, many others.

Statistics show that voter turnout has increased since the law was enacted.¹

In May 2008, Indiana experienced one of its highest turnouts ever for a Primary Election. Turnout increased from 21 percent in the 2004 Primary to around 40 percent for the 2008 Primary. 76 percent of the participants took part in the Democratic Presidential Primary. Up from just 40 percent who voted in the Democratic Presidential Primary in 2004.

Of the more than 1,300 calls my office took that day from voters, only two related to enforcement of Indiana’s photo ID law – neither demonstrating that someone was shut out from voting. There were no statewide election contests or recounts! In spite of close contests in both the Presidential Primary and the Gubernatorial Primary election.

In November 2008, Indiana once again experienced very high turnout. Turnout increased by over 300,000 voters when compared to the 2004 general election. Additionally, for the first time since 1964, the Democratic Presidential candidate won Indiana’s electoral votes. Over the course of 2008, there were well over 345,000 newly registered voters and over 800,000 new or updated registration records.

Opponents of the notion that voters should identify themselves have yet to identify a single individual who has experienced a violation of his or her right to vote, or been unable to vote due to Indiana’s photo ID law. Indiana’s experience in 2008 demonstrated that our photo ID requirement does not act as a deterrent to participation. What our photo ID law does do however is wisely use modern-day technology to improve the integrity in our elections.

Thank you.

/S/

Todd Rokita,
Indiana Secretary of State

¹ Jeffrey Milyo, professor of economics and public affairs at the University of Missouri noted that overall voter turnout in Indiana actually increased after the implementation of photo ID. His study evaluated the effects of photo identification requirements by comparing county-level turnout in Indiana in the 2002 and 2006 mid-term elections.
Testimony of Chandler Davidson,
Tsanoff Professor of Public Affairs Emeritus
Rice University,
Before the Texas Senate
Concerning Senate Bill 362
(“Photo ID Bill”)
10 March 2009

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF SENATE BILL 362
By
Chandler Davidson

ABSTRACT

Senate Bill 362, from the viewpoint of many scholars of voting rights, raises issues with deep historical reverberations. Specifically, the burdens of money and time the proposed Texas photo ID requirement imposes on the less well-off (disproportionately black and Latino), the elderly, and the disabled, resemble the costs borne by blacks, Latinos, and poor whites following Reconstruction when southern Democratic lawmakers imposed literacy tests, poll taxes, and other restrictive devices (usually, they alleged, to prevent vote fraud) which they described in terms of “progressive government” but which in actuality were designed to prevent Republicans and Populists from voting.
The issue before the Texas Senate is whether Senate Bill 362 requiring voters to show a photo ID at the polling place in order to cast a ballot is justifiable. Opponents argue that it works an unfair hardship on many citizens who would not have the government-issued documents that count as a legitimate ID. They argued that the law, in effect, constitutes a poll tax, inasmuch as there are costs to obtain the required photo ID, costs that unduly burden many eligible citizens wanting to exercise their right to vote.

Given the long history of legally sanctioned disfranchisement of large and disparate groups of citizens, from the founding of the Republic to the recent past, the case raises important questions to scholars of voting rights. Indeed, the bill brings to mind events during the half-century following the Civil War, when the language of “progressive reform” cloaked the disfranchisement of blacks and poor whites in the South—those most likely to vote for Republican or Populist candidates. Actually adopted for partisan and racially discriminatory purposes, these laws were often presented as high-minded attacks on fraud—efforts to “purify” the electorate that would only inconvenience “vote sellers” or the ignorant and “shiftless.” (Kousser, 1974)

To be sure, unlike today, when proponents of voter photo identification must strain mightily to find the rarest examples of fraud, particularly in-person voter fraud at the polls, in the nineteenth century there was widespread fraud. However, this was often committed against African Americans and the Republican party to which they then overwhelmingly adhered. Louisiana Senator and former Governor Samuel D. McEnery stated in 1898 that his state’s 1882 election law “was intended to make it the duty of the governor to treat the law as a formality and count in the Democrats.” (New Orleans

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1 For a trenchant summary of this period, see Franklin and Moss, Jr., 1988, Chap. XIII.
"Daily Picayune Feb. 30, 1898) A leader of the 1890 Mississippi constitutional
convention admitted that "it is no secret that there has not been a full vote and a fair count
in Mississippi since 1875," which was the last year until 1967 in which blacks voted at all
freely in the state. (Wharton 1947, 206) Nonetheless, these same Democrats invoked the
language of reform in calling for a wide range of restrictions on the suffrage: registration
acts, poll taxes, literacy and property tests, "understanding" qualifications, and white
primaries, among others.

Between 1889 and 1913, for example, nine states outside the South made the
ability to read English a prerequisite for voting. (Phillips 1906, 55-62; McCulloch 1929,
54-58) Literacy tests were said to reduce the influence of immigrants or African
Americans who supported "bosses" and "demagogues." (McCork 1892, 171-6;
Commons 1920, 183, 195) Moreover, between 1890 and 1908, seven of the eleven ex-
Confederate states adopted state constitutional amendments allowing only literate voters
or those with a certain amount of property to vote. There were sometimes loopholes like
"understanding" qualifications or "grandfather" clauses that allowed some whites to vote
who could not meet literacy or property tests. Shortly after passage of these amendments,
fewer than 10 percent of African Americans managed to register to vote in most states,
and no more than 15 percent in any. (Kousser 1974, 60-1.)

The poll tax was one of the most notorious disfranchising mechanisms of its day.
The current debate over Senate Bill 362—as well as similar bills in other states—has led
to claims that they are a "modern-day poll tax." This implies that the Texas bill, too,
falls within the ignominious American tradition of disfranchising laws passed under the
guise of "good government" reform.
Frederick Ogden, perhaps the foremost scholar of the poll tax, wrote in the 1950s:

“While critics of legalized restrictions on Negro voting may find it hard to discover any high moral tone in such activities, these restrictions reflected a movement for purifying the electoral process in southern states.” Ogden quotes the editor of the San Antonio Express writing in 1902: “By requiring a poll tax receipt, secured six months previous to an election, fraudulent elections can be prevented almost entirely.” (Ogden 1958, 9-10.)

The most accessible photo ID required by bill 362 probably consists of the state’s driver’s license. Obtaining one has been shown in other states to be a good deal more difficult for some people than it might seem at first glance. For example, at least 43,000 persons of voting age in Indiana are estimated to have neither a driver’s license or the other most likely form of photo ID in that state. (Indiana Democratic Party, et al., 12-17) The number in Texas would probably be significantly greater. DVM sites are often difficult for a non-driver to get to.

The demographic characteristics of persons lacking the requisite ID are suggested by a November 2006 telephone survey of 987 randomly selected voting-age American citizens by the independent Opinion Research Corporation conducted for the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law. Eleven percent did not have valid government-issued photo ID, while 18 percent of citizens 65 years of age or older lacked it, as did 25 percent of African Americans. (Brennan Center for Justice 2006, 3)² The latter two demographic groups, the elderly and African Americans, are more likely to self-identify as Democrats—African-Americans disproportionately so.³ Elderly African

² These figures have a margin of error ranging from ±2% to ±8%.
³ For both African Americans and senior citizens, see http://people-press.org/commentary/pdf/95.pdf. 3; for senior citizens only, see http://pewresearch.org/pubs/27/politics-and-the-dotnet-generation. Partisan self-identification, of course, is not the sole determinant of one’s voting choice.
Americans, who are even more unlikely than members of their ethnic group in general to have a photo ID, would be strongly predisposed to vote Democratic. In close elections, the additional burdens placed on both the elderly and African Americans by the photo ID law could help elect Republican candidates. There is no reason to believe this national pattern is much different from that in Texas.

Nonetheless, it is often asserted that such barriers should not prevent a truly motivated citizen from voting. In a classic article by Kelley, Ayres, and Bowen (1967, 359, 375) attempting to measure determinants of voter turnout, the authors make the following observation:

A frequent objection to such efforts [to get out the vote] is that voters not interested enough to vote are not apt to vote wisely and so should be left alone. This view recalls the statement of a New York voter regarding the adequacy of the facilities for registering in New York City in 1964: “I sure do want to vote against that man . . . but I don’t think I hate him enough to stand on that line all day long.” How much interest should a voter have to qualify him for voting? Enough to stand in line all day? For half a day? For two days? We cannot say, but those who think voting should be limited to the “interested” ought to be prepared to do so.

Their question, posed in terms of the burden of time alone, can also be posed with regard to money: particularly concerning the least well off, how large a monetary imposition should be placed on the right to vote before it becomes the functional equivalent of a poll tax? Regarding these twin burdens, two questions may be posed to help determine whether Texas Senate Bill 362 should be interpreted according to the “good government” language of its proponents: First, how will the application of the law help shape the Texas electorate “to a size and composition deemed desirable by those in power,” as Kelley et al. put it? In other words, to what extent is the law motivated by partisan efforts to disfranchise voters who are undesirable to Republicans and thus
increase their chances of winning elections? Second, do supporters of the bill
demonstrate a significant degree of fraud of the kind the law was fashioned to prevent?
Let us consider each question in turn.

While it is impossible to know the motives of those lawmakers who support
Senate Bill 362, we can reasonably predict whether it will pass by a partisan vote.
Significantly, the bill is quite similar to at least ten bills introduced by Republicans in
state legislatures between 2005 and 2007 requiring voters to show a photo ID at the polls.
If the house and senate votes for all ten proposals are combined, 95.3 percent of the 1,222
Republicans voting and 2.1 percent of the 796 Democrats voting supported the bills.
Moreover, in the five cases in which both houses passed a bill and a Republican was
governor, he signed it. In the three cases in which both houses passed a bill and a
Democrat was governor, he vetoed it. (In two cases, only one house passed a bill.) An
eleventh bill which became law in Indiana in 2005 was part of this pattern, although
even more extreme. In the vote on Senate Bill 483, 85 Republicans voted for it and none
against; 62 Democrats voted against it and none in favor. The Republican governor
signed the bill into law. (Indiana Democratic Party, et al., Brief, 9)

Did supporters of these photo ID bills demonstrate that there is a significant
degree of fraud of the kind the bills were fashioned to prevent? The popular debate over
the extent and kind of vote fraud that exists in the United States today has been
widespread and acerbic at least since the 2000 presidential election, and it shows no signs
of abating. There are numerous kinds of vote fraud, and distinctions among them—

4 These unpublished data were obtained by the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU and provided by Justin
Levitt at the Center. They are based on the recorded votes for the following ten voter ID bills: Enacted:
H.B. 244 (GA 2005) (enjoined); S.B. 84 (GA 2006); H.B. 1567 (FL 2005); SB 483 (IN 2005); SB 1014
(MO 2006) (enjoined). Failed: HB 2019 (KS 2007); HB 345 (NH 2006); HB 1318 (PA 2006); HB 218
(TX 2007); SB 42 (WI 2005).
which are necessary to determine the most effective means of their prevention—are often
lost in popular debate. As critics of the Indiana law (and Texas S.B. 362) have asserted,
the photo ID requirement was implemented to prevent one type of fraud: voter
impersonation at the polls on Election Day. (Indiana Democratic Party, et al., 42)
Among the many kinds it does not prevent is that involving mail-in ballots, which some
believe to be more common than impersonation at the polls. (Indiana Democratic Party,
et al., 45-47) What makes the statute particularly suspect in the case of Indiana is the fact
that there has not been a single prosecution for in-person vote fraud in the history of the
state—a fact that Richard Posner, judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh
Circuit, author of that court’s split decision favoring Indiana, attributed to lax law
enforcement. (William Crawford v. Marion County Election Board, U.S. Court of
Appeals 2007, 7)

In Texas, too, Senate Bill 362 is designed solely to prevent voter impersonation at
the polls. In both 2005 and 2007 Republicans in the legislature introduced photo ID
bills. (Vertuno 2005, 8A; Economist 2007) In 2007, according to a newspaper reporter:
“Republicans like the voter ID bill because they believe it will weaken Democrats, but
can argue that it is a reasonable requirement” because it would prevent vote fraud. (Mack
2007) Not all Republicans, however, shared the belief that it would curtail fraud. Royal
Masset, former political director of the Texas Republican Party, was one. He told the
reporter he agreed that among his fellow Republicans it was “an article of religious faith
that voter fraud is causing us to lose elections.” He was not convinced. He did believe,
however, that requiring photo IDs could cause enough of a drop-off in legitimate
Democratic voting to add 3 percent to the Republican vote. (Mack 2007)
In January 2006, after his party’s first failure to pass a photo ID bill, Greg Abbott, the Republican attorney general of Texas, announced a “training initiative to identify, prosecute [and] prevent voter fraud.” (Attorney General 2007) This was the most ambitious and costly effort in modern Texas history—perhaps ever—by the state’s government to attack the alleged problem. “Vote fraud has been an epidemic in Texas for years, but it hasn’t been treated like one,” Abbott said. “It’s time for that to change.” (Attorney General 2007) He promised that his newly created Special Investigations Unit (SIU) would “help police departments, sheriff’s offices, and district and county attorneys successfully identify, investigate and prosecute various types of voter fraud offences.” Established with a $1.5 million grant from the governor’s office, the SIU would have as one of its prime responsibilities investigating voter fraud allegations, he said. Abbott targeted 44 counties containing 78 percent of registered voters in the state. (Attorney General 2007) According to the Austin American-Statesman, “Complaints originate from voting officials, district attorneys or citizens and are sent to the secretary of state or the attorney general. Each complaint is evaluated by a professional employee to determine whether the complaint is legitimate and warrants further investigation.” (Editorial Board 2007)

Such an initiative would seem to constitute a model of the aggressive, responsible, multi-level law enforcement effort that Judge Posner implied had been lacking in Indiana. Moreover, given Republicans’ desire to provide evidence of widespread voter fraud in order to justify new statutes criticized by Democrats and some media sources, one would expect Abbott to have conducted the effort with enthusiasm. What has been the result of his vote fraud initiative?
Texas is a large state, with thousands of elections occurring in a four-year period in its numerous governmental units. In 2008, there were 17.7 million persons of voting age, and of those, more than 13.6 million were registered to vote. (Texas Secretary of State 2009) An anti-immigration organization estimated that 1.7 million Texas inhabitants resided there illegally in 2007. (FAIR 2007) In the November 2008 presidential alone, over 13.6 million Texans were registered and over 8 million votes were cast. (Texas Secretary of State 2009) Given these facts, one would expect an aggressive, centralized vote-fraud initiative by the state’s highest law-enforcement officer to yield a sizable number of indictments during the more than fifty months of its existence if, in fact, vote fraud had reached “epidemic” proportions.

The data presented by Attorney General Abbot on his Web site tell a different story. In the four years between January 25, 2006, the day the initiative was announced, and March 6, 2009, 26 people had been indicted for vote fraud. A mere 5 persons in this same period had been convicted of one or more counts of vote fraud, and 2 of those 5 convictions were of people who had committed the fraud before January 2006. In short, of the 26 people indicted over the three-year period since General Abbott’s initiative was announced, only 3 have so far been convicted. Most of the indictments concern older women who handled write-in ballots for elderly or disabled friends, some apparently unaware of a law passed in 2003 requiring those rendering such aid to sign the envelope containing the friend’s ballot before mailing it. Perhaps the most amazing aspect of this record is not the paucity of indictments or convictions but the fact that none of the types of vote fraud committed or alleged would have been prevented by the photo ID.

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5 These data were culled from the press releases on the Texas Attorney General’s Web site between 25 Jan. 2006 and 4 Mar. 2009 http://www.oag.state.tx.us/oagnews/. Repeated calls to the Attorney General’s office regarding the status of his vote fraud initiative in late October, 2007, were not returned.

That is to say, none involved voter impersonation at the polls.

These data do not appear to be anomalous. A survey of the director or deputy director of all 88 Ohio boards of election in June 2005 found that a total of only 4 votes cast in the state’s general elections in 2002 and 2004 (in which over 9 million votes were cast) were judged ineligible and thus likely constituted actual voter fraud.

(COHHIO/LWVO 2005) Interviews by New York Times reporters with election law enforcement officials and academic experts suggest that the pattern in Ohio is typical. Professor Richard L. Hasen, an election law expert at Loyola Law School, summed up knowledgeable opinion about vote fraud to the reporters as follows: “[W]hat we see is isolated, small-scale activities that often have not shown any kind of criminal intent.”

(Lipton and Urbina 2007)

The most intensive research to date on contemporary voter fraud in the United States has been conducted by political scientist Lorraine Minnite of Barnard College. She summarizes her findings thus:

No available evidence suggests that voters are intentionally corrupting the electoral process, let alone in numbers that dilute and cancel out “the lawful votes of the vast majority of Americans.” The lack of evidence is not due to a failure to codify voter fraud as a crime, nor is it due to the inability or unwillingness of local law enforcement agencies to investigate or prosecute potential cases of voter fraud. In fact, when we probe most allegations of voter fraud we find errors, incompetence and partisanship. The exaggerated fear of voter fraud has a long history of scuttling efforts to make voting easier and more inclusive, especially for marginalized groups in American society. With renewed partisan vigor fantasies of fraud are being spun again to undo some of the progress America has made lowering barriers to the vote. (Minnite 2007)
While it is possible, as Judge Posner implied in his Seventh Circuit decision, that aggressive vote-fraud enforcement in Indiana might uncover its existence in that state, the Texas investigation suggests otherwise, and the burden of proof rests on those who allege that in-person voter fraud in Texas, Indiana, or any other state is widespread and of the kind that is deterred by a photo ID requirement. Until that burden is responsibly shouldered by state authorities, the question whether Texas Senate Bill 362 would accomplish its ostensible purpose must be answered in the negative. When this conclusion is placed alongside the fact that the previous legislative votes for a Texas photo ID bill were almost entirely along partisan lines and that the people most likely to be disfranchised by it would be Democratic voters—particularly African Americans and Latinos, as well as lower-income, elderly, and disabled citizens—Texas Senate Bill 362 appears to fit comfortably within the long and unsavory history of those in positions of power disfranchising the above populations for partisan gain. Moreover, Texas Republicans’ attempted justifications of the bill with claims of voter fraud are at least as dubious as those which attempted to justify the now unconstitutional poll tax at the turn of the Twentieth Century.

A great deal of progress has been made over the past fifty years in combating discrimination in electoral politics, thanks in part to such epochal events as passage of the Twenty-fourth Amendment and the Voting Rights Act. However, race, class, and partisanship continue to be inextricably intertwined in the United States, just as they were from the end of Reconstruction to the Civil Rights Era. The current Texas voter ID bill, if the above analysis is correct, is an excellent example of this fact.
REFERENCES


Coalition on Homelessness and Housing in Ohio (COHHIO) and The League of Women Voters of Ohio (LWVO), Let the People Vote: A Joint Report on Election Reform Activities in Ohio (Columbus, Ohio: 2005).


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Crawford v. Marion County Election Bd., 2008.


New Orleans Daily Picayune.


Helping Stamp Out Voter Fraud in Texas

By Greg Abbott
Attorney General of Texas

In Texas, an epidemic of voter fraud is harming the electoral process and it's time we rooted it out.

Of course, voter fraud is no newcomer to the Lone Star State. Six decades ago, the votes "found" in Jim Wells County's infamous Ballot Box 13 helped Lyndon Johnson squeak into the U.S. Senate. Maybe none quite so dramatic, but other instances of "election irregularities" on both sides of the political aisle have plagued Texas since that 1948 primary.

And the fraud continues. Just since last summer, my office has been involved in several voter fraud cases across the state. Last month, three people, including a Texarkana City Council member, were indicted in Bowie County for illegally handling mail-in ballots for seniors and other voters during the November 2004 general elections.

In Reeves County, the mother of a March 2004 primary candidate for sheriff and another woman were indicted in January for illegally possessing and transporting the election ballots of several voters.

In Nueces County, four women allegedly targeted elderly voters during last year's local school board elections, going door-to-door soliciting votes and then taking ballots and carrier envelopes to the post office.

A Hardeman County commissioner pleaded guilty to illegally collecting mail-in ballots during the 2004 elections that put him in office.

And in Bee County, a Beeville resident pleaded guilty to mailing an absentee ballot in the name of her deceased mother during the November 2004 elections.

At first glance, these might seem like isolated events in far-flung towns. Step back, though, and the picture looks just as sinister as it did 60 years ago. For example, Texas has long been a haven for paid political operatives who target seniors and the disabled to handle their mail-in ballots for them. Many of the cases referred to my office by the Secretary of State fall into this category.
The fact is, voter fraud allegations are surfacing in communities from the Rio Grande to the Red River, from the Pecos to the Piney Woods. For too long, Texas has turned a blind eye to these crimes, thinking everyone does it, it is too hard to prosecute, it's not really a serious crime, it's always taken place, or some other excuse. The reality is that voter fraud is occurring on a large scale when viewed statewide and, consequently, the election process is significantly impacted.

To fight this problem, I asked my Special Investigations Unit (SIU) to work with police departments, sheriff's offices, and district and county attorneys to identify, investigate and prosecute various types of voter fraud offenses.

Officers from the SIU, working through a $1.5 million grant from the Governor's office, will visit key counties across the state to conduct voter fraud training. Included among these counties are 14 where my office has previously investigated or prosecuted alleged election code violations. In addition to the ones mentioned above, the list includes Comal, Floyd, Harris, Hidalgo, Jim Wells, Parker, Robertson, Tarrant and Waller counties.

SIU officers are also visiting 30 other Texas counties with populations of at least 100,000. Together, these 44 counties contain more than three-quarters of the eligible registered voters in the state.

With more law enforcement officers and prosecutors on the alert, those who would commit fraud will think twice before manipulating a disabled voter or casting a ballot from the grave. If they do it anyway, let this be their notice that we will come after them.

We must do all we can to ensure the validity of our elections. Voter fraud strikes at the heart of our democratic process, and it must stop.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

Fighting Voter Fraud

Voter fraud is an epidemic in Texas.

Just since last summer, the Attorney General has been involved in voter fraud cases in Bowie, Reeves, Nueces, Hardeman and Bee counties.

The Attorney General is visiting 44 counties to help local law enforcement and prosecutors identify, investigate and prosecute voter fraud.

To report voter fraud:
Office of the Attorney General
(800) 252-8011

Information on this and other topics is available on the Attorney General's website at www.oag.state.tx.us.

Guard Against Credit Card Abuse: Check Your Receipts

By Greg Abbott
Memo

To: Chuck Lowery, Investigator
From: George Hammerlein
CC: Paul Bettencourt, Linda Harvey, Ed Johnson, and Chris German
Date: July 23, 2007
Re: Possible fraudulent Voter Registration Applications for 5519 Dashwood, Houston, TX

We are in receipt of 29 additional Voter Registration Applications (for a total of 121), which appear to be fraudulently submitted, and are forwarding them to your office for review. These applications all contain the residence address of 5519 Dashwood (with various apartment numbers), Houston TX 77024, which is a non-existent address. In addition to the address, these applications also have the following similarities:

➤ Applications and signatures are in the same handwriting
➤ No date of birth (except on one application)
➤ No identification information
➤ All applications have an El Paso TX postmark

These applications have all been rejected, and notices have been mailed.

A spreadsheet containing the names of the individuals along with a copy of the applications are attached for your review.

The sender's name on the mailing envelope (which contained 24 applications) is Jâdore Chaînel Johnson. This is the same name that appeared on 14 of the applications received earlier with the 2519 Dashwood address. A spreadsheet identifying these voters is attached.

The state database of registered voters (referred to as TEAM) shows a Jadore Hall Johnson to be a registered voter in El Paso County. The TDL number associated with Jadore Hall Johnson's registration is 23663173. TDL records lists this number
as belonging to Gwendolyn H. Celestin who is also a registered voter in El Paso County.

The El Paso registration on Gwendoyln H. Celestin has TDL# 24466089. A copy of the TDL record information is attached for your reference. (Please note the difference in spelling of the first name.)

Both registrations have the same residence address (difference Apt #’s) and the same alternate mailing address. These two registrations may be the same person. The box number (PO Box 2365) appears on five (5) previously received applications (VRC# 61376190, 61375119, 61376232, 61474722 and 61389078), but the address has Houston TX  77023 instead of El Paso TX.

A copy of both of the voter registration applications for Jadore Chanel Johnson and Gwendoyln H. Celestin was obtained from El Paso County and are attached for your reference in this matter along with a screen capture of the TEAM record information.

If you have any questions please contact George Hammerlein, Director of Voter Registration at (713) 368-2513.

Attachments:

2 Spreadsheets:

1. 29 new names
2. Master list of all 121 names

Copy of 29 new applications

Copy of El Paso County Voter files for Gwendoyln H. Celestin and Jadore Chanel Johnson

TEAM (Texas Election Administration Management) information for Gwendoyln H. Celestin and Jadore Chanel Johnson

TDL information for Gwendolyn (Gwendoyln) Celestin
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<td>TX</td>
<td>77024</td>
<td>555-1234</td>
<td><a href="mailto:chanel@johnson.com">chanel@johnson.com</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Shelila Johnson</td>
<td>456 Oak St.</td>
<td>Houston</td>
<td>TX</td>
<td>77024</td>
<td>555-5678</td>
<td><a href="mailto:shelila@johnson.com">shelila@johnson.com</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lisa Johnson</td>
<td>789 Pine St.</td>
<td>Houston</td>
<td>TX</td>
<td>77024</td>
<td>555-9876</td>
<td><a href="mailto:lisa@johnson.com">lisa@johnson.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenny Johnson</td>
<td>101 Cedar St.</td>
<td>Houston</td>
<td>TX</td>
<td>77024</td>
<td>555-1345</td>
<td><a href="mailto:lenny@johnson.com">lenny@johnson.com</a></td>
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Note: Made at tracking number:
- C32
- DOB: 12/31/1980
- Address: 555 Main St.

Submitted on 03/28/2007

Applicant's signature:

TOTAL: 12/12/2007

Applicant's address:
- 555 Main St.
- Houston, TX 77024
- Phone: 555-1234
- Email: chanel@johnson.com

Mail to:
- 555 Main St.
- Houston, TX 77024
- Phone: 555-1234
- Email: chanel@johnson.com

Applicant's signature:

TOTAL: 12/12/2007

Applicant's address:
- 555 Main St.
- Houston, TX 77024
- Phone: 555-1234
- Email: chanel@johnson.com

Mail to:
- 555 Main St.
- Houston, TX 77024
- Phone: 555-1234
- Email: chanel@johnson.com
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RETURN ADDRESS: 5519 Dashwood Drive, Apt 21, Houston, TX 77024

NOTE: Mail to:

5519 Dashwood Drive, Apt 21
Houston, TX 77024

S. EL PASO POSTMARK 07/11/2007

Case 2:13-cv-00193 Document 725-33 Filed in TXSD on 11/17/14 Page 68 of 133
Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.

237961746

- You must not be timely convicted or a felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office?

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Peters
First Name: Bernard
Middle Name (if any): 
Former Name: 

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural RD)

5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 2B Houston

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP. If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

Same

Date of Birth: month, day, year

Gender (Optional)

[ ] Male [ ] Female

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

[ ] Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

[ ] Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification number

City and County of Former Residence In Texas

[ ] Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

[ ] Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I

- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

[ ] I have been imprisoned in a state or federal penal institution for a term of one year or more, or am a convicted felon.

[ ] I have been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

[ ] I am a convicted felon.

[ ] I have been imprisoned in a state or federal penal institution for a term of one year or more.

[ ] I have been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

[ ] I am a convicted felon.

[ ] I have been imprisoned in a state or federal penal institution for a term of one year or more.

[ ] I have been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

[ ] I am a convicted felon.

[ ] I have been imprisoned in a state or federal penal institution for a term of one year or more.

[ ] I have been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

[ ] I am a convicted felon.

[ ] I have been imprisoned in a state or federal penal institution for a term of one year or more.

[ ] I have been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

[ ] I am a convicted felon.

[ ] I have been imprisoned in a state or federal penal institution for a term of one year or more.

[ ] I have been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

[ ] I am a convicted felon.

[ ] I have been imprisoned in a state or federal penal institution for a term of one year or more.

[ ] I have been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

[ ] I am a convicted felon.

[ ] I have been imprisoned in a state or federal penal institution for a term of one year or more.

[ ] I have been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

[ ] I am a convicted felon.

[ ] I have been imprisoned in a state or federal penal institution for a term of one year or more.

[ ] I have been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

[ ] I am a convicted felon.
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Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

• You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
• You must be a citizen of the United States.

www.sos.state.tx.us

Este formulario para inscribirse para votar también está disponible en Español. Para conseguir la versión en Español favor de llamar sin cargo 1-800-252-8683 a la oficina del Secretario de Estado.

Complete These Questions Before Proceeding

Check one: □ New □ Change □ Replacement

Are you a United States Citizen? □ Yes □ No

Will you be 18 years of age on or before election day? □ Yes □ No

If you checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? □ Yes □ No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

• Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Peters
First Name: Cindy
Middle Name (if any):__
Former Name:__

Residence Address: 5519 Dashwood Dr., Apt. 102, Houston, TX
Mailing Address: 70024

Date of Birth: _______ Gender (Optional)
□ Male □ Female

TX Driver’s License No. or Personal I.D. No.
(issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I
• am a resident of this county;
• have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
• have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

TX_00002096
JA_004855
TO

Register of Voters

County Court

Houston, Texas

From

5519 Dawswood Dr., Houston, TX 77024

Priority Mail Envelope

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Visit us at usps.com

usps.com/postageonline

Flat Rate

USPS.com/Pickup

Please Press

EL PASO TX MAIN POST OFFICE
JUL 05 2007

Case 2:13-cv-00193 Document 725-33 Filed in TXSD on 11/17/14 Page 72 of 133
Texas Voter Registration Application

www.sos.state.tx.us

For Official Use Only

6162-4748

Este formulario para inscribirse para votar también está disponible en Español. Para conseguir la versión en Español favor de llamar sin cargo 1-800-252-8683 a la oficina del Secretario de Estado.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- You must not be finally convicted of a felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.
- You must be 18 years of age on or before election day.
- If you checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.
- Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office?
- If you answered 'no' to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.
- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Peters
First Name: Curtis
Middle Name (if any): Michael
Former Name: ""

Residence Address: 5519 Dashwood Dr., Apt. 250, Houston, TX 77054

Mailing Address: If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

Date of Birth: 1/24/07

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety): If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number.

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional): ""

City and County of Former Residence In Texas: ""

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date: ""

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I

- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

Certification of Applicant or Agent

TX_00002098
JA_004857
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Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications
- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.

You are a United States Citizen? [ ] Yes [ ] No

Are you 18 years of age on or before election day? [ ] Yes [ ] No

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? [ ] Yes [ ] No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Peters
First Name: Cynthia
Middle Name (if any): 
Former Name: 

Residence Address: 5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. B, Houston, TX 77027

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP: If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address, 1-713-765-4647

Date of Birth: month, day, year

Gender (Optional) [ ] Male [ ] Female

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No. [ ] Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification number

(issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence In Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I
- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon, have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date. 

TX 00002100
JA_004859
ht from your home or office at usps.com/pickup
usps.com/postageonline

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PRIORITY MAIL
UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE

From: Susan Gwinn Johnson
5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. D4
Houston, TX, 77024

To: Elections
Registrar of Voters
County Court House
Houston, Texas 77024
Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE (8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications
- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.

237961700

- You must not be finally convicted of a felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

www.sos.state.tx.us

Este formulario para inscribirse para votar tambien está disponible en Español. Para conseguir la version en Español favor de llamar sin cargo 1-800-252-VOTE a la oficina del Secretario de Estado.

Complete Those Questions Before Proceeding

Check one  ☑ New  ☐ Change  ☐ Replacement
- Are you a United States Citizen?  ☑ Yes  ☐ No
- Are you 18 years of age on or before election day?  ☑ Yes  ☐ No
- Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office?  ☑ Yes  ☐ No
- If you checked "no" in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.
- If you answered "no" to this question, see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.
- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Peters  First Name: GWENDOLYN  Middle Name (if any):  Former Name: 

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural Route.

5519 Dashwood Dr, Apt. 20, Houston

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP. If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

SAME

Date of Birth: month, day, year  Gender (Optional)  ☑ Male  ☐ Female

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No.  (Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

☐ Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)  X

City and County of Former Residence In Texas

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date

TX_00002102
JA_004861
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From
5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 24
Houston, TX 77024

TO
Elections
Registrar of Voters
County Court House
Houston, Texas 77024

Label 229, February 2006

TX_00002103
JA_004862
Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE (8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications
- You must register to vote in the county in
  - 237961568 years of age or over on election day.
- You must not be finally convicted of a felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Complete These Questions Before Proceeding

Check one: □ New □ Change □ Replacement
- Are you a United States Citizen? □ Yes □ No
- If you are 18 years of age on or before election day? □ Yes □ No
- You checked "no" in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? □ Yes □ No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.
- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Peters
First Name: James
Middle Name: (If any)
Former Name:
Residence Address: 5519 Dashwood Dr., Apt. B, Houston, TX 77024
Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP: If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.
Date of Birth: [month, day, year]
Gender: [ ] Male [ ] Female
TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number
Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)
City and County of Former Residence In Texas
Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I
- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

Signature: James Peters
Date: 06/24/07

Case 2:13-cv-00193 Document 725-33 Filed in TXSD on 11/17/14 Page 79 of 133
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Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications
- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.

- You must not be finally convicted or a felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

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6/6/24615

Este formulario para inscribirse para votar también está disponible en Español. Para conseguir la versión en Español favor de llamar sin cargo 1-800-252-8683 a la oficina del Secretario de Estado.

Complete These Questions Before Proceeding

Check one: ☐ New ☐ Change ☐ Replacement
- Are you a United States Citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- Will you be 18 years of age on or before election day? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- You checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Peters
First Name: Kermit
Middle Name (if any): 
Former Name: 

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural Route)
5319 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 7, Houston, TX 77027

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP. If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

Date of Birth: [month, day, year]
Gender (Optional): ☐ Male ☐ Female

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

☐ Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence in Texas

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

TX_00002106
JA_004865
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Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- If you are a United States Citizen or you have ever voted in this county, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Complete These Questions Before Proceeding

Check one □ New □ Change □ Replacement
- Are you a United States Citizen? □ Yes □ No
- If you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.
- Have you been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law?

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4805

Este formulario para inscribirse para votar también está disponible en Español. Para conseguir la versión en Español favor de llamar sin cargo 1-800-252-8683 a la oficina del Secretario de Estado.

Last Name: Peters
First Name: Pamela
Middle Name (if any): 
Former Name: 
Residence Address: 5519 Dashwood Dr., Apt. 20, Houston, TX 77024
Mailing Address: 
Date of Birth: month, day, year: 
Gender (Optional) □ Male □ Female
TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural Rt.) 
Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification number
Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional) 
City and County of Former Residence In Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I:
- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if signed by Witness and Date. 

JA_004867

TX_00002108
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Cradle to Cradle Certification is awarded to products that pursue an innovative vision of ecologically-intelligent design that eliminates the concept of waste. This USPS packaging has been certified for its material content, recyclability, and manufacturing characteristics.
Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.

- If you are a United States Citizen and you will be 18 years of age on or before election day, you must register to vote.

- If you have ever voted in this county in a federal office, you must have completed all of your punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

- If you answered "No" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Peters
First Name: Robert
Middle Name (if any): Carter
Former Name:

Residence Address: 1234 Main St., Apt. 5519, Dashwood, TX 77024
Mailing Address: 1234 Main St., Apt. 5519, Dashwood, TX 77024

Date of Birth: [insert date]
Gender (optional): [ ] Male [ ] Female

TX Driver's License No. or Personal ID. No.:

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date:

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I
- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

Date:

Robert Peters
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PRIORITY MAIL
UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE

From
Sandra Graveline
5519 Dashwood Dr. A05, 7749
Houston, TX 77024

TO
ELECTIONS
Registrar of Voters
County Court House
Houston, Texas

JUL 05 2007 PM02:11
Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- You must be a citizen of the United States.

You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.

If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE (8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Este formulario para inscribirse para votar también está disponible en Español. Para conseguir la versión en Español favor de llamar sin cargo 1-800-252-8683 a la oficina del Secretario de Estado.

Complete These Questions Before Proceeding

Check one: [ ] New [ ] Change [ ] Replacement

Are you a United States Citizen? [ ] Yes [ ] No

Are you a United States Citizen? [ ] Yes [ ] No

If you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Are you a United States Citizen? [ ] Yes [ ] No

If you have ever voted in this county for a federal office? [ ] Yes [ ] No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification number.

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirn that I

- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

Date of Birth: [ ] Male [ ] Female

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence in Texas

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

TX_00002112

JA_004871
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Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State’s Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- You must be a citizen of the United States.

completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

237961595

Are you a United States Citizen? Q Yes ☐ No
Will you be 18 years of age on or before election day? ☐ Yes ☐ No
If you checked ‘no’ in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.
Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? ☐ Yes ☐ No
If you answered “no” to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

Continue below to complete application.

Last Name
First Name
Middle Name (if any)
Former Name

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number City, State, and ZIP: If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. or Rural Rd.)

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP: If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

Date of Birth: month, day, year Gender (Optional) ☐ Male ☐ Female

TX Driver’s License No. or Personal I.D. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

☐ Check if you do not have a social security, driver’s license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional) City and County of Former Residence In Texas

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and
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Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State’s Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications
- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- You must not be finally convicted of a felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

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Complete These Questions Before Proceeding

Check one □ New □ Change □ Replacement
- Are you a United States Citizen? □ Yes □ No
- Will you be 18 years of age on or before election day? □ Yes □ No
- If you checked ‘no’ in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.
- Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? □ Yes □ No
- If you answered “no” to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.
- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Peters
First Name: Stanley
Middle Name (if any): 
Former Name: 
Residence Address: 5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 4 Houston, TX 77024
Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP: If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.
Date of Birth: 01/02/1967
Gender: □ Male □ Female
TX Driver’s License No. or Personal I.D. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number
☐ Check if you do not have a social security, driver’s license, or personal identification number
Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)
City and County of Former Residence In Texas
TX Driver’s License No. or Personal I.D. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number
☐ Check if you do not have a social security, driver’s license, or personal identification number

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.
I affirm that I
- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

TX_00002116
JA_004875
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From:
5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 24
Houston, TX, 77024

TO
Elections
Registrar of Voters
County Court House
Houston, Texas
Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications
- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- 

237961657
- You must be a United States Citizen. If not, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Complete These Questions

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? Yes □ No □
If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

Continue below to complete application.

Last Name
First Name
Middle Name (if any)
Former Name

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural Rt.)

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP. If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

Date of Birth: month, day, year
Gender (Optional)
□ Male □ Female

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence In Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I
- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

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Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE (8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.

- You must not be finally convicted of a felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

www.sos.state.tx.us

Este formulario para inscribirse para votar tambien está disponible en Español. Para conseguir la version en Español favor de llamar sin cargo 1-800-252-8683 a la oficina del Secretario de Estado.

Complete These Questions Before Proceeding

Check one [ ] New [ ] Change [ ] Replacement

Are you a United States Citizen? [ ] Yes [ ] No

Will you be 18 years of age or before election day? [ ] Yes [ ] No

If you checked "no" in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? [ ] Yes [ ] No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Peters
First Name: Tony
Middle Name (if any): 
Former Name: 

Residence Address: 5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 2B, Houston, TX

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP. If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

Date of Birth: month, day, year

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

[ ] Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence In Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I: am a resident of this county; have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.
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Priority Mail
United States Postal Service™

From
5519 Dashwood Dr. Apts. 24
Houston, TX 77024

TO
Elections Registrar of Voters
County Court House
Houston, Texas

Label 228, February 2006
Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State’s Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications:
- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- You must not be finally convicted of a felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Complete These Questions Before Proceeding

Check one: [ ] New [ ] Change [ ] Replacement

Are you a United States Citizen? [ ] Yes [ ] No

Will you be 18 years of age on or before election day? [ ] Yes [ ] No

If you checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? [ ] Yes [ ] No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

Continue below to complete application.

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural Route).

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP. If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

Date of Birth: month, day, year

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety). If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code

City and County of Former Residence in Texas

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

www.sos.state.tx.us

Este formulario para inscribirse para votar tambien esta disponible en Espanol. Para conseguir la version en Espanol favor de llamar sin cargo 1-800-252-8683 a la oficina del Secretario de Estado.

You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that:
- I am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.
Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- You must not be finally convicted of a felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Complete These Questions Before Proceeding

Check one:  ☐ New ☐ Change ☐ Replacement

re you a United States Citizen?  ☐ Yes ☐ No

all you be 18 years of age on or before election day?  ☐ Yes ☐ No

you checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office?  ☐ Yes ☐ No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Peters
First Name: Walter
Middle Name (if any): --
Former Name: --

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural Route)

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP. If mail cannot be delivered to your residence addres借此处填写。

Date of Birth: month, day, year

Gender (Optional): ☐ Male ☐ Female

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

☐ Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence In Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I

- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

TX_00002124
JA_004883
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TO
Elections Registrar of Voters
County Court House
Houston, Texas

Label 228, February 2009

JUL 05 2007 PM02:11

From
5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 24
Houston, TX 77024

www.usps.com

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**Texas Voter Registration Application**

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State’s Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

**Qualifications**
- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- You must be a citizen of the United States.
- If you are a felon; or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

**Complete These Questions Before Proceeding**

Check one □ New □ Change □ Replacement

Are you a United States Citizen? □ Yes □ No

Will you be 18 years of age on or before election day? □ Yes □ No

If you checked ‘no’ in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? □ Yes □ No

If you answered “no” to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

**Continue below to complete application.**

---

**Last Name**

Peter-Brown

**First Name**

Wanda

**Middle Name (if any)**


**Former Name**


**Residence Address:** Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural Rt.)

5519 Dashwood Dr., Apt. Houston, TX.

**Mailing Address:** Address, City, State and ZIP. If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

SAME

**Date of Birth:** month, day, year  

Gender (Optional)  

□ Male □ Female

TX Driver’s License No. or Personal I.D. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

□ Check if you do not have a social security, driver’s license, or personal identification number

**Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)**

**City and County of Former Residence in Texas**

**I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.**

**I affirm that I**
- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

**Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.**

Wanda Peters-Brown

TX 00002126

JA 004885

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Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State’s Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE (8683), TDD 1-800-733-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.

- You must not have been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

- You must not have been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon you must have completed all of your punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Complete These Questions Before Proceeding

Check one ☐ New ☐ Change ☐ Replacement

- Are you a United States Citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No

- If you are 18 years of age or older on the election day? ☐ Yes ☐ No

- Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? ☐ Yes ☐ No

- If you answered “no” to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Peters
First Name: Wanda
Middle Name: (if any)
Former Name: 

Residence Address: 5519 Dashwood Dr, Apt. 20, Houston, TX 77034

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP: If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

Date of Birth: (month, day, year)
Gender: [ ] Male [ ] Female

TX Driver’s License No. or Personal I.D. No.

TX Driver’s License No. or Personal I.D. No. (issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural Rt.)

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence in Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I

- am a resident of this county;

- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and

- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

TX_00002128
JA_004887
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Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State’s Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.

237961648

- You must be a United States Citizen, if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Complete These Questions Before Proceeding

- Check one: □ New □ Replacement

- Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? □ Yes □ No

- If you are a United States Citizen, if you answered “no” to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Peters-Brown
First Name: Calvin
Middle Name (if any): 
Former Name: 

Residence Address: 5519 Dashwood De., Apt. 2 | Houston, TX

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP: If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address, 77024

Date of Birth: month, day, year

TX Driver’s License No. or Personal I.D. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence in Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I

- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if
- I have completed all of my punishment including term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by judgment of a court of law.

Date

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to App or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness

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JA_004889
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Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State’s Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE (8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications
- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- You must be a citizen of the United States.
- You must have been a United States Citizen for at least 18 years of age on or before election day.

Complete These Questions
- Are you a United States Citizen? [ ] Yes [ ] No
- If you checked ‘yes’ in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.
- Are you a United States citizen who has ever voted in this county for a federal office? [ ] Yes [ ] No
- If you answered “no” to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.
- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Brown
First Name: James
Middle Name (if any):
Former Name: Peters
Residence Address: 5519 Dashwood Dr., Apt. 21, Houston, TX 77024
Mailing Address: Same as Residence Address
Date of Birth: [ ] Male [ ] Female
TX Driver’s License No. or Personal ID. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety)
Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)
City and County of Former Residence In Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I
- am a resident of this county;
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by a court of law;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or a felony offense;
- I have completed all of my punishment including a term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- I have completed all of my punishment including a term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- I have not been finally convicted of a felony or a federal offense.

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and D

TX_00002132
JA_004891
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Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE (8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications
- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- If you are a United States Citizen, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Complete These Questions
Before Proceeding

Check one □ New □ Change □ Replacement

Are you a United States Citizen? □ Yes □ No

Will you be 18 years of age on or before election day? □ Yes □ No

If you checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? □ Yes □ No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.
- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Peters-Brown
First Name: Pamela
Middle Name (if any)
Former Name

Residence Address: 5519 Dashwood Dr, Apt. 21, Houston, TX 77024

Mailing Address: Same

Date of Birth: 02/22/1961

Gender (Optional)
□ Male □ Female

TX Driver’s License No. or Personal I.D. No. 237961586

Telephone Number, Include Area Code: 713-555-0000

City and County of Former Residence in Texas

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and

TX_00002134
JA_004893
Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE (8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications
- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- You must be a citizen of the United States
- 237961611
- You must be a United States Citizen.
- All you be 18 years of age on or before election day?
- You must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.
- You have ever voted in this county for a federal office?
- If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.
- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Peters-Brown
First Name: Richard
Middle Name (if any): 
Former Name: 

Residence Address: 5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 21 Houston, TX
Mailing Address: Same

Date of Birth: mm/dd/yyyy
Gender (Optional): Male [ ] Female [ ]

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No. [ ]
(issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

Check if you do not have a social security, driver's license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional): 

City and County of Former Residence In Texas: 

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant: Richard Peters

I understand that giving false information to procure voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state federal law.

I affirm that I
- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a
- I have completed all of my punishment including term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by judgment of a court of law.

Signature: Richard Peters
Date: 07/01

TX_00002136
JA_004895
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From
5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 24
Houston, TX 77024

TO
Elections Registrar of Voters
County Court House
Houston, Texas

Label 228, Feb. 22, 2016

TX_00002137
JA_004896
Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE (8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- You must be a citizen of the United States.

Are you a United States Citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Are you a United States Citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No

You will be 18 years of age on or before election day? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If you checked "no" in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Peters-Brown
First Name: Terri
Middle Name (if any):
Former Name: 

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. or Rural Rt.)

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP. If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

Date of Birth: \______-\______-\______

Gender (Optional) ☐ Male ☐ Female

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence in Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state federal law.

I affirm that I
- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a I have completed all of my punishment including term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by judgment of a court of law.

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and
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TO ELECTIONS
Registrar of Voters
County Court House
Houston, Texas

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Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- You must be a citizen of the United States.

Complete These Questions Before Proceeding

Check one: ☐ New ☐ Change ☐ Replacement

Are you a United States Citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Will you be 18 years of age on or before election day? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If you checked ‘no’ in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If you answered “no” to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Peters
First Name: Tony
Middle Name (if any):
Former Name: 

Residence Address: 5519 Dashwood Dr., Apt. 21, Houston, TX
Mailing Address: 

Date of Birth: 07/01/07
Gender: Male

TX Driver's License No. or Personal I.D. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number:

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I:
- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date:

Tony Peters, Brown
right from your home or office at usps.com/pickup
to usps.com/postageonline

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TO: Elections
Registrar of Voters
County Court House
Houston, Texas

Label 228, February 2008
Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE (8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.

- [Barcode Image]

- 237934919

- You must not be finally convicted of a felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Complete These Questions Before Proceeding

- Check one □ New □ Change □ Replacement
- □ Yes □ No
- After you are a United States Citizen?
- □ Yes □ No
- All you be 18 years of age on or before election day?
- □ Yes □ No
- You checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office?

- □ Yes □ No

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Williams
First Name: Christian
Middle Name: Michael
Former Name: [If any]
Residence Address: 5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 24, Houston, TX
Mailing Address: [Address, City, State and ZIP]
Date of Birth: [month, day, year]
Gender (Optional): □ Male, □ Female
TX Driver's License No. or Personal ID. No. [if none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number]
Telephone Number, Include Area Code: [Optional]
City and County of Former Residence in Texas

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I
- □ am a resident of this county;
- □ have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon, I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or if I have been pardoned; and
- □ have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

X [Printed Name] [Signature]
For Assistance Call
Office of the Secretary of State
Toll Free:
Si necesita asistencia
llame gratis al:
1-800-252-VOTE(8683)
www.sos.state.tx.us

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
FIRST CLASS MAIL PERMIT NO. 4511 AUSTIN, TX

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

REGISTRAR OF VOTERS
COUNTY COURTHOUSE
(CITY) Houston, TX
(ZIP CODE) 77253

General Information
- Your voter registration will become effective 30 days after it is received or on your 18th birthday, whichever is later.
- If you move to another county, you must re-register in the county of your new residence.
- If you decline to register to vote, the fact that you have declined to register will remain confidential and will be used only for registration purposes. If you do register to vote, the identity of the office (if applicable) at which you submitted a voter registration application will remain confidential and will be used only for voter registration purposes.
- You must provide your driver's license or personal identification number. If you do not have a driver's license or personal identification, then give the last four digits of your social security number. If you do not have either of these identification numbers, then you must indicate by checking the box on the application side.

Identification Requirement
If you are submitting this form by mail and you are registering for the first time in this county, enclose a copy of one of the following with your application: a copy of a current and valid ID; a copy of a current utility bill; bank statement; government check; paycheck; or other government document that shows your name and address. If you do not enclose a copy of identification now and you are registering to vote by mail and have not voted in an election in this county for a federal office, you will be required to present such identification when you vote in person or enclose a copy of such identification with your ballot if you vote by mail.

Este formulario está disponible en Español. Favor de llamar sin cargo a la oficina del Secretario de Estado al 1-800-252-8683 para conseguir una version en Español.
Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE (8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- You must be a citizen of the United States.
- If you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Qualifications

www.sos.state.tx.us

For Official Use Only

Este formulario para inscribirse para votar también está disponible en Español. Para conseguir la versión en Español favor de llamar sin cargo 1-800-252-8683 a la oficina del Secretario de Estado.

Complete These Questions Before Proceeding

Check one: □ New □ Change □ Replacement

Are you a United States Citizen? □ Yes □ No

Will you be 18 years of age on or before election day? □ Yes □ No

You checked ‘no’ in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? □ Yes □ No

If you answered “no” to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Williams
First Name: Cyril
Middle Name (if any):
Former Name: 

Residence Address: 5519 Dashwood Dr., Apt. 24, Houston, TX, 77023

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP: If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

Date of Birth: month, day, year

Gender (Optional): □ Male □ Female

TX Driver’s License No. or Personal I.D. No. (issued by the Department of Public Safety): If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number.

Check if you do not have a social security, driver’s license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code: (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence In Texas: X

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I
- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date: Cyril Williams

TX_00002144

JA_004903
For Assistance Call
Office of the Secretary of State
Toll Free:
Si necesita asistencia llame gratis al:
1-800-252-VOTE(8683)
www.sos.state.tx.us

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POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

REGISTRAR OF VOTERS
COUNTY COURTHOUSE
(CITY) Houston (ZIP CODE) 77024

General Information
- Your voter registration will become effective 30 days after it is received or on your 18th birthday, whichever is later.
- If you move to another county, you must re-register in the county of your new residence.
- If you decline to register to vote, the fact that you have declined to register will remain confidential and will be used only for registration purposes. If you do register to vote, the identity of the office (if applicable) at which you submitted a voter registration application will remain confidential and will be used only for voter registration purposes.
- You must provide your driver’s license or personal identification number. If you do not have a driver’s license or personal identification, then give the last four digits of your social security number. If you do not have either of these identification numbers, then you must indicate by checking the box on the application side.

Identification Requirement
If you are submitting this form by mail and you are registering for the first time in this county, enclose a copy of one of the following with your application: a copy of a current and valid ID; a copy of a current utility bill; bank statement; government check; paycheck; or other government document that shows your name and address. If you do not enclose a copy of identification now and you are registering to vote by mail and have not voted in an election in this county or a federal office, you will be required to present such identification when you vote in person or enclose a copy of such identification with your ballot if you vote by mail.

Este formulario está disponible en Español. Favor de llamar sin cargo a la oficina del Secretario de Estado al 1-800-252-8683 para conseguir una versión en Español.
Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- You must be a citizen of the United States.
- or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Complete These Questions

- Check one □ New □ Change □ Replacement
  - Are you a United States Citizen? □ Yes □ No
  - Are you 18 years of age on or before election day? □ Yes □ No
  - Did you check ‘no’ in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.
  - Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office? □ Yes □ No
  - If you answered “no” to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.
- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Williams
First Name: Damien
Middle Name (If any):
Former Name: 
Residence Address: 5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 24 Houston, TX 77024
Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP: If mail cannot be delivered to your residence add.

Date of Birth: month, day, year
Gender (Optional) □ Male □ Female
TX Driver’s License No. or Personal I.D. No. 
Issued by the Department of Public Safety
If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

☐ Check if you do not have a social security, driver’s license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence in Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I
- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.

TX_00002146
JA_004905
For Assistance Call
Office of the Secretary of State
Toll Free:
Si necesita asistencia llame gratis al:
1-800-252-VOTE(8683)
www.sos.state.tx.us

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
FIRST CLASS MAIL PERMIT NO. 4511 AUSTIN, TX

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

REGISTRAR OF VOTERS
COUNTY COURTHOUSE
(CITY)
Houston, TX 77009
(ZIP CODE) 77253

Fold on dotted line and seal before mailing.

General Information

- Your voter registration will become effective 30 days after it is received or on your 18th birthday, whichever is later.
- If you move to another county, you must re-register in the county of your new residence.
- If you decline to register to vote, the fact that you have declined to register will remain confidential and will be used only for registration purposes. If you do register to vote, the identity of the office (if applicable) at which you submitted a voter registration application will remain confidential and will be used only for voter registration purposes.
- You must provide your driver's license or personal identification number. If you do not have a driver's license or personal identification, then give the last four digits of your social security number. If you do not have either of these identification numbers, then you must indicate by checking the box on the application side.

Identification Requirement

If you are submitting this form by mail and you are registering for the first time in this county, enclose a copy of one of the following with your application: a copy of a current and valid ID; a copy of a current utility bill; bank statement; government check; paycheck; or other government document that shows your name and address. If you do not enclose a copy of identification now and you are registering to vote by mail and have not voted in an election in this county for a federal office, you will be required to present such identification when you vote in person or enclose a copy of such identification with your ballot if you vote by mail.

Este formulario está disponible en Español. Favor de llamar sin cargo a la oficina del Secretario de Estado al 1-800-252-8683 para conseguir una versión en Español.
Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State's Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE (8683), TDD 1-800-735-2989.

**Qualifications**
- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Last Name</th>
<th>First Name</th>
<th>Middle Name (If any)</th>
<th>Former Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Williams</td>
<td>Darwin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural Rt.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Birth: month, day, year</th>
<th>Gender (Optional)</th>
<th>TX Driver’s License No. or Personal ID. No. (issued by the Department of Public Safety)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt 24</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP. If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Telephone Number, Include Area Code</th>
<th>City and County of Former Residence in Texas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X Darwin Williams</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that I
- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date.
### General Information
- Your voter registration will become effective 30 days after it is received or on your 18th birthday, whichever is later.
- If you move to another county, you must re-register in the county of your new residence.
- If you decline to register to vote, the fact that you have declined to register will remain confidential and will be used only for registration purposes. If you do register to vote, the identity of the office (if applicable) at which you submitted a voter registration application will remain confidential and will be used only for voter registration purposes.
- You must provide your driver's license or personal identification number. If you do not have a driver's license or personal identification, then give the last four digits of your social security number. If you do not have either of these identification numbers, then you must indicate by checking the box on the application slide.

### Identification Requirement
If you are submitting this form by mail and you are registering for the first time in this county, enclose a copy of one of the following with your application: a copy of a current and valid ID; a copy of a current utility bill; bank statement; government check; paycheck; or other government document that shows your name and address. If you do not enclose a copy of identification now and you are registering to vote by mail and have not voted in an election in this county for a federal office, you will be required to present such identification when you vote in person or enclose a copy of such identification with your ballot if you vote by mail.

Este formulario está disponible en Español. Favor de llamar sin cargo a la oficina del Secretario de Estado al 1-800-252-8683 para conseguir una versión en Español.
Texas Voter Registration Application

Please complete sections by printing legibly. If you have any questions about how to fill out this application, please call the Secretary of State’s Office toll free at 1-800-252-VOTE(8683), PDD 1-800-735-2989.

Qualifications

- You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.
- You must be a citizen of the United States.
- You must be 18 years of age on or before election day.
- If you checked ‘no’ in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.
- If you have ever voted in this county or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.
- Continue below to complete application.

Last Name: Williams
First Name: Robert
Middle Name (if any): 
Former Name: 

Residence Address: Street Address and Apartment Number, City, State, and ZIP. If none, describe where you live. (Do not include P.O. Box or Rural Route). 
5519 Dashwood Dr. Apt. 22, Houston

Mailing Address: Address, City, State and ZIP. If mail cannot be delivered to your residence address.

Date of Birth: month, day, year 
Gender (Optional) 
Female 

TX Driver’s License No. or Personal ID. No. (Issued by the Department of Public Safety) If none, give last 4 digits of your Social Security Number

Check if you do not have a social security, driver’s license, or personal identification number

Telephone Number, Include Area Code (Optional)

City and County of Former Residence In Texas

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, and a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that
- am a resident of this county;
- have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and
- have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date

TX_00002150
JA_004909
For Assistance Call
Office of the Secretary of State...
Toll Free:
Si necesita asistencia llame gratis al:
1-800-252-VOTE(8683)
www.sos.state.tx.us

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
FIRST CLASS MAIL PERMIT NO. 4511 AUSTIN, TX

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

REGISTRAR OF VOTERS
COUNTY COURTHOUSE
(CITY)  (ZIP CODE)

Your voter registration will become effective 30 days after it is received or on your 18th birthday, whichever is later.

If you move to another county, you must re-register in the county of your new residence.

If you decline to register to vote, the fact that you have declined to register will remain confidential and will be used only for registration purposes. If you do register to vote, the identity of the office (if applicable) at which you submitted a voter registration application will remain confidential and will be used only for voter registration purposes.

You must provide your driver's license or personal identification number. If you do not have a driver's license or personal identification, then give the last four digits of your social security number. If you do not have either of these identification numbers, then you must indicate by checking the box on the application side.

If you are submitting this form by mail and you are registering for the first time in this county, enclose a copy of one of the following with your application: a copy of a current and valid ID; a copy of a current utility bill; bank statement; government check; paycheck; or other government document that shows your name and address. If you do not enclose a copy of identification now and you are registering to vote by mail and have not voted in an election in this county for a federal office, you will be required to present such identification when you vote in person or enclose a copy of such identification with your ballot if you vote by mail.

Este formulario está disponible en Español. Favor de llamar sin cargo a la oficina del Secretario de Estado al 1-800-252-8683 para conseguir una version en Español.
Please print

Celetstin  Gwendolyn Hall

2365 El Paso, Texas 79952-23

Date of Birth 01-21-1959

Are you a United States Citizen or Naturalized?

Last four digits of S.S.N.: 276-4-9

or TX. driver’s license or ID: [redacted]
As Voter Registration Application

If you are already registered to vote, do not need to complete this form. Please pass it on to someone who could use it.

Affiliations

You must register to vote in the county in which you reside.

You must be a citizen of the United States.

You must be at least 17 years and 10 months old to register, and you must be 18 years of age by election day.

You must not be finally convicted of a felony, or if you are a felon, you must have completed all of your punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or you must have received a pardon.

Complete These Questions Before Proceeding

Check one □ New □ Change □ Replacement

Are you a United States Citizen?

Will you be 18 years of age on or before election day?

If you checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office?

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

* Continue below to complete application.

Name

Johnson

Address

123 Main St, El Paso, TX 79901

City, State, and ZIP

El Paso, TX 79933

Date of Birth

07/09/1990

Gender

Male

Driver’s License No. or Personal I.D. No.

JH-12345

Issued by the Department of Public Safety

Exp. Date

07/09/2024

Social Security Number

123-45-6789

Check if you do not have a social security, driver’s license, or personal identification number:

Phone Number

915-123-4567

Phone Number, Include Area Code

Adopted

X

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date

Are you a registered voter in the county in which you reside?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Am you a United States citizen?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Will you be 18 years of age on or before election day?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If you checked 'no' in response to either of these questions, do not complete this form.

Have you ever voted in this county for a federal office?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If you answered "no" to this question, be sure to see special instructions regarding identification requirements on the reverse side of the application.

* Continue below to complete application.

I understand that giving false information to procure a voter registration is perjury, a crime under state and federal law.

I affirm that

* am a resident of this county;

* have not been finally convicted of a felony or if a felon I have completed all of my punishment, including any term of incarceration, parole, supervision, period of probation, or I have been pardoned; and

* have not been declared mentally incompetent by final judgment of a court of law.

Date

07/09/2005

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date

X

Johnson

Date

07/09/2005

Signature of Applicant or Agent and Relationship to Applicant or Printed Name of Applicant if Signed by Witness and Date

X

Johnson

Date

07/09/2005
I've not moved into an apartment yet, I'm having problem with someone taking my mail. Since I've been here in El Paso, when I move, I'll let you know.

Thanks,

Jadre Chávez Johnson
P.O. Box 2365
El Paso, Texas 79952-2
Ph: (915) 256-9232
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Johnson</th>
<th>Jadore</th>
<th>Chavel</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Last Name</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Name</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chavel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Address</td>
<td>9375 Village Blvd</td>
<td>El Paso, TX 79925</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of Birth</td>
<td>07/23/1969</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you a United States Citizen or Naturalized?</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Signature: Jadore Chavel Johnson
Date: 10-4-05

Date: OCT 12 2005

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