CONTENTS

V    Acknowledgements

7    Introduction

10   Timeline: A History of Election Administration in the U.S. Since 1965

15   Section 1: Voter Registration
     Same Day Registration Encourages Turnout And Participation
     Online Registration: Cost Effective And Convenient
     Pre-Registration: Encouraging Young People To Vote
     NVRA Settlements: Positive Impact But More Enforcement Needed

27   Section II: Voting And Election Day
     More Efficient Election Administration Systems Needed
     Using Innovation and Technology to Improve Elections
     Aging Machines and No Federal Funding on the Horizon
     Impact of Restrictive Voter ID Requirements
     Michigan and The Citizenship Checkbox Controversy

49   Section III: Expanding Access and Engaging all Eligible Voters
     Voting Rights for Americans with Disabilities
     Disenfranchisement Of Persons With Felony Convictions
     Paving The Way For A New Generation Of Voters
     What’s New in the States

73   Conclusion

74   Endnotes
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The National Commission on Voting Rights and its staff and the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law are grateful to the many people without whom the Commission’s work would not have been accomplished.

NCVR SPECIAL NATIONAL PARTNER

THE NCVR extends particular thanks to the NAACP, an exceptional partner, which participated in all of its 25 hearings.

NCVR NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS STEERING COMMITTEE

American Civil Liberties Union
Asian Americans Advancing Justice | AAJC
Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund
Brennan Center for Justice
Campaign Legal Center
Common Cause
Democracy Initiative
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights
League of Women Voters
League of Young Voters
National Action Network
National Association of Latino Elected Officials
National Coalition on Black Civic Participation
National Congress of American Indians
National Disability Rights Network
National Urban League
Rainbow Push

OTHER SUPPORTING NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

AFL-CIO
Demos
Mi Familia Vota
National Council of La Raza
National Council on Independent Living
Rock the Vote
State Voices

NCVR HEARINGS: STATE AND LOCAL SPONSORS

Alabama
Alabama State Conference of the NAACP
National Congress of Black Women
YLK Birmingham-Metro Chapter National Congress of Black Women

Arizona
American Civil Liberties Union Arizona
Arizona Advocacy Network
Arizona State College of Law Indian Legal Clinic
Arizona Students Association

California
American Civil Liberties Union of California

Inter Tribal Council of Arizona, Inc.
League of Women Voters
Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund
National Action Network
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
One Arizona
Asian Americans Advancing Justice – Los Angeles
California Common Cause
California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation
California-Hawaii State Conference NAACP
Disability Rights California
Dolores Huerta Foundation
Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund
Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights of the San Francisco Bay Area
National Action Network
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials Educational Fund
The Greenlining Institute
UC Hastings College of Law, Center for State and Local Government Law

**Denver Regional (Colorado and New Mexico)**

Colorado Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law
Colorado Common Cause
Common Cause New Mexico
The Legal Center for People with Disabilities and Older People
Elections Task Force of the Colorado Lawyers Committee
Sturm College of Law, University of Denver
The Legal Center for People with Disabilities and Older People.

**Florida**

Advancement Project
American Civil Liberties Union of Florida
American Civil Liberties Union of Florida, University of Miami Student Chapter
Center for Independent Living of South Florida
Common Cause
Disability Rights Florida
Florida New Majority
Florida State Conference of the NAACP
LatinoJustice PRLDEF
League of Women Voters of Florida
National Council of Jewish Women
National Lawyers Guild, University of Miami Student Chapter
SEIU Florida
Voting Rights Coalition of Palm Beach County
Voting Rights Coalition of South Florida

**Georgia**

American Civil Liberties Union
American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia
African American Ministers in Action
Asian American Legal Advocacy Center, Inc. of Georgia
Georgia Advocacy Office, Inc.
Georgia Association of Latino Elected Officials
Georgia Coalition for the People’s Agenda
Georgia State Conference of the NAACP
League of Women Voters of Georgia
National Action Network
ProGeorgia
Sarah Shalf, Professor, Emory University School of Law

**Illinois**

Chicago Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law

**Kansas City Regional (Kansas, Iowa, Missouri and Nebraska)**

American Civil Liberties Union of Iowa
American Civil Liberties Union of Kansas
American Civil Liberties Union of Missouri
American Civil Liberties Union of Nebraska
Common Cause Nebraska
Disability Rights Center of Kansas
Disability Rights Iowa
Disability Rights Nebraska
Iowa Citizen Action Network
Latino American Commission
Latinos Unidos of Iowa
League of Women Voters of Iowa
League of Women Voters of Kansas
LULAC of Iowa
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NAACP Kansas State Conference
NAACP Iowa-Nebraska State Conference
National Action Network
National Lawyers Guild of Kansas City
Nebraska Appleseed
Nebraskans for Civic Reform
Sunflower Community Action
University of Missouri-Kansas City School of Law

**Louisiana**

ACLU of Louisiana
Advocacy Center
Delgado Community College
Foundation for Louisiana
Gulf Coast Center for Law & Policy
Louisiana Justice Institute
Louisiana State Conference NAACP
One Voice Louisiana
Puentes New Orleans, Inc.
Urban League of Greater New Orleans
Kim M. Boyle, Partner, Phelps Dunbar LLP; Board of Directors, Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law
Jennifer Coco
Jacques Morial
John Pierre of Southern University Law Center
Bill Quigley of Loyola Law School
Hon. Gene Thibodeaux, Chief Judge, Louisiana Third Circuit Court of Appeal; Honorary Lifetime Trustee, Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law

**Michigan**

APAI Vote- Michigan
Common Cause Michigan
D. Augustus Straker Bar Association
Detroit Branch of the NAACP
League of Women Voters of Michigan
Michigan Department of Civil Rights
Michigan Election Reform Alliance
Michigan State Conference of the NAACP
National Action Network
Sierra Club Michigan

**Minneapolis Regional (Minnesota and Wisconsin)**

American Civil Liberties Union of Wisconsin Foundation
Board for People with Development Disabilities
Citizens for Election Integrity Minnesota
Common Cause Minnesota
Disability Rights Wisconsin
FairVote Minnesota
League of Women Voters Minnesota
League of Women Voters Wisconsin
Mid-Minnesota Legal Aid/Minnesota Disability Law Center
Milwaukee NAACP
Minnesota Public Interest Research Group
Minnesota State Voice
One Wisconsin Institute
One Wisconsin Now
St. Paul NAACP
Take Action Minnesota
Voces de la Frontera

**Baltimore Regional (Delaware, D.C., and Maryland)**

University of Baltimore School of Law
Mississippi
Mississippi State Conference of the NAACP
American Civil Liberties Union of Mississippi
Common Cause Mississippi
League of Women Voters of Mississippi
League of Women Voters of Jackson Area
Mississippi Center for Justice
Southern Echo
Tunica Teens
upGrade Mississippi

Nashville Regional (Arkansas, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and West Virginia)
American Civil Liberties Union of Tennessee
Black Women’s Roundtable
Kentuckians for the Commonwealth
League of Women Voters of Tennessee
League of Women Voters of Nashville
Nashville Bar Association
Nashville Alumnae Chapter of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority Inc.
Tennessee Citizen Action
Tennessee State Conference of the NAACP
Urban League of Middle Tennessee
West Virginia Citizen Action

Las Vegas Regional (Nevada and Utah)
American Civil Liberties Union of Utah
Las Vegas Urban League
League of Women Voters of Nevada
Mi Familia Vota
NAACP
NAACP National Voter Fund
Utah League of Women Voters

Boston Regional (Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont)
American Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts
Common Cause Massachusetts
Demos
Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights and Economic Justice
League of Women Voters of Massachusetts
MassVote
MIRA Coalition
New England Area Conference of the NAACP
Progressive Massachusetts
Springfield Institute
Suffolk University Government Department
Suffolk University Law School
Urban League of Eastern Massachusetts

New York City Regional (Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York)
American Civil Liberties Union of New Jersey
Asian American Community Coalition on Redistricting and Democracy
Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund
Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law
Center for Law and Social Justice at Medgar Evers College, CUNY
Common Cause New York
Connecticut State Conference of the NAACP
Demos
Fordham Advocates for Voter Rights
Hispanic Federation
Latino Justice PRLDEF
MinKwon Center for Community Action
NAACP
NAACP Legal Defense Fund
NALEO Educational Fund
New Jersey State Conference of the NAACP
New York State Conference of the NAACP
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON VOTING RIGHTS

IX

IMPROVING ELECTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES: VOICES FROM THE FIELD

OCA-NY Asian Pacific American Advocates
Public Interest Resource Center at Fordham Law School
YWCA of Queens

North Carolina
American Civil Liberties Union of North Carolina
Advancement Project
Democracy North Carolina
Forward Together Moral Movement
HKonJ People’s Assembly
North Carolina NAACP
Southern Coalition for Social Justice
UNC Center for Civil Rights

Columbus Regional (Ohio and Indiana)
Ohio State Conference of the NAACP
Indiana State Conference of the NAACP
Advocates for Basic Legal Equality
Citizens Alliance for Secure Elections (CASE-OH)
Common Cause Ohio
League of Women Voters of Ohio
NAACP National Voter Fund
Northeast Ohio Voter Advocates
Ohio AFL-CIO
Ohio Unity Coalition
Ohio Voice

Seattle Regional (Idaho, Montana, Oregon, and Washington)
American Civil Liberties Union of Montana Foundation
American Civil Liberties Union of Washington Foundation
APACE
Bus Federation
Common Cause Oregon
Disability Rights Oregon
Disability Rights Washington
Forward Montana
Idaho Voices/Idaho Votes
League of Women Voters of Idaho
League of Women Voters of Oregon
League of Women Voters of Washington
Montana Conservation Voters
Montana Voices
NAACP
OneAmerica
Oregon Bus Project
Oregon Voice
University of Washington
University of Washington School of Law
Urban League of Metropolitan Seattle
The Washington Bus
Western States Center
Win/Win Network

Pennsylvania
American Civil Liberties Union on Pennsylvania
Advancement Project
Committee of Seventy
Common Cause PA
Disability Rights Network of Pennsylvania
League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania
National Action Network
Pennsylvania State Chapter of National Action Network
Pennsylvania State Conference of the NAACP
Pennsylvania Voice
PennPIRG
Public Interest Law Center of Philadelphia
SeniorLAW Center
Urban League of Philadelphia
United Steelworkers
Rapid City Regional (Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming)
American Civil Liberties Union of Montana
American Civil Liberties Union of North Dakota
American Civil Liberties Union of South Dakota
American Civil Liberties Union of Wyoming
Four Directions, Inc.
Montana Voice
North Dakota Protection & Advocacy Project
North Dakota Women’s Network
Western Native Voice
South Dakota Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities
Disability Rights North Dakota
Heather Dawn Thompson

South Carolina
American Civil Liberties Union of South Carolina
The Columbia Urban League
The Family Unit
League of Women Voters of South Carolina
NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund
National Action Network
Protection and Advocacy for People with Disabilities, Inc.
South Carolina Progressive Network
South Carolina State Conference of the NAACP

Texas
100 Black Men of America, Houston Metropolitan Chapter, Inc.

Virginia
American Civil Liberties Union of Virginia
Campus Election Engagement Project
The disAbility Law Center of Virginia
Fair Elections Legal Network
Hollaback and Restore Project
Progress VA Education Fund
Project Vote
One Virginia 2021
Resources for Independent Living, Inc.
Sierra Club-Virginia Chapter
The Urban League of Hampton Roads, Inc.
Virginia New Majority
Virginia State Conference of the NAACP
Virginia AFL-CIO
Virginia Organizing

NCVR HEARING GUEST COMMISSIONERS

Alabama
Scott Douglas, Executive Director, Greater Birmingham Ministries
Jerome Gray, retired Field Director, Alabama Democratic Conference
Lee W. Loder, Founder, Gift Corps; Attorney
Bernard Simelton, President, Alabama NAACP

Arizona
National Commissioner Patty Ferguson-Bohnee, Director, Arizona State University College of Law Indian Legal Clinic
Charles Fanniel, Arizona State Conference NAACP
Hon. Penny Ladell-Willrich, Associate Dean of Academic Affairs and Professor of Law Arizona Summit Law School
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON VOTING RIGHTS

XI

IMPROVING ELECTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES: VOICES FROM THE FIELD

John R. Lewis, Inter Tribal Council of Arizona, Inc.
Doris Marie Provine, Professor Emeritus, Arizona State University

Baltimore Regional (Delaware, D.C., and Maryland)
Gilda Daniels, Professor, University of Baltimore School of Law
J. Howard Henderson, The Urban League
Marcia Johnson-Blanco, Voting Rights Project
Co-Director, Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law
Kim Keenan, General Counsel and Secretary, NAACP
Rev. Todd Yeary, Political Action Chair, Maryland State NAACP

Boston Regional (Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont)
National Commissioner John Dunne, former Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights under President George H. W. Bush
Rachael Cobb, Associate Professor and Chair, Suffolk University Government Department
Rahsaan Hall, Deputy Director, Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights and Economic Justice
Darnell Williams, President and CEO, Urban League of Eastern Massachusetts
Brenda Wright, Vice President of Legal Strategies, Demos

California
National Commissioner Dolores Huerta, President of the Dolores Huerta Foundation
Kathay Feng, Executive Director, California Common Cause
Alice A. Huffman, President, California NAACP
Cruz Reynoso, Justice of California Supreme Court (Ret.); Professor of Law Emeritus, U.C. Davis School of Law

Denver Regional (Colorado and New Mexico)
Dr. Lonna Atkeson, University of New Mexico
Dede Feldman, former State Senator, New Mexico
Rosemary Harris Lytle, President, NAACP
Colorado Montana Wyoming State Area Conference
John Zakhem, President, Zakhem Law Firm

Florida State
National Commissioner Leon W. Russell, Vice Chair of the National Board of Directors, NAACP
Hon. Dan Gelber, founding partner, Gelber, Schachter & Greenberg; former State Senator and Representative
Lisa Rodriguez-Taseff, partner, Duane Morris LLP
Dr. Daniel A. Smith, Professor, University of Florida Research Foundation

Georgia
Helen Butler, Executive Director, Georgia Coalition for the Peoples’ Agenda
Dr. Francys Johnson, President, Georgia NAACP
Laughlin McDonald, Special Counsel and Director Emeritus, ACLU Voting Rights Project
Ruby Moore, Executive Director, Georgia Advocacy Office

Illinois
Ben Blustein, Partner, Miner, Barnhill & Galland, P.C.
Jon Greenbaum, Chief Counsel, Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law
Marissa Liebling, Staff Attorney, Chicago Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law
Mary Schaafsma, Executive Director, League of Women Voters, Illinois

**Kansas City Regional (Kansas, Iowa, Missouri, and Nebraska)**

Wendy Noran, Clerk, Boone County Missouri
Marty Ramirez, (ret.) Counseling Psychologist, University of Nebraska
Mary Ratliff, President, Missouri NAACP State Conference
Bill Rich, Professor of Law, Washburn University
Marsha Ternus, (ret.) Chief Justice of the Iowa Supreme Court and Attorney at Law

**Louisiana**

Marcia Johnson-Blanco, Co-Director, Voting Rights Project, Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law
Dr. Raphael Cassimere, Jr., Seraphia D. Leyda Professor-Emeritus of History, University of New Orleans
Erika McConduit, President & CEO, Urban League of Greater New Orleans
Rev. Chips Taylor, Louisiana State Conference NAACP
Tracie L. Washington, President & CEO, Louisiana Justice Institute

**Michigan**

Jocelyn Benson, Dean, Wayne State University School of Law
Harold Hood, retired Judge, Michigan Court of Appeals
Ellen Katz, Professor, University of Michigan Law School
Marilyn Kelly, retired Justice, Michigan Supreme Court

**Minneapolis Regional (Minnesota and Wisconsin)**

National Commissioner Biko Baker, Executive Director, League of Young Voters
Lawrence R. Jacobs, Professor, University of Minnesota
Mark Ritchie, Minnesota Secretary of State
Warren Spannaus, former Attorney General of Minnesota; former Partner, Dorsey and Whitney LLP
Wenda Weekes Moore, Regent Emeritus, University of Minnesota

**Mississippi**

National Commissioner Leon W. Russell, Vice Chair of the National Board of Directors, NAACP
Derrick Johnson, President, Mississippi State Conference of the NAACP
Carroll Rhodes, Attorney, the Law Office of Carroll Rhodes
Deborah McDonald, Attorney, the Law Office of Deborah McDonald
Reilly Morse, President, Mississippi Center for Justice

**Nashville Regional (Arkansas, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and West Virginia)**

Raoul Cunningham, President, Kentucky State Conference of the NAACP
Austin Porter, Attorney
Lottie Shackleford, Black Women’s Roundtable, National Coalition of Black Civic Participation
Patricia Stokes, President, Urban League of Middle Tennessee
Monroe Woods, Bolivar-Hardeman County Branch NAACP
Las Vegas Regional (Nevada and Utah)
Jeanetta Williams, President, ID-NV-UT NAACP State Conference
Carmen Berkley, Director, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Division
Gregory Cendana, Executive Director, Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance
Hon. Karen Bennett-Haron, Chief Judge, Las Vegas Township Justice Court

North Carolina
Barbara Arnwine, President and Executive Director, Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law
Eva Clayton, former Congresswoman
David Harris, attorney, formerly of the U.S. Department of Justice
Ellie Kinnaird, former state Senator
Raymond Pierce, Partner, Nelson Mullins Riley and Scarborough, LLP and former Dean, North Carolina Central University School of Law

New York City Regional (Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York)
National Commissioner John Dunne, former Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights under President George H. W. Bush
Juan Cartagena, President & General Counsel, LatinoJustice PRLDEF
Ron Chen, Acting Dean, Rutgers Law School- Newark, former New Jersey Public Advocate
Dr. Hazel Dukes, President, NAACP New York State Conference
John Feerick, Former Dean, Fordham Law School
Margaret Fung, Executive Director, AALDEF

Columbus Regional (Ohio and Indiana)
Wade C. Henderson, President and CEO, Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights and the Leadership Conference Education Fund
Hon. Nathaniel Jones, attorney; ret. Judge, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit
Bob Kengle, Voting Rights Project Co-Director, Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law
Elizabeth MacNamara, President, League of Women Voters; Chair, League of Women Voters Education Fund
Sybil McNabb, President, Ohio NAACP

Pennsylvania
Hon. Pedro A. Cortes, former Pennsylvania Secretary of State
Hon. Nelson A. Diaz, former Judge, Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas
J. “Jerry” Whyatt Mondesire, President, Pennsylvania NAACP
Regine Matellus, Senior Vice President and Chief Operations Officer, Urban League of Philadelphia

Seattle Regional (Idaho, Montana, Oregon, and Washington)
National Commissioner Dolores Huerta, President of the Dolores Huerta Foundation
Rex Burkholder, Principal, Burkholder Consulting
Dean Foster, Commissioner, Washington State Redistricting Commission
Hon. Charles Johnson (ret.), NAACP

Rapid City Regional (Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming)
National Commissioner Patty Ferguson-Bohnee, Director, Arizona State University College of Law Indian Legal Clinic
Richard Braunstein, Professor, University of South Dakota College of Arts & Sciences
Michaelynn Hawk, Director, Indian People’s Action
A. Gay Kingman, Executive Director, Great Plains Tribal Chairman’s Association

South Carolina
Nancy Bloodgood, Partner, Foster Law Firm
Duncan Buell, Chair of the Department of Computer Science and Engineering, University of South Carolina
Hon. Ernest A. Finney, Jr., retired Justice, South Carolina Supreme Court
James T. McLawhorn, Jr., President and CEO, Columbia Urban League
Dr. Lonnie Randolph, Jr., President, South Carolina NAACP

Texas
Deborah Chen, National Treasurer & Board Member, OCA-Asian Pacific American Advocates
Craig Jackson, Professor, Thurgood Marshall School of Law
Howard Jefferson, National Board Member, NAACP, Political Action Director, NAACP Texas State Conference
J. Goodwille Pierre, Vice President, National Bar Association

Virginia
Thursa Crittenden, Urban League of Hampton Roads
Claire Guthrie Gastanaga, Executive Director, ACLU of Virginia
Jean Jensen, former Deputy and Secretary, Virginia State Board of Elections
Carmen Taylor, President, Virginia NAACP

NCVR HEARING HOSTS AND VENUES
Alabama: St. Paul United Methodist Church, Birmingham, AL
Arizona: Arizona State University College of Law, Tempe, AZ
California: University of California Hastings College of Law, San Francisco, CA
Denver Regional: University of Denver, Sturm College of Law, Denver, CO
Florida: University of Miami School of Business Administration, Coral Gables, FL
Georgia: The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, Atlanta, GA
Illinois: DePaul University College of Law, Chicago, IL
Kansas City Regional: University of Missouri-Kansas City School of Law, Kansas City, MO
Louisiana: Delgado Community College, New Orleans, LA
Michigan: Wayne State University Law School, Detroit, MI
Baltimore Regional: University of Baltimore Law School, Baltimore, MD
Minneapolis Regional: University of Minnesota Law School, Minneapolis, MN
Mississippi: Mississippi College School of Law, Jackson, MS
Nashville Regional: Greater Bethel AME Church, Nashville, TN
Las Vegas Regional: Clark County Government Center, Las Vegas, NV
Boston Regional: Suffolk University Law School, Boston, MA
New York City Regional: Fordham University School of Law, New York, NY
North Carolina: Opportunities Industrialization Center, Rocky Mountain, NC
Columbus Regional: Riffe Center, Columbus, OH
Seattle Regional: University of Washington Law School, Seattle, WA
Pennsylvania: National Constitution Center, Philadelphia, PA

Rapid City Regional: Journey Museum, Rapid City, SD
South Carolina: Richland County Council Chambers, Columbia, SC
Texas: Thurgood Marshall School of Law, Houston, TX
Virginia: Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, VA

FOUNDATION & OTHER SUPPORTERS
Ford Foundation
Open Society Foundations
John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
Lisa and Douglas Goldman Fund
Public Interest Projects
Rockefeller Brothers Fund*
Agua Fund
Silicon Valley Community Foundation (CA)
Access Strategies Fund (New England)
Arizona Center for Disability Law (AZ)

Arizona Student Association (AZ)
Bay Area Communication Access (CA)
Center for State and Local Government Law (CA)
Dolores Street Community Services (CA)
Paul Eckstein (AZ)
James Irvine Foundation (CA)
Hon. Bernette J. Johnson (LA)
Morrison and Forester (CA)
Hon. Ulysses G. Thibodeaux (LA)
Transperfect (CA)

LAW FIRM SUPPORT

Arizona
Perkins Coie LLP
Sacks Tierney P.A.

Georgia
King & Spalding
Kilpatrick Townsend & Stockton LLP

California
Altshuler Berzon LLP
Boies, Schiller & Flexner LLP
Goldstein, Borgcn, Dardarian & Ho
Mannatt, Phelps & Phillips, LLP
Morrison & Foerster LLP
O’Melveny & Myers LLP

Illinois
Kirkland & Ellis LLP
Minner Barnhill & Galland, P.C.

Michigan
Clark Hill PLC
Jaffe Raitt Heur & Weiss, P.C.

Denver Regional (Colorado and New Mexico)
Ballard Spahr LLP
The Sweetser Law Firm, P.C.

Minneapolis Regional (Minnesota and Wisconsin)
Dorsey & Whitney LLP
Ogletree Deakins Nash Smoak & Stewart, P.C.
Perkins Coie LLP

*This report was made possible with support from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. The opinions and views of the authors do not necessarily state or reflect those of the Fund.
New York City Regional (Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York)
Davis Polk & Wardwell LLP
Kirkland & Ellis LLP

Pennsylvania
Ballard Spahr LLP
Fox Rothschild LLP
McKeever & Mitchell
Schnader Harrison Segal & Lewis LLP

Rapid City Regional (Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming)
Kilpatrick Townsend & Stockton LLP

LAW FIRM RESEARCH SUPPORT
Ballard Spahr LLP; Carlton Fields Jorden Burt; Crowell & Moring LLP; Dechert LLP; Dorsey & Whitney LLP; Kirkland & Ellis LLP; Kilpatrick & Buchalter; Kilpatrick Townsend & Stockton LLP; Ogletree, Deakins, Nash, Smoak & Stewart, P.C.; Proskauer Rose LLP; Simpson Thatcher & Bartlett LLP

LAWYERS’ COMMITTEE STAFF (INCLUDES FORMER STAFF)
Barbara Arnwine, Executive Director; Jon Greenbaum, Chief Counsel/Senior Deputy Director; Bob Kengle, Co-Director, Voting Rights Project (VRP); Marcia Johnson-Blanco, Co-Director, VRP; Nancy Anderson, Director Legal Mobilization Project and Pro Bono Project;

Rebecca Arnold, Associate Counsel
Rosemarie Clouston, National Coordinator
Aunna Dennis, National Coordinator
Miles Fernandez, Assistant Coordinator
Chris Fields Fiqueredo, Manager Legal Mobilization
Maddy Finucane, Legal Assistant
Megan Gall, Social Science Analyst
Sonia Gill, Voting Rights Project Counsel
Meredith Horton, Counsel

Alan Martinson, Counsel
Lindsey Needham, Legal Assistant
Eileen O’Connor, Senior Counsel
Maria Peralta, National Coordinator, National Commission on Voting Rights
Mark Posner, Senior Special Counsel
Alejandro Reyes, Counsel
Dorian Spence, Associate Counsel
Erandi Zamora, Associate Counsel

LAWYERS’ COMMITTEE INTERNS
Colleen Roberts, Hannah Long, Marcus Green, Sartaz Singh, and Claudia Williams
NATIONAL COMMISSIONERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON VOTING RIGHTS

The National Commission on Voting Rights is proud to have the following distinguished leaders serving as National Commissioners: Social justice leader, Dolores Huerta; Law Professor and Director of the Indian Law Clinic at the Sandra Day O’Connor School of Law, ASU, Patty Ferguson-Bohnee; Civil Rights Leader and NAACP Vice Chair, Leon Russell; Youth Engagement Leader, Biko Baker; and former Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, John Dunne.

Biko Baker

Former Executive Director of League of Young Voters and National Leader in Youth Civil Engagement Programs

Rob “Biko” Baker is the former Executive Director of the League of Young Voters, and a nationally-recognized youth leader. Based in Milwaukee, Mr. Baker is a pioneer in running city-level, data-driven voter turnout campaigns that dramatically increase the voter participation of young urban citizens. A leading voice on field campaigns targeting young African American voters, Baker serves on CIRCLE’s research advisory board and is a board member of the New Organizing Institute. He is also a well known communicator around elections, as well as cultural and political issues including gun violence and voting rights. In addition to being a former contributor to The Source, he has appeared on C-SPAN, Fox News and CNN. A popular and powerful speaker at conferences and events, Mr. Baker has interviewed luminaries Cornel West, Russell Simmons, and Howard Dean, and has been on panels with many of the nation’s strongest progressive voices. Baker holds a Ph.D. in History from UCLA.
John Dunne

Former Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights under President George H. W. Bush

Prior to joining Whiteman Osterman & Hanna as counsel to the Firm, John Dunne had served in a variety of federal, state and local government positions for thirty years. From 1990 to 1993 he was the Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights at the U.S. Department of Justice. From 1966 to 1989 he was a member of the New York State Senate. Throughout his local and state service, he actively practiced law on Long Island, as a partner in the national law firm of Rivkin, Radler, Dunne & Bayh.

From 1990 until 1993 Dunne, as Assistant Attorney General, headed up the enforcement of all federal civil rights laws. As part of his duties, he argued cases in federal appeals courts and in the U.S. Supreme Court. He was awarded both the Edmund Randolph and the John Marshal awards for distinguished service.

During 24 years as a state senator, Dunne served at various times as Deputy Majority Leader and chair of the judiciary, environmental protection, insurance and prisons committees.


Patty Ferguson-Bohnee

Faculty Director, Indian Legal Program
Director, Indian Legal Clinic
Clinical Professor of Law
Sandra Day O’Connor School of Law,
Arizona State University

Patty Ferguson-Bohnee has substantial experience in Indian law, election law and policy matters, voting rights, and status clarification of tribes. She has testified before the United States Senate Committee on Indian Affairs and the Louisiana State Legislature regarding tribal recognition, and has successfully assisted four Louisiana tribes in obtaining state recognition. Professor Ferguson-Bohnee has represented tribal clients in administrative, state,
federal, and tribal courts, as well as before state and local governing bodies and proposed revisions to the Real Estate Disclosure Reports to include tribal provisions. She has assisted in complex voting rights litigation on behalf of tribes, and she has drafted state legislative and congressional testimony on behalf of tribes with respect to voting rights’ issues.

Professor Ferguson-Bohnee clerked for Judge Betty Binns Fletcher of the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals and was an associate in the Indian Law and Tribal Relations Practice Group at Sacks Tierney P.A. in Phoenix. As a Fulbright Scholar to France, she researched French colonial relations with Louisiana Indians in the 17th and 18th centuries. Professor Ferguson-Bohnee, a member of the Pointe-au-Chien Indian tribe, serves as the Native Vote Election Protection Coordinator for the State of Arizona.

**Dolores Huerta**

*Founder and President of the Dolores Huerta Foundation and Social Justice Activist*

As founder and president of the Dolores Huerta Foundation, Dolores Huerta travels across the country engaging in campaigns and influencing legislation that supports equality and defends civil rights. She often speaks to students and organizations about issues of social justice and public policy. The Dolores Huerta Foundation is a not-for-profit community organization that organizes at the grassroots level, engaging and developing natural leaders. The Dolores Huerta Foundation creates leadership opportunities for community organizing, leadership development, civic engagement, and policy advocacy in the following priority areas: health and environment, education and youth development, and economic development.

Ms. Huerta is a life-long labor leader and civil rights activist who co-founded the National Farmworkers Association, which later became the United Farmworkers. She has received numerous awards for her community service and advocacy for workers’, immigrants’, and women’s rights, including the Eugene V. Debs Foundation Outstanding American Award, the United States Presidential Eleanor Roosevelt Award for Human Rights, and the Presidential Medal of Freedom presented to her by President Obama in 2012.
Leon Russell

NAACP Vice Chair of the National Board of Directors

Leon W. Russell retired in January of 2012, after serving as the Director of the Office of Human Rights for Pinellas County Government, Clearwater, Florida. He had held this post since January of 1977. In this position Mr. Russell was responsible for implementing the county’s Affirmative Action and Human Rights Ordinances. In September of 2007, Mr. Russell was elected President of the International Association of Official Human Rights Agencies during its annual meeting in Atlanta, Georgia. The IAOHRA Membership is agency based and consists of statutory human and civil rights agencies from throughout the United States and Canada as well as representation from several other nations.

Mr. Russell served as the President of the Florida State Conference of Branches of the NAACP from January 1996 until January 2000, after serving for fifteen years as the First Vice President. He has served as a member of the National Board of Directors of the NAACP since 1990. He has served that board as the assistant secretary and currently serves as Vice Chairman of the National Board. He is a member of the International City Management Association; a member of the National Forum for Black Public Administrators; member of the Board of Directors of the Children’s Campaign of Florida; past Board Member of the Pinellas Opportunity Council, past President and Board Member of the National Association of Human Rights Workers; member of the Blueprint Commission on Juvenile Justice with responsibility for recommending reforms to improve the juvenile justice system in the state of Florida.

Mr. Russell also served as the Chairman of Floridians Representing Equity and Equality. FREE was established as a statewide coalition to oppose the Florida Civil Rights Initiative, an anti-Affirmative Action proposal authored by Ward Connerly. Ultimately, the initiative failed to get on the Florida Ballot, because of the strong legal challenge spearheaded by FREE.
“Exercising one’s right to vote is one of the most basic and important forms of activism. The stories of the challenges to voting that we’ve heard today mean that we have to engage more, to organize more in our communities and never forget the power we have collectively to make changes.”

Dolores Huerta