Contents

About the Authors xvii
About the Peer Reviewers xxvii
Preface xxxi
Introduction xxxv

PART ONE
Voter Qualification and Participation

CHAPTER 1
Immigration, Citizenship, and the 2020 Census 3
C. ROBERT HEATH

I. Drawing Districts Is Inherently Political 3
II. Changing the Apportionment Base to the Advantage of One Party 4
III. The Possibility of an Eligible-Voter Apportionment Base Metric 5
IV. When There Would Be a Need to Reconfigure the Census 7
V. A Citizenship Question and the 2020 Census under the
   Trump Administration 9
VI. Adding the Question Did Not Conform to Census
    Bureau Requirements 10
VII. The Secretary’s Stated Rationale for Adding the Citizenship
    Question Does Not Stand Up to Scrutiny 12
VIII. The Secretary’s Decision to Add the Citizenship Question
    Is Overturned by the District Court 13
IX. The Supreme Court Resolves the Issue 13
    Notes 15
CHAPTER 2

Strict Construction of Voter Registration Laws: Georgia’s Experience in 2018

KRISTEN CLARKE
JULIE HOUK
JOHN POWERS

I. Introduction 21
II. Voter Registration in Georgia under State and Federal Law 22
III. Georgia’s First Attempt at Voter Registration Database Matching 23
IV. Georgia’s Post-Morales Voter Registration Verification Matching Process 27
V. Litigation Challenging Exact Match 2010 29
VI. Exact Match 2017 Was Enacted in the Wake of the Supreme Court’s Decision in Shelby County v. Holder 31
VII. The Legal Challenge to Exact Match 2017 (H.B. 268) 32
VIII. Post-Election Federal Lawsuit Challenging Systemic Voter Suppression in Georgia, Including “Exact Match” 34
IX. Status of “Exact Match” in the Wake of the Enactment of H.B. 316 in 2019 35
X. Conclusion 35
Notes 36

CHAPTER 3

Too Broke to Vote: How Florida’s Felon Re-enfranchisement Law Penalizes the Poor

NANCY G. ABUDU

I. Introduction 43
II. The Historical Use of Poverty as a Barrier to the Ballot Box 44
III. Florida’s Historic Passage of the Voting Restoration Amendment 47
IV. Conclusion 50
Notes 50

CHAPTER 4

Millennials and Electoral Access in 2018–2020

LAUREN E. WARD
BENJAMIN E. GRIFFITH

I. Introduction 53
II. Millennials, Baby Boomers, and Voter Turnout 53
III. Millennial Voter Suppression Tactics: A Review of Recent Case Law and Statutory Authority 54
IV. Conclusion 65
Notes 65
CHAPTER 5
A Holistic Approach to Assisting Language Minority Voters 71
TERRY AO MINNIS
I. Introduction 71
II. Enforcement of Federal Laws Protecting Language Minority Voters 72
III. State and Local Expansion of Language Assistance 74
IV. Election Administration: Up Front Planning for Language
   Minority Voters 77
V. Conclusion 81
Notes 81

CHAPTER 6
Native American Voting Rights 87
ROBERT O. SAUNOOKE
I. Issues Impacting Native Voting 88
II. Resolution 95
Notes 96

PART TWO
The Voting Process

CHAPTER 7
Early Voting in America: Public Usage and Public Support 101
PAUL GRONKE
PETER MILLER
I. A Typology of Early Voting Law and Procedures 101
II. Three Periods of Reform 106
III. Early Voting Today: Wide Public Usage and Wide Public Support 112
IV. Convenience Voting and Election Fraud: A False Narrative 115
V. Conclusion 117
Notes 117

CHAPTER 8
Voter ID Laws and Jurisprudence: The Path to 2020 123
RACHEL PROVENCHER
I. Voting Rights Act 124
II. Change on the Rise in the 2000s 125
III. Shelby County v. Holder: The Floodgate Opens 126
IV. Wave Two: Voter ID in the Courts Post-Shelby County 126
V. Looking Ahead to 2020 130
VI. Conclusion 131
Notes 131
CHAPTER 9
Cybersecurity Threats to Election Systems and Development of Best Practices 137
LUCY L. THOMSON
I. Hacking Democracy: Threats to Free and Fair Elections 137
II. The Path Forward: Steps to Strengthen Election Systems and the Development of Best Practices 144
Notes 148

CHAPTER 10
Ranked-Choice Voting: Maine’s Experience 155
PETER J. BRANN
I. Introduction 155
II. Explanation of Ranked-Choice Voting 155
III. Ranked-Choice Voting Outside of Maine 157
IV. Ranked-Choice Voting in Maine 158
V. Conclusion 164
Notes 165

CHAPTER 11
Voter Fraud Claims in America: A Historical Review of How Voter Fraud Claims Have Shaped Policy and Affected Voters 171
ALLEGRA LAWRENCE-HARDEY
MAIA COGEN
I. History of Voter Fraud Claims and Legal Maneuvers to Counteract Alleged Claims 172
II. The Reality of Voter Fraud and Vote Stealing Claims 178
III. Impact of Voter Fraud Claims on Voter Turnout 179
Notes 181

CHAPTER 12
Potential Legal Pitfalls for the 2020 Elections 185
TREVOR POTTER
OLIVIA N. MARSHALL
I. Candidate Campaigns: Coordination with Outside Groups 185
II. Corporations: In-Kind Contributions 188
• Contents •

III. Tax-Exempt Organizations: New Donor Disclosure Requirements 191
IV. Conclusion 193
Notes 193

C H A P T E R  1 3
For the People Act of 2019 (H.R. 1): Unpacking the Most Comprehensive Democracy Reform Package since Watergate 197
SEAN J. WRIGHT
I. Introduction 197
II. Major Elements of H.R. 1 198
III. Conclusion 205
Notes 206

PART THREE
Voting Rights Litigation

C H A P T E R  1 4
Criminal Enforcement of the Election Laws: Lessons from 2016 and What to Expect in 2020 211
KEVIN PAULSEN
I. Introduction 211
II. Foreign Interference in the 2016 Election 211
III. “Catch and Kill” in 2016 and the Cohen Guilty Plea 217
IV. Conclusion 222
Notes 222

C H A P T E R  1 5
Section 2 Vote Dilution in 2018 and Beyond, with Emphasis on State Legislative Redistricting 227
TOMMIE CARDIN
PARKER BERRY
I. Introduction 227
II. The VRA and the Demise of Section 5 227
CHAPTER 19
The New Redistricting Math: Establishing Fair Districts 297
GOWRI RAMACHANDRAN
DARA GOLD
I. Introduction 297
II. Measures of Substantive Fairness 299
III. Outlier Analysis 303
IV. Determining Intent with Outlier Analysis 305
V. Future Directions 311
Acknowledgments 312
Notes 313

PART FIVE
Audits and Recounts

CHAPTER 20
Risk-Limiting and Ballot Image Audits 319
THOMAS W. RYAN
I. Overview 319
II. Risk-Limiting Audits 320
III. Ballot Image Audits 327
IV. Advantages and Disadvantages of Auditing Methods 330
V. Conclusion 332
Notes 333

CHAPTER 21
Recounts: The New Reality Two Decades after Bush v. Gore 335
CHRISTINA E. BUSTOS
CHRIS SAUTTER
JOHN HARDIN YOUNG
1. Introduction 335
II. The Courts Grapple with the Meaning of Bush v. Gore 336
IV. Conclusion 342
Notes 344

Table of Cases 349

Index 355