About the Authors

The following is a summary of the biographical backgrounds of the authors of the 21 chapters comprising the fourth edition of America Votes! Challenges to Modern Election Law and Voting Rights.

Nancy Abudu is the Deputy Legal Director for the Southern Poverty Law Center’s (SPLC’s) Voting Rights Practice Group. In that role, she leads a team of lawyers, community organizers, and technical experts in protecting and strengthening the voting rights of minority communities and other politically vulnerable populations. Prior to joining SPLC, Nancy was the Legal Director for the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Florida and a senior staff attorney with the ACLU’s Voting Rights Project. She has litigated a variety of civil rights and civil liberties issues in federal and state courts, including legal challenges to state felon disfranchisement, proof of citizenship, and voter photo identification (ID) laws; and has pushed for greater enforcement of the Voting Rights Act, the National Voter Registration Act, Help America Vote Act, and other federal laws. Her practice areas have also included criminal justice reform, free speech, reproductive rights, immigrants’ rights, LGBT rights, privacy and government surveillance, and education issues. In addition, Nancy has worked as a staff attorney with the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta, and an associate with the law firm Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom LLP in New York. She served as an international election observer in Albania, is a member of the American Bar Association’s (ABA’s) Advisory Committee to the Standing Committee on Election Law, and is a Senior Fellow with the Environmental Leadership Program based in Washington, D.C. She received her B.A. from Columbia University and her J.D. from Tulane Law School where she won the “Most Outstanding Managing Editor Award” for her work on the Tulane Environmental Law Journal. She is admitted to practice in Florida, Georgia, New York, the U.S. Supreme Court, and several other federal and state courts.

B. Parker Berry focuses his practice on governmental litigation, administrative law, election law, municipal law, voting rights matters, and public finance. His practice includes representing a variety of state and local governmental bodies. As a result, Parker has a breadth of experience and knowledge in navigating regulatory, administrative, and environmental components and litigation matters for both
public and private clients. He has substantial experience in a variety of administrative hearings, AIA contract drafting, public finance, and has represented various state agencies, counties, and municipalities in Mississippi concerning regulatory, administrative, redistricting, and specialty litigation issues. Parker currently serves as City Attorney to the city of Richland, Mississippi, representing the city and managing all legal issues including procurement and litigation matters, employment, financing, municipal law, zoning, and public works. Parker has represented the Mississippi Standing Joint Committee on Legislative and Congressional Redistricting in litigation resulting from redistricting after the 2010 census. He also has represented numerous local governmental jurisdictions in redistricting efforts. Parker obtained his J.D. from the University of Mississippi, magna cum laude, and his B.B.A. from Mississippi State University, summa cum laude.

Peter Brann is a Visiting Lecturer in Law at Harvard and Yale Law Schools, co-teaching a class on state attorneys general, and a partner at Brann & Isaacson, handling complex corporate and intellectual property litigation. He represents companies and individuals in their dealings with the government and has been hired by governments as outside counsel. He has litigated cases in state and federal court in more than 20 states and before state and federal agencies and has represented more than a dozen of the 100 largest Internet retailers. He was counsel to the winning candidate in constitutional litigation concerning the first congressional election using ranked-choice voting. Peter previously served as an Assistant Attorney General and then the State Solicitor for the state of Maine. In the latter capacity, he was responsible for all civil appeals for the state of Maine. He also handled a number of election cases for the state. He has acted as lead counsel in more than 100 appeals for public and private party clients in the U.S. Supreme Court, most of the U.S. Courts of Appeal, and state appellate courts in seven states. He received his J.D. from Boston University School of Law and holds a B.A. from Bates College.

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Tommie S. Cardin is a member and former Practice Group Leader of Butler Snow’s Regulatory and Government Relations Practice Group where he focuses his practice on administrative law, voting rights, government relations, and environmental law. Tommie has extensive experience both in representing state agencies and public officials as well as actually serving as a member of state and local boards as a public
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Tommie Garvin officia. He has more than 30 years' experience representing a variety of state boards and agencies, including representation of the Standing Joint Committee on Legislative and Congressional Redistricting for the past three cycles of statewide redistricting as well as numerous local governments in redistricting. Tommie is AV-rated by Martindale-Hubbell® and he has been recognized by the Best Lawyers in America® for his work in government relations and Mid-South Super Lawyers® for his work in administrative law. Tommie obtained his J.D. from the University of Mississippi and B.A., magna cum laude, from Mississippi State University. He is admitted to the Mississippi Bar and is a Fellow of the Mississippi Bar Foundation. Tommie is a member of the State and Local Government Section of the ABA, the Mississippi Association of County Board Attorneys, and the International Municipal Lawyers Association.

Kristen Clarke, President and Executive Director of the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights under Law, leads one of the country’s most important national civil rights organizations in the pursuit of equal justice for all. Under her leadership, the organization has been at the forefront of some of the nation’s biggest racial justice problems today. The Lawyers’ Committee seeks to promote fair housing and community development, economic justice, voting rights, equal educational opportunity, criminal justice, judicial diversity, and more. Kristen received her A.B. from Harvard University and her J.D. from Columbia Law School.

Maia Cogen is a litigator with Lawrence & Bundy LLC focusing on employment matters, election law, the Telephone Consumer Protection Act, internal investigations, class action litigation, and general commercial litigation. Maia also has experience in securities litigation and enforcement, regulatory compliance and litigation, bankruptcy litigation, disability insurance advice, corporate compliance, and professional liability. She has represented clients in a variety of jurisdictions and forums including state and federal courts, Financial Industry Regulatory Authority arbitrations, federal agency investigations, and mediations. Before joining Lawrence & Bundy, she was an associate at Eversheds Sutherland, where she participated in the firm’s 2012 summer associate program. Also, she previously served as a summer law clerk with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal Defense and Education Fund in Washington, D.C. Before attending law school, Maia worked as a teacher with Teach for America in Atlanta, Georgia. Maia graduated summa cum laude from Spelman College and received her J.D. from Harvard Law School.

Dara Gold is an Associate Mathematician at the RAND Corporation in Santa Monica, California. She received her Ph.D. in math from Boston University and her B.S. from Georgetown University.

Rebecca Green teaches election law, privacy law, and alternative dispute resolution at William & Mary Law School. She is Co-Director of the Election Law Program, a joint project with the National Center for State Courts that provides state-specific resources to judges about state election statutes at www.ebenchbook.org. Rebecca
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**Ben Griffith** is Principal of Griffith Law Firm in Oxford, Mississippi, and Adjunct Professor of Election Law at the University of Mississippi School of Law, earning a J.D. in 1975 after receiving a B.A. in English and German from the Ole Miss in 1973. His practice emphasizes civil litigation in the fields of voting rights, election law, civil rights, and school desegregation, and he has been trial and appellate counsel for governmental defendants in federal civil litigation in the Fourth, Fifth, and Eleventh Circuits. He chaired the ABA Standing Committee on Election Law and the Section of State and Local Government Law. He is a member of the Council of the Central European and Eurasian Law Initiative (CEELI), the ABA Board of Governors (2016–2019), and House of Delegates (2010–2019). He chairs the International Steering Committee of the International Municipal Lawyers Association and is recipient of the Association’s Charles S. Rhyne Lifetime Achievement in Municipal Law Award. He is a member of the American Law Institute, past President of the National Association of County Civil Attorneys and the Mississippi Association of County Board Attorneys, and Past Chair of the Mississippi Bar’s Government Law Section. Since 1994 he has been board certified in Civil Trial Advocacy by the National Board of Trial Advocacy. He was a contributor to *International Election Principles: Democracy and the Rule of Law* (ABA 2008), *International Election Remedies* (John Hardin Young ed., ABA Standing Committee on Election Law 2016), *Homeland Security and Emergency Management: A Legal Guide for State and Local Governments* (Ernest B. Abbott & Otto Hetzel eds., ABA Section of State and Local Government Law 3d ed. 2018), editor of the first three editions of *America Votes! Challenges to Modern Election Law and Voting Rights* (2008, 2012, 2016), and co-editor of this fourth edition.

**Paul Gronke** is a Professor of Political Science and Director of the Early Voting Information Center (EVIC) at Reed College in Portland, Oregon. Paul studies American politics, specializing in convenience and early voting, election administration, public opinion, and elections. He served for eight years as editor of the *Election Law Journal* and is currently co-editor of *PS: Political Science and Politics*. In 2005, Paul established EVIC (https://blogs.reed.edu/earlyvoting/). EVIC searches for nonpartisan solutions to identified problems in election administration that are backed by solid empirical evidence. Paul works to improve access and ensure integrity in the American elections system. Paul received his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in 1993, his M.A. from the University of Essex in 1984, and his B.A. from the University of Chicago in 1982.

**C. Robert Heath**, one of the founding partners of Bickerstaff Heath Delgado Acosta LLP—a 30-lawyer firm with offices in Austin, El Paso, and Houston—has been involved in redistricting since 1971. He has represented hundreds of governmental
entities in drawing districts and obtaining preclearance from the Department of Justice. In addition, he has represented many governments in significant federal voting rights litigation in Texas and in the District of Columbia district courts, in the Fifth Circuit, and in the U.S. Supreme Court. These cases include Chen v. City of Houston and Lepak v. City of Irving, both of which present the issue of whether noncitizens should be included in the apportionment base for one-person, one-vote purposes.

Julie Houk joined the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law in 2014 and is currently Managing Counsel for Election Protection. Julie's focus at the Lawyers' Committee has been on voting rights litigation and election protection work that has sought to ensure equal access to the ballot box for all voters, and, in particular, for voters of color. Julie received a B.A. in journalism and political science and an M.A. in political science from Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and received her J.D. from the Golden Gate University School of Law in San Francisco, California. She is admitted to practice law in California, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and the District of Columbia. Prior to joining the Lawyers' Committee, Julie spent most of her professional career litigating civil rights cases in California.

Margaret Hu is an Associate Professor of Law at Washington and Lee University School of Law. Her research interests include the intersection of immigration policy, national security, cybersurveillance, and civil rights. She has published several works on dataveillance and cybersurveillance, including Biometric ID Cybersurveillance; Big Data Blacklisting; and Algorithmic Jim Crow. She is a member of the Advisory Board of the Future of Privacy Forum, a nonprofit think tank in Washington, D.C., that promotes responsible data privacy policies. Previously, she served as senior policy advisor for the White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders and also served as special policy counsel in the Office of Special Counsel for Immigration-Related Unfair Employment Practices (OSC), Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice, in Washington, D.C. Professor Hu holds a B.A. from the University of Kansas and a J.D. from Duke Law School. She is a Truman Scholar and a Foreign Language Area Studies Scholar. She clerked for Judge Rosemary Barkett on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit and subsequently joined the U.S. Department of Justice through the Attorney General's Honors Program.

Kurt Kastorf is a Supreme Court and appellate advocate who has worked on well over 100 appeals for the U.S. Department of Justice and in private practice in both Washington, D.C., and Atlanta, Georgia. Kurt also counsels clients on difficult election law and voting rights issues, from local candidates and nonprofits to nationally known figures such as Hillary Clinton. His most recent work includes representing Stacey Abrams in post-election litigation in Georgia and preparing the petitioners before the Supreme Court in Rucho v. League of Women Voters of North Carolina, a challenge to partisan redistricting. Kurt graduated from Emory College and Emory University School of Law, where he serves on the Emory Law Alumni Board and teaches trial techniques.
Allegra Lawrence-Hardy uses creativity and results-oriented strategic analysis to develop legal solutions that work for her clients. Allegra works with her clients on complex commercial and labor and employment matters. She has successfully defended Fortune 100 companies throughout the United States and abroad in numerous trials, arbitrations, and other forms of alternative dispute resolution. Allegra is known for her skill in trying cases, negotiating complex settlements, and finding creative solutions. Allegra helps develop processes and tools for improving the efficiency and delivery of legal services. Allegra is the co-founder of the commercial litigation firm Lawrence & Bundy. Lawrence & Bundy represents an array of sophisticated business entities and people in Atlanta, Georgia, and Washington, D.C.

Olivia N. Marshall is an associate in Washington, D.C., law firm Caplin & Drysdale’s Political Law Practice. Olivia’s practice centers on advising clients on state and federal campaign finance and election laws, gift and ethics rules, the Foreign Agent Registration Act, and lobbying registration and disclosure. Prior to joining Caplin, she served as a law clerk on Senator Sheldon Whitehouse’s Judiciary Committee staff. She graduated from Vanderbilt University School of Law in 2018.

Peter Miller is a researcher in the Democracy Program at the Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law. His research interests include American and comparative politics, voting behavior, political institutions, and public opinion. His work has been published in several peer-reviewed journals, including the *Annual Review of Political Science*, *Electoral Studies*, *Election Law Journal*, *American Politics Research*, and *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties*. He is a former Fulbright Scholar to Finland. He holds a Ph.D. in political science from the University of California, Irvine, and a B.A. in political science from Reed College.

Terry Ao Minnis is the Senior Director of the census and voting programs for Asian Americans Advancing Justice. Terry co-chairs the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights’ Census Task Force. She sat on the U.S Department of Commerce’s 2010 Census Advisory Committee from 2002 through 2011 and the Census Bureau’s National Advisory Committee on Racial, Ethnic, and Other Populations from 2013 to 2019. Terry has published several articles, including “When the Voting Rights Act Became Un-American: The Misguided Vilification of Section 203” (*Alabama Law Review*) and “No Longer Invisible: Engaging the Growing Asian American Electorate in the South” (*Mississippi Law Journal*), and has been counsel on numerous amicus briefs filed before the Supreme Court on voting rights cases, including *Shelby County v. Holder*. Terry was one of the key leaders in campaigns on reauthorizing the Voting Rights Act in 2006 and is actively engaged in addressing the Supreme Court’s decision in *Shelby County v. Holder*. She also helped lead the 2010 census outreach campaign for Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders, and is doing so again for the 2020 census. Terry received her J.D., cum laude, from American University Washington College of Law and her bachelor’s degree in economics at the University of Chicago.
G. Michael Parsons Jr. is an Acting Assistant Professor at New York University School of Law and an Adjunct Fellow at FairVote. His work focuses on voting rights, election law, and the political process, with an emphasis on gerrymandering, money in politics, and alternative models of representation. Michael served as a law clerk to the Honorable Norman H. Stahl of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit and the Honorable Robert E. Payne of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia. He received his J.D., magna cum laude, from the Georgetown University Law Center, and his A.B., cum laude, from Davidson College. For updates and commentary on voting rights, money in politics, and other election law developments, follow Michael on Twitter @GMikeParsons or visit https://moderndemocracyblog.com.

Kevin Paulsen is an attorney at the Federal Election Commission's (FEC's) Office of the General Counsel—Policy Division. Prior to joining the FEC, he was an associate at Shearman & Sterling LLP. Kevin graduated from the University of Iowa in 2012 with a B.S. in political science and journalism and mass communication. He graduated from the George Washington University Law School in 2015. During law school, Kevin served as a law clerk for former FEC Commissioner Ann M. Ravel. All views or opinions expressed herein are Kevin's alone and are expressed solely in his personal capacity.

Trevor Potter co-chairs the Political Law Practice at Caplin and Drysdale in Washington, D.C. He is a former Commissioner and Chairman of the FEC. He has taught campaign finance law as a visiting lecturer at the University of Virginia School of Law and at Oxford University. He was general counsel of Senator John McCain's presidential campaigns in 2000 and 2008.

John Powers is a voting rights attorney at the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law, which he joined in 2015. John's work at the Lawyers' Committee focuses on litigation and election protection efforts directed at voter purges and other barriers to the ballot box, as well as discriminatory redistricting plans. John received his B.A. in history at Haverford College and his J.D. from the Georgetown University Law Center. He is admitted to practice law in Maryland and the District of Columbia. Prior to joining the Lawyers' Committee, John worked for more than eight years at the Department of Justice, where he was part of litigation teams challenging the Texas voter ID and North Carolina omnibus election laws in federal district court. His published works include “Statistical Evidence of Racially Polarized Voting in the Obama Elections, and Implications for Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act” (Georgetown Law Journal).

Rachel T. Provencher is an attorney at Venable LLP in Washington, D.C., and is in the firm's Political Law and Tax-Exempt Organizations practice groups. Rachel's practice focuses on advising clients on state and federal campaign finance laws, gift and ethics rules, procurement and pay-to-play laws, the Foreign Agent Registration Act, lobbying registration and disclosure, and post-employment restrictions
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Thomas W. Ryan received his Ph.D. in electrical and computer engineering from the University of Arizona. For 26 years, he worked for Science Applications International Corporation as a project manager and algorithm designer in the field of automated image analysis. In 2003, he became interested in election procedures and technology and was involved in framing and promoting Arizona’s election audit law that was enacted in 2006. Thomas was a member of the Pima County Election Integrity Commission for ten years, serving as Chair for four years. During that time he coordinated discussions and presentations on ballot image audits and directed a pilot study on risk-limiting audits. He has also participated in discussions on implementation of risk-limiting audits as a member of the State Audit Working Group (SAWG), the Colorado Risk-Limiting Audit Working Group (CORLA), and the Rhode Island Risk-Limiting Audit Working Group (RIRLA).

Robert O. Saunooke is an enrolled member and citizen of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians and graduate of Washington and Lee Law School whose practice centers on working with Native Americans and tribal governments. For more than 25 years he has worked with tribal governments throughout Indian country assisting them in enacting legislation, state and federal litigation in federal and tribal courts, business development, creation of court systems, and codifying their own laws. Robert has been an instructor and educator for various federal, state, and tribal law enforcement officials throughout the United States on jurisdictional issues relating to the application and enforcement of the Adam Walsh Sexual Offender Act, Violence Against Women Act, and various state and federal laws and their application throughout Indian country. Currently Robert teaches federal Indian law and policies at Emory Law School in Atlanta, Georgia. In 2005, Robert appeared before Congress along with his client José Canseco during the investigation into steroid use in Major League Baseball and has been considered one of the leading legal commentators on the legalities of steroids and performance-enhancing drug use in sports. He was a member of the Brigham Young University football team and the recipient of the Shining Example of America Award for Acts of Heroism relating to his actions.
in saving the lives of 11 children. Robert is very active in the ABA and has served in numerous positions including Chairman of the ABA’s Tribal Courts Council, Standing Committee on Minorities in the Judiciary, ABA presidential appointee to the Standing Committee on Federal Judicial Improvement, Future of Legal Services Commission, Lawyers Conference Executive Committee, and Chairman of the ABA Judicial Clerkship Program. He served as President of the National Native American Bar Association in 2019–2020.

Chris Sautter, Founder and President of Sautter Communications and Films, is a nationally recognized political media strategist, award-winning documentary filmmaker, election attorney, and university professor. Sautter is best known for his expertise in election disputes, having worked as an attorney or consultant on nearly every major national recount since helping Democrat Frank McCloskey win a four-vote victory in 1984–1985 in Indiana’s “Bloody 8th” congressional district—a race that remains the closest U.S. House race in modern history. His work on behalf of Al Gore in the 2000 Florida recount was profiled in the New Republic, singled out by the late syndicated columnist Robert Novak, and praised by Jeffrey Toobin in his book Too Close to Call. Sautter served as a lead attorney in Al Franken’s U.S. Senate 2008 recount in Minnesota. Jay Weiner, author of This Is Not Florida: How Al Franken Won the Minnesota Recount, pegged him “unquestionably the most experienced recount lawyer in the country” and “the go-to-guy on the Franken recount team.” Sautter co-authored The Recount Primer (1994) with Jack Young and the late Tim Downs and teaches election law, including a course on recounts as an Adjunct Professor at American University. More recently, Chris served as an attorney for Bernie 2016, the Bernie Sanders for President campaign, directing voter protection activities. He also helped direct voter protection for the Hillary Clinton for President campaign in Florida during the 2016 general election campaign. In 2018, he represented the Florida Democratic Party in two statewide recounts. Currently, Chris is counsel to AUDIT Elections USA, a nonprofit working to make elections more transparent, verifiable, and subject to public oversight.

Lucy L. Thomson, CISSP, is the Founding Principal of Livingston PLLC in Washington, D.C. She focuses her practice on cybersecurity, global data privacy, compliance, and risk management. For more than a decade she has worked on election initiatives and voting machine security issues, including problems with voting equipment during key U.S. elections. Appointed Consumer Privacy Ombudsman in 27 major federal bankruptcy cases, she has overseen the disposition of more than 250 million electronic consumer records. Active in the ABA, she served as Chair of the Section of Science & Technology Law and is a member of the House of Delegates and the Cybersecurity Legal Task Force. A career white collar crime prosecutor at the U.S. Department of Justice, Lucy managed and conducted complex litigation in the Criminal and Civil Rights Divisions. She subsequently worked as a senior engineer at CSC, a global technology company, on two of the government’s largest technology modernization projects where she gained extensive experience conducting
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Lauren E. Ward is an attorney with the Griffith Law Firm in Oxford, Mississippi, where her practice revolves around voting rights, school desegregation, government liability, insurance defense, products liability, and premises liability matters. She graduated from the University of Florida in 2011 with a B.A. in political science. Lauren went on to graduate from the University of Mississippi School of Law in 2015 with cum laude honors. While at Ole Miss, Lauren was a member of the school’s Negotiation Board, competing across the country at alternative dispute resolution forums.

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John Hardin “Jack” Young is a past Chair of the ABA’s Senior Lawyer Division and Section of Administrative Law and Regulatory Practice. He is an Adjunct Professor of International and Comparative Election Law at William & Mary Law School, Senior Global Election Dispute Resolution Advisor for the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), and Senior Counsel at SandlerReiff in Washington, D.C. He is also a former Chair of the ABA’s Standing Committee on Election Law, editor and contributor to International Election Principles: Democracy and the Rule of Law (ABA 2008), and an author of “Alternative Dispute Resolution Mechanisms” (with David Kovick) in Guidelines for Understanding, Adjudicating, and Resolving Disputes in Elections (IFES 2011). He is also the editor of International Election Remedies (ABA 2016). He is a former member of the ABA Board of Governors, and is a Life Fellow of the American Bar Foundation and a Life Member of the American Law Institute. He is one of the authors (with Tim Downs and Chris Sautter) of the Recount Primer and one of the first attorneys to design and implement a promote and protect the vote/election protection program following the 2000 Florida election. He received his law degrees from University of Virginia (J.D.) and Oxford University (B.C.L.).