



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

Introduction

For nearly 50 years, Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act (VRA) required certain jurisdictions (including states, counties, cities, and towns) with a history of chronic racial discrimination in voting to submit all proposed voting changes to the U.S. Department of Justice (U.S. DOJ) or a federal court in Washington, D.C. for pre-approval. This requirement is commonly known as “preclearance.”

Section 5 preclearance served as our democracy’s discrimination checkpoint by halting discriminatory voting changes *before* they were implemented. It protected Black, Latinx, Asian, Native American, and Alaskan Native voters from racial discrimination in voting in the states and localities—mostly in the South—with a history of the most entrenched and adaptive forms of racial discrimination in voting. Section 5 placed the [burden of proof, time, and expense](#)¹ on the covered state or locality to demonstrate that a proposed voting change was not discriminatory before that change went into effect and could harm vulnerable populations.

Section 4(b) of the VRA, the coverage provision, authorized Congress to determine which jurisdictions should be “covered” and, thus, were required to seek preclearance. Preclearance applied to nine states (Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia) and a number of counties, cities, and towns in six partially covered states (California, Florida, Michigan, New York, North Carolina, and South Dakota).

On June 25, 2013, the Supreme Court of the United States immobilized the preclearance process in [Shelby County, Alabama v. Holder](#),² a challenge to the constitutionality of Sections 4(b) and 5 of the VRA. The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. (LDF) vigorously defended the VRA’s constitutionality in the Supreme Court and in the lower courts. In a devastating blow to the essence of the preclearance process, the Supreme Court ruled that Section 4(b) was unconstitutional, effectively disabling Section 5. The Court held that the Section 4(b) formula for determining which jurisdictions would be covered under Section 5 was out-of-date and unresponsive to current conditions in voting.

Since the *Shelby County* decision, states and local jurisdictions have been free to implement changes in voting without the preclearance process to determine whether those changes are racially discriminatory or harmful to language minorities. Indeed, the *Shelby County* decision left voters of color with *no* advance notice of discriminatory voting changes, despite that thousands of voting changes are considered each year by formerly covered jurisdictions. **According to the U.S. DOJ, it processed 44,790 Section 5 submissions between 2010 and 2013 alone.**³

Another consequence of the devastating *Shelby County* decision is that the number of federal election observers sent by the U.S. DOJ to previously covered jurisdictions for the November 2016 presidential election—the first election in more than 50 years without the VRA fully in operation—was the lowest since Congress passed the VRA in 1965.⁴ Indeed, the U.S. DOJ sent federal election observers to only five states—Alabama, Alaska,



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

California, Louisiana, and New York—in November 2016 because the U.S. DOJ interpreted the *Shelby County* decision as having ended the department’s ability to send observers to previously covered jurisdictions based on evidence of possible discrimination. Federal court rulings, however, authorized federal observers to monitor elections in these five states. DOJ’s observer program was similar limited in 2020.⁵

Historically, federal observers—who are authorized by Section 8 of the VRA to be inside the polling place on Election Day and examine voter registration rolls within them—have collected evidence of unlawful activities around elections and prepared reports that litigants have used in court to challenge those activities. There are scores of examples of federal observers acting to protect voters from racial discrimination at the polls.⁶

LDF and other advocates view this scale-back of the federal election observer program as another impediment to being able to learn of and defend against efforts to intimidate voters or stop them from voting, an issue that remains ongoing in previously covered jurisdictions, as the record below demonstrates.⁷ The potential for voter intimidation and unlawful challenges to voters in the November 2016 election was a particular concern also because of the then Republican presidential candidate’s calls, which had been challenged through litigation by state Democratic parties in some previously covered jurisdictions like Arizona and North Carolina, for supporters to act as layperson observers against non-existent voter fraud⁸ and for law enforcement to be deployed near and within polling places.⁹ The Democratic National Committee claimed that the Republican National Committee had enabled the then Republican presidential candidate to intimidate minority voters in violation of an ongoing consent decree between the two party committees.¹⁰ Similarly, voter intimidation was rampant during the 2020 general election, including caravans in or around polling places with armed people.¹¹

Bogus Claims of Widespread Voter Fraud

Against the backdrop of the *Shelby County* decision dismantling of one of the most successful federal voter protections, the 45th President claimed within the first week of his new administration, without evidence, that approximately three to five million people illegally voted (*i.e.*, committed voter fraud), in the 2016 election, and threatened to use his executive authority to order an investigation into widespread voter fraud.¹² The new President’s threat was resoundingly condemned by representatives from both major political parties, as well as civil rights and pro-democracy organizations, because of the belief that this threat, based on the myth of voter fraud, would form the basis for continued voter suppression efforts, particularly impacting communities of color, such as those documented in this report.¹³

Following through on his threat, the President signed an executive order in May of 2017 establishing the Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity, stacked with advocates for restricting access to the ballot box, the commission purported to “enhance the American people’s confidence in the integrity of the voting processes,” with an emphasis on weeding out “improper” or “fraudulent” registration and voting.¹⁴ Civil rights advocates and others expressed deep skepticism about the need for and purpose of the Commission, particularly as it was led by the Kansas Secretary of State. This individual has been frequently sued by civil rights groups for voting rights violations (*e.g.*, involvement in discriminatory proof-of-citizenship and photo ID



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

bills). He was sanctioned in one of those suits for “demonstrat[ing] a pattern” of misleading statements to the court, and has been a strenuous peddler of the voter-fraud myth.¹⁵ The Commission’s other members had similarly exaggerated claims of voter fraud,¹⁶ or had little experience with voting-related administration or voting rights issues.¹⁷ Accordingly, LDF and other advocates filed various [Freedom of Information Act requests](#) related to this Commission.¹⁸ LDF and other advocates also filed lawsuits (*e.g.*, [LDF v. Trump](#)) alleging that the Commission’s operation and actions violated multiple federal statutes and state laws.¹⁹ Various secretaries of state—of California, Virginia, Kentucky, Massachusetts, North Carolina, and Wisconsin, for example—pushed back against the Commission’s efforts in late June 2017 to obtain, among other things, a wide array of voter data, due to concerns about how and for what undisclosed purposes the Commission sought this information, which it may not be legally entitled to have.²⁰ The Commission sent a second request for voter data in August 2017.²¹ Voters responded in certain states by withdrawing their voter registrations²² or suing elected officials to prevent the release of their data.²³ Furthermore, a member of the Commission, Maine’s Secretary of State, obtained a court order requiring the Commission to disclose communications and documents to him after he filed suit, alleging that he was being illegally excluded from the Commission’s decision-making process.²⁴ And in August 2018, after receiving thousands of pages of documents, he issued a statement contending that the Commission lacked any evidence of widespread voter fraud, the Commission’s purported reason for existing, and that the documents illuminated reasons why the Commission sought to keep its inner-workings secret.²⁵ Moreover, the Democratic National Committee formed a Commission on Protecting American Democracy from the Trump Administration, aimed at debunking the myth of widespread voter fraud and highlighting ways to expand access to the ballot box.²⁶ A federal bill called the Anti-Voter Suppression Act was introduced to repeal the President’s Commission and prohibit the use of federal funds for it.²⁷

In January 2018, the President signed an executive order disbanding the Commission, citing the refusal of many states to provide the data the Commission had requested, as well as the expense of defending against the multiple lawsuits filed to challenge the Commission.²⁸ Notwithstanding that victory, voting rights advocates remained concerned about the President’s request that the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) review the Commission’s findings and statements by the vice-chairman of the Commission that DHS should continue the Commission’s work. But DHS reportedly has not publicly articulated any plans to do the work of the Commission or look into the issue of voter fraud.²⁹ Moreover, a White House official indicated in a sworn statement filed in court that it will destroy the data collected by the Commission and will not send records to DHS.³⁰

Following the disbandment of the sham Commission, the President continued to repeat baseless claims of voter fraud, reiterating his claim that Californians engaged in voter fraud.³¹ Meanwhile, four individuals, represented by pro-democracy groups, have sued a member of this former sham Commission and an organization to which he belongs because of their accusations that hundreds of Virginians, including the plaintiffs, illegally registered to vote; the suit alleges that these defendants “[l]abel[ed] the individuals named in the reports as non-citizens and therefore felons with reckless disregard for the truth of those accusations,” thus “act[ing] to intimidate and threaten those individuals and to deter them from voting or registering to vote.” Plaintiffs brought claims under the VRA and the Ku Klux Klan Act.³²



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

LDF'S RESPONSE TO SHELBY COUNTY

LDF has closely monitored how formerly covered states and localities are responding to the *Shelby County* decision. In addition, LDF attorneys have engaged with communities of color across the nation that have been left vulnerable by the Supreme Court's ruling to urge them to be their community's eyes and ears, and to alert LDF of any [potentially discriminatory voting changes](#).³³ LDF attorneys have collectively traveled hundreds of thousands of miles to over a dozen states, holding community empowerment forums, meeting with community leaders and individuals, distributing literature, investigating complaints, meeting with election officials and elected representatives, and monitoring elections through our annual [Prepared to Vote](#) campaigns.³⁴

In addition, LDF continues to vigorously enforce other provisions of the VRA, such as Section 2, which are even more essential to the protection of our democracy in the absence of Section 5's preclearance process. By contrast, since the current administration has been in office beginning in 2017, it has failed to affirmatively bring a single lawsuit to protect minority voting rights under the VRA.³⁵

LDF also is at the forefront of the effort to restore the VRA to its full strength and reactivate the preclearance protections.

Statewide changes like redistricting and photo identification (ID) laws post-*Shelby County* have attracted significant media attention, as well as challenges in court under other provisions of the VRA. Voting changes at the local level, such as moving a polling place or switching from district-based to at-large voting, have garnered less attention, but are no less problematic. **In fact, more than 85% of preclearance work previously done under Section 5 was at the local level.**³⁶ Years after the *Shelby County* decision, we are only beginning to see the impact of local changes, including changes to polling places. For example, a 2018 study found that since 2013, jurisdictions formerly covered by Section 5 closed, on average, almost 20% more polling stations per capita than jurisdictions in the rest of the country, and that within 18 counties in 13 states examined, many of the closed polls were in neighborhoods with large populations of people of color.³⁷ By 2020, a study found that approximately 21,000 polling places nationwide that served voters on Election Day have been eliminated.³⁸

Common changes at the state or local level that are potentially discriminatory include: reducing the number of polling places; changing or eliminating early voting days and/or hours; replacing district-based voting with at-large elections; implementing onerous registration qualifications like proof of citizenship; and removing qualified voters from registration lists. Indeed, minority communities are more likely to live in areas where polling places are difficult to access, leaving minority communities vulnerable to discriminatory changes that depress turnout.³⁹



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

THE VOTING RIGHTS AMENDMENT & ADVANCEMENT ACTS

In addition to monitoring post-*Shelby County* voting changes and pursuing litigation with the legal tools that remain available, LDF is urging Congress to aggressively respond to the *Shelby County* decision with new legislation that will protect voters of color from discrimination.

On January 16, 2014, seven months after the *Shelby County* decision, a bipartisan group of Members of Congress introduced the [Voting Rights Amendment Act of 2014](#). Congressmen John Lewis (D-GA-5), James Sensenbrenner (R-WI-5), Steve Chabot (R-OH-1), and John Conyers, Jr. (D-MI-13), among others, introduced H.R. 3899 in the House.⁴⁰ Senator Patrick Leahy (D-VT) and other Senators introduced a companion bill, S. 1945, in the Senate on the same day. The Voting Rights Amendment Act represented a threshold but still significant step by Congress toward ensuring that communities of color are protected against voting discrimination.⁴¹ This bill had several important provisions, including: a mechanism to identify places with the worst recent record of voting discrimination and require preclearance for their proposed voting changes; an enhanced ability to obtain preliminary injunctive relief when challenging voting changes likely to be discriminatory; an expansion of the authority of federal courts to order preclearance for jurisdictions that have discriminated against voters of color; and nationwide notification of potential voting changes to increase transparency and accountability and enable communities to challenge potentially discriminatory changes before elections.

The Voting Rights Amendment Act was reintroduced during the 2015-2016 legislative session (H. 885) and had 100 co-sponsors, 15 of whom are Republican.⁴² During the 2015-2016 legislative session, Congressional members also introduced the [Voting Rights Advancement Act of 2015](#) (H.R. 2867/S. 1659), which had 45 co-sponsors, including a Republican representative, in another effort to respond to the void created by the *Shelby County* decision.⁴³ This bill had several important provisions, including ones that would have: modernized the preclearance formula to cover states with a pattern of discrimination that puts voters at risk; ensured that last-minute voting changes would not adversely affect voters; protected voters from the types of voting changes most likely to discriminate against people of color and language minorities; enhanced the ability to apply preclearance review when needed; expanded the federal observer program; and improved voting rights protections for Native American and Alaskan Native people.⁴⁴

Four years after the *Shelby County* decision, congressional representatives introduced the [Voting Rights Advancement Act of 2017](#), which, under a new coverage provision, would apply to 13 states—Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, Louisiana, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Arkansas, Arizona, California, New York, and Virginia—and, among other things, require these jurisdictions to preclear their voting changes for 10 years with the opportunity to bail-out of this obligation if they demonstrated the necessary record.⁴⁵ A bipartisan [Voting Rights Amendment Act of 2017](#) also was introduced.⁴⁶ This legislation would make all states and local jurisdictions that had committed five voting violations in the last 15 years eligible for preclearance



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER As of May 3, 2021

review, require notice of any changes to polling times, dates, locations, and protocols, and ensure that preliminary relief could be obtained more readily.

After the November 2018 elections, House members indicated their plans to introduce legislation to respond to the *Shelby County* decision.⁴⁷ In March 2019, the [Voting Rights Advancement Act of 2019](#) (also known as H.R. 4) was introduced and successfully voted out of the House in December 2019.⁴⁸ This legislation—similar to the above-mentioned 2017 version of this bill—proposes a new coverage framework to determine which states and localities with repeated voting rights violations over the last 25 years would be subject to Section 5’s protections. Under this framework, states with 15 or more voting rights violations in the past 25 years would be required to obtain preclearance on voting changes. Additionally, states with a history of 10 or more voting rights violations, if one of the violations occurs at the state level, and subdivisions with three or more voting rights violations in the past 25 years would have to pre-clear proposed changes to local election laws. If applied based on existing information, at least 11 states are expected to be covered under this framework, including Alabama, California Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, New York, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia. Further, the VRAA’s preclearance requirements would apply nationwide to known potentially discriminatory practices like at-large voting and cuts to multilingual voting materials and polling places. And this bill would provide for increased transparency by requiring reasonable public notice for voting changes and permitting the U.S. Attorney General to authorize the use of federal observers anywhere in the country where serious threats to voter access and fair elections exist. H.R. 4 remains pending before Congress during the 2021 legislative session.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Until the Voting Rights Act is restored to its full strength, we must all play a vigilant role in protecting our democracy from discrimination in voting. Thus, LDF is encouraging individuals, communities of color, and their representatives to:

- notify LDF of any voting changes in their communities by emailing vote@naacpldf.org;
- reach out to representatives in the [U.S. House of Representatives](#) and [Senate](#) to urge them to do their job by holding hearings on the Voting Rights Amendment Act and Voting Rights Advancement Act, to assess the continuing need to restore federal protections following the *Shelby County* decision⁴⁹; and,
- sign a [petition](#) urging representatives to restore the full protections of the VRA now.

The need for immediate Congressional action is starkly illustrated in the examples of efforts by states and localities to enact measures with potentially devastating consequences on political participation by communities of color.



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING POST-SHELBY
COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER**

What follows is a compendium of state, county, and local level voting changes in the wake of the *Shelby County* decision that threaten minority voting rights. There have been scores of changes following the *Shelby County* decision, as LDF predicted that there would be during our defense of Section 5 in the *Shelby County* case. Each change potentially impacts thousands of voters. For example, four courts have found that Texas's implementation of its photo ID law (*i.e.*, one change) impacts more than 600,000 registered voters and one million eligible voters. A change to the electoral method for local bodies (*i.e.*, one change) when Fayette County, Georgia, attempted to implement at-large voting for a special election for members of its board of commissioners, had the potential to impact more than 100,000 people in that county.

In the absence of legislation that responds to the *Shelby County* decision, this compendium is ever growing. LDF maintains and regularly updates this compendium of voting changes on our website. For the most recent report, please visit www.naacpldf.org.

If you have questions or need further information, please contact LDF Deputy Director of Litigation, Leah Aden, who has authored this compendium since 2013. Leah appreciates the support of Fadilat Olasupo, Nicole de los Santos, Mohammed Amer, Clyde Hollins, and Sara Carter, for their editorial, drafting, and other contributions to this compendium. For questions about the information contained herein or to share information about voting changes in your community, please contact 212.965.2200 or vote@naacpldf.org.

ALABAMA

State Level:

Photo ID & voucher requirements

In 2011, Alabama passed a law requiring photographic proof of identity to vote either in-person or absentee ("photo ID law"). However, the state did not immediately seek to implement the law, as all voting changes in the state were subject to preclearance under Section 5 at that time. Indeed, Alabama never sought preclearance for its photo ID law. Instead, for two years, the state delayed implementation of the law, awaiting the final resolution in *Shelby County*. The day after the Supreme Court announced the decision, Alabama announced that it would enforce its photo ID law for the 2014 election cycle.



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

Numerous studies indicate that photo ID laws depress voter turnout in Black and Latino communities.⁵⁰ Alabama’s photo ID law restricts in-person and absentee voting to individuals who can produce one of seven required forms of “valid” photo ID. A prospective in-person voter without the required photo ID cannot cast a regular ballot unless two election officials present at the polling place choose to “positively identify” that person.⁵¹ There are reports of cases in which “elderly people who had been voting for decades could not be vouched for by the new people who had moved to the neighborhood and were working the polls.”⁵² All other prospective in-person voters, and nearly all other absentee voters without the required photo ID, must cast a provisional ballot that will be counted only if the prospective voter provides a designated election official with the required photo ID within a limited period of time before or after Election Day.

In December 2015, LDF, on behalf of other civil rights and pro-democracy organizations and individual voters, filed a lawsuit, [*Greater Birmingham Ministries et al. v. Alabama et al.*](#), under Section 2 of the VRA and the U.S. Constitution to challenge Alabama’s photo ID law and “positively identify” provision. The lawsuit seeks, among other remedies, that a federal court bail-in Alabama for preclearance review under Section 3(c) of the VRA.⁵³ Plaintiffs filed a preliminary injunction in advance of the 2016 elections to stop the enforcement of the “positively identify” requirement, arguing that that provision functions as a prohibited voucher requirement. A federal court denied the request for preliminary injunction with respect to the “positively identify” provision; however, LDF continues to challenge this and the photo ID provision before the federal court as part of the long-term relief that it seeks.⁵⁴

The litigation revealed that the ballots of more than 2,000 otherwise eligible voters have gone uncounted solely due to their failure to provide ID during the 2014 and 2016 elections.⁵⁵ According to the plaintiffs’ experts, 118,000 registered voters in Alabama lack an acceptable ID under the law.

In advance of trial, scheduled for February 2018, the district court granted Defendants’ request for summary judgment and, in so doing, rejected Plaintiffs’ claims under the VRA and U.S. Constitution and dismissed the case.⁵⁶ Plaintiffs appealed that decision,⁵⁷ but in July 2020, a divided three-judge panel of the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals issued a ruling affirming the trial court’s decision.⁵⁸

During the 2018-2019 legislative session, Alabama adopted a law that requires photo ID when applying for an absentee ballot, effective as of August 1, 2019.⁵⁹

Closure of driver’s license issuing offices

In 2015, after implementing its photo ID law, Alabama also proposed closing 31 driver’s license offices located predominately in rural areas of Alabama’s Black Belt, even though driver’s licenses are one of the few forms of photo ID accepted by election officials in the state. LDF and other advocates voiced opposition to these proposed changes because of their likely impact on Black voters.⁶⁰ As a result, rather than permanently close offices, Alabama decided to keep them open one day a month, which still severely restricts access to photo ID for many individuals.⁶¹



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

In addition to LDF's advocacy in response to this reduction in access to driver's license offices, the U.S. Department of Transportation (U.S. DOT) investigated whether Alabama's proposed closure of and reduction of service hours for the state's driver's license offices is discriminatory in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. Title VI prohibits entities that receive federal funding for transportation-related projects from instituting policies that discriminate based on race.⁶² In December 2016, the U.S. DOT and the Alabama Law Enforcement Agency (ALEA), Alabama's department of motor vehicles, entered an agreement that fully restores the hours of driver's license issuing offices in nine predominately Black counties in the Black Belt.⁶³ In addition, for the next two years, the agreement requires ALEA to seek pre-approval from the U.S. DOT before initiating any driver's license office closures or other reductions in service.

Proof of citizenship

Alabama also has sought to require voters to show proof of citizenship.⁶⁴ Specifically, Alabama has requested that the federal Election Administration Commission (EAC) modify the federal voter registration form to require proof of citizenship to vote in state and local elections. Such a requirement potentially sets up a two-tiered/dual system for voting in federal, state, and local elections.⁶⁵ The federal form, which can be used as an alternative to local voter registration forms and already requires individuals to swear, under penalty of perjury, that they are citizens, does not require a birth certificate or other document as proof of citizenship when registering. Civil rights and pro-democracy organizations have sued the EAC to challenge its actions to enable Alabama to attempt to require proof of citizenship and a federal court temporarily blocked the EAC from enforcing the proof of citizenship requirement for the 2016 elections.⁶⁶

Other states (including Arizona) have attempted to construct a similar two-tiered/dual system, but have been blocked by the courts (see below on Arizona's efforts to require proof of citizenship). Dual registration systems (*i.e.*, one system for voting in state elections and another for federal elections) have a historical association with racial discrimination, harkening back to the pre-VRA era, when multi-tiered voter rolls were maintained to intentionally prevent Black voters from lawfully registering to vote. Section 5 blocked a similar two-tiered system of voting in Mississippi in the 1990s.⁶⁷

Voter Intimidation

In November 2017, Alabama's SOS claimed that nearly 700 people may have committed electoral fraud by voting in the state's Democratic primary elections in May 2017 and then the Republican runoff in September 2017.⁶⁸ Those convicted of violating a new law, banning such cross-over voting, risk a felony conviction punishable by up to five years in prison and a \$15,000 fine. However, the SOS's figures reportedly were wrong and the result of clerical error, meaning that roughly half—if not more—of those accused of violating the state's law did not. Advocates criticized the SOS for making his claim before widely publicizing the change in the law and before verifying the numbers that he relied upon to accuse voters of illegally voting, because of the potential



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER As of May 3, 2021

of these accusations to chill voter turnout in the December runoff election and the threat of prosecution under Alabama’s new law.⁶⁹

During the December 2017 Senate election, civil rights advocates investigated reports of voter intimidation, including reports that: voters received text messages with false information that their polling site in **Jefferson County** had been changed; there was a hostile precinct chief in the town of Ramer in **Montgomery County**; and police set up near polling locations in that county to check people for outstanding warrants.⁷⁰

Voter registration

During the 2017 special election, LDF raised [concerns](#) about poll workers in the state requiring voters to answer immaterial questions on a form, such as the county of their birth, before allowing them to cast a ballot.⁷¹ This requirement could have run afoul of a provision of the VRA, providing that no election official “may deny the right of any individual to vote in any election because of an error or omission” on a voting record if that error or omission “is not material” in determining whether the individual is qualified to vote.

During the 2018 election, LDF sent a [letter](#) to Alabama’s Secretary of State, urging his office to address reports of confusion at Alabama polling sites over how to process the votes of voters listed as “inactive.” The letter contended that under Alabama law, such voters are entitled to cast a regular ballot as long as they fill out an updated registration form, but many voters were denied those forms and were made to fill out provisional ballots.

Local Level:

Methods of election, redistricting, & voter purges

In January 2014, following litigation challenging various discriminatory voting practices, a federal district court ordered Section 5 preclearance review of certain voting practices in **Evergreen in Conecuh County** as a remedy under Section 3(c), the “bail-in” provision of the VRA.⁷² Specifically, until December 2020, Evergreen must submit any voting changes related to the method of election for the city council, including any redistricting plan impacting the city council, as well as any change to the standards for determining voter eligibility to participate in Evergreen’s municipal elections, to either the federal court or the U.S. DOJ for Section 5 preclearance review. Since the *Shelby County* decision, Evergreen is the only jurisdiction to have been bailed back into Section 5’s preclearance system through Section 3(c). In addition, the court appointed federal observers to monitor Evergreen’s elections under the VRA.

In 2012, Section 5 blocked Evergreen from continuing to implement an unprecleared discriminatory voter purge based on utility records that omitted eligible voters from a voter registration list, including nearly half of the Conecuh County registered voters who reside in districts heavily populated by Black people.⁷³ That same



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

year, Section 5 also blocked an unprecleared municipal redistricting plan that packed Black voters into only two of the five districts when it was possible to establish a third majority-Black voting district, thereby diluting the voting strength of Black voters in Evergreen.

In March 2016, City Council members in **Daphne**, a majority-white city located in **Baldwin County**, passed a mid-cycle redistricting plan, which purportedly did not consider the impact on the Black community.⁷⁴ The racial impact remains unclear because the City's demographer did not perform a formal analysis on the plan's effect on the Black electorate, which would have been required under Section 5. Advocates have asked the U.S. DOJ to investigate.

In 2016, the **City of Gardendale** sought to secede from the Jefferson County school system to establish an independent municipal school system. The Gardendale school system (1) would transfer Black persons living in Gardendale from a district-based elections system (the Jefferson County School Board) in which Black voters have an equal opportunity to participate and elect candidates of their choice to a governmental system (the Gardendale school board) that is appointed by the Gardendale city council in which currently Black voters have no comparable opportunity or representation; and (2) would exclude nearby unincorporated Black neighborhoods.⁷⁵ In 1990, the U.S. DOJ blocked a similar attempt by the City of Valley to succeed from the Chambers County school system.⁷⁶ In 2017, in the [*Stout v. Jefferson County School Board*](#) school desegregation litigation, LDF represented Black parents and students who successfully demonstrated that Gardendale's proposed secession was motivated by a racially discriminatory intent and would have a segregative effect on Black students.⁷⁷ In 2018, the federal Court of Appeals ruled that, because Gardendale's succession was borne of discriminatory intent, the city could not separate from Jefferson County.⁷⁸

During the 2017 special election in Alabama, **Mobile County** poll workers reportedly erroneously required voters to present ID with an address that matches state voter registration records, resulting in some voters being unable to do so and having to cast provisional ballots.⁷⁹ LDF raised [concerns](#) about this extralegal address-matching requirement and also whether it may have had a racially disparate impact on Black voters.

Form of government

In **Decatur**, a city in **Morgan** and **Limestone** counties, a federal court in 2014 retained jurisdiction over a legal challenge to Decatur's failure to implement the city manager form of government, which, pursuant to state law, would have reduced the single-member voting districts from five to three, with a fourth district and the mayor elected at-large.⁸⁰ As of May 2019, this case remains pending in federal court.⁸¹ Voters selected this form of government in a 2010 referendum vote, but the City has failed to implement it because the City contends that doing so would violate the VRA by eliminating the only majority-minority district.

Polling place closures & reductions



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

In November 2016, a civil rights organization released a report that studied polling place closures in Alabama since the *Shelby County* decision and found that “12 counties reduc[ed] 66 polling places.”⁸²

Moreover, in March 2016, City Council members in **Daphne**, a majority-white city located in **Baldwin County**, voted to reduce the number of polling places from five to two, forcing residents of one of the only two districts with a sizable Black population to travel more than two and a half miles away from their current polling places, while preserving the polling locations for most of the City’s heavily white populated districts.⁸³ Advocates have asked the U.S. DOJ to investigate. Members of the City Council have denied that the decision to reduce the number of polling places was done to inconvenience minority voters.⁸⁴

In December 2016, **Elmore County** Commissioners contemplated consolidating a voting precinct, God’s Congregation Church, a majority-Black precinct, with the voting precinct at Tallaweka Baptist Church, which is a majority-white precinct, in part due to purportedly low turnout by voters at God’s Congregation Church compared to Tallaweka in the 2016 election season, and to save the County money through consolidation.⁸⁵ These precincts are located in Jordanville which is in Tallassee, a city in Elmore County. A former Tallassee city councilmember opposes the closures because of its impact on Black voters.

ARIZONA

State Level:

Proof of citizenship

The state of Arizona (along with the state of Kansas) sued the federal Election Assistance Commission (EAC), seeking to require that agency to modify the federal voter registration form to require proof of citizenship to vote in state and local elections, potentially setting up a two-tiered/dual system.⁸⁶ The federal form can be used as an alternative form to local voter registration forms and already requires individuals to swear under penalty of perjury that they are citizens; the federal form does not require a birth certificate or other document as proof to register to vote. Arizona challenged the EAC because of its decision denying the state’s request to modify the federal form.⁸⁷ Section 5 blocked a similar two-tiered/dual system of voting in Mississippi in the 1990s. Dual registration systems have a historical association with racial discrimination, harkening back to the pre-VRA era, when segregated voter rolls were maintained to intentionally prevent Black voters from lawfully casting ballots.

Multiple groups, including communities of color, intervened in the states’ lawsuit⁸⁸ and have brought other cases to challenge Arizona’s (and Kansas’s) proof of citizenship requirement for voter registration laws.⁸⁹ On March 19, 2014, a federal court ordered the EAC to modify the state-specific instructions on the federal mail



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

voter registration form to reflect Arizona’s (and Kansas’s) requirements that voter registrations provide documentary proof of citizenship.⁹⁰ An appeals court reversed that decision and remanded the case to the district court to vacate its order requiring the EAC to modify the federal form to require proof of citizenship; *i.e.*, the state must accept a federal voter registration form *without* additional proof of citizenship, though state voter registration forms can still demand proof of citizenship.⁹¹ The U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear a case during its 2015-2016 term that could have allowed states to require proof of citizenship for those applying to vote in federal elections, effectively upholding the lower federal court ruling rejecting Arizona (and Kansas’s) attempt to require that proof.⁹²

Notwithstanding this litigation, in 2016, the Executive Director of the EAC unilaterally acted to change the instructions that accompany the federal voter registration form to respond to Arizona’s requests that residents who register to vote using the federal form must show proof of citizenship to vote in state and local elections. In response, civil rights and pro-democracy organizations have sued the EAC, challenging the actions of its Executive Director to enable Arizona to require proof of citizenship; a federal court temporarily blocked the EAC from enforcing the proof of citizenship requirement for 2016 elections.⁹³

During the Supreme Court’s 2012-2013 term, in *Arizona v. The Inter Tribal Council of Arizona*, the Court found that Proposition 200, Arizona’s proof of citizenship law for voter registration, violated the National Voter Registration Act (NVRA). In its ongoing pursuit of a proof of citizenship requirement, Arizona contends that the Court’s *Inter Tribal* decision only applies to federal elections.

Voter purges

In 2014, state lawmakers considered reenacting voting provisions—previously blocked by voter referendum—that would allow counties to purge people from the permanent early voter list. Counties use this list to mail ballots prior to every election to individuals, who, after marking their ballot, mail them back or take them to a polling place.⁹⁴

Restrictions on third-party voter registration

Advocates are concerned that H.B. 2023 may disenfranchise many Native American people who live in remote areas of reservations and cannot make it to polling places.⁹⁵ The legislation, enacted in 2016, makes it a felony (punishable by a year in prison and a potential fine of \$150,000) to collect other people’s ballots and bring them to the polls. The Democratic Party and the presidential campaigns of Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders, on behalf of the Democratic National Committee, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, the Arizona Democratic Party, and several individuals, sued Arizona for policies like this one that could potentially have a dramatic and disparate impact on minority communities.⁹⁶ Plaintiffs unsuccessfully sought a preliminary injunction to stop the implementation of this law, arguing that collecting ballots has benefited minority voters without secure mailboxes or transportation to the polls.⁹⁷ A divided (2-1) Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the denial of the preliminary injunction, which had enabled the law to remain in effect as the litigation



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

proceeded before the *en banc* Court and then subsequently, temporarily enjoined Arizona from implementing the law; the Supreme Court, thereafter, stayed the appellate court’s decision enjoining the law; therefore, H.B. 2023 was in effect for the November 2016 election.⁹⁸ A divided Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ultimately denied Plaintiffs’ claims in a September 2018 ruling.⁹⁹ However, in January 2020, the full panel of Ninth Circuit Court judges found, after trial, that Arizona’s changes to ballot collection violate the VRA and U.S. Constitution, a decision that has been stayed pending further appeals.¹⁰⁰ The appeal of full panel’s ruling is pending before the U.S. Supreme Court as of the 2020-2021 term.

Restrictions on ballots cast out-of-precinct

In advance of the November 2016 election, a federal court rejected an attempt by the state and national Democratic Party to require counties, under Section 2 of the VRA, to count the provisional ballots of voters, disproportionately people of color, who vote at the wrong polling place, specifically for those seats that the person would have been entitled to vote for had he/she been in the correct assigned precinct.¹⁰¹ The court determined that plaintiffs failed to show that this practice impacts voters of color disproportionately.

Local Level:

Method of election

The **Maricopa County** Community College District Board added two at-large electoral districts to its existing five-member Board, which were elected by districts.¹⁰² The community college district, which is the largest in the country, had enrolled more than 260,000 students in 2013. Reportedly, this change had been on hold, but was implemented for elections in 2014 following the *Shelby County* decision. Section 5 previously blocked similar plans for at-large voting in other jurisdictions because this electoral method diluted the voting strength of communities of color.

Polling place closures & reductions

In November 2016, a civil rights organization released a report that studied polling place closures in Arizona since the *Shelby County* decision and found that “[b]y sheer numbers and scale, Arizona is the leading closer of polling places in the aftermath of *Shelby [County]*,” with “[a]lmost every county in the state reduc[ing] polling places in advance of the 2016 election and almost every county clos[ing] polling places on a massive scale, resulting in 212 fewer polling places.”¹⁰³ The study further finds that “**Pima County** has closed more voting locations than any county in [the] study and counties with a demonstrated record of discrimination, like **Cochise County**, have reduced polling places without any oversight.”

Moreover, during the 2016 primary season, voters in **Maricopa County**, the largest county in the state, endured long lines and waits of up to five hours to vote because election officials reduced the number of polling places



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

by 70% (from 200 to 60), so that one polling place served every 21,000 voters in the County, compared with one polling place for every 2,500 voters in the rest of the state.¹⁰⁴ People of color are more than 40% of the County's population. The reduction was purported to save costs and transform the County to a vote center system wherein, instead of being assigned to a single polling place, voters could vote at any of the 60 centers. Those voting centers were unable to handle the number of voters in the County during the 2016 primary election season, producing long wait times to vote. The state's House and Elections Committee held a hearing with elected officials to learn about the issues experienced by voters in the County during the 2016 primary election and the reasoning behind the polling place consolidations. This type of assessment of the impact of the reduction in polling places would have taken place *before* the polling place consolidations took effect had Section 5 been operable.¹⁰⁵

The U.S. DOJ initiated an investigation into the County's voting change, seeking specific data that would support the County's purported rationales for closing the polling places.¹⁰⁶

The Democratic Party and the presidential campaigns of Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders, on behalf of the Democratic National Committee, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, the Arizona Democratic Party, and several individuals, sued Arizona in federal court, alleging that its inadequate voting centers had a particularly burdensome impact on Black, Hispanic, and Native American communities, which had fewer polling locations than white communities and, in some cases, no places to vote at all. A plaintiff in this lawsuit requested that the court order Maricopa County elections officials to explain its plan to have polling places open for the November 2016 election and to count as valid votes provisional ballots cast out-of-precinct in that election.¹⁰⁷ Plaintiffs also requested a preliminary injunction to stop the County from (1) implementing polling place changes that may lead to similar problems experienced in the 2016 primary election and (2) failing to count provisional ballots cast out-of-precinct in jurisdictions that opted to conduct the November 2016 general election under a precinct-based rather than vote center-based model.¹⁰⁸ In September 2016, the parties reached a partial-settlement in this lawsuit, while other claims (e.g., involving a ballot statute that automatically rejects provisional ballots not cast at the correct polling place and a law that makes it a felony to collect ballots for others and bring them to the polls) remain pending.¹⁰⁹

A civil rights organization, on behalf of two voters, also filed a lawsuit in state court, challenging the "drastic reduction in the number of polling places" in Maricopa County, that "created unendurable wait times for numerous Arizonans who were forced to leave polling places without casting a ballot."¹¹⁰ These plaintiffs also requested the court to order production of election administration plans and require judicial approval of those plans in advance of an August 30, 2016 primary election and November 8, 2016 general election.¹¹¹ In October 2016, plaintiffs reached an agreement with County election officials—in advance of the 2016 general election and for every primary and general election through 2020—that requires officials to develop a comprehensive wait time reduction plan.¹¹² This plan includes a formula for projecting turnout at each polling place; delineates roles and responsibilities for county officials, poll workers, and troubleshooters in reducing wait times; outlines a mechanism to effectively respond to wait times if they exceed 30 minutes; and promotes the use of poll worker and voter hotlines for reports of long lines.



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

ARKANSAS*

State Level:

*Arkansas was once a covered jurisdiction under Section 3's bail-in mechanism due to LDF's litigation efforts in *Jeffers v. Clinton*.¹¹³ Prior to the *Shelby County* decision, Arkansas ceased to be covered; however, LDF continues to work in Arkansas to track racial discrimination in voting.

Photo ID requirement

Arkansas passed a photo ID law in 2013. That same year, the Governor vetoed the law and a bi-cameral majority voted to override the veto.¹¹⁴ The law was scheduled to be implemented on January 1, 2014. However, after voters filed state constitutional challenges to stop the implementation of the photo ID law, one state court ruled that the law was "void and unenforceable."¹¹⁵

Notwithstanding the trial court decision, appellate rulings permitted the photo ID law to be implemented in the May and June 2014 primary elections.¹¹⁶ Subsequently, and after LDF submitted a [friend of the court brief](#) in support of the challenge, the Arkansas Supreme Court permanently struck down the law, finding that it violated the state constitution by adding a new voter qualification.¹¹⁷ However, during the November 2014 elections, the Secretary of State reportedly requested voter ID of certain voters, particularly voters who transferred their registration to a new county. LDF and other civil rights organizations and advocates notified state and county officials of their concerns with the state's implementation of a photo ID requirement and its impact on Black and other voters. Studies have indicated that photo ID laws depress voter turnout in Black and Latino communities.¹¹⁸

Subsequent to the state court litigation, during the 2017 legislative session, the Arkansas legislature advanced, and the Governor signed into law, H.B. 1047, which, like the legislation previously found unconstitutional, would require voters to produce one of the following forms of photo ID to vote: driver's licenses, photo ID cards, concealed-handgun carry licenses, passports, employee badges or ID documents, student ID cards issued by accredited Arkansas colleges and universities, U.S. military ID documents, public-assistance ID cards, and "free" voter-verification cards.¹¹⁹ Opponents of the bill contend that it violates the Arkansas Constitution and will disproportionately impact minority voters in Arkansas. An amendment to the bill allows voters without an accepted ID to cast a provisional ballot—that should be counted unless there are separate grounds from the voter ID law for not counting the ballots—after attesting that they are who they say they are.¹²⁰ Immediately following the passage of this law, it was challenged in court; however, in May 2018, the state supreme court allowed the law to remain in effect while it hears the state's full appeal of a lower court injunction blocking its



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

enforcement.¹²¹ In October 2018, in a 5 to 2 vote, the Arkansas Supreme Court reversed a lower court ruling that found the law unconstitutional, which meant that a photo ID requirement was in effect for the November election.¹²²

Relatedly, during the 2017 legislative session, a constitutional amendment, SJR 6, also was introduced, which would leave it to the voters to decide whether to require a photo ID to vote in person at the polls (but would not apply to absentee voters), as was another bill, HJR 1016, which would require the General Assembly to decide upon the acceptable IDs for and exceptions to photo IDs for in-person voting.¹²³ This proposed amendment was on the ballot for voters' consideration in 2018 as Issue 2; it succeeded, meaning that voter ID will now be enshrined in Arkansas's state constitution.¹²⁴

Voter purges

In 2016, Arkansas's Secretary of State mistakenly flagged about 4,000 registered voters to be purged from voter registration lists based on inaccurate data.¹²⁵ The SOS intended to flag people convicted of a felony and still on parole or probation who are denied the ability to vote under state law. However, some of those that the SOS flagged had not been convicted of a felony and others had been convicted of a felony but had legally regained the right to vote. The SOS reportedly left it to counties to deal with the flawed data, which led to varying responses from counties: some offices have reinstated all canceled voter registrations and thereafter planned to vet them; and other offices have cancelled all registration and planned to reinstate voters on a case-by-case basis after receiving a complaint from a purged voter.

CALIFORNIA

Local Level:

Voter intimidation

In June 2016, in **Siskiyou County**, an armed Sheriff visited Hmong property owners and allegedly questioned them about their voter registration status and told those owners that they were believed to have registered illegally and could be arrested if they tried to cast a ballot.¹²⁶ Because Hmong people live in a rural area of the County, their property is given a parcel number rather than a street address, which was why the voter registrations were allegedly called into question. In California, parcel numbers can be used when registering to vote. Purportedly, while registrations of new Hmong voters were allegedly scrutinized, those of white property owners in the same area who also used parcel numbers were not. Several Hmong residents have filed a federal lawsuit, challenging this voter intimidation.¹²⁷



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

FLORIDA

State Level:

Voter purges

A 2018 report found that since 2016, Florida has purged more than 7 percent of voters.¹²⁸ The following counties have had the highest rates of purges, eliminating 10 percent of their voters from the rolls: **Hardee, Hendry, Palm Beach, and Okaloosa** counties.

Indeed, in 2014, Florida's Governor sought to reinstitute a purge of purported non-citizens from the state voter database, as he attempted to do in 2012.¹²⁹ In 2012, because of litigation in *United States v. Florida*, Florida election officials were blocked from using an error-prone list to purge purported non-citizens from the election rolls.¹³⁰ Following *Shelby County*, county election supervisors resisted the Governor's attempts to purge voters.

In 2016, the Florida Democratic Party and the national Democratic Party filed a federal lawsuit challenging the Secretary of State's practice of election officials tossing vote-by-mail ballots if the voter's signature—which plaintiffs contend can change over time—on the ballot envelope does not match the one on file.¹³¹ Plaintiffs contend that when a person does not sign the envelope, state law gives them the opportunity to submit an affidavit confirming that they are the one who cast the ballot. However, the state does not provide that same opportunity to those whose signature on the envelope does not match the one in the state's voter file. In that lawsuit, thus far, a federal court has accused the Secretary of State of delaying a hearing on the lawsuit "so that he could use every second available to run out the clock" so there would not be enough time to address problems raised in the lawsuit.¹³² The court also said that the Secretary of State's actions amounted to an "undeclared war" on the right to vote in Florida, the largest swing state in the 2016 presidential election. In addition, the court temporarily enjoined the state's matching requirement, noting that "this Court knows disenfranchisement when it sees it and it is obscene."¹³³

Voter registration

In October 2016, the Secretary of State refused to extend the deadline to register to vote for the November 2016 election in the wake of the devastation caused by Hurricane Matthew and the Governor's evacuation order in the last five days before the registration deadline.¹³⁴ A substantial number of people typically seek to vote in the final days of voter registration; for example, in 2012, about 50,000 people in Florida registered to vote during the last five days before the deadline. A federal court ordered the state to extend the voter registration deadline, following a lawsuit filed by the state Democratic party brought under the U.S.



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER As of May 3, 2021

Constitution and Section 2 of the VRA.¹³⁵ As a result of the extension, at least 64,000 names were added to the voter rolls.¹³⁶

In July 2018, advocates complained about issues with Florida's voter registration website, including that it works only intermittently, after organizers tried registering 17 voters in low-income, predominantly black Orlando neighborhoods but could successfully register only two.¹³⁷ Advocates were concerned that this was a form of voter suppression in advance of the 2018 elections.

Early Voting

In 2018, a federal court ordered that Florida provide early voting sites on several campuses, following a lawsuit brought by pro-democracy groups. However, several counties, like Tallahassee's **Leon County**, home of Florida State and Florida A&M University, which is a historically Black university, and **Miami-Dade**, home to Florida International University, which serves large populations of students of color, and Miami-Dade College, which has more than 160,000 students, decided not to add a campus early voting site in 2018.¹³⁸ Civil rights and pro-democracy groups, including LDF, [urged](#) county officials to provide additional early voting opportunities, including at HBCUs.¹³⁹ During the 2019 legislative session, the Florida legislature adopted and the Governor enacted into law a bill, SB7066, that seeks to circumvent that federal ruling by requiring college campuses to "provide sufficient non-permitted parking to accommodate the anticipated number of voters."¹⁴⁰ Data revealed that college students took advantage of early voting opportunities in 2018, and there is a record of Florida attempting to limit access to voting for student voters in the state.

Voter Eligibility

During the 2019 legislative session, the Florida legislature enacted and Florida's Governor signed into law SB7066. Provisions of this law require some people with felony convictions to pay certain legal financial obligations (LFOs) associated with their sentence—like fines, fees, court costs, and restitution, including when it is converted to a civil lien and cannot be enforced by criminal contempt—*before* people can register to vote and vote. This law was immediately challenged in federal court by LDF, along with other civil rights and civil liberties groups. Together, they represent civil rights organizations, and 10 individual plaintiffs. In addition, other civil rights groups also filed lawsuits, representing other plaintiffs. All of these cases have been consolidated into a single lawsuit, [Jones, et al. v. DeSantis, et al.](#)¹⁴¹ While a successful ballot initiative in November 2018, Amendment 4, automatically restored voting rights to over a million disenfranchised Floridians with prior felony convictions, SB7066, effective as of July 1, 2019, creates wealth-based hurdles to voting, was enacted with a racially discriminatory intent, and significantly undermines Floridians' overwhelming support for Amendment 4. The complaint thus alleges that parts of SB7066 violate several provisions of the U.S. Constitution, including the First, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Twenty-Fourth Amendments.



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER As of May 3, 2021

During the legislative process, LDF and the Florida NAACP tried to stop SB7066 from passing by jointly submitting a number of [letters](#) to the Florida House and Senate urging legislators to oppose this bill and its proposed predecessor bills (HB7089 and SB7086).¹⁴²

On August 2, 2019, plaintiffs also filed a motion for [preliminary injunctive relief](#) to try to block portions of SB7066 as early as possible from being implemented, including for upcoming 2019 elections.¹⁴³ That filing includes a preliminary analysis of outstanding LFOs in Florida that shows that in the 48 counties for which data had been analyzed, fewer than one in five—or just 66,108 of 375,256—individuals with a felony conviction other than murder or a felony sexual offense who have been released from county or Florida Department of Corrections supervision are likely to be eligible to register to vote under SB7066. In October 2019, the district court granted the preliminary injunction with respect to the claim that SB7066 constitutes unconstitutional wealth-based discrimination; a three-judge panel of the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the order.¹⁴⁴ Following an eight-day trial on all of plaintiffs' claims, the district court found that SB7066's LFO requirements violated the Fourteenth and Twenty-Fourth Amendments, as well as the NVRA. On September 11, 2020, an en banc panel of the Eleventh Circuit reversed the trial court's post-trial ruling.¹⁴⁵

Local Level:

Registration qualifications

The Florida Department of Law Enforcement investigated allegations that an appointed white city clerk in **Sopchoppy**, a city in **Wakulla County**: (1) suppressed Black voters in a June 2013 election by questioning their residencies with no reasonable basis; and (2) failed to remain neutral in her capacity as city clerk by actively campaigning for three white candidates, including in an inter-racial contest.¹⁴⁶ Following the clerk's efforts to prevent Black voters from casting their ballots, a Black city commissioner lost and the incumbent Black mayor lost by only one vote.

Polling place closures & reductions

In **Jacksonville**, located in **Duval County**, the Board of Elections in 2013 relocated a polling place that served large numbers of Black voters in the City to a less accessible area.¹⁴⁷ In 2012, Black voters constituted more than 90% of those who voted early at the former polling place. According to plaintiffs challenging the closure, the relocated polling place was difficult to reach by public transportation and imposes other burdens on voters.

In 2013, **Hernando County** adopted a plan to close and consolidate voting locations, with a focus on the neighborhoods of the **City of Brooksville**.¹⁴⁸ The plan called for elimination of polling places for the general elections, and consolidation of all Brooksville precincts into one. While the overall African-American citizen voting-age population (CVAP) of the County is approximately 4.5%, the CVAP affected by this change in polling places is nearly 22% African-American. There are no African-American or Latino individuals serving on the County Commission.



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

In February 2014, the **Manatee County** Commission approved a proposal submitted by the Supervisor of Elections that reduced almost one-third of polling sites (from 99 to 69) and half of the polling places in a district with a substantial minority population, citing decreased Election Day turnout as more voters switched to in-person early voting and vote-by-mail options.¹⁴⁹ Local civil rights organizations expressed concern that the elimination of these polling places would decrease voter turnout, particularly among the elderly and people without cars, because voters would have to travel further to a polling place and the cuts disproportionately affected minority-heavy precincts. When the Supervisor of Elections served in the Florida Senate in 2011, he supported legislation that reduced the number of early voting days in Florida, which LDF opposed in [*Florida v. United States*](#), and endorsed making it hard to vote, stating: “I wouldn’t have any problem making it harder. I would want them to vote as badly as I want to vote. I want the people of the state of Florida to want to vote as bad as that person in Africa who’s willing to walk 200 miles...This should not be easy.” One study demonstrates that the changes to early voting opportunities between the 2012 and 2014 elections reduced Latino voter turnout by 7% as compared to the turnout for Latino voters whose polling places remained the same.¹⁵⁰

Monroe County reportedly has reverted to English-only ballots following the *Shelby County* decision.¹⁵¹ Indeed, its October 1, 2013, post-*Shelby County* election was conducted without Spanish language ballots or election materials.

In **Pinellas County**, the Supervisor of Elections has refused requests by advocates to provide early voting sites within Black communities in South St. Petersburg and St. Petersburg to provide access to voting for community members without transportation options.¹⁵²

GEORGIA

State Level:

Early voting

Georgia lawmakers proposed legislation during the 2014 legislative session that would have cut early voting periods to six days (including a Saturday) for small consolidated cities as a purported cost-saving measure.¹⁵³ Just four years earlier, Georgia had already reduced early voting in the state from 45 to 21 days.¹⁵⁴ A Georgia legislator suggested that he opposed new Sunday voting hours because Black and other voters of color take advantage of these voting opportunities disproportionately, explaining that he “prefer[s] more educated voters than a greater increase in the number of voters.”¹⁵⁵ Following that legislation’s defeat, and [opposition](#) to the legislation by LDF and other organizations in 2014, in the next 2015 legislative session, Georgia lawmakers proposed an even more restrictive bill that would reduce early voting by seven days across Georgia and would



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER As of May 3, 2021

not mandate Sunday voting despite its proven popularity. This legislation, which LDF and other organizations also [opposed](#), was proposed purportedly as a cost-saving measure and to achieve uniformity in early voting across Georgia.¹⁵⁶ In 2016, the state's early voter turnout broke its 2008 record for early voting in advance of the presidential preference primary, demonstrating the ongoing need for early voting opportunities in Georgia.¹⁵⁷

In 2018, the General Assembly considered S.B. 363, which proposed to shorten voting hours on Election Day in Atlanta, which is majority-Black and the most populous city in Georgia, from 8:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.¹⁵⁸ Members of the General Assembly introduced this proposal on January 29, 2018 and the Senate passed it on February 23, 2018 with all of the Black representatives who voted on the bill opposing it. The House proposed a version of this bill, which passed through favorable out of committee on March 14, 2018, that was amended to also effectively eliminate early voting on the Sunday before Election Day in Georgia. Such Sunday voting is widely known in Georgia and elsewhere as "Souls to the Polls," wherein Black voters worship together and then march or share rides to vote, which has resulted in high Black voter turnout. Civil rights and pro-democracy groups, including LDF, [opposed](#) these changes. Fortunately, this bill died in committee during the 2018 legislative session.¹⁵⁹

Voter registration & purges

*A 2018 report found that since 2016, Georgia has purged 10.6 percent of voters.¹⁶⁰ Nonwhite voters were slightly overrepresented among those purged when compared to the total population breakdown. Four counties (**Chattahoochee, Liberty, Dade, and Camden**) stood out for purging at least 15 percent of their voters. Another report illuminates that approximately 107,000 people had been purged, triggered by their failure to vote in federal elections, which a 2018 Supreme Court decision arising out of Ohio has permitted to the extent it cannot be shown that such a process disproportionately impacts racial minorities.¹⁶¹*

For example, in 2014, Georgia's Secretary of State launched an investigation of allegations of voter fraud against the New Georgia Project (NGP) related to its registration of more than 85,000 voters statewide, including many first-time, young voters of color.¹⁶² NGP coordinated one of Georgia's largest voter registration efforts and views the allegations as an attempt at voter suppression.¹⁶³ The investigation followed complaints about NGP's submission of allegedly forged voter registration applications and signatures on releases, as well as applications with purportedly false or inaccurate information.¹⁶⁴ Organizations registering voters are required to deliver all completed voter registration applications to the Secretary of State or the appropriate board of registrars within 10 days after receiving the application or by the close of registration, whichever period is earlier. These organizations are not required to filter or discard applications. Overall, the Secretary of State's investigation diverted resources away from and chilled NGP's voter registration efforts because of registrants' concerns about the impact of the investigation on their applications, among other consequences. After conducting its investigation, the Secretary of State reportedly identified an issue with just 25 of 85,000 voter registration applications.¹⁶⁵



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

Following this finding, NGP filed a lawsuit against the Secretary of State and several counties in 2014, alleging that more than 40,000 voters (of the more than 85,000 registered), a substantial number of whom are voters of color, were missing from the voter rolls due to the state's alleged failure to process those voter registrations.¹⁶⁶ The Secretary of State denied that the applications had not been processed.¹⁶⁷ A state judge dismissed the lawsuit, citing lack of proof that state and county officials failed to fulfill their duties to process voter registration applications.¹⁶⁸

Subsequently, reports reflected that Georgia continued to purge voters from the rolls, many of whom are disproportionately voters of color, suspecting these voters of being double voters (*i.e.*, voting in two or more states in the same election).¹⁶⁹ In 2016, civil rights and pro-democracy organizations sued the Secretary of State for these purges under the NVRA and U.S. Constitution.¹⁷⁰ According to the lawsuit, as of June 2015, over 800,000 voters in Georgia were in danger of being purged from the voter rolls.¹⁷¹ A pro-democracy organization also has filed a separate lawsuit under the NVRA against the Secretary of State for his refusal to release public records relating to voter registration applications that his office failed to process so that advocates can understand why voter registration applications were rejected, cancelled, or otherwise kept off of the rolls.¹⁷² While that litigation is ongoing, a federal court has ordered the SOS to release certain public records under a disclosure provision in the NVRA.¹⁷³

In September 2015, civil rights organization filed a separate lawsuit under the VRA and First and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, seeking to stop the Secretary of State's administrative policy that fails to add to the list of eligible voters persons whose identifying information on their voter registration applications does not match exactly with the Georgia Department of Driver Services or Social Security Administration Records.¹⁷⁴ Those persons, therefore, are denied the right to vote unless they overcome bureaucratic hurdles to match those records or fall within a couple of narrow and arbitrary exceptions. According to the complaint, at least 42,500 voter registration applications, a disproportionate number of which have been submitted by Black, Latinx, and Asian American applicants, have been suspended or rejected due to the verification protocol between July 2013 to the present. For example, since July 2013, only 13.6% of the 47.2% of voter registration applications submitted by white applicants have been rejected because of the Secretary of State's policy. By contrast, 63.6% of the 29.4% of voter registration applications submitted by Black applicants have been rejected, and 7.9% of the 3.6% of voter registration applications submitted by Latino applicants have been rejected. In response, the Secretary of State filed a letter with the court, indicating that Georgia would suspend this database matching process and move voters canceled for failing to respond to a "non-match" letter back into "pending voters," impacting voters cancelled since October 2014. Once these voters showed appropriate ID at the polls, they could cast a regular ballot in November 2016 and be moved to "active voter" status.¹⁷⁵ In light of this, though the litigation remained pending, plaintiffs withdrew their motion to stop the Secretary of State from implementing this "no-match" policy for the November 2016 election. Notwithstanding, in October 2016, and in advance of the 2016 general election, advocates contended that Georgia had failed to process approximately 100,000 voter registration applications.¹⁷⁶



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

Indeed, in February 2017, the parties settled the lawsuit, agreeing to implement reforms, similar to those in place for the November 2016 election, to help ensure that eligible voters will not be denied the right to register and vote because of data entry errors, typos, and other database matching issues.¹⁷⁷

Notwithstanding, during the 2017 legislative session, the Georgia Legislature introduced House Bill 268, which advocates contend is an attempt to implement similar voter registration restrictions that were the subject of the above-mentioned litigation and settlement.¹⁷⁸ Indeed, this bill would require an exact match between the information that an individual provides on his/her voter registration application and the information included in the DMV's databases, which is known to be error-prone and flawed. Where there is not an exact match, applicants would have 26 weeks to correct any information, including by providing ID while voting in person during that timeframe, and could not vote absentee until they correct the discrepancy. Moreover, other provisions of the legislation would: remove Bureau of Indian or tribal treaty ID cards as acceptable proof of citizenship (even though Georgia has long accepted tribal ID for these purposes and the federal government accepts them as valid ID), impacting over 25,000 Native Americans who are currently registered to vote; and limit the ability of nonpartisan groups to help voters and answer questions outside of polling places.

Reports indicate that this exact match requirement continues to threaten the voter registration of Georgians, particularly people of color in 2018. Specifically, in advance of the November 2018 election, Georgia's Secretary of State, who also was running for governor, flagged 53,000 registrations, disproportionately of people of color, due to the state's "exact match" program.¹⁷⁹ Several civil rights and pro-democracy groups have filed lawsuits to challenge this program under the VRA, NVRA, and Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.¹⁸⁰ As part of that litigation, plaintiffs received a ruling before the November 2018 election that allowed voters who have their applications held up under this program to vote a regular ballot if they provide proof of citizenship to a country registrar or poll manager and, if they cannot, to vote by provisional ballots and provide the needed information to a registrar before the Friday after the election.¹⁸¹ LDF also called for Georgia's SOS to recuse himself from being involved in these voter registration and other decisions while running for governor; individual voters also filed a lawsuit seeking to force the SOS to recuse himself or resign, which he ultimately did after the Tuesday, November 6, 2018 election.¹⁸²

In October 2016, responding to a lawsuit filed by a civil liberties organization, a federal court refused to order the State to extend the deadline to register to vote (in Chatham, Bryan, Camden, Glynn, Liberty, and McIntosh counties) for the November 2016 election in the wake of Hurricane Matthew, whose devastation forced evacuations and government closures.¹⁸³ A substantial number of people sought to vote in the final days of voter registration, but disruptions caused by the storm made it difficult and, in some cases, impossible, for people to register or conduct voter registration drives, impacting Black and other voters. Other states like Florida, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in some instances by court order, extended deadlines in counties impacted by the hurricane.

Civil rights groups also won a preliminary injunction in May 2017, requiring Georgia to extend the voter registration deadline (from March 20 to May 21) for the June 20, 2017 special election for a congressional



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

seat.¹⁸⁴ As a result, more than 5,500 voters, as of May 21, of that year, had registered for the special election.¹⁸⁵ Georgia had cut off registration for the run-off elections two months early, according to advocates. The NVRA prohibits states from cutting off voter registration more than 30 days ahead of an election. Georgia, notwithstanding, unsuccessfully argued that the June 20 runoff was not its own election, but rather was just an extension of the first round of voting, held on April 18. Reportedly, Georgia has 464,000 more registrants in 2017 than during the last non-presidential election year.¹⁸⁶ Certain counties, like Cobb, DeKalb, and Fulton, struggled to publicly notify voters of the extension in voter registration.¹⁸⁷

In November 2018, an organization formed by a 2018 gubernatorial candidate, filed a lawsuit on behalf of individual voters and an organization, challenging under the 1st, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, the VRA, and HAVA, various voting “irregularities that disproportionately affected voters of color,” including voter purges, used by the GA SOS and other officials during the 2018 election season.¹⁸⁸ Indeed, the lawsuit alleges that Georgia officials created “an obstacle course for voters” that disproportionately affected counties with large numbers of poor and Black Georgians. These obstacles include: the “exact match” system that placed voters in a “pending” status based on minor discrepancies between their registration forms and state records; long lines at polling places due to lack of sufficient voting machines, or because machines malfunctioned; reports of voters being told incorrectly that they were not registered, or that they were registered in other counties; no paper receipts for votes tallied by electronic machines, making it impossible to check the results; the closure or relocation of over 300 polling locations since 2012, often in majority-Black counties; shoddy training by the state for local officials, who gave some voters inaccurate information about whether they could vote; insufficient numbers of provisional ballots, leaving some voters without any recourse; absentee ballots mailed to voters too late for them to use them; and absentee ballots thrown out over minor typographical errors in Gwinnet County, with a population that is 60% minority, more than any other county in the state.

Proof of citizenship

Georgia (like Arizona and Alabama) has also requested that the federal Election Administration Commission (EAC) change the state-specific instructions that accompany the federal voter registration form to require residents to show proof of citizenship.¹⁸⁹ In 2016, civil rights and pro-democracy organizations sued the EAC for its actions enabling Georgia requiring proof of citizenship; a federal court temporarily blocked the EAC from enforcing the proof of citizenship requirement for 2016 elections.¹⁹⁰

In 2018, **Baldwin County** attempted to enforce a photo ID requirement to register to vote, though there is no such requirement.¹⁹¹

Candidate qualifications

In 2016, state officials challenged the candidate residency qualifications and eligibility of a Black Democratic candidate, who was competing against a white Republican incumbent candidate and represented a majority-



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

Black state legislative district for three decades.¹⁹² This district is exceptional because it is Georgia’s only majority-minority district in the state represented by a Republican. The Black candidate has lived and voted in the district at issue for approximately 18 years. Yet, in March 2016, the boundary lines of the district changed, edging the Black candidate out of the district in which he sought to run for office after the period for candidate qualifying ended.

Redistricting

During the 2017 legislative session, the Georgia Legislature considered H.B. 515, which would have led to mid-Census redistricting by changing the district boundaries for one Black elected official affiliated with the Democratic party, without any advance notice, according to that official, and eight officials affiliated with the Republican party.¹⁹³ Civil rights and pro-democracy organizations expressed concern that this proposal was drawn to dilute Black voting strength in certain districts and with race as the predominant motivating factor.¹⁹⁴

Relatedly, in April 2017, civil rights organizations filed a lawsuit, claiming, among other allegations, that under the VRA, the Georgia Legislature diluted minority voting strength in two state House districts encompassing Gwinnett and Henry counties—specifically by moving minority voters out of the districts of two vulnerable incumbent lawmakers—during a 2015 mid-Census redistricting.¹⁹⁵ Redistricting typically occurs after the decennial Census and not mid-decade. In Gwinnett and Henry counties, between 2000-2014, the number of white voters declined by 3,000 and Black voters increased by 74,000 reportedly. In October 2017, a similar lawsuit was filed, contending that the state legislative redistricting violates Black voting rights.¹⁹⁶ The state has defended against these suits by claiming that voters were moved because of party affiliation, which the U.S. Supreme Court has not yet found can be unconstitutional, and that race was not the predominant reason for the changes. While finding “compelling evidence” that the legislature engaged in racial gerrymandering, the court declined to enjoin elections in those districts under the challenged plan while the case is being litigated.¹⁹⁷

Voter suppression omnibus law

Just months after the 2020 election cycle ended, Georgia enacted a sweeping voter suppression law. Passed after a rushed and non-transparent legislative process and signed into law behind closed doors, this 98-page omnibus bill, Senate Bill 202 (“SB 202”), was a direct response to increased Black voter participation in the 2020 general and 2021 runoff elections.¹⁹⁸ SB 202’s numerous provisions dramatically curtail access to voting and disproportionately burden voters of color, new citizens and religious communities—traits reminiscent of Jim Crow era voting restrictions.¹⁹⁹

SB 202 makes it a crime to give or “offer to give” food and water to individuals waiting in line to vote. Black voters will bear this burden most—Black Georgians, on average, wait nearly one hour to vote, compared to white voters who wait only six minutes. Moreover, SB 202 places unnecessary and burdensome restrictions on absentee voting—when nearly 30% of Black voters cast their ballot by mail in the 2020 general election. The law requires absentee voters to provide a photocopy of and mail sensitive ID information to request a ballot.



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

Similar sensitive information, including a voter’s social security number, may be required to return an absentee ballot. The law allows for a “free” state issued ID, but studies show that the actual cost for “free IDs” typically range from \$75 – \$175 after factoring in documentation, travel, and waiting time. This cost may be exacerbated for Black voters, as 21 contiguous and predominantly Black rural counties in Georgia have driver’s license offices that are only open 2 days per week or fewer. Additionally, while SB 202 allows for the use of secure drop boxes, the law: caps the total number; requires them to be located inside of the office of the board of registrars or absentee ballot clerk or inside of an advance voting location (outside of an emergency); limits the hours; limits their use and availability during the early voting period; and imposes new in-person security requirements, which could include law enforcement. These limitations disproportionately impact Black voters and other historically disenfranchised groups. SB 202 also invites unfettered voter intimidation by codifying that Georgia electors can submit unlimited challenges to the right of any voter to remain registered or to cast a vote. The November 2020 election saw mass baseless and untimely voter challenges that resulted in no significant findings. Moreover, SB 202 reduces the voting period for runoffs from three weeks to one week, with no mandatory weekend voting days, including Sunday voting. This provision follows an increase in Black voter turnout in the 2021 runoff election—Black voter turnout was almost 92% of that in the general, a higher percentage than for white voters. Additionally, SB 202 invalidates provisional votes cast in the correction county but the wrong precinct, which, under prior law, would have been counted. This will disproportionately affect voters of color, who have seen an increased number of polling location closures and changes, heightening the need to vote provisionally. Finally, SB 2020 unilaterally empowers the State Board of Election to take over the process of disqualifying ballots across the state, removing that power from county boards of election. While these provisions are terrible on their own, the totality of the law—and all the ways voters will be suppressed—makes it one of the most restrictive laws in the nation.

On March 2021, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. (LDF) and other civil rights groups filed a [federal lawsuit](#) challenging S.B. 202.²⁰⁰

Local Level:

Redistricting, voter registration, ballot access, & voter intimidation

In **Fulton County**, the state’s most populous county, the County Commission considered a redistricting plan in 2013 that would have created a new overwhelmingly white district and reduced the district sizes of majority-Black districts.²⁰¹ Additionally, in a 2015 litigation settlement, Fulton County admitted to illegally disenfranchising and misleading voters in the 2008 and 2012 elections, constituting more than two dozen violations of state law, including improperly rejecting eligible ballots, sending voters to the wrong precincts, failing to update supplemental voter list, failing to timely process changes of address and other registration documents, failing to provide official voters lists to all precincts, and failing to provide absentee ballots to all voters who requested them.²⁰² During the 2016 presidential election, Fulton County was one of three Georgia counties where federal monitors observed elections.²⁰³



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

In 2013, **Greene County** implemented a redistricting plan for the five-member County Board of Commissioners. The plan, which a Black member of the Commission denounced, resulted in Black voters making up less than 51% in all five districts under the plan.²⁰⁴ Under Section 5, the U.S. DOJ blocked another redistricting plan in Greene County in 2012 and was in the process of reviewing the above-mentioned plan before the *Shelby County* decision.²⁰⁵

A redistricting lawsuit against the **City of Decatur** was filed in federal court. At issue is whether a reduction in the number of City Council districts, through implementation of a voter referendum, would dilute Black voting strength in the City.²⁰⁶

In **Sumter County**, a plaintiff-voter challenged a redistricting plan in 2014 that would have reduced school board districts from nine to seven, two of which would be at-large, to align with the county commission districts.²⁰⁷ The plaintiff alleged that the redistricting plan packed Black voters, who are 54 percent of Sumter's population, into two (of nine) districts in violation of Section 2 of the VRA. In March 2018, a federal district court ruled in favor of plaintiff.²⁰⁸

In 2014 in **Fayette County**, the Board of Commissioners and Board of Education attempted to revert to at-large voting to hold a special election for a seat vacated by the first Black County Commissioner, who was elected by a remedial district-based election and died unexpectedly. A federal court ordered the remedial district-based election in 2014, following Section 2 of the VRA litigation brought by LDF in 2011 and settled in 2016 in [*Georgia State Conference of the NAACP et al. v. Fayette County Board of Commissioners et al.*](#)²⁰⁹ LDF won a preliminary injunction in 2015 that required that the special election be conducted by district-based voting.²¹⁰

In **Emanuel County**, a civil rights organization and two voters filed a lawsuit in 2016 under Section 2 of the VRA, alleging that the redistricting plan for the County school board packs Black voters into one district, when two majority-Black districts are possible, thereby diluting Black voting strength.²¹¹ Black residents make up one-third of the County's voting-age population, and close to half of the students in Emanuel County are Black, yet there has never been more than one Black member on the school board at one time. Although Black candidates have run in other districts, the only Black candidates who have ever been elected to the school board were elected from the single majority-Black district.

In October 2016, a civil rights organization, on behalf of state-based civil rights and pro-democracy organizations, challenged the refusal of the **Chatham County** Board of Election, which has a sizeable Black population, to extend the voter registration deadline for the November 2016 election in light of the mandatory evacuations caused by Hurricane Matthew; the state refused to extend the registration deadline based on alleged administrative difficulties.²¹² Plaintiffs won an order temporarily blocking the County's decision because it prevented potential voters from participating in the November 2016 general election in violation of the U.S. Constitution and the NVRA, which, among other things, requires that states process any voter registration form received or postmarked within 30 days of an election.



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

In **Jefferson County**, county officials got in the way of dozens of Black senior citizens going to vote in advance of the November elections, prompting LDF to send [letters](#) illuminating how those actions may constitute illegal voter intimidation in violation of federal laws.²¹³

In **Gwinnett County**, which has an ever-growing population of people of color, officials rejected absentee ballots for signature mismatches (as compared with those on file in the County) without adequate notice and an opportunity to correct any errors in advance of the November 2018 election. This was challenged by civil rights organizations and a federal court ruled in plaintiffs' favor, requiring the County to provide absentee voters with notice and the ability to cure any signature discrepancies.²¹⁴

Voter purges & intimidation

In **Hancock and Sparta counties**, civil rights advocates filed a 2015 lawsuit, challenging the purge of eligible Black voters from the voter rolls because of alleged address changes in violation of the VRA and other laws.²¹⁵ For example, plaintiffs allege that the majority-white Hancock County Board of Elections and Registration (BOER) took nearly 17% of all eligible Spartan voters, and at least 53 Spartan voters, nearly all of whom were Black, off of the voter rolls. The purges occurred before the November 15, 2105 Sparta election in which white candidates for mayor and city council were running against African American incumbents. In response to the lawsuit, the BOER has reinstated 17 of the purged voters.²¹⁶ Reportedly, these purges followed the BOER's having "systematically question[ed] the registrations of more than 180 Black Sparta residents, one fifth of the population, "by dispatching deputies with summonses commanding them to appear in person to prove their residence or lose their voting rights."²¹⁷ In March 2017, the parties settled this lawsuit, ensuring, among other things, that the County will no longer hear third-party challenges to voters' eligibility and will no longer remove voters based on allegations of a change of address, instead following federal law that requires a waiting period of two federal election cycles before officials may attempt to contact a voter to confirm their address.²¹⁸

Early voting

In **Dekalb County**, when an early voting location was opened near a popular mall in 2014, a state senator responded that "this location is dominated by African American shoppers and it is near several large African American mega churches," and that he would "prefer more educated voters than a greater increase in the number of voters."²¹⁹ (See above for more on early voting restrictions in Georgia).

In **Bibb County**, local officials rejected a proposal in 2014 that would have provided for early voting on Sunday, an opportunity for poor and people of color to vote outside of traditional Election Day.²²⁰

In October 2016, in advance of the general election, some voters in **Gwinnett County**, outside of Atlanta, waited up to three hours to vote.²²¹ During the 2016 election presidential election, Gwinnett County was one of three Georgia counties where federal monitors observed elections.²²²



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

Polling place closures & reductions & voter intimidation

A 2018 analysis by the Atlanta Journal Constitution reflects that Georgia has closed 214 polling places across the state since 2012.²²³ According to that analysis “[t]hat figure means nearly 8 percent of the state’s polling places, from fire stations to schools, have shut their doors over the past six years.” Other findings from that analysis are that “[o]ne-third of Georgia’s counties — 53 of 159 — have fewer precincts today than they did in 2012” and that “[o]f the counties that have closed voting locations, 39 have poverty rates that are higher than the state average,” and “[t]hirty have significant African-American populations, making up at least 25 percent of residents.”

In 2019, the AJC conducted another analysis of whether precinct closures and the distance voters would thereafter have to travel to access a polling place impacted voting.²²⁴ Specifically, the AJC mapped Georgia’s 7 million registered voters and compared how distance to their local precincts increased or decreased from 2012 to 2018. As the AJC found in 2018, as discussed above, during that six-year period, county election officials closed 8% of Georgia’s polling places and relocated nearly 40% of the state’s precincts.²²⁵ Among the findings from the 2019, analysis, the AJC found that: there was a clear link between turnout and reduced voting access.; the farther voters live from their precincts, the less likely they are to cast a ballot; the average Georgia voter’s distance to a polling place more than doubled from 2012 to 2018; precinct closures and longer distances likely prevented an estimated 54,000 to 85,000 voters from casting ballots on Election Day in 2018; the impact was greater on Black voters than white voters; Black voters were 20% more likely to miss elections because of long distances; and, without those precinct relocations, overall Election Day turnout in last year’s midterm election likely would have been between 1.2% and 1.8% higher.

These findings are consistent with some of the particular changes related to polling sites detailed below.

Specifically, in 2013, the **City of Athens**, located in **Athens-Clark County**, proposed eliminating nearly half of its 24 polling places and replacing them with only two early voting centers—both of which would be located inside police stations.²²⁶ Community members raised concerns that the location of the new centers would intimidate some voters of color and that the proposed closures would be harmful to voters of color and/or students, many of whom would need to travel three hours by bus just to reach the new polling places.

After initially considering eliminating over half of the County’s polling places in **Morgan County**, the County ultimately eliminated more than a third of them in 2013.²²⁷ One city council member expressed his belief that the closures would disfranchise low-income voters and voters of color, many of whom lack cars and would have difficulty reaching the reassigned polling sites.

Election officials in **Baker County**, a majority-Black county with high poverty rates, proposed eliminating four of its five polling places in 2013, requiring some voters to travel upwards of 20 miles to vote.²²⁸ As a result of LDF’s [advocacy](#), namely an inquiry about whether the purported cost-saving rationale for the change outweighed the potential harm to the minority community, the County decided not to close the four polling places.



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

In 2015, the Board of Elections in **Macon-Bibb County** proposed reducing the number of polling places from 40 to 26 by closures or consolidations, including closing the Macon Mall as a polling location, even though it is served by public transportation in a County where 20% of residents lack vehicles.²²⁹ Despite that the overwhelming majority of the polling places proposed for closure were in majority-Black neighborhoods, the County claimed that the closures were to save the County approximately \$40,000 annually. Other closures were based on rationales such as renovations in certain schools that serve as polling places. The Board formed an advisory panel to consider the closures. Civil rights organizations and pro-democracy groups voiced objections to the closures and consolidations.²³⁰ Ultimately, the Board reduced the number of precincts from 40 to 33 (instead of 26), in part by combining two precincts with majority-white voting populations rather than combining precincts with majority-Black precincts.

Moreover, in 2016, the Board of Elections reversed its decision to relocate a polling place to a Bibb County Sheriff's office for the 2016 elections after civil rights and community organizations: voiced concerns that officials had made this decision without considering its impact on voters of color, giving notice to them, or considering reasonable alternatives to this location. Activists subsequently organized a petition, relying upon state law, that gives voters an opportunity to prevent a local board of elections from moving forward with a polling place change if 20% of a precinct's registered voters sign a petition against it.²³¹ Ultimately, the election officials relocated the polling place at issue to an African American church.

In 2015, the **Hancock County** Board of Elections and Registration (BOER) proposed to close all of the County's precincts except one precinct located in the downtown area of the **City of Sparta** for purported cost-saving reasons.²³² The precincts proposed for closure were between 11 and 17 miles from the downtown Sparta precinct, presenting travel burdens for voters in the majority-Black precincts in the County's mostly poor and rural areas. Civil rights organizations and community members opposed this proposal and, in response to community pressure, in October 2015, the BOER decided to close only one of the 10 precincts instead of consolidating all of the precincts into one. During the 2016 election presidential election, Hancock County was one of three Georgia counties where federal monitors observed elections.²³³

In 2016, the Board of Elections in **Upson County** consolidated election precincts before the state's March 1 primary election.²³⁴ One voter reported that poll workers urged people waiting in line to leave and come back later to vote. She stayed and waited an hour and a quarter to vote but estimated that 30 to 40 would-be voters left. Moreover, over the objection of the only Black Board of Elections member, officials in Upson also moved a polling site more than two miles away from a Black neighborhood, Lincoln Park, as part of a plan to cut the number of voting sites in the County from nine to four, purportedly to save \$20,000.²³⁵ The Board of Elections ultimately did not adopt a plan which would have closed a polling site in a rural area in Salem that has a large Black population, following residents' complaints about the resulting burden of having to travel an additional 10 miles or more to vote.²³⁶



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

In 2016, **McDuffie County** elected to eliminate three polling places, such that two-thirds of the County's Black voters, and one-third of its white voters, must vote in a single location.²³⁷

In 2017, **Fulton County**, the largest county in Georgia, election officials contemplated closing or moving three polling places located in neighborhoods with significant Black populations a few months before an election.²³⁸ Voting rights advocates challenged that proposal, including by filing a lawsuit, because of lack of adequate notice about the changes and the potential impact on Black voters, particularly those who walk or take public transportation to vote.

In August 2018, elections officials in **Randolph County** proposed—but ultimately back off of—closing seven of nine (77% percent) of the polling places in this rural county that has a majority-Black population, no public transportation, and high poverty rates.²³⁹ All nine polls were used in elections earlier in 2018. The proposal was the result of a recommendation by an associate of the Secretary of State, to consolidate polling places in at least 10 other counties, most of which also have substantial Black populations like Randolph: **Macon-Bibb, Muscogee, Lowndes, Telfair, Greene, and Webster** counties.²⁴⁰ The consultant recommended the closures of these voting sites in Randolph because they purportedly are non-compliant with the American with Disabilities Act (ADA); yet the consultant did not recommend that the County make those sites compliant or find alternative ADA-compliant sites. An attorney for the County, in response to a public records' request acknowledged: "[t]here is no document, report or analysis studying the handicap accessibility of polling places in Randolph County and the cost of fixing them within the time frame specified in your open records request The county has no record of such a document in the past year."²⁴¹ In 2012, Randolph County settled a lawsuit brought by the U.S. DOJ to bring the County into compliance with the ADA. Pro-democracy, civil rights, and disability rights groups vehemently opposed this proposal because of its potentially racially discriminatory intent and results and its false use of the ADA to justify the closures.²⁴² LDF also sent [letters](#) to all 254 Georgia counties warning them about polling place changes without an adequate analysis of the impact of those closures on Black and other voters of color.²⁴³ Following public outcry, the Secretary of State objected to this proposal in Randolph and the board ultimately and unanimously rejected the proposal.²⁴⁴ Prior to rejecting the proposal, the Board also terminated its contract with the consultant who recommended the closures.²⁴⁵

In 2018, election officials in **Brady County** closed a polling place in the City of Cairo, which suffered devastation following a hurricane, only weeks before the November election; advocates, including LDF, [claimed](#) that officials did so without providing adequate notice to voters about the closure and also where their new precinct was located.²⁴⁶

In 2019, officials in **Jeff Davis** County reopened a polling place in Hazelhurst that it had closed in 2017 that advocates contended would disproportionately harm Black voters, including rural and elderly voters.²⁴⁷ This site was reopened after community advocates led a two year campaign to reopen the site.



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

Timing of elections

In 2013, election officials in **Augusta-Richmond** reintroduced a plan that would change the date of County elections from their traditional timing in November to over the summer when Black voter turnout is typically lower.²⁴⁸ A lawsuit challenging the change in election date from the November general election to the May 20 primary election was unsuccessful.²⁴⁹ Under Section 5, the U.S. DOJ in 2012 blocked this same attempt to switch the election date from November to a summertime month.²⁵⁰

In 2013, officials in **Macon**, a majority-Black city in **Bibb County**, decided to hold a single non-partisan municipal election in July, when Black voter turnout is typically lower. The U.S. DOJ had been scrutinizing this voting change under Section 5 before the *Shelby County* decision. This election schedule was a marked departure from Macon's traditional schedule of multi-party partisan primary elections in July and a general election in November.²⁵¹

LOUISIANA

Local Level:

Redistricting

In 2010, Section 5 review prevented the Louisiana State Legislature from implementing Act No. 650, which would have reduced the size of the Iberville Parish School Board from 15 members to nine members, eight of which would have been single-member districts and one of which would have been an at-large district.²⁵² However, Section 5 approval by the U.S. DOJ allowed the Parish to bypass state law that mandated that the board be no more than 9 seats. In 2013, prior to the *Shelby County* decision, Section 5 approval also allowed the Iberville Parish School Board to adopt a redistricting plan that reduced the size of the School Board from 15 members to 13 members. However, in 2013, after the *Shelby County* decision and because Section 5 no longer prevented Act No. 650 from going into effect, the Iberville Parish School Board redistricted into 8 single-member districts and one at-large district, even though the School Board acknowledged its preference for the 13-member board to the 9-member board mandated by state law.

In **East Baton Rouge Parish**, a civil rights organization filed a lawsuit in 2014 on behalf of several local residents to challenge the School Board's redistricting which would have reduced the Board's size from 11 single-member districts (six majority-white and five majority-Black) to nine (five majority-white and four majority-Black), contending that the redistricting decision has the effect of diluting minority representation on the School Board.²⁵³



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

Local Level:

Polling place closures

In November 2016, a civil rights organization released a report that studied polling place closures in Louisiana since the *Shelby County* decision and found that “61 percent of Louisiana parishes have closed a total of 103 polling places since 2012,” including in **Jefferson** and **Terrebonne** parishes.²⁵⁴ Terrebonne Parish encompasses a state court, whose method of election LDF has challenged in [*Terrebonne Parish Branch NAACP et al. v. Lindal et al.*](#), under Section 2 of the VRA and the U.S. Constitution.²⁵⁵ Moreover, according to a 2018 report, Louisiana consolidated more than 300 precincts between 2016 and 2012 and this reduction “had a racially discriminatory effect, in that as the proportion of African-Americans in a precinct increased, so did their likelihood of being consolidated, thus made larger, and harder for those voters to cast a ballot.”²⁵⁶

MICHIGAN

State Level:

Photo ID & voucher requirements

In 2015, the Michigan Legislature considered, but did not pass, a bill, SB 639, which would have allowed first-time voters to vote by mail only if they present ID in person at the municipal clerk’s office for the municipality of registration.²⁵⁷ According to civil rights and pro-democracy organizations, who opposed this proposal, this requirement is needlessly restrictive since other laws like the federal Help America Vote Act (HAVA) already have identification requirements for first-time voters.²⁵⁸ College and university students who have not yet become Michigan residents, particularly freshmen studying away from the town of their parents’ residence, as well as Michigan voters who travel frequently for work or work non-traditional hours, would have been severely affected by this bill. The bill also proposed prohibiting municipal clerk’s offices from staying open beyond regular weekday business hours. This change would have likely suppressed turnout, increased lines at the polls on Election Day in urban areas, and would have had a disparate impact on minority and student voters, according to advocates.

The following year, in 2016, the Michigan Legislature considered, but did not pass, House Bills 6066, 6067, and 6068, which would have eliminated a procedure whereby voters who appear in person to vote without an acceptable form of voter ID can cast a regular ballot if they sign an affidavit attesting to their identity. Instead, these bills would have required most Michigan voters to present limited forms of ID for their votes to count; for those voters without acceptable ID, the bills would have required voters to fill out a provisional ballot that



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

would only be counted if the voter returned to their clerk's office within 10 days to show either a photo ID or present evidence they are either indigent and, therefore, unable to afford an ID or have a religious objection to having their photo taken.²⁵⁹ [LDF](#) and other advocates opposed these bills.²⁶⁰

Straight-party voting

In 2016, a federal court issued four preliminary injunctions against state election officials, stopping them from implementing a new law, P.A. 268. Three Michigan residents and a civil rights organization challenged this law that bans straight-party ticket voting, in part because of the law's potential to reduce Black voter's opportunity to participate equally in the political process and place a disproportionate burden on Black voter's right to vote.²⁶¹ Straight-party ticket voting, which has been used in Michigan for nearly a century, allows voters to select a slate of candidates affiliated with a particular party rather than to select each individual candidate on a ticket. Black voters tend to vote for candidates affiliated with the Democratic party with a single mark on the ballot. Indeed, opponents advance a correlation between the use of straight-party voting by Black voters: of 15 Michigan cities with a straight-party voting rate of 65% or higher, two were comprised of a majority of white residents and five cities with rates greater than 75% were comprised of a majority of Black residents. Opponents of the law contend that its burden is caused in part by or linked to social and historical conditions in Michigan that have produced or are producing discrimination against Black residents in education, employment, and health. The Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals declined Michigan's request to overturn the trial court's orders staying the state's implementation of P.A. 268 while the case is litigated.²⁶² A full *en banc* panel of the Sixth Circuit refused to hear Michigan's request for their review of the trial court's injunction orders.²⁶³ Michigan, subsequently, appealed to the Supreme Court seeking emergency relief and the Supreme Court declined Michigan's request.²⁶⁴ In August 2018, a federal court ruled, among other things, that Michigan's officials "intentionally discriminated against African Americans" by trying to eliminate straight-ticket voting in violation of the U.S. Constitution and that the law has a disproportionate impact on Michigan's voters in violation of Section 2 of the VRA.²⁶⁵ In a September 2018 ruling, however, the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals (in a 2-1 vote) allowed the state to remove the straight party ticket voting mechanism.²⁶⁶

Vacancies

Following Congressman Conyer's resignation in December 2016, creating a congressional vacancy in the 13th district in Michigan, which is comprised of a majority of Black voters, voters sued to challenge the Governor's decision to hold the election to fill the seat to coincide with the next regularly scheduled elections in November 2017.²⁶⁷ Plaintiffs claimed that the Governor's failure to call an earlier special election violated the constitutional rights of voters in that majority-minority district, including because the Governor had previously set an election for another vacant seat in a majority-white district within two months. A federal judge has dismissed the suit, reasoning that the Governor has a legitimate reason for his decision, which would be saving the taxpayer-funded cost of holding a special election, and the discretion of when to set a special election.



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

Local Level:

Voter intimidation & proof of citizenship

In 2014, advocates for Arab-American voters in **Dearborn Heights** challenged election officials for preventing Arab-American individuals from obtaining absentee ballots, purportedly based on concerns about potential voter fraud and campaign irregularities.²⁶⁸ Advocacy groups monitored polls and provided a hotline for voters to report such issues during a primary election.²⁶⁹ A **Wayne County** judge declined to halt the counting of certain challenged absentee ballots in Dearborn Heights that purportedly were cast fraudulently. The court found that “[t]here [was] absolutely no evidence in this case that there has been one fraudulent ballot submitted by absentee ballot.”²⁷⁰

Machine malfunctions

Officials acknowledge that 80 voting machines in **Wayne County**, which encompasses Detroit, where 82% of the residents are Black people, were broken on November 8, 2016, denying Black voters the opportunity to participate in the political process.²⁷¹

Redistricting

A lawsuit claimed that Michigan Republicans intended to give their party a dominant position through gerrymandered maps in 2011 in violation of the constitution.²⁷² Evidence in the case showed that Republicans intended to draw legislative boundaries that would help their party by concentrating “Dem garbage” into four of the five southeast Michigan districts that Democrats now control, and of packing Black voters into a metropolitan Detroit House district.

MISSISSIPPI

State Level:

Photo ID requirement

Following the *Shelby County* decision, Mississippi’s Lieutenant Governor said that preclearance “unfairly applied to certain states [and] should be eliminated in recognition of the progress Mississippi has made over the past 48 years.”²⁷³ Mississippi’s Secretary of State said he would move forward immediately to implement Mississippi’s voter ID law, which was passed in 2012, but not implemented pre-*Shelby*, for primaries in June 2014, and a law that, even as recently as 2017, the SOS contended is a model photo ID law.²⁷⁴ The



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

implementation of Mississippi's photo ID law already impacted Mississippi elections; the outcome of a tied (177-177) local special election depended upon a lone voter returning within five business days with a valid photo ID, after voting provisionally by affidavit ballot, because the voter initially appeared to vote without an acceptable photo ID.²⁷⁵ Reportedly, hundreds of voters could not vote in the 2014 mid-term election because of the photo ID law.²⁷⁶ Studies have indicated that photo ID laws depress voter turnout in Black and Latino communities.²⁷⁷

Local Level:

Polling place closures

***In November 2016, a civil rights organization released a report that studied polling place closures in Mississippi since the Shelby County decision and found that "[a]bout 34 percent of the 59 Mississippi counties surveyed have closed polling places since Shelby, resulting in at least 44 fewer polling places for the 2016 election."²⁷⁸*

***Another report, released in 2018, documents that five percent (or roughly 100) of Mississippi's polling places have closed and/or relocated since the 2013 Shelby County decision.²⁷⁹ Specific instances of those changes are detailed below.*

Just prior to the *Shelby County* June 25, 2013 decision, in **Lauderdale County**, on June 5, 2013, the majority-Black city of Meridian elected its first Black mayor even after a noose was hung outside of the candidate's campaign office.²⁸⁰ Following *Shelby*, the majority-white County Board of Elections eliminated seven polling places – from 49 to 42 – since the 2012 election. Two years later, in 2015, the County BOE proposed a plan to move several of Meridian's municipal election polling places out of Black churches, over the objection of minority community members.²⁸¹

In 2020, it was reported that **Madison County** reassigned 2,500 Black and other voters of color to a smaller precinct in a community comprised predominately of white people without notice and purportedly to suppress the participation of the minority community ahead of the 2020 general election.²⁸²



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

NEW YORK

State Level:

Vacancies

In 2014, a group of leading local and national voting rights advocates, including LDF, [pressed](#) the Governor to hold special elections to fill 12 legislative vacancies in the New York State Senate and Assembly, which would otherwise represent approximately 1.8 million voters across New York, more than 800,000 of whom are people of color.²⁸³ In maintaining these vacancies, advocates have claimed that the Governor has departed from precedent in refusing to call elections. As of 2017, vacancies remained an issue.²⁸⁴

Voter Registration

In early March 2017, voting rights advocates sent a pre-litigation notice alleging that New York is failing to meet its obligations under the NVRA and VRA by not ensuring that a driver's license or identification card application, renewal, or change of address transaction serves as a voter registration application or change of address, and not providing voting materials and assistance in certain language, impacting communities of color.²⁸⁵

Local Level:

In the borough of **Brooklyn**, which is in **Kings County**, entire apartment buildings and blocks were de-registered from voting in a purge of 126,000 voters, disproportionately Hispanic and Asian voters, from the rolls in advance of the April 2016 primaries, which remains under investigation by multiple entities.²⁸⁶ Civil rights advocates contend that the Board of Elections failed to first designate voters as “inactive” before sending out a second notice that they would be purged from the rolls. Local and national voting rights advocates and a New York representative also asked the U.S. DOJ to monitor and oversee 2016 elections, including those occurring in Kings County.²⁸⁷ The Board of Elections reportedly restored these voters to the voting rolls in advance of a June 28 primary election.²⁸⁸ Notwithstanding, following the June 28th congressional primary election, reports indicated that voters in New York encountered other obstacles, including illegal requests for identification, unexpected poll closures, and wrongful denials of affidavit ballots.²⁸⁹

In November 2016, civil rights organizations filed a lawsuit against the Board of Elections, contending that the improper purge of registered voters, making them ineligible to participate in the November 2016 election, violates the NVRA.²⁹⁰ Shortly thereafter, the parties settled the lawsuit, which included a provision for voters, who believed they had registered, but were no longer on the rolls, to vote by affidavit ballot, and to notify poll workers and voters of this provision.



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

A separate lawsuit also was filed in federal court by civil rights and pro-democracy organizations, challenging the purge of more than 200,000 voters, including 117,000 registered voters in Brooklyn who were purged before the April 2016 primary election; the U.S. DOJ and New York Attorney General moved to intervene in this lawsuit.²⁹¹ Among other relief, the NY AG's office requested that the court order the Board of Elections to perform an audit of every voter who was sent a cancellation notice based on their failure to vote or an alleged change of address since January 1, 2014, and the reinstatement of anyone the board removed in violation of state and federal law. In addition, the NY AG's office sought to have the court order the removal of New York City's current head of Voter Registration. As of late October 2017, the Board of Elections had tentatively agreed to terms of a consent decree that would require it to restore voters to the rolls that were illegally purged and establish a comprehensive plan to prevent future illegal voter purges.²⁹²

NORTH CAROLINA

State Level:

Omnibus anti-voter bill (photo ID, early voting, same-day registration, out-of-precinct voting, pre-registration for 16- and 17-year-olds, etc.)

Immediately following the *Shelby County* decision, the lead sponsor of the state's voter ID law said that he would move ahead with the measure because of the ruling.²⁹³ A North Carolina State Senator also said that he would move quickly to pass a voter ID law because it would purportedly bolster the integrity of the balloting process. Other state legislators in North Carolina began engineering an end to the state's early voting, Sunday voting, and same-day registration provisions.²⁹⁴ North Carolina's Attorney General said that "[t]he North Carolina General Assembly is now considering legislation that among other changes would limit early voting and require voter I.D."²⁹⁵

Within two months of the *Shelby County* decision, North Carolina's Governor signed an omnibus anti-voter bill, H.B. 589 – dubbed the “monster law” – which includes numerous provisions designed to make it harder for voters to access the polls including: a strict photo ID requirement; elimination of same-day voter registration; cutting the early voting period by seven days (from 17 to 10 days); and throwing out provisional ballots cast at the wrong polling station.²⁹⁶



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

Early voting, same-day registration, out of precinct voting, & pre-registration for 16- & 17-year olds

A federal judge declined to preliminarily enjoin certain (non-photo ID) provisions of H.B. 589. That ruling was successfully appealed²⁹⁷ to the federal Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, which ordered North Carolina to reinstate same-day registration opportunities and to count out-of-precinct ballots. The U.S. Supreme Court subsequently stayed that ruling for the 2014 elections, but not others. In June 2016, the Fourth Circuit continued its order staying the rollback of same-day registration opportunities and to count out-of-precinct ballots, as the case was heard on appeal (see more below).²⁹⁸

A three-week federal trial was held in July 2015 related to the non-photo ID aspects of the omnibus voter law.²⁹⁹

The ballots of anywhere from 454 to 1,390 North Carolina voters who are disproportionately people of color went uncounted in the 2014 primary election because of North Carolina's elimination of same-day registration and prohibition on counting a provisional ballot cast in the wrong precinct.³⁰⁰ These and other acts of discrimination in recent elections have been documented.³⁰¹ One estimate suggests that turnout was reduced by at least 30,000 voters in the 2014 election because of barriers to the ballot.³⁰² In 2008 and 2012, more than 250,000 voters in North Carolina relied on same-day registration to cast their ballots. In 2012, 41% of the voters who relied upon same-day voter registration were Black.³⁰³ Reportedly, Black voters have cast out-of-precinct ballots at twice the rate of white voters.³⁰⁴ In 2012, 70% of Black voters used early voting.³⁰⁵

During the 2018 legislative session, the state made changes to early voting opportunities that may impact voters of color and others in the state. Specifically, S.B. 325 would eliminate one of three Saturdays from the early voting period, which is popular among all voters and used disproportionately by Black voters; the bill also would make changes to early voting sites in the state and require the county boards of elections to annually report on its voter registration list maintenance efforts and the State Board of Elections to submit those reports to a legislative committee.³⁰⁶ In June 2018, the Governor vetoed S.B. 325, commenting that “[p]revious attempts like this by the legislature to discriminate and manipulate the voting process have been struck down by the courts. True democracy should make it easier for people to vote, not harder.”³⁰⁷

Photo ID requirement

Plaintiffs unsuccessfully moved the federal court for a preliminary injunction to halt implementation of the photo ID aspect of the omnibus law, which the state began implementing in 2016.³⁰⁸

A federal trial on the photo ID requirement of the omnibus law took place in January 2016.³⁰⁹

Prior to trial, the North Carolina legislature made changes to the photo ID law.³¹⁰ The new legislation purported to: allow voters with an expired driver's license or state-issued ID card (no more than four years expired) to vote; require election officials to help voters use mail-in ballots, which do not require photo ID, during the early voting period; and allow voters who do not have a photo ID to provide their voter registration card or provide



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

their birthdates, last four digits of their social security number, and an affidavit attesting to a “reasonable impediment” (e.g., work schedule, lack of transportation, disability or illness, lost or stolen photo ID, lack of birth certificate or other underlying document necessary to obtain a photo ID) to obtaining one of the required photo IDs. Student ID cards, even when government-issued, were not an accepted form of ID.

Reports indicated that many voters lacked awareness about or are confused by the “reasonable impediment” provision of the photo ID law.³¹¹ During the March 2016 primary—the first election in North Carolina to require voters to show a photo ID under the new law and “reasonable impediment” exception—reportedly 26% of people who relied on the “reasonable impediment” provision were Black voters, who only account for 22% of North Carolina’s population.³¹² Also, during the March 2016 primary, poll monitors reported that: even when “reasonable impediment” declarations were submitted, it varied county to county whether they were accepted and that at least four different versions of the affidavit forms for identifying “reasonable impediments” were being used.³¹³

As of the March 2016 primary, approximately 318,000 registered North Carolina voters, disproportionately Black and Latino voters, lacked a driver’s license or state ID card.³¹⁴ Voters also reported having difficulties and burdensome costs associated with obtaining the “free” photo IDs.³¹⁵ Numerous voters also recounted various difficulties casting ballots in light of all of the changes to election laws in the state, including the photo ID requirement and the lack of notification of last-minute polling place location changes during the 2016 primary season.³¹⁶ More than 40,000 people across North Carolina voted by provisional early ballots; nearly 3,000 voted provisionally because of voter ID issues during the 2016 primary season.³¹⁷ Other voters reported difficulties beyond satisfying a photo ID requirement, such as having to pass a spelling test to vote, encountering voter intimidation, and enduring long lines at the polls.³¹⁸ During the 2012 primary, 23,000 provisional ballots were cast.

As noted with respect to other stringent photo ID laws, numerous studies have indicated that photo ID laws depress voter turnout in Black and Latino and other communities of color.³¹⁹

Following the 2015 and 2016 trials on the omnibus voter suppression bill, a federal district court upheld the various provisions of the law, including the photo ID requirement, elimination of same-day registration, out-of-precinct voting, pre-registration for 16- and 17-year-olds, and reductions to early voting.³²⁰ The court reasoned that: (1) the state had asserted legitimate interests for those provisions, none of which had been proven unconstitutional by plaintiffs; (2) the robust turnout in 2014 proved that the law did not suppress the votes of people of color in the state; (3) while Black residents of the state continue to endure socioeconomic disparities that can be linked to state discrimination and make it more difficult for them to participate in the political process, plaintiffs failed to show that such disparities will materially affect their ability to participate in the political process; and (4) there is “little official discrimination to consider” today.

Plaintiffs appealed to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, which heard the case on an expedited basis with oral argument on June 21, 2016.³²¹ On July 29, 2016, the Fourth Circuit reversed the trial court’s ruling that had



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

upheld North Carolina’s voting restrictions, finding that the state Legislature adopted its omnibus law with discriminatory intent and the purpose to impose barriers to block Black voters from voting. The appellate court said: “[a]lthough the new provisions target African Americans with almost surgical precision, they constitute inapt remedies for the problems assertedly justifying them and, in fact, impose cures for problems that did not exist.”³²² The court noted that the Legislature “requested data on the use, by race, of a number of voting practices,” and then, data in hand, “enacted legislation that restricted voting and registration in five different ways, all of which disproportionately affected African Americans.” The court could not “ignore the record evidence that, because of race, the legislature enacted one of the largest restrictions of the franchise in modern North Carolina history.” With respect to the “reasonable impediment” provision of the photo ID aspects of the omnibus law, the appellate court stated: “[n]othing in this record shows that the reasonable impediment exception ensures that the photo ID law no longer imposes any lingering burden on African American voters.”

Ultimately, this appellate ruling: prohibits North Carolina from requiring photo ID for in-person elections; restores a week of early voting and pre-registration for 16- and 17-year-olds; ensures that same-day registration and out-of-precinct voting will remain in effect; and ordered that ballots of people who had mistakenly voted at the wrong polling stations be deemed valid. The court declined to bail North Carolina back into Section 5’s protections under Section 3(c) of the VRA.

Following its decision, the Fourth Circuit denied the state-defendants’ request for a stay of the decision, pending an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.³²³ In denying the stay, the Fourth Circuit wrote: “[v]oters disenfranchised by a law enacted with discriminatory intent suffer irreparable harm far greater than any potential harm to the State.” Seventeen days after the Fourth Circuit’s decision, North Carolina then appealed it to the U.S. Supreme Court, requesting that that court allow provisions of its omnibus law to remain in effect (e.g., the voter ID provision) that were used in the 2016 primary election season to not disrupt the election; opponents of the law contended that election officials had sufficient time before November to implement an election that complied with the Fourth Circuit’s decision and that once an electoral law, such as North Carolina’s omnibus measure, has been found to be racially discriminatory and enjoined, operation of the law must be suspended.³²⁴ In late August 2016, the Supreme Court denied North Carolina’s request to stay the Fourth Circuit decision; thus, North Carolina’s intentionally discriminatory voting laws were not put into effect for the November election.³²⁵ In late December 2016, North Carolina filed papers requesting that the U.S. Supreme Court review the Fourth Circuit decision.³²⁶ In the interim, following a change in administration after the November 2016 election and in an effort to end the state’s defense of the monster law, the Governor and Attorney General discharged the private attorneys who had been representing the state, as well as moved to dismiss the certiorari petition.³²⁷ Notwithstanding, the former Governor hired private attorneys to continue to press the litigation and the Legislature and members of the Legislature sought to intervene in the case in support of the monster law.³²⁸ On May 15, 2017, the U.S. Supreme Court declined to take the case on appeal, with Chief Justice Robert writing a separate statement and invoking the Court’s “frequent admonition that ‘[t]he denial of a writ of certiorari imports no expression of opinion upon the merits of the case.’”³²⁹ Accordingly, the denial leaves in place the Fourth Circuit decision enjoining North Carolina’s omnibus law.



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

Ultimately, reports found that voter impersonation fraud was not rampant during the 2016 elections and that North Carolina's photo ID provision would have prevented just one fraudulent vote in the November 2016 election, had it been in effect.³³⁰

As of 2016, it was reported that North Carolina spent at least \$5 million of taxpayers' dollars defending the above-mentioned election law changes that are part of its omnibus measure; this figure does not include the amount that advocates expended challenging the omnibus bill.³³¹

A state court challenge to the photo ID requirement in the 2013 bill also was filed. The state court, however, stayed the case in light of the above-mentioned federal proceedings that have blocked North Carolina's enforcement of its photo ID requirement for in-person voting.³³² According to reports, plaintiffs intended to support their state law challenge with evidence that the ballots of 1,400 eligible voters were thrown out because of the photo ID law in the 2016 primary election.³³³

Despite the above-mentioned federal appellate court decision striking down a photo ID requirement for in person voting in North Carolina, in 2017, the state legislature considered a bill that would add a photo ID requirement to the state constitution and would go into effect if approved by voters.³³⁴

Similarly, in 2018, the state legislature also proposed a constitutional amendment that adds a photo ID requirement to vote in person subject to voter approval in the November 2018 election.³³⁵ The legislature did so despite the above-mentioned federal court ruling, affirmed by an appellate court, finding that North Carolina's 2013 attempt to impose a strict photo ID law was intentionally racially discriminatory. With voters passing the amendment in the November 2018 election, the legislature had the authority to determine the details of the ID legislation, adopting photo ID legislation, S.824, over the governor's veto in December 2018.³³⁶ Prior to this referendum vote, legislators tried to strip a bipartisan panel of its power to write captions for those constitutional amendments that appeared on the ballot,³³⁷ which was the subject of lawsuits.³³⁸ As soon as the law was implemented over veto, in December 2018, advocates challenged this new photo ID law in federal and state courts, alleging various claims including that the law is intentionally discriminatory and has a discriminatory result on Black North Carolinians.³³⁹ In a state court proceeding, the court found that the legislature lacked the authority to put a constitutional amendment related to an ID law on the ballot, particularly because this legislature was enacted under a racially discriminatory redistricting plan.³⁴⁰ While that decision was stayed pending appeal, the Governor signed into law a bill that would delay implementation of the ID law—should it survive legal challenges—until 2020.³⁴¹ In 2019, after a three-judge panel of state court judges issued a decision that permitted the photo ID law to go into effect for the 2020 elections,³⁴² in 2020, another decision from a three-judge state court reversed that ruling and found the law illegal, a decision which defendants attempted to appeal.³⁴³ The case went to trial in April 2021.³⁴⁴

Moreover, in December 2019, a federal court issued a preliminary injunction that temporarily prevented the photo ID from operating until the federal lawsuit was resolved, ruling that the ID law has discriminatory results



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

and carries over the “taint” of racial discrimination from the 2013 version of the ID law.³⁴⁵ Defendants appealed that preliminary ruling to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals; oral arguments were held in September 2020. In December 2020, a three-judge panel reversed the district court’s ruling, allowing the voter ID law to move forward.³⁴⁶ Plaintiffs appealed to seek en banc review from the Fourth Circuit, but the Fourth Circuit declined to review the panel’s decision.

Straight-party voting

Advocates expressed concern that North Carolina’s elimination of straight-party ticket voting, which voters in counties with large Black populations used in the 2010 and 2012 elections, would impact the 2016 election, given the competitive nature of the various races on the ballot and, thus, voters’ need for more time to cast their ballots, causing long lines and potentially preventing eligible voters from voting or fully completing their ballots.³⁴⁷ One study reports that 2.5 million voters used straight-ticket voting in 2012.³⁴⁸ At the start of early voting for the 2016 general election, voters in localities across North Carolina—in Charlotte, Raleigh, Fayetteville, and Winston-Salem—experienced long lines and waiting times to vote.³⁴⁹

Appointments

In 2016, State Republican legislators were reported to have considered holding a special session to add two additional Justices on the state Supreme Court, following the November election which changed the composition of the existing seven-member court to include four Democrats.³⁵⁰ The need for an additional judgeship is predicated on case load criteria.

Moreover, during a special legislative session in December 2016, the Republican-controlled Legislature acted to place limits on the incoming Democratic-affiliated Governor’s power to make political appointments by (1) stripping future governors of their power to appoint a majority to the State Board of Elections and Ethics Commission (through expanding the number of board members from five to eight, with the eight members to be evenly divided between the two major parties), which a panel of state court judges temporarily blocked; the board plays a critical role in determining where, when, and how North Carolina votes and who has control over investigating ethics complaints against lawmakers and campaigns; and (2) changing the state court system so that it is more difficult for the losers of some superior court cases to appeal directly to the Democratic-controlled Supreme Court.³⁵¹

Another proposed piece of legislation during the 2016 legislative session was introduced that would strip the incoming governor of his ability to appoint members to the boards of state universities and reduce the number of state employees that the governor can appoint from 1,500 to 425, as well as make the governor’s cabinet appointees subject to approval by the State Senate. Civil rights and other advocates have decried this power grab because of the impact that these changes—hastily made following the November election—would have on minority voters in North Carolina.



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

In 2017, North Carolina became the first state in nearly a century to adopt partisan court elections; and the legislature also reduced the size of the state Court of Appeals, which deprives the Democratic-affiliated Governor of the ability to name the replacements of two retiring Republicans.³⁵²

In 2018, the legislature considered a proposal to amend the state constitution to give two legislative positions (the House Speaker and Senate Leaders)—rather than the governor, who currently is a Democrat—the authority to appoint an eight member state board of elections; currently, the board is composed of nine members, including four affiliated with each of the two major political parties.³⁵³ As above, the legislature has been attempting to gain control over the elections board and ethics commission since voters elected the governor in 2016.

The 2018 legislature also proposed legislation that, rather than have the governor replace vacant judicial seats, would provide an open nomination process, with a nonpartisan commission approving or disapproving of the nominees based on their purported merit.³⁵⁴ The Legislature would then send two of these nominees to the governor to choose from.

There is ongoing litigation in North Carolina’s state courts over these changes.³⁵⁵ Related to this litigation, a state official has raised the possibility of impeaching state Supreme Court justices if they rule against legislative leaders in some of the above-mentioned suits over amendments to the state constitution.³⁵⁶

Voter registration

Following the November 2016 election, the campaign of the incumbent Governor lodged complaints of voter fraud against approximately a dozen get-out-the-vote groups in North Carolina that had focused on outreach among African-American voters.³⁵⁷

Redistricting

In October 2017, the North Carolina legislature passed a judicial redistricting bill that advocates contend could reduce the number of Black judges and other judges of color in North Carolina’s judicial system.³⁵⁸

Similarly, during the 2018 legislative session, the legislature considered statewide judicial redistricting legislation, S.B. 757 and H.B. 1037, that advocates also contend would harm minority voters in the state.³⁵⁹ In that same legislative session, legislators considered H.B. 717, which proposed to redraw judicial and prosecutorial districts for electing judges and district attorneys in North Carolina and adding judicial and prosecutorial seats across the state.³⁶⁰ In June 2018, the Governor vetoed H.B. 717, commenting that “[l]egislative attempts to rig the courts by reducing the people’s vote hurts justice. Piecemeal attempts to target judges create unnecessary confusion and show contempt for North Carolina’s judiciary.”³⁶¹



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

Absentee Voter Fraud

Surrounding the 2018 electoral season, the North Carolina State Board of Elections and other officials are investigating allegations that a Republican campaign worker targeted Black voters in **Bladen County** by acting to illegally collect their absentee ballots; as a result, the state declined to immediately certify the election results for a congressional race.³⁶² State records reflect that an unusually high numbers of mail-in ballots were requested in Bladen — and an unusually high numbers of those requested ballots were never returned. A disproportionate number of unreturned ballots had been sent to voters of color, who tend to vote Democratic. Indeed, nearly 55% of ballots mailed to Native American voters and 36% mailed to Black voters were not returned, while the non-return rate among white voters in the district was 18%.

Voter Purges

A 2018 report found that between September of 2016 and May of 2018, North Carolina purged 11.7 percent of its voter rolls.³⁶³ In 90 out of 100 counties, voters of color were over-represented among the purged group.

Local Level:

A 2015 analysis reflects that the widespread movement of polling places throughout North Carolina, as reported below, has kept tens of thousands of voters, disproportionately voters of color, from the polls.³⁶⁴ According to the analysis, state officials moved almost one-third of the state's early voting polling sites in 2014, which will increase the distance that Black voters would have to travel to vote early, while leaving white voters largely unaffected.

Similarly, in 2016, another analysis asserts that 17 of North Carolina's 78 counties made changes to early voting opportunities that had negative impacts on voters, namely voters of color, and 24 counties made voting more difficult for the working poor, who are disproportionately Black.³⁶⁵

Moreover, in August 2016, the chair of the North Carolina GOP emailed Republican county election board members, who approve election schedules in each county, and other party members, requesting that they “make party line changes to early voting,” by reducing early voting hours, not offering Sunday voting (which African American communities commonly use and refer to as “souls to the polls,” where church members vote together following Sunday worship services), and not putting polling sites on college campuses.³⁶⁶ This request follows a federal court ruling, discussed above, that necessitates that counties develop new early voting schedules. While the court ruling requires North Carolina's 100 counties to offer 17 days of early voting, it does not prohibit election officials from providing fewer hours and early voting sites than in the last presidential election.³⁶⁷ As a result, boards across 23 North Carolina counties, some discussed in detail below, acted to reduce the number of early voting hours and sites available to voters across the state.³⁶⁸ Nine counties also acted to drop Sunday voting. For those counties in which boards of elections disagreed about early voting plans,



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

the State Board of Election set those plans, and, in some cases, restored Sunday early voting hours and, in other cases, approved restrictions on early voting opportunities.³⁶⁹ Litigation was filed by the presidential campaign of Hillary Clinton, on behalf of voters in federal court, that unsuccessfully sought an order requiring the state Board of Elections to modify early voting plans in Mecklenburg, Guilford, Forsyth, Nash, and New Hanover counties to comply with the July 2016 Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals decision (discussed below).³⁷⁰

Ultimately, during the 2016 general election, 17 North Carolina counties provided fewer total early voting hours than in 2012, and three counties that offered early voting on a Sunday in 2012 no longer offered that option.³⁷¹ Though the state is offered more early voting hours overall than voters had in 2012, many counties are offered no evening hours, making access difficult for people who work one or more jobs.

Potentially as a result of these changes to polling sites and early voting opportunities, as well as the elimination of straight-ticket voting (*see above*), voters in localities across North Carolina—including in Charlotte, Raleigh, Fayetteville, and Winston-Salem—experienced long lines and waiting times to vote at the start of early voting for the 2016 general election.³⁷²

Moreover, in November 2016, a civil rights organization released a report that studied polling place closures in North Carolina “even after significant opposition from minority communities and advocates,” including in **Pasquotank** and **Cleveland** counties.”³⁷³

Another report indicated that because of fewer early voting places, Black voter turnout decreased by 16% during the first week of early voting.³⁷⁴ Republican officials also boasted that due to cutbacks to early voting hours, Black voter turnout reduced by 8.5% below 2012 turnout, while turnout for white voters increased by 22.5%.³⁷⁵

And, in 2018, another analysis revealed that North Carolina’s 2018 midterm election had nearly 20 percent fewer early voting locations than there were in 2014; this is particularly true in rural counties in the state.³⁷⁶

The changes that follow reflect the particular limitations on polling sites and early voting opportunities across North Carolina’s cities and counties.

Polling place closures & reductions, voter intimidation, & early voting restrictions

In 2013, in **Watauga County**, the Board of Elections voted to eliminate an early voting site and election-day polling precinct on the Appalachian State University (ASU) campus.³⁷⁷ A North Carolina trial court found that the State Board of Elections, having ratified the Watauga Board’s decision, intended to discriminate against students;³⁷⁸ an appellate court subsequently dissolved its stay of that decision.³⁷⁹ The County also proposed combining three precincts into one to serve 9,300 voters, making it the third-largest voting precinct in the state. That one precinct site had 35 parking spaces and was located a mile away from the University, along a campus road with no sidewalks.³⁸⁰ In 2016, the County also refused to approve a voting site on ASU’s campus and



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

instead had only one early voting site for the County, in a “tiny office on the first floor of the County Courthouse.”³⁸¹

In **Forsyth County**, the Board of Elections considered, but tabled, two proposals in 2013 that would have (1) placed security officers at the County’s one-stop early voting site, and (2) collected information from individuals or organizations returning voter registration forms.³⁸² The board chairman also proposed closing an early voting site at Winston-Salem State University, a historically Black institution.³⁸³ Reportedly, polling locations in Winston-Salem have slowly been reduced from 15 in 2014 to 12 in 2015, like in other parts of the state, erecting barriers in terms of transportation and other impediments to accessing existing polling places.³⁸⁴ In 2016, the Forsyth County Board of Elections, which is majority-Republican, approved a plan to move early voting polling sites in two of Winston-Salem’s prominent minority neighborhoods.³⁸⁵ The State Board of Elections reviewed this plan, as well as another submitted by the County board’s lone democratic member, to ensure the African-American and Hispanic populations have access to early voting sites. At the start of early voting for the 2016 general election, voters in Winston-Salem experienced long lines and waiting times to vote.³⁸⁶

Litigation was filed by the presidential campaign of Hillary Clinton, on behalf of voters in federal court, seeking an order requiring the State Board of Elections to modify early voting plans in Forsyth to comply with the July 2016 Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals decision (discussed above).³⁸⁷ Plaintiffs contended that the cuts to early voting on Sundays discriminated against Black voters who vote after Sunday service worship, (also known as “souls to the polls”) and urged the County to open an early voting site on the Winston-Salem State University campus. A federal appeals court refused an emergency motion, seeking to reverse a trial court’s denial of plaintiffs’ request.³⁸⁸

In 2014, officials in **Shelby**, located in **Cleveland County**, considered consolidating five voting precincts, which serve a substantial number of Black voters, into two precincts purportedly to save \$10,000 per election.³⁸⁹

In 2014, **Rockingham County** relocated five polling places from schools to other locations as a purported safety measure, which has impacted Black and other voters.³⁹⁰

In August 2016, a member of the **Wake County** Board of Elections attempted and failed to eliminate early voting on Sundays and the opening of an early voting site at N.C. State University.³⁹¹ This member had been appointed to the Board following a federal court decision, discussed below, that the County Commission and School Board’s redistricting plans violated the U.S. Constitution and had to be remedied. This attempt comes as a leader of a conservative think tank in North Carolina reportedly encouraged counties to cut early voting sites and reduce hours, even while adding seven additional days of early voting, as required by the federal court litigation discussed above which blocked the State’s efforts to shorten early voting opportunities by one week.³⁹² Reductions in the number of early voting sites are often proposed in the name of cost-saving measures and often without any analysis or studies of the cost-savings. At the start of early voting for the 2016 general election, voters in Wake experienced long lines and waiting times to vote.³⁹³



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

Also in August 2016, the **Guilford County** Board of Elections threatened to reduce the number of early voting sites from 22 to 12, including closing two sites at two Greensboro universities, one of which (North Carolina A&T) being a historically Black educational institution.³⁹⁴ Following opposition from activists and concerned citizens, the Board voted unanimously to create 25 early voting sites, maintain Saturday and Sunday voting days, and keep the two university early sites open. Still, litigation was filed by the presidential campaign of Hillary Clinton, on behalf of voters in federal court, seeking an order requiring the State Board of Elections to modify early voting plans in Guilford County to comply with the July 2016 Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals decision (discussed above), specifically by providing more early voting sites that will be open during the week and at least as many early voting polling sites that were available to voters in 2012, including those locations that Black voters have used heavily.³⁹⁵ A 2016 analysis asserts that Guilford’s changes to early voting opportunities—including its decision to have only one early voting site open during the first week of early voting—are among the most troubling of those made by North Carolina’s counties that have had negative impacts on voters of color.³⁹⁶ At the start of early voting in October 2016, turnout in the County was down by 85%.³⁹⁷ Moreover, in 2018, officials voted to provide two fewer early voting (nine rather than eleven) sites in Guilford; students at North Carolina AT&T, complained about the lack of early voting on their campus.³⁹⁸

In August 2016, in **Mecklenburg County**, North Carolina’s largest county, the Board of Elections voted to cut early voting hours by 238, compared to the number of hours offered during the 2012 election, as well as to cut the number of early voting sites.³⁹⁹ This decision came one day after the chair of the North Carolina GOP, emailed Republican county election board members, requesting that they “make party line changes to early voting,” including by reducing early voting hours. The State Board of Elections reviewed this decision and, according to civil rights advocates, failed to restore early voting hours and sites to account for the expected high turnout in this County. Litigation was filed by the presidential campaign of Hillary Clinton, on behalf of voters in federal court, seeking an order requiring the State Board of Elections to modify early voting plans in Mecklenburg to comply with the July 2016 Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals decision (discussed above), specifically by providing longer hours on the last day of early voting.⁴⁰⁰ Recently, a federal appeals court refused an emergency motion, seeking to reverse a trial court’s denial of plaintiffs’ request.⁴⁰¹ Ultimately, during the 2016 general election, this County offered 12 fewer voting locations for the first day of early voting than in 2012, despite a federal court recognizing that in recent years, “African Americans disproportionately used the first seven days” of early voting.⁴⁰² A 2016 analysis asserts that Mecklenburg’s changes to early voting opportunities are among the most troubling of those made by North Carolina’s counties that have had negative impacts on voters of color.⁴⁰³ At the start of early voting for the 2016 general election, voters in Charlotte experienced long lines and waiting times (*i.e.*, more than three hours) to vote.⁴⁰⁴

In August 2016, members of **Lenoir County**’s Board of Elections proposed to reduce, by about a quarter, the number of early voting hours available for the November 2016 election, and to provide only one early voting site, open only during weekday business hours and on the Saturday morning before the election, in the County seat, despite that the County spans 403 square miles.⁴⁰⁵ One in four voters in Lenoir are Black. Elections officials claimed that the reductions to these voting opportunities would allow officials to “monitor voter fraud more



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

effectively,” even though impersonation voter fraud is virtually nonexistent. This decision follows an email from the chair of the North Carolina GOP that he sent to Republican county election board members, requesting that they “make party line changes to early voting,” including by reducing early voting hours.

In August 2016, in **Cumberland County**, the Board of Elections eliminated a Sunday early voting day from a 10-day early voting plan that they had adopted. Sunday voting has been used frequently by Black voters in North Carolina and is commonly referred to as “souls to the polls.”⁴⁰⁶ Following this decision, the State Board of Elections restored Sunday voting hours. At the start of early voting for the 2016 general election, voters in Fayetteville experienced long lines and waiting times to vote.⁴⁰⁷

In October 2016, litigation was filed by the presidential campaign of Hillary Clinton, on behalf of voters in federal court, seeking an order requiring the State Board of Elections to modify early voting plans in **New Hanover County** to comply with the July 2016 Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals decision (discussed above), specifically by providing Sunday voting opportunities, which Black voters use to vote after Sunday service worship (also known as “souls to the polls”).⁴⁰⁸ A 2016 analysis asserts that Mecklenburg’s changes to early voting opportunities are among the most troubling of those made by North Carolina’s counties that have had negative impacts on voters of color.⁴⁰⁹

In October 2016, litigation was filed by the presidential campaign of Hillary Clinton, on behalf of voters in federal court, seeking an order requiring the State Board of Elections to modify early voting plans in **Nash County**, specifically to comply with the July 2016 Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals decision (discussed above).⁴¹⁰ According to plaintiffs, under the challenged plan, Rocky Mount residents are forced to travel too far to rural sites to vote during the first week of early voting and no voting sites are opened in the more heavily populated town. A federal appeals court refused an emergency motion, seeking to reverse a trial court’s denial of plaintiffs’ request.⁴¹¹

In 2016, an analysis asserted that **Columbus County** made changes to early voting opportunities that had negative impacts on voters, namely voters of colors, by specifically decreasing the total number of early voting days and number of early voting sites.⁴¹²

A 2016 analysis asserts that **Buncombe County’s** changes to early voting opportunities, particularly by cutting the early voting hours at voting sites, are among the most troubling of those made by North Carolina’s counties that have had negative impacts on voters of color.⁴¹³

Opposition from a civil rights leader, as well as a 2016 analysis asserts that **Craven County’s** changes to early voting opportunities—including its decision to have only one early voting site open during the first week of early voting—are among the most troubling of those made by North Carolina’s counties that have had negative impacts on voters of color.⁴¹⁴ At the start of early voting in October 2016, only 59% of ballots had been cast in that County as compared to 2012, wait times to vote were longer than two hours, and voters reportedly endured other difficulties, including health complications, attempting to vote.⁴¹⁵



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER As of May 3, 2021

Voter qualifications

In 2013, the **Pasquotank County** Board of Elections initially blocked a senior at Elizabeth City State University, a historically Black university, from running for the city council based on a determination that his on-campus address did not establish local residency. The State Board of Elections subsequently reversed this move. Reportedly, a Pasquotank county leader expressed his intention to continue to challenge the voter registrations of more students at historically Black colleges and universities.⁴¹⁶

At an August 2016 public meeting, the appointed chair of the **Henderson County** Board of Elections explored the possibility of requesting that the sheriff deputize armed civilians to patrol the polls in November 2016 in the name of purported safety measures.⁴¹⁷ The Board also circulated a flier designed to help poll workers spot potential terrorists, which included the following descriptions of actions to be aware of: “[p]erson out of place in environment”; “[f]ixed stare”; and “[p]erson whose appearance or manner makes you feel uneasy.”

Methods of election

In 2013, county commissioners in **Benson**, located in **Johnston County**, considered lifting limits on at-large voting. Benson has three commission seats elected by district voting, and three commission seats elected by at-large voting. As a result of earlier Section 2 of the VRA litigation, residents can only vote for one at-large seat every three years.⁴¹⁸

Redistricting

In 2015, the **Wake County** Board of Commissioners redistricted in a manner that favored suburban and rural areas of the County to the detriment of the urban core and packed Black voters into one district, though under the benchmark plan, the County elected two Black members to the Commission.⁴¹⁹ Civil rights advocates have challenged that redistricting plan in court. Likewise, advocates have brought a legal challenge to redistricting plans for the Wake County Board of Education that contain unequal populations of urban areas of the County (which contain larger Democratic and minority communities) to the benefit of suburban areas of the County (which contain larger Republican and white communities).⁴²⁰ The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, reversing the lower court decision, found that both plans violate the “one person, one vote” principle under federal and state law.⁴²¹ A federal court ordered that the County used interim remedial maps for the November 2016 elections involving these local bodies.⁴²²

In 2015, a redistricting plan for the City Council in **Greensboro**, located in **Guilford County**, received criticism for its potential impact of packing Black voters into two districts when the benchmark plan would elect four Black members to the City Council.⁴²³ Aspects of Greensboro’s voting changes were preliminarily enjoined by a federal court.⁴²⁴ After trial in February 2017, the court ruled in favor of the minority plaintiffs.⁴²⁵



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

Voter purges

In advance of the start of early voting in October 2016, a 100-year-old Black woman voter, who had lived in Belhaven all her life, as well as other registered voters, were at risk of being purged by **Beaufort County's** Board of Elections after their voter registration statuses were challenged based on lists compiled by Republican officials.⁴²⁶ The elderly woman has consistently cast a ballot in elections for the past 24 years, including in the 2016 primary season. These lists have led to the challenges of the registration statuses of disproportionately Black and registered Democrats. A civil rights organization filed a lawsuit under the NVRA to prevent these purges and the U.S. DOJ filed a statement of interest in the case, contending that counties cannot legally remove voters “using only mail returned as undeliverable and without following specific required procedures” nor can they carry out “systematic removals within 90 days of a Federal election.”⁴²⁷ During a hearing, a federal judge referred to North Carolina’s purge process as “insane” and something “put together in 1901.”

In 2016, hundreds of registered voters in **Moore County** were purged by the Board of Elections after their voter registration statuses were challenged based on lists compiled by Republican officials.⁴²⁸ These lists have led to the challenges of the registration statuses of disproportionately Black and registered Democrats in other parts of North Carolina. A civil rights organization filed a lawsuit under the NVRA to prevent these purges and the Department of Justice filed a statement of interest in the case, contending that counties cannot legally remove voters “using only mail returned as undeliverable and without following specific required procedures” nor can they carry out “systematic removals within 90 days of a Federal election.”⁴²⁹ During a hearing, a federal judge referred to North Carolina’s purge process as “insane” and something “put together in 1901.”

As of October 2016 in **Cumberland County**, thousands of registered voters were purged by the Board of Elections, within 90 days of the November 2016 election, after their voter registration statuses were challenged.⁴³⁰ A civil rights organization filed a lawsuit under the NVRA to prevent these purges and the U.S. DOJ filed a statement of interest in the case, contending that counties cannot legally remove voters “using only mail returned as undeliverable and without following specific required procedures” nor can they carry out “systematic removals within 90 days of a Federal election.”⁴³¹ During a hearing, a federal judge referred to North Carolina’s purge process as “insane” and something “put together in 1901.”



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

SOUTH CAROLINA

State Level:

Photo ID requirement

Following the *Shelby County* decision, South Carolina’s Attorney General stated: “[t]his is a victory for all voters, as all states can now act equally, without some having to ask for permission or being required to jump through the extraordinary hoops demanded by federal bureaucracy.”⁴³² Moreover, a spokesperson for South Carolina’s Attorney General stated that the assurance that South Carolina gave to a federal court in 2012 about its interpretation of the reasonable impediment exception to the requirement that voters present one of five accepted photo IDs “still applies.”⁴³³ Indeed, as a result of a 2012 trial concerning South Carolina’s photo ID law in [South Carolina v. United States](#), which LDF, along with other organizations and the U.S. DOJ litigated, the state adopted a reasonable impediment exception that recognizes the many reasons why a qualified South Carolina voter may not have an acceptable photo ID and provides a process for how such voters still can vote in-person.⁴³⁴

Notwithstanding the implementation of South Carolina’s photo ID law, along with that of its reasonable impediment exception in 2013, a 2014 study illuminated the burdens that South Carolinians face obtaining complaint-ID in the state.⁴³⁵ Moreover, the state estimates that, as of 2016, approximately 178,000 South Carolinians, disproportionately people of color, lack an acceptable photo ID under the law. Indeed, in 2016, confusion over the reasonable impediment provision of that law persists three years after its implementation, and South Carolina’s failure to collect data about its administration of the law and analyze that data makes it difficult to assess the law’s impact on minority voters in particular.⁴³⁶ Still, there is at least some indication that the law disproportionately impacts Black South Carolinians. Specifically, an analysis of the impact of the law in the 2016 election season found that “African-American voters made up 27.6 percent of registered S.C. voters in 2016, but 38.5 percent of the voters impacted by the ID requirement were African-American,” and that “[t]hirty-five percent of voters citing an impediment to getting an ID were black, and 42 percent of the voters who forgot their ID were black.”⁴³⁷ Furthermore, even with a photo ID, at least one eligible voter was told that he was “dead” when presenting himself at the polls with a valid photo ID.⁴³⁸ During the 2018 election, reports illustrated that the state continues to have problems implementing the photo ID law, including providing information about the reasonable impediment process.⁴³⁹

During the 2016 legislative session, the South Carolina Legislature proposed a bill, H.3167, that would allow voters to use concealed weapons permits for photo ID. These permits are disproportionately possessed by white South Carolinian residents, as compared to Black residents. A proposed, but tabled, amendment to the bill would have added all state employee IDs and student IDs issued by one of South Carolina’s colleges or universities to the list of potential acceptable IDs under the law.⁴⁴⁰



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

2021 voter suppression bills

Absentee voting. During the 2021 legislative session, the South Carolina Senate introduced S. 236, which would impose new barriers on absentee voters by: first, barring anyone except for immediate family members from returning completed absentee ballots on behalf of another voter; and second, explicitly banning the use of absentee ballot drop boxes.⁴⁴¹ In the same legislative session, the South Carolina House introduced H. 4150, which would ban counties from offering voters the option to return their absentee ballots to drop boxes and impose extreme and potentially discriminatory reductions to absentee ballot eligibility—notably, raising the age of absentee ballot eligibility from 65 to 75 and abolishing numerous categories of absentee-voting eligibility, including for those who are on vacation, experiencing a death in the family, or attending a sick or physically disabled person.⁴⁴²

Early voting. H. 4150 would implement an early voting framework that would likely result in racial disparities, including with respect to (1) the quantity and placement of early voting locations, (2) the days on which early voting would be available, and (3) the hours in which early voting locations would be open. H. 4150 would force larger counties—home to significant communities of color—to accommodate a greater number of registered voters in each of their early voting locations, and would force voters in such to drive longer distances to access early voting sites. The bill would also mandate early voting during weekdays as well as the final Saturday before the election but would *not* permit any voting on Sunday, thereby proscribing the “Souls to the Polls” movement. Moreover, H. 4150 would mandate that all early voting occur between 8:30 A.M. and 5:00 P.M., prohibiting any early morning or evening voting.

Polling place consolidation and closure. As well as imposing barriers on absentee voting, S. 236 would lead to the consolidation and closure of polling places in municipal elections. Under current South Carolina law, any precinct with 500 or more registered voters must have its own polling place for municipal elections and is not permitted to “pool” with other precincts in a single polling place. S. 236 would increase that threshold by a factor of six, so that only precincts with 3,000 or more registered voters would be required to have their own polling place in municipal elections. S. 236 would also double the maximum size of pooled precincts from 1,500 registered voters to 3,000 registered voters. Moreover, S. 236 would amend current law to allow polling places that serve pooled precincts to be situated five miles away from the nearest part of any pooled precinct, rather than three miles.

Local Level:

Non-partisan elections

In 2014, the City Council in **Greenville** proposed moving from partisan to non-partisan elections, drawing criticism from the Council’s two minority representatives and others who contend that doing so would dilute the voting strength of the City’s two majority-minority districts.⁴⁴³ Unlike other South Carolina cities, such as Columbia or Charleston, which have non-partisan elections and where the Black populations have remained



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

steady, Greenville’s Black population has declined. Critics of non-partisan elections in Greenville have argued that removing party affiliation from elections will make it harder for Black representatives to get elected. According to some studies, non-partisan elections do not foster greater voter turnout; rather, party affiliation on ballots encourages increased voter participation.

Student voter eligibility

In 2016, the Board of Voter Registration and Elections in **Greenville County** required students, seeking to register to vote and who live on college campuses, to complete a questionnaire with answers that establish their residence in Greenville to the Board’s satisfaction and return the form within 10 days to register to vote or else their application will be rejected.⁴⁴⁴ The questionnaire asks students to detail where their parents live (regardless of whether the student claims that as their legal residence), where their vehicle is registered, whether they work in Greenville County, whether they have other ties to the community, if they have ever registered to vote anywhere else, where their spouse lives (if married), where they have checking or savings accounts, where they pay taxes, whether they split living between Greenville and another location, and what residence they list on official documents. The Director of Elections claims that the additional questions are required, specifically in Greenville, by a 1973 federal district court decision that bars the Board from allowing college students who list their address as a college campus from registering to vote in the County. Other counties do not employ the questionnaire for any resident seeking to register to vote. A civil rights organization, on behalf of three college students, filed a lawsuit in state court seeking to temporarily enjoin the Board’s use of the questionnaire for the November 2016 elections, and, thereafter, block them from implementing the challenged policies that treat students seeking to register to vote unlike any other voters in the state. The policy had the potential to impact 7,000 students in Greenville. In October 2016, a federal court granted the temporary injunction, blocking the Board from implementing the questionnaire.⁴⁴⁵

Redistricting

In 2017, the South Carolina legislature overrode the Governor’s veto of legislation that added two at-large members to the then seven-member district-based elected **Sumter School District Board of Trustees (School Board)**. Under the legislation, these two at-large board seats were initially appointed in 2017 and the two appointees will stand for election as incumbents in 2018; following redistricting after the 2020 decennial Census, those two seats are supposed to convert to two single-member districts. South Carolina’s Governor vetoed this legislation because it “deprives the Sumter County electorate of its opportunity to duly elect representatives to fill these seats and gives undue influence on state representatives.” LDF is [reviewing](#) whether this redistricting legislation denies or diminishes voters, particularly Black voters’, equal opportunity to elect their preferred candidates to the School Board in violation of federal law.⁴⁴⁶ We also expressed concern that this [redistricting](#) ensured the necessary votes to close rural schools in Sumter serving predominately Black students. Indeed, under the seven single-member system for the School Board, a majority of members rejected a proposal to close schools in April 2017; however, the addition of these two seats in July 2017 provided the necessary votes to close these schools in April 2018.



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

TEXAS

State Level:

Photo ID requirement

Within two hours of the *Shelby County* decision, Texas’s Attorney General announced that the state’s photo ID law, previously rejected by a federal court as the most discriminatory measure of its kind in the country, would “immediately” go into effect. Texas’s Secretary of State also immediately announced that the state’s voter photo ID law would go into effect.⁴⁴⁷

On June 26, 2013, the Texas Department of Public Safety began to offer election identification certificates (“EICs”), one of the forms of acceptable photo IDs under the law, to Texas voters lacking other forms of acceptable photo ID. As of March 2016, Texas had only issued 653 EICs.⁴⁴⁸ Even though the EIC is technically “free,” applying for one can require several costly underlying documents like a birth certificate.⁴⁴⁹ Moreover, as a federal court found in 2012, some citizens must drive up to 250 miles to the nearest Department of Public Safety just to apply for an EIC.⁴⁵⁰ These costs to obtain a photo ID in Texas disproportionately harm minority voters. A survey of 46 counties reflected that “many election administrators had little to no familiarity with the [EIC] ID, and some expressed surprise that anyone would inquire about it.”⁴⁵¹

Civil rights groups, including LDF, the U.S. DOJ, and other advocates challenged Texas’s implemented photo ID law, SB 14, in federal court in [Veasey v. Perry](#), under Section 2 of the VRA and various provisions of the U.S. Constitution.⁴⁵² In 2014, a federal court struck down Texas’s implementation of its photo ID law, holding that “SB 14 creates an unconstitutional burden on the right to vote, has an impermissible discriminatory effect against Hispanics and African-Americans [*i.e.*, they comprise a disproportionate share of the more than 600,000 registered voters and one million eligible voters who lack the required photo ID], and was imposed with an unconstitutional discriminatory purpose,” and that it “constitutes an unconstitutional poll tax.”⁴⁵³ That ruling was stayed while Texas appealed the merits of the decision.⁴⁵⁴ Moreover, the Supreme Court, over a dissent by Justice Ginsburg, joined by Justices Sotomayor and Kagan, permitted the law to remain in effect for the November 2014 elections, and it remained in effect for the March 2016 primary season, reportedly impacting participation.⁴⁵⁵

During the early voting period in advance of the November 2014 elections, reports revealed that Texans were prevented from casting ballots because of the state’s discriminatory photo ID law.⁴⁵⁶ Turnout during the 2014 mid-term elections was reportedly lower than during the 2010 mid-term elections.⁴⁵⁷ Certain provisional ballots cast by voters lacking photo IDs also were not counted following those mid-term elections because



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

voters failed to “cure” the ballots by presenting the required ID within six days of the election.⁴⁵⁸ **Travis County**, which covers UT-Austin and the surrounding student residential areas, had the highest number of uncured ballots, reflecting that many out-of-state students were impacted by the law since student IDs are no longer an acceptable form of photo ID. In the County, 217 provisional ballots were cast because voters did not have the required ID with them when voting, and only 6% of those ballots were “cured” within six days of the election.⁴⁵⁹ In the 23rd Congressional District, which runs along the majority of Texas’s border with Mexico, one study found that 13% of registered voters with the required ID stayed home during the 2014 midterm elections because they thought that they lacked proper photo ID under SB 14, illustrating inadequate public education about the law.⁴⁶⁰ Additionally, nearly 6% of registered voters in that congressional district state that their principal reason for not voting was because they did not possess one of the limited forms of required photo ID.⁴⁶¹

During the 2016 primary election season, numerous voters were disenfranchised because of a lack of an acceptable photo ID.⁴⁶² Studies have shown that photo ID laws can depress voter turnout in Black and Latino communities.⁴⁶³

Following an appeal of the trial court decision that struck down SB 14, a three-judge panel in the Fifth Circuit ruled in 2015 that Texas’s strict voter ID measure violated Section 2 of the VRA for having a discriminatory effect on Black and Hispanic voters in Texas. The court also determined that SB 14 places an unconstitutional burden on the right to vote. However, the appellate court found that SB 14 did not constitute an unconstitutional poll tax, while remanding the case to the federal trial court to determine whether there is a discriminatory purpose behind the law and an appropriate remedy for the Section 2 effects and burden on the right to vote violations.⁴⁶⁴ In light of that decision, civil rights groups, on behalf of Plaintiffs, asked the Fifth Circuit to remand the case to the trial court to work on the remedy to provide interim relief from the discriminatory effect of the law in time for the November 2015 election and elections thereafter, which could have required Texas to include voter registration certificates as one of the acceptable forms of photo ID under the law. That request was considered by the full Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, which granted Texas’s motion to hear the case *en banc*. Texas, thereafter, continued to contend that the photo ID law does not violate the VRA, in spite of numerous federal court decisions that have determined otherwise, and seeks to be allowed to continue to enforce its photo ID law through the 2016 election season.⁴⁶⁵ The *en banc* panel of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals heard Texas’s appeal on May 24, 2016.⁴⁶⁶

Following the Fifth Circuit’s refusal to grant that interim relief, civil rights advocates requested that the U.S. Supreme Court provide relief in advance of the 2016 presidential election.⁴⁶⁷ On April 29, 2016, the U.S. Supreme Court issued an order indicating that it would be willing to consider issuing interim relief in advance of the 2016 presidential election, if the Fifth Circuit fails to rule by July 20, 2016.⁴⁶⁸

The *en banc* appellate court issued its decision on July 20, 2016, holding that Texas’s photo ID law has a discriminatory effect, as more than 600,000 registered Texan voters and 1 million eligible Texas voters, disproportionately Black and Latino, lack an acceptable photo ID under the law, in violation of Section 2.⁴⁶⁹ The



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

Fifth Circuit ordered the federal trial court to order an interim remedy in advance of the 2016 election.⁴⁷⁰ The *en banc* court ordered the trial court to consider, on remand from the appellate court, what, if any, discriminatory purpose motivated Texas to pass SB 14, and, upon a finding of discriminatory purpose, whether Texas should be bailed back into Section 5’s preclearance process. The Fifth Circuit noted that despite Texas’s interest in ensuring electoral integrity, there were “only two convictions for in-person voter impersonation fraud out of 20 million votes cast in the decade preceding Texas’ adoption of the legislation in 2011.”

Following the Fifth Circuit decision, the federal trial court began issuing interim remedial orders, providing for the ability of voters without an SB 14 photo ID to cast a regular ballot in the November 2016 election.⁴⁷¹ Indeed, any voter who did not possess an SB 14 photo ID could sign a declaration affirming their identity, state their difficulty or “reasonable impediment” to obtaining an acceptable photo ID, and show an alternative form of identification—including a voter registration certificate, certified birth certificate, driver’s or non-driver’s license or personal ID card from any state (regardless of expiration date), utility bill, bank statement, government check, paycheck, or any other government document that displays the voter’s name and an address—and vote a regular ballot. Voters who possessed one of the acceptable SB 14 photo IDs still had to show them to cast a ballot. In the lead up to the November election, civil rights organizations and the U.S. DOJ successfully challenged Texas’s implementation of the interim remedy, including the inclusion of misleading information in the materials that it will use to train election officials and educate the public about the interim remedy.⁴⁷²

A September 22, 2016 court order required Texas to conform its training and educational materials to its August 10, 2016 remedial order and to share certain materials with plaintiffs for review before their implementation. Certain plaintiffs also unsuccessfully challenged statements by the Attorney General and the chief election officer for Harris County, threatening to potentially prosecute voters who avail themselves of the Court’s interim remedy.⁴⁷³

Advocates also expressed concern that, as of the end of August 2016, only 20% of Texas’s 254 counties provided “minimally adequate information” about the interim remedial election requirements.⁴⁷⁴

A poll by the University of Houston found, as of October 2016, that despite the state’s public education about the ID law changes, half of the 1,000 respondents remained uncertain about the ID requirements.⁴⁷⁵ Other reports indicated that there was widespread confusion about the interim remedial process (*i.e.*, the use of the affidavit to vote a regular ballot if voters did not possess and could not reasonably obtain an acceptable ID) during the 2016 elections, as well as referrals of affidavits by voters without acceptable ID for potential prosecution.⁴⁷⁶ Two additional studies, released in 2016, found that while voters who cast ballots in Texas in November 2016 rarely lacked a photo ID, those who did were disproportionately people of color.⁴⁷⁷ With respect to the reasons for not possessing a required ID, a study revealed that almost 30 percent of voters indicated that their IDs had been lost or stolen, about 11.5 percent cited work obligations, and another 4 percent said family obligations prevented them from getting one. Nearly 36 percent of individuals without IDs checked the “other” box, many of whom indicated they had moved so their current address didn’t match what



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

was listed on their IDs. Notably, Texas’s law does not require the addresses to match between the IDs and poll books. Of those who selected the “other” option, 1.4 percent—82 people—cited cost as the reason they didn’t have the appropriate ID. Moreover, one of those studies found that Black and Latino voters in Texas were about 54 and 14 percent respectively more likely to vote without an ID than non-Hispanic, white voters. Other findings include that: most Texans who voted without an ID actually possessed the correct identification — they just didn’t have it with them on Election Day, as well as that voters without an ID in 2016 were 14 percentage points less likely to vote in Texas two years earlier than individuals who voted with an ID in 2016.

As early voting began on October 24, 2016, voters complained about the posting of outdated signage and guidance from poll workers that failed to inform them about alternatives to voting with a photo ID for those who qualify in non-compliance with the federal court’s interim remedial orders.⁴⁷⁸ These complaints arose across various Texas counties, including Bell, Bexar, Dallas, Denton, Dewitt, El Paso, Harris, Hays, McLennan, Rio Grande Valley, Travis, and Waller. Civil rights groups won an order against Bexar County, halting its illegal enforcement of SB 14 by posting inaccurate signs and information about the ID process on its website and on its hotline.⁴⁷⁹ Similar complaints regarding outdated signage and guidance from poll works about the ID requirements were also reported on Election Day.⁴⁸⁰

The federal trial court set a briefing schedule and oral argument date on the issue of whether Texas intended to discriminate against minority voters in enacting SB 14.⁴⁸¹ The January 24, 2017 oral argument date was rescheduled to February 28, 2017, after the U.S. DOJ sought a continuance on January 20, 2017, the presidential inauguration day, to “brief the new leadership of the Department on this case and the issues to be addressed at that hearing before making any representations to the Court.”⁴⁸² Ultimately, a day before the February 28 hearing, the U.S. DOJ moved to dismiss its claim that SB 14 was enacted with discriminatory intent, a claim that that agency had been making since 2013 when it filed its lawsuit against Texas; U.S. DOJ remains a party to the case on the claim already decided by the trial court and affirmed by the appellate court—that SB 14 has a discriminatory effect on Black and Latino Texans.⁴⁸³ The U.S. DOJ cited the introduction of a new bill in the Texas legislature, SB 5 (discussed below) that they believe shows that Texas is taking effective and satisfactory steps to remedy the situation. The court held the hearing on intent on February 28, 2017.⁴⁸⁴

In the interim, on September 23, 2016, Texas petitioned to the U.S. Supreme Court, seeking its review of the *en banc* Fifth Circuit decision, and indicated that it may craft another photo ID law in the 2017 legislative session.⁴⁸⁵ This request did not impact the November 2016 election. On January 23, 2017, the Supreme Court declined to hear the case, with Justice Roberts writing that: “[a]lthough there is no barrier to our review, the discriminatory purpose claim is in an interlocutory posture, having been remanded for further consideration. As for the Section 2 claim, the District Court has yet to enter a final remedial order. Petitioners may raise either or both issues again after entry of final judgment. The issues will be better suited for certiorari review at that time.”⁴⁸⁶

On April 10, 2017, the trial court issued a decision finding (again) that Texas enacted SB 14 with a discriminatory purpose.⁴⁸⁷ The court ordered the parties to notify the court by June 10, 2017 about what, if



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

any, remedial proceedings should occur considering the court’s finding that SB 14 has discriminatory results and a discriminatory purpose.

During the 2017 legislative session, the Texas legislature passed, and the Governor signed into law, a new photo ID law, SB 5, which contains some provisions that are similar to those in place for the 2016 election because of the interim remedial order discussed above.⁴⁸⁸ However, this law also includes a state criminal penalty of up to two years for those who intentionally misuse the affidavit process that is part of the interim remedy, and failed to expand the list of acceptable photo IDs to include those issued by federal and state government agencies, U.S. military veterans’ benefits cards, Native American tribal IDs, and college student IDs—the types of IDs more likely to be possessed by Black, Latino, and other Texans. For this and other reasons, lawyers challenging SB 14 argue that SB 5 keeps the former’s basic discriminatory architecture and is new poison in an old bottle.⁴⁸⁹ The U.S. DOJ, which had challenged SB 14 for being intentionally discriminatory for approximately six years until 2017, joined Texas in contending that SB 5 cures SB 14’s discriminatory purpose and results.⁴⁹⁰ Prior to passing, SB 5 had languished in the House after passing in the senate on the eve of the end of the regular legislative session. But Texas’s Governor issued an emergency declaration to push the legislation onto the House’s calendar. At the same time, the senate version of this bill was amended to H.B. 2691, which otherwise related to the appointment of election judges for countywide polling places and voter fraud at nursing homes, to ensure consideration of the photo ID law during the 2017 regular legislative session.

Also in June 2017, Texas considered, then immediately reversed, its decision to reduce operating hours at 11 of the state’s busiest and largest driver’s license-issuing offices, following pushback from legislators and others.⁴⁹¹ The reversal was against the backdrop of the state’s continued defense of its discriminatory photo ID law, discussed above, which requires driver’s licenses, among other select documents, to vote in-person. Alabama, as discussed above, also attempted to reduce the operating hours of ID-issuing offices before reversing course, though about a year later, after a DOT investigation and a lawsuit challenged those changes.

In August 2017, the federal district court *permanently enjoined* SB 14 of 2011 and SB 5 of 2017 as a remedy to its finding that SB 14 was enacted with a discriminatory purpose.⁴⁹² This decision returned the voter identification requirements to those in place prior to implementation of SB 14 in 2013 and the interim remedy in 2016. The court determined that SB 5, passed six years after SB 14, did not eliminate root and branch the purposeful discrimination finding regarding SB 14, writing: “SB 5 perpetuates the selection of types of ID most likely to be possessed by Anglo voters and, disproportionately, not possessed by Hispanics and African-Americans.” Moreover, “S.B. 5’s methodology remains discriminatory because it imposes burdens disproportionately on blacks and Latinos.” Indeed, the court stated: “[a]long with continued provisions that contribute to the discriminatory effects of the photo ID law, SB 5 on its face embodies some of the indicia of discriminatory purpose—particularly with respect to the enhancement of the threat of prosecution for perjury regarding a crime unrelated to the stated purpose of preventing in-person voter impersonation fraud.” The court ordered the parties to brief it by August 31, 2017 on whether an evidentiary hearing is requested for the court’s consideration of bail-in of Texas for all or some of its future voting changes under Section 3(c) of the



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

VRA.⁴⁹³ Within two days of the decision, Texas made a request to the district court to stay *proceedings* in that court, as well as to the Fifth Circuit, to stay the district court's *decision*, pending appellate review; the Department of Justice did not oppose Texas's requests.⁴⁹⁴ A three-judge court, by a vote of 2-1, agreed to stay the district court proceedings and decision enjoining SB 14 and SB 5 pending appellate review by a three-judge court.⁴⁹⁵ Private Plaintiffs petitioned for an *en banc* panel of the Fifth Circuit to hear the case on the merits and to rehear the three-judge court's decision to stay the district court's injunctive orders and proceedings.⁴⁹⁶ Aligned with defendants on appeal, the U.S. DOJ also opposed private plaintiffs' (civil rights organizations) request to be heard by the *en banc* panel.⁴⁹⁷ The Fifth Circuit denied the petition; thus, the appeal proceeded before a three-judge court with oral arguments held on December 5, 2017.⁴⁹⁸ Moreover, in December 2017, Private Plaintiffs moved the Fifth Circuit to lift the stay of the district court's decision enjoining SB 14 and SB 5 and that request remains pending in 2018.⁴⁹⁹ On April 27, 2018, a divided the three-judge court of the Fifth Circuit reversed the trial court's injunction against SB 5, finding it to be a sufficient remedy, and denied private plaintiffs' request to bail-in Texas under Section 3(c) of the VRA; that decision mooted private plaintiffs' motion to lift the stay of the district court's injunctions against SB 14 and SB 5.⁵⁰⁰ None of the parties subsequently appealed any decisions.

Under S.B. 5, a 97-year old former official who reported lacked required ID could not vote in a 2019 local election in San Antonio in Bexar County.⁵⁰¹

As of June 2016, Texas has spent more than \$3.5 million defending its photo ID law since 2011, emblematic of the [time and expense of litigating Section 2 cases](#).⁵⁰² Reportedly, the U.S. DOJ has dedicated at least one million dollars to challenging SB 14.⁵⁰³ These figures do not include the time and money expended by the law's opponents, civil rights, and pro-democracy organizations.

A separate state court challenge brought by a Texas judge, formerly a member of the Republican Party but now the only Democrat elected in a statewide office in Texas, alleged that Texas's photo ID law is an unconstitutional obstacle to a legal activity (*i.e.*, voting). After the case was heard by Texas's Fifth Court of Appeals in May 2016,⁵⁰⁴ the plaintiff abruptly dismissed it.⁵⁰⁵ The challenge was based on a provision of the Texas Constitution that provides: "[i]n all elections by the people, the vote shall be by ballot, and the Legislature shall provide for the numbering of tickets and make such other regulations as may be necessary *to detect and punish fraud* and preserve the purity of the ballot box; and the Legislature shall provide by law for the registration of all voters" (emphasis added). Considering that provision, the plaintiff alleged that Texas's photo ID law does not prevent fraud but rather presumes that someone is guilty of fraud before they vote, serving as a prior restraint on the constitutional right to vote.

With DPS as an ID-issuing agency in Texas, in August 2018, the state considered closing 87 DPS offices as part of a purported effort to close "close inefficient driver license offices" and maximize resources across the state.⁵⁰⁶ An array of critics opposed this proposal because of its impact on Texans, particularly those in rural areas who would have to drive farther (sometimes 20-50 plus more miles) to access a DPS office; in some cases, the DPS office that would close would be the only one in a Texas county (and there are 254 total counties). LDF



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

and another civil rights organization also had serious concerns about the proposal because the closures would impact the ability of voters of colors and other Texans to access the IDs needed to vote under the state’s requirement, and to register to vote and update their voter registration at these offices. The state would save reportedly \$760,000 with these closures. It proposed sending mobile units to those counties that would lack a DPS office. This proposal would have to be passed by the Texas Legislature; however, at the end of August, a commission unanimously voted against further proposing these closures for the legislature to consider.⁵⁰⁷

Straight-party voting

In 2017, the Texas legislature considered—and passed—a ban on straight-ticket voting in all elections, to go into effect in 2020, raising concerns of such a law’s impact on Black and Latino voters’ opportunity to participate equally in the political process and the potential to place a disproportionate burden on Black and Latino voters right to vote.⁵⁰⁸ Straight party ticket-voting allows voters to select a slate of candidates affiliated with a particular party with the push of one button rather than to select each individual candidate on a ticket. More than 60% of Texas voters have used this practice. Black and Latino voters generally tend to vote for candidates affiliated with the Democratic party with a single mark on the ballot. One study of straight-ticket voting in Texas found that the two parties’ share of the straight-ticket vote was almost equal during the fall 2016 elections. But given Texas’s changing demographics, the study also found that the Republican share appears to be decreasing while the Democratic share appears to be increasing. And there was some evidence that straight-ticket voting is increasingly popular with Hispanic voters. Another study of Texas’s two largest counties, Harris and Dallas, found that precincts or House districts with higher minority populations had higher rates of straight-ticket voting. Opponents of the law contend that its burden—in terms of the increased time that it takes to vote were straight-ticket voting banned—is exacerbated in part by or linked to social and historical conditions in Texas that have produced or are producing discrimination against Black and Latino residents in education, employment, and health.

Relatedly, in 2020, a lawsuit was filed to challenge Texas’s elimination of straight-ticket voting, arguing that voters will be forced to take longer to cast their ballots, and minority voters who live in the more densely populated areas of the state will be disparately affected.⁵⁰⁹

Moreover, in 2021, the Texas legislature is considering a bill (S.B. 7) that would eliminate straight-ticket voting once and for all by setting out that “voting system ballots may not be arranged in a manner that allows a political party’s candidates to be selected in one motion or gesture.”⁵¹⁰

Proof of Citizenship

In 2017, the Texas Legislature considered HB 3474, which would have required voters to show proof of citizenship to vote in Texas state elections; this bill was criticized by voting rights advocates for its potential impact on elderly, rural voters, among others.⁵¹¹



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

Relatedly, in January 2019, Texas’s Secretary of State issued an advisory to all 254 counties in the state, urging them to review an error-ridden list of 98,000 supposed “non-citizens” on their voter registration rolls and potentially purge those individuals and investigate them for voter fraud.⁵¹² Recent reports about investigations and prosecutions of voter fraud in Texas confirm what is true nationally – it is not rampant.⁵¹³ Civil rights organizations and others rebuked this action as (a) unnecessarily sowing confusion among election officials and voters about the accuracy of voter registration, as well as stoking fear among voters that they will be purged and/or falsely prosecuted for “non-citizen” registration and voting, and (b) potentially discriminatory under the VRA, NVRA, and other laws by resulting in thousands of eligible Texans being kicked off the voter registration rolls.⁵¹⁴ These groups urged the SOS to rescind the advisory, and county officials to investigate this list and the bases for removing anyone from it before sending out notices to individuals to confirm their citizenship status; they also reminded county officials of their independent obligations to not arbitrarily and discriminatorily purge voters in violation of state and federal laws. In the days after state officials released and promoted this advisory, county officials began identifying problems and mistakes in the data provided by the SOS used to identify purported “non-citizens,” including that the list had duplicate names, as well as identified thousands of people who are naturalized as citizens and are therefore eligible to register to vote and cast a ballot.⁵¹⁵ At least three lawsuits were filed in response to this advisory, claiming that it is a violation of the VRA and is unconstitutional.⁵¹⁶ As a result of the lawsuits, several counties—**Galveston, Caldwell, Blanco, Fayette, Washington, Hansford, Harrison, and Smith** counties—voluntarily agreed to stop any efforts to review the citizenship status of voters identified on the SOS’s list and conduct any related purges during the pendency of the lawsuits.⁵¹⁷ However, in April 2019, reports illuminated that election officials in Galveston, despite being sued in the above-mentioned lawsuits, had referred purported “non-citizen” people to the local district attorney’s office to be investigated for voter fraud.⁵¹⁸ Moreover, a federal court: temporarily blocked Texas officials from purging voters identified in the SOS’s list; instructed the SOS to affirmatively advise and direct local voting officials at the county level not to send notice of examination letters nor remove voters from registration lists without prior approval of the court; and directed certain counties not to remove any person from their current voter registration list until authorized by the court.⁵¹⁹ Texas was compelled to restore the voter registrations of voters caught up in this debacle as well.⁵²⁰ By April 2019, Texas had tentatively settled aspects of the claims against it, including by scrapping the error-prone list that it was relying on and providing advocates access to any new plan Texas proposes to confirm the eligibility of voters.⁵²¹ Indeed, in late April, Texas settled the federal lawsuits against it by agreeing to rescind the advisory that questioned the citizenship of almost 100,000 registered voters, and agreeing to a new list maintenance process for determining eligibility to vote that does not burden voters.⁵²² Reports indicate, however, that Texas has not abandoned all criminal investigations initiated based on the flawed list.⁵²³

2019 Omnibus Voter Suppression Bill

During the 2019 legislative session, Texas lawmakers considered an omnibus voter suppression bill, Senate Bill (“SB 9”), that considered more than two dozen election-law changes.⁵²⁴ This bill proposed to increase the potential criminal penalties for voting-related offenses, while at the same time lowering the standard for proving such offenses by eliminating the requirement of intent; as a result, people who made innocent mistakes



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

while registering to vote or while casting a ballot, with no intent to violate the law or otherwise deceive—or even people who would have voted because they believed, inaccurately, but in good faith, that they are eligible to do so—could have been prosecuted for felonies, fined at substantial rates, and imprisoned for lengthy periods. SB 9 also would have amended the law regarding criminal investigations by granting immunity from prosecution, in most circumstances, to anyone employed by a law enforcement agency who commits an election-related offense while conducting an investigation. Additionally, SB 9 would have established a new criminal offense, potentially resulting in up to 180 days in jail and a \$2,000 fine for “imped[ing] a walkway, sidewalk, parking lot or roadway within 100 feet of a polling place in a manner that hinders a person from entering the polling place.” This provision’s dangerously—and likely impermissibly—vague wording could have called for arbitrary and discriminatory prosecution, particularly against election protection volunteers who assist voters and distribute nonpartisan voting guides outside polling precincts. Further, SB 9 would have imposed new and unnecessary burdens on voters with disabilities and others who need assistance to exercise their fundamental right to vote, as those seeking to offer assistance would have had to fill out forms including their name, address, and relationship to the voter(s). The same would have been true for voters with disabilities who wish to vote by mail-in ballot. SB 9 would also have imposed new burdens and paperwork on people who wished to assist voters who need help reading or marking their ballots. Moreover, SB 9 would have granted Texas’s SOS and its Attorney General with broad authority to access and distribute personal and confidential voter information. For example, SB 9 would have permitted the SOS to disclose voters’ social security numbers and birthdates to other states and jurisdictions, and would have provided the Attorney General with access to the computerized voter registration list that contains the name and registration information of every registered voter in Texas. This expansive access to and discretion over sensitive information would have been particularly concerning given the recent misuse of voter data and unlawful attempts to purge voters by both Texas’ SOS and AG, discussed above. And a provision of the bill would have required counties with countywide polling places to locate their voting centers based on the percentage of registered voters, despite the challenges to voter registration that often confront people of color. Sponsors of the bill contended that SB9 would enhance election integrity in Texas, a similar purported justification for Texas’s photo ID law. After overwhelming opposition from national and Texas-based organizations and judges from Texas’s five largest counties, which included public testimony from hundreds of individuals and organizational representatives and petitions with thousands of signatures, SB9 failed during the legislative process.⁵²⁵

Redistricting

In July 2019, a three-judge federal court rejected a remedial request by minority plaintiffs to bail Texas back into Section 5’s preclearance obligation using Section 3(c) of the VRA.⁵²⁶ This remedial request followed a seven-year fight to block congressional and state legislative maps that diluted Black and Latinx voting power. Following a 2012 challenge to those maps under Section 5 of the VRA, a three-judge panel ordered Texas to use interim remedial maps for upcoming 2012 presidential elections to fix the most egregiously discriminatory aspects of those legislative maps. Since those interim maps still carried over the taint of discrimination and were not final remedies, the federal court ordered the state to redraw them. Instead, Texas lawmakers adopted the interim maps during a legislative session, which minority plaintiffs subsequently challenged in federal court



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

under Section 2 of the VRA and the U.S. Constitution. In 2018, the U.S. Supreme Court largely upheld the legislatively-adopted maps, affirming just one finding that an aspect of a plan constituted a racial gerrymander designed to harm Latinx voters.

2021 voter suppression bills (early voting, mega centers/drive thrus, voter intimidation/poll watching)

During the 2021 legislative session, the Texas legislature is considering S.B. 7 and H.B. 6, which would operate to discourage and frustrate in person voting throughout Texas.⁵²⁷ S.B. 7 would drastically limit early voting hours by: (1) changing the current minimum of 12 required early voting hours per polling place into the new *absolute maximum*, thereby ending the discretion many urban counties, with higher Black and Latino populations, used to expand early voting; and (2) prohibiting those 12 hours of early voting from occurring at a time other than between 7:00 AM and 7:00 PM, which ensures counties do not provide voters with sufficient opportunities to vote after work. Moreover, S.B. 7 would limit the ability of low-income voters to obtain an early voting application by severely restricting the distribution of early voting ballot applications. Additionally, S.B. 7 takes aim at the voting mega centers that many large jurisdictions in Texas used in recent election cycles—and which Black and Latino voters disproportionately used in 2020. The bill would eliminate the possibility of such mega centers by requiring that “[e]ach countywide polling place in a county must have approximately the same number of voting machines as each other countywide polling place in the county.” S.B. 7 would further eliminate drive thru voting by barring voting from taking place “in a tent or other temporary movable structure or a parking garage, parking lot, or similar facility designed primarily for motor vehicles.” S.B. 7 attempts to eliminate straight-ticket voting (*see* “straight-party voting” section). Finally, S.B. 7 would give political operatives the ability, if not the right, to engage in voter intimidation, by deputizing and empowering poll watchers to roam freely and record voters in polling locations. Specifically, S.B. 7 discards Texas’ previous restrictions on watchers recording voters in polling locations, thereby providing opportunities for watchers to target and harass voters using their images from the polling locations. Relatedly, the other bill under consideration—H.B. 6—would potentially empower poll watchers to engage in voter intimidation by establishing that watchers can never be removed from or asked to leave a polling location, including by an election judge, unless the watcher engages in conduct constituting election fraud. H.B. 6’s repeated appeals to notions of the “purity of the ballot box” underscore its likely racially discriminatory purpose.

Local Level:

Redistricting & voter qualifications

In 2013, the **City of Pasadena**, located in **Harris County**, changed the structure of the district council by eliminating two seats elected from districts that were predominantly comprised of Hispanic voters, and replacing those seats with two at-large seats elected from districts comprised of a majority of white voters.⁵²⁸ Voters approved this change. Pasadena’s 152,000 residents include a large and burgeoning (63%) Latino population.⁵²⁹ Historically, jurisdictions have used at-large voting to dilute the voting strength of communities of color. A civil rights organization on behalf of five Latino voters filed a lawsuit in 2014, challenging this



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

redistricting under the VRA and U.S. Constitution.⁵³⁰ An August 2016 decision by the federal court rejected Pasadena's attempt to dismiss the lawsuit, paving the way for the parties to proceed to a trial, which took place in November 2016.⁵³¹ Following trial, in January 2017, the federal district court determined that Pasadena violated the VRA by redistricting in 2013 to dilute Latino voting strength, as well as the U.S. Constitution, writing that: "In short, Pasadena's elections are racially polarized. The City's 2013 racially polarized vote in favor of the 6-2 redistricting map and plan and the Council's 2014 vote to approve the change were narrowly decided. The effect was to dilute Latino voting strength. That effect was foreseeable and foreseen."⁵³² As remedies, the federal court required Pasadena to use the plan with eight single-member districts for 2017 elections and, until 2023, to submit and election-related changes to the U.S. DOJ for Section 5 preclearance. The U.S. DOJ sent monitors to observe Pasadena elections in May 2017.⁵³³

Following the remedial proceedings, Pasadena appealed the trial court's decision to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on the narrow issue of what voting method should be in place for the 2017 elections since qualifying for certain elections is imminent (*i.e.*, the remedial eight single-member redistricting plan ordered by the trial court and preferred by minority plaintiffs, or an alternative plan that, according to Pasadena, would cause less disruption). Following oral argument, the appellate court agreed with the trial court that 2017 elections must be conducted under the remedial district voting plan; the City declined to appeal that appellate ruling.⁵³⁴ Notwithstanding, Pasadena is appealing the district court's finding of intentional discrimination which was the predicate for the court's order that Pasadena seek preapproval of its voting changes until 2023. In October 2017, Pasadena settled the challenge, leaving in place the district court's injunction requiring Pasadena to use its 8-0 redistricting plan for the remainder of the decade, as well as the district court's bail-in order placing Pasadena under section 5 preclearance until June 30, 2023.⁵³⁵ In 2013 in **Galveston County**, officials cut the number of constables and justices of the peace districts in half from eight to four — a change that was previously rejected under Section 5.⁵³⁶ The benchmark redistricting plan had been put in place by earlier litigation to remedy discrimination and provide electoral opportunity for voters of color. The effect of the reduced number of officials will be to eliminate virtually all Black- and Latino-held positions on both boards. This redistricting comes in the midst of Black and Latino population gains in Galveston between 2000 and 2010.

In 2015, **Galveston's City Council** proposed to change the city charter from a 6-1 electoral system to a 4-2-1 electoral system, drawing criticism that such a proposal is another attempt to diminish the voting strength of the minority community in Galveston.⁵³⁷ Section 5 previously blocked Galveston's attempts in 2011 and 1992 to change its method of electing City Council members from six single-member to four single-member and two at-large districts.⁵³⁸

In **Beaumont**, located in **Jefferson County**, a group of white legislators has acted to eliminate the four-person Black majority school board.⁵³⁹ Prior to the *Shelby County* decision, Section 5 blocked a plan that would have changed the method of election from seven single-member districts to five single-member districts and two at-large. This change would have likely reduced the number of Black representatives on the school board. Having failed in that regard, the group then stated that Black board members' districts were not up for re-election in



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021

that year, but nonetheless allowed white candidates to submit qualifying papers for elections for those same seats. Having been told that their seats were not up for re-election, the Black incumbents did not submit similar papers. A state court determined that the elections could go on, despite a controversial and convoluted series of events, including that Black candidates were deemed to have not filed qualifying papers for elections that they were led to believe were not taking place. Section 5 ultimately blocked that entire scheme. Without Section 5 in place, a state court allowed Beaumont to implement the redistricting plan, changing the election method of certain seats on the board, while denying the challenges to the three Black board members' candidacies.

Polling Place Changes & Early Voting

In November 2016, a civil rights organization released a report that studied polling place closures in Texas since the *Shelby County* decision and found that “[a]lmost half of all Texas counties in [the] sample closed polling places since *Shelby*, resulting in 403 fewer voting locations for the 2016 election than in past years,” including **Fisher, Medina, Aransas, Coke, Irion, Caldwell, Nueces, and Galveston** counties, which have records of discrimination.⁵⁴⁰ The preclearance process in place prior to the *Shelby County* decision would have scrutinized the reasons for these closures, as well as whether voters were provided with adequate places to vote and notice.

Moreover, in 2016, civil rights and pro-democracy organizations in **Waller County** successfully urged a County judge, the Elections Administrator, and the County Commission, to protect early voting locations in a majority-minority precinct in the **City of Prairie View**, reminding those elected officials that closing early voting locations potentially violates the VRA.⁵⁴¹ The County Commission had voted to reduce (from eight to two) the number of early voting locations in advance of the March 2016 primary. In response to this advocacy, election officials voted to increase the early voting locations in the City of Prairie View, including one within walking distance of Prairie View A&M University (PVAMU), a historically Black university.

Notwithstanding, prior to the November 2018 election, LDF, on behalf of five individual voters, [sued Waller County](#) officials for failing to provide Black PVAMU students with the same or similar early voting opportunities, including at the on-campus early voting site that was hard-won (see above), as those provided to white and non-student voters in other areas of the County.⁵⁴² For example, the County failed to provide Black voters in the City of Prairie View or Black students at PVAMU with any early voting during the first of two weeks of early voting in the County and only five days during the second week of early voting; other areas in the County had 11 days of early voting over the two week period. This suit alleges violations of the VRA, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Twenty-Six Amendments to the U.S. Constitution. Waller County has a long history of discriminating against PVAMU students. Leading into the 2020 election season, Waller County officials, once again, have decided to not allow early voting on-campus at PVAMU following new statewide legislation, H.B. 1888, that is subject to a separate lawsuit because of its impact on young voters.⁵⁴³

During the 2020 primary elections, Black people and other people of color were disproportionately affected by unacceptably long lines and wait-times, inadequately located and under-staff and under-equipped polling locations, and insufficient communication and transparency with voters, among other impediments or outright



DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER As of May 3, 2021

barriers, in **Harris County**, including at Texas State University, and other counties that disproportionately serve voters of color—including young voters.⁵⁴⁴

Third-party voter registration & intimidation

In November 2016, a Hispanic organization filed a civil rights complaint with the U.S. DOJ, challenging the state's investigation of voter registration and assistance activities in Hispanic neighborhoods in **Tarrant County** for allegedly being fraudulent, which had been intimidating and concerning for impacted elderly voters.⁵⁴⁵ The investigation was spurred by purportedly improper get-out-the-vote efforts, which include helping elderly Hispanic voters with their mail-in ballots.

A voting rights advocacy group also complained to the U.S. DOJ about an email sent by the local Republican Party in **Tarrant County**, calling for “poll watchers” for “Democrat-controlled polling locations” to “make sure OUR VOTER ID LAW IS FOLLOWED.”⁵⁴⁶ According to the complainants, the overwhelming majority of “Democrat-controlled polling locations” in Tarrant County are comprised of a majority of minority eligible voters. As discussed above, a federal court has ordered Texas to remediate its ID law because of its discriminatory impact and that same court will reconsider whether it was enacted with a discriminatory purpose.

At the start of early voting for the 2016 general election, voters in **Bexar County** reported that a white man made repeated derogatory remarks against Latino people and others.⁵⁴⁷

In advance of the November 2018 elections, a Republican poll official in Waco in **McLennan County** reportedly refused to assist voters with machine issues when they were voting for Beto O'Rourke, a Democratic candidate for state senator. This reportedly occurred in a polling precinct that serves a significant number of Black registered voters. LDF [urged](#) officials to replace this poll worker with someone who would be willing to assist all voters regardless of their party affiliation.⁵⁴⁸

Voter Purges

In August 2018, **Harris County** mistakenly placed more than 1,700 voters on its suspension list in response to a local Republican official's challenge of nearly 4,000 voter registrations.⁵⁴⁹ Other individuals challenged by this official identified facilities associated with homeless people and those struggling with substance addictions and mental health issues, as well as students forms.⁵⁵⁰ The suspensions came to light after the county's registrar's office mailed letters to the voters whose registrations were challenged, asking them to confirm their addresses. Reportedly, Texas counties are required to give voters 30 days to respond to those requests before placing them on a suspension list, but the registrar's office took that action prematurely in some cases. The registrar blamed the mistake on a software glitch and, after discovering the error after three or four days, reportedly fixed the 1,735 suspended registrations. The challenger is a founder of an organization that is widely considered to engage in voter suppression tactics by pushing the myth of voter fraud to justify strict photo ID



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

requirements and voter purges; indeed, in October alone, this organization identified areas of Texas with significant minority populations as “hot spots” for purported “election integrity” issues and where “volunteers” should be on guard.⁵⁵¹ With respect to the voter eligibility challenges, LDF and other civil rights and pro-democracy organizations sent a [letter](#) to the Texas SOS, requesting that he provide notice to county registrars and other officials throughout the state outlining and explaining the procedures for challenging a person’s eligibility to vote.⁵⁵²

VIRGINIA

State Level:

Photo ID requirement

Following the *Shelby County* decision, a spokesman for Virginia’s Governor said: “[w]e will be working with the Attorney General’s Office to determine what, if any, impact the decision will have on the implementation of this [photo ID] legislation in July of 2014.”⁵⁵³ The State’s Senate Majority Leader explained that voters worried about discriminatory voting measures can still bring a lawsuit, noting that: “[v]oter discrimination has no place in the Commonwealth and will not be tolerated by members of the Senate of Virginia. As every Virginia voter who believes a voting law or redistricting line to be discriminatory retains the ability to bring a court challenge, protections against voter discrimination remain intact despite the Supreme Court’s decision on the Voting Rights Act.”⁵⁵⁴

Since the *Shelby County* decision, Virginia has implemented its new photo ID law beginning in June 2014.⁵⁵⁵ As of October 2014, about 197,000 registered voters in Virginia did not have a driver’s license, an acceptable photo ID under the state’s new law.⁵⁵⁶ As of summer 2015, Virginia had issued only 4,400 “free” photo ID cards.⁵⁵⁷ Numerous studies have shown that photo ID laws depress voter turnout in Black and Latino communities.⁵⁵⁸ At least one study has attempted to examine the impact of the photo ID law in Virginia.⁵⁵⁹

In 2014, the State elections board considered, but ultimately modified, a policy that would have allowed voters to present expired (regardless of how long), but otherwise valid forms of photo ID at the polls; the adopted “compromise” policy allows voters to use an acceptable photo ID that has been expired no more than 12 months before Election day.⁵⁶⁰

During the 2015 legislative session, state lawmakers passed a bill (under the guise of preventing purported non-documented voter fraud) that would require voters to submit a copy of their photo ID when they apply by



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

mail to vote by absentee ballot.⁵⁶¹ Under existing law, only people who apply for absentee ballots in person are required to present photo ID.

In June 2015, in *Lee v. Virginia Board of Elections*, individual voters and the Democratic Party challenged the photo ID law and other elections-related practices, including a state requirement that restores voting rights to nonviolent individuals with felony convictions only on an individual basis. The lawsuit alleges violations of Section 2 of the VRA, as well as the First, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Twenty-Sixth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution.⁵⁶² While continuing to challenge the photo ID requirement, the parties reached a settlement with respect to waiting times for voters to cast ballots and how the state Board of Elections and Department of Elections will handle machine breakdowns.⁵⁶³ The photo ID trial was held in late February 2016 and, while a decision in that case was pending, the photo ID law was in effect for the state's March 2016 presidential primaries.⁵⁶⁴

Also, in March 2016, Virginia's Governor signed an executive order restoring voting rights to more than 200,000 citizens with past felony criminal convictions who have completed their sentences and any supervised probation or parole; at least 11,000 formerly incarcerated people have registered to vote in the state, as of early July 2016, following the Governor's executive order.⁵⁶⁵ Republican representatives and Virginia voters filed lawsuits, challenging the Governor's authority to sign that order providing voting rights restoration for this broad class of individuals rather than having done so on an individualized basis.⁵⁶⁶ The Virginia Supreme Court, which held a special session in July 2016 to address this challenge in advance of the November 2016 elections, by a 4-3, struck down the Governor's order as unconstitutional, holding that the Governor exceeded his authority by unilaterally rewriting and suspending Virginia's policy of lifetime disfranchisement for people with felony convictions.⁵⁶⁷ In response, the Governor promised to restore on an individual-by-individual basis the voting rights of the more than 200,000 people with felony convictions; as of May 2017, he had restored voting rights to 156,000 individuals with felony convictions.⁵⁶⁸

In late May 2016, a federal court upheld Virginia's photo ID law, following the February trial on the law. The court wrote: "[w]hile the merits of this voter identification law . . . can be reasonably debated, it remains true that Virginia has created a scheme of laws to accommodate all people in their right to vote."⁵⁶⁹ While plaintiffs appealed this ruling to the federal Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit on an expedited basis, which held a hearing on the appeal in September 2016,⁵⁷⁰ the appellate court affirmed the trial court's decision.⁵⁷¹ Virginia has spent at least \$600,000, defending its photo ID law.⁵⁷²

During the 2017 legislative session, a subcommittee blocked, HB 1904, which would have eliminated Virginia's requirement that registered voters produce one of the accepted photo IDs to vote in person, as well as amendments that would have permitted voters to use out-of-state university student IDs or photo IDs from state-run nursing homes.⁵⁷³



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

Proof of Citizenship

A state lawmaker has proposed legislation, HB 1598, that would require documentary proof of citizenship to vote in state and local elections, in the face of opposition by civil rights and pro-democracy organizations.⁵⁷⁴ Specifically, the proposal would require registrants to provide a birth certificate, passport, naturalization document, or other record accepted under federal law, beginning January 1, 2018, to vote in state and local elections. Such a requirement potentially sets up a two-tiered/dual system for voting for federal and state/local elections. The federal form, which can be used as an alternative to local voter registration forms and already requires individuals to swear, under penalty of perjury, that they are citizens, does not require a birth certificate or other document as proof of citizenship when registering.

Restrictions on voter registration

After the *Shelby County* decision, Virginia reportedly placed restrictions on community-driven voting initiatives, including prohibiting pre-populated registration forms, and shortening the deadline for returning voter registration forms to the Florida Elections Commission.⁵⁷⁵ The legislature attempted these restrictions again during the 2017 legislative session, over opposition from civil rights and pro-democracy organizations.⁵⁷⁶ Given the reliance by Latino and Black communities on such community-based voter registration drives, these restrictions have the potential to harm those communities.⁵⁷⁷

In October 2016, responding to a lawsuit filed by a civil rights organization, a federal court ordered the State to extend the deadline to register to vote for the November 2016 election after heavy demand prevented some eligible voters from registering online.⁵⁷⁸ Nearly 28,000 registered to vote because of the extension.⁵⁷⁹

During the 2017 legislative session, Virginia lawmakers considered a bill, SB 1581, over opposition from pro-democracy organizations, that would reject any new voter registration application if the name, social security number, and date of birth do not match information on file with the Social Security Administration or other database approved by the State Board of Elections, and would subject existing voters' registrations to the same scheme.⁵⁸⁰ Opponents raised concerns about this legislation given the probability of data entry errors, typographical errors, and other issues that are no fault of the applicant and have nothing to do with their eligibility to vote. The Governor ultimately vetoed this bill.



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

ABOUT THE NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE FUND

The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. (LDF or NAACP Legal Defense Fund) is the country's first and foremost civil rights law organization. Founded in 1940, LDF has an unparalleled record of expert legal advocacy in state and federal courts and its legal victories serve as the foundation for the civil rights that all Americans enjoy today.

LDF has worked for over 75 years to ensure the full, proper, and continued enforcement of both the United States Constitution and the federal statutes guaranteeing full political participation, including the Voting Rights Act. To that end, LDF has been involved in nearly all of the precedent-setting cases regarding minority political representation and voting rights before federal and state courts. See, e.g., Shelby Cty., Ala. v. Holder, 133 S. Ct. 2612 (2013); Nw. Austin Mun. Util. Dist. No. One v. Holder, 557 U.S. 193 (2009); League of United Latin Am. Citizens (LULAC) v. Perry, 548 U.S. 399 (2006); Georgia v. Ashcroft, 539 U.S. 461 (2003); Easley v. Cromartie, 532 U.S. 234 (2001); Bush v. Vera, 517 U.S. 952 (1996); Shaw v. Hunt, 517 U.S. 899 (1996); United States v. Hays, 515 U.S. 737 (1995); Chisom v. Roemer, 501 U.S. 380 (1991); Thornburg v. Gingles, 478 U.S. 30 (1986); Beer v. United States, 425 U.S. 130 (1976); White v. Regester, 422 U.S. 935 (1975) (per curiam); Gomillion v. Lightfoot, 364 U.S. 339 (1960); Terry v. Adams, 345 U.S. 461 (1953); Smith v. Allwright, 321 U.S. 649 (1944).

LDF has been completely separate from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) since 1957— although LDF was originally founded by the NAACP and shares its commitment to equal rights. In media attributions, please refer to us as the NAACP Legal Defense Fund or LDF.

If you have questions or need further information, please contact LDF Deputy Director of Litigation, Leah Aden, who has authored this compendium since 2013. Leah appreciates the support of Fadilat Olasupo, Nicole de los Santos, Mohammed Amer, Clyde Hollins, and Sara Carter, for their editorial, drafting, and other contributions to this compendium. For questions about the information contained herein or to share information about voting changes in your community, please contact 212.965.2200 or vote@naacpldf.org.



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

ENDNOTES

- ¹ *The Cost (in Time, Money, and Burden) of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act Litigation*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund (Apr. 29, 2016), <http://www.naacpldf.org/document/cost-time-money-and-burden-section-2-voting-rights-act-litigation>
- ² Case page, *Shelby Cnty. Ala. v. Holder*, 133 S. Ct. 2612 (2013), NAACP Legal Defense Fund, <http://www.naacpldf.org/case/shelby-county-alabama-v-holder> (last updated June, 9, 2016)
- ³ United States Department of Justice, *Section 5 Changes by Type and Year*, <http://www.justice.gov/crt/section-5-changes-type-and-year-2> (last accessed April 1, 2021).
- ⁴ Julia Harte, *Exclusive: U.S. curtails federal election observers*, Reuters (July 17, 2016, 1:22 PM EDT), <http://mobile.reuters.com/article/idUSKCN0ZX0QR>; U.S. DOJ, *Fact Sheet on Justice Department's Enforcement Efforts Following Shelby County Decision*, <https://www.justice.gov/crt/file/876246/download>; Deirdre Fulton, *Despite Nationwide Assault on Voting Rights, DOJ Guts Election Observers*, Common Dreams (July 19, 2016), <http://www.commondreams.org/news/2016/07/19/despite-nationwide-assault-voting-rights-doj-guts-election-observers>; Dahlia Lithwick, *The Ghosts of Shelby County: Despite some recent wins, voting rights are still under siege* (July 26, 2016, 4:17 PM), Slate http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2016/07/bernie_sanders_forgot_to_mention_voting_rights_in_his_convention_speech.html; Zachary Roth, *Cutbacks to Poll Monitor Program Raise Voter Intimidation Fears*, NBC News (July 28, 2016, 4:50 PM), <http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2016-election/cutbacks-poll-monitor-program-raise-voter-intimidation-fears-n619066>; Sari Horwitz, *Justice Department significantly reducing number of federal observers stationed inside polling places*, Washington Post (Oct. 6, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/justice-department-severely-curtails-election-observers-inside-polling-places-this-november/2016/10/06/dfb49caa-875a-11e6-92c2-14b64f3d453f_story.html; Nina Totenberg, *Will the New Era of Limited Federal Monitoring Still Protect Voter Rights*, NPR (Oct. 19, 2016, 3:39 PM, ET), <http://www.npr.org/2016/10/19/498559568/for-the-first-time-in-50-years-federal-observers-wont-be-monitoring-the-election>; Chris Strohm, *Hacking, Fraud and Confusion Top U.S. Concerns Over Election*, Bloomberg (Oct. 25, 2016, 10:52 AM), <http://www.bloomberg.com/politics/articles/2016-10-25/hacking-fraud-and-confusion-top-u-s-concerns-ahead-of-election>; Eric Lichtblau, *Why the Justice Dept. Will Have Far Fewer Watchdogs in Polling Places*, N.Y. Times (Oct. 24, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/25/us/politics/why-the-justice-dept-will-have-far-fewer-watchdogs-in-polling-places.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=first-column-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news&r=0>; AG Lynch Discusses Federal Election Monitors, Urges All Americans To Vote, U.S. DOJ (Oct. 19, 2016), <https://www.justice.gov/opa/video/ag-lynch-discusses-federal-election-monitors-urges-all-americans-vote>; Letter from the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights to the Secretary of State (Oct. 24, 2016), <http://civilrightsdocs.info/pdf/voting/Sign-On-Letter-October2016.pdf>
- ⁵ Department of Justice Office of Public Affairs Press Release, *Justice Department Again to Monitor Compliance with the Federal Voting Rights Laws on Election Day*, (Nov. 2, 2020), <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/justice-department-again-monitor-compliance-federal-voting-rights-laws-election-day>
- ⁶ Liz Kennedy, et al., *Bullies at the Ballot Box: Protecting the Freedom to Vote Against Wrongful Challenges and Intimidation*, Demos (Sept. 10, 2012, <http://www.demos.org/publication/bullies-ballot-box-protecting-freedom-vote-against-wrongful-challenges-and-intimidation>); Sami Edge, *Study Finds No Evidence of Widespread Voter Fraud*, NBC News (Aug. 26, 2016, 10:10 AM, ET), <http://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/study-finds-no-evidence-widespread-voter-fraud-n637776>
- ⁷ Julie Fernandes, *Discrimination Will Continue, But Who Will Notice? Despite their long history of preventing discrimination, federal election observers will be mostly absent from polling stations this year—at a time when the assault on voting rights is particularly acute*, Democracy: A Journal of Ideas (Aug. 9, 2016, 2:252 PM), <http://democracyjournal.org/arguments/discrimination-will-continue-but-who-will-notice/>; Ed Kilgore, *For the*

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

First Time in a Half-Century, There Won't Be Federal Observers Protecting the Right to Vote This Fall, New York Magazine (Aug. 17, 2016, 4:46 PM), <http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2016/08/no-federal-observers-will-protect-voting-rights-this-fall.html>; Sari Horwitz, *Justice Department significantly reducing number of federal observers stationed inside polling places*, Washington Post (Oct. 6, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/justice-department-severely-curtails-election-observers-inside-polling-places-this-november/2016/10/06/dfb49caa-875a-11e6-92c2-14b64f3d453f_story.html; Eric Lichtblau, *Why the Justice Dept. Will Have Far Fewer Watchdogs in Polling Places*, N.Y. Times (Oct. 24, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/25/us/politics/why-the-justice-dept-will-have-far-fewer-watchdogs-in-polling-places.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=first-column-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news&_r=0

8 Jonathan Stein, *Poll Monitors Aren't What Donald Trump Seems to Think They Are*, Huffington Post (Aug. 23, 2016, 4:43 PM, ET), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/poll-monitors-arent-trump-thinks_us_57bcae40e4b03d51368b46b6?mbk9hxo8x9z7x2yb9; Rick Hasen, *True the Vote Subtweets Trump over "Election Observer" Efforts*, Election Law Blog (Aug. 23, 2016, 12:24 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=85751>; Leslie Savan, *Voting Rights Is Not a Fringe Issue: The Mainstream media, especially on TV, have largely ignored the attempts to rig elections by making it much harder for certain people to vote*, Nation (Aug. 22, 2016), <https://www.thenation.com/article/voting-rights-is-not-a-fringe-issue/>; Maggie Haberman & Matt Flegenheimer, *Donald Trump, a 'Rigged' Election and the Politics of Race*, New York Times (Aug. 21, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/22/us/politics/donald-trump-a-rigged-election-and-the-politics-of-race.html?smid=tw-share&_r=0; Rick Hasen, *Trump Encourages His Supporters to Patrol Polling Places, Says He Will Lose Pa. Only If There Is Cheating*, Election Law Blog (Aug. 12, 2016, 4:57 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=85282>; Rick Hasen, *Donald Trump May Be Violating RNC Consent Decree Aimed at Voter Intimidation*, Election Law Blog (Aug. 12, 2016, 8:05 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=85289&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Kira Lerner, *Trump's Call for Election Monitors Could Mean Violence at the Polls*, Think Progress (Aug. 15, 2016), <https://thinkprogress.org/trump-violence-polls-c11e70242553#1y32t2z8i>; Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, *Civil and Human Rights Coalition Condemns Trump Campaign's Voter Intimidation Effort* (Aug. 16, 2016, 8:30 AM), <http://www.commondreams.org/newswire/2016/08/16/civil-and-human-rights-coalition-condemns-trump-campaigns-voter-intimidation>; Brennan Center, *Debunking the Voter Fraud Myth*, <https://www.brennancenter.org/analysis/debunking-voter-fraud-myth>; Andrew Cohen, *The Myth of Pervasive Voter Fraud*, Brennan Center For Justice (Sept. 20, 2016), <https://www.brennancenter.org/analysis/myth-pervasive-voter-fraud>; Editorial Board, *The Success of the Voter Fraud Myth*, N.Y. Times (Sept. 19, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/20/opinion/the-success-of-the-voter-fraud-myth.html?_r=0; Rick Hasen, *Trump Again Raises Voter Fraud, Tells Supporters to Go to the Polls, Raising Risk of Voter Intimidation*, Election Law Blog (Sept. 30, 2016, 3:53 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=87054>; Ben Rosen, *Why Trump wants his supporters to monitor the polls in 'certain areas'*, Christian Science Monitor (Oct. 2, 2016), <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Politics/s2016/1002/Why-Trump-wants-his-supporters-to-monitor-the-polls-in-certain-areas>; Alice Spier, *Voter Suppression is the Real Election Scandal*, The Intercept (Oct. 27, 2016, 12:46 PM), <https://theintercept.com/2016/10/27/voter-suppression-is-the-real-election-scandal/>; AJ Vicens, *Democrats Are Asking a Court to Stop Trump From Intimidating Voters*, Mother Jones (Oct. 31, 2016, 3:49 PM), <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/10/Ohio-democrats-sue-trump-campaign-roger-stone-alleged-voter-harassment>; Mark Berman & William Wan, *Democrats sue Trump, Republicans in four states and allege 'campaign of vigilante voter intimidation'*, Washington Post (Nov. 1, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2016/11/01/democrats-sue-trump-republicans-in-four-states-and-allege-campaign-of-vigilante-voter-intimidation/?postshare=811478036794889&tid=ss_tw&utm_term=.730c4d749186; Voter Intimidation Complaint Pursuant to the Voting Rights Act Of 1965 and the Ku Klux Klan Act Of 1871, *North Carolina Democratic Party v. North Carolina Republican Party*, No. 1:16-cv-01288 (M.D.N.C. Nov. 3, 2016), <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/nc-complaint.pdf>; Jennifer Jacquot-Devries, *Voter Fraud: The Research and Findings*, Project Vote (Feb. 24, 2017), <http://www.projectvote.org/blog/voter-fraud-research-findings/>; Sam Levine and Dana Liebelson, *The Texas AG Says Voter Fraud Is A Big Problem. His Cases Suggest*

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

- Otherwise. Huff Post, (Apr. 16, 2019) https://www.huffpost.com/entry/texas-attorney-general-ken-paxton-voter-fraud_n_5cb105cfe4b098b9a2d3d766
- 9 Christopher Ingraham, *7 papers, 4 government inquiries, 2 news investigations and 1 court ruling proving voter fraud is mostly a myth*, Washington Post (July 9, 2014), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2014/07/09/7-papers-4-government-inquiries-2-news-investigations-and-1-court-ruling-proving-voter-fraud-is-mostly-a-myth/>; *Open Letter from Election Protection Coalition to Donna Brazile, et al.* (Aug. 31, 2016), <http://www.866ourvote.org/documents/Election-Protection-Letter-to-Party-Leadership.pdf>; Peter Stone, *Trump's 'rigged' election rhetoric could inspire voter intimidation, says experts*, The Guardian (Sept. 6, 2016, 7:14 EDT), <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/06/donald-trump-rigged-election-voter-fraud-intimidation>; LaVita Tuff, *Congressman John Lewis calls for feds to be on-site to monitor polling stations for Election Day*, Blavity (Sept. 22, 2016), <http://preview.blavity.com/congressman-john-lewis-calls-feds-site-monitor-polling-stations-election-day>; Patrick G. Lee, *Trump Is Recruiting an Army of Poll Watchers. It's Even Worse Than It Sounds.*, Mother Jones (Sept. 14, 2016, 9:44 AM), http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/09/trump-poll-watchers-discrimination?utm_content=buffer1d5d0&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer; Sam Levine and Dana Liebelson, *The Texas AG Says Voter Fraud Is A Big Problem. His Cases Suggest Otherwise*. Huff Post, (Apr. 16, 2019), https://www.huffpost.com/entry/texas-attorney-general-ken-paxton-voter-fraud_n_5cb105cfe4b098b9a2d3d766
- 10 Rick Hasen, *Breaking: DNC Asks for RNC to Be Held in Contempt, Voter Intimidation Consent Decree Extended 8 More Years*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 26, 2016, 2:26 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=88127>; Memorandum In Support Of Order To Show Cause Why Defendant Republican National Committee Should Not Be Held In Civil Contempt And Why Preliminary Injunctive Relief Should Not Issue, *Democratic National Committee et al. v. Republican National Committee, et al.*, 2:81-cv-03876-DRD-MAS, (D.N.J. Oct. 26, 2016), <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/Memorandum-of-Law-in-Support-of-OTSC.pdf>; Lyle Denniston, *Quick action set on "poll watcher" case*, Lyle Denniston Law News (Oct. 27, 2016), <http://lyldenlawnews.com/2016/10/27/quick-action-set-poll-watcher-case/>
- 11 NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., *Statement from the Voting Rights Working Group on Counting Every Vote in the 2020 Election*, (Nov. 20, 2020), <https://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/statement-from-the-voting-rights-working-group-on-counting-every-vote-in-the-2020-election/>
- 12 Jordan Fabian, *Trump delays signing directive on voter fraud*, The Hill (Jan. 26, 2017, 6:20 PM), <http://thehill.com/homenews/administration/316410-trump-delays-signing-directive-on-voter-fraud>; Jerry Mitchell, *Voter fraud probe traced back to ex-MS welfare head*, Clarion-Ledger (Jan. 26, 2017, 8:30 AM), <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/news/2017/01/26/voter-fraud-probe-traced-back-to-ex-mississippi-welfare-head/97094430/>; Bob Bauer, *President Trump's Voter Fraud "Investigation"*, More Soft Money Hard Law (Jan. 26, 2017), <http://www.moresoftmoneyhardlaw.com/2017/01/president-trumps-voter-fraud-investigation/>; Ben Jacobs & Sam Levin, *Mike Pence: Trump administration planning 'full evaluation' of voter fraud*, Guardian (Jan. 26, 2017, 9:45 PM), <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jan/26/trump-administration-voter-fraud-investigation-mike-pence>; Michael Waldman, *Voting Fraud Inquiry? The Investigators Got Burned Last Time*, N.Y. Times (Jan. 26, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/26/opinion/voting-fraud-inquiry-the-investigators-got-burned-last-time.html?smid=tw-nytopinion&smtype=cur>; Jonathan Martin, *Dubious Vote-Fraud Claim Gets the Trump Seal of Approval*, N.Y. Times (Jan. 27, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/27/us/politics/donald-trump-voter-fraud.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=b-lede-package-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news>; Allison Graves, *Fact-check: Did 3 million undocumented immigrants vote in this year's election?*, PolitiFact (Nov. 18, 2016, 10:58 AM), <http://www.politifact.com/punditfact/statements/2016/nov/18/blog-posting/no-3-million-undocumented-immigrants-did-not-vote-/>; Charles Ventura, *Trump revives false claim that illegal ballots cost him popular vote*, USA Today (Jan. 24, 2017, 6:21 AM), <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/onpolitics/2017/01/23/president-trump-illegal-ballots-popular-vote-hillary-clinton/96976246/>; Abby Phillip & Mike DeBonis, *Without evidence, Trump tells lawmakers 3 million to 5 million illegal ballots cost him the popular vote*, Washington Post (Jan. 23, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2017/01/23/at-white-house-trump-tells-congressional-leaders-3-5-million-illegal-ballots-cost-him-the-popular-vote/?utm_term=.df8fa539d569; Phillip

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

Bump, *Donald Trump's indefensible claims of rampant voter fraud are now White House policy*, Washington Post (Jan. 24, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2017/01/24/donald-trumps-indefensible-claims-of-rampant-voter-fraud-are-now-white-house-policy/?utm_term=.f679a8477f75; Dan Merica et al., *Trump considers executive order on voter fraud*, CNN (Jan. 25, 2017, 6:57 PM), <http://www.cnn.com/2017/01/25/politics/trump-calls-for-major-investigation-into-voter-fraud/index.html>; Jonathan Martin, *Dubious Vote-Fraud Claim Gets the Trump Seal of Approval*, N.Y. Times (Jan. 27, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/27/us/politics/donald-trump-voter-fraud.html?ref=politics&r=0>; Jeff Zeleny & Elizabeth Landers, *Still no executive order on voter fraud, as Trump moves on*, CNN (Feb. 2, 2017, 1:17 PM), <http://www.cnn.com/2017/02/02/politics/trump-voter-fraud-executive-order/>; Jonathan Lemire, *Trump executive order on voter fraud quietly stalled*, Daily News-Miner (Feb. 4, 2017), http://www.newsminer.com/news/national/trump-executive-order-on-voter-fraud-quietly-stalled/article_1b1cf54b-fe98-55ee-9153-8ae4984c8b13.html; Patrik Jonsson, *As White House backs down on voter fraud, debate far from over*, Christian Science Monitor (Feb. 3, 2017), <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Politics/2017/0203/As-White-House-backs-down-on-voter-fraud-debate-far-from-over>; Callum Borchers, *Trump walks back false voter fraud claim in interview with Bill O'Reilly*, Washington Post (Feb. 5, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/02/05/trump-walks-back-false-voter-fraud-claim-in-interview-with-bill-oreilly/?utm_term=.5c8eae068317; Eric Bradner, *McConnell: No federal money should be spent on Trump's voter fraud investigation*, CNN (Feb. 5, 2017, 4:08 PM), <http://www.cnn.com/2017/02/05/politics/mitch-mcconnell-voter-fraud-states-trump/index.html>; Steve Holland, *Trump says Pence will lead voter fraud panel*, Reuters (Feb. 5, 2017, 4:53 PM), <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-voterfraud-idUSKBN15KOTS>; Alex Thompson, *Trump's voter fraud claims are absurd, another analysis shows*, Vice (Feb. 10, 2017), <https://news.vice.com/story/trumps-voter-fraud-claims-are-absurd-yet-another-analysis-shows>; Ari Berman, *The Trump Administration's Lies About Voter Fraud Will Lead to Massive Voter Suppression*, The Nation (Feb. 13, 2017), <https://www.thenation.com/article/the-trump-administrations-lies-about-voter-fraud-will-lead-to-massive-voter-suppression/>; Jamelle Bouie, *Making Voting White Again*, Slate (Feb. 14, 2017), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/politics/2017/02/the_trump_administration_is_pushing_the_voter_fraud_falsehood_still.html; Reid Wilson, *States find little evidence of voter fraud in months after elections*, The Hill (Mar. 6, 2017), <http://thehill.com/homenews/state-watch/322522-states-find-little-evidence-of-voter-fraud-in-months-after-election#.WL4isv33jYc.twitter>; Robert Farley, *Trump's Bogus Voter Fraud Claims Revisited*, Fact Check (Jan. 25, 2017), <http://www.factcheck.org/2017/01/trumps-bogus-voter-fraud-claims-revisited/>; Avalon Zoppo, *Chaffetz: House Oversight Committee Won't Investigate Trump's Voter Fraud Claims*, NBC (Mar. 7, 2017), http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/politics-news/chaffetz-house-oversight-committee-won-t-investigate-trump-s-voter-n730146?cid=sm_npd_nn_tw_ma; Sam Levine, *Just A Reminder That Trump Has Still Provided Zero Evidence Of Voter Fraud*, Huffington Post (Mar. 24, 2017), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-voter-fraud_us_58b97af8e4b05cf0f3ffc18; Editorial, *Trump's Fraudulent Voter-Fraud Commission*, N.Y. Times (May 15, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/15/opinion/trump-voter-fraud-commission.html?smid=tw-nytopinion&smtyp=cur&r=0>; Christopher Famighetti et al., *Noncitizen Voting: The Missing Millions*, Brennan Center (May 5, 2017), <https://www.brennancenter.org/publication/noncitizen-voting-missing-millions>; Liz Kennedy & Danielle Root, *Trump's Threat to Investigate American Voters Is a Danger to Democracy*, Center for American Progress (Jan. 27, 2017, 5:54 PM), <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/democracy/news/2017/01/27/297605/trumps-threat-to-investigate-american-voters-is-a-danger-to-democracy/>; Katie Leslie, *Some fear Trump's voter fraud investigation could lead to voter suppression*, Dallas News (Jan. 25, 2017), <http://www.dallasnews.com/news/politics/2017/01/25/fear-trumps-voter-fraud-investigation-lead-voter-suppression>; German Lopez, *It's official: Trump is taking his voter fraud myth to the White House — with real consequences*, Vox (Jan. 25, 2017, 5:09 PM), <http://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/1/25/14382632/trump-voter-fraud-myth-investigation>; Dan Barry, *In a Swirl of 'Untruths' and 'Falsehoods,' Calling a Lie a Lie*, N.Y. Times (Jan. 25, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/25/business/media/donald-trump-lie-media.html?ref=politics>; Kimberly Atkins, *Analysis: Donald Trump fraud search could become witch hunt*, Boston Herald (Jan. 26, 2017), http://www.bostonherald.com/news/us_politics/2017/01/analysis_donald_trump_fraud_search_could_become

13

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

_witch_hunt; Dale Ho, *Trump's Lies Pave the Way for an Assault on Voting Rights*, N.Y. Times (Jan. 26, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/26/opinion/trumps-lies-pave-the-way-for-an-assault-on-voting-rights.html?smid=tw-share&r=0>; David Saleh Rauf, *VOTER ID LAWSUITS LIVE ON DESPITE LIKELY TRUMP POLICY SHIFT*, Associated Press (Jan. 26, 2017, 7:19 AM), http://hosted.ap.org/dynamic/stories/U/US_VOTER_ID_LAWSUITS?SITE=AP&SECTION=HOME&TEMPLATE=DEFAULT&CTIME=2017-01-26-07-19-11; Nate Cohn, *Illegal Voting Claims, and Why They Don't Hold Up*, N.Y. Times (Jan. 26, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/26/upshot/illegal-voting-claims-and-why-they-dont-hold-up.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=b-lede-package-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news>; Rick Hasen, *Trump Continues Unsubstantiated Claims Over Voter Fraud (Audio)*, Bloomberg (Jan. 26, 2017, 3:42 PM), <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/audio/2017-01-26/trump-continues-unsubstantiated-claims-over-voter-fraud-audio>; Alice Speri, *TRUMP'S OBSESSION WITH FAUX VOTER FRAUD SETS THE STAGE FOR FEDERAL VOTER SUPPRESSION*, Intercept (Jan. 26, 2017, 1:18 PM), <https://theintercept.com/2017/01/26/trumps-obsession-with-faux-election-fraud-sets-the-stage-for-federal-voter-suppression/>; Brentin Mock, *Where Voter Fraud Still Exists*, CityLab (Jan. 26, 2017), http://www.citylab.com/politics/2017/01/where-voter-fraud-still-exists/514475/?utm_source=SFTwitter#disqus_thread; *Project Vote Condemns Trump's Dangerous Lies about "Illegal Voting"*, Project Vote (Jan. 24, 2017), <http://www.projectvote.org/press-releases/project-vote-condemns-trumps-dangerous-lies-illegal-voting/>; Becca Stanek, *Lindsey Graham is 'begging' Trump to stop spreading baseless claims of voter fraud*, The Week (Jan. 24, 2017), <http://theweek.com/speedreads/675443/lindsey-graham-begging-trump-stop-spreading-baseless-claims-voter-fraud>; Sam Levine, *Donald Trump Is Helping Republicans Make It Harder To Vote*, Huffington Post (Jan. 25, 2017, 10:50 AM), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/donald-trump-voter-fraud_us_5888ba95e4b0441a8f72040d; Christopher Ingraham, *Here are nine investigations on voter fraud that found virtually nothing*, Washington Post (Jan. 25, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2017/01/25/here-are-nine-investigations-on-voter-fraud-that-found-virtually-nothing/?tid=sm_tw&utm_term=.39bf0c6fa658; Sari Horwitz & Jenna Johnson, *Voting rights advocates fear Trump's unfounded fraud claims will lead to more restrictive laws*, Washington Post (Jan. 25, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/voting-rights-advocates-fear-trumps-unfounded-fraud-claims-will-lead-to-more-restrictive-laws/2017/01/25/fcadba36-e320-11e6-a547-5fb9411d332c_story.html?utm_term=.d331473a0cc2; Amber Phillips, *Republicans in Congress don't want anything to do with Trump's voter-fraud probe*, Washington Post (Jan. 27, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/01/27/why-republicans-in-congress-dont-really-want-anything-to-do-with-trumps-voter-fraud-investigation/?postshare=4361485520490795&tid=ss_tw&utm_term=.a59236ab778d; Jon Reid, *Democrats Accuse Trump of Laying Groundwork for Voter Suppression*, Morning Consult (Jan. 25, 2017), <https://morningconsult.com/2017/01/25/democrats-accuse-trump-laying-groundwork-voter-suppression/>; Josh Gerstein, *Civil rights leaders ask Sessions to scuttle Trump voter fraud probe*, Politico (Mar. 7, 2017), <http://www.politico.com/blogs/under-the-radar/2017/03/civil-rights-leaders-trump-voter-fraud-probe-235798>

¹⁴ Rick Hasen, *My Thoughts on President Trump's Executive Order Establishing "Voter Fraud" Commission*, Election Law Blog (May 11, 2017), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=92477#more-92477>; Rick Hasen, *Why Didn't Trump Announce All 15 (or 12?) Members of His "Voter Fraud" Commission? And Why Announce Now?*, Election Law Blog (May 11, 2017), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=92496>; Rick Hasen, *Pence-Kobach "Election Integrity" Commission to Meet First July 19*, Election Law Blog (June 28, 2017), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=93424>; Rick Hasen, *Washington Times Story Reveals Details About Kobach's Plan for "Election Integrity" Commission*, Election Law Blog (June 28, 2017), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=93412>; Alice Ollstein and Tierney Sneed, *Bogus 'Election Integrity' Commission Wants States To Turn Over All Voter Data*, TPM (June 29, 2017), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/dc/kobach-demands-voter-roll-data-secretaries-of-state>; Dave Boyer, *Voter fraud and suppression commission to meet in July*, Washington Times (June 27, 2017), <http://m.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/jun/27/voter-fraud-and-suppression-commission-to-meet-in-/>; Sam Levine, *White House Says Its Election Commission Will Examine Hacking. That's News To The Commissioners.*, Huffington Post (June 24, 2017), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/white-house-russia-hacking_us_594e7ba2e4b05c37bb76a963?section=us_politics; Elizabeth Landers, *Little movement on White*

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

House probe into voter fraud, CNN (June 22, 2017), <http://www.cnn.com/2017/06/22/politics/voter-fraud-commission-white-house-pence/index.html>; Sam Levine, *Some Of Trump's New Election Investigators Don't Seem To Have Much Election Experience*, Huffington Post (June 22, 2017), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-voter-fraud-commission_us_594c1068e4b01cdedf01e75e; Zachary Roth, *Trump kicks off voting panel with order to root out 'fraud'*, Daily Democracy (July 20, 2017), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/07/20/trump-kicks-off-voting-panel-with-order-to-root-out-fraud/>; Celeste Katz, *Donald Trump debuts new election integrity panel by hinting at big-league voter fraud*, Mic (July 19, 2017), <https://mic.com/articles/182522/donald-trump-debuts-new-election-integrity-panel-by-hinting-at-big-league-voter-fraud#.HQjHCVjLZ>; Chris Geidner, *Trump Election Commission: A White House Team Will Handle Voter Data*, BuzzFeed News (July 18, 2017), https://www.buzzfeed.com/chrisgeidner/trumps-election-commission-lays-out-a-plan-to-keep-state?utm_term=.wpWoBbVre#.rw2J0e3mV; Zachary Roth, *Kobach commission set to meet as resistance intensifies*, Daily Democracy (July 18, 2017), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/07/18/kobach-commission-set-to-meet-as-resistance-intensifies/>; Office of Gov't-Wide Policy, Meeting Notice, Presidential Comm'n on Election Integrity, Fed Reg. Doc. 2017-17968 (Aug. 18, 2017), <https://s3.amazonaws.com/public-inspection.federalregister.gov/2017-17968.pdf>; Rick Hasen, *"Democrats on Trump's voting commission iced out since first meeting"*, Election Law Blog (Aug. 23, 2017, 7:08 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=94394&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Kira Lerner, *Democrats on Trump's voting commission iced out since first meeting*, Think Progress (Aug. 22, 2017), <https://thinkprogress.org/democrats-voting-commission-ceec3ea98a33/>; https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/10/us/trump-voter-fraud-panel.html?_r=0; Charles Stewart III, *Trump's controversial election integrity commission is gone. Here's what comes next.*, Washington Post (Jan. 4, 2018), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/01/04/trumps-controversial-election-integrity-commission-is-gone-heres-what-comes-next/?utm_term=.80caf1f53adf

15 Editorial, *Trump's Fraudulent Voter-Fraud Commission*, N.Y. Times (May 15, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/15/opinion/trump-voter-fraud-commission.html?smid=tw-nytopinion&smtyp=cur&r=0>; Editorial, *Trump's commission on voter fraud is, well, fraudulent*, Washington Post (May 17, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-commission-on-voter-fraud-is-well-fraudulent/2017/05/17/e6ffc564-39ae-11e7-9e48-c4f199710b69_story.html?utm_term=.d8d3e31fc308; Amrit Cheng, *If You Care About the Right to Vote, Here Are Six Things You Need to Know About Kris Kobach*, ACLU (May 17, 2017), <https://www.aclu.org/blog/speak-freely/if-you-care-about-right-vote-here-are-six-things-you-need-know-about-kris-kobach>; Zachary Roth, *Trump voter fraud panel sparks furor — several members have troubling records*, Daily Democracy (May 11, 2017), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/05/11/trump-announces-voter-fraud-panel-and-several-members-have-troubling-records/>; Justin Levitt, *The Commission to Round Up the Usual Suspects*, Take Care (May 12, 2017), <https://takecareblog.com/blog/the-commission-to-round-up-the-usual-suspects>; Charles Stewart III, *Initial thoughts on the "Pence Commission"*, Election Updates (May 11, 2017), <http://electionupdates.caltech.edu/2017/05/11/initial-thoughts-on-the-pence-commission/>; Doug Chapin, *Questions About The New Presidential Election Integrity Commission*, Election Academy (May 12, 2017), <http://editions.lib.umn.edu/electionacademy/2017/05/12/questions-about-the-new-presidential-election-integrity-commission/>; Bob Bauer, *The Pence Commission: Of "Public Confidence" and Trojan Horses*, More Soft Money Hard Law (May 12, 2017), <http://www.moresoftmoneyhardlaw.com/2017/05/pence-commission-public-confidence-trojan-horses/>; Julie Hirschfeld Davis, *Trump Picks Voter ID Advocate for Election Fraud Panel*, N.Y. Times (May 11, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/11/us/politics/trump-voter-fraud.html?ref=politics&r=0>; Rick Hasen, *Why Didn't Trump Announce All 15 (or 12?) Members of His "Voter Fraud" Commission? And Why Announce Now?*, Election Law Blog (May 11, 2017), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=92496&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Tierney Sneed, *Voting Rights Advocates Ring The Alarm Over Trump's 'Sham' Elections Panel*, TPM (May 11, 2017), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/voting-rights-advocate-sound-the-alarm-on>; Matt Taylor, *Why You Should Worry About Trump's Voter Fraud Probe*, Vice (May 11, 2017), https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/why-you-should-worry-about-trumps-voter-fraud-probe; Katherine Faulders and Alexander Mallin, *President Trump launches commission on 'election integrity'*, ABC (May 11, 2017), <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/president-trump-expected-launch-commission-election-integrity/story?id=47337222>; John Hanna, *Kobach says he won't pre-judge voter fraud panel's findings*, Fox 28 (May 18, 2017), <http://www.myfoxspokane.com/kobach-says-he-wont-pre-judge-voter-fraud-panels-findings/>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

Joshua A. Douglas, *Donald Trump voter fraud commission ignores real problem*, USA Today (May 18, 2017), <https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/05/18/trump-voter-fraud-commission-gets-it-wrong-column/101713614/>; Keith Huffman, *Merrill says he will have say in Trump's voter fraud panel*, Anniston Star (May 19, 2017), https://www.annistonstar.com/news/merrill-says-he-will-have-say-in-trump-s-voter/article_bfe9450a-3c5f-11e7-976c-afa4f042ea4e.html; Ben Strauss, *'Kris Kobach Came After Me for an Honest Mistake'*, Politico (May 21, 2017), <http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/05/21/kris-kobach-voter-fraud-investigation-prosecution-215164>; Zachary Roth, *White House commission set to use flawed database to purge rolls*, Daily Democracy (June 29, 2017), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/06/29/kobach-commission-seeks-to-use-flawed-database-to-purge-rolls/>; Celeste Katz, *As White House election integrity panel begins work, civil rights watchdogs set up a hotline*, Mic (June 28, 2017), https://mic.com/articles/180997/as-white-house-election-integrity-panel-begins-work-civil-rights-watchdogs-set-up-a-hotline?utm_campaign=ckatz+twitter&utm_content=buffera6c9d&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com#9ScSJsTMj; Zachary Roth, *Trump kicks off voting panel with order to root out 'fraud'*, Daily Democracy (July 20, 2017), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/07/20/trump-kicks-off-voting-panel-with-order-to-root-out-fraud/>; Zachary Roth, *Email: Kobach began working to weaken voting protections day after election*, Daily Democracy (July 17, 2017), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/07/17/email-kobach-began-working-to-weaken-voting-protections-day-after-election/>; Rick Hasen, *Federal Court Affirms \$1000 Fine Against Kris Kobach for Misleading Court on Voting Documents Presented to Trump*, Election Law Blog (July 25, 2017), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=94041&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Memorandum and Order Denying Defendant's Motion for Review, *Fish v. Kobach*, No. 2:16-cv-02105-JAR-JPO (D. Kan. July 25, 2017), <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/374-Ord.-Denying-Def.s-Mot.-for-Review.pdf>

16 Rick Hasen, *President Trump Appoints Country's Worst Vote Suppressor to His "Election Integrity" Commission*, Election Law Blog (June 29, 2017), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=93444>; Zachary Roth, *It gets worse: Key champion of voting restrictions named to White House panel*, Daily Democracy (June 30, 2017), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/06/30/it-gets-worse-key-champion-of-voting-restrictions-named-to-white-house-panel/>; Leon Neyfakh, *The Dark Prince of Voter Fraud Alarmism is Joining the Trump Administration*, Slate (June 30, 2017), http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_slatest/2017/06/30/hans_von_spakovsky_the_dark_prince_of_voter_fraud_alarmism_is_joining_the.html; Chris Geidner, (@chriseidner), Twitter (July 10, 2017, 6:25 AM), <https://twitter.com/chrisgeidner/status/884550746037002241>; Pema Levy, *These Three Lawyers Are Quietly Purging Voter Rolls Across the Country*, Mother Jones (July 7, 2017), <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2017/07/these-three-lawyers-are-quietly-purging-voter-rolls-across-the-country/>; Celeste Katz, *Watchdogs say Trump's new voter fraud panel pick rounds out "four horsemen" of suppression*, Mic (July 11, 2017), https://mic.com/articles/181965/watchdogs-say-trumps-new-voter-fraud-panel-pick-rounds-out-four-horsemen-of-suppression?utm_campaign=ckatz+twitter&utm_content=bufferecae0&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com#0YOwkRbfU; Ari Berman, *Meet the Vote Suppressors and Conspiracy Theorists on Trump's 'Election Integrity' Commission*, Nation (July 11, 2017), <https://www.thenation.com/article/meet-the-liars-and-conspiracy-theorists-on-trumps-election-integrity-commission/>; Zachary Roth, *Trump kicks off voting panel with order to root out 'fraud'*, Daily Democracy (July 20, 2017), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/07/20/trump-kicks-off-voting-panel-with-order-to-root-out-fraud/>

17 Sam Levine, *White House Says Its Election Commission Will Examine Hacking. That's News To The Commissioners*, Huffington Post (June 24, 2017), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/white-house-russia-hacking_us_594e7ba2e4b05c37bb76a963?section=us_politics; Zachary Roth, *Who? White House names unknowns to voting panel*, Daily Democracy (June 22, 2017), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/06/22/who-white-house-names-unknowns-to-voting-panel/>; John Fritze, *Trump names Marylander with little elections experience to controversial elections panel*, Baltimore Sun (July 2, 2017), <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/politics/bs-md-trump-borunda-elections-20170628-story.html>; Zachary Roth, *Trump kicks off voting panel with order to root out 'fraud'*, Daily Democracy (July 20, 2017), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/07/20/trump-kicks-off-voting-panel-with-order-to-root-out-fraud/>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

- 18 Press Release, *LDF Files Freedom of Information Act Requests in Response to Voter Fraud Commission*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund (May 11, 2017), <http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/ldf-files-freedom-information-act-requests-response-voter-fraud-commission>; Press Release, *ACLU TAKES LEGAL ACTION OVER TRUMP ELECTION COMMISSION EXECUTIVE ORDER*, ACLU (May 11, 2017), <https://www.aclu.org/news/aclu-takes-legal-action-over-trump-election-commission-executive-order>; John Hanna, *Kobach says he won't pre-judge voter fraud panel's findings*, Fox 28 (May 18, 2017), <http://www.myfoxspokane.com/kobach-says-he-wont-pre-judge-voter-fraud-panels-findings/>; *Brennan Center and Protect Democracy File Suit to Make "Voter Fraud" Commission Records Public*, Brennan Center (Aug. 21, 2017), <http://www.brennancenter.org/press-release/brennan-center-and-protect-democracy-file-suit-make-voter-fraud-commission-records>; Complaint, *Brennan Center v. U.S. Dep't of Justice*, No. 1:17-cv-06335 (S.D.N.Y. Aug. 21, 2017), ECF No. 1, https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/legal-work/BCJ_et_al_v_DOJ_et_al.pdf
- 19 Complaint for Declaratory and Injunctive Relief, *Public Citizen v. U.S. Dep't of Army*, No. 1:17-cv-01355 (D. D. C. July 10, 2017), ECF No. 1, https://www.citizen.org/system/files/case_documents/complaint-public-citizen-army.pdf; Public Citizen (@Public_Citizen), Twitter (July 10, 2017, 1:37 PM), https://twitter.com/Public_Citizen/status/884511858555801601/photo/1; Press Release, *ACLU FILES FEDERAL LAWSUIT OVER TRUMP ELECTION COMMISSION SECRECY*, ACLU (July 10, 2017), <https://www.aclu.org/news/aclu-files-federal-lawsuit-over-trump-election-commission-secrecy>; Chris Geidner, *A Court Is Considering A Request To Halt The Trump Election Commission's Request For State Voter Lists*, BuzzFeed (July 7, 2017), https://www.buzzfeed.com/chrisgeidner/court-considers-request-to-halt-trump-election-commissions?utm_term=.jyV6VdrgZ#.fv9YpdvRD; Declaration of Kris W. Kobach, *EPIC v. Commission*, No. 1:17-cv-01320-CKK (D.D.C. July 5, 2017), ECF No. 8-1, <https://epic.org/privacy/litigation/voter/epic-v-commission/EPIC-v-Commission-TRO-declaration-of-Kris-Kobach.pdf>; Press Release, *ACLU OF NH CHALLENGES DISCLOSURE OF STATEWIDE VOTER INFORMATION*, ACLU of NH (July 6, 2017), <https://www.aclu-nh.org/en/news/aclu-nh-challenges-disclosure-statewide-voter-information>; Petition for Preliminary Injunction, Declaratory Judgment, and Final Injunctive Relief, *Lasky et al v. Gardner*, No. 226-2017-cv-00340 (N.H. Super. Ct. S.D. July 6, 2017), <https://files.acrobat.com/a/preview/4a7ac3f1-3874-415b-9be3-f3279deb7d5d>; Eliza Newlin Carney, *Is the Kobach Commission Violating the Law?*, American Prospect (July 7, 2017), <http://prospect.org/article/kobach-commission-violating-law>; Spencer S. Hsu, *Trump voter commission to store data on White House computers under Pence staff direction*, Washington Post (July 6, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/trump-voter-commission-discloses-names-of-members-plan-to-store-data-at-white-house/2017/07/06/74e454ae-625d-11e7-84a1-a26b75ad39fe_story.html?utm_term=.a636f6b43e6d; Press Release, *Common Cause Sues to Protect Voters Under Privacy Act*, Common Cause (July 14, 2017), <http://www.commoncause.org/press/press-releases/PenceKobachLawsuit.html?referrer=http://www.commoncause.org/press/press-releases/PenceKobachLawsuit.html>; Complaint for Injunctive and Declaratory Relief, *Common Cause v. Commission*, No. 1:17-cv-01398 (D.D.C. July 14, 2017), ECF No. 1, <http://www.commoncause.org/press/press-releases/common-cause-v-presidential.pdf>; Letter from Jon Sherman, Fair Elections Legal Network Senior Counsel, to the Office of Inspector General (July 10, 2017), <http://fairelectionsnetwork.com/wp-content/uploads/FELN-Complaint-to-EAC-Office-of-Inspector-General-Re-Commissioner-McCormicks-Service-on-PACEI.pdf>; Zachary Roth, *Kobach voting panel retreats — for now — amid opposition, lawsuits*, Daily Democracy (July 11, 2017), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/07/11/kobach-voting-panel-retreats-amid-lawsuits-opposition/>; Rick Hasen, *"Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law Files Hatch Act Complaint Against Kris Kobach"*, Election Law Blog (July 3, 2017), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=93527>; <https://lawyerscommittee.org/press-release/lawyers-committee-civil-rights-law-comments-election-integrity-commission/>; Josh Gerstein, *Judge denies injunction against Trump voter fraud panel*, Politico (July 18, 2017), <http://www.politico.com/story/2017/07/18/trump-voter-fraud-panel-court-ruling-240677>; Complaint, *LDF et al v. Trump et al*, No. 1:17-cv-05427 (S.D.N.Y. July 18, 2017), ECF No. 1, <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3896799-LDF-Complaint-071817.html>; Chris Geidner, *Trump Election Commission: A White House Team Will Handle Voter Data*, BuzzFeed (July 18, 2017), https://www.buzzfeed.com/chrisgeidner/trumps-election-commission-lays-out-a-plan-to-keep-state?utm_term=.wpWoBbVre#.rw2JOe3mV; Zachary Roth, *Kobach commission set to meet as resistance intensifies*, Daily Democracy (July 18, 2017), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/07/18/kobach-commission-set-to-meet-as-resistance-intensifies/>; Alex Swoyer, *Trump's voter commission says it doesn't need to make privacy impact*

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

assessment, Washington Times (July 17, 2017), <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/jul/17/election-integrity-commission-says-it-doesnt-need-/>; Hunter Woodall, *After legal victory, Kobach says states will be sent new letter for voter information*, Kansas City Star (July 25, 2017, 10:39 AM), <http://www.kansascity.com/news/politics-government/article163476738.html>; Spencer S. Hsu, *U.S. judge denies Common Cause effort to block Trump voter commission*, Washington Post (Aug. 1, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/us-judge-denies-common-cause-effort-to-block-trump-voter-commission/2017/08/01/57abf36c-76d3-11e7-9eac-d56bd5568db8_story.html?utm_term=.303f34104f5f; Press Release, *State Law Prevents Utah Officials from Sharing Voter Data, Civic Groups Say in New Lawsuit*, Brennan Center (July 26, 2017), <https://www.brennancenter.org/press-release/state-law-prevents-utah-officials-sharing-voter-data-civic-groups-say-new-lawsuit>; *League of Women Voters of Indiana, Indiana NAACP, et. al. v. Connie Lawson, et. al.*, Brennan Center (July 20, 2017), <https://www.brennancenter.org/legal-work/league-women-voters-indiana-indiana-naacp-et-al-v-connie-lawson-et-al>; *League of Women Voters of Texas, Texas NAACP, Ruthann Geer v. Rolando Pablos, et. al.*, Brennan Center (July 20, 2017), <https://www.brennancenter.org/legal-work/league-women-voters-texas-texas-naacp-ruthann-geer-v-rolando-pablos-et-al>; Complaint, *Brennan Center v. U.S. Dep't of Justice*, No. 1:17-cv-06335 (S.D.N.Y. Aug. 21, 2017), ECF No. 1, https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/legal-work/BCJ_et_al_v_DOJ_et_al.pdf; Opinion, *EPIC v. Presidential Election Commission*, No. 17-cv-01320 (D.C. Cir. Dec. 26, 2017), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=96599>; Charles Stewart III, *First Thoughts about the Pence Commission Voting List Request*, Election Updates (June 29, 2017), <https://electionupdates.caltech.edu/2017/06/29/first-thoughts-about-the-pence-commission-voting-list-request/>; Sam Levine, *States Refuse To Cooperate With Trump Voter Fraud Probe*, Huffington Post (June 30, 2017), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/california-trump-voter-fraud-probe_us_5955683be4b0da2c7322389c; Justin Wingerter, *Oklahoma election board won't turn over Social Security numbers to federal voter fraud panel*, News OK (June 30, 2017), <http://newsok.com/oklahoma-election-board-wont-turn-over-social-security-numbers-to-voter-fraud-panel/article/5554766>; Michael Jonas, *Galvin won't cooperate with Trump voter fraud panel*, Commonwealth (June 29, 2017), <https://commonwealthmagazine.org/politics/galvin-wont-cooperate-with-trump-voter-fraud-panel/>; Associated Press, *MN secretary of state distrusts and may rebuff White House request for voter data*, Twin Cities (June 29, 2017), <https://www.twincities.com.cdn.ampproject.org/c/www.twincities.com/2017/06/29/mn-secretary-of-state-distrusts-and-may-rebuff-white-house-request-for-voter-data/amp/>; Terry McAuliffe (@GovernorVA), Twitter (June 29, 2017, 3:46 PM), <https://twitter.com/GovernorVA/status/880558028138967040>; Erica Peterson, *Grimes To Trump: I Won't Send Kentucky Voter Data*, WFPL (June 29, 2017), <http://wfpl.org/grimes-to-trumps-federal-election-commission-i-wont-send-kentucky-voter-data/>; *Trump's "Voter Fraud" Commission*, Brennan Center, <https://www.brennancenter.org/issues/trump-fraud-commission>; Press Release, *Brennan Center to States: Examine Legal Obligations Before Providing Voters' Personal Information to White House*, Brennan Center (June 29, 2017), <http://www.brennancenter.org/press-release/brennan-center-states-examine-legal-obligations-providing-voters-personal-information>; Press Release, *Updated Statement on Federal Request for Wisconsin Voter Information*, Wisconsin Elections Commission (July 10, 2017), <http://elections.wi.gov/node/5135>; Tony Cook & Kaitlin L. Lange, *Lawson withholds info from Trump's voter fraud commission, even though she's a member*, IndyStar (June 30, 2017, 5:30 PM), <http://www.indystar.com/story/news/politics/2017/06/30/member-trumps-voter-fraud-commission-wont-provide-most-voter-info/442886001/>; Press Release, *Statement from Secretary Husted*, Jon Husted (June 30, 2017), <https://www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/mediaCenter/2017/2017-06-30-a.aspx>; Brian Lowry, *Kobach: Kansas won't give Social Security info to Kobach-led voter commission at this time*, Kansas City Star (June 30, 2017, 3:25 PM), <http://www.kansascity.com/news/politics-government/article159113369.html>; <http://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/politics-government/national-politics/article159104309.html>; Colin Woodard, *Trump election fraud panel asks Maine, other states for voter registration data*, Press Herald (July 3, 2017), <http://www.pressherald.com/2017/06/30/trump-election-fraud-panel-asks-maine-other-states-for-voter-registration-data/>; Julia Manchester, *More state officials refuse to turn over voter roll data*, Hill (June 30, 2017, 1:23 PM), <http://thehill.com/homenews/administration/340262-ny-governor-we-wont-comply-with-voter-fraud-myth>; CA SOS Vote (@CASOSvote), Twitter (June 29, 2017, 1:48 PM), <https://twitter.com/CASOSvote/status/880528507348033537>; David Becker, *Why Wednesday's 'Election Integrity' Actions Should Be Watched By States*, Route Fifty (June 29, 2017),

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

-
- <http://www.routefifty.com/management/2017/06/trump-election-integrity-commission-state-voter-data/139107/>; Press Release, *SECRETARY HOSEMANN'S STATEMENT ON REQUEST FOR VOTER ROLL INFORMATION*, Mississippi Secretary of State (June 30, 2017), <http://www.sos.ms.gov/About/Pages/Press-Release.aspx?pr=800>; Liz Stark & Grace Hauck, *Forty-four states and DC have refused to give certain voter information to Trump commission*, CNN (July 5, 2017, 5:49 AM), <http://www.cnn.com/2017/07/03/politics/kris-kobach-letter-voter-fraud-commission-information/index.html>; Hunter Woodall, *After legal victory, Kobach says states will be sent new letter for voter information*, Kansas City Star (July 25, 2017, 10:39 AM), <http://www.kansascity.com/news/politics-government/article163476738.html>; Charles Stewart III, *Trump's controversial election integrity commission is gone. Here's what comes next.*, Washington Post (Jan. 4, 2018), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/01/04/trumps-controversial-election-integrity-commission-is-gone-heres-what-comes-next/?utm_term=.80caf1f53adf
- 21 Zachary Roth, *White House voting panel makes second request for voter data*, Daily Democracy (July 27, 2017), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/07/27/white-house-voting-panel-makes-second-request-for-voter-data/>
- 22 Blair Miller, *Hundreds withdraw Colorado voter registrations in response to compliance with commission request*, Denver Channel (July 7, 2017, 10:41 PM), <http://www.thedenverchannel.com/news/politics/hundreds-withdraw-colorado-voter-registrations-in-response-to-compliance-with-commission-request>; Gray Rohrer, *Worried voters try to 'unregister' after Trump voter-roll request*, Orlando Sentinel (July 7, 2017, 5:05 PM), <http://www.orlandosentinel.com/news/politics/political-pulse/os-florida-voter-rolls-data-20170707-story.html>; Zachary Roth, *Kobach's data request is leading some voters to de-register themselves*, Daily Democracy (July 13, 2017), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/07/13/kobachs-data-request-is-leading-some-voters-to-de-register-themselves/>; Sam Levine, *As Trump's Panel Seeks Personal Data, These Longtime Voters Cancel Their Registrations*, Huffington Post (Aug. 16, 2017, 4:46 PM), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/colorado-voters-deregister_us_59947ed1e4b0d0d2cc83973f?k2&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=_Politics_081617&utm_content=_Politics_081617+Version+A+CID_0bd86482a947b551f3deca314da64ce6&utm_source=Email%20marketing%20software&utm_term=READ%20MORE&ncid=newsltushpmsgnews_Politics_081617; https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/10/us/trump-voter-fraud-panel.html?_r=0
- 23 Press Release, *Civic Groups Sue Indiana Secretary of State, Say Release of Personal Voter Data Is Illegal Under State Law*, Brennan Center (July 11, 2017), <http://www.brennancenter.org/press-release/civic-groups-sue-indiana-secretary-state-say-release-personal-voter-data-illegal-under>
- 24 Sam Levine, *Trump Administration To Fight Order To Give Documents To Democratic Voter Fraud Commissioner*, Huffington Post (Jan. 6, 2018, 10:43 AM), https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-voter-fraud-commission_us_5a50e8bde4b01e1a4b156fd4?p3f; Josh Gerstein, *Court: Trump voter fraud commission must give Democrat member more access*, Politico (Dec. 22, 2017, 8:47 PM), <https://www.politico.com/story/2017/12/22/trump-voter-fraud-committee-democrat-access-318433>; Zachary Roth, *Judge: Voting panel must give Dem more access*, Daily Democracy (Dec. 28, 2017, 5:34 PM), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/12/28/judge-voting-panel-must-give-dem-more-access/>
- 25 Jessica Huseman, *Election Commission Documents Cast Doubt on Trump's Claims of Voter Fraud*, ProPublica (Aug. 3, 2018, 6:23 PM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/election-commission-documents-cast-doubt-on-trumps-claims-of-voter-fraud>; Dunlap, Matthew, Main Secretary of State. "Dunlap PACEI Doc." Received by Honorable Michael R. Pence & Honorable Kris Kobach, 3 Aug. 2018. <http://paceidocs.sosonline.org/PDF/Dunlap%20PACEI%20Docs%20Findings%20letter%20-%20FINAL.080318.pdf>
- 26 Zachary Roth, *Ben Ginsberg co-chaired the last presidential voting panel. But he won't comment on Trump's*, Daily Democracy (May 26, 2017, 2:16 PM), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/05/26/ben-ginsberg-co-chaired-the-last-presidential-voting-panel-but-he-wont-comment-on-trumps/>; Sam Levine, *Democrats Launch New Effort To Fight Back Against Trump's Bogus Claims Of Voter Fraud*, Huffington Post (May 25, 2017, 1:49 PM), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/democrats-voter-fraud_us_59270b5ae4b061d8f8201913; *Responses to the "Voter Fraud" Commission's Voter File Data Request*, Brennan Center (July 12, 2017, 9:49 AM), <https://www.brennancenter.org/latest-updates-fraud-commission>; Zachary Roth, *Kobach's voting crackdown begins*, Daily Democracy (June 30, 2017, 4:48 PM), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/06/30/kobachs-voting-crackdown-begins/>
- 27 Press Release, *Booker, Hirono, Tri-Caucus Chairs Introduce Bicameral Bill to Repeal Trump Voter Suppression Executive Order*, Cory Booker (July 12, 2017), https://www.booker.senate.gov/?p=press_release&id=625; Press

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

Release, *LDf Welcomes Senate Bill to Shut Down President's Election Integrity Commission*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund (July 12, 2017), <http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/ldf-welcomes-senate-bill-shut-down-president%E2%80%99s-election-integrity-commission>

28 Press Release, *Statement by the Press Secretary on the Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity*, White House (Jan. 3, 2018), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-press-secretary-presidential-advisory-commission-election-integrity/>; Matt Dunlap, *I was on Trump's voter fraud commission. Its demise was inevitable.*, Washington Post (Jan. 7, 2018), https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/i-was-on-trumps-voter-fraud-commission-its-demise-was-inevitable/2018/01/07/b5c1bec8-f261-11e7-97bf-bba379b809ab_story.html?utm_term=.af4f0cec288a; Rick Hasen, *BREAKING: President Trump Waves White Flag, Dissolves The Pence-Kobach Voter "Fraud" Commission*, in *Great News for Voting Rights*, Election Law Blog (Jan. 3, 2018), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=96690&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29

29 Dustin Volz et al., *DHS election unit has no plans for probing voter fraud: sources*, Reuters (Jan. 5, 2018, 3:28 PM), https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-dhs/dhs-election-unit-has-no-plans-for-probing-voter-fraud-sources-idUSKBN1EU1YF?feedType=RSS&feedName=politicsNews&utm_source=Twitter&utm_medium=Social; Rick Hasen, *DHS Says Kobach Won't Be Advising on Voter Integrity Issues; Kobach Says Otherwise*, Election Law Blog (Jan. 4, 2018, 2:22 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=96749&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Michael Tackett et al., *Trump Disbands Commission on Voter Fraud*, N.Y. Times (Jan. 3, 2018), <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/03/us/politics/trump-voter-fraud-commission.html>; Philip Bump, *Trump's explanation for shutting down his voter fraud commission is just as untrue and partisan*, Washington Post (Jan. 4, 2018), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2018/01/04/trumps-explanation-for-shutting-down-his-voter-fraud-commission-is-just-as-untrue-and-partisan/?utm_term=.960c509b9041; Charles Stewart III, *Trump's controversial election integrity commission is gone. Here's what comes next.*, Washington Post (Jan. 4, 2018), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/01/04/trumps-controversial-election-integrity-commission-is-gone-heres-what-comes-next/?utm_term=.80caf1f53adf; Franco Ordoñez et al., *Contrary to his claims, Kobach not part of new voter fraud investigation, DHS says*, Kansas City Star (Jan. 8, 2018, 7:03 PM), <http://www.kansascity.com/news/politics-government/article193647529.html>

30 Spencer S. Hsu, *White House says it will destroy Trump voter panel data, send no records to DHS*, Washington Post (Jan. 10, 2018), https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/white-house-says-it-will-destroy-trump-voter-panel-data-send-no-records-to-dhs/2018/01/10/e70704a8-f616-11e7-b34a-b85626af34ef_story.html?utm_term=.da2d494f9943; Sam Levine, *White House Official Says Voter Fraud Panel Found Nothing, Will Delete Voter Data*, Huffington Post (Jan. 9, 2018, 11:22 PM), https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/white-house-voter-fraud-data_us_5a559104e4b03417e87337da

31 Miles Parks, *FACT CHECK: Trump Repeats Voter Fraud Claim About California*, NPR (Apr. 5, 2018), <https://www.npr.org/2018/04/05/599868312/fact-check-trump-repeats-voter-fraud-claim-about-california>

32 Tierney Sneed, *Lawsuit Filed Against Ex-Voter Fraud Commissioner For 'Reckless' Claims*, TPM (Apr. 12, 2018), <https://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/lawsuit-j-christian-adams>; <https://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/ex-trump-voter-fraud-commissioner-defends-misleading-reports-in-court>

33 *Common Potentially Discriminatory Voting Changes*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund (Feb. 6, 2014), <http://www.naacpldf.org/document/common-potentially-discriminatory-voting-changes>; Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, *Lawyers' Committee Expresses Disappointment with U.S. Department of Justice Decision to Terminate Critical Federal Observer Program* (July 18, 2016), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/press-release/lawyers-committee-expresses-disappointment-u-s-department-justice-decision-terminate-critical-federal-observer-program/>; U.S. DOJ, *Attorney General Loretta E. Lynch Delivers Remarks at the League of United Latin American Citizens National Convention* (July 16, 2016), <https://www.justice.gov/opa/speech/attorney-general-loretta-e-lynch-delivers-remarks-league-united-latin-american-citizens>

34 *Prepared to Vote*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, <http://www.naacpldf.org/case-issue/prepared-vote> (last updated May 10, 2016)

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

-
- 35 Tierney Sneed, *Trump's DOJ Has Not Filed A Single New Voting Rights Act Case*, Talking Points Memo, (Mar. 5, 2020),
36 <https://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/trumps-doj-has-not-filed-a-single-new-voting-rights-act-case>
Justin Levitt, *Section 5 as Simulacrum*, 123 Yale L.J. 151 (2013), <http://www.yalelawjournal.org/forum/section-5-as-simulacrum>
- 37 Rob Arthur and Allison McCann, *How the Gutting of the voting Rights act led to Hundreds of Closed Polls*, Vice News
(Oct. 16, 2018) https://news.vice.com/en_us/article/kz58qx/how-the-gutting-of-the-voting-rights-act-led-to-closed-polls
- 38 Cameron Joseph and Rob Arthur, *The US Eliminated Nearly 21,000 Election Day Polling Locations for 2020*, (Oct.
22, 2020), <https://www.vice.com/en/article/pkdenm/the-us-eliminated-nearly-21000-election-day-polling-locations-for-2020>
- 39 Adrian D. Pantoja, *Latino Voters Continue To Face Barriers At Polling Places*, Huffington Post (Oct. 25, 2016, 11:15
AM), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/latino-decisions/latino-voters-continue-to_b_12638110.html; Matt A.
Barreto et al., *Are All Precincts Created Equal?*, Political Research Quarterly (Sept. 22, 2008),
http://www.mattbarreto.com/papers/precinct_quality.pdf
- 40 LDF Statement, *Congress's Swift, Bipartisan Effort Responds to Supreme Court's Shelby County vs. Holder Decision*,
NAACP Legal Defense Fund (Jan. 16, 2014), <http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/congress%E2%80%99s-swift-bipartisan-effort-responds-supreme-court%E2%80%99s-shelby-vs-holder-decision>
- 41 Jim Sensenbrenner, *Suppress Votes? I'd Rather Lose My Job*, N.Y. Times (Mar. 31, 2016),
<http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/31/opinion/suppress-votes-id-rather-lose-my-job.html?r=0>
- 42 *All Bill Information (Except Text) for H.R. 885 – Voting Rights Amendment Act of 2015*, U.S. Congress (updated Mar.
16, 2016), <https://www.congress.gov/bill/114th-congress/house-bill/885/all-info#all-actions>; Letter from The
Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights to Chairman Goodlatte (July 26, 2016),
<http://www.civilrights.org/advocacy/letters/2016/letter-to-chairman-goodlatte-vra.html>
- 43 *H.R. 2867 – Voting Rights Advancement Act of 2015*, U.S. Congress (updated July 9, 2016),
<https://www.congress.gov/bill/114th-congress/house-bill/2867>; Letter from The Leadership Conference on
Civil and Human Rights to Chairman Grassley (July 26, 2016),
<http://www.civilrights.org/advocacy/letters/2016/letter-to-chairman-grassley-vra.html>
- 44 *LDF Statement in Support of Voting Rights Advancement Act*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund (June 24, 2015),
<http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/ldf-statement-support-voting-rights-advancement-act>
- 45 Katanga Johnson, *House Democrats Seek Voting Rights Act Improvements*, U.S. News (June 22, 2017, 5:34 PM),
<https://www.usnews.com/news/national-news/articles/2017-06-22/house-democrats-move-to-restore-key-provisions-of-the-voting-rights-act>; Vanita Gupta, *It's Time to Revive the Heart of the Voting Rights Act*, Root (June
21, 2017, 2:50 PM), <https://www.theroot.com/it-s-time-to-revive-the-heart-of-the-voting-rights-act-1796298671>; Leah Aden, *It's time to restore full power to the Voting Rights Act*, Hill (June 25, 2017, 3:40 PM),
<http://thehill.com/blogs/pundits-blog/civil-rights/339404-its-time-to-restore-full-power-to-the-voting-rights-act>; Press Release, *Civil and Human Rights Coalition Welcomes Reintroduction of Voting Rights Advancement Act*,
Leadership Conference (June 22, 2017), <http://civilrights.org/civil-human-rights-coalition-welcomes-reintroduction-voting-rights-advancement-act/>
- 46 Press Release, *Reps. Sensenbrenner and Conyers Reintroduce Bipartisan Voting Rights Amendment Act of 2017*, Jim
Sensenbrenner (July 13, 2017), <https://sensenbrenner.house.gov/press-releases-statements?ID=2BA9CA56-689B-47CD-B43C-FEB8EE1864E9>
- 47 Mike DeBonis, *House Democrats to unveil political reform legislation as 'H.R. 1'*,
https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2018/11/30/house-democrats-unveil-political-reform-legislation-hr/?utm_term=.fc2673c3fbe4, Washington Post, (Nov. 30, 2018); Mike Lillis, *Dems vow quick action
bolster voting rights upon taking power*, <https://thehill.com/homenews/house/419187-dems-vow-quick-action-to-bolster-voting-rights-upon-taking-power>, The Hill, (Nov. 30, 2018); William Douglas & Emma
Dumain, *House Democrats seek voting rights fixes. Senate GOP says it's already dead*,
<https://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/politics-government/congress/article222729680.html>, McClatchy DC
Bureau, (Dec. 06, 2018, 5:31 PM)
- 48 P.R. Lockhart, *How Shelby County v. Holder upended voting rights in America*, Vox (Jun. 25, 2019),
<https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2019/6/25/18701277/shelby-county-v-holder-anniversary-voting-rights-suppression-congress>; Ella Nilsen, *The House has passed a bill to restore key parts of the Voting Rights Act*,
Vox, (Dec. 6, 2019), <https://www.vox.com/2019/12/6/20998953/house-bill-voting-rights-advancement-act>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

49 Website to identify Federal House Representatives, U.S. House of Representatives,
http://www.house.gov/representatives/find/ (last visited June 6, 2016)

50 Jenny Jarvie, *Voting has gotten tougher in 17 states, and it could alter elections*, L.A. Times (June 8, 2016),
http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-north-carolina-voting-20160505-story.html; Brentin Mock, *More
Research Shows Voter ID Laws Hurt Minorities*, The Atlantic/Citilab (Feb. 5, 2016),
http://www.citylab.com/politics/2016/02/research-more-conclusive-that-voter-id-laws-hurt-blacks-and-
latinos/459819/; Nate Silver, *Measuring the Effects of Voter Identifications Laws*, N.Y. Times (July 15, 2012),
http://fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/07/15/measuring-the-effects-of-voter-identification-
laws/?_r=1; Ashley Lopez, *Study Backs Up What Advocates Predicted: Strict Voter ID Laws Reduce Minority Turnout*,
KUT (Feb. 9, 2016), http://kut.org/post/study-backs-what-advocates-predicted-strict-voter-id-laws-reduce-
minority-turnout; Zoltan Hajnal et al., *Voter Identification Laws and the Suppression of Minority Votes*,
http://pages.ucsd.edu/~zhajnal/page5/documents/VoterIDLawsSuppressionofMinorityVoters.pdf; Rick Hasen,
VoteRiders v. Vox: "Get real: The underestimated impact of voter ID laws", Election Law Blog (Nov. 2, 2016, 5:50
PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=88563; Zoltan L. Hajnal et al., *Do voter identification laws suppress minority
voting? Yes. We did the research.*, Washington Post (Feb. 15, 2017),
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/02/15/do-voter-identification-laws-
suppress-minority-voting-yes-we-did-the-research/?utm_term=.c7108b27f759

51 Ala. Code § 17-9-30(e) (2011)

52 Spencer Woodman, *Alabama's New Fight for Voting Rights*, Vice (Mar. 9, 2016), http://www.vice.com/read/51-
years-after-selma-new-fight-for-voting-rights-in-alabama

53 LDF Statement, *LDF Files Lawsuit to Challenge Alabama's Racially Discriminatory Photo ID Law*, NAACP Legal
Defense Fund (Dec. 2, 2015), http://www.naacpldf.org/update/ldf-files-lawsuit-challenge-
alabama%E2%80%99s-racially-discriminatory-photo-id-law; Spencer Woodman, *Alabama's New Fight for Voting
Rights*, Vice (Mar. 9, 2016), http://www.vice.com/read/51-years-after-selma-new-fight-for-voting-rights-in-
alabama; *The fire next time*, The Economist (May 28, 2016), http://www.economist.com/news/united-
states/21699451-todays-voting-rights-disputes-are-less-clear-cut-those-civil-rights-era; Brennan Center, *Major
Litigation That Could Impact Voting Access*, https://www.brennancenter.org/major-litigation-could-impact-
voting-access

54 *Judge says Alabama voter ID lawsuit to go to trial in 2017*, Times Daily (July 22, 2016),
http://www.timesdaily.com/news/state/judge-says-alabama-voter-id-lawsuit-to-go-to-trial/article_5d44b869-
1457-54a8-9494-09aaa2793883.html; Mary Orndorff Troyan, *Voter ID rulings could impact Alabama*,
Montgomery Advertiser (Aug. 3, 2016, 5:08 PM),
http://www.montgomeryadvertiser.com/story/news/local/alabama/2016/08/03/voter-id-rulings-could-
impact-alabama/88006740/; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits
Challenging Them*, ProPublica (Sept. 23, 2016, 1:52 PM), https://www.propublica.org/article/2016-election-
lawsuit-tracker-new-election-laws-suits-challenging-them; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New
Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, Ledger Independent (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-
online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-
suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html; Zachary Roth, *Judge green-lights challenge to
Alabama voter ID law*, Daily Democracy (Apr. 7, 2017, 7:26 PM),
https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/04/07/judge-green-lights-challenge-to-alabama-voter-id-law/; Brennan
Weiss, *Experts warn the gutting of the Voting Rights Act could help decide the highly anticipated Virginia governor's
race*, Business Insider (Nov. 7, 2017), http://www.businessinsider.com/virginia-alabama-elections-voter-id-
voting-rights-act-2017-10; Press Release, *LDF Files Response to Alabama's Motion for Summary Judgment in
Alabama Photo Voter ID Law Case*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund (Nov. 6, 2017), http://www.naacpldf.org/press-
release/ldf-files-response-alabama-s-motion-summary-judgment-alabama-photo-voter-id-law-case

55 Rick Hasen *NAACP Legal Defense Fund Calls on State of Alabama to Stop Using Discriminatory Voucher Test*, Election
Law Blog (May 29, 2014, 1:59 PM),
http://electionlawblog.org/?p=61868&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign; Zachary
Roth, *93-year-old black man disenfranchised by Alabama voter ID law*, MSNBC (June 3, 2014, 6:13 PM),
http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/voter-id-law-disenfranchises-93-year-old-black-man; Martin J. Reed, *Alabama's
voter ID law blamed for at least 282 ballots uncounted in primary*, AL.com (Sept. 3, 2014),
http://www.al.com/news/birmingham/index.ssf/2014/09/alabamas_voter_id_law_blamed_f.html



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

-
- 56 Press Release, *LDF Statement on Court's Dismissal of Alabama Voter ID Lawsuit*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund (Jan. 10, 2018), <http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/ldf-statement-courts-dismissal-alabama-voter-id-lawsuit>
- 57 Press Release, *LDF Files Notice of Appeal in Alabama Photo ID Case*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund (Jan. 10, 2018), <http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/ldf-files-notice-appeal-alabama-photo-id-case>; Maggie Astor, *Seven Ways Alabama Has Made It Harder to Vote*, The New York Times (June 23, 2018) <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/23/us/politics/voting-rights-alabama.html>; Miles Rapoport & Cecily Hines, *The Good News from the Voting Wars*, The American Prospect Longform (Oct. 3, 2018) <http://prospect.org/article/good-news-voting-wars>
- 58 Associated Press, *NAACP Seeks Rehearing in Alabama Voter ID Lawsuit*, U.S. News (Aug. 11, 2020), <https://www.usnews.com/news/politics/articles/2020-08-11/naacp-seeks-rehearing-in-alabama-voter-id-lawsuit>
- 59 Mike Cason, *New Alabama law requires photo ID with absentee ballot application*, Alabama (Aug. 6, 2019), <https://www.al.com/news/2019/08/new-alabama-law-requires-photo-id-with-absentee-ballot-application.html>
- 60 Samantha Lachman, *Alabama Driver's License Office Closures Raise Concerns For Aspiring Voters (Update)*, Huffington Post (Aug. 26, 2015, 2:55 PM), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/alabama-voter-id_us_55ddcda1e4b04ae497052873; Kyle Whitmire, *Voter ID and driver's license office closures black-out Alabama's Black Belt*, AL.com (Sept. 30, 2015), http://www.al.com/opinion/index.ssf/2015/09/voter_id_and_drivers_license_o.html; Howard Koplowitz, *Sewell on Alabama driver's license offices closing: "It doesn't pass the smell test"*, AL.com (Oct. 5, 2015, 10:06 AM), http://www.al.com/news/index.ssf/2015/10/sewell_on_alabama_drivers_lice.html; Ben Mathis-Lilley, *Alabama, Where ID Is Required to Vote, Closes DMVs in Most "Black Belt" Counties*, Slate (Oct. 1, 2015, 12:12 PM), http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_slatest/2015/10/01/alabama_closes_dmvs_in_majority_of_black_belt_countie_s_passed_voter_id_law.html; Tierney Sneed, *NAACP-LDF: Alabama May Have Violated Voting Law With DMV Closures*, Talking Points Memo (Oct. 5, 2015, 11:42 AM), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/livewire/naacp-ldf-alabama-dmv>; Vanessa Williams, *Democrats say Alabama's closure of driver's license offices could make it harder for black residents to vote*, Washington Post (Oct. 2, 2015), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2015/10/02/democrats-say-alabamas-closure-of-drivers-license-offices-could-make-it-harder-for-black-residents-to-vote/>; Ari Berman, *Alabama, Birthplace of the Voting Rights Act, Is Once Again Gutting Voting Rights*, The Nation (Oct. 1, 2015), <http://www.thenation.com/article/alabama-birthplace-of-voting-rights-act-once-again-gutting-voting-rights/>; Associated Press, *Sewell Asks DOJ to investigate driver's license closures*, The Washington Times (Oct. 2, 2015), <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/oct/2/sewell-asks-doj-to-investigate-drivers-license-clo/>; Zachary Roth, *Alabama DMV closings draw call for federal voting rights problem*, MSNBC Elections (Oct 5, 2015, 4:21 PM), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/alabama-dmv-closings-draw-call-federal-voting-rights-probe>; Tierney Sneed, *Hoyer: Alabama DMV Closures Prove That Voting Rights Act Must Be Restored*, Talking Points Memo (Oct. 6, 2015, 10:54 AM), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/hoyer-alabama-dmv-voting>; Adam Gitlin & Christopher Famighetti, *Closing Driver's License Offices in Alabama*, Brennan Center For Justice at N.Y.U. School of Law (Oct. 7, 2015), <http://www.brennancenter.org/blog/closing-drivers-license-offices-alabama>; Editorial Board, *Alabama Puts Up More Hurdles for Voters*, N.Y. Times (Oct. 8, 2015), <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/08/opinion/alabama-puts-up-more-hurdles-for-voters.html?partner=rssnyt&emc=rss&r=0>; Deuel Ross, *Alabama's Shame: Driver's License Office Closings are the Foreseeable Consequence of Shelby County*, American Constitution Society for Law and Policy (Oct. 9, 2015), <https://www.acslaw.org/acsblog/alabama%E2%80%99s-shame-driver%E2%80%99s-license-office-closings-are-the-foreseeable-consequence-of-shelby>; Campbell Robertson, *For Alabama's Poor, the Budget Cuts Trickle Down, Limiting Access to Driver's Licenses*, N.Y. Times (Oct. 9, 2015), <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/10/us/alabama-budget-cuts-raise-concern-over-voting-rights.html?ref=politics>; Tierney Sneed, *Alabama Gov Dismisses Outcry Over DMV Closures: "It's Race Politics At Its Worst,"* Talking Points Memo (Oct. 15, 2015), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/livewire/bentley-alabama-dmv-race-politics-voting>; Tierney Sneed, *Alabama Luv Gov's Impeachment Probe Reveals Political Motivation Behind DMV Closures*, TPM (Apr. 11, 2017, 6:00 AM), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/news/alabama-luv-guvs-impeachment-probe-reveals-political-motivation-behind-dmv-closures>; Maggie Astor, *Seven Ways Alabama Has*

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

Made It Harder to Vote, The New York Times (June 23, 2018) <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/23/us/politics/voting-rights-alabama.html>

61 Vanessa Williams, *Amid voting rights criticism, Alabama partially backs off controversial plan to close driver license offices*, Washington Post (Oct. 17, 2015), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2015/10/17/amid-voting-rights-criticim-alabama-partially-backs-off-controversial-plan-to-close-driver-license-offices/>; Maggie Astor, *Seven Ways Alabama Has Made It Harder to Vote*, The New York Times (June 23, 2018) <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/23/us/politics/voting-rights-alabama.html>

62 Rene Marsh, *DOT launches investigation in Alabama over DMV closures*, CNN Politics (Dec. 9, 2015, 3:49 PM), <http://www.cnn.com/2015/12/09/politics/alabama-dmv-closures-voting-rights/>; Brentin Mock, *The Department of Transportation Is Now Investigating Alabama's DMV Closings*, The Atlantic/Citilab (Dec. 9, 2015), <http://www.citylab.com/commute/2015/12/the-department-of-transportation-is-now-investigating-alabamas-dmv-closings/419709/>; Spencer Woodman, *Alabama's New Fight for Voting Rights*, Vice (Mar. 9, 2016), <http://www.vice.com/read/51-years-after-selma-new-fight-for-voting-rights-in-alabama>; Kira Lerner, *Arizona's Primary Voting Was Such A Mess That DOJ Is Opening An Investigation*, Think Progress (Apr. 5, 2016), <http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2016/04/05/3766508/doj-investigation-maricopa/>

63 Memorandum of Agreement Between the U.S. Department of Transportation and the Alabama Law Enforcement Agency (Dec. 22, 2016), https://www.transportation.gov/sites/dot.gov/files/docs/ALEA%20US%20DOT%20Signed%20MOA_0.PDF; U.S. Department of Transportation Takes Action to Ensure Equitable Driver License Office Access for Alabama Residents, <https://www.transportation.gov/briefing-room/us-department-transportation-reaches-agreement-alabama-law-enforcement-agency-ensure>; *Ala.'s Black Belt Hit Hard by Voter-Suppression Measures*, The Root (Jan. 8, 2017), <http://www.theroot.com/ala-s-black-belt-hit-hard-by-voter-suppression-measure-1791134259>

64 Erik Eckholm, *After Ruling, Alabama Joins 2 States in Moving to Alter Voting Rules*, N.Y. Times (Mar. 21, 2014), <http://mobile.nytimes.com/2014/03/22/us/after-ruling-alabama-joins-2-states-in-moving-to-alter-voting-rules.html?referrer=>; Rick Hasen, *North Carolina Seeks Supreme Court Review in Voting Case*, Election Law Blog (Dec. 30, 2014, 5:13 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=69429>; Brendan Kirby, *One of last vestiges of gutted immigration law, Alabama pushes voters for citizenship proof*, AL.com (Dec. 23, 2014, 4:57 PM), http://www.al.com/news/index.ssf/2014/12/one_of_last_vestiges_of_gutted.html; John Eligon, *A.C.L.U. Challenges Kansas Voter Law Requiring Proof of Citizenship*, N.Y. Times (Feb. 18, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/19/us/aclu-challenges-kansas-voter-law-requiring-proof-of-citizenship.html?smid=tw-share&r=2>; Maggie Astor, *Seven Ways Alabama Has Made It Harder to Vote*, The New York Times (June 23, 2018) <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/23/us/politics/voting-rights-alabama.html>

65 Pam Fessler, *Change At Federal Election Agency Muddles Kansas Voter Registration Laws*, NPR (Feb. 2, 2016), <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/02/02/465353108/as-voting-begins-several-states-voter-id-laws-remain-in-flux>; *Arizona on Sidelines of New Voter Registration/Proof of Citizenship Battle... Which It Started; Could Jump Back Into Fray*, Arizona's Politics (Feb. 2, 2016), <http://arizonaspolitics.blogspot.com/2016/02/arizona-currently-on-sidelines-of-new.html>; Rick Hasen, *Woah: Democratic EAC Commissioner Rejects EAC Capitulation to SOS Kobach*, Election Law Blog (Feb. 2, 2016, 1:09 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=79529&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; *Statement by Vice-Chair Thomas Hicks* (Feb. 2, 2016), [http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/Documents/Statement%20by%20Commissioner%20Hicks%20NVRV%20Form%20\(2-2-16\).pdf](http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/Documents/Statement%20by%20Commissioner%20Hicks%20NVRV%20Form%20(2-2-16).pdf); Rick Hasen, *Has the EAC Capitulated to Kansas on Proof of Citizenship for Voting*, Election Law Blog (Feb. 1, 2016, 9:15 AM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=79487&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Michael Wines, *The Voter Support Agency Accused of Suppressing Votes*, N.Y. Times (Apr. 8, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/09/us/election-assistance-commission-motor-voter-lawsuit.html>; Times Editorial Board, *Proof-of-citizenship registration requirement is blatant voter suppression*, L.A. Times (Apr. 15, 2016, 5:00 PM), <http://www.latimes.com/opinion/editorials/la-ed-voter-registration-20160415-story.html>

66 Rick Hasen, *EAC's Brian Newby Sued for Citizenship Form Decision*, Election Law Blog (Feb. 12, 2016, 3:24 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=79898>; Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, *Proof of Citizenship Action Illegal, Federal Suit Says*, (Feb. 12, 2016), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/press-release/2714/>; Letter from

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

Christy A. McCormic, Chairwoman, and Brian D. Newby, Executive Director, U.S. Election Assistance Comm'n, to Honorable Richard J. Leon, D.C., Dist. Court Judge (Feb. 22, 2016), <http://editions.lib.umn.edu/electionacademy/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2016/02/LWV20v.20Newby20letter20to20court.pdf>; Zachary Roth, *Department of Justice disowns EAC director's move on proof of citizenship for voters*, MSNBC (Feb. 23, 2016, 11:45 AM), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/department-justice-disowns-eac-directors-move-proof-citizenship-voters>; Josh Gerstein, *Judge seems skeptical of call to block voter proof-of-citizenship requirement*, Politico (Feb. 22, 2016, 6:27 PM), <http://www.politico.com/blogs/under-the-radar/2016/02/voting-rights-citizenship-proof-219642>; John Brackin, *Judge Upholds Disputed Voter-Registration Forms*, Courthouse News (July 1, 2016), <http://www.courthousenews.com/2016/07/01/judge-upholds-disputed-voter-registration-forms.htm>; Justin Miller, *Court Deals Blow to Advocates Fighting Voter Registration Obstacles*, The American Prospect (July 6, 2016), <http://prospect.org/blog/checks/court-deals-blow-advocates-fighting-voter-registration-obstacles>; Brennan Center, *Major Litigation That Could Impact Voting Access*, <https://www.brennancenter.org/major-litigation-could-impact-voting-access>; *Voting rights groups appeal federal form changes in 3 states*, Associated Press (July 1, 2016, 3:30 PM EDT), <http://www.kake.com/story/32357271/voting-rights-groups-appeal-federal-form-changes-in-3-states>; Spencer S. Hsu, *Judge temporarily blocks proof-of-citizenship voting requirement in 3 states*, Washington Post (Sept. 12, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/judge-temporarily-blocks-proof-of-citizenship-voting-requirement-in-3-states/2016/09/12/e8f87d36-7922-11e6-beac-57a4a412e93a_story.html; Bryan Lowry, *Federal court blocks Kansas voting rule*, Wichita Eagle (Sept. 9, 2016, 8:50 PM), <http://www.kansas.com/news/politics-government/article100999387.html>; Sam Hananel, *Appeals court sympathetic to challenge over voter rules*, PBS (Sept. 8, 2016, 3:03 PM), <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/appeals-court-challenge-voter-rules/>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, ProPublica (Sept. 23, 2016, 1:52 PM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/2016-election-lawsuit-tracker-new-election-laws-suits-challenging-them>; *League of Women Voters v. Newby*, Project Vote, <http://www.projectvote.org/cases/league-of-women-voters-v-newby/>; Kristina Torres, *Appeals court backs federal say-so on proof of citizenship for voting*, AJC (Sept. 28, 2016, 1:04 PM), <http://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/appeals-court-backs-federal-say-proof-citizenship-for-voting/BVys3AdibdN9wQzt9zPk41/>; Joseph Tanfani, *No, there is no evidence that thousands of noncitizens are illegally voting and swinging elections*, L.A. Times (Oct. 25, 2016, 2:05 PM), <http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-noncitizen-voters-20161025-snap-story.html>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, Ledger Independent (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html

67 *Miss. State Chapter, Operation Push v. Allain*, 674 F. Supp. 1245, 1252-53 (N.D. Miss. 1987), *aff'd sub nom.*, 932 F.2d 400 (5th Cir. 1991)

68 Kira Lerner, *Alabama's list of people who allegedly violated voting laws is rife with errors*, Think Progress (Oct. 26, 2017), <https://thinkprogress.org/al-crossover-voting-error-b996cd0784b5/>; Sam Levine, *Alabama Chief Election Official's Voter Fraud Suspicions Were Really Far Off*, Huffington Post (Nov. 8, 2017), https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/voter-fraud-alabama_us_5a00b712e4b04cdeb357ad7

69 Zachary Roth, *Alabama sec of state tells black congresswoman she's not 'informed' enough to discuss voting rights*, Daily Democracy (Nov. 3, 2017), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/11/03/alabama-sec-of-state-tells-black-congresswoman-shes-not-informed-enough-to-discuss-voting-rights/>; Sam Levine, *Alabama Chief Election Official's Voter Fraud Suspicions Were Really Far Off*, Huffington Post (Nov. 8, 2017), https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/voter-fraud-alabama_us_5a00b712e4b04cdeb357ad7

70 Press Release, *National Election Protection Hotline Receives Calls from Alabama Voters Reporting Voter Intimidation and Mass Voter Confusion Tactics at the Polls Statewide*, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights (Dec. 12, 2017), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/press-release/national-election-protection-hotline-receives-calls-alabama-voters-reporting-voter-intimidation-mass-voter-confusion-tactics-polls-statewide/>; Brentin Mock, *The Price Black Voters Paid to Defeat Roy Moore*, CityLab (Dec. 13, 2017), https://www.citylab.com/equity/2017/12/alabamas-election-system-still-fed-up/548303/?utm_source=nl-atlantic-daily-121417&silverid=MzEwMTkwMjM5NTMwS0



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

71 [http://www.naacpldf.org/files/about-](http://www.naacpldf.org/files/about-us/2017%2012%2014%20LDF%20Letter%20re%20Issues%20Concerning%20the%20Special%20Election.pdf)
us/2017%2012%2014%20LDF%20Letter%20re%20Issues%20Concerning%20the%20Special%20Election.pdf

72 Adam Liptak, *Judge Reinstates Some Federal Oversight of Voting Practices for an Alabama City*, N.Y. Times (Jan. 14, 2014), http://mobile.nytimes.com/2014/01/15/us/judge-reinstates-federal-oversight-of-voting-practices-for-alabama-city.html?_r=0&referrer=; Order Granting Plaintiffs' Motion for Partial Summary Judgment, and Section 3 of the Voting Rights Act Relief, *Allen v. City of Evergreen, Ala.*, No. 13-cv-0107-CG-M, (S.D. Ala. Jan. 13, 2014), ECF No. 82, <https://s3.amazonaws.com/s3.documentcloud.org/documents/1005529/82-order-section-3c-1.pdf>

73 Adam Liptak, *Voting Rights Act Is Challenged as Cure the South Has Outgrown*, N.Y. Times (Feb. 17, 2013), http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/18/us/politics/supreme-court-to-hear-alabama-countys-challenge-to-voting-rights-act.html?_r=0; Partial Consent Agreement, *Allen v. City of Evergreen, Ala.*, No. 1:12-cv-00496, (S.D. Ala. Aug. 20, 2012), ECF No. 8, http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/USCOURTS-alsd-1_12-cv-00496/pdf/USCOURTS-alsd-1_12-cv-00496-0.pdf; Manny Fernandez, *In Texas, a Test of Whether the Voting Rights Act Still Has Teeth*, N.Y. Times (Jan. 15, 2017), https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/15/us/in-texas-a-test-of-whether-the-voting-rights-act-still-has-teeth.html?emc=edit_tnt_20170116&nlid=27027325&ntemail0=y&r=0

74 Press Release, *Voting Rights Institute Asks Department of Justice to Investigate Daphne, Ala. for Possible Voting Rights Violations*, Campaign Legal Center (Apr. 14, 2016), <http://www.campaignlegalcenter.org/news/press-releases/voting-rights-institute-asks-department-justice-investigate-daphne-ala-possible>

75 *Stout v. Jefferson County Board of Education*, No. 2:65-cv-00396, 2017 WL 1857324, at *65-66, 71-73 (N.D. Ala. Apr. 24, 2017)

76 Letter from John R. Dunne, Assistant Attorney General, to David R. Boyd, U.S. DOJ (Oct. 12, 1990). Letter from John R. Dunne, Assistant Attorney General, to Donald B. Sweeney, U.S. DOJ (May 31, 1991) (on file with the U.S. DOJ), <https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/crt/legacy/2014/05/30/AL-1810.pdf>

77 *Stout*, 2017 WL 1857324, at *71-73

78 Rachel Davis, *Federal Appeals Court: Gardendale will not get school system*, The North Jefferson News, (Feb. 13, 2018) https://www.njeffersonnews.com/news/federal-appeals-court-gardendale-will-not-get-school-system/article_605a81bc-10f3-11e8-81fc-cf3caea4911d.html

79 Letter to John Merrill and Jim Davis, *Issues Concerning the Special Election*, (Dec. 14, 2017) <http://www.naacpldf.org/files/about-us/2017%2012%2014%20LDF%20Letter%20re%20Issues%20Concerning%20the%20Special%20Election.pdf>; Maggie Astor, *Seven Ways Alabama Has Made It Harder to Vote*, The New York Times, (Jun. 23, 2018), <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/23/us/politics/voting-rights-alabama.html>

80 Jack Madison, *Judge rules on venue for case against City of Decatur*, WAFF (Sept. 16, 2014, 5:36 PM), <http://www.waff.com/story/26319866/judge-rules-on-venue-for-case-against-city-of-decatur>; Kelly Kazek, *Lawsuit's demands to remove Decatur council, change form of government 'seriously hindering' operations, mayor says*, AL.com (Sept. 13, 2014, 7:29 PM), http://www.al.com/news/huntsville/index.ssf/2014/07/lawsuits_demands_to_remove_dec.html; Eric Fleischauer, *Voketz case to stay in federal court*, DecaturDaily (Aug. 19, 2014), http://www.decaturdaily.com/news/local/article_5d1e81cc-27ba-11e4-9856-001a4bcf6878.html; Bayne Huges, *City continues wait for ruling in federal lawsuit*, DecaturDaily (July 12, 2015), http://www.decaturdaily.com/news/local/city-continues-wait-for-ruling-in-federal-lawsuit/article_5992fac5-9bdd-5080-a718-ed13167f2a56.html; Keith Clines, *Federal judge refuses to dismiss Voketz lawsuit*, DecaturDaily (Sept. 11, 2015), http://www.decaturdaily.com/news/federal-judge-refuses-to-dismiss-voketz-lawsuit/article_4967ef74-d010-5b88-a485-eb462e0e5b37.html

81 Bayne Hughes, *US Court of Appeals denies city's application for a rehearing in Voketz case*, Decatur Daily (Nov. 7, 2018) https://www.decaturdaily.com/news/morgan_county/decatur/us-court-of-appeals-denies-city-s-

82 *The Great Poll Closure*, The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights (Nov. 2016), <http://civilrightsdocs.info/pdf/reports/2016/poll-closure-report-web.pdf>; Editorial, *The Voters Abandoned by the Court*, N.Y. Times (Nov. 8, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/09/opinion/the-voters-abandoned-by-the-court.html?_r=0; Maggie Astor, *Seven Ways Alabama Has Made It Harder to Vote*, The New York Times (June 23, 2018) <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/23/us/politics/voting-rights-alabama.html>

83 Press Release, *Voting Rights Institute Asks Department of Justice to Investigate Daphne, Ala. for Possible Voting Rights Violations*, Campaign Legal Center (Apr. 14, 2016), [http://www.campaignlegalcenter.org/news/press-](http://www.campaignlegalcenter.org/news/press-releases/voting-rights-institute-asks-department-justice-investigate-daphne-ala-possible)

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

releases/voting-rights-institute-asks-department-justice-investigate-daphne-ala-possible; Letter from J. Gerald Herbert, Executive Director & Director of Litigation, and Harry Baumgarten, Attorney for Voting Rights Institute, to T. Christian Herren, Jr. Chief, Voting Section, Civil Rights Division, U.S. Dep't of Justice (Apr. 13, 2016), <http://www.campaignlegalcenter.org/sites/default/files/Letter%20of%204.13.16%20to%20DOJ.pdf>; John Whitesides, *Polling places become battleground in U.S. voting rights fight*, Reuters (Sept. 16, 2016, 11:40 AM), <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-vote-precincts-insight-idUSKCN11M0WY>; Maggie Astor, *Seven Ways Alabama Has Made It Harder to Vote*, The New York Times (June 23, 2018) <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/23/us/politics/voting-rights-alabama.html>

84 John Sharp, *Daphne city official: 'We don't have race problems'*, AL.com (Aug. 4, 2016, 3:00 PM), http://www.al.com/news/mobile/index.ssf/2016/08/daphne_city_official_we_dont_h.html

85 *City of Jordanville precinct could be in jeopardy*, Tallahassee Times, <http://www.tallahassee.com/news.htm>

86 Associated Press, *Judge sends Arizona, Kansas voter citizenship suit back to US Election Assistance Commission*, ABC News (Dec. 13, 2013), <http://www.abc15.com/dpp/news/state/judge-sends-arizona-kansas-voter-citizenship-suit-back-to-us-election-assistance-commission>; Ari Berman, *Separate and Unequal Voting in Arizona and Kansas*, The Nation (Oct. 15, 2013), <http://www.thenation.com/blog/176650/separate-and-unequal-voting-arizona-and-kansas#>; Franita Tolson, *Guest Blog: The perils of two-tier voter registration systems*, Alliance For Justice (Oct. 16, 2013), <http://www.afj.org/blog/the-perils-of-two-tiered-voter-registration-systems>; *The Cost of a Two-Tiered Election in Arizona*, Pew Charitable Trusts (Oct. 22, 2013), <http://www.pewstates.org/research/analysis/the-cost-of-a-two-tiered-election-in-arizona-85899514408>; Doug Chapin, *From Two-Track To The Fast Track? Kansas, Arizona To Get Expedited Hearing On Proof Of Citizenship*, Election Academy (June 9, 2016), <http://editions.lib.umn.edu/electionacademy/2013/11/01/from-two-track-to-the-fast-tra/>; Kara Brandeisky et al., *Everything That's Happened Since Supreme Court Ruled on Voting Rights Act*, ProPublica (Nov. 4, 2014, 12:31 PM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/voting-rights-by-state-map>; Edward M. Eveld, *Judge rules Kris Kobach can't operate two-tier election system in Kansas*, Kansas City Star (Jan. 15, 2016, 3:47 PM), <http://www.kansascity.com/news/government-politics/article54933870.html>; Rick Hasen, *Has the EAC Capitulated to Kansas on Proof of Citizenship for Voting?*, Election Law Blog (Feb. 1, 2016, 9:15 AM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=79487&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29

87 *NVRA Related Documents, Election Assistance Commission*, http://www.eac.gov/national_voter_registration_act/related_documents.aspx (last visited June 9, 2016)

88 Erin Ferns Lee, *Kansas Under Fire for "Unjust, Unfair" Voter Registration Requirement*, Project Vote (Nov. 22, 2013), <http://www.projectvote.org/blog/kansas-under-fire-for-unjust-unfair-voter-registration-requirement/>

89 Richard Winger, *Kansas and Arizona Lose on Procedure, in Case Over Federal Voter Registration Form*, Ballot Access News (Feb. 5, 2014), <http://www.ballot-access.org/2014/02/kansas-and-arizona-lose-on-procedure-in-case-over-federal-voter-registration-form/>; Case page, *Belenky v. Kobach*, ACLU, <https://www.aclu.org/cases/belenky-v-kobach> (last updated July 18, 2016); Rick Hasen, *Kansas, Arizona rekindling lawsuit over proof-of-citizenship voter registration*, Election Law Blog (Feb. 5, 2014, 7:11 AM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=58536>; Roxana Hegeman, *Kansas, Arizona rekindling lawsuit over proof-of-citizenship voter Registration*, Topeka Capital-Journal (Feb. 3, 2014, 6:38 PM), <http://cjonline.com/news/2014-02-03/kansas-arizona-rekindling-lawsuit-over-proof-citizenship-voter-registration>; Preliminary Injunction Memorandum and Order, *Fish v. Kobach*, No. 2:16-cv-02105, (D. Kan. May 17, 2016), ECF No. 129, <https://www.aclu.org/legal-document/fish-v-kobach-preliminary-injunction-memorandum-and-order>; Roxana Hegeman, *10th Cir: Kansas Can't Block Voters From Casting Ballots*, Associated Press (June 10, 2016, 8:42 PM), <http://abcnews.go.com/US/wireStory/10th-circuit-kansas-block-voters-casting-ballots-39770859>; Camila Domonoske, *As November Approaches, Courts Deal Series Of Blows To Voter ID Laws*, South Carolina Public Radio (Aug. 2, 2016), <http://southcarolinapublicradio.org/post/november-approaches-courts-deal-series-blows-voter-id-laws#stream/0>

90 Richard Fausset, *Mistrust in North Carolina Over Plan to Reduce Precincts*, N.Y. Times (July 7, 2014), <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/08/us/08northcarolina.html?emc=eta1&r=0>; Associated Press, *Feds appeal ruling in voter citizenship case*, KSN (Apr. 9, 2014, 9:22 AM), <http://ksn.com/2014/04/09/feds-appeal-ruling-in-voter-citizenship-case/>; Fernanda Santos, *Two States Win Court Approval on Voter Rules*, N.Y. Times (Mar. 19, 2014), <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/20/us/judge-says-us-must-help-states-enforce-voter-id-laws.html?hp>; Rick Hasen, *10th Circuit Grants Stay in Kobach v. EAC Case*, Election Law Blog (May 19, 2014, 7:17

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

- PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=61601>; Dion Lefler, *Federal appeals court questions Kansas' proof-of-citizenship rules*, Wichita Eagle (Aug. 25, 2014, 2:20 PM), <http://www.kansas.com/news/politics-government/election/article1293569.html>; Cindy Carcamo et al., *Court hears arguments on voters having to prove citizenship*, L.A. Times (June 9, 2016), <http://www.latimes.com/nation/nationnow/la-na-nn-arizona-voting-20140825-story.html>
- 91 Jesse Byrnes, *Supreme Court denies States' request for proof of voter citizenship*, The Hill (June 29, 2015, 8:11 PM), <http://thehill.com/blogs/ballot-box/246497-spreme-court-denies-states-request-f>; Press Release, *Voting Rights Victory: Supreme Court Declines to Hear Voter Registration Case*, Brennan Center for Justice, at N.Y.U. School of Law (June 29, 2015), <https://www.brennancenter.org/press-release/voting-rights-victory-supreme-court-declines-hear-voter-registration-case>
- 92 Pam Fessler, *Change at Federal Election Agency Muddles Kansas Voter Registration Laws*, NPR (Feb. 2, 2016, 9:27 PM), <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/02/02/465353108/as-voting-begins-several-states-voter-id-laws-remain-in-flux>; Mitch M., *Arizona On Sidelines Of New Voter Registration / Proof of Citizenship Battle ... Which It Started; Could Jump Back Into Fray*, Arizona's Politics Blog (Feb. 2, 2016), <http://arizonapolitics.blogspot.com/2016/02/arizona-currently-on-sidelines-of-new.html>; Rick Hasen, *Woah: Lone Democratic EAC Commissioner Rejects EAC Capitulation to SOS Kobach*, Election Law Blog (Feb. 2, 2016, 1:09 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=79529&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Thomas Hicks, Statement on withdrawal of letters granting states' request to amend the state instructions to the federal voter registration form, U.S. Election Assistance Comm'n (Feb. 2, 2016), [http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/Documents/Statement%20by%20Commissioner%20Hicks%20NVRA%20Form%20\(2-2-16\).pdf](http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/Documents/Statement%20by%20Commissioner%20Hicks%20NVRA%20Form%20(2-2-16).pdf); Rick Hasen, *Has the EAC Capitulated to Kansas on Proof of Citizenship for Voting?*, Election Law Blog (Feb. 1, 2016, 9:15 AM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=79487&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Letter from Christy A. McCormic, Chairwoman, and Brian D. Newby, Executive Director, U.S. Election Assistance Comm'n, to Honorable Richard J. Leon, D.C., Dist. Court Judge (Feb. 22, 2016), <http://editions.lib.umn.edu/electionacademy/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2016/02/LWV20v.20Newby20letter20to20court.pdf>; Michael Wines, *The Voter Support Agency Accused of Suppressing Votes*, N.Y. Times (Apr. 8, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/09/us/election-assistance-commission-motor-voter-lawsuit.html>; Times Editorial Board, *Proof-of-citizenship registration requirement is blatant voter suppression*, L.A. Times (June 9, 2016), <http://www.latimes.com/opinion/editorials/la-ed-voter-registration-20160415-story.html>; Zachary Roth, *Department of Justice disowns EAC director's move on proof of citizenship for voters*, MSNBC (Feb. 23, 2016, 11:45 AM), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/departement-justice-disowns-eac-directors-move-proof-citizenship-voters>; Josh Gerstein, *Judge seems skeptical of call to block voter proof-of-citizenship requirement*, Politico (Feb. 22, 2014, 6:27 PM), <http://www.politico.com/blogs/under-the-radar/2016/02/voting-rights-citizenship-proof-219642>
- 93 Rick Hasen, *EAC's Brian Newby Sued for Citizenship Form Decision*, Election Law Blog (Feb. 12, 2016, 3:24 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=79898>; Press Release, *Proof of Citizenship Action Illegal, Federal Suit Says*, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights (Feb. 12, 2016), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/press-release/2714/>; Zachary Roth, *Department of Justice disowns EAC director's move on proof of citizenship for voters*, MSNBC (Feb. 23, 2016, 11:45 AM), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/departement-justice-disowns-eac-directors-move-proof-citizenship-voters>; Josh Gerstein, *Judge seems skeptical of call to block voter proof-of-citizenship requirement*, Politico (Feb. 22, 2014, 6:27 PM), <http://www.politico.com/blogs/under-the-radar/2016/02/voting-rights-citizenship-proof-219642>; Jennifer L. Patin, *Election Protection 2016: #ProtectOURVOTE*, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights, https://lawyerscommittee.org/ep2016_brief1/ (last visited June 9, 2016); *League of Women Voters v. Newby*, Project Vote, <http://www.projectvote.org/cases/league-of-women-voters-v-newby/>; Joseph Tanfani, *No, there is no evidence that thousands of noncitizens are illegally voting and swinging elections*, L.A. Times (Oct. 25, 2016, 2:05 PM), <http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-noncitizen-voters-20161025-snap-story.html>
- 94 Howard Fischer, *Lawmakers want to repeal, then reenact, recent voting law changes*, East Valley Tribune (Jan. 16, 2014, 5:00 PM), http://www.eastvalleytribune.com/arizona/capitol_media_services/article_8a05991e-7f04-11e3-8a04-001a4bcf887a.html

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

- 95 Abigail Abrams, *Voting Rights 2016: Native Americans Struggle to Overcome Barriers Ahead of Arizona Elections*, IBT Times (Mar. 22, 2016, 12:09 PM), <http://www.ibttimes.com/voting-rights-2016-native-americans-struggle-overcome-barriers-ahead-arizona-2340458>; Howard Fischer, *Ducey signs bill to make ballot harvesting a felony*, Arizona Capitol Times (Mar. 9, 2016, 3:17 PM), <http://azcapitoltimes.com/news/2016/03/09/senate-passes-bill-outlawing-early-ballot-collection>; Sari Horwitz, *Democratic Party, Clinton and Sanders campaigns to sue Arizona over voting rights*, Washington Post (Apr. 14, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/democratic-party-and-clinton-campaign-to-sue-arizona-over-voting-rights/2016/04/14/dadc4708-0188-11e6-b823-707c79ce3504_story.html; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, Ledger Independent (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html; Tierney Sneed, *Ex-Trump Voter Fraud Commissioner Defends Misleading Reports in Court* (June 22, 2018, 4:50 PM) <https://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/ex-trump-voter-fraud-commissioner-defends-misleading-reports-in-court>
- 96 Sari Horwitz, *Democratic Party, Clinton and Sanders campaigns to sue Arizona over voting rights*, Washington Post (Apr. 14, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/democratic-party-and-clinton-campaign-to-sue-arizona-over-voting-rights/2016/04/14/dadc4708-0188-11e6-b823-707c79ce3504_story.html; Tierney Sneed, *5 Points On How Dems Say Arizona Screwed Up Its Election*, Talking Points Memo (Apr. 18, 2016, 6:00 AM), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/fivepoints/arizona-democrats-lawsuit>
- 97 Matthew Casey, *Injunction Sought Against Arizona in Voter Rights Case*, 91.5 KJZZ (June 13, 2016, 5:30 PM update), <http://kjzz.org/content/319541/injunction-sought-against-arizona-voter-rights-case>; Howard Fischer, *Federal judge: Arizona counties don't have to tally out-of-precinct votes*, Arizona Daily Star (Oct. 17, 2016), http://tucson.com/news/local/govt-and-politics/elections/federal-judge-arizona-counties-don-t-have-to-tally-out/article_ef2f21cf-37ac-5a6b-95aa-64b81c74cca0.html; Ariane de Vogue, *Voting wars continue over ballot collection law in Arizona*, CNN Politics (Oct. 17, 2016, 7:17 AM), <http://www.cnn.com/2016/10/17/politics/arizona-election-2016-voting-rights/>
- 98 Rick Hasen, *Divided 9th Circuit Rejects Dems' Voting Challenge to AZ "Ballot Harvesting" Law, But En Banc May Be Coming*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 20, 2016, 10:00 AM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=88306>; Appeal from the United States District Court for the District of Arizona, *Feldman et al. v. Arizona Secretary of State's Office et al.*, No. 16-16698 (9th Cir. Oct. 28, 2016), <http://cdn.ca9.uscourts.gov/datastore/general/2016/10/28/16-16698opinionanddissent.pdf>; Rick Hasen, *Breaking: Divided 9th Circuit Agrees to Hear AZ Ballot Harvesting Case En Banc, But J. Reinhardt Predicts Plaintiffs Will Lose*, Election Law Blog (Nov. 2, 2016, 2:04 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=88536>; Rick Hasen, *Breaking and Big: En Banc 9th Circuit, on 7-4 Vote, Won't Require AZ to Count Ballots Cast Out of Precinct; Next to #SCOTUS?*, Election Law Blog (Nov. 4, 2016, 5:25 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=88789>; Rick Hasen, *"Supreme Court Attempts To Slow Flood Of Last-Minute Election Litigation"*, Election Law Blog (Nov. 5, 2016, 10:41 AM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=88827>; Rick Hasen, *Breaking: Supreme Court Halts AZ "Ballot Harvesting," With No Noted Dissents*, Election Law Blog (Nov. 5, 2016, 8:28 AM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=88819>; Ari Berman, *This is Voting in 2016: Armed Intimidation Squads, Purged Rolls, 868 Fewer Polling Stations*, Democracy Now (Nov. 7, 2016), https://www.democracynow.org/2016/11/7/this_is_voting_in_2016_armed;
- 99 Howard Fischer, *Judge to decide legality of Arizona law prohibiting collection of mail-in ballots*, Tucson, (Aug. 1, 2018), https://tucson.com/news/arizona_news/judge-to-decide-legality-of-arizona-law-prohibiting-collection-of/article_2cee598d-2594-5e6d-9403-9d97185cae17.html; *The Democratic National Committee v. Michele Reagan*, <http://cdn.ca9.uscourts.gov/datastore/opinions/2018/09/12/18-15845.pdf>; Michael Wines and Danny Hakim, *Four Fights Over Voting Rights*, The New York Times (Nov. 3, 2018), <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/03/us/politics/voting-rights-lawsuits.html>
- 100 Janell Ross, *"Tidal wave of voter suppression" washes over states. Lawyer says*, NBC News, (Feb. 3, 2020), <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/presidential-voting-season-tidal-wave-voter-suppression-washing-over-multiple-n1128041>; *Update: Arizona Asks 9th Circuit to Stay Its "Ballot Harvesting" Ban Decision Pending Appeal to Supreme Court*, Arizona Law, (Jan. 28, 2020), <https://arizonaslaw.blogspot.com/2020/01/update-arizona-will-appeal-to-us.html>; Brad Poole, *En Banc Ninth Circuit Tosses Arizona Voting Rules as Discriminatory*, Courthouse News, (Jan. 27, 2020), <https://www.courthousenews.com/en-banc-ninth-circuit-tosses-arizona-voting-rules-as-discriminatory/>; Rick Hasen, *Breaking: Divided En Banc 9th Circuit Holds Arizona Violated Voting*

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

Rights Act by Not Partially Counting Out-of-Precinct Provisional Ballots and Engaged in Intentional Racial Discrimination in Banning Collection of Absentee Ballots, Election Law Blog, (Jan. 27, 2020), https://electionlawblog.org/?p=109166&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; David Daley, *Coronavirus could normalize voting by mail. That will create other problems*, The Washington Post, (Mar. 12, 2020), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/03/12/coronavirus-vote-by-mail-problems/>; Howard Fischer Capitol Media Services, *Court allows Arizona ban on 'ballot harvesting' to remain in force through presidential preference election*, Tuscon, (Feb. 12, 2020), https://tucson.com/news/local/court-allows-arizona-ban-on-ballot-harvesting-to-remain-in/article_03b84642-a1df-5dd6-a25a-93509f063269.html

101 Howard Fischer, *Federal judge: Arizona counties don't have to tally out-of-precinct votes*, Arizona Daily Star (Oct. 17, 2016), http://tucson.com/news/local/govt-and-politics/elections/federal-judge-arizona-counties-don-t-have-to-tally-out/article_ef2f21cf-37ac-5a6b-95aa-64b81c74cca0.html

102 Al Macias, *Maricopa County Community College District Board to Add Two New Members*, KJZZ 91.5 (Sept. 4, 2013), <http://kjzz.org/content/4855/maricopa-county-community-college-district-board-add-two-new-members>; Memorandum of Points and Authorities in Support of Plaintiffs' Joint Motion for Preliminary Injunction of H.B. 2023, in *Feldman, et al. v. Arizona Secretary of State's Office, et al.*, http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/2016-06-10-Dkt-0085-Plaintiffs_-Memorandum-of-Points-and-Authorities-i....pdf

103 *The Great Poll Closure*, The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights (Nov. 2016), <http://civilrightsdocs.info/pdf/reports/2016/poll-closure-report-web.pdf>; Editorial, *The Voters Abandoned by the Court*, N.Y. Times (Nov. 8, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/09/opinion/the-voters-abandoned-by-the-court.html?r=0>; Eric Mount, *Gutting of Voting Rights Act allowed multiple states to impede minority votes*, Advocate-Messenger (Nov. 17, 2016, 12:11 PM), <http://www.amnews.com/2016/11/17/gutting-of-voting-rights-act-allowed-multiple-states-to-impede-minority-votes/>

104 Associated Press, *Long lines bog down Arizona presidential primary*, A.Z. Capitol Times (Mar. 22, 2016, 2:42 PM), <http://azcapitoltimes.com/news/2016/03/22/long-lines-bog-down-arizona-presidential-primary/>; Ari Berman, *There Were 5-Hour Lines to Vote in Arizona Because the Supreme Court Gutted the Voting Rights Act*, The Nation (Mar. 23, 2016), <http://www.thenation.com/article/there-were-five-hour-lines-to-vote-in-arizona-because-the-supreme-court-gutted-the-voting-rights-act/>; Fernanda Santos, *Angry Arizona Voters Demand: Why Such Long Lines at Polling Sites?*, N.Y. Times (Mar. 24, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/25/us/angry-arizona-voters-demand-why-such-long-lines-at-polling-sites.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=photo-spot-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news&r=0>; Rick Hasen, *My Thoughts on AZ Long Lines: Incompetence, Not Vote Suppression, and Blame #SCOTUS First*, Election Law Blog (Mar. 24, 2016, 8:38 AM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=81186>; Samantha Lachman, *Arizona's Primary Problems Go Way Beyond Long Lines*, Huffington Post (Mar. 24, 2016, 4:32 PM), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/arizona-primary-problems_us_56f41094e4b04c4c376184ca; Zachary Roth, *With weakened Voting Rights Act, some Arizona voters wait hours*, MSNBC (Mar. 23, 2016, 3:10 PM), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/weakened-voting-rights-act-some-arizona-voters-wait-hours>; Bob Cesca, *What happened in Arizona wasn't an accident: When states make voting impossible, it's for a very clear reason*, Salon (Mar. 24, 2016, 1:37 PM), http://www.salon.com/2016/03/24/what_happened_in_arizona_wasnt_an_accident_when_states_make_voting_impossible_its_for_a_very_clear_reason/; Video by Michael Chow, *Polls closing shut some voters out*, AZCentral, <http://www.azcentral.com/videos/news/politics/elections/2016/03/22/82151044/>; Mary Jo Pitzl et al., *Long lines, too few polls anger Phoenix voters*, USA Today (Mar. 23, 2016, 1:26 AM), <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/elections/2016/03/22/arizona-primary-turnout-trump-cruz-kasich-clinton-sanders/82134252/>; Claudia Koerner, *Phoenix Mayor Calls For Federal Investigation After Residents Wait Hours To Vote*, BuzzFeed News (Mar. 23, 2016, 8:05 PM), <http://www.buzzfeed.com/claudiakoerner/phoenix-mayor-calls-for-federal-investigation-after-resident#.ujDnWGnpv>; E.J. Dionne Jr., *Arizona's voting outrage is a warning to the nation*, Washington Post (Mar. 27, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/arizonas-voting-rights-fire-bell/2016/03/27/f184e856-f2c0-11e5-85a6-2132cf446d0a_story.html; Charles D. Ellison, *We Don't Have to Wait for the General Election to See the Harmful Effects of Voter-ID Laws---They're Already Happening*, The Root (Mar. 28, 2016), http://www.theroot.com/articles/politics/2016/03/we_don_t_have_to_wait_for_the_general_election_to_see_th

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

e_harmful_effects.html; Tierney Sneed, *Arizona's Voting Problems Are More Complicated Than They Look*, Talking Points Memo (Mar. 28, 2016, 6:00 AM), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/arizona-voting-problems>; Amber Phillips, *Arizona's primary was an utter disaster. But was it just a big mistake, or something more nefarious?*, Washington Post (Mar. 31, 2016), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/03/31/arizonas-primary-was-an-utter-disaster-but-was-it-just-a-big-mistake-or-something-more-nefarious/>; Joan McCarter, *This week in the war on voting: When voter suppression went awry in Arizona*, Daily Kos (Mar. 26, 2016), <http://www.dailykos.com/story/2016/3/26/1505897/-This-week-in-the-war-on-voting-When-voter-suppression-went-awry-in-Arizona>; Shuya Ohno, *Line of voters 1 hr. before polls close in AZ*, Facebook (Mar. 22, 2016), <https://www.facebook.com/shuya.ohno/videos/vb.732706810/10153384602606811/?type=2&theater>; Press Release, *Long Lines in Arizona Signal Electoral Chaos; Voters of Color Face Steep Barriers to the Ballot*, Advancement Project (Mar. 24, 2016), <http://www.advancementproject.org/page/m/8d28bfe/3e6958bb/3af28748/70a7ef3f/1473579643/VEsF/>; Jude Joffe-Block, *Past Election Data Predicted High Independent Voter Turnout In March Election*, KJZZ (Apr. 20, 2016, 10:27 AM), <http://kjzz.org/content/294449/past-election-data-predicted-high-independent-voter-turnout-march-election>; Karen Rubin, *Primary elections prove need for new Voting Rights Act protections*, Examiner (Apr. 27, 2016, 9:02 AM), <http://www.examiner.com/article/primary-elections-prove-need-for-new-voting-rights-act-protections>; Press Release, *98 State and National Groups Urge Head of North Carolina Elections to Prevent Voting Discrimination and Disruption*, The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights (Oct. 27, 2016), <http://www.civilrights.org/press/2016/North-Carolina-Election-Letter.html>

105 AJ Vicens, *Arizona Voters Are Furious About Their Election Mess*, Mother Jones (Mar. 30, 2016, 6:00 AM), <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/03/arizona-voters-hearing-bungled-election>; *Arizona House panel to review election day woes*, KTAR (Mar. 28, 2016, 8:30 AM), <http://ktar.com/story/987362/arizona-house-panel-to-review-election-day-woes/>

106 Samantha Lachman, *The DOJ Is Investigating Arizona's Election Mess*, Huffington Post (Apr. 5, 2016), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/justice-department-arizona_us_5702b720e4b083f5c6085933?y0usn9qiw670ysyvi=; Kira Lerner, *Arizona's Primary Voting Was Such A Mess That DOJ Is Opening An Investigation*, Think Progress (Apr. 5, 2016, 12:12 PM), <http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2016/04/05/3766508/doj-investigation-maricopa/>; Fernanda Santos, *U.S. Seeks Answers to Delays at Phoenix-Area Polls on Primary Day*, N.Y. Times (Apr. 4, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/05/us/politics/us-seeks-answers-to-delays-at-phoenix-area-polls-on-primary-day.html?ref=politics>; National Council of La Raza, *Arizona and North Carolina Election Day Debacles Make Case for Restoring the Voting Rights Act*, Huffington Post (Apr. 3, 2016), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/national-council-of-la-raza-/arizona-and-north-carolin_b_9605610.html

107 Matthew Casey, *Injunction Sought Against Arizona in Voter Rights Case*, 91.5 KJZZ (June 13, 2016, 5:30 PM update), <http://kjzz.org/content/319541/injunction-sought-against-arizona-voter-rights-case>; Brennan Center, *Major Litigation That Could Impact Voting Access*, <https://www.brennancenter.org/major-litigation-could-impact-voting-access>

108 Memorandum of Points and Authorities in Support of Plaintiffs' Joint Motion for Preliminary on Polling Place Allocation and Provisional Ballot Claims, http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/2016-06-10-Dkt-0073-Plaintiffs_-Memorandum-of-Points-and-Authorities-i....pdf; *Breaking/Read: Federal Case Stemming From Maricopa County's Mega-Long Lines in March Presidential Election May Be Nearing Settlement; Supervisors to Meet on Issue Wednesday*, Arizona Politics (Sept. 3, 2016), <http://arizonaspolitics.blogspot.com/2016/09/breakingread-federal-case-stemming-from.html>

109 Rick Hasen, *Democrats Settle Election Dispute with the State of Arizona*, Election Law Blog (Sept. 9, 2016, 8:32 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=86399>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, ProPublica (Sept. 23, 2016, 1:52 PM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/2016-election-lawsuit-tracker-new-election-laws-suits-challenging-them>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, Ledger Independent (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-sarah-smith_2016and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html

110 Sari Horwitz, *Democratic Party, Clinton and Sanders campaigns to sue Arizona over voting rights*, Washington Post (Apr. 14, 2016), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/democratic-party-and-clinton-campaign-to-sue>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

arizona-over-voting-rights/2016/04/14/dadc4708-0188-11e6-b823-707c79ce3504_story.html; *Feldman v. Reagan*, No. 2:16-cv-01065-DLR, Complaint (D. Ariz. Apr. 15, 2016), <http://kjzz.org/sites/default/files/Feldman%20v%20Secretary%20of%20State%20Complaint.pdf>; Fernanda Santos, *Clinton and Sanders Campaigns to Sue Arizona Election Officials*, N.Y. Times (Apr. 14, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/15/us/hillary-clinton-and-bernie-sanders-campaigns-to-sue-arizona-election-officials.html?smprod=nytcore-iphone&smid=nytcore-iphone-share&r=0>; Tierney Sneed, *5 Points On How Dems Say Arizona Screwed Up Its Election*, Talking Points Memo (Apr. 18, 2016, 6:00 AM), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/fivepoints/arizona-democrats-lawsuit>; *Join the party: Rights lawyers sue Arizona election officials over voting delays*, KTAR (June 2, 2016, 12:20 PM), <http://ktar.com/story/1099219/join-the-party-rights-lawyers-sue-arizona-election-officials-over-voting-delays/>; Press Release, *Lawsuit Filed to Protect Voting Rights in Maricopa, Arizona Following Recent Presidential Preference Primary Election Fiasco*, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights (June 2, 2016), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/press-release/lawsuit-filed-protect-voting-rights-maricopa-arizona-following-recent-presidential-preference-primary-election-fiasco/>; Brennan Center, *Major Litigation That Could Impact Voting Access*, <https://www.brennancenter.org/major-litigation-could-impact-voting-access>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, ProPublica (Sept. 23, 2016, 1:52 PM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/2016-election-lawsuit-tracker-new-election-laws-suits-challenging-them>

111 Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, *Groups Seek Emergency Relief and Judicial Oversight for Elections in Maricopa County, Arizona* (July 7, 2016), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/press-release/groups-seek-emergency-relief-judicial-oversight-elections-maricopa-county-arizona/>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, ProPublica (Sept. 23, 2016, 1:52 PM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/2016-election-lawsuit-tracker-new-election-laws-suits-challenging-them>

112 Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, *In a Victory for Voters, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law Secures Agreement with Arizona Election Officials to Reduce Polling Place Wait Times and Long Lines: Agreement Will Help Prevent Repeat of Problems That Marred Presidential Preference Primary in Maricopa County, Arizona* (Oct. 21, 2016), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/press-release/victory-voters-lawyers-committee-civil-rights-law-secures-agreement-arizona-election-officials-reduce-polling-place-wait-times-long-lines/>; Adam DeRose, *Voting groups welcome Maricopa County plan to cut poll wait times*, Cronkite News (Oct. 20, 2016), <https://cronkitenews.azpbs.org/2016/10/20/voting-groups-welcome-maricopa-county-plan-to-cut-polling-wait-times/>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, Ledger Independent (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html

113 *Jeffers, v. Clinton*, 740 F. Supp. 585 (E.D. Ark. 1990) (LDF successfully "bailing-in" Arkansas for preclearance under Section 3(c) of the VRA)

114 Euticha B. Hawkins, *In Arkansas, Face Off Over New Voter ID Law*, William & Mary Law School Elections Blog (Dec. 9, 2013), <http://electls.blogs.wm.edu/2013/12/09/in-arkansas-face-off-over-new-voter-id-law/>

115 Zachary Roth, *ACLU: Arkansas voter ID law is unconstitutional*, MSNBC (Apr. 17, 2014, 1:48 PM), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/arkansas-voter-id-lawsuit>; *Freedom Kohls v. Martin*, No. 60 CV-14-1495, Complaint for Injunctive and Declaratory Relief (Ark. Cir. Ct. Apr. 16, 2014), <http://www.acluarkansas.org/contentitemdocuments/287.pdf>; Eric Lach, *Arkansas Voters Complain About Quizzing By Poll Workers Checking IDs*, Talking Points Memo (May 21, 2014, 1:22 PM), http://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/arkansas-voter-id-quizzes?utm_content=buffer242a4&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer; Associated Press, *Arkansas judge voids state voter ID law*, USA Today (Apr. 24, 2014, 7:53 PM), <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2014/04/24/arkansas-voter-id/8122897/>

116 Max Brantley, *Supreme Court stays portion of Voter ID ruling*, Arkansas Times (Apr. 29, 2014, 4:41 PM), <http://www.arktimes.com/ArkansasBlog/archives/2014/04/29/supreme-court-stays-portion-of-voter-id-ruling>; Associated Press, *Arkansas court says judge went too far on voter ID*, Yahoo News (May 14, 2014), <http://news.yahoo.com/arkansas-court-says-judge-went-too-far-voter-195006596.html?.tsrc=tmobustoday>; Steve Benen, *GOP candidate runs into voter-ID problem in Arkansas*, MSNBC (May 21, 2014, 7:40 PM), <http://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/gop-candidate-runs-voter-id-problem>; Rick Hasen, *"The Voter ID law takes effect; questions raised"*, Election Law Blog (May 20, 2014, 2:13 PM),

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

http://electionlawblog.org/?p=61645&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Zachary Roth, *Arkansas voter ID law causes chaos and confusion*, MSNBC (June 3, 2014, 3:46 PM), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/arkansas-voter-id-law-causes-chaos>; Rick Hasen, *"Hundreds Disenfranchised By America's Worst Voter ID Law"*, Election Law Blog (June 9, 2014, 1:24 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=62207>; Press Release, *LDF Presses Arkansas to Drop Discriminatory Voter ID Law*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund (May 7, 2014), <http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/naacp-legal-defense-fund-presses-arkansas-drop-discriminatory-voter-id-law>

117 Max Brantley, *Secretary of state invoking voter ID for certain voters; Pulaski protests*, Arkansas Times (Nov. 3, 2014, 1:04 PM), <http://www.arktimes.com/ArkansasBlog/archives/2014/11/03/secretary-of-state-invoking-voter-id-for-certain-voters-pulaski-protests>

118 Brentin Mock, *More Research Shows Voter ID Laws Hurt Minorities*, CityLab (Feb. 5, 2016), <http://www.citylab.com/politics/2016/02/research-more-conclusive-that-voter-id-laws-hurt-blacks-and-latinos/459819/>; Nate Silver, *Measuring the Effects of Voter Identification Laws*, N.Y. Times (July 15, 2012, 9:28 AM), <http://fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/07/15/measuring-the-effects-of-voter-identification-laws/?r=0>; *Elections: Issues Related to State Voter Identification Laws*, U.S. Gov't Accountability Office (Feb. 27, 2015), <http://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-14-634>; Michael Herron, *Race, Shelby County, and the Voter Information Verification Act in North Carolina*, ElectionSmith Inc. (Feb. 28, 2015), <https://electionsmith.wordpress.com/2015/02/28/race-shelby-county-and-the-voter-information-verification-act-in-north-carolina/>; Ashley Lopez, *Study Backs Up What Advocates Predicted: Strict Voter ID Laws Reduce Minority Turnout*, KUT (Feb. 9, 2016), <http://kut.org/post/study-backs-what-advocates-predicted-strict-voter-id-laws-reduce-minority-turnout>; Jenny Jarvie, *Voting has gotten tougher in 17 states, and it could alter elections*, L.A. Times (May 6, 2016, 3:00 AM), <http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-north-carolina-voting-20160505-story.html>; Zoltan Hajnal et al., *Voter Identification Laws and the Suppression of Minority Votes*, <http://pages.ucsd.edu/~zhajnal/page5/documents/VoterIDLawsSuppressionofMinorityVoters.pdf>; Rick Hasen, *VoteRiders v. Vox: "Get real: The underestimated impact of voter ID laws"*, Election Law Blog (Nov. 2, 2016, 5:50 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=88563>; Zoltan L. Hajnal et al., *Do voter identification laws suppress minority voting? Yes. We did the research.*, Washington Post (Feb. 15, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/02/15/do-voter-identification-laws-suppress-minority-voting-yes-we-did-the-research/?utm_term=.c7108b27f759; Jim Sensenbrenner, Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws*, Journal Sentinel (July 17, 2017, 12:06 PM), <http://www.jsonline.com/story/opinion/contributors/2017/07/17/sensenbrenner-congress-should-reauthorize-modern-voting-rights-act/484118001/>

119 Brian Fanney, *Voter-ID legislation moves to state House; measure struck down in 2014 but revived for 2nd try*, Arkansas Online (Jan. 26, 2017, 4:30 AM), <http://www.arkansasonline.com/news/2017/jan/26/voter-id-legislation-moves-to-state-hou/>; Justin Cosgrove, *Arkansas House approves plan to reinstate voter ID laws*, Jurist (Feb. 1, 2017, 8:18 AM), <http://www.jurist.org/paperchase/2017/02/arkansas-house-approves-plan-to-reinstate-voter-id-laws.php>; Andrew DeMillo, *Arkansas House OKs bid to revive state's voter ID law*, StarTribune (Jan. 31, 2017, 4:35 PM), <http://www.startribune.com/arkansas-house-oks-bid-to-revive-state-s-voter-id-law/412329703/>; John Lyon, *Guns on campus, voter ID bills on Arkansas Legislature's agenda this week*, Lonoke News (Feb. 6, 2017, 12:01 AM), <http://www.lonokenews.net/news/20170206/guns-on-campus-voter-id-bills-on-arkansas-legislatures-agenda-this-week>; Michael R. Wickline, *Voter IDs' return gets Arkansas panel's OK*, Arkansas Online (Feb. 22, 2017, 4:30 AM), <http://www.arkansasonline.com/news/2017/feb/22/voter-ids-return-gets-panel-s-ok-201702/>; H.B. 1047, 91st Gen. Assemb., Reg. Sess. (Ark. 2017), <http://www.arkleg.state.ar.us/assembly/2017/2017R/Bills/HB1047.pdf>; John Lyon, *Arkansas governor signs voter ID bill into law*, Arkansas News (Mar. 24, 2017, 7:22 PM), <http://www.arkansasnews.com/news/20170324/arkansas-governor-signs-voter-id-bill-into-law>

120 Drew Petrimoulx, *Amendment Softens Voter ID Bill*, Arkansas Matters (Feb. 24, 2017, 8:35 AM), <http://www.arkansasmatters.com/news/local-news/amendment-softens-voter-id-bill/660959366>; Reid Wilson, *Voter ID proposal heads to Arkansas ballot*, Hill (Mar. 8, 2017, 11:10 AM), <http://thehill.com/homenews/state-watch/322924-voter-id-proposal-heads-to-arkansas-ballot>; John Lyon, *Arkansas governor signs voter ID bill into law*, Arkansas News (Mar. 24, 2017, 7:22 PM), <http://www.arkansasnews.com/news/20170324/arkansas-governor-signs-voter-id-bill-into-law>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

-
- 121 Sam Levine, *Arkansas Gets Permission To Enforce Voter ID Law In Primaries*, HuffPost (May 2, 2018),
https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/arkansas-voter-id-law-primaries_us_5aea305ee4b00f70f0eedcb1
- 122 Max Brantley, Austin Kellerman and Jessi Turnure, *Supreme Court Rules Arkansas' Voter ID Constitutional*, NBC
Kark (Oct. 11, 2018, 10:16 PM), https://www.kark.com/news/politics/supreme-court-rules-arkansas-voter-id-
constitutional/1516459908
- 123 Brian Fanne, *Filing would put Arkansas voter-ID amendment before public*, ArkansasOnline (Feb. 3, 2017, 4:30
AM), http://www.arkansasonline.com/news/2017/feb/03/filing-would-put-voter-id-amendment-bef-
1/?f=news-arkansas
- 124 Sam Levine, *Arkansas Gets Permission To Enforce Voter ID Law In Primaries*, HuffPost (May 2, 2018),
https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/arkansas-voter-id-law-primaries_us_5aea305ee4b00f70f0eedcb1;
Cheryl Walker, *Expert available: State constitutional amendments in North Carolina*, (June 25,
2018).https://news.wfu.edu/2018/06/25/expert-available-state-constitutional-amendments-in-north-
carolina/
- 125 Chelsea Boozer, *Error flags voters on Arkansas list; thousands in jeopardy of having their registration canceled*,
ArkansasOnline (July 25, 2016, 5:45 A.M.), http://www.arkansasonline.com/news/2016/jul/25/error-flags-
voters-on-state-list-201607/#/; Associated Press, *Arkansas voters incorrectly flagged for voter list removal*, Free
Lance-Star (July 25, 2016, 3:33 PM), http://www.fredericksburg.com/business/business-wire/arkansas-voters-
incorrectly-flagged-for-voter-list-removal/article_64fb6bb1-cc4c-5b2b-a1c1-846954387c1c.html; Benjamin
Hardy, *Thousands of Arkansas voters flagged for removal: After sending faulty felony data to every county in
Arkansas, the secretary of state's office says it's up to county clerks to fix the mistakes*, Arkansas Times (Aug. 2, 2016),
http://www.arktimes.com/arkansas/thousands-of-arkansas-voters-flagged-for-
removal/Content?oid=4518444; David Showers, *All Garland County axed voters restored*, Arkansas Online (Sept.
2, 2016, 3:06 PM), http://www.arkansasonline.com/news/2016/sep/02/all-garland-county-axed-voters-
restored/?f=news-arkansas
- 126 Chris Fuchs, *California Voters Enthusiastic Amid Reports of Intimidation, Poor Language Access* (June 8, 2016, 11:39
AM), NBC News, http://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/california-voters-enthusiastic-amid-reports-
intimidation-poor-language-access-n588186; *ACLU of California Voting Rights Project Monitors Possible Voter
Intimidated: Siskiyou County Sherriff and County Officials Targeting Hmong Community* (June 7, 2016),
https://www.aclunc.org/news/aclu-california-voting-rights-project-monitoring-possible-voter-intimidation;
Meteor Blades, *This week in the war on voting: A million-plus CA ballots left to count; another Husted appeal in OH*
(June 6, 2011, 9:00), http://www.dailykos.com/story/2016/6/11/1536864/-This-week-in-the-war-on-voting-
A-million-plus-CA-ballots-left-to-count-another-Husted-appeal-in-OH
- 127 David Smith, *Hmong residents sue Siskiyou over alleged voter intimidation*, Siskiyou Daily News (Sept. 18, 2016,
1:06 PM), http://www.siskiyoudaily.com/article/20160918/NEWS/160919732
- 128 Kevin Morris & Myrna Perez, *Florida, Georgia, North Carolina Still Purging Voters at High Rates*, Brennan Center
for Justice (Oct. 1, 2018), http://www.brennancenter.org/blog/florida-georgia-north-carolina-still-purging-
voters-high-rates
- 129 Steve Bousquet & Amy Sherman, *Florida halts purge of noncitizens from voter rolls*, Tampa Bay Times (Mar. 27,
2014, 1:02 PM), http://www.tampabay.com/news/politics/elections/florida-halts-purge-of-noncitizens-from-
voter-rolls/2172206; Kara Brandeisky et al., *Everything That's Happened Since Supreme Court Ruled on Voting
Rights Act*, ProPublica (Nov. 4, 2014, 12:31 PM), http://www.propublica.org/article/voting-rights-by-state-map;
Lizette Alvarez, *Florida Defends New Effort to Clean Up Voter Rolls*, N.Y. Times (Oct. 9, 2013),
http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/10/us/florida-defends-new-effort-to-clean-up-voter-rolls.html?_r=0; Steve
Bousquet & Michael Van Sickler, *Renewed 'scrub' of Florida voter list has elections officials on edge*, Tampa Bay
Times (Aug. 3, 2013, 8:59 PM), http://www.tampabay.com/news/publicsafety/crime/renewed-scrub-of-florida-
voter-list-has-elections-officials-on-edge/2134695; Scott Bousquet, *Scott administration seeks dismissal of voter
"purge" lawsuit*, Tampa Bay Times (July 12, 2013, 10:01 AM), http://www.tampabay.com/blogs/the-buzz-florida-
politics/scott-administration-seeks-dismissal-of-voter-purge-lawsuit/2131101; Ashley Lopez, *Voting Rights
Decision Could Mean Return of Florida's Voter Purge*, FCIR (July 17, 2013), http://fcir.org/2013/07/17/voting-
rights-decision-could-mean-return-of-floridas-voter-purge/; Steve Bousquet, *U.S. says Florida's voter purge
violates federal law*, Tampa Bay Times (July 31, 2012, 1:29 PM), http://www.tampabay.com/blogs/the-buzz-
florida-politics/content/us-says-floridas-voter-purge-violates-federal-law/2042212; Press Release, *102 State
and National Groups Urge Florida Secretary of State to Prevent Voting Discrimination and Disruption*, The

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights (Oct. 27, 2016), <http://www.civilrights.org/press/2016/florida-election-letter.html>; Steve Bousquet & Amy Sherman, *Florida suspends non-citizen voter purge efforts*, Miami Herald (Mar. 27, 2014, 11:49 PM), <http://www.miamiherald.com/news/politics-government/article2087729.html>; Patrick Jonsson, *Court rules Florida voter purge illegal, but will it stop GOP voting tweaks?*, Christian Science Monitor (Apr. 2, 2014), <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Justice/2014/0402/Court-rules-Florida-voter-purge-illegal-but-will-it-stop-GOP-voting-tweaks>

130 Mary Ellen Klas, *County elections officials to halt controversial voter purge*, Tampa Bay Times (June 1, 2012, 12:44 PM), <http://www.tampabay.com/blogs/the-buzz-florida-politics/content/county-elections-officials-halt-controversial-voter-purge/2041621>

131 Matt Dixon, *Democrats sue Florida over vote-by-mail verification*, Politico (Oct. 3, 2016, 6:14 PM), <http://www.politico.com/states/florida/story/2016/10/democrats-sue-florida-over-vote-by-mail-verification-106031#ixzz4MebHnVlf>; Rebecca Buckwalter-Poza & Liz Kennedy, *Preventing Problems at the Polls: Florida*, Center for American Progress (Oct. 5, 2016), <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/democracy/report/2016/10/05/145435/preventing-problems-at-the-polls-florida/>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, Ledger Independent (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html

132 Mike Schneider, *Judge Rebukes Florida's Top Election Official in Ballot Case*, ABC News (Oct. 15, 2016, 3:11 PM), <http://abcnews.go.com/US/wireStory/judge-rebukes-floridas-top-election-official-ballot-case-42829501>

133 Order Granting Preliminary Injunction, *Florida Democratic Party, et al. v. Detzner*, et al., No.4:16-cv-607-MW/CAS, ECF No. 34 (Oct. 16, 2016), <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/fdp-detzner.pdf>

134 Matt Dixon & Marc Caputo, *Scott won't extend voter registration deadline as Hurricane Matthew threatens state*, Politico (Oct. 6, 2016, 9:22 PM), <http://www.politico.com/states/florida/story/2016/10/scott-wont-extend-voter-registration-deadline-as-hurricane-matthew-approaches-106172>; Richard L. Hasen, *Hurricane Matthew Could Have Devastating Consequences for the Election*, Slate (Oct. 6, 2016, 8:28 PM), http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_slatest/2016/10/06/hurricane_matthew_could_have_devastating_consequences_for_the_election.html; Gabriel Debenedetti, *Clinton campaign chief to Florida: Extend voter registration because of storm*, Politico (Oct. 6, 2016, 4:13 PM), <http://www.politico.com/story/2016/10/clinton-campaign-florida-voter-registration-hurricane-229249>; Press Release, *Rock the Vote Urges Florida Governor and Secretary of State to Extend Tuesday's Voter Registration Deadline as Hurricane Matthew Evacuation Disrupts Election*, Rock the Vote (Oct. 6, 2016), <http://www.rockthevote.com/get-informed/press/releases/rock-the-vote-urges-florida-to-extend-voter-registration-deadline.html>; Patricia Mazzei & Kristen M. Clark, *Florida Gov. Scott says no to Clinton request for more days to register to vote due to storm*, Miami Herald (Oct. 6, 2016, 4:44 PM), <http://www.miamiherald.com/news/weather/hurricane/article106488297.html>; Press Release, *With Hurricane Matthew Battering the Southern Coast, Project Vote Calls on State Officials to Extend Voter Registration Deadlines*, Project Vote (Oct. 7, 2016), <http://www.projectvote.org/press-releases/hurricane-matthew-battering-southern-coast-project-vote-calls-state-officials-extend-voter-registration-deadlines/>; Press Release, *Gov. Rick Scott Could Leave Tens of Thousands of Floridians Out of Election*, Voto Latino (Oct. 7, 2016), <http://votolatino.org/press-release/gov-rick-scott-leave-tens-thousands-floridians-election/>; Zachary Roth & Alexandra Jaffe, *Florida Gov. Rick Scott Under Fire for Voter Registration Decision*, NBC News (Oct. 7, 2016, 11:36 AM), <http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/elections/florida-gov-rick-scott-under-fire-voter-registration-decision-n661796>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, Ledger Independent (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html

135 Complaint for Emergency Injunctive and Declaratory Relief, *Florida Democratic Party v. Scott*, No. 4:16-cv-626, ECF No. 3 (Oct. 9, 2016), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=87332&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Order, *Florida Democratic Party v. Scott*, No. 4:16cv626-MW/CAS, ECF No. 15 (Oct. 10, 2016), <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/fla-reg.pdf>; Rick Hasen,



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

136 *Breaking: Federal Court Extends FL Voter Registration for 1 Day, with Further Extension Possible*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 10, 2016, 2:40 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=87362>
Charles Minshew, (@charlesminshew), Twitter (Oct. 18, 2016, 7:14 PM), <https://twitter.com/charlesminshew/status/788564021423247360>; Zachary Roth, *Election 2016: Tracking Reports of Voting Problems Across the United States*, NBC (Nov. 7, 2016, 2:51 PM), <http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/2016-election-day/election-2016-tracking-reports-voting-problems-across-united-states-n673236>

137 Alexandra Glorioso, *Voter registration glitch could hurt minorities, activists fear*, Politico, (July, 20, 2018, 6:23 PM) <https://www.politico.com/states/florida/story/2018/07/20/voter-registration-glitch-could-hurt-minorities-activists-fear-522186>

138 Annie Martin, *Florida university campuses can host early voting sites, federal judge rules*, Orlando Sentinel (July 24, 2018, 5:50 PM) <https://www.orlandosentinel.com/features/education/school-zone/os-early-voting-college-campuses-20180724-story.html>; Gary Fineout, *Judge strikes down Florida's campus ban on early voting*, SunSentinel (July 24, 2018, 4:35 PM) <http://www.sun-sentinel.com/news/politics/fl-reg-campus-early-voting-20180724-story.html#>; Byron Dobson, *Leon County Supervisor of Elections: No early voting on FSU, FAMU, TCC campuses*, Tallahassee Democrat (Aug. 22, 2018) <https://www.tallahassee.com/story/news/2018/08/22/leon-supervisor-elections-says-no-early-voting-campuses/1045033002/>

139 *Voting Rights Groups Applaud Florida Election Officials for Providing Student-Accessible Voting, Urge Additional Early Voting Sites on Campuses*, League of Women Voters of Florida, (Aug. 30, 2018) <https://www.lwvfl.org/press-releases/voting-rights-groups-applauds-florida-election-officials-for-providing-student-accessible-voting-urge-additional-early-voting-sites-on-campuses>

140 Sean Pittman, *Florida's latest iteration of voter suppression – parking on college campuses Opinion*, Sun-Sentinel (Jul. 18, 2019), <https://www.sun-sentinel.com/opinion/commentary/fl-op-com-pittman-voter-suppression-college-campuses-20190718-4q4qq3jtv5bdnbejt3mkuiuh4a-story.html>

141 NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., *Groups Sue to Block New Florida Law That Undermines Voting Rights Restoration*, (Jun. 28, 2019), <https://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/groups-sue-to-block-new-florida-law-that-undermines-voting-rights-restoration/>; Editorial Board, *Why Are Florida Republicans So Afraid of People Voting?*, New York Times (Aug. 10, 2019), <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/10/opinion/sunday/florida-vote.html>; Daniel Rivero, *Federal Lawsuit Pushes Back On Florida's Amendment 4 Roll-Out*, WLRN (June 28, 2019), <https://www.wlrn.org/post/federal-lawsuit-pushes-back-floridas-amendment-4-roll-out>; Lawrence Mower, *What now? Amendment 4, felon voting move to Florida courts*, Tampa Bay Times (July 1, 2019), <https://www.wlrn.org/post/federal-lawsuit-pushes-back-floridas-amendment-4-roll-out>; James Call, *'Tremendous workload': Amendment 4 law creates bureaucratic puzzle in Florida*, Tallahassee Democrat (July 2, 2019), <https://www.tallahassee.com/story/news/politics/2019/07/02/amendment-4-law-creates-election-confusion-florida/1622154001/>; Tess Sheets, *Civil rights groups seek to bar controversial bill aimed at restricting ex-felon voting rights*, Orlando Sentinel (Aug. 3, 2019), <https://www.orlandosentinel.com/politics/os-ne-amendment-4-bill-injunction-20190803-6oxsohrb3ra6xi56cn6y43hw2e-story.html>; Melissa S. Razdrih, *Preliminary injunction motion filed in ACLU lawsuit for felon voting rights*, Florida Politics (Aug. 3, 2019), <https://floridapolitics.com/archives/302492-preliminary-injunction-motion-filed-in-aclu-lawsuit-for-felon-voting-rights>

142 NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., *LDF Urges Florida Legislators To Oppose Bills Undermining Amendment 4's Mandate To Expand Voting Rights*, <https://www.naacpldf.org/ldf-urges-florida-legislators-oppose-bills-designed-undermine-amendment-4s-mandate-expand-voting-rights/>

143 NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., *Groups File Motion for Preliminary Injunction to lock SB7066*, (Aug. 3, 2019), <https://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/groups-file-motion-for-preliminary-injunction-to-block-sb7066/>

144 Janell Ross, *'Tidal wave of voter suppression' washes over states. Lawyer says*, NBC News, (Feb, 3, 2020), <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/presidential-voting-season-tidal-wave-voter-suppression-washing-over-multiple-n1128041>

145 NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., *Federal Appeals Court Affirms Wealth-Based Barriers to Voting*, (Sept. 11, 2020), <https://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/federal-appeals-court-affirms-wealth-based-barriers-to-voting/>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

- 146 Associated Press, *Vote suppression alleged in close Fla. election*, Philadelphia Tribune (Aug. 9, 2013, 12:00 AM),
147 <http://www.phillytrib.com/newsarticles/item/10335-vote-suppression-alleged-in-close-fla-election.html>
148 Deshayla Strachan, *Black Vote May Be Threatened in Jacksonville*, Courthouse News (Oct. 3, 2013, 10:35 AM),
<http://www.courthousenews.com/2013/10/03/61749.htm>;
149 Maryann Tobin, *Hernando takes mixed approach to voting rights with polling location changes*, Examiner (Aug. 25,
2013, 11:05 AM), [http://www.examiner.com/article/hernando-takes-mixed-approach-to-voting-rights-with-](http://www.examiner.com/article/hernando-takes-mixed-approach-to-voting-rights-with-polling-location-changes)
<http://www.civilrights.org/press/2014/advisory-florida-latino-leaders-VRAA.html>
149 Sara Kennedy, *Manatee County Commission Oks cuts in a number of voting locations*, Bradenton Herald (Feb. 11,
2014, 1:32 PM), <http://www.bradenton.com/news/politics-government/election/article34599378.html>; Josh
Israel, *Florida County Eliminates Minority-Heaving Polling Places* (Feb. 11, 2014, 12:58 PM),
<http://thinkprogress.org/justice/2014/02/11/3278101/florida-county-reduces-minority-precincts/>
150 Michael Wines, *As ID Laws Fall, Voters See New Barriers Rise*, N.Y. Times (Oct. 25, 2016),
[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/26/us/elections/voter-id-](http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/26/us/elections/voter-id-laws.html?_r=0&referer=https://t.co/0eV1eyRIS7)
[laws.html?_r=0&referer=https://t.co/0eV1eyRIS7](https://t.co/0eV1eyRIS7)
151 Sarah Harvard, *How Did the 'Shelby County v. Holder' Supreme Court Decision Change Voting Rights Laws?*,
Identities, Mic (July 29, 2016), [https://mic.com/articles/150092/how-did-the-shelby-county-v-holder-supreme-](https://mic.com/articles/150092/how-did-the-shelby-county-v-holder-supreme-court-decision-change-voting-rights-laws?utm_content=buffer007f&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer#.qGsGu1MHo)
[court-decision-change-voting-rights-](http://civilrightsdocs.info/pdf/reports/2016-Voting-Rights-Report-FOR-WEB.pdf)
[laws?utm_content=buffer007f&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer#.qGsGu](http://civilrightsdocs.info/pdf/reports/2016-Voting-Rights-Report-FOR-WEB.pdf)
[1MHo](https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/naleo/pages/233/attachments/original/1462976324/Latino_Voters_at_Risk_7.pdf); *Warning Signs: The Potential Impact of Shelby County v. Holder on the 2016 General Election*, The Leadership
Conference on Civil and Human Rights (June 2016), [http://civilrightsdocs.info/pdf/reports/2016-Voting-Rights-](http://civilrightsdocs.info/pdf/reports/2016-Voting-Rights-Report-FOR-WEB.pdf)
[Report-FOR-WEB.pdf](https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/naleo/pages/233/attachments/original/1462976324/Latino_Voters_at_Risk_7.pdf); NALEO Educational Fund, *Latino Voters at Risk: Assessing the Impact of Restrictive Voting*
Changes In Election 2016,
[https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/naleo/pages/233/attachments/original/1462976324/Latino_Voters_](https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/naleo/pages/233/attachments/original/1462976324/Latino_Voters_at_Risk_7.pdf)
[at_Risk_7.pdf](https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/naleo/pages/233/attachments/original/1462976324/Latino_Voters_at_Risk_7.pdf)
152 Seán Kinane, *Pastors call for early voting site in black neighborhood; Pinellas says no*, WMNF (Sept. 24, 2016),
<http://www.wmnf.org/pastors-call-early-voting-site-black-neighborhood-pinellas-says-no/>
153 Walter C. Jones, *Georgia lawmaker seeks shorter early-voting periods for small cities*, Online Athens (Feb. 4, 2014),
[http://m.onlineathens.com/general-assembly/2014-02-04/georgia-lawmaker-seeks-shorter-early-voting-](http://m.onlineathens.com/general-assembly/2014-02-04/georgia-lawmaker-seeks-shorter-early-voting-periods-small-cities)
[periods-small-cities](http://www.salon.com/2014/02/20/gops_chilling_new_assault_on_voting_why_this_man_wants_to_close_georgia_voting_sites/); Spencer Woodman, *GOP's chilling new assault on voting: Why this man wants to scale back*
early voting in Georgia, Salon (Feb. 20, 2014, 7:43 AM),
[http://www.salon.com/2014/02/20/gops_chilling_new_assault_on_voting_why_this_man_wants_to_close_georg](http://www.salon.com/2014/02/20/gops_chilling_new_assault_on_voting_why_this_man_wants_to_close_georgia_voting_sites/)
[ia_voting_sites/](http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/voting-rights-advocates-urge-georgia-legislature-reject-attack-voters); Press Release, *Voting Rights Advocates Urge the Georgia Legislature to Reject Attack on Voters*,
NAACP Legal Defense Fund (Feb. 25, 2014), [http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/voting-rights-advocates-](http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/voting-rights-advocates-urge-georgia-legislature-reject-attack-voters)
[urge-georgia-legislature-reject-attack-voters](http://thinkprogress.org/election/2015/08/26/3695039/county-admits-it-disenfranchised-voters-in-african-american-dominated-county/); Alice Ollstein, *Georgia County Admits To Illegally Disenfranchising*
Voters, Think Progress (Aug. 26, 2015, 8:00 AM),
[http://thinkprogress.org/election/2015/08/26/3695039/county-admits-it-disenfranchised-voters-in-african-](http://thinkprogress.org/election/2015/08/26/3695039/county-admits-it-disenfranchised-voters-in-african-american-dominated-county/)
[american-dominated-county/](http://thinkprogress.org/election/2015/08/26/3695039/county-admits-it-disenfranchised-voters-in-african-american-dominated-county/)
154 Alice Ollstein, *Georgia County Admits To Illegally Disenfranchising Voters*, Think Progress (Aug. 26, 2015, 8:00
AM), [http://thinkprogress.org/election/2015/08/26/3695039/county-admits-it-disenfranchised-voters-in-](http://thinkprogress.org/election/2015/08/26/3695039/county-admits-it-disenfranchised-voters-in-african-american-dominated-county/)
[african-](http://thinkprogress.org/election/2015/08/26/3695039/county-admits-it-disenfranchised-voters-in-african-american-dominated-county/)
[american-dominated-county/](http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/goper-fran-millar-opposes-early-voting-because-it-will-boost-black-turnout)
155 Zachary Roth, *GOPer opposes early voting because it will boost black turnout*, MSNBC (Sept. 10, 2014, 2:21 PM),
<http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/goper-fran-millar-opposes-early-voting-because-it-will-boost-black-turnout>;
Josh Israel, *Georgia Secretary Of State Laments That Democrats Are Registering Minority Voters*, Think Progress
(Sept. 11, 2014, 1:46 PM), [http://thinkprogress.org/justice/2014/09/11/3566493/georgia-secretary-of-state-](http://thinkprogress.org/justice/2014/09/11/3566493/georgia-secretary-of-state-laments-minority-voters/)
[laments-minority-voters/](http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/politics/2014/09/stacey_abrams_new_georgia_project_shocks_georgia_s_gop_republicans_fighting.html?wpsrc=sh_all_dt_tw_bot); Janelle Bouie, *Running Scared*, Slate (Sept. 11, 2014, 8:12 PM),
[http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/politics/2014/09/stacey_abrams_new_georgia_project_shoc](http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/politics/2014/09/stacey_abrams_new_georgia_project_shocks_georgia_s_gop_republicans_fighting.html?wpsrc=sh_all_dt_tw_bot)
[ks_georgia_s_gop_republicans_fighting.html?wpsrc=sh_all_dt_tw_bot](http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-north-carolina-voting-20160505-story.html); Jenny Jarvie, *Voting has gotten tougher in 17*
states, and it could alter elections, L.A. Times (May 6, 2016, 3:00 AM), [http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-](http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-north-carolina-voting-20160505-story.html)
[north-carolina-voting-20160505-story.html](http://wabe.org/post/republican-bill-would-cut-early-voting-days-mandate-sunday-voting)
156 Jonathan Shapiro, *Republican Bill Would Cut Early Voting Days, Mandate Sunday Voting*, WABE (Feb. 6, 2015),
<http://wabe.org/post/republican-bill-would-cut-early-voting-days-mandate-sunday-voting>; Walter C. Jones,

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

Shortening advance voting stirs opposition, Online Athens (Feb. 3, 2015, 11:29 PM), <http://onlineathens.com/general-assembly/2015-02-03/shortening-advance-voting-stirs-opposition>; Aaron Gould Sheinin, *Bill would shorten early voting, mandate polls open on Sunday*, AJC (Feb. 3, 2015, 1:21 PM), <http://www.ajc.com/news/news/state-regional-govt-politics/bill-shortens-early-voting-mandates-polls-open-on-nj3yw/>; *GA Legislators Propose Bill to Shorten Early Voting Period*, WGAU (Feb. 5, 2015, 6:33 PM), <http://www.wgauradio.com/weblogs/georgias-morning-news-blog/2015/feb/05/ga-legislators-propose-bill-shorten-early-voting-p/>; Zachary Roth, *Georgia Republicans look to cut early voting again*, MSNBC (Feb. 16, 2015, 4:51 PM), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/georgia-republicans-look-cut-early-voting-again>; Alice Ollstein, *Georgia's New Plan To Make Voting Even Harder*, Think Progress (Feb. 17, 2015, 3:33 PM), <http://thinkprogress.org/election/2015/02/17/3623585/georgias-new-plan-make-voting-even-harder/>; Zachary Roth, *GOP readies new wave of voting restrictions*, MSNBC (Feb. 19, 2015, 4:30 PM), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/gop-readies-new-wave-voting-restrictions>; Press Release, *PPG's Advocacy Halts Efforts to Reduce Early Voting in Georgia*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund (Mar. 24, 2014), <http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/ppgs-advocacy-halts-efforts-reduce-early-voting-georgia>; Zachary Roth, *In voting rights win, bill to cut Georgia early voting is dead*, MSNBC (Apr. 6, 2015, 11:59 AM), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/voting-rights-win-bill-cut-georgia-early-voting-dead>

157 Laura Diaz, *Georgia early voters break record ahead of March 1 primaries*, AJC (Feb. 29, 2016, 4:25 PM), <http://www.ajc.com/news/news/state-regional-govt-politics/georgia-early-voters-break-record-ahead-of-march-1/nqZ4W/>; Kristina Torres, *Big jump in early voting this year in Georgia*, AJC (May 23, 2016, 12:24 PM), <http://www.ajc.com/news/news/state-regional-govt-politics/big-jump-in-early-voting-this-year-in-georgia/nrRr8/>

158 See S.B. 363, 154th Gen. Assemb. Reg. Sess. (Ga. 2018), <http://www.legis.ga.gov/Legislation/en-US/InjectSession.aspx?BillType=SB&BillNum=363> [hereinafter S.B. 363]; Kira Lerner, *Georgia GOP Pushes Elimination of Sunday Voting to Suppress Black Turnout*, Think Progress (Mar. 16, 2018), <https://thinkprogress.org/georgia-sunday-voting-cut-9c1c2ffafd18/>; Mark Niesse, *Bill to Shorten Atlanta Voting Hours Advances in Ga. House*, AJC (Mar. 8, 2018), <https://politics.myajc.com/news/state-regional-govt-politics/bill-shorten-atlanta-voting-hours-advances-house/goraM0zz8ft43NldUsjekL/>

159 Press Release, *LDF Opposes Georgia Bill That Threatens to Suppress Minority Voting Participation*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund (Mar. 26, 2018), <http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/ldf-opposes-georgia-bill-threatens-suppress-minority-voting-participation>

160 Kevin Morris & Myrna Perez, *Florida, Georgia, North Carolina Still Purging Voters at High Rates*, Brennan Center for Justice (Oct. 1, 2018), <http://www.brennancenter.org/blog/florida-georgia-north-carolina-still-purging-voters-high-rates>

161 Geoff Hing, Angela Caputo and Johnny Kauffman, *Georgia Purged About 107,000 People From Voter Rolls: Report*, WABE (Oct. 19, 2018), <https://www.wabe.org/georgia-purged-about-107000-people-from-voter-rolls-report/>

162 Zachary Roth, *Records cast more doubt on Georgia fraud probe claims*, MSNBC (Oct. 21, 2014, 10:30 PM), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/records-cast-more-doubt-georgia-fraud-probe-claims>; Spencer Woodman, *GOP FRAUD CLAIMS IN NORTH CAROLINA GOVERNOR'S RACE REFLECT A STRATEGY TO SUPPRESS BLACK VOTES*, Intercept (Nov. 23, 2016, 1:47 PM), <https://theintercept.com/2016/11/23/gop-fraud-claims-in-north-carolina-governors-race-reflect-a-strategy-to-suppress-black-votes/>

163 Daniel Malloy et al., *Fraud investigation condemned as effort to 'suppress' voters*, AJC (Sept. 10, 2014), <http://politics.blog.ajc.com/2014/09/10/fraud-investigation-condemned-as-effort-to-suppress-voters/>; Josh Israel, *Georgia Secretary Of State Laments That Democrats Are Registering Minority Voters*, Think Progress (Sept. 11, 2014, 1:46 PM), <http://thinkprogress.org/justice/2014/09/11/3566493/georgia-secretary-of-state-laments-minority-voters/>; Jamelle Bouie, *Running Scared*, Slate (Sept. 11, 2014, 8:12 PM), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/politics/2014/09/stacey_abrams_new_georgia_project_shocks_georgia_s_gop_republicans_fighting.html?wpsrc=sh_all_dt_tw_bot

164 Zachary Roth, *Records cast more doubt on Georgia fraud probe claims*, MSNBC (Oct. 21, 2014, 10:30 PM), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/records-cast-more-doubt-georgia-fraud-probe-claims>

165 Spencer Woodman, *Why Does Georgia Keep Going After Black Voters?*, Vice (Sept. 18, 2014), <http://www.vice.com/read/why-does-the-state-of-georgia-keep-going-after-black-voters-918>; Kristina Torres, *State says 25 voter applications of 85,000 "confirmed" forgeries*, AJC (Sept. 17, 2014, 4:09 PM), <http://www.myajc.com/news/news/state-regional-govt-politics/georgia-ignoring-new-voter-applications-on->

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

a-witch/nhPNH/?federated=1; Hunter Schwarz, *Less than 1 percent of voter registration forms turned in by a Georgia group accused of fraud are actually fraudulent*, Washington Post (Sept. 18, 2014), <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/govbeat/wp/2014/09/18/less-than-1-percent-of-voter-registration-forms-turned-in-by-a-georgia-group-accused-of-fraud-are-actually-fraudulent/>; Lauren Harmon & Sarah Baron, *The Academy Awards of Voter Suppression*, American Progress (Feb. 20, 2015), <https://www.americanprogressaction.org/issues/civil-liberties/report/2015/02/20/107013/the-academy-awards-of-voter-suppression/>; Alice Ollstein, *Georgia County Admits To Illegally Disenfranchising Voters*, Think Progress (Aug. 26, 2015, 8:00 AM), <http://thinkprogress.org/election/2015/08/26/3695039/county-admits-it-disenfranchised-voters-in-african-american-dominated-county/>

166 Steve Benen, *Civil rights groups sue over Ga. voter backlog*, MSNBC (Oct. 13, 2014, 12:53 PM), <http://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/civil-rights-groups-sue-over-ga-voter-backlog>; Kristina Torres, *Lawyers' Committee sues Georgia over missing voter applications*, AJC (Oct. 10, 2014, 5:40 PM), <http://www.ajc.com/news/news/state-regional-govt-politics/lawyers-committee-sues-georgia-over-missing-voter-/nhgXj/>; Cameron McWhirter, *Voter Registration Drive in Georgia Leads to Lawsuit*, Wall Street Journal (Oct. 13, 2014, 9:14 AM), <http://blogs.wsj.com/washwire/2014/10/13/voter-registration-drive-in-georgia-leads-to-lawsuit/>; Diana Ozemebhoya Eromosele, *40,000 Voter-Registration Applications Submitted by Black and Hispanic People Are Missing in Ga.*, The Root (Oct. 16, 2014), http://www.theroot.com/articles/politics/2014/10/_40_000_voter_registration_applications_submitted_by_black_and_hispanic.html; Buzz Brockway, *CBS46 Tries To Find The "Missing" 48,000 Voter Registration Forms*, Peach Pundit (Oct. 14, 2014), <http://www.peachpundit.com/2014/10/14/cbs46-tries-find-missing-48000-voter-registration-forms/>; Hansi Lo Wang, *Concern Over New-Voter Registration In Georgia Ahead Of Election*, NPR (Oct. 22, 2014, 4:33 AM), http://www.npr.org/blogs/codeswitch/2014/10/22/357998924/concern-over-new-voter-registration-in-georgia-ahead-of-election?utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=politics&utm_medium=social&utm_term=nprnews; Ed O'Keefe, *Ballot dispute in Georgia heads to courts — and could be a factor in state's close Senate race*, Washington Post (Oct. 24, 2014), <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-politics/wp/2014/10/24/ballot-dispute-in-georgia-heads-to-courts-and-could-be-a-factor-in-states-close-senate-race/>; Kristina Torres, *Georgia judge declines to intervene in 'missing' voters lawsuit*, AJC (Oct. 28, 2014, 1:33 PM), <http://www.ajc.com/news/news/state-regional-govt-politics/georgia-judge-declines-to-intervene-in-missing-vot/nhtD6/>; Naomi Shavin, *40,000 Voter Registrations Have Gone Missing in Georgia, and They're Probably Lost Forever*, New Republic (Nov. 3, 2014), https://newrepublic.com/article/120097/40000-missing-voters-georgia-are-unlikely-regain-their-ballot?utm_content=buffer30c8d&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer; Patricia Murphy, *50,000 Missing Georgia Voter-Registration Applications? Nothing to See Here*, Daily Beast (Oct. 30, 2014, 5:55 AM), <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/10/30/50-000-missing-georgia-voter-registration-applications-nothing-to-see-here.html?via=desktop&source=twitter>; Alice Ollstein, *Georgia County Admits To Illegally Disenfranchising Voters*, Think Progress (Aug. 26, 2015, 8:00 AM), <http://thinkprogress.org/election/2015/08/26/3695039/county-admits-it-disenfranchised-voters-in-african-american-dominated-county/>; Emily Bazelon, *The Supreme Court Ruled That Voting Restrictions Were a Bygone Problem. Early Voting Results Suggest Otherwise.*, N.Y. Times (Nov. 7, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/07/magazine/the-supreme-court-ruled-that-voting-restrictions-were-a-bygone-problem-early-voting-results-suggest-otherwise.html?_r=0

167 Zachary Roth, *Records cast more doubt on Georgia fraud probe claims*, MSNBC (Oct. 21, 2014, 10:30 PM), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/records-cast-more-doubt-georgia-fraud-probe-claims>; Rick Hasen, *"Georgia elections chief: No missing voter applications"*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 21, 2014, 2:04 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=67230&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Jennifer Leslie, *Georgia elections chief: No missing voter applications*, 11 Alive (Oct. 20, 2014, 7:35 AM), <http://phxux.11alive.com/story/news/politics/elections/2014/10/20/missing-voter-applications/17596625/>; Spencer Woodman, *Register Minority Voters in Georgia, Go to Jail*, New Republic (May 5, 2015), <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/121715/georgia-secretary-state-hammers-minority-voter-registration-efforts>; Alice Ollstein, *Georgia County Admits To Illegally Disenfranchising Voters*, Think Progress (Aug. 26, 2015,

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

8:00 AM), <http://thinkprogress.org/election/2015/08/26/3695039/county-admits-it-disenfranchised-voters-in-african-american-dominated-county/>

168 Alan Blinder, *Georgia Judge Dismisses Lawsuit on Voter Registration*, N.Y. Times (Oct. 28, 2014), <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/29/us/georgia-judge-dismisses-lawsuit-on-voter-registration.html?smid=tw-share&r=0>; Kristina Torres, *Georgia judge declines to intervene in 'missing' voters lawsuit*, AJC (Oct. 28, 2014, 1:33 PM), <http://www.ajc.com/news/news/state-regional-govt-politics/georgia-judge-declines-to-intervene-in-missing-vot/nhtD6/>; Naomi Shavin, *40,000 Voter Registrations Have Gone Missing in Georgia, and They're Probably Lost Forever*, New Republic (Nov. 3, 2014), http://www.newrepublic.com/article/120097/40000-missing-voters-georgia-are-unlikely-regain-their-ballot?utm_content=buffer30c8d&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer; Patricia Murphy, *50,000 Missing Georgia Voter-Registration Applications? Nothing to See Here*, Daily Beast (Oct. 30, 2014, 5:55 AM), <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/10/30/50-000-missing-georgia-voter-registration-applications-nothing-to-see-here.html?via=desktop&source=twitter>; <http://www.myajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/georgia-judge-sides-with-state-missing-voters-case/AkvPr6mP9FiMXglh5NUIHJ/>

169 Greg Palast, *Jim Crow Returns*, Al Jazeera (Oct. 29, 2014), <http://projects.aljazeera.com/2014/double-voters/>; Naila Awan, *Voting Rights Challenges In the Wake of Shelby County*, Demos (Feb. 4, 2016), <http://www.demos.org/blog/2/4/16/voting-rights-challenges-wake-shelby-county>

170 Kristina Torres, *Suit alleges that Georgia is illegally bumping voters off rolls*, AJC (Feb. 11, 2016, 2:20 PM), <http://www.myajc.com/news/news/state-regional-govt-politics/georgia-secretary-of-state-brian-kemp-sued-over-vo/nqNk6/>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, ProPublica (Sept. 23, 2016, 1:52 PM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/2016-election-lawsuit-tracker-new-election-laws-suits-challenging-them>;

171 Press Release, *Georgia NAACP File Suit Challenging Voter Purges*, Common Cause (Feb. 11, 2016), <http://www.commoncause.org/press-releases/common-cause-georgia-naacp-sue-over-voter-purges.html>; *Common Cause v. Kemp*, Civ. A. No. 2:16-mi-99999-UNA, Complaint (N.D. Ga. Feb. 10, 2016), <http://www.commoncause.org/take-action/campaigns/common-cause-v-kemp.pdf>; Michell Eloy, *Lawsuit Says Ga. Illegally Purging Voters From State Rolls*, WABE (Feb. 12, 2016), <http://news.wabe.org/post/lawsuit-says-ga-illegally-purging-voters-state-rolls>; Brittany Miller, *Lawsuit alleges state purged 360K from voter rolls*, CBS46 (Mar. 11, 2016, 7:42 PM), <http://www.cbs46.com/story/31212143/lawsuit-filed-against-ga-for-voter-purging>; Naila Awan, *Voting Rights Challenges In the Wake of Shelby County*, Demos (Feb. 4, 2016), <http://www.demos.org/blog/2/4/16/voting-rights-challenges-wake-shelby-county>; Manny Otiko, *Civic Groups File Lawsuit to Block Proof-of-Citizenship Laws, New Study Proves Voter ID Laws Reduce Black, Latino Turnout*, Atlanta Black Star (Feb. 15, 2016), <http://atlantablackstar.com/2016/02/15/civic-groups-file-lawsuit-block-proof-citizenship-laws-new-study-proves-voter-id-laws-reduce-black-latino-turnout/>; Jennifer L. Patin, *Election Protection 2016: #ProtectOURVOTE*, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights, https://lawyerscommittee.org/ep2016_brief1/ (last visited June 9, 2016)

172 Project Vote, *Voting Rights Group Sues Ga. Sec. of State Brian Kemp for Voter Registration Records*, Project Vote (July 6, 2016), <http://www.projectvote.org/press-releases/voting-rights-group-sues-ga-sec-state-brian-kemp-voter-registration-records/>; *In a Victory for Voters, Court Orders Georgia's Secretary of State to Release Voter Registration Records*, Project Vote (Sept. 21, 2016), <http://www.projectvote.org/press-releases/victory-voters-court-orders-georgias-secretary-state-release-voter-registration-records/>

173 *In a Victory for Voters, Court Orders Georgia's Secretary of State to Release Voter Registration Records*, Project Vote (Sept. 21, 2016), <http://www.projectvote.org/press-releases/victory-voters-court-orders-georgias-secretary-state-release-voter-registration-records/>; Kristina Torres, *Judge orders Georgia to release database records on voter registration*, AJC (Sept. 21, 2016, 11:58 AM), <http://www.ajc.com/news/news/state-regional-govt-politics/judge-orders-georgia-to-release-database-records-o/nsclj/>; Kathleen Foody, *Federal judge orders release of Georgia's rejected voter records*, Augusta Chronicle (Sept. 21, 2016), <http://chronicle.augusta.com/news/2016-09-21/federal-judge-orders-release-georgias-rejected-voter-records>

174 Complaint for Injunctive and Declaratory Relief, *Georgia State Conference of the NAACP et al. v. Kemp*, No. 2:16-cv-0219 (N.D. Ga. Sept. 14, 2016), ECF No. 1, <http://www.projectvote.org/wp-content/uploads/1-2016-09-13-GA-NAACP-Kemp-Complaint-FINAL.pdf>; Kate Brumback, *Lawsuit: Georgia voter registration process violates the law*, Associated Press (Sept. 14, 2016, 1:54 PM),

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

<http://bigstory.ap.org/article/5dca86cf28114b23b94e4a3891da1d64/lawsuit-georgia-voter-registration-process-violates-law>; Kristina Torres, *Federal lawsuit alleges Georgia blocked thousands of minority voters*, Project Vote (Sept. 14, 2016), <http://www.projectvote.org/news/suit-alleges-georgia-blocked-thousands-minority-voters-rolls/>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, ProPublica (Sept. 23, 2016, 1:52 PM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/2016-election-lawsuit-tracker-new-election-laws-suits-challenging-them>; Zachary Roth, *Lawsuit: 'Exact Match' System Negatively Impacts Georgia's Minority Voters*, NBC News (Sept. 14, 2016, 3:49 PM), <http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/elections/lawsuit-exact-match-system-negatively-impacts-georgia-s-minority-voters-n648251>; Zachary Roth, *Lawsuit: 'Exact Match' System Negatively Impacts Georgia's Minority Voters*, NBC News (Sept. 14, 2016, 3:49 PM), <http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/elections/lawsuit-exact-match-system-negatively-impacts-georgia-s-minority-voters-n648251>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, Ledger Independent (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html; Emily Bazelon, *The Supreme Court Ruled That Voting Restrictions Were a Bygone Problem. Early Voting Results Suggest Otherwise.*, N.Y. Times (Nov. 7, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/07/magazine/the-supreme-court-ruled-that-voting-restrictions-were-a-bygone-problem>

- 175 Aaron Gould Sheinin, *ACLU sues Georgia to re-open voter registration in storm-hit counties*, AJC (Oct. 18, 2016), <http://politics.blog.ajc.com/2016/10/18/acu-sues-georgia-to-re-open-voter-registration-in-storm-hit-counties/>; Emanuella Grinberg and Max Blau, *Judge won't extend Georgia voter registration deadline after Matthew*, CNN Politics (Oct. 20, 2016), h
- 176 Vanessa Williams, *A growing conflict over voting rights is playing out in Georgia, where the presidential race is tightening*, Washington Post (Oct. 24, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/growing-conflict-over-voting-rights-in-georgia-where-the-presidential-race-is-tightening/2016/10/24/2e9d2caa-84e6-11e6-a3ef-f35afb41797f_story.html?hpid=hp_hp-top-table-main_gavoting-219pm%3Ahomepage%2Fstory
- 177 Chris Joyner, *AJC Watchdog: DC lawyers, liberal groups push 6th District lawsuit*, myAJC (Apr. 27, 2017, 12:00 AM), <http://www.myajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/ajc-watchdog-lawyers-liberal-groups-push-6th-district-lawsuit/K85CjJ8hFq6IWADKOEILSK/>; Kristina Torres, *Georgia suit settled alleging black voters wrongfully disqualified*, myAJC (Mar. 16, 2017, 12:40 PM), <http://www.myajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/georgia-suit-settled-alleging-black-voters-wrongfully-disqualified/djDIFyJpvyJjcZW8CjzgKL/>
- 178 H.B. 268, 154th Gen. Assemb., Reg. Sess. (Ga. 2017) <http://cqstatetrack.com/texas/redir?id=589ac2691128&rtype=text&original=y>; *Georgia Proposes to Codify Harmful Voter Registration Practice*, <http://www.projectvote.org/blog/georgia-proposes-codify-harmful-voter-registration-practice/>; Kristina Torres, *House to vote on bill that groups say hurts minority voters*, myAJC (Feb. 21, 2017), <http://www.myajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/house-vote-bill-that-groups-say-hurts-minority-voters/NbbOBfP1ackvhHJZANUpMK/>; Niyati Shah, *Georgia Senate Must Reject New "Exact Match" Bill*, Project Vote (Mar. 6, 2017), <http://www.projectvote.org/blog/georgia-senate-must-reject-new-exact-match-bill/>; Kristina Torres, *House to vote on bill that groups say hurts minority voters*, Project Vote (Feb. 22, 2017), <http://www.projectvote.org/news/house-vote-bill-groups-say-hurts-minority-voters/>
- 179 Tim Reid & Grant Smith, *Missing hyphens will make it hard for some people to vote in U.S. election*, MSN (Apr. 11, 2018), <https://www.msn.com/en-gb/news/world/missing-hyphens-will-make-it-hard-for-some-people-to-vote-in-us-election/ar-AAvLJgF>; Associated Press, *Voting Rights Become A Flashpoint in Georgia Governor's Race*, WABE (Oct. 09, 2018) <https://www.wabe.org/voting-rights-become-a-flashpoint-in-georgia-governors-race/>; Astead W. Herndon, *Complaints of Voter Suppression loom Over Georgia Governor's Race*, The New York Times (Oct. 11, 2018) <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/11/us/politics/georgia-voter-registration-kemp-abrams.html?action=click&module=Top%20Stories&pgtype=Homepage>; Eugene Scott, *Georgia's Held-up voter registrations reinforce black Americans' fear about voting rights*, The Washington Post (Oct. 12, 2018) https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2018/10/12/georgia-voter-registrations-being-held-reinforces-black-americans-fears-about-voting-rights/?utm_term=.288348f27ba3; Rick Hasen, *About Those 900,000 Voters Potentially Disenfranchised by Ga's 'Exact Match' Law? Not so Much*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 23, 2018) https://electionlawblog.org/?p=101693&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

180 Astead W. Herndon, *Complaints of Voter Suppression Loom Over Georgia Governor’s Race*, The New York Times (Oct. 11, 2018) <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/11/us/politics/georgia-voter-registration-kemp-abrams.html?action=click&module=Top%20Stories&pgtype=Homepage>; Rick Hasen, *“Civil Rights Groups Sue Georgia Secretary of State Brian Kemp to Cease Discriminatory ‘No Match, No Vote’ Registration Protocol”*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 11, 2018) https://electionlawblog.org/?p=101474&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/10/11/georgia-naacp-voter-registration-lawsuit-842679>; Lauren Pearle, *Civil rights groups may seek emergency relief in Georgia voter registration brawl*, ABC News (Oct. 15, 2018) <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/civil-rights-groups-seek-emergency-relief-georgia-voter/story?id=58518643>; Monkey Cage, *Georgia’s ‘exact match’ law could potentially harm many eligible voters*, The Washington Post (Oct. 20, 2018) https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/10/20/georgias-exact-match-law-could-disenfranchise-3031802-eligible-voters-my-research-finds/?utm_term=.cf2240570d6d; Erik Larson, Andrew M. Harris, & Margaret Newkirk, *Georgia Suits Cite ‘Train Wreck’ Plan for Ballot Signatures*, Bloomberg (Oct. 23, 2018) <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-10-23/georgia-lawsuits-cite-train-wreck-plan-tossing-out-ballots>; Michael Wines & Danny Hakim, *Four Fights Over Voting Rights*, The New York Times (Nov. 3, 2018) <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/03/us/politics/voting-rights-lawsuits.html>

181 Chris Mills Rodrigo, *Judge eases requirements under Georgia ‘exact match’ rule*, The Hill (Nov. 02, 2018), <https://thehill.com/regulation/court-battles/414579-georgia-judge-rules-against-kemp-in-exact-match-voting-case>; CLC, *Victory! Federal Court Provides Immediate Relief for thousands of Georgia Voters*, Advancing Democracy Through Law (Nov. 2, 2018), <https://campaignlegal.org/press-releases/victory-federal-court-provides-immediate-relief-thousands-Georgia-voters>; P.R. Lockhart, *Georgia, 2018’s most prominent voting rights battleground, explained*, Vox (Nov. 6, 2018), <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/10/26/18024468/georgia-voter-suppression-stacey-abrams-brian-kemp-voting-rights>; Michael Wines & Danny Hakim, *Four Fights Over Voting Rights*, The New York Times, (Nov. 3, 2018), <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/03/us/politics/voting-rights-lawsuits.html>

182 Sherrilyn Ifill, *Letter regarding Recusal from Voter Registration Duties During Campaign for Governor*, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. (Oct. 12, 2018), https://www.naacpldf.org/wp-content/uploads/NAACP-LDF-Letter-to-Georgia-Secretary-of-State-Kemp-re-Recusal_10.12.2018-final_0.pdf; Astead W. Herndon & Trip Gabriel, *Showdown in Georgia Governor’s Race Reflects a Larger Fight Over Voting Rights*, The New York Times (Oct. 15, 2018), <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/15/us/politics/georgia-abrams-kemp-voting.html>; Tim Johnson, *Three Secretaries of state are refereeing the election while running I n the field*, McClatchy DC Bureau (Oct. 18, 2018), <https://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/politics-government/election/midterms/article220228190.html>; Alan Greenblatt, *Not Just Georgia’s Brian Kemp: Other Secretaries of State Accused of Abusing Elections Power*, Governing the State and Localities (Oct. 17, 2018), <http://www.governing.com/topics/politics/gov-secretary-state-brian-kemp-georgia-candidate-conflict.html>; P.R. Lockhart, *Georgia, 2018’s most prominent voting rights battleground, explained*, Vox (Nov. 6, 2018), <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/10/26/18024468/georgia-voter-suppression-stacey-abrams-brian-kemp-voting-rights>; Michael Wines & Danny Hakim, *Four Fights Over Voting Rights*, The New York Times (Nov. 3, 2018), <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/03/us/politics/voting-rights-lawsuits.html>; Rick Hasen, *“Georgia Voters File Emergency Lawsuit Seeking to Have Secretary of State Kemp Barred From Presiding Over His Own Election”*, Election Law Blog (Nov. 6, 2018), https://electionlawblog.org/?p=102020&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29

183 Aaron Gould Sheinin, *ACLU sues Georgia to re-open voter registration in storm-hit counties*, AJC (Oct. 18, 2016), <http://politics.blog.ajc.com/2016/10/18/aclu-sues-georgia-to-re-open-voter-registration-in-storm-hit-counties/>; Emanuella Grinberg and Max Blau, *Judge won’t extend Georgia voter registration deadline after Matthew*, CNN Politics (Oct. 20, 2016), <http://www.cnn.com/2016/10/20/politics/georgia-voter-registration-lawsuit-aclu-matthew/>; Russ Bynum, *Judge Weighs Extending Georgia Voter Registration a 2nd Time* (Oct. 19, 2016, 11:53 AM, ET), <http://abcnews.go.com/US/wireStory/judge-weighs-extending-georgia-voter-registration-2nd-time-42909352>; Vanessa Williams, *A growing conflict over voting rights is playing out in Georgia, where the presidential race is tightening*, Washington Post (Oct. 24, 2016), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/growing-conflict->

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

over-voting-rights-in-georgia-where-the-presidential-race-is-tightening/2016/10/24/2e9d2caa-84e6-11e6-a3ef-f35afb41797f_story.html?hp_id=hp_hp-top-table-main_gavoting-219pm%3Ahomepage%2Fstory; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws*, (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html; Chris Joyner, *AJC Watchdog: DC lawyers, liberal groups push 6th District lawsuit*, myAJC (Apr. 27, 2017), <http://www.myajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/ajc-watchdog-lawyers-liberal-groups-push-6th-district-lawsuit/K85CjJ8hFq6IWADKOEILSK/>;

184 Kira Lerner, *Georgia hit with lawsuit challenging registration deadline for congressional run-off*, ThinkProgress (Apr. 20, 2017), <https://thinkprogress.org/georgia-runoff-lawsuit-54326dee89ed>; Aaron Gould Sheinin, *Suit claims Georgia voter registration violates federal law*, AJC (Apr. 20, 2017, 2:32 PM), <http://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/suit-claims-georgia-voter-registration-violates-federal-law/5boPRxoDMGhK8wM8ecSyoK/>; Chris Joyner, *AJC Watchdog: DC lawyers, liberal groups push 6th District lawsuit*, myAJC (Apr. 27, 2017, 12:00 AM), <http://www.myajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/ajc-watchdog-lawyers-liberal-groups-push-6th-district-lawsuit/K85CjJ8hFq6IWADKOEILSK/>; Zachary Roth, *Judge extends registration deadline in key Georgia congressional race*, Daily Democracy (May 5, 2017, 2:30 PM), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/05/05/judge-extends-registration-deadline-in-key-georgia-congressional-race/>; Zachary Roth, *Karen Handel outraged that Bush-appointed judge made it easier to vote in her race*, Daily Democracy (May 9, 2017, 3:30 PM), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/05/09/karen-handel-outraged-that-bush-appointed-judge-made-it-easier-to-vote-in-her-race/>; Kira Lerner, *Georgia Republican enraged at court order making it easier for people to vote*, ThinkProgress (May 8, 2017), <https://thinkprogress.org/georgia-registration-order-5b8b12f30fbb>; Ari Berman, *Georgia Can't Block New Voters From Registering in the Ossoff-Handel Runoff*, Nation (May 5, 2017), <https://www.thenation.com/article/georgia-cant-block-new-voters-from-registering-in-the-ossoff-handel-runoff/>; Kristina Torres, *Federal judge orders Georgia to reopen voter registration ahead of 6th District runoff*, AJC (May 4, 2017, 2:42 PM), <http://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/federal-judge-orders-georgia-reopen-voter-registration-ahead-6th-district-runoff/ZejBoBDNllqHU7JGtmUzcN/>;

185 Kristina Torres, *Georgia's 6th District has added 5,500 voters, with more coming*, myAJC (May 22, 2017, 3:22 PM), <http://www.myajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/georgia-6th-district-has-added-500-voters-with-more-coming/JngfyKxyryRWupkDcnTVsN/>; Zachary Roth, *Lawsuit let 5,500 Georgians register for special election*, Daily Democracy (May 23, 2017, 5:48 PM), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/05/23/lawsuit-let-5500-georgians-register-for-special-election/#more-1343>;

186 Stanley Dunlap, *Georgia elections offices swamped with voter registrations*, Telegraph (May 1, 2017, 6:02 PM), <http://www.macon.com/news/local/article147934484.html>;

187 Zachary Roth, *Georgia county wrongly told voters registration was closed*, Daily Democracy (May 8, 2017, 10:44 PM), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/05/08/georgia-county-wrongly-told-voters-registration-was-closed/>;

188 Jon Ward, *Georgia group can prove illegal voter purge by Kemp, leader says*, <https://ca.style.yahoo.com/georgia-group-can-prove-illegal-voter-purge-kemp-leader-says-100002969.html>, Yahoo, (Dec. 3, 2018); Eliza Newlin Carney, *Read It and Weep: Georgia Lawsuit Paints Stark Portrait of Voter Suppression*, The American Prospect, (Nov. 29, 2018); Mary Louise Kelly, *Stacey Abrams' Allies Suing Georgia Over How Governor's Race Was Run*, https://www.npr.org/2018/11/28/671675721/stacey-abrams-allies-suing-georgia-over-how-governor-s-race-was-run?utm_campaign=storyshare&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_medium=social, NPR Station, (Nov. 28, 2018, 4:31 PM); Richard Fausset, *'Large-Scale Reforms' of Georgia Elections Sought in Federal Lawsuit*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/27/us/georgia-elections-federal-lawsuit.html>, The New York Times, (Nov. 27, 2018); Richard L. Hasen, *Stacey Abrams' New Lawsuit Against Georgia's broken Voting System Is Incredibly Smart*, <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2018/11/stacey-abrams-georgia-voting-rights-lawsuit.html>, Slate, (Nov. 27, 2018);

189 Alice Ollstein, *Georgia County Admits To Illegally Disenfranchising Voters*, Think Progress (Aug. 26, 2015, 8:00 AM), <http://thinkprogress.org/election/2015/08/26/3695039/county-admits-it-disenfranchised-voters-in-african-american-dominated-county/>; John Eligon, *A.C.L.U. Challenges Kansas Voter Law Requiring Proof of Citizenship*, N.Y. Times (Feb. 18, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/19/us/aclu-challenges-kansas-voter-law-requiring-proof-of-citizenship.html?smid=tw-share&r=2>; Pam Fessler, *Change At Federal Election Agency*

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

Muddles Kansas Voter Registration Laws, NPR (Feb. 2, 2016, 9:27 PM), <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/02/02/465353108/as-voting-begins-several-states-voter-id-laws-remain-in-flux>; Mitch M., *Arizona On Sidelines Of New Voter Registration / Proof of Citizenship Battle ... Which It Started; Could Jump Back Into Fray*, Arizona's Politics Blog (Feb. 2, 2016), <http://arizonapolitics.blogspot.com/2016/02/arizona-currently-on-sidelines-of-new.html>; Rick Hasen, *Woah: Lone Democratic EAC Commissioner Rejects EAC Capitulation to SOS Kobach*, Election Law Blog (Feb. 2, 2016, 1:09 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=79529&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Thomas Hicks, Statement on withdrawal of letters granting states' request to amend the state instructions to the federal voter registration form, U.S. Election Assistance Comm'n (Feb. 2, 2016), [http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/Documents/Statement%20by%20Commissioner%20Hicks%20NVRA%20Form%20\(2-2-16\).pdf](http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/Documents/Statement%20by%20Commissioner%20Hicks%20NVRA%20Form%20(2-2-16).pdf); Rick Hasen, *Has the EAC Capitulated to Kansas on Proof of Citizenship for Voting*, Election Law Blog (Feb. 1, 2016, 9:15 AM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=79487&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Letter from Christy A. McCormic, Chairwoman, and Brian D. Newby, Executive Director, U.S. Election Assistance Comm'n, to Honorable Richard J. Leon, D.C., Dist. Court Judge (Feb. 22, 2016), <http://editions.lib.umn.edu/electionacademy/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2016/02/LWV20v.20Newby20letter20to20court.pdf>; Michael Wines, *The Voter Support Agency Accused of Suppressing Votes*, N.Y. Times (Apr. 8, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/09/us/election-assistance-commission-motor-voter-lawsuit.html>; Editorial, *Proof-of-citizenship registration requirement is blatant voter suppression*, L.A. Times (Apr. 15, 2016, 5:00 AM), <http://www.latimes.com/opinion/editorials/la-ed-voter-registration-20160415-story.html>;

190 Rick Hasen, *EAC's Brian Newby Sued for Citizenship Form Decision*, Election Law Blog (Feb. 12, 2016, 3:24 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=79898>; Press Release, *Proof of Citizenship Action Illegal, Federal Suit Says*, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights (Feb. 12, 2016), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/press-release/2714/>; Zachary Roth, *Department of Justice disowns EAC director's move on proof of citizenship for voters*, MSNBC (Feb. 23, 2016, 11:45 AM), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/departments-justice-disowns-eac-directors-move-proof-citizenship-voters>; Josh Gerstein, *Judge seems skeptical of call to block voter proof-of-citizenship requirement*, Politico (Feb. 22, 2016, 6:27 PM), <http://www.politico.com/blogs/under-the-radar/2016/02/voting-rights-citizenship-proof-219642>; John Brackin, *Judge Upholds Disputed Voter-Registration Forms*, Courthouse News (July 1, 2016), <http://www.courthousenews.com/2016/07/01/judge-upholds-disputed-voter-registration-forms.htm>; Justin Miller, *Court Deals Blow to Advocates Fighting Voter Registration Obstacles*, The American Prospect (July 6, 2016), <http://prospect.org/blog/checks/court-deals-blow-advocates-fighting-voter-registration-obstacles>; Brennan Center, *Major Litigation That Could Impact Voting Access*, <https://www.brennancenter.org/major-litigation-could-impact-voting-access>; *Voting rights groups appeal federal form changes in 3 states*, Associated Press (July 1, 2016, 3:30 PM EDT), <http://www.kake.com/story/32357271/voting-rights-groups-appeal-federal-form-changes-in-3-states>; Spencer S. Hsu, *Judge temporarily blocks proof-of-citizenship voting requirement in 3 states*, Washington Post (Sept. 12, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/judge-temporarily-blocks-proof-of-citizenship-voting-requirement-in-3-states/2016/09/12/e8f87d36-7922-11e6-beac-57a4a412e93a_story.html; Sam Hananel, *Appeals court sympathetic to challenge over voter rules*, PBS (Sept. 8, 2016, 3:03 PM), <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/appeals-court-challenge-voter-rules/>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, ProPublica (Sept. 23, 2016, 1:52 PM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/2016-election-lawsuit-tracker-new-election-laws-suits-challenging-them>; *League of Women Voters v. Newby*, Project Vote, <http://www.projectvote.org/cases/league-of-women-voters-v-newby/>; Kristina Torres, *Appeals court backs federal say-so on proof of citizenship for voting*, AJC (Sept. 28, 2016, 1:04 PM), <http://www.ajc.com/news/state-regional-govt-politics/appeals-court-backs-federal-say-proof-citizenship-for-voting/BVys3AdibdN9wQzt9zPk4I/>; Joseph Tanfani, *No, there is no evidence that thousands of noncitizens are illegally voting and swinging elections*, L.A. Times (Oct. 25, 2016, 2:05 PM), <http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-noncitizen-voters-20161025-snap-story.html>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, Ledger Independent (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html;

191 Grant Blankenship, *Legally inaccurate voter registration forms widespread in Georgia*, The Telegraph



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

(Sept. 19, 2018) <https://www.macon.com/news/local/article218672345.html>

192 Spencer Woodman, *How White Georgia Republicans Are Derailing an African-American Candidate*, New Republic (Apr. 5, 2016), <https://newrepublic.com/article/132398/white-georgia-republicans-derailing-african-american-candidate>; Kristina Torres, *Faulty state records could disqualify Democratic candidate in Georgia*, AJC (Apr. 5, 2016, 9:32 AM), <http://www.ajc.com/news/news/state-regional-govt-politics/faulty-state-records-could-disqualify-democratic-c/nqy2n/>; Carlton Fletcher, *Georgia Secretary of State Brian Kemp responds to Justice Dept. interest*, Albany Herald (May 6, 2016), http://www.albanyherald.com/news/local/georgia-secretary-of-state-brian-kemp-responds-to-justice-dept/article_b5f5987c-640f-5795-80b7-7e5ee733381e.html

193 Aaron Gould Sheinin, *Democrats cry foul as House Republicans redraw district lines*, myAJC (Mar. 3, 2017, 6:49 PM), <http://www.myajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/democrats-cry-foul-house-republicans-redraw-district-lines/sOOXVi3vMCWJCB7gpAntTN/>

194 Johnny Kauffman, *Ga. Republican Redistricting Plan Called 'Blatant' Power Grab*, WABE (Mar. 8, 2017), <http://news.wabe.org/post/ga-republican-redistricting-plan-called-blatant-power-grab>; Letter from Sara Henderson, Policy Director, Common Cause Georgia, to Georgia Senate Leadership, <http://www.commoncause.org/states/georgia/litigation-and-lobbying/letter-to-the-legislature/ccga-letter.pdf>

195 Aaron Gould Sheinin, *Lawsuit: GA House districts 'gerrymandered' to remove minority voters*, myAJC (Apr. 24, 2017, 4:02 PM), <https://www.myajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/lawsuit-house-districts-gerrymandered-remove-minority-voters/PMOeDu8anSharNAjwe1ECK/>; Associated Press, *Lawsuit: Georgia lawmakers violated black voters' rights in 2015 redistricting*, Times Free Press (Apr. 25, 2017), <http://www.timesfreepress.com/news/politics/state/story/2017/apr/25/lawsuit-georgia-lawmakers-violated-black-voters-rights-2015-redistricting/424582/>; Kathleen Foody, *Lawsuit: 2015 Redistricting Violated Black Voters' Rights*, U.S. News (Apr. 24, 2017, 1:55 PM), <https://www.usnews.com/news/best-states/georgia/articles/2017-04-24/lawsuit-2015-redistricting-violated-black-voters-rights>

196 Alexander Burns, *Holder-Led Group Challenges Georgia Redistricting, Claiming Racial Bias*, N.Y. Times (Oct. 3, 2017), <https://mobile.nytimes.com/2017/10/03/us/eric-holder-georgia-redistricting-racial-bias.html?smid=tw-nytimes&smtyp=cur&referer=https://t.co/vx3MxuGSXr?amp=1>

197 Mark Niesse, *Court finds 'compelling' evidence of race-based redistricting in Ga.*, Politically Georgia (June 8, 2018), <https://politics.myajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/court-finds-compelling-evidence-race-based-redistricting/lBkVuwXe31sbeR6p4Lk9hK/>

198 NAACP LDF, *Important Facts About LDF's Lawsuit Challenging Georgia's Voter Suppression Bill*, <https://www.naacpldf.org/naacp-publications/ldf-blog/important-facts-about-ldfs-lawsuit-challenging-georgias-voter-suppression-bill/>.

199 Jamelle Bouie, *If It's Not Jim Crow, What Is It?*, NYT (Apr. 6, 2021), <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/06/opinion/georgia-voting-law.html>.

200 Complaint, *Sixth District Episcopal Church, et al., v. Kemp, et al.*, No. 1:21-mi-99999-UNA (N.D. Ga. Mar. 29, 2021).

201 Jennifer L. Patin, *Election Protection 2016: #ProtectOURVOTE*, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights, https://lawyerscommittee.org/ep2016_brief1/ (last visited June 10, 2016); David Wickert, *Fulton County political battle embodies Voting Rights Act issues*, AJC (Mar. 5, 2013, 12:02 PM), <http://www.myajc.com/news/news/fulton-county-political-battle-embodies-voting-rig/nWhHj/>

202 Ollstein, *Georgia County Admits To Illegally Disenfranchising Voters*, Think Progress (Aug. 26, 2015, 8:00 AM), <http://thinkprogress.org/election/2015/08/26/3695039/county-admits-it-disenfranchised-voters-in-african-american-dominated-county/>; Kristal Dixon, *State Fines Fulton County \$180,000 For Election Law Violations*, Roswell Patch (Aug. 13, 2015, 11:58 AM), <http://patch.com/georgia/roswell/state-fines-fulton-county-180000-election-law-violations-0>

203 Kristina Torres, *Georgia suit settled alleging black voters wrongfully disqualified*, myAJC (Mar. 16, 2017, 12:40 PM), <http://www.myajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/georgia-suit-settled-alleging-black-voters-wrongfully-disqualified/djDifYjpvjJcZW8CjzgKL/>; Kristina Torres, *Federal poll monitors in Fulton, Gwinnett counties on Election Day*, myAJC (Nov. 7, 2016, 11:09 AM), <http://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/federal-poll-monitors-fulton-gwinnett-counties-election-day/cGyF577xSs1laYaEQr2LpO/>; U.S. *Presidential Election*, myAJC, <http://www.myajc.com/news/president-election-2016/>

204 Spencer Woodman, *Voting Rights At Risk in Georgia*, Rolling Stone (Nov. 4, 2013), <http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/voting-rights-at-risk-in-georgia-20131104>; Jamelle Bouie, *Running*

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

Scared, Slate (Sept. 11, 2014, 8:12 PM), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/politics/2014/09/stacey_abrams_new_georgia_project_shocks_georgia_s_gop_republicans_fighting.html?wpsrc=sh_all_dt_tw_bot; Spencer Woodman, *In Georgia, the Battle Over Voting Rights Rages On*, Vice (Mar. 9, 2015), <http://www.vice.com/read/in-georgia-the-battle-over-voting-rights-rages-on-309>; Press Release, *110 State and National Groups Urge Georgia Secretary of State to Prevent Voting Discrimination and Disruption*, The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights (Oct. 27, 2016), <http://www.civilrights.org/press/2016/georgia-election-letter.html>

205 Letter from Thomas E. Perez, Assistant Attorney General, U.S. Dep't of Justice, to Mr. Michael S. Green Esq. et al. (Apr. 13, 2012), http://www.justice.gov/crt/records/vot/obj_letters/letters/GA/l_120413.pdf

206 Eric Fleischauer, *City seeks to appeal Voketz ruling; legal fees at \$120k*, Decatur Daily (Oct. 17, 2015), http://m.decaturdaily.com/news/local/city-seeks-to-appeal-voketz-ruling-legal-fees-at-k/article_594f0ff4-d4cb-5c3d-9b5b-ee06611a586e.html?mode=jqm

207 Todd Rehm, *Sumter BOC hires expert law firm*, Americus Times-Recorder (Aug. 13, 2014), <http://gapundit.com/2014/08/13/sumter-boc-hires-expert-law-firm-local-news-amicus-times-recorder-amicus-georgia/>; Staff Report, *Setting the Record Straight; Why I Challenged Sumter County's Illegal Redistricting School Board Plan*, NAACP Americus Sumter Observer (June 10, 2016), <http://www.americusumterobserver.com/setting-the-record-straight-why-i-challenged-sumter-countys-illegal-redistricting-school-board-plan/>

208 *Sumter School Districts Return to a Black Majority*, AmeriUSumter Observer (Mar. 20, 2018), <http://www.americusumterobserver.com/sumter-school-districts-return-black-majority/>; Press Release, *ACLU Victory: Federal Court Rules Sumter County's Public Education School Board Districts Violate the Voting Rights Act*, Georgia ACLU (Mar. 18, 2018), <https://www.acluga.org/en/press-releases/aclu-victory-federal-court-rules-sumter-countys-public-education-school-board>; Blake Paterson, *In Carter's home county, voting rights case tests democracy*, MRT (Aug. 10, 2019), <https://www.mrt.com/news/education/article/In-Carter-s-home-county-voting-rights-case-tests-14295051.php>

209 Sarah Childress, *After Shelby, Voting-Law Changes Come One Town at a Time*, PBS (Aug. 8, 2013), <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/after-shelby-voting-law-changes-come-one-town-at-a-time/>; *Georgia State Conference NAACP, et al. v. Fayette County Board of Commissioners, et al.*, No. 3:11-cv-00123-TCB (N.D. Ga.), NAACP Legal Defense Fund, <http://www.naacpldf.org/case-issue/georgia-state-conference-naacp-et-al-v-fayette-county-board-commissioners-et-al> (last updated Mar. 2, 2016); Timothy Pratt, *Georgia 'Stands Out' In Voter Discrimination, Experts Say*, Who.What.Why. (Oct. 2, 2018) <https://whowhatwhy.org/2018/10/02/georgia-stands-out-in-voter-discrimination-experts-say/>

210 Tammy Joyner, *Judge calls for district election to fill vacant Fayette seat*, AJC (Aug. 3, 2015, 6:27 PM), http://www.myajc.com/news/news/local-govt-politics/judge-calls-for-district-election-to-fill-vacant-f/nnCKz/?icmp=ajc_internallink_invitationbox_apr2013_ajcstubbyajcpremium#9a991d05.3625598.735835; Michell Eloy, *Fayette County, NAACP Enter Mediation In Voting Rights Suit*, WABE (Oct. 21, 2015), <http://news.wabe.org/post/fayette-county-naacp-enter-mediation-voting-rights-suit>; *Georgia State Conference NAACP, et al. v. Fayette County Board of Commissioners, et al.*, No. 3:11-cv-00123-TCB (N.D. Ga.), NAACP Legal Defense Fund, <http://www.naacpldf.org/case-issue/georgia-state-conference-naacp-et-al-v-fayette-county-board-commissioners-et-al> (last updated Mar. 2, 2016)

211 Jo-Carolyn Goode, *Voters File Federal Lawsuit Challenging the Emanuel County School Board's District Maps*, Houston Style Magazine (Feb. 24, 2016, 1:28 PM), <http://stylemagazine.com/news/2016/feb/24/voters-file-federal-lawsuit-challenging-emanuel-co/>; *Georgia State Conference of the NAACP v. Emanuel Cnty. Bd. of Comm'rs*, Civ. A. No. 6:16-cv-021, Complaint (S.D. Ga. Feb. 23, 2016), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/2016-02-23-Dkt-1-Complaint-1.pdf>

212 Order, *Georgia Coalition for the People's Agenda, Inc., et al. v. Deal, et al.*, No. CV416-269, ECF No. 16 (S.D. GA Oct. 14, 2016); Emanuella Grinberg and Max Blau, *Judge won't extend Georgia voter registration deadline after Matthew*, CNN Politics (Oct. 20, 2016), <http://www.cnn.com/2016/10/20/politics/georgia-voter-registration-lawsuit-aclu-matthew/>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, Ledger Independent (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

- 213 Kira Lerner, *Updated: 'This is live voter suppression': Black Voters Matter blocked from taking seniors to vote*, ThinkProgress (Oct. 15, 2018) <https://thinkprogress.org/georgia-black-voters-matter-bus-blocked-from-taking-seniors-to-vote-a3c3e6580c5b/>; Legal Defense and Educational Fund, *LDF Sends Letter to Jefferson County Board of Commissioners about Voter Intimidation in Georgia*, (Oct. 17, 2018) <https://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/ldf-sends-letter-jefferson-county-board-commissioners-voter-intimidation-georgia/>; Kira Lerner, *Stacey Abrams rallies with Georgia voters forced off Black Voters matter bus*, ThinkProgress (Oct. 17, 2018) <https://thinkprogress.org/stacey-abrams-rallies-voters-forced-off-black-voters-matters-bus-in-georgia-4f76800b8e22/>; Hayley Miller, *Georgia County Orders Elderly Black Voters Off Bus Taking Them To The Polls*, Huffington Post (Oct. 17, 2018) https://m.huffpost.com/us/entry/us_5bc76a27e4b055bc947ce32b; Astead W. Herndon, *Georgia Voting Begins Amid Accusations of Voter Suppression*, The New York Times (Oct. 19, 2018) <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/19/us/politics/georgia-voter-suppression.html>; Rachel Herron, *Outrage After Elderly Black Voters In Georgia Were Forced Of Bus Taking Them To Polling Place*, BET (Oct. 15, 2018) <https://www.bet.com/news/national/2018/10/18/outrage-after-elderly-black-voters-in-georgia-were-forced-off-bu.html>; Julia Conley, *'Unreal:' Claiming concerns over 'political activity,' Georgia officials order black seniors off bus headed for early voting*, Nation of Change (Oct. 18, 2018) <https://www.nationofchange.org/2018/10/18/unreal-claiming-concerns-over-political-activity-georgia-officials-order-black-seniors-off-bus-headed-for-early-voting/>; P.R. Lockhart, *Georgia, 2018's most prominent voting rights battleground, explained*, Vox (Nov. 6, 2018) <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/10/26/18024468/georgia-voter-suppression-stacey-abrams-brian-kemp-voting-rights>; Michael Wines and Danny Hakim, *Four Fights Over Voting Rights*, The New York Times (Nov. 3, 2018) <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/03/us/politics/voting-rights-lawsuits.html>
- 214 R. Robin McDonald, *Judge Denies Kemp's Effort to Postpone Absentee Voter TRO*, The National Law Journal (Oct. 31, 2018) <https://www.law.com/nationallawjournal/2018/10/31/judge-denies-kemps-effort-to-postpone-absentee-voter>; Rick Hansen, *Breaking: Eleventh Circuit, on 2-1 Vote, Refuses to Stay District Court Order Giving Georgia Voters Whose Ballots are Rejected for Lack of Signature Match a Chance to Prove Identity*, Election Law Blog (Nov. 2, 2018), https://electionlawblog.org/?p=101919&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; P.R. Lockhart, *Georgia, 2018's most prominent voting rights battleground, explained*, Vox (Nov. 6, 2018) <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/10/26/18024468/georgia-voter-suppression-stacey-abrams-brian-kemp-voting-rights>; Michael Wines and Danny Hakim, *Four Fights Over Voting Rights*, The New York Times (Nov. 3, 2018); NAACP LDF, *LDF and ACLU of Georgia Send Joint Letter to Georgia Election Officials Urging Against Discriminatory Polling Place Changes*, Legal Defense and Education Fund, (Aug. 22nd, 2018) <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/03/us/politics/voting-rights-lawsuits.html>
- 215 Lisa Hagen, *NAACP Sues Ga. County For Purging African-American Voters*, WABE (Nov. 10, 2015), <http://news.wabe.org/post/naacp-sues-ga-county-purging-african-american-voters>; *NAACP files lawsuit to stop alleged voter purges in Hancock County*, Stevens Point Journal (Nov. 3, 2015, 4:47 PM), <http://www.stevenspointjournal.com/story/news/2015/11/03/suit-alleges-voters-illegally-purged-in-sparta-and-hancock-county/75114908/>; *Georgia State Conference of the NAACP v. Hancock County Bd. of Elections*, Civ. A. No. 5:15-cv-414-CAR, Complaint for Injunctive and Declaratory Relief (M.D. Ga. Nov. 3, 2015), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Hancock-Co-Complaint.pdf> Jennifer L. Patin, *Voting Rights Communication Pipelines: Georgia after Shelby County v. Holder*, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (June 21, 2016), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/georgiavra2016/>; Michael Wines, *Critics See Efforts by Counties and Towns to Purge Minority Voters from Rolls*, N.Y. Times (July 31, 2016), http://mobile.nytimes.com/2016/08/01/us/critics-see-efforts-to-purge-minorities-from-voter-rolls-in-new-elections-rules.html?_r=1; Michael Wines, *Critics See Efforts by Counties and Towns to Purge Minority Voters From Rolls*, N.Y. Times (July 31, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/01/us/critics-see-efforts-to-purge-minorities-from-voter-rolls-in-new-elections-rules.html?action=click&contentCollection=us®ion=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=1&pgtype=sectionfront&_r=0
- 216 Jennifer L. Patin, *Election Protection 2016: #ProtectOURVOTE*, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights, https://lawyerscommittee.org/ep2016_brief1/ (last visited June 9, 2016)

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

- 217 Michael Wines, *Critics See Efforts by Counties and Towns to Purge Minority Voters From Rolls*, N.Y. Times (July 31, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/01/us/critics-see-efforts-to-purge-minorities-from-voter-rolls-in-new-elections-rules.html>; Brad Reed, *A Georgia town is sending police to black residents' homes to challenge their voting rights*, Raw Story (Aug. 1, 2016, 9:21 AM), http://www.rawstory.com/2016/08/a-georgia-town-is-sending-police-to-black-residents-homes-to-challenge-their-voting-rights/?utm_content=buffer26216&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer
- 218 Kristina Torres, *Groups settle Ga. suit alleging black voters wrongfully disqualified*, AJC (Mar. 8, 2017, 2:53 PM), <http://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/groups-settle-suit-alleging-black-voters-wrongfully-disqualified/XzqFVMtXGH226dnDxkUbjj/>; Adam Lynch, *Racist Voter Suppression Revealed in a Small-Town Voter Fraud Trial*, Yes Magazine (Sept. 13, 2017), <http://www.yesmagazine.org/peace-justice/racist-voter-suppression-revealed-in-a-small-town-voter-fraud-trial-20170913>
- 219 Alice Ollstein, *Georgia County Admits To Illegally Disenfranchising Voters*, Think Progress (Aug. 26, 2015, 8:00 AM), <http://thinkprogress.org/election/2015/08/26/3695039/county-admits-it-disenfranchised-voters-in-african-american-dominated-county/>; Josh Israel, *Georgia State Senator Complains That Voting Is Too Convenient For Black People (Updated)*, Think Progress (Sept. 9, 2014, 12:31 PM), <http://thinkprogress.org/justice/2014/09/09/3565073/georgia-senator-early-voting-suppression/>
- 220 Bibb election board rejects Sunday voting, 13WMAZ (Sept. 25, 2014, 9:26 PM), <https://macon.13wmaz.com/news/news/270832-bibb-election-board-rejects-sunday-voting>; Greg Bluestein & Daniel Malloy, *Elections board says 'no' to Sunday voting in Macon*, AJC (Sept. 26, 2014), <http://politics.blog.ajc.com/2014/09/26/elections-board-says-no-to-sunday-voting-in-macon/>
- 221 Vanessa Williams, *A growing conflict over voting rights is playing out in Georgia, where the presidential race is tightening*, Washington Post (Oct. 24, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/growing-conflict-over-voting-rights-in-georgia-where-the-presidential-race-is-tightening/2016/10/24/2e9d2caa-84e6-11e6-a3ef-f35afb41797f_story.html?hpid=hp_hp-top-table-main_gavoting-219pm%3Ahomepage%2Fstory
- 222 Kristina Torres, *Georgia suit settled alleging black voters wrongfully disqualified*, myAJC (Mar. 16, 2017, 12:40 PM), <http://www.myajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/georgia-suit-settled-alleging-black-voters-wrongfully-disqualified/djDifYjpvYjJcZW8CJzgKL/>; Kristina Torres, *Federal poll monitors in Fulton, Gwinnett counties on Election Day*, AJC (Nov. 7, 2016, 11:09 AM), <http://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/federal-poll-monitors-fulton-gwinnett-counties-election-day/cGyF577xSs1laYaEQr2LpO/>; U.S. Presidential Election, myAJC, <http://www.myajc.com/news/president-election-2016/>
- 223 Mark Niese, Maya T. Prabhu & Jacquelyn Elias, *Voting precincts closed across Georgia since election oversight lifted*, Politically Georgia (Aug. 21, 2018, 12:17 p.m.) <https://politics.myajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/voting-precincts-closed-across-georgia-since-election-oversight-lifted/bBkHxptlim0Gp9pKu7dfrN/>
- 224 Mark Niese & Nick Thieme, *Closures accelerated after Supreme Court invalidated Voting Rights Act provision, putting thousands farther from the polls*, The Atlanta Journal-Constitution, (Dec. 13, 2019) <https://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/precinct-closures-harm-voter-turnout-georgia-ajc-analysis-finds/11sVcLyQCHuQRC8qtZ6lYP/>
- 225 Mark Niese & Nick Thieme, *Closures accelerated after Supreme Court invalidated Voting Rights Act provision, putting thousands farther from the polls*, The Atlanta Journal-Constitution, (Dec. 13, 2019) <https://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/precinct-closures-harm-voter-turnout-georgia-ajc-analysis-finds/11sVcLyQCHuQRC8qtZ6lYP/>; Mark Niese, Maya T. Prabhu & Jacquelyn Elias, *Voting precincts closed across Georgia since election oversight lifted*, The Atlanta Journal-Constitution, (Aug. 31, 2019) <https://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/voting-precincts-closed-across-georgia-since-election-oversight-lifted/bBkHxptlim0Gp9pKu7dfrN/>
- 226 Spencer Woodman, *Voting Rights at Risk in Georgia*, Rolling Stone (Nov. 4, 2013), <http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/voting-rights-at-risk-in-georgia-20131104>
- 227 Spencer Woodman, *Voting Rights at Risk in Georgia*, Rolling Stone (Nov. 4, 2013), <http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/voting-rights-at-risk-in-georgia-20131104>; Janelle Bouie, *Running Scared*, Slate (Sept. 11, 2014, 8:12 PM), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/politics/2014/09/stacey_abrams_new_georgia_project_shocks_georgia_s_gop_republicans_fighting.html?wpsrc=sh_all_dt_tw_bot; Spencer Woodman, *In Georgia, the Battle Over Voting Rights Rages On*, Vice (Mar. 9, 2015), <http://www.vice.com/read/in-georgia-the-battle-over-voting-rights-rages-on-309>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

- 228 Spencer Woodman, *Voting Rights At Risk in Georgia*, Rolling Stone (Nov. 4, 2013), <http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/voting-rights-at-risk-in-georgia-20131104>; *Shelby First Anniversary Countdown Day 15*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, <http://www.naacpldf.org/shelby-first-anniversary-countdown-day-15> (last visited June 10, 2016); Spencer Woodman, *In Georgia, the Battle Over Voting Rights Rages On*, Vice (Mar. 9, 2015), <http://www.vice.com/read/in-georgia-the-battle-over-voting-rights-rages-on-309>
- 229 Phillip Ramati, *Macon-Bibb elections board postpones vote on plan to cut polling stations*, Telegraph (Jan. 29, 2015, 11:05 AM), <http://www.macon.com/2015/01/29/3557643/macon-bibb-elections-board-postpones.html>; Patrick Davis, *Macon-Bibb NAACP, local officials speak out against poll consolidation*, Examiner (May 29, 2015, 1:09 AM), http://www.examiner.com/article/macon-bibb-naacp-local-officials-speak-out-against-poll-consolidation?utm_source=Georgia+NAACP+Newsletter+-+May+%2F+June+2015+%282nd+Version%29&utm_campaign=June&utm_medium=email; Jennifer L. Patin, *Voting Rights Communication Pipelines: Georgia after Shelby County v. Holder*, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (June 21, 2016), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/georgiavra2016/>; John Whitesides, *Polling places become battleground in U.S. voting rights fight*, Reuters (Sept. 16, 2016, 11:40 AM), <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-vote-precincts-insight-idUSKCN11M0WY>; Kristina Torres, *Cost-cutting moves spur fears about reducing access to Georgia voters*, AJC (Oct. 11, 2016, 8:00 AM), <http://www.myajc.com/news/news/state-regional-govt-politics/cost-cutting-moves-spur-fears-about-reducing-access/nspBJ/>
- 230 Letter from Rev. Dr. Francys Johnson, President, Georgia State Conference of the NAACP et al. to Members of the Bd. and Citizens' Advisory Comm., Macon-Bibb Cnty. Bd. of Elections (May 28, 2015), http://files.ctctcdn.com/f33e38bd301/43ee607f-cd8e-4678-b1ce-3b814898f09f.pdf?utm_source=Georgia+NAACP+Newsletter+-+May+%2F+June+2015+%282nd+Version%29&utm_campaign=June&utm_medium=email; Jennifer L. Patin, *Voting Rights Communication Pipelines: Georgia after Shelby County v. Holder*, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (June 21, 2016), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/georgiavra2016/>
- 231 E-mail from Rev. Dr. Francys Johnson, President, Georgia State Conference of the NAACP, et al. to Reginald B. McClendon, Assistant Cnty. Atty, and Macon-Bibb Cnty. Bd. of Elections (Apr. 13, 2016), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Objection-to-Sheriffs-Office-Polling-Location.4.13.16.pdf>; Jennifer L. Patin, *Voting Rights Communication Pipelines: Georgia after Shelby County v. Holder*, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (June 21, 2016), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/georgiavra2016/>; Stanley Dunlap, *Macon-Bibb polling location OK'd after sheriff's precinct nixed* (May 16, 2016, 5:07 PM), <http://www.macon.com/news/local/article77920442.html>; Kristina Torres, *Cost-cutting moves spur fears about reducing access to Georgia voters*, AJC (Oct. 11, 2016, 8:00 AM), <http://www.myajc.com/news/news/state-regional-govt-politics/cost-cutting-moves-spur-fears-about-reducing-access/nspBJ/>; Vanessa Williams, *A growing conflict over voting rights is playing out in Georgia, where the presidential race is tightening*, Washington Post (Oct. 24, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/growing-conflict-over-voting-rights-in-georgia-where-the-presidential-race-is-tightening/2016/10/24/2e9d2caa-84e6-11e6-a3ef-f35afb41797f_story.html?hpid=hp_hp-top-table-main_gavoting-219pm%3Ahomepage%2Fstory; Press Release, *110 State and National Groups Urge Georgia Secretary of State to Prevent Voting Discrimination and Disruption*, The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights (Oct. 27, 2016), <http://www.civilrights.org/press/2016/georgia-election-letter.html>
- 232 Jennifer L. Patin, *Voting Rights Communication Pipelines: Georgia after Shelby County v. Holder*, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (June 21, 2016), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/georgiavra2016/>; Michael Wines, *Critics See Efforts by Counties and Towns to Purge Minority Voters from Rolls*, N.Y. Times (July 31, 2016), http://mobile.nytimes.com/2016/08/01/us/critics-see-efforts-to-purge-minorities-from-voter-rolls-in-new-elections-rules.html?_r=1; Michael Wines, *Critics See Efforts by Counties and Towns to Purge Minority Voters from Rolls*, N.Y. Times (July 31, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/01/us/critics-see-efforts-to-purge-minorities-from-voter-rolls-in-new-elections-rules.html?action=click&contentCollection=us®ion=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=1&pgtype=sectionfront&_r=0; Kristina Torres, *Cost-cutting moves spur fears about reducing access to Georgia voters*, AJC (Oct. 11, 2016, 8:00 AM), <http://www.myajc.com/news/news/state-regional-govt-politics/cost-cutting-moves-spur-fears-about-reducing-access/nspBJ/>; Kristina Torres, *Georgia suit settled alleging black voters wrongfully disqualified*, myAJC (Mar. 16, 2017, 12:40 PM),

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

233 <http://www.myajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/georgia-suit-settled-alleging-black-voters-wrongfully-disqualified/djDifYjpvYjJcZW8CJzgKL/>; Kristen Clarke, *Voter Suppression Still Hiding Out in Rural Areas*, *Ebony* (Mar. 27, 2017), <http://www.ebony.com/news-views/voter-suppression-georgia#axzz4cWp1fHLt>
234 Kristina Torres, *Georgia suit settled alleging black voters wrongfully disqualified*, *myAJC* (Mar. 16, 2017, 12:40 PM), <http://www.myajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/georgia-suit-settled-alleging-black-voters-wrongfully-disqualified/djDifYjpvYjJcZW8CJzgKL/>; Kristina Torres, *Federal poll monitors in Fulton, Gwinnett counties on Election Day*, *AJC* (Nov. 7, 2016, 11:09 AM), <http://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/federal-poll-monitors-fulton-gwinnett-counties-election-day/cGyF577xSs11aYaEQr2LpO/>
235 Zachary Roth, *Voting Problems Bedeviled Primary Elections: Report*, *NBC News* (Aug. 4, 2016, 6:38 PM), <http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/elections/voting-problems-bedeviled-primary-elections-report-n623176>;
236 Jennifer L. Patin, *The 2016 Primaries In-Review*, *Lawyers' Committee For Civil Rights Under Law* (Aug. 4, 2016), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/vra2016-primaryelections/>
237 John Whitesides, *Polling places become battleground in U.S. voting rights fight*, *Reuters* (Sept. 16, 2016, 11:40 AM), <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-vote-precincts-insight-idUSKCN11M0WY>
238 John Whitesides, *Polling places become battleground in U.S. voting rights fight*, *Reuters* (Sept. 16, 2016, 11:40 AM), <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-vote-precincts-insight-idUSKCN11M0WY>
239 John Whitesides, *Polling places become battleground in U.S. voting rights fight*, *Reuters* (Sept. 16, 2016, 11:40 AM), <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-vote-precincts-insight-idUSKCN11M0WY>
240 Zachary Roth, *Georgia county backs off plan to close voting sites*, *Daily Democracy* (Aug. 15, 2017, 4:42 PM), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/08/15/georgia-county-backs-off-plan-to-close-voting-sites/>; Kristina Torres, *Fulton OKs polling site changes in mostly African-American precincts*, *AJC* (July 13, 2017, 3:33 PM), <http://www.myajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/fulton-oks-polling-site-changes-mostly-african-american-precincts/BOR4EHjnhNkXa9E32JQU8L/>; *VICTORY: THREE POLLING PLACES SLATED FOR CLOSURE WILL REMAIN OPEN AFTER ACLU SUIT AND GRASSROOTS CAMPAIGN*, *ACLU of Georgia* (Aug. 14, 2017), <https://www.acluga.org/en/news/victory-three-polling-places-slated-closure-will-remain-open-after-aclu-suit-and-grassroots>
241 Mark Joseph Stern, *Brian Kemp's Bid for Governor Depends on Erasing the Black Vote in Georgia*, *Slate*, (Aug. 17, 2018, 6:26PM), <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2018/08/georgia-voter-suppression-brian-kemps-bid-for-governor-depends-on-erasing-the-black-vote-its-working.htm>; *The Associated Press, Correction: Polling Places Proposed Closure Story*, *The New York Times*, (Aug. 21, 2018), <https://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2018/08/15/us/ap-us-polling-places-proposed-closures.html>; Charles Bethea, *A Win in the Battle to Vote in Georgia*, *The New Yorker* (Aug. 24, 2018) <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/a-win-in-the-battle-to-vote-in-georgia>
242 Mo Barnes, *Georgia gubernatorial race scandal grows as polls in Black areas closed*, *RollingOut*, (Aug. 23, 2018), <https://rollingout.com/2018/08/21/georgia-gubernatorial-race-scandal-grows-as-polls-in-black-areas-closed/>;
243 Mark Joseph Stern, *Brian Kemp's Bid for Governor Depends on Erasing the Black Vote in Georgia*, *Slate*, (Aug. 17, 2018, 6:26 PM), <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2018/08/georgia-voter-suppression-brian-kemps-bid-for-governor-depends-on-erasing-the-black-vote-its-working.html>; *The Associated Press, Correction: Polling Places Proposed Closure Story*, *The New York Times*, (Aug. 21, 2018), <https://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2018/08/15/us/ap-us-polling-places-proposed-closures.html>; Mark Niesse, Maya T. Prabhu & Jacquelyn Elias, *Voting precincts closed across Georgia since election oversight lifted*, *Politically Georgia* (Aug. 31, 2018) <https://politically.myajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/voting-precincts-closed-across-georgia-since-election-oversight-lifted/bBkHxptlim0Gp9pKu7dfn/>
244 Sam Levine, *Georgia County Can't Back Up Its Excuse For Plan To Disenfranchise Black Voters*, *HuffPost*, (Aug. 22, 2018, 10:43), https://m.huffpost.com/us/entry/us_5b7c7484e4b07295150dbaf3/amp?la=&_twitter_impression=true; Deborah Barfield Berry, *Georgia election officials reject plans to close polls in mostly black county ahead of midterm*, *USA Today*, (Aug. 24, 2018, 9:02 AM), <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/elections/2018/08/24/georgia-officials-vote-not-close-polling-sites-randolph-county/1078513002/>; Brinley Hineman, *Georgia county scraps plan to close most polling places*, *MRT*, (Aug. 24, 2018, 3:05 PM), <https://www.mrt.com/news/politics/article/Georgia-county-elections-board-set-to-vote-on-13179524.php>; Sam Levine, *Georgia County Can't Back Up Its Excuse For Plan To Disenfranchise Black Voters*, *HuffPost*, (Aug. 22, 2018, 9:43 AM),

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

242 https://www.huffingtonpost.com.mx/entry/georgia-county-close-polling-places-access_us_5b7c7484e4b07295150dbaf3; Kira Lerner, *The ADA is being used to disenfranchise minority voters*, ThinkProgress, (Aug. 22, 2018, 10:27 AM), <https://thinkprogress.org/ada-voter-suppression-cd7031080bfd/>; Kristen Clarke, *Breaking: We're Taking action against Randolph County*, Twitter, (Aug. 19, 2018), <https://twitter.com/KristenClarkeJD/status/1031221581983432705>; Derrick Robinson, *Voting Rights Groups Demand Election Officials Reverse Plan to Close Polling Places in Majority-Black County*, Lawyers' Committee For Civil Rights Under Law, (Aug. 20, 2018), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/press-release/voting-rights-groups-demand-election-officials-reverse-plan-to-close-polling-places-in-majority-black-county/>; Sam Levine, *Georgia County Can't Back Up Its Excuse For Plan To Disenfranchise Black Voters*, HuffPost, (Aug. 22, 2018, 10:42 AM) https://m.huffpost.com/us/entry/us_5b7c7484e4b07295150dbaf3/amp?la=&_twitter_impression=true; NAACP LDF, *LDf and ACLU of Georgia Send Joint Letter to Georgia Election Officials Urging Against Discriminatory Polling Place Changes*, Legal Defense and Education Fund, (Aug. 22nd, 2018) <http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/ldf-and-aclu-georgia-send-joint-letter-georgia-election-officials-urging-against-discr>; Mark Joseph Stern, *The South Will Disenfranchise Again*, Slate, (August 22nd, 2018, 11:05 AM) <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2018/08/randolph-county-georgia-2018-election-how-the-supreme-courts-gutting-of-the-voting-rights-act-allows-states-to-disenfranchise-black-voters.html>; Brinley Hineman, *Georgia county scraps plan to close most polling places*, MRT, (Aug. 24, 2018, 3:05 PM), <https://www.mrt.com/news/politics/article/Georgia-county-elections-board-set-to-vote-on-13179524.php>; Kira Lerner, *The ADA is being used to disenfranchise minority voters*, Think Progress, (Aug. 22, 2018, 10:27 AM), <https://thinkprogress.org/ada-voter-suppression-cd7031080bfd/>; Rev Up Georgia, *Rev Up Georgia Statement on Proposed Precinct Consolidation in Randolph*, Facebook, (Aug. 21, 2018, 5:29 PM), https://www.facebook.com/RevUpGeorgia/posts/504884526604133?_xts_%5b0%5d=68.ARAKc-he77875t7fMGjLlCd3qVEH0fzF0XSVJhSFbMaT4mkMH-vQ9I2XZj6Z_xOq0i2twCjXeBRHekiReW8-yXilsc-Qx6OaGh0plvqdIcXzogGzc3e9V1fe24H2HSTPDp6km8&_tn_=-R; The Arc Georgia, *The Arc GA responded to News that election officials in Randolph County*, Facebook, (Aug. 22, 2018, 1:38 PM), https://www.facebook.com/GeorgiaADAPT/posts/2161876087189839?_xts_%5b0%5d=68.ARBdWwS7BixT29eF3Vy2oAj7kzAMtUzoDoG9GbbqV6T-8Rg1Gi33e9wi2gexgxAvojLbEeBt-U4x-qAAV3fyPoOtfh1ZGSYICxD_30Fu81Ggmm2Ih1f-x0Elka9XAUClx2jRrCtU&_tn_=-R; https://www.facebook.com/thearcga/posts/10155491541052540?_xts_%5b0%5d=68.ARDnJhBRRQjpaRuPL77ZL1clQudeVi3FWeVSw4NpTqAKAwH7tuMWdpcBkRbR72tT6nGXGViS2s2MVQt-dHO0bjqFvBNFj7UsQgejlhu4C8C1z_SlhZxki1Bywpkdojvt2slxuw&_tn_=-H-R; Rev Up Georgia's post, *Statewide Independent Living Council of Georgia, Inc.* (Aug. 22, 2018) https://www.facebook.com/SILCGA/posts/1799252303444597?_xts_%5b0%5d=68.ARDa04EB_EL_eyBQ30I-gCHslYgeu_Z0qCWysGWAK25SEM2BEDqiuMI8hdvU1JeehdTs1Hy4iKspk_LH3kjSmamAZr18mmg-CYpKJlGnm94710flxBKrTPiQQF1l_JMhr1abVhw&_tn_=-R

243 NAACP LDF, *LDf and ACLU of Georgia Send Joint Letter to Georgia Election Officials Urging Against Discriminatory Polling Place Changes*, Legal Defense and Education Fund, (Aug. 22, 2018), <https://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/ldf-aclu-georgia-send-joint-letter-georgia-election-officials-urging-discriminatory-polling-place-changes/>

244 Greg Bluestein, *Ga. County under pressure to reject 'ugly' plan to close precinct*, Politically Georgia, (Aug. 16, 2018), <https://politics.myajc.com/blog/politics/county-under-pressure-reverse-ugly-plan-close-precincts/5c2DSiLQ09fVUdxIOOcwEN/>; Victor Blackwell, Devon M. Sayers and Pamela Kirkland, *Elections board takes less than a minute to reject proposal to close 7 of 9 polling places in majority-black county*, CNN, (Aug. 24, 2018) <https://edition-m.cnn.com/2018/08/24/us/randolph-county-polling-closures-vote/index.html>; Victor Blackwell, Devon M. Sayers, and Pamela Kirkland, *Elections board takes less than a minute to reject proposal to close 7 of 9 polling places in majority-black county*, CNN, (Aug. 24, 2018), <https://edition.cnn.com/2018/08/24/us/randolph-county-polling-closures-vote/index.html?no-st=1535121804>; Deborah Barfield Berry, *Georgia election officials reject plans to close polls in mostly black county ahead of midterms*, USA Today, (Aug. 24, 2018, 5:33 PM), <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/elections/2018/08/24/georgia-officials-vote-not-close-polling-sites-randolph-county/1078513002/>; Madhuri Sathish, *Polling Places In Randolph County Georgia's Mostly Black Districts Won't Close After All*, Bustler, (Aug 24, 2018) <https://www.bustle.com/p/polling-places-in-randolph-county-georgias-mostly-black-districts-wont-close-after-all-10234840>



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

- 245 Marke Niesse, *Elections consultant fired over proposal to close Georgia precinct*, Politically Georgia, (Aug. 23, 2018), <https://politics.myajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/elections-consultant-fired-over-proposal-close-georgia-precincts/Hr6FBBXRJo6fVFixRur1mO/>; Errin Haines Whack and Brinley Hineman, *Black Voters energized amid outcry over polling places*, Marietta Daily Journal, (Aug. 23, 2018), https://www.mdjonline.com/neighbor_newspapers/news/state/consultant-fired-amid-anger-over-plan-to-shut-polling-places/article_5789a5b2-2be7-500e-b26d-7e39815b0795.html; <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/a-win-in-the-battle-to-vote-in-georgia>
- 246 Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., *LDF Sends Letter Over Georgia Polling Sites Confusion in Grady County*, NAACP LDF (Nov. 06. 2018), <https://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/ldf-sends-letter-georgia-polling-site-confusion-grady-county/>
- 247 Associated Press, *Georgia voting site in rural black community reopened after grassroots fight*, NBBC News, (Dec. 10, 2019), <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/georgia-voting-site-black-community-reopened-after-grassroots-fight-n1097776>
- 248 Spencer Woodman, *Voting Rights At Risk in Georgia*, Rolling Stone (Nov. 4, 2013), <http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/voting-rights-at-risk-in-georgia-20131104>; Susan McCord, *Court ruling revives effort to move Augusta elections to July*, Augusta Chronicle (June 29, 2013 4:28 PM), <http://chronicle.augusta.com/news/government/elections/2013-06-29/court-ruling-revives-effort-move-augusta-elections-july>; Zachary Roth, *Georgia GOP dusts off Jim Crow tactic: Changing election date*, MSNBC (Feb. 5, 2014, 12:13 PM), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/gop-revives-jim-crow-tactic>
- 249 Sandy Hodson, *Plaintiffs in election date lawsuit file response to city of Augusta*, Augusta Chronicle (May 7, 2014, 8:56 PM), <http://m.chronicle.augusta.com/news/crime-courts/2014-05-07/plaintiffs-election-date-lawsuit-file-response-city-augusta>; Richard Fausset, *Mistrust in North Carolina Over Plan to Reduce Precincts*, N.Y. Times (July 7, 2014), <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/08/us/08northcarolina.html?emc=eta1&r=0>; Jamelle Bouie, *Running Scared*, Slate (Sept. 11, 2014, 8:12 PM), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/politics/2014/09/stacey_abrams_new_georgia_project_shocks_georgia_s_gop_republicans_fighting.html?wpsrc=sh_all_dt_tw_bot; Sandy Hodson, *City wins lawsuit over change in election date for local offices*, Augusta Chronicle (May 13, 2014 5:39 PM), <http://chronicle.augusta.com/news/government/elections/2014-05-13/city-wins-lawsuit-over-change-election-date-local-offices>; *Howard v. Augusta-Richmond Cnty.*, No. 1:14-cv-097-JRH, Order Granting Attorney's Fees (S.D. Ga. Nov. 10, 2014), <https://casetext.com/case/howard-v-augusta-richmond-cnty>; *Howard v. Augusta-Richmond Cnty.*, No. 1:14-cv-097-JRH, Complaint (S.D. Ga. Apr. 18, 2014), <http://media.graytvinc.com/documents/Document+Reduced+Size.pdf>; Harry Baumgarten and Jacob Zionce, *Shelby County v. Holder's Biggest and Most Harmful Impact May be on our Nation's Smallest Towns*, Campaign Legal Center (June 20, 2016), <http://www.campaignlegalcenter.org/news/blog/shelby-county-v-holder-s-biggest-and-most-harmful-impact-may-be-our-nation-s-smallest>
- 250 Letter from Thomas E. Perez, Assistant Attorney General, U.S. Dep't of Justice, to Dennis R. Dunn, Esq., Deputy Attorney General (Dec. 21, 2012), http://www.justice.gov/crt/records/vot/obj_letters/letters/GA/1_121221.php; Harry Baumgarten and Jacob Zionce, *Shelby County v. Holder's Biggest and Most Harmful Impact May Be on Our Nation's Smallest Towns*, Campaign Legal Center (June 20, 2016), <http://www.campaignlegalcenter.org/news/blog/shelby-county-v-holder-s-biggest-and-most-harmful-impact-may-be-our-nation-s-smallest>
- 251 Adam Ragusea, *Ga. Voters Surprised Macon Election Change Isn't Challenged*, NPR (Feb. 6, 2014, 5:00 AM), <http://www.npr.org/2014/02/06/272359791/voting-rights-act-update>; Spencer Woodman, *In Georgia, the Battle Over Voting Rights Rages On*, Vice (Mar. 9, 2015), <http://www.vice.com/read/in-georgia-the-battle-over-voting-rights-rages-on-309>
- 252 *School Board introduces redistricting maps*, Post South (Oct. 29, 2013, 12:00 AM), <http://www.postsouth.com/article/20131028/NEWS/131029719>
- 253 Diana Samuels, *NAACP files lawsuit against East Baton Rouge school board over reapportionment: UPDATED*, NOLA (Aug. 9, 2014, 1:35 AM), http://www.nola.com/education/baton-rouge/index.ssf/2014/08/naacp_files_lawsuit_against_ea.html; Diana Samuels, *East Baton Rouge school board prevails in NAACP lawsuit over reapportionment*, NOLA (Aug. 16, 2014, 1:44 PM), http://www.nola.com/education/baton-rouge/index.ssf/2014/08/east_baton_rouge_school_board_14.html

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

Ben Wallace, *NAACP sues EBR school board over reducing seats*, The Advocate (Aug. 8, 2014, 10:17 AM), <http://theadvocate.com/home/9939663-123/naACP-sues-ebR-school-board>

254 *The Great Poll Closure*, The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights (Nov. 2016), <http://civilrightsdocs.info/pdf/reports/2016/poll-closure-report-web.pdf>; Wilborn P. Nobles, III, *Jefferson Parish has 23 fewer places to vote this year; here's why*, NOLA.com (Nov. 8, 2016, 11:07 AM), http://www.nola.com/politics/index.ssf/2016/11/jefferson_fewer_voting_sites.html

255 Vann R. Newkirk II, *Voting Rights on Trial on the Bayou*, Atlantic (Apr. 28, 2017), <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/04/voting-rights-at-large-voting-louisiana/524691/>

256 Shawn J. Donahue, *The Re-Precincting of Louisiana after Shelby County: Was Race a Factor?*, http://www.shawndonahue13.com/uploads/9/7/4/6/97469540/louisiana_paper_for_southern_donahue.pdf

257 S. Bill No. 639, Michigan election law, 2015 (Mich. 2015), <http://www.legislature.mi.gov/documents/2015-2016/billintroduced/Senate/pdf/2015-SIB-0639.pdf>; Opinion and Order Granting Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction, *Michigan State A. Philip Randolph Institute, et al. v. Ruth Johnson, et al.*, No. 16-cv-11844, ECF No. 24 (E.D. Mich. July 21, 2016), *Common Cause, Allies Urge Defeat of Michigan Bill Restricting Voting, Registration*, Common Cause (Dec. 14, 2015), <http://www.commoncause.org/press/press-releases/common-cause-allies-urge-defeat-of-michigan-bill.html>; Chris Andrews, *Voting can be tricky business in Michigan*, MLive (Nov. 1, 2012, 8:32 AM), http://www.mlive.com/politics/index.ssf/2012/11/voting_can_be_tricky_business.html; Dahlia Lithwick, *The Ghosts of Shelby County: Despite some recent wins, voting rights are still under siege* (July 26, 2016, 4:17 PM), Slate http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2016/07/bernie_sanders_forgot_to_mention_voting_rights_in_his_convention_speech.html

258 Letter from ACLU et al., to Rick Snyder, Michigan Governor (Dec. 14, 2015), <http://www.commoncause.org/policy-and-litigation/letters-to-government-officials/governor-snyder-veto-sb-639.pdf>; Jennifer Chambers, *Appeal vowed on straight-party voting ruling*, The Detroit News (July 22, 2016, 12:25 PM), <http://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/local/michigan/2016/07/21/straight-ticket/87391606/>

259 Dan Tokaji, *Strict Voter ID May Be Coming To Michigan*, Election Law Blog (Dec. 1, 2016, 8:20 AM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=89621>; Ari Berman, *Trump's Lies About Voter Fraud Are Already Leading to New GOP Voter-Suppression Efforts*, The Nation (Dec. 6, 2016), <https://www.thenation.com/article/trumps-lies-about-voter-fraud-are-already-leading-to-new-gop-voter-suppression-efforts/>; Marissa Liebling, *Michigan Tries to Rush Voter ID Through Lame-Duck Session*, Project Vote (Dec. 6, 2016), <http://www.projectvote.org/blog/michigan-tries-rush-voter-id-lame-duck-session/>; Steve Benen, *Michigan Republicans can't make up their minds about voter fraud*, MSNBC (Dec. 9, 2016, 10:47 AM), <http://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/michigan-republicans-cant-make-their-minds-about-voter-fraud>; Jonathan Oosting, *'Tame duck'? Strict voter ID bills stall in Senate*, Detroit News (Dec. 13, 2016, 1:07 PM), <http://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/local/michigan/2016/12/13/tame-duck-strict-voter-bills-stall-senate/95379382/>; Emily Lawler, *Voter ID, FOIA legislation fall off Michigan's lame duck agenda*, MLive (Dec. 13, 2016, 12:56 PM), http://www.mlive.com/news/index.ssf/2016/12/voter_id_foia_changes_fall_off.html; David Eggert, *Michigan Senate won't vote on voter ID, FOIA, picket bills*, Click On Detroit (Dec. 13, 2016, 1:24 PM), http://www.clickondetroit.com/news/michigan-senate-wont-vote-on-voter-id-foia-picket-bills_

260 Letter from Sherrilyn Ifill, President and Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, to Michigan Senators (Dec. 12, 2016), <http://www.naacpldf.org/files/about-us/LDF%20Letter%20on%20Michigan%20Voter%20ID%20Bills%202016%2012%2020%281%29.pdf>

261 Jennifer Chambers, *Appeal vowed on straight-party voting ruling*, The Detroit News (July 22, 2016, 12:25 PM), <http://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/local/michigan/2016/07/21/straight-ticket/87391606/>; Ed White, *Federal Judge Blocks Michigan Ban on Straight-Party Voting*, ABC News (July 21, 2016, 6:21 PM), <http://abcnews.go.com/US/wireStory/federal-judge-blocks-michigan-ban-straight-party-voting-40773710>; Mark Joseph Stern, *Voting Rights on the March*, Slate (Aug. 1, 2016, 4:05 PM), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2016/08/why_courts_are_striking_down_voting_rights_restrictions_right_now.html; *Michigan lags in quest to make voting easier*, Detroit Free Press (Aug. 3, 2016, 12:04 AM), <http://www.freep.com/story/opinion/editorials/2016/08/03/michigan-lags-quest-make-voting-easier/87960766/>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, ProPublica (Sept. 23, 2016, 1:52 PM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/2016-election-lawsuit-tracker-new-election-laws-suits-challenging-them>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New*

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

-
- Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, Ledger Independent (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html; Ari Berman, *Trump's Lies About Voter Fraud Are Already Leading to New GOP Voter-Suppression Efforts*, The Nation (Dec. 6, 2016), <https://www.thenation.com/article/trumps-lies-about-voter-fraud-are-already-leading-to-new-gop-voter-suppression-efforts/>
- 262 Josh Gerstein, *Appeals court rejects bid to end straight-ticket voting in Michigan*, Politico (Aug. 17, 2016, 12:24 PM, EDT), <http://www.politico.com/blogs/under-the-radar/2016/08/straight-ticket-voting-michigan-court-ruling-227114>
- 263 *Divided 6th Circuit En Banc Refuses to Take Up Michigan Straight-Ticket Voting Case*, Election Law Blog (Sept. 1, 2016, 11:17 AM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=86107>
- 264 Rick Hasen, *Michigan Asks for Emergency #SCOTUS Relief in Straight-Ticket Voting Case* (Sept. 2, 2016, 11:08 AM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=86158>; Paul Egan, *Schuette takes straight-party voting fight to Supreme Court*, Detroit Free Press (Sept. 2, 2016, 7:27 PM), <http://www.freep.com/story/news/local/michigan/2016/09/02/schuette-straight-party-voting-supreme-court/89776084/>; Christian Farias, *Michigan Begs Supreme Court to Reinstate Ban on 'Straight-Ticket Voting: A lower court found the ban disproportionately affected black voters*, HuffingtonPost (Sept. 2, 2016, 8:39 PM, ET), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/michigan-supreme-court-straight-ticket-voting_us_57c9e31ae4b0e60d31df336d; Rick Hasen, *Supreme Court, With Justices Thomas and Alito Dissenting, Refuses Michigan Voting Stay; Three Ideological Camps at SCOTUS*, Election Law Blog (Sept. 9, 2016, 7:19 AM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=86371>; Melissa Nann Burke, *High court won't hear appeal on straight-ticket voting*, Detroit News (Sept. 9, 2016, 10:02 AM), <http://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/politics/2016/09/09/high-court-hear-appeal-straight-ticket-voting/90116200/>
- 265 Case 2:16-cv-11844-GAD-MKM ECF No. 151. *Michigan State A. Philip Randolph Institute, Et. Al. v. Ruth Johnson, in Her Official Capacity as Michigan Secretary of State*. 1 Aug. 2018. PageID.4501 <https://www.commoncause.org/press-release/federal-court-strikes-down-michigan-law-banning-straight-ticket-voting/>; <https://www.commoncause.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/MI-Straight-Ticket-Voting-Ruling-8-1-18.pdf>; <https://www.bridgemi.com/public-sector/emails-suggest-republicans-gerrymandered-michigan-weaken-dem-garbage>; <http://www.live5news.com/story/38789913/judge-michigan-cant-eliminate-straight-party-voting>
- 266 Richard Winger, *Sixth Circuit Removes Straight-Ticket Device from 2018 Michigan Ballots*, Ballot Access News (Sept. 5, 2018) Winger, Richard. "Sixth Circuit Removes Straight-Ticket Device from 2018 Michigan Ballots." Ballot Access News, Richard Winger, 5 Sept. 2018, ballot-access.org/2018/09/05/sixth-circuit-removes-straight-ticket-device-from-2018-michigan-ballots/; *Michigan State A. Philip Randolph Institute v. Ruth Johnson*, No. 18-1910 (6th Cir. Sept. 05, 2018), <http://ballot-access.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Document30.pdf>; *Supreme Court Rejects Appeal Over Michigan Election Law*, US News, (Sept. 7, 2018) <https://www.usnews.com/news/best-states/michigan/articles/2018-09-07/supreme-court-rejects-appeal-over-michigan-election-law>; Michael Wines and Danny Hakim, *Four Fights Over Voting Rights*, The New York Times (Nov. 3, 2018) <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/03/us/politics/voting-rights-lawsuits.html>
- 267 Quinn Klinefelter, *Federal Judge Rejects Special Election to Fill Ex-Congressman Conyers' Seat*, WDET (Mar. 28, 2018), <https://wdet.org/posts/2018/03/28/86595-federal-judge-rejects-special-election-to-fill-ex-congressman-conyers-seat/>
- 268 Rick Hasen, *"Advocacy groups to monitor polls in Dearborn Heights"*, Election Law Blog (Aug. 3, 2014, 7:38 PM), <https://electionlawblog.org/?p=63946>; *Dearborn Heights City Clerk Facing Allegations of Misconduct Toward Arab American Voters Back peddles Resignation: Advocacy groups to monitor polls in Dearborn Heights* (Aug. 2, 2014, 5:47 PM), <https://dawudwalid.wordpress.com/2014/08/03/dearborn-heights-city-clerk-facing-allegations-of-misconduct-toward-arab-american-voters-backpeddles-resignation/>
- 269 Rick Hasen, *"Advocacy groups to monitor polls in Dearborn Heights"*, Election Law Blog (Aug. 3, 2014, 7:38 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=63946>; Lauren Abdel-Razzaq, *Dearborn Heights City Clerk Facing Allegations of Misconduct Toward Arab American Voters Back peddles Resignation: Advocacy groups to monitor polls in Dearborn Heights* (Aug. 2, 2014, 5:47 PM), <https://dawudwalid.wordpress.com/2014/08/03/dearborn-heights-city-clerk-facing-allegations-of-misconduct-toward-arab-american-voters-backpeddles-resignation/>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

- 270 Detroit Free Press, *Dearborn Heights absentee ballots should be counted, judge rules*, WorldNews (Aug. 6, 2014),
271 http://article.wn.com/view/2014/08/06/Dearborn_Heights_absentee_ballots_should_be_counted_judge_ru/
Most Detroit voting machines were 'broken' on Election Day, thegrio (Dec. 12, 2016, 11:22 AM),
<http://thegrio.com/2016/12/12/detroit-voting-machines-broken-election-day/>; Bill Palmer, *Michigan officials
admit majority of Detroit vote counting machines broke on Election Day*, Palmer Report (Dec. 6, 2016),
[http://www.palmerreport.com/news/michigan-officials-admit-majority-detroit-vote-counting-machines-
broke-election-day/414/](http://www.palmerreport.com/news/michigan-officials-admit-majority-detroit-vote-counting-machines-broke-election-day/414/); John Wisely & JC Reindl, *Detroit's election woes: 782 more votes than voters*, Detroit Free
Press (Dec. 19, 2016, 11:50 AM),
[http://www.freep.com/story/news/local/michigan/detroit/2016/12/18/detroit-ballots-vote-recount-
election-stein/95570866/](http://www.freep.com/story/news/local/michigan/detroit/2016/12/18/detroit-ballots-vote-recount-election-stein/95570866/)
- 272 Michael Wines, *New Emails Show Michigan Republicans Plotting to Gerrymander Maps*, NY Times, (July 25, 2018).
<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/25/us/michigan-gerrymandering.html>; Joel Kurth, Lindsay VanHulle,
Emails suggest Republicans gerrymandered Michigan to weaken 'Dem Garbage', Bridge News (July 25, 2018)
[https://www.bridgemi.com/public-sector/emails-suggest-republicans-gerrymandered-michigan-weaken-dem-
garbage](https://www.bridgemi.com/public-sector/emails-suggest-republicans-gerrymandered-michigan-weaken-dem-garbage)
- 273 Jackie Calmes et al., *On Voting Case, Reaction from 'Deeply Disappointed' to 'It's About Time'*, N.Y. Times (June 25,
2013), [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/26/us/politics/on-voting-case-reaction-from-deeply-disappointed-
to-its-about-time.html?pagewanted=all&r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/26/us/politics/on-voting-case-reaction-from-deeply-disappointed-to-its-about-time.html?pagewanted=all&r=0)
- 274 Brentin Mock, *Supreme Court Guts Voting Rights Act*, Colorlines (June 25, 2013, 10:30 AM),
[http://colorlines.com/archives/2013/06/supreme_court_purges_civil_rights_best_weapon_from_voting_rights_
act.html](http://colorlines.com/archives/2013/06/supreme_court_purges_civil_rights_best_weapon_from_voting_rights_act.html); Brentin Mock, *State Attorney Generals Vow Immediate Voter ID Implementation*, Colorlines (June 25,
2013, 4:39 PM),
[http://colorlines.com/archives/2013/06/section_five_state_attorney_generals_vow_immediate_voter_id_imple-
mentation.html](http://colorlines.com/archives/2013/06/section_five_state_attorney_generals_vow_immediate_voter_id_implementation.html); Kara Brandeisky et al., *Everything That's Happened Since Supreme Court Ruled on Voting Rights
Act*, ProPublica (Nov. 4, 2014, 12:31 PM), <http://www.propublica.org/article/voting-rights-by-state-map>; Doug
Chapin, *Free Ride: Mississippi To Make Sure Voters Can Get New Required ID*, Election Academy (Mar. 17, 2014),
<http://editions.lib.umn.edu/electionacademy/2014/03/17/free-ride-mississippi-to-make/>; Martha Bergmark,
Mississippi's Secretary of State Moves to Enforce Voter ID Law, Huffington Post (July 10, 2013, 4:39 PM),
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/martha-bergmark/voting-rights-act-shelby-county-v-holder_b_3575216.html;
Emily Le Coz, *Mississippi sails through voter ID test*, The Clarion-Ledger (June 3, 2014, 8:35 PM),
<http://www.clarionledger.com/story/news/2014/06/03/mississippi-sails-voter-test/9936711/>; Sarah Smith,
2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them, Ledger Independent (Oct.
28, 2016), [http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-
new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html](http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html); Zachary Roth,
Mississippi Sec of State paints false picture on voter ID, Daily Democracy (May 19, 2017, 3:12 PM),
<https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/05/19/mississippi-sec-of-state-paints-false-picture-on-voter-id/>
- 275 Geoff Pender, *Tied election down to one voter's ID or drawing straws*, Clarion-Ledger (Sept. 10, 2014, 2:24 PM),
[http://www.clarionledger.com/story/news/2014/09/10/candidates-draw-straws-unless-lone-voter-
brings/15386135/](http://www.clarionledger.com/story/news/2014/09/10/candidates-draw-straws-unless-lone-voter-brings/15386135/); Bill Minor, *Minor: Mississippi Voter ID means of suppression*, Clarion-Ledger (Aug. 13, 2015,
10:09 AM), [http://www.clarionledger.com/story/opinion/2015/08/13/minor-mississippi-voter-means-
suppression/31624803/](http://www.clarionledger.com/story/opinion/2015/08/13/minor-mississippi-voter-means-suppression/31624803/); Alice Ollstein, *Voting Did Not Go Smoothly Last Night*, Think Progress (Mar. 9, 2016),
<http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2016/03/09/3757592/four-states-voting-problems/>
- 276 Alice Ollstein, *Voting Did Not Go Smoothly Last Night*, Think Progress (Mar. 9, 2016),
<http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2016/03/09/3757592/four-states-voting-problems/>; Zachary Roth,
Mississippi Sec of State paints false picture on voter ID, Daily Democracy (May 19, 2017, 3:12 PM),
<https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/05/19/mississippi-sec-of-state-paints-false-picture-on-voter-id/>
- 277 Brentin Mock, *More Research Shows Voter ID Laws Hurt Minorities*, CityLab (Feb. 5, 2016),
[http://www.citylab.com/politics/2016/02/research-more-conclusive-that-voter-id-laws-hurt-blacks-and-
latinos/459819/](http://www.citylab.com/politics/2016/02/research-more-conclusive-that-voter-id-laws-hurt-blacks-and-latinos/459819/); Nate Silver, *Measuring the Effects of Voter Identification Laws*, N.Y. Times (July 15, 2012, 9:28
AM), [http://fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/07/15/measuring-the-effects-of-voter-identification-
laws/?_r=0](http://fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/07/15/measuring-the-effects-of-voter-identification-laws/?_r=0); *Elections: Issues Related to State Voter Identification Laws*, U.S. Gov't Accountability Office (Feb. 27,
2015), <http://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-14-634>; Michael Herron, *Race, Shelby County, and the Voter
Information Verification Act in North Carolina*, ElectionSmith Inc. (Feb. 28, 2015),

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

<https://electionsmith.wordpress.com/2015/02/28/race-shelby-county-and-the-voter-information-verification-act-in-north-carolina/>; Ashley Lopez, *Study Backs Up What Advocates Predicted: Strict Voter ID Laws Reduce Minority Turnout*, KUT (Feb. 9, 2016), <http://kut.org/post/study-backs-what-advocates-predicted-strict-voter-id-laws-reduce-minority-turnout>; Jenny Jarvie, *Voting has gotten tougher in 17 states, and it could alter elections*, L.A. Times (May 6, 2016, 3:00 AM), <http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-north-carolina-voting-20160505-story.html>; Zoltan Hajnal et al., *Voter Identification Laws and the Suppression of Minority Votes*, <http://pages.ucsd.edu/~zhajnal/page5/documents/VoterIDLawsSuppressionofMinorityVoters.pdf>; Rick Hasen, *VoteRiders v. Vox: "Get real: The underestimated impact of voter ID laws"*, Election Law Blog (Nov. 2, 2016, 5:50 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=88563>; Zoltan L. Hajnal et al., *Do voter identification laws suppress minority voting? Yes. We did the research.* Washington Post (Feb. 15, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/02/15/do-voter-identification-laws-suppress-minority-voting-yes-we-did-the-research/?utm_term=.c7108b27f759

278 *The Great Poll Closure*, The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights (Nov. 2016), <http://civilrightsdocs.info/pdf/reports/2016/poll-closure-report-web.pdf>

279 Anna Wolfe & Alex Rozier, *Free from federal oversight, 5 percent of Mississippi polling locations have closed since 2013*, Mississippi (Oct. 24, 2018) <https://mississippitoday.org/2018/10/24/free-from-federal-oversight-5-percent-of-mississippi-polling-locations-have-closed-since-2013/>

280 Terri Ferguson Smith, *NEW MAYOR*, Meridian Star (June 5, 2016), http://www.meridianstar.com/news/local_news/new-mayor/article_4185ce47-1164-5afd-9ffd-c3daca08445.html; *Noose hung at Meridian mayoral candidate's office*, Mississippi Link (May 6, 2013), <http://themississippilink.com/2013/05/06/noose-hung-at-meridian-mayoral-candidates-office/>

281 Jeff Byrd, *Reaction mixed to precinct changes*, Meridian Star (May 10, 2016), http://www.meridianstar.com/news/reaction-mixed-to-precinct-changes/article_8233c35c-f6ca-11e4-aff9-83517e2166dc.html; Jeff Byrd, *Bland asks for information on polling location changes*, Meridian Star (May 13, 2016), http://www.meridianstar.com/news/bland-asks-for-information-on-polling-location-changes/article_6495a78e-f922-11e4-ae06-774875744d96.html

282 Ashton Pittman, *Madison County Moves 2,000 Black, Hispanic Voters to Crowded Precinct With Little Warning*, Mississippi Free Press, (Oct. 29, 2020), <https://www.mississippifreepress.org/6492/madison-county-moves-2000-black-hispanic-voters-to-crowded-precinct-with-little-warning/>

283 Press Release, *New York Voting Rights Organizations Urge Governor Cuomo To Promptly Order Special Election For 12 Vacant Legislative Seats*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund (Mar. 18, 2014), <http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/new-york-voting-rights-organizations-urge-governor-cuomo-promptly-order-special-electi>; Letter from Ryan P. Haygood, Director, Political Participation Group, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, to Andrew Cuomo, Governor, New York (Mar. 18, 2014), <http://aaldef.org/3.18.14%20NYVRC%20Vacancies%20Letter.pdf>; Associated Press, *Call for elections for empty state legislative seats*, Saratogian (Mar. 19, 2014, 7:29 AM), <http://www.saratogian.com/government-and-politics/20140319/call-for-elections-for-empty-state-legislative-seats>

284 Ross Barkan, *Cuomo Could Throw State Senate to Republicans by Stalling on Special Elections*, Village Voice (Sept. 26, 2017), <https://www.villagevoice.com/2017/09/26/cuomo-could-throw-state-senate-to-republicans-by-stalling-on-special-elections/>

285 Press Release, *New York in Violation of "Motor Voter" Law and the Voting Rights Act*, Project Vote (Mar. 8, 2017), <http://www.projectvote.org/press-releases/new-york-violation-motor-voter-law-voting-rights-act/>; Chris Fuchs, *Civil Rights Groups Threaten to Sue New York Over Voting Rights Violations*, NBC (Mar. 8, 2017, 6:05 PM), <http://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/civil-rights-groups-threaten-sue-new-york-over-voting-rights-n730891>

286 Michael D. Regan, *Officials investigating why 126,000 voters were purged from NY rolls*, PBS NEWSHOUR (Apr. 23, 2016, 5:42 PM), <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/runtdown/officials-investigating-why-126000-voters-were-purged-from-ny-rolls/>; Brigid Bergin, *Why Voter Rolls Can Be A Mess*, NPR (June 16, 2016, 5:00 AM), <http://www.npr.org/2016/06/16/481921080/why-voter-rolls-can-be-a-mess>; Brigid Bergin, John Keefe, and Jenny Ye, *Brooklyn Voter Purges Hit Hispanics Hardest*, WNYC News (June 21, 2016), <http://www.wnyc.org/story/brooklyn-voter-purge-hit-hispanics-hardest/>; Chris Fuchs, *Three Years After SCOTUS Case Weakened Voting Rights Act, Leaders Call for New Protections*, NBC News (June 27, 2016, 9:20 AM),

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

<http://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/three-years-after-scotus-case-weakened-voting-rights-act-leaders-n599551>; Brendan O'Connor, *Brooklyn Voter Purge Disproportionately Affected Hispanics*, Gawker (June 2, 2016, 1:28 PM), <http://gawker.com/brooklyn-voter-purge-disproportionately-effected-hispan-1782359612>; Jeffrey Toobin, *The Problem With Voting Rights in New York*, New Yorker (Oct. 11, 2016), http://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/the-problem-with-voting-rights-in-new-york?mbid=social_twitter; Michael Sainato, *NY Primary Voter Purge Still Under Investigation Amid Calls For Election Reform*, Observer (Dec. 13, 2016, 8:30 AM), <http://observer.com/2016/12/ny-primary-voter-purge-still-under-investigation-amid-calls-for-election-reform/>

287 John Hecht, *The Supreme Court Caused the Brooklyn Purge*, Who. What. Why (June 30, 2016), <http://whowhatwhy.org/2016/06/30/supreme-court-caused-brooklyn-voter-purge/>; Letter from NAACP Legal Defense Fund, et al. to Justin Levitt, Deputy Assistant Attorney General U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division (July 22, 2016), <http://www.naacpldf.org/document/nyvrc-letter-doj-voter-purge>

288 Justin Fox, *Brooklyn's Purged Voters Restored to Rolls*, Bensonhurst Bean (June 16, 2016), <http://www.bensonhurstbean.com/2016/06/brooklyns-purged-voters-restored-rolls/#.V2Rglmf2bct>; Brigid Bergin, *Why Voter Rolls Can Be A Mess*, NPR (June 16, 2016, 5:00 AM), <http://www.npr.org/2016/06/16/481921080/why-voter-rolls-can-be-a-mess>;

289 Letter from NAACP Legal Defense Fund, et al. to Justin Levitt, Deputy Assistant Attorney General U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division (July 22, 2016), <http://www.naacpldf.org/document/nyvrc-letter-doj-voter-purge>; Mary Frost, *How Did the NYC Board of Elections Do During Tuesday's Primary?*, BROOKLYN DAILY EAGLE (June 29, 2016), : <http://www.brooklyneagle.com/articles/2016/6/29/how-did-nyc-board-elections-do-during-tuesdays-primary> (last visited July 22, 2016). See also, Chris Fuchs, *Asian-American Voters Hit Snags in NY Congressional Primary*, NBC News Asian America (June 30, 2016), : <http://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/asian-american-voters-hit-snags-ny-congressional-primary-n601846> (last visited July 22, 2016)

290 Press Release, *Civil Rights Groups Achieve Emergency Relief for Purged Voters in Lawsuit Against New York City Board of Elections*, LatinoJustice (Nov. 5, 2016), http://latinojustice.org/briefing_room/press_releases/Civil_Rights_Groups_Achieve_Emergency_Relief_for_Purged_Voters_in_Lawsuit_Against_New_York_City_Board_of_Elections/; Rick Hansen, *U.S. District Court Rejects New York Officials' Efforts to Dismiss Major Federal Voting Rights Lawsuit*, Election Law Blog, (Oct. 1, 2018) https://electionlawblog.org/?p=101337&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29

291 Vivian Yee, *Justice Dept. Seeks to Join Suit Over 117,000 Purged Brooklyn Voters*, N.Y. Times (Jan. 12, 2017), Vivian Yee, *Justice Dept. Seeks to Join Suit Over 117,000 Purged Brooklyn Voters*, The New York Times, (Jan. 12, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/12/nyregion/board-of-elections-brooklyn-votes.html?hpw&rref=nyregion&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&module=well-region®ion=bottom-well&WT.nav=bottom-well&r=0>; Brigid Bergin, *NY AG Schneiderman Alleges 'Gross Negligence' by City Board of Elections*, WNYC (Jan. 27, 2017), <http://www.wnyc.org/story/attorney-general--schneiderman-negligence-board-elections/>; Press Release, *Federal Lawsuit Claims New York City Board of Elections Actions Violate National Voter Registration Act*, Lawyers Committee For Civil Rights Under Law (Jan. 27, 2017), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/press-release/civil-rights-groups-applaud-new-york-attorney-generals-intervention-lawsuit-new-york-city-board-elections/>

292 Brigid Bergin, *City Board of Elections Admits It Broke the Law, Accepts Reform*, WNYC (Oct. 24, 2017), <http://www.wnyc.org/story/city-board-elections-admits-it-broke-law-accepts-reforms/>; Press Release, *United States Announces Settlement with New York City Board of Elections Resolving Improper Removal of Voters From Registration Rolls*, U.S. Dep't of Justice (Oct. 31, 2017), <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/united-states-announces-settlement-new-york-city-board-elections-resolving-improper-removal>

293 Laura Leslie, *NC voter ID bill moving ahead with Supreme Court ruling*, WRAL (June 25, 2013), <http://www.wral.com/nc-senator-voter-id-bill-moving-ahead-with-ruling/12591669/>; Brentin Mock, *Supreme Court Guts Voting Rights Act*, Colorlines (June 25, 2013, 10:30 AM), http://colorlines.com/archives/2013/06/supreme_court_purges_civil_rights_best_weapon_from_voting_rights_act.html; Brentin Mock, *State Attorney Generals Vow Immediate Voter ID Implementation*, Colorlines (June 25, 2013, 4:39 PM), http://colorlines.com/archives/2013/06/section_five_state_attorney_generals_vow_immediate_voter_id_implementation.html

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

- 294 David Zucchini, *Changes loom for N.C. electorate*, L.A. Times (June 30, 2013), <http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/nation/la-na-voting-rights-20130630,0,211700.story>; Michael Tomsic, *Many Counties Seek Exemption From NC Early Voting Requirements*, WFAE (Feb. 25, 2014), <http://wfae.org/post/many-counties-seek-exemption-nc-early-voting-requirements>
- 295 STATEMENT FROM ATTORNEY GENERAL ROY COOPER ON U.S. SUPREME COURT DECISION ON THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT, N.C. Dep't of Justice (June 25, 2013), <http://www.ncdoj.gov/News-and-Alerts/News-Releases-and-Advisories/Press-Releases/Statement-from-Attorney-General-Roy-Cooper-on-U-S.aspx>; Brentin Mock, *NC Senate outdoes the House with harsh voter ID law*, Facing South (July 19, 2013, 10:53 AM), <http://www.southernstudies.org/2013/07/nc-senate-outdoes-the-house-with-harsh-voter-id-la.html>
- 296 Colleen Jenkins, *U.S. judge declines to stop North Carolina's election law changes*, Reuters (Aug. 8, 2014, 8:01 PM), <http://mobile.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN0G829T20140809?irpc=932>; Michael C. Herron & Daniel A. Smith, *Race, Shelby County, and the Voter Information Verification Act in North Carolina*, ElectionSmith Inc. (Feb. 11, 2014), <http://electionsmith.wordpress.com/2014/02/11/late-night-exclusive-latest-herron-smith-race-shelby-county-and-the-voter-information-verification-act-in-north-carolina/>; Kara Brandeisky et al., *Everything That's Happened Since Supreme Court Ruled on Voting Rights Act*, ProPublica (Nov. 4, 2014, 12:31 PM), <http://www.propublica.org/article/voting-rights-by-state-map>; Rick Hasen, *Interesting Intervention Motion in North Carolina Challenge to New Voting Law*, Election Law Blog (Nov. 25, 2013, 8:16 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=56963&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Colleen Jenkins, *North Carolina voting changes to go on trial in 2015*, Reuters (Dec. 12, 2013, 7:41 PM), <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/12/13/us-usa-northcarolina-voting-idUSBRE9BB19120131213>; Lauren Harmon & Sarah Baron, *The Academy Awards of Voter Suppression*, American Progress (Feb. 20, 2015), <https://www.americanprogressaction.org/issues/civil-liberties/report/2015/02/20/107013/the-academy-awards-of-voter-suppression/>; Naila Awan, *Voting Rights Challenges In the Wake of Shelby County*, Demos (Feb. 4, 2016), <http://www.demos.org/blog/2/4/16/voting-rights-challenges-wake-shelby-county>; William Wan, *Inside the Republican creation of the North Carolina voting bill dubbed the 'monster' law* (Sept. 2, 2016, 8:00 AM), https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/courts_law/inside-the-republican-creation-of-the-north-carolina-voting-bill-dubbed-the-monster-law/2016/09/01/79162398-6adf-11e6-8225-fbb8a6fc65bc_story.html
- 297 Ari Berman, *Hundreds of Voters Are Disenfranchised by North Carolina's New Voting Restrictions*, The Nation (Sept. 10, 2014), <http://www.thenation.com/blog/181566/hundreds-voters-disenfranchised-north-carolinas-new-voting-restrictions#>; Rick Hasen, *North Carolina Seeks Supreme Court Review in Voting Case*, Election Law Blog (Dec. 30, 2014, 5:13 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=69429>
- 298 Justin Levitt, *Breaking News: SCOTUS issues NC order, restrictions back in effect*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 8, 2014, 4:19 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=66538&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Alan Blinder & Richard Fausset, *Federal Judge Upholds North Carolina Voter Rules*, N.Y. Times (Apr. 25, 2016), <http://mobile.nytimes.com/2016/04/26/us/politics/federal-judge-upholds-north-carolina-voter-id-law.html>; *N.C. State Conference of the NAACP v. McCrory*, 1:13-cv-00658-TDS, Memorandum Opinion and Order (M.D.N.C. Apr. 25, 2016), <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/nc-voting.pdf>; Opinion, *Voting Rights Lose in North Carolina*, N.Y. Times (Apr. 27, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/27/opinion/voting-rights-lose-in-north-carolina.html>; Election Law Blog, *4th Circuit Issues Order in NC Voting Case Extending Stay*, (June 7, 2016, 1:27 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=83431>
- 299 Anne Blythe & Colin Campbell, *NC legislature votes to soften voter ID requirements*, News & Observer (June 18, 2015), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article24877873.html>; Samantha Lachman, *What's At Stake In The Trial Over North Carolina Voting Restrictions*, Huffington Post (July 14, 2015), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/07/10/north-carolina-voting-trial_n_7754876.html; Gary D. Robertson, *Effects of changes on minorities at crux of NC voting trial*, WCNC (July 12, 2015), <http://legacy.wcnc.com/story/news/local/regional/2015/07/12/effects-of-changes-on-minorities-at-crux-of-nc-voting-trial/30047147/>; Erik Eckholm, *Voting Rights Legacy of the '60s Heads to Court as North Carolina Law is Tested*, N.Y. Times (July 11, 2015), <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/12/us/a-voting-rights-legacy-of-the-1960s-heads-to-court-in-north-carolina.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&module=first-column-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news&r=1>; Erik Eckholm, *Sides Dispute Basis of North Carolina Voting*

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

Laws as Trial Contesting Them Opens, N.Y. Times (July 13, 2015), http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/14/us/sides-dispute-basis-of-north-carolina-voting-laws-as-trial-contesting-them-opens.html?_r=0; Anne Blythe, *Federal trial set to start over NC's election law*, News & Observer (July 11, 2015), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article27044170.html>; Michael Hewlett, *Expert: N.C.'s election law places burdens on black, Hispanic voters*, Winston-Salem Journal (July 15, 2015), http://www.journalnow.com/news/local/expert-n-c-s-election-law-places-burdens-on-black/article_c8d2dbd8-2b1b-11e5-bb65-7b8d56f39f60.html; David A. Graham, *The Past Goes On Trial in North Carolina*, The Atlantic (July 15, 2015), <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/07/nc-voting-case/398447/>; Opinion, *North Carolina's Voting Law Goes on Trial*, N.Y. Times (July 15, 2015), http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/15/opinion/north-carolinas-voting-law-goes-on-trial.html?ref=opinion&_r=1; Michael Hewlett, *Expert: High turnout not evidence that North Carolina's law isn't burdensome for black voters*, Winston-Salem Journal (July 16, 2015, 1:38 PM), http://www.journalnow.com/news/local/expert-high-turnout-not-evidence-that-north-carolina-s-law/article_79586890-2be1-11e5-bb62-471f7cfa0fac.html; Allie Yee, *The uncertain future of voter ID in North Carolina*, Facing South (July 17, 2015), <http://www.southernstudies.org/2015/07/the-uncertain-future-of-voter-id-in-north-carolina.html>; Alice Ollstein, *Trial Begins For 'The Worst Vubboter Suppression Law We've Seen Since The 1960s'*, Think Progress (July 13, 2015, 11:04 AM), <http://thinkprogress.org/election/2015/07/13/3679610/war-future-voting-rights-heads-court-north-carolina/>; Michael Hewlett, *Expert: Voters would have faced longer lines in '12 had N.C.'s election law been in place*, Winston-Salem Journal (July 21, 2015, 1:23 PM), http://www.journalnow.com/news/local/expert-voters-would-have-faced-longer-lines-in-had-n/article_3cc91d80-2fcd-11e5-90a6-fbf399e5c465.htm; Michael Hewlett, *State director: 96,000 might have been denied vote if election law had been in effect*, Winston-Salem Journal (July 23, 2015, 5:00 AM), http://www.journalnow.com/business/legislator-north-carolina-s-election-law-curtailed-previous-efforts-to/article_bf07d616-3099-11e5-a048-931a0b9f065c.html; Michael Hewlett, *Plaintiffs rest case in federal voting rights trial; state attorneys call first witness*, Winston-Salem Journal (July 24, 2015, 6:15 AM), http://www.journalnow.com/news/local/expert-n-c-s-election-law-fits-historical-pattern-in/article_7f1902be-3229-11e5-a67c-d7b52d50ec1f.html; Michael Hewlett, *Federal trial in Winston-Salem could determine meaning of U.S. Voting Rights Act*, Winston-Salem Journal (Aug. 8, 2015, 11:42 PM), http://www.journalnow.com/news/elections/federal-trial-in-winston-salem-could-determine-meaning-of-u/article_4314bb8b-34ed-59cc-a3e5-f3e2bb05cfc0.html#.VcbT1Hx0AXU.twitter; David A. Graham, *Why a Judge Ruled North Carolina's Voter-ID Law Constitutional*, The Atlantic (Apr. 26, 2016), <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/04/why-a-judge-ruled-north-carolinas-voter-id-law-constitutional/479904/>

300 Ari Berman, *Thousands of Voters Are Disenfranchised by North Carolina's Voting Restrictions*, The Nation (June 16, 2015), <http://www.thenation.com/blog/181566/hundreds-voters-disenfranchised-north-carolinas-new-voting-restrictions#>; Liz Kennedy, *A Wild Week for Voting Rights*, Demos (Oct. 10, 2014), <http://www.demos.org/blog/10/10/14/wild-week-voting-rights>; Anne Blythe, *Obama praises lead plaintiff in NC voting-rights lawsuit*, News & Observer (Aug. 13, 2015), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article31007307.html>; Isela Gutierrez, *Protecting the Right to Vote*, Fayette Observer (June 4, 2016), http://www.fayobserver.com/opinion/local_columns/isela-gutierrez-protecting-the-right-to-vote/article_f03724a4-7f0c-5875-951b-96cdf4bb15da.html; Julia Harte, *A North Carolina law the Justice Dept. says has 'a race-based purpose' could have a huge impact on the election*, Reuters (July 15, 2016, 10:42 AM), <http://www.businessinsider.com/r-changes-to-north-carolina-voting-laws-could-put-thousands-of-2016-ballots-at-risk-2016-7>; Brennan Center for Justice, *Major Litigation That Could Impact Voting Access*, <https://www.brennancenter.org/major-litigation-could-impact-voting-access>

301 Bruce Siceloff and Anne Blythe, *NC DMV says it messed up by rejecting 86-year-old woman seeking voter ID*, Wichita Eagle (Feb. 11, 2016), <http://www.kansas.com/news/nation-world/national/article59774816.html>; Peter St. Onge, *She's 86. She couldn't get a photo ID. Look at the voter fraud we've prevented*, Charlotte Observer (Feb. 10, 2016), <http://www.charlotteobserver.com/opinion/article59695406.html>; The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, *Need Proof of Voting Discrimination? Watch These Videos of N.C. Voters Denied the Right to Vote.*, Medium (Mar. 23, 2016), <https://medium.com/@civilrightsorg/need-proof-of-voting-discrimination-watch-these-videos-of-n-c-voters-denied-the-right-to-vote-81cd104c79c#.oajzlis1r>; NC Voting Rights 2016 Primary Press Call, audio file, Picosong, <http://picosong.com/AaHe/> (last visited June 10, 2016); Moses Colbert, *N.C. Voting*

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

Rights, YouTube (Mar. 23, 2016), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V0vuCjxbgZE&feature=youtu.be>; Terrillin Cunningham, *N.C. Voting Rights*, YouTube (Mar. 23, 2016), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9w_fonOgwKc&feature=youtu.be; Dale Hicks, *N.C. Voting Rights*, YouTube (Mar. 23, 2016), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=frAgURY6CYw&feature=youtu.be>; Quisha Mallette, *N.C. Voting Rights*, (Mar. 23, 2016), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aC4owCZgD1w&feature=youtu.be>; Gregory K. Moss, *N.C. Voting Rights*, YouTube (Mar. 23, 2016), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=63qAK6QEeU8&feature=youtu.be>; Isela Gutierrez, *Protecting the Right to Vote*, Fayette Observer (June 4, 2016), http://www.fayobserver.com/opinion/local_columns/isela-gutierrez-protecting-the-right-to-vote/article_f03724a4-7f0c-5875-951b-96cdf4bb15da.html; *North Carolina voter ID law is discriminatory federal court rules*, Fayette Observer (July 30, 2016), http://www.fayobserver.com/news/north_carolina/north-carolina-voter-id-law-is-discriminatory-federal-court-rules/article_2c4aa6e7-2401-5416-86ae-f05b69f962cc.html

302 Isela Gutierrez & Bob Hall, *Alarm Bells from Silenced Voters*, Democracy North Carolina (June 2015), <http://democracy-nc.org/downloads/SilencedVoters.pdf>; Ari Berman, *Thousands of Voters Are Disenfranchised by North Carolina's Voting Restrictions*, The Nation (June 16, 2015), <http://www.thenation.com/article/thousands-of-voters-are-disenfranchised-by-north-carolinas-voting-restrictions/>; Jim Morrill, *Slim turnout expected in next month's NC primaries*, Charlotte Observer (Aug. 4, 2015), <http://www.charlotteobserver.com/news/politics-government/article29963316.html>; Max Lewontin, *North Carolina voter law could put 29,000 ballots at risk, report says*, The Christian Science Monitor (July 15, 2016), <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Justice/2016/0715/North-Carolina-voter-law-could-put-29-000-ballots-at-risk-report-says>

303 Liz Kennedy, *A Wild Week for Voting Rights*, Demos (Oct. 10, 2014), <http://www.demos.org/blog/10/10/14/wild-week-voting-rights>; Lauren Harmon & Sarah Baron, *The Academy Awards of Voter Suppression*, American Progress (Feb. 20, 2015), <https://www.americanprogressaction.org/issues/civil-liberties/report/2015/02/20/107013/the-academy-awards-of-voter-suppression/>; Brentin Mock, *The Voting Rights Act Turned 50, But There's Not a Lot to Celebrate*, The Atlantic (Aug. 11, 2015), <http://www.nationaljournal.com/next-america/economic-empowerment/50th-anniversary-of-voting-rights-act-still-not-a-lot-to-celebrate-201508011>; Advancement Project, *NC NAACP v. McCrory: Key Arguments in Lawsuit Against North Carolina's Voter Suppression Law*, N.C. Lutheran, <http://www.nclutheran.org/news/2015/2015-07-07-Trial-Onepager.pdf> (last visited June 10, 2016); William Barber II, *The Retreat From Voting Rights*, N.Y. Times (Apr. 28, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/28/opinion/the-retreat-from-voting-rights.html?ref=opinion&r=0>

304 Advancement Project, *NC NAACP v. McCrory: Key Arguments in Lawsuit Against North Carolina's Voter Suppression Law*, N.C. Lutheran, <http://www.nclutheran.org/news/2015/2015-07-07-Trial-Onepager.pdf> (last visited June 10, 2016)

305 Advancement Project, *NC NAACP v. McCrory: Key Arguments in Lawsuit Against North Carolina's Voter Suppression Law*, N.C. Lutheran, <http://www.nclutheran.org/news/2015/2015-07-07-Trial-Onepager.pdf> (last visited June 10, 2016); William Barber II, *The Retreat From Voting Rights*, N.Y. Times (Apr. 28, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/28/opinion/the-retreat-from-voting-rights.html?ref=opinion&r=0>

306 NCSBE, *One-Stop Voting Sites for the May 8, 2018 Election* (Apr. 13, 2018), https://s3.amazonaws.com/dl.ncsbe.gov/One-Stop_Early_Voting/2018/One-Stop%20Site%20List_May_8_2018_updated_04132018.pdf; S.B. 325, 2017 Gen. Assemb., Reg. Sess. (N.C. 2017), <https://www.ncleg.net/documentsites/committees/House2017-21/House%20Elections%20Bills%20in%20Rules%206-14/S325v2.pdf>

307 Matthew Burns, *Cooper goes on veto binge, rejecting seven bills*, WRAL, (June 25, 2018), <https://www.wral.com/cooper-goes-on-veto-binge-rejecting-seven-bills/17654695/>

308 Victoria Cavaliere, *NAACP seeks to halt implementation of North Carolina voter ID law*, Reuters (Nov. 25, 2015), <http://mobile.reuters.com/article/idUSL1N13K00V20151125>; Michael Hewlett, *Judge: Photo ID in effect for primary*, Winston-Salem Journal (Jan. 15, 2016), http://www.journalnow.com/news/elections/judge-denies-preliminary-injunction-in-voter-id-law-voters-will/article_b0cd7668-cc8e-5c4c-9068-a391ca9dd4ba.html?platform=hootsuite; Pam Fessler, *Election Officials Tackle Confusing Voter ID Laws In North Carolina*, NPR (Mar. 3, 2016), http://www.npr.org/2016/03/03/469083115/election-officials-help-north-carolina-voters-tackle-confusing-voter-id-laws?utm_campaign=storyshare&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_medium=social; Ari Berman, *North Carolina's*

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

Voter ID Law Could Block 218,000 Registered Voters From the Polls, The Nation (Mar. 14, 2016), <http://www.thenation.com/article/north-carolinas-voter-id-law-could-block-218000-registered-voters-from-the-polls/>

- 309 Michael Hewlett, *Voter ID case will go to trial in January*, Winston-Salem Journal (Jan. 7, 2016), http://www.journalnow.com/news/elections/voter-id-case-will-go-to-trial-in-january/article_3241eec6-6a5c-593c-a9ad-33c0786d7e45.html?platform=hootsuite; Michael Hewlett, *NAACP: Postpone NC voter ID trial until after primaries*, Winston-Salem Journal (Jan. 14, 2016), http://www.journalnow.com/news/elections/naacp-postpone-nc-voter-id-trial-until-after-primaries/article_df2fdf54-9b64-513e-a418-12dd6f3fb64d.html?platform=hootsuite; Michael Hewlett, *Trial over North Carolina's photo ID law begins; plaintiffs allege new law is discriminatory*, Winston-Salem Journal (Jan. 25, 2016), http://www.journalnow.com/news/elections/trial-over-north-carolina-s-photo-id-law-begins-plaintiffs/article_6d384a6d-0eb2-5d81-b949-0b5238d2ab35.html; Alan Blinder & Ken Otterbourg, *Arguments Over North Carolina Voter ID Law Begin in Federal Court*, N.Y. Times (Jan. 25, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/26/us/arguments-over-north-carolina-voter-id-law-begin-in-federal-court.html?_r=0; Sari Horwitz, *North Carolina voter-ID case could have ramifications across U.S.*, Washington Post (Jan. 25, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/north-carolina-voter-id-case-could-have-ramifications-across-us/2016/01/25/0a70c888-c384-11e5-a4aa-f25866ba0dc6_story.html; Colleen Jenkins, *North Carolina's voter ID law goes on trial*, Reuters (Jan. 25, 2016), <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-north-carolina-voterid-idUSKCN0V31DD>; Anne Blythe, *NC voter ID trial opens in Winston-Salem*, News & Observer (Jan. 24, 2016), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article56372765.html>; *North Carolina Voter ID Requirement On Trial In Federal Court*, WBUR (Jan. 25, 2016), <https://hereandnow.wbur.org/2016/01/25/north-carolina-voter-id-law>; Anne Blythe, *Wisconsin professor questions NC legislators' claims that Voter ID law aimed to prevent fraud*, Charlotte Observer (Jan. 25, 2016), <http://www.charlotteobserver.com/news/politics-government/article56552143.html>; Zachary Roth, *North Carolina's voter ID law on trial*, MSNBC (Jan. 27, 2016), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/north-carolinas-voter-id-law-trial>; Michael Hewlett, *Witness: Cultural differences cause voter ID headaches*, Winston-Salem Journal (Jan. 28, 2016), http://www.journalnow.com/news/elections/witness-cultural-differences-cause-photo-id-headaches/article_efd94926-27a6-5a01-9267-0551cf31e0b7.html; Michael Hewlett, *NAACP lawyers grill elections director in trial over photo IDs*, Winston-Salem Journal (Jan. 29, 2016), http://www.journalnow.com/news/elections/naacp-lawyers-grill-elections-director-in-trial-over-photo-ids/article_d96ab129-ad7e-50eb-89d5-ebfc2be4fde8.html; Michael Hewlett, *Federal trial on voter ID expected to wrap up Monday*, Winston-Salem Journal (Jan. 29, 2016), http://www.journalnow.com/news/elections/federal-trial-on-voter-id-expected-to-wrap-up-monday/article_57b44ec4-5f2f-5063-90c8-0006dae3a40a.html; Anne Blythe, *Decision on NC's voter ID law now rests with federal judge*, Charlotte Observer (Feb. 1, 2016), <http://www.charlotteobserver.com/news/politics-government/article57830038.html>; Michael Tomsic & Marshall Terry, *In Voter ID Closing Arguments, Federal Judge Questions Intent, Process, Other States' Laws*, WFAE (Feb. 2, 2016), <http://wfae.org/post/voter-id-closing-arguments-federal-judge-questions-intent-process-other-states-laws>; Gary D. Robertson, *Ruling may be weeks off in NC voter ID case*, Citizen Times (Feb. 2, 2016), <http://www.citizen-times.com/story/news/2016/02/02/ruling-may-weeks-nc-voter-case/79684302/>; Jamiles Lartey, *North Carolina 'intentionally passed' discriminatory voter ID law, lawyer says*, The Guardian (Feb. 2, 2016), <http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/feb/02/north-carolina-voter-id-law-race-discrimination-closing-arguments>; Michael Hewlett, *State NAACP to redouble efforts to get out vote in light of photo ID requirement*, Winston-Salem Journal (Feb. 2, 2016), http://www.journalnow.com/news/elections/state-naacp-to-redouble-efforts-to-get-out-vote-in/article_95a9c014-13a7-5163-a086-c2ad8bd48a54.html?platform=hootsuite; Sari Horwitz, *North Carolina voter-ID case could have ramifications across U.S.*, Washington Post (Jan. 25, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/north-carolina-voter-id-case-could-have-ramifications-across-us/2016/01/25/0a70c888-c384-11e5-a4aa-f25866ba0dc6_story.html; Jennie Jarvie, *Does North Carolina voter ID law suppress minority votes? A federal judge will decide.*, L.A. Times (Feb. 4, 2016), <http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-voter-id-20160204-story.html>
- 310 Anne Blythe, *Voter ID lawsuit cam proceed in state court, judge rules*, News & Observer (Sept. 23, 2015), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article36281472.html>; Mark Binker, *Lawsuit over voter ID stalls after legislative changes*, WRAL (June 22, 2015), <http://www.wral.com/lawsuit-over-voter-id-stalls-after-legislative-changes/14730880/>; Rick Hasen, *Big News: Changes Mad to North Carolina Voter*

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

-
- ID Law, Election Law Blog* (June 18, 2015, 1:13 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=73591&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Anne Blythe & Colin Campbell, *NC legislature votes to soften voter ID requirements*, News & Observer (June 18, 2015), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article24877873.html>; Bob Hall, *NC Republicans Suddenly Change Voter ID Requirement*, Democracy N.C. (June 25, 2015), <http://nc-democracy.org/nc-republicans-suddenly-change-voter-id-requirement/>; Nicole Caporaso, *Law creates alternatives to photo ID for voting*, The Daily Tar Heel (July 2, 2015), <http://www.dailytarheel.com/article/2015/07/law-creates-alternatives-to-photo-id-for-voting>; Michael Hewlett, *Court documents: Legal challenge to N.C. voter ID could be settled*, Winston-Salem Journal (Aug. 18, 2015), http://www.journalnow.com/news/elections/local/legal-challenge-to-n-c-voter-id-law-could-be/article_ff4da1a0-6c39-5ad9-a068-9645c320159b.html#.VdNbixFAekU.twitter; Anne Blythe, *Two sides negotiate voter ID provision*, News & Observer (Aug. 19, 2015), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article31532189.html>; Theodore S. Arrington, *How to compromise on N.C. voter photo ID*, Charlotte Observer (Oct. 3, 2015), <http://www.charlotteobserver.com/opinion/op-ed/article37341519.html>; Michael Hewlett, *State wants federal judge to rule on Voter ID before March primaries*, Winston-Salem Journal (Oct. 8, 2015), http://www.journalnow.com/news/local/state-wants-federal-judge-to-rule-on-voter-id-before/article_ca65a92d-d8e3-578b-9fc1-0e84bc9d02d7.html#.VhZzNfnPwQw.twitter; Kelly Fetty, *In NC voter ID hearing, lawyers point to South Carolina law*, Digital Journal (Oct. 29, 2015), <http://www.digitaljournal.com/news/politics/in-nc-voter-id-hearing-lawyers-point-to-south-carolina-law/article/447812>
- 311 Pam Fessler, *Election Officials Tackle Confusing Voter ID Laws In North Carolina*, NPR (Mar. 3, 2016), http://www.npr.org/2016/03/03/469083115/election-officials-help-north-carolina-voters-tackle-confusing-voter-id-laws?utm_campaign=storyshare&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_medium=social; Richard L. Hasen, *The Hard Power of 'Soft' Voter-ID Laws*, The Atlantic (Mar. 14, 2016), <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/03/the-hard-power-of-soft-voter-id-laws/473595/>; Anne Blythe, *Voting rights group: March primary signals problems for NC voters*, News & Observer (May 26, 2016), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article80188707.html>; Kelly Fetty, *What Looks good on paper may fall apart in practice: Are reasonable impediment affidavits the answer for voters who don't have ID?*, Medium.com (July 15, 2016), <https://medium.com/@kellyfetty/what-looks-good-on-paper-may-fall-apart-in-practice-a48f4da04912#.35yxhec21>
- 312 Kira Lerner, *Students Are Being Rejected From The Polls Because Of North Carolina's Voter ID Law*, Think Progress (Mar. 15, 2016), <http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2016/03/15/3760266/north-carolina-voter-id/>; Isela Gutierrez, *Protecting the Right to Vote*, Fayette Observer (June 4, 2016), http://www.fayobserver.com/opinion/local_columns/isela-gutierrez-protecting-the-right-to-vote/article_f03724a4-7f0c-5875-951b-96cdf4bb15da.html
- 313 Kelly Fetty, *What Looks good on paper may fall apart in practice: Are reasonable impediment affidavits the answer for voters who don't have ID?* Medium.com (July 15, 2016), <https://medium.com/@kellyfetty/what-looks-good-on-paper-may-fall-apart-in-practice-a48f4da04912#.35yxhec21>
- 314 William Barber II, *The Retreat from Voting Rights*, N.Y. Times (Apr. 28, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/28/opinion/the-retreat-from-voting-rights.html?ref=opinion&r=0>
- 315 Logan Graham, *COLUMN: I tried to get a voter ID card, here is what happened*, Technician (Feb. 24, 2016), http://www.technicianonline.com/opinion/article_5cac73d2-db75-11e5-8921-036c6bef3d9d.html
- 316 Zachary Roth, *Scattered problems for voters at polling sites, especially in the South*, MSNBC (Mar. 2, 2016), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/scattered-problems-voters-polling-sites-especially-the-south>; Jen Jones, *Democracy NC "Vote Protectors" Assist Hundreds of Voters*, Democracy N.C. (Mar. 16, 2016), <http://nc-democracy.org/democracy-nc-vote-protectors-assist-hundreds-of-voters/>; Anne Blythe, *Voting rights group: March primary signals problems for NC voters*, News & Observer (May 26, 2016), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article80188707.html>; Isela Gutierrez, *Protecting the Right to Vote*, Fayette Observer (June 4, 2016), http://www.fayobserver.com/opinion/local_columns/isela-gutierrez-protecting-the-right-to-vote/article_f03724a4-7f0c-5875-951b-96cdf4bb15da.html
- 317 Kira Lerner, *Students Are Being Rejected From The Polls Because Of North Carolina's Voter ID Law*, Think Progress (Mar. 15, 2016), <http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2016/03/15/3760266/north-carolina-voter-id/>; Ari Berman,

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

-
- How North Carolina Is Discriminating Against Voters at the Polls, *The National* (Mar. 25, 2016), <http://www.thenation.com/article/how-north-carolina-is-discriminating-against-voters-at-the-polls/>; Anne Blythe, *Voting rights group: March primary signals problems for NC voters*, *News & Observer* (May 26, 2016), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article80188707.html>; Samantha Lachman, *Over 220,000 Ballots Didn't Count in the Presidential Primaries*, *Huffington Post* (June 26, 2016, 4:56 PM), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/provisional-ballots-not-counted_us_5761bb92e4b0df4d586f15fe
- 318 Rudy Ravindra, *My brush with North Carolina voter ID law*, *News & Observer* (Mar. 18, 2016), <http://www.newsobserver.com/opinion/op-ed/article66929422.html>; Naila Awan, *Shelby County's Damage Evident in North Carolina Voter ID Decision*, *Demos* (Apr. 26, 2016), <http://www.demos.org/blog/4/26/16/shelby-countys-damage-evident-north-carolina-voter-id-decision>; Eric Kleefeld, *Voter ID horror story: NC poll workers forced brown-skinned couple to take a 'spelling test'*, *Raw Story* (Mar. 21, 2016), <https://www.rawstory.com/2016/03/voter-id-horror-story-nc-poll-workers-forced-brown-skinned-couple-to-take-a-spelling-test/>; NC Voting Rights 2016 Primary Press Call, audio file, Picosong, <http://picosong.com/AaHe/> (last visited June 10, 2016); Ari Berman, *How North Carolina Is Discriminating Against Voters at the Polls*, *The Nation* (Mar. 25, 2016), <http://www.thenation.com/article/how-north-carolina-is-discriminating-against-voters-at-the-polls/>; Haley McDougal, *When IDs don't match: How new voter ID laws affect the transgender community*, *Daily Tar Heel* (Apr. 12, 2016), <http://www.dailytarheel.com/article/2016/04/when-ids-dont-match-how-new-voter-id-laws-affect-the-transgender-community>; Anne Blythe, *Voting rights group: March primary signals problems for NC voters*, *News & Observer* (May 26, 2016), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article80188707.html>
- 319 Brentin Mock, *More Research Shows Voter ID Laws Hurt Minorities*, *CityLab* (Feb. 5, 2016), <http://www.citylab.com/politics/2016/02/research-more-conclusive-that-voter-id-laws-hurt-blacks-and-latinos/459819/>; Nate Silver, *Measuring the Effects of Voter Identification Laws*, *N.Y. Times* (July 15, 2012), http://fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/07/15/measuring-the-effects-of-voter-identification-laws/?_r=0; *Elections: Issues Related to State Voter Identification Laws*, U.S. Gov't Accountability Office (Feb. 27, 2015), <http://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-14-634>; Michael Herron, *Race, Shelby County, and the Voter Information Verification Act in North Carolina*, *ElectionSmith Inc.* (Feb. 28, 2015), <https://electionsmith.wordpress.com/2015/02/28/race-shelby-county-and-the-voter-information-verification-act-in-north-carolina/>; Jenny Jarvie, *Voting has gotten tougher in 17 states, and it could alter elections*, *L.A. Times* (May 6, 2016), <http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-north-carolina-voting-20160505-story.html>; Zoltan Hajnal et al., *Voter Identification Laws and the Suppression of Minority Votes*, <http://pages.ucsd.edu/~zhajnal/page5/documents/VoterIDLawsSuppressionofMinorityVotes.pdf>; Rick Hasen, *VoteRiders v. Vox: "Get real: The underestimated impact of voter ID laws"*, *Election Law Blog* (Nov. 2, 2016, 5:50 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=88563>; Allie Yee, *How blocking North Carolina's restrictive voting law helped Asian American voters*, *Facing South* (Nov. 3, 2016), <https://www.facingsouth.org/2016/11/how-blocking-north-carolinas-restrictive-voting-law-helped-asian-american-voters>; Zoltan L. Hajnal et al., *Do voter identification laws suppress minority voting? Yes. We did the research.*, *Washington Post* (Feb. 15, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/02/15/do-voter-identification-laws-suppress-minority-voting-yes-we-did-the-research/?utm_term=.c7108b27f759
- 320 Anne Blythe, *Federal judge upholds law requiring voter ID in NC elections*, *Charlotte Observer* (Apr. 25, 2016), <http://www.charlotteobserver.com/news/politics-government/article73858107.html>; Alan Blinder & Richard Fausset, *Federal Judge Upholds North Carolina Voter Rules*, *N.Y. Times* (Apr. 25, 2016), <http://mobile.nytimes.com/2016/04/26/us/politics/federal-judge-upholds-north-carolina-voter-id-law.html>; William Barber II, *The Retreat From Voting Rights*, *N.Y. Times* (Apr. 28, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/28/opinion/the-retreat-from-voting-rights.html?ref=opinion&_r=0; Allegra Chapman, *Tarheel Tarnish: North Carolina Court Strips Voters of Their Rights*, *Huffington Post* (Apr. 27, 2016), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/allegra-chapman/tarheel-tarnish-north-car_b_9789670.html; Editorial, *Voting Rights Lose in North Carolina*, *N.Y. Times* (Apr. 27, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/27/opinion/voting-rights-lose-in-north-carolina.html>; Naila Awan, *Shelby County's Damage Evident in North Carolina Voter ID Decision*, *Demos* (Apr. 26, 2016), <http://www.demos.org/blog/4/26/16/shelby-countys-damage-evident-north-carolina-voter-id-decision>; Sari Horwitz, *Federal judge upholds controversial North Carolina voting law*, *Washington Post* (Apr. 26, 2016), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/federal-judge>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

upholds-controversial-north-carolina-voting-law/2016/04/25/97757236-0b4d-11e6-a6b6-2e6de3695b0e_story.html; Colleen Jenkins, *Federal judge upholds voter ID law in North Carolina*, Reuters (Apr. 26, 2016), <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-north-carolina-voterid-idUSKCN0XN073>; Brent Kendall, *Judge Upholds North Carolina Voter-ID Law, Other Restrictions*, Wall Street Journal (Apr. 25, 2016), <http://www.wsj.com/articles/judge-upholds-north-carolina-voter-id-law-other-restrictions-1461642056>; David A. Graham, *Why a Judge Ruled North Carolina's Voter-ID Law Constitutional*, The Atlantic (Apr. 26, 2016), <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/04/why-a-judge-ruled-north-carolinas-voter-id-law-constitutional/479904/>

321 *N.C. State Conference of the NAACP v. McCrory, No. 16-1468*, Notice of Oral Argument (4th Cir. May 16, 2016), http://pdfserver.amlaw.com/nlj/NC_voter_ca4_20160428.pdf; Anne Blythe, *NC elections law ruling to be appealed*, Charlotte Observer (Apr. 26, 2016), <http://www.charlotteobserver.com/news/politics-government/article74080022.html>; Gary D. Robertson, *Federal ruling on N Carolina voting laws bolsters voter ID*, Associated Press (Apr. 26, 2016), <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/a0f19725ada84f27a541863fa04b7570/federal-ruling-n-carolina-election-laws-bolsters-voter-id>; Sari Horwitz, *How North Carolina became the epicenter of the voting rights battle*, Washington Post (Apr. 26, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/how-north-carolina-became-the-epicenter-of-the-voting-rights-battle/2016/04/26/a05c5a8-0bcb-11e6-8ab8-9ad050f76d7d_story.html; Alan Blinder, *Opponents of North Carolina's Voter ID Law Appeal Ruling*, N.Y. Times (Apr. 26, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/27/us/north-carolina-voter-id-rules-appeals-court.html>; Anne Blythe, *NC election law case to get quick review*, News & Observer (Apr. 28, 2016), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/politics-columns-blogs/under-the-dome/article74483507.html>; *N.C. State Conference of the NAACP v. McCrory, No. 16-1468*, 1:13-cv-00658-TDS, Order Expediting briefing schedule (4th Cir. Apr. 28, 2016), http://pdfserver.amlaw.com/nlj/NC_voter_ca4_20160428.pdf; *N.C. State Conference of the NAACP v. McCrory, No. 16-1468*, Notice of Oral Argument (4th Cir. May 16, 2016), <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/NCVoterID4thCir.pdf>; Rick Hasen, *Litigants in NC Voting Case Move for 4th Circuit Stay and Injunction Pending Appeal*, Election Law Blog (May 25, 2016, 3:59 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=83146>; *N.C. photo ID, voting law heading to an appeals court*, Associated Press (June 18, 2016, 5:31 PM), http://www.greensboro.com/news/n-c-photo-id-voting-law-heading-to-an-appeals/article_fa5557b3-c5fd-5c78-bd45-8a1bddcf74f1.html; Brent Kendall, *North Carolina Faces Tough Questions From Appeals Court on Voting Law: At Issue Is Whether GOP-Backed Law Tightening Voting Rules Discriminates Against Minorities*, Wall Street Journal (June 21, 2016, 3:42 PM updated), http://www.wsj.com/article_email/north-carolina-faces-tough-questions-from-appeals-court-on-voting-law-1466534446-1MyQjAxMTI2NzIwMTcyMjE1Wj; *Listen to the 4th Circuit Oral Arguments in NC Voting Case*, Election Law Blog (June 21, 2016, 10:41 AM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=83716>; Anne E. Marimow, *Appeals court considers North Carolina's controversial voting rules*, Washington Post (June 21, 2016, 2:10 PM), https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/appeals-court-considers-north-carolinas-controversial-voting-rules/2016/06/20/0f8e2f32-340a-11e6-8ff7-7b6c1998b7a0_story.html?platform=hootsuite; Pam Fessler, *Appeals Court Considers North Carolina Voting Law*, NPR (June 21, 2016, 4:30 PM), <http://www.npr.org/2016/06/21/482981919/appeals-court-considers-north-carolina-voting-law>; <https://www.brennancenter.org/major-litigation-could-impact-voting-access>

322 Opinion, *North Carolina NAACP v. McCrory, No. 16-474*, ECF No. 150 (4th Cir. July 29, 2016), <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/nc-4th.pdf>; Liz Olson, *The Less Noticed Battles That May Decide the Presidential Election*, Fortune (July 29, 2016, 9:15 AM, EDT), <http://fortune.com/2016/07/29/state-voting-restrictions-presidential-election/>; Anne Blythe, *4th U.S. Circuit judges overturn North Carolina's voter ID law*, Charlotte Observer (July 29, 2016, 12:41 PM), <http://www.charlotteobserver.com/news/politics-government/article92595012.html>; Michael Wines and Alan Blinder, *Federal Appeals Court Strikes Down North Carolina Voter ID Requirement*, N.Y. Times, (July 29, 2016), http://mobile.nytimes.com/2016/07/30/us/federal-appeals-court-strikes-down-north-carolina-voter-id-provision.html?_r=0&referrer=https://www.google.com/; Camila Domonoske, *U.S. Appeals Court Strikes Down North Carolina's Voter ID Law*, NPR (July 29, 2016, 2:04 ET), <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/07/29/487935700/u-s-appeals-court-strikes-down-north-carolinas-voter-id-law>; *North Carolina voter ID law is discriminatory federal court rules*, Fayette Observer (July 30, 2016), http://www.fayobserver.com/news/north_carolina/north-carolina-voter-id-law-is-discriminatory-federal-court-rules/article_2c4aa6e7-2401-5416-86ae-f05b69f962cc.html; Patrik Jonsson, *Voter ID movement stumbles in courts, as judges ID racism*, Christian Science Monitor (July 30, 2016),

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

<http://m.csmonitor.com/USA/Politics/2016/0730/Voter-ID-movement-stumbles-in-courts-as-judges-ID-racism>; Nicholas Loffredo, *Voter ID Laws Are Discriminatory Efforts to Disenfranchise, Courts Rule*, Newsweek (July 30, 2016, 5:41 PM), <http://www.newsweek.com/voter-id-laws-discriminatory-disenfranchise-485708>; Robert Barnes and Anne E. Marimow, *Appeals court strikes down North Carolina's voter-ID law*, Washington Post (July 29), https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/appeals-court-strikes-down-north-carolinas-voter-id-law/2016/07/29/810b5844-4f72-11e6-aa14-e0c1087f7583_story.html; Marcia Johnson-Blanco, *A Changed Consensus on Voter ID Laws*, Lawyers' Committee For Civil Rights Under Law (Aug. 5, 2016), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/2016/08/changed-consensus-voter-id-laws/>; Nina Totenberg, *Stricter Voter ID And Other Voting Laws Rolled Back In Slew Of Court Decisions*, NPR (Aug. 5, 2016, 4:58 AM), <http://www.npr.org/2016/08/05/488748072/stricter-voter-id-and-other-voting-laws-rolled-back-in-slew-of-court-decisions>; Emery P. Dalesio & Jonathan Drew, *Appeals court: North Carolina voter ID law unconstitutional*, Business Insider (July 30, 2016, 3:42 AM), <http://www.businessinsider.com/ap-appeals-court-north-carolina-voter-id-law-unconstitutional-2016-7>; Lyle Denniston, *Sweeping North Carolina limits on voting nullified*, Lyle Denniston Law News (July 29, 2016), <http://lyldenlawnews.com/2016/07/29/sweeping-north-carolina-limits-voting-nullified/>; Zachary Roth, *Will the Court Revisit Shelby County?*, Slate (Aug. 1, 2016, 5:26 PM), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2016/08/why_the_supreme_court_won_t_like_ly_revisit_shelby_county.html; Anna Douglas, *In voter ID case, GOP leader says 'Daily Show' source a 'pain in the ...'*, News & Observer (Aug. 1, 2016, 2:03 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article93077422.html>; S.M., *North Carolina voter ID law is struck down as racially discriminatory*, Economist (Aug. 1, 2016, 4:59 PM), <http://www.economist.com/blogs/democracyinamerica/2016/08/its-duck>; Mark Joseph Stern, *Voting Rights on the March*, Slate (Aug. 1, 2016, 4:05 PM), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2016/08/why_courts_are_striking_down_voting_rights_restrictions_right_now.html; Jedediah Purdy, *A Voting Rights Victory in North Carolina*, New Yorker (Aug. 2, 2016), <http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/a-voting-rights-victory-in-north-carolina>; Camila Domonske, *As November Approaches, Courts Deal Series Of Blows To Voter ID Laws*, South Carolina Public Radio (Aug. 2, 2016), <http://southcarolinapublicradio.org/post/november-approaches-courts-deal-series-blows-voter-id-laws#stream/0>; J. Gerald Hebert & Danielle Lang, *Courts are finally pointing out the racism behind voter ID laws*, Washington Post (Aug. 16, 2016), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2016/08/03/courts-are-finally-pointing-out-the-racism-behind-voter-id-laws/>; Ian Millhiser, *BREAKING: Federal Appeals Court Strikes Down The Worst Voter Suppression Law In The Nation*, Think Progress (July 29, 2016), <http://thinkprogress.org/justice/2016/07/29/3803405/breaking-federal-appeals-court-strikes-worst-voter-suppression-law-nation/>; Mark Walsh, *Appeals courts are dismantling stricter voter ID laws*, ABA Journal (Nov. 1, 2016, 12:15 AM), http://www.abajournal.com/magazine/article/voter_id_laws; <http://www.civilrights.org/press/2016/North-Carolina-Election-Letter.html>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, Ledger Independent (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html

³²³ Chris Geidner, *Appeals Court Denies North Carolina Request To Put Voting Rights Decision On Hold*, BuzzFeed News (Aug. 5, 2016, 4:19 PM), https://www.buzzfeed.com/chrisgeidner/appeals-court-denies-north-carolina-request-to-put-voting-ri?utm_term=.rhNIZR1Gn#.pqB9gJL1N; Richard L. Hasen, *Turning the Tide on Voting Rights*, N.Y. Times (Aug. 2, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/02/opinion/campaign-stops/turning-the-tide-on-voting-rights.html?smprod=nytcare-ipad&smid=nytcare-ipad-share&r=0>; Vanita Gupta, *Defend democracy by restoring the Voting Rights Act*, Washington Post (Aug. 1, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/defend-democracy-by-restoring-the-voting-rights-act/2016/08/01/9be58996-5756-11e6-831d-0324760ca856_story.html?utm_campaign=buffer&utm_content=buffer57066&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com; *Appeals Court Rejects Request to Postpone Voter ID Decision*, Associated Press (Aug. 4, 2016, 6:08 PM), http://hosted.ap.org/dynamic/stories/U/US_VOTER_ID_NORTH_CAROLINA?SITE=AP&SECTION=HOME&TEMP_LATE=DEFAULT; Motion of Defendants-Appellees for Recall and Stay of Mandate Pending Filing and Disposition of Petition for a Writ of Certiorari, *North Carolina State Conf. of the NAACP v. McCrory, et al.*, No. 16-1468 (4th Cir. Aug. 3, 2016), ECF No. 155, <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/nc-stay.pdf>; Order denying stay of

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

-
- Injunction, *North Carolina State Conf. of the NAACP v. McCrory, et al.*, No. 16-1468 (4th Cir. Aug. 4, 2016), ECF No. 156, http://pdfserver.amlaw.com/nlj/NC_voter_ca4_20160804.pdf; Lyle Denniston, *Is Section 3 of the Voting Rights Act a dead letter?*, Law News (Aug. 9, 2016), <http://lyldenlawnews.com/2016/08/09/is-section-3-of-the-voting-rights-act-a-dead-letter/>
- 324 Rick Hasen, *DOJ and Private Plaintiffs File #SCOTUS Responses in NC Emergency Voting Case*, Election Law Blog (Aug. 25, 2016, 12:42 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=85866>; Ariane de Vogue, *Clock running out on challenges to voting rights cases in key states*, CNN Politics (Aug. 24, 2016), <http://www.cnn.com/2016/08/24/politics/voter-id-rights-cases/index.html>; Chris Geidner, *Obama Administration, Groups Urge Supreme Court to Keep N.C. Voting Restrictions Off the Books: Justice Department opposes North Carolina Gov. Pat McCrory, who is asking the Supreme Court to put a lower court ruling on hold so the state can enforce the restrictions in this election*, BuzzFeedNews (Aug. 25, 2016, 5:20 PM, updated), https://www.buzzfeed.com/chrisgeidner/north-carolina-voting-rights-at-scotus?utm_term=.xvRoDL2R6#.numYRYXWO; Jessie Hellmann, *DOJ asks Supreme Court to let NC voter ID ruling stand*, The Hill (Aug. 26, 2016, 7:24 AM), <http://thehill.com/blogs/blog-briefing-room/news/293413-justice-dept-asks-supreme-court-to-let-nc-voter-id-ruling-stand>; Editorial Board, *Our view: McCrory should drop election-law appeal*, Winston-Salem Journal (Aug. 18, 2016, 8:30 PM), http://www.journalnow.com/opinion/editorials/our-view-mccrory-should-drop-election-law-appeal/article_98c87f66-26ab-5c99-82d1-70c404588d7a.html; Ari Berman, *North Carolina Won't Stop Suppressing the Vote: After courts restored a week of early voting, Republicans are now brazenly cutting early-voting hours*, The Nation (Aug. 16, 2016), <https://www.thenation.com/article/north-carolina-wont-stop-suppressing-the-vote/>; Amy Howe, *North Carolina asks he Justices to step in on voter ID law*, SCOTUSBlog (Aug. 16, 2016, 11:31 AM), <http://www.scotusblog.com/2016/08/north-carolina-asks-the-justices-to-step-in-on-voter-id-law/>; Ian Millhiser, *North Carolina Hires One of America's Most Expensive Attorneys to Defend Voter Suppression: Defending the indefensible is hard*, Think Progress (Aug. 16, 2016), <https://thinkprogress.org/chutzpah-9503e5d93d51#.oxq39tths>; Colin Campbell, *McCrory asks Supreme Court to restore voter ID law*, News & Observer (Aug. 15, 2016, 6:04 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article95817457.html>; Cristian Farias, *North Carolina Took 17 Days to Ask Supreme Court to Rescue Its Voter ID Law: But the state says it wants the court to act quickly to avoid confusion come Election Day*, Huffington Post (Aug. 15, 2016, 8:20 PM, ET), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/north-carolina-voter-id-law-supreme-court_us_57b23f3ce4b0863b0284666a?section=&
- 325 Zachary Roth, *Analysis: Voting Rights Hang in the Balance This November*, NBC News (Sept. 1, 2016, 2:20 PM, ET), <http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/supreme-court/analysis-voting-rights-hang-balance-november-n641496>; Chris Geidner, *Supreme Court Denies North Carolina Request to Enforce Voting Restrictions This Fall*, BuzzFeedNews (Aug. 31, 2016, 6:02 PM, updated), https://www.buzzfeed.com/chrisgeidner/supreme-court-denies-north-carolina-request-to-enforce-votin?utm_term=.uj3x8yxPn#.yc349Q48V; Adam Liptak, *Supreme Court Blocks North Carolina From Restoring Strict Voting Law*, NY Times (Aug. 31, 2106), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/01/us/politics/north-carolina-supreme-court-voting-rights-act.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=first-column-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news&r=0>; Robert Barnes, *Supreme Court won't let North Carolina use strict voting law*, Washington Post (Aug. 31, 10:50 PM), https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/courts_law/supreme-court-wont-let-north-carolina-use-strict-voting-law/2016/08/31/b5187080-6ed6-11e6-8533-6b0b0ded0253_story.html; Nina Totenberg, *Supreme Court Declines to Reinstate North Carolina Voter Restrictions*, NPR (Aug. 31, 2016, 6:01 PM, ET), <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/08/31/492156154/court-declines-to-reinstate-north-carolina-voter-restrictions>; Lyle Denniston, *North Carolina limits on voting remain on hold*, LawNews (Aug. 31, 2016), <http://lyldenlawnews.com/2016/08/31/north-carolina-limits-voting-remain-hold/>; David G. Savage, *Supreme Court denies North Carolina appeal to enforce its voter ID rules*, Los Angeles Times (Aug. 31, 2016, 12:45 PM), <http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-supreme-court-vote-northcarolina-20160831-snap-story.html>; Greg Stohr, *U.S. High Court Won't Revive North Caroline Voter-ID Law* (Aug. 31, 2016, 6:05 PM, EDT), <http://www.bloomberg.com/politics/articles/2016-08-31/u-s-high-court-won-t-revive-north-carolina-voting-restrictions>; Scott Lemieux, *North Carolina's Fragile Voting Rights Victory*, American Prospect (Sept. 15, 2016), <http://prospect.org/article/north-carolina%E2%80%99s-fragile-voting-rights-victory>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, ProPublica (Sept. 23, 2016, 1:52

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

- PM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/2016-election-lawsuit-tracker-new-election-lawsuits-challenging-them>
- 326 Rick Hasen, *North Carolina Files Supreme Court Cert. Petition in Major Voting Law Case; What Happens Now with Democratic Gov. and AG?*, Election Law Blog (Jan. 8, 2017, 12:06 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=90374&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Mark Binker, *Cooper not tipping hand on whether he'll withdraw NC voter ID appeal*, WRAL (Feb. 2, 2017, 4:39 PM), <http://www.wral.com/cooper-not-tipping-hand-on-whether-he-ll-withdraw-nc-voter-id-appeal/16495766/>; Richard L. Hasen, *There's a Simple Step North Carolina's New Governor Could Take to Strengthen Voting Rights*, Slate (Feb. 2, 2017, 4:22 AM), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2017/02/north_carolina_should_withdraw_it_s_petition_to_the_supreme_court_in_its.html; Richard L. Hasen, *There's a Simple Step North Carolina's New Governor Could Take to Strengthen Voting Rights*, Slate (Feb. 2, 2017, 4:22 PM), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2017/02/north_carolina_should_withdraw_it_s_petition_to_the_supreme_court_in_its.html; Rick Hasen, *"Rescheduled:" #SCOTUS Takes North Carolina Voting Case Off March 3 Calendar*, Election Law Blog (Feb. 28, 2017, 2:42 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=91390&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29
- 327 Editorial, *Gov. Cooper, AG Stein make a strong move to derail voter suppression*, News Observer (Feb. 21, 2017, 7:31 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/opinion/editorials/article134139614.html>; <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=91359>; Chris Fuchs, *Civil Rights Groups Threaten to Sue New York Over Voting Rights Violations*, NBC (Mar. 8, 2017, 6:05 PM), <http://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/civil-rights-groups-threaten-sue-new-york-over-voting-rights-n730891>; *Private Respondents' Opposition to the State's "Objection" and "Conditional Motion to Add the North Carolina General Assembly as an Additional Petitioner"*, *North Carolina et al v. North Carolina NAACP et al.*, No. 16-833 (4th Cir. 2017), <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/16-833-Private-Respondents-Opposition-to-Motion-to-Add.pdf>
- 328 Rick Hasen, *Breaking: NC General Assembly Will Object to Dismissing #SCOTUS Suit over Strict NC Voting Law, Moves to Add as Petitioner*, Election Law Blog (Feb. 27, 2017, 12:48 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=91359>
- 329 Press Release, *Supreme Court Declines to Interfere with Lower Court Ruling: North Carolina Voter Suppression Law Is Racially Discriminatory and Will Not Stand*, Campaign Legal Center (May 15, 2017), <http://www.campaignlegalcenter.org/news/press-releases/supreme-court-declines-interfere-lower-court-ruling-north-carolina-voter>; Michael Wines, *For Voting Rights Advocates, Court Decision Is 'Temporary Victory'*, N.Y. Times (May 16, 2017), https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/16/us/for-voting-rights-advocates-court-decision-is-temporary-victory.html?_r=0; Edith Roberts, *Tuesday round-up*, SCOTUSblog (May 16, 2017, 6:45 AM), <http://www.scotusblog.com/2017/05/tuesday-round-up-378/>; Zachary Roth, *NC voting law officially dead, but GOP vows to pass another*, Daily Democracy (May 15, 2017, 5:08 PM), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/05/15/scotus-decision-means-nc-voting-law-wont-rise-from-the-dead/>; Rick Hasen, *Breaking and Analysis: Supreme Court Denies Cert. in North Carolina Voting Case; Chief Justice Issues Statement*, Election Law Blog (May 15, 2017, 6:34 AM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=92522>; Rick Hasen, *Why Did the Chief Justice Write Separately in North Carolina and Texas Voting Cases?*, Election Law Blog (May 15, 2017, 3:08 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=92542&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Rick Hasen, *North Carolina Passes Another Strict Voting Law at Its Peril*, Election Law Blog (May 15, 2017, 3:02 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=92540&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Josh Gerstein, *Supreme Court leaves in place ruling that struck down N.C.'s voter ID law*, Politico (May 15, 2017, 10:21 AM), <http://www.politico.com/story/2017/05/15/supreme-court-leaves-in-place-a-ruling-that-struck-down-ncs-voter-id-law-238392>; Kirk Ross, *North Carolina Is Already at Work on Its Next Voter Suppression Law*, Progressive (May 17, 2017), <http://progressive.org/dispatches/north-carolina-is-already-at-work-on-its-next-voter-suppress/>; Mark Joseph Stern, *North Carolina Republicans Are Already Working on a New Voter Suppression Bill*, Slate (May 16, 2017, 4:41 PM), http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_slatest/2017/05/16/north_carolina_republicans_working_on_a_new_voter_suppression_bill.html; Robert Barnes, *Despite high court's decision on N.C. voting law, activists worry about chief*

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

-
- justice*, Washington Post (May 21, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/courts_law/despite-high-courts-decision-on-nc-voting-law-activists-worry-about-chief-justice/2017/05/19/2ef705bc-3ca7-11e7-9e48-c4f199710b69_story.html?utm_term=.f3a3b2b60886&wpmk=MK0000200; Lulu Garcia-Navarro, *Status Check: Where Voting Rights Cases Stand With The Supreme Court*, NPR (May 21, 2017, 7:13 AM), http://www.npr.org/2017/05/21/529364506/status-check-where-voting-rights-cases-stand-with-the-supreme-court?utm_campaign=storyshare&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_medium=social
- 330 Zachary Roth, *How many fraudulent votes might NC's ID law have stopped? One.*, Daily Democracy (Apr. 24, 2017, 6:14 PM), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/04/24/how-many-fraudulent-votes-might-ncs-id-law-have-stopped-one/#more-406>; Jonathan Drew, *Audit finds 500 cases of illegal votes in NC*, Red Springs Citizen (Apr. 21, 2017), <http://www.redspringscitizen.com/news/9987/audit-finds-500-cases-of-illegal-votes-in-nc>; *Post-Election Audit Report: General Election 2016*, North Carolina State Board of Elections (Apr. 21, 2017), https://s3.amazonaws.com/dl.ncsbe.gov/sboe/Post-Election%20Audit%20Report_2016%20General%20Election/Post-Election_Audit_Report.pdf
- 331 Alice Ollstein, *North Carolina Spent Nearly \$5 Million Defending Voter ID, and Lost*, Think Progress (Aug. 9, 2016), <https://thinkprogress.org/north-carolina-legal-spending-voter-id-f0aa75082518#.2a9rll7u3>; Emery P. Dalesio, *McCrorry Legal bills mount in Voter ID case*, Associated Press (Sept. 30, 2014, 3:16 PM), <http://www.citizen-times.com/story/news/local/2014/09/30/mccrorry-legal-bills-mount-voter-case/16488927/>; Anne Blythe, *Courts are roadblocks to NC lawmakers' right turn*, News & Observer (Aug. 20, 2016, 5:01 PM), <http://www.charlotteobserver.com/news/politics-government/article96912327.html>; Ari Berman, *North Carolina Won't Stop Suppressing the Vote: After courts restored a week of early voting, Republicans are now brazenly cutting early-voting hours*, The Nation (Aug. 16, 2016), <https://www.thenation.com/article/north-carolina-wont-stop-suppressing-the-vote/>
- 332 Anne Blythe, *Critics of NC's voter ID law to present their case in court Friday*, News & Observer (Jan. 29, 2015), <http://www.newsobserver.com/2015/01/29/4515577/opponents-of-nc-voter-id-law-to.html>; Jennifer Farmer, *Federal Judge Denies NC Officials' Motion to Dismiss Photo ID Claim in Voter Suppression Law*, Advancement Project (Oct. 23, 2015), <http://www.advancementproject.org/news/entry/federal-judge-denies-nc-officials-motion-to-dismiss-photo-id-claim-in-voter>; Gary D. Robertson, *State judge weighs whether to schedule voter ID trial*, Citizen Times (May 21, 2016), <http://www.citizen-times.com/story/news/local/2016/05/21/state-judge-weighs-whether-schedule-voter-trial/84707242/>; Mark Binker, *State voter ID trial to start Sept. 26*, WRAL.COM (July 11, 2016, 4:46 PM, updated), <http://www.wral.com/state-voter-id-trial-to-start-sept-26/15844315/#L9sJuIoBTrK2RwCr.99>; *September date set for North Carolina voter ID state trial*, Associated Press (July 11, 2016, 6:22 PM update), <http://www.thetimesnews.com/news/20160711/september-date-set-for-north-carolina-voter-id-state-trial>; Mark Binker, *State court puts voter ID on hold in light of federal rulings*, WRAL.COM (Aug. 11, 2016, 4:03 PM updated), <http://www.wral.com/state-court-puts-voter-id-trial-on-hold-in-light-of-federal-rulings/15915121/?platform=hootsuite>
- 333 Reid Wilson, *Voter ID lawsuits sowing confusion*, The Hill (July 25, 2016, 1:09 PM, EDT), <http://thehill.com/homenews/campaign/289098-lawsuits-sowing-confusion-over-voting-rights>; Dustin Chicurel-Bayard, *New North Carolina Voter ID Law Immediately Challenged by Voters*, <https://www.southerncoalition.org/new-north-carolina-voter-id-law-immediately-challenged-voters/>, Southern Coalition for Social Justice, (Dec. 19, 2018); Melissa Boughton, *Plaintiffs ask three-judge panel to halt voter ID implementation*, The Progressive Pulse (Jun. 28, 2019), <https://pulse.ncpolicywatch.org/2019/06/28/plaintiffs-ask-three-judge-panel-to-halt-voter-id-implementation/>
- 334 Zachary Roth, *NC GOPers eye constitutional amendment for voter ID*, Daily Democracy (July 14, 2017, 2:38 PM), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/07/14/nc-gop-ers-eye-constitutional-amendment-for-voter-id/>; David Sinclair, *House Speaker Questions Motives Behind Redrawn Districts*, The Pilot (Nov. 20, 2017), http://www.thepilot.com/news/house-speaker-questions-motives-behind-redrawn-districts/article_55412c9a-ce4a-11e7-a3c4-ebe2e573abbc.html
- 335 Jeff Tiberii, *NC Lawmakers Consider Another Voter ID Bill*, WUNC (July 13, 2017), <http://wunc.org/post/nc-lawmakers-consider-another-voter-id-bill#stream/0>; Travis Fain, *Amendment would put voter ID in NC constitution*, WRAL (June 8, 2018), <https://www.wral.com/amendment-would-put-voter-id-in-nc-constitution/17611888/>; Ari Berman, *North Carolina Republicans Want a Constitutional Amendment to Require ID to Vote*, Mother Jones (June 7, 2018, 6:03 PM), <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2018/06/north-carolina->

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

republicans-want-a-constitutional-amendment-to-require-id-to-vote/; Lynn Bonner, *Voter ID decision could go on the 2018 ballot*, Courier-Tribune (June 8, 2018, 12:30 PM), <http://www.courier-tribune.com/news/20180608/voter-id-decision-could-go-on-2018-ballot>; Jeff Tiberii, *What You Need To Know About The Proposed Voter ID Amendment*, WUNC (June 12, 2018), <http://wunc.org/post/what-you-need-know-about-proposed-voter-id-amendment#stream/0>; Gary D. Roberston, *Thwarted before, N.C. GOP wants photo ID mandate*, The Times News, (June 22, 2018), <http://www.thetimesnews.com/news/20180622/thwarted-before-nc-gop-wants-photo-id-mandate>; Cheryl Walker, *Experts available: State constitutional amendments in North Carolina*, Wake Forst University (June 25, 2018), <https://news.wfu.edu/2018/06/25/expert-available-state-constitutional-amendments-in-north-carolina/>; Lynn Bonner, *Voter ID to go on NC ballots over Democrats' protests*, The News & Observer (June 29, 2018) <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article214057394.html>; David Larson, *Lawmakers weigh amendments to state constitution*, North State Journal (June 27, 2018) <https://nsjonline.com/article/2018/06/lawmakers-weigh-amendments-to-state-constitution/>; Lynn Bonner, *NAACP threatens to sue over charter school law and voter ID requirement*, The News & Observer (June 11, 2018), <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article212939194.html>; Camila Molina, *Does requiring a photo ID to vote discriminate against minorities? NC leaders weigh in.*, The News & Observer (Sept. 10, 2018) <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/influencers/article217986100.html>

336 Miles Parks, *Voters Approve Major Changes To Redistricting And Other Voting Laws*, <http://www.tpr.org/post/voters-approve-major-changes-redistricting-and-other-voting-laws>, Texas Public Radio, (Nov. 7, 2018); Billy Corriher, *N.C. voter suppression architects prepare to strike again*, <https://www.facingsouth.org/2018/11/nc-voter-suppression-architects-prepare-strike-again>, Facing South, (Nov. 20, 2018)

Rick Hasen, *Three on NC Voter ID from WRAL*, https://electionlawblog.org/?p=102491&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article221979885.html>, Election Law Blog, (Nov. 27, 2018); Tierney Sneed, *North Carolina GOP Legislature Sends Voter ID Law To Democratic Governor*, <https://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/north-carolina-gop-legislature-sends-voter-id-law-to-democratic-governor>, Talking Points Memo, (Dec. 06, 2018) ;Alan Blinder & Michael Wines, *North Carolina Republicans targeted over Fraud. Did They look at the Wrong Kind?* <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/05/us/politics/north-carolina-vote-fraud-absentee.html>, The New York Times, (Dec. 05, 2018); Travis Fain, *No voter ID approval for 12 UNC campuses, including Chapel Hill*, (March 15, 2019) <https://www.wral.com/no-voter-id-approval-for-12-unc-campuses-including-chapel-hill/18263233/>

337 Lynn Bonner, Roy Cooper sued election board. Instead of fighting, the board's lawyer took his side., (Aug. 12, 2018, 6:36 PM), <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article216304475.html>; Lynn Bonner, *Cooper, NAACP, environmentalist fail to win quick freeze on constitutional amendments*, NewsObserver, (Aug. 07, 2018, 11:14 AM), <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article216223675.html>; Sam Levine, *North Carolina Republican Flip Out About Voters Knowing What They're Voting On*, Huffington Post, (July 31, 2018), https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/north-carolina-ballot-captions_us_5b60702be4b0b15aba9cf275; Lynn Bonner, *Lawmakers will return to write constitutional amendment ballot description*, NewsObserver, (July 23, 2018), <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article215357305.html>

338 Will Doran, *Update: NC Supreme Court Denies Gov. Roy Cooper effort to fast-track ruling on amendments*, The News & Observer (Aug. 29, 2018), <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article217531025.html>; Mark Joseph Stern, *The Courts Are Saving Democracy in North Carolina*, Slate (Aug. 28, 2018), https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2018/08/the-courts-are-saving-democracy-in-north-carolina-for-now.html?wpsrc=sh_all_dt_tw_ru; Billy Corriher, *An end in sight for N.C.'s gerrymandered congressional maps?*, Facing South, (Aug. 29, 2018) <https://www.facingsouth.org/2018/08/end-sight-ncs-gerrymandered-congressional-maps>

339 Dustin Chicurel-Bayard, *New North Carolina Voter ID Law Immediately Challenged by Voters*, <https://www.southerncoalition.org/new-north-carolina-voter-id-law-immediately-challenged-voters/>, Southern Coalition for Social Justice, (Dec. 19, 2018); Rose Wong, *New NC voter ID law levies restrictions on private colleges' ID cards*, <https://www.dukechronicle.com/article/2018/12/north-carolina-voter-id-law-college-student-voting->

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

identification, *The Chronicle*, (Dec. 26, 2018): Lynn Bonner, *NC's new voter ID law faces state and federal lawsuits*, <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article223375685.html>, *The News & Observer*, (Dec. 20, 2018);

340 Billy Corriher, *A blow to 'usurper' elected officials in North Carolina*, (March 12, 2019) <https://www.facingsouth.org/2019/03/blow-usurper-elected-officials-north-carolina>; Rick Hasen, *Breaking: North Carolina State Court Rules State Voter ID Constitutional Amendment is Void Because Enacted by a Racially Gerrymandered Legislature; Not Clear if Ruling*, (Feb 22, 2019) https://electionlawblog.org/?p=103731&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29

341 The Associated Press, *N Carolina governor delays voter ID requirement until 2020*, (Mar 14, 2019) <https://www.570news.com/2019/03/14/n-carolina-governor-delays-voter-id-requirement-until-2020/>; The Associate Press, *North Carolina Republicans appeal order voiding amendments*, Feb 25, 2019, <https://www.660citynews.com/2019/02/25/north-carolina-republicans-appeal-order-voiding-amendments/>; Travis Fain, *Fix proposed so student IDs can be used for voting*, NC Capitol, (Apr. 11, 2019) <https://www.wral.com/fix-proposed-so-student-ids-can-be-used-for-voting/18315594/>

342 Our Staff, *North Carolina allowed to implement photo ID mandate for 2020*, *The Fulcrum* (Jul. 22, 2019), <https://thefulcrum.us/voting/north-carolina-photo-id-voting>; Mitch Mitchell, *Fights about voting trigger countless court cases in Texas. You should expect more*, *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* (Jul. 18, 2019), <https://www.star-telegram.com/news/local/community/fort-worth/article232730767.html>

343 A.P. Dillon, *Legislative leaders file motion to have voter ID case reheard*, *North State Journal*, (Feb. 26, 2020), <http://nsjonline.com/article/2020/02/legislative-leaders-file-motion-to-have-voter-id-case-reheard/>; Billy Corriher, *Another blow to North Carolina's new voter ID law*, *Facing South*, (Feb. 26, 2020), <https://www.facingsouth.org/2020/02/another-blow-north-carolinas-new-voter-id-law>; Benjamin Barber, *As young voter participation has grown, so have Southern states' efforts to curb it*, *Facing South*, (Feb. 28, 2020), <https://www.facingsouth.org/2020/02/young-voter-participation-has-grown-so-have-southern-states-efforts-curb-it>; Melissa Boughton, *NC Court of Appeals throws out voter photo ID for now, says law likely passed with discriminatory intent*, *The Progressive Pulse*, (Feb 18, 2020), <http://pulse.ncpolicywatch.org/2020/02/18/nc-court-of-appeals-throws-out-voter-photo-id-for-now-says-law-likely-passed-with-discriminatory-intent/>; Laurinburg Exchange, *State Appeals Court blocks voter ID, jeopardizing use in general election*, *The Laurinburg Exchange*, (Feb. 19, 2020), <https://www.laurinburgexchange.com/news/33744/state-appeals-court-blocks-voter-id-jeopardizing-use-in-general-election>; Jonah Kaplan, *Conservative group files ethics complaint against voter ID judges*, *ABC11*, (Feb. 19, 2020), <https://abc11.com/politics/conservative-group-files-ethics-complaint-against-voter-id-judges/5948534/>

344 Rusty Jacobs, *North Carolina's Photo ID Law Is On Trial. Again*, *WUNC* (Apr. 12, 2021), <https://www.wunc.org/politics/2021-04-12/north-carolina-photo-id-law-trial-voting-rights>; *Trial begins on challenge to latest N.C. voter ID law*, *AP* (Apr. 13, 2021), <https://sclawyersweekly.com/news/2021/04/13/trial-begins-on-challenge-to-latest-n-carolina-voter-id-law/>.

345 Will Doran & Charles Duncan, *Federal judge to block NC voter ID law temporarily as the lawsuit continues*, *The News & Observer*, (Dec. 27, 2019) <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article238747723.html>; Justin Levitt, *Federal court issues preliminary injunction against 2018 NC voter ID law*, *Election Law Blog*, (Jan. 1, 2020), https://electionlawblog.org/?p=108630&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; *North Carolina Republicans Make last-minute plea to keep voter ID photo requirement*, *WXII12*, (Jan. 11, 2020), <https://www.wxii12.com/article/north-carolina-republicans-plea-voter-id-photo-requirement/30481475>; Steve Ford, *Federal Court is Right to Keep NC's discriminatory voter ID requirement sidetracked*, *NC Policy Watch*, (Jan. 13, 2020), <http://www.ncpolicywatch.com/2020/01/13/federal-court-is-right-to-keep-ncs-discriminatory-voter-id-requirement-sidetracked/>; Benjamin Barber, *As young voter participation has grown, so have southern states' efforts to curb it*, *Facing South*, (Feb. 28, 2020), <https://www.facingsouth.org/2020/02/young-voter-participation-has-grown-so-have-southern-states-efforts-curb-it>; *North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP, et al., v. Roy Asberry Cooper III Governor of North Carolina, et al.*, Memorandum Opinion, Order, and Preliminary Injunction, (Dec. 31, 2019), <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/6594785-Voter-ID-Injunction.html>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

346 Gary D. Robertson, *US appeals court rules judge wrongly halted NC voter ID*, AP (Dec. 2, 2020), <https://apnews.com/article/race-and-ethnicity-north-carolina-elections-courts-voting-d8f7eb4ccd6e6a365766d9f7e574af97>.

347 Erik J. Engstrom & Jason M. Roberts, *A federal court struck down much of North Carolina's voter ID law — but what's left could still shrink the black vote*, Washington Post (Oct. 5, 2016), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/10/05/a-federal-court-struck-down-much-of-the-voter-id-law-in-north-carolina-but-a-remaining-provision-could-affect-the-black-vote/>

348 Alice Miranda Ollstein, *North Carolina counties slashed their early voting hours and now this is what the lines look like*, Think Progress (Oct. 21, 2016), <https://thinkprogress.org/north-carolina-counties-that-slashed-early-voting-sites-see-hours-long-lines-fcfa0151748#.o4db6pguk>

349 Alice Miranda Ollstein, *North Carolina counties slashed their early voting hours and now this is what the lines look like*, Think Progress (Oct. 21, 2016), <https://thinkprogress.org/north-carolina-counties-that-slashed-early-voting-sites-see-hours-long-lines-fcfa0151748#.o4db6pguk>

350 Richard Craver & Bertrand Gutierrez, *State GOP leaders could neutralize Democrats' Supreme Court majority by adding justices*, Winston-Salem Journal (Nov. 11, 2016), http://www.journalnow.com/news/elections/state-gop-leaders-could-neutralize-democrats-supreme-court-majority-by/article_510c2c00-f7ea-5c8d-9251-26a784d6cb9c.html?utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter&utm_campaign=user-share; Melissa Boughton, *GOP legislative leaders could make rare court-packing move to keep partisan control of state Supreme Court*, NC Policy Watch (Nov. 11, 2016), <http://www.ncpolicywatch.com/2016/11/11/gop-legislative-leaders-make-rare-court-packing-move-keep-partisan-control-state-supreme-court/>; Anne Blythe & Lynn Bonner, *Rare big win for Democrats tilts party balance on NC Supreme Court*, Charlotte Observer (Nov. 10, 2016, 8:22 PM), <http://www.charlotteobserver.com/news/politics-government/article114053308.html>; Caitlin MacNeal, *NC GOPer Denies Republicans May Try To Pack State's Highest Court*, TPM (Nov. 14, 2016, 2:08 PM), <https://talkingpointsmemo.com/livewire/potential-north-carolina-republicans-pack-state-court>; Spencer Woodman, *North Carolina's War on Voters Is Heating Up*, New Republic (Nov. 16, 2016), <https://newrepublic.com/article/138788/north-carolinas-war-voters-heating>; Mark Joseph Stern, *Pat McCrory Lost the North Carolina Governorship. Now He's Trying to Steal It.*, Slate (Nov. 21, 2016, 11:02 AM), http://www.slate.com/blogs/outward/2016/11/21/pat_mccrory_is_trying_to_steal_the_north_carolina_governorship.html?wpsrc=sh_all_mob_em_top; Colin Campbell, *Legislature could revisit election laws in wake of McCrory complaints*, News & Observer (Nov. 21, 2016, 4:34 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/politics-columns-blogs/under-the-dome/article116265693.html>; Ari Berman, *Trump's Lies About Voter Fraud Are Already Leading to New GOP Voter-Suppression Efforts*, The Nation (Dec. 6, 2016), <https://www.thenation.com/article/trumps-lies-about-voter-fraud-are-already-leading-to-new-gop-voter-suppression-efforts/>; Mark Joseph Stern, *NC Gov. Calls Special Legislative Session, Setting Up Possibility of Court-Packing Power Grab*, Slate (Dec. 2, 2016, 5:28 PM), <http://slate.me/2g35qGt>; Craig Jarvis & Colin Campbell, *NC Senate leader on legislature's agenda this week: 'There are a lot of things that are being talked about'*, News & Observer (Dec. 13, 2016, 12:55 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article120605688.html>

351 Lynn Bonner, *How courts could view moves to strip Roy Cooper's power*, News & Observer (Dec. 17, 2016, 6:50 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article121529512.html#storylink=cpy>; Rick Hasen, *NC Gov. McCrory Signs Election Bill Power Grab*, Election Law Blog (Dec. 16, 2016, 11:24 AM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=90062>; Caitlin MacNeal, *GOP Power Grab Would Make NC Guv One Of The Weakest In The Country*, TPM (Dec. 16, 2016, 6:00 AM), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/news/nc-proposal-weaken-governor>; Anne Blythe, *Judges block NC elections board overhaul as Roy Cooper's lawsuit pends*, News & Observer (Jan. 5, 2017, 2:34 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article124742669.html>; Emery Dalesio, *Judges hear arguments over restricting NC governor's powers*, L.A. Times (Feb. 10, 2017, 4:20 PM), <http://www.latimes.com/nation/nationnow/la-na-north-carolina-governor-20170211-story.html>; Billy Corriher, *North Carolina gerrymandering bill pits black judges against other incumbents*, Think Progress (Oct. 6, 2017, 10:22 AM), <https://thinkprogress.org/judicial-gerrymandering-north-carolina-56f15b92f01f/>; Mark Joseph Stern, *North Carolina Republicans Are Already Working on a New Voter Suppression Bill*, Slate (May 16, 2017, 4:41 PM),

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_slatest/2017/05/16/north_carolina_republicans_working_on_a_new_voter_suppression_bill.html; Mark Joseph Stern, *North Carolina Republicans' Legislative Coup Is an Attack on Democracy*, Slate (Dec. 15, 2016, 11:27 AM), http://www.slate.com/blogs/outward/2016/12/15/north_carolina_legislative_coup_an_attack_on_democracy.html; <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/04/nc-republicans-revive-power-grab-over.html>; Laura Leslie & Matthew Burns, *Veto fight ahead over elections board rewrite*, WRAL (Apr. 11, 2017), <http://www.wral.com/veto-fight-ahead-over-elections-board-rewrite/16638956/>;

352 Trip Gabriel, *In North Carolina, Republicans Stung by Court Rulings Aim to Change the Judges*, N.Y. Times (Oct. 18, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/18/us/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander-judges.html?ref=collection%2Fsectioncollection%2Fus&action=click&contentCollection=us®ion=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=1&pgtype=sectionfront&r=1>; Barry Yeoman, *Law and Disorder in North Carolina*, American Prospect (Dec. 21, 2017), <http://prospect.org/article/law-and-disorder-north-carolina>; <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article213439224.html>

353 Lynn Bonner and Anne Blythe, *Republican want lawmakers, not governor, to decide who oversees election*, The News & Observer, (June 22, 2018 05:57 PM) <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article213683029.html>; Lynn Bonner and Anne Blythe, *Republican want lawmakers, not governor, to decide who oversees election*, The News & Observer, (June 22, 2018 05:57 PM) <https://news.wfu.edu/2018/06/25/expert-available-state-constitutional-amendments-in-north-carolina/>;

David Larson, *Lawmakers weigh amendments to state constitution*, North State Journal, (June 27, 2018) <https://nsjonline.com/article/2018/06/lawmakers-weigh-amendments-to-state-constitution/>

354 <https://nsjonline.com/article/2018/06/lawmakers-weigh-amendments-to-state-constitution/>

355 Lynn Bonner, *Roy Cooper sued election board. Instead of fighting, the board's lawyer took his side*, Newsobserver, (Aug. 12, 2018, 11:14 AM), Lynn Bonner, *Cooper, NAACP, environmentalists fail to win quick freeze on constitutional amendments*, The News & Observer (Aug. 07, 2018, 02:27 PM) <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article216223675.html>; Lynn Bonner, *Cooper, NAACP, environmentalist fail to win quick freeze on constitutional amendments*, Newsobserver, (Aug. 07, 2018, 02:27 PM); Mark Joseph Stern, *Court Blocks Most of North Carolina GOP's Legislative Coup, Including Election-Board Power Grab*, Slate (Mar. 18, 2017, 3:06 PM), http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_slatest/2017/03/18/north_carolina_legislative_power_grab_blocked_in_court.html; Anne Blythe, *Judges hand Cooper a setback in struggle with legislature over elections*, News Observer (June 15, 2017, 2:35 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/politics-columns-blogs/under-the-dome/article156357269.html>; Zachary Roth, *NC GOP's latest power grab again blocked by judges*, Daily Democracy (May 1, 2017, 4:49 PM), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/05/01/nc-gops-latest-power-grab-again-block-by-judges/>; Rick Hasen, *Breaking: NC Court Rejects Law Changing North Carolina Board of Elections to Help Republicans, Election Law Blog* (Mar. 17, 2017, 3:07 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=91663&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Associated Press, *North Carolina Court to Rule on Law on Gov's Elections Role*, U.S. News (July 19, 2017, 5:18 PM), <https://www.usnews.com/news/best-states/north-carolina/articles/2017-07-19/north-carolina-court-to-rule-on-law-on-govs-elections-role>; Wendy R. Weiser & Daniel I. Weiner, *Democracy in NC Could Disappear. Is Your State Next?*, Brennan Center (Aug. 23, 2017), <http://www.brennancenter.org/blog/democracy-north-carolina-could-disappear-your-state-next>; Melissa Boughton, *NC Supreme Court takes up redistricting, power struggle between Cooper, legislature*, Progressive Pulse (Aug. 28, 2017), <https://pulse.ncpolicywatch.org/2017/08/28/nc-supreme-court-takes-redistricting-power-struggle-cooper-legislature/>; Order, *Cooper v. Berger* (N.C. Super. Ct. Oct. 31, 2017), https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B8mzo_D7IoZxVTBubVQ0b3IwUWM/view; Lynn Bonner, *NC Gov. Cooper appoints an elections board member Republicans fought*, News Observer (Mar. 21, 2018, 10:48 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article206082999.html>; Lynn Bonner and Anne Blythe, *Republican want lawmakers, not governor, to decide who oversees election*, The News & Observer, (June 22, 2018 05:57 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article213683029.html>; Will Doran, *Update: NC Supreme Court denies Gov. Roy Cooper effort to fast-track ruling on amendments*, News & Observer (Aug. 29, 2018) <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article217531025.html>; Mark Joseph Stern, *The Courts Are Saving Democracy in North Carolina*, Slate (Aug. 28, 2018), https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2018/08/the-courts-are-saving-democracy-in-north-carolina-for-now.html?wpsrc=sh_all_dt_tw_ru; Billy Corriher, *An end in sight for N.C.'s gerrymandered congressional maps*,

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

Facing South (Aug. 29, 2018), <https://www.facingsouth.org/2018/08/end-sight-ncs-gerrymandered-congressional-maps>; Will Doran, *The legislature made unconstitutional changes to the NC election board, judges rule*, The News & Observer (Oct. 16, 2018), <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article220125290.html>; <https://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/nc-gop-trying-again-to-cement-control-of-local-elections-boards-during-election-years>

356 Lynn Bonner, *NC GOP leader raises possibility of impeaching justices over amendment ruling*, The News & Observer (Aug. 17, 2018), <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article216886935.html>

357 Spencer Woodman, *GOP FRAUD CLAIMS IN NORTH CAROLINA GOVERNOR'S RACE REFLECT A STRATEGY TO SUPPRESS BLACK VOTES*, Intercept (Nov. 23, 2016, 1:47 PM), <https://theintercept.com/2016/11/23/gop-fraud-claims-in-north-carolina-governors-race-reflect-a-strategy-to-suppress-black-votes/>; Caitlin MacNeal, *NC GOPers May Use McCrory's Voter Fraud Outcry To Push Voting Restrictions*, TPM (Dec. 7, 2016, 1:41 PM), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/news/north-carolina-republicans-voter-fraud-legislation>; Richard Fausset, *North Carolina Governor Signs Law Limiting Successor's Power*, N.Y. Times (Dec. 16, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/16/us/politics/pat-mccrory-roy-cooper-north-carolina.html?_r=0; Colin Campbell & Will Doran, *Roy Cooper threatens to sue as legislature moves to secure more power*, News & Observer (Dec. 15, 2015, 8:53 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article121222618.html#1>; Craig Jarvis, *Proposal to split NC elections boards between political parties moves ahead*, News & Observer (Dec. 15, 2016, 3:17 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article121112373.html>; Rick Hasen, *Shenanigans Alert: NC GOP-Led Legislature Calls 2d Special Session, Considers Bill to Change Power over Election Rules*, Election Law Blog (Dec. 14, 2016, 3:48 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=89974>; Trip Gabriel, *In North Carolina, Republicans Stung by Court Rulings Aim to Change the Judges*, N.Y. Times (Oct. 18, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/18/us/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander-judges-.html?rref=collection%2Fsectioncollection%2Fus&action=click&contentCollection=us®ion=rank&module=p>
[ackage&version=highlights&contentPlacement=1&pgtype=sectionfront&_r=1](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/18/us/north-carolina-republicans-gerrymander-judges-.html?rref=collection%2Fsectioncollection%2Fus&action=click&contentCollection=us®ion=rank&module=p)

358 Billy Corriher, *North Carolina gerrymandering bill pits black judges against other incumbents*, Think Progress (Oct. 6, 2017, 10:22 AM), <https://thinkprogress.org/judicial-gerrymandering-north-carolina-56f15b92f01f/>; Rick Hasen, *"NC Senate votes to override election law veto"*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 16, 2017, 7:07 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=95484&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29

359 Melissa Boughton, *Lewis: Statewide judicial redistricting off the table this session*, Progressive Pulse (June 2, 2018), <http://pulse.ncpolicywatch.org/2018/06/02/lewis-statewide-judicial-redistricting-off-the-table-this-session>

360 Melissa Boughton, *Updated: Judicial redistricting will cost North Carolinians more than \$31.8 million over next 5 years*, The Progressive Pulse, (Oct. 5, 2017). <http://pulse.ncpolicywatch.org/2017/10/05/judicial-redistricting-will-cost-north-carolinians-32-5-million-next-5-years/>

361 Matthew Burns, *Cooper goes on veto binge, rejecting seven bills*, NC Capitol, (June 25, 2018) <https://www.wral.com/cooper-goes-on-veto-binge-rejecting-seven-bills/17654695/>

362 Joe Bruno, *Channel 9 uncovers similarities between absentee ballots in U.S. House District 9 race*, <https://www.wsoc.tv/news/local/channel-9-uncovers-similarities-between-absentee-ballots-in-us-house-district-9-race/882660808>, WSOC TV (Dec. 4, 2018); Amy Gardner & Kirk Ross, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/north-carolina-election-fraud-investigation-centers-on-operative-with-criminal-history-who-worked-for-gop-congressional-candidate/2018/12/03/7b270a90-f6aa-11e8-8c9a-860ce2a8148f_story.html?utm_term=.81c5654816e4, Washington Post, (Dec. 3, 2018) ; Doug Bock Clark, *Allegations of G.O.P. Elections Fraud Shake North Carolina's Ninth District*, <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/allegations-of-gop-election-fraud-shake-north-carolinias-ninth-district>, The New Yorker, (Dec. 02, 2018); Mark Joseph Stern, *A North Carolina Congressional Race Might Be Tainted by Fraud and That's Just the Beginning*, https://amp.slate.com/news-and-politics/2018/11/north-carolina-congressional-race-may-be-tainted-by-fraud.html?_twitter_impression=true, Slate, (Nov. 30, 2018); Brian Murphy & Carli Brosseau, *NC Board again declines to certify Mark Harris victory as mail-in ballots questioned*, <https://www.charlotteobserver.com/news/politics-government/article222436915.html>, The Charlotte Observer, (Nov. 30, 2018); Amy Gardner & Kirk Ross, *Certification in limbo in N.C. House race as fraud investigation continues*, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/certification-in-limbo-in-nc-house-race-as-fraud-investigation-continues/2018/11/29/109209f6-f406-11e8-80d0->

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

f7e1948d55f4_story.html?utm_term=.e51cf4742ff4, The Washington Post, (Nov. 29, 2018); Rick Hasen, *Evidence of Absentee Ballot Fraud Emerging in North Carolina Congressional Race, But Scale Uncertain*, https://electionlawblog.org/?p=102530&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29, Election Law Blog, (Nov. 29, 2018); Steve Harrison, *NC Elections Investigator Seized Bladen County Absentee Ballot Forms*, <http://www.wfae.org/post/nc-elections-investigator-seized-bladen-county-absentee-ballot-forms#stream/0>, WFAE 90.7, (Nov. 28, 2018); Joe Bruno, *Who is McCrae Dowless, man who appears to be center of 9th District investigation?* <https://www.wsocvtv.com/news/local/man-in-center-of-voter-fraud-investigation-in-nc-district-9-race-has-criminal-past/882190369>, WSOCTV, (Dec. 19, 2018, 2:17 PM); Alan Blinder & Michael Wines, *North Carolina Republicans Targeted Voter Fraud. Did They Look at the Wrong Kind?*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/05/us/politics/north-carolina-vote-fraud-absentee.html>, “The New York Times, (Dec. 5, 2018) ; Rick Hasen, *Why the case for election fraud in North Carolina is strong;*” *Charlotte Observer Editorial board Calls for New Election*, https://electionlawblog.org/?p=102661&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29, Election Law Blog, (Dec. 05, 2018); Otilia Steadman, *“I Don’t Vote”—But He Did. Here’s How Alleged Election Fraud Works In North Carolina*” <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/otiliasteadman/election-fraud-alleged-north-carolina-investigation>, BuzzFeed, (Dec. 06, 2018); Brian Murphy, *Bladen counted early votes too soon in 2018. Witness alleges numbers were leaked*, <https://www.charlotteobserver.com/news/politics-government/article222898975.html>, The Charlotte Observer, (Dec. 10, 2018); Caitlin Oprysko, *North Carolina Democrat preparing for special election in contested congressional race*, <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/12/10/north-carolina-mccready-special-election-1054208?nname=playbook-pm&nid=0000015a-dd3e-d536-a37b-dd7fd8af0000&nrid=0000014e-f109-dd93-ad7f-f90d0def0000&nlid=964328>, Politico, (Dec. 12, 2018); Khushbu Shah, *Absentee-ballot fraud scandal speaks to wider issue of racism in north Carolina*, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/dec/12/absentee-ballot-fraud-north-carolina-racism>, The Guardian, (Dec. 12, 2018, 6:00 PM); Vann R. Newkirk II, *How the Minority Wins*, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2018/12/gop-maneuvers-rule-minority-party/577948/>, The Atlantic, (Dec. 12, 2018); CBS, *North Carolina governor vetoing bill with congressional redo*, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/north-carolina-governor-vetoing-bill-with-congressional-race-redo/>, CBS News, (Dec. 18, 2018)

363 Kevin Morris & Myrna Perez, *Florida, Georgia, North Carolina Still Purging Voters at High Rates*, Brennan Center for Justice (Oct. 1, 2018), <http://www.brennancenter.org/blog/florida-georgia-north-carolina-still-purging-voters-high-rates>

364 Zachary Roth, *Study: North Carolina Polling Site Changes Hurt Blacks*, NBC News (Nov. 23, 2015), <http://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/study-north-carolina-polling-site-changes-hurt-blacks-n468251>

365 *Voter suppression’s last stand: North Carolina’s new Jim Crow counties*, Insightus (Oct. 3, 2016, 8:00 AM), <http://insight-us.org/fair-places-2016-pt-1.html>; *Super-Suppressors: the 17 North Carolina counties that are strangling early voting to death*, Insightus (Oct. 28, 2016, 11:25 AM), <http://www.insight-us.org/blog/super-suppressors-the-18-north-carolina-counties-that-are-strangling-early-voting-to-death/>

366 Zachary Roth, *North Carolina GOP Out to Limit Crucial Early Voting Period*, NBC News (Aug. 18, 2016, 12:46 PM, ET), <http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/politics-news/north-carolina-gop-out-limit-crucial-early-voting-period-n633571>; Tierney Sneed, *Smoking Gun Memo Reveals GOP Voter Fraud Bamboozlement in North Carolina*, TPM (Aug. 17, 2016, 4:46 PM, EDT), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/livewire/north-carolina-early-voting-memo>; Colin Campbell, *NC Republican Party seeks ‘party line changes’ to limit early voting hours*, News & Observer (Aug. 17, 2016, 1:5 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/election/article96179857.html>; David A. Graham, *Have North Carolina Republicans Found a Way to Reinstate Discriminatory Voting Rules? After a federal court struck down the state’s strict voting law as racially discriminatory, Republicans are trying to restrict voting at the county level*, Atlantic (Aug. 18, 2016), <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/08/north-carolina-voting/496415/>; Ari Berman, *North Carolina Won’t Stop Suppressing the Vote: After courts restored a week of early voting, Republicans are now brazenly cutting early-voting hours*, The Nation (Aug. 16, 2016), <https://www.thenation.com/article/north-carolina-wont-stop-suppressing-the-vote/>; Michael Wines, *Critics Say North Carolina is Curbing Black Vote Again*, NY Times (Aug. 30, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/31/us/politics/election-rules-north-carolina.html>; Tierney Sneed, *States Keep Weaseling Around Court Orders Blocking GOP Voting Restrictions*, TPM (Oct. 6, 2016),

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

<http://talkingpointsmemo.com/dc/voter-restrictions-state-court-orders-undermined>; Jerry H. Goldfeder and Myrna Pérez, *Court Victories Don't Mean Voters Are in the Clear*, New York Law Journal (Oct. 6, 2016), <http://www.newyorklawjournal.com/id=1202769372112/Court-Victories-Dont-Mean-Voters-Are-in-the-Clear?slreturn=20160909215301>; Ari Berman, *GOP States Keep Ignoring Court Orders to Restore Voting Rights*, The Nation (Oct. 14, 2016), <https://www.thenation.com/article/gop-states-keep-ignoring-court-orders-to-restore-voting-rights/>; *Voter suppression's last stand: North Carolina's new Jim Crow counties*, Insightus (Oct. 3, 2016, 8:00 AM), <http://insight-us.org/fair-places-2016-pt-1.html>; Julie Harte, *Insight: Emails show how Republicans lobbied to limit voting hours in North Carolina*, Reuters (Nov. 4, 2016, 3:04 PM), <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-northcarolina-insight-idUSKBN12Y0ZY>; Gabrielle Gurley, *Voter Suppression Works Too Well*, American Prospect (Jan. 11, 2017), <http://prospect.org/article/voter-suppression-works-too-well>

367 Michael Wines, *Critics Say North Carolina is Curbing Black Vote Again*, NY Times (Aug. 30, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/31/us/politics/election-rules-north-carolina.html>; Colin Campbell, *More early voting would 'waste tax dollars,' Wake County GOP says*, News & Observer (Sept. 3, 2016, 12:01 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/election/article99794997.html>

368 Colin Campbell, *Early voting reduced in 23 counties; 9 drop Sunday voting after NCGOP memo*, News & Observer (Sept. 6, 2016, 8:22 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/election/article100284162.html>; Tierney Sneed, *North Carolina May End Up Back in Court Over Its Foot Dragging on Early Voting* (Sept. 2, 2016, 6:00 AM EDT), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/north-carolina-early-voting-state-board>; Michael Tomsic, *Despite Court Ruling, Voting Rights Fight Continues In North Carolina*, NPR (Sept. 7, 2016, 5:23 PM), <http://www.npr.org/2016/09/07/493001761/despite-court-ruling-voting-rights-fight-continues-in-north-carolina>

369 Michael Wines, *North Carolina Elections Board Settles Fight Over Voting Guidelines*, N.Y. Times (Sept. 9, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/10/us/north-carolina-elections-voting-guidelines.html?ref=politics&r=1>; Gary D. Robertson, *Despite North Carolina Vote Changes, Groups May Go to Court*, ABC News (Sept. 9, 2016, 2:50 PM), <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/wireStory/ruling-north-carolina-board-careful-vote-41968963>; Colin Campbell, *Sunday voting, additional early voting sites and hours restored in some counties despite GOP opposition*, News & Observer (Sept. 8, 2016, 9:37 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article100772547.html>

370 Anne Blythe, *NC early voting plans challenged in 5 counties with aid from Clinton campaign counsel*, News & Observer (Oct. 2, 2016, 3:15 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article105534241.html#storylink=cpy>; Rick Hasen, *New Lawsuit over North Carolina Early Voting*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 1, 2016, 2:56 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=87066&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; *Appeals court denies more early voting time in Forsyth and four other NC counties*, AP (Oct. 19, 2016, 12:11 PM), http://www.journalnow.com/news/elections/appeals-court-denies-more-early-voting-time-in-forsyth-and/article_a78e562a-9616-11e6-88d1-bfb26c75410e.html#WAel1CU6H_k.twitter; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, Ledger Independent (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html

371 Alice Miranda Ollstein, *North Carolina counties slashed their early voting hours and now this is what the lines look like*, Think Progress (Oct. 21, 2016), <https://thinkprogress.org/north-carolina-counties-that-slashed-early-voting-sites-see-hours-long-lines-fcffa0151748#.o4db6pguk>; *Super-Suppressors: the 17 North Carolina counties that are strangling early voting to death*, Insightus (Oct. 28, 2016, 11:25 AM), <http://www.insight-us.org/blog/super-suppressors-the-18-north-carolina-counties-that-are-strangling-early-voting-to-death/>; Gabrielle Gurley, *Voter Suppression Works Too Well*, American Prospect (Jan. 11, 2017), <http://prospect.org/article/voter-suppression-works-too-well>

372 Alice Miranda Ollstein, *North Carolina counties slashed their early voting hours and now this is what the lines look like*, Think Progress (Oct. 21, 2016), <https://thinkprogress.org/north-carolina-counties-that-slashed-early-voting-sites-see-hours-long-lines-fcffa0151748#.o4db6pguk>; *Super-Suppressors: the 17 North Carolina counties that are strangling early voting to death*, Insightus (Oct. 28, 2016, 11:25 AM), <http://www.insight-us.org/blog/super-suppressors-the-18-north-carolina-counties-that-are-strangling-early-voting-to-death/>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

- 373 *The Great Poll Closure*, The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights (Nov. 2016), <http://civilrightsdocs.info/pdf/reports/2016/poll-closure-report-web.pdf>; Eric Mount, *Gutting of Voting Rights Act allowed multiple states to impede minority votes*, Advocate-Messenger (Nov. 17, 2016, 12:11 PM), <http://www.amnews.com/2016/11/17/gutting-of-voting-rights-act-allowed-multiple-states-to-impede-minority-votes/>
- 374 Joan Walsh, *Will North Carolina Lead the Way to a New South?*, The Nation (Nov. 7, 2016), <https://www.thenation.com/article/will-north-carolina-lead-the-way-to-a-new-south/>; Jeremy W. Peters et al., *Black Turnout Soft in Early Voting, Boding Ill for Hillary Clinton*, N.Y. Times (Nov. 1, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/02/us/politics/black-turnout-falls-in-early-voting-boding-ill-for-hillary-clinton.html?_r=0; Eric Mount, *Gutting of Voting Rights Act allowed multiple states to impede minority votes*, Advocate-Messenger (Nov. 17, 2016, 12:11 PM), <http://www.amnews.com/2016/11/17/gutting-of-voting-rights-act-allowed-multiple-states-to-impede-minority-votes/>
- 375 Editorial, *The Voters Abandoned by the Court*, N.Y. Times (Nov. 8, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/09/opinion/the-voters-abandoned-by-the-court.html?_r=0; Press Release, *NCGOP Sees Encouraging Early Voting, Obama/Clinton Coalition Tired, Fail to Resonate in North Carolina*, NCGOP (Nov. 6, 2016), <http://us2.campaign-archive2.com/?u=f3100bc5464cbba2f472ddf2c&id=e4b9a8fb19>; Emily Bazelon, *The Supreme Court Ruled That Voting Restrictions Were a Bygone Problem. Early Voting Results Suggest Otherwise.*, N.Y. Times (Nov. 7, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/07/magazine/the-supreme-court-ruled-that-voting-restrictions-were-a-bygone-problem-early-voting-results-suggest-otherwise.html?_r=0
- 376 Blake Paterson, *Bipartisan Furor as North Carolina Election Law Shrinks Early Voting Locations by Almost 20 Percent*, Election land (Sept. 24, 2018), <https://www.propublica.org/article/bipartisan-furor-as-north-carolina-election-law-shrinks-early-voting-locations-by-almost-20-percent>
- 377 Ari Berman, *North Carolina Republicans Escalate Attack on Student Voting*, The Nation (Aug. 20, 2013), <http://www.thenation.com/blog/175837/north-carolina-republicans-escalate-attack-student-voting#>; Michael Tomsic, *Many Counties Seek Exemption From NC Early Voting Requirements*, WFAE (Feb. 25, 2014), <http://wfae.org/post/many-counties-seek-exemption-nc-early-voting-requirements>; Penda D. Hair, *North Carolina's Student Voting Battle Is Not Over*, Huffington Post (Nov. 5, 2013), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/penda-d-hair/north-carolinas-student-voting-battle_b_3868345.html; Matthew Burns, *Judge orders county to provide early voting site on App State campus*, WRAL (Oct. 13, 2014), <http://www.wral.com/judge-orders-county-to-provide-early-voting-site-on-app-state-campus/14074008/>; *Anderson v. North Carolina State Bd. of Elections*, No. 14-cvs-012648, Order denying Respondent's Motion to Dismiss and Remanding the Matter to Respondent (N.C. Super. Ct. Oct. 13, 2014), <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/20141013-NC-early-vote.pdf>; Mitch Weiss & Michael Biesecker, *Emails: NC board member involved in disputed voting plan*, Yahoo News (July 14, 2015), <http://news.yahoo.com/emails-nc-board-member-involved-disputed-voting-plan-221924520.html>; Michael Tomsic, *Many Counties Seek Exemption From NC Early Voting Requirements*, WFAE (Feb. 25, 2014), <http://wfae.org/post/many-counties-seek-exemption-nc-early-voting-requirements>; Penda D. Hair, *North Carolina's Student Voting Battle Is Not Over*, Huffington Post (Nov. 5, 2013), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/penda-d-hair/north-carolinas-student-voting-battle_b_3868345.html
- 379 Rick Hasen, *Stays (and Lack of Stays) Everywhere*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 18, 2014, 12:39 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=67082>; Rick Hasen, *North Carolina Court of Appeals Upholds Student Voting Site*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 21, 2014, 1:44 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=67225&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29
- 380 Rick Hasen, *Stays (and Lack of Stays) Everywhere*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 18, 2014, 12:39 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=67082>; Rick Hasen, *North Carolina Court of Appeals Upholds Student Voting Site*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 21, 2014, 1:44 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=67225&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Rick Hasen, *"N.C. Supreme Court Oks App State voting Site"*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 22, 2014, 4:51 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=67302>
- 381 Ari Berman, *North Carolina Won't Stop Suppressing the Vote: After courts restored a week of early voting, Republicans are now brazenly cutting early-voting hours*, The Nation (Aug. 16, 2016), <https://www.thenation.com/article/north-carolina-wont-stop-suppressing-the-vote/>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

382 Meghann Evans, *Elections board tables vote on security officers at polling sites*, Winston-Salem Journal (Aug. 20,
2013), http://www.journalnow.com/news/local/article_a3528306-0a05-11e3-adf2-001a4bcf6878.html

383 Betrand M. Gutierrez, *Chairman: Eliminate WSSU early voting site*, Winston-Salem Journal (Aug. 18, 2013),
http://www.journalnow.com/news/elections/local/article_3da9300a-07a2-11e3-b6b3-001a4bcf6878.html

384 Rick Hasen, *"The sneaky new voter suppression tool in North Carolina, uncovered by one of our own"*, Election Law
Blog (Oct. 2, 2015, 5:57 PM),
http://electionlawblog.org/?p=76415&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29

385 Arika Herron, *Board splits over early voting sites*, Winston-Salem Journal (July 18, 2016, 11:00 PM),
http://www.journalnow.com/news/local/board-splits-over-early-voting-sites/article_10c89751-478f-52f9-bedc-25269637aa49.html

386 Alice Miranda Ollstein, *North Carolina counties slashed their early voting hours and now this is what the lines look
like*, Think Progress (Oct. 21, 2016), <https://thinkprogress.org/north-carolina-counties-that-slashed-early-voting-sites-see-hours-long-lines-fcffa0151748#.o4db6pguk>

387 Anne Blythe, *NC early voting plans challenged in 5 counties with aid from Clinton campaign counsel*, News &
Observer (Oct. 2, 2016, 3:15 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article105534241.html#storylink=cpy>; Rick Hasen, *New Lawsuit over North Carolina Early Voting,
Election Law Blog* (Oct. 1, 2016, 2:56 PM),
http://electionlawblog.org/?p=87066&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Mark Binker, *NC voting law challengers want court to
expand early voting in Nash, Forsyth, Guilford, Mecklenburg, and New Hanover counties*, WRAL (Oct. 2, 2016),
<http://www.wral.com/nc-voting-law-challengers-want-court-to-expand-early-voting-in-nash-forsyth-guilford-mecklenburg-and-new-hanover-counties/16074323/>

388 *Appeals court denies more early voting time in Forsyth and four other NC counties*, AP (Oct. 19, 2016, 12:11 PM),
http://www.journalnow.com/news/elections/appeals-court-denies-more-early-voting-time-in-forsyth-and/article_a78e562a-9616-11e6-88d1-bfb26c75410e.html#WAel1CU6H_k.twitter

389 Richard Fausset, *Mistrust in North Carolina Over Plan to Reduce Precincts*, N.Y. Times (July 7, 2014),
<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/08/us/08northcarolina.html?emc=eta1&r=0>; Editorial, *Potential voting
precinct merger spotlights deeper problem*, Shelby Star (July 6, 2014), <http://www.shelbystar.com/opinion/our-opinion/editorial-potential-voting-precinct-merger-spotlights-deeper-problem-1.342258>; ; Eric Mount, *Gutting
of Voting Rights Act allowed multiple states to impede minority votes*, Advocate-Messenger (Nov. 17, 2016, 12:11
PM), <http://www.amnews.com/2016/11/17/gutting-of-voting-rights-act-allowed-multiple-states-to-impede-minority-votes/>

390 Richard Fausset, *Mistrust in North Carolina Over Plan to Reduce Precincts*, N.Y. Times (July 7, 2014),
<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/08/us/08northcarolina.html?emc=eta1&r=0>; Danielle Battaglia, *Five
polling locations to move*, News Advance (Mar. 5, 2014),
http://www.newsadvance.com/rockingham_now/news/north_carolina/five-polling-locations-to-move/article_b6a8495a-a48c-11e3-8667-0017a43b2370.html; Brad Kesler, *Voting sites a hot issue in
Rockingham*, News Record (Feb. 2, 2014), http://www.news-record.com/news/local_news/article_686b2afab07c-56cd-9e1d-de290c3ae432.html; *Rockingham voting to move outside schools?*, WXII 12 (Jan. 23, 2014),
<http://www.wxii12.com/news/local-news/piedmont/rockingham-voting-to-move-outside-schools/24072048>;
Brad Kesler, *Rockingham elections board restores school as polling place*, News Record (Mar. 18, 2014),
http://www.news-record.com/news/article_67c6f26e-aeef-11e3-9786-0017a43b2370.html

391 Paul A. Specht, *Wake extends early voting period: fate of elections remains unclear*, News & Observer (Aug. 8, 2016,
7:34 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/counties/wake-county/article94479222.html>; Zachary
Roth, *Voting Fight Shifts to Local Level in North Carolina*, MSNBC (Aug. 8, 2016, 5:48 PM, ET),
<http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/elections/voting-fight-shifts-local-level-north-carolina-n625751>; Colin
Campbell, *NC Republican Party seeks 'party line changes' to limit early voting hours*, News & Observer (Aug. 17,
2016, 1:5 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/election/article96179857.html>;
David A. Graham, *Have North Carolina Republicans Found a Way to Reinstate Discriminatory Voting Rules? After a
federal court struck down the state's strict voting law as racially discriminatory, Republicans are trying to restrict
voting at the county level*, Atlantic (Aug. 18, 2016), <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/08/north-carolina-voting/496415/>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

- 392 Zachary Roth, *Voting Fight Shifts to Local Level in North Carolina*, MSNBC (Aug. 8, 2016, 5:48 PM, ET),
http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/elections/voting-fight-shifts-local-level-north-carolina-n625751
- 393 Alice Miranda Ollstein, *North Carolina counties slashed their early voting hours and now this is what the lines look
like*, Think Progress (Oct. 21, 2016), https://thinkprogress.org/north-carolina-counties-that-slashed-early-
voting-sites-see-hours-long-lines-fcfa0151748#.o4db6pguk
- 394 Democracy North Carolina, *Birthplace of Sit-In Movement Takes Center Stage In Next Chapter of NC's Voting Wars*,
http://nc-democracy.org/birthplace-of-sit-in-movement-takes-center-stage-in-next-chapter-of-ncs-voting-
wars/; Zachary Roth, *Voting Fight Shifts to Local Level in North Carolina*, MSNBC (Aug. 8, 2016, 5:48 PM, ET),
http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/elections/voting-fight-shifts-local-level-north-carolina-n625751; David A.
Graham, *Have North Carolina Republicans Found a Way to Reinstate Discriminatory Voting Rules? After a federal
court struck down the state's strict voting law as racially discriminatory, Republicans are trying to restrict voting at
the county level*, Atlantic (Aug. 18, 2016), http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/08/north-carolina-
voting/496415/
- 395 Anne Blythe, *NC early voting plans challenged in 5 counties with aid from Clinton campaign counsel*, News &
Observer (Oct. 2, 2016, 3:15 PM), http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-
politics/article105534241.html#storylink=cpy; Rick Hasen, *New Lawsuit over North Carolina Early Voting,
Election Law Blog* (Oct. 1, 2016, 2:56 PM),
http://electionlawblog.org/?p=87066&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3
A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Mark Binker, *NC voting law challengers want court to
expand early voting in Nash, Forsyth, Guilford, Mecklenburg, and New Hanover counties*, WRAL (Oct. 2, 2016),
http://www.wral.com/nc-voting-law-challengers-want-court-to-expand-early-voting-in-nash-forsyth-guilford-
mecklenburg-and-new-hanover-counties/16074323/; Julia Harte, *Insight: Emails show how Republicans lobbied
to limit voting hours in North Carolina*, Reuters (Nov. 4, 2016, 3:04 PM), http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-
election-northcarolina-insight-idUSKBN12Y0ZY
- 396 Voter suppression's last stand: *North Carolina's new Jim Crow counties*, Insightus (Oct. 3, 2016, 8:00 AM),
http://insight-us.org/fair-places-2016-pt-1.html; Rick Hasen, *"Super-Suppressors: the 18 North Carolina counties
that are strangling early voting to death"*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 26, 2016, 3:48 PM),
http://electionlawblog.org/?p=88141; *Super-Suppressors: the 17 North Carolina counties that are strangling early
voting to death*, Insightus (Oct. 28, 2016, 11:25 AM), http://www.insight-us.org/blog/super-suppressors-the-18-
north-carolina-counties-that-are-strangling-early-voting-to-death/
- 397 Alice Miranda Ollstein, *North Carolina counties slashed their early voting hours and now this is what the lines look
like*, Think Progress (Oct. 21, 2016), https://thinkprogress.org/north-carolina-counties-that-slashed-early-
voting-sites-see-hours-long-lines-fcfa0151748#.o4db6pguk; *Super-Suppressors: the 17 North Carolina counties
that are strangling early voting to death*, Insightus (Oct. 28, 2016, 11:25 AM), http://www.insight-
us.org/blog/super-suppressors-the-18-north-carolina-counties-that-are-strangling-early-voting-to-death/; Joan
Walsh, *Will North Carolina Lead the Way to a New South?*, The Nation (Nov. 7, 2016),
https://www.thenation.com/article/will-north-carolina-lead-the-way-to-a-new-south/; Eric Mount, *Gutting of
Voting Rights Act allowed multiple states to impede minority votes*, Advocate-Messenger (Nov. 17, 2016, 12:11 PM),
http://www.amnews.com/2016/11/17/gutting-of-voting-rights-act-allowed-multiple-states-to-impede-
minority-votes/
- 398 Jessie Pounds, *Guilford elections board Oks 2 fewer sites for early voting in November election*, News & Record (Jul.
10, 2018), https://www.greensboro.com/news/government/guilford-elections-board-oks-fewer-sites-for-early-
voting-in/article_cd0523be-8cd9-57aa-a8ec-5359e9060fad.html
- 399 Zachary Roth, *North Carolina GOP Out to Limit Crucial Early Voting Period*, NBC News (Aug. 18, 2016, 12:46 PM,
ET), http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/politics-news/north-carolina-gop-out-limit-crucial-early-voting-
period-n633571; Tierney Sneed, *Smoking Gun Memo Reveals GOP Voter Fraud Bamboozlement in North Carolina*,
TPM (Aug. 17, 2016, 4:46 PM, EDT), http://talkingpointsmemo.com/livewire/north-carolina-early-voting-memo;
Colin Campbell, *NC Republican Party seeks 'party line changes' to limit early voting hours*, News & Observer (Aug.
17, 2016, 1:5 PM), http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/election/article96179857.html;
David A. Graham, *Have North Carolina Republicans Found a Way to Reinstate Discriminatory Voting Rules? After a
federal court struck down the state's strict voting law as racially discriminatory, Republicans are trying to restrict
voting at the county level*, Atlantic (Aug. 18, 2016), http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/08/north-
carolina-voting/496415/; Ari Berman, *North Carolina Won't Stop Suppressing the Vote: After courts restored a*

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

week of early voting, Republicans are now brazenly cutting early-voting hours, The Nation (Aug. 16, 2016), <https://www.thenation.com/article/north-carolina-wont-stop-suppressing-the-vote/>; Michael Bitzer, *Mecklenburg Early Voting Plan Could Be a Gift for GOP*, WFAE 90.7 (Aug. 16, 2016), <http://wfae.org/post/mecklenburg-early-voting-plan-could-be-gift-gop>; Michael Wines, *Critics Say North Carolina is Curbing Black Vote Again*, NY Times (Aug. 30, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/31/us/politics/election-rules-north-carolina.html>; Gary D. Robertson, *Despite North Carolina Vote Changes, Groups May Go to Court*, ABC News (Sept. 9, 2016, 2:50 PM), <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/wireStory/ruling-north-carolina-board-careful-vote-41968963>; Colin Campbell, *Sunday voting, additional early voting sites and hours restored in some counties despite GOP opposition*, News & Observer (Sept. 8, 2016, 9:37 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article100772547.html>

400 Anne Blythe, *NC early voting plans challenged in 5 counties with aid from Clinton campaign counsel*, News & Observer (Oct. 2, 2016, 3:15 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article105534241.html#storylink=cpy>; Rick Hasen, *New Lawsuit over North Carolina Early Voting, Election Law Blog* (Oct. 1, 2016, 2:56 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=87066&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Mark Binker, *NC voting law challengers want court to expand early voting in Nash, Forsyth, Guilford, Mecklenburg, and New Hanover counties*, WRAL (Oct. 2, 2016), <http://www.wral.com/nc-voting-law-challengers-want-court-to-expand-early-voting-in-nash-forsyth-guilford-mecklenburg-and-new-hanover-counties/16074323/>

401 *Appeals court denies more early voting time in Forsyth and four other NC counties*, AP (Oct. 19, 2016, 12:11 PM), http://www.journalnow.com/news/elections/appeals-court-denies-more-early-voting-time-in-forsyth-and/article_a78e562a-9616-11e6-88d1-bfb26c75410e.html#.WAel1CU6H_k.twitter

402 Alice Miranda Ollstein, *North Carolina counties slashed their early voting hours and now this is what the lines look like*, Think Progress (Oct. 21, 2016), <https://thinkprogress.org/north-carolina-counties-that-slashed-early-voting-sites-see-hours-long-lines-fcfa0151748#.o4db6pguk>

403 *Voter suppression's last stand: North Carolina's new Jim Crow counties*, Insightus (Oct. 3, 2016, 8:00 AM), <http://insight-us.org/fair-places-2016-pt-1.html>; *Super-Suppressors: the 17 North Carolina counties that are strangling early voting to death*, Insightus (Oct. 28, 2016, 11:25 AM), <http://www.insight-us.org/blog/super-suppressors-the-18-north-carolina-counties-that-are-strangling-early-voting-to-death/>

404 Alice Miranda Ollstein, *North Carolina counties slashed their early voting hours and now this is what the lines look like*, Think Progress (Oct. 21, 2016), <https://thinkprogress.org/north-carolina-counties-that-slashed-early-voting-sites-see-hours-long-lines-fcfa0151748#.o4db6pguk>

405 Michael Wines, *Critics Say North Carolina is Curbing Black Vote Again*, NY Times (Aug. 30, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/31/us/politics/election-rules-north-carolina.html>; <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/election/article100284162.html>

406 Michael Wines, *Critics Say North Carolina is Curbing Black Vote Again*, NY Times (Aug. 30, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/31/us/politics/election-rules-north-carolina.html>; Gary D. Robertson, *Despite North Carolina Vote Changes, Groups May Go to Court*, ABC News (Sept. 9, 2016, 2:50 PM), <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/wireStory/ruling-north-carolina-board-careful-vote-41968963>

407 Alice Miranda Ollstein, *North Carolina counties slashed their early voting hours and now this is what the lines look like*, Think Progress (Oct. 21, 2016), <https://thinkprogress.org/north-carolina-counties-that-slashed-early-voting-sites-see-hours-long-lines-fcfa0151748#.o4db6pguk>

408 Colin Campbell, *Sunday voting, additional early voting sites and hours restored in some counties despite GOP opposition*, News & Observer (Sept. 8, 2016, 9:37 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article100772547.html>; Mark Binker, *NC voting law challengers want court to expand early voting in Nash, Forsyth, Guilford, Mecklenburg, and New Hanover counties*, WRAL (Oct. 2, 2016), <http://www.wral.com/nc-voting-law-challengers-want-court-to-expand-early-voting-in-nash-forsyth-guilford-mecklenburg-and-new-hanover-counties/16074323/>; Anne Blythe, *NC early voting plans challenged in 5 counties with aid from Clinton campaign counsel*, News & Observer (Oct. 2, 2016, 3:15 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article105534241.html#storylink=cpy>; Rick Hasen, *New Lawsuit over North Carolina Early Voting, Election Law Blog* (Oct. 1, 2016, 2:56 PM),

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

-
- http://electionlawblog.org/?p=87066&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29
- 409 Voter suppression's last stand: North Carolina's new Jim Crow counties, Insightus (Oct. 3, 2016, 8:00 AM), <http://insight-us.org/fair-places-2016-pt-1.html>
- 410 Anne Blythe, *NC early voting plans challenged in 5 counties with aid from Clinton campaign counsel*, News & Observer (Oct. 2, 2016, 3:15 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article105534241.html#storylink=cpy>; Rick Hasen, *New Lawsuit over North Carolina Early Voting*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 1, 2016, 2:56 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=87066&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Mark Binker, *NC voting law challengers want court to expand early voting in Nash, Forsyth, Guilford, Mecklenburg, and New Hanover counties*, WRAL (Oct. 2, 2016), <http://www.wral.com/nc-voting-law-challengers-want-court-to-expand-early-voting-in-nash-forsyth-guilford-mecklenburg-and-new-hanover-counties/16074323/>
- 411 *Appeals court denies more early voting time in Forsyth and four other NC counties*, AP (Oct. 19, 2016, 12:11 PM), http://www.journalnow.com/news/elections/appeals-court-denies-more-early-voting-time-in-forsyth-and/article_a78e562a-9616-11e6-88d1-bfb26c75410e.html#.WAel1CU6H_k.twitter
- 412 *Voter suppression's last stand: North Carolina's new Jim Crow counties*, Insightus (Oct. 3, 2016, 8:00 AM), <http://insight-us.org/fair-places-2016-pt-1.html>
- 413 *Voter suppression's last stand: North Carolina's new Jim Crow counties*, Insightus (Oct. 3, 2016, 8:00 AM), <http://insight-us.org/fair-places-2016-pt-1.html>
- 414 *Voter suppression's last stand: North Carolina's new Jim Crow counties*, Insightus (Oct. 3, 2016, 8:00 AM), <http://insight-us.org/fair-places-2016-pt-1.html>; Rick Hasen, *"Super-Suppressors: the 18 North Carolina counties that are strangling early voting to death"*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 26, 2016, 3:48 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=88141>; *Super-Suppressors: the 17 North Carolina counties that are strangling early voting to death*, Insightus (Oct. 28, 2016, 11:25 AM), <http://www.insight-us.org/blog/super-suppressors-the-18-north-carolina-counties-that-are-strangling-early-voting-to-death/>
- 415 Alice Miranda Ollstein, *North Carolina counties slashed their early voting hours and now this is what the lines look like*, Think Progress (Oct. 21, 2016), <https://thinkprogress.org/north-carolina-counties-that-slashed-early-voting-sites-see-hours-long-lines-fcfa0151748#.o4db6pguk>; *Super-Suppressors: the 17 North Carolina counties that are strangling early voting to death*, Insightus (Oct. 28, 2016, 11:25 AM), <http://www.insight-us.org/blog/super-suppressors-the-18-north-carolina-counties-that-are-strangling-early-voting-to-death/>
- 416 Sharon McCloskey, *County board to student candidate: you can vote (for now), but you can't run for city council*, Progressive Pulse (Aug. 14, 2013), <http://pulse.ncpolicywatch.org/2013/08/14/county-board-to-student-candidate-you-can-vote-for-now-but-you-cant-run-for-city-council/>; Rick Hasen, *Pasquotank County, NC Appeal*, Election Law Blog (Aug. 21, 2013, 7:35 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=54680>
- 417 Emily Patrick, *Elections chair discussed arming civilians at polls*, Citizen-Times (Aug. 23, 2016), <http://www.citizen-times.com/story/news/local/2016/08/23/elections-chair-discussed-arming-civilians-polls/89096582/>
- 418 Sarah Childress, *After Shelby, Voting-Law Changes Come One Town at a Time*, PBS (Aug. 8, 2013), <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/government-elections-politics/after-shelby-voting-law-changes-come-one-town-at-a-time/>
- 419 Colin Campbell, *Wake County GOP chairman cites redistricting battle in fundraising letter*, News & Observer (Apr. 13, 2015), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/politics-columns-blogs/under-the-dome/article18422735.html>; Jeffrey C. Billman, *Breaking: Wake County voters file federal lawsuit to stop redistricting law (updated)*, Indy Week (Apr. 9, 2015), <http://www.indyweek.com/news/archives/2015/04/09/breaking-wake-county-voters-file-federal-lawsuit-to-stop-redistricting-law>
- 420 T. Keung Hui, *Elections officials want rehearing of Wake County school case*, News & Observer (July 8, 2015, 5:09 PM), <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/education/wake-ed-blog/article26807980.html>
- 421 *Raleigh Wake Citizens Association et al. v. Wake County Board of Education et al.* (4th Cir. July 1, 2016), <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/Raleigh-Wake-Wright-4th-Cir-Opinion.pdf>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

422 *Fed Court Rules Wake County Must Use 2011 Voting Maps in November Elections*, ABC11 (Aug. 9, 2016, 12:18 PM),
<http://abc11.com/1462685/>; *Raleigh Wake Citizens Assoc. v. Wake Cnty. Bd. of Elections*, 5:15-cv-00156-D, ECF
 No. 104 (E.D. N.C. Aug. 9, 2016), [http://dig.abclocal.go.com/wtvd/docs/wakevote%20\(002\).pdf](http://dig.abclocal.go.com/wtvd/docs/wakevote%20(002).pdf)

423 Rick Hasen, “*Accusations fly as NC House changes course on Greensboro redistricting*”, Election Law Blog (July
 5, 2015, 8:22 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=74041>; Colin Campbell, *Accusations fly as NC House changes
 course on Greensboro redistricting*, News & Observer (July 2, 2015),
[http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/politics-columns-blogs/under-the-
 dome/article26047744.html](http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/politics-columns-blogs/under-the-dome/article26047744.html)

424 *City of Greensboro v. Guilford Cnty. Bd. of Elections*, 120 F. Supp. 3d 479 (M.D.N.C. 2015),
<http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/greensboro-opinion.pdf>; Stephanie Ando, *Federal judge rules in
 favor of city in Greensboro redistricting lawsuit*, Fox 8 (July 23, 2015), [http://myfox8.com/2015/07/23/federal-
 judge-to-hear-arguments-in-greensboro-redistricting-lawsuit/](http://myfox8.com/2015/07/23/federal-judge-to-hear-arguments-in-greensboro-redistricting-lawsuit/)

425 Kirk Ross, *Legal challenges leave future NC elections in limbo*, Carolina Public Press (Feb. 6, 2017),
<http://carolinapublicpress.org/26533/legal-challenges-leave-future-nc-elections-in-limbo/>; Memorandum
 Opinion and Order, *Greensboro et al v. Guilford County Board of Elections*, No. 1:15-cv-00559-CCE-JLW (M.D.N.C.
 Apr. 3, 2017), <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B6NNJ2VZUabObkNmYXl2SXRfNjA/view>

426 Ari Berman, *North Carolina Republicans Tried to Disenfranchise a 100-Year-Old African-American Woman*, The
 Nation (Oct. 27, 2016), [https://www.thenation.com/article/north-carolina-republicans-tried-to-disenfranchise-
 a-100-year-old-african-american-woman/](https://www.thenation.com/article/north-carolina-republicans-tried-to-disenfranchise-a-100-year-old-african-american-woman/); Zachary Roth, *Election 2016: Tracking Reports of Voting Problems
 Across the United States*, NBC News (Nov. 7, 2016, 2:51 PM), [http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/2016-election-
 day/election-2016-tracking-reports-voting-problems-across-united-states-n673236](http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/2016-election-day/election-2016-tracking-reports-voting-problems-across-united-states-n673236); Gabrielle Gurley, *Voter
 Suppression Works Too Well*, American Prospect (Jan. 11, 2017), [http://prospect.org/article/voter-suppression-
 works-too-well](http://prospect.org/article/voter-suppression-works-too-well)

427 Associated Press, *North Carolina voter challenge process seems "insane," judge says*, CBS News (Nov. 2, 2016, 1:26
 PM), <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/north-carolina-voter-challenge-process-seems-insane-judge/>

428 Ari Berman, *North Carolina Republicans Tried to Disenfranchise a 100-Year-Old African-American Woman*, The
 Nation (Oct. 27, 2016), [https://www.thenation.com/article/north-carolina-republicans-tried-to-disenfranchise-
 a-100-year-old-african-american-woman/](https://www.thenation.com/article/north-carolina-republicans-tried-to-disenfranchise-a-100-year-old-african-american-woman/); Gabrielle Gurley, *Voter Suppression Works Too Well*, American
 Prospect (Jan. 11, 2017), <http://prospect.org/article/voter-suppression-works-too-well>

429 Associated Press, *North Carolina voter challenge process seems "insane," judge says*, CBS News (Nov. 2, 2016, 1:26
 PM), <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/north-carolina-voter-challenge-process-seems-insane-judge/>

430 Ari Berman, *North Carolina Republicans Tried to Disenfranchise a 100-Year-Old African-American Woman*, The
 Nation (Oct. 27, 2016), [https://www.thenation.com/article/north-carolina-republicans-tried-to-disenfranchise-
 a-100-year-old-african-american-woman/](https://www.thenation.com/article/north-carolina-republicans-tried-to-disenfranchise-a-100-year-old-african-american-woman/); Zachary Roth, *Election 2016: Tracking Reports of Voting Problems
 Across the United States*, NBC News (Nov. 7, 2016, 2:51 PM), [http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/2016-election-
 day/election-2016-tracking-reports-voting-problems-across-united-states-n673236](http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/2016-election-day/election-2016-tracking-reports-voting-problems-across-united-states-n673236); Associated Press, *North
 Carolina voter challenge process seems "insane," judge says*, CBS News (Nov. 2, 2016, 1:26 PM),
<http://www.cbsnews.com/news/north-carolina-voter-challenge-process-seems-insane-judge/>; Gabrielle
 Gurley, *Voter Suppression Works Too Well*, American Prospect (Jan. 11, 2017), [http://prospect.org/article/voter-
 suppression-works-too-well](http://prospect.org/article/voter-suppression-works-too-well)

431 Associated Press, *North Carolina voter challenge process seems "insane," judge says*, CBS News (Nov. 2, 2016, 1:26
 PM), <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/north-carolina-voter-challenge-process-seems-insane-judge/>

432 Scott Bomboy, *Upcoming elections at the heart of new Voting Rights Act battle*, Constitution Daily (June 26, 2013),
<http://blog.constitutioncenter.org/2013/06/elections-at-the-heart-of-new-voting-rights-act-battle/>; Zachary
 Roth, *That was quick: Texas moves ahead with discriminatory voting laws*, MSNBC (Feb. 5, 2014),
<http://tv.msnbc.com/2013/06/25/that-was-quick-texas-moves-ahead-with-discriminatory-voting-laws/>

433 Anson Asaka, *The Supreme Court Unleashed the South on Black Voters*, New Possibilities Blog (June 29, 2013),
<http://new-possibilities.blogspot.com/2013/06/the-supreme-court-unleashed-south-on.html>; Zachary Roth, *It
 begins: Republicans rush to change voting laws*, MSNBC (Oct. 2, 2013), [http://tv.msnbc.com/2013/06/27/gop-
 voter-id-push-gathers-steam-after-scotus-ruling/](http://tv.msnbc.com/2013/06/27/gop-voter-id-push-gathers-steam-after-scotus-ruling/); Brentin Mock, *State Attorney Generals Vow Immediate Voter ID
 Implementation*, Colorlines (June 25, 2013),
[http://colorlines.com/archives/2013/06/section_five_state_attorney_generals_vow_immediate_voter_id_imple-
 mentation.html](http://colorlines.com/archives/2013/06/section_five_state_attorney_generals_vow_immediate_voter_id_implementation.html); Kara Brandeisky et al., *Everything That’s Happened Since Supreme Court Ruled on Voting Rights*

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

-
- Act, ProPublica (Nov. 4, 2014), <http://www.propublica.org/article/voting-rights-by-state-map>; Lauren Harmon & Sarah Baron, *The Academy Awards of Voter Suppression*, American Progress (Feb. 20, 2015), <https://www.americanprogressaction.org/issues/civil-liberties/report/2015/02/20/107013/the-academy-awards-of-voter-suppression/>
- 434 *South Carolina - Prepared to Vote 2016*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, http://www.naacpldf.org/files/case_issue/South%20Carolina%202016%20Prepared%20to%20Vote_0.pdf (last visited June 10, 2016); *South Carolina v. United States*, Civ. A. No. 1:12-cv-00203-CKK (D.D.C. Oct. 10, 2012), NAACP Legal Defense Fund, <http://www.naacpldf.org/case-issue/south-carolina-v-holder> (last updated July 24, 2015); Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, Ledger Independent (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html
- 435 <https://today.law.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/FullReportVoterIDJune20141.pdf>
- 436 Zachary Roth, *Confusion over South Carolina ID law could keep voters away*, MSNBC (Feb. 27, 2016), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/confusion-over-south-carolina-id-law-could-keep-voters-away>; Jared Keller, *How Will South Carolina's Voter ID Law Affect the Democratic Primary?*, Pacific Standard (Feb. 17, 2016), <http://www.psmag.com/politics-and-law/how-will-south-carolinas-voter-id-law-affect-the-democratic-primary>; Kira Lerner, *South Carolina Voters Are Getting Misleading Instructions About Voter ID*, Think Progress (Feb. 19, 2016), <http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2016/02/19/3750017/south-carolina-voters-are-getting-misleading-instructions-about-voter-id/>; Ari Berman, *63,756 Reasons Racism Is Still Alive in South Carolina*, The Nation (Feb. 25, 2016), <http://www.thenation.com/article/63756-reasons-why-racism-is-still-alive-in-south-carolina/>; Richard L. Hasen, *The Hard Power of 'Soft' Voter-ID Laws*, The Atlantic (Mar. 14, 2016), <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/03/the-hard-power-of-soft-voter-id-laws/473595/>; Kelly Fetty, *What Looks good on paper may fall apart in practice: Are reasonable impediment affidavits the answer for voters who don't have ID?*, Medium.com (July 15, 2016), <https://medium.com/@kellyfetty/what-looks-good-on-paper-may-fall-apart-in-practice-a48f4da04912#35yxhec21>; Rodney Welch, *S.C.'s Voter ID Law Confusing, Hard to Assess, Critics Say*, Freetimes (Aug. 24, 2016), <http://www.free-times.com/news/s.c.s-voter-id-law-confusing-hard-to-assess-critics-say-082416>; Sari Horwitz, *Getting a photo ID so you can vote is easy. Unless you're poor, black, Latino or elderly*, The Washington Post, (May 23rd, 2016) https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/courts_law/getting-a-photo-id-so-you-can-vote-is-easy-unless-youre-poor-black-latino-or-elderly/2016/05/23/8d5474ec-20f0-11e6-8690-f14ca9de2972_story.html?utm_term=.86ed819cb842; Bill Davis, *NEWS: S.C. voter ID law likely not in peril*, Statehouse Report (Aug. 5, 2016, 10:40 AM), <http://www.statehousereport.com/2016/08/05/news-s-c-voter-id-law-likely-not-in-peril/>
- 437 Bristow Marchant, *Who does SC's voter ID law stop from voting? The answer mgith surprise you*, The State (Sept. 12, 2018), <https://www.thestate.com/news/politics-government/article218116305.html>
- 438 Charles Swenson, *Election 2016: Voter ID law didn't stop 'dead' man from casting ballot*, Coastal Observer (Mar. 3, 2016), <http://www.coastalobserver.com/articles/2016/030316/3.html>
- 439 Adam Wickliffe, *Letter: Lack of understanding of voting rules caused Greenville County voter's 'ordeal'*, Greenville News (Nov. 10, 2018), <https://www.greenvilleonline.com/story/opinion/2018/11/10/letter-volunteers-didnt-know-voting-rules-voter-faced-ordeal/1928551002/>
- 440 Legislation Search by Bill Number, South Carolina Legislature, <http://www.scstatehouse.gov/billsearch.php> (last visited June 10, 2016)
- 441 *Testimony in Opposition to S. 236 and S. 113*, NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc. (Mar. 15, 2021), <https://www.naacpldf.org/wp-content/uploads/2021.03.15-LDF-Testimony-SC-S.-236-and-S.-113.pdf>.
- 442 *Testimony in Opposition to H. 4150 and H. 3822*, NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc. (Apr. 14, 2021), <https://www.naacpldf.org/wp-content/uploads/2021.04.14-LDF-Testimony-H.4150-and-H.3822-003.pdf>.
- 443 Anna Lee, *No party council elections may hurt minorities*, Greenville Online (Mar. 11, 2014), <http://www.greenvilleonline.com/story/news/politics/make-your-voice-heard/2014/03/11/no-party-council-elections-may-hurt-minorities-/6280713/>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

- 444 Nathaniel Cary, *Court bars college dorm students from voting in Greenville, director says*, Greenville Online (Sept. 23, 2016, 8:12 PM), <http://www.greenvilleonline.com/story/news/politics/2016/09/23/court-bars-college-dorm-students-voting-greenville-director-says/90936892/>
- 445 Nathaniel Cary, *Court bars college dorm students from voting in Greenville, director says*, Greenville Online (Sept. 23, 2016, 8:12 PM), <http://www.greenvilleonline.com/story/news/politics/2016/09/23/court-bars-college-dorm-students-voting-greenville-director-says/90936892/>; Nathaniel Cary, *Supreme Court case opposes Greenville college voter registration policy*, Greenville Online (Sept. 27, 2016, 10:14 PM), <http://www.greenvilleonline.com/story/news/politics/2016/09/27/supreme-court-case-opposes-greenville-college-voter-registration-policy/91182084/>; Nathaniel Cary, *Furman students wait for judge to decide whether they can vote*, Greenville Online (Oct. 6, 2016, 7:18 PM), <http://www.greenvilleonline.com/story/news/politics/elections/2016/10/06/furman-students-wait-judge-decide-whether-they-can-vote/91690288/>; *AHMAD, ET AL. V. BELANGIA, ET AL.*, ACLU of South Carolina (Oct. 7, 2016), <https://www.aclusc.org/en/cases/ahmad-et-al-v-belangia-et-al>
- 446 Letter from Sherrilyn Ifill et al., NAACP Legal Defense Fund, to Dr. Debbie Hamm, Sumter School District (Apr. 6, 2018), <http://www.naacpldf.org/files/about-us/Ltr.%20to%20Dr.%20Hamm%20%26%20Sumter%20Co.%20School%20Bd%20Members.4.6.18%20%28final%29.pdf>; Letter from Leah Aden, NAACP Legal Defense Fund Senior Counsel, to Dr. Debbie Hamm, Sumter School District Interim Superintendent (Apr. 30, 2018), <http://www.naacpldf.org/files/about-us/Ltr.%20re%20Sumter%20Co%27s%20School%20Closures%20%26%20Bd%20of%20Trustees%20Redistricting%20w%20Ex.%20A.4.30.18%20%28final%29.pdf>
- 447 Tom Curry, *Let the lawsuits begin: Advocates pivot strategy following Voting Rights Act ruling*, NBC (June 29, 2013), http://nbcpolitics.nbcnews.com/_news/2013/06/29/19192537-let-the-lawsuits-begin-advocates-pivot-strategy-following-voting-rights-act-ruling?lite; Naila Awan, *Voting Rights Challenges In the Wake of Shelby County*, Demos (Feb. 4, 2016), <http://www.demos.org/blog/2/4/16/voting-rights-challenges-wake-shelby-county>
- 448 Brentin Mock, *Like It or Not, Voter ID Is Not Working*, CityLab (Mar. 3, 2016), <http://www.citylab.com/politics/2016/03/voter-id-is-not-working-photo-laws/471957/>
- 449 Brentin Mock, *Like It or Not, Voter ID Is Not Working*, CityLab (Mar. 3, 2016), <http://www.citylab.com/politics/2016/03/voter-id-is-not-working-photo-laws/471957/>
- 450 Luke Quinton et al., *Voting Rights Act Partially Overturned; Texas Implements Voter ID Law*, KUT (June 25, 2013), <http://kutnews.org/post/voting-rights-act-partially-overturned-texas-implements-voter-id-law>; Zachary Roth, *That was quick: Texas moves ahead with discriminatory voting laws*, MSNBC (Feb. 5, 2014), <http://tv.msnbc.com/2013/06/25/that-was-quick-texas-moves-ahead-with-discriminatory-voting-laws>; Rick Hasen, *"Texas voting suggests trouble on the horizon"*, Election Law Blog (Nov. 6, 2013, 8:38 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=56524>
- 451 Brentin Mock, *Like It or Not, Voter ID Is Not Working*, CityLab (Mar. 3, 2016), <http://www.citylab.com/politics/2016/03/voter-id-is-not-working-photo-laws/471957/>
- 452 *LDF's Political Participation Team Challenges Texas's Discriminatory Photo ID Law*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, <http://www.naacpldf.org/tx-photo-id-ldfs-political-participation-team-challenges-texas-discriminatory-photo-id-law> (last updated Oct. 18, 2014); Matt Woolbright, *Legal challenge of Texas voter ID law kicks off in federal court*, Caller (Sept. 2, 2014), <http://www.caller.com/news/local/legal-challenge-of-texas-voter-id-law-kicks-off-in-federal-court-ep-592034961.html>; *United States v. Texas*, No. 2:13-cv-0263 (S.D. Tex.), NAACP Legal Defense Fund, <http://www.naacpldf.org/case-issue/united-states-v-texas-et-al> (last updated May 25, 2016)
- 453 *United States v. Texas*, No. 2:13-cv-0263 (S.D. Tex.), NAACP Legal Defense Fund, <http://www.naacpldf.org/case-issue/united-states-v-texas-et-al> (last updated May 25, 2016); Liz Kennedy, *A Wild Week for Voting Rights*, Demos (Oct. 10, 2014), <http://www.demos.org/blog/10/10/14/wild-week-voting-rights>; Will Weissert & Todd Richmond, *Courts block voter ID laws in Texas, Wisconsin*, Associated Press (Oct. 10, 2014), <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/e41aa3c2e5ac4d1bae7eb7ce3402cfed/courts-block-voter-id-laws-texas-wisconsin>; Ryan J. Reilly, *Federal Court Blocks Texas Voter ID Law, Calling It A 'Poll Tax'*, Huffington Post (Oct. 9, 2014), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/10/09/texas-voter-id_n_5962674.html; David G. Savage, *Wisconsin and Texas voter ID laws blocked by courts*, L.A. Times (Oct. 9, 2014), <http://www.latimes.com/nation/lana-courts-voter-id-20141009-story.html>; Zachary Roth, *Texas voter ID law struck down, Wisconsin's blocked*,

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

MSNBC (Oct. 10, 2014), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/texas-voter-id-law-struck-down>; Chris Hopkins, *Supreme Court Halts Wisconsin Voter ID Law; Texas Law Overturned*, NPR (Oct. 9, 2014), <http://www.npr.org/blogs/thetwo-way/2014/10/09/354995983/supreme-court-halts-wisconsin-voter-id-law-texas-law-on-hold-too>; David G. Savage, *Wisconsin and Texas voter ID laws blocked by courts*, L.A. Times (Oct. 9, 2014), http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/10/us/politics/supreme-court-blocks-wisconsin-voter-id-law.html?_r=1; Josh Gerstein, *Judge blocks Texas voter ID law*, Politico (Oct. 9, 2014), <http://www.politico.com/blogs/under-the-radar/2014/10/judge-blocks-texas-voter-id-law-196865.html>; Lawrence Hurley, *U.S. Supreme Court blocks Wisconsin voter ID law*, Reuters (Oct. 9, 2014), <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/10/us-usa-court-election-idUSKCN0HZ03020141010>; Richard Wolf, *Supreme Court blocks Wisconsin's voter ID law*, USA Today (Oct. 9, 2014), <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2014/10/09/supreme-court-wisconsin-voter-id/16985963/>; Brett Kendall, *Voter Identification Laws Hit Roadblocks in Wisconsin and Texas*, Wall Street Journal (Oct. 10, 2014), <http://online.wsj.com/articles/supreme-court-blocks-wisconsin-voter-id-law-for-midterm-elections-1412905573>; Sari Horwitz, *More than half a million registered Texans don't have the right ID to vote on Super Tuesday*, Washington Post (Feb. 29, 2016), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2016/02/29/voters-in-these-super-tuesday-states-will-face-new-stricter-requirements/>; Ari Berman, *Voters Were Blocked From the Polls on Super Tuesday by New Restrictions*, The Nation (Mar. 2, 2016), <http://www.thenation.com/article/voters-were-blocked-from-the-polls-on-super-tuesday-by-new-voting-restrictions/>

454 Press Release, Lauren Bean, Deputy Commc'ns Dir., *Texas Will Immediately Appeal Voter ID Ruling*, Texas Attorney General (Oct. 9, 2014), <https://www.texasattorneygeneral.gov/oagnews/release.php?id=4866>; Adam Liptak, *Justices Leave Texas Voter ID Law Intact, With a Warning*, N.Y. Times (Apr. 29, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/30/us/politics/justices-leave-texas-voter-id-law-intact-with-a-warning.html?_r=0

455 Erik Eckholm, *Texas May Proceed With Voter ID Law, Appeals Court Finds*, N.Y. Times (Oct. 14, 2014), <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/15/us/texas-may-proceed-with-voter-id-law-appeals-court-finds.html>; Curtis Skinner, *Supreme Court denies request to block Texas voter ID law*, Reuters (Oct. 18, 2014), <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/18/us-usa-court-texas-election-idUSKCN0I708Z20141018>; *Texas can enforce voter ID law*, Fox 2 Now (Oct. 18, 2014), <http://fox2now.com/2014/10/18/texas-can-enforce-voter-id-law/>; Tony Mauro, *Divided Supreme Court Allows Texas Voter ID to Take Effect*, Legal Times (Oct. 18, 2014), <http://www.nationallawjournal.com/legaltimes/home/id=1202673877874/Divided-Supreme-Court-Allows-Texas-Voter-ID-to-Take-Effect?mcode=1202615432600&curindex=0&back=NLJ&slreturn=20140918163133>; Daniel Politi, *Supreme Court Allows Texas Law That Accepts Handgun Permits but not College IDs to Vote*, Slate (Oct. 18, 2014), http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_slatest/2014/10/18/supreme_court_allows_strict_texas_voter_id_law.html; David G. Savage, *High court action on Texas ID law shows mixed record on voting rights*, L.A. Times (Oct. 18, 2014), <http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-supreme-court-texas-voter-id-20141016-story.html#page=1>; Aman Batheja, *U.S. Supreme Court: Texas Can Enforce Voter ID Law*, Texas Tribune (Oct. 18, 2014), <http://www.texastribune.org/2014/10/18/us-supreme-court-texas-can-enforce-voter-id/>; *Supreme Court allows Texas to enforce new voter ID law, sparking mixed reaction*, Fox News (Oct. 18, 2014), <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2014/10/18/justices-allow-texas-use-new-voter-id-law/>; Josh Gerstein, *SCOTUS: Texas voter ID law stands*, Politico (Oct. 18, 2014), <http://www.politico.com/story/2014/10/supreme-court-scotus-voter-id-laws-texas-112007.html>; Scott Neuman, *Supreme Court Lets Texas Enforce Voter ID Law For Nov. Election*, NPR (Oct. 18, 2014), <http://www.npr.org/blogs/thetwo-way/2014/10/18/357155017/supreme-court-lets-texas-enforce-voter-id-law-for-nov-election>; Mitch Perry, *Nancy Watkins will not run for the Tampa HD 60 seat*, St. Peters Blog (Feb. 12, 2016), <http://www.saintpetersblog.com/archives/162965>; *Supreme Court rules Texas can enforce voter ID law*, Detroit Free Press (Oct. 18, 2014), <http://www.freep.com/story/news/nation/2014/10/18/texas-voter-law/17494849/>; Ari Berman, *Voters Were Blocked From the Polls on Super Tuesday by New Restrictions*, The Nation (Mar. 2, 2016), <http://www.thenation.com/article/voters-were-blocked-from-the-polls-on-super-tuesday-by-new-voting-restrictions/>; Adam Liptak, *Justices Leave Texas Voter ID Law Intact, With a Warning*, N.Y. Times (Apr. 29, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/30/us/politics/justices-leave-texas-voter-id-law-intact-with-a>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

warning.html?_r=0; Jolie McCullough, *Texas Still Second to Last in Voter Turnout for Primaries*, Texas Tribune (Mar. 16, 2016), <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/03/16/texas-still-second-last-voter-turnout/>

456 Voters Turned Away Because of Texas Photo ID Law, Brennan Center for Justice (Oct. 28, 2014), <http://www.brennancenter.org/blog/voters-turned-away-because-texas-photo-id-law>; Ed Pilkington, *'Born and raised' Texans forced to prove identities under new voter ID law*, The Guardian (Oct. 27, 2014), <http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2014/oct/27/texas-vote-id-proof-certificate-minority-law>; Ari Melber, *As Texas votes early, voter ID sparks frustration and motivation*, MSNBC (Oct. 29, 2014), http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/texas-votes-early-voter-id-sparks-frustration-and-motivation?cid=eml_mda_20141029; Emily Badger, *This is what it's like to try to get a Voter ID when you're disabled, poor or don't drive*, Washington Post (Oct. 29, 2014), <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2014/10/29/this-is-what-its-like-to-try-to-get-a-voter-id-when-youre-disabled-poor-or-dont-drive/>; Steve Benen, *A poll tax by another name is still a poll tax*, MSNBC (Oct. 20, 2014), <http://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/poll-tax-another-name-still-poll-tax>; Dana Liebelson, *Texans Slam Voter ID Law: 'Now That It's Happened To Me, I'm Devastated'*, Huffington Post (Nov. 14, 2014), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/11/07/texas-voter-id_n_6117742.html?ncid=tweetinkushpimg00000016; Karen Chen, *Impact of Texas voter ID law unclear*, Houston Chronicle (Nov. 13, 2014), <http://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/houston-texas/houston/article/Numbers-confirm-Election-Day-apathy-Voters-5888353.php>

457 Rick Hasen, *"Turnout Down in Texas, and Democrats Claim a Reason: Voter ID Law"*, Election Law Blog (Mar. 9, 2016, 3:15 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=68184&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29

458 Manny Fernandez, *Texas ID Law Keeps Hundreds of Ballots From Being Counted*, N.Y. Times (Nov. 18, 2014), http://www.nytimes.com/politics/first-draft/2014/11/18/?entry=5891&_php=true&_type=blogs&partner=rss&emc=rss&_r=0

459 Richard Whittaker, *Road Ahead Murky After Voter ID Ruling*, Austin Chronicle (Aug. 14, 2015), <http://www.austinchronicle.com/news/2015-08-14/road-ahead-murky-after-voter-id-ruling/>

460 Richard Whittaker, *Road Ahead Murky After Voter ID Ruling*, Austin Chronicle (Aug. 14, 2015), <http://www.austinchronicle.com/news/2015-08-14/road-ahead-murky-after-voter-id-ruling/>; Jenny Jarvie, *Voting has gotten tougher in 17 states, and it could alter elections*, L.A. Times (May 6, 2016), <http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-north-carolina-voting-20160505-story.html>; David Ruth, *Texas ID requirement kept voters from the polls*, Rice (Aug. 6, 2015), <http://news.rice.edu/2015/08/06/texas-id-requirement-kept-voters-from-the-polls/>

461 Jim Malewitz, *Study: Law Discouraged More Than Those Without Voter ID*, Texas Tribune (Aug. 6, 2015), <http://www.texastribune.org/2015/08/06/study-law-discouraged-more-those-without-voter-id/>; David Ruth, *Texas ID requirement kept voters from the polls*, Rice (Aug. 6, 2015), <http://news.rice.edu/2015/08/06/texas-id-requirement-kept-voters-from-the-polls/>

462 Zachary Roth, *Scattered problems for voters at polling sites, especially in the South*, MSNBC (Mar. 2, 2016), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/scattered-problems-voters-polling-sites-especially-the-south>; *Judge strikes down Texas voter ID law for a second time*, CBS (Apr. 13, 2017, 7:03 AM), <http://www.cbsnews.com/videos/judge-strikes-down-texas-voter-id-law-for-a-second-time/>

463 Brentin Mock, *More Research Shows Voter ID Laws Hurt Minorities*, CityLab (Feb. 5, 2016), <http://www.citylab.com/politics/2016/02/research-more-conclusive-that-voter-id-laws-hurt-blacks-and-latinos/459819/>; Ashley Lopez, *Study Backs Up What Advocates Predicted: Strict Voter ID Laws Reduce Minority Turnout*, KUT (Feb. 9, 2016), <http://kut.org/post/study-backs-what-advocates-predicted-strict-voter-id-laws-reduce-minority-turnout>; Jenny Jarvie, *Voting has gotten tougher in 17 states, and it could alter elections*, L.A. Times (May 6, 2016), <http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-north-carolina-voting-20160505-story.html>; *Veasey v. Abbott*, No. 14-41127, Appeal from the United States District Court for the Southern District of Texas (5th Cir. July 20, 2016), <http://www.ca5.uscourts.gov/opinions/pub/14/14-41127-CV3.pdf>; Manny Fernandez & Richard Pérez-Peña, *In Texas, Fixing Voter ID Law Ruled to Be Discriminatory Will Be Tricky Task*, N.Y. Times (July 21, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/22/us/in-texas-fixing-voter-id-law-ruled-to-be-discriminatory-will-be-tricky-task.html?_r=1; Julie Chang & Tim Eaton, *Appeals court strikes down Texas voter ID law*, My Statesman (July 20, 2016, 2:59 PM), <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/news/state-regional-govt-politics/texas-voter-id-law>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

is-discriminatory-federal-appeal/nr2yG/; Zachary Roth, *Texas Voter ID Ruling Offers Stinging Rebuke to Law's Backers*, NBC News (July 21, 2016, 3:51 PM), <http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/politics-news/texas-voter-id-ruling-offers-stinging-rebuke-law-s-backers-n614281>; Jim Malewitz, *Texas Voter ID Law Violates Voting Rights Act, Court Rules*, Texas Tribune (July 20, 2016), <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/07/20/appeals-court-rules-texas-voter-id/>; *LDF Applauds Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals En Banc Decision Finding Texas Voter ID Law Discriminatory*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund (July 20, 2016), <http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/ldf-applauds-fifth-circuit-court-appeals-en-banc-decision-finding-texas-voter-id-law-d>; *Victory for Texas Voters: Strict Photo ID Found Discriminatory*, Lawyers' Committee For Civil Rights Under Law (July 20, 2016), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/press-release/victory-texas-voters-strict-photo-id-found-discriminatory/>; Press Release, *VICTORY! 5th Circuit Rules Texas Voter ID Law Violates Voting Rights Act*, Campaign Legal Center (July 20, 2016), <http://www.campaignlegalcenter.org/news/press-releases/victory-5th-circuit-rules-texas-voter-id-law-violates-voting-rights-act>; Press Release, *STATEMENT: CAP's Liz Kennedy on Voting Rights Victories in Texas and Wisconsin*, Center for American Progress (July 21, 2016), <https://www.americanprogress.org/press/statement/2016/07/21/141670/statement-caps-liz-kennedy-on-voting-rights-victories-in-texas-and-wisconsin/>; Richard L. Hasen, *The Voting Rights Act Might Get Some Teeth Back*, Slate (July 21, 2016, 9:28 PM), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2016/07/the_5th_circuit_left_an_opening_for_texas_to_lose_control_of_its_discriminatory.html?wpsrc=sh_all_mob_tw_top; Pam Fessler, *Federal Appeals Court Strikes Down Texas Voter ID Law*, NPR (July 21, 2016, 5:00 AM), <http://www.npr.org/2016/07/21/486854387/appeals-court-strikes-down-texas-voter-id-law>; Paul J. Weber, *Federal Appeals Court Orders Changes to Texas Voter ID Law*, NBC DFW (July 20, 2016, 6:39 PM), <http://www.nbcdfw.com/news/politics/Federal-Appeals-Court-Orders-Changes-to-Texas-Voter-ID-Law-387674821.html>; Paul J. Weber, *Appeals court: Texas voter ID law discriminates*, El Paso Times (July 20, 2016, 5:29 PM), <http://www.elpasotimes.com/story/news/2016/07/20/court-orders-changes-texas-voter-id-law/87351252/>; Lorelei Laird, *5th Circuit blocks Texas voter ID law as violation of the Voting Rights Act*, ABA Journal (July 21, 2016, 8:45 AM), http://www.abajournal.com/news/article/5th_circuit_blocks_texas_voter_id_law_as_violation_of_the_voting_rights; Jim Malewitz, *After Appeals Court Ruling Against Texas Voter ID Law, Now What?*, Texas Tribune (July 21, 2016), <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/07/21/after-texas-voter-id-ruling-whats-next/>; Manny Fernandez & Erik Eckholm, *Federal Court Rules Texas' ID Law Violates Voting Rights Act*, N.Y. Times (July 20, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/21/us/federal-court-rules-texas-id-law-violates-voting-rights-act.html?smid=tw-share>; Ariane de Vogue, *Appeals court: Texas voter ID law violates Voting Rights Act*, CNN (July 20, 2016, 6:10 PM), <http://www.cnn.com/2016/07/20/politics/texas-voter-id-law/index.html>; Delphine D'Amora, *Voting Rights Activists Just Won a Big Fight in the Heart of Texas*, Mother Jones (July 22, 2016, 6:00 AM), <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/07/texas-voter-id-law-court-ruling-minority-voters/>; Liz Olson, *The Less Noticed Battles That May Decide the Presidential Election*, Fortune (July 29, 2016, 9:15 AM, EDT), <http://fortune.com/2016/07/29/state-voting-restrictions-presidential-election/>; Rick Hasen, *VoteRiders v. Vox: "Get real: The underestimated impact of voter ID laws"*, Election Law Blog (Nov. 2, 2016, 5:50 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=88563>; Zoltan L. Hajnal et al., *Do voter identification laws suppress minority voting? Yes. We did the research.*, Washington Post (Feb. 15, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/02/15/do-voter-identification-laws-suppress-minority-voting-yes-we-did-the-research/?utm_term=.c7108b27f759

464 David Saleh Rauf, *DOJ to 5th Circuit: Texas voter ID law needs to be fixed ASAP*, San Antonio Express News (Aug. 21, 2015), http://www.expressnews.com/news/politics/texas_legislature/article/Voter-ID-6458062.php?t=3233539dc7&cmpid=twitter-premium; Chris Geidner, *Appeals Court Rules That Texas Voter ID Law Violates Federal Voting Rights Act*, BuzzFeed News (Aug. 5, 2015), <http://www.buzzfeed.com/chrisgeidner/appeals-court-rules-that-texas-voter-id-law-violates-federal#.tnGB7J9q4a>; Erik Eckholm, *Texas ID Law Called Breach of Voting Rights Act*, N.Y. Times (Aug. 5, 2015), http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/06/us/appellate-panel-says-texas-id-law-broke-us-voting-rights-act.html?_r=0; Jim Malewitz, *Court: Texas Voter ID Law Violates Voting Rights Act*, Texas Tribune (Aug. 5, 2015), <http://www.texastribune.org/2015/08/05/ruling-offers-texas-voter-id-critics-narrow-victor/>; Paul J. Weber, *Appeals court strikes down Texas voter ID law*, Miami Herald (Aug. 5, 2015), <http://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-world/national/article30085158.html>; Tierney Sneed, *What Comes*

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

Next For Texas' Voter ID Case, Talking Points Memo (Aug. 6, 2015), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/dc/texas-voter-id-decision-whats-next>; Jennifer L. Patin, *The Voting Rights Act at 50: The Texas Voter ID Story – Analysis*, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights (Aug. 6, 2015), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/pages/vra-at-50/>; *US District Court to Review Discriminatory Texas Voter ID Law*, Austin News (Aug. 7, 2015), <http://www.austinnews.net/index.php/sid/235530123>; Lincoln Caplan, *A Limited Victory For Voting Rights In Texas*, New Yorker (Aug. 7, 2015), <http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/a-limited-victory-for-voting-rights-in-texas>; Order for Formulating Plan for Interim Relief for the November 8, 2016 Elections, *Veasey v. Abbott*, No. 2:13-CV-00193, (S.D. Tex. July 21, 2016), ECF No. 859, <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/veasey-scheduling.pdf>

465 Jim Malewitz, *Texas Asks Full Appeals Court to Hear Voter ID Case*, Texas Tribune (Aug. 29, 2015), <https://www.texastribune.org/2015/08/29/paxton-asks-full-appeals-court-hear-voter-id-defen/>; Rick Hasen, *Breaking: TX Seeks En Banc Review in 5th Circuit Voter ID Case*, Election Law Blog (Aug. 28, 2015, 5:12 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=75687>; Miriam Rozen, *Voter ID Battle: Texas Seeks Rehearing, DOJ Seeks Injunction*, Texas Lawyer (Sept. 4, 2015), <http://www.texaslawyer.com/id=1202736489629/Voter-ID-Battle-Texas-Seeks-Rehearing-DOJ-Seeks-Injunction?slreturn=20150815145203>

466 Jamie Lovegrove, *Federal Appeals Court Will Revisit Texas Voter ID Law*, Texas Tribune (Mar. 9, 2016), <http://www.texastribune.org/2016/03/09/federal-appeals-court-takes-voter-id-law/>; Tim Eaton, *Federal appeals court to hear Texas Voter ID case*, Statesman (Mar. 9, 2016), <http://www.statesman.com/news/news/federal-appeals-court-to-hear-texas-voter-id-case/nqhB2/>; Rick Hasen, *Breaking: 5th Circuit to Hear Texas Voter ID Case En Banc, And This Could Be Final Court to Hear Case*, Election Law Blog (Mar. 9, 2016, 3:15 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=80712>; Ari Berman, *Will a Conservative Court Uphold Texas' Discriminatory Voter ID Law?*, The Nation (Mar. 10, 2016), <http://www.thenation.com/article/will-a-conservative-court-uphold-texas-discriminatory-voter-id-law/>; *Veasey v. Abbott*, No. 14-41127, Scheduling Order (5th Cir. Mar. 10, 2016), <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/veasey-order.pdf>; *New Hearing on Texas Voter ID Law*, K TSA (Mar. 10, 2016), <http://www.ktsa.com/new-hearing-texas-voter-id-law/>; Matt Ford, *A Voter-ID Battle in Texas*, The Atlantic (Mar. 10, 2016), <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/03/texas-voter-id-fifth-circuit/473121/>; Will Weissert, *Federal appeals court to rehear Texas voter ID case*, Associated Press (Mar. 10, 2016), <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/b973085a15d8410fb6b2d4139902c842/federal-appeals-court-rehear-texas-voter-id-case>; Jamie Lovegrove, *Abbott Rejects Obama Criticism Of Texas Voter Turnout Efforts*, Kera News (Mar. 14, 2016), <http://keranews.org/post/abbott-rejects-obama-criticism-texas-voter-turnout-efforts>; *Texas Voters Should Not Be Harmed While 5th Circuit Decides Voter ID Case*, Campaign Legal Center (Mar. 18, 2016), <http://www.campaignlegalcenter.org/news/press-releases/texas-voters-should-not-be-harmed-while-5th-circuit-decides-voter-id-case>; Raffi Melkonian, (@RMFifthCircuit), Twitter (Mar. 21, 2016, 10:17 AM), <https://twitter.com/RMFifthCircuit/status/711965072378081281>; Will Weissert, *Lingering cases could affect presidential election in Texas*, Avalanche-Journal (Mar. 29, 2016), http://lubbockonline.com/texas/2016-03-29/lingering-cases-could-affect-presidenital-election-texas#.VwFOJ_krLIU; *Veasey v. Abbott*, No. 14-41127, Order Granting in Part Texas' Motion for Extension (5th Cir. Mar. 30, 2016), <http://www.campaignlegalcenter.org/sites/default/files/Order%20granting%20in%20part%20TX%27s%20motion%20for%20extension.pdf>; Sari Horwitz, *Getting a photo ID so you can vote is easy. Unless you're poor, black, Latino or elderly*, Washington Post (May 23, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/courts_law/getting-a-photo-id-so-you-can-vote-is-easy-unless-youre-poor-black-latino-or-elderly/2016/05/23/8d5474ec-20f0-11e6-8690-f14ca9de2972_story.html?postshare=4701464101074417&tid=ss_tw; Rick Hasen, *"Why the Fifth Circuit's Decision This Week Could Decide the Fate of Texas' Voter ID Law"*, Election Law Blog (May 23, 2016, 8:11 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=83024&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Cameron Langford, *Texas Voter-ID Law Faces Key Test in 5th Cir.*, Courthouse News (May 20, 2016), <http://www.courthousenews.com/2016/05/20/texas-voter-id-law-faces-key-test-in-5th-cir.htm>; Sandhya Bathija, *Here's How the Nation's Strictest Voter Photo ID Law is Impacting Texans*, Campaign Legal Center (May 24, 2016), <https://medium.com/clc-blog/heres-how-the-nation-s-strictest-voter-photo-id-law-is-impacting-texans-95621d67c623#rgddmugzv>; Rick Hasen, *Listen to the Recording of the En Banc 5th Circuit Hearing in Texas Voter ID Case*, Election Law Blog (May 24, 2016, 3:07 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=83094>; Robert Barnes, *Federal court questions whether Texas voter-ID law can*



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

offer accommodations, Washington Post (May 24, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/courts_law/strict-texas-voter-id-law-faces-federal-court-test-ahead-of-presidential-contest/2016/05/24/c17b8838-2130-11e6-aa84-42391ba52c91_story.html?postshare=8501464108909704&tid=ss_tw; *Federal Court Hears Challenge to Texas Voter ID Law*, USA News, <http://usanews.co/federal-court-hears-challenge-to-texas-voter-id-law-nbcnews-com/>; Zachary Roth, *Federal court hears challenge to Texas voter ID law*, MSNBC (May 24, 2016), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/federal-court-hears-challenge-texas-voter-id-law>; Associated Press, *US appeals court revisits Texas voter ID law*, WacoTrib (May 24, 2016), http://www.wacotrib.com/news/ap_texas/us-appeals-court-revisits-texas-voter-id-law/article_d72a8fe4-2176-11e6-93fb-b7e5ca96d385.html; Kevin McGill, *US appeals court revisits Texas voter ID law*, Business Insider (May 24, 2016), <http://www.businessinsider.com/ap-us-appeals-court-revisits-texas-voter-id-law-2016-5>; Robert Barnes, *Federal court questions whether Texas voter-ID law can offer accommodations*, Washington Post (May 24, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/courts_law/strict-texas-voter-id-law-faces-federal-court-test-ahead-of-presidential-contest/2016/05/24/c17b8838-2130-11e6-aa84-42391ba52c91_story.html; Aaron Morrison, *Texas' Voter ID Case Could Change How Voting Works Across the Country*, Mic (May 24, 2016), <https://mic.com/articles/144309/texas-voter-id-case-could-change-how-voting-works-across-the-country#.vcfiHnszK>; Jim Malewitz and Lindsay Cabonell, *State's Tab Defending Voter ID \$3.5 Million So Far*, Texas Tribune (June 17, 2016), [http://www.gilmermirror.com/view/full_story/27211479/article-State-s-Tab-Defending-Voter-ID-\\$3-5-Million-So-Far?instance=home_news_bullets](http://www.gilmermirror.com/view/full_story/27211479/article-State-s-Tab-Defending-Voter-ID-$3-5-Million-So-Far?instance=home_news_bullets); Brennan Center, *Major Litigation That Could Impact Voting Access*, <https://www.brennancenter.org/major-litigation-could-impact-voting-access>; *Veasey v. Abbott*, No. 14-41127, Appeal from the United States District Court for the Southern District of Texas (5th Cir. July 20, 2016), <http://www.ca5.uscourts.gov/opinions/pub/14/14-41127-CV3.pdf>; Manny Fernandez & Richard Pérez-Peña, *In Texas, Fixing Voter ID Law Ruled to Be Discriminatory Will Be Tricky Task*, N.Y. Times (July 21, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/22/us/in-texas-fixing-voter-id-law-ruled-to-be-discriminatory-will-be-tricky-task.html?_r=1; Julie Chang & Tim Eaton, *Appeals court strikes down Texas voter ID law*, My Statesman (July 20, 2016, 2:59 PM), <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/news/state-regional-govt-politics/texas-voter-id-law-is-discriminatory-federal-appeal/nr2yG/>; Zachary Roth, *Texas Voter ID Ruling Offers Stinging Rebuke to Law's Backers*, NBC (July 21, 2016, 3:51 PM), <http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/politics-news/texas-voter-id-ruling-offers-stinging-rebuke-law-s-backers-n614281>; Jim Malewitz, *Texas Voter ID Law Violates Voting Rights Act, Court Rules*, Texas Tribune (July 20, 2016), <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/07/20/appeals-court-rules-texas-voter-id/>; Press Release, *LDF Applauds Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals En Banc Decision Finding Texas Voter ID Law Discriminatory*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund (July 20, 2016), <http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/ldf-applauds-fifth-circuit-court-appeals-en-banc-decision-finding-texas-voter-id-law-d>; Press Release, *Victory for Texas Voters: Strict Photo ID Found Discriminatory*, Lawyers' Committee For Civil Rights Under Law (July 20, 2016), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/press-release/victory-texas-voters-strict-photo-id-found-discriminatory/>; Press Release, *VICTORY! 5th Circuit Rules Texas Voter ID Law Violates Voting Rights Act*, Campaign Legal Center (July 20, 2016), <http://www.campaignlegalcenter.org/news/press-releases/victory-5th-circuit-rules-texas-voter-id-law-violates-voting-rights-act>; Press Release, *STATEMENT: CAP's Liz Kennedy on Voting Rights Victories in Texas and Wisconsin*, Center for American Progress (July 21, 2016), <https://www.americanprogress.org/press/statement/2016/07/21/141670/statement-caps-liz-kennedy-on-voting-rights-victories-in-texas-and-wisconsin/>; Richard L. Hasen, *The Voting Rights Act Might Get Some Teeth Back*, Slate (July 21, 2016, 9:28 PM), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2016/07/the_5th_circuit_left_an_opening_for_texas_to_lose_control_of_its_discriminatory.html?wpsrc=sh_all_mob_tw_top; Pam Fessler, *Federal Appeals Court Strikes Down Texas Voter ID Law*, NPR (July 21, 2016, 5:00 AM), <http://www.npr.org/2016/07/21/486854387/appeals-court-strikes-down-texas-voter-id-law>; Paul J. Weber, *Federal Appeals Court Orders Changes to Texas Voter ID Law*, NBC DFW (July 20, 2016, 6:39 PM), <http://www.nbcdfw.com/news/politics/Federal-Appeals-Court-Orders-Changes-to-Texas-Voter-ID-Law-387674821.html>; Paul J. Weber, *Appeals court: Texas voter ID law discriminates*, El Paso Times (July 20, 2016, 5:29 PM), <http://www.elpasotimes.com/story/news/2016/07/20/court-orders-changes-texas-voter-id-law/87351252/>; Lorelei Laird, *5th Circuit blocks Texas voter ID law as violation of the Voting Rights Act*, ABA Journal (July 21, 2016, 8:45 AM),

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

http://www.abajournal.com/news/article/5th_circuit_blocks_texas_voter_id_law_as_violation_of_the_voting_rights; Jim Malewitz, *After Appeals Court Ruling Against Texas Voter ID Law, Now What?*, Texas Tribune (July 21, 2016), <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/07/21/after-texas-voter-id-ruling-whats-next/>; Manny Fernandez & Erik Eckholm, *Federal Court Rules Texas' ID Law Violates Voting Rights Act*, N.Y. Times (July 20, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/21/us/federal-court-rules-texas-id-law-violates-voting-rights-act.html?smid=tw-share>; Ariane de Vogue, *Appeals court: Texas voter ID law violates Voting Rights Act*, CNN (July 20, 2016, 6:10 PM), <http://www.cnn.com/2016/07/20/politics/texas-voter-id-law/index.html>; Delphine D'Amora, *Voting Rights Activists Just Won a Big Fight in the Heart of Texas*, Mother Jones (July 22, 2016, 6:00 AM), <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/07/texas-voter-id-law-court-ruling-minority-voters>; Press Release, *Civil and Human Rights Coalition Applauds Texas Voting Rights Ruling, Laments Arduous Litigation Caused by Shelby*, The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights (July 20, 2016), <http://www.civilrights.org/press/2016/texas-voter-id-ruling.html>

467 *U.S. Supreme Court Must Take Action so Texans Are Not Harmed by Voter ID Law*, Campaign Legal Center (Mar. 25, 2016), <http://www.campaignlegalcenter.org/news/press-releases/us-supreme-court-must-take-action-so-texans-are-not-harmed-voter-id-law>; *Veasey v. Abbott*, 15A999, Application to Vacate Fifth Circuit Stay of Permanent Injunction (U.S. Mar. 25, 2016), <http://www.campaignlegalcenter.org/sites/default/files/Veasey%20v.%20Abbot%20Application%20to%20Vacate%20Stay%203.25.16.pdf>; Rick Hasen, *Justice Thomas Asks Texas to Respond to voter ID Emergency#SCOTUS Application*, Election Law Blog (Mar. 30, 2016, 8:46 AM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=81329&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Lyle Denniston, *Texas defends its voter photo ID law (UPDATED)*, SCOTUSblog (Apr. 13, 2016, 5:21 PM), <http://www.scotusblog.com/2016/04/texas-defends-its-voter-photo-id-law/#more-241298>; David G. Savage, *Texas photo ID law stands despite challenges since Supreme Court ruling weakened Voting Rights Act*, L.A. Times (Apr. 13, 2016), <http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-court-voting-texas-20160413-snap-story.html>; Wade Goodwyn, *Despite Federal Court Rulings, Texas' Voter ID Laws Remain In Place*, NPR (Apr. 11, 2016), <http://www.npr.org/2016/04/11/473850580/despise-federal-court-rulings-texas-voter-id-laws-remain-in-place>

468 *U.S. Supreme Court Says It Could Take Action if 5th Circuit Does Not Rule in Texas Voter ID Case Soon*, Campaign Legal Center (Apr. 29, 2016), <http://campaignlegalcenter.us12.list-manage2.com/track/click?u=2b39d5bf1004ce8a7128cfb00&id=ee9511b20f&e=cc5d3deea8>; *Mark Veasey, et al., Applicants v. Greg Abbott, Governor of Texas, et al.*, 15A999, Order Denying Application to Vacate Stay (U.S. Apr. 29, 2016), <http://www.campaignlegalcenter.org/sites/default/files/15A999%20Veasey%20v.%20Abbot%20Order.pdf>; Richard Wolf, *Supreme Court won't block Texas photo ID law — yet*, USA Today (Apr. 29, 2016), <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2016/04/29/supreme-court-texas-voting-photo-id/83075938/>; Jordan Rudner, *Supreme Court: Voter ID Law Will Stay on the Books For Now*, KENS5 (Apr. 29, 2016), <http://www.kens5.com/news/local/texas/supreme-court-voter-id-law-will-stay-on-the-books-for-now/159978196>; Adam Liptak, *Justices Leave Texas Voter ID Law Intact, With a Warning*, N.Y. Times (Apr. 29, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/30/us/politics/justices-leave-texas-voter-id-law-intact-with-a-warning.html?_r=0; Adam Liptak, *Supreme Court refuses to block Texas voter ID law*, Boston Globe (Apr. 30, 2016), <https://www.bostonglobe.com/news/nation/2016/04/29/supreme-court-refuses-block-texas-voter-law/tRheVHuklz39adFCon8m4N/story.html>; Robert Barnes, *Supreme Court declines to block Texas voter-ID law, for now*, Washington Post (Apr. 29, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/courts_law/supreme-court-declines-to-block-texas-voter-id-law-for-now/2016/04/29/d0195810-08a9-11e6-a12f-ea5aed7958dc_story.html

469 Zachary Roth, *Federal Court Finds Texas Voter ID Law Violates Voting Rights Act*, NBC News (July 20, 2016, 6:31 PM ET), <http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2016-election/federal-court-finds-texas-voter-id-law-violates-voting-rights-n613481>; Dahlia Lithwick, *The Ghosts of Shelby County: Despite some recent wins, voting rights are still under siege* (July 26, 2016, 4:17 PM), Slate http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2016/07/bernie_sanders_forgot_to_mention_voting_rights_in_his_convention_speech.html; Liz Olson, *The Less Noticed Battles That May Decide the Presidential Election*, Fortune (July 29, 2016, 9:15 AM, EDT), <http://fortune.com/2016/07/29/state-voting-restrictions-presidential-election/>; Ari Berman, *The County's Worst Anti-Voting Law Was Struck Down in North Carolina: The*

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

Fourth Circuit appeals court finds that Republicans “targeted African Americans with almost surgical precision,” Nation (July 29, 2016), <https://www.thenation.com/article/the-countrys-worst-anti-voting-law-was-just-struck-down-in-north-carolina/>; Noam N. Levey, *Court ruling against North Carolina voter ID law could help Hillary Clinton*, Los Angeles Times (July 29, 2016, 2:20 PM), <http://www.latimes.com/nation/nationnow/>; Anne Blythe, *4th U.S. Circuit judges overturn North Carolina’s voter ID law*, Charlotte Observer (July 29, 2016, 12:41 PM), <http://www.charlotteobserver.com/news/politics-government/article92595012.html>; Marcia Johnson-Blanco, *A Changed Consensus on Voter ID Laws*, Lawyers’ Committee For Civil Rights Under Law (Aug. 5, 2016), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/2016/08/changed-consensus-voter-id-laws/>; *Restoring the Right to Vote in Texas*, N.Y. Times (July 22, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/22/opinion/restoring-the-right-to-vote-in-texas.html?smid=tw-share&r=1>; *Eliminate the ‘stark, racial disparity’ in voting access in Texas*, Washington Post (July 22, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/eliminating-the-stark-racial-disparity-in-voting-access-in-texas/2016/07/22/e9e86b22-4f81-11e6-aa14-e0c1087f7583_story.html; Richard L. Hasen, *Turning the Tide on Voting Rights*, N.Y. Times (Aug. 2, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/02/opinion/campaign-stops/turning-the-tide-on-voting-rights.html?smprod=nytcare-ipad&smid=nytcare-ipad-share&r=0>; Mark Joseph Stern, *Voting Rights on the March*, Slate (Aug. 1, 2016, 4:05 PM), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2016/08/why_courts_are_striking_down_voting_rights_restrictions_right_now.html; Ross Ramsey, *Analysis: Texas Voters Take Hit While Judges Ponder Election Laws*, Texas Tribune (Aug. 3, 2016), <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/08/03/analysis-texas-voters-take-hit-while-judges-ponder/>; J. Gerald Hebert & Danielle Lang, *Courts are finally pointing out the racism behind voter ID laws*, Washington Post (Aug. 16, 2016), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2016/08/03/courts-are-finally-pointing-out-the-racism-behind-voter-id-laws/>; Amy Goodman, *Struggle continues in the U.S. for the right to vote*, Albuquerque Journal (Aug. 6, 2016, 12:02 AM), <http://www.abqjournal.com/821337/struggle-continues-in-the-us-for-the-right-to-vote.html>; Mark Walsh, *Appeals courts are dismantling stricter voter ID laws*, ABA Journal (Nov. 1, 2016, 12:15 AM), http://www.abajournal.com/magazine/article/voter_id_laws; Press Release, *102 State and National Groups Urge Texas Secretary of State to Prevent Voting Discrimination and Disruption*, Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights (Oct. 27, 2016), <http://www.civilrights.org/press/2016/texas-election-letter.html>

470 Order for Formulating Plan for Interim Relief for the November 8, 2016 Elections, *Veasey v. Abbott*, No. 2:13-cv-00193, (S.D. Tex. July 21, 2016), ECF No. 859, <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/veasey-scheduling.pdf>; David Saleh Rauf, *Judge issues blueprint for fixes in Texas’ voter ID law*, Houston Chronicle (July 22, 2016, 11:34 AM), <http://www.chron.com/news/politics/texas/article/Judge-issues-blueprint-for-fixes-in-Texas-voter-8402109.php>; Associated Press, *Texas is the latest state to weaken its voter ID laws*, ABC News (Aug. 3, 2016, 2:10 PM), <http://www.abc2news.com/news/national/democracy-2016/texas-is-the-latest-state-to-weaken-its-voter-id-laws>; Joint Submission of Agreed Terms, *Veasey v. Abbott*, No. 2:13-CV-00193, (S.D. Tex. Aug. 3, 2016), ECF No. 877, <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/tx-joint.pdf>; Greg Stohr, *Voter-ID Laws in Jeopardy as Texas Agrees to Ease Its Rules*, Bloomberg (Aug. 4, 2016, 5:00 AM), <http://www.bloomberg.com/politics/articles/2016-08-04/voter-id-laws-in-jeopardy-as-texas-agrees-to-ease-its-rules>; Paul J. Weber, *Texas reaches deal on weaker voter ID rules for November*, U.S. News (Aug. 3, 2016, 5:12 PM), <http://www.usnews.com/news/politics/articles/2016-08-03/texas-reaches-deal-on-weaker-voter-id-rules-for-november>; Ashley Lopez, *Texas Adjusts Rules for Special Election After Federal Court Rejects Voter ID Law*, KUT (July 26, 2016), <http://kut.org/post/texas-adjusts-rules-special-election-after-federal-court-rejects-voter-id-law>; Rhonda Fanning, *What Texans Can Expect After Wednesday’s Voter ID Ruling*, Texas Public Radio (July 21, 2016, 4:22 PM), <http://tpr.org/post/what-texans-can-expect-after-wednesday-s-voter-id-ruling#stream/0>; Lyle Denniston, *Is Section 3 of the Voting Rights Act a dead letter?*, Law News (Aug. 9, 2016), <http://lyldenlawnews.com/2016/08/09/is-section-3-of-the-voting-rights-act-a-dead-letter/>

471 NAACP Legal Defense Fund, *LDF Applauds District Court Order in Texas Ensuring Access to the Ballot for Hundreds of Thousands This November* (Aug. 10, 2016), <http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/ldf-applauds-district-court-order-texas-ensuring-access-ballot-hundreds-thousands-nove>; Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law, *Texas Voters Now Have Equal Access to Ballot in Major Voting Victory* (Aug. 10, 2016), <http://www.brennancenter.org/press-release/texas-voters-now-have-equal-access-ballot-major-voting-victory>; Tierney Sneed, *Federal Judge Approves of Agreement to Soften Texas’ Voter ID Law* TPM Muckraker (Aug. 10, 2016, 1:21 PM, EDT), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/judge-approves-texas-voter-id-agreement>; Ashley Lopez, *Texas Begins Proposing Adjustments to Voter ID Law Ruled Discriminatory* (Aug. 10, 2016),

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

472

<http://kut.org/post/texas-begins-proposing-adjustments-voter-id-law-ruled-discriminatory>; *Veasey v. Abbott*, Order Regarding Agreed Interim Plan for Elections, No. 2:13-cv-00193, ECF No. 895 (S.D. Tex. Aug., 10, 2016), <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/texas-id-order.pdf>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, Ledger Independent (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html

David Saleh Raug, *Justice Department and minority rights groups accuse Texas of misleading public and poll workers on voter ID*, San Antonio Express-News (Sept. 7, 2016, 10:45 PM), <http://www.expressnews.com/news/local/article/Justice-Department-and-minority-rights-groups-9208906.php>; Michael Wines, *Court Filing Accuses Texas of Misleading Voters Without IDs*, NYTimes (Sept. 7, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/08/us/court-filing-accuses-texas-of-misleading-voters-without-ids.html?_r=0; United States Motion to Enforce Interim Remedial Order, *Veasey v. Abbott*, No. 2:13-cv-00193, (S.D. Tex. Sept., 6, 2016), ECF No. 924, <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/veasey-us.pdf>; Chuck Lindell, *Texas heading back to court over voter ID law*, Statesman (Sept. 13, 2016, 8:02 AM), <http://www.statesman.com/news/news/texas-heading-back-to-court-over-voter-id-law/nsXPG/>; Krista M. Torralva, *Texas is violating voter ID order, says Department of Justice*, Caller Times (Sept. 7, 2016), <http://www.caller.com/news/politics/elections/state/Texas-is-violating-voter-ID-order-says-Department-of-Justice-392667151.html>; Ashley Lopez, *Justice Department: New Texas Voter ID Rules Are Misleading To Voters*, South Carolina Public Radio (Sept. 10, 2016), <http://southcarolinapublicradio.org/post/justice-department-new-texas-voter-id-rules-are-misleading-voters#stream/0>; Tony Cantu, *U.S. Justice Department Accuses Texas Of Misleading Public On Allowable Forms Of Voter ID*, Downtown Austin Patch (Sept. 7, 2016, 5:29 PM), <http://patch.com/texas/downtownaustin/u-s-justice-department-accuses-texas-misleading-public-allowable-forms-voter-id>; Rick Hasen, *Court in TX Voter ID Case Grants DOJ Motion on Voter ID Education, Requires Preclearance of Materials*, Election Law Blog (Sept. 20, 2016, 8:52 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=86690>; Will Weissert, *How Texas' voter ID law landed it in federal court again*, Live 5 News (Sept. 19, 2016), <http://www.live5news.com/story/33130785/how-texas-voter-id-law-landed-it-in-federal-court-again>; Jonathan Tilove, *Meet the man at the center of the battle over the Texas voter ID law*, My Statesman (Sept. 18, 2016, 12:00 AM), <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/news/state-regional-govt-politics/meet-the-man-at-the-center-of-the-battle-over-the-nsZnT/>; Ian Millhiser, *Texas defied a court's voting rights order, and the court's not happy*, Think Progress (Sept. 20, 2016), <https://thinkprogress.org/texas-defied-a-courts-voting-rights-order-and-the-court-s-not-happy-f9e6427dbb42#.feomsfbqf>; Charles Kuffner, *Judge orders state to reword its voter ID outreach materials*, Chron (Sept. 21, 2016, 5:32 AM), <http://blog.chron.com/kuffsworld/2016/09/judge-orders-state-to-reword-its-voter-id-outreach-materials/>; Mark Joseph Stern, *Texas Put Under Court Supervision After Lying to Voters About Illegal ID Rules*, Slate (Sept. 21, 2016, 11:18 AM), http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_slatest/2016/09/21/texas_voting_rights_state_put_under_court_supervision_f_or_flouting_id_ruling.html; Miriam Rozen, *Federal Judge Calls for DOJ, Challengers to Eye Texas' Voter ID Education Plan*, Texas Lawyer (Sept. 21, 2016), <http://www.texaslawyer.com/id=1202767962952/Federal-Judge-Calls-for-DOJ-Challengers-to-Eye-Texas-Voter-ID-Education-Plan?mcode=1202615604418&slreturn=20160826122615>; Cristian Farias, *Texas Got Caught Flouting A Court Order On Voter ID, And Now It's Under Supervision*, Huffington Post (Sept. 20, 2016, 11:16 PM), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/texas-voter-id-court-supervision_us_57e174bce4b0071a6e09d833; Ari Berman, *GOP States Keep Ignoring Court Orders to Restore Voting Rights*, The Nation (Oct. 14, 2016), <https://www.thenation.com/article/gop-states-keep-ignoring-court-orders-to-restore-voting-rights/>; Press Release, *102 State and National Groups Urge Texas Secretary of State to Prevent Voting Discrimination and Disruption*, Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights (Oct. 27, 2016), <http://www.civilrights.org/press/2016/texas-election-letter.html>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, Ledger Independent (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html; Tierney Sneed, *Flouting Federal Courts On Voter ID Isn't Helping Texas' Legal Defense*, TPM (Nov. 1, 2016, 6:00 AM), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/texas-voter-id-county-officials-misinformation>; Jessica Huseman, *Texas Voter ID Law Led to Fears and Failures in 2016 Election*, ProPublica (May 2, 2017, 8:00 AM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/texas-voter-id-law-led-to-fears-and-failures-in-2016-election>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

-
- 473 Josh Eidelson, *The Texas Voter ID Fight Keeps Getting Weirder*, Bloomberg (Sept. 29, 2016, 5:00 AM), <http://www.bloomberg.com/politics/articles/2016-09-29/texas-voter-id-fight-keeps-getting-weirder>; Blake Paterson & Andrew Kragie, *Harris County early voters greeted with incomplete ID instructions*, Houston Chronicle (Nov. 2, 2016, 1:30 PM), <http://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/politics/houston/article/Harris-County-early-voters-greeted-with-10461738.php>; Tierney Sneed, *Flouting Federal Courts On Voter ID Isn't Helping Texas' Legal Defense*, TPM (Nov. 1, 2016, 6:00 AM), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/texas-voter-id-county-officials-misinformation>; Jessica Huseman, *Texas Voter ID Law Led to Fears and Failures in 2016 Election*, ProPublica (May 2, 2017, 8:00 AM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/texas-voter-id-law-led-to-fears-and-failures-in-2016-election>
- 474 Ashley Lopez, *Survey Shows Only 20 Percent of County Websites in Texas Have Adequate Voter ID Info*, KUT (Sept. 15, 2016), <http://kut.org/post/survey-shows-only-20-percent-county-websites-texas-have-adequate-voter-id-info>; Aaron Rugar, *Election office in Texas' 2nd-largest county misinforming voters about photo ID*, Think Progress (Sept. 14, 2016), <https://thinkprogress.org/bexar-county-texas-photo-id-election-law-caf9089c04d7#wsm5qqtel>; Jim Malewitz, *Feds Accuse Texas of Misleading On Relaxed Voter ID Requirements*, Texas Tribune (Sept. 7, 2016), <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/09/07/feds-accuse-texas-misleading-relaxed-voter-id-requ/>; Jessica Huseman, *Texas Voter ID Law Led to Fears and Failures in 2016 Election*, ProPublica (May 2, 2017, 8:00 AM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/texas-voter-id-law-led-to-fears-and-failures-in-2016-election>
- 475 John C. Moritz, *Poll: Texans remain confused by Voter ID law*, Caller-Times (Oct. 20, 2016, 10:19 AM, CDT), <http://www.caller.com/story/news/2016/10/19/poll-texans-remain-confused-voter-id-law/92411938/>; Jim Malewitz, *Amid early voting rush, Texas sees voter ID hiccups*, Texas Tribune (Oct. 25, 2016, 10:24 PM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/10/25/amid-early-voting-rush-texas-sees-voter-id-hiccups/>; Jessica Huseman, *Texas Voter ID Law Led to Fears and Failures in 2016 Election*, ProPublica (May 2, 2017, 8:00 AM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/texas-voter-id-law-led-to-fears-and-failures-in-2016-election>; Jim Malewitz, *Study: Texas voter education campaign failed to prevent ID confusion*, Texas Tribune (Apr. 11, 2017, 12:00 AM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/04/11/study-texas-voter-education-campaign-failed-prevent-id-confusion/>; Mark P. Jones et al., *The Texas Voter ID Law and the 2016 Election: A Study of Harris County and Congressional District 23*, University of Houston Hobby School of Public Affairs (Apr. 2017), <https://ssl.uh.edu/class/hobby/voterid2016/voterid2016.pdf>
- 476 Sean Collins Walsh, *Officials: Voter ID confusion, not voter fraud, at issue in election*, My Statesman (Feb. 22, 2017, 1:45 PM), <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/officials-voter-confusion-not-voter-fraud-issue-election/4XIY3ruRBEFWXE3TjoQJnK/>; Anna M. Tinsley, *Voter fraud in Texas? Tarrant County election documents sent to DA for investigation*, Star Telegram (Feb. 27, 2017, 3:43 PM), <http://www.star-telegram.com/news/politics-government/election/article135291579.html>; Renée Cross, *In Texas, almost all non-voters have a photo ID — but few understand the voter identification rules*, Washington Post (May 8, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/05/08/in-texas-almost-everyone-has-a-photo-id-but-few-understand-the-voting-rules/?utm_term=.ecf9ac1cb68d; Jessica Huseman, *Texas Voter ID Law Led to Fears and Failures in 2016 Election*, ProPublica (May 2, 2017, 8:00 AM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/texas-voter-id-law-led-to-fears-and-failures-in-2016-election>; Jim Malewitz, *Texas House backs voter ID overhaul, with changes*, Texas Tribune (May 23, 2017, 7:00 PM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/05/23/texas-house-backs-voter-id-overhaul-changes/>; Mark P. Jones et al., *The Texas Voter ID Law and the 2016 Election: A Study of Harris County and Congressional District 23*, University of Houston Hobby School of Public Affairs (Apr. 2017), <https://ssl.uh.edu/class/hobby/voterid2016/voterid2016.pdf>
- 477 <https://journalistsresource.org/studies/politics/elections/voter-photo-id-law-research>
- 478 Jim Malewitz, *Amid early voting rush, Texas sees voter ID hiccups*, Texas Tribune (Oct. 25, 2016, 10:24 PM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/10/25/amid-early-voting-rush-texas-sees-voter-id-hiccups/>; John W. Gonzalez, *First-day early turnout sets Bexar record*, San Antonio Express-News (Oct. 24, 2016, 9:53 PM), <http://www.expressnews.com/news/local/article/First-day-early-turnout-sets-Bexar-record-10207416.php>; Press Release, *RELEASE: Early voters see problems with photo ID, intimidation*, Texas Civil Rights Project (Oct. 25, 2016, 7:54 PM), <https://www.texascivilrightsproject.org/en/2016/10/25/release-early-voters-see-problems-with-photo-id-intimidation/>; Michael Wines, *As ID Laws Fall, Voters See New Barriers Rise*, N.Y. Times (Oct. 25, 2016), <http://mobile.nytimes.com/2016/10/26/us/elections/voter-id>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

laws.html?_r=0&referer=https://t.co/0eV1eyRIS7; Britney Tabor, *Issues dog polling sites in county*, Denton Record-Chronicle (Oct. 26, 2016, 11:42 PM), <http://www.dentonrc.com/local-news/local-news-headlines/20161026-issues-dog-polling-sites-in-county.ece>; Andy Sullivan, *Winning in court, losing on the ground: uncertainty clouds U.S. voting rights*, Reuters (Oct. 27, 2016, 3:38 PM), <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-voting-idUSKCN12R2B2>; Adam Bennett, *Photo ID complaints from voters prompt action from Harris County*, KHOU (Oct. 28, 2016, 4:28 PM), <http://www.khou.com/news/politics/photo-id-complaints-from-voters-prompt-action-from-harris-county/343396611>; Alex Samuels & Jim Malewitz, *Texas civil rights advocates air concerns about voter ID issues*, Texas Tribune (Oct. 28, 2016, 2:15 PM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/10/28/early-voting-issues-texas/>; Zachary Roth, *Election 2016: Tracking Reports of Voting Problems Across the United States*, NBC News (Nov. 7, 2016, 2:51 PM), <http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/2016-election-day/election-2016-tracking-reports-voting-problems-across-united-states-n673236>; Blake Paterson & Andrew Kragie, *Harris County early voters greeted with incomplete ID instructions*, Houston Chronicle (Nov. 2, 2016, 1:30 PM), <http://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/politics/houston/article/Harris-County-early-voters-greeted-with-10461738.php>; Britney Tabor, *County keeps voting in droves*, Denton Record-Chronicle (Oct. 31, 2016, 11:08 PM), <http://www.dentonrc.com/local-news/local-news-headlines/20161031-county-keeps-voting-in-droves.ece>; Tierney Sneed, *Flouting Federal Courts On Voter ID Isn't Helping Texas' Legal Defense*, TPM (Nov. 1, 2016, 6:00 AM), <https://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/texas-voter-id-county-officials-misinformation>; Beth Stevens et al., *Texas Election Protection 2016*, Texas Civil Rights Project (June 2017), <https://www.texascivilrightsproject.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/EP-Report.pdf>

479 Rick Hasen, *Voting Rights Group Sues Bexar County, TX, to Provide Proper Information on Voter ID Rules This Election*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 28, 2016, 4:18 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=88280&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Alex Samuels & Jim Malewitz, *Texas civil rights advocates air concerns about voter ID issues*, Texas Tribune (Oct. 28, 2016, 2:15 PM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/10/28/early-voting-issues-texas/>; Tierney Sneed, *Flouting Federal Courts On Voter ID Isn't Helping Texas' Legal Defense*, TPM (Nov. 1, 2016, 6:00 AM), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/texas-voter-id-county-officials-misinformation>; Lauren Victoria Burke, *Was the 2016 Election Stolen by Massive Voter Suppression?*, The Root (Dec. 5, 2016), <http://www.theroot.com/articles/politics/2016/12/was-the-2016-election-stolen-by-massive-voter-suppression/>; Beth Stevens et al., *Texas Election Protection 2016*, Texas Civil Rights Project (June 2017), <https://www.texascivilrightsproject.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/EP-Report.pdf>

480 Morgan Winsor, *VOTER COMPLAINTS UP AS ELECTION DAY NEARS, ADVOCATES SAY*, ABC News (Oct. 31, 2016), <http://abc7.com/news/voter-complaints-up-as-election-day-nears-advocates-say/1581418/>; Press Release, *MALDEF DEMANDS TEXAS COUNTIES STOP PROVIDING FALSE VOTER ID INFORMATION*, MALDEF (Nov. 3, 2016), http://www.maldef.org/news/releases/2016_11_03_MALDEF_Demands_Texas_Counties_Stop_Providing_False_Voter_ID_Information/; Beth Stevens et al., *Texas Election Protection 2016*, Texas Civil Rights Project (June 2017), <https://www.texascivilrightsproject.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/EP-Report.pdf>

481 Order Setting Deadlines for Briefing, *Veasey v. Abbott*, No. 2:13-cv-00193, (S.D. Tex. Aug. 25, 2016), ECF No. 922, <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3034639-Order-Setting-Briefing-Schedule-on-Intent-8-25-16.html>; David Saleh Rauf, *Judge sets oral arguments to determine if Texas intended to discriminate with voter ID law: Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton has asked the court to postpone the issue until after the legislative sessions ends next year*, San Antonio Express-News (Aug. 25, 2016, 2:52 PM), http://www.expressnews.com/news/politics/texas_legislature/article/Judge-sets-oral-arguments-to-determine-if-Texas-9184338.php?t=9de5082b424b6b00f7&cmpid=twitter-premium; Elena Mejia Lutz, *Both in court and under Trump, Texas Voter ID law faces uncertain future*, Texas Tribune (Nov. 17, 2016, 12:01 AM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/11/17/court-fight-continues-texas-voter-id-law/>; Jim Malewitz, *In Latest Voter ID Filing, Feds Argue Texas Discriminated on Purpose*, Texas Tribune (Nov. 19, 2016), <http://kut.org/post/latest-voter-id-filing-feds-argue-texas-discriminated-purpose>

482 Rick Hasen, *It Begins: DOJ Asks for Extra Time in Texas Voter ID Case Because of Likely Change of Positions in Case*, Election Law Blog (Jan. 20, 2017, 2:10 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=90574>; <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/984-DOJ-Continuance-Motion.pdf>; Josh Gerstein, *Citing Trump transition, feds get delay in Texas voter ID case*, Politico (Jan. 20, 2017, 7:19 PM),

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

<http://www.politico.com/blogs/under-the-radar/2017/01/trump-transition-texas-voter-id-233946>; Mike Ward, *Court grants DOJ request to delay Texas Voter ID hearing*, Chron (Jan. 31, 2017, 10:36 AM), http://www.chron.com/local/texas-politics/texas-legislature/article/Justice-Dept-seeks-to-delay-Texas-voter-ID-10872642.php?utm_content=buffer26336&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer; Jessica Huseman, *Supreme Court Puts Off Taking Up Texas Voter ID Case*, ProPublica (Jan. 23, 2017, 6:32 PM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/supreme-court-puts-off-taking-up-texas-voter-id-case>; Charles Kuffner, *SCOTUS will not review voter ID ruling*, Chron (Jan. 24, 2017, 5:32 AM), <http://blog.chron.com/kuffsworld/2017/01/scotus-will-not-review-voter-id-ruling/>; Ryan J. Reilly, *Obama's DOJ Fought Texas Voter ID Law. Trump's New Civil Rights Chief Offered Tips On Writing It.*, Huffington Post (Jan. 25, 2017, 2:19 PM), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/civil-rights-division-trump-texas-voter-id_us_5887a75fe4b098c0bba6f72d; Zachary Roth, *DOJ Delay in Texas Voter ID Case Sparks Concern Amid Trump's Debunked Fraud Claims*, NBC News (Jan. 26, 2017, 6:19 PM), <http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/politics-news/justice-department-delay-texas-voter-id-case-sparks-concern-among-n712681>

483 Sophia Tesfaye, *Jeff Sessions drops DOJ lawsuit against discriminatory Texas voter ID case, reverses 6 years of litigation*, Salon (Feb. 27, 2017, 8:47 PM), <http://www.salon.com/2017/02/27/jeff-sessions-drops-doj-lawsuit-against-discriminatory-texas-voter-id-case-reversing-6-years-of-litigation/>; Chuck Lindell, *U.S. Justice Department drops challenge to Texas voter ID law*, My Statesman (Feb. 27, 2017, 5:49 PM), <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/justice-department-drops-challenge-texas-voter-law/xA2dJ0uwOi5liCAWStcZCM/>; Cameron Langford, *DOJ Wants Out of Texas Voter ID Lawsuit*, Courthouse News (Feb. 27, 2017), <https://www.courthousenews.com/doj-wants-texas-voter-id-lawsuit/>; Manny Fernandez & Eric Lichtblau, *Justice Dept. Drops a Key Objection to a Texas Voter ID Law*, N.Y. Times (Feb. 27, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/27/us/justice-dept-will-drop-a-key-objection-to-a-texas-voter-id-law.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=first-column-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news&r=0>; Sari Horwitz, *Justice Department changes its position in high-profile Texas voter-ID case*, Washington Post (Feb. 27, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/justice-department-changes-its-position-in-high-profile-texas-voter-id-case/2017/02/27/cfaafac0-fd0c-11e6-99b4-9e613afeb09f_story.html?utm_term=.70806050fb87; Rick Hasen, *Some Clarification on What DOJ Is and Isn't Doing in the Texas Voter ID Case*, Election Law Blog (Feb. 27, 2017, 12:18 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=91350>; Ariane de Vogue, *Justice Department asks court to dismiss claim of discrimination in Texas voter ID case*, CNN (Feb. 28, 2017, 10:18 AM), <http://www.cnn.com/2017/02/28/politics/texas-voter-id-justice-department/index.html>; Emily Bazelon, *Department of Justification*, N.Y. Times (Feb. 28, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/28/magazine/jeff-sessions-stephen-bannon-justice-department.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=b-lede-package-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news>; Zachary Roth, *Judge rejects Sessions' latest bid to gut Texas voter ID challenge*, Daily Democracy (Apr. 4, 2017, 8:08 PM), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/04/04/judge-rejects-sessions-latest-bid-to-gut-texas-voter-id-challenge/>; Rick Hasen, *Federal Court in TX Voter ID Case Will Address Discriminatory Intent Claim in "Due Course," Will Await Ruling on Remedies*, Election Law Blog (Apr. 3, 2017, 1:14 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=91934>; Ezra Rosenberg, *Behind the Texas voter ID case the DOJ challenged under Obama, abandoned under Trump*, Free Speech Radio News (Mar. 2, 2017), <https://fsrn.org/2017/03/behind-the-texas-voter-id-case-the-doj-challenged-under-obama-abandoned-under-trump/>

484 Mark Joseph Stern, *Can Good Judges Stop Jeff Sessions?*, Slate (Feb. 28, 2017, 6:25 PM), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2017/02/a_federal_judge_looks_poised_to_fight_jeff_sessions_doj_in_texas_voting.html;

485 Tierney Sneed (@TierneyMegan), Twitter (Aug. 3, 2016, 3:33 PM), <https://twitter.com/TierneyMegan/status/760966774674354177>; Editorial, *Voting wrongs*, Houston Chronicle (Aug. 3, 2016), <http://www.houstonchronicle.com/opinion/editorials/article/Voting-wrongs-9112484.php>; David Saleh Rauf (@davidSrauf), Twitter (Sept. 20, 2016, 11:55 AM), <https://twitter.com/davidSrauf/status/778306641166934016>; Ashley Lopez, *Federal Judge Says Texas Election Officials Need to Follow Voter ID Court Order*, Kut (Sept. 19, 2016), <http://kut.org/post/federal-judge-says-texas-election-officials-need-to-follow-voter-id-court-order>; Tierney Sneed, *Texas Appeals Voter ID Case To SCOTUS*, TPM (Sept. 23, 2016), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/dc/texas-appeals-voter-id-law-ruling--2>; Sarah Smith, 2016

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them, ProPublica (Sept. 23, 2016, 1:52 PM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/2016-election-lawsuit-tracker-new-election-laws-suits-challenging-them>; Associated Press, *Texas Asks Supreme Court To Save Voter ID Law After Election*, Kera News (Sept. 23, 2016), <http://keranews.org/post/texas-asks-supreme-court-save-voter-id-law-after-election>; Charles Kuffner, *Judge orders state to reword its voter ID outreach materials*, Chron (Sept. 21, 2016, 5:32 AM), <http://blog.chron.com/kuffsworld/2016/09/judge-orders-state-to-reword-its-voter-id-outreach-materials/>; Jim Malewitz, *Texas Appeals Voter ID Rulings to U.S. Supreme Court*, Texas Tribune (Sept. 23, 2016), <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/09/23/texas-appeals-voter-id-rulings-us-supreme-court/>; Terra Rivers, *32 Congressional Members Urge U.S. Supreme Court To Uphold Texas' Voter ID Law*, SM Corridor News (Nov. 1, 2016), <https://smcorridornews.com/32-congressional-members-urge-us-supreme-court-to-uphold-texas-voter-id-law/>; Carrie Salls, *AG asks Supreme Court to reinstate Voter ID law, congressmen lend support*, SE Texas Record (Nov. 2, 2016, 2:11 PM), <http://setexasrecord.com/stories/511037606-ag-asks-supreme-court-to-reinstate-voter-id-law-congressmen-lend-support>; Jim Malewitz, *In latest voter ID filing, feds argue Texas discriminated on purpose*, Texas Tribune (Nov. 19, 2016, 9:11 PM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/11/19/latest-voter-id-filing-feds-argue-texas-discrimina/>; Ari Berman, *Trump's Lies About Voter Fraud Are Already Leading to New GOP Voter-Suppression Efforts*, The Nation (Dec. 6, 2016), <https://www.thenation.com/article/trumps-lies-about-voter-fraud-are-already-leading-to-new-gop-voter-suppression-efforts/>

486 Adam Liptak, *Supreme Court Won't Hear Appeal From Texas on Voter ID Case*, N.Y. Times (Jan. 23, 2017), https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/23/us/politics/voter-id-case-texas-supreme-court.html?_r=0; Jessica Huseman, *Supreme Court Puts Off Taking Up Texas Voter ID Case*, ProPublica (Jan. 23, 2017, 6:32 PM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/supreme-court-puts-off-taking-up-texas-voter-id-case>; Jessica Huseman, *With Trump in Office, Feds May Alter Course in Texas Voter ID Case*, ProPublica (Jan. 20, 2017, 7:36 PM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/with-trump-in-office-feds-may-alter-course-in-texas-voter-id-case>; Meena Ansari, *Supreme Court declines to hear Texas appeal on voter ID laws*, Jurist (Jan. 23, 2017, 1:52 PM), <http://www.jurist.org/paperchase/2017/01/supreme-court-declines-to-hear-texas-appeal-on-voter-id-laws.php>; Charles Kuffner, *SCOTUS will not review voter ID ruling*, Chron (Jan. 24, 2017, 5:32 AM), <http://blog.chron.com/kuffsworld/2017/01/scotus-will-not-review-voter-id-ruling/>; Rick Hasen, *Supreme Court Declines to Hear Texas Voter ID Case, But CJ Roberts Signals Review Likely Later*, Election Law Blog (Jan. 23, 2017, 7:10 AM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=90590>; Casey C. Sullivan, *What Happens to Texas's Voter ID Law Now?*, FindLaw (Jan. 26, 2017, 12:56 PM), http://blogs.findlaw.com/supreme_court/2017/01/what-happens-to-texas-voter-id-law-now.html; Jim Malewitz, *On Voter ID, U.S. Supreme Court Won't Hear Texas Appeal -- Yet*, Governing (Jan. 23, 2017), <http://www.governing.com/topics/elections/tt-scotus-texas-voter-id.html>; Richard Wolf, *Supreme Court won't rescue Texas voter ID law*, USA Today (Jan. 23, 2017, 10:11 PM), <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2017/01/23/supreme-court-texas-voter-id-law/96942738/>

487 Pema Levy, *The Voting Rights Act May Be Coming Back From the Dead*, Mother Jones (May 8, 2017, 10:00 AM), <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2017/05/supreme-court-voting-rights-texas>; Editorial, *Trump's Fraudulent Voter-Fraud Commission*, N.Y. Times (May 15, 2017), https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/15/opinion/trump-voter-fraud-commission.html?smid=tw-nytopinion&smtype=cur&_r=0; Jim Malewitz & Alexa Ura, *As court scoldings pile up, will Texas face a voting rights reckoning?*, Texas Tribune (June 16, 2017, 12:00 AM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/06/16/voter-wars-kickoff/>;

488 S.B. 5, 85th Leg. (Tex. 2017), <https://legiscan.com/TX/text/SB5/2017>; Jim Malewitz, *Texas Republicans pitch new voter ID law*, Texas Tribune (Feb. 21, 2017, 7:00 PM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/02/21/texas-republicans-pitch-new-voter-id-law/>; <http://kxan.com/2017/02/22/state-senator-proposes-revising-texas-tough-voter-id-law/>; Sean Collins Walsh, *Officials: Voter ID confusion, not voter fraud, at issue in election*, My Statesman (Feb. 22, 2017, 1:45 PM), <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/officials-voter-confusion-not-voter-fraud-issue-election/4XIY3ruRBEFWXE3TjoQJnK/>; <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/justice-department-drops-challenge-texas-voter-law/xA2dJ0uwOi5liCAWStcCM/>; Cameron Langford, *DOJ Wants Out of Texas Voter ID Lawsuit*, Courthouse News (Feb. 27, 2017), <https://www.courthousenews.com/doj-wants-texas-voter-id-lawsuit/>; S.B. 5, 85th Leg. (Tex. 2017), https://www.texasattorneygeneral.gov/files/epress/SB00005I.pdf?cachebuster%3A59=&utm_content=&utm_

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

medium=email&utm_name=&utm_source=govdelivery&utm_term=; Jim Malewitz, *Texas Republicans fear federal oversight as voter ID overhaul stalls*, Texas Tribune (May 21, 2017, 9:00 PM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/05/21/texas-republicans-fear-federal-oversight-voter-id-overhaul-stalls/>; Jim Malewitz, *Texas Republicans fear federal oversight as voter ID overhaul stalls*, Valley Central (May 21, 2017), <http://valleycentral.com/news/texas/texas-republicans-fear-federal-oversight-as-voter-id-overhaul-stalls>; Jim Malewitz, *Effort to overhaul Texas voter ID rules survives — for now*, Texas Tribune (May 21, 2017, 11:00 PM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/05/21/effort-overhaul-texas-voter-id-rules-survives-now/>; Jonathan Tilove & Chuck Lindell, *Gov. Abbott declares voter ID law an emergency; House to vote Tuesday*, Statesman (May 22, 2017, 1:12 AM), <http://www.statesman.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/gov-abbott-declares-voter-law-emergency-house-vote-tuesday/VmjIIVisLYAVwr0QqhGUVm/>; Jonathan Tilove, *At Gov. Abbott's insistence, House will debate voter ID law Tuesday*, My Statesman (May 22, 2017, 5:45 PM), <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/gov-abbott-insistence-house-will-debate-voter-law-tuesday/I0N2VW9XqHIIW4wksCkEQL/>; *Watch as House debates voter ID legislation (video)*, Texas Tribune (May 23, 2017, 1:00 PM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/05/23/watch-texas-house-debates-voter-id-legislation/>; Cameron Langford, *Storm Brews as Texas Reforms Voter-ID Law*, Courthouse News (May 23, 2017), <https://www.courthousenews.com/texas-house-reforms-voter-id-law-legal-fight-looms/>; Jim Malewitz, *Texas House backs voter ID overhaul, with changes*, Texas Tribune (May 23, 2017, 7:00 PM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/05/23/texas-house-backs-voter-id-overhaul-changes/>; John C. Moritz, *Texas voter ID bill to be heard Wednesday in House*, Time Record News (May 22, 2017, 4:47 PM), <http://www.timesrecordnews.com/story/news/politics/2017/05/22/texas-voter-id-bill-heard-wednesday-house/102025826/>; Sean Collins Walsh, *Texas House gives final approval to bill aimed at fixing voter ID law*, My Statesman (May 24, 2017, 1:13 PM), <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/texas-house-gives-final-approval-bill-aimed-fixing-voter-law/PqsNH8sW5CH22dER1Zzq2M/>; Jim Malewitz, *Texas House backs voter ID overhaul, with changes*, KHOU (May 24, 2017, 4:59 AM), <http://www.khou.com/news/politics/texas-house-backs-voter-id-overhaul-with-changes/442457069/>; Jim Malewitz, *House, Senate OK compromise on bill to soften voter ID law*, Texas Tribune (May 28, 2017, 4:00 PM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/05/28/house-senate-compromise-voter-id/>; Zachary Roth, *Texas tries again with kinder, gentler (sort of) voter ID law*, Daily Democracy (May 29, 2017, 9:46 PM), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/05/29/texas-softens-its-voter-id-law-but-concerns-remain/>; Stephen Young, *The State of Voting in Texas After the 2017 Legislative Session*, Dallas Observer (May 31, 2017, 4:00 AM), <http://www.dallasobserver.com/news/texas-2017-voting-rights-roundup-9516331>; Chuck Lindell, *Most Texas House changes kept in voter ID bill*, Statesman (May 27, 2017, 5:44 PM), <http://www.statesman.com/news/most-texas-house-changes-kept-voter-bill/9spi5qcT8VopGnLkGwyqSP/>

489 Jim Malewitz, *Scrap new Texas voter ID law, plaintiffs tell federal judge*, Texas Tribune (June 7, 2017, 12:00 PM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/06/07/legal-foes-call-judge-scrap-new-texas-voter-id-law/>; Chuck Lindell, *U.S. judge asked to void Texas voter ID law*, My Statesman (June 7, 2017, 3:08 PM), <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/judge-asked-void-texas-voter-law/DI3QBGTfblqDPMOGLub5IJ/>; Jim Malewitz & Alexa Ura, *As court scoldings pile up, will Texas face a voting rights reckoning?*, Texas Tribune (June 16, 2017, 12:00 AM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/06/16/voter-wars-kickoff/>; Chuck Lindell, *VOTER ID: Fast schedule set on Texas penalties for 'discriminatory' law*, Statesman (June 22, 2017, 12:48 PM), <http://www.statesman.com/news/voter-fast-schedule-set-texas-penalties-for-discriminatory-law/5oZT0BplCDnOLyWBihbexN/>

490 John C. Moritz, *DOJ to South Texas judge: Texas Legislature solved voter ID issues*, Caller Times (July 6, 2017, 12:01 PM), <http://www.caller.com/story/news/politics/elections/2017/07/06/doj-south-texas-judge-texas-legislature-solved-voter-id-issues/455573001/>; Max Greenwood, *Justice Department asks federal court not to challenge Texas voter ID law*, Hill (July 6, 2017, 3:58 PM), <http://thehill.com/homenews/news/340882-justice-department-asks-federal-court-not-to-challenge-texas-voter-id-law>; Cameron Langford, *White House Urges Court to Uphold Texas Voter ID Law*, Courthouse News (July 7, 2017), <https://www.courthousenews.com/white-house-urges-court-uphold-texas-voter-id-law/>; Kerry Eleveld, *Thrice-stricken Texas voter ID law gets the 'all clear' from Jeff Sessions' Justice Department*, Daily Kos (July 7, 2017, 12:04 PM), <https://www.dailykos.com/story/2017/7/7/1678654/-Thrice-stricken-Texas-voter-ID-law-gets-the-all-clear-from-Jeff-Sessions-Justice-Department>; Andrea Zelinski, *Federal officials back Texas' revised voter ID law, but critics remain wary*, Houston Chronicle (July 6, 2017, 11:04 PM),

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

<http://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/houston-texas/houston/article/Feds-pleased-with-Texas-revised-voter-ID-law-11271379.php>; Jim Malewitz, *Trump administration: New Texas voter ID law fixes discrimination*, Texas Tribune (July 6, 2017, 11:00 AM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/07/06/trump-administration-new-texas-voter-id-law-fixes-past-discrimination/>; Michael Barajas, *Trump DOJ: Trust Texas to Fix Racist Voter ID Law Without Court Oversight*, Texas Observer (July 20, 2017), <https://www.texasobserver.org/trump-doj-trust-texas-fix-racist-voter-id-law-without-court-oversight/>; Rick Hasen, *Trump DOJ: Court Should Give Up Jurisdiction and Trust Texas on Voter ID Education Efforts*, Election Law Blog (July 18, 2017, 10:18 AM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=93921>; U.S.'s Response Brief Regarding Remedies, *Veasey v. Abbott*, No. 2:13-cv-00193 (S.D. Tex. July 7, 2017), ECF No. 1060, http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/Veasey_et_al_v._Abbott_et_al_1131.pdf; Zachary Roth, *Justice Department: Sure we can trust Texas to educate voters on ID law*, Daily Democracy (July 18, 2017, 6:22 PM), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/07/18/justice-department-sure-we-can-trust-texas-to-educate-voters-on-id-law/>; Defendants' Response Brief on Remedies, *Veasey v. Abbott*, No. 2:13-cv-00193 (S.D. Tex. July 17, 2017), ECF No. 1058, <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3896478-document-18187329.html>; Cameron Langford, *Judge Weighs Scrapping Reformed Texas Voter-ID Law*, Courthouse News (July 19, 2017), <https://www.courthousenews.com/judge-weighs-scrapping-reformed-texas-voter-id-law/>; Jim Malewitz, *Trump administration: Trust Texas on voter education spending*, Texas Tribune (July 18, 2017), <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/07/18/trump-administration-trust-texas-voter-education-spending/>;

491 James Pinkerton, *With little notice, DPS shortens driver's license office hours*, Houston Chronicle (June 13, 2017, 8:56 AM), <http://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/houston-texas/houston/article/With-little-notice-DPS-shortens-drivers-license-11214793.php>; Nolan Hicks et al., *Texas backs off decision to scale back driver's license offices*, My Statesman (June 13, 2017, 6:37 PM), <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/state-regional-govt-politics/texas-backs-off-decision-scale-back-driver-license-offices/GmdLgQDzLQoclxuoApjgPP/>; James Pinkerton, *DPS reverses course on driver's license office hours*, Houston Chronicle (June 13, 2017, 3:24 PM), <http://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/houston-texas/article/DPS-reverses-course-on-drivers-license-office-11216860.php>

492 Manny Fernandez, *Federal Judge Rejects a Revised Voter ID Law in Texas*, N.Y. Times (Aug. 23, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/23/us/federal-judge-rejects-a-revised-voter-id-law-in-texas.html?mwrsm=Email>; James Barragán, *Federal judge blocks further implementation of Texas' voter ID law*, Dallas News (Aug. 25, 2017, 5:30 PM), <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/politics/2017/08/23/federal-judge-throws-texas-voter-law>; Danielle Haynes, *Judge rules Texas voter ID law still too restrictive*, Newsline (Aug. 23, 2017, 7:47 PM), <https://newsline.com/judge-rules-texas-voter-id-law-still-too-restrictive/>; Jim Malewitz, *Federal judge tosses new Texas voter ID law; state plans to appeal*, Texas Tribune (Aug. 23, 2017, 6:00 PM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/08/23/federal-judge-tosses-new-texas-voter-id-law/>; Press Release, *Texas District Court Permanently Strikes Down Intentionally Discriminatory Photo ID Law*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund (Aug. 23, 2017), <http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/texas-district-court-permanently-strikes-down-intentionally-discriminatory-photo-id-la>; Rick Hasen, *Federal Court, Reaffirming Racially Discriminatory Purpose of Texas Voter ID Law, Blocks Its Use Entirely in Future Elections*, Election Law Blog (Aug. 23, 2017, 3:38 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=94406&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Order Granting Section 2 Remedies and Terminating Interim Order, *Veasey v. Abbott*, No. 2:13-cv-00193 (S.D. Tex. Aug. 23, 2017), ECF No. 1071, https://www.texasattorneygeneral.gov/files/epress/Veasey_-_remedy_order_8_23_2017.pdf?cachebuster:1; Jessica Mason Pieklo, *Texas GOP's Voter Suppression Efforts Lose in Court, Rewire* (Aug. 24, 2017, 10:25 AM), <https://rewire.news/article/2017/08/24/texas-gops-voter-suppression-efforts-lose-court/>; Cameron Langford, *Federal Judge Strikes Texas Voter ID Law as Racially Discriminatory*, Courthouse News (Aug. 24, 2017), <https://www.courthousenews.com/federal-judge-strikes-texas-voter-id-law-racially-discriminatory/>; Zachary Roth, *Judge blocks Texas's new ID law, accuses state of 'voter intimidation'*, Daily Democracy (Aug. 24, 2017, 2:42 PM), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/08/24/judge-blocks-texas-new-id-law-accuses-state-of-voter-intimidation/>; Kenrya Rankin, *ICYMI: Judge Strikes Down Texas Voter ID Law as Discriminatory, Again*, Colorlines (Aug. 25, 2017, 11:37 AM), <http://www.colorlines.com/articles/icymi-judge-strikes-down-texas-voter-id-law-discriminatory-again>; Jennifer Rubin, *Another blow to voter-ID laws — and the Trump Justice Department*, Washington Post (Aug. 24, 2017), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/right-turn/wp/2017/08/24/another-blow-to-voter-id-laws-and-the-trump-justice->

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

department/?utm_term=.06ad364c3868; Vann R. Newkirk II, *A Court Strikes Down Texas's Voter ID Law For the Fifth Time*, Atlantic (Aug. 24, 2017), <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/08/a-court-strikes-down-texas-voter-id-law-for-the-fifth-time/537792/>; Ari Berman, *Courts Have Blocked Three Discriminatory Texas Voting Laws in Eight Days*, Mother Jones (Aug. 24, 2017, 9:25 AM), <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2017/08/courts-have-blocked-three-discriminatory-texas-voting-laws-in-eight-days/>; Richard Whittaker, *Texas' Big, Bad Week for Voter Suppression and Gerrymandering*, Austin Chronicle (Aug. 25, 2017, 1:05 PM), <https://www.austinchronicle.com/daily/news/2017-08-25/texas-big-bad-week-for-voter-suppression-and-gerrymandering/>; Dahlia Lithwick & Mark Joseph Stern, *Consequences in Texas*, Slate (Aug. 25, 2017, 5:48 PM), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2017/08/an_era_of_racist_voter_id_laws_in_texas_may_be_coming_to_an_end.html

493 S.M., *Courts repeatedly chastise Texas for voting-rights violations*, Economist (Aug. 25, 2017), <https://www.economist.com/blogs/democracyinamerica/2017/08/designed-discriminate>; Sam Levine, *Texas' Discrimination Against Minority Voters May Finally Come Back To Haunt It*, Huffington Post (Aug. 24, 2017, 6:48 PM), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/texas-discrimination-minority-voters_us_599f34cbe4b05710aa5af598?431; Dahlia Lithwick & Mark Joseph Stern, *Consequences in Texas*, Slate (Aug. 25, 2017, 5:48 PM), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2017/08/an_era_of_racist_voter_id_laws_in_texas_may_be_coming_to_an_end.html

494 Andrea Zelinski, *Texas AG Paxton appeals voter ID ruling*, Chron (Aug. 25, 2017, 10:08 PM), <http://www.chron.com/about/article/Paxton-appeals-voter-ID-ruling-11962430.php>; Editorial, *Groundhog Day for Texas Republicans - reliving the same political disaster over and over.*, Houston Chronicle (Aug. 26, 2017), <http://www.houstonchronicle.com/opinion/editorials/article/Groundhog-Day-for-Texas-Republicans-reliving-11969435.php>; Rick Hasen, *Texas Attorney General Asks 5th Circuit to Keep Using Its Struck Down Voter ID Law Pending Appeal*, Election Law Blog (Aug. 27, 2017, 3:56 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=94453&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Robert Barnes, *After losses on voting laws and districting, Texas turns to Supreme Court*, Washington Post (Aug. 27, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/courts_law/after-losses-on-voting-laws-and-districting-texas-turns-to-supreme-court/2017/08/27/cf68fea8-89bc-11e7-a94f-3139abc39f5_story.html?utm_term=.c95ee4a5ca31; Rick Hasen, *Trump DOJ Argues Texas Should Be Allowed to Enforce Voter ID Law Court Struck Down Pending Appeal, Despite Intentional Discrimination Finding*, Election Law Blog (Sept. 1, 2017, 6:57 AM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=94547&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Zachary Roth, *Texas: Our ID law affects too many whites to be racist*, Daily Democracy (Aug. 29, 2017, 4:51 PM), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/08/29/texas-our-id-law-affects-too-many-whites-to-be-racist/>

495 Associated Press, *Appeals Panel Stays Injunction Against Texas Voter ID Law*, N.Y. Times (Sept. 5, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/05/us/texas-voter-id-law.html>; Josh Gerstein, *Appeals court, 2-1, gives Texas OK to use new voter ID law*, Politico (Sept. 6, 2017, 10:44 AM), <http://www.politico.com/blogs/under-the-radar/2017/09/05/texas-voter-id-law-242352/>; Chuck Lindell, *Texas can keep using voter ID law for now, appeals court says*, My Statesman (Sept. 6, 2017, 4:59 PM), <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/texas-can-keep-using-voter-law-for-now-appeals-court-says/10Bp1mSzlWYjbWoIW3E5cP/>; Dan Whitcomb, *Appeals Court Clears The Way For Texas To Implement Voter ID Law*, Huffington Post (Sept. 6, 2017, 12:18 AM), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/texas-voter-id-law-appeals-court-ruling_us_59af7449e4b0b5e53101e649; Cameron Langford, *Fifth Circuit Stays Injunction Against Texas Voter ID Law*, Courthouse News (Sept. 7, 2017), <https://www.courthousenews.com/fifth-circuit-stays-injunction-texas-voter-id-law/>; Zachary Roth, *Appeals panel restores Texas voter ID law*, Daily Democracy (Sept. 6, 2017, 3:09 PM), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/09/06/appeals-panel-restores-texas-voter-id-law/>

496 Chuck Lindell, *Appeals court asked to block Texas voter ID law*, Statesman (Sept. 8, 2017, 6:09 PM), <http://www.statesman.com/news/appeals-court-asked-block-texas-voter-law/f8qNxmyGuV99ghPXCK1zfl/>; Rick Hasen, *Breaking: Challengers in Texas Voter ID Case Seek 5th Circuit En Banc Review of Stay Order and Full Review of Case*, Election Law Blog (Sept. 8, 2017, 1:24 PM),

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

http://electionlawblog.org/?p=94702&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29

497 *Veasey v. Abbott*, No. 17-40884, Response of the U.S. to Private Appellees' Petition for Initial Hearing En Banc (5th Cir. Sept. 18, 2017), http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/Marc_Veasey_et_al_v._Greg_Abb_74.pdf

498 Rick Hasen, *Timing is Everything Dept': 5th Circuit Denies Request for Initial En Banc Consideration of Texas Voter ID Case*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 11, 2017, 6:19 AM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=95407>; <http://www.statesman.com/news/court-declines-speed-texas-voter-challenge-elections-loom/ajUOFhyBdyPJ02sQlkqx7J/>; Sabrina Canfield, *Exchanges Grow Heated as Fifth Circuit Weighs Texas Voter ID Law*, Courthouse News (Dec. 5, 2017), <https://www.courthousenews.com/exchanges-grow-heated-as-fifth-circuit-weighs-texas-voter-id-law/>; Kevin McGill, *Appeals court weighs intent of Texas' strict voter ID law*, ABC News (Dec. 5, 2017, 2:06 PM), <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/wireStory/latest-version-texas-voter-id-law-us-appeals-51580216>; Alexa Ura, *Federal appeals judges question challenge to revised Texas voter ID law*, Texas Tribune (Dec. 5, 2017, 1:00 PM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/12/05/texas-heads-back-5th-circuit-long-winding-voter-id-fight/>; Chuck Lindell, *Texas back in court on 'discriminatory' voter ID law*, My Statesman (Dec. 4, 2017, 5:19 PM), <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/texas-back-court-discriminatory-voter-law/CwyeMinXdCTvLUICeocl4L/>

499 Rick Hasen, *Private Plaintiffs (But Not the U.S.) Ask 5th Circuit to Immediately Lift the Stay in the Texas Voter ID case*, Election Law Blog (Dec. 17, 2017, 4:09 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=96463&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29

500 Howard J. Bashman, *How Appealing* (Apr. 29, 2018), <https://howappealing.abovethelaw.com/2018/04/29/#76754>; Justin Levitt, *5th Circuit ID ruling ... and the Texas redistricting case.*, Election Law Blog (Apr. 27, 2018), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=98873>; <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=98859>

501 Dylan McGuinness, *San Antonio leaders, residents outraged after former mayor Lila Cockrell isn't allowed to vote*, My San Antonio (May 31, 2019), <https://www.mysanantonio.com/news/local/politics/article/Former-San-Antonio-mayor-Lila-Cockrell-turned-13906697.php>

502 Jim Malewitz, *Texas Voter ID Law Violates Voting Rights Act, Court Rules*, Texas Tribune (July 20, 2016), <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/07/20/appeals-court-rules-texas-voter-id/>;

503 Manny Fernandez & Eric Lichtblau, *Justice Dept. Drops a Key Objection to a Texas Voter ID Law*, N.Y. Times (Feb 27, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/27/us/justice-dept-will-drop-a-key-objection-to-a-texas-voter-id-law.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=first-column-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news&r=0>

504 Ross Ramsey, *Analysis: A Texas Judge Takes Voter ID to Court*, Texas Tribune (May 2, 2016), <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/05/02/analysis-texas-judge-takes-voter-id-court/>

505 Chuck Lindell, *Voter ID lawsuit abruptly withdrawn in state court*, Statesman (May 6, 2016, 1:31 PM), <http://www.statesman.com/news/news/voter-id-lawsuit-abruptly-withdrawn-in-state-court/nrJKc/>

506 TAC Staff, *DPS May Close 87 Local Driver License Offices*, Texas Association of Counties, (Aug. 22, 2018) <https://www.county.org/News/DPS-May-Close-87-Local-Driver-License-Offices>; James Barragan, *To ease wait times, Texas DPS proposes closing 87 driver's license offices, including four in D-FW*, DallasNews, (Aug. 24, 2018, 3:32 PM) <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/politics/2018/08/23/four-d-fw-drivers-license-offices-could-close-along-83-others-texas-dps-list>; Teddy Wilson, *Texas Officials Aim to Shutter Driver's License Offices in Black, Hispanic Communities*, Rewire News, Aug. 28, 2018, 4:45 PM) <https://rewire.news/article/2018/08/28/texas-officials-aim-to-shutter-drivers-license-offices-in-black-hispanic-communities/>

507 Laura Gutschke, *Sunset Commission rejects DPS proposal to close 14 Big Country driver license offices*, Abilene Reporter News, (Aug. 29th 2018) <https://www.reporternews.com/story/news/2018/08/29/sunset-commission-rejects-dps-proposal-close-14-big-country-driver-license-offices/1137596002/>

508 Zachary Roth, *Texas has a new way to make voting harder*, Daily Democracy (May 19, 2017, 2:45 PM), <https://thedailydemocracy.org/2017/05/19/texas-has-a-new-way-to-make-voting-harder/>; Patrick Svitek, *Texas Senate approves ban on straight-ticket voting*, Texas Tribune (May 17, 2017, 1:00 PM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/05/17/texas-senate-tentatively-approves-straight-ticket-voting-ban/>; James Barragán, *Senate approves bill to end straight-ticket voting*, Dallas News (May 17, 2017), <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/texas-legislature/2017/05/17/texas-voters-senate-approves-bill-end->

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

straight-ticket-voting; Gus Bova et al, *Five New Laws that Will Likely Get Texas Sued (Or Already Have)*, Texas Observer (July 11, 2017, 9:17 AM), <https://www.texasobserver.org/five-new-laws-will-likely-get-texas-sued-already/>

509 Tessa Weinberg, National, *Texas Democrats file Lawsuit to keep straight-ticket voting for 2020 election*, Fort Worth Star-Telegram, (Mar. 5, 2020), <https://www.star-telegram.com/news/politics-government/article240938016.html>

510 *LDF Opposition to Senate Bill 7*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Inc. (Mar. 22, 2021), https://www.naacpldf.org/wp-content/uploads/20210321_LDF-Opposition-to-SB-7.pdf.

511 Testimony of Cinde Weatherby on Behalf of League of Women Voters of Texas, Project Vote (Apr. 24, 2017), http://www.projectvote.org/wp-content/uploads/legislative_review-submitted_with_lwv_tx_hb3474_04242017.pdf

512 Alexa Ura, *Texas Quietly Informs Counties that some of the 95,000 Votes Flagged for Citizenship Review Don't Belong on the List*, (Jan. 29, 2019), https://www.texastribune.org/2019/01/29/texas-voter-citizenship-list-problems-state-tells-counties/?utm_source=Editorial%3A+Texas+Tribune+Master&utm_campaign=c893ff72c3-trib-newsletters-breaking-alert&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_d9a68d8efc-c893ff72c3-101814889&mc_cid=c893ff72c3&mc_eid=aaf6300e4d; Alexa Ura, *Texas Officials Flags Tens of Thousands of Voters for Citizenship Checks*, (Jan. 25, 2019), <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/01/25/texas-flags-tens-thousands-voters-citizenship-check/>; Sam Levine, *Trump Amplifies Misleading Allegations of Voter Fraud In Texas*, (Jan. 27, 2019), https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-texas-voter-fraud_us_5c4dceb4e4b06ba6d3be02e8

513 Sam Levine and Dana Liebelson, *The Texas AG Says Voter Fraud Is A Big Problem. His Cases Suggest Otherwise*, HuffPost, (Apr. 16, 2019), https://www.huffpost.com/entry/texas-attorney-general-ken-paxton-voter-fraud_n_5cb105cfe4b098b9a2d3d766

514 Alexa Ura, *Texas Quietly Informs Counties that some of the 95,000 Votes Flagged for Citizenship Review Don't Belong on the List*, (Jan. 29, 2019), https://www.texastribune.org/2019/01/29/texas-voter-citizenship-list-problems-state-tells-counties/?utm_source=Editorial%3A+Texas+Tribune+Master&utm_campaign=c893ff72c3-trib-newsletters-breaking-alert&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_d9a68d8efc-c893ff72c3-101814889&mc_cid=c893ff72c3&mc_eid=aaf6300e4d; Alexa Ura, *Civil Rights Groups Warn that Texas Voter Citizenship check would violate Federal Law*, (Jan. 28, 2019), <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/01/28/civil-rights-groups-warn-texas-voter-citizenship-check-could-be-illegal/>; Jeremy Wallace, *Harris County Pushes Back Against State's Call for Voter Purge*, (Jan. 28, 2019) <https://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/politics/texas/article/Harris-County-pushes-back-against-state-s-call-13567454.php>; Alexa Ura, *Civil Rights Groups Warn that Texas Voter Citizenship Check Could Violate Federal Law*, (Jan. 28, 2019), <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/01/28/civil-rights-groups-warn-texas-voter-citizenship-check-could-be-illegal/>; James Barragán and Julieta Chiquillo, *Abbott Sticks by Flawed List of Non-Citizen Voters in Texas, says Review Should Continue*, (Jan. 31, 2019), <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/politics/2019/01/31/abbott-stands-flawed-list-non-citizen-voters-texas-says-review-continue>; Carlos Sanchez, *Former Texas Secretary of State Believes Inaccurate Voting List Should Be Rescinded*, (Jan. 31, 2019), <https://www.texasmonthly.com/politics/former-texas-secretary-of-state-believes-inaccurate-voting-list-should-be-rescinded/>

Alexa Ura, *Texas Quietly Informs Counties That Some of the 95,000 Voters Flagged for Citizenship Review Don't Belong on the List*, (Jan. 29, 2019), https://www.texastribune.org/2019/01/29/texas-voter-citizenship-list-problems-state-tells-counties/?utm_source=Editorial%3A+Texas+Tribune+Master&utm_campaign=c893ff72c3-trib-newsletters-breaking-alert&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_d9a68d8efc-c893ff72c3-101814889&mc_cid=c893ff72c3&mc_eid=aaf6300e4d; Alexa Ura, *Latino Civil Rights group sues over Texas voter citizenship review, calling it an "election-related 'witch hunt'"*, (Jan. 29, 2019), <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/01/29/lulac-sues-texas-over-voter-citizen-check-efforts/>; Jeremy Wallace, *Harris County pushes back against state's call for voter purge*, (Jan. 28, 2019), <https://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/politics/texas/article/Harris-County-pushes-back-against-state-s-call-13567454.php>; Cassie L. Smith, *All 366 on local list of potential noncitizen voters are citizens*, (Jan. 30, 2019), https://www.wacotrib.com/news/elections/state-all-on-local-list-of-potential-noncitizen-voters-are/article_20771942-538d-506d-bcad-7e7ca79e261d.html?platform=hootsuite; James Barragan and Julieta

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

-
- Chiquillo, *Abbott Sticks by Flawed List of Non-Citizen Voters in Texas, says Review Should Continue*, (Jan. 31, 2019), <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/politics/2019/01/31/abbott-stands-flawed-list-non-citizen-voters-texas-says-review-continue>; Ashley Lopez, *Texas Officials Begin Walking Back Allegations About Noncitizen Voters*, (Jan. 30, 2019), <https://www.npr.org/2019/01/30/690023531/texas-officials-begin-walking-back-allegations-about-noncitizen-voters>; Alexa Ura, *“Someone did not do their due diligence”: How an attempt to review Texas’ voter rolls turned into a debacle*, (Feb 1, 2019) <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/02/01/texas-citizenship-voter-roll-review-how-it-turned-boondoggle/>; ; Cassie L. Smith, *All 366 on local list of potential noncitizen voters are citizens*, (Jan. 30, 2019), https://www.wacotrib.com/news/elections/state-all-on-local-list-of-potential-noncitizen-voters-are/article_20771942-538d-506d-bcad-7e7ca79e261d.html?utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter&utm_campaign=user-share; Roque Planas, *Latino Turnout Surged. Then Texas Questioned 98,000 Voters’ Citizenship*, (Jan. 29, 2019) https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/latino-turnout-surged-then-texas-challenged-98000-voters-citizenship_us_5c50cbc4e4b00906b26e490d; Alexa Ura, *The AG’s office told lawmakers it isn’t investigating voters on Texas’ citizenship review list. I told a local official the opposite*, (Feb 11, 2019) <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/02/11/texas-ags-office-said-it-was-investigating-voters-citizenship-review-1/>
- 516 Alexa Ura, *Latino Civil Rights group sues over Texas voter citizenship review, calling it an “election-related witch hunt”*, (Jan. 29, 2019), <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/01/29/lulac-sues-texas-over-voter-citizen-check-efforts/>; *National League of United Latin American Citizens v. David Whitley and Ken Paxton, Original Complaint*, (Jan. 29, 2019) <https://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/complaint-LULAC-v-Whitley.pdf>; James Barragán, *Civil Rights group sues Texas over order to investigate potential noncitizen voters with flawed data*, https://www.dallasnews.com/news/politics/2019/02/02/civil-rights-group-sues-texas-order-investigate-thousands-potential-non-citizen-voters-flawed-data?utm_content=bufferfd6b6&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer; Kristen Clarke, *Complaint For Declaratory and Injunctive Relief*, (Feb. 4, 2019) <https://twitter.com/KristenClarkeJD/status/1092459971541979137/photo/1>; Derrick Robinson, *Civil Rights Organizations Sue Texas Officials Over Attempted Voter Purge*, (Feb 4, 2019), <https://lawyerscommittee.org/press-release/civil-rights-organizations-sue-texas-officials-over-attempted-voter-purge/?bblinkid=A0733790-3368-439A-A660-9136E40830C6&bbemailid=cee6b140-256a-4c10-acaf-dcf9d5173082&bbejrid=cfb098df-aff2-4a6a-9617-e54a9a9fa235>; Roque Planas, *Texas Republicans Hit With Another Lawsuit Over ‘Unfounded Voter Purge’*, (Feb. 2, 2019) https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/texas-republicans-voter-purge-lawsuit_us_5c54d296e4b00187b550fa08; Alexa Ura, *Texas Counties removed 14 voters from the rolls in citizenship review*, *The Texas Tribune*, (Mar. 15, 2019) <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/03/15/texas-counties-removed-14-voters-rolls-citizenship-review/>; Renzo Downey, *Why the Texas Legislature doesn’t reflect the state’s growing diversity*, (Apr. 14, 2019), <https://www.statesman.com/news/20190414/why-texas-legislature-doesnt-reflect-states-growing-diversity>
- 517 Alexa Ura, *Eight Texas counties agree to halt voter citizenship reviews while lawsuits proceed*, *The Texas Tribune* (Feb 21, 2019) <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/02/21/eight-texas-counties-agree-halt-voter-citizenship-reviews-amid-lawsuit/>
- 518 Nick Powell, *Galveston County registrar refers ‘non-citizens’ for voter fraud investigation*, *Houston Chronicle*, (Apr. 17, 2019), <https://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/houston-texas/texas/article/Galveston-County-registrar-refers-13776292.php>
- 519 Texas League of United Latin American Citizens, et al. v. David Whitley, *Order*, (Feb 27, 2019), <https://texascivilrightsproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Voter-Purge-MTD-Order.pdf>; Emma Platoff, *Federal judge temporarily blocks Texas from purging voters in citizenship review*, (Feb 27, 2019), <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/02/27/federal-blocks-texas-purging-voters-citizenship-review/>; Alexa Ura, *Gov. Greg Abbott blames DPS for voter roll snafu. But the story behind the citizenship review is complicated*, (Mar 4, 2019), https://www.texastribune.org/2019/03/04/voting-rights-fight-texas-gov-greg-abbott-picks-side-david-whitley/?utm_campaign=trib-social-buttons&utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=social; Alexa Ura, *Texas again mistakenly flags voters for citizenship reviews*, (Mar 11, 2019), https://www.texastribune.org/2019/03/11/texas-again-mistakenly-flags-voters-citizenship-reviews/?utm_campaign=trib-social-buttons&utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=social

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

- 520 Alexa Ura, *Texas Counties Removed 14 Voters From the Rolls in Citizenship Review*, The Texas Tribune, (Mar. 15, 2019) <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/03/15/texas-counties-removed-14-voters-rolls-citizenship-review/>
- 521 Guillermo Contreras, *Deal to end lawsuits over voter purge program almost done*, San Antonio Express News, (Apr. 1, 2019), <https://www.expressnews.com/news/local/article/Texas-settles-lawsuits-over-voter-purge-program-13732909.php?t=f12e29c6a9>
- 522 Liam Stack, *Texas Ends Review That Questioned Citizenship of Almost 100,000 Voters*, New York Times, (Apr. 26, 2019), <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/26/us/texas-voting.html>; Laurel Brubaker Calkins, *Texas Settles Non-Citizen Voter Purge Fight With Latinos*, Bloomberg, (Apr. 26, 2019) <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-04-26/texas-settles-non-citizen-voter-purge-fight-with-latinos>; Rick Hansen, *Settlement Reached to End Texas Voter Purge and Protect Voting Rights*, Election Law Blog, (Apr. 26, 2019) https://electionlawblog.org/?p=104876&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29; Chiraag Bains, *Texas Tried to Mess with Voting. It Failed*, The American Prospect (Jun. 11, 2019), <https://prospect.org/article/texas-tried-mess-voting-it-failed>
- 523 Alexa Ura, *Texas ditched its botched voter roll review but has signaled it hasn't closed its criminal inquiry*, The Texas Tribune (Jun. 5, 2019), <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/06/05/texas-indicates-criminal-inquiry-over-voter-roll-review-isnt-closed/>
- 524 Alexa Ura, Texas House committee signs off on controversial election bill, *The Texas Tribune*, (May. 17, 2019), <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/05/17/texas-senate-bill-9-house-committee/>; Michael Barajas, *Texas Republicans Poised to Make Voting 'Harder, Scarier and More Confusing'*, <https://www.texasobserver.org/texas-republicans-poised-to-make-voting-harder-scarier-and-more-confusing/>; Renzo Downey, *Texas House panel hears contentious election integrity bill*, Statesman, (May 15, 2019), <https://www.statesman.com/news/20190515/texas-house-panel-hears-contentious-election-integrity-bill>;
- 525 Lauren McGaughy, *Controversial Texas voting bill likely dead this year after failing to be set for debate*, Dallas News, (May. 19, 2019) <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/texas-legislature/2019/05/19/controversial-texas-voting-bill-likely-dead-year-after-failing-set-debate>; Jeremy Wallace, *Controversial voter fraud bill dies in Texas House, but could be revived*, Houston Chronicle, (May. 19, 2019) <https://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/politics/texas/article/Controversial-voter-fraud-bill-dies-in-Texas-13858088.php?t=d50e8dae48>
- 526 Laurel Brubaker Calkins, Texas GOP Avoids Federal Oversight in Voter-Map Challenge, Bloomberg (Jul. 24, 2019), <https://www.bloomberg.com/amp/news/articles/2019-07-24/texas-gop-avoids-federal-oversight-in-voter-map-challenge>; Mitch Mitchell, *Fights about voting trigger countless court cases in Texas. You should expect more.*, Fort Worth Star-Telegram (Jul. 18, 2019), <https://www.star-telegram.com/news/local/community/fort-worth/article232730767.html>; Rick Hasen, *Breaking: In Major Decision, 3-Judge Federal District Court Unanimously Rejects Motion to Put Texas Back Under Federal Supervision over Voting*, Despite Continuing Concerns About Texas's Intentional Racial Discrimination, Election Law Blog (July. 24, 2019), https://electionlawblog.org/?p=106596&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29
- 527 LDF *Opposition to Senate Bill 7*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Inc. (Mar. 22, 2021), https://www.naacpldf.org/wp-content/uploads/20210321_LDF-Opposition-to-SB-7.pdf; LDF *Opposition to House Bill 6*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Inc. (Mar. 25, 2021), https://www.naacpldf.org/wp-content/uploads/20210324_LDF-Opposition-TX-H.B.-6-v02.pdf.
- 528 Audio slideshow examining a Texas town's response to the Supreme Court's decision in *Shelby County v. Holder*, SCOTUSblog, <http://www.scotusblog.com/media/after-shelby-county/> (last updated June 2016); Ari Berman, *Voter Suppression Backfires in North Carolina, Spreads in Texas*, The Nation (Nov. 7, 2013), <http://www.thenation.com/blog/177048/voter-suppression-backfires-north-carolina-spreads-texas#>; Kristi Nix, *Pasadena City Council votes 5-4 to approve new district map: TOPs, MALDEF voice opposition* (Apr. 22, 2014, 11:48 AM), http://www.yourhoustonnews.com/pasadena/news/pasadena-city-council-votes---to-approve-new-district/article_9c703d42-cf70-53ef-bbd0-70c7c67ab74a.html; Kira Lerner, *Voters Sue Texas Town For Diluting Hispanic Vote*, Think Progress (Jan. 5, 2015), <http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2015/01/05/3608119/pasadena-voting-lawsuit/>; Will Weissert, *Lingering cases could affect presidential election in Texas*, Avalanche-Journal (Mar. 29, 2016),

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

- http://lubbockonline.com/texas/2016-03-29/lingering-cases-could-affect-presidential-election-texas#.VwFOJ_krLIU
- 529 Michael Li, *Pasadena redistricting moves draw questions*, Texas Redistricting & Election Law (Aug. 21, 2013, 2:04 PM), <http://txredistricting.org/post/58935159956/pasadena-redistricting-moves-draw-questions>; Charles Kuffner, *Pasadena proceeds with its needless redistricting*, Off The Kuff (Aug. 22, 2013), <http://offthekuff.com/wp/?p=55346>; *Plans to redistrict Pasadena City Council*, Houston Chronicle (Aug. 15, 2013), <http://www.chron.com/opinion/editorials/article/Plans-to-redistrict-Pasadena-City-Council-4736602.php>; Sarah Childress, *After Shelby, Voting-Law Changes Come One Town at a Time*, PBS (Aug. 8, 2013), <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/government-elections-politics/after-shelby-voting-law-changes-come-one-town-at-a-time/>; Jeff Newpher, *Charter proposal would restructure Pasadena City Council*, Pasadena Citizen (July 28, 2013), http://www.yourhoustonnews.com/pasadena/news/charter-proposal-would-restructure-pasadena-city-council/article_e6485cf2-3dbb-5e0f-9c67-7139a5edaf92.html
- 530 Laura Isensee, *Hispanic Voters File Lawsuit Against Pasadena And Its Voting Districts*, Houston Public Media (Nov. 12, 2014), <http://www.houstonpublicmedia.org/news/hispanic-voters-file-lawsuit-against-pasadena-voting-districts/>; Plaintiff's Original Complaint For Declaratory And Injunctive Relief, *Patino v. City of Pasadena*, No. 4:14-cv-03241, (S.D. Tex. Nov. 12, 2014), <http://www.houstonpublicmedia.org/files/4026/>; Jim Rutenberg, *The New Attack on Hispanic Voting Rights*, N.Y. Times (Dec. 17, 2015), http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/20/magazine/block-the-vote.html?_r=0
- 531 Mihir Zaveri, *Ruling clears way for Pasadena voting rights suit to go to trial: Judge rejects city's motion to toss widely watched lawsuit*, Houston Chron (Aug. 24, 2016, 11:33 AM), <http://www.chron.com/local/article/Judge-denies-challenge-to-Pasadena-voting-rights-9181807.php?cmpid=twitter-desktop>; Mike Snyder, *Pasadena trial to begin amid uncertainty about voting rights*, Houston Chronicle (Nov. 10, 2016, 11:41 AM), <http://digital.olivesoftware.com/Olive/Tablet/HoustonChronicle/SharedArticle.aspx?href=HHC%2F2016%2F11%2F11&id=Ar00305>; Gabrielle Banks and Emily Foxhall, *Widely watched lawsuit over Pasadena voting rights set to begin*, Chron (Nov. 17, 2016, 8:23 AM), <http://www.chron.com/news/houston-texas/article/Pasadena-s-equity-on-trial-10619117.php>
- 532 **FEDERAL COURT RULES PASADENA, TEXAS VIOLATED VOTING RIGHTS ACT**, MALDEF (Jan. 6, 2017), http://www.maldef.org/news/releases/2017_1_6_Federal_Court_Rules_Pasadena_TX_Violated_Voting_Rights_Act/; Memorandum and Opinion Setting Out Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law, *Patino v. City of Pasadena*, No. 4:14-cv-03241, (S.D. Tex. Jan. 6, 2017), ECF No. 151, http://www.maldef.org/assets/pdf/Patino_V_Pasadena_Memorandum_010617.pdf; Cameron Langford, *Federal Judge Finds Voting Scheme Racist in Pasadena, Texas*, Courthouse News (Jan. 10, 2017), <http://courthousenews.com/federal-judge-finds-pasadena-texas-voting-scheme-racist/>; Roque Planas, *Texas City Found In Violation Of Voting Rights Act*, Huffington Post (Jan. 7, 2017, 5:25 PM), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/pasadena-texas-voting-rights-act_us_58714e44e4b02b5f85891a0d; Gabrielle Banks & Mihir Zaveri, *Pasadena deliberately diluted Hispanic vote, judge rules in voting rights case*, Houston Chronicle (Jan. 11, 2017, 9:46 AM), <http://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/houston-texas/houston/article/Pasadena-deliberately-diluted-Hispanic-vote-10841460.php>; Manny Fernandez, *In Texas, a Test of Whether the Voting Rights Act Still Has Teeth*, N.Y. Times (Jan. 15, 2017), https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/15/us/in-texas-a-test-of-whether-the-voting-rights-act-still-has-teeth.html?emc=edit_tnt_20170116&nid=27027325&ntemail0=y&r=0; *Patino v. City of Pasadena*, Civ. A. 4:14-cv-03241, Final Judgment and Order of Injunction (S.D. Tex. Jan. 16, 2017), <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/Pasadena-preclearance-6-years.pdf>; Brentin Mock, *Where Voter Fraud Still Exists*, Citylab (Jan. 26, 2017), http://www.citylab.com/politics/2017/01/where-voter-fraud-still-exists/514475/?utm_source=SFTwitter#disqus_thread; Richard L. Hasen, *There's a Simple Step North Carolina's New Governor Could Take to Strengthen Voting Rights*, Slate (Feb. 2, 2017, 4:22 AM), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2017/02/north_carolina_should_withdraw_it_s_petition_to_the_supreme_court_in_its.html; Alexa Ura, *Voting rights battle in Pasadena could have Texas-wide legal ramifications*, Texas Tribune (July 11, 2017, 12:00 AM), <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/07/11/voting-rights-battle-pasadena-could-come-wide-legal-ramifications/>;
- 533 Mihir Zaveri & Keri Blakinger, *Department of Justice will monitor Pasadena elections after voting rights ruling*, Houston Chronicle (May 2, 2017, 9:52 PM), <http://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/houston-texas/houston/article/Department-of-Justice-will-monitor-Pasadena-11116629.php>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

- 534 Roque Planas, *Texas City Begs Court To Let It Hold Election Under System Found Unconstitutional*, Huffington Post (Feb. 1, 2017, 7:32 PM), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/pasadena-texas-voting-rights-act_us_58926888e4b0bf5206e61347; Gabrielle Banks, *Appeals court will decide if Pasadena voting rights case will change May elections*, Chron (Feb. 1, 2017, 3:00 PM), <http://www.chron.com/news/houston-texas/article/Fifth-Circuit-to-hear-Pasadena-voting-rights-case-10898239.php>; Gabrielle Banks, *Appeals court upholds judge's ruling on Pasadena elections in voting rights case*, Chron (Feb. 3, 2017, 6:03 PM), <http://www.chron.com/news/houston-texas/article/Circuit-court-panel-upholds-Pasadena-voting-10906957.php>; *Pasadena won't fight voting rights order; elections will proceed as planned*, Houston Chronicle (Feb. 16, 2017, 8:48 AM), <http://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/houston-texas/article/Pasadena-won-t-fight-voting-rights-order-10934813.php>; Tom Dart, *Latinos in heavily segregated city see limited success in pivotal Texas election*, Guardian (May 7, 2017, 11:31 AM), https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/may/07/latinos-pasadena-texas-election-voting-rights-act?CMP=share_btn_tw; Mike Snyder, *Cities, school districts struggle for neighborhood representation*, Houston Chronicle (June 29, 2017, 8:43 PM), <http://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/columnists/greater-houston/article/Cities-school-districts-struggle-for-11257251.php>
- 535 Rick Hasen, *"Pasadena drops appeal, will remain under federal oversight of election laws"*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 3, 2017, 12:10 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=95184>; <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/10/03/pasadena-remain-under-federal-oversight-election-laws/>; <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=95116>
- 536 Jeff Balke, *Galveston Cuts Constable Districts in Half After Voting Rights Act Ruling*, Houston Press (Aug. 21, 2013), http://blogs.houstonpress.com/hairballs/2013/08/galveston_cuts_constable_distr.php; Harvey Rice, *Galveston County may run afoul of Voting Rights Act*, Houston Chronicle (Aug. 20, 2013), <http://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/houston-texas/houston/article/Galveston-County-may-run-afoul-of-Voting-Rights-4747681.php>; Charles Kuffner, *Lawsuit filed against Galveston County redistricting*, Off The Kuff (Aug. 30, 2013), <http://offthekuff.com/wp/?p=55479>
- 537 Cornelia Banks et al., *Loss of voting rights proposed 46 days before Juneteenth*, Galveston Daily News (June 4, 2015), http://www.galvnews.com/opinion/guest_columns/article_14649dbc-0a73-11e5-83d1-cbe852dab0ac.html
- 538 Memorandum and Opinion Setting Out Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law, *Patino v. City of Pasadena*, No. 4:14-cv-03241, (S.D. Tex. Jan. 6, 2017), ECF No. 151, http://www.maldef.org/assets/pdf/Patino_V_Pasadena_Memorandum_010617.pdf
- 539 Zachary Roth, *Breaking black: The right-wing plot to split a school board*, MSNBC (Jan. 30, 2014), <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/blacks-texas-town-fear-return-old-days>; Rick Hasen, *Appeals Court Reverses in Post-Shelby Beaumont TX School District Case*, Election Law Blog (Oct. 17, 2013, 1:50 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=56060>; Kira Lerner, *Voters Sue Texas Town For Diluting Hispanic Vote*, Think Progress (Jan. 5, 2015), <http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2015/01/05/3608119/pasadena-voting-lawsuit/>; Samuel Bagenstos et al., *The Voting Rights Amendment Act of 2014: A Constitutional Response to Shelby County*, Am. Constitution Soc'y Issue Brief (2014), http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=7916&context=journal_articles; Shane Grannum, *A New Call to Action One Year After Shelby v. Holder*, Campaign Legal Center (June 25, 2014), <http://www.campaignlegalcenter.org/news/blog/new-call-action-one-year-after-shelby-v-holder-0>; *Walker v. Beaumont Indep. Sch. Dist.*, No. 1:13-cv-0728-MAC, Plaintiffs' Original Complaint (S.D. Tex. Dec. 23, 2013), <https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/1004770/cantue-et-al-v-beaumont-independent-school.pdf>; Letter from Thomas E. Perez, Assistant Attorney General, U.S. Dep't of Justice, to Melody Thomas Chappell, Esq., Wells, Peyton, Greenberg & Hunt (Dec. 21, 2012), <http://www.justice.gov/crt/voting-determination-letter-41>; Memorandum and Opinion Setting Out Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law, *Patino v. City of Pasadena*, No. 4:14-cv-03241, (S.D. Tex. Jan. 6, 2017), ECF No. 151, http://www.maldef.org/assets/pdf/Patino_V_Pasadena_Memorandum_010617.pdf
- 540 Press Release, *New Report Documents 868 Polling Place Closures in Former VRA Preclearance States*, Leadership Conference (Nov. 6, 2016), <http://www.civilrights.org/press/2016/great-poll-closure-report.html>; Beth Stevens et al., *Texas Election Protection 2016*, Texas Civil Rights Project (June 2017), <https://www.texascivilrightsproject.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/EP-Report.pdf>; *The Great Poll Closure*, The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights (Nov. 2016), <http://civilrightsdocs.info/pdf/reports/2016/poll-closure-report-web.pdf>; Elena Mejia Lutz, *Report: Texas has*



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

- closed most polling places since court ruling*, KHOU (Nov. 5, 2016, 1:35 PM), <http://www.khou.com/news/local/texas/report-texas-has-closed-most-polling-places-since-court-ruling/348634725>; Editorial, *The Voters Abandoned by the Court*, N.Y. Times (Nov. 8, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/09/opinion/the-voters-abandoned-by-the-court.html?_r=0; Eric Mount, *Gutting of Voting Rights Act allowed multiple states to impede minority votes*, Advocate-Messenger (Nov. 17, 2016, 12:11 PM), <http://www.amnews.com/2016/11/17/gutting-of-voting-rights-act-allowed-multiple-states-to-impede-minority-votes/>
- 541 *Waller County, Texas Reverses Course on Decision to Close Polling Locations in African-American Community After Pressure from CLC, Voting Rights Institute, and the Community*, Campaign Legal Center (Jan. 6, 2016), <http://www.campaignlegalcenter.org/news/blog/waller-county-texas-reverses-course-decision-close-polling-locations-african-american>; Ari Berman, *Voters Were Blocked From the Polls on Super Tuesday by New Restrictions*, The Nation (Mar. 2, 2016), <http://www.thenation.com/article/voters-were-blocked-from-the-polls-on-super-tuesday-by-new-voting-restrictions/>; Samantha Lachman, *Voter Suppression Is Happening Everywhere. This Institute Is Trying To Stop It.*, Huffington Post (Mar. 23, 2016), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/voting-rights-institute_us_56eb145ae4b03a640a69fe56; Harry Baumgarten and Jacob Zionce, *Shelby County v. Holder's Biggest and Most Harmful Impact May Be On Our Nation's Smallest Towns*, Campaign Legal Center (June 20, 2016), <http://www.campaignlegalcenter.org/news/blog/shelby-county-v-holder-s-biggest-and-most-harmful-impact-may-be-our-nation-s-smallest>
- 542 Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., *NAACP Legal Defense Fund Files Suit Against Waller County, Texas for Restricting Early Voting Rights of Black Students* (Oct. 23, 2018), <https://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/naacp-legal-defense-fund-files-suit-waller-county-texas-restricting-early-voting-rights-black-students/>; Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc., *Waller County Modestly Expands Early Voting in Prairie View, LDF's Suit Still Pending*, <https://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/waller-county-modestly-expands-early-voting-prairie-view-ldfs-suit-still-pending-2/>; Alexa Ura, *Prairie View A&M Students Sue Waller County Over Early Voting Sites*, Texas Tribune, (Oct. 22, 2018), <https://www.texastribune.org/2018/10/22/prairie-view-m-students-sue-waller-county-over-early-voting-sites/>; Kia Morgan-Smith, *Prairie View Students Demand to Be Counted, File Federal Lawsuit to Protect Against Voter Suppression*, The Griot (Oct. 25, 2018), <https://thegriot.com/2018/10/25/prairie-view-voter-suppression-lawsuit/>; Austin Koltonowski, *NAACP Legal Defense Fund Files Voter Suppression Claim Against Texas County*, Jurist, (Oct. 25, 2018), <https://www.jurist.org/news/2018/10/naacp-files-voter-suppression-claim-against-texas-county/>; Brianna Stone, *Early Voting for Prairie View A&M Students Extended After Voter-Suppression Lawsuit*, Dallas News (Oct. 25, 2018), <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2018-elections/2018/10/25/prairie-view-students-sue-waller-county-alleging-voter-suppression/>; Danny Hakim & Michael Wines, *'They Don't Really Want us to Vote': How Republicans Made It Harder*, NYTimes (Nov. 3, 2018), <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/03/us/politics/voting-suppression-elections.html>; Michael Barajas, *On Election Day, Students Rally for Voting at Texas's Oldest HBCU*, Texas Observer (Nov. 6, 2018), <https://www.texasobserver.org/on-election-day-students-rally-for-voting-rights-at-texas-oldest-hbcu/>
- 543 Janell Ross, *'Tidal Wave of Voter Suppression' Washes over States, Lawyer says*, NBC News, (Feb. 3, 2020), <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/presidential-voting-season-tidal-wave-voter-suppression-washing-over-multiple-n1128041>; Benjamin Barber, *As young voter participation has grown, so have Southern states' efforts to curb it*, Facing South, (Feb. 28, 2020), <https://www.facingsouth.org/2020/02/young-voter-participation-has-grown-so-have-southern-states-efforts-curb-it>
- 544 Ari Berman, *The New Poll Tax? Long Lines, Closed Polling Stations Hurt Black, Latinx & Student Voters in TX, CA, Democracy Now*, (Mar. 5, 2020), https://www.democracynow.org/2020/3/5/air_berman_voting_delays_super_tuesday; *LDF Writes Letter to Harris County Clerk Over Concerns Surrounding Long Voting Lines; Demands Issue is Addressed before 2020 Presidential Elections*, (Mar. 10, 2020), <https://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/ldf-writes-letter-to-harris-county-clerk-over-concerns-surrounding-long-voting-lines-demands-issue-is-addressed-before-2020-presidential-election/>; Alexa Ura, *Harris County's cascade of election day fumbles disproportionately affected communities of color*, The Texas Tribune, (Mar. 4, 2020), <https://www.texastribune.org/2020/03/04/harris-countys-texas-southern-university-voting-delays-what-happened/>; Michael Barajas, *An 'Election Meltdown' in Texas*, Texas Observer, (Mar. 10, 2020), <https://www.texasobserver.org/an-election-meltdown-in-texas/>
- 545 Spencer Woodman, *TEXAS REPUBLICANS TARGET ELDERLY LATINO VOTERS WITH FRAUD ACCUSATIONS*, Intercept (Nov. 8, 2016, 8:48 AM), <https://theintercept.com/2016/11/08/texas-republicans-target-elderly->

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

latino-voters-with-fraud-accusations/; Spencer Woodman, *GOP FRAUD CLAIMS IN NORTH CAROLINA GOVERNOR'S RACE REFLECT A STRATEGY TO SUPPRESS BLACK VOTES*, Intercept (Nov. 23, 2016, 1:47 PM), <https://theintercept.com/2016/11/23/gop-fraud-claims-in-north-carolina-governors-race-reflect-a-strategy-to-suppress-black-votes/>

546 Tierney Sneed, *Local TX GOP Recruits Poll Watchers with Claim of 'Voter Fraud' in Dem Areas*, TPM (Oct. 19, 2016), http://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/tarrant-county-gop-poll-watchers?utm_content=buffer9691e&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer

547 John W. Gonzalez, *First-day early turnout sets Bexar record*, San Antonio Express-News (Oct. 24, 2016, 9:53 PM), <http://www.expressnews.com/news/local/article/First-day-early-turnout-sets-Bexar-record-10207416.php>

548 Legal Defense & Educational Fund, *LDF Sends Letter Asking For Removal of Election Worker Who Refused to Assist Voters*, <https://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/ldf-sends-letter-asking-removal-election-worker-refused-assist-voters/>

549 Zach Despart, *Harris County mistakenly suspends voter registrations after GOP challenge*, Houston Chronicle (Aug. 28, 2018), <https://m.chron.com/news/houston-texas/houston/article/Harris-County-mistakenly-suspends-voter-13175685.php>; Jef Rouner, *Voter Suspensions After Republican Challenge Campaign*, Houston Press (Aug. 20, 2018), <https://www.houstonpress.com/news/third-ward-voter-rights-under-challenge-after-republican-initiative-10775764>; Isiah Carey, *Third Ward residents get letters challenging voting rights*, Fox26 (Aug. 20, 2018), <http://www.fox26houston.com/news/the-isiah-factor/third-ward-residents-get-letters-challenging-voting-rights>; Jef Rouner, *Republican Party's Challenge Scheme Includes Handpicking Ballot Revie Board Members*, Houston Press (Aug. 25, 2018), <https://www.houstonpress.com/news/republican-official-outlines-voter-challenge-scheme-10791617>; Jef Rouner, *Republican Voter Registration Challenge Has Several of Houston's Homeless Shelters on It*, Houston Press (Aug. 28, 2018), <https://www.houstonpress.com/news/houston-homeless-have-voting-status-challenged-10798033>; Reform Austin Staff, *The Stakes Are High for Voter Registration in Texas*, RA News, (Jan. 15, 2020), <https://www.reformaustin.org/elections/the-stakes-are-high-for-voter-registration-in-texas/>

550 Jef Rouner, *Republican Voter Registration Challenge Has Several of Houston's Homeless Shelters On It*, Houston Press, (Aug. 28, 2018) <https://www.houstonpress.com/news/houston-homeless-have-voting-status-challenged-10798033>

551 Rick Hasen, *True the Vote Lists Areas With High Minority Populations as "Hotspots" for Election "Integrity" Efforts*, Election Law Blog, (Oct. 4, 2018) https://electionlawblog.org/?p=101384&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29

552 Legal Defense & Educational Fund, *LDF Sends Joint Letter to Texas Secretary of State Regarding Voter Eligibility Challenges, Warning of Voter Suppression*, <http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/ldf-sends-joint-letter-texas-secretary-state-regarding-voter-eligibility-challenges-warning-voter-suppression/>; Dana Liebelson, *One Republican Official Challenged Thousands Of Voter Registrations In His County. It Could Happen Elsewhere*, HuffPost, (Sept. 17, 2018) https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/republican-challenge-voter-registration-houston_us_5b9fb69ce4b046313fbd65d3

553 Errin Whack, *Va. governor: State in limbo on voting-law changes*, Washington Post (June 25, 2013), http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2013-06-25/local/40185601_1_governor-mcdonnell-voting-rights-act-general-ken-cuccinelli-ii; Markus Schmidt, *Virginia prepares for new voter photo ID law*, Richmond Times-Dispatch (Dec. 8, 2013), http://www.timesdispatch.com/news/state-regional/government-politics/virginia-prepares-for-new-voter-photo-id-law/article_39b3e5d5-dd31-52f9-ae4f-19d550349ccd.html; Brentin Mock, *Supreme Court Guts Voting Rights Act, Colorlines* (June 25, 2013), http://colorlines.com/archives/2013/06/supreme_court_purges_civil_rights_best_weapon_from_voting_rights_act.html; Kara Brandeisky et al., *Everything That's Happened Since Supreme Court Ruled on Voting Rights Act*, ProPublica (Nov. 4, 2014), <http://www.propublica.org/article/voting-rights-by-state-map>

554 Robert Brauchle, *Voting Rights Act ruling draws line between Virginia elected officials*, Daily Press (June 25, 2013), http://articles.dailypress.com/2013-06-25/news/dp-nws-voting-rights-act-reaction-20130626_1_voting-rights-act-vra-virginia-democratic

555 Steve Benen, *Voter-ID laws continue to wreak havoc*, MSNBC (Sept. 26, 2014), http://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/voter-id-laws-continue-wreak-havoc?cid=eml_mra_20140926; Debbie Truong, *Trial on Virginia voter ID law wraps up*, Richmond Times-Dispatch (Mar. 2016), http://m.richmond.com/news/local/central-virginia/article_cfe61d0a-783d-5216-b05c-16907dcf3687.html?mode=jqm; Patrik Jonsson, *Court rules Florida*

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

voter purge illegal, but will it stop GOP voting tweaks?, Christian Science Monitor (Apr. 2, 2014), <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Justice/2014/0402/Court-rules-Florida-voter-purge-illegal-but-will-it-stop-GOP-voting-tweaks>

556 Dan Casey, *Casey: Photo ID law is 'voter fraud at its worst'*, Roanoke Times (Nov. 10, 2014), http://www.roanoke.com/news/columns_and_blogs/columns/dan_casey/casey-photo-id-law-is-voter-fraud-at-its-worst/article_5241989e-864e-5ee2-9749-9d887ca9acb6.html; Reuters, *Virginia's voter ID law faces challenge in federal trial*, The Nation (Feb. 22, 2016), <https://bangordailynews.com/2016/02/22/news/nation/virginias-voter-id-law-faces-challenge-in-federal-trial/>

557 Brentin Mock, *Like It or Not, Voter ID Is Not Working*, CityLab (Mar. 3, 2016), <http://www.citylab.com/politics/2016/03/voter-id-is-not-working-photo-laws/471957/>

558 Brentin Mock, *More Research Shows Voter ID Laws Hurt Minorities*, CityLab (Feb. 5, 2016), <http://www.citylab.com/politics/2016/02/research-more-conclusive-that-voter-id-laws-hurt-blacks-and-latinos/459819/>; Ashley Lopez, *Study Backs Up What Advocates Predicted: Strict Voter ID Laws Reduce Minority Turnout*, KUT (Feb. 9, 2016), <http://kut.org/post/study-backs-what-advocates-predicted-strict-voter-id-laws-reduce-minority-turnout>; Jenny Jarvie, *Voting has gotten tougher in 17 states, and it could alter elections*, L.A. Times (May 6, 2016), <http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-north-carolina-voting-20160505-story.html>; Rick Hasen, *VoteRiders v. Vox: "Get real: The underestimated impact of voter ID laws"*, Election Law Blog (Nov. 2, 2016, 5:50 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=88563>; Zoltan L. Hajnal et al., *Do voter identification laws suppress minority voting? Yes. We did the research.*, Washington Post (Feb. 15, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/02/15/do-voter-identification-laws-suppress-minority-voting-yes-we-did-the-research/?utm_term=.c7108b27f759

559 Rick Hasen, *"Voting But for the Law: Evidence from Virginia on Photo Identification Requirements"*, Election Law Blog (Mar. 8, 2017, 12:49 PM), http://electionlawblog.org/?p=91520&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+electionlawblog%2FuqCP+%28Election+Law%29

560 Markus Schmidt, *Va. attorney general warns voter ID definition may be unconstitutional*, Richmond Times-Dispatch (Aug. 5, 2014), http://www.timesdispatch.com/news/state-regional/ag-warns-voter-id-definition-may-be-unconstitutional/article_baffec5c-1cc7-11e4-b8d9-001a4bcf6878.html; Markus Schmidt, *Elections board will not allow IDs expired more than 12 months*, Richmond Times-Dispatch (Aug. 6, 2014), http://m.timesdispatch.com/news/state-regional/elections-board-will-not-allow-ids-expired-more-than-months/article_635bfd0e-1d9b-11e4-871b-0017a43b2370.html?mode=jqm

561 Jenna Portnoy, *Va. House approves absentee voting ID requirement*, Virginian-Pilot (Feb. 10, 2015), <http://hamptonroads.com/2015/02/va-house-approves-absentee-voting-id-requirement>

562 Rick Hasen, *Breaking: Clinton Lawyer Elias Files New Voting Suit in Virginia*, Election Law Blog (June 11, 2015, 12:14 PM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=73418>; *Lee v. Va. State Bd. of Elections*, Civ. A. No. 3:15CV357-HEH, Complaint (E.D. Va., June 11, 2015), <http://www.scribd.com/doc/268403997/Lee-v-Virginia-Board-of-Elections>; Associated Press, *Judge Rules Virginia Voter ID Challenge Can Proceed*, Richmond Times-Dispatch (Dec. 18, 2015), http://www.richmond.com/news/virginia/ap/article_294be6d1-801e-5365-948e-574dbc82a76a.html

563 Maggie Haberman, *Democrats Praise Virginia Court Settlement in Voting Rights Case*, N.Y. Times (Dec. 24, 2015), <http://www.nytimes.com/politics/first-draft/2015/12/24/democrats-praise-virginia-court-settlement-in-voting-rights-case/?r=0>

564 Reuters, *Virginia's voter ID law faces challenge in federal trial*, Bangor Daily News (Feb. 22, 2016), <https://bangordailynews.com/2016/02/22/news/nation/virginias-voter-id-law-faces-challenge-in-federal-trial/>; Larry O'Dell, *A 69-year-old black woman who grew up in a small, segregated city wept on the witness stand Monday as she testified about the trouble she had voting in 2014 because she could not comply with Virginia's voter identification law*, U.S. News (Feb. 22, 2016), <http://www.usnews.com/news/us/articles/2016-02-22/trial-begins-on-lawsuit-challenging-virginia-voter-id-law>; Debbie Truong, *Trial on Virginia voter ID law wraps up*, Richmond Times-Dispatch (Mar. 2016), http://m.richmond.com/news/local/central-virginia/article_cfe61d0a-783d-5216-b05c-16907dcf3687.html?mode=jqm

565 Editorial, *A State Bucks the Trend on Voting Rights*, N.Y. Times (Apr. 25, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/25/opinion/a-state-bucks-the-trend-on-voting-rights.html?r=3>; Zachary Roth, *Could Virginia's restoration of felon voting rights tip election?*, MSNBC (Apr. 25, 2016),

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

<http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/could-virginias-restoration-felon-voting-rights-tip-election>; Laura Vozzella, *Va. Republicans hire lawyer in bid to stop restoration of felons' voting rights*, Washington Post (May 2, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/virginia-politics/va-republicans-hire-lawyer-in-bid-to-stop-restoration-of-felons-voting-rights/2016/05/02/ca06605c-1066-11e6-8967-7ac733c56f12_story.html; Michael Martz, *Almost 5,000 felons registered to vote after rights restoration*, Roanoke Times (May 24, 2016), http://www.roanoke.com/news/politics/almost-felons-registered-to-vote-after-rights-restoration/article_bc78b347-c461-515c-9927-465f42eda382.html; Sheryl Gay Stolberg, *Virginia at Center of Racially Charged Fight Over the Right of Felons to Vote*, N.Y. Times (June 5, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/06/us/virginia-at-center-of-racially-charged-fight-over-the-right-of-felons-to-vote.html>; Graham Moomaw, *Va. Supreme Court strikes down McAuliffe's order on felon voting rights*, Richmond-Times Dispatch (July 23, 2016, 12:00 AM), http://www.richmond.com/news/virginia/government-politics/article_718d04d8-70b2-5bfb-aa8c-0ff1ca108b8d.html; Alice Ollstein, *These Virginians Just Got Their Voting Rights Back. Republicans Are Trying to Take Them Away Again.*, Think Progress (July 19, 2016, 8:00 AM), <http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2016/07/19/3794584/virginia-voter-restoration-lawsuit/>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, Ledger Independent (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html

566 Alanna Durkin Richer, *Virginia GOP Filing Lawsuit To Block Felons From Voting*, Talking Points Memo (May 23, 2016), <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/news/virginia-gop-lawsuit-block-felons-from-voting>; Jess Bidgood, *Virginia Republicans Weigh Court Challenge to Voting Rights for Felons*, N.Y. Times (May 2, 2016), http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/03/us/virginia-felon-voting-rights-republicans-court-challenge.html?_r=1; Laura Vozzella, *GOP sues to block McAuliffe order to let 200,000 Virginia felons vote*, Washington Post (May 23, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/virginia-politics/gop-sues-to-strip-209k-felons-from-va-voter-rolls/2016/05/23/ef2587a8-20e4-11e6-aa84-42391ba52c91_story.html; Graham Moomaw, *Voting rights restoration case to go before Virginia Supreme Court*, Roanoke Times (June 13, 2016), http://www.roanoke.com/news/politics/voting-rights-restoration-case-to-go-before-virginia-supreme-court/article_d4acccd9-1051-50ef-a7a3-09914c347020.html; *Judicial Watch Sues Virginia Gov. McAuliffe Over Executive Order Granting 206,000 Felons Voting Rights* (June 14, 2016), <https://www.judicialwatch.org/press-room/press-releases/judicial-watch-sues-virginia-gov-mcauliffe-executive-order-granting-206000-felons-voting-rights/>; Pam Fessler, *In Virginia, A Battle to Give Former Felons the Right to Vote*, NPR (July 6, 2016, 5:00 AM ET), <http://www.npr.org/2016/07/06/484832105/in-virginia-a-battle-to-give-former-felons-the-right-to-vote>; <https://www.brennancenter.org/major-litigation-could-impact-voting-access>; Alice Miranda Ollstein, *BREAKING: Virginia Supreme Court slaps down Republicans' attempt to block ex-felons from voting*, Think Progress (Sept. 15, 2016), <https://thinkprogress.org/breaking-supreme-court-slaps-down-virginia-republicans-attempt-to-block-ex-felons-from-voting-5ab6b4f2b290#.agi6rnau9>

567 Graham Moomaw, *Va. Supreme Court strikes down McAuliffe's order on felon voting rights*, Richmond-Times Dispatch (July 23, 2016, 12:00 AM), http://www.richmond.com/news/virginia/government-politics/article_718d04d8-70b2-5bfb-aa8c-0ff1ca108b8d.html; *Howell v. McAuliffe*, No. 160784, Upon a Petition for Writs of Mandamus and Prohibition (Va. July 22, 2016), <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/va-felon.pdf>; Dahlia Lithwick, *The Ghosts of Shelby County: Despite some recent wins, voting rights are still under siege* (July 26, 2016, 4:17 PM), Slate http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2016/07/bernie_sanders_forgot_to_mention_voting_rights_in_his_convention_speech.html; Liz Olson, *The Less Noticed Battles That May Decide the Presidential Election*, Fortune (July 29, 2016, 9:15 AM, EDT), <http://fortune.com/2016/07/29/state-voting-restrictions-presidential-election>; Editorial, *When Debt to Society is Paid in Full, Restore Their Rights*, News Advance (July 31, 2016, 4:00 AM), http://www.newsadvance.com/opinion/editorials/when-debt-to-society-is-paid-in-full-restore-their/article_919972d4-55be-11e6-997f-ebc1822348cc.html; Michael Martz, *Virginia sets Aug. 8 deadline to cancel voter registration of felons in now-overturned orders by Gov. Terry McAuliffe*, Richmond Times-Dispatch (July 29, 2016, 7:00 PM), http://www.richmond.com/news/virginia/government-politics/general-assembly/article_fada07d9-d1e7-5951-bf3c-01a5b839371f.html; Fenit Nirappil, *'Why don't they want us to vote?' Ex-felons cope with losing voting rights twice in Virginia.*, Washington Post (July 27, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/virginia-politics/why-dont-they-want-us-to-vote-felons-cope-with-losing-voting-rights-twice-in-virginia/2016/07/27/38310572-5352-11e6-bbf5-957ad17b4385_story.html;

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
 POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
 As of May 3, 2021**

Zachary Roth, *Murky Picture on Voting Rights for Virginia's Ex-Felons*, NBC News (July 26, 2016, 3:55 PM), <http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2016-election/murky-picture-voting-rights-virginia-s-ex-felons-n617261>; Steve Benen, *The 'war on voting' takes some unexpected turns*, MSNBC (July 26, 2016, 10:06 AM), <http://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/the-war-voting-takes-some-unexpected-turns>; Alice Miranda Ollstein, *BREAKING: Virginia Supreme Court slaps down Republicans' attempt to block ex-felons from voting*, Think Progress (Sept. 15, 2016), <https://thinkprogress.org/breaking-supreme-court-slaps-down-virginia-republicans-attempt-to-block-ex-felons-from-voting-5ab6b4f2b290#agi6rnau9>

568 Laura Vozzella, *McAuliffe taking a slower approach to rights restoration in Virginia*, Washington Post (Aug. 8, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/virginia-politics/mcauliffe-taking-a-slower-approach-to-rights-restoration-in-virginia/2016/08/08/c30ea3de-5d84-11e6-9d2f-b1a3564181a1_story.html; Laura Vozzella, *McAuliffe restores voting rights to 13,000 felons*, Washington Post (Aug. 22, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/virginia-politics/mcauliffe-restores-voting-rights-to-13000-felons/2016/08/22/2372bb72-6878-11e6-99bf-f0cf3a6449a6_story.html; Zach Roth, *Virginia Restores Right to Vote to Thousands of Ex-Felons*, NBC News (Aug. 22, 2016, 2:03 PM, ET), <http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/elections/virginia-restores-right-vote-thousands-ex-felons-n635956>; Associated Press, *McAuliffe Says He's Restored Voting Rights to 156,000*, NBC 29 (May 9, 2017, 10:53 PM), <http://www.nbc29.com/story/35272793/mcauliffe-says-hes-restored-voting-rights-to-156000>; Megan Woo, *Website helps felons restore voting rights*, NBC 12 (Apr. 27, 2017, 1:52 PM), <http://www.nbc12.com/story/35266306/website-helps-felons-restore-voting-rights>; Sam Levine, *In Virginia, Ex-Felons Voted For The First Time After Regaining Their Rights*, Huffington Post (Nov. 8, 2017), https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/virginia-restoration-of-voting-rights_us_5a026556e4b092053058cd0e?ncid=inblnkushpmg00000009

569 Frank Green, *U.S. judge upholds Virginia voter ID law*, Richmond Times-Dispatch (May 19, 2016), http://www.richmond.com/news/virginia/government-politics/article_fb14253d-0f3b-5e95-bed3-e37b9eac0bb1.html; *Lee v. Va. State Bd. of Elections*, Civ. A. No. 3:15CV357-HEH, 2016 WL 2946181 (E.D. Va. May, 19, 2016) (Memorandum Opinion for Defendants), <https://www.scribd.com/doc/313197364/Lee-v-Virginia-State-Board-of-Elections#>; Ari Berman, *It's Now Harder to Vote in Virginia Because the Supreme Court Gutted the Voting Rights Act*, The Nation (May 20, 2016), <http://www.thenation.com/article/its-now-harder-to-vote-in-virginia-because-the-supreme-court-gutted-the-voting-rights-act/>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, Ledger Independent (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html; Brennan Weiss, *Experts warn the gutting of the Voting Rights Act could help decide the highly anticipated Virginia governor's race*, Business Insider (Nov. 7, 2017, 4:21 PM), <http://www.businessinsider.com/virginia-alabama-elections-voter-id-voting-rights-act-2017-10>

570 *Virginia Democrats to appeal voter ID case*, Daily Press (May 26, 2016), <http://www.dailypress.com/news/politics/dp-nws-voter-id-appeal-20160526-story.html>; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, ProPublica (Sept. 23, 2016, 1:52 PM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/2016-election-lawsuit-tracker-new-election-laws-suits-challenging-them>; Rob Cardwell, *Does Virginia's Voter ID law discriminate against minority voters?*, WTVR (Sept. 22, 2016), <http://wtvrs.com/2016/09/22/virginia-voter-id-law-update/>; Ann E. Marimow, *Appeals court to hear challenge to Virginia's voter-identification law*, Washington Post (Sept. 22, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/appeals-court-to-hear-challenge-to-virginias-voter-identification-law/2016/09/21/b8c75674-802e-11e6-8327-f141a7beb626_story.html; Bob Brown, *Court that nixed NC voter ID law studies Virginia's*, Richmond Times Dispatch (Sept. 22, 2016, 2:41 PM), http://www.richmond.com/news/latest-news-ap/article_e81a46bd-4e43-5deb-909b-8cbb1adfcf80.html

571 Amici Supporting Appellees, *Lee et al. v. Virginia Board of Elections et al.*, No. 16-1605 (E.D.V.A. Dec. 13, 2016), <http://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/va-voter-id-4th.pdf>; Rick Hasen, *CORRECTED: 4th Circuit Unanimously Rejects Challenge to VA Voter ID Law*, Election Law Blog (Dec. 14, 2016, 6:57 AM), <http://electionlawblog.org/?p=89933>

572 Travis Fain, *4th Circuit Judges weigh Virginia voter ID law with N.C. case in mind*, DAILY PRESS (Sept. 22, 2016, 4:19 PM), <http://www.dailypress.com/news/politics/>

**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

-
- 573 Tyler Hammel, *Legislative panel keeps photo ID requirement*, Beaumont Enterprise (Jan. 17, 2017, 2:25 PM), <http://www.beaumontenterprise.com/news/article/Legislative-panel-keeps-photo-ID-requirement-10863066.php>
- 574 *HB 1598 Voter registration; proof of citizenship required to register to vote in certain elections.*, LIS (Feb. 2, 2017), <http://lis.virginia.gov/cgi-bin/legp604.exe?171+sum+HB1598>; Jeff Branscome, *Local lawmaker proposes legislation to make proof of citizenship a voting requirement*, Culpeper Star Exponent (Jan. 8, 2017), http://www.dailyprogress.com/starexponent/news/local-lawmaker-proposes-legislation-to-make-proof-of-citizenship-a/article_45f85513-79a3-546f-b0a5-0aa5a82505fc.html; Jeff Branscome, *Local lawmaker proposes legislation to make proof of citizenship a voting requirement*, Fredericksburg (Jan. 8, 2017), http://www.fredericksburg.com/news/local/local-lawmaker-proposes-legislation-to-make-proof-of-citizenship-a/article_b0c03caa-b967-5535-bafa-464ba7fcee26.html; Graham Moomaw, *Virginia House passes bill to require proof of citizenship to vote in state, local elections*, Richmond Times-Dispatch (Feb. 1, 2017, 10:30 PM), http://www.richmond.com/news/virginia/government-politics/article_0a95620a-3274-542d-b18a-d2c0e60e288b.html; *Testimony in Opposition to Virginia House Bill 1598, Documentary Proof of Citizenship for Voter Registration*, Project Vote (Jan. 24, 2017), http://www.projectvote.org/wp-content/uploads/project_vote_testimony_va_hb_1598_012317.pdf; Virginia Senate Privileges and Elections Committee, *Testimony in Opposition to Virginia House Bill 1598, Documentary Proof of Citizenship for Voter Registration*, Project Vote (Feb. 14, 2017), http://www.projectvote.org/wp-content/uploads/project_vote_testimony_va_hb1598_021417.pdf; Jesse Adcock, *Bill would require proof of citizenship to register to vote*, Virginia Gazette (Feb. 4, 2017), <http://www.vagazette.com/news/va-vg-cns-voter-registration-0204-20170204-story.html>
- 575 Sarah Harvard, *How Did the 'Shelby County v. Holder' Supreme Court Decision Change Voting Rights Laws?*, Mic (July 29, 2016), https://mic.com/articles/150092/how-did-the-shelby-county-v-holder-supreme-court-decision-change-voting-rights-laws?utm_content=buffer007f&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer#.BtR8IGTsr; NALEO Educational Fund, *Latino Voters at Risk: Assessing the Impact of Restrictive Voting Changes In Election 2016*, https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/naleo/pages/233/attachments/original/1462976324/Latino_Voters_at_Risk_7.pdf; Patrik Jonsson, *Court rules Florida voter purge illegal, but will it stop GOP voting tweaks?*, Christian Science Monitor (Apr. 2, 2014), <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Justice/2014/0402/Court-rules-Florida-voter-purge-illegal-but-will-it-stop-GOP-voting-tweaks>
- 576 *Testimony in Opposition to Senate Bill 871, Voter Registration Drive Restrictions Virginia Senate Privileges and Elections Committee*, Project Vote (Jan. 24, 2017), http://www.projectvote.org/wp-content/uploads/project_vote_testimony_va_sb871_012417.pdf
- 577 *SB 871 Third-party registration groups; registration, disclosure, and recordkeeping requirements.*, LIS (Feb. 1, 2017), <http://lis.virginia.gov/cgi-bin/legp604.exe?171+sum+SB871>; *Protecting Voter Registration Drives*, Project Vote, <http://www.projectvote.org/issues/voter-registration-policy/voter-registration-drives/>
- 578 Matthew Barakat, *Virginia Voter-Registration Deadline Extended Through Friday*, ABC News (Oct. 20, 2016, 3:46 PM, ET), <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/wireStory/virginia-voter-registration-deadline-extended-friday-42942840>; Laura Vozzella, *Voter registration system crashes in Va., preventing some from signing up in time*, Washington Post (Oct. 18, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/virginia-politics/voter-registration-system-crashes-in-va-preventing-some-from-signing-up-in-time/2016/10/18/5336f1ae-9558-11e6-9b7c-57290af48a49_story.html; Rachel Weiner, *Federal judge says Virginians will get another day and a half to register*, Washington Post (Oct. 21, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/virginia-politics/federal-judge-says-virginians-will-get-another-day-and-a-half-to-register/2016/10/20/87db2916-96d9-11e6-bc79-af1cd3d2984b_story.html?wpisrc=al_alert-local; Sarah Smith, *2016 Election Lawsuit Tracker: The New Election Laws and the Suits Challenging Them*, Ledger Independent (Oct. 28, 2016), http://www.maysville-online.com/news/national/govt-and-politics/election-lawsuit-tracker-the-new-election-laws-and-the-suits/article_a7298299-a18c-53db-ad48-dfe6e7aa315c.html
- 579 Associated Press, *Nearly 28,000 register to vote in Virginia after deadline is extended*, L.A. Times (Oct. 22, 2016, 5:50 PM), <http://www.latimes.com/nation/nationnow/la-na-pol-virginia-voting-20161022-snap-story.html>
- 580 *Testimony in Opposition to Senate Bill 1581, Voter Registration Matching Prerequisite Virginia Senate Privileges and*



**DEMOCRACY DIMINISHED: STATE AND LOCAL THREATS TO VOTING
POST-SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA V. HOLDER
As of May 3, 2021**

Elections Committee, Project Vote (Jan. 31, 2017), http://www.projectvote.org/wp-content/uploads/project_vote_testimony_va_sb_1581_013117.pdf; Virginia House Privileges and Elections Committee, *Testimony in Opposition to Senate Bill 1581, Voter Registration Matching Prerequisite*, Project Vote (Feb. 14, 2017), http://www.projectvote.org/wp-content/uploads/project_vote_testimony_va_sb1581_021417.pdf; *Gov. McAuliffe Vetoes Harmful Voter Registration Bill*, Project Vote (Mar. 27, 2017), <http://www.projectvote.org/blog/gov-mcauliffe-vetoes-harmful-voter-registration-bill/>