DEFENSE ALLIANCE

# Believe It (Or Not): The Massachusetts Special Election For US Senate 

Jonathan D. Simon ${ }^{1}$<br>August 27, 2010

## Background

On January $19^{\text {th }}, 2010$ the Commonwealth of M assachusetts held a Special Election to fill the Senate seat left open by the death of Senator Edward Kennedy. It would be difficult to overstate the political implications of this election. Because the seat was the $60^{\text {th }}$ for the Democrats, it carried with it the effective balance of power in the Senate: without it, in a dramatically polarized and decidedly uncooperative political environment, the Democrats would not be able to override a GOP filibuster. As the media let Americans know, everything from the shape of healthcare policy to financial regulation, from energy and environmental policy to critical judicial appointments hung in the balance.

Just as significantly, the victory by Republican Scott Brown over supposed shoo-in M artha Coakley was taken and trumpeted as a "sign:" the political calculus for the upcoming general elections in 2010 and 2012 was instantly rewritten, with the anger and unrest that apparently produced Brown's victory establishing expectations of catastrophic losses for the Democrats in November and beyond. All in all the political impact of this single, under-the-radar state election was seismic, very nearly "presidential."

## The Electoral System

With stakes that high, citizens not only of M assachusetts but of the rest of the United States would hope to find firm basis for knowledge, as opposed to mere faith, that the votes were accurately counted as cast and that the seating of the certified winner, along with the massive implications alluded to above, at least reflected the will and intent of the voting constituency. Instead, this is what a citizen seeking such knowledge about the M assachusetts Special Election would find:

[^0]- $97 \%$ of the ballots cast were counted unobservably by optical scan equipment ("opscan"), scanning voter-marked paper ballots; $3 \%$ of the ballots cast were publicly hand-counted. ${ }^{2}$
- The opscan devices were programmable computers manufactured by two corporations, Diebold/Premier Election Solutions ("Diebold/Premier") and Elections Systems and Software ("ES\&S"), which together supply $80 \%$ of such equipment nationwide, ${ }^{3}$ and $100 \%$ in M assachusetts. ${ }^{4}$
- The vast majority ${ }^{5}$ of the opscan devices were programmed, distributed and serviced by the highly secretive LHS Corporation, located in M ethuen, M assachusetts.
- No systematic audit of the count was performed.
- No spot-checks of the count were performed.
- There was no recount of any ballots.
- There were no exit polls performed.
- No actual ballots stored within the opscan equipment were examined or are permitted to be examined.
- No memory cards, which internally direct each opscan's counting process and store the results, were examined or, as proprietary information belonging to their corporate programmer, are permitted to be examined.
- No computer code directing the recording and counting of ballots or the display of results was examined or, as proprietary information belonging to the programmer, is permitted to be examined.

The inquiring citizen or, for that matter, public official or candidate would unfortunately discover no information about the $97 \%$ of ballots counted by opscan equipment, other than the vote totals as displayed by that equipment after the last ballot had been scanned. That is, he or she would be reduced to $100 \%$ pure, unadulterated, blind faith that the totals displayed were accurate-fact and not fiction.

If, in fact, the vendor corporations, or any insider(s) with access to the programming and distribution processes, had chosen to serve a private political agenda rather than the public trust, there would be nothing in the official processes of voting, vote-counting, and election certification to indicate that such a breach had occurred. If, for example, certain memory cards had been programmed to tally any ballot bearing a stray mark as a vote for Candidate $X$, this single exploit might result in an outcomedeterminative shift of votes, and no one except the programmer would ever know. Or if certain

[^1]memory cards had been programmed to shift every $\mathrm{n}^{\text {th }}$ vote for Candidate A to Candidate B , who but the programmer would know?

Such vulnerability to fraud has by now been well researched and documented. ${ }^{6}$ Unfortunately it tends to be regarded in the abstract, a technical possibility rather than an actual menace. The thinking appears to be that, because this is America, such things simply do not happen. Let us now set aside this comforting a priori conclusion and biopsy the Massachusetts Special Election with such tools as are available.

## Our Analysis

We turn, in the absence of any direct validation of the opscan vote count, to the only ballots not counted invisibly. Just over 65,000 ballots, in 71 communities, ${ }^{7}$ were counted by hand under public observation. Had these ballots been distributed randomly throughout the Commonwealth, we would expect the handcount results to fall within $1.0 \%$ of the opscan results with better than $99.9999 \%$ confidence. ${ }^{8}$ Since the handcounts derive from discrete communities, however, and since $M$ assachusetts is not politically homogeneous, an attempt must be made to quantitatively characterize and relate the two "meta-jurisdictions" which we shall call "Handcountville" (consisting of the 71 handcount communities) and "Opscanshire" (consisting of the remaining 280 opscan communities) respectively.

The first and most obvious way to relate Handcountville and Opscanshire would be by party registration. Such data is available from the M assachusetts Secretary of State, updated to October 2008. ${ }^{9}$ It is given in Table $1 .{ }^{10}$

TABLE 1

| Two-Party Registration - Massachusetts 2008 |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Comparative Totals | GOP Reg | Dem Reg | Dem Margin |
| Handcount \% | $31.8 \%$ | $68.2 \%$ | $\mathbf{3 6 . 4 \%}$ |
| Opscan \% | $23.7 \%$ | $76.3 \%$ | $\mathbf{5 2 . 6 \%}$ |
| Differential | $\mathbf{- 8 . 1} \%$ | $\mathbf{8 . 1} \%$ | $\mathbf{1 6 . 2 \%}$ |

The two-party registration numbers paint Handcountville as significantly more Republican territory than is Opscanshire. Two-party registration is, however, a limited indicator in M assachusetts because just over half the voters in the Commonwealth ( $50.75 \%$ ) are registered as "unenrolled" in either major

[^2]party. ${ }^{11}$ Without knowing more about the unenrolled voters in each meta-jurisdiction, reaching beyond this impression to a conclusive quantitative characterization is not feasible.

Fortunately there exist indicators other than party registration that illuminate the political characteristics of voting constituencies. Massachusetts held contests for United States Senator in each of the two past biennial elections. The results, as broken down by meta-jurisdiction, are given in Table 2.

## TABLE 2

|  | US Senate-2008 |  | US Senate-2006 |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Comparative Totals | Beatty-R | Kerry-D | Kerry <br> Margin | Chase-R | Kennedy-D | Kennedy <br> Margin |
| Handcount\% | $31.5 \%$ | $68.5 \%$ | $\mathbf{3 7 . 0 \%}$ | $31.1 \%$ | $68.9 \%$ | $\mathbf{3 7 . 8 \%}$ |
| Opscan \% | $32.0 \%$ | $68.0 \%$ | $\mathbf{3 6 . 0 \%}$ | $30.5 \%$ | $69.5 \%$ | $\mathbf{3 9 . 0 \%}$ |
| Handcount-Opscan Disparity | $\mathbf{0 . 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{- 0 . 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{1 . 0 \%}$ | $\mathbf{- 0 . 6 \%}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 6 \%}$ | $\mathbf{- 1 . 2 \%}$ |

In each of these statewide senatorial elections, Handcountville and Opscanshire exhibited virtual political congruence, much as we would expect if indeed Handcountville votes were a random sample of the state as a whole, establishing baseline expectations for the political divisions of the two metajurisdictions in similar contests such as the 2010 M assachusetts Special Election. In fact, when we combine the vote totals for the previous two Senate elections (2006 and 2008), we find exact congruence between the voters of Handcountville and Opscanshire, as shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

| Combined Vote For US Senate $\mathbf{2 0 0 6}$ and 2008 |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Comparative Totals | GOP | Dem | Dem Margin |
| Handcount \% | $31.3 \%$ | $68.7 \%$ | $\mathbf{3 7 . 4 \%}$ |
| Opscan \% | $31.3 \%$ | $68.7 \%$ | $\mathbf{3 7 . 4 \%}$ |
| Handcount-Opscan Disparity | $\mathbf{0 . 0 \%}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 0 \%}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 0 \%}$ |

When we turn to the 2010 Special Election, however, we find a radically different comparative outcome. The results of the Brown-Coakley contest, as broken down by meta-jurisdiction, are given in Table 4. ${ }^{12}$

[^3]
## TABLE 4

| US Senate - $\mathbf{2 0 1 0}$ (Special) |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Comparative Totals | Brown-R | Coakley-D | Brown Margin |
| Handcount \% | $48.6 \%$ | $51.4 \%$ | $\mathbf{- 2 . 8} \%$ |
| Opscan \% | $52.6 \%$ | $47.4 \%$ | $\mathbf{5 . 2} \%$ |
| Handcount-Opscan Disparity | $\mathbf{4 . 0} \%$ | $\mathbf{- 4 . 0} \%$ | $\mathbf{8 . 0} \%$ |

Where votes were observably counted by hand, the Democrat M artha Coakley defeated the Republican Scott Brown by a margin of $2.8 \%$; where votes were counted unobservably and secretly by machine, Brown defeated Coakley by a margin of $5.2 \%$.

There is no evidence that this whopping marginal disparity of $8.0 \%$ is attributable to divergent political leanings of the two meta-jurisdictions. In fact there is strong evidence to the contrary: as the previous two Senate contests and what we can glean from party registration indicate, Handcountville is no more Democratic, and likely less so, than Opscanshire. Nor is there reason to suspect a demographic bias as cause: Handcountville consists primarily of small rural communities; Coakley, born and raised in the northwestern part of Massachusetts, had spent the past 30 years since graduation from Boston University Law School as a Boston-based, big-city attorney and prosecutor, serving from 1999 to 2007 as high-profile District Attorney of M iddlesex County, home to 54 communities of which only four are in Handcountville.

Nonetheless it is incumbent upon our analysis to consider what would be the last-standing "benign" explanation for the handcount-opscan disparity and Coakley's Handcountville victory: that Handcountville impounds relatively more western towns near Coakley's old "home base," and that her Handcountville victory therefore reflects nothing more insidious than a "favorite daughter" phenomenon at work. Fortunately for our analysis, Coakley ran statewide for Attorney General in 2006, allowing us to assess whether Coakley enjoys "favorite daughter" status in Handcountville. The contest, against a Cambridge-based opponent, was, like the senatorial elections of 2006 and 2008, not sufficiently competitive to be a rational target for manipulation. The results are given below in Table 5: ${ }^{13}$

## TABLE 5

| Massachusetts Attorney General - 2006 |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Comparative Totals | Coakley-D | Frisoli-R | Coakley <br> Margin |
| Handcount \% | $72.6 \%$ | $27.4 \%$ | $\mathbf{4 5 . 2 \%}$ |
| Opscan \% | $73.0 \%$ | $27.0 \%$ | $\mathbf{4 6 . 0 \%}$ |
| Handcount-Opscan Disparity | $\mathbf{0 . 4 \%}$ | $\mathbf{- 0 . 4 \%}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 8 \%}$ |

[^4]We observe that in 2006, her only other statewide election, M artha Coakley performed just as well in Opscanshire as she did in Handcountville; in fact, she ran slightly better in the opscan communities. There was no "favorite daughter" phenomenon, no regional effect, and no Coakley advantage in the handcount jurisdictions. There was also, given the $45 \%$ margin, no incentive to manipulate and nothing at all to be gained from a "small" shift of votes on the order of the $5 \%$ shift sufficient to reverse the outcome of the 2010 Special Election.

The handcount vs. opscan disparity in the 2010 Special Election for Senate in M assachusetts stands as an unexplained anomaly of dramatic numerical proportions. It remains to be noted that, as with the prior Coakley statewide race, neither the 2006 nor the 2008 Senate election which preceded it-and which we have presented as baseline contests-was competitive enough to invite manipulation: the risk entailed in shifting a net of $36 \%$ of the votes statewide is prohibitive; ${ }^{14}$ and a shift in, say, the $5-10 \%$ range would not alter the outcome and would therefore garner no reward. Such was not the case with the Brown-Coakley contest, where the risk-reward ratio was extremely favorable: a net shift of a mere $5 \%$ of the machine-counted votes would be sufficient to reverse the outcome. As seismic as the Brown victory was, it was numerically plausible enough to pass the smell test, rendering the risk minimal. The reward, as noted at the beginning, was politically astronomical.

## Not A Fluke

Should it be objected that this election somehow constitutes an isolated instance perhaps influenced by unperceived but legitimate factors peculiar to its particular terrain and moment in time, we may expand our inquiry to a neighboring time and a neighboring venue where, fortunately, both opscan and hand counting also continue to coexist. The state of New Hampshire also uses computerized voting equipment manufactured by Diebold/Premier, and is also serviced exclusively by LHS Corporation. In the 2008 general election we find Obama running significantly better in Handcountville, NH than in Opscanshire, NH -a disparity that increases to alarming proportions when party registration data is used to normalize the two meta-jurisdictions, as presented in Table 6. ${ }^{15}$

[^5]
## TABLE 6

New Hampshire Statewide Vote For President 2008 Relative to Party Registration

| New Hampshire Statewide E2008 | Dem | Rep | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Opscan Presidential Vote | $54.51 \%$ | $45.49 \%$ | $100.00 \%$ |
| Opscan Registered Voters | $50.00 \%$ | $50.00 \%$ | $100.00 \%$ |
| Opscan vs. Party-Registration Differential | 4.51 | -4.51 | 0 |
| Handcount Presidential Vote | $56.51 \%$ | $43.49 \%$ | $100.00 \%$ |
| Handcount Registered Voters | $46.69 \%$ | $53.31 \%$ | $100.00 \%$ |
| Handcount vs. Party-Registration Differential | 9.82 | -9.82 | 0 |
| Handcount vs. Opscan Relative To Party Registration | 5.31 | -5.31 | 10.62 |

We see that Obama ran 4.51\% ahead of (and M cCain a corresponding 4.51\% behind) two-party registration numbers in opscan jurisdictions but $9.82 \%$ ahead of two-party registration numbers in handcount jurisdictions. The normalized net disparity is $10.62 \%$, comparable in eye-popping magnitude to the $8.0 \%$ disparity observed in the M assachusetts Special election.

Furthermore, in New Hampshire as in M assachusetts, we were fortunate to have a noncompetitive contest which can, as do the 2006 and 2008 Senate and the 2006 Attorney General contests in M assachusetts, function as a baseline for comparison. The results for the 2008 New Hampshire gubernatorial contest are presented in Table 7.

## TABLE 7

| New Hampshire Statewide Vote For Governor 2008 |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | Lynch-D | Kenney-R | Lynch Margin |
| Handcount \% | $71.76 \%$ | $28.24 \%$ | $\mathbf{4 3 . 5 2 \%}$ |
| Opscan \% | $71.76 \%$ | $28.24 \%$ | $\mathbf{4 3 . 5 2 \%}$ |
| Handcount-Opscan Disparity | $\mathbf{0 . 0 0}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 0 0}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 0 0}$ |

Once again we find that, in a noncompetitive contest, the handcount and opscan jurisdictions exhibit political congruence (in this case, exact congruence to the second percentage decimal place), where in a presumptively competitive contest (the Presidential race), we find a glaring disparity.

## Conclusion

It may fairly be objected that none of this numerical or "circumstantial" evidence, however strong, proves that computerized fraud has taken place or that the M assachusetts Special Election was "stolen," and we readily agree. To furnish such proof, beyond not just a reasonable doubt but any shred of
doubt, we would need access to either memory cards, the code that actually ran in the opscans on Election Day, and/or the actual voter-marked ballots (chain of custody of course preserved), all of which are conveniently off-limits to inquiry. For anyone wondering, though, how much trust to place in privatized, concealed, and computerized vote counting-past, present and future-we suggest that the M A Special numbers scream for themselves.

And as numbers as implausible as these continue to rear their heads in high-stakes elections throughout the United States-invariably revealing a shift of votes in the same direction, whether measured against exit polls, pre-election polls, or observable vote counts ${ }^{16}$ - we ask how the prevailing and irrational level of trust in invisible, unobservable vote counting can be maintained? We further ask how we can continue to employ a system that keeps software, code, memory cards, and all key aspects of the vote counting process secret, and relegates anyone seeking evidence of electoral validity to such an indirect quest for comparisons and baselines and numerical fingerprints as we have been obliged to undertake.

We return to the Massachusetts Special Election, which has not only dramatically altered the balance of power in Washington but has indeed ushered in a dramatically altered set of political expectations going forward into the critical elections of 2010 and 2012, as the hyper-polarization of American politics continues. ${ }^{17}$ We cannot say with $100 \%$ certainty that the $97 \%$ of votes counted on optical scanners were subject to manipulation. But we can fairly ask: "What evidence exists that they were not?"

We have found none-no checks, audits, ballot inspections, hand tallies, exit polls, memory card or computer code examinations. Not a thing beyond pure faith that the corporations (and we have, for the purposes of this analysis, ignored their documented and self-proclaimed partisan proclivities) and insiders charged with the secret, unobservable counting of $97 \%$ of the votes in M assachusetts, have

[^6]decided to honor the public trust at the expense of any other personal, economic, or political agenda of their own or of anyone who would seek to influence them. In an age of steroids and hGH, credit default swaps, Ponzi schemes, and massive institutional frauds coupled with hyper-partisan, true-believer politics, such "faith" amounts to little more than rank denial.

Nor, in the final analysis, is it evident to us that additional layers of technology would ultimately suffice to thwart a determined electoral manipulator-and, given the massive stakes in a politically polarized $21^{\text {st }}$ Century America, we must anticipate the highest level of determination to bring about desired outcomes by any and all means. We have seen exit polls discredited, audits (Ohio 2004, e.g.) gamed, chains of ballot custody observed in the breach. Perhaps most critically, as long as it takes an expert to implement, or indeed to comprehend, a security protocol, every non-expert citizen is left on the outside looking in, never receiving knowledge, as opposed to mere assurance, that the bedrock protocol of his or her democracy has not been corrupted. Only transparency, visible and observable counting by humans or non-programmable devices ${ }^{18}$ at every step-which is just as feasible today as it was a mere generation ago ${ }^{19}$ - can bestow that knowledge.

Computers can help us in many ways and will continue to play a major role in our lives, periodic glitches, hacks, and meltdowns notwithstanding. But to blindly and needlessly entrust our nation's electionsparticularly its federal elections which so directly determine our national direction-to private, corporate and, it must be said, partisan enterprises operating and calculating in secret beyond our capacity to observe and validate, is, to put it with the bluntness this emergency demands, collective insanity.

[^7]Appendix: Massachusetts Election and Registration Data By Opscan/ Handcount Jurisdictions

|  | 2010 Special Election |  |  | Registration (2008) |  |  | 2008 Senate |  |  | 2006 Senate |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| City/Town | Brown (GOP) | Coakley (Dem) | Total | GOP | Dem | Total | Beatty (GOP) | Kerry (Dem) | Total | Chase <br> (GOP) | Kennedy (Dem) | Total |
| Abington | 4,158 | 2,088 | 6,246 | 1149 | 3097 | 4246 | 3,003 | 4,608 | 7,611 | 2115 | 3625 | 5740 |
| Acton | 3,896 | 5,371 | 9,267 | 1693 | 3886 | 5579 | 3,376 | 7,633 | 11,009 | 2430 | 5851 | 8281 |
| Acushnet | 2,138 | 1,627 | 3,765 | 557 | 2991 | 3548 | 1,524 | 3,571 | 5,095 | 965 | 2908 | 3873 |
| Adams | 748 | 1,650 | 2,398 | 482 | 2207 | 2689 | 661 | 3,191 | 3852 | 454 | 2254 | 2708 |
| Agawam | 6,726 | 3,660 | 10,386 | 3161 | 6259 | 9420 | 4,999 | 8,415 | 13,414 | 3808 | 6329 | 10137 |
| Amesbury | 3,480 | 2,543 | 6,023 | 1643 | 3406 | 5049 | 2,850 | 5,139 | 7,989 | 2019 | 3815 | 5834 |
| Amherst | 1,180 | 6,547 | 7,727 | 1076 | 9343 | 10419 | 1,141 | 10,727 | 11,868 | 852 | 7123 | 7975 |
| Andover | 8,336 | 5,900 | 14,236 | 3905 | 6170 | 10075 | 7,055 | 10,286 | 17,341 | 5190 | 7824 | 13014 |
| Arlington | 6,845 | 13,284 | 20,129 | 2337 | 14602 | 16939 | 5,532 | 18,556 | 24,088 | 4211 | 15327 | 19538 |
| Ashburnham | 1,574 | 866 | 2,440 | 609 | 1039 | 1648 | 1,288 | 1,860 | 3,148 | 907 | 1408 | 2315 |
| Ashland | 3,467 | 2,897 | 6,364 | 1316 | 3062 | 4378 | 2,702 | 5,289 | 7,991 | 1907 | 4004 | 5911 |
| Athol | 2,105 | 1,171 | 3,276 | 914 | 1645 | 2559 | 1,644 | 2,783 | 4,427 | 1154 | 2028 | 3182 |
| Attleboro | 8,598 | 4,819 | 13,417 | 3397 | 6946 | 10343 | 6,133 | 11,670 | 17,803 | 4679 | 8015 | 12694 |
| Auburn | 4,036 | 2,406 | 6,442 | 1360 | 3590 | 4950 | 3,137 | 5,157 | 8,294 | 2141 | 4120 | 6261 |
| Avon | 1,155 | 706 | 1,861 | 289 | 1062 | 1351 | 841 | 1,410 | 2,251 | 590 | 1182 | 1772 |
| Ayer | 1,467 | 989 | 2,456 | 617 | 1183 | 1800 | 1,255 | 1,905 | 3,160 | 841 | 1493 | 2334 |
| Barnstable | 12,331 | 7,543 | 19,874 | 5836 | 8242 | 14078 | 10,940 | 13,145 | 24,085 | 7732 | 12040 | 19772 |
| Barre | 1,263 | 728 | 1,991 | 506 | 913 | 1419 | 1,023 | 1,476 | 2,499 | 711 | 1230 | 1941 |
| Becket | 225 | 384 | 609 | 151 | 358 | 509 | 223 | 658 | 881 | 155 | 418 | 573 |
| Bedford | 2,900 | 2,976 | 5,876 | 1332 | 2612 | 3944 | 2,499 | 4,531 | 7,030 | 1822 | 3719 | 5541 |
| Belchertown | 2,749 | 2,629 | 5,378 | 1344 | 2880 | 4224 | 2,222 | 4,950 | 7,172 | 1598 | 3898 | 5496 |
| Bellingham | 4,090 | 2,179 | 6,269 | 1395 | 3034 | 4429 | 2,964 | 4,887 | 7,851 | 2110 | 3649 | 5759 |
| Belmont | 4,405 | 6,528 | 10,933 | 1601 | 5870 | 7471 | 3,740 | 9,201 | 12,941 | 3084 | 7631 | 10715 |
| Berkley | 1,614 | 746 | 2,360 | 521 | 983 | 1504 | 1,152 | 1,799 | 2,951 | 820 | 1290 | 2110 |
| Bernardston | 378 | 445 | 823 | 188 | 287 | 475 | 314 | 846 | 1,160 | 277 | 623 | 900 |
| Beverly | 8,400 | 6,735 | 15,135 | 3074 | 7145 | 10219 | 6,566 | 12,850 | 19,416 | 4938 | 10168 | 15106 |
| Billerica | 9,583 | 4,972 | 14,555 | 2973 | 7662 | 10635 | 7,387 | 10,873 | 18,260 | 5209 | 8077 | 13286 |
| Blackstone | 2,102 | 1,052 | 3,154 | 638 | 1814 | 2452 | 1,439 | 2,543 | 3,982 | 1056 | 1839 | 2895 |
| Bolton | 1,362 | 995 | 2,357 | 653 | 675 | 1328 | 1,147 | 1,579 | 2,726 | 882 | 1241 | 2123 |
| Boston | 46,468 | 105,289 | 151,757 | 27541 | 209710 | 237251 | 35,952 | 180,527 | 216,479 | 23008 | 124397 | 147405 |
| Bourne | 5,134 | 2,807 | 7,941 | 2080 | 3027 | 5107 | 4,536 | 5,097 | 9,633 | 3102 | 4486 | 7588 |
| Boxborough | 1,087 | 1,141 | 2,228 | 471 | 853 | 1324 | 959 | 1,728 | 2,687 | 716 | 1311 | 2027 |
| Boxford | 2,837 | 1,239 | 4,076 | 1420 | 974 | 2394 | 2,408 | 2,277 | 4,685 | 1910 | 1814 | 3724 |
| Boylston | 1,321 | 729 | 2,050 | 461 | 629 | 1090 | 1,098 | 1,409 | 2,507 | 784 | 1136 | 1920 |
| Braintree | 9,312 | 5,606 | 14,918 | 2912 | 9640 | 12552 | 6,868 | 10,795 | 17,663 | 4803 | 9020 | 13823 |
| Brewster | 2,730 | 2,416 | 5,146 | 1500 | 2081 | 3581 | 2,790 | 3,518 | 6,308 | 2019 | 3146 | 5165 |
| Bridgewater | 6,138 | 2,794 | 8,932 | 2047 | 4227 | 6274 | 4,646 | 6,651 | 11,297 | 3149 | 4908 | 8057 |
| Brockton | 9,634 | 11,761 | 21,395 | 4612 | 26316 | 30928 | 7,466 | 24,003 | 31,469 | 5594 | 16132 | 21726 |
| Brookfield | 813 | 430 | 1,243 | 309 | 516 | 825 | 684 | 943 | 1,627 | 508 | 776 | 1284 |
| Brookline | 5,217 | 15,264 | 20,481 | 3277 | 20020 | 23297 | 4,365 | 21,796 | 26,161 | 2994 | 16525 | 19519 |
| Buckland | 263 | 522 | 785 | 114 | 329 | 443 | 199 | 778 | 977 | 194 | 599 | 793 |
| Burlington | 5,640 | 3,658 | 9,298 | 1761 | 5181 | 6942 | 4,659 | 7,438 | 12,097 | 3290 | 5879 | 9169 |
| Cambridge | 4,921 | 27,268 | 32,189 | 3280 | 37822 | 41102 | 4,596 | 38,828 | 43,424 | 3309 | 28253 | 31562 |
| Canton | 5,770 | 3,787 | 9,557 | 1921 | 5325 | 7246 | 4,275 | 7,144 | 11,419 | 2860 | 5768 | 8628 |
| Carver | 3,222 | 1,611 | 4,833 | 1175 | 2189 | 3364 | 2,416 | 3,242 | 5,658 | 1739 | 2569 | 4308 |
| Charlton | 3,458 | 1,271 | 4,729 | 1599 | 2097 | 3696 | 2,728 | 3,331 | 6,059 | 1916 | 2419 | 4335 |
| Chatham | 2,179 | 1,488 | 3,667 | 1389 | 1161 | 2550 | 2,256 | 2,355 | 4,611 | 1713 | 2111 | 3824 |
| Chelmsford | 9,417 | 5,688 | 15,105 | 3178 | 5897 | 9075 | 7,861 | 10,450 | 18,311 | 5621 | 8575 | 14196 |
| Chelsea | 1,501 | 2,562 | 4,063 | 807 | 7053 | 7860 | 1,209 | 5,595 | 6,804 | 827 | 3905 | 4732 |
| Chicopee | 8,339 | 7,043 | 15,382 | 3759 | 14751 | 18510 | 6,148 | 15,230 | 21,378 | 5004 | 11258 | 16262 |
| Clinton | 2,724 | 1,661 | 4,385 | 1015 | 3383 | 4398 | 2,051 | 3,927 | 5,978 | 1356 | 2943 | 4299 |
| Cohasset | 2,401 | 1,419 | 3,820 | 1197 | 1199 | 2396 | 1,959 | 2,458 | 4,417 | 1446 | 2030 | 3476 |
| Concord | 3,271 | 5,445 | 8,716 | 1860 | 4319 | 6179 | 3,093 | 6,975 | 10,068 | 2312 | 5920 | 8232 |
| Dalton | 845 | 1,423 | 2,268 | 575 | 1407 | 1982 | 792 | 2,581 | 3,373 | 574 | 1798 | 2372 |
| Danvers | 6,347 | 3,651 | 9,998 | 2256 | 4270 | 6526 | 5,115 | 8,163 | 13,278 | 3788 | 6454 | 10242 |
| Dartmouth | 5,812 | 5,110 | 10,922 | 2243 | 8903 | 11146 | 4,597 | 10,989 | 15,586 | 3071 | 7763 | 10834 |
| Dedham | 5,979 | 4,647 | 10,626 | 1680 | 6163 | 7843 | 4,326 | 7,703 | 12,029 | 3042 | 6583 | 9625 |

Election Defense Alliance is a project of International Humanities Center,
a nonprofit organization under Section 501(c) (3) of the IRS Code

| Deerfield | 853 | 1,482 | 2,335 | 408 | 1116 | 1524 | 668 | 2,217 | 2,885 | 553 | 1756 | 2309 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Dennis | 4,358 | 3,131 | 7,489 | 1930 | 3013 | 4943 | 4,195 | 4,972 | 9,167 | 3034 | 4754 | 7788 |
| Dighton | 1,770 | 829 | 2,599 | 586 | 1271 | 1857 | 1,253 | 2,076 | 3,329 | 852 | 1477 | 2329 |
| Douglas | 2,440 | 840 | 3,280 | 1087 | 1229 | 2316 | 1,960 | 2,112 | 4,072 | 1209 | 1548 | 2757 |
| Dover | 1,888 | 1,058 | 2,946 | 1098 | 757 | 1855 | 1,588 | 1,676 | 3,264 | 1234 | 1411 | 2645 |
| Dracut | 7,658 | 3,166 | 10,824 | 2252 | 6746 | 8998 | 6,066 | 7,895 | 13,961 | 3839 | 6155 | 9994 |
| Dudley | 2,515 | 1,125 | 3,640 | 849 | 2143 | 2992 | 1,904 | 2,860 | 4,764 | 1208 | 2142 | 3350 |
| Dunstable | 968 | 502 | 1,470 | 368 | 421 | 789 | 813 | 936 | 1,749 | 591 | 730 | 1321 |
| Duxbury | 4,982 | 2,674 | 7,656 | 2545 | 2236 | 4781 | 4,211 | 4,778 | 8,989 | 3068 | 3947 | 7015 |
| E. Bridgewater | 3,849 | 1,583 | 5,432 | 1382 | 2265 | 3647 | 2,894 | 3,836 | 6,730 | 2039 | 2863 | 4902 |
| East Brookfield | 645 | 245 | 890 | 235 | 355 | 590 | 522 | 576 | 1,098 | 347 | 447 | 794 |
| Eastham | 1,473 | 1,540 | 3,013 | 745 | 1235 | 1980 | 1,514 | 2,146 | 3,660 | 1104 | 1913 | 3017 |
| Easthampton | 2,493 | 3,708 | 6,201 | 1027 | 4117 | 5144 | 2,014 | 6,255 | 8,269 | 1629 | 4583 | 6212 |
| E Longmeadow | 4,294 | 2,091 | 6,385 | 2139 | 3201 | 5340 | 3,408 | 4,563 | 7,971 | 2544 | 3321 | 5865 |
| Easton | 5,931 | 3,350 | 9,281 | 2506 | 4153 | 6659 | 4,667 | 6,592 | 11,259 | 3306 | 5259 | 8565 |
| Edgartown | 771 | 1,002 | 1,773 | 508 | 1094 | 1602 | 742 | 1,594 | 2,336 | 511 | 1181 | 1692 |
| Erving | 208 | 296 | 504 | 110 | 253 | 363 | 181 | 566 | 747 | 117 | 401 | 518 |
| Everett | 3,798 | 4,245 | 8,043 | 975 | 9970 | 10945 | 2,829 | 9,188 | 12,017 | 2068 | 7115 | 9183 |
| Fairhaven | 3,045 | 2,834 | 5,879 | 877 | 3965 | 4842 | 2,295 | 5,664 | 7,959 | 1458 | 4473 | 5931 |
| Fall River | 7,489 | 10,341 | 17,830 | 3436 | 28731 | 32167 | 5,453 | 23,123 | 28,576 | 3902 | 16745 | 20647 |
| Falmouth | 8,041 | 7,133 | 15,174 | 3631 | 7828 | 11459 | 7,212 | 11,502 | 18,714 | 5132 | 9845 | 14977 |
| Fitchburg | 5,574 | 3,783 | 9,357 | 2305 | 7529 | 9834 | 4,338 | 9,133 | 13,471 | 3084 | 6949 | 10033 |
| Foxborough | 4,821 | 2,465 | 7,286 | 1733 | 2851 | 4584 | 3,482 | 5,053 | 8,535 | 2528 | 4230 | 6758 |
| Framingham | 9,149 | 10,329 | 19,478 | 3798 | 13373 | 17171 | 7,283 | 18,191 | 25,474 | 5316 | 13855 | 19171 |
| Franklin | 8,828 | 4,470 | 13,298 | 3078 | 4744 | 7822 | 6,214 | 9,598 | 15,812 | 4165 | 7009 | 11174 |
| Freetown | 2,220 | 1,189 | 3,409 | 711 | 1768 | 2479 | 1,717 | 2,723 | 4,440 | 1066 | 2000 | 3066 |
| Gardner | 3,271 | 2,441 | 5,712 | 1362 | 4222 | 5584 | 2,566 | 5,278 | 7,844 | 1822 | 4163 | 5985 |
| Georgetown | 2,311 | 1,239 | 3,550 | 1065 | 1394 | 2459 | 1,958 | 2,552 | 4,510 | 1419 | 1874 | 3293 |
| Gill | 226 | 398 | 624 | 99 | 319 | 418 | 185 | 672 | 857 | 152 | 494 | 646 |
| Gloucester | 5,522 | 5,553 | 11,075 | 2208 | 6056 | 8264 | 4,277 | 10,098 | 14,375 | 3265 | 8275 | 11540 |
| Grafton | 4,372 | 2,442 | 6,814 | 1821 | 2849 | 4670 | 3,523 | 4,985 | 8,508 | 2381 | 3755 | 6136 |
| Granby | 1,512 | 1,044 | 2,556 | 685 | 1173 | 1858 | 1,237 | 2,112 | 3,349 | 982 | 1548 | 2530 |
| Great Barringto | 591 | 2,025 | 2,616 | 439 | 1824 | 2263 | 514 | 3,015 | 3,529 | 487 | 2295 | 2782 |
| Greenfield | 1,992 | 3,835 | 5,827 | 1243 | 3831 | 5074 | 1,612 | 6,233 | 7,845 | 1372 | 4940 | 6312 |
| Groton | 2,663 | 2,132 | 4,795 | 1285 | 1690 | 2975 | 2,313 | 3,383 | 5,696 | 1684 | 2703 | 4387 |
| Groveland | 1,980 | 991 | 2,971 | 788 | 1118 | 1906 | 1,625 | 2,032 | 3,657 | 1207 | 1611 | 2818 |
| Hadley | 936 | 1,407 | 2,343 | 383 | 1393 | 1776 | 703 | 2,206 | 2,909 | 600 | 1683 | 2283 |
| Halifax | 2,147 | 992 | 3,139 | 786 | 1322 | 2108 | 1,645 | 2,168 | 3,813 | 1167 | 1787 | 2954 |
| Hamilton | 2,319 | 1,381 | 3,700 | 1358 | 1024 | 2382 | 1,947 | 2,512 | 4,459 | 1534 | 1946 | 3480 |
| Hanover | 4,731 | 1,895 | 6,626 | 1422 | 2332 | 3754 | 3,581 | 4,099 | 7,680 | 2599 | 3463 | 6062 |
| Hanson | 3,067 | 1,254 | 4,321 | 1015 | 1626 | 2641 | 2,297 | 2,847 | 5,144 | 1627 | 2357 | 3984 |
| Hardwick | 586 | 377 | 963 | 206 | 459 | 665 | 472 | 841 | 1,313 | 348 | 716 | 1064 |
| Harvard | 1,305 | 1,568 | 2,873 | 643 | 1019 | 1662 | 1,217 | 2,046 | 3,263 | 920 | 1841 | 2761 |
| Harwich | 3,597 | 2,635 | 6,232 | 1937 | 2561 | 4498 | 3,702 | 4,010 | 7,712 | 2575 | 3800 | 6375 |
| Hatfield | 652 | 875 | 1,527 | 212 | 958 | 1170 | 513 | 1,498 | 2,011 | 431 | 1203 | 1634 |
| Haverhill | 11,069 | 7,259 | 18,328 | 4830 | 12691 | 17521 | 8,745 | 16,347 | 25,092 | 6133 | 11210 | 17343 |
| Hingham | 6,800 | 4,416 | 11,216 | 2976 | 4101 | 7077 | 5,448 | 7,394 | 12,842 | 3781 | 6036 | 9817 |
| Holbrook | 2,402 | 1,527 | 3,929 | 771 | 2521 | 3292 | 1,824 | 3,257 | 5,081 | 1334 | 2634 | 3968 |
| Holden | 5,396 | 2,864 | 8,260 | 2101 | 2795 | 4896 | 4,273 | 5,559 | 9,832 | 3114 | 4642 | 7756 |
| Holland | 631 | 299 | 930 | 274 | 377 | 651 | 491 | 722 | 1,213 | 370 | 477 | 847 |
| Holliston | 3,725 | 2,921 | 6,646 | 1532 | 2850 | 4382 | 2,857 | 4,974 | 7,831 | 542 | 919 | 1461 |
| Holyoke | 3,771 | 4,869 | 8,640 | 2101 | 11486 | 13587 | 3,159 | 10,754 | 13,913 | 2519 | 7433 | 9952 |
| Hopedale | 1,619 | 997 | 2,616 | 503 | 895 | 1398 | 1,209 | 1,999 | 3,208 | 883 | 1630 | 2513 |
| Hopkinton | 4,123 | 2,600 | 6,723 | 1954 | 2266 | 4220 | 3,354 | 4,599 | 7,953 | 2343 | 3530 | 5873 |
| Hubbardston | 1,388 | 607 | 1,995 | 467 | 524 | 991 | 1,137 | 1,213 | 2,350 | 844 | 1031 | 1875 |
| Hull | 2,409 | 2,037 | 4,446 | 841 | 2801 | 3642 | 1,868 | 3,719 | 5,587 | 1227 | 3099 | 4326 |
| Ipswich | 3,604 | 2,604 | 6,208 | 1589 | 2226 | 3815 | 2,973 | 4,712 | 7,685 | 2222 | 3863 | 6085 |
| Kingston | 3,576 | 1,701 | 5,277 | 1454 | 2188 | 3642 | 2,802 | 3,555 | 6,357 | 1962 | 2935 | 4897 |
| Lakeville | 3,248 | 1,259 | 4,507 | 1245 | 1497 | 2742 | 2,631 | 2,731 | 5,362 | 1784 | 2156 | 3940 |
| Lancaster | 1,860 | 1,012 | 2,872 | 748 | 965 | 1713 | 1,545 | 1,903 | 3,448 | 1158 | 1409 | 2567 |
| Lanesborough | 399 | 654 | 1,053 | 221 | 646 | 867 | 346 | 1,202 | 1,548 | 169 | 807 | 976 |
| Lawrence | 3,331 | 6,449 | 9,780 | 2980 | 21254 | 24234 | 2,792 | 14,641 | 17,433 | 2235 | 8680 | 10915 |
| Lee | 704 | 1,272 | 1,976 | 348 | 1165 | 1513 | 616 | 2,203 | 2,819 | 476 | 1591 | 2067 |


| Leicester | 2,682 | 1,320 | 4,002 | 825 | 2408 | 3233 | 2,036 | 3,110 | 5,146 | 1437 | 2488 | 3925 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Lenox | 594 | 1,532 | 2,126 | 492 | 1629 | 2121 | 570 | 2,288 | 2,858 | 482 | 1867 | 2349 |
| Leominster | 8,127 | 4,707 | 12,834 | 3070 | 8126 | 11196 | 6,203 | 11,024 | 17,227 | 4344 | 8658 | 13002 |
| Lexington | 4,953 | 9,375 | 14,328 | 2362 | 8534 | 10896 | 4,292 | 12,707 | 16,999 | 3362 | 10315 | 13677 |
| Lincoln | 899 | 1,928 | 2,827 | 571 | 1535 | 2106 | 797 | 2,484 | 3,281 | 644 | 2047 | 2691 |
| Littleton | 2,389 | 1,859 | 4,248 | 874 | 1465 | 2339 | 1,902 | 3,019 | 4,921 | 1390 | 2358 | 3748 |
| Longmeadow | 4,196 | 3,158 | 7,354 | 2732 | 3975 | 6707 | 3,387 | 5,660 | 9,047 | 2637 | 4375 | 7012 |
| Lowell | 10,548 | 9,547 | 20,095 | 4877 | 21505 | 26382 | 8,308 | 20,962 | 29,270 | 5389 | 14845 | 20234 |
| Ludlow | 4,159 | 2,768 | 6,927 | 1643 | 6155 | 7798 | 3,048 | 6,141 | 9,189 | 2337 | 4395 | 6732 |
| Lunenburg | 2,890 | 1,530 | 4,420 | 1225 | 1523 | 2748 | 2,303 | 3,113 | 5,416 | 1741 | 2458 | 4199 |
| Lynn | 8,595 | 9,791 | 18,386 | 3217 | 23178 | 26395 | 6,384 | 21,713 | 28,097 | 4381 | 15406 | 19787 |
| Lynnfield | 4,010 | 1,620 | 5,630 | 1765 | 2005 | 3770 | 3,195 | 3,425 | 6,620 | 2281 | 2875 | 5156 |
| M alden | 5,945 | 7,794 | 13,739 | 2017 | 13819 | 15836 | 4,629 | 14,542 | 19,171 | 3118 | 10477 | 13595 |
| M anchester | 1,494 | 1,189 | 2,683 | 841 | 841 | 1682 | 1,265 | 1,980 | 3,245 | 1029 | 1588 | 2617 |
| M ansfield | 5,909 | 3,045 | 8,954 | 2275 | 3778 | 6053 | 4,134 | 6,714 | 10,848 | 2939 | 5114 | 8053 |
| M arblehead | 5,285 | 4,657 | 9,942 | 2519 | 4108 | 6627 | 4,364 | 7,529 | 11,893 | 3271 | 6260 | 9531 |
| M arion | 1,332 | 1,002 | 2,334 | 783 | 896 | 1679 | 1,235 | 1,740 | 2,975 | 934 | 1469 | 2403 |
| M arlborough | 6,817 | 5,037 | 11,854 | 2683 | 6350 | 9033 | 5,377 | 10,002 | 15,379 | 3885 | 7529 | 11414 |
| M arshfield | 7,677 | 3,895 | 11,572 | 2509 | 4848 | 7357 | 5,895 | 7,889 | 13,784 | 3970 | 6436 | 10406 |
| M ashpee | 3,835 | 2,313 | 6,148 | 1636 | 2715 | 4351 | 3,409 | 4,225 | 7,634 | 2317 | 3534 | 5851 |
| M attapoisett | 1,834 | 1,317 | 3,151 | 744 | 1180 | 1924 | 1,544 | 2,260 | 3,804 | 1163 | 1989 | 3152 |
| M aynard | 2,131 | 2,231 | 4,362 | 750 | 2311 | 3061 | 1,707 | 3,671 | 5,378 | 1281 | 3078 | 4359 |
| Medfield | 3,842 | 2,276 | 6,118 | 1462 | 1749 | 3211 | 2,877 | 3,989 | 6,866 | 2126 | 3303 | 5429 |
| Medford | 8,381 | 11,415 | 19,796 | 2610 | 16588 | 19198 | 6,669 | 18,643 | 25,312 | 4648 | 14208 | 18856 |
| Medway | 3,641 | 2,044 | 5,685 | 1258 | 2101 | 3359 | 2,702 | 3,971 | 6,673 | 1976 | 3095 | 5071 |
| M elrose | 6,085 | 5,861 | 11,946 | 2447 | 7166 | 9613 | 4,858 | 9,531 | 14,389 | 3556 | 7955 | 11511 |
| Mendon | 1,750 | 792 | 2,542 | 734 | 825 | 1559 | 1,371 | 1,668 | 3,039 | 1003 | 1323 | 2326 |
| Merrimac | 1,651 | 1,042 | 2,693 | 672 | 1026 | 1698 | 1,378 | 1,985 | 3,363 | 996 | 1603 | 2599 |
| M ethuen | 9,171 | 4,837 | 14,008 | 4022 | 12023 | 16045 | 7,413 | 12,249 | 19,662 | 5362 | 8457 | 13819 |
| Middleboroug <br> h | 6,158 | 2,615 | 8,773 | 2169 | 3472 | 5641 | 4,685 | 5,884 | 10,569 | 3058 | 4352 | 7410 |
| Middleton | 2,412 | 1,081 | 3,493 | 812 | 1249 | 2061 | 1,840 | 2,266 | 4,106 | 1372 | 1959 | 3331 |
| Milford | 5,432 | 3,561 | 8,993 | 1747 | 5375 | 7122 | 4,046 | 7,508 | 11,554 | 2673 | 5854 | 8527 |
| M illbury | 3,125 | 1,655 | 4,780 | 984 | 2718 | 3702 | 2,435 | 3,809 | 6,244 | 1614 | 2861 | 4475 |
| Millis | 2,430 | 1,383 | 3,813 | 815 | 1469 | 2284 | 1,691 | 2,621 | 4,312 | 1255 | 2189 | 3444 |
| Milton | 6,347 | 6,436 | 12,783 | 1647 | 8795 | 10442 | 4,669 | 9,912 | 14,581 | 3303 | 8851 | 12154 |
| Monson | 1,933 | 1,258 | 3,191 | 843 | 1737 | 2580 | 1,527 | 2,587 | 4,114 | 1146 | 1879 | 3025 |
| Nahant | 880 | 877 | 1,757 | 264 | 1012 | 1276 | 697 | 1,464 | 2,161 | 527 | 1260 | 1787 |
| Nantucket | 2,032 | 2,139 | 4,171 | 1360 | 2293 | 3653 | 1,717 | 3,981 | 5,698 | 1171 | 2759 | 3930 |
| Natick | 6,954 | 7,208 | 14,162 | 2786 | 7811 | 10597 | 5,417 | 11,495 | 16,912 | 3887 | 9317 | 13204 |
| Needham | 6,894 | 7,654 | 14,548 | 2907 | 7321 | 10228 | 5,097 | 11,315 | 16,412 | 3854 | 9539 | 13393 |
| New Bedford | 7,828 | 11,754 | 19,582 | 3482 | 28625 | 32107 | 6,137 | 25,505 | 31,642 | 4023 | 19204 | 23227 |
| Newburyport | 4,174 | 4,266 | 8,440 | 1700 | 4058 | 5758 | 3,385 | 6,933 | 10,318 | 2370 | 5543 | 7913 |
| Newton | 11,352 | 23,456 | 34,808 | 4642 | 25873 | 30515 | 8,717 | 33,116 | 41,833 | 5819 | 26949 | 32768 |
| Norfolk | 3,308 | 1,394 | 4,702 | 1255 | 1307 | 2562 | 2,341 | 2,707 | 5,048 | 1705 | 2185 | 3890 |
| North Adams | 965 | 2,854 | 3,819 | 696 | 3168 | 3864 | 812 | 4,755 | 5,567 | 625 | 3322 | 3947 |
| Northampton | 2,447 | 9,415 | 11,862 | 994 | 10066 | 11060 | 2,060 | 13,074 | 15,134 | 1668 | 10048 | 11716 |
| North Andover | 7,018 | 3,826 | 10,844 | 3090 | 4545 | 7635 | 6,035 | 8,236 | 14,271 | 4381 | 5787 | 10168 |
| N. Attleboro | 7,778 | 3,018 | 10,796 | 3313 | 4262 | 7575 | 5,337 | 7,890 | 13,227 | 3799 | 5332 | 9131 |
| Northborough | 3,816 | 2,486 | 6,302 | 1582 | 2268 | 3850 | 3,210 | 4,479 | 7,689 | 2251 | 3722 | 5973 |
| Northbridge | 3,987 | 1,638 | 5,625 | 1844 | 2448 | 4292 | 3,351 | 3,754 | 7,105 | 2217 | 2866 | 5083 |
| $N$. Brookfield | 1,225 | 528 | 1,753 | 477 | 749 | 1226 | 973 | 1,230 | 2,203 | 739 | 994 | 1733 |
| Northfield | 508 | 744 | 1,252 | 231 | 505 | 736 | 409 | 1,238 | 1,647 | 341 | 934 | 1275 |
| North Reading | 4,373 | 2,135 | 6,508 | 1687 | 2804 | 4491 | 3,393 | 4,632 | 8,025 | 2477 | 3523 | 6000 |
| Norton | 4,424 | 2,209 | 6,633 | 1636 | 2687 | 4323 | 3,343 | 5,023 | 8,366 | 2296 | 3629 | 5925 |
| Norwell | 3,485 | 1,680 | 5,165 | 1543 | 1829 | 3372 | 2,848 | 3,182 | 6,030 | 2066 | 2699 | 4765 |
| Norwood | 6,568 | 4,532 | 11,100 | 2040 | 7029 | 9069 | 4,740 | 8,661 | 13,401 | 3458 | 7316 | 10774 |
| Oak Bluffs | 732 | 1,177 | 1,909 | 359 | 1120 | 1479 | 660 | 1,869 | 2,529 | 429 | 1461 | 1890 |
| Orange | 1,416 | 869 | 2,285 | 642 | 1113 | 1755 | 1,166 | 1,949 | 3,115 | 874 | 1392 | 2266 |
| Orleans | 1,961 | 1,705 | 3,666 | 1313 | 1323 | 2636 | 1,981 | 2,461 | 4,442 | 1577 | 2122 | 3699 |
| Otis | 283 | 265 | 548 | 154 | 280 | 434 | 267 | 517 | 784 | 266 | 410 | 676 |
| Oxford | 3,151 | 1,439 | 4,590 | 1070 | 2538 | 3608 | 2,388 | 3,635 | 6,023 | 1731 | 2813 | 4544 |
| Palmer | 2,524 | 1,622 | 4,146 | 1033 | 2580 | 3613 | 1,867 | 3,549 | 5,416 | 1463 | 2665 | 4128 |
| Paxton | 1,331 | 687 | 2,018 | 453 | 821 | 1274 | 1,012 | 1,376 | 2,388 | 731 | 1203 | 1934 |


| Peabody | 11,440 | 7,619 | 19,059 | 2950 | 11750 | 14700 | 8,401 | 16,517 | 24,918 | 5952 | 13775 | 19727 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pelham | 126 | 596 | 722 | 52 | 538 | 590 | 99 | 749 | 848 | 83 | 620 | 703 |
| Pembroke | 5,134 | 2,424 | 7,558 | 1761 | 3169 | 4930 | 3,924 | 5,129 | 9,053 | 2649 | 4284 | 6933 |
| Pepperell | 3,279 | 1,607 | 4,886 | 1476 | 1791 | 3267 | 2,871 | 3,077 | 5,948 | 1940 | 2458 | 4398 |
| Pittsfield | 3,803 | 8,990 | 12,793 | 3173 | 13468 | 16641 | 3,493 | 15,829 | 19,322 | 2644 | 11301 | 13945 |
| Plainville | 2,469 | 971 | 3,440 | 890 | 1282 | 2172 | 1,629 | 2,362 | 3,991 | 1151 | 1745 | 2896 |
| Plymouth | 14,276 | 7,989 | 22,265 | 5457 | 9593 | 15050 | 11,248 | 16,279 | 27,527 | 7842 | 12820 | 20662 |
| Princeton | 1,165 | 681 | 1,846 | 457 | 492 | 949 | 929 | 1,143 | 2,072 | 717 | 956 | 1673 |
| Quincy | 15,607 | 13,330 | 28,937 | 6812 | 27789 | 34601 | 12,187 | 24,784 | 36,971 | 7903 | 19986 | 27889 |
| Randolph | 3,699 | 5,996 | 9,695 | 1277 | 9632 | 10909 | 2,962 | 10,783 | 13,745 | 2116 | 7970 | 10086 |
| Raynham | 3,574 | 1,687 | 5,261 | 1301 | 2345 | 3646 | 2,739 | 3,893 | 6,632 | 1812 | 2783 | 4595 |
| Reading | 6,225 | 4,659 | 10,884 | 2777 | 5640 | 8417 | 4,953 | 8,110 | 13,063 | 3475 | 6290 | 9765 |
| Rehoboth | 3,080 | 1,538 | 4,618 | 1381 | 1547 | 2928 | 2,301 | 3,509 | 5,810 | 1674 | 2343 | 4017 |
| Revere | 5,785 | 5,021 | 10,806 | 1837 | 12513 | 14350 | 3,027 | 7,916 | 10,943 | 2911 | 8552 | 11463 |
| Richmond | 220 | 499 | 719 | 137 | 369 | 506 | 167 | 740 | 907 | 165 | 610 | 775 |
| Rochester | 1,671 | 776 | 2,447 | 700 | 766 | 1466 | 1,332 | 1,568 | 2,900 | 909 | 1287 | 2196 |
| Rockland | 4,253 | 2,231 | 6,484 | 1231 | 3349 | 4580 | 3,188 | 4,943 | 8,131 | 2235 | 4222 | 6457 |
| Rowley | 1,845 | 893 | 2,738 | 722 | 816 | 1538 | 1,515 | 1,748 | 3,263 | 1102 | 1392 | 2494 |
| Rutland | 2,307 | 1,029 | 3,336 | 873 | 1159 | 2032 | 1,852 | 2,132 | 3,984 | 1242 | 1702 | 2944 |
| Salem | 5,726 | 6,650 | 12,376 | 2074 | 10717 | 12791 | 4,589 | 13,485 | 18,074 | 3283 | 10099 | 13382 |
| Salisbury | 1,927 | 1,061 | 2,988 | 758 | 1582 | 2340 | 1,472 | 2,476 | 3,948 | 945 | 1880 | 2825 |
| Sandwich | 6,625 | 3,416 | 10,041 | 3080 | 3582 | 6662 | 5,637 | 6,134 | 11,771 | 3948 | 5247 | 9195 |
| Saugus | 6,315 | 3,587 | 9,902 | 1641 | 6203 | 7844 | 4,787 | 7,827 | 12,614 | 3280 | 6452 | 9732 |
| Scituate | 5,584 | 3,474 | 9,058 | 2282 | 3689 | 5971 | 4,629 | 5,945 | 10,574 | 3300 | 5045 | 8345 |
| Seekonk | 3,133 | 1,911 | 5,044 | 968 | 2137 | 3105 | 2,152 | 4,625 | 6,777 | 1862 | 3307 | 5169 |
| Sharon | 3,536 | 4,461 | 7,997 | 1020 | 4237 | 5257 | 2,540 | 6,969 | 9,509 | 1710 | 5796 | 7506 |
| Shelburne | 263 | 588 | 851 | 141 | 414 | 555 | 224 | 885 | 1,109 | 199 | 694 | 893 |
| Sherborn | 1,269 | 1,061 | 2,330 | 648 | 769 | 1417 | 1,016 | 1,557 | 2,573 | 820 | 1322 | 2142 |
| Shrewsbury | 7,867 | 5,242 | 13,109 | 3646 | 6559 | 10205 | 6,463 | 10,327 | 16,790 | 4489 | 8157 | 12646 |
| Somerset | 3,706 | 3,553 | 7,259 | 1176 | 5556 | 6732 | 2,483 | 6,956 | 9,439 | 1916 | 5163 | 7079 |
| Somerville | 5,462 | 16,965 | 22,427 | 2128 | 24456 | 26584 | 4,287 | 26,182 | 30,469 | 3010 | 18416 | 21426 |
| Southampton | 1,533 | 1,052 | 2,585 | 556 | 1002 | 1558 | 1,245 | 1,919 | 3,164 | 991 | 1459 | 2450 |
| Southborough | 2,689 | 1,845 | 4,534 | 1252 | 1617 | 2869 | 2,224 | 3,222 | 5,446 | 1626 | 2609 | 4235 |
| Southbridge | 2,271 | 1,748 | 4,019 | 1132 | 4590 | 5722 | 1,765 | 4,643 | 6,408 | 1254 | 3584 | 4838 |
| South Hadley | 3,434 | 3,227 | 6,661 | 1333 | 3721 | 5054 | 2,726 | 5,756 | 8,482 | 2115 | 4373 | 6488 |
| Southwick | 2,469 | 1,074 | 3,543 | 1540 | 1642 | 3182 | 2,085 | 2,432 | 4,517 | 1570 | 1718 | 3288 |
| Spencer | 2,727 | 1,237 | 3,964 | 978 | 2235 | 3213 | 2,120 | 3,134 | 5,254 | 1477 | 2398 | 3875 |
| Springfield | 10,630 | 17,610 | 28,240 | 7734 | 44148 | 51882 | 8,082 | 37,165 | 45,247 | 6771 | 24036 | 30807 |
| Sterling | 2,569 | 1,174 | 3,743 | 1000 | 1122 | 2122 | 2,174 | 2,260 | 4,434 | 1532 | 1772 | 3304 |
| Stockbridge | 224 | 672 | 896 | 188 | 655 | 843 | 203 | 984 | 1,187 | 181 | 770 | 951 |
| Stoneham | 5,473 | 3,634 | 9,107 | 1711 | 5445 | 7156 | 4,123 | 7,279 | 11,402 | 2918 | 5909 | 8827 |
| Stoughton | 5,616 | 4,466 | 10,082 | 1601 | 6423 | 8024 | 4,127 | 8,704 | 12,831 | 2828 | 6977 | 9805 |
| Stow | 1,789 | 1,595 | 3,384 | 744 | 1123 | 1867 | 1,472 | 2,320 | 3,792 | 1096 | 1916 | 3012 |
| Sturbridge | 2,454 | 1,350 | 3,804 | 1139 | 1712 | 2851 | 2,077 | 2,776 | 4,853 | 1754 | 1876 | 3630 |
| Sudbury | 4,078 | 4,291 | 8,369 | 2113 | 3403 | 5516 | 3,376 | 6,384 | 9,760 | 2420 | 5171 | 7591 |
| Sunderland | 410 | 842 | 1,252 | 211 | 940 | 1151 | 347 | 1,400 | 1,747 | 268 | 1003 | 1271 |
| Sutton | 2,931 | 1,136 | 4,067 | 937 | 1279 | 2216 | 2,411 | 2,540 | 4,951 | 1607 | 2090 | 3697 |
| Swampscott | 3,222 | 3,121 | 6,343 | 1136 | 3538 | 4674 | 2,382 | 5,369 | 7,751 | 1612 | 4449 | 6061 |
| Swansea | 3,297 | 2,449 | 5,746 | 1194 | 4103 | 5297 | 2,365 | 5,578 | 7,943 | 1732 | 3936 | 5668 |
| Taunton | 8,925 | 6,586 | 15,511 | 2746 | 11856 | 14602 | 6,169 | 14,698 | 20,867 | 4196 | 10643 | 14839 |
| Templeton | 1,814 | 886 | 2,700 | 600 | 1180 | 1780 | 1,403 | 2,046 | 3,449 | 990 | 1660 | 2650 |
| Tewksbury | 7,353 | 3,381 | 10,734 | 2315 | 6234 | 8549 | 6,094 | 8,636 | 14,730 | 4189 | 6958 | 11147 |
| Tisbury | 579 | 1,172 | 1,751 | 335 | 1108 | 1443 | 536 | 1,746 | 2,282 | 409 | 1266 | 1675 |
| Topsfield | 1,993 | 1,117 | 3,110 | 905 | 809 | 1714 | 1,709 | 1,852 | 3,561 | 1371 | 1589 | 2960 |
| Townsend | 2,618 | 1,092 | 3,710 | 1046 | 1116 | 2162 | 2,345 | 2,433 | 4,778 | 1549 | 1753 | 3302 |
| Tyngsborough | 3,186 | 1,452 | 4,638 | 1077 | 1964 | 3041 | 2,581 | 3,204 | 5,785 | 1713 | 2479 | 4192 |
| Upton | 2,125 | 1,138 | 3,263 | 821 | 1037 | 1858 | 1,714 | 2,175 | 3,889 | 1139 | 1656 | 2795 |
| Uxbridge | 3,690 | 1,651 | 5,341 | 1428 | 2300 | 3728 | 3,049 | 3,736 | 6,785 | 1886 | 2778 | 4664 |
| Wakefield | 6,815 | 4,411 | 11,226 | 2139 | 5674 | 7813 | 5,024 | 8,378 | 13,402 | 3717 | 6996 | 10713 |
| Wales | 441 | 244 | 685 | 171 | 278 | 449 | 365 | 547 | 912 | 293 | 415 | 708 |
| Walpole | 7,604 | 3,565 | 11,169 | 2294 | 4381 | 6675 | 5,379 | 7,438 | 12,817 | 3800 | 6076 | 9876 |
| Waltham | 8,546 | 8,523 | 17,069 | 3490 | 12770 | 16260 | 6,614 | 16,042 | 22,656 | 4488 | 11554 | 16042 |
| Ware | 1,785 | 1,127 | 2,912 | 722 | 2151 | 2873 | 1,345 | 2,847 | 4,192 | 978 | 2158 | 3136 |
| Wareham | 4,628 | 3,128 | 7,756 | 1752 | 4190 | 5942 | 3,726 | 6,549 | 10,275 | 2497 | 5076 | 7573 |


| Warren | 986 | 594 | 1,580 | 401 | 875 | 1276 | 876 | 1,280 | 2,156 | 589 | 1043 | 1632 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Watertown | 4,520 | 7,301 | 11,821 | 1839 | 10292 | 12131 | 3,560 | 11,638 | 15,198 | 2654 | 9092 | 11746 |
| Wayland | 2,915 | 3,597 | 6,512 | 1412 | 2952 | 4364 | 2,358 | 5,385 | 7,743 | 1833 | 4389 | 6222 |
| Webster | 2,977 | 1,541 | 4,518 | 1256 | 3633 | 4889 | 2,204 | 3,976 | 6,180 | 1516 | 2862 | 4378 |
| Wellesley | 5,922 | 5,934 | 11,856 | 3716 | 5672 | 9388 | 4,689 | 8,732 | 13,421 | 3586 | 7299 | 10885 |
| Wenham | 1,184 | 674 | 1,858 | 771 | 552 | 1323 | 1,036 | 1,185 | 2,221 | 784 | 963 | 1747 |
| Westborough | 3,831 | 3,009 | 6,840 | 2127 | 3135 | 5262 | 3,337 | 5,234 | 8,571 | 2295 | 4137 | 6432 |
| West Boylston | 2,044 | 1,133 | 3,177 | 664 | 1054 | 1718 | 1,645 | 2,146 | 3,791 | 1203 | 1769 | 2972 |
| W.Bridgewater | 2,211 | 842 | 3,053 | 865 | 1156 | 2021 | 1,718 | 1,973 | 3,691 | 1251 | 1514 | 2765 |
| W.Brookfield | 907 | 523 | 1,430 | 397 | 605 | 1002 | 750 | 1,112 | 1,862 | 537 | 879 | 1416 |
| Westfield | 7,772 | 4,542 | 12,314 | 4675 | 7390 | 12065 | 6,376 | 9,846 | 16,222 | 4784 | 7081 | 11865 |
| Westford | 5,930 | 3,887 | 9,817 | 2352 | 3548 | 5900 | 5,010 | 6,881 | 11,891 | 3639 | 5396 | 9035 |
| Westminster | 2,202 | 1,021 | 3,223 | 899 | 1134 | 2033 | 1,809 | 2,243 | 4,052 | 1323 | 1818 | 3141 |
| West Newbury | 1,281 | 906 | 2,187 | 696 | 821 | 1517 | 1,105 | 1,506 | 2,611 | 869 | 1170 | 2039 |
| Weston | 2,794 | 2,424 | 5,218 | 1620 | 2018 | 3638 | 2,406 | 3,743 | 6,149 | 1873 | 3078 | 4951 |
| Westport | 3,203 | 2,898 | 6,101 | 1385 | 4674 | 6059 | 2,314 | 5,632 | 7,946 | 1753 | 3994 | 5747 |
| W. Springfield | 5,102 | 3,145 | 8,247 | 2587 | 5716 | 8303 | 4,059 | 7,241 | 11,300 | 3141 | 5068 | 8209 |
| West Tisbury | 347 | 1,033 | 1,380 | 164 | 881 | 1045 | 336 | 1,437 | 1,773 | 235 | 1138 | 1373 |
| Westwood | 4,465 | 2,953 | 7,418 | 1731 | 2810 | 4541 | 3,465 | 4,766 | 8,231 | 2511 | 4097 | 6608 |
| Weymouth | 15,093 | 8,104 | 23,197 | 3690 | 12254 | 15944 | 9,736 | 16,532 | 26,268 | 6741 | 15438 | 22179 |
| Whitman | 3,724 | 1,683 | 5,407 | 1090 | 2546 | 3636 | 2,780 | 4,053 | 6,833 | 1888 | 3198 | 5086 |
| Wilbraham | 4,237 | 2,216 | 6,453 | 2302 | 3125 | 5427 | 3,363 | 4,498 | 7,861 | 2726 | 3479 | 6205 |
| Williamsburg | 355 | 895 | 1,250 | 170 | 710 | 880 | 318 | 1,255 | 1,573 | 268 | 979 | 1247 |
| Williamstown | 612 | 2,100 | 2,712 | 444 | 2060 | 2504 | 629 | 2,929 | 3,558 | 502 | 2294 | 2796 |
| Wilmington | 6,225 | 3,057 | 9,282 | 1959 | 4531 | 6490 | 4,706 | 6,609 | 11,315 | 3180 | 5353 | 8533 |
| Winchendon | 1,908 | 986 | 2,894 | 955 | 1571 | 2526 | 1,560 | 2,415 | 3,975 | 1122 | 1829 | 2951 |
| Winchester | 5,248 | 4,876 | 10,124 | 2388 | 4692 | 7080 | 4,407 | 7,344 | 11,751 | 3433 | 6253 | 9686 |
| Winthrop | 3,596 | 2,902 | 6,498 | 1086 | 5167 | 6253 | 2,715 | 5,693 | 8,408 | 1865 | 4578 | 6443 |
| Woburn | 8,363 | 5,635 | 13,998 | 2668 | 9686 | 12354 | 6,592 | 11,369 | 17,961 | 4654 | 9239 | 13893 |
| Worcester | 17,889 | 19,861 | 37,750 | 9980 | 46395 | 56375 | 14,285 | 41,839 | 56,124 | 9478 | 31155 | 40633 |
| Wrentham | 3,880 | 1,414 | 5,294 | 1454 | 1664 | 3118 | 2,523 | 3,287 | 5,810 | 1842 | 2553 | 4395 |
| Yarmouth | 6,496 | 4,390 | 10,886 | 299 | 998 | 1297 | 6,221 | 7,221 | 13,442 | 4343 | 6632 | 10975 |
| Opscan | 1,137,568 | 1,025,433 | 2,163,001 | 473,760 | 1,526,771 | 2,000,531 | 897,035 | 1,903,983 | 2,801,018 | 638,712 | 1,454,240 | 2,092,952 |
| Total | 52.59\% | 47.41\% | 100.00\% | 23.68\% | 76.32\% | 100.00\% | 32.03\% | 67.97\% | 100.00\% | 30.52\% | 69.48\% | 100.00\% |
| Handcount |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| City/ Town | $\begin{array}{r} \text { Brown } \\ \text { (GOP) } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | Coakley (Dem) | Total | Registr GOP | ration (2008) Dem | Total | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Beatty } \\ & \text { (GOP) } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | Kerry (Dem) | Total | Chase (GOP) | Kennedy (Dem) | Total |
| Alford | 68 | 157 | 225 | 43 | 149 | 192 | 56 | 253 | 309 | 57 | 187 | 244 |
| Aquinnah | 42 | 149 | 191 | 15 | 129 | 144 | 35 | 257 | 292 | 15 | 197 | 212 |
| Ashby | 949 | 475 | 1,424 | 327 | 418 | 745 | 795 | 946 | 1,741 | 586 | 716 | 1302 |
| Ashfield | 212 | 670 | 882 | 113 | 403 | 516 | 172 | 891 | 1,063 | 154 | 711 | 865 |
| Berlin | 825 | 538 | 1,363 | 277 | 379 | 656 | 663 | 873 | 1,536 | 499 | 740 | 1239 |
| Blandford | 343 | 196 | 539 | 175 | 165 | 340 | 280 | 350 | 630 | 217 | 259 | 476 |
| Brimfield | 995 | 489 | 1,484 | 430 | 589 | 1019 | 833 | 1,028 | 1,861 | 660 | 767 | 1427 |
| Carlisle | 1,215 | 1,442 | 2,657 | 600 | 941 | 1541 | 1,104 | 1,963 | 3,067 | 834 | 1673 | 2507 |
| Charlemont | 176 | 278 | 454 | 81 | 197 | 278 | 161 | 476 | 637 | 135 | 342 | 477 |
| Cheshire | 436 | 740 | 1,176 | 223 | 676 | 899 | 363 | 1,389 | 1,752 | 307 | 988 | 1295 |
| Chester | 292 | 194 | 486 | 150 | 207 | 357 | 242 | 378 | 620 | 170 | 280 | 450 |
| Chesterfield | 242 | 264 | 506 | 108 | 190 | 298 | 223 | 439 | 662 | 174 | 303 | 477 |
| Chilmark | 141 | 364 | 505 | 74 | 366 | 440 | 156 | 527 | 683 | 113 | 451 | 564 |
| Clarksburg | 186 | 395 | 581 | 96 | 241 | 337 | 160 | 684 | 844 | 141 | 477 | 618 |
| Colrain | 249 | 401 | 650 | 112 | 282 | 394 | 206 | 644 | 850 | 163 | 445 | 608 |
| Conway | 303 | 685 | 988 | 164 | 594 | 758 | 241 | 928 | 1,169 | 199 | 755 | 954 |
| Cummington | 130 | 306 | 436 | 57 | 161 | 218 | 123 | 385 | 508 | 79 | 303 | 382 |
| Egremont | 172 | 445 | 617 | 121 | 342 | 463 | 144 | 650 | 794 | 137 | 513 | 650 |
| Essex | 1,023 | 685 | 1,708 | 538 | 572 | 1110 | 827 | 1,243 | 2,070 | 663 | 1008 | 1671 |
| Florida | 125 | 144 | 269 | 43 | 125 | 168 | 99 | 281 | 380 | 64 | 193 | 257 |
| Goshen | 204 | 244 | 448 | 99 | 195 | 294 | 172 | 392 | 564 | 125 | 302 | 427 |
| Gosnold | 29 | 18 | 47 | 17 | 14 | 31 | 33 | 44 | 77 | 21 | 37 | 58 |
| Granville | 472 | 207 | 679 | 230 | 177 | 407 | 391 | 407 | 798 | 315 | 277 | 592 |
| Hampden | 1,511 | 754 | 2,265 | 749 | 819 | 1568 | 1,149 | 1,585 | 2,734 | 980 | 1190 | 2170 |
| Hancock | 118 | 158 | 276 | 56 | 116 | 172 | 106 | 262 | 368 | 77 | 183 | 260 |


| Hawley | 63 | 63 | 126 | 27 | 32 | 59 | 57 | 106 | 163 | 42 | 87 | 129 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Heath | 123 | 203 | 326 | 50 | 147 | 197 | 120 | 289 | 409 | 86 | 241 | 327 |
| Hinsdale | 285 | 415 | 700 | 161 | 400 | 561 | 260 | 751 | 1,011 | 185 | 483 | 668 |
| Hudson | 4,181 | 3,068 | 7,249 | 1501 | 3061 | 4562 | 3,252 | 5,945 | 9,197 | 2210 | 4535 | 6745 |
| Huntington | 467 | 346 | 813 | 178 | 282 | 460 | 358 | 650 | 1,008 | 298 | 436 | 734 |
| Leverett | 164 | 779 | 943 | 108 | 691 | 799 | 143 | 1,031 | 1,174 | 130 | 802 | 932 |
| Leyden | 116 | 211 | 327 | 89 | 131 | 220 | 107 | 331 | 438 | 77 | 269 | 346 |
| Middlefield | 113 | 126 | 239 | 73 | 94 | 167 | 80 | 194 | 274 | 77 | 135 | 212 |
| Millville | 799 | 323 | 1,122 | 200 | 408 | 608 | 565 | 873 | 1,438 | 359 | 588 | 947 |
| M onroe | 19 | 20 | 39 | 6 | 9 | 15 | 21 | 38 | 59 | 13 | 29 | 42 |
| M ontague | 985 | 1,895 | 2,880 | 466 | 1997 | 2463 | 741 | 3,317 | 4,058 | 575 | 2517 | 3092 |
| M onterey | 102 | 296 | 398 | 102 | 309 | 411 | 103 | 442 | 545 | 109 | 323 | 432 |
| M ontgomery | 267 | 123 | 390 | 91 | 91 | 182 | 223 | 232 | 455 | 173 | 178 | 351 |
| Mt Washington | 21 | 62 | 83 | 12 | 45 | 57 | 20 | 93 | 113 | 14 | 64 | 78 |
| New Ashford | 39 | 68 | 107 | 9 | 33 | 42 | 33 | 102 | 135 | 25 | 67 | 92 |
| New Braintree | 285 | 169 | 454 | 78 | 137 | 215 | 195 | 320 | 515 | 164 | 254 | 418 |
|  | 227 | 366 | 593 | 147 | 297 | 444 | 173 | 601 | 774 | 167 | 442 | 609 |
| Mariborough Newbury | 2,048 | 1,414 | 3,462 | 838 | 1136 | 1974 | 1707 | 2367 | 4,074 | 1275 | 2014 | 3289 |
| New Salem | 195 | 259 | 454 | 114 | 185 | 299 | 176 | 401 | 577 | 141 | 324 | 465 |
| Oakham | 645 | 281 | 926 | 180 | 216 | 396 | 498 | 555 | 1,053 | 372 | 419 | 791 |
| Peru | 125 | 162 | 287 | 69 | 139 | 208 | 111 | 317 | 428 | 79 | 175 | 254 |
| Petersham | 357 | 306 | 663 | 144 | 201 | 345 | 324 | 455 | 779 | 251 | 384 | 635 |
| Phillipston | 467 | 235 | 702 | 131 | 204 | 335 | 343 | 543 | 886 | 266 | 410 | 676 |
| Plainfield | 91 | 213 | 304 | 38 | 114 | 152 | 79 | 285 | 364 | 62 | 217 | 279 |
| Plympton | 951 | 444 | 1,395 | 297 | 353 | 650 | 750 | 845 | 1,595 | 546 | 760 | 1306 |
| Provincetown | 238 | 1,344 | 1,582 | 102 | 1699 | 1801 | 247 | 2,002 | 2,249 | 162 | 1778 | 1940 |
| Rockport | 1,667 | 1,879 | 3,546 | 614 | 1363 | 1977 | 1,345 | 3,040 | 4,385 | 1048 | 2601 | 3649 |
| Rowe | 89 | 97 | 186 | 39 | 72 | 111 | 84 | 162 | 246 | 68 | 119 | 187 |
| Royalston | 298 | 213 | 511 | 112 | 141 | 253 | 227 | 397 | 624 | 158 | 297 | 455 |
| Russell | 379 | 195 | 574 | 210 | 216 | 426 | 302 | 435 | 737 | 239 | 303 | 542 |
| Sandisfield | 146 | 150 | 296 | 70 | 192 | 262 | 105 | 301 | 406 | 81 | 190 | 271 |
| Savoy | 104 | 131 | 235 | 42 | 95 | 137 | 73 | 279 | 352 | 49 | 163 | 212 |
| Sheffield | 448 | 822 | 1,270 | 365 | 644 | 1009 | 374 | 1,381 | 1,755 | 355 | 946 | 1301 |
| Shirley | 1,525 | 868 | 2,393 | 494 | 879 | 1373 | 1,288 | 1,658 | 2,946 | 879 | 1364 | 2243 |
| Shutesbury | 158 | 771 | 929 | 93 | 653 | 746 | 133 | 1,015 | 1,148 | 110 | 844 | 954 |
| Tolland | 158 | 56 | 214 | 78 | 67 | 145 | 113 | 140 | 253 | 105 | 75 | 180 |
| Truro | 396 | 673 | 1,069 | 142 | 631 | 773 | 332 | 1,029 | 1,361 | 254 | 950 | 1204 |
| Tyringham | 82 | 131 | 213 | 37 | 90 | 127 | 66 | 194 | 260 | 41 | 148 | 189 |
| Warwick | 123 | 207 | 330 | 67 | 138 | 205 | 98 | 323 | 421 | 88 | 231 | 319 |
| Washington | 91 | 160 | 251 | 32 | 141 | 173 | 66 | 260 | 326 | 64 | 186 | 250 |
| Wellfleet | 596 | 1,075 | 1,671 | 299 | 998 | 1297 | 587 | 1,491 | 2,078 | 426 | 1246 | 1672 |
| Wendell | 79 | 338 | 417 | 33 | 225 | 258 | 58 | 446 | 504 | 44 | 367 | 411 |
| W. Stockbridge | 165 | 473 | 638 | 92 | 394 | 486 | 123 | 706 | 829 | 136 | 523 | 659 |
| Westhampton | 429 | 414 | 843 | 141 | 240 | 381 | 326 | 695 | 1,021 | 298 | 546 | 844 |
| Whately | 305 | 420 | 725 | 154 | 355 | 509 | 246 | 674 | 920 | 198 | 575 | 773 |
| Windsor | 141 | 252 | 393 | 66 | 157 | 223 | 118 | 398 | 516 | 108 | 292 | 400 |
| Worthington | 229 | 335 | 564 | 112 | 253 | 365 | 208 | 476 | 684 | 170 | 390 | 560 |
| Handcount | 31,439 | 33,249 | 64,688 | 13401 | 28802 | 42203 | 25692 | 55860 | 81,552 | 19662 | 43584 | 63246 |
| Total | 48.60\% | 51.40\% | 100.00\% | 31.75\% | 68.25\% | 100.00\% | 31.50\% | 68.50\% | 100.00\% | 31.09\% | 68.91\% | 100.00\% |


| Comparative <br> Totals | 2010 Special Election |  | Registration (2008) |  | 2008 Senate |  | 2006 Senate |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | :---: |
| Brown Coakley | GOP | Dem | Beatty | Kerry | Chase | Kennedy |  |  |
| Handcount | $48.6 \%$ | $51.4 \%$ | $31.8 \%$ | $68.2 \%$ | $31.5 \% 68.5 \%$ | $31.1 \%$ | $68.9 \%$ |  |
| Opscan | $52.6 \%$ | $47.4 \%$ | $23.7 \%$ | $76.3 \%$ | $32.0 \% 68.0 \%$ | $30.5 \%$ | $69.5 \%$ |  |
| Disparity | $4.0 \%$ | $-4.0 \%$ | $8.0 \%$ | $-8.1 \%$ | $8.1 \%-16.2 \%$ | $0.5 \%-0.5 \%$ | 1.0\% |  |


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Jonathan D. Simon, JD, is Executive Director of Election Defense Alliance.
    Election Defense Alliance is a project of International Humanities Center,
    a nonprofit organization under Section 501(c) (3) of the IRS Code

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ Vote counting protocols identified by M assachusetts City and Town Directory at http://www.sec.state.ma.us/ele/eleclk/clkidx.htm; election returns at http://www.boston.com/news/special/politics/2010/senate/results.html
    ${ }^{3}$ Source information at http://www.verifiedvoting.org/verifier/
    ${ }^{4}$ Of the 280 opscan communities in M assachusetts, 223 use the Diebold/Premier Accuvote-OS scanner; 56 use the Optech Eagle scanner, originally manufactured by ES\&S but whose distribution was split between ES\&S and the smaller vendor Sequoia Voting Systems as a result of a court order in an antitrust action; and one employs the ES\&S M 100 scanner. Diebold/Premier was recently sold to ES\&S for the brow-raising under-price of $\$ 5$ million (about the value of one large-county voting equipment contract), and indeed the sale was nixed by the US Department of Justice, Antitrust Division, as it would have given ES\&S a virtually complete vote counting monopoly in the United States. In the absence of Diebold/Premier or any other substantial competitors, however, ES\&S continues to enjoy near-monopolistic market domination.
    ${ }^{5} 79.6 \%$, or 223 of the 280 opscan communities, were serviced by LHS.

[^2]:    ${ }^{6}$ http:// tinyurl.com/ y6y5y7a
    ${ }^{7}$ See fn. 1.
    ${ }^{8}$ See http://www.raosoft.com/samplesize.html
    ${ }^{9} \mathrm{http}: / / \mathrm{www}$. sec.state.ma.us/ele/elepdf/st county town enroll_breakdown_08.pdf
    ${ }^{10}$ Full data presented in the Appendix.

[^3]:    ${ }^{11}$ http://www.sec.state.ma.us/ele/elepdf/st_county town enroll breakdown 08.pdf
    12 The percentages exclude, for clarity, the Libertarian Party candidate, who received less than $1 \%$ of the vote, and whose inclusion does not appreciably affect the results.

[^4]:    ${ }^{13}$ Full returns at http://www.boston.com/news/special/politics/2006 elections/general results/attorney general.html , as referenced by Kathy Dopp of http://electionmathematics.org .

[^5]:    ${ }^{14}$ While such a massive shift of votes is technically feasible, the election result would not begin to pass the smell test, opening computerized electoral manipulation to intense scrutiny and undermining the entire enterprise nationwide.
    ${ }^{15}$ Full data for New Hampshire is too extensive for inclusion in the Appendix; it is compiled from the NH Secretary of State website, at http://www.sos.nh.gov/general2008/index.htm

[^6]:    ${ }^{16}$ See generally, Charnin R, Proving Election Fraud, AuthorHouse, Bloomington, IN (www.authorhouse.com) 2010; Miller MC Ed., Loser Take All: Election Fraud and the Subversion of Democracy 2000-2008, Ig Publishing, Brooklyn, NY (www.igpub.com) 2008; Freeman S, Bleifuss J, Was The 2004 Presidential Election Stolen, Seven Stories Press, New York, (www.sevenstories.com) 2006; Simon J, O’Dell B, Landslide Denied: Exit Polls vs. Vote Count 2006, (http://electiondefensealliance.org/landslide_denied_exit_polls_vs vote_count 2006); Simon J, O'Dell B, Tavris D, Mitteldorf J, Fingerprints of Election Theft: W ere Competitive Contests Targeted, (http://electiondefensealliance.org/fingerprints election theft) 2007. Note particularly the rightward or "red" shift measured in the presidential election of 2008, which-though it was, as a result of the Republican freefall following the late-September crash of the markets and the general economy, insufficient to alter the outcome-was in fact of a magnitude even greater than that measured in 2004. The election of Barack Obama, contrary to the general impression, was thus anything but an "all clear" with respect to computerized electoral manipulation. It must further be noted, however, that exit polls and tracking polls alike are now weighted according to demographics drawn largely if not exclusively from prior election exit polls that were distorted rightward when "adjusted" to match official vote tallies. Thus, because vote counts were treated as sacrosanct, and all currently employed demographic baselines "tuned" to those red-shifted numbers, prior electoral manipulation clears the path for ongoing and future electoral manipulation by red-shifting the baselines against which such manipulation might be measured. With pre-election polls and exit polls so corrupted to oversample to the right, the telltale disparities between these previously reliable baselines and the vote counts disappear (making manipulated elections appear to be in line with expectations), and comparison between computer and hand counts survives as the sole reliable resource for numerical forensic investigation.
    ${ }^{17}$ It is easy enough to see how capacity to manipulate would lead to hyper-polarization: as victory becomes a given, the player is incentivized to make that victory mean more by moving further and further from the center; this appears to be what is occurring on a systemic level, and accounts at least in part for the bizarre politics of the computerized voting era. To wit, with rigged elections, it is not necessary to "move to the center" to win; but this newfound "freedom to be radical" is, alas, onesided, and that is precisely the political dynamic we are witnessing unfold.

[^7]:    ${ }^{18}$ E.g., lever machines, in which each aspect of counting can be monitored.
    ${ }^{19}$ Using a parametric tool developed by Dave Berman, it has been shown that handcounting all contests for federal office (the maximum number of such races on any ballot is three) would require citizen participation averaging one hour per voter lifetime (one four-hour shift for which each citizen would have a one in four chance of being selected during his or her life), a civic obligation far less onerous than jury duty.

