

Cornell Policy Review

Special Issue on The 2024 Election

Elections at a Crossroads:

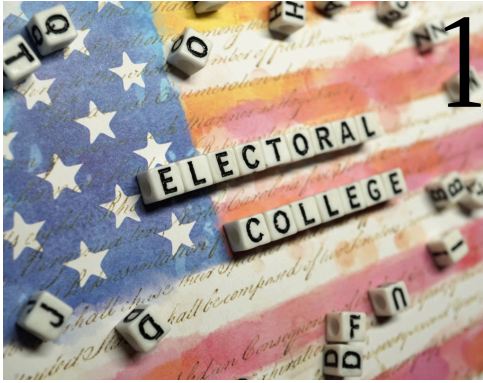
Reform, Engagement,
and Innovation in 2024



Cornell Brooks
Public Policy

Inside: Three Articles on Election
Reform, Engagement and Security

Featured Articles



The Future of U.S. Elections: Is It Time to Move Past the Electoral College for a More Representative Democracy? by Christopher Harvey

For over two centuries, the Electoral College has shaped U.S. presidential elections, but its role remains contentious. This feature examines whether the United States should move toward a national popular vote, weighing the benefits and challenges of reform. Through historical context, an analysis of disparities between the popular vote and electoral outcomes, and the influence of swing states, the piece explores the legal, political, and democratic implications of change. The goal is to assess whether the nation should adopt a system that more directly reflects the will of the people.



Preparing the Next Generation: Civic Education and Youth Voter Turnout in the 2024 Election by Alejandro J. Ramos and Theodora Curtain

Youth voter turnout plays a critical role in shaping American democracy, yet young voters consistently participate at lower rates than older generations. This article examines the connection between civic education and youth engagement. It explores disparities in civic education, barriers to youth participation, and effective state-led initiatives. The piece concludes with policy recommendations to enhance civic knowledge and empower young voters, emphasizing the importance of strong civic education in ensuring the next generation's voices are heard in the political process.



The Evolution of Voting Technology: Ensuring Integrity and Trust by Liam McCabe

This article investigates the current state of voting technology in the U.S., with a focus on New York State. It examines the evolution of systems such as optical scan paper ballots, direct-recording electronic systems, and hybrid models. In light of increasing concerns about cybersecurity, election integrity, and voter trust, the piece explores how these technologies are adapting to meet modern challenges and secure public confidence in elections.

Views expressed by contributors are their own and not representative of The Cornell Policy Review or Cornell University

Senior Editorial Team



Alejandro J. Ramos
Editor-in-Chief



Johanna Van Fleet
Managing Editor



Caled Al-Adsani
Content Editor



Arsh Naseer
Public Relations Editor



CORNELL POLICY REVIEW

Votes, Voices, and the Future of Democracy!

As Editor-in-Chief of The Cornell Policy Review, it is my privilege to introduce our special edition on the 2024 election. This collection of articles offers timely and thoughtful policy analysis on critical topics that will shape the outcome and aftermath of this election. From voter turnout and civic education to election integrity and systematic reform, our contributors have explored the complex and interconnected challenges facing American democracy today.

This edition embodies the mission of The Cornell Policy Review: to engage with pressing public policy issues through a lens of critical inquiry and diverse perspectives. As this publication is not limited to political commentary, the focus throughout these pages is on policy solutions. Each piece seeks to define a specific problem, analyze it from multiple angles, and provide actionable recommendations for policymakers and stakeholders. We hope this approach fosters both understanding and engagement during one of the most pivotal election cycles in recent history.

I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to Albert Suh Esq. and Mayor Robert Cantelmo, for writing the foreword to this edition. Their decades of experience in public service and political strategy lend invaluable context to the issues explored in these pages.

I would also like to thank the contributing writers, editors, and staff who dedicated their time and effort to this project. It is their commitment to public policy and scholarly inquiry that makes this edition possible. Finally, thank you to our readers for joining us in this exploration of the policy issues driving the 2024 election. We hope these pages inspire reflection, dialogue, and action.

Thank you for joining us on this vital endeavor!

Alejandro J. Ramos
Editor-in-Chief
Cornell Policy Review

**Elections at a Crossroads:
Reform, Engagement, and Innovation in 2024**

Published by The Cornell Policy Review

Publication Date: October 31, 2024

Editors: Associate Editors Ava LaGressa,
Maddie Miele, and Stephen Wang

Designer: Alejandro J. Ramos

Albert Suh

Attorney & Political Strategist

Albert Suh is an EMPA candidate in the Brooks School of Public Policy at Cornell. He is a political strategist and former prosecutor. Albert received his J.D. from Fordham University School of Law and his B.A. from New York University.



I am composing this letter from a folding desk in a storage closet at the back of what was once a signage warehouse on the outskirts of Atlanta. Outside my door, the “office” is buzzing with activity as dozens of Harris-Walz staffers and volunteers pick up walk packets, construct yard signs, and input data. The same is certainly true in dozens of offices across Georgia and hundreds across the country.

Like so many others here, I’ve taken leave from work and placed my EMPA coursework on hold (sorry Professors) in order to fly down to Atlanta and volunteer for the campaign. Thousands of American volunteers, from across the country and even beyond our shores, are giving their time, energy, and devotion to fight for what they believe in right, in our quadrennial contest for the Presidency.

What else is on the line depends on who you ask. For some, the fate of the free world hangs upon this election, while for others, it’s just another November where the immutable cogs of government, politics, and society grind along. My firm belief is that the country is at an inflection point.

According to a Times/Sienna poll released on Sunday, half the country feels that the government does not represent the interests of the people, while a startling 76% feel that democracy itself is under threat with this election.

Pundits and commentators worry daily that the electorate is completely calcified along vast and unbridgeable schisms. Yet the AANHPI population is the fastest growing demographic of eligible voters in America and has proven to be remarkably fluid in its voting dynamics. In New York State and elsewhere, newly registered voters are likely to register with no party affiliation at all. Ticket splitting is still common, with voters choosing one party’s candidate at the top of their ballots and voting for the other party on the rest. Traditional voting trends, thought to be sure bets, are belied by nuanced disaggregated/cross-tabbed data showing various groups moving in different directions.

Nationally, interest in elections is at an all-time high. Rarely has so much attention and energy been paid to what are often the hidden, routine, and starkly bureaucratic mechanisms of elections and government. Yet, today, Americans across all political and demographic spectra have formed strong opinions on matters like ballot collection, boards of elections, and the minutiae of campaigning and civic engagement.

In this volume of the Cornell Policy Review are the collected insights, studies, and ideas from some of the brightest and most passionate scholars and practitioners of public policy, elections, and civic engagement. They are the sparks and candles of ideas that may well light the way into our future as a country, the results of years of careful research and hard-won experience.

Meanwhile, in hastily converted offices, garages, and homes across the country, thousands of everyday Americans continue to do the necessary, difficult, and often thankless work of engaging citizens and getting out the vote. So, if tomorrow you get a knock on your door or a call on your phone from one of us, please, be kind, thank them for their time, and remember to go vote.



Robert G. Cantelmo

Mayor of Ithaca

Next week, the American people will decide control of the 119th Congress and choose their next president. Many of us have gotten so used to hearing about “historic” elections and their consequences that it has become easy to tune the sentiment out. Looking beyond the platitudes and media hype, however, it should be clear to the discerning eye that we truly stand at a critical juncture for U.S. politics. Will the public embrace a vision of freedom and the future, or will it turn aside to embark down a path of fear?

This is an important question as this election is larger and further reaching than the policies that either party pledge to enact. It will set the course for how American democracy evolves or devolves into the future – with ramifications extending far beyond the next four years. It is within this context that these authors seek to answer questions about reform, engagement, and integrity of the voting process. Should the U.S. move beyond electoral college? Can we instill civic virtue and vigor into future generations? How might we sustain and enhance trust in our electoral system? These are important questions for us to grapple with as we adapt to changing demographics, ideologies, and technologies. Yet they are premised upon a normative value that has become increasingly contentious – not just in the U.S., but around the world – the sanctity of representative democracy.

We are at a critical juncture in our nation’s democratic story. As my friend, former Secretary-General of the Community of Democracies Thomas Garrett once said, “there is a need for new political commitments and a renewed spirit of democratic renewal.” The editorial team and authors in this edition take up that gauntlet through rigorous analysis and a commitment to those foundational values that underpin our government, our academy, and our civic life. Next week’s election may mark the culmination of the 2024 election season, but whatever the outcome, it is our sacred obligation to steward our institutions into the future for all posterity.

The Future of U.S. Elections: Is It Time to Move Past the Electoral College for a More Representative Democracy?



Christopher L. Harvey is an Executive MPA candidate at Cornell University's Jeb E. Brooks School of Public Policy. He serves as Senior Advisor to the Mayor and Chief Strategy Officer for Mayor Frank Scott, Jr. at the City of Little Rock, where he leads the mayor's policy team and intergovernmental affairs. With over ten years of experience in the public sector, Christopher is committed to driving positive change through innovative policy solutions.

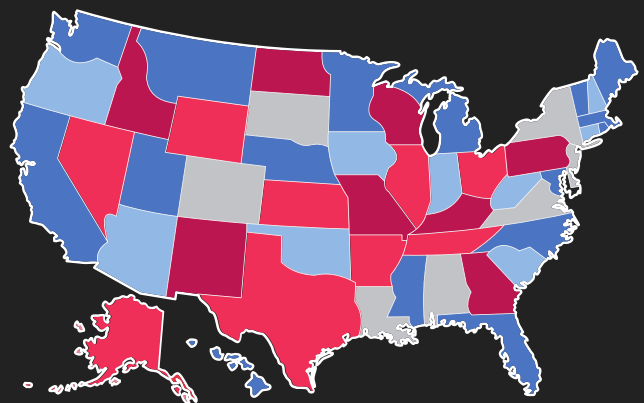
When American citizens cast their vote at the ballot box this year, it will mark the sixtieth time since the nation's founding that Americans will vote for a president and vice president.¹ Typically, in most elections, the person with the most votes wins. But when it comes to electing the leader of the free world, things tend to get a little more... complicated. Imagine a football game where the final score does not determine a winner, but other specific statistics do. That best describes how the Electoral College operates.

Origins of the Electoral College

To understand the Electoral College today, it is essential to understand American politics during the late 1700s. During the years after the American Revolution of 1776, the Articles of Confederation served as the initial Constitution of the United States, establishing the first version of the U.S. national government.² At that time, thirteen states, formerly known as the original thirteen colonies, formed the United States of America through a League of Friendship that recognized each state as sovereign and independent of each other.³ While the Articles of Confederation centralized our government, they were never perfect. Some founders were concerned that states maintained too much power and the central government did not have the authority to regulate commerce, settle quarrels between the states, tax, and maintain financial security, amongst other notable issues.⁴ To address those concerns, the founders hosted a Constitutional Convention in 1787 in Philadelphia to revise the

Articles of Confederation.

During those three months of 1787, the topic of voting representation for electing a president and vice president came up, which led to the creation of the Electoral College. For context, it is essential to note that this was considered uncharted territory for the founders because no other country had a representative democracy that directly elected its chief executives. The founders also deeply distrusted executive authority due to the events that started the American Revolution War and authoritarian rule.





How the Electoral College Works Today

The Electoral College, formed through a compromise of the framers of the U.S. Constitution to balance power between states during the Constitutional Convention of 1787, is a collection of electors from each state who choose the president and vice president.⁵ Article II, Section 1, Clause 2 of the U.S. Constitution and the twelfth and twenty-third Amendments outline the full scope of these electors.⁶ There are 538 electors, one for each U.S. Senator and Representative and three representing the District of Columbia.⁷ “Each state’s electoral vote total equals the combined total of its congressional delegation.”⁸ Additionally, each state legislature is responsible for selecting its electors.⁹ Electors chosen in each state are usually party loyalists and people with years of service in those parties. Once it is time to award electoral votes, states use one of two methods: (1) Winner-Take-All System and (2) District System. The winner-take-all system is utilized by forty-eight states and the District of Columbia. This system awards all the electors to the presidential candidate that wins the state’s popular vote. Within the district system, the two states of Maine and Nebraska divide their electoral votes based on the winner of the state’s popular vote and the winner of each state’s congressional district race.

Past Controversies and Relevance Today

For over 200 years, the Electoral College has been the foundation of presidential elections since the election of George Washington. However, not every outcome of presidential elections has aligned with national sentiment. In total, there have been five times where the popular vote winner lost the Electoral College vote.¹⁰ Most recently in modern political history, the elections of 2000 and 2016 underscored the debate on whether the Electoral College serves its purpose for our representative style of democracy. According to the Pew Research Center, “more than six-in-ten Americans (sixty-three percent) prefer to see the winner of the presidential election be the person who wins the most votes nationally.”¹¹ Additionally, Gallup conducted a poll in September on the same topic with fifty-eight percent of Americans in favor of the popular vote electing the president compared to the thirty-nine percent who still favors the Electoral College electing the president.¹² The current sentiment of Americans and their thoughts on our electoral system force us to ask an important question: Is the Electoral College still needed, or has it passed in relevance?



Arguments Supporting the Electoral College

When the framers debated the merits of forming the Electoral College during the Constitutional Convention of 1787, much of their discussion focused on state representation.¹³ The idea was to ensure that smaller states could maintain their influence in elections and prevent candidates from campaigning in other states' more populated urban areas. Another area the framers wanted to focus on was general stability in the election. There was a concern that regional candidates and regional issues could sway a potential national election.¹⁴ The framers intended candidates to build multi-state coalitions considering multiple interests, emphasizing each state's role in national elections. Another reason for the importance of the Electoral College is maintaining federalism. The framers wanted a power balance between the states and the federal government. Allowing each state to choose electors that ultimately decide the presidency provided a balance of power the framers intended. That balance ensured that the presidency would not be decided by a national vote but by the will of the states that made up the new national government.

Arguments Against the Electoral College

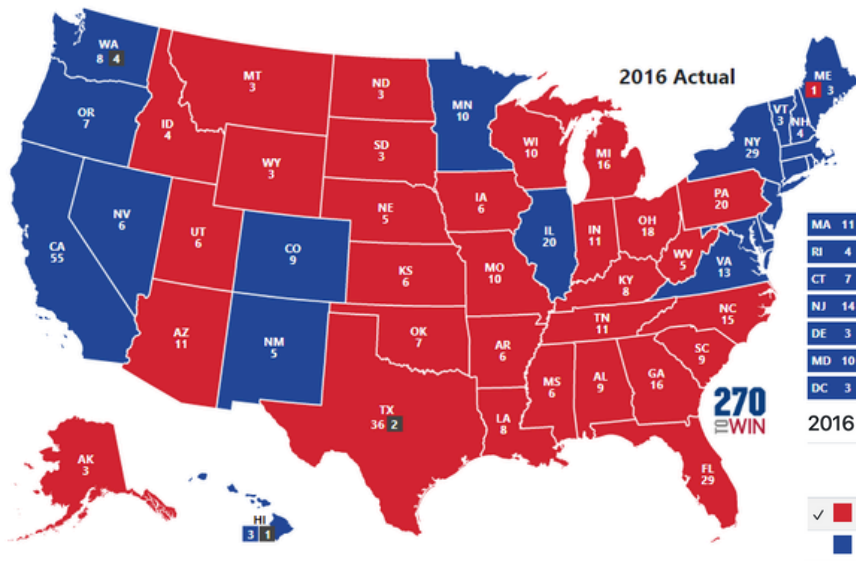
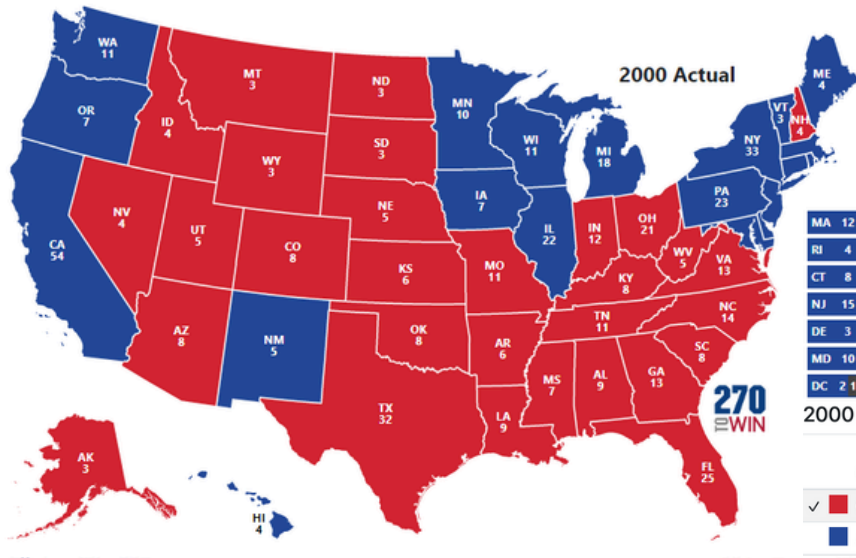
The structure of the Electoral College encourages presidential candidates to concentrate their campaigns on a limited number of swing states. Swing states are states where a Democrat or a Republican could win by a relatively close margin. In this year's presidential election, those swing states are Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.¹⁵

The notion that the Democratic and Republican campaigns focus a lot of their attention on those swing states creates a sense of neglect for voters in non-swing states, diminishing their influence in shaping the election. Everyone wants to feel and know that their vote counts. One of the most significant criticisms of the Electoral College is that it can produce a president who did not win the national popular vote. As mentioned earlier, this outcome has occurred five times throughout political history. It contradicts the principle of majority rule and casts a shadow over our electoral system, leaving many Americans lacking trust in our elections.

Final Thoughts

The Electoral College was never meant to be perfect. As one of the framers of the Constitution, Alexander Hamilton, stated in the Federalist Paper: No. 68: "I venture somewhat further, and hesitate not to affirm, that if the manner of it be not perfect, it is at least excellent. It unites in an eminent degree all the advantages, the union of which was to be wished for."¹⁶ Two centuries later, the debate over the Electoral College's relevance continues. While it offers certain benefits, such as protecting smaller states, it raises fundamental questions about fairness and representation. If we are "to form a more perfect union" in this experiment named democracy, we must decide whether it is time to transition to a system that more directly reflects the will of the people or adapt the Electoral College to meet modern democratic ideals.¹⁷





Citations:

- O'Neil, Aaron. 2024. "History of U.S. Presidential Elections - Statistics & Facts." Published July 3. Accessed October 16, 2024. <https://www.statista.com/topics/6273/us-presidential-elections-1789-2016/#topicOverview>.
- "Articles of Confederation (1777)." 2023. National Archives. Published October 23. <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/articles-of-confederation#:~:text=The%20Dickinson%20Draft%20of%20the,have%20one%20vote%20in%20Congress>.
- ibid.
- ibid.
- "Electoral College History." 2024. National Archives. Published June 26. <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/history#whyec>.
- "The Electoral College." 2024. National Conference of State Legislatures. Last modified October 8. Accessed October 16, 2024. <https://www.ncsl.org/elections-and-campaigns/the-electoral-college>.
- ibid.
- ibid.
- ibid.
- Roos, Dave. 2024. "5 Presidents Who Lost the Popular Vote But Won the Election." History. Last modified October 16. Accessed October 16, 2024. <https://www.history.com/news/presidents-electoral-college-popular-vote>.
- Kiley, Jocelyn. 2024. "Majority of Americans Continue to Favor Moving Away from Electoral College." Pew Research Center. Published September 25. <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/09/25/majority-of-americans-continue-to-favor-moving-away-from-electoral-college/>.
- Jones, Jeffrey M. 2024. "Americans Still Favor Replacing Electoral College System." Gallup. Published September 27. <https://news.gallup.com/poll/651353/americans-favor-replacing-electoral-college-system.aspx>.
- "United States Election Assistance Commission." 2011. The Electoral College. Washington, DC: U.S. Election Assistance Commission. <http://purl.fdlp.gov/GPO/gpo77477>.
- Roos, Dave. 2024. "Why Was the Electoral College Created?" History. Last modified October 7. <https://www.history.com/news/electoral-college-founding-fathers-constitutional-convention>.
- Davis, Elliott Jr. 2024. "7 States That Could Sway the 2024 Presidential Election." US News. Published October 2. <https://www.usnews.com/news/elections/articles/7-swing-states-that-could-decide-the-2024-presidential-election>.
- Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay. 2009. Federalist No. 68. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US. doi:10.1057/9780230102019_37.
- "The U.S. Constitution: Preamble." n.d. US Courts. Accessed October 22, 2024. <https://www.uscourts.gov/about-federal-courts/educational-resources/about-educational-outreach/activity-resources/us#:~:text=22%20the%20People%20of%20the,for%20the%20United%20States%20of>.

Preparing the Next Generation: Civic Education and Youth Voter Turnout in the 2024 Election



Alejandro J. Ramos is an MPA candidate and Brooks Public Policy Fellow at the Cornell Brooks School of Public Policy. His research focuses on civics, democracy, media literacy, and education policy. At the time of this special edition's publication, Ramos serves as an Inaugural Graduate Fellow at the Brooks Center on Global Democracy and as a Strategic Research Advisor at DemoLab, where he evaluates civic education programs in Costa Rica.

Theodora Curtin, a first year undergraduate student, is pursuing a B.S. in Public Policy at the Cornell Brooks School of Public Policy. She is interested in pro-democracy issues including civil rights, civics, education equality, and the role of foundational documents like the constitution in democratic development. Curtin serves as a democracy fellow at the Brooks Center on Global Democracy, where she explores constitutional reforms in West Africa and their effect on the current state of democracy in these countries.



Youth voters represent a growing and increasingly influential demographic in U.S. elections, yet they consistently vote at lower rates than older generations. The “youth vote” is defined as voters between the ages of eighteen to twenty-four, encapsulating voters in Generation Z. Voter turnout is defined as the percentage of voters who participated in voting compared to the proportion of eligible voters who did not. While the 2020 election saw a spike in youth voter turnout, the numbers remain below their potential. An estimated 50 percent of young voters, ages eighteen to twenty-nine, participated in the 2020 presidential election, an eleven-point increase from 2016 when only 39 percent of youth voters turned out.¹ In comparison, the voter turnout was highest among those ages sixty-five to seventy-four at 76 percent.² This is likely one of the highest rates of youth electoral participation since the voting age was lowered to eighteen.³ This trend is particularly concerning as young people will face the long-term consequences of policy decisions made today. One of the key factors influencing youth voter engagement is the level of civic education they receive. Civic education not only teaches students about the mechanics of government but also instills in them the importance of participating in the democratic process.⁴

However, civic education programs in the United States vary widely across states, leaving many young voters underprepared to engage in elections. Some states have robust programs that emphasize real-world democratic participation, while others offer minimal instruction, if any. As the 2024 election approaches, the need for stronger, more consistent civic education has become evident. Addressing these gaps is critical to increasing youth voter turnout and ensuring that young voters are equipped to shape the future of American democracy.⁵ This article explores the connection between civic education and youth voter turnout, examines the barriers to engagement, and proposes policy solutions to better prepare the next generation of voters for the 2024 election and beyond.

The Stagnation of the Youth Vote

While youth voter turnout is slowly increasing across the United States, there are major discrepancies in turnout rates from state to state. Michigan, Maine, Minnesota, Oregon, Colorado, and Pennsylvania saw the highest youth turnout rates in the country during the 2022 midterm elections. Louisiana, Oklahoma, Indiana, Alabama, Tennessee, and West Virginia experienced the lowest voter turnout.⁶ Regional trends show that the southern United States tends to have the lowest youth voter turnout, while the Northeast, Midwest, and West Coast differ only marginally.

These regional differences can be attributed to the uneven nature of civic education programs. The same states with the lowest youth voter turnout tend to spend the least on education.⁷ Federal programs, like “No Child Behind,” that could supplement this deficit in local funding largely neglect civic education programs.⁸ On the other hand, youth voter turnout trends have shown that states that prioritize civic courses have the highest rates of youth civic engagement.⁹

Besides the variation in funding, civic education standards differ greatly across states. Only nine states and the District of Columbia require one or more years of civic education, thirty states require half a year, and eleven have no requirements for civics classes at all.¹⁰ This leaves significant gaps in voter preparedness that vary from state to state. Closing these gaps is critical to our democracy. The difference in youth voter turnout in states with supported civic programs and states without clearly reflects the positive correlation between youth voter turnout and the prioritization of proper civics programs. Thus, to increase the youth vote civic education programs across the United

States must be equally implemented, funded, and prioritized.

Current Programming

Prioritizing civic engagement means providing civic education with more funding, adopting programs that establish standardized curriculums and benchmarks for achievement, and applying topics in class to experiential learning. One such program that hits all of these goals is “Project Citizen.” Project Citizen programming, housed under The Center for Civic Education (CivicEd), has had notable strides in this space.¹¹ Dr. Diana Owen, Director of The Civic Education Research Lab (CERL), has partnered with CivicEd to research the effects of the curriculum. This partnership and its projects have received funding from a grant from the U.S. Department of Education.¹² Project Citizen is an interdisciplinary curricular program for middle, high school, and post-secondary students that teaches students about government and public policy through hands-on engagement and instructional learning. Student’s experiential learning includes researching a public policy issue in their community and learning how to influence and monitor government legislation related to this policy. The latest research on Project Citizen’s efficacy shows a strong correlation between the strides it has made in civic education and the resulting upward trend in youth turnout rates for its participants. The percentage of high school students who scored as “very likely to turn out” in elections increased by 19 percent over the three-year study period.¹³

Building on the success of Project Citizen, the State Seal of Civic Engagement in California offers another example of how structured civic programs can foster deeper student involvement.

| Engagement |

The State Seal of Civic Engagement is awarded to students who “demonstrate excellence in civics education and participation, and an understanding of the United States Constitution, the California Constitution, and the democratic system of government.”¹⁴ The seal, implemented in 2020, encourages students to engage in civics on a deeper level, fostering more understanding and interest in the American government. Since the program is so new, there is no current data for its effect on youth turnout rates. However, simply voting is not the only measure of the successful interplay between education and a functioning democracy. For a democracy to be successful, its voters must be knowledgeable. As James Madison wrote, “Knowledge will forever govern ignorance: And a people who mean to be their own Governors, must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives.”¹⁵ In our current political climate, only 47 percent of adult Americans can name the three branches of government, and only 24 percent can name their First Amendment rights, as found by a survey from Penn’s Annenberg Center for Public Policy.¹⁶ The survey also found that the only respondents who got all these questions right took civics in high school.¹⁷ Thus, these two programs are not only critical to getting young people to the polls, but to ensuring that they know what to do when they are there.

While the success of these programs should be highlighted, it is also important to note some of the challenges that have come with their implementation. Currently already instated civic education programs come with three main obstacles to efficacy: Insufficient and unstandardized curriculums, lack of teacher preparedness, and shortages in funding.¹⁸ While Project Citizen has an established curriculum, it is not being implemented nationally, furthering the divide between youth

with proper civics training and youth without. Standardizing a civics education curriculum is necessary to provide equal information and opportunity to voters, however doing so is increasingly complicated in the current hyper-polarized environment.¹⁹ Lawmakers who set the standards for these curriculums vary in their opinion on what the curriculums should include, and how these topics should be taught.²⁰ Even if a standardized curriculum were to be adopted, there is still the chance that it could be improperly taught. The time allotted to practicing teachers for professional training in social studies has been steadily decreasing across the country. Failure to properly teach civics could be as detrimental to the youth vote as not teaching it at all. Finally, a national scale civics education program would require more funding than the current smaller programs like Project Citizen. Implementation could be delayed due to complications in finding the funding for civics education.

Barriers To Engagement

Although the decline in a standard civic education curriculum is a major factor in the low number of youth voters, other factors that have created significant barriers to youth civic engagement must not be overlooked.

Voter suppression laws, such as strict voter ID requirements, have increasingly stifled the youth vote. Three of the same states with the lowest youth voter turnout in 2022 also have the most restrictive voting and registration policies. Tennessee, Alabama, and Oklahoma, which experience turnout rates of 13 percent, 15 percent, and 15 percent, respectively, do not have same-day, automatic, or pre-registration.²¹ Inversely, three states with some of the highest youth voter turnout in the 2022 midterm elections have conducted vote-by-mail elections since 2014.²² Strict voter ID

requirements present a unique challenge to young people's ability to vote, as college students who go to school out of state may struggle to attain a photo ID in their new residency or register for a mail-in ballot. In 2020, 43 percent of enrolled college students attended an institution outside of their homestate.²³ Currently, twenty-five states require or request photo identification at polling locations. Twelve of these twenty-five states do not accept student IDs for voting.²⁴

The youth of today are also facing a unique political climate due to the integration of social media into political discourse. While social media has been shown to engage youth unreached by traditional candidacy and campaign methods, most of its positive effects have been contracted by its direct hand in increasing polarization, voter apathy, and distrust in government institutions and the democratic process.

Social media, unlike traditional news sources, is uncensored and mostly unregulated. However, 54 percent of Americans, and 65 percent of the youth vote get almost all their news from social media.²⁵⁻²⁶ The unregulated nature of social media creates two detrimental factors in changes in political behavior: Polarization and misinformation. Without regulation, extremist groups thrive. They are more able to produce and spread propaganda, which in turn, radicalizes a larger percentage of the population.²⁷ This trend is reflected in the rise of U.S. political partisanship, especially among youth populations. A Stanford study found distrust in the opposing party and in people who do not share similar political ideologies has risen sharply among adolescents.²⁸

Another aspect of the transformation of political discourse through social media is the increase in anti-democratic ideals, such as populism.²⁹

Social media outlets that peddle populist agendas do so by breaking down user's trust in democracy, selling the idea that current democratic institutions are inherently faulty, coercive, and will cease to exist. This poisonous ideology, which has now become mainstream, explains the rise in citizen's distrust of the government. In 2024 just 22 percent of Americans say that they trust the government to do the right thing "just about always."³⁰ A lack of trust in the government creates higher voter apathy, which dissuades and disenfranchises young people from voting.

Multiple Perspectives

Multiple challenges have led to the decrease in youth voter turnout, including the ways social media has shaped the contemporary political environment for mostly young people, voter suppression laws, and the decline of comprehensive and standardized civic education programs in most American schools. These challenges leave us with the question; what can be done to restore the youth vote? Given the complexity and broad reach of each issue, a solution will have to be multifaceted, implemented at a national level, and specifically target youth.

Changing the unregulated culture of social media would take decades of legislation and an invasion into a mostly private sector. Voter suppression laws are still a result of our current democracy and voting system, and while reversing some of them would alleviate some of the problems, it would not create solutions for the ideologies that created and voted for them. Thus, the most effective and efficient solution, that will address both issues, is to create, promote, and adequately fund a national effort to reinstate civics education in schools across the country.

| Engagement |

Advocates for civic education programs, such as The Center for Civic Education argue that a robust civic education enhances youth political engagement, trust in the democratic process and democratic institutions, and reduces polarization.³¹ Thus, civic education programs can tackle most of the unique challenges posed by young people's current political climate.

However, opponents of such programs raise concerns about the prioritization and funding of civic education over other reforms that aim to increase voter participation. Other strategies include reforms to voter registration,³² enacting protections that enforce the 26th Amendment,³³ and the creation of an election holiday.³⁴ The case for reforms to voter registration comes from a case study in Georgia, in which data from the 2016 general election, 2020 general election, and 2021 runoff election were analyzed. The researchers found that a key aspect of increasing civic engagement is to lessen the restrictions around voter registration. Specifically, automatic voter registration was found to be notable in increasing voter turnout. The 26th Amendment gave people aged eighteen the right to vote. However, it does not protect against the unique barriers to voting that young people face. The Civic Center advocates for Congress to solidify the following protections for young people's right to vote: Voter pre-registration, election-day registration, and the allowance of student IDs in place of other forms of photo identification at polling locations. The creation of an election holiday would close federal buildings during election days, allowing students who would otherwise have been in school to have more time to get to the polls.

Proponents of these programs do not exactly oppose civic education reforms, but more so they believe that other reforms may be necessary as a substitute or in conjunction with these programs. Direct opponents of civic

education programs believe that efforts to reform or reinstate civic education is a guise to left-wing radicalization.³⁵ They argue that these programs would serve certain ideological goals of the democratic party. More specifically, Civics Alliance finds flaws in both Project Citizen and the Seal of Civic Engagement. It argues that programs that focus on "action politics," "encourage and reward the ideological peer pressure of dogmatic students." Even when civic education finds bi-partisan support, lawmakers struggle to find a middle-ground for what reforms will look like, and what content these programs will include. Each side fears that these programs could be used to purposefully influence young voters. While more than 75 percent of Democrats support the teaching of societal programs, racism, political issues, and income inequality as a part of civic education, almost less than half of Republicans support teaching the same content.³⁶

Policy Recommendations

Standardizing civic education across the United States is a critical step toward ensuring consistent voter preparedness. A national framework should be developed, encouraging states to adopt comprehensive civic curricula with a focus on experiential learning. Federal and state governments can offer financial incentives to schools that implement such programs, following the examples set by California and nonprofits working across the country. Integrating the [Citizenship Empowerment Framework \(CEF\)](#), developed by Alejandro J. Ramos, which emphasizes civic knowledge, skills development, and fostering civic dispositions, will ensure students are equipped with the tools necessary to navigate societal complexities and participate meaningfully in democratic processes.³⁷ This framework provides a structured guide for educators and policymakers to design inclusive

and impactful civic curricula tailored to the needs of diverse student populations.³⁸ To successfully implement CEF, teacher preparedness must be prioritized through targeted professional development programs.

Beyond improving education, policies must facilitate greater access to voting through pre-registration programs and same-day registration options. Introducing pre-registration in high schools would engage students early, fostering familiarity with the voting process before they reach voting age. Offering same-day registration can reduce administrative barriers, ensuring more young people have the opportunity to participate in elections. Additionally, election-day education activities, such as mock elections, can reinforce the importance of electoral participation and demystify the voting experience for first-time voters.

In today's political environment, technology and social media play a pivotal role in engaging youth. Policymakers and civic organizations should partner with social media platforms and influencers to promote civic awareness and combat misinformation. Developing interactive online tools, such as voter guides and educational quizzes, will make election-related information accessible to younger audiences, many of whom consume political content primarily through digital means. These strategies can enhance youth engagement and empower students to make informed voting decisions.

Structural reforms are also necessary to eliminate barriers to youth participation. Expanding the use of student IDs for voter identification and allowing out-of-state students easier access to mail-in ballots will address challenges faced by college-aged individuals. Advocating for automatic voter registration and creating national election

holidays will alleviate logistical barriers, ensuring young voters have the time and resources to engage fully in the democratic process.

Finally, civic engagement programs like Project Citizen and the State Seal of Civic Engagement should be promoted across educational levels to foster hands-on learning. Investments in professional development for educators are essential to ensure teachers are well-prepared to implement innovative methodologies. Aligning civic education initiatives with the principles outlined in the Citizenship Empowerment Framework will create a generation of informed, engaged, and responsible citizens capable of contributing to the resilience of democratic institutions.

Conclusion

Youth voters hold the power to shape the future of American democracy, yet their turnout remains significantly lower than that of older generations. Strengthening civic education through the adoption of comprehensive frameworks, such as the Citizenship Empowerment Framework, is essential to preparing young people for meaningful participation in elections.³⁹ Standardizing curricula, promoting voter access through reforms like pre-registration, and leveraging technology will empower youth to engage confidently in democratic processes.



Engagement

The 2024 election provides an opportunity to prioritize these reforms and ensure young voices are heard at the polls. Policymakers, educators, and civic organizations must collaborate to create lasting solutions that promote civic responsibility and increase voter turnout. Investing in youth engagement today will not only enhance voter participation but also ensure the resilience of democratic institutions for generations to come. With the right policies, young voters can become a driving force in shaping a more inclusive and vibrant democracy. By prioritizing civic education today, we can empower the leaders of tomorrow and safeguard the future of our democracy.



Citations:

1. CIRCLE. 2021. Half of Youth Voted in 2020, An 11-Point Increase from 2016. April 29. <https://circle.tufts.edu/latest-research/half-youth-voted-2020-11-point-increase-2016>.
2. The US Census Bureau. 2021. 2020 Presidential Election Voting and Registration Tables Now Available. April 29. <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2021/2020-presidential-election-voting-and-registration-tables-now-available.html>.
3. CIRCLE. 2021. Half of Youth Voted in 2020, An 11-Point Increase from 2016.
4. Ramos, Alejandro J., interview by Norie Wright. 2024. Feeding the Flame: Discussing America's Need for Civic Education (May).
5. Bhalekar, Aarul. 2024. Empowering Youth for Greater Civic Engagement: Building Inclusive, Responsive, and Resilient Democracies. October 3. <https://yourcommonwealth.org/social-development/empowering-youth-for-greater-civic-engagement-building-inclusive-responsive-and-resilient-democracies/>.
6. CIRCLE. 2023. State-by-State Youth Voter Turnout Data and the Impact of Election Laws in 2022. April 6. <https://circle.tufts.edu/latest-research/state-state-youth-voter-turnout-data-and-impact-election-laws-2022>.
7. World Population Review. 2024. Per Pupil Spending by State 2024 <https://worldpopulationreview.com/state-rankings/per-pupil-spending-by-state>.
8. Educating for American Democracy Initiative. 2021. "Excellence in History and Civics for All Learners." Educating for American Democracy. March 2. <https://www.educatingforamericandemocracy.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Educating-for-American-Democracy-Report-Excellence-in-History-and-Civics-for-All-Learners.pdf>.
9. Shapiro, Sarah, and Catherine Brown. 2018. A Look at Civics Education in the United States. <https://www.aft.org/ae/summer2018/shapiro-brown#:~:text=Key%20Findings,states%20have%20no%20civics%20requirement>.
10. CIRCLE. 2012. State Laws, Standards, and Requirements for K-12 Civics. October 16. <https://circle.tufts.edu/latest-research/state-laws-standards-and-requirements-k-12-civics>.
11. The Center for Civic Education. 2024. Project Citizen. <https://www.civiced.org/project-citizen>.
12. The Georgetown University Communication, Culture, & Technology Program. 2024. CCT Professor Highlight: Diana Owen. <https://cct.georgetown.edu/announcements/cct-professor-highlight-diana-owen/>.
13. The Project Citizen Research Program. 2024. Project Citizen Research Program. <https://www.civiced.org/project-citizen/pctrp>.
14. California Department of Education. 2024. State Seal of Civic Engagement. June 20. <https://www.cde.ca.gov/ci/pl/hssstateseal.asp>.
15. Madison, James. 1822. "James Madison to W. T. Barry." Library of Congress. August 4. https://www.loc.gov/resource/mjm.20_0155_0159/?sp=1&st=text.
16. Patel Shepelavy, Roxanne. 2022. Ideas We Should Steal: State Seal of Civic Engagement. September 27. <https://thephiladelphiacitizen.org/state-seal-civic-engagement/>.
17. The Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania. 2022. Americans' Civics Knowledge Drops on First Amendment and Branches of Government. September 13. <https://www.annenbergpublicpolicycenter.org/americans-civics-knowledge-drops-on-first-amendment-and-branches-of-government/>.
18. Fry, Sara Winstead, and Adil Bentahar. 2013. "Student Attitudes Towards and Impressions of Project Citizen." Journal of Social Studies Education Research 1-23.
19. [The Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics at Harvard University. 2021. A New Roadmap for 21st Century History And Civic Education. March 2. <https://ethics.harvard.edu/Educating-American-Democracy-Roadmap>.
20. Hess, Rick. 2021. Tackling Polarization Via a 'Cross-Partisan' Approach to Civics Education. December 16. <https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/opinion-tackling-polarization-via-a-cross-partisan-approach-to-civics-education/2021/12>.
21. Hilton, Katie, and Alberto Medina. 2024. Changes to Election Laws May Affect Youth Voting in 2024. August 14. <https://circle.tufts.edu/latest-research/changes-election-laws-may-affect-youth-voting-2024>.
22. Ibid.
23. Ethier, Marc. 2021. On The Move: New Study Shows More Students Leaving Home For College. August 20. <https://poetsandquantsforundergrads.com/news/on-the-move-new-study-shows-more-students-leaving-home-for-college/#:~:text=The%20resulting%20data%20shows%20that,home%20state%20to%20attend%20college>.
24. League of Women Voters of the United States (LWVUS). 2024. Challenges Facing Student Voters. June 20. <https://www.lwv.org/blog/challenges-facing-student-voters>.
25. Pew Research Center. 2024. Social Media and News Fact Sheet. September 17. <https://www.pewresearch.org/journalism/fact-sheet/social-media-and-news-fact-sheet/?tabitem=61d3b974-9b3e-4bdf-a247-064a3080c418>.
26. Deloitte. 2021. Are younger generations moving away from traditional news sources? <https://www2.deloitte.com/se/sv/pages/technology-media-and-telecommunications/topics/digital-consumer-trends/are-younger-generations-moving-away-from-traditional-news-sources.html>.
27. Olaniran, Bolane, and Indi Williams. 2020. "Social Media Effects: Hijacking Democracy and Civility in Civic Engagement." Platforms, Protests, and the Challenge of Networked Democracy 77-94.
28. TYLER, MATTHEW, and SHANTO IYENGAR. 2023. "Learning to Dislike Your Opponents: Political Socialization in the Era of Polarization." American Political Science Review 347-54.
29. Olaniran, Bolane, and Indi Williams. 2020. "Social Media Effects: Hijacking Democracy and Civility in Civic Engagement."
30. Pew Research Center. 2024. Social Media and News Fact Sheet. September 17. <https://www.pewresearch.org/journalism/fact-sheet/social-media-and-news-fact-sheet/?tabitem=61d3b974-9b3e-4bdf-a247-064a3080c418>.
31. The Center for Civic Education. n.d. Advocacy. Accessed October 2024. <https://www.civiced.org/advocacy>.
32. Ibreak, Yousef. 2021. "Youth Voter Engagement: Developing Strategies to Sustainably Increase Youth Voter Turnout." The Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation. April 6. https://ash.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/ibreak_pae_final96.pdf.
33. Brill, Laura. 2024. New Report Explains How States Can Support Youth Participation and Strengthen Young Voter Turnout. January 17. <https://www.thecivicscenter.org/blog/report-strengthen-young-voters-turnout>.
34. Eustice, Kristi, Alison Cook-Davis, Benedikt Springer, and Kelli Brown. 2021. "There are issues that I care about" What drives civically engaged student voters." Morrison Institute for Public Policy at Arizona State University. August. https://morrisoninstitute.asu.edu/sites/default/files/voxpopuli_2021.pdf.
35. Sailer, John. 2021. The Problems with Left-Wing Alternatives to Civics Education. July 6. <https://civicsalliance.org/the-problems-with-left-wing-alternatives-to-civics-education/>.
36. Saavedra, Anna. 2021. While Politicians Fight Over Civic Education, Most Parents and Adults Agree on the Subject. June 18. <https://healthpolicy.usc.edu/evidence-base/while-politicians-fight-over-civic-education-most-parents-and-adults-agree-on-the-subject/>.
37. Ramos, Alejandro J. 2024. Igniting Democracy: America's Burning Need for Civic Education. February 29. <https://www.cornellpolicyreview.com/igniting-democracy-americas-burning-need-for-civic-education/>.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.

2024: The Super Election Year

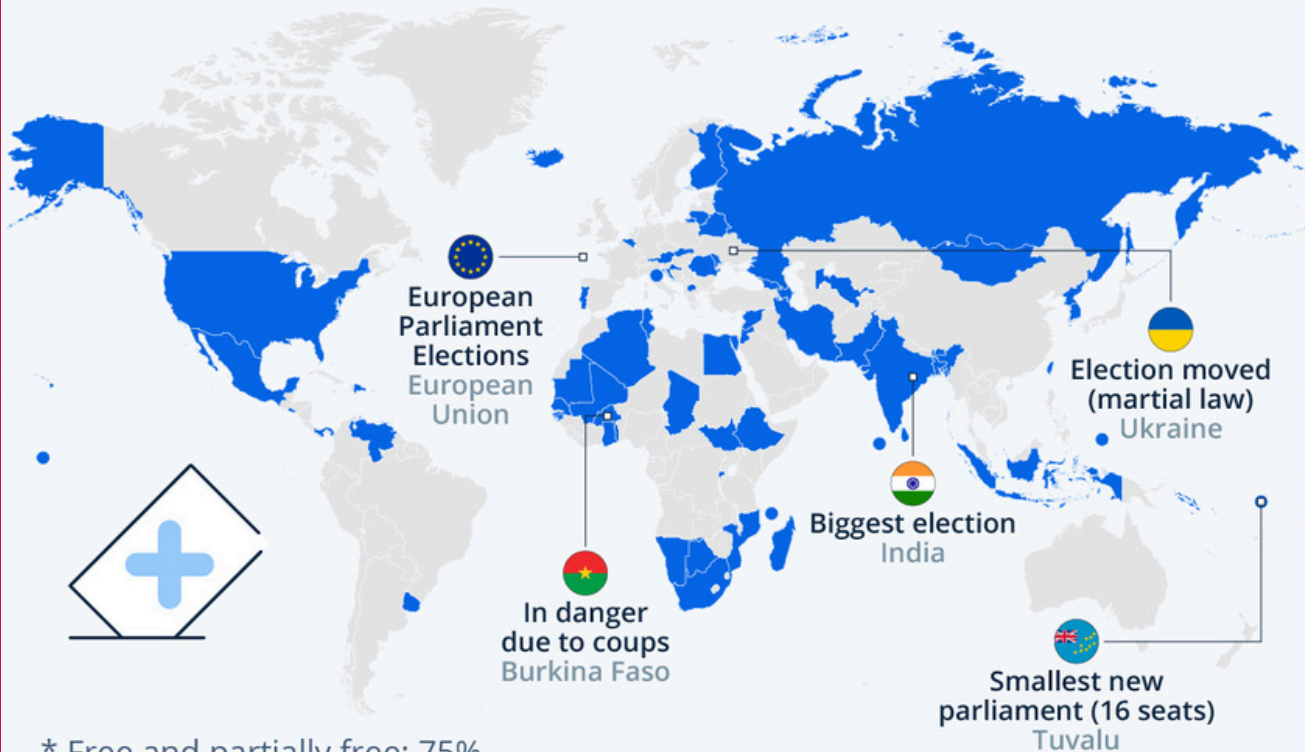
by Katharina Buchholz

According to the Anchor Change Election Cycle Tracker and additional research from Statista, 2024 is seeing national elections in more than 60 countries worldwide. Around 2 billion voters - approximately a quarter of the world's population - are expected to be heading to the polls this year. 2024 has been dubbed a super election year or even the biggest election year in history - aided by closely watched elections in populous countries like United States, Mexico, India and Indonesia, among others, that will be going ahead this year.

2024: The Super Election Year

Countries where a national election is/was held in 2024

Expected number of voters: **2B** (~25% of world pop.) Share of free elections*: **38%**



* Free and partially free: 75%

General, parliamentary, presidential and economic union elections

Sources: Anchor Change Election Cycle Tracker, Statista research



Rage Against the Machine: Declining Trust in Election Technology & Policy, Heading into the 2024 Election



Liam McCabe is a second-year Cornell University Brooks School EMPA candidate who serves as a Specialist in the New York Guard, works full-time as an FDNY EMT, and consults on political campaigns in New York State. His research interests are in emergency management, psephology, and homelessness in the US veteran population.

Rooftop snipers, body armor, seven foot tall wrought iron fencing, K-rail concrete barriers and aerial drone monitoring; this is not a war zone - its Maricopa County, Arizona, United States of America, 2024. And what lies behind this military fortification? *The Machines*. The election machines.

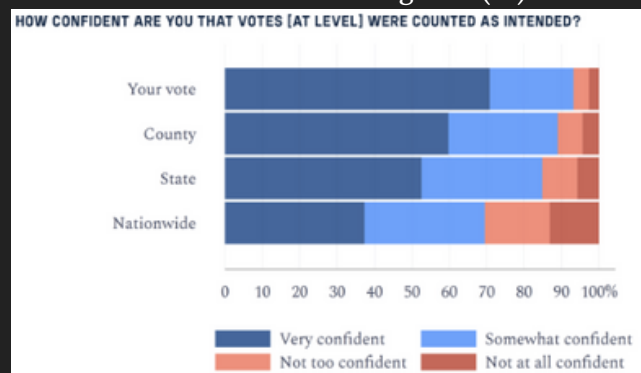
Specifically, the vote tabulation machines for the Maricopa County Board of elections and the entire election apparatus which this year includes steel cages for ballots, sheriff deputies with magnetometers and election workers that have had to undergo active shooter drills and training that includes tourniquet application.¹

All of this effort is geared toward addressing the possible violence that may erupt from a contested US Presidential election that will conclude in a matter of days. Underlying potential conflict lies deep distrust in the technology, people and processes that tabulate and certify our Presidential elections. Experts have suggested that some of that distrust in the vulnerability of current technology is warranted while many other officials have laid the blame on and have tried to counteract misinformation and fear mongering.² The purpose of this article is to provide a review of the upsurge of cynicism and an analysis of vote tabulation technology, processes and potential issues that surround the 2024 US Presidential Election in seven key swing states.

The Rise of Voter Distrust

One key element of rising distrust in technology is the rapid advance in which our lives become so dependent upon it and how little we understand about how it functions at a basic level. Everything from how our paycheck is deposited to how we purchase food, consume news, and engage socially is done online through digital technology. Much like the other technology we depend on to live our lives, little is known by the average citizen on how election machines actually work and even with knowledge of the functionality, trust must exist to ensure confidence. Sadly, partisan politicians,

biased media coverage and political operators have taken advantage of that ignorance to spread a general mistrust.³ Unfortunately now bad actors have in their arsenal the ability to magnify misinformation and exponentially influence the electorate with artificial intelligence (AI).⁴



SOURCE: Charles Stewart III, using data from the 2022 Survey of the Performance of American Elections, MIT Election Data and Science Lab.⁵

The protests surrounding the last presidential election grew out of an atmosphere of suspicion despite multiple audits and recounts that confirmed their accuracy.⁶ However, the fact remains that a tremendous amount of faith must be put in machines that use digital and cloud-based technology to count and record votes for our elections, and it is not only the least technologically informed who fear that technology but also the experts.⁷ According to cyber security specialists, the main threats that states face are indeed the digital vulnerabilities in older machines and their susceptibility to being hacked.⁸

The Machines

The 2024 election will feature a range of voting systems, including Dominion Voting Systems, ES&S (Election Systems & Software), and Hart InterCivic.⁹ While they have encountered challenges following the 2020 election, including legal disputes and disinformation, efforts are being made to address these issues and strengthen public trust in the electoral process. Especially important will be the focus in swing states like Arizona, Michigan, and Georgia, Nevada and Wisconsin.

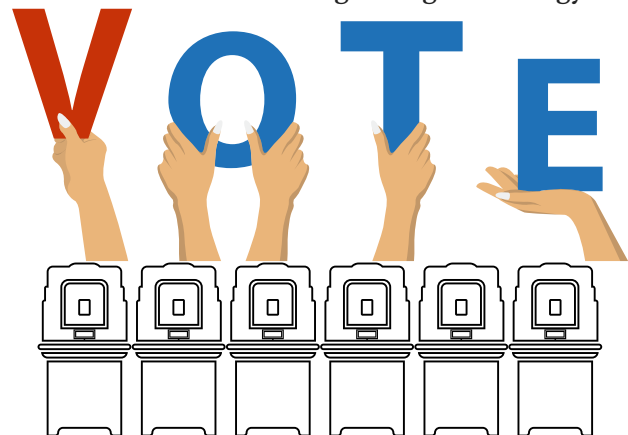
Dominion Voting Systems offers optical scan voting machines with a paper trail, essential for conducting audits and recounts. Additionally, including Ballot Marking Devices (BMDs) has enhanced accessibility. Despite facing persistent disinformation campaigns, Dominion is committed to upholding its robust security features and integrity.¹⁰

ES&S is employed in Michigan, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and North Carolina. Like Dominion, ES&S provides optical scan voting machines and Ballot Marking Devices (BMDs). Nevertheless, concerns have been raised

regarding ES&S's Direct Recording Electronic (DRE) Machines due to the absence of a paper trail. Legal challenges have emerged, particularly surrounding absentee ballot verification in Michigan and Pennsylvania and inconsistencies in Wisconsin's counties.¹¹

Hart InterCivic, a smaller vendor, is used in Pennsylvania and North Carolina. Its Verity Voting System combines optical scan machines and BMDs, emphasizing a Voter-Verified Paper Audit Trail (VVPAT) for auditing purposes. While Hart InterCivic has faced a different level of scrutiny than Dominion or ES&S, questions have been raised about consistency across counties in the states utilizing its systems.¹²

Despite their differences, all these systems rely on their paper trail capabilities, which are crucial for conducting Risk-Limiting Audits (RLAs). RLAs are increasingly utilized in swing states like Georgia, Michigan, and Wisconsin to ensure that machine-recorded votes align with paper ballots.¹³ However, efforts to combat disinformation and address legal challenges continue to be undertaken to bolster public trust in the electoral process. The widespread implementation of RLAs in many swing states has significantly enhanced election accuracy. Nonetheless, restoring public confidence remains a significant focus as efforts are made to counter misinformation and dispel prior controversies surrounding voting technology.¹⁴



Swing States Analysis

The voting technology used in swing states is crucial in determining how votes are counted and certified. Below is an analysis of the current systems and the legal challenges impacting public confidence. Understanding the technology in combination with new Federal guidelines, including those from the Help America Vote Act (HAVA), the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST), and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), will help play a significant role in regulating and monitoring this upcoming election.¹⁵ These organizations provide the framework for federal funding and security standards, but how these guidelines are implemented varies by state.

1. Arizona uses Dominion Voting Systems. A lawsuit challenges the 2023 Election Procedures Manual, particularly questioning the Secretary of State's authority in certifying votes during close elections.¹⁶
2. Michigan employs ES&S and Dominion Voting Systems, providing paper ballot backups. Legal challenges have arisen around absentee ballot verification and human error during the 2020 election, particularly in Wayne County.¹⁷
3. Georgia relies on Dominion Voting Systems and has implemented Risk-Limiting Audits (RLAs) that produce a paper record since 2020. This change was in response to a Federal Court Ruling from 2020.¹⁸ Despite reforms, Dominion's role in previous elections continues to generate skepticism and some experts have raised concerns about the vulnerability of the current technology.¹⁹
4. Pennsylvania uses ES&S, Dominion, and Hart InterCivic machines. Litigation focuses on mail-in ballot discrepancies, including improperly dated envelopes and county voting system inconsistencies.²⁰

5. Nevada uses Dominion Voting Systems and conducts audits using paper trails. However, disinformation about the integrity of these systems persists.²¹

6. Wisconsin employs ES&S and Dominion Voting Systems with paper backups. However, the state's decentralized election management across counties has led to concerns over consistent security practices and legal fights over drop boxes have already been launched.²²

7. North Carolina uses a combination of ES&S and Hart InterCivic voting machines. Occasional technical malfunctions have been reported, but they have not affected election outcomes. Legal challenges remain limited.²³

What to Expect

Too close to call - News outlets across the country have had to develop their policies for when and if they will call a win for either candidate on election night considering the anticipated closeness of the election and past premature declarations of victory that turned out to be false.²⁴ With November 5th only days away, polling in the swing states show a statistical tie.²⁵ If these trends continue, it is plausible we will not know the winner of the election until days or weeks later because many of these states are already embroiled in the more than 165 lawsuits currently being litigated in respect to their election policies and procedures.²⁶ Overshadowing this technical and legal uncertainty are the reports that voter confidence in the integrity of the election process is also at an all-time low. This volatile mixture of distrust, legal limbo and battling narratives may lead to the kind of chaos witnessed four years ago.

Where do We Go from Here

The 2024 Presidential Election will be the most closely monitored U.S. election in history and while the fear and controversy over the technology and process of the election is unprecedented, it has led to updated voting machine security features and opportunities for increased citizen participation as *poll watchers*.²⁷ This election will also be a learning opportunity as experts and policymakers monitor the election's political implications and the role of technology in ensuring a fair and transparent voting process.²⁸

While voting machines of the future may incorporate innovations like blockchain

technology for secure digital records or mobile app connectivity for absentee voting, these systems will undoubtedly require ongoing security upgrades to keep pace with evolving threats. Yet, policy and technology experts from across the political divide have currently reached one unmitigated conclusion: regardless of the complexity of machines or systems we build, the most vital safeguard remains humanity's oldest tool for trust... the humble power of the *paper*. In an era of digital dominion, perhaps the greatest act of defiance—the true rage against the machine—is cutting a path along a paper trail.²⁹

Citations:

1. Knutson, Ryan. n.d. "Stop the Steal 2.0." *The Journal*. <https://www.wsj.com/podcasts/the-journal/stop-the-steal-20/507bb036-24d4-4e9e-a107-10d25d46c328>.
2. Zdun, Matt. 2022. "Machine Politics: How America Casts and Counts Its Votes." *Reuters*, August 23. <https://www.reuters.com/graphics/USA-ELECTION/VOTING/mympnewdlvr/>.
3. Lapinski, John, and Stephen Pettigrew. 2024. "How Votes Get Counted and Reported on Election Night - and How NBC News Gathers and Checks the Data." *NBCNews.Com*. NBCUniversal News Group. October 18. <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-election/votes-get-counted-reported-election-night-nbc-news-gathers-checks-data-rcna174579>.
4. Kreps, Sarah. 2023. "How AI Threatens Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 34, no. 4. October. <https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/how-ai-threatens-democracy/>.
5. Stewart III, Charles. 2024. "How We Voted in 2022: A Topical Look at the Survey of the Performance of American Elections." *MIT Election Data + Science Lab*. MIT. <https://electionlab.mit.edu/sites/default/files/2023-05/HowWeVotedIn2022.pdf>.
6. Boyce, Lily, Lazaro Gamio, Eli Murray, and Alicia Parlapiano. 2024. "Tracking the Swing States for Harris and Trump." *The New York Times*. The New York Times. August 14. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/presidential-election-swing-states.html>.
7. Tilman, Joseph, Raedah Wahid, Benjamin Bain, and Alex Newman. 2024. "More Than 165 Lawsuits Shape the 2024 US Presidential Election." *Bloomberg Law*. October 15. <https://news.bloomberglaw.com/litigation/more-than-165-lawsuits-shape-the-2024-us-presidential-election>.
8. Patterson, Thomas E. 2020. "A Tale of Two Elections: CBS and Fox News' Portrayal of the 2020 Presidential Campaign." *The Harvard Kennedy School Shorenstein Center*, December 17. <https://shorensteincenter.org/patterson-2020-election-coverage/>.
9. Hasen, Richard L. 2023. "Identifying and Minimizing the Risk of Election Subversion and Stolen Elections in the Contemporary United States." *Harvard Law Review*. March 24. <https://harvardlawreview.org/forum/no-volume/identifying-and-minimizing-the-risk-of-election-subversion-and-stolen-elections-in-the-contemporary-united-states/>.
10. "Elections 101: About Dominion Voting Systems." 2024. *Dominion Voting Systems*. Accessed October 28. <https://www.dominionvoting.com/elections-101-about-dominion-voting-systems/>.
11. Walker, Carter. 2024. "Everything You Need to Know about Pa.'s Voting Machines, How the State Keeps Them Safe and More." *News. WHY? . PBS NPR*. February 27. <https://why.org/articles/pennsylvania-voting-machines-elections-101-prebunking/>.
12. Mestel, Spenser. 2024. "How Open Source Voting Machines Could Boost Trust in US Elections." *Tech Review. MIT Technology Review*. MIT. Accessed October 28. <https://www.technologyreview.com/2024/03/07/1089524/open-source-voting-machines-us-elections/>.
13. Miller, Maggie. 2024. "The Nation's Best Hackers Found Vulnerabilities in Voting Machines — but No Time to Fix Them - Flopping Aces." *News Politico*. August 12. <https://floppingaces.net/most-wanted/the-nations-best-hackers-found-vulnerabilities-in-voting-machines-but-no-time-to-fix-them/>.
14. Norden, Lawrence, and Derek Tisler. 2023. "Securing the 2024 Election | Brennan Center for Justice." *Brennan Center for Justice*. April 27. <https://www.brennancenter.org/experts/lawrence-norden>.
15. U.S. Election Assistance Commission. 2024. "Certified Voting Systems" January 9. <https://www.eac.gov/voting-equipment/certified-voting-systems>.
16. Stewart III, Charles, and R. Michael Alvarez. 2018. "Election Auditing; Key Issues and Perspectives." In *Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Election Data & Science Lab. <https://electionlab.mit.edu/sites/default/files/2019-06/Election-Auditing-Key-Issues-Perspectives.pdf>.
17. Jackson, Dean, and Jon Bateman. 2024. "Counterin Disinformation Effectively: An Evidence-Based Policy Guide." *Research. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. CarnegieEndowment.org.
18. LII / Legal Information Institute. 2024. "52 U.S. Code Chapter 209 - Election Administration Improvement." <https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/52/subtitle-II/chapter-209>.
19. Greenberg, Madeleine. 2024. "RNC and Arizona Republicans File Lawsuit Challenging State Election Manual." *News. Democracy Docket*. February 9. <https://www.democracymocket.com/news-alerts/rnc-and-arizona-republicans-file-lawsuit-challenging-state-election-manual/>.
20. Jocelyn Benson, Secretary of State. 2021. "Audits of the November 3, 2020 General Election." *Audit. Lansing, Michigan: State of Michigan Department of State*. https://www.michigan.gov/-/media/Project/Websites/sos/30lawens/BOE_2020_Post_Election_Audit_Report_04_21_21.pdf?rev=8267d812942643fabb3dc2ccf70c2fd.
21. Curling et al v. Raffensperger et al. 2020. *THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA ATLANTA DIVISION*.
22. O'Brien, Miles, dir. 2024. "Inside Georgia's Effort to Secure Voting Machines as Experts Raise Concerns." *PBS News Hour*. PBS. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/inside-georgias-effort-to-secure-voting-machines-as-experts-raise-concerns>.
23. Hall, Peter. 2024. "Commonwealth Court Says Rejecting Mail-in Ballots without a Date Violates the PA Constitution Pennsylvania Capital-Star." *August 30*. <https://penncapital-star.com/campaigns-elections/commonwealth-court-rules-rejecting-mail-in-ballots-without-a-date-violates-the-pa-constitution/>.
24. Guerra, Maite. 2024. "Elections in Nevada: Safe, Secure, and under Attack by False Narratives • Nevada Current." *Nevada Current*. October 21. <https://nevadacurrent.com/2024/10/21/elections-in-nevada-safe-secure-and-under-attack-by-false-narratives/>.
25. Bosman, Julie. 2024. "The Fight Over Ballots Has Already Begun in Wisconsin." *The New York Times*, October 19, sec. U.S. <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/wisconsin-ballot-drop-boxes.html>.
26. Herb, Sara Murray, Jeremy. 2024. "Election Workers Prepare to Handle 'Concerning List' of Poll Watchers Who Could Disrupt the Vote | CNN Politics." *CNN*. October 25. <https://www.cnn.com/2024/10/25/politics/poll-watchers-concerns/index.html>.
27. "10 Facts About Election Security in North Carolina | NCSBE." 2024. Accessed October 27. <https://www.ncsbe.gov/about-elections/election-security/10-facts-about-election-security-north-carolina>.
28. Miller, Lauren, and Wilder Will. 2024. "Certification and Non-Discretion: A Guide to Protecting the 2024 Election." *Stanford Law School*. Stanford University. February 12. <https://law.stanford.edu/publications/certification-and-non-discretion-a-guide-to-protecting-the-2024-election/>.
29. Orey, Rachel, and Matthew Weil. 2021. "Improving the Voting Experience After 2020." *Bipartisan Policy Center*. <https://bipartisanpolicy.org/report/voting-experience-2020/>.



Cornell Brooks
Public Policy

CORNELL
POLICY REVIEW

Visit Our Website:

CornellPolicyReview.com



The Cornell Policy Review is the official public policy journal of the MPA program within the Brooks School of Public Policy at Cornell University. Originally founded in the spring of 1996 as The Current, The Cornell Policy Review is an online peer reviewed journal MPA Candidates serve as both editors and contributors for the Review. CPR is proud to be affiliated with the Brooks School of Public Policy and Cornell University at large.

The Cornell Policy Review publishes policy analysis essays in the areas of domestic politics, international affairs and development, environmental and energy policy, human rights and social justice, and finance and economic policy. CPR informs its readers through insightful articles, policy analyses, podcasts, interviews, case studies, and original research, providing this information in an accessible, evidence-based, and non-partisan manner.