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Proposals for
Early In-Person Voting
in the
State of Connecticut

A report from
The Center for Election Innovation & Research



CENTER FOR
ELECTION INNOVATION
& RESEARCH

Who We Are

The Center for Election Innovation & Research (CEIR) is a nonpartisan nonprofit with a proven track record of working with election officials from around the country and from both sides of the aisle. We seek to restore trust in the American election system and promote election procedures that encourage participation while ensuring election integrity and security.

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Executive Summary

At the November 2022 general election, Connecticut voters approved H.J. 59 (2021), a constitutional amendment authorizing the state legislature to enact early in-person voting. One year prior, in preparation for a scenario in which voters approved the amendment, the Office of the Secretary of the State contracted with the Center for Election Innovation & Research (CEIR) to produce a report that would assist in the development of legislation for early in-person voting, including recommendations for up to four possible policy models.

CEIR reviewed laws across all 50 states and the District of Columbia, conducted surveys and interviews with several state election officials, and researched scholarly literature and administrative data on early in-person voting. We developed four early in-person voting policy models tailored to Connecticut, with recommendations in each building on the last and generally increasing in terms of the number of early voting days, hours, required locations, and other factors. This report outlines our recommendations and elaborates on the findings from our supporting research.

Early in-person voting improves both voter access and election integrity. Not only does it offer greater opportunity for voter participation, but it also extends the period for detecting and mitigating any issues that may arise during the election. As of December 2022, 46 states and Washington, D.C., have some form of early in-person voting, with each state using a framework suited to its unique needs. As legislators and officials consider possibilities for early in-person voting in Connecticut, several decisions will need to be made. This report provides information to better inform those decisions in service of the people of Connecticut.

Introduction

At the November 8, 2022, general election, Connecticut voters approved an amendment to the state Constitution, H.J. 59 (2021), authorizing the state legislature to pass legislation establishing early in-person voting.¹ With the amendment's passage, the Connecticut General Assembly is expected to consider early in-person voting legislation during the upcoming 2023 legislative session.

In preparation for a scenario in which voters approved the amendment, the Connecticut Office of the Secretary of the State contracted with the Center for Election Innovation & Research (CEIR) in the fall of 2021 for assistance in developing early in-person voting policy models. Principally, CEIR's charge was to research other states' early in-person voting laws and recommend up to four policy models for consideration by the secretary's office and Connecticut lawmakers. In developing these models, the secretary's office asked CEIR to examine various aspects of early in-person voting, including policy frameworks as well as related security protocols, equipment and technology, staffing requirements, and costs.

Early In-Person Voting

Currently, 46 states and Washington, D.C., have early in-person voting laws.² While states vary with respect to their policies and the terminology they use to describe them, these laws all allow any registered voter to cast a ballot in person before the day of an election without providing a reason.³ Thus, this report defines "early in-person voting" as voting that is available to all registered voters and conducted in person before the day of the election.

In terms of early in-person voting implementation, states take one of three approaches: (1) conventional early voting, (2) in-person absentee voting, or (3) all-mail voting with an in-person voting option. Generally, with conventional early voting, voters follow the same procedures that apply on election day, and ballots are treated as regular ballots. With in-person absentee voting, voters cast absentee ballots in person, rather than by mail. The ballots are usually subject to procedures applicable to absentee ballots.⁴ Finally, with all-mail voting, all registered voters automatically receive a ballot by mail. Because voters have

¹ Resolution Approving an Amendment to the State Constitution to Allow for Early Voting. H.J. No. 59, 2021. https://www.cga.ct.gov/asp/cgabillstatus/cgabillstatus.asp?selBillType=Bill&which_year=2021&bill_num=hj59.

² Kyle Yoder, Jenny Lovell, Kira Flemke, Kyle Upchurch, and Kristin Sullivan, "Voting Before Election Day: The Availability of Early In-Person and Mail Voting in the 2022 General Election," Center for Election Innovation & Research, October 2022. <https://electioninnovation.org/research/early-voting-availability-2022-update/>.

³ "Early In-Person Voting," National Conference of State Legislatures, August 30, 2022. <https://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/early-voting-in-state-elections.aspx>.

⁴ Several states with conventional early voting also offer absentee voting with an option to return absentee ballots in person. For the purposes of this report, we focus on the conventional early voting offered in these states.

the option to cast their ballots early and in person at a vote center or return them at a designated drop-off location, these states are classified as having early in-person voting.⁵

As a policy, early in-person voting is an integral component of keeping elections accessible and secure. Not only does it provide eligible voters with a way to make their voices heard in the democratic process, but it also enhances election integrity by spreading voting out over several days rather than concentrating it on a single day. Put simply, a longer voting period bolsters efforts to quickly detect and mitigate technical glitches, fraud, cyberattacks, and other potential threats.⁶

This Report

This report outlines four early in-person voting models, followed by supporting background research, for consideration by Connecticut. The four policy models build on each other, generally increasing in terms of the number of early voting days, hours, required locations, and other considerations.

Subsequent sections address several questions that the Office of the Secretary of the State posed with respect to early in-person voting applicability, use, and costs. They also provide a detailed review of the major provisions seen across early in-person voting laws. Since provisions applicable to primary, special, or local elections differ across states, the analyses in these sections focus primarily on summarizing provisions applicable to statewide general elections, unless otherwise noted. Finally, the report summarizes lessons learned with respect to the implementation and administration of early in-person voting, gleaned from interviews and written correspondence with state election officials.

Methodology

CEIR developed this report and its recommendations through a mixed-methods analysis of information gathered through (1) a review of relevant statutes, regulations, and policies across the 50 states and Washington, D.C.; (2) direct surveys and interviews with state election officials across the country; and (3) research into existing scholarly literature and administrative data on early in-person voting.

We began by reviewing early in-person voting laws across the 50 states and District of Columbia, including relevant statutes, administrative regulations, and election manuals. This review focused predominantly on summarizing provisions applicable to statewide

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Patrick Howell O'Neill, "Why More, Earlier Voting Means Greater Election Security-Not Less," MIT Technology Review, December 14, 2020. <https://www.technologyreview.com/2020/12/10/1013584/expanding-voting-access-improves-election-security/>.

general elections, since provisions applicable to primary, special, or local elections typically differ within and across states.

We also compiled state-level data on voter turnout and early in-person voting use, as well as census data on population and density, among other factors. Finally, we researched existing academic literature on early in-person voting. We used this data alongside the 50-state review to identify the following criteria of interest in this research:

- Key Provisions for Early In-Person Voting Models
- Special Provisions of Interest for Early In-Person Voting Models
- Voter Turnout and Use of Early In-Person Voting
- Election Administration Models
- State Demographics
- Geography and Partisan Lean

Based on these criteria and in conversation with the Office of the Secretary of the State, we selected 25 states for further in-depth study. We sent a survey to election officials in these states on implementing and administering early in-person voting, receiving responses from 13 of them. Additionally, election officials in four states (Colorado, Georgia, Kentucky, and North Carolina) sat with us for qualitative interviews, while a fifth (Massachusetts) provided highly detailed written responses to our questions.

This data was analyzed in tandem, allowing qualitative insights to inform quantitative trends and quantitative metrics to scope qualitative findings. CEIR used these analyses to develop discrete policy models, as well as a policy bank with other provisions of interest. These policy models were then tailored to the policy context in Connecticut through further review of existing state law, population and voter data, and consultation with state election officials.

Policy Models

Outlined below are four policy models for consideration by the Office of the Secretary of the State and Connecticut lawmakers. The models build on each other, generally increasing in terms of the number of early voting days, hours, required locations, and other factors. These recommendations are based on various considerations, including voter access, administrative burdens on local election officials, and early in-person voting turnout and use data. Furthermore, these models are not exclusive—it is quite possible that some combination of or modification to one or more models may be better suited to Connecticut in the eyes of policymakers.

Provision	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Early Voting Period				
Start Date	Second Monday before election day (eight days before election day)	Second Thursday before election day (12 days before election day)	Second Thursday before election day (12 days before election day)	Third Monday before election day (15 days before election day)
End Date	Sunday before election day (two days before election day)* <i>*Last required day is Saturday before election day (three days before election day)</i>	Sunday before election day (two days before election day)* <i>*Last required day is Saturday before election day (three days before election day)</i>	Sunday before election day (two days before election day)	Sunday before election day (two days before election day)
Duration	At least six days and up to seven days	At least nine days and up to 10 days	10 days	14 days

Provision	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Hours & Availability				
Weekday Hours	<p>At least eight hours per weekday of the early voting period;</p> <p>Municipalities with 2,000 or fewer registered voters may instead offer between four and eight hours on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of the early voting period, with approval from the secretary of the state.</p>	<p>At least eight hours per weekday of the early voting period;</p> <p>On the Thursday and Friday immediately before election day, from at least 7:00 a.m. until at least 7:00 p.m.;</p> <p>Municipalities with 2,000 or fewer registered voters may instead offer between four and eight hours on each weekday before the Thursday immediately before election day, with approval from the secretary of the state.</p>	<p>At least eight hours per weekday of the early voting period;</p> <p>On the Thursday and Friday immediately before election day, from at least 7:00 a.m. until at least 7:00 p.m.;</p> <p>Municipalities with 2,000 or fewer registered voters may instead offer between four and eight hours on each weekday before the Thursday immediately before election day, with approval from the secretary of the state.</p>	<p>At least eight hours per weekday of the early voting period;</p> <p>On the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday immediately before election day, from at least 7:00 a.m. until at least 7:00 p.m.;</p> <p>Municipalities with 2,000 or fewer registered voters may instead offer between four and eight hours on each weekday before the Wednesday immediately before election day, with approval from the secretary of the state.</p>
Saturday Hours	<p>From at least 10:00 a.m. until at least 6:00 p.m.</p>	<p>On the Saturday immediately before election day, from at least 10:00 a.m. until at least 6:00 p.m.;</p> <p>On the first Saturday of the early voting period, municipalities may offer hours for early voting as designated by the registrars of voters with approval from the secretary of the state.</p>	<p>On the Saturday immediately before election day, from at least 10:00 a.m. until at least 6:00 p.m.;</p> <p>On the first Saturday of the early voting period:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In municipalities with 5,000 or fewer registered voters, early voting must be conducted for at least four hours between 10:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. at each early voting location. <p><i>(continued on next page)</i></p>	<p>On the Saturday immediately before election day, from at least 10:00 a.m. until at least 8:00 p.m.;</p> <p>On the first Saturday of the early voting period:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In municipalities with 5,000 or fewer registered voters, early voting must be conducted for at least four hours between 10:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. at each early voting location. <p><i>(continued on next page)</i></p>

Provision	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Hours & Availability				
Saturday Hours (continued)			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In municipalities with more than 5,000 but fewer than 60,000 registered voters, early voting must be conducted for at least six hours between 10:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. at each early voting location. In municipalities with 60,000 or more registered voters, early voting must be conducted from at least 10:00 a.m. until at least 6:00 p.m. at each early voting location. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In municipalities with more than 5,000 but fewer than 60,000 registered voters, early voting must be conducted for at least six hours between 10:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. at each early voting location. In municipalities with 60,000 or more registered voters, early voting must be conducted from at least 10:00 a.m. until at least 6:00 p.m. at each early voting location.
Sunday Hours	Municipalities may offer Sunday hours for early voting as designated by the registrars of voters with approval from the secretary of the state.	Municipalities may offer Sunday hours for early voting as designated by the registrars of voters with approval from the secretary of the state.	<p>On the Sunday immediately before election day, from at least 10:00 a.m. until at least 6:00 p.m.;</p> <p>On the first Sunday of the early voting period, municipalities may offer hours for early voting as designated by the registrars of voters with approval from the secretary of the state.</p>	<p>On the Sunday immediately before election day, from at least 10:00 a.m. until at least 6:00 p.m.;</p> <p>On the first Sunday of the early voting period, municipalities may offer hours for early voting as designated by the registrars of voters with approval from the secretary of the state.</p>

Provision	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Locations				
Number	The registrars of voters each municipality must designate one location for early voting.	The registrars of voters in each municipality must designate one location for early voting.	<p>The registrars of voters in each municipality must designate at least one location for early voting;</p> <p>Municipalities with 60,000 or more registered voters must designate at least one additional early voting location, subject to approval by the secretary of the state;</p> <p>Municipalities with 2,000 or fewer registered voters may enter into an interlocal agreement with one or more neighboring municipalities to jointly administer one early voting location open for at least eight hours each day of the early voting period, in lieu of the required one location per municipality, subject to approval by the secretary of the state;</p> <p>The registrars of voters may designate additional early voting locations beyond the minimum required with approval from the secretary of the state.</p>	<p>The registrars of voters in each municipality must designate at least one location for early voting;</p> <p>Municipalities with 60,000 or more registered voters must designate at least one additional early voting location, subject to approval by the secretary of the state;</p> <p>Municipalities with 2,000 or fewer registered voters may enter into an interlocal agreement with one or more neighboring municipalities to jointly administer one early voting location open for at least eight hours each day of the early voting period, in lieu of the required one location per municipality, subject to approval by the secretary of the state;</p> <p>For general elections, municipalities must designate at least one early voting location on the campus of any institution of higher education located within the municipality with a full-time equivalent enrollment of 10,000 or more that requests an early voting location in a timely manner;</p> <p>The registrars of voters may designate additional early voting locations beyond the minimum required with approval from the secretary of the state.</p>

Provision	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Locations				
Types of Eligible Locations	The registrars of voters must designate an early voting location in an accessible, centrally located building.	The registrars of voters must designate an early voting location in an accessible, centrally located building.	<p>The registrars of voters must designate an early voting location in an accessible, centrally located building;</p> <p>Additional early voting locations must be designated so that all voters have adequate and equitable access to early voting, considering (1) proximity to other early voting locations, (2) public transportation routes, (3) commuter traffic patterns, and (4) other factors as the secretary of the state deems appropriate.</p>	<p>The registrars of voters must designate an early voting location in an accessible, centrally located building;</p> <p>Additional early voting locations must be designated so that all voters have adequate and equitable access to early voting, considering (1) proximity to other polling places, (2) public transportation routes, (3) commuter traffic patterns, and (4) other factors as the secretary of the state deems appropriate.</p>

Provision	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Applicability of Early Voting	<p>Municipalities must offer early in-person voting for regular state general and primary elections.</p> <p>The secretary of the state should consider establishing early in-person voting for (1) special elections to fill a vacancy for federal, statewide, or legislative office and (2) municipal elections.</p>			
Security Procedures	<p>Security practices currently in place for voting on election day should, to the extent practicable, be extended to apply during the early voting period.</p> <p>Municipalities must submit to secretary of the state and obtain approval for an early in-person voting plan, which must include chain of custody protocols, transport and storage procedures, and overnight security plans for voted early ballots, voting machines, and other materials, as well as any other security procedures that the secretary may deem necessary.</p>			
Updating the Centralized Voter Registration System (CVRS)	<p>In line with other states, municipalities must update the CVRS at least once each day, after early voting locations have closed, to reflect the list of voters that cast ballots early in-person on that day. This update must indicate the method of voting. Municipalities may update the CVRS with greater frequency.</p> <p>The secretary of the state may adopt regulations requiring that any municipality using an e-pollbooks system update the CVRS with greater frequency.</p>		<p>In line with other states, municipalities must update the CVRS at least once each day, after early voting locations have closed, to reflect the list of voters that cast ballots early in-person on that day. This update must indicate the method of voting. Municipalities may update the CVRS with greater frequency.</p> <p>The secretary of the state may adopt regulations requiring that any municipality using an e-pollbooks system update the CVRS with greater frequency.</p> <p>Any municipality that operates more than one early voting location must submit to the secretary of the state and obtain approval for a plan to protect against double-voting. Such plans may use e-pollbooks or direct access to update the CVRS regularly throughout the day, geographically restrict voters so that voters may only cast a ballot at their assigned early voting location, or some other approach as the secretary deems appropriate.</p>	

Provision	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
<i>Tabulating Early Vote Ballots</i>	Municipalities may scan ballots through tabulators before election day but must program the tabulators to not count or release the results until election day. Municipalities may begin counting (i.e., tabulating) early ballots on election day. Results may be released to the public only after polls have closed on election day.			
<i>Early Voting Implementation Plans</i>	For each election in which early voting will be offered, municipalities must submit an annual early voting implementation plan to the secretary of the state. This plan must detail any aspect of early voting that requires approval from the secretary of the state, including the hours and availability of early voting, the number and placement of early voting locations, plans for public notice and voter education, security procedures, and protocols for updating the centralized voter registration system, depending on the requirements of the chosen policy model.			
<i>Public Notice and Voter Education</i>	<p>Municipalities must notify the public of the availability of early in-person voting. Such notice must include the days on which early in-person voting will be available, the addresses of all early voting locations, the hours during which early voting locations will be open, and any other information that the secretary of the state may deem necessary. Such notice must be published on any available municipal websites. It may be published on any available social media or other media the municipalities deem appropriate.</p> <p>The secretary of the state must also notify the public of the availability of early in-person voting. Such notice must include the days on which early in-person voting will be available, the addresses of all early voting locations, the hours during which early voting locations will be open, and any other information that the secretary of the state may deem necessary. Such notice must be published on the Office of the Secretary of the State's website. It may be published on any available social media or other media that the secretary of the state deems appropriate. Additionally, the secretary should consider other possible means to educate the public about early in-person voting, including a statewide public awareness campaign.</p>			

Background and Context

Applicability of Early In-Person Voting

One of the principal decisions states must make when considering early in-person voting legislation is to which elections the law will apply. With this in mind, we reviewed laws in the 13 states that responded to our survey as well as in a handful of other states, focusing primarily on those with conventional early voting.

Principally, the analysis below distinguishes between elections held at the state level and those held at the municipal level, including local referenda.⁷ It also focuses on special elections to fill a vacancy.

Regular State Primary and General Elections

All 13 states that responded to our survey make early in-person voting available before both regular state primary and general elections. This trend is common among other states as well, including Arkansas, Kansas, Maryland, and Tennessee.⁸ However, it is worth noting that in some states, early voting requirements may differ between primary and general elections. In New Jersey, for example, the early voting period starts 10 calendar days before a general election, six calendar days before a presidential preference primary, and four calendar days before other primary elections.⁹ Similarly, in Massachusetts, the period starts 17 days before a biennial state election and 10 days before a primary for such an election.¹⁰

Regular Municipal Primary and General Elections

State policies are less uniform with respect to requirements for early in-person voting before regular municipal primary or general elections. Still, laws in at least 15 of the states that we reviewed require that early in-person voting be offered before at least some types of municipal elections. Several of these states—including Arkansas, Colorado, Kansas, New York, Rhode Island, and South Carolina, among others—require that early in-person voting be offered before regular municipal primary and general elections.¹¹

Laws in four of these states—Florida, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and North Carolina—give municipalities the option to provide early in-person voting before a municipal primary or

⁷ Because Connecticut does not have county elections, they are generally excluded from the analysis.

⁸ A.C.A. § 7-5-418; K.S.A. § 25-1119; Md. Election Law Code Ann. § 10-301.1; Tenn. Code Ann. § 2-6-102.

⁹ N.J. Stat. § 19:15A-1.

¹⁰ ALM GL ch. 54, § 25B.

¹¹ A.C.A. §§ 7-5-418 and 7-1-101; C.R.S. § 1-7.5-104; K.S.A. §§ 25-1119 and 25-1115; NY CLS Elec § 8-600; R.I. Gen. Laws § 17-20-1; S.C. Code Ann. § 7-13-25.

general election, typically upon a vote by the local legislative body.¹² In Florida, this authorization applies specifically to elections not held in conjunction with county or state elections.¹³ Similarly, in Massachusetts, the authorization applies to elections not held in conjunction with state elections.¹⁴

Finally, two states specify the municipalities to which the early in-person voting law applies. Delaware and Maryland require early in-person voting only before a municipal election in Wilmington and Baltimore, respectively.¹⁵

Special Elections to Fill a Vacancy

Of the states that we reviewed, laws in all but three—Illinois, Maryland, and New Jersey—require that early in-person voting be offered before at least some special elections to fill a vacancy.¹⁶ However, the laws vary with respect to which offices the requirement applies.

Some states, such as Arkansas and Kansas, extend the requirement to vacancy elections for at least several different federal, state, and local offices.¹⁷ Other states limit the applicability to vacancy elections for certain offices. For example, Colorado and Massachusetts limit early in-person voting to vacancy elections for congressional office, while Delaware limits it to vacancy elections for federal or state office, including the General Assembly.¹⁸ Meanwhile, Florida requires that early in-person voting be conducted before any election, including a special election with federal or state offices on the ballot.¹⁹

In states that do not automatically require that early in-person voting be offered before special elections, the laws set different parameters with respect to applicability. Illinois, for example, limits early voting to the period before a general primary, consolidated primary, consolidated, or general election.²⁰ However, by definition, a special election may be held in conjunction with a regular election, so in that case, early in-person voting would be available.²¹

Maryland statutes limit early in-person voting to regularly scheduled state presidential and gubernatorial primary elections, state general elections, and Baltimore municipal

¹² Fla. Stat. §§ 101.657 and 97.021; ALM GL ch. 54, § 25B; N.J. Stat. § 19:15A-1; N.C. Gen. Stat. §§ 163-227.2 and 163-226.

¹³ Fla. Stat. § 101.657.

¹⁴ ALM GL ch. 54, § 25B.

¹⁵ 15 Del. C. §§ 7521 and 7570; Md. Election Law Code Ann. § 1-101.

¹⁶ 10 ILCS 5/19A-15; COMAR 33.17.01.02; N.J. Stat. § 19:15A-1.

¹⁷ A.C.A. §§ 7-1-101 and 7-5-418; K.S.A. §§ 25-1115 and 25-1119.

¹⁸ C.R.S. § 1-7.5-104; ALM GL ch. 54, § 25B; 15 Del. C. § 5401.

¹⁹ Fla. Stat. § 101.657.

²⁰ 10 ILCS 5/19A-15.

²¹ 10 ILCS 5/1-3.

elections.²² Interestingly, regulations further specify that early in-person voting does not apply to special primary or general elections unless the special election is conducted by mail.²³

Local Referenda

State laws are the least consistent when it comes to the application of early in-person voting before local referenda. However, one trend did emerge in our analysis: several states specifically require early in-person voting before a referendum held in conjunction with a regular general election. For example, Colorado law requires all-mail voting with an in-person voting option before all odd-year, local elections.²⁴ It further specifies that certain ballot questions (e.g., those concerning home rule charter amendments) be submitted to voters at these elections. Rhode Island law specifies that electors have the right to vote early “...to approve or reject any proposition of amendment to the Constitution or other propositions appearing on the state, city, or town ballot.”²⁵

Same or Election Day Registration

As in Connecticut, several states offer election day registration (EDR), wherein voters are permitted to register to vote and cast a ballot at the same time on Election Day. In these states, the introduction of early in-person voting begs the question of whether to extend this policy to some or all of the early voting period by establishing same day registration (SDR). States have differed in their answer to this question.

Across states with early in-person voting, 14 and Washington, D.C., offer SDR in addition to EDR.²⁶ One state, North Carolina, offers SDR but not EDR, and another five states offer only EDR. Two states, Alaska and Rhode Island, offer EDR only in elections for president and vice president.²⁷ The remaining 24 states with early in-person voting offer neither SDR nor EDR.

Use of Early Voting

Chief among the questions for early in-person voting implementation is how many voters will use the option to cast their ballot before election day. Historically, research has found that early in-person voting has mixed effects on turnout, though a handful of recent studies have attributed the variation in earlier findings to differences in state

²² Md. Election Law Code Ann. § 10-301.1.

²³ COMAR 33.17.01.02

²⁴ C.R.S. § 1-7.5-104.

²⁵ R.I. Gen. Laws § 17-20-1.

²⁶ Montana is here included in the count of states that offer both EDR and SDR. However, the state's EDR policy is currently the subject of ongoing litigation (*Montana Democratic Party v. C. Jacobson*). If EDR is repealed, the state will become the second to offer only SDR during the early voting period.

²⁷ Alaska Stat. § 15.05.012; R.I. Gen. Laws § 17-1-3.

implementation.^{28,29} In interviews for this report, state officials expressed similar sentiments, with several agreeing that two of the major factors driving voters to use early in-person voting are its practical accessibility (in terms of days, hours, and locations) and a robust investment (whether by government officials, campaigns, or nonprofits) in educating voters about it.^{30,31,32,33}

To better understand how voters participate in early in-person voting, this report reviews voter turnout and use data. First, we examine available state-level data on the use of early in-person voting in the 2016 and 2018 federal general elections.^{34,35,36,37} We exclude data from the 2020 general election because the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on voter behavior are poorly understood.³⁸ While final data on the 2022 general election is not available from the U.S. Election Assistance Commission at the time of writing, available evidence suggests that pandemic-era increases in voter use of early in-person voting have continued.

Next, we examine the use of early voting on each day of the early voting period. For this analysis, we drew on early voting turnout statistics from four states that released day-by-

²⁸ Elliott B. Fullmer, "Early Voting: Do More Sites Lead to Higher Turnout?" *Election Law Journal*, Volume 14, Number 2, 2015. <https://doi:10.1089/elj.2014.0259>.

²⁹ Ethan Kaplan and Haishan Yuan, "Early Voting Laws, Voter Turnout, and Partisan Vote Composition: Evidence from Ohio," *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 2020, Volume 12, Number 1, pgs. 32-60. <https://doi.org/10.1257/app.20180192>.

³⁰ Judd Choate, Interview by authors, Zoom, September 27, 2022.

³¹ Karen Sellers, Interview by authors, Microsoft Teams, November 14, 2022.

³² Karen Brinson Bell, Parker Holland, Paul Cox, and Adam Steele, Interview by authors, Microsoft Teams, November 15, 2022.

³³ Jesse Harris, Interview by authors, Microsoft Teams, December 16, 2022.

³⁴ "The Election Administration and Voting Survey 2016 Comprehensive Report," United States Election Assistance Commission, June 2017. https://www.eac.gov/sites/default/files/eac_assets/1/6/2016_EAVS_Comprehensive_Report.pdf.

³⁵ "Election Administration and Voting Survey 2018 Comprehensive Report," United States Election Assistance Commission, June 2019. https://www.eac.gov/sites/default/files/eac_assets/1/6/2018_EAVS_Report.pdf.

³⁶ Michael P. McDonald, "Voting Statistics," United States Elections Project, accessed January 24, 2022. <https://www.electproject.org/election-data/voter-turnout-data>.

³⁷In order to use the same data source for both 2016 and 2018, these analyses rely on data from the U.S. Elections Project (USEP). (The 2016 EAVS report by the U.S. Election Assistance Commission provides data for absentee ballots but does not distinguish between ballots cast in person and those cast by mail.) The USEP gathers vote method data from state sources while each election is ongoing, providing a useful source of early vote data that may be compared across different elections. However, these data may present some limitations. First, these figures may overstate early voting use, since some states may have reported absentee ballots received in person together with those received by mail due to CVRS limitations. Second, these numbers may understate early voting use, since USEP data collection from some states concluded before the end of the early voting period. That said, the results reported here have been checked against other sources, including the U.S. Election Assistance Commission and available information on secretary of state websites, and the findings are in line with other available data.

³⁸ Zachary Scherer, "Majority of Voters Used Nontraditional Methods to Cast Ballots in 2020," United States Census Bureau. April 29, 2021. <https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2021/04/what-methods-did-people-use-to-vote-in-2020-election.html>. It should be noted that, in 2020, most states expanded their early voting options and saw a dramatic increase in use of early voting, with 69% of voters nationwide casting their ballots in-person or by mail before election day.

day data for each day of the early voting period in the 2022 general election: Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, and Texas.^{39,40,41,42}

Total Early Vote Use

For the 2016 general election, we obtained data for 20 states on the use of early in-person voting.⁴³ Across these states, the share of voters who cast their ballot early in person (i.e., the rate of use of early in-person voting among all individuals who cast a ballot) ranged from 4% to 66%, with a median of 30%. Half of these states reported that between 20% and 50% of voters cast their ballot early in person.

Similarly, for the 2018 general election, we obtained data for 22 states on the use of early in-person voting.⁴⁴ Across these states, the share of voters who cast their ballot early in person ranged 2% to 59%, with a median of 26%. Half of these states reported a rate of use between 12% and 47%.

Figure 1 on the next page visualizes this data for states in both the 2016 and 2018 general elections.

³⁹ "Vote-by-Mail Request & Early Voting Statistics," Florida Division of Elections, compiled November 8, 2022. <https://countyballotfiles.floridados.gov/VoteByMailEarlyVotingReports/PublicStats>.

⁴⁰ "Data Hub - November 8, 2022 General Election," updated November 20, 2022. <https://sos.ga.gov/data-hub-november-8-2022-general-election>.

⁴¹ "NCSBE file," North Carolina State Board of Elections, accessed November 14, 2022. <https://dl.ncsbe.gov/?prefix=ENRS/>.

⁴² "Election Information & Turnout Data," Texas Secretary of State, accessed November 16, 2022. <https://earlyvoting.texas-election.com/Elections/getElectionDetails.do>.

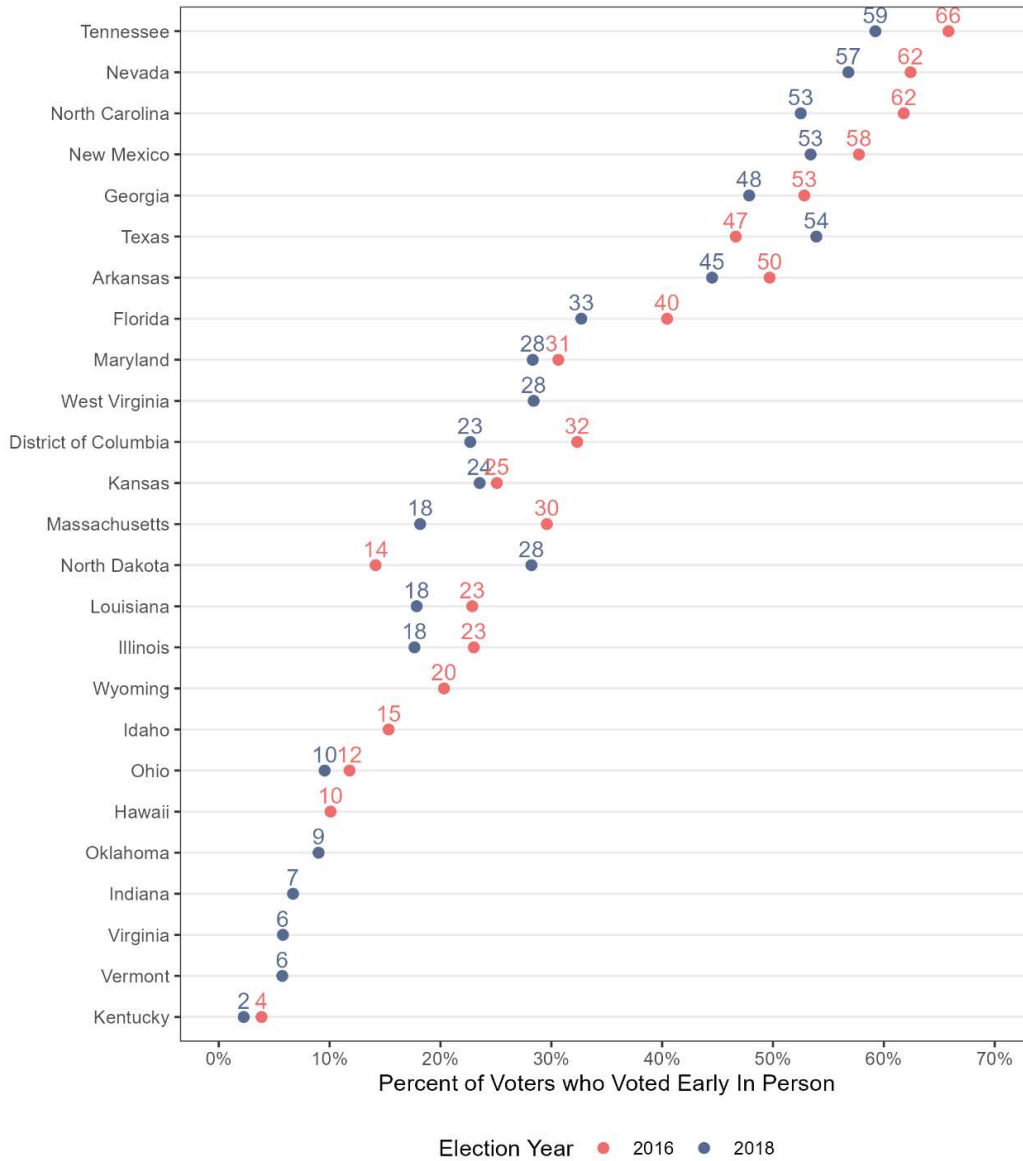
⁴³ Michael P. McDonald, "early_2016," United States Elections Project, accessed August 1, 2022. https://www.electproject.org/early_2016.

In the other states with early in-person voting, election officials did not report separate early voting turnout statistics.

⁴⁴ Michael P. McDonald, "early_2018," United States Elections Project, accessed August 1, 2022. https://www.electproject.org/early_2018.

In the other states with early in-person voting, election officials did not report separate early voting turnout statistics.

Figure 1. Percent of Voters Who Voted Early In Person in 2016 and 2018



Daily Early Vote Use

For the 2022 general election, CEIR obtained daily reports of vote totals throughout the early voting period from four states that make this information publicly available: Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, and Texas.

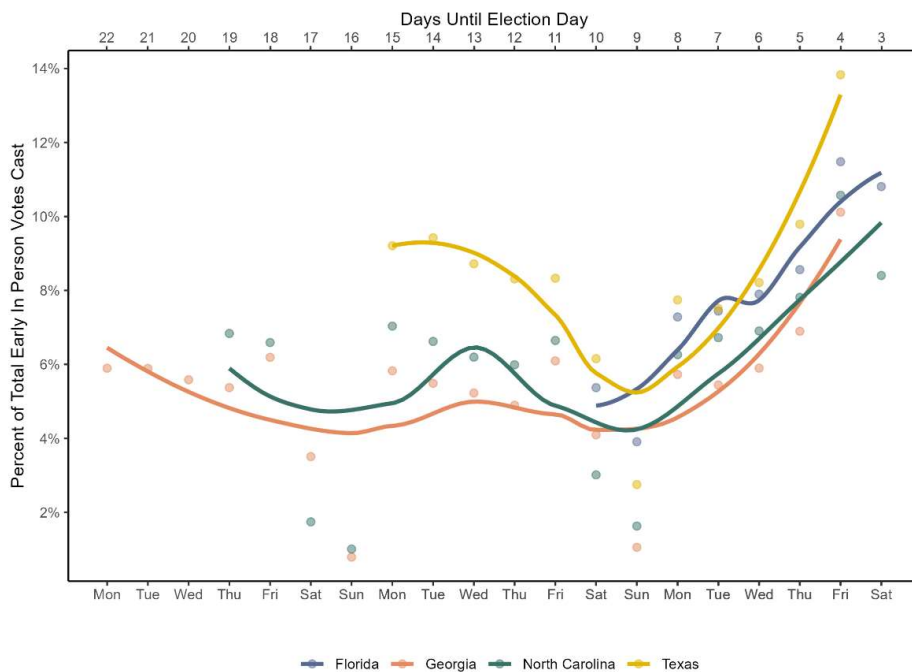
State	Form of Early Voting	Start	End	Length
Florida	Conventional early voting	10/29	11/5	8 days
Georgia	In-person absentee	10/17	11/4	19 days
North Carolina	In-person absentee	10/20	11/5	17 days
Texas	Conventional early voting	10/24	11/4	12 days

While this subset of states should not be seen as representative of the nation at large, certain informative trends emerge. In each of the four states, the number of early in-person votes cast each day remained largely flat over the course of the early voting period, before increasing sharply at the end. This is in line with what state officials reported in interviews with us, though they noted that in their experience, the first day of early voting is also highly used by voters.^{45,46}

Additionally, while a higher proportion of early in-person voters cast their ballots during the week (Monday through Friday) than over the weekend (Saturday or Sunday), it is important to note that, as in many states, these four states offer fewer early voting hours on the weekends than on weekdays. Nonetheless, a significant portion of voters cast their ballots on Saturdays and Sundays across all four states, suggesting that a segment of voters may rely on this weekend availability to cast their ballot during the early voting period. Again, this is in line with what state officials reported in interviews.^{47,48,49}

Figure 2 shows these trends in the daily use of early in-person voting across all four states in the 2022 general election.

Figure 2. Percent of Early In-Person Votes Cast on Each Day of the Early Voting Period



⁴⁵ Choate, interview.

⁴⁶ Bell, Holland, Cox, and Steele, interview.

⁴⁷ Choate, interview.

⁴⁸ Sellers, interview.

⁴⁹ Bell, Holland, Cox, and Steele, interview.

Costs of Early Voting

No state's implementation of early in-person voting is the same as another, and the types and levels of costs vary depending on election infrastructure and the specifics of each early in-person voting model. Because of vast differences in state and local government budgeting and accounting methods, information on election expenditures across states is scarce, and detailed analysis of these costs is even more so.⁵⁰ However, it is possible to categorize the types of costs that states incur in implementing and administering elections, including early in-person voting.

Researchers often divide general election costs into four main categories: personnel costs, location-related expenses, equipment and supplies (including ballots and other necessary documentation) and postage for voter education materials and mail ballots.⁵¹ These categories provide a useful framework when considering the costs of implementing early in-person voting.

Election officials in North Carolina stressed in our interview that the principal costs for early in-person voting were associated with staffing and locations.⁵² Massachusetts officials also cited staffing costs as a major point of focus.⁵³ Early voting expenditure reports from jurisdictions like Dutchess County, New York, further reinforced the primacy of personnel costs—including training and staffing—while also noting investment into additional equipment and technology.⁵⁴ Of course, the specific expenditures associated with early in-person voting are inextricably tied to the particular context of a jurisdiction.

Table 1 on the next page summarizes the primary types of costs likely associated with implementing and administering early in-person voting.

⁵⁰ Charles Stewart III, "The Cost of Conducting Elections," MIT Election Data & Science Lab, pg. 4. 2022. <https://electionlab.mit.edu/sites/default/files/2022-05/TheCostofConductingElections-2022.pdf>.

⁵¹ Ibid, pg. 6.

⁵² Bell, Holland, Cox, and Steele, interview.

⁵³ Michelle Tassinari, Interview by authors, Email correspondence, October 20, 2022.

⁵⁴ Robin L. Lois, "Accounting of Early Voting Costs & Implementation," Office of the Dutchess County Comptroller, March 2020. <https://www.dutchessny.gov/Special-Report-Early-Voting-Implementation-Dutchess-County-Comptroller.pdf>.

Table 1. Categories of Costs Associated with Early In-Person Voting

Category	Details and Possible Considerations
Personnel	<p><u>Salaries</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Required overtime for government employees* • Wages for additional part-time employees required to staff early voting locations* <p><u>Training</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Onboarding costs for any additional temporary employees • Materials and rates associated with training new and existing employees on new procedures
Locations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rental fees for the use of early voting locations* • Security expenses for early voting locations* • Cleaning expenses for early voting locations
Equipment & Supplies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Additional machines or accessories needed for early in-person voting, such as optical scanners, storage lockers, or charging stations* • Additional office supplies needed for early in-person voting operations* • Transportation of machines, accessories, and supplies to early voting locations • With paper pollbooks, additional printing and storage costs that may be needed with early voting**
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expenses associated with voter education around early voting, such as printing or postage for materials • Investment in CVRS infrastructure and security to ensure preparedness for early voting

*Costs associated with these considerations are affected by the duration of the early voting period, hours of availability, and number of locations.

**While Connecticut does not currently use e-pollbooks, officials in other states encouraged their adoption for use under an early in-person voting model.^{55,56} This would require an upfront investment in the technology.

⁵⁵ Bell, Holland, Cox, and Steele, interview.

⁵⁶ Tassinari, email correspondence.

Provisions of State Early In-Person Voting Laws

Length of Early Voting Periods for Statewide General Elections

Across all states that have some form of early in-person voting, the length of the early in-person voting period for statewide general elections ranges from as few as three days to as many as 46 days.⁵⁷ These periods can begin as early as 50 days before election day or as late as only five days in advance. Figure 3 on the following page demonstrates this variation in early voting periods across states.

In many states, statutes define the start of early in-person voting in terms of policy floors and ceilings. For example, in Delaware, early voting must begin at least 10 days before election day, while in Florida it may begin up to 15 days before election day, as designated by county officials.⁵⁸ New Mexico staggers the start date based on location, requiring that it begin 28 days before election day in the offices of the county clerks but not until the third Saturday before election day (generally 17 days before election day) at any additional early voting location.⁵⁹

As for the end date of the early voting period, 22 states end early in-person voting on election day or the day immediately before it, while an additional four states and Washington, D.C., end it on the Sunday immediately before election day. The remaining 20 states end early in-person voting between three and seven days before election day.

While our analysis of early voting use indicates that ending the early voting period close to election day is important for maximizing voter access, multiple state officials reported in interviews that ending it before the Monday immediately preceding election day gave local election officials necessary time to change equipment and prepare for election day itself.^{60,61}

⁵⁷ Early voting periods may differ for state primary or special elections, as well as local elections.

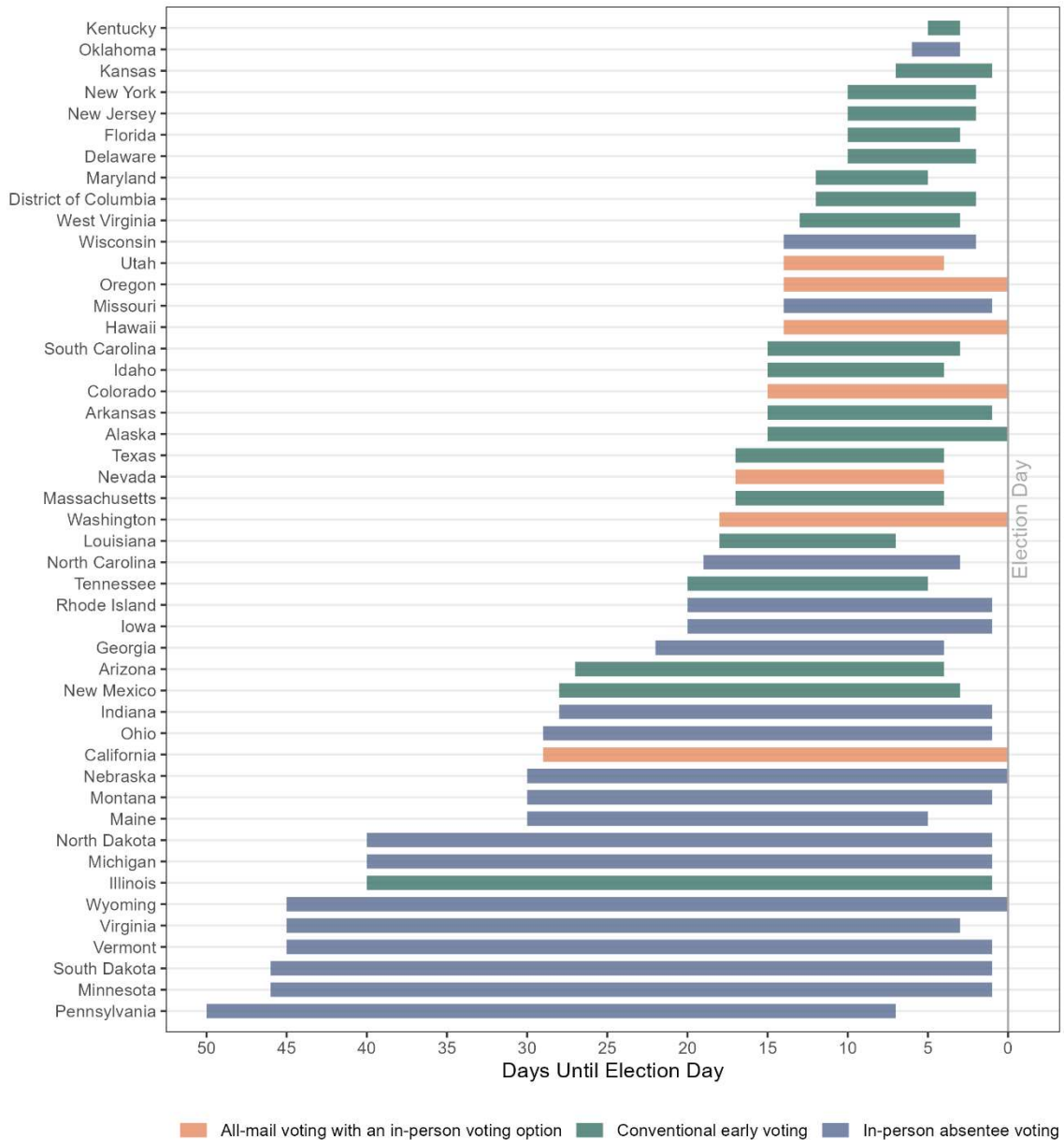
⁵⁸ 15 Del. C. § 5402; Fla. Stat. § 101.657.

⁵⁹ N.M. Stat. Ann. § 1-6-5.7.

⁶⁰ Sellers, interview.

⁶¹ Bell, Holland, Cox, and Steele, interview.

Figure 3. Early In-Person Voting Periods



Across all types of early in-person voting, the median length of the early voting period is 18 days. However, notable variation exists related to the specific types of early in-person voting models. In states with conventional early voting, the median length of the early voting period is 12 days. States with all-mail voting with an in-person voting option typically offer a slightly longer early voting period, with a median length of 15 days. Finally, states with in-person absentee voting typically offer the longest early voting periods, with a median length of 30 days.

Hours and Availability

Weekday Hours and Availability

States take different approaches to establishing schedules for weekday early voting hours and availability, with most allowing for some variation among local jurisdictions. More specifically, 19 states require that early in-person voting be available during the regular business hours of local election offices. Another 12 allow local election officials to designate early voting hours. In Ohio, the secretary of state establishes a schedule of uniform statewide early voting hours. Similarly, in Washington, D.C., the Board of Elections designates early voting hours for the district. The remaining 14 states with early in-person voting establish in statute the weekday opening and closing times for early voting locations. However, even in these 14 states, most statutes provide for some degree of flexibility in the administration of hours based on local capacity and need, so it is uncommon for hours to be perfectly uniform across an entire state.

Among all early in-person voting states, 17 specify in statute a minimum number of hours that early voting must be offered on each weekday. Across these states, the required minimum varies from three to 13 hours, with a median of eight hours. Some states' statutes further establish a maximum number of hours during which early voting may be available. In these cases, local jurisdictions may decide how many early voting hours to offer within the state's permitted range. For example, Florida requires that early voting locations be open for at least eight hours per day and no more than twelve hours per day, as designated by the County Supervisor of Elections.⁶²

Weekend Hours and Availability

Twenty-seven states and the District of Columbia, require that early in-person voting be available on at least one Saturday of the early voting period.⁶³ Additionally, official guidance from the Pennsylvania Department of State encourages local election officials to offer weekend hours to allow maximum convenience and flexibility for voters.⁶⁴ Among these states, statutes permit up to 14 hours of early in-person voting on Saturday, with a median of 10 hours.

⁶² Fla. Stat. § 101.657.

⁶³ This count includes Michigan, which will require at least eight hours of conventional early voting on each Saturday of the early voting period under a constitutional amendment passed by referendum on November 8, 2022. This amendment, Proposal 2, takes effect on December 23, 2022.

⁶⁴ "Guidance Concerning Civilian Absentee and Mail-in Ballot Procedures," Pennsylvania Department of State, September 26, 2022. <https://www.dos.pa.gov/VotingElections/OtherServicesEvents/Documents/2022-09-26-DOS-Guidance-Civilian-Absentee-Mail-In-Ballot-Procedures.pdf>.

Ten states and Washington, D.C., require that early in-person voting be available on at least one Sunday of the early voting period.⁶⁵ Six states authorize local election officials to designate hours for Sunday voting, and Pennsylvania state guidance encourages local election officials to do so. Another two states, Kentucky and Oklahoma, specify the days on which early in-person voting must be offered and exclude Sundays from that list. Finally, two states, Louisiana and South Carolina, prohibit early in-person voting on Sundays.

However, the number of weekend early voting hours that any given state offers may vary widely depending on the type of election, early voting location placement, and days remaining until election day. Generally, in states that require or allow such variation in weekend availability, more hours are required at locations in larger population centers or as election day approaches. Additionally, some states require a greater number of weekend hours for general elections than for other types of elections for which early in-person voting is available, such as primary elections.

Early Voting Locations

Number of Early Voting Locations

Generally, state statutes require that there be at least one early voting location in each local jurisdiction (typically in each county or municipality, depending on the state's election administration model), with seven states limiting the number to only one early voting location per jurisdiction and the other 39 states and Washington, D.C., providing for at least one early voting location in each jurisdiction. Among the three states with early in-person voting that administer elections at the municipal level, Maine and Vermont require that municipalities operate one early voting location, while Massachusetts requires that municipalities operate at least one location.⁶⁶ In Massachusetts, the state election office works collaboratively with cities and towns to provide guidance in siting additional locations in order to maximize options for voters.⁶⁷

Among the 39 states that require at least one early voting location in each jurisdiction, some go further and require additional locations based on factors such as a jurisdiction's total population or number of active or registered voters, or the number of days remaining until election day. Additionally, a handful of states cap the total number of early voting locations per jurisdiction in statute.

⁶⁵ This count again includes Michigan, which will require at least eight hours of conventional early voting on each Sunday of the early voting period under a constitutional amendment passed by referendum on November 8, 2022. This amendment, Proposal 2, takes effect on December 23, 2022.

⁶⁶ 21-A M.R.S. § 753-B; 17 V.S.A. § 2546B; ALM GL ch. 54, § 25B.

⁶⁷ Tassinari, email correspondence.

Siting Early Voting Locations

Requirements for siting early voting locations vary across states. States prioritize different criteria, identify different types of sites as eligible, and require or authorize local election officials to consider various factors in siting the locations. However, most states follow several broad trends when operating and designating early voting locations.

Most states operate early voting locations as vote centers, whereby any eligible voter in the jurisdiction may cast their ballot at any early voting location in the jurisdiction. This model is different than a precinct model, where voters may cast their ballot only at an assigned location. Generally, states operating early voting locations as vote centers require connectivity with the state's centralized voter registration system.

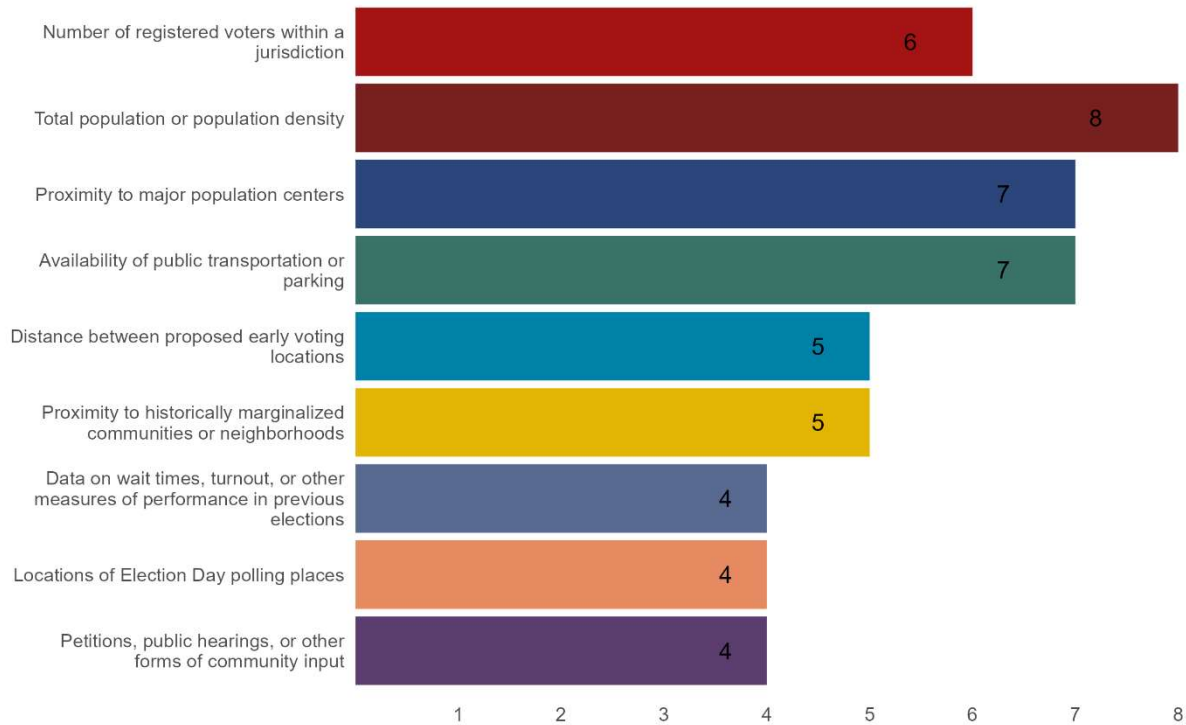
Furthermore, most states require that an early voting location be sited in or near the local election office, with some specifying a local courthouse or annex as the appropriate site. In the majority of states, if local election officials determine that the location specified in statute is unavailable or unsuitable for early voting, they are authorized to designate an alternate site—usually, these alternate sites must be publicly accessible and centrally located.

Finally, most states allow local election officials to designate additional early voting locations. However, some require local officials to obtain approval or feedback from state officials before doing so, by submitting an early voting implementation plan.

Several states further identify specific factors that election officials are required or authorized to consider when siting early voting locations. Among other things, these factors may include the number of registered voters, public transportation availability, or proximity to historically marginalized communities.

In response to our survey, 13 states provided us with a sense of the relative frequency with which election officials are required or authorized to consider these factors when siting early voting locations, as shown in Figure 4 on the subsequent page.

Figure 4. Required or Authorized Considerations When Siting Early Voting Locations



Many states also allow election officials to site early voting locations in private buildings, but the requirements for doing so differ across states. In several states, private buildings may be designated as early voting locations only when no suitable public locations are available. Some states, like Delaware, specify that only certain types of private buildings—such as business establishments or the lobbies of large residential apartment complexes—may be designated.⁶⁸ Others, like Michigan, prohibit early voting locations from being sited in locations owned and operated by for-profit enterprises, but allow early voting locations to be sited in buildings owned by some 501(c) nonprofit organizations.⁶⁹

Finally, several states require that early voting locations be sited in specific locations, such as on the campuses of higher education institutions, within the boundaries of Indian reservations, or in local jails.

Security Procedures

In most states, standard election day security measures for securing physical polling locations and accompanying election materials also apply to early in-person voting. However, because of its multi-day nature, early in-person voting raises some unique

⁶⁸ 15 Del. C. §§ 4512 and 5402.

⁶⁹ MCLS §§ 168.662 and 168.761B.

security considerations around issues such as chain-of-custody protocols, ballot storage, and access to voting equipment.⁷⁰

All states with early in-person voting take steps to secure ballots, ballot boxes, voting machines, e-pollbooks, and other election materials throughout the early voting period, though they may choose to layer these steps differently. Several states require local election officials to take down and securely stow equipment and materials each night after the early voting location closes. On the other hand, some states require local election officials to securely lock the room in which early voting takes place without requiring that the equipment be taken down. Most of the 13 states that responded to our survey call for different nightly security procedures depending on the specifics of a given early voting location. In Georgia, for example, all voting materials must be locked and secured nightly. If the room where voting takes place cannot be satisfactorily locked, then the materials must be “stored in a locked, secure container that is reasonably affixed to the polling place” and monitored by an election official, a licensed security guard, or a law enforcement official.⁷¹

Verifying Eligibility

In some states, the procedures for receiving and preparing early ballots for tabulation may differ slightly from procedures that apply to ballots cast on election day, even in states that otherwise have conventional early voting. For example, some states, including Arizona, Florida, and Massachusetts, require voters to sign an affidavit or other certificate of eligibility when casting an early in-person ballot.⁷² Some states require election officials to verify voters’ signatures, in a similar process to that used for absentee ballots. This is most common in states that require voted ballots to be enclosed in individual envelopes, such as Arizona, Illinois, and Massachusetts.⁷³ In Illinois, signature verification takes place before voters cast ballots; in Arizona, it takes place when officials process ballots for tabulation.⁷⁴

Chain-of-Custody Requirements

Chain-of-custody requirements for ballots and voting equipment in most respondent states include extensive daily documentation and seal audits. New Jersey’s chain-of-custody protocol ensures that ballots are properly accounted for, sealed, secured, and transported, and it includes separate documentation requirements at each stage of the process. This chain of custody tracks who is in possession of ballots and when the ballots are moved; for

⁷⁰ “Early Voting and Mail Voting: Overview & Issues for Congress,” Congressional Research Service, March 27, 2020. <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF11477>.

⁷¹ Ga. Comp. R. & Regs. r. 183-1-14-.02.

⁷² Fla. Stat. § 101.657; 950 CMR 47:09; “2019 Elections Procedure Manual,” Arizona Secretary of State, December 2019, Ch. 2 Sec. 6. https://azsos.gov/sites/default/files/2019_ELECTIONS_PROCEDURES_MANUAL_APPROVED.pdf.

⁷³ 10 ILCS 5/19A-50; 950 CMR 47:09; “2019 Elections Procedure Manual,” 2019, Ch. 2 Sec. 6.

⁷⁴ 10 ILCS 5/19A-35; “2019 Elections Procedure Manual,” 2019, Ch. 2 Sec. 6.

example, a supervising board worker and a bipartisan pair of board workers must sign a Ballot Transfer Form for nightly returns to the local board of elections.⁷⁵

Similarly, Kentucky's chain-of-custody protocol for voting equipment calls for a documented seal audit before and after each day of early voting, which must be witnessed by an election official of a different political party from the official conducting the audit. It also requires equipment to remain locked during the early voting period until ballots are counted on election day, with two keys retained by designated election officials of different political affiliations.⁷⁶

Ballot Transport and Storage

Most states that responded to our survey require ballots to be transported from the early voting location to a secure site for safekeeping during the early voting period. Guidelines for ballot transfer differ primarily in terms of (1) the frequency and timing with which early ballots are transported and (2) the site where they are stored, whether it be the county clerk's office or local board of elections. Ballots are typically transported in a secure transfer bag or case.

For example, New York requires local election officials to return early voting ballots to the board of elections or otherwise secure them at the end of each early voting day in accordance with a plan filed with the state board.⁷⁷ These requirements generally mirror those of most respondent states, though some states, such as Colorado, have more leeway with ballot transport frequency and timing. Colorado law requires that ballots be delivered by the county clerk or other designated election official to the counting place at any point during the 15 days prior to and including election day.⁷⁸

Voting Equipment and Election Materials

States typically require that early in-person voting equipment and other election materials be sealed and secured at the end of each day of early voting, either at the voting location or a secondary location, such as the clerk's office. Texas' election guidelines detail a security procedure wherein machines are sealed each day in the presence of poll watchers before being locked and secured. If equipment cannot be secured at the early voting location, it must be returned to the early voting clerk's office.⁷⁹ Similarly, New Jersey requires e-pollbooks and other records to be secured in a cart or restricted physical space to which

⁷⁵ "New Jersey Early Voting Guidelines," New Jersey Division of Elections, updated October 18, 2022, pgs. 9-11. <https://www.nj.gov/state/elections/assets/pdf/guidelines/2022-guideline-for-the-conduct-of-early-voting.pdf>.

⁷⁶ KRS 117.076.

⁷⁷ 9 NYCRR § 6211.2.

⁷⁸ C.R.S. §§ 1-7.5-107.2 and 1-7.5-203.

⁷⁹ "Election Advisory No. 2019-23," Texas Director of Elections, October 23, 2022, Section 9. <https://www.sos.state.tx.us/elections/laws/advisory2019-23.shtml>.

only election personnel have access. It also requires that a seal be placed on the cart at the end of each early voting night.⁸⁰

In terms of voting system memory devices, some states require that such devices be secured in the same manner as other election materials during the early voting period. For example, New York requires that portable memory devices, along with ballots, be transported daily to local board of elections or otherwise secured.⁸¹ Other states may have separate policies for memory devices. For example, in Georgia, ballot scanner memory devices must remain in the scanner until the end of the early voting period.⁸²

Updating the Centralized Voter Registration System

Maintaining the accuracy of the centralized voter registration system (CVRS) during early in-person voting is crucial for ensuring elections are efficient, accessible, and secured against the possibility of double voting.⁸³ In our survey of state election officials, all 13 respondents reported that election officials must update the CVRS at least daily, with roughly half indicating that their system updates in real time. A handful of states further indicated that while their system must be updated at least once a day, local election officials are authorized to update it more frequently as their technical capabilities permit. Additionally, states unanimously responded that their systems record the method of voting, providing a thorough record of ballots cast during the early voting period.

The systems local election officials use to update their CVRS have significant implications on how many early voting locations may be securely operated in a single jurisdiction. State officials in North Carolina noted that an electronic pollbook system with real-time sync is useful to protect against the possibility of double voting.⁸⁴ As such, in North Carolina, counties operating multiple early voting locations use connected e-pollbooks to update the CVRS every half hour. Those using e-pollbooks without real-time sync capabilities operate a single location and must update the CVRS at least once per day.⁸⁵

Massachusetts demonstrates how these processes may work when some local election officials use paper pollbooks. The state, which administers elections at the municipal level and operates early in-person voting under a vote center model, requires that each early voting location have on hand the voter registration list for the entire city or town. This may

⁸⁰ "New Jersey Early Voting Guidelines," New Jersey Division of Elections, 2022, pg. 12.

⁸¹ 9 NYCRR § 6211.2.

⁸² Ga. Comp. R. & Regs. r. 183-1-14-.02.

⁸³ While different states refer to their CVRS-equivalent using different names, for simplicity and ease of understanding we refer here to all such systems as CVRS.

⁸⁴ Bell, Holland, Cox, and Steele, interview.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

be a printed list (i.e., paper pollbooks), an electronic list with a paper backup (i.e., e-pollbooks), or the list maintained in the state’s CVRS—typically with a paper backup—and accessed directly on-site.⁸⁶ Early voting locations using paper pollbooks must mark the voter record with the initials “EV” and the date the voter cast their ballot. Early voting locations using e-pollbooks record this information electronically during check-in. In both instances, the CVRS must be then updated at least daily during the early voting period to reflect the voters that cast their ballots on that day.⁸⁷ Smaller municipalities conducting early voting in their local election office may directly enter the names of voters into the statewide database, recording in real time the vote method and date voted; municipalities using this list are also encouraged to maintain paper pollbooks as a backup.⁸⁸

Tabulating Ballots Cast During Early Voting

Before early ballots may be canvassed alongside those cast on election day or by mail, local election officials must tabulate them. While states may use different terminology to refer to this step in the process, “tabulating” is used here to mean the process of counting ballots.⁸⁹ Typically, in-person absentee states tabulate early ballots cast in person using the same procedures as absentee ballots cast by mail. Thus, for purposes of discussing tabulation procedures here, this section limits its focus to states with conventional early voting.

States with conventional early voting set different requirements for when early ballots may be tabulated—some allow tabulation to begin before the polls close on election day, while others prohibit it until that point. However, across the board, all nine states with conventional early voting that responded to our survey prohibit the release of any early voting results to the public before the close of polls on election day. Of these nine states, three allow election officials to begin tabulating early ballots before election day, two allow election officials to begin tabulating early ballots on election day before the polls close, and the remaining four permit tabulation only after the polls close on election day.

States that allow for tabulation before the polls close on election day establish various parameters with respect to timing. In Delaware, for example, early ballots may be counted at any point between the Friday before election day and the close of polls. In Arizona, tabulation may begin before election day, and counties may determine the specific timeline. Texas state statute provides different timelines for tabulation based on county population size: counties with a population of at least 100,000 may begin tabulating early

⁸⁶ Tassinari, email correspondence.

⁸⁷ “Election Advisory #22-04: In-Person Early Voting and Last Day to Register to Vote,” The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, August 24, 2022.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Here, the process of “tabulating” ballots is distinct from the process of running ballots through the tabulators before election day without counting the results. In other words, several states allow election officials to scan ballots through the tabulators before election day but program the tabulators to not count or release the results until election day.

ballots at the end of the early voting period, while other counties may start only once the polls open on election day. Table 2 describes the timing requirements for tabulating early in-person ballots and publicizing the results in states with conventional early voting that responded to CEIR’s survey.

Table 2. Tabulating Early In-Person Ballots and Publicizing the Results

State	When Tabulation May Begin	When Results May be Publicized
Arizona <i>A.R.S. §§ 16-550 and 16-551</i>	Prior to election day; Tabulation may begin immediately after ballot processing ⁹⁰	Election day, the earlier of (1) the time when all ballots cast on election day have been tabulated or (2) one hour after all polls in the county have closed
Delaware <i>15 Del. C. §§ 5407 and 5510</i>	Between the Friday before election day and the close of polls on election day	Close of polls on election day
Florida <i>Fla. Stat. §102.141</i>	Prior to election day, and must be complete by 7 p.m. the day before election day	Close of polls on election day
Illinois <i>10 ILCS 5/19A-25.5</i>	After polls close on election day	After polls close on election day
Kentucky <i>KRS 117.087</i>	After 8 a.m. on election day	6 p.m. on election day
Massachusetts <i>ALM GL Ch. 54, § 25B</i>	After polls close on election day ⁹¹	After polls close on election day
New Jersey <i>N.J. Stat. § 19:15A-1</i>	Close of polls on election day	Close of polls on election day
New York <i>NY CLS Elec § 8-600</i>	After polls close on election day	After polls close on election day
Texas <i>1 TAC § 81.36</i>	After polls open on election day; Counties with a population of at least 100,000 may begin tabulation of early ballots at the end of the early voting period	Close of polls on election day

⁹⁰ Arizona uses an envelope and affidavit system during early voting, requiring that ballots be processed before they can be tallied.

⁹¹ According to the Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, state law prohibits early ballots counts from being “determined or announced” before the polls close on election day. However, early ballots may be “advance processed,” which includes removing the ballots from the signed envelopes and depositing them into a tabulator.

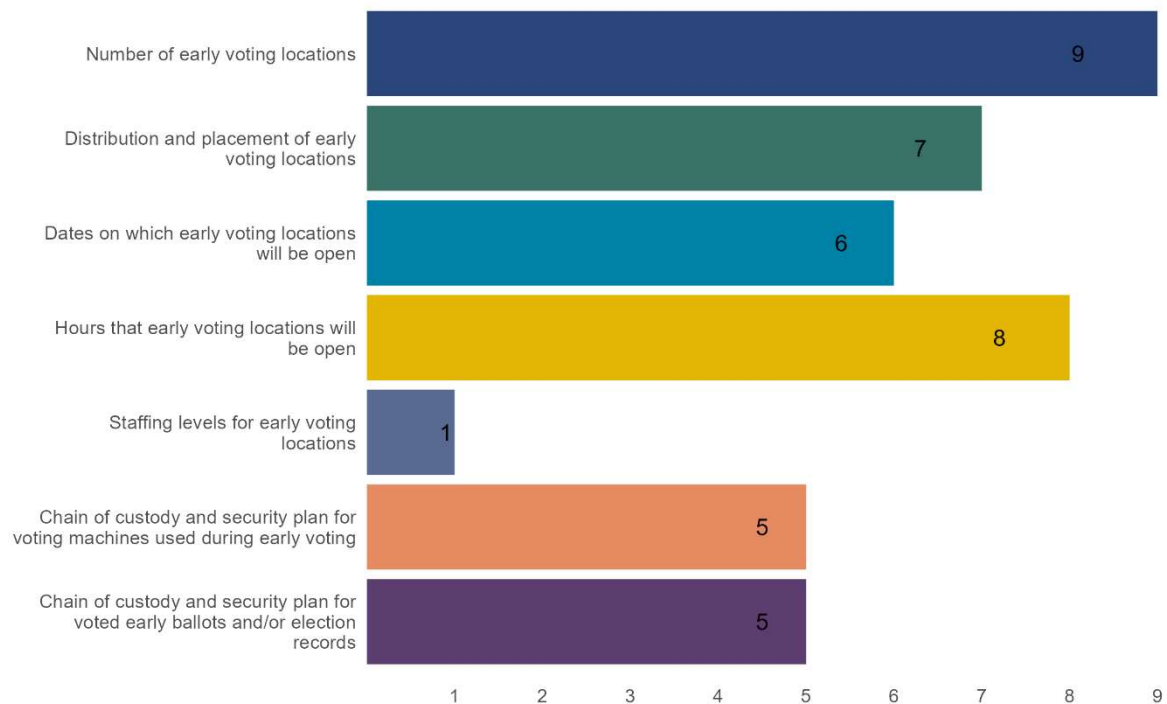
Early Voting Plans

Plan Provisions

Nine states that responded to our survey require local election officials to submit to the state a plan for implementing early in-person voting. These early voting plans may be submitted as part of a broader election plan or as a separate report specific to early in-person voting.

Nearly all respondents that require early voting plans indicated that the plans must include information on early voting hours, as well as the number and distribution of early voting locations. Additionally, in five respondent states, early voting plans must detail chain-of-custody and security protocols for early ballots and voting equipment. For example, North Carolina requires county boards of elections to submit a “Plan for Implementation” for one-stop voting locations, which serve as both in-person absentee voting and SDR locations. These plans must be approved by the State Board of Elections and include information on designated voting locations, ballot security measures, political observers, and procedures for preventing voters from casting a more than one ballot.⁹² Figure 5 shows the relative frequency of these types of requirements across the nine respondent states which have them.

Figure 5. Required Details for Each Provision in Early Voting Plans



⁹² N.C. Gen. Stat. §163-227.6.

Of the types of early voting plan provisions specified in law, those related to security procedures generally have the most comprehensive requirements. New Jersey provides an illustrative example.

In New Jersey, each county board is responsible for “forming and executing a written plan to ensure, to the greatest extent possible, the integrity of the voting process and the security of ballots used during the early voting period, including the security of voting machines, voted ballots, and election records.”⁹³ As part of this plan, each county must establish a “Continuity of Operations Plan” in the event that, among other things, equipment fails.⁹⁴

State Approval of Early Voting Plans

In five respondent states, local election officials must have their early voting plan approved by state election officials before implementation may proceed. This approval process varies by state.

In New York, local boards of elections must submit a plan to the state board of elections 60 days before the first day of early voting for each election in order to secure ballots and portable memory devices during the early voting period. The state board must approve or reject the plan within two weeks. In the case of a rejection, the local board is notified and has three business days to satisfactorily amend the plan.⁹⁵ New York also requires local boards of elections to establish procedures to prevent duplicate votes during the early voting period, subject to the same submission and approval process.⁹⁶ By contrast, New Jersey provides a longer timeline for the review of these plans by the state, requiring county boards to submit an annual plan by December 15 of each year, which the secretary of state must approve or reject by February 1 of the following year.⁹⁷

Subsequent revisions to early voting plans are typically subject to reapproval, though some states, such as Florida, only require reapproval for changes to established security procedures.⁹⁸ Additionally, several states require local election officials to review, update, and resubmit plans on a regular basis. For example, in Kentucky, county boards of elections must file an “Elections and Voting Equipment Security Plan” annually by March 1, which must include plans for early in-person voting.⁹⁹

⁹³ N.J. Stat. § 19:15A-1.

⁹⁴ “New Jersey Early Voting Guidelines,” New Jersey Division of Elections, 2022, pg. 13.

⁹⁵ 9 NYCRR § 6211.2.

⁹⁶ NY CLS Elec § 8-600; 9 NYCRR § 6211.6.

⁹⁷ N.J. Stat. § 19:15A-1.

⁹⁸ 1 FL ADC 1S-2.015.

⁹⁹ 31 KAR 6:040.

Public Notice and Voter Education

Several states require some amount of public notice regarding information on early voting before each election. One of the simplest such requirements is in Delaware, which requires the State Election Commissioner to “designate and publish the early voting locations at least 30 days before an election.”¹⁰⁰ Other states include in statute a timeline for publishing early voting information, and several provide other, more detailed requirements. In states like Georgia, Illinois, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, statutes require that information be posted on the local election office’s website, the state election authority’s website, or both.¹⁰¹ Some statutes require that information be published in specific media, such as newspapers or local websites, or posted in specific public buildings and early voting locations. Maryland statute requires the state and local boards of elections to “undertake steps to inform the public,” including conducting “mailings to all registered voters in each county,” as well as announcements in public media.¹⁰² Going further, New York requires local boards of elections to file with the state an annual communications plan to better inform the public on the availability and accessibility of early in-person voting.¹⁰³

Table 3 summarizes the public notice and voter education requirements in Georgia, Massachusetts, and New Jersey.

Table 3. Early Voting Public Notice and Voter Education Requirements

Georgia ¹⁰⁴	Massachusetts ¹⁰⁵	New Jersey ¹⁰⁶
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> County boards must publish early voting dates, times, and locations on the homepage of their website (or in a newspaper if no website is available) no later than 14 days prior to the start of early voting for all general and special primaries, general elections, and special elections; no later than seven days prior for run-offs. Any additional locations added, or unavoidable changes made after the deadline must be published in the same manner as soon as possible. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Municipal registrars must publish early voting dates, times, and locations no later than five business days prior to the start of the voting period. The information must be published in the clerk’s office, on the principal local bulletin board, on any other public building deemed necessary, and on the websites of the city or town and the secretary of state. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The secretary of state and each county board must publish early voting information on their respective websites including, but not limited to, a notice on early voting eligibility, the duration of the voting period, and the locations and hours of voting sites.

¹⁰⁰ 15 Del. C. § 5403.

¹⁰¹ O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385; 10 ILCS 5/19A-25; ALM GL ch. 54, § 25B; N.J. Stat. § 19:15A-5.

¹⁰² Md. Election Law Code Ann. § 10-301.1.

¹⁰³ NY CLS Elec § 8-600.

¹⁰⁴ O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385.

¹⁰⁵ ALM GL ch. 54, § 25B.

¹⁰⁶ N.J. Stat. § 19:15A-5.

Release of Early Voting Turnout Statistics to the Public

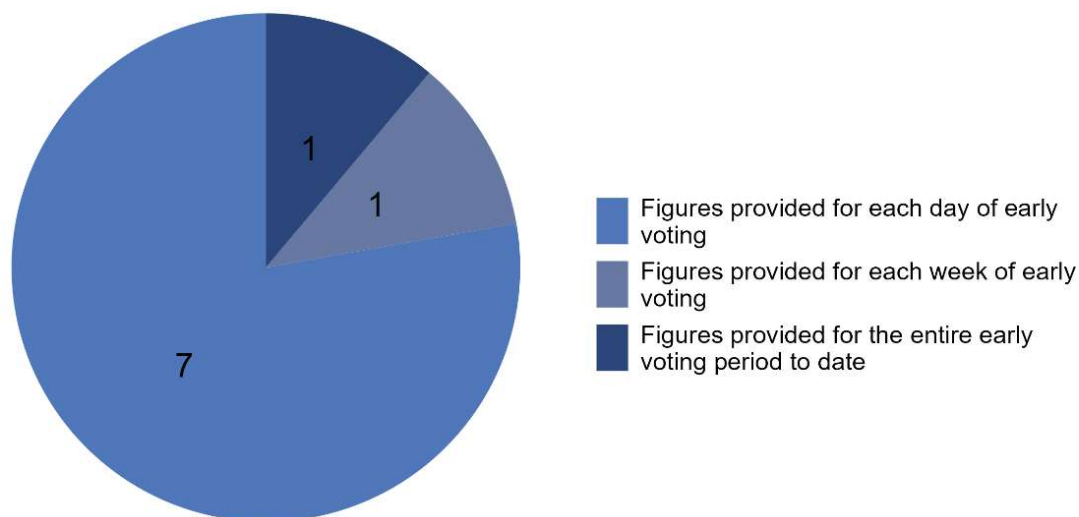
Some state laws require election officials to publish turnout statistics during the early voting period. These laws often specify the frequency and method of publishing, as described in Table 4 below for Georgia and New Jersey.

Table 4. Requirements for Release of Early In-Person Voting Statistics

Georgia ¹⁰⁷	New Jersey ¹⁰⁸
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> County boards or municipal clerks must report the number of people who have voted during the early voting period to the secretary of state and publish the information on the county or municipal website. The information must be reported each business day of the voting period no later than 10:00 a.m. Reporting is required during the absentee voting period in the same manner for the number of provisional ballots cast, provisional ballots accepted or cured and accepted for counting, and provisional ballots rejected. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> County boards must report the number and names of voters who voted at each early voting site the previous day to the public, county clerk, and secretary of state by noon of each day of the voting period. The information must be available to the public in an electronic format according to rules adopted by the board and reviewed annually by the secretary of state.

Of the 13 states that responded to CEIR's survey, nine reported that they publish turnout statistics during the early voting period. Eight out of these nine states release early voting turnout statistics to the public daily and one state, Illinois, releases its data every few days during the early voting period. Seven states publish early voting totals by day, allowing for aggregation to higher units of analysis; the other two states publish early voting totals by week or for the period as a whole (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Frequency of Release of Early In-Person Voting Turnout Statistics

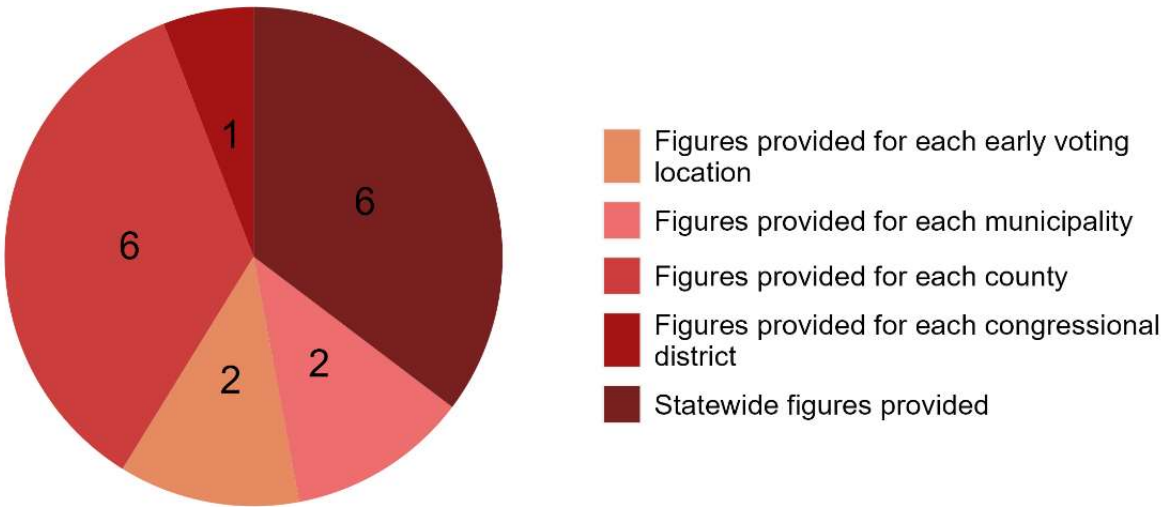


¹⁰⁷ O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385.

¹⁰⁸ N.J. Stat. § 19:15A-3.

States vary more widely with respect to the geographic data contained as part of their early voting turnout statistics. Most respondent states report early voting turnout statistics at the county or state level, with a handful reporting this data for each early voting location, municipality, or congressional district. Several states report early voting turnout statistics at multiple levels, likely because this data does not easily aggregate from one level of geographic analysis to the next. This is reflected in Figure 7 below.

Figure 7. Geography of Release of Early In-Person Voting Turnout Statistics



States also vary as to whether they report early voting turnout statistics by political party—and if they do, whether they report this data for different types of elections. Three out of nine survey respondents indicated that they provide early voting turnout statistics broken down by political party for all elections. Another three states reported providing this data for primary elections only, and two others reported providing it for general elections only. Finally, one state indicated that it does not provide early voting turnout statistics by political party for any elections.

Lessons Learned: Implementing and Administering Early In-Person Voting

Officials in five states—Colorado, Georgia, Kentucky, Massachusetts, and North Carolina—generously took the time to answer questions about implementing and administering early in-person voting. Election officials across all five states shared many of the same observations, even though they represent a broad cross-section of possible early voting policy models. This alignment of insights—across states with different election administration models, geographic divisions, partisan leans, and voter familiarity with early voting—supports the idea that such wisdom will inform Connecticut’s experience with early in-person voting. In the broadest terms, these insights fall into two categories: (1) managing and educating external actors and (2) improving internal procedures and performance.

Managing and Educating External Actors

In the Short Term: Account for Human Behavior

In the words of one Colorado election official, early in-person voting is “an opportunity for a subset of voters to participate prior to election day.”¹⁰⁹ Early voting enhances election security, spreads out administrative burdens, and increases access by giving voters more options for when and where to cast their ballot, but the available evidence suggests that the existence of an early voting option is not alone sufficient to significantly increase turnout.^{110,111} In the short term, especially while voters are still unaccustomed to early in-person voting in their state, officials and lawmakers should expect the majority of early voting use at the end of the early voting period, with a small spike in use on the first day of the early voting period and the largest percentage of voters still voting on election day itself.¹¹²

Over the Long Term: Be Willing (And Able) to Adjust

Of course, the goal of implementing any legislation is for it to be enacted over the long term, and officials across the board indicated that an early voting policy should be flexible enough to accommodate changes in voter behavior over this time. In Colorado, where most voters cast their ballots by mail, the use of in-person voting options has remained generally concentrated on the last few days of early voting and on election day itself.¹¹³ By contrast, officials in North Carolina indicated that, as voters have become more accustomed to the availability of early voting, they have seen a “flattening” of their use

¹⁰⁹ Choate, interview.

¹¹⁰ Yoder, Lovell, Flemke, Upchurch, and Sullivan, 2022.

¹¹¹ Fullmer, 2015.

¹¹² Choate, interview.

¹¹³ Choate, interview.

curve, though the largest percentage of voters still concentrate at the end of the early voting period.¹¹⁴ Meanwhile, state officials in Georgia noted that the use of early voting has exploded in recent elections, and they already expect 2024 to be another record-setting year.¹¹⁵ All three states indicated that tracking data on how many voters have a transaction at each early voting location on each day of the early voting period was crucial to making informed decisions and recommendations to local election officials on everything from staffing to lines to ballot management.

Along these lines, state officials emphasized the importance of voter education in driving early voting's success. While officials in Kentucky noted that early voting use was comparatively low during "their first real bite at the apple," they attributed this mostly to a lack of voter awareness and familiarity.¹¹⁶ Even though state law requires local election officials to conduct voter education efforts, cost constraints limited the scope of these efforts in all but the largest counties. Going forward, states officials plan to ask the state legislature for more resources and guidance to help local officials better serve and inform voters of their options. Officials in North Carolina echoed this sentiment, emphasizing that "good communication [at the state level] is key, especially because of the variation between [local jurisdictions]. You really have to have a good website, clear plans, and a well-thought-out communication strategy."¹¹⁷

Improving Internal Procedures and Performance

Insights from Local Election Officials

Across the board, state officials emphasized the need to work collaboratively with local election officials to design and implement early voting policies, both in the short and long terms.

State officials in Massachusetts described this process of collaboration as crucial to making early voting compliant and effective. In larger municipalities, this often means finding ways to add locations beyond the local election office. In smaller municipalities, this can mean allowing some flexibility in the hours set for early in-person voting: "the way we look at it, offering early voting in the late afternoon and evening is actually better for voters than [the small municipality's] regular business hours of 9:00 a.m. until noon." Overall, Massachusetts officials characterized the ability to be flexible in their work with local officials as essential for providing voters with the best early voting experience. In one larger municipality with a small city hall building, the state office worked with local officials to

¹¹⁴ Bell, Holland, Cox, and Steele, interview.

¹¹⁵ Harris, interview.

¹¹⁶ Sellers, interview.

¹¹⁷ Bell, Holland, Cox, and Steele, interview.

designate a local mall as the primary early voting location, providing voters with “full accessibility, plenty of space, and lots of parking.”¹¹⁸

This sentiment was shared by the state election office in Colorado, where statute specifies a long list of factors that local election officials must consider when siting locations but does not provide the state with any robust compliance mechanism. The state office therefore takes an engaged advisory role, developing strong informal ties with local election offices and visiting each of the 250-350 early voting locations across the state during each general election. This gives their office an understanding of the realities on the ground, so that when the state identifies areas for improvement, they can work with local election officials to best realize those improvements.¹¹⁹

While state officials in Georgia characterized their relationship with local election officials as more hands-off, they still cited the feedback that they receive from these officials as invaluable for the continued improvement of early voting policies. As early in-person voting has become the preferred method for an increasing number of Georgians, state officials emphasized the importance of ongoing communication with counties to determine where to provide resources, gauge areas for improvement, and otherwise anticipate and address the needs of local election officials. This communication typically takes the form of statewide post-election debriefs, roundtable discussions, and facilitated communication between local election officials.¹²⁰

Over the long term, Kentucky’s state office characterized its relationships with local election officials as essential for informing its consideration of future changes. For example, while county clerks appreciate that early voting gives them the ability to spread administrative burdens out over a period of several days, many reported that they would like to extend that period beyond the current three days to encompass at least two Saturdays and a full workweek.¹²¹

Process: The Monday Before Election Day

One insight that was shared by local election officials across states was the role that the Monday before election day plays in their administrative procedures. In particular, state officials in both Kentucky and North Carolina reported that ending early voting before that Monday was essential for local election officials, as they use that day to move equipment to precinct locations, turn over systems after early voting, and otherwise prepare equipment,

¹¹⁸ Tassinari, email correspondence.

¹¹⁹ Choate, interview.

¹²⁰ Harris, interview.

¹²¹ Sellers, interview.

materials, and staff for election day.¹²² These insights, together with our other research into early voting periods, lead us to recommend that the early voting period end before this Monday in each proposed policy model.

People: Training Local Election Officials on Early Voting

Another lesson gleaned from local election officials' experiences is the need for practical and technical training on early voting. State officials in Massachusetts, which first implemented early voting in 2016 and amended its law the summer before the 2022 general election, reported that they have needed to provide ongoing opportunities for trainings to keep officials reminded of the requirements for early voting locations, hours, staffing, updating the voter registration list, and processing early ballots, among other things. During the pandemic, the state began offering weekly virtual training sessions on these requirements, which they have since continued to conduct, record, and share with local election officials alongside legal advisories.¹²³ State officials in Georgia echoed this sentiment wholeheartedly, articulating a goal to "oversaturate counties with training [opportunities]" in 2023 as the state seeks to implement new policies and continuously improve its early voting processes and systems.¹²⁴

Resources: Investments in Technology for Early Voting

Several states noted the importance of investing in technology for the successful implementation of early voting, with three main tools highlighted in our interviews: Ballot on Demand machines, e-pollbooks, and location siting software applications.

Ballot on Demand machines were highly recommended by state election officials, especially in larger jurisdictions that may have multiple ballots for any given election. Where Ballot on Demand machines are not adopted, officials in North Carolina noted that robust ballot management systems were essential for success during the early voting period. Clerks need to reconcile on a consistent basis, and the central local elections office needs a detailed plan for how many ballots of each style will be delivered to each location.¹²⁵ Alternatively, some states, such as Georgia, circumvent this issue through the statewide adoption of ballot-marking devices, which eliminate the need for preprinted ballots or Ballot on Demand machines while still maintaining an auditable paper trail.¹²⁶

¹²² Sellers, interview.

¹²³ Tassinari, email correspondence.

¹²⁴ Harris, interview.

¹²⁵ Bell, Holland, Cox, and Steele, interview.

¹²⁶ "The Verifier," Verified Voting, accessed December 16, 2022. <https://verifiedvoting.org/verifier/>.

Another commonly recommended technology investment was the adoption of e-pollbooks. State officials in North Carolina noted that they found e-pollbooks to be a simple, useful solution to protect against double voting.¹²⁷ Officials in Massachusetts echoed this sentiment, noting that while smaller jurisdictions are able to use paper pollbooks, many jurisdictions have adopted an e-pollbook system to check in voters at early voting locations.¹²⁸ Officials in Georgia additionally noted that the wider use of e-pollbooks greatly facilitated the process of keeping the statewide voter registration list up to date throughout the early voting period.¹²⁹ While procedures exist for using paper pollbooks during the early voting period, the general sentiment among election officials was that e-pollbooks were a worthwhile investment.

Finally, state officials in Colorado and Georgia recommended the use of a digital siting software application when selecting locations for early in-person voting.^{130,131} In particular, both states recently collaborated with the Center for Inclusive Democracy to develop a state-specific Voting Location and Outreach Tool, which they both highly recommend that local election officials use to best serve voters.¹³²

¹²⁷ Bell, Holland, Cox, and Steele, interview.

¹²⁸ Tassinari, email correspondence.

¹²⁹ Harris, interview.

¹³⁰ Choate, interview.

¹³¹ Harris, interview.

¹³² These tools may be accessed online at <https://cid.usc.edu/vlot>.

Conclusion

Early in-person voting makes elections both more accessible and more secure. Spreading voting over several days enhances resilience to any issues that may arise and offers increased opportunities for voter participation. The policy is recognized as a best practice in election administration and has become increasingly common across the country. Now, with voters' approval of H.J. 59, the Connecticut General Assembly is authorized to pass legislation establishing early in-person voting, paving the way for the state to join 46 others and the District of Columbia.

While states may vary widely in their implementation of early in-person voting, all seek to craft legislation that best serves the voters of their state. This report thus recommends four possible policy models, backed by evidence and tailored to Connecticut's unique policy context. It is our hope that this report may serve as a valuable resource for lawmakers as they seek to serve the people of the Nutmeg State.

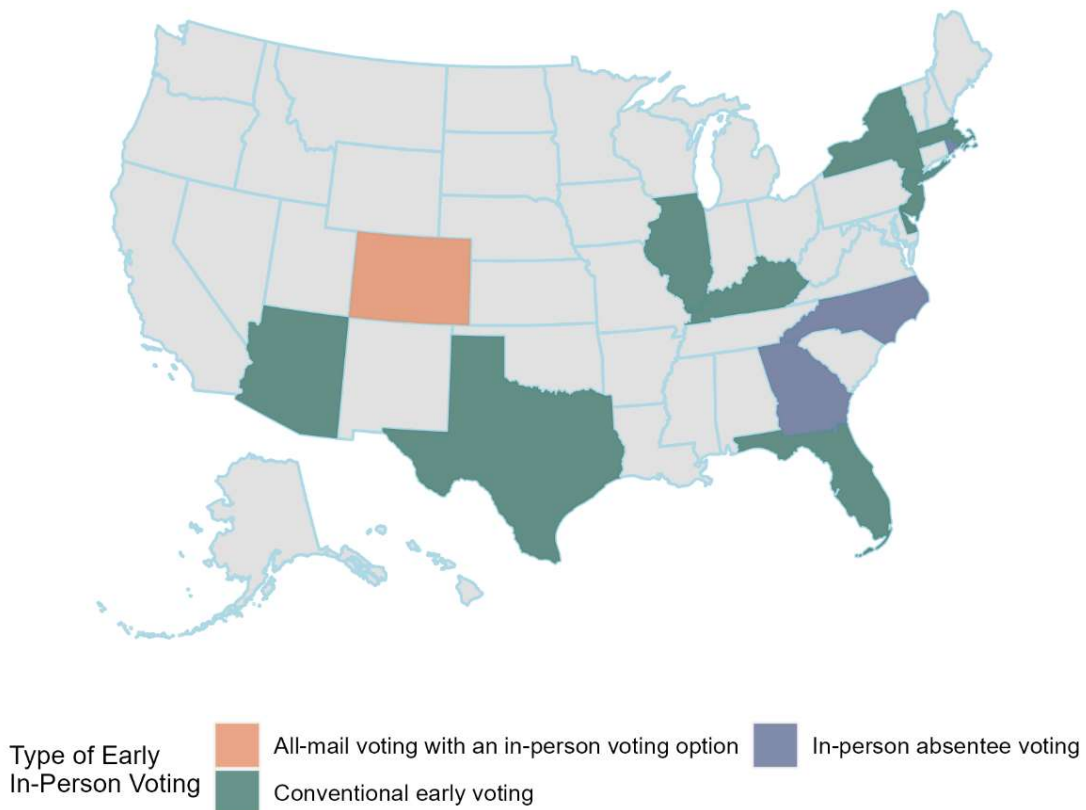
Appendix A: Review of Core Provisions of Early In-Person Voting Laws Across the 50 States & District of Columbia

As a separate attachment to this report, we provide a review of early in-person voting frameworks across the 50 states and District of Columbia. This review summarizes relevant state statutes, administrative regulations, and election manuals pertaining to the requirements for conducting early in-person voting. For each state, we include information on the form of early in-person voting; effective year of enacting legislation; model of election administration; availability of SDR and EDR; start and end dates of early in-person voting; hours and availability of early in-person voting on weekdays, Saturdays, and Sundays; requirements for number, placement, and types of locations eligible to be designated as early voting locations; and the relevant citations.

Appendix B: Toplines from Survey of State Election Officials

We surveyed state election officials in 25 states on the details of implementing and administering early in-person voting, receiving responses from 13 of them. Figure 8 shows these 13 states, according to their type of early in-person voting. State survey responses are subsequently summarized in this appendix.

Figure 8. Map of States that Responded to the Early In-Person Voting Survey



Question	Response	# Of States	Percentage
1. Are the requirements for the duration of the early voting period the same for federal, state, county, and municipal elections? (N=13)	Yes, the requirements are the same for federal, state, county, and municipal elections	8	62%
	No, the requirements differ depending on whether an election is for federal, state, county, or municipal offices	5	38%

Question	Response	# Of States	Percentage
2. Are the requirements for the placement of early voting locations the same for federal, state, county, and municipal elections? (N=13)			
	Yes, the requirements are the same for federal, state, county, and municipal elections	9	69%
	No, the requirements differ depending on whether an election is for federal, state, county, or municipal offices	4	31%
3. Are local (county or municipal) election officials required to submit an early voting plan or report to the state on any element of early voting at any point prior to an election? (N=13)			
	Yes	9	69%
	No	4	31%
4. Are local (county or municipal) election officials required to obtain state approval on any part of these early voting plans or reports to proceed with implementation? (N=9)			
	Yes	5	56%
	No	4	44%
5. Which elements must local (county or municipal) election officials include in these early voting plans or report to the state prior to the election? (N=9)			
	Number of early voting locations	9	100%
	Distribution and placement of early voting locations	7	78%
	Dates on which early voting locations will be open	6	67%
	Hours that early voting locations will be open	8	89%
	Staffing levels for early voting locations	1	11%
	Chain of custody and security plan for voted early ballots and/or election records	5	56%
	Chain of custody and security plan for voting machines used during early voting	5	56%
6. For each component of an early voting plan listed below, please indicate how frequently local (county or municipal) election officials are required to submit a report to the state or obtain state approval. ¹³³ (N=9)			
	Number of early voting locations		
	a. In advance of each location	8	89%
	b. On an annual basis	1	11%
	Distribution and placement of early voting locations		
	a. In advance of each election	7	78%
	b. On an annual basis	1	11%

¹³³ Frequency options that were not selected by any respondent are not reported.

Question	Response	# Of States	Percentage
	c. N/A	1	11%
	Dates on which early voting locations will be open		
	a. In advance of each election	6	67%
	b. N/A	3	33%
	Hours that early voting locations will be open		
	a. In advance of each election	8	89%
	b. N/A	1	11%
	Staffing levels for early voting locations		
	a. In advance of each election	1	11%
	b. N/A	8	89%
	Chain of custody and security plan for voting machines used during early voting		
	a. In advance of each election	4	44%
	b. On an annual basis	1	11%
	c. N/A	4	44%
	Chain of custody and security plan for voted early ballots and/or election records		
	a. In advance of each election	4	44%
	b. On an annual basis	1	11%
	c. N/A	4	44%

7. Are two or more localities (counties or municipalities) permitted to administer early voting jointly through an interlocal agreement or similar regionalism mechanism? (N=13)

Yes, the state permits such coordination.	3	23%
No, the state prohibits such coordination.	8	62%
Other	2	15%

8. When designating early voting locations, are election officials required or authorized to consider any of the following factors? Please select all that apply. (N=13)

Number of registered voters within a jurisdiction	6	46%
Total population or population density of a jurisdiction	8	62%
Proximity of a proposed location to major population centers	7	54%
Availability of public transportation or parking near the proposed location	7	54%
Distance between proposed early voting locations	5	38%
Proximity to historically marginalized communities or neighborhoods	5	38%
Data on wait times, turnout, or other measures of performance at early voting locations in previous elections	4	31%
Locations of Election Day polling places	4	31%

Question	Response	# Of States	Percentage
	Petitions, public hearings, or other forms of community input on the designation of early voting locations	4	31%
	Other	6	46%
9. Are election officials permitted to designate early voting locations within privately-owned spaces? (N=13)			
	Yes, privately-owned spaces may be designated as early voting locations.	11	85%
	No, privately-owned spaces may not be designated as early voting locations.	2	15%
10. Do any additional restrictions apply when using privately-owned spaces as early voting locations (e.g., no payment can be rendered, private residences not allowed, etc.)? If so, please describe. (N=11)			
	No	6	55%
	Subject to approval by the State Board of Elections	1	9%
	Must be available to all voters	1	9%
	Must not disproportionately favor any party, racial or ethnic group, or candidate	1	9%
	Must not be a private residence	1	9%
	May be used only in addition to public buildings or if no public buildings are available or suitable	1	9%
11. Does the state release voter turnout figures to the public at any point during the early voting period? (N=13)			
	Yes	9	69%
	No	4	31%
12. During the early voting period, how frequently are voter turnout figures released to the public? (N=9)			
	In real time	0	0%
	Daily	8	89%
	Every few days	1	11%
	Weekly	0	0%
	Other	0	0%
13. During the early voting period, for what locales are voter turnout figures made publicly available? Please select all that apply. (N=9)			
	Figures are provided for each early voting location (e.g., precinct or vote center)	2	22%

Question	Response	# Of States	Percentage
	Figures are provided for each municipality	2	22%
	Figures are provided for each county	6	67%
	Statewide figures are provided	6	67%
	Other	1	11%

14. During the early voting period, for what time periods are voter turnout figures made publicly available? Please select all that apply. (N=9)

Figures are provided for each day of early voting	7	78%
Figures are provided for each week of early voting	1	11%
Figures are provided for the entire early voting period to date	3	33%
Other	2	22%

15. During the early voting period, are publicly available voter turnout figures broken down by political party? (N=9)

Yes, for all elections	3	33%
Yes, for general elections only	0	0%
Yes, for primary elections only	2	22%
No, publicly available voter turnout	1	11%
Other	3	33%

16. Which of the following nightly security procedures are election workers required to following during the early voting period? Please select all that apply. (N=13)

Are required to take down and securely store equipment and materials each night after the location closes	6	46%
Are required to securely lock the room in which early voting takes place, but they are not required to take down early voting equipment	6	46%
Follow different security procedures depending on where the early voting location is situated	8	62%
Other	2	15%

17. Are election officials permitted to authorize additional early voting locations beyond the minimum required for the given jurisdiction? (N=13)

Yes	11	85%
No	2	15%

18. Does the state set the number of election officials or poll workers to staff each early voting location? (N=13)

Question	Response	# Of States	Percentage
	Yes	1	8%
	No	12	92%

19. During the early voting period, is an individual voter permitted to go to any open early voting location in the state to cast their ballot in person? (N=13)

An individual voter may go to any early voting location in the state to cast their ballot in-person.	1	8%
An individual voter may choose among multiple early voting locations in the jurisdiction in which they are registered to cast their ballot in-person.	11	85%
An individual voter may go only to one assigned early voting location or clerk's office to cast their ballot in-person.	1	8%

20. How is the central voter registration system updated to reflect a vote has been cast? (N=13)

The system records the method of voting	13	100%
The system records that a vote has been cast but does not record the method of voting	0	0%

21. During the early voting period, how frequently is the central voter registration system updated to reflect who has voted? (N=13)

In real time	5	38%
Daily	5	38%
Every few days	0	0%
Weekly	0	0%
In time for Election Day	0	0%
Other	3	23%

22. Do election officials begin counting early in-person votes before Election Day? (N=13)

Yes, tabulation of early votes may begin before Election Day.	4	31%
No, but tabulation of early votes may begin on Election Day before polls close.	5	38%
No, tabulation of early votes may begin only once polls have closed on Election Day.	4	31%

23. For ballots cast in person during the early voting period, when does counting of votes occur? (N=4)

In real time during the early voting period	0	0%
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Question	Response	# Of States	Percentage
	Daily during the early voting period	0	0%
	Weekly during the early voting period	0	0%
	At other designated times throughout the early voting period (e.g., every 3 days)	0	0%
	Other	4	100%
24. For ballots cast in person during the early voting period, where does counting of votes occur? (N=13)			
	Onsite at the early voting location	2	15%
	At another central location	8	62%
	Other	3	23%

Appendix C: Policy Bank of Possible Additional Provisions

In addition to the core provisions identified earlier in this report, states incorporate a wide range of additional provisions in their early voting models. Table 5 outlines many of these provisions for consideration by Connecticut alongside the four policy models during the policymaking process.

Table 5. Policy Bank of Possible Additional Provisions

Interlocal Agreements	Some states provide for interlocal agreements or regionalization mechanisms in statute, under which local jurisdictions may collaborate to jointly administer elections, including during early voting. (See: AZ, CO, UT, TX) ¹³⁴
Considering Voter Access and Efficient Administration	<p>In many states, local election officials are required to consider various factors relating to population density, transportation, equity, or the administration of early voting when siting early voting locations. These include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Early voting locations must be distributed so that all voters may reasonably or conveniently access at least one location. (See: AZ, CO, DE, FL, MD, MA, NM, NY, PA, SC, UT)¹³⁵ • Officials must consider the distance between early voting locations during the siting process. (See: IL, NY, WV)¹³⁶ • Officials must consider proximity to public transportation or the availability of adequate parking facilities when siting early voting locations. (See: CO, FL, MD, NY, UT)¹³⁷ • Officials must consider wait times or voter turnout from prior elections when siting early voting locations. (See: CO, MD, WV)¹³⁸ • Officials must consider proximity to historically under-represented communities when siting early voting locations. (See: CO, MD)¹³⁹ • Officials must consider the political party affiliation ratio of registered voters to assure neutrality when siting early voting locations. (See: WV)¹⁴⁰ • Officials must consider whether proposed locations have the space and technical capacity to install, operate, and store the equipment, materials, and technology

¹³⁴ A.R.S. § 16-411; 8 CCR 1505-1.4; Utah Code Ann. § 20A-5-400.1; Tex. Elec. Code §§ 31.169; 1 TAC § 81.36.

¹³⁵ A.R.S. § 16-411; C.R.S. §§ 1-5-102.9 and 1-7.5-107; 15 Del. C. §§ 5403 and 4512; Fla. Stat. § 101.657; Md. Election Law Code Ann. § 10-301.1; ALM GL ch. 54, § 25B; N.M. Stat. Ann. § 1-6-5.7; NY CLS Elec § 8-600; S.C. Code Ann. § 7-13-25; Utah Code Ann. §§ 20A-3A-603 and 20A-5-403; “Guidance Concerning Civilian Absentee and Mail-In Ballot Procedures,” Pennsylvania Department of State, September 28, 2020, pgs. 3-4.

<https://www.dos.pa.gov/VotingElections/OtherServicesEvents/Documents/DOS%20Guidance%20Civilian%20Absentee%20and%20Mail-In%20Ballot%20Procedures.pdf>.

¹³⁶ 10 ILCS 5/19A-10; 9 NYCRR § 6211.1; W. Va. Code § 3-3-2A.

¹³⁷ C.R.S. §§ 1-5-102.9 and 1-7.5-107; Fla. Stat. § 101.657; Md. Election Law Code Ann. § 10-301.1; 9 NYCRR § 6211.1; Utah Code Ann. § 20A-3A-603.

¹³⁸ C.R.S. §§ 1-5-102.9 and 1-7.5-107; Md. Election Law Code Ann. § 10-301.1; W. Va. Code § 3-3-2A.

¹³⁹ C.R.S. §§ 1-5-102.9 and 1-7.5-107; Md. Election Law Code Ann. § 10-301.1.

¹⁴⁰ W. Va. Code § 3-3-2A.

	required to conduct early voting for the duration of the early voting period. (See: MD, NM, PA, UT, VA, WV) ¹⁴¹
Specific Sites Designated for Early Voting Locations	In several states, local election officials may be required to site early voting locations in particular places to better serve groups with historically low voter turnout. These include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local election officials may be required to site early voting locations on campuses of institutions of higher education. (See: CO, OR)¹⁴² Local election officials may be required to site early voting locations on Indian reservations or tribal lands. (See: CO, NV)¹⁴³ Local election officials may be required to site early voting locations in local jails. (See: IL)¹⁴⁴
Petitions on Siting Early Voting Locations	In some states, local election officials may be required to site locations or set early voting hours based on a petition from registered voters. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local election officials may be required to site early voting locations at eligible locations set forth in a petition signed by registered voters and received in a timely manner. (See: IA, TX)¹⁴⁵ Local election officials may be required to adhere to a more stringent set of requirements than otherwise required (e.g., the designation of additional hours or availability for early voting) upon timely receipt of a petition signed by registered voters. (See: TX)¹⁴⁶
Private Buildings as Early Voting Locations	Many state laws address the use of private buildings as early voting locations, either to prohibit or authorize their use. When authorized, these locations are often subject to special restrictions or regulations. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local election officials may designate a private building as an early voting location only if no suitable public location is available. (See: CO, DE)¹⁴⁷ When private buildings are authorized for use as early voting locations, only business establishments or the lobbies of large apartment buildings or complexes may be designated. (See: DE)¹⁴⁸ When private buildings are authorized for use as early voting locations, only buildings owned by registered certain 501(c) organizations may be designated. (See: MI)¹⁴⁹

¹⁴¹ Md. Election Law Code Ann. § 10-301.1; N.M. Stat. Ann. §1-6-5.7; Utah Code Ann. § 20A-3A-603; Va. Code Ann. § 24.2-701.2; W. Va. Code § 3-3-2A; “Guidance Concerning Civilian Absentee and Mail-In Ballot Procedures,” 2020, pgs. 3-4.

¹⁴² C.R.S. §§ 1-5-102.9 and 1-7.5-107; “Vote by Mail Procedures Manual,” Oregon Division of Elections, Revised September 2022, pg. 25. https://sos.oregon.gov/elections/documents/vbm_manual.pdf.

¹⁴³ C.R.S. §§ 1-5-102.9 and 1-7.5-107; Nev. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 293.3572.

¹⁴⁴ 10 ILCS 5/19A-20.

¹⁴⁵ Iowa Code § 53.11; Tex. Elec. Code § 85.062.

¹⁴⁶ Tex. Elec. Code § 85.062.

¹⁴⁷ C.R.S. § 1-5-105; 15 Del. C. §§ 5403 and 4512.

¹⁴⁸ 15 Del. C. §§ 5403 and 4512.

¹⁴⁹ MCLS §§ 168.662 and 168.761B.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local election officials may designate a private building as early voting location so long as the owners do not demand payment. (See: IA)¹⁵⁰
<p>Temporary Early Voting Locations</p>	<p>Many states allow the designation of temporary early voting locations, characterized by being required to remain open only on some days of the early voting period or conducting early voting at non-standard hours.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local election officials may designate temporary early voting locations in excess of the number of required early voting locations. (See: IL, NV, TX)¹⁵¹ Local election officials may designate the hours and days that temporary early voting locations will be open. (See: IL, NV, TX)¹⁵² The hours and availability of early voting do not have to be uniform across temporary early voting locations. (See: IL, NV, TX)¹⁵³ Local election officials may be required to designate temporary early voting locations upon timely receipt of an eligible petition. (See: NV, TX)¹⁵⁴
<p>Tiering Requirements for Certain Types of Provisions</p>	<p>Different components of early voting may be subject to tiering requirements, depending on the state. Components subject to tiering provisions in different states include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The minimum number of weekday early voting hours (See: CO, IL, MA, OH, TN, TX)¹⁵⁵ The minimum number of Saturday, Sunday, or total weekend early voting hours (See: CO, IL, IN, MA, OH, TN, TX)¹⁵⁶ The designated opening or closing times for early voting (See: CO, IL, OH)¹⁵⁷ The number of required early voting locations (See: CO, GA, IL, MD, NJ, NM, NY, OK, OR, TX)¹⁵⁸ The distribution of early voting locations (See: UT)¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁰ Iowa Code § 53.11.

¹⁵¹ 10 ILCS 5/19A-20; Nev. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 293.3572; Tex. Elec. Code § 85.062.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Nev. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 293.3572; Tex. Elec. Code § 85.062.

¹⁵⁵ C.R.S. §§ 1-5-102.9 and 1-7.5-107; 10 ILCS 5/19A-15; ALM GL ch. 54, § 25B; Tenn. Code Ann. § 2-6-103; Tex. Elec. Code § 85.005; "Election Official Manual," Ohio Secretary of State, Revised February 2022, Pg. 199-201. https://www.ohiosos.gov/globalassets/elections/directives/2022/eom/eom_fullversion_2022-02.pdf.

¹⁵⁶ C.R.S. §§ 1-5-102.9 and 1-7.5-107; 10 ILCS 5/19A-15; Burns Ind. Code Ann. § 3-11-10-26; ALM GL ch. 54, § 25B; Tenn. Code Ann. § 2-6-103; Tex. Elec. Code § 85.005; "Election Official Manual," Ohio Secretary of State, 2022, Pg. 199-201.

¹⁵⁷ C.R.S. §§ 1-5-102.9 and 1-7.5-107; 10 ILCS 5/19A-15; "Election Official Manual," Ohio Secretary of State, 2022, Pg. 199-201.

¹⁵⁸ C.R.S. §§ 1-5-102.9 and 1-7.5-107; O.C.G.A. § 21-2-382; 10 ILCS 5/19A-10; Md. Election Law Code Ann. § 10-301.1; N.J. Stat. § 19:15A-1; N.M. Stat. Ann. §1-6-5.7; 9 NYCRR § 6211.1; O.A.C. § 230:30-7-6.2; ; Tex. Elec. Code § 85.062; "Vote by Mail Procedures Manual," Oregon Division of Elections, 2022, pg. 25.

¹⁵⁹ Utah Code Ann. § 20A-3A-603.

<p>Tiering Requirements Based on Various Factors</p>	<p>Different components of early voting may be subject to tiering requirement, and states may base these tiers on a variety of factors. These factors include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The number of active voters in a local jurisdiction (See: CO)¹⁶⁰ • The number of registered voters in a local jurisdiction (See: MD, MA, NJ, NM, NY, OK)¹⁶¹ • The total population of a jurisdiction (See: GA, IL, IN, TN, TX)¹⁶² • The number of days remaining until election day (See: CO, IL, MA, OH)¹⁶³
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¹⁶⁰ C.R.S. §§ 1-5-102.9 and 1-7.5-107.

¹⁶¹ Md. Election Law Code Ann. § 10-301.1; ALM GL ch. 54, § 25B; N.J. Stat. § 19:15A-1; N.M. Stat. Ann. § 1-6-5.7; NYCRR § 6211.1; O.A.C. § 230:30-7-6.2.

¹⁶² O.C.G.A. § 21-2-382; 10 ILCS 5/19A-10; Burns Ind. Code Ann. § 3-11-10-26; Tenn. Code Ann. § 2-6-103; Tex. Elec. Code § 85.005.

¹⁶³ C.R.S. §§ 1-5-102.9 and 1-7.5-107; 10 ILCS 5/19A-15; ALM GL ch. 54, § 25B; "Election Official Manual," Ohio Secretary of State, 2022, pg. 199-201.