

# Bibliography for US Counter tactics

## Threat 1: Current Executive orders to restrict voting

### Counter tactic: Rapid litigation through voting rights coalitions

‘Court Strikes Down Key Part of Trump’s Unlawful Voting Executive Order, Permanently Blocking Show-Your-Papers Requirement’, *American Civil Liberties Union* (n.d.), <https://www.aclu.org/press-releases/court-strikes-down-key-part-of-trumps-unlawful-voting-executive-order-permanently-blocking-show-your-papers-requirement>, accessed 5 May 2026.

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### Counter tactic: Civic and Voter education campaigns

Bergeron-Boutin, Olivier, et al., *Communicating with Voters to Build Trust in the U.S. Election System*, n.d.

### Counter tactic: Parallel registration safety net & proactive registration check outreach to naturalized citizens

Holbein, John B., and D. Sunshine Hillygus, ‘Making Young Voters: The Impact of Preregistration on Youth Turnout’, *American Journal of Political Science*, 60/2 (2016), 364–82.

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CEPR, ‘The Impact of Increased Youth Voter Turnout on Fiscal Policy: Evidence from the US’ (7 Dec. 2017), <https://cepr.org/voxeu/columns/impact-increased-youth-voter-turnout-fiscal-policy-evidence-us>, accessed 5 May 2026.

### Counter tactic: Automatic Voter Registration (AVR)

No bibliography

## Threat 2: ICE and other security forces (including potentially military) interferes on and around E-day

### Counter tactic: State laws preventing ICE or similar near polling places

No bibliography

### **Counter tactic: Volunteers, lawyers & independent poll monitors deployed to highly contested districts – credible observer presence to deter interference and document irregularities**

Bush, Sarah Sunn, and Lauren Prather, 'The Promise and Limits of Election Observers in Building Election Credibility', *The Journal of Politics*, 79/3 (2017), 921–35, <https://doi.org/10.1086/691055>.

Garbiras-Díaz, Natalia, and Mateo Montenegro, 'All Eyes on Them: A Field Experiment on Citizen Oversight and Electoral Integrity', *American Economic Review*, 112/8 (2022), 2631–68, <https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.20210778>.

Hyde, Susan D., 'The Observer Effect in International Politics: Evidence from a Natural Experiment', *World Politics*, 60/1 (2007), 37–63, <https://doi.org/10.1353/wp.0.0001>.

Stewart III, Charles, MIT Election Data, and Science Lab, 'How We Voted in 2022: A Topical Look at the Survey of the Performance of American Elections', 2022.

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'"Vampires Don't like Sunlight" – How Volunteer Poll Watchers Stopped the Vote-Buying Machine', *Election 2026, English* (17 Apr. 2026), <https://english.atlatszo.hu/2026/04/17/vampires-dont-like-sunlight-how-volunteer-poll-watchers-stopped-the-vote-buying-machine/>, accessed 13 May 2026.

### **Counter tactic: Litigation against voter intimidation by ICE**

'Voting Rights Project', *Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law* (n.d.), <https://www.lawyerscommittee.org/project/voting-rights-project/>, accessed 5 May 2026.

'Voters Strike Back: Litigating against Modern Voter Intimidation', *N.Y.U. Review of Law & Social Change* (15 Sept. 2015), <https://socialchangenyu.com/review/voters-strike-back-litigating-against-modern-voter-intimidation/>, accessed 5 May 2026.

### **Counter tactic: FOIA requests to uncover potential plans to deploy ICE and military to polling stations**

Green, Rebecca, 'FOIA-Flooded Elections', *85 Ohio State Law Journal* 255-306 (2024) (1 Jan. 2024), <https://scholarship.law.wm.edu/facpubs/2173>.

### **Threat 3: Election official intimidation**

**Counter tactic: Physical security training, assessments & infrastructure improvements for election officials and polling places, including training of local law enforcement and emergency management for election-day incident response**

‘Poll of Election Officials Finds Concerns About Safety, Political Interference | Brennan Center for Justice’ (9 July 2025), <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/poll-election-officials-finds-concerns-about-safety-political>, accessed 5 May 2026.

National Policing Institute, States United Democracy Center, and 21st Century Policing Solutions, *Public Safety and Elections: A Guide for Law Enforcement* (2024), [https://web.archive.org/web/20241204054227/https://www.policinginstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/SUDC\\_NPIReport-FULL.pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20241204054227/https://www.policinginstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/SUDC_NPIReport-FULL.pdf), accessed 5 May 2026.

**Counter tactic: Pass laws to protect election officials’ personal information**

No bibliography

**Counter tactic: Establish independent, cross-partisan mental health and peer support networks for election workers**

No bibliography

**Counter tactic: AGs issuing public legal warnings**

Election-Officials-Finds-Concerns-about-Safety-Political, (n.d.), <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/poll-election-officials-finds-concerns-about-safety-political>.

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**Counter tactic: National official legal defense**

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## Threat 4: Exploit voter data to remove eligible voters

### Counter tactic: States refusal of unlawful DOJ data demands and contest them in Courts

‘Tracker of Justice Department Requests for Voter Information | Brennan Center for Justice’ (22 Apr. 2026), <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/tracker-justice-department-requests-voter-information>, accessed 6 May 2026.

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### Counter tactic: Enact state-level voter notification laws requiring officials to notify voters before removal and provide a cure period

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### Counter tactic: Publish and update public trackers of wrongful purge data

Goel, Sharad, et al., ‘One Person, One Vote: Estimating the Prevalence of Double Voting in U.S. Presidential Elections’, (Rochester, NY) published online 23 May 2019, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3872769>.

Ingraham, Christopher, ‘Analysis | This Anti-Voter-Fraud Program Gets It Wrong over 99 Percent of the Time. The GOP Wants to Take It Nationwide.’, *The Washington Post* (20 July 2017), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2017/07/20/this-anti-voter-fraud-program-gets-it-wrong-over-99-of-the-time-the-gop-wants-to-take-it-nationwide/>, accessed 6 May 2026.

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### **Counter tactic: Independent SAVE accuracy audit**

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'Common Cause Indiana v. Lawson', *American Civil Liberties Union* (n.d.), <https://www.aclu.org/cases/common-cause-indiana-v-lawson>, accessed 6 May 2026.

## **Threat 5: Spread lies about election integrity**

### **Counter tactic: Prebunking & trusted local media fact-checking campaigns — inoculate voters before they encounter disinformation and build coalitions for real-time correction**

Biddlestone, Mikey, et al., 'Video Inoculation against Election Misinformation across 12 EU Nations.', *Communications Psychology*, 4/1 (2026), 77, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s44271-025-00379-3>.

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### **Counter tactic: Expert views: Local media fact-checking component**

No bibliography

### **Counter tactic: Election officials should proactively communicate the technical security measures in place before they are needed**

Lockhart, Mackenzie, et al., ‘Voters Distrust Delayed Election Results, but a Prebunking Message Inoculates against Distrust’, *PNAS Nexus*, 3/10 (2024), pgae414, <https://doi.org/10.1093/pnasnexus/pgae414>.

### **Counter tactic: Parallel vote tabulation / "quick counts"**

Estok, Melissa, Neil Nevitte, and Glenn Cowan, *The Quick Count and Election Observation: An NDI Handbook for Civic Organizations and Political Parties*, with National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (Washington, DC, 2002).

Mkandawire, Hlazo, ‘The Use of Facebook and Mobile Phones to Report Presidential Election Results in Zambia’, *African Journalism Studies*, 37/4 (2016), 81–99, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23743670.2016.1256050>.

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*Ukraine Parallel Vote Tabulation*, n.d., <https://epde.org/?news=statement-of-opora-on-e-day-and-parallel-vote-tabulation>.

## **Threat 6: Coerce state officials into falsifying election results or blocking certification**

### **Counter tactic: CSOs prepare resistance protocol and guidance against pressure**

Campaign Legal Center, ‘State Election Certification Processes and Guardrails’ (n.d.), <https://campaignlegal.org/state-election-certification-processes-and-guardrails>, accessed 6 May 2026.

‘Election Certification Processes and Guardrails | Brennan Center for Justice’, (18 Sept. 2024), <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/election-certification-processes-and-guardrails>, accessed 6 May 2026.

**Counter tactic: Pre-litigation and legislative advocacy to establish expedited judicial remedies for certification refusal at state and federal levels**

Allen, Joe, 'Election Certification, Explained', *Protect Democracy* (19 May 2025), <https://protectdemocracy.org/work/election-certification-explained/>, accessed 6 May 2026.

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## **Threat 7: Cyberattack on election technology**

**Counter tactic: State, interstate, and training and assessments (State-led interstate election cybersecurity training and assessments)**

Chaudhary, Sunil, Vasileios Gkioulos, and Sokratis Katsikas, 'Developing Metrics to Assess the Effectiveness of Cybersecurity Awareness Program', *Journal of Cybersecurity*, 8/1 (2022), tyac006, <https://doi.org/10.1093/cybsec/tyac006>.

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**Counter tactic: Governments move to paid memberships to preserve shared cybersecurity defences and threat intelligence**

Buckley, Ruth et al., 'A Review of Cyber Information Sharing in Information Sharing Analysis Centres (Isacs)', SSRN Scholarly Paper no. 4770617 (Social Science Research Network, 23 Mar. 2024), <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4770617>.

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**Counter tactic: Cybersecurity tools, services & private-sector election security surge for local officials — filling the CISA gap with no/low-cost resources and coordinated private-sector support**

Harper, Tim, and Isabel Linzer, 'Countdown to the Midterms: Mapping the Rapid Evolution of Election Security', *Center for Democracy and Technology* (13 Feb. 2026), <https://cdt.org/insights/countdown-to-the-midterms-mapping-the-rapid-evolution-of-election-security/>, accessed 6 May 2026.

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**Counter tactic: Advocate for/fund improve election infrastructure**

No bibliography

## Multiple threats:

**Threat: Election official intimidation, coerce state officials into falsifying election results or blocking certification**

**Counter tactic: Increasing legal protections for election workers and infrastructure & communicating about protections to deter malicious actors**

‘Where Have All the Election Officials Gone?’, Science and Democracy, *The Equation* (19 Aug. 2024), <https://blog.ucs.org/liza-gordon-rogers/where-have-all-the-election-officials-gone/>, accessed 6 May 2026.

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**Threat: Cyberattack on election technology, Election official intimidation, ICE at polls**

**Counter tactic: Developing backup systems and incident response plans, establishing clear roles and responsibilities, and ensuring minimal disruption to voting processes if incidents occur**

‘Using Tabletop Exercises to Identify Election Security Risks’, (n.d.), <https://www.cna.org/centers-and-divisions/ipr/emo/election-security-workshops-and-exercises/election-security-tabletop-exercises>, accessed 6 May 2026.

**Threat: Coerce state officials into falsifying election results or blocking certification, Election official intimidation**

**Counter tactic: Coercion network tracker**

Nigro, Nick, ‘Authoritarian Interference Tracker’, *Alliance For Securing Democracy* (n.d.), <https://securingdemocracy.isd.ngo/toolbox/authoritarian-interference-tracker/>, accessed 6 May 2026.

**Threat: Spread lies about election integrity, ICE at polls, Executive orders to restrict voting**

**Counter tactic: Trusted community intermediaries as "safety ambassadors."**

Collier, Paul, and Pedro C. Vicente, ‘Votes and Violence: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Nigeria’, *The Economic Journal*, 124/574 (2014), F327–55, <https://doi.org/10.1111/econj.12109>.

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**Threat: Spread lies about election integrity, coerce state officials into falsifying election results or blocking certification, Executive orders to restrict voting**

**Counter tactic: Engage the business community as pro-democracy constituency**

Pereira, Rafael H. M., et al., 'Free Public Transit and Voter Turnout', *Electoral Studies*, 86 (2023), 102690, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2023.102690>.

Spillane, Ashley, and Sofia Gross, 'Why and How Companies Invest in Get-Out-the-Vote Efforts', *Business Management, Harvard Business Review* (6 Aug. 2019), <https://hbr.org/2019/08/why-and-how-companies-invest-in-get-out-the-vote-efforts>, accessed 6 May 2026.

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**Threat: Spread lies about election integrity, coerce state officials into falsifying election results or blocking certification, Executive orders to restrict voting**

**Counter tactic: OSCE institutional electoral observation**

Hyde, Susan D., 'The Observer Effect in International Politics: Evidence from a Natural Experiment', *World Politics*, 60/1 (2007), 37–63, <https://doi.org/10.1353/wp.0.0001>.

*How-to-Prevent-Elections-from-Being-Stolen-Lessons-from-around-the-World-for-the-Us*, (n.d.), <https://theconversation.com/how-to-prevent-elections-from-being-stolen-lessons-from-around-the-world-for-the-us-275390>.

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## Threat 2: ICE and other security forces (including potentially military) interfere on and around E-day

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‘ICE Chief Admits There’s No Reason for Immigration Agents to Be at Voting Sites’, *Democracy Docket* (12 Feb. 2026), <https://www.democracymarket.com/news-alerts/ice-chief-federal-immigration-agents-polling-places-2026-midterms/>, accessed 8 May 2026.

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### **Threat 3: Election official intimidation**

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