

OUTLINE

PREFACE	V
TABLE OF CASES	XVII

Chapter 1. Perspectives on Law and Democracy	1
A. The Republican Form of Government	2
B. The Role of Representatives	4
C. Theories of the Political Process.....	5
D. Judicial Review of Election Laws	7
 Chapter 2. The History of Voting Rights in the U.S.....	 13
A. Property Restrictions and Their Elimination	14
B. Reconstruction and Disenfranchisement.....	16
C. The Struggle for Women's Suffrage	22
D. The Second Reconstruction.....	25
E. Expansion of the Franchise and Recent Controversies	28
1. Age Restrictions.....	28
2. Durational Residency Requirements	29
3. Noncitizens.....	30
4. Prisoners and Felons	30
5. Election Administration Reform.....	31
 Chapter 3. The Constitutional Right to Vote.....	 33
A. Constitutional Text and Structure	33
B. Restrictions on Who May Vote	35
1. Literacy Tests	35

2.	Gerrymandering	37
3.	Poll Taxes.....	37
4.	Exclusions Based on Lack of an Interest.....	39
Chapter 4. Representation and Districting....		45
A.	The Political Question Doctrine	46
B.	One Person, One Vote	51
1.	The Equal Population Rule.....	51
2.	Application and Extension of the Rule....	58
a.	The Degree of Equality Required	58
b.	Measurement of Equal Population	63
c.	Localities and Special-Purpose Entities	66
d.	Other Democratic Processes	69
e.	“Fair and Effective Representation”	70
C.	Districting Criteria.....	71
Chapter 5. Partisan Gerrymandering		79
A.	What Is Gerrymandering?	79
B.	Constitutional Limits on Gerrymandering	84
1.	Gerrymandering and Population Equality.....	84
2.	Gerrymandering and Justiciability	86
a.	<i>Davis v. Bandemer</i>	86
b.	<i>Vieth v. Jubelirer</i>	89
c.	<i>LULAC v. Perry</i>	93
3.	Current Status.....	94
Chapter 6. Minority Representation.....		97
A.	The Voting Rights Act.....	98
1.	Section 5	98

OUTLINE

XI

a.	The Preclearance Process.....	98
b.	The Legal Standard for Preclearance.....	104
	(1) Retrogressive Effect.....	104
	(2) Discriminatory Purpose.....	107
c.	The Constitutionality of Preclearance.....	108
2.	Section 2	113
a.	The Constitutional Standard for Vote Dilution	114
b.	The 1982 Amendments to Section 2	119
c.	<i>Thornburg v. Gingles</i>	123
d.	Refinement of the <i>Gingles</i> Standard.....	128
	(1) “Sufficiently Large and Geographically Compact”	128
	(2) Racial Polarization.....	133
	(3) Totality of Circumstances.....	135
e.	Extension and Limitation of <i>Gingles</i>	135
B.	Racial Gerrymandering.....	137
1.	Background	137
2.	<i>Shaw v. Reno</i>	139
3.	Post- <i>Shaw</i> Cases	142
4.	Recent <i>Shaw</i> Claims	147
Chapter 7. Election Administration and Remedies		151
A.	Constitutional Requirements	153
1.	The 2000 Election Litigation	153
	a. The Electoral College.....	153
	b. The Protest and Contest.....	154

c.	<i>Bush v. Gore</i>	157
	(1) The Equal Protection Holding	158
	(2) The Remedy.....	160
	(3) The Article II Issue	162
	(4) The Dissents.....	163
	(5) The Aftermath.....	164
2.	Burdens on Voting	165
	a. Voter Identification.....	165
	b. Other Burdens	170
3.	Unequal Treatment	172
	a. Voting Equipment.....	172
	b. Absentee Voting, Early Voting, and Provisional Voting	176
B.	Federal Statutes	179
1.	The Voting Rights Act	180
	a. Section 2’s “Results” Test	181
	b. Section 5 Preclearance.....	182
	c. Language Assistance	183
2.	The National Voter Registration Act	184
3.	The Help America Vote Act	186
C.	State Laws	189
1.	Institutional Arrangements	189
2.	Voter Registration	190
3.	Voter Identification	191
4.	Provisional Voting	192
5.	Early and Absentee Voting	193
6.	Voting Equipment	193
7.	Polling Place Operations	194
8.	Canvasses, Recounts, and Contests	195
D.	Judicial Remedies.....	196
1.	Enjoining a Particular Practice	197
2.	Enjoining an Election	199

OUTLINE

XIII

3.	Adjusting Vote Totals	201
4.	Voiding an Election	203
5.	Civil Damages	205
6.	Criminal Penalties.....	206
Chapter 8. Direct Democracy		207
A.	Background	207
B.	State Requirements and Judicial Review	212
1.	Single Subject Rules	212
2.	Amendments and Revisions.....	217
3.	Other Content Limitations	219
4.	Procedural Requirements	221
5.	Judicial Review	223
C.	Federal Constitutional Limits	225
1.	The Republican Guarantee Clause.....	225
2.	Speech and Petition Rights Under the First Amendment	226
3.	Political Restructuring and the Equal Protection Clause.....	231
4.	Term Limits and the Qualifications Clauses	237
Chapter 9. Political Parties.....		243
A.	Parties in the U.S. Political System	243
B.	Constitutional Obligations of Parties: The White Primary Cases	247
C.	Associational Rights of Parties.....	254
1.	Presidential Nominations	254
2.	State Primaries.....	257
3.	Party Governance	263
D.	Ballot Access	264

Chapter 10. Campaign Finance

Regulation	275
A. Background	276
1. Modes of Regulation	276
2. Competing Values.....	278
3. The Constitutional Framework: <i>Buckley v. Valeo</i>	283
B. Expenditure Restrictions	291
1. Ballot Measure Campaigns.....	292
2. Political Party Expenditures	294
3. Corporations and Unions	295
a. Federal Law	295
b. Nonprofit Corporations	297
c. For-Profit Corporations and Unions	297
(1) <i>Austin v. Michigan Chamber of Commerce</i>	297
(2) <i>McConnell v. FEC</i>	299
(3) <i>Citizens United v. FEC</i>	300
4. Judicial Elections.....	305
C. Contribution Restrictions	306
1. Ballot Measure Elections	307
2. Contributions to Candidates.....	307
3. Contributions to Political Parties	312
4. Outside Groups	313
a. PACs	314
b. 527s.....	315
c. Super PACs and Nonprofits	316
5. Aggregate Limits	318
6. Judicial Elections.....	320
D. Public Financing.....	320
1. Presidential Elections	321
2. State Public Financing	322

	<i>OUTLINE</i>	<i>XV</i>
3.	Constitutional Limits	323
E.	Disclosure.....	326
INDEX.....		331