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PARALEGAL
Ryan M. Riley

MEMORANDUM

TO: Assembly Committee on State Affairs

FROM: City Attorney Michael Haas

DATE: February 21, 2022

RE: 2022 Election Bills – AB 997, AB 999, AB 1002, and AB 1004

Thank you for the opportunity to comment on the elections bills before the Assembly Committee on State Affairs.

As a general matter, the City of Madison notes that multiple judicial and scholarly reviews of the 2020 election have found no widespread fraud. A recent review by the Associated Press found 26 instances of improper voting, many of which were mistakes. There were only five cases which generated charges. According to the Associated Press, “one person was living in Florida and tried unsuccessfully to vote in Wisconsin. He did not cast a ballot. Two are felons and not eligible to vote. One man voted both in person and absentee and said he didn’t recall sending in his absentee ballot. In another case, a woman is charged with submitting an absentee ballot in November for her partner, who had died in July.”

The rarity and randomness of these cases highlight the integrity of our election process. Yet in the face of a successful and well-reviewed election, legislators have introduced multiple bills that overall make exercising the right to vote more burdensome, not less burdensome for Wisconsin voters. In the absence of any evidence of clerks engaging in fraud or nefarious behavior, the bills ladle on felony charges for a variety of practices that are both common place and benign, for instance, by completing missing address information on absentee ballot certificates using reliable records or a communication from a voter.

Beginning with a flawed premise – that voter fraud is prevalent and the work of election officials is suspect – inevitably leads to flawed, unnecessary and harmful legislation. The City of Madison encourages the Legislature to rethink measures which simply amount to a war on voters and which only add more paperwork and bureaucracy to the job of municipal clerks without making any difference to the integrity of our elections. The Legislature should take a voter-centric approach to our elections and stop creating new obstacles to voting that

have nothing to do with a voter's qualifications to vote. We have often heard the mantra that it should be easy to vote and hard to cheat. The reality is that it has always been hard to cheat at voting and several of these bills simply make it harder, not easier, to vote.

We offer the following feedback regarding specific proposals being considered.

AB 997

Simply put, AB 997 is a voter disenfranchisement bill disguised as a nonthreatening bureaucratic notice process. It would turn a data-matching exercise into a substantive voter qualification, achieving a goal of some voter suppression advocates since the implementation of the statewide electronic voter registration database in 2006.

In a 2008 lawsuit brought by former Attorney General Van Hollen, the Wisconsin Supreme Court rejected this view that an individual is qualified to vote only if their personal information matches in the DMV database and the voter registration. These two databases were not constructed to guarantee that identical information is contained in every field. Discrepancies between the two databases are simply not a reflection of an individual's qualifications to vote or an indication of voter fraud or irregularities. Statistically speaking, the odds are that several people attending this hearing have data that does not exactly match in their voter and DMV records and that has not stopped them from voting, nor should it.

The most common reason for information not matching in the DMV and WEC databases is the variation on names that individuals may use for different reasons and at different times. An individual applying for a driver license as "Robert" may, years later, use the name "Rob" when registering to vote. This has no bearing on the individual's qualifications or right to vote as an adult citizen and resident of Wisconsin.

The bill also relies on a notification system leading up to a voter's registration being inactivated that utilizes the U.S. mail. Such processes have been unreliable for ensuring that voters receive adequate notification in the past and will be increasingly unreliable as all of us pay less and less attention to communications that come through the mail, especially anything that looks like a form letter. The HAVA Check process is a way to improve the consistency of voter information in two different government databases and it should not be converted into a voter qualification.

AB 999

AB 999 continues the theme of adding unnecessary burdens to both voters and clerks by requiring absentee voters to submit photo identification for each election, and to use a special form for an absentee ballot; a voter can no longer send a letter or email to the Clerk's office to request a ballot. The proposed form requires a slew of information which is already contained in the individual's voter registration record. Curiously, the bill does not require the form to include the most important piece of information which is the address to which the ballot should be sent, which is often different from the absentee voter's home address.

The bill further burdens voters and clerks by eliminating the option for voters to request absentee ballots for all elections in a single year. This requirement has no justification

except to create more red tape and bureaucracy. The LAB Audit did not detect any issues with requests for ballots for all elections in a calendar year. Further, Sections 7 and 10 of the bill do not clarify whether a photo ID must be submitted for each election even if a voter applies for absentee ballots for both a primary and a general election at the same time.

AB 1002

The City of Madison is taking a second look at this bill after registering in opposition to the companion bill in the Senate and listening to voter and accessibility advocates. This bill would change the definition of an indefinitely confined voter to an individual that is unable to travel to the polls due to frailty or illness or a disability that last more than a year, rather than the current definition which permits any voter to claim that status regardless of how long their condition prevents them from travelling to the polls.

The bill has been improved with one amendment addressing concerns of accessibility organizations and could be further improved by changing the definition of indefinitely confined voter to include a disability that is expected to last longer than a year. This is especially true given that it creates a new crime for a voter who falsely makes a statement for the purpose of qualifying as an indefinitely confined voter.

AB 1004

This bill adds the requirement that voters print their name on the absentee ballot certificate, and prohibits clerks from correcting or completing information on absentee ballot certificates even if they have reliable information that could remedy minor errors. Based on experience and the LAB's recent audit, we know that any additional bureaucratic requirement, no matter how small it may seem within the Capitol, will result in additional absentee ballots being rejected. Whether or not a voter prints their name on the absentee ballot certificate has nothing to do with their qualifications to vote, and neither does omitting pieces of their address.

The bill would prohibit, and criminalize, very simple common corrections made by clerks, including the insertion of an apartment number or municipality on a correct address, even when the location is obvious and the clerk knows the location of the voter. There has been no evidence that clerks are sending absentee ballots to unqualified voters, so when the ballot is returned from the same address to which it was sent, it is simply punitive to voters to reject ballots for minor administrative reasons. The LAB audit found that almost 7% of the absentee ballot certificates it reviewed omitted some part of the address information, and all of the ballot certificates around the State with similar omissions would have led to the rejection of many ballots under this bill.

The bill does not require clerks to notify voters that their ballot is at risk of being rejected, and clerks often do not have the time to do so during the weeks before an election. Regardless of how perfectly legislators want voters to complete their paperwork, we should all be concerned about this new requirement that is likely to result in many thousands of absentee ballots being rejected at a general election without any sound policy justification.

It is good that the bill attempts to provide an alternative for voting in nursing homes and other adult-care facilities when special voting deputies are not allowed due to health and safety concerns. The lack of such legislation required the WEC and clerks to create procedures in a short period of time to ensure the constitutional right to vote when the

Legislature failed to address the issue in 2020. The Monday-morning criticism of these efforts have all lacked an alternative solution that would have allowed residents of these facilities to vote and unfortunately it simply amounts to an assertion that those residents should not have been allowed to vote.

This bill creates a mechanism for facility residents to vote with the assistance of employees of the facility when special voting deputies cannot enter. The fact that the Legislature is only now creating such a method to allow those residents to vote demonstrates that the WEC was correct to ensure that right in 2020. If the personal care voting assistant provisions were introduced as a stand-alone bill, it is likely the City of Madison would support it.

However, there is a possible discrepancy in section 6 of the bill which seems to state that special voting deputies are prohibited from serving an adult-care facility only during a public health emergency and if the facility is closed due to an infectious disease. But the same section and sections 12 and 13 state that personal care voting assistants are to serve such facilities if a public health emergency is declared or if the facility is closed due to an infectious disease. This discrepancy can be fixed by changing section 6 to refer to facility closures due to either a public health emergency or an incident of infectious diseases.

If the intent actually is to prohibit SVD's to enter such facilities only if a public health emergency is declared, that requirement is unrealistic. Even before COVID, nursing homes closed due to infectious diseases which did not warrant a public health emergency. To expect the State or a county to declare public health emergencies in such cases when time is limited and conditions change on a daily basis ignores reality. In addition, asking SVDs to enter these facilities when the facility is closed due to health concerns but no public emergency is declared risks the health of not only residents of the facilities but special voting deputies who are volunteers assisting the clerk.

AB 1004 also prevents municipalities from accepting donations or grants of private resources to assist with election administration which is broadly defined as "preparing for, facilitating, conducting or administering an election." While there has been much focus on election grants provided by a national non-profit organization in 2020, the broad language of AB 1004 risks some unintended consequences. First, this language may prohibit local businesses from assisting municipalities by making donations of supplies, polling locations or refreshments for poll workers. Second, printing ballots and mailing absentee ballots are essential tasks in conducting an election. How does this bill accommodate such contracts for routine services that are essential to election administration?

If nothing else AB 1004 and AJR 134 can put to rest the persistent but nonsensical claims that municipalities violated statutes or the Constitution by accepting election grants in 2020 to assist with challenges created by the pandemic and the resulting huge increase in absentee voting. Those claims, of course, have been soundly rejected by numerous courts around the country. If election grants violated the laws of either Wisconsin or another state, or the U.S. Constitution, surely at least one court would have so ruled. And likewise, it would not be necessary for the Legislature to pass a law outlawing such election grants. Anyone supporting this provision should be calling for the end of any investigation into the 2020 election grants as there is no reason to spend taxpayer funds investigating activity that was legal.

These proposals would deny election administrators the ability to seek and accept much needed resources when the State fails them. Communities throughout Wisconsin lost thousands of poll workers and polling locations as fear of the Coronavirus spread in early 2020. Personal protective equipment, plexiglass barriers and hand sanitizer were in short supply while demand for absentee ballots went through the roof. In April of 2020, Madison could only staff and open 62 of its 92 polling locations.

While clerks across the state worked thousands of hours of overtime and performed unbelievable feats to carry out elections, the Legislature refused to meet for 10 months and failed to send any assistance to ensure safe voting in the state and to preserve people's Constitutional right to vote.

As the 2020 Presidential Election approached, municipalities across the state recognized they would need more staff and more funding to administer a much larger election. Two hundred Wisconsin localities applied to a Chicago based non-profit called the Center for Tech and Civic Life for grants large and small.

On July 6, 2020 the mayors of Wisconsin's five largest cities announced they had secured \$6.3 million in grant funds from CTCL and explained how they would spend the funds. The purposes of these expenditures included:

1. **Support Early In-Person Voting and Vote by Mail:** Expand the number of in-person Early Voting sites (including Curbside Voting). Provide assistance to help voters comply with absentee ballot requests and certification requirements. Utilize secure drop-boxes to facilitate return of absentee ballots. Deploy additional staff and/or technology improvements to expedite and improve accuracy of absentee ballot processing.
2. **Launch Poll Worker Recruitment, Training & Safety Efforts:** Recruit and hire a sufficient number of poll workers to ensure poll sites were properly staffed during the COVID outbreak, utilizing hazard pay where required. Provide voting facilities with funds to compensate for increased site cleaning and sanitization costs. Provide updated training for current and new poll workers administering elections in midst of pandemic.
3. **Ensure Safe, Efficient Election Day Administration:** Procure Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) and personal disinfectant to protect election officials and voters from the Coronavirus. Support and expand drive-thru voting on election day, including covering additional unbudgeted expenses for signage, tents, traffic control, and safety measures.
4. **Expand Voter Education & Outreach Efforts:** Outreach to remind voters to verify and update their address, or other voter registration information, prior to the election.

Clearly, these funds were used to ensure access to voting for all eligible voters during a serious public health emergency.

Given the unpredictability of future health and safety threats to our elections, as well as the continuing trend to increase and complicate the work of election officials, clerk's offices around the State will almost certainly need additional resources in future elections. If the

Legislature is determined to proceed with this ban, the City of Madison recommends that it add language to AB 1004 and AJR 134 guaranteeing that the State will provide additional funding to localities on a per voter basis, particularly in the case of any future pandemic or threat to the franchise. Alternatively, the Legislature could restore shared revenue or provide municipalities with additional revenue-raising options. Without such measures, voters could once again face a collapsed voting system that threatens their right to vote.

Finally, AB 1004 creates new potential crimes that local clerks may be prosecuted for simply doing their jobs, without any significant public policy justification. Two provisions subject clerks to criminal prosecution based upon whether a voter registration or ballot subsequently turns out to be valid or invalid. Correcting such errors has traditionally been the province of recounts where mistakes are found and corrected. Inviting disgruntled partisans to press for the prosecution of clerks by claiming an error or oversight was intentional only discourages more hard-working clerks from continuing in their public service.

As with other bills in this legislative package, an honest assessment of these election processes argues for the Legislature to join state and local election officials in educating the public about the facts related to Wisconsin election processes. The public and local election officials are exhausted and discouraged with the constant misinformation and disinformation that continues to be perpetuated by those who are in office by virtue of the same elections and rules that they wish to question. On behalf of the City of Madison, its voters, election officials and poll workers, I request that the Legislature focus its efforts on legislation informed by the professionals in the field and with the goal of serving Wisconsin voters, not disenfranchising them.