Very hard in these next few weeks and on Election Day to make sure that journalists are recording our reporting on instances and instances of voter suppression. So just in recent years, many states, too many states have passed laws to make it harder to vote, such as voter I.D. laws. And too many efforts are undermining people’s ability to vote, such as voter roll purges and cuts to early voting. The ACLU points out communities that are particularly susceptible just to suppression and in some cases outright targeted people of color, students, the elderly and people with disabilities. Today, we’re talking with Susan Richardson, the chief executive officer of the Center for Public Integrity and Rachel Glik House, the partnership manager of Pro Publica Hours of Election Land Project. Both the Center for Public Integrity and ProPublica have ambitious efforts underway. And first, let me tell you a little bit about these outstanding women, Susan Smith. Richardson is a veteran journalist who previously served as the editorial director of NEWSROOM Practice Change at the Solutions Journalism Network. Prior to that, Susan was editor and publisher at the Chicago Reporter nonprofit Investigative NEWSROOM. That focus focuses on race, poverty and income inequality. And Susan was also managing editor at the Texas Observer of most venerable voice for independent journalism in the state of Texas. And Susan brings experience as an editor at the Chicago Tribune and the Sacramento Bee, where she led a team that reported on grassroots efforts to rebuild south central Los Angeles after the 1992 unrest. And joining us also, Rachel Glik House is a journalist and partner manager for the Election Land Project. Previously, she was partner manager for ProPublica, is documenting hate for three years. And Rachel is going to tell us a little bit about that project as well, if you're not familiar with it. And prior to joining ProPublica, Rachel worked at Univision Medium and the Americas Society Council of the Americas. She has also written for Al Jazeera America, Quartz and The Global Post. Thank you, Suzanne. Thank you, Rachel, for joining me today. So what I'd like to do to get started is if you could just please share with us a little bit about the projects that are underway. So, Suzanne, let’s begin with a barriers to the ballot box, a series of stories in the database that the Center for Public Integrity has made available to the public and to other journalists.

Thanks, Jennifer. Thanks for inviting me. And I'm really excited to be here with Rachel. So much of the project barriers to the ballot boxes is really the hard work that's been put in for a good year now with recording staff, beginning with Carrie Leveed and Petite Ramala. But in short, this is what the project is.

And let me tell you about the two pieces bearish on the ballot boxes. It is essentially looking at this. What has been the effect of polling place changes on the ability to vote since the landmark Supreme Court Shelby decision in 2013? That was a decision that effectively diluted some aspects of the Voting Rights Act, which we know was passed so famously by a lot of the sweat and labor folks like John Lewis to allow access to the ballot box, especially targeting in its origins African-Americans. But it has come to just serve all sorts of communities across the country today. So our idea was simply this. What has happened with changes to these polling place locations and how has that affected the ability to vote? That was the beginning of the project. But, of course, Kovik, as we're talking about now, was the big game changer. So the idea of just looking at polling place closures really, you know, got amplified to look at additional polling place closures as a result of not having enough poll workers and all the other things that culvert has created.

But also, we expanded the lens to look at the effect of mail and voting because now that it's become such an important issue in the context of addressing the pandemic.
So the project kind of expanded in scope. But let me go back to its essence, and it's really two pieces. It is reporting and reporting on local level or state level barriers to voting under our 50 states of disenfranchisement, where we talk about problems with access to the ballot. But the bigger part of it and that we think is really an important public service is the work that reporters quoted on creating a unique data set that looks at the that looks at federal elections and polling place closures in 2012, 2014.

Twenty sixteen and twenty eighteen. And what we can say about what has changed in those locations going all the way back to 2012. So as we think about it moving into the 2020 election, we're actually going to have some data we can measure things against because we've gone back and we've looked at these polling place closures going back to 2012. So instead of just saying, you know, we're going to use this information for ourselves, we release the data that we've gathered on 30 states thus far, more to come through, get hub to make it available to anyone who wants to do a journalist, a researcher who really wants to look at the impact of these polling place closures long term and coming up on who have the ability to vote and how and why.

Thank you, Suzanne. And I just put a link in the chat, too, to the series. And we'll also add a link on how how you and and other journalists and the public can access the database that's used and referenced. Rachel, tell us how elections, how the Elections Land Project operates.

For so Election Land is a very large scale collaborative project that ProPublica originally launched in 2016. And we also ran it in 2018. So this is our third time running this project. And the idea is to work with other newsrooms to cover voting problems in real time, to be able to identify problems as they're happening and to be able to report on them in a way that is collaborative and really reaches a national scale. So essentially, we recruit partner newsrooms. They are mostly local newsrooms, but we also have some national ones as well. So that we can identify where problems are happening and and give them information they can use to follow up on to potentially report stories.

So the project has evolved a little bit since 2016. That year, we had a very large operation that involved all of the types of newsrooms I mentioned, but also J schools and J school students and professors. And we relied really heavily on mining social media to try to identify problems, to see what people were complaining about publicly on social media. We really refined that approach in 2013 to focus on the two datasets I mentioned before. The idea is we may find some things on social.

But generally speaking, we're going to have more success, basically going directly to voters to find out what's happening. And we can use social as a supplement to identify additional information or additional evidence about those problems that are happening. We also work very closely with First Draft, which is an organization that focuses on misinformation, and they spend a lot of time mining social to identify what types of misinformation are popping up, what is being circulated, what is what has reached sort of a level at which it is sort of a tipping point for how far that misinformation has spread.
For the purposes of our project, we are mostly just interested in misinformation about the voting process. There is obviously a lot of misinformation about a lot of things at the moment. But for the purposes of our project, we want to know when and if misinformation is spreading about how to vote, where to vote.

[00:10:24] That sort of thing. So this year we are very much following this approach of focusing on these to these datasets. We also are very concerned with cybersecurity. So that's something we will also be looking at, particularly on Election Day. And using a couple other sort of data sets, some things we can get access to supplement any information we can find about where voting problems are happening and what types of problems are happening.

[00:10:56] Rachel, before I turn back to Susan, before I turn back.

[00:11:02] Susan, can you tell us just two or three areas where your reporting, where the social media mining is identifying problems with voter suppression?

[00:11:17] Are you finding early voting sites, for example? Not being available? Mail in ballots in particular states just making it difficult for mail in voting ballot.

[00:11:35] Sure. I'll give you an example from 2018. One thing that we identified through tips and through and this isn't about misinformation, but through tips and through and through social media. It was that in New York, there were a lot of people complaining that there were huge lines piling up at voting sites around the city on Election Day, that there were lots of machines breaking down and therefore causing the lines to build up and causing people to give up and waiting in those lines. And so we did some digging and discovered that the problem was actually pretty straightforward, which is that it was a rainy day, New York, and the ballots were damp because the humidity was so high and people were, you know, had wet coats and Burlison things and the damp ballots were jamming up the scanners. And this was happening around the city. So we did a story on that. We did collaboratively with folks at the Newmark Graduate School of Journalism and our team. One thing I would just like to emphasize is that not all voting problems are malicious, intentional voter suppression. I want to really drive the fact home that there are a good subset of problems that involve voting, that involve either some level of incompetence, lack of planning, lack of funding. And that isn't to say that these things aren't some greater evidence of voter suppression because of a lack of interest in providing funding and that sort of thing. But I think that's really important for journalists to understand and particularly for how they frame stories, because very often some of the problems we find are incompetence, space problems.

[00:13:27] So problems with the voting machines, just problems with chads, that sort of thing.

[00:13:34] Yes. Yeah. I mean, for example, machines are a good example because sometimes poll workers don't have enough training and they literally don't know how to properly operate them.

[00:13:45] Got it. Got it. Thank you. So, Susan, so barriers to the ballot box is a series that's series that's been running for more than a year. And Craig Newmark, who has been such a generous funder for many journalism initiatives and is a primary funder for this project. Tell us what your reporters. Have uncovered and how that relates to the Voting Rights Act.
[00:14:19] I if I can, I want to go back to two things really quickly that I failed to mention. First, we're doing this project in partnership with State Line, which is a wonderful partner, and they're an initiative of the Pew Charitable Trust. What if I could also say something about what Rachel said? I think, you know, her report about framing is really, really important. And there are kind of two things. There is a question of, yes, things are happening that are not perhaps are not intentional in terms of voter suppression.

[00:14:49] I think the context issue, though, here is this. There is intent and then there are steps, the impact. So the impact on whether it's on in some of the reporting we've done to our relations in Native American communities, African-American communities. There can be a separation between intent and who was most directly affected. So the policy sometimes there is a policy issue. Clearly, other times there, as she's pointing out, just simply errors and process problems. I think we don't want to lose sight of, though, the impact in which voters are most affected.

[00:15:25] So just to separate intent from impact is is something that we have to continue to think about in framing these issues. And the other part is just the history. You know, there is a long history, which is why we have a Voting Rights Act of a contested democracy. And when you just read the history of the voting the country, whether it was because you were, you know, an indentured servant or whatever it is, there's a long history of framing who has the right and privilege. And we don't want to lose that history either. While we should be very mindful and data driven about distinction between who's affected and intent. So I want to embrace what she's saying. We're also saying we do have a history in the country that we should also be mindful of, but certainly be led by the data. And I think that that's that's really an important point. You know, kind of getting straight on to your question. One of the questions that drove the project at the beginning and the research started a year ago. So I was literally walking into the door when our great reporters were already thinking about this polling place project and looking at it in the context of Shelby. The point was not to say there will be a predetermined outcome, but the point of doing the homework was to really look so we could see how have people been affected since this important change to the Voting Rights Act. And I think that's an important frame because one must look for what the impact of all of this has been on who gets to vote, especially in a climate where all these other issues are happening that that are policy driven. So the project, though, really did want to be able to say definitively through data what's happening. It's just happening here. Is it not happening here? And that's kind of the genesis of the project. Now, just to kind of move forward on some really important stories that I think we've been able to tell so far. I was thinking about one of the early pieces was looking at what was happening in Johnson County, Iowa, which is the county seat of Iowa City. And, of course, you know, I was so fundamental to the election process because of the caucuses, but we sent to reporters there who really looked in their home frame. What's whether I won and the challenges there would be a dress rehearsal for other people running elections across the country, because by then we knew we were smack dab in the middle of a pandemic. We already knew existing challenges to being able to vote and a number of issues so that I would peace. I feel really attempted, even though I was not, you know, what's never covered by Shelby, it did attempt to kind of set the ground on the challenges and some of these things become intentional. So here's a county which the election official had to address two lawsuits over how the mail in the mail, in ballots were being sent. The fundamental challenge in an overwhelmingly Democratic county by the Trump administration was this, that you can't put the voter I.D. numbers there. Instead, you need to send blank mail in ballots to people rather than put the voter I.D. numbers on there. And of course, the point of that for the election administrator was to
make voting as easy as possible for people. But then you look at the implications of the lawsuit and you have to question what was the point of that to say don't put Voter I.D. So you're going to have a more challenging time for people to be able to return them and make sure that those ballots get counted. So we are seeing skirmishes playing out between those election officials whose primary concern in some cases is simply to make sure that voting is as easy as possible, whether it's in person or it's the mail invalid's. And you're seeing legal challenges by the administration or by the Trump campaign, excuse me, that are really about making it more challenging for ballots in certain places to be counted. That part, you know, one must argue is there is there's intent there. But by getting on the ground, we hope to be able to just show the very complex and varied ways in which the ability to vote for whatever reason is challenged. So Iowa's was kind of a dress rehearsal and setting the stage for here's what's happening in this overwhelmingly Democratic county.

[00:20:15] But we've also, of course, looked at it other places and in other states, like we talked about Arizona, where there are other challenges and opportunities playing out, many of them that are playing out in a really, really partisan way.

[00:20:32] Suzanne. And, of course, the global pandemic mail in ballots is an option that many, many people are looking to use this election season.

[00:20:46] And Rachel, just as an example of the power of collaboration and I read the story, that election that the election land project ProPublica did with WRAL TV in North Carolina about the concerns over for over mail in ballots.

[00:21:05] Tell us how that story came about and what did it report for?

[00:21:13] So we have a data reporter in House named Sophie Chow, who is dedicated to elections this year.

[00:21:23] And she had been digging in to the two thousand eighteen data for North Carolina's midterm elections and had noticed through some analysis that there seemed to be disparities in whose mail in ballots were getting rejected. So we reached out to WRAL, which is a partner we have worked with before, both on Big Collaboration's and one on one collaboration's. They also have a great data reporter there, Tyler Dukes, who could also, you know, really help with the reporting, this sort of data heavy reporting we were doing on their end. He actually is that the news and Observer now? But they worked on that story together for a couple of months, hammering out some of the very specific caveats and trying. It took a long time to get to the point where they could make definitive assertions about certain things because, for example, sometimes people just don't return their mail-in ballots. There are a variety of things in that data that can be really confusing, which is why we had people who were real data experts work on the story. And then we co-published together, as we sometimes do, as we often do at ProPublica and sometimes do on election land to really hone in on what was happening, what we could identify, what was already happening in the state at a time when mail and voting is really exploding. And we also publish that story a little around the time that some of the new data was coming out about what ballots are getting rejected in 2020. And there were certainly an alignment there between what had already been happening and what was happening now during the presidential election.

[00:23:28] And what's not clear to me yet is.
We're now seeing a lot of television advertisements on down in Pennsylvania. So we're seeing a lot of political advertisements and lots of advertisements about voting. And in Pennsylvania, requesting voters to sign, for example, very specifically and date the outside of the envelope. But what happens when someone does it incorrectly? They don't sign the outside of the envelope.

They don't date it. Is that ballot automatically rejected? Do they get it? Is it returned? And is it? Are they then told to resubmit properly with instructions?

So one of the really frustrating things about covering voting and one of the other reasons why we do this project is a national level collaboration, is that every state has its own laws around voting, its own regulations and elections are run in very different ways in each state. Sometimes they're run on the municipal level, sometimes on the county level. So we have essentially ten thousand elections that happen on Election Day instead of one. Whereas in other countries, for example, they are run in a much more central fashion. So to answer, I can't really answer your question because it is different everywhere. Also, this particular aspect of what they call curing ballots called the vote cure process is under litigation in some places or has been under litigation. There's a record amount of voting litigation in general this year, and much of that has to do with mail voting. And this is a really key component that. Has been the subject of lawsuits about what that process looks like. How long the voters have to get back to the authorities with the changes. They're also, in some states, third party trackers so that you can see what's going on with your ballot. So that in theory, you should be able to see the status of what's happening throughout the process. So there are a number of things in place that have changed a great deal because mail balloting has become mail voting has now become a huge, much, much bigger thing in places that typically didn't really use that much before. So in some places, there are trackers that people can use. And some states have this cure process in place where voters are supposed to be given the opportunity to to fix certain problems. How that actually happens and in real life is another story and one we are certainly going to see play out this fall.

Well, another great reason for journalists to be on it. And there's ways to join the election land project for your local newsroom, local journalists, national journalists. We have the link in the chat. There's a couple of other projects I just want to mention. We'll also put those links into the track. One is the Trust Election Network, which is a network that is being operated by the American Press Institute and a new effort called Vote Feet that began with founders of Truck Beat with a real focus on local. So we'll put links to that in the chat. So before we get to questions from the audience, please put your questions in the chat. We'd love to hear from you.

Look to Susan and Rachel, too. You bring just such great expertise and experience.

How can and how should journalists be planning their reporting around the voting and voting, the voting process between now and Election Day and after Election Day. And also, the president of the United States has called on poll watchers. I'm not quite sure what that means. And I just want to make sure that we get to that question how journalists should be thinking about that. And Rachel, as the former partnership manager of the Doc Hate Project, would love your insights on that. But, Susan, first tell us, how should journalists be preparing?

What should they be doing now?
That's a great question. If I can, I want to piggyback on something that Rachel said that I want to get right to that question now. I really think it can't be understated what she said, how challenging it is to just collect this data about what's happening across the country with the elections because you have so many jurisdictions.

It took, you know, twelve hundred public records requests to get the data that we did for barriers to the ballot box. And I'll just think about my home state of Texas, which has two hundred and fifty-four counties. And basically you're trying to get information from two hundred and fifty-four elections administrators. So that's just disappear. Scale will make your eyes willing to back your head. The other point, too, that she made about the challenge of the balloting process. So different states have different rules around mail and balloting. Some people were already there with no excuses, others weren't. So it really is like trying to tease the crap out of the gumbo if you're from Louisiana, you know what I mean? It's just impossible. So are the okra. So so it is very different from place to place. I think the interesting thing I want to point out on that, though, is the Arizona case, which is all about, you know, the mail in ballot. And this is a big part that's got to go to the Supreme Court or one of two parts.

And that is if I do my mail-in ballot, can anyone return it for me at the polling place and or, you know, at an election office?

And basically, the state is said no, and that's been kicked up to the Supreme Court. So to your point, there are a lot of lawsuits that are playing out right now.

Some will not be settled until after the November election week, month, year or whatever it turns into. And these are really critical contests around the quality of our democracy and electoral and democratic processes. So I just wanted to jump on that and say that's that's so critical and it makes the work really challenging. You know, as far as election night, we're not in the position where, you know, we are the folks who are worried about, you know, where we be don't do the horse race. That is not our DNA. And therefore, it. What you can say or can't say is not of an immediate concern, but it is in the larger sense of responsibility and journalistic integrity. And that is that the. Our argument would be that what we want to be able to provide through the entire election process and especially moving from the election night forward, is just context and understanding of of whatever process may play out. Some of that is just understanding the, you know, having historical framework. It may be looking back on what happened in the last election, but it could also be, as someone pointed out in a recent news guy's conversation, looking at the whole importance of what legislative process is kicked in.

If you end up with a no clear 270 winner through the Electoral College, what we would like to do is to be able to bring to people who have cast their ballots a context about how the process works and an understanding of what the options may be, more so than saying, you know, caring about the outcome because the outcome is really a moving piece. So that's one thing. The other thing we hope to do with the releasing decided to give Cobb and some potential partnerships is to be able to look at in real-time what the effect or where are the polling places where you're seeing, you know, the most challenges are people out there with the longest lines. Those are things that we think add value. So historical context, but also being able to look at how the process is playing out to the extent one can in real-time on Election Day at polling place locations.
Thank you, Susan. That's very helpful and what's also so helpful is the historical context that you have provided throughout this conversation. Thank you, Rachel. As the former partnership manager of documenting hate.

Have documented hate around this country. That was a project that began several years ago. What concerns do you have about the calls for poll watchers, for eggs, for example? We've just had this extraordinarily extraordinary incident in Michigan with.

An investigation uncovering a plot against a group of men kidnap the governor of Michigan. So what? Based on your experience, what should journalists be looking out for? And how should they be planning their cold watching? Yeah. So one thing I would say is that in 2016, we were also concerned about this issue because Trump made similar calls in 2016 and made efforts to sign people up for his. This process. And what ended up happening mostly in practice in 2016 is that that list was used really as a listserv for, you know, get out the vote efforts. And we didn't see widespread voter intimidation happening at the polls with groups of people driving to the polls and harassing voters. So it was something we were very worried about and definitely thinking about in 2016. The difference this year is that a consent decree that the RNC receptive to around, it's called ballot security, expired in 2018. So that means that there's a bit of a difference now between now and 2016 after this consent decree expired. And we've also seen just a lot of rhetoric and talk about this particular issue in addition to the presence of these groups, of some of these extremist groups popping up. One thing I would say is that. There are two things I think are important to keep in mind. One. One thing is that part of what some of these groups do is attempt to harness the power of the media to recruit people to their cause. I happen to have more experience with some of the more, say, traditional white supremacist groups, because that's more what we cover during documenting hate. Some of these other groups that have been coming up or certainly have overlap, but there's ideological differences, for example. But what I would say is that one thing that we talked a lot about during documenting hate is one thing we always weighed was making sure that we were helping them do propaganda for them, because that is a big part of what they try to do is to use the media to use their platforms to harness social media and other ways to recruit more people to their cause. So that's one thing I would say to keep in mind, to be thoughtful about. The other thing I would say is that we definitely are seeing things that people are concerned about. We know that there there's been a lot of reporting on this particular issue about people being concerned about folks showing up at polling places. One thing I would say is another thing we have to be very careful about is we certainly want to be prepared for the worst and we certainly want to be prepared to cover that and to be able to do that safely and thoughtfully. But I would also say the one thing we don't want to do is disenfranchise voters by scaring them away from going to the polls this year. Obviously, a big difference between this year and less in the last presidential election is that people have more options because of this massive expansion of vote by mail. So in a large number of states, vote by mail is definitely an option. But, you know, time is running out for that to be an option in many places. You know, you really have to there. You have to request your ballot. You have to get it back there. A lot of different rules around drop boxes and other things depending on what state you're in. So, you know, if folks are not voting by mail and they've made a plan to vote in person, we want to make sure that we don't disenfranchise those people by frightening them, that that's not going to be possible to do safely. So I think we need to focus. Part of what we're doing as our project is to be able to identify if these incidents are happening, where they're happening and what the responses. What we don't want to do is sort of generalized and hypothesize about what might happen in a way that people are going to get scared about. So I hope that's I mean,
I don't want to sound too wishy-washy, but I think those two issues are just really important to keep in mind.

[00:38:20] Thank you, Rachel. Susan, I see you nodding your head and again, long before the Center for Public Integrity. You've been a leading journalist in Texas at the in Chicago.

[00:38:34] Do you have anything that you want to add to that about how. The balance between reporting on concerns about these poll watchers and what that might be and not scaring away people at the polls. Now, just that I agree 100 percent with what Rachel said. I mean, that's just playing responsible. I think our larger goal. You know, has to be and this is not an agenda goal for journalists to say that part of what we do is to ensure the systems of democracy are working. That is what that framework with that mindset that we should be covering the election process. We are anyway. And I think we need to lock that down on Election Day. I do think it's important not to feed into misinformation or fear or chaos about whether or not one should go.

[00:39:38] And and I do think in saying talking about issues in real time is less about talking about, you know, are what militias showing up at this place. It's more looking at where there are challenges in terms of long lines, which I think has a level of value. But once again, to Rachel's point, you don't want to say that to discourage people from showing up. You want to say it and figure out how do you frame it in a way that that has meaning. So I think by highlighting that you don't have to say don't go. But you have to be mindful. Is the messaging around that saying we're trying to, No. One, understand how things are playing out and have access is playing out as opposed to you should be frustrated, not go. So, I mean, I think adding the context to the reporting on the day of is where the difference gets me. And I just want to add that in the chat. And Stephanie Murray, who runs the Center for Cooperative Media at Mont Cloete, Montclair State University, has added a link. Called to election S.O. s, which she says has a great scenario planning guide. So please go to the chat and get that link. We have a couple of questions. One question, Rachael, is it is for you. On what data set should journalists outside of.

[00:41:10] Outside of social shouldn't journalists be looking at on Election Day?

[00:41:19] So I would just like to recommend the Center for Public Integrity is data pool polling place status super important, and it has changed so much because of the pandemic, because so many places have refused to act as polling places. There have been there's been a big shift to large scale polling places like stadiums. So there's going to be really important also you to keep using it. New York is nuclear. But I live here. So early voting sites, New York City. Are different in some cases than day of voting sites, which is potentially going to confuse people. And so figuring that out. Having a list of the polling sites is, I think, really key. If you have someone who has a little bit of data experience on your staff, getting your state voter file can unlock all sorts of interesting things. So that's another one I would say is a hugely helpful dataset. A lot of major newsrooms buy these. They sort of range in price and accessibility. So it really depends on your state. Sums. There's at least one state that charges a lot of money, but in other cases it's not so much. We'll also be looking at Google Trends, which we have traditionally done on Election Day. As part of Election LAMS. So that's something we'll also be looking at to see what, if anything, we can find in trend data about what people are searching for. So those are a couple of different things that I can think of initially. And then the other thing is we're running out of time a little bit. But the data from past elections is in something called the Even's data, which is compiled by the EIC. So that is accessible through their site. And you
can download it again. It would be helpful if you have someone with little more data experience to be able to sort of go through that. But that is publicly available data.

[00:43:41] And, Suzanne, how might folks get access to the incredible data set on polling locations, polling location changes that CPI has been building?

[00:43:53] Well, thanks, Rachel. We release this data to get hung up so people can access it there.

[00:44:01] OK, great. Well, thank you, everyone, for joining us for this episode of Informed and Engaged. And we know that how viable and how important reporting is in addition to voter suppression.

[00:44:20] There's just as Rachel said sometimes that it's just plain old in competence and we just are really dependent, really, really, really dependent on great reporting and great collaborative reporting.

[00:44:40] Thank you, everyone. Thank you, Susan. Thank you, Rachel.