

# The Cost of the Proposed Elections Amendment

**SEPTEMBER 2012**

Kathy Bonnifield, Citizens for Election Integrity Minnesota  
David A. Schultz, Hamline University

## INTRODUCTION

In November, Minnesota's voters will go to the polls and have their say in determining whether there should be changes to article seven of Minnesota's constitution. This ballot question, if passed, would alter the state constitution to require a valid government-issued photo ID when voting in-person and to require all voters to have substantially equivalent identity and eligibility verification.

The purpose of this report is to project the costs to state and local governments as well as to individuals to secure the documents required to obtain an ID. This report looks at several possible scenarios and estimates the cost of each.

The constitutional amendment states:

*(b) All voters voting in person must present valid government-issued photographic identification before receiving a ballot. The state must issue photographic identification at no charge to an eligible voter who does not have a form of identification meeting the requirements of this section. A voter unable to present government-issued photographic identification must be permitted to submit a provisional ballot. A provisional ballot must only be counted if the voter certifies the provisional ballot in the manner provided by law.*

*(c) All voters, including those not voting in person, must be subject to substantially equivalent identity and eligibility verification prior to a ballot being cast or counted.*

Although the proposed amendment appears to be just about a photo ID, its language could require significant changes to Minnesota's elections. These include changes to mail-in and absentee voting, changes to Election Day Registration, and the introduction of provisional balloting.

Senator Newman, one of the chief authors of the proposed amendment, stated in hearings that it will be up to the 2013 legislature to determine how the amendment will be implemented. Thus, he did not clarify the intent of some of the language, including "substantially equivalent identity and eligibility verification." Because there is a lack of certainty regarding how the proposed amendment will be implemented, should it pass, it is difficult to determine the exact impact and costs to state and local governments.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In estimating the costs of the amendment in Minnesota, this report is limited in its ability to rely upon the costs to implement voter photo IDs in other states. The reason for this is because those costs only focus on voter photo IDs and because no other state has embedded the "substantial equivalent" language in its constitution or in its statutes.

As this report outlines, the estimated expenses fall under the following categories:

1. State Costs: \$10<sup>2</sup> million-\$14 million
  - a. producing voter photo IDs<sup>3</sup>: \$8.25 million over four years
  - b. voter education and outreach: \$1.7 million to \$5.3 million<sup>4</sup>
2. Local Costs: \$26.5 million-\$63.6 million
  - a. provisional balloting,<sup>5</sup> electronic rosters for polling places, and converting mail-in precincts to in-person precincts.<sup>6</sup>
3. Individual Costs: \$16 million-\$72 million

This report intends to put forth the best estimate of potential expenses, with the caveat that the language of the amendment and lack of certainty regarding the enabling legislation creates possible unknown costs.

## BACKGROUND

In 2011, a voter photo ID bill was vetoed by Governor Dayton. That bill (HF 210/ SF89) would have

1. required voters appearing in a polling place to present proof of identity and residence. Valid photo IDs included a Minnesota Driver's License, Minnesota ID card, a Tribal ID card if it contained the data that are included on a Minnesota identification card or a newly created voter photo ID card. It exempted people who had a religious objection from being photographed. If the voter moved or if his or her name changed, the photo ID would no longer be valid;
2. eliminated vouching as a mechanism for voter registration (with the exemption of a resident of a shelter for battered women who could be vouched for by an employee of the shelter);
3. established provisional balloting, which would be an option for voters who did not have a valid photo ID or who were challenged;<sup>7</sup> and
4. established standards for electronic rosters that could only be used if the internet connection to the Statewide Voter Registration System was sufficient to prevent a voter from voting more than once, and to prevent access to the system by unauthorized individuals.<sup>8</sup>

Election Day Registration would have continued with a number of IDs that could be acceptable to *register* to vote, including a U.S. Passport or military ID. However, if the voter did not possess one of the valid photo IDs mentioned in point one, he or she could only vote provisionally. A voter's

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<sup>2</sup> Rounding to the nearest million

<sup>3</sup> The production of voter photo IDs will be reoccurring cost.

<sup>4</sup> This is not a reoccurring cost.

<sup>5</sup> Provisional balloting will be reoccurring costs.

<sup>6</sup> Some of these costs, such as provisional voting and the updating of the electronic voting equipment, are reoccurring.

<sup>7</sup> Bill Summary. House Research Department. Article 1, section 23. April 28, 2011

<http://www.house.leg.state.mn.us/hrd/bs/87/HF0210.html>

<sup>8</sup> Bill Summary. House Research Department, Article 3. April 28, 2011 <http://www.house.leg.state.mn.us/hrd/bs/87/HF0210.html>

eligibility would be confirmed based on data in the electronic roster or, if that was not available at the precinct, a list of ineligible individuals.

Because the Minnesota House of Representative's chief author for HF 210, Mary Kiffmeyer, was also a chief author of the proposed amendment, one might assume that the elements in the vetoed legislation could be part of the proposed amendment, should it pass. It's also important to note that there was neither bipartisan backing of the 2011 vetoed voter photo ID bill nor bipartisan backing of the proposed elections amendment. Furthermore, all seats in the Minnesota House and Senate are open for election this year. Thus, the balance of the power may shift. This may mean that even if it passes, it may not be implemented in the manner intended by its chief author. Furthermore, it will not just be up to the Minnesota House and Senate to interpret the language of the proposed amendment — the Governor still has the power to veto bills as long as his veto does not conflict with the Minnesota Constitution.<sup>9</sup>

Because of these unknowns (the interpretation of the language, the balance of the House and Senate, and what the Governor may or may not approve or veto), this report will rely on some budget estimates for the vetoed legislation as well as costs to other states.

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<sup>9</sup> In fact, in Gov. Dayton's May 26, 2011, veto letter (regarding HF210, the voter photo ID bill) he wrote, "I am most concerned with the lack of bipartisan involvement in developing such major changes to our election process. As stated by Governor Pawlenty, "Election laws set forth rules relating to the fundamental right to vote and the government's administration of those rights. The details of these laws matter, and the manner in which they are adopted matters as well. Omnibus election bills making changes to our election process should be bipartisan." I will not sign an election bill that comes to me without broad bipartisan legislative support. Veto letter, <http://mn.gov/governor/multimedia/pdf/Ch-69-SF509.pdf>

## STATE COSTS

### VOTER PHOTO IDS AND EDUCATION<sup>10</sup>

### \$9.95 MILLION-13.55 MILLION

#### **PRODUCING THE VOTER PHOTO IDS: AT LEAST \$8.25 MILLION OVER FOUR YEARS.**

The proposed amendment would require all in-person voters to have a valid government-issued photo ID. It also would require all voters to have substantially equivalent identity and eligibility verification. There are no exemptions.

Indiana, a state that exempts absentee voters and has some exemptions for in-person voters, spent \$10 million in four years just for providing free photo IDs.<sup>11</sup> It has approximately 4.7 million citizens who are eligible to vote.<sup>12</sup> This means that the cost just for providing free identification was \$2.15 per eligible voter.<sup>13</sup> Minnesota has approximately 3.8 million citizens<sup>14</sup> who are eligible to vote. If the costs were comparable, the State of Minnesota should budget for at least \$8.25 million<sup>15</sup> just for the distribution of free photo IDs over four years. This cost may be higher since there would be no exemptions to the voter photo ID requirement and because Minnesota has a much higher turnout rate than Indiana.<sup>16</sup> This would be a reoccurring cost.

#### **VOTER EDUCATION AND OUTREACH: BETWEEN \$1.7 MILLION AND \$5.3 MILLION**

Voter photo ID laws require public education efforts to inform voters of the new requirement, including providing information about which photo IDs are valid. Courts in Georgia ruled that inadequate public education efforts invalidated its voter ID law. Based on Georgia's public education and outreach, the Brennan Center noted in *The Cost of Voter ID Laws: What the Courts Say* that

“Other states looking to impose a photo ID requirement should be prepared to undertake a similarly costly effort if they want their laws to survive a court challenge. These costs are likely to include: mailings to all citizens informing them of new ID requirements and how to obtain a voter ID; production of radio and television public service announcements; purchase of airtime to broadcast these public service announcements; purchase of space in newspapers to

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<sup>10</sup> There may be additional costs to the state, such as possible lawsuits.

<sup>11</sup> *Voter Identification: The True Costs An Analysis of Minnesota's Voter Identification Amendment* (Nicolas Anhut, Nina Huntington, and Melissa Young). Master in Public Policy and Master in Public Administration Capstone Paper, The Hubert H. Humphrey School of Public Affairs, The University of Minnesota. Page 18. 2012.

<http://www.mncounties.org/HHH%20Institute%20Final%20voter%20ID%20report%20AMC.pdf>

<sup>12</sup> *2008 General Election Turnout Rates. Voting Eligible Population*. United States Elections Project. (Dr. Michael McDonald) Department of Public and International Affairs, George Mason University. [http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout\\_2008G.html](http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout_2008G.html)

<sup>13</sup> \$10million/ 4,653,019 eligible voters=\$2.15

<sup>14</sup> Actual estimate is 3,837,237. [http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout\\_2012P.html](http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout_2012P.html)

<sup>15</sup> *2008 General Election Turnout Rates. Voting Eligible Population*. United States Elections Project. (Dr. Michael McDonald) Department of Public and International Affairs, George Mason University. [http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout\\_2008G.html](http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout_2008G.html)  
\$2.15 x 3837237 million voters in Minnesota=\$8.25 million

<sup>16</sup> 77.8% for Minnesota vs. 59.1% for Indiana in 2008, *2008 General Election Turnout Rates. Voting Eligible Population*. United States Elections Project. (Dr. Michael McDonald) Department of Public and International Affairs, George Mason University. [http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout\\_2008G.html](http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout_2008G.html)

advertise new voter ID requirements; and website modifications to publicize new voter ID requirements. These costs will be borne by state and local officials and may be similar to the costs of recent campaigns to educate voters about new voting machines.”<sup>17</sup>

To demonstrate the importance of voter education, in October 2011, months after Tennessee passed its voter photo ID requirement, a poll demonstrated that 71 percent of adults in Tennessee knew that the requirement existed. However, only 51 percent of adults under 40 years old know about the law, while

“about half or fewer, however, know such specifics about the law as whether valid forms of ID include an expired Tennessee driver’s license, a University of Tennessee student ID, or an employee ID issued by a private-sector company.”<sup>18</sup>

If the amendment passes, voters may incorrectly assume that the photo ID they carry is valid. For example, students at private colleges can currently use a school photo ID (and documentation of residency) to register on Election Day in Minnesota. However, the proposed amendment would require *government-issued* photo IDs, so a private college photo ID would no longer be valid. Furthermore, if the proposed amendment is implemented in a manner similar to the 2011 vetoed bill, other forms of government-issued photo ID, such as a military ID or a U.S. passport, would not be acceptable for already registered voters as well as those who register on Election Day. The State must undertake to ensure that voters are aware not just that a photo voter ID requirement exists but also which IDs are valid for voting.

Voter outreach and education in other states has included:

- Indiana spent \$2.2 million on voter outreach over four years for its 4.87 million voters<sup>19</sup> (0.45 per voter).
- In 2010, Missouri estimated it would cost \$1.5 million on outreach and educational efforts via television, radio, cable television, and newsprint with additional costs totaling \$1.7 million for a total of \$3.2 million or \$1.40 per voter.<sup>20,21</sup>

Minnesota currently has 3.8 million eligible voters.<sup>22</sup> Using Indiana’s actual cost as well as Missouri’s estimated cost, it will cost between \$1.7 million<sup>23</sup> and \$5.3 million<sup>24</sup> for voter education and outreach.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> *The Cost of Voter ID Laws: What the Courts Say*. Vishal Agraharkar, Wendy Weiser, and Adam Skagg. Brennan Center for Justice at New York School of Law. 2011. <http://www.brennancenter.org/page/-/Democracy/Voter%20ID%20Cost%20Memo%20FINAL.pdf>

<sup>18</sup> *MTSU Poll Report, Fall 2011*, Middle Tennessee State University, [http://mtsusurveygroup.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/MTSU\\_Poll\\_Fall2011\\_Report.pdf](http://mtsusurveygroup.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/MTSU_Poll_Fall2011_Report.pdf)

<sup>19</sup> *Ohio photo voter ID: A picture worth \$7 million a year?* Policy Matters Ohio, April 26, 2012. [http://www.policymattersohio.org/voter-id-apr2012#\\_ftn21](http://www.policymattersohio.org/voter-id-apr2012#_ftn21)

<sup>20</sup> “Mailings to 4.5 million Missourians to notify them of the new identification requirements. - \$1,701,450; Production of radio and TV public service announcements - \$1,240.” CEIMN assumes there was a typo in the fiscal note and that the mailing cost should have a comma after the one but before the four. *Fiscal Note*, Missouri General Assembly, Committee on Legislative Research, Oversight Division. May 12, 2006 <http://www.moga.mo.gov/oversight/over06/fishtm/4947-25t.org.htm>

<sup>21</sup> The variance in cost and estimate may be due to a number of factors including media costs — which differ from state to state.

<sup>22</sup> Actual estimate is 3,837,237. [http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout\\_2012P.html](http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout_2012P.html)

<sup>23</sup> 3,837,237x \$.045=\$1,726,757

<sup>24</sup> 3,837,237x \$1.40=\$5,336,000=5,373,531

## COUNTY COSTS

### \$26.5 MILLION — \$63.6 MILLION

The proposed amendment will also have costs to local governments. These costs include:

- Provisional balloting, including staff costs and supplies;
- computers for polling places as well as costs to prepare polling places for the electronic pollbooks; and
- if there are mail-in precincts, converting them to in-person precincts.

The Minnesota Association of County Officers surveyed counties and learned that:

*“Generally, costs vary with the number of voters that a county. So, for example:*

*Small: Pennington County (7,200 voters) has cost estimates of between \$55,000 and \$120,000\* in additional costs*

*Medium: Stearns County (85,000 voters) has cost estimates of between \$435,000 and \$965,000\* in additional costs*

*Large: Ramsey County (297,000 voters) has cost estimates of between \$1.8 and \$4.1 million\* in additional costs*

*The costs for counties that have mail ballot precincts have significantly higher per capita costs.*

*Many counties originally chose to move to mail balloting because they did not have facilities available to serve polling places that were accessible to voters with disabilities. Because mail balloting would be eliminated by the amendment, these counties would be required to re-establish polling places for these precincts and would incur the costs associated with purchasing ballot counters, accessible ballot markers, paying election judges, and making the necessary renovations to their facilities to make them accessible.*

*For example:*

*Mail ballot county: Kittson County (2,800 voters) has cost estimates of over \$730,000.*

*This is a cost of more than \$250 per voter.*

*\* The range in cost estimates depends upon whether standard electronic pollbooks can be used or whether the electronic pollbooks need to have a real-time connection to the Statewide Voter Registration System and meet the other requirements specified in House File 210.<sup>25</sup>*

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<sup>25</sup> Costs from both Indiana and Missouri only focused on voter photo ID requirements and they had exemptions. There may be additional costs incurred to explain the provisional balloting system as well as changes to Election Day Registration. Many of the educational efforts could be tied to the voter ID requirement but there may be a need to targeted additional outreach. For example, special outreach may be needed for mail-in precincts and nursing homes and battered women’s shelters that currently would lose the employee vouching option.

<sup>26</sup> Minnesota Association of County Officers.

<http://www.ceimn.org/sites/default/files/MACO.%20County%20cost%20summary%20from%20survey.pdf>

The conversion of mail-in precincts is due to the language of subsection (c) of the proposed amendment, requiring all voters to have “substantially equivalent identity and eligibility verification...” Pennington, Stearns, and Ramsey counties do not have mail-in precincts, while 92 percent of Kittson County’s precincts are mail-in.

Based on the data from Kittson County, the cost per mail-in precinct would be approximately \$19,500.<sup>27</sup> Based on that data, the total for electronic pollbooks without internet connectivity as well as the costs for mail-in precincts could be between \$26.5 million and \$34.6 million. It would cost between \$20 million and \$29 million more (a total between \$46.6 million and \$63.6 million) for pollbooks to have a real-time connection to the Statewide Voter Registration System. The following section of this report will explain *some* of the local costs.

**1. Election Day Registration (EDR).** EDR is used by a substantial portion of Minnesota’s voting population, with approximately 20 percent of all voters utilizing EDR during presidential elections for the past decade.<sup>28</sup> In fact, in the past two presidential elections, over 500,000 voters have participated in EDR in Minnesota.<sup>29</sup> In 2010, at least one voter in 96 percent<sup>30</sup> of Minnesota’s precincts used EDR, including 62 percent of mail-in precincts. This indicates that voters throughout Minnesota are aware of and use EDR.

The proposed amendment would require “all voters to be subject to substantially equivalent identity and eligibility *verification* prior to a ballot being cast or counted.” This means that EDR may either be changed or eliminated. There are three possible scenarios that could result from the proposed amendment.

**a. EDR: elimination.** If EDR is eliminated Minnesota would lose its exemption from the National Voter Registration Act (NVRA).<sup>31</sup> If this occurs, there will be additional

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<sup>27</sup> This data is based on information from a 2012 survey conducted by the Minnesota Association of County Officers (MACO). MACO’s estimates for the proposed amendment are based on the vetoed HF 210. CEIMN used that data to determine the per voter cost based on actual voters for Pennington County was \$7.57 and \$16.51; Stearns was \$5.08 and \$11.27; and in Ramsey County it was \$6.05 and \$13.78. These figures include the costs of provisional balloting and computers for polling places. The lower number represents electronic poll books that do not have an internet connection to the State Voter Registration System (SVRS) while the larger figure represents a real-time connection to the SVRS. It then applied the lowest per voter cost (\$5.08) and the highest per voter cost (\$7.57) for the non-internet poll book to estimate the county costs as well as the lowest per voter cost (\$11.27) and the highest per voter cost (\$16.51) for the internet connected poll book. CEIMN then multiplied the total number of registered voters in 2010 to determine the county costs.

These three counties do not have mail-in precincts, thus that cost was not a factor. However, MACO reported that it would cost Kittson County, a county with a mail-in precinct, a total of \$730,000. CEIMN applied the per voter costs from the three counties that did not have mail-in precincts, multiplied it by the total number of voters of Kittson County. For example, based on the total number of voters in Kittson County, it would cost between \$14,285-\$26,426 to implement electronic poll books. However, because additional potential costs are involved with the elimination of mail-in precincts, Kittson County projected it could cost a total of \$730,000. CEIMN subtracted that projected number from \$14,285-\$26,426 and divided it by the total number of mail in precincts to determine how much it would cost to convert each precinct. It cost between \$19,000-\$19,900 per mail in precinct. CEIMN used the figure \$19,500 times the mail-in precincts plus the estimated cost per voter to estimate costs for all counties, including those that do not have mail in precincts.

<sup>28</sup> 2000: 18.88% of voters used EDR; 2004: 20.47%; 2008: 18.56%. *Minnesota General Election Statistics, 1950-2010*, Minnesota Office of the Secretary of State, Results and Statistics. (1980-2010 data from Dr. Michael McDonald of George Mason University).

<http://www.sos.state.mn.us/Modules/ShowDocument.aspx?documentid=9232>

<sup>29</sup> 2004: 581,904 and 2008: 542,257 <http://www.sos.state.mn.us/Modules/ShowDocument.aspx?documentid=9232>

<sup>30</sup> 96 percent is the equivalent of 3861 of Minnesota’s precincts. 316 of the 517 mail-in precincts had at least one voter use EDR Data gathered from spreadsheet found at Minnesota Secretary of State, Election Results and Statistics, 2010 Election Results, Federal and state results by precinct. <http://www.sos.state.mn.us/index.aspx?page=1570>.

<sup>31</sup> Because of Minnesota’s current Election Day Registration system, the state is exempted from the requirements of the National Voter Registration Act (NVRA). The exemption exists per 42 U.S.C. *sec. 1973gg-2*: This subchapter does not apply to a State described in either or



costs — not just borne by election administrators, but also by all offices in the State that provide public assistance and all offices in Minnesota that provide state-funded programs primarily engaged in providing services to persons with disabilities. Minnesota would also be mandated by the federal government to designate other offices as voter registration agencies.<sup>32</sup> The NVRA requires that the opportunity to register to vote be provided with each application for assistance, recertification or renewal of assistance, or notification of change of address at departments of motor vehicles and in agencies that serve persons with disabilities or provide public assistance.<sup>33</sup> The number of people who completed the forms as well as declinations would need to be tracked and must be retained at the agency for two years.

These would be new practices and procedures in Minnesota. The cost of losing the NVRA exemption, which is unprecedented, could reach millions of dollars.<sup>34</sup>

- b. EDR is materially and substantially changed.* In this case all voters who are not registered — even those who have valid government-issued photo identification — would be required to cast a provisional ballot. Election Administrators would then analyze data to determine eligibility before the county canvassing board meets. Based on the current statute this would be required by the third day after the primary election<sup>35</sup> and between the third and tenth days following the state general election.<sup>36</sup>

One method to make this more efficient is to enter data at precincts. The data would then be brought back — with the provisional ballots — on Election Day night. County Auditors could then use a secure connection to compare data against the State Voter Registration System.

Since provisional balloting would be required for registered voters who don't have a valid government-issued ID, there would already be set costs for Election Day. But, for the past 40 years, nearly 20 percent of all voters have registered on Election Day during presidential elections. Thus, there could be a substantial number of provisional ballots cast due to EDRs.

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both of the following paragraphs: (1) **\*\*\***(2) A State in which, under law that is in effect continuously on and after August 1, 1994, or that was enacted on or prior to August 1, 1994, and by its terms is to come into effect upon the enactment of this subchapter, so long as that law remains in effect, all voters in the State may register to vote at the polling place at the time of voting in a general election for Federal office. [bold inserted] National Voting Rights Act of 1993, [http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/workflow\\_staging/Page/27.PDF](http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/workflow_staging/Page/27.PDF)

<sup>32</sup> Voter registration agencies that are designated by the state may include, “(i) State or local government offices such as public libraries, public schools, offices of city and county clerks (including marriage license bureaus), fishing and hunting license bureaus, government revenue offices, unemployment compensation offices, and offices not described in paragraph (2)(B) that provide services to persons with disabilities; and (ii) Federal and nongovernmental offices, with the agreement of such offices.” See National Voting Rights Act, § 1973gg-5. Voter registration agencies.

<sup>33</sup> See National Voting Rights Act, § 1973gg-5. Voter registration agencies

<sup>34</sup> These costs are not covered in this report.

<sup>35</sup> 204C.32 Canvass of State Primaries.. Subdivision 1. County canvass

<sup>36</sup> 204C.33 Canvass of State General Elections..Subdivision 1. County canvass

Based on the estimated costs to counties — including the costs of provisional ballots, training and recruitment of election judges, new equipment, and the elimination of mail-in precincts, the total cost for this method would be between \$26.5 million and \$34.6 million.<sup>37</sup>

- c. ***EDR: review at polling place.*** In this case, an electronic pollbook with real-time connectivity to the State Voter Registration System (SVRS) would be instituted. It would then connect to other databases and lists that confirm eligibility, including the State Court Administrator, Minnesota Department of Health, Social Security Administration, and the Commissioner of Corrections.<sup>38</sup>

Based on the estimated costs to counties — including the costs of provisional ballots, training and recruitment of election judges, and the elimination of mail-in precincts, the total estimated cost for this method would be between \$46.6 million and \$63.6 million.<sup>39</sup> A method similar to this was proposed in the vetoed 2011 bill. In that bill, the fiscal note included \$58.8 million for the cost to the State. However, that bill did not address the cost issues with creating internet connectivity in precincts.

2. ***Provisional voting.*** Minnesota currently does not have provisional voting. The United States Election Assistance Commission defines a provisional ballot as, “A ballot provided to an individual who claims he or she is registered and eligible to vote but whose eligibility or registration status cannot be confirmed when he or she presents him-or herself to vote.”<sup>40</sup> In the 2011 vetoed bill, all in-person voters who did not have a valid photo ID card<sup>41</sup> that had a current address on it would become provisional voters — including already registered voters as well as people who registered on Election Day.

Local governments are expected to shoulder the costs associated with provisional ballots. Since there are no exemptions, all polling places must have the logistical capabilities to provide for provisional voting for any in-person voter who doesn’t have a valid government-issued photo ID. It will be necessary for each precinct to have:

- Two election judges representing two different parties to process provisional ballots at the precinct;<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> See appendix A for data for each county

<sup>38</sup> This option differs from the pollbook proposed in 2012, where data from other sources were not linked to the electronic pollbook.

<sup>39</sup> See appendix X for data for each county

<sup>40</sup> *2008 Election Administration and Voting Survey*. U.S. Election Assistance Commission. Pages 5-6. November 2009.

<http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/Documents/2008%20Election%20Administration%20and%20Voting%20Survey%20EAVS%20Report.pdf>

<sup>41</sup> Valid IDs included a Minnesota Driver’s License, Minnesota ID card, or a Minnesota voter photo ID card. Tribal IDs would only be acceptable if they contained data from on Minnesota ID cards.

<sup>42</sup> It is important that election judges understand how to properly complete provisional balloting envelopes. If there are errors, it may result in the rejection of the ballot — even if the provisional voter has documented his or her right to vote. For example, the United States Election Assistance Commission reported that in 2008, 5.1 percent of provisional ballots were rejected because the ballot or outer envelope was incorrectly completed or the outer envelope lacked a signature. (*2008 Election Administration and Voting Survey*. U.S. Election Assistance Commission. Page 13. November 2009.

<http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/Documents/2008%20Election%20Administration%20and%20Voting%20Survey%20EAVS%20Report.pdf>

- A ballot box large enough to fit the provisional ballot and the two separate envelopes they are required to be sealed in. The box will also have to be metal and securely sealed to maintain appropriate chain of custody procedures;
- A separate provisional ballot roster;
- A provisional ballot secrecy envelope;
- A provisional ballot envelope to be sealed;
- Staff time to assist provisional voters' after Election Day; and
- A provisional ballot board, which would consist of at least two election judges representing two parties to process ballots.

3. ***Voters not voting in person (by-mail).*** In addition to the government-issued photographic requirement for in person voters, the proposed amendment would require all voters — including voters in mail-in precincts — to have their identity verified in a substantially equivalent manner.

a. ***Mail-in precincts.*** In Minnesota, towns with fewer than 400 registered voters have the option of being a mail-in precinct.<sup>43</sup> This means that voters do not go to a precinct on Election Day, saving the local government the costs of election supplies and paying for judges on Election Day as well as training them. Of Minnesota's 87 counties, 40 do not participate in this option. When looking at just the 47 counties that participate in mail-in voting, 26.7 percent of precincts are mail-in and 6.1 percent of all individuals who cast ballots in 2010 lived within those precincts. Further examination shows that some counties had a large portion of their voters and precincts fall under mail-in voting. For example, in nine counties over 50 percent of their precincts are mail-in<sup>44</sup> and in four counties over 50 percent of all voters were in mail-in precincts.<sup>45</sup>

If mail-in voting is eliminated, townships and counties that participate in mail-in voting will have to pay for hiring and training a minimum of four election judges per precinct,<sup>46</sup> purchasing a ballot-marking device for people with disabilities, purchasing a ballot counting machine and finding a handicap-accessible location or retrofitting a location to ensure that it is handicap accessible.

Based on the data from Kittson County, the total cost per mail-in precinct will be about \$19,500.<sup>47</sup> With over 500 mail-in precincts in Minnesota, the total cost to local governments could exceed \$1 million dollars. However, these costs would not be

<sup>43</sup>Mail voting was authorized by the Minnesota legislature in 1987.

<sup>44</sup> Beltrami (50%); Watonwan (57%); Swift (58%); Traverse (65%); Big Stone (70%); Cook (83%); Lake of the Woods (88%); Marshall (90%); Kittson (92%).

<sup>45</sup> Actual voters, not registered voters. Kittson (64%); Marshall (66%); Cook (76%) and Lake of the Woods (78%).

<sup>46</sup> Note that the Automark, a ballot marking device to help voters with disabilities, required per the Help America Vote Act, is electronic voting equipment.. MS 204B.22 *Election Judges; Number required.* " A minimum of four election judges shall be appointed for each precinct, except as provided by subdivision 2.

<sup>47</sup> See footnote in Appendix A for more information.

evenly distributed since some counties have a higher number of mail-in precincts. Information about counties with mail-in precincts can be found in the appendix.

## COST COMPARISONS

The expenses that would be incurred as a result of the elections amendment could instead be used for other important priorities in Minnesota. What other services of benefit to Minnesotans could be purchased?

Consider three alternative ways to spend tax dollars in Minnesota. The average teacher’s salary in Minnesota is \$52,000.<sup>48</sup> The average police officer salary in Twin Cities is \$61,000.<sup>49</sup> The average cost to repair a pothole \$149.<sup>50</sup>

<b><i>Proposed amendment</i></b>	<b><i>Paying for Services</i></b>
State Costs:\$10 million-\$14 million	In 2010, the <i>Long-Term Homeless Supportive Services Fund</i> provided supportive services to <b>1,689 households who have experienced long-term homelessness. The biennial budget for the program is \$12.8 million.</b> <sup>51</sup>  Or, the government could repair 85,900 potholes.
Local Costs(with pollbooks that do not have internet conductivity): \$26.5 million	\$21 million provides rental assistance for 2,300 previously homeless families (over 5,000 individuals).  With \$23 million the government could hire 403 school teachers or 344 police officers, or repair 140,000 potholes.
Local Costs (with pollbooks that have internet conductivity): \$63.6 million	The cost to provide all essential services in Rochester is \$43 million  With \$53 million the government could hire 1,019 school teachers or 868 police officers, or repair 355,700 potholes.

<sup>48</sup> <http://www.nea.org/home/49840.htm>

<sup>49</sup> <http://salaries-by-city.findthedata.org/1/73628/Police-and-Sheriff-s-Patrol-Officers>

<sup>50</sup> [http://www2.wsls.com/news/2010/mar/17/the\\_price\\_tag\\_to\\_fix\\_a\\_pothole-ar-367851/](http://www2.wsls.com/news/2010/mar/17/the_price_tag_to_fix_a_pothole-ar-367851/)

Based on Virginia Department of Transportation estimates)

<sup>51</sup> [http://archive.leg.state.mn.us/docs/2011/other/110561/Special\\_Master\\_Filings\\_Minnesota\\_Coalition\\_for\\_the\\_homeless\\_correspondence.pdf](http://archive.leg.state.mn.us/docs/2011/other/110561/Special_Master_Filings_Minnesota_Coalition_for_the_homeless_correspondence.pdf)

## **INDIVIDUAL COSTS**

### **\$16 MILLION — \$72 MILLION**

#### ***Personal costs to voters***

In addition to new expenditures by state and local governments, individuals will also incur costs if the elections amendment to the constitution is adopted. While the amendment says the State will provide a free government-issued identification to those lacking one, individuals will still face expenses associated with securing the documents needed to obtain a Minnesota ID.

In *Weinschenk v. Missouri*, 203 S.W.3d 201 (2006), the Missouri Supreme Court struck down as a violation of its state constitution a voter photo identification law. It did so in part because it found that the costs imposed on citizens to secure the free government identification placed a substantial burden on their right to vote. These costs included money spent to obtain a birth certificate, naturalization papers, or passport, time spent in securing these papers and the government identification, and the skills necessary to navigate the bureaucracy. In the State of Minnesota, individuals would face similar costs if they presently do not have a Minnesota ID and needed to obtain one in order to vote.

To obtain a government-issued identification a certified copy of a birth certificate, naturalization papers, or passport may be required. Many individuals may not have these documents in their possession and may be required to purchase them before applying for the Minnesota ID.

Who may need to get these documents? They might include:

- Elderly people who may not have driven in years or anyone lacking a current driver's license
- Newly married women who have changed their name and whose current driver's license lists them by their maiden name
- Naturalized citizens

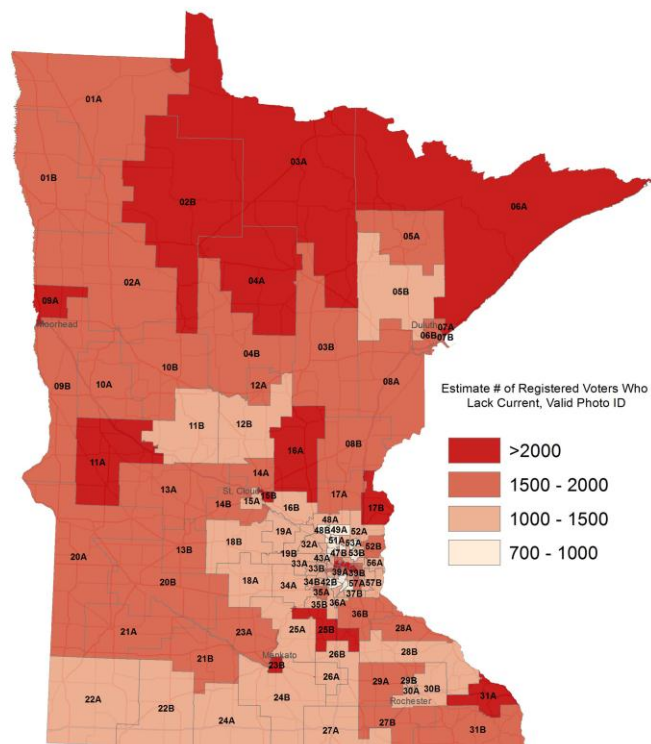
Certified copies of birth certificates and naturalization papers are not free.

- A certified copy of a Minnesota birth certificate costs \$26.<sup>52</sup>
- A certified copy of an out-of-state birth certificate costs between \$10 and \$30; it costs \$20 in Wisconsin, \$18 in California, \$22 in Texas, and \$30 in New York.<sup>53</sup>
- The replacement cost for naturalization papers is \$345.<sup>54</sup>
- The replacement cost for a passport is \$100.<sup>55</sup>

The number of individuals without a current driver's license and who lack a certified birth certificate is unknown. The Secretary of State documented that 215,000 registered voters in the state do not have a valid driver's license.<sup>56</sup> Presumably these individuals would need to have a birth certificate or other identification to obtain a Minnesota ID.

The Brennan Center for Justice has estimated that in states such as Missouri, Ohio, and Virginia between four and seven percent of the adult population lack a birth certificate, naturalization papers, or a passport necessary to secure a government-issued identification needed to vote. Among some populations, such as the elderly and the poor, the percentage may be higher.

As of July 1, 2012, the U.S. Census Bureau estimates there are 4,047,335 Minnesotans age 18 or more. Of that population, the Minnesota Secretary of State estimates that 3.8 million are potentially eligible to vote in Minnesota elections. Assume that 4 percent of the population lacks the required identification to obtain a Minnesota ID. This would be 152,000 individuals. Assume that the percentage is 7 percent and that number would be 266,000. The midpoint between these two numbers is 209,000, a figure not far from the Secretary of State's estimate of 215,000 individuals already registered to vote but who do not have a driver's



**Source:** Minnesota Council of Nonprofits, based on data from the Minnesota Secretary of State

<sup>52</sup> Minnesota Department of Health <http://www.health.state.mn.us/divs/chs/osr/birth.html>

<sup>53</sup> Center for Disease Control and Prevention, <http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/w2w/wisconsin.htm>, <http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/w2w/california.htm>, <http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/w2w/texas.htm>, [http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/w2w/new\\_york.htm](http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/w2w/new_york.htm).

<sup>54</sup> U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, <http://www.uscis.gov/portal/site/uscis/menuitem.5af9bb95919f35e66f614176543f6d1a/?vgnnextchannel=db029c7755cb9010VgnVCM10000045f3d6a1RCRD&vgnnextoid=a910cac09aa5d010VgnVCM10000048f3d6a1RCRD>.

<sup>55</sup> U.S. Department of State, [http://www.travel.state.gov/passport/lost/lost\\_848.html](http://www.travel.state.gov/passport/lost/lost_848.html)

<sup>56</sup> Minnesota Public Radio News, [http://minnesota.publicradio.org/display/web/2012/02/03/voter\\_id\\_faq/?refid=0](http://minnesota.publicradio.org/display/web/2012/02/03/voter_id_faq/?refid=0).

license. This suggests that perhaps approximately 209,000 to 215,000 individuals in the state currently lack a driver's license and the identification necessary to get a Minnesota ID.

But in Minnesota, there is also a Catch 22: According to Minnesota law (Rule 4601.2600, Subp.8.) to obtain a copy of a birth certificate one has to show, among others forms of identification, a driver's license. One thus could not get the government issued identification without a birth certificate and if one did not have a certified copy of a birth certificate then one would have to present a drivers' license to obtain it.

Additionally, there may be individuals who even lack a birth certificate because of home births or their births were not recorded. For example, from 1935 to 2010, the Minnesota Department of Health recorded 7,243 delayed birth recordings in the state. These are individuals who did not have a certificate recorded at birth but had it registered later in life. These numbers suggest that there may be other individuals in the state who lack a birth certificate.

Assume one needed to obtain a Minnesota birth certificate and one does not have a driver's license. In addition to the \$26 fee, there are additional costs to the individual. These include bus transportation to and from a local government office to get this birth certificate (\$1.75 one-way or \$3.50 round-trip in Hennepin County; transportation costs are even higher in rural areas) and potentially time off from work (assume three hours at the minimum wage of \$7.25 or a total of \$21.75 in lost wages). Now once the birth certificate has been obtained assume another three hours to go to the Department of Motor Vehicles to get the Minnesota ID (\$3.50 bus fare plus another \$21.75 in lost wages). This means the potential cost to an individual born in Minnesota lacking a birth certificate and a driver's license will be at least \$76.50 in order for them to obtain the free identification to vote if the proposed elections amendment were adopted.

Some individuals with special needs may face even greater costs in seeking to obtain the Minnesota ID. These individuals include the elderly who are in nursing homes or who have difficulty with mobility in their own residence, and others with physical disabilities. Both of these classes of individuals may be financially inconvenienced by the potential costs of special transportation in order for them to make one or two trips to get the documents needed for the Minnesota ID and then the ID itself. It is also impossible to compute the personal costs or inconveniences in transporting an elderly and perhaps frail person to secure the documentation required to vote.

Some of these problems in obtaining a Minnesota birth certificate could be remedied if the state provided one for free. But this does not address the problem for eligible Minnesotan voters who are foreign born or born out-of-state. The Census Bureau estimates 7.1 percent of the population as foreign born and 25.9 percent born out-of-state.<sup>57</sup> These individuals will encounter costs to secure the Minnesota ID if they lack proper documentation that are potentially greater than those of native-born residents. In the case of immigrants, replacement costs for naturalization papers are \$345.

In the state of Missouri when its Supreme Court invalidated its state voter identification law, the Court also declared that the costs of navigating the government bureaucracy need to be considered.

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<sup>57</sup> Minnpost, <http://www.minnpost.com/politics-policy/2008/03/minnesotas-foreign-born-population-then-and-now> .

Calculating the costs and aggravation of working with some government bureaucracies is difficult to calculate but nonetheless still constitutes a potential cost to the voter.

Thus, at a minimum, individuals born in this state who currently lack a Minnesota driver's license and a certified birth certificate will have to personally expend at least \$76.50 to obtain the documents necessary to vote. Naturalized citizens will have to spend at least \$345. Assume that the 209,000 individuals without proof of identification want to get a Minnesota ID in order to vote. They will spend at least between \$15,990,000 and \$72,100,000 to get the documents necessary to receive the government ID.

## CONCLUSION

It is difficult to estimate costs for this proposed amendment given the many unknowns. For example, the proposed amendment requires all voters to have “substantially equivalent” identity *verification*. This differs from requiring voters to have substantially equivalent identity *requirements*. In the first case, based on the amendment language, it is unknown how a mail-in voter's identity can be verified in a manner that is the substantial equivalent of a voter standing in front of a judge, with a government-issued photo identity in-hand. In the second case, one could list all possible or probable government-issued photo IDs that voters would be required to have and then estimate the cost of providing free IDs to all voters who do not have one of them.

To paraphrase a former Secretary of Defense, there are “known knowns”:

- The State would be required to provide free voter photo IDs;
- State and local governments would incur new costs of educating the public and election judges of the changes to the elections systems; and
- State and local governments would incur new costs of implementing provisional balloting.

There are “known unknowns”:

- how substantially equivalent identity verification will be implemented;
- how substantially equivalent eligibility verification will be implemented;
- exactly how many people will need voter photo IDs; and
- how many times the proposed implementation language will be challenged in court.

This report outlines some costs that would be borne by the State, by counties and by individuals, should the amendment pass. There were limitations to the research as no other state has overhauled its election system via constitutional mandate.<sup>58</sup> Figures in this report were extrapolated based on a

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<sup>58</sup> Mississippi did change its Constitution. However, its change differs greatly from what is proposed in Minnesota. For example, it included exemptions in its constitution and it did not include language such as “substantially equivalent identity and eligibility verification.”



survey conducted by Minnesota Association of County Officers, data from the vetoed 2011 photo voter ID bill, and from the costs of voter ID already implemented in other states. However, the existence of the “unknown unknowns” could drive the costs for Minnesotans even higher.

# Appendix

## Appendix A: Estimated Local costs.

County	# of mail in precincts	# of registered voters	low cost for option A (\$5.08 per voter)	low cost for option A (\$7.57 per voter)	high cost for option B(\$11.27 per voter)	high cost for option B (\$16.51 per voter)	just mail-in cost of \$19,500 per mail-in precinct	total low cost for option A (\$5.08 per voter + mail-in precinct costs)	total high cost for option A (\$7.57 per voter + mail-in precinct costs)	total low costs for option B(\$ 11.27 per voter + mail-in precinct costs)	total high cost for option B (\$16.51 per voter + mail-in precinct costs)
AITKIN	9	10,160	\$51,613	\$76,911	\$114,503	\$167,742	\$175,500	\$227,113	\$252,411	\$290,003	\$343,242
ANOKA	0	193,058	\$980,735	\$1,461,449	\$2,175,764	\$3,187,388	\$0	\$980,735	\$1,461,449	\$2,175,764	\$3,187,388
BECKER	11	18,865	\$95,834	\$142,808	\$212,609	\$311,461	\$214,500	\$310,334	\$357,308	\$427,109	\$525,961
BELTRAMI	31	24,832	\$126,147	\$187,978	\$279,857	\$409,976	\$604,500	\$730,647	\$792,478	\$884,357	\$1,014,476
BENTON	1	20,987	\$106,614	\$158,872	\$236,523	\$346,495	\$19,500	\$126,114	\$178,372	\$256,023	\$365,995
BIG STONE	16	3,594	\$18,258	\$27,207	\$40,504	\$59,337	\$312,000	\$330,258	\$339,207	\$352,504	\$371,337
BLUE EARTH	15	38,456	\$195,356	\$291,112	\$433,399	\$634,909	\$292,500	\$487,856	\$583,612	\$725,899	\$927,409
BROWN	0	14,706	\$74,706	\$111,324	\$165,737	\$242,796	\$0	\$74,706	\$111,324	\$165,737	\$242,796
CARLTON	15	19,785	\$100,508	\$149,772	\$222,977	\$326,650	\$292,500	\$393,008	\$442,272	\$515,477	\$619,150
CARVER	0	53,165	\$270,078	\$402,459	\$599,170	\$877,754	\$0	\$270,078	\$402,459	\$599,170	\$877,754
CASS	34	17,978	\$91,328	\$136,093	\$202,612	\$296,817	\$663,000	\$754,328	\$799,093	\$865,612	\$959,817
CHIPPEWA	0	7,164	\$36,393	\$54,231	\$80,738	\$118,278	\$0	\$36,393	\$54,231	\$80,738	\$118,278
CHISAGO	0	31,252	\$158,760	\$236,578	\$352,210	\$515,971	\$0	\$158,760	\$236,578	\$352,210	\$515,971
CLAY	0	31,100	\$157,988	\$235,427	\$350,497	\$513,461	\$0	\$157,988	\$235,427	\$350,497	\$513,461
CLEARWATER	1	4,779	\$24,277	\$36,177	\$53,859	\$78,901	\$19,500	\$43,777	\$55,677	\$73,359	\$98,401
COOK	10	3,467	\$17,612	\$26,245	\$39,073	\$57,240	\$195,000	\$212,612	\$221,245	\$234,073	\$252,240
COTTONWOOD	1	6,469	\$32,863	\$48,970	\$72,906	\$106,803	\$19,500	\$52,363	\$68,470	\$92,406	\$126,303
CROW WING	10	38,079	\$193,441	\$288,258	\$429,150	\$628,684	\$195,000	\$388,441	\$483,258	\$624,150	\$823,684
DAKOTA	0	237,746	\$1,207,750	\$1,799,737	\$2,679,397	\$3,925,186	\$0	\$1,207,750	\$1,799,737	\$2,679,397	\$3,925,186
DODGE	0	10,906	\$55,402	\$82,558	\$122,911	\$180,058	\$0	\$55,402	\$82,558	\$122,911	\$180,058

This data is based on information from a 2012 survey conducted by the Minnesota Association of County Officers (MACO). MACO’s estimates for the proposed amendment are based on the vetoed HF 210 and the language of the proposed amendment.

CEIMN used MACO’s data to determine the per voter cost based on actual voters for Pennington County was \$7.57 (option A) and \$16.51 (option B); Stearns was \$5.08 (option A) and \$11.27 (option B); and in Ramsey County it was \$6.05(option A) and \$13.7 (option B). These figures include the costs of provisional balloting and computers for polling places. Option A is electronic poll books that do not have an internet connection to the State Voter Registration System (SVRS) while option B represents a real-time connection to the SVRS. It then applied the lowest per voter cost (\$5.08) and the highest per voter cost (\$7.57) for the option A ( non-internet poll book) to estimate the county costs as well as the lowest per voter cost (\$11.27) and the highest per voter cost (\$16.51) for option B (the internet connected poll book.) CEIMN then multiplied the total number of registered voters in 2010 to determine the county costs.

These three counties do not have mail-in precincts, thus that cost was not a factor. However, MACO reported that it would cost Kittson County, a county with a mail-in precinct, a total of \$730,000. CEIMN applied the per voter costs from the three counties that did not have mail-in precincts, multiplied it by the total number of voters of Kittson County. For example, based on the total number of voters in Kittson County, it would cost between \$14,285-\$26,426 to implement electronic poll books. However, because additional potential costs are involved with the elimination of mail-in precincts, Kittson County projected it could cost a total of \$730,000. CEIMN subtracted that projected number from \$14,285-\$26,426 and divided it by the total number of mail in precincts to determine how much it would cost to convert each precinct. It cost between \$19,000-\$19,900 per mail in precinct. CEIMN used the figure \$19,500 times the mail-in precincts plus the estimated cost per voter to estimate costs for all counties, including those that do not have mail in precincts.

County	# of mail in precincts	# of registered voters	low cost for option A (\$5.08 per voter)	low cost for option A (\$7.57 per voter)	high cost for option B(\$11.27 per voter)	high cost for option B (\$16.51 per voter)	just mail-in cost of \$19,500 per mail-in precinct	total low cost for option A (\$5.08 per voter + mail-in precinct costs)	total high cost for option A (\$7.57 per voter + mail-in precinct costs)	total low costs for option B(\$ 11.27 per voter + mail-in precinct costs)	total high cost for option B (\$16.51 per voter + mail-in precinct costs)
DOUGLAS	0	23,234	\$118,029	\$175,881	\$261,847	\$383,593	\$0	\$118,029	\$175,881	\$261,847	\$383,593
FARIBAULT	0	8,860	\$45,009	\$67,070	\$99,852	\$146,279	\$0	\$45,009	\$67,070	\$99,852	\$146,279
FILLMORE	0	12,757	\$64,806	\$96,570	\$143,771	\$210,618	\$0	\$64,806	\$96,570	\$143,771	\$210,618
FREEBORN	0	18,716	\$95,077	\$141,680	\$210,929	\$309,001	\$0	\$95,077	\$141,680	\$210,929	\$309,001
GOODHUE	0	27,803	\$141,239	\$210,469	\$313,340	\$459,028	\$0	\$141,239	\$210,469	\$313,340	\$459,028
GRANT	4	4,134	\$21,001	\$31,294	\$46,590	\$68,252	\$78,000	\$99,001	\$109,294	\$124,590	\$146,252
HENNEPIN	0	706,490	\$3,588,969	\$5,348,129	\$7,962,142	\$11,664,150	\$0	\$3,588,969	\$5,348,129	\$7,962,142	\$11,664,150
HOUSTON	0	11,836	\$60,127	\$89,599	\$133,392	\$195,412	\$0	\$60,127	\$89,599	\$133,392	\$195,412
HUBBARD	0	12,710	\$64,567	\$96,215	\$143,242	\$209,842	\$0	\$64,567	\$96,215	\$143,242	\$209,842
ISANTI	0	21,560	\$109,525	\$163,209	\$242,981	\$355,956	\$0	\$109,525	\$163,209	\$242,981	\$355,956
ITASCA	37	26,608	\$135,169	\$201,423	\$299,872	\$439,298	\$721,500	\$856,669	\$922,923	\$1,021,372	\$1,160,798
JACKSON	1	6,232	\$31,659	\$47,176	\$70,235	\$102,890	\$19,500	\$51,159	\$66,676	\$89,735	\$122,390
KANABEC	0	9,219	\$46,833	\$69,788	\$103,898	\$152,206	\$0	\$46,833	\$69,788	\$103,898	\$152,206
KANDIYOHI	0	24,310	\$123,495	\$184,027	\$273,974	\$401,358	\$0	\$123,495	\$184,027	\$273,974	\$401,358
KITTSOON	36	2,812	\$14,285	\$21,287	\$31,691	\$46,426	\$702,000	\$716,285	\$723,287	\$733,691	\$748,426
KOOCHICHING	14	7,325	\$37,211	\$55,450	\$82,553	\$120,936	\$273,000	\$310,211	\$328,450	\$355,553	\$393,936
LAC QUI PARLE	0	4,634	\$23,541	\$35,079	\$52,225	\$76,507	\$0	\$23,541	\$35,079	\$52,225	\$76,507
LAKE	1	7,469	\$37,943	\$56,540	\$84,176	\$123,313	\$19,500	\$57,443	\$76,040	\$103,676	\$142,813
LAKE OF THE WOODS	15	2,548	\$12,944	\$19,288	\$28,716	\$42,067	\$292,500	\$305,444	\$311,788	\$321,216	\$334,567
LE SUEUR	2	16,289	\$82,748	\$123,308	\$183,577	\$268,931	\$39,000	\$121,748	\$162,308	\$222,577	\$307,931
LINCOLN	0	3,543	\$17,998	\$26,821	\$39,930	\$58,495	\$0	\$17,998	\$26,821	\$39,930	\$58,495
LYON	2	133,668	\$679,033	\$1,011,867	\$1,506,438	\$2,206,859	\$39,000	\$718,033	\$1,050,867	\$1,545,438	\$2,245,859
MCLEOD	0	20,813	\$105,730	\$157,554	\$234,563	\$343,623	\$0	\$105,730	\$157,554	\$234,563	\$343,623
MAHNOMEN	7	2,930	\$14,884	\$22,180	\$33,021	\$48,374	\$136,500	\$151,384	\$158,680	\$169,521	\$184,874
MARSHALL	55	5,083	\$25,822	\$38,478	\$57,285	\$83,920	\$1,072,500	\$1,098,322	\$1,110,978	\$1,129,785	\$1,156,420
MARTIN	1	12,777	\$64,907	\$96,722	\$143,997	\$210,948	\$19,500	\$84,407	\$116,222	\$163,497	\$230,448
MEEKER	0	13,955	\$70,891	\$105,639	\$157,273	\$230,397	\$0	\$70,891	\$105,639	\$157,273	\$230,397
MILLE LACS	4	14,577	\$74,051	\$110,348	\$164,283	\$240,666	\$78,000	\$152,051	\$188,348	\$242,283	\$318,666
MORRISON	18	18,230	\$92,608	\$138,001	\$205,452	\$300,977	\$351,000	\$443,608	\$489,001	\$556,452	\$651,977
MOWER	0	20,790	\$105,613	\$157,380	\$234,303	\$343,243	\$0	\$105,613	\$157,380	\$234,303	\$343,243
MURRAY	11	5,150	\$26,162	\$38,986	\$58,041	\$85,027	\$214,500	\$240,662	\$253,486	\$272,541	\$299,527
NICOLLET	2	19,961	\$101,402	\$151,105	\$224,960	\$329,556	\$39,000	\$140,402	\$190,105	\$263,960	\$368,556

County	# of mail in precincts	# of registered voters	low cost for option A (\$5.08 per voter)	low cost for option A (\$7.57 per voter)	high cost for option B(\$11.27 per voter)	high cost for option B (\$16.51 per voter)	just mail-in cost of \$19,500 per mail-in precinct	total low cost for option A (\$5.08 per voter + mail-in precinct costs)	total high cost for option A (\$7.57 per voter + mail-in precinct costs)	total low costs for option B(\$11.27 per voter + mail-in precinct costs)	total high cost for option B (\$16.51 per voter + mail-in precinct costs)
NOBLES	2	9,547	\$48,499	\$72,271	\$107,595	\$157,621	\$39,000	\$87,499	\$111,271	\$146,595	\$196,621
NORMAN	16	3,701	\$18,801	\$28,017	\$41,710	\$61,104	\$312,000	\$330,801	\$340,017	\$353,710	\$373,104
OLMSTED	0	82,769	\$420,467	\$626,561	\$932,807	\$1,366,516	\$0	\$420,467	\$626,561	\$932,807	\$1,366,516
OTTER TAIL	0	34,822	\$176,896	\$263,603	\$392,444	\$574,911	\$0	\$176,896	\$263,603	\$392,444	\$574,911
PENNINGTON	0	7,267	\$36,916	\$55,011	\$81,899	\$119,978	\$0	\$36,916	\$55,011	\$81,899	\$119,978
PINE	10	15,800	\$80,264	\$119,606	\$178,066	\$260,858	\$195,000	\$275,264	\$314,606	\$373,066	\$455,858
PIPESTONE	1	5,338	\$27,117	\$40,409	\$60,159	\$88,130	\$19,500	\$46,617	\$59,909	\$79,659	\$107,630
POLK	28	16,417	\$83,398	\$124,277	\$185,020	\$271,045	\$546,000	\$629,398	\$670,277	\$731,020	\$817,045
POPE	3	7,281	\$36,987	\$55,117	\$82,057	\$120,209	\$58,500	\$95,487	\$113,617	\$140,557	\$178,709
RAMSEY	0	297,489	\$1,511,244	\$2,251,992	\$3,352,701	\$4,911,543	\$0	\$1,511,244	\$2,251,992	\$3,352,701	\$4,911,543
RED LAKE	9	2,414	\$12,263	\$18,274	\$27,206	\$39,855	\$175,500	\$187,763	\$193,774	\$202,706	\$215,355
REDWOOD	0	9,563	\$48,580	\$72,392	\$107,775	\$157,885	\$0	\$48,580	\$72,392	\$107,775	\$157,885
RENVILLE	0	9,089	\$46,172	\$68,804	\$102,433	\$150,059	\$0	\$46,172	\$68,804	\$102,433	\$150,059
RICE	1	35,220	\$178,918	\$266,615	\$396,929	\$581,482	\$19,500	\$198,418	\$286,115	\$416,429	\$600,982
ROCK	5	5,354	\$27,198	\$40,530	\$60,340	\$88,395	\$97,500	\$124,698	\$138,030	\$157,840	\$185,895
ROSEAU	8	8,683	\$44,110	\$65,730	\$97,857	\$143,356	\$156,000	\$200,110	\$221,730	\$253,857	\$299,356
SAINT LOUIS	17	127,620	\$648,310	\$966,083	\$1,438,277	\$2,107,006	\$331,500	\$979,810	\$1,297,583	\$1,769,777	\$2,438,506
SCOTT	0	73,016	\$370,921	\$552,731	\$822,890	\$1,205,494	\$0	\$370,921	\$552,731	\$822,890	\$1,205,494
SHERBURNE	0	48,383	\$245,786	\$366,259	\$545,276	\$798,803	\$0	\$245,786	\$366,259	\$545,276	\$798,803
SIBLEY	0	8,365	\$42,494	\$63,323	\$94,274	\$138,106	\$0	\$42,494	\$63,323	\$94,274	\$138,106
STEARNS	0	85,631	\$435,005	\$648,227	\$965,061	\$1,413,768	\$0	\$435,005	\$648,227	\$965,061	\$1,413,768
STEELE	0	20,995	\$106,655	\$158,932	\$236,614	\$346,627	\$0	\$106,655	\$158,932	\$236,614	\$346,627
STEVENS	0	6,203	\$31,511	\$46,957	\$69,908	\$102,412	\$0	\$31,511	\$46,957	\$69,908	\$102,412
SWIFT	18	5,698	\$28,946	\$43,134	\$64,216	\$94,074	\$351,000	\$379,946	\$394,134	\$415,216	\$445,074
TODD	1	13,453	\$68,341	\$101,839	\$151,615	\$222,109	\$19,500	\$87,841	\$121,339	\$171,115	\$241,609
TRAVERSE	13	2,232	\$11,339	\$16,896	\$25,155	\$36,850	\$253,500	\$264,839	\$270,396	\$278,655	\$290,350
WABASHA	0	13,126	\$66,680	\$99,364	\$147,930	\$216,710	\$0	\$66,680	\$99,364	\$147,930	\$216,710
WADENA	0	7,808	\$39,665	\$59,107	\$87,996	\$128,910	\$0	\$39,665	\$59,107	\$87,996	\$128,910
WASECA	1	10,793	\$54,828	\$81,703	\$121,637	\$178,192	\$19,500	\$74,328	\$101,203	\$141,137	\$197,692
WASHINGTON	1	146,702	\$745,246	\$1,110,534	\$1,653,332	\$2,422,050	\$19,500	\$764,746	\$1,130,034	\$1,672,832	\$2,441,550
WATONWAN	12	5,756	\$29,240	\$43,573	\$64,870	\$95,032	\$234,000	\$263,240	\$277,573	\$298,870	\$329,032
WILKIN	0	3,774	\$19,172	\$28,569	\$42,533	\$62,309	\$0	\$19,172	\$28,569	\$42,533	\$62,309
WINONA	1	29,307	\$148,880	\$221,854	\$330,290	\$483,859	\$19,500	\$168,380	\$241,354	\$349,790	\$503,359
WRIGHT	0	69,772	\$354,442	\$528,174	\$786,330	\$1,151,936	\$0	\$354,442	\$528,174	\$786,330	\$1,151,936
YELLOW MEDICINE	2	6,136	\$31,171	\$46,450	\$69,153	\$101,305	\$39,000	\$70,171	\$85,450	\$108,153	\$140,305
<b>Total local costs:</b>			<b>\$16,505,403</b>	<b>\$24,595,649</b>	<b>\$36,617,301</b>	<b>\$53,642,558</b>	<b>\$10,003,500</b>	<b>\$26,508,903</b>	<b>\$34,599,149</b>	<b>\$46,620,801</b>	<b>\$63,646,058</b>

## Appendix B: Counties with Mail-in Precincts in Minnesota<sup>59</sup>

County	# of precincts	# of mail-in precincts	% of mail-in precincts	# of voters in 2010 general election	# of mail-in voters in 2010 gen. election	% of mail-in voters in 2010 gen. election
Aitkin	54	9	16.67	7,425	294	3.96
Becker	48	11	22.92	11,904	741	6.22
Beltrami	62	31	50.00	16,187	1,589	9.82
Benton	30	1	3.33	13,827	105	0.76
Big Stone	23	16	69.57	2,233	791	35.42
Blue Earth	54	15	27.78	22,565	1,754	7.77
Carlton	39	15	38.46	13,780	1,410	10.23
Cass	73	34	46.58	13,081	2,115	16.17
Clearwater	29	1	3.45	3,590	2	0.06
Cook	12	10	83.33	2,858	2,159	75.54
Cottonwood	28	1	3.57	4,657	48	1.03
Crow Wing	62	10	16.13	27,658	602	2.18
Grant	23	4	17.39	3,069	138	4.50
Itasca	77	37	48.05	19,835	4,581	23.10
Jackson	30	1	3.33	4,363	133	3.05
Kittson	39	36	92.31	2,006	1,279	63.76
Koochiching	36	14	38.89	5,119	623	12.17
Lake	18	1	5.56	5,614	78	1.39
Lake of the Woods	17	15	88.24	1,907	1,479	77.56
Le Sueur	27	2	7.41	11,679	214	1.83
Lyon	33	2	6.06	9,002	265	2.94
Mahnomen	19	7	36.84	1,943	523	26.92
Marshall	61	55	90.16	4,316	2,842	65.85
Martin	37	1	2.70	8,827	28	0.32
Mille Lacs	25	4	16.00	10,290	358	3.48
Morrison	48	18	37.50	12,909	1,835	14.21
Murray	29	11	37.93	3,818	779	20.40
Nicollet	33	2	6.06	13,327	53	0.40
Nobles	40	2	5.00	6,050	90	1.49
Norman	33	16	48.48	2,693	599	22.24
Pine	47	10	21.28	10,995	410	3.73
Pipestone	22	1	4.55	3,618	11	0.30
Polk	81	28	34.57	10,864	1,242	11.43

<sup>59</sup> Data from Minnesota Secretary of State, 2010 election results. <http://www.sos.state.mn.us/Modules/ShowDocument.aspx?documentid=9737>

<b>County</b>	<b># of precincts</b>	<b># of mail-in precincts</b>	<b>% of mail-in precincts</b>	<b># of voters in 2010 general election</b>	<b># of mail-in voters in 2010 gen. election</b>	<b>% of mail-in voters in 2010 gen election</b>
Pope	31	3	9.68	5,299	56	1.06
Red Lake	22	9	40.91	1,620	411	25.37
Rice	33	1	3.03	23,478	6	0.03
Rock	24	5	20.83	3,706	255	6.88
Roseau	44	8	18.18	6,683	333	4.98
Saint Louis	178	17	9.55	85,295	1,344	1.58
Swift	31	18	58.06	4,522	1,300	28.75
Todd	40	1	2.50	9,395	0	0.00
Traverse	20	13	65.00	1,807	588	32.54
Waseca	22	1	4.55	7,937	4	0.05
Washington	90	1	1.11	103,724	1	0.00
Watonwan	21	12	57.14	4,282	1,246	29.10
Winona	49	1	2.04	18,455	8	0.04
Yellow Medicine	31	2	6.45	4,174	223	5.34
<b>Total</b>	<b>636</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>14.47</b>	<b>280,377</b>	<b>5,775</b>	<b>2.06</b>

# Acknowledgements

We are grateful to the Open Society Foundations and Demos for funding this report. We would also like to thank Steven Carbó and Liz Kennedy of Demos for their technical assistance and review.



Citizens for Election Integrity Minnesota ([www.ceimn.org](http://www.ceimn.org)) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that advocates for verifiable, transparent, and accurate elections in Minnesota and across the country.