

State Voting Laws Roundup: 2025 in Review

Breaking a five-year trend, state legislatures in 2025 enacted more laws restricting voting access than expanding it.

In 2025, state legislatures enacted at least 31 restrictive voting laws, the second highest total since the Brennan Center began tracking this legislation in 2011. At the same time, state legislatures enacted at least 30 expansive voting laws, in a departure from recent years, when the country saw significantly more expansive laws enacted in a given year than restrictive laws. Thirty of the 31 restrictive laws and all 30 expansive laws will be in effect for the 2026 midterms, and parts of the remaining restrictive law will also be in effect.

Between January 1 and December 31, 2025:

- At least 16 states¹ enacted 31 restrictive voting laws.² Of those laws, 30 will be in effect for the 2026 midterms, as will parts of the remaining one.³ Overall, lawmakers in at least 47 states considered at least 486 restrictive voting bills in 2025.⁴
- At least 7 states⁵ enacted 8 election interference laws, all of which were enacted before our prior [roundup](#) in October 2025 and will be in effect for the midterms.⁶ Overall, lawmakers in at least 31 states considered 129 election interference bills in 2025.
- At least 25 states⁷ enacted 30 expansive voting laws in 2025, with no new additional expansive laws enacted since October.⁸ All 30 of those laws will be in effect for the midterms. Overall, lawmakers in all 50 states considered at least 631 expansive bills in 2025.
- 12 of the 25 states that enacted expansive voting laws also enacted at least one restrictive law.

Following a presidential election that was rife with voting-related conspiracy theories, 2021 set the record for the most restrictive voting laws passed by states since the Brennan Center began tracking them. Yet in 2025, states enacted almost the same number of laws despite the fact that the 2024 presidential election results were unchallenged.

This suggests that passing laws that make it harder for eligible Americans to vote is an ongoing policy project in some of the states rather than a reaction to a one-time event. Notably, however, only one of last year's restrictive laws is as sweeping as omnibus restrictive laws enacted in Florida, Georgia, Iowa, and Texas in 2021.

In another departure from 2021 and other recent years, the restrictive laws enacted last year outnumbered the expansive laws. In 2021, states enacted at least 62 expansive voting laws, more than double the 30 expansive laws enacted in 2025. Indeed, every other year from 2021 through 2024 had at least 1.5 times as many expansive laws enacted as restrictive ones.

State Voting Laws Enacted 2021–2025

YEAR	RESTRICTIVE LAWS	INTERFERENCE LAWS	EXPANSIVE LAWS
2021	32 laws in 19 states	N/A*	62 laws in 25 states
2022	11 laws in 8 states	12 laws in 7 states	23 laws in 12 states and Washington, DC
2023	17 laws in 14 states	7 laws in 6 states	53 laws in 23 states
2024	19 laws in 10 states	3 laws in 3 states	32 laws in 21 states
2025	31 laws in 16 states	8 laws in 7 states	30 laws in 25 states

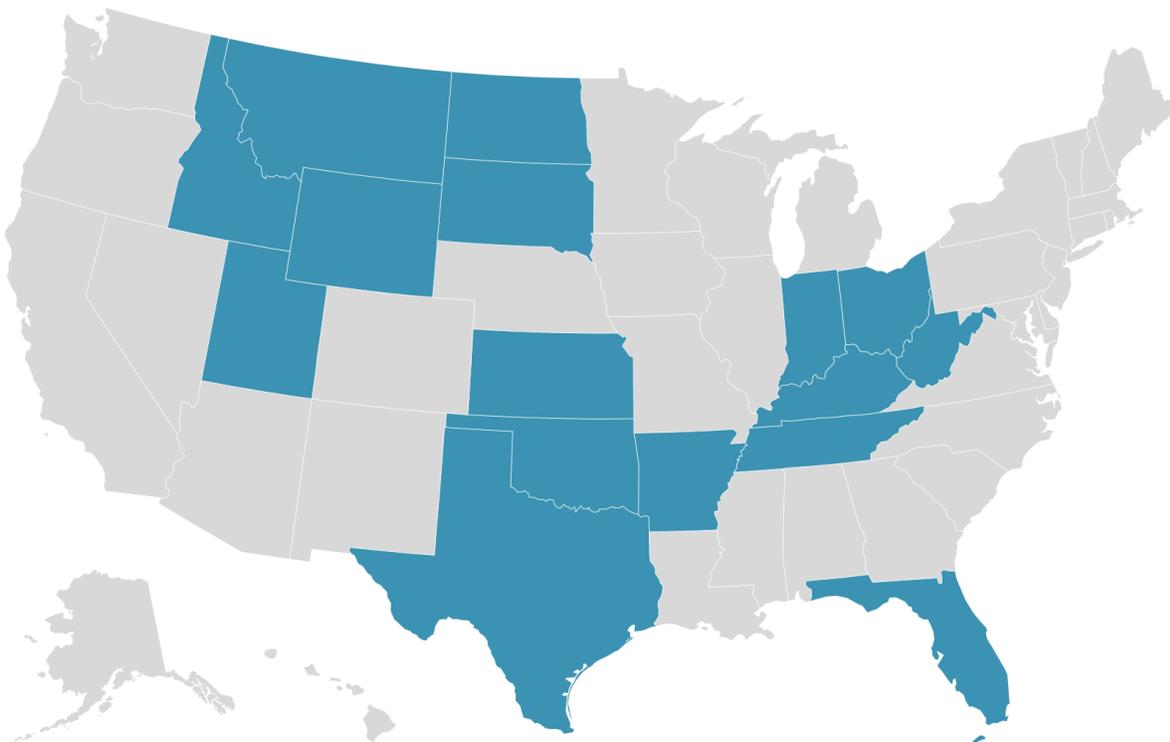
* — The Brennan Center began tracking election interference legislation in January 2022. Some laws enacted in 2021 were subsequently deemed election interference, but the total number of interference laws from that year was not tracked.

Source: Analysis of publicly available data by the Brennan Center and the Goldman School of Public Policy at UC Berkeley.

This roundup also looks ahead to what may happen in 2026. Some states allow legislators to pre-file bills for the following year’s session in the fall, and some states permit legislators to carry over pending bills from one year to the next. Although some states’ legislative sessions are shorter in even-numbered years, and a few legislatures won’t meet, the pre-filed bills and carryovers provide an indication of what changes to election laws may be coming with federal elections looming in November.

Restrictive Legislation

States That Enacted Restrictive Voting Laws in 2025



Source: Analysis of publicly available data by the Brennan Center and the Goldman School of Public Policy at UC Berkeley.

Between January 1 and December 31, 2025, at least 16 states enacted 31 restrictive voting laws.⁹ That tally includes two Ohio laws that were not part of our October roundup: one enacted after the publication of our previous roundup¹⁰ and one enacted last March.¹¹ Thirty of those laws and parts of an omnibus law in Utah are set to be in effect for the 2026 midterms.¹²

Restrictive Laws Enacted in 2025

EFFECT	BILL NUMBERS
Impose harsher ID requirements for some or all voters for in-person or mail voting	IN S.B. 10, KY H.B. 684, MT S.B. 276, TN S.B. 626, UT H.B. 300, WV H.B. 3016
Create additional hurdles for some or all voters to return a mail ballot	AR H.B. 1925, IN H.B. 1680, MT H.B. 719, UT H.B. 300
Shorten early voting or mail voting period	ID H.B. 278, KS S.B. 4, ND H.B. 1165, OH S.B. 293, UT H.B. 300
Eliminate universal mail voting	UT H.B. 300
Expand voter purges or risk faulty voter purges	IN H.B. 1679, IN S.B. 10, KS H.B. 2020, MT H.B. 248, TN S.B. 626, UT H.B. 300, WV S.B. 487
Restrict assistance in returning a voter's mail ballot application or mail ballot	AR S.B. 299, AR S.B. 479, OH H.B. 74, UT H.B. 300, WY S.F. 78
Create criminal penalties for voting related activities or assisting voters	FL S.B. 2, TX H.B. 521
Allow voter challenges that risk disenfranchising eligible voters	IN H.B. 1680, SD S.B. 185
Limit registration opportunities	IN H.B. 1680, MT H.B. 413, MT S.B. 490
Limit voting locations	OK H.B. 1865
Create obstacles for previously disenfranchised voters to register or become eligible	TN S.B. 407
Require proof of citizenship for at least some people to register to vote	IN H.B. 1680, OH H.B. 54, TN H.B. 69, WY H.B. 156

Source: Analysis of publicly available data by the Brennan Center and the Goldman School of Public Policy at UC Berkeley.

The newly enacted law in Ohio does not allow election officials to count mail ballots received after Election Day, except for military and overseas voters' ballots.¹³ Kansas, North Dakota, and Utah passed similar laws in 2025.¹⁴ Previously, these 4 states allowed mail ballots postmarked by Election Day to be counted so long as they were received within a set period after Election Day. Recent [research](#) on the changes to the Ohio receipt deadline suggests that thousands of valid votes in the 2024 election would not have been counted under the new rules.

These laws come alongside litigation seeking to prohibit states from counting mail ballots received after Election Day, including a [case](#) that will be argued before the Supreme Court this spring. Currently, [30 states](#) allow at least some ballots received after Election Day to count.¹⁵

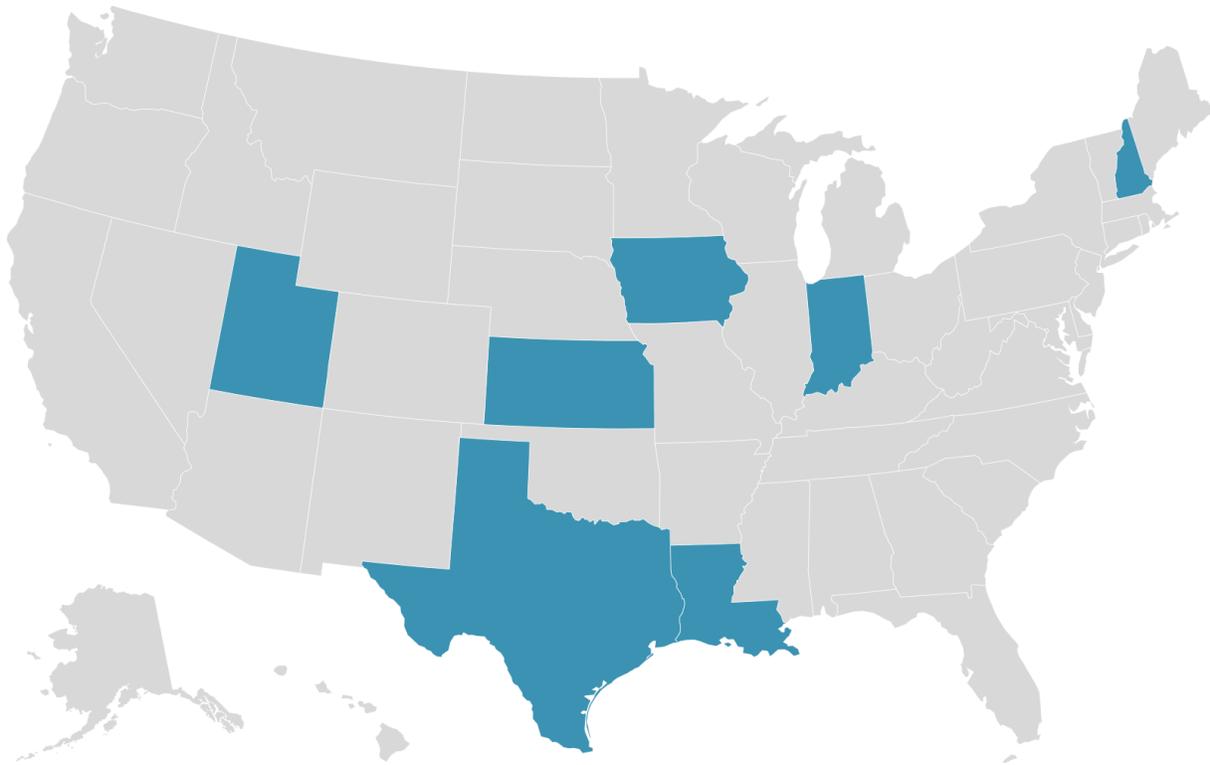
State lawmakers have sought to limit mail voting for years, and 2025 was no exception. At least 7 states passed 8 laws restricting mail voting,¹⁶ headlined by a Utah law that, among other things,

eliminates universal mail voting starting in 2029.¹⁷ Since the 2020 election, 27 states¹⁸ enacted 52 laws¹⁹ restricting mail voting.

As covered in the October 2025 roundup, restrictive laws in 2025 also featured trends such as tightening existing ID requirements for voting or registration, as well as expanding the use of unreliable data to update state voter rolls in ways that are [likely](#) to remove eligible voters.

Election Interference Legislation

States That Enacted Election Interference Laws in 2025



Source: Analysis of publicly available data by the Brennan Center and the Goldman School of Public Policy at UC Berkeley.

Between January 1 and December 31, 2025, at least 7 states enacted 8 election interference laws.²⁰ All are on track to be in effect this November.

The 8 laws include legislation enacted by Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Texas, and Utah granting partisan state officials power over local election administration that could allow them to influence election outcomes.²¹ Iowa’s law, for example, grants the secretary of state wide discretion to take over county-level recounts.

Elsewhere, Indiana and New Hampshire both enacted laws that could hamper election administration by instituting flawed ballot-counting requirements.²²

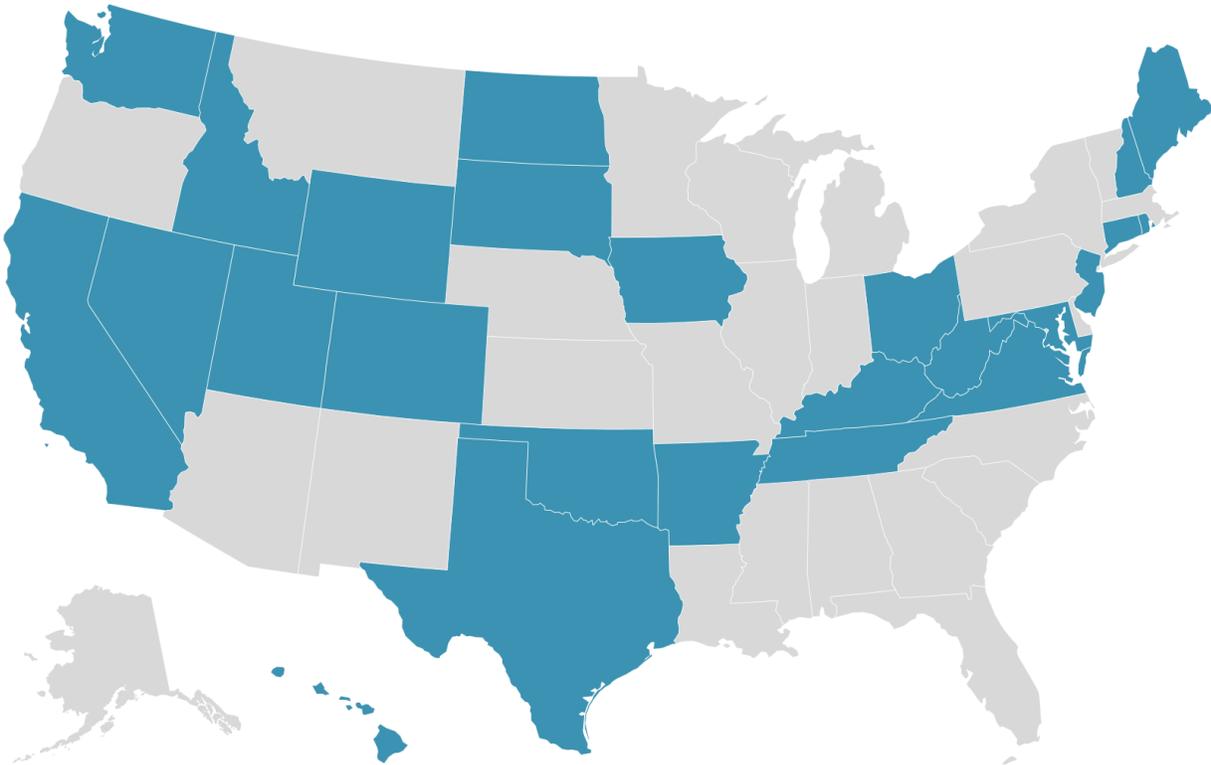
Election Interference Laws Enacted in 2025

EFFECT	BILL NUMBERS
Require vote counting software that can retract mail ballots from totals without safeguards on its use	IN S.B. 526
Allow voters to self-select hand counting for their ballot	NH H.B. 154
Give partisan state-level actors control over election processes	IA H.F. 928, KS S.B. 5, LA H.B. 502, TX S.B. 510, UT H.B. 300
Allow partisan enforcement of election crimes	TX S.B. 12

Source: Analysis of publicly available data by the Brennan Center and the Goldman School of Public Policy at UC Berkeley.

Expansive Legislation

States That Enacted Expansive Voting Laws in 2025



Source: Analysis of publicly available data by the Brennan Center and the Goldman School of Public Policy at UC Berkeley.

At least 25 states enacted 30 expansive voting laws in 2025.²³ All the expansive laws were discussed in our prior [roundup](#), and all are slated to be in effect for the midterms.²⁴ Common

themes included expanding voter registration opportunities, mail voting access, and ballot accessibility for voters with disabilities.

This is the second lowest number of expansive laws passed in the last five years. The year with the lowest total (2022), however, also had far fewer restrictive laws (11). This is the first time since at least 2021 that there were more restrictive laws than expansive ones. The expansive laws enacted each year during that period outnumbered restrictive laws by at least 1.5 times.

A constitutional resolution that the Nevada Legislature passed in a special session in November is not included in our expansive law count. NV S.J.R. 1 would enshrine in the state’s constitution several existing provisions that provide broad access to voters, including universal vote by mail. For the state’s constitution to be changed, the amendment must be approved by next year’s legislature and then by voters in the 2028 general election.

Expansive Laws Enacted in 2025

EFFECT	BILL NUMBERS
Expand early or mail voting locations	AR H.B. 1878, AR S.B. 296, CA A.B. 1249, CT H.B. 7287
Extend early or mail voting periods	NJ S.B. 3990, TX S.B. 2753
Allow some or all voters to be on the permanent mail voting list	IA H.F. 397, RI H.B. 5709/RI S.B. 520
Extend mail ballot application and receipt deadlines	CA A.B. 930, ID H.B. 278, ND H.B. 1165
Increase registration opportunities	AR S.B. 304, CT H.B. 7287, HI H.B. 408, ID H.B. 278, OH H.B. 74, VA H.B. 1735/VA S.B. 991, WA S.B. 5077, WV H.B. 2709
Establish a state Voting Rights Act	CO S.B. 1
Provide greater access to voters with disabilities	CT H.B. 7287, KY H.B. 684, ME L.D. 1977, NH H.B. 67
Improve access to election materials in other languages	CO S.B. 1, CT H.B. 7287, MD H.B. 983/MD S.B. 685, NV A.B. 367, TX H.B. 2259
Increase voting opportunities for military voters	OK S.B. 814
Create safeguards for voter challenges to prevent the removal of eligible voters from the rolls	SD S.B. 185
Expand eligibility or restores voting rights for previously disenfranchised voters	TN S.B. 407, WY S.F. 9
Expand notice and cure protocols for mail voters	TX S.B. 2964, UT S.B. 164
Expand opportunities for jail voting	CT H.B. 7287

Source: Analysis of publicly available data by the Brennan Center and the Goldman School of Public Policy at UC Berkeley.

Ballot Measures

Although we don't track ballot initiatives, voting-related initiatives can still affect voters and access to the ballot box, and we do track legislation that can result in ballot measures. In October, we reported on several upcoming ballot measures, including one in Maine that would have been one of the most restrictive changes to voting laws all year.²⁵

Among other things, it would have eliminated automatic mail voter status for seniors and people with disabilities, banned prepaid postage for mail ballot return envelopes, expanded opportunities for frivolous challenges to voter eligibility, and required voters to show photo ID to vote in person or by mail. In November, [64 percent](#) of Maine voters [rejected](#) that ballot measure.

Looking Ahead to 2026

Some state legislatures pre-file bills at the end of one year for consideration in the next. Likewise, many state legislatures carry over bills introduced but not passed in one year's session to the next. At the start of this year's sessions, both the pre-filed bills and the carryovers are pending in their respective legislatures. The substantive trends in the pre-filed and carryover legislation resemble those seen in recent years.

Pre-filed Legislation

At the end of 2025, legislators in at least 13 of the 32 states that allow pre-filing for this year's upcoming sessions had pre-filed 113 voting bills. This is up from the 82 pre-filed voting bills at the end of 2023.

Of the pre-filed bills, at least 6 bills in 4 states are restrictive. Each extends trends from 2025 legislation. For example, a Missouri bill²⁶ would require Americans to show a passport or birth certificate when registering to vote. The Brennan Center has tracked similar legislation, including in our last roundup, and explained how such show-your-papers policies disenfranchise eligible American voters. A pre-filed bill in Arizona would shorten the deadline for returning mail ballots by hand and require voters to present ID when returning a mail ballot,²⁷ and a Virginia bill would shorten the mail voting period by 15 days.²⁸

Missouri is the only state in which legislators pre-filed election interference bills before the end of 2025, with a total of 2 such bills. The first²⁹ requires hand-counts of almost all ballots in the state, and the second³⁰ creates an office within the secretary of state's office with extensive power to investigate alleged violations of election law. Such investigations are normally conducted by district attorneys.

On the other hand, there are 15 pre-filed bills in 5 states that would expand access to voting, including constitutional amendments in Virginia to automatically restore voting rights upon release from incarceration to people with felony convictions.³¹ Bills in Arizona would establish both automatic and same-day voter registration,³² while one in Alabama would expand disability access by allowing voters to designate someone to deliver their absentee ballot application.³³

Carryover Bills

Of the legislation that will carry over into the 2026 legislative session, 187 bills in 23 states would restrict access to voting. Seventy-eight of these would curb access to mail voting; 59 would create stricter ID requirements for registration or in-person voting; and 37 would either require voters to provide a passport, birth certificate, or similar document to register or expand voter purges in ways that are likely to remove eligible voters.

Thirty-six election interference bills are carrying over in 17 states, including 11 that would institute hand-counting procedures that often result in inaccurate results. Hand-counting some ballots is a useful way to verify results, but using this method improperly or to tally all ballots leads to more errors than machine counting, especially when done on compressed timelines.

Of these 11 bills, 4 would require all ballots to be counted by hand, 2 would permit local officials to order full hand-counting, 2 would permit political parties to decide which ballots are hand-counted, and the remaining 3 would institute similarly flawed hand-counting approaches.

Of the 258 expansive carryover bills in 24 states, 66 would make it easier to vote by mail, 18 would require voting materials to be available in non-English languages, and 35 would restore voting rights to some people with past criminal convictions. While 36 states allow for carryover bills, one-third of this year's expansive carryovers (72) are in New York, similar to 2024.

1
Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Montana, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

2
Legislation is categorized as restrictive if it contains one or more provisions that would make it harder for eligible Americans to register, stay on the voter rolls, or vote compared to existing state law.

3
We describe laws with effective dates before November 3, 2026, as “will be in effect,” however, some may not be operative for the midterms due to legal challenges. Courts may block some of these laws before the midterms, while in other cases, court blockages could be overturned on appeal.

4
Hawaii, Louisiana, and Vermont are the exceptions. Vermont was also the only state not to introduce a restrictive bill in 2021, and Delaware, Kentucky, and Vermont were the 3 not to do so in 2023. Louisiana is, however, among 7 states that have enacted election interference legislation (LA H.B. 502).

5

Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, New Hampshire, Texas, and Utah.

6

Legislation is categorized as election interference if it either threatens the people and processes that make elections work or increases opportunities for partisan interference in election results or administration.

7

Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Hawaii, Idaho, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

8

Legislation is categorized as expansive if it contains one or more provisions that would make it easier for eligible Americans to register, stay on the voter rolls, or vote compared to existing state law.

9

AR H.B. 1925, AR S.B. 299, AR S.B. 479, FL S.B. 2, ID H.B. 278, IN H.B. 1679, IN H.B. 1680, IN S.B. 10, KS H.B. 2020, KS S.B. 4, KY H.B. 684, MT H.B. 248, MT H.B. 413, MT S.B. 276, MT S.B. 490, MT H.B. 719, ND H.B. 1165, OH H.B. 54, OH H.B. 74, OH S.B. 293, OK H.B. 1865, SD S.B. 185, TN H.B. 69, TN S.B. 407, TN S.B. 626, TX H.B. 521, UT H.B. 300, WV H.B. 3016, WV S.B. 487, WY H.B. 156, WY S.F. 78.

10

OH H.B. 293.

11

OH H.B. 54, an omnibus transportation bill that did not include provisions related to voting until a substitution late in the legislative process, has a provision requiring that individuals provide proof of citizenship to register to vote or update their voter registration at the Ohio Bureau of Motor Vehicles.

12

UT H.B. 300.

13

OH S.B. 293.

14

KS S.B. 4, ND H.B. 1165, UT H.B. 300.

[15](#)

The linked table indicates that 29 states allow some mail ballots received after Election Day to count, however, it does not count Utah despite the state's new law still allowing such ballots to count for military and overseas voters.

[16](#)

AR H.B. 1925, AR S.B. 299, IN H.B. 1680, KS S.B. 4, MT H.B. 719, ND H.B. 1165, OH S.B. 293, UT H.B. 300.

[17](#)

UT H.B. 300.

[18](#)

Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New Mexico, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, and Wyoming.

[19](#)

AL H.B. 538 (2021), AZ S.B. 1003 (2021), AZ S.B. 1485 (2021), AR H.B. 1715 (2021), AR S.B. 643 (2021), AR H.B. 1112 (2021), FL S.B. 90 (2021), GA S.B. 202 (2021), ID H.B. 290 (2021), IN S.B. 398 (2021), IA S.F. 413/IA S.S.B. 1199 (2021), KS H.B. 2183 (2021), KS H.B. 2332 (2021), KY H.B. 574 (2021), MT H.B. 530 (2021), NY S.B. 264 (2021), OK H.B. 2663 (2021), TX H.B. 3920 (2021), TX S.B. 1 (2021), MO H.B. 1878 (2022), NJ A.B. 3819 (2022), NJ A.B. 3820 (2022), OH H.B. 458 (2022), OK H.B. 3364 (2022), SC S.B. 108 (2022), AR H.B. 1411 (2023), FL S.B. 7050 (2023), KS S.B. 106 (2023), MS S.B. 2358 (2023), NM S.B. 180 (2023), NC S.B. 747 (2023), SD H.B. 1165 (2023), WY S.F. 153 (2023), WY H.B. 279 (2023), AL S.B. 1 (2024), AZ H.B. 2785 (2024), ID H.B. 599 (2024), LA H.B. 476 (2024), LA H.B. 581 (2024), LA S.B. 155 (2024), LA S.B. 218 (2024), LA S.B. 226 (2024), NC S.B. 382 (2024), TN S.B. 1967 (2024), AR H.B. 1925 (2025), AR S.B. 299 (2025), KS S.B. 4 (2025), MT H.B. 719 (2025), ND H.B. 1165 (2025), OH S.B. 293 (2025), UT H.B. 300 (2025), and WY S.F. 78 (2025).

[20](#)

IA H.F. 928, IN S.B. 526, NH H.B. 154, KS S.B. 5, LA H.B. 502, TX S.B. 12, TX S.B. 510, UT H.B. 300.

[21](#)

IA H.F. 928, KS S.B. 5, LA H.B. 502, TX S.B. 510, UT H.B. 300.

[22](#)

IN S.B. 526, NH H.B. 154.

[23](#)

AR H.B. 1878, AR S.B. 296, AR S.B. 304, CA A.B. 930, CA A.B. 1249, CO S.B. 1, CT H.B. 7287, HI H.B. 408, IA H.F. 397, ID H.B. 278, KY H.B. 684, ME L.D. 1977, MD H.B. 983/MD S.B. 685, ND H.B. 1165, NH H.B. 67, NJ S.B. 3990, NV A.B. 367, OH H.B. 74, OK S.B. 814,

RI H.B. 5709/RI S.B. 520, SD S.B. 185, TN S.B. 407, TX H.B. 2259, TX S.B. 2753, TX S.B. 2964, UT S.B. 164, VA H.B. 1735/VA S.B. 991, WA S.B. 5077, WV H.B. 2709, WY S.F. 9. Because the Maryland, Rhode Island, and Virginia bills are identical to each other, we count them as one.

[24](#)

On January 12, 2026, New Jersey enacted an expansive bill that will increase opportunities for automatic voter registration, but it is not included in our count because it was enacted after our cutoff date of January 1.

[25](#)

ME I.B. 1.

[26](#)

MO S.B. 986.

[27](#)

AZ H.B. 2001.

[28](#)

VA S.B. 46.

[29](#)

MO S.B. 1132.

[30](#)

MO S.B. 1330.

[31](#)

VA H.J.R. 2, VA S.J.R. 2, VA S.B. 6.

[32](#)

AZ H.B. 2036, AZ H.B. 2037.

[33](#)

AL H.B. 45.