Index

2000 election, 125, 244, 251n5, 335–340, 346n42
2016 election, 82n7, 130, 140, 211–217, 223n38. See also Russia
2020 election, 123–124, 130–131, 144, 216–217, 220–222

A
Abrams, Stacey, 21–22, 34
Absentee voting. See also Early voting
as early voting, 103–105
no-excuse, 102, 108, 119n18
ACS. See American Community Survey (ACS)
Administrative Procedure Act, 13
Alabama, felon disenfranchisement in, 51n17
Alaska Natives, as language minority voters, 71–73, 75, 83n23
Alito, Samuel, 13
Altmann, Micah, 306
American Community Survey (ACS), 8–10, 12, 18n74
American Indians, as language minority voters, 71–73, 75, 83n23. See also Native Americans
Anderson, Carol, 267
Anderson-Burdick balancing test, 56–57, 123–127, 336, 339
Ang, Desmond, 260–261
Apportionment base. See also Redistricting
eligible-voter, 5–7
political parties and, 4–5
Arab Americans, as language minority voters, 74
Arizona
cyberattack in, 140
disenfranchisement of Native Americans in, 97n18
student voters in, voter suppression and, 62
Asian Americans, as language minority voters, 71, 75, 82n7
Audits
ballot image, 320, 327–332
ballot polling, 323–324
contest selection for, 324
cybersecurity and, 146–147
diagnostic power of, 331
direct-recording electronic voting machines and, 141
ease of, 330
efficiency of, 330
language minority voters and, 77, 79
public understanding of, 331
risk-limiting, 147, 153n59, 319–327, 330–332
transitive, 322
“Australian ballot,” 103–104
Automatic voter registration (AVR), 199–200, 249, 256n66
AVR. See Automatic voter registration (AVR)

B
Ballot
“Australian,” 103–104
paper, 79, 146–147, 244, 250–251, 327
serial numbers, 325
Ballot design, 78–81, 341
Ballot image audits (BIAs), 320, 327–332
Ballot manifest, 325–326
Ballot marking devices (BMDs), 340, 343, 345n40
Ballot polling audit, 323–324
Battleground states, election security and, 138
BIAs. See Ballot image audits (BIAs)
Blum, Edward, 6
BMDs. See Ballot marking devices (BMDs)
Bond, Tiffany, 155, 162
Brennan, Joseph, 158–159
Breyer, Stephen, 13–14
Bush, George W., 125
Butterfly ballots, 341, 346n42

C
California
absentee voting in, 104
disenfranchisement of Native Americans in, 92
eying in, 108, 111
language minority voters in, 76, 78
vote centers in, 78
Campaign disclosure laws, 203–204
Campaign finance, in For the People Act, 202–205
Carollo, Joe, 115–116
Cast vote record (CVR), 321–322, 325–326, 330–331

“Catch and kill,” 217–222, 224n69
Census
citizenship question in, 3, 8–14
need for reconfiguration of, 7–9
pretesting, 11
Census Act, 17n40
Census block, 7–8, 16n35
Center for Civic Design, 80, 85n70
Chen, Jowei, 306
China, 138
Cirincione, Carmen, 306
Citizenship, in census, 3, 8–14
Citizen-voting-age population (CVAP), 4, 6, 8
Civil Rights Act of 1866, 87
Civil Rights Act of 1964, 87, 303
Civil War, 173–174
Clinton, Hillary, 178, 214
Cohen, Michael, 217–222, 224n69
Coleman, Norm, 335
Collins, Susan, 158–159
Common vendor, 187
Compromise of 1877, 174
Coordination with outside groups, 185–188
Corporations, in-kind contributions and, 188–191
Criminal enforcement
2016 election and, 211–217
Cohen and, 217–222
Mueller investigation and, 214–216
Russian interference operations and, 213–214
statutory framework for, 212–213
Crittenden, Robyn, 34
CVAP. See Citizen-voting-age population (CVAP)
CVR. See Cast vote record (CVR)
Cybersecurity. See also Digitized election administration
attack vectors and, 140–142
battleground states and, 138
campaigns and, 142–143
candidates and, 142–143
deepfakes and, 147–148
direct-recording electronic voting machines and, 141
disinformation and, 143
election infrastructure and, 138–139
election night reporting and, 141
information security and, 144–145
Internet voting and, 141
optical scan voting systems and, 141
outsourcing and, 142
supply chain and, 142
voter registration databases and, 140
voting system vulnerabilities and, 140–142

D
Database matching, 22–28, 32, 36n2, 245–246
Database vulnerability, 247
Deal, Nathan, 32
Deepfakes, 147–148
Democratic Party
   and citizenship question in census, 9–10
districting and, 3–4
early voting and, 111
Digitized election administration. See also Cybersecurity; Electronic pollbooks; Voting machines
cyberattacks and, 140
database matching and, 245–246
database vulnerability and, 247
Help America Vote Act and, 244
National Voter Registration Act and, 244
security in, 247–250
transparency and, 249–250
voter list maintenance and, 248
voter registration and, 249
Dionne, E.J., Jr., 197
Direct-recording electronic (DRE) voting machines, 141, 244, 340–341, 346n40. See also Digitized election administration
DISCLOSE Act, 204
Disinformation campaigns, 143
Douglas, William, 277
DRE. See Direct-recording electronic (DRE) voting machines

E
Early voting
   absentee voting as, 103–105
defined, 101
fraud and, 115–116
growth in, 109, 113
Help America Vote Act and, 111
in-person, 102, 105–106, 110
language minority voters and, 106
law, 101–106
nationwide, 200–201
poll place closures and, 268
procedures, 101–106
rates, 114
recounts and, 335–336
reform, 106–112
types of, 102
voter suppression and, 54–57
Edwards, John, 221
Election Assistance Commission (EAC), 77, 79, 85n59
Electioneering communications, 186, 193n4
Election fraud. See also Voter fraud
early voting and, 115–116
voter fraud vs., 171–172
voter identification and, 125–126
Election night reporting (ENR), 141
Elections Clause, 163, 278, 344n8
Electoral equality model, 5
Electronic pollbooks, 140
Electronic Registration Information Center (ERIC), 248
Eligible-voter apportionment base metric, 5–7
ENR. See Election night reporting (ENR)
Enumeration Clause, 13
Equal Protection Clause, 7, 164, 279–280
Bush v. Gore and, 336
felon disenfranchisement and, 46
gerrymandering and, 278
districting in, 202
elements of, 198–205
ethics in, 205
Federal Election Commission in, 202–203
McConnell and, 197
re-enfranchisement in, 201
small-donor matching in, 204–205
voter access reforms and, 199–200
voter identification in, 201

Fourteenth Amendment, 30, 51n12
early voting and, 55–56
language minority voters and, 83n23
Native Americans and, 87–88
poll taxes and, 44–45
ranked-choice voting and, 164
student voters and, 59
Franken, Al, 335
Fraud. See Election fraud; Voter fraud
Fundraising events, 190–191

G
Georgia, voter registration in, 21–36, 263
Gerrymandering. See also Redistricting
associational harm and, 279, 283–284
constitutional harm of, 278–279
Equal Protection Clause and, 279–280
favoritism and, 284–285
in federal and state law, 277–287
First Amendment and, 280–281, 290n55
legal standards applied with, 279–281
litigation, 278–287
outlier analysis and, 303–311
partisan symmetry analyses and, 281–282
racial, 6
relevant evidence in, 281–283
renewed attention toward, 297
Shelby and, 268–269
state constitutional law and, 283–287
voter identification and, 130
Gingles analysis, 8, 16n37, 229
Ginsburg, Ruth Bader, 13–14
Golden, Jared, 155, 162–164
Gore, Al, 125
Gorsuch, Neil, 13
Grofman, Bernard, 300

**H**
Hacking. See Cybersecurity
Handel, Karen, 21, 24, 35
Hasen, Rick, 293n107
HAVA. See Help America Vote Act (HAVA)
HAVV. See Help America Vote Verification (HAVV)
Hayes-Tilden Compromise, 174
Help America Vote Act (HAVA), 21–23, 26, 36n2, 77, 111, 175, 244–245, 335
Help America Vote Verification (HAVV), 25
Hennessey, Susan Klein, 255n51
Hoar, William, 155, 162
Honest Ads Act, 204
Howard, Jacob, 87

**I**
Identification. See Voter identification
Illinois, cyberattack in, 140
Illiteracy, 83n16
Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, 88
Information security, 144–145
In-kind contributions, 188–191
Internet Research Agency (IRA), 213–215, 223n38, 255n54. See also Russia
Internet voting, 141
Interstate Crosscheck system, 246
IRA. See Internet Research Agency (IRA)
Iran, 138
Isolation, of Native Americans, 89–90

**J**
Johnston, Ron, 306

**K**
Kagan, Elena, 13–14, 279, 282, 290n45
Kavanaugh, Brett, 13
Keating, David, 203, 205
Kelley, Karen Dunn, 17n43
Kemp, Brian, 21–22, 32, 35, 177, 254n34, 263
Keyssar, Alex, 107
King, Angus, 158–159
King, Gary, 300
Kitzhaber, John, 108
Kousser, Morgan, 264

**L**
Language minority voters
ballot design and, 78–81
in California, 76
defined, 71
eyearly voting and, 106
laws protecting, enforcement of federal, 72–74
planning for, up front, 77–81
state and local assistance with, expansion of, 74–76
state laws on, 76
voluntary assistance of, 75–76
vote centers and, 77–78
voting machines and, 77
Voting Rights Act and, 72–74, 82n15
Latinos, as language minority voters, 71, 73, 75, 82n7
Levitt, Justin, 12
Lines, for voting, 269
Literacy, 83n16
Logic and accuracy (L&A) testing, 341, 347n31
Longley, James, 158
Lujan, Ben, 95

**M**
Magleby, Daniel, 306
See also Early voting
Maine, ranked-choice voting in, 155, 158–164
Markov chain Monte Carlo (MCMC), 307–311
Maryland
cyberattack in, 151n32
districting in, 4
Massachusetts
language minority voters in, 84n30
ranked-choice voting in, 158
Material involvement, 187
McConnell, Mitch, 197
McDonald, Michael, 306
McGhee, Eric, 301
MCMC. See Markov chain Monte Carlo (MCMC)
Merrill, Barbara, 159
Michaud, Mike, 159
Michigan
  ranked-choice voting in, 158
  student voters in, voter suppression and, 61–62
Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment (MOVE) Act, 103
Millennial(s)
  defined, 53
  voter suppression tactics used against, 54–65
  voter turnout among, 53–54
Minnesota, ranked-choice voting in, 158
Minnite, Lorraine, 171
Mitchell, George, 158
Morales, Jose, 24–25
Mosesson, Daniel, 306
MOVE. See Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment (MOVE) Act
Mueller, Robert, 137, 214–216, 247, 255n49

N
National Voter Registration Act (NVRA), 32–33, 244–245, 252n9
Native Americans. See also American Indians
citizenship of, 87–88
Civil Rights Act of 1866 and, 87
Civil Rights Act of 1964 and, 87
distrust of government by, 94
felon disenfranchisement and, 92–93
Fourteenth Amendment and, 87–88
funding problems and, 90
housing issues with, 90–92
Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 and, 88
isolating conditions of, 89–90
issues impacting voting of, 88–95
mailing addresses and, 91
poverty among, 88–89
racism and, 94–95
and threshold requirements for polling locations, 93
voter identification and, 92
Voting Rights Act and, 88
voting rights of, 87–96
Native American Voting Rights Act of 2019, 95
Native Hawaiians, as language minority voters, 71–72
Nevada, disenfranchisement of Native Americans in, 93
New Hampshire, student voters in, voter suppression and, 63–65
Nielsen Company, 11–12
No-excuse absentee voting, 102, 108. See also Early voting
North Carolina
districting in, 3
early voting in, 116
election fraud in, 116
ranked-choice voting in, 157–158
student voters in, voter suppression and, 58–60
voter identification in, 129–130
North Dakota
disenfranchisement of Native Americans in, 91
student voters in, voter suppression and, 62
NVRA. See National Voter Registration Act (NVRA)

O
Obama, Barack, 15n1, 55, 58, 179, 270
Office of Management and Budget, 10
Ohio, student voters in, voter suppression and, 62
Online voter registration, 200
Optical scan voting systems, 141, 342–343, 345n40
Oregon, early voting in, 108
Outlier analysis, 303–311
Outside groups, 185–188
Outsourcing, cybersecurity and, 142
PAC. See Political action committee (PAC).

Pacific Islanders, as language minority voters, 71–72
Packwood, Bob, 108
Paper ballots, 79, 146–147, 244, 250–251, 327
Partisan symmetry analyses, 281–282
Pennsylvania, 3–4
gerrymandering in, 285–286
voter registration in, 26–27
Phishing attacks, 140
Piper, Christopher, 249
Plurality voting, 156–157
Poliquin, Bruce, 155, 162–163
Political action committee (PAC), 185, 188, 190–191
Politics, in districting, 3–4
Pollbooks, electronic, 140
Polling place closures, 266, 268
Poll taxes, 43, 50, 62–65
Postal voting, 102, 108, 111, 335–336. See also Early voting
Potanin, Vladimir, 151n32
Poverty among Native Americans, 88–89, 96n11
voting rights and, 43–47, 88–89
Pretesting, in census, 11
Privacy Act, 23
Putin, Vladimir, 137, 213. See also Russia

Q
Qualifications Clause, 163

R
Race
disenfranchisement of Native Americans and, 94–95
eyear voting and, 111–112
“exact match” requirement in voter registration and, 21–36
felon disenfranchisement and, 45, 51n17
incarceration and, 43
voter fraud and, 174, 180
voter identification and, 72
in Voting Rights Act, 50n4
Voting Rights Act and, 124
Racial gerrymandering, 6
Ranked-choice voting
criticisms of, 157
derived, 155–156
in Maine, 155, 158–164
in Massachusetts, 158
in Michigan, 158
in Minnesota, 158
in North Carolina, 157–158
Republican Party and, 161
Voting Rights Act and, 163
Ravel, Ann, 202
Reconstruction, 173–174
Recounts
absentee voting and, 335–336
ballot image audits vs., 327
and Bush v. Gore, 335–340
election day attorney deployment and, 341
mail-in ballots and, 335–336
signature mismatch and, 341–342
voting machines and, 340–341
Redistricting. See also Gerrymandering
census reconfiguration and, 7–9
eligible-voter apportionment base metric in, 5–6
evolutionary algorithms and, 310–311
fairness in, 297–312
“flood fill” methods with, 306
future directions in, 311–312
litigation, 278–283
mandatory criteria for, 286–287
Markov chain Monte Carlo methods in, 307–311
in Maryland, 4
Native Americans and, 93
in North Carolina, 3
in Pennsylvania, 3–4
in For the People Act, 202
politics in, 3–4
racial gerrymandering in, 6
in Texas, 6–7
Republican Party
  and citizenship question in census, 9–10
districting and, 3–4
eyear voting and, 111
election fraud and, 116
felon disenfranchisement and, 48
For the People Act and, 203
ranked-choice voting and, 161
voter fraud and, 179–180
Retrogression, 230–232
Risk-limiting audits (RLAs), 147, 153n59,
319–327, 330–332. See also Audits
RLAs. See Risk-limiting audits (RLAs)
Roberts, John, 13, 264, 289n45, 290n50
Rodden, Jonathan, 306
Romney, Mitt, 179
Rosenstein, Rod, 214
Ross, Eleanor L., 34
Ross, Wilbur, 9, 11–12
Rossiter, D.J., 306
Runoff voting, 156–157
Russia, 137–138, 141–143, 151n32,
211–214, 223n38, 247, 255n54
S
Same-day registration (SDR), 200
Sarbanes, John, 198
Scott, Rick, 46
SDR. See Same-day registration (SDR)
Seat margin (SM), 300–301
Security. See Cybersecurity
Signature mismatch, 341–342
SM. See Seat margin (SM)
Small-donor matching, 204–205
Social media, 143, 148, 213
Sotomayor, Sonia, 13–14
South Carolina, student voters in, voter
suppression and, 62
South Dakota, disenfranchisement of
Native Americans in, 89, 91
Stand by Every Ad Act, 204
Stephanopolous, Nicholas, 301
Stewart, Charles, 115
Student voters, voter suppression and,
57–62
Suarez, Xavier, 115–116
Substantial discussion, 187
Supply chain, cybersecurity and, 142
T
Tax(es)
  poll, 43, 50, 62–65
time in line as, 269
Tax-exempt organizations, 191–192
Tennessee, student voters in, voter
suppression and, 60–61
Texas
districting in, 6–7
language minority voters in, 84n28
student voters in, voter suppression
and, 62
voter identification in, 128–129
Thomas, Clarence, 13
Tilden, Samuel, 174
“Time tax,” 269
Transitive audit, 322. See also Audits
Transparency, 249–250
Trump, Donald, 9–10, 14, 178, 213,
217–222
Turnout, voter, 53–54
Tween, William Marcy, 173
Twenty-Fourth Amendment, 43–44, 50
Twenty-Sixth Amendment
  absentee voting and, 104
eyear voting and, 55–57
student voters and, 59
U
Udall, Tom, 95
Uniformed and Overseas Citizens
  Absentee Voting Act (UOCAVA),
103, 105, 118n13
United Kingdom, 116
UOCAVA. See Uniformed and Overseas
Citizens Absentee Voting Act
(UOCAVA)
V
VAH. See Vote at home (VAH)
VBM. See Vote by mail (VBM)
VM. See Vote margin (VM)
Voting Rights Act and, 123–125
in Wisconsin, 127–128
Voter registration
automatic, 199–200
digitized election administration and, 249
“exact match” requirement in, 21–36
in Florida, 26
Help America Vote Act and, 22–23
online, 200
overreporting of, 264
in Pennsylvania, 26–27
same-day, 200
voter fraud and, 173
Voting Rights Act and, 26
in Wisconsin, 26–27
Voter registration databases (VRDBs), 140
Voter roll purges, 92, 97n18, 174, 199–200, 263, 265, 267–268
Voter suppression
early voting and, 54–57
in Michigan, 61–62
with Millennials, 54–65
in New Hampshire, 63–65
Shelby and, 263
student voters and, 57–62
in Tennessee, 60–61
Voter tabulation districts (VTDs), 307
Voter turnout, 53–54
voter fraud and, 179–180
Voting machines
direct-recording electronic, 141, 340–341, 346n40
language minority voters and, 77
recounts and, 340–341
Voting rights, poverty and, 43–47
Voting Rights Act (VRA), 6
citizenship question and, 9, 12, 14
effectiveness of, 260–261
“exact match” and, 31, 33
felon disenfranchisement and, 44
Gingles analysis and, 8, 16n37
history of, 259–260
language minority voters and, 72–74, 82n15
Native Americans and, 88
Voting Rights Act (VRA) (continued)
preclearance in, 24–29, 36, 125, 128, 134n50, 175–178, 228–230, 237n3, 259–262
race in, 50n4
ranked-choice voting and, 163
retrogression and, 230–232
Section 2, 6, 9, 16n37, 30, 34, 44–45, 51n12, 74, 88, 123–124, 126–131, 176–177, 228–230
Section 5, 21, 24, 27, 31, 40n90, 54, 58, 125–126, 128, 175–176, 227–229
structure of, 259–260
voter fraud and, 175
voter identification and, 123–125
voter registration and, 26

W
Washington, disenfranchisement of Native Americans in, 92
Wasted votes, 301
Weiner, Daniel, 202–203
Wisconsin
voter identification in, 127–128
voter registration in, 26–27
Wyden, Ron, 108