Achieving Multiracial, Multiparty Democracy

Contributing Task Force

Andrea Benjamin
George Cheung
Lee Drutman
Holly Ann Garnett
Ruth Greenwood
Pedro Hernandez
Kevin Johnson
Michael Latner
Maria Perez
Sam Rosenfeld
Jack Santucci
O. J. Semans
Heather Stoll
Fernando Tormos-Aponte
Alejandra Tres
Hannah Walker

[**Union of
Concerned Scientists**

CONTENTS

Executive Summary

This report reflects the effort of a unique group of activists, organizers, and scholars dedicated to laying out a positive vision and pathway toward achieving truly multiracial, multiparty democracy in the United States. Our recommendations focus on supporting community organizations, including local private, nonprofit, and public agencies, and strengthening their capacity to build and leverage the social networks that are crucial to achieving multiracial, multiparty democracy. We identify six objectives to strengthen local organizations, diversify the electorate, and expand opportunities for political association and deliberation.

Secure the Integrity of Elections

To prevent the direct subversion of elections, local election agencies need to partner with community organizations and experts to produce and share electoral data for transparency, training, and verification. Strengthening organizational capacity can improve election assistance for administrative agencies, as well as relational organizing efforts for community service groups. At the federal level, legislators should prioritize implementing laws that minimize opportunities for subversive partisan tactics, clarify state procedures for election certification, and punish disinformation and coercion.

Counter Voter Suppression by Supporting Voter Participation

Large-scale, community-centered political organization is necessary to build a coalition to pass federal voting rights protections—a coalition which has yet to materialize. Supporting local communities in long-term, relational organizing efforts is the most effective way to lift up underrepresented voices and build participatory networks through the organizations and agencies that regularly serve target populations. Coalitions should pursue institutional reforms to reduce the cost of voting and expanding the electorate—including language access, same-day registration, early voting, universal vote-by-mail, and running local elections concurrently with higher-turnout general elections—in parallel to community organizing, where state passage of such legislation is politically viable.

Reduce Barriers to Political Association

Cultivating effective participation requires more than increasing political demand. Expanding electoral supply, by making it easier for candidates and parties to qualify for elections and be named on ballots, will diversify candidate and party choice, increasing the probability that voters have something to vote for.

Expand Representation by Increasing Assembly Sizes

Expanding the size of legislative assemblies, from city councils to the House of Representatives, may be the most direct and effective way to increase the supply of electoral competition. Especially at the local level, the small size of municipal councils in the US limits the number of parties that can effectively compete for office, limiting political association and

the ability of like-minded voters to organize politically. Assemblies with more seats increase the likelihood that parties seat women and candidates of color.

Design Electoral Districts to Represent All Voters

District magnitude (the number of seats per district) can constrain representation similar to assembly size. Lowering the threshold of representation—whether through smaller single-seat districts, or larger multiseat districts that allow coalitions to win seats with smaller vote shares—is another crucial component of electoral reform. Ensuring that voters have an equal voice in determining representative outcomes requires basic proportionality in representation.

Foster More Deliberative Policymaking

Deliberative forums enable greater communication between leaders and constituents, and they can better amplify otherwise marginalized community voices. We need greater opportunities for marginalized people to find value in political association if we hope to build a prodemocracy coalition that can defend broader reforms.

Recommendations for Stakeholders

Finally, we have specific recommendations for democracy movement stakeholders: community organizations, election administration agencies, reform and voting rights groups, and funding organizations. Collaboration between these stakeholders is essential if multiracial, multiparty democracy in the US is ever to be realized. As organizational hubs, community organizations need far greater support and recognition of their role in reconnecting civic capacity to political organization. Greater partnerships to facilitate data sharing and person-to-person organizing, across a variety of neighborhood service providers, are needed to build out inclusive, robust local electoral ecosystems. Reform organizations, voting rights groups, and funding organizations all need to do a better job of listening to local leaders, supporting their needs, and strengthening the links between public service and political association.

The Task Force

In September 2021, the Center for Science and Democracy at the Union of Concerned Scientists cosponsored a day-long course, "Achieving Multiracial, Multiparty Democracy," at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA). Our cosponsors included the Electoral Integrity Project and the following APSA sections: Elections, Public Opinion and Voting Behavior; Race, Ethnicity and Politics; Representation and Electoral Systems; and Law and Courts. Our task was to consider the primary challenges facing US democracy, work through the implications of potential reform coalitions, and propose how to strengthen a prodemocracy movement that can achieve effective reforms.

Course participants made invaluable contributions to this report:

Andrea Benjamin *is associate professor of African and African American studies at University of Oklahoma.* **George Cheung** *is director at More Equitable Democracy.* **Lee Drutman** *is senior fellow in the Political Reform program at New America.* **Holly Ann Garnett** *is associate professor of political science at Royal Military College of Canada and Queen's University and codirector at the Electoral Integrity Project.* **Ruth Greenwood** *is director at the Harvard Law School Election Law Clinic.* **Pedro Hernandez** *is legal and policy director at California Common Cause.* **Kevin Johnson** *is executive director at Election Reformers Network.* **Maria Perez** *is codirector at Democracy Rising.* **Sam Rosenfeld** *is associate professor of political science at Colgate University.* **Jack Santucci** *is assistant teaching professor of politics at Drexel University.* **O. J. Semans** *is coexecutive director at Four Directions.* **Heather Stoll** *is associate professor of political science at University of California, Santa Barbara.* **Fernando Tormos-Aponte** *is assistant professor at University of Maryland Baltimore County, visiting scholar at Johns Hopkins University, and Kendall Fellow at the Center for Science and Democracy at UCS.* **Alejandra Tres** *is cofounder of Battle for Democracy Fund.* **Hannah Walker** *is assistant professor of government at The University of Texas at Austin.*

Special thanks are also due to the Center's Democracy Reform Scholar-Advocate Council:

Andrea Benjamin *is associate professor of African and African American studies at University of Oklahoma.* **Adrienne Jones** *is assistant professor of political science and prelaw director at Morehouse College.* **Ivy Cargile** *is associate professor of political science at California State University, Bakersfield.* **Michael Latner** *is senior fellow with the Center and professor of political science at California Polytechnic State University San Luis Obispo.* **Jean Schroedel** *is professor of politics and policy at Claremont Graduate University.* **Fernando Tormos-Aponte** *is assistant professor at University of Maryland Baltimore County, visiting scholar at Johns Hopkins University, and Kendall Fellow at the Center for Science and Democracy at UCS.* **Hannah Walker** *is assistant professor of government at The University of Texas at Austin.*

The report broadly reflects the concerns and strategies voiced during the course and in ongoing work with the Center's education and outreach strategies. The Center bears sole responsibility for the content and contributors are absolved from responsibility for any errors or infelicities.

The Peril of US Democracy and the Failure of Current Reform Efforts

A growing body of evidence suggests that democracy in the United States is in peril, from direct attempts to subvert our elections, to the targeted expansion of restrictive election laws, our dysfunctional party system, the dismantling of federal voting rights protections, and a resurgence of antidemocratic populism (Hasen 2022; Brennan Center for Justice 2022; Fuentes-Rohwer and Charles 2021; Drutman 2021; Norris 2020; Przybyla 2022). These phenomena are linked: US voter participation has long been anemic compared with other democracies (DeSilver 2017). Eighty million potential voters stayed home during the record-high turnout 2020 general election. This lack of participation props up the policy status quo, which in turn fans the flames of antidemocratic populism (Montanaro 2020; Norris, Cameron, and Wynter 2018).

Many electoral reform advocates have mounted campaigns that offer packages of institutional innovations: national election standards and voting protections, state and local rank-choice voting and open primaries, and similar ballot reforms aimed at electing more "responsible" or moderate candidates (Berinsky 2005; Klein 2015; Latner 2022a). However, reviving our democracy is going to require more than voting schemes designed to shuffle existing voters between current partisan coalitions.

Achieving effective democracy reform requires building common understanding around the institutional problems we face, and then mobilizing energy toward solutions. A prodemocracy coalition supporting even basic voting rights protections that can carry the day in the current political climate has yet to materialize (Latner 2022a). For example, the Democratic Party failed to unify its own caucus behind a legislative effort to pass national election standards and revisions to the Voting Rights Act out of the US Senate. Even minimalist administrative reform, aimed at updating the Electoral Count Act, has yet to gain enough bipartisan support in Congress (Foley et al. 2022).

To date, most US election reform efforts have their theory of change backwards: electoral reform does not just "happen" and transform a party system. Rather, partisan coalitions and movements capable of disrupting the status quo must be in a position to change policy, including election policies (Colomer 2005; Tarrow 2021; Weldon 2011). But disruption is not an end in itself. Successful reform entails institutional arrangements that bring the party system into line with the policy preferences of most Americans, rather than their attitudes and affinity for groups (Mason 2018, Cayton and Dawkins 2020). These arrangements require building up grassroots efforts that leverage dissatisfaction with electoral system performance, shifting political power away from dominant party coalitions (Nagel 1994; Leyenaar and Hazan 2011; Norris 2011; Sakamoto 1999; Santucci 2022b). In our view, achieving multiracial, multiparty democracy depends on building a more inclusive and engaged electorate.

The scope of our recommendations is limited to the electoral process and representation with a focus on the local and state level. For example, we do not weigh in on national questions about representation in the US Senate (one of the least representative electoral assemblies in the world), curtailing the election-intervening capacity of the US executive, or the size and

potential expansion of the US Supreme Court. While we acknowledge the importance of such questions, we argue successful reform movements require a bottom-up approach focusing squarely on political organizing at the local level. Such an emphasis on the importance of intermediary political organizations is largely missing from today's major reform efforts.

Effective Reform Requires Community-Centered Coalition Building

Democratic politics requires robust organization. US democracy has long been marred by deeply ingrained and persistent class- and race-based inequalities (Schattschneider and Adamany 1975; Schlozman, Verba, and Brady 2012). Building stronger political networks in marginalized communities is therefore necessary for achieving multiracial, multiparty democracy.

Political participation grows out of social networks that link together voters who share information, energy, and participatory norms (Bond et al. 2012; Carlson, Abrajano, and García Bedolla 2020; Rolfe 2012). Accordingly, increasing the impact of local organizing is the most effective means of building support for democracy reform, particularly with the large pool of potential voters who do not regularly participate in elections. Local community and service organizations—public, private, and nonprofit—have the legitimacy and leadership needed to develop and strengthen political engagement (Fox and Lawless 2014; Sinclair, McConnell, and Michelson 2013).

Grassroots leadership incorporates regular communication and outreach to people through organizations with established ties to traditionally underrepresented communities. Grassroots movements articulate interests and represent marginalized groups where formal institutions may otherwise exclude them (Weldon 2011; Young 2002). The political energy built from relational organizing (where contacts already have an established geographic or organizational connection to respondents), with support from state and national coalition partners, can be transformative (Michelson and Benjamin 2021).

Long-term improvements to community democracy come through long-term relational organizing, embedded in traditional civic and political associations as well as local service providers, health care organizations, schools, and, crucially, election administrators, who play a central role in making voting accessible—even under the constraints of restrictive statewide election laws (Brown, Raza, and Pinto 2020; Andrews et al. 2019; Menger and Stein 2018; Siegel-Stechler 2019; Yagoda 2019).

Including a more diverse set of organizations (intermediary political associations, local businesses, public and nonprofit agencies, including health care organizations, etc.) and leaders also multiplies the variety of roles and tactics that people may engage in. While only eligible citizens can vote, canvassing, contact and recruiting, coordinating, scheduling, event planning, poll watching, poll working, ballot certification, and a host of other administrative roles need to be filled for democracy to function effectively. Everybody can serve.

Task Force Recommendations

Secure the Integrity of Elections

The US faces a growing threat from a group of seditionists directly attempting to subvert upcoming elections (Przybyla 2022; Weiser and Weiner 2022). We already have examples of state legislatures trying to usurp the authority of county administrators, efforts to conduct partisan and unqualified ballot "recounts" in an attempt to reverse election results, and the possibility that courts may be unwilling to enter the coming "political fray," so we prioritize the prevention of direct election subversion (Grofman 2022; Hasen 2022; Hurt 2021; Wallace 2021). The communities most likely to be targeted for election subversion include voters of color in battleground states (Bender and Roebuck 2020; Hurt 2021; Olesko 2020; Romo 2020). Election protection groups need to focus attention and resources on cities like Atlanta, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, and Phoenix, to build resilience going into the 2024 election cycle. Every community nationwide ought to take as many of the following steps as possible to ensure the integrity of their elections.

Community service organizations, local businesses, and other public agencies can work with election agencies to build election capacity and educate the public. Partnering with local associations and businesses can help election administrators maximize outreach efforts, while securing early voting (where it is allowed) and Election Day voting facilities and recruiting and training the larger numbers of poll workers and other election staff needed to manage higher turnout (Brooks 2022; Hale and Slaton 2008). Election administrations can prioritize training through a variety of educational and technological partners (Columbia World Projects 2022; Jacobs and Choate 2022). Securing participatory networks dedicated to protecting the electoral process provides a bulwark of support against attacks on electoral integrity.

In order for election administrators and partners to update and regularly monitor voter databases, election administrators need to make basic voter file and registration data available to grassroots organizers and community organizations that can contribute local knowledge. Administrators can partner with data science experts to maintain more accurate databases and reduce errors with voter registration, ballot applications, application rejections (where required), and related inputs. These partnerships can also generate data on tracking and reporting the chain of custody of ballots sent and received, daily in-person voting, ballot processing, verification, rejections, certification of results, and postelection statistical analysis and audits (Columbia World Projects 2022; Janover and Westphal 2020; Latner 2020; NAACP LDF 2021). With the cooperation of local organizations, increased election administration transparency can help identify pre-election irregularities, while postelection analyses, specifically risk-limiting audits, are crucial to validating the integrity of the electoral process (Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project 2020; Alvarez et al. 2020; Alvarez 2019).

Beyond data and technological improvements, legislators and legal scholars need to implement procedures to help ensure the integrity of elections and eliminate impartial, evidence-based rules that specify how votes are to be counted and tallied, the conditions under which authority over election certification may transfer to state officials, and similar areas of discretion in the certification process. Further, federal laws that restrict the sort of frivolous lawsuits used to spread disinformation after the 2020 election, as well as laws to punish the

spread of false election information, intimidation of voters and election administrators, and threats of political violence, also need to be in place if we hope to secure the 2024 election cycle from targeted subversion (Hasen 2022).

Figure 1. How to Secure the Integrity of Future Elections
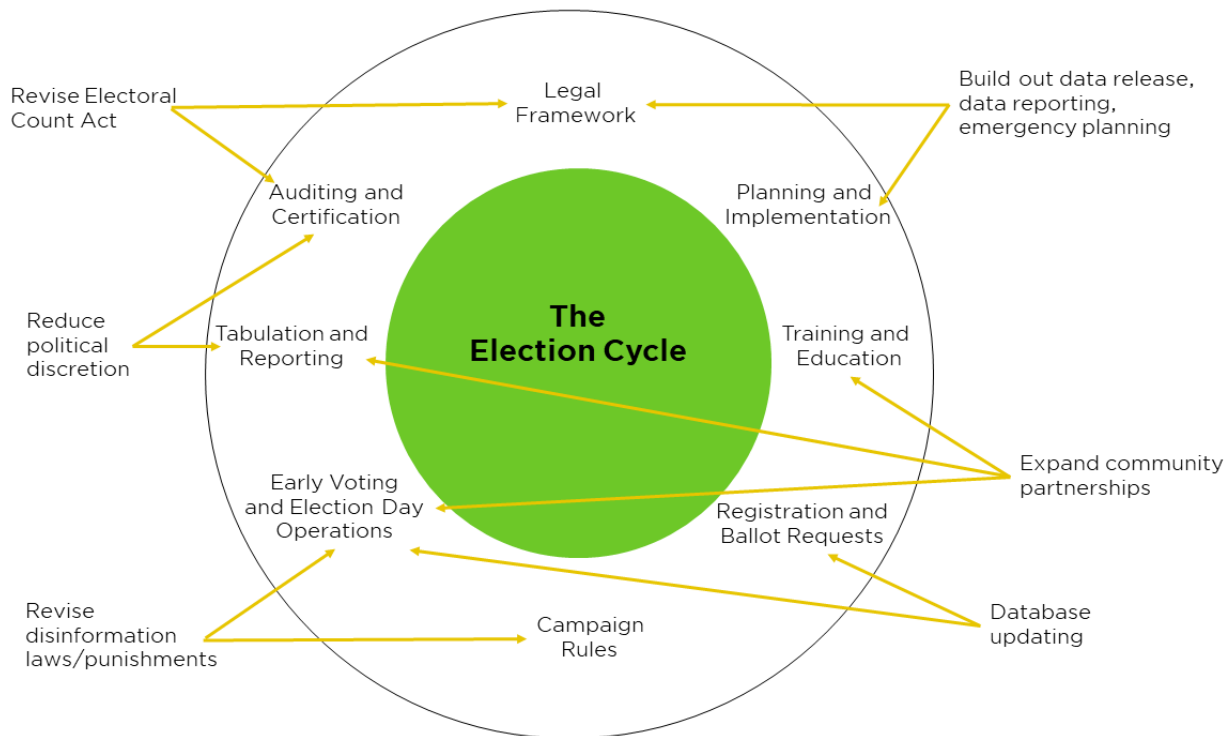
Every phase in the election cycle needs to be strengthened in order to secure the integrity of future elections. At least three of these phases can directly benefit from expanding local community–election agency partnerships to improve education and training, support early voting and Election Day operations, and produce more timely tabulation and reporting of election results.
SOURCE: Inspired by Norris and Grömping 2019.

These reforms would help secure comprehensive, accurate, auditable data on the electoral process, with multiple and convenient points of access to ballot processing and clear procedural requirements for the certification of elections. Crucially, timely collection, analysis, and dissemination of election data—both inputs and outputs—reduces the uncertainty that feeds the spread of disinformation campaigns (Alvarez et al. 2020; Hubert H. Humphrey School of Public Affairs 2022; MIT Technology Review 2020).

Building out a transparent and secure electoral ecosystem with counties and local election authorities will require strong collaborative relationships, with ordinary citizens playing a greater role in providing basic election services. In the face of political violence and targeted

attempts to subvert a national election, local organizations engaged in the election process can also mobilize the public to take action through peaceful demonstrations.

Counter Voter Suppression by Supporting Voter Participation

The United States has a long history of systemically diluting voices in the political process (Bartels 2016; Fraga 2018; Gilens and Page 2014; Lessig 2015; Turchin 2016). Extremist groups disproportionately target underrepresented populations, including voters of color, with disinformation intended to depress turnout (Charles and Boltax 2020). Even well-intended recruitment into political activity often exacerbates and perpetuates biased political participation. Conventional get-out-the-vote (GOTV) tactics are less likely to reach low-propensity (infrequent) voters, and those potential voters are also less likely to respond to GOTV messaging, which is typically transactional (Baily, Hopkins, and Rogers 2016; Enos, Fowler, and Vavreck 2014; Fraga 2018; Ray and Whitlock 2019). We must do a better job of meeting potential voters where they are.

Most 2020 nonvoters reported choosing not to vote, including nearly one-quarter who said they were not interested in politics (Livingstone 2020b; Montanaro 2020; Thomson-DeVeaux et al. 2020). Voter turnout is even lower in US municipal elections, dropping to single digits in some cases (National Civic League 2020). Selective nonvoting plays a greater role in low participation than voter suppression or formal denial of voting rights (limiting voter eligibility, restricting access to voting, strict voter ID requirements, etc.), though discriminatory institutions have a broader dampening effect on turnout.

Studies also show that nonvoters often care deeply about the condition of their communities, but may lack the information and relationships available to voters in resource-rich networks, resources that provide a foundation for political association and participation (Chilcote 2021; Schlozman, Brady, and Verba 2018). Some nonvoters may not connect local conditions to voting and electoral politics, while others may choose to abstain as a way of rejecting the political system. As Khalilah Worley of Greater Cleveland Congregations discovered, "We talk about the issue of voter suppression. But when we knocked on doors during the Covid-19 pandemic, this felt more like voter *depression*" (Chilcote 2021).
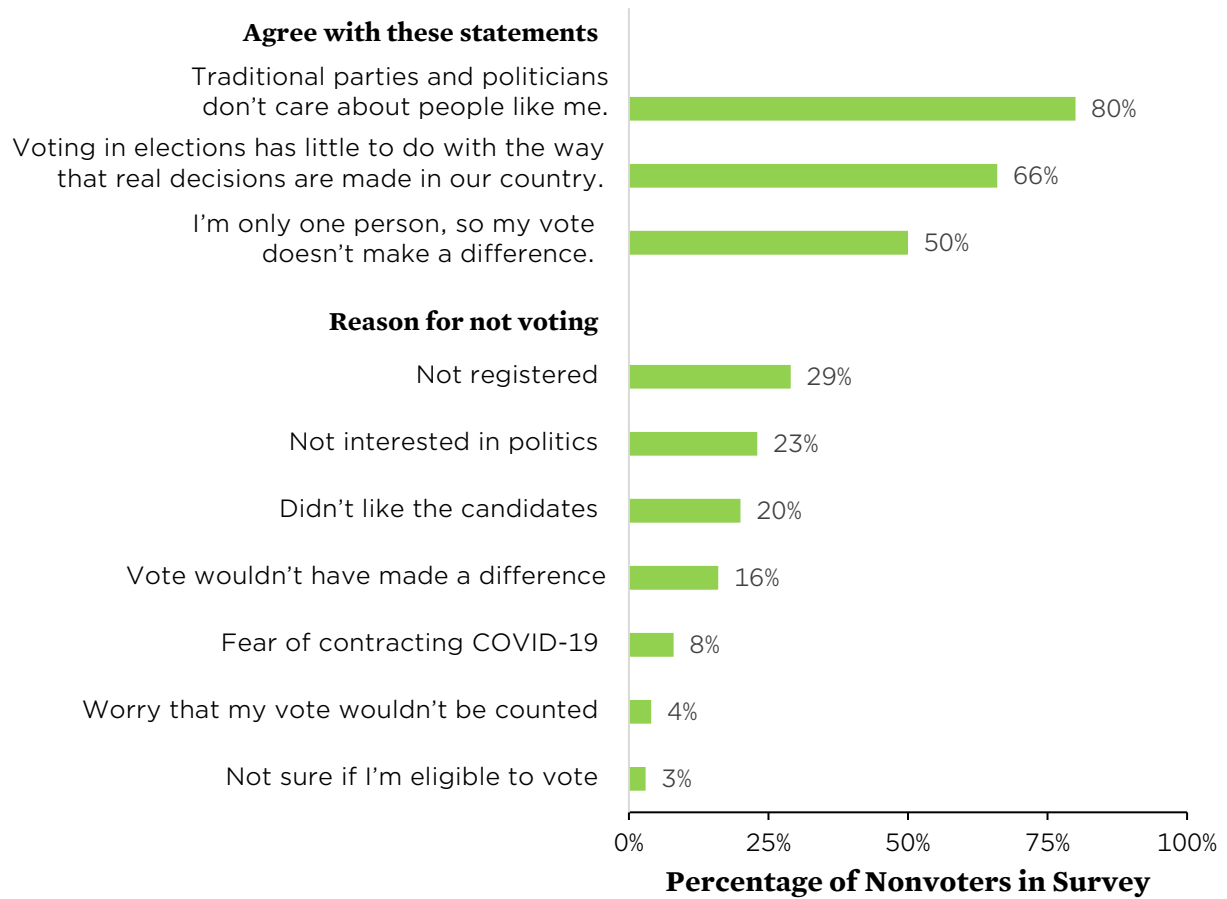
Passive voter suppression, or disenfranchisement through the exclusionary practice of targeting only high-propensity (frequent) voters, generates additional inequalities in participation (Spencer and Ross 2019). Modern campaign organizations frequently ignore low-turnout precincts, excluding residents from voter mobilization efforts in the well-financed, data-intense mobilization tactics deployed by modern election campaigns in search of high-propensity voters (Hersh 2015).

In contrast, relational organizing and integrated voter engagement (connecting voter engagement to issue-based organizing) rely on securing turnout and election "wins" to help convert low-propensity voters and nonvoters into citizens who exercise their own power in concert with others (Waite 2020; Funders' Committee for Civic Participation 2011; Kerchner 2019). Channeling organizational energy to specific populations is an effective way to attenuate the inequalities between low- and high-turnout communities. Person-to-person outreach and regular contact among neighbors who target low-propensity voters can organize communities without increasing turnout inequality (Sinclair, McConnell, and Michelson 2013). When precinct captains reach out to their neighbors, leadership development

incorporates the faces and voices of those who bear the burden of underrepresentation, cultivating and strengthening community representation (The Forge 2021; Funders' Committee for Civic Participation 2011). Targeted outreach to specific low-turnout groups, such as young people, students, and returning felons, can demonstrably improve voter registration and turnout (Doleac et al. 2022; Bennion and Michelson 2018).

Grassroots leadership development incorporates regular communication and outreach to people through organizations that already maintain ties within marginalized communities (Bejarano and Martinez-Ebers 2018; Michener 2020). People need to see the impact of mobilization in their lives and engage in reflection on the political context in which they operate. Elections are best understood as milestones that come in between the year-round work of organizing communities and addressing political marginalization and inequality.

Figure 2. Concerns of Nonvoters in the 2020 Election

Agree with these statements

Traditional parties and politicians don't care about people like me. — 80%

Voting in elections has little to do with the way that real decisions are made in our country. — 66%

I'm only one person, so my vote doesn't make a difference. — 50%

Reason for not voting

Not registered — 29%

Not interested in politics — 23%

Didn't like the candidates — 20%

Vote wouldn't have made a difference — 16%

Fear of contracting COVID-19 — 8%

Worry that my vote wouldn't be counted — 4%

Not sure if I'm eligible to vote — 3%

Percentage of Nonvoters in Survey

Large majorities of nonvoters say that traditional politicians and parties do not care about people like them, and that elections have little to do with how decisions are made in the United States. While uncertainty over voter registration is a major reason people give for not voting, nonvoters are less likely to cite other institutional barriers.
SOURCE: Livingstone 2020a.

Requiring language and disability access is also necessary to ensure that *all* eligible voters can have a voice in elections (Demos 2014). Translating materials, providing language and disability training to poll workers, and ensuring full accessibility for in-person voters with disabilities will reduce waiting times and poll worker incidents, while improving the overall efficiency of the voting process (Governing 2016; U.S. Election Assistance Commission 2021).

Structural reforms that reduce discriminatory barriers, expand access, and enhance integrity should be advanced in parallel to participatory reforms, where viable. Legislators in 27 states have recently passed or are considering bills to further restrict voting or weaken the integrity of the electoral process (Davies 2022; Schraufnagel, Pomante II, and Li 2020). These

restrictions include duplicitous "proof-of-citizenship" requirements, felon disenfranchisement and restrictions on voter registration, and limiting voting access, especially voting by mail, despite evidence that voting by mail is at least as secure as voting in person (Barreto et al. 2020; Ingraham 2014; Latner et al. 2021).

Political institutions should incentivize voters to take action. A straightforward way to promote greater voter participation in local elections is to consolidate them with national elections (Hajnal, Kogan, and Markarian 2021). Moving city elections "on-cycle" with major elections can more than double local turnout, resulting in city voter participation that is more representative of the larger public.

Opt-out automatic voter registration (AVR) directly addresses the problem of identifying eligible voters by integrating public agency information into voter registration databases (Brennan Center for Justice 2019). Strategic selection of source agencies (public assistance, health services, etc.) to register voters can reduce participatory inequalities. Similarly, same-day registration (SDR) ensures that no voters are excluded from the process on technical grounds (Grumbach and Hill 2022). Universal vote-by-mail (UVBM) is perhaps the single most-effective institutional reform to improve turnout among low-propensity voters, including young people, voters of color, and blue-collar voters (Bonica et al. 2021; McGhee, Paluch, and Romero 2022). However, consolidating voting precincts into vote centers may amplify turnout gaps, so it is important to balance efficiency with maintenance of neighborhood-based, early, in-person voting options (McGhee, Paluch, and Romero 2022).

We also urge caution about "solving" nonvoting by compelling people to vote (Herron and Smith 2014). Research suggests such rules are designed to prevent the sorts of policy changes that (a) might deprive right-wing populism of the "oxygen" now fueling it and (b) deal with other forms of systemic inequality. Moreover, reformers have adopted such systems to blunt the electoral impact of the very communities at the center of this report (Kouba 2021; Kouba and Mysicka 2019; John and DeBats 2014).

Reduce Barriers to Political Association

The First Amendment protects an individual's right to associate politically through the vote. That right is denied when states unreasonably burden the opportunity to join with others for the purpose of advancing common beliefs (Charles 2003; Tokaji 2016). For example, courts have historically prohibited legislatures from enacting voting procedures that disproportionately burden voters of color. However, given the Supreme Court's increased willingness to interpret exclusionary rules as falling within the "usual burdens on voting," successfully challenging restrictive election laws through litigation is getting more difficult (Fuentes-Rohwer and Charles 2021).

The adoption of government-printed ballots and "good government" reforms, dating back to the Progressive Era, has determined standards for political parties and candidates to gain ballot access. Excessive signature requirements and filing fees, bans on cross-endorsements or fusion ballots, restrictions on party-building activities, mandating nonpartisan ballots in local elections, and an array of judicial decisions have made it more difficult for minor party competitors to gain ballot access (Bennett 2008; Winger 1996). The major parties that control state legislatures (and their surrogates in nonpartisan elections) serve as ballot gatekeepers.

Figure 3. The US Has More Restrictive Registration and Ballot Access Laws, Compared to Other Democracies

Compared to other democracies, the US makes it more difficult for people to register to vote and for candidates and parties to get onto ballots. The two major political parties in the US now function as effective gatekeepers of representation.
Notes: The sample of countries in this figure includes only those scoring 4 or 5 on the Electoral Integrity ranking (the highest two scores). Fairness scores are composite indices evaluating fairness of voter registration (all voters were listed in the register, accuracy of register, whether ineligible voters were registered), fairness to small parties, and whether women and ethnic and national minorities had equal opportunity to run for office. Scales range from 1–100 (voter registration laws) and 1–15 (ballot access for small parties, women, and racial minorities). For country abbreviations, see: https://laendercode.net/en/3-letter-list.html
SOURCE: Norris and Grömping 2019.

Achieving multiracial, multiparty democracy requires breaking down barriers to effective political association, so that people can exercise political power in concert with other like-minded actors. Expert surveys suggest that women, candidates of color, and small parties face greater barriers to ballot access in the US compared to other democracies (Norris and Grömping 2019). We often overlook administrative restraints on political association as a

target for reform, yet the energy required to qualify candidates for elective office is often marginalizing and prohibitive, requiring community organizations to draw resources away from actions to directly address local inequities (Burden 2007; Reed 2017; Winger 1996). Making it easier for candidates to qualify, cross-endorse, and use fusion balloting (where parties can cross endorse candidates) are important supply-side reforms to strengthen democratic representation by better reflecting the dimensionality of electoral coalitions (Drutman 2022; Santucci 2022a).

We also urge caution about popular intraparty-directed reforms, such as changes to party nomination procedures and primaries that further weaken the capacity of organizations to represent distinct community voices. First, evidence is mixed that opening partisan primaries to all voters, or otherwise weakening the role of party activists in candidate selection, actually expands "voter choice" or reduces partisan polarization (Ahler, Citrin, and Lenz 2016; Latner et al. 2017; McGhee and Shor 2017; Patterson 2020; Sparks 2020). Some have even suggested that such reforms facilitated the right-wing-populist takeover of the Republican Party (Drutman 2021).

While it is clear that powerful corporate interests have an incentive to weaken political parties (Schleifer 2021; Edgecliffe-Johnson 2021; Musk 2022), their goal of "moderating" representation runs counter to incentives that encourage policy entrepreneurs and activists to expand political association through new groups competing for representation (Cox 1997; Strøm 1992; Klein 2015).

Expand Representation by Increasing Assembly Sizes

Electoral systems, specifically the rules that determine the number of seats in representative legislatures (assembly size), the number of seats per district (district magnitude), and how votes are converted into seats (electoral formula) for elections, are among the most important factors that shape incentives for political coalitions. Assembly size can directly constrain the diversity of representation in a given system (Allen and Stoll 2018; Latner, Santucci, and Shugart 2021; Lublin and Bowler 2018; Moser, Scheiner, and Stoll 2018; Norris 2006; Shugart and Taagepera 2017; Taagepera and Shugart 1991). Increasing the number of seats in an assembly lowers the threshold of representation for (numeric) minority groups in several ways. Adding seats to a legislature will either add more seats to existing electoral districts, or add more districts. More seats per district can allow smaller groups to win seats, whereas more districts, with smaller populations, allows smaller coalitions to win seats. Both mechanisms help "open the door to marginalized, under-represented groups" (Allen and Stoll 2018).

Lowering the threshold to representation for marginalized groups increases the likelihood that candidates who share their racial and gender identities can effectively compete for office (Fraga 2016; Fraga 2018; Hughes 2013; Montoya et al. 2021). Crucially, the intersectionality of identities among constituencies, candidates and organizational leaders has mobilizing capacity, with political identity working through multiple complex channels (Bejarano et al. 2021; Gershon et al. 2019; Hardy-Fanta et al. 2016; Uhlaner and Scola 2016). Coalitions can condition the strength of such ties by adjusting the size and number of assembly seats, with larger assemblies reflecting latent political diversity within racial groups (Latner, Santucci, and Shugart 2021; Corral and Leal 2020; Sanchez, Fraga, and Ramírez 2020; Sadhwani 2022).

Increasing the number of seats on city councils in the United States should be an especially effective reform, given the ridiculously small size of many US city councils compared to those in other cities across the world (Latner, Santucci, and Shugart 2021; Fissell 2022). For example, the Los Angeles city council has 15 seats to represent approximately 4 million people, compared to 45 council seats representing a population of a million in Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

To be clear, we are not just calling for longer ballots or more candidates in elections, which can demobilize voter engagement, especially for low-propensity voters (Brockington 2003). Rather, more seats on city councils increases the capacity for representation, even in low-turnout precincts, and resulting changes in the racial composition of districts can generate a greater supply of viable candidates and greater competition (Atsusaka 2021), depending on the choice of electoral formula.

## Design Electoral Districts to Represent All Voters

Electoral systems typically reinforce the power of the coalitions that designed them and are resilient to change in the absence of a shift in coalitional strength (Santucci 2022b). Like assembly size, district magnitude (or the number of seats per electoral district) directly constrains the possible diversity of representation at the district level. Choosing an electoral system is a contentious political issue, in part because these rules are such a decisive factor in determining racial and partisan representation.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 initiated a legal and administrative turn toward single-seat districts (SSDs) and the creation of majority-minority districts to ensure that voters of color could elect a candidate of their choice (Davidson and Grofman 1994). The remedy has certainly been effective (Lublin et al. 2009), yet the Supreme Court's growing animosity toward the consideration of race in districting, or even standards that incorporate racial data, threatens the future of such remedies (Fuentes-Rohwer and Charles 2021; Jones and Polsky 2021; Latner 2022b; Schroedel and Hart 2015). The irony of the majority-minority district remedy is that it has itself become a tool of vote dilution in redistricting litigation, under the increasingly protected veil of partisan advantage (Keena et al. 2021).

Larger assembly sizes and more proportional electoral systems create incentives for coalitions to compete for the support of more voters of color, as more seats allow more diverse representation (Moser, Scheiner, and Stoll 2018; Norris 1997). While the politics of race within racially defined groups are more likely to receive political representation under more permissive systems, the same breadth of voice provides multiracial coalitions an incentive to build broader winning coalitions.

Moreover, the basic logic of political equality demands proportionality in election results (McGann 2006). A wide variety of electoral systems can be engineered to achieve proportional results, from SSDs that carve out districts so that voters are represented roughly proportional to their partisan voting strength, to large-magnitude, multiseat districts (MSDs) that precisely award seats proportionally to parties (or coalitions), to candidate-based systems with preferential lists, to SSD/MSD hybrids—known as mixed-member proportional—that compensate seat shares to smaller parties unable to win majority support in single-seat districts (Shugart and Wattenberg 2001; Diamond and Plattner 2006; Herron, Pekkanen, and Shugart 2018).

Figure 4. More Permissive Electoral Systems Are Associated with More-Diverse City Councils
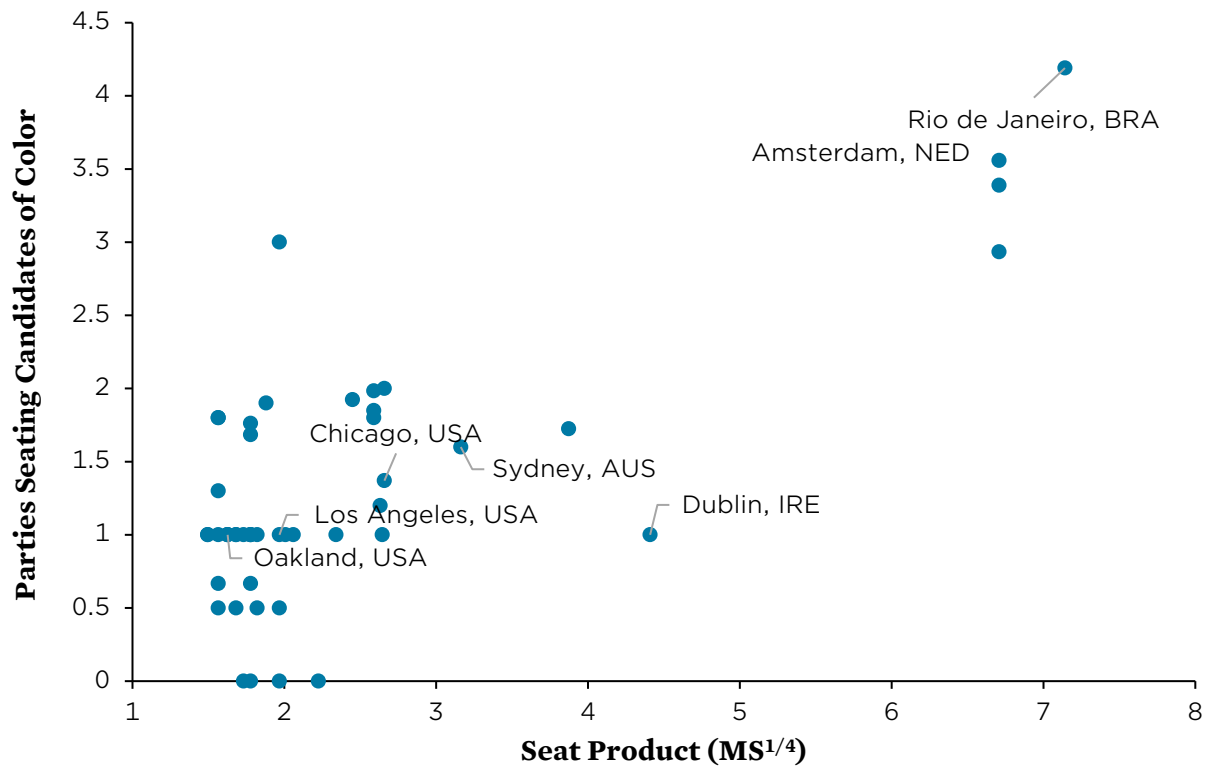
This sample of cities illustrates how the number of parties seating candidates of color increases with the Seat Product, the product of assembly size (number of seats on council) and district magnitude (number of seats per district). As the number of seats increase, the Seat Product value increases.
Note: The number of parties seating candidates of color derives from the number of parties seating at least one candidate of color in the city council in recent (2016–2019) elections, weighted by the parties' share of legislative seats.
SOURCES: Updated analysis from Latner, Santucci, and Shugart 2021. Shugart and Taagapera 2017 develops the link between Seat Product, number of parties, and candidate selection.

Electoral system designs interact with social conditions and populations to shape politically salient identities and representation in complex ways (Bowen 2022; Montoya et al. 2021; Niven and Solimine 2022; Trounstine and Valdini 2008; Vowles and Hayward 2021). Rather than advocate predetermined reform packages onto communities "from above," we advise that the choice of electoral system be left to those communities—who must live under and compete through those rules.

Advantages and disadvantages of electoral system choices will play out differently under different conditions. Extremely racially polarized voting, coupled with geographic segregation, may warrant engineering racial representation through SSDs, whereas the greater permissiveness of explicitly proportional systems supports more geographically dispersed minority groups. Decisions about optimizing political equality are highly sensitive to the

dynamics of local coalitions. Perhaps the best advice is to caution against attempts to insulate transitory coalitions from competition. To ensure that the process of selecting electoral rules is inclusive as possible, local communities should make these choices through participatory, deliberative processes.

Foster More Deliberative Policymaking

Considerations about electoral system design and related policy questions lead to our final recommendation, which is to support deliberative institutions capable of adjudicating both structural and policy questions. The goal of citizen juries, panels, and deliberative forums, concrete expressions of our collective political lives, is to better incorporate the practices of inclusivity, listening, mutual respect and justification, reflection, and openness to persuasion into formal political institutions (Dryzek et al. 2019; Nino 2009).

On many of the issues that we have addressed, deliberation ought to take priority over sheer political strength, especially when choosing institutions for collective decisionmaking (Bellamy 2010; van der Does and Jacquet 2021). Deliberative forums may be particularly suited for diagnosing deficits in representation and democracy, by articulating the interest of otherwise-marginalized groups, giving people an opportunity to get to know local leaders, and deliberating policy outside of the space of electoral politics (Fishkin 2013; McGann 2006; Weldon 2011).

Bringing people together to deliberate collective choices, including institutional choices, can add more voices to the conversation and lend greater legitimacy to the outcome.
SOURCE: Christos Bacharakis/Creative Commons (Flickr)

We are not naively optimistic about the prospects of deliberative policymaking. Our recommendations up to this point reflect an acute concern for the ways that inequalities shape political persuasion (Stokes 1998, Johnson 1998). Communities must structure deliberation with facilitators, expert testimony, a diverse array of information and evidence, justifiable reason-giving, and respectful listening. This is a tall order, but if the proliferation of experiments in deliberative decisionmaking are any indication of its potential, there is reason for hope (Warren 2022).

Moreover, neighborhood and city venues provide a unique opportunity for policy deliberation, as even residents less likely to partake in electoral politics may show up when their communities are directly affected by policy change (Nuamah and Ogorzalek 2021). Greater opportunities for participatory decisionmaking provide a venue for voices to be heard and for participatory social networks to be strengthened.

Recommendations to Stakeholders

This section provides recommendations to stakeholders whose commitment is necessary to achieving these objectives. Democracy stakeholders frequently face a misalignment of objectives: election workers on the ground need basic data management, while researchers want generalizable field experiments to answer theoretical questions; community organizations face tremendous hurdles in providing basic services to members, while well-funded reformers seek volunteers to implement preordained visions. Our recommendations are directed at better aligning reform objectives with community needs, creating spaces where shared values can produce tangible improvements in democratic performance.

Community Organizations

As the engine of change for achieving multiracial, multiparty democracy, nearly all of our recommendations are directed at or dependent on strengthening the capacity of community organizations. Our recommendations focus on expanding efforts to strengthen their political reach without straining their capacity to provide the services that make them vital in the first place.

Local organizations, including those that have not traditionally engaged in voter mobilization, can plug into national election-protection programs to help answer their members' questions about voter registration deadlines, requesting absentee or mail-in ballots, and how to vote in-person during early voting or on Election Day. These organizations can also support monitoring, reporting, and documenting polling precinct incidents and related problems that threaten election integrity (Election Protection 2022; Latner 2020; Hubert H. Humphrey School of Public Affairs 2022).

In a year where many election offices are experiencing an exodus of experienced administrators, threats from extremists, and political pressure from state officials, local election administrators need all the help they can get (Wines 2021). Community organizations can partner with election offices to conduct polls, ensure accessibility, and assist with ballot processing and the like, as well as help them become effective public educators. GOTV organizations regularly rely on election administrators for election data, but that relationship should be reciprocal; integrating membership data with registration and voter files can facilitate precinct organization and relational organizing efforts.

Community organizations also need more partners and financial support to build the infrastructure needed to bring marginalized voices into the electoral process (Brooks 2022; Abramovitz et al. 2019). Data science experts and advocacy organizations can successfully challenge voter suppression and disengagement by working with election agencies to reduce registration and ballot rejection errors, for example (Latner 2020). In turn, when service organizations build support through voter engagement efforts, that political capital can in turn sustain and stabilize school funding, expand health care services, and secure public resources to support a variety of local challenges. Social welfare organizations and partners in battleground states, such as Arizona and Georgia, have already demonstrated impressive, scalable efforts to strengthen local political networks (Carranza 2020; Higgins 2021).

Election Administration Agencies

Election administrators must also seek out cross-sector collaboration, where election officials, community organizations, and researchers can share expertise, build out data exchanges, grapple with common problems, and advance effective reforms.

It is increasingly important for election administrators to partner with private and nonprofit vendors to improve election performance and the voting experience, particularly if long-term voter mobilization goals are realized (Hale and Slaton 2008; U.S. Digital Response 2022). Finding ways to contribute to data transparency without straining administrative resources is essential. Academic partnerships provide one such an opportunity (Columbia World Projects 2022).

Extraordinary progress has been made in the field of redistricting—through collaboration between election scientists, mapping engineers, and software experts—to create public mapping projects in an effort to combat gerrymandering (Redistricting Data Hub 2022). Putting the same effort toward curating more granular eligible-population, voter-registration, voter-contact, voting, and ballot-processing information would greatly improve our ability to understand, assess, and improve electoral ecosystems.

Other productive partnerships include public education and deliberative opportunities with nonprofits and other public agencies to better integrate service providers, such as family resource centers, into the voter outreach process (Disinfo Defense League 2022; Menger and Stein 2018; Brown, Raza, and Pinto 2020). Additionally, making space to partner up for deliberative opportunities can ensure that election agencies maintain regular ties to their clients (for example, see Orange County Registrar of Voters 2022).

Electoral Reform and Voting Rights Organizations

Election reform organizations and voting rights advocates are central to the success of any broader democracy movement, but they often work at separate ends of democracy reform. Whereas reform organizations have historically focused on legislating specific administrative or ballot-related changes that gain popularity among experts, voting rights groups are more active in litigation and the enforcement of existing federal voting rights protections. These groups need to collaborate more extensively as partners to support the efforts of community organizations.

Effective collaboration requires that these organizations change the ways they typically approach community work. Organizers often perceive election reformers to be elites with solutions in search of problems, lacking commitment to the postreform work of sustaining stable political coalitions to ensure that reforms work as intended (or at least, as they have been sold). Conversely, voting rights and litigation groups are justifiably cautious in their approach to reform. After all, having successfully built a legal regime around an established set of voting rights protections, they are hesitant to change course—even if established solutions no longer fit current conditions.

These organizations would benefit from engaging in more active listening prior to advocacy. Grassroots tactics that incorporate active listening also strengthen their capacity to build leadership in communities most impacted by policy, strengthening the link between the fate of

communities and organizational representatives (Kitson and Howell 2019; Roche 2017). The environmental justice movement has demonstrated perhaps the greatest success at modeling these practices (Energy.gov 2022; National Resource Defense Council 2016; Schneider 2014; Towers 2000; Union of Concerned Scientists 2022). We view better integrated voting rights, electoral reform, and environmental justice coalitions as the best hope for a broad-based prodemocracy movement in the United States (Latner 2022a).

Active, deep listening is the first step. Using deep-canvassing techniques, including face-to-face, issue-based conversations, organizers build trusted and nontransactional relationships with community members that sustain beyond election cycles. Real-time data maps of the community electoral ecosystem—such as voter eligibility and demographics, patterns of registration rates, ballot applications, verification, and rejection rates—can amplify communication and organizing capacity.

Relational organizing also builds power locally through administrative partnerships, then identifies and eradicates administrative barriers that systemically depress voting in marginalized communities. Cadres of local leaders and organizers lead power hubs that enact a culture of organizing and policy change and grow this work in marginalized neighborhoods, through peer recruitment and compelling storytelling. Deep canvassing techniques, which use people's personal experiences as a basis of uncovering shared goals, build a foundation for continued communication. Organizations can then analyze data identifying institutional barriers to participation, to engineer scalable, replicable blueprints for network building. Legal, technical, and organizational experts also contribute to movement building by developing new legal strategies, technological advances, and evidence-based assessments to shape policymaking at higher leverage points in government.

Philanthropic/Funding Organizations

A growing number of funding organizations are entering the democracy reform space. We are cautiously optimistic about this development, but also concerned about the possibility of funders "capturing" and distorting the goals of reform movements (McCambridge 2019). Local community organizations must lead by setting advocacy and organizing agendas. Funding organizations should stand in solidarity with local organizations to ultimately make the democracy movement broader, stronger, more effective, and more likely to survive.

Funders should direct more resources to movement builders and existing community organizations who experience the weakness of democracy on a daily basis, rather than establishing branch organizations of larger, national reform groups. Philanthropic organizations should not focus on getting a win and then getting out, but instead make long-term investments in movement building and postreform policy implementation. Local capacity-building and multiorganizational collaboration are making important progress, but much more collaboration is needed (Battle for Democracy Fund 2022; Healthy Democracy Fund 2022; More Equitable Democracy 2022).

Research funding also needs to be better attuned to the immediate needs of community organizations and administrators. More applied research can focus on improvements to the election experience and election outcomes. Researchers should focus on working with data that can be produced and assessed without drawing down the resources of election office or community organization staff.

In 2018, the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine published "Securing the Vote: Protecting American Democracy" and called on Congress to "authorize and fund immediately a major initiative on voting that supports research relevant to the administration, conduct and performance of elections" (National Academies 2018). We concur that increased federal funding is imperative, but we also recognize that there is a great deal that funding organizations can do now to support scientists and science organizations and generate collaboration between researchers and local election administrations.

Conclusion

We brought together a unique group of organizers, activists, scholars, and election experts to confront the challenges facing our democracy, consider the dynamics of building successful reform coalitions, and chart a trajectory toward achieving truly multiracial, multiparty democracy in the United States.

The expansion of democracy in the United States and across the world has historically relied on the energy of social movements to mobilize and upset status quo coalitions. We find ourselves again in a period of shifting partisan alignments, which present direct challenges to existing institutions and opportunities to improve democratic performance. We do not wish to repeat the mistakes of the past, as compromises in previous reform efforts have helped create our current crisis. In this new era of reform, we have charted a path forward to bring us closer to our democratic ideals, without compromising effectiveness or exploiting those most in need of a seat at the table.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

REFERENCES

Abramovitz, Mimi, Margaret Sherraden, Katharine Hill, Tanya Rhodes Smith, Beth Lewis, and Terry Mizrahi. 2019. "Voting Is Social Work: Voices from the National Social Work Voter Mobilization Campaign." *Journal of Social Work Education* 55 (4): 626–44. https://doi.org/10.1080/10437797.2019.1656690

Ahler, Douglas J., Jack Citrin, and Gabriel S. Lenz. 2016. "Do Open Primaries Improve Representation? An Experimental Test of California's 2012 Top-Two Primary." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 41 (2): 237–68. https://doi.org/10.1111/lsq.12113

Allen, Geoff, and Heather Stoll. 2018. "Representation as a Numbers Game: The Link between Legislative Size and the Representation of Minorities and Women." Southern California Comparative Political Institutions (website). Accessed April 22, 2022. http://www.scpi.politicaldata.org/SCPIVIII/Stoll8.pdf

Alvarez, R. Michael. 2019. "Assuring Election Integrity: A Comprehensive Ecological Framework for Evaluating Elections in Southern California 2017–2019 Project Final Report." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project (website). June 11, 2019. https://vote.caltech.edu/reports/10

Alvarez, R. Michael, Nicholas Adams-Cohen, Seo-young Silvia Kim, and Yimeng Li. 2020. *Securing American Elections: How Data-Driven Election Monitoring Can Improve Our Democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Andrews, Kenneth T., Alexander Hertel-Fernandez, Hahrie Han, Lara Putnam, Daniel Schlozman, Theda Skocpol, Vanessa Williamson, et al. 2019. "How to Revitalize America's Local Political Parties." Scholars Strategy Network (website). January 30, 2019. https://scholars.org/contribution/how-revitalize-americas-local-political-parties

Atsusaka, Yuki. 2021. "A Logical Model for Predicting Minority Representation: Application to Redistricting and Voting Rights Cases." *American Political Science Review* 115 (4): 1210–25. https://doi.org/10.1017/S000305542100054X

Baily, Michael A., Daniel J. Hopkins, and Todd Rogers. 2016. "Unresponsive and Unpersuaded: The

Unintended Consequences of a Voter Persuasion Effort." *Political Behavior* 38 (3): 713–746. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-016-9338-8

Barreto, Matt A., Chad Dunn, Sonni Waknin, Michael Cohen, Michael S. Latner, and Gabriel Sanchez. 2020. "Analysis of H.R.1 and the Immediate Need for Expanded Access to Vote-by-Mail." UCLA Latino Policy and Politics Initiative, A Joint Project with the Union of Concerned Scientists and The University of New Mexico Center for Social Policy. https://latino.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/UCLA-VRP-Memo-on-HR1.pdf

Bartels, Larry M. 2016. *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age — Second Edition*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Battle for Democracy Fund. 2022. "Battle For Democracy Fund." Battle for Democracy Fund (website). Accessed May 20, 2022. https://battlefordemocracyfund.org

Bejarano, Christina, Nadia E. Brown, Sarah Allen Gershon, and Celeste Montoya. 2021. "Shared Identities: Intersectionality, Linked Fate, and Perceptions of Political Candidates." *Political Research Quarterly* 74 (4): 970–85. https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912920951640

Bejarano, Christina E., and Valerie Martinez-Ebers. 2018. "Latina Mobilization: A Strategy for Increasing the Political Participation of Latino Families." In *The Legacy of Second-Wave Feminism in American Politics*, edited by Angie Maxwell and Todd Shields, 165–78. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62117-3_7

Bellamy, Richard. 2010. "Dealing with Difference: Four Models of Pluralist Politics." SSRN Scholarly Paper 1538464. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=1538464

Bender, William, and Jeremy Roebuck. 2020. "Trump's Campaign Is Challenging Mail and Provisional Ballots at Record Rates in Philly and Its Suburbs." *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 11, 2020. https://www.inquirer.com/news/philadelphia-election-results-trump-legal-challenges-pennsylvania-mail-ballots-provisional-20201111.html

Bennett, James T. 2008. *Stifling Political Competition: How Government Has Rigged the System to Benefit Demopublicans and Exclude Third Parties*. New York: Springer Science & Business Media.

Bennion, Elizabeth A., and Melissa Michelson. 2018. "How to Get College Students to Vote." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, October 17, 2018. https://www.chronicle.com/article/how-to-get-college-students-to-vote/

Berinsky, Adam J. 2005. "The Perverse Consequences of Electoral Reform in the United States." *American Politics Research* 33 (4): 471–491. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1532673X04269419

Bond, Robert M., Christopher J. Jones, Jason J. Jones, Adam D. I. Kramer, Cameron Marlow, Jaime E. Settle, and James H. Fowler. 2012. "A 61-Million-Person Experiment in Social Influence and Political Mobilization." *Nature* 489 (7415): 295–8.

Bonica, Adam, Jacob M. Grumbach, Charlotte Hill, and Hakeem Jefferson. 2021. "All Mail Voting in Colorado Increases Turnout and Reduces Turnout Inequality." *Electoral Studies* 72 (August): 102363. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2021.102363

Bowen, Daniel. 2022. "Constituency Size and Evaluations of Government." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 47 (2): 459–99. https://doi.org/10.1111/lsq.12358

Brennan Center for Justice. 2019. "Automatic Voter Registration and Modernization in the States | Brennan Center for Justice." Brennan Center for Justice (website). March 29, 2019. https://www.brennancenter.org/analysis/voter-registration-modernization-states

———. 2022. "Voting Laws Roundup: February 2022." Brennan Center for Justice (website). February 9, 2022. https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/voting-laws-roundup-february-2022

Brockington, David. 2003. "A Low Information Theory of Ballot Position Effect." *Political Behavior* 25 (1): 1–27.

Brooks, Keith. 2022. "How Are Grassroots Organizations Preparing for the 2022 Election and Beyond?" Tides (website). April 21, 2022. https://www.tides.org/our-community/tides-grantees/how-are-grassroots-organizations-preparing-for-the-2022-election-and-beyond/

Brown, Chloe L., Danyaal Raza, and Andrew D. Pinto. 2020. "Voting, Health and Interventions in Healthcare Settings: A Scoping Review." *Public Health Reviews* 41 (1): 16.

https://doi.org/10.1186/s40985-020-00133-6

Burden, Barry C. 2007. "Ballot Regulations and Multiparty Politics in the States." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 40, no. 4 (2007): 669–73. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20452047

Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project. 2020. "Monitoring the Election." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project (website). 2020. https://monitoringtheelection.us

Carlson, T. N., M. Abrajano, and L. García Bedolla. 2020. "Political Discussion Networks and Political Engagement among Voters of Color." *Political Research Quarterly* 2020 73 (1): 79–95.

Carranza, Rafael. 2020. "Groups Knocked on 1M Doors, Made 8M Calls to Boost Latino Turnout." azcentral.com (website). November 12, 2020. https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/arizona/2020/11/12/groups-knocked-1-m-doors-made-8-m-calls-boost-latino-turnout/6254538002/

Cayton, Adam, and Ryan Dawkins. 2020. "Incongruent Voting or Symbolic Representation? Asymmetrical Representation in Congress, 2008–2014." *Perspectives on Politics* 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592720003746

Charles, Guy-Uriel E. 2003. "Racial Identity, Electoral Structures, and the First Amendment Right of Association." *California Law Review* 91 (5): 1209–80. https://doi.org/10.2307/3481343

Charles, Guy-Uriel E., and Mandy Boltax. 2020. "Race, Misinformation, and Voter Depression." Knight Foundation (website). Accessed April 17, 2020. https://knightfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Charles-Boltax-post.docx.pdf

Chilcote, Lee. 2021. "A Cure for Voter Depression: Showing People Their Vote Can Make a Difference." *The Land*, October 29, 2021. https://www.thelandcle.org/stories/a-cure-for-voter-depression-showing-people-their-vote-can-make-a-difference

Colomer, Josep M. 2005. "It's Parties That Choose Electoral Systems (Or, Duverger's Laws Upside Down)." *Political Studies* (53 (1). https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2005.00514.x

Columbia World Projects. 2022. "Report: Universities Are Vital to Restoring Public Trust in Elections." Columbia World Projects (website). February 22, 2022. https://worldprojects.columbia.edu/news-media/report-universities-are-vital-restoring-public-trust-elections

Corral, Álvaro J., and David L. Leal. 2020. "Latinos Por Trump? Latinos and the 2016 Presidential Election." *Social Science Quarterly* 101 (3): 1115–31. https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12787

Cox, Gary. 1997. *Making Votes Count*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Davidson, Chandler, and Bernard Grofman. 1994. *Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act, 1965–1990*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Davies, Dave. 2022. "The Future of U.S. Democracy Hangs in the Balance as States Battle over Voting Rights." *NPR*, February 17, 2022, sec. Elections. https://www.npr.org/2022/02/17/1081428996/the-future-of-u-s-democracy-hangs-in-the-balance-as-states-battle-over-voting-ri

Demos. 2014. "Millions to the Polls: Language & Disability Access." Demos (website). February 18, 2014. https://www.demos.org/policy-briefs/millions-polls-language-disability-access

DeSilver, Drew. 2017. "U.S. Trails Most Developed Countries in Voter Turnout." *Pew Research Center* (blog). May 15, 2017. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/58706fbb29687f06dd219990/t/5b108a8d70a6ad1221aa63c1/1527810701921/U.S+voter+turnout+lower+than+most+countries+-+Pew+May+2017.pdf

Diamond, Larry, and Marc F. Plattner. 2006. *Electoral Systems and Democracy*. Baltimore, MD: JHU Press.

Disinfo Defense League. 2022. "Disinfo Defense League." Disinfo Defense League (website). Accessed May 20, 2022. https://www.disinfodefenseleague.org

Doleac, Jennifer L., Laurel Eckhouse, Eric Foster-Moore, Allison Harris, Hannah Walker, and Ariel White. 2022. "Registering Returning Citizens to Vote." SSRN Scholarly Paper ID 4031676. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=4031676

Drutman, Lee. 2021. "Elections, Political Parties, and Multiracial, Multiethnic Democracy: How the United States Gets It Wrong." *NYU Law Review* (blog). October 29, 2021. https://www.nyulawreview.org/issues/volume-96-number-4/elections-political-parties-and-multiracial-multiethnic-democracy-how-the-united-states-gets-it-wrong/

———. 2022. "How Democracies Revive." Niskanen Center (website), Political Foundations of State Capacity Series. April 21, 2022. https://www.niskanencenter.org/how-democracies-revive/

Dryzek, John S., André Bächtiger, Simone Chambers, Joshua Cohen, James N. Druckman, Andrea Felicetti, James S. Fishkin, et al. 2019. "The Crisis of Democracy and the Science of Deliberation." *Science* 363 (6432): 1144–46. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aaw2694

Edgecliffe-Johnson, Andrew. 2021. "Kathryn Murdoch Has a Plan (and $100m) to Fix American Politics." *Financial Times*, December 15, 2021. https://www.ft.com/content/e9a279ef-d3eb-40a7-8b77-0d8163f58b8b

Election Protection. 2022. "Homepage - Election Protection." Election Protection (website). Accessed May 20, 2022. https://866ourvote.org/

Energy.gov. 2022. "Environmental Justice History." Energy.Gov (website). Accessed May 20, 2022. https://www.energy.gov/lm/services/environmental-justice/environmental-justice-history

Enos, Ryan D., Anthony Fowler, and Lynn Vavreck. 2014. "Increasing Inequality: The Effect of GOTV Mobilization on the Composition of the Electorate." https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022381613001308

Fishkin, James. 2013. "Deliberation by the People Themselves: Entry Points for the Public Voice." *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* 12 (4): 490–507. https://doi.org/10.1089/elj.2013.0200

Fissell, Brenner. 2022. "Rightsizing Local Legislatures." SSRN Scholarly Paper 4070005. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4070005

Foley, Edward B., Michael W. McConnell, Richard Pildes, and Bradley Smith. 2022. "Opinion | How Congress Can Fix the Electoral Count Act." *The Washington Post*, January 4, 2022. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2022/01/04/congress-fix-electoral-count-act/

Fox, Richard L., and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2014. "Uncovering the Origins of the Gender Gap in Political Ambition." *American Political Science Review* 108 (3): 499–519. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055414000227

Fraga, Bernard L. 2016. "Candidates or Districts? Reevaluating the Role of Race in Voter Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (1): 97–122.

———. 2018. *The Turnout Gap: Race, Ethnicity, and Political Inequality in a Diversifying America*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Fuentes-Rohwer, Lewis, and Guy-Uriel E. Charles. 2021. "The Court's Voting-Rights Decision Was Worse Than People Think." *The Atlantic*, July 8, 2021. https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/07/brnovich-vra-scotus-decision-arizona-voting-right/619330/

Funders' Committee for Civic Participation. 2011. "Integrated Voter Engagement: A Proven Model to Increase Civic Engagement." Funders Committee for Civic Participation (website). February 14, 2011. https://funderscommittee.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/fccp_integrated_voter_engagement_case_studies_2009_final.pdf

Gershon, Sarah Allen, Celeste Montoya, Christina Bejarano, and Nadia Brown. 2019. "Intersectional Linked Fate and Political Representation." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 7 (3): 642–53. https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2019.1639520

Gilens, Martin, and Benjamin I. Page. 2014. "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens." *Perspectives on Politics* 12 (03): 564–81. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592714001595

Governing. 2016. "The Language Barrier in the Voting Booth." Governing (website). March 26, 2016. https://www.governing.com/gov-institute/voices/col-improved-language-assistance-voters.html

Grofman, Bernard. 2022. "Prospects for Democratic Breakdown in the United States: Bringing the States Back In." *Perspectives on Politics* (January): 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592721003285

Grumbach, Jacob M., and Charlotte Hill. 2022. "Rock the Registration: Same Day Registration Increases Turnout of Young Voters." *The Journal of Politics* 84 (1): 405–17. https://doi.org/10.1086/714776

Hajnal, Zoltan L., Vladimir Kogan, and G. Agustin Markarian. 2021. "Who Votes: City Election Timing and Voter Composition." *American Political Science Review* 116 (1): 374–83. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055421000915

Hale, Kathleen, and Christa Daryl Slaton. 2008. "Building Capacity in Election Administration: Local Responses to Complexity and Interdependence." *Public Administration Review* 68 (5): 839–49.

Hardy-Fanta, Carol, Tony Affigne, Ivy A. M. Cargile, John Garcia, Sarah Allen Gershon, Lizeth Gonzalez, Julia Marin Hellwege, et al. 2016. *Latinas in American Politics: Changing and Embracing Political Tradition*. Edited by Sharon A. Navarro, Samantha L. Hernandez, and Leslie A. Navarro. Lanham, MD:

Lexington Books.

Hasen, Richard L. 2022. "Identifying and Minimizing the Risk of Election Subversion and Stolen Elections in the Contemporary United States." *Harvard Law Review*, April 20, 2022. https://harvardlawreview.org/2022/04/identifying-and-minimizing-the-risk-of-election-subversion-and-stolen-elections-in-the-contemporary-united-states/

Healthy Democracy Fund. 2022. "The 2022 Midterms: Defending Democracy & Building Grassroots Movements." Tides (website). March 30, 2022. https://join.tides.org/healthy-democracy-fund-event-mar2022

Herron, Erik S., Robert J. Pekkanen, and Matthew S. Shugart. 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Herron, Michael C., and Daniel A. Smith. 2014. "Race, Party, and the Consequences of Restricting Early Voting in Florida in the 2012 General Election." *Political Research Quarterly* 67 (3): 646–65. https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912914524831

Hersh, Eitan D. 2015. *Hacking the Electorate: How Campaigns Perceive Voters*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316212783

Higgins, Eoin. 2021. "Here Are the Georgia Groups That Flipped the State Blue." Blue Tent (website). January 6, 2021. https://bluetent.us/api/content/108e699a-18c1-11eb-8773-1244d5f7c7c6/

Hubert H. Humphrey School of Public Affairs. 2022. "Election Accuracy: Going on the Offensive." Accessed May 20, 2022. https://www.hhh.umn.edu/election-administration/election-accuracy-going-offensive

Hughes, Melanie M. 2013. "The Intersection of Gender and Minority Status in National Legislatures: The Minority Women Legislative Index." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 38 (4): 489–516.

Hurt, Emma. 2021. "Why Local Election Officials in Georgia Take Issue with Many Parts of New Law." *NPR*, April 16, 2021, sec. Politics. https://www.npr.org/2021/04/16/987825440/why-local-election-officials-in-georgia-take-issue-with-many-parts-of-new-law

Ingraham, Christopher. 2014. "7 Papers, 4 Government Inquiries, 2 News Investigations and 1 Court Ruling Proving Voter Fraud Is Mostly a Myth." *The Washington Post*, July 9, 2014, sec. Economic Policy. 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/

Jacobs, Lawrence R., and Judd Choate. 2022. "Democratic Capacity: Election Administration as Bulwark and Target." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 699 (1): 22–35. https://doi.org/10.1177/00027162211061318

Janover, William, and Tom Westphal. 2020. "Signature Verification and Mail Ballots: Guaranteeing Access while Preserving Integrity—A Case Study of California's Every Vote Counts Act." *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* 19 (3): 321–43. https://doi.org/10.1089/elj.2020.0648

John, S., and D. A. DeBats. 2014. "Australia's Adoption of Compulsory Voting: Revising the Narrative — not Trailblazing, Uncontested or Democratic." *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 60: 1–27. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajph.12042

Johnson, James. 1998. "Arguing for Deliberation." In *Deliberative Democracy*, edited by John Elster, 161–184. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Jones, Adrienne, and Andrew J. Polsky. 2021. "How to Win a 'Long Game': The Voting Rights Act, the Republican Party, and the Politics of Counter-Enforcement." *Political Science Quarterly* 136 (2): 215–48. https://doi.org/10.1002/polq.13166

Keena, Alex, Michael Latner, Anthony J. McGann, and Charles Anthony Smith. 2021. Gerrymandering the States: Partisanship, Race, and the Transformation of American Federalism. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Kerchner, Charles Taylor. 2019. "How Integrated Voter Engagement Works: Four Stories." *Medium* (blog). August 5, 2019. https://medium.com/@charles.kerchner/how-integrated-voter-engagement-works-four-stories-a627bceddcb5

Kitson, Jennifer, and Ted Howell. 2019. "Exploring Environmental Justice through Listening: An Environmental Design Case Study in Camden, NJ." *Open Educational Resources* (September). https://doi.org/10.31986/issn.2689-0690_rdw.oer.1012

Klein, Ezra. 2015. "No One's Less Moderate than Moderates." *Vox*, February 26, 2015. https://www.vox.com/2014/7/8/5878293/lets-stop-using-the-word-moderate

Kouba, Karel. 2021. "Where Is the Class Bias Attenuation? The Consequences of Adopting Compulsory Voting in Austria-Hungary in 1907." *European Political Science Review* 13 (2): 151–67. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773921000011

Kouba, Karel, and Stanislav Mysicka. 2019. "Should and Does Compulsory Voting Reduce Inequality?" *SAGE Open* 9 (1): 2158244018817141. https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244018817141

Latner, Michael, Alexander M. Dekhtyar, Foaad Khosmood, Nicole Angelini, and Andrew Voorhees. 2017. "Measuring Legislative Behavior: An Exploration of Digitaldemocracy.Org." *California Journal of Politics and Policy* 9 (3). https://doi.org/10.5070/P2cjpp9336921

Latner, Michael, Jack Santucci, and Matthew Shugart. 2021. "Multi-Seat Districts and Larger Assemblies Produce More Diverse Racial Representation." SSRN Scholarly Paper ID 3911532. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3911532

Latner, Michael. 2020. "Voting, Ballot Rejection, and Electoral Integrity in the 2020 Election." *The Equation* (blog). September 29, 2020. https://blog.ucsusa.org/michael-latner/voting-ballot-rejection-and-electoral-integrity-in-the-2020-election/

———.2022a. "Stopping the Decline of US Democracy: Where Is the Coalition We Need?" *The Equation* (blog). January 7, 2022. https://blog.ucsusa.org/michael-latner/stopping-the-decline-of-us-democracy-where-is-the-coalition-we-need/

———. 2022b. "Supreme Court Ruling on Redistricting Targets Voting Rights Act." *The Equation* (blog). March 25, 2022. https://blog.ucsusa.org/michael-latner/supreme-court-ruling-on-redistricting-targets-voting-rights-act/

Latner, Michael S., Alex Kenna, Anthony J. McGann, and Charles Anthony Smith. 2021. "Republican State Legislatures Are Attacking Voting Rights. Congress Has the Power to Fight Back." *The Equation* (blog). March 26, 2021. https://blog.ucsusa.org/michael-latner/republican-state-legislatures-are-attacking-voting-rights-congress-has-the-power-to-fight-back/

Lessig, Lawrence. 2015. *Republic, Lost: Version 2.0*. Revised edition. New York: Twelve.

Leyenaar, Monique, and Reuven Y. Hazan. 2011. "Reconceptualising Electoral Reform." *West European Politics* 34 (3): 437–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2011.555974

Livingstone, Katie. 2020a. "Topline and Methodology: Medill School of Journalism/Ipsos Poll: Non-Voters in 2020 U.S. Election." *Medell News Service*, December 15, 2020. https://dc.medill.northwestern.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Topline-Medill-Non-Voter-Poll-121520.pdf

———. 2020b. "Nonvoters 2020 — Medill News Service." December 15, 2020. https://dc.medill.northwestern.edu/nonvoters2020/#sthash.pZvtK6ye.dpbs

Lublin, David, and Shaun Bowler. 2018. "Electoral Systems and Ethnic Minority Representation." In *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*. Edited by Erik S. Herron, Robert J. Pekkanen, and Matthew S. Shugart. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190258658.013.26

Lublin, David, Thomas L. Brunell, Bernard Grofman, and Lisa Handley. 2009. "Has the Voting Rights Act Outlived Its Usefulness? In a Word, 'No.'" *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 34 (4): 525–53.

Mason, Liliana. 2018. *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. https://www.bibliovault.org/BV.landing.epl?ISBN=9780226524689

McCambridge, Ruth. 2019. "Exploring the Problem of Black 'Movement Capture' by White-Dominated Philanthropy." *Nonprofit Quarterly*, March 1, 2019. https://nonprofitquarterly.org/exploring-the-problem-of-black-movement-capture-by-white-dominated-philanthropy/

McCarty, Nolan, Jonathan Rodden, Boris Shor, Chris Tausanovitch, and Christopher Warshaw. 2019. "Geography, Uncertainty, and Polarization." *Political Science Research and Methods* 7 (4): 775–94. https://doi.org/10.1017/psrm.2018.12

McGann, Anthony. 2006. *The Logic of Democracy: Reconciling Equality, Deliberation, and Minority Protection*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

McGhee, Eric, and Boris Shor. 2017. "Has the Top Two Primary Elected More Moderates?" *Perspectives on Politics* 15 (4): 1053–66. https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/perspectives-on-politics/article/has-the-top-two-primary-elected-more-moderates/1F65856812342373F4A51B233E9BD593

McGhee, Eric, Jennifer Paluch, and Mindy Romero. 2022. "Equity in Voter Turnout after Pandemic Election Policy Changes." Public Policy Institute of California (website). March 2022.

https://www.ppic.org/publication/equity-in-voter-turnout-after-pandemic-election-policy-changes/

Menger, Andrew, and Robert M. Stein. 2018. "Enlisting the Public in Facilitating Election Administration: A Field Experiment." *Public Administration Review* 78 (6): 892–903. https://doi.org/10.1111/puar.12833

Michelson, Melissa R., and Andrea Benjamin. 2021. "Perspective | Stacey Abrams Showed That Democrats Can Match the GOP at State-Level Organizing." *The Washington Post*, January 9, 2021. https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/01/09/abrams-georgia-turnout-senate-grassroots/

Michener, Jamila. 2020. "Power from the Margins: Grassroots Mobilization and Urban Expansions of Civil Legal Rights." *Urban Affairs Review* 56 (5): 1390–1422. https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087419855677

MIT Technology Review. 2020. "The Key to Future Election Security Starts with a Roll of the Dice." MIT Technology Review (website). December 16, 2020. https://www.technologyreview.com/2020/12/16/1014657/election-security-risk-limiting-audit/

Montanaro, Domenico. 2020. "Poll: Despite Record Turnout, 80 Million Americans Didn't Vote. Here's Why." *NPR*, December 15, 2020, sec. Politics. https://www.npr.org/2020/12/15/945031391/poll-despite-record-turnout-80-million-americans-didnt-vote-heres-why

Montoya, Celeste M., Christina Bejarano, Nadia E. Brown, and Sarah Allen Gershon. 2021. "The Intersectional Dynamics of Descriptive Representation." *Politics & Gender* (March): 1–30. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X20000744

More Equitable Democracy. 2022. "Home." More Equitable Democracy (website). Accessed May 20, 2022. https://www.equitabledemocracy.org/

Moser, Robert G., Ethan Scheiner, and Heather Stoll. 2018. "Social Diversity, Electoral Systems, and the Party System." In *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*. Edited by Erik S. Herron, Robert J. Pekkanen, and Matthew S. Shugart. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190258658.013.28

Musk, Elon (@elonmusk). 2022. "This is what most people in America want, but unfortunately it's not realistic. Generally, the party with less power (currently Republicans at national level) moves more toward center to win moderate votes, so control of House/Senate/President goes back & forth over time." Twitter, May 19, 2022. https://twitter.com/elonmusk/status/1527317718931677186

NAACP LDF. 2021. "Janai Nelson Testifies Before the House Committee on House Administration's Subcommittee Elections on Threats to Voting Rights." Vimeo video, 9:10. https://vimeo.com/567512538

Nagel, Jack H. 1994. "What Political Scientists Can Learn from the 1993 Electoral Reform in New Zealand." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 27 (3): 525–29. https://doi.org/10.2307/420221

National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. 2018. *Securing the Vote: Protecting American Democracy.* Washington, DC: The National Academies Press. https://doi.org/10.17226/25120

National Civic League. 2020. "Increasing Voter Turnout in Municipal Elections." National Civic Review 109, no. 1 (Spring). https://www.nationalcivicleague.org/national-civic-review/issue/spring-2020-volume-109-number-1/

National Resource Defense Council. 2016. "The Environmental Justice Movement." NRDC (website). March 17, 2016. https://www.nrdc.org/stories/environmental-justice-movement

Nino, Carlos Santiago. 2009. *The Constitution of Deliberative Democracy.* Revised edition. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Niven, David, and Michael E. Solimine. 2022. "Representing People and Places: Castaway Voters and the Racial Disparity in Redistricting." *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* (April). https://doi.org/10.1089/elj.2021.0032

Norris, Pippa. 1997. "Choosing Electoral Systems: Proportional, Majoritarian and Mixed Systems." *International Political Science Review* 18 (3): 297–312. https://doi.org/10.1177/019251297018003005

———. 2006. "The Impact of Electoral Reform on Women's Representation." *Acta Politica* 41 (2): 197–213. https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.ap.5500151

———. 2011. "Cultural Explanations of Electoral Reform: A Policy Cycle Model." *West European Politics* 34 (3): 531–50. https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2011.555982

———. 2020. "Electoral Integrity in the 2020 U.S. Elections." Electoral Integrity Project (website). December 2020. https://www.hks.harvard.edu/publications/electoral-integrity-2020-us-elections

Norris, Pippa, and Max Grömping. 2019. "Electoral Integrity Worldwide." Electoral Integrity Project.

May 2019. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/58533f31bebafbe99c85dc9b/t/604785d34098312195a143ee/1615300055051/Electoral+Integrity+Worldwide.pdf

Norris, Pippa, Sarah Cameron, and Thomas Wynter. 2018. *Electoral Integrity in America: Securing Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nuamah, Sally A., and Thomas Ogorzalek. 2021. "Close to Home: Place-Based Mobilization in Racialized Contexts." *American Political Science Review* 115 (3): 757–74. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055421000307

Olesko, Andy. 2020. "Michigan Judge Rejects Challenge to Detroit Election Results." *Courthouse News Service*, November 13, 2020. https://www.courthousenews.com/michigan-judge-rejects-challenge-to-detroit-election-results/

Orange County Registrar of Voters. 2022. "Community Outreach Info | OC Vote." Accessed May 20, 2022. https://ocvote.gov/community/community-outreach-info

Patterson, Shawn. 2020. "Estimating the Unintended Participation Penalty under Top-Two Primaries with a Discontinuity Design." *Electoral Studies* 68 (December). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2020.102231

Przybyla, Heidi. 2022. "'It's going to be an army': Tapes reveal GOP plan to contest elections." POLITICO, June 1, 2022. https://www.politico.com/news/2022/06/01/gop-contest-elections-tapes-00035758

Ray, Rashawn, and Mark Whitlock. 2019. "Setting the Record Straight on Black Voter Turnout." *Brookings* (blog). September 13, 2019. https://www.brookings.edu/blog/how-we-rise/2019/09/12/setting-the-record-straight-on-black-voter-turnout/

Redistricting Data Hub. 2022. "Redistricting Data Hub." Redistricting Data Hub (website). Accessed May 20, 2022. https://redistrictingdatahub.org/

Reed, Daniel C. 2017. "Ballot Reform and the Decline of Third Parties in State Legislatures." Representation 52: 2–3, 163–77. https://doi.org/10.1080/00344893.2017.1300601

Roche, Stephen. 2017. "Listening to the Grass Roots: Bottom-up Approaches to Lifelong Learning | UIL." *International Review of Education - Journal of Lifelong Learning* 63 (2): 145–152. https://uil.unesco.org/document/listening-grass-roots-bottom-approaches-lifelong-learning

Rolfe, Meredith. 2012. *Voter Turnout: A Social Theory of Political Participation*. Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139058513

Romo, Vanessa. 2020. "Wisconsin Supreme Court Rules Trump Election Challenge 'Unreasonable In The Extreme.'" *NPR*, December 14, 2020, sec. Politics. https://www.npr.org/2020/12/14/946463134/wisconsin-supreme-court-rules-trump-election-challenge-unreasonable-meritless

Sadhwani, Sara. 2022. "Asian American Mobilization: The Effect of Candidates and Districts on Asian American Voting Behavior." *Political Behavior* 44 (March): 1–27. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-020-09612-7

Sakamoto, Takayuki. 1999. "Explaining Electoral Reform: Japan versus Italy and New Zealand." *Party Politics* 5 (4): 419–38. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068899005004001

Sanchez, Gabriel R., Luis Ricardo Fraga, and Ricardo Ramírez, eds. 2020. *Latinos and the 2016 Election: Latino Resistance and the Election of Donald Trump*. First edition. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press.

Santucci, Jack. 2022a. "Cross-Endorsement Fusion Is Better Than Instant Runoff (and Approval)." Voteguy.com (blog). June 7, 2022. https://www.voteguy.com/2022/06/07/cross-endorsement-fusion-is-better-than-instant-runoff-and-approval/

———. 2022b. *More Parties or No Parties: The Politics of Electoral Reform in America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schattschneider, Elmer E., and David Adamany. 1975. *The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*. Revised edition. Hinsdale, IL: Cengage Learning.

Schleifer, Theodore. 2021. "Silicon Valley's $100 Million Plan to Completely Fix Washington." *Puck* (blog). October 20, 2021. https://puck.news/silicon-valleys-100-million-plan-to-completely-fix-washington/

Schlozman, Kay, Henry Brady, and Sidney Verba. 2018. "The Roots of Citizen Participation: The Civic Voluntarism Model." In *Unequal and Unrepresented: Political Inequality and the People's Voice in the*

New Gilded Age, 50–80. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
https://doi.org/10.23943/9781400890361-005

Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba, and Henry E. Brady. 2012. *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Schneider, Emma. 2014. "Listening to Survive: Climate Justice and Storytelling." *Enacting Environmental Justice through Global Citizenship*, January, 51–58. https://doi.org/10.1163/9781848883420_006

Schraufnagel, Scot, Michael J. Pomante II, and Quan Li. 2020. "Cost of Voting in the American States: 2020." *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* 19 (4): 503–9.
https://doi.org/10.1089/elj.2020.0666

Schroedel, Jean, and Ryan Hart. 2015. "Vote Dilution and Suppression in Indian Country." *Studies in American Political Development* 29 (1): 40–67. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0898588X1400011X

Shugart, Matthew, and Martin P. Wattenberg. 2001. *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Shugart, Matthew S., and Rein Taagepera. 2017. *Votes from Seats: Logical Models of Electoral Systems*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Siegel-Stechler, Kelly. 2019. "Is Civics Enough? High School Civics Education and Young Adult Voter Turnout." *The Journal of Social Studies Research* 43 (3): 241–53.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jssr.2018.09.006

Sinclair, Betsy, Margaret McConnell, and Melissa R. Michelson. 2013. "Local Canvassing: The Efficacy of Grassroots Voter Mobilization." *Political Communication* 30 (1): 42–57.
https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2012.737413

Sparks, Steven. 2020. "Campaign Dynamics of the Top-Two Primary: Invoking Competition and Representational Pressure in One-Party Contests." *Representation* 56 (2): 229–51.
https://doi.org/10.1080/00344893.2020.1754893

Spencer, Douglas M., and Bertrall L. Ross II. 2019. "Passive Voter Suppression: Campaign Mobilization and the Effective Disfranchisement of the Poor." *Northwestern University Law Review* 114 (3): 633–704.

Stokes, Susan. 1998. "Pathologies of Deliberation." In *Deliberative Democracy*, edited by John Elster, 123–139. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Strøm, Kaare. 1992. "Democracy as Political Competition." *American Behavioral Scientist* 35 (4–5): 375–96. https://doi.org/10.1177/000276429203500404

Taagepera, Professor Rein, and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1991. *Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Tarrow, Sidney. 2021. *Movements and Parties*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

The Forge. 2021. "Let's Make the Township and Ward Organizations More Like Movements." *The Forge*, January 7, 2021. https://forgeorganizing.org/article/lets-make-township-and-ward-organizations-more-movements

Thomson-DeVeaux, Amelia, Jasmine Mithani, Laura Bronner, and Laura Lannes. 2020. "Why Millions of Americans Don't Vote." FiveThirtyEight (website). October 26, 2020.
https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/non-voters-poll-2020-election/

Tokaji, Daniel P. 2016. "Voting Is Association." SSRN Scholarly Paper 2832105. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2832105Towers, George. 2000. "Applying the Political Geography of Scale: Grassroots Strategies and Environmental Justice." *Professional Geographer — PROF GEOGR* 52 (February): 23–36. https://doi.org/10.1111/0033-0124.00202

Trounstine, Jessica, and Melody E. Valdini. 2008. "The Context Matters: The Effects of Single-Member versus At-Large Districts on City Council Diversity." *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (3): 554–69. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00329.x

Turchin, Peter. 2016. *Ages of Discord: A Structural-Demographic Analysis of American History*. Chaplin, CT: Beresta Books.

Uhlaner, Carole Jean, and Becki Scola. 2016. "Collective Representation as a Mobilizer: Race/Ethnicity, Gender, and Their Intersections at the State Level." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 16 (2): 227–63.
https://doi.org/10.1177/1532440015603576

Union of Concerned Scientists. 2022. "Science for Environmental Justice." Union of Concerned Scientists (website). Accessed May 20, 2022. https://www.ucsusa.org/take-action/science-environmental-justice

U.S. Digital Response. 2022. "Tech Support for Government Crisis Response." U.S. Digital Response (website). Accessed May 20, 2022. https://www.usdigitalresponse.org/

U.S. Election Assistance Commission. 2021. "U.S. Election Assistance Commission Study on Disability and Voting Accessibility in the 2020 Elections." U.S. Election Assistance Commission (website). February 16, 2021. https://www.eac.gov/election-officials/us-election-assistance-commission-study-disability-and-voting-accessibility-2020

van der Does, Ramon, and Vincent Jacquet. 2021. "Small-Scale Deliberation and Mass Democracy: A Systematic Review of the Spillover Effects of Deliberative Minipublics." *Political Studies* (May). https://doi.org/10.1177/00323217211007278

Vowles, Jack, and Janine Hayward. 2021. "Ballot Structure, District Magnitude and Descriptive Representation: The Case of New Zealand Local Council Elections." *Australian Journal of Political Science* 56 (3): 225–44. https://doi.org/10.1080/10361146.2021.1935449

Waite, Kara. 2020. "The Key To Creating Lasting Change? Mobilizing the People You Already Know." *Harper's BAZAAR*, November 19, 2020. https://www.harpersbazaar.com/culture/politics/a34704263/what-is-relational-organizing/

Wallace, Jeremy. 2021. "How the New Texas Elections Law Follows Up on Trump's Voter Fraud Claims." *Houston Chronicle*, September 7, 2021. https://www.houstonchronicle.com/politics/texas/article/How-Texas-is-following-up-on-Trump-s-voter-16441526.php

Warren, Mark E. 2022. "Participedia." Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions (website). Accessed on May 20, 2022. https://democracy.arts.ubc.ca/focus-areas-2/participedia/

Weiser, Wendy, and Daniel Weiner. 2022. "Measuring the Success of the January 6 Congressional Hearings." Brennan Center for Justice (website). Accessed June 14, 2022. https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/measuring-success-january-6-congressional-hearings

Weldon, S. Laurel. 2011. *When Protest Makes Policy: How Social Movements Represent Disadvantaged Groups*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Wines, Michael. 2021. "After a Nightmare Year, Election Officials Are Quitting." *The New York Times*, July 2, 2021, sec. U.S. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/02/us/politics/2020-election-voting-officials.html

Winger, R. 1996. "How Ballot Access Laws Affect the U.S. Party System." https://doi.org/10.15763/issn.2374-7781.1995.16.0.321-350

Yagoda, Nicholas. 2019. "Addressing Health Disparities through Voter Engagement." *Annals of Family Medicine* 17 (5): 459–61. https://doi.org/10.1370/afm.2441

Young, Iris Marion. 2002. *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/0198297556.001.0001