# UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS CORPUS CHRISTI DIVISION

MARC VEASEY, et al.,	§	
	§	
Plaintiffs,	§	
v.	§	CIVIL ACTION NO. 2:13-CV-00193
	§	
GREG ABBOTT, et al.,	§	
	§	
Defendants.	§	

**DEFENDANTS' BRIEF ON REMEDIES** 

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#### INTRODUCTION

A reasonable-impediment-declaration procedure redresses all of plaintiffs' alleged injuries, so this Court's final remedy should simply require Texas's voter-ID law to have such a procedure. The Court should enter a final remedy (1) that requires the reasonable-impediment-declaration procedure in its August 10, 2016 agreed interim remedy to be used in Texas elections during 2017, and (2) that dissolves on January 1, 2018, when the reasonable-impediment-declaration procedure enacted by the Texas Legislature in Senate Bill 5 ("SB 5") takes effect.

This Court has now held that Senate Bill 14 ("SB 14")—a photo-ID voting requirement without a reasonable-impediment exception—has a disparate impact according to race (on account of a disparate impact according to indigency) and was enacted with a racially-discriminatory purpose. The only remaining issue for the Court is on remedy. That decision must follow one basic principle: "It is well settled an injunction must be narrowly tailored to remedy the harm shown." Garrison v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Defendants do not concede that SB 14 has a discriminatory effect or purpose, and preserve all arguments challenging those holdings and the right to appeal them.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Accord, e.g., N.E. Ohio Coal. for the Homeless v. Husted, 831 F.3d 686, 698 (6th Cir. 2016) (per curiam) ("the injunctive relief was narrowly tailored to the harm identified: denial of the fundamental right to vote"); Lytle v. U.S. Dep't of Health & Human Servs., 612 F. App'x 861, 862 (8th Cir. 2015) ("We note that injunctive relief must be narrowly tailored to remedy only the specific harms established by the plaintiff."); Skydive Ariz., Inc. v. Quattrocchi, 673 F.3d 1105, 1116 (9th Cir. 2012) ("An injunction should be 'tailored to eliminate only the specific harm alleged."); State of Neb. Dep't of Health & Human Servs., 435 F.3d 326, 330 (D.C. Cir. 2006) ("We have long held that '[a]n injunction must be narrowly tailored to remedy the specific harm shown.") (citations omitted); Brooks v. Giuliani, 84 F.3d 1454, 1467 (2d Cir. 1996) ("Injunctive relief should be 'narrowly tailored' to address specific harms") (citation omitted).

Baker Hughes Oilfield Operations, Inc., 287 F.3d 955, 962 (10th Cir. 2002) (citing Brown v. Trs. of Boston Univ., 891 F.2d 337, 361 (1st Cir. 1989); accord eBay Inc. v. MercExchange, L.L.C., 547 U.S. 388, 391 (2006) (holding that, to obtain a permanent injunction, "a plaintiff must demonstrate [] that it has suffered an irreparable injury").

Here, plaintiffs' alleged harm—for both their discriminatory effect and purpose claims—is that qualified voters are prevented from voting in person by the lack of ID acceptable under SB 14 or, at the least, suffer the burden of getting such ID to vote in person. See Docket Entry ("D.E.") 91, at 10-15; D.E. 88, at 11-14 (plaintiffs' standing arguments); Veasey v. Abbott, 830 F.3d 216, 263-64 (5th Cir. 2016) (en banc). The remedy matching that alleged harm is straightforward: A procedure that allows inperson voting without such ID upon a voter's declaration of a reasonable impediment to obtaining it.

Resisting this notion, plaintiffs argue that the remedy should be broader on their purpose challenge to SB 14 than on their results-based challenge to SB 14. D.E. 1040, at 5. But both are challenges to the same law. The irreparable harm claimed from this single law's voting requirement is the same on both theories: denial of or burden on the right to vote. That single alleged harm is fully addressed by a single procedure, one allowing in-person voting without the ID required by SB 14.

Indeed, this Court has already contemplated a single remedy on both claims.

The Court's initial order on liability (which was vacated by the Fifth Circuit) ruled

for plaintiffs on both their purpose- and results-based challenges to SB 14, while simultaneously contemplating that the Legislature may "enact a different remedy"—in the singular—"for the statutory and constitutional violations." D.E. 628, at 143 (Oct. 9, 2014). A reasonable-impediment procedure is such a remedy for the harm alleged from the single challenged law.

Additionally, this Court's final remedy order should dissolve on January 1, 2018 because the recently enacted Senate Bill 5 takes effect that day and provides for a virtually identical reasonable-impediment exception. See Act of May 24, 2017, 85th Leg., R.S., 2017 Tex. Sess. Law Serv. ch. 410 (Vernon's) (attached as Exh. A). This Court has already acknowledged that a legislative solution must be considered. D.E. 628, at 143 (Oct. 9, 2014) (vacated initial remedy order containing a provision retaining jurisdiction to review any ameliorative legislation). And, as a matter of federalism and comity, courts must "defer to the legislature in the first instance to undertake remedies for violations of § 2." Miss. State Ch., Operation Push, Inc. v. Mabus, 932 F.2d 400, 406 (5th Cir. 1991); accord Wise v. Lipscomb, 437 U.S. 535, 540 (1978) (same for constitutional equal-protection violations).

Accordingly, the Court should enter the following final remedy, and only this remedy: "The reasonable-impediment-declaration procedure contained in this Court's August 10, 2016 agreed interim remedy, see D.E. 895, shall be used in Texas elections through December 31, 2017—and this remedy dissolves on January 1, 2018."

### I. BACKGROUND

### A. Fifth Circuit's Ruling

The Fifth Circuit affirmed this Court's ruling that SB 14 results in a discriminatory effect covered by § 2 of the Voting Rights Act ("VRA"). *Veasey*, 830 F.3d at 265. In its opinion, the Fifth Circuit explained:

On remand, the district court should refer to the policies underlying SB 14 in fashioning a remedy. We acknowledge that the record establishes that the vast majority of eligible voters possess SB 14 ID, and we do not disturb SB 14's effect on those voters—those who have SB 14 ID must show it to vote. The remedy must be tailored to rectify only the discriminatory effect on those voters who do not have SB 14 ID or are unable to reasonably obtain such identification.

Id. at 271. And the Fifth Circuit remanded with further instructions to "ensure that any remedy enacted ameliorates SB 14's discriminatory effect, while respecting the Legislature's stated objective to safeguard the integrity of elections by requiring more secure forms of voter identification." Id. at 272.

The Fifth Circuit also remanded the purpose claim, as to both liability and any potential remedy, for reexamination "bearing in mind the effect any interim legislative action taken with respect to SB 14 may have." *Id.* This Court has now resolved the liability question in plaintiffs' favor, leaving for resolution the question of a remedy given the changes to the Election Code recently enacted in SB 5.

### B. This Court's Agreed Interim Remedy

After the Fifth Circuit's decision, the parties agreed to an interim remedy, which this Court adopted in August 2016. See D.E. 877, 893, 895. The main provision of the interim remedy was the creation of a reasonable-impediment procedure that allows individuals to vote at the polls if they present a document containing their

name and address and complete a declaration that a reasonable impediment prevented them from obtaining photo ID acceptable under SB 14. See D.E. 895 ¶¶ 2-9, 13. The interim remedy also provided that photo ID acceptable under SB 14 could be used to satisfy the voter-ID requirement if they had expired no more than four years before voting. See D.E. 895 ¶ 1. And the interim remedy included provisions for educating voters and training officials. D.E. 895 ¶¶ 10-12.

#### C. Senate Bill 5

On May 31, 2017, the Texas Governor signed SB 5 into law. Exh. A at 5. SB 5 adds to Texas law a reasonable-impediment procedure allowing voting at the polls without photo ID acceptable under SB 14.

Specifically, SB 5 amends § 63.001 of the Election Code to require that a person seeking to vote at a polling place must present to an election officer either (1) a form of photo ID listed as acceptable in Election Code § 63.0101(a), enacted by SB 14, or (2) other specified proof of the person's name and address,<sup>3</sup> accompanied by a declaration of a reasonable impediment to obtaining ID acceptable under SB 14. SB 5 § 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The following documentation is acceptable as proof of identification to accompany a reasonable-impediment declaration:

<sup>(1)</sup> a government document that shows the name and address of the voter, including the voter's voter registration certificate;

<sup>(2)</sup> one of the following documents that shows the name and address of the voter:

<sup>(</sup>A) a copy of a current utility bill;

<sup>(</sup>B) a bank statement;

<sup>(</sup>C) a government check; or

<sup>(</sup>D) a paycheck; or

<sup>(3)</sup> a certified copy of a domestic birth certificate or other document confirming birth that is admissible in a court of law and establishes the person's identity.

(Tex. Elec. Code § 63.001(b)). Election officers may not refuse to accept either form of documentation simply because the address on it does not match the address on the voter rolls. SB 5 § 2 (Tex. Elec. Code § 63.001(c-1)).

A reasonable-impediment declaration under SB 5 avers that the voter could not reasonably obtain the ID adequate under SB 14 because of one of seven enumerated reasons—the same reasons given in this Court's interim remedy, D.E. 895 at 6:

- lack of transportation;
- lack of birth certificate or other documents needed to get adequate photo ID;
- work schedule;
- lost or stolen ID;
- disability or illness;
- family responsibilities; or
- the voter has applied for adequate photo ID but has not received it.

SB 5 § 2 (Tex. Elec. Code § 63.001(i)(3)(A)-(G)). Because votes may not be invalidated based on the reasonableness of a claimed impediment,<sup>4</sup> this declaration procedure does not permit voting after merely checking an "other" box and writing something that is not an actual impediment, such as policy disagreement with the law. See id.

SB 5 also expands the range of expired photo ID that may be used to vote. An accepted form of photo ID may be used to verify a voter's identity for up to 4 years after its expiration, up from 60 days. *Id.* § 5 (Tex. Elec. Code § 63.0101(a)). And SB 5 provides that voters 70 years of age or older can use an accepted form of photo ID that

SB 5 § 5 (Tex. Elec. Code § 63.0101(b)).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Making intentional false statements on a reasonable-impediment declaration is a state jail felony, SB 5 § 3 (Tex. Elec. Code § 63.0013), but Texas does not have a mechanism by which a vote itself can be invalidated based on a professed impediment that is false or not an actual impediment.

has been expired for any length of time. *Id.* (Tex. Elec. Code § 63.0101(c)). Voters under 70 whose photo ID is more than 4 years expired may still cast a regular ballot by using the expired ID (which is a government document) and a reasonable-impediment declaration. *Id.* (Tex. Elec. Code §§ 63.001(b), 63.0101(b)(1)).

Furthermore, SB 5 broadens the acceptable forms of photo-ID to include federally issued passport cards. *Id.* (Tex. Elec. Code § 63.0101(a)(4)). And SB 5 requires the Secretary of State to establish a program using mobile units to provide free SB 14-compliant ID election identification certificates ("EICs"), which satisfy the photo-ID requirement for in-person voting. *Id.* § 1 (Tex. Elec. Code § 31.013). Previously, mobile EIC were voluntarily provided by the State. *See* Dfdts.' Proposed Findings of Fact ¶¶ 30-31 (Nov. 18, 2016) (D.E. 966). SB 5 now requires such a program, authorizes mobile-EIC use at the request of a constituent group, and bars charging a fee to any such group requesting a mobile EIC. SB 5 § 1 (Tex. Elec. Code § 31.013).

SB 5's amendments to Texas law take effect January 1, 2018. Id. § 9.

### II. THE PROPER REMEDY ON PLAINTIFFS' EFFECT CLAIM IS A REASONABLE-IMPEDIMENT PROCEDURE FOR VOTING WITHOUT PHOTO ID.

The parties have already agreed on a reasonable-impediment procedure as an interim remedy on plaintiffs' effect claim under VRA § 2, and that type of procedure is likewise suitable as a final remedy. See infra Part II.A (justifying use of a reasonable-impediment-procedure remedy). The only real dispute on the remedy for this claim appears to be whether the Legislature's enactment of such a reasonable-impediment procedure in SB 5 should be allowed to take effect—thus ending the virtually identical court-ordered remedy as of January 1, 2018. The answer is yes. See infra

Part II.B (explaining the validity of the Legislature's reasonable-impediment procedure).

### A. A Reasonable-Impediment Procedure Is a Complete Remedy.

The disparate impact found by this Court, and affirmed by the Fifth Circuit, was based on a "burden[] [on] Texans living in poverty, who are less likely to possess qualified photo ID, are less able to get it, and may not otherwise need it." Veasey, 830 F.3d at 264 (emphasis added). Thus, the Fifth Circuit explained that an appropriate remedy for any alleged discriminatory effect "might include a reasonable impediment or indigency exception similar to those adopted, respectively, in North Carolina or Indiana." Id. at 270 (emphases added; footnotes omitted).

Not only has the Fifth Circuit indicated that a reasonable-impediment declaration remedies a disparate impact that allegedly violates VRA § 2's results test, but the Obama Administration's Department of Justice granted preclearance under VRA § 5 to photo-ID voting laws that included reasonable-impediment-declaration procedures. See, e.g., id. at 279 (Higginson, J., concurring) (noting that North Carolina's reasonable-impediment accommodation was "[e]specially significant," and that a similar provision was "stressed in preclearing [South Carolina]'s voter ID law" (citing South Carolina v. United States, 898 F. Supp. 2d 30, 35-43 (D.D.C. 2012) (mem. op.) (three-judge court))).

As the parties agreed and this Court necessarily determined in ordering an interim remedy for the November 2016 election, the reasonable-impediment procedure for voting ordered by this Court alleviates any alleged racially disparate impact of SB 14. This procedure allows those without qualifying photo ID to vote at the polls

if they have a reasonable impediment that prevented them from obtaining an SB14-compliant ID. Accordingly, such a procedure cures any "discriminatory effect on those voters who do not have SB 14 ID or are unable to reasonably obtain such identification." *Veasey*, 830 F.3d at 271.

### B. The Reasonable-Impediment Procedure of SB 5

As a matter of federalism and comity, courts must "defer to the legislature in the first instance to undertake remedies for violations of § 2." *Operation Push*, 932 F.2d at 406. As the Supreme Court has held, "appropriate" remedies under VRA § 2 must be "limited to those *necessary* to cure any constitutional or statutory defect," such that a district court "[i]s not free, and certainly [i]s not required, to disregard the political program of the Texas State Legislature." *Upham v. Seamon*, 456 U.S. 37, 43 (1982) (per curiam) (emphasis added). As the Fifth Circuit put it here: "to the extent possible, courts should respect a legislature's policy objectives when crafting a remedy." *Veasey*, 830 F.3d at 269.

The reasonable-impediment procedure added to Texas law by SB 5 is virtually identical to the agreed reasonable-impediment procedure of the interim remedy order, and SB 5 remedies any alleged disparate impact of SB 14's photo-ID requirement. SB 5 allows voting upon showing any of the seven reasonable impediments specified in the Court's interim-remedy order. See SB 5 § 2 (Tex. Elec. Code § 63.001(i)(3)); D.E. 895 at 6 (interim-remedy order).

In fact, Texas's voter-identification laws are now more lax than voter-identification laws in other States that also have a reasonable-impediment procedure for voting without photo ID. That is because Texas does not have a mechanism to invalidate ballots cast using the reasonable-impediment procedure, whereas other States do. For example, in South Carolina, county boards can assess the truthfulness of the reasonable impediment asserted, and if the reason asserted is "false," "simply denigrated the [voter-ID] law," or was "nonsensical," then the vote will not count. See South Carolina, 898 F. Supp. 2d at 36-37 & n.5, 39, 42. But Texas does not have such a mechanism for rejecting votes cast through a reasonable-impediment procedure. Rather, all votes cast under a reasonable-impediment procedure are valid in Texas. The only enforcement mechanism for ensuring truthful statements on reasonable-impediment declarations is post-election prosecution for making a false statement on the declaration, and even that mechanism does not invalidate a cast vote.

SB 5's reasonable-impediment procedure differs from the interim-remedy procedure in one way: SB 5's reasonable-impediment procedure does not allow putative voters to submit a declaration merely checking an "other" box and making an openended statement, whereas the interim remedy did. But that policy choice promotes election integrity—the policy goal that the Fifth Circuit held "courts should respect," Veasey, 830 F.3d at 269—and does not impair SB 5's remedial effect on the alleged disparate impact of SB 14.

That policy choice promotes election integrity given Texas's experience with the November 2016 election, which proved that a reasonable-impediment procedure with an open-ended "other" box and narrative option is ripe for abuse. The legislative history of SB 5 shows that the Legislature had evidence that, during the November 2016 election in which the interim remedy was in place, various voters cast ballots using the "other" box by providing statements simply denigrating the law, rather than claiming any plausibly reasonable impediment to obtaining photo ID. See, e.g., Debate on Tex. S.B. 5 on the Floor of the House, Statement of Rep. Phil King, 85th Leg., R.S., beginning at 3:38:49 (May 24, 2017), http://tlchouse.granicus.com/MediaPlayer.php?view\_id=39&clip\_id=14100. For example, the following explanations were given as "reasonable impediments" on declarations in the November 2016 election, none of them are actually sufficient reasonable impediments to obtaining compliant ID, yet each of these votes counted because there was and is no Texas mechanism to invalidate them:

- "Protest of Voter ID Law."
- "Don't believe I have to show picture ID."
- "Don't agree with voter ID law."
- "I do not agree with the law."
- "do not agree with law."
- "unconstitutional."
- "It's unconstitutional."
- "Unconstitutional."
- "Unconstitutional."
- "court declared photo ID requirement unconstitutional."
- "Supreme Court struck down photo ID law in Texas."
- "not required by law."
- "not law."
- "Against the law."
- "Lack of trust that this law is valid."
- "do not legally need to show Photo ID."
- "because I didn't bring it."
- "Did not want to 'pander' to government requirement."
- "Have procrastinated."

Exh. B. In light of these documented abuses of the reasonable-impediment-declaration procedure during the November 2016 election, and because Texas has no mechanism to invalidate ballots cast through a reasonable-impediment procedure, it was well within the Legislature's authority to eschew an anything-goes "other" option for voting without acceptable photo ID. SB 5 thus reflects a tweak to the November 2016 reasonable-impediment procedure given the lessons learned from demonstrated abuses under that procedure.

Plaintiffs cannot complain that Texas law will allow the denial of in-person voting to persons who legitimately face a reasonable impediment to obtaining photo ID required under SB 14, given that SB 5 now makes allowances for the same seven reasonable impediments specified in the interim remedy order. Indeed, of the named plaintiffs and testifying witnesses who lacked qualifying ID at the time of trial (as opposed to the four plaintiffs and six witnesses who had such ID), every one of them alleged a burden that corresponds to one of the SB 5 reasonable-impediment exceptions that allows voting without a photo ID. See Exh. C (charting the evidence). So plaintiffs have no evidence that the seven reasonable-impediment bases in SB 5 cannot cure any disparate effect of the photo-ID requirement.

### III. THE PROPER REMEDY ON PLAINTIFFS' PURPOSE CLAIM IS A REASONABLE-IMPEDIMENT PROCEDURE FOR VOTING WITHOUT PHOTO ID.

Not only does a reasonable-impediment-declaration procedure remedy any discriminatory effect, but it also cures the harm from any alleged discriminatory purpose. As the Fifth Circuit explained, "should a later Legislature again address the issue of voter identification, any new law would present a new circumstance not addressed here"—and "[a]ny concerns about a new bill would be the subject of a new appeal for another day." *Veasey*, 830 F.3d at 271. That is what has now occurred. The Legislature has chosen a different identification requirement for voting—one that no longer has what this Court found to be a prohibited discriminatory impact.

A. When Impermissible Purpose Is Found from the Restricted Nature of a Voting Standard, the Harm Is Remedied When the Legislature Replaces It with a Different Voting Standard that Does Not Prevent or Burden Voting.

The Texas Legislature has now modified the identification standards for inperson voters, to require *either* a qualifying photo ID *or* a declaration of a reasonable
impediment to obtaining one. Because an injunction is prospective relief, the remedial
question facing the Court is whether the harm alleged from SB 14's prior voting
requirement (challenged as pretext for discrimination by race) will continue in the
future under this new law that chooses a different voting requirement. The answer is
no.

It is the *legislative* classification that this Court must assess in examining the harm from an asserted equal-protection violation. An equal-protection claim requires proof of a "racially discriminatory intent or purpose" for challenged state action. *Vill.* of Arlington Heights v. Metro. Hous. Dev. Corp., 429 U.S. 252, 265 (1977). In the case of a legislative enactment, that means an institutional decision "to discriminate on the basis of race." Pers. Adm'r of Mass. v. Feeney, 442 U.S. 256, 260 (1979). A law that "neither says nor implies that persons are to be treated differently on account of their

race" is not a racial classification. Crawford v. Bd. of Educ. of City of L.A., 458 U.S. 527, 537 (1982).

The harm from such an equal-protection violation thus results from the classification drawn in the challenged law, not merely the abstract existence of a legislative motive. A law is prohibited racial discrimination only if the law itself contains a "racial classification" or "a classification that is ostensibly neutral but is an obvious pretext for racial discrimination." Feeney, 442 U.S. at 272. As the Court held in Feeney: "In assessing an equal protection challenge, a court is called upon only to measure the basic validity of the legislative classification." 442 U.S. at 272 (emphases added). Or as the Court held in Palmer v. Thompson, 403 U.S. 217 (1971), without an invidious legislative classification of individuals, state action cannot be nullified "solely because of the motivations of the [legislators] who voted for it." Id. at 224.

Here, the voting classification enacted by SB 14 has now been changed by the 85th Legislature. Individuals are no longer generally stopped from voting in-person because they lack a qualifying form of photo ID; instead, voters can cast a ballot by declaring their reasonable impediment to obtaining a qualifying ID. Furthermore, SB 5 expands the range of expired photo IDs that are themselves accepted as sufficient identification. Under this newly crafted voting regime, Texas's voter-ID law cannot possibly be said to contain a legislative classification that is neutral yet serving as a pretext for racial discrimination. In fact, this new legislative classification of putative voters does not work any demonstrable harm on plaintiffs. A reasonable-impediment exception is precisely what Plaintiffs said was required.

During this entire case, Plaintiffs have never argued that *all* photo-voter-ID laws are somehow invalid or that there is anything invidious about the very nature of photo-ID laws for voter identification. That, of course, would contradict *Crawford v. Marion County Election Board*, 553 U.S. 181 (2008). *See Veasey*, 830 F.3d at 249 ("*Crawford* clearly established that states have strong interests in preventing voter fraud and increasing voter confidence by safeguarding the integrity of elections.").

Rather, plaintiffs' entire theory has been that photo-ID voting laws are invalid if they fail to accommodate voters who, for reasons of poverty, cannot reasonably comply with photo-ID requirements. In other words, even plaintiffs' theory of discriminatory purpose was not that the Legislature harbored such a purpose because it passed any form of a photo-ID voting law. Rather, the crux of their position was the Legislature had a discriminatory purpose because it did not enact a safeguard to let poorer individuals vote in person without photo ID—such as a reasonable-impediment declaration. See Veasey, 830 F.3d at 264. The enactment of a reasonable-impediment procedure for voting thus negates plaintiffs' entire claim of harm from voter-identification laws, and it eliminates any supposed pretext masking an intended burden according to race.

Plaintiffs' brief on a remedies procedure (D.E. 1040 at 5) cites cases discussing the remedy when a government made *no* subsequent ameliorative changes to a law held to effectuate a discriminatory purpose. *Cf. Washington v. Seattle Sch. Dist. No.* 1, 458 U.S. 457, 465-66 (1982); *City of Richmond v. United States*, 422 U.S. 358, 378 (1975). Those cases cannot possibly speak to a situation like this one, where a State

has remedied the allegedly discriminatory classification by drawing a new classifications that is not discriminatory—especially one that the Fifth Circuit itself indicated would remedy any disparate impact.

In contrast, the Fifth Circuit has held that reenactment of a constitutional provision vitiates the harm from a previous law intended as racial discrimination. In Cotton v. Fordice, 157 F.3d 388 (5th Cir. 1998), the court considered an amendment to the Mississippi Constitution's felon-disenfranchisement provision, which was motivated by racial discrimination when originally enacted. The court recognized that, in Hunter v. Underwood, the Supreme Court held Alabama's felon-disenfranchisement provision to be unconstitutional because "its original enactment was motivated by a desire to discriminate against blacks on account of race and the section continues to this day to have that effect." Id. at 391 (quoting Hunter v. Underwood, 471 U.S. 222, 233 (1985)). But the Fifth Circuit held that Hunter "left open the possibility that by amendment, a facially neutral provision . . . might overcome its odious origin." Id. Despite the acknowledged discriminatory intent behind the original Mississippi provision, Cotton held that subsequent amendments "superseded the previous provision and removed the discriminatory taint associated with the original version." Id.

Cotton distinguished *Hunter* on the ground that the Alabama provision was amended only involuntarily through judicial invalidation, whereas Mississippi voluntarily amended its own provision. See id. at 391 n.8; cf. D.E. 1010, at 4 (plaintiffs' argument citing *Hunter* as "declining to take into account later ameliorative changes to a discriminatory law"). Cotton explained that the statute "as it presently exists is

unconstitutional only if the amendments were adopted out of a desire to discriminate." 157 F.3d at 392. And in *Chen v. City of Houston*, the Fifth Circuit cited *Cotton* "for the important point that when a plan is reenacted—as opposed to merely remaining on the books like the provision in *Hunter*—the state of mind of the reenacting body must also be considered." 206 F.3d 502, 521 (5th Cir. 2000); see also Ansell v. *Green Acres Contracting Co.*, 347 F.3d 515, 524 (3d Cir. 2003) (holding, in an employment-discrimination case, that an employer's subsequent acts "may still be relevant to intent" if the acts are not "remote in time"). Likewise, the Supreme Court has recognized: "Subsequent legislation declaring the intent of an earlier statute is entitled to great weight in statutory construction." *Red Lion Broad. Co. v. FCC*, 395 U.S. 367, 380-81 (1969).

### B. None of the Cases Upon Which Plaintiffs Rely Involved Ameliorative Changes to Laws, Eliminating All of the Alleged Injuries.

Now, plaintiffs have now turned to tarnishing the Legislature's motives for enacting exactly what plaintiffs believed the law required. But the passage of SB 5 involved no "gamesmanship." Plaintiffs pretend that the Legislature's enactment of SB 5 is the equivalent of jurisdictions cycling through various forms of discriminatory measures, adopting a new discriminatory measure each time a court declared an older discriminatory measure invalid. *Cf. South Carolina v. Katzenbach*, 383 U.S. 301, 335 (1966) (describing the "extraordinary stratagem" of certain States in the 1960s "of contriving new rules of various kinds for the sole purpose of perpetuating voting discrimination in the face of adverse federal court decrees").

This is absurd. The passage of SB 5 was not "switch[ing] to discriminatory devices not covered by the federal decrees." *Id.* at 314. SB 5 is an *ameliorative* change. Its reasonable-impediment procedure is the precise ameliorative provision that (1) plaintiffs have sought all along in this litigation, (2) the Obama Administration's DOJ has precleared under VRA § 5 in other States, and (3) the Fifth Circuit here suggested as "appropriate amendments" to remedy any discriminatory effect of SB 14, *Veasey*, 830 F.3d at 270. The Legislature's adoption of a reasonable-impediment procedure is the complete opposite of the "unremitting and ingenious defiance" that would continue the harm from an original racial classification. *South Carolina*, 383 U.S. at 309.

Various cases that plaintiffs have previously relied on are thus wildly inapposite, as none of them involved ameliorative changes to laws that eliminated all of the alleged injuries. Louisiana v. United States involved Louisiana cycling from a grandfather clause, to an interpretation test with a white-primary law, to a "Segregation Committee," to a wholesale purge of black voters from the voter rolls, to a registration test that gave registrars complete discretion to prevent black citizens from voting, to a new citizenship test—none of these provisions being ameliorative in the slightest. 380 U.S. 145, 149 (1965). Green v. County School Board involved a challenge to a county's segregated school system in 1965, 391 U.S. 430, 437-39 (1968)—despite the Supreme Court's express command ten years earlier "to effectuate a transition to a racially nondiscriminatory school system," Brown v. Bd. of Educ. of Topeka, 349 U.S. 294, 301 (1955). And Cowan v. Cleveland School District was another school desegregation case first filed in 1965. 748 F.3d 233, 235 (5th Cir. 2014).

With the enactment of SB 5, there are no "lingering effects" of any injuries to plaintiffs from the classification in SB 14 found infirm by this Court—certainly no lingering effects that qualify as irreparable harm for which remedy is an injunction of Texas's voter-identification procedures as supplemented by SB 5 (or the equivalent procedure in the Court's interim remedy order). Plaintiffs cannot identify evidence of a single voter who will be prevented from voting under SB 5's reasonable-impediment procedure. That is the best evidence that prospective relief enjoining SB 5's reasonable-impediment procedure would be grossly inappropriate.

### IV. PLAINTIFFS' REQUEST FOR VRA PRECLEARANCE BAIL-IN IS MERITLESS, BUT WILL BE ADDRESSED SEPARATELY PER THE COURT'S ORDER

Pursuant to this Court's order of June 20, 2017, plaintiffs' meritless request for a preclearance bail-in remedy under VRA § 3 will be briefed separately at a later date. See D.E. 1044, at 2.

### CONCLUSION

For the reasons stated above, Defendants respectfully submit that the following remedy, and only this remedy, is appropriate under this Court's liability rulings: "The reasonable-impediment-declaration procedure contained in this Court's August 10, 2016 agreed interim remedy, see D.E. 895, shall be used in Texas elections through December 31, 2017—and this remedy dissolves on January 1, 2018."

Date: July 5, 2017 Respectfully submitted,

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Counsel for Defendants

### **CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE**

I hereby certify that on July 5, 2017, a true and correct copy of the foregoing document was served via the Court's ECF system to all counsel of record.

/s/ Angela V. Colmenero Angela V. Colmenero

### CERTIFICATE OF COMPLIANCE

I hereby certify that this opening brief does not exceed 25 pages, the page limit established by this Court's June 20, 2017 order on procedure for addressing remedies.

/s/ Angela V. Colmenero Angela V. Colmenero

## **EXHIBIT**

A

1	AN ACT
2	relating to requiring a voter to present proof of identification;
3	providing a criminal penalty and increasing a criminal penalty.
4	BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF TEXAS:
5	SECTION 1. Subchapter A, Chapter 31, Election Code, is
6	amended by adding Section 31.013 to read as follows:
7	Sec. 31.013. MOBILE LOCATIONS FOR OBTAINING
8	IDENTIFICATION. (a) The secretary of state shall establish a
9	program using mobile units to provide election identification
10	certificates to voters for the purpose of satisfying the
11	requirements of Section 63.001(b). A mobile unit may be used at
12	special events or at the request of a constituent group.
13	(b) In establishing the program, the secretary of state
14	shall consult with the Department of Public Safety on the creation
15	of the program, security relating to the issuance of an election
16	identification certificate, best practices in issuing an election
17	identification certificate, and equipment required to issue an
18	election identification certificate.
19	(c) The secretary of state may not charge a fee to a group
20	that requests a mobile unit established under this section.
21	(d) If the secretary of state cannot ensure the required
22	security or other necessary elements of the program, the secretary
23	of state may deny a request for a mobile unit established under this
24	section.

- 1 <u>(e) The secretary of state shall adopt rules necessary for</u> 2 <u>the implementation of this section.</u>
- 3 SECTION 2. Section 63.001, Election Code, is amended by
- 4 amending Subsections (b), (d), and (e) and adding Subsections (c-1)
- 5 and (i) to read as follows:
- 6 (b) Except as provided by Subsection (h), on offering to
- 7 vote, a voter must present to an election officer at the polling
- 8 place:
- 9 <u>(1)</u> one form of <u>photo</u> identification <u>listed</u> in
- 10 [described by] Section 63.0101(a); or
- 11 (2) one form of identification listed in Section
- 12 63.0101(b) accompanied by the declaration described by Subsection
- 13 <u>(i)</u> [<del>63.0101</del>].
- 14 (c-1) An election officer may not refuse to accept
- documentation presented to meet the requirements of Subsection (b)
- 16 solely because the address on the documentation does not match the
- 17 address on the list of registered voters.
- 18 (d) If, as determined under Subsection (c), the voter's name
- 19 is on the precinct list of registered voters and the voter's
- 20 identity can be verified from the documentation presented under
- 21 Subsection (b), the voter shall be accepted for voting. An election
- 22 officer may not question the reasonableness of an impediment sworn
- 23 to by a voter in a declaration described by Subsection (i).
- (e) On accepting a voter, an election officer shall indicate
- 25 beside the voter's name on the list of registered voters that the
- 26 voter is accepted for voting. If the voter executes a declaration
- 27 of reasonable impediment to meet the requirement for identification

	S.B. No. 5
1	under Subsection (b), the election officer must affix the voter's
2	voter registration number to the declaration either in numeric or
3	bar code form.
4	(i) If the requirement for identification prescribed by
5	Subsection (b)(1) is not met, an election officer shall notify the
6	voter that the voter may be accepted for voting if the voter meets
7	the requirement for identification prescribed by Subsection (b)(2)
8	and executes a declaration declaring the voter has a reasonable
9	impediment to meeting the requirement for identification
10	prescribed by Subsection (b)(1). A person is subject to
11	prosecution for perjury under Chapter 37, Penal Code, or Section
12	63.0013 for a false statement or false information on the
13	declaration. The secretary of state shall prescribe the form of the
14	declaration. The form shall include:
15	(1) a notice that a person is subject to prosecution
16	for perjury under Chapter 37, Penal Code, or Section 63.0013 for a
17	false statement or false information on the declaration;
18	(2) a statement that the voter swears or affirms that
19	the information contained in the declaration is true, that the
20	person described in the declaration is the same person appearing at
21	the polling place to sign the declaration, and that the voter faces
22	a reasonable impediment to procuring the identification prescribed
23	by Subsection (b)(1);
24	(3) a place for the voter to indicate one of the
25	following impediments:
26	(A) lack of transportation;
27	(B) lack of birth certificate or other documents

S.B. No. 5 needed to obtain the identification prescribed by Subsection (b)(1); 2 3 (C) work schedule; 4 (D) lost or stolen identification; 5 (E) disability or illness; 6 (F) family responsibilities; and 7 (G) the identification prescribed by Subsection (b)(1) has been applied for but not received; 9 (4) a place for the voter to sign and date the 10 declaration; 11 (5) a place for the election judge to sign and date the 12 declaration; 13 (6) a place to note the polling place at which the 14 declaration is signed; and 15 (7) a place for the election judge to note which form 16 of identification prescribed by Subsection (b)(2) the voter 17 presented. 18 SECTION 3. Chapter 63, Election Code, is amended by adding Section 63.0013 to read as follows: 20 Sec. 63.0013. FALSE STATEMENT ON DECLARATION OF REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT. (a) A person commits an offense if the person intentionally makes a false statement or provides false information 23 on a declaration executed under Section 63.001(i). 24 (b) An offense under this section is a state jail felony. 25 SECTION 4. Section 63.004(a), Election Code, is amended to read as follows: 27 (a) The secretary of state may prescribe forms that combine

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- 1 the poll list, the signature roster, or any other form used in
- 2 connection with the acceptance of voters at polling places with
- 3 each other or with the list of registered voters. The secretary
- 4 shall prescribe any special instructions necessary for using the
- 5 combination forms. The combination forms must include space for an
- 6 election officer to indicate whether a voter executed a declaration
- 7 of reasonable impediment under Section 63.001(i).
- 8 SECTION 5. Section 63.0101, Election Code, is amended to
- 9 read as follows:
- 10 Sec. 63.0101. DOCUMENTATION OF PROOF OF IDENTIFICATION.
- 11 (a) The following documentation is an acceptable form of photo
- 12 identification under this chapter:
- 13 (1) a driver's license, election identification
- 14 certificate, or personal identification card issued to the person
- 15 by the Department of Public Safety that has not expired or that
- 16 expired no earlier than <u>four years</u> [<del>60 days</del>] before the date of
- 17 presentation;
- 18 (2) a United States military identification card that
- 19 contains the person's photograph that has not expired or that
- 20 expired no earlier than four years [60 days] before the date of
- 21 presentation;
- 22 (3) a United States citizenship certificate issued to
- 23 the person that contains the person's photograph;
- 24 (4) a United States passport book or card issued to the
- 25 person that has not expired or that expired no earlier than four
- 26 years [60 days] before the date of presentation; or
- 27 (5) a license to carry a handgun issued to the person

### S.B. No. 5 1 by the Department of Public Safety that has not expired or that expired no earlier than four years [60 days] before the date of presentation. 4 (b) The following documentation is acceptable as proof of identification under this chapter: 5 6 (1) a government document that shows the name and 7 address of the voter, including the voter's voter registration 8 certificate; 9 (2) one of the following documents that shows the name and address of the voter: 11 (A) a copy of a current utility bill; 12 (B) a bank statement; 13 (C) a government check; or 14 (D) a paycheck; or 15 (3) a certified copy of a domestic birth certificate 16 or other document confirming birth that is admissible in a court of 17 law and establishes the person's identity. 18 (c) A person 70 years of age or older may use a form of identification listed in Subsection (a) that has expired for the purposes of voting if the identification is otherwise valid. 21 SECTION 6. Section 63.012(b), Election Code, is amended to 22 read as follows: 23 (b) An offense under this section is a Class A [₺] 24 misdemeanor. 25 SECTION 7. Section 272.011(b), Election Code, is amended to 26 read as follows:

27

(b) The secretary of state shall prepare the translation for

- 1 election materials required to be provided in a language other than
- 2 English or Spanish for the following state prescribed voter forms:
- 3 (1) voter registration application form required by
- 4 Section 13.002;
- 5 (2) the confirmation form required by Section 15.051;
- 6 (3) the voting instruction poster required by Section
- 7 62.011;
- 8 (4) the reasonable impediment declaration required by
- 9 Section 63.001(b);
- 10 <u>(5)</u> the statement of residence form required by
- 11 Section 63.0011;
- (6) (5) the provisional ballot affidavit required
- 13 by Section 63.011;
- (7) [(6)] the application for a ballot by mail
- 15 required by Section 84.011;
- 16 (8) (47) the carrier envelope and voting
- 17 instructions required by Section 86.013; and
- 18 (9) (8) any other voter forms that the secretary of
- 19 state identifies as frequently used and for which state resources
- 20 are otherwise available.
- 21 SECTION 8. Section 521A.001(a), Transportation Code, is
- 22 amended to read as follows:
- 23 (a) The department shall issue an election identification
- 24 certificate to a person who states that the person is obtaining the
- 25 certificate for the purpose of satisfying Section 63.001(b),
- 26 Election Code, and does not have another form of identification
- 27 described by Section 63.0101(a) [63.0101], Election Code, and:

- 1 (1) who is a registered voter in this state and
- 2 presents a valid voter registration certificate; or
- 3 (2) who is eligible for registration under Section
- $4\,$  13.001, Election Code, and submits a registration application to
- 5 the department.
- 6 SECTION 9. This Act takes effect January 1, 2018.

President of the Senate

hereby certify that S.B. W. 5 passed the Senate on March 28, 2017, by the following vote: Yeas 21, Nays 10; May 25, 2017, Senate refused to concur in House amendments and requested appointment of Conference Committee; May 26, 2017, House granted request of the Senate; May 27, 2017, Senate adopted Conference Committee Report by the following vote: Yeas 21, Nays 10.\_\_

Speakef of the House

I hereby certify that S.B. No. 5 passed the House, with amendments, on May 24, 2017, by the following vote: Yeas 93, Nays 55, two present not voting; May 26, 2017, House granted request of the Senate for appointment of Conference Committee; May 28, 2017, House adopted Conference Committee Report by the following vote: Yeas 92, Nays 56, one present not voting.

Approved:

Date Julious Governor

FILED IN THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

2 Pm\_O'CLOCK WN 0 1 2017

Secretary of State

## **EXHIBIT**

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REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT DECLARATION  TO BE COMPLETED BY VOTER		
VOTER'S DECLARATION OF REA	ASONABLE IMPEDIMENT OR DIFFICULTY	
personally appeared at the polling place, that I	der penalty of perjury that I am the same individual who I am casting a ballot while voting in-person, and I face a events me from getting an acceptable form of photo	
My reasonable impediment or difficulty is due to	o the following reason(s):	
(Check at least one box below)		
Lack of transportation	☐ Disability or illness	
Lack of birth certificate or other documents r	•	
☐ Work schedule	Family responsibilities	
Løst or stolen photo ID	Photo ID applied for but not received	
Other reasonable impediment or difficulty	Protest of Voter ID Law	
The reasonableness of your impediment or diffi	culty cannot be questioned.  Oct 25, 2016  Date	
Sworn to and subscribed before me this		
S day of QT 2016 Presiding Judge Minhael Han	De la companya della companya della companya de la companya della	
TO BE COMPLETE	D BY ELECTION OFFICIAL	
The yoter provided one of the following forms of	identification or information:	
Valid Voter Registration certificate; or		
A copy or original of one of the following was	provided:	
certified birth certificate (must be		
current utility bill	<b>5</b> ,	
bank statement		
government check		
other government document that exception of a government docur original)	t shows the voter's name and an address (with the ment containing a photograph which must be an	
paycheck		
ocation: Carpenter Park		
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	VOTER'S DECLARATION OF R	EASONABLE IMPEDIME	NT OR DIFFICULTY
	DECLARACIÓN DE IMPEDIMEN	TO RAZONABLE O DIFICL	JLTAD DEL ELECTOR
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appeared at the polling place, that I am casting a ballot while voting in-person and I face a reasonable impediment or difficulty that prevents me from getting an acceptable form of photo identification.

Al firmar esta declaración, juro o afirmo bajo pena de perjurio que soy la misma persona que apareció personalmente en la casilla electoral, que estoy emitiendo mi boleta al votar personalmente, y que tengo un impedimento o dificultad razonable que me imposibilita de obtener una identificación con foto como es requerido.

•	neck at least one box below) (Elija al menos una	de las razones que aparecen a continuación
	Lack of transportation	Disability or illness
	Falta de transporte	Discapacidad o enfermedad
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	Work schedule	tos necesarios para obtener una identificación con foto
	Horario de trabajo	Family responsibilities  Responsabilidades familiars
_	Lost or stolen photo ID	Photo ID applied for but not received
	Pérdida o robo de identificación con foto	Identificación con foto ha sido solicitada pero no la he recibido
	Other reasonable impediment or difficulty	but believe I have to show
	Otro impedimento o dificultad razonable	
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	TO BE COME  voter provided one of the following forms of ide  Valid Voter Registration certificate; or  A copy or original of one of the following was certified birth certificate (must be an origin current utility bill bank statement government check	entification or information:  provided:  all)  revoter's name and an address (with the exception of a government

Location: SRD 134M-1

Date of Election:

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VOTER'S DECLARATION OF	F REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT OR DIFFICULTY
personally appeared at the polling place, the	irm under penalty of perjury that I am the same individual who hat I am casting a ballot while voting in-person, and I face a prevents me from getting an acceptable form of photo
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Check at least one box below)	
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he reasonabloness of your impediment	
X	Date: [() /28/20 [()
Signature of Voter	
Sworn to and subscribed before me this:  ### Described before me this:  ###################################	
Print Name	Signature
To be completed by Election Official:	
The voter provided one of the following for Valid Voter Registration Certificate.  A copy or original of one of the following for Certified Birth Certificate (management)  Current utility bill  Bank statement  Government check  Other government document of a government document of Paycheck	; or owing was provided:
Early Voting Station:	Date of Election: / /20

RETURN INSIDE DAILY FOLDER

REASONABLE IM	PEDIMENT DE	CLARATION
TO BE COMPLETED BY VOTER		
Print Name Legibly:		
VOTER'S DECLARATION OF RI	EASONABLE IMPE	DIMENT OR DIFFICULTY
By signing this declaration, I swear or affirm personally appeared at the polling place, that reasonable impediment or difficulty that previdentification.	under penalty of perjuant	ry that I am the same individual who while voting in-person, and I face a
My reasonable impediment or difficulty is du	e to the following rea	son(s):
(Check at least one box below)		
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The reasonableness of your impediment of		
Signature or voter		Date: //20
Swom to and subscribed before me this:  17th day of 101, 20.16  Presiding Judge or Alternate Judge:  Print Name	7 X Signature	
To be completed by Election Official:		
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VOTER'S DECLARATION OF REAS	ONABLE IMPEDIMENT OR DIFFICULTY
personally appeared at the polling place, that I a	r penalty of perjury that I am the same individual who m casting a ballot while voting in-person, and I face a ents me from getting an acceptable form of photo
My reasonable impediment or difficulty is due to t	he following reason(s):
(Check at least one box below)	
☐ Lack of transportation	☐ Disability or illness
Lack of birth certificate or other documents nee	eded to obtain acceptable photo ID
☐ Work schedule	Family responsibilities
Lost or stalen photo ID	Photo ID applied for but not received
Other reasonable impediment or difficulty	
The reasonableness of your impediment or difficu	ulty cannot be questioned.
X Signature of Voter	10/28/20/6 Date
Sworn to and subscribed before me this	
28 day of Det., 2016	•
Presiding Judge Janit L Luch	
TO BE COMPLETED	BY ELECTION OFFICIAL
The voter provided one of the following forms of id	lentification or information:
☑ Valid Voter Registration certificate; or	
A copy or original of <b>one</b> of the following was pr	ovided:
certified birth certificate (must be a	n original)
current utility bill	
bank statement	
government check	
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REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT DECLARATION		
TO BE COMPLETED BY WOTER		
Name:		
VOTER'S DECLARATION OF REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT OR DIFFICULTY		
By signing this declaration, I swear or affirm under penalty of perjury that I am the same individual who personally appeared at the polling place, that I am casting a ballot while voting in-person, and I face a reasonable impediment or difficulty that prevents me from getting an acceptable form of photo identification.		
My reasonable impediment or difficulty is due to the following reason(s):		
(Check at least one box below)		
Lack of transportation Disability or illness		
Lack of birth certificate or other documents needed to obtain acceptable photo ID		
Work schedule		
Lost or stolen photo ID Photo ID applied for but not received		
Other reasonable impediment or difficulty It's unconstitution of		
The reasonableness of your impediment or difficulty cannot be questioned.		
X Signature of Voter Date		
Sworn to and subscribed before me this		
4/5 day of Nav, 20 16		
Presiding Judge A W		
TO BE COMPLETED BY ELECTION OFFICIAL		
The voter provided one of the following forms of identification or information:		
Ualid Voter Registration certificate; or		
A copy or original of <b>one</b> of the following was provided:		
certified birth certificate (must be an original)		
current utility bill		
bank statement		
government check		

other government document that shows the voter's name and an address (with the exception of a government document containing a photograph which must be an

original)

Date of Election: 11-08-16

1140528682 CUNNINGHAM, DONNA 2618 CARLOW DR AUSTIN: 344A



REASONABLE IMP	PEDIMENT DECLARATION
TO BE CO	MOLETED BY VATED
Name	
VOTER'S DECLARATION OF RE	ASONABLE IMPEDIMENT OR DIFFICULTY
personally appeared at the polling place, that	nder penalty of perjury that I am the same individual who I am casting a ballot while voting in-person, and I face a events me from getting an acceptable form of photo
My reasonable impediment or difficulty is due t	o the following reason(s):
(Check at least one box below)	
Lack of transportation	Disability or illness
Lack of birth certificate or other documents	·
Work schedule	☐ Family responsibilities
Lost or stolen photo ID	Photo ID applied for but ngt received
Other reasonable impediment or difficulty_	
Sworn to and subscribed before me this	11-4-16 Date
Presiding Judge Julia P. Steu	vart
TO BE COMPLET	ED BY ELECTION OFFICIAL
The voter provided one of the following forms of	of identification or information:
Valid Voter Registration certificate; or	
A copy or original of <b>one</b> of the following wa	s provided:
certified birth certificate (must be	pe an original)
current utility bill	
bank statement	
government check	
other government document the exception of a government docu	at shows the voter's name and an address (with the ument containing a photograph which must be an

Date of Election: 11.8.2016

# REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT DECLARATION

TO BE (	OMPLETED BY VOTER
Name:	
VOTER'S DECLARATION OF	REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT OR DIFFICULTY
personally appeared at the polling place, th	under penalty of perjury that I am the same individual who at I am casting a ballot while voting in person, and I face a prevents me from getting an acceptable form of photo
My reasonable impediment or difficulty is du	ue to the following reason(s):
(Check at least one box below)	
Lack of transportation	Disability or illness
Lack of birth certificate or other documents	nts needed to obtain acceptable photo ID.  Family responsibilities.
L Work schedule	☐ Photo ID applied for but not received
Lost or stolen photo ID	y Wy Const 1 tet 1 on a 1
The reasonableness of your impediment or $\Delta$	difficulty cannot be questioned.
X	10/26/2014
XX Signature of Voter	Date
Sworn to and subscribed before me this	
26 day of Oct, 20 16	
Prosiding Judge Beverly (U)	umdula
TO BE COMP	LETED BY ELECTION OFFICIAL
The voter provided one of the following for	ms of identification or information:
Myalid Voter Registration certificate; or	
A copy or original of one of the following	g was provided:
certified birth certificate (m	ust be an original}
current utility bill	
bank statement	

	REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT DECLARATION
	TO BE COMPLETED BY VOTER
	Name:
	By signing this declaration, I swear or affirm under penalty of perjury that I am the same individual who personally appeared at the polling place, that I am casting a ballot while voting in-person, and I face a reasonable impediment or difficulty that prevents me from getting an acceptable form of photo identification.
	My reasonable impediment or difficulty is due to the following reason(s):
	(Check at least one box below)
	☐ Lack of transportation ☐ Disability or illness
	Lack of birth certificate or other documents needed to obtain acceptable photo ID
	☐ Work schedule ☐ Family responsibilities
	Lost of stolen photo ID Photo ID applied for but not received
	Dether reasonable Impediment or difficulty Court declared photo I
	Dether reasonable impediment or difficulty Court declared photo Dregares  The reasonableness of your impediment or difficulty cannot be questioned.
	X
! ! ! ! .	Sworn to and subscribed before me this  Clay of 1 20
	Presiding Judge
	TO BE COMPLETED BY ELECTION OFFICIAL
	The voter-provided one of the following forms of identification or information:
	Valid Voter Registration certificate; or
	A copy or original of one of the following was provided:
	certified birth certificate (must be an original)
	current utility bill
	bank statement
	government check
	other government document that shows the voter's name and an address (with the exception of a government document containing a photograph which must be an original)
	paycheck
	Location: +\/
	Date of Election: Nov 8, 16

REASONABL	E IMPEDIMENT DECLARATION
Name;	PERSONAL PROPERTY OF THE PROPE
VOTER'S DECLARATION	N OF REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT OR DIFFICULTY
personally appeared at the polling plac	ffirm under penalty of perjury that I am the same individual who e, that I am casting a ballot while voting in-person, and I face a that prevents me from getting an acceptable form of photo
My reasonable impediment or difficulty	Is due to the following reason(s):
(Check at least one box below)	
Lack of transportation	☐ Disability or illness
	iments needed to obtain acceptable photo ID
□ Work schedule	☐ Family responsibilities
Lost or stolen photo ID	Photo ID applied for but not received
Other reasonable impediment or diffi	icum 24 PAGME COURT STRUCK druw Photo
The reasonableness of your impedimen	iculty SUPARME COURT STRUCK disun Photostruct disun Photostruck disunce Photostruck disu
XSignature of Voter	1 NOVEMBER 20/1
Sworn to and subscribed before me this:	
8_day of <u>NOV_, 20</u> / C	And the state of t
Presiding ludge A Spull	
TO BE CO	MPLETED BY ELECTION OFFICIAL
The voter provided one of the following (	forms of Identification or information:
☑ Valid Voter Registration certificate; or	
$\square$ A copy or original of one of the follow	#####################################
certified birth certificate (	(must be an original)
current utility bill	
bank statement	
government check	
other government docum exception of a governmen original)	ient that shows the voter's name and an address (with the nt document containing a photograph which must be an
paycheck	
ocation: <u>301, 315</u>	

#### **REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT DECLARATION**

DECLARACIÓN DE IMPEDIMENTO RAZONABLE

## TO BE COMPLETED BY VOTER PARA SER LLENADO POR EL ELECTOR

Name (Nombre):

#### VOTER'S DECLARATION OF REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT OR DIFFICULTY DECLARACIÓN DE IMPEDIMENTO RAZONABLE O DIFICULTAD DEL ELECTOR

By signing this declaration, I swear or affirm under penalty of perjury that I am the same individual who personally appeared at the polling place, that I am casting a ballot while voting in-person and I face a reasonable impediment or difficulty that prevents me from getting an acceptable form of photo identification.

Al firmar esta declaración, juro o afirmo bajo pena de perjurio que soy la misma persona que apareció personalmente en la casilla electoral, que estoy emitiendo mi boleta al votar personalmente, y que tengo un impedimento o dificultad razonable que me imposibilita de obtener una identificación con foto como es requerido.

	easonable impediment or difficulty is due to npedimento razonable se debe a las siguiente	<u> </u>
(Che	ck at least one box below) ( <i>Elija al menos un</i>	a de las razones que aparecen a continuación
	Lack of transportation	Disability or illness
	Falta de transporte	Discapacidad o enfermedad
	Lack of birth certificate or other documents	needed to obtain acceptable photo ID entos necesarios para obtener una identificación con foto
	Work schedule	Family responsibilities
	Horario de trabajo	Responsabilidades familiars
	Lost or stolen photo ID	Photo ID applied for but not received
	Pérdida o robo de identificación con foto	Identificación con foto ha sido solicitada pero no la he recibido
$\int$	Other reasonable impediment or difficulty _	not required by law
	Otro impedimento o dificultad razonable	
The I	easonableness of your impediment or diffic zón de swimpedimento o dificultod no puede	ulty cannot be questioned.  ser cuestionada.
Х		11/4/16
	Signature of Voter (Firma del elector)	Date <i>(Fechá)</i>
Swor	n to and subscribed before me this 4 day	of Nov, 20 6 Presiding Judge Onnies Linablice
	TO BE CON	APLETED BY ELECTION OFFICIAL
The v	roter provided one of the following forms of i	dentification or information:
1	Valid Voter Registration certificate; or	
	A copy or original of one of the following was	s provided:
	certified birth certificate (must be an orig	inal)
	current utility bill	
	bank statement	
	}	
********	government check	<u> </u>
	other government document that shows	the voter's name and an address (with the exception of a government
	other government document that shows document containing a photograph w	
	other government document that shows	

Location: 580001

Date of Election: 11 - 8 - 16

8000008

#### REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT DECLARATION TO BE COMPLETED BY VOTER Name: VOTER'S DECLARATION OF REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT OR DIFFICULTY By signing this declaration, I swear or affirm under penalty of perjury that I am the same individual who personally appeared at the polling place, that I am casting a ballot while voting in-person, and I face a reasonable impediment or difficulty that prevents me from getting an acceptable form of photo identification. My reasonable impediment or difficulty is due to the following reason(s): (Check at least one box below) ☐ Lack of transportation ☐ Disability or illness $\square$ Lack of birth certificate or other documents needed to obtain acceptable photo ID ☐ Work schedule Family responsibilities Lost or stolen photo ID Photo ID applied for but not received Other reasonable impediment or difficulty\_NO+ The reasonableness of your impediment or difficulty cannot be questioned. /Signature of Voter Sworn to and subscribed before me this \_ day of \_\_\_\_ Presiding Judge TO BE COMPLETED BY ELECTION OFFICIAL The voter provided one of the following forms of identification or information: Valid Voter Registration certificate; or A copy or original of one of the following was provided: \_certified birth certificate (must be an original) \_\_current utility bill \_\_\_bank statement government check other government document that shows the voter's name and an address (with the

exception of a government document containing a photograph which must be an

original)

\_paycheck

Date of Election:

Location:

REASONABLE II	MPEDIMENT DECLARATION
	D BY VOTER
Name:	
VOTER'S DECLARATION OF	REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT OR DIFFICULTY
personally appeared at the polling place, t	n under penalty of perjury that I am the same individual who hat I am casting a ballot while voting in-person, and I face a prevents me from getting an acceptable form of photo
My reasonable impediment or difficulty is d	ue to the following reason(s):
(Check at least one box below)	
Lack of transportation	Disability or illness
	ints needed to obtain acceptable photo ID
☐ Work schedule	Family responsibilities
Lost or stolen photo ID	→ □ Photo ID applied for but not received
Other reasonable impediment or difficul	A Charles To a district
Sworn to and subscribed before me this  day of, 20	10/28/2016 Date
Presiding Judge	
TO BE COMP	PLETED BY ELECTION OFFICIAL
The voter provided one of the following form	πs of identification or information:
Valid Voter Registration certificate; or	
A copy or original of one of the following	; was provided:
certified birth certificate (mi	ust be an original)
current utility bill	
bank statement	
government check	
	it that shows the voter's name and an address (with the document containing a photograph which must be an
paycheck	
Location:	
Date of Election	

MW\_ 10126-16

## REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT DECLARATION TO BE COMPLETED BY VOTER Name: VOTER'S DECLARATION OF REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT OR DIFFICULTY By signing this declaration, I swear or affirm under penalty of perjury that I am the same individual who personally appeared at the polling place; that I am casting a ballot while voting in-person, and I face a reasonable impediment or difficulty that prevents me from getting an acceptable form of photo identification. My reasonable impediment or difficulty is due to the following reason(s): (Check at least one box below) Disability or illness Lack of transportation Lack of birth certificate or other documents needed to obtain acceptable photo ID Family responsibilities Work schedule □ Photo ID applied for but not received. 「ALTRUST That his LAWIS VA以 Lost or stolen photo ID Other reasonable impediment or difficulty\_ The reasonableness of your impediment or difficulty cannot be questioned. Signature of Voter Sworn to and subscribed before me this 6 day of 10 Presiding Judge TO BE COMPLETED BY ELECTION OFFICIAL The voter provided one of the following forms of identification or information: Valid Voter Registration certificate; or A copy or original of one of the following was provided: certified birth certificate (must be an original) current utility bill bank statement government check other government document that shows the voter's name and an address (with the exception of a government document containing a photograph which must be an original)

<b>REASONABLE I</b>	<b>IMPEDIMENT</b>	<b>DECLARATION</b>
DECLARACIÓN	DE IMPEDIMEN	TO RAZONABLE

		1		
	TO BE COMPLETED BY VOTER			
	PARA SER LLENADO POR EL ELECTOR			
,				
Name (Nombre):				
Traine (Nombre).		<del></del>		

## VOTER'S DECLARATION OF REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT OR DIFFICULTY DECLARACIÓN DE IMPEDIMENTO RAZONABLE O DIFICULTAD DEL ELECTOR

By signing this declaration, I swear or affirm under penalty of perjury that I am the same individual who personally appeared at the polling place, that I am casting a ballot while voting in-person and I face a reasonable impediment or difficulty that prevents me from getting an acceptable form of photo identification.

Al firmar esta declaración, juro o afirmo bajo pena de perjurio que soy la misma persona que apareció personalmente en la casilla electoral, que estoy emitiendo mi boleta al votar personalmente, y que tengo un impedimento o dificultad razonable que me imposibilita de obtener una identificación con foto como es requerido.

Disability or illness

Discapacidad o enfermedad

My reasonable impediment or difficulty is due to the following reason(s): Mi impedimento razonable se debe a las siguientes razones:

Lack of transportation

Location: SRD 134 M- 1

Falta de transporte

(Check at least one box below) (Elija al menos una de las razones que aparecen a continuación

		k of birth certificate or other documents needed to obtain acceptable photo ID				
	lta de acta de nacimiento u otros documentos necesarios para obtener una identificación con foto					
	Work schedule	Family responsibilities,				
	Horario de trabajo	Responsabilidades familiars				
	Lost or stolen photo ID	Photo ID applied for but not received				
	Pérdida o robo de identificación con foto	Identificación con foto ha sido solicitada pero no la he recibido				
~	Other reasonable impediment or difficulty Otro impedimento o dificultad razonable	do not legally need to show Philos				
The r	easonableness of your impediment or diffic	culty cannot be questioned.				
	zón de su impedimento o dificultad no puede					
Х	Signature of Voter (Firma del elector)	10/29/2016 Date (Fecha)				
	organization of otto (1. mind del cicetto)	Date (Februs)				
Swor	n to and subscribed before me this <b>29</b> day	of Oct 2016 Presiding Judge Lee Part				
	TO BE CO	MPLETED BY ELECTION OFFICIAL				
The v	oter provided one of the following forms of	identification or information:				
V	Valid Voter Registration certificate; or					
	A copy or original of one of the following wa	s provided:				
	certified birth certificate (must be an orig	ginal)				
	current utility bill					
	bank statement					
	government check					
	other government document that shows document containing a photograph w	the voter's name and an address (with the exception of a government /hich must be an original)				
	paycheck					

Date of Election:

	REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT DECLARATION
	TO BE COMPLETED BY VOTER
Name: _	
-	VOTER'S DECLARATION OF REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT OR DIFFICULTY
nerconally	this declaration, I swear or affirm under penalty of perjury that I am the same individual who appeared at the polling place, that I am casting a ballot while voting in-person, and I face a le impediment or difficulty that prevents me from getting an acceptable form of photo tion.
My reasor	nable impediment or difficulty is due to the following reason(s):
(Check at	least one box below)
Lack of	if transportation Disability or illness
	f birth certificate or other documents needed to obtain acceptable photo ID
☐ Work	schedule
1	r stolen photo ID  Photo ID applied for but not received 1  reasonable impediment or difficulty because I didn't bring 1.
	onableness of your impediment or difficulty cannot be questioned.
X _	10/26/2016
5	Signature of Voter
W day	and subscribed before me this of Ut, 20 16 gludge When Dille
	TO BE COMPLETED BY ELECTION OFFICIAL
The vote	er provided one of the following forms of identification or information:
Valid	Voter Registration certificate; or
	by or original of one of the following was provided:
	certified birth certificate (must be an original)
	current utility bill
	bank statement
	government check
	other government document that shows the voter's name and an address (with the exception of a government document containing a photograph which must be an original)
Location	paycheck n: FB 150 Maid
Date of	Election: 26 V tr

	REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT DECLARATION
1	TO BE COMPLETED BY VOTER AND
Name:	*
	VOTER'S DECLARATION OF REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT OR DIFFICULTY
personally	this declaration, I swear or affirm under penalty of perjury that I am the same individual who appeared at the polling place, that I am casting a ballot while voting in-person, and I face a "Impediment or difficulty that prevents me from getting an acceptable form of photo on.
My reason	able impediment or difficulty is due to the following reason(s):
(Check at le	rest one box below)
☐ Lack of t	ransportation Disability or illness
☐ Lack of b	oirth certificate or other documents needed to obtain acceptable photo ID
☐ Work sci	
	tolen photo ID Photo ID applied for but not received
Other re	asonable impediment or difficulty Did Not want to "pander" to govern ment
The resent	blenoss of your impediment of different beautiful estioned.
Sign	ature of Voter  Date
	Date Date
Sworm to and	subscribed before me this
day of	so Dichee Lyle
	TO BE COMPLETED BY ELECTION OFFICIAL
	wided one of the following forms of identification or information:
	r Registration certificate; or
∐ A copy or	original of one of the following was provided:
***************************************	_certified birth certificate (must be an original)
	_current utility bill
-	bank statement
	_government check
Name and Advanced	_other government document that shows the voter's name and an address (with the exception of a government document containing a photograph which must be an original)
	_paycheck
ocation: M	ercedes CNic Center
	n: Nov. 8,2016

	REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT DECLARATION  DECLARACIÓN DE IMPEDIMENTO RAZONABLE					
	TO BE COMPLETED BY VOTER  PARA SER LLENADO POR EL ELECTOR					
Name (	(Nombre):					
·	VOTER'S DECLARATION O	F REASONABLE IMPEDIMENT OR DIFFICULTY ENTO RAZONABLE O DIFICULTAD DEL ELECTOR				
appeare		er penalty of perjury that I am the same individual who personally ballot while voting in-person and I face a reasonable impediment or ble form of photo identification.				
la casili		de perjurio que soy la misma persona que apareció personalmente en a al votar personalmente, y que tengo un impedimento o dificultad dificación con foto como es requerido.				
	sonable impediment or difficulty is due to the edimento razonable se debe a las siguientes					
(Check	at least one box below) (Elija al menos una	de las razones que aparecen a continuación				
	ack of transportation	Disability or illness Discapacidad o enfermedad				
La	ack of birth certificate or other documents r	needed to obtain acceptable photo ID				
-	alta de acta de nacimiento u otros documen Vork schedule	tos necesarios para obtener una identificación con foto Family responsibilities				
	lorario de trabajo	Responsabilidades familiars				
I	ost or stolen photo ID 'érdida o robo de identificación con foto	Photo ID applied for but not received Identificación con foto ha sido solicitada pero no la he recibido				
V	other reasonable impediment or difficulty	HAVE PROBURASTINATED				
	sonableness of your impediment or difficul n de su impedimento o dificultad no puede s	er cuestionada				
X _	Signature of Voter (Firma del elector)	10-29-2016 Date (Fecha)				
Sworn to	o and subscribed before me this 29 day of	Oct, 20 16 Presiding Judge Pennia Madice				
<del></del>	TO BE COMI	PLETED BY ELECTION OFFICIAL				
The vote	er provided one of the following forms of id	entification or information:				
Val	lid Voter Registration certificate; or					
A c	copy or original of one of the following was	provided:				
<del></del> ,	certified birth certificate (must be an origin	at)				
	current utility bill					
	bank statement					
	government check	·				

Location:  $\frac{5RDD01}{}$  Date of Election:  $\frac{11-8-16}{}$ 

other government document that shows the voter's name and an address (with the exception of a government

document containing a photograph which must be an original)

paycheck

# **EXHIBIT**

C

EXHIBIT A: Plaintiffs / Witnesses Alleged Burdens Addressed by SB 5

Person Applicable Reasonable-Impediment Exception Under SB 5							
	Lack of	Lack of Birth Certifi-	Work Schedule	Lost or Stolen	Disability or	Family	Not Yet
	Transportation	cate or Related		Identification	Illness	Respon-	Received
		Documents				sibilities	ID
Barber	✓ (ROA.110750-51)	✓ (ROA.110757)			✓ (ROA.110751)		
Bates	✓ (ROA.110815)	✓ (ROA.110819-20)					
Benjamin		✓ ( <i>Veasey</i> , 830 F.3d at 252-55)					
F. Carrier		✓ ( <i>Veasey</i> , 830 F.3d at 254-55)			✓ (ROA.98705)		
Clark	✓ (ROA.100540)		✓ (ROA.100542)				
Eagleton	✓ (ROA.111522)	✓ (ROA.111519)					
Espinosa		✓ (ROA.111565)					
Estrada	✓ (ROA.99362)	✓ (ROA.99368)					
Gandy		✓ (ROA.99829-30)					
Gholar		✓ (ROA.111763)					
Holmes	✓ (ROA.111972)						
Mr. Lara		✓ (ROA.99838-39)					
Ms. Lara		✓ (ROA.99855)					
Martinez		✓ (ROA.112241)					
Mendez					✓ (ROA.99031)		
Taylor		✓ (ROA.99382)		✓ (ROA.99379-80)			
Washington				✓ (ROA.113106)			

Four plaintiffs and six witnesses had SB14-compliant ID at the time of trial. Benavidez Dep. 35:19-22 (ROA.110938); Bingham Dep. 37:9-10 (ROA.97456); Brickner Dep. 18:23-22:3 (ROA.111130-31); Burns Dep. 13:13-15 (ROA.114403); Jackson Dep. 30:12-32:22 (ROA.112038-40); Mellor-Crummey Dep. 14:18-15:11 (ROA.112345); Ozias Dep. 17:16-19 (ROA.112576); Sanchez Dep. 8:1-12 (ROA.112703); Trotter Dep. 51:6-55:17 (ROA.112928-29); Washington Dep. 34:3-13 (ROA.113126); see also Opinion 79 (Oct. 9, 2014), ECF No. 628 (ROA.27104). Under SB 5, at least two witnesses may also now vote with an expired driver's license. Espinosa Dep. 33:18-21 (ROA.111571); Trotter Dep. 35:23-36:19 (ROA.112924). Former plaintiff Michelle Bessiake—an Indiana resident who votes in Indiana—testified that she did not face a reasonable impediment to acquiring necessary ID. See Bessiake Dep. 83:21-84:15 (ROA.111040) ("Q: [I]s there any other reason . . . why obtaining one of those forms of identification is unduly burdensome? A. Because I don't want any of those identification."). Following this testimony, Bessiake's claims were voluntarily dismissed with prejudice. ECF No. 338 (ROA.8885-86).