### TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

# HEARING ON "PROTECTING THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY: AN EXAMINATION OF TRUMP AND PARTISAN ATTACKS ON VOTING AND ELECTIONS"

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Sen. Padilla, Members of the Committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify today regarding the dangerous Safeguarding American Voter Eligibility (SAVE) Act and the foreseeable harm it will do to the country's electoral process—and to all American voters. My name is Juan Proaño, and I am the Chief Executive Officer of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).

With more than 325,000 members and supporters throughout the United States and Puerto Rico, LULAC is the oldest and largest Latino civil rights (membership) organization in the United States. LULAC uses legal advocacy to advance the economic conditions, educational attainment, political influence, housing, health, and civil rights of Latinos, using community-based programs operating at more than 535 local LULAC councils nationwide. Our organization involves and serves all Latino nationality groups throughout the country.

For 96 years, LULAC has been at the forefront of this fight, from challenging poll taxes in the 1940s to opposing modern voter ID laws. Notably, LULAC's legal victories in Texas helped dismantle poll taxes that disenfranchised poor and minority voters. And our sociological arguments to fight school desegregation in the American southwest influenced the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's legal strategies in *Brown v. Board of Education for Topeka Kansas*. The SAVE Act, however, risks undoing these hard-won gains by imposing additional barriers on Latino voters, threatening to silence their voices in the democratic process.

The late Congressman John Lewis reminded us that, "Voting is the most powerful, non-violent tool we have to create a more perfect union." When former President Lyndon B. Johnson urged Congress to pass the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (VRA), he charged "there can and should be no argument: every American citizen must have an equal right to vote."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> John Lewis, The March for Civil Rights, Nat'l Const. Ctr. (Sept. 17, 2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Lyndon B. Johnson, *Transcript of the Johnson Address on Voting Rights to Joint Session of Congress*, NYTIMES (Mar. 16, 1965).

Unfortunately, cases like *Shelby County v. Holder*<sup>3</sup> and *Brnovich v. Democratic National Council*<sup>4</sup> have strangled the VRA safeguards, leaving Latino's access to the ballot box vulnerable.

With this history in mind I appear before you today. The SAVE Act would rob Latinos of Constitutional protections and impose unequal barriers to voting. For citizens, the Act requires voter registration applicants to provide documentary proof of citizenship – physically – at a designated agency office. For state governments, the legislation mandates they "take affirmative steps on an ongoing basis to ensure that only United States citizens are registered to vote" and to remove "upon receipt of documentation or verified information that a registrant is not a United States citizen." Latinos, collectively, sometimes face unique challenges to not only cast ballots but to also assemble accurate personal government records because their places of birth, naming conventions, or primary language(s) other than English complicate matters for state officials. By introducing nationwide citizenship verification requirements, it would create even more barriers to voting—especially for Latino communities, naturalized citizens, and seniors who are already navigating a complex and often confusing system. The Act's reliance on federal databases to verify citizenship puts eligible voters at risk of being wrongfully disenfranchised when those databases contain inaccuracies. Take, for instance, the issue many Latinos face with their names—often having two last names, one from their father and one from their mother. The simple omission of a hyphen on their voter registration can make it incompatible with their birth certificate, potentially disqualifying them from voting. The provisions in this Act would stoke fears of wrongful accusations, fueling unnecessary scrutiny and making it even harder for many to cast their ballots.

This is not some distant threat—it is happening right now, and it has a chilling effect on the very foundation of our democracy.

After Texas passed Senate Bill 1 in 2021, sweeping legislation that disproportionately burdened the rights of minority and Democratic voters, LULAC's national office received dozens of calls from elderly Latinos confused and afraid—even about something as routine as updating their voter registration. Many, long-time participants in our democracy, worried that simply asking for help could land them in legal trouble. That is the chilling effect of vague, punitive laws. The SAVE Act, like SB 1, would add another layer of bureaucracy and fear—particularly for Latino voters—without credible evidence of noncitizen voting.

The right to vote is a cornerstone of our freedom, and efforts to threaten it through fear, misinformation, subversion, or repression must be defeated. In the past year, we have seen firsthand how the suppression of the Latino vote is not a hypothetical issue—it is a reality. According to exit polls, nearly 20% of Latino voters in the 2024 election were casting their vote

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 570 U.S. 529 (2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 594 U.S. 67 (2021).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Safeguarding American Voter Eligibility, H.R.22, 119th Congress (2025-2026).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Alex Ura, Gov. Greg Abbott signed into law by Gov. Greg Abbott, The Texas Tribune (Sep.t 7, 2021).

in their first presidential election, with another 16% voting in only their second.<sup>7</sup> These new voters, many eager to make their voices heard, are now facing an even greater risk of disenfranchisement. The SAVE Act threatens to make this ongoing pattern of voter intimidation and suppression permanent, making it harder for Latinos to engage in the electoral process.

We must act now to protect our democracy and ensure that every eligible voter—regardless of their ethnicity, community, or experience—can cast their vote without fear.

#### I. Modern attacks on the right to vote.

The right to vote is "preservative of all [other] rights." It is the subject of the most constitutional Amendments, and the driving force behind our country's democracy. Despite what the SAVE Act's sponsors may say, the American legal system erected powerful guardrails to protect the country from those who would abuse that right.

For instance, the National Voter Registration Act (NVRA) of 1993 prohibits the submission of voter registration applications, or casting of ballots, that are known to be materially false, fictitious, or fraudulent under state law. A violation is a felony, punishable by a fine of up to \$250,000, five years in prison, or both. Additionally, the NVRA allows the Department of Justice's Voting Section of the Civil Rights Division, or even a private citizen, to bring a civil action for declaratory or injunctive relief to enforce its provisions.

The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA), enacted three years after the NVRA, creates, in relevant part, citizenship requirements for voting in federal elections. A violation is a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of up to \$100,000, one year in prison, or both. It IIRIRA also criminalizes knowingly making false statements of citizenship in order to vote or register to vote. This violation is a felony, punishable by a fine of up to \$250,000, five years in prison, or both.

Federal law includes additional statutes to prosecute voting violations. <sup>16</sup>

No American adult, especially Latinos, should face new contrived legal barriers designed to thwart their electoral participation. And Congressional acts should not reduce Latino voters to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 2024 American Electorate Voter Poll: Hispanic Results, BSP Research & Af. Amer. Research Collab. (Nov. 12, 2024).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Yick Wo v. Hopkins, 118 U.S. 356 (1886).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 20511(2); U.S. Dep't of Justice, Federal Prosecution of Election Offenses 61-62 (Richard C. Pilger ed., 8th ed. 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> 18 U.S.C. §§ 3571, 20511, 1015(f).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 20510.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> 18 U.S.C. § 611.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> 18 U.S.C. § 3571(b)(5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> 18 U.S.C. § 1015(f).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> 18 U.S.C. §§ 3571, 1015(f).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Juan Proaño, Norman Eisen, Andrew Warren & Gabriel Lezra, *The Big Lie of 2024 aka La Gran Mentira*, LULAC and State Democracy Defenders (Nov. 1. 2024), at 4. *See E.g.*, Voting Rights Act of 1965, 52 U.S.C. § 10307(c); Help America Vote Act, 52 U.S.C. §§211444(b); 18 U.S.C. § 3571, 911; 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

"participating in an empty ritual" where voter registrations are invalidated or ballots dependent upon wealth – whether that be in money, time, or transportation.<sup>17</sup>

Unfortunately, the U.S. Supreme Court's weakening of the VRA since 2013 has left Latinos and other historically marginalized voters approaching that empty ritual. The Court started this descent in *Shelby County v. Holder*, when it invalidated section 4(b) of the VRA, a legislative tool to determine which states with a history of racial voting discrimination required approval from the federal government to change state voting laws and practices. This hollowed out the federal government's power to review proposed changes (section 5) that could harm voters of color. \*\*Shelby County\* opened the door for policy changes that impede Latino voting.

Nearly a decade later, the Court pushed Latinos and other marginalized Americans closer to "empty ritual" with *Brnovich v. Democratic National Convention*. In that case, the Court narrowly interpreted VRA Section 2's prohibition against voting policies that create discriminatory effects against voters of color.<sup>19</sup> In doing so, the Court upended how voting advocates like LULAC could rely on Section 2, "focusing on factors never before considered in these cases, such as whether a state provides more opportunities to vote now than most states did when Section 2 was last amended in 1982." The VRA's Section 2 was the most powerful remaining enforcement tool available to voters after *Shelby County* invalidated Section 4(b) and gutted Section 5.<sup>21</sup>

In the years since *Shelby County*, Latino voters faced new barriers to voting such as discriminatory voter ID laws<sup>22</sup> and purges from voting rolls<sup>23</sup> in states previously restrained by the VRA.<sup>24</sup> President Trump, prior to his first term, "made demonizing Latinos a central component of his campaign and spread malicious lies."<sup>25</sup> This included the oft-repeated claim that millions of non-citizens were voting in U.S. elections—an unsupported claim laid bare by the Brennan Center, which found an estimated 30 incidents out of 23.5 million votes cast across 42 jurisdictions, a microscopic 0.00013% of those who voted in the 2016 election.<sup>26</sup> This nonstop attack led LULAC and others to coin this baseless persecution *La Gran Mentira* ("The Big Lie" in English), the false and discredited claim that millions of noncitizens, racialized as Latinos, voted illegally.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Ellen D. Katz, <u>Section 2 After Section 5: Voting Rights and the Race to the Bottom</u>, 59 Wm. & Mary L. Rev. 1961, 1963-64 (2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., <u>A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches</u> 307 (2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Shelby County v. Holder, 570 U.S. 529 (2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Brnovich v. DNC, 594 U.S. 647 (2021).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> *Id*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Ed Pilkington, *Texas rushes ahead with voter ID law after supreme court decision*, The Guardian (June 25, 2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Catalina Feder & Michael G. Miller, *Voter Purges After Shelby: Part of Special Symposium on Election Sciences*, 48 Amer. Pol. Research 687–692, (2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>See Adia Robinson, *Dramatic increase in voters purged from voter rolls between 2014 and 2016: Report*, ABCNews (July 24, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Mira Ortegon, Latino Communities on the Front Lines of Voter Suppression, Brennan Ctr. for Justice (Jan. 14, 2022).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Christopher Famighetti, et al., Noncitizen Voting: The Missing Millions, Brennan Ctr. for Justice 1 (2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Juan Proaño, Norman Eisen, Andrew Warren & Gabriel Lezra, <u>The Big Lie of 2024 aka La Gran Mentira</u>, LULAC and State Democracy Defenders 10 (Nov. 1. 2024).

LULAC has met the moment. In 2018 we sued Arizona's Secretary of State in *LULAC v. Reagan* for denying registration to applicants who used the federal voter registration form without documentary proof of citizenship—arguing it violated the National Voter Registration Act. Two years later we challenged Iowa's restrictive voter ID laws, which disproportionately affected Latino voters, in *LULAC of Iowa v. Pate*. In 2021's *La Unión del Pueblo Entero v. Abbott*, we joined a broad legal coalition to fight Texas Senate Bill 1, a sweeping law that imposed burdens on voter registration assistance and disproportionately harmed communities of color.

Now LULAC challenges President Trump's recent executive order that would create new and burdensome requirements for voter registration. The directive is a blatant attempt by his administration—without any legal or constitutional authority—to override federal law, bypass Congress, and deter lawful voters from participating in our democracy. Like the SAVE Act, the unilateral order would not only upend voter registration and mail-in voting processes, but it would also prevent eligible Americans from participating in our democratic process simply because they lack the necessary paperwork. We know these actions would disproportionately impact voting eligible citizens who already face barriers, including Latinos, students, and military service members and their families. We are proud to fight this unconstitutional executive order in court, and to have recently secured a federal court ruling blocking enforcement for key provisions of the President's directive, sending a clear and powerful message: no president can unilaterally rewrite our election laws to suppress the vote.

Bills designed to undo *Shelby County* and *Brnovich* consistently fail to pass. Following his defeat in November 2020 and during his 2024 campaign, then candidate Donald Trump revived *La Gran Mentira*. Even then, the libertarian Cato Institute concluded "Noncitizens don't illegally vote in detectable numbers…there is no good evidence that noncitizens voted illegally in large enough numbers to actually shift the outcome of elections or even change the number of electoral votes."<sup>28</sup>

Now, the SAVE Act would further decimate hard won legal protections and dismantle adaptive electoral infrastructures we have developed for the past century.

## II. The SAVE Act Burdens Citizens by Requiring They Produce Select Government Documents

The SAVE Act imposes significant practical burdens on people registering to vote and on state governments. The legislation authorizes two methods for registrants. First registrants can present a particular government issued photo identification that proves citizenship. Or registrants can present two identification documents, one of which is an approved government-issued photo identification and the other a government-issued or government-approved record that identifies the registrant as a U.S. citizen. A U.S. passport satisfies the first method. A U.S. birth certificate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Alex Nowrasteh, Noncitizens Don't Illegally Vote in Detectable Numbers, Cato Inst. (Nov. 25, 2020); see also Juan Proaño, et. al, supra. note 27 at 10.

and a state-issued REAL ID driver's license/identification card are the simplest way to satisfy the second option. For active U.S. servicemembers and veterans, a military ID in conjunction with a service record showing a U.S. place of birth would be acceptable. Standard, non-REAL ID driver's licenses or identification cards, military IDs alone, and Native American tribal IDs alone would not satisfy the law. Under the Act, citizens would present these documents **every time they registered to vote or renewed their voter registration**. The legislation would require in-person registration at designated government offices. In effect, the would-be law demands citizens "show me your papers" to secure the right to vote. Women, military-impacted, elderly, foreign-born, working class, and rural citizens would face distinct challenges with these requirements should Congress pass the SAVE Act. Potential first-time voters, like the growing numbers of eligible Latino youth, may become overwhelmed and forgo registering to vote.

It's no surprise that the legislation would disenfranchise tens of millions of voters. A 2024 survey indicates nearly one in 10 citizens do not have or cannot find "show me your papers" documents. Latinos in Arizona, Kansas, Missouri, and Texas already experienced the confusion and fear "show me your papers" state laws engender. No matter a citizen's status, the SAVE Act would impose significant time, financial, and transportation burdens on particular groups of people registering to vote.

#### a. U.S. Passports

U.S. passports are the SAVE Act's model documentation. They are the simplest method to prove citizenship and eligibility because to secure a passport, citizens must provide certified copies of their birth certificates, state-issued identification cards, and proof of residence. This comes at a time when Latinos are increasingly targeted by the US government. Since roughly 2008, the U.S. government has intermittently denied passport applications for Latinos along the Texas-Mexico border, based on insinuations of fraudulent birth certificates issued there in the mid-20th century.<sup>30</sup> In 2018, President Trump supercharged the persecution when his administration questioned the U.S. births for thousands of south Texans delivered by a deceased Latino doctor.<sup>31</sup> His administration denied passports to Latino applicants, jailed applicants in immigration detention centers, or initiated deportation proceedings against them.<sup>32</sup> In other instances, the Trump administration trapped Latinos abroad when it "suddenly revoked [their passports] when they tried to reenter the country."<sup>33</sup> Thus there is precedent that the Act's passport provision would save neither Latinos nor other marginalized voting eligible citizens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Jillian A. Rothschild, Samuel B. Novey, & Michael J. Hamer, <u>Who Lacks ID in America Today? An Exploration of Voter ID Access, Barriers, and Knowledge</u>, U. Md Ctr. for Demo. & Civic Engagement 6, June 2024; Hansi Lo Wong, *1 in 10 eligible U.S. voters say they can't easily show proof of their citizenship*, NPR (June 11, 2024).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Dara Lind, *Trump is stripping passports from Latinos born near the US-Mexico border*, Vox (Aug. 30, 2018); John Burnett, *Morning Edition: Born In The U.S. But Turned Back At The Border, Time After Time*, NPR (Dec. 12, 2014); Gustavo Valdes & Catherine Shoichet, *Midwife birth certificates tied to immigration problems along Texas border*, CNN (June 5, 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Lind, *supra*. note 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Kevin Sieff, *U.S. denying passports to American citizens along Mexico border*, WASH. POST (Aug. 29, 2018). <sup>33</sup> *Id.* 

Furthermore, the majority of Americans do not possess a U.S. passport.<sup>34</sup> Researchers estimate that roughly 146 million citizens lack them, a number nearly matching the 153 million citizens who cast ballots in the 2024 general election.<sup>35</sup> Just one out of four Americans with a high school degree or less education possesses a passport.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, approximately 20% of working class households with incomes below \$50,000, have passports.<sup>37</sup> Generally, passport deficient Americans tend to be working class, rural, conservative leaning, and reside in a "red state."<sup>38</sup>

#### b. Driver's Licenses

The SAVE Act's requirement for state issued identification documents would be non-controversial if it accepted all government-issued IDs currently in use. Instead, the Act limits IDs for proof of citizenship and eligibility to "enhanced driver's licenses," a document only produced in five northern border states. Of those, only New York serves a substantial Latino population, meaning the limitation does not help the majority of Latinos who reside in the southern, southwestern, and western states, much less those residing along the nation's southern border. Thus, the SAVE Act creates a structural barrier for all citizens, especially Latinos and other citizens of color.

The Act additionally burdens citizens because it does not accept current government-issued IDs like the REAL ID. 40 Congress passed the REAL ID Act, a 2005 law that required states to issue licenses with specialized information and decals, to strengthen domestic security following the devastating 1995 Oklahoma City domestic terror bombing and September 11, 2001 terror attack. 41 The law requires applicants to prove they are citizens or legal immigrants but strictly limits the supporting documents foreign-born citizens can use. Only U.S. passports are permitted; foreign national IDs, foreign-issued birth certificates, foreign driver's licenses, or any other foreign-issued documents are unacceptable. 42 The law permits states to include a U.S. resident's citizenship status on the card—though most states with REAL IDs do not include that information. 43 Many states delayed implementing the law for up to two decades, leaving millions of citizens still using legacy state-issued driver's licenses and identification

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Only 43%. Jamie Ballard, *Adults Under 30 are more likely than older Americans to have a current U.S. passport*, YouGov (Aug 31, 2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Greta Bedekovics & Sydney Bryant, *The SAVE Act Would Disenfranchise Millions of Citizens*, CTR. FOR AMER. PROGRESS (Jan. 31, 2025).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> *Id*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Emily Burns, *What You Need to Know About the SAVE Act*, Campaign Legal Ctr. (Feb. 5, 2025); Bulletin, *Enhanced Drivers Licenses: What Are They?*, Dep't of Homeland Security (accessed May 10, 2025).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Greta Bedekovics & Sydney Bryant, *Fact Sheet: The SAVE Act: Overview and Facts*, CTR. FOR AMER. PROGRESS (Jan. 31, 2025).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Martin Kaste, Why the REAL ID law took so long to be enforced — and how it'll affect travelers, NPR (May 5, 2025).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Michele Waslin, *The REAL ID Act and the Latino Community*, Nat'l Council of La Raza (accessed May 11, 2025).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> See Christina Cassidy, How the House's requirement to prove U.S. citizenship could affect the ability to register to vote, Associated Press (April 10, 2025); Madeline Roberts, Citizenship Marking on Driver's Licenses, MOST Policy Initiative (Jan. 19, 2024).

cards.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, the SAVE Act deems even these federally mandated identification cards insufficient. REAL ID cards are satisfactory identification for Americans to fly domestically—but not to secure their right to vote.

#### c. Birth Certificates

The SAVE Act places a high premium on birth certificates as tools to ensure one's right to vote—a sad irony given the current administration's unconstitutional position against birthright citizenship. The obsession with birth certificates arose from then citizen Donald Trump's challenge to President Barack Obama to prove his citizenship. Though President Obama published his full birth certificate, temporarily appeasing Mr. Trump, long-term it only fueled him to demand greater proof. Obama, born of a Black Kenyan national father and white Kansas-born mother in Hawaii, was the first president of color to lead our nation. Like many in the Latino communities LULAC represents, his ancestry defied America's longstanding racial and ethnic norms for top political leadership. Now some policymakers have transferred that racial animus to Latinos and other marginalized citizens. But this requirement of the SAVE Act would hurt more than Latinos and non-whites.

Most Americans do not possess certified copies of their birth certificates. And reliance on them for voter registration is highly problematic. First, Latinos often have multiple surnames, which are not always accurately inscribed on their birth records. Second, approximately 69 million American women have surnames that differ from the surnames on their birth certificates because of legally changing their names for marriage, divorce, or gender transition. He Third, elderly citizens – sometimes born outside of hospitals because of lack of proximity/access, racial segregation, or finances – lack accurate, or even certifiable birth certificates. This means older, rural, poor, and citizens of color face a major administrative hurdle. Fourth, voters born to U.S. citizens abroad like active service members, diplomats, and expats, may encounter trouble acquiring their birth certificates from the U.S. territories or the foreign countries of their birth.

#### d. Court proceedings for name changes

As briefly raised above, citizens who legally change their names will face major hurdles under the SAVE Act. The greatest impact will be to married women. An overlooked demographic will be citizens who legally changed their names as part of a gender transition or change in identity. Nonbinary and transgender Americans hail from every race, ethnicity, and creed in the U.S. and serve in every sector including the U.S. military, Congress, federal agencies, medicine, law, and corporate America.<sup>48</sup> They are also targeted by the current

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Kandis Edwards, *Black Woman Born Pre-Segregation Cannot Obtain Real ID*, Black Enterprise (May 7, 2025).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Anthony Zurcher, *The birth of the Obama 'birther' conspiracy*, BBC News (Sept. 16, 2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Bedekovics & Sydney Bryant, *supra*. note 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Edwards, *supra*. note 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> E.g. Joe Yurcaba, Sarah McBride becomes the first out transgender person elected to Congress, NBC News (Nov. 5, 2024); Matt Lavietes, Dr. Rachel Levine becomes nation's first transgender four-star officer, NBC News (Oct. 19, 2021).

administration and some strident politicians.<sup>49</sup> Therefore Latino non-binary and transgender citizens would be doubly impacted by the SAVE Act.

#### III. The SAVE Act Disproportionally Affects Marginalized Americans

The SAVE Act purports to address election security, but in truth it revives *La Gran Mentira* and stokes fear and confusion. SAVE Act sponsor, Rep. Chip Roy claimed the Act would deter "millions of illegal aliens [who] remain in our country illegally and may have been given the opportunity to register to vote in elections." His references to "illegal aliens" who vote is a tired dog whistle for the burgeoning Latino electorate.

#### a. Latinos

Latinos, collectively, are fast becoming the largest non-white ethnic demographic of eligible U.S. voters. <sup>51</sup> Current census records estimate 65.2 million Latinos reside in the United States. <sup>52</sup> Eighty-one percent can vote. <sup>53</sup> In a growing number of states, the population of Latino voters exceeded the margin of votes that decided the 2020 presidential election. <sup>54</sup> And by 2029, if trends continue, Latinos will be the majority minority demographic amongst working class voters. <sup>55</sup>

Latinos are also the targets of longstanding voter discrimination efforts. As the nation's oldest and largest Latino civil rights organization, LULAC has long defended our communities from discriminatory policies. Our legal victories in Texas helped dismantle poll taxes that disenfranchised poor and minority voters. Now civil rights groups, including our sister organization the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund (MALDEF), are challenging provisions in Missouri law that restrict voter assistance. These laws, limiting the help voters can receive, harm Latino communities, especially among the elderly and those with limited English proficiency. Similarly, Arizona's proof-of-citizenship requirement, which bars "federal-only" voters from participating in state elections, disproportionately affects Latino voters. A 2024 Brennan Center analysis found that 37% of "federal-only voters" in Arizona were Latino, despite

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> E.g. Map, Bans on Transgender People Using Public Bathrooms and Facilities According to their Gender Identity, Movement Advancement Project (accessed May 12, 2025); Nina Totenberg & Christina Gatti, Supreme Court upholds Trump's ban on transgender military members while appeals continue, NPR (May 6, 2025).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Press Release, Rep. Roy reintroduces bill to protect the integrity and sanctity of American elections, Jan 7, 2025.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> See Sandra Lilley, Latinos make up half of growth in new eligible voters, NBC News (Jan. 12, 2024); Jens M. Krogstad, Jeffrey S. Passel, Abby Buddiman, & Anusha Natarajan, Key facts about Hispanic eligible voters in 2024, Pew Research Ctr. (Jan. 10, 2024).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Hispanic Heritage Month: 2024, U.S. Census Bureau, Aug. 15, 2024.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> American Elections Are Secure: Dangerous Anti-Immigrant Falsehoods Are Attempts to Suppress Votes by Millions of Latinos and Other Eligible Voters, Unidos US 1 (Aug. 8, 2024).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> These states are Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Wisconsin. American Elections Are Secure: Dangerous Anti-Immigrant Falsehoods Are Attempts to Suppress Votes by Millions of Latinos and Other Eligible Voters, Unidos US 2 (Aug. 8, 2024).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Albinson Linares, *Latino groups denounce voting laws that set back help to voters with disabilities, language issues*, NBC Nεws (Sept. 20, 2024).

making up just 25% of all voters eligible for state elections.<sup>57</sup> Latinos whose families escaped authoritarian regimes or experienced significant police surveillance (e.g. Latinos of Venezuelan, Mexican, and Central American descent) – often have deep mistrust of restrictive government systems. The SAVE Act's use of cross-referenced databases and bureaucratic hurdles could trigger disengagement or fear of being "tracked."

#### b. Women

Women, at 168 million strong and comprising 50.4% of the U.S. population, are a pivotal voting demographic. Ethnically and culturally, many in this demographic also identify as Latino or of Latino descent. Before the ratification of the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment in 1920, women of any background could not universally vote.<sup>58</sup> Once Congress enacted the VRA, women of all races, colors, and creeds could vote, including Latinas.<sup>59</sup>

The SAVE Act would make their right to vote less secure and open to interference. For instance: the SAVE Act requires voters to provide a birth certificate that matches the names on their identifying documents. <sup>60</sup> But as many as 69 million women do not possess birth certificates matching their married names; eighty-four percent of U.S. women who marry change their surname. <sup>61</sup> Furthermore, the Act does not mention spouses can present a marriage certificate or change of name document as an alternative. <sup>62</sup> Some divorced women do not revert to their maiden names due to cost, legal hassle, or for professional continuity. These impacted women would therefore be disqualified to become and remain an active voter should the SAVE Act be enacted. This does not account for the millions of Latina women who culturally used two surnames – since birth – who also changed their list of surnames upon marriage and the sometimes-inconsistent registration or spelling of their names across various government agencies, schools, healthcare centers, and transportation carriers. <sup>63</sup>

#### c. Military Service Members and Veterans

Nearly 2.1 million people serve in the U.S. military, 63% of whom were registered to vote in 2022.<sup>64</sup> Approximately 15.8 million Americans identified as veterans in 2023.<sup>65</sup> These voters, both active and discharged service members, can reside in the U.S. or abroad, near the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Kevin Morris & Arlyss Herzig, *Arizona's Show-Your-Papers Requirement Hurts Voters*, Brennan Ctr. for Justice (Feb. 19, 2025).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Kendell Verhovek, *The 19th Amendment, Explained*, Brennan Ctr. for Justice (Mar. 3, 2025).

<sup>59</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Bedekovics & Bryant, *supra*. note 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> *Id*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> See generally Message Board, "Spanish/Hispanic/Latino names and life in the USA," Visa Journey, Jan. 20, 2023 (user experiences with having their Latino surnames improperly recorded in U.S. data systems); R. Ruiz-Perez, E. Delgado Lopez-Cozar, & E. Jimenez-Contreras, <u>Spanish personal name variations in national and international biomedical databases: implications for information retrieval and bibliometric studies</u>, 90 J. Med. Libr. Assoc. 411-430 (2002).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> How many troops are in the U.S. military?, USAFacts, Feb. 19, 2025; Kate Donoven, *Defending Voting Rights: Service Member Overseas Voting*, NAT'L Assoc. of Attys Gen. (Nov. 3, 2024) (citing 2022 Federal Voting Assistance Program Report to Cong. (Aug. 3, 2023), 12).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Who are the nation's veterans?, USAFacts, April 14, 2025.

military bases where they serve or served. Many foreign-born U.S. residents, including immigrants from Latin America, serve in the military to earn paths to U.S. citizenship and the right to vote.<sup>66</sup> And once the right is secured, their federally issued military identification is sufficient to register and comply with pernicious voter I.D. laws.<sup>67</sup>

Until recently, a citizen's status as an active service member or veteran did not threaten their right to cast a ballot. The SAVE Act would do so by requiring service members and veterans – both within the U.S. and abroad – to provide a military ID and service record documents showing a place of birth within the U.S.'s borders or jurisdiction, or for naturalized citizens, federally issued naturalization records.

#### d. Working Class Communities

Working class Americans comprise approximately 63% of the voting eligible populace.<sup>68</sup> Definitions for the demographic vary, but generally modern researchers categorize these citizens as not possessing a college or post-graduate education,<sup>69</sup> working in trades, service, healthcare, manufacturing, or retail industries,<sup>70</sup> work multiple shifts or jobs,<sup>71</sup> and live paycheck to paycheck.<sup>72</sup> They reside in both rural communities and urban centers; and may find securing housing tough.<sup>73</sup> Latinos are well represented in the demographic. In 2013, Latinos comprised 21% of the U.S. working class.<sup>74</sup> By 2032, their presence will burgeon to 32% of the socioeconomic demographic<sup>75</sup> and the voting demographic will continue expanding as income and education attainment inequality increase.<sup>76</sup>

The SAVE Act's documentary proof of citizenship provisions imperil working class voters. The requirement to present a passport or other restrictive identification record to register to vote, or renew registration, poses a significant financial hurdle, as only one out of four Americans with a high school degree, and only 20% of households with income below \$50,000, has a passport.<sup>77</sup>

#### e. Rural Communities

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Naturalization Through Military Service, U.S. Citizenship & Immigration Servs., Oct. 11, 2024; Reyndaldo Leaños, Jr., *Latinos Lured to the Military*, Texas Observer (Sept. 13, 2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Voter ID Laws, Nat'l Conf. of State Legis., Apr. 16, 2025.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Ted Fertik, <u>Class and Worldview: A Report on the Multiracial Working Class</u>, Working Families Power & HITStrategies 5 (Sept. 2024).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Ruy Teixeira, Forget the Hype: It's Still a Working-Class Election, Amer. Enter. Inst. (July 26, 2024).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Fertik, *supra*. note 67 at 11; William A. Galston, *What today's working class wants from political leaders*, The Brookings Inst. (Nov. 16, 2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Galston, *supra*. note 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Pam Fessler, Working Class Americans Are Finding It Increasingly Difficult to Afford Housing, NPR (June 25, 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Alex Rowell, <u>Report: What Everyone Should Know About America's Diverse Working Class</u>, Ctr. for Amer. Progress Action (Dec. 11, 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> American Elections Are Secure: Dangerous Anti-Immigrant Falsehoods Are Attempts to Suppress Votes by Millions of Latinos and Other Eligible Voters, Unidos US 2 (Aug. 8, 2024).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> See Aurelia Glass, Report: What Policymakers Need to Know About Today's Working Class, Ctr. for Amer. Progress (Apr. 6, 2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Bedekovics & Bryant, *supra*. note 35.

Like the working-class demographic, there is no single definition of a rural U.S. voter, though most policymakers rely on definitions delineated by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) or the Census Bureau. ROMB classifies 46 million people, or 13.8% of U.S. residents, as living in nonmetro counties. The Census Bureau classifies 20% of the country's population, or 66.3 million people, as living in rural areas. The statistics differ by more than 20 million people and less than 45% of the Census Bureau's rural population overlaps with the OMB non-metro population. Rural America is becoming more racially and ethnically diverse, with a "notable increase in Latino residents driving recent growth." And rural voters proved decisive in battleground states for the 2020 election.

The SAVE Act will impact an estimated 60 million rural voters.<sup>82</sup> The legislation's requirement that citizens register to vote in person at designated offices means many rural Americans will need to travel—and incur significant financial burdens—to vote.<sup>83</sup>

The SAVE Act will also burden rural Latino communities with weak political infrastructure. Political parties, unions, and nonprofits often focus their outreach where they already have infrastructure—established hubs like Los Angeles or Miami. But in newer Latino communities, like parts of the Midwest or Mountain West, that outreach is thin or nonexistent. Consider Idaho, where Latinos make up around 13% of the population, yet strong Latino political mobilization does not exist. It is in these "low-touch" rural sectors—where people may be voting for the first time, navigating language barriers, or unfamiliar with bureaucratic hurdles—that the SAVE Act would hit the hardest. Its strict provisions would become voter suppression by design, exploiting the absence of civic support to quietly disenfranchise the fastest-growing segment of the electorate.

#### IV. Imputed Costs to administer the SAVE Act

The SAVE Act provides no support to states, much less citizens, to comply with the legislation's onerous demands. And bizarrely, unlike the REAL ID Act, this legislation does not include a phase in period. Consequently, citizens and states would bear the costs to comply and create local policy infrastructure for the law.

#### a. To Voters

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Anthony F. Pipa & Zoe Swarzenski, *What everyone should know about rural America ahead of the 204 election*, THE BROOKINGS INST. (Oct. 31, 2024).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> *Id*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Dante Scala & Kenneth Johnson, <u>Modest Changes in Rural Voting Could Have Significant Changes in 2024</u>, Carsey Research, Issue Brief 183, Fall 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Greta Bedekovics & Sydney Bryant, *The SAVE Act Would Force Many Rural Americans to Drive Hours to Register to Vote*, Ctr. For Amer. Progress (Feb. 28, 2025).

<sup>83</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Carolyn Komatsoulis, *Idaho's only Latina legislator talks education, immigration*, Idaho Statesman (Oct. 17, 2024).

Voters will incur steep costs to comply with the legislation. They will pay in time waiting at various state agencies for individual records, transport costs traveling to and from agencies, and fees for each required record and the voter registration itself.<sup>85</sup> They must purchase certified birth certificates, a problem for folks born in under-resourced territories like Puerto Rico<sup>86</sup> or who were not born at hospitals long ago.<sup>87</sup>

#### b. Women, Military, & Older Citizens

Multiple groups of citizens will incur significant costs. First, birth certificates will be problematic for Americans prone to legally change their names like women, multi-surname Latinos, and non-binary & transgender citizens, as well as citizens born abroad or in the military. They must pay to amend their birth certificates or pay to legally revert to their birth names. Citizens born outside hospitals will need judicial intervention to produce statutorily compliant alternatives to the birth certificate. Older citizens may also encounter trouble acquiring REAL IDs as part of the SAVE Act's voter registration reforms.

#### c. Rural Voters

The approximately 60 million rural voters will incur the most startling costs, as many rely on remote registration methods provided by their states. The Center for American Progress examined the SAVE Act's impact to voters in the 30 largest counties by area in 8 western states. 88 Two-thirds of the counties are classified entirely rural per the Census Bureau and the United States Department of Agriculture and these counties contained 15 million of these voters. 89 Researchers determined the legislation would induce these rural voters to travel an average of 4.5 hours round trip across 260 miles to register in person at a designated office. 90

Compare Catron County, New Mexico and Mohave County, Arizona to see how these averages obscure the personal costs. Places like Catron County, New Mexico, whose population is approximately 18% Latino, 91 would require voters to travel 232 miles for 4 hours and 40 minutes round trip just within the county. However, Mohave County, Arizona, whose population is a little over 17% Latino, 92 would induce voters to travel 536 miles for 8 hours round trip, through three states. 93 Voters in both counties would incur gas, food, and other attendant travel expenses, not to mention the transaction fees at the registrar's office. Both would spend time

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> State legislatures might authorize new transaction fees to underwrite the increased personnel and service costs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> See generally Blog, Low Marks for Puerto Rico on Transparency and Access to Information, Nat'l Freedom of Info. Ctr. (accessed May 12, 2025); Rafael Diaz Torres, Few Changes Made in Puerto Rico to Access Health Information and Services in a Hurricane, Centro de Periodismo Investigativo (Mar. 24, 2022); Anita Chandra et. al., Health and Social Services in Puerto Rico Before and After Hurricane Maria, 9 Rand Health Q. 10 (2021); Alexia Fernandez Campbell, Puerto Rico's Hurricane Maria deaths: judge orders release of death certificates, Vox (June 5, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Edwards, *supra*. note 44.

<sup>88</sup> Bedekovics & Bryant, supra. note 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Id.

<sup>90</sup> Id

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Quick Facts: Catron County, New Mexico 2024, U.S. Census Bureau (accessed May 11, 2025).

<sup>92</sup> Quick Facts: Mohave County, Arizona 2024, U.S. Census Bureau (accessed May 11, 2025).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Bedekovics & Bryant, supra. note 82. For instance, a voter in Colorado City, AZ would drive through Utah to Arizona to Nevada and back into Arizona just to reach the Mohave County Elections Office.

waiting and having the applications processed at the offices. But the Mohave voter would likely pay for increased gas costs of \$75 (at current rates) as well as overnight accommodations. <sup>94</sup> The analysis did not determine if similar travel costs burdened trips to their respective motor vehicle and vital statistics agencies. The diagrams below drive the point home.





Source: Center for American Progress

#### d. State governments

Importantly, the legislation does not earmark new federal funding to facilitate its enactment and enforcement. States, now required to collect and document onerous proofs of citizenship and identity, would need new data retention infrastructure for copies made of mandated documents.

Consider the massive SAVE-imposed document processing. Except for U.S. passports, all other SAVE-required documents are administered by state agencies and state courts. State agencies for vital statistics, motor vehicles, and court records would need to process elevated records requests from voting registrants. The same would hold true for voter registration offices. For example, from 2018-2022, 7.7 million voters registered in person, 4 million of whom did so from 2020-2022. Comparatively, 37 million voters registered or updated their registration using online or voter registration drives over the same four-year period, 17 million of whom did so from 2020-2022. Consequently, state governments would need capacity to serve upwards of four times more citizens at voting registration offices if Congress enacts the SAVE Act.

The SAVE Act would disrupt efficient systems to mandate a resource intensive alternative. To meet the needs of rural, working class, and busy citizens, most states developed voter registration protocols that do not require the citizen to register physically at an office. Forty-two states enable online voter registration, to the benefit of 8 million voters in the 2022 election cycle.<sup>97</sup> Three million voters registered using mail, email, or facsimile during that same

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> *Id*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Kevin Morris & Cora Henry, *The SAVE Act Would Hurt Americans Who Actively Participate in Elections*, Brennan Ctr. for Justice (Feb. 20, 2025).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Bedekovics & Bryant, *supra*. note 40.

period in permitting states. 98 Conversely, only 5.9% of 1 million citizens registered or updated their registration in person for the 2022 election cycle. 99 The remainder of citizens registered or renewed their registration through voting drives and automatic registration at motor vehicle agencies whenever they updated their driver's licenses.

The SAVE Act would terminate these accommodations. The legislation would upend online voter registrations and renewals as registrants would have to complete the process in person at an approved registration office. Registration by mail, email, or facsimile would be prohibited due to the in-person requirement. And automatic registration via motor vehicle agencies would be gutted as the legislation does not permit these agency transactions to update voter registration. So, citizens would need to renew their driver's license or obtain a REAL ID and then bring their updated identification to the designated voter registration office. Lastly, voter drives – a staple of many grassroots advocates, worship centers, and civil rights organizations – would cease.

And finally, states would be required to regularly conduct massive voter roll purges. Not only would these purges overwhelmingly target Black, Latino, and the elderly, they could be absurdly inaccurate. <sup>100</sup> Challenges by civil rights advocates regularly highlight how massive purges tend to disproportionately impact – and at times improperly remove – voters of color. <sup>101</sup> State authorities will target voters with Latino names in an effort to remove non-citizens from the rolls. <sup>102</sup> As I discuss in more detail below, when Kansas experimented with a SAVE Act-like law, it purged more than 30,000 voters from its rolls–99% of whom were citizens. Maintaining correct and up to date voter rolls is already a substantial challenge; requiring employees to enforce a law that potentially strikes millions of people off the rolls would be an immense burden.

State agencies already undermanned and inefficient might collapse under unprecedented strain. 103

<sup>98</sup> Id

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> See Id.; <u>Election Administration and Voting Survey 2022 Comprehensive Report</u>, U.S. Election Assist. Comm'n 144 (June 2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> See generally Adam Moses, New Laws Risk Purging Eligible Voters in Advance of This Year's Elections, Voting Rights LaB (Apr. 30, 2024).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> E.g. Press Release, NC NAACP, Voters Urge Court to Prevent Last-Minute Voter Purge, So. Coalition for Soc. Justice, Oct. 24, 2024; Hansi Lo Wang, A federal judge has ordered Alabama to stop trying to purge voters before Election Day, NPR (Oct. 16, 2024); Press Release, NAACP Files Lawsuit to Halt Georgia Law Set to Purge eligible Voters, Disenfranchisement Attempt Based on Housing Status, NAACP, Sept. 24, 2024; Alice Clapman, Florida's Use of Unreliable Tool Could Wrongly Remove Numerous Voters from Rolls, Brennan Ctr. for Justice (May 31, 2024); American Elections Are Secure: Dangerous Anti-Immigrant Falsehoods Are Attempts to Suppress Votes by Millions of Latinos and Other Eligible Voters, Unidos US (Aug. 8, 2024) at 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> For example, chronic low staffing and resources impact several North Carolina agencies critical to the SAVE Act's roll out. *See* Keely Arthur, *Outdated tech, lack of staff blamed for NCDMV's long waits, severe delays*, WRAL (Mar. 31, 2025); Paul Specht, *State services strained as NC struggles to hire government workers*, WRAL (Feb. 17, 2023). Other states have comparable woes. *E.g.* Ivy Lyons, *COVID-19 shortages force Va. health dept. to scale back vital records call center operation*, WTOP News (Jan. 9, 2022); Marissa Evans, *Texans are waiting for birth, death certificates amid health agency understaffing*, The Texas Tribune (Mar. 27, 2019).

#### V. Real electoral issues not addressed by the SAVE Act

The U.S. electoral systems, while reliable and safe, could benefit from reforms. However, the SAVE Act addresses none of these areas for improvement. For one, wrongful voter purges impacted nearly 5 million voters in the 2024 election cycle. Minor issues on mail-in ballots unnecessarily disqualified 2 million voters. State agencies rejected 1 million provisional ballots and blocked or delayed 3 million new registrations last election cycle. Ultimately, more eligible voters could not cast ballots or had their ballots thrown out in the 2024 election than the number of voters who successfully cast a ballot for either presidential candidate.

Communities prone to natural disasters like coastal Louisiana and Mississippi, all of Florida, and North Carolina need different technology or regulations to accommodate their voting needs. Voters in western North Carolina, displaced by Hurricane Helene to unaffected counties or even other states, experienced significant hurdles to casting standard and even provisional ballots.<sup>108</sup>

The SAVE Act could have saved time by making Election Day a federal holiday like Australia; automatically registering eligible citizens upon their turning 18 years old; or restoring the franchise to Returning Citizens in a uniform, non-racially discriminatory manner. Instead, the legislation robs citizens of a trustworthy and efficient election process.

#### VI. Potential Constitutional and Federal Violations

The Save Act would not serve U.S. citizens generally and would disproportionately impede the ability of Latinos to participate in federal and state elections.

The costs incurred by newly eligible and registration renewing voters would be significant, especially in a worsening national economy. The mounting financial burdens could effectively deter vulnerable Americans from voting. The result – wealthier Americans could afford to vote when poorer citizens might not. This unequal treatment would hit the elderly, gender nonconforming, rural, and military-impacted Latino citizens hardest as well as women who changed their surnames.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> How the SAVE Act disproportionately harms Latino voters and American democracy, Unidos US (Mar. 2025).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> *Id* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> *Id*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> *Id*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Zoya Teirstein, Ayurella Horn-Muller, & Katie Myers, *What Election Day looked like for voters in hurricane-battered communities across Florida and North Carolina*, GRIST (Nov. 5, 2024); Press Release, Bipartisan State Board Unanimously Approves Measures to Help WNC Voters, North Carolina State Board of Elections, Oct. 7, 2024.

Personally, I believe the SAVE Act's provisions would function like the poll taxes that deterred Latinos, other voters of color, and poorer Americans from voting last century. The U.S. Constitution mandates every citizen receive equal treatment under the law and that governments not financially burden the ability to vote. Instead, this legislation would induce citizens to pay significant administrative and personal costs to participate in all elections. As Professor Christine Slaughter points out, when our voting process becomes more complicated, people are less inclined to vote, even if they have the proper credentials. 110

Kansas, a state prone to experimenting with novel policies, <sup>111</sup> already wrestled with – and lost – on the legality of SAVE-like restrictions. In 2011 its legislature passed a "show me your papers" law that blocked more than 31,000 U.S. citizens from registering to vote; 12% of the state's first-time registrants that cycle. <sup>112</sup> Surprisingly, the plaintiffs were primarily adults older than 35 years, military veterans, and born in the U.S. The lead plaintiff was a 45-year-old warehouse worker who, originally agreeing with the law, ran afoul of the measure because he lacked an acceptable copy of his birth certificate for voter registration. He could not locate the original birth records as his place of birth – a discontinued Illinois Air Force base – no longer existed. <sup>113</sup> In holding the state law violated the NVRA and U.S. Constitution, the trial court ruled "that the magnitude of potentially disenfranchised voters impacted by the DPOC law and its enforcement scheme cannot be justified by the scant evidence of noncitizen voter fraud before and after the law was passed." <sup>114</sup> The 10<sup>th</sup> Circuit Court of Appeal affirmed the preliminary injunction and the U.S. Supreme Court declined to take the Kansas' appeal. <sup>115</sup>

Secretary of State Scott Schwab, who championed the "show me your papers" law as a legislator, now warned against the suppressive measure. "Kansas did that 10 years ago," said Schwab. "It didn't work out so well."

#### VII. Recommendations and Conclusion

Senators, you must vote against the SAVE Act. LULAC was founded 96 years ago by Latino veterans and community leaders who knew that without the right to vote, we had no meaningful say in our destiny. They fought to demolish barriers – from poll taxes to English-only

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> See generally Valencia Richardson, <u>Voting While Poor: Reviving the 24th Amendment and Eliminating the Modern-Day Poll Tax</u>, 27 Georgetown J. Law & Pub. Pol'y 451 (2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Jessica Colarossi, *How Could the SAVE Act Impact Young Voters and Married People Who've Changed Their Name?*, The Brink (Apr. 18, 2025).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> See generally Michael Mazerov, Kansas Provides Compelling Evidence of Failure of "Supply-Side" Tax Cuts, CTR. ON BUDGET & POL'Y PRIORITIES (Jan. 22, 2018); Alexandra Thornton & Galen Hendricks, Fact Sheet: Kansas 'Real Live Experiment' in Trickle-Down Tax Cuts, CTR. For Amer. Progress (Nov. 2, 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> John Hanna, *Kansa once required voters to prove citizenship. That didn't work out so well*, Assoc. Press (Dec. 29, 2024).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> *Id*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Press Release, <u>Federal Court Strikes Down Kansas Anti-Voting Law</u>, ACLU of Kansas, June 18, 2018; *see Fish v. Schwab*, No. 2:16-cv-02105-JAR-JPO (D.C. Kan. 2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Press Release, <u>ACLU Comment on Supreme Court Action on Kansas Voting Lawsuit</u>, ACLU of Kansas, Dec. 14, 2020.

ballots – that kept "our gente" out of the voting booth. Today, LULAC is fighting new iterations of long-running disenfranchisement schemes. The SAVE Act threatens to erect new barriers in the 21st century, aimed squarely at the same communities who long struggled for an equal vote. It would disenfranchise millions of Americans – from married women and seniors to soldiers overseas, young voters, and new citizens – under the pretext of "safeguarding" elections. We urge you, in the strongest terms, to stop the legislation.

While our elections are reliable and safe, free and fair, we believe in reform that further safeguards voters and elections. True reform is not partisan. You should oppose discriminatory efforts disguised as concerns for security. Instead work towards real solutions that expand participation and strengthen our democracy for all, like the following five recommendations that would chart a positive course for the protection of voting rights and the resilience of our elections against subversion efforts.

- 1. **Reject the SAVE Act**. The SAVE Act is an attack on Latinos—and everyone who wants to exercise their right to have a voice in their democracy.
- 2. Congress should pass the John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act.
- 3. **Strengthen election administration** with training, written guidance, and investment in equipment, security, scenario planning, staffing, and supplies.
- 4. Ensure that voters and election workers are protected against intimidation and harm, including gun restrictions at polling precincts and privacy protections for election officials.
- 5. **Strengthen access to reliable information** and investment in evidence driven approaches that counter disinformation targeted at and about communities vulnerable to voter suppression. Preempt disinformation well before Election Day with adequate state resources.
- 6. **Ease the path for voters.** Invest in community engagement and voter outreach.

For the substantial reasons shared above, please vote down the SAVE Act.