# 2020 HAVV LOOKUP NATIONAL ANALYSIS Jeffrey O'Donnell - 10/3/2023 

## 1. BACKGROUND

The Help America Vote Act of 2002, P.L. 107-252 (HAVA) requires States to verify the information of newly registered voters for Federal elections. Each State must establish a computerized State-wide voter registration list and verify new voter information with the State's Motor Vehicle Administration (MVA).

The States are required to verify the driver's license number against the state MVA database. Only in situations where no driver's license exists should the states verify the last four digits of the new voter registrant's Social Security Number (SSN). The State submits the last digits of the SSN, name, and date of birth to the MVA for verification with SSA. In addition, SSA is required to report whether its records indicate that the registrant is deceased. ${ }^{1}$

39 states participate in HAVV lookups.

## 2. DATA

HAVV lookup records made public by the U.S. Social Security Administration (SSA) show the following aggregated totals:

- A total of 27,327,786 requests were received by the SSA during the calendar year 2020. By the definition above, that would imply that this many individuals submitted voter registration without having a driver's license. This number represents about $\mathbf{1 6 \%}$ of the approximately 168 million registered voters in 2020.
$-7,177,676$ of those requests were rejected as being a non-match, meaning that the last four digits of the SSN did not match anyone with that name and birthdate. This is a $\mathbf{2 6 . 3 \%}$ lookup failure rate.
- 189,040 of the requests matched to a deceased individual.

The following chart shows, by week, the number of HAVV lookups submitted (blue), the number of non-matches (orange), and the percentage of non-matches (yellow, presented on a different scale for visibility).

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The increase in both the number of lookups and the number of non-matches as the November election neared is obvious.

## 3. STATE SPECIFIC DATA

The following table shows the HAVV lookups and non-matches for calendar year 2020 by state. States not listed did not participate in the HAVV lookup process.

| State | Population ('20) | Lookups | Non-Matches | Deceased | Percent NonMatches | Lookups/ Population |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ALABAMA | 5,030,053 | 62,555 | 8,044 | 5,076 | 12.9\% | 1.2\% |
| ALASKA | 736,081 | 8,481 | 2,570 | 335 | 30.3\% | 1.2\% |
| ARIZONA | 7,158,923 | 150,894 | 79,229 | 308 | 52.5\% | 2.1\% |
| CALIFORNIA | 39,576,757 | 1,440,069 | 657,698 | 2,003 | 45.7\% | 3.6\% |
| COLORADO | 5,782,171 | 19,225 | 1,903 | 3 | 9.9\% | 0.3\% |
| CONNECTICUT | 3,608,298 | 30,260 | 5,600 | 2 | 18.5\% | 0.8\% |
| DELAWARE | 990,837 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 25.0\% | 0.0\% |
| FLORIDA | 21,570,527 | 227,613 | 60,904 | 59 | 26.8\% | 1.1\% |
| GEORGIA | 10,725,274 | 54,521 | 15,859 | 21 | 29.1\% | 0.5\% |
| HAWAII | 1,460,137 | 17,072 | 2,220 | 76 | 13.0\% | 1.2\% |
| IDAHO | 1,841,377 | 76,765 | 14,463 | 1,231 | 18.8\% | 4.2\% |
| ILLINOIS | 12,822,739 | 702,248 | 81,366 | 1,672 | 11.6\% | 5.5\% |
| INDIANA | 6,790,280 | 251,292 | 24,984 | 484 | 9.9\% | 3.7\% |
| IOWA | 3,192,406 | 41,195 | 11,271 | 264 | 27.4\% | 1.3\% |
| KANSAS | 2,940,865 | 858,189 | 227,261 | 70,719 | 26.5\% | 29.2\% |
| LOUISIANA | 4,661,468 | 17,302 | 2,620 | 4 | 15.1\% | 0.4\% |
| MARYLAND | 6,185,278 | 56,465 | 17,251 | 28 | 30.6\% | 0.9\% |
| MASSACHUSETTS | 7,033,469 | 28,585 | 6,730 | 4 | 23.5\% | 0.4\% |
| MICHIGAN | 10,084,442 | 19,073 | 6,917 | 110 | 36.3\% | 0.2\% |
| MINNESOTA | 5,709,752 | 269,353 | 23,228 | 19 | 8.6\% | 4.7\% |
| MISSISSIPPI | 2,963,914 | 409 | 122 | 28 | 29.8\% | 0.0\% |
| MISSOURI | 6,160,281 | 496,583 | 92,750 | 4,790 | 18.7\% | 8.1\% |
| MONTANA | 1,085,407 | 54,789 | 15,506 | 47 | 28.3\% | 5.0\% |
| NEBRASKA | 1,963,333 | 8,224 | 1,570 | 35 | 19.1\% | 0.4\% |
| NEVADA | 3,108,462 | 222,359 | 135,936 | 1,804 | 61.1\% | 7.2\% |
| NEW JERSEY | 9,294,493 | 592,634 | 116,843 | 1,796 | 19.7\% | 6.4\% |
| NEW YORK | 20,215,751 | 249,184 | 108,439 | 138 | 43.5\% | 1.2\% |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 10,453,948 | 246,302 | 67,964 | 54 | 27.6\% | 2.4\% |
| OHIO | 11,808,848 | 41,090 | 13,048 | 11 | 31.8\% | 0.3\% |
| OREGON | 4,241,500 | 98,923 | 22,186 | 1,751 | 22.4\% | 2.3\% |
| PENNSYLVANIA | 13,011,844 | 265,227 | 43,934 | 57 | 16.6\% | 2.0\% |
| RHODE ISLAND | 1,098,163 | 22,892 | 1,327 | 10 | 5.8\% | 2.1\% |
| SOUTH DAKOTA | 887,770 | 21,446 | 3,388 | 45 | 15.8\% | 2.4\% |
| TEXAS | 29,183,290 | 6,799,346 | 1,682,274 | 1,177 | 24.7\% | 23.3\% |
| UTAH | 3,275,252 | 50,837 | 9,680 | 240 | 19.0\% | 1.6\% |
| VERMONT | 643,503 | 2,901 | 617 | 4 | 21.3\% | 0.5\% |
| WASHINGTON | 7,715,946 | 49,645 | 10,818 | 7 | 21.8\% | 0.6\% |
| WISCONSIN | 5,897,473 | 35,055 | 4,421 | 10 | 12.6\% | 0.6\% |
| WYOMING | 577,719 | 74,886 | 7,896 | 98 | 10.5\% | 13.0\% |

The following table shows the state-specific lookup data sorted by the percentage of lookups by state population, which shows that Kansas, Texas, and Wyoming show the highest per-capita number of HAVV lookups.

| State | Population ('20) | Lookups | Non-Matches | Deceased | Percent Non- <br> Matches | Lookups/ Population |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| KANSAS | 2,940,865 | 858,189 | 227,261 | 70,719 | 26.5\% | 29.2\% |
| TEXAS | 29,183,290 | 6,799,346 | 1,682,274 | 1,177 | 24.7\% | 23.3\% |
| WYOMING | 577,719 | 74,886 | 7,896 | 98 | 10.5\% | 13.0\% |
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| NEW JERSEY | 9,294,493 | 592,634 | 116,843 | 1,796 | 19.7\% | 6.4\% |
| ILLINOIS | 12,822,739 | 702,248 | 81,366 | 1,672 | 11.6\% | 5.5\% |
| MONTANA | 1,085,407 | 54,789 | 15,506 | 47 | 28.3\% | 5.0\% |
| MINNESOTA | 5,709,752 | 269,353 | 23,228 | 19 | 8.6\% | 4.7\% |
| IDAHO | 1,841,377 | 76,765 | 14,463 | 1,231 | 18.8\% | 4.2\% |
| INDIANA | 6,790,280 | 251,292 | 24,984 | 484 | 9.9\% | 3.7\% |
| CALIFORNIA | 39,576,757 | 1,440,069 | 657,698 | 2,003 | 45.7\% | 3.6\% |
| SOUTH DAKOTA | 887,770 | 21,446 | 3,388 | 45 | 15.8\% | 2.4\% |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 10,453,948 | 246,302 | 67,964 | 54 | 27.6\% | 2.4\% |
| OREGON | 4,241,500 | 98,923 | 22,186 | 1,751 | 22.4\% | 2.3\% |
| ARIZONA | 7,158,923 | 150,894 | 79,229 | 308 | 52.5\% | 2.1\% |
| RHODE ISLAND | 1,098,163 | 22,892 | 1,327 | 10 | 5.8\% | 2.1\% |
| PENNSYLVANIA | 13,011,844 | 265,227 | 43,934 | 57 | 16.6\% | 2.0\% |
| UTAH | 3,275,252 | 50,837 | 9,680 | 240 | 19.0\% | 1.6\% |
| IOWA | 3,192,406 | 41,195 | 11,271 | 264 | 27.4\% | 1.3\% |
| ALABAMA | 5,030,053 | 62,555 | 8,044 | 5,076 | 12.9\% | 1.2\% |
| NEW YORK | 20,215,751 | 249,184 | 108,439 | 138 | 43.5\% | 1.2\% |
| HAWAII | 1,460,137 | 17,072 | 2,220 | 76 | 13.0\% | 1.2\% |
| ALASKA | 736,081 | 8,481 | 2,570 | 335 | 30.3\% | 1.2\% |
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| MARYLAND | 6,185,278 | 56,465 | 17,251 | 28 | 30.6\% | 0.9\% |
| CONNECTICUT | 3,608,298 | 30,260 | 5,600 | 2 | 18.5\% | 0.8\% |
| WASHINGTON | 7,715,946 | 49,645 | 10,818 | 7 | 21.8\% | 0.6\% |
| WISCONSIN | 5,897,473 | 35,055 | 4,421 | 10 | 12.6\% | 0.6\% |
| GEORGIA | 10,725,274 | 54,521 | 15,859 | 21 | 29.1\% | 0.5\% |
| VERMONT | 643,503 | 2,901 | 617 | 4 | 21.3\% | 0.5\% |
| NEBRASKA | 1,963,333 | 8,224 | 1,570 | 35 | 19.1\% | 0.4\% |
| MASSACHUSETTS | 7,033,469 | 28,585 | 6,730 | 4 | 23.5\% | 0.4\% |
| LOUISIANA | 4,661,468 | 17,302 | 2,620 | 4 | 15.1\% | 0.4\% |
| OHIO | 11,808,848 | 41,090 | 13,048 | 11 | 31.8\% | 0.3\% |
| COLORADO | 5,782,171 | 19,225 | 1,903 | 3 | 9.9\% | 0.3\% |
| MICHIGAN | 10,084,442 | 19,073 | 6,917 | 110 | 36.3\% | 0.2\% |
| MISSISSIPPI | 2,963,914 | 409 | 122 | 28 | 29.8\% | 0.0\% |
| DELAWARE | 990,837 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 25.0\% | 0.0\% |

Finally, the following table shows the state-specific lookup data sorted by the percentage of non-matches.

| State | Population ('20) | Lookups | NonMatches | Deceased | Percent NonMatches | Lookups/ Population |
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| ARIZONA | 7,158,923 | 150,894 | 79,229 | 308 | 52.5\% | 2.1\% |
| CALIFORNIA | 39,576,757 | 1,440,069 | 657,698 | 2,003 | 45.7\% | 3.6\% |
| NEW YORK | 20,215,751 | 249,184 | 108,439 | 138 | 43.5\% | 1.2\% |
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| MONTANA | 1,085,407 | 54,789 | 15,506 | 47 | 28.3\% | 5.0\% |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 10,453,948 | 246,302 | 67,964 | 54 | 27.6\% | 2.4\% |
| IOWA | 3,192,406 | 41,195 | 11,271 | 264 | 27.4\% | 1.3\% |
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| INDIANA | 6,790,280 | 251,292 | 24,984 | 484 | 9.9\% | 3.7\% |
| COLORADO | 5,782,171 | 19,225 | 1,903 | 3 | 9.9\% | 0.3\% |
| MINNESOTA | 5,709,752 | 269,353 | 23,228 | 19 | 8.6\% | 4.7\% |
| RHODE ISLAND | 1,098,163 | 22,892 | 1,327 | 10 | 5.8\% | 2.1\% |

## 4. CONCLUSIONS

As shown at the beginning of this report, the HAVV lookup system was designed to allow individuals without a driver's license to register to vote. "Only in situations where no driver's license exists should the states verify the last four digits of the new voter registrant's Social Security Number (SSN)." The results reported here demonstrate that the system is being, at best, misused by states and at worst, being used to create fraudulent registrations. Either of these cases cast doubt upon the validity of the voter registration in the states listed.

There are a number of dangers created by these findings, not the least of which is the potential for bad actors with access to state registration systems registering citizens without their knowledge, whose records can then be used to cast fraudulent votes. The large number of non-matches and deceased matches indicates to me that these bad actors could be working off of an incomplete list of state residents and are guessing at certain information until they get a match.

The small number of counties and states which have responded to public records requests have provided conflicting or irrelevant explanations for how the system is used. For instance, a directive from the Pennsylvania Secretary of State states, in part:

DIRECTIVE CONCERNING HAVA-MATCHING<br>DRIVERS' LICENSES OR SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBERS FOR VOTER REGISTRATION APPLICATIONS

Pursuant to Section 1803(a) of Act 3 of 2002, 25 Pa.C.S. § 1803(a), the following Directive is issued by the Department of State to clarify and specify legal processes relating to HAVA-matching of drivers' license numbers (or PennDOT ID card numbers) and Social Security numbers when voters submit new voter registration applications or an application to reactivate a cancelled record.

This Directive underscores that Pennsylvania and federal law are clear that voter registrations may not be rejected based solely on a non-match between the applicant's identifying numbers on their application and the comparison database numbers.

As stated in the Department of State's August 9, 2006 Alert Re: Driver's License and Social Security Data Comparison Processes Required by The Help America Vote Act (HAVA), HAVA requires only the following:
(1) that all applications for new voter registration include a current and valid PA driver's license number, the last four digits of the applicant's social security number, or a statement indicating that the applicant has neither a valid and current PA driver's license or social security number; and
(2) that voter registration commissions compare the information provided by an applicant with the Department of Transportation's driver's license database or the database of the Social Security Administration.

HAVA's data comparison process "was intended as an administrative safeguard for 'storing and managing the official list of registered voters,' and not as a restriction on voter eligibility." Washington Ass'n of Churches v. Reed, 492 F.Supp.2d 1264, 1268 (W.D. Wash. 2006).

Counties must ensure their procedures comply with state and federal law, which means that if there are no independent grounds to reject a voter registration application other than a nonmatch, the application may not be rejected and must be processed like all other applications.

Thus, any or all of Pennsylvania's almost 44,000 non-matching HAVV lookups performed in 2020 could have led to an accepted voter registration. One must wonder the utility of the HAVV system if the information is not being used to validate potential voters.

To reiterate the above information from the Social Security's own website, "The Help America Vote Act of 2002, P.L. 107-252 (HAVA) requires States to verify the information of newly registered voters for Federal elections. Each State must establish a computerized State-wide voter registration list and verify new voter information with the State's Motor Vehicle Administration (MVA)." (emphasis added).

In my opinion, In Washington Association of Churches v Reed ${ }^{2}$, which is the precedent listed above, District Judge Ricardo Martinez unilaterally interpreted the HAVA/HAVV law to say the opposite of what it actually intends. A statement from the case summary states "...enjoining enforcement of "matching" statute, requiring state to match potential voter's name to Social Security Administration or Department of Licensing database, because failure to match applicant's information was not material to determining qualification to vote." (emphasis added) This radical interpretation of Federal law needs to revisited by higher courts as soon as possible to close this dangerous loophole.

In addition, the procedures for how counties and states utilize this system must be made transparent, as many election officials I have spoken with are not themselves sure of the process. An audit of the HAVV system at the Social Security Administration must be performed to determine if unauthorized access is occurring, and to determine if adequate safeguards are in place to safeguard the access.

[^1]
[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ https://www.ssa.gov/open/havv/

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ https://casetext.com/case/washington-association-of-churches-v-reed

