

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA DIVISION**

INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF
THEATER STAGE EMPLOYEES
LOCAL 927,

Plaintiff,

v.

CATHY WOOLARD, AARON V.
JOHNSON, MICHAEL HEEKIN, and
TERESA K. CRAWFORD in their
official capacities as members of the
Fulton County Registration and Elections
Board,

Defendants.

Case No. 1:23-cv-04929-JPB

**REPLY IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFF'S MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY
INJUNCTION**

RETRIEVED FROM DEMOCRACYDOCKET.COM

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	1
ARGUMENT	1
I. IATSE is likely to succeed on the merits of its claim that Georgia’s eleven-day absentee ballot application deadline violates the Voting Rights Act.....	1
A. IATSE has multiple bases to pursue a private right of action.....	2
B. In-person advance voting does not achieve compliance with Section 202(d) of the VRA.....	5
II. The threatened harm to IATSE’s members is both irreparable and sufficient to establish standing.....	7
III. IATSE’s requested relief can be implemented for the 2024 election.	10
IV. <i>Purcell</i> does not bar relief.	13
CONCLUSION	15

RETRIEVED FROM DEMOCRACYDOCKET.COM

TABLE OF AUTHORITIES

	Page(s)
Cases	
<i>Bush v. Gore</i> , 531 U.S. 98 (2000).....	13
<i>Corbett v. Transp. Sec. Admin.</i> , 930 F.3d 1225 (11th Cir. 2019).....	10
<i>Fitzgerald v. Barnstable Sch. Comm.</i> , 555 U.S. 246 (2009).....	3, 4
<i>Fla. State Conf. of N.A.A.C.P. v. Browning</i> , 522 F.3d 1153 (11th Cir. 2008).....	10
<i>In re Ga. Senate Bill 202</i> , 688 F. Supp. 3d 1300 (N.D. Ga. 2023).....	13
<i>In re Ga. Senate Bill 202</i> , No. 1:21-CV-01259-JPB, 2023 WL 5334582 (N.D. Ga. Aug. 18, 2023).....	9
<i>Grace, Inc. v. City of Miami</i> , No. 23-12472, 2023 WL 5286232 (11th Cir. Aug. 4, 2023).....	14
<i>Health & Hosp. Corp. of Marion Cnty. v. Talevski</i> , 599 U.S. 166 (2023).....	3, 4
<i>Jones v. Governor of Fla.</i> , 950 F.3d 795 (11th Cir. 2020).....	7
<i>League of Women Voters of Florida v. Florida Secretary of State</i> , 32 F.4th 1363 (11th Cir. 2022).....	14
<i>Perma-Liner Indus., LLC v. D'Hulster</i> , No. 8:21-CV-715-CEH-TGW, 2022 WL 1620234 (M.D. Fla. Feb. 3, 2022), <i>report and recommendation adopted</i> , No. 8:21-CV-715- CEH-TGW, 2022 WL 3138995 (M.D. Fla. Mar. 14, 2022).....	11

Prigmore v. Renfro,
356 F. Supp. 427 (N.D. Ala. 1972), *aff'd*, 410 U.S. 919 (1973).....7

Rose v. Raffensperger,
143 S. Ct. 58 (2022).....13

Schwier v. Cox,
340 F.3d 1284 (11th Cir. 2003)3

Shotz v. City of Plantation,
344 F.3d 1161 (11th Cir. 2003)3

United States v. Georgia,
892 F. Supp. 2d 1367 (N.D. Ga. 2012).....7, 8, 14

Statutes

52 U.S.C. § 10302(b)5

52 U.S.C. § 10502(a)(2).....6

52 U.S.C. § 10502(b)6

52 U.S.C. § 10502(c)6

52 U.S.C. § 10502(d)*passim*

52 U.S.C. § 10502(e)6, 11

52 U.S.C. § 10502(f)6

52 U.S.C. § 20302(a)(8)(A)8

Kan. Stat. Ann. § 25-180511

Mich. Comp. Laws § 168.758a.....11

O.C.G.A. 21-2-216(e)10

Tex. Elec. Code. Ann. § 113.00111

Tex. Elec. Code. Ann. § 113.00211

Tex. Elec. Code. Ann. § 113.00311

Va. Code Ann. § 24.2-61411

Wis. Stat. § 6.1511

Wis. Stat. § 6.1811

Other Authorities

Fed. R. Civ. P. 25(d) 1

RETRIEVED FROM DEMOCRACYDOCKET.COM

INTRODUCTION¹

Section 202 of the Voting Rights Act (“VRA”) requires states to allow certain voters to submit absentee ballot applications until seven days before a presidential election. Because Georgia law does not comply with the VRA, IATSE has moved for a preliminary injunction to enforce the seven-day deadline. Members of the Georgia State Elections Board (“SEB”) and Republican political committees (“Intervenors”) opposed this relief, but barely defend the Georgia law on its merits. Instead, they attack the Voting Rights Act itself and IATSE’s ability to obtain relief. But their arguments are foreclosed by settled precedent, and they provide no persuasive reason why relief cannot be implemented before the upcoming presidential election. The motion for preliminary injunction should be granted.

ARGUMENT

I. IATSE is likely to succeed on the merits of its claim that Georgia’s eleven-day absentee ballot application deadline violates the Voting Rights Act.

Under Section 202 of the VRA, voters who “*may be absent*” from their district on the day of a presidential election are entitled to request an absentee ballot as late as seven days preceding that election. 52 U.S.C. § 10502(d) (emphasis added). Georgia requires those same voters to apply 11 days before the election—without

¹ Ms. Patrice Perkins-Hooker, previously the chair of the Fulton County Registration and Elections Board, has resigned and been replaced in her role by Ms. Cathy Woolard. *See* Fed. R. Civ. P. 25(d).

regard for Section 202's protections. While SEB attempted to justify Georgia's eleven-day deadline, they are no longer parties to this case after this Court dismissed IATSE's claim against them on standing grounds. *See* ECF No. 97.²

None of the points raised by SEB call into question the merits of IATSE's VRA claim: recent Supreme Court precedent confirms that IATSE has a private right of action for its claim, and Georgia's decision to provide advance in-person voting does not free it of the obligation to allow eligible voters to apply for absentee ballots at least seven days in advance of an election for President or Vice President.

A. IATSE has multiple bases to pursue a private right of action.

To determine whether private plaintiffs may sue to enforce federal law, courts must answer two questions. *First*, does federal law create an individual federal right? *Second*, does federal law provide a private right of action as a remedy for violations of that individual federal right? As IATSE explained in response to SEB's motion to dismiss, the text of Section 202(d) bears all the hallmarks of Congressional intent to create an individual federal right because it: (1) "is clearly intended to benefit individuals," (2) has requirements that are "specific rather than amorphous," and (3)

² None of the current parties to the lawsuit meaningfully contest that Georgia's application deadline violates the VRA. County Defendants did not oppose IATSE's preliminary injunction motion. Intervenor's opposition merely incorporates the constitutional argument in their motion to dismiss, *see* Intervenor's Resp. in Opp'n to Pl's Motion for Prelim. Injun. at 3, ECF No. 96 ("RNC Opp'n") (citing ECF No. 66). Plaintiff likewise incorporates the arguments made in its Opposition to Intervenor's Motion to Dismiss, ECF No. 92.

uses language that is “clearly mandatory.” *Schwier v. Cox*, 340 F.3d 1284, 1292 (11th Cir. 2003); *see also* ECF No. 69 at 18–19. Further, federal law provides two independent remedies that provide a private right of action to vindicate that right: the presumptive right of action under § 1983 and an implied right of action under Section 202 itself. *Id.* at 19–25; *see also* Am. Compl., ECF No. 62 at 12.

SEB argued that Section 202 imposes restrictions on states and therefore creates no private right. ECF No. 95 (“SEB Opp’n”) at 23. But the Supreme Court recently rejected that argument: that the provision “establish[es] who it is that must respect and honor these statutory rights” does not detract from Congress’s intent to establish an individual federal right. *Health & Hosp. Corp. of Marion Cnty. v. Talevski*, 599 U.S. 166, 185 (2023). This is especially true when paired with Congress’ explicit singling out of “duly qualified residents . . . who may be absent,” 52 U.S.C. § 10502(d)—the “class for whose especial benefit the statute was enacted,” *Shotz v. City of Plantation*, 344 F.3d 1161, 1167 n.7 (11th Cir. 2003).

Next, because Section 202(d) establishes a federal right, it is “presumptively enforceable” unless Congress created a “comprehensive enforcement scheme that is incompatible with private enforcement.” *Talevski*, 599 U.S. at 186 (citation omitted). This is a high bar that defendants must clear. *See Fitzgerald v. Barnstable Sch. Comm.*, 555 U.S. 246, 256 (2009) (explaining courts “should not lightly conclude that Congress intended to preclude reliance on § 1983”) (cleaned up). But SEB did

not even attempt to overcome the presumption that relief is available under § 1983.³ *Id.* Instead, SEB argued only that Section 202 does not itself imply a private right of action. SEB Opp’n at 24–27. Because SEB did not dispute that § 1983 independently provides a private right of action, the Court’s analysis can end there.

SEB largely ignored the text of Section 202 and the applicable test for whether a plaintiff has a private right of action to enforce a federal statute. Instead, it focused on irrelevant case law concerning unrelated provisions of the VRA. SEB Opp’n at 24–25. SEB’s distorted view of the applicable doctrine was shaped by citations to concurrences, dissents, and cases concerning implied *constitutional* rights of action—none of which bear on the governing standard for finding private rights of action under federal *statutes*. SEB Opp’n at 25–26 (citing *Brnovich v. Democratic Nat’l Comm.*, 594 U.S. 647, 690 (2021) (Gorsuch, J., concurring) (noting that the question whether Section 2 of the VRA furnishes an implied private right of action was not raised); *Allen v. Milligan*, 599 U.S. 1, 90 n.22 (2023) (Thomas, J., dissenting) (same); *Egbert v. Boule*, 596 U.S. 482, 491 (2022) (addressing implied constitutional rights of action under *Bivens*)).

In any event, the text and structure of both Section 202 and the other provisions of the VRA also establish that a private right of action was intended by

³ Nor could SEB meet this burden, because there is no “incompatibility between enforcement under § 1983 and the [other] enforcement scheme that Congress has enacted.” *Talevski*, 599 U.S. at 187.

Congress. Section 3 of the VRA expressly contemplates “proceeding[s] instituted by the Attorney General *or* an aggrieved person under any statute to enforce the voting guarantees of the fourteenth or fifteenth amendment,” 52 U.S.C. § 10302(b) (emphasis added), a point that SEB did not address. SEB also ignored the introductory sections of Section 202, which explain that the purpose of the statute was “to enable citizens to better obtain the enjoyment of such rights.” *Id.* Given this robust textual evidence of Congress’s intent to create a private right of action under the VRA, it should be unsurprising that several courts evaluating private enforcement of Section 202 have “assumed” that a private right of action was available, as SEB acknowledged. SEB Opp’n at 24.

B. In-person advance voting does not achieve compliance with Section 202(d) of the VRA.

SEB did not dispute that an eleven-day deadline for requesting a mail absentee ballot would violate Section 202(d). SEB Opp’n at 27. Instead, its sole defense on the merits was that Georgia has achieved compliance through an alternate offering: in-person voting in advance of election day. *Id.* (citing O.C.G.A. §§ 21-2-381(a)(1)(A), 21-2-385(c)–(d)). But Georgia’s decision to label in-person advance voting as “absentee” voting—despite the voter’s necessary physical presence—does not comply with federal protections for absent voters. For one, Congress’s express purpose in enacting Section 202 was to “establish nationwide, uniform standards relative to absentee registration and absentee balloting in presidential elections.” 52

U.S.C. § 10502(b). These standards protect “the inherent constitutional right of citizens to enjoy their free movement across State lines.” *Id.* § 10502(a)(2). Further, in establishing the right to “absentee balloting,” Congress defined it as the ability to vote in presidential elections when not “physically present.” 52 U.S.C. § 10502(c). In Section 202(d) itself, Congress expressly protects voters “who may be *absent* from their election district.” *Id.* § 10502(d) (emphasis added). Georgia’s in-person advance voting provisions—which require that a voter appear in person to utilize them—cannot suffice under the statute’s plain language.

Reading the term “absentee” to include early, in-person procedures would also create nonsensical results in other portions of Section 202. For example, Section 202(f)’s protections for “absentee registration” would be rendered a nullity if states could comply by merely offering in-person registration in advance of the registration deadline. 52 U.S.C. § 10502(f). Instead, the clear purpose of Section 202(f) is to provide the ability to register from *without* the voters’ home jurisdiction. Similarly, Section 202(e) creates an express distinction between “in-person” and “absentee ballot” voting—two separate options which must both be made available to voters who change their residency within 30 days before an election. *Id.* § 10502(e). If Congress included advance in-person voting as part of absentee voting, Section 202(e)’s separate options would make no sense. The plain terms of Section 202(d) simply do not permit a denial of absentee voting for physically absent voters. *See,*

e.g., *Prigmore v. Renfro*, 356 F. Supp. 427 (N.D. Ala. 1972), *aff'd*, 410 U.S. 919 (1973) (finding that plaintiffs who had departed on a year-long overseas absence were entitled to an absentee ballot under Section 202(d)).

II. The threatened harm to IATSE’s members is both irreparable and sufficient to establish standing.

As IATSE explained, “an injury is irreparable if it cannot be undone through monetary remedies,” and there is “[n]o compensation a court can offer that can undo the difficulties IATSE members will face as a result of Georgia’s deadline.” Mem. of Law in Supp. of Pl’s. Mot. for Prelim. Injun. at 13-14, ECF No. 83-1 (“Br.”) (quoting *Jones v. Governor of Fla.*, 950 F.3d 795, 828 (11th Cir. 2020)). Because of Georgia’s deadline, IATSE members who are eligible to vote absentee under the VRA will have less time to submit applications than they are guaranteed under federal law. *See* 52 U.S.C. § 10502(d). A court cannot meaningfully compensate IATSE members for the loss of time in which to act, so the injury is irreparable for purposes of the preliminary injunction analysis. *See Jones*, 950 F.3d at 828.

In *United States v. Georgia*, 892 F.Supp.2d 1367 (N.D. Ga. 2012), another court in this district confronted a similar issue and had little trouble concluding that depriving absent voters of time in which to act caused irreparable harm. At issue in that case was the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act of 1986 (“UOCAVA”), which guarantees covered voters the right to vote absentee in federal elections and requires states to send voters their absentee ballots “not later than 45

days before the election.” 52 U.S.C. § 20302(a)(8)(A). In 2012, Georgia scheduled federal primary elections for July 31 and runoff elections for August 21, twenty-one days later. *Georgia*, 892 F.Supp.2d at 1371. These election dates made it impossible for Georgia to comply with UOCAVA’s 45-day requirement for runoff elections. The United States moved for a preliminary injunction to protect the rights of UOCAVA voters with respect to potential runoff elections. *Id.* at 1369. In granting the requested relief, the district court found that at least one runoff election was “substantially likely to occur” and held that “irreparable harm occurs when a UOCAVA voter is denied the right to receive a sufficient absentee ballot at least forty-five days before the primary runoff election.” *Id.* at 1375. Although the right to vote was implicated, the relevant injury was that “UOCAVA voters will be denied their statutory rights,” not that they would ultimately be disenfranchised. *Id.*

So too here. Like the UOCAVA requirements, the deadline for submitting absentee ballot applications established by the VRA “protects the franchise of United States citizens,” and “the failure to comply with that deadline is an irreparable harm.” *Id.* IATSE need not show that a member will be unable to vote; it is sufficient to show that it is substantially likely that at least one member will have less time to apply for an absentee ballot than they are entitled to under federal law. IATSE has made the requisite showing. *See* Decl. of Allan Herman ¶¶ 9–22, ECF No. 83-3; *see also* Decl. of Kelsey Bailey ¶¶ 5–6, ECF No. 83-4; Decl. of Justin

Michel ¶¶ 4–5, ECF No. 83-5; Decl. of Justin Gamerl ¶¶ 4–6, ECF No. 83-6.⁴

SEB’s arguments to the contrary are unavailing. It suggested that *only* disenfranchised members can be harmed, but failed to cite any controlling precedent for this novel interpretation. *See* SEB Opp’n at 18; *but see In re Ga. Senate Bill 202*, No. 1:21-CV-01259-JPB, 2023 WL 5334582, at *11 (N.D. Ga. Aug. 18, 2023) (recognizing that even “*potential* infringement on the right to vote is sufficient to establish irreparable injury” (emphasis added)). Section 202’s protections are not limited to members “who would be unable to request an absentee ballot by SB 202’s deadline (October 29), but who could request one by Plaintiff’s preferred deadline (October 25).” SEB Opp’n at 18.⁵ Instead, the relevant question is whether IATSE has established that at least one member “*may* be absent” from their voting district on election day and is therefore entitled under federal law to receive an absentee ballot if their application is submitted up to seven days before the election. *See* 52 U.S.C. § 10502(d) (emphasis added). Because the declarations show that IATSE’s

⁴ SEB noted that Bailey’s declaration does not state that she voted absentee in 2016, but the voting records submitted with SEB’s opposition show that Bailey applied to vote absentee during the 2016 presidential primary. ECF No. 95-2 at 20. The records also show that Gamerl voted absentee by mail in the presidential primary and general elections in 2020, but it appears he was mistaken that he also voted absentee in 2018. *See id.* at 24-25. SEB did not dispute that either voter frequently was away from their district, including during elections.

⁵ SEB appears to have transposed the dates: Georgia’s deadline is October 25, while the VRA requires states to accept applications from covered voters until October 29.

members may be required to travel on or near election day, IATSE has sufficiently demonstrated that an injunction is necessary to avoid irreparable harm.

Finally, for these same reasons, SEB's arguments against IATSE's standing similarly fail. IATSE need not wait until its members are disenfranchised to demonstrate standing. *See Fla. State Conf. of N.A.A.C.P. v. Browning*, 522 F.3d 1153, 1164 (11th Cir. 2008); *see also Corbett v. Transp. Sec. Admin.*, 930 F.3d 1225, 1232 (11th Cir. 2019). Nor is it relevant whether "all voters have a right to vote absentee," SEB Opp'n at 9. Despite SEB's attempt to inject extraneous issues, IATSE's claim is narrow and straightforward: it seeks to enforce a federal law that explicitly confers a right to vote absentee for President or Vice President to "all duly qualified residents" of Georgia "who may be absent from their election district or unit" on election day. 52 U.S.C. § 10502(d).

III. IATSE's requested relief can be implemented for the 2024 election.

Fulton County Board of Elections Members—the officials who accept or reject absentee ballot applications—have represented through counsel that a ruling by August 1, 2024 "would be ideal" in order to provide sufficient time to "train staff and prepare for any change in procedure." Pl.'s Mot. For Prelim. Inj. Ex. 5, ECF No. 83-7. SEB complained about having to create presidential-only ballots to comply with Section 202(d), but ignored the fact that Georgia has been required to provide presidential-only voting for decades—because it is mandated by state law, O.C.G.A.

21-2-216(e) (providing in-person or absentee presidential-only voting for any voter who moves from Georgia within 30 days before the election), and a separate provision of the VRA, 52 U.S.C. § 10502(e) (requiring that anyone qualified to vote who has moved to a new state within 30 days before an election be allowed to cast a presidential-only vote in-person or by absentee ballot in the state from which they moved). These laws protect the right to vote in the races for president and vice president specifically and require the same opportunity that IATSE now seeks for its members. And because Defendants could satisfy the requested injunction by allowing voters protected by Section 202(d) to vote in the same manner as recently moved voters, any burden on Defendants caused by establishing a new system other than that already in place would be self-inflicted.⁶ *Perma-Liner Indus., LLC v. D'Hulster*, No. 8:21-CV-715-CEH-TGW, 2022 WL 1620234, at *10 (M.D. Fla. Feb. 3, 2022), *report and recommendation adopted*, No. 8:21-CV-715-CEH-TGW, 2022 WL 3138995 (M.D. Fla. Mar. 14, 2022) (finding that future “self-inflicted” hardships did not tip the balance of equities in a defendant’s favor). Were the Court to hold differently, any defendant could shift the balance of equities in their favor simply by opting for the most burdensome of the available options.

⁶ A number of other states have created just the sort of president-only ticket SEB claims is “untenable.” *E.g.*, Tex. Elec. Code. Ann. §§ 113.001–003; Kan. Stat. Ann. § 25-1805; Mich. Comp. Laws § 168.758a; Va. Code Ann. § 24.2-614; Wis. Stat. § 6.15, 6.18.

Alternately, as is evidenced by decades of actual practice, creating a new system of presidential-only voting is not the only option: an obvious alternative would be to accept all absentee applications received by the seven-day deadline, which still provides more breathing room than the four-day deadline that was in place for years. SEB Opp'n at 2. Indeed, SEB submitted expert testimony to that exact effect in another case before this court. Lynn Bailey, a former Richmond County elections director who submitted an expert report on behalf of SEB, explained in her declaration that a deadline of “7-8 days prior to the date of the election” would in fact be “a better and more user-friendly timeframe” than the eleven-day deadline. Ex. A, Expert Report and Declaration of Lynn Bailey ¶ 45, *In re SB 202*, No. 1:21-mi-55555-JPB (N.D. Ga. June 9, 2023), ECF No. 574-31.

These remedies, moreover, impose no constitutional issue. Citing *Bush v. Gore*, 531 U.S. 98, 109 (2000), SEB argued that granting relief only in Fulton County would “create unequal treatment” in other counties. SEB Opp'n at 29. But accepting that theory would mean that no county in a state with a decentralized election system can be ordered to follow federal laws unless plaintiffs sue *every* county—an argument this Court has previously rejected. As the Court recognized in *In re Georgia Senate Bill 202*, *Bush* did not demand that all election procedures must be uniform, but instead relied on the “Supreme Court’s one-vote jurisprudence” to hold that “a state may not arbitrarily treat the ballots of voters in one county

differently from those of voters in another county.” 688 F. Supp. 3d 1300, 1317 n.17 (N.D. Ga. 2023). Here, there is no concern that ballots will be treated differently. Furthermore, the issue before the Supreme Court was not whether local entities could have “different systems for implementing elections,” but instead how to address a situation in which “a state court with the power to assure uniformity . . . orders a statewide remedy” that lacks procedural safeguards. 531 U.S. at 109. SEB successfully argued that this Court cannot order a statewide remedy because the absentee ballot process in Georgia is overseen by local officials. ECF No. 97. *Bush v. Gore* therefore has no bearing here.

IV. *Purcell* does not bar relief.

SEB claimed that *Purcell* bars relief based on the extensive procedures that it purported would be necessary to comply with federal law, but precedent makes clear that *Purcell* does not apply. SEB Opp’n at 32.

First, the Supreme Court has recognized that when, as here, a defendant has indicated that there is adequate time for relief, courts must not apply *Purcell*. *Rose v. Raffensperger*, 143 S. Ct. 58, 59 (2022). In *Rose*, the Court refused to analyze an injunction under *Purcell* standards “in light of [a defendant’s] previous representations to the district court that the schedule . . . was sufficient to enable effectual relief.” *Id.* Fulton County represented that it would be “ideal” to receive a ruling by August 1 “to train staff and prepare for any change in procedure,” ECF

No. 83-7. And SEB disclaimed any role in implementing absentee voting, State Defs.’ Mot. to Dismiss at 11–12, ECF No. 68-1. *Purcell* therefore does not bar relief.

Furthermore, courts must consider the potential impact of the relief in the context of the specific election in question. In *League of Women Voters of Florida v. Florida Secretary of State*, the Eleventh Circuit noted that the injunction sought “implicate[d] voter registration” which was underway at the time the injunction was considered. 32 F.4th 1363, 1371 (11th Cir. 2022). In contrast, not only have Georgians not begun requesting absentee applications for the November election, they cannot do so until August 19. Deadline-related relief has been ordered in similar circumstances when cases were filed much closer to an election. Most notably, in *United States v. Georgia*, the United States successfully moved for a preliminary injunction less than two months before the election at issue (and approximately two weeks before the relevant deadline). 892 F.Supp.2d at 1369.

Third, *Purcell* is no bar to relief when “(i) the underlying merits are entirely clearcut in favor of the plaintiff[s]; (ii) the plaintiff[s] would suffer irreparable harm absent the injunction; (iii) the plaintiff[s] have not unduly delayed bringing the complaint to court; and (iv) the changes in question are at least feasible before the election without significant cost, confusion, or hardship.” *Grace, Inc. v. City of Miami*, No. 23-12472, 2023 WL 5286232, at *2 (11th Cir. Aug. 4, 2023). As to the first element, the merits in this case are entirely clear cut in Plaintiff’s favor. *See*

supra Section I. Section 202 protects voters whose applications are received by the seventh day prior to the election; Georgia imposes a stricter eleven-day deadline. *Id.* The second element is equally plain, as the loss of statutory voting protections is an irreparable harm. *See supra* Section II. Plaintiff also has not unduly delayed in bringing this complaint to the Court: IATSE filed this action in October of 2023, more than a year in advance of the election. Compl., ECF No. 1. And Plaintiff sought an injunction more than six months before the election, when its members' injuries were imminent and the prospects of a final resolution before November became less certain. Plaintiff IATSE's Mot. for Prelim. Inj., ECF No. 83. Finally, Defendants confirmed that a decision by August would allow sufficient time to implement relief.

In sum, the VRA unambiguously requires States to accept certain absentee ballot applications until seven days before the election; Georgia does not do so. Plaintiff is therefore likely to succeed on the merits, and the equities support granting preliminary relief before the November presidential election.

CONCLUSION

For the foregoing reasons, this Court should issue a preliminary injunction requiring Defendants to comply with the statutory deadline established under Section 202(d) of the Voting Rights Act for eligible applicants in the upcoming presidential election.

Dated: June 21, 2024

Adam M. Sparks
Georgia Bar No. 341578
Anré D. Washington
Georgia Bar No. 351623
KREVOLIN & HORST, LLC
1201 W. Peachtree St., NW
3250 One Atlantic Center
Atlanta, GA 30309
Tel: (404) 888-9700
Fax: (404) 888-9577
Email: sparks@khlawfirm.com
Email: washington@khlawfirm.com

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ Uzoma N. Nkwonta
Uzoma N. Nkwonta*
Justin Baxenberg*
William K. Hancock*
Marcos Mocine-McQueen*
ELIAS LAW GROUP LLP
250 Massachusetts Ave NW, Ste 400
Washington, D.C. 20001
Telephone: (202) 968-4490
Facsimile: (202) 968-4498
unkwonta@elias.law
jbaxenberg@elias.law
whancock@elias.law
mmcqueen@elias.law

*Counsel for Plaintiff International
Alliance of Theater Stage Employees
Local 927*

*Admitted *Pro Hac Vice*

CERTIFICATE OF COMPLIANCE

I hereby certify that this document complies with Local Rule 5.1(C) because it is prepared in Times New Roman font at size 14.

Dated: June 21, 2024

/s/ Uzoma N. Nkwonta
Counsel for Plaintiff

RETRIEVED FROM DEMOCRACYDOCKET.COM

Exhibit A

RETRIEVED FROM DEMOCRACYDOCKET.COM

Exhibit 29

RETRIEVED FROM DEMOCRACYDOCKET.COM



**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA DIVISION**

IN RE GEORGIA SENATE BILL 202

Master Case No.
1:21-MI-55555-JPB

EXPERT REPORT OF LYNN BAILEY

I, Lynn Bailey, am an adult of sound mind and make this statement voluntarily, based on my own personal knowledge, education, and experience.

I. PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF REPORT

1. I have been asked to prepare a report assessing certain sections of Senate Bill 202 (SB 202) passed by the Georgia General Assembly on March 25, 2021 and enacted by Georgia Governor Brian Kemp on March 25, 2021.

The scope of this report includes the following:

- A. Measuring Voter Wait Time
- B. Allocation of Voting Equipment
- C. Changes in the Absentee Ballot Application Calendar and Voters Confined to a Hospital, Jail, or Detention Center
- D. Absentee Ballot Application Calendar
- E. Absentee Ballot Drop Boxes

- F. Advance Voting Dates
- G. Return of Voted Absentee Ballot
- H. Voter Buffer Zones
- I. Out of Precinct Provisional Ballots

2. To prepare this report, I have relied on my testimony regarding certain sections of Version LC 28 0215 of House Bill 531 (predecessor bill to SB 202) provided to the Special Committee on Election Integrity on February 19, 2021; my reading of SB 202; Title 21, Chapter 2 of the Annotated Code of Georgia; Chapter 183-1 of the Rules and Regulations of the State Election Board; and applying all of that information with my experience in local election administration.^{1,2}

3. The majority of my experience in election administration is derived from a culmination of my years serving as Executive Director of the Board of Elections in Richmond County, Georgia. Therefore, much of the data and points of view contained in this report are based on voting and voter registration processes on the local level. In Georgia, counties are the entities charged with carrying out the administration of elections. State Election

¹ HB 531 (2021).

² The transcript of the February 19, 2021 testimony before the Special Committee on Election Integrity is attached and marked as Exhibit A.

Officials assist county election officials in the administration of their duties and often have views that may differ from those of a local election official.

4. I served as an expert during the consolidated preliminary-injunction hearing in February 2022 in *Alpha Phi Alpha v. Raffensperger*, No. 1:21-cv-05337-SCJ (N.D. Ga.), *Grant v. Raffensperger*, No. 1:22-cv-00122-SCJ (N.D. Ga.), and *Pendergrass v. Raffensperger*, No. 1:21-cv-05339-SCJ (N.D. Ga.).

II. SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

5. As set forth below, I conclude that each of the provisions addressed herein promotes a more efficient electoral process, increases voter participation, and allows election officials to focus their efforts on the providing a smooth electoral process.

6. For instance, by requiring that election officials measure wait times several times throughout Election Day, and then altering the voting process for future elections if the lines exceeded one hour, SB 202 implemented important standards that will help counties and the State continue their efforts to reduce line length.

7. By allowing county election officials to use their expertise and judgment in allocating voting equipment, SB 202 ensures that the individuals

with the most direct understanding of a voting location make the decision on where to allocate equipment.

8. The changes to the absentee ballot application deadlines reduce voter confusion, as many voters who submitted applications early forget that they did so, and nonetheless arrive at a polling location to vote. These changes also provide election officials time to review applications received before Election Day.

9. By statutorily requiring drop boxes for the first time, SB 202 again increases the opportunities in all jurisdictions for voters to cast ballots, and to do so in an efficient manner.

10. Additionally, recognizing the importance of a voter being able to cast a ballot without undue pressure, SB 202 creates a restricted zone around a polling place, which will help ensure a more efficient and secure voting process.

11. Similarly, by reducing the number of provisional ballots, and encouraging voters to vote at their proper location, SB 202 again promotes a more efficient electoral process.

III. QUALIFICATIONS AND BACKGROUND

12. I began my career in elections in 1978 as a seasonal election employee in the Richmond County Board of Elections Office and worked under

the tutelage of esteemed Director of Elections Linda Beazley for 15 years. Mrs. Beazley was a respected leader in the elections and voter registration community and served as a mentor to many. I was one of those fortunate people. Mrs. Beazley served as Executive Director for the Richmond County Board of Elections for twenty years, followed by four years as County Administrator and ten years as Director of Elections for the State of Georgia. In 1993, upon Mrs. Beazley resignation of her position as Executive Director, I was unanimously appointed by the Board of Elections as Executive Director of the Richmond County Board of Elections. I served as Executive Director from 1993 until my retirement on June 30, 2021.

13. The Board of Elections (the Board) is responsible for appointing the Executive Director by the local act creating the office in 1973. The composition of the Board is two appointees of the local Democratic Party, two appointees of the local Republican Party, and a chairperson appointed by the Augusta Commission from a list of three individuals submitted by the local legislative delegation. The position of Executive Director is nonpartisan in nature.

14. During my tenure as Executive Director, I oversaw administrative procedures related to election and voter registration duties and worked to fulfill the policies and directives of the Board. Richmond County at the time

of the November 8, 2022 General Election had 124,221 Active registered voters, 43 Election Day polling sites, 4 Advance Voting sites and a county-wide population of 205,673 according to the 2020 decennial census. The county seat is Augusta.

15. In the mid 1990's I was appointed by then Secretary of State Lewis Massey to a working group tasked with the development of Georgia's first state-wide voter registration system, Go Net. The working group members included other local election officials and staff from the Georgia Secretary of State Office and the Georgia Department of Administrative Services. With the implementation of Go Net, counties were able for the first time to perform their work on a system that was integrated with all other jurisdictions across Georgia making the transfer of voters and comparison of data from county to county possible. The Go Net system was used in Georgia until the implementation of the ElectionNet system in 2013.

16. In 2001, I was appointed by then Secretary of State Cathy Cox to serve as a member of the 21st Century Vote Commission (The Commission). The Commission was established in 2001 by the enactment of Senate Bill 213.³ The Commission was charged with overseeing a pilot project to test direct

³ SB 213 (2001).

record electronic (DRE) voting equipment, to advise the Secretary of State on the choice of voting equipment to be used statewide in all counties in Georgia, and to report its findings to the Governor and the General Assembly. The Commission's findings culminated in the implementation of the first statewide voting system in the State of Georgia and counties migrated from a hodgepodge of voting systems used across the state to a uniform system.⁴ The transition to a state-wide voting system transformed election administration. Counties were now able to share training, borrow equipment and supplies, if needed, and share best practices regarding the administration and use of the voting system.

17. Following the enactment of the Help America Act in 2002, in 2003 I was appointed by then Secretary of State Cathy Cox as Georgia's local appointee to the Standards Board of the Election Assistance Commission. The Standards Board consists of 55 state officials selected by their respective chief state election official, and 55 local election officials selected through a process supervised by the chief state election official.⁵ In this capacity, I assisted with the development of standards used by the Technical Guidelines Development

⁴ 21st Century Voting Comm'n, *Report* (Dec. 2001), <https://tinyurl.com/2p9c4upe>.

⁵ U.S. Election Assistance Comm'n, <https://tinyurl.com/2p8bhzufu>.

Committee of the Election Assistance Commission which was responsible for writing the guidelines used in the development of the 2005 Voluntary Voting System Guidelines (VVSG), the VVSG 1.1 in 2015, and the VVSG 2.0 in 2019.⁶ At the beginning of 2019, I resigned my position as a member of the Standards Board in order to focus all attention on the implementation of a new voting system and the 2020 Presidential Election.

18. I served as an officer of the Georgia Election Officials Association (now the Georgia Association of Voter Registration and Election Officials) beginning with my appointment as 2nd Vice President in 2000 and ending with my term as President from 2003–2004. In this capacity, I had an opportunity to work with local election officials from across Georgia serving together to organize annual training conferences and inform our membership of potential legislative changes.

19. In 2012, I was certified by the Elections Center as a Certified Elections and Registration Administrator. Certification requires the completion of the Professional Education Program specializing in voter registration and elections administration. The courses and special workshops

⁶ U.S. Election Assistance Comm'n, *Voluntary Voting System Guidelines*, <https://tinyurl.com/2nujcup4>.

are hosted around the country and provide training in a classroom and conference environment. Participation in these programs exposed me to election best practices presented by leading election officials from across the country.⁷

20. Beginning in 2016 until the present time, I have worked with the Council of State Governments (CSG) on the Overseas Voting Initiative. CSG, working in conjunction with the U.S. Department of Defense's overseas voting assistance office, the Federal Voting Assistance Program (FVAP), convened several working groups to assist with developing supplemental instructions for Sections A and B of the Election Administration and Voting Survey, a survey administered biennially by the Election Assistance Commission, and on developing a common data format for states to use when submitting their biennial survey.⁸

21. In 2018, I was appointed by then Secretary of State Brian Kemp as a member of Georgia's Secure, Accessible and Fair Elections Commission (SAFE Commission) to study different options for Georgia's next voting system.

⁷ Election Ctr., *Professional Education Program*, Nat'l Ass'n of Election Offs., <https://tinyurl.com/2szznehu>.

⁸ Overseas Voting Initiative, *What we do*, Council of State Gov't, <https://ovi.csg.org/>.

The mission of the SAFE Commission was to thoroughly study and discuss all options for Georgia's next voting system, with a focus on security, transparency, voter experience, accessibility and inclusion, voters' ability to adjust to a new system, and the ability of election officials to quickly adapt to a new system. The result of the SAFE Commission's work was the replacement of the DRE voting system implemented state-wide in Georgia in 2002 with a new uniform state system that provided a verifiable paper vote record for each vote cast. The new system was piloted in several counties in 2019 and used state-wide for the first time in Georgia during the March 24, 2020 Presidential Preference Primary.⁹

22. I am the sole employee of Bailey Election Consulting Services and in that capacity in addition to this case, I served as a fact witness and expert in election law and county processes in preliminary injunction proceedings in *Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity v. Brad Raffensperger* No. 1:21-CV-5337-SCJ and in *Sixth District of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, et al. v. Brian Kemp*, No. 1:21-CV-01284-JPB.

⁹ Secure, Accessible & Fair Elections Comm'n, *Report* (Jan. 10, 2019), <https://tinyurl.com/h5tp3hpx>.

23. I am currently working with the Georgia Secretary of State's Office as a part time consultant with an emphasis on developing and presenting training for local county officials and system implementation, focusing on implementation of the State's new voter registration system, GaRVIS.

24. I am being compensated for my work on this case at a rate of \$250 per hour.

IV. GENERAL BACKGROUND ON GEORGIA ELECTIONS

25. Like the majority of states in the country, Georgia uses a voter registration system that functions in a top-down manner, meaning that the state has a single application that collects and stores voter information from local jurisdictions.¹⁰ This type of voter registration system gives election officials access to state-wide data that permits them to carry out their duties efficiently and effectively. It also permits voters to easily transfer their voter registration from one jurisdiction to another.

26. Georgia's voting system (i.e., ballot marking devices, scanners, poll pads, etc.) utilizes uniform equipment across the state, providing continuity in the voting system for voters moving from jurisdiction to jurisdiction and commonalities in ballot design and voting processes within the State.

¹⁰ U.S. Election Assistance Comm'n, *2020 Policy Survey Results*, <https://www.eac.gov/research-and-data/datasets-codebooks-and-surveys>.

27. Georgia implemented the requirement of the production of photo identification prior to voting in person in 2005 with the enactment of HB 244. In 2006, the State enacted SB 84, which provided that any voter who did not have a Georgia driver's license or state issued identification card qualified for a free Voter Identification Card (VIC) issued by the election official's office of the county of the person's residence. The VIC is an acceptable form of identification for absentee voting in person or by mail.^{11,12}

28. The Department of Driver Services in Georgia (DDS) will issue a free state identification card to individuals who need photo identification to vote. The photo identification issued by DDS may be used by voters voting in person or by mail. Voters using the identification card issued by DDS may use that number on an absentee ballot application and absentee ballot or produce it for in person voting in the same manner as a Georgia Driver's license is used for voting purposes.¹³

29. Georgia has robust processes in place for curing deficiencies in absentee ballot applications and voted absentee ballots. In both cases, election officials are required to promptly notify voters using multiple forms of

¹¹ HB 244 (2005).

¹² SB 84 (2006).

¹³ Georgia Dep't of Driver Servs., *Voter ID*, <https://dds.georgia.gov/voter>.

communication, including mail, email, and telephone, of their deficiency and how to correct the deficiency. Voters responding to a request from county officials to cure their absentee ballot application or ballot may submit the needed documentation either in person, by mail, email, or fax.

30. Georgia, along with 26 other states and Washington, DC offer no excuse absentee voting by mail or in person during Advance Voting.¹⁴ These provisions have struck a balance of giving voters the opportunity to conveniently cast their ballot using the method of their choosing while providing poll officers a secure way to verify the voter's identity prior to the ballot being cast and tabulated.

31. Georgia is like 22 states and Washington DC in the use of Automatic Voter Registration when a citizen has an interaction with DDS.¹⁵ The model used in Georgia beginning in 2016 is a front-end opt out approach. The means that eligible voters are asked at the time of the transaction whether they would like to register to vote, and, unless they decline, the eligible voter's information is automatically transferred to the state-wide voter registration

¹⁴ Nat'l Conf. of State Legislatures, *Voting Outside the Polling Place: Absentee, All-Mail and other Voting at Home Options* (Jul. 12, 2022), <https://tinyurl.com/ypetmstr>.

¹⁵ Nat'l Conf. of State Legislatures, *Automatic Voter Registration* (Feb. 7, 2023), <https://tinyurl.com/2p93tvsb>.

system for verification and processing by the local election official. Outside groups who have studied Automatic Voter Registration have noted that Georgia's system is one of the most successful in the nation.¹⁶

V. ANALYSIS OF SB 202

A. Measuring Voter Wait Time

32. In Georgia, the election code has for many years required county election officials to take certain action when there was a wait time of more than one hour at the close of the polls. But there was no consistent way for election officials to track such wait times. In response, SB 202 amended the existing code to require county election officials to measure voter wait times three times a day on Election Day—in the morning (between 7:00 AM and 11:00 AM),¹⁷ midday (between 11:00 AM and 3:00 PM), and prior to the close of the polls (between 3:00 PM and 7:00 PM). The law specifies that if any recorded wait time shows that a voter in any precinct containing more than 2,000 voters has to wait in line for more than one hour before checking in to vote, the superintendent shall either reduce the size of such precinct so that it shall

¹⁶ Kevin Morris & Peter Dunphy, *AVR Impact on State Voter Registration*, Brennan Ctr. for Justice (Apr. 11, 2019), <https://tinyurl.com/3z6ny6vs>.

¹⁷ These specific time periods are provided by a State Election Board Rule issued after SB 202's enactment.

contain not more than 2,000 voters, provide additional voting equipment or poll workers, or both, before the next general election.¹⁸ The recorded wait times are also required to be reported electronically throughout Election Day to the Secretary of State's Office, which allows the Secretary of State's Office to track wait time throughout the State on Election Day.¹⁹

33. This change from SB 202 is important to line management on Election Day. Measuring voter wait time to help determine where problems exist and setting out the corrective measures for counties to take in the event that voter wait time exceeds one hour helps to ensure that voters have a pleasant experience at their polling location and do not incur an unnecessarily long wait time.

34. Beyond SB 202's provisions, the State has undertaken additional efforts to address line length and reduce voter wait time. Georgia recently piloted a cellular version of its Poll Pads in many counties during the November 8, 2022 General Election and the December 4, 2022 General Election Runoff. During Advance Voting, the cellular poll pads streamline the check-in process by permitting voters to sign an oath on an iPad eliminating

¹⁸ O.C.G.A. § 21-2-263.

¹⁹ State Election Board Rule 183-1-12-.11.

the need for voters to complete a paper application and by combining the verification station with the card encoding station making for a very efficient voter check-in. For both Advance Voting and Election Day voting, the cellular poll pads allow election officials to monitor voter check in times and the battery capacity/operational status of all units. The ability to monitor the devices puts election officials in a position to quickly respond to issues. Voter wait time during the project is contained in Chart A of this report.

35. During Advance Voting, the counties using the cellular devices reported a reduction in check in time from approximately three minutes to less than one minute. This time savings does not account for the time saved by voters by now completing the required paperwork on the Poll Pad instead of by hand. The estimated time for the completion of the paperwork by hand is five minutes. According to an article in the Atlanta Journal Constitution published on January 20, 2023:

Cellular poll pads would streamline the check-in process by combining several steps into one, eliminating the need for voters to fill out paper forms and verifying their information at the same time that they receive activation cards for voting touchscreens.²⁰

²⁰ Mark Niese, *Check-in upgrades and ballot tracking money sought in Georgia budget*, The Atl. J.-Const. (Jan. 20, 2023), <https://tinyurl.com/mrx7de7p>.

36. I find this assessment to be correct and borne out by the data. During the pilot, 77 of 159 counties representing about 45% of the state's registered voters, utilized cellular Poll Pads on Election Day and 18 of 159 counties, representing about 21% of the state's voters, utilized cellular Poll Pads for Advance Voting during the 2022 General and General Election Runoff. Average check in time for those counties using cellular Poll Pads is contained in Chart A. The data was provided by the vendor Know Ink.²¹ The Georgia Secretary of State's Office is in the process of replacing all check in devices with the cellular devices. This project is anticipated to be completed in 2023 in time for the 2024 election cycle.

37. Accordingly, I conclude that SB 202 implemented important standards for measuring line length at polling that will help counties and the State continue their efforts to reduce line length.

²¹ The KnowInk data is attached as Exhibit B.

Chart A – Voter Check-in Time Using a Cellular Poll Pad

Counties using cellular devices	Average Advance Voting Check In Time	Average Election Day Check In Time
11/8/2022	59 seconds	48 seconds
12/6/2022	49 seconds	44 seconds
[REDACTED]		
Counties not using cellular devices	Average Advance Voting Check In Time	Average Election Day Check In Time
11/8/2022	8 minutes	48 seconds
12/6/2022	8 minutes	44 seconds

B. Allocation of Voting Equipment

38. This section pertains to the installation of voting systems and the requirement as to the number of voting units required at each Election Day polling site.²² In 2019, a provision of HB 316 mandated that for all elections in the state the ratio of voting units deployed to each polling site must equal one unit for each 250 voters assigned to the election day polling location.²³ The change in HB 316 in 2019 put a strain on election officials and voting

²² O.C.G.A. § 21-2-367.

²³ HB 316 (2019).

equipment and was a large and unnecessary cost burden to counties. Prior to this change, election officials were relied upon to use their discretion on the allocation of voting equipment based on voting history and Advance Voting turnout.

39. Based on election officials' input, changes were made to this code section in SB 202. The change requires that after thorough consideration of the type of election, expected turnout, the number of electors who have already voted by Advance Voting or absentee ballot, and other relevant factors that inform the appropriate amount of equipment needed, election officials then make a decision on the appropriate amount of voting equipment to deploy in elections other than general elections. For general elections, the one voting enclosure for every 250 registered voters reporting to a precinct remains in place.

40. The updated provisions of this code section acknowledge the differences between voting in a general election and a smaller, lower turnout election. This provision for equipment allocation works in tandem with the provisions of measuring wait time and the size of precincts to ensure that voter wait time is kept to a minimum, while not over-burdening county election staff, voting equipment, and budgets. Here again, I conclude that this provision will assist the counties and the State in conducting efficient elections.

C. Changes in the Absentee Ballot Application Calendar and Voters Confined to a Hospital, Jail, or Detention Center

1. Calendar Changes

41. SB 202 made changes to the time frame during which voters may apply for an absentee ballot, moving the start date for accepting absentee ballot applications from 180 days to 78 days prior to the date of the election.²⁴ In my experience, absentee ballot applications begin to arrive in earnest approximately a month prior to the date of the election. This change does not apply to military and overseas citizens who are eligible to request a ballot pursuant to the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act.

42. In 2020, with so many voters opting to vote by mail, some Richmond County voters applying for an absentee ballot so far ahead of Election Day sometimes forgot they had applied for a ballot. These same voters would then appear at a location for in-person voting, not remembering that they had applied for an absentee ballot earlier in the year, and would be caught off guard by the fact that their record showed that had requested an absentee ballot. This caused confusion, placed additional burdens on poll workers and county election officials to determine the cause of the issue, and led to allegations of fraud by voters who believed someone else had applied for an

²⁴ O.C.G.A. § 21-2-381.

absentee ballot in their name. Moving from 180 days to 78 days moves the date from which an individual can apply for an absentee ballot to the start of early voting closer together, helping to reduce the instances of voter confusion.

43. This same code section also moves the last day to apply for an absentee ballot from 4 days prior to Election Day to 11 days prior to Election Day. The reason for this change stated by the General Assembly in the findings in SB 202 was “ensuring that opportunities to vote are not diminished, especially when many absentee ballots issued in the last few days before the election were not successfully voted or were returned late.”²⁵ In my experience, voters requesting an absentee ballot very close to the election would sometimes not receive their absentee ballot in time and then show up to vote in person. When that occurred, poll workers had to spend time and resources contacting the local election official’s office to confirm that the absentee ballot had not been voted prior to permitting the voter to vote in person. This takes much more time at the polling place to process and check in the voter. The revised timeline helps to ensure that voters will timely receive and return their ballot.

44. These changes are particularly important because verifying absentee ballot applications and fulfilling the requests is a time-consuming

²⁵ SB 202, § 2(9).

process that involves verification of voter's eligibility to vote, packaging the ballot, the voter returning the voted ballot back in time, and verification of the information contained on the voter's voted absentee ballot. The deadline change for requesting absentee ballots allows local election officials to finish verifying applications, packaging and mailing ballots, the voter returning the voted ballot back in time, and verification of the information contained on the voter's oath. Changing the absentee ballot application deadline allows election officials to generally be finished with the issuance of ballots 10 days prior to the date of the election allowing them to turn their focus to other duties such as the deployment of equipment, recruiting and training poll workers appointed to fill vacancies that occur, processing absentee ballots for tabulation and packing supplies to name a few. Considering the number of tasks that county election officials handle, these changes will increase the efficiency of their work, thereby allowing the elections to run more efficiently.

45. In my testimony before the Special Committee on Election Integrity on February 19, 2021, I stated that a better and more user-friendly timeframe for a deadline for absentee ballot applications would be 7-8 days prior to the date of the election. The reason I suggested this timeframe is because it would give election officials an extra weekend prior to the election during which absentee applications could be received, validated, and packaged

for mailing. Also, in my testimony before the Special Committee on Election Integrity, I stated my opinion that an exception should be built in during the week prior to the election for voters in need of an absentee ballot by mail for emergency reasons, such as, being called away unexpectedly, or becoming ill, but not hospitalized, or a family member becoming ill and the voter being the primary care giver. I further stated that consideration should be given to public safety officers and healthcare professionals who may be called to duty at the last minute. I am still of this opinion. However, I believed then and continue to believe that the deadline for applying for a ballot on the 4th day prior to the date of the election was too short and SB 202 improved election administration by changing that deadline. Accordingly, I conclude that these time-line changes will help ensure a smoother and more efficient election with less voter confusion.

46. Additionally, these interests are further by the related changes to Georgia's procedures for assisting voters whose absentee ballot application is deemed to be incomplete by offering the applicant good opportunity to cure the deficiency.

- If an absentee ballot application is received by the election official more than 78 days before the date of the election, the voter is contacted and advised of the deadline for applying for a ballot and encouraged to re-apply.

- If an absentee ballot application is deemed deficient and it is between the 78th and 30th day prior to the election, the voter is contacted and provided with information they may use in order to cure their deficiency.
- If an absentee ballot application is deemed deficient and it is between the 29th and 11th day prior to the date of the election, the voter is contacted and provided with information for curing their deficiency and a provisional absentee ballot is immediately sent to the voter.

47. In sum, I conclude that these processes are crucial in helping to ensure that the voter is able to successfully cast their ballot.

2. Voters confined to hospital, jail or detention center

48. SB 202 made changes to provide a method for voters confined to a hospital, jail or detention center to apply for an absentee ballot.²⁶ The “hospital” rule permits election officials to deliver a ballot to persons confined to a hospital within 10 days of the date of the election, which will aid voters who are hospitalized during that time, which I conclude will increase voter participation.

49. For voters incarcerated in a jail or detention center, but who remain eligible to vote, the change mandates that the voter have access to necessary personal effects for the purpose of applying for an absentee ballot.

²⁶ O.C.G.A. § 21-2-381.

The change permitting access to personal effects is imperative for an incarcerated voter to successfully cast their ballot.

D. Absentee Ballot Drop Boxes

50. In my testimony before the Special Committee on Election Integrity on February 19, 2021, I stated my appreciation for the authority of our county to deploy absentee drop boxes for the return of absentee ballots during the pandemic. With the volume of ballots issued during the public health crisis, it was a needed and necessary tool to assist voters in returning their absentee ballots and to keep our staff healthy. I stated that the boxes were a convenience, were secure, and worked well for us under the circumstances. Drop boxes were not mandatory at that time, but were an option that counties could use, if they chose to do so. In fact, SB 202 is the first time that drop boxes are statutorily required in Georgia.

51. SB 202 made changes relating to the number, placement, and hours of operation for absentee drop boxes.²⁷ The new code section requires that all counties have at least one absentee ballot drop box and that the location of the drop box be either in the office of the election official or an Advance Voting site. The location of the drop box must now be inside of the

²⁷ O.C.G.A. § 21-2-382.

building and available during the hours of operation of the office or voting site. My recommendation to the House Committee during my testimony on February 19, 2021 was to permit the location of the drop boxes to a location outside of either the election official's office or the Advance Voting site. But whether inside or outside, I conclude that the requirement for permitting drop boxes will increase voter participation.

52. However, I also conclude that efficient usage of drop boxes requires rules and standards. Under SB 202, drop boxes now close on the Friday before the election. In 2020, all drop boxes closed at 7:00 PM on Election Day. In Richmond County, permitting the boxes to be open until the close of the polls interjected into the Election Night work flow an influx of last-minute ballots to be verified. With the exception of a few ballots coming in over the office counter, the verification and processing of voted absentee ballots would have been near complete in advance of Election Night. In 2020, even though we did our best to ensure the prompt retrieval of absentee ballots dropped in drop boxes at the last-minute by positioning staff at each drop box at the close of the polls, the last-minute ballots from drop boxes were still received very late into the process. Once received into our facility, last-minute absentee ballots are first inventoried to ensure that the proper number of ballots were received and the voter's data verified. Once the data verification has been completed, the

information is entered into the State-wide system and the ballots are prepped for counting. Vote review panels and duplication panels must be on hand in the event there is a question regarding voter intent on a ballot.

53. During the 2020 election, the State Election Board implemented an emergency rule permitting local election officials to begin the process of opening and processing absentee ballots early. Prior to the rule, county election officials were permitted to begin the process at 7:00 AM on Election Day. The rule was codified into law in SB 202 and Georgia now provides a three-week period of time during which absentee ballots may be prepped and scanned, but not tabulated. Election officials take advantage of this time to ensure that at the close of the polls, they may immediately begin the tabulation of ballots so that results may be provided to the public as soon as possible. During the early processing of absentee ballots, public access, including poll watchers, is permitted and a vote review panel and duplication panel are required to be on hand in the event there is a question regarding voter intent.

54. During 2020, the influx of last-minute ballots caused speculation by some voters that election officials were illegally accepting voted absentee ballots beyond the statutory deadline of 7:00 PM on Election night and delayed the tabulation of ballots. Having the drop boxes closed down before Election

Day is very important to the efficiency of ballot tabulation and for public perception that voted ballots are not illegally being accepted after the deadline.

55. Thus, in my opinion, the combination of distinct closure times for drop boxes and early scanning provide the best opportunity to improve voter confidence by providing quicker reporting of election results.

E. Advance Voting Dates

56. SB 202 added additional time and days to the time permitted for Advance Voting.²⁸ The State of Georgia currently provides 17 mandatory days for Advance Voting from the hours of 9:00 AM until 5:00 PM daily with options to extend hours to 7:00 AM to 7:00 PM and allow Advance Voting on Sundays as determined by the election superintendent. According to a survey by the National Conference of State Legislatures, forty-five other states offer early in-person voting. The number of days from state to state varies from as few as 10 to as many as 45.²⁹

57. Advance Voting in Georgia was conducted for the first time in 2003. At that time, Advance Voting was offered for one week only (the week immediately preceding the election) and permitted voters voting during that

²⁸ O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385.

²⁹ Nat'l Conf. of State Legislatures, *Early In-Person Voting* (Aug. 30, 2022), <https://www.ncsl.org/elections-and-campaigns/early-in-person-voting>.

week to vote an absentee ballot in person without having to provide a reason for casting an absentee ballot. In 2006, no excuse absentee voting by mail was implemented and in 2008, Advance Voting followed by expanding no excuse, in person absentee voting to the entire 45-day period prior to the election. In 2012, the days for Advance Voting were decreased from a 45-day period to a 22-day period preceding the date of the election with a mandatory Saturday voting date included. This change was impactful because it still provided voters ample time to vote in person ahead of Election Day without having to provide a reason and positioned election administrators to better manage other important election tasks such as preparing voting equipment, mailing out absentee ballots, and training poll officers. 2014 was the first time that Sunday voting was conducted in any county in Georgia.

58. SB 202 expanded Advance Voting by mandating that each county in Georgia have daily voting hours from at least 9:00 AM until 5:00 PM daily.³⁰ Prior to this change, the mandated daily hours for Advance Voting were “during normal hours.” This change is important because some counties in Georgia maintain a part time Board of Registrars that have abbreviated office hours when opened, particularly at lunchtime. SB 202 also increased the

³⁰ O.C.G.A. § 21-2-382.

opportunity to vote during Advance Voting by increasing from one day to two days the number of Saturdays that Advance Voting must be conducted and expanding the required Saturday hours from 9:00 AM to 4:00 PM to 9:00 AM until 5:00 PM.

59. The new provisions also codified that counties could be open for Advance Voting from 7:00 AM until 7:00 PM on any day of Advance Voting and that Sunday voting was an option. This change enables election officials to tailor voting hours before and after the standard of 9:00 AM to 5:00 PM to conditions that best suit their constituents' needs. In the previous version of this law, Sunday voting was not mentioned. SB 202 clarified that Sunday Voting was an allowable option at the election superintendent's discretion.

60. Here again, these changes will increase voters' opportunity to use Advance Voting, which will increase voter participation. But SB 202 also implements important rules governing such voting to assist election officials conduct an efficient and secure election.

F. Return of Voted Absentee Ballot

61. SB 202 altered the processes for the validation of a voter's identity when returning an absentee ballot.³¹ The primary change is that instead of using signature matching to verify the voter, the new requirement utilizes driver's license/state identification card number (or if a voter has neither a driver's license nor state identification card, the last four digits of the voter's social security number) and date of birth. The voter's signature on the oath is still a required element.

62. In my experience as a local election official, verification of a voter's signature was a time-consuming process requiring accessing the voter's signature and making a visual inspection of that signature compared to the one provided by the voter on the absentee ballot envelope. Voter signatures change over time and the verification of data rather than a voter signature should result in the more efficient and accurate validation of absentee ballots. During their observation of the 2022 election in Fulton County, the Carter Center in their December 15, 2022 report *2022 General Election Observation: Fulton County, Georgia* reports that in Fulton County:

Election law changes in SB202, requiring that both absentee applications and completed ballots include a driver's license/state ID number or other acceptable photo ID as proof of identity, have

³¹ O.C.G.A. § 21-2-386.

eliminated the need for election officials to match signatures. This has streamlined the process and made it easier for election officials since they can simply check that all the necessary information is present and correct.³²

63. I agree with this assessment. Further, protection of the voter's personal information now required to be included in the Oath of Elector on the absentee ballot envelope is of the utmost importance. The oath envelope has been redesigned and now contains a privacy flap for the purpose of protecting the voter's personal information while the absentee ballot is in transit either by the voter or an individual authorized under law to personally deliver a voter's voted ballot or through the mail system.

64. The absentee ballot cure provisions that went into effect in Georgia with the passage of HB 316 in 2019 have served Georgia voters well. In the event the identifying information entered on the absentee ballot envelope does not match the same information appearing in the voter's information on file in the election official's office or is missing, the registrar must then promptly notify the voter of the discrepancy, provide information on how to cure it, and the timeframe for curing.

³² The Carter Ctr., *2022 General Election Observation: Fulton County, Georgia* 16 (2022).

65. Georgia SEB Rule 183-1-14-.13 clarifies the word “promptly” as:

By mailing of written notice, and attempt to notify the elector by telephone and email, if a telephone number or email is on the elector’s voter registration record or absentee ballot application, no later than the close of business on the third business day after receiving the absentee ballot.³³

66. The same Rule further informs registrars of a tightening deadline as Election Day draws nearer by requiring:

However, for any timely submitted absentee ballot that is rejected within eleven days of Election Day, the board of registrars or absentee ballot clerk shall send the elector notice of such rejection and opportunity to cure by mailing written notice, and attempt to notify the elector by telephone and email, if a telephone number or email is on the elector’s voter registration record or absentee ballot application, no later than the close of business on the next business day.

67. The Rules have given clear indication to local election officials the importance of promptly notifying voters of a deficiency with their ballot. The deadline for voters to cure their absentee provisional ballot deficiency is by the close of business on the third day following the date of the election. This is the same deadline for provisional ballots cast by in person voters.

68. Through these provisions, SB 202 and the Rules assist voters and election officials in ensuring a smooth and secure absentee-voting process.

³³ State Election Bd. Rule 183-1-14-.13.

G. 150' No Campaigning Buffer Zone

69. SB 202 prohibits handing out food or beverages within 150 feet of the outer edge of any building within which a polling place is established.³⁴ The 150-foot no campaigning buffer zone (buffer zone) is established to provide a space for voters in line to prepare for voting in an atmosphere free from solicitation, campaigning or any other activity that may cause confusion or lead to confrontation. Outside of the buffer zone, members of the public are free to communicate with voters, which may or may not include the offer or giving of food or drink to voters approaching the polling location (as long as nothing of value is offered in exchange for a vote).

70. In 2020, Georgia saw a huge increase in the number of people outside of polling locations offering services to voters. Examples seen in Richmond County included food/food trucks, beverages, musicians, jugglers, and school bands. Food trucks were permitted to be at polling locations as long as they remained outside of the buffer zone and had proper licensing from the local licensing office.

71. Election officials or other voters in line have no way of knowing whether an individual approaching a voter within the buffer zone is attempting

³⁴ O.C.G.A. § 21-2-414.

to provide a service to the voter, campaigning, or potentially there for nefarious purposes. Monitoring for such activity would be near impossible for poll officers. The provisions of the 150' buffer zone and the supplemental zone if the line extends beyond 150' protects voters and removes burdens of monitoring interactions from poll officers.

72. Between the 2020 General Election and Runoff, I received many threatening and vile emails and phone calls. Threats against election officials and their operations is on the rise and is well documented.³⁵ Permitting access to the buffer zone for unknown reasons could invite unnecessary chaos, cause confusion, and perhaps even confrontation or dangerous situations to occur in an area meant to serve as a safe space for voters to prepare for voting.

73. This provision of SB 202 addressed an important aspect of the voting process—ensuring that voters are free of threats and improper influence during the voting process.

³⁵ Chelsey Cox, *'We're going to hang you': DOJ cracks down on threats to election workers ahead of high-stakes midterms*, CNBC (Oct. 27, 2022), <https://tinyurl.com/2rtrjtpj>.

H. Out of Precinct Provisional Ballots

74. SB 202 changed the time period on election day during which voters could cast a provisional ballot out of precinct.³⁶ Some jurisdictions in the country use a vote center concept for Election Day voting. This means that any voter can go to any voting location and cast their ballot, similar to what happens in Georgia during Advance Voting. On Election Day though, Georgia requires voters to report to their assigned voting location to cast their ballot. However, sometimes voters on Election Day appear at a polling location within their county but other than their assigned location to cast their ballot. This may happen inadvertently. In this case, the voter is re-directed to their correct polling location by poll officers. Sometimes though, voters appearing at an incorrect polling location may not be able or have the time to get to their polling location to vote. This may happen because their work hours are such that they do not have time or they do not have transportation to get to their assigned location to cast their ballot, or, maybe they just do not want to go to a different place. These circumstances may or may not occur between the hours of 5:00 PM and 7:00 PM on Election Day.

³⁶ O.C.G.A. § 21-2-418.

75. When a voter appears at an incorrect polling location, the poll officer accesses the voter's record and informs the voter that they are not at their assigned voting location and directs the voter to their proper location. The voter has the right to vote a provisional ballot in this polling place or they can go to their assigned polling place, if it is practicable for them to do so. It is up to the voter to make this determination. The voter is also advised that their ballot cast out of precinct will only be counted if it is between the hours of 5:00 PM and 7:00 PM and that their votes will only count in the contests for which they are eligible to vote, in effect, potentially disenfranchising them from their down ballot district level races. If the voter opts to vote at the incorrect polling location, the voter is directed to the provisional ballot work station.

76. At the provisional ballot work station, the voter completes additional paperwork, and, in the case of an out of precinct provisional voter, also a Provisional Ballot Affidavit (the Affidavit) swearing or affirming their knowledge that out of precinct provisional ballots will only be counted if cast between the hours of 5:00 PM and 7:00 PM, that they are unable to vote at their correct polling place prior to the closing of the polls and giving the reason why. The voter is then issued a ballot, provided with ballot envelopes, given instructions, and directed to a voting booth. While the voter is casting their

provisional ballot, the poll worker completes the paperwork required for tracking and accounting for provisional ballots.

77. After the election, election officials gather the provisional paperwork and ballots and proceed to research each ballot in an effort to validate the voter's ballot. Once validated, a duplication team is convened to duplicate the voter's choices onto a ballot containing only the contests for which the voter is entitled to vote. Many times, a voter voting a provisional ballot out of precinct foregoes casting a vote in district level offices, because the ballot available at the incorrect polling location differs from the ballot available at their assigned polling location.

78. Beginning with the 2018 election cycle and continuing through the 2020 election cycle, Richmond County saw a sharp increase in the number of out of precinct provisional ballots cast. This was caused in part by activists at polling locations intercepting voters attempting to leave the incorrect polling location to report to the correct polling location. Those activists would encourage the voters to go back into the polling location to vote instead of going to their assigned voting location.

79. The time-consuming process of issuing and voting a provisional ballot attributed to longer voter wait times at polling locations. The increased number of provisional ballots also taxed election official's resources needed to

validate and duplicate the ballot cast out of precinct. By taking steps to reduce the number of provisional ballots cast, SB 202 increases the efficiency and security of the voting process.

VI. Conclusions

80. SB 202 changed many aspects of voting in Georgia. Many are good changes that help make local election officials more accountable, the conduct of elections more professional, and the processes more transparent to the public by requiring regular reporting, post-election reconciliation audits to account for all ballots cast, and the measurement of voter wait time.

81. Georgia is ahead of many states by providing automatic voter registration with any transaction occurring with the Department of Driver Services, a new and updated voter registration system, a new and updated voting system, a robust process for curing absentee ballots, and no excuse absentee balloting by mail or in person. These provisions have enhanced voter participation and have been very effective in increasing the number of registered voters, reducing voter wait time, and making voting accessible in the State.

82. To this point, on January 24, 2023, the Albany Herald reported that most Georgia voters expressed confidence in the voting process following

the November 8, 2022 General Election.³⁷ The article refers to the recently released report conducted by the MIT Election Data and Science Lab, in conjunction with the School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Georgia, which surveyed registered voters on various aspects of the voting process in Georgia in the *November 2022 Post-Election Voter Satisfaction Survey* and showed positive results for Georgia voters.³⁸ The report findings were validated once again in an article in the Atlanta Journal-Constitution on January 30, 2023 which found in another poll that 99% of voters reported no problems when voting in the general election.³⁹

³⁷ The Albany Herald, GA, *Georgia voters express confidence in process*, Yahoo!sports (Jan. 24, 2023), <https://tinyurl.com/bdcsjm9n>.

³⁸ M.V. Hood, III, *2022 Georgia Post-Election Survey*, SPIA Surv. Rsch. Ctr. (Jan. 17, 2023), <https://tinyurl.com/5ffwex65>.

³⁹ Mark Niese, *Faith in Georgia elections rises as fraud frenzy fades, AJC poll shows*, The Atl. J. -Const. (Jan. 30, 2023), <https://tinyurl.com/4atkdks2>.

I reserve the right to supplement this report in light of additional facts or testimony that may be revealed at a later date.

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. 1746, I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Executed this 14th day of February, 2023.

Lynn Bailey

Lynn Bailey

RETRIEVED FROM DEMOCRACYDOCKET.COM

EXHIBIT A

RETRIEVED FROM DEMOCRACYDOCKET.COM

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA DIVISION

IN RE GEORGIA SENATE BILL 202

Master Case No.
1:21-MI-55555-JPB

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON ELECTION INTEGRITY

2021 Full Committee Videos

February 19, 2021

RETRIEVED FROM DEMOCRACYDOCKET.COM

1 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Good morning.
2 Appreciate y'all coming today. We'll go ahead
3 and get this meeting of the Special Committee on
4 Election Integrity started. We will be reviewing
5 House Bill 531 again today as we discussed it
6 yesterday. As we always do, let's begin our
7 meeting with a word of prayer, and I'm gonna ask
8 Representative Burnough if she would lead us this
9 morning. Press your button there. Go ahead.

10 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: Thank you, Mr.
11 Chairman. Will we all bow our heads?

12 Dear Heavenly Father, thank You for
13 bringing us here today safely. And as we go
14 through this day, I pray that we will do Your
15 work and Your will we be done and that at the end
16 of the day, that all of our people will -- needs
17 will be done also. We also ask that you pray for
18 those people that have been struck by COVID or
19 have not received their unemployment checks, that
20 they will be able to find a way that they will be
21 able to make it each day. We also pray for the
22 State of Georgia, that the State of Georgia will
23 become a state that leads in voting and in other
24 ways. Thank You. Amen.

25 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Amen. Thank you,

1 ma'am. All right, just kind of a preview of the
2 day, Representative Smyre and I, the ranking
3 member of the committee, have had some
4 discussions. It is the Chair's inclination that
5 we follow of schedule of today. We'll hear some
6 witnesses this morning, we'll take a break for
7 lunch when the time seems appropriate, and then
8 we'll hear some witnesses this afternoon.
9 Chairman Smyre did request yesterday that we also
10 have hearings on Monday. That is the Chair's
11 inclination to honor that request, and that is
12 the plan right now. Of course, with all
13 legislative matters, as we know, because we have
14 such a short session, plans do change sometimes,
15 but that is the Chair's inclination at this
16 moment.

17 So, let me go ahead and mention to you,
18 as you know, with any large bill that we are
19 working on, as the committee process works, there
20 are changes that we'll make. We will be taking
21 testimony today and quite often, even whether we
22 agree or disagree with portions of legislation,
23 there are what I refer to as technical changes --
24 commas here, wrong citing of code in different
25 places. I wanna mention to you some of those

1 that we have already identified.

2 The Chair would anticipate that today,
3 legislative counsel will be working on a
4 committee substitute that I would hope to get to
5 the committee later, hopefully by around 5:00,
6 the close of business. We will send that to all
7 the committee members electronically, so you'll
8 have time to look at that as well. Here are some
9 that I wanna go ahead and tell you about then so
10 you can expect them.

11 We have received a request from the
12 Georgia Municipal Association that I intend to
13 add into the bill through a committee substitute.
14 We're all aware that we're in a census year. The
15 census will report this year. We are all also
16 aware that the census numbers are coming later
17 than normal this year. Well, we also know that
18 this is an odd-number year, so our cities have
19 municipal elections coming up.

20 There is Georgia law, which requires,
21 understandably, that when you have elections, you
22 use the latest census numbers. I'll say that GMA
23 has brought to our attention that giving the now,
24 at this point, anticipated timing, they could be
25 called what I'll call a no-man's land.

1 The numbers could come out after or
2 near the time that they have to have qualifying
3 but not allowing enough time for new districts to
4 be redrawn, so they have asked for basically a
5 one-year grace period during this year that if
6 they get caught in that situation and need to
7 have people qualifying for elections, they can
8 indeed run from the districts that they currently
9 have.

10 I think that's a commonsense request
11 from the Georgia Municipal Association, but I
12 wanted to go ahead and bring that to your
13 attention so you can be thinking about it, and I
14 anticipate that language being in a committee
15 substitute. There are other states I have heard
16 that are having this problem, too. Ohio, I know,
17 is trying to make adjustments to their law to
18 accommodate for a later-than-normal reporting
19 census period.

20 There is a bill which Chairwoman Rich
21 has held subcommittee hearings on by
22 Representative Eddie Lumsden that is dealing with
23 House Bill 136. That deals with a situation that
24 he ran into regarding the COVID virus. He
25 represents a county that has a probate judge that

1 runs elections. We still have 30 or more
2 counties in Georgia that instead of having a
3 board of elections and an elections
4 superintendent, they actually have a probate
5 judge that still runs elections.

6 He had a situation last year where his
7 probate judge caught the COVID virus and was
8 pretty much out of commission during the November
9 election period. Well, as all of you know,
10 whether it be the board of elections or whether
11 it be the probate judge, those election results
12 have to be certified for those county's votes to
13 count. They ran into a situation where it didn't
14 look like the probate judge was going to be able
15 to do that, and the bill that he brought would
16 simply allow a Superior Court judge to appoint
17 another person to certify the elections if there
18 were basically an emergency situation and that
19 couldn't be done otherwise.

20 Chairwoman Rich, did I describe that
21 pretty well from the bill? I did? Okay, good.
22 Thank you, ma'am. By the way, that mask that you
23 have on with a "G" for Georgia looks great.

24 REP. BONNIE RICH: Yeah, because of my
25 attire, I did not want to (inaudible) so I

1 intentionally wore it.

2 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Red and black,
3 understood. She gets a star by her name today
4 for her attire.

5 Also, there was another house bill that
6 the subcommittee of this committee has also
7 heard, House Bill 64, by a representative,
8 Houston Gaines out of Athens, and I'll refer to
9 that as the "dead men can't win" bill. They
10 actually had a situation over in Athens where a
11 dead person was elected county commissioner.
12 Now, you may ask, "How can that happen?" Well,
13 the poor soul passed away before the election,
14 and the people still voted him in.

15 Now, that's an odd situation. I'm not
16 sure I would wanna be the challenger in that
17 situation, but that's what happened, and under
18 Georgia law, the person who lost got to take
19 office. It is my understanding that we have the
20 minority rule on that in Georgia.

21 The majority of states do not follow
22 that. The majority of states, if a person who
23 had won had passed away, they actually would have
24 another election to fill that seat. We have
25 provisions in Georgia that address that but not

1 in a nonpartisan consolidated government
2 situation. So, this is Representative Houston's
3 bill, House Bill 64, that would address that.

4 There was another house bill, House
5 Bill 250, by Representative Ginny Ehrhart. House
6 Bill 250 addresses a situation that occurred in
7 Cobb County. Apparently, for many years in Cobb
8 County, they had had an early voting location
9 that had been used and the community was very
10 familiar with that. There was a decision made
11 just days before early voting began not to have
12 that facility there.

13 Just like we have rules against closing
14 or changing precincts within so many days of the
15 election to allow people to know where their
16 precincts are and have ample time to learn the
17 new location, her bill basically begins to apply
18 one of those same guidelines to early voting
19 precincts.

20 Of course, if you have an emergency
21 situation where a building is damaged, whether it
22 be by tornado or fire, you can certainly move it,
23 but other than that, you need to set where those
24 locations are gonna be within a reasonable period
25 of time and not change them what I would call

1 late in the game or the last minute. That is
2 House Bill 250.

3 There, of course, as I mentioned
4 before, there are some cites to code sections
5 that need to be corrected, what I call technical
6 changes. There'll be some of those in there, and
7 we'll, of course, point those out, but other ones
8 that I would call are a little more substantive.
9 Right now in Georgia law, we require governments,
10 whether they be school boards, cities, or
11 counties, to cooperate with the board of
12 elections to allow government buildings, if
13 needed, to be used as precincts.

14 It's not a complete mandate in that
15 there is no choice, but as long as using the
16 facility for a voting precinct will not interfere
17 with the normal operations of the building --
18 let's say it's a school. If it won't work to
19 hold school and use part of the building, well,
20 then you can't be required to do it, but beyond
21 that, we do require, because voting is so
22 important, local governments to allow that.

23 We don't have that same rule applying
24 to early voting locations, and as you know, early
25 voting is becoming a much larger part of the

1 voting process in Georgia, so there has been a
2 request from the election superintendents for us
3 to consider that, and that is one addition that I
4 would like for us to consider in substitute.

5 Those are the matters that I wanted to
6 bring to your attention. As I mentioned,
7 committee members, we'll be getting that to you
8 as leg counsel gets it ready. Any questions from
9 any of the committee members, though, about what
10 I just mentioned? I'd be happy to try to
11 clarify. Chair sees no questions, okay.

12 All right, we have some people who have
13 signed up to testify regarding the bill. At this
14 point, I would ask Cindy Battles if you would
15 please come forward to the podium. Ms. Battles,
16 welcome. Good to have you today. When the
17 Speaker allows us when we're addressing, if we
18 wanna take our mask off, you can. That'll be
19 your choice. So, good to have you, and we'd be
20 happy to hear from you. Tell us your name, where
21 you're from, and who you're with.

22 CINDY BATTLES: Thank you, Chairman.
23 My name is Cindy Battles, and I appreciate all of
24 y'all being here this morning at what was kind of
25 a hastily called meeting. I got to watch my son

1 get married from my Lyft via FaceTime this
2 morning to be here. My name is Cindy Battles,
3 and I am the Policy and Engagement Director for
4 Georgia Coalition for the People's Agenda. I
5 have submitted a written copy --

6 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Cindy, I'll just
7 tell you that if you had told us, we would've let
8 you testify this afternoon.

9 CINDY BATTLES: Well, yes, I know, but...

10 REP. BARRY FLEMING: All right, go
11 ahead.

12 CINDY BATTLES: Voting is a sacred
13 privilege, and we do what we can to protect it,
14 sir. My name is Cindy Battles. I am the Policy
15 and Engagement Director for Georgia Coalition for
16 the People's Agenda. Georgia Coalition for the
17 People's Agenda was convened by Dr. Joseph Lowry
18 who, as many of you know, is a dean of the civil
19 rights movement. Our executive director Helen
20 Butler cannot be here in person today because she
21 is 65 and has only received one dose of her
22 immunization, so I will be reading a statement
23 prepared by her this morning. My name --

24 REP. BARRY FLEMING: I'm sorry, tell us
25 one more time who you're reading the statement

1 for, Cindy.

2 CINDY BATTLES: Helen Butler. She's
3 the executive director for People's Agenda.

4 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Helen Butler.
5 Thank you.

6 CINDY BATTLES: "In 2019, organizations
7 like ours urged you to slow down your
8 consideration of HB 316. While the omnibus bill
9 seemed to do a lot of good, we were concerned at
10 the speed with which the bill was being rushed
11 through the general assembly. Our pleas went
12 unheeded, and while HB 316 did do good things, it
13 also had unintended consequences, including
14 physical cost to counties that they had not
15 prepared for nor budgeted.

16 "In 2020, SB 463 would be described as
17 a fix for HB 316. Perhaps then what we have
18 learned is it is better to take the time to make
19 sure something is right rather than rushing it to
20 pass it and then try to fix it later. Measure
21 twice, cut once, as the saying goes.

22 "Yesterday, HB 531 was filed and given
23 a hearing on the same day. It was not even
24 available on the Georgia Assembly website before
25 it was on the agenda for the Special Committee

1 for Election Integrity meeting. This is
2 incredibly alarming, not just because of what a
3 rushed, nontransparent process does to impact the
4 confidence of voters, but with little less than
5 two hours, there is no way legislators can
6 properly prepare for a hearing on this bill.

7 "And despite requests that this hearing
8 be rescheduled for Monday, the Chair chose to
9 continue hearings less than 24 hours after the
10 legislation was sent to committee members. This
11 does not inspire confidence in our elections
12 process, which is the purpose of this committee,
13 according to Speaker Ralston.

14 "This is my first concern, and I would
15 urge the chair to pause these proceedings and
16 allow proper time for the public, members of this
17 committee, and legislators to fully grasp the
18 implications of HB 531. This should include an
19 idea of what it will cost counties, since, as the
20 Chair has noted, they bear much of that
21 responsibility and they are already dealing with
22 the consequences of a 2020 election. And given
23 that you want to prevent counties from seeking
24 grants, it is important that we consider what
25 they are going to have to pay.

1 "Furthermore, aspects of this
2 legislation concern me. Yesterday, the Chair
3 mentioned the issues we saw in 2018, but the
4 issues we saw in 2018 and the issues we saw in
5 2020 were quite different. And from what I have
6 seen, so far, HB 531 exacerbates the issues we
7 saw in 2018 without solving the issues we saw in
8 2020, with the possible exception of making sure
9 observers know how to behave.

10 "Reducing early voting hours, reducing
11 the time frame to request absentee ballots, and
12 making drop boxes largely unavailable make it
13 harder for people to vote, especially working
14 people, and will most likely contribute to long
15 lines on election day, a problem that from what
16 we saw on election day with a historic turnout
17 have largely been solved.

18 "The prohibiting of early voting on
19 Sundays, and therefore the elimination of the
20 souls to the polls, feels like a direct attack on
21 certain communities. An attempt to eliminate
22 souls to the polls in North Carolina actually
23 prompted a court to comment that the law was
24 drafted to target African Americans with almost
25 surgical precision. Further, Section 16 of the

1 bill is confusing and potentially a violation of
2 HAVA, and much of the bill seems to incorporate
3 SB 463 from the 2019 session, which did not
4 manage to pass the Georgia Assembly.

5 "I cannot say that this legislation
6 provides solutions for any of the issues we have
7 seen in the past several elections. I would urge
8 the Chair and this committee to slow down the
9 consideration of this bill and come up with
10 actual solutions that help voters and county
11 election officials alike. Don't rush the
12 process. That is how we restore trust in
13 Georgia's elections."

14 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Questions for Ms.
15 Battles from the committee? Okay. Thank you so
16 much for being here today.

17 Okay, I have concluded I am not going
18 to try to pronounce this next name. I'm gonna
19 spell the first name and then let me be educated.
20 Okay, come on up. You knew who I'm talking
21 about.

22 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Yes.

23 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Tell us who you
24 are.

25 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Thank you,

1 Chairman. I'm gonna take off my mask here.

2 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Yes, you may,
3 certainly.

4 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Thank you.

5 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Tell us your name?

6 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: My name is
7 Pichaya Poy Winichakul, and --

8 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Hold on.

9 Representative Smyre, I want you to say that
10 name. Okay, all right, now I feel better. No,
11 actually, thank you for being here today, and I
12 do try to get names correct, and when I can't, I
13 ask for forgiveness. I apologize.

14 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: That's okay.

15 REP. BARRY FLEMING: And I'm sorry,
16 tell us who you're with also.

17 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Absolutely.
18 I'm an attorney testifying on behalf of the NAACP
19 Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDF) as well as
20 SPLC Action Fund.

21 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Tell me who SPLC
22 Action Fund is.

23 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: We're an
24 organization that works across five states in the
25 Southeast -- Florida, Georgia, Alabama,

1 Mississippi, and Louisiana. And I am the Georgia
2 attorney dedicated to voting rights, and I'm part
3 of the voting rights legal practice group.

4 REP. BARRY FLEMING: So, you practice
5 here in Georgia?

6 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I do.

7 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Okay, great. And
8 SPLC, what's that acronym stand for? And you may
9 have said it, and I apologize.

10 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: It's just with
11 SPLC Action Fund.

12 REP. BARRY FLEMING: The acronym means
13 nothing?

14 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: We have
15 another organization that we're affiliated with.

16 REP. BARRY FLEMING: What's that
17 called?

18 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Southern
19 Poverty Law Center.

20 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Southern Poverty
21 Law Center, okay. I wondered if that's what it
22 was.

23 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Yeah.

24 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Okay, good to have
25 you today, counselor, and we'd be happy to hear

1 from you.

2 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Thank you for
3 the opportunity to testify. LDF and SPLC oppose
4 in the strongest possible terms HB 531. The bill
5 was made only available to the public through
6 social media only a few hours before yesterday's
7 hearing and less than 24 hours before today's
8 hearing. We are deeply concerned that the
9 legislature is considering a bill poised to
10 create unnecessary barriers and burdens on voters
11 that disproportionate impact racial minorities,
12 low-income, elderly, rural, disabled, and student
13 voters.

14 Moreover, the legislature is
15 considering HB 531 without affording the public
16 the opportunity to meaningfully give input and
17 contribute to the legislative process. Under
18 these and other circumstances, HB 531 is likely
19 to violate several federal laws, including the
20 First, 14th, and 15th Amendments of the United
21 States Constitution and the Voting Rights Act of
22 1965.

23 Although we have concerns about several
24 provisions, we focus your attention on Section 8,
25 which relates to the proposed photo

1 identification requirement for absentee voting.
2 We urge you at the very minimum to remove the
3 photo ID requirement in HB 531.

4 First, the purported justifications for
5 photo ID for absentee voting are pretextual.
6 Forty-seven states hold elections with vote by
7 mail procedures that do not include a photo ID
8 requirement. Fraud rates are infinitesimally
9 small; the same is true in Georgia. According to
10 multiple statements by Governor Kemp and other
11 statewide officials, there has been no evidence -
12 - none -- of widespread vote by mail fraud in
13 Georgia, and there has never been. These
14 statements and findings underscore why Georgia's
15 vote by mail laws and procedures remain safe,
16 secure, and reliable.

17 Equally telling, the motivations behind
18 this bill are suspect because it was introduced
19 immediately after Georgia voters generally, and
20 especially Georgia voters of color, dramatically
21 increased their use of absentee voting in the
22 2020 general election and January 2021 runoff
23 elections. Simply put, the photo ID requirement
24 is a solution in search of a problem.

25 Second, HB 531's photo ID requirement

1 would impose restrictions on ballot access that
2 would be outright barriers, if not burdensome, to
3 many voters. Indeed, the enactment of HB 531
4 unduly burdens the fundamental right to vote of
5 racial minority, low-income, elderly, rural,
6 disabled, and student voters -- all populations
7 who disproportionately face challenges accessing
8 DMV offices, a photocopier and the ability to pay
9 for photocopies, internet access, or a polling
10 location to vote in person.

11 Third, LDF and SPLC have not been able
12 to identify any analysis conducted by this
13 committee or the Georgia General Assembly that a
14 photo ID requirement will not disproportionately
15 harm voters of color and other voter groups.
16 Before any additional hearing or committee vote,
17 the Georgia General Assembly must study, analyze,
18 and publicly identify the negative human and
19 fiscal impact of HB 531.

20 Fourth, the legislative environment in
21 which HB 531 has been offered calls for the
22 rejection of this bill, as it is neither
23 transparent or open. This committee's meeting
24 today also does not appear to be providing any
25 opportunities for public comment or testimony

1 through remote means, including through a call-in
2 or video conference option. It is imperative
3 that you hear from and listen to all community
4 members who desire to provide public testimony,
5 either oral or written, during your committee
6 hearing.

7 For these reasons, we also request that
8 the committee does not vote on HB 531 until at
9 least Monday. Equally important, this committee
10 must post clear guidelines for providing and
11 receiving public input while in advance of any
12 hearing.

13 Fifth and finally, the photo ID
14 requirement may violate federal law. The facts
15 recited above include the sequence of events,
16 procedural departures from ordinary legislative
17 process, the lack of any neutral justification
18 for proposals, and the timing of the effort to
19 impose this restriction on absentee voting and
20 the disparate impact on black and other voters of
21 color suggest the photo ID requirement embodied
22 in HB 531 may violate the 14th and 15th
23 Amendments of the United States Constitution as
24 well as the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The photo
25 ID requirements burdening the right to vote

1 without any legitimate state interest may also
2 violate the First and 14th Amendments of the
3 United States Constitution.

4 We agree that elections must be safe
5 and secure, but HB 531's photo ID requirement
6 does nothing to enhance election security.
7 Instead, it is a calculated attempt to minimize
8 the participation of voters of color and other
9 voters in the political process following the
10 historical turnout in recent elections. Its
11 enactment would create unnecessary barriers,
12 burdens, and disproportionately impact the voting
13 rights of people of color, the elderly, people
14 with disabilities, low-income people, rural
15 residents, and students.

16 Thank you for your consideration, and
17 I'm happy to answer questions from the committee.

18 REP. BARRY FLEMING: We do have some
19 questions for you, counselor, so if you would
20 hang on a second. You made several comments in
21 your statement about the requirements for
22 identification in the bill. What is your
23 understanding of what those requirements for
24 identification in the bill are?

25 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: My

1 understanding is that in Section 8 -- in
2 particular, we're looking at Section 8 here --
3 that to apply for an absentee ballot, you'd have
4 to submit your Georgia driver's license number or
5 your state ID number. If a voter did not have a
6 state driver's license or a state ID number, then
7 they'd have to submit a copy, either through
8 electronic delivery or a hard copy, of one of the
9 other forms of ID that are provided in Section
10 21-2-417C.

11 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Do you have any
12 thought or knowledge of how many people in
13 Georgia that are registered to vote do have one
14 of those things that you mentioned, that being a
15 driver's license number or a state-issued ID
16 number?

17 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: So, I think
18 the issue here is that in addition to this extra
19 burden that voters have to submit an ID number or
20 a copy of ID, the issue here is there is no
21 actual basis for needing to require such
22 identification. So, of the burdens that the
23 people who don't have any forms of these
24 identification face, that is a heavy burden.

25 There have also been studies that show

1 that if we're examining and looking at those
2 folks who do not have that ID, their turnout
3 levels, unsurprisingly, are much lower. So, it
4 does suppress that vote because of this heavy
5 burden that those voters who do not have those
6 forms of ID face, and that's the critical issue
7 here.

8 REP. BARRY FLEMING: And counselor, my
9 question was do you have any idea of how many
10 people in Georgia, percentage-wise, have a
11 driver's license number or a state-issued ID
12 number associated with their voting information?

13 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I do not have
14 those statistics at this time, but I'd be happy
15 to provide them to the committee.

16 REP. BARRY FLEMING: I would suggest to
17 you that that number is about 97 percent,
18 overwhelmingly, amount of Georgians who have that
19 number we're discussing associated with their
20 voter registration.

21 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I am happy to
22 provide you that information once I have it. I
23 just want to stress again for this committee that
24 even though it's 97 percent, what we're really
25 looking at here is if we're truly wanting

1 everyone to be able to vote, we want people to be
2 engaged in the democratic process in Georgia,
3 that we want to include everyone, even those
4 three percent, whatever percent it is, who then
5 face an extraordinary burden if they do not have
6 these forms of ID.

7 REP. BARRY FLEMING: So, you're
8 familiar with the Help America Vote Act, referred
9 to as HAVA, correct?

10 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Correct.

11 REP. BARRY FLEMING: And you realize
12 that the bill requires HAVA ID if you don't have
13 that 97 percent, if you're in that small minority
14 of people who don't have that, you realize that
15 we're simply asking for what is already approved
16 and required for in federal law to show your ID
17 to vote? Do you recognize that?

18 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I recognize
19 what you're saying, Chairman, and respectfully,
20 that is part of federal law that there are
21 certain portions of ID requirements, but I think
22 the issue here and your proposing this bill is
23 that you're proposing these requirements when
24 it's not necessary. There is no evidence of
25 voter fraud. There's no evidence of widespread

1 voter fraud. For instance, let's just take this
2 example, if you'll indulge me a little bit.

3 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Sure.

4 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: We don't
5 require everyone to hide in a storm shelter every
6 single time it rains. Why don't we do that?
7 Because we're not afraid that everyone's gonna
8 get struck by lightning. Lightning strikes
9 killing people, not a problem. And in fact,
10 voter fraud, you're actually more likely to get
11 struck by lightning than find incidents of voter
12 fraud. Voter fraud is even less of a problem
13 than getting struck by lightning. So, if you
14 don't have that problem, there's not really a
15 legitimate basis to require increasing burdens on
16 people in order to access their fundamental right
17 to vote.

18 REP. BARRY FLEMING: What are the odds
19 of getting struck by lightning?

20 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I'm happy to
21 send that to you as well. I'm not a total
22 numbers person, which is why I went to law school
23 and not math school. But --

24 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Well, it sounds
25 like you are admitting that there is fraud in

1 elections. You're just saying it's a small
2 amount, is that correct?

3 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I am saying
4 there is no evidence of widespread systematic
5 voter fraud.

6 REP. BARRY FLEMING: So, the answer
7 would be yes?

8 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: The answer to
9 your question of an infinitesimally small number
10 of voter fraud incidents is yes.

11 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you,
12 counselor. Chairman Powell?

13 REP. ALAN POWELL: Thank you. I
14 listened with a lot of interest and I kind of got
15 lost at the first of it because you continually
16 mentioned about photo ID, but there was nothing
17 in here in this bill about photo ID. It's about
18 using the numbers off of secured pieces of
19 documentation so that in the process of an
20 election, for the integrity of that election, to
21 show that people aren't voting twice or other
22 types of illegal voters.

23 Now, I'm not getting into (inaudible)
24 about the widespread voter fraud. You're
25 correct. It wasn't found. It's just in a lot of

1 people's mind that there was. As a member that's
2 been up here for years, I've always said in my
3 career that if you wanna find fraud in any
4 election, you'll come close to finding it in the
5 absentee process because people don't have to
6 show up to vote to show an ID to tell who they
7 are.

8 But that was the first concern I had as
9 I continued to hear you keep repetitiously
10 talking about a photo ID, but there's nothing in
11 this bill about a photo ID. Do you agree to
12 that, that we're talking about an identifying
13 number, something that we can identify who that
14 person is to be sure that they're only voting
15 once?

16 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Sure. And I
17 understand that the words "photo ID" do not
18 appear in the language of the bill as it is in
19 its current form, but I just wanted to stress
20 that a driver's license, if you have it, whether
21 or not you need to record it onto a piece of
22 paper when applying for an absentee ballot is a
23 photo ID.

24 REP. ALAN POWELL: But it doesn't
25 appear in here, and you continuously use that

1 term, which is sending a wrong message at people.
2 Second question, you're concerned that we're not
3 allowing anyone to speak, but if I'm not sure,
4 we're on Zoom. Anybody who wants to testify can
5 Zoom in if they're not here. I see the lady
6 shaking her head no, but is that not correct?
7 Aren't they --

8 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Mr. Chairman, what
9 we're doing is that we do intend to allow
10 witnesses by Zoom, and as I told the members of
11 the committee, if you have a witness you want to
12 appear by Zoom and you let the Chairman know, we
13 will make accommodations for that. And so, also,
14 we told people that if they wanna turn in written
15 comments to the committee, we would take them and
16 give them all to the committee. And obviously,
17 we're allowing anybody that wants to come to sign
18 up to testify as well. So, we're working with
19 all three of those methods.

20 And I'll say it again, one of the first
21 things I did even before I started talking to the
22 Republicans on the committee, I asked all the
23 Democrats on the committee to meet with me in my
24 office, and three did, and I had discussion with
25 the other the next day. And I would say to them

1 again the same thing I told them at that time, if
2 they have witnesses they want to appear, the
3 Chair will work with them to accommodate that, as
4 well I will with all members of the committee.

5 REP. ALAN POWELL: So, in fact, that
6 anyone who wishes to be heard on this matter can
7 be heard and will be heard --

8 REP. BARRY FLEMING: There are
9 limitations --

10 REP. ALAN POWELL: -- during the
11 process of hearings?

12 REP. BARRY FLEMING: There are
13 limitations with our Zoom, and we have to be --
14 there's something called Zoom bombing that I am
15 told happens, and you have to be careful with
16 whom you give the Zoom information out to, but
17 we're working within those restraints to try to
18 let anybody that wants to come testify, or turn
19 in written comments to the committee, or come in
20 public.

21 REP. ALAN POWELL: Last question, going
22 back to your comments on the photo ID or
23 numerical, do you have any suggestions about how
24 in the absentee process that we could do an
25 identifier for factual? I mean, I was glad to

1 hear you say that y'all support safe and secure
2 elections like the rest of us do, so could you
3 tell me any ideas that you might have for our
4 benefit of how if you don't use a number of sort
5 as an identifier, how could this be achieved so
6 that we know who these people are so there's not
7 duplicate voting and such?

8 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Sure. So,
9 briefly, I just wanted to comment on the ability
10 to testify remotely, because I understand that
11 you had a previous question about that, and I
12 understand now that the Chairman has clarified
13 the procedures for voting -- er, sorry,
14 procedures for testifying on today's bill
15 remotely, and I just wanna stress that I would
16 encourage the committee to make those guidelines
17 clear and publicly available as soon as possible
18 since the next hearing, I understand, will be on
19 Monday.

20 As to your question about possible
21 amendments is what I hear, possible amendments or
22 ideas about how to ensure that absentee ballots
23 are more secure, your premise of the question, I
24 understand, is that to ensure that elections and
25 voting by absentee requires some form of ID, some

1 form of identification. I just want to, again,
2 emphasize that there is no widespread evidence of
3 voter fraud, which I think we both agree on, and
4 therefore, absentee ballot voting is currently
5 safe and secure and reliable.

6 There are already requirements for when
7 you complete an absentee ballot request form or
8 when you register to vote, and so there's already
9 information that a voter must fill out when
10 they're registering to vote, when they're
11 applying for an absentee ballot, and so I don't
12 think that there needs to be additional
13 identification burdens on voters in order to be
14 able to request and submit an absentee ballot.

15 REP. ALAN POWELL: So, you don't have
16 any other idea of how we can identify the voters
17 to be sure. You know, I understand what you're
18 saying about the registration process, but it's
19 almost like having a driver's license. Everybody
20 in here that drives a car should have a driver's
21 license, but if you don't have that driver's
22 license on your person or you don't have a number
23 that could be associated to you, well, when
24 you're stopped for a highway infraction, if you
25 tell the trooper or the law enforcement officer,

1 "I got a driver's license," well, there's gotta
2 be some kind of identifier to actually show that
3 that person is who they say they are and that
4 they are legitimate in that role.

5 So, that's the reason I was asking.
6 Since you're opposed to -- and we haven't got a
7 picture ID in here, we have the identifying
8 numbers of these documents, but is there any
9 other way in your mind of how we can identify
10 that person to show that the person who has
11 applied and is in fact voting is who they say
12 they are so there's no chances of duplication or
13 fraudulent voting?

14 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Again, I would
15 say that the best method is the one that
16 currently works if it's not broken. If it ain't
17 broke, don't fix it. Voting by absentee is safe,
18 reliable, and secure, and so I don't think we
19 need to add additional burdens to voters in order
20 to further secure, super secure, super-super
21 secure, especially the elections, especially when
22 the right to vote is fundamental under law, under
23 the Constitution of the United States.

24 And so, I think that when someone is
25 applying for an absentee ballot and then

1 receiving an absentee ballot and voting on an
2 absentee ballot, the chances of widespread fraud
3 are and have been proven to basically be none.
4 So, I'm not sure -- I should rephrase, I do not
5 think, I do not believe that there needs to be
6 addition ID requirements.

7 REP. ALAN POWELL: So, then you think
8 that the current system that's in place, the
9 exact match signature match should be sufficient
10 even though in this past election we saw numerous
11 problems? The judicial order back in March
12 because of the Motor Voter ID, that people that
13 vote or have registered to vote by DDS when they
14 get a driver's license, that those signatures are
15 digitalized so that a lot of the board of
16 elections, they can't make out whether that's an
17 exact ID or not. And under the law that provides
18 for the exact ID, that's the reason we're looking
19 for something a little bit more easier to work
20 with so that these various boards of elections
21 when they look at it, that they can actually see,
22 instead of something that's a digitalized
23 signature that doesn't match up, or in the case
24 that we have seniors who have probably registered
25 to vote possibly as much as decades before, that

1 their signatures have changed. But this ID
2 system is something that would be more specific
3 to that person. So, I guess my question is are
4 you saying that we should continue to use a
5 questionable, flawed system of the exact
6 signature in a new modern day that these
7 signatures aren't matching at all times?

8 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: So, I believe
9 that in that question, you were referencing a
10 court decision that did challenge the exact match
11 and therefore had to change some of the
12 provisions of exact match. And I'm not
13 completely familiar with the case or have not
14 basically read it in the last week, but I believe
15 that case requires that a absentee ballot cannot
16 be rejected for the signature not completely
17 matching what is the signature on file. And so,
18 if that is the current -- I agree that there were
19 problems, but now there is a case that came in
20 and said, "We're fixing these problems because
21 there were problems." So, the current state is,
22 again, we can always be improving the current
23 ability to receive a ballot in the way that we're
24 doing voting, but at least the amendment to this
25 bill would require additional requirements for ID

1 that would make it even harder and the burden
2 would be even higher for voters who are voting by
3 absentee. So, I'm not saying that the exact
4 match or non-exact match signature system that we
5 have in place is excellent. What I'm testifying
6 here to is the absentee provision only that is
7 part of this bill, and what I do know is that it
8 would severely increase the burden on voters who
9 are voting by absentee.

10 REP. ALAN POWELL: One last -- and I'm
11 sorry if I'm --

12 REP. BARRY FLEMING: No, no, you ahead.

13 REP. ALAN POWELL: So, I hear what
14 you're saying, and I'm glad that you agree with
15 me that this exact match is kind of an antiquated
16 system, but my concern is that people who have
17 gone to vote and they've had problems with the
18 exact match. To me, it shouldn't be that we
19 should find a better system that they're matched
20 up so that they're not having to vote a
21 provisional or to be turned away. So, to me,
22 going to an exact something, a little bit more
23 exact about identifying these folks, that these
24 people would not be disenfranchised or have to
25 vote at a provisional ballot because of the

1 match. So, if they're more matched, something a
2 little bit more accurate, then it should be more
3 to the tune of people being not disenfranchised
4 to vote.

5 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I'm -- oh, I'm
6 sorry. Were you going --

7 REP. BARRY FLEMING: No, you go ahead.

8 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I'm heartened
9 to hear that. It seems like we are very much on
10 the same page of trying to make sure to expand
11 the vote as much as possible to ensure that as
12 many people are enfranchised and can access the
13 ballot, I just think we have different ways of
14 thinking about it, particularly here with the
15 absentee ID, photo ID requirement.

16 It appears to me that the burden would
17 just be so signature on voters, especially voters
18 of color who do not have access to ID or ways to
19 submit copies of a non-Georgia driver's license
20 or state ID, and that is not the solution,
21 especially when there's not a legitimate basis
22 for requiring elections to increase election
23 security in the absentee voting space.

24 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Counselor, you are
25 aware that democratic-sponsored groups sued the

1 State of Georgia trying to make us get rid of our
2 current system of signature verification? You
3 are aware of that, correct?

4 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Yes.

5 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you. Madam
6 Speaker Pro Tem Jones.

7 REP. JAN JONES: Thank you, Mr.
8 Chairman, and thank you for testifying. Would
9 you agree that the fact that widespread
10 systematic fraud was not presented in a court of
11 law does not necessarily mean there was no fraud
12 in absentee balloting?

13 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Not
14 necessarily. I --

15 REP. JAN JONES: So, you believe that
16 if it wasn't shown and adjudicated in a court of
17 law, then there was no fraud?

18 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: My basis for
19 understanding that there's no widespread evidence
20 of voter fraud does not rely solely on what a
21 court of law has determined. It's based on fact.
22 So, it's based on the numerous counts, recounts,
23 risk-limiting audits that Georgia has had to go
24 through over the past year, in the last couple of
25 election cycles. It is based on studies around

1 the country that just like Georgia, there is no
2 systematic widespread voter fraud. It is not
3 solely based on whether or not a court of law has
4 adjudicated that there has been factually no
5 voter fraud, although a court of law has many
6 times in Georgia -- I believe at least over 16
7 cases filed since the general election -- have
8 also found that this is not a basis for any of
9 the lawsuits that were filed here.

10 REP. JAN JONES: Thank you. And I'm
11 referring to absentee balloting specifically, not
12 risk auditing activities that confirm with
13 machines, or with early voting in which a voter
14 ID was presented, or in-person voting. I'm
15 specifically referring to absentee balloting.
16 Other than in a court of law in Georgia, what
17 definitive evidence that there was none?

18 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I'm -- oh, I'm
19 sorry. Were you --

20 REP. JAN JONES: None. I do mean none.

21 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: And again, I'm
22 talking about widespread systematic voter fraud,
23 and I'm happy to send you multiple studies. I
24 shared some longer written testimony with the
25 committee -- I'm happy to send that again -- that

1 contains some of that information. I'm also
2 happy to send numerous studies that have been
3 peer-reviewed. I refer to you to basically the
4 entirety of the Brennan Center for Justice's
5 website, which not only provides statistics and
6 information about how there is no widespread
7 voter fraud and ever has been in the United
8 States as well as their studies debunking other
9 fraudulent studies about voter fraud.

10 REP. JAN JONES: So, in general, it's
11 studies. It isn't activities related to, say,
12 the 2020 or the 2018 elections that specifically
13 proved that there was no fraud?

14 PICHAYA BOY WINICHAKUL: So, you're
15 correct. I'm not aware of any studies from the
16 2020 elections yet, although we have numerous
17 statements from statewide officials -- Governor
18 Kemp, Secretary of State Raffensperger, Elections
19 Manager Gabe Sterling, Lieutenant Governor Duncan
20 -- that there has been no evidence of widespread
21 voter fraud.

22 REP. JAN JONES: And I specifically am
23 referring to, and I believe I referred to, not
24 systematic widespread but rather just the
25 singular word of fraud.

1 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: A singular --
2 REP. JAN JONES: And I don't mean a
3 singular instance, I just mean not systematic
4 widespread. That's a high threshold. There's a
5 lot underneath that.

6 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I think that,
7 again, I kind of off-the-hand quipped earlier
8 about lightning strikes, which I know that this
9 is not a special committee on lightning strikes,
10 so I don't wanna go too much into that, but
11 incidents of voter fraud, again, are more rare
12 than getting struck by lightning -- I think also
13 shark attacks.

14 REP. JAN JONES: Well, I can appreciate
15 your references to lightning strikes and shark
16 attacks. It brings me as a mother of four to the
17 analogy with stranger danger child abduction. We
18 know that there's a very low chance of that --
19 very, very low, but yet when a mother picks her
20 child up and they know who she is, they know who
21 the child is, they know the connection at a
22 daycare center, she has to show a voter ID.

23 There are many activities in American
24 life in which you show in general your driver's
25 license and people don't think twice about it,

1 but it doesn't mean it's a common thing to
2 happen. It just gives the parents a sense of
3 confidence that their child's not being picked up
4 by the wrong person, even though everyone at the
5 daycare center knows who the mother is, who the
6 child is, but there are certain things that
7 sometimes one does simply to give people
8 confidence.

9 But I would also ask, if the Chairman
10 is correct that 97 percent of Georgians have a
11 driver's license or a voter ID card, what is the
12 burden on that 97 percent -- I'm not referring to
13 the three percent -- the 97 percent to write a
14 number down that they have in their back pocket
15 or in their pocketbook?

16 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Absolutely.
17 So, I also understand your references to other
18 important aspects of our civic life -- our
19 families, our children -- where we wanna ensure
20 that they are safe. I will also just add the
21 fundamental right to vote is also sacred, and so
22 burdening that vote cuts the other way. And so,
23 we wanna make sure that we preserve that
24 fundamental right to vote and feel secure as
25 someone who may not have all of the paperwork --

1 a ton of paperwork or access to paperwork -- to
2 be able to vote.

3 Your question is about the 97 percent,
4 and as a lawyer and under the case law, I am here
5 -- and as a civil rights lawyer -- I'm here to
6 talk about those small percentages of people,
7 which I understand not everyone will want to pay
8 attention to, but I'm here to talk about and
9 testify to support those people who do not have
10 those forms of identification.

11 The latest statistic, and I have one
12 statistic -- not a math person -- from the
13 Brennan Center is that 16.6 percent of Georgia
14 voters who do not have a Georgia license or state
15 ID live at least 10 miles away from a DMV, a
16 motor vehicle office, and so to get that type of
17 ID would be increasingly burdensome, especially
18 for rural voters.

19 I'm talking about and I'm here to
20 testify to support and advocate for those people
21 who do not have that ID because we want them to
22 participate in our elections, in our democracy,
23 and that's how we ensure that we have a
24 representative and robust democracy in Georgia.

25 REP. JAN JONES: So, just to conclude,

1 whether it's 84 percent or 97 percent, you're not
2 concerned about whether that's a burden. So,
3 when we keep talking about the burden on
4 everyone, it's really you're concerned about
5 those who don't have a state ID or a driver's
6 license, is that accurate?

7 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Yes. And they
8 are the people who are disproportionately voters
9 of color and other historically disenfranchised
10 groups.

11 REP. JAN JONES: And then we could
12 debate later whether it is an undue burden on
13 them, but I just wanted to clarify, it's not a
14 burden on the rest of the voters? So, I guess it
15 remains to be determined is it a burden on the
16 remaining ones who do not have those forms of ID?

17 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I am here just
18 testifying on the undue burden of those people
19 who are disproportionately impacted by the voter
20 ID law.

21 REP. JAN JONES: Thank you.

22 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Representative
23 Alexander.

24 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Thank you,
25 Mr. Chair. Are you aware about the situation

1 that happened in Cobb County with the 15,000
2 ballots where there was only two that came back
3 as an error?

4 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I am not
5 intimately familiar with that, but I have read
6 about it in our great news sources.

7 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Yeah, that is
8 what occurred. Further questions, Mr. Chair?

9 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Yes, ma'am.

10 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: So, I know
11 we're talking about IDs, and I know within this
12 bill on Page 20, 498 through 511, they're asking
13 for four digits to be placed on the envelope, of
14 the outside of the envelope of the absentee
15 ballot. So, that's what we're talking about,
16 with the request of the four digits. And I guess
17 my question would be for the authors of the bill.
18 What is the purpose of placing this on this bill?
19 Since we're talking about fraud, do we know or
20 can you share what those fraud numbers are to why
21 there is a purpose for putting your four digits
22 now on the envelope?

23 REP. BARRY FLEMING: I would point out
24 to the representative that if you look on Line
25 508, it says, "The elector's date of birth shall

1 be hidden from view in the envelope that's
2 correctly sealed, or the last four digits of the
3 Social Security number, or the driver's license."
4 So, there is language in here to redesign that
5 envelope so that it is protected when it's sent
6 back into the board of elections. That's the
7 first thing I would note for you.

8 What I would also note for you, the
9 purpose of that driver's license identification
10 number or the other identification that is
11 referenced there is because we are moving away
12 from the signature verification process that we
13 have in place now, which your party sued us to
14 try to get rid of. We're moving away from that
15 to something that is probably a much better
16 identifier, hence has been discussed previously
17 in this hearing.

18 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: But Mr.
19 Chairman -- further question?

20 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Please.

21 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: I'm still
22 asking you not what the party -- what they sued
23 you for or whatever, this is the bill that's in
24 front of us now, and I'm still asking the
25 question, do you know of any instances where

1 fraud has occurred to where this is an extra
2 measure?

3 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Do I know of any
4 instances where fraud has occurred to this is an
5 extra measure? I'm trying to understand your
6 question, but I'm not sure I do.

7 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Mr. Chairman,
8 I'm asking you, you're throwing out that there is
9 a purpose for us to have people to add an extra
10 layer for identification, so I'm asking you in
11 what instance is the purpose of this? Is it
12 because of the lawsuit or is it because there's
13 fraud that have occurred?

14 REP. BARRY FLEMING: The purpose of all
15 our laws dealing with voting is that we try as
16 best we can to make sure that our voting is
17 secure and that someone's vote cannot be stolen.
18 We do have instances that I have been told of
19 claims where people went to vote, and they said,
20 "You've already voted." We do have lawsuits
21 which have occurred in this state in the past
22 where people have been found guilty of
23 manipulation of absentee ballots. We do have
24 instances we have heard of -- vote harvesting,
25 for example, in the area of absentee balloting.

1 But what I would say to you, it is our due
2 diligence in this legislature to constantly
3 update our laws to try to protect the sanctity of
4 the vote. The reason people don't rob banks
5 every day is because banks put in place
6 provisions to keep that from happening. The
7 reasons we will not have people steal votes in
8 the State of Georgia is because we pass bills to
9 try to keep that from happening, and that is the
10 purpose of the language that you're referring to
11 now in this bill.

12 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Thank you.

13 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Yes, ma'am.

14 Representative Burnough?

15 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: Thank you, Mr.
16 Chairman. And following up on Representative
17 Alexander, there has not been found the
18 widespread fraud that everyone keeps talking
19 about, but what about the unintended consequence
20 of the fact of identity fraud when people start
21 putting their numbers there, and we know that
22 Georgia has had problems in the past of keeping
23 things secure? So, while we are asking for this,
24 we also put at risk our Georgians, for their
25 information to be stolen because we're not as

1 clear about what's gonna be done with all that
2 paper that's there with their ID numbers and
3 other information.

4 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: That is
5 absolutely a concern, and I thank you for raising
6 that point. We are part of a coalition of many
7 election groups and voting rights groups in
8 Georgia, many of whom I'm sure you have heard
9 from, and there are a number of groups especially
10 representing immigrant communities in which
11 identity theft is a huge concern because it's so
12 pervasive amongst those immigrant communities,
13 and we do worry that the additional ID
14 requirements will impact these communities in
15 terms of their willingness to provide such
16 information.

17 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Chairwoman Rich?

18 REP. BONNIE RICH: Thank you, Mr.
19 Chairman, and thank you so much for being here.
20 I wrote it down because I heard you use the
21 phrase a lot, and I think it's what the speaker
22 pro tem was asking you about, no evidence of
23 widespread vote-by-mail fraud. And I kept
24 wondering what exactly does that mean? Do you
25 have a definition or do you have a particular

1 quote or citation from which you lifted that
2 language?

3 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: It is not a ,
4 term that I think is defined in the Webster
5 dictionary or any other court necessarily. I use
6 it here just to demonstrate that on the flip
7 side, that if there are incidents of voter fraud,
8 they've been found to be very just minute, small,
9 not impactful. I'm happy to elaborate and follow
10 that up with other studies as well, I'm just not
11 as --

12 REP. BONNIE RICH: So, a certain amount
13 of fraud is acceptable then?

14 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I'm not --

15 REP. BONNIE RICH: Is that my
16 understanding of what you're saying?

17 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: We wanna
18 ensure that elections -- we agree with you that
19 elections should be safe and secure, and there's
20 just been no widespread voter fraud that would
21 threaten that security.

22 REP. BONNIE RICH: Okay, and that's
23 what I guess I wanna focus on. What does that
24 mean, "no widespread voter fraud"? Because if
25 there is a certain amount of voter fraud, that

1 means that someone who voted in the election who
2 was not a legal voter, they basically
3 disenfranchised me when they voted. Is that
4 correct?

5 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I think what's
6 correct here is that if you're looking at the
7 basis of this law, there is no evidence of
8 widespread voter fraud that would be a sufficient
9 justification for the burdens that the photo ID
10 requirement imposes on voters.

11 REP. BONNIE RICH: So, what is it --
12 what system do we have in current Georgia law
13 that would allow us to identify your evidence of
14 widespread vote-by-mail fraud?

15 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I think that's
16 a question that you have to pose to the Secretary
17 of State and other elections managers. I know
18 that they are always actively engaged in trying
19 to seek out voter fraud, and so I would ask that
20 you pose that to them. I'm not a voter fraud
21 prosecutor, so I don't know.

22 REP. BONNIE RICH: Well, that's what
23 this committee is here to do is to craft
24 legislation that ensures the integrity of our
25 voting system, and you're saying that our current

1 system has shown that there has been no evidence
2 of widespread vote-by-mail fraud, and I'm just
3 wondering what in our current system would allow
4 us to ever identify that?

5 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Again, I would
6 ask that you pose that the Secretary of State and
7 the election administrators of this state. I am
8 here to testify and say that there has been found
9 no evidence of this fraud, therefore, there's no
10 legitimate justification for the burdens imposed
11 by this law.

12 REP. BONNIE RICH: And would you agree
13 that if our current signature match system is
14 insufficient to identify the widespread evidence
15 of fraud, that your statement basically has no
16 meaning, that there very well could be widespread
17 voter fraud, but our system is not set up to
18 detect it?

19 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I think that
20 there are a lot of conditionals in your question
21 there, and there are a lot of prefaces that I
22 think we would disagree with. I am solely here
23 just to testify on the impact of this legislation
24 on voters who are voting by absentee who may not
25 have the identification requirements required in

1 the law.

2 REP. BONNIE RICH: Thank you.

3 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Representative
4 Williams?

5 REP. RICK WILLIAMS: Thank you, Mr.
6 Chairman. Madam, have you ever worked an
7 election or been involved in the process of
8 elections?

9 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Are you asking
10 have I been involved as a poll worker or as an
11 election worker?

12 REP. RICK WILLIAMS: Mm-hmm, poll
13 worker.

14 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I have not.
15 My experience has been as an attorney working on
16 election protection efforts, as a student working
17 on election protection efforts. I've registered
18 numbers of people to vote. I have worked in
19 numerous policy capacities doing research. So, I
20 am, I would like to say humbly, well-read on
21 election procedures, but I have not worked as a
22 poll worker.

23 REP. RICK WILLIAMS: Okay, thank you.
24 And thank you for being here. Are you aware that
25 some elections are lost by one vote even here in

1 the State of Georgia?

2 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I'm sorry, can
3 you say that again?

4 REP. RICK WILLIAMS: Are you aware that
5 the sheriff of Wheeler County, Georgia lost his
6 election in 2012 by one vote?

7 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I was not
8 aware of that. Seems like a very close election.
9 Exciting.

10 REP. RICK WILLIAMS: And I saw
11 personally in Milledgeville a city council person
12 win by one vote. So, any fraud, any absentee
13 ballot fraud is too much. Even if it's one, it's
14 too much. We all want the same thing at the end
15 of the day, that the elections are fair, honest,
16 and that everyone votes their conscience, and no
17 one is manipulated, threatened, no votes are
18 bought with a five-dollar bill or a cigarette and
19 a can of beer, and there's evidence, and I have
20 the evidence to show some of those things.

21 There's actually an election in
22 Meriwether County School Board was actually
23 thrown out because of widespread voter fraud.
24 You know, in a perfect world, it wouldn't happen.
25 None of us want it to happen. It doesn't matter

1 if you're Republican or Democrat. You want it to
2 be fair, open, and honest, and that's what we're
3 after, too.

4 I appreciate you coming to testify in
5 your knowledge, but I encourage you and others to
6 get involved, to go work a poll, to be a poll
7 worker, to be a volunteer to see the process. I
8 know we have 159 counties, and we have about a
9 hundred different ways elections are run in those
10 counties. It's not all the same way, and that's
11 what we're looking for is that everything is done
12 the same, whatever county it is. And I do thank
13 you again, but we're open-minded, and we're all
14 wanting the same thing, and I thank you. Thank
15 you.

16 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Chairman Smyre?

17 REP. CALVIN SMYRE: Thank you for your
18 testimony. I really appreciate that, and I'm
19 read some of your position papers, and they're
20 very helpful. And I wanna tap on your
21 experience. As I read the bill and try my best
22 to -- because I think voting is very fundamental.
23 I mean, just one of those issues that I always
24 speak very highly of because I always encourage
25 people to participate in democracy and the

1 political process, but my really concern here a
2 little is the early voting section as it relates
3 to the bill.

4 I know that early voting, when you cut
5 back on early voting, it disproportionately
6 affects the voters of color who have the highest
7 rate of weekend voting, and Section 12 of the
8 bill, when you eliminate some form of Saturday
9 and Sunday voting, it appears to me that once I
10 read and looked at it and kind of added it up, it
11 looks like you can almost cut 108 or 110 total
12 available hours of early voting, and to me, that
13 would have a disproportional effect on a segment
14 of our community.

15 So, what experience, what do you have
16 that could add to that discussion on early
17 voting? Because in early voting and absentee
18 voting is another tool extended to the public so
19 that they could -- because we all have
20 circumstances in life. We all are different in
21 terms of how we work and how we go about our
22 total business, so we've been trying to provide
23 every avenue we possibly could to enhance voting,
24 because when you lift the water, all boats rise.
25 It gives everybody the same and equal

1 opportunity.

2 And so, what's your thought on counties
3 conducting early voters in Saturdays and Sunday,
4 and if you eliminate Saturday and Sunday voting,
5 how that would disproportionately harm voters of
6 color and those who may have some other rationale
7 and reason for not being able to go and may need
8 that Saturday or Sunday voting, and how would
9 that affect it?

10 If that was 110 or 100-and-so total
11 available hours of early voting, how harmful
12 would that be disproportionately to people that
13 maybe have to work, have other circumstances,
14 that require them to not be able to vote during
15 the day? And so, could you address that for me,
16 how this serves the voter?

17 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Sure. I wanna
18 thank you again for that question because it is
19 another incidence, not only on its own of how
20 this bill would disproportionately affect voters
21 of color, low-income voters in particular, and
22 other historically disenfranchised groups, but
23 it's another provision that could exacerbate the
24 photo ID requirement for absentee voting. A lot
25 of these would -- you know, we're talking about a

1 system of voting, so these burdens interact with
2 one another and exacerbate one another.

3 So, I didn't spend as much time on this
4 portion of the bill as I did on the absentee
5 photo ID requirement portion, but I believe that
6 similarly, it would disproportionately impact
7 those communities that I had mentioned before in
8 my opening testimony. You reference voters who
9 come from different circumstances, people who
10 have to work on election day for instance, and so
11 early voting is some of the only opportunities
12 some people are able to access the ballot.

13 And so, I think that we see that
14 people, disproportionately voters of color, do
15 need additional voting options and flexibility,
16 including these days of early voting. I also
17 agree my reading of this bill is that it would
18 extremely diminish the availability of early
19 voting, and that is extremely problematic for us
20 as well. Again, when we're looking at from a
21 legal perspective the reduction of availability
22 of voting options, we are looking at the
23 populations that are disproportionately impacted,
24 and the portions of the populations who would
25 need to otherwise early vote and to understand

1 their particular burdens, and those would be
2 great.

3 REP. CALVIN SMYRE: Okay, thank you for
4 your advocacy. I appreciate your testimony.

5 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Thank you.

6 REP. CALVIN SMYRE: Thank you.

7 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Yes, sir,
8 Representative Burnough?

9 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: Thank you, Mr.
10 Chairman. While I respect my colleague who said
11 to you that you needed to go and possibly vote --
12 I mean, work an election, I disagree that you
13 don't have to work in a voting poll or in some
14 capacity to understand the importance of people
15 having the right to vote.

16 And the other thing I wanted to say is
17 that the word "widespread voter fraud" was a term
18 that was used early on before the election had
19 ever started, so the proof was in that after our
20 Secretary of State of Georgia who oversees the
21 election, after the three different counts that
22 were required, they determined that there was no
23 widespread voter fraud. So, that's where the
24 proof came. It came from our Secretary of
25 State's office.

1 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you.

2 Representative Alexander?

3 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Thank you,
4 Mr. Chairman. Would you agree that there are
5 checks and balances already with the application
6 process?

7 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Yes.

8 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Thank you.
9 Would you also -- Mr. Chairman, another question.
10 Would you also agree that an enormous amount of
11 the taxpayers' dollars was spent this previous
12 election to look for fraud only to be found that
13 there were not widespread fraud?

14 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: I'm not
15 intimately familiar with all of the budgeting
16 processes, but I do understand that a lot of
17 resources went into such efforts.

18 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Thank you.

19 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Counselor, we
20 appreciate you being here today. Thank you very
21 much.

22 PICHAYA POY WINICHAKUL: Thank you so
23 much for your questions and the opportunity to
24 speak.

25 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Kevin? Welcome.

1 Good to have you with us today. You can take
2 your mask off if you'd like to when you address
3 the committee. If you would, state your full
4 name and tell us where you live and who you're
5 with, and we'd be happy to hear from you.

6 KEVIN SHANKER SINHA: Sure. Thank you.
7 I'm gonna keep my mask on --

8 REP. BARRY FLEMING: That's fine. No
9 problem.

10 KEVIN SHANKER SINHA: Please let me
11 know if I'm hard to hear or anything.

12 REP. BARRY FLEMING: I hear you pretty
13 good.

14 KEVIN SHANKER SINHA: Okay, thank you.
15 So, my name is Kevin Shanker Sinha. I'm a
16 community organizer and voting rights advocate
17 and founder of CivicGeorgia. I am here --

18 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Tell us what
19 CivicGeorgia is.

20 KEVIN SHANKER SINHA: CivicGeorgia is a
21 collaborative of community organizers, so we
22 serve our communities working on different issue
23 areas that impact our communities as well as
24 advocating for important issues such as voting
25 rights.

1 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Where is it based?

2 KEVIN SHANKER SINHA: So, CivicGeorgia
3 is based in Atlanta. I am personally a resident
4 of Cobb County.

5 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Go ahead.

6 KEVIN SHANKER SINHA: Okay, thank you.
7 So, I should add, especially since a couple of
8 the representatives brought it up, that for the
9 sake of transparency, I serve as a precinct
10 manager in Cobb County. I'm not here in that
11 capacity. If anybody has questions about that, I
12 probably am not able to address that. I'm here
13 as a community organizer. So, I just wanted to
14 sort of -- and I apologize if I get a little
15 emotional at any point. Just forgive me. But I
16 just wanted to share --

17 REP. BARRY FLEMING: If you need to
18 take a break, you just let us know.

19 KEVIN SHANKER SINHA: I'll be fine,
20 thank you. This is a very large and
21 comprehensive bill, and as my colleagues have
22 already shared, I think we would appreciate more
23 time to review it and incorporate public
24 testimony, especially from community members who
25 occasionally face issues that may be exacerbated

1 by some of what's proposed in these bills --
2 excuse me, in this bill.

3 At the same time, I am not an expert on
4 exactly what all this committee is tasked with.
5 I understand the general nature of it, but I
6 would pose that elections integrity includes not
7 just seeking out and trying to eliminate or
8 prevent whatever fraud there might be but to
9 ensure that voters have fair access and equitable
10 access. And equity, as we all know, is not just
11 about equality. It's about making sure that we
12 all go the extra mile to provide resources, and
13 availability, and in some cases support in being
14 able to participate in the voting process.

15 To those of us who are situationally
16 and systemically disenfranchised -- we all know
17 the communities I'm referencing. My colleagues
18 have shared about them. That includes
19 communities of color, that includes the elderly,
20 that includes people of differing abilities, that
21 includes young people, that includes a lot of
22 people who face challenges that we're not all
23 aware of because we don't all face them
24 ourselves.

25 And so, when we talk about things like

1 early voting, early voting is a beautiful thing.
2 I have early voted. I have worked early voting
3 as an elections personnel, team member if you
4 will. It supports people who don't have
5 necessarily the choice to go on election day.
6 Certainly, you can make the case that, well, this
7 isn't about cutting back all of early voting,
8 it's about trimming here and there, and I would
9 pose that that will impact some percentage of
10 people who don't have the flexibility to early
11 vote during weekdays.

12 I would pose that we should expand
13 early voting. Why not make it more accessible?
14 It works for people. Early voting is largely a
15 people-managed process in that someone is
16 attending in person, and I think our precincts
17 have been proven to be safe, secure environments
18 for voting, so we should expand early voting.

19 Absentee voting, voting by mail --
20 there are a few other terms that it can be
21 referred to -- such a powerful, powerful thing.
22 We saw the power of it over the past year. It
23 came out of a necessity since we are facing this
24 horrible pandemic, but how many people got a
25 chance to participate when before they may not

1 have been physically or otherwise able to go to
2 the polls?

3 And we know that absentee balloting and
4 voting by mail has been a part of Georgia's
5 elections process for some time now, thankfully,
6 but I don't know that it was embraced as much as
7 in the past year, and I believe that, again,
8 rather than being restrictive to something that
9 works well and that shows such promises goes
10 against what I would consider elections
11 integrity. I believe we should expand absentee
12 voting through whatever means.

13 For example, I believe there is a bill
14 active right now that may change the age of
15 people being able to automatically receive their
16 absentee ballots. I'm not sure that's necessary.
17 I'm not sure that's helpful to anybody. I think
18 perhaps we should all be eligible to
19 automatically receive our absentee ballots. Why
20 not? Why not all of us have an easier chance of
21 participating in the process?

22 I think that the mobile voting units
23 that we saw in Fulton County, which I believe
24 there's a reference to in this bill -- forgive
25 me, I have not had as much of a chance to digest

1 it as I would've liked -- but that is a beautiful
2 thing. I believe bringing precincts closer to
3 people who may not be able to physically or based
4 on a lack of transportation access go to their
5 precinct but still prefer to vote in person
6 because that's maybe a part of what their voting
7 process is, their personal preference.

8 That's amazing. We should be doing
9 that everywhere. We should be encouraging
10 counties. We should be supporting them fiscally
11 in adopting similar programs. I'm sure there are
12 ways to learn more about how that works, perhaps
13 encourage a pilot program. You can create
14 studies that see how that works for us across the
15 state. There are other states, such as Colorado
16 I believe, that have more expansive programs
17 around this.

18 I think that we can become a leader as
19 a state in expanding voting access and voting
20 rights, and I think we should. We have an
21 opportunity to. We have some of these tools at
22 our disposal, and really choosing to understand
23 them and embrace them for what they give back to
24 us as opposed to creating solutions for problems
25 that don't exist, as my colleague earlier

1 referenced, I think that is part of elections
2 integrity.

3 And I believe one of the
4 representatives -- forgive me -- mentioned this
5 already, but as a poll worker, as a poll manager,
6 as someone who has done that, absolutely
7 encourage everybody to try that, to experience
8 that. It is a beautiful thing to work in the
9 process. It's an important thing. I would say
10 that that is far from the only way to be
11 involved. I think someone choosing to pursue a
12 career as a civil rights attorney has very much
13 gotten involved, as have we all -- organizers,
14 representatives, community members. We're all
15 part of this, we're all involved.

16 I believe one of the representatives
17 referenced the audit in Cobb County for absentee
18 ballots. I think the numbers were on the order
19 of out of 150,000 absentee ballots, the Secretary
20 of State's office, through whatever means they
21 do, audited about 15,118, approximately. They
22 found two cases of problematic scenarios. Let me
23 confirm for you what those were, because I'm not
24 sure that they were necessarily fraud.

25 In one case, the ballot was mistakenly

1 signed by the elector's spouse, and in the other,
2 the voter reported signing the front of the
3 envelope only. In both cases, the identified
4 voters filled out the ballots themselves. Those
5 were two cases out of 15,118 ballots that were
6 audited that found issues. It's not even fraud -
7 - issues. So, at least based on this audit that
8 the Secretary of State's office did, there was, I
9 think, technically zero percent fraud.

10 But let's say that even those two could
11 be considered by some stretch of the imagination
12 to be fraud, that's still 0.013 percent. No
13 fraud should be allowed, but I think we saw that
14 at least in this audit, there was no fraud in the
15 case of these ballots.

16 No fraud should be allowed, I agree,
17 but we're talking about -- I'm using, I believe,
18 the Chair's numbers. I would need to verify
19 these, but something like three percent of
20 registered voters may not have certain forms of
21 ID that are required, that would meet the
22 requirements of what this bill is asking for to
23 be an absentee voter. If it is three percent,
24 you're potentially impacting three percent of
25 people to protect against zero percent of

1 something that didn't happen. So, I'm not sure -
2 -

3 REP. BARRY FLEMING: When you say zero
4 percent of something that didn't happen, tell me
5 what zero percent you're referring to.

6 KEVIN SHANKER SINHA: Apologies. So,
7 I'm referring to in that case of the audit of the
8 Cobb County absentee ballots from the November
9 election.

10 REP. BARRY FLEMING: So, you're not
11 referring to the rest of Georgia?

12 KEVIN SHANKER SINHA: Correct. I'm
13 referring specifically to that case. Apologies.

14 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you. Go
15 ahead.

16 KEVIN SHANKER SINHA: Thank you for
17 allowing me to clarify. So, there is a chance of
18 impacting -- and a likelihood. And studies have
19 shown there's a likelihood of impacting voters of
20 color, elderly voters, voters with differing
21 abilities, young voters, voters in rural
22 communities, voters with lower income.

23 There's a likely chance of impacting
24 those members of our communities because they
25 face other systematic challenges, and we face

1 challenges that are not always clear to people
2 when we think that a certain ID requirement might
3 be an easy thing to meet. So, that all to be
4 said is that three percent of, give or take,
5 15,000, just since that number has come up, is
6 about 450 people. That's no insignificant.
7 That's pretty substantial.

8 And so, as someone who is here
9 advocating for equity and for justice in the
10 process of civic engagement, I would urge us all
11 to focus on the three percent when we consider
12 establishing some of these new guidelines or
13 proposing some of these new guidelines and
14 actually using the power and the authority of
15 this committee and as elected officials to look
16 at these programs and choose to expand them and
17 expand access, expand the right to vote -- or
18 excuse me, the ability and access to vote for
19 voters in Georgia. So, I'll stop there. I'm
20 happy to answer any questions or address --

21 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Any questions for
22 the witness? Thank you, Kevin, we appreciate you
23 being here today.

24 KEVIN SHANKER SINHA: Thank you.

25 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Richard Rose. Mr.

1 Rose? Mr. Rose, thank you for being here today.
2 We're happy to hear from you. If you would go
3 ahead and state for the record your full name and
4 where you live and who you're with.

5 RICHARD ROSE: Thank you, Chairman.
6 I'm Richard Rose. I am an Atlanta, Georgia
7 resident. I'm representing the NAACP Atlanta and
8 17 other branches that contain 77 percent of
9 Georgia's black voters.

10 REP. BARRY FLEMING: What's your
11 position with them, Mr. Rose?

12 RICHARD ROSE: I'm president of the
13 Atlanta NAACP.

14 REP. BARRY FLEMING: President, yes,
15 sir. Thank you for being here today. Go ahead.

16 RICHARD ROSE: Thank you. So, I'm also
17 by profession a certified public accountant, and
18 I was listening to the other speakers and their
19 other questions, and the question came to me, why
20 don't we start with a demonstration that there
21 really are problems, in particular with absentee
22 ballots?

23 Why don't we just audit absentee
24 balloting, the whole 159 counties, to identify
25 problems -- and there are gonna be mistakes, but

1 identify the fraud since we are claiming it. It
2 seems to me that what we have is a lot of
3 solutions looking, searching for a problem.
4 Those of us in community service, we struggle to
5 get 7 out of 10 voters to the poll, so in
6 addition to being safe and secure, we're
7 concerned with accessibility.

8 How do we get all of our people
9 involved in what should be a right and a
10 privilege, and that is participation in the
11 voting process? So, why don't we pass
12 legislation to identify and document problems
13 before continuing to vilify those who only want
14 the same justice, the same consideration, the
15 same rights, and the same freedoms promised by
16 the constitution?

17 And we have technology now throughout
18 commerce that can help us in this. There was a
19 time we needed a ticket to get on the airplane,
20 and we don't need that anymore. We can use a
21 paper trail or small boarding pass, but that's
22 not necessary anymore.

23 It just seems to me that at the basis
24 of this very large bill, there is an attempt to
25 exclude that we've always had in America --

1 exclusion based on exclusion for education,
2 exclusion for military service, exclusion for
3 political leadership, exclusion for jobs -- and
4 all of these things have been based on a premise
5 that has been false -- the premise of the lack of
6 integrity, the lack of intellect, the lack of
7 unsuitability.

8 All of these things have plagued
9 America, and I would urge this committee and this
10 legislature and this state to step away from
11 those things that have harmed us for the entirety
12 of the United States of America. Just to remind
13 you, the lack of an intellect, the lack of
14 integrity, the lack of suitability was used to
15 justify 250 years of slavery and another 150
16 years of Jim Crow policies, practice, and laws.

17 Now, the lie is that we have collusion,
18 corruption, and deceit leading to another
19 declaration of unfitness. As I said, in NAACP,
20 we fight to impress upon our community the
21 necessity to participate in the voting franchise.
22 We fight a battle of apathy and despondency where
23 people just cannot quite make the connection
24 between the vote and what's good for them and
25 their families.

1 These legislations appear to be another
2 way to discourage participation by the claim that
3 there are problems that have not been identified.
4 I would urge us to, again, to focus on first
5 identify if there are problems with absentee
6 balloting, audit them, from Chatsworth to St.
7 Mary. Let's identify, let's put numbers on them
8 before we come up with solutions when there has
9 been not a problem identified. Thank you for
10 your time. I'll take any questions you might
11 have.

12 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Mr. Rose, we
13 appreciate you being here today. Any questions
14 for the witness? Representative Burnough?

15 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: Yes. Thank you,
16 Mr. Chairman, and thank you for coming here today
17 to speak. And I do agree. I liked your example
18 of using how that when we first started flying,
19 we had to have that little paper ticket and now
20 we've gone to electronics, and that's the one
21 thing that Georgia should be doing.

22 The motivation by slashing the times
23 that we're gonna do early voting, the same thing
24 with putting more requirements on absentee
25 ballots, that is taking us backwards, and we

1 should be working to go forward, because like I
2 said yesterday, we didn't know what Zoom was, and
3 really, most of us didn't know that we could go
4 and vote, which came about in 2005, no excuse
5 absentee voting, and it did produce record-
6 breaking voters.

7 But you know, it's not just the
8 seniors, it's also people that work shifts,
9 doctors, lawyers that may have to go to court,
10 and so it sort of changed our mindset, and it
11 opened it up for people who did not go out and
12 vote that thought, "Okay, I have a better
13 convenience, I have three ways that I can go
14 vote." And so, I agree that it is time for us to
15 move forward in the State of Georgia as opposed
16 to moving backwards, so thank you for your
17 comments.

18 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you.
19 Chairman Smyre?

20 REP. CALVIN SMYRE: Thank you for
21 coming, and thank you for your leadership, and --

22 RICHARD ROSE: Yes, sir.

23 REP. CALVIN SMYRE: -- your advocacy.
24 I've enjoyed working with you over the years. I
25 just wanted to say here I enjoyed our

1 conversation on the call and appreciate you being
2 here.

3 RICHARD ROSE: Thank you very much,
4 sir.

5 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you, Mr.
6 Rose. We appreciate you being here.

7 RICHARD ROSE: Thank you, sir. Thank
8 you, Mr. Chairman.

9 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Okay, at this
10 time, we don't have any other witnesses signed up
11 in person. What the Chair intends to do is to
12 break for lunch and to reconvene at approximately
13 1:00, unless there are questions or comments from
14 any committee members at this time. Seeing none,
15 we will be in recess until 1:00 right back here.
16 Thank you.

17 (Meeting on break.)

18 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Good afternoon,
19 ladies and gentlemen. Welcome back. Hope
20 everybody got a bite to eat for lunch, and we
21 will now begin our afternoon session. We have a
22 few witnesses that are signed up, and we will be
23 working with them. Some are in person, some will
24 be via our audio system, and then some actually
25 have picture on the screen as well.

1 But the first person will be Joe Sapp.
2 Mr. Sapp, can you hear me? Give a second for
3 House media services to bring Mr. Sapp into the
4 meeting. Mr. Sapp, they tell me that you have
5 muted your phone and you will need to unmute your
6 phone. Give us just a minute to work on that.
7 My phone tends to work a lot better when my 19-
8 year-old is assisting me, and sometimes it takes
9 a moment.

10 Mr. Sapp, they're telling me -- our
11 media services -- that your phone is showing as
12 muted, so you will need to unmute your phone. As
13 soon as you do it, you can talk and let us know
14 you're there. Did you pass the first class,
15 Representative Smyre? Okay, all right. Well,
16 you're a better man than me, I'll tell you what.
17 Okay, maybe he's trying to call in
18 again. We'll give him just a second. Mr. Sapp,
19 can you hear me?

20 JOE SAPP: Yes, sir. Can you hear me
21 now?

22 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Yes, sir, we sure
23 can. We appreciate you putting up with our
24 attempts to bring you into our meeting. We don't
25 have a video of you, but we do have you by audio.

1 So, Mr. Sapp, if you can go ahead and tell us
2 your name, although I think I have it correct,
3 and where you live.

4 JOE SAPP: Yes, sir. I go by Joseph
5 Sapp, and I'm from Hawkinsville, Georgia.

6 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Hawkinsville,
7 Georgia.

8 JOE SAPP: Yes, sir.

9 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Well, we welcome
10 you to our afternoon session of the House Special
11 Committee on Election Integrity. Tell us what
12 you would like for us to hear from you on today.

13 JOE SAPP: Yes, sir. I was talking to
14 a friend of mine who brought it to my attention
15 that I had a phone call on Sunday, November 1st
16 prior to the election, and it was a restricted
17 number. I'm in the healthcare field, and
18 normally when it's a restricted number, it's a
19 physician calling me, so I always answer
20 restricted phone calls.

21 And the lady introduced herself and,
22 again, I cannot remember her name or the
23 organization that she said she represented, but
24 she called me Joseph, and my son's name is also
25 Joseph, and my son's a senior at the University

1 of Georgia and had requested an absentee ballot.
2 And I think she was mistaking me for him, and she
3 wanted to know if I had turned in my absentee
4 ballot.

5 At that point, I realized kind of the
6 mistake that she had made, thinking it was my
7 son, and I said no, I haven't yet, but it would
8 be in prior to Tuesday. And she then asked my
9 address and then said, "If you would like --"
10 they had a representative in that area that would
11 be glad to come by and get my absentee ballot and
12 take care of it and get it to where it needed to
13 be. And again, I didn't think anything about it.
14 At that point, I just said, "No, ma'am, I've got
15 it handled. Thank you for trying to help me," or
16 whatever.

17 But then after the election when all of
18 the commotion was going on about it and I
19 mentioned it to a friend of mine that's a
20 representative and then a friend of mind that's
21 an attorney, he was like, "Well, you may wanna
22 let somebody know about that call," because their
23 interpretation was it probably violated some type
24 of election law.

25 REP. BARRY FLEMING: So, if I

1 understand correctly, they called you "Joseph".
2 Is that what folks call your son?

3 JOE SAPP: Yeah, so I'm Joseph Melvin
4 Sapp, and my son's name is Joseph Patrick Sapp.
5 He goes by Patrick, but a lot of people, of
6 course, at school and all that refer to him by
7 his first name.

8 REP. BARRY FLEMING: And you had or had
9 not voted by absentee yourself?

10 JOE SAPP: Myself, no. I voted in
11 person on election day.

12 REP. BARRY FLEMING: And the lady that
13 called you was offering to come by and pick up at
14 your house your absentee ballot?

15 JOE SAPP: Yes, sir.

16 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Did they talk to
17 you about when they would possibly come by or did
18 you ever get to that point?

19 JOE SAPP: No. She made it sound like
20 it would be that day. She didn't give me a
21 specific on that. She just said she had a
22 representative in the area that would be glad to
23 come by and get it and take it to the proper
24 place for it, and I told her that it's a small
25 town, it's no problem. I know exactly where to

1 take it.

2 REP. BARRY FLEMING: But you did not
3 know who this person was, is that correct?

4 JOE SAPP: No, ma'am, no -- I mean, no,
5 sir, not at all.

6 REP. BARRY FLEMING: So, she obviously
7 was not your caregiver or a family member or
8 someone who's actually maybe allowed to pick up
9 absentee ballots and take them and turn them in?

10 JOE SAPP: No. No, sir. We wouldn't
11 need that service.

12 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Well, are you
13 aware, Mr. Sapp -- and it sounds like through
14 this process you may have -- that ballot
15 harvesting is illegal in the State of Georgia?

16 JOE SAPP: Yes, sir, I've discovered
17 that after the fact.

18 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Mr. Sapp, we have
19 several other committee members who are here
20 today on this House committee. We normally, when
21 a witness testifies, give other members the
22 opportunity to ask questions. You've been very
23 clear in what you've had to say, but I do want to
24 at this moment pause and see if any other members
25 of the House would like to ask any questions

1 about this episode that you've described for us
2 today.

3 JOE SAPP: Sure, no problem. Thank
4 you.

5 REP. BARRY FLEMING: I do not see any
6 questions from any of the committee members at
7 this point, and I wanna make sure that... Mr.
8 Sapp, we sure do appreciate you being with us
9 today.

10 JOE SAPP: Okay. Thank you a lot,
11 Chairman. Appreciate it.

12 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Yes, sir. Bye-
13 bye.

14 JOE SAPP: Bye.

15 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Next, we will have
16 Amber McReynolds and is that Ben Schler? Ms.
17 McReynolds, can you hear me?

18 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: I can, yes.

19 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Okay, there you
20 are. You're on the screen with us. Welcome.
21 Good to have you today. Now, do you have
22 somebody with you named Ben that wants to testify
23 also?

24 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: Yeah. Ben's just --
25 he's one of our policy legal experts (inaudible)

1 --

2 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Okay, so it'll be
3 you?

4 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: It'll be me, and he
5 might weigh in if he needs to.

6 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Okay. And I'm
7 pronouncing your name correctly, Ms. McReynolds,
8 right?

9 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: Yes.

10 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Okay, thank you so
11 much for being with us today. Please tell us who
12 you're with and where you are, and we'll be happy
13 to hear from you.

14 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: Absolutely. Well,
15 thank you, Mr. Chair, for having us today. As
16 mentioned, I'm Amber McReynolds. I'm the CEO of
17 the National Vote at Home Institute and
18 Coalition. I also am a former elections
19 official, so I ran elections for over 13 years
20 and have been involved in election administration
21 for more than 16 years in the State of Colorado
22 but also nationally.

23 I've done a lot of work in Georgia over
24 the last few years supporting election officials
25 in various counties and also the state, and our

1 expertise at the National Vote at Home Institute
2 is really about how to improve the process
3 overall for all voters and also balancing values
4 in the election process that are really important
5 as we think about policies and reforms, ensuring
6 that all policies sort of cover all values in the
7 election process equally and fairly.

8 And those values are really about
9 making sure that the process and the policy
10 itself is fair, accessible, secure, transparent,
11 equitable, and reliable. And my acronym for that
12 is FASTER, but we wanna ensure that all those
13 values are balanced appropriately in the policy
14 and also the administration of elections broadly.

15 So, today, I'm very much an expert in
16 vote by mail but elections administration
17 generally and have run various types and methods
18 of elections over time, including polling places,
19 early voting, processes, vote by mail processes,
20 and then have also worked on improving policies
21 in various states around the country.

22 Whether they're red states or blue
23 states, none of that really matters to us. We
24 just focus on doing our best to help states
25 improve the laws on the books in those states and

1 by extension the administration of those laws.

2 So, just for the record, I'm also an
3 unaffiliated elector. I've never been affiliated
4 with either of the major parties, and that's
5 important for the expertise that I bring to the
6 table today. I don't have an interest in one
7 party or another in terms of winning or losing.

8 So, I wanna cover a couple of sections
9 today, and I think first and foremost, before I
10 jump into Sections 8, 9, and 10, I did wanna make
11 one point about the early voting provisions in
12 the bill. Nationally and when we look across the
13 country, states like Georgia have really led in
14 terms of access and options for voters.

15
16 Georgia has provided for many years now
17 more options than many states that are just
18 catching up, like New York, and Connecticut, and
19 others that just expanded some of their options
20 in 2020, so we really commend Georgia for the
21 options that you've provided to voters for a long
22 period of time. They've worked well. I think
23 you came in in terms of turnout in the middle of
24 the pack with states in 2020 at about 68 percent
25 of voters that participated, which is just about

1 12 points lower than the top state, which is
2 Minnesota.

3 And I only point that out because I
4 think it's important that we consider engagement
5 in the process and also identifying those
6 nonvoters that don't vote and also kind of
7 focusing on why and how we can improve the
8 process to make sure that they do have that
9 opportunity.

10 So, with regards to early voting, just
11 quickly, what we also know through research, and
12 data, and analysis -- and this is broadly across
13 the country -- voters are the most informed and
14 most engaged in the election process within about
15 seven days of the election, so we often see that
16 more and more people start voting early or
17 utilizing those activities prior to election day
18 the closer that you get to election day. So,
19 it's important to make sure that you have
20 sufficient services.

21 I understand the need for uniformity,
22 but making sure that counties have the option to
23 provide that service to voters, especially when
24 it's of high interest to voters, and weekends and
25 things like that are really important for working

1 people and families.

2 I have a cousin that lives actually
3 right outside the Atlanta region, and she
4 actually took her kids in to vote on the weekend
5 before election day so that her little ones could
6 experience that with her since her husband
7 travels, and she works, and they can't go during
8 the week.

9 So, I do encourage you to maintain the
10 options that Georgia has provided because that
11 certainly does help people and families and those
12 that work during the week, which is often Monday
13 through Saturday. And I know myself would be
14 included in that because I'm a single parent with
15 two little ones.

16 In terms of Section 8, the change in
17 the deadline to request an absentee application,
18 we would offer an alternative for you all to
19 consider, and one that actually states like
20 Montana utilized and Utah had prior to their move
21 to mail a ballot to every elector in Utah.

22 But states like that, they've
23 experienced mail ballots for a long period of
24 time, and they set up a different structure than
25 many states have that we actually would recommend

1 here, and that includes basically allowing voters
2 to request an absentee at any point during the
3 calendar year and providing options to voters to
4 sign up either for the upcoming election for the
5 entire year.

6 So, calendar year -- and this would be
7 similar to your rollover list that you had
8 available so far, but extending that option to
9 any elector -- or sign up for an entire election
10 cycle, which Montana actually allows you to do a
11 single sign-up, and you don't need to keep
12 filling out paperwork and keep coming back and
13 making that request, which has reduced a lot of
14 administrative costs for localities that
15 ultimately end up with a data entry burden of
16 processing all of that paperwork.

17 And that's really benefited a lot of
18 rural voters and voters that don't move very
19 often because they don't have to keep filling out
20 that paperwork every time. So, we would
21 encourage you to consider sort of eliminating
22 these limits, these day limits for requesting,
23 because that actually puts a lot of
24 administrative burden on counties, and open it
25 more for like what a Montana structure is.

1 Or Florida has also been structured
2 this way where they don't limit the time that you
3 can request it, and they actually offer more
4 options, either election-specific requests,
5 calendar, or single sign-up, unless the voter
6 moves or stops voting or stops using the mail
7 ballot that way, and that's been a very
8 convenient and cost-saving factor for a lot of
9 states that have administered it in that way.

10 The next piece, in terms of the photo
11 ID with regards to vote by mail applications,
12 understand that the kind of way that you're
13 thinking about this, we would also offer an
14 alternative here. We were very pleased to see
15 Georgia stand up an online application to request
16 a mail ballot. We hope that that -- and think it
17 will continue because that, again, reduces the
18 burden of paperwork on counties.

19 But we also think you already have
20 provisions for voter registration and getting
21 registered to vote, so anyone who is existing
22 registrants have already provided a lot of that
23 information up front, and we would encourage you
24 certainly to have voters put down the number, if
25 it's a driver's license, or a state ID, or the

1 last four of Social. Any of those unique
2 identifiers that would provide that would
3 certainly make the process more accessible for
4 voters.

5 Photocopies can be administratively
6 burdensome, can also introduce security risks,
7 actually, to the electors themselves because
8 they've now got a copy of their full information
9 with all their PII that can certainly be
10 appealing to identity thieves. So, we would just
11 encourage to think about this and make sure that
12 it is a secure process and also accessible.

13 The prohibiting of mailing applications
14 by the board of elections or the Secretary of
15 State, so our perspective here is that this is
16 actually exactly what election officials should
17 be doing. They should be educating the public on
18 voting options, whether that be early voting,
19 polling place on election day, or the use of
20 absentee applications, and it's actually better
21 given that they are the trusted sources.

22 If you look at survey data -- and we
23 did this survey across the country with partners
24 -- local election officials and state officials
25 are actually the most trusted sources of

1 information on elections, so they are the ones
2 that should be educating, and they are the ones
3 that should be sharing information on how to vote
4 in one of the three methods with voters directly.

5 So, we don't wanna see the government
6 entities that actually are responsible for
7 educating the public and ensuring good
8 information gets out get limited in their ability
9 to do their jobs under the oaths and the laws on
10 the books that they take.

11 In terms of repealing the signature
12 match, we think this is a good step as well.
13 There's no reason for that to be part of the
14 application process, and we think that that's a
15 good provision that you've done here.

16 Section 9 in terms of the drop boxes,
17 so we, again kind of in the air of uniformity and
18 just to share, Georgia was one of the states that
19 expanded this provision quite heavily in 2020 due
20 to the pandemic. I will also tell you that
21 voters on both sides of the aisle like the idea
22 of having the option to drop their ballot off in
23 person, either at a polling place, at an early
24 voting site, handing it to an election judge, or
25 in a drop box, and many of them actually find it

1 more secure than mailing their ballot back
2 through the postal stream, which can take extra
3 days and whatnot.

4 So, we would encourage you to maintain
5 that. Georgia has invested infrastructure at the
6 local level in setting those boxes up, and every
7 locality is obviously gonna have different needs
8 and requirements within their jurisdictions, but
9 we do think drop boxes are good thing with
10 security parameters such as 24x7 video
11 surveillance.

12 A lot of the western states that have
13 had drop boxes for a while, especially in states
14 like Utah, or Colorado, or Arizona, they do have
15 surveillance, and many of them have even gone for
16 surveillance -- they keep the video for a period
17 of time after the election, usually 25 months if
18 it's a state like Colorado, and then they also,
19 to save on storage and save on the cost of
20 maintaining that video, they also focus on
21 movement within the video.

22 So, the video will record basically
23 where that sees movement so you're not just
24 recording a box without any movement associated
25 with it. But the 24x7 boxes are very good for

1 people, especially if they're working late hours
2 and can't get there by 5:00 during the times that
3 sites or locations are staffed. So, we'd
4 encourage you to keep that, and again, lot of
5 good examples of best practices that have been
6 used in various states, and we're happy to
7 provide additional feedback on that to you as
8 needed.

9 In terms of mailing ballots, we
10 actually think it's a good change to go to the 29
11 to 25 days. That's actually more consistent with
12 more states across the country. Certainly for
13 military and overseas voters, that 45-day
14 deadline is a good one, but many states are in
15 that kind of 29 to 25-day range.

16 And we think it's also good to have
17 consistencies statewide for when those ballots go
18 out and not going too early, mainly because
19 there's also a period of time that election
20 officials need to process the requests coming in,
21 prepare the ballots for mailing, and all of that.
22 So, the 29 to 25-day change here we think is also
23 a good one.

24 In terms of the requesting ballots, so
25 for the 10-day deadline or the 11-day -- I guess

1 it's 11 days that you've got in the bill to
2 request a ballot, we think that's fine as long as
3 it specifies that it's for a ballot to be mailed
4 to you. You must have the request in by 11 days
5 out, and then the election officials obviously
6 would need to get that ballot in the mail by the
7 10 days out.

8 We think that that's sufficient, but we
9 also wanna make sure that you leave room for
10 emergency situations beyond just hospital or
11 health issues. I mean, there are EMTs, and
12 doctors, and nurses, and folks that get called
13 out of town on work provisions that still need
14 that option, and they might not be able to
15 actually come in from 9:00 to 5:00 during early
16 voting or might be gone on election day. So,
17 ensuring that you still have a process for
18 absentee requests to be made and those ballots to
19 be picked up in person within that period of time
20 from officially the election official.

21 And then what some states have also
22 done is allowed voters to designate a person to
23 pick it up for them if they are not able to
24 physically be present to do that, and those are
25 just examples of what other states have done in

1 that, and it is a secure process, but it enables
2 voters to utilize an emergency provision should
3 something come up that isn't hospital-specific
4 but has other emergency provisions.

5 And then on the election integrity
6 aspect of Section 10 with the additional
7 requirements on the mail ballot envelopes, so
8 name, signature, full driver's license number,
9 date of birth, and last four of Social, we wanted
10 to flag a couple of things here. First and
11 foremost, there is good ways and there's actually
12 examples of best practices around the country for
13 improving signature verification, and a couple of
14 those include mandatory training for everyone who
15 is gonna be working in that process.

16 States like Colorado have a statewide
17 training provision that the Secretary of State
18 administers, the county officials have to go
19 through, and all the election judges that are
20 gonna be working in that area also have to go
21 through. And the reason for that is that there's
22 uniformity.

23 Another way to bring better processes
24 and uniformity is also with the use of signature
25 verification software, which is similar to what

1 banks use, and that type of software, which I
2 think you've got a couple counties that have
3 purchased -- or one county at least that has
4 purchased -- a system to do that but has not yet
5 utilized it. That type of software does provide
6 more consistency with that process, and that can
7 certainly be an improvement that could happen
8 statewide in Georgia.

9 And the other provision -- and I know
10 I've talked to a couple of the committee members
11 about this previously -- but we've also been
12 suggesting perhaps considering consolidating the
13 absentee ballot process and signature
14 verification, and the counting, and the
15 tabulating to regional centers on a more
16 centralized environment. And that would actually
17 take the burden off of the 159 counties that have
18 to all do this individually. It would bring
19 uniformity, and there's ways to set this up.

20 In fact, Rhode Island actually does
21 that now. They process all mail ballots at the
22 state level, and the reason that that actually is
23 a good process is it does save costs. It takes
24 that cost burden off localities. It provides
25 more consistency with how that process is

1 administered because it's in a central location.
2 Watchers and observers can now see how all of the
3 absentee ballots statewide would be handled.

4 And because Georgia has a statewide
5 voting system that already has consistent
6 scanners and things like that that actually
7 process and count the ballots, this would
8 actually be much easier to do in a state like
9 Georgia than other states that have more vendors
10 involved in the process.

11 And happy to talk more about that.
12 We're happy to share more information about how
13 best to do that, but I think that type of process
14 would be what we would recommend in terms of
15 addressing the uniformity issues that you have,
16 providing a more transparent process, providing
17 more consistency statewide.

18 Envelopes would be the same,
19 instructions would be the same. Voters would
20 have a consistent process if there was more
21 centralization around this issue, and watchers
22 and observers could now see the process all in
23 one place or in a few regional centers as opposed
24 to 159 different county locations.

25 In terms of this particular section

1 with the requirements on the mail ballot
2 envelope, we do have concerns about the amount of
3 PII, meaning personal identifying information,
4 that you're now inserting onto the envelope,
5 because that actually will make it difficult for
6 observers to see some of this information up
7 close without adding additional protections for
8 voters.

9 I mean, all of this personal
10 identifying information, usually you don't wanna
11 provide that in a really accessible way because
12 there's security concerns around that. So, by
13 putting all this on there, in a way, it might
14 feel like you're increasing security of the
15 election process, but you're actually making
16 security pretty vulnerable for voters by
17 providing this information that then observers
18 and others in the election process can see.

19 So, those are our concerns about this
20 being added. We understand why, and our
21 suggestion I think would be to perhaps pull a few
22 of those out, whether it be having signature plus
23 last four of Social or having signature plus date
24 of birth or one of those options but not all of
25 them all combined because it does present a

1 security risk to voters, especially as you have
2 observers observing the process.

3 And then, a couple of things if I
4 could, and I'm happy to answer questions about
5 all this, in terms of transparency, we do think
6 there's a lot of ways to improve that piece of
7 this. I know the bill doesn't go into detail on
8 this, but I think that centralized or
9 regionalized approach could be a good one. We
10 also have been recommending that ballot
11 operations be streamed online so that anyone can
12 see the activity. I know Fulton County and a few
13 other counties provided this system, and we would
14 encourage that to be the case statewide.

15 And then, ballot tracking, I know the
16 bill doesn't cover this, but this is another
17 security parameter that Georgia actually now is
18 one of six states that provided a full ballot
19 tracking system, which is just like tracking a
20 package online but for your mail ballot. That
21 gives you chain of custody of the mail ballot and
22 knowing where it is, and we think it's an
23 important thing to continue and would encourage
24 you to make sure that the Secretary of State's
25 office has funding to keep that program going and

1 expanded because it does provide that enhanced
2 service, and transparency, and accountability for
3 where mail ballots are.

4 So, with that, I'll stop there. And
5 again, we're really appreciative to provide
6 feedback. A bill of this magnitude, obviously,
7 it's important to make sure there's a lot of
8 feedback and a lot of opportunity for folks to
9 weigh in and provide feedback on the bill because
10 it is a big bill, and it's important to the
11 citizens of Georgia, just like it is everywhere
12 around the county, to have a good voting process
13 that they can be confident in, and it's important
14 for the legislature to consider all input and
15 feedback on these sorts of major changes. So,
16 really appreciate being here. Thank you.

17 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you, Ms.
18 McReynolds. We appreciate you coming, too. I
19 don't see any questions. Thank you so much for
20 your time. Oh, Representative Alexander. She's
21 a late push here. Go ahead.

22 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Thank you,
23 Mr. Chairman. I wonder if you'll talk to a
24 little bit about the Sunday voting. I know in
25 Georgia, there were 71,764 Georgians that voted

1 and cast their vote on Sunday. At least 36.7
2 percent were African American, so I was wondering
3 if you'd talk a little bit about the voting on
4 Sunday, and I know that's when they have souls to
5 the polls.

6 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: Yeah, absolutely.
7 It's a great question. I'm glad you brought that
8 up. As I mentioned, I mean, I think that when
9 you get closer to election day, that's really
10 when the interest is the greatest amongst voters.
11 It's when they're the most informed, it's when
12 they're ready to make their decisions.

13 And again, I think that you wanna offer
14 those options. A lot of Georgians took advantage
15 of that. The reality is people go to school and
16 work and all of that, and 9:00 to 5:00 situations
17 during the week don't work for everybody. And
18 so, I think whatever you can do to provide that
19 extra service and, again, in a uniform way.

20 Some states where I've seen this, it's
21 the election office, so the main office. Maybe
22 they don't have all of the sites open, but they
23 offer an opportunity in a minimal way to give
24 voters a chance if they wanna vote in person on
25 Sunday before election day, they can do so.

1 And so, we certainly encourage that,
2 and again, I think offering as many opportunities
3 as you can before election day, the easier that
4 election day process, the shorter the lines, the
5 less issues that you see. The more people that
6 you can put through the process ahead of election
7 day, the better and easier election day is for
8 election officials and voters alike.

9 So, I recommend that you provide and
10 continue to provide that option to voters, and
11 certainly, a lot of Georgians chose to use it.
12 And they shouldn't be restricted based on the day
13 of the week, and this certainly is a good way to
14 offer that experience to voters and ease the
15 burden on election day as well. The more people
16 that vote prior to election day, the better it is
17 for everyone.

18 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Representative
19 Shaw Blackmon via Zoom has a question for you.

20 REP. SHAW BLACKMON: Can you hear me?

21 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Yes, sir. Go
22 ahead, Chairman.

23 REP. SHAW BLACKMON: Thank you, Mr.
24 Chairman. Hey, Ms. McReynolds, how are you
25 doing? Good to talk to you again. You and I

1 conversed a little bit, and I think you were
2 talking about where Georgia fell on the spectrum
3 as far as ease of voting and access and whatnot,
4 and I just wondered if you might maybe talk about
5 that for just a minute?

6 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: Sure. And I
7 regularly actually say this in speeches I give
8 across the country, Georgia has provided really
9 good options for voters, and we wanna maintain
10 that. We wanna see Georgia still be a leader and
11 remain as such and continue to innovate and
12 create even more opportunities for voters.

13 You should be proud as a state of what
14 you've provided to voters so far, and I think
15 what we need to do is to continue to enhance
16 that. You've provided more options than states
17 like New York, and Connecticut, and Delaware, and
18 some of those that had to make even bigger
19 adjustments in 2020 because many of them didn't
20 offer in-person early voting.)

21 Pennsylvania's a good example. They
22 have not had in-person early voting up to this
23 point. It's something that they really need to
24 add, and they should look to states like Georgia
25 for the timelines that you provide, and those are

1 all positive things. And I think for us, again,
2 we like to see improvements in administration and
3 the process, and easing the burden on local
4 officials, I think that's a big one.

5 A lot of stress in 2020 the pandemic
6 brought, and there's ways to reduce cost while
7 also still providing great access and even
8 enhanced access, and there's ways to improve the
9 systems and the way that the election process is
10 administered to bring confidence but also
11 accessibility, security, transparency, and all of
12 those values I talked about at the beginning to
13 make this even better.

14 REP. SHAW BLACKMON: Thank you, Mr.
15 Chairman.

16 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Yes, sir. What
17 number is he? Just one second. Chairman Martin?

18 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: Thank you. Just a
19 question about the drop box. You mentioned that
20 you thought people used those, but you thought
21 the security was very important, and I think in
22 the bill -- Chairman Fleming, correct me, but we
23 were talking about having monitored drop box
24 inside polling places that may be more limited
25 hours than you were discussing because you were

1 talking about 24/7 motion-detected type
2 monitoring.

3 My question to you is if you see
4 someone or if that video finds some wrongdoing,
5 if you see the same individual depositing
6 multiple ballots or ballot after ballot, and once
7 they go in the machine, you have no way of
8 knowing which ones were put in there improperly,
9 how do you handle that?

10 I mean, I understand you have security
11 around a ballot if it's directly monitored by an
12 individual via the videotape, but once the ballot
13 passes and goes into the drop box, even if the
14 video shows there was something that would've
15 broken a rule or the law, how does one then get
16 at a ballot that is inside and you don't know
17 which ballots were dropped improperly and which
18 ones were okay?

19 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: Sure. And thank you
20 for the question. So, a couple of things, I
21 think the best way to look at this is that it's a
22 complete system in terms of security. And so,
23 you think it's not just that mail ballot, it's
24 also how that mail ballot was produced, the data
25 that's on the mail ballot going to the voter, all

1 of that. And when you think about the mail
2 ballot process, there's actually more checks and
3 balances in the mail ballot process than even in-
4 person voting.

5 And what I mean by that is mail ballots
6 are not forwardable, so it has to go to the
7 address that the voter provides in their
8 application. Georgia also, because you have a
9 great system for automatically registering voters
10 and getting that information from the DMV, that's
11 also a really good system as it exists today, but
12 it can also be better with actually automating
13 national change of address data, which is
14 something that Colorado has done.

15 In that process, we literally, if a
16 change of address comes through the post office
17 to the election office, they update and move the
18 voter to that new address. And so, we have a
19 very low rate of undeliverable ballots and things
20 like that because the address lists are
21 constantly getting updated and changed with that.
22 So, very few ballots go to the wrong place
23 because we've got this integrated and automated
24 system of updating addresses.

25 So, that'd be another recommendation I

1 would make in Georgia, and we're happy to share
2 details on that, but taking kind of what you do
3 now with national change of address and actually
4 automating it instead of just sending the voter
5 something, having it come back.

6 But the reason I bring that up is then
7 when you do that, that front-end security
8 matters. Voter gets it at home, and then if the
9 voter is the one that can drop off and
10 (inaudible) laws, that's up to you guys from a
11 policy perspective. Some states limit to
12 allowing 10 ballots to be dropped off by one
13 person. They can drop off for their friends or
14 their family, and that's it. Other states don't
15 have limits on that, so that's a conversation
16 that I think you have to think about as well
17 here.

18 In terms of video surveillance, it does
19 exist to identify any nefarious activity, whether
20 it be damage to the box, repeated voters coming
21 in, and notifying them of that. What I would say
22 is that's really more about preventing the person
23 that's doing that from doing that again, but it
24 doesn't really have anything to do with the
25 eligibility of the voter's ballot.

1 And what I mean by that is your check,
2 when the ballot comes into the election office,
3 then is signature verification or one of these
4 other pieces of data that you're potentially
5 gonna put on there, and then as long as that all
6 checks out and that validates, then that ballot
7 goes forward. And some states have done things
8 like security flaps. We did a security flap over
9 that information to protect it even further.

10 And one of the other ways that you can
11 also, I think, enhance and improve security is
12 also prepaid postage for returns. So, part of
13 the reason that a lot of people like to drop off
14 is they don't have the right postage. It's
15 usually more than a Forever stamp, and they don't
16 know what it is, so they go and wanna drop it
17 off.

18 If you actually pay and cover and do
19 business reply mail, which is actually what West
20 Virginia does and Arizona also does that, that's
21 actually a good method to enhance security
22 because then a lot more voters will send their
23 ballot back as well, because that postage is
24 already dealt with.

25 So, kind of look at it as a whole

1 system where you wanna offer the drop boxes as an
2 option, but you also wanna make sure that you put
3 the proper security in place for those to be a
4 secured place for voters to go. Most states that
5 I've seen put them outside of city halls, or
6 election offices directly, or public
7 transportation hubs where they've got video
8 surveillance.

9 So, you wanna do that. You don't wanna
10 have a box that's kind of out in the middle of
11 nowhere without that extra surveillance on it,
12 and you also wanna note that these are being
13 monitored, because that also is a deterrent to
14 any bad actors, and be clear about what the rules
15 are. If it's five ballots that you can drop off
16 for your friends, make sure that that information
17 is in the instructions. So, it's really about
18 how it's administered more than just the policy
19 itself.

20 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: I have a brief
21 follow-up, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate the
22 answer, and perhaps I didn't articulate the
23 question wholly. My question is we do have laws
24 relative to who can drop off the ballot, and I
25 believe it has to be a caregiver -- the Chair can

1 correct me on the specifics. So, essentially, we
2 heard right before you a gentlemen that got a
3 phone call from a random individual that was
4 volunteering to help them with the ballot, which
5 on its face appears to be unlawful in Georgia.

6 My question to you is I believe the way
7 the bill is, we have them in a precinct so that
8 someone can see what's going on and perhaps if
9 somebody comes in with 10, not let those go in
10 the ballot box because they're unlawful. The
11 ballots themselves may be legal, but the chain of
12 custody becomes at issue if you're breaking other
13 Georgia laws.

14 My question is if you see that on
15 videotape but you can't preempt those ballots
16 from going into the box, and there's 200-300
17 ballots in there, you know you have 10 that were
18 unlawful that may or may not be valid because of
19 the activity that went along with the chain of
20 custody, how does one then -- there's no way to
21 segregate those 10 ballots that may need further
22 scrutiny from the 200 that are already in there,
23 whereas a ballot drop box attended could preempt
24 that, therefore securing the voters -- I don't
25 wanna spoil 190 ballots that weren't affected by

1 the 10 that went in that we saw on video that
2 shouldn't have gone in that way. Does that make
3 sense?

4 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: Right. So, I think
5 the most important part of that is you don't
6 wanna be punitive to the voter.

7 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: Exactly.

8 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: And that's why I was
9 saying that the validation of those ballots is
10 really the key point. So, you want to hold folks
11 accountable and be very specific, you can't drop
12 off more than whatever the law is in Georgia, and
13 you wanna educate the public on that and also
14 make that very known on the outside of these
15 boxes -- that's what states that have done this
16 have done. They also put very specific
17 instructions in the ballot packet itself that
18 outlines what those mandates are.

19 But I would also point out that when
20 you limit options for voters, whether it be not
21 having a 24-hour drop box, when you limit those
22 options, you actually introduce opportunity for
23 bad actors to take advantage of voters, and we
24 actually saw this in North Carolina in 2018.

25 They had a witness requirement in North

1 Carolina -- two witness requirement. They also
2 limited voters from dropping off their ballots.
3 They didn't have 24-hour drop boxes, and you had
4 to drop it off at the clerk's office, not polling
5 places, and they also did not cover postage.
6 They also didn't have a ballot tracking system
7 like Georgia has.

8 So, all of those limits basically
9 created the environment for a bad actor to go
10 knocking on the door and say, "Oh, I can help
11 witness for you. And let me drop it off for you,
12 too," and that bad actor went and disposed of a
13 bunch of ballots that never made it. Their
14 voters were discarded, and voters had no idea
15 that their ballot wasn't counted. And the reason
16 that happened is because the limits were put on
17 and imposed on the voters as opposed to the bad
18 actors.

19 And that's what we wanna make sure is
20 we don't wanna limit voters, we wanna limit the
21 bad actors, and the more options you provide to
22 voters, whether that be prepaid postage, drop
23 boxes so they're empowered to drop off their own
24 ballot, or walk it into a polling place, which
25 you currently can't do in Georgia -- the more

1 options you give voters to do that, the less
2 opportunity there is for those bad actors to try
3 to be punitive or collect them or any of those
4 sorts of things.

5 And again, on the harvesting, which is
6 kind of a term that's come online in the last
7 couple of years, on the harvesting piece, again,
8 states have different rules and regulations
9 around this, and what's important is to regulate
10 and also just be upfront and very clear with the
11 public on that, and with the gentleman that
12 testified earlier, I think also having a process
13 for the public to report those things.

14 And I actually often encourage states
15 to specifically in the mail ballot instructions
16 put a number to call. If you've been contacted
17 by someone that you don't think should be
18 contacting you about this, or that happened, you
19 should report that immediately and call that in,
20 in the event that that happens.

21 I also encourage people to put contact
22 information for election officials on the outside
23 of these boxes, too, so that if a voter's
24 dropping off and they think they need to report
25 something that needs to be reported, they should

1 do that.

2 But what we wanna make sure is we're
3 not being punitive to the voter, but we're
4 instead trying to hold bad actors accountable.
5 The best way to do that is to empower voters with
6 lots of options to vote, return their ballots,
7 and do it on their own so that they don't have to
8 rely on somebody else.

9 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Ms. McReynolds, in
10 the voting precinct, we don't allow people that
11 aren't voting or working there to come in within
12 distances, and those voting officials monitor
13 that. Who monitors that when you don't vote in
14 the precinct?

15 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: Monitors what, the -

16 -
17 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Undue influence.

18 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: Well, undue
19 influence -- and we're got evidence of this over
20 time, I mean, undue influence can come in a
21 variety of ways, whether it be social media,
22 online, targeting --

23 REP. BARRY FLEMING: My question was
24 who monitors that when you're not voting in the
25 precinct?

1 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: Well, I mean, there
2 is a mail ballot process, and there has been for
3 a long period of time, and the affidavit that you
4 voted your ballot privately and without influence
5 is an important part of that process. And then
6 also, if you do feel -- and this is an important
7 piece of the communication and the education of
8 voters -- if you do feel like you've been
9 targeted or harassed or had undue influence,
10 you're supposed to report those things to
11 election officials, whether that be in-person
12 voting or mail ballot voting. And you know, you
13 don't have poll workers monitoring how someone's
14 voting in the booth. That's not allowed in --

15 REP. BARRY FLEMING: But they do
16 monitor that no one else is attempting to
17 influence them, correct?

18 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: Well, but they don't
19 know how they were influenced before they walked
20 in.

21 REP. BARRY FLEMING: So, the answer to
22 -- and I don't mind how they were influenced
23 before they sit down and fill out their ballot,
24 but my question for you is who's watching when
25 they don't vote in the precinct? If the answer

1 is no one, (inaudible) --

2 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: Well, the answer is
3 no one, but I would also argue that you have a
4 right to vote, and you have a right to a secret
5 ballot. You don't need someone to monitor you in
6 the precinct or at your home either.

7 REP. BARRY FLEMING: So, we don't need
8 monitors inside the precinct making sure no one
9 else is there trying to influence your vote?

10 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: You need monitors in
11 the precincts to facilitate the process because
12 you haven't issued a ballot --

13 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you.

14 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: -- (inaudible) and
15 you check voters in, just like you're checking
16 the mail ballot in. The voter makes the request
17 for a mail ballot, the mail ballot is sent to
18 them, and then when you check in the mail ballot
19 on the back end, you're checking those pieces of
20 information like signature verification or any of
21 the other requirements on the envelope. Just
22 like you think about the mail ballot envelope,
23 it's just like checking in at a polling place.
24 You're entering your information, the poll worker
25 is gonna validate that and then count your ballot

1 in the polling place --

2 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Where is the poll
3 worker when you don't vote in the precinct?

4 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: It's at the central
5 office when they're accepting those ballots back
6 in. That's why things like signature
7 verification exists. They don't exist in a
8 polling place.

9 REP. BARRY FLEMING: They're not where
10 the voter's voting, correct?

11 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: No, but when you're
12 talking about monitoring how a voter is voting,
13 in both places, a poll worker is not seeing how a
14 voter is voting, and that's important. I mean,
15 that needs to be private.

16 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Chairman Smyre?

17 REP. CALVIN SMYRE: Yes, thank you, Mr.
18 Chairman. Let me ask you something, and I've got
19 a lot of comments and questions about this on
20 cost, and there's a lot of provisions in the bill
21 that relate itself to cost. Do you have an idea
22 with your experience on what the cost would be to
23 the various counties as it relates to the
24 provisions that are in the bill, what the cost
25 may be to the various counties? What kind of

1 cost do you see that's relative to several
2 provisions in the bill?

3 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: So, we're still in
4 the middle of analyzing a lot of that. At quick
5 glance and sort of what I've been able to sort of
6 look at so far is the PII information being added
7 to the envelope, as an example, or the photo ID
8 copy requirement, that is gonna require likely
9 some changes in process and also security of that
10 information, because by adding a lot of this
11 personal identifying information, it's gonna
12 require more security, frankly. And as I pointed
13 out before, with all of that information being
14 required on an envelope, there is gonna have to
15 be consideration of what observers are gonna be
16 able to see, and we never wanna see transparency
17 reduced in the process. Part of the reason that
18 observers have not been able to see the process
19 up closer in Georgia is because there is already
20 so much personal identifying information on the
21 screens in which signatures are compared. So,
22 that's already a challenge, and in most states
23 with signature verification, you're only seeing
24 the name and the reference signature versus the
25 name and the reference signature on the envelope,

1 and that's all the two things you see on screen,
2 and that then observers can actually see. When
3 you add things like full dates of birth, full
4 Social, full state ID, you're introducing
5 additional personal identifying information that
6 then becomes a security risk and potentially will
7 prevent meaningful observation from happening
8 because of the presence of all of that additional
9 information, and that's the same in the polling
10 place. Those things often get limited when that
11 personal identifying information is there. So,
12 there might be some costs associated with system
13 changes on that. That likely would be a
14 Secretary of State question. I don't know how,
15 if these numbers and these things are gonna end
16 up being recorded, that's gonna be enhancement or
17 a change in the system, and that would bring an
18 additional cost. Counties are gonna need to
19 think about how to securely keep this information
20 secured within their offices, so if they do have
21 photocopies and things of full IDs and all that
22 coming in, those are gonna have to be securely
23 kept, maintained, destroyed, whatever that might
24 be. So, there's gonna be additional --

25 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Ms. McReynolds,

1 I'm gonna give you a little bit longer to wrap up
2 your answer, okay?

3 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: Sure. And then, a
4 lot of counties have bought drop boxes, so you
5 don't wanna see those assets not be used going
6 forward, and I didn't go into a lot of the other
7 sections of the bill, but there are certainly
8 some cost implications in other parts of the bill
9 that we would want to take a closer look at, too.

10 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Chairman Smyre,
11 did you have a follow-up? Okay. Last question,
12 Representative Burnough's.

13 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: Thank you.
14 Thank you for all that valuable information,
15 especially on the drop boxes. It is my
16 understanding -- maybe Mr. Chairman, if you know
17 -- for the current law that they can't be
18 installed wherever they're installed. It has to
19 be where a camera is. And so, I know that in our
20 county, they are at the early voting locations,
21 but they're outside, and it has to be in a place
22 where they can be monitored 24 hours.

23 REP. BARRY FLEMING: In answer to your
24 question, Representative Burnough, that you
25 addressed to me, there is no current Georgia law

1 that allows for drop boxes. The only reason we
2 had drop boxes was because of emergency rule
3 during the pandemic, so actually, this bill would
4 be the first time in Georgia law we've ever
5 authorized drop boxes anywhere.

6 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: Okay.

7 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Yes, ma'am.

8 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: Well, if that's
9 the case, then I think that we should look at all
10 the different counties and sort of figure out how
11 they were successful and if there were incidents
12 where people were dropping 10 ballots, as it was
13 stated. However, by the same token, even if they
14 put them in the mail, they can mail 10 ballots,
15 and I know that there's no security by the
16 mailboxes because of the locations and where they
17 are. So, I just wanted to tell you thank you for
18 encouraging us to continue to keep the ballot
19 boxes, because they were very successful, and
20 people did like to use them.

21 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: Thank you.

22 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Representative
23 Burnough, I'll just say I agree with you. One of
24 the weaknesses of absentee balloting is what you
25 just said, a person can drop off many of them in

1 a postal box, and it's one of the weaknesses of
2 that system in my opinion. That's why I prefer
3 in-person voting, because you have that
4 monitoring by election officials.

5 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: But I still
6 agree with her that you should have as many
7 options, because as I stated before -- as she
8 stated -- people have different kind of jobs now,
9 and even though it appears that we've given a lot
10 of time, but if we have to have people vote in
11 person, and if they have children, they're single
12 mothers or fathers, or firemen -- everybody can't
13 vote in person. I think that if nothing else, it
14 proved that everybody can't vote in person, and
15 the lines are long, and then Georgia's back on
16 national television again saying why do they have
17 long lines.

18 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you, ma'am.

19 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: You're welcome.

20 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Ms. McReynolds, we
21 appreciate your being with us today. Thank you
22 very much.

23 AMBER MCREYNOLDS: Thank you.

24 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Next, we have Ms.
25 Lynn Bailey. Ms. Bailey, can you hear me?

1 LYNN BAILEY: I can, Mr. Chair. Good
2 afternoon.

3 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Ms. Bailey, good
4 to hear from you. Please tell us where you are
5 and what you do where you are.

6 LYNN BAILEY: Sure. So, as you say, my
7 name is Lynn Bailey. I'm the elections director
8 here in Augusta, Richmond County, where I've been
9 director for a long time, 28 years here. We have
10 approximately 140,000 registered voters, 42
11 election day polling places, four advanced voting
12 locations, and we had five drop boxes around the
13 city during the 2020 elections.

14 I will say before I jump in, first of
15 all, I've been remiss. I will thank you for
16 inviting me. I know that there's been an awful
17 lot of hard work that's gone into the development
18 of this bill. As an election administrator, my
19 comments today will be nonpolitical in nature.
20 They'll be just from a strictly administrative
21 perspective, as they should be. I just pulled
22 out a few sections to talk about.

23 Section 4 in particular I think is a
24 good bill. So, what Section 4 does is it
25 requires on election day for poll workers to

1 check at least three times a day on how long
2 their lines are, and the reason that's a good
3 thing is it's a companion piece to another
4 section that says if your lines are more than an
5 hour long at any time to check in during the day,
6 then for the next election, you need to make some
7 changes.

8 You need to add more equipment or split
9 your polling places or whatnot. Polling places
10 are like gold for election officials. They are
11 not easy to come by, so it's not a small thing to
12 talk about splitting a precinct, but at the same
13 time, we still need to manage lines.

14 Section 6 I think is very important.
15 This is a change in law that election officials
16 have long advocated for. Basically, what Section
17 6 would do is it builds discretion in for
18 election administrators as far as the amount of
19 equipment that they send out to the polls on
20 election day, except for general elections in
21 even-numbered years where we would be held to the
22 very highest standard, which we should be.

23 I'll give you a classic example here in
24 our jurisdiction. We have a special election
25 coming up in March for a sales tax referendum

1 where we're expecting about a 10-15 percent
2 turnout here locally. I don't believe that we
3 should be held to the same staffing levels and
4 equipment deployment levels for that type of
5 election as we are for a November election, and
6 there are many reasons for that, the least of
7 which is the wear and tear that it puts on the
8 equipment to take it down, to test it, pack it
9 back up, and transport it.

10 That also requires additional poll
11 workers and there are additional costs built in,
12 so I think it's important for election
13 administrators to have some discretion. Our
14 discretion will be based on historical voting
15 patterns for that type of election, expected
16 turnout. We could also look at things like,
17 again, the type of election, the number of people
18 that have already voted and whatnot. So, I'm a
19 big supporter of that change, as I'm sure most of
20 my colleagues around the state are.

21 Section 8 updates the period of time
22 for applying for an absentee ballot. If we're
23 gonna move to do something like that, I would ask
24 that the committee and the legislature consider
25 that there certainly are emergency situations

1 that come up. We would need to acknowledge that
2 not every voter who applies for a ballot is going
3 to have the luxury week ahead of time of knowing
4 that they're gonna be called out of town or that
5 they're gonna be sick or that a loved one is
6 gonna be sick.

7 Particularly, we need to protect our
8 public safety officers and healthcare
9 professionals who may be called to duty at the
10 last minute and be able to provide a ballot to
11 them by a convenient method. Now, I think if we
12 do something like that, if we're gonna go to a
13 shorter time period, that the emergency situation
14 would in fact need to be an emergency, otherwise,
15 there's no point in putting the change in there.

16 And I would also state that I think
17 that we could accomplish the same thing in a
18 shorter period of time, perhaps moving to seven
19 or eight days before the election rather than 11
20 days before. That would give us the weekend
21 before to get ballots in, particularly if we can
22 codify the Secretary of State's portal for
23 submitting absentee ballot applications.

24 That was a secure and very efficient
25 way for voters to get their ballot to us, but on

1 the backend on our part, it automatically updated
2 our statewide system so it cut down on the amount
3 of data entry that we needed to do. So, it was a
4 really good, effective, and efficient way to
5 apply for ballots.

6 This section also makes changes on how
7 absentee ballot applications are submitted, as
8 Ms. McReynolds noted in her talk. I mean, she
9 did express some concern about putting personal
10 information out there on documents that may be
11 desirous of open records and whatnot, so we would
12 have to acknowledge if we did these things,
13 particularly on absentee ballot applications,
14 that we would have to be able to protect the
15 voters' personal information.

16 I do believe that it's no big secret to
17 us that there's a big concern about the
18 subjectivity of using a signature to verify the
19 authenticity of an absentee ballot application
20 and ballot, so using that personal identifying
21 information could perhaps provide us a secure
22 vehicle to acknowledge that the voter is who they
23 say they are and proceed with confidence to issue
24 their ballot. So, we'll have to see how that
25 plays out, but whatever we do, we're gonna have

1 to make sure that we're protecting the voters'
2 personal information.

3 Also, I think it's important to know
4 that as the law is written now, it keeps firmly
5 in place the cure process that works so well in
6 2018 and in 2020 for correcting deficiencies in
7 voters' ballots, and we'll wanna make sure that
8 that stays firmly in place no matter which way
9 this ends up going, that process of helping
10 voters to correct deficiencies in their
11 application and their ballot. As I stated, it's
12 worked well, and it's enabled hundreds of voters,
13 if not more, just in our jurisdiction to be able
14 to have their ballot counted or issued who
15 otherwise would not have been able to.

16 Next, I'd like to speak to the drop
17 boxes. I will say in all honesty, our
18 jurisdiction used drop boxes in November with
19 great success. Our voters loved it. We didn't
20 have any issues with it. The drop boxes, we
21 followed the strict guidelines that were set in
22 place by the Secretary of State's office that
23 they had to be permanently affixed to the ground
24 they had to be monitored, and all those things.

25 Now, I realize there were concerns

1 about security with the drop boxes, but I would
2 say if we're gonna put limitations on drop boxes,
3 I would at a minimum, if we're gonna limit them
4 to the advanced voting sites, okay, but I would
5 like to see them remain outdoors. I just think
6 it's more convenient for voters rather than
7 having to come inside, in many places through
8 security, to get into the buildings, not to
9 mention the fact that we're trying real hard in
10 many instances to not come into close contact
11 with people. So, having that way for voters to
12 deposit their ballot in a postage-free
13 environment I think is not a bad thing at all,
14 and it was a good option to provide to voters in
15 2020.

16 Section 10 I think is important.
17 Section 10, it goes towards our not having to
18 have back-to-back runoffs after the November
19 general election. So, what we were faced with
20 this year is in 2020 is because we have runoffs
21 in both state and federal offices, we were
22 looking at having to do a runoff on December 1st
23 for state office and a second one on January 5th
24 for federal office.

25 It turned out that the Secretary of

1 State's office was able to use their discretion
2 to combine those two runoffs, so that was a very
3 good thing to not have to go to all the expense
4 to have two, but what would be even better would
5 be to have one runoff, to have it in December in
6 the calendar year following four or preferably
7 even five weeks after the initial election. It
8 would help us tighten up the voter registration
9 deadline provisions that are in there, it would
10 cut down on that type of confusion that we saw
11 back in November.

12 So, I would ask that we take a good
13 look at those provisions in Section 10.
14 Chairman, I heard you speak to it yesterday.
15 It's the rank-choice voting, which is different
16 for the State of Georgia, and that's the key to
17 whole thing is being able to accommodate the
18 military voters somehow and give them the federal
19 time frame for getting their ballot back and
20 forth, which is a 45-day period.

21 And so, one way to accomplish that
22 would be able to send them both of their ballots
23 at one time. They then choose. They make their
24 choices -- No. 1, No. 2, No. 3 -- for how they
25 wanna vote, and then if there's a runoff, we

1 already have those ballots on hand while other
2 voters who were not military would just simply go
3 to the polls or get their ballot by mail.

4 Section 12. Section 12 talks about
5 changing the hours and bringing into conformity
6 the hours for advanced voting. There were a
7 couple of comments about this. If changes are
8 made to bring hours into conformity, I would ask
9 that the committee and the legislature
10 acknowledge that there are differences between
11 the needs for smaller and larger jurisdictions.

12 When this law went into effect in 2005,
13 one of the reasons that it went into effect and
14 to provide that option was to help alleviate
15 lines at the polls on election day. And so,
16 there is value to having advance voting that goes
17 beyond it just being a convenience for voters.
18 In larger jurisdictions, of course, we have more
19 people voting, and so the extra time for advanced
20 voting is a good thing.

21 I think authorizing at least a couple
22 of days on the weekend is a good thing, a good
23 option for counties of medium and large size. I
24 liked the continuity of the Saturday hours. I
25 think that's important because they're all over

1 the place depending on where you go in the State
2 of Georgia, and I know that can be confusing for
3 particularly the metro counties where the
4 counties are in such close proximity to each
5 other. I also like the fact that in that
6 legislation, there is the ability for local
7 jurisdictions to make a decision to stay open
8 between the hours of 7:00 until 7:00, so it is
9 good to have that flexibility built in.

10 Section No. 13 talks about how we would
11 verify the absentee ballots themselves when they
12 come in for validation after the voter returns
13 them, and it's obvious to me that there is a
14 desire to move away from signature verification.

15 That section, again, much like the
16 absentee ballot application section, would defer
17 to voters' personal information to prove that the
18 voter was who they said they were, and that is
19 actually in compliance with existing federal law
20 under HAVA, much like we do with voter
21 registration, and that particular section does
22 also maintain the cure processes for deficient
23 absentee ballots, which is good. So, those are
24 my observations from that section.

25 Section 17 I think is a really, really

1 good change, would be a good change to establish
2 duplication panels that would work much like the
3 vote review panels. And by doing so, you don't
4 have just one or two people sitting there
5 duplicating ballots, you have participation
6 across party lines. It requires both major
7 parties having a representative on the panel and
8 then the election superintendent's representative
9 would be on the panel as well, so it does provide
10 great transparency and a good bipartisan way to
11 do those duplications.

12 Those are the comments that I had
13 pulled aside. In closing, I would like to thank
14 you, Mr. Chair and the committee, for inviting me
15 to testify. I know that fair, secure, and
16 transparent elections are all near and dear to
17 all of our hearts, and as an election
18 administrator, I appreciate the opportunity for
19 input.

20 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you, Ms.
21 Bailey, and we appreciate all your years of
22 service and experience. I know that amongst the
23 election directors, you do a great job of help
24 trying to train the organization -- the new ones
25 that are out there, because they look to you for

1 all that experience, and we appreciate it. We do
2 have some questions for you from some of the
3 committee members. Representative Alexander?

4 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Thank you,
5 Mr. Chairman, and thank you for coming here and
6 testifying today. My question is centered around
7 the cost to the counties. HB 316, which was the
8 huge voter equipment bill, cost Richmond County
9 as well as other counties a great deal of funds.
10 When looking through this bill -- and you appear
11 to have looked at quite a few sections -- how do
12 you think that the counties will be impacted by
13 this bill cost-wise?

14 LYNN BAILEY: Well, I think that if
15 we're gonna stick with signature verification on
16 absentee ballots, I think that we are going to
17 continue to have a majority of our citizens that
18 are not happy with that process because they feel
19 like it's too subjective. And I would have to
20 agree with Ms. McReynolds' comments where she
21 said that moving to non-signature verification
22 does have the possibility of exposing people's
23 personal information, so we would have to protect
24 that in some way.

25 I do know that there are many

1 jurisdictions around the county that do single
2 out just the signatures, and so there's a lot of
3 transparency, and everyone can watch and see
4 exactly what's going on. But we're not set up
5 that way in Georgia and not across the board.
6 There may be counties here and there that are,
7 but we're not across the board.

8 So, I would see that as a big cost --
9 you know, changing software, changing the way of
10 doing things. Outside of that, I don't see
11 anything in here that is extremely cost
12 prohibitive. In fact, I see things that could
13 help. As I said earlier, the recognition that a
14 general election is not equal to a very small
15 special election in terms of the needs, the
16 number of poll workers, and the amount of
17 equipment that we send out, I think that'll
18 actually save counties funding.

19 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: further
20 questions, Mr. Chair?

21 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Sure.

22 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: So, Lines 385
23 through 387, what required retaining a 24-hour
24 law enforcement or private security for
25 monitoring the drop boxes, Lines 47 through 49 --

1 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Hold on one
2 second. Hold on one second. I wanna make sure I
3 understand where you are. What line are you on?

4 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: So, if we go
5 to Lines 47 through 49 --

6 REP. BARRY FLEMING: 47 through 49?
7 Lines 47 -- what page are you on?

8 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Page 2.

9 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Page 2, Lines 47
10 through 49.

11 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: There's
12 compensation for poll officers, custodians, all
13 of that would be a conversation.

14 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Lines 47 through
15 49 don't -- you mean 300-something or just 47
16 through 49?

17 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: 84 through 86
18 where it's talking about the grant money.

19 REP. BARRY FLEMING: 84 through 86.
20 Okay, 84 through 86. Go ahead, I'm sorry. I
21 just wanna make sure I know where you are.

22 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: I guess my
23 question was for Richmond County, did you receive
24 any grant funding? Because this would definitely
25 cut out any grant funding that you may receive.

1 LYNN BAILEY: Yes, we did.

2 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Further
3 questions. Can you state how much that was?

4 LYNN BAILEY: Sure. We received in
5 Richmond County around \$650,000.00 in total
6 between the November and the January election.
7 Yes, we did. And then, there were also
8 additional grants that came from the Secretary of
9 State's office to buy personal protective
10 equipment and drop boxes and whatnot. So, yes,
11 we did.

12 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Thank you.

13 LYNN BAILEY: You're welcome. You're
14 welcome.

15 REP. BARRY FLEMING: You're No. 12, is
16 that correct?

17 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: I'm No. 13.

18 REP. BARRY FLEMING: 13? Chairman
19 Martin.

20 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: I was 12 yesterday,
21 Mr. Chairman.

22 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Chairman Martin.

23 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: I don't believe
24 Lines 84 through 86 prohibit the Secretary of
25 State from giving grants to elections, am I

1 correct?

2 REP. BARRY FLEMING: You are correct.

3 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: So, the question is
4 did you receive grant money -- you're familiar
5 with those lines on the bill of Section 3? Did
6 you receive grant funds that would be prohibited
7 from that section of the bill?

8 LYNN BAILEY: I do believe I did.

9 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: What is the amount
10 of money around --

11 LYNN BAILEY: \$650,000.00 for our
12 jurisdiction, yes.

13 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: Can you share with
14 us what groups sent that, just out of curiosity?

15 LYNN BAILEY: Sure. It was done
16 through the Center for Tech and Civic Life.
17 That's who it was administered through. I've
18 heard that the genesis of the information was
19 from a donation made by CEO of Facebook, Mark
20 Zuckerberg and his wife, and then the Center for
21 Tech and Civic Life was I guess the administrator
22 for the grant.

23 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: Okay, thank you
24 very much.

25 LYNN BAILEY: You're welcome.

1 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Representative
2 Burnough?

3 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: Thank you, Mr.
4 Chair. The money that you received for the
5 grant, if you don't receive that money anymore,
6 how is that gonna affect the 2022 election when
7 it'll also be a costly election?

8 LYNN BAILEY: Well, thank you for that
9 question. There's no doubt that the elections in
10 2020 broke any records that I could ever have
11 imagined in terms of cost of elections. Without
12 that grant money -- or should I say with that
13 grant money, we were able to expand opportunities
14 for advanced voting, purchased even additional
15 drop boxes, and do other things. We were able to
16 pay our poll workers hazard pay and do other
17 things that we would not have been able to do
18 otherwise, unless our county came up with the
19 funds to do that.

20 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: Could I ask
21 another question?

22 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Go ahead.

23 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: Could your
24 county afford to give you that money?

25 LYNN BAILEY: Well, you know, I don't

1 know. I didn't have to ask them to. None of us
2 have the money tree growing out back, and so we
3 would've done fine in Richmond County. We
4 would've figured out a way to be successful. We
5 have tremendous support from our commission, and
6 I don't expect that that would've changed.

7 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: Thank you.

8 LYNN BAILEY: You're welcome.

9 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Chairman Martin?

10 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: Again, the basis of
11 that or what I heard those monies you were
12 spending -- hazard pay, additional drop boxes is
13 a one-time expense, additional things, those were
14 pandemic-related --

15 LYNN BAILEY: Yes, sir.

16 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: -- for the most
17 part, were they not?

18 LYNN BAILEY: Yes, sir.

19 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: We hope we won't
20 have a pandemic, and --

21 LYNN BAILEY: We hope and pray to the
22 Lord, yes.

23 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: Yes, ma'am, thank
24 you.

25 LYNN BAILEY: You're welcome.

1 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Representative
2 Burnough?

3 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: And while those
4 expenses were because of the pandemic, they also
5 became, as I've stated before, conveniences for
6 our voters, and it gave them more options, and so
7 the drop box certainly gives our voters more
8 options. And so, I would like to think that that
9 would be something that you would like to see
10 continued. Thank you.

11 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you,
12 Representative Burnough. Ms. Bailey, we
13 certainly do appreciate you being with us today,
14 and I do know where the money tree is. It's in
15 Washington, D.C. They print all they need.

16 LYNN BAILEY: Okay, very good. Well,
17 thank you, Mr. Chair. I appreciate the time.

18 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Okay, thank you so
19 much for being with us, and we appreciate your
20 time. Thank you, ma'am.

21 LYNN BAILEY: Yes, sir.

22 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Okay, next we have
23 Janie Eveler. Ms. Eveler, can you hear me?

24 JANINE EVELER: Yes, sir, I can. It's
25 Janine.

1 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Janine. I'm
2 sorry, Janine. Janine Eveler.

3 JANINE EVELER: Yes.

4 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Ms. Eveler, you're
5 on the phone, so we won't be able to see your
6 picture, but we appreciate you being with us
7 today. Go ahead and tell us who you are and who
8 you're with.

9 JANINE EVELER: Yes. Thank you,
10 Chairman and committee members. Good afternoon.
11 My name is Janine Eveler, and I am the director
12 of elections here in Cobb County. And so,
13 because Lynn Bailey did such a great job focusing
14 on so many parts of this bill, I would like to
15 just focus my comments on the parts of the bill
16 that will have an impact on my office
17 operationally.

18 First, I'd like to talk about using the
19 ID number, which is a much more objective method
20 of identifying the voter than using the
21 signature. It's also more efficient for our
22 office to compare a nine-digit number than to
23 compare signatures. We scan and store every
24 signature from every document that we obtain from
25 voters, so we have many examples of signatures

1 and as many voters as possible, so we have all of
2 that information stored.

3 That does take a lot of work on the
4 backend prior to elections every time there is
5 any document that's provided by the voter, and we
6 often have to check five or six of those
7 documents when verifying our decision to accept
8 or reject a signature on a ballot. So, as I
9 said, it takes a great deal of time for the
10 scanning and the storing of the documents, and it
11 takes a great deal of time for that signature
12 verification using those documents.

13 The DDS ID or the last four digits of
14 the Social are already stored in our e-net
15 system, and they're already available for us to
16 use. And as was discussed in this morning's
17 portion of this hearing, Cobb County did have a
18 signature audit, and it did have a good result,
19 but I have to say I was not without a bit of
20 anxiety during that process because I wasn't
21 always sure if our subjective view of the
22 signature verification conducted by my staff
23 would come out the same as a verification done by
24 the GBI officers. I was very glad that it did,
25 but I do think it's a much more objective process

1 to have a number.

2 Also, I wanna thank you for using in
3 this bill the ID number and not having a copy of
4 the ID sent as has been proposed in other bills.
5 Requiring a copy of the ID would create another
6 piece of paper for us to secure, as was said
7 earlier by some other speakers, and then for
8 those voters that don't have an ID number that
9 they can put on the documents, that would be, I
10 believe and what I've heard, is a small
11 percentage of voters, and we already receive
12 copies of non-photo IDs that are identified in
13 21-2-417C in the HAVA law. So, we already have
14 that piece that we're verifying for new voters,
15 so handling those pieces of identification on a
16 copy would not be something too burdensome for
17 our office.

18 Another huge item for me, as Lynn
19 Bailey spoke to earlier, is what's found in
20 Section 6 to relax the mandate to deploy one
21 voting booth for every 250 voters in smaller
22 elections. That change would have a signature
23 impact on our efficiency in preparing for
24 elections, doing the testing, and moving the
25 equipment to the polls.

1 And also, it would be a great help to
2 the poll workers in setting up and closing down
3 the polls when, again, they're conducting a
4 smaller election and have less equipment to worry
5 about. It also, as Lynn said, will reduce the
6 wear and tear on the equipment over many
7 elections. I have to say, this is the single
8 most important thing that could pass in this
9 session of the legislature that would help my
10 office, to not have to send out all that
11 equipment every single election.

12 Additionally, the early opening and
13 scanning of the absentee ballots was absolutely
14 necessary in 2020 with the number of ballots that
15 we received, and if we believe that absentee
16 voting will continue to be population, we must
17 keep that. So, I like the way this bill is
18 worded in Section 13 rather than some of the
19 other bills that I've seen because it is using
20 correct terminology to differentiate opening and
21 scanning of the ballots from tabulating the
22 ballots. Tabulation still would be happening
23 only on election day.

24 And lastly, I do have to say I'm not a
25 big fan of mandating the absentee ballot drop

1 boxes to be inside the advanced voting locations,
2 as stated in Section 9. We did invest quite a
3 bit of funds on absentee drop boxes and have them
4 bolted to the concrete at certain locations
5 throughout the county. Also, having voters to
6 bring their ballots into the advance voting
7 polling place, passing other voters waiting in
8 line, I can see that causing some confusion and
9 disorder in the poll. I'm very glad to see that
10 we may be continuing to use drop boxes in some
11 form, but I would rather keep the ballot boxes
12 outside as we did in 2020 so that absentee voters
13 do not have to enter the building.

14 So, I agree with almost everything else
15 that Ms. Bailey talked about, and I don't wanna
16 belabor those points, but thank you very much for
17 allowing me to comment on this bill.

18 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Yes, ma'am. We
19 appreciate you doing that, and I see no
20 questions, so we appreciate you being here today.
21 Thank you so much.

22 JANINE EVELER: Thank you.

23 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Well, hold on a
24 second. Ms. Alexander? You're gonna have to be
25 a little quicker over there. That's my second

1 person I've lost for you. Okay, all right.

2 Representative Alexander, sure.

3 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Thank you,
4 Mr. Chairman. I'll try to be a little quicker.
5 Thank you for being here and speaking today. I
6 was wondering if you could talk to the 15,000
7 absentee ballot audit that was conducted in Cobb
8 and the two ballots that were flagged that were -
9 - if you could just explain a little bit about
10 that, that were not fraud, but just explain a
11 little bit about what occurred with that audit?

12 JANINE EVELER: Honestly,
13 representative, they did not give me a report,
14 and I only know what I read in the paper just
15 like y'all. We were very hands off with that.
16 We gave them all of the materials to do the
17 audit. We shared with them our procedures and
18 how we conduct our signature verification, and
19 then like I said, I was not certain that the way
20 they were doing it would result in the same
21 verification, but I was glad to hear that it did.

22 My understanding is that at the very
23 end, they ended up with approximately 10 that
24 they had questions about, they contacted those
25 voters, and all but two of them confirmed that

1 they were the ones that signed, even though there
2 was a question on the signatures. And the two
3 that were remaining, a wife signed a husband's or
4 something like that, that was not intentional
5 fraud but wasn't a signature match.

6 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Okay, one
7 more question, Mr. Chair?

8 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Go ahead.

9 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Looking
10 through the bill, have you had an opportunity to
11 look at every section and determine what the cost
12 to the county will be based on this bill and the
13 impact?

14 JANINE EVELER: In general, yes, ma'am,
15 I have. I'm glad you asked that subsequent
16 question. I did wanna mention that my county
17 also received a grant from that same
18 organization, but the way we did it and the way
19 we do it here in Cobb County for all grants is
20 that the board of commissioners accepts the
21 money, and then they give that to the department
22 that is requesting the grant.

23 So, if my understanding is correct,
24 that meets the change in this bill where the
25 county would actually be dispersing the funds to

1 the election office. So, except for that, I
2 don't really see a great deal of expense for the
3 county. Again, there may be some security --
4 different procedures that may require some
5 different processes, but as I mentioned briefly
6 in my comments, I do see some efficiencies that
7 will help us a lot.

8 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Thank you.

9 JANINE EVELER: You're welcome.

10 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Representative
11 Burnough?

12 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: Yes, just one
13 question. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. You closed
14 some of your voting precincts during early
15 voting. If you did not receive this funding,
16 does that mean you'd have to close more of them?

17 JANINE EVELER: Ma'am, the reason that
18 we had to reduce the number from November to
19 January of our early voting locations was a
20 staffing issue. We simply had people quit. They
21 went through November and the great deal of
22 stress that that was to our office, and we lost a
23 lot of people, and we couldn't staff any
24 additional locations.

25 So, I think the funding that we

1 received, it did provide some additional
2 equipment that would've come out of regular
3 county funds, or perhaps we wouldn't have been
4 able to purchase it. We did give hazard pay to
5 poll workers that helped incentivize them to
6 work, so that was very helpful, and we were able
7 to buy some needed things for PPE and that sort
8 of thing.

9 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: Thank you.

10 JANINE EVELER: You're welcome.

11 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Ms. Eveler, we
12 appreciate you being with us today. Thank you so
13 much, and we appreciate your service to Cobb
14 County.

15 JANINE EVELER: Thank you very much.

16 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you, ma'am.
17 Okay, next we have Deb Cox. Ms. Cox, can you
18 hear me?

19 DEB COX: Yes, sir, I can.

20 REP. BARRY FLEMING: And Ms. Cox, you
21 are with us from Lowndes County, is that correct?

22 DEB COX: Yes, sir, supervisor of
23 elections for Lowndes County for 25 years.

24 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Okay. So, you
25 just started.

1 DEB COX: Yes, sir.

2 REP. BARRY FLEMING: No, obviously, you
3 have a lot of experience, and we appreciate you
4 being with us today. And Ms. Cox, we would love
5 to hear from you. Go ahead.

6 DEB COX: Thank you. I agree with
7 everything Ms. Bailey and Ms. Eveler said. I
8 wanna highlight a couple of things that are of
9 particular importance to me, though. I think the
10 bill itself meets the happy medium between the
11 two extremes of voter access and security, so I
12 think that's really well-phrased in there.

13 The drop boxes are very important.
14 They're hugely popular, and I think reducing
15 those to inside the building only during early
16 voting hours would defeat the purpose of having
17 them. They were used extensively in our county
18 after hours. We would empty them in the evening
19 and the first thing in the morning because they
20 were quite often almost full, if not full.

21 Between the mistrust of the mail, the
22 avoidance of crowds because of the pandemic, and
23 the confidence of voters that their ballot was
24 delivered, having them outside is what made them
25 effective. Having them inside is no different

1 than just walking on up five more feet to the
2 counter and dropping them off in person. But
3 avoidance, I think, of pandemic situations is
4 going to be the new norm. I don't think that's
5 going to go away in the next few months.

6 The reduction of time to accept and
7 send absentee ballots, I think that's an
8 excellent move, but I think 11 days might be a
9 little bit much. Seven days I think would be
10 more than sufficient for counties, and I would
11 definitely be in favor an emergency provision for
12 those people that need it. We never know, like
13 you said, when we're going to get a hurricane, or
14 a snow storm, or an ice storm, or God knows what
15 happens. Everything's happened in 2020. I don't
16 think there's anything left we haven't visited
17 but leprosy.

18 As far as the grants, we, too, received
19 a grant, and ours is also accepted by the county
20 board of commissioners, not by our own office, so
21 there's an insulation layer there between
22 whoever's proffering the grant and acceptance and
23 use, and its use is also overseen by the county.
24 That allowed us to also give an incentive to poll
25 workers and allow us to have extra poll workers.

1 We were fully staffed for the first time in
2 several years, and it also allowed us to replace
3 some of the equipment that was worn, like
4 provisional boxes and things like that that
5 needed replacement.

6 The counties themselves are tight on
7 funds because of pandemic-related situations and
8 less revenue and those sorts of things, so that
9 came at a very good time. If we did not have it,
10 we still would've made it because that's what we
11 do in elections, we make things happen and we get
12 things done. But the grant helped tremendously.
13 There were no negative side effects other than
14 the publicity from our perspective. And I'm here
15 if you have any questions.

16 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you, ma'am.
17 Representative Alexander?

18 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Thank you,
19 Mr. Chairman. Was that fast enough?

20 REP. BARRY FLEMING: That was better.
21 You're getting better.

22 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Thank you for
23 being here to testify. The question that I have
24 is the funds that you did receive grant-wise, was
25 there any directions on how those funds could be

1 used?

2 DEB COX: Yes. They had to be used for
3 expenses not already covered by the county, and
4 it had to be a direct election-related expenses.
5 That was the only -- and I was really surprised
6 because I've managed other grants, but this one
7 was very loosely organized with very little
8 direction.

9 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Thank you.

10 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Ms. Cox, we
11 certainly do appreciate you being with us today
12 and thank you so much.

13 DEB COX: Thank you, sir, for the
14 opportunity.

15 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Okay. Next, we
16 have Tonnie Adams. Is that Ms. Adams? Can you
17 hear me? I think we're showing that you are
18 muted at this moment, so if you could attempt to
19 unmute it.

20 TONNIE ADAMS: I apologize, thank you.

21 REP. BARRY FLEMING: No, sir. Mr.
22 Adams, okay. How do you pronounce your first
23 name?

24 TONNIE ADAMS: It is Tonnie.

25 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Tonnie, okay.

1 Good to have you, Mr. Adams, and you're with
2 Heard County?

3 TONNIE ADAMS: Yes, sir.

4 REP. BARRY FLEMING: And what's your
5 position there?

6 TONNIE ADAMS: I have been the
7 elections supervisor since 2017, but I've also
8 been in elections going all the way back to 2002
9 in the technology wing, but I became the chief
10 registrar in 2012, and then we combined the
11 boards in 2017.

12 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Good to have you,
13 and we'll be happy to hear from you.

14 TONNIE ADAMS: Thank you, sir. I would
15 like to bring more of a small county's
16 perspective to the bill itself. Our county only
17 has 8,200 voters, so the needs of a small county
18 like mine are completely different to someone,
19 say, like Cobb, or Fulton, or DeKalb, or even
20 Richmond to a certain degree. And I'll just go
21 through the certain parts of the bill that I feel
22 pertain to small counties in particular.

23 I'll start with Section 4, which talks
24 about the 2,000 voters. We only have one
25 precinct in our county that has more than 2,000

1 voters, and in that particular precinct, at least
2 a third to a half of those voters vote early, so
3 we never have line problems. I mean, the worst
4 line problems we have are voters in line at 7:00,
5 and our wonderful poll workers are able to
6 dissipate the line in rather short order most of
7 the day.

8 Most of the time, our busiest period is
9 after 3:00 or 4:00 on election day. So, one
10 thing that I was pointing out is that smaller
11 counties that have less of a problem with lines,
12 I'm not so sure you would wanna mandate us to do
13 a line review three times a day unless it was
14 absolutely necessary.

15 I'll go into Section 6. I will echo
16 what all of our elections officials stated about
17 the 250 rule. We believe that this bill in
18 particular is a godsend for us, but there is one
19 thing that I would like to point out, and that
20 goes back to my precinct.

21 My largest precinct is actually my less
22 turnout precinct on election day. My busiest
23 precinct on election day is actually my second
24 largest, because most of them vote on election
25 day rather than vote early. So, I think we

1 should have more flexibility as far as
2 anticipated turnout on election days to how we
3 allocate our machines.

4 I'll go on to Section 8 --

5 REP. BARRY FLEMING: So, if I may --

6 TONNIE ADAMS: Oh, I'm sorry, go ahead.

7 Yes, sir.

8 REP. BARRY FLEMING: If I understand
9 you, Mr. Adams, you like the fact that we're
10 giving flexibility for how many machines you may
11 or may not need outside of general elections, but
12 you're asking for it in internal elections as
13 well, is that right?

14 TONNIE ADAMS: Yes, sir. And it's only
15 because in my particular situation and in many
16 other small counties, we have such a volume of
17 people that vote early. We actually find that we
18 have certain precincts that we may need more
19 machines because of their potential turnout based
20 on our experience. For instance, my second
21 largest precinct always votes the most on
22 election day. My largest precinct actually votes
23 the third most of my six precincts.

24 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you. Go
25 ahead.

1 TONNIE ADAMS: I'm sorry, we'll go on
2 to Section 8. I really do like the fact that in
3 your new requirements that you do not require a
4 physical copy of the ID in either situation as
5 long as this driver's license, as long as -- but
6 I do also like the fact that if they do not have
7 a physical driver's license, they're able to use
8 a Section C ID -- their utility bill, rental
9 agreement, what have you. We also like the fact
10 that you're changing the earliest day to apply
11 for an absentee ballot. I believe that 180 days
12 was simply too long.

13 We'll go on down. There is one thing I
14 would like to point out before I finish with
15 Section 8. On Line 226 when we're talking about
16 the third-party absentee applications, I believe
17 that if you're going to stay prominent, I believe
18 that there should be a minimum font size, like
19 there are in some of the other bills that are out
20 currently. I believe that may be a little too
21 (inaudible) --

22 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Do you have a --

23 TONNIE ADAMS: -- organizations.

24 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Do you have a
25 suggestion, Mr. Adams, in font size?

1 TONNIE ADAMS: I believe 20 point was
2 mentioned in one bill. I'm not sure. I'm not an
3 expert on font size, but I believe that adding a
4 font size requirement would dictate -- and that
5 way you wouldn't have a subjective -- well, we
6 think it's prominent, but it might not be so
7 prominent to another organization.

8 REP. BARRY FLEMING: I believe it was
9 on Line --

10 TONNIE ADAMS: 226?

11 REP. BARRY FLEMING: 226. 226. Okay,
12 go ahead, Mr. Adams. Thank you.

13 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Oh, you're fine.
14 On Section 9, our county was one of the few in
15 the state that did not use drop boxes. Most of
16 our vote, we're familiar with so many of our
17 voters that we decided that we would allow them
18 to deliver them by hand, and that was very, very
19 well-received by our voters.

20 Most of the voters in our area were not
21 for drop boxes and our board was not for them
22 either. Neither was I. So, we decided not to do
23 drop boxes, and we're glad that they're not
24 mandatory. We would not be in favor of requiring
25 drop boxes.

1 Section 10, I appreciate the fact that
2 you're shortening the first day of absentee
3 ballot mailout. We had several situations of
4 where we had voters whose addresses changed, and
5 we have returned ballots in those situations
6 where we have an address change that happens
7 after we've sent the ballot out, and we have
8 voters we can't give returned ballots, and so we
9 have to find them again and send them to the
10 correct address, and it's a very big hassle.

11 Going on to Section 12, we're not so
12 sure that standardizing early voting times is the
13 best policy. We do like the fact that you're
14 allowing from 7:00 to 7:00 and demanding at least
15 9:00 to 5:00, but we realize that bigger counties
16 in the metro area, a lot of them like to do
17 Sunday voting.

18 That is not an option that we would
19 choose, but we believe that there should be
20 better flexibility for the local -- not so much
21 flexibility that we have -- and I totally
22 understand your situation of where you have one
23 person from one county says, "Well, I got to vote
24 on such-and-such date." We see your point on
25 that.

1 Going on down, this section also has
2 the RCV for UOCAVA. There is one topic I would
3 like to bring up that's not mentioned in this
4 bill, and that is the subject of runoffs. I
5 believe that we should have runoffs rather than
6 four weeks following an election, it should be
7 five, and here's my reasoning for that.

8 This last year, we had the calendar
9 fall so that Thanksgiving was the week before the
10 election. So, had we had early voting for that
11 runoff, we would've only had three days of early
12 voting because it was the week of Thanksgiving,
13 and most elections offices are closed the
14 Thursday and the Friday.

15 We could do one of two things to solve
16 that problem. We could either make the runoff
17 five weeks after, or let's say that we had a week
18 before the election that had a holiday in it,
19 what would happen in that situation is you would
20 then push the runoff one extra week after.

21 For instance, let's say you had a state
22 legislature special and you had a week of early
23 voting before that runoff that resulted from the
24 original election that had the Fourth of July in
25 it, for instance. Well, there's another day that

1 you would not be able to early vote the week
2 before the election. So, that would be a
3 situation where you might wanna extend the runoff
4 to another week.

5 In addition, even if we just did five
6 weeks after the election, it is a very big rush
7 for all of us to prepare for an election in three
8 weeks or in two-and-a-half weeks depending on how
9 quickly we get databases for the runoff. So,
10 that would actually give elections offices an
11 extra week to prepare if the runoff was five
12 weeks rather than four. But this is assuming
13 that UOCAVA RCV is implemented.

14 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you, Mr.
15 Adam. Were there any other sections you wanted
16 to comment on?

17 TONNIE ADAMS: We'll go on to Section
18 13. We appreciate the fact that the bigger
19 counties wanna count early, but for a small
20 county like mine, we can count our ballots in one
21 day, so when we were doing the runoff, we
22 actually counted our ballots on the day before
23 the election. We only had I believe it was 700
24 ballots, so we can count those in an afternoon,
25 and it's very difficult for us to bring in staff

1 -- three extra members of staff to count ballots
2 while we're trying to do early voting.

3 So, we would like the flexibility for
4 smaller counties to be able to count all of our
5 ballots in one day, and that also goes back to
6 some of the other examples some of the larger
7 counties were saying, for a special election,
8 they might not have quite as many ballots, so
9 they would like the flexibility to not have to
10 start counting ballots two Mondays before.

11 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Well, I believe
12 two Mondays before is allowed. One Monday before
13 is mandated, is that correct?

14 TONNIE ADAMS: Well, the bill actually
15 says "shall be authorized". The bill that the
16 Senate passed recently, they actually placed in
17 that language that they shall start the second
18 Monday before, and that is --

19 REP. BARRY FLEMING: We've seen the
20 Senate cause problems before.

21 TONNIE ADAMS: Yes, sir, indeed. But
22 let's see, which one is that -- Chairman Fleming,
23 what line is that?

24 REP. BARRY FLEMING: I wasn't on the
25 line at the time you were asking about it, so I

1 would..

2 TONNIE ADAMS: Oh, okay. Let me find
3 it.

4 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Look at 808.

5 TONNIE ADAMS: Okay. I have one more
6 page to go, I'm sorry. Yes, sir. Line 811, we
7 would prefer that that be authorized to be left
8 in the bill to give us flexibility. Smaller
9 counties that have less than 1,000 ballots for
10 instance, which really wouldn't have to start
11 counting on that second Monday before.

12 REP. BARRY FLEMING: And let me explore
13 that with you a minute. So, if you started
14 counting on that Monday, what kind of problems
15 would it cause for you?

16 TONNIE ADAMS: Well, we'd have to bring
17 in three extra staff, because we already operate
18 on a skeleton crew for early voting anyway. So,
19 we'd have to bring in three additional people to
20 actually count the ballots. In addition, the way
21 that my office is laid out, our server and
22 absentee ballot counter are in the same area that
23 early voters are going to be in when they come
24 in. So, physically, our office is not set up to
25 be able to even process ballots at that time.

1 What we would have to do is we would have to do
2 it after hours in order to be able to count those
3 ballots.

4 REP. BARRY FLEMING: So, whichever day
5 you count the ballots, you're gonna have to bring
6 in those three employees, correct?

7 TONNIE ADAMS: Correct.

8 REP. BARRY FLEMING: So, why does it
9 matter if it's on Monday or if it's on Friday?

10 TONNIE ADAMS: If it's the day before
11 the election, we're not voting that day, so I can
12 use the same staff that is conducting early
13 voting can count the ballots the day before the
14 election, and it happens to be my board members
15 who are spectacular ladies that I've worked with
16 for a long time.

17 REP. BARRY FLEMING: All righty.

18 TONNIE ADAMS: So, the long and short
19 of it is we would ask that it not be mandated
20 that we begin the second Monday before simply
21 because the volume isn't there and also because
22 we physically cannot do so, and I'm sure there
23 are other counties that would have to bring in
24 staff in order to accomplish that task. I'm
25 sorry, excuse me.

1 Under Section 14, there's a word
2 "fairly", and I'm not 100 percent sure that that
3 can be -- let me find the line. I'm sorry,
4 Chairman Fleming.

5 REP. BARRY FLEMING: No problem.

6 TONNIE ADAMS: I've got the bill in
7 front of me. I think I gotta go another page.

8 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Section 14's on
9 Page 38.

10 TONNIE ADAMS: Thank you, sir. The
11 word that has been inserted -- oh, I'm sorry,
12 Lines 974. It says the locations designated by
13 the superintendent shall ensure that each poll
14 worker can fairly observe the procedures set
15 forth in this code section. I believe that that
16 is too vague. I believe that everyone --

17 REP. BARRY FLEMING: So, let me --

18 TONNIE ADAMS: I believe that -- sorry.

19 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Let me point you
20 to Lines 972 and 973. It says there, "And such
21 other areas that the superintendent may deem
22 necessary to the assurance of fair and honest
23 procedures in tabulating." That term in 973,
24 fair and honest, has already been in code and
25 been there for a while. Has it caused you any

1 problems?

2 TONNIE ADAMS: No, sir. It hasn't
3 caused me any problems on my own local level, I'm
4 just concerned with some of the larger counties
5 that had issues, and I'm not going to bring up
6 any examples. Everyone that witnesses what we do
7 here in Heard County always has compliments
8 because it's all fair and open. I'm just
9 concerned with an overall vagueness of what is
10 stated in the new language of the bill.

11 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Okay.

12 TONNIE ADAMS: Section 16 which
13 eliminates out-of-precinct provisional, the --

14 REP. BARRY FLEMING: (Inaudible).

15 TONNIE ADAMS: I'm sorry.

16 REP. BARRY FLEMING: No, go ahead. I'm
17 sorry.

18 TONNIE ADAMS: We have a problem with
19 voters receiving precinct cards timely when they
20 register to vote, and I always process my
21 registrations -- maybe the day of the
22 registration deadline to ensure everyone's been
23 registered. The people that get their precinct
24 cards that was registered by the registration
25 deadline, sometimes they do not get their

1 precinct cards until after the election has taken
2 place.

3 So, if you had someone who has changed
4 their address, they're not getting their precinct
5 card with their new precinct on it, and we have
6 individuals who go to their old precinct to vote,
7 thinking that they're still registered at that
8 precinct, even though when they got their
9 driver's license, they were at a new precinct.

10 Now, we always ask out voters that can
11 and have time to go to their correct precinct if
12 they have time. But for those that come into the
13 precinct after 6:30, there are certain parts of
14 our county it is impossible to get from one place
15 to another in 30 minutes, depending on what time
16 of the day it is, even in the country. So, the
17 only time that we have had a precinct, we had two
18 for the runoff. They came down at 10 minutes
19 until 7:00, and they were able to vote
20 provisional at a precinct because of that
21 regulation.

22 According to how I'm reading the
23 language, they would have no recourse of being
24 able to vote at all. And we understand the
25 predicament of having thousands of out-of-

1 precinct voters show up and for larger counties
2 to have that many, and I'm just trying to figure
3 out what would be the best way to solve that
4 problem for voters that go to the wrong precinct
5 thinking that they were still registered at that
6 original precinct but had not gotten their
7 precinct card in time.

8 Section 17, we like the duplication
9 panel. We were already doing this with our
10 ballot review team. Not only do they do the
11 overvotes, they also do the UOCAVA duplication as
12 well as the duplication of a precinct and also
13 duplication of damaged balance. So, we already
14 had been doing that with one Republican and one
15 Democrat representative. So, we like that change
16 in the code to make sure that's standard.

17 On Section 18 -- and I may be unsure of
18 this -- does it automatically encode if Monday is
19 a Veterans Day? Is it automatically the
20 following Tuesday in code? Is that a code issue
21 of where the code says that the next day after a
22 holiday is automatically the next day?

23 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Further flesh out
24 your question for me.

25 TONNIE ADAMS: I'm sorry. I'm talking

1 about certification deadlines. In November, very
2 often, that Monday is Veterans Day or it's a
3 Sunday -- the Sunday before the Monday.

4 REP. BARRY FLEMING: And tell me the
5 line you're on?

6 TONNIE ADAMS: I'm sorry. I can't turn
7 my page. We are on Line 1109. I assume that
8 code says that if the Monday is Veterans Day or
9 the day after, which would be a Sunday, that it's
10 automatically pushed forward to Tuesday.

11 REP. BARRY FLEMING: I believe you're
12 correct in that, yes.

13 TONNIE ADAMS: Okay. Under Section 19,
14 there is something I noticed. If you'll go to
15 Line 1149, which is concerning the special
16 primaries, and I may be unsure of whether this is
17 necessary or not. But on 1149 when you're
18 talking about your special primaries, your
19 special elections, you do not include what you
20 were requesting earlier, which would be a special
21 primary, a special election to fill the vacancy
22 of an office appointed by the governor. So, I'm
23 not sure if that needs to be added or not.

24 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Go ahead, Chairman
25 Martin.

1 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: Correct me if I'm
2 wrong, but are you suggesting where offices can
3 be appointed, we're not putting in a special
4 primary? Is that --

5 TONNIE ADAMS: It looks like you just
6 need to add that to it so that it's standard
7 across the code according to the additions to the
8 code that are being done. I'm not sure. That's
9 just something to look at.

10 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: Will you tell me
11 that line number again, please?

12 TONNIE ADAMS: 1149. In other words,
13 you'll notice in C1A going into (inaudible) --
14 I'm sorry.

15 REP. FARRY FLEMING: Mr. Adams, I
16 mentioned to the committee when we started the
17 meeting this morning -- and you may not have been
18 here, it's been a long time ago -- that there
19 were several what I call technical changes to
20 affect the meaning of it. That is one that we've
21 caught and already have a substitute change
22 drafted for that, that as I mentioned to the
23 committee members, they would get this afternoon.
24 So, you are sharp to catch that, but we caught it
25 too, and they'll make that fix. Thank you.

1 TONNIE ADAMS: Thank you. Everything
2 else as far as from a small county viewpoint,
3 everything else, I really don't have any comments
4 on at this time, and I appreciate the opportunity
5 to speak to you this afternoon.

6 REP. BARRY FLEMING: All right, some
7 questions for you. Representative Williams?

8 REP. RICK WILLIAMS: Good afternoon.
9 Thank you for taking the time to be with us.
10 What is the population of your county or your
11 number of registered voters?

12 TONNIE ADAMS: We have 8,200 voters.
13 There are probably closer to 12,500 to 13,000 at
14 this point. We're waiting on the census to come
15 through. It was 11,500 at the last census, but I
16 can tell by the number of people who have
17 registered to vote since -- for instance, I'll
18 just give you an idea. We have 2,000 more voters
19 registered now than we did in 2016. A lot of
20 that is due to the driver's license opt out
21 rather than opt in, but I'm seeing names I have
22 never seen before. And whenever you do this long
23 enough and you know as many people as I do, you
24 recognize names.

25 REP. RICK WILLIAMS: Certainly. Thank

1 you very much. Did your county receive any
2 money, any funds?

3 TONNIE ADAMS: No, we did not request
4 any. We operate on as much of a skeleton crew as
5 possible, and we just get the job done.

6 REP. RICK WILLIAMS: Okay. Thank you
7 very much.

8 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Mr. Adams, we sure
9 do appreciate you taking the time in being with
10 us this afternoon. Hold on one second. Chairman
11 Martin?

12 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: I think the
13 gentleman brought up something about allowing his
14 voter machines to come in? I just didn't want us
15 to lose, if I could, Mr. Chairman --

16 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Sure.

17 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: -- and I know we've
18 been getting critiques on this bill. I'm sure
19 you've gotten some emails overnight as well, and
20 there are people that seem to be upset about
21 allowing them to right-size the machine
22 distribution relative to putting it in the best
23 place for their veterans, but I think he's
24 actually making a great point for additional
25 flexibility.

1 We may wanna consider if an election
2 supervisor like the gentleman knows that he has
3 2,000 people in this precinct and he knows going
4 into election day that 1,000 of them have already
5 voted, you don't need to put a machine out for
6 every 250 of 2,000 because they've already voted.
7 So, just a point not to lose, that could be some
8 more flexibility that we could allow people to
9 put those machines where people need them to vote
10 on election day.

11 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Good point.

12 TONNIE ADAMS: Well, to follow up on
13 that, Chairman Martin, if you don't mind...

14 REP. BARRY FLEMING: You go ahead, Mr.
15 Adams.

16 TONNIE ADAMS: Okay, I didn't wanna be
17 out of turn. In many of your urban precincts,
18 you have such a higher turnout of people who vote
19 early, but you may have a larger portion of the
20 population in the more -- I won't say rural.
21 Maybe I will -- not so urban area, you may have
22 more of those people that vote on election day
23 itself.

24 And so, you might have one precinct
25 with 3,000 people that 50 percent have already

1 voted, but you may have another precinct with
2 2,000 people in it where only maybe 15 percent
3 have voted early, and you know that that
4 precinct's gonna turn out in larger numbers. So,
5 I think if there was some way that you could give
6 more flexibility to the election supervisors to
7 place their machines where they best know that
8 they need them.

9 REP. BARRY FLEMING: What number are
10 you, Chairwoman Smith?

11 REP. LYNN SMITH: I am No. 14.

12 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Go ahead.

13 REP. LYNN SMITH: Tonnie Adams, I'm
14 your neighbor from Coweta County, and I wanna
15 thank you for taking the time and the great work
16 that y'all do in Heard County. Thank you.

17 TONNIE ADAMS: Thank you, Chairman
18 Smith. Chairman Smith, are you still there?

19 REP. LYNN SMITH: Yes.

20 TONNIE ADAMS: I look forward to
21 working with you. This is totally off topic, but
22 look forward to working with you on one of our
23 historic sites in the next couple of years.

24 REP. LYNN SMITH: Oh, that's
25 phenomenal. Thank you.

1 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Mr. Adams, we
2 certainly do appreciate your being with us today.
3 Thank you so much.

4 TONNIE ADAMS: Thank you. It was a
5 pleasure.

6 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Chairman Smyre,
7 you would like Nancy Johnson be able to testify?

8 REP. CALVIN SMYRE: Yes, sir.

9 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Ms. Johnson, are
10 you here? Please come on around. Same one,
11 okay. Come on over here to the mic right here,
12 yes, ma'am. Ms. Johnson, good to have you.

13 NANCY JOHNSON: Thank you for having
14 me. Thank you so much.

15 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Chairman Smyre
16 says he knows you and likes you, and we'd never
17 hold that against you.

18 NANCY JOHNSON: I consider that a great
19 compliment. I know you do, right?

20 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Good to have you
21 today, Ms. Johnson.

22 NANCY JOHNSON: Thank you.

23 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Please tell us who
24 you're with and where you're from, and we'd be
25 happy to hear from you.

1 NANCY JOHNSON: Okay, thank you so
2 much. My name is Nancy Flake Johnson. I'm the
3 president of the Urban League of Greater Atlanta.
4 And I appreciate this opportunity to share some
5 deep concerns that the Urban League and our
6 constituents have with respect to this
7 legislation. We're a civil rights and economic
8 justice organization that has been operating in
9 the region for more than 100 years, and we
10 support all Georgians -- African Americans in
11 particular -- to live a better life and prove
12 their economic standing.

13 I've come here to talk about the
14 legislation that is proposed, specific provisions
15 with respect to that legislation that will
16 disenfranchise voters, and really what message we
17 are sending to the children of our state. Our
18 society prepares young people to participate in
19 leadership by electing class presidents and other
20 officers in their schools.

21 Consider this analogy, the popular
22 captain of the volleyball team is running for
23 class president. She's an A-student, involved in
24 several schools clubs, she tutors young children
25 on weekends. Her opponent is on the debate team.

1 He has a reputation for being argumentative and
2 sticking to a circle of affluent friends. He has
3 done little in the way of community or charitable
4 work.

5 The debate team realizes their
6 candidate is up against a formidable challenger,
7 because the debate team captain is also very
8 popular. What do they do? Should they convince
9 the school principal to cancel the policy that
10 allows voting at the start of school, at lunch
11 time, and right after school ends at 3:00 p.m.
12 and in its place mandate only in-person voting at
13 4:00 p.m. when many students have taken the bus
14 home and sports teams are practicing or playing a
15 game away from school?

16 Or work hard to boost the popularity of
17 their candidate, encourage him or her to get
18 engaged with other people, have a platform that
19 appeals to the broad student base, and discourage
20 negativity, and treat people fairly? Choice A
21 limits participation by stacking the deck against
22 people who cannot be at the school at 4:00 p.m.
23 In effect, it's a way to cheat to win.

24 Sadly, Georgia has a long history of
25 using voter suppression tactics, which in many

1 citizens' eyes is the equivalent of wielding
2 power to cheat to win from the white primaries,
3 poll taxes, and literacy tests to the more recent
4 purging of legitimate voters from the rolls for
5 simply choosing not to exercise their right to
6 vote, limiting early voting and locations of drop
7 boxes.

8 Your legislation wants to raise the age
9 to 75 years for seniors to have the right to
10 choose to vote by absentee ballot in the middle
11 of a pandemic --

12 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Ma'am, let me stop
13 you just one second because that's not in this
14 bill.

15 NANCY JOHNSON: Oh, that's not in this
16 bill? Good, okay.

17 REP. BARRY FLEMING: No, ma'am.

18 NANCY JOHNSON: Well, that's good.

19 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Okay, thank you,
20 ma'am.

21 NANCY JOHNSON: Okay, very good. So,
22 from forcing voters to wait in long lines to
23 disqualifying people through strict exact-match
24 signature requirements, this is history that has
25 preceded us here in our state. Now, you are

1 considering ways to make it more difficult for
2 people to exercise their right to vote the very
3 measures that safely and fairly contribute to an
4 historical turnout and no evidence of fraud after
5 multiple investigations and legal suits that were
6 not successful in the last elections.

7 More people voted because Georgia
8 sensibly made it safer and more convenient for
9 them to exercise their rights to vote. Your
10 proposed measures will make it more challenging,
11 inconvenient, and possibly impossible for some to
12 vote safely and easily again. You will cut out
13 large blocks of voters, many of them people of
14 color or of low income.

15 For example, my seeking to eliminate
16 Sunday voting, you are targeting people of faith
17 whose jobs and economic circumstances make it
18 hard for them to get to a polling place on the
19 other days of the week. Many of these are people
20 of color and low-income citizens who have
21 transportation issues or have long work hours,
22 work on weekends, and long hours during the week,
23 often working several jobs to support their
24 families. It is widely known that black voters
25 in this state heavily vote on Sundays.

1 By requiring absentee ballots to be
2 dropped off inside a government building during
3 work hours, you again disenfranchise voters whose
4 jobs prevent them from voting before 5:00 or 6:00
5 p.m. In the last election, there was no evidence
6 of compromise to Georgia's ballot boxes outside
7 of buildings.

8 In fact, our Secretary of State and his
9 team told us on multiple occasions -- not just
10 us, this entire world -- stood in front of the
11 media and indicated that our 2020 presidential
12 election and the runoff in 2021 had been
13 conducted legally, smoothly, and fairly. Several
14 investigations and recounts proved that to be
15 true.

16 So, it is difficult for the
17 constituencies the Urban League represents to
18 understand the motivation for these proposed
19 sweeping changes. We do not understand this
20 partisan rationale driven primarily by people
21 within the party whose candidates did not win.
22 Does this mean every time the losing side in
23 elections are upset, that they do not win that we
24 make sweeping changes to the law to punish those
25 on the winning team to tip the scale in the

1 direction of others in the next election?

2 Your entire approach to fixing absentee
3 balloting makes it feel to us that the fix is for
4 voter suppression. Your attempts to fix the
5 system reflect a fear that if every registered
6 voter gets a chance to vote, the outcome may be a
7 diverse selection of winners. We should stand
8 champion to a robust voting populous as it
9 represents the population of our great state and
10 will ensure all citizens have representation,
11 that all voices can be heard, and all needs of
12 our citizens are fairly and equitably addressed.

13 That is the duty of our government to
14 all of its citizens and not just to some. In my
15 analogy, the students running class president, I
16 found generic advice for them. Start early if
17 you wanna win the class president election. Join
18 student council and other clubs. Listen to your
19 constituents and their needs. Develop and stand
20 by a platform of policies and practices that
21 support the advancement of the students and
22 people you represent.

23 And be courteous, respectful of
24 differences, friendly and authentic. Spread your
25 campaign message, and soon, you will have the

1 most votes. And be respectful of your
2 challenger. Do not engage in negative
3 campaigning and play by the rules. Do not try to
4 find ways to tilt the race in your favor by
5 unjust practices and strategies.

6 And last but not least, be a respectful
7 loser. In a democracy, there will always be
8 someone who wins and someone who loses, and the
9 losing side has to respect the democratic
10 process. We lose with dignity. We then come
11 together so that we can make our world, our
12 state, the people's lives that we represent
13 better.

14 I say this to you, our state and our
15 nation are divided at this time. It is divided
16 because those who lost these elections are not
17 willing to accept the truth, the facts, the
18 outcomes. It is time for us to now move on. In
19 a democracy, we must come together when the
20 elections are done.

21 If you want to win, be a candidate the
22 people will want to vote for, have a message of
23 unity and justice, and do not stand with
24 politicians who are seeking to cut large segments
25 of our population out of the process. Thank you

1 for this opportunity to share, and I will take
2 any questions if there are any.

3 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you, Ms.
4 Johnson. We appreciate you being here today.
5 Thank you very much.

6 NANCY JOHNSON: Thank you. Thank you
7 for the opportunity.

8 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Yes, ma'am. Thank
9 you. Annette Davis Jackson?

10 ANNETTE DAVIS JACKSON: Yes, I'm here,
11 sir.

12 REP. BARRY FLEMING: I looked for you
13 earlier, but I saw you come back.

14 ANNETTE DAVIS JACKSON: I'm here, yeah.

15 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Yeah, that's fine.
16 No problem, no problem. Good afternoon. Good to
17 have you.

18 ANNETTE DAVIS JACKSON: Thank you.

19 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Please tell us who
20 you're with and where you live and we'd be happy
21 to hear from you.

22 ANNETTE DAVIS JACKSON: Well, my name
23 is Annette Davis Jackson. I spoke most of my
24 life in Gwinnett County. My kids went to
25 Parkview High School. The reason I come before

1 you today is I was a candidate for United States
2 Senate, and I did lose my race. I got 43,000
3 votes, and that's why I'm here today, to really
4 talk about voter and election integrity.

5 When you talk about House Bill 531, I'm
6 gonna start from the back with Section 22. When
7 you look at, first of all, HB 316, what you find
8 out is that -- thank you, Calvin Smyre -- what
9 you find out is 316 sets some provisions for
10 fraud in elections, right?

11 And then, Section 22 in this bill, 531,
12 says any person who knowingly goes into the
13 voting compartment booth while another is voting
14 or marks a ballot or registers a vote for another
15 except in strict accordance with this chapter
16 interferes with any elector marking or her ballot
17 induces or tempts any elector or observes or
18 attempts to observe any elector to see how such
19 elector marks or has marked his ballot except in
20 strict accordance with all this, he'll be subject
21 or guilty to a felony.

22 And I think that at the end of this
23 bill, we have to add in enforcement agencies. I
24 certainly thank you legislators for putting these
25 bills together, but then there is no enforcement.

1 If someone violates the law, who's the
2 enforcement agency? I'm a part of a group of --

3 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Ma'am, the
4 prosecutor is.

5 ANNETTE DAVIS JACKSON: The prosecutor,
6 right.

7 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Yes, ma'am.

8 ANNETTE DAVIS JACKSON: Sometimes it
9 doesn't even get to the prosecutor, so it doesn't
10 say at the end of this bill that the prosecutor,
11 which is a US Attorney or the district attorney
12 in each prospective counties, whether it be
13 Fulton or Cobb, who does that, right? And I've
14 talked to a lot of Senate members, House members
15 and am concerned about this.

16 I'm a part of a group of 44, and
17 Chairman, I would like to share this with you if
18 I can leave this with you after I finish talking
19 --

20 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Yes, that'd be
21 fine.

22 ANNETTE DAVIS JACKSON: Okay, thank you
23 so much. A group of 44 that has petitioned the
24 grand jury regarding election integrity. So,
25 we're at the grand jury level. The United States

1 attorney is working with the federal grand jury
2 over election integrity, so we've submitted a lot
3 of evidence.

4 And also, I have in my pocket, there
5 was many conversations of testimony before that
6 said there really is not any evidence of fraud.
7 I have a flash drive, and there have been many
8 testaments -- the Senate Judiciary Committee --
9 of the different errors in not only the election
10 ballots, even with the military ballot.

11 The military ballot wasn't the same as
12 the other ballots. Some of the military
13 personnel could email their ballot, but it just
14 wasn't the same, and for the military, they had
15 to produce duplicate ballots. So, my solution to
16 the military ballot was for the military to have
17 the same ballot as everybody else so that it
18 perfectly goes into the scanning machine so that
19 we can identify.

20 When every county, which is 159
21 counties, when they count their overseas or their
22 military votes, a lot of times what they do is
23 they label it as a duplicate because they either
24 have to duplicate it by an email, or it's coming
25 from another way. It didn't fit into the machine

1 in 2020, so they had to duplicate that ballot.
2 We don't know. And so, we don't really have a
3 ripe effect of the military ballot and how many
4 military personnel overseas have been voting.

5 So, anyway, what this petition does
6 with the federal grand jury, it says, yes, there
7 was the fraud in elections, and the reason that
8 we can't get to it is because a lot of the
9 judges, what they're doing is they're not even
10 hearing cases. So, the lack of due process is
11 not happening within our court systems, and
12 somebody really has to go in and enforce the law.

13 So, I appreciate Section 22, so I'm
14 gonna start there with you have to add an
15 enforcement agency, and I don't know if the
16 citizens know if that's a prosecutor, who's a
17 prosecutor or where the prosecutor does come
18 from. Also, I think it says any person who
19 knowingly -- and I think you ought to add who
20 obstructs in any way the voting process by
21 workers depositing a flash drive.

22 We've seen one video of how Ruby
23 Freeman and her daughter, a gentleman comes to
24 them, takes a flash drive out of his pocket, and
25 gives a flash drive to them, and they exchange

1 flash drives. So, I believe something has to be
2 put in where the poll workers should not be
3 taking any type of anything, should not be
4 putting in any type of flash drives anywhere,
5 shouldn't be taking flash drives. If they are
6 filmed, they should be subject to a felony.

7 Also, if I go backwards -- well, I'm
8 gonna go forwards. I do believe that when it
9 comes to voting, we have to be accountable and
10 responsible for getting an ID, right? All of
11 those areas I saw, the Southern Poverty Law
12 Center that was here today, I think instead of
13 trying to create all these ways that people can
14 vote without what they need in the full
15 accountability and responsibility, they should
16 develop a fund for making sure that at least
17 every person who wants to vote has a valid
18 identification card. I think that that's the
19 best way to cut down on fraud.

20 Also, as far as a signature
21 verification, I do believe that signature
22 verification is so very important because what we
23 have also seen with the dumping of the votes that
24 there are a lot of people signing those absentee
25 ballots for somebody else because they have a

1 list of registered voters.

2 So, I do believe that you should put
3 back in the signature match because let me tell
4 you, you can't sign your signature that's not
5 yours on your mortgage documents, on your bank
6 documents, or anything. When you go, they have
7 to look at a form, and you gotta match
8 signatures. So, I hope that the signature match
9 does stay in there.

10 As far as drop boxes, in this 2020
11 election, I must say that as far as election
12 integrity that there was no security on those
13 election boxes. My suggestion and my
14 recommendation is those boxes should be within.
15 They should not be outside of the election areas.
16 They should be inside and so a camera could watch
17 them. Anybody dumping votes, they should be able
18 to have that.

19 But also, I believe that we probably
20 should design another drop box given all the
21 fraud that has happened within the State of
22 Georgia and battleground states that it be just
23 like the United States postal stamp machine.
24 Just like an ATM, when you put your absentee
25 ballot in there, it ought to register, it ought

1 to give you something back, and that way it has a
2 date stamped automatically of who puts their
3 absentee ballots in.

4 No. 8, the people who are applying for
5 absentee ballots, certain limitations on the
6 distribution of absentee ballots, I do believe
7 there should be certain limitations on the
8 absentee ballots because, you know what, when you
9 have a no-excuse absentee ballot, I think we
10 ought to go to you should have an excuse for an
11 absentee ballot because I do believe that the
12 fraud is within the absentee ballots for the
13 matter of processing. I think that got out of
14 hand.

15 I was a witness with the Senate
16 Judiciary Committee, and I was also a monitor,
17 and I think it's so very important. I saw a lot
18 of instances where a lot of locks were broken off
19 of the bins where the voting was as well as most
20 of the bins where they said that they had counted
21 the votes and they put them over into the
22 finalized votes, all of the precincts were not
23 counted.

24 And I happen to point out, "Where is
25 this precinct? Where is that precinct?" And

1 they would happen to open up the bin, and those
2 precinct documents were not in that bin. Where
3 did we find them? We found them the next day.
4 In Gwinnett, we found them in -- what'd they say
5 -- a panel review. And so, you have to have some
6 type of system just like you go to the DMV. Hey,
7 your number is this. If it's empanel review,
8 everybody should be able to know.

9 One Section 1, the governing authority
10 of each county or municipality shall appropriate
11 annually and from time to time in such a county
12 the funds that it's deemed necessary. I do
13 believe its' important for each municipality to
14 provide their budget because that way you
15 eliminate the Center for Tech and Equity from
16 giving.

17 From that I understand, that was a
18 targeted approach, and it was a good, targeted,
19 strategic approach in the 2020 election system to
20 get money so that absentee ballots could be
21 printed. And as Jovan Pulitzer in his documented
22 presentation to the Senate Judiciary Committee,
23 he showed you the era of the absentee ballot. He
24 showed you this prolifically, and it's on tape,
25 it's video, it's evident there is fraud with the

1 absentee ballots.

2 So, I hope that the committee would
3 look of how we do absentee ballots, how we have a
4 number, some kind of way it's put into a system.
5 If you move forward, Line 47; those
6 superintendents shall take or accept any funding,
7 grants, or gifts from any source other than for
8 the governing authority of the county or
9 municipality the State of Georgia or the federal
10 government.

11 I do believe in this because Facebook,
12 Mark Zuckerberg, Priscilla Chan, the dominion
13 voting systems, I do believe that there was an
14 intended target, and so we can see who gave the
15 money. So, I strongly believe that in this bill
16 there should be no private persons giving money
17 to county election boards, and as we saw, Lowndes
18 County, Cobb County, and Augusta, they took those
19 monies. And \$600,000.00 is a lot, and I believe
20 that it was a target of which created the fraud.

21 Also, there was a consent agreement,
22 and we need to talk about how no Secretary of
23 State should be signing a consent agreement with
24 the Democratic Party as to absentee ballots or to
25 changing the forward motion of the laws in the

1 State of Georgia regarding election integrity
2 without first going before the Senate body, and I
3 with that we would've done this before the
4 certification of the votes.

5 When we go to Section 2A, it says that
6 poll officers shall be judicious, intelligent,
7 and upright citizen. I didn't see judicious,
8 intelligent, and upright citizens when I saw the
9 gentleman with a flash drive go to Ruby Freeman
10 and her daughter, and they were still working the
11 polls after this happened and gave them a flash
12 drive, and they gave a flash drive back. That's
13 definitely fraud in elections.

14 So, we need to definitely cover that
15 and put poll workers. And when we see activity
16 like that on video, we need to eliminate those
17 poll workers immediately, and then they should be
18 subject to a felony because, remember, this is
19 the Voting Rights Act of 1964, voting is a
20 felony. Any time that you act wrongly, it should
21 be a felony.

22 When you go to Section 3, 84, 85, and
23 86, no board of registrar shall take any or
24 accept any funding, grants, or gifts from any
25 source other than for the governing body. I like

1 that. It's so very important because you should
2 get money from your government body. You should
3 not be getting money for private citizen who've
4 targeted battleground states in order to change
5 the course of the election. And I do believe
6 that in the future, based on our petition into
7 the federal grand jury that you're gonna see the
8 enforcement of what's put forth.

9 And I will say that the young lawyer
10 earlier today said there's no widespread fraud,
11 but fraud is addressed in HB 316, and you have to
12 look at fraud when definitely fraud is there and
13 particularly within the absentee ballots. So, I
14 would love us to take more time with the absentee
15 ballots and make sure that no one can do that
16 again, and it's not a misdemeanor, it's a felony.

17 If I go to Section 7, it talks about
18 Line 156, the testing of the voting system
19 components. I think it's very important that our
20 machines from Dominion Voting Systems, they
21 weren't tested like they should, and they don't
22 have the audit capabilities that they should.

23 And particularly, because there were
24 times where there were dumping of votes, you
25 can't have dumping of the votes, and then you

1 can't have election boards saying we're gonna
2 stop voting. We're gonna stop counting ballots,
3 and then all of a sudden, you tell everybody to
4 go home, and then all of a sudden, you start
5 bringing out other ballots. No, we ought to
6 really address what happens when everything
7 closes down.

8 And I will say that we don't have a
9 provision in this bill for security, so I would
10 love to see a provision in this bill for security
11 and what that means to the whole election cycle,
12 even if it's to have our wonderful state patrol
13 now be a part of that mix. Hire the state patrol
14 to have that election security at the ballot box
15 and at the poll box, but particularly inside the
16 registrars. I think that would be important.

17 And too, we ought to ask that there be
18 a forensic and a financial audit to the testing
19 of these voting machines because a lot of stuff
20 is money-driven, and it's so very important.
21 When Georgia didn't have an audit component to
22 its election cycle, it's totally open for fraud,
23 and we can see if we ran through the batch forms,
24 that every vote that came second by second, there
25 was also a drop of 10,000 votes, 20,000 votes,

1 and that should never happen in our systems.

2 If you go to Page 9, it's 192, 193 all
3 the way down, to me, there should be no
4 electronic submission for IDs. Let me tell you,
5 I got my ID in my pocket, and the one thing about
6 this ID, this Georgia, I've had it for 40 years,
7 went to Spellman College from California, the one
8 thing that this does, you will not see on a
9 photocopy all the different holograms on the
10 front. There's probably two or three holograms
11 on the front, and then on the back, there's more
12 holograms on the back. And of course, so many
13 people easily thwart these systems with ID, and
14 let me tell you this, we need to push people in
15 having sufficient ID. That's gonna be so very
16 important that we should not even be having a
17 photo copy ID for anything.

18 No. 224, it says handling a completed
19 absentee ballot application by any person or
20 entity other than as allowed in the subsection
21 shall be a misdemeanor. No, that should be a
22 felony. We have to stop people from committing
23 fraud within election integrity. We must do
24 that, because otherwise they'll stop it.

25 If I go any further, let's see... I

1 think I just highlighted -- I care about the
2 military vote. We have to do something about
3 that military vote. Registrars in all of the
4 counties, I do believe that they should have a
5 portal for registrars, and they'd be able to
6 identify how many registered voters do we have.
7 How many registered voters do we have? How many
8 people did already vote?

9 I think they have to do better with
10 their statistics because in Gwinnett County, what
11 it said on November 3rd that 827,000 people voted
12 in Gwinnett, but what you found out, there's not
13 that many registered voters in Gwinnett. There's
14 like 416,000. And the response to that was we
15 counted the second page, which was a referendum
16 of the ballot. No, that doesn't make any sense.
17 You only have one ballot. You have one vote and
18 you have one ballot.

19 So, I still don't know the answer to
20 why Gwinnett County had 827,000 people registered
21 to vote and only 416,000 at the November 3rd
22 actually completed their ballot. That's still a
23 question mark for me in those numbers. I think
24 we're fudging a lot of numbers within our board
25 of elections, and we really need to address that

1 in this bill. That should be a felony, too.

2 And winding up, I think I've hit pretty
3 much every point and every point that I have and
4 submitted, Chairman. I would love to be able to
5 submit that in writing, but I will --

6 REP. BARRY FLEMING: You absolutely
7 can.

8 ANNETTE DAVIS JACKSON: Okay, thank
9 you. But I will say in ending that I heard that
10 there shouldn't be a limitation on options for
11 voters, but voters have a very amazing
12 responsibility. I think it's just like wearing a
13 badge of honor. Like, my name is Anette Davis
14 Jackson, I wear it proudly because it was my
15 dad's name, and there's certain accountability
16 and responsibility that a voter does have. So,
17 we shouldn't make exceptions. There's too many
18 exceptions, which I think create the fraud.

19 I would like the enforcement capability
20 in the bill. We had a lot of dumping, so this
21 bill doesn't address the dumping of votes, which
22 I would love for it to address the dumping of
23 votes because even in the ballot box, we saw
24 incidences of people dumping many absentee
25 ballots in that box. That's illegal, all right?

1 So, we gotta cut down the illegal, and we haven't
2 really addressed what happens when a state hires
3 a software system, and they don't have an audit
4 capability.

5 And the reason that I'm saying that in
6 ending, because Texas did not choose Dominion
7 Voting Systems, the reason because in all its
8 audit capabilities, they were denied. They did
9 not comply. So, for Georgia to put together a
10 compromise agreement with the Democratic Party
11 without the Republican Party, and the Secretary
12 of State did it himself without the legislative
13 body, that's not addressed in here, and I think
14 our federal grand jury petition will address
15 that.

16 In ending, thank you guys for being
17 representatives. Thank you for allowing me to be
18 here with you today. And Chairman, I would like
19 to leave for you our petition to the federal
20 grand jury that's right now with the federal
21 grand jury of Georgia.

22 REP. BARRY FLEMING: If you'll put it
23 right on the corner of that desk over there,
24 we'll get it. Right there, mm-hmm, we'll get
25 that. No, that's fine. No problem. Thank you

1 so much.

2 ANNETTE DAVIS JACKSON: Thank you so
3 very much.

4 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you for
5 being here today (inaudible).

6 ANNETTE DAVIS JACKSON: No, I
7 appreciate it. Thank you.

8 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you. Okay,
9 Blake Judkins. Mr. Judkins, please come forward.
10 We appreciate you coming today, and we'll be
11 happy to hear from you if you would tell us who
12 you're with and where you're from.

13 BLAKE JUDKINS: Yes, sir. My name is
14 Blake Judkins. I have the distinct pleasure of
15 serving as the chief of staff for one of your
16 esteemed colleagues, Dr. Jasmine Clark, with whom
17 I'm sure you're all familiar. I just had a few
18 points to make today. Representative Clark
19 wasn't able to make it today.

20 First off, I'd just like to address a
21 couple things that were brought up when that
22 attorney from the NAACP and Southern Poverty Law
23 Center came here early in the morning. I believe
24 that Chairman Fleming brought up the Help America
25 Vote Act when saying that -- excuse me, public

1 speaking is not my forte.

2 REP. BARRY FLEMING: You're doing fine.
3 Go ahead.

4 BLAKE JUDKINS: When saying that the
5 reasoning for providing a photocopy of a state-
6 issued ID was in keeping with that piece of law.
7 So, I just wanted to go ahead and read off real
8 quick some of the pieces of ID that are
9 acceptable under the Help America Vote Act.

10 Those include a driver's license, a
11 state ID, a passport, an employee ID card, and ID
12 card provided by any commercial establishment, a
13 credit card, a debit card, a military ID, a
14 student ID, a health club card, an insurance plan
15 card, a public housing ID card, a utility bill, a
16 bank statement, a government check or paycheck,
17 any document issued by a governmental agency, a
18 sample ballot provided by a government agency, a
19 voter notification card provided by a government
20 agency, a public housing ID card, a lease or
21 rental statement, a student ID card, a tuition
22 statement, an insurance plan card, military
23 discharge papers, any official pardon, a public
24 transportation authority card, a senior citizen
25 and disabled discount card, any identification

1 documents issued by a government disability
2 agency, ID documents issued by government
3 homeless shelters, any drug prescription issued
4 by a government, doctor, or healthcare provider,
5 a property tax statement, a vehicle registration,
6 or a vehicle certificate of ownership.

7 You'll notice nowhere in there does it
8 require that the ID be a picture ID. It doesn't
9 require that there's any kind of ID number that
10 is associated with your voter registration, and
11 if the list of IDs required were that broad,
12 there might be a little less pushback for it.

13 But the fact that you have to provide a
14 picture copy of a voter ID opens this up for some
15 problems, especially if we're talking about mail-
16 in voter IDs where somebody might be able to take
17 one of these ballots and then suddenly have all
18 of your information, including the last four of
19 your Social, your home address, your birthday --
20 everything you need to open a credit card.

21 Another point I'd like to make about
22 that is I spent six years serving in the
23 military, and I was issued this. So, a military
24 ID, officially called a Common Access Card. I
25 had a secret clearance when I was in the

1 military. That is taken very seriously. On the
2 back of that card, not only is my personal
3 information on there, also on there is my Dept of
4 Defense identification number.

5 Just to tell you a little story, I one
6 time took my ID with me on a trip. I had just
7 turned 21, and as one does right after they turn
8 21, I partied a little too hard. I lost my
9 wallet and my military ID. That was considered
10 such a serious offence that I was paneled by a
11 board of my superior officers, I was threatened
12 to revoke my security clearance, I was threated
13 to lose rank and pay.

14 Luckily, I was a good enough soldier
15 that my commanding officer knew that it was a
16 mistake I had made and not a trend in my behavior
17 and he kept that from happening, but it's a very
18 serious offense. And the idea that all our
19 soldiers over in Iraq, the only way that they're
20 going to be able to vote -- because when you're
21 overseas, most of the time you're not carrying
22 with you your driver's license, right? Why would
23 you?

24 You're gonna have your military ID, so
25 the ID you would be submitting a photo copy of

1 would be your military ID with all that
2 information on it that can get you access to a
3 lot of security secrets. Now, I worked on
4 radios, so there weren't too many secrets I could
5 dish out, but imagine somebody sending emails
6 about troop movements, and the information on
7 that card can get you access to that email. It
8 is not something that we should take lightly.

9 Now, I don't know how you could
10 possibly have a system where you have to provide
11 a photo ID and avoid that issue. I think the
12 only real solution is to remove that altogether.

13 The next point I would like to bring up
14 is I believe Speaker Pro Tem Jones brought up
15 during that same speaker, I believe the question
16 was -- and correct me if I'm misquoting here --
17 does a lack of evidence in court preclude voter
18 fraud from happening? Which I took to mean just
19 because we haven't proved it in court, does that
20 mean that voter fraud couldn't have happened?

21 To which I ask, December 24th, do you
22 wait for your kids to wake up and there just be
23 presents under the tree, or do you put them under
24 there because there's no evidence that Santa
25 Claus actually exists? It is not --

1 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Now, hold on a
2 second. This is public. Be careful what you
3 talk about. All right, go ahead.

4 BLAKE JUDKINS: Oh, sorry, sorry,
5 sorry. So, my point being as a governing body,
6 it is irresponsible to operate on the assumption
7 that something may have happened if that means
8 shutting down access to something as essential as
9 voting.

10 There is such a thing as something
11 being too secure. If you take all your money,
12 and you put it in a bank vault, you feel safe
13 that that money is secure. Now, if somebody
14 welds that bank vault shut, suddenly, that's a
15 problem because all your money was in there,
16 right?

17 So, it's important to have secure
18 elections, but we need to make sure that we are
19 still making it accessible to every voter,
20 including the low-income people who may not have
21 access to IDs, or photocopiers, or ways to get to
22 those elections now. That was just responding to
23 some things I had seen earlier. If you let me,
24 I'll go ahead and get onto the actual points, the
25 specifics in the bill that I have.

1 I'm concerned by the amount of
2 reduction in time and access in the bill. For
3 instance, the amount of time with which you can
4 register to vote -- or, sorry, apply for an
5 absentee ballot is reduced from 176 days -- that
6 is 180 days out to four days before the election
7 -- to 67 days. That's a 61 percent reduction in
8 the amount of time you have to apply for a
9 ballot. That would be Line 172, if you wanna
10 look at exactly what I'm talking about.

11 Line 176 references that an absentee
12 ballot application must be received no later than
13 11 days before the election. Well, what is
14 somebody sends it out, and as we all know, the
15 postal service isn't perfect, and sometimes mail
16 gets delayed. And suddenly, that person is no
17 longer allowed to vote because the mail delayed
18 their absentee ballot request by a couple days.

19 For that line, I would suggest that
20 instead of it being received no later than 11
21 days, that it should be postmarked no later than
22 11 days. That would make it less iffy on whether
23 or not the post office has the time to get to
24 that piece of mail.

25 In Section 10, it reduces the amount of

1 time with which absentee ballots may be issued
2 from a minimum 42 days -- that is 45 days out to
3 the three days before -- to a maximum of 18 days,
4 right? 29 days before to 11 days before.

5 In Gwinnett County where I live, there
6 were 176,786 absentee ballot requests. That
7 means that on average the board of elections
8 would have to respond to 9,300 ballot requests a
9 day. That is impossible. That cannot be done.
10 And so, expanding that amount of time, just make
11 sure that we are able to get to the ballots as
12 they are.

13 Now, in Lines 685 through 703 -- that's
14 Section 12 -- it talks about having the
15 uniformity of hours from 9:00 to 5:00. Now, a
16 lot of counties are using 7:00 to 7:00, and that
17 7:00 to 7:00 really helps people get there before
18 work and after work.

19 I'm sure you all know the most common
20 working hours are 9:00 to 5:00, so that means
21 that the most common working hours are also the
22 same hours as the polling places would be open
23 and when people won't be able to leave to go
24 vote. I understand the need for uniformity, but
25 I don't understand why it has to be so uniform

1 that we're restricting access to the polls.

2 In Lines 1010 through 1027, if a --
3 sorry, my computer just glitched out real fast.

4 REP. BARRY FLEMING: While you're
5 looking for that -- no. We had a question but
6 they passed. You go ahead.

7 BLAKE JUDKINS: So, in Lines 1010
8 through 1027 in Section 16, it brings up that if
9 a person goes to a precinct and it's the wrong
10 precinct, normally, as it stands now, they would
11 cast a provisional ballot and that would be fine.
12 This current version would preclude that and
13 count that ballot out. I don't see how this
14 makes it more secure rather than just throwing
15 out more ballots.

16 And on top of that, when you add in the
17 fact that just 60 days before the election you
18 can change precincts, somebody might go to the
19 precinct they've been going to for years, and
20 because long lines in the previous election,
21 their precinct has been changed, and for whatever
22 reason, they didn't see that notification, they
23 didn't even know.

24 And yet, they would normally be
25 directed to their other precinct, but what if

1 they get there at 6:30, 6:45? They thought they
2 were there on time, they thought they were at the
3 right place. I don't see any reason why a
4 provisional ballot is not appropriate for them,
5 whether they're at their correct precinct or not.

6 And the last thing that I really wanted
7 to ask about is where is the fiscal note? I know
8 any bill that I've seen that presumably costs
9 this much, before you vote on it, you wanna know
10 how much it's gonna cost the state, right? How
11 much is this gonna cost the taxpayers? And as of
12 now, we have no idea. And I had a few other
13 things to say, but most of those were covered
14 pretty thoroughly by other speakers, so I'll
15 leave that at that.

16 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you, sir.
17 We appreciate you coming today. Okay, next, Ryan
18 Germany. Mr. Germany? Thanks for coming today.
19 We'd be happy to hear from you. Welcome.

20 RYAN GERMANY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman
21 and members of the committee. My name is Ryan
22 Germany. I'm the general counsel for the Georgia
23 Secretary of State's office. I've been in that
24 position since 2014, and I thank you for the
25 opportunity to speak with you today. I just

1 wanted to talk about what we saw in the 2020
2 election cycle and what we didn't see.

3 It's been mentioned today multiple
4 times that we did not see any widespread
5 systematic fraud or any reason to think that the
6 end results were not accurate, and we certainly
7 stand by that. That's certainly not to say that
8 we did not see any issues that we think need to
9 be addressed by this assembly.

10 What we saw in 2020 was we saw an
11 election system that was stretched to its limits.
12 You heard from some county election directors
13 earlier, and I really can't say enough about what
14 they did last year. They performed beyond the
15 call of duty. The difficulties that were placed
16 upon them with COVID, with the implementation of
17 a new system -- this is the first year, remember,
18 that we had used our new paper ballot system, so
19 not only learning that, getting that implemented,
20 but then with COVID on top of that, the
21 difficulties they faced were enormous.

22 One of them told me early on in the
23 process, especially with the massive increase in
24 absentee ballots, they felt like they were having
25 to run basically three different election systems

1 at the same time. We had more absentee ballots
2 probably than some all-mail ballot states had.
3 At the same time, they run three weeks of early
4 voting where people can go anywhere in their
5 county, any advanced voting location in their
6 county and vote.

7 And then, also, they had to prepare for
8 election day that's precinct-based where you vote
9 in your precinct and get all of those ready. So,
10 they had to do that, and I think they did it very
11 well overall, but kind of stretching the system
12 to its limits I think showed some weaknesses that
13 you guys can address.

14 What we also saw -- the election
15 directors, I should say, not only did they
16 perform admirably during the election process,
17 but there's also a lot that they have to do in
18 the post-election process, and that could be even
19 more difficult because like we've seen in the
20 past two election cycles, we've had the losing
21 party attack the system after both election
22 cycles.

23 Unfortunately, I don't think that's a
24 tactic that's going to go away, so I think we
25 need to be prepared in future elections to have a

1 system and processes that can provide confidence
2 to the entire electorate, not just the people who
3 prefer the partyhood that prevailed.

4 It also looks like we're going to
5 continue to have very close statewide elections
6 in Georgia. It's always been the case that there
7 can be elections around the state that have been
8 decided by a handful of votes, but when it's
9 statewide elections that are really close, it's a
10 level of scrutiny that in states where they don't
11 have that dynamic, they don't have that same
12 scrutiny, so that's not where we are, and I think
13 we need to keep in mind what are we asking our
14 election officials to do from a process
15 perspective.

16 If we're asking them to do too much,
17 like we did this past year and like they did just
18 really because of COVID, we put some of them in a
19 position to fail because we asked them to do too
20 much, and that doesn't induce confidence in the
21 results. So, I think we need to think about what
22 are we asking them to do, what help can we give
23 them, and what can we do to provide confidence in
24 the results of future elections to the entire
25 electorate.

1 I appreciate Chairman Fleming gave us
2 the opportunity to look at this bill and to help
3 from the perspective of county election officials
4 to kind of make sure that what's in here would
5 work. I know one thing that I think they said
6 they appreciate -- and I have heard the same
7 thing -- is moving from a subjective signature
8 match process to a more objective process.

9 I'm concerned if we stay with signature
10 match with that level of subjectivity that it
11 brings in a state with close and competitive
12 elections, election officials could become a
13 target, and we've started to see that post-2020
14 election, and that's something I know they wanna
15 avoid and I think we wanna avoid as well.

16 They wanna be just neutral arbiters,
17 counting votes, doing things that are objective,
18 not subjective. And I think it's really
19 important from the perspective of thinking about
20 what we ask them to do. The idea that it's a
21 number match and not a piece of paper that's
22 required I think is really good, so I appreciate
23 that from the committee.

24 That's all I had. If there are any
25 questions about the bill from the workability

1 perspective, I'm happy to address those as well.

2 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Mr. Germany, we
3 appreciate you being here today. It looks like
4 we don't have any questions for you.

5 RYAN GERMANY: Very good.

6 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you so much
7 for coming. All right, Ms. Gibson. Ms. Gibson,
8 where have you been? We have been looking for
9 you all day. Do you know why we have been
10 looking for you all day?

11 SADDIQA GIBSON: Why is that?

12 REP. BARRY FLEMING: You are the last
13 witness.

14 SADDIQA GIBSON: Woohoo!

15 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Yeah, we
16 appreciate you.

17 SADDIQA GIBSON: Very good.

18 REP. BARRY FLEMING: But in all
19 seriousness, we're certainly happy to have you.
20 Representative Alexander asked that we allow you
21 -- the Chairman was gonna close the list, but
22 we're gonna put you in and let you be our last
23 speaker. Thank you for coming. Tell us where
24 you live and who you're with and we'll be happy
25 to hear from you.

1 SADDIQA GIBSON: Very good, and I'll
2 keep it short and sweet. I'm Saddiqa Gibson. I
3 reside in Stockbridge, Georgia, and I am not here
4 representing any group or organization. I'm here
5 representing the average everyday person. And
6 there are a few elements in your legislation that
7 concerns me.

8 One, of course, is rolling back the
9 hours to vote. I remember when I had a young
10 child and I worked in Gwinnett County. I lived
11 in Stockbridge. After work, I had to pick my son
12 up from daycare and head home. So, when you talk
13 about even if it's inclement weather on a date of
14 elections, this is going to be difficult for the
15 working families.

16 Someone spoke earlier about voter
17 responsibility. Voters have a lot of
18 responsibilities. Voters have responsibilities
19 to their family, and to vote is a right. We
20 don't want to roll back; we don't want to make it
21 punitive for people to vote. And I believe that
22 this element actually does that. If someone had
23 the opportunity to have a 7:00 to 7:00, why roll
24 it back and make that period shorter when we're
25 talking about families?

1 The other thing is Saturday and Sunday.
2 That falls in the same category. People who work
3 need additional time, so we don't wanna make
4 these things punitive, we want to give people
5 what they are supposed to have. Everyone has a
6 right to vote. We don't want to place
7 limitations. So, please consider this. Thank
8 you very much.

9 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you, ma'am.
10 We appreciate you being here today. I will ask
11 Mr. Germany to come back. We have a member that
12 is participating virtually, and Representative
13 Shaw Blackmon -- Chairman Blackmon -- and I think
14 there might be a slight delay, and we didn't
15 receive his request for a question. So, Chairman
16 Shaw, can you hear us -- Blackmon, can you hear
17 us?

18 REP. SHAW BLACKMON: Yeah, I can hear
19 you. Can you hear me, Chairman?

20 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Yes, and I
21 apologize for missing you. You go ahead. Mr.
22 Germany is back there for your question.

23 REP. SHAW BLACKMON: Well, I'll be
24 brief. Mr. Germany, I know you've been before
25 governmental and talked about a few things. The

1 Secretary appeared and mentioned that there were
2 I think there suggested proposals, I wondered if
3 those were still at the top of your list or maybe
4 you could share what is, if not?

5 RYAN GERMANY: I don't remember the
6 proposals you're talking about, which is not to
7 say that I didn't say them in front of your
8 committee.

9 REP. SHAW BLACKMON: I think it was the
10 Secretary. I mean, I think he mentioned the no
11 excuse, and mentioned the photocopy ID, and then
12 kind of a takeover, I think, of capability when a
13 county had some problems.

14 RYAN GERMANY: Yes. So, I think an
15 issue that needs to be dealt with is we saw a
16 massive increase in the number of absentee
17 ballots that were requested last year. On one
18 hand, that's a good thing because in a pandemic,
19 people chose to exercise their right to vote in a
20 different fashion, and I think it's good they had
21 that option.

22 On the other hand, it showed the issues
23 that can come from that. We had over half a
24 million people in the election cycle request an
25 absentee ballot and then show up to vote in

1 person, and there's a process that allows them to
2 do that, but it takes time. It takes time from
3 the poll workers, it slows down the rest of the
4 people voting, and if it's not done correctly, it
5 can increase the chance that that voter might
6 inadvertently vote twice by mail and in person,
7 and we saw those numbers increase this year,
8 particularly in the primary before we put in some
9 additional protections.

10 So, the Secretary has stated that he
11 prefers going back to an excuse requirement. I
12 think that whatever the solution is, the issue of
13 this amount of absentee ballots can cause issues,
14 we've seen some of them, and so what are the
15 responses to that going to be?

16 We get a lot of questions. We got a
17 lot of questions post-election about how do you
18 know this, how do you know this, how do you know
19 this is accurate? As Chairman Fleming pointed
20 out earlier as I was watching the hearing, we
21 have a really good response to that for in-person
22 voting. We can say here's exactly how we know
23 that these are eligible voters, that this count
24 is exactly accurate, here's how we know.

25 For absentee voting, it's harder

1 because it doesn't take place under the auspices
2 of election officials. There's more that has to
3 be done, there's more that election officials
4 have to do and get right with each step to make
5 sure an absentee ballot is recorded accurately.
6 And I know they also wanna make sure that that
7 absentee ballot is sent to the person who
8 requested it, that it's the actual voter who's
9 requesting it or an authorized family member for
10 them, and then we wanna make sure that it's that
11 actual person that votes that ballot.

12 We saw a lot of negative criticism of
13 the signature verification process. It is a
14 difficult process for county election officials
15 to perform. As some of them pointed out earlier,
16 I think going to an objective process, that
17 driver's license number or state ID number -- I
18 don't know if this has come up in the committee.
19 We looked at it. 97 percent of voters in the
20 voter registration database have a driver's
21 license number associated with their record.

22 So, for that 97 percent, it's gonna be
23 just as easy. Then if they don't have it on the
24 application, they can include a picture of their
25 HAVA ID. And then on the ballot itself, what

1 this legislation proposes is either a driver's
2 license number and date of birth or last four
3 Social and date of birth, using those to verify
4 instead of a signature. 99.9 percent of people
5 in the voter registration database have a
6 driver's license number or Social Security number
7 associated with their record.

8 So, when you turn in your ballot, which
9 you cannot submit electronically, unlike your
10 application, that catches basically almost
11 everybody in the voter registration database to
12 make sure that they can fill that out easily and
13 still send it in.

14 To the final one -- and this is not in
15 this bill, but I think it is something that needs
16 to be addressed -- we've had a few State Election
17 Board meetings the past two weeks, and we have
18 one next week to try to kinda catch up on some
19 cases because there was a lot of cases opened in
20 the wake of the 2020 election. There are
21 counties that are before us quite a bit.

22 Frankly, it's not the counties from the
23 election directors that you heard from earlier.
24 It's other counties. Fulton County is a big one,
25 and there's other counties that are more habitual

1 offenders that for some reason or another, they
2 have more trouble running their elections.

3 And I think the idea was floated,
4 similar to the way the state does for school
5 boards, if certain things are in place or if
6 certain benchmarks continue to be not met, then
7 maybe the State Election Board could come in,
8 replace the superintendent, and start over
9 because it's that important to make sure that our
10 counties are getting these elections right.

11 REP. SHAW BLACKMON: Mr. Chairman, a
12 couple of quick follow-ups?

13 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Yes, sir,
14 absolutely.

15 REP. SHAW BLACKMON: Mr. Germany, on
16 the emergency rule component, I know we've had a
17 couple of questions regarding drop boxes. So, I
18 don't know if you know this or if you could just
19 maybe share it with us and the Chairman could
20 pass it out to the committee, which emergency
21 rules have kind of basically gone away at this
22 point based on the fact that they were issued for
23 that specific election cycle?

24 RYAN GERMANY: All the emergency rules
25 that the State Election Board passed were put in

1 place to expire at the end of the January 5th
2 election. So, they've all expired at this point.

3 REP. SHAW BLACKMON: I just didn't know
4 if there were any pertinent ones that might be
5 addressed in this bill that you might know of
6 that you might wanna share with us.

7 RYAN GERMANY: Well, this bill
8 addresses a couple of them. It addresses the
9 early processing rule, and I think it does so in
10 a good way. I think the early processing and
11 scanning, that's gonna allow counties to have
12 results uploaded quicker, and I think that really
13 helps from an election confidence perspective.

14 I got a lot of questions after the
15 election. These are questions -- why are all
16 these ballots still being counted? Where are
17 they coming from? And it raises questions about
18 sort of the validity of those votes. And so, the
19 more that they can get uploaded as soon as the
20 polls close, I think that's gonna do a lot for
21 confidence, and this bill, I think the way it
22 addresses that in a good way.

23 And this bill also addresses the drop
24 boxes that the State Election Board allowed to be
25 an emergency rule, and I think it does so in a

1 way that makes sense as well, to allow those drop
2 boxes -- they were popular with voters -- but
3 also to put some guidelines around them so we can
4 tell people here's how we know the ballots put in
5 those drop boxes are valid and secure.

6 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Thank you,
7 Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Germany. Appreciate
8 it. Thank you for addressing those.

9 RYAN GERMANY: Yes, sir.
10 Representative Burnough?

11 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: Thank you. Good
12 afternoon.

13 RYAN GERMANY: Yes, ma'am.

14 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: Is the Secretary
15 of State's office in support of this bill?

16 RYAN GERMANY: I can't say to that at
17 this point. That's above my pay grade, so I
18 don't know the answer to that.

19 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: Okay, thank you.

20 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Representative
21 Alexander?

22 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Thank you,
23 Mr. Chairman. As it relates to Section 84
24 through 86 on Page 4 where it talks about --

25 REP. BARRY FLEMING: You mean Lines 84

1 through --

2 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Lines, I'm
3 sorry. Lines. Section 3. Just any comment
4 about do you know whether or not the Secretary of
5 State would pick up some of that funding that the
6 counties will be required because they can longer
7 get any grants?

8 RYAN GERMANY: The state did get
9 election funding this year through the CARES Act
10 for the federal money, and we distributed that
11 like we normally do for HAVA funds that go
12 through our office and our grants to counties.
13 We also did receive some grants of personal
14 protective equipment, and we distributed that to
15 counties as well, and I believe that would still
16 be allowed under this language.

17 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Thank you.

18 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Okay. 13? Okay.
19 Chairman Martin.

20 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: Mr. Germany, I
21 don't know if you're aware of this, but we keep
22 going back to these grant replacing this money.
23 Is it not true that most of the money that these
24 grants that came from third parties or the
25 federal government was pandemic-related? I mean,

1 I'm not aware that grants of this sort existed
2 before this pandemic year, certainly not to the
3 level of this many commas. Am I correct?

4 RYAN GERMANY: I think that's correct.
5 I know from our office, we have received HAVA
6 funds in the past, so it's money from the federal
7 government that we can distribute to counties for
8 different election activities, but I can't recall
9 ever getting a grant from another outside of
10 federal money prior to the pandemic.

11 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: One more brief --
12 to go along those lines we're talking about drop
13 boxes. The Chairman was very good to point out
14 earlier, if not but for the pandemic and the
15 emergent nature of it and rules by the State,
16 these did not exist in Georgia. So, I'm getting
17 emails, I'm getting correspondence that you're
18 devastating the vote in Georgia by anything you
19 do to drop boxes.

20 This time last year, there was no
21 mention of a drop box in Georgia, so whatever
22 we're doing is trying to -- I'm just trying to
23 secure the vote that goes in there. When a voter
24 puts a vote in that drop box, we want it to
25 matter and be meaningful, and as we've heard,

1 they've been damaged in other parts of the state.
2 And is it not true that if something happens to
3 there, we have no way of knowing what voters'
4 votes were in that drop box if there were some
5 sort of damage to happen in there?

6 RYAN GERMANY: That's correct. Drop
7 boxes are, I think, kind of a target-rich
8 environment for people that would wanna mess with
9 ballots. And the emergency rules have all
10 expired. State Election Board viewed emergency
11 rules as something that should certainly not
12 extent past when they are needed due to the
13 nature of an emergency rule. And so, yes, I
14 would agree that basically the drop boxes that
15 are in this bill is an expansion from where we
16 currently stand today in terms of accessibility.

17 REP. CHUCK MARTIN: Thank you, Mr.
18 Chairman.

19 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Representative
20 Burnough?

21 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: Thank you. We
22 know that a lot of these things happened because
23 of the pandemic, but sometimes when you have a
24 tragedy, it helps you to improve. And so, while
25 the drop boxes were not a part because it came by

1 this pandemic, but with the problems with the US
2 Postal Service not delivering mail on time, I
3 think that it is safe to say that the drop boxes
4 allowed people that would not have the
5 opportunity to vote, it did give them
6 opportunities, and it gave them more choices.

7 RYAN GERMANY: From the feedback that
8 we have heard on drop boxes, I'll mention kind of
9 the positive is I think they were popular with
10 voters from both parties. The two, I guess, kind
11 of negative things that we heard about drop
12 boxes, 1.) In some counties, it took a long time
13 for when the ballot was dropped in that drop box
14 for then it to show up on the MVP page as your
15 ballot has been accepted. In some counties, it
16 was very quick. In some counties, it took a long
17 time, and that is not confidence-inducing.

18 So, I think this bill requiring
19 emptying them every day I think would help with
20 that. The other thing that we head kind of
21 negative is kind of on the activist side. People
22 were requesting the video surveillance of the
23 drop boxes, and they are on open record. And I
24 know how this is because we were in the same boat
25 as counties, when you get a lot of open records

1 requests, people do not always get their
2 documents as quickly as they would like them.

3 And so, when people were requesting
4 those records from counties, it takes a while,
5 and that makes them I think feel like, oh,
6 there's no oversight or there's something to hide
7 there. This bill kind of does away with that by
8 requiring there to be human supervision of the
9 drop boxes. And I had another thing I wanted to
10 say, but I can't remember what it was about drop
11 boxes. But that's what we've heard about.

12 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: Okay, I just
13 have one more question. So, are you all -- the
14 Secretary of State's office -- you all have a
15 budget that will pay for a person to sit there
16 and guard all of these drop boxes?

17 RYAN GERMANY: So, the way it's set up,
18 it can be an elections official. I talked to an
19 election official today, and they have a poll
20 worker who is kind of the line management poll
21 worker. She said that would just be one of their
22 duties. So, that's gonna be a little bit
23 different depending on the setup.

24 It can be an election official,
25 especially if it's kind of viewable based on the

1 advanced voting location. Some of these places,
2 a lot of the government buildings have security
3 that are already there, and so that kind of
4 allows them to sort of be the people who are in
5 charge of that if it's within kind of the
6 viewpoint of maybe the front door or something
7 like that.

8 So, the ones I've talked to I think
9 believe that it's doable, and some of them I
10 think got overwhelmed by the open records request
11 for the video, so there might be some preference
12 for it on that side.

13 REP. RHONDA BURNOUGH: Thank you.

14 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Representative
15 Alexander?

16 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Thank you,
17 Mr. Chairman. So, I know we keep talking about
18 the drop boxes. Does the Secretary of State know
19 of any issues, fraud that may have occurred as it
20 relates to the drop boxes?

21 RYAN GERMANY: The complaints that we
22 heard on drop boxes were what I mentioned
23 earlier. Oh, this is what I was gonna say
24 earlier, the only thing -- and I wish we had
25 thought about this at a State Election Board but

1 we frankly didn't -- is by allowing the drop
2 boxes to stay open until 7:00 p.m., that required
3 county election officials to have to be bringing
4 in ballots sometimes many hours later than that,
5 and that didn't look good from people who were
6 saying, "Hey, these are late ballots. You
7 shouldn't count them."

8 So, I think we should've thought about
9 that as a way. Let's make sure that the ballots
10 are back at the county headquarters by 7:00 p.m.
11 There were some instances in January where the
12 people who were in charge of picking up drop
13 boxes felt kind of targeted because they were
14 being followed by partisan monitors, and that's
15 not a good situation either.

16 REP. KIMBERLY ALEXANDER: Thank you.

17 REP. BARRY FLEMING: Okay, Mr. Germany.

18 We appreciate you being here today, and we
19 promise not to call you back again. Today
20 anyway. All right, committee members. I
21 appreciate your patience. We have literally been
22 here all day, but the Chair intended to let --
23 since we were not in session today, that we would
24 stay here until everyone who had come and asked
25 to testify be heard.

1 You will note -- and some of you did
2 remind me on both sides of the aisle -- that we
3 did not set any time limits today. The Chair
4 intentionally did not set any time limits today
5 so that we could have that expression for those
6 who came to see us. I will tell you going
7 forward that because in the future days I expect
8 us to meet, we will be in session, there will be
9 other committee meetings, we probably will have
10 time limits to answer your questions.

11 So, having said that, I appreciate you
12 being here today. Chairman Smyre has requested
13 that we meet again next week, and we will do
14 that. Thank you so much. Oh, Representative
15 Williams?

16 REP. RICK WILLIAMS: How about a
17 Saturday or a Sunday meeting?

18 REP. BARRY FLEMING: I believe you
19 would lose that vote. We stand adjourned. Thank
20 you so much.

21
22
23
24
25

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

C E R T I F I C A T I O N

I, Sonya Ledanski Hyde, certify that the foregoing transcript is a true and accurate record of the proceedings.

<%12151, Signature%>

Veritext Legal Solutions
330 Old Country Road
Suite 300
Mineola, NY 11501

Date: March 16, 2022

RETRIEVED FROM DEMOCRACYDOCKET.COM

[0.013 - 42]

Page 1

0	13,000 172:13	2	226 158:15 159:10
0.013 68:12	136 5:23	2 130:24 136:8,9	159:11,11
1	14 166:1 175:11	2,000 155:24,25	24 13:9 18:7
1 130:24 192:9	140,000 123:10	172:18 174:3,6	111:21 112:3
228:12	14th 18:20 21:22	175:2	120:22 135:23
1,000 164:9 174:4	22:2	20 45:12 159:1	24/7 105:1
10 43:15 72:5	14's 166:8	20,000 196:25	24th 205:21
85:10 93:25 94:7	15 175:2	200 110:22	24x7 92:10,25
95:6 107:12 110:9	15,000 45:1 70:5	200-300 110:16	25 92:17 93:11,15
110:17,21 111:1	147:6	2002 155:8	93:22 150:23
121:12,14 129:16	15,118 67:21 68:5	2005 75:4 131:12	250 8:5,6 9:2
129:17 130:13	150 73:15	2012 54:6 155:10	73:15 144:21
147:23 160:1	150,000 67:19	2014 210:24	156:17 174:6
168:18 207:25	156 195:18	2016 172:19	28 123:9
10,000 196:25	159 55:8 71:24	2017 155:7,11	29 93:10,15,22
10-15 125:1	96:17 97:24	2018 14:3,4,7	208:4
100 57:10 166:2	187:20	40:12 111:24	2a 194:5
177:9	15th 18:20 21:22	128:6	3
1010 209:2,7	16 14:25 39:6	2019 12:6 15:3	3 130:24 138:5
1027 209:2,8	83:21 167:12	202 1:5	194:22 225:3
108 56:11	209:8 233:16	2020 12:16 13:22	3,000 174:25
11 93:25 94:1,4	16.6 43:13	14:5,8 19:22	30 6:1 168:15
126:19 152:8	17 71:8 132:25	40:12,16 85:20,24	300 136:15 233:13
207:13,20,22	169:8	91:19 103:19	316 12:8,12,17
208:4	172 207:9	104:5 123:13	134:7 185:7,9
11,500 172:15	176 207:5,11	128:6 129:15,20	195:11
110 56:11 57:10	176,786 208:6	139:10 145:14	330 233:12
1109 170:7	18 169:17 208:3	146:12 152:15	36.7 101:1
1149 170:15,17	180 158:11 207:6	181:11 188:1	38 166:9
171:12	19 1:10 77:7	190:10 192:19	385 135:22
11501 233:14	170:13	211:1,10 214:13	387 135:23
12 56:7 86:1 131:4	190 110:25	221:20	3:00 156:9 178:11
131:4 137:15,20	192 197:2	2021 1:9,10 19:22	3rd 198:11,21
160:11 208:14	193 197:2	181:12	4
12,500 172:13	1964 194:19	2022 139:6 233:16	4 123:23,24 155:23
12151 233:7	1965 18:22 21:24	21 204:7,8	224:24
13 83:19 132:10	1:00 76:13,15	21-2-417c 23:10	40 197:6
137:17,18 145:18	1:21 1:5	144:13	416,000 198:14,21
162:18 225:18	1st 78:15 129:22	22 185:6,11 188:13	42 123:10 208:2
		224 197:18	

[43,000 - acceptable]

Page 2

43,000 185:2	67 207:7	97 24:17,24 25:13	37:15,23 38:12
44 186:16,23	68 85:24	42:10,12,13 43:3	39:11,15 45:14
45 93:13 130:20	685 208:13	44:1 220:19,22	47:23,25 52:24
208:2	6:30 168:13 210:1	972 166:20	54:12 56:17 57:24
450 70:6	6:45 210:1	973 166:20,23	58:4 64:19 65:3
463 12:16 15:3	7	974 166:12	65:11,16,19 67:17
47 135:25 136:5,6	7 72:5 195:17	99.9 221:4	67:19 68:23 69:8
136:7,9,14,15	700 162:23	9:00 94:15 101:16	71:21,23 74:5,24
193:5	703 208:13	160:15 208:15,20	75:5 79:1,3,11
49 135:25 136:5,6	71,764 100:25	a	80:9,14 81:9
136:10,15,16	75 179:9	abduction 41:17	87:17 88:2 90:20
498 45:12	77 71:8	abilities 63:20	94:18 96:13 97:3
4:00 156:9 178:13	7:00 132:8,8 156:4	69:21	121:24 125:22
178:22	160:14,14 168:19	ability 20:8 31:9	126:23 127:7,13
5	208:16,16,17,17	35:23 70:18 91:8	127:19 132:11,16
50 174:25	216:23,23 231:2	132:6	132:23 134:16
508 45:25	231:10	able 2:20,21 6:14	145:13,15,25
511 45:12	8	20:11 25:1 32:14	146:3,12 147:7
531 2:5 12:22	8 18:24 23:1,2	43:2 57:7,14	152:7 158:11,16
13:18 14:6 18:4	85:10 87:16	58:12 62:12 63:14	160:2 164:22
18:15,18 19:3	125:21 157:4	65:1,15 66:3	179:10 181:1
20:3,19,21 21:8,22	158:2,15 191:4	94:14,23 118:5,16	182:2 189:24
185:5,11	8,200 155:17	118:18 126:10	190:24 191:3,5,6,8
531's 19:25 22:5	172:12	127:14 128:13,15	191:9,11,12
55555 1:5	808 164:4	130:1,17,22	192:20,23 193:1,3
5:00 4:5 93:2	811 164:6	139:13,15,17	193:24 195:13,14
94:15 101:16	827,000 198:11,20	142:5 150:4,6	197:19 199:24
160:15 181:4	84 44:1 136:17,19	156:5 158:7 162:1	207:5,11,18 208:1
208:15,20	136:20 137:24	163:4 164:25	208:6 211:24
5th 129:23 223:1	194:22 224:23,25	165:2 168:19,24	212:1 218:16,25
6	85 194:22	176:7 190:17	219:13,25 220:5,7
6 124:14,17 144:20	86 136:17,19,20	192:8 198:5 199:4	absolutely 16:17
156:15	137:24 194:23	201:19 203:16	42:16 49:5 67:6
60 209:17	224:24	204:20 208:11,23	83:14 101:6
600,000.00 193:19	9	absentee 14:11	145:13 156:14
61 207:7	9 85:10 91:16	19:1,5,21 21:19	199:6 222:14
64 7:7 8:3	146:2 159:14	23:3 28:5,22	accept 143:7 152:6
65 11:21	197:2	30:24 31:22,25	183:17 193:6
650,000.00 137:5	9,300 208:8	32:4,7,11,14 33:17	194:24
138:11		33:25 34:1,2	acceptable 50:13
		35:15 36:3,6,9	202:9

<p>acceptance 152:22 accepted 152:19 228:15 accepting 117:5 accepts 148:20 access 20:1,9 26:16 37:12,18 43:1 58:12 63:9 63:10 66:4,19 70:17,18 85:14 103:3 104:7,8 151:11 203:24 205:2,7 206:8,21 207:2 209:1 accessibility 72:7 104:11 227:16 accessible 64:13 84:10 90:3,12 98:11 206:19 accessing 20:7 accommodate 5:18 30:3 130:17 accommodations 29:13 accomplish 126:17 130:21 165:24 accountability 100:2 189:15 199:15 accountable 111:11 114:4 189:9 accountant 71:17 accurate 37:2 44:6 211:6 219:19,24 233:4 accurately 220:5 achieved 31:5 acknowledge 126:1 127:12,22 131:10</p>	<p>acronym 17:8,12 84:11 act 18:21 21:24 25:8 194:19,20 201:25 202:9 225:9 action 16:20,22 17:11 active 65:14 actively 51:18 activist 228:21 activities 39:12 40:11 41:23 86:17 226:8 activity 99:12 107:19 110:19 194:15 actor 112:9,12 actors 109:14 111:23 112:18,21 113:2 114:4 actual 15:10 23:21 206:24 220:8,11 adam 162:15 adams 154:16,16 154:20,22,24 155:1,3,6,14 157:6 157:9,14 158:1,23 158:25 159:1,10 159:12 162:17 163:14,21 164:2,5 164:16 165:7,10 165:18 166:6,10 166:18 167:2,12 167:15,18 169:25 170:6,13 171:5,12 171:15 172:1,12 173:3,8 174:12,15 174:16 175:13,17 175:20 176:1,4</p>	<p>add 4:13 33:19 42:20 47:9 56:16 62:7 103:24 119:3 124:8 171:6 185:23 188:14,19 209:16 added 56:10 98:20 118:6 170:23 adding 98:7 118:10 159:3 addition 10:3 23:18 34:6 72:6 162:5 164:20 additional 20:16 32:12 33:19 35:25 49:13 58:15 93:7 95:6 98:7 119:5,8 119:18,24 125:10 125:11 137:8 139:14 140:12,13 149:24 150:1 164:19 173:24 217:3 219:9 additionally 145:12 additions 171:7 address 7:25 8:3 57:15 61:2 62:12 70:20 79:9 106:7 106:13,16,18,20 107:3 160:6,10 168:4 196:6 198:25 199:21,22 200:14 201:20 203:19 212:13 215:1 addressed 120:25 182:12 195:11 200:2,13 211:9 221:16 223:5</p>	<p>addresses 8:6 106:24 160:4 223:8,8,22,23 addressing 10:17 97:15 224:8 adjourned 232:19 adjudicated 38:16 39:4 adjustments 5:17 103:19 administered 89:9 97:1 104:10 109:18 138:17 administers 95:18 administration 83:20 84:14,16 85:1 104:2 administrative 88:14,24 123:20 administratively 90:5 administrator 123:18 133:18 138:21 administrators 52:7 124:18 125:13 admirably 212:16 admitting 26:25 adopting 66:11 advance 21:11 131:16 146:6 advanced 123:11 129:4 131:6,19 139:14 146:1 212:5 230:1 advancement 182:21 advantage 101:14 111:23</p>
---	---	---	---

advice 182:16	146:14 151:6	alike 15:11 102:8	31:21,21
advocacy 59:4	227:14	alleviate 131:14	america 25:8
75:23	agreement 158:9	allocate 157:3	72:25 73:9,12
advocate 43:20	193:21,23 200:10	allow 6:16 8:15	201:24 202:9
61:16	ahead 2:2,9 3:17	9:12,22 13:16	american 41:23
advocated 124:16	4:9 5:12 11:11	29:9 51:13 52:3	101:2
advocating 61:24	36:12 37:7 62:5	114:10 152:25	americans 14:24
70:9	69:15 71:3,15	159:17 174:8	177:10
affect 57:9,20	78:1 100:21 102:6	215:20 223:11	amount 24:18
139:6 171:20	102:22 126:3	224:1	27:2 50:12,25
affidavit 115:3	136:20 139:22	allowed 68:13,16	60:10 98:2 124:18
affiliated 17:15	142:7 148:8 151:5	81:8 94:22 115:14	127:2 135:16
85:3	157:6,25 159:12	152:24 153:2	138:9 207:1,3,8,25
affixed 128:23	167:16 170:24	163:12 197:20	208:10 219:13
affluent 178:2	174:14 175:12	207:17 223:24	ample 8:16
afford 139:24	202:3,7 206:3,24	225:16 228:4	analogy 41:17
affording 18:15	209:6 217:21	allowing 5:3 29:3	177:21 182:15
afraid 26:7	ain't 33:16	29:17 69:17 88:1	analysis 20:12
african 14:24	air 91:17	107:12 146:17	86:12
101:2 177:10	airplane 72:19	160:14 173:13,21	analyze 20:17
afternoon 3:8 11:8	aisle 91:21 232:2	200:17 231:1	analyzing 118:4
76:18,21 78:10	alabama 16:25	allows 10:17 88:10	anette 199:13
123:2 142:10	alan 27:13 28:24	121:1 178:10	annette 184:9,10
162:24 171:23	30:5,10,21 32:15	219:1 230:4	184:14,18,22,23
172:5,8 173:10	34:7 36:10,13	alternative 87:18	186:5,8,22 199:8
184:16 224:12	alarming 13:2	89:14	201:2,6
age 65:14 179:8	alexander 44:23	altogether 205:12	annually 192:11
agencies 185:23	44:24 45:7,10	amazing 66:8	answer 22:17 27:6
agency 186:2	46:18,21 47:7	199:11	27:8 70:20 78:19
188:15 202:17,18	48:12,17 60:2,3,8	amber 82:16,18,24	99:4 109:22
202:20 203:2	60:18 100:20,22	83:4,9,14,16 101:6	115:21,25 116:2
agenda 11:4,16,17	134:3,4 135:19,22	103:6 105:19	120:2,23 198:19
12:3,25	136:4,8,11,17,22	111:4,8 114:15,18	224:18 232:10
ago 171:18	137:2,12 146:24	115:1,18 116:2,10	anticipate 4:2 5:14
agree 3:22 22:4	147:2,3 148:6,9	116:14 117:4,11	anticipated 4:24
28:11 32:3 35:18	149:8 153:17,18	118:3 120:3	157:2
36:14 38:9 50:18	153:22 154:9	121:21 122:23	antiquated 36:15
52:12 58:17 60:4	215:20 224:21,22	amen 2:24,25	anxiety 143:20
60:10 68:16 74:17	225:2,17 230:15	amendment 35:24	anybody 29:4,17
75:14 121:23	230:16 231:16	amendments	30:18 62:11 65:17
122:6 134:20		18:20 21:23 22:2	190:17

[anymore - automatically]

Page 5

anymore 72:20,22 139:5	62:22 70:22 74:13 76:1,6 77:23 82:8	arizona 92:14 108:20	attempting 115:16
anyway 164:18 188:5 231:20	82:11 100:16,18 109:21 122:21	articulate 109:22	attempts 77:24 182:4 185:18
apathy 73:22	133:18,21 134:1	aside 133:13	attended 110:23
apologies 69:6,13	141:13,17,19	asked 5:4 29:22 79:8 148:15	attending 64:16
apologize 16:13 17:9 62:14 154:20 217:21	142:6 146:19,20 150:12,13 151:3 154:11 160:1	213:19 215:20 231:24	attention 4:23 5:13 10:6 18:24 43:8 78:14
apparently 8:7	162:18 172:4	asking 25:15 33:5 45:12 46:22,24	attire 6:25 7:4
appealing 90:10	173:9 176:2 177:4	47:8,10 48:23	attorney 16:18 17:2 53:15 67:12
appeals 178:19	184:4 188:13	49:22 53:9 68:22	79:21 186:11,11 187:1 201:22
appear 20:24 28:18,25 29:12 30:2 74:1 134:10	201:7,10 210:17 214:1,6,22 215:3 215:16 217:10	157:12 163:25 213:13,16,22	audio 76:24 77:25
appeared 218:1	224:7 231:18,21	aspect 95:6	audit 67:17 68:7 68:14 69:7 71:23
appears 37:16 56:9 110:5 122:9	232:11	aspects 14:1 42:18	74:6 143:18 147:7 147:11,17 195:22 196:18,21 200:3,8
application 60:5 87:17 89:15 91:14 106:8 127:19 128:11 132:16 197:19 207:12 220:24 221:10	appreciative 100:5	asserably 12:11,24 15:4 20:13,17 211:9	audited 67:21 68:6
application 60:5 87:17 89:15 91:14 106:8 127:19 128:11 132:16 197:19 207:12 220:24 221:10	approach 99:9 182:2 192:18,19	assets 120:5	auditing 39:12
applications 89:11 90:13,20 126:23 127:7,13 158:16	appropriate 3:7 192:10 210:4	assisting 77:8	audits 38:23
applied 33:11	appropriately 84:13	associated 24:12 24:19 32:23 92:24 119:12 203:10 220:21 221:7	augusta 123:8 193:18
applies 126:2	approved 25:15	association 4:12 5:11	auspices 220:1
apply 8:17 23:3 127:5 158:10 207:4,8	approximately 67:21 76:12 123:10 147:23	assume 170:7	authentic 182:24
applying 9:23 28:22 32:11 33:25 125:22 191:4	arbiters 214:16	assuming 162:12	authenticity 127:19
appoint 6:16	area 47:25 79:10 80:22 95:20 159:20 160:16	assumption 206:6	authority 70:14 192:9 193:8 202:24
appointed 170:22 171:3	164:22 174:21	assurance 166:22	authorized 121:5 163:15 164:7 220:9
appreciate 2:2 10:23 41:14 55:4 55:18 59:4 60:20	areas 61:23 166:21 189:11 190:15	athens 7:8,10	authorizing 131:21
	aren't 27:21 29:7 35:7 114:11	atlanta 1:3 62:3 71:6,7,13 87:3 177:3	authors 45:17
	argue 116:3	atm 190:24	automated 106:23
	argumentative 178:1	attack 14:20 212:21	automatically 65:15,19 106:9 127:1 169:18,19
		attacks 41:13,16	
		attempt 14:21 22:7 72:24 154:18	

169:22 170:10 191:2 automating 106:12 107:4 availability 58:18 58:21 63:13 available 12:24 18:5 31:17 56:12 57:11 88:8 143:15 avenue 56:23 average 208:7 216:5 avoid 205:11 214:15,15 avoidance 151:22 152:3 aware 4:14,16 37:25 38:3 40:15 44:25 53:24 54:4 54:8 63:23 81:13 225:21 226:1 awful 123:16	backwards 74:25 75:16 189:7 bad 109:14 111:23 112:9,12,17,21 113:2 114:4 129:13 badge 199:13 bailey 122:25,25 123:1,3,6,7 133:21 134:14 137:1,4,13 138:8,11,15,25 139:8,25 140:8,15 140:18,21,25 141:12,16,21 142:13 144:19 146:15 151:7 balance 169:13 balanced 84:13 balances 60:5 106:3 balancing 84:3 ballot 20:1 23:3 28:22 32:4,7,11,14 33:25 34:1,2 35:15,23 36:25 37:13 45:15 54:13 58:12 67:25 79:1 79:4,11 80:14 81:14 87:21 89:7 89:16 91:22 92:1 94:2,3,6 95:7 96:13 98:1 99:10 99:15,18,20,21 105:6,6,11,12,16 105:23,24,25 106:2,3 107:25 108:2,6,23 109:24 110:4,10,23 111:17 112:6,15 112:24 113:15 115:2,4,12,23	116:5,12,16,17,17 116:18,22,25 121:18 125:22 126:2,10,23,25 127:7,13,19,20,24 128:11,14 129:12 130:19 131:3 132:16 143:8 145:25 146:11 147:7 151:23 158:11 160:3,7 164:22 169:10 179:10 181:6 185:14,16,19 187:10,11,13,16 187:17 188:1,3 190:25 191:9,11 192:23 196:14 197:19 198:16,17 198:18,22 199:23 202:18 207:5,9,12 207:18 208:6,8 209:11,13 210:4 211:18 212:2 218:25 220:5,7,11 220:25 221:8 228:13,15 balloting 38:12 39:11,15 47:25 65:3 71:24 74:6 121:24 182:3 ballots 14:11 31:22 45:2 47:23 65:16,19 67:18,19 68:4,5,15 69:8 71:22 74:25 81:9 87:23 93:9,17,21 93:24 94:18 96:21 97:3,7 100:3 105:6,17 106:5,19 106:22 107:12	109:15 110:11,15 110:17,21,25 111:9 112:2,13 114:6 117:5 121:12,14 126:21 127:5 128:7 130:22 131:1 132:11,23 133:5 134:16 145:13,14 145:21,22 146:6 147:8 152:7 160:5 160:8 162:20,22 162:24 163:1,5,8 163:10 164:9,20 164:25 165:3,5,13 181:1 187:10,12 187:15 189:25 191:3,5,6,8,12 192:20 193:1,3,24 195:13,15 196:2,5 199:25 203:17 208:1,11 209:15 211:24 212:1 218:17 219:13 223:16 224:4 227:9 231:4,6,9 bank 190:5 202:16 206:12,14 banks 48:4,5 96:1 barriers 18:10 20:2 22:11 barry 2:1,25 7:2 11:6,10,24 12:4 15:14,23 16:2,5,8 16:15,21 17:4,7,12 17:16,20,24 22:18 23:11 24:8,16 25:7,11 26:3,18,24 27:6,11 29:8 30:8 30:12 36:12 37:7 37:24 38:5 44:22
b			
back 30:22 34:11 42:14 45:2 46:6 56:5 64:7 66:23 76:15,19 88:12 92:1 107:5 108:23 116:19 117:5 122:15 125:9 129:18,18 130:11 130:19 140:2 155:8 156:20 163:5 184:13 185:6 190:3 191:1 194:12 197:11,12 204:2 216:8,20,24 217:11,22 219:11 225:22 231:10,19 backend 127:1 143:4			

45:9,23 46:20	171:15 172:6	15:15	ben's 82:24
47:3,14 48:13	173:8,16 174:11	bear 13:20	best 33:15 47:16
49:17 53:3 55:16	174:14 175:9,12	beautiful 64:1	55:21 84:24 93:5
59:7 60:1,19,25	176:1,6,9,15,20,23	66:1 67:8	95:12 97:13
61:8,12,18 62:1,5	179:12,17,19	becoming 9:25	105:21 114:5
62:17 69:3,10,14	184:3,8,12,15,19	beer 54:19	160:13 169:3
70:21,25 71:10,14	186:3,7,20 199:6	began 8:11	173:22 175:7
74:12 75:18 76:5	200:22 201:4,8	beginning 104:12	189:19
76:9,18 77:22	202:2 206:1 209:4	begins 8:17	better 12:18 16:10
78:6,9 79:25 80:8	210:16 215:2,6,12	behalf 16:18	36:19 46:15 75:12
80:12,16 81:2,6,12	215:15,18 217:9	behave 14:9	77:7,16 90:20
81:18 82:5,12,15	217:20 222:13	behavior 204:16	95:23 102:7,16
82:19 83:2,6,10	224:6,20,25	belabor 146:16	104:13 106:12
100:17 102:18,21	225:18 227:19	believe 34:5 35:8	130:4 153:20,21
104:16 114:9,17	230:14 231:17	35:14 38:15 39:6	160:20 177:11
114:23 115:15,21	232:18	40:23 53:5 65:7	183:13 198:9
116:7,13 117:2,9	base 178:19	65:11,13,23 66:2	beyond 9:20 94:10
117:16 119:25	based 38:21,22,25	66:16 67:3,16	131:17 211:14
120:10,23 121:7	39:3 62:1,3 66:3	68:17 109:25	big 100:10 104:4
121:22 122:18,20	68:7 73:1,4	110:6 125:2	125:19 127:16,17
122:24 123:3	102:12 125:14	127:16 137:23	135:8 145:25
133:20 135:21	148:12 157:19	138:8 144:10	160:10 162:6
136:1,6,9,14,19	195:6 212:8	145:15 156:17	221:24
137:15,18,22	222:22 229:25	158:11,16,17,20	bigger 103:18
138:2 139:1,22	basically 5:4 6:18	159:1,3,8 160:19	160:15 162:18
140:9 141:1,11,18	8:17 34:3 35:14	161:5 162:23	bill 1:5 2:5 3:18
141:22 142:1,4	40:3 51:2 52:15	163:11 166:15,16	4:13 5:20,23 6:15
146:18,23 148:8	88:1 92:22 112:8	166:18 170:11	6:21 7:5,7,9 8:3,3
149:10 150:11,16	124:16 211:25	189:1,8,21 190:2	8:4,5,6,17 9:2
150:20,24 151:2	221:10 222:21	190:19 191:6,11	10:13 12:8,10
153:16,20 154:10	227:14	192:13 193:11,13	13:6 15:1,2,9 18:4
154:15,21,25	basis 23:21 26:15	193:15,19 195:5	18:9 19:18 20:22
155:4,12 157:5,8	37:21 38:18 39:8	198:4 201:23	22:22,24 25:12,22
157:24 158:22,24	51:7 72:23 140:10	205:14,15 216:21	27:17 28:11,18
159:8,11,13	batch 196:23	225:15 230:9	31:14 35:25 36:7
162:14 163:11,19	battle 73:22	232:18	45:12,17,18 46:23
163:24 164:4,12	battleground	ben 82:16,22	48:11 54:18 55:21
165:4,8,17 166:5,8	190:22 195:4	benchmarks 222:6	56:3,8 57:20 58:4
166:17,19 167:11	battles 10:14,15	benefit 31:4	58:17 62:21 63:2
167:14,16 169:23	10:22,23 11:2,9,12	benefited 88:17	65:13,24 68:22
170:4,11,24	11:14 12:2,6		72:24 85:12 94:1

99:7,16 100:6,9,10 104:22 110:7 117:20,24 118:2 120:7,8 121:3 123:18,24 134:8 134:10,13 138:5,7 142:14,15 144:3 145:17 146:17 148:10,12,24 151:10 155:16,21 156:17 158:8 159:2 161:4 163:14,15 164:8 166:6 167:10 173:18 179:14,16 185:5,11,23 186:10 193:15 196:9,10 199:1,20 199:21 202:15 206:25 207:2 210:8 214:2,25 221:15 223:5,7,21 223:23 224:15 227:15 228:18 229:7 bills 48:8 63:1 144:4 145:19 158:19 185:25 bin 192:1,2 bins 191:19,20 bipartisan 133:10 birth 45:25 95:9 98:24 119:3 221:2 221:3 birthday 203:19 bit 26:2 34:19 36:22 37:2 100:24 101:3 103:1 120:1 143:19 146:3 147:9,11 152:9 221:21 229:22	bite 76:20 black 7:2 21:20 71:9 180:24 blackmon 102:19 102:20,23 104:14 217:13,13,16,18 217:23 218:9 222:11,15 223:3 blake 201:9,13,14 202:4 206:4 209:7 blocks 180:13 blue 84:22 board 6:3,10 9:11 34:15 46:6 54:22 90:14 135:5,7 148:20 152:20 159:21 165:14 194:23 198:24 204:11 208:7 221:17 222:7,25 223:24 227:10 230:25 boarding 72:21 boards 9:10 34:20 155:11 193:17 196:1 222:5 boat 228:24 boats 56:24 body 194:2,25 195:2 200:13 206:5 bolted 146:4 bombing 30:14 bonnie 6:24 49:18 50:12,15,22 51:11 51:22 52:12 53:2 books 84:25 91:10 boost 178:16 booth 115:14 144:21 185:13	bought 54:18 120:4 bow 2:11 box 91:25 92:24 104:19,23 105:13 107:20 109:10 110:10,16,23 111:21 122:1 141:7 190:20 196:14,15 199:23 199:25 226:21,24 227:4 228:13 boxes 14:12 91:16 92:6,9,13,25 109:1 111:15 112:3,23 113:23 120:4,15 121:1,2,5,19 123:12 128:17,18 128:20 129:1,2 135:25 137:10 139:15 140:12 146:1,3,10,11 151:13 153:4 159:15,21,23,25 179:7 181:6 190:10,13,14 222:17 223:24 224:2,5 226:13,19 227:7,14,25 228:3 228:8,12,23 229:9 229:11,16 230:18 230:20,22 231:2 231:13 branches 71:8 break 3:6 62:18 76:12,17 breaking 75:6 110:12 brennan 40:4 43:13	brief 109:20 217:24 226:11 briefly 31:9 149:5 bring 5:12 10:6 77:3,24 85:5 95:23 96:18 104:10 107:6 119:17 131:8 146:6 155:15 161:3 162:25 164:16,19 165:5 165:23 167:5 205:13 bringing 2:13 66:2 131:5 196:5 231:3 brings 41:16 209:8 214:11 broad 178:19 203:11 broadly 84:14 86:12 broke 33:17 139:10 broken 33:16 105:15 191:18 brought 4:23 6:15 62:8 78:14 101:7 104:6 173:13 201:21,24 205:14 budget 192:14 229:15 budgeted 12:15 budgeting 60:15 building 8:21 9:17 9:19 146:13 151:15 181:2 buildings 9:12 129:8 181:7 230:2 builds 124:17 built 125:11 132:9
---	---	--	--

[bunch - certainly]

Page 9

bunch 112:13	c	224:16 226:8	catch 171:24
burden 23:19,24	c 158:8 233:1,1	229:10	221:18
24:5 25:5 36:1,8	cla 171:13	capabilities	catches 221:10
37:16 42:12 44:2	calculated 22:7	195:22 200:8	catching 85:18
44:3,12,14,15,18	calendar 88:3,6	capability 199:19	category 217:2
88:15,24 89:18	89:5 130:6 161:8	200:4 218:12	caught 5:6 6:7
96:17,24 102:15	california 197:7	capacities 53:19	171:21,24
104:3	call 4:25 8:25 9:5	capacity 59:14	cause 163:20
burdening 21:25	9:8 21:1 76:1	62:11	164:15 219:13
42:22	77:17 78:15 79:22	captain 177:22	caused 166:25
burdens 18:10	80:2 110:3 113:16	178:7	167:3
20:4 22:12 23:22	113:19 171:19	car 32:20	causing 146:8
26:15 32:13 33:19	211:15 231:19	card 42:11 168:5	census 4:14,15,16
51:9 52:10 58:1	called 4:25 10:25	169:7 189:18	4:22 5:19 172:14
59:1	17:17 30:14 78:24	202:11,12,13,13	172:15
burdensome 20:2	80:1,13 94:12	202:14,15,15,19	center 17:19,21
43:17 90:6 144:16	126:4,9 203:24	202:20,21,22,24	40:4 41:22 42:5
burnough 2:8,10	calling 78:19	202:25 203:20,24	43:13 138:16,20
48:14,15 59:8,9	calls 20:21 78:20	204:2 205:7	189:12 192:15
74:14,15 120:13	calvin 55:17 59:3	cards 167:19,24	201:23
120:24 121:6,8,23	59:6 75:20,23	168:1	centered 134:6
122:5,19 139:2,3	117:17 176:8	care 79:12 198:1	centers 96:15
139:20,23 140:7	185:8	career 28:3 67:12	97:23
141:2,3,12 149:11	camera 120:19	careful 30:15	central 97:1 117:4
149:12 150:9	190:16	206:2	centralization
224:10,11,14,19	campaign 182:25	caregiver 81:7	97:21
227:20,21 229:12	campaigning	109:25	centralized 96:16
230:13	183:3	cares 225:9	99:8
burnough's	cancel 178:9	carolina 14:22	ceo 83:16 138:19
120:12	candidate 178:6	111:24 112:1	certain 14:21
bus 178:13	178:17 183:21	carrying 204:21	25:21 42:6 50:12
busiest 156:8,22	185:1	case 1:5 34:23	50:25 68:20 70:2
business 4:6 56:22	candidates 181:21	35:13,15,19 43:4	146:4 147:19
108:19	can't 7:9 9:20	64:6 67:25 68:15	155:20,21 157:18
butler 11:20 12:2	16:12 34:16 87:7	69:7,13 99:14	168:13 191:5,7
12:4	93:2 110:15	121:9 213:6	199:15 222:5,6
button 2:9	111:11 112:25	cases 39:7 63:13	certainly 8:22
buy 137:9 150:7	120:17 122:12,14	67:22 68:3,5	16:3 64:6 87:11
bye 82:12,13,14	160:8 170:6 188:8	188:10 221:19,19	89:24 90:3,9
	190:4 195:25	cast 101:1 209:11	93:12 96:7 102:1
	196:1 211:13		102:11,13 120:7

[certainly - claim]

Page 10

125:25 141:7,13 154:11 172:25 176:2 185:24 211:6,7 215:19 226:2 227:11 certificate 203:6 certification 170:1 194:4 certified 6:12 71:17 certify 6:17 233:3 chain 99:21 110:11,19 chair 4:2 10:11 13:8,15,20 14:2 15:8 30:3 44:25 45:8 76:11 83:15 109:25 123:1 133:14 135:20 139:4 141:17 148:7 231:22 232:3 chairman 2:11 3:9 10:22 16:1 25:19 27:12 29:8,12 31:12 38:8 42:9 46:19 47:7 48:16 49:19 53:6 55:16 59:10 60:4,9 71:5 74:16 75:19 76:8 82:11 100:23 102:22,24 104:15 104:17,22 109:21 117:16,18 120:10 120:16 130:14 134:5 137:18,21 137:22 140:9 142:10 147:4 149:13 153:19 163:22 166:4 170:24 173:10,15	174:13 175:17,18 176:6,15 186:17 199:4 200:18 201:24 210:20 214:1 215:21 217:13,15,19 219:19 222:11,19 224:7,23 225:19 226:13 227:18 230:17 232:12 chairwoman 5:20 6:20 49:17 175:10 chair's 3:4,10,15 68:18 challenge 35:10 118:22 challenger 7:16 178:6 183:2 challenges 20:7 63:22 69:25 70:1 challenging 180:10 champion 182:8 chan 193:12 chance 41:18 64:25 65:20,25 69:17,23 101:24 182:6 219:5 chances 33:12 34:2 change 3:14 8:25 35:11 65:14 87:16 93:10,22 106:13 106:16 107:3 119:17 124:15 125:19 126:15 133:1,1 144:22 148:24 160:6 169:15 171:21 195:4 209:18	changed 35:1 75:10 106:21 140:6 160:4 168:3 209:21 changes 3:20,23 9:6 100:15 118:9 119:13 124:7 127:6 131:7 171:19 181:19,24 changing 8:14 131:5 135:9,9 158:10 193:25 chapter 185:15 charge 230:5 231:12 charitable 178:3 chatsworth 74:6 cheat 178:23 179:2 check 108:1 116:15,18 124:1,5 143:6 202:16 checking 116:15 116:19,23 checks 2:19 60:5 106:2 108:6 chief 155:9 201:15 child 41:17,20,21 42:6 216:10 children 42:19 122:11 177:17,24 child's 42:3 choice 9:15 10:19 64:5 130:15 178:20 choices 130:24 228:6 choose 70:16 130:23 160:19 179:10 200:6	choosing 66:22 67:11 179:5 chose 13:8 102:11 218:19 chuck 104:18 109:20 111:7 137:17,20,23 138:3,9,13,23 140:10,16,19,23 171:1,10 173:12 173:17 225:20 226:11 227:17 cigarette 54:18 cindy 10:14,22,23 11:2,6,9,12,14 12:1,2,6 circle 178:2 circumstances 18:18 56:20 57:13 58:9 180:17 citation 50:1 cites 9:4 cities 4:18 9:10 citing 3:24 citizen 194:7 195:3 202:24 citizens 100:11 134:17 180:20 182:10,12,14 188:16 194:8 citizens' 179:1 city 54:11 109:5 123:13 civic 42:18 70:10 138:16,21 civicgeorgia 61:17 61:19,20 62:2 civil 11:18 43:5 67:12 177:7 claim 74:2
---	--	---	--

claiming 72:1	code 3:24 9:4	184:25 188:17	4:13 5:14 7:6 10:7
claims 47:19	166:15,24 169:16	201:9 217:11	10:9 12:25 13:10
clarified 31:12	169:20,20,21	218:23 220:18	13:12,17 15:8,15
clarify 10:11	170:8 171:7,8	222:7 231:24	20:13,16 21:5,8,9
44:13 69:17	codify 126:22	comes 106:16	22:17 24:15,23
clark 201:16,18	collaborative	108:2 110:9	29:11,15,16,22,23
class 77:14 177:19	61:21	188:23 189:9	30:4,19 31:16
177:23 182:15,17	colleague 59:10	coming 2:2 4:16	39:25 41:9 51:23
classic 124:23	66:25	4:19 55:4 74:16	61:3 63:4 70:15
claus 205:25	colleagues 62:21	75:21 88:12 93:20	73:9 76:14 78:11
clear 21:10 31:17	63:17 125:20	100:18 107:20	81:19,20 82:6
49:1 70:1 81:23	201:16	119:22 124:25	96:10 125:24
109:14 113:10	collect 113:3	134:5 187:24	131:9 133:14
clearance 203:25	college 197:7	201:10 210:17,18	134:3 142:10
204:12	collusion 73:17	215:7,23 223:17	171:16,23 187:8
clerk's 112:4	color 19:20 20:15	commanding	191:16 192:22
close 4:6 28:4 54:8	21:21 22:8,13	204:15	193:2 210:21
98:7 129:10 132:4	37:18 44:9 56:6	commas 3:24	214:23 218:8
149:16 213:5,9	57:6,21 58:14	226:3	220:18 222:20
214:11 215:21	63:19 69:20	commend 85:20	231:20 232:9
223:20	180:14,20	comment 14:23	committee's 20:23
closed 149:13	colorado 66:15	20:25 31:9 146:17	committing
161:13	83:21 92:14,18	162:16 225:3	197:22
closer 66:2 86:18	95:16 106:14	comments 22:20	common 42:1
101:9 118:19	combine 130:2	29:15 30:19,22	203:24 208:19,21
120:9 172:13	combined 98:25	75:17 76:13	commonsense
closes 196:7	155:10	117:19 123:19	5:10
closing 8:13	come 5:1 10:15	131:7 133:12	commotion 79:18
133:13 145:2	15:9,20 28:4	134:20 142:15	communication
club 202:14	29:17 30:18,19	149:6 172:3	115:7
clubs 177:24	58:9 70:5 74:8	commerce 72:18	communities
182:18	79:11 80:13,17,23	commercial	14:21 49:10,12,14
coalition 11:4,15	94:15 95:3 107:5	202:12	58:7 61:22,23
11:16 49:6 83:18	113:6 114:11,20	commission 6:8	63:17,19 69:22,24
cobb 8:7,7 45:1	124:11 126:1	140:5	community 8:9
62:4,10 67:17	129:7,10 132:12	commissioner	21:3 56:14 61:16
69:8 142:12	143:23 150:2	7:11	61:21 62:13,24
143:17 147:7	164:23 168:12	commissioners	67:14 72:4 73:20
148:19 150:13	172:14 173:14	148:20 152:20	178:3
155:19 186:13	176:10,11 177:13	committee 1:8,9	companion 124:3
193:18	183:10,19 184:13	2:3 3:3,19 4:4,5,7	

[compare - correct]

Page 12

compare 142:22 142:23	concerning 170:15	consider 10:3,4 13:24 65:10 70:11	102:10 103:11,15
compared 118:21	concerns 18:23	86:4 87:19 88:21	121:18 134:17
compartment 185:13	98:2,12,19 128:25 177:5 216:7	100:14 125:24	145:16 213:5
compensation 136:12	conclude 43:25	174:1 176:18	222:6
competitive 214:11	concluded 15:17	177:21 217:7	continued 28:9 141:10
complaints 230:21	concrete 146:4	consideration 12:8	continuing 72:13 146:10
complete 9:14 32:7 105:22	conditionals 52:20	15:9 22:16 72:14	continuity 131:24
completed 197:18 198:22	conduct 147:18	118:15	continuously 28:25
completely 35:13 35:16 155:18	conducted 20:12 143:22 147:7	considered 68:11 204:9	contribute 14:14 18:17 180:3
compliance 132:19	181:13	considering 18:9 18:15 96:12 180:1	convened 11:17
compliment 176:19	conducting 57:3 145:3 165:12	consistencies 93:17	convenience 75:13 131:17
compliments 167:7	conference 21:2	consistency 96:6 96:25 97:17	conveniences 141:5
comply 200:9	confidence 13:4 13:11 42:3,8	consistent 93:11 97:5,20	convenient 89:8 126:11 129:6
component 196:21 222:16	104:10 127:23	consolidated 8:1	180:8
components 195:19	151:23 213:1,20 213:23 223:13,21	consolidating 96:12	conversation 76:1 107:15 136:13
comprehensive 62:21	228:17	constituencies 181:17	conversations 187:5
compromise 181:6 200:10	confident 100:13	constituents 177:6 182:19	conversed 103:1
computer 209:3	confirm 39:12 67:23	constitution 18:21 21:23 22:3 33:23	convince 178:8
concern 13:14 14:2 28:8 36:16	confirmed 147:25	72:16	cooperate 9:11
49:5,11 56:1 127:9,17	conformity 131:5 131:8	contact 113:21 129:10	copies 37:19 144:12
concerned 12:9 18:8 29:2 44:2,4	confusing 15:1 132:2	contacted 113:16 147:24	copy 11:5 23:7,8 23:20 90:8 118:8
72:7 167:4,9 186:15 207:1 214:9	confusion 130:10 146:8	contacting 113:18	144:3,5,16 158:4 197:17 203:14 204:25
	connecticut 85:18 103:17	contain 71:8	corner 200:23
	connection 41:21 73:23	contains 40:1	correct 16:12 25:9 25:10 27:2,25
	conscience 54:16	continually 27:15	29:6 38:3 40:15 42:10 51:4,6
	consent 193:21,23	continue 13:9 35:4 89:17 99:23	69:12 78:2 81:3
	consequence 48:19		
	consequences 12:13 13:22		

[correct - cure]

Page 13

104:22 110:1 115:17 117:10 128:10 137:16 138:1,2 145:20 148:23 150:21 160:10 163:13 165:6,7 168:11 170:12 171:1 205:16 210:5 226:3,4 227:6 corrected 9:5 correcting 128:6 correctly 46:2 80:1 83:7 219:4 correspondence 226:17 corruption 73:18 cost 12:14 13:19 89:8 92:19 96:24 104:6 117:20,21 117:22,24 118:1 119:18 120:8 134:7,8,13 135:8 135:11 139:11 148:11 210:10,11 costly 139:7 costs 88:14 96:23 119:12 125:11 210:8 couldn't 6:19 149:23 205:20 council 54:11 182:18 counsel 4:3 10:8 210:22 counselor 17:25 22:19 24:8 27:12 37:24 60:19 count 6:13 97:7 116:25 162:19,20 162:24 163:1,4	164:20 165:2,5,13 187:21 209:13 219:23 231:7 counted 112:15 128:14 162:22 191:20,23 198:15 223:16 counter 152:2 164:22 counties 6:2 9:11 12:14 13:19,23 55:8,10 57:2 66:10 71:24 83:25 86:22 88:24 89:18 96:2,17 99:13 117:23,25 119:18 120:4 121:10 131:23 132:3,4 134:7,9,12 135:6 135:18 152:10 153:6 155:22 156:11 157:16 160:15 162:19 163:4,7 164:9 165:23 167:4 169:1 186:12 187:21 198:4 208:16 221:21,22 221:24,25 222:10 223:11 225:6,12 225:15 226:7 228:12,15,16,25 229:4 counting 96:14 163:10 164:11,14 196:2 214:17 country 39:1 85:13 86:13 90:23 93:12 95:12 103:8 168:16 233:12	counts 38:22 59:21 county 5:25 7:11 8:7,8 15:10 45:1 54:5,22 55:12 62:4,10 65:23 67:17 69:8 84:21 95:18 96:3 97:24 99:12 100:12 120:20 123:8 134:8 135:1 136:23 137:5 139:18,24 140:3 142:12 143:17 146:5 148:12,16 148:19,25 149:3 150:3,14,21,23 151:17 152:19,23 154:3 155:2,16,17 155:25 159:14 160:23 162:20 167:7 168:14 172:2,10 173:1 175:14,16 184:24 187:20 192:10,11 193:8,17,18,18 198:10,20 208:5 211:12 212:5,6 214:3 216:10 218:13 220:14 221:24 231:3,10 county's 6:12 155:15 couple 38:24 62:7 85:8 95:10,13 96:2,10 99:3 105:20 113:7 131:7,21 151:8 175:23 201:21 207:18 222:12,17 223:8	course 3:12 8:20 9:3,7 80:6 131:18 195:5 197:12 216:8 court 1:1 6:16 14:23 35:10 38:10 38:16,21 39:3,5,16 50:5 75:9 188:11 205:17,19 courteous 182:23 cousin 87:2 cover 84:6 85:8 99:16 108:18 112:5 194:14 covered 154:3 210:13 covid 2:18 5:24 6:7 211:16,20 213:18 coweta 175:14 cox 150:17,17,19 150:20,22 151:1,4 151:6 154:2,10,13 craft 51:23 create 18:10 22:11 66:13 103:12 144:5 189:13 199:18 created 112:9 193:20 creating 66:24 credit 202:13 203:20 crew 164:18 173:4 critical 24:6 criticism 220:12 critiques 173:18 crow 73:16 crowds 151:22 cure 128:5 132:22
--	---	---	--

<p>curiosity 138:14</p> <p>current 28:19 34:8 35:18,21,22 38:2 51:12,25 52:3,13 120:17,25 209:12</p> <p>currently 5:8 32:4 33:16 112:25 158:20 227:16</p> <p>custodians 136:12</p> <p>custody 99:21 110:12,20</p> <p>cut 12:21 56:4,11 127:2 130:10 136:25 180:12 183:24 189:19 200:1</p> <p>cuts 42:22</p> <p>cutting 64:7</p> <p>cycle 88:10 196:11 196:22 211:2 218:24 222:23</p> <p>cycles 38:25 212:20,22</p>	<p>221:2,3 233:16</p> <p>dates 119:3</p> <p>daughter 188:23 194:10</p> <p>davis 184:9,10,14 184:18,22,23 186:5,8,22 199:8 199:13 201:2,6</p> <p>day 2:14,16,21 3:2 12:23 14:15,16 29:25 35:6 48:5 54:15 57:15 58:10 64:5 80:11,20 86:17,18 87:5 88:22 90:19 93:13 93:15,22,25,25 94:16 101:9,25 102:3,4,7,7,12,15 102:16 123:11,25 124:1,5,20 130:20 131:15 145:23 156:7,9,13 22,23 156:25 157:22 158:10 160:2 161:25 162:21,22 163:5 165:4,10,11 165:13 167:21 168:16 169:19,21 169:22 170:2,8,9 174:4,10,22 192:3 208:9 212:8 215:9 215:10 228:19 231:22</p> <p>daycare 41:22 42:5 216:12</p> <p>days 8:11,14 58:16 86:15 92:3 93:11 94:1,4,7 126:19,20 131:22 152:8,9 157:2 158:11 161:11 180:19</p>	<p>207:5,6,6,7,13,18 207:21,22 208:2,2 208:3,3,4,4 209:17 232:7</p> <p>dds 34:13 143:13</p> <p>dead 7:9,11</p> <p>deadline 87:17 93:14,25 130:9 167:22,25</p> <p>deadlines 170:1</p> <p>deal 134:9 143:9 143:11 149:2,21</p> <p>dealing 5:22 13:21 47:15</p> <p>deals 5:23</p> <p>dealt 103:24 218:15</p> <p>dean 11:18</p> <p>dear 2:12 133:16</p> <p>deb 150:17,19,22 151:1,6 154:2,13</p> <p>debate 44:12 177:25 178:5,7</p> <p>debit 202:13</p> <p>debunking 40:8</p> <p>decades 34:25</p> <p>deceit 73:18</p> <p>december 129:22 130:5 205:21</p> <p>decided 159:17,22 213:8</p> <p>decision 8:10 35:10 132:7 143:7</p> <p>decisions 101:12</p> <p>deck 178:21</p> <p>declaration 73:19</p> <p>dedicated 17:2</p> <p>deem 166:21</p> <p>deemed 192:12</p> <p>deep 177:5</p>	<p>deeply 18:8</p> <p>defeat 151:16</p> <p>defense 16:19 204:4</p> <p>defer 132:16</p> <p>deficiencies 128:6 128:10</p> <p>deficient 132:22</p> <p>defined 50:4</p> <p>definitely 136:24 152:11 194:13,14 195:12</p> <p>definition 49:25</p> <p>definitive 39:17</p> <p>degree 155:20</p> <p>dekalb 155:19</p> <p>delaware 103:17</p> <p>delay 217:14</p> <p>delayed 207:16,17</p> <p>deliver 159:18</p> <p>delivered 151:24</p> <p>delivering 228:2</p> <p>delivery 23:8</p> <p>demanding 160:14</p> <p>democracy 43:22 43:24 55:25 183:7 183:19</p> <p>democrat 55:1 169:15</p> <p>democratic 25:2 37:25 183:9 193:24 200:10</p> <p>democrats 29:23</p> <p>demonstrate 50:6</p> <p>demonstration 71:20</p> <p>denied 200:8</p> <p>department 148:21</p> <p>departures 21:16.</p>
d			
<p>d.c. 141:15</p> <p>dad's 199:15</p> <p>damage 107:20 227:5</p> <p>damaged 8:21 169:13 227:1</p> <p>danger 41:17</p> <p>data 86:12 88:15 90:22 105:24 106:13 108:4 127:3</p> <p>database 220:20 221:5,11</p> <p>databases 162:9</p> <p>date 45:25 95:9 98:23 160:24 191:2 216:13</p>			

[depending - documentation]

Page 15

<p>depending 132:1 162:8 168:15 229:23</p> <p>deploy 144:20</p> <p>deployment 125:4</p> <p>deposit 129:12</p> <p>depositing 105:5 188:21</p> <p>dept 204:3</p> <p>describe 6:20</p> <p>described 12:16 82:1</p> <p>design 190:20</p> <p>designate 94:22</p> <p>designated 166:12</p> <p>desire 21:4 132:14</p> <p>desirous 127:11</p> <p>desk 200:23</p> <p>despite 13:7</p> <p>despondency 73:22</p> <p>destroyed 119:23</p> <p>detail 99:7</p> <p>details 107:2</p> <p>detect 52:18</p> <p>detected 105:1</p> <p>determine 148:11</p> <p>determined 38:21 44:15 59:22</p> <p>deterrent 109:13</p> <p>devastating 226:18</p> <p>develop 182:19 189:16</p> <p>development 123:17</p> <p>dictate 159:4</p> <p>dictionary 50:5</p> <p>didn't 6:13 58:3 69:1,4 75:2,3 79:13 80:20</p>	<p>103:19 109:22 112:3,6 120:6 128:19 140:1 173:14 174:16 187:25 194:7 196:21 209:22,23 211:2 217:14 218:7 223:3 231:1 231:5</p> <p>differences 131:10 182:24</p> <p>different 3:24 14:5 37:13 55:9 56:20 58:9 59:21 61:22 87:24 92:7 97:24 113:8 121:10 122:8 130:15 149:4,5 151:25 155:18 187:9 197:9 211:25 218:20 226:8 229:23</p> <p>differentiate 145:20</p> <p>differing 63:20 69:20</p> <p>difficult 98:5 162:25 180:1 181:16 212:19 216:14 220:14</p> <p>difficulties 211:15 211:21</p> <p>digest 65:25</p> <p>digit 142:22</p> <p>digitalized 34:15 34:22</p> <p>digits 45:13,16,21 46:2 143:13</p> <p>dignity 183:10</p> <p>diligence 48:2</p>	<p>diminish 58:18</p> <p>direct 14:20 154:4</p> <p>directed 209:25</p> <p>direction 154:8 182:1</p> <p>directions 153:25</p> <p>directly 91:4 105:11 109:6</p> <p>director 11:3,15 11:19 12:3 123:7 123:9 142:11</p> <p>directors 133:23 211:12 212:15 221:23</p> <p>disabilities 22:14</p> <p>disability 203:1</p> <p>disabled 18:12 20:6 202:25</p> <p>disagree 3:22 52:22 59:12</p> <p>discarded 112:14</p> <p>discharge 202:23</p> <p>discount 202:25</p> <p>discourage 74:2 178:19</p> <p>discovered 81:16</p> <p>discretion 124:17 125:13,14 130:1</p> <p>discussed 2:5 46:16 143:16</p> <p>discussing 24:19 104:25</p> <p>discussion 29:24 56:16</p> <p>discussions 3:4</p> <p>disenfranchise 177:16 181:3</p> <p>disenfranchised 36:24 37:3 44:9 51:3 57:22 63:16</p>	<p>dish 205:5</p> <p>disorder 146:9</p> <p>disparate 21:20</p> <p>dispersing 148:25</p> <p>disposal 66:22</p> <p>disposed 112:12</p> <p>disproportional 56:13</p> <p>disproportionate 18:11</p> <p>disproportionately 20:7,14 22:12 44:8,19 56:5 57:5 57:12,20 58:6,14 58:23</p> <p>disqualifying 179:23</p> <p>dissipate 156:6</p> <p>distances 114:12</p> <p>distinct 201:14</p> <p>distribute 226:7</p> <p>distributed 225:10 225:14</p> <p>distribution 173:22 191:6</p> <p>district 1:1,2 186:11</p> <p>districts 5:3,8</p> <p>diverse 182:7</p> <p>divided 183:15,15</p> <p>division 1:3</p> <p>dmv 20:8 43:15 106:10 192:6</p> <p>doable 230:9</p> <p>doctor 203:4</p> <p>doctors 75:9 94:12</p> <p>document 72:12 142:24 143:5 202:17</p> <p>documentation 27:19</p>
--	---	---	---

[documented - early]

Page 16

documented 192:21	100:19 101:17,22 105:16 107:14	32:20,21 33:1 34:14 37:19 41:24	152:2
documents 33:8 127:10 143:7,10 143:12 144:9 190:5,6 192:2 203:1,2 229:2	108:14,15 109:9 110:24 111:5 112:20 113:17 114:7,10,13 115:13,18,22,25 116:5,7 117:3,7 119:14 120:5 125:2 133:3 135:10 136:15 137:23 139:5,25 140:6 144:8 146:15 149:2 152:4,15 172:3 174:5,13 188:2,2 188:15 195:21 196:8 198:19 200:3 205:9 208:25 209:13 210:3 212:23 213:10,11 215:4 216:20,20 217:3,6 218:5 220:18,23 222:18 224:18 225:21	42:11 44:5 46:3,9 89:25 95:8 158:5 158:7 168:9 172:20 202:10 204:22 220:17,20 221:1,6 drives 32:20 189:1 189:4,5 drop 14:12 91:16 91:22,25 92:9,13 104:19,23 105:13 107:9,13 108:13 108:16 109:1,15 109:24 110:23 111:11,21 112:3,4 112:11,22,23 120:4,15 121:1,2,5 121:25 123:12 128:16,18,20 129:1,2 135:25 137:10 139:15 140:12 141:7 145:25 146:3,10 151:13 159:15,21 159:23,25 179:6 190:10,20 196:25 222:17 223:23 224:1,5 226:12,19 226:21,24 227:4,6 227:14,25 228:3,8 228:11,13,23 229:9,10,16 230:18,20,22 231:1,12 dropped 105:17 107:12 181:2 228:13 dropping 112:2 113:24 121:12	drug 203:3 due 48:1 91:19 172:20 188:10 227:12 dumping 189:23 190:17 195:24,25 199:20,21,22,24 duncan 40:19 duplicate 31:7 187:15,23,24 188:1 duplicating 133:5 duplication 33:12 133:2 169:8,11,12 169:13 duplications 133:11 duties 229:22 duty 126:9 182:13 211:15 dynamic 213:11
doesn't 28:24 34:23 42:1 54:25 99:7,16 107:24 186:9,9 198:16 199:21 203:8 213:20 220:1	door 112:10 230:6 dose 11:21 doubt 139:9 dr 11:17 201:16 drafted 14:24 171:22 dramatically 19:20 drive 187:7 188:21 188:24,25 194:9 194:12,12 driven 181:20 196:20 driver's 23:4,6,15 24:11 28:20 32:19	drives 32:20 189:1 189:4,5 drop 14:12 91:16 91:22,25 92:9,13 104:19,23 105:13 107:9,13 108:13 108:16 109:1,15 109:24 110:23 111:11,21 112:3,4 112:11,22,23 120:4,15 121:1,2,5 121:25 123:12 128:16,18,20 129:1,2 135:25 137:10 139:15 140:12 141:7 145:25 146:3,10 151:13 159:15,21 159:23,25 179:6 190:10,20 196:25 222:17 223:23 224:1,5 226:12,19 226:21,24 227:4,6 227:14,25 228:3,8 228:11,13,23 229:9,10,16 230:18,20,22 231:1,12 dropped 105:17 107:12 181:2 228:13 dropping 112:2 113:24 121:12	e e 143:14 233:1 earlier 41:7 66:25 113:12 135:13 144:7,19 170:20 184:13 195:10 206:23 211:13 216:16 219:20 220:15 221:23 226:14 230:23,24 earliest 158:10 early 8:8,11,18 9:24,24 14:10,18 39:13 56:2,4,5,12 56:16,17 57:3,11 58:11,16,18,25 59:18 64:1,1,2,2,7 64:10,13,14,18 74:23 84:19 85:11
doing 29:9 35:24 53:19 66:8 74:21 84:24 90:17 102:25 107:23,23 133:3 135:10 144:24 146:19 147:20 162:21 169:9,14 188:9 202:2 214:17 226:22	dollar 54:18 dollars 60:11 dominion 193:12 195:20 200:6 donation 138:19 don't 9:23 15:11 23:23 25:12,14 26:4,6,14 28:5 31:4 32:11,15,21 32:22 33:17,18 41:2,10,25 44:5 48:4 51:21 59:13 63:23 64:4,10 65:6 66:25 71:20 71:23 72:11,20 76:10 77:24 85:6 86:6 88:11,18,19 89:2 91:5 98:10	drives 32:20 189:1 189:4,5 drop 14:12 91:16 91:22,25 92:9,13 104:19,23 105:13 107:9,13 108:13 108:16 109:1,15 109:24 110:23 111:11,21 112:3,4 112:11,22,23 120:4,15 121:1,2,5 121:25 123:12 128:16,18,20 129:1,2 135:25 137:10 139:15 140:12 141:7 145:25 146:3,10 151:13 159:15,21 159:23,25 179:6 190:10,20 196:25 222:17 223:23 224:1,5 226:12,19 226:21,24 227:4,6 227:14,25 228:3,8 228:11,13,23 229:9,10,16 230:18,20,22 231:1,12 dropped 105:17 107:12 181:2 228:13 dropping 112:2 113:24 121:12	e e 143:14 233:1 earlier 41:7 66:25 113:12 135:13 144:7,19 170:20 184:13 195:10 206:23 211:13 216:16 219:20 220:15 221:23 226:14 230:23,24 earliest 158:10 early 8:8,11,18 9:24,24 14:10,18 39:13 56:2,4,5,12 56:16,17 57:3,11 58:11,16,18,25 59:18 64:1,1,2,2,7 64:10,13,14,18 74:23 84:19 85:11

86:10,16 90:18	efficient 126:24	109:6 113:22	9:12 13:11 15:7
91:23 93:18 94:15	127:4 142:21	115:11 122:4	15:13 19:6,23
103:20,22 120:20	effort 21:18	123:11,18,25	22:4,10 27:1 31:2
145:12 149:14,19	efforts 53:16,17	124:6,10,15,18,20	31:24 33:21 34:16
151:15 156:2,25	60:17	124:24 125:5,5,12	34:20 37:22 40:12
157:17 160:12	ehrhart 8:5	125:15,17 126:19	40:16,18 43:22
161:10,11,22	eight 126:19	129:19 130:7	46:6 50:18,19
162:1,19 163:2	either 21:5 23:7	131:15 133:8,17	51:17 53:8,25
164:18,23 165:12	85:4 88:4 89:4	133:23 135:14,15	54:15 55:9 63:6
174:19 175:3	91:23 116:6 158:4	137:6 139:6,7	64:3 65:5,10 67:1
179:6 182:16	159:22 161:16	145:4,11,23 149:1	83:18,19 84:14,16
201:23 211:22	187:23 221:1	154:4 156:9,22,23	84:18 90:14 91:1
212:3 223:9,10	231:15	156:24 157:2,22	123:7,13 124:20
ease 102:14 103:3	elaborate 50:9	161:6,10,18,24	133:16 137:25
easier 34:19 65:20	elderly 18:12 20:5	162:2,6,7,23 163:7	139:9,11 142:12
97:8 102:3,7	22:13 63:19 69:20	165:11,14 168:1	143:4 144:22,24
easily 180:12	elected 7:11 70:15	170:21 174:1,4,10	145:7 150:23
197:13 221:12	electing 177:19	174:22 175:6	153:11 155:7,8
easing 104:3	election 1:8 2:4	181:5,12 182:1,17	156:16 157:11,12
easy 70:3 124:11	6:9,11 7:13,24	185:4 186:24	161:13 162:10
220:23	8:15 10:2 13:1,22	187:2,9 190:11,11	170:19 180:6
eat 76:20	14:15,16 15:11	190:13,15 192:19	181:23 183:16,20
echo 156:15	19:22 22:5 27:20	193:17 194:1	185:10 188:7
economic 177:7,12	27:20 28:4 34:10	195:5 196:1,11,14	194:13 198:25
180:17	37:22 38:25 39:7	196:22 197:23	206:18,22 208:7
eddie 5:22	49:7 51:1 52:7	207:6,13 209:17	212:25 213:5,7,9
educate 111:13	53:7,11,16,17,21	209:20 211:2,11	213:24 214:12
educated 15:19	54:6,8,21 58:10	211:12,25 212:8	216:14 222:2,10
educating 90:17	59:12,18,21 60:12	212:14,16,18,20	229:18
91:2,7	64:5 69:9 78:11	212:21 213:14	elector 85:3 87:21
education 16:19	78:16 79:17,24	214:3,12,14	88:9 185:16,17,18
73:1 115:7	80:11 83:20,24	218:24 219:17	185:19
effect 56:13	84:4,7 86:14,15,17	220:2,3,14 221:16	electorate 213:2
131:12,13 178:23	86:18 87:5 88:4,9	221:20,23 222:7	213:25
188:3	89:4 90:16,19,24	222:23,25 223:2	electors 90:7
effective 127:4	91:24 92:17 93:19	223:13,15,24	elector's 45:25
151:25	94:5,16,20 95:5,19	225:9 226:8	68:1
effects 153:13	98:15,18 101:9,21	227:10 229:19,24	electronic 23:8
efficiencies 149:6	101:25 102:3,4,6,7	230:25 231:3	197:4
efficiency 144:23	102:8,15,16 104:9	elections 4:19,21	electronically 4:7
	106:17 108:2	5:7 6:1,3,3,5,10,17	221:9

<p>electronics 74:20</p> <p>element 216:22</p> <p>elements 216:6</p> <p>eligibility 107:25</p> <p>eligible 65:18 219:23</p> <p>eliminate 14:21 56:8 57:4 63:7 180:15 192:15 194:16</p> <p>eliminates 167:13</p> <p>eliminating 88:21</p> <p>elimination 14:19</p> <p>email 187:13,24 205:7</p> <p>emails 173:19 205:5 226:17</p> <p>embodied 21:21</p> <p>embrace 66:23</p> <p>embraced 65:6</p> <p>emergency 6:18 8:20 94:10 95:2,4 121:2 125:25 126:13,14 152:11 222:16,20,24 223:25 227:9,10 227:13</p> <p>emergent 226:15</p> <p>emotional 62:15</p> <p>empanel 192:7</p> <p>emphasize 32:2</p> <p>employee 202:11</p> <p>employees 165:6</p> <p>empower 114:5</p> <p>empowered 112:23</p> <p>empty 151:18</p> <p>emptying 228:19</p> <p>emts 94:11</p> <p>enabled 128:12</p>	<p>enables 95:1</p> <p>enactment 20:3 22:11</p> <p>encode 169:18</p> <p>encourage 31:16 55:5,24 66:13 67:7 87:9 88:21 89:23 90:11 92:4 93:4 99:14,23 102:1 113:14,21 178:17</p> <p>encouraging 66:9 121:18</p> <p>ended 147:23</p> <p>ends 128:9 178:11</p> <p>enforce 188:12</p> <p>enforcement 32:25 135:24 185:23,25 186:2 188:15 195:8 199:19</p> <p>enfranchised 37:12</p> <p>engage 183:2</p> <p>engaged 25:2 51:18 86:14 178:18</p> <p>engagement 11:3 11:15 70:10 86:4</p> <p>enhance 22:6 56:23 103:15 108:11,21</p> <p>enhanced 100:1 104:8</p> <p>enhancement 119:16</p> <p>enjoyed 75:24,25</p> <p>enormous 60:10 211:21</p> <p>ensure 31:22,24 37:11 42:19 43:23</p>	<p>50:18 63:9 84:12 166:13 167:22 182:10</p> <p>ensures 51:24</p> <p>ensuring 84:5 91:7 94:17</p> <p>enter 146:13</p> <p>entering 116:24</p> <p>entire 88:5,9 181:10 182:2 213:2,24</p> <p>entirety 40:4 73:11</p> <p>entities 91:6</p> <p>entity 197:20</p> <p>entry 88:15 127:3</p> <p>envelope 45:13,14 45:22 46:1,5 68:3 98:2,4 116:21,22 118:7,14,25</p> <p>envelopes 95:7 97:18</p> <p>environment 20:20 96:16 112:9 129:13 227:8</p> <p>environments 64:17</p> <p>episode 82:1</p> <p>equal 56:25 135:14</p> <p>equality 63:11</p> <p>equally 19:17 21:9 84:7</p> <p>equipment 124:8 124:19 125:4,8 134:8 135:17 137:10 144:25 145:4,6,11 150:2 153:3 225:14</p> <p>equitable 63:9 84:11</p>	<p>equitably 182:12</p> <p>equity 63:10 70:9 192:15</p> <p>equivalent 179:1</p> <p>er 31:13</p> <p>era 192:23</p> <p>error 45:3</p> <p>errors 187:9</p> <p>especially 14:13 19:20 33:21,21 37:17,21 43:17 49:9 62:7,24 86:23 92:13 93:1 99:1 120:15 203:15 211:23 229:25</p> <p>essential 206:8</p> <p>essentially 110:1</p> <p>establish 133:1</p> <p>establishing 70:12</p> <p>establishment 202:12</p> <p>esteemed 201:16</p> <p>eveler 141:23,23 141:24 142:2,3,4,9 142:11 146:22 147:12 148:14 149:9,17 150:10 150:11,15 151:7</p> <p>evening 151:18</p> <p>event 113:20</p> <p>events 21:15</p> <p>everybody 32:19 56:25 67:7 76:20 101:17 122:12,14 187:17 192:8 196:3 221:11</p> <p>everyday 216:5</p> <p>everyone's 26:7 167:22</p>
--	--	--	---

<p>everything's 152:15</p> <p>evidence 19:11 25:24,25 27:4 32:2 38:19 39:17 40:20 49:22 51:7 51:13 52:1,9,14 54:19,20 114:19 180:4 181:5 187:3 187:6 205:17,24</p> <p>evident 192:25</p> <p>exacerbate 57:23 58:2</p> <p>exacerbated 62:25</p> <p>exacerbates 14:6</p> <p>exact 34:9,17,18 35:5,10,12 36:3,4 36:15,18,22,23 179:23</p> <p>exactly 49:24 63:4 80:25 90:16 111:7 135:4 207:10 219:22,24</p> <p>examining 24:1</p> <p>example 26:2 47:25 65:13 74:17 103:21 118:7 124:23 180:15</p> <p>examples 93:5 94:25 95:12 142:25 163:6 167:6</p> <p>excellent 36:5 152:8</p> <p>exception 14:8</p> <p>exceptions 199:17 199:18</p> <p>exchange 188:25</p> <p>exciting 54:9</p> <p>exclude 72:25</p>	<p>exclusion 73:1,1,2 73:2,3</p> <p>excuse 63:2 70:18 75:4 165:25 191:9 191:10 201:25 218:11 219:11</p> <p>executive 11:19 12:3</p> <p>exercise 179:5 180:2,9 218:19</p> <p>exist 66:25 107:19 117:7 226:16</p> <p>existed 226:1</p> <p>existing 89:21 132:19</p> <p>exists 106:11 117:7 205:25</p> <p>expand 37:10 64:12,18 65:11 70:16,17,17 139:13</p> <p>expanded 85:19 91:19 100:1</p> <p>expanding 66:19 208:10</p> <p>expansion 227:15</p> <p>expansive 66:16</p> <p>expect 4:10 140:6 232:7</p> <p>expected 125:15</p> <p>expecting 125:1</p> <p>expense 130:3 140:13 149:2</p> <p>expenses 141:4 154:3,4</p> <p>experience 53:15 55:21 56:15 67:7 87:6 102:14 117:22 133:22 134:1 151:3 157:20</p>	<p>experienced 87:23</p> <p>expert 63:3 84:15 159:3</p> <p>expertise 84:1 85:5</p> <p>experts 82:25</p> <p>expire 223:1</p> <p>expired 223:2 227:10</p> <p>explain 147:9,10</p> <p>explore 164:12</p> <p>exposing 134:22</p> <p>express 127:9</p> <p>expression 232:5</p> <p>extend 162:3</p> <p>extended 56:18</p> <p>extending 88:8</p> <p>extension 85:1</p> <p>extensively 151:17</p> <p>extent 227:12</p> <p>extra 23:18 47:1,5 47:9 63:12 92:2 101:19 109:11 131:19 152:25 161:20 162:11 163:1 164:17</p> <p>extraordinary 25:5</p> <p>extremely 58:18 58:19 135:11</p> <p>extremes 151:11</p> <p>eyes 179:1</p>	<p>faced 129:19 211:21</p> <p>facetime 11:1</p> <p>facilitate 116:11</p> <p>facility 8:12 9:16</p> <p>facing 64:23</p> <p>fact 26:9 30:5 33:11 38:9,21 48:20 81:17 96:20 126:14 129:9 132:5 135:12 157:9 158:2,6,9 160:1,13 162:18 181:8 203:13 209:17 222:22</p> <p>factor 89:8</p> <p>facts 21:14 183:17</p> <p>factual 30:25</p> <p>factually 39:4</p> <p>fail 213:19</p> <p>fair 54:15 55:2 63:9 84:10 133:15 166:22,24 167:8</p> <p>fairly 84:7 166:2 166:14 178:20 180:3 181:13 182:12</p> <p>faith 180:16</p> <p>fall 161:9</p> <p>falls 217:2</p> <p>false 73:5</p> <p>familiar 8:10 25:8 35:13 45:5 60:15 138:4 159:16 201:17</p> <p>families 42:19 73:25 87:1,11 180:24 216:15,25</p> <p>family 81:7 107:14 216:19 220:9</p>
			<p>f</p>
		<p>f 233:1</p> <p>face 20:7 23:24 24:6 25:5 62:25 63:22,23 69:25,25 110:5</p> <p>facebook 138:19 193:11</p>	

[fan - fleming]

Page 20

fan 145:25	fifth 21:13	123:14 142:18	74:12 75:18 76:5
far 14:6 67:10	fight 73:20,22	151:19 153:1	76:9,18 77:22
88:8 103:3,14	figure 121:10	154:22 160:2	78:6,9 79:25 80:8
118:6 124:18	169:2	185:7 194:2	80:12,16 81:2,6,12
152:18 157:1	figured 140:4	201:20 211:17	81:18 82:5,12,15
172:2 189:20	file 35:17	fiscal 20:19 210:7	82:19 83:2,6,10
190:10,11	filed 12:22 39:7,9	fiscally 66:10	100:17 102:18,21
fashion 218:20	fill 7:24 32:9	fit 187:25	104:16,22 114:9
fast 153:19 209:3	115:23 170:21	five 16:24 54:18	114:17,23 115:15
faster 84:12	221:12	109:15 123:12	115:21 116:7,13
father 2:12	filled 68:4	130:7 143:6 152:1	117:2,9,16 119:25
fathers 122:12	filling 88:12,19	161:7,17 162:5,11	120:10,23 121:7
favor 152:11	filmed 189:6	fix 12:17,20 33:17	121:22 122:18,20
159:24 183:4	final 221:14	171:25 182:3,4	122:24 123:3
fear 182:5	finalized 191:22	fixing 35:20 182:2	133:20 135:21
february 1:10	finally 21:13	flag 95:10	136:1,6,9,14,19
federal 18:19	financial 196:18	flagged 147:8	137:15,18,22
21:14 25:16,20	find 2:20 26:11	flake 177:2	138:2 139:1,22
129:21,24 130:18	28:3 36:19 91:25	flap 108:8	140:9 141:1,11,18
132:19 187:1	157:17 160:9	flaps 108:8	141:22 142:1,4
188:6 193:9 195:7	164:2 166:3 183:4	flash 187:7 188:21	146:18,23 148:8
200:14,19,20	185:7,9 192:3	188:24,25 189:1,4	149:10 150:11,16
225:10,25 226:6	finding 28:4	189:5 194:9,11,12	150:20,24 151:2
226:10	findings 19:14	flawed 35:5	153:16,20 154:10
feedback 93:7	finds 105:4	fleming 2:1,25 7:2	154:15,21,25
100:6,8,9,15 228:7	fine 61:8 62:19	11:6,10,24 12:4	155:4,12 157:5,8
feel 16:10 42:24	94:2 140:3 159:13	15:14,23 16:2,5,8	157:24 158:22,24
98:14 115:6,8	184:15 186:21	16:15,21 17:4,7,12	159:8,11,13
134:18 155:21	200:25 202:2	17:16,20,24 22:18	162:14 163:11,19
182:3 206:12	209:11	23:11 24:8,16	163:22,24 164:4
229:5	finish 158:14	25:7,11 26:3,18,24	164:12 165:4,8,17
feels 14:20	186:18	27:6,11 29:8 30:8	166:4,5,8,17,19
feet 152:1	fire 8:22	30:12 36:12 37:7	167:11,14,16
fell 103:2	firemen 122:12	37:24 38:5 44:22	169:23 170:4,11
felony 185:21	firmly 128:4,8	45:9,23 46:20	170:24 171:15
189:6 194:18,20	first 13:14 15:19	47:3,14 48:13	172:6 173:8,16
194:21 195:16	18:20 19:4 22:2	49:17 53:3 55:16	174:11,14 175:9
197:22 199:1	27:15 28:8 29:20	59:7 60:1,19,25	175:12 176:1,6,9
felt 211:24 231:13	46:7 74:4,18 77:1	61:8,12,18 62:1,5	176:15,20,23
field 78:17	77:14 80:7 85:9	62:17 69:3,10,14	179:12,17,19
	95:10 121:4	70:21,25 71:10,14	184:3,8,12,15,19

[fleming - further]

Page 21

186:3,7,20 199:6 200:22 201:4,8,24 202:2 206:1 209:4 210:16 214:1 215:2,6,12,15,18 217:9,20 219:19 222:13 224:6,20 224:25 225:18 227:19 230:14 231:17 232:18 flesh 169:23 flexibility 58:15 64:10 132:9 157:1 157:10 160:20,21 163:3,9 164:8 173:25 174:8 175:6 flip 50:6 floated 222:3 florida 16:25 89:1 flying 74:18 focus 18:24 50:23 70:11 74:4 84:24 92:20 142:15 focusing 86:7 142:13 folks 24:2 36:23 80:2 94:12 100:8 111:10 follow 3:5 7:21 50:9 109:21 120:11 174:12 222:12 followed 128:21 231:14 following 22:9 48:16 130:6 161:6 169:20 font 158:18,25 159:3,4	forcing 179:22 foregoing 233:4 foremost 85:9 95:11 forensic 196:18 forever 108:15 forgive 62:15 65:24 67:4 forgiveness 16:13 form 28:19 31:25 32:1,7 56:8 146:11 190:7 former 83:18 formidable 178:6 forms 23:9,23 24:6 25:6 43:10 44:16 68:20 196:23 forte 202:1 forth 130:20 166:15 195:8 forty 19:6 forward 10:15 75:1,15 108:7 120:6 170:10 175:20,22 193:5 193:25 201:9 232:7 forwardable 106:6 forwards 189:8 found 27:25 39:8 47:22 48:17 50:8 52:8 60:12 67:22 68:6 144:19 182:16 192:3,4 198:12 founder 61:17 four 41:16 45:13 45:16,21 46:2 90:1 95:9 98:23 123:11 130:6	143:13 161:6 162:12 203:18 207:6 221:2 fourth 20:20 161:24 frame 14:11 130:19 franchise 73:21 frankly 118:12 221:22 231:1 fraud 19:8,12 25:25 26:1,10,12 26:12,25 27:5,10 27:24 28:3 32:3 34:2 38:10,11,17 38:20 39:2,5,22 40:7,9,13,21,25 41:11 45:19,20 47:1,4,13 48:18,20 49:23 50:7,13,20 50:24,25 51:8,14 51:19,20 52:2,9,15 52:17 54:12,13,23 59:17,23 60:12,13 63:8 67:24 68:6,9 68:12,13,14,16 72:1 147:10 148:5 180:4 185:10 187:6 188:7 189:19 190:21 191:12 192:25 193:20 194:13 195:10,11,12,12 196:22 197:23 199:18 205:18,20 211:5 230:19 fraudulent 33:13 40:9 free 129:12 freedoms 72:15	freeman 188:23 194:9 friday 161:14 165:9 friend 78:14 79:19 79:20 friendly 182:24 friends 107:13 109:16 178:2 front 46:24 68:2 89:23 107:7 166:7 181:10 197:10,11 218:7 230:6 fudging 198:24 full 1:9 61:3 71:3 90:8 95:8 99:18 119:3,3,4,21 151:20,20 189:14 fully 13:17 153:1 fulton 65:23 99:12 155:19 186:13 221:24 fund 16:19,20,22 17:11 189:16 fundamental 20:4 26:16 33:22 42:21 42:24 55:22 funding 99:25 135:18 136:24,25 149:15,25 193:6 194:24 225:5,9 funds 134:9 138:6 139:19 146:3 148:25 150:3 153:7,24,25 173:2 192:12 225:11 226:6 further 14:25 33:20 45:8 46:19 108:9 110:21 135:19 137:2
--	--	---	--

[further - goes]

Page 22

169:23 197:25 furthermore 14:1 future 195:6 212:25 213:24 232:7	74:21 75:15 78:5 78:7 79:1 81:15 83:23 85:13,16,20 87:10 89:15 91:18 92:5 96:8 97:4,9 99:17 100:11,25 103:2,8,10,24 106:8 107:1 110:5 110:13 111:12 112:7,25 118:19 120:25 121:4 130:16 132:2 135:5 178:24 180:7 190:22 193:9 194:1 196:21 197:6 200:9,21 210:22 213:6 216:3 226:16,18,21	189:10 195:3 211:19 222:10 226:9,16,17 gibson 215:7,7,11 215:14,17 216:1,2 gifts 193:7 194:24 ginny 8:5 give 18:16 29:16 30:16 42:7 66:23 70:4 77:2,6,18 80:20 81:21 101:23 103:7 113:1 120:1 124:23 126:20 130:18 139:24 147:13 148:21 150:4 152:24 160:8 162:10 164:8 172:18 175:5 191:1 213:22 217:4 228:5	37:7 38:23 41:10 55:6 56:21 57:7 59:11 62:5 63:12 64:5 65:1 66:4 69:14 71:2,15 75:1,3,9,11,13 78:1,4 87:7 93:10 93:17 95:18,20 99:7 100:21 101:15 102:21 105:7 106:6,22 108:16 109:4 110:9 112:9 120:6 126:12 130:3 131:2 132:1 136:4 136:20 139:22 142:7 148:8 151:5 152:5 155:20 156:15 157:4,6,24 158:1,13 159:12 162:17 164:6 166:7 167:16 168:6,11 169:4 170:14,24 174:14 175:12 188:12 189:7,8 190:6 191:10 192:6 194:5,9,22 195:17 196:4 197:2,25 202:3,7 206:3,24 208:23 209:6,18 212:4,24 217:21 225:11 226:12
g 6:23 gabe 40:19 gaines 7:8 game 9:1 178:15 gbi 143:24 general 12:11 19:22 20:13,17 39:7 40:10 41:24 63:5 124:20 129:19 135:14 148:14 157:11 210:22 generally 19:19 84:17 generic 182:16 genesis 138:18 gentleman 113:11 173:13 174:2 188:23 194:9 gentlemen 76:19 110:2 georgia 1:2,5 2:22 2:22 4:12,20 5:11 6:2,23 7:18,20,25 9:9 10:1 11:4,15 11:16 12:24 15:4 16:25 17:1,5 19:9 19:13,19,20 20:13 20:17 23:4,13 24:10 25:2 37:19 38:1,23 39:1,6,16 43:13,14,24 48:8 48:22 49:8 51:12 54:1,5 59:20 69:11 70:19 71:6	103:2,8,10,24 106:8 107:1 110:5 110:13 111:12 112:7,25 118:19 120:25 121:4 130:16 132:2 135:5 178:24 180:7 190:22 193:9 194:1 196:21 197:6 200:9,21 210:22 213:6 216:3 226:16,18,21 georgians 24:18 42:10 48:24 100:25 101:14 102:11 177:10 georgia's 15:13 19:14 65:4 71:9 122:15 181:6 germany 210:18 210:18,20,22 215:2,5 217:11,22 217:24 218:5,14 222:15,24 223:7 224:7,9,13,16 225:8,20 226:4 227:6 228:7 229:17 230:21 231:17 getting 10:7 26:13 26:19 27:23 41:12 89:20 106:10,21 130:19 153:21 168:4 173:18	153:1 159:23 glance 118:5 glitched 209:3 gma 4:22 go 2:2,9,13 3:17 4:9 5:12 11:10	110:9 112:9 120:6 126:12 130:3 131:2 132:1 136:4 136:20 139:22 142:7 148:8 151:5 152:5 155:20 156:15 157:4,6,24 158:1,13 159:12 162:17 164:6 166:7 167:16 168:6,11 169:4 170:14,24 174:14 175:12 188:12 189:7,8 190:6 191:10 192:6 194:5,9,22 195:17 196:4 197:2,25 202:3,7 206:3,24 208:23 209:6,18 212:4,24 217:21 225:11 226:12 god 152:14 godsend 156:18 goes 12:21 65:9 80:5 105:13 108:7 129:17 131:16 156:20 163:5 185:12 187:18 209:9 226:23

[going - happen]

Page 23

<p>going 6:14 13:25 15:17 30:21 36:22 37:6 79:18 93:18 99:25 105:25 110:8,16 120:5 126:2 128:9 134:16 135:4 152:4,5,13 155:8 158:17 160:11 161:1 164:23 167:5 171:13 174:3 194:2 204:20 209:19 212:24 213:4 216:14 219:11,15 220:16 225:22 232:6</p> <p>gold 124:10</p> <p>gonna 2:7 8:24 15:18 16:1 26:7 49:1 61:7 71:25 74:23 92:7 95:15 95:20 108:5 116:25 118:8,11 118:14,15 119:15 119:16,18,22,24 120:1 125:23 126:4,5,6,12 127:25 129:2,3 134:15 139:6 146:24 165:5 175:4 185:6 188:14 189:8 195:7 196:1,2 197:15 204:24 210:10,11 215:21 215:22 220:22 223:11,20 229:22 230:23</p> <p>good 2:1 6:21 10:16,19 12:9,12</p>	<p>17:24 61:1,13 73:24 76:18 82:21 91:7,12,15 92:9,25 93:5,10,14,16,23 95:11 96:23 99:9 100:12 102:13,25 103:9,21 106:11 108:21 123:1,3,24 124:2 127:4 129:14 130:3,12 131:20,22,22 132:9,23 133:1,1 133:10 141:16 142:10 143:18 153:9 155:1,12 172:8 174:11 176:12,20 179:16 179:18,21 184:16 184:16 192:18 204:14 214:22 215:5,17 216:1 218:18,20 219:21 223:10,22 224:11 226:13 231:5,15</p> <p>gotta 33:1 166:7 190:7 200:1</p> <p>gotten 67:13 169:6 173:19</p> <p>governing 192:9 193:8 194:25 206:5</p> <p>government 8:1 9:12 91:5 181:2 182:13 193:10 195:2 202:16,18 202:19 203:1,2,4 225:25 226:7 230:2</p> <p>governmental 202:17 217:25</p>	<p>governments 9:9 9:22</p> <p>governor 19:10 40:17,19 170:22</p> <p>grace 5:5</p> <p>grade 224:17</p> <p>grand 186:24,25 187:1 188:6 195:7 200:14,20,21</p> <p>grant 136:18,24 136:25 138:4,6,22 139:5,12,13 148:17,22 152:19 152:22 153:12,24 225:22 226:9</p> <p>grants 13:24 137:8 137:25 148:19 152:18 154:6 193:7 194:24 225:7,12,13,24 226:1</p> <p>grasp 13:17</p> <p>great 6:23 17:7 45:6 59:2 101:7 104:7 106:9 128:19 133:10,23 134:9 142:13 143:9,11 145:1 149:2,21 173:24 175:15 176:18 182:9</p> <p>greater 177:3</p> <p>greatest 101:10</p> <p>ground 128:23</p> <p>group 17:3 186:2 186:16,23 216:4</p> <p>groups 20:15 37:25 44:10 49:7 49:7,9 57:22 138:14</p>	<p>growing 140:2</p> <p>guard 229:16</p> <p>guess 35:3 44:14 45:16 50:23 93:25 136:22 138:21 228:10</p> <p>guidelines 8:18 21:10 31:16 70:12 70:13 128:21 224:3</p> <p>guilty 47:22 185:21</p> <p>guys 107:10 200:16 212:13</p> <p>gwinnett 184:24 192:4 198:10,12 198:13,20 208:5 216:10</p> <p style="text-align: center;">h</p> <p>habitual 221:25</p> <p>half 156:2 162:8 218:23</p> <p>halls 109:5</p> <p>hand 41:7 131:1 159:18 191:14 218:18,22</p> <p>handful 213:8</p> <p>handing 91:24</p> <p>handle 105:9</p> <p>handled 79:15 97:3</p> <p>handling 144:15 197:18</p> <p>hands 147:15</p> <p>hang 22:20</p> <p>happen 7:12 42:2 54:24,25 69:1,4 96:7 153:11 161:19 191:24 192:1 197:1 227:5</p>
--	---	--	--

[happened - hold]

Page 24

happened 7:17 45:1 112:16 113:18 152:15 190:21 194:11 205:20 206:7 227:22	hastily 10:25 hat's 111:15 hava 15:2 25:9,12 132:20 144:13 220:25 225:11 226:5	217:16,16,18,19 heard 5:15 7:7 30:6,7,7 47:24 49:8,20 110:2 130:14 138:18 140:11 144:10 155:2 167:7 175:16 182:11 199:9 211:12 214:6 221:23 226:25 228:8,11 229:11 230:22 231:25	helpful 55:20 65:17 150:6 helping 128:9 helps 208:17 223:13 227:24 here's 161:7 219:22,24 224:4 hey 102:24 192:6 231:6 he'll 185:20 he's 77:17 82:25 173:23 hidden 46:1 hide 26:5 229:6 high 41:4 86:24 184:25 higher 36:2 174:18 highest 56:6 124:22 highlight 151:8 highlighted 198:1 highly 55:24 highway 32:24 hire 196:13 hires 200:2 historic 14:16 175:23 historical 22:10 125:14 180:4 historically 44:9 57:22 history 178:24 179:24 hit 199:2 hmm 53:12 200:24 hold 9:19 16:8 19:6 111:10 114:4 136:1,2 146:23 173:10 176:17 206:1
happening 48:6,9 119:7 145:22 188:11 204:17 205:18	haven't 33:6 79:7 116:12 152:16 200:1 205:19	hawkinsville 78:5 78:6	
happens 30:15 113:20 152:15 160:6 165:14 196:6 200:2 227:2	hazard 139:16 140:12 150:4	hb 12:8,12,17,22 13:18 14:6 18:4 18:15,18 19:3,25 20:3,19,21 21:8,22 22:5 134:7 185:7 195:11	
happy 10:10,20 17:25 22:17 24:14 24:21 26:20 39:23 39:25 40:2 50:9 61:5 70:20 71:2 83:12 93:6 97:11 97:12 99:4 107:1 134:18 151:10 155:13 176:25 184:20 201:11 210:19 215:1,19 215:24	head 29:6 216:12 228:20	hearings 3:10 5:21 13:9 30:11	
harassed 115:9	healthcare 78:17 126:8 203:4	heartened 37:8	
hard 23:8 61:11 123:17 129:9 178:16 180:18 204:8	hear 3:5,8 10:20 17:25 21:3 28:9 31:1,21 36:13 37:9 61:5,11,12 71:2 77:2,19,20 78:12 82:17 83:13 102:20 122:25 123:4 141:23 147:21 150:18 151:5 154:17 155:13 176:25 184:21 201:11 210:19 215:25	hearts 133:17 heavenly 2:12 heavily 91:19 180:25 heavy 23:24 24:4 held 5:21 124:21 125:3 helen 11:19 12:2,4 help 15:10 25:8 72:18 79:15 84:24 87:11 110:4 112:10 130:8 131:14 133:23 135:13 145:1,9 149:7 201:24 202:9 213:22 214:2 228:19 helped 150:5 153:12	
harder 14:13 36:1 219:25			
harm 20:15 57:5			
harmed 73:11			
harmful 57:11			
harvesting 47:24 81:15 113:5,7			
hasn't 167:2			
hassle 160:10			

[holiday - inaudible]

Page 25

holiday 161:18 169:22	hubs 109:7	identifying 28:12 33:7 36:23 86:5	important 9:22 13:24 21:9 42:18
holograms 197:9 197:10,12	huge 49:11 134:8 144:18	98:3,10 118:11,20 119:5,11 127:20	61:24 67:9 84:4 85:5 86:4,19,25
home 83:17 84:1 107:8 116:6	hugely 151:14	142:20	99:23 100:7,10,13 104:21 111:5
178:14 196:4 203:19 216:12	human 20:18 229:8	identity 48:20 49:11 90:10	113:9 115:5,6 117:14 124:14
homeless 203:3	humbly 53:20	ids 45:11 119:21 144:12 197:4	125:12 128:3 129:16 131:25
honest 54:15 55:2 166:22,24	hundred 55:9	203:11,16 206:21	145:8 151:13 189:22 191:17
honestly 147:12	hundreds 128:12	iffy 207:22	192:13 195:1,19 196:16,20 197:16
honesty 128:17	hurricane 152:13	illegal 27:22 81:15 199:25 200:1	206:17 214:19 222:9
honor 3:11 199:13	husband 87:6	imagination 68:11	impose 20:1 21:19
hope 4:4 76:19 89:16 140:19,21	husband's 148:3	imagine 205:5	imposed 52:10 112:17
190:8 193:2	hyde 233:3	imagined 139:11	imposes 51:10
hopefully 4:5	i	immediately 19:19 113:19 194:17	impossible 168:14 180:11 208:9
horrible 64:24	ice 152:14	immigrant 49:10 49:12	impress 73:20
hospital 94:10 95:3	idea 13:19 24:9 32:16 91:21	immunization 11:22	improperly 105:8 105:17
hour 111:21 112:3 124:5 135:23	112:14 117:21 172:18 204:18	impact 13:3 18:11 20:19 21:20 22:12	improve 84:2,25 86:7 99:6 104:8
hours 13:5,9 14:10 18:6,7 56:12	210:12 214:20 222:3	49:14 52:23 58:6 61:23 64:9 142:16	108:11 227:24
57:11 93:1 104:25 120:22 131:5,6,8	ideas 31:3,22	144:23 148:13	improvement 96:7
131:24 132:8	identification 19:1 22:22,24 23:22,24	impacted 44:19 58:23 134:12	improvements 104:2
151:16,18 165:2 180:21,22 181:3	32:1,13 43:10 46:9,10 47:10	impactful 50:9	improving 35:22 84:20 95:13
208:15,20,21,22 216:9 231:4	52:25 144:15 189:18 202:25	impacting 68:24 69:18,19,23	inadvertently 219:6
house 2:5 5:23 7:5 7:7 8:3,4,4,5 9:2	204:4	imperative 21:2	inaudible 6:25 27:23 82:25
77:3 78:10 80:14 81:20,25 185:5	identified 4:1 68:3 74:3,9 144:12	implementation 211:16	107:10 116:1,14 158:21 167:14
186:14	identifier 30:25 31:5 33:2 46:16	implemented 162:13 211:19	171:13 201:5
housing 202:15,20	identifiers 90:2	implications 13:18 120:8	
houston 7:8	identify 20:12,18 28:13 32:16 33:9	importance 59:14 151:9	
houston's 8:2	51:13 52:4,14 71:24 72:1,12		
	74:5,7 107:19 187:19 198:6		

incentive 152:24 incentivize 150:5 incidence 57:19 incidences 199:24 incidents 26:11 27:10 41:11 50:7 121:11 inclement 216:13 inclination 3:4,11 3:15 include 13:18 19:7 21:15 25:3 95:14 170:19 202:10 220:24 included 87:14 includes 63:6,18 63:19,20,21,21 88:1 including 12:13 18:19 21:1 58:16 84:18 203:18 206:20 income 18:12 20:5 22:14 57:21 69:22 180:14,20 206:20 inconvenient 180:11 incorporate 15:2 62:23 increase 36:8 37:22 211:23 218:16 219:5,7 increased 19:21 increasing 26:15 98:14 increasingly 43:17 incredibly 13:2 indicated 181:11 individual 105:5 105:12 110:3	individually 96:18 individuals 168:6 induce 213:20 induces 185:17 inducing 228:17 indulge 26:2 infinitesimally 19:8 27:9 influence 114:17 114:19,20 115:4,9 115:17 116:9 influenced 115:19 115:22 information 24:12 24:22 30:16 32:9 40:1,6 48:25 49:3 49:16 89:23 90:8 91:1,3,8 97:12 98:3,6,10,17 106:10 108:9 109:16 113:22 116:20,24 118:6 118:10,11,13,20 119:5,9,11,19 120:14 127:10,15 127:21 128:2 132:17 134:23 138:18 143:2 203:18 204:3 205:2,6 informed 86:13 101:11 infraction 32:24 infrastructure 92:5 initial 130:7 innovate 103:11 input 18:16 21:11 100:14 133:19 inserted 166:11	inserting 98:4 inside 104:24 105:16 116:8 129:7 146:1 151:15,25 181:2 190:16 196:15 insignificant 70:6 inspire 13:11 installed 120:18 120:18 instance 26:1 41:3 47:11 58:10 157:20 161:21,25 164:10 172:17 207:3 instances 46:25 47:4,18,24 129:10 191:18 231:11 institute 83:17 84:1 instructions 97:19 109:17 111:17 113:15 insufficient 52:14 insulation 152:21 insurance 202:14 202:22 integrated 106:23 integrity 1:8 2:4 13:1 27:20 51:24 63:6 65:11 67:2 73:6,14 78:11 95:5 185:4 186:24 187:2 190:12 194:1 197:23 intellect 73:6,13 intelligent 194:6,8 intend 4:12 29:9 intended 193:14 231:22	intends 76:11 intentional 148:4 intentionally 7:1 232:4 interact 58:1 interest 22:1 27:14 85:6 86:24 101:10 interfere 9:16 interferes 185:16 internal 157:12 internet 20:9 interpretation 79:23 intimately 45:5 60:15 introduce 90:6 111:22 introduced 19:18 78:21 introducing 119:4 invest 146:2 invested 92:5 investigations 180:5 181:14 inviting 123:16 133:14 involved 53:7,10 55:6 67:11,13,15 72:9 83:20 97:10 177:23 iraq 204:19 irresponsible 206:6 island 96:20 isn't 40:11 64:7 95:3 165:21 207:15 issue 23:18,20 24:6 25:22 61:22 97:21 110:12 127:23 149:20
--	---	--	--

169:20 205:11 218:15 219:12 issued 23:15 24:11 116:12 128:14 202:6,17 203:1,2,3 203:23 208:1 222:22 issues 14:3,4,4,6,7 15:6 55:23 61:24 62:25 68:6,7 94:11 97:15 102:5 128:20 167:5 180:21 211:8 218:22 219:13 230:19 item 144:18 its' 192:13 it'll 83:2,4 139:7 it's 9:14,18 17:10 24:24 25:24 27:1 27:17,25 32:18 33:16 38:21,22 40:10 42:1 44:1,4 44:13 46:5 49:11 49:21 54:13,13 55:10 57:23 63:11 64:8 67:9 68:6 75:7,8 78:18,18 80:24,25 86:4,19 86:24 89:25 90:20 92:18 93:10,16 94:1,3 97:1 99:22 100:7,10,13 101:7 101:11,11,20 103:23 105:11,21 105:23,23 108:14 109:15,17,18 116:23 117:4 118:11 122:1 124:3,11 125:12 128:3,11,12 129:6	130:15 132:13 134:19 136:18 141:14,24 142:21 143:25 157:14 159:6 160:10 162:25 165:9,9,10 167:8 170:2,9 171:6,18 178:23 187:24 192:7,12 192:24,25,25 195:1,16,16,19 196:12,20 197:2 199:12 204:17 209:9 210:10 211:3 213:6,8,9 214:20 216:13 218:20 219:4,25 220:8,10,22 221:22,24 222:9 226:6 229:17,25 230:5,9 i'd 10:10 24:14 128:16 142:18 201:20 203:21 i'll 4:22,25 7:8 11:6 29:20 62:19 70:19 74:10 77:16 100:4 121:23 124:23 147:4 155:20,23 156:15 157:4 172:17 206:24 210:14 216:1 217:23 228:8 i'm 2:7 7:15 11:24 15:18,20 16:1,15 16:18 17:2 22:17 26:20,21 27:23 29:3 34:4 35:12 36:3,5,10,11,14 37:5,5,8 39:10,14	39:18,18,21,23,25 40:1,15 42:12 43:5,8,19,19 46:21 46:24 47:5,6,8,10 49:8 50:9,10,14 51:20 52:2 54:2 55:18 60:14 61:7 61:11,15 62:10,12 63:17 65:16,17 66:11 67:23 68:17 69:1,7,12 70:19 71:6,7,12,16 78:5 78:17 80:3 83:6 83:16,16 84:15 85:2 87:14 99:4 101:7 120:1 123:7 125:18,19 136:20 137:17 142:1 145:24 146:9 148:15 153:14 156:12 157:6 158:1 159:2,2 164:6 165:22,24 166:2,3,11 167:3,5 167:8,15,16 168:22 169:2,25 169:25 170:6,22 171:1,8,14 172:21 173:18 175:13 177:2 184:10,14 185:3,5 186:2,16 188:13 189:7 200:5 201:17 205:16 207:1,10 208:19 210:22 214:9 215:1 216:2 216:4 225:2 226:1 226:16,17,22 i've 28:2 53:17 75:24 79:14 81:16 83:23 85:3 96:10	101:20 109:5 117:18 118:5 123:8,15 138:17 141:5 144:10 145:19 147:1 154:6 155:7 165:15 166:6 177:13 186:13 197:6 199:2 210:8 210:23 230:8 j jackson 184:9,10 184:14,18,22,23 186:5,8,22 199:8 199:14 201:2,6 jan 38:7,15 39:10 39:20 40:10,22 41:2,14 43:25 44:11,21 janie 141:23 janine 141:24,25 142:1,2,2,3,9,11 146:22 147:12 148:14 149:9,17 150:10,15 january 19:22 129:23 137:6 149:19 223:1 231:11 jasmine 201:16 jim 73:16 job 133:23 142:13 173:5 jobs 73:3 91:9 122:8 180:17,23 181:4 joe 77:1,20 78:4,8 78:13 80:3,10,15 80:19 81:4,10,16 82:3,10,14
--	--	--	--

<p>johnson 176:7,9 176:12,13,18,21 176:22 177:1,2 179:15,18,21 184:4,6</p> <p>join 182:17</p> <p>jones 38:6,7,15 39:10,20 40:10,22 41:2,14 43:25 44:11,21 205:14</p> <p>joseph 11:17 78:4 78:24,25 80:1,3,4</p> <p>jovan 192:21</p> <p>jpb 1:5</p> <p>judge 5:25 6:5,7 6:11,14,16 91:24</p> <p>judges 95:19 188:9</p> <p>judicial 34:11</p> <p>judiciary 187:8 191:16 192:22</p> <p>judicious 194:6,7</p> <p>judkins 201:9,9,13 201:14 202:4 206:4 209:7</p> <p>july 161:24</p> <p>jump 85:10 123:14</p> <p>jurisdiction 124:24 128:13,18 138:12</p> <p>jurisdictions 92:8 131:11,18 132:7 135:1</p> <p>jury 186:24,25 187:1 188:6 195:7 200:14,20,21</p> <p>justice 70:9 72:14 177:8 183:23</p> <p>justice's 40:4</p>	<p>justification 21:17 51:9 52:10</p> <p>justifications 19:4</p> <p>justify 73:15</p> <p style="text-align: center;">k</p> <p>keep 28:9 44:3 48:6,9 61:7 88:11 88:12,19 92:16 93:4 99:25 119:19 121:18 145:17 146:11 213:13 216:2 225:21 230:17</p> <p>keeping 48:22 202:6</p> <p>keeps 48:18 128:4</p> <p>kemp 19:10 40:18</p> <p>kept 49:23 119:23 204:17</p> <p>kevin 60:25 61:6 61:10,14,15,20 62:2,6,19 69:6,12 69:16 70:22,24</p> <p>key 111:10 130:16</p> <p>kids 87:4 184:24 205:22</p> <p>killing 26:9</p> <p>kimberly 44:24 45:7,10 46:18,21 47:7 48:12 60:3,8 60:18 100:22 134:4 135:19,22 136:4,8,11,17,22 137:2,12 147:3 148:6,9 149:8 153:18,22 154:9 224:22 225:2,17 230:16 231:16</p> <p>kind 3:1 10:24 27:14 33:2 36:15 41:7 56:10 79:5</p>	<p>86:6 89:12 91:17 93:15 107:2 108:25 109:10 113:6 117:25 122:8 164:14 193:4 203:9 212:11 214:4 218:12 222:21 227:7 228:8,10,20 228:21 229:7,20 229:25 230:3,5 231:13</p> <p>kinda 221:18</p> <p>knew 15:20 204:15</p> <p>knocking 112:10</p> <p>know 3:13,18 4:17 5:16 6:9 8:15 9:24 11:9,18 14:9 29:12 31:6 32:17 36:7 41:8,18,20,20 41:21 45:10,11,19 46:25 47:3 48:21 51:17,21 54:24 55:8 56:4 57:25 61:11 62:18 63:10 63:16 65:3,6 75:2 75:3,7 77:13 79:3 79:22 80:25 81:3 86:11 87:13 96:9 99:7,12,15 100:24 101:4 105:16 108:16 110:17 115:12,19 119:14 120:16,19 121:15 123:16 128:3 132:2 133:15,22 134:25 135:9 136:21 139:25 140:1 141:14 147:14 152:12</p>	<p>172:23 173:17 175:3,7 176:19 188:2,15,16 191:8 192:8 198:19 205:9 207:14 208:19 209:23 210:7,9 214:5,14 215:9 217:24 219:18,18,18,22 219:24 220:6,18 222:16,18,18 223:3,5 224:4,18 225:4,21 226:5 227:22 228:24 230:17,18</p> <p>knowing 99:22 105:8 126:3 227:3</p> <p>knowingly 185:12 188:19</p> <p>knowledge 23:12 55:5</p> <p>known 111:14 180:24</p> <p>knows 42:5 152:14 174:2,3 176:16</p> <p style="text-align: center;">l</p> <p>label 187:23</p> <p>lack 21:17 66:4 73:5,6,6,13,13,14 188:10 205:17</p> <p>ladies 76:19 165:15</p> <p>lady 29:5 78:21 80:12</p> <p>laid 164:21</p> <p>land 4:25</p> <p>language 5:14 28:18 46:4 48:10 50:2 163:17 167:10 168:23 225:16</p>
---	---	---	---

large 3:18 62:20 72:24 131:23 180:13 183:24	lawyer 43:4,5 195:9	legislators 13:5,17 185:24	liked 66:1 74:17 131:24
largely 14:12,17 64:14	lawyers 75:9	legislature 18:9,14 48:2 73:10 100:14	likelihood 69:18 69:19
larger 9:25 131:11 131:18 163:6 167:4 169:1 174:19 175:4	layer 47:10 152:21	125:24 131:9 145:9 161:22	likes 176:16
largest 156:21,24 157:21,22	ldf 16:19 18:3 20:11	legitimate 22:1 26:15 33:4 37:21 52:10 179:4	limit 89:2 107:11 111:20,21 112:20 112:20 129:3
lastly 145:24	lead 2:8	leprosy 152:17	limitation 199:10
late 9:1 93:1 100:21 231:6	leader 66:18 103:10	let's 2:6 9:18 26:1 68:10 74:7,7 161:17,21 163:22 197:25 231:9	limitations 30:9 30:13 129:2 191:5 191:7 217:7
latest 4:22 43:11	leadership 73:3 75:21 177:19	level 92:6 96:22 167:3 186:25 213:10 214:10 226:3	limited 91:8 104:24 112:2 119:10
law 4:20 5:17 7:18 9:9 14:23 17:19 17:21 21:14 25:16 25:20 26:22 32:25 33:22 34:17 38:11 38:17,21 39:3,5,16 43:4 44:20 51:7 51:12 52:11 53:1 79:24 105:15 111:12 120:17,25 121:4 124:15 128:4 131:12 132:19 135:24 144:13 181:24 186:1 188:12 189:11 201:22 202:6	learn 8:16 66:12	levels 24:3 125:3,4	limiting 38:23 179:6
laws 18:19 19:15 47:15 48:3 73:16 84:25 85:1 91:9 107:10 109:23 110:13 193:25	learned 12:18	license 23:4,6,15 24:11 28:20 32:19 32:21,22 33:1 34:14 37:19 41:25 42:11 43:14 44:6 46:3,9 89:25 95:8 158:5,7 168:9 172:20 202:10 204:22 220:17,21 221:2,6	limits 88:22,22 107:15 112:8,16 178:21 211:11 212:12 232:3,4,10
lawsuit 47:12	learning 211:19	lie 73:17	line 45:24 136:3 146:8 156:3,4,4,6 156:13 158:15 159:9 163:23,25 164:6 166:3 170:5 170:7,15 171:11 193:5 195:18 207:9,11,19 229:20
lawsuits 39:9 47:20	lease 202:20	lieutenant 40:19	lines 14:15 102:4 122:15,17 124:2,4 124:13 131:15 133:6 135:22,25 136:5,7,9,14 137:24 138:5 156:11 166:12,20 179:22 208:13 209:2,7,20 224:25 225:2,3 226:12
	leave 94:9 186:18 200:19 208:23 210:15	life 41:24 42:18 56:20 138:16,21 177:11 184:24	
	led 85:13	lift 56:24	
	ledanski 233:3	lifted 50:1	
	left 152:16 164:7	lightly 205:8	
	leg 10:8	lightning 26:8,8 26:11,13,19 41:8,9 41:12,15	
	legal 16:19 17:3 51:2 58:21 82:25 110:11 180:5 233:11		
	legally 181:13		
	legislation 3:22 13:10 14:2 15:5 51:24 52:23 72:12 132:6 177:7,14,15 179:8 216:6 221:1		
	legislations 74:1		
	legislative 3:13 4:3 18:17 20:20 21:16 200:12		

[list - mail]

Page 30

list 88:7 190:1 203:11 215:21 218:3	179:6 locks 191:18 long 9:15 14:14 85:21 87:23 94:2 108:5 115:3 122:15,17 123:9 124:1,5,16 158:5,5 158:12 165:16,18 171:18 172:22 178:24 179:22 180:21,22 209:20 228:12,16	lose 173:15 174:7 183:10 185:2 204:13 232:19 loser 183:7 loses 183:8 losing 85:7 181:22 183:9 212:20 lost 7:18 27:15 53:25 54:5 147:1 149:22 183:16 204:8 lot 12:9 27:14,25 34:15 41:5 49:21 52:20,21 57:24 60:16 63:21 72:2 77:7 80:5 82:10 83:23 88:13,17,23 89:8,22 92:12 93:4 99:6 100:7,8 101:14 102:11 104:5 108:13,22 117:19,20 118:4 118:10 120:4,6 122:9 123:17 135:2 143:3 149:7 149:23 151:3 160:16 172:19 186:14 187:2,22 188:8 189:24 191:17,18 193:19 196:19 198:24 199:20 205:3 208:16 212:17 216:17 219:16,17 220:12 221:19 223:14,20 227:22 228:25 230:2	loved 126:5 128:19 low 18:12 20:5 22:14 41:18,19 57:21 106:19 180:14,20 206:20 lower 24:3 69:22 86:1 lowndes 150:21,23 193:17 lowry 11:17 luckily 204:14 lumsden 5:22 lunch 3:7 76:12,20 178:10 luxury 126:3 lyft 11:1 lynn 122:25 123:1 123:6,7 134:14 137:1,4,13 138:8 138:11,15,25 139:8,25 140:8,15 140:18,21,25 141:16,21 142:13 144:18 145:5 175:11,13,19,24
live 43:15 61:4 71:4 78:3 177:11 184:20 208:5 215:24 lived 216:10 lives 87:2 183:12 local 9:22 90:24 92:6 104:3 132:6 160:20 167:3 localities 88:14 96:24 locality 92:7 locally 125:2 location 8:8,17 20:10 97:1 212:5 230:1 locations 8:24 9:24 93:3 97:24 120:20 121:16 123:12 146:1,4 149:19,24 166:12	looked 56:10 134:11 184:12 220:19 looking 23:2 24:1 24:25 34:18 51:6 55:11 58:20,22 72:3 129:22 134:10 148:9 209:5 215:8,10 looks 6:23 56:11 171:5 213:4 215:3 loosely 154:7 lord 140:22	lots 114:6 louisiana 17:1 love 151:4 195:14 196:10 199:4,22	m ma'am 79:14 81:4 179:17 machine 105:7 173:21 174:5 187:18,25 190:23 machines 39:13 157:3,10,19 173:14 174:9 175:7 195:20 196:19 madam 38:5 53:6 magnitude 100:6 mail 19:7,12,15 49:23 51:14 52:2

64:19 65:4 84:16 84:19 87:21,23 89:6,11,16 94:6 95:7 96:21 98:1 99:20,21 100:3 105:23,24,25 106:1,3,5 108:19 113:15 115:2,12 116:16,17,17,18 116:22 121:14,14 131:3 151:21 203:15 207:15,17 207:24 212:2 219:6 228:2 mailboxes 121:16 mailed 94:3 mailing 90:13 92:1 93:9,21 mailout 160:3 main 101:21 maintain 87:9 92:4 103:9 132:22 maintained 119:23 maintaining 92:20 major 85:4 100:15 133:6 majority 7:21,22 134:17 making 14:8,12 63:11 84:9 86:22 88:13 98:15 116:8 173:24 189:16 206:19 man 77:16 manage 15:4 124:13 managed 64:15 154:6 management 229:20	manager 40:19 62:10 67:5 managers 51:17 mandate 9:14 144:20 156:12 178:12 mandated 163:13 165:19 mandates 111:18 mandating 145:25 mandatory 95:14 159:24 manipulated 54:17 manipulation 47:23 man's 4:25 march 34:11 124:25 233:16 mark 138:19 193:12 198:23 marked 185:19 marking 185:16 marks 185:14,19 married 11:1 martin 104:17,18 109:20 111:7 137:17,19,20,22 137:23 138:3,9,13 138:23 140:9,10 140:16,19,23 170:25 171:1,10 173:11,12,17 174:13 225:19,20 226:11 227:17 mary 74:7 mask 6:22 10:18 16:1 61:2,7 massive 211:23 218:16	master 1:5 match 34:9,9,23 35:10,12 36:4,4,15 36:18 37:1 52:13 91:12 148:5 179:23 190:3,7,8 214:8,10,21 matched 36:19 37:1 matching 35:7,17 materials 147:16 math 26:23 43:12 matter 30:6 54:25 128:8 165:9 191:13 226:25 matters 3:13 10:5 84:23 107:8 maximum 208:3 ma'am 3:1 6:22 45:9 48:13 121:7 122:18 140:23 141:20 146:18 148:14 149:17 150:16 153:16 176:12 179:12,20 184:8 186:3,7 217:9 224:13 mcreynolds 82:16 82:17,18,24 83:4,7 83:9,14,16 100:18 101:6 102:24 103:6 105:19 111:4,8 114:9,15 114:18 115:1,18 116:2,10,14 117:4 117:11 118:3 119:25 120:3 121:21 122:20,23 127:8 mcreynolds' 134:20	mean 30:25 38:11 39:20 41:2,3 42:1 49:24 50:24 55:23 59:12 81:4 94:11 98:9 101:8 105:10 106:5 108:1 114:20 115:1 117:14 127:8 136:15 149:16 156:3 181:22 205:18,20 218:10 224:25 225:25 meaning 52:16 98:3 171:20 meaningful 119:7 226:25 meaningfully 18:16 means 17:12 21:1 51:1 65:12 67:20 196:11 206:7 208:7,20 measure 12:20 47:2,5 measures 180:3,10 media 18:6 77:3 77:11 114:21 181:11 medium 131:23 151:10 meet 29:23 68:21 70:3 232:8,13 meeting 2:3,7 10:25 13:1 20:23 76:17 77:4,24 171:17 232:17 meetings 221:17 232:9 meets 148:24 151:10
---	--	--	--

[melvin - multiple]

Page 32

melvin 80:3 member 3:3 28:1 64:3 81:7 217:11 220:9 members 4:7 10:7 10:9 13:10,16 21:4 29:10 30:4 62:24 67:14 69:24 76:14 81:19,21,24 82:6 96:10 134:3 142:10 163:1 165:14 171:23 186:14,14 210:21 231:20 men 7:9 mention 3:17,25 129:9 148:16 226:21 228:8 mentioned 9:3 10:6,10 14:3 23:14 27:16 58:7 67:4 79:19 83:16 101:8 104:19 149:5 159:2 161:3 171:16,22 211:3 218:1,10,11 230:22 meriwether 54:22 mess 227:8 message 29:1 177:16 182:25 183:22 met 222:6 method 33:15 108:21 126:11 142:19 methods 29:19 84:17 91:4 metro 132:3 160:16	mi 1:5 mic 176:11 middle 85:23 109:10 118:4 179:10 mile 63:12 miles 43:15 military 73:2 93:13 130:18 131:2 187:10,11 187:12,14,16,16 187:22 188:3,4 198:2,3 202:13,22 203:23,23 204:1,9 204:24 205:1 milledgeville 54:11 million 218:24 mind 28:1 33:9 79:20 115:22 174:13 213:13 minded 55:13 mindset 75:10 mine 78:14 79:19 155:18 162:20 mineola 233:14 minimal 101:23 minimize 22:7 minimum 19:2 129:3 158:18 208:2 minnesota 86:2 minorities 18:11 minority 7:20 20:5 25:13 minute 9:1 50:8 77:6 103:5 126:10 164:13 minutes 168:15,18 misdemeanor 195:16 197:21	misquoting 205:16 missing 217:21 mississippi 17:1 mistake 79:6 204:16 mistakenly 67:25 mistakes 71:25 mistaking 79:2 mistrust 151:21 mix 196:13 mm 53:12 200:24 mobile 65:22 modern 35:6 moment 3:16 77:9 81:24 154:18 monday 3:10 13:8 21:9 31:19 87:12 163:12,18 164:11 164:14 165:9,20 169:18 170:2,3,8 mondays 163:10 163:12 money 136:18 138:4,10 139:4,5 139:12,13,24 140:2 141:14 148:21 173:2 192:20 193:15,16 195:2,3 196:20 206:11,13,15 225:10,22,23 226:6,10 monies 140:11 193:19 monitor 114:12 115:16 116:5 191:16 monitored 104:23 105:11 109:13 120:22 128:24	monitoring 105:2 115:13 117:12 122:4 135:25 monitors 114:13 114:15,24 116:8 116:10 231:14 montana 87:20 88:10,25 months 92:17 152:5 morning 2:1,9 3:6 10:24 11:2,23 151:19 171:17 201:23 morning's 143:16 mortgage 190:5 mother 41:16,19 42:5 mothers 122:12 motion 105:1 193:25 motivation 74:22 181:18 motivations 19:17 motor 34:12 43:16 move 8:22 75:15 87:20 88:18 106:17 125:23 132:14 152:8 183:18 193:5 movement 11:19 92:21,23,24 movements 205:6 moves 89:6 moving 46:11,14 75:16 126:18 134:21 144:24 214:7 multiple 19:10 39:23 105:6 180:5 181:9 211:3
--	---	---	---

[municipal - numbers]

Page 33

municipal 4:12,19 5:11 municipality 192:10,13 193:9 muted 77:5,12 154:18 mvp 228:14	necessarily 38:11 38:14 50:5 64:5 67:24 necessary 25:24 65:16 72:22 145:14 156:14 166:22 170:17 192:12 necessity 64:23 73:21 need 5:6 8:23 9:5 28:21 33:19 57:7 58:15,25 62:17 68:18 72:20 77:5 77:12 81:11 86:21 88:11 93:20 94:6 94:13 103:15,23 110:21 113:24 116:5,7,10 119:18 124:6,8,13 126:1,7 126:14 141:15 152:12 157:11,18 171:6 174:5,9 175:8 189:14 193:22 194:14,16 197:14 198:25 203:20 206:18 208:24 211:8 212:25 213:13,21 217:3 needed 9:13 59:11 72:19 79:12 93:8 127:3 150:7 153:5 227:12 needing 23:21 needs 2:16 32:12 34:5 83:5 92:7 113:25 117:15 131:11 135:15 155:17 170:23 182:11,19 218:15	221:15 nefarious 107:19 negative 20:18 153:13 183:2 220:12 228:11,21 negativity 178:20 neighbor 175:14 neither 20:22 159:22 net 143:14 neutral 21:17 214:16 never 19:13 85:3 112:13 118:15 152:12 156:3 172:22 176:16 197:3 new 5:3 8:17 35:6 70:12,13 85:18 103:17 106:18 133:24 144:14 152:4 158:3 167:10 168:5,9 211:17,18 news 45:6 nine 142:22 non 36:4 37:19 134:21 144:12 nonpartisan 8:1 nonpolitical 123:19 nontransparent 13:3 nonvoters 86:6 norm 152:4 normal 4:17 5:18 9:17 normally 78:18 81:20 209:10,24 225:11	north 14:22 111:24,25 northern 1:2 note 46:7,8 109:12 210:7 232:1 noted 13:20 127:8 notice 171:13 203:7 noticed 170:14 notification 202:19 209:22 notifying 107:21 november 6:8 69:8 78:15 125:5 128:18 129:18 130:11 137:6 149:18,21 170:1 198:11,21 number 4:18 23:4 23:5,6,15,16,19 24:11,12,17,19 27:9 28:13 31:4 32:22 42:14 46:3 46:10 49:9 70:5 78:17,18 89:24 95:8 104:17 113:16 125:17 135:16 142:19,22 144:1,3,8 145:14 149:18 171:11 172:11,16 175:9 192:7 193:4 203:9 204:4 214:21 218:16 220:17,17 220:21 221:2,6,6 numbered 124:21 numbers 4:16,22 5:1 26:22 27:18 33:8 45:20 48:21 49:2 53:18 67:18 68:18 74:7 119:15
n 233:1 naacp 16:18 71:7 71:13 73:19 201:22 name 7:3 10:20,23 11:2,14,23 15:18 15:19 16:5,6,10 61:4,15 71:3 78:2 78:22,24 80:4,7 83:7 95:8 118:24 118:25 123:7 142:11 154:23 177:2 184:22 199:13,15 201:13 210:21 named 82:22 names 16:12 172:21,24 nancy 176:7,13,18 176:22 177:1,2 179:15,18,21 184:6 nation 183:15 national 83:17 84:1 106:13 107:3 122:16 nationally 83:22 85:12 nature 63:5 123:19 226:15 227:13 near 5:2 133:16			

175:4 198:23,24 219:7 numerical 30:23 numerous 34:10 38:22 40:2,16 53:19 nurses 94:12 ny 233:14	offense 204:18 offer 87:18 89:3 89:13 101:13,23 102:14 103:20 109:1 offered 20:21 offering 80:13 102:2 office 7:19 29:24 43:16 59:25 67:20 68:8 99:25 101:21 101:21 106:16,17 108:2 112:4 117:5 128:22 129:23,24 130:1 137:9 142:16,22 144:17 145:10 149:1,22 152:20 164:21,24 170:22 207:23 210:23 224:15 225:12 226:5 229:14 officer 32:25 204:15 officers 126:8 136:12 143:24 177:20 194:6 204:11 offices 20:8 109:6 119:20 129:21 161:13 162:10 171:2 official 83:19 94:20 202:23 229:18,19,24 officially 94:20 203:24 officials 15:11 19:11 40:17 70:15 83:24 90:16,24,24 93:20 94:5 95:18	102:8 104:4 113:22 114:12 115:11 122:4 124:10,15 156:16 213:14 214:3,12 220:2,3,14 231:3 oh 37:5 39:18 100:20 112:10 157:6 159:13 164:2 166:11 175:24 179:15 206:4 229:5 230:23 232:14 ohio 5:16 okay 6:21 10:11 15:15,17,20 16:10 16:14 17:7,21,24 50:22 53:23 59:3 61:14 62:6 75:12 76:9 77:15,17 82:10,19 83:2,6,10 105:18 120:2,11 121:6 129:4 136:20 138:23 141:16,18,22 147:1 148:6 150:17,24 154:15 154:22,25 159:11 164:2,5 167:11 170:13 173:6 174:16 176:11 177:1 179:16,19 179:21 186:22 199:8 201:8 210:17 224:19 225:18,18 229:12 231:17 old 77:8 168:6 233:12 omnibus 12:8	once 12:21 24:22 28:15 56:9 105:6 105:12 ones 9:7 44:16 87:5,15 91:1,2 105:8,18 133:24 148:1 223:4 230:8 online 89:15 99:11 99:20 113:6 114:22 open 20:23 55:2 55:13 88:24 101:22 127:11 132:7 167:8 192:1 196:22 203:20 208:22 228:23,25 230:10 231:2 opened 75:11 221:19 opening 58:8 145:12,20 opens 203:14 operate 164:17 173:4 206:6 operating 177:8 operationally 142:17 operations 9:17 99:11 opinion 122:2 opponent 177:25 opportunities 20:25 58:11 102:2 103:12 139:13 228:6 opportunity 18:3 18:16 57:1 60:23 66:21 81:22 86:9 100:8 101:23 111:22 113:2 133:18 148:10
o			
o 233:1 oaths 91:9 objective 142:19 143:25 214:8,17 220:16 observation 119:7 observations 132:24 observe 166:14 185:18 observers 14:9 97:2,22 98:6,17 99:2 118:15,18 119:2 observes 185:17 observing 99:2 obstructs 188:20 obtain 142:24 obvious 132:13 obviously 29:16 81:6 92:7 94:5 100:6 151:2 occasionally 62:25 occasions 181:9 occurred 8:6 45:8 47:1,4,13,21 147:11 230:19 odd 4:18 7:15 odds 26:18 offence 204:10 offenders 222:1			

154:14 172:4 177:4 184:1,7 210:25 214:2 216:23 228:5 oppose 18:3 opposed 33:6 66:24 75:15 97:23 112:17 opt 172:20,21 option 21:2 86:22 88:8 91:22 94:14 102:10 109:2 129:14 131:14,23 160:18 218:21 options 58:15,22 85:14,17,19,21 87:10 88:3 89:4 90:18 98:24 101:14 103:9,16 111:20,22 112:21 113:1 114:6 122:7 141:6,8 199:10 oral 21:5 order 26:16 32:13 33:19 34:11 67:18 156:6 165:2,24 195:4 ordinary 21:16 organization 16:24 17:15 78:23 133:24 148:18 159:7 177:8 216:4 organizations 12:6 158:23 organized 154:7 organizer 61:16 62:13 organizers 61:21 67:13 original 161:24 169:6	ought 188:19 190:25,25 191:10 196:5,17 outcome 182:6 outcomes 183:18 outdoors 129:5 outlines 111:18 outright 20:2 outside 45:14 87:3 109:5 111:14 113:22 120:21 135:10 146:12 151:24 157:11 181:6 190:15 226:9 overall 84:3 167:9 212:11 overnight 173:19 overseas 93:13 187:21 188:4 204:21 overseen 152:23 oversees 59:20 oversight 229:6 overvotes 169:11 overwhelmed 230:10 overwhelmingly 24:18 ownership 203:6	pandemic 64:24 91:20 104:5 121:3 140:14,20 141:4 151:22 152:3 153:7 179:11 218:18 225:25 226:2,10,14 227:23 228:1 panel 133:7,9 169:9 192:5 paneled 204:10 panels 133:2,3 paper 28:22 49:2 72:21 74:19 144:6 147:14 211:18 214:21 papers 55:19 202:23 paperwork 42:25 43:1,1 88:12,16,20 89:18 parameter 99:17 parameters 92:10 pardon 202:23 parent 87:14 parents 42:2 parkview 184:25 part 9:19,25 17:2 25:20 36:7 49:6 65:4 66:6 67:1,15 91:13 108:12 111:5 115:5 118:17 127:1 140:17 186:2,16 196:13 227:25 participate 43:22 55:25 63:14 64:25 73:21 177:18 participated 85:25 participating 65:21 217:12	participation 22:8 72:10 74:2 133:5 178:21 particular 23:2 49:25 57:21 59:1 71:21 97:25 123:23 132:21 151:9 155:22 156:1,18 157:15 177:11 particularly 37:14 126:7,21 127:13 132:3 195:13,23 196:15 219:8 partied 204:8 parties 85:4 133:7 225:24 228:10 partisan 181:20 231:14 partners 90:23 parts 120:8 142:14 142:15 155:21 168:13 227:1 party 46:13,22 85:7 133:6 158:16 181:21 193:24 200:10,11 212:21 partyhood 213:3 pass 12:20 15:4 48:8 72:11,21 77:14 145:8 222:20 passed 7:13,23 163:16 209:6 222:25 passes 105:13 passing 146:7 passport 202:11 patience 231:21 patrick 80:4,5
	p		
	p.m. 178:11,13,22 181:5 231:2,10 pack 85:24 125:8 package 99:20 packet 111:17 page 37:10 45:12 136:7,8,9 164:6 166:7,9 170:7 197:2 198:15 224:24 228:14		

<p>patrol 196:12,13</p> <p>patterns 125:15</p> <p>pause 13:15 81:24</p> <p>pay 13:25 20:8 43:7 108:18 139:16,16 140:12 150:4 204:13 224:17 229:15</p> <p>paycheck 202:16</p> <p>peer 40:3</p> <p>pennsylvania's 103:21</p> <p>people 2:16,18 5:7 7:14 8:15 10:12 14:13,14 22:13,13 22:14 23:12,23 24:10 25:1,14 26:9,16 27:21 28:5 29:1,14 31:6 34:12 36:16,24 37:3,12 41:25 42:7 43:6,9,20 44:8,18 47:9,19,22 48:4,7,20 53:18 55:25 57:12 58:9 58:12,14 59:14 63:20,21,22 64:4 64:10,14,15,24 65:15 66:3 68:25 70:1,6 72:8 73:23 75:8,11 80:5 86:16 87:1,11 93:1 101:15 102:5 102:15 104:20 108:13 113:21 114:10 121:12,20 122:8,10 125:17 129:11 131:19 133:4 149:20,23 152:12 157:17 164:19 167:23</p>	<p>172:16,23 173:20 174:3,8,9,18,22,25 175:2 177:18 178:18,20,22 179:23 180:2,7,13 180:16,19 181:20 182:22 183:22 189:13,24 191:4 197:13,14,22 198:8,11,20 199:24 206:20 208:17,23 212:4 213:2 216:21 217:2,4 218:19,24 219:4 221:4 224:4 227:8 228:4,21 229:1,3 230:4 231:5,12</p> <p>people's 11:4,16 11:17 12:3 28:1 134:22 183:12</p> <p>percent 24:17,24 25:4,4,13 42:10,12 42:13,13 43:3,13 44:1,1 68:9,12,19 68:23,24,25 69:4,5 70:4,11 71:8 85:24 101:2 125:1 166:2 174:25 175:2 207:7 220:19,22 221:4</p> <p>percentage 24:10 64:9 144:11</p> <p>percentages 43:6</p> <p>perfect 54:24 207:15</p> <p>perfectly 187:18</p> <p>perform 212:16 220:15</p> <p>performed 211:14</p>	<p>period 5:5,19 6:9 8:24 85:22 87:23 92:16 93:19 94:19 115:3 125:21 126:13,18 130:20 156:8 216:24</p> <p>permanently 128:23</p> <p>person 6:17 7:11 7:18,22 11:20 20:10 26:22 28:14 32:22 33:3,10,10 35:3 39:14 42:4 43:12 54:11 64:16 66:5 76:11,23 77:1 80:11 81:3 91:23 94:19,22 101:24 103:20,22 106:4 107:13,22 115:11 121:25 122:3,11,13,14 147:1 152:2 160:23 178:12 185:12 188:18 189:17 197:19 207:16 209:9 216:5 219:1,6,21 220:7,11 229:15</p> <p>personal 66:7 98:3 98:9 118:11,20 119:5,11 127:9,15 127:20 128:2 132:17 134:23 137:9 204:2 225:13</p> <p>personally 54:11 62:3</p> <p>personnel 64:3 187:13 188:4</p> <p>persons 193:16</p>	<p>perspective 58:21 90:15 107:11 123:21 153:14 155:16 213:15 214:3,19 215:1 223:13</p> <p>pertain 155:22</p> <p>pertinent 223:4</p> <p>pervasive 49:12</p> <p>petition 188:5 195:6 200:14,19</p> <p>petitioned 186:23</p> <p>phenomenal 175:25</p> <p>phone 77:5,6,7,11 77:12 78:15,20 110:3 142:5</p> <p>photo 18:25 19:3,5 19:7,23,25 20:14 21:13,21,24 22:5 27:16,17 28:10,11 28:17,23 30:22 37:15 51:9 57:24 58:5 89:10 118:7 144:12 197:17 204:25 205:11</p> <p>photocopier 20:8</p> <p>photocopiers 206:21</p> <p>photocopies 20:9 90:5 119:21</p> <p>photocopy 197:9 202:5 218:11</p> <p>phrase 49:21</p> <p>phrased 151:12</p> <p>physical 12:14 158:4,7</p> <p>physically 65:1 66:3 94:24 164:24 165:22</p>
---	---	--	--

[physician - possibility]

Page 37

physician 78:19	117:1,8 119:10	point 4:24 9:7	189:2 194:6,15,17
pichaya 15:22,25	120:21 128:5,8,22	10:14 45:23 49:6	196:15 219:3
16:4,6,7,14,17,23	132:1 146:7 168:2	62:15 79:5,14	229:19,20
17:6,10,14,18,23	168:14 173:23	80:18 82:7 85:11	polling 20:9 84:18
18:2 22:25 23:17	175:7 178:12	86:3 88:2 103:23	90:19 91:23
24:13,21 25:10,18	180:18 210:3	111:10,19 126:15	104:24 112:4,24
26:4,20 27:3,8	217:6 220:1 222:5	156:19 158:14	116:23 117:1,8
28:16 31:8 33:14	223:1	159:1 160:24	119:9 123:11
35:8 37:5,8 38:4	placed 45:13	166:19 172:14	124:9,9 146:7
38:13,18 39:18,21	163:16 211:15	173:24 174:7,11	180:18 208:22
40:14 41:1,6	places 3:25 84:18	191:24 199:3,3	polls 14:20,22 65:2
42:16 44:7,17	104:24 112:5	203:21 205:13	101:5 124:19
45:4 49:4 50:3,14	117:13 123:11	206:5 222:22	131:3,15 144:25
50:17 51:5,15	124:9,9 129:7	223:2 224:17	145:3 194:11
52:5,19 53:9,14	208:22 230:1	226:13	209:1 223:20
54:2,7 57:17 59:5	placing 45:18	pointed 118:12	poor 7:13
60:7,14,22	plagued 73:8	219:19 220:15	popular 151:14
pick 80:13 81:8	plan 3:12 202:14	pointing 156:10	177:21 178:8
94:23 216:11	202:22	points 86:1 146:16	224:2 228:9
225:5	plans 3:14	201:18 206:24	popularity 178:16
picked 42:3 94:19	platform 178:18	poised 18:9	population 145:16
picking 231:12	182:20	policies 73:16 84:5	172:10 174:20
picks 41:19	play 183:3	84:6,20 182:20	182:9 183:25
picture 33:7 76:25	playing 178:14	policy 11:3,14	populations 20:6
142:6 203:8,14	plays 127:25	53:19 82:25 84:9	58:23,24
220:24	pleas 12:11	84:13 107:11	populous 182:8
piece 28:21 89:10	please 10:15 46:20	109:18 160:13	portal 126:22
99:6 113:7 115:7	61:10 83:11 123:4	178:9	198:5
124:3 144:6,14	171:11 176:10,23	political 22:9 56:1	portion 58:4,5
202:6 207:24	184:19 201:9	73:3	143:17 174:19
214:21	217:7	politicians 183:24	portions 3:22
pieces 27:18 108:4	pleased 89:14	poll 53:10,12,22	25:21 58:24
116:19 144:15	pleasure 176:5	55:6,6 59:13 67:5	pose 51:16,20 52:6
202:8	201:14	67:5 72:5 115:13	63:6 64:9,12
pii 90:9 98:3 118:6	plus 98:22,23	116:24 117:2,13	position 55:19
pilot 66:13	pocket 42:14	123:25 125:10	71:11 155:5
place 34:8 36:5	187:4 188:24	135:16 136:12	210:24 213:19
46:13 48:5 80:24	197:5	139:16 145:2	positive 104:1
90:19 91:23 97:23	pocketbook 42:15	146:9 150:5	228:9
106:22 109:3,4	podium 10:15	152:24,25 156:5	possibility 134:22
112:24 116:23		166:13 179:3	

<p>possible 14:8 18:4 31:17,20,21 37:11 143:1 173:5</p> <p>possibly 34:25 56:23 59:11 80:17 180:11 205:10</p> <p>post 21:10 106:16 207:23 212:18 214:13 219:17</p> <p>postage 108:12,14 108:23 112:5,22 129:12</p> <p>postal 92:2 122:1 190:23 207:15 228:2</p> <p>postmarked 207:21</p> <p>potential 157:19</p> <p>potentially 15:1 68:24 108:4 119:6</p> <p>poverty 17:19,20 189:11 201:22</p> <p>powell 27:12,13 28:24 30:5,10,21 32:15 34:7 36:10 36:13</p> <p>power 64:22 70:14 179:2</p> <p>powerful 64:21,21</p> <p>poy 15:22,25 16:4 16:6,7,14,17,23 17:6,10,14,18,23 18:2 22:25 23:17 24:13,21 25:10,18 26:4,20 27:3,8 28:16 31:8 33:14 35:8 37:5,8 38:4 38:13,18 39:18,21 40:14 41:1,6 42:16 44:7,17 45:4 49:4 50:3,14</p>	<p>50:17 51:5,15 52:5,19 53:9,14 54:2,7 57:17 59:5 60:7,14,22</p> <p>ppe 150:7</p> <p>practice 17:3,4 73:16</p> <p>practices 93:5 95:12 182:20 183:5</p> <p>practicing 178:14</p> <p>pray 2:14,17,21 140:21</p> <p>prayer 2:7</p> <p>preceded 179:25</p> <p>precinct 9:16 62:9 66:5 110:7 114:10 114:14,25 115:25 116:6,8 117:3 124:12 155:25 156:1,20,21,22,23 157:21,22 167:13 167:19,23 168:1,4 168:5,6,8,9,11,13 168:17,20 169:1,4 169:6,7,12 174:3 174:24 175:1 191:25,25 192:2 209:9,10,19,21,25 210:5 212:8,9</p> <p>precincts 8:14,16 8:19 9:13 64:16 66:2 116:11 149:14 157:18,23 174:17 191:22 209:18</p> <p>precinct's 175:4</p> <p>precision 14:25</p> <p>preclude 205:17 209:12</p>	<p>predicament 168:25</p> <p>preempt 110:15 110:23</p> <p>prefaces 52:21</p> <p>prefer 66:5 122:2 164:7 213:3</p> <p>preferably 130:6</p> <p>preference 66:7 230:11</p> <p>prefers 219:11</p> <p>premise 31:23 73:4,5</p> <p>prepaid 108:12 112:22</p> <p>prepare 13:6 93:21 162:7,11 212:7</p> <p>prepared 11:23 12:15 212:25</p> <p>prepares 177:18</p> <p>preparing 144:23</p> <p>prescription 203:3</p> <p>presence 119:8</p> <p>present 94:24 98:25</p> <p>presentation 192:22</p> <p>presented 38:10 39:14</p> <p>presents 205:23</p> <p>preserve 42:23</p> <p>president 71:12,14 177:3,23 182:15 182:17</p> <p>presidential 181:11</p> <p>presidents 177:19</p> <p>press 2:9</p> <p>presumably 210:8</p>	<p>pretextual 19:5</p> <p>pretty 6:8,21 61:12 70:7 98:16 199:2 210:14</p> <p>prevailed 213:3</p> <p>prevent 13:23 63:8 119:7 181:4</p> <p>preventing 107:22</p> <p>preview 3:1</p> <p>previous 31:11 60:11 209:20</p> <p>previously 46:16 96:11</p> <p>pricilla 193:12</p> <p>primaries 170:16 170:18 179:2</p> <p>primarily 181:20</p> <p>primary 170:21 171:4 219:8</p> <p>principal 178:9</p> <p>print 141:15</p> <p>printed 192:21</p> <p>prior 78:16 79:8 86:17 87:20 102:16 143:4 226:10</p> <p>private 117:15 135:24 193:16 195:3</p> <p>privately 115:4</p> <p>privilege 11:13 72:10</p> <p>pro 38:6 49:22 205:14</p> <p>probably 34:24 46:15 62:12 79:23 172:13 190:19 197:10 212:2 232:9</p> <p>probate 5:25 6:4,7 6:11,14</p>
---	--	--	--

<p>problem 5:16 14:15 19:24 26:9 26:12,14 61:9 72:3 74:9 80:25 82:3 156:11 161:16 166:5 167:18 169:4 184:16,16 200:25 206:15</p> <p>problematic 58:19 67:22</p> <p>problems 34:11 35:19,20,21 36:17 48:22 66:24 71:21 71:25 72:12 74:3 74:5 156:3,4 163:20 164:14 167:1,3 203:15 218:13 228:1</p> <p>procedural 21:16</p> <p>procedures 19:7 19:15 31:13,14 53:21 147:17 149:4 166:14,23</p> <p>proceed 127:23</p> <p>proceedings 13:15 233:5</p> <p>process 3:19 10:1 13:3,12 15:12 18:17 21:17 22:9 25:2 27:19 28:5 30:11,24 32:18 46:12 53:7 55:7 56:1 60:6 63:14 64:15 65:5,21 66:7 67:9 70:10 72:11 81:14 84:2 84:4,7,9 86:5,8,14 90:3,12 91:14 93:20 94:17 95:1 95:15 96:6,13,21</p>	<p>96:23,25 97:7,10 97:13,16,20,22 98:15,18 99:2 100:12 102:4,6 104:3,9 106:2,3,15 113:12 115:2,5 116:11 118:9,17 118:18 128:5,9 134:18 143:20,25 164:25 167:20 183:10,25 188:10 188:20 211:23 212:16,18 213:14 214:8,8 219:1 220:13,14,16</p> <p>processes 60:16 84:19,19 95:23 132:22 149:5 213:1</p> <p>processing 88:16 191:13 223:9,10</p> <p>produce 75:5 187:15</p> <p>produced 105:24</p> <p>profession 71:17</p> <p>professionals 126:9</p> <p>proffering 152:22</p> <p>program 66:13 99:25</p> <p>programs 66:11 66:16 70:16</p> <p>prohibit 137:24</p> <p>prohibited 138:6</p> <p>prohibiting 14:18 90:13</p> <p>prohibitive 135:12</p> <p>prolifically 192:24</p> <p>prominent 158:17 159:6,7</p>	<p>promise 231:19</p> <p>promised 72:15</p> <p>promises 65:9</p> <p>prompted 14:23</p> <p>pronounce 15:18 154:22</p> <p>pronouncing 83:7</p> <p>proof 59:19,24</p> <p>proper 13:16 80:23 109:3</p> <p>properly 13:6</p> <p>property 203:5</p> <p>proposals 21:18 218:2,6</p> <p>proposed 18:25 63:1 144:4 177:14 180:10 181:18</p> <p>proposes 221:1</p> <p>proposing 25:22 25:23 70:13</p> <p>prosecutor 51:21 186:4,5,9,10 188:16,17,17</p> <p>prospective 186:12</p> <p>protect 11:13 48:3 68:25 108:9 126:7 127:14 134:23</p> <p>protected 46:5</p> <p>protecting 128:1</p> <p>protection 53:16 53:17</p> <p>protections 98:7 219:9</p> <p>protective 137:9 225:14</p> <p>proud 103:13</p> <p>proudly 199:14</p> <p>prove 132:17 177:11</p>	<p>proved 40:13 122:14 181:14 205:19</p> <p>proven 34:3 64:17</p> <p>provide 21:4 24:15,22 49:15 56:22 63:12 86:23 90:2 93:7 96:5 98:11 100:1,5,9 101:18 102:9,10 103:25 112:21 126:10 127:21 129:14 131:14 133:9 150:1 192:14 203:13 205:10 213:1,23</p> <p>provided 23:9 85:16,21 87:10 89:22 99:13,18 103:8,14,16 143:5 202:12,18,19</p> <p>provider 203:4</p> <p>provides 15:6 34:17 40:5 96:24 106:7</p> <p>providing 20:24 21:10 88:3 97:16 97:16 98:17 104:7 202:5</p> <p>provision 36:6 57:23 91:15,19 95:2,17 96:9 152:11 196:9,10</p> <p>provisional 36:21 36:25 153:4 167:13 168:20 209:11 210:4</p> <p>provisions 7:25 18:24 35:12 48:6 85:11 89:20 94:13 95:4 117:20,24</p>
--	--	--	--

118:2 130:9,13 177:14 185:9 proximity 132:4 public 13:16 18:5 18:15 20:25 21:4 21:11 30:20 56:18 62:23 71:17 90:17 91:7 109:6 111:13 113:11,13 126:8 201:25 202:15,20 202:23 206:2 publicity 153:14 publicly 20:18 31:17 pulitzer 192:21 pull 98:21 pulled 123:21 133:13 punish 181:24 punitive 111:6 113:3 114:3 216:21 217:4 purchase 150:4 purchased 96:3,4 139:14 purging 179:4 purported 19:4 purpose 13:12 45:18,21 46:9 47:9,11,14 48:10 151:16 pursue 67:11 push 100:21 161:20 197:14 pushback 203:12 pushed 170:10 put 19:23 48:5,24 74:7 89:24 102:6 105:8 108:5 109:2 109:5 111:16 112:16 113:16,21	121:14 129:2 144:9 174:5,9 189:2 190:2,24 191:21 193:4 194:15 195:8 200:9,22 205:23 206:12 213:18 215:22 219:8 222:25 224:3,4 puts 88:23 125:7 191:2 226:24 putting 45:21 48:21 74:24 77:23 98:13 126:15 127:9 171:3 173:22 185:24 189:4 <p style="text-align: center;">q</p> qualifying 5:2,7 question 24:9 27:9 29:2 30:21 31:11 31:20,23 35:3,9 43:3 45:17 46:19 46:25 47:6 51:16 52:20 57:18 60:9 71:19 101:7 102:19 104:19 105:3,20 109:23 109:23 110:6,14 114:23 115:24 119:14 120:11,24 134:6 136:23 138:3 139:9,21 148:2,7,16 149:13 153:23 169:24 198:23 205:15 209:5 217:15,22 229:13 questionable 35:5 questions 10:8,11 15:14 22:17,19	45:8 60:23 62:11 70:20,21 71:19 74:10,13 76:13 81:22,25 82:6 99:4 100:19 117:19 134:2 135:20 137:3 146:20 147:24 153:15 172:7 184:2 214:25 215:4 219:16,17 222:17 223:14,15 223:17 232:10 quick 118:4 202:8 222:12 228:16 quicker 146:25 147:4 223:12 quickly 86:11 162:9 229:2 quipped 41:7 quit 149:20 quite 3:21 14:5 73:23 91:19 134:11 146:2 151:20 163:8 221:21 quote 50:1 <p style="text-align: center;">r</p> r 233:1 race 183:4 185:2 racial 18:11 20:5 radios 205:4 raffensperger 40:18 rains 26:6 raise 179:8 raises 223:17 raising 49:5 ralston 13:13 ran 5:24 6:13 83:19 196:23	random 110:3 range 93:15 rank 130:15 204:13 ranking 3:2 rare 41:11 rate 56:7 106:19 rates 19:8 rationale 57:6 181:20 rcv 161:2 162:13 read 35:14 45:5 53:20 55:19,21 56:10 147:14 202:7 reading 11:22,25 58:17 168:22 ready 10:8 101:12 212:9 real 129:9 202:7 205:12 209:3 reality 101:15 realize 25:11,14 128:25 160:15 realized 79:5 realizes 178:5 really 24:24 26:14 44:4 55:18 56:1 66:22 71:21 75:3 84:2,4,8,23 85:13 85:20 86:25 88:17 98:11 100:5,16 101:9 103:8,23 106:11 107:22,24 109:17 111:10 127:4 132:25,25 149:2 151:12 154:5 158:2 164:10 172:3 177:16 185:3 187:6 188:2,12
---	--	--	---

[really - remiss]

Page 41

196:6 198:25 200:2 208:17 210:6 211:13 213:9,18 214:18 214:22 219:21 223:12 reason 33:5 34:18 48:4 57:7 91:13 95:21 96:22 107:6 108:13 112:15 118:17 121:1 124:2 149:17 184:25 188:7 200:5,7 209:22 210:3 211:5 222:1 reasonable 8:24 reasoning 161:7 202:5 reasons 21:7 48:7 125:6 131:13 recall 226:8 receive 35:23 65:15,19 136:23 136:25 138:4,6 139:5 144:11 149:15 153:24 173:1 217:15 225:13 received 2:19 4:11 11:21 137:4 139:4 145:15 148:17 150:1 152:18 159:19 207:12,20 226:5 receiving 21:11 34:1 167:19 recess 76:15 recited 21:15 recognition 135:13	recognize 25:17 25:18 172:24 recommend 87:25 97:14 102:9 recommendation 106:25 190:14 recommending 99:10 reconvene 76:12 record 28:21 71:3 75:5 85:2 92:22 220:21 221:7 228:23 233:5 recorded 119:16 220:5 recording 92:24 records 127:11 139:10 228:25 229:4 230:10 recounts 38:22 181:14 recourse 168:23 red 7:2 84:22 redesign 46:4 redrawn 5:4 reduce 104:6 145:5 149:18 reduced 88:13 118:17 207:5 reduces 89:17 207:25 reducing 14:10,10 151:14 reduction 58:21 152:6 207:2,7 refer 3:23 7:8 40:3 80:6 reference 58:8 65:24 118:24,25 referenced 46:11 67:1,17	references 41:15 42:17 207:11 referencing 35:9 63:17 referendum 124:25 198:15 referred 25:8 40:23 64:21 referring 39:11,15 40:23 42:12 48:10 69:5,7,11,13 reflect 182:5 reforms 84:5 regarding 5:24 10:13 186:24 194:1 222:17 regards 86:10 89:11 region 87:3 177:9 regional 96:15 97:23 regionalized 99:9 register 32:8 167:20 190:25 207:4 registered 23:13 34:13,24 53:17 68:20 89:21 123:10 167:23,24 168:7 169:5 172:11,17,19 182:5 190:1 198:6 198:7,13,20 registering 32:10 106:9 registers 185:14 registrants 89:22 registrar 155:10 194:23 registrars 196:16 198:3,5	registration 24:20 32:18 89:20 130:8 132:21 167:22,24 203:5,10 220:20 221:5,11 registrations 167:21 regular 150:2 regularly 103:7 regulate 113:9 regulation 168:21 regulations 113:8 reject 143:8 rejected 35:16 rejection 20:22 relate 117:21 related 40:11 140:14 153:7 154:4 225:25 relates 18:25 56:2 117:23 224:23 230:20 relative 109:24 118:1 173:22 relax 144:20 reliable 19:16 32:5 33:18 84:11 rely 38:20 114:8 remain 19:15 103:11 129:5 remaining 44:16 148:3 remains 44:15 remember 78:22 194:18 211:17 216:9 218:5 229:10 remind 73:12 232:2 remiss 123:15
--	--	--	--

[remote - requested]

Page 42

remote 21:1	102:18,20,21,23	174:14 175:9,11	representative 2:8
remotely 31:10,15	104:14,16,18	175:12,13,19,24	3:2 5:22 7:7 8:2,5
remove 19:2	109:20 111:7	176:1,6,8,9,15,20	16:9 43:24 44:22
205:12	114:9,17,23	176:23 179:12,17	45:24 48:14,16
rental 158:8	115:15,21 116:7	179:19 184:3,8,12	53:3 59:8 60:2
202:21	116:13 117:2,9,16	184:15,19 186:3,7	74:14 77:15 79:10
rep 2:1,10,25 6:24	117:17 119:25	186:20 199:6	79:20 80:22
7:2 11:6,10,24	120:10,13,23	200:22 201:4,8	100:20 102:18
12:4 15:14,23	121:6,7,8,22 122:5	202:2 206:1 209:4	120:12,24 121:22
16:2,5,8,15,21	122:18,19,20,24	210:16 215:2,6,12	133:7,8 134:3
17:4,7,12,16,20,24	123:3 133:20	215:15,18 217:9	139:1 141:1,12
22:18 23:11 24:8	134:4 135:19,21	217:18,20,23	147:2,13 149:10
24:16 25:7,11	135:22 136:1,4,6,8	218:9 222:11,13	153:17 169:15
26:3,18,24 27:6,11	136:9,11,14,17,19	222:15 223:3	172:7 201:18
27:13 28:24 29:8	136:22 137:2,12	224:6,11,14,19,20	215:20 217:12
30:5,8,10,12,21	137:15,17,18,20	224:22,25 225:2	224:10,20 227:19
32:15 34:7 36:10	137:22,23 138:2,3	225:17,18,20	230:14 232:14
36:12,13 37:7,24	138:9,13,23 139:1	226:11 227:17,19	representatives
38:5,7,15 39:10,20	139:3,20,22,23	227:21 229:12	62:8 67:4,14,16
40:10,22 41:2,14	140:7,9,10,16,19	230:13,14,16	200:17
43:25 44:11,21,22	140:23 141:1,3,11	231:16,17 232:16	represented 78:23
44:24 45:7,9,10,23	141:18,22 142:1,4	232:18	representing
46:18,20,21 47:3,7	146:18,23 147:3	repealing 91:11	49:10 71:7 216:4
47:14 48:12,13,15	148:6,8,9 149:8,10	repeated 107:20	216:5
49:17,18 50:12,15	149:12 150:9,11	repetitiously 28:9	represents 5:25
50:22 51:11,22	150:16,20,24	rephrase 34:4	181:17 182:9
52:12 53:2,3,5,12	151:2 153:16,18	replace 153:2	republican 55:1
53:23 54:4,10	153:20,22 154:9	222:8	169:14 200:11
55:16,17 59:3,6,7	154:10,15,21,25	replacement 153:5	republicans 29:22
59:9 60:1,3,8,18	155:4,12 157:5,8	replacing 225:22	reputation 178:1
60:19,25 61:8,12	157:24 158:22,24	reply 108:19	request 3:9,11
61:18 62:1,5,17	159:8,11,13	report 4:15 113:13	4:11 5:10 10:2
69:3,10,14 70:21	162:14 163:11,19	113:19,24 115:10	14:11 21:7 32:7
70:25 71:10,14	163:24 164:4,12	147:13	32:14 45:16 87:17
74:12,15 75:18,20	165:4,8,17 166:5,8	reported 68:2	88:2,13 89:3,15
75:23 76:5,9,18	166:17,19 167:11	113:25	94:2,4 116:16
77:22 78:6,9	167:14,16 169:23	reporting 5:18	173:3 207:18
79:25 80:8,12,16	170:4,11,24 171:1	represent 182:22	217:15 218:24
81:2,6,12,18 82:5	171:10,15 172:6,8	183:12	230:10
82:12,15,19 83:2,6	172:25 173:6,8,12	representation	requested 79:1
83:10 100:17,22	173:16,17 174:11	182:10	218:17 220:8

[requested - rollover]

Page 43

232:12 requesting 88:22 93:24 148:22 170:20 220:9 228:22 229:3 requests 13:7 89:4 93:20 94:18 208:6 208:8 229:1 require 9:9,21 23:21 26:5,15 35:25 57:14 118:8 118:12 149:4 158:3 203:8,9 required 9:20 25:16 52:25 59:22 68:21 118:14 135:23 203:11 214:22 225:6 231:2 requirement 19:1 19:3,8,23,25 20:14 21:14,21 22:5 37:15 51:10 57:24 58:5 70:2 111:25 112:1 118:8 159:4 219:11 requirements 21:25 22:21,23 25:21,23 32:6 34:6 35:25 49:14 52:25 68:22 74:24 92:8 95:7 98:1 116:21 158:3 179:24 requires 4:20 25:12 31:25 35:15 123:25 125:10 133:6 requiring 37:22 144:5 159:24 181:1 228:18	229:8 rescheduled 13:8 research 53:19 86:11 reside 216:3 resident 62:3 71:7 residents 22:15 resources 60:17 63:12 respect 59:10 177:6,15 183:9 respectful 182:23 183:6 respectfully 25:19 respective 183:1 respond 208:8 responding 206:22 response 198:14 219:21 responses 219:15 responsibilities 216:18,18 responsibility 13:21 189:15 199:12,16 216:17 responsible 91:6 189:10 rest 31:2 44:14 69:11 219:3 restore 15:12 restraints 30:17 restricted 78:16 78:18,20 102:12 restricting 209:1 restriction 21:19 restrictions 20:1 restrictive 65:8 result 143:18 147:20 resulted 161:23	results 6:11 211:6 213:21,24 223:12 retaining 135:23 return 114:6 returned 160:5,8 returns 108:12 132:12 revenue 153:8 review 62:23 133:3 156:13 169:10 192:5,7 reviewed 40:3 reviewing 2:4 revoke 204:12 rhode 96:20 rhonda 2:10 48:15 59:9 74:15 120:13 121:6,8 122:5,19 139:3,20,23 140:7 141:3 149:12 150:9 224:11,14 224:19 227:21 229:12 230:13 rich 5:20 6:20,24 49:17,18 50:12,15 50:22 51:11,22 52:12 53:2 227:7 richard 70:25 71:5 71:6,12,16 75:22 76:3,7 richmond 123:8 134:8 136:23 137:5 140:3 155:20 rick 53:5,12,23 54:4,10 172:8,25 173:6 232:16 rid 38:1 46:14 right 3:1,12 9:9 10:12 11:10 12:19 16:10 20:4 21:25	26:16 33:22 42:21 42:24 59:15 65:14 70:17 72:9 76:15 77:15 83:8 87:3 108:14 110:2 111:4 116:4,4 147:1 157:13 172:6 173:21 176:11,19 178:11 179:5,9 180:2 185:10 186:6,13 189:10 199:25 200:20,23,24 204:7,22 206:3,16 208:4 210:3,10 215:7 216:19 217:6 218:19 220:4 222:10 231:20 rights 11:19 17:2,3 18:21 21:24 22:13 43:5 49:7 61:16 61:25 66:20 67:12 72:15 177:7 180:9 194:19 righty 165:17 ripe 188:3 rise 56:24 risk 38:23 39:12 48:24 99:1 119:6 risks 90:6 road 233:12 rob 48:4 robust 43:24 182:8 role 33:4 roles 179:4 roll 216:20,23 rolling 216:8 rollover 88:7
---	--	--	--

[room - section]

Page 44

room 94:9	s	212:14 218:15	seat 7:24
rose 70:25 71:1,1 71:5,6,11,12,16 74:12 75:22 76:3 76:6,7	sacred 11:12 42:21	219:7 220:12	second 19:25 22:20 29:2 77:2 77:18 104:17 129:23 136:2,2 146:24,25 156:23 157:20 163:17 164:11 165:20 173:10 179:13 196:24,24 198:15 206:2
ruby 188:22 194:9	saddiqa 215:11,14 215:17 216:1,2	saying 12:21 25:19 27:1,3 32:18 35:4 36:3,14 50:16 51:25 111:9 122:16 163:7 196:1 200:5 201:25 202:4 231:6	secret 116:4 127:16 203:25
rule 7:20 9:23 105:15 121:2 156:17 222:16 223:9,25 227:13	sadly 178:24	says 45:25 124:4 160:23 163:15 166:12,20 169:21 170:8 176:16 185:12 188:6,18 194:5 197:18	secretary 40:18 51:16 52:6 59:20 59:24 67:19 68:8 90:14 95:17 99:24 119:14 126:22 128:22 129:25 137:8,24 181:8 193:22 200:11 210:23 218:1,10 219:10 224:14 225:4 229:14 230:18
rules 8:13 109:14 113:8 183:3 222:21,24 226:15 227:9,11	safe 19:15 22:4 31:1 32:5 33:17 42:20 50:19 64:17 72:6 206:12 228:3	sb 12:16 15:3	secrets 205:3,4
run 5:8 55:9 84:17 211:25 212:3	safely 2:13 180:3 180:12	scale 181:25	section 14:25 18:24 23:1,2,9 56:2,7 87:16 91:16 95:6 97:25 123:23,24 124:4 124:14,16 125:21 127:6 129:16,17 130:13 131:4,4 132:10,15,16,21 132:24,25 138:5,7 144:20 145:18 146:2 148:11 155:23 156:15 157:4 158:2,8,15 159:14 160:1,11
running 177:22 182:15 222:2	safer 180:8	scan 142:23	
runoff 19:22 129:22 130:5,25 161:11,16,20,23 162:3,9,11,21 168:18 181:12	safety 126:8	scanners 97:6	
runoffs 129:18,20 130:2 161:4,5	sake 62:9	scanning 143:10 145:13,21 187:18 223:11	
runs 6:1,5	sales 124:25	scenarios 67:22	
rural 18:12 20:5 22:14 43:18 69:21 88:18 174:20	sample 202:18	schedule 3:5	
rush 15:11 162:6	sanctity 48:3	schler 82:16	
rushed 12:10 13:3	santa 205:24	school 9:10,18,19 26:22,23 54:22 80:6 101:15 178:9 178:10,11,15,22 184:25 222:4	
rushing 12:19	sapp 77:1,2,3,4,10 77:18,20 78:1,4,5 78:8,13 80:3,4,4 80:10,15,19 81:4 81:10,13,16,18 82:3,8,10,14	screens 118:21	
ryan 210:17,20,21 215:5 218:5,14 222:24 223:7 224:9,13,16 225:8 226:4 227:6 228:7 229:17 230:21	saturday 56:8 57:4,8 87:13 131:24 217:1 232:17	scrutiny 110:22 213:10,12	
	saturdays 57:3	sealed 46:2	
	save 92:19,19 96:23 135:18	search 19:24	
	saving 89:8	searching 72:3	
	saw 14:3,4,4,7,7 14:16 34:10 54:10 64:22 65:23 68:13 111:1,24 130:10 184:13 189:11 191:17 193:17 194:8 199:23 211:1,10,10		

[section - she's]

Page 45

161:1 162:17	see 29:5 34:21	senate 1:5 163:16	session 3:14 15:3
166:1,8,15 167:12	55:7 58:13 66:14	163:20 185:2	76:21 78:10 145:9
169:8,17 170:13	81:24 82:5 86:15	186:14 187:8	231:23 232:8
185:6,11 188:13	89:14 91:5 97:2	191:15 192:22	set 8:23 52:17
192:9 194:5,22	97:22 98:6,18	194:2	87:24 96:19
195:17 207:25	99:12 100:19	send 4:6 26:21	128:21 135:4
208:14 209:8	102:5 103:10	39:23,25 40:2	164:24 166:14
224:23 225:3	104:2 105:3,5	108:22 124:19	229:17 232:3,4
sections 9:4 85:8	110:8,14 118:1,16	130:22 135:17	sets 185:9
85:10 120:7	118:16,18 119:1,2	145:10 152:7	setting 92:6 145:2
123:22 134:11	120:5 127:24	160:9 221:13	setup 229:23
162:15	129:5 135:3,8,10	sending 29:1	seven 19:6 86:15
secure 19:16 22:5	135:12 141:9	107:4 177:17	126:18 152:9
31:1,23 32:5	142:5 146:8,9,19	205:5	severely 36:8
33:18,20,20,21	149:2,6 160:24	sends 207:14	shaking 29:6
42:24 47:17 48:23	163:22 185:18	senior 78:25	shanker 61:6,10
50:19 64:17 72:6	193:14 194:7,15	202:24	61:14,15,20 62:2,6
84:10 90:12 92:1	195:7 196:10,23	seniors 34:24 75:8	62:19 69:6,12,16
95:1 126:24	197:8,25 209:13	179:9	70:24
127:21 133:15	209:22 210:3	sense 42:2 111:3	share 45:20 62:16
144:6 206:11,13	211:2,4,8 214:13	198:16 224:1	91:18 97:12 107:1
206:17 209:14	232:6	sensibly 180:8	138:13 177:4
224:5 226:23	seeing 76:14	sent 13:10 46:5	184:1 186:17
secured 27:18	117:13 118:23	116:17 138:14	218:4 222:19
109:4 119:20	172:21	144:4 160:7 220:7	223:6
securely 119:19,22	seek 51:19	sequence 21:15	shared 39:24
securing 110:24	seeking 13:23 63:7	serious 204:10,18	62:22 63:18
security 22:6	180:15 183:24	seriously 204:1	147:17
37:23 46:3 50:21	seen 14:6 15:7	seriousness 215:19	sharing 91:3
90:6 92:10 98:12	101:20 109:5	serve 61:22 62:9	shark 41:13,15
98:14,16 99:1,17	145:19 163:19	server 164:21	sharp 171:24
104:11,21 105:10	172:22 188:22	serves 57:16	shaw 102:19,20,23
105:22 107:7	189:23 206:23	service 72:4 73:2	104:14 217:13,16
108:8,8,11,21	210:8 212:19	81:11 86:23 100:2	217:18,23 218:9
109:3 118:9,12	219:14	101:19 133:22	222:11,15 223:3
119:6 121:15	sees 10:11 92:23	150:13 207:15	shelter 26:5
129:1,8 135:24	segment 56:13	228:2	shelters 203:3
149:3 151:11	segments 183:24	services 77:3,11	sheriff 54:5
190:12 196:9,10	segregate 110:21	86:20	she's 12:2 100:20
196:14 204:12	selection 182:7	serving 201:15	177:23
205:3 221:6 230:2		203:22	

[shifts - somebody]

Page 46

shifts 75:8	134:15,21 142:21	163:21 164:6	162:19 172:2
short 3:14 156:6	142:24 143:8,11	166:10 167:2	smaller 131:11
165:18 216:2	143:18,22 144:22	176:8 184:11	144:21 145:4
shortening 160:2	147:18 148:5	201:13 210:16	156:10 163:4
shorter 102:4	179:24 189:20,21	222:13 224:9	164:8
126:13,18 216:24	190:3,4,8 214:7,9	sit 115:23 229:15	smith 175:10,11
shouldn't 36:18	220:13 221:4	site 91:24	175:13,18,18,19
102:12 111:2	233:7	sites 93:3 101:22	175:24
189:5 199:10,17	signatures 34:14	129:4 175:23	smoothly 181:13
231:7	35:1,7 118:21	sitting 133:4	smyre 3:2,9 16:9
should've 231:8	135:2 142:23,25	situation 5:6,23	55:16,17 59:3,6
show 23:25 25:16	148:2 190:8	6:6,13,18 7:10,15	75:19,20,23 77:15
27:21 28:6,6 33:2	signed 10:13 68:1	7:17 8:2,6,21	117:16,17 120:10
33:10 41:22,24	76:10,22 148:1,3	44:25 126:13	176:6,8,15 185:8
54:20 169:1	signing 68:2	157:15 158:4	232:12
218:25 228:14	189:24 193:23	160:22 161:19	snow 152:14
showed 192:23,24	similar 66:11 88:7	162:3 231:15	social 18:6 46:3
212:12 218:22	95:25 222:4	situationally	90:1 95:9 98:23
showing 77:11	similarly 58:6	63:15	114:21 119:4
154:17	simply 6:16 19:23	situations 94:10	143:14 203:19
shown 38:16 52:1	25:15 42:7 131:2	101:16 125:25	221:3,6
69:19	149:20 158:12	152:3 153:7 160:3	society 177:18
shows 65:9 105:14	165:20 179:5	160:5	software 95:25
shut 206:14	single 26:6 87:14	six 99:18 143:6	96:1,5 135:9
shutting 206:8	88:11 89:5 122:11	157:23 203:22	200:3
sick 126:5,6	135:1 145:7,11	size 131:23 158:18	soldier 204:14
side 50:7 153:13	singular 40:25	158:25 159:3,4	soldiers 204:19
181:22 183:9	41:1,3	173:21	solely 38:20 39:3
228:21 230:12	sinha 61:6,10,14	skeleton 164:18	52:22
sides 91:21 232:2	61:15,20 62:2,6,19	173:4	solution 19:24
sign 29:17 88:4,9	69:6,12,16 70:24	slashing 74:22	37:20 187:15
88:11 89:5 190:4	sir 11:14 59:7	slavery 73:15	205:12 219:12
signature 34:9,23	71:15 75:22 76:4	slight 217:14	solutions 15:6,10
35:6,16,17 36:4	76:7 77:20,22	slow 12:7 15:8	66:24 72:3 74:8
37:17 38:2 46:12	78:4,8,13 80:15	slows 219:3	233:11
52:13 91:11 95:8	81:5,10,16 82:12	small 19:9 25:13	solve 161:15 169:3
95:13,24 96:13	102:21 104:16	27:1,9 43:6 50:8	solved 14:17
98:22,23 108:3	140:15,18 141:21	72:21 80:24	solving 14:7
116:20 117:6	141:24 150:19,22	124:11 135:14	somebody 79:22
118:23,24,25	151:1 154:13,21	144:10 155:15,17	82:22 110:9 114:8
127:18 132:14	155:3,14 157:7,14	155:22 157:16	188:12 189:25

[somebody - stated]

Page 47

203:16 205:5 206:13 207:14 209:18 someone's 47:17 115:13 son 10:25 79:7 80:2 216:11 sonya 233:3 son's 78:24,25 80:4 soon 31:17 77:13 182:25 223:19 sorry 11:24 16:15 31:13 36:11 37:6 39:19 54:2 136:20 142:2 157:6 158:1 164:6 165:25 166:3,11,18 167:15,17 169:25 170:6 171:14 206:4,4,5 207:4 209:3 225:3 sort 31:4 62:14 75:10 84:6 88:21 118:5,5 121:10 150:7 223:18 226:1 227:5 230:4 sorts 100:15 113:4 153:8 soul 7:13 souls 14:20,22 101:4 sound 80:19 sounds 26:24 81:13 source 193:7 194:25 sources 45:6 90:21 90:25 southeast 16:25	southern 17:18,20 189:11 201:22 space 37:23 speak 29:3 55:24 60:24 74:17 128:16 130:14 172:5 210:25 speaker 10:17 13:13 38:6 49:21 205:14,15 215:23 speakers 71:18 144:7 210:14 speaking 147:5 202:1 special 1:8 2:3 12:25 41:9 78:10 124:24 135:15 161:22 163:7 170:15,18,19,20 170:21 171:3 specific 35:2 80:21 89:4 95:3 110:11 111:16 177:14 222:23 specifically 39:11 39:15 40:12,22 69:13 113:15 specifics 110:1 206:25 specifies 94:3 spectacular 165:15 spectrum 103:2 speeches 103:7 speed 12:10 spell 15:19 spellman 197:7 spend 58:3 spending 140:12 spent 60:11 203:22	spic 16:20,21 17:8 17:11 18:3 20:11 split 124:8 splitting 124:12 spoil 110:25 spoke 144:19 184:23 216:16 sponsored 37:25 sports 178:14 spouse 68:1 spread 182:24 st 74:6 stacking 178:21 staff 143:22 149:23 162:25 163:1 164:17 165:12,24 201:15 staffed 93:3 153:1 staffing 125:3 149:20 stamp 108:15 190:23 stamped 191:2 stand 17:8 89:15 182:7,19 183:23 211:7 227:16 232:19 standard 124:22 169:16 171:6 standardizing 160:12 standing 177:12 stands 209:10 star 7:3 start 48:20 71:20 86:16 155:23 163:10,17 164:10 178:10 182:16 185:6 188:14 196:4 222:8	started 2:4 29:21 59:19 74:18 150:25 164:13 171:16 214:13 state 2:22,22,23 22:1 23:5,6,6,15 24:11 35:21 37:20 38:1 40:18 43:14 44:5 47:21 48:8 51:17 52:6,7 54:1 59:20 61:3 66:15 66:19 71:3 73:10 75:15 81:15 83:21 83:25 86:1 89:25 90:15,24 92:18 95:17 96:22 97:8 103:13 119:4,14 125:20 126:16 129:21,23 130:16 132:1 137:3,25 159:15 161:21 177:17 179:25 180:25 181:8 182:9 183:12,14 190:21 193:9,23 194:1 196:12,13 200:2,12 202:5,11 210:10 213:7 214:11 220:17 221:16 222:4,7,25 223:24 225:5,8 226:15 227:1,10 230:18,25 state's 68:8 130:1 137:9 210:23 224:15 229:14 stated 121:13 122:7,8 128:11 141:5 146:2 156:16 167:10 219:10
---	--	---	--

statement 11:22 11:25 22:21 52:15 202:16,21,22 203:5 statements 19:10 19:14 40:17 states 1:1 5:15 7:21,22 16:24 18:21 19:6 21:23 22:3 33:23 40:8 66:15 73:12 84:21 84:22,23,24,25 85:13,17,24 87:19 87:22,25 89:9 91:18 92:12,13 93:6,12,14 94:21 94:25 95:16 97:9 99:18 101:20 103:16,24 107:11 107:14 108:7 109:4 111:15 113:8,14 118:22 185:1 186:25 190:22,23 195:4 212:2 213:10 statewide 19:11 40:17 93:17 95:16 96:8 97:3,4,17 99:14 127:2 213:5 213:9 state's 59:25 67:20 99:24 126:22 128:22 statistic 43:11,12 statistics 24:14 40:5 198:10 stay 132:7 158:17 190:9 214:9 231:2 231:24 stays 128:8	steal 48:7 step 73:10 91:12 220:4 sterling 40:19 stick 134:15 sticking 178:2 stockbridge 216:3 216:11 stolen 47:17 48:25 stood 181:10 stop 70:19 100:4 179:12 196:2,2 197:22,24 stopped 32:24 stops 89:6,6 storage 92:19 store 142:23 stored 143:2,14 storing 143:10 storm 26:5 152:14 152:14 story 204:5 stranger 41:17 strategic 192:19 strategies 183:5 stream 92:2 streamed 99:11 stress 24:23 28:19 31:15 104:5 149:22 stretch 68:11 stretched 211:11 stretching 212:11 strict 128:21 179:23 185:15,20 strictly 123:20 strikes 26:8 41:8,9 41:15 strongest 18:4 strongly 193:15	struck 2:18 26:8 26:11,13,19 41:12 structure 87:24 88:25 structured 89:1 struggle 72:4 student 18:12 20:6 53:16 177:23 178:19 182:18 202:14,21 students 22:15 178:13 182:15,21 studies 23:25 38:25 39:23 40:2 40:8,9,11,15 50:10 66:14 69:18 study 20:17 stuff 196:19 subcommittee 5:21 7:6 subject 161:4 185:20 189:6 194:18 subjective 134:19 143:21 159:5 214:7,18 subjectivity 127:18 214:10 submission 197:4 submit 23:4,7,19 32:14 37:19 199:5 221:9 submitted 11:5 127:7 187:2 199:4 submitting 126:23 204:25 subsection 197:20 subsequent 148:15 substantial 70:7 substantive 9:8	substitute 4:4,13 5:15 10:4 171:21 success 128:19 successful 121:11 121:19 140:4 180:6 sudden 196:3,4 suddenly 203:17 206:14 207:16 sued 37:25 46:13 46:22 sufficient 34:9 51:8 86:20 94:8 152:10 197:15 suggest 21:21 24:16 207:19 suggested 218:2 suggesting 96:12 171:2 suggestion 98:21 158:25 190:13 suggestions 30:23 suitability 73:14 suite 233:13 suits 180:5 sunday 56:9 57:3 57:4,8 78:15 100:24 101:1,4,25 160:17 170:3,3,9 180:16 217:1 232:17 sundays 14:19 180:25 super 33:20,20,20 superintendent 6:4 166:13,21 222:8 superintendents 10:2 193:6 superintendent's 133:8
--	--	---	--

[superior - technical]

Page 49

<p>superior 6:16 204:11</p> <p>supervision 229:8</p> <p>supervisor 150:22 155:7 174:2</p> <p>supervisors 175:6</p> <p>support 31:1 43:9 43:20 63:13 140:5 177:10 180:23 182:21 224:15</p> <p>supporter 125:19</p> <p>supporting 66:10 83:24</p> <p>supports 64:4</p> <p>supposed 115:10 217:5</p> <p>suppress 24:4</p> <p>suppression 178:25 182:4</p> <p>sure 7:16 12:19 14:8 26:3 28:14 28:16 29:3 31:8 32:17 34:4 37:10 42:23 47:6,16 49:8 57:17 61:6 63:11 65:16,17 66:11 67:24 69:1 77:22 82:3,7,8 84:9 86:8,19,22 90:11 94:9 99:24 100:7 103:6 105:19 109:2,16 112:19 114:2 116:8 120:3 123:6 125:19 128:1,7 135:21 136:2,21 137:4 138:15 143:21 147:2 156:12 159:2 160:12 165:22 166:2 169:16</p>	<p>170:23 171:8 173:8,16,18 189:16 195:15 201:17 206:18 208:11,19 214:4 220:5,6,10 221:12 222:9 231:9</p> <p>surgical 14:25</p> <p>surprised 154:5</p> <p>surveillance 92:11 92:15,16 107:18 109:8,11 228:22</p> <p>survey 90:22,23</p> <p>suspect 19:18</p> <p>sweeping 181:19 181:24</p> <p>sweet 216:2</p> <p>system 34:8 35:2,5 36:4,16,19 38:2 51:12,25 52:1,3,13 52:17 58:1 76:24 96:4 97:5 99:13 99:19 105:22 106:9,11,24 109:1 112:5 119:12,17 122:2 127:2 143:15 182:5 192:6,19 193:4 195:18 200:3 205:10 211:11,17 211:18 212:11,21 213:1</p> <p>systematic 27:4 38:10 39:2,22 40:24 41:3 69:25 211:5</p> <p>systemically 63:16</p> <p>systems 104:9 188:11 193:13 195:20 197:1,13 200:7 211:25</p>	<p>t</p> <p>t 233:1,1</p> <p>table 85:6</p> <p>tabulating 96:15 145:21 166:23</p> <p>tabulation 145:22</p> <p>tactic 212:24</p> <p>tactics 178:25</p> <p>take 3:6 7:18 10:18 12:18 16:1 26:1 29:15 61:1 62:18 70:4 74:10 79:12 80:23 81:1 81:9 91:10 92:2 96:17 111:23 120:9 125:8 130:12 143:3 184:1 193:6 194:23 195:14 203:16 205:8 206:11 220:1</p> <p>taken 168:1 178:13 204:1</p> <p>takeover 218:12</p> <p>takes 77:8 96:23 143:9,11 188:24 219:2,2 229:4</p> <p>talk 43:6,8 63:25 77:13 80:16 97:11 100:23 101:3 102:25 103:4 123:22 124:12 127:8 142:18 147:6 177:13 185:4,5 193:22 206:3 211:1 216:12</p> <p>talked 96:10 104:12 146:15 186:14 217:25 229:18 230:8</p>	<p>talking 15:20 28:10,12 29:21 39:22 43:19 44:3 45:11,15,19 48:18 57:25 68:17 78:13 103:2 104:23 105:1 117:12 136:18 158:15 169:25 170:18 186:18 203:15 207:10 216:25 218:6 226:12 230:17</p> <p>talks 131:4 132:10 155:23 195:17 208:14 224:24</p> <p>tap 55:20</p> <p>tape 192:24</p> <p>target 14:24 193:14,20 214:13 227:7</p> <p>targeted 115:9 192:18,18 195:4 231:13</p> <p>targeting 114:22 180:16</p> <p>task 165:24</p> <p>tasked 63:4</p> <p>tax 124:25 203:5</p> <p>taxes 179:3</p> <p>taxpayers 210:11</p> <p>taxpayers' 60:11</p> <p>team 64:3 169:10 177:22,25 178:5,7 181:9,25</p> <p>teams 178:14</p> <p>tear 125:7 145:6</p> <p>tech 138:16,21 192:15</p> <p>technical 3:23 9:5 171:19</p>
--	--	---	---

[technically - that's]

Page 50

technically 68:9	testified 113:12	105:19 116:13	that's 5:10 7:15,17
technology 72:17	testifies 81:21	117:17 120:13,14	16:14 17:21 24:6
155:9	testify 10:13 11:8	121:17,21 122:18	28:1 33:5 34:8,16
television 122:16	18:3 29:4,18	122:21,23 123:15	34:18,22 41:4
tell 4:9 10:20 11:7	30:18 31:10 43:9	133:13,20 134:4,5	43:23 44:2 45:15
11:24 15:23 16:5	43:20 52:8,23	137:12 138:23	46:1,6,23 49:2
16:16,21 28:6	55:4 82:22 133:15	139:3,8 140:7,23	50:22 51:15,22
31:3 32:25 61:4	153:23 176:7	141:10,11,17,18	55:2,10 59:23
61:18 69:4 77:4	231:25	141:20 142:9	61:8 65:16,17
77:16 78:1,11	testifying 16:18	144:2 146:16,21	66:6,8 68:12 70:6
83:11 91:20	31:14 36:5 38:8	146:22 147:3,5	70:7 72:21 74:20
121:17 123:4	44:18 134:6	149:8,13 150:9,12	79:19,20 85:4
142:7 170:4	testimony 3:21	150:15,16 151:6	88:17 89:7 91:14
171:10 172:16	20:25 21:4 39:24	153:16,18,22	93:11 94:2,8
176:23 184:19	55:18 58:8 59:4	154:9,12,13,20	101:4,9 104:4
190:3 196:3 197:4	62:24 187:5	155:14 157:24	105:25 106:10
197:14 201:11	testing 144:24	159:12 162:14	107:10,14,15,22
204:5 215:23	195:18 196:18	166:10 171:25	107:23 108:20
224:4 232:6	tests 179:3	172:1,9,25 173:6	109:10 111:8
telling 19:17 77:10	texas 200:6	175:15,16,17,25	112:19 113:6
tem 38:6 49:22	thank 2:10,12,24	176:3,4,13,14,22	115:14 117:6,14
205:14	2:25 6:22 10:22	177:1 179:19	118:1,22 119:1,9
tempts 185:17	12:5 15:15,25	183:25 184:3,5,6,6	119:16 121:8
tends 77:7	16:4,11 18:2	184:8,18 185:8,24	122:2 123:17
term 29:1 50:4	22:16 27:11,13	186:22 199:8	124:2 130:16
59:17 113:6	38:5,7,8 39:10	200:16,17,25	131:25 138:17
166:23	44:21,24 48:12,15	201:2,4,7,8 210:16	143:5 146:25
terminology	49:5,18,19 53:2,5	210:20,24 215:6	151:12 152:4,7
145:20	53:23,24 55:12,14	215:23 217:7,9	153:10 161:3
terms 18:4 49:15	55:14,17 57:18	224:6,7,8,11,19,22	169:16 171:8
56:21 64:20 85:7	59:3,5,6,9 60:1,3,8	225:17 227:17,21	175:24 179:13,15
85:14,23 87:16	60:18,20,22 61:6	230:13,16 231:16	179:18 184:15
89:10 91:11,16	61:14 62:6,20	232:14,19	185:3 188:16
93:9,24 97:14,25	69:14,16 70:22,24	thankfully 65:5	189:18 190:4
99:5 105:22	71:1,5,15,16 74:9	thanks 210:18	194:12 197:15
107:18 135:15	74:15,16 75:16,18	thanksgiving	198:22 199:25
139:11 227:16	75:20,21 76:3,5,7	161:9,12	200:13,20,25
test 125:8	76:7,16 79:15	that'd 106:25	206:14 207:7
testaments 187:8	82:3,10 83:10,15	186:20	208:13 211:7
tested 195:21	100:16,17,19,22	that'll 10:18	212:8,23,24
	102:23 104:14,18	135:17	213:12 214:14,21

[that's - three]

Page 51

214:24 218:18	143:15 145:3	153:8,11,12	159:6 166:7
223:11,20 224:17	151:14 158:7	161:15 201:21	173:12,23 175:5
226:4 227:6	159:23 168:4,7	206:23 210:13	185:22 188:18,19
229:11,22 231:14	188:9,9 204:19	214:17 217:4,25	189:12,18 191:9
theft 49:11	210:5	222:5 227:22	191:13,17 195:19
there'll 9:6	they've 36:17 50:8	228:11	196:16 198:1,9,23
there's 25:25	85:22 87:22 90:8	think 5:10 23:17	199:2,12,18
26:14 28:10 30:14	109:7 174:6	25:21 32:3,12	200:13 205:11
31:6 32:8 33:1,12	209:19 223:2	33:18,24 34:5,7	211:5,8 212:10,12
37:21 38:19 41:4	227:1	37:13 41:6,12,25	212:23,24 213:12
41:18 47:12 50:19	thieves 90:10	49:21 50:4 51:5	213:21,21 214:5
52:9 54:19,21	thing 30:1 42:1	51:15 52:19,22	214:15,18,22
65:24 69:19,23	46:7 54:14 55:14	55:22 58:13 62:22	217:13 218:2,9,10
91:13 93:19 95:11	59:16 64:1,21	64:16 65:17,22	218:12,14,20
95:21 96:19 98:12	66:2 67:8,9 70:3	66:18,20 67:1,11	219:12 220:16
99:6 100:7 104:6	74:21,23 92:9	67:18 68:9,13	221:15 222:3
104:8 106:2	99:23 124:3,11	70:2 78:2 79:2,13	223:9,10,12,20,21
110:16,20 117:20	126:17 129:13	84:5 85:9,22 86:4	223:25 226:4
119:24 121:15	130:3,17 131:20	89:16,19 90:11	227:7 228:3,9,18
123:16 126:15	131:22 145:8	91:12,14 92:9	228:19 229:5
127:17 130:25	150:8 151:19	93:10,16,22 94:2,8	230:8,10 231:8
135:2 136:11	156:10,19 158:13	96:2 97:13 98:21	thinking 5:13
139:9 152:16,21	197:5,8 206:10	99:5,8,22 101:8,13	37:14 79:6 89:13
161:25 166:1	210:6 214:5,7	101:18 102:2	168:7 169:5
195:10 197:10,11	217:1 218:18	103:1,14 104:1,4	214:19
198:12,13 199:15	228:20 229:9	104:21 105:21,23	third 20:11 156:2
199:17 203:9	230:24	106:1 107:16,16	157:23 158:16
205:24 212:17	things 12:12 23:14	108:11 111:4	225:24
219:1 220:2,3	29:21 42:6 48:23	113:12,17,24	thoroughly 210:14
221:25 229:6,6	54:20 63:25 73:4	116:22 119:19	thought 23:12
they'd 23:7 198:5	73:8,11 86:25	121:9 122:13	57:2 75:12 104:20
they'll 123:20	95:10 97:6 99:3	123:23 124:14	104:20 210:1,2
171:25 197:24	104:1 105:20	125:12 126:11,16	230:25 231:8
they're 28:14 29:5	106:19 108:7	128:3 129:5,13,16	thousands 168:25
32:10,10 36:19,20	113:4,13 115:10	131:21,25 132:25	threatened 204:12
37:1 45:12 55:19	117:6 119:1,3,10	134:12,14,16	threaten 50:21
77:10 84:22 93:1	119:15,21 125:16	135:17 141:8	threatened 54:17
101:11,12 110:10	127:12 128:24	143:25 149:25	204:11
112:23 117:5,9	135:10,12 139:15	151:9,12,14 152:3	three 25:4 29:19
120:18,21 122:11	139:17 140:13	152:4,7,8,9,16	29:24 42:13 59:21
126:4,5 131:25	150:7 151:8 153:4	154:17 156:25	68:19,23,24 70:4

[three - trying]

Page 52

70:11 75:13 91:4 124:1 156:13 161:11 162:7 163:1 164:17,19 165:6 197:10 208:3 211:25 212:3 threshold 41:4 throwing 47:8 209:14 thrown 54:23 thursday 161:14 thwart 197:13 ticket 72:19 74:19 tight 153:6 tighten 130:8 tilt 183:4 time 3:7 4:8 5:2,3 8:16,25 11:25 12:18 13:16 14:11 24:14 26:6 30:1 58:3 62:23 63:3 65:5 72:19 74:10 75:14 76:10,14 84:18 85:22 87:24 88:20 89:2 92:17 93:19 94:19 100:20 114:20 115:3 121:4 122:10 123:9 124:5,13 125:21 126:3,13,18 130:19,23 131:19 140:13 141:17,20 143:4,9,11 152:6 153:1,9 156:8 163:25 164:25 165:16 168:11,12 168:15,17 169:7 171:18 172:4,9 173:9 175:15	178:11 181:22 183:15,18 192:11 192:11 194:20 195:14 204:6,21 207:2,3,8,23 208:1 208:10 210:2 212:1,3 217:3 219:2,2 226:20 228:2,12,17 232:3 232:4,10 timelines 103:25 timely 167:19 times 35:7 39:6 74:22 93:2 124:1 156:13 160:12 187:22 195:24 211:4 timing 4:24 21:18 tip 181:25 today 2:2,5,13 3:5 3:21 4:2 7:3 16:16 11:20 15:16 16:11 17:25 20:24 60:20 61:1 70:23 71:1 71:15 74:13,16 78:12 81:20 82:2 82:9,21 83:11,15 84:15 85:6,9 106:11 122:21 123:19 134:6 141:13 142:7 146:20 147:5 150:12 151:4 154:11 176:2,21 184:4 185:1,3 189:12 195:10 200:18 201:5,10 201:18,19 210:17 210:18,25 211:3 215:3 217:10 227:16 229:19	231:18,19,23 232:3,4,12 today's 18:7 31:14 token 121:13 told 11:7 29:10,14 30:1,15 47:18 80:24 181:9 211:22 ton 43:1 tonnie 154:16,20 154:24,24,25 155:3,6,14 157:6 157:14 158:1,23 159:1,10 162:17 163:14,21 164:2,5 164:16 165:7,10 165:18 166:6,10 166:18 167:2,12 167:15,18 169:25 170:6,13 171:5,12 172:1,12 173:3 174:12,16 175:13 175:17,20 176:4 tool 56:18 tools 66:21 top 86:1 209:16 211:20 218:3 topic 161:2 175:21 tornado 8:22 total 26:21 56:11 56:22 57:10 137:5 totally 160:21 175:21 196:22 town 80:25 94:13 126:4 tracking 99:15,19 99:19 112:6 tragedy 227:24 trail 72:21 train 133:24	training 95:14,17 transcript 233:4 transparency 62:9 99:5 100:2 104:11 118:16 133:10 135:3 transparent 20:23 84:10 97:16 133:16 transport 125:9 transportation 66:4 109:7 180:21 202:24 travels 87:7 treat 178:20 tree 140:2 141:14 205:23 tremendous 140:5 tremendously 153:12 trend 204:16 trimming 64:8 trip 204:6 troop 205:6 trooper 32:25 trouble 222:2 true 19:9 181:15 225:23 227:2 233:4 truly 24:25 trust 15:12 trusted 90:21,25 truth 183:17 try 10:10 12:20 15:18 16:12 30:17 46:14 47:15 48:3 48:9 55:21 67:7 113:2 147:4 183:3 221:18 trying 5:17 37:10 38:1 47:5 51:18
--	---	--	---

56:22 63:7 77:17 79:15 114:4 116:9 129:9 133:24 163:2 169:2 189:13 226:22,22 tuesday 79:8 169:20 170:10 tuition 202:21 tune 37:3 turn 29:14 30:18 81:9 170:6 174:17 175:4 204:7 221:8 turned 36:21 79:3 129:25 204:7 turnout 14:16 22:10 24:2 85:23 125:2,16 156:22 157:2,19 174:18 180:4 tutors 177:24 twice 12:21 27:21 41:25 219:6 two 13:5 45:2 67:22 68:5,10 87:15 112:1 119:1 130:2,4 133:4 147:8,25 148:2 151:11 161:15 162:8 163:10,12 168:17 197:10 212:20 221:17 228:10 type 43:16 79:23 96:1,5 97:13 105:1 125:4,15,17 130:10 189:3,4 192:6 types 27:22 84:17	u ultimately 88:15 unaffiliated 85:3 unavailable 14:12 undeliverable 106:19 underneath 41:5 underscore 19:14 understand 28:17 31:10,12,18,24 32:17 42:17 43:7 47:5 58:25 59:14 60:16 63:5 66:22 80:1 86:21 89:12 98:20 105:10 136:3 157:8 160:22 168:24 181:18,19 192:17 208:24,25 understandably 4:21 understanding 7:19 22:23 23:1 38:19 50:16 120:16 147:22 148:23 understood 7:3 undue 44:12,18 114:17,18,20 115:9 unduly 20:4 unemployment 2:19 unfitness 73:19 unfortunately 212:23 unheeded 12:12 uniform 101:19 208:25 uniformity 86:21 91:17 95:22,24	96:19 97:15 208:15,24 unintended 12:13 48:19 unique 90:1 united 1:1 18:20 21:23 22:3 33:23 40:7 73:12 185:1 186:25 190:23 units 65:22 unity 183:23 university 78:25 unjust 183:5 unlawful 110:5,10 110:18 unmute 77:5,12 154:19 unnecessary 18:10 22:11 unsuitability 73:7 unsure 169:17 170:16 unsurprisingly 24:3 uocava 161:2 162:13 169:11 upcoming 88:4 update 48:3 106:17 updated 106:21 127:1 updates 125:21 updating 106:24 upfront 113:10 uploaded 223:12 223:19 upright 194:7,8 ups 222:12 upset 173:20 181:23	urban 174:17,21 177:3,5 181:17 urge 13:15 15:7 19:2 70:10 73:9 74:4 urged 12:7 use 4:22 9:19 19:21 28:25 31:4 35:4 49:20 50:5 72:20 90:19 95:24 96:1 102:11 121:20 130:1 143:16 146:10 152:23,23 158:7 159:15 165:12 usually 92:17 98:10 108:15 utah 87:20,21 92:14 utility 158:8 202:15 utilize 95:2 utilized 87:20 96:5 utilizing 86:17
			v vacancy 170:21 vague 166:16 vagueness 167:9 valid 110:18 189:17 224:5 validate 116:25 validates 108:6 validation 111:9 132:12 validity 223:18 valuable 120:14 value 131:16 values 84:3,6,8,13 104:12 variety 114:21

[various - voters]

Page 54

<p>various 34:20 83:25 84:17,21 93:6 117:23,25 vault 206:12,14 vehicle 43:16 127:22 203:5,6 vendors 97:9 verification 38:2 46:12 95:13,25 96:14 108:3 116:20 117:7 118:23 132:14 134:15,21 143:12 143:22,23 147:18 147:21 189:21,22 220:13 verify 68:18 127:18 132:11 221:3 verifying 143:7 144:14 veritext 233:11 version 209:12 versus 118:24 veterans 169:19 170:2,8 173:23 video 21:2 77:25 92:10,16,20,21,22 105:4,14 107:18 109:7 111:1 188:22 192:25 194:16 228:22 230:11 videos 1:9 videotape 105:12 110:15 view 46:1 143:21 viewable 229:25 viewed 227:10 viewpoint 172:2 230:6</p>	<p>vilify 72:13 violate 18:19 21:14,22 22:2 violated 79:23 violates 186:1 violation 15:1 virginia 108:20 virtually 217:12 virus 5:24-6:7 visited 152:16 voices 182:11 volleyball 177:22 volume 157:16 165:21 volunteer 55:7 volunteering 110:4 vote 14:13 19:6,12 19:15 20:4,10,16 21:8,25 23:13 24:4 25:1,8,17 26:17 28:6 32:8 32:10 33:22 34:13 34:13,25 36:17,20 36:25 37:4,11 42:21,22,24 43:2 47:17,19,24 48:4 49:23 51:14 52:2 53:18,25 54:6,12 57:14 58:25 59:11 59:15 64:11 66:5 70:17,18 73:24 75:4,12,14 83:17 84:1,16,19 86:6 87:4 89:11,21 91:3 101:1,24 102:16 114:6,13 115:25 116:4,9 117:3 122:10,13 122:14 130:25 133:3 156:2,24,25</p>	<p>157:17 159:16 160:23 162:1 167:20 168:6,19 168:24 172:17 174:9,18,22 179:6 179:10 180:2,9,12 180:25 182:6 183:22 185:14 189:14,17 196:24 198:2,3,8,17,21 201:25 202:9 204:20 207:4,17 208:24 210:9 212:6,8 216:9,19 216:21 217:6 218:19,25 219:6 226:18,23,24 228:5 232:19 voted 7:14 47:20 51:1,3 64:2 80:9 80:10 100:25 115:4 125:18 174:5,6 175:1,3 180:7 198:11 voter 20:15 23:5 24:20 25:25 26:1 26:10,11,12 27:5 27:10,24 32:3,9 34:12 38:20 39:2 39:5,13,22 40:7,9 40:21 41:11,22 42:11 44:19 50:7 50:20,24,25 51:2,8 51:19,20 52:17 54:23 57:16 59:17 59:23 68:2,23 89:5,20 105:25 106:7,18 107:4,8,9 111:6 114:3 116:16 117:12,14 126:2 127:22</p>	<p>130:8 132:12,18 132:20 134:8 142:20 143:5 151:11 173:14 178:25 182:4,6 185:4 199:16 202:19 203:10,14 203:16 205:17,20 206:19 216:16 219:5 220:8,20 221:5,11 226:23 voters 13:4 15:10 18:10,13 19:19,20 20:3,6,15 21:20 22:8,9 23:19 24:5 27:22 32:13,16 33:19 36:2,8 37:17,17 43:14,18 44:8,14 51:10 52:24 56:6 57:3,5 57:20,21 58:8,14 63:9 68:4,20 69:19,20,20,21,21 69:22 70:19 71:9 72:5 75:6 84:3 85:14,21,25 86:13 86:23,24 88:1,3,18 88:18 89:24 90:4 91:4,21 93:13 94:22 95:2 97:19 98:8,16 99:1 101:10,24 102:8 102:10,14 103:9 103:12,14 106:9 107:20 108:22 109:4 110:24 111:20,23 112:2 112:14,14,17,20 112:22 113:1 114:5 115:8 116:15 123:10</p>
--	--	--	--

[voters - way]

Page 55

126:25 128:10,12 128:19 129:6,11 129:14 130:18 131:2,17 141:6,7 142:25 143:1 144:8,11,14,21 146:5,7,12 147:25 151:23 155:17,24 156:1,2,4 159:17 159:19,20 160:4,8 164:23 167:19 168:10 169:1,4 172:11,12,18 177:16 179:4,22 180:13,24 181:3 190:1 198:6,7,13 199:11,11 216:17 216:18 219:23 220:19 224:2 228:10 voters' 127:15 128:1,7 132:17 227:3 voter's 107:25 113:23 117:10 votes 6:12 48:7 54:16,17 157:21 157:22 183:1 185:3 187:22 189:23 190:17 191:21,22 194:4 195:24,25 196:25 196:25 199:21,23 213:8 214:17 220:11 223:18 227:4 voting 2:23 8:8,11 8:18 9:16,21,24,25 10:1 11:12 14:10 14:18 17:2,3 18:21 19:1,5,21	21:19,24 22:12 24:12 27:21 28:14 31:7,13,25 32:4 33:11,13,17 34:1 35:24 36:2,9 37:23 39:13,14 47:15,16 49:7 51:25 52:24 55:22 56:2,4,5,7,9,12,17 56:17,18,23 57:4,8 57:11,24 58:1,11 58:15,16,19,22 59:13 61:16,24 63:14 64:1,1,2,7 64:13,14,18,18,19 64:19 65:4,12,22 66:6,19,19 72:11 73:21 74:23 75:5 84:19 85:11 86:10 86:16 89:6 90:18 90:18 91:24 94:16 97:5 100:12,24 101:3 103:3,20,22 106:4 114:10,11 114:12,24 115:12 115:12,14 117:10 117:12,14 120:20 122:3 123:11 125:14 129:4 130:15 131:6,16 131:19,20 139:14 144:21 145:16 146:1,6 149:14,15 149:19 151:16 160:12,17 161:10 161:12,23 163:2 164:18 165:11,13 178:10,12 179:6 180:16 181:4 182:8 185:13,13 188:4,20 189:9	191:19 193:13 194:19,19 195:18 195:20 196:2,19 200:7 206:9 212:4 212:5 219:4,22,25 230:1 vulnerable 98:16 w wait 179:22 205:22 waiting 146:7 172:14 wake 205:22 221:20 walk 112:24 walked 115:19 walking 152:1 wallet 204:9 wanna 3:25 4:9 7:16 10:18 28:3 29:14 31:15 41:10 42:19,23 50:17,23 55:20 57:17 79:21 82:7 84:12 85:8 85:10 91:5 94:9 98:10 101:13,24 103:9,10 108:16 109:1,2,9,9,12 110:25 111:6,13 112:19,20,20 114:2 118:16 120:5 128:7 130:25 136:2,21 144:2 146:15 148:16 151:8 156:12 162:3,19 174:1,16 175:14 182:17 207:9 210:9 214:14,15 214:16 217:3 220:6,10 223:6	227:8 want 6:25 13:23 16:9 24:23 25:1,3 29:11 30:2 32:1 43:7,21 54:14,25 55:1 72:13 81:23 111:10 120:9 173:14 183:21,22 216:20,20 217:4,6 226:24 wanted 5:12 10:5 28:19 31:9 44:13 59:16 62:13,16 75:25 79:3 95:9 121:17 162:15 202:7 210:6 211:1 229:9 wanting 24:25 55:14 wants 29:4,17 30:18 82:22 179:8 189:17 washington 141:15 wasn't 27:25 38:16 112:15 143:20 148:5 163:24 187:11,14 201:19 watch 10:25 135:3 190:16 watchers 97:2,21 watching 115:24 219:20 water 56:24 way 2:20 6:22 13:5 33:9 35:23 42:22 55:10 67:10 74:2 89:2,7,9,12 95:23 98:11,13 101:19,23 102:13
---	--	--	--

104:9 105:7,21	232:13	24:1,19,24,25	what'd 192:4
110:6,20 111:2	weekdays 64:11	25:15 26:7 28:12	what's 17:8,16
114:5 126:25	weekend 56:7 87:4	29:2,4,9,17,18	49:1 51:5 57:2
127:4 128:8	126:20 131:22	30:17 34:18 35:20	63:1 71:10 73:24
129:11 130:21	weekends 86:24	35:23 45:11,15,19	110:8 113:9 135:4
133:10 134:24	177:25 180:22	46:14 48:25 55:2	144:19 155:4
135:5,9 140:4	weeks 130:7 161:6	55:11,13,13 57:25	195:8 214:4
145:17 147:19	161:17 162:6,8,8	58:20 63:22 67:14	wheeler 54:5
148:18,18 155:8	162:12 212:3	67:15 68:17 71:2	whichever 165:4
159:5 164:20	221:17	72:6 74:23 93:6	white 179:2
169:3 175:5 178:3	weigh 83:5 100:9	97:12 100:5 107:1	whoever's 152:22
178:23 187:25	welcome 10:16	114:2,3,19 118:3	wholly 109:23
188:20 189:19	60:25 76:19 78:9	125:1,22 126:12	who's 81:8 115:24
191:1 192:14	82:20 122:19	127:25 128:1	186:1 188:16
193:4 197:3	137:13,14 138:25	129:2,3,9 134:15	220:8
204:19 222:4	140:8,25 149:9	135:4,7 144:14	who've 195:3
223:10,21,22	150:10 210:19	152:13 154:17	widely 180:24
224:1 227:3	welds 206:14	157:9 158:15	widespread 19:12
229:17 231:9	went 12:11 26:22	159:16,23 160:11	25:25 27:4,24
ways 2:24 37:13	47:19 60:17	163:2 165:11	32:2 34:2 38:9,19
37:18 55:9 66:12	110:19 111:1	171:3 172:14	39:2,22 40:6,20,24
75:13 95:11 96:19	112:12 131:12,13	177:7 186:25	41:4 48:18 49:23
99:6 104:6,8	149:21 184:24	196:1,2 198:24	50:20,24 51:8,14
108:10 114:21	197:7	203:15 209:1	52:2,14,16 54:23
180:1 183:4	weren't 110:25	213:4,16 215:19	59:17,23 60:13
189:13 206:21	195:21 205:4	215:22 216:24	195:10 211:4
weaknesses	west 108:19	226:12,22	wielding 179:1
121:24 122:1	western 92:12	we've 56:22 72:25	wife 138:20 148:3
212:12	we'd 10:19 17:25	74:20 96:11	williams 53:4,5,12
wear 125:7 145:6	61:5 93:3 164:16	106:23 121:4	53:23 54:4,10
199:14	164:19 176:16,24	122:9 160:7	172:7,8,25 173:6
wearing 199:12	184:20 210:19	163:19 171:20	232:15,16
weather 216:13	we'll 2:2 3:5,6,8	173:17 187:2	willing 183:17
website 12:24 40:5	3:20 9:7 10:7	188:22 212:19,20	willingness 49:15
webster 50:4	77:18 83:12	214:13 219:14	win 7:9 54:12
week 35:14 87:8	127:24 128:7	221:16 222:16	178:23 179:2
87:12 101:17	155:13 158:1,13	226:25 229:11	181:21,23 182:17
102:13 126:3	162:17 200:24,24	whatnot 92:3	183:21
161:9,12,17,20,22	201:10 215:24	103:3 124:9	winding 199:2
162:1,4,11 180:19	we're 4:14,14	125:18 127:11	wing 155:9
180:22 221:18	16:23 17:15 23:2	137:10	

<p>winichakul 15:22 15:25 16:4,6,7,14 16:17,23 17:6,10 17:14,18,23 18:2 22:25 23:17 24:13 24:21 25:10,18 26:4,20 27:3,8 28:16 31:8 33:14 35:8 37:5,8 38:4 38:13,18 39:18,21 40:14 41:1,6 42:16 44:7,17 45:4 49:4 50:3,14 50:17 51:5,15 52:5,19 53:9,14 54:2,7 57:17 59:5 60:7,14,22 winner 182:7 winning 85:7 181:25 wins 183:8 wise 24:10 134:13 153:24 wish 230:24 wishes 30:6 witness 29:11 70:22 74:14 81:21 111:25 112:1,11 191:15 215:13 witnesses 3:6,8 29:10 30:2 76:10 76:22 167:6 won 7:23 wonder 100:23 wondered 17:21 103:4 218:2 wonderful 156:5 196:12 wondering 49:24 52:3 101:2 147:6</p>	<p>won't 9:18 140:19 142:5 174:20 208:23 woohoo 215:14 word 2:7 40:25 59:17 166:1,11 worded 145:18 words 28:17 171:12 wore 7:1 work 2:15 9:18 30:3 34:19 55:6 56:21 57:13 58:10 59:12,13 67:8 75:8 77:6,7 83:23 87:12 94:13 101:16,17 123:17 133:2 143:3 150:6 175:15 178:4,16 180:21,22 181:3 208:18,18 214:5 216:11 217:2 workability 214:25 worked 53:6,18,21 64:2 84:20 85:22 128:12 165:15 205:3 216:10 worker 53:10,11 53:13,22 55:7 67:5 116:24 117:3 117:13 166:14 229:20,21 workers 115:13 123:25 125:11 135:16 139:16 145:2 150:5 152:25,25 156:5 188:21 189:2 194:15,17 219:3</p>	<p>working 3:19 4:3 14:13 29:18 30:17 53:15,16 61:22 75:1,24 76:23 86:25 93:1 95:15 95:20 114:11 175:21,22 180:23 187:1 194:10 208:20,21 216:15 works 3:19 16:24 33:16 64:14 65:9 66:12,14 87:7 128:5 world 54:24 181:10 183:11 worn 153:3 worry 49:13 145:4 worst 156:3 wouldn't 54:24 81:10 150:3 159:5 164:10 would've 11:7 66:1 105:14 140:3 140:4,6 150:2 153:10 161:11 194:3 wrap 120:1 write 42:13 writing 199:5 written 11:5 21:5 29:14 30:19 39:24 128:4 wrong 3:24 29:1 42:4 106:22 169:4 171:2 209:9 wrongdoing 105:4 wrongly 194:20 wrote 49:20</p>	<p>y yeah 6:24 17:23 45:7 80:3 82:24 101:6 184:14,15 215:15 217:18 year 4:14,15,17,18 5:5,5 6:6 38:24 64:22 65:7 77:8 88:3,5,6 129:20 130:6 161:8 211:14,17 213:17 218:17 219:7 225:9 226:2,20 years 8:7 28:2 73:15,16 75:24 83:19,21,24 85:16 113:7 123:9 124:21 133:21 150:23 153:2 175:23 177:9 179:9 197:6 203:22 209:19 yesterday 2:6 3:9 12:22 14:2 75:2 130:14 137:20 yesterday's 18:6 york 85:18 103:17 young 63:21 69:21 177:18,24 195:9 216:9 you'd 23:3 61:2 101:3 149:16 you'll 4:7 26:2 28:4 100:23 170:14 171:13 200:22 203:7 you're 10:21,21 11:25 16:16 25:7 25:13,19,23 26:10 27:1,24 29:2 32:17,24 33:6</p>
---	---	---	--

[you're - zuckerberg]

Page 58

36:14 40:14 44:1 44:4 47:8 48:10 50:16 51:6,25 55:1 61:4 68:24 69:5,10 71:4 77:14,16 82:20 83:12 89:12 92:23 98:4,14,15 108:4 110:12 114:24 115:10 116:15,19 116:24 117:11 118:23 119:4 122:19 137:15 138:4 142:4,8 146:24 153:21 155:1 157:12 158:10,17 159:13 160:2,13 165:5 170:5,11,17 176:24,24 184:20 195:7 201:12,12 201:17 202:2 204:20,21,24 209:4 215:24 218:6 225:21 226:17 you've 47:20 81:22,23 82:1 85:21 91:15 94:1 96:2 103:14,16 113:16 115:8 173:19 217:24 y'all 2:2 10:24 31:1 147:15 175:16	zuckerberg 138:20 193:12
z	
zero 68:9,25 69:3 69:5 zoom 29:4,5,10,12 30:13,14,16 75:2 102:19	

RETRIEVED FROM DEMOCRACYDOCKET.COM

EXHIBIT B

RETRIEVED FROM DEMOCRACYDOCKET.COM

December, 2022 AIP			
County Code	County	Average Processing time	Voter Check-Ins
006	BANKS	00:41	3,548
017	BURKE	00:51	3,409
024	CHARLTON	00:53	1,522
028	CHEROKEE	00:43	36,814
033	COBB	00:58	146,739
048	DOUGLAS	00:50	30,122
058	FORSYTH	00:37	49,484
063	GLYNN	00:47	15,467
068	HABERSHAM	00:46	9,374
069	HALL	00:56	34,740
071	HARALSON	00:47	3,876
076	HOUSTON	00:50	29,906
077	IRWIN	00:54	1,545
078	JACKSON	00:42	13,570
088	LEE	00:43	5,427
092	LOWNDES	00:54	17,796
104	MORGAN	00:42	5,200
106	MUSCOGEE	00:50	31,326
108	OCONEE	00:44	11,771
110	PAULDING	00:40	29,209
121	RICHMOND	00:51	29,651
127	STEPHENS	00:41	5,309
136	THOMAS	00:46	8,674
Totals	23	00:50	524,479

November, 2022 AIP		Average Processing time	Voter Check-Ins
County Code	County		
006	BANKS	00:46	4,456
017	BURKE	00:58	3,664
024	CHARLTON	00:59	1,741
028	CHEROKEE	00:53	66,685
033	COBB	01:11	181,375
048	DOUGLAS	00:54	34,328
063	GLYNN	00:52	20,724
069	HALL	01:04	43,671
076	HOUSTON	00:58	37,103
077	IRWIN	01:02	1,865
078	JACKSON	00:50	19,228
088	LEE	00:49	6,914
092	LOWNDES	01:01	21,356
104	MORGAN	00:46	4,098
108	OCONEE	00:52	14,857
110	PAULDING	00:46	40,325
127	STEPHENS	00:58	6,534
136	THOMAS	00:52	10,575
Totals	18	01:00	519,509