



CAN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY SURVIVE THE 2024 ELECTIONS?

The role of media, law, political norms, and
technology in assuring free and fair elections and
public acceptance of election results in the
United States

Friday, March 17, 2023
UCLA, Covell Commons, Grand Horizon Room

Safeguarding Democracy Project at **UCLA School of Law**
SafeguardingDemocracyProject.org

Generously supported by



CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

(Note: Institutional affiliations are for identification purposes only)

8:30 am – 9:00 am **Registration and continental breakfast**

9:00 am – 9:15 am **Welcome and introduction**

Russell Korobkin / Interim Dean and Richard C. Maxwell Distinguished Professor of Law at UCLA School of Law

Richard L. Hasen / Professor of Law and Political Science; Director, Safeguarding Democracy Project, UCLA School of Law

9:15 am - 10:15 am **Panel 1: Election threats: inside and outside**

MODERATOR:

John Fortier / Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute

PANELISTS:

Jocelyn Benson / Secretary of State, Michigan

Neal Kelley / Registrar of Voters, Orange County, CA (Retired)

Stephen Richer / Recorder, Maricopa County, Arizona

10:15 am - 11:15 am **Panel 2: The role of media and social media**

MODERATOR:

Nathaniel Persily / James B. McClatchy Professor of Law, Stanford Law School

PANELISTS:

Renée DiResta / Technical Research Manager, Stanford Internet Observatory

Pam Fessler / Editor and Correspondent, NPR News (Retired)

Jack Lerner / Clinical Professor, UC Irvine School of Law

David Kaye / Clinical Professor, UC Irvine School of Law

Brendan Nyhan / James O. Freedman Presidential Professor, Department of Government, Dartmouth College

11:15 am - 11:30 am **Break**

11:30 am -12:30 pm **Panel 3: The role of tech**

MODERATOR:

Elizabeth Howard / Senior Counsel, Brennan Center for Justice

PANELISTS:

Andrew Appel / Eugene Higgins Professor of Computer Science, Princeton University

Matt Masterson / Director of Information Integrity, Microsoft

Alex Stamos / Director, Stanford Internet Observatory

Kim Wyman / Senior Election Security Advisor for the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, U.S. Department of Homeland Security

12:30 pm - 1:30 pm **Lunch and Lunchtime Conversation**

Election Denialism and the Future of the Republican Party

Sarah Longwell / President and CEO, Longwell Partners, and Publisher, *The Bulwark*
in conversation with **Richard L. Hasen**

1:30 pm - 2:30 pm **Panel 4: The role of politics and norms**

MODERATOR:

Bruce Cain / Professor of Political Science and Director of the Bill Lane Center for the American West, Stanford University

PANELISTS:

Julia Azari / Professor of Political Science, Marquette University

Larry Diamond / William L. Clayton Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, the Mosbacher Senior Fellow in Global Democracy at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI), and a Bass University Fellow in Undergraduate Education, Stanford University

Norman Ornstein / Senior Fellow Emeritus, American Enterprise Institute

Charles Stewart III / Kenan Sahin Distinguished Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Michael Tesler / Professor of Political Science, UC Irvine

2:30 pm - 3:30 pm **Panel 5: The role of election law**

MODERATOR:

Edward B. Foley / Charles W. Ebersold and Florence Whitcomb Ebersold Chair in Constitutional Law; Director, Election Law, Ohio State University

PANELISTS:

Michael Morley / Sheila M. McDevitt Professor, Florida State University College of Law

Richard H. Pildes / Sudler Family Professor of Constitutional Law, NYU School of Law

Bertrall Ross / Justice Thurgood Marshall Distinguished Professor of Law; Director, Karsh Center for Law and Democracy, University of Virginia School of Law

Ciara Torres-Spelliscy / Brennan Center fellow and Professor of Law, Stetson University College of Law

3:30 pm - 3:45 pm **Break**

3:45 pm - 4:45 pm **Panel 6: The role of practicing lawyers**

MODERATOR:

Emily Rong Zhang / Assistant Professor of Law, UC Berkeley School of Law

PANELISTS:

Bob Bauer / Professor of Practice and Distinguished Scholar in Residence Co-Director of the Legislative and Regulatory Process Clinic, NYU School of Law

Ben Ginsberg / Distinguished Visiting Fellow, Hoover Institution and Lecturer, Stanford Law School

Janai Nelson / President and Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense Fund

Nina Perales / Vice President of Litigation, Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund

4:45 pm - 5:00 pm **Concluding remarks**

Richard L. Hasen

5:00 pm **Reception**

SPEAKER BIOGRAPHIES

Andrew Appel is Eugene Higgins Professor of Computer Science at Princeton University, where he has been on the faculty since 1986. He served as Department Chair from 2009-2015. His research is in software verification, computer security, programming languages and compilers, and technology policy. He received his A.B. *summa cum laude* in physics from Princeton in 1981, and his PhD in computer science from Carnegie Mellon University in 1985. He is a Fellow of the ACM (Association for Computing Machinery). He has worked on fast N-body algorithms (1980s), Standard ML of New Jersey (1990s), Foundational Proof-Carrying Code (2000s), Verified Software Toolchain (2010s), Verified Network Toolchain and Verified Numerical Methods (2020s). His public policy research focuses on voting machines and election systems: technology, security, policy.

Julia Azari is a professor of political science at Marquette University. She is the author of *Delivering the People's Message: the Changing Politics of the Presidential Mandate*. An award-winning public-facing scholar, she has written about political parties, elections and the American presidency for *FiveThirtyEight*, *Vox*, *The New York Times*, *Politico*, and *Grid News*. Her scholarly work has been published at *The Forum*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Social Science History*, and in numerous edited collections. She is currently working on a book about race and presidential impeachment and co-editing a volume on the legacy of the Trump presidency.

Bob Bauer is professor of practice and distinguished scholar in residence at the New York University School of Law and co-director of NYU Law's Legislative and Regulatory Process Clinic. Bauer served as White House Counsel to President Obama from 2009 to 2011. In 2013, President Obama named him to be co-chair of the Presidential Commission on Election Administration. In 2021, President Biden named him to be co-chair of the Presidential Commission on the Supreme Court of the United States. Bauer was general counsel to Obama for America, the president's campaign organization, in 2008 and 2012.

Jocelyn Benson is Michigan's 43rd Secretary of State. A graduate of Harvard Law School and expert on civil rights law, education law and election law, Benson served as dean of Wayne State University Law School in Detroit. When she was appointed dean at age 36, she became the youngest woman in U.S. history to lead a top-100, accredited law school. She continues to serve as vice chair of the advisory board for the Levin Center at Wayne Law, which she founded with former U.S. Sen. Carl Levin. Previously, Benson was an associate professor and associate director of Wayne Law's Damon J. Keith Center for Civil Rights. Benson is the author of *State Secretaries of State: Guardians of the Democratic Process*, the first major book on the role of the secretary of state in enforcing election and campaign finance laws.

Bruce Cain is a Professor of Political Science at Stanford University and Director of the Bill Lane Center for the American West. He received a BA from Bowdoin College (1970), a B.Phil. from Oxford University (1972) as a Rhodes Scholar, and a PhD from Harvard University (1976). He taught at Caltech (1976-89) and UC Berkeley (1989-2012) before coming to Stanford. Cain was Director of the Institute of Governmental Studies at UC Berkeley from 1990-2007 and Executive Director of the UC Washington Center from 2005-2012. He was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2000 and has won awards for his research (Richard F. Fenno Prize, 1988), teaching (Caltech 1988 and UC Berkeley 2003) and public service (Zale Award for Outstanding Achievement in Policy Research and Public Service, 2000). His areas of expertise include political regulation, applied democratic theory, representation, and state politics. His most recent book is *Democracy More or Less* (Cambridge University Press, 2015). He is currently working on problems of environmental governance.

Larry Diamond is the William L. Clayton Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, the Mosbacher Senior Fellow in Global Democracy at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI), and a Bass University Fellow in Undergraduate Education at Stanford University. He is also professor by courtesy of Political Science and Sociology at Stanford. He leads the Hoover Institution's programs on China's Global Sharp Power and on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific Region. At FSI, he leads the Program on Arab Reform and Democracy, based at the Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law, which he directed for more than six years. He also co-leads with (Eileen Donahoe) the Global Digital Policy Incubator, based at FSI's Cyber Policy Center. He is the founding co-editor of the *Journal of Democracy* and also serves as senior consultant at the International Forum for Democratic Studies of the National Endowment for Democracy. Diamond's book, *Ill Winds: Saving Democracy from Russian Rage, Chinese Ambition, and American Complacency*, analyzes the challenges confronting liberal democracy in the United States and around the world at this potential "hinge in history," and offers an agenda for strengthening and defending democracy at home and abroad.

Renée DiResta is the technical research manager at the Stanford Internet Observatory, a cross-disciplinary program of research, teaching and policy engagement for the study of abuse in current information technologies. DiResta investigates the spread of narratives across social and media networks, with an interest in understanding how platform algorithms and affordances intersect with user behavior and factional crowd dynamics. She studies how actors leverage the information ecosystem to exert influence, from domestic activists promoting health misinformation and conspiracy theories, to the full-spectrum information operations executed by state actors. DiResta has degrees in Computer Science and Political Science from the Honors College at SUNY Stony Brook. She is an Emerson Fellow, a 2018-2019 Mozilla Fellow, a 2017 Presidential Leadership Scholar, a Council on Foreign Relations term member, and a Truman National Security Fellow. She is a Harvard Berkman-Klein Center affiliate, a Founding Advisor to the Center for Humane Technology, and was previously a Staff Associate at the Columbia University Data Science Institute.

Pam Fessler was an editor and correspondent at *NPR News* for more than 28 years. As a correspondent on the National Desk, she covered voting issues, poverty, and philanthropy. For much of her time at *NPR*, Fessler reported on elections and voting, including efforts to make voting more accessible, accurate, and secure. She did countless stories on everything from the debate over state voter laws to Russian hacking attempts and the impact of misinformation. Fessler has a Master of Public Administration degree from the Maxwell School at Syracuse University and a bachelor's degree from Douglass College at Rutgers University. Her first book, *Carville's Cure: Leprosy, Stigma, and the Fight for Justice*, was published in 2020.

Edward Foley is the Ebersold Chair in Constitutional Law at The Ohio State University, where he also directs its election law program. He is a contributing opinion columnist for the *Washington Post*, and for the 2020 election season, he served as an NBC News election law analyst. His most recent book is *Presidential Elections and Majority Rule* (Oxford University Press, 2020). His book *Ballot Battles: The History of Disputed Elections in the United States* (Oxford University Press, 2016) was named Finalist for the David J. Langum, Sr. Prize in American Legal History and listed as one of 100 "must-read books about law and social justice." As Reporter for the American Law Institute's Project on Election Administration, Foley drafted Principles of Law: Non-Precinct Voting and Resolution of Ballot-Counting Disputes, which provides nonpartisan guidance for the resolution of election disputes.

John Fortier is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, where he focuses on Congress and elections, election administration, election demographics, voting (and absentee voting), the US presidency, and the Electoral College. He is also continuing his work on the continuity of government. Before rejoining AEI, Dr. Fortier was director of governmental studies at the Bipartisan Policy Center, and the principal contributor to the AEI-Brookings Election Reform Project. He also has taught at Kenyon College, the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Delaware, Boston College, and Harvard University. He is the author and editor of *After the People Vote: A Guide to the Electoral College* (AEI Press, 2004; fourth edition, 2020); *Second-Term Blues: How George W. Bush Has Governed* (Brookings Institution Press, 2007); and *Absentee and Early Voting: Trends, Promises, and Perils* (AEI Press, 2006).

Benjamin Ginsberg, a nationally known elections lawyer with 38 years' experience representing participants in the political process, is the Volker Distinguished Visiting Fellow at Stanford's Hoover Institution and co-chair of the Election Officials Legal Defense Network. He represented four of the last six Republican Presidential nominees. He was appointed by President Barack Obama to serve as co-chair of the bipartisan Presidential Commission on Election Administration which produced a much-lauded report in 2014 on best practices and recommendations for state and local officials to make U.S. elections run better. He serves as co-chair of the bipartisan Election Officials Legal Defense Network. Ginsberg, currently a *CNN* contributor, appears frequently on television as an on-air commentator about politics and the law and has written numerous op-eds. He has also been a Fellow at Harvard University's Institute of Politics and an adjunct professor of law at Georgetown University Law Center. He served as national counsel to the Bush-Cheney presidential campaigns in the 2004 and 2000 election cycles and played a central role in the 2000 Florida recount. In 2012 and 2008, he served as national counsel to the Romney for President campaign.

Richard Hasen ('91) is Professor of Law and Political Science; Director, Safeguarding Democracy Project, at UCLA School of Law. He is an internationally recognized expert in election law, writing as well in the areas of legislation and statutory interpretation, remedies, and torts. From 2001-2010, he served (with Dan Lowenstein) as founding co-editor of the quarterly peer-reviewed publication, *Election Law Journal*. He was elected to The American Law Institute in 2009

and serves as Reporter (with Professor Douglas Laycock) on the ALI's law reform project: Restatement (Third) of Torts: Remedies. *The Green Bag* recognized his 2018 book, *The Justice of Contradictions: Antonin Scalia and the Politics of Disruption*, for exemplary legal writing, and his 2016 book, *Plutocrats United*, received a Scribes Book Award Honorable Mention. His most recent book, *Cheap Speech: How Disinformation Poisons Our Politics—and How to Cure It*, published in March 2022 by Yale University Press, was named one of the four best books on disinformation by the *New York Times*. Hasen served in 2020 as a CNN Election Law Analyst and as an NBC News/MSNBC Election Law Analyst in 2022. He earned his J.D. and PhD from UCLA, and served as Chief Article Editor for the *UCLA Law Review*.

Elizabeth Howard is senior counsel for the Brennan Center's Democracy Program. Her work focuses on election security. Howard regularly comments for television, radio, and print media on issues relating to election security and election administration and has testified before the U.S. House Committee on Homeland Security and in a variety of state legislatures. She has also co-authored multiple Brennan Center reports and white papers: *Better Safe Than Sorry* (2018), *Defending Elections: Federal Funding Needs for State Election Security* (2019), *Trump-Russia Investigations: A Guide Preparing for Cyberattacks and Technical Failures: A Guide for Election Officials* (2019). Prior to joining the Brennan Center, Howard served as deputy commissioner for the Virginia Department of Elections. During her tenure, she coordinated many election administration modernization projects, including the decertification of all paperless voting systems, implementation of the e-Motor Voter program, and adoption of online, paperless absentee ballot applications, for which the department received a 2017 Innovations in American Government Bright Ideas Award from the Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation at the Harvard Kennedy School.

David Kaye is a clinical professor of law at the University of California, Irvine, and the former United Nations Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression (2014-2020). His 2019 book, *Speech Police: The Global Struggle to Govern the Internet* (Columbia Global Reports), explores the ways in which companies, governments, and activists struggle to define the rules for online expression. Appointed by the UN Human Rights Council in June 2014, David served through July 2020 as the global body's principal monitor for freedom of expression issues worldwide. He reported to the UN on COVID-19 and freedom of expression and, in 2019, to the UN General Assembly on online hate speech. His earlier reporting addressed, among other topics, the ways in which Artificial Intelligence technologies implicate human rights issues, the global private surveillance industry and its impact on freedom of expression, growing repression of freedom of expression globally, encryption and anonymity as promoters of freedom of expression, the protection of whistleblowers and journalistic sources, the roles and responsibilities of private Internet companies, and the regulation of online content by social media and search companies.

Neal Kelley is the retired Registrar of Voters for Orange County, California, the fifth largest voting jurisdiction in the United States, serving more than 1.9 million registered voters. Kelley served as the Registrar of Voters from 2005 through 2022 and led the office through the largest cycle of elections since Orange County was founded in 1889. Prior to joining Orange County, Kelley developed and grew several companies of his own, employing hundreds of people from 1989 to 2004. He has been the recipient of numerous state and national awards for election administration and is a past recipient of the "Public Official of the Year" award by the National Association of County Recorders, Election Officials and Clerks (iGO). Kelley is a former appointee and founding member of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security Election Security Task Force Government Coordinating Council (GCC), where he helped to oversee the protection of the nation's election infrastructure. He also served as a member and past chair of the U.S. Election Assistance Commission (EAC) Board of Advisors, is a former member of the EAC Voting Systems Standards Board and a former member of the EAC Technical Guidelines Development Committee (TGDC). In addition, he served as a member of the 2018 National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine's Committee on the Future of Voting.

Russell Korobkin is Interim Dean and Richard C. Maxwell Distinguished Professor of Law at UCLA School of Law, where he teaches Contracts, Negotiation, and Health Care Law. He was previously Vice Dean for Graduate and Professional Education, and Vice Dean for Academic and Institutional Affairs from 2014-2019. Prior to joining the UCLA faculty in 2001, he held appointments at the University of Illinois College of Law and the University of Illinois Institute of Government and Public Affairs. He has taught as a full-time visiting professor at Harvard Law School (2007) and the University of Texas School of Law (1999-2000), and has taught short courses at the University of Arizona, the University of Houston, the University of Nevada-Las Vegas, Pepperdine University, and Vanderbilt University. He is a regular visiting professor

at the German Graduate School of Business and Law in Heilbronn, Germany (Negotiation) and La Trobe University in Melbourne, Australia (Contracts). Prior to entering law teaching, Professor Korobkin graduated from Stanford University and Stanford Law School, clerked for the Honorable James L. Buckley of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, and worked as an associate at the law firm of Covington & Burling in Washington, D.C.

Jack Lerner is Clinical Professor of Law and Director, UCI Intellectual Property, Arts, & Technology Clinic at the University of California, Irvine School of Law. Lerner works to find solutions to problems at the intersection of law and technology, particularly how technology law and policy affect creative expression and innovation. He has written and spoken widely on copyright, privacy and other areas of technology law. Before joining UC Irvine School of Law in 2014, Lerner was Clinical Professor of Law at the USC Gould School of Law and Director of the USC Intellectual Property and Technology Law Clinic, and he was a Clinic Fellow at the Samuelson Law, Technology, and Public Policy Clinic at the University of California, Berkeley, School of Law and a fellow at the Berkman Center for Internet and Society at Harvard Law School.

Sarah Longwell is the President and CEO of Longwell Partners, a full-service communications firm in Washington, D.C. Sarah is a Co-Founder of the organization Defending Democracy Together and executive director of the Republican Accountability Project. Notable past projects of DDT are Republican Voters Against Trump and Republicans for the Rule of Law. She is also the Publisher of *The Bulwark*. A long-time Republican strategist and former national board chair of the Log Cabin Republicans, Sarah launched Longwell Partners to engage in issues beyond partisan politics and focus on solving some of the country's most intractable problems through cross-partisan coalitions. She lives in Washington, D.C. with her family and is a graduate of Kenyon College.

Matt Masterson is the Director of Information Integrity for Microsoft. Previously, he served as a non-resident policy fellow with the Stanford Internet Observatory. He served as Senior Cybersecurity Advisor at the Department of Homeland Security, where he focused on election security issues. He previously served as a Commissioner at the Election Assistance Commission from December 2014 until March 2018, including serving as the Commission's Chairman in 2017-2018. Prior to that, he held staff positions with the Ohio Secretary of State's office, where he oversaw voting system certification efforts and helped develop an online voter registration system. Masterson holds a law degree from the University of Dayton School of Law and BS and BA degrees from Miami University in Oxford, Ohio.

Michael Morley is the Sheila M. McDevitt Professor at Florida State University College of Law. Morley joined FSU Law in 2018 and teaches and writes in the areas of election law, constitutional law, remedies, and the federal courts. His research focuses on election emergencies, the constitutional right to vote, and the Electoral Count Act, as well as the equitable powers of the federal courts. He is an elected member of the American Law Institute and serves as an advisor for the ALI's Restatement of Torts: Remedies project. Morley is a member of the Florida Advisory Committee for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and was the 2021 Chair of the AALS Section on Election Law. He has testified before congressional committees, made presentations to election officials for the U.S. Election Assistance Commission, and participated in bipartisan blue-ribbon groups to develop election reforms. The Governor of Florida also appointed Morley to the Criminal Punishment Code Task Force to propose potential revisions to the legislature.

Janai Nelson ('96) is President and Director-Counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund (LDF), the nation's premier civil rights law organization fighting for racial justice and equality. Nelson formerly served as Associate Director-Counsel and as a member of LDF's litigation and policy teams. Prior to joining LDF in June 2014, Nelson was Associate Dean for Faculty Scholarship and Associate Director of the Ronald H. Brown Center for Civil Rights and Economic Development at St. John's University School of Law where she was also a full professor of law and served on the law school's Senior Leadership Team. A renowned scholar of voting rights and election law, Nelson continues to produce cutting-edge scholarship on domestic and comparative election law, race, and democratic theory. Nelson has taught courses in Election Law and Political Participation, Comparative Election Law, Voting Rights, Professional Responsibility, and Constitutional Law and a seminar on Racial Equity Strategies, in addition to guest lecturing at law schools around the country. Nelson is also the recipient of the 2013 Derrick A. Bell Award from the American Association of Law Schools (AALS) Section on Minority Groups and was named one of Lawyers of Color's 50 Under 50 minority professors making an impact in legal education. She received a B.A. from New York University and a J.D. from UCLA School of Law where she served as Articles Editor of the *UCLA Law Review*, Consulting Editor of the *National Black Law Journal*, and Associate Editor of the *UCLA Women's Law Journal*.

Brendan Nyhan is the James O. Freedman Presidential Professor in the Department of Government at Dartmouth College. His research, which focuses on misperceptions about politics and health care, has been published in journals including the *American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, *Nature Human Behaviour*, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *Pediatrics*, and *Vaccine*. He has been named a Guggenheim Fellow by the Guggenheim Foundation, an Andrew Carnegie Fellow by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and a Belfer Fellow by the Anti-Defamation League. He is a co-founder of Bright Line Watch, a watchdog group that monitors the status of American democracy, and a contributor to The Upshot at the *New York Times*.

Norman Ornstein is an emeritus scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. He is a contributing editor and writer for *The Atlantic* and has been an election eve analyst for *CBS News* and *BBC News*. He is also chairman emeritus of the Campaign Legal Center. He was a political science professor at Johns Hopkins University and The Catholic University of America for fifteen years. Ornstein was elected as a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2004. He was named one of the top 100 global thinkers in 2012 by *Foreign Policy* magazine and one of the 250 most influential people in Washington in 2021 by *Washingtonian Magazine*. He was given the Frank Goodnow award by the American Political Science Association for distinguished service to the profession. His many books include *The New York Times* bestseller, *It's Even Worse Than It Looks* with Tom Mann and *One Nation After Trump: A Guide for the Perplexed, the Disillusioned, the Desperate and the Not-Yet-Deported* (2017) with EJ Dionne and Tom Mann, which was immediately on the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* bestseller lists. Ornstein has a BA from the University of Minnesota and an MA and PhD from the University of Michigan.

Nina Perales is Vice President of Litigation for MALDEF, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund. In that role, Perales supervises the legal staff and litigation in MALDEF's offices across the United States. Perales is best known for her work in voting rights. She tried and argued successfully before the U.S. Supreme Court a challenge to Texas redistricting that resulted in that Court's first ruling of Latino vote dilution under the Voting Rights Act. She also secured favorable U.S. Supreme Court rulings in challenges to an Arizona voter registration law in 2013 and Texas redistricting in 2018. Perales has presented more than ten oral arguments to the U.S. Courts of Appeals. She has testified numerous times before the U.S. Congress and state legislatures on voting rights and also currently serves as an adjunct professor at Harvard Law School where she teaches a course called "Current Topics in Latino Civil Rights." Perales earned her undergraduate degree from Brown University and law degree from Columbia University School of Law.

Nathaniel Persily is the James B. McClatchy Professor of Law at Stanford Law School, with appointments in the departments of Political Science, Communication, and FSI. Prior to joining Stanford, Persily taught at Columbia and the University of Pennsylvania Law School, and as a visiting professor at Harvard, NYU, Princeton, the University of Amsterdam, and the University of Melbourne. Persily's scholarship and legal practice focus on American election law or what is sometimes called the "law of democracy," which addresses issues such as voting rights, political parties, campaign finance, redistricting, and election administration. He has served as a special master or court-appointed expert to craft congressional or legislative districting plans for Georgia, Maryland, Connecticut, New York, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania. He also served as the Senior Research Director for the Presidential Commission on Election Administration. In addition to dozens of articles (many of which have been cited by the Supreme Court) on the legal regulation of political parties, issues surrounding the census and redistricting process, voting rights, and campaign finance reform, Persily is co-author of the leading election law casebook, *The Law of Democracy* (Foundation Press, 5th ed., 2016), with Samuel Issacharoff, Pamela Karlan, and Richard Pildes. His current work, for which he has been honored as a Guggenheim Fellow, Andrew Carnegie Fellow, and a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, examines the impact of changing technology on political communication, campaigns, and election administration. He is co-director of the Stanford Cyber Policy Center, Stanford Program on Democracy and the Internet, and the Stanford-MIT Healthy Elections Project, which supported local election officials in taking the necessary steps during the COVID-19 pandemic to provide safe voting options for the 2020 election. He is also a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a commissioner on the Kofi Annan Commission on Elections and Democracy in the Digital Age.

Richard H. Pildes is the Sudler Family Professor of Constitutional Law, NYU School of Law. He is one of the nation's leading scholars of constitutional law and a specialist in legal issues affecting democracy. He is a Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the American Law Institute and has received recognition as a Guggenheim Fellow and

a Carnegie Scholar. His acclaimed casebook, *The Law of Democracy: Legal Structure of the Political Process* (now in its fourth edition), helped create an entirely new field of study in the law schools. He has written extensively on the rise of political polarization in the United States, the Voting Rights Act, the dysfunction of America's political processes, the role of the Supreme Court in overseeing American democracy, the powers of the American President and Congress, and he has criticized excessively "romantic" understandings of democracy. In addition to his scholarship on these issues, he has written on national-security law, the design of the regulatory state, and American constitutional history and theory.

Stephen Richer is the 30th Recorder of Maricopa County, Arizona. He was elected in November 2020 and took office January 2021. Prior to his election as Recorder, Stephen worked as a lawyer and business person. He holds a bachelor's degree from Tulane University, a master's degree from the University of Chicago, and a J.D. from the University of Chicago Law School. Richer was named "Arizonan of the Year" in 2021 by *The Arizona Republic* and "Republican Politician of the Year" in 2021 by *The Phoenix New Times*.

Bertrall Ross is Justice Thurgood Marshall Distinguished Professor of Law and Director, Karsh Center for Law and Democracy, at the University of Virginia School of Law. He teaches and writes in the areas of constitutional law, constitutional theory, election law, administrative law and statutory interpretation. Ross' research is driven by a concern about democratic responsiveness and accountability, as well as the inclusion of marginalized communities in administrative and political processes. His past scholarship has been published in several books and journals, including the *Columbia Law Review*, *New York University Law Review* and the *University of Chicago Law Review*. Prior to joining the Virginia faculty, Ross taught at the University of California, Berkeley School of Law, where he received the Rutter Award for Teaching Excellence. He has also been awarded the Berlin Prize from the American Academy in Berlin, the Princeton University Law and Public Affairs Fellowship, the Columbia Law School Kellis Parker Academic Fellowship and the Marshall Scholarship. Ross is currently serving on the Administrative Conference of the United States and the Presidential Commission on the Supreme Court.

Alex Stamos is a cybersecurity expert, business leader and entrepreneur working to improve the security and safety of the Internet through his teaching and research at Stanford University. Stamos is the director of the Stanford Internet Observatory at the Cyber Policy Center, a part of the Freeman-Spogli Institute for International Studies, where he is also a research scholar. Prior to joining Stanford, Alex served as the Chief Security Officer of Facebook. In this role, Stamos led a team of engineers, researchers, investigators and analysts charged with understanding and mitigating information security risks to the company and safety risks to the 2.5 billion people on Facebook, Instagram and WhatsApp. During his time at Facebook, he led the company's investigation into manipulation of the 2016 US election and helped pioneer several successful protections against these new classes of abuse. Before joining Facebook, Alex was the Chief Information Security Officer at Yahoo, rebuilding a storied security team while dealing with multiple assaults by nation-state actors.

Charles Stewart III is the Kenan Sahin Distinguished Professor of Political Science at MIT, where he has taught since 1985, and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. His research and teaching areas include congressional politics, elections, and American political development. His current research about Congress touches on the historical development of committees, origins of partisan polarization, and Senate elections. His recent books of congressional research include *Electing the Senate* (2014, with Wendy J. Schiller), *Fighting for the Speakership* (2012, with Jeffery A. Jenkins), and *Analyzing Congress* (2nd ed., 2011). Since 2001, Stewart has been a member of the Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, a leading research effort that applies scientific analysis to questions about election technology, election administration, and election reform. He is currently the MIT director of the project. Stewart is an established leader in the analysis of the performance of election systems and the quantitative assessment of election performance. Working with the Pew Charitable Trusts, he helped with the development of Pew's Elections Performance Index. Stewart also provided advice to the Presidential Commission on Election Administration. His research on measuring the performance of elections and polling place operations is funded by Pew, the Democracy Fund, and the Hewlett Foundation. He recently published *The Measure of American Elections* (2014, with Barry C. Burden). With the support of the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, Democracy Fund, and the Joyce Foundation, in 2017 Stewart established the MIT Election Data and Science Lab, which applies scientific principles to how elections are studied and administered. In 2020, he partnered with Professor Nate Persily of the Stanford Law School to establish the Stanford-MIT Healthy Elections Project.

Michael Tesler is a professor of political science at UC Irvine, where he teaches courses on public opinion, racial politics, elections, political psychology, American government, and quantitative research methods. He is author of *Post-Racial or Most Racial? Race and Politics in the Obama Era* (University of Chicago Press, 2016), co-author with David O. Sears of *Obama's Race: The 2008 Election and the Dream of a Post-Racial America* (University of Chicago Press, 2010), and co-author with John Sides and Lynn Vavreck of *Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America* (Princeton University Press 2019). His current book project, coauthored with Mary McThomas, is entitled *Pit Bull Politics: What a Dog Breed Can Teach Us About Prejudice and Racial Politics*. His research has been funded by the National Science Foundation, featured in several prominent media outlets, and published in such scholarly journals as the *American Journal of Political Science* and the *Journal of Politics*. As a former contributing editor for the *Washington Post's* Monkey Cage Blog and current contributor at *FiveThirtyEight*, his work has received recognition from both popular and academic sources. Before arriving at UCI, Michael earned a Ph.D. in political science from UCLA in 2011 and was on the faculty at Brown University from 2011 to 2014.

Ciara Torres-Spelliscy is a Brennan Center fellow and professor of law at Stetson University College of Law, where she teaches courses in election law, corporate governance, business entities, and constitutional law. Prior to joining Stetson's faculty, Torres-Spelliscy was counsel in the Brennan Center's Democracy Program, where she provided guidance on money in politics and the judiciary to state and federal lawmakers. She was previously an associate at Arnold & Porter LLP and a staffer for Senator Richard Durbin. Torres-Spelliscy has testified before Congress and state and local legislative bodies as an expert on campaign finance reform. She has also helped draft legislation and Supreme Court briefs. Torres-Spelliscy specializes in campaign finance law and constitutional law and has presented at symposia across the United States and abroad. In 2016 she addressed the Federal Election Commission at a forum on dark and foreign money in U.S. elections. Torres-Spelliscy is the author of *Political Brands* and *Corporate Citizen? An Argument for the Separation of Corporation and State*. Her work has been published in *The New York Times*, *New York Law Journal*, *Slate*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and *U.S. News & World Report*, among others.

Kim Wyman is Senior Election Security Advisor for the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, or CISA, at the Department of Homeland Security. As an expert on elections and experienced Secretary of State, her appointment speaks to CISA's dedication to working with election officials throughout the nation in a non-partisan manner to ensure the security and resilience of our election infrastructure. Wyman was Washington's 15th Secretary of State. First elected in 2012, she is only the second woman to serve as Secretary of State in Washington's history. Prior to being elected to this office, Wyman served as Thurston County Elections Director for nearly a decade and served three terms as the elected Thurston County Auditor. She is a graduate of California State University, Long Beach and holds a Master of Public Administration degree from Troy State University. Additionally, she has been a Certified Elections and Registration Administrator (CERA) since 2004.

Emily Rong Zhang is assistant professor of law at UC Berkeley School of Law. She studies how the law can promote political participation and representation, especially of individuals from historically disadvantaged communities. Before joining Berkeley, she was a Skadden Fellow at the ACLU Voting Rights Project. She holds a J.D. and PhD from Stanford University. Her new article in the *UCLA Law Review* is entitled, *Questioning Questions in the Law of Democracy: What the Debate Over Voter ID Laws' Effects Teaches About Asking the Right Questions*.









