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6	MONTANA THIRTEENTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT COURT
7	YELLOWSTONE COUNTY
8) ROBYN DRISCOLL; MONTANA) CAUSE NO. DV 20-408
9	ROBYN DRISCOLL; MONTANA) CAUSE NO. DV 20-408 DEMOCRATIC PARTY; and) DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN)
10	COMMITTEE,
11	Plaintiffs,) FINDINGS OF FACT,) CONCLUSIONS OF LAW,
12	v.) AND ORDER
13	COREY STAPLETON, in his official capacity as Montana Secretary of State,
14	Defendant.
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16	The Court conducted a non-jury trial in this case on Plaintiffs' Amended Complaint
17 18	for Declaratory and Injunctive Relief. Both parties appeared and were represented by
19	counsel. Trial was conducted on September 14, 15, 16, 20 and 21 of 2020. After
20	considering the evidence presented and counsels' arguments, the Court makes the
21	following Findings of Fact:
22	FINDINGS OF FACT
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24	I. <u>Parties.</u>
25	1. Plaintiff Montana Democratic Party ("MDP") is a political party established
26	pursuant to Montana Code Section § 13-38-101, et seq.
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Plaintiff Robyn Driscoll is the chair of Plaintiff Montana Democratic Party.
 Plaintiff Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee ("DSCC") is the national senatorial committee of the Democratic Party as defined by 52 U.S.C. § 30101(14).

4. Defendant Corey Stapleton is the Montana Secretary of State. The Secretary is the chief elections officer of the State of Montana and is responsible for obtaining and maintaining uniformity in the application, operation, and interpretation of the election laws. Mont. Code Ann. § 13-1-201.

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Claims for Relief.

5. The Plaintiffs' Amended Complaint seeks declarative and injunctive relief. The Plaintiffs request the Court to declare that Montana's Ballot Interference Prevention Act ("BIPA") (Mont. Code Ann. § 13-35-701 *et seq.*), Election Day Receipt Deadline statutes (Mont. Code Ann. §§ 13-13-201(3), 13-19-106(5)(b), 13-13-211(3), 13-13-246 (2)(c), (d) and 13-21-206(b)), and Cure Deadline statutes (Mont. Code Ann. §§ 13-13-245 and 13-15-107) violate Montana's Constitution. The Plaintiffs request that the Secretary be permanently enjoined from enforcing BIPA, the Election Day Receipt Deadline, and the Cure Deadline. The Plaintiffs further request: (a) that all mailed absentee ballots postmarked on or before Election Day be counted if received by election officials by 5:00 p.m. on the Tuesday after Election Day; and (b) that the Cure Deadline be extended to 5:00 p.m. on the second Thursday after Election Day, provided that any cure information a voter mails to election officials is received by 5:00 p.m. on the Thursday after Election Day.

6. BIPA prohibits unauthorized persons from collecting absentee ballots and, except for U.S. postal workers and election officials, limits the number of ballots an authorized person can collect and deliver to six ballots.

7. Those persons authorized to collect and deliver up to six absentee ballots are: a caregiver, a family member, a household member, or an acquaintance. BIPA requires caregivers, family members, household members, or acquaintances to deliver collected ballots to "a polling place, a place of deposit, or the election administrator's office." Upon delivery they also must sign a registry and provide in writing: their name, address, and phone number; the voter's name and address; and "the individual's relationship to the voter required to collect and convey a ballot pursuant to 13-35-703(2)(c) through (2)(f)." Mont. Code Ann. § 13-35-704. BIPA imposes a \$500.00 fine for each ballot collected in violation of BIPA.

8. The Election Day Receipt Deadline statutes mandate that absentee ballots must be received by authorized election officials by 8:00 p.m. on Election Day. Absentee ballots received after 8:00 p.m. on Election Day are not counted.

9. The Cure Deadline allows absentee voters until 5:00 p.m. on the day after Election Day to correct deficiencies in their ballot such as a missing signature on the outside ballot envelope, a signature that appears not to match the voter's signature on file, or other concerns about the ballot's validity. If contacted in time by election officials, the absentee voter can cure the deficiency in person by 5:00 p.m. the day after Election Day or by mailing corrective information to election officials if postmarked by 5:00 p.m. the day after Election Day and verified by 3:00 p.m. on the sixth day after the election. If corrected

by the Cure Deadline, deficient absentee ballots are counted. Deficient absentee ballots
 not corrected by the Cure Deadline are not counted.

III. <u>BIPA.</u>

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10. Plaintiffs claim that BIPA violates Montana's Constitution by burdening the
right to vote, by infringing upon the rights of free speech and association, and by denying
the right to due process. Plaintiffs also claim that BIPA violates Montana's Constitution
because BIPA is vague.

11. BIPA was passed by the Montana legislature as a legislative referendum on April 13, 2017. BIPA was intended to curtail the organized collection and delivery of absentee ballots by third parties as a way to prevent ballot interference and fraud.

12. Before BIPA was enacted, organizations like the Montana Democratic Party, 13 Disability Rights of Montana, MontPIRG, Montana Conservation Voters, Western Native 14 15 Voice, and Montana Native Voice collected and delivered absentee ballots to election 16 officials when requested by voters to do so. Nursing home staff would often collect and 17 deliver ballots for elderly voters unable to deliver or mail their ballots. Family members 18 also collected and delivered more than six absentee ballots from other family members in 19 large families or households. 20

BIPA effectively prevents organizations from collecting and delivering
 absentee ballots by limiting collection to six ballots and by authorizing only caregivers,
 family members, household members, or acquaintances to collect and deliver absentee
 ballots. Virtually all absentee ballots collected by organizations are collected in
 circumstances where the person collecting the ballot did not know the voter before
 introducing themselves during a get out the vote ("GOTV") campaign. Even if the voter

1 and collector could be deemed "acquaintances" after introducing themselves and having a short conversation, the six-ballot collection limitation makes it too expensive for organizations to hire enough collectors to offer organized ballot collection services.

14. Plaintiffs provided overwhelming evidence that BIPA burdens the right to vote. BIPA makes it more difficult for disabled voters in institutions or group homes, for the elderly in assisted living facilities, for college students, for Native Americans, for large families and households, for first-time voters, and for those working multiple low-wage jobs to vote because BIPA eliminates the organized ballot collection services upon which these voters once relied.

BIPA also eliminates the use of the unstaffed secure drop boxes used by 15. election officials that allowed voters to deposit their ballots during non-work hours. Removing these drop boxes imposes additional burdens on all absentee voters delivering ballots. Because of BIPA's registration requirements, absentee voters who deliver their ballots now must travel to county election offices during business hours, wait to be questioned by an election official, and if delivering another voter's ballot, complete the BIPA registration form.

16. BIPA also burdens the right to vote by raising the costs of absentee voting, thereby placing significant burdens on those voters who are socioeconomically vulnerable. Ballot collection services typically begin collecting and delivering ballots as part of their GOTV efforts starting the week before Election Day. These collection services do so because the United States Postal Service (U.S.P.S.) warns voters that absentee ballots should be mailed at least one week before Election Day to insure delivery by 8:00 p.m. on

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1 Election Day. Many voters do not understand that their ballot must be mailed at least a week before Election Day to be delivered on or before Election Day.

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3 17. Before BIPA, voters often learned through a conversation with a GOTV 4 worker that mailing in their ballot less than a week before Election Day would not insure its 5 arrival before 8:00 p.m. on Election Day. If the voter expressed concern about being able 6 7 to deliver their ballot, GOTV workers would then offer to deliver their ballot. BIPA not only eliminated organized ballot collection, but also the opportunity for GOTV workers to 8 9 educate voters about absentee ballot requirements such as signing the outside absentee 10 ballot envelope. The result is that, especially for the November 2020 general election, 11 more voters who relied upon ballot collection services are more likely to vote by mail, if 12 they vote at all. The evidence demonstrates that voters with lower educational and socioeconomic status are less able to overcome the obstacles to voting created by BIPA 14 15 than higher income and more highly educated voters. This means that, without ballot 16 collection services, more voters are likely to vote by mail and voters having lower 17 educational and socioeconomic status are more likely to have their ballots rejected because their ballots arrive late or have signature deficiencies.

18. By eliminating organized ballot collection services, BIPA also precludes 20 ballot collectors from organizations like the Montana Democratic Party, Disability Rights of 21 22 Montana, MontPIRG, Montana Conservator Voters, Western Native Voice, and Montana 23 Native Voice from expressing their values such as their commitment to democracy and the 24 right to vote. Such organizations affirm these values by offering to deliver a voter's ballot 25 when necessary and doing so when asked. BIPA infringes upon the fundamental rights of 26 free speech and association that ballot collectors would otherwise exercise when, 27

particularly during the week before Election Day, they would discuss the voter's plan to vote, review mailing deadlines and in-person delivery options, signature requirements, and whether the voter needed help with delivering their ballot in time to be counted. The evidence was undisputed that BIPA restricts the expression of political speech and association. In the critical week before Election Day, BIPA significantly limits the kinds of discussion and conduct that organized ballot collectors can engage in with voters.

19. It is undisputed that there has not been a single instance in Montana of interference, intimidation, tampering, or delay by organized ballot collection services. Nor has there been a single instance of ballot collection fraud in Montana.

20. Though labeled the Ballot Interference Protection Act, BIPA is not tailored to actually prevent ballot interference or fraud. BIPA, for example, only prohibits authorized persons from collecting and conveying more than six ballots to election officials. BIPA does not prevent authorized persons from collecting and destroying any number of ballots. The Secretary currently interprets BIPA as permitting organized ballot collection services to collect and mail absentee ballots to election officials while prohibiting only in-person delivery. BIPA does not prevent ballot tampering, voting another person's ballot, bribing voters, coercing or intimidating voters, or defrauding voters. All BIPA does is prohibit the otherwise lawful activity of helping voters deliver their absentee ballots to election officials in time to be counted.

21. The Secretary claims that BIPA protects against ballot interference and fraud, thereby enhancing the public's confidence in the integrity of Montana elections. No evidence supports that claim. First, the Secretary presented no evidence that organized ballot collection services have ever interfered with or defrauded voters. Second, as noted

above, BIPA was not designed to prevent voting misconduct. Montana already had a robust and effective statutory scheme that criminalizes and punishes voting misconduct. Mont. Code Ann. § 13-35-101, *et seq.;* Mont. Code Ann. § 45-7-101 and 102. Third, the Secretary presented no evidence that BIPA was necessary to foster the public's confidence in Montana elections.

22. In fact, the Court finds that the Secretary failed to present any evidence that BIPA furthered any legitimate state interest. For example, Jeff Mangan serves as Montana's Commissioner of Political Practices and is responsible for investigating and enforcing BIPA as well as other campaign and election laws set forth in Chapter 35, Title 13 of the Montana Code Annotated. Mr. Mangan testified that BIPA is unnecessary and is "...a solution in search of a problem."

23. Dana Corson, Director of Election and Voter Services, was the Secretary's designee to testify at trial and his testimony is binding upon the Secretary. Mr. Corson admitted: (a) that there is no evidence of absentee ballot collection interference or fraud in Montana; (b) that BIPA only prohibits the otherwise lawful collection of over six ballots; and (c) that BIPA makes it more difficult for absentee voters to vote. Speaking for the Secretary, Mr. Corson acknowledged that BIPA is bad for democracy.

24. As part of her duties as the Cascade County Clerk and Recorder, Rina Moore serves as the Elections Administrator. Ms. Moore described BIPA as unnecessary legislation that not only made it more difficult and time-consuming for voters to vote, but significantly increased the administration time and expense necessary to implement BIPA's requirements. Ms. Moore testified that voters were confused and frustrated about BIPA's registration requirements. Because BIPA made it more difficult for voters to vote

without accomplishing anything useful, Ms. Moore characterized BIPA as the "voter
 suppression act of 2018".

25. Linda Stoll served as a lobbyist for the Montana Association of County Clerk and Recorders (the Association) in 2017 during the legislative process relating to BIPA (Senate Bill 352). The Association represents election officials in all 56 of Montana's counties. The Association opposed BIPA because Montana election administrators had not encountered any problems with organized ballot collection services and had concluded that BIPA would not solve an actual problem in Montana. The Association also opposed BIPA because it targeted people for helping people vote and because it created significant burdens for county election officials and voters.

26. The Plaintiffs retained Dr. Kenneth Mayer to evaluate the effects of BIPA, the Election Day Receipt Deadline, and the Cure Deadline on Montana absentee ballot voters. The Court has carefully reviewed Dr. Mayer's expert opinions that: (1) BIPA burdens voters by prohibiting organized ballot collection services and by eliminating the use of unstaffed, secure drop boxes by election officials; (2) BIPA will suppress voter turnout while increasing the number of absentee ballots that are rejected; (3) BIPA disproportionately burdens already vulnerable voting populations consisting of the elderly, disabled, working poor, inexperienced voters, and Native Americans by increasing voting costs; (4) BIPA does not prevent ballot interference or fraud; (5) BIPA will not promote election integrity or the public's confidence in the election process; (6) BIPA creates additional, but unnecessary, work for election officials and staff; and (7) BIPA's ripple effects increase the time voters must wait in line to vote. The Court finds that Dr. Mayer's opinions are based upon recognized, widely accepted methodology and extensive

research. Dr. Mayer is a recognized expert on the subjects upon which he provided expert opinions. The Court finds Dr. Mayer's opinions to be credible and persuasive. The Court finds that Dr. Mayer's opinions are consistent with and are supported by the testimony of the organized ballot collectors, election officials, and voters who testified at trial or whose deposition testimony, declarations or stipulated testimony was admitted at trial. The Court finds that Dr. Mayer's opinions are more credible and persuasive than the contrary opinions expressed by the Secretary's experts, Dr. Hood and Dr. Atkeson.

27. The Secretary relies upon the testimony of Dr. M.V. Hood III as proof that BIPA: (a) will not adversely affect voter turnout; (2) will not disenfranchise any voters; and (3) strengthens the chain of custody by requiring a voter to give their ballot to a person they trust. The Court finds that Dr. Hood's opinions were based upon an incomplete investigation, flawed assumptions, and speculation. The Court finds that his opinions are not credible.

28. Dr. Hood opined that how BIPA affects voter turnout cannot be determined because BIPA was enjoined just before the June 2020 primary election and has never been fully implemented. Dr. Hood disagrees that the Utility of Voting methodology used by Plaintiffs' expert, Dr. Mayer, can be applied to BIPA because not enough empirical evidence exists to know how BIPA actually affects voter turnout.

29. The Court finds that the Utility of Voting methodology has been a widely tested and accepted method for evaluating the potential impact of how changes to election laws will affect voter behavior. In essence, the Utility of Voting methodology predicts that voter turnout is a function of the costs and benefits of voting. Increasing the direct or indirect costs of voting decreases total voter turnout as well as the likelihood that any

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1 given individual will vote. Conversely, decreasing the direct or indirect costs of voting 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 30. As examples, Dr. Mayer testified that the Utility of Voting methodology has 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 31. 20

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The Court also rejects Dr. Hood's opinions that BIPA will not disenfranchise voters or will not disenfranchise enough voters to affect election results. Dr. Hood appeared unaware of the undisputed testimony from persons who actually collected ballots on behalf of the Montana Democratic Party, Disability Rights of Montana, MontPIRG, Montana Conservation Voters, Western Native Voice, and Montana Native Voice, demonstrating that they had collected and delivered hundreds of ballots each election from voters who would not otherwise have been able to deliver or mail in their

increases both voter turnout and the probability that a given individual will vote. Direct costs can include items like the cost of driving to a polling place to vote, the postage to mail a ballot, the costs to obtain a photo I.D., lost income if a voter must miss work to vote, child care expenses if a voter must obtain child care to vote, and other out-of-pocket costs. Indirect costs can include complex or confusing voter requirements, compliance requirements, administrative processes, and the loss of established voting options.

been used to correctly predict that, by lowering costs, states that adopted same day registration and voting laws increased voter turnout. In contrast, by increasing costs, states that adopted photo identification laws as a prerequisite to voting decreased voter turnout. In evaluating the effects of changing the Election Day Receipt Deadline to a Postmark Deadline and extending the Gure Deadline, Dr. Lonna Atkeson, another defense expert, also used the Utility of Voting methodology to predict how such changes would affect the numbers of late or rejected absentee ballots. The Court rejects Dr. Hood's opinion that Dr. Mayer misapplied the Utility of Voting methodology in this case.

ballots in time to be counted. Dr. Hood's opinion that BIPA will not disenfranchise enough voters to impact election results is irrelevant and speculative. It also contradicts his opinion that BIPA will not disenfranchise any voters.

32. Dr. Hood's opinion that BIPA enhances election integrity by strengthening the chain of custody of a voter's ballot is without merit. That opinion assumes that those engaged in organized ballot collection efforts are somehow less trustworthy than the persons BIPA authorizes to collect ballots. Yet, while there has never been a single instance of an organized ballot collector failing to deliver a ballot entrusted to them, Rina Moore testified that, in the June 2020 primary election, the U.S.P.S. had forgotten to deliver approximately 46 ballots to the Cascade County election office until the day after Election Day. No evidence supports Dr. Hood's opinion that BIPA strengthens the chain of custody for delivering a voter's ballot.

33. The Court finds that BIPA's language is vague, confusing and overbroad. BIPA's use and definition of the term "acquaintance" is vague. BIPA defines "acquaintance" as "an individual known by the voter." The problem is determining whether, upon introducing themselves to the voter, the ballot collector immediately becomes the voter's acquaintance or whether the voter must know more about the ballot collector and, if so, how much more. Is saying, "I'm pleased to make your acquaintance" upon introduction enough to be an acquaintance? Or, must the relationship between voter and collector be more than a passing familiarity, but less than friendship? When questioned, none of the Secretary's witnesses professed to know what criteria a ballot collector needed to satisfy to be deemed an acquaintance under BIPA. This is a critical issue because organized ballot collectors rarely know the voter before meeting them

during GOTV efforts the week before Election Day. The penalty for being mistaken about whether the ballot collector qualifies as an acquaintance under BIPA is a \$500.00 fine per ballot. This uncertainty alone has caused organized ballot collection services to discontinue collecting ballots.

34. BIPA's six-ballot collection limitation is also overbroad because it penalizes non-fraudulent ballot collection. For example, BIPA entrusts a family member to help six other family members deliver their votes to be counted, but not seven or more family members. BIPA's six-ballot limitation is entirely arbitrary.

IV. <u>Election Day Receipt Deadline.</u>

35. The Court finds that the Election Day Receipt Deadline statutes violate Montana's Constitution by burdening the right to vote and by denying the right to due process.

36. Plaintiffs provided overwhelming evidence that the Election Day Receipt Deadline statutes burden the right to vote. The Election Day Receipt Deadline statutes have disenfranchised thousands of Montanans because voters who cast their ballot through the mail on or before Election Day and whose ballots arrive at election offices after 8:00 p.m. on Election Day do not have their vote counted.

37. The Election Day Receipt Deadline statutes burden Montana voters who vote by mail by requiring voters to cast their ballot at least a week before Election Day. Even then there is no guarantee their ballot will be received in time to be counted. Conversely, voters who are able to return their absentee ballots directly to election officials or who can vote in person by 8:00 p.m. on Election Day do not have to cast their ballot until Election Day. The

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1 Election Day Receipt Deadline statutes place voters who vote by mail at a disadvantage relative to other voters.

38. Mail delivery times throughout and within Montana counties vary, and voters in some locations are likely to have quicker delivery of their ballots than other voters. For example, in the June 2020 primary election a voter in Great Falls, Montana had his ballot delivered by mail in one day while a voter in Helena, Montana had her ballot delivered in one week. Inconsistent mail delivery times throughout Montana cause vote-by-mail voters to be treated differently depending on where they are mailing their ballot.

39. Voters with less experience voting by mail are more likely to be disenfranchised. Voters who have voted by mail in previous elections have lower ballot rejection rates.

There is confusion among voters about the applicable deadline by which they 40. must mail their ballot to have it counted. Some voters believe a postmark deadline applies to their ballot like it does for other government deadlines such as when mailing federal tax returns, voter registration forms, or hunting license applications.

41. The COVID-19 pandemic will increase demand among voters to use the mail to participate in the 2020 General Election. Increased reliance on the U.S.P.S. to deliver a larger number of ballots has placed great stress upon the U.S.P.S.'s ability to meet demand. Former U.S.P.S. Deputy Postmaster General Ronald Stroman described that the COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in U.S.P.S. operating with far fewer employees. Mr. Stroman also explained the incongruity between Montana's Election Day Receipt Deadline and the current U.S.P.S delivery standards, noting U.S.P.S. delivery capabilities vary and make it impossible to guarantee that ballots will be returned by Election Day. Mr. Stroman testified that he has

recommended that all states adopt a postmark deadline to reduce the number of ballots
 being rejected for late delivery.

42. Sanders County Elections Administrator Nicole Scribner testified that Sanders county election administrators have an informal arrangement with the local U.S.P.S. office whereby U.S.P.S. sets aside incoming ballots, instead of sending them out of the county to be postmarked by a U.S.P.S. processing center, to provide a more timely return of the ballots to the local election office. Mr. Stroman testified, however, that a postmark deadline is beneficial because it eliminates the need for these kinds of informal, unauthorized agreements between local U.S.P.S. facilities and county election officials and strengthens the chain of custody of ballots.

43. Mr. Stroman also explained that due to the increased reliance on U.S.P.S. to deliver more ballots coupled with the logistical limitations presented by COVID-19, U.S.P.S. is not delivering first class mail (including ballots) within its performance goal of 96% of first class mail being delivered within two to five days. Rather, the latest data available for September 2020 shows U.S.P.S. is delivering only 88% of first class mail within two to five days. Under the current COVID-19 conditions, the U.S.P.S. first class mail delivery rate, which includes ballot delivery, is down 8%. The decrease in the U.S.P.S.'s delivery rate will cause even more mailed ballots to be delivered after Election Day, thereby disenfranchising even more voters.

44. Many absentee ballots arrive to election offices on Election Day. 18,120 ballots arrived by mail on Election Day in 2016, 17,901 in 2018 and 21,655 in the 2020 primary election. Ballots received on or near Election Day are at risk of not being counted if unanticipated mail delivery issues delay their arrival.

45. The June 2020 primary election was held during the COVID-19 pandemic under an all-mail election. In the June 2020 primary election, 1,429 ballots were rejected as late. In the 2016 general election, 290 ballots were rejected as late and in the 2018 general election 385 ballots were rejected as late.¹ The rejection rate for the June 2020 primary election was high relative to previous elections. The number of late rejected ballots received after the Election Day Receipt Deadline is higher in predominantly-mail elections held under COVID-19 conditions.

46. The November 2020 general election is more likely to resemble the June 2020 primary than previous general elections because the November 2020 general election will also be held during the COVID-19 pandemic and will be a predominantly all-mail election.

The COVID-19 pandemic exacerbates the burdens imposed by the Election 47. Day Receipt Deadline. To vote in the November 2020 general election, voters must decide between returning their absentee ballot by mail or casting their vote in person. A voter must choose between mailing their ballot to avoid COVID-19 exposure and forego having complete information by the time they mail their ballot while also risking that their ballot will not arrive on time. Or, voters can choose to return their ballot or vote in person up until 8 p.m. on Election Day, thereby having more time to gather full information but also risking COVID-19 exposure. The COVID-19 pandemic presents an untenable problem for voters who wish to have all the available information prior to casting their ballot, who wish to reduce potential COVID-19 exposure, and who also wish to have their vote counted. Moving the Election Day

 ²⁵ ¹ Dr. Mayer testified that the data suggest that the number of absentee ballots arriving late is undercounted.
 ²⁶ He explained that additional ballots arrived late but were rejected for other reasons (such as lack of signature) and would have been rejected even if there were no other issues with the ballot because they were late.

1 Receipt Deadline to a postmark deadline would alleviate the pressures voters are facing in the November 2020 general election and result in less disenfranchised voters.

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48. A postmark deadline would treat all voters the same. In-person voters who are in line at the election office by 8:00 p.m. on Election Day are entitled to vote after the Election Day Receipt Deadline while absentee voters must cast their ballot at least a week before Election Day for the best chance that their vote is counted. Under a postmark deadline, absentee voters could also cast their ballots on Election Day and have their vote counted, just like the in-person voters.

49. Mary Hall, the County Auditor from Durston County, Washington testified that a postmark system levels the playing field for rural and urban voters. Washington conducts allmail elections. Ms. Hall explained that mail travels slower in rural areas and that a postmark deadline ensures that rural voters in Washington have the same allotted time in which to mail their ballot as urban voters do. A postmark system makes absentee voting more equitable for voters from different areas of the state. The Court finds that a postmark deadline would place all Montana voters—urban and rural—on an even playing field for voting.

50. A postmark deadline would significantly reduce the risk of disenfranchisement posed by the Election Day Receipt Deadline. Voters can more easily control when their ballot is postmarked than when their ballot is delivered. The U.S.P.S. operational policy and practice in Montana is to postmark mail the same day it is picked up. Voters can control when they put their ballot in the mail and therefore when it is postmarked.

51. The U.S.P.S. sprays barcodes on and scans images of envelopes it receives, both of which indicate the date U.S.P.S. took possession of a piece of mail. In the event a postmark is not placed on a ballot, the U.S.P.S. barcode and scanned images verify which

date a voter placed their ballot in the mail. These markers can all be used to determine whether a ballot was mailed on or before Election Day.

52. A postmark deadline is administratively feasible. Under the current statutory scheme, counties already receive and count federal write-in ballots for military and overseas voters until the Monday after Election Day and provisional ballots cannot be counted until the sixth day after the election pursuant to Mont. Code. Ann. §§ 13-21-206, 13-15-107.

53. The State's expert Dr. Lonna Atkeson testified that a postmark deadline would increase the rejection rate and that Montana already has a favorable rejection rate compared to other states. Dr. Atkeson also claimed that states with election day receipt deadlines have lower late absentee ballot rejection rates than states with postmark deadlines. The Court finds this analysis is flawed and not based on pertinent evidence. Dr. Mayer explains that Dr. Atkeson's comparison of six or seven states the first group with election day deadlines and the other group with postmark deadline. fails to capture a full range of variables describing a state's electoral system including population, demographics, geography, and election rules, among other factors. The Court finds Dr. Mayer's assessment persuasive that Dr. Atkeson cannot reliably assert that the rejection rate differences between the small sample of states she selected are attributable to the existence of an election day deadline without controlling for these confounding factors. The Court finds Dr. Atkeson's generalized comparison of a small number of states flawed. Dr. Mayer points out that if one changes the states Dr. Atkeson selected, the data can show the opposite result using the same logic. For instance, Dr. Mayer explained that if we examine late ballot rejection votes among all states in the 2016 Election Administration and Voting Survey data, seven of the ten states with the highest rates of late ballot rejection had election day receipt deadlines.

1 54. If Montana allowed the counting of ballots postmarked on or before Election Day and received by 3:00 p.m. the Monday following Election Day, county elections officials could count any such ballots along with the provisional ballots and federal write-in ballots. Changing to a postmark deadline would not imperil any post-election deadlines.

55. By using a postmark deadline, the State can accurately and timely certify 6 election results without disenfranchising many eligible voters whose ballots would be rejected 7 8 under the current Election Day Receipt Deadline statutes.

9 The Secretary and voters have a strong interest in having ballots counted and 56. 10 the risk of not having ballots counted under the Election Day Receipt Deadline statutes 11 presents a substantial risk of erroneous deprivation through voter disenfranchisement. The 12 Election Day Receipt Deadline does not promote a compelling state interest. Rather, a 13 postmark deadline would result in more voters having their ballots counted while not 14 15 imposing an additional burden on election officials or imperiling any post-election deadlines.

16 V. Cure Deadline.

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57. The Court finds the Cure Deadline statutes violate Montana's Constitution by burdening the right to vote and by denying the right to due process.

Montana law has provided voters an opportunity to cure any deficiency in a 58. 20 mail ballot since at least 1985 when the legislature enacted Mon. Code Ann. § 13-19-313. 21 22 Since 1999, Montana has allowed all eligible citizens to vote by absentee ballot without 23 excuse, in all elections. The number of Montanans who cast absentee ballots has steadily 24 grown since 2000. Since 2012 more than half of Montanans have cast absentee ballots in 25 federal elections and in 2018 nearly three quarters of all votes were absentee. The Cure 26 Deadline has not been adjusted to account for the adoption of no-excuse absentee voting 27

and an increasing number of Montanans choosing to vote absentee. The failure to adjust the
 Cure Deadline as most Montanans have shifted to voting absentee makes the compliance
 costs of voting higher.

59. In Montana, absentee ballots are not counted if a voter failed to sign their ballot envelope, if an election official determines the signature on the ballot and the voter's signature on file with the county elections office does not match, or if there is a question concerning the validity of the ballot. Mont. Code Ann. § 13-13-241.

60. In these cases, absentee (and provisional) voters have only until 5:00 p.m. on the day after Election Day to remedy the issue with their ballot. Mont. Code Ann. *Id.* §§ 13-13-245; 13-15-107. If a voter is curing a ballot issue by mail, the voter must place the necessary information in the mail with a postmark by 5:00 p.m. on the day after Election Day and the information must be received by 3:00 p.m. on the sixth day after Election Day. *Id.*

61. Plaintiffs provided evidence that thousands of Montanans are disenfranchised by curable signature-related issues. For example, since 2006 over 22,000 ballots have been rejected for curable signature deficiencies and the number of ballots rejected for signaturerelated deficiencies has increased steadily since 2006. The June 2020 primary election had the highest signature-related rejection rate yet with 2,170 voters' ballots rejected for a missing signature or signature mismatch.

62. In the June 2020 primary election, rejection rates for ballots returned by mail rose steadily as Election Day approached and the rejection rate for ballots returned by mail was twice as high as the overall rejection rate for ballots received on Election Day.

1 63. Election administrators must provide notice to the voter if there is a defect with their ballot "as soon as possible . . . by the most expedient method available." Mont. Code Ann. § 13-13-245.

64. Election administrators use a variety of methods to provide notice to voters whose ballot is defective, including sending voters a letter, calling voters, or emailing voters. Election officials have discretion for how they attempt to contact voters. Not all voters have current phone numbers or email addresses on file with the county elections office.

65. The risk of having a ballot rejected for signature-related defects falls more heavily on absentee voters. Like the June 2020 primary election, the November 2020 general election will be a predominately all-mail election held during the COVID-19 pandemic. A predominantly all-mail election will result in more ballots being delivered to county elections offices through the mail and as such, more absentee voters will be at risk of disenfranchisement due to the limitations imposed by the Cure Deadline.

16 66. The burden imposed by the Cure Deadline falls heaviest on voters whose 17 absentee ballot arrives to a county elections office near or on Election Day and subsequently deemed deficient. These voters have less time to cure defective ballots than other voters whose ballots arrived at elections offices earlier or voters who voted in person and were notified of deficiencies immediately. Montana Democratic Party Senior Advisor Trent Bolger testified that the list of voters with deficient ballots is not published until late morning to early afternoon on the day after Election Day, giving those voters mere hours to cure their ballots if they can even be contacted and notified of the deficiency in that time.

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1 If the Cure Deadline were extended, absentee voters whose ballot was 67. 2 received on or near Election Day would have more time to cure deficiencies and have their 3 vote counted. 4 Election officials already process cure information between the second and 68. 5 sixth day after Election Day and processing cure information takes a few minutes.² Extending 6 the Cure Deadline until the second Thursday after Election Day would not result in a 7 8 substantial burden on county election officials and would result in more voters having their 9 ballot counted. 10 From the above Findings of Fact, the Court enters the following Conclusions of Law: 11 CONCLUSIONS OF LAW 12 1. Article II. Section 13 of Montana's Constitution states: 13 Right of suffrage. All elections shall be free and open, and no power, 14 civil or military, shall at any time interfere to prevent the free exercise of 15 the right of suffrage. 16 Article II, Section 6 of Montana's Constitution states: 2. 17 Freedom of assembly. The people shall have the right peaceably to assemble, petition for redress or peaceably protest governmental action. 18 19 3. Article II, Section 7 of Montana's Constitution states: 20 Freedom of speech, expression, and press. No law shall be passed impairing the freedom of speech or expression. Every person shall be 21 free to speak or publish whatever he will on any subject, being 22 responsible for all abuse of that liberty. In all suits and prosecutions for libel or slander the truth thereof may be given in evidence; and the jury, 23 under the direction of the court, shall determine the law and the facts. 24 4. Article II, Section 17 of Montana's Constitution states: 25 26 ² Sanders County Elections Administrator Nichol Scribner testified that the county election office in Sanders

County utilizes a DS850 high-speed digital ballot tabulator that can count 11,000 ballots per hour.

<u>Due process of law</u>. No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.

5. The rights of suffrage, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech and expression, and due process are all fundamental rights set forth in the Declaration of Rights in Montana's Constitution. *See e.g. State v. Riggs*, 2005 MT 124, ¶ 47 ("A right if 'fundamental' under Montana's Constitution if the right . . . is found in the Declaration of Rights.") Because these rights are fundamental, statutes like BIPA, the Election Day Receipt Deadline, and the Cure Deadline that infringe upon these rights "must be strictly scrutinized and can only survive scrutiny if the State establishes a compelling state interest and that its action is closely tailored to effectuate that interest and is the least onerous path that can be taken to achieve the State's objective." *Montana Envtl. Info. Ctr. v. Dep't. of Envtl. Quality*, 1999 MT 248, ¶ 63; *Finke v. State ex. Rel. McGrath*, 2003 MT 48, ¶ 15. The State must "prove the compelling interest by competent evidence." *Wadsworth v. State*, 275 Mont. 287, 911 P.2d 1165, 1174 (1996). Merely alleging that a compelling interest exists is not enough to justify interference with the exercise of a fundamental right. *Id*.

6. The Secretary failed to demonstrate any legitimate state interest, much less a compelling interest, that BIPA actually promotes. BIPA does not prevent ballot interference or fraud. BIPA does not promote election integrity or public confidence. BIPA does not decrease the costs of voting or ease the burden upon election officials.

7. The Court concludes that BIPA burdens the right to vote by eliminating
 important voting options that make it easier and more convenient for voters to vote. By
 increasing the costs of voting, BIPA will decrease voter turnout and increase the number of
 ballots rejected for being late or for signature deficiencies. The burdens BIPA places on

voting fall disproportionately on the poor; the elderly; the disabled; inexperienced voters; those who cannot miss work to vote; Native Americans, especially those living on rural Native American tribal lands; students; and those whose work and family care responsibilities significantly limit their ability to return their absentee ballot on their own.

8. The Court concludes beyond a reasonable doubt that BIPA violates Article II, Section 13 of Montana's Constitution by burdening the right to vote in Montana without promoting any legitimate state interest. The Court's conclusion would not change even if BIPA was analyzed under the balancing test proposed by the Secretary. That test would balance the burdens BIPA imposes on voting against Montana's interests in burdening the right to vote. Because BIPA fails to promote any legitimate state interest, the burdens BIPA places on Montana voters do not pass constitutional scrutiny even under the State's proposed balancing test. As the Secretary acknowledged at trial, BIPA is bad for democracy in Montana. BIPA suppresses voting while increasing needless administrative expense and red tape.

9. The Court concludes beyond a reasonable doubt that BIPA violates the rights to free speech and association guaranteed under Article II, Section 6 and 7 of Montana's Constitution. BIPA significantly restricts Plaintiffs and other organized collection services from exercising their rights to fully engage in GOTV efforts by assisting voters with returning their ballots in time to be counted. Helping voters, particularly vulnerable populations, to return their ballots implicates core political speech and conduct protected by Article II, Sections 6 and 7 of Montana's Constitution. As noted earlier, BIPA does not promote or protect any legitimate state interest. BIPA, however, precludes organized ballot collection services from talking to voters about helping them return their ballots in time to be counted

and from collecting and delivering their ballots unless authorized by BIPA. Because these
 restrictions are not justified by a compelling state interest, BIPA violates Article II, Sections 6
 and 7 of Montana's Constitution.

10. The Court concludes beyond a reasonable doubt that BIPA violates the Plaintiffs' right to due process guaranteed under Article II, Section 17 of Montana's Constitution. To comply with due process, a Montana statute "must be drawn with sufficient clarity and definiteness to inform persons of ordinary intelligence what actions are proscribed (vagueness) and it cannot be susceptible of reaching constitutionally protected activity (vagueness and overbreadth.)" City of Whitefish v. Q'Shaughnessy, 704 P.2d 1021, 1025 (Mont. 1985). As discussed above, BIPA's definition and use of the term "acquaintance" is vague and ambiguous; it requires a ballot collector to speculate about whether the collector and voter have become acquaintances after a GOTV conversation lasting a few minutes. It is undisputed that uncertainty over the meaning of "acquaintance" has caused organized ballot collection services to discontinue collecting and delivering ballots. In so doing, BIPA inhibits the Plaintiffs from exercising their constitutional rights of free speech and association for fear of violating BIPA and being subject to a \$500.00 per collected ballot fine. By failing to define the meaning of "acquaintance" with sufficient clarity and definiteness, BIPA violates the Plaintiffs' right to due process.

11. The Election Day Receipt Deadline statues burden the right to vote because thousands of Montanans have been disenfranchised when voting by mail. All absentee voters who misjudge how long the U.S.P.S. will take to deliver their ballot or who are unaware that a postmark on or shortly before Election Day is insufficient are disenfranchised.

12. The Election Day Receipt Deadline disproportionately burdens absentee voters

because it forces them to cast their ballots at least a week before Election Day, thereby
 foregoing the opportunity to gather information that arises during the final week leading up to
 Election Day. The Election Day Receipt Deadline also disproportionately burdens some
 absentee voters more than others depending on their location within Montana because some
 counties experience faster mail delivery times than others.

The COVID-19 pandemic exacerbates the number of voters who are
 disenfranchised by the Election Day Receipt Deadline. The November 2020 general election
 will be a predominantly all-mail election where more voters will rely on the mail to deliver their
 ballot. Voters cannot control when their ballot is delivered by the U.S.P.S. and thus whether
 their ballot will arrive on time.

14. The Secretary has shown no legitimate interest in maintaining the current
 Election Day Receipt Deadline nor have they shown that the Election Day Receipt Deadline
 is narrowly tailored to achieve any legitimate interest.

16 15. Montana already allows certain ballots to be counted if they arrive after Election
17 Day and are postmarked before Election Day and Montana already counts such ballots,
18 along with provisional ballots, on the Monday following Election Day. The Secretary
20 presented no evidence that the election certification would be threatened by an extension of
21 time for accepting ballots.

The Secretary and voters have a strong interest in having ballots counted and
 the risk of not having ballots counted under the Election Day Receipt Deadline presents a
 substantial risk of erroneous deprivation of the fundamental right to vote. While, the Election
 Day Receipt Deadline promotes the Secretary's compelling interest in having an election
 deadline, it is not the least onerous method of furthering that interest. Rather, a postmark

deadline would further the Secretary's interest having a deadline and safeguard against
 disenfranchising voters.

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17. The Cure Deadline imposes a significant burden on many Montana voters and thousands of Montanans have been disenfranchised by curable signature-related issues.

18. The short deadline to cure ballot deficiencies prevents voters from curing
ballots, especially the large number of voters' whose ballots are received by election offices
on or near Election Day.

9
 19. The burden of curing a ballot by the Cure Deadline falls disproportionately on
 10
 voters who vote by mail.

20. The Secretary and voters have a compelling interest in having ballots counted.
 The Secretary has no compelling interest in maintaining the current Cure Deadline. The Cure
 Deadline presents a substantial risk of erroneous deprivation of voters' right to have their
 ballots counted. Extending the Cure Deadline would allow more people to cure ballot
 deficiencies and have their votes counted without significantly burdened election officials or
 jeopardizing other election deadlines.

ORDER

Based upon the above Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law;

IT IS HEREBY ORDERED:

 The Plaintiffs' requested relief that BIPA be declared unconstitutional and BIPA's enforcement enjoined for violating Article II, Sections 13, 6, 7, and 17 of Montana's Constitution is GRANTED;

1	2. The Defendant and his agents, officers, employees, successors and all
2	persons acting in concert with each or any of them are IMMEDIATELY and PERMANENTLY
3	prohibited from enforcing the provisions of the Ballot Interference Prevention Act, Mont. Code
4 5	Ann. § 13-35-701 <i>et seq.</i>
6	3. The Plaintiffs' requested relief that the Election Day Receipt Deadline statutes
7	and Cure Deadline statutes be declared unconstitutional and their enforcement enjoined for
8	violating Article II, Sections 13 and 7 of Montana's Constitution is GRANTED ONLY FOR
9	THE NOVEMBER 3, 2020 GENERAL ELECTION as follows:
10	a) All absentee ballots postmarked on or before Election Day shall be
11	counted, if otherwise valid, provided such ballots are received by election officials by the deadline for federal write-in ballots for
12	military and overseas voters; and
13	b) The Cure Deadline statutes shall be extended until 3:00 p.m. on the
14	second Thursday (9 days) after Election Day, at which time all cure information permitted under Mont. Code Ann. §§ 13-13-245(2)(a)
15	and 13-15-107 must be received by election officials.
16 17	DATED this 25 day of September, 2020.
18	THE ALOOT A
19	Donald L. Harris, District Court Judge
20	
21	cc: Peter M. Meloy (mike@meloylaw firm.com) Matthew Gordon (<u>mgordon@perkinscoie.com</u>)
22	J. Stuart Segress (<u>ssegrest@mt.gov</u>); Aislinn Brown (Aislinn.brown@mt.gov)
23	Hannah Tokerud (<u>Hannah.tokerud@mt.gov</u>)
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