***Research Plan for Resource Allocation Report******INTERNAL DOCUMENT***

**Study Overview:** Quantitative and qualitative analysis to learn how election resources are allocated and whether this impacts election day experiences.

**Target States and Counties:**

**For quantitative analysis:** States studied in 2014 long lines report;states and counties with news reporting of problems during the 2018 election; states and counties previously under preclearance; 50 most populous counties.

* **3 states studied in long lines report:** Maryland, South Carolina, and Florida
* **8 states with news reporting of election problems in 2018:** Maryland, South Carolina, Florida, Arizona, Georgia, North Carolina, California, and New York
* **7 states previously under preclearance:** South Carolina, Florida, Arizona, Georgia, North Carolina, Michigan, California
* **50 most populous counties:**
  + Los Angeles County, California
  + Cook County, Illinois
  + Harris County, Texas
  + Maricopa County, Arizona
  + San Diego County, California
  + Orange County, California
  + Miami-Dade County, Florida
  + Kings County, New York
  + Dallas County, Texas
  + Riverside County, California
  + Queens County, New York
  + San Bernardino County, California
  + King County, Washington
  + Clark County, Nevada
  + Tarrant County, Texas
  + Santa Clara County, California
  + Bexar County, Texas
  + Broward County, Florida
  + Wayne County, Michigan
  + New York County, New York
  + Alameda County, California
  + Middlesex County, Massachusetts
  + Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania
  + Suffolk County, New York
  + Sacramento County, California
  + Bronx County, New York
  + Palm Beach County, Florida
  + Nassau County, New York
  + Hillsborough County, Florida
  + Orange County, Florida
  + Cuyahoga County, Ohio
  + Franklin County, Ohio
  + Oakland County, Michigan
  + Allegheny County, Pennsylvania
  + Hennepin County, Minnesota
  + Travis County, Texas
  + Fairfax County, Virginia
  + Contra Costa County, California
  + Salt Lake County, Utah
  + Montgomery County, Maryland
  + Mecklenburg County, North Carolina
  + Wake County, North Carolina
  + Fulton County, Georgia
  + Pima County, Arizona
  + St. Louis County, Missouri
  + Honolulu County, Hawaii
  + Westchester County, New York
  + Fresno County, California
  + Milwaukee County, Wisconsin
  + Pinellas County, Florida

**For qualitative legal analysis:** All 50 states

**Overarching Research Questions:**

1. ***How are election resources allocated?***
2. Is there variation in what and how election resources are allocated?
3. How does the allocation of resources in states previously under preclearance compare with previously uncovered states?
4. What impact did Recession-era cuts have on present day allocation?
5. Are there disparities in the amount of resources allocated to low-income or predominately POC communities?
6. Does partisanship play a role in the under-resourcing of polling places?
7. What types of regulations govern polling place resource allocation?
8. ***Does resource allocation impact elections?***
9. What impact does the amount of regulation have on election day experiences?
10. Do voters with less-well-resourced polling places wait longer in line and report worse voting experiences?

**Data Sources:**

* Interviews with friendly election administrators
* 50 state surveys of polling place resourcing legal requirements
* Public records requests regarding past elections
* National surveys

**Research Questions Specific to Data Sources:**

* Interviews with friendly election administrators
  + “If you had a team at the Brennan Center digging into resource allocation, where would you want them to focus?”
  + Emergency distribution in Florida (we’ve had good preliminary conversations here)
  + San José: we know they are interested in chatting. They are implementing a new program where county employees can work the polls without taking a day off work in 2020
    - * This might be a good place to start thinking about education / training of poll workers
    - We’ve heard that some election administrators are confused about how to use HAVA funds
      * “If I can only use the machines I buy with HAVA funds in federal elections, why would I do the work of applying for those funds?”
    - How do offices go about making budgetary decisions? What are the processes?
    - How do you find pollworkers? Are they paid / how well? Volunteers?
    - Generally, what do we find as we receive records requests / look through data that needs to be explained by individuals?
* Fifty-state survey of polling place resourcing requirements
  + How are elections funded?
    - How much money comes from the state?
    - Do counties have to fund their own elections using money raised by providing other services?
    - Is parity between counties mandated or incentivized?
    - How has the funding landscape changed after the Recession-era cuts?
    - How do states allocate HAVA funds?
  + What rules govern machines available?
    - Are there requirements about additional machines, planned replacements, etc?
  + When can jurisdictions close or move polling places? What requirements or restrictions are in place?
* Public records requests regarding past elections
  + How did actual spending compare to expected spending?
  + How much money was set aside for emergencies (such as moving a polling place due to a storm)? How much was actually spent?
  + How many polling places did each county have?
  + How many poll workers and machines did each polling place have?
  + How many polling places were moved or closed? How was that information communicated?
  + When did each polling place transfer their results to the central agency?
  + How many registered voters were assigned to each polling place?
  + How many ballots were cast at each polling place?
  + What was the street address of each polling place?
  + Were HAVA funds allocated? If so, how?
* National Survey: Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES) and Election Administration & Voting Survey (EAVS):
  + - Where did people wait in the longest lines?
    - What were the demographics of voters who waited in the longest lines?
    - Where did voters report having the worst experiences on election day?
* Combining National Survey Data, Policy Research, and Public Records Requests
  + - Did funding / wait times / election performance / etc change post-*Shelby County* in covered jurisdictions?
    - In big counties – do differences in wait times seem to be explained by variation *between* counties (county X had $Y per voter, but county Z had $A per voter) or *within* counties (voters in the same county reported very different wait times)
    - Did purge rates seem to have any impact on election performance?
    - Is there evidence of turnout effects over time? If a polling place was poorly funded in 2016, was there lower turnout in 2018?