



The Network
for Public Health Law

The Public Health Impacts of the 2025 Executive Orders: An Overview of the Network's Executive Order Tracker

March 26, 2026



MEETING RECORDING

The meeting is being recorded, and you will receive an email when the recording and the slides are posted to Groups.io.

About the Network for Public Health Law

The Network advances health equity and improves health outcomes by providing guidance on the effective use of laws and policies.

We work with:

- Community and advocacy organizations
- Public health officials and practitioners
- Policymakers
- Attorneys

We provide:

- Research and analysis
- Strategic consultation and guidance
- Knowledge-building and training

Disclaimer

The Network for Public Health Law promotes public health and health equity through non-partisan educational resources and technical assistance. These materials provided are provided solely for educational purposes and do not constitute legal advice. The Network's provision of these materials does not create an attorney-client relationship with you or any other person and is subject to the Network's [Disclaimer](#).



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Mid-States Region



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Executive Order Watch Team



Agenda

- Introduction
- Health Equity
- The Attack on Public Health
- Immigrant Rights
- Voting Rights
- Q&A

Some Executive Order (EO)

Cans and Cant's



EOs can't override or alter laws passed by congress



EOs can direct federal agencies and influence state and local government

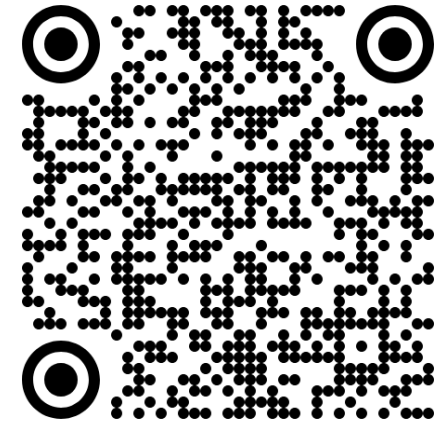


EOs can be challenged, modified, or revoked



EOs can advance or impede social progress

ACT for
Public Health



● LIVE TRACKER

Executive Order Watch

Tracking the public health impact of 2025 federal executive orders

69

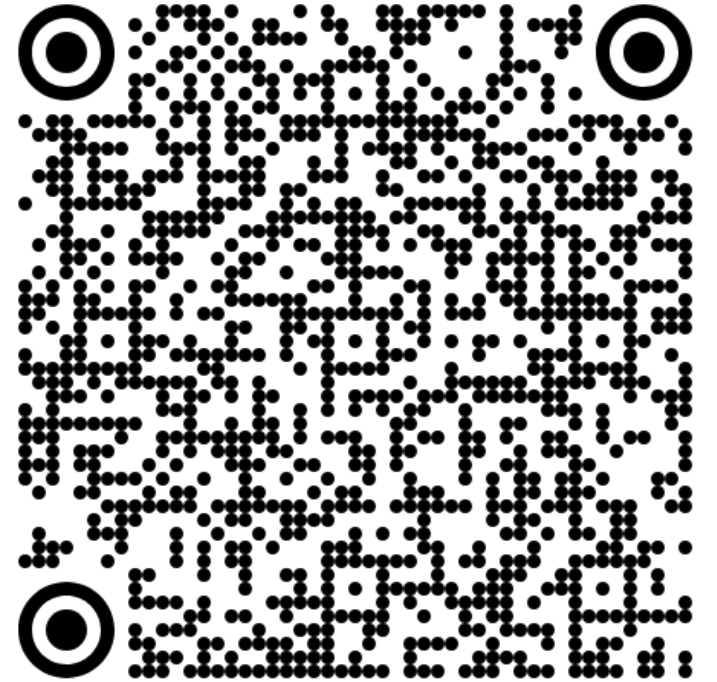
ORDERS TRACKED

28

TOPICS

2026

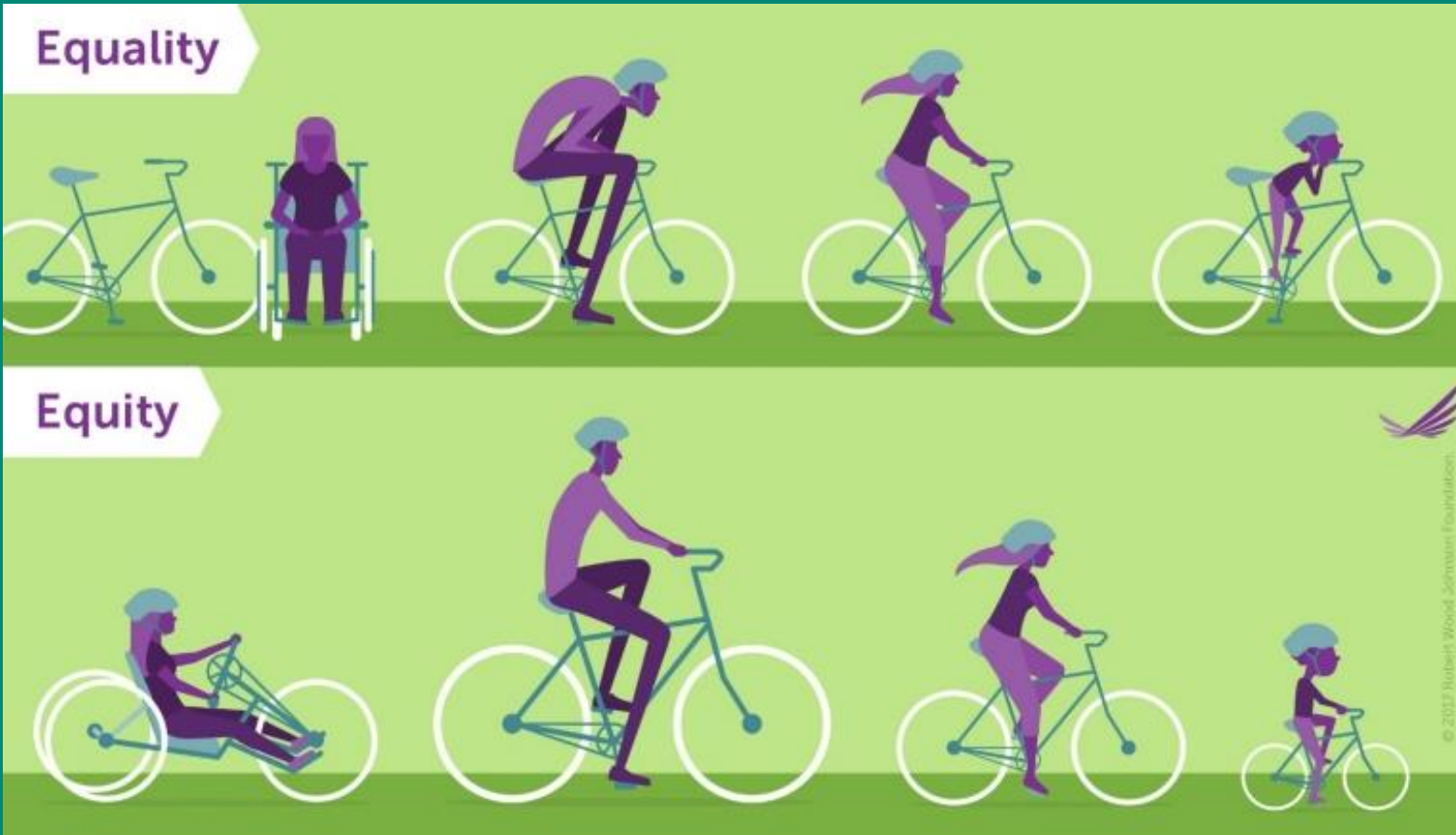
UPDATED





The Network
for Public Health Law

Health Equity Targeting DEIA and Ripple Effects of Federal Policy



Widespread Pushback Against DEIA Since 2020

9/22/2020

EO 13950

Combating Race and Sex Stereotyping

**Effective
6/1/2021**

**Iowa Code Ann
§25A.1**

Training prohibited by state and local governments – specified defined concepts

**Effective
6/25/2021**

**N.H. Rev. Stat. Ann
§ 193:40**

Prohibition on Teaching Discrimination

**Effective
7/1/2021**

**Okla. Stat. Ann.
Tit. 70, § 24-157**

Mandatory gender or sexual diversity training or counseling prohibited; Certain race- or sex-based concepts prohibited from courses

**Effective
11/12/2021**

**N. D. Code Ann.
§15.1-21-05.1**

Curriculum – Critical Race Theory - Prohibited

**Effective
12/2/2021**

**Tex. Educ. Code
§28.0022**

Certain Instructional Requirements and Prohibitions

**Effective
4/8/2022**

**Tenn. Code Ann.
§ 49-7-1904**

Mandatory training on divisive concepts prohibited; intellectual diversity

**Effective
7/1/22**

**S.D. Codified Laws
§ 13-1-68**

Engagement with divisive concepts – Compulsion prohibited

**Effective
7/1/2022**

**Fla. Stat. Ann.
§ 1000.05**

**Ga. Code Ann.
§ 20-1-11**

Select 2025 Executive Orders Targeting DEIA

“Vague prohibitions inhibit freedom of speech when individuals do not know whether their speech is permitted and choose not to exercise their rights for fear of the consequences.”

San Francisco AIDS Foundation et al v. Trump (N.D. Cal.)

EO 14151 Ending Radical and Wasteful DEI Programs and Preferencing

Directive to terminate all federal Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, and Accessibility (DEIA) activities, mandates, policies, programs, and preferences

EO 14168 Defending Women from Gender Ideology Extremism and Restoring Biological Truth to the Federal Government

States that there are only two sexes – male and female – that the United States will recognize and mandates federal agencies to take steps to eliminate federal funding promoting “gender ideology.”

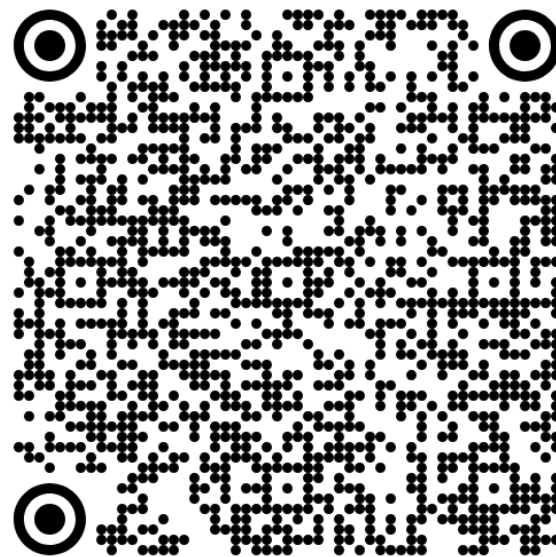
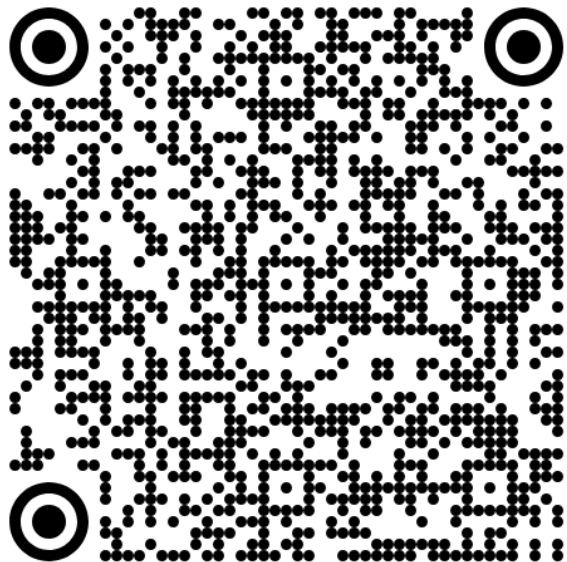
EO 14173 Ending Illegal Discrimination and Restoring Merit-Based Opportunity

Revokes EO 11246 "Equal Employment Opportunity" issued in 1965 that generally prohibited certain types of employment discrimination by federal contractors and required affirmative action to provide equal opportunity in employment.

Executive Actions and Related Litigation

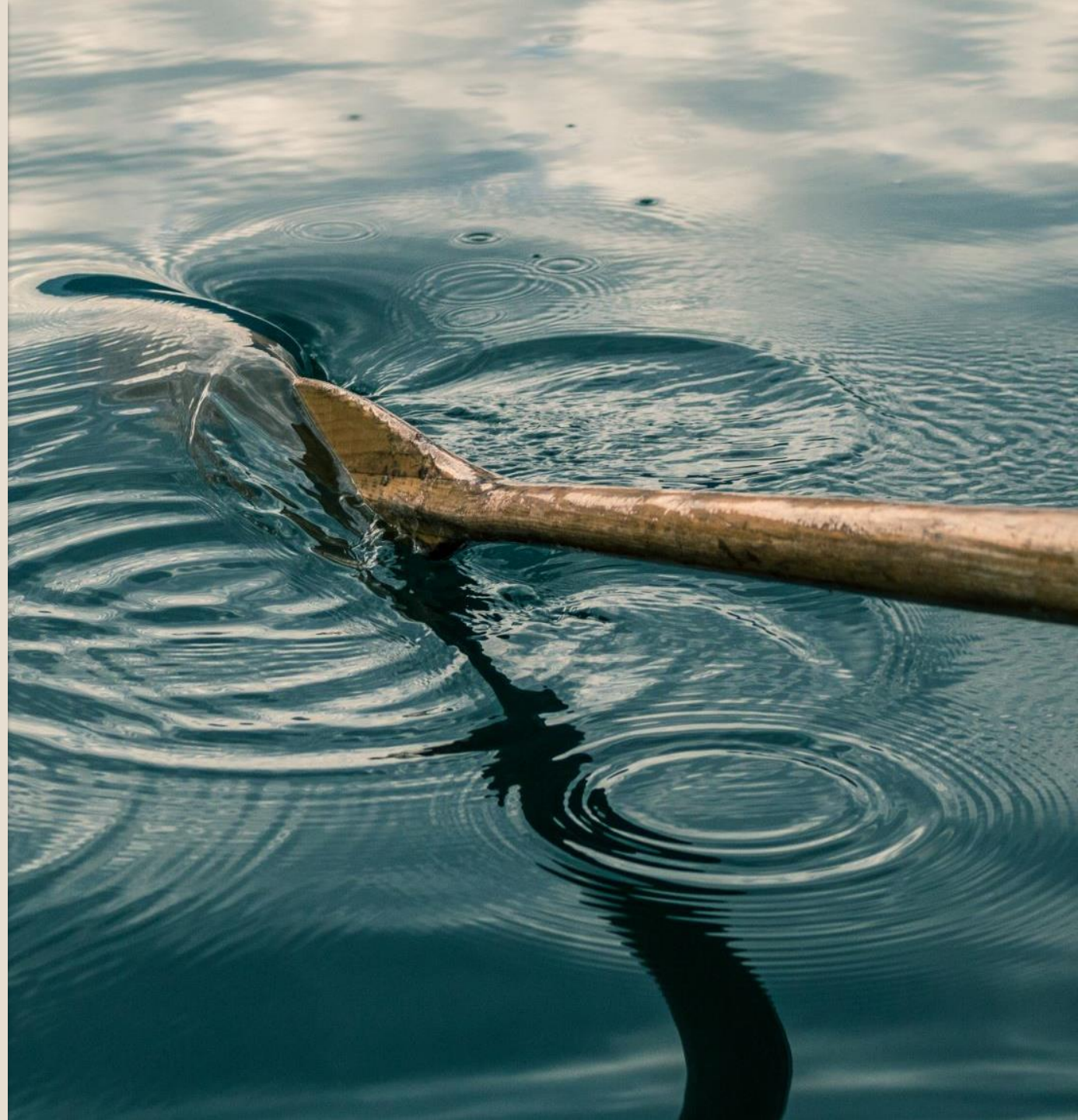


LAWFARE



Ripple Effects

- Walking back progress
 - Large-scale rollback of DEIA policies and programs in private businesses
 - DEIA office shutdowns in institutions of higher learning
 - State government agency changes
- Public health
 - Funding losses in critical areas of need, for services and research
 - Loss of momentum in making connections between health disparities and racism as well as other forms of discrimination





The Curb Cut Effect



PIVOTS AND STRATEGIES - THE FIGHT


WITH DEIA THREATENED, HOW'S YOUR TEAM KEEPING HEALTH EQUITY WORK MOVING?
WE'RE SHIFTING STRATEGIES.



WE'RE EMBEDDING EQUITY IN POLICIES AND PROGRAMS TO BUILD SYSTEMS THAT REMAIN STRONG DESPITE SCRUTINY TODAY

Promising Practices


- Finance and Funding Strategies
- Equity Centered Leadership and Culture
- Alternative Framing
- Partnerships



FOR EXAMPLE, WE'VE SHIFTED OUR LANGUAGE SO ADVOCACY CONTINUES EFFECTIVELY WITHOUT PROVOKING BACKLASH THAT UNDERMINES OUR WORK.

Alternative Framing

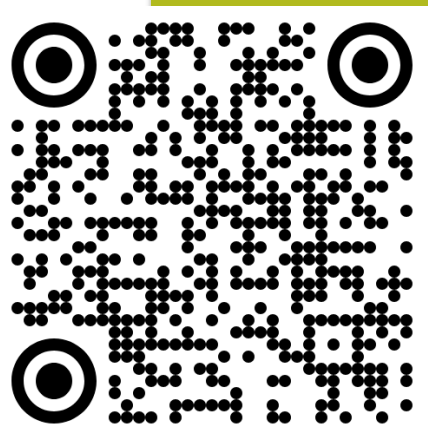
- "Fair access"
- "Community voice"



HOW WILL YOU CENTER MARGINALIZED COMMUNITIES?
THEIR STORIES SHAPE EVERY DECISION.



DEIA in Public Health: Impacts of federal actions on the work of APHA members and Affiliates



Declarations of Racism as a Public Health Crisis

Does your jurisdiction have a declaration? If so, consider how you can leverage this declaration. If not, how can you work to adopt one?

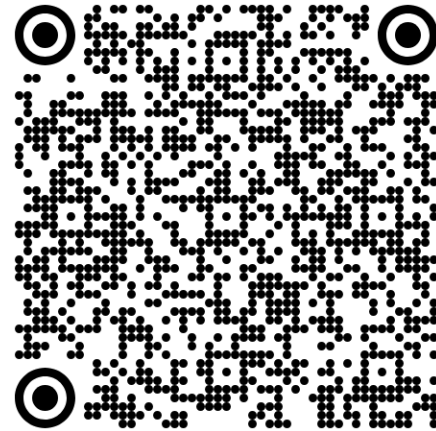
Messaging

Can you avoid complying in advance? If not, consider alternative framing.

The Truth is Marching On

“...the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice.”

*Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Montgomery, Alabama
March 25, 1965*



Community Power Building

Think locally. What is going on in your community? How can you support community movements?

Your Everyday Actions

Our actions represent and create change, both small and large.



Ideas. Experience. Practical answers.



MECHANISMS FOR ADVANCING PUBLIC HEALTH
POLICY BRIEF

Community Power Building: King County, Washington



Naisha Mercury
Equal Justice Works Fellow
Mid-States Region

Attack on Public Health

Public Health Landscape



Global Public Health Policy

Domestic Public Health Policy

Make America Healthy Again

Attack on Public Health

Reproductive Rights Policy

Executive Orders: Global Health

EO 14155

Withdrawing the United States from the World Health Organization (WHO):

This EO announces the intentions to withdraw the United States from the World Health Organization due to the mishandling of the COVID-19 pandemic and failure to adopt needed reforms, among other purported reasons.



EO 14169

Reevaluating and Realigning United States Foreign Aid:

This EO imposes a 90-day pause on all U.S. foreign development assistance to evaluate whether each program aligns with the administration's foreign policy goals.



With the move to freeze foreign aid, the international development sector stands at a crossroads, HKS experts say

The Trump administration's move to freeze U.S. foreign aid and development work is a seismic event. International development is at a moment of profound change.

[Press Release](#)

Government Employee Unions Sue Trump Administration for Shutting Down USAID

Executive Orders: Make America Healthy Again (MAHA)

EO 14212

Establishing the President's Make America Healthy Again Commission

This EO establishes the MAHA commission and charges MAHA with the initial mission of advising and assisting the president on how to exercise authority to address childhood chronic disease.

What Robert F. Kennedy Jr's Appointment Means for Public Health

Author
Syra Madad



3 minutes

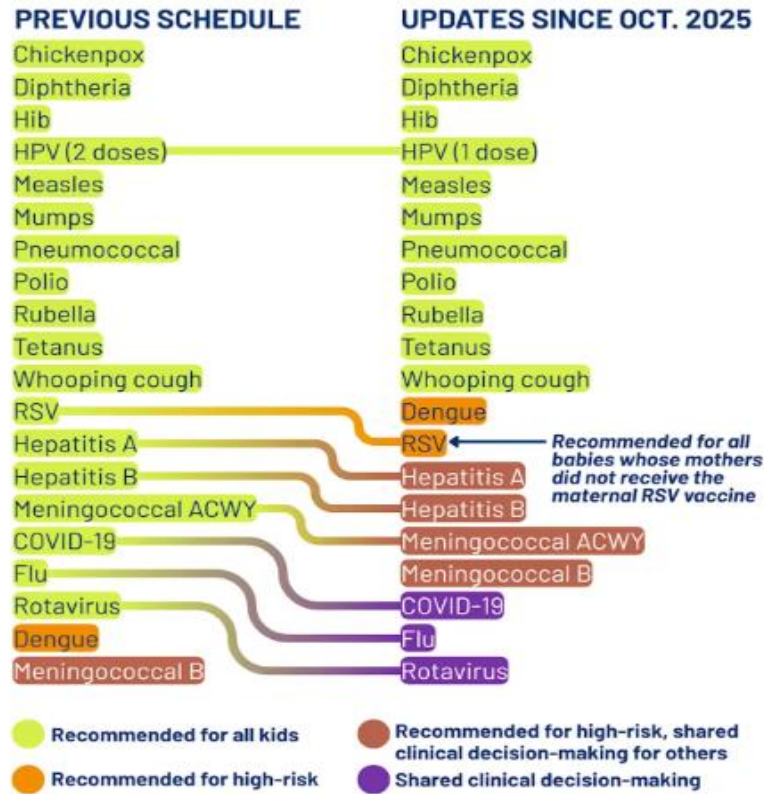
Syra Madad explains the public health risks of President-elect Donald Trump's appointment of RFK Jr to lead the Department of Health and Human Services.



"Science is true regardless of whether or not someone believes in it"
 -Neil DeGrasse Tyson

Pediatric Vaccine Schedule

U.S. childhood vaccination schedule changes
All vaccines are still available at no cost



Yale SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH | January 7, 2026

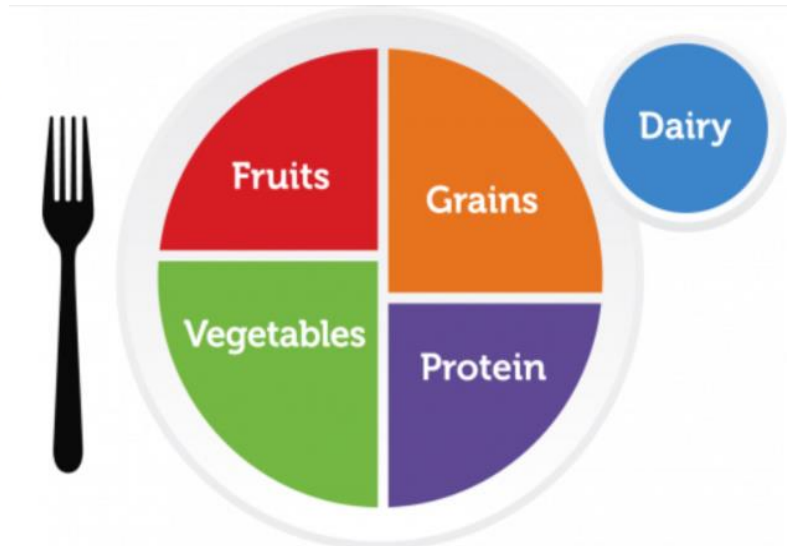
Tylenol and Autism

News Releases | Sep 22, 2025

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ACOG Affirms Safety and Benefits of Acetaminophen during Pregnancy

New Dietary Guidelines (Food Pyramid)



VS

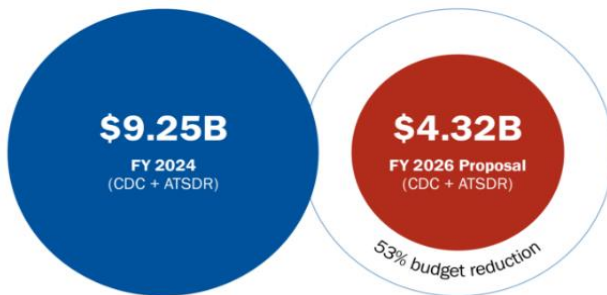


Public Health Funding Cuts and Data

Funding cuts

- The Trump administration proposed FY 2026 budget for the CDC amounts to a 53% reduction compared to FY 2024
- Over 100 public health programs and funding lines will also be eliminated under the administration's FY 26 budget
- HHS's proposed reorganization will consist of a reduction of department staff by 16%

CDC Faces \$5 Billion Cut Under FY 2026 Budget Plan
The proposal would eliminate key public health centers



A Look at Federal Health Data Taken Offline

Several of the other datasets taken down (at least temporarily) relate to HIV/AIDS in the U.S. as well as global health efforts around the world in low and middle-income countries, including but not limited to:

- [CDC AtlasPlus](#): an interactive database with about 15 years of surveillance data for HIV, viral hepatitis, STD, and TB, as well as data on the social determinants of health. Additionally, CDC [HIV surveillance reports](#) dating back to the beginning of the epidemic were also removed.
- [PEPFAR Data Dashboards](#): PEPFAR, the U.S. global HIV/AIDS Program, comprehensive, up-to-date online data portal of program budgets and expenditures by country and service category, among other variables
- [Demographic and Health Surveys \(DHS\) databases](#): data downloads from the DHS, an ongoing set of nationally representative household surveys supported by USAID, the U.S. international development agency, with population, health, HIV, and nutrition data from more than 90 countries. Separately, the entire [website for USAID](#) has been taken down resulting in the removal of countless reports and other data sources.
- [foreignassistance.gov](#): The U.S. government's website with all foreign assistance data by country, budget, expenditure, program, going back more than two decades and created to increase aid transparency.

Removal of essential data

- The Trump administration has removed HIV and LGBTQ related information from CDC and other health related agencies' websites
- Various federal agency websites are being modified to conform to the Trump administration's objective
- Agencies and organizations are limited in their ability to track progress and make changes from data that has been produced

Executive Orders – Reproductive Rights

“A Woman's right to choose an abortion is something central to a woman's life, to her dignity. . . And when government controls that decision for her, she's being treated as less than a full adult human being responsible for her own choices.”

-Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg

EO 14182 Enforcing the Hyde Amendment

This EO seeks to reinforce the Hyde Amendment, an amendment that prohibits federal funds from being used for abortions.

Fact Sheet: HHS Takes Comprehensive Action to Enforce Conscience Rights and Protect Human Life

HHS investigating 13 states for ‘coercing’ health care providers to provide abortions

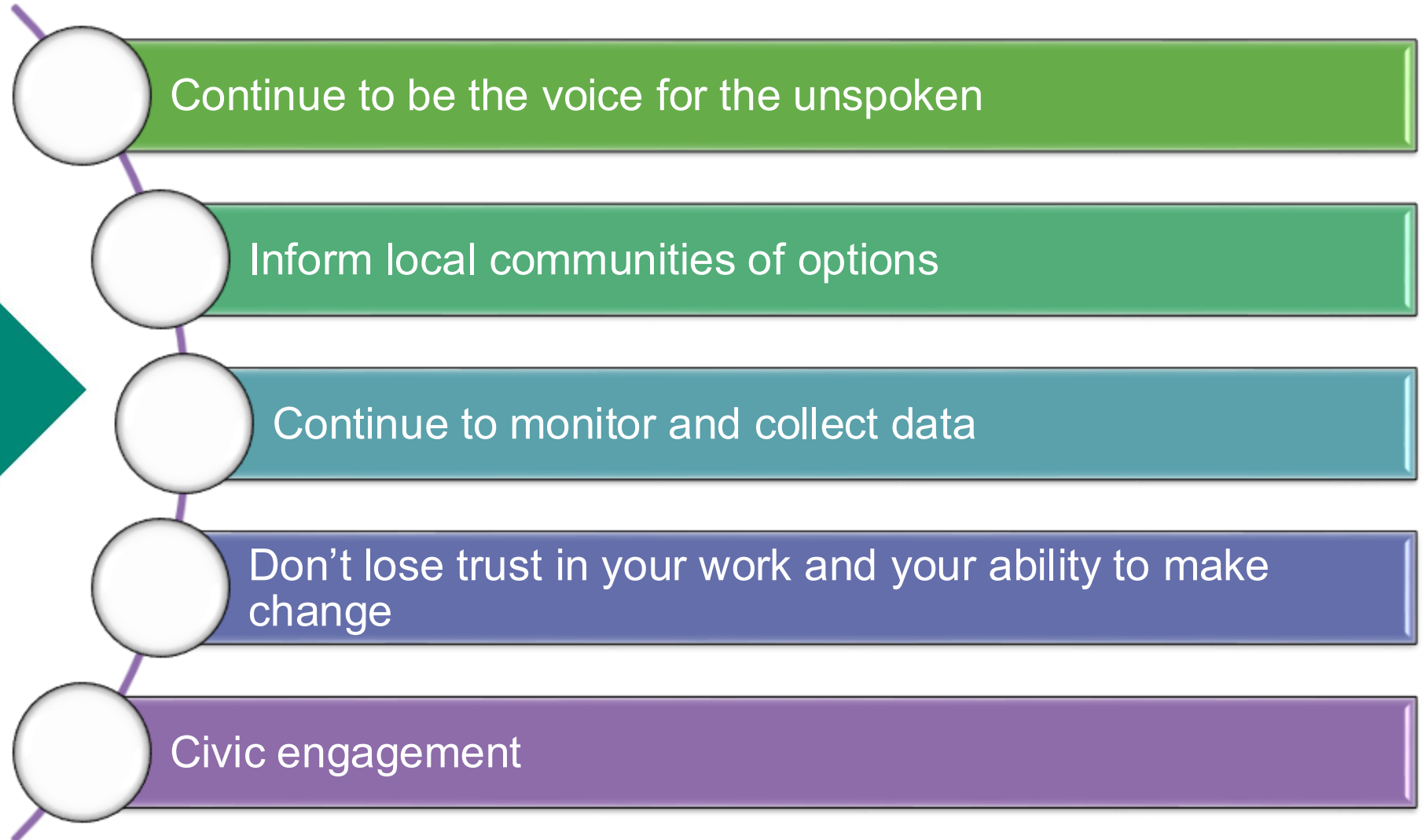
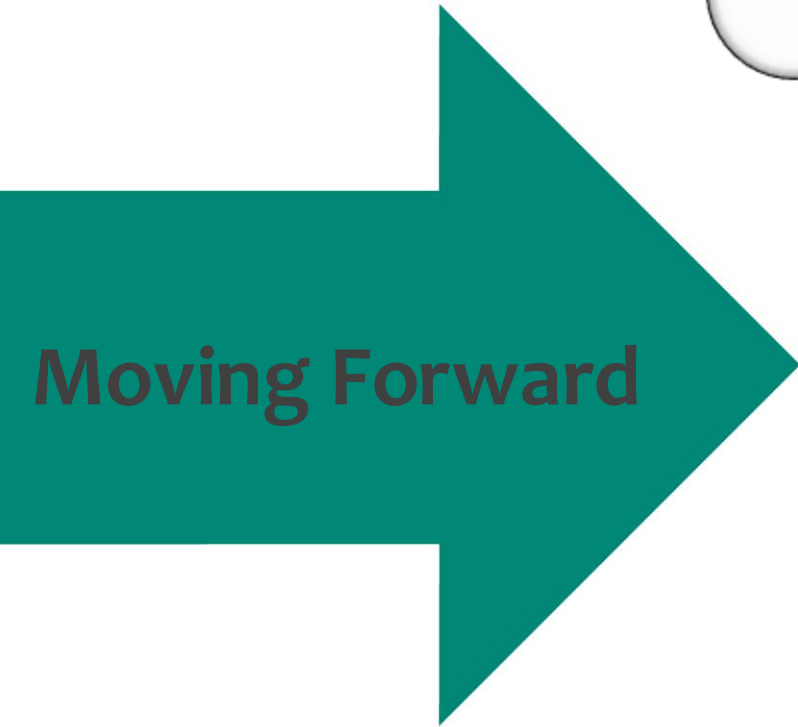
BY JOSEPH CHOI - 03/19/26 6:00 AM ET

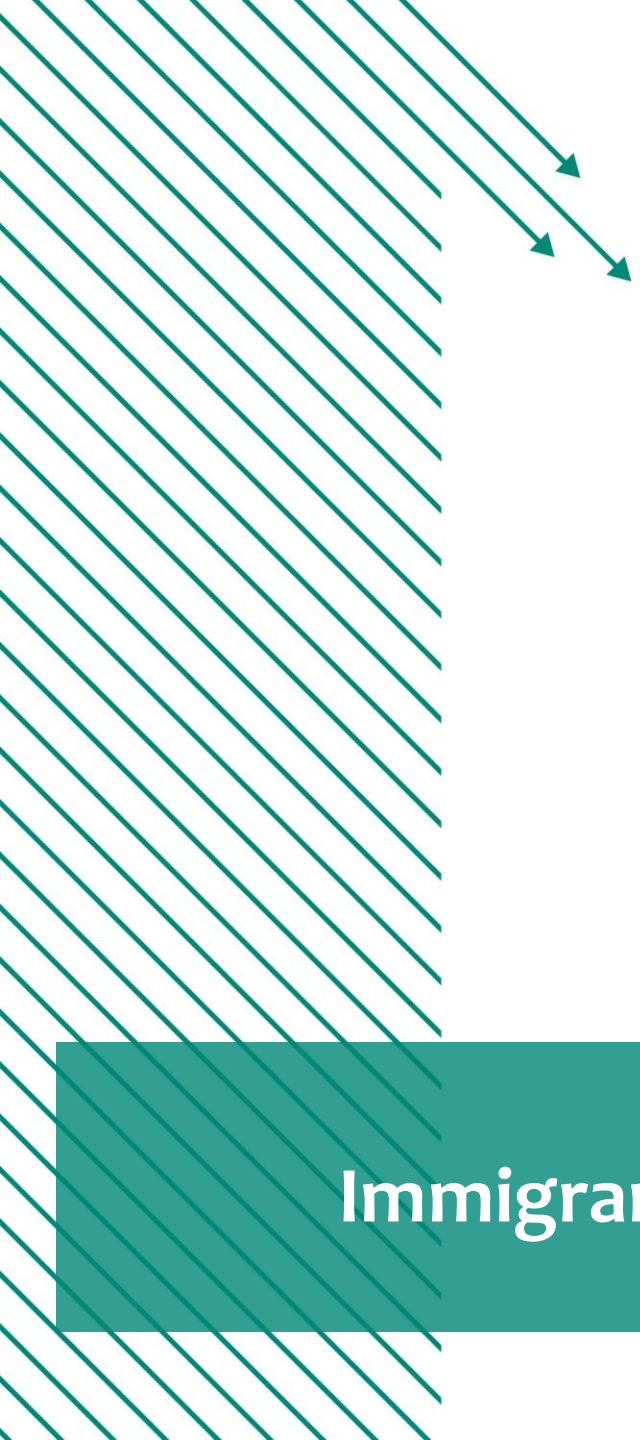


Reproductive care is health care and should not be denied!

"Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world; indeed, it's the only thing that ever has."

- Margaret Mead





Emma Kaeser
Staff Attorney,
Mid-States Region

Immigrant Rights

Overview of EOs and other Executive Actions

Big Picture Themes

Expanding the power, resources, and reach of immigration enforcement agencies and officials

Targeting states, localities, and NGOs that provide support to immigrant communities

Restricting avenues for entering and staying in the U.S. and weakening procedural protections

Emphasizing detention over other forms of custody

Restricting access to public benefits and other forms of support

Sowing fear and confusion among communities

Overview of EOs and Other Executive Actions

EO 14159: Protecting the American People Against Invasion

Directs federal agencies to prioritize immigration enforcement and removal; dedicates resources to detention centers; targets NGOs and jurisdictions supporting health and safety of immigrant communities

EO 14163: Realigning the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program

Suspends entry of and services to refugees under USRAP

EO 14165: Securing Our Borders

Prioritizes detention over other forms of monitoring and terminates practices permitting release from custody pending immigration court proceedings

EO 14218: Ending Taxpayer Subsidization of Open Borders

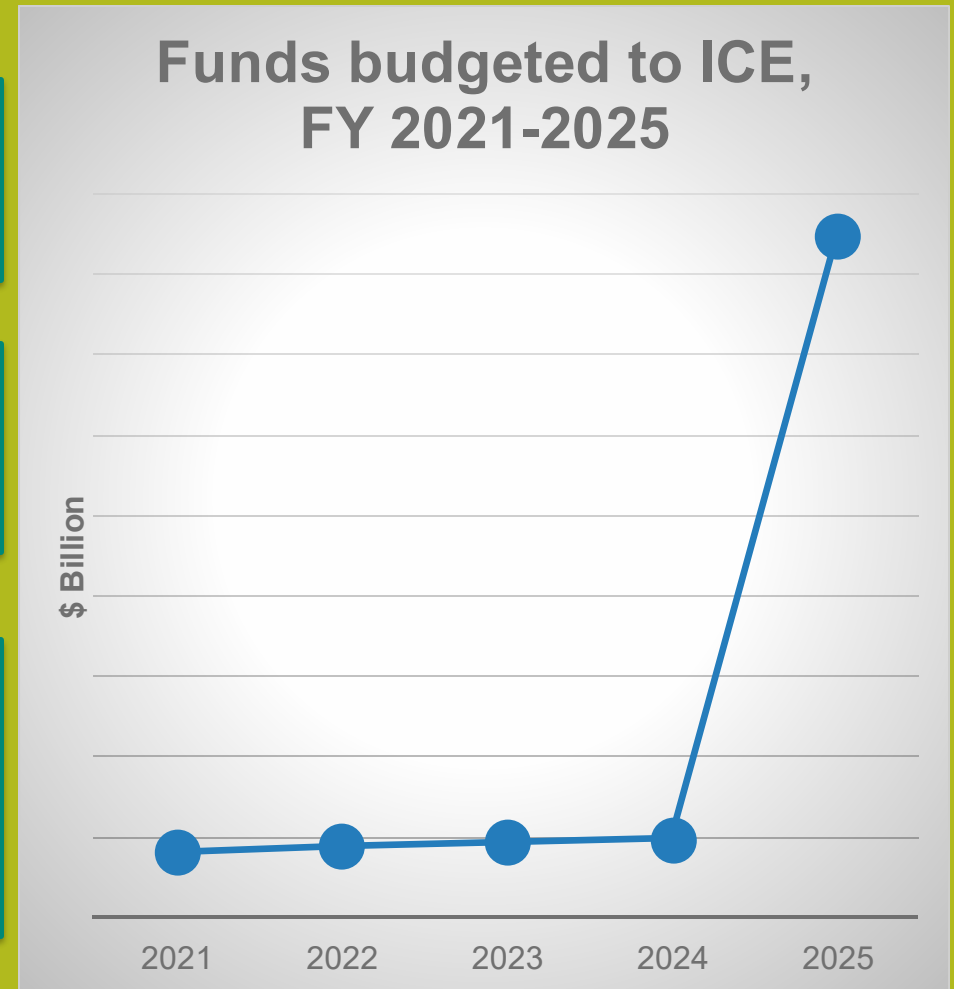
Seeks to tighten restrictions on access to federal public benefit programs based on immigration status

Expansion of Aggressive Immigration Enforcement and Detention

Rapid growth of ICE size and budget (enabled by H.R. 1)

Record number of people detained in ICE custody

ICE surge in cities across the U.S. (Washington, DC, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, Chicago, Portland, many others)



Data from usaspending.gov

Expansion of Aggressive Immigration Enforcement and Detention

Public Health Impacts

Restrictive immigration policies are associated with **higher rates of mental and physical health problems** (e.g., depression, anxiety, fear, low birthweight, lower self-rated health).

Family separation results in higher levels of distress, depression, anxiety, suicidal ideation, PTSD, poor sleep, loss of appetite, and other **poor health outcomes among children**.

Immigration detention exposes people to **inhumane conditions**, including lack of access to medical care and medications, inadequate food and water, overcrowding, and physical and verbal abuse.

ICE surges **threaten community health and safety due to use of force** (e.g., gun violence, chemical irritant deployment, chokeholds, projectiles)

Restrictive immigration policies are linked to **decreased mobility and reduced access** to health-promoting services.

Racial Profiling in Immigration Enforcement

- In *Noem v. Vasquez Perdomo* concurrence, J. Kavanaugh ruled that ICE can make stops based on “apparent ethnicity,” and English proficiency, among other factors – “**Kavanaugh Stops**”
- Green light for racial profiling in immigration enforcement, with ICE openly stopping people based on “how they look”
- Stops are often prolonged and violent, including for U.S. citizens
- Fuels racism, xenophobia, and race- and ethnicity-based disparities in health and safety

Cite as: 606 U. S. ____ (2025)

1

KAVANAUGH, J., concurring

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

No. 25A169

KRISTI NOEM, SECRETARY, DEPARTMENT OF
HOMELAND SECURITY, ET AL. *v.* PEDRO
VASQUEZ PERDOMO, ET AL.

ON APPLICATION FOR STAY

[September 8, 2025]

The application for stay presented to JUSTICE KAGAN and by her referred to the Court is granted. The July 11, 2025 order entered by the United States District Court for the Central District of California, case No. 2:25-cv-5605, is stayed pending the disposition of the appeal in the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit and disposition of a petition for a writ of certiorari, if such a writ is timely sought. Should certiorari be denied, this stay shall terminate automatically. In the event certiorari is granted, the stay shall terminate upon the sending down of the judgment of this Court.

JUSTICE KAVANAUGH, concurring in the grant of the application for stay.

I vote to grant the Government’s application for an interim stay pending appeal of the District Court’s injunction.

The Immigration and Nationality Act authorizes immigration officers to “interrogate any alien or person believed to be an alien as to his right to be or to remain in the United States.” 66 Stat. 233, 8 U. S. C. §1357(a)(1). Immigration officers “may briefly detain” an individual “for questioning” if they have “a reasonable suspicion, based on specific articulable facts, that the person being questioned . . . is an alien illegally in the United States.” 8 CFR

Impeding Access to Health-Promoting Services and Benefits

HHS reclassification of public benefit programs to exclude certain categories of noncitizens

- Restricts eligibility for 13 additional programs, including Head Start and Title X

Proposed public charge rule granting DHS broad discretion to penalize receipt of public benefits

- Would permit immigration officers to weigh receipt of any public benefits against requested admission or adjustment of immigration status in “public charge” determinations

FEDERAL REGISTER
The Daily Journal of the United States Government

Notice

Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA); Interpretation of “Federal Public Benefit”

A Notice by the Housing and Urban Development Department on 11/26/2025

PUBLISHED DOCUMENT: 2025-21120 (90 FR 54363)

DOCUMENT HEADINGS

Department of Housing and Urban Development
[DOCKET No. FR-6573-N-01]

FEDERAL REGISTER
The Daily Journal of the United States Government

Proposed Rule

Public Charge Ground of Inadmissibility

A Proposed Rule by the Homeland Security Department on 11/19/2025

PUBLISHED DOCUMENT: 2025-20278 (90 FR 52168)

DOCUMENT HEADINGS

Department of Homeland Security
8 CFR Parts 103 and 212
[CIS No. 2836-25; DHS Docket No. USCIS-2025-0304]
RIN 1615-AD06

AGENCY:
U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (“USCIS”), Department of Homeland Security (“DHS”).

ACTION:
Notice of proposed rulemaking.

SUMMARY:
DHS proposes to rescind the 2022 public charge ground of inadmissibility regulations. The 2022 regulations are not the best implementation of the statute, inconsistent with congressional intent, unduly restrictive, and hamper DHS’s ability to make accurate, precise, and reliable determinations of whether certain aliens are likely at any time to become a public charge. Rescission would restore broader discretion to evaluate all pertinent facts and align with long-standing policy that aliens in the United States should be self-reliant and government benefits should not incentivize immigration. DHS

Impeding Access to Health-Promoting Services and Benefits


Rescission of protected area guidelines

- Permits ICE arrests in “protected areas” (hospitals, health clinics, vaccine sites)
- Grants ICE agents broad discretion to decide where to conduct enforcement activities

CMS disclosure of Medicaid data to DHS for immigration enforcement purposes

- Deters access to safety net services

Secretary
U.S. Department of Homeland Security
Washington, DC 20528



January 20, 2025

MEMORANDUM FOR: Caleb Vitello
Acting Director
U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement


Pete R. Flores
Senior Official Performing the Duties of the Commissioner
U.S. Customs and Border Protection

FROM: Benjamine C. Huffman
Acting Secretary


SUBJECT: Enforcement Actions in or Near Protected Areas

This memorandum adds to the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) previous memorandum entitled, “Enforcement Actions in or Near Protected Areas.”

Our brave men and women of the U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) will exercise their discretion to balance a variety of factors when an enforcement action occurs in a sensitive area.



FEDERAL REGISTER
The Daily Journal of the United States Government



Notice

Notice of Medicaid Information Sharing Between the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services and the Department of Homeland Security

A Notice by the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services on 11/25/2025

PUBLISHED DOCUMENT: 2025-20911 (90 FR 53324)

PDF
Document Details
Document Dates
Table of Contents
Public Comments
Regulations.gov Data
Sharing
Print
Document

DOCUMENT HEADINGS

Department of Health and Human Services
Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services
[CMS-9163-N]

AGENCY:
Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services (CMS), Department of Health and Human Services (HHS).

ACTION:
Notice.

SUMMARY:
This notice announces that the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services (CMS), will share certain information with the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS), and its component agency, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement consistent with federal laws requiring the provision of information to DHS.

Resources to Support Health & Safety of Immigrant Communities

- Know Your Rights resources
 - » [ACLU](#), [National Immigration Law Center](#), and [Physicians for Human Rights](#) guides for hospitals and health clinics
 - » [Legal Action Center guide for SUD treatment programs](#)
 - » [Network for Public Health Law & Drug Policy Alliance resource for harm reduction programs](#)
 - » [National Homelessness Law Center guidance for homeless services providers](#)
- Overview of immigration-related EOs
 - » [Network for Public Health Law resource, Immigration Executive Actions and Public Health](#)
- Action steps for public health agencies and their partners
 - » [Health in Partnership Immigration Justice Action Guide and Talking Points](#)



Nina Belforte
Deputy Director,
Strategic Communications

Voting Rights



The Network
for Public Health Law

Executive Order 14248

Preserving and Protecting the
Integrity of American Election

Or

"The Voter Exclusion Order"



A Bird's Eye View: What EO 14248 States

Stated Rationale: *"Preserving and Protecting the Integrity of American Elections" (March 2025), aims to increase federal oversight of election administration by mandating documentary proof of citizenship for voter registration, restricting mail-in ballot acceptance times, and tightening security standards for voting systems.*



Proof of Citizenship to Register

Orders the Election Assistance Commission to add documentary proof of citizenship to the federal voter registration form.



Citizenship Checks at Benefits Agencies

Directs agencies like Medicaid and SNAP to assess citizenship status before handing out voter registration forms under the National Voter Registration Act (Motor Voter).



Funding Threatened if States Don't Comply

Conditions federal election assistance funding on states following the EO's rules, using financial leverage that courts say only Congress may wield.



Bans Late-Arriving Mail Ballots

Seeks to prohibit counting mail ballots received after Election Day, overriding state laws in WA, OR, and others that allow for postal delays.

Note: active litigation and appeals

Stated Rationale vs. Evidence

EO 14248 claims to protect election integrity from non-citizen voting. The research record does not support this premise.

WHAT THE DATA SHOWS

0.0001%

Rate of suspected non-citizen voting, 2016 (Brennan Center, 2017)

Surveying election officials across 42 jurisdictions overseeing 23.5M votes, the Brennan Center found only ~30 referrals for suspected non-citizen voting. 40 of 42 jurisdictions reported zero.

56

Non-citizen voting allegations in 2,068 total fraud cases, 2000–2012 (News21)

News21 sent public records requests to all 50 states and reviewed thousands of court documents. Of every fraud allegation in 12 years of elections, just 56 involved non-citizens (allegations).

24

Proven non-citizen voting cases in 20 years (Heritage Foundation's own database)

Heritage Foundation's Election Fraud database, built specifically to document fraud, lists only 24 proven non-citizen voting cases from 2003–2023, across billions of votes cast.

WHAT EXPERTS AND COURTS HAVE FOUND

Non-citizen voting is "vanishingly rare" and "not a significant source of election fraud."

— Brennan Center for Justice, *Noncitizen Voting: The Missing Millions* (2017)

Bush DOJ — 5-Year Intensive Anti-Fraud Initiative (2002–2007)

After making voter fraud prosecution a top priority for five years, the Bush DOJ produced virtually no evidence of widespread fraud. U.S. Attorneys were fired for refusing to prosecute cases that lacked merit.

Minnite, *The Myth of Voter Fraud* — Cornell Univ. Press (2010)

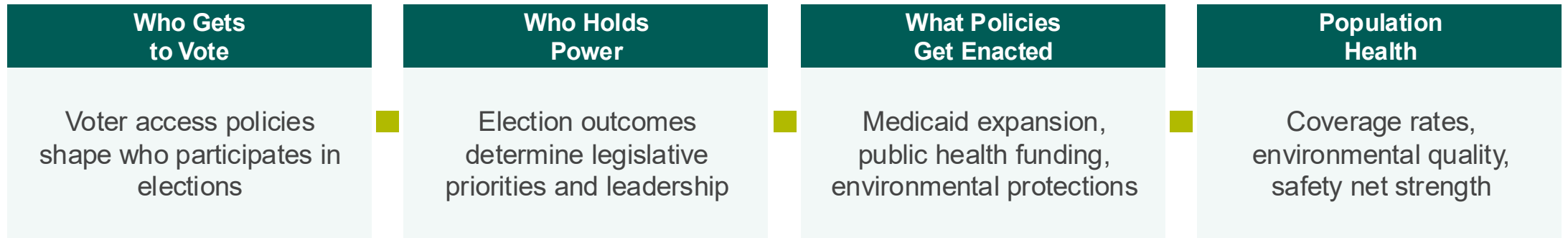
Comprehensive study of all federal voter fraud convictions found an average of 8 per year nationally (2002–2005) — across all types of fraud, all voters. Non-citizen cases were a fraction of that.

Public Health Law Implication

The EO imposes proven, documented costs on millions of eligible voters to solve a problem the evidence shows does not exist at scale. That is a policy choice with a clear historical pattern.

Voter Access Is a Public Health Issue

Voting shapes who holds power → power shapes what laws get passed → laws shape the conditions of health.



Why this framing matters for public health:

When voter access is restricted, especially for low-income communities, communities of color, and people interacting with public benefits systems, research shows these same communities carry the greatest health burden. The Health and Democracy Index documents a strong, consistent correlation between the cost of voting in a state and its health outcomes across a range of indicators. The relationship is not fully explained, but it is well-documented and it points in one direction: inclusive voting policy and population health move together.

“Wealth or fee paying has . . . no relation to voting qualifications; the right to vote is too precious, too fundamental to be so burdened or conditioned.”

—U.S. Supreme Court, March 24, 1966



Virginia-Pilot Photo by Clifton Guthrie
Mrs. Butts and attorney Joseph Jordan celebrate victory.

Victor Expects Another Fight

By BILL McALLISTER
Virginia-Pilot Staff Writer
NORFOLK—For attorney Joseph A. Jordan Jr., a champion of lost causes, the taste of victory Thursday was sweet and strange.
Jordan, 41, who successfully

wounded in World War II, said he had no doubt that the state's political leaders will try to thwart the court's ruling.
“Certainly we must anticipate that the state officials who fought against this thing we call progress all these years will fight again,” he said.

Fair and Colder
High Today 50
Low Tonight 33
NW, 15-25 m.p.h.
For current report call 866-1212

Today, Editorially
● Death of the Poll Tax
● Appeal to the French
● Bravura Performance
Page 4

101st Year Norfolk, Portsmouth, Virginia Beach and Chesapeake, Virginia, Friday, March 25, 1966 70 Pages Price 10 Cents

Va. Poll Tax Killed by Court

Norfolkians Figured in Court Ruling

“better treatment” for potential Negro voters, she predicted.
The victory had special significance for Jordan, who has failed in several other civic causes. “This matter of the poll tax, I guess, has been with me all my life,” he said.
“My father pointed it out to me as the key thing on which we could build a better state.” In 1958, Jordan organized a group he called “Virginia’s Third Force” to push for elimination of the poll tax and to help others register despite it.
Thursday Jordan said the force—the mass of Virginia voters disenfranchised by the tax—may become a reality. If it does, he said, its “potential will be unlimited.”
“The only limit on its size will be the size of the electorate,” he said. “I certainly anticipate a large increase in voters.”

From Page 1

His arguments had been successively knocked down by a three-judge panel in Richmond and by the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals.
“You always hope you will succeed, but there is no way you can be certain your case will win with any court, including the Supreme Court.
“I never looked on the case as a certainty, but there never was any doubt in my mind that the (Virginia) law was wrong.”
Jordan told the Supreme Court that the tax had effectively barred the Negro from political power in Virginia. Mrs. Butts’ suit, the first in the state attacking the tax, was joined by a similar case brought by a group of Fairfax County domestics.
Jordan said he was a little

“When we argued the case in January, the experienced hands at the court had told us it would probably take about seven months for a decision,” he said.
He filed the suit for Mrs. Butts in May, 1964, after a previous suit brought in her behalf was dismissed by the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals. Named as defendants in the suit were then Gov. Albert S. Harrison Jr.; Miss Mary Dudley, Norfolk city election registrar; Alex H. Bell, Norfolk city treasurer, and William J. Prieur Jr., clerk of Corporation Courts.
It attacked the tax as violating four amendments of the Constitution. In addition to Jordan, Mrs. Butts was represented by Len W. Holt of Washington and Robert L. Segar and Max Dean of Flint, Mich.
In arguments before the high court, Jordan was joined by an

Thurgood Marshall, the former top lawyer for the NAACP. Also joining the case were attorneys for the American Civil Liberties Union representing Fairfax County women.
Jordan brought the suit for Mrs. Butts as a pauper. The mother of three, she is married to a disabled war veteran. She works as a seamstress at her home, 1070 Kennedy St.
“I was sewing this morning when a friend called me about the decision. I was very glad it was all over,” she said. “It will help the state of Virginia to progress.”
“No, I don’t feel much different today,” she said in response to a question. “All the decisions on civil rights make me feel better.”
Jordan, whose political and legal life seems to have had more downs than ups, said the case

been involved in.
And he indicated that he would not think twice about renewing his court fight, if the state tries to block the impact of the ruling. “We don’t intend to stand by and allow the decision’s force to be dissipated.”
Asked who would bear the cost of Mrs. Butts’ court fight, he replied, “That’s a contribution to the cause.”
In early 1960, Jordan and Mrs. Butts were among a group of seven people permanently restrained by a court from picketing a Norfolk supermarket. They fought the order and lost.
Two years later, Jordan’s efforts to halt construction of the MacArthur Memorial were dismissed by a circuit court judge. He claimed that the city’s contract for the building was illegal.
In 1959, he was one of several lawyers who were unsuccessful

Jim Crow to “Administrative Burden”: The Historical Arc of Voter Suppression

THE HISTORY

1870s–1960s

Jim Crow Disenfranchisement

Poll taxes, literacy tests, grandfather clauses, and "white primaries" were explicitly designed to strip Black Americans of the vote after Reconstruction, while maintaining formal legal cover.

1964–1965

24th Amendment & Voting Rights Act

The literal poll tax was banned. The VRA outlawed tests and devices used to block registration. These were landmark wins, but courts and legislatures found new tools almost immediately.

1993–Today

Motor Voter → Documentation Requirements

The NVRA expanded access. But documentary proof requirements, purges, and ID laws re-imposed friction costs on the same populations. The tool changed; the target did not.

2025

EO 14248: Friction as Policy

Proof-of-citizenship mandates and citizenship checks at benefits agencies are the contemporary form of the same structural strategy: cost the vote to control who votes.

Structural racism is a named public health crisis. Voter suppression is one of its delivery mechanisms.

Voting determines the policy environment

Who votes shapes who governs. Who governs determines Medicaid expansion, public health appropriations, housing policy, and environmental regulation. Suppressing a vote suppresses the policies that protect health.

The populations targeted are already sicker

Black, Latino, low-income, and rural communities face higher rates of chronic disease, lower life expectancy, and worse maternal outcomes. This is the product of decades of policy disinvestment enabled by their political exclusion.

Administrative burden as a health equity tool

Public health law already applies this framework to Medicaid and SNAP: documentation requirements that disproportionately screen out eligible people are an equity violation. EO 14248 applies the same mechanism to the vote.

Who Bears the Burden?

COMMUNITIES HISTORICALLY TARGETED BY VOTER SUPPRESSION

Communities of Color

This pattern is well-documented in voting research: documentation requirements tend to have a disproportionate impact on communities of color, including Indigenous voters, due to disparities in access to identification, records, and government services.

Naturalized Citizens

23M+ naturalized citizens are fully eligible to vote but face heightened scrutiny and risk of wrongful flagging under documentation requirements.

Indigenous Communities

Tribal IDs are sometimes rejected or not accepted under strict ID laws, even when legally valid; research and reporting consistently describe restrictions on using tribal IDs as a barrier in voting.

POPULATIONS STRUCTURALLY EXCLUDED

Low-Income & Medicaid-Dependent Individuals

People navigating poverty already face friction in every public system. The same documentation gaps that delay healthcare access (no ID, no stable address, logistical constraints) now threaten their vote.

Women, LGBTQ+ Individuals

Name discrepancies between birth certificates and registration records are a barrier. Some research indicates up to ~69M women and ~4 million men do not have a birth certificate that matches their current legal name.

Rural & Elderly Voters

Older adults are more likely to lack qualifying ID and less able to travel to obtain it. Rural communities disproportionately rely on mail ballots.

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