



CALTECH/MIT VOTING TECHNOLOGY PROJECT

**A multi-disciplinary, collaborative project of
the California Institute of Technology – Pasadena, California 91125 and
the Massachusetts Institute of Technology – Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139**

**TITLE Voting: What Has Changed, What Hasn't, & Why
Research Bibliography**

**University Caltech
University MIT**

Key words:

**VTP WORKING PAPER #108
January 8, 2013**

Voting: What Has Changed, What Hasn't, & Why

Research Bibliography

Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project

January 8, 2013

Since the origins of the Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project in the fall of 2000, there has been an explosion of research and analysis on election administration and voting technology. As we worked throughout 2012 on our most recent study, *Voting: What Has Changed, What Hasn't, & What Needs Improvement*, we found many more research studies. In this research bibliography, we present the research literature that we have found; future revisions of this research bibliography will update this list.

We thank the Carnegie Corporation of New York for their support of this research effort. We also thank Gloria Bain and Jaclyn R. Kimble for their help compiling and editing this bibliography.

Contents

Books, Journal Articles, and Working Papers: pp. 1–68

Reports: pp. 69–81

Books, Articles, and Working Papers

- Abbink, Jon, and Wim Van Binsbergen. 2000. "International Election Observation: A Discussion on Policy and Practice." In *Election Observation and Democratization in Africa*, eds. Gerti Hasseling and Jon Abbink. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 257-276.
<http://www.shikanda.net/publications/ASC-1239806-112.pdf>
- Adida, Ben, and Ronald L. Rivest. 2006. "Scratch & Vote: Self-Contained Paper-Based Cryptographic Voting." *5th AMC Workshop on Privacy in the Electronic Society*, 29-39.
http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/1180000/1179607/p29-adida.pdf?ip=131.215.23.191&acc=ACTIVE%20SERVICE&CFID=96656998&CFTOKEN=43152505&acm=1343050403_6b22108dded31ba88028717010d6d342
- Adida, Ben. 2008. "Advances in Cryptographic Voting Systems." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 51. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/advances-cryptographic-voting-systems>
- Agraharkar, Vishal, Wendy Weiser, and Adam Skaggs. 2011. "The Cost of Voter ID Laws: What the Courts Say." Brennan Center for Justice. New York University School of Law.
http://brennan.3cdn.net/2f0860fb73fd559359_zzm6bhnd.pdf
- Agresti, Alan, and Brett Presnell. 2002. "Misvotes, Undervotes and Overvotes: The 2000 Presidential Election in Florida." *Statistical Science* 17 (November), 436-440.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3182765.pdf>
- Albright, Spencer D. 1942. *The American Ballot*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs.
- Allen, Frederick E. 2001. "The Voting Machine Problem: Why The Trouble in Florida Was Bound To Happen." *American Heritage* 52 (April). <http://www.americanheritage.com/content/voting-machine-problem>
- Allen, Howard, and Kay Warren Allen. "Vote Fraud and Data Validity." In *Analyzing Electoral History: A Guide to the Study of American Vote Behavior*, eds. Jerome Clubb, William Flanigan and Nancy Zingale. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Allen, T., and M. Bernshteyn. 2006. "Mitigating Voter Waiting Time." *Chance* 19 (Fall): 25-36.
http://www.amstat.org/publications/chance/2006/CHANCE%2019_4.pdf
- Allers, Maarten A. 2009. "More Evidence of the Effects of Voting Technology on Election Outcomes." *Public Choice* 139 (1-2): 159-170.
- Altman, Micah, and Gary M. Klass. 2005. "Current Research in Voting, Elections, and Technology." *Social Science Computer Review* 23 (Fall): 269-273.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Thad E. Hall, and Susan D. Hyde, eds. 2008. *Election Fraud: Detecting and Deterring Electoral Manipulation*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings.

- Alvarez, R. Michael, Thad E. Hall, and Susan D. Hyde. 2008. "Introduction: Studying Election Fraud." In *Election Fraud: Detecting and Deterring Electoral Manipulation*, eds. R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall, and Susan D. Hyde. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1-20.
http://www.brookings.edu/~media/press/books/2008/5/electionfraud/electionfraud_chapter.pdf
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Lonna Rae Atkeson. 2011. "The Balance Between Preventing Fraud and Ensuring Participation: Attitudes Towards Voter Identification in New Mexico." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper106. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/balance-between-preventing-fraud-and-ensuring-participation-attitudes-towards-voter>
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Lonna Rae Atkeson, and Thad E. Hall, eds. 2012 *Confirming Elections: Creating Confidence and Integrity through Election Auditing*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Lonna Rae Atkeson and Thad E. Hall. 2012. *Evaluating Elections: A Handbook of Methods and Standards*. Cambridge University Press.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, and Stephen Ansolabehere. "Election Day Voter Registration in the United States: How One-Step Voting Can Change the Composition of the American Electorate." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 5. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/election-day-voter-registration-united-states-how-one-step-voting-can-change-composition>
- Alvarez, R. Michael, and Charles Stewart III. 2011. "Voting Technology, Vote-by-Mail, and Residual Votes in California, 1990-2010." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 105. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/voting-technology-vote-mail-and-residual-votes-california-1990-2010>
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Stephen Ansolabehere, Adam Berinsky, Gabriel Lenz, Charles Stewart III, and Thad Hall. 2009. "2008 Survey of the Performance of American Election: Final Report." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project.
<http://vote.caltech.edu/sites/default/files/Final%20report20090218.pdf>
- Alvarez, R. Michael. 2008. "Ballot Design Options." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 4. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/ballot-design-options>
- Alvarez, R. Michael. 2009. "Measuring Election Performance." Presented at Democracia Electoral: Hacia Una Nueva Agenda, Instituto Electoral Veracruzano, VeraCruz.
<https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/measuring-election-performance>
- Alvarez, R. Michael, and Thad E. Hall. 2008. *Electronic elections: the perils and promises of digital democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Thad E. Hall, and Brian Roberts. 2007. "Military Voting and the Law: Procedural and Technological Solutions to the Ballot Transit Problem." *Fordham Urban Law Review* 34 (3): 935-96.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Thad E. Hall, and Betsy Sinclair. 2008. "Whose Absentee Votes are Counted?" *Electoral Studies* 27 (4): 673-83.

- Alvarez, R. Michael, and Jonathan Nagler. 2001. "The Likely Consequences of Internet Voting for Political Representation." *Loyola of Los Angeles Law Review* 34 (3).
- Alvarez, R. Michael, and Thad E. Hall. 2004. *Point, Click and Vote: The Future of Internet Voting*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Gabriel Katz, and Julia Pomares. 2009. "Evaluating New Voting Technologies in Latin America." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 93. http://vote.caltech.edu/drupal/files/working_paper/wp_93_pdf_4b675e22b6.pdf
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Thad E. Hall, and Morgan H. Llewellyn. 2008. "Are Americans Confident Their Ballots Are Counted?" *The Journal of Politics* 70 (3) 754-766.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Thad E. Hall, and Susan D. Hyde, eds. 2008. *Election Fraud: Detecting and Deterring Electoral Manipulation*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Thad E. Hall, and Susan D. Hyde. 2008. "Caught in the Act: Recent Federal Election Fraud Cases." In *Election Fraud: Detecting and Deterring Electoral Manipulation*, eds. R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall, and Susan D. Hyde. Washington, DC: Brookings Press.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Thad E. Hall, Ines Levin, and Charles Stewart III. 2010. "Voter Opinions about Reform: Do They Support Making Voting More Convenient?" Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 98. http://www.vote.caltech.edu/drupal/files/working_paper/wp_98_pdf_4c3f93b10b.pdf
- Alvarez, R. Michael, and Jonathan N. Katz. 2008. "Detecting Electoral Fraud: The Case of 2002 General Election in Georgia." In *Election Fraud: Detecting and Deterring Electoral Manipulation*, eds. R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall and Susan D. Hyde. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 162-81.
- Alvarez, R. Michael. 2008. "Voter Registration: Past, Present, and Future." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 30. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/voter-registration-past-present-and-future>
- Alvarez, R. Michael. 2008. "Potential Threats to Statewide Voter Registration Systems." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 40. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/potential-threats-statewide-voter-registration-systems>
- Alvarez, R. Michael. "American Elections: A Critical Moment for Research and Reform." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 29. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/american-elections-critical-moment-research-and-reform>
- Alvarez, R. Michael. 2008. "Precinct Voting Denial of Service." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 39. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/precinct-voting-denial-service-0>
- Alvarez, R. Michael, and Erik K. Antonsson. 2007. "Bridging Science, Technology, and Politics in Election Systems." *The Bridge* 37 (2): 6-10. <http://www.nae.edu/File.aspx?id=7408>

- Alvarez, R. Michael, Delia Bailey, and Jonathan Katz. 2007. "The Effect of Voter Identification Laws on Turnout." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 57. http://www.vote.caltech.edu/sites/default/files/vtp_wp57.pdf
- Alvarez, R. Michael, and Betsy Sinclair. 2004. "Who Overvotes, Who Undervotes, Using Punchcards? Evidence from Los Angeles County." *Political Research Quarterly* 57 15-25.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, and Lonna Rae Atkeson. 2009. "Auditing the Election Ecosystem." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 85. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/auditing-election-ecosystem>
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Melanie Goodrich, Thad E. Hall, and D. Roderick Kiewiet. 2004. "The Complexity of the California Recall Election." *Political Science and Politics* 37 (January): 23-26.
- Alvarez, R. Michael. 2008. "Qualitative Evaluation: Voto Electronico: Prueba Piloto 2005, Ciudad De Buenos Aires." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 43. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/qualitative-evaluation-votoelectronico-prueba-piloto-2005-ciudad-de-buenos-aires>
- Alvarez, R. Michael, and Ines Levin. 2009. "Measuring the Effects of Voter Confidence on Political Participation: An Application to the 2006 Mexican Election." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 75. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/measuring-effects-voter-confidence-political-participation-application-2006-mexican-election>
- Alvarez, R. Michael, and Thad Hall. "Online Voting." In *Berkshire Encyclopedia of Human-Computer interaction*, ed. William Sims Bainbridge. Great Barrington: Berkshire Publishing Group, 526-527.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Alexander H. Trechsel, and Thad E. Hall. 2008. "Internet Voting in Estonia." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 60. http://www.vote.caltech.edu/sites/default/files/vtp_wp60.pdf
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Jonathan N. Katz, and Sarah A. Hill. 2009. "Machines Versus Humans: The Counting and Recounting of Pre-Scored Punchcard Ballots." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 32. http://www.vote.caltech.edu/drupal/files/working_paper/vtp_wp32.pdf
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Betsy Sinclair, and Catherine H. Wilson. 2004. "Counting Ballots and the 2000 Elections: What Went Wrong?" In *Rethinking the Vote: the Politics and Prospects of American Election Reform*, eds Ann N. Crigler, Marion R. Just, and Edward J. McCaffery. New York: Oxford University Press, 34-50.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, and Jonathan Nagler. 2008. "Election Day Voter Registration in Iowa." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project Report. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/election-day-voter-registration-iowa>

- Alvarez, R. Michael, Thad E. Hall, and Morgan Llewellyn. 2008. "Who Should Run Elections in the United States?" *The Policy Studies Journal* 36 (3).
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1541-0072.2008.00271.x/pdf>
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Thad E. Hall. 2006. "Controlling Democracy: The Principal-Agent Problems in Election Administration." *The Policy Studies Journal* 34 (14): 491-510.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Jeff Jonas, William E. Winkler, and Rebecca N. Wright. 2009. "Interstate Voter Registration Database Matching: The Oregon-Washington 2008 Pilot Project." *Proceedings of the 2008 Conference on Electronic Voting Technology Workshop/Workshop on Trustworthy Elections*. http://static.usenix.org/event/evtwote09/tech/full_papers/alvarez.pdf
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Thad E. Hall, and Morgan H. Llewellyn. 2010. "Making Voter Registration Easier: Evaluation of the 'Welcome Kit' Voter Registration Pilot Program." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project.
http://vote.caltech.edu/drupal/files/report/mvre_chapter_1_pdf_4b71c9c364.pdf
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Betsy Sinclair, and Richard L. Hasen. 2005. "How Much is Enough? The 'Ballot Order Effect' and the Use of Social Science Research in Election Law Disputes."
http://vote.caltech.edu/drupal/files/working_paper/vtp_wp44.pdf
- Amunson, Jessica Ring, and Sam Hirsch. "Symposium: How We Vote: Electronic Voting and Other Voting Practices in the United States: The Case of the Disappearing Votes: Lessons from the Jennings v. Buchanan Congressional Election Contest." *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 397.
- Amy, Douglas J. 2000. *Behind the Ballot Box: A Citizen's Guide to Voting Systems*. Praeger, 2000.
- Ansair, N, P. Sakarindr, E. Haghani, Zhang Chao, A.K. Jain, and Y.Q. Shi. 2008. "Evaluating Electronic Voting Systems Equipped with Voter-Verified Paper Records, Security & Privacy." *IEEE* 6 (3).
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, and Nathaniel Persily. 2008. "Vote Fraud in the Eye of the Beholder: The Role of Public Opinion in the Challenge to Voter Identification Requirements." *Harvard Law Review*.
http://hlr.rubystudio.com/media/pdf/ansolabehere_persily.pdf
- Ansolabehere, Stephen. 2008. "Access versus Integrity in Voter Identification Requirements." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 58.
<https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/access-versus-integrity-voter-identification-requirements>
- Ansolabehere, Stephen. 2009. "Is There Racial Discrimination at the Polls? Voters' Experience in the 2008 Election." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 73.
<https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/there-racial-discrimination-polls-voters-experience-2008-election>
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, Eitan Hersh, Alan Gerber, and David Doherty. 2010. "Voter Registration List Quality Pilot Studies: Report on Methodology." Pew Charitable Trusts.
http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2010/voter_registration_list_methodology.pdf

- Ansolabehere, Stephen. 2009. "Effects of Identification Requirements on Voting: Evidence from the Experiences of Voters on Election Day." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 42: 127-130. http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSC%2FPSC42_01%2FS1049096509090313a.pdf&code=7da6e45c174ec6f4535dff80e4f96db5
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, and David Konisky. 2008. "The Introduction of Voter Registration and Its Effect on Turnout." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 14. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/introduction-voter-registration-and-its-effect-turnout-1>
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, and Eitan Hersh. 2010. "The Quality of Voter Registration Records: A State-by-State Analysis." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project. <http://www.vote.caltech.edu/node/338%23attachments>
- Ansolabehere, Stephen. 2002. "Voting Machines, Race and Equal Protection." *Election Law Journal* 1 (March): 61-70.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, and Charles Stewart III. 2002. "Voting Technology and Uncounted Votes in the United States." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/voting-technology-and-uncounted-votes-united-states>
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, and Nathaniel Persily. 2008. "Vote Fraud in the Eye of the Beholder: The Role of Public Opinion in the Challenge to Voter Identification Requirements." *Harvard Law Review* 1737. http://brennan.3cdn.net/0340ec86d18adb4a18_vqm6bne7f.pdf
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, and Andrew Reeves. 2004. "Using Recounts to Measure the Accuracy of Vote Tabulations: Evidence from New Hampshire Elections 1946-2002." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 11. http://vote.caltech.edu/drupal/files/working_paper/vtp_wp11.pdf
- Antonyan, Tigran, Seda Davtyan, Sotirios Kentros, Aggelos Kiaylas, Laurent Michel, Nicolaou Nicolaou, Alexander Russell, and Alexander A. Shvartsman. 2009. "State-Wide Elections, Optical Scan Voting Systems, and the Pursuit of Integrity, Information Forensics and Security." *IEEE* 4 (4): 597-610.
- Appel, Andrew W. 2007. "Effective audit policy for voter-verified paper ballots." Princeton University. <http://www.cs.princeton.edu/~appel/papers/appel-nj-audits.pdf>
- Arceneaux, Kevin, Thad Kousser, and Megan Mullin. 2011. "Get Out the Vote-by-Mail? A Randomized Field Experiment Testing the Effect of Mobilization in Traditional and Vote-by-Mail Precincts." *Political Research Quarterly*. <http://prq.sagepub.com/content/early/2011/09/17/1065912911421013.full.pdf+html>
- Argersinger, Peter H. 1985. "New Perspectives on Election Fraud in the Gilded Age." *Political Science Quarterly* 100 (4): 669-687.
- Armen, Chris, and Ralph Morelli. 2005. "Teaching about the risks of electronic voting technology." *ACM SIGCSE Bulletin* 37 (September). <http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/1070000/1067508/p227->

armen.pdf?ip=131.215.23.196&acc=ACTIVE%20SERVICE&CFID=103210659&CFTOKEN=95695507&_acm_=1337120859_8a012b85dca11bb4bc46e97556a00e98

- Arnold, Ed. 1999. *History of Voting Systems in California*. http://josephhall.org/arnold_ca_vs_hist.pdf
- Ash, Arlene, and John Lamperti. 2008. "Florida's District 13 Election in 2006: Can Statistics Tell Us Who Won?" *Change* 21 (2). <http://www.mathaware.org/mam/08/AshFlorida.pdf>
- Ash, Arlene, and Philip B. Stark. 2009. "Thinking Outside the Urn, Statisticians make their marks on US ballots." *Amstat News* 384: 37–40. http://www.amstat.org/outreach/pdfs/SP_ANJun09.pdf
- Aslam, Javed A., Raluca A. Popa and Ronald I. Rivest. 2008. "On Auditing Elections When Precincts Have Different Sizes." *Proceedings of the 2008 USENIX/ACCURATE Electronic Voting Technology Workshop*.
- Aslam, Javed A., Raluca A. Popa, and Ronald L. Rivest. 2008. "On Estimating the Size and Confidence of a Statistical Audit." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 54. <http://people.csail.mit.edu/rivest/AslamPopaRivest-OnEstimatingTheSizeAndConfidenceOfAStatisticalAudit.pdf>
- Asongwed, Tah. 2004. "Guide to Electoral Fraud: Loser Take all." Xlibris Corp.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, Lisa Ann Bryant, Thad E. Hall, Kyle Saunders, and Michael Alvarez. 2010. "A New Barrier to Participation: Heterogeneous Application of Voter Identification Policies." *Electoral Studies* 29 (1): 66-73.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, and Kyle L. Saunders. 2007. "The Effect of Election Administration on Voter Confidence: A Local Matter?" *PS: Political Science & Politics* 40 (4): 655-660.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, R. Michael Alvarez, and Thad E. Hall. 2008. "The New Mexico 2006 Post Election Audit Report." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project. <http://vote.caltech.edu/drupal/node/204>
- Auer, Peter, and Cesa-Bianchi, Nicolo. 2006. "A Distributed Voting Scheme to Maximize Preferences." *RAIRO – Theoretical Informatics and Applications* 40: 389-403.
- Aviv, Adam, Pavol Cerny, Sandy Clark, Eric Cronin, Gaurav Shah, Micah Sherr, and Matt Blaze. "Security Evaluation of ES&S Voting Machines and Election Management Systems." http://static.usenix.org/event/evt08/tech/full_papers/aviv/aviv_html/
- Backes, Michael, C. Hritcu, and M. Maffei. 2008. "Automated Verification of Remote Electronic Voting Protocols in the Applied Pi-Calculus." *Computer and Information Science* 86 (3): 195-209.
- Bain, Henry. 1996. "The Scholarly Recount: A Useful Addition to the Methods of Voting Research." *P.S. Political Science and Politics* 29 (September): 495-501. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/420830.pdf?acceptTC=true>
- Balzarotti, Davide, Greg Banks, Marco Cova, Viktoria Felmetzger, Richard Kemmerer, William Robertson, Fredrik Valeur, and Giovanni Vigna. 2010. "An Experience in Testing the Security of Real World Electronic Voting Systems." *IEEE* 36 (4): 453-473.

- Bannet, J., D.W. Price, A. Rudys, J. Singer, and D.S. Wallach. 2004. "Hack-a-Vote: Security Issues with Electronic Voting Systems." *IEEE* 2 (1): 32-37.
- Barreto, Matt A., and Matthew J. Streb. 2006. "Do Absentee Voters Differ from Polling Place Voters? New Evidence from California." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 70 (2): 224-234.
<http://poq.oxfordjournals.org/content/70/2/224.full.pdf+html>
- Barreto, Matt A., Bonnie Glaser, Karen MacDonald, Loren Collingwood, Francisco Pedraza, and Barry Pump. 2010. "Online Voter Registration (OLVR) Systems in Arizona and Washington: Evaluating Usage, Public Confidence and Implementation Processes." Pew Center on the States.
http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2010/online_voter_reg.pdf
- Barreto, Matt A., Stephen A. Nuno, and Gabriel R. Sanchez. 2009. "The Disproportionate Impact of Voter-ID Requirements on the Electorate—New Evidence from Indiana." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 42 (1): pp. 111-116.
http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSC%2FPSC42_01%2FS1049096509090283a.pdf&code=f825254b350b43589f1f376d4cb1ef35
- Barstow, David, and Don Van Natta, Jr. 2001. "Examining the Vote; How Bush Took Florida: Mining the Overseas Absentee Vote." *New York Times*, 15 July.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2001/07/15/us/examining-the-vote-how-bush-took-florida-mining-the-overseas-absentee-vote.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>
- Bassi, Anna, Rebecca Morton, and Jessica Trounstone. 2009. "Local Implementation of State and Federal Election Law." New York University.
http://faculty.ucmerced.edu/jtrounstone/BMT_Empirical_May09.pdf
- Baum, Dale, and James I. Hailey. "Lyndon Johnson's Victory in the 1948 Texas Senate Race: A Reappraisal." *Political Science Quarterly* 109 (Autumn):595-613.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2151840>
- Baum Dale. 1991. "Pinpointing apparent fraud in the 1861 Texas secession referendum." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 22: 201-221. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/205866>
- Baumgartner, Jody C. 2010. *Conventional Wisdom and American Elections: Exploding Myths, Exploring Misconceptions*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Bean, C. 1986. "Electoral Law, Electoral Behaviour and Electoral Outcomes: Australia and New Zealand Compared." *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 24 (1): 57-73.
- Bean C. 1997. "Australia's Experience with the Alternative Vote." *Journal of Representative Democracy* 34 (2): 103-110.
- Beaulieu, Emily, and Susan D. Hyde. 2008. "In the Shadow of Democracy Promotion: Strategic Manipulation, International Observers, and Election Boycotts." *Comparative Political Studies* 42 (3): 392-415. <http://cps.sagepub.com/content/42/3/392.full.pdf+html>

- Benaloh, Josh, Douglas Jones, Eric Lazarus, Mark Lindeman, and Philip B. Stark. 2011. "SOBA: Secrecy-preserving Observable Ballot-level Audit." *2011 Electronic Voting Technology Workshop/Workshop on Trustworthy Elections*. <http://arxiv.org/abs/1105.5803>
- Bensel, Richard Franklin. 2004. *The American Ballot Box in the mid-Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge University Press.
- Berber, B. and A. Scacco. 2008. "What the numbers say: A digit based test for election fraud using new data from Nigeria." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the APSA, Boston. <http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/content/20/2/211.full.pdf+html?sid=4d4246d3-9bf9-4c55-a403-fba6a1a36567>
- Bergman, Elizabeth, and Philip A. Yates. 2011. "Changing Election Methods: How Does Mandated Vote-By-Mail Affect Individual Registrants?" *Election Law Journal* 10 (2): 115-127. <http://online.liebertpub.com/doi/pdfplus/10.1089/elj.2010.0079>
- Berger, Jonah, Marc Meredith, and S. Christian Wheeler. 2008. "Contextual Priming: Where People Vote Affects How They Vote." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 105 (26): 8846-8849.
- Berinsky, Adam, Nancy Burns, and Michael Traugott. 2001. "Who Votes by Mail? A Dynamic Model of the Individual-Level Consequences of Voting-by-Mail Systems." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 65 (2): 178-197. <http://thecommoninterest.org/docs/Berinsky2001.pdf>
- Berinsky, Adam. 2005. "The Perverse Consequences of Electoral Reform in the United States." *American Politics Research* 33 4: 471-491.
- Bermeo, Nancy. 2010. "Interests, Inequality, and Illusion in the Choice for Fair Elections." *Comparative Political Studies* 43 (8-9): 1119-1147. <http://cps.sagepub.com/content/43/8-9/1119.full.pdf+html>
- Birch, Sarah. 2010. "Perceptions of Electoral Fairness and Voter Turnout." *Comparative Political Studies* 43 (12): 1601-1622. <http://cps.sagepub.com/content/43/12/1601.full.pdf+html>
- Birch, Sarah. 2008. "Electoral Institutions and Popular Confidence in Electoral Processes: A Cross-National Analysis." *Electoral Studies*. <http://www.cree.umontreal.ca/pdf/ElectoralInstitutionsandPopularConfidenceinElectoralProcesses.pdf>
- Birch, Sarah. 2007. "Electoral Systems and Electoral Misconduct." *Comparative Political Studies* 40 (12): 1533-1556. <http://cps.sagepub.com/content/40/12/1533.full.pdf+html>
- Birru, Amha. 2009. *Secure Web Based Voting System for the Case of Addis Ababa City*. VDM Publishing.
- Bishop, Matt, Mark Graff, Candice Hoke, David Jefferson, and Sean Peisert, 2008. "Resolving the Unexpected in Elections: Election Officials' Options." Center for Election Excellence. <http://electionexcellence.org/docs/adv/electionofficialtechguide-2008-10-08.pdf>
- Bjornlund, Eric C. 2004. *Beyond Free and Fair: Monitoring Elections and Building Democracy*. Woodrow Wilson Center Press / Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Blais, Andre, Romain Lachat, Airo Hino, and Pascal Doray-Demers. 2011. "The Mechanical and Psychological effects of Electoral Systems: A Quasi-Experimental Study." *Comparative Political Studies* 44 (12): 1599-1621. <http://cps.sagepub.com/content/44/12/1599.full.pdf+html>
- Blaze, Matt, Arel Cordero, Sophie Engle, Chris Karlof, Naveen Sastry, Micah Sherry, Till Stegers, and Ka-Ping Yee. 2007. "Source Code Review of the Sequoia Voting System." University of California, Berkeley Report for the California Secretary of State. <http://www.sos.ca.gov/voting-systems/oversight/ttbr/sequoia-source-public-jul26.pdf>
- Boda, Michael D. 2005. "Judging Elections by Public International Law: A Tentative Framework." *Representation* 41 (3) : 208-29.
- Bohli, J.M., C. Henrich, C. Kempka, J. Muller-Quade, and S. Rohrich. 2009. "Enhancing Electronic Voting Machines on the Example of Bingo Voting." *Information Forensics and Security, IEREE* 4 (4): 745-750.
- Bone, Hugh A. 1953. "Review of Local Election Administration in California." *The Western Political Quarterly* 6 (1): 209-210.
- Bowler, Shaun. 2011. "Partisan Bias in Evaluating U.S. Elections during the HAVA Decade: A Natural Experiment." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, RPEAVT Paper. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/partisan-bias-evaluating-us-elections-during-hava-decade-natural-experiment>
- Bowman, Kirk. 2003. "The Causes and Consequences of Electoral Reform." *Election Law Journal* 2 (2): 263-269.
- Brace, Kimball. 2008. "The Status of Voting Equipment." *Albany Law Journal of Science and Technology* 18 (3): 651-656.
- Brace, Kimball W., ed. 1993. *Election Data Book: A Statistical Portrait of Voting in America, 1992*. Lanham, Md.: Bernan Press.
- Brace, Kimball W., and Michael P. McDonald. 2005. "Final Report of the 2004 Election Day Survey." Election Data Services. http://www.electioncenter.org/documents/EAC-2004%20election%20surveyFull_Report_wTables.pdf
- Braden, Mark. 2011. "Disputed Elections Post Bush v. Gore: Are Federal Courts Entering the Political Contest Thicket?" Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, RPEAVT Paper 17. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/disputed-elections-post-bush-v-gore-are-federal-courts-entering-political-contest-thicket>
- Brady, Henry E. 2004. "U.S. Elections – How the Rules You Choose and the Way You Count Determine the Winners You Get: Symposium Introduction." *Perspectives on Politics* 2: 489-490.
- Brady, Henry E. 2000. "Report on Voting and Ballot Form in Palm Beach County." University of California, Berkeley. <http://ucdata.berkeley.edu/pubs/palmbeachcoreport.pdf>

- Brady, Henry E., Justin Buchler, Matt Jarvis, and John McNulty. 2001. "Counting All The Votes: The Performance of Voting Technology in the United States." Survey Research Center and Institute of Governmental Studies, UC Berkeley. <http://ucdata.berkeley.edu/pubs/countingallthevotes.pdf>
- Brady, Henry E. 2004. "Postponing the California Recall to Protect Voting Rights." *Political Science and Politics* 37 (1): 27-32.
- Brady, Henry E., and Cynthia S. Kaplan. 2001. "Subjects to Citizens: From Non-Voting, to Protesting, to Voting in Estonia during the Transition to Democracy." *Journal of Baltic Studies* 32 (4): 347-78.
- Brady, Henry E., and John E. McNulty. 2011. "Turning out to Vote: The Costs of Finding and Getting to the Polling Place." *American Political Science Review* 105: 115-134.
http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSR%2FPSR105_01%2FS0003055410000596a.pdf&code=03d779040b1563528eb4aa14d4bda045
- Brady, Henry E., Michael C. Herron, Walter R. Mebane Jr., Jasjeet Singh Sekhon, Kenneth W. Shotts, and Jonathan Wand. 2001. "Law and Data: The Butterfly Ballot Episode." *Political Science & Politic* 34: 59-69.
- Bradley, Richard. 2005. "Paranoia, Conspiracy Theories, and the Presidential Election of 2004." *Cultural Studies & Critical Methodologies* 5 (3): 338-345.
- Brama, Elizabeth M. 2003. "Recent Decisions of the Minnesota Supreme Court: Article: Erlandson V. Kiffmeyer: Minnesota's Absentee Voting Laws Following the Sudden Death of Incumbent Candidate Paul Wellstone." *William Mitchell Law Review* 397.
- Brians, Craig Leonard, and Bernard Grofman. 1999. "When Registration Barriers Fall, Who Votes? An Empirical Test of a Rational Choice Model." *Public Choice* 99: 161-176.
<http://www.socsci.uci.edu/~bgrofman/24%20Brians-Grofman-When%20registration%20barriers%20fall.pdf>
- Brockington, David. 2003. "A Low Information Theory of Ballot Position Effect." *Political Behavior* 25 (1): 1-27. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/3657312>
- Brooks, Robert C., and Joseph P. Harris. Oct. 1934. "Review of Election Administration in the United States." *The American Political Science Review* 28 (5): 948-949.
- Browder, Rebekah. 2005. "Symposium: Where's my Vote: Lessons Learned From Washington State's Gubernatorial Election: Comment: Internet Voting with Initiatives and Referendums: Stumbling Towards Direct Democracy." *Seattle University Law Review* 485.
- Brown, Robert D., and Justin Wedeking. 2006. "People Who Have Their Tickets but Do Not Use Them." *American Politics Research* 34 4: 479-504.
<http://www.uky.edu/~jpwede2/APR%20Brown%20Wedeking.pdf>
- Brusco, Valeria, Marcelo Nazareno, and Susan C. Stokes. 2004. "Vote-Buying in Argentina." *Latin American Research Review* 39 (2): 66-88.
<http://lasa2.univ.pitt.edu/LARR/prot/fulltext/vol39no2/Brusco.pdf>

- Buchler, Justin. 2006. "Electoral Fraud and Attempts to Prevent It in the United States." *Electoral Law Journal* 5 (2): 204-209.
- Buchler, Justin, Matthew Jarvis, and John E. McNulty. 2004. "Punch Card Technology and the Racial Gap in Residual Votes." *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (3): 517-524.
- Buckley, Sam. 2011. *Banana Republic UK? Vote Rigging Fraud and Error in British Elections Since 2001*. CreateSpace.
- Bullock, Charles s., M.V. Hood, and Jerry Gonzales. 2007. "Examining Methods for Identifying Latino Voters." *Election Law Journal* 6 (2): 202-208.
- Bullock, Charles S., III, and M. V. Hood, III. "One Person—No Vote; One Vote; Two Votes: Voting Methods, Ballot Types, and Undervote Frequency in the 2000 Presidential Election." *Social Science Quarterly* 83 (4): 981-993. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1540-6237.00127/pdf>
- Burden, Barry C., David T. Canon, Kenneth R. Mayer, and Donald P. Moynihan. 2011. "Early Voting and Election Day Registration in the Trenches: Local Officials' Perceptions of Election Reform." *Election Law Journal* 19 (2): 89-102. <http://online.liebertpub.com/doi/pdfplus/10.1089/elj.2010.0082>
- Burden, Barry C., and Jacob R. Neiheisel. 2011. "Election Administration and the Pure Effect of Voter Registration on Turnout." *Political Research Quarterly*. <http://prq.sagepub.com/content/early/2011/12/19/1065912911430671.full.pdf+html>
- Burden, Barry C. "Voter Turnout and the National Election Studies." *Political Analysis* 8 (4): 389-398. <http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/content/8/4/389.full.pdf+html>
- Burnett, Craig M., Elizabeth Garrett, and Mathew D. McCubbins. 2010. "The Dilemma of Direct Democracy." *Election Law Journal* 9 (4): 305-324.
- Burton, Craig A. 2008. "A Thin Client for Networked Access to a Central Register and Electronic Voting Terminal." *ICEGOV '08 Proceedings of the 2nd International conference on Theory and practice of electronic governance*: 281-286. http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/1510000/1509154/p281-burton.pdf?ip=131.215.23.191&acc=ACTIVE%20SERVICE&CFID=109558858&CFTOKEN=93636156&acm_=1339451710_825490927375ada887ac31a1643a3a71
- Busch, A E. "Campaign Effects of Early Voting." *Southeastern Political Review* 26 (3): 681-695. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1747-1346.1998.tb00503.x/pdf>
- Bush, Jeb. 2004. "Election Reform in Florida: Meeting the Challenge." *Election Law Journal* 1 (3): 311-314.
- Butler, Valerie. 2011. "An ePamphlet on Voter Photo ID Laws." Midwestalmanac.com.

- Buttorff, Gail. 2008. "Detecting Fraud in America's Gilded Age." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, RPEAVT Paper 2. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/detecting-fraud-america%E2%80%99s-gilded-age>
- Byrne, Michael D., Kristen K. Greene, and Sarah P. Everett. 2007. "Usability of Voting Systems: Baseline Data for Paper, Punch Cards, and Lever Machines." *Proceedings of the SIGCHI conference on Human factors in computing systems*: 171-180.
http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/1250000/1240653/p171-byrne.pdf?ip=131.215.23.191&acc=ACTIVE%20SERVICE&CFID=96656998&CFTOKEN=43152505&acm_=1343066263_112235eb9ed49020cdd08a9e23fe673e
- Cain, Bruce E. 2005. "An Ethical Path to Reform: Just Elections Considered." *Election Law Journal* 4 (2): 134-138.
- Cain, Bruce E., Karin MacDonald, and Michael H. Murakami. 2008. "Administering the Overseas Vote." *Public Administration Review* 68 (5): 802-813.
- Cain, Bruce E. 2009. "Election Administration: Still Broken After All These Years." *Election Law Journal* 8 (3): 219-221.
- Cain, Bruce E., Todd Donovan, and Caroline J. Tolbert. 2008. *Democracy in the States: Experiments in Election Reform*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Cain, Bruce E., and Elizabeth R. Gerber, eds. 2002. *Voting at the Political Fault Line: California's Experiment with the Blanket Primary*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Calandrino, Joseph A., J. Alex Halderman, and Edward W. Felten. 2008. "In Defense of Pseudorandom Sample Selection." *2008 USENIX/ACCURATE Electronic Voting Technology Workshop*.
<https://jhalderm.com/pub/papers/prng-evt08.pdf>
- Calandrino, Joseph A., J. Alex Halderman, and Edward W. Felten. "Machine-Assisted Election Auditing." *Proc. 2007 USENIX/ACCURATE Electronic Voting Technology Workshop*.
http://static.usenix.org/event/evt07/tech/full_papers/calandrino/calandrino.pdf
- Calandrino, Joseph A., William Clarkson, and Edward W. Felten. "Some Consequences of Paper Fingerprinting for Elections." Princeton University.
http://static.usenix.org/event/evtwote09/tech/full_papers/calandrino.pdf
- Calandrino, Joseph A., Ariel J. Feldman, Halderman, J. Alex, David Wagner, Harlan Yu, and William P. Zeller. 2007. "Source Code Review of the Diebold Voting System." University of California, Berkeley Report for the California Secretary of State.. <http://www.sos.ca.gov/voting-systems/oversight/ttbr/diebold-source-public-jul29.pdf>
- Caldelli, Roberto, Rudy Becarelli, Francesco Fillippini, Francesco Picchioni, and Ricardo Giogetti. 2009. "Electronic Voting by Means of Digital Terrestrial Television: The Infrastructure, Security Issues and a Real Test-Bed." *IFIP Advances in Information and Communication Technology* 305: 13-25.

- Calingaert, Daniel. 2006. "Election Rigging and How to Fight It." *Journal of Democracy* 17 (3): 13-51.
<https://netfiles.uiuc.edu/fesnic/241/Calingaert.pdf>
- Campbell, B. A., & Byrne, M. D. 2009. "Now Do Voters Notice Review Screen Anomalies? A look at Voting System Usability." *Proceedings of the 2009 Electronic Voting Technology Workshop/Workshop on Trustworthy Elections*.
http://chil.rice.edu/research/pdf/CampbellByrne_EVT_%282009%29.pdf
- Campbell, B. A., Tossell, C. C., Byrne, M. D., & Kortum, P. 2011. "Voting on a Smartphone: Evaluating the Usability of an Optimized Voting System for Handheld Mobile Devices." *Proceedings of the Human Factors and Ergonomics Society 55th Annual Meeting*: 1100-1104.
- Campbell, Donald E. 1977. "Computational Criteria for Voting Systems." *British Journal of Political Science* 7 (1): 85-98.
- Campbell, Tracy. 2005. *Deliver the Vote: A History of Fraud, an American Political Tradition 1742-2004*. Carroll & Graf Publisher.
http://chil.rice.edu/research/pdf/CampbellTossellByrneKortum_HFES_%282011%29.pdf
- Campbell, Tracy. 2004. "Motherhood, Apple Pie, and Election Fraud." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. <http://chronicle.com/article/Motherhood-Apple-Pie-and/27096/>
- Canon, David T. 2007. "The Future of the Voting Rights Act." *Election Law Journal* 6 (3): 266-269.
- Canon, David T. 2008. "Renewing the Voting Rights Act: Retrogression, Influence, and the 'Georgia v. Ashcroft Fix.'" *Election Law Journal* 7 (1) 3-24.
- Cantu, Francisco, and Sebastian M. Saiegh. 2011. "Fraudulent Democracy? An Analysis of Argentina's Infamous Decade Using Supervised Machine Learning." *Political Analysis* 19 (4): 409-422.
<http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/content/19/4/409.full.pdf+html?sid=90a9611a-f22f-44af-863c-2ed3a1ab4a22>
- Carback, Richard, Jeremy Clark, and John Conway. 2010. "Scantegrity II Municipal Election at Takoma Park: The First E2E Binding Governmental Election With Ballot Privacy." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 96. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/scantegrity-ii-municipal-election-takoma-park-first-e2e-binding-governmental-election-ballot>
- Carbo, Steven. 2004. "U.S. Election Assistance Commission Public Hearing on the Use, Security, and Reliability of Electronic Voting Systems." *Demos*.
[http://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/HAVA_-_EAC_Hearing_May_5_2004_-_Demos_Statement%20\(1\).pdf](http://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/HAVA_-_EAC_Hearing_May_5_2004_-_Demos_Statement%20(1).pdf)
- Card, David, and Enrico Moretti. 2007. "Does Voting Technology Affect Election Outcome? Touch-screen Voting and the 2004 Presidential Election." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 89 (4): 660-673.

- Carman, Christopher, James Mitchell, and Robert Johns. "The Unfortunate Natural Experiment in Ballot Design: The Scottish Parliamentary Elections of 2007." *Electoral Studies* 27 3: 442-459.
<http://www.scottishelectionstudy.org.uk/docs/SES07P4.ppt>
- Carothers, T. 1997. "The Observers Observed." *Journal of Democracy* 8 (3).
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v008/8.3carothers.html
- Carrier, M.A. 2005. "Vote Counting, Technology, and Unintended Consequences." *Saint Johns Law Review* 79 (3): 645-688.
- Carroll, T.E., and D. Grosu. 2009. "A Secure and Anonymous Voter-Controlled Election Scheme." *Journal of Network and Computer Applications* 32 (3): 599-606.
- Carter Center. 2007. "Observing the 2006 Presidential Elections in Venezuela." Final Report of the Technical Mission.
- Carter, Lemuria, and Ronald Campbell. 2011. "The Impact of Trust and Relative Advantage on Internet Voting Diffusion." *Journal of Theoretical and Applied Electronic Commerce Research* 6 (3): 28-42. <http://www.jtaer.com/>
- Caughey, Davin, and Jasjeet S. Sekhon. 2011. "Elections and the Regression Discontinuity Design: Lessons from Close U.S. House Races, 1942-2008." *Political Analysis* 19 (4): 385-408.
- Ceaser, James W., and Andrew Busch. 2001. *The Perfect Tie: The True Story of the 2000 Presidential Election*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Celeste, Richard F., Dick Thornburgh, Herbert Lin. 2006. *Asking the right questions about electronic voting*. National Academies Press.
http://www.nap.edu/openbook.php?record_id=11449&page=R3
- Cemenska, Nathan, Jan E. Leighley, Jonathan Nagler, and Daniel P. Tokaji. 2009. "Report on the 1972-2008 Early and Absentee Voting Dataset." Pew Charitable Trust.
http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2009/Non-Precinct_Laws_1972-2008%281%29.pdf
- Chapin, Doug. 2005. "The Machinery of Democracy: Voting Technology In November 2004." *The John Marshall Journal of Computer and Information Law* 23 (3): 553.
- Chapin, Doug. 2011. "Non-Precinct Place Voting and Election Administration." *Election Law Journal* 10 (3): 303-305.
- Charles, Guy-Uriel, Heather K. Gerken, and Michael S. Kang. 2011. *Race, Reform, and Regulation of the Electoral Process: Recurring Puzzles in American Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Charnin, Richard. 2010. *Proving Election Fraud: Phantom Voters, Uncounted Votes, and the National Exit Poll*. AuthorHouse.
- Chaum, David. 2004. "Secret-Ballot Receipts: True Voter-Verifiable Elections." *CryptoBytes* : 13-26.
<http://www.cs.jhu.edu/~rubin/courses/sp05/chaum.receipt.pdf>

- Chaum, D., R. T. Carback, J. Clark, A. Essex, S. Popoveniuc, R. L. Rivest, P. Ryan, E. Shen, A. T. Sherman, and P. L. Vora. "Scantegrity II: End-to-End Verifiability by Voters of Optical Scan Elections through Confirmation Codes." *IEEE Transactions on Information Forensics and Security* 4 (4): 611-627. <http://www.seas.gwu.edu/~poorvi/ScantegritySpecialIssue.pdf>
- Chaum, David, Mirosław Kutylowski, Ronald L. Rivest, and Peter Ryan. 2008. "Frontiers of Electronic Voting." Dagstuhl Seminar. http://drops.dagstuhl.de/opus/volltexte/2008/1303/pdf/07311_abstracts_collection.1303.pdf
- Chaum, David., Markus Jakobsson, Ronald L. Rivest, Peter A. Ryan, Josh Benaloh, and Mirosław Kutylowski. 2010. *Towards Trustworthy Elections: New Directions in Electronic Voting*. Springer.
- Chaum, D. A. Essex, R. Carback, J. Clark, S. Popoveniuc, A. Sherman, and P. Vora. 2008. "Scantegrity: End-to-End Voter-Verifiable Optical-Scan Voting." *Security and Privacy, IEEE* 6 (3): 40-46.
- Chiang, Lichun, and Peter C. Ordeshook. 2008. "Fraud, Elections and the American Gene in Taiwan's Democracy." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, RPEAVT Paper 1. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/fraud-elections-and-american-gene-taiwan%E2%80%99s-democracy>
- Chien, Chen-shin, and Jason Chien. 2010. "The Influence of Cacheable Models on E-Voting Technology." *Lecture Notes in Computer Science 6377*: 166-172.
- Cihak, Herbert E. "The Help America Vote Act: Unmet Expectations?" *University of Arkansas at Little Rock Law Review* 679.
- Classen, Ryan L, David B. Magleby, J. Quin Monson, and Kelly D. Patterson. 2012. "Voter Confidence and the Election-Day Voting Experience." *Political Behavior*. <http://www.springerlink.com/content/k841wtl20vu10w7u/fulltext.pdf>
- Clausen, Aage R. "Response Validity: Vote Report." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 32 (4) : 588-606. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/2747739>
- Cline, Brenden. 2008. "Instant Runoff Voting in National Elections: By Upgrading Voting Systems to Instant Runoff Voting, Technological Advancements Can Be Harnessed To Improve Voter Flexibility and Access for 4th parties in Our National Elections," *Policy Studies Journal* 36.
- Cobb, Rachael V., D. James Greiner, and Kevin M. Quinn. 2012. "Can Voter ID Laws Be Administered in a Race-Neutral Manner! Evidence from the City of Boston in 2008." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 7 (1): 1-33.
- Cohen, Sharon. 2008. "Auditing Technology for Electronic Voting Machines." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 46. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/auditing-technology-electronic-voting-machines-0>
- Collier, James M. 1992. *Votescam: The Stealing of America*. Victoria House Press.

- Colvin, Nathan L., and Edward B. Foley. "The Twelfth Amendment: A Constitutional Ticking Time Bomb." *University of Miami Law Review* 64: 475.
- Conn, Jason Belmont. 2006. "Race Against the Machine: An Argument for the Standardization of Voting Technology." *Washington and Lee Journal of Civil Rights and Social Justice*: 181.
- Cordero, Arel, David Wagner, and David Dill. 2006. "The Role of Dice in Election Audits – Extended Abstract." University of California, Berkeley. <http://www.eecs.berkeley.edu/~daw/papers/dice-wote06.pdf>
- Cotrell, Charles L., and Jerry Polinard. 1986. "Effects of the Voting Rights Act in Texas: Perceptions of County Election Administrators." *Publius* 16 (4): 67-80.
- Cranor, Lorrie Faith. 2003. "In Search of the Perfect Voting Technology: No Easy Answers." *Security Electronic Voting, Advances In Information Security* 7 (1): 17-30.
- Crigler, Ann N, Marion R. Just, and Edward J. McCaffery. 2004. *Rethinking the Vote: The Politics and Prospects of American Elections Reform*. Oxford University Press.
- Crockett, David A. 2003. "Dodging the Bullet: Election Mechanics and the Problem of the Twenty-third Amendment." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 36 (3): 423-426.
<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=164316&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S1049096503002774>
- Daniels, Gilda R. 2008. "A Vote Delayed Is a Vote Denied: A Preemptive Approach to Eliminating Election Administration Legislation That Disenfranchises Unwanted Voters." *Brandeis Law Journal* 47 (1): 57.
- Darcy, R., and Anne Schneider. 1989. "Confusing Ballots, Roll-Off, and the Black Vote." *Western Political Quarterly* 42 (3): 347-364.
- Damore, David F., Mallory M. Waters, and Shaun Bowler. 2011. "Unhappy, Uninformed, or Uninterested? Understanding 'None of the Above' Voting." *Political Research Quarterly*.
<http://prq.sagepub.com/content/early/2011/11/06/1065912911424286.full.pdf+html>
- Dark, Taylor E. 2003. "Americans Abroad: The Challenge of a Globalized Electorate." *Political Science and Politics* 36: 733-740.
http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSC%2FPSC36_04%2FS1049096503003032a.pdf&code=b9e5449bf103494e454f2789ffa4ab4d
- Davidson, Chandler. 2009. "The Historical Context of Voter Photo-ID Laws." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 42 (1): 93-96.
http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSC%2FPSC42_01%2FS1049096509090246a.pdf&code=ca746338eb83ea14ff41ae708a1ef5e1
- Davidson, Chandler. 2006. "Voting Rights the Second Time Around: Happy Ending or Prologue to a Third try?" *Election Law Journal* 4 (3): 212-216.

- Dawkins, Shane, Tony Sullivan, Grey Rogers, E. Vincent Cross, Lauren Hamilton, and Juan E. Gilbert. 2009. "Prime III: an Innovative electronic voting interface." *IUI '09 Proceedings of the 14th International Conference on Intelligent User Interface*.
http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/1510000/1502727/p485-dawkins.pdf?ip=131.215.23.196&acc=ACTIVE%20SERVICE&CFID=79986711&CFTOKEN=48503992&acm_=1335890987_c2a144002ba10dc0572925f0466959d8
- de Jong, Menno, Joris van Hoof, and Jordy Gosselt. "Voters' Perceptions of Voting Technology: Paper Ballots Versus Voting Machine With and Without Paper Audit Trail." *Social Science Computer Review* 26 (Winter): 399-410.
- Deckert, Joseph, Mikhail Myagkov, and Peter C. Ordeshook. 2011. "Benford's Law and the Detection of Election Fraud." *Political Analysis* 19: 245-268.
<http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/content/19/3/245.full.pdf+html?sid=623645ec-cb0e-48ea-9028-94682ec53988>
- Dee, Thomas S. 2007. "Technology and Voter intent: Evidence from the California Recall Election." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 89 4: 674-683.
- Delaney, Andrew N. 2008. "Appearance Matters: Why The State Has An Interest In Preventing The Appearance of Voting Fraud." New York University School of Law.
http://www.law.nyu.edu/ecm_dl3/groups/public/@nyu_law_website_journals_law_review/documents/documents/ecm_pro_058030.pdf
- Denny, Kevin, and Orla M. Doyle. 2007. "...Take up thy bed, and vote' Measuring the Relationship Between Voting Behavior and Indicators of Health." *The European Journal of Public Health* 17 (4): 400-401.
- Denny, Kevin, and Orla Doyle. 2009. "Does Voting History Matter? Analyzing Persistence in Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (2): 17-35.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/25193865>
- DeSipio, Louis. 2011. "Bilingual Voting Materials and the Expansion of the Voting Rights Act Beyond the African American Community." *Election Law Journal* 10 (2): 179-181.
<http://online.liebertpub.com/doi/pdfplus/10.1089/elj.2011.0105>
- Deutsch, H. 2005. "Public Opinion's Influence on Voting System Technology." *Computer, IEEE* 38 (3): 93-95.
- Di Franco, Andrew Petro, Emmet Shear, and Vladimir Vladimirov. 2004. "Small Vote Manipulations Can Swing Elections." *Communications of the ACM* 47 (10): 43-45.
http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/1030000/1022621/p43-di_franco.pdf?ip=131.215.23.191&acc=ACTIVE%20SERVICE&CFID=129351685&CFTOKEN=36531686&acm_=1342806836_61e761e228778e8b00ac331ad331cecf

- Di Franco, A., A. Petro, V. Vladimirov, and E. Shear. 2004. "Tiny Systematic Vote Manipulations Can Swing Elections." Yale University. <http://www.itu.dk/people/carsten/projects/e-voting/materials/tr1285.pdf>
- Dill, David L., Bruce Schneier, and Barbara Simons. 2003. "Voting and Technology: Who Gets to Count Your Vote?" *Communications of the ACM* 46 (8).
http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/860000/859692/p29-dill.pdf?ip=131.215.23.191&acc=ACTIVE%20SERVICE&CFID=96656998&CFTOKEN=43152505&acm_=1342650733_acf5d0dce4aba2f3df3fe272f6b443b4
- Dionne, E. J., and William Kristol. 2001. *Bush Versus Gore*. Brooking Institution.
- Dolez, Bernard, Bernard Grofman, and Annie Laurent, eds. 2011. *In Situ and Laboratory Experiments on Electoral Law Reform*. Springer.
- Dong, Qingwen, and Erin O'Harra. 2009. "Voter Error Analysis." Pew Charitable Trusts' Make Voting Work. http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2009/UPacific.pdf
- Donno, Daniela, and Nasos Roussias. 2012. "Does Cheating Pay? The Effect of Electoral Misconduct on Part Systems." *Comparative Political Studies* 45 (5): 575-605.
<http://cps.sagepub.com/content/45/5/575.full.pdf+html>
- Dopp, Kathy, Reviewers: Ron Baiman, and Frank Stenger. 2007. "History of Confidence Election Auditing Development (1975 to 2008) and Overview of Election Auditing Fundamentals." National Election Data Achieve. <http://electionmathematics.org/ucvAnalysis/US/paper-audits/History-of-Election-Auditing-Development.pdf>
- Dopp, Kathy, and Frank Stenger. 2006. "The Election Integrity Audit." National Election Data Archive. <http://electionmathematics.org/ucvAnalysis/US/paper-audits/ElectionIntegrityAudit.pdf>
- Doron, G. 1979. "The Hare Voting System is Inconsistent." *Political Studies* 28 (2): 283-286.
- Doron, G., and R. Kronick. 1977. "Single Transferrable Vote: An Example of a Perverse Social Choice Function." *American Journal of Political Science* 21 (2): 303-311.
- dos Santos Araujo, RS. 2008. "On Remote and Voter-Verifiable Voting." Ph.D. diss.
<http://tuprints.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/1212/3/tese-20081217.pdf>
- Dossogne, Jerome, and Frederic Lafitte. 2012. "Mental Voting Booths." *Lecture Notes in Computer Science*. 7161: 82-98.
- Douglas, Davison M. 2008. "Introduction: How We Vote: Electronic Voting and Other Voting Practices in the United States." *The William and Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 17.
- Dover, Edwin D. 2003. *Disputed presidential election of two thousand*. Greenwood Press.
- Doyle, S. 2008. "Practitioner commentary: Vote centers, voting equipment, and uncertainty in election administration." *Public Administration Review* 68 (5): 800-801.

- Drechsler, Wolfgang, and Ulle Madise. 2002. "E-Voting in Estonia." *Trames* 6 (56/51): 234-44.
- Drummett, M.A.E. 1984. *Voting Procedures*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Dubin, Jeffrey A., and Gretchen A. Kalsow. 1996. "Comparing Absentee and Precinct Voters: A View Over Time." *Political Behavior* 18: 369-92.
- Dudley, Robert L., and Alan R. Gitelson. 2002. *American Elections: The Rules Matter*. New York: Longman.
- Dugger, Ronnie. 1988. "Annals of Democracy: Counting Votes." *New Yorker*, 7 November, 31.
<http://www.afd-pdx.org/Articles/Counting-Votes.pdf>
- Dunaway, Johanna, and Robert M. Stein. 2012. "The Effects of Early Voting on Campaign Advertising." Presented at the State Politics and Public Policy Conference, Houston.
http://2012sppconference.blogs.rice.edu/files/2012/02/SPPC2012_DunawayStein.pdf
- Dunham, Pat. 1991. *Electoral behavior in the United States*. Prentice-Hall.
- Dworkin, Ronald, ed. 2002. *A Badly Flawed Election: Debating Bush V. Gore, the Supreme Court, and American Democracy*. New Press.
- Eisenstadt, T.A. 2002. "Measuring Electoral Court Failure in Democratizing Mexico." *International Political Science Review* 23 (1): 47-68.
- Elmendoft, Christopher S. 2006. "Election Commissions and Electoral Reform: An Overview." *Election Law Journal* 5 (4): 425-446.
- Elmendoft, Christopher S., and Edward B. Foley. "Symposium: How We Vote: Electronic Voting and Other Voting Practices in the United States: Gatekeeping vs. Balancing in the Constitutional Law of Elections: Methodological Uncertainty on the High Court." *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 507 (December).
- Engstrom, Richard L. 2010. "Thernstrom v. Voting Rights Act: Round Two." *Election Law Journal* 9 (3): 203-210.
- Epstein, Jeremy. 2011. "Privacy, Democracy, and Elections: Internet Voting, Security and Privacy." *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 885.
- Erikson, Robert C., and Lorraine C. Minnite. 2009. "Modeling Problems in the Voter Identification—Voter Turnout Debate." *Election Law Journal* 8 (2): 85-101.
- Espejo, Roman. 2010. *Voter Fraud (At Issue)*. Greenhaven Press.
- Evans, Eldon Cobb. 1917. *A History of the Australian Ballot System in the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

- Everett, Sarah P. 2007. "The Usability of Electronic Voting Machines and How Votes Can Be Changed Without Detection." Ph.D. diss. Rice University.
<http://chil.rice.edu/research/pdf/EverettDissertation.pdf>
- Everett, Sarah P., Kristen K. Greene, Michael D. Byrne, Dan S. Wallach, Kyhle Derr, Daniel Sandler, and Ted Torous. 2008. "Electronic Voting Machines versus Traditional Methods: Improved Preference, Similar Performance." *CHI 2008 Proceedings: Measuring, Business, and Voting*.
http://chil.rice.edu/research/pdf/EverettGreeneBWDST_08.pdf
- Everett, S. P., Byrne, M. D., & Greene, K. K. 2006. Measuring the Usability of Paper Ballots: Efficiency, Effectiveness, and Satisfaction." *Proceedings of the Human Factors and Ergonomics Society 50th Annual Meeting*: 2547-2551. http://chil.rice.edu/research/pdf/EverettByrneG_06.pdf
- Ewald, Alec C. 2009. *The Way We Vote: The Local Dimension of American Suffrage*. Vanderbilt University Press.
- Farrell, David M. 2001. *Electoral Systems: A Comparative Introduction*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Farrell, David M., and I. McAllister. "1902 and the Origins of Preferential Electoral Systems in Australia." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 51 (2): 155-167.
- Federal Election Commission. 2003. "Developing a User-Centered Voting System."
- Feichner, Morgan E. 2008. *Voting in America*. Praeger.
- Feldman, Ariel J., J. Alex Halderman, and Edward W. Felten. 2006. "Security Analysis of the Diebold AccuVote-TS Voting Machine." *USENIX/Accurate Electronic Voting Technology Workshop*.
http://static.usenix.org/event/evt07/tech/full_papers/feldman/feldman.html
- Fife, Brian L, and GERALYN M. MILLER. 2002. *Political Culture and Voting Systems in the United States*. Westport: Praeger.
- Fife, Brian L. 2010. *Reforming the Electoral Process in America: Toward More Democracy in the 21st Century*. Westport: Praeger.
- Filippov, Mikhail, and Peter C. Ordeshook. 1996. "Fraud or Fiction: Who Stole What in Russia's December 1993 Elections." *Demokratizatsiya* 5 (1): 36-52.
- Fink, R.A., A.T. Sherman, and R. Carback. 2009. "TPM Meets DRE: Reducing the Trust Base for Electronic Voting Using Trusted Platform Modules." *Information Forensics and Security, IEEE* 4 (4): 628-637.
- Fischer, Eric A. 2001. "Voting Technologies in the United: Overview and Issues for Congress." CRS Report for Congress. <http://usa.usembassy.de/etexts/gov/voting.pdf>
- Fischer, Eric A. 2008. *Election Reform and Local Election Officials*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

- Fitrakis, Robert J. 2006. *What Happened in Ohio: A Documentary Record of Theft and Fraud in the 2004 Election*. New Press.
- Flanders, C. 2007. "How to Think About Voter Fraud (and Why)." *Creighton Law Review* 41 (1): 93-153.
- Foley, Edward B. 2007. "The Where and When of Voting." *Election Law Journal* 6 (3): 270-277.
- Foley, Edward B. 2011. "The Lake Wobegone Recount: Minnesota's Disputed 2008 U.S. Senate Election." *Election Law Review* 10 (2): 129-164.
- Foley, Edward B. 2008. "Crawford v. Marion County Election Board: Voter ID, 5-4? If So, So What?" *Election Law Journal* 7 (1): 63-83.
- Foley, Edward B. 2010. "The Founders' Bush v. Gore: The 1972 Election Dispute and Its Continuing Relevance." Ohio State Public Law, Working Paper No. 137.
http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1718448
- Foley, Edward B. 2010. "Democracy in the United State, 2020 and Beyond." Ohio State Public Law, Working Paper No. 135.
http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1716854&http://isearch.avg.com/search?q=The+Twelfth+Amendment%3A+A+Constitutional+Ticking+Time+Bomb&sap=dsp&lang=unknown&mid=unknown&cid=unknown&v=unknown&ds=unknown&d=1%2F1%2F2000+12%3A00%3A00+AM&pr=unknown&snd=hdr
- Forsythe, Joy. 2008. "Encrypted Receipts for Voter-Verified Elections Using Homomorphic Encryption." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 41.
<https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/encrypted-receipts-voter-verified-elections-using-homomorphic-encryption-0>
- Fortier, John C. 2006. *Absentee and Early Voting: Trends, Promises, and Perils*. Washington, D.C.: AEI Press.
- Fraenkel, J. 2004. "Electoral Engineering in Papua New Guinea: Lessons From Fiji and Elsewhere." *Pacific Economic Bulletin* 19 (1): 122-132.
- Fraenkel, J., and B. Grofman. 2004. "A Neo-Downsian Model of the Alternative Vote as a Mechanism for Mitigating Ethnic Conflict in Pleural Societies." *Public Choice* 121 (3): 487-506.
- Fraenkel, J., and B. Grofman. 2006. "Does the Alternative Vote Foster Moderation in Ethnically Divided Societies? The Case of Fiji." *Comparative Political Studies* 39 (5): 623-651.
- Fraenkel, J., and B. Grofman. 2007. "The Merits of Neo-Downsian Modeling of the Alternative Vote: A Reply to Horowitz." *Public Choice* 133 (1): 1-11.
- Franklin, Mark N. 1999. "Electoral Engineering and Cross-National Turnout Differences: What Role for Compulsory Voting?" *British Journal of Political Science* 29: 205-216.
<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1426&jid=JPS&volumeId=29&issueId=01&aid=1425&bodyId=&membershipNumber=&societyETOCSession=>

- Friedrichs Benson, Jocelyn. 2007. "Election Fraud and the Initiative Process: A Study of the 2006 Michigan Civil Rights Initiative." *Fordham Urban Law Journal* (November).
- Freilich, RH. 2008. "America Votes! A Guide to Modern Election Law and Voting Rights." *Urban Lawyer* 40 (4).
- Frisina, L. M.C. Herron, J Honaker, J.B. Lewis. 2008. "Ballot Formats, Touchscreens, and Under Votes: A Study of the 2006 Midterm Elections in Florida." *Election Law Journal* 7 (1): 25-47.
- Fuglerud, Kristin Skeide, and Till Halbach Rossvoll. 2011. "An Evaluation of Web-based Voting Usability and Accessibility." *Universal Access in the Information Society*.
<http://www.springerlink.com/content/2rlv11n6568gm875/fulltext.pdf>
- Fukumoto, Kentaro, and Yusaku Horiuchi. 2010. "Making Outsiders' Votes Count: Detecting Electoral Fraud through a National Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 105 (3): 586-603.
http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSCR%2FPSCR105_03%2FS0003055411000268a.pdf&code=8c4714b9bd600fc0454f2789ffa4ab4d
- Fund, John. 2008. "*Stealing Elections*." Encounter Books.
- Gaines, Brian. 2001. "Popular Myths About Popular Vote-Electoral College Splits." *Political Science and Politics* 34 (1): 71-75.
http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSC%2FPSC34_01%2FS1049096501000105a.pdf&code=f7090186967c169bef0a6e06d5ccf9fa
- Gallagher, Michael, Paul Mitchell. 2008. *The Politics of Electoral Systems*. Oxford University Press.
- Gardenier, John. 2008. "Roles for Statisticians in Elections." *Mathematics Awareness Month 2008*.
<http://www.mathaware.org/mam/08/RolesforStatisticians.pdf>
- Garner Phillip, and Enrico Spolaore. 2005. "Why Chads? Determinants of Voting Equipment Use in the United States." *Public Choice* 123 (3/4): 363-392.
- Gaston, Charles A. 2005. "A Better Way to Vote." *HICSS'05*. <http://origin-www.computer.org/plugins/dl/pdf/proceedings/hicss/2005/2268/05/22680117c.pdf?template=1&loginState=1&userData=anonymous-IP%253A%253AAddress%253A%2B131.215.23.196%252C%2B%255B140.98.196.191%252C%2B131.215.23.196%252C%2B127.0.0.1%255D>
- Geddis, Andrew C. 2005. "It's a Game that Anyone Can Play: Election Laws Around the World." *Election Law Journal* 4 (1): 57-62.
- Gelman, Andrew, Jonathan Katz, and Gary King. 2004. "Empirically Evaluating the Electoral College." In *Rethinking the vote: the politics and prospects of American election reform*, eds Ann N. Crigler, Marion R. Just, and Edward J. McCaffery. Oxford University Press, 75-88.

- Gelman, Andrew, Jonathan Katz, and Joseph Bafumi. 2004. "Standard Voting power Indexes Do Not Work: An Empirical Analysis." *British Journal of Political Science* 34 (4): 657-674.
<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/4092294?uid=3739560>
- Gelman, Andrew, Jonathan N. Katz, and Francis Tuerlinckx. 2002. "The Mathematics and Statistics of Voting Power." *Statistical Science* 17 (4): 420-435.
<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/3182764>
- Gerber, Alan S., Gregory A. Huber, and Seth J. Hill. 2011. "Identifying the Effects of Elections Held All-Mail on Turnout: Staggered Reform in the Evergreen State." Center for the Study of American Politics-Yale. http://huber.research.yale.edu/materials/28_paper.pdf
- Gerber, Alan S. 2012. "Is there a Secret Ballot? Ballot Secrecy Perceptions and their Implications for Voting Behaviour." *British Journal of Political Science*: 1-26.
<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=8627505&jid=JPS&volumeId=-1&issueId=-1&aid=8627503&bodyId=&membershipNumber=&societyETOCSession=>
- Gerken, Heather K. 2009. *The Democracy Index: Why Our Election System Is Failing and How to Fix It*. Princeton University Press.
- Gharadaghy, Rojan, and Melanie Volkamer. 2010. "Verifiability in Electronic Voting Explanations for Non Security Experts." *Center for Advanced Security Research Darmstadt. 4th International Conference on Electronic Voting*: 89-108.
<http://subs.emis.de/LNI/Proceedings/Proceedings167/151.pdf>
- Gianelli, Gabrielle A., Jennifer D. King, Edward W. Felten, and William P. Zeller. 2009. "Software Support for Software-Independent Auditing." *Workshop on Trustworthy Elections*.
- Gibson, Rachel. 2001. "Elections Online: Assessing Internet Voting in Light of the Arizona Democratic Primary." *Political Science Quarterly* 116 (4): 561-583.
<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/798221?uid=3739560>
- Gilbert, Juan E., E. Vincent Cross. 2010. "Universal Access in E-Voting for the Blind." *Universal Access in the Information Society* 9 (4): 357-365.
- Gillman, Howard. 2001. *The Votes That Counted: How the Court Decided the 2000 Presidential Election*. University of Chicago Press.
- Gimbel, Barney. 2006. "Rage Against the Machine – Critics charge voting-machine maker Diebold with endangering U.S. democracy. Is that fair? An exclusive look inside the company that counts your votes." *Fortune*, 154 (10): 84.
- Gimpel, J. 2003. "Computer Technology and Getting Out the Vote." *Campaigns and Elections* 24 (8): 39-41.
- Glaze, Tom, Ernie Dumas. 2011. *Waiting for the Cemetery Vote: The Fight to Stop Election Fraud in Arkansas*. University of Arkansas Press. Glynn, Kevin. 2009. "The 2004 Election Did Not Take Place: Bush, Spectacle, and the Media Nonevent." *Television & New Media* 10 (2): 216-245.

- Goggin, Stephen N., Michael D. Byrne, Juan E. Gilbert, Gregory Rogers, and Jerome McClendon. 2008. "Comparing the Auditability of Optical Scan, Voter Verified Paper Audit Trail (VVPAT) and Video (VVVAT) Ballot Systems." *USENIX/ACCURATE Electronic Voting Technology Workshop*. http://chil.rice.edu/research/pdf/GogginBGRM_08.pdf
- Goggin, Stephen N., Michael D. Bryne, and Juan E. Gilbert. 2012. "Post-Election Auditing: Effects of Procedure and Ballot Type on Manual Counting Accuracy Efficiency, and Auditor Satisfaction and Confidence." *Election Law Journal* 11 (1): 36-51, 2012. http://chil.rice.edu/research/pdf/GogginByrneG_12.pdf
- Goggin, Stephen N., and Michael D. Byrne. 2007. "An Examination of the Auditability of Voter Verified Paper Audit Trail (VVPAT) Ballots." *USENIX/ACCURATE Electronic Voting Technology Workshop*. http://static.usenix.org/events/evt07/tech/full_papers/goggin/goggin.pdf
- Goggin, S. N. 2008. "Usability of election technologies: Effects of political motivation and instruction use." *The Rice Cultivator: A Student Journal of Public Policy Research* 1: 30-45. http://chil.rice.edu/research/pdf/Goggin_08.pdf
- Goirizelaia, Inaki, Maider Huarte, Juanjo Unzilla, and Ted Selker. 2008. "An Optical Scan E-Voting System based on N-Version Programming." *EIII* 5.
- Goldberg, Carole. 2008. "Not So Simple: Voting Rights for American Indians in State Elections." *Election Law Journal* 7 (4): 355-359.
- Goldman, Robert M. 1990. *A Free Ballot and a Fair Count The Department of Justice and the Enforcement of Voting Rights in the South, 1877-1893*. New York: Garland.
- Goler, Jonathan, and Ted Selker. 2008. "Security Vulnerabilities and Problems with VVPT." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 16. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/security-vulnerabilities-and-problems-vvpt>
- Goler, Jonathan, Matt Hockenberry, and Ted Selker. 2008. "Orienting Graphical User Interfaces Reduces Errors: The Low Error Voting Interface." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 23. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/orienting-graphical-user-interfaces-reduces-errors-low-error-voting-interface>
- Goler, Jonathan A., Edwin J. Selker, and Lorin F. Wilde. 2008. "Comparative Voting Performance of Reading Disabled Voter, Interacting with Computers." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/comparative-voting-performance-reading-disabled-voters>
- Gonggrijp, Rop, and Willem-Jan Hengeveld. 2007. "Studying the Nedap/Groenendaal ES3B Voting Computer." *USENIX/ACCURATE Electronic Voting Technology Workshop*. http://wijvertrouwenstemcomputersniet.nl/images/c/ce/ES3B_EVT07.pdf
- Goodman, Susannah, Michelle Mulder, and Pamela Smith. 2012. "Counting Votes 2012: A State by State Look at Voting Technology Preparedness." *Common Cause Education Fund, Rutgers School of Law, and Verified Voting Foundation*. <http://countingvotes.org/sites/default/files/CountingVotes2012.pdf>

- Goodwin-Gill, Guy S. 2006. *Free and Fair Elections*. Inter-Parliamentary Union.
- Governor's Select Task Force on Election Procedures, Standards, and Technology. 2001. "Revitalizing Democracy in Florida." *Collins Center for Public Policy*.
- Grayson, George W. 2004. "Registering and Identifying Voters: What the United States Can Learn from Mexico." *Election Law Journal* 3 (3): 513-520.
- Greene, Abner. 2005. *Understanding The 2000 Election: A Guide To The Legal Battles That Decided The Presidency*. NYU Press.
- Greene, K. K. 2010. "Effects of Multiple Races and Header Highlighting on Undervotes in the 2006 Sarasota General Election: A Usability Study and Cognitive Modeling Assessment." Ph.D. diss. Rice University. http://chil.rice.edu/research/pdf/Greene_10.pdf
- Greene, K. K. 2008. "Usability of New Electronic Voting Systems and Traditional Methods: Comparisons Between Sequential and Direct Access Electronic Voting Interfaces, Paper Ballots, Punch Cards, and Lever Machines." Master's Thesis Rice University. <http://chil.rice.edu/research/pdf/GreeneThesis08.pdf>
- Greene, K. K., Byrne, M. D., & Everett, S. P. 2006. "A Comparison of Usability Between Voting Methods." *Proceedings of the 2006 USENIX/ACCURATE Electronic Voting Technology Workshop*. http://chil.rice.edu/research/pdf/GreeneByrneE_06.pdf
- Grigg, Delia. 2008. "Measuring the Impact of Voting Technology on Residual Vote Rates." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 37. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/measuring-impact-voting-technology-residual-vote-rates>
- Grimm, Rudiger, Katharina Hupf, and Melanie Volkamer. 2010. "A Formal IT-Security Model for the Correction and Abort Requirement of Electronic Voting." *ModIWA Project*. <http://subs.emis.de/LNI/Proceedings/Proceedings167/89.pdf>
- Gritzalis, Dimitris A., ed. 2003. *Secure Electronic Voting*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Grofman, Bernard, Eva Mikkel, and Rein Taagepera. 1999. "Electoral Systems Change in Estonia, 1989-1993." *Journal of Baltic Studies* 30 (3): 227-49.
- Grofman, Bernard. 2008. "A Taxonomy of Runoff Methods." *Electoral Studies* 27 (3): 395-399.
- Grofman, Bernard. 2004. "If you like the Alternative Vote (a.k.a. the Instant Runoff), then you ought to know about the Coombs Rule." *Electoral Studies* 23 (4): 641-659.
- Grofman, Bernard, and M.S. Lewis-Beck. 2005. "Elections Under the French Double-Ballot System: An Introduction." *French Politics* 3 (2): 93-97.
- Gronke, Paul. 2011. "Bush v. Gore: A critical Juncture for early voting?" Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, RPEAVT Paper 15. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/bush-v-gore-critical-juncture-early-voting>

- Gronke, Paul. 2008. "Early Voting Reforms and American Elections." *The William and Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 17.
- Gronke, Paul, Eva Galanes-Rosenbaum and Peter Miller. 2008. "Convenience Voting." *Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 437-455.
- Gronke, Paul and Daniel Krantz Toffey. 2008. "The Psychological and Institutional Determinants of Early Voting." *Journal of Social Issues* 64 (3): 503-524.
- Gronke, Paul, Eva Galanes-Rosenbaum, and Peter Miller. 2007. "Early Voting and Turnout." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 40 (4): 639-645.
- Gronke, Paul, Eva Galanes-Rosenbaum, and Peter A. Miller. 2008. "From Ballot Box to Mail Box: Early Voting and Turnout." In *Democracy in the States: Experiments in Elections Reform*, eds. Bruce E. Cain, Caroline J. Tolbert and Todd Donovan. Washington, DC: Brookings Institute Press.
- Gronke, Paul, and Eva Galanes-Rosenbaum. 2008. "The Growth of Early and Non-Precinct Place Balloting: When, Why, and Prospects for the Future." In *America Votes! A Guide to Election Law and Voting Rights*, ed. Ben Griffith. Cleveland: Lachina Publishing.
- Gronke, Paul. 2010. Residual Voting In Florida, The Pew Charitable Trust.
http://www.pewcenteronthestates.org/uploadedFiles/Florida_Residual_Vote_report.pdf?=3568
- Gronke, Paul, Kimball Brace, and Clark Bensen. 2007. "The 2006 Election Day Survey." Election Assistance Commission.
- Gronke, Paul, Kimball Brach, and Clark Bensen. 2007. "Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act: UOCAVA. Survey report findings." Election Assistance Commission.
- Gronke, Paul, and Daniel P. Tokaji. 2012. "The Party Line: One Year and Counting." *Election Law Journal* March: 1-2.
- Guerra, Sandra. 1988. "Voting Rights and the Constitution: The Disenfranchisement of Non-English Speaking Citizens." *The Yale Law Journal* 97 (June): 1419-1437.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/796445.pdf>
- Guinier, Lani. 1991. "The Triumph of Tokenism: The Voting Rights Act and the Theory of Black Electoral Success." *Michigan Law Review* 89 (March): 1077-1154.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1289550.pdf>
- Gumbel, Andrew. 2005. *Steal This Vote: Dirty Elections and the Rotten History of Democracy*. Nation Books.
- Gumbel, Andrew. 2009. "Election Fraud and the Myths of American Democracy." *Social Research*.
- Gundlach, James H. A "Statistical Analysis of Possible Electronic Ballot Box Stuffing: The Case of Baldwin County Alabama Governor's Race in 2002." Presented at the Annual Meetings of the Alabama Political Science Association, Troy. <http://www.auburn.edu/~gundljh/Baldwin.pdf>

- Hale, Kathleen, and Christa Darly Slaton. 2008. "Building Capacity in Election Administration: Local Responses to Complexity and Interdependence." *Public Administration Review* 68 (5): 839-849.
- Hale, K., and R. McNeal. 2010. "Election administration reform and state choice: Voter Identification requirements and HAVA." *Policy Studies Journal* 38 (2): 281-302.
- Hall, Joseph Lorenzo. 2008. "Procedures for California's 1% Manual Tally." University of California, Berkeley. http://josephhall.org/procedures/ca_tally_procedures-2008.pdf
- Hall, J.L., L.W. Miratrix, P.B. Stark, M. Briones, E. Ginnold, F. Oakley, M. Peaden, G. Pellerin, T. Stanionis and T. Webber. 2009. "Implementing Risk-Limiting Audits in California." *2009 Electronic Voting Technology Workshop/Workshop on Trustworthy Elections*. <http://arxiv.org/abs/0905.4691>, http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1411219.
- Hall, J.L. 2008. "Improving the Security, Transparency, and Efficiency of California's 1% Manual Tally Procedures." *Proceedings, 2008 USENIX/ACCURATE Electronic Voting Technology Workshop*. http://static.usenix.org/event/evt08/tech/full_papers/hall/hall_html/
- Hall, Joseph Lorenzo. 2008. "Research Memorandum: On Improving the Uniformity of Randomness with Alameda County's Random Selection Process." University of California, Berkeley. http://josephhall.org/papers/alarand_memo.pdf
- Hall, Joseph Lorenzo. 2008. "Dice Binning, Calculator for Post-Election Audits." University of California, Berkeley. <http://www.josephhall.org/dicebins.php?numdice=2&numprec=13>
- Hall, Thad E. 2008. "Why Everything That Can Go Wrong Often Does: An Analysis of Election Administration Problems." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 10. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/why-everything-can-go-wrong-often-does-analysis-election-administration-problems>
- Hall, Thad E. 2008. "Flooding The Vote: Hurricane Katrina and Voter Participation in New Orleans." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 70. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/flooding-vote-hurricane-katrina-and-voter-participation-new-orleans>
- Hall, Thad E., and R. Michael Alvarez. "Rational and Pluralistic Approaches to HAVA Implementation." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 22. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/rational-and-pluralistic-approaches-hava-implementation>
- Hall, Thad E., and R. Michael Alvarez. 2008. "Building Secure and Transparent Elections Through Standard Operating Procedures." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 65. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/building-secure-and-transparent-elections-through-standard-operating-procedures-0>
- Hall, Thad E., and R. Michael Alvarez. 2009. "Resolving Voter Registration Problems: Making Registration Easier, Less Costly and More Accurate." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 87. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/resolving-voter-registration-problems-making-registration-easier-less-costly-and-more>

- Hall, Thad E., and R. Michael Alvarez. 2008. "Lessons and Trends in E-Voting Technology on Residual Vote Rates." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 38. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/lessons-and-trends-e-voting-initiatives-us-and-abroad>
- Hall, Thad E. 2008. "UOCAVA: A State of the Research." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 69. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/uocava-state-research>
- Hall, Thad E. 2009. "Electronic Elections in a Politicized Polity." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 76. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/voter-attitudes-toward-poll-workers-2008-election>
- Hall, Thad E., Kyle L. Saunders, and Lisa A. Bryant. 2008. "New Barriers to Participation: Application of New Mexico's Voter Identification Law." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 59. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/new-barriers-participation-application-new-mexicos-voter-identification-law>
- Hall, Thad E., and Betsy Sinclair. 2009. "The American Internet Voter." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 97. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/american-internet-voter>
- Hall, Thad E., and Tova Andrea Wang. 2008. "International Principles for Election Integrity." In *Election Fraud: Detecting and Deterring Electoral Manipulation*, eds. R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall, and Susan Hyde. Washington, DC: Brookings Press.
- Hall, Thad E., and R. Michael Alvarez. 2008. "How Hard Can It Be: Do Citizens Think It Is Difficult to Register to Vote?" Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 48. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/how-hard-can-it-be-do-citizens-think-it-difficult-register-vote-0>
- Hall, Thad E., and R. Michael Alvarez. 2010. "Voting Technology and the Election Experience: The 2009 Gubernatorial Races in New Jersey and Virginia." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 99. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/voting-technology-and-election-experience-2009-gubernatorial-races-new-jersey-and-virginia>
- Hall, Thad, E. Quin Monson, and Kelly D. Patterson. 2007. "Poll Workers and the Vitality of Democracy: An Early Assessment." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 40 4: 647-654.
- Hall, Thad, E. Quin Monson, and Kelly Patterson. 2009. "The Human Dimension of Elections." *Political Research Quarterly* 62 (3): 507-522.
- Hall, Thad E. 2009. "Voting Technology and Innovation." AEI Brookings Election Reform Project. <http://vote.caltech.edu/drupal/node/291>
- Hall, Thad E., and Kathleen Moore. 2011. "Poll Workers and Polling Places." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 104. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/poll-workers-and-polling-places>
- Hamilton, James T., and Helen F. Ladd. 1996. "Biased Ballots? The Impact of Ballot Structure on North Carolina Elections in 1992." *Public Choice* 87 (3/4): 259-280.

- Hamilton, Randy H. 1988. "American All-Mail Balloting: A Decade's Experience." *Public Administration Review* 48 (5): 860-66.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/976901.pdf?acceptTC=true>
- Hanmer, Michael J., and Michael W. Traugott. 2004. "The Impact of Voting by Mail on Voter Behavior." *American Politics Research* 32: 375. <http://apr.sagepub.com/content/32/4/375.full.pdf+html>
- Hanmer, M.J., P.S. Herrnson, B.B. Bederson, W.-H. Park, M.W. Traugott, F.C. Conrad, and R.G. Niemi. 2010. "Losing Fewer Votes: The Impact of Changing Voting Systems on Residual Votes." *Political Research Quarterly* 63 (1): 129-142.
- Hanmer, Michael J. 2009. *Discount Voting: Voter Registration Reforms and their Effects*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hargrove, Thomas. 2004. "Unearthing the Undervote: Florida Wasn't the Only State with Egregious Election Errors in 200, and It's Highly Likely Glitches Will Occur in November, Are Reporters Ready to Spot Them?" *American Journalism Review* 26 (October).
- Harris, Beverly. 2004. *Black-Box Voting: Ballot Tampering in the Twenty-First Century*. Talion Publishing.
- Harris, Beverly, and David Allen. 2004. *Black box voting: ballot tampering in the 21st century*, Talion Publishing.
- Harris, Jamie M., and John F. Zipp. "Black Candidates, Roll-Off, and the Black Vote." *Urban Affairs Review* 34 (3): 489-498.
- Harris, Joseph Pratt. 1934. *Election administration in the United States*. Washington, Brookings Institution.
- Harris, Joseph Pratt. 1929. *Registration of voters in the United States*. Washington, Brookings Institution.
- Harris, M. 2010. "A Farewell to Hanging Chads (Electronic Voting)." *IET engineering and technology* 5 (6): 23-25.
- Hartlyn, Jonathan, Jennifer McCoy, and Thomas M. Mustillo. 2007. "Electoral Governance Matters: Explaining the Quality of Elections in Contemporary Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 41 (1): 73-98.
- Hasen, Richard L. 2010. "Election Administration Reform and the New Institutionalism." *California Law Review* 98 (3): 867-875.
- Hasen, Richard L. 2005. "Beyond the Margin of Litigation: Reforming U.S. Election Administration to Avoid Electoral Meltdown." *Washington and Lee Law Review* 62 (3): 937-1000.
- Hasen, Richard L. 2012. *The Voting Wars: from Florida 2000 to the Next Election Meltdown*. Yale University Press.

- Hasen, Richard, and Daniel Hays Lowenstein. 2001. *Election Law: Cases and Materials*. Carolina Academic Press.
- Hasen, Richard. 2003. *The Supreme Court and Election Law: Judging Equality from Baker v. Carr to Bush v. Gore*. New York University Press.
- Hasen, Richard. 2003. "Congressional Power to Reenact Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act: The Evidentiary Quandary." Loyola Law School, Research Paper 2003-19.
- Hasen, Richard. 2006. "No Exit? The Roberts Court and the Future of Election Law." *South Carolina Law Review* 57.
- Hasen, Richard L. 2000. "Vote Buying." *California Law Review* 88: 1323-71.
http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=257564
- Hasen, Richard. 2006. "The California Recall Punch Card Litigation: Why Bush v. Gore Does not 'Suck.'" In *Clicker Politics: Essays on the California Recall*, eds. Shaun Bowler and Bruce E. Cain. Prentice Hall, 170-181.
- Hasen, Richard L. 2012. *The Voting Wars: From Florida 2000 to the Next Election Meltdown*. Yale University Press.
- Hasen, Richard. 2005. "The Supreme Court and Election Law: A Reply to Three Commentators." *Journal of Legislation* 31 (1).
- Hasen, Richard. 2005. "Congressional Power to Renew the Preclearance Provisions of the Voting Rights Act after Tennessee v. Lane." *Ohio State Law Journal* 66 (177).
- Hasen, Richard L. 2001. "Bush v. Gore and the Future of Equal Protection Law in Elections." *Florida State University Law Review* 29 (2).
<http://www.law.fsu.edu/journals/lawreview/downloads/292/Hasen.pdf>
- Hasen, Richard L. 2002. "'A Tincture of Justice': Judge Posner's Failed Rehabilitation of Bush v. Gore." *Texas Law Review* 80 (1): 137.
- Hasen, Richard L. 2001. "Do the Parties or the People Own the Electoral Process?" *The University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 149 (3): 815-841.
<http://www.unet.brandeis.edu/~woll/hasenpartiesorpeople.pdf>
- Hasen, Richard L. 1996. "Voting Without Law?" *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 144 (2135).
http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1314963
- Hasen, Richard L. 2011. "The Supreme Court's Shrinking Election Law Docket, 2001-2010: A Legacy of Bush v. Gore or Fear of the Roberts Court?" *Election Law Journal* 10 (4): 325-333.
- Haspel, Moseh, and H. Gibbs Knotts. 2005. "Location, Location, Location: Precinct Placement and Cost of Voting." *The Journal of Politics* 67 (2): 560-573.
<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/3449644>

- Hawman, Janice L. 2000. "The Effect of Sample Ballots on Voting Behavior." Missouri Western State University. <http://clearinghouse.missouriwestern.edu/manuscripts/176.php>
- Heckelman, Jac C. 1995. "The Effect of the Secret Ballot on Voter Turnout Rates." *Pubic Choice* 82: 107-24.
- Heckelman, Jac C. 2000. "Revisiting the Relationship between Secret Ballots and Turnout: A New Test of Two Legal-Institutional Theories." *American Politics Research* 28 (2): 194.
- Hendricks, Jennifer S. 2008. "Popular Election of the President: Using or Abusing the Electoral College?" *Election Law Journal* 7 (September): 218-226.
- Herrnson, Paul S., Richard G. Niemi, Michael J. Hanmer, Benjamin B. Bederson, Frederick C. Conrad and Michael W. Traugott. *Voting Technology: The Not-So-Simple Act of Casting a Ballot*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Herrnson, P.S., M.J. Hanmer, B.B. Bederson, F.G. Conrad, R.G. Niemi, P.L. Francia, and M.W. Traugott. 2008. "Voters' Evaluations of Electronic Voting Systems: Results from a Usability Field Study." *American Politics Research* 36 (4): 580-611.
- Herrnson, P.S. 2008. "Paper Trails, Cryptography and Other Approaches to Vote Verification." *Albany Law Journal of Science and Technology* 18 (3): 657-664.
- Herrnson, Paul S., Richard G. Niemi, Frederick G. Conrad, and Michael W. Traugott. 2007. "Viewpoint: Ballot Design: The Matter of a Straight-Party Option." AEI Brookings. <http://www.electionreformproject.org/Resources/f5b1364f-112c-47be-b844-bf529947635a/r1/Detail.aspx>
- Herrnson, P.S. 2002. "Improving Election Technology and Administration: Toward a Larger Federal Role in Elections?" *Stanford Law & Policy Review* 13 (1): 147-160.
- Herrnson, Paul S., Benjamin B. Bederson, Richard G. Niemi, Fred Conrad, Michael J. Hanmer, Michael Traugott, and Peter L. Francia. 2005. "The Promise and Pitfalls of Electronic Voting: Results from a Usability Field Test." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago. http://www.capc.umd.edu/rpts/Promise_and_Pitfalls_of_Electronic_Voting.pdf
- Herrnson, Paul S., Michael Traugott, Richard G. Niemi, Michael J. Hanmer, Benjamin B. Bederson, and Frederick G. Conrad. 2006. "The Not So Simple Act of Voting: An Examination of Voter Errors with Electronic Voting." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago. <http://www.electionreformproject.org/Resources/9acc91aa-4282-4fc3-9837-782c579f10dd/r1/Detail.aspx>
- Herrnson, Paul S., Benjamin B. Bederson, Bongshin Lee, Peter L. Francia, Robert M. Sherman, Frederick G. Conrad, Michael Traugott, and Richard G. Niemi. 2005. "Early Appraisals of Electronic Voting." *Social Science Computer Review* 23 (3): 274-292.

- Herron, Erik S. 2011. "Measuring Dissent in Electoral Authoritarian Societies: Lessons From Azerbaijan's 2008 Presidential Election and 2009 Referendum." *Comparative Political Studies* 44 (11): 1557-1583. <http://cps.sagepub.com/content/44/11/1557.full.pdf+html>
- Herron, Michael C., and Jeffrey B. Lewis. 2008. "Residual Votes in the 2008 Minnesota Senate Race." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, RPEAVT Paper 3. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/residual-votes-2008-minnesota-senate-race>
- Herron, Michael C., and J. Wand. 2007. "Assessing Partisan Bias in Voting Technology: The Case of the 2004 New Hampshire Recount." *Electoral Studies* 26 (2): 247-261.
- Herron, Michael C., Walter R. Mebane, Jr., and Jonathan N. Wand. "Symposium: How We Vote: Electronic Voting and Other Voting Practices in the United States: Voting Technology and the 2008 New Hampshire Primary." *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 351.
- Herron, Michael C., and Jasjeet S. Sekhon. 2004. "Black Candidates and Black Voters: Assessing the Impact of Candidate Race on Uncounted Vote Rates." *Journal of Politics* 66 (November). http://sekhon.berkeley.edu/papers/BlackCandidates_HerronSekhon.pdf
- Herron, Michael C., and Jasjeet S. Sekhon. 2003. "Overvoting and Representation: An examination of overvoted presidential ballots in Broward and Miami-Dade counties." *Electoral Studies* 22: 21-47. <http://sekhon.berkeley.edu/elections/election2000/HerronSekhon.pdf>
- Hersh, Eitan. 2010. "State of the Nation, Boston Review." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/state-nation>
- Hershey, Marjorie Randon. 2009. "What We Know about Voter-OID Laws, Registration, and Turnout." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 42: 87-91. http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSC%2FPSC42_01%2FS1049096509090234a.pdf&code=d16e7d95ad4c9a6e3395fd739ff44a29
- Higgins, M.J., R.L. Rivest and P.B. Stark, 2011. "Sharper p-values for Stratified Post-Election Audits." *Statistics, Politics, and Policy* 2 (1). <http://www.bepress.com/spp/vol2/iss1/7>
- Hill, Sarah A. 2011. "Election Administration Finance in California Counties." *The American Review of Public Administration*. <http://arp.sagepub.com/content/early/2011/06/23/0275074011413914>
- Hill, Steven. 2002. *Fixing Elections: The failure of America's Winner Take All Politics*. Routledge.
- Hill, S., and R. Richie. 2005. "Success for Instant Runoff Voting in San Francisco." *National Civic Review* 94 (1): 65-68.
- Hillman, Gracis. 2007. "E-Voting and Democracy in America." *The Bridge* 37 (2) : 11-16. <http://www.nae.edu/File.aspx?id=7408>
- Hinojosa, Magda, and Susan Franceschet. 2011. "Separate but Not Equal: The Effects of Municipal Electoral Reform on Female Representation in Chile." *Political Research Quarterly*. <http://prq.sagepub.com/content/early/2011/12/01/1065912911427449.full.pdf+html>

- Hite, Randolph C. May 12, 2004. "Elections electronic voting offers opportunities and presents challenges." Testimony Prepared for the Subcommittee on Technology, Information Policy, Intergovernmental Reform, House of Representatives.
- Hochschild, Jennifer L. 2010. "If Democracies Need Informed Voters, How Can They Thrive While Expanding Enfranchisement?" *Election Law Journal* 9 (May): 111-123.
- Hoffman, D.T. 1983. "Relative Efficiency of Voting Systems." *SIAM Journal on Applied Mathematics* 43 (5): 1213-1219.
- Hollister, Bundy. 2003. "Election Reform, Polling Place Accessibility, and the Voting Rights of the Disabled." *Election Law Journal* 2 (2): 217-240.
- Holzer, Ben. 2008. "Political Vote Buying Statutes: Textual Limits, Enforcement Challenges, and the Need for Reform." *New York University Journal of Legislation and Public Policy* 12: 211-224. http://www.law.nyu.edu/ecm_dlv3/groups/public/@nyu_law_website_journals_journal_of_legislation_and_public_policy/documents/documents/ecm_pro_062198.pdf
- Hood III, M.V., and Charles S. Bullock III. 2011. "An Examination of Efforts to Encourage the Incident of Early In-Person Voting in Georgia." *Election Law Journal* 10 (2): 103-113.
- Hood, III, M.V., and William Gillespie. 2012. "They Just Do Not Vote Like They Used To: A methodology to Empirically Assess Election Fraud." *Social Science Quarterly* 93 (March): 76-94. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-6237.2011.00837.x/pdf>
- Horowitz, Donald L. 2006. "Strategy Takes a Holiday: Fraenkel and Grofman on the Alternative Vote." *Comparative Political Studies* 39 (June): 652-662. <http://cps.sagepub.com/content/39/5/652.full.pdf+html>
- Hotchkiss, J. 2008. "Electronic Voting Still Vulnerable." *Engineering and Technology* 2 (12): 20-21.
- Howard, Alan, and Bruce Howard. 1983. "The Dilemma of the Voting Rights Act – Recognizing the Emerging Political Equality Norm." *Columbia Law Review*. 83 (7): 1615-1663. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1122323.pdf>
- Huarte, Malder, Marina Madarieta, Inaki Goirizelala, and Juan Jose Unzilla. 2008. An Analysis of Improvements for Voter Interfaces in Polling Station and Remote Electronic Voting Systems, *Computer Science* 5188: 291-301.
- Huefner, Steven F., and Daniel P. Takaji. 2006. "Independent Election Administration: Who Counts the Votes? Who Draws the Lines?" *Election Law Journal* 5 (4): 410-411.
- Huefner, Steven F. 2009. "Just How Settled Are the Legal Principles that Control Election Disputes?" *Election Law Journal* 8 (3): 233-237.
- Hursti, Harri. 2005. "Critical Security Issues with Diebold Optical Scan Design." Black Box Voting Project. <http://www.blackboxvoting.org/BBVreport.pdf>

- Hyde, Susan D. 2011. *The Pseudo-Democrat's Dilemma: Why Election Observation Became an International Norm*. Cornell University Press.
- Hyde, Susan, and Nikolay Marinov. 2012. "Information and Self-Enforcing Democracy: The Role of International Election Observation." Yale University. <http://patty.wustl.edu/seminarpapers/Hyde-Marinov-Spring2012.pdf>
- Hyde, Susan D. 2007. "The Observer Effect in International Politics: Evidence from a Natural Experiment." *World Politics* 60 (1): 37-63.
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world_politics/v060/60.1.hyde.html
- Hyde, Susan D. 2011. "Catch Us If You Can: Election Monitoring and International Norm Diffusion." *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (2): 356-369.
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2011.00508.x/pdf>
- Hyde, Susan D., and Nikolay Marinov. 2012. "Which Elections Can Be Lost?" *Political Analysis* 20 (2): 191-210, <http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/content/20/2/191.full.pdf+html?sid=0acc766b-9ff0-4fa5-945a-5ce302ea074b>
- Hyde, Susan D. 2011. "Voter Fraud in the United States: Real or Imagined?" *Election Law Journal* 10 (3): 319-321.
- Hyde, Susan D. 2010. "Experimenting in Democracy Promotion: International Observers and the 2004 Presidential Elections in Indonesia." *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (2): 511-527.
- Hyde, Susan D. 2012. "Why believe international election monitors?" In *The Credibility of Transnational NGOs When Virtue is Not Enough*, ed. David A. Collier, and Janice Gross Stein. Cambridge University Press, 37-61.
- Hyde, Susan D., and Angela O'Mahony. 2010. "International Scrutiny and Pre-Electoral Manipulation in Developing Countries." *The Journal of Politics* 72 (3): 690-704.
<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=7835013&jid=JOP&volumeId=72&issueId=03&aid=7835011&bodyId=&membershipNumber=&societyETOCSession=>
- Indiana Secretary of State. 2005. "A Study of vote centers and their applicability to the Hoosier election process." <http://www.in.gov/sos/elections/files/VoteCenters.pdf>
- Issacharoff, Samuel, Pamela S. Karlan, and Richard H. Pildes. 2001. *When Elections Go Bad: The Law of Democracy and the Presidential Election of 2000*. Foundation Press.
- Issacharoff, Samuel, and Pamela S. Karlan. 1998. "Standing and Misunderstanding in Voting Rights Law." *Harvard Law Review* 111 (8): 2276-2292. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1342459.pdf>
- Jacko, Julie A., and Andrew Sears. 2003. *The Human-Computer Interaction Handbook: Fundamentals, Evolving Technologies, and Emerging Applications*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Jacobson, Arthur J., and Michel Rosenfeld, eds. 2002. *The Longest Night: Polemics and Perspectives on Election 2000*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- James, Toby S. 2011. "Fewer Costs, More Votes? United Kingdom Innovations in Election Administration 2000-2007 and the Effect on Voter Turnout." *Election Law Journal* 10 (1): 37-52.
- Jansen, H.J. 2004. "The Political Consequences of the Alternative Vote: Lessons from Western Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 37 (3): 647-669.
- Jarvis, Robert M., Phyllis Coleman, and Johnny C. Burns. 2001. *Bush v. Gore: the fight for Florida's vote*. Kluwer Law International.
- Jefferson, David. 2007. "What Happened in Sarasota County?" *The Bridge* 37 (2): 17-23.
<http://www.nae.edu/File.aspx?id=7408>
- Jerdonke, C. 2006. "Bringing the Election to the Voters with Instant Runoff Voting." *National Civic Review* 95 (4): 48-53.
- Johnson, Kenneth. 2004. "Election Certification by Statistical Audit of Voter-Verified Paper Ballots." http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=640943
- Johnson, Wendy. 2001. "Election Reform: Going Anywhere?" *Southern Changes* 23 (2): 3.
- Jones, Bill. 2002. "California's Long Road to Election Reform." *Election Law Journal* 1 (4): 505-508.
- Jones, Clifford. 2006. "Out of Guatemala?: Election Law Reform in Florida and the Legacy of Bush v. Gore in the 2004 Presidential Election." *Election Law Journal* 5 (2): 121-143.
- Jones, Douglas W., and Barbara Simons. 2012. "Broken Ballots: Will Your Vote Count?" Center for the Study of Language and Inf.
- Jones, Douglas W. 2005. "Threats to Voting Systems, Workshop on Developing an Analysis of Threats to Voting Systems." National Institute of Standards and Technology.
<http://www.divms.uiowa.edu/~jones/voting/nist2005.shtml>
- Jones, Douglas W. 2004. "Auditing Elections." *Communications of the ACM – Voting Systems* 47 (10).
http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/1030000/1022622/p46-jones.pdf?ip=131.215.23.196&acc=ACTIVE%20SERVICE&CFID=81182100&CFTOKEN=95272708&_acm_=1336428617_11f234eccf3c6bf08760da403d65cb87
- Kalinin, Kirill, and Walter R. Mebane, Jr. 2011. "Understanding Electoral Frauds through Evolution of Russian Federalism: from 'Bargaining Loyalty' to 'Signaling Loyalty.'" Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago.
http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1668154
- Karlawish, Jason, Charlie Sabatino, Deborah Markowitz, Jonathan Rubright, Ellen Klem, and Robert F. Boruch. 2011. "Bringing the Vote to Residents of Long-Term Care Facilities: A Study of the Benefits and Challenges of Mobile Polling." *Election Law Journal* 10 (1): 5-14.
- Karlan, Pamela S. 1993. "All over the Map: The Supreme Court's Voting Rights Trilogy." *The Supreme Court Review* 1993: 245-287. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3109581.pdf>

- Karlan, Pamela S. 1994. "Not by Money But by Virtue Won? Vote Trafficking and the Voting Rights System." *Virginia Law Review* 80 (1455).
- Karlan, Pamela S., and Daryl J. Levinson. 1996. "Why Voting is Different." *California Law Review* 84 (July): 1201-1232. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3480992.pdf?acceptTC=true>
- Karp, Jeffrey A., and Susan A. Banducci. 2000. "Going Postal: How All-Mail Elections Influence Turnout." *Political Behavior* 22 (September): 223-239. <http://thecommoninterest.org/docs/Karp2000.pdf>
- Katel, Peter. 2006. "Voting Controversies: Can all citizens vote – and are all votes counted?" *CQ Researcher* 16 (32). <http://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/document.php?id=cqresrre2006091500>
- Katz, Gabriel, R. Michael Alvarez, Ernesto Calvo, Marcelo Escolar, and Julia Pomares. 2009. "Assessing the Impact of E-Voting Technologies on Electoral Outcomes: an Analysis of Buenos Aires' 2005 Congressional Election." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 91. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/assessing-impact-e-voting-technologies-electoral-outcomes-analysis-buenos-aires-2005>
- Katz, Gabriel R., Michael Alvarez, Ernesto Calvo, Marcelo Escolar, Julia Pomares. 2011. "Assessing the Impact of Alternative Voting Technologies on Multi-Party Elections: Design Features, Heuristic Processing and Voter Choice." *Political Behavior* 33 (2): 247-270.
- Keisling, Phil. 2006. "Election fraud, American style: the most effective voter suppression tool is the polling booth itself." *Washington Monthly* December.
- Kelleher, William J. 2011. "Internet Voting Now! Here's How. Where's Why – So You Can Kiss Citizens United Goodbye!" The Internet Voting Research and Education Fund.
- Keller, Arthur M., David Mertz, Joseph Lorenzo Hall, and Arnold Urken. "Privacy Issues in an Electronic Voting Machine." *WPES'04*. <http://gnosis.cx/publish/voting/privacy-electronic-voting.pdf>
- Kelley, Judith. 2011. "Do International Elections Monitors Increase or Decrease Opposition Boycotts?" *Comparative Political Studies* 44 (11): 1527-1556. <http://cps.sagepub.com/content/44/11/1527.full.pdf+html>
- Kelley, Judith G. 2012. *Monitoring Democracy: When International Election Observation Works, and Why It Often Fails*. Princeton University Press.
- Kelley, Judith. 2009. "D-Minus Elections: The Politics and Norms of International Election Observation." *International Organization* 63 (4): 765-787. <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=6377904&jid=INO&volumeId=63&issueId=04&aid=6377896&bodyId=&membershipNumber=&societyETOCSession=>

- Kennedy, Liz. 2012. "Protecting the Freedom to Vote: The Voter Empowerment Act of 2012." *Demos Ideas & Action*.
<http://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/ProtectingtheFreedomtoVote.pdf>
- Kerstring, N., and H. Baldersheim, eds. 2004. *Electronic Voting and Democracy: A Comparative Analysis*. London: Palgrave.
- Keyssar, Alexander. 2000. *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States*. New York: Basic Books.
- Keyssar, Alexander. 2011. "How Americans Vote." *Election Law Journal* 10 (4): 471-473.
- Kiayias, Aggelos, Laurent Michel, Alexander Russell, Narasimha Shashidhar, Andrew See, Alexander A. Shvartsman, and Seda Davtyan. 2007. "Tampering with Special Purpose Trusted Computing Devices: A Case Study in Optical Scan E-Voting." *Computer Security Applications Conference*: 30-39.
- Kiayias Aggelos, Laurent Michel, Alexander Russell, Narasimha Shashidhar, Andrew See, and Alexander A. Shvartsman. 2007. "An Authentication and Ballot Layout Attack against an Optical Scan Voting Terminal." *2007 USENIX/ACCURATE Electronic Voting Technology Workshop*.
<http://voter.engr.uconn.edu/voter/wp-content/uploads/evt07.pdf>
- Kiayias, Aggelos, and Moti Yung. 2010. "The Vector-Ballot E-Voting Approach, Computer Science and Engineering." University of Connecticut.
<http://people.csail.mit.edu/rivest/voting/papers/KiayiasYung-TheVectorBallotEVotingApproach.pdf>
- Kimball, David C., Martha Kroph, and Lindsay Battles. 2006. "Helping America Vote? Election Administration, Partisanship, and Provisional Voting in the 2004 Election." *Election Law Journal* 5 (4).
- Kimball, D., and M. Kropf. 2006. "Ballot Design and Unrecorded Votes on Paper-Based Ballots." *Peach Research Abstracts Journal* 43 (3).
- Kimball, D.C., and M. Kropf. 2008. "Voting Technology, Ballot Measure, and Residual Votes, *American Politics Research* 36 (4): 479-509.
- Kimball, David C., Chris Owens, and Katherine McAndrew Keeney. 2002. "Unrecorded Votes in the 2000 Presidential Election." Texas A&M University. <http://www.umsl.edu/~kimballd/novote.pdf>
- Kinder, Tony. 2003. "Vote Early, Vote Often? Tele-democracy in European cities." *Peach Research Abstracts* 40 (3).
- King, Ronald F. 2001. "A Most Corrupt Election: Louisiana in 1879." *Studies in American Political Development* 15 (2): 123-137.

- King Roth, Susan. 1998. "Disenfranchised by Design: Voting Systems and the Election Process." *Information Design Journal* 9 (1).
http://moritzlaw.osu.edu/electionlaw/ebook/part4/documents/doc_roth.pdf
- Kohno, T.A. Stubblefield, A.D. Rubin and D.S. Wallach. 2004. "Analysis of an Electronic Voting System." *IEEE Symposium on Security and Privacy*.
- Koning, Jean-Luc, and Didier Dubois. 2006. "Suitable Properties for Any Electronic Voting System." *Artificial Intelligence and Law* 14 (4): 251-260.
- Koppeli, Jonathan, and Jennifer A. Steen. 2004. "The Effects of Ballot Position on Election Outcomes." *The Journal of Politics* 66: 267-281.
<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1968192&jid=JOP&volumeId=66&issueId=01&aid=1960012&bodyId=&membershipNumber=&societyETOCSession=>
- Knack, Stephen, and Martha Kropf. 2003. "Voided Ballots in the 1996 Presidential Election: A County-Level Analysis." *The Journal of Politics* 65: 881-897.
- Knack, Stephen, and Martha Kropf. 2002. "Who Uses Inferior Voting Technology?" *Political Science & Politics* 35 3: 541-548.
- Knack, Stephen, and Martha Kropf. 2010. "Roll-off at the Top of the Ballot: Intentional Undervoting in American Presidential Elections." MPRA Paper No. 27253. http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/27253/1/MPRA_paper_27253.pdf
- Kochin, MS, LA Kochin. 1998. "When is Buying Votes Wrong?" *Public Choice* 97: 645-662.
- Kohno, Tadayoshi, Adam Stubblefield, Aviel D, Rubin, and Dan S. Wallach. 2004. "Analysis of an Electronic Voting System." *Proceedings of the IEEE Symposium on Security and Privacy*: 27-40.
- Komminist Weldmariam, and Adolfo Villafiorita. 2010. "A Survey: Electronic Voting Development and Trends." *4th International Conference on Electronic Voting* 167: 119-131.
<http://subs.emis.de/LNI/Proceedings/Proceedings167/119.pdf>
- Kopko, Kyle C. 2008. "Partisanship Suppressed: Judicial Decision-Making in Ralph Nader's 2004 Ballot Access Litigation." *Election Law Journal* 7 (4): 301-324.
- Kousser, Thad, and Megan Mullin. 2007. "Does Voting by Mail Increase Participation? Using Matching to Analyze a Natural Experiment." *Political Analysis* 15 (4): 428-445.
<http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/content/15/4/428.full.pdf+html>
- Krimmer, Robert. 2004. "Electronic voting in Europe." *Ges. Fur Informatic*.
- Kropf, Martha, and David C. Kimball. 2011. *Helping America Vote: The Limits of Election Reform (Controversies in Electoral Democracy and Representation)*. Routledge.
- Krzywiecki, Lukasz, and Miroslaw Kutylowski. 2010. "Lagrangian E-Voting: Verifiability on Demand and Strong Privacy." *Lecture Notes in Computer Science* 6101: 109-123.

- Kweit, Mary, Kenneth J. Meier, Joseph Stewart, and Robert E. England. 1991. "The Politics of Election Policy Review of Race, Class, and Education: The Politics of Second-Generation Discrimination." *Public Administration Review* 51 (4): 367-368.
- Langan, James P. 2005. "Instant Runoff Voting: A Cure That is Likely Worse Than the Disease." *William & Mary Law Review*: 1569.
- Larocca, Roger, and John S. Klemanski. 2011. "U.S. State Election Reform and Turnout in Presidential Elections." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 11 (1): 76-101.
<http://spa.sagepub.com/content/11/1/76.full.pdf+html>
- Larson, Kai R.T. 1999. "Voting technology implementation." *Communications of the ACM* 42 (12).
http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/330000/322809/p55-larsen.pdf?ip=131.215.23.191&acc=ACTIVE%20SERVICE&CFID=96656998&CFTOKEN=43152505&acm_=1342644014_7294f81927cc3e108850d209ce05b891
- Lausen, Marcia. 2007. *Design for democracy: ballot and election design*. University of Chicago Press.
- Lawrence, William. 2010. "Report of the Select Committee On Alleged New York Elections Frauds, Made to the House Representatives." Fortietii Congress, Third Session, Nabu Press.
- Lehoucq, F.E. and I. Molina Jimenez. 2002. *Stuffing the ballot box: fraud, electoral reform, and democratization in Costa Rica*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- LeMieux, Dotty. 2006. "Columns, Technology and Advice – Consultants' Corner: Opinion – The Changing Role of the Absentee Voter in Local Elections." *Campaigns & Elections* 27 (8): 54.
- Lacombe, Donald, and Timothy Shaughessy. 2007. "Accounting for Spatial Error Correlation in the 2004 President Popular Vote." *Public Finance Review* 35 (4): 480-499.
- Larson, Kristen E. "Electronic Commerce in the 21st Century: Article Cast Your Ballot.com: Fulfill Your Civic Duty Over the Internet." *William Mitchell Law Review* 1797.
- Lehoucq, Fabrice. 2002. "When do parties buy votes? Theoretical and empirical perspectives on electoral corruption." Presented at Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston.
<http://mit.edu/cis/pdf/Lehoucq.pdf>
- Lehoucq, Fabrice. 2002. "Can Parties Police Themselves? Electoral Governance and Democratization." *International Political Science Review* 23:29-46.
- Lehoucq, Fabrice. 2003. "Electoral Fraud: Causes, Types and Consequences." *American Review of Political Science* 6:233-55.
- Leighley, Jan E., and Jonathan Nagler. "Absentee Ballot Regimes: easing Costs or Adding a Step?" Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, RPEAVT Paper 14.
<https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/absentee-ballot-regimes-easing-costs-or-adding-step>

- Leighley, Jan E., and Jonathan Nagler. 2009. "The Effects of Non-Precinct Voting Reforms on Turnout, 1972-2008." Pew Charitable Trusts' Make Voting Work. http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2009/Leighley_Nagler%281%29.pdf
- LeRoux, Kelly. 2011. "Examining Implementation of the National Voter Registration Act by Nonprofit Organizations: An Institutional Explanation." *Policy Studies Journal* 39 (4): 565-589.
- Levin, Ines, and Gabriel Katz. 2011. "Modeling Electoral Coordination: Voters, Parties and Legislative Lists in Uruguay." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 2: 3-41. <http://hup.sub.uni-hamburg.de/giga/jpla/article/view/422/420>
- Levin, Ines, Gabe A. Cohn, Peter C. Ordeshook, and R. Michael Alvarez. 2009. "Detecting Voter Fraud in an Electronic Voting Context: An Analysis of the Unlimited Reelection Vote in Venezuela." California Institute of Technology. <http://static.usenix.org/event/evtwote09/tech/slides/levin.pdf>
- Levin, J., and B. Nalebuff. 1995. "An Introduction to Vote-Counting Schemes." *Journal of Economics Perspectives* 9 (1): 3-26.
- Levitt, Justin. 2007. "The Truth About Voter Fraud." Brennan Center for Justice. <http://www.truthaboutfraud.org/pdf/TruthAboutVoterFraud.pdf>
- Levitt, Justin. 2006. "Investigator's Guide to Voter Fraud." Brennan Center for Justice. http://www.truthaboutfraud.org/documents/investigators_guide.html
- Levitt, Justin. 2012. "Election Deform: The Pursuit of Unwarranted Electoral Regulation." *Election Law Journal*: 97-117.
- Levitt, Justin. 2010. "Long Lines at the Courthouse: Pre-Election Litigation of Election Day Burdens." *Election Law Journal* 9 (1): 19-39.
- Liburd, Soyini D. "An N-Version Electronic Voting System." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 17. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/n-version-electronic-voting-system-0>
- Lichtman, Allan J. 2003. "What Really Happened in Florida's 2000 Presidential Election." *The Journal of Legal Studies* 32 (1): 221-243.
- Lindeman, Mark, and Philip B. Stark. 2012. "A Gentle Introduction to Risk-limiting Audits." *IEEE Security and Privacy*. <http://www.stat.berkeley.edu/~stark/Preprints/gentle12.pdf>
- Link, Jessica N, Martha Kropf, Mark Alexander Hirsch, Flora M. Hammond, Jason Karlawish, Lisa Schur, Douglas Kruse, and Christine S. Davis. "Assessing Voting Competence and Political Knowledge: Comparing Individuals with Traumatic Brain Injuries and 'Average' College Students." *Election Law Journal* 11 (1): 52-69.
- Lippert, Susan K, and Ekundayo B. Ojumu. 2008. "Thinking Outside of the Ballot Box: Examining Public Trust in E-Voting Technology." *Journal of Organizational and End User Computing* 20 (3): 57-80.

- Little, Andrew T. 2012. "Elections, Fraud, and Election Monitoring in the Shadow of Revolution." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 7 (3): 249-283.
- Llewellyn, Morgan H, and Thad E. Hall. 2009. "Electoral Context and Voter Confidence: How the Context of an Election Shapes Voter Confidence in the Process." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 79. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/electoral-context-and-voter-confidence-how-context-election-shapes-voter-confidence-process>
- Llewellyn, Morgan H., Thad E. Hall, and R. Michael Alvarez. 2008. "Who Should Run Our Elections? Public Opinion About Election Governance in the United States." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 47. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/who-should-run-our-elections-public-opinion-about-election-governance-united-states>
- Loeber, Leontine. 2011. "Voter trust in the Netherlands between 2006 and 2010." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, RPEAVT Paper 18. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/voter-trust-netherlands-between-2006-and-2010>
- Loeber, Leontine. 2011. "Political Trust and Trust in the Election Process." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, RPEAVT Paper 19. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/political-trust-and-trust-election-process>
- Lublin, David, and D. Stephen Voss. 1998. "The Partisan Impact of Voting Rights Law: A Reply to Pamela S. Karlan." *Stanford Law Review* 50 (3): 765-777. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1229323.pdf?acceptTC=true>
- Lundin, David. 2008. "Component Based Electronic Voting Systems." *Frontiers of Electronic Voting*. http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/1510000/1509154/p281-burton.pdf?ip=131.215.23.191&acc=ACTIVE%20SERVICE&CFID=109558858&CFTOKEN=93636156&_acm_ =1339451210_f12d347a5fc6069265de51e77284250a
- Machlis, Sharon. 2008. "Sharon Machlis sn't optimistic about how well voting technology will work on Election Day." *Computerworld* 42 (44): 21.
- MacKerras, M., and I. McAllister. 1999. "Compulsory Voting, Party Stability and Electoral Advantage in Australia." *Electoral Studies* 18 (2): 217-233.
- MacManus, Susan A. 2003. "Goodbye Chads, Butterfly Ballots, Overvotes and Recount Ruckuses! Election Reform in Florida: 2000-2003." Presented at the Conference on Election Reform: Politics and Policy, National Press Club, Washington, D.C..
- Malkhi, Dahlia, Ofer Margo, and Elan Pavlov. 2003. "E-Voting Without 'Cryptography.'" *Lecture Notes in Computer Science* 2357: 1-15.
- Marshall, J. Stanley, and Mark S. Pritchett. 2003. "The Election reforms of 2002: Did They Work?" *The Journal of the James Madison Institute* (Winter): 4-9.
- Martinez, Hugo, and R. Michael Alvarez. 2009. "Assessing Voters' Attitudes Towards Electronic Voting in Latin America: Evidence from Colombia's 2007 E-Voting Pilot." Caltech/MIT Voting

- Technology Project, Working Paper 92. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/assessing-voters-attitudes-towards-electronic-voting-latin-america-evidence-colombias-2007-e>
- Martinez III, Ray. 2009. "Improving Our Elections: A View from the Front Lines." *Election Law Journal* 8 (3): 239-241.
- Martinez III, Ray. 2006. "Greater Impartiality in Election Administration: Prudent Steps Toward Improving Voter Confidence." *Election Law Journal* 5 (3): 235-249.
- Massicotte, L. 2001. "Alternative Voting or Mixed Member/Proportional: What Can We Expect?" *Policy Options* 22 (6): 41-43.
- Masterson, Matthew. 2008. "The Help America Vote Act of 2002 and the Evolution of Voting." *Albany Law Journal of Science of Technology* 18 (3): 691-702.
- Maxwell, Amanda E., and Richard F. Winters. 2005. "Political Corruption in America." Presented at the American Politics Seminar, Hanover. <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~govt/docs/Winters.pdf>
- Mayfield, Loomis. 1993. "Voting Fraud in Early Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 24 (1): 59-84.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/205101.pdf?acceptTC=true>
- Mazur, Diane H. 2005. "The Bullying of America: A Cautionary Tale about Military Voting and Civil-Military Relations." *Election Law Journal* 4 (2): 105-131.
- McBurnett, Neal. 2009. "Obtaining Batch Reports for Audits from Election Management Systems: Election Audits and the Boulder 2008 Election." NIST Workshop on a Common Data Format for Electronic Voting Systems. <http://bcn.boulder.co.us/~neal/electionaudits/electionaudits-formats.pdf>
- McCarthy, John L. 2009. "Election Plumbing Standards: Data Format Requirements for Inter-operability, Data Publication and Election Auditing." NIST Workshop on a Common Data Format for Electronic Voting Systems. <http://www.nist.gov/itl/vote/upload/VVSG-EML-v21JMc.pdf>
- McCarthy, John, Howard Stanislevic, Mark Lindeman, and Arlene S. Ash. 2008. "Percentage-Based versus Power-Based Vote Tabulation Statistical Audits." *American Statistician* 62: 11-16.
http://www.macalester.edu/~addona/Addona_TAS_2008.pdf
- McConnell, Mitch. 2002. "Election Reform." *Election Law Journal* 1 (1): 3-4.
- McCool, Daniel, Susan M. Olson, and Jennifer L. Robinson. 2007. *Native Vote: American Indians, the Voting Rights Act, and the Right to Vote*. Cambridge University Press.
- McDonald, Laughlin. 1985. "The Attack on Voting Rights." *Southern Changes* 7 (5): 1-3.
http://beck.library.emory.edu/southernchanges/article.php?id=sc07-5_002&keyword=voting
- McDonald, Michael P. 2009. "A Magnificent Catastrophe Retold." *Election Law Journal* 8 (3): 243-247.

- McDonald, Michael P., and Justin Levitt. 2008. "Seeing Double Voting: An Extension of the Birthday Problem." *Election Law Journal* 7 (2): 111-122.
- McLaughlin, Katherine, and Philip B. Stark. 2011. "Workload Estimates for Risk-Limiting Audits of Large Contest." University of California, Berkeley. <http://www.stat.berkeley.edu/~stark/Preprints/workload11.pdf>
- Meagher, Sutton. "When Personal Computers are Transformed into Ballot Boxes: How Internet Elections in Estonia Comply with the United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights." *American University International Law Review* 349.
- Mebane, Jr., Walter R. 2011. "Comment on 'Benford's Law and the Detection of Election Fraud.'" *Political Analysis* 19: 269-272. <http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/content/19/3/269.full.pdf+html?sid=28179728-e25f-4a66-b874-b9c6bb0509e1>
- Mebane, Jr., Walter R., Jasjeet S. Sekhon, and Jonathan Wand. 2003. "Detecting and Correcting Election Irregularities." Stanford University. <http://wand.stanford.edu/research/detecting.pdf>
- Mebane, W.R., Jr. 2008. "Election Forensics: The Second-Digit Benfords Law Test and Recent American Presidential Elections." In *Election Fraud: Detecting and Deterring Electoral Manipulation*, eds. R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall and Susan D. Hyde. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 162-81.
- Mebane, Jr., Walter R. 2000. "Report on Overvote Consequences of the Ballot Form in Palm Beach County." Cornell University. <http://elections.berkeley.edu/statement/wmebane/>
- Mebane, Jr., Walter R. Symposium: "How We Vote: Electronic Voting and Other Voting Practices in the United States: Machine Errors and Undervotes in Florida 2006 Revisited." *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 375.
- Mebane, Walter R. 2004. "The Wrong Man is President! Overvotes in the 2000 Presidential Election in Florida." *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (3): 525-535.
- Mebane, Walter R. 2006. "Detecting Attempted Election Theft: Vote Counts, Voting Machines and Benford's Law." Presented at the Annual Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association. <http://www-personal.umich.edu/~wmebane/mw06.pdf>
- Meletiadiou, Anastasia, and Rudiger Grimm. 2009. "Using Instant Messaging Systems as a Platform for Electronic Voting." *Lecture Notes in Business Information Processing* 26 (1): 12-24.
- Meng, B. 2008. "Formal Analysis of Key Properties in the Internet Voting Protocol Using Applied Pi Calculus." *Information Technology Journal* 7 (9): 1133-1140.
- Meng, B. 2010. "Automatic Verification of Security Properties of Remote Internet Voting Protocol in Symbolic Model." *Information Technology Journal* 9 (8): 1521-1556.
- Mercuri, R. 2002. "A better ballot box?" *Spectrum, IEEE* 39 (10): 46-50.

- Meredith, Marc, and Neil Malhotra. 2011. "Convenience Voting Can Affect Election Outcomes." *Election Law Journal* 10 (3): 227-253.
- Miller, GERALYN M. 2005. "The Benefits of Scholarly Discourse: A Response to 'Studying Elections: Data Quality and Pitfalls in Measuring of Effects of Voting Technologies across States.'" *Policy Studies Journal* 33.
- Miller, GERALYN M. 2005. "Methodology, Statistics, and Voting Error: An Exploration of 2000 Presidential Election Data in Two States." *Policy Studies Journal* 33 (1): 1-13.
- Miller, Mark Crispin. 2005. "None Dare Call It Stolen: Ohio, the Election, and America's Servile Press." *Harpers Magazine*, August. <http://harpers.org/archive/2005/08/0080696>
- Miller, Mark Crispin. 2008. *Loser Take All: Election Fraud and the Subversion of Democracy, 2000-2008*. Ig Publishing.
- Minnite, Lorraine. 2007. "The Politics of Voter Fraud." Project Vote. http://poli375engage.pbworks.com/f/Politics_of_Voter_Fraud_Final.pdf
- Minnite, Lorraine. 2009. "Finding Election Fraud—Maybe." *Election Law Review* 8 (3): 249-256.
- Minnite, Lorraine C. 2010. *The Myth of Voter Fraud*. Cornell University Press.
- Minnite, Lorraine, and David Callahan. 2003. "Securing the Vote: An Analysis of Election Fraud." *Demos*. http://www.michiganelectionreformalliance.org/EDR_Securing_the_Vote.pdf
- Miratrix, L.W. and P.B. Stark, 2009. "Election Audits using a Trinomial Bound." *IEEE Transactions on Information Forensics and Security*: 4: 974–981. <http://statistics.berkeley.edu/stark/Preprints/trinomial09.pdf>
- Mixon Jr., F.G., and E.W. King. 2012. "Helping Hispanic-America vote? Ballot Technology, voter fatigue and HAVA 2002." *Applied Economics* 44 6: 785-792.
- Mohr, R. 2008. "Current Voting Systems." *Albany Law Journal of Science and Technology* 18 3: 681-690.
- Monnoyer-Smith, Laurence. 2006. "How E-Voting Technology Challenges Traditional Concepts of Citizenship: an Analysis of French Voting Rituals." *Electronic Voting*: 61-68. http://www.e-voting.cc/static/evoting/files/monnoyer-smith_challenge_citizenship_61-68.pdf
- Monroe, Nathan W., and Dari E. Sylvester. 2011. "Who Converts to Vote-By-Mail? Evidence From a Field Experiment." *Election Law Journal* 10 (1): 15-35.
- Monson, J. Quin, and Kelly D. Patterson. 2009. "The Human Dimension of Elections: How Poll Workers Shape Public Confidence in Elections." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 90. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/human-dimension-elections-how-poll-workers-shape-public-confidence-elections-0>

- Montjoy, Robert S. 2008. "The Public Administration of Elections." *Public Administration Review* 68 (5): 788-799.
- Montjoy, Robert S. 2008. "Introduction to the PAR Symposium on Election Administration." *Public Administration Review* 68 (5): 785-787.
- Montjoy, Robert S. 2010. "The Changing Nature, and Costs, of Election Administration." *Public Administration Review* 70 (6): 867-875.
- Montjoy, Robert S., and D.M. Chapin. 2005. "The U.S. Election Assistance Commission: What Role in the Administration of Elections?" *Publius* 35 (4): 617-634.
- Montjoy, Robert S. 2009. "An Ecological Approach to Election Reform." *Election Law Journal* 8 (1): 59-64.
- Morris, Caroline. 2007. "Sofas and Fizzy Drinks: Critiquing Election Law in the United Kingdom." *Election Law Journal* 6 (3): 295-298.
- Moynihan, Donald P. 2004. "Building Secure Elections: E-Voting, Security, and Systems Theory." *Public Administration Review* 64 5: 515-528.
- Moynihan, Donald P. 2012. "Cognitive biases in governing: Technology preferences in election administration." *Public Administration Review* 72 (1): 68-77.
- Muhllhausen, David B., and Patrick Tyrrell. 2008. "Welfare Reform a Factor in Lower Voter Registration at Public Assistance Offices." The Heritage Foundation.
- Mulcahy, Kevin V., and Richard S. Katz. 1976. *America votes: what you should know about elections today*. Prentice-Hall.
- Munger, Michael C. 2005. "Nineteenth-Century Voting Procedures in a Twenty-First Century World." *Public Choice* 124 (1/2): 115-133.
- Mutch, Robert E. 2010. "Documenting the Right to Vote and Electoral Reform." *Election Law Journal* 9 4: 451-459.
- Myagkov, M, P.C. Ordeshook and D. Shakin. 2005. "Fraud or Fairytales: Russia and Ukraine's Electoral Experience." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 21 (2): 91-131.
- Myagkov, M, P.C. Ordeshook and D. Shakin. 2007. "The Disappearance of Fraud: The Forensics of Ukraine's 2006 Parliamentary Elections." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 23 (3): 218-39.
- Myagkov, M, P.C. Ordeshook and D. Shakin. 2008. "On the Trail of Fraud: Estimating the Flow of Votes between Russia's Elections." In *Election Fraud: Detecting and Deterring Electoral Manipulation.*, eds. R.Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall and Susan D. Hyde. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 182-200.
- Myagkov, Mikhail, and Peter C. Ordeshook. 2010. "Ukraine 2010: Were Tymoshenko's Cries of Fraud Anything More than Smoke?" Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, RPEAVT Paper 10.

<https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/ukraine-2010-were-tymoshenkos-cries-fraud-anything-more-smoke>

- Myagkov, Mikhail, Peter C. Ordeshook and Dimitri Shakin. 2009. *The Forensics of Election Fraud: Russia and Ukraine*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Myagkov, Mikhail, and Peter C. Ordeshook. 2008. "Russian Elections: An Oxymoron of Democracy. Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 63.
<https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/russian-elections-oxymoron-democracy>
- Myerson, R.B. 1993. "Incentives to Cultivate Favored Minorities Under Alternative Electoral Systems." *The American Political Science Review* 87 (4): 856-869.
- Nadin, E. 2007. "Rocking the Vote: New Voting Technologies Are Not Subject to Rigorous Scientific Testing." *Engineering and Science* 70 (3): 12-24.
- Nandi, Mridui, Stefan Popoveniuc, and Poovi L. Vora. 2011. "Stamp-It: A Method for Enhancing the Universal Verifiability of E2E Voting Systems." *Lecture Notes in Computer Science* 6503: 81-95.
- Neely, Francis, and Corey Cook. 2008. "Whose Votes Count?" *American Politics Research* 36 (4): 530-554.
- Neff, C. Andrew. 2003. "Election Confidence – A Comparison of Methodologies and Their Relative Effectiveness at Achieving It." VoteHere.
<http://www.verifiedvoting.org/downloads/20031217.neff.electionconfidence.pdf>
- Neimi, R.G., W.H. Riker. 1976. "The Choice of Voting Systems." *Scientific American* 234: 21-27.
- Newitz, Annalee. 2004. "Sorry, Your Vote Has Been: Lost, Hacked, Miscast, Recorded Twice New Electronic Voting Machines Are Supposed to Prevent Another Election Day Disaster, but These Paperless Pes Could Make Hanging Chads Seem like a Minor Nuisance." *Popular Science* 265.
- Newsweek. 2004. "BALLOT BOX: Secure Voting Technology Is Coming (Not by November, Though)." *Newsweek*, 143 (13), 60-66.
- Nichols, Stephen M. 2008. "Electronic Voting Machines and Citizen Participation in State Judicial Elections: Toward Greater Judicial Accountability?" *Southeastern Political Review* 26: 699-711.
- Nichols, Stephen M. 1995. "Electronic Voting Machines and Ballot Roll-Off." *American Politics Research* 23 (3): 300-318.
- Nickerson, David W. 2007. "Does Email Boost Turnout?" *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 2 (4): 369-379.
- Nickerson, David W., and Elizabeth A. Bennion. 2009. "I Will Register, if You Teach Me How: Results from Voter Registration Field Experiments on College Campuses." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, RPEAVT Paper 7.

- Niemi, Richard, and Paul S. Herrnsen. 2003. "Beyond the Butterfly: The Complexity of U.S. Ballots." *Perspectives on Politics* 1 (2): 317-325.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3688903.pdf?acceptTC=true>
- Niemi, Richard, Michael J. Hammer, and Thomas H. Jackson. 2009. "Where Can College Students Vote? A Legal and Empirical Perspective." *Election Law Journal* 8 (4): 327-348.
- Niemi, R. 2008. "The Irony of Electronic Voting Machines." *Albany Law Journal of Science & Technology* 18 (3): 665-672.
- Niemi, Richard G, Herbert F. Wiseberg, and David Kimball. 2010. *Controversies in Voting Behavior*. CQ Press.
- Norden, Lawrence D. "Symposium Issue: Voting Technology in the 21st Century: A Lesson in Legislative Drafting: How Mistakes in 1899 Haunt New York's Quest for New Voting Machines in 2008." *Albany Law Journal of Science and Technology* 627.
- Norden, Lawrence D., Eric L. Lazarus, and Brennan Center Task Force on Voting Security. 2007. *The Machinery of Democracy: Protecting Elections in an Electronic World* Academy Chicago Publishers.
- Norden, Lawrence, Aaron Bustein, Joseph Lorenzo Hall, and Margaret Chec. 2007. "Post-Election Audits: Restoring Trust in Elections." Brennan Center for Justice and the University of California, Berkeley School of Law. http://www.josephhall.org/papers/bcsc_audit_review.pdf
- Nordhaus, William. 2006. "Electoral Victory and Statistical Defeat? Economics, Politics, and the 2004 Presidential Election." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 1 (3): 313-322.
- Norris, P. 1995. "The Politics of Electoral Reform in Britain." *International Political Science Review* 16 (1): 65-78.
- Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, Pippa. 2012. "Are There Global Norms and Universal Standards of Electoral Integrity and Malpractice? Comparing Public and Expert Perceptions." Harvard Kennedy School. <http://web.hks.harvard.edu/publications/workingpapers/citation.aspx?PubId=8305>
- Note. 1974. "Election Administration in New York City: Pruning the Political Thicket." *Yale Law Journal*, 84 (1): 61-85
- Nou, Jennifer. "Privatizing Democracy: Promoting Election Integrity Through Procurement Contracts." *The Yale Law Review* 744.
- Nunnally, Shayla Co. 2011. "(Dis)Counting on Democracy to Work: Perceptions of Electoral Fairness in the 2008 Presidential Election." *Journal of Black Studies* 42 (6): 923-942.
- O'Bannon, Frank. 2002. "Governing Bipartisan Election Reform." *Election Law Journal* 1 (4): 503-504.

- Ohlin, Tomas, and Markus Hallgren. 2002. "Internet Voting in Practice: The Case of the Umea Student Union." *E-Service Journal* 2 (1): 35-61.
- O'Keefe, Kathleen. 2008. "Safeguarding the Vote in New York: HAVA and Relevant State Legislation." *Albany Law Journal of Science and Technology* 18 (3): 703-710.
- Oliver, J. Eric. 1996. "The Effects of Eligibility Restrictions and Party Activity on Absentee Voting and Overall Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 40: 498-513.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2111634?seq=1>
- Olivera-Soto, Angel L. 2010. "English Monolingual Speakers in Puerto Rico: A New Language Minority Group Under the Voting Rights Act." *Saint Louis University Public Law Review* 139
- Olson, E.C., and S. Hill. 2002. "Big Wins for Democracy: San Francisco and Vermont Vote for Instant Runoff Voting." *National Civic Review* 91 (2): 201-204.
- Oostveen, Anne-Marie, and Peter Van Den Besselaar. 2005. "Trust, Identity, and the Effects of Voting Technologies on Voting Behavior." *Social Science Computer Review* 23 (3). <http://www.social-informatics.net/SSCR2005.pdf>
- O'Reilly, Kenneth. 2011. *Holy Cow 2000: The Strange Election of George W. Bush*. Now and Then Reader LLC.
- Orr, Graeme. 2002. "Ballot Order: Donkey Voting in Australia." *Election Law Journal* 1 (4): 573-578.
- Orr, Graeme. 2007. "The Nitty-Gritty of Electoral Integrity." *Election Law Journal* 6 (3): 299-304.
- Ostrow, Ashira Pelman. 2002. "Dual Resident Voting: Traditional Disenfranchisement and Prospects for Change." *Columbia Law Review* 102 (7): 1954-1991.
- Overton, Spencer. 2007. *Stealing Democracy: The New Politics of Voter Suppression*. W.W. Norton and Company.
- Palazzolo, Daniel J., and James W. Ceaser. 2006. *Election Reform: Politics and Policy*. Lexington Books.
- Palfrey, Thomas R., and Howard Rosenthal. 1985. "Voter Participation and Strategic Uncertainty." *The American Political Science Review* 79 (1): 62-78.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1956119.pdf?acceptTC=true>
- Pastor, Robert A. 2004. "Improving the U.S. Electoral System: Lessons from Canada and Mexico." *Election Law Journal* 3 (3): 584-593.
- Peele, Gillian. 2002. "The Legacy of Bush v. Gore." *Election Law Journal* 1 (2): 263-268.
- Persily, Nathaniel. 2010. "Celebrating; the Tenth Anniversary of the 2000 Election Controversy: What the World Can Learn from the Recent History of Election Dysfunction in the United States." *Indiana Law Review* 85.

- Persily, Nathaniel, and Stephen Ansolabehere. 2010. "Measuring Election System Performance." *New York University Journal of Legislation and Public Policy* 13 (3).
- Persily, Nathaniel. 2009. "Fig Leaves and Tea Leaves in the Supreme Court's Recent Election Law Decision." Columbia Public Law Research Paper No. 09-200.
- Persily, Nathaniel, and Jennifer S. Rosenberg. "Defacing Democracy? The Changing Nature and Rising Importance of As-Applied Challenges in the Supreme Court's Recent Election Law Decisions." *Minnesota Law Review*. http://www.minnesotalawreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Persily_MLR.pdf
- Persily, Nathaniel. 2007. "The Promise and Pitfalls of the New Voting Rights Act." *The Yale Law Journal* 117 (2): 174.
- Persily, Nathaniel. 2006. "The Place of Competition in American Election Law, in the Marketplace of Democracy." University of Pennsylvania Law School, Public Law Working Paper No. 06-23.
- Persily, Nathaniel. 2005. "Regulating Democracy Through Democracy: The Use of Direct Legislation in Election Law Reform." University of Pennsylvania Law School, Public Law Working Paper 63. <http://www.law.upenn.edu/fac/npersily/workinprogress/NEWEST%20DRAFTS/Persily.USC.pdf>
- Persily, Nathaniel. 2003. "The Search for Comprehensive Descriptions and Prescriptions in Election Law." *Connecticut Law Review* 35 1511.
- Persily, Nathaniel. 2002. "The Complicated Impact of, One Vote on Political Competition and Representation." *North Carolina Law Review* 80. <http://www.law.upenn.edu/fac/npersily/workinprogress/Persily.bki.pdf>
- Philips, Stephanie. "The Risks of Computerized Election Fraud: When Will Congress Rectify a 38-Year-Old Problem?" *Alabama Law Review* 1123.
- Pieters, Wolter. 2006. "Acceptance of Voting Technology: between Confidence and Trust." In *iTrust*, eds K. Stolen. LNCS 3986: 283-297. <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/summary?doi=10.1.1.102.8519>
- Pieters, Wolter. 2011. "How Devices Transform Voting." *Information Technology and Law Series* (7): 439-452.
- Piner, G. E., & Byrne, M. D. 2011. "The Experience of Accessible Voting: Results of a Survey among Legally-Blind Users." *Proceedings of the Human Factors and Ergonomics Society 55th Annual Meeting*. http://chil.rice.edu/research/pdf/PinerByrne_11EVT.pdf
- Piner, G. E., & Byrne, M. D. 2011. Accessible Polling Places for the Visually Impaired: A Compilation of Survey Results. *Proceedings of the 2011 USENIX/ACCURATE Electronic Voting Technology Workshop/Workshop on Trustworthy Elections*. <http://chil.rice.edu/research/pdf/PinerByrneHFES11.pdf>

- Piner, G. E., & Byrne, M. D. (2010). "Baseline Usability Data for a Non-Electronic Approach to Accessible Voting." *Proceedings of the 2010 USENIX/ACCURATE Electronic Voting Technology Workshop/Workshop on Trustworthy Elections*.
http://chil.rice.edu/research/pdf/PinerByrne_10.pdf
- Pitts, Michael J., and Matthew D. Neumann. 2009. "Documenting Disfranchisement: Voter Identification at Indiana's 2008 General Election." *Journal of Law and Politics* 25 (3).
- Polinard, Jerry L., et al. 1994. *Electoral structure and urban policy: the impact on Mexican American communities*. Armonk, NY: E. Sharpe.
- Pomares, Julia, Ernesto Calvo, and Marcelo Escolar. 2008. "Assessing the Impact of Voting Technologies on Multi-Party Electoral Outcomes." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 64. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/assessing-impact-voting-technologies-multi-party-electoral-outcomes>
- Pomares, Julia, and Gabriel Katz. 2009. "Up to the promise? The Impact of Electronic Voting on Trust in the Election Process in Latin America." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 89. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/promise-impact-electronic-voting-trust-election-process-latin-america>
- Pomares, Julia, and R. Michael Alvarez, and Gabriel Katz. 2011. "The Impact of New Technologies on Voter Confidence in Latin America: Evidence from E-Voting Experiments in Argentina and Colombia." *Information Technology and Politics* 8 (2): 199-217.
<https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/impact-new-technologies-voter-confidence-latin-america-evidence-e-voting-experiments>
- Posner, Tomer. 2006. "Application of Lean Management Principles to Election Systems." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 42. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/application-lean-management-principles-election-systems-0>
- Poundstone, William. 2009. *Gaming the Vote: Why Elections Aren't Fair (and what we can do about it)*. Hill & Wang.
- Priest, Sharon. 2004. "The Secretaries Speak: Sixteen Points to Improve American Elections." *Election Law Journal* 1 (1): 71-74.
- Publius. 2005. "Securing the Integrity of American Elections: The Need for Change." *Texas Review of Law & Politics* 9 (2): 278-299. http://www.trolp.org/main_pgs/issues/v9n2/Publius.pdf
- Quintelier, Ellen, Dietlind Stolle, and Allison Harell. 2011. "Politics in Peer Groups: Exploring the Causal Relationship between Network Diversity and Political Participation." *Political Research Quarterly*. <http://prq.sagepub.com/content/early/2011/07/15/1065912911411099.full.pdf+html>
- Rab, Lisa. 2001. "Felon Disfranchisement Bars Many from Voting." *Southern Changes* 23 (2): 22-25.
http://beck.library.emory.edu/southernchanges/article.php?id=sc23-2_006
- Rae, D.W. 1967. *The political consequences of electoral laws*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- Rakove, Jack. 2002. *The Unfinished Election of 2000*. Basic Books.
- Randell, Brian, and Peter Y.A. Ryan. 2006. "Voting Technologies and Trust." *IEEE Security and Privacy* 4 (5): 50-56.
- Rapoport, M. 2003. "Election Reform Arena Shifts to States." *National Civic Review* 92 (3): 46-48.
- Reddy, A. Vasudhara, and S.V. Raghavan. 2005. "Architecture of Multi-Channel Multi Database Voting System." *IFIP International Federation for Information Processing* 189: 281-295.
- Reichley, A. James. 1987. *Elections American Style*. The Brookings Institute.
- Reilly, B. 1997. "The Alternative Vote and Ethnic Accommodation: New Evidence from Papua New Guinea." *Electoral Studies* 16 (1): 1-11.
- Reilly, B. 2001. "Evaluating the Effect of the Electoral System in Post-Coup Fiji." *Pacific Economic Bulletin* 16 (1): 142-149.
- Reilly, B. 2002. "Electoral Systems for Divided Societies." *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2): 156-170.
- Reilly, B., and M. Maley. 2000. "The Single Transferable Vote and the Alternative Vote Compared." In *Elections in Australia, Ireland and Malta under the Single Transferable Vote: Reflections on an Embedded Institution*, eds. S. Bowler and B. Grofman. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Reilly, Shauna, and Sean Richey. 2011. "Ballot Question Readability and Roll-Off: The Impact of Language Complexity." *Political Research Quarterly* 64 (1): 59-67.
- Rescorla, Eric. , 2009. "Understanding the Security Properties of Ballot-Based Verification Techniques." *2009 Electronic Voting Technology Workshop*.
http://static.usenix.org/event/evtwote09/tech/full_papers/rescorla-ballot.pdf
- Rescorla, Eric, 2009. "On the Security of Election Audits with Low Entropy Randomness." *Workshop on Trustworthy Election*. http://static.usenix.org/event/evtwote09/tech/full_papers/rescorla-randomness.pdf
- Reynolds, John F. 1993. "A Symbiotic Relationship: Vote Fraud and Electoral Reform in the Gilded Age." *Social Science History* 17 (2): 227-251. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1171281>
- Richey, Warren. 1998. "Florida Makes a Move to Rein in Voter Fraud." *Christian Science Monitor*, 4 May.
- Rhinehart, John. 2011. *How Should Americans Vote?* Mote Soft Publications.
- Richards, W., H.S. Seung, and G. Pickard. 2006. "Neural Voting Machines." *Neural networks* 19 (8): 1161-7.
- Richie, Rob. 2000. "Winning Fair Representation with Alternative Voting Systems." *Southern Changes* 22 (4): 22-24. http://beck.library.emory.edu/southernchanges/article.php?id=sc22-4_012&keyword=elections

- Richie, Robert. 2004. "Instant Runoff Voting: What Mexico (and Others) Could Learn." *Election Law Journal* 3 (3): 501-512.
- Richie, R., T. Bouricius, and P. Macklin. "Candidate Number 1: Instant Runoff Voting." *Science* 294 (5541): 303-306.
- Richie, R., C. Kleppner, and T. Bouricius. 2000. "Instant Runoffs: A Cheaper, Fairer, Better Way To Conduct Elections." *National Civic Review* 89 (1): 95-110.
- Riera, Andreu, Gerard Cervello. "Experimentation on Secure Internet Voting in Spain." <http://subs.emis.de/LNI/Proceedings/Proceedings47/Proceeding.GI.47-10.pdf>
- Riley, John. 2006. "Pulp to Plasma: A History of Technology in Politics." *Campaigns & Elections* 28.
- Rivest, Ron, and David Jefferson. "A Modular Voting Architecture ('FROGS')." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 3. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/modular-voting-architecture-frogs>
- Rivest, Ron L. 2008. "Preliminary Voting – Prevoting." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 35. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/preliminary-voting-prevoting>
- Rivest, Ronald L. 2008. "On the Notion of 'Software Independence' in Voting Systems." *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society A* 366 (1881): 3759-67.
- Rivest, Ron L. 2008. "The Three Ballot Voting System." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 56. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/threeballot-voting-system>
- Rivest, R.L., D. Chaum, B. Preneel, A.D. Rubin, D.G. Saari, and P.L. Vora. 2009. "Guest Editorial Special Issue on Electronic Voting." *Information Forensics and Security, IEEE* 4 (4): 593-596.
- Rivest, Ron. L. 2007. "A Simple Rule of Thumb for Election Audit Size Determination." <http://people.csail.mit.edu/rivest/Rivest-ASimpleRuleOfThumbForElectionAuditSizeDetermination.pdf>
- Rivest, Ronald L. 2008. "A 'Sum of Square Roots' (SSR) Pseudorandom Sampling Method for Election Audits." <http://people.csail.mit.edu/rivest/pubs/Riv08a.pdf>
- Rivest, Ronald L., and Emily Shen. 2012 "A Bayesian Method for Auditing Elections." Massachusetts Institute of Technology. <https://www.usenix.org/conference/evtwote12/bayesian-method-auditing-elections>
- Rosborough, V.S. 2008. "Take the Counties Into Account: The Help America Vote Act in New York State." *Albany Law Journal of Science and Technology* 18 (3): 711-733.
- Rose, I. Nelson. 2005. "It's Not Just About Voting." *Election Law Journal* 9 (3): 199-200.
- Rosenfield, Peg. 1982. "The Effect of Voting Systems on Voter Participation." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, RPEAVT Paper 13. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/effect-voting-systems-voter-participation>

- Roseman, Gary, and E. Stephenson. 2005. "The Effect of Voting Technology on Voter Turnout: Do Computers Scare the Elderly?" *Public Choice* 123 1-2: 39-47.
- Rosenfield, Margaret. 1995. *All-Mail-Ballot Elections*. Washington, D.C.: National Clearinghouse on Election Administration, Federal Election Commission.
<http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/Page/Innovations%20in%20Election%20Administration%2011.pdf>
- Rovita, Sarah. 2007. "Making Sure Every Vote Counts in the Digital Era The Need for Standards Mandating Voter-Verified Paper Ballots." The Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers.
<http://www.wise-intern.org/journal/2007/SRovitoFinal.pdf>
- Rowell, Laurie. 2008. "Down for the Count? Major improvements to digital voting systems may lie on the horizon, but the inaccuracies and potential for fraud found in the last U.S. presidential election." *NetWorker* 12 (1): 16. http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/1350000/1346947/p16-rowell.pdf?ip=131.215.23.196&acc=ACTIVE%20SERVICE&CFID=103676631&CFTOKEN=74462490&_acm_=1337273936_9d3c5b7ac433a7aaa1b88003baf49288
- Rubin, Aviel D., and David R. Jefferson. 2008. "New Research Results for Electronic Voting." *Security and Privacy, IEEE* 6 (3): 12-13.
- Rubin, Aviel David. 2006. *Brave New Ballot: The Battle to Safeguard Democracy in the Age of Electronic Voting*, Broadway.
- Rush, Mark. 2010. "Is This Any Way to Run an Election? Third Parties, Independent Candidates, and the American Electoral Labyrinth." *Election Law Review* 9 (1): 71-74.
- Ruth, S., and D. Mercer. 2007. "Voting from the Home of Office? Don't Hold Your Breath." *Internet Computing, IEEE* 11 (4): 68-71.
- Rwengabo, Sabastiano, and Anne Mary Tusingwire. 2011. *Beyond Casting the Ballot: From Elections Conduct To Extra-Institutional Election Fraud in Poast-1995 Uganda*. LAP Lambert Academic Publishing.
- Ryan, Peter Y.A., and Berry Schoenmakers. 2009. *E-Voting and Identity*. Springer.
- Ryan, P.Y.A., D. Bismark, J. Heather, S. Schneider, and Zia Zhe. 2009. "Pret A Voter: a Voter-Verifiable Voting System." *Information Forensics and Security, IEEE* 4 (4): 662-673.
- Ryan, Peter Y.A. 2009. "How Many Election Officials Does It Take to Change an Election." *Lecture Notes in Computer Science* 5511: 211-221.
- Saari, Donald G. 2001. "Chaotic Elections! A Mathematicians Look at Voting." *American Mathematical Society*.
- Saenger, Brian, and Ara A. Babaian. 2001. "Internet Voting and Democracy: Symposium." Loyola Law School, Loyola Marymount University.
- Saiegh, Sebastian. "A Supervised Machine Learning Procedure to Detect Electoral Fraud using Digital Analysis." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, RPEAVT Paper 11.

<https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/supervised-machine-learning-procedure-detect-electoral-fraud-using-digital-analysis>

- Saltman, Roy G. 1988. "Accuracy, Integrity, and Security in Computerized Vote-Tallying." Gaithersburg, MD: U.S. Department of Commerce National Bureau of Standards.
<http://www.itl.nist.gov/lab/specpubs/500-158.htm>
- Saltman, Roy G. 2007. "Software Correctness: A Divisive Issue in Voting Technology." *Election Law Review* 6 (3): 312-321.
- Saltman, Roy G. 2006. *The History and Politics of Voting Technology: Chads and Other Scandals*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Saltman, Roy G. 2006. *The history and politics of voting technology: in quest of integrity and public confidence*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sander, Daniel, and Dan S. Wallach, 2007. "Casting Votes in the Auditorium." *EVT*.
http://static.usenix.org/event/evt07/tech/full_papers/sandler/sandler.pdf
- Santin, A.O., R.G. Costa, C.A. Maziero. 2008. "A Three-Ballot Based Secure Electronic Voting System." *Security & Privacy, IEEE* 6 (3): 14-21.
- Sauer, Edmund S. J 2003. "Arbitrary and Disparate Obstacles to Democracy: The Equal Protection Implications of Bush v. Gore on Election Administration." *Journal of Law and Politics* 19 (3): 299-344.
- Schaffer, Frederic Charles. 2002. "What is Vote Buying – Empirical Evidence." Presented at the Comparative Politics of Vote Buying Conference, Cambridge.
<http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/PO14.pdf>
- Schaffer, Frederic Charles. 2008. *The Hidden Costs of Clean Election Reform*. Cornell University Press.
- Scheuren, Fritz J., and Wendy Alvey. 2008. *Elections and Exit Polling*. Wiley.
- Schier, Steven E. 2003. *You Call This an Election? America's Peculiar Democracy*. Georgetown University Press.
- Schriner, Kay, and Andrew I. Batavia. 2005. "The Americans With Disabilities Act: Does It Secure the Fundamental Right to Vote?" *Policy Studies Journal* 29 (4): 663-673.
- Schwartz, P.M. 2002. "Voting Technology and Democracy." *New York University Law Review* 77 (3): 625-698.
- Sekhon, Jasjeet. 2004. "The 2004 Florida Optical Voting Machine Controversy: A Causal Analysis Using Matching." University of California, Berkeley.
<http://sekhon.berkeley.edu/papers/SekhonOpticalMatch.pdf>

- Sekhon, Jasjeet. 2006. "Data Troubles: Explaining Discrepancies between Official Votes and Exit Polls in the 2004 Presidential Election." University of California, Berkeley.
<http://sekhon.berkeley.edu/papers/SekhonExit.pdf>
- Seligson, Dan. 2005. "Bugs are not quite worked out of online voting." *Campaigns and Elections*.
- Selker, Ted. 2008. "Study Shows Ballot Design and Voter Preparation Could Have Eliminated Sarasota Florida Voting Errors." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 61.
<https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/study-shows-ballot-design-and-voter-preparation-could-have-eliminated-sarasota-florida>
- Selker, Ted. "Certification and Voting Software: Position Statement." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 15. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/certification-and-voting-software-position-statement>
- Selker, T. 2003. "Voting: User Experience Technology and Practice." *ACM*.
http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/770000/765937/p700-selker.pdf?ip=131.215.23.191&acc=ACTIVE%20SERVICE&CFID=96656998&CFTOKEN=43152505&acm_=1342644315_04cbea9c732950ed312a2d6eef0fd3ce
- Selker, Ted. 2008. "Testimony on Voter Verification." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 31. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/testimony-voter-verification>
- Selker, Ted, and Alexandre Buer. 2004. "Voter Removal from Registration List Based on Name Matching is Unreliable." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project.
<https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/voter-removal-registration-list-based-name-matching-unreliable>
- Selker, T. 2004. "Fixing the vote." *Scientific American* 291 (4): 90-7.
- Selker, T. 2005. "Voting Technology, Election Auditing is an End-to-End Procedure." *Science* 308 (5730): 1973-4.
- Selker, Ted. "The Voter Verifiable Audio Audit: Transcript Trail (VVAATT)." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 18. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/voter-verifiable-audio-audit-transcript-trail-vvaatt>
- Selker, Ted. "Processes Can Improve Electronic Voting: A Case Study of An Election." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 19. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/processes-can-improve-electronic-voting-case-study-election>
- Selker, T., and J. Goler. 2004. "The SAVE System – Secure Architecture for Voting Electronically." *BT Technology Journal* 22 (4): 89-95.
- Sergis, Diana K. 2003. *Bush V. Gore: Controversial Presidential Election Case*. Enslow Pub Incorporated.

- Shambon, Leonard M. 2004. "Implementing the Help America Vote Act." *Election Law Journal*. 2 (3): 424-443.
- Shamos, Michael Ian. 2004. *Paper v. Electronic Voting Records – An Assessment*. Carnegie Mellon University. <http://euro.ecom.cmu.edu/people/faculty/mshamos/paper.htm>
- Shamos, Michael Ian. 2007. "Voting as an Engineering Problem." *The Bridge* 37 (2): 35-39. <http://www.nae.edu/File.aspx?id=7408>
- Shen, Emily. 2008. "End-to-End Verifiability for Optical Scan Voting Systems." Massachusetts Institute of Technology. <http://groups.csail.mit.edu/cis/theses/eshen-masters.pdf>
- Sherman, Alan T., Stephen H. Holden, George Karabatis, A. Gunes Koru, Chris M. Law, Donald F. Norris, John Pinkston, Andrew Sears, and Dongsong Zhang. 2006. "An Examination of Vote Verification Technologies: Findings and Experiences from the Maryland Study." *Electronic Voting Technology Workshop*. http://static.usenix.org/event/evt06/tech/full_papers/sherman/sherman.pdf
- Shocket, Peter A., Neil R. Heighberger, and Clyde Brown. 1992. "The Effect of Voting Technology on Voting Behavior in a Simulated Multi-Candidate City Council Election: A Political Experiment of Ballot Transparency." *The Western Political Quarterly* 45 (2): 521-537.
- Shordt, Richard F. 2010. "Not Registered to Vote? Sign This, Mail It, and Go Hire a Lawyer." *The George Washington Law Review* 438.
- Shvartsman, a., A. Kiayias, L. Michel, and A. Russell. 2008. "Pre-Election Audit of Memory Cards for the November 2007 Connecticut Elections." UConn Voting Technology Research Center. <http://www.ctvoterscount.org/CTVCdata/audit07mc.pdf>
- Simon, Jonathan D., Bruce O'Dell, Dale Tarvis, and Josh Mitteldorf. "Fingerprints of Election Theft: Were Competitive Contests Targeted?" Election Defense Alliance. http://electiondefensealliance.org/fingerprints_election_theft
- Simon, Jonathan D., and Bruce O'Dell. "Landslide Denied: Exit Polls vs. Vote Count 2006." http://electiondefensealliance.org/files/LandslideDenied_v.9_071507.pdf
- Simon, Jonathan D., and Bruce O'Dell. 2006. "An End To 'Faith-Based' Voting: Universal Precinct-based Handcount Sampling To Check Computerized Vote Counts In Federal and Statewide Elections." Election Defense Alliance. <http://electiondefensealliance.org/files/UPSEndFaithBasedVoting.pdf>
- Simpson, Vicki, and Martin Oliver. 2007. "Electronic Voting Systems for Lectures then and Now: A Comparison of Research and Practice." *Australasian Journal of Educational Technology* 23 (2):187-208.
- Sinclair, Betsy. 2005. "Is It Better to be First or Last? Ballot Order Effect." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 33. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/it-better-be-first-or-last-ballot-order-effect>

- Singh, Shane. 2010. "Contradictory Calculi: Differences in Individuals' Turnout Decision across Electoral Systems." *Political Research Quarterly*.
<http://prq.sagepub.com/content/early/2010/04/08/1065912909357177.full.pdf+html>
- Sled, Sara M. 2008. "Vertical Proximity Effects in the California Recall Election." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 8. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/vertical-proximity-effects-california-recall-election>
- Smith, Charles Anthony. 2011. "The Cities That Counted: A Decade of Bush v. Gore Jurisprudence." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, RPEAVAT Paper 16.
<https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/cites-counted-decade-bush-v-gore-jurisprudence>
- Smith, Charles Athony, and Christopher Shortell. 2007. "The Suits That Counted: The Judicialization of Presidential Elections." *Election Law Journal* 6 (3): 251-265.
- Smith, Robert Ellis, and Richard Sobel. 2009. "Demands for Voter Identification Require a Constitutional Standard of Reasonable Suspicion of Illegal Activity." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 42 (1): 103-105.
http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSC%2FPSC42_01%2FS104909650909026Xa.pdf&code=d952ed3afea7dee190aecae20ceafeb1
- Smolka, Richard G. 2009. "Voting Technology Found to be a Challenge to Voters." *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* 8 (1): 65-68.
- Sobel, Richard. 2009. "Voter-ID Issues in Politics and Political Science." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 42: 81-85.
http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSC%2FPSC42_01%2FS104909650909022a.pdf&code=b17fbd6b80d7f0ee388169c5ae3c5095
- Sobel, Richard, and Robert Ellis Smith. 2009. "Voter-ID Laws Discourage Participation, Particularly among minorities, and Trigger a Constitutional Remedy in Lost Representation." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 42: 107-110.
http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSC%2FPSC42_01%2FS1049096509090271a.pdf&code=018866b4402041ef892e95a86818a91c
- Solop, Frederic I. 2001. "Digital Democracy Comes of Age: Internet Voting and the 2000 Arizona Democratic Primary Election." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 34 (2): 289-293.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1350245.pdf>
- Southwell, Pricilla L., and Justin Burchett. 2000. "The Effect of All-Mail in the Senate Election in the State of Oregon." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 30: 53-57.
- Southwell, Pricilla L., and Justin Burchett. 1997. "Survey of Vote-by-Mail Senate Election in the State of Oregon." *Political Science and Politics* 30 (1): 53-57.
<http://thecommoninterest.org/docs/SouthwellPS1997.pdf>
- Spafford, Eugene H. 2007. "Voter Assurance." *The Bridge* 37 (2): 28-34.
<http://www.nae.edu/File.aspx?id=7408>

- Spender, Douglas M. 2010. "Long Lines at Polling Stations? Observations from an Election Day Field Study." *Election Law Journal* 9 (1): 3-17.
- Stanislevic, Howard. 2007. "NY Election Audits: Is Three Percent Enough?" E-Voter Education Project. http://electionaudits.org/files/NYAuditGraphs_0.pdf
- Stark, Philip B. 2010. "The Status and Near Future of Post-Election Auditing." UC Berkeley, Dept. of Statistics. <http://statistics.berkeley.edu/~stark/Preprints/auditingPosition09.htm>
- Stark, P.B., 2009. "CAST: Canvass Audits by Sampling and Testing." *IEEE Transactions on Information Forensics and Security* 4: 708–717. <http://statistics.berkeley.edu/~stark/Preprints/cast09.pdf>
- Stark, P.B., 2009. "Efficient post-election audits of multiple contests: 2009 California Tests." Presented at the 2009 Conference on Empirical Legal Studies. <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1443314>
- Stark, P.B., 2010. "Risk-Limiting Vote-Tabulation Audits: The Importance of Cluster Size." *Chance* 23 (3): 9–12. <http://statistics.berkeley.edu/~stark/Preprints/auditingChance10.pdf>
- Stark, P.B., 2010. "Super-Simple Simultaneous Single-Ballot Risk-Limiting Audits." *2010 Electronic Voting Technology Workshop/Workshop on Trustworthy Elections*. http://www.usenix.org/events/evtwote10/tech/full_papers/Stark.pdf
- Stark, P.B., 2009. "Risk-Limiting Post-Election Audits: P-Values from Common Probability Inequalities." *IEEE Transactions on Information Forensics and Security* 4: 1005–1014. <http://statistics.berkeley.edu/~stark/Preprints/pvalues09.pdf>
- Stark, P.B., and D.A. Wagner. 2012. "Evidence-Based Elections." *IEEE Security and Privacy*. <http://www.stat.berkeley.edu/~stark/Preprints/evidenceVote12.pdf>
- Stark, Philip B. 2008. "Election Audits by Sampling with Probability Proportional to an Error Bound; Dealing with Discrepancies." University of California, Berkeley. <http://statistics.berkeley.edu/~stark/Preprints/ppebwrwd08.pdf>
- Stark, Philip B. 2008. "Conservative Statistical Post-Election Audits." *The Annals of Applied Statistics* 2: 550-581. <http://www.stat.berkeley.edu/~stark/Preprints/conservativeElectionAudits07.pdf>
- Stark, Philip B. 2009. "Auditing a Collection of Races Simultaneously." University of California, Berkeley. <http://arxiv.org/pdf/0905.1422v1.pdf>
- Stein, Robert M., and Patricia A. Garcia-Monet. 1997. "Voting Early, but Not Often." *Social Science Quarterly* 78:657-71.
- Stein, Robert M. 1998. "Early Voting." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 62: 57-69.
- Stein, Robert M., and Greg Vonnahme. 2011. "Voting at Non-Precinct Polling Places: A Review and Research Agenda." *Election Law Journal* 10 (3): 2011. <http://www.bakerinstitute.org/publications/POL-pub-SteinVonnahmeELJPolling-100311.pdf>

- Stein, Robert M., and Greg Vonnahme. 2008. "Engaging the Unengaged Voter: Votes Centers and Voter Turnout." *The Journal of Politics* 70: 487-497.
<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1818220&jid=JOP&volumeId=70&issueId=02&aid=1818212&bodyId=&membershipNumber=&societyETOCSession=>
- Stein, Robert M., Greg Vonnahme, Michael Byrne, and Daniel Wallach. 2008. "Voting Technology, Election Administration, and Voter Performance." *Election Law Journal* 7 (2): 2008.
<http://www.cs.rice.edu/~dwallach/pub/elj2008.pdf>
- Stein, Robert, Chris Owens, and Jan Leighley. 2005. "Electoral Reform, Party Mobilization and Voter Turnout." Rice University and Texas A&M University.
<http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/seminars/leighley.pdf>
- Sheridan, Peter G., Dorothy A. Harbeck, and Christopher J. Keale. 2004. "Neither Snow nor Rain, but Maybe Anthrax: Bioterrorism and Absentee Ballots in New Jersey." *Election Law Journal* 1 (3): 415-420.
- Stevenage, Herts, UK: Institution of Engineering and Technology. 2010. "FAREWELL TO CHADS: Voting Technology in the USA." *IET engineering and Technology* 6: 23.
- Stewart, Charles III, and R. Michael Alvarez. 2010. "Reflections on the VTP's contributions to science, policymaking and education." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 100.
<https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/reflections-vtps-contributions-science-policymaking-and-education>
- Stewart, Charles III. 2010. "Losing Votes by Mail." New York University School of Law. 11 (39): 573-601. www.law.nyu.edu/ecm/dlv1/...law.../ecm_pro_068045.pdf
- Stewart, Charles III. 2006. "Residual Vote in the 2004 Election." *Election Law Journal* 5 (2): 158-169.
- Stewart, Charles III, R. Michael Alvarez, and Stephen Ansolabehere. 2005. "Studying Elections: Data Quality and Pitfalls in Measuring the Effects of Voting Technologies." *The Policy Studies Journal* 33 (1): 15-24.
- Stewart, Charles III, Stephen Ansolabehere. 2005. "Residual Votes Attributable to Technology." *Journal of Politics* 67 (2): 365-389.
- Stewart, Charles III, Jeff Jenkins. 2003. "Out in the Open: The Emergence of Viva Voce Voting in House Speakership Elections." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 28 (4): 481-508.
- Stewart, Charles III. "The Reliability of Electronic Voting Machines in Georgia." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 20. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/reliability-electronic-voting-machines-georgia>
- Stewart, Charles III. 2009. "Racial Differences in Election Administration." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 82. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/racial-differences-election-administration>

- Stewart, Charles III. 2009. "2008 Survey of the Performance of American Elections." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 81. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/2008-survey-performance-american-elections-1>
- Stewart, Charles III. 2011. "Voting Technology." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12.
- Stewart, Charles III. 2011. "Research Note on Footnote 24 of the 6th Circuit Hunter Decision." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 101. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/research-note-footnote-24-6th-circuit-hunter-decision>
- Stewart, Charles III. 2011. "What Hath HAVA Wrought? Consequences, Intended and Not, of the Post-Bush v. Gore Reforms." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 102. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/what-hath-hava-wrought-consequences-intended-and-not-post-bush-v-gore-reforms>
- Stewart, Charles III. 2010. "More Voting by Mail? First, Consider the Hidden Costs." *Election Law @ Mortiz*.
- Stewart, Charles III, Stephen D. Ansolabehere. 2010. "What Happened in Massachusetts." *Boston Review*.
- Stewart, Charles III. 2009. "A Data-Centered Look at the Election of 2008." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 88. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/data-centered-look-election-2008>
- Stewart, Charles III. 2009. "Early- and Late-Adopters of Provisional Ballots." Pew Report on Provisional Ballots.
- Stewart, Charles III. 2009. "Assessment of Voting Systems." *Election Law Journal*.
- Stewart, Charles III. "Election Fraud Fears: The Cure." *Los Angeles Times*, 27, October, 2008.
- Stewart, Charles III. 2008. "Basic Principles of Data Collection, Data For Democracy: Improving Elections through Metrics and Measurement." Pew Charitable Trusts. http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2008/Final%20DfD.pdf
- Stewart, Charles III, and Ines Levin. 2010. "Voter Opinions about Election Reform: Do they Support Making Voting More Convenient?" Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 98. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/voter-opinions-about-election-reform-do-they-support-making-voting-more-convenient>
- Stewart, Charles III. 2011. "Adding Up the Costs and Benefits of Voting by Mail." *Election Law Journal* 10 (3): 297-301.
- Stewart, Charles III. 2008. "Measuring the Improvement (Or Lack of Improvement) in Voting Since 2000 in the U.S." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 36. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/measuring-improvement-or-lack-improvement-voting-2000-us>

- Stewart, Charles III. 2009. "Election Technology and the Voting Experience in 2008." Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Conference.
http://vote.caltech.edu/drupal/files/working_paper/Election%20Technology%20and%20Voting%20Experiences%20in%202008.pdf
- Storey, Tim. 2003. "Helping America Vote: After More Than 200 Years of Voting, the United States Is about to Make a Massive Investment in the Neglected Elections Infrastructure, the Feds Have Made a Down Payment, but Will All the Money Be There." *State Legislatures* 29.
- Streb, Matthew J. 2008. *Rethinking American Electoral Democracy (Controversies in Electoral Democracy and Representation)*. Routledge.
- Stromer-Galley, Jennifer. 2003. "Voting and the Public Sphere: Conversations on Internet Voting." *PS Political Science & Politics* 36 (4): 727-731.
- Stone, Adam. 2003. "E-Voting: Should We Pull the Lever?" *IEEE Software* 20 (6): 12-14.
<http://ieeexplore.ieee.org/stamp/stamp.jsp?tp=&arnumber=1241358>
- Stuart, Guy. 2004. "Databases, Felons, and Voting: Bias and Partnership of the Florida Felons List in the 2000 Elections." *Political Science Quarterly* 119 (3): 453-475.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/20202391.pdf>
- Sturton, Cynthia, Eric Rescorla, and David Wagner. 2009. "Weight, Weight, Don't Tell Me: Using Scales to Select Ballots for Auditing." *2009 Electronic Voting Technology Workshop*.
<http://www.eecs.berkeley.edu/~csturton/papers/ballot-weight-evt09.pdf>
- Sunstein, Cass R., and Richard Allen Epstein. 2001. *The Vote: Bush, Gore, and the Supreme Court*. University of Chicago Press.
- Sutherland, Brian J. 2009. "The Patchwork of State and Federal Language Assistance for Minority Voters and a Proposal for Model State Legislation." *New York University Annual Survey of American Law* 323.
- Sutter, Daniel. 2003. "Detecting and Correcting Election Fraud." *Eastern Economic Journal* 298 (3): 433.
- Szczesniak, E. 2008. "Implementing the Help America Vote Act of 2002 in New York State." *Albany Law Journal of Science and Technology* 18 (3): 673-680.
- Taylor, Greg. 2010. "Constitutional Restrictions on Voting Computers in Germany." *Election Law Journal* 9: 443-449.
- Tchintian, Carolina, Anastasia Peralta Ramos, Julia Pomares, Marcelo Leiras, and Maria Page. 2011. "Cambios en la forma de votar (Changes in the Way of Voting)." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/cambios-en-la-forma-de-votar>
- Terrell, Steve. 2009. "Poll Finds Support for Voter ID." *The New Mexican*.
<https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/poll-finds-support-voter-id>

- Thompson, Dennis F. 2004. "Election Time: Normative Implications of Temporal Properties of the Electoral Process in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 98: 51-63.
http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSR%2FPSR98_01%2FS0003055404000991a.pdf&code=5742372084f2df74ae713db408d36660
- Tideman, N. 1995. "The Single Transferable Vote." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 9 (1): 27-38.
- Tischenko, A.G. 2010. "Online Voter Registration in Oregon: Towards an Election Administration Triple Bottom Line." *Stanford Law & Policy Review* 21 (1): 165-178.
- Tokaji, Daniel P. 2007. "The Birth and Rebirth of Election Administration." *Election Law Journal* 6 (1): 118-131.
- Tokaji, Daniel P. 2008. "Voter Registration and Election Reform." *The William and Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 17.
- Tokaji, Daniel P. "Symposium: The Promise of Voter Equality: Examining the Voting Rights Act at Forty: The New Vote Denial: Where Election Reform Meets the Voting Rights Act." *South Carolina Law Review* 689
- Tokaji, Daniel P. 2005. "The Paperless Chase: Electronic Voting and Democratic Values." *Fordham Law Review* 57.
- Tokaji, Daniel P. 2005. "Early Returns on Election Reform." *George Washington Law Review* 74.
- Tokaji, Daniel P. 2007. "Leave it to the Lower Courts: On Judicial Intervention in Election Administration." *Ohio State Law Journal* 68.
- Tokaji, Daniel P. 2009. "The Future of Election Reform: From Rules to Institutions." *Yale Law and Policy Review* 28 (1): 125-154.
- Tokaji, Daniel P. 2010. "Public Rights and Private Rights of Action: The Enforcement of Federal Election Laws." *Indiana Law Review* 44: 113-160.
- Tokaji, Daniel P. 2006. "Redistricting in the New Millennium and Gatekeepers to the Franchise: Shaping Election Administration in New York." *Perspectives on Politics* 4 (2): 384-386.
- Tokaji, Daniel P. 2007. "Leave It to the Lower Courts: On Judicial Intervention in Election Administration." *Ohio State Law Journal* 68 (4): 1065-1096.
- Tokaji, Daniel P. 2009. "Laboratories of Election Reform." *Election Law Journal* 8 (3): 267-275.
- Tokaji, Daniel P. 2010. "Lowenstein Contra Lowenstein: Conflicts of Interest in Election Administration." *Election Law Journal* 9 (4): 421-441.
- Tolbert, Caroline J., and Romona S. McNeal. 2003. "Unraveling the Effects of the Internet on Political Participation?" *Political Research Quarterly* 56 (2): 175-185.

- Tomz, Michael, and Robert P. Van Houweling. 2003. "How Does Voting Equipment Affect the Racial Gap in Voided Ballots?" *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (1): 46-60.
<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/3186092?uid=3739560>
- Toobin, Jeffrey. 2002. *Too Close to Call: The Thirty-Six-Day Battle to Decide the 2000 Election*. Random House Trade Paperbacks.
- Traugott, Michael W., Michael J Hanmer, Won-Ho Park, Paul S Herrnson, Richard G Niemi, Benjamin B Bederson, and Frederick G Conrad. "The Impact of Voting Systems on Residual Votes, Incomplete Ballots, and Other Measures of Voting Behavior." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago.
- Traugott, Michael W., Paul S. Herrnson, and Richard G. Niemi. 2006. "A Project to Assess Voting Technology and Ballot Design." Digital Government Society of North America.
http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/1150000/1146613/p38-traugott.pdf?ip=131.215.23.196&acc=ACTIVE%20SERVICE&CFID=100138711&CFTOKEN=29604989&acm=1335809350_354e3f66f772254ce1eb5fe943522186
- Treshsel, Alexander H., and Fernando Mendez. 2005. "The European Union and e-voting: address the European Parliament's internet voting challenge." *Psychology Press*.
- Tucker, James Thomas. 2009. *The Battle Over Bilingual Ballots: Language Minorities and Political Access Under the Voting Rights Act*. Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- Tucker, Joshua A. 2007. "Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions,," *Perspectives on Politics* 5 (3): 535-551.
http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPPS%2FPPS5_03%2FS1537592707071538a.pdf&code=683060bd4b973ed4b38b329bcd41b762
- Turner, Daniel. 2006. "Hack – How to Steal an Election – Researchers at Princeton hack a Diebold voting machine." *Technology Review* 109 (5): 26.
- Urken , Arnie. 2004. "What Robert's Rules of Order can teach us about electronic voting standards." *The Humanist*. http://www.thefreelibrary.com/_/print/PrintArticle.aspx?id=116733756
- USCATU, Cristian, 2008. "Electronic Universal Voting." *Informatica Economica Journal*.
- Villaflorita, A., K. Weldermariam, and R. Tiella. 2009. "Development, Formal Verification, of an E-Voting System with VVPAT." *Information Forensics and Security, IEEE* 4 (4): 651-661.
- Reniu i Vilamala, Joseph M. E-voting: "An Analysis of Sociopolitical Acceptance." Universitat de Barcelona. http://rc10.ipssa.org/public/reniu_evoting.pdf
- Ugla, Fredrik. 2008. "Incompetence, Alienation, or Calculation? Explaining Levels of Invalid Ballots and Extra-Parliamentary Votes." *Comparative Political Studies* 41:1141-1164.
<http://cps.sagepub.com/content/41/8/1141.full.pdf+html>
- Urbina, Ian. 2007. "Panel Said to Alter Finding on Voter Fraud." *New York Times*, 11 April.

- Utter, Glenn H, and Ruth Ann Strickland. 2008. *Campaign and Election Reform: A Reference Handbook*. ABC-CLIO.
- van Cleeff, Andre, Trajce Dimkov, Wolter Pieters, and Roel Wieringa. 2011. "Realizing Security Requirements with Physical Properties: A Case Study on Paper Voting." *Lecture Notes in Electrical Engineering* 1 (120): 51-67.
- Vanderleeuw, James M., and Richard L. Engstrom. "Race, Referendums, and Roll-Off." *The Journal of Politics* 49 (4): 1081-1092.
- Vanderleeuw, James M., and Glenn H. Utter. "Voter Roll-Off and the Electoral Context: A Test of Two Theses." *Social Science Quarterly* 74 (3): 664-673.
- Velasquez, William E. 1981. "Voting Problems and Solutions." *Southern Changes* 4 (1): 28-33.
http://beck.library.emory.edu/southernchanges/article.php?id=sc04-1_014&keyword=voting
- Vercellotti, Timothy, and David Anderson. 2006. "Protecting the franchise, or restricting it? The effects of voter identification requirements on turnout." Presented at the 2006 APSA.
<http://moritzlaw.osu.edu/blogs/tokaji/voter%20id%20and%20turnout%20study.pdf>
- Vijayan, Jalkumar. 2012. "Internet voting systems too insecure, researcher warns." *Computerworld*, 1 March, 2012.
http://www.computerworld.com/s/article/9224799/Internet_voting_systems_too_insecure_researcher_warns
- von Spakovsky, Hans A. 2012. "Protecting the Integrity of the Election Process." *Election Law Journal* 11 (1): 90-96.
- Vonahme, Greg, and Robert M. Stein. 2008. "The effects of Election Day vote centers on voter experiences." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, RPEAVT Paper 6.
<https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/effects-election-day-vote-centers-voter-experiences>
- Waldman-DeLozier, Abbe, and Vickie Karp. 2006. *Hacked! High Tech Election Theft in America – 11 Experts Expose the Truth*. Truth Enterprises Publishing.
- Walker, Jack L. 1966. "Ballot Forms and Voter Fatigue: An Analysis of the Office Block and Party Column Ballots." *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 10 4: 448-463.
- Wallach, Dan S. "How We Vote: Electronic Voting and Other Voting Practices in the United States: Voting System Risk Assessment via Computational Complexity Analysis." *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 325.
- Wand, Jonathan N.A., Kenneth W. Shotts, Jasjeet S. Sekhon, Walter R. Mebane, Jr., Michael C. Herron, and Henry E. Brady. 2001. "The Butterfly Did it: The Aberrant Vote for Buchanan in Palm Beach County, Florida." *American Political Science Review* 95 (4): 793-810.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/3117714>

- Wand, Jonathan J. 2004. "Evaluating the Impact of Voting Technology on the Tabulation of Voter Preferences: The 2004 Presidential election in Florida." Stanford University. <http://wand.stanford.edu/elections/us/FL2004/WandFlorida2004.pdf>
- Wand, Jonathan. 2004. "Auditing an election Using Sampling: The Impact of Bin Size of the Probability of Detecting manipulation." Stanford University. <http://wand.stanford.edu/elections/probability.pdf>
- Wand, Jonathan N.A., Jasjeet S. Sekhon, and Walter R. Mebane, Jr. 2001. "A Comparative Analysis of Multinomial Voting Irregularities: Canada 2000." *Proceedings of the American Statistical Society*. <http://elections.berkeley.edu/canada/multinom.canada.pdf>
- Wang, Tova, and Job Serebrov. 2006. "Voting Fraud and Voter Intimidation, [Draft] Report to the U. S. Election Assistance Commission (Eac) on Preliminary Research and Recommendations (2006)." *Election Law Journal* 6 (3): 330-351.
- Wang, Tova Andrea. 2007. "Bringing Voting Rights to Overseas and Military Voters." The Century Foundation. <http://tcf.org/publications/2007/11/pb632>
- Wang, Tova Andrea. "Competing Values of False Choices: Coming to Consensus on the Election Reform Debate in Washington State and the Country." *Seattle University Law Review* 29 (353). <http://digitalcommons.law.seattleu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1858&context=sulr>
- Ward, Andrew, Paul M. A. Baker, and Nathan W. Moon. 2009. "Ensuring the Enfranchisement of People with Disabilities." *Journal of Disability Policy Studies* 20 (2): 79-92.
- Warf, Barney. 2006. "Voting Technologies and Residual Ballots in the 2000 and 2004 Presidential Elections." *Political Geography* 25 (5): 530-556.
- Wassom, Audra L. 2003. "The Help America Vote Act of 2002 and Selected Issues in Election Law Reform." *Thurgood Marshall Law Review* (Spring): 345.
- Waterstone, Michael. 2003. "Rights: Constitutionals and Statutory Voting Rights for People with Disabilities." *Stanford Law & Policy Review* 353.
- Waterstone, Michael E. Lane. 2005. "Fundamental Rights, and Voting." *Alabama Law Review* (Spring): 793.
- Watson, Robert P. 2004. *Counting votes: lessons from the 2000 presidential election in Florida*. University Press of Florida.
- Wattenberg, Martin P, Ian McAllister, and Anthony Salvanto. 2000. "How Voting Is Like Taking an Sat Test." *American Politics Research* 28 (2): 234-250.
- Wayman, Jim, and William C. Kimberling. 2001. *Using biometric identification technologies in the election process*. Washington, D.C.: Office of Election Administration, FEC.
- Wayne, Stephen J. 2001. *Is this any way to run a democratic election? Debating American electoral politics*. Houghton Mifflin Company.

- Weaver, C. Michael. 2002. "Election Reform Efforts in Pennsylvania." *Election Law Journal* 1 (4): 509-514.
- Weidmann, and Michael Callen. 2012. "Violence and Election Fraud: Evidence from Afghanistan." *British Journal of Political Science*: 1-23.
<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=8627499&jid=JPS&volumeId=-1&issueId=-1&aid=8627497&bodyId=&membershipNumber=&societyETOCSession=>
- Weiner, Jay. 2010. *This Is Not Florida: How Al Franken Won the Minnesota Senate Recount*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Weiser, Wendy, and Vishal Agraharkar. 2010. "Ballot Security and Voter Suppression." Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/e2d20eec819018aa49_xpm6iixd.pdf
- Weiss, Peter. 2006. "Ballot Roulette." *Science News* 170 (19): 298-300.
- Whitaker, L. Paige, and Arthur Traldi. 2009. "State Election Laws: Overview of Statutes Providing for Provisional Ballot Tabulation." RL32653.
- White, John P. 1960. *Voting Machines and the 1958 Defeat of Constitutional Revision in Michigan*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
- Whitman, Mark. 2003. *Florida 2000: A Sourcebook on the Contested Presidential Election*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Wilde, Lorin F., Jonathan Goler, and Ted Selker. "Who Does Better with a Big Interface? Improving Voting Performance of Reading for Disabled Voters." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 24. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/who-does-better-big-interface-improving-voting-performance-reading-disabled-voters-0>
- Williams, Kieran. 2009. "Judging Disputed Elections in Europe." *Election Law Journal* 8 (3): 277-287.
- Wilcox, Vivian B. 2009. "Steps to manage voting system environments." *Nova Science*.
- Winger, Richard. 2002. "The Supreme Court and the Burial of Ballot Access: A Critical Review of *Jenness v. Fortson*." *Election Law Journal* 1 (2): 234-252.
- Wise, Charles R. 2001. "Special Report: Election Administration in Crisis: An Early Look at Lessons from Bush versus Gore." *Public Administration Review* 61 (2): 131-139.
- Wolfinger, Raymond E., Benjamin Highton, and Megan Mullin. 2005. "How post-registration laws affect the turnout of registrants." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 5:1-23.
http://faculty.psdomain.ucdavis.edu/bhighton/pubs-and-papers/pubs-and-papers/2005_sppq_postreg.pdf
- Wolter, Kirk, Diana Jergovic, Whitney Moore, Joe Murphy, and Colm O'Muircheartaigh. 2003. "Reliability of the Uncertified Ballots in the 2000 Presidential Election in Florida." *The American Statistician* 57 (1): 1-14. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3087271.pdf>

- Woodall, D.R. 1997. "Monotonicity of single-seat preferential election rules." *Discrete Applied Mathematics* 77: 81-98.
- Yang, Elizabeth M., Kristi Gaines. 2004. "Voting Technology and the Law: From Chads to Fads and Somewhere in Between." *Social Education* 68.
- Yang, Elizabeth M., and Kristi Gaines. 2008. "Ensuring Access to the Ballot Box: Voting Rights in the United States." *Social Education* 72.
- Yasinsac, A. and M. Bishop. 2008. "The Dynamics of Counting and Recounting Votes." *Security & Privacy, IEEE* 6 (3): 22-29.
- Zaino, Jeanne S., Jeffrey T. Zaino. 2004. "A New Era in Voting Technology: the Changing Landscape of Election Disputes." *Dispute Resolution Journal* 59.
- Zelden, Charles L. 2008. *Bush v. Gore: exposing the hidden crisis in American democracy*. University Press of Kansas.
- Zelnick, Robert. 2001. *Winning Florida: How the Bush Team Fought the Battle*. Hoover Press.
- Zetter, Kim. 2003. "Maryland: E-Voting Passes Muster." wired.com.
<http://www.wired.com/techbiz/media/news/2003/09/60583?currentPage=all> .
- Ziblatt, Daniel. 2009. "Shaping Democratic Practice and the Causes of Electoral Fraud: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Germany." *American Political Science Review* 103 (1): 1-21.
http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSR%2FPSR103_01%2FS0003055409090042a.pdf&code=56400b106c3f7ac713924f0d065b8fde
- Zissis, Dimitrios, and Dimitrios Lekkas. 2011. "Securing e-Government and e-Voting with an open cloud computing." *Government Information Quarterly* 28 (2): 239-251.
- Zukerman, David. 1925. *The Voting Machine: Report on the History, Use and Advantages of Mechanical Means for Casting and Counting Ballots*. New York: Political Research Bureau of the Republican County Committee of New York.

Reports

- AEI-Brookings Election Reform Project. 2008. *A review of proposed Voluntary Voting System Guidelines*. <http://www.electionreformproject.org/Resources/c30f9981-558a-4dea-b789-0f17ffd3df45/r1/Detail.aspx>
- Alabama Alliance to Restore the Vote and Brennan Center for Justice. 2006. *Voting Rights Denied in Alabama*.. http://www.brennancenter.org/page/-/Democracy/download_file_9361.pdf
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Ines Levin. 2010. *Making Voting Easier: Convenience Voting in the 2008 Presidential Election*. Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Working Paper 95. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/making-voting-easier-convenience-voting-2008-presidential-election>
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Jonathan Nagler, and Catherine Wilson. 2004. *Making Voting Easier: Election Day Registration in New York*. Demos.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, Stephen Ansolabehere. 2002. *California Votes: Election Day Registration in California*. Demos.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, and Thad E. Hall for IBM Center for The Business of Government. 2005. *The Next Big Election Challenge: Developing Electronic Data Transaction Standards for Election Administration*. http://www.vote.caltech.edu/drupal/files/report/next_big_election_challenge.pdf
- American Center for Voting Right. 2005. *Vote Fraud, Intimidation and Suppression in the 2004 Presidential Election*. http://www.foxnews.com/projects/pdf/Vote_Fraud_Intimidation_Suppression_2004_Pres_Election_v2.pdf
- Analytic Systems. 1974. *Describe, analyze and compare the currently available methods of vote counting equipment: and to make appropriate recommendations: final report*. United States General Accounting Office, Office of Federal Elections..
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, R. Michael Alvarez, and Thad E. Hall. 2008. *Assessing Electoral Performance in New Mexico Using an Ecosystem Approach*. University of New Mexico, Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, and University of Utah. http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2010/NM_ecoystem.pdf
- Brennan Center for Justice. 2005. *Analysis of the September 15, 2005 Voter Fraud Report Submitted to the New Jersey Attorney General*. http://brennan.3cdn.net/9d1efbdb2c45834e0_pom6bx3bk.pdf
- Brennan Center for Justice. 2006. *The Machinery of Democracy: Voting System Security, Accessibility, Usability, and Cost*. http://brennan.3cdn.net/cb325689a9bbe2930e_0am6b09p4.pdf
- Brennan Center for Justice. 2010. *Voter Registration for the 21st Century*. http://brennan.3cdn.net/de0972d2b8a236cbe7_vpm6bzhc9.pdf

- Brennan Center for Justice. 2007. *An Agenda for Americas Voters: Election Reform in the 110th Congress*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://www.brennancenter.org/page/-/d/download_file_48123.pdf
- Breuer, Fabian. 2006. . *E-Voting: Lessons Learnt and Future Challenges, Conference Report*. Council of Europe, the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the e-Governance Academy http://www.ega.ee/files/27.10.06_Report_evoting_Conference.pdf
- Keesha Gaskins and Sundeep Iyer. *The Challenge of Obtaining Voter Identification*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/773c569439b50452e0_kzm6bo516.pdf
- Brennan Center for Justice. 2007. *Analysis of Alleged Fraud in Briefs Supporting Crawford Respondents..* <http://www.truthaboutfraud.org/>
- The Brennan Center for Justice, Demos: A Network for Ideas & Action, Lorraine C. Minnite, Project Vote, and People for the American Way Foundation. 2007. Brief of Amici Curiae, *Crawford v. Marion County Election Board*. http://brennan.3cdn.net/43140fef931aac3a6_ksm6b5auu.pdf
- Alvarez R. Michael, Lonna Rae Atkeson, Delia Bailey, Thad E. Hall, and Andrew D. Martin. 2007. Brief as Amici Curiae in Support of Petitioners, *Crawford v. Marion County Election Board*. http://brennan.3cdn.net/ea9b86c9a8e417b4c2_3im6ibvja.pdf
- Brennan Center for Justice and Demos – A Network for Ideas and Action. 2001. *Eliminating Barriers to Voting: Election Day Registration*. http://brennan.3cdn.net/87babe60da8af881f4_zpm6b5d9o.pdf
- Brennan Center for Justice. 2006. *The Truth About “Voter Fraud.”* Voting Rights & Elections Series. http://www.brennancenter.org/page/-/d/download_file_38347.pdf
- Brennan Center for Justice. *Summary of Voter ID Laws Passed Since 2011*. http://brennan.3cdn.net/71d8c8a3f9ff136320_tem6bnk3g.pdf
- Brennan Center for Justice. 2006. *The Machinery of Democracy: Voting System Security, Accessibility, Usability, and Cost*. http://brennan.3cdn.net/0dcaa0bc369e6ec598_0dm6bh7n8.pdf
- Brennan Center for Justice. 2004. *Recommendations for Improving Reliability of Direct Recording Electronic Voting Systems*. http://brennan.3cdn.net/7ddd6a3e301c18fd66_qgm6bxt5b.pdf
- California Secretary of State. 2007. "Top-to-Bottom Review". <http://www.sos.ca.gov/voting-systems/oversight/top-to-bottom-review.htm>
- Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project. 2008. *Final Report: Oct '06 VTP Conference on voter Registration & Authentication*. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/final-report-oct-06-vtp-conference-voter-registration-authentication>
- Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project. 2008. *Insuring The Integrity Of The Electoral Process: Recommendations For Consistent And Complete Reporting Of Election Data*. <https://www.vote.caltech.edu/content/insuring-integrity-electoral-process-recommendations-consistent-and-complete-reporting>

- Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue. 2010. *A Comparative Assessment of Internet Voting*. Elections Canada.. <http://www.scribd.com/doc/41437212/A-Comparative-Assessment-of-Internet-Voting>
- Center for Democracy and Election Management, American University. 2005. *Building Confidence in U.S. Elections: Report of the Commission on Federal Election Reform*. <http://www1.american.edu/ia/cfer/report/report.html>
- Center for Democracy & Election Management. 2009. *Election Administration Profiles of All Fifty States, Supplement to The State of Elections in The Fifty States: Evaluating The Process Where it Counts*. <http://www1.american.edu/ia/cdem/pdfs/CDEM%20Rpt%20Supplemental-%20State%20Profiles%20-%20July%2015%202009.pdf>
- Center for Democracy & Election Management, School of Public Affairs, American University. 2009. *The State of Elections In The Fifty States: Evaluating the Process Where it Counts*. <http://www1.american.edu/ia/cdem/pdfs/CDEM%20Final%20Rpt%20of%20the%20States%20-%20July%2015%202009.pdf>
- The Center For Information & Research On Civic Learning And Engagement. 2008. *Young Voters in the 2008 Presidential Election*. http://civicyouth.org/PopUps/FactSheets/FS_08_exit_polls.pdf
- The Century Foundation. 2005. *Balancing Access and Integrity*. <http://tcf.org/publications/pdfs/pb542/baicomplete.pdf>
- Century Foundation Press. 2005. *Balancing Access and Integrity: The Report of The Century Foundation Working Group on State Implementation of Election Reform*. <http://tcf.org/publications/pdfs/pb542/baicomplete.pdf>
- Century Foundation. 2004. *Issue Brief: African Americans, Voting Machines, and Spoiled Ballots: A Challenge to Election Reform*.
- Chaum, David, Peter Y.A. Ryan, and Steve A. Schneider. 2004. *A Practical, Voter-verifiable Election Scheme*. Technical Report Series, University of Newcastle upon Tyne. <http://www.cs.ncl.ac.uk/research/pubs/trs/papers/880.pdf>
- Committee on a Framework For Understanding Electronic Voting. 2006. *National Research Council Letter Report on Electronic Voting*. Washington, D.C.: National Research Council.
- Committee on State Voter Registration Databases, and National Research Council. 2010. *Improving State Voter Registration Databases: Final Report*. National Academies Press.
- Congressional Research Service. 2008. *CRS Report for Congress, Election Reform and Local Election Officials: Results of Two National Surveys*. Order Code RL34363. http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/RL34363_20080207.pdf?emc=lm&m=212814&l=24&v=209825
- Connecticut Citizen Election Audit Coalition. 2009. *Report and Feedback November 2008 Connecticut Post-Election Audit Observation*. <http://www.ctelectionaudit.org/Reports/Nov2008/ObservationReportNov08.pdf>

- Current Population Survey. *Voting and Registration Supplement*.
<http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/socdemo/voting/index.html>.
- Democratic National Committee. 2005. *Democracy at Risk: The 2004 Election in Ohio*.
<http://www.votetrustusa.org/pdfs/DNCfullreport.pdf>
- Demos. 2011. *Protecting the Right to Vote*. Hearing of the U.S. House Committee on The Judiciary.
http://democrats.judiciary.house.gov/sites/democrats.judiciary.house.gov/files/documents/Demos_111114.pdf
- Demos. 2007. *Voters Win with Election Day Registration: Election Day Registration was successful in several States During the 2006 Mid-Term Elections*. <http://www.demos.org/publication/voters-win-election-day-registration-election-day-registration-was-successful-several-st>
- Diebold Election Systems. 2003. *Checks and Balances in Elections Equipment and Procedures Prevent Alleged Fraud Scenarios*.
<http://www.votetrustusa.org/pdfs/Diebold%20Folder/checksandbalances.pdf>
- Donsanto, Craig C., and Nancy L. Simmons. 2007. *Federal Prosecution of Election Offenses – Seventh Edition*. <http://www.justice.gov/criminal/pin/docs/electbook-0507.pdf>
- Donsanto, Craig C. *The Federal Crime of Election Fraud*.
<http://soundpolitics.com/The%20Federal%20Crime%20of%20Election%20Fraud.pdf>
- Election Assistance Commission. 2008. *Free or Reduced Postage for the Return of Voted Absentee Ballots*.
<http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/Events/free%20absentee%20ballot%20postage%20study%20public%20meeting%20february%207%202008.pdf>
- Election Assistance Commission. 2010. *Absentee Postage—EAC Summary and Recommendations*.
<http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/AssetManager/Absentee%20Postage%20-%20EAC%20Summary%20and%20Recommendations.pdf>
- Electionline.org. 2006. *Election Preview: What's Changes, What Hasn't and Why*.
http://www.pewtrusts.org/uploadedFiles/wwwpewtrustsorg/Reports/Election_reform/electionline_2006preview_1006.pdf
- Fischer, Eric A. 2003. *Election Reform and Electronic Voting Systems (DREs): Analysis of Security Issues*. Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, CRS, The Library of Congress. Order Code RL32139. <http://epic.org/privacy/voting/crsreport.pdf>
- Fischer, Eric A. 2011. *The Help America Vote Act and Elections Reform: Overview and Issues – CRS Report*. Congressional Research Service.
- ElectionAudits.org. 2008. *Principles and Best Practices for Post-Election Audits*.
http://electionaudits.org/files/bestpracticesfinal_0.pdf

- NCSL Elections Reform Task Force. 2002. "Voting in America: Final Report of the NCSL Elections Reform Task Force,," *Election Law Journal* 1 (1): 105-110.
- Electionline.org Briefing. 2007. *Overseas Voting – Challenges and Innovation*.
http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2007/Overseas-Voting-Challenges-Innovations.pdf
- Electionline.org. 2006. *Holding Form: Voter Registration 2006*.
http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2004-2006/ERIPBrief13.final.pdf
- Electionline.org. 2008. *Back to Paper: A Case Study*.
http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2008/EB21Brief.pdf
- Federal Election Commission. 2001. *The Impact of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 on the Administration of Elections for Federal Office, 1999-2000*. Report to the 107th Congress..
- Federal Election Commission. 2004. *The Impact of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 on the Administration of Elections for Federal Office, 2001-2002*. Report to the 108th Congress.
- GAO. 2001. *Elections: Status and Use of Federal Voting Equipment Standards*. Report to Congressional Requesters
- GAO. 2008. *Bilingual Voting Assistance: Selected Jurisdictions' Strategies for Identifying Needs and Providing Assistance*. Report to Congressional Committees.
- Gardner, Ryan, Alec Yasinsac, Matt Bishop, Tadayoshi Kohno, Zachary Hartley, John Kerski, David Gainey, Ryan Walega, Evan Hollander, and Michael Gerke. 2007. *Software Review and Security Analysis of the Diebold Voting Machine Software*. Final Report for the Florida Department of State. <http://election.dos.state.fl.us/voting-systems/pdf/SAITreport.pdf>
- Halverson, Mark, and Sarah Martyn Crowell. 2009. *Eyes on the Vote Count: Non-partisan Observer Reports of Minnesota's 2008 Post-Election Audit and Recount*. Citizens for Election Integrity Minnesota. http://www.ceimn.org/files/ceimn.report_color.pdf
- Hertzberg, Steven. 2006. *DRE Analysis for May 2006 Primary Cuyahoga County, Ohio*. Election Science Institute. http://www.votetrustusa.org/pdfs/Ohio_Folder/esi_cuyahoga_final.pdf
- House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff. 2005. *Preserving Democracy: What Went Wrong in Ohio*.
http://www.iwantmyvote.com/lib/downloads/references/house_judiciary/final_status_report.pdf
- Issacharoff, Samuel. 2006. "Testimony of Professor Samuel Issacharoff, NYU School of Law, On the Reauthorization of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary May 9." *Election Law Journal* 5 (3): 326-330.
- Kalsbeek, William D., and Lei Zhang. 2006. *An Assessment of the May 2006 Election Recount and a Proposed Permanent Recount Sample Design*. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, School of Public Health's Survey Research Unit.

- League of Women Voters of New Jersey. 2009. *Making Every Vote Count: A Review of the 2008 Election in New Jersey: A Report of the American Civil Liberties Union of New Jersey and League of Women Voters of New Jersey*. <http://www.aclu-nj.org/files/8713/1540/4573/051909voterpt.pdf>
- Mann, Christopher B., and Rachel M. Sondheimer. 2009. *The Role of Local Election Officials in Promoting Growth of Mail Voting*. Make Voting Work Initiative of the Pew Charitable Trusts and the JEHT Foundation. http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2009/Colorado_Mann_Sondheimer%281%29.pdf
- McCormack, Conny B. 2010. *Re-Counting The Vote: What Does It Cost? A Comparative Case Study Focusing on the Cost of Administering a Statewide Recount in Two States...* Pew Charitable Trusts. http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2010/Pew_Cost_of_Recounts_report.pdf
- Minnite, Lorraine C. 2007. *An Analysis of Voter Fraud in The United States*. <http://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/Analysis.pdf>
- National Academy of Science. 2009. *Improving State Voter Registration Databases, Final Report*. http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/workflow_staging/Page/52.PDF
- National Bureau of Standards, Information Technology Division. 1975. *Effective Use of Computing Technology in Vote-Tallying*. National Technical Information Service, order number COM 75-11137. http://csrc.nist.gov/publications/nistpubs/NBS_SP_500-30.pdf
- National Commission on Federal Election Reform. 2002. *To Assure Pride and Confidence in the Electoral Process*. http://tcf.org/publications/pdfs/pb246/99_full_report.pdf
- National Commission on Federal Election Reform. 2002. *Task Force Reports to accompany the Report of the National Commission on Election Reform*. http://tcf.org/publications/pdfs/pb246/full_tf_report.pdf
- Norden, Lawrence and Jessie Allen. *Final Report 208-2009 Ohio Election Summit and Conference*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/9ccb57cb5de1711173_nkm6bqc3y.pdf
- Norden, Lawrence, and Sundeep Iyer. 2011. *Design Deficiencies and Lost Votes*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/6fbbc223d181f475a4_fkm6ixf0v.pdf
- Norden, Lawrence. 2010. *Voting System Failures: A Database Solution*. http://brennan.3cdn.net/c5b929b2020a596ecc_eem6bbtcz.pdf
- Norden, Lawrence, and Jessie Allen. 2009. *2008 & 2009 Ohio Elections Summit and Conference, Final Report*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/9ccb57cb5de1711173_nkm6bqc3y.pdf
- Norden, Lawrence, Susannah Goodman, Sean Flaherty, and Pamela Smith. 2008. *Is America Ready to Vote? State Preparations for Voting Machine Problems in 2008*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/25d625d26984068522_4fm6v2wgf.pdf

- Norden, Lawrence, David Kimball, Whitney Quesenbery, and Margaret Chen. 2008. *Better Ballots*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/d6bd3c56be0d0cc861_hlm6i92vl.pdf
- Ohio Secretary of State. 2008. *Primary Election: Report From the Secretary of State to the Governor, General Assembly, and the Citizens of the State of Ohio*. <http://www.sos.state.oh.us/SOS/upload/elections/2008/pri/report/narrative.pdf>
- Ohio Secretary of State. 2007. *Project EVEREST: Evaluation and Validation of Election-Related Equipment, Standards and Testing*. [http://www.sos.state.oh.us/SOS/upload/everest/14-AcademicFinal EVERESTReport.pdf](http://www.sos.state.oh.us/SOS/upload/everest/14-AcademicFinal%20EVERESTReport.pdf).
- Ohio Secretary of State. 2009. *Elections Enhancements for Ohio: A Report to the Governor and the General Assembly*. <http://www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/upload/news/20090422postconferencereport.pdf>
- Perez, Myrna. 2009. *When Voters Move*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/38dedc0f9a14161da3_idm6bq8xe.pdf
- Perez, Myrna. 2008. *Voter Purges*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/5de1bb5cbe2c40cb0c_s0m6bqskv.pdf
- Pew Center on the States. 2012. *Democracy from Afar: States Show Progress on Military and Overseas Voting*. http://www.pewtrusts.org/uploadedFiles/wwwpewtrustsorg/Reports/Election_reform/Elect-Democracy-From-Afar-Brief.pdf
- Pew Center on the States. 2009. *Washington State's "Make Voting Work for 18 Year-Olds" Experiment*. http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2009/Washington_18_years_old_voting_brief.pdf
- Pew Center of the States. *The 21st Century Transmission Line From Election Administrators to Voters*. http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2011/Pew_VIP_factsheet.pdf
- Pew Charitable Trust. 2012. *Inaccurate, Costly, and Inefficient: Evidence That America's Voter Registration System Needs an Upgrade*. http://www.pewtrusts.org/uploadedFiles/wwwpewtrustsorg/Reports/Election_reform/Pew_Upgrading_Voter_Registration.pdf
- Pew Center on the States. March 2010. *Voting Information Project: Partnering with Election Officials to Inform American Voters*. http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2010/Voting_Information_Project_brief%2081%29.pdf
- Pew Center on the States. 2011. *The Cost of Delivering Voter Information: A Case Study of California*. http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2011/California_costs_brief%281%29.pdf
- Pew Center on the States. 2008. *Case Study: Election Observation Dispatches from the Polls*. http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2008/EB22%20Final%20%282%29.pdf

- Pew Center on the States. 2008. *Being Online is Not Enough: State Elections Web Sites*.
http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2008/VIP_FINAL_101408_WEB.pdf
- Pew Center on the States. 2009. *Provisional Ballots: An Imperfect Solution*.
http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2009/ELEC_ProvBallot_Brief_0709.pdf
- Pew Center on the States. 2009. *No Time to Vote: Challenges Facing America's Overseas Military Voters*.
http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2009/NTTV_Report_Web%281%29.pdf
- Pew Center on the States. 2007. *The Help America Vote Act at 5*.
<http://www.pewcenteronthestates.org/uploadedFiles/HAVA.At.5.pdf>
- Pew Center of the States. 2010. *The Real Cost of Voter Registration: An Oregon Case Study*.
http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2010/The_Real_Cost_of_Voter_Registratio%281%29%281%29.pdf
- Pew Center on the States. 2012. *Election Administration by the Numbers: An Analysis Available Datasets and How to Use Them*.
http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2012/Pew_Elections_By_The_Numbers.pdf
- Pew Center of the States. 2009. *Bringing Elections into the 21st Century: Voter Registration Modernization*.
http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2009/Voter_Registration_Modernization_Brief_web.pdf
- Ponoroff, Christopher. 2010. *Voter Registration in a Digital Age*, ed. Wendy Weiser. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/806ab5ea23fde7c261_n1m6b1s4z.pdf
- McGhee, Eric, and Daniel Krimm. *California's New Electoral Reforms: How Did They Work?* Public Policy Institute of California. http://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/jtf/JTF_ElectoralReformsJTF.pdf
- Regenscheid, Andres, and Nelson Hastings. *A Threat Analysis on UOCAVA Voting Systems*. NIST. <http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/Page/NIST%20report%20a%20threat%20analysis%20on%20uocava%20voting%20systems.pdf>
- Ria Novisti. 2008. *Ballot Papers Lost in Car Accident in Georgia*.
<http://en.rian.ru/world/20080106/95543298.html>
- Right to Vote, Demos, and the ACLU. 2004. *Purged?* Brennan Center for Justice.
http://brennan.3cdn.net/c45af30e3c1cffb26b_wgm6bkbqa.pdf
- Rosenberg, Jennifer, and Margaret Chen. 2009. *Expanding Democracy: Voter Registration Around the World*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/3234b49c4234d92bf3_3km6i2ifu.pdf

- Runyan, Noel H. 2007. *Improving Access To Voting: A Report on the Technology for Accessible Voting Systems*. Demos.
[http://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/improving_access%20\(1\)_0.pdf](http://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/improving_access%20(1)_0.pdf)
- Seago, Laura. 2009. *Automatic Registration in the United States: The Selective Service Example*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/b00a78fefae1c6695e_exm6i2a7f.pdf
- Skaggs, Adam, and Jonathan Blitzer. 2009. *Permanent Voter Registration*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/1a1ce9f2a1e87c216a_yjm6iv2uo.pdf
- Skaggs, Adam. 2009. *Registering Military and Overseas Citizens to Vote*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/89b693ce88f2e99e9e_5um6iv1b2.pdf
- State of Alaska Division of Elections. 2007. *State of Alaska Election Security Project Phase I Report*. http://www.elections.alaska.gov/Documents/SOA_Election_Security_Project_Phase_1_Report_Final.pdf
- State of Alaska Division of Elections. 2008. *State of Alaska Election Security Project Phase 2 Report*. http://www.elections.alaska.gov/Documents/SOA_Election_Security_Project_phase_2_Report.pdf
- State of California-Secretary of State. 2007. *Post-Election Audit Standards Working Group Report, Evaluation of Audit Sampling Models and Options for Strengthening California's Manual Count*. http://www.ceimn.org/files/final_peaswg_report.pdf
- State of Georgia, Office of the Secretary of State Elections Division. 2007. *Voter Verified Paper Audit Trail Pilot Project Report SB 500 2006 Georgia Accuracy in Elections Act*. <http://sos.georgia.gov/elections/VVPATreport.pdf>
- State of Ohio, Elections Division. 2008. *Post-Election Audits of the Ohio November 2008 General Election*. http://www.caseohio.org/Ohio%20Sec%20of%20State%20DAMs/2008/AUDIT_Draft_Directive.pdf
- Stewart, Michael J. 2001. *Background Paper 01-5: An Overview of Election Provisions Regarding Recounts, Contests, Ballots, Voting Systems, and Other Election-Related Matters in Nevada*. Legislative Counsel Bureau, Research Division. <http://www.leg.state.nv.us/Division/Research/Publications/Bkground/BP01-05.pdf>
- Tennessee Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. 2007. *Trust But Verify: Increasing Voter Confidence in Election Results*. Staff Report. http://www.tennessee.gov/tacir/PDF_FILES/Other_Issues/trustbutverify_phase1.pdf
- Torres-Spelliscy, Ciara. *Transparent Elections after Citizens United*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/a11b62a1ae58821838_z8m6iiruw.pdf
- U.S. Census Bureau. 2011. *Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2010 – Detailed Tables*. <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/socdemo/voting/publications/p20/2010/tables.html>

- U.S. Congress. 2001. *How to Make Over One Million Votes Disappear: Electoral Sleight of Hand in the 2000 Presidential Election*. House Committee on the Judiciary.
<http://election2000.stanford.edu/electionreporhouse.pdf>
- U.S. Election Assistance Commission. 2010. *2010 Statutory Overview, May 2011*.
http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/Documents/Formal_Investigation_ESS_Unity_3200_FINAL_12.20.11.pdf
- U.S. Election Assistance Commission, Formal Investigation Report. 2011. *Election Systems and Software Unity 3.2.0.0: EAC Certification Number: ESSUNITY3200*.
http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/Documents/Formal_Investigation_ESS_Unity_3200_FINAL_12.20.11.pdf
- U.S. Election Assistance Commission. 2011. *The Impact of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 on the Administration of Elections for Federal Office 2009-2010*. A Report to the 112th Congress.
<http://moritzlaw.osu.edu/electionlaw/documents/EAC-2010NVRAReport.pdf>
- U.S. Election Assistance Commission. 2011. *Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act Survey Observations*. <http://moritzlaw.osu.edu/electionlaw/documents/ElectionAssistance.pdf>
- U.S. Election Assistance Commission. 2007. *The 2006 Election Administration and Voting Survey: A Summary of Key Findings*.
<http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/AssetManager/2006%20EAVS%20Report%20%28All%20Chapters%29.pdf>
- U.S. Election Assistance Commission. 2008. *Alternative Voting Methods*.
http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/workflow_staging/Page/54.PDF
- U.S. Election Assistance Commission. *Voter Hotline Study: Study of Government-Sponsored Voter Hotlines*. http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/workflow_staging/Page/55.PDF
- U.S. Election Assistance Commission. *Best Practices on Provisional Voting*.
http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/workflow_staging/Page/56.PDF
- United States Commission. 2001. *Voting irregularities in Florida during the 2000 presidential elections: Appendix*.
- United States Congress. House. Committee on House Administration. Subcommittee on Elections. 1994. *Alternative Ballot Techniques: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Elections of the Committee on Administration*. 103rd Cong., 2nd session, 22 September.
- United States Congress. House. Committee on Government Reform. Subcommittee on Technology. 2005. *The science of Voting machine technology: accuracy, reliability, and security: hearing before the Subcommittee on Technology, Information Policy*.
- United States Congress. House Committee on Government Reform, Subcommittee on Technology, Information Policy, Intergovernmental Relations, and the Census. *The Science of voting machine technology*.

- United States, Congress, House, Committee on Science. 2001. *Improving voting technologies: the role of standards*. 107th Cong., 1st sess., 22 May.
- U.S. Election Assistance Commission Report. 2006. *Best Practices to Improve Voter Identification Requirements Pursuant to the Help America Vote Act of 2002 Public Law 107-2525*. Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, The Moritz College of Law, and Ohio State University. http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/workflow_staging/Page/62.PDF
- U.S. Election Assistance Commission. 2009. *2008 Election Administration and Voting Survey: A Summary of Key Findings*.
- U.S. Election Assistance Commission 2009. *2008 Election Administration and Voting Survey Dataset*. <http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/Documents/2008%20EAVS%20XLS.zip>.
- U.S. Election Assistance Commission. *Voter Information Websites Study*. http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/workflow_staging/Page/64.PDF
- U.S. Election Assistance Commission. 2008. *Case Studies on the Impact of the Help America Vote Act's Identification Requirements for First-Time Voters*. http://www.eac.gov/assets/1/workflow_staging/Page/63.PDF
- United States Election Assistance Commission. 2006. *Election Crimes: An Initial Review and Recommendation for Future Study*. http://www.eac.gov/program-areas/research-resources-and-reports/copy_of_docs/reports-and-sureys-2006electioncrimes.pdf/attachment_download/file
- United States General Accounting Office. 2001. *Voters with disabilities: access to polling places and alternative voting*.
- United States General Accounting Office. *Elections: Perspectives on Activities and Challenges Across the Nation*. Report to Congressional Requesters. <http://www.gao.gov/assets/160/157202.pdf>
- United States Government Accountability Office. 2006. *Elections, DOD Expands Voting Assistance to Military Absentee Voters, but Challenges Remain*. GAO-06-1134T. <http://www.gao.gov/assets/120/114999.pdf>
- United States Government Accountability Office. 2005. *Federal Efforts to Improve Security and Reliability of Electronic Voting Systems Are Under Way, but Key Activities Need to Be Completed*. GAO-05-956. <http://www.electioncenter.org/electionresources/documents/d05956.pdf>
- University of Pennsylvania, Fels Institute of Government. 2007. *MyVote1 National Election Report: Voice of the Electorate 2006*. https://www.fels.upenn.edu/sites/www.fels.upenn.edu/files/MyVote1_National_Election_Report_0.pdf
- Von Spakovsky, Hans. 2008. *The Threat of Non-Citizen Voting*. The Heritage Foundation, No. 28. http://s3.amazonaws.com/thf_media/2008/pdf/Im28.pdf

- Wang, Tova Andrea. 2012. *Ensuring Access to the Ballot for American Indians and Alaska Natives*. Demos. <http://www.demos.org/publication/ensuring-access-ballot-american-indians-alaska-native>
- Wang, Tova. 2010. *Voter Identification Talking Points and Fact Sheet*. Demos. http://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/VoterID_National_Demos.pdf
- Wang, Tova, Samuel Oliker-Friedland, Melissa Reiss, and Kristen Oshyn. *Voting in 2008: Ten Swing States*. The Century Foundation and Common Cause. http://tcf.org/publications/pdfs/pb656/VoterRegistration_Report.pdf
- Weiser, Wendy R., J. Adam Skaggs, Christopher Ponoroff, and Lawrence D. Norden. 2009. *Modernizing Ohio's System for Registering Voters: Automatic and Online Registration*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/8d45a70b6795a45101_4lm6bn9qi.pdf
- Weiser, Wendy R., Christopher Ponoroff, and Nhu-Y Ngo. 2010. *Modernizing Voter Registration: Momentum in the States*. Brennan Center for Justice. <http://www.brennancenter.org/page/-/Democracy/VRM%20State%20Trends%20Final.pdf?nocdn=1>
- Weiser, Wendy R. 2009. *Voter Registration Modernization: Collected Reports and Papers*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/329ceaa2878946ba17_kwm6btu6r.pdf
- Weiser, Wendy R., Michael Waldman, and Renee Paradis. 2009. *Voter Registration Modernization: Policy Summary*. Brennan Center For Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/b75f13413388b2fcc_ynm6bn112.pdf
- Weiser, Wendy R., and Lawrence Norden. 2011. *Voting Law Changes in 2012*. Brennan Center For Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/92635ddafbc09e8d88_i3m6bjdeh.pdf
- Weiser, Wendy R., and Jonah Goldman. 2007. *An Agenda for Election Reform*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/39c28dc05a468de933_2om6bh0aa.pdf
- Weiser, Wendy R., Justin Levitt, and Ana Munoz. 2006. *Making the List: Database Matching and Verification Processes for Voter Registration*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/96ee05284dfb6a6d5d_j4m6b1cjs.pdf
- Weiser, Wendy R., Justin Levitt, Catherine Weiss, and Spencer Overton. 2005. *Response to the Report of the 2005 Commission on Federal Election Reform*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/7aad4859cd1bf5f49e_4zm6i2f1i.pdf
- Weiser, Wendy, Justin Levitt, and Adam Skaggs. 2010. *Components of a Bill to Modernize the Voter Registration System*. Brennan Center for Justice. http://brennan.3cdn.net/1c55262dffddd1f04f_xpm6bhja5.pdf
- Wertheimer, Michael A. 2004. *Trusted Agent Report Diebold AccuVote-TS Voting System*. RABA Innovative Solution Cell (RiSC). http://euro.ecom.cmu.edu/program/courses/tcr17-803/TA_Report_AccuVote.pdf

Wood, Erika. 2009. *Restoring the Right to Vote*. Brennan Center for Justice.
http://brennan.3cdn.net/5c8532e8134b233182_z5m6ibv1n.pdf