

Index

Note: Page numbers in *italics* indicate figures, **bold** indicate tables in the text, and references following “n” refer notes.

- Abbott, Greg 132, 210, 210n19
 absentee voting 63, 68, 184, 234, 238, 245, 149–250
Achieving the 26th Amendment (Frost and de Schweinitz) 8
A Crucible Moment: College Learning and Democracy's Future 65
 Act 140 (Tuskegee) 19–22, 90–99, 208, 223
 Adams, Lewis 78–79
 Aden, Leah 137, 140, 224
 affidavit ballot 183–185, 209, 219, 223, 243, 251
 – *see also* provisional ballot
 Aggie Access 239
 Alexander, Nathan 140
 Allen, Jayla 135–136, 136, 140, 280
Allen v. Waller, 472 F. Supp. 3d 351 (S.D. Tex. 2020) 127n60, 132n.83, 135–137, 293
 ALL IN Campus Democracy Challenge 56, 67, 174, 201, 218, 235, 275
 Alta Vista Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas for Colored Youth 114
 Alta Vista Plantation 115
 American Association of Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) 55, 56n13
 American Civil Liberties Union 69, 198, 268
 American Jewish Committee 2
 Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) 188–189, 193, 215
 Anderson, John 3
Andrew Goodman Foundation v. Dutchess County Board of Elections, 52737/20 (N.Y. Sup. Ct. 2020) 191n.61, 192, 193n.65, 194n.68, 195n.70, 219n.58
 Andrew Goodman Foundation (AGF) 56, 69, 192, 195, 197, 201, 274, 275
 – Vote Everywhere Ambassadors 191, 239
 Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith 102, 103n66, 220
 Armstrong, Samuel Chapman 80
 A&T (Greensboro) Four 59, 218, 286
Auerbach v. Kinley, 594 F. Supp. 1503 (N.D.N.Y. 1984) 43n.97, 177, 179, 185
 Baker, Ella 27–28, 59
Baker v. Carr, 369 U.S. 186 (1962) 24
 Ballas, Charles 122–124, 217
Ballas v. Symm, 351 F. Supp. 876 (S.D. Tex. 1972) 122–124
 Barbour, Priscilla 130, 134, 217, 222
 Bard College 6–7, 49, 68, 173–202, 207, 209, 215, 225, 231, 285–287, 291–293
 – background 173–174
 – battle for on-campus poll sites 188–199
 – battle over residency 175–180
 – Board of Trustees 69, 178, 200, 223
 – Center for Civic Engagement (CCE) 187, 191–194, 201, 219, 224, 226, 253, 291
 – challenging registration addresses 185–188
 – Election@Bard 187, 191, 192, 197, 199, 200, 219, 226, 243, 253
 – judicial threats to student voters 180–185
 – questionnaires 175–180
 – reflections 199–202
 – residency threats to student voters 180–185
 – student organizing 175–180
 – student voters 189, 191
 – voter suppression 185–188
Bard College v. Dutchess County Board of Election, 198 A.D.3d 1014 (N.Y. App. Divs. 2021) (No. 52777/21) 219n58
 Bard Prison Initiative (BPI) 174
 Bates, Daisy 101
 Battle, John S. 97
 Bayh, Birch 2n5, 3, 35, 37, 40, 40n94
 Beaumont, Texas 117, 129
 Becker, Jonathan 285–287, 287
 Becton, Julius 129

- Bennett College 57, 147–148
 Benson, Lee
 – *Dewey's Dream* 65
 Bentley, W.H. 90
 Berman, Jay 2n6, 35
 Bertelsmann Campus Center, Bard College
 193, 196, 197, 198
 Biondi, Martha 151n12
 Black Power movement 150n11, 151, 165
 Bland, Sandra 113
 Bloody Sunday 29, 241
 Board of Elections (BOE) 176n8, 178, 180,
 185–188, 186n50, 190–196, 199, 210, 218–
 219, 239, 242–243, 251, 255–256, 285–
 286
 Botstein, Leon 68, 178, 192, 198, 223
 Boycott
 – Montgomery Bus 19, 21, 92, 101, 111, 117
 – Tuskegee 21, 91–96, 100, 105, 216, 220, 223
 – Prairie View A&M 132
 Boyer Ernest 55
 Brands, James 183, 209, 210
 Bratton, Green 288
 Bratton, Lisa 287–288, 287
 Brennan Center for Justice 186
 Brewington, Braxton 218
 Bromberg, Yael 191, 197, 198, 215, 224, 287,
 288–290
 Brooks, Arthur L. 79
 Brown, James Jr. 2, 37
Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483
 (1954) 18–19, 27, 77, 98n58, 212
 Budwine, Kristen 140
 Bullock, Bob 117, 118, 120, 122

 Caesar, Love 146, 218
 Caffrey, Sara 175, 175n3
 Campbell, George Washington 77, 79, 80, 89
*The Campus Color Line: College Presidents and
 the Struggle for Black Freedom* (Cole) 69,
 162
 Campus Compact 54, 66, 174
 Campus Vote Project 56, 235
 campus voter action plan 232–236, 237
 Cannan, Erin 64, 223
 Carroll, Robin 175

Carrington v. Rash, 380 U.S. 89 (1965) 44n100,
 119, 121, 175n5
 Carter, Herbert 82
 Carter, Robert Lee 23, 98
 casting a ballot 234, 235, 250
 Cea, Brianna 279
 Center for Information & Research on Civic
 Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) 233,
 235, 236, 275–276
 Center of Excellence for Social Justice (CESJ)
 169
 Chafe, William 150
 – *Civilities and Civil Rights* 147–148
 Chameides, Michael 176, 177, 201, 218
 Chaney, James 29, 60
 Chapman, Daniel 148
 Charleston, Dwayne 131
 Cherrie, Xadia 240, 241
 Chisholm, Shirley 288
 Ciampoli, John 183, 183n36
 citizenship, types of 70–72
 civic actors 60
 – faculty as citizen 62–64
 – institution as citizen 64–69
 – student as citizen 60–62
 civic democracy 84–85, 104, 107
 Civic Engagement Coalition (CEC) 254, 255
 Civics Center (organization) 233
Civilities and Civil Rights (Chafe) 147–148
 Civil Rights Act of 1957 25, 96, 220, 226
 Civil Rights Act of 1960 26, 48, 220, 226
 Civil Rights Act of 1964 1, 116
 Civil Rights Commission *see* U.S. Commission
 on Civil Rights
 Civil War (1861–1865) 13, 13n4, 80, 107
 Clark, Septima 106
 Clark, T.J. 120
 Clayton, Patti
 – *Democratic Engagement White Paper* 55,
 55n11
 Clinton, Bill 293
 Clinton, Hillary 181
 Cole, Eddie
 – *The Campus Color Line* 69, 162
 Colegrove, Kenneth W. 64n32
Colegrove v. Green, 328 U.S. 549 (1946) 22,
 22n44, 23, 64n32, 98

- College Democrats of America 178
- College Republicans of America 178
- Common Cause 2, 48, 62, 69, 161, 197, 224, 289
- Common Cause North Carolina 146, 147, 155, 158, 161, 215, 218, 226
- Community Preservation Fund (CPF) 181
- Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) 28, 29
- Conti v. Dutchess County Board of Elections*, 9054 (N.Y. Sup. Ct. 2009) 185n44, 185n45, 219n58
- Cooper v. Harris*, 581 U.S. __ (2017) 157n28
- Cosby Show
 - *A Different World* 152, 155
- COVID-19 192, 194–196, 209, 211, 221, 268
- cross-campus coalition-building 253–255
- Crusade for Civic Democracy: The Story of the Tuskegee Civic Association, 1941–1970* (Guzman) 100
- Culinary Institute of America 186, 188, 213
- Daniels, Ron
 - *What Universities Owe Democracy* 56
- democracy 53–59
- Democracy Matters 56
- Democrat 35, 78, 111, 137, 159, 179, 181, 184, 190, 213, 270, 293
- Democratic Engagement White Paper* (Saltmarsh, Hartley and Clayton) 55, 55n11
- Denton, Texas 120
- de Schweinitz, Rebecca
 - *Achieving the 26th Amendment* 8
- deVeer, Sarah 192
- Dewey's Dream* (Benson, Harkavy, and Puckett) 65
- A Different World* (Show) 152, 155
- Dillon, Marc 184
- Divine 9 organizations 159
- domicile 12, 120–126, 131
 - *see also* residency/resident
- Donofrio, Michael 197, 225
- Douglass, Frederick 47
- Douglass, Paul 96
- Doxsey, Patricia 186n49
- Dryer, Thomas B. 79
- Du Bois, William Edward Burghardt 13, 57, 59
- due process rights 124
- Duhon, Trey 136–138
- Dunn v. Blumstein*, 405 U.S. 330 (1972) 44n100
- Dutchess County, New York 173–179, 183, 185–187, 199, 201, 207, 211, 213
 - Board of Elections 178, 180, 185–188, 190–197, 199, 226, 239, 242–243, 251, 256, 285–286
- Dyson, Wheeler 20
- early voting 249
 - access to 135
 - during and before election day **252**
 - hours 61, 132–133, 136
 - limitation on PVAMU's campus 134, 136
- Eason, Christy 136
- Educating for Democracy 55, 56n13
- Edwards, Rebecca 64n32
- Egan, William 179
- Eisenberg, Arthur 179, 187
- Eisenhower, Dwight David 18
- election day 189, 196, 243, **244**, 246, 249–251, **249**, **252**
- Elias Law Group LLP 198
- Eliot, Charles 54
- Elkinton, Monica 177, 180, 201, 218
- Ellis, Rodney 44n102, 214
- Ellison, Ralph
 - *Invisible Man* 82
- Elman, Philip 98, 98n58
- Elwood, William A. 87
- Encina, Brian 113
- Engelhardt, Samuel 20, 91, 95, 208, 212, 214
- Equal Rights Amendment of 1923 17, 47
- Eskridge, Charles 138
- external organizations 224–225
- faculty 71–72
 - Tuskegee Institute 100–104
- faculty as citizens 219–221
- Fair Election Center 235
- Fair Housing Act 116
- Favors, Jelani M. 59, 63, 287, 290–291
 - *Shelter in a Time of Storm* 58
- Fayetteville State University 215
- feigned residency 131, 210
- Ferguson, Frances 178

- Fifteenth Amendment *see* United State Constitution, 15th Amendment
- First Amendment *see* United State Constitution, 1st Amendment
- first-generation challenges, youth vote 42–46
- First Reconstruction (1865–1877) 12, 13–17, 29, 32, 44, 78
- Folsom, James Elisha 90
- Foster, Luther Hilton 105, 222
- Foster, William F. 78–79
- Fourteenth Amendment *see* United State Constitution, 14th Amendment
- Franklin, Benjamin 54
- Franklin and Marshall College 273
- Freedom Rides 28, 47, 150
- Freedom Summer of 1964 1, 28, 47, 60, 278
- From Jim Crow to Civil Rights* (Klarman) 16
- Frost, Jennifer
- *Achieving the 26th Amendment* 8
- “Let Us Vote!” 2n5, 2n6, 8, 41n96, 61, 66n40
- Frye, Henry 150
- Galliardi, Joseph P. 175, 175n6
- Gamache, Dave 180, 183n38
- Gantt, Harvey 152–153
- Gasman, Marybeth 58n19
- GenVote 197, 201, 279
- Georgia Youth Poll Worker Project 279
- gerrymandering 49, 167, 169
- NC A&T 152–166
- partisan 7, 156n.23, 167
- racial 215, 220
- of Tuskegee Institute 19–27, 90–97, 92
- get-out-the-vote (GOTV) 61, 159, 201, 216, 219, 224, 231, 234, 239, 245–248, **248–249**, 250, 251, 253
- Giamatti, Bartlett 53
- Gibbs, Wartmoth Thomas 168
- Gilhooley, Simon 201, 291–293
- Gill, Sonia 268
- Gillibrand, Kirsten 181
- Gilmore, Allison 160
- “Give us the Ballot” speech 1, 212
- Goldwater, Barry 4, 271
- Gomillion, Charles Goode 7, 21, 66, 83, 84–86, 87, 87n25, 89, 91, 95, 96, 101, 102, 105, 211, 217n45, 219, 220, 222, 222n70, 223, 223n72, 225
- Gomillion, Jennie 101
- Gomillion v. Lightfoot* 7, 21–25, 22n44, 24n47, 64, 64n32, 89, 98–99, 105, 220
- Goodlatte, Bob 268
- Goodman, Andrew (Andy) 29, 47, 60, 289
- Goodman, David 278, 289, 290, 292
- grassroots campaign 177
- Gray, Fred 19, 21, 21n39, 22, 22n44, 23, 224
- Grayson, Randolph 117
- Greensboro, North Carolina 12, 27, 47, 57, 59, 60, 145, 147–148, 150–151, 153–156, 159–161, 163, 166
- Griffin, Jefferson 270
- Grinspan, Jon
- *The Virgin Vote* 14
- Guinier, Lani 205
- Guzman, Jessie Parkhurst 90, 100–101, 101–102
- *Crusade for Civic Democracy: The Story of the Tuskegee Civic Association, 1941–1970* 100
- *Negro Year Book* 100
- Gwendolyn, Mary 85
- Haight, Erik 186, 186n46, 190, 194, 195, 209, 211, 213
- Hamilton, Charles B. 106
- Hamilton, Charles Vernon 26, 220
- Hampton, William 148
- Harkavy, Ira
- *Dewey’s Dream* 65
- Harlan, Louis Rudolph. 223n70
- Harper, Tameka 255
- Harper v. Hall*, 383 N.C. 89 (2022), *withdrawn by* 384 N.C. 292 (2023) 7, 167
- Hartley, Matthew
- *Democratic Engagement White Paper* 55, 55n11
- Hayden, Tom
- *The Port Huron Statement* 65, 65n36
- Helms, Jesse 152
- Help America Vote Act 67n42
- Helstein, Ralph 106
- Henry, Paige 240
- Hicks, Sydney 124
- Higgins, Rodney 290

- Higher Education Act of 1965 67
 – 1998 reauthorization of 180, 231
 Hill, John 125
 Hinton-Smith, Vashti 155–156
 Hipple, Tom 33, 34
 Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HB-CUs) 6, 7, 12, 19, 27, 53, 69, 115, 145–146, 146, 148–157, 159, 161–163, 165–168, 170, 205, 213, 215, 255, 267, 275, 290, 293
 – case study 57–59
 – sit-in campaign 47
 – *see also* Prairie View A&M University; Tuskegee University; North Carolina A&T University
 Hodges, Luther 149
 Hodos, Laura 175
 Hogg, David 279, 290
 Holder, Eric 155, 167
 Holland, William H. 114
 Horton, Myles 106
 Howell, Jan 175
 Humphrey, Hubert 96
 Hunter, William Andrew 96, 220

Inside Higher Ed 67
 Institute for Democracy and Higher Education (IDHE) 235, 256
 institution as citizen 53, 60, 64–69, 221–224, 232–236
Invisible Man (Ellison) 82
 Ivy League Votes 67, 277

 Jackson, Frank 127–131, 214, 222
 Jackson, Jesse 152, 157
 Jackson, Jimmy Lee 29
 Jefferson, Thomas 111
 Jemiole, Kristen 179, 183n35
 Jim Crow 5, 14, 16–18, 27, 29, 42–46, 111, 147, 149, 154, 160, 162, 212
 John Lewis Voting Rights Act 268
 Johnson, Damon 136
 Johnson, James Weldon 59
 Johnston, George Washington Albert 89n30
 Jones, Kendrick 140
 Jones, Lewis Wade 101–103, 103, 220, 222n70, 223
 – *Tuskegee, Alabama* 102–103, 103n66

 Jones, Mack 130, 221
 Josey, Alley 176n8
 judicial threats, to student voters 180–185
 Justice Department 1, 208, 214
 justice oriented citizen 70, 200, 201, 216–217, 219–220
 justice-oriented model, student voting 232–236

 Kahne, Joseph 53, 70, 216
 Karas, Kenneth 187–188
 Keefer, Patricia 48, 48n107, 49
 Keesing, Felicia 194, 221
 Kenamer, Charles Brents Kenamer 89
 Kennedy, Ted 37
 Kern, Daniel Roscoe 187, 187n52
 Keyssar, Alexander 1n2
 Kilton, Katie 233
 King, Martin Luther Jr. 1, 59, 93, 94, 111–112, 212, 212n24, 225
 Kinoy, Arthur 225
 Kirby, Jared E. 115
 Kitzman, Oliver 131–132, 210n19, 217, 224
 Klarman, Michael J.
 – *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights* 16
 Klose, Woody 179
 Knapp, Fran 183, 187
 Knight, Nikolaus (Nick) 156, 164–166, 218
 Koblit, Robert 175, 201, 221
 Kovel, Joel 176
 Ku Klux Klan (KKK or Klan) 14, 18, 19, 29, 113, 278

 Laurel Street 154, 158
 Lawson, Belford Jr. 148
 Leadership Conference on Civil Rights 34
 League of Women Voters 62, 69, 177
 Lee, Spike
 – *School Daze* 152
 Let New York Vote 197
 Let Us Vote (LUV) 34
 “*Let Us Vote!*” (Frost) 2n5, 2n6, 8, 41n96, 61, 66n40
 Levy, Mary 130, 131, 214
 Lewis, David 159, 212
 Lewis, John 59
 Lightfoot, Philip M. 98

- Lindley, Neothies 132
 Loewe, Lela 131
Loving v. Virginia, 388 U.S. 1 (1967) 78
 Lowe, Maydrian-Strozier 140
 Luders, Juders 178, 201, 221
 lynchings 16, 47, 113, 149
- MacGowan, Ian 36, 47
 Macon County, Alabama 90, 95–97, 103–104,
 107–108, 219, 220, 226
 – Board of Registrars 20, 24n47, 25–26,
 87–90, 97
 Maddow, Rachel 112
 mail-in ballots 272, *see also* absentee ballots
 Mansfield, Mike 3, 38
 Marable, Karen Good 113
 Marist College 186, 188, 213
 Marlborough, Evan 279, 290
 Marshall, Thurgood. 59, 98n58
 Martin, Harold 163, 165, 168, 169
Martinelli v. Dutchess County Board of Elections
 (N.Y. Sup. Ct. 2009) 183n36, 183n37,
 184n42
 Matsunaga, Spark 3
 McCaig, A.M. “Buddy” 128–110, 210, 213,
 213n.21
 McCrory, Pat 271
 McCurn, Neil P. 177
 McGance, Phil 33
 McMillan, Tylik 156, 157
 Means, Taneisha 64n32
 Medina, Alberto 233
 Memorial Student Center (MSC), PVAMU
 134–135, 137, 217
 Michael, Robert 4
 Mikva, Abner 200, 285
 Mishkin, Doug 192, 197, 224
 Mitchell, Clarence 34
 Mitchell, William P. 26, 88–90, 89n30, 96, 97,
 220
Mitchell v. Wright, 69 F. Supp. 698 (M.D.
 Ala. 1947) 88, 89n31, 89n32
 Molinaro, Marcus 179
Montana Democratic Party v. Jacobsen, 545 P.3d
 1074 (Montana 2024) 272n9
 Montgomery Bus Boycott 19, 21, 92, 101, 111,
 117
- Moore, Carl Jr. 129
 Moore, Carl Sr. 129
 Moton, Robert Russa 105
 Muhammad, Joshua 136
 Murphy, Scott 181
 Murray, Pauli 18n26
 Myer, Paul 33, 34
- National Association for the Advancement of
 Colored People (NAACP) 18n26, 28, 36,
 62, 69, 137, 140, 149, 160
 – General Counsel 23, 98
 – Legal Defense Fund (LDF) 136, 224, 293
 – Lobbyist 34
 – Youth and College Division 2, 34, 37
 National Association of Autoworkers 2
 National Association of Social Workers 36
 National Education Association (NEA) 2, 2n5,
 34, 35, 36
 National Student Association 2n5, 36
 National Study of Learning, Voting and Engage-
 ment (NSVLE) 56, 235
 National Voter Registration Act of 1993 67
Negro Year Book (Guzman) 100
 New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU) 175,
 177–179, 186–187, 186n50, 191, 201, 221
 New York Public Interest Research Group (NY-
 PIRG) 177, 197, 202
 Nineteenth Amendment *see* United State Con-
 stitution, 19th Amendment
 Nixon, Edgar Daniel 101
 Nixon, Richard Milhous 4
 Noel, James 118, 119, 123, 207
 normal school/college 78n1, 79, 115
 Norrell, Robert Jefferson 86, 107, 207n5
 North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State
 University (NC A&T) 6, 12, 27, 63, 69,
 145–170, 208–210, 211, 215n41, 226, 239,
 247, 254, 275
 – Center of Excellence for Social Justice (CESJ)
 169
 – division of 208
 – gerrymandering 152–166
 – Office of Leadership and Civic Engagement,
 169, 218, 222
 – overview 145–151
 – poll site 210

- student protesters 146–147
- North Texas State University 120
- Nussbaum, Martha 54
- Obadele, Imari 130
- Obama, Barack 133, 153, 181, 288
- O’Keefe, Kathleen 183n38, 184, 185
- on-campus poll sites 72, 188–199, 209, 232
- “An Open Letter from the South on Civil Rights” 100–101, 100n64
- “Operation Doorknock” campaign 148
- Oregon v. Mitchell*, 400 U.S. 112 (1970) 38
- Orphan, Cecilia 58n19
- Pagones, James D. 185
- Parks, Rosa 106
- Paroli, William Sr. 176–177, 179–180, 186, 207, 208
- participatory citizen 70, 216, 219, 222
- participatory democracy 8, 28, 145, 226
- Partners for Campus-Community Engagement (PCCE) 174
- Patterson, Frederick Douglass 105, 222, 223
- Patterson, John Malcolm 25, 26, 27, 214, 214n34
- Patton, Gwen 107
- Paul, Alice 16, 47
- Pelosi, John 182
- personally responsible citizen 70, 222, 231
- Persons, Gordon 223
- Pitcher v. Dutchess County Board of Elections*, 12-cv-8017 (SDNY 2013) 187n53, 219n58
- Planning Roadmap 236–252
- Player, Willa 57
- political polarization 268, 271
- polling sites/poll sites, on-campus 167, 188, 215, 238, 255–256, 272, 279
- poll tax 1n2, 16, 17, 19, 30, 77, 86–87, 87n25, 90
- The Port Huron Statement* (Hayden) 65, 65n36
- post-election debrief, student voting 251–252, **252**
- Prairie View A&M University (PVAMU) 12, 44–45, 63, 69, 111–140, 207–209, 211, 217
 - background 114–116
 - challenges and responses 116–126
 - PV-19 127–132
 - Ruth J. Simmons Race and Justice Center 139
 - student eligibility to access 132–134
 - student protests 136, 139
 - student struggles and developments 135–138
- Prairie View City Council 124, 130, 140
- Prairie View 19 (PV-19) 127–132
- Price, Melanye 139, 287, 293–294
- provisional ballots 41n96, 63, 182
 - see also affidavit ballot
- Puckett, John
 - *Dewey’s Dream* 65
- Pulzer, Eric 233
- Purnell, John 136
- Queen, Philomena 37, 37n85, 47
- questionnaires 21, 43, 45, 96–97, 117–118, 175–180, 207, 207n5
- Quinones, Eva-Marie 191, 201, 219
- Race, Ruth J. Simmons 139
- Rafti, Jonian 191, 201, 219
- Railsback, Tom 2n5, 5, 5n15
- Randolph, Jennings 3, 33
- Rao, Jahnvi 279, 292
- Reaping the Whirlwind* (Norwell) 94
- Reconstruction, First (1865–1877) see First Reconstruction (1865–1877)
- Reconstruction, Second (1954–1968) see Second Reconstruction (1954–1968)
- Republican 4, 5, 16, 34–35, 78, 111, 137, 157, 161, 163, 166, 167, 179, 181, 184, 212, 270
 - election commissioner 175–176, 186, 190
 - Ripon Society 36
- Republic of New Afrika 130
- Research Revolutionaries 247
- residency/resident 44n100, 49, 114, 118–121, 123–124, 126
 - eligibility for New York State college students 179
 - questionnaire 45, 175–180
 - student voting eligibility based on 7
 - threats to student voters 180–185
 - violation of test 42–43
- residential campuses 250
- Richards, David 118, 122, 224

- Richardson, Judy 278, 290, 292
 Riggs, Allison 271, 275n20, 290
 right to vote 11–49
 – first-generation challenges to 42–46
 – First Reconstruction 13–17
 – Second Reconstruction 17–33
 – Twenty-sixth Amendment 33–41
 Ripon Society 36
 Robinson, Amelia Boynton 82
 Robinson, Jackie 104
 Robinson, Judy R. 175
 Rock the Vote 239
 Roe, Alexis 187, 187n52
 Rosa, Maria 195
 Rowland, Brian 132
Rucho v. Common Cause, 588 U.S. 684 (2019)
 7, 156n23, 167
Rutgers University Law Review 6n17, 8, 41n96,
 63n31, 130n74, 200, 210n17, 289
- Saba, Sadia 192
 Safeguard American Voter Eligibility (SAVE) Act
 269
 Saltmarsh, John
 – *Democratic Engagement White Paper* 55,
 55n11
 Sanchez, Raul 136
 scholarship of engagement 55
School Daze (Lee) 152
 Schwerner, Michael (Mickey) 29, 60
 Scott, Gloria Dean Randall 58
 Scott, McKenzie 169
 Seawright, Tiffany 254–255
 second curriculum 58–59, 63, 146–147, 155–
 156, 162, 166, 220, 221, 290
 Second Reconstruction (1954–1968) 1, 6, 8,
 12, 17–41, 47–48, 77, 218, 267, 287
 – Student Civil Rights Movement 27–29
 – Voting Rights Act of 1965 29–33
 Segrest, Marvin 107
 Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amend-
 ments 2n5, 37, 47
 Sharpton, Al 157
Shelby v. Holder 6, 31, 137, 154, 155, 212
Shelter in a Time of Storm (Favors) 58
 Shores, Arthur Davis 89, 98
 Simmons, Leodies U.A. 117
- Simmons, Ruth J. 139, 222
 Sit-In movement 27–28, 47, 106, 130, 150,
 157, 162, 164, 165
 Smerling, Marlina 176
 Smith, Derick 155–156, 166, 221, 226
 Smith, Gabriel 212n25
 Smith, Stanley H. 220
 – *Tuskegee, Alabama: Voting Rights and Economic
 Pressure* 102–103, 103n66
 Smith, Treasure 136
 Soto, Beth 192
 Souls to the Polls 159–160
 Southern Christian Leadership Conference
 28, 36
 special burdens 12, 41, 49
 Speers, Peter 214
 Spencer, Dorsey 58n19
 Spikes, Vivian 132
 statehood, District of Columbia 32
 Steele, James 166, 221
 Steen, John 134
 Stevenson, Ellery 127
 Strawinski, Micki 181
 ‘stroll to the polls’ initiative 159
 Student Activists for Voting Equality (SAVE)
 176, 218, 226
 student citizens 216–219
 Student Civil Rights Movement 27–29
 Student National Education Association 2n5
 Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
 (SNCC) 27–28, 47, 106, 107, 150
 Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU)
 150
 student protesters, NC A&T 146–147
 Students Learn Students Vote Coalition (SLSVC)
 56, 235, 253, 275
 Student Social Action Coalition 255
 student vote/voting 8, 8n19, 53, 60, 63, 64,
 64n32, 69, 113, 137, 175, 182, 188, 206–211,
 221,
 – campus polling sites 255–256
 – campus polling sites (toolkit) 255, n.45
 – campus voter action plan 232–236
 – cross-campus coalition-building 253–255
 – getting out the vote 245–248, **248–249**
 – institutions as citizens 232–236
 – justice-oriented model 232–236

- leadership 256–257
- Planning Roadmap 236–252
- post-election debrief 251–252, **252**
- voter registration 236–245, **241–242**, **244–245**
- voting plan and election day 249–251
- “Student Voting: Power, Politics and Race in the Fight for American Democracy” 286, 286–287, 288, 290–291, 294
- Sturgeon, Noel 175, 175n3
- suffrage 11, 13–17, 13n4, 32, 40, 43, 47–48, 267
- Sullivan, William 55
- Sussman, Alan 178, 221
- Sutton, Aleecia 159
- Swanson, M.B. 79
- Symm, LeRoy 114, 116–132, 207, 217
- Symm v. United States*, 439 U.S. 1105 (1979) 5, 7, 43–45, 114, 124–126, 177, 199, 207, 226, 239n18
- Taper, Bernard 20, 21
- Tea Party movement 134
- Texas Advocate* 130, 214
- Texas A&M University 115
- Texas Constitution 114–115
- Thomas, Nancy 256
- Till, Emmet 149
- Toland, Frank Sr. 103–104, *104*, 220
- Toliver, Billy Ray 117
- Torres, Daniel 186, 186n49
- Town of Red Hook, New York 173, 175, 181, 184, 188, 211n21
- Trigg, Harold Leonard 145–146, 170
- True the Vote 134
- Trump, Donald 138, 271, 274, 278, 288
- Tuskegee, Alabama* (Smith and Jones) 102–103, 103n66
- Tuskegee Airmen 82–83
- Tuskegee Boycott 21, 91–96, 100, 105, 216, 220, 223
- Tuskegee Civic Association (TCA) 21, 24, 26, 84–86, 89n30, 90, 93, 93, 94, 95, 98, 105, 211, 217, 217n45, 219–220, 222–225
- Tuskegee Institute 77–108, 208, 223
 - civic actors 100–107
 - in civil rights era 83–99
 - faculty and administrators 100–104
 - founding of 78–83
 - gerrymandering of 19–27, 90–97, 92
 - presidents 105
 - students 105–107
 - voting in 86–90
- Tuskegee University 6, 7, 12, 78–83, 103, 231, 287–288
 - *see also* Tuskegee Institute
- “The Tuskegee Voting Story” 87–88
- Twenty-fourth Amendment *see* United State Constitution, 24th Amendment
- Twenty-sixth Amendment *see* United State Constitution, 26th Amendment
- undermobilized voters 209n14
- United State Constitution 1, 11, 20, 40, 44, 48, 61, 89, 97, 111, 112, 114–115, 291
- United State Constitution, 1st Amendment 17, 42
- United State Constitution, 13th Amendment 13
- United State Constitution, 14th Amendment 13, 17, 24, 30, 38, 40–42, 47, 77, 80, 99, 112, 119, 123–124, 177
- United State Constitution, 15th Amendment 13, 14, 27, 77, 98–99
- United State Constitution, 19th Amendment 16–17, 41, 47
- United State Constitution, 24th Amendment 17, 30
- United State Constitution, 26th Amendment 1–8, 8n19, 12, 17, 33–45, 41n96, 48–49, 60–61, 66, 112, 114, 116–119, 121, 124–126, 135, 173, 177, 192, 199, 205, 207, 211, 226, 232, 267–280, 285, 289, 291, 294
- University of North Texas 120
- University of Texas 115
- U.S. Census 20n33, 46, 88, 120, 276
- U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 20n33, 25, 29, 96, 107, 214, 220
- U.S. Department of Justice 24n47, 31, 45, 127, 131–132, 134, 193
- U.S. National Student Association 2n5
- U.S. Navy 130
- U.S. Report, *Lowering the Voting Age to 18* (Senator Birch Bayh) 3–5, 36–37, 94

- Vandergrift, Delaney 218
 Vassar College 64n32, 182, 208, 210, 218
The Virgin Vote (Grinspan) 14
 Volpe, Michael 192, 224
 Voluntary Deputy Registrars (VDRs) 133
 Vote Friendly Campus 235
 Vote.org 239
 voter disenfranchisement 206–211
 voter identification (voter ID) 6, 49, 77, 155,
 157, 167, 270, 272–273
 voter registration 30, **30**, 133, 180
 – African American **31**
 – monitoring 242–245, **244–245**
 – student voting 236–245, **241–242**, **244–245**
 voter rolls 128, 251 262
 voter suppression, Bard College 185–188
 voter turnout 161, 184, 233–235, 237, 256
 voting age 42
 voting plan, student voting 249–251
 voting rights, types of 70–72
 Voting Rights Act of 1965 (VRA) 1, 6, 17, 26,
 29–33, 38, 40, 42, 46, 48, 59, 97, 116, 132,
 134, 154, 169, 220, 226, 267
 Voting Rights Amendment Act of 1970 35, 37,
 38, 271

 Waller, Calvin 116
 Waller County, Texas 112–120, 124, 126,
 127n60, 128–139, 207, 210, 212, 217–218,
 293
 – Commissioners Court 127, 136, 140
Waller Times 131
 Walton, Will O. 94
 Warren, Elizabeth 198, 268
 Warren Court 18–19, 24, 48

 Washington, Booker Taliaferro 19, 24, 27, 80,
 81, 81–82, 105, 107
 Washington, Kala 247
 Wells, Ida Bell 15, 47, 59
 Westheimer, Joel 53, 70, 216
Whatley v. Clark, 482 F.2d 1230 (1973) 120–
 125
What Universities Owe Democracy (Daniels) 56
 White, Mark 125
 Williams, Nikema 198–199, 268
 Wilmington Massacre 153n18
 Wilson, Arthur Ray 217
 Wilson, Eliot 58
 Wilson, Woodrow 58
Wilson v. Symm, 341 F.Supp. 8 (S.D. Tex. 1972)
 117–120, 217n46
 Woodward, Comer Vann 17
 Worden, Thomas 44
Worden v. Mercer County Bd. of Elections,
 294 A.3d 233 (N.J. 1972) 43–44
 Wynn, Daniel Webster 21, 25, 96

 YMCA 36
 Young, Donnie Gene 117
 Young, Maia 140
 Young, Samuel 285
 Young Democrats/Young Democrat Club 2n5,
 36
 Younge, Sammy 106
 Young Republicans 2, 2n5
 Youth Franchise Coalition (YFC) 2, 2n5, 34,
 34, 47–48
 Youth Poll Worker Project 279
 youth suffrage 11–49
 – *see also* student vote/voting
 Youth Voting Rights Act 11n1, 198, 226, 268–
 269