



The Leadership  
Conference  
Education Fund

# Democracy Diverted

**Polling Place Closures and the Right to Vote**

**September 2019**



# Acknowledgments

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***Democracy Diverted: Polling Place Closures and the Right to Vote*** is a product of The Leadership Conference Education Fund.

The Education Fund was founded in 1969 as the education and research arm of The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, the nation's oldest and largest civil and human rights coalition of more than 200 national organizations. Because of our unique role in leading coalitions, we are able to create public education campaigns that leverage a range of diverse voices to empower and mobilize advocates at the local, state, and federal levels. For five decades, we have served as a force multiplier and amplified the call for a just, inclusive, and fair democracy. At The Education Fund, we believe an informed public is not only necessary to achieve civil and human rights, but also to make sure those rights endure. By activating the power of the coalition, The Education Fund and our partners can share innovative research and information around the country — and ultimately, shift the narrative on civil and human rights.

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## Introduction

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 (VRA), a landmark achievement of the civil rights movement, is known as one of the most effective civil rights laws in American history. Years of struggle for the right to vote culminated in Bloody Sunday, the infamous day in 1965 when civil rights advocates, including U.S. Rep. John Lewis, were brutally beaten as they marched across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama, to demand equal access to the ballot box — a pivotal moment in the campaign for civil rights that led to the enactment of the VRA months later. Before the VRA, Black voters were prevented from participating in the political system due to literacy tests, poll taxes, voter intimidation tactics, and violence. In the mid-1950s, only 25 percent of African Americans were registered to vote, and the registration rate was even lower in some states. In Mississippi, for example, fewer than 5 percent of African Americans were registered to vote.<sup>1</sup> Those rates rose quickly after the VRA was enacted. By 1970, almost as many African Americans were registered to vote in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina as had been in the entire century before 1965.<sup>2</sup> Like African Americans, Native Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans have also faced voter discrimination and low voter registration rates. It wasn't until 1975, when Congress amended the VRA, that certain jurisdictions were required to provide bilingual election materials and voting assistance.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See U.S. COMM'N ON CIVIL RIGHTS, AN ASSESSMENT OF MINORITY VOTING RIGHTS ACCESS IN THE UNITED STATES 171 (2018), [https://www.usccr.gov/pubs/2018/Minority\\_Voting\\_Access\\_2018.pdf](https://www.usccr.gov/pubs/2018/Minority_Voting_Access_2018.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> See Shelby Cty. v. Holder, 570 U.S. 529, 562 (2013) (Ginsburg, J., dissenting).

<sup>3</sup> See U.S. COMM'N ON CIVIL RIGHTS, AN ASSESSMENT OF MINORITY VOTING RIGHTS ACCESS IN THE UNITED STATES 34 (2018), [https://www.usccr.gov/pubs/2018/Minority\\_Voting\\_Access\\_2018.pdf](https://www.usccr.gov/pubs/2018/Minority_Voting_Access_2018.pdf)

## The Heart of the Voting Rights Act

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Often described as the “heart” of the VRA, Section 5<sup>4</sup> played a critical role in dismantling the systemic discrimination against voters of color that was prevalent throughout the South. This section, also known as the preclearance provision, allowed the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) and the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia to block states and localities (*i.e.*, “covered jurisdictions”<sup>5</sup>) with a history of discrimination from implementing voting changes that could disenfranchise voters of color. In enacting Section 5, “Congress had found that case-by-case litigation was inadequate to combat widespread and persistent discrimination in voting, because of the inordinate amount of time and energy required to overcome the obstructionist tactics invariably encountered in these lawsuits. After enduring nearly a century of systematic resistance to the Fifteenth Amendment, Congress ... decide[d] to shift the advantage of time and inertia from the perpetrators of the evil to its victims.”<sup>6</sup> Section 5 guaranteed that voting changes were public, transparent, analyzed, and evaluated before they were implemented, ensuring they would not discriminate against voters on the basis of race or language. While the VRA applies to the entire country, Section 5 was reserved for jurisdictions with the most pervasive patterns of discrimination: Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia. A selection of counties in California, Florida, Michigan, New York, North Carolina, and South Dakota were also covered and were required to submit their voting changes for approval.<sup>7</sup> In addition to its preventive powers, preclearance deterred state and local jurisdictions from suppressing the voting power of growing communities of color.

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<sup>4</sup> Under Section 5 of the VRA, jurisdictions with a demonstrated record of racial discrimination in voting were required to submit all proposed voting changes to the U.S. Department of Justice or the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., for “preclearance” in advance of implementation. The jurisdictions were required to prove that the proposed voting change would not deny or adversely affect the right to vote on the basis of race, color, or an eligible voter’s membership in a language minority group. Preclearance was a crucial element of the VRA because it ensured that no new voting law or practice, such as closing or moving a polling place, would be implemented in a place with a history of racial discrimination in voting unless that law was first determined not to discriminate against voters of color. However, in *Shelby*, the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated the formula that determined which states and jurisdictions are covered by Section 5 of the VRA and thus are required to undergo preclearance. Without that determination, the preclearance provision essentially became inoperable.

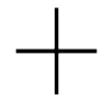
<sup>5</sup> States and localities required to submit their voting changes for federal approval were: Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia, and counties in California, Florida, Michigan, New York, North Carolina, and South Dakota. Counties and townships in a few other states were removed from coverage through the “bailout” provision in Section 4(a) of the VRA.

<sup>6</sup> *South Carolina v. Katzenbach*, 383 U.S. 301, 328 (1966).

<sup>7</sup> See Jurisdictions Previously Covered by Section 5, U.S. DEP’T OF JUSTICE CIVIL RIGHTS DIV., <https://www.justice.gov/crt/jurisdictions-previously-covered-section-5> (last updated Aug. 6, 2015).

## **Shelby County v. Holder's Devastating Impact**

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Despite the VRA's success in combating voting discrimination, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down its coverage formula in *Shelby County v. Holder* in 2013. In so doing, justices rendered the VRA's most powerful provision — the Section 5 preclearance system — inoperable, opening the door to racial discrimination across the country at every juncture of the electoral process. At the time, Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg foresaw the devastating impact the loss of preclearance would have on voting rights in communities of color. "Throwing out preclearance when it has worked and is continuing to work to stop discriminatory changes is like throwing away your umbrella in a rainstorm because you are not getting wet,"<sup>8</sup> she wrote in her dissenting opinion.

Since *Shelby*, a growing number of states and localities across the country have attempted to suppress voter participation among Black and Brown communities in various ways. States have shortened voting hours and days, enacted new barriers to voter registration, purged millions of eligible voters from the rolls, implemented strict voter identification laws, reshaped voting districts, and closed polling places. Many of these changes have been found to discriminate against Black and Brown voters.<sup>9</sup> Courts have, in fact, found intentional discrimination in at least 10 voting rights decisions since *Shelby*.<sup>10</sup> In 2016, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit described North Carolina's voter ID law as "the most restrictive voting law North Carolina has seen since the era of Jim Crow" and said its provisions "target African Americans with almost surgical precision."<sup>11</sup> And in 2017, a federal court ruled that Texas' 2013 congressional redistricting maps were enacted with "racially discriminatory intent" against Latino and Black voters.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> See *Shelby Cty. v. Holder*, 570 U.S. 529, 590 (2013) (Ginsburg, J., dissenting).

<sup>9</sup> See generally, N.C. State Conf. of the NAACP v. McCrory, 831 F.3d 204, 214 (4th Cir. 2016); Perez v. Abbott, 274 F. Supp. 3d 624, 652, 686 (W.D. Tex. 2017).

<sup>10</sup> Letter from Sherrilyn Ifill, President & Dir. Counsel, NAACP Legal Def. Fund, to Bob Goodlatte, Chair, U.S. House Comm. on the Judiciary (Sep. 7, 2017) (on file with author).

<sup>11</sup> N.C. State Conf. of the NAACP v. McCrory, 831 F.3d 204, 214 (4th Cir. 2016).

<sup>12</sup> See Perez v. Abbott, 274 F. Supp. 3d 624, 652, 686 (W.D. Tex. 2017).

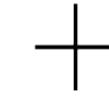
The absence of Section 5 has made it increasingly difficult to identify harmful voting changes before they take effect because states and localities are no longer required to notify federal officials of changes to voting laws. To track discrimination against voters of color, advocates need a fine-grained understanding of changing electoral processes in states and localities across the nation, especially in those with histories of discrimination. In the absence of Section 5, they no longer have the means of achieving that knowledge. Section 5’s prophylactic power came from its recognition that the “harms” of voting discrimination can never be truly redressed. Once an election is held, there is no do-over.

The wave of voter suppression since *Shelby* suggests that restoring the VRA and erecting additional safeguards to protect voters from racial discrimination must be a top legislative priority. When Congress wrote and passed the VRA, it understood that racial discrimination in voting morphs and changes over time; hence, the creation of Section 5. The myriad tactics now used to restrict electoral participation are just as pernicious as the poll taxes and literacy taxes of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Congress can — and must — address this problem by restoring and strengthening the VRA.

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## Rise in Polling Place Closures Since *Shelby*

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The national media have focused on discriminatory changes in voting policy and practice, such as the increase in photo identification requirements, purges from voting rolls, and reductions in rates of early voting. Yet poll closures have received little attention, even though they are a common and particularly pernicious way to disenfranchise voters of color. Decisions to shutter or reduce voting locations are often made quietly and at the last minute, making pre-election intervention or litigation virtually impossible. Closing polling places has a cascading effect, leading to long lines at other polling places, transportation hurdles, denial of language assistance and other forms of in-person help, and mass confusion about where eligible voters may cast their ballot. For many people, and particularly for voters of color, older voters, rural voters, and voters with disabilities, these burdens make it harder — and sometimes impossible — to vote.

### **Before *Shelby*:**

States and localities were required to notify voters of any planned polling place closures well ahead of time. State and local officials were also required to prove that proposed voting changes would not have a discriminatory effect on Black, Latino, Asian American, or Native American voters, and they were required to give the DOJ data from the U.S. Census Bureau about the racial impact of polling closures.<sup>13</sup> The DOJ would then reach out to the community to obtain information about the impact of the proposed voting change.<sup>14</sup>

### **Since *Shelby*:**

Jurisdictions are no longer required to notify voters of changes, and the DOJ does not have to analyze the impact of proposed voting changes on communities of color in Section 5 jurisdictions. To identify potentially discriminatory polling place relocations or closures and precinct changes, voters now must rely on reports from the news media, social media, and/or local advocates who attend city and county commission meetings or legislative sessions where these changes are made. In most cases, closures go unnoticed, unreported, and unchallenged.

<sup>13</sup> See U.S. COMM'N ON CIVIL RIGHTS, AN ASSESSMENT OF MINORITY VOTING RIGHTS ACCESS IN THE UNITED STATES 169 (2018), [https://www.usccr.gov/pubs/2018/Minority\\_Voting\\_Access\\_2018.pdf](https://www.usccr.gov/pubs/2018/Minority_Voting_Access_2018.pdf)

<sup>14</sup> See U.S. COMM'N ON CIVIL RIGHTS, AN ASSESSMENT OF MINORITY VOTING RIGHTS ACCESS IN THE UNITED STATES 47 (2018), [https://www.usccr.gov/pubs/2018/Minority\\_Voting\\_Access\\_2018.pdf](https://www.usccr.gov/pubs/2018/Minority_Voting_Access_2018.pdf)

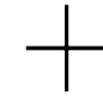
While all poll closures do not prove discrimination, they merit heightened scrutiny, given this country's sordid history of excluding voters of color from the political process. Context matters. There may be legitimate reasons to reduce the number of polling places, perhaps because of a population decrease or reduced demand for Election Day voting because of increases in early or mail-in voting. When polling place reductions are planned in concert with diverse communities, evaluated in advance to ensure they won't harm voters of color, and take place with clear notice and transparency, they can be implemented equitably.

Before *Shelby*, states and localities with clear records of voter discrimination — like those discussed in this report — were required to take these steps when consolidating polling places. Today, they are not.



## Polling Place Closures Today

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The surge in voting changes at the state and local level after *Shelby* catalyzed the need for a systemic examination of poll closures and other seemingly innocuous changes that could have negatively impacted voters of color. In 2016, The Leadership Conference Education Fund identified 868 polling place closures in former Section 5 jurisdictions in our initial report, *The Great Poll Closure*.<sup>15</sup> This report is both an update to — and a major expansion of — our original publication.

Our first report drew on a sample of fewer than half of the approximately 860 counties or county-equivalents that were once covered by Section 5. This report covers an expanded data set of 757 counties. What's more, *The Great Poll Closure* relied on voluntary reports of aggregate numbers of polling places that state election officials gave to the U.S. Election Assistance Commission. This report relies largely on independent counts of polling places from public records requests and publicly available polling place lists.

In this report, we found 1,688 polling place closures between 2012 and 2018, almost double the 868 closures found in our 2016 report. Additionally, *Democracy Diverted* analyzes the reduction of polling places in the formerly covered Section 5 jurisdictions in the years between the 2014 and 2018 midterm elections. We found 1,173 fewer polling places in 2018 — despite a significant increase in voter turnout. To better understand the potentially discriminatory impact of these closures, additional analysis beyond what is included in this report must be completed at the precinct level. This analysis — precisely the kind that the DOJ conducted under preclearance — takes time and resources. Our hope is that journalists, advocates, and voters will use this county-level polling place data to scrutinize the impact of poll closures in their communities, to understand their impact on voters of color, and to create a fairer and more just electoral system for all.

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<sup>15</sup> See THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE EDUCATION FUND, THE GREAT POLL CLOSURE 7 (Nov. 2016), <http://civilrightsdocs.info/pdf/reports/2016/poll-closure-report-web.pdf>.

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## **Summary of Methodology**

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This report examines 757 (or nearly 90 percent) of the approximately 860 counties and county-level equivalents once covered by Section 5. Our sample includes only those jurisdictions where The Education Fund was able to acquire accurate polling place lists or counts from state or local election officials or reputable media sources for general elections in 2012, 2014, 2016, and/or 2018. Counties where we could not obtain reliable data (Virginia and three from Texas) were excluded from the analysis. More detail on methodology is available at the end of this report.

# Summary of National Findings



We found 1,688 polling place closures in places once covered by Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act. Of the 757 counties in our study, 298 (39 percent) reduced the number of polling places between 2012 and 2018. Because presidential elections tend to have higher turnout rates than midterms, we analyzed the data to determine whether the number of polling places varied to meet the different demands of each type of election. They did not. Most (69 percent) closures ( $-1,173$ )<sup>16</sup> occurred after the 2014 midterm election.

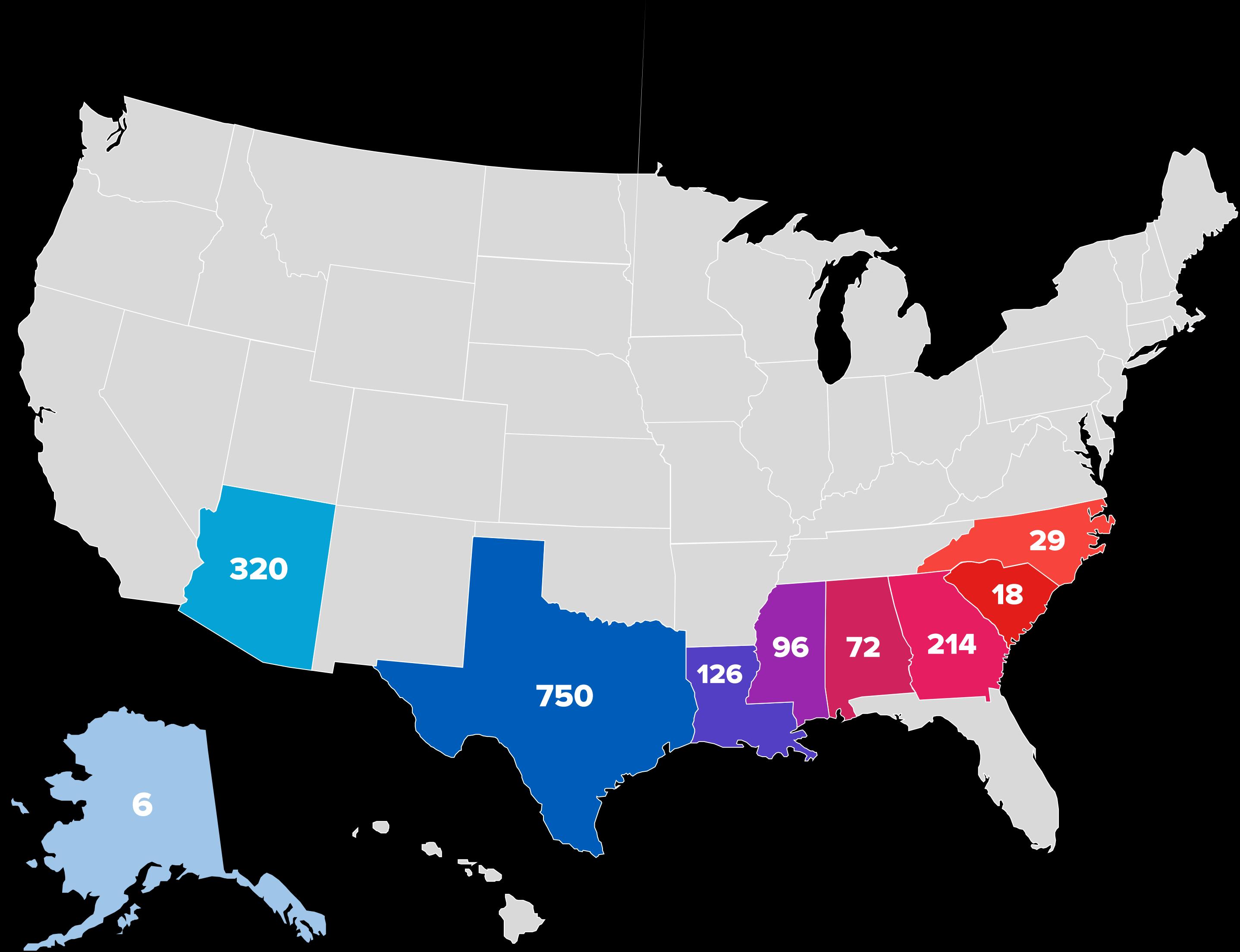
The *Shelby* decision paved the way for systematic statewide efforts to reduce the number of polling places in Texas ( $-750$ ), Arizona ( $-320$ ), and Georgia ( $-214$ ). Quieter efforts to reduce the number of polling places without clear notice or justification spread throughout Louisiana ( $-126$ ), Mississippi ( $-96$ ), Alabama ( $-72$ ), North Carolina ( $-29$ ), and Alaska ( $-6$ ).

Our analysis also found that South Carolina ( $-18$ ) is unique among southern states in that it has state laws for polling place changes. Despite barriers to voting in other contexts, South Carolina has closed relatively few polling places since *Shelby*.

Though not inherently discriminatory, these polling place closures occurred in states and localities with past histories of racial discrimination in voting. And some took place amid a larger constellation of efforts to prevent voters of color from electing the candidates of their choice, such as enactment of stricter voter identification laws, restrictions on voter registration, and voter purges.

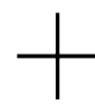
<sup>16</sup> Throughout this report, we refer to polling place reductions using the minus sign ( $-$ ).

# Polling place closures since *Shelby*📍



## The Nation's Megaclosers

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Our analysis uncovered statewide efforts to reduce polling places across Texas, Arizona, and Georgia — all states with rapidly growing and diversifying electorates. Each state stands out for the volume, scale, and breadth of its polling place closures.

The 10 counties that closed the most polling places by number are all located in Texas, Arizona, and Georgia.



### Texas

Closures.....	750
Latino.....	39%
Black.....	12%



### Arizona

Closures.....	320
Latino.....	30%
Black.....	4%
Native American....	4%



### Georgia

Closures.....	214
Latino.....	9%
Black.....	31%

## **Top Ten Closers by Percentage**

**Lumpkin County, GA** 89%

**Stephens County, GA** 88%

**Warren County, GA** 83%

**Bacon County, GA** 80%

**Butts County, GA** 80%

**Somervell County, TX** 80%

**Jackson County, TX** 75%

**Lanier County, TX** 75%

**Loving County, GA** 75%

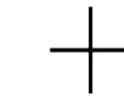
**Stonewall County, GA** 75%

## **Top Ten Closers by Total Numbers**

<b>Maricopa County, AZ</b>	<b>171</b>
<b>Dallas County, TX</b>	<b>74</b>
<b>Travis County, TX</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>Harris County, TX</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>Brazoria County, TX</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Nueces County, TX</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Mohave County, AZ</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>Cochise County, AZ</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>Pima County, AZ</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>McLennan County, TX</b>	<b>31</b>



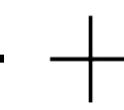
## Texas



Texas, a state where 39 percent of the population is Latino and 12 percent is African American,<sup>17</sup> has closed 750 polling places since *Shelby*, by far the most of any state in our study. Five of the six largest closers of polling places are in Texas. With 74 closures, Dallas County, which is 41 percent Latino and 22 percent African American, is the second largest closer of polling places, followed by Travis County, which is 34 percent Latino (–67). Harris County, which is 42 percent Latino and 19 percent African American (–52), and Brazoria County, which is 13 percent African American and 30 percent Latino (–37), tied with Nueces County, which is 63 percent Latino (–37).<sup>18</sup> Many, but not all, of these polling places were closed as part of a statewide effort to centralize voting into “countywide polling places.” This effort slashed the number of voting locations but allowed voters to cast ballots at any Election Day polling place. Without Section 5 of the VRA, we cannot assess the impact these mass closures have on communities of color.



## Arizona



Arizona, a state where 30 percent of the population is Latino, 4 percent is Native American,<sup>19</sup> and 4 percent is African American, has the most widespread reduction (–320) in polling places. Almost every county (13 of 15 counties) closed polling places since preclearance was removed — some on a staggering scale. Maricopa County, which is 31 percent Latino, closed 171 voting locations since 2012 — the most of any county studied and more than the two next largest closers combined. Many Arizona counties shuttered significant numbers of polling places, including Mohave, which is 16 percent Latino (–34); Cochise, which is 35 percent Latino (–32); and Pima, which is 37 percent Latino (–31).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Texas is 39 percent Latino, 12 percent African American, .2 percent Native American and 1.4 percent Asian American; For all U.S. Census data referenced in this report, we rounded to the nearest whole number. All Census data is from the 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, Table B03002, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU (2017), [https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS\\_17\\_5YR\\_B03002&prodType=table](https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_17_5YR_B03002&prodType=table).

<sup>18</sup> See 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, Table B03002, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU (2017), [https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS\\_17\\_5YR\\_B03002&prodType=table](https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_17_5YR_B03002&prodType=table).

<sup>19</sup> Arizona is 30 percent Latino, 4 percent African American, 4 percent Native American, and 3 percent Asian American.

<sup>20</sup> See 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, Table B03002, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU (2017), [https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS\\_17\\_5YR\\_B03002&prodType=table](https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_17_5YR_B03002&prodType=table).



## Georgia

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Georgia, a state where 31 percent of the population is African American and 9 percent is Latino, has 214 fewer polling places.<sup>21</sup> Georgia stands out because its counties have closed higher percentages of voting locations than any other state in our study. The top five closers of polling places by percentage were Georgia counties: The top three counties in the state were Lumpkin (89 percent closed); Stephens (88 percent closed); and Warren, which is 61 percent African American (83 percent closed). Bacon County, which is 15 percent African American, and Butts County, which is 28 percent African American, tied with 80 percent closed.<sup>22</sup> Seven counties with major polling place reductions now have only one polling site to serve hundreds of square miles. In a February 2015 memo, the office of Brian Kemp, who was then serving as Georgia's secretary of state, encouraged counties to consolidate voting locations. He specifically spelled out twice — in bold font — that “as a result of the *Shelby vs. Holder* [sic] Supreme Court decision, [counties are] no longer required to submit polling place changes to the Department of Justice for preclearance.”<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Georgia is 31 percent African American, 9 percent Latino, .1 percent Native American, and 4 percent Asian.

<sup>22</sup> See 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, Table B03002, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU (2017), [https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS\\_17\\_5YR\\_B03002&prodType=table](https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_17_5YR_B03002&prodType=table).

<sup>23</sup> Memorandum from Ga. Sec'y of State Elections Div. to Ga. Local Election Officials 3, 5 (Feb. 2015) (on file with author).

## Out of Sight, Out of Mind

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Polling place closures in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and North Carolina follow a similarly troubling trend: Most took place out of public sight and were therefore out of the public's mind. Polling place closures happened largely without clear notice; transparency about how or why they were made; or approval from impacted voters or community stakeholders. In fact, news reports about polling place closures in all four states were often met with silence from elected officials. Many either did not respond to requests for comment;<sup>24</sup> responded but did not provide meaningful information;<sup>25</sup> or responded with false information.<sup>26</sup>

By far, the most common justification for closing polling places was no justification at all. Local officials who did offer an explanation often cited pretexts, such as budget constraints, compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), school safety concerns, limited parking, changes in voter turnout, or even simple logic. As one election commissioner from Mississippi put it, sometimes closing polling places "just makes sense."<sup>27</sup>



<sup>24</sup> See Mary Sell, In Some Counties, Alabama Voters Have Lost a Quarter of Their Polling Places Since 2010, BIRMINGHAM WATCH (Nov. 2, 2018), <https://birminghamwatch.org/counties-alabama-voters-lost-quarter-polling-places-since-2010/>.

<sup>25</sup> See Charles Maldonado, Many New Orleans Voters are Still Driving Farther to Vote than Before Katrina, THE LENS (Nov. 8, 2016), <https://thelensnola.org/2016/11/08/many-new-orleans-voters-are-still-driving-farther-to-vote-than-before-katrina/>.

<sup>26</sup> See Anna Wolfe & Alex Rozier, Free From Federal Oversight, 5 Percent of Mississippi Polling Locations Have Closed Since 2013, MISS. TODAY (Oct. 24, 2018), <https://mississippitoday.org/2018/10/24/free-from-federal-oversight-5-percent-of-mississippi-polling-locations-have-closed-since-2013/>.

<sup>27</sup> See Anna Wolfe & Alex Rozier, Free From Federal Oversight, 5 Percent of Mississippi Polling Locations Have Closed Since 2013, MISS. TODAY (Oct. 24, 2018), <https://mississippitoday.org/2018/10/24/free-from-federal-oversight-5-percent-of-mississippi-polling-locations-have-closed-since-2013/>.



## Louisiana

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In Louisiana, two-thirds of all parishes closed polling places, leaving voters with 126 fewer places to vote than in 2012. The biggest closer was Jefferson Parish, which is 26 percent African American and 14 percent Latino. That parish first shuttered 23 voting locations in 2015 for lack of compliance with the ADA. Instead of making low-cost modifications or relocating those polling places in subsequent elections, the parish shuttered two more in advance of the 2018 election — a deeply troubling trend in a parish with an established record of hostility toward voting rights.<sup>28</sup> Equally concerning, voters in East Baton Rouge Parish, which is split about evenly between Black and White voters, have lost 10 polling places since 2012. Initially, many closures were said to be a temporary response to emergency flooding in 2016.<sup>29</sup> But years later, these polling places have yet to reopen. That follows a troubling trend that began in Orleans Parish, which has yet to restore many of the polling places that were closed in 2005 in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina.



## Mississippi

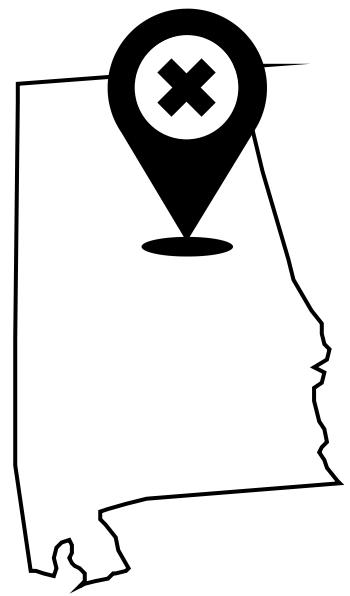
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In Mississippi, a state where more than one-third (37 percent) of the population is African American,<sup>30</sup> the number of polling places has dropped by 96 since 2012, with closures spread among 31 of the state's 82 counties. Harrison County, which is about one-quarter (24 percent) African American, and Pearl River County, which is 13 percent African American, were the largest closers in the state — each closing 13 polling places. The cuts would have been much worse in Pearl River had it not been for community pushback to a 2017 plan to slash the number of voting locations from 33 to 12. After months of negotiation, officials agreed to a compromise plan to move forward and keep 20 polling places open.

<sup>28</sup> See U.S. COMM’N ON CIVIL RIGHTS, AN ASSESSMENT OF MINORITY VOTING RIGHTS ACCESS IN THE UNITED STATES 171 (2018), [https://www.usccr.gov/pubs/2018/Minority\\_Voting\\_Access\\_2018.pdf](https://www.usccr.gov/pubs/2018/Minority_Voting_Access_2018.pdf).

<sup>29</sup> See Kevin Dupuy, Temporary Voting Locations Approved for EBR Precincts, WBRZ (Oct. 10, 2016 3:15PM), <http://www.wbrz.com/news/temporary-voting-locations-approved-for-ebr-precincts>.

<sup>30</sup> Mississippi is 37 percent African American, 3 percent Latino, 1 percent Asian American, and .4 percent Native American.



## Alabama ..... +

Alabama, a state where more than a quarter (26 percent) of the population is African American,<sup>31</sup> now has 72 fewer polling places after 23 counties reduced voting locations.<sup>32</sup> These closures did not receive much media coverage, leaving voters with little information about why local polling places were closed. Those few news stories that were published, on the other hand, caused confusion. County officials, for example, claimed that they reduced polling places because there were too many voters<sup>33</sup> and cited nonexistent state laws as justification for requiring the removal of polling places from schools.<sup>34</sup>



## North Carolina ..... +

Voters in North Carolina, where more than one-fifth (21 percent) of the population is African American,<sup>35</sup> also have less access to polling stations. The 40 counties once covered by Section 5 of the VRA now have 29 fewer voting locations than they had before *Shelby*.<sup>36</sup> The vast majority of these reductions occurred under the proverbial cover of darkness — without any notice or reporting from the news media. They are especially concerning because majority-White counties voted to shutter voting locations with significant Black populations over the vocal objections of local civil rights groups. The Pasquotank County Board of Elections, for example, shuttered half of the polling places in Elizabeth City — a majority-Black community — without public input and over the objections of the local NAACP branch. The consolidation was undertaken in 2015 in the name of saving money, yet no polling places were eliminated in other parts of the county.

<sup>31</sup> Alabama is 26 percent African American, 4 percent Latino, 1.2 percent Asian American, and .4 percent Native American.

<sup>32</sup> See 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, Table B03002, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU (2017), [https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS\\_17\\_5YR\\_B03002&prodType=table](https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_17_5YR_B03002&prodType=table).

<sup>33</sup> See Mary Sell, In Some Counties, Alabama Voters Have Lost a Quarter of Their Polling Places Since 2010, BIRMINGHAM WATCH (Nov. 2, 2018), <https://birminghamwatch.org/counties-alabama-voters-lost-quarter-polling-places-since-2010/>.

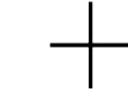
<sup>34</sup> See Donna Thornton, Possible Changes in District 2 Polls Bring Opposition, GADSEN MESSENGER (Sep. 6, 2013), <https://gadsdenmessenger.com/2013/09/06/possible-changes-in-district-2-polls-bring-opposition/>.

<sup>35</sup> North Carolina is 21 percent African American, 9 percent Latino, 1 percent Native American and 3 percent Asian.

<sup>36</sup> See 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, Table B03002, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU (2017), [https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS\\_17\\_5YR\\_B03002&prodType=table](https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_17_5YR_B03002&prodType=table).



## Alaska



In Alaska, where 14 percent of the population is Native American,<sup>37</sup> six of the 390 polling places open in 2012 have been closed. In a state stretching over more than 660,000 square miles, every polling place matters. In many locations, one polling place serves an entire town; yet there is little to no public documentation of why any of these polling places were closed. When the only polling place serving an entire community is closed, every voter is impacted. In the absence of Section 5, the time-consuming and expensive process of litigation is often the only tool voters have to stop polling place closures.

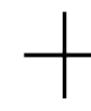
Once under Section 5 preclearance on account of its efforts to disenfranchise Alaska Natives, the state has had recent problems with voting rights. In 2013, it settled a legal challenge from several voters and tribes for failing to meet its obligations under the VRA to provide language-accessible materials for voters with limited proficiency in English. While Section 5 was in effect, the DOJ blocked state efforts to close polling places in rural areas (which were being carried out under the guise of euphemisms like “consolidation” and “realignment”). Thanks to the work of the Alaska Federation of Natives, 176 rural villages now have absentee-in-person voting rights, which are vital in a state as large as Alaska.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Alaska is 14 percent Native American, 3 percent African American, 7 percent Latino and 6 percent Asian.

<sup>38</sup> See Villages Across the State Register to Become Absentee Early Voting Sites, ALASKA FED’N OF NATIVES, <https://www.nativefederation.org/2014/07/villages-across-the-state-register-to-become-absentee-early-voting-sites/> (last visited Aug. 8, 2019).

## Vote Centers: The Jury Is Out

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One reason why Texas and Arizona closed so many polling places is because they converted to the “vote center” model of voting. Under this model, voters are not assigned to specific polling places; instead, they can cast ballots at the polling place of their choosing. While generally intended to enhance access to voting locations, this model often leads to massive reductions in polling places.

Arizona and Texas are the only two states formerly covered by Section 5 that have adopted clear programs to convert to the vote center model. In both states, many counties aggressively reduced voting locations immediately after *Shelby*. Without Section 5, racial impact analyses are no longer conducted to fully assess the impact of vote centers on Black, Latino, Native American, and Asian American voters.

### Vote Centers in Arizona

In 2014, Graham County, which is 33 percent Latino and 13 percent Native American, closed half of its polling places when it converted to vote centers.<sup>39</sup> In 2012, Graham had 18 polling sites; today, it has half that — six vote centers and three precincts. Cochise County, which is 35 percent Latino, closed nearly two-thirds (65 percent) of its polling places when it converted to vote centers, falling from 49 in 2012 to 17 in 2018. Gila County, which is 16 percent Native American and 19 percent Latino, closed almost half of its polling places; it had 17 in 2018, down from 33 in 2012.<sup>40</sup>

Many counties justify the transition to vote centers by rightly pointing out that the widespread adoption of vote-by-mail has diminished the need for physical polling places. Yet the state has given voters little in the way of explaining the process of voting, providing safeguards to protect voting rights, or making recommendations about how to transition to vote centers in ways that do not discriminate against voters of color or voters with limited English proficiency. State law gives counties broad leeway to implement vote centers as they see fit; as a result, some have converted entirely to vote centers, some have maintained traditional voting precincts, and others have adopted a hybrid model.<sup>41</sup>

Switching to vote centers doesn’t necessitate fewer polling places. Navajo County, which is almost half Native American and home to three Native American reservations, converted all of its polling places to vote centers while keeping almost every one of its voting locations open.

<sup>39</sup> See Jon Johnson, County Chooses Vote Centers Over Polling Precincts, E. ARIZ. COURIER (Jun. 9, 2014), [https://www.eacourier.com/news/county-chooses-vote-centers-over-polling-precincts/article\\_32a76a5a-ee88-11e3-a42b-001a4bcf887a.html](https://www.eacourier.com/news/county-chooses-vote-centers-over-polling-precincts/article_32a76a5a-ee88-11e3-a42b-001a4bcf887a.html).

<sup>40</sup> See 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, Table B03002, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU (2017), [https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS\\_17\\_5YR\\_B03002&prodType=table](https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_17_5YR_B03002&prodType=table).

<sup>41</sup> See H.R. 2303, 50th Leg., 1st Reg. Sess. (Ariz. 2011).



## **Vote Centers in Texas**

Unlike Arizona, Texas has a clear and established process for converting to vote centers. To apply to the Countywide Polling Place Program (CWPP), counties must document specific plans to meet program requirements. Though intended to make voting more efficient and convenient, this law allows counties to make deep and immediate cuts to polling places and has no required safeguards to protect voters of color from discrimination.

The state’s process for converting to vote centers allows counties to close 35 percent of their polling places in their first election after conversion, and 50 percent in subsequent elections. The 60 counties that voluntarily participate in the program<sup>42</sup> account for 24 percent of the Texas counties in our study but are responsible for about two-thirds of the state’s polling place closures. While not all counties that participate in the program reduce the number of polling places, those that do are more than twice as likely to close polling places than counties that use the precinct model.

The CWPP encourages counties to ask voters of color about their thoughts on the changes — but does not require it. Nor does it require a racial impact analysis, which was required before *Shelby*. To enroll in the CWPP, counties must provide a transcript or recording of a public forum soliciting input from voters that includes “minority organizations” among other stakeholders. The state election office also “strongly encourages” counties to create advisory committees to provide feedback on voting locations so they don’t run afoul of the VRA. Each county is required to explain how it chose its voting locations, but discriminatory impact is not mentioned as a possible metric.<sup>43</sup>

Though far from perfect, this limited and transparent process is better than no process at all. Massive reductions are still happening in the remaining 194 counties that haven’t converted to vote centers, and those consolidations are occurring with little oversight or transparency.

<sup>42</sup> See Counties Approved to Use the Countywide Polling Place Program (CWPP) for the May 4, 2019 Uniform Election, TEX. SEC’Y OF STATE, <https://www.sos.state.tx.us/elections/laws/countwide-polling-place-program.shtml> (last visited Aug. 8, 2016).

<sup>43</sup> See TEX. SEC’Y OF STATE, DIR. OF ELECTIONS, ELECTION ADVISORY NO. 2019-01, 2019 OPPORTUNITIES TO USE COUNTYWIDE POLLING PLACES (Jan. 2, 2019), <https://www.sos.state.tx.us/elections/laws/advisory2019-01.shtml>.

An aerial photograph of a dense residential area during sunset. The scene is filled with numerous houses, apartment buildings, and small commercial structures. Streets are lined with trees, and the warm light of the setting sun casts long shadows and illuminates the rooftops.

# States in Focus



## State in Focus:

### Texas

750

**total closures  
since *Shelby***

590

**total closures from 2014  
Midterm to 2018 Midterm**

43%

**counties in sample that  
reduced polling places  
(109 of 251)**

Almost half of all shuttered polling places in our sample took place in Texas, where voters have lost at least 750 polling places since *Shelby*. Most of these closures (–590) took place after the 2014 midterm election. After top-ranked Maricopa County in Arizona, the next six largest polling place closers by number were Texas counties: Dallas (–74), which is 41 percent Latino and 22 percent African American; Travis (–67), which is 34 percent Latino; Harris (–52), which is 42 percent Latino and 19 percent African American; Brazoria (–37), which is 30 percent Latino and 13 percent African American; and Nueces (–37), which is 63 percent Latino.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, 14 Texas counties closed at least 50 percent of their polling places after *Shelby*.

These drastic reductions occurred against a backdrop of multiple court battles over state laws that discriminate against Black and Latino voters. These laws relate to electoral processes ranging from voter identification requirements, racial gerrymandering to prevent voters of color from electing their preferred candidates, purging voters from registration lists, and access to language assistance when voting. Hours after the *Shelby* decision, the Texas attorney general announced the state would implement a voter ID law that had been blocked from taking effect from 2011–2013 under Section 5’s preclearance system. In 2017, a federal judge ruled that the law was enacted to intentionally discriminate against Black and Latino voters.

<sup>44</sup> See 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, Table B03002, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU (2017), [https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS\\_17\\_5YR\\_B03002&prodType=table](https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_17_5YR_B03002&prodType=table).



## Texas

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+

In Texas, conversions to vote centers contributed to the majority of polling place closures. By design, conversions reduce the number of polling places and therefore the cost of holding elections, encourage counties to use only the most physically accessible sites for voting, and improve flexibility for voters.<sup>45</sup> As the Texas secretary of state outlined in early 2019, the conversion program allows counties to reduce polling places by 35 percent in the first year and 50 percent in a subsequent year.<sup>46</sup> While the state encourages counties to engage with voters of color in a public forum or on a committee when determining the placement and number of polling places, it does not require such involvement. Nor does it require a study of the impact of proposed changes on voters of color or provide a means to ensure they are not racially discriminatory. In the absence of Section 5, the onus is on voters and community organizations to hold counties accountable for racial discrimination when closing polling places.

But counties converting to vote centers aren't alone. Counties like Somervell (–80 percent), Loving (–75 percent), Stonewall (–75 percent), and Fisher (–60 percent) — all of which have large Latino populations — cut voting locations even though they did not transition to vote centers. In fact, voters in counties that still hold precinct-style elections have 250 fewer voting locations than they did in 2012.

Beth Stevens, director of the Voting Rights Program at the Texas Civil Rights Project, called closures “a real barrier” to voting. “Voters,” she said, “often don’t hear that a beloved polling location near their home has closed until Election Day, forcing them to make disruptive changes on the spur of the moment to work schedules, childcare plans, and transportation arrangements. Even when they do hear about it ahead of time, voters may have to choose between going to a new polling place significantly further away and working enough hours that day to put food on the table — an impossible choice that no one should ever have to face. And it’s a choice that usually falls on the most vulnerable voters, thereby reinforcing existing power structures and sending a message to these voters that they are less important than others in the eyes of their government.”

<sup>45</sup> See TEX. SEC'Y OF STATE, DIR. OF ELECTIONS, ELECTION ADVISORY NO. 2019-01, 2019 OPPORTUNITIES TO USE COUNTYWIDE POLLING PLACES (Jan. 2, 2019), <https://www.sos.state.tx.us/elections/laws/advisory2019-01.shtml>.

<sup>46</sup> See TEX. SEC'Y OF STATE, DIR. OF ELECTIONS, ELECTION ADVISORY NO. 2019-01, 2019 OPPORTUNITIES TO USE COUNTYWIDE POLLING PLACES (Jan. 2, 2019), <https://www.sos.state.tx.us/elections/laws/advisory2019-01.shtml>.



## Texas



### Counties in Focus: Nueces County

Nueces County, which is 63 percent Latino, has a clear record of problems with VRA compliance. Since *Shelby*, it has closed 37 polling places in its shift to vote centers — going from 121 voting locations in 2012 to 84 in 2018. This reduction occurred while the county also failed to provide voting information in Spanish during the 2016 election, a violation of its still-binding commitment under the VRA.<sup>47</sup> When preclearance was still intact in 2011, Nueces attempted to dilute the Latino vote in a redistricting plan for multiple county offices — despite the fact that Latino population growth greatly outpaced that of Whites.<sup>48</sup> That history resurfaced in 2018 during a county race between a White candidate and a Latina candidate. The White candidate said he needed to win to have authority over the redistricting process; “if we’re not,” he said, “we lose control of everything.”<sup>49</sup>

### Counties in Focus: Jefferson County

Located in southeast Texas, Jefferson County is home to the city of Beaumont. About one-third (34 percent) of its 250,000 residents are African American and one-fifth (20 percent) are Latino. County officials reduced the number of polling places from 57 in 2012 to 39 in 2018 when they converted to the vote center model. They also tried to nullify the votes of 86 mail-in ballot voters, most of whom are over age 65 and people with disabilities, in the 2018 election.<sup>50</sup> “Voter suppression really happens,” the Rev. Rufus Parker Jr. told the *Beaumont Enterprise* after his ballot was rejected. “The system is messed up.”



<sup>47</sup> See MALDEF Finds Dozens of Texas Counties Are Violating Federal Law by Failing to Provide Bilingual Voting Information, MALDEF (Oct. 6, 2016) <https://www.maldef.org/2016/10/maldef-finds-dozens-of-texas-counties-are-violating-federal-law-by-failing-to-provide-bilingual-voting-information/>.

<sup>48</sup> See Letter from Thomas E. Perez, Assistant Atty Gen., U.S. Dep’t of Justice Civil Rights Div., to Joseph M. Nixon, Dalton L. Oldham, and James E. Trainor of Beirne Maynard & Parsons (Feb. 7, 2012), <https://www.justice.gov/crt/voting-determination-letter-31> (last updated Aug. 6, 2015).

<sup>49</sup> Tim Acosta, Nueces County Judge Candidates Spar Over Redistricting, Control, CALLER TIMES (Oct. 31, 2018, 4:30PM), <https://www.caller.com/story/news/local/2018/10/31/nueces-county-judge-candidates-spar-over-redistricting-control/1803161002/>.

<sup>50</sup> See Phoebe Suy, Jefferson County’s Rejected Voters Were Elderly, Infirm, or Out-of-town, BEAUMONT ENTERPRISE (Nov. 9, 2018 9:26AM), <https://www.beaumontenterprise.com/news/article/Jefferson-County-s-rejected-voters-were-13376673.php>.



## State in Focus: Arizona

..... +  
**320**

**total closures since *Shelby***

**235**

**total closures from 2014  
Midterm to 2018 Midterm**

**87%**

**counties in sample that  
reduced polling places  
(13 of 15)**

Arizona, where 31 percent of the population is Latino, 4 percent is Native American, and 4 percent is African American, was required to submit voting changes for preclearance under the 1975 reauthorization of the VRA, which expanded Section 5 to include voters who speak a language other than English as their primary language, including Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans.<sup>51</sup> Since the loss of Section 5 preclearance, Arizona counties have embarked on a massive effort to close polling places statewide, and they have succeeded: The state now has 320 fewer polling places in Arizona than it did in 2012. These closures occurred despite national news coverage of the adverse impact of polling place reductions in Maricopa County in the 2016 presidential preference election,<sup>52</sup> which forced voters to stand in line for five hours to cast a ballot.<sup>53</sup> Most of these closures (–235) have taken place since 2014.

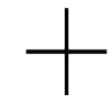
<sup>51</sup> See U.S. COMM'N ON CIVIL RIGHTS, AN ASSESSMENT OF MINORITY VOTING RIGHTS ACCESS IN THE UNITED STATES 171 (2018), [https://www.usccr.gov/pubs/2018/Minority\\_Voting\\_Access\\_2018.pdf](https://www.usccr.gov/pubs/2018/Minority_Voting_Access_2018.pdf); see 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, Table B03002, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU (2017), [https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS\\_17\\_5YR\\_B03002&prodType=table](https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_17_5YR_B03002&prodType=table).

<sup>52</sup> “The Presidential Preference Election (PPE), is an election in which voters can choose who they would like to be their presidential candidate in the upcoming General Election. Party winners of the Arizona PPE are officially determined at the party’s national convention.” <https://www.azcleanelections.gov/how-to-vote/Presidential-Preference-election>.

<sup>53</sup> See Editorial, Our View: A Five-Hour Wait to Vote in Arizona Primary? That’s Shameful, AZ CENTRAL (Mar. 23, 2016, 8:47AM), <https://www.azcentral.com/story/opinion/2016/03/23/arizona-primary-our-view-we-outraged-long-lines/82152636/>.



## Arizona



With a reduction of 171 polling places, Maricopa County, which is 31 percent Latino, is by far the largest closer of polling places in our study. It closed more polling places than the second and third highest-ranked counties combined. In advance of the 2016 presidential preference election, Maricopa drastically reduced polling places, resulting in long lines that drew national attention and lawsuits from civil rights groups.<sup>54</sup> A settlement with civil rights groups led the county to reopen polling places for the 2016 general election — albeit with fewer than it had in the pre-Shelby 2012 presidential election.<sup>55</sup> Two years later, instead of responding to the clear demand for more polling places, the county *cut well over 100 more voting locations*. Between Arizonans' increased use of mail-in ballots and Maricopa County's experimentation with vote centers, it is difficult to determine the full impact of polling place closures on various communities without additional analysis. Yet it is incumbent upon the county to ensure that closures do not have a racially discriminatory impact.

The drive to reduce polling places was not confined to Maricopa. In fact, four of the top 10 closers in our sample were counties in Arizona: Maricopa (–171), which is 31 percent Latino; Mohave (–34), which is 16 percent Latino; Cochise (–32), which is 35 percent Latino; and Pima (–31), which is 37 percent Latino. In the 2016 edition of *The Great Poll Closure*, Pima was the biggest closer in the nation (though it has since reopened 31 polling places). The scale of closures throughout the state is equally concerning in Cochise (–65 percent), Graham (–50 percent), Mohave (–49 percent), and Gila (–48 percent) counties, all of which closed about half or more of their polling places.<sup>56</sup>

Some counties in Arizona, however, are clearly trying to ensure that voters of color can access the ballot box. Navajo County, which, as noted above, is 46 percent Native American, maintained a steady number of polling places despite its conversion to vote centers. In Coconino County, which is 26 percent Native American and 14 percent Latino, many polling places on a Navajo reservation were not ADA-compliant. Yet the county has opted to keep these polling places open and make low-cost modifications to ensure voter accessibility — rather than close them outright.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> See Mary Jo Pitzl, Anne Ryman & Rob O'Dell, Long Lines, Too Few Polls Frustrate Metro Phoenix Primary Voters, AZ CENTRAL (Mar. 23, 2016, 12:42AM), <https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/politics/elections/2016/03/22/arizona-primary-voter-turnout-long-lines/82125816/>.

<sup>55</sup> See THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE EDUCATION FUND, THE GREAT POLL CLOSURE 7 (Nov. 2016), <http://civilrightsdocs.info/pdf/reports/2016/poll-closure-report-web.pdf>.

<sup>56</sup> See 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, Table B03002, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU (2017), [https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS\\_17\\_5YR\\_B03002&prodType=table](https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_17_5YR_B03002&prodType=table).

<sup>57</sup> See Kira Lerner, The ADA Is Being Used to Disenfranchise Minority Voters, THINKPROGRESS (Aug. 24, 2018, 1:46PM), <https://thinkprogress.org/ada-voter-suppression-cd7031080bfd/>.



## State in Focus: Georgia

..... +  
**214**

**total closures since *Shelby***

**113**

**total closures from 2014  
Midterm to 2018 Midterm**

**33%**

**counties in sample that  
reduced polling places  
(53 of 159)**

Counties drastically reduced polling places across Georgia after *Shelby*. According to the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, voters across the state now have 214 fewer places to cast ballots; in some rural counties, voters are left with only one polling place. More than half (–113) of these sites have closed since the 2014 midterm election. One of the most troubling facets of Georgia’s great poll reduction is its scale: Eighteen counties closed more than half of their polling places, and several closed almost 90 percent.

These sharp declines all occurred when Brian Kemp was overseeing elections while serving as Georgia’s secretary of state (between the years of 2010 and 2018). During his tenure, he erected barriers that made it harder for people of color to vote. From 2010 to 2018, he purged more than 1.4 million voters from the state’s voter registration rolls, many simply because they did not vote in previous elections.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Alan Judd, Georgia’s Strict Laws Lead to Large Purge of Voters, AJC (Oct. 27, 2018), <https://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/voter-purge-begs-question-what-the-matter-with-georgia/YAFvuk3Bu95kJIMaDiDFqJ/>.

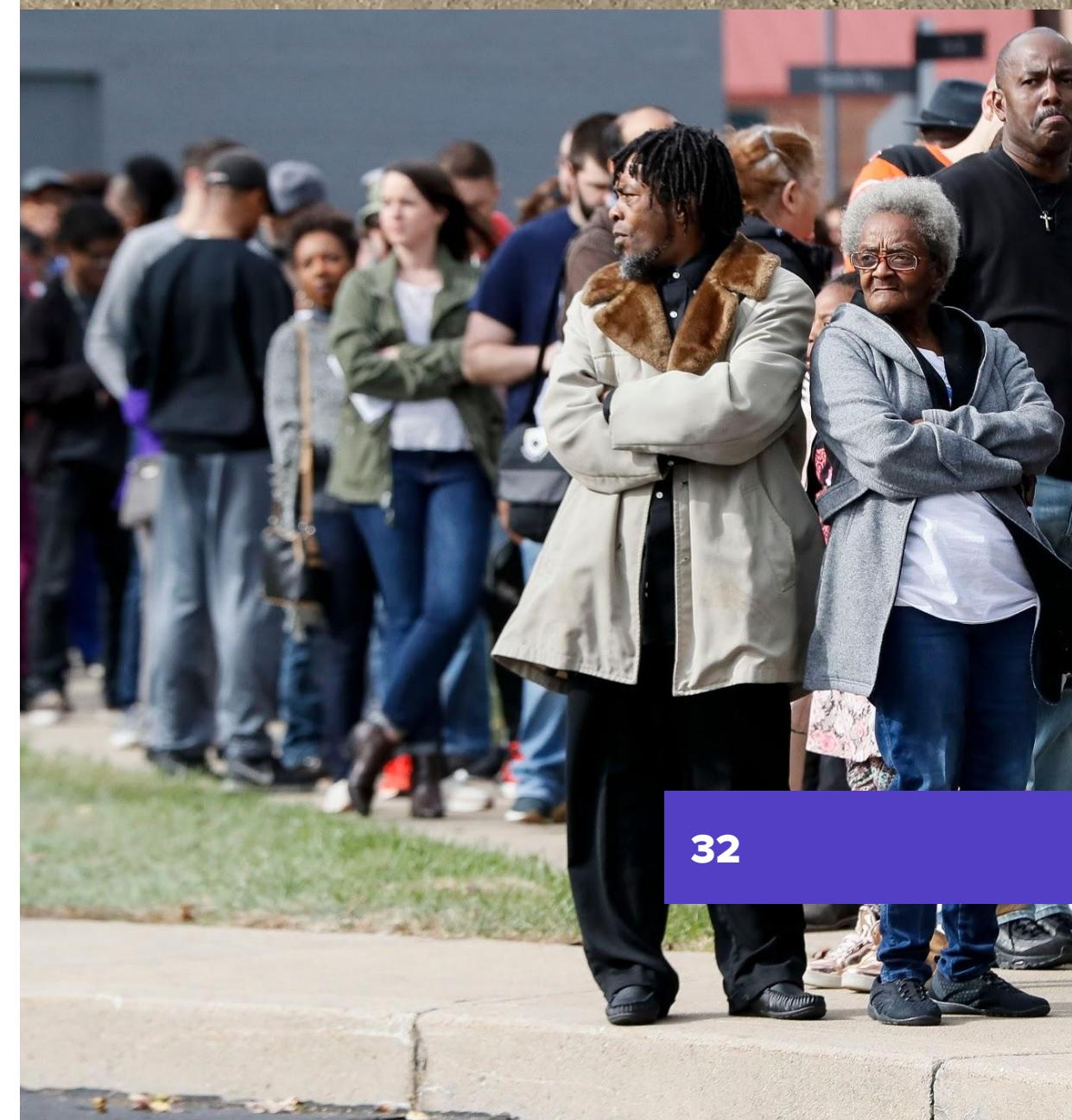


## Georgia

In the wake of the *Shelby* decision, Kemp's office began to encourage polling place reductions leading up to the 2016 presidential election. In a February 2015 memo to local election officials, Kemp asks, "When should you begin the plan of consolidation or making changes to precincts or polling places?" The answer? "Now. Plan to spend 2015 making all the changes so that you, your county and your voters are ready for the 2016 elections."<sup>59</sup>

The six-page document offers guidance on how to change and consolidate polling places. It does not recommend — or even acknowledge the obligation to consider — the impact of polling place changes on low-income communities and communities of color. The only reference to voting rights is the following sentence, which appears twice in the document: "As a result of the *Shelby vs. Holder* (sic) Supreme Court decision, you are no longer required to submit [precinct or polling place] changes to the Department of Justice for preclearance."<sup>60</sup>

Georgia's 2018 gubernatorial election received national attention because Stacey Abrams, a civil rights advocate and former minority leader of the Georgia House of Representatives, became the first African American woman to be nominated by a major party to run for the state's top office. She ran against Kemp, who was overseeing the election at the time and actively working to disenfranchise people of color. Before Election Day, 53,000 voter registration applications were put on hold, 75 percent of which belonged to voters of color.<sup>61</sup>



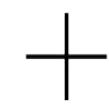
<sup>59</sup> Memorandum from Ga. Sec'y of State Elections Div. to Ga. Local Election Officials 2 (Feb. 2015) (on file with author)

<sup>60</sup> Memorandum from Ga. Sec'y of State Elections Div. to Ga. Local Election Officials 3 (Feb. 2015) (on file with author).

<sup>61</sup> <https://apnews.com/fb011f39af3b40518b572c8cce6e906c>



## Georgia



The systematic effort to reduce polling places continued in advance of the 2018 election. Mike Malone, an elections consultant recommended by Kemp, led an effort to close polling places in 10 counties with large Black populations.<sup>62</sup> Malone told local boards of elections that Kemp had recommended polling place consolidation and sought to close seven of nine polling places in Randolph County, which is 60 percent African American. The plan was ultimately abandoned after an outcry from local and national advocates drew national attention.<sup>63</sup> In addition to five-hour lines, voters in communities of color faced countless obstacles on Election Day, including delayed polling place openings and broken voting machines.<sup>64</sup> In the end, Kemp narrowly won. But advocates have since filed a lawsuit alleging that the election deprived Georgians, especially Georgians of color, of their right to vote.<sup>65</sup>

“Look at the areas where they’re closing precincts and consolidating,” Helen Butler, executive director of the Georgia Coalition for the People’s Agenda, told the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. “It’s usually in areas with poor people and minority communities that have less resources to get to other locations.”<sup>66</sup>

### **Counties in Focus: Hundreds of Square Miles and Only One Polling Place**

Voters in seven counties in Georgia now have only one polling place. Rural Lumpkin County closed nearly all (89 percent) of its precincts in 2016, leaving voters in the 284-square mile county with only one place to vote. County officials could have kept more polling places open by moving polling places to locations that are accessible to people with disabilities or making low-cost modifications to comply with the ADA, but they chose not to. Lanier County, which is 24 percent African American, closed 75 percent of its polling places, leaving voters in this 200-square mile county with only one place to exercise their franchise. After the lone public hearing on the closure, the Lanier County sheriff noted that the county’s population had “almost doubled” during his tenure. “Personally, I don’t think [the polling place closure plan] points the county in the right direction,” he told the *Valdosta Daily Times*.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>62</sup> See Matt Vasilogambros, Polling Places Remain a Target Ahead of November Elections, PEW CHARITABLE TRUSTS (Sep. 4, 2018), <https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/blogs/stateline/2018/09/04/polling-places-remain-a-target-ahead-of-november-elections>.

<sup>63</sup> See RELEASE: NEW AUDIO — Kemp Associate Mike Malone Reveals Brian Kemp Recommended “Consolidation” of Randolph County Polling Places, GA. DEMOCRATS (Aug. 20, 2018), <https://www.georgiademocrat.org/2018/08/randolph-county-polling/>.

<sup>65</sup> Stephen Fowler, Here’s The Court Order Allowing Fair Fight’s Voting Lawsuit To Continue, GBP RADIO NEWS, (May 30, 2019), <https://www.gpbnews.org/post/heres-court-order-allowing-fair-fights-voting-lawsuit-continue>.

<sup>66</sup> Mark Niesse, Maya T. Prabhu & Jacquelyn Elias, Voting Locations Closed Across Georgia Since Election Oversight Lifted, AJC (Aug. 31, 2018), <https://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/voting-precincts-closed-across-georgia-since-election-overight-lifted/bBkHxptlim0Gp9pKu7dfrNl/>.

<sup>67</sup> Terry Richards, Lanier May Close 3 of 4 Voting Precincts, VALDOSTA DAILY TIMES (Jun. 28, 2016), [https://www.valdostadailymedia.com/news/local\\_news/lanier-may-close-of-voting-precincts/article\\_6cf02c80-93ce-51df-86c6-3b4a692acc18.html](https://www.valdostadailymedia.com/news/local_news/lanier-may-close-of-voting-precincts/article_6cf02c80-93ce-51df-86c6-3b4a692acc18.html).



## State in Focus: Louisiana

126

total closures since *Shelby*

76

total closures from 2014  
Midterm to 2018 Midterm

66%

counties in sample that  
reduced polling places  
(42 of 64)

In Louisiana, voters have 126 fewer places to vote than they did in 2012. Since VRA safeguards were removed, two-thirds of the state's parishes have closed polling places. Seventy-six closed after the 2014 midterm election. Winn Parish, which is 31 percent African American, closed 24 percent of its polling places, the highest percentage in the state. Lafayette followed with 17 percent, Jefferson with 15 percent, and Bienville and Morehouse with 14 percent each.

East Baton Rouge Parish, which is 46 percent African American, has closed 10 polling places since *Shelby*. In October 2016, the parish voted to consolidate 19 polling places due to "historic flooding." This "temporary" consolidation was intended to apply only to the 2016 election, according to local news sources.<sup>68</sup> But our analysis revealed that at least eight closed locations did not reopen by 2018.

<sup>68</sup> See Kevin Dupuy, Temporary Voting Locations Approved for EBR Precincts, WBRZ (Oct. 10, 2016 3:15PM), <http://www.wbrz.com/news/temporary-voting-locations-approved-for-ebr-precincts>.



This trend — temporarily closing polling places on an emergency basis but never reopening them — continues. In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, Orleans Parish, reeling from a major loss of population and nonfunctioning polling places, cut the number of voting locations in half — from 252 to 120.<sup>69</sup> Fifteen years later, the polling place map supposedly designed for emergency conditions appears to be permanent, especially in the Lower 9<sup>th</sup> Ward, home to a large Black population. In the 2018 election, voters in Orleans Parish had only 124 places to vote. When asked about the closures, Stacy Head, former president of the New Orleans City Council, didn't comment other than to say she "couldn't recall any complaints about voting locations."<sup>70</sup>

This compounds the long travel times to the polls many Black voters experience, an established problem in Louisiana. The Louisiana Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights cited Jhacova Williams, an economics professor who testified that the number of polling locations in a subdivision negatively correlates with the number of Black people in the subdivision. "This means that there are fewer polling locations per voter in a geographical area if that area has more Black residents," she said. "This in turn implies that Black residents face longer travel distances to reach a polling location."<sup>71</sup>

<sup>69</sup> See Charles Maldonado, Many New Orleans Voters Are Still Driving Farther to Vote than Before Katrina, THE LENS (Nov. 8, 2016), <https://thelensnola.org/2016/11/08/many-new-orleans-voters-are-still-driving-farther-to-vote-than-before-katrina/>.

<sup>70</sup> Charles Maldonado, Many New Orleans Voters Are Still Driving Farther to Vote than Before Katrina, THE LENS (Nov. 8, 2016), <https://thelensnola.org/2016/11/08/many-new-orleans-voters-are-still-driving-farther-to-vote-than-before-katrina/>.

<sup>71</sup> LA. ADVISORY COMM. FOR THE U.S. COMM'N ON CIVIL RIGHTS, BARRIERS TO VOTING IN LOUISIANA 12 (Jun. 2018).



## State in Focus: Mississippi

..... +  
**96**

**total closures since *Shelby***

**49**

**total closures from 2014  
Midterm to 2018 Midterm**

**38%**

**counties in sample that  
reduced polling places  
(31 of 82)**

In Mississippi, we found that counties closed 96 polling places since VRA safeguards were removed. Of these, 49 took place after the 2014 midterm election. Since *Shelby*, almost 40 percent of Mississippi counties have closed polling places. Pearl River and Harrison counties closed 13 polling places each since VRA safeguards were removed, the most in the state.

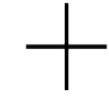
Pearl River County closed 39 percent of its polling places, the largest percentage in the state. This massive reduction could have been much worse. In 2017, Pearl River's board of supervisors proposed eliminating 25 of the county's 37 polling places, for a potential 64 percent reduction. But pushback led to keeping open 20 voting locations.<sup>72</sup> The board of supervisors claimed the reduction was necessary to ensure that all polling places were compliant with the ADA, even though one election commissioner — Margaret Woodson — admitted she lacked expertise in the law. “We’re not knowledgeable in the rules for ADA compliancy,” Woodson said at a board meeting considering the elimination of polling places. “We’re election commissioners. We’re not qualified to tell you for sure if these locations are or are not compliant.”<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup> See Rashell Reese, New Voting Precincts Finalized for Pearl River County, WRJW (Oct. 19, 2017), <https://www.wrijradio.com/single-post/2017/10/19/New-voting-precincts-finalized-for-Pearl-River-County>.

<sup>73</sup> Rashell Reese, New Voting Precincts Finalized for Pearl River County, WRJW (Oct. 19, 2017), <https://www.wrijradio.com/single-post/2017/10/19/New-voting-precincts-finalized-for-Pearl-River-County>.



## Mississippi



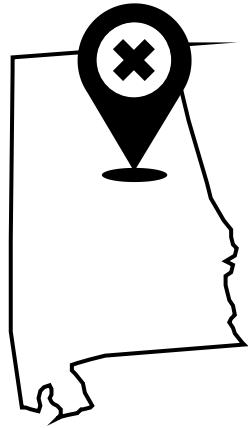
The process in Pearl River County appears to have been much more deliberate than in Harrison County, which also closed 13 polling places, a 20 percent reduction. In October 2018, *Mississippi Today* chronicled polling place reductions across the state and highlighted the steep drop in the county, the second most populous in the state. The report shined a light on a precinct in an elementary school where 2016 voters “stood in lines weaving through the classroom hallways and out the door.” But instead of creating more voting locations, election commissioners scaled the number back. As one commissioner told the newspaper, “I don’t know if it’s going to create longer wait times, but they’ll be inside for that wait.”<sup>74</sup>

The article cited the commissioner’s list of factors to consider when deciding whether to reduce polling locations, including “the quality of the facility, how much further voters will have to travel, handicap accessibility, lighting, and room for lines.” The impacts on low-income voters and voters of color were not listed as factors for consideration. One county commissioner told journalists, “You can’t just go back to the way it was before” — a reference to the elimination of preclearance. County officials apparently anticipated long lines and intentionally planned extra space at existing polling stations to accommodate them. This plan apparently came to fruition. In November 2018, TV reporters showed “long lines across south Mississippi as voters show up at the polls.”<sup>75</sup> The station singled out a polling place in Harrison County where “hundreds of people waited to vote.”

*Mississippi Today* also documented counties that acted to prevent potential voting discrimination when they made changes to polling places. Smith County, for example, moved but did not eliminate its polling places and continues to notify the DOJ of its changes, even though it is no longer required to do so. When the county moved a polling place in September 2018, two Black officials sent affidavits to the DOJ and to Mississippi’s secretary of state that declared the move necessary and said it was “not made to inconvenience voters, especially minority voters.”

<sup>74</sup> Anna Wolfe & Alex Rozier, Free From Federal Oversight, 5 Percent of Mississippi Polling Locations Have Closed Since 2013, SUNHERALD (Oct. 6, 2018, 9:01PM), <https://www.sunherald.com/news/politics-government/election/article220693015.html>.

<sup>75</sup> See Lindsay Knowles, Long Lines Across South MS as Voters Show Up at the Polls, WLOX (Nov. 6, 2018, 10:38AM), <https://www.wlox.com/2018/11/06/long-lines-voters-harrison-county-polls-open/>.



## State in Focus:

### Alabama

72

total closures since *Shelby*

26

total closures from 2014  
Midterm to 2018 Midterm

34%

counties in sample that  
reduced polling places  
(23 of 67)

Since voting rights safeguards were removed in 2013, Alabama has eliminated 72 polling places without clear oversight or accountability. Of these, 26 have taken place since the 2014 midterm election.

The polling place reductions took place against the backdrop of various voting changes, causing concern among voting rights advocates. Changes included polling place consolidation in Daphne, Alabama; the enactment of a strict voter ID law accompanied by massive closures of DMV offices in counties with large Black populations; voter purges; and the Alabama secretary of state's refusal to inform recently re-enfranchised voters that their voting rights were restored.<sup>76</sup>

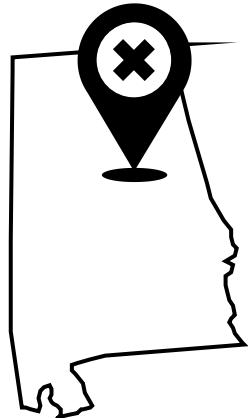
State election officials have even submitted inaccurate counts of polling places to the U.S. Election Assistance Commission (EAC). Our 2016 *Great Poll Closure* report relied on data provided by Alabama's secretary of state in 2012 and 2014. The state disclosed that Elmore County, which is 21 percent Black, had 42 polling places in 2012 and 2014, when in fact it only had 28.<sup>77</sup> When local journalists asked about the inaccuracy, a spokesperson for the Alabama secretary of state said The Education Fund "misread" the number 42.<sup>78</sup> Alabama did not fill out any information related to polling places in response to EAC's 2016 survey.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>76</sup> See Campbell Robertson, For Alabama's Poor, the Budget Cuts Trickle Down, Limiting Access to Driver's Licenses, N.Y. TIMES (Oct. 9, 2015), <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/10/us/alabama-budget-cuts-raise-concern-over-voting-rights.html?module=inline>.

<sup>77</sup> The Great Poll Closure, The Leadership Conference Education Fund, November 1, 2016.

<sup>78</sup> See Connor Sheets, How One Alabama County Was Wrongly Identified as the State's Worst on Voting Access, BIRMINGHAM NEWS (Jan. 13, 2017, 1:32PM), [https://www.al.com/news/birmingham/2016/11/how\\_one\\_alabama\\_county\\_was\\_wro.html](https://www.al.com/news/birmingham/2016/11/how_one_alabama_county_was_wro.html).

<sup>79</sup> Election Assistance Commission, 2016 Election and Voting Survey, <https://www.eac.gov/research-and-data/2016-election-administration-voting-survey/>.



## Alabama



Marshall County, which is 13 percent Latino, is the state's largest closer, closing 10 polling places (26 percent) since 2012. Despite this reduction, the county's lead election official called for a review of Marshall's remaining polling sites in 2019 to assess disability accessibility.<sup>80</sup> Such a review may appear to be intended to enhance voting rights, but it could be a canard: Lack of ADA compliance is often used as an excuse to close polling places in other jurisdictions. In news reports, election officials did not cite any complaints or concerns about accurate ADA compliance at particular polling sites.

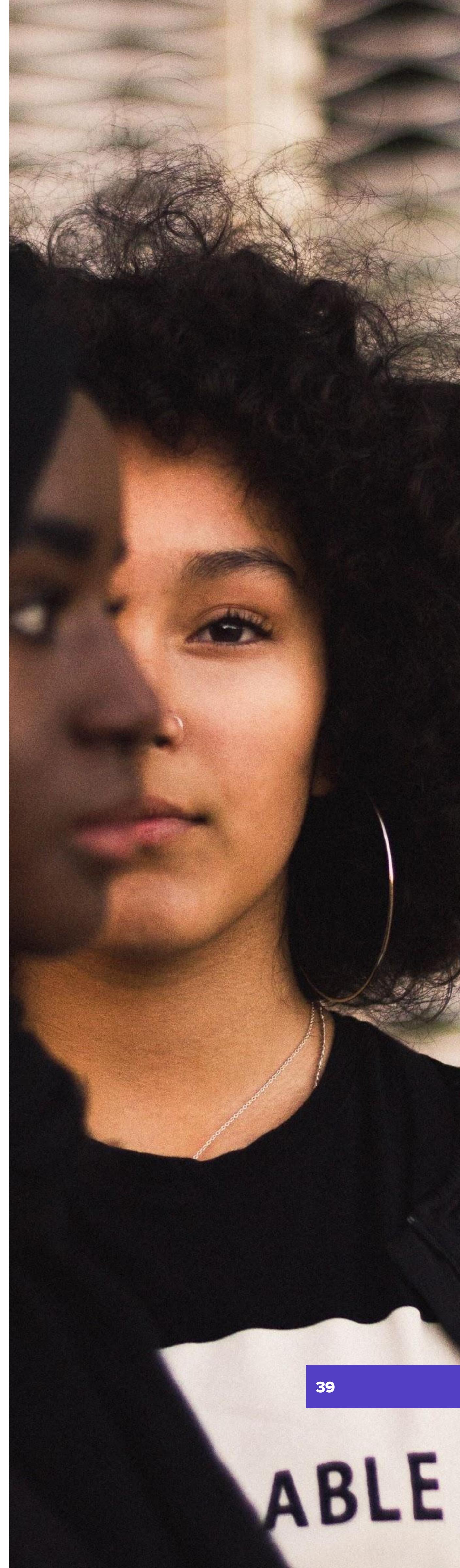
Mobile County, which is 35 percent African American, tied with Marshall County; it too closed 10 locations, or about 10 percent of its voting sites. Most polling sites were eliminated in early 2014, immediately after *Shelby*<sup>81</sup> — a reduction covered by the *Lagniappe Weekly*. The county has yet to provide clear justification for the swift and significant closures.<sup>82</sup> In a 2018 interview with *Birmingham Watch*, a county commissioner indicated that the reduction was due to growth in voting populations — a counterintuitive argument, to be sure. A more inclusive democracy demands more polling places, not fewer.<sup>83</sup> The commissioner cited ADA compliance, parking, and traffic as the major points of consideration when placing the new sites. Missing from her list: preventing racial discrimination. “How disconcerting to know our own state has silenced the voices of thousands by an act as simple as closing polls in the Black Belt,” Jessica Barker, a Huntsville-based advocate who leads Lift Our Vote 2020, told The Education Fund.

<sup>80</sup> See Stephen McLamb, Probate Judge Plans Review of Polling Locations for ADA Compliance in Marshall County, WAFF48 (Mar. 26, 2019, 6:37PM), <https://www.waff.com/2019/03/26/probate-judge-plans-review-polling-locations-ada-compliance-marshall-county/>.

<sup>81</sup> See Polling Centers Moved or Eliminated in 19 Mobile County Precincts, LAGNIAPPE WEEKLY (Mar. 12, 2014), <https://lagniappemobile.com/polling-centers-moved-or-eliminated-in-19-mobile-county-precincts/>.

<sup>82</sup> See Mary Sell, In Some Counties, Alabama Voters Have Lost a Quarter of Their Polling Places Since 2010, BIRMINGHAM WATCH (Nov. 2, 2018), <https://birminghamwatch.org/counties-alabama-voters-lost-quarter-polling-places-since-2010/>.

<sup>83</sup> See Donna Thornton, Possible Changes in District 2 Polls Bring Opposition, GADSDEN MESSENGER (Sep. 6, 2013), <https://gadsdenmessenger.com/2013/09/06/possible-changes-in-district-2-polls-bring-opposition/>.





### **Counties in Focus: Etowah County**

Etowah County, Alabama, which is 15 percent African American, closed nine polling places after *Shelby*, or almost a quarter of its voting locations. Its justifications were among the most confusing we found. After a public hearing on the matter in 2013, the *Gadsden Messenger* noted that the changes were made for “financial and other reasons,” including “a new state law [that] mandates polling places be moved from schools for security reasons.” Local election official Bobby Junkins also wanted to take polling places off of private property because “voting at churches eventually will become an issue.”<sup>84</sup> Later reports said Junkins said “it has been suggested that voting locations not be on private property” and that “new federal regulations prohibit voting locations at schools.”<sup>85</sup>

We could not verify the existence of any federal, state, or local regulation requiring voting locations to be removed from schools or from private property, such as churches.

<sup>84</sup> See Donna Thornton, Possible Changes in District 2 Polls Bring Opposition, GADSDEN MESSENGER (Sep. 6, 2013), <https://gadsdenmessenger.com/2013/09/06/possible-changes-in-district-2-polls-bring-opposition/>.

<sup>85</sup> Lisa Rogers Savage, Some Voting Locations Changed, GADSDEN TIMES (May 31, 2014, 9:00PM), <https://www.gadsdentimes.com/news/20140531/some-voting-locations-changed>.



## State in Focus: North Carolina

29

**total closures since *Shelby***

18

**total closures from 2014  
Midterm to 2018 Midterm**

25%

**counties in sample that  
reduced polling places  
(23 of 67)**

Since *Shelby*, the North Carolina legislature has doggedly attempted to reduce voting access for people of color at every juncture of the voting process. In 2018, almost half of all counties in the state cut early voting locations,<sup>86</sup> and a federal court called its 2016 “monster” voting law “the most restrictive voting law North Carolina has seen since the era of Jim Crow.”<sup>87</sup> The law included cuts to early voting, restrictive voter ID provisions, and eliminated out-of-precinct voting.

Against this backdrop of high-profile voting rights violations, one quarter of the counties that were once covered by Section 5 have quietly consolidated Election Day polling places — with shockingly little public scrutiny. Since *Shelby*, officials in the 40 preclearance counties have shuttered 29 polling places, most of which (–18) have been closed since the last midterm election in 2014.

<sup>86</sup> See Blake Paterson, Bipartisan Furor as North Carolina Election Law Shrinks Early Voting Locations by Almost 20 Percent, PROPUBLICA (Sep. 24, 2018, 5:00AM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/bipartisan-furor-as-north-carolina-election-law-shrinks-early-voting-locations-by-almost-20-percent>.

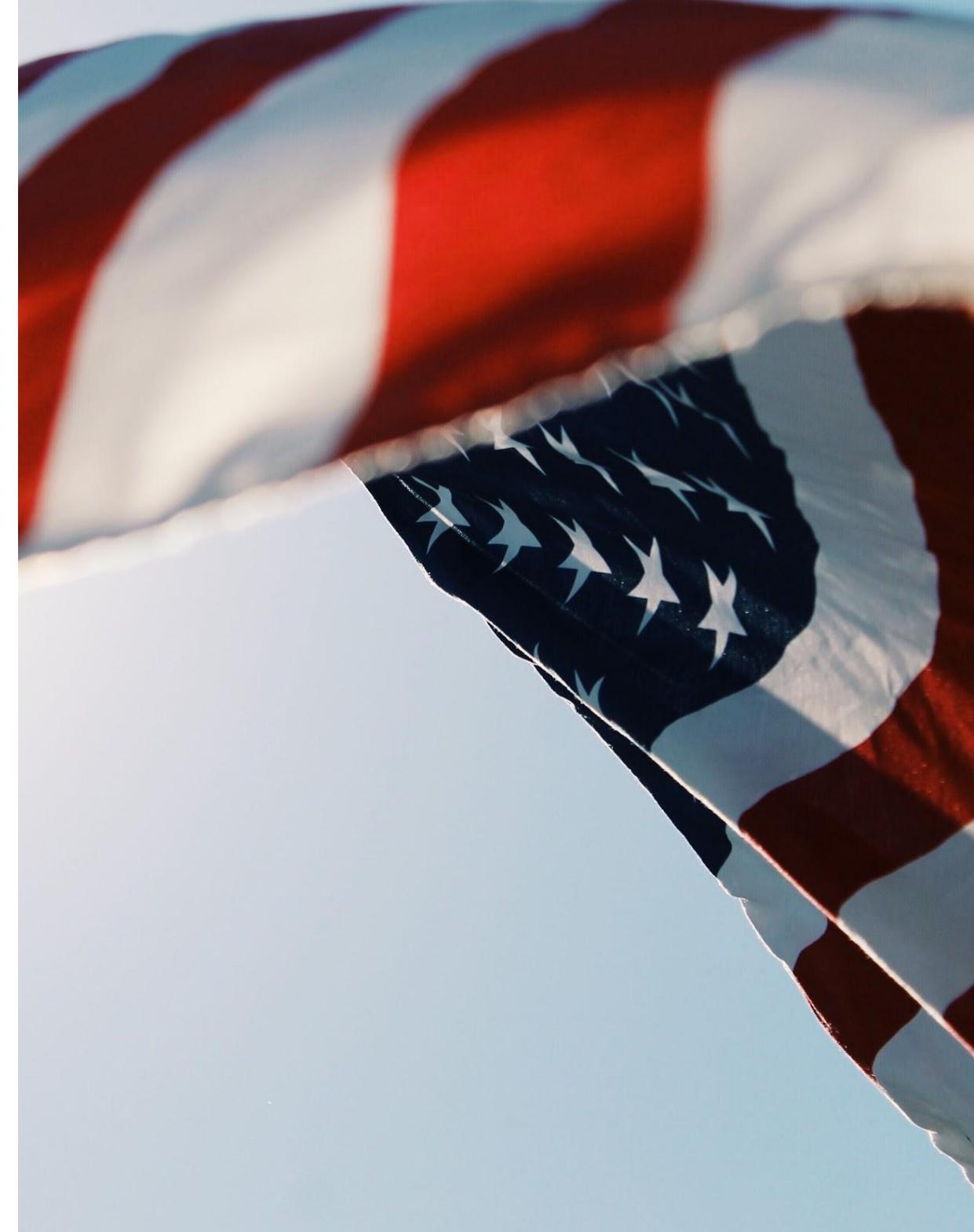
<sup>87</sup> William Wan, Inside the Republican Creation of the North Carolina Voting Bill Dubbed the ‘Monster’ Law, WASH. POST (Sep. 2, 2016), [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/courts\\_law/inside-the-republican-creation-of-the-north-carolina-voting-bill-dubbed-the-monster-law/2016/09/01/79162398-6adf-11e6-8225-fbb8a6fc65bc\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/courts_law/inside-the-republican-creation-of-the-north-carolina-voting-bill-dubbed-the-monster-law/2016/09/01/79162398-6adf-11e6-8225-fbb8a6fc65bc_story.html).



## North Carolina

North Carolina's largest closer by percentage (31 percent) is majority-White Pasquotank County, which eliminated half the polling places in Elizabeth City, which is 52 percent African American. In a 2-1 vote, county officials shuttered four polling places in Elizabeth City without any public input and over the objections of the local NAACP branch.<sup>88</sup> Officials attributed the closures to cost constraints, but they closed polling places in Elizabeth City alone — and nowhere else in the entire county.<sup>89</sup>

The largest closer of polling places by number is Cleveland County, which eliminated five polling places in the first federal election after *Shelby* despite clear opposition from the local NAACP chapter as well as from one of its three election officials.<sup>90</sup> These closures — planned in the city of Shelby, North Carolina — were intended to eliminate three polling places in areas with a large share of Black voters — and to make the remaining two voting locations the largest in the county. This realignment came at a time when state law invalidated ballots cast at the “wrong” polling place.<sup>91</sup> The champion for the reduction was a White election official who expressed “shock” at opposition from Black voters and claimed not to know when he proposed the reduction that Section 5 would no longer apply to the county.<sup>92</sup>



<sup>88</sup> See Voting Precinct Merger Approved, DAILY ADVANCE (Jul. 18, 2015), <http://www.dailyadvance.com/News/2015/07/18/Voting-precinct-merger-approved.html>.

<sup>89</sup> See Voting Precinct Merger Approved, DAILY ADVANCE (Jul. 18, 2015), <http://www.dailyadvance.com/News/2015/07/18/Voting-precinct-merger-approved.html>.

<sup>90</sup> See Joe DePriest, Cleveland County Board of Elections Considering Merging 5 Precincts Into 2, THE HERALD (Mar. 2, 2015 10:08PM), <https://www.heraldonline.com/latest-news/article11565497.html>.

<sup>91</sup> See Joe DePriest, Cleveland County Board of Elections Considering Merging 5 Precincts Into 2, THE HERALD (Mar. 2, 2015 10:08PM), <https://www.heraldonline.com/latest-news/article11565497.html>.

<sup>92</sup> See Richard Fausset, Mistrust in North Carolina Over Plan to Reduce Precincts, N.Y. TIMES (Jul. 7, 2014), <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/08/us/08northcarolina.html>.



## Blaming Voters with Disabilities

One of the more alarming trends we discovered is a widespread practice of blaming polling place closures on another civil rights law, the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA). The leading closers of polling places from Mississippi, Georgia, and Louisiana used ADA compliance as their major pretext. In several cases, little to no effort was made to understand ADA compliance. Instead, election officials took advantage of the public's lack of understanding about the law to grossly inflate the estimated costs of compliance for both publicly and privately owned polling places.

Closing polling places because of a lack of ADA compliance should be a last resort for election officials and should happen only when there are no suitable alternative sites, no possible same-day modifications, and no possibilities for curbside voting and other best practices to ensure accessibility. In addition, officials must be required to conduct a thorough analysis to determine the impact on voters of color. The DOJ provides clear guidance and support for helping ensure that parking lots, hallways, doorways, and walkways are accessible to all voters.<sup>93</sup> Ensuring ADA compliance might be as simple and inexpensive as:

- Creating accessible parking with temporary signage and traffic cones;
- Building temporary ramps for curbs and staircases; and/or
- Installing doorbells or propping heavier doors open

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<sup>93</sup> See generally U.S. DEPT OF JUSTICE CIVIL RIGHTS DIV. DISABILITY RIGHTS SECTION, SOLUTIONS FOR FIVE COMMON ADA ACCESS PROBLEMS AT POLLING PLACES, [https://www.ada.gov/ada\\_voting/voting\\_solutions\\_ta/polling\\_place\\_solutions.pdf](https://www.ada.gov/ada_voting/voting_solutions_ta/polling_place_solutions.pdf) (last visited Aug. 6, 2019).

Perhaps the most successful effort to turn back proposed polling place closures in a formerly covered jurisdiction happened in 2018, after officials in Randolph County, Georgia, attempted to use the ADA as an excuse to close seven of its nine polling places in a county that is 60 percent African American.<sup>94</sup> According to a county attorney, the plan was not based on any actual analysis of ADA accessibility for the voting locations. “There is no document, report or analysis studying the handicap accessibility of polling places,” the attorney wrote to a journalist in response to a public records request.<sup>95</sup>

Swift opposition to the closures came from national and local stakeholders, including the National Disability Rights Network,<sup>96</sup> the ACLU of Georgia, the Georgia NAACP, and The Education Fund. Former U.S. Rep. Tony Coelho — the author of the ADA — called the plan “a violation of the law I and others worked so hard to pass.”<sup>97</sup> Advocates successfully blocked the proposed closures in Randolph County, but not in many other Georgia counties.

Lumpkin County, Georgia, the largest closer of polling places by percentage in the state, used ADA compliance as an excuse to eliminate all but one polling place in the 284-square mile county. Toombs County, Georgia, which is 25 percent African American and 12 percent Latino, shuttered 64 percent of its polling places in 2015. Toombs officials claimed that closing nine of its 14 polling places would save up to \$200,000 needed for operations and to secure ADA compliance.<sup>98</sup> Immediately after the *Shelby* decision, Habersham County, Georgia, which is 14 percent Latino and 3 percent African American, used ADA compliance as a purported reason to shutter 85 percent of its polling places — reducing voting locations from 14 to just two. This seismic shift led to long lines and voting problems, for which the elections board blamed voters for having the audacity to wait until Election Day to vote.<sup>99</sup> The county backpedaled on the consolidation and reopened several more polling places in the 2016 election.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>94</sup> See Associated Press, NBC NEWS (Aug. 4, 2018, 4:00PM), <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/georgia-county-scaps-plan-close-most-polling-places-n903691>.

<sup>95</sup> Sam Levine, Georgia County Can't Back Up Its Excuse for Plan to Disenfranchise Black Voters, HUFFINGTON POST (Aug. 22, 2018), [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/georgia-county-close-polling-places-access\\_n\\_5b7c7484e4b07295150dbaf3](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/georgia-county-close-polling-places-access_n_5b7c7484e4b07295150dbaf3).

<sup>96</sup> See The Leadership Conference (@civilrightsorg), An Open Letter to the Georgia Secretary of State, MEDIUM (Nov. 5, 2018), <https://medium.com/@civilrightsorg/an-open-letter-to-the-georgia-secretary-of-state-c2aa09e676a9>

<sup>97</sup> Americans with Disabilities Act Author: Kemp Has Failed to Comply with ADA, GA. DEMOCRATS (Aug. 23, 2018), <https://www.georgiademocrat.org/2018/08/kemp-ada/>.

<sup>98</sup> See Change to Toombs Voting Precincts, SE. GA. TODAY (Mar. 7, 2015), <http://southeastgeorgiatoday.com/~southe12/index.php/archived-newsbreaks/12580-sp-1330955164>.

<sup>99</sup> See Joy Purcell, Elections Board Focuses on “Process Improvement”, NOW HABERSHAM (Dec. 21, 2014), <https://nowhabersham.com/elections-board-focuses-on-process-improvement/>.

<sup>100</sup> See Rob Moore, Habersham Voters Will Use New Polling Locations Tomorrow, ACCESSWDUN (Feb. 29, 2016 1:06PM), <https://accesswdun.com/article/2016/2/373697/habersham-voters-to-use-new-polling-locations-tomorrow>.

Pearl River County, one of the largest closers of polling places in Mississippi, used ADA compliance as its purported rationale to shutter 13 locations. In 2017, the county's board of supervisors proposed slashing its number of polling places from 33 to 12 — but pushback from the community led to a compromise reduction to 20. Supervisors and election commissioners said the reason was ADA compliance, but radio journalists reported that they hadn't even attempted to understand how to determine ADA compliance.<sup>101</sup> The officials also seemed to conflate ADA compliance with budget concerns, with one official saying, "I'm going [to] catch some hell about it but I'm not paying \$60 a vote."<sup>102</sup> The ADA rationale is especially puzzling in light of a 2010 agreement between the DOJ and the county that specified exactly which polling places in the county were and were not ADA compliant. The agreement detailed specific corrective actions for the county to bring them up to code.<sup>103</sup>



<sup>101</sup> See Rashell Reese, New Voting Precincts Finalized for Pearl River County, WRJW (Oct. 19, 2017), <https://www.wrjwradio.com/single-post/2017/10/19/New-voting-precincts-finalized-for-Pearl-River-County>.

<sup>102</sup> See Rashell Reese, New Voting Precincts Finalized for Pearl River County, WRJW (Oct. 19, 2017), <https://www.wrjwradio.com/single-post/2017/10/19/New-voting-precincts-finalized-for-Pearl-River-County>.

<sup>103</sup> See Pearl River County, Mississippi, (Dep't of Justice Jul. 20, 2010) (settlement agreement), [https://www.ada.gov/pearl\\_co\\_pca/pearl\\_co\\_sa.htm](https://www.ada.gov/pearl_co_pca/pearl_co_sa.htm).

## A Tale of Two Jeffersons

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In Louisiana, the largest closer of polling places was Jefferson Parish, which is 26 percent African American and 14 percent Latino and which had 25 fewer voting locations in 2018 than before the 2012 election. The sharp drop came in 2015 after a local disability rights group survey found that many polling places had "significant barriers to individuals with mobility impairments."<sup>104</sup> Instead of making modifications or finding more suitable voting locations, the parish closed 23 polling places.<sup>105</sup> In the three years since, the county has closed two more polling places. This development is not out of character for Jefferson Parish, which has a grave record of hostility toward Black residents' voting rights.<sup>106</sup>

These actions stand in stark contrast to Jefferson County, Alabama, which has made efforts to ensure that polling place reductions are adopted as a last resort. Jefferson is the largest county in the state and home to Birmingham, as well as a population that is 42 percent African American and 4 percent Latino. The county, which eliminated five precincts, actively adds precincts when lines get long, as noted on its website, which documents all precinct changes.<sup>107</sup> And instead of closing the 32 polling places that were found out of compliance with the ADA in 2016, county officials worked to address as many problems as possible so they could keep the facilities open.<sup>108</sup>

**Instead of  
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<sup>104</sup> See Paul Purpura, Kenner Woman Sues Jefferson Parish to Get Better Access for Disabled Voters, TIMES-PICAYUNE | NEW ORLEANS ADVOC. (Jun. 9, 2010, 2:18AM), [https://www.nola.com/politics/2010/06/kenner\\_woman\\_sues\\_jefferson\\_pa.html](https://www.nola.com/politics/2010/06/kenner_woman_sues_jefferson_pa.html).

<sup>105</sup> See Wilborn P. Nobles III, Jefferson Parish Has 23 Fewer Places to Vote this Year; Here's Why, TIMES-PICAYUNE | NEW ORLEANS ADVOC. (Nov. 8, 2016, 9:57PM), [https://www.nola.com/politics/2016/11/jefferson\\_fewer\\_voting\\_sites.html](https://www.nola.com/politics/2016/11/jefferson_fewer_voting_sites.html).

<sup>106</sup> See DEBO P. ADEGBILE, VOTING RIGHTS IN LOUISIANA 1982-2006, at 17-18, 23, 28, 45-46 (Mar. 2006), <http://www.protectcivilrights.org/pdf/voting/LouisianaVRA.pdf>.

<sup>107</sup> See generally Voting Precinct Changes, PROB. CT. OF JEFFERSON COUNTY, ALA., <http://jeffcoprobatecourt.com/elections/voting-precinct-changes/> (last visited Aug. 6, 2019).

<sup>108</sup> See Alex Aubuchon, Jefferson County Disability Voting Settlement, ALA. PUB. RADIO (Oct. 31, 2016), <https://www.apr.org/post/jefferson-county-disability-voting-settlement>.



## Complying with the ADA does not have to mean mass polling place closures.

Complying with the ADA does not have to mean mass polling place closures, as Jefferson County shows. Counties can keep polling places open and serving all voters — as opposed to no voters at all. Coconino County in Arizona settled with the DOJ after it found that 46 of its polling places, many of which were on tribal lands, were not compliant with the ADA in 2016.<sup>109</sup> The county, which is 26 percent Native American and 14 percent Latino, is working with the Navajo Nation to ensure compliance in advance of the 2020 election and, as per the settlement agreement, will “provide an accessible voting program, including a program that is accessible to persons with mobility or vision disabilities and accessible polling places at accessible sites.”<sup>110</sup>

Richland County, South Carolina, which is 48 percent African American, is also using ADA compliance to enhance voting opportunities. The county also entered a settlement agreement with the DOJ to improve access to polling places.<sup>111</sup> Instead of reducing voting locations, the county added them and improved access to curbside voting to inaccessible polling places.<sup>112</sup> This is a far cry from the discriminatory rhetoric used by a McLennan County, Texas, commissioner, who told the *Waco Tribune* that “the ADA is prohibiting people from voting.”<sup>113</sup>

There are myriad ways to ensure all voters have access to polling places and that all comply with DOJ guidance for polling place accessibility and the ADA; simply shutting down polling places without regard to voting rights has the opposite effect.

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<sup>109</sup> See Anna V. Smith, Arizona’s Long Road to Make Elections Accessible, HIGH COUNTRY NEWS (Nov. 21, 2018), <https://www.hcn.org/articles/tribal-affairs-arizonas-long-road-to-make-elections-accessible>.

<sup>110</sup> Kira Lerner, The ADA Is Being Used to Disenfranchise Minority Voters, THINKPROGRESS (Aug. 24, 2018, 1:46PM), <https://thinkprogress.org/ada-voter-suppression-cd7031080bfd/>.

<sup>111</sup> See Richland Cty. Bd. of Elections and Voter Registration, S.C., (Dep’t of Justice May 22, 2017) (settlement agreement), [https://www.ada.gov/richland\\_county\\_sa.html](https://www.ada.gov/richland_county_sa.html).

<sup>112</sup> See Jason Axelrod, Civil Disability, AM. CITY & COUNTY (Informa PLC, London, SW1P 1WG), Jun. 5, 2018, <https://www.americancityandcounty.com/2018/06/05/civil-disability/>.

<sup>113</sup> Cassie L. Smith, County Vote Centers Change, Creating Frustration, WACO TRIB.-HERALD (Jul. 10, 2017), [https://www.wacotrib.com/news/elections/county-vote-centers-change-creating-frustration/article\\_6c134b4e-1551-5906-a96c-2458fe26f9d9.html](https://www.wacotrib.com/news/elections/county-vote-centers-change-creating-frustration/article_6c134b4e-1551-5906-a96c-2458fe26f9d9.html).



## School Safety: No Excuse to Deny Voting Rights

Our analysis indicates that a climate of fear of school shootings has contributed to an unintended — and unfortunate — outcome: fewer polling places.

In states and localities across our study, we found election and education officials citing school safety as a reason to remove polling places from schools. This unnecessary and counterproductive response has a corrosive effect on the right to vote in low-income neighborhoods, in rural communities, and for people with disabilities. It also erects barriers between communities and schools. That said, many communities are dealing with school safety concerns in a better way: by turning Election Day into a school holiday.

In Alabama, officials justified a spate of polling place consolidations in advance of the 2014 election as a response to school safety concerns and unverified claims of new state and federal regulations to remove polling places from schools. A local newspaper reported that several of Etowah County's nine polling place closures were first explained as a response to "a new state law" that "mandates polling places be moved from schools for security reasons."<sup>114</sup> No such law exists. A subsequent article said that some closures were in response to "new federal regulations [that] prohibit voting locations at schools."<sup>115</sup> No such federal regulations exist. In Morgan County, where five polling places were consolidated to remove them from schools, the local election official said schools feared for their students' safety, even telling a local newspaper that hosting polling places in schools is problematic because "you're opening up the schoolchildren to potential threats."<sup>116</sup>

<sup>114</sup> See Donna Thornton, Possible Changes in District 2 Polls Bring Opposition, GADSDEN MESSENGER (Sep. 6, 2013), <https://gadsdenmessenger.com/2013/09/06/possible-changes-in-district-2-polls-bring-opposition/>.

<sup>115</sup> See Lisa Rogers Savage, Some Voting Locations Changed, GADSDEN TIMES (May 31, 2014, 9:00PM), <https://www.gadsdentimes.com/news/20140531/some-voting-locations-changed>.

<sup>116</sup> See Mary Sell, In Some Counties, Alabama Voters Have Lost a Quarter of Their Polling Places Since 2010, BIRMINGHAM WATCH (Nov. 2, 2018), <https://birminghamwatch.org/counties-alabama-voters-lost-quarter-polling-places-since-2010/>.

In Georgia, school and school board officials, out of widespread fear, removed polling places from schools and even changed state law to make it harder to place voting locations in schools. In Rockdale County, which is 51 percent African American, local election officials moved 10 polling places out of schools for security purposes, eliminating two voting locations in the process.<sup>117</sup> During a local hearing about the consolidation, the elections board chair noted that no specific threats drove the change. “It is just the safety of the schools,” he said. “Leaving the schools open and people going in just creates some safety issues. If we go back to Columbine, a lot of things have changed since then. So since the schools are not always closed on election days, this would be the best move for us, to bring them out of the schools and put them in other locations, such as churches. But it was mainly for safety concerns.”<sup>118</sup>

The drive for closures is even prompting efforts to change state law to make it easier for schools to deny polling places.<sup>119</sup> In Fulton County, several school officials, including the school board president, have called to remove voting locations from schools. “With all these shootings it’s scary to have people be able to walk into the schools,” Fulton School Board President Linda Bryant told the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* in August 2018.<sup>120</sup> Fears are also alive in nearby Cobb County, which already has 12 fewer voting locations than before *Shelby* — and more potential cuts as the county considers removing more polling places from schools.<sup>121</sup> In Cobb (which has approximately 60 polling places in schools), and Fulton (which has more than 50), the burden on local election officials to find replacement voting locations would be significant. The effort is also especially vexing for Fulton and Cobb Counties, which already close schools on election days to separate voters from students. “We try to accommodate it,” Richard Barron, Fulton County’s elections director told WABE radio. “It’s just going to get to a point where there are areas in the county where we have no options, and we can’t keep consolidating locations.”<sup>122</sup> Such closures could be devastating for low-income and rural voters, as well as voters of color, who often live in communities with fewer accessible polling places.

The effort to remove polling places from schools was also cited by an election official in Harrison County, Mississippi, a leading closer of polling places.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>117</sup> See Larry Stanford, Rockdale Board of Elections Approves New Precinct Voting Locations, ROCKDALE CITIZEN & NEWTON CITIZEN (Feb. 14, 2018), [https://www.rockdalenewtoncitizen.com/news/local/rockdale-changing-some-voting-precinct-locations/article\\_037a8b97-df6a-5bde-ae1f-ea988621d52e.html](https://www.rockdalenewtoncitizen.com/news/local/rockdale-changing-some-voting-precinct-locations/article_037a8b97-df6a-5bde-ae1f-ea988621d52e.html); see 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, Table B03002, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU (2017), [https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS\\_17\\_5YR\\_B03002&prodType=table](https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_17_5YR_B03002&prodType=table).

<sup>118</sup> Larry Stanford, Rockdale Board of Elections Approves New Precinct Voting Locations, ROCKDALE CITIZEN & NEWTON CITIZEN (Feb. 14, 2018), [https://www.rockdalenewtoncitizen.com/news/local/rockdale-changing-some-voting-precinct-locations/article\\_037a8b97-df6a-5bde-ae1f-ea988621d52e.html](https://www.rockdalenewtoncitizen.com/news/local/rockdale-changing-some-voting-precinct-locations/article_037a8b97-df6a-5bde-ae1f-ea988621d52e.html).

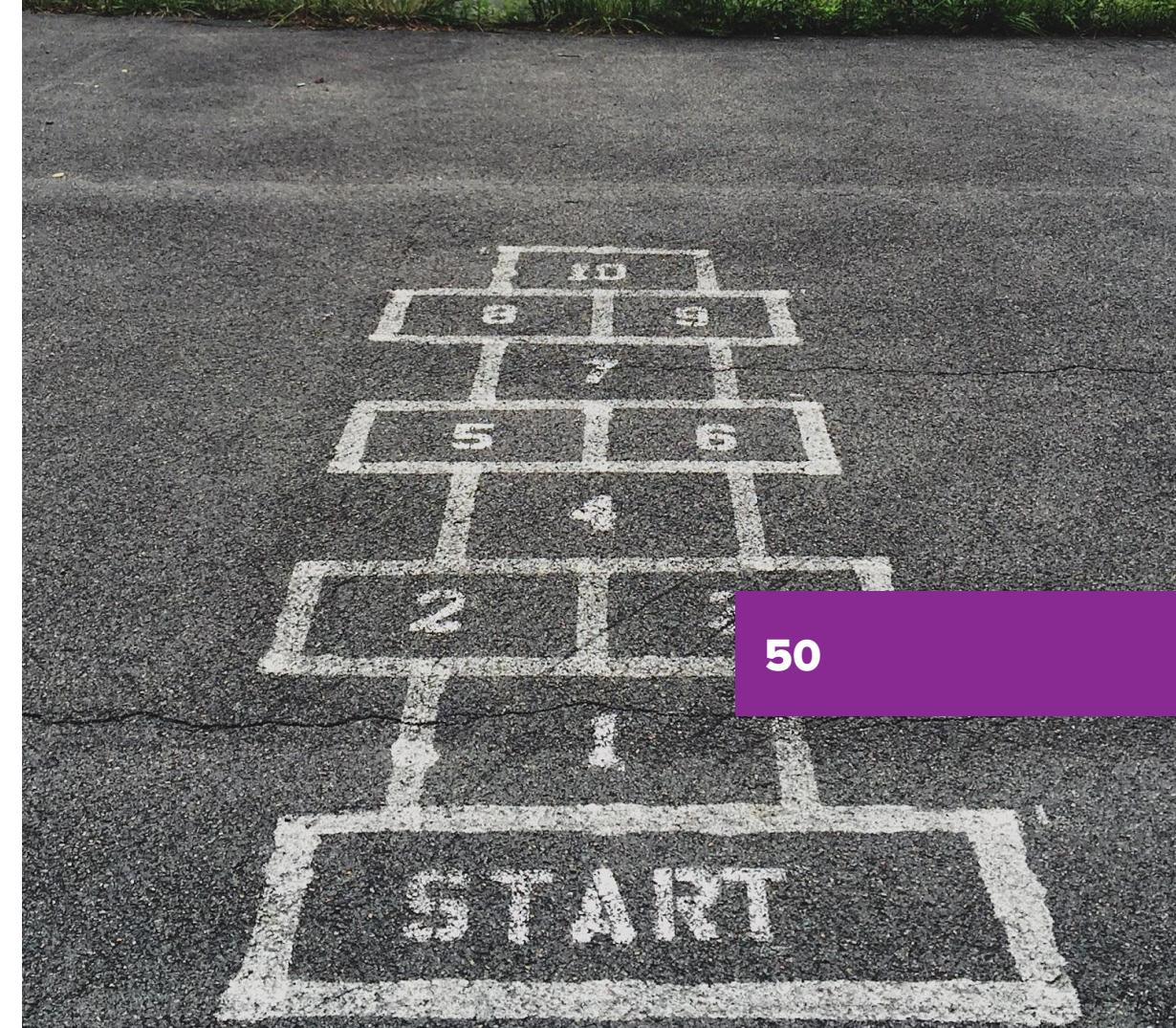
<sup>119</sup> See Vanessa McCray, Schools No Longer Best Voting Place, Says Fulton School Board, AJC (Aug. 24, 2018), <https://www.ajc.com/news/local-education/schools-longer-best-voting-place-says-fulton-school-board/h0mZmOGxq4IZuv9Cpl1eLl/>.

<sup>120</sup> Vanessa McCray, Schools No Longer Best Voting Place, Says Fulton School Board, AJC (Aug. 24, 2018), <https://www.ajc.com/news/local-education/schools-longer-best-voting-place-says-fulton-school-board/h0mZmOGxq4IZuv9Cpl1eLl/>.

<sup>121</sup> See Ross Terrell, School Safety Concerns Starting to Change Metro Atlanta Voting Locations, WABE (Jun. 1, 2018), <https://www.wabe.org/school-safety-concerns-starting-to-change-metro-atlanta-voting-locations/>.

<sup>122</sup> See Ross Terrell, School Safety Concerns Starting to Change Metro Atlanta Voting Locations, WABE (Jun. 1, 2018), <https://www.wabe.org/school-safety-concerns-starting-to-change-metro-atlanta-voting-locations/>.

<sup>123</sup> See Anna Wolfe & Alex Rozier, Free From Federal Oversight, 5 Percent of Mississippi Polling Locations Have Closed Since 2013, MISS. TODAY (Oct. 24, 2018), <https://mississippitoday.org/2018/10/24/free-from-federal-oversight-5-percent-of-mississippi-polling-locations-have-closed-since-2013/>.



### But school safety and voter access aren't at odds with one another.

Indeed, it is possible to protect students while ensuring voting rights. One key way is to not hold school on election days — the practice in Fulton and Cobb Counties in Georgia, Richardson County in Texas,<sup>124</sup> and throughout North Carolina.<sup>125</sup> A local official in Richardson County, Texas, pointed to the dividends in civic engagement. A city council official in Dallas, meanwhile, told the *Dallas News* that “having Election Day off could also give students an opportunity to go to the polling place with their parents.”<sup>126</sup>

<sup>124</sup> See Dana Branham & Nanette Light, Richardson ISD Cancels Class on Election Day, Citing Security Risks of Voters in Schools, DALLAS NEWS (Aug. 1, 2018 7:45 PM), <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/education/2018/08/01/richardson-cancels-class-election-day-citing-security-risks-voters-schools>.

<sup>125</sup> See also Billy Ball, Some North Carolina Schools to Close or Change Schedule Due to Election Day Voting, THE PROGRESSIVE PULSE (Nov. 4, 2016), <http://pulse.ncpolicywatch.org/2016/11/04/north-carolina-schools-close-change-schedule-due-election-day-voting/>.

<sup>126</sup> Dana Branham & Nanette Light, Richardson ISD Cancels Class on Election Day, Citing Security Risks of Voters in Schools, DALLAS NEWS (Aug. 1, 2018 7:45 PM), <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/education/2018/08/01/richardson-cancels-class-election-day-citing-security-risks-voters-schools>.



## Best Practices

South Carolina stood out for its tradition of keeping polling places open. Of 1,922 polling places that were open in 2012, we found that only 18 have closed — a closure rate of merely .009 percent. We attribute this to state laws requiring multiple local and state elected officials to approve all polling place closures, a conclusion we arrived at through research and interviews with local advocates.

State laws also ensure that changes to polling places are transparent. And they require consensus among local and state elected officials in order to close polling places, which is unique to South Carolina. The South Carolina Code of Laws' section on elections requires that any polling place change from a county election board must also be approved by the county legislative delegation, a body comprising the county's elected representatives to the state legislature. And it also requires that precincts are “designated, fixed, and established by the General Assembly” and signed by the governor.<sup>127</sup>

Yet despite South Carolina’s positive steps to ensure an inclusive democracy, a gaping policy hole remains: No racial impact analysis is required, leaving the public without a key way to determine who will or may be harmed by polling place changes. This critical data point must be a determinative factor in the deliberative process.

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<sup>127</sup> S.C. Code § 7-7-10 (2018) (effective June 14, 2000), <https://www.scstatehouse.gov/code/statmast.php>.



## Conclusion

Since *Shelby*, the national conversation about barriers to voting in the absence of Section 5 has focused on statewide issues like restrictive voter identification laws, racially discriminatory redistricting plans, and efforts to curtail policies that make voting more accessible, like early voting and same-day registration.

Identifying and describing polling place closures paints a fuller picture about how racial discrimination happens without appropriate oversight. We can fill in more details of this picture about how local decisions greatly impact the ability of communities of color to cast ballots for their candidates of choice.

Next to the ballot itself, the most identifiable element of our democracy's voting process is the polling place. It should — and it must — be accessible to all. When it is not, the barriers to participation can be high. Moving or closing a polling place — particularly without notice or input from communities — disrupts our democracy. It can mean the choice between picking up a child from school or voting. Taking needed overtime or voting. Or taking a bus across town or voting. In a truly inclusive democracy, no one is forced to make these difficult choices.

While there are justifiable reasons for closing polling places, the sheer scale of closures we've identified since *Shelby*, coupled with other, more nakedly racially discriminatory actions to deny voting rights to people of color, demand a response. The federal government must scrutinize these closures — especially in states and localities formerly covered by Section 5.

**The best way to do that is to restore the Voting Rights Act, reactivate Section 5, and strengthen its other provisions that require elected officials to seek the input of communities of color and provide notice of any polling place change for any reason.**

# Methodology

This analysis quantifies the number of Election Day polling places that have closed in jurisdictions once covered by Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act since the *Shelby County v. Holder* decision rendered that provision inoperable in 2013.

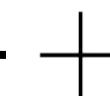
This report studies 757 of the approximately 861 counties and county-level equivalents once covered by Section 5. It only includes jurisdictions where The Leadership Conference Education Fund could acquire accurate polling place lists or counts from state or local election officials or reputable media sources for general elections in 2012, 2014, 2016, and/or 2018. Counties where we could not obtain reliable data (Virginia and three from Texas) were excluded from the report.

Data for every county and state (including partially covered states like Florida, New York, California, and South Dakota) are included in the Appendix.

## **Data were compiled for this report from the following sources:**

- Public records requests from state election officials
- Posted lists of polling places on county websites
- Reputable news sources documenting lists of polling places
- The federal Election Assistance Commission's Election Administration and Voting Survey (EAVS)

For all lists of polling places from records requests and posted online, each polling place with a unique address or name was counted. Multiple polling places listed at the same address were counted as one polling place. Counts were conducted multiple times to ensure accuracy for each county.



**For EAVS counts,** the survey is voluntarily submitted by state election officials to the EAC and includes questions about how elections are conducted in each state. One of the data points collected in the EAVS is the total number of Election Day physical polling places in each county. The EAVS does not ask for polling place location data that includes addresses or zip codes, so it could not be determined where polling places were closed within counties — only the total number of polling places in each county.

- In EAVS for 2012, 2014, and 2016: The surveys ask three questions to determine the total number of Election Day polling places in Section D under the header “Election Day voting.” Question D2b asks for “Physical polling places other than election offices,” Question D2c asks about “Election offices,” and D2d asks about “Other” and provides a space for comment. The total number of Election Day polling places was determined by totaling the answers for all three questions.
- In EAVS for 2018: In question D4a, the survey asks officials to “report the total number of physical polling places in your jurisdiction for Election Day voting.” It then asks for officials to demonstrate how that total number breaks down between “physical polling places other than election offices (e.g., libraries, schools, mobile voting location)” in question D3b and “polling places that are a part of the election office” for question D4c. For this study, we only used the self-reported total in question D4a. We did use D4b and D4c as well as a comments field to provide context to the total number.

## **How Analysis was Conducted**

Because of the decentralized nature of election administration and vast differences in how or if states and counties manage, share, and make polling place data public, The Education Fund determined which data sources it would rely on and which elections it would compare on a county-by-county basis depending on data quality.

Where possible, we first opted for primary source hand-counts of polling place lists provided directly by state and county election offices and reputable news sources. When those sources were not available, we used EAVS data. We made good faith attempts to include reliable information for every county once covered by Section 5.

**Benchmark Elections:** For each county, we designated a past general election with the most reliable data to serve as a Benchmark Election. Where possible (709 counties), we used the 2012 general election as this benchmark, the last election to occur pre-*Shelby*. Where reliable information for 2012 could not be acquired, we relied on counts for the 2014 (41 counties) and 2016 (six counties) elections.

**Post-*Shelby* Elections:** Post-*Shelby* election counts are for the most recent general election in which reliable polling place data could be acquired for a given county. Where possible (in 737 counties), we used 2018, the most recent election prior to the publication of this report. Where reliable information for 2018 could not be acquired, we used counts from the 2016 election (20 counties).

In order to determine the number and percentage of polling places closures in each county, we compared the number of Election Day polling places open in a given county in its designated post-*Shelby* election with the number that were open in its Benchmark Election. The election years and data-sources used are marked for each individual county listed in Appendix A.

We also conducted an analysis to understand if the number of polling places fluctuates with turnout differences between midterm and presidential election years. We were concerned that counties in our study may regularly open fewer polling places during midterm election years because of expected lower turnout and therefore impact our results. Our analysis of counties in this study found that not to be the case. Counties in our study generally do not open fewer polling places in midterm election years than in presidential election years.

In every state, local advocates vetted our analysis and provided context for our findings and a sense of what is happening on the ground.

# Appendix: Data Set for All Included Counties

State	County	#	%	Benchmark	Benchmark	Benchmark	Post-Shelby	Post-Shelby	Post-Shelby	Midterm	2014	2014
		Changed	Changed	Election Count	Election Year	Election Source	Election Count	Election Year	Election Source	Midterm	Midterm Count	Midterm Source
AK	ALEUTIANS EAST	0	0%	4	2012	Handcount	4	2018	Handcount	0	4	Handcount
AK	BRISTOL BAY	0	0%	3	2012	Handcount	3	2018	Handcount	0	3	Handcount
AK	DENALI	-1	-20%	5	2012	Handcount	4	2018	Handcount	-1	5	Handcount
AK	FAIRBANKS NORTH	0	0%	37	2012	Handcount	37	2018	Handcount	0	37	Handcount
AK	HAINES	0	0%	2	2012	Handcount	2	2018	Handcount	0	2	Handcount
AK	JUNEAU	0	0%	13	2012	Handcount	13	2018	Handcount	0	13	Handcount
AK	KENAI PENINSULA	-1	-4%	26	2012	Handcount	25	2018	Handcount	0	25	Handcount
AK	KETCHIKAN GATEWAY	0	0%	7	2012	Handcount	7	2018	Handcount	0	7	Handcount
AK	KODIAK ISLAND	0	0%	9	2012	Handcount	9	2018	Handcount	-1	10	Handcount
AK	LAKE & PENINSULA	0	0%	8	2012	Handcount	8	2018	Handcount	0	8	Handcount
AK	MATANUSKA-SUSITNA	2	5%	39	2012	Handcount	41	2018	Handcount	0	41	Handcount
AK	MUNICIPALITY OF ANCHORAGE	2	2%	119	2012	Handcount	121	2018	Handcount	13	108	Handcount
AK	NORTH SLOPE	0	0%	9	2012	Handcount	9	2018	Handcount	0	9	Handcount
AK	NORTHWEST ARCTIC	0	0%	11	2012	Handcount	11	2018	Handcount	0	11	Handcount
AK	PETERSBURG	0	0%	1	2012	Handcount	1	2018	Handcount	0	1	Handcount
AK	SITKA	0	0%	1	2012	Handcount	1	2018	Handcount	0	1	Handcount
AK	SKAGWAY	0	0%	1	2012	Handcount	1	2018	Handcount	0	1	Handcount
AK	WRANGELL	0	0%	1	2012	Handcount	1	2018	Handcount	0	1	Handcount
AK	YAKUTAT	0	0%	1	2012	Handcount	1	2018	Handcount	0	1	Handcount
AK	UNORGANIZED	-4	-4%	93	2012	Handcount	89	2018	Handcount	-3	92	Handcount
AL	AUTAUGA COUNTY	0	0%	19	2012	Handcount	19	2018	Handcount	1	18	Handcount
AL	BALDWIN COUNTY	3	7%	46	2012	Handcount	49	2018	Handcount	3	46	Handcount
AL	BARBOUR COUNTY	-1	-6%	17	2012	Handcount	16	2018	Handcount	0	16	Handcount
AL	BIBB COUNTY	0	0%	8	2012	Handcount	8	2018	Handcount	0	8	Handcount
AL	BLOUNT COUNTY	0	0%	24	2012	Handcount	24	2018	Handcount	0	24	Handcount
AL	BULLOCK COUNTY	0	0%	15	2014	Handcount	15	2018	Handcount	0	15	Handcount
AL	BUTLER COUNTY	-1	-5%	22	2014	Handcount	21	2018	Handcount	-1	22	Handcount
AL	CALHOUN COUNTY	-4	-8%	48	2012	Handcount	44	2018	Handcount	-1	45	Handcount
AL	CHAMBERS COUNTY	-1	-5%	21	2012	Handcount	20	2018	Handcount	-1	21	Handcount

State	County	#	%	Benchmark	Benchmark	Benchmark	Post-Shelby	Post-Shelby	Post-Shelby	Midterm	2014	2014
		Changed	Changed	Election Count	Election Year	Election Source	Election Count	Election Year	Election Source	Midterm	to Midterm	Count
AL	CHEROKEE COUNTY	0	0%	23	2012	Handcount	23	2018	Handcount	0	23	Handcount
AL	CHILTON COUNTY	-2	-11%	18	2012	Handcount	16	2018	Handcount	0	16	Handcount
AL	CHOCTAW COUNTY	-2	-6%	32	2012	Handcount	30	2018	Handcount	-2	32	Handcount
AL	CLARKE COUNTY	2	7%	27	2012	Handcount	29	2018	Handcount	0	29	Handcount
AL	CLAY COUNTY	1	7%	14	2012	Handcount	15	2018	Handcount	0	15	Handcount
AL	CLEBURNE COUNTY	0	0%	14	2012	Handcount	14	2018	Handcount	0	14	Handcount
AL	COFFEE COUNTY	0	0%	29	2012	Handcount	29	2018	Handcount	0	29	Handcount
AL	COLBERT COUNTY	-1	-3%	36	2012	Handcount	35	2018	Handcount	0	35	Handcount
AL	CONECUH COUNTY	1	4%	26	2012	Handcount	27	2018	Handcount	0	27	Handcount
AL	COOSA COUNTY	0	0%	12	2012	Handcount	12	2018	Handcount	0	12	Handcount
AL	COVINGTON COUNTY	0	0%	25	2012	Handcount	25	2018	Handcount	0	25	Handcount
AL	CRENSHAW COUNTY	0	0%	18	2012	Handcount	18	2018	Handcount	0	18	Handcount
AL	CULLMAN COUNTY	0	0%	49	2012	Handcount	49	2018	Handcount	0	49	Handcount
AL	DALE COUNTY	0	0%	19	2012	Handcount	19	2018	Handcount	0	19	Handcount
AL	DALLAS COUNTY	2	7%	29	2012	Handcount	31	2018	Handcount	2	29	Handcount
AL	DEKALB COUNTY	-1	-2%	45	2012	Handcount	44	2018	Handcount	0	44	Handcount
AL	ELMORE COUNTY	1	4%	28	2012	Handcount	29	2018	Handcount	1	28	Handcount
AL	ESCAMBIA COUNTY	0	0%	29	2012	Handcount	29	2018	Handcount	0	29	Handcount
AL	ETOWAH COUNTY	-9	-22%	41	2012	Handcount	32	2018	Handcount	-1	33	Handcount
AL	FAYETTE COUNTY	0	0%	27	2012	Handcount	27	2018	Handcount	0	27	Handcount
AL	FRANKLIN COUNTY	-1	-4%	24	2012	Handcount	23	2018	Handcount	-1	24	Handcount
AL	GENEVA COUNTY	-1	-4%	25	2012	Handcount	24	2018	Handcount	-1	25	Handcount
AL	GREENE COUNTY	0	0%	14	2012	Handcount	14	2018	Handcount	0	14	Handcount
AL	HALE COUNTY	0	0%	14	2014	Handcount	14	2018	Handcount	0	14	Handcount
AL	HENRY COUNTY	0	0%	13	2012	Handcount	13	2018	Handcount	0	13	Handcount
AL	HOUSTON COUNTY	1	4%	26	2012	Handcount	27	2018	Handcount	0	27	Handcount
AL	JACKSON COUNTY	0	0%	37	2012	Handcount	37	2018	Handcount	0	37	Handcount
AL	JEFFERSON COUNTY	-5	-3%	177	2012	Handcount	172	2018	Handcount	-1	173	Handcount
AL	LAMAR COUNTY	0	0%	22	2012	Handcount	22	2018	Handcount	0	22	Handcount
AL	LAUDERDALE COUNTY	0	0%	31	2012	Handcount	31	2018	Handcount	0	31	Handcount
AL	LAWRENCE COUNTY	0	0%	29	2012	Handcount	29	2018	Handcount	0	29	Handcount
AL	LEE COUNTY	1	4%	23	2012	Handcount	24	2018	Handcount	1	23	Handcount
AL	LIMESTONE COUNTY	0	0%	25	2012	Handcount	25	2018	Handcount	0	25	Handcount
AL	LOWNDES COUNTY	0	0%	12	2012	Handcount	12	2018	Handcount	0	12	Handcount

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		Changed	Changed	Election Count	Election Year	Election Source	Election Count	Election Year	Election Source	Midterm	Midterm Count	Midterm Source
AL	MACON COUNTY	0	0%	14	2012	Handcount	14	2018	Handcount	0	14	Handcount
AL	MADISON COUNTY	-4	-5%	75	2012	Handcount	71	2018	Handcount	-1	72	Handcount
AL	MARENGO COUNTY	-3	-14%	22	2012	Handcount	19	2018	Handcount	-3	22	Handcount
AL	MARION COUNTY	-1	-5%	20	2012	Handcount	19	2018	Handcount	-1	20	Handcount
AL	MARSHALL COUNTY	-10	-26%	38	2012	Handcount	28	2018	Handcount	-2	30	Handcount
AL	MOBILE COUNTY	-10	-10%	98	2012	Handcount	88	2018	Handcount	0	88	Handcount
AL	MONROE COUNTY	-1	-3%	31	2012	Handcount	30	2018	Handcount	0	30	Handcount
AL	MONTGOMERY COUNTY	4	9%	46	2012	Handcount	50	2018	Handcount	9	41	Handcount
AL	MORGAN COUNTY	-5	-11%	44	2012	Handcount	39	2018	Handcount	-1	40	Handcount
AL	PERRY COUNTY	0	0%	12	2012	Handcount	12	2018	Handcount	0	12	Handcount
AL	PICKENS COUNTY	0	0%	19	2012	Handcount	19	2018	Handcount	0	19	Handcount
AL	PIKE COUNTY	1	4%	28	2012	Handcount	29	2018	Handcount	0	29	Handcount
AL	RANDOLPH COUNTY	-1	-4%	23	2012	Handcount	22	2018	Handcount	-1	23	Handcount
AL	RUSSELL COUNTY	0	0%	17	2012	Handcount	17	2018	Handcount	0	17	Handcount
AL	SHELBY COUNTY	-3	-6%	47	2012	Handcount	44	2018	Handcount	-3	47	Handcount
AL	ST. CLAIR COUNTY	-1	-3%	31	2012	Handcount	30	2018	Handcount	-1	31	Handcount
AL	SUMTER COUNTY	0	0%	13	2012	Handcount	13	2018	Handcount	0	13	Handcount
AL	TALLADEGA COUNTY	0	0%	26	2012	Handcount	26	2018	Handcount	0	26	Handcount
AL	TALLAPOOSA COUNTY	1	4%	25	2012	Handcount	26	2018	Handcount	0	26	Handcount
AL	TUSCALOOSA COUNTY	0	0%	54	2012	Handcount	54	2018	Handcount	0	54	Handcount
AL	WALKER COUNTY	0	0%	45	2012	Handcount	45	2018	Handcount	0	45	Handcount
AL	WASHINGTON COUNTY	3	18%	17	2012	Handcount	20	2018	Handcount	1	19	Handcount
AL	WILCOX COUNTY	-4	-15%	26	2014	Handcount	22	2018	Handcount	-4	26	Handcount
AL	WINSTON COUNTY	0	0%	18	2012	Handcount	18	2018	Handcount	0	18	Handcount
AZ	APACHE COUNTY	1	2%	42	2012	EAWS	43	2018	Handcount	0	43	EAWS
AZ	COCHISE COUNTY	-32	-65%	49	2012	EAWS	17	2018	Handcount	-32	49	EAWS
AZ	COCONINO COUNTY	-9	-14%	64	2012	EAWS	55	2018	Handcount	-9	64	EAWS
AZ	GILA COUNTY	-16	-48%	33	2012	EAWS	17	2018	Handcount	N/A	N/A	N/A
AZ	GRAHAM COUNTY	-9	-50%	18	2012	EAWS	9	2018	Handcount	0	9	EAWS
AZ	GREENLEE COUNTY	-3	-38%	8	2012	EAWS	5	2018	Handcount	-3	8	EAWS

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AZ	LA PAZ COUNTY	-1	-11%	9	2012	EAWS	8	2018	Handcount	-1	9	EAWS
AZ	MARICOPA COUNTY	-171	-25%	671	2012	Handcount	500	2018	Handcount	-149	649	Handcount
AZ	MOHAVE COUNTY	-34	-49%	70	2012	EAWS	36	2018	Handcount	-30	66	EAWS
AZ	NAVAJO COUNTY	-2	-4%	52	2012	EAWS	50	2018	Handcount	11	39	EAWS
AZ	PIMA COUNTY	-31	-11%	280	2012	EAWS	249	2018	Handcount	7	242	EAWS
AZ	PINAL COUNTY	2	2%	98	2012	EAWS	100	2018	Handcount	3	97	EAWS
AZ	SANTA CRUZ COUNTY	-5	-29%	17	2012	EAWS	12	2018	Handcount	-5	17	EAWS
AZ	YAVAPAI COUNTY	-5	-17%	30	2012	EAWS	25	2018	Handcount	-5	30	EAWS
AZ	YUMA COUNTY	-2	-18%	11	2012	EAWS	9	2018	Handcount	-1	10	EAWS
CA	KINGS COUNTY	-13	-37%	35	2012	EAWS	22	2018	Handcount	-13	35	EAWS
CA	MONTEREY COUNTY	0	0%	83	2012	EAWS	83	2018	Handcount	-1	84	EAWS
CA	YUBA COUNTY	-7	-26%	27	2012	EAWS	20	2018	EAWS	-6	26	EAWS
FL	COLLIER COUNTY	-1	-2%	60	2012	Handcount	59	2018	Handcount	2	57	Handcount
FL	HARDEE COUNTY	1	8%	12	2012	Handcount	13	2016	Handcount	1	12	Handcount
FL	HENDRY COUNTY	0	0%	10	2012	Handcount	10	2018	Handcount	0	10	Handcount
FL	HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY	-19	-7%	276	2012	EAWS	257	2018	Handcount	-22	279	EAWS
FL	MONROE COUNTY	-2	-7%	29	2012	Handcount	27	2018	Handcount	-3	30	Handcount
GA	APPLING COUNTY	-7	-44%	16	2012	AJC	9	2018	AJC	-5	14	AJC
GA	ATKINSON COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	AJC	4	2018	AJC	0	4	AJC
GA	BACON COUNTY	-4	-80%	5	2012	AJC	1	2018	AJC	-4	5	AJC
GA	BAKER COUNTY	0	0%	5	2012	AJC	5	2018	AJC	0	5	AJC
GA	BALDWIN COUNTY	0	0%	14	2012	AJC	14	2018	AJC	0	14	AJC
GA	BANKS COUNTY	0	0%	13	2012	AJC	13	2018	AJC	0	13	AJC
GA	BARROW COUNTY	0	0%	16	2012	AJC	16	2018	AJC	0	16	AJC
GA	BARTOW COUNTY	-1	-6%	17	2012	AJC	16	2018	AJC	-1	17	AJC
GA	BEN HILL COUNTY	-3	-60%	5	2012	AJC	2	2018	AJC	0	2	AJC
GA	BERRIEN COUNTY	-2	-29%	7	2012	AJC	5	2018	AJC	-2	7	AJC
GA	BIBB COUNTY	-9	-23%	40	2012	AJC	31	2018	AJC	-9	40	AJC
GA	BLECKLEY COUNTY	0	0%	1	2012	AJC	1	2018	AJC	0	1	AJC
GA	BRANTLEY COUNTY	-6	-67%	9	2012	AJC	3	2018	AJC	0	3	AJC

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GA	BROOKS COUNTY	-2	-22%	9	2012	AJC	7	2018	AJC	0	7	AJC
GA	BRYAN COUNTY	0	0%	10	2012	AJC	10	2018	AJC	0	10	AJC
GA	BULLOCH COUNTY	0	0%	16	2012	AJC	16	2018	AJC	0	16	AJC
GA	BURKE COUNTY	0	0%	16	2012	AJC	16	2018	AJC	0	16	AJC
GA	BUTTS COUNTY	-4	-80%	5	2012	AJC	1	2018	AJC	-4	5	AJC
GA	CALHOUN COUNTY	0	0%	5	2012	AJC	5	2018	AJC	0	5	AJC
GA	CAMDEN COUNTY	0	0%	14	2012	AJC	14	2018	AJC	0	14	AJC
GA	CANDLER COUNTY	0	0%	2	2012	AJC	2	2018	AJC	0	2	AJC
GA	CARROLL COUNTY	-2	-7%	30	2012	AJC	28	2018	AJC	-2	30	AJC
GA	CATOOSA COUNTY	-1	-8%	12	2012	AJC	11	2018	AJC	0	11	AJC
GA	CHARLTON COUNTY	-1	-11%	9	2012	AJC	8	2018	AJC	-1	9	AJC
GA	CHATHAM COUNTY	1	1%	89	2012	AJC	90	2018	AJC	1	89	AJC
GA	CHATTahoochee COUNTY	0	0%	1	2012	AJC	1	2018	AJC	0	1	AJC
GA	CHATTOOGA COUNTY	2	18%	11	2012	AJC	13	2018	AJC	1	12	AJC
GA	CHEROKEE COUNTY	0	0%	42	2012	AJC	42	2018	AJC	0	42	AJC
GA	CLARKE COUNTY	0	0%	24	2012	AJC	24	2018	AJC	0	24	AJC
GA	CLAY COUNTY	0	0%	5	2012	AJC	5	2018	AJC	0	5	AJC
GA	CLAYTON COUNTY	0	0%	58	2012	AJC	58	2018	AJC	0	58	AJC
GA	CLINCH COUNTY	0	0%	5	2012	AJC	5	2018	AJC	0	5	AJC
GA	COBB COUNTY	-12	-8%	153	2012	AJC	141	2018	AJC	-4	145	AJC
GA	COFFEE COUNTY	0	0%	6	2012	AJC	6	2018	AJC	0	6	AJC
GA	COLQUITT COUNTY	0	0%	19	2012	AJC	19	2018	AJC	0	19	AJC
GA	COLUMBIA COUNTY	0	0%	42	2012	AJC	42	2018	AJC	-3	45	AJC
GA	COOK COUNTY	0	0%	8	2012	AJC	8	2018	AJC	0	8	AJC
GA	COWETA COUNTY	-1	-4%	28	2012	AJC	27	2018	AJC	-1	28	AJC
GA	CRAWFORD COUNTY	0	0%	6	2012	AJC	6	2018	AJC	0	6	AJC
GA	CRISP COUNTY	0	0%	5	2012	AJC	5	2018	AJC	0	5	AJC
GA	DADE COUNTY	0	0%	7	2012	AJC	7	2018	AJC	0	7	AJC
GA	DAWSON COUNTY	0	0%	3	2012	AJC	3	2018	AJC	0	3	AJC
GA	DECATUR COUNTY	0	0%	9	2012	AJC	9	2018	AJC	0	9	AJC

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GA	DEKALB COUNTY	3	2%	189	2012	AJC	192	2018	AJC	3	189	AJC
GA	DODGE COUNTY	0	0%	16	2012	AJC	16	2018	AJC	0	16	AJC
GA	DOOLY COUNTY	0	0%	5	2012	AJC	5	2018	AJC	0	5	AJC
GA	DOUGHERTY COUNTY	0	0%	28	2012	AJC	28	2018	AJC	0	28	AJC
GA	DOUGLAS COUNTY	0	0%	25	2012	AJC	25	2018	AJC	0	25	AJC
GA	EARLY COUNTY	-6	-55%	11	2012	AJC	5	2018	AJC	-6	11	AJC
GA	ECHOLS COUNTY	0	0%	1	2012	AJC	1	2018	AJC	0	1	AJC
GA	EFFINGHAM COUNTY	0	0%	17	2012	AJC	17	2018	AJC	0	17	AJC
GA	ELBERT COUNTY	0	0%	11	2012	AJC	11	2018	AJC	0	11	AJC
GA	EMANUEL COUNTY	-1	-8%	12	2012	AJC	11	2018	AJC	-1	12	AJC
GA	EVANS COUNTY	0	0%	1	2012	AJC	1	2018	AJC	0	1	AJC
GA	FANNIN COUNTY	0	0%	12	2012	AJC	12	2018	AJC	0	12	AJC
GA	FAYETTE COUNTY	0	0%	36	2012	AJC	36	2018	AJC	0	36	AJC
GA	FLOYD COUNTY	0	0%	25	2012	AJC	25	2018	AJC	0	25	AJC
GA	FORSYTH COUNTY	-9	-36%	25	2012	AJC	16	2018	AJC	0	16	AJC
GA	FRANKLIN COUNTY	-6	-46%	13	2012	AJC	7	2018	AJC	-6	13	AJC
GA	FULTON COUNTY	22	6%	351	2012	AJC	373	2018	AJC	7	366	AJC
GA	GILMER COUNTY	0	0%	13	2012	AJC	13	2018	AJC	0	13	AJC
GA	GLASCOCK COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	AJC	4	2018	AJC	0	4	AJC
GA	GLYNN COUNTY	0	0%	21	2012	AJC	21	2018	AJC	0	21	AJC
GA	GORDON COUNTY	-1	-8%	13	2012	AJC	12	2018	AJC	0	12	AJC
GA	GRADY COUNTY	0	0%	13	2012	AJC	13	2018	AJC	0	13	AJC
GA	GREENE COUNTY	-3	-38%	8	2012	AJC	5	2018	AJC	-3	8	AJC
GA	GWINNETT COUNTY	1	1%	156	2012	AJC	157	2018	AJC	1	156	AJC
GA	HABERSHAM COUNTY	-7	-50%	14	2012	AJC	7	2018	AJC	2	5	AJC
GA	HALL COUNTY	-4	-11%	35	2012	AJC	31	2018	AJC	-4	35	AJC
GA	HANCOCK COUNTY	3	43%	7	2012	AJC	10	2018	AJC	0	10	AJC
GA	HARALSON COUNTY	0	0%	12	2012	AJC	12	2018	AJC	0	12	AJC
GA	HARRIS COUNTY	0	0%	12	2012	AJC	12	2018	AJC	0	12	AJC
GA	HART COUNTY	0	0%	7	2012	AJC	7	2018	AJC	0	7	AJC

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GA	HEARD COUNTY	-3	-33%	9	2012	AJC	6	2018	AJC	0	6	AJC
GA	HENRY COUNTY	-1	-3%	38	2012	AJC	37	2018	AJC	-1	38	AJC
GA	HOUSTON COUNTY	-7	-30%	23	2012	AJC	16	2018	AJC	-3	19	AJC
GA	IRWIN COUNTY	-5	-63%	8	2012	AJC	3	2018	AJC	-5	8	AJC
GA	JACKSON COUNTY	-12	-75%	16	2012	AJC	4	2018	AJC	-12	16	AJC
GA	JASPER COUNTY	-4	-57%	7	2012	AJC	3	2018	AJC	0	3	AJC
GA	JEFF DAVIS COUNTY	0	0%	9	2012	AJC	9	2018	AJC	0	9	AJC
GA	JEFFERSON COUNTY	0	0%	8	2012	AJC	8	2018	AJC	0	8	AJC
GA	JENKINS COUNTY	0	0%	5	2012	AJC	5	2018	AJC	0	5	AJC
GA	JOHNSON COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	AJC	4	2018	AJC	0	4	AJC
GA	JONES COUNTY	-1	-9%	11	2012	AJC	10	2018	AJC	0	10	AJC
GA	LAMAR COUNTY	0	0%	6	2012	AJC	6	2018	AJC	0	6	AJC
GA	LANIER COUNTY	-3	-75%	4	2012	AJC	1	2018	AJC	-3	4	AJC
GA	LAURENS COUNTY	-1	-6%	17	2012	AJC	16	2018	AJC	-1	17	AJC
GA	LEE COUNTY	0	0%	10	2012	AJC	10	2018	AJC	0	10	AJC
GA	LIBERTY COUNTY	0	0%	13	2012	AJC	13	2018	AJC	0	13	AJC
GA	LINCOLN COUNTY	0	0%	7	2012	AJC	7	2018	AJC	0	7	AJC
GA	LONG COUNTY	2	40%	5	2012	AJC	7	2018	AJC	0	7	AJC
GA	LOWNDES COUNTY	-3	-25%	12	2012	AJC	9	2018	AJC	0	9	AJC
GA	LUMPKIN COUNTY	-8	-89%	9	2012	AJC	1	2018	AJC	-6	7	AJC
GA	MACON COUNTY	0	0%	5	2012	AJC	5	2018	AJC	0	5	AJC
GA	MADISON COUNTY	0	0%	12	2012	AJC	12	2018	AJC	0	12	AJC
GA	MARION COUNTY	-2	-29%	7	2012	AJC	5	2018	AJC	-2	7	AJC
GA	MCDUFFIE COUNTY	-1	-10%	10	2012	AJC	9	2018	AJC	-1	10	AJC
GA	MCINTOSH COUNTY	0	0%	6	2012	AJC	6	2018	AJC	0	6	AJC
GA	MERIWETHER COUNTY	0	0%	14	2012	AJC	14	2018	AJC	0	14	AJC
GA	MILLER COUNTY	0	0%	1	2012	AJC	1	2018	AJC	0	1	AJC
GA	MITCHELL COUNTY	0	0%	11	2012	AJC	11	2018	AJC	0	11	AJC
GA	MONROE COUNTY	0	0%	14	2012	AJC	14	2018	AJC	0	14	AJC
GA	MONTGOMERY COUNTY	0	0%	7	2012	AJC	7	2018	AJC	0	7	AJC

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GA	MORGAN COUNTY	-4	-36%	11	2012	AJC	7	2018	AJC	0	7	AJC
GA	MURRAY COUNTY	0	0%	7	2012	AJC	7	2018	AJC	0	7	AJC
GA	MUSCOGEE COUNTY	-3	-11%	28	2012	AJC	25	2018	AJC	-2	27	AJC
GA	NEWTON COUNTY	0	0%	22	2012	AJC	22	2018	AJC	0	22	AJC
GA	OCONEE COUNTY	0	0%	13	2012	AJC	13	2018	AJC	0	13	AJC
GA	OGLETHORPE COUNTY	-7	-70%	10	2012	AJC	3	2018	AJC	0	3	AJC
GA	PAULDING COUNTY	-2	-14%	14	2012	AJC	12	2018	AJC	-2	14	AJC
GA	PEACH COUNTY	0	0%	7	2012	AJC	7	2018	AJC	0	7	AJC
GA	PICKENS COUNTY	0	0%	12	2012	AJC	12	2018	AJC	0	12	AJC
GA	PIERCE COUNTY	0	0%	8	2012	AJC	8	2018	AJC	0	8	AJC
GA	PIKE COUNTY	0	0%	8	2012	AJC	8	2018	AJC	0	8	AJC
GA	POLK COUNTY	0	0%	7	2012	AJC	7	2018	AJC	0	7	AJC
GA	PULASKI COUNTY	-2	-67%	3	2012	AJC	1	2018	AJC	0	1	AJC
GA	PUTNAM COUNTY	-3	-38%	8	2012	AJC	5	2018	AJC	0	5	AJC
GA	QUITMAN COUNTY	0	0%	2	2012	AJC	2	2018	AJC	0	2	AJC
GA	RABUN COUNTY	0	0%	1	2012	AJC	1	2018	AJC	0	1	AJC
GA	RANDOLPH COUNTY	0	0%	9	2012	AJC	9	2018	AJC	0	9	AJC
GA	RICHMOND COUNTY	-9	-12%	78	2012	AJC	69	2018	AJC	0	69	AJC
GA	ROCKDALE COUNTY	-2	-11%	18	2012	AJC	16	2018	AJC	-2	18	AJC
GA	SCHLEY COUNTY	0	0%	1	2012	AJC	1	2018	AJC	0	1	AJC
GA	SCREVEN COUNTY	0	0%	12	2012	AJC	12	2018	AJC	0	12	AJC
GA	SEMINOLE COUNTY	0	0%	5	2012	AJC	5	2018	AJC	0	5	AJC
GA	SPALDING COUNTY	-3	-14%	21	2012	AJC	18	2018	AJC	-3	21	AJC
GA	STEPHENS COUNTY	-7	-88%	8	2012	AJC	1	2018	AJC	0	1	AJC
GA	STEWART COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	AJC	4	2018	AJC	0	4	AJC
GA	SUMTER COUNTY	0	0%	11	2012	AJC	11	2018	AJC	0	11	AJC
GA	TALBOT COUNTY	0	0%	7	2012	AJC	7	2018	AJC	0	7	AJC
GA	TALIAFERRO COUNTY	0	0%	2	2012	AJC	2	2018	AJC	0	2	AJC
GA	TATTNALL COUNTY	-1	-11%	9	2012	AJC	8	2018	AJC	-1	9	AJC
GA	TAYLOR COUNTY	-1	-25%	4	2012	AJC	3	2018	AJC	-1	4	AJC

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GA	TELFAIR COUNTY	0	0%	6	2012	AJC	6	2018	AJC	0	6	AJC
GA	TERRELL COUNTY	0	0%	6	2012	AJC	6	2018	AJC	0	6	AJC
GA	THOMAS COUNTY	0	0%	20	2012	AJC	20	2018	AJC	0	20	AJC
GA	TIFT COUNTY	0	0%	12	2012	AJC	12	2018	AJC	0	12	AJC
GA	TOOMBS COUNTY	-9	-64%	14	2012	AJC	5	2018	AJC	0	5	AJC
GA	TOWNS COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	AJC	4	2018	AJC	0	4	AJC
GA	TREUTLEN COUNTY	-4	-67%	6	2012	AJC	2	2018	AJC	-4	6	AJC
GA	TROUP COUNTY	-1	-6%	16	2012	AJC	15	2018	AJC	0	15	AJC
GA	TURNER COUNTY	0	0%	3	2012	AJC	3	2018	AJC	0	3	AJC
GA	TWIGGS COUNTY	0	0%	5	2012	AJC	5	2018	AJC	0	5	AJC
GA	UNION COUNTY	0	0%	11	2012	AJC	11	2018	AJC	0	11	AJC
GA	UPSON COUNTY	-5	-56%	9	2012	AJC	4	2018	AJC	-5	9	AJC
GA	WALKER COUNTY	0	0%	11	2012	AJC	11	2018	AJC	0	11	AJC
GA	WALTON COUNTY	0	0%	21	2012	AJC	21	2018	AJC	0	21	AJC
GA	WARE COUNTY	0	0%	12	2012	AJC	12	2018	AJC	0	12	AJC
GA	WARREN COUNTY	-5	-83%	6	2012	AJC	1	2018	AJC	0	1	AJC
GA	WASHINGTON COUNTY	0	0%	8	2012	AJC	8	2018	AJC	0	8	AJC
GA	WAYNE COUNTY	-3	-20%	15	2012	AJC	12	2018	AJC	-3	15	AJC
GA	WEBSTER COUNTY	0	0%	1	2012	AJC	1	2018	AJC	0	1	AJC
GA	WHEELER COUNTY	0	0%	2	2012	AJC	2	2018	AJC	0	2	AJC
GA	WHITE COUNTY	0	0%	11	2012	AJC	11	2018	AJC	0	11	AJC
GA	WHITFIELD COUNTY	0	0%	23	2012	AJC	23	2018	AJC	0	23	AJC
GA	WILCOX COUNTY	0	0%	6	2012	AJC	6	2018	AJC	0	6	AJC
GA	WILKES COUNTY	0	0%	7	2012	AJC	7	2018	AJC	0	7	AJC
GA	WILKINSON COUNTY	0	0%	9	2012	AJC	9	2018	AJC	0	9	AJC
GA	WORTH COUNTY	0	0%	15	2012	AJC	15	2018	AJC	0	15	AJC
LA	ACADIA PARISH	0	0%	40	2012	EAWS	40	2018	Handcount	0	40	EAWS
LA	ALLEN PARISH	-1	-5%	22	2012	EAWS	21	2018	Handcount	-1	22	EAWS
LA	ASCENSION PARISH	3	9%	34	2012	EAWS	37	2018	Handcount	0	37	EAWS
LA	ASSUMPTION PARISH	-2	-12%	17	2012	EAWS	15	2018	Handcount	-1	16	EAWS

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		Changed	Changed	Election Count	Election Year	Election Source	Election Count	Election Year	Election Source	Midterm	Midterm Count	Midterm
LA	AVOYELLES PARISH	-1	-4%	28	2012	EAWS	27	2018	Handcount	0	27	EAWS
LA	BEAUREGARD PARISH	0	0%	28	2012	EAWS	28	2018	Handcount	0	28	EAWS
LA	BIENVILLE PARISH	-3	-14%	21	2012	EAWS	18	2018	Handcount	0	18	EAWS
LA	BOSSIER PARISH	-2	-4%	50	2012	EAWS	48	2018	Handcount	-1	49	EAWS
LA	CADDY PARISH	-6	-7%	88	2012	EAWS	82	2018	Handcount	-4	86	EAWS
LA	CALCASIEU PARISH	-4	-5%	78	2012	EAWS	74	2018	Handcount	-3	77	EAWS
LA	CALDWELL PARISH	0	0%	12	2012	EAWS	12	2018	Handcount	0	12	EAWS
LA	CAMERON PARISH	1	13%	8	2012	EAWS	9	2018	Handcount	1	8	EAWS
LA	CATAHOULA PARISH	-1	-6%	16	2012	EAWS	15	2018	Handcount	-1	16	EAWS
LA	CLAIBORNE PARISH	0	0%	8	2012	EAWS	8	2018	Handcount	0	8	EAWS
LA	CONCORDIA PARISH	-1	-6%	18	2012	EAWS	17	2018	Handcount	-1	18	EAWS
LA	DE SOTO PARISH	-2	-7%	27	2012	EAWS	25	2018	Handcount	1	24	EAWS
LA	EAST BATON ROUGE PARISH	-10	-7%	147	2012	EAWS	137	2018	Handcount	-8	145	EAWS
LA	EAST CARROLL PARISH	-1	-7%	14	2012	EAWS	13	2018	Handcount	-1	14	EAWS
LA	EAST FELICIANA PARISH	0	0%	12	2012	EAWS	12	2018	Handcount	0	12	EAWS
LA	EVANGELINE PARISH	-3	-9%	33	2012	EAWS	30	2018	Handcount	-1	31	EAWS
LA	FRANKLIN PARISH	0	0%	18	2012	EAWS	18	2018	Handcount	0	18	EAWS
LA	GRANT PARISH	-1	-7%	15	2012	EAWS	14	2018	Handcount	-1	15	EAWS
LA	IBERIA PARISH	0	0%	41	2012	EAWS	41	2018	Handcount	0	41	EAWS
LA	IBERVILLE PARISH	-2	-8%	25	2012	EAWS	23	2018	Handcount	-1	24	EAWS
LA	JACKSON PARISH	0	0%	14	2012	EAWS	14	2018	Handcount	0	14	EAWS
LA	JEFFERSON DAVIS PARISH	-1	-7%	15	2012	EAWS	14	2018	Handcount	0	14	EAWS
LA	JEFFERSON PARISH	-25	-15%	170	2012	EAWS	145	2018	Handcount	-24	169	EAWS
LA	LAFAYETTE PARISH	-10	-17%	58	2012	EAWS	48	2018	Handcount	1	47	EAWS
LA	LAFOURCHE PARISH	-1	-2%	48	2012	EAWS	47	2018	Handcount	0	47	EAWS
LA	LASALLE PARISH	-1	-4%	23	2012	EAWS	22	2018	Handcount	0	22	EAWS
LA	LINCOLN PARISH	-2	-8%	26	2012	EAWS	24	2018	Handcount	-1	25	EAWS
LA	LIVINGSTON PARISH	-1	-3%	37	2012	EAWS	36	2018	Handcount	-2	38	EAWS
LA	MADISON PARISH	0	0%	16	2012	EAWS	16	2018	Handcount	0	16	EAWS
LA	MOREHOUSE PARISH	-3	-14%	21	2012	EAWS	18	2018	Handcount	-1	19	EAWS

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LA	NATCHITOCHES PARISH	-1	-2%	42	2012	EAWS	41	2018	Handcount	-1	42	EAWS
LA	ORLEANS PARISH	-5	-4%	129	2012	EAWS	124	2018	Handcount	0	124	EAWS
LA	OUACHITA PARISH	-1	-2%	50	2012	EAWS	49	2018	Handcount	-1	50	EAWS
LA	PLAQUEMINES PARISH	-1	-10%	10	2012	EAWS	9	2018	Handcount	-1	10	EAWS
LA	POINTE COUPEE PARISH	-2	-10%	21	2012	EAWS	19	2018	Handcount	0	19	EAWS
LA	RAPIDES PARISH	-1	-1%	69	2012	EAWS	68	2018	Handcount	-1	69	EAWS
LA	RED RIVER PARISH	-1	-8%	13	2012	EAWS	12	2018	Handcount	-1	13	EAWS
LA	RICHLAND PARISH	-1	-6%	17	2012	EAWS	16	2018	Handcount	0	16	EAWS
LA	SABINE PARISH	-2	-7%	30	2012	EAWS	28	2018	Handcount	-1	29	EAWS
LA	ST. BERNARD PARISH	0	0%	10	2012	EAWS	10	2018	Handcount	0	10	EAWS
LA	ST. CHARLES PARISH	-3	-12%	26	2012	EAWS	23	2018	Handcount	-1	24	EAWS
LA	ST. HELENA PARISH	0	0%	9	2012	EAWS	9	2018	Handcount	0	9	EAWS
LA	ST. JAMES PARISH	-1	-8%	13	2012	EAWS	12	2018	Handcount	-1	13	EAWS
LA	ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST PA	0	0%	15	2012	EAWS	15	2018	Handcount	-1	16	EAWS
LA	ST. LANDRY PARISH	-3	-5%	59	2012	EAWS	56	2018	Handcount	-1	57	EAWS
LA	ST. MARTIN PARISH	-3	-10%	31	2012	EAWS	28	2018	Handcount	-3	31	EAWS
LA	ST. MARY PARISH	0	0%	45	2012	EAWS	45	2018	Handcount	0	45	EAWS
LA	ST. TAMMANY PARISH	3	5%	61	2012	EAWS	64	2018	Handcount	-1	65	EAWS
LA	TANGIPAHOA PARISH	0	0%	38	2012	EAWS	38	2018	Handcount	-1	39	EAWS
LA	TENSAS PARISH	-1	-11%	9	2012	EAWS	8	2018	Handcount	-1	9	EAWS
LA	TERREBONNE PARISH	-7	-12%	57	2012	EAWS	50	2018	Handcount	-3	53	EAWS
LA	UNION PARISH	-1	-5%	22	2012	EAWS	21	2018	Handcount	-1	22	EAWS
LA	VERMILION PARISH	-2	-7%	30	2012	EAWS	28	2018	Handcount	-2	30	EAWS
LA	VERNON PARISH	0	0%	30	2012	EAWS	30	2018	Handcount	0	30	EAWS
LA	WASHINGTON PARISH	0	0%	27	2012	EAWS	27	2018	Handcount	0	27	EAWS
LA	WEBSTER PARISH	0	0%	17	2012	EAWS	17	2018	Handcount	0	17	EAWS
LA	WEST BATON ROUGE PARISH	-1	-6%	16	2012	EAWS	15	2018	Handcount	-1	16	EAWS
LA	WEST CARROLL PARISH	0	0%	9	2012	EAWS	9	2018	Handcount	0	9	EAWS
LA	WEST FELICIANA PARISH	0	0%	12	2012	EAWS	12	2018	Handcount	0	12	EAWS
LA	WINN PARISH	-5	-24%	21	2012	EAWS	16	2018	Handcount	-1	17	EAWS

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MS	ADAMS COUNTY	-1	-5%	20	2012	Handcount	19	2018	Handcount	0	19	Handcount
MS	ALCORN COUNTY	0	0%	17	2014	Handcount	17	2018	Handcount	0	17	Handcount
MS	AMITE COUNTY	0	0%	21	2012	Handcount	21	2018	Handcount	0	21	EAWS
MS	ATTALA COUNTY	0	0%	20	2012	Handcount	20	2018	Handcount	1	19	Handcount
MS	BENTON COUNTY	0	0%	5	2014	Handcount	5	2018	Handcount	0	5	Handcount
MS	BOLIVAR COUNTY	-1	-3%	29	2012	Handcount	28	2018	Handcount	0	28	Handcount
MS	CALHOUN COUNTY	0	0%	10	2012	Handcount	10	2018	Handcount	0	10	Handcount
MS	CARROLL COUNTY	0	0%	13	2012	Handcount	13	2018	Handcount	-1	14	EAWS
MS	CHICKASAW COUNTY	2	15%	13	2012	Handcount	15	2018	Handcount	0	15	Handcount
MS	CHOCTAW COUNTY	2	15%	13	2012	EAWS	15	2018	Handcount	2	13	EAWS
MS	CLAIBORNE COUNTY	1	11%	9	2012	Handcount	10	2018	Handcount	1	9	Handcount
MS	CLARKE COUNTY	0	0%	23	2012	EAWS	23	2018	Handcount	0	23	EAWS
MS	CLAY COUNTY	0	0%	14	2012	EAWS	14	2018	Handcount	0	14	EAWS
MS	COAHOMA COUNTY	-1	-5%	19	2014	Handcount	18	2018	Handcount	-1	19	Handcount
MS	COPIAH COUNTY	0	0%	19	2012	Handcount	19	2018	Handcount	-1	20	EAWS
MS	COVINGTON COUNTY	-2	-11%	18	2012	EAWS	16	2018	Handcount	-2	18	EAWS
MS	DESOTO COUNTY	3	8%	38	2012	Handcount	41	2018	Handcount	2	39	EAWS
MS	FORREST COUNTY	-1	-3%	35	2014	Handcount	34	2018	Handcount	-1	35	Handcount
MS	FRANKLIN COUNTY	0	0%	14	2012	EAWS	14	2018	Handcount	0	14	EAWS
MS	GEORGE COUNTY	0	0%	22	2012	EAWS	22	2018	Handcount	0	22	EAWS
MS	GREENE COUNTY	0	0%	13	2012	Handcount	13	2018	Handcount	-1	14	EAWS
MS	GRENADA COUNTY	0	0%	12	2014	Handcount	12	2018	Handcount	0	12	Handcount
MS	HANCOCK COUNTY	0	0%	25	2014	Handcount	25	2018	Handcount	0	25	Handcount
MS	HARRISON COUNTY	-13	-20%	66	2012	EAWS	53	2018	Handcount	N/A	N/A	N/A
MS	HINDS COUNTY	-8	-7%	118	2012	Handcount	110	2018	Handcount	N/A	N/A	N/A
MS	HOLMES COUNTY	0	0%	17	2012	Handcount	17	2018	Handcount	0	17	Handcount
MS	HUMPHREYS COUNTY	0	0%	13	2012	Handcount	13	2018	Handcount	0	13	Handcount
MS	ISSAQUNA COUNTY	0	0%	5	2012	EAWS	5	2018	Handcount	0	5	EAWS
MS	ITAWAMBA COUNTY	-3	-11%	27	2012	EAWS	24	2018	Handcount	0	24	EAWS
MS	JACKSON COUNTY	1	3%	31	2012	EAWS	32	2018	Handcount	1	31	EAWS

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MS	JASPER COUNTY	-1	-6%	18	2012	Handcount	17	2018	Handcount	1	16	EAWS
MS	JEFFERSON COUNTY	-3	-20%	15	2012	Handcount	12	2018	Handcount	-2	14	Handcount
MS	JEFFERSON DAVIS COUNTY	-4	-19%	21	2014	Handcount	17	2018	Handcount	-4	21	Handcount
MS	JONES COUNTY	0	0%	37	2014	Handcount	37	2018	Handcount	0	37	Handcount
MS	KEMPER COUNTY	0	0%	14	2012	Handcount	14	2018	Handcount	1	13	Handcount
MS	LAFAYETTE COUNTY	0	0%	18	2012	Handcount	18	2018	Handcount	0	18	EAWS
MS	LAMAR COUNTY	2	10%	21	2014	Handcount	23	2018	Handcount	2	21	Handcount
MS	LAUDERDALE COUNTY	-9	-18%	49	2012	EAWS	40	2018	Handcount	-3	43	EAWS
MS	LAWRENCE COUNTY	-2	-8%	26	2014	Handcount	24	2018	Handcount	-2	26	Handcount
MS	LEAKE COUNTY	0	0%	19	2012	Handcount	19	2018	Handcount	0	19	Handcount
MS	LEE COUNTY	-2	-5%	38	2014	Handcount	36	2018	Handcount	-2	38	Handcount
MS	LEFLORE COUNTY	-1	-5%	19	2012	Handcount	18	2018	Handcount	-1	19	Handcount
MS	LINCOLN COUNTY	-2	-6%	32	2012	Handcount	30	2018	Handcount	N/A	N/A	N/A
MS	LOWNDES COUNTY	-1	-5%	22	2012	Handcount	21	2018	Handcount	-1	22	EAWS
MS	MADISON COUNTY	-1	-2%	43	2014	Handcount	42	2018	Handcount	-1	43	Handcount
MS	MARION COUNTY	-2	-8%	24	2012	EAWS	22	2018	Handcount	-1	23	EAWS
MS	MARSHALL COUNTY	0	0%	24	2012	Handcount	24	2018	Handcount	0	24	Handcount
MS	MONROE COUNTY	0	0%	26	2012	EAWS	26	2018	Handcount	0	26	EAWS
MS	MONTGOMERY COUNTY	-1	-6%	16	2012	Handcount	15	2018	Handcount	0	15	EAWS
MS	NESHoba COUNTY	0	0%	27	2012	Handcount	27	2018	Handcount	0	27	Handcount
MS	NEWTON COUNTY	-3	-16%	19	2012	Handcount	16	2018	Handcount	N/A	N/A	N/A
MS	NOXUBEE COUNTY	-2	-20%	10	2012	Handcount	8	2018	Handcount	-2	10	Handcount
MS	OKTIBBEHA COUNTY	0	0%	20	2012	Handcount	20	2018	Handcount	-1	21	EAWS
MS	PANOLA COUNTY	-2	-8%	24	2012	Handcount	22	2018	Handcount	-2	24	Handcount
MS	PEARL RIVER COUNTY	-13	-39%	33	2012	Handcount	20	2018	Handcount	-13	33	Handcount
MS	PERRY COUNTY	0	0%	15	2012	Handcount	15	2018	Handcount	-1	16	EAWS
MS	PIKE COUNTY	0	0%	25	2014	Handcount	25	2018	Handcount	0	25	Handcount
MS	PONTOTOC COUNTY	-1	-3%	29	2012	Handcount	28	2018	Handcount	0	28	EAWS
MS	PRENTISS COUNTY	0	0%	15	2012	EAWS	15	2018	Handcount	0	15	EAWS
MS	QUITMAN COUNTY	1	11%	9	2012	EAWS	10	2018	Handcount	0	10	EAWS

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MS	RANKIN COUNTY	-4	-8%	53	2012	EAWS	49	2018	Handcount	-1	50	EAWS
MS	SCOTT COUNTY	-2	-8%	25	2014	Handcount	23	2018	Handcount	-2	25	Handcount
MS	SHARKEY COUNTY	0	0%	10	2012	EAWS	10	2018	Handcount	N/A	N/A	N/A
MS	SIMPSON COUNTY	0	0%	23	2014	Handcount	23	2018	Handcount	0	23	Handcount
MS	SMITH COUNTY	0	0%	18	2012	EAWS	18	2018	Handcount	N/A	N/A	N/A
MS	STONE COUNTY	0	0%	15	2012	EAWS	15	2018	Handcount	0	15	EAWS
MS	SUNFLOWER COUNTY	0	0%	17	2014	Handcount	17	2018	Handcount	0	17	Handcount
MS	TALLAHATCHIE COUNTY	0	0%	21	2012	Handcount	21	2018	Handcount	0	21	Handcount
MS	TATE COUNTY	1	5%	19	2012	Handcount	20	2018	Handcount	0	20	EAWS
MS	TIPPAH COUNTY	0	0%	24	2012	EAWS	24	2018	Handcount	0	24	EAWS
MS	TISHOMINGO COUNTY	-5	-26%	19	2012	Handcount	14	2018	Handcount	0	14	EAWS
MS	TUNICA COUNTY	0	0%	12	2014	Handcount	12	2018	Handcount	0	12	Handcount
MS	UNION COUNTY	0	0%	20	2014	Handcount	20	2018	Handcount	0	20	Handcount
MS	WALTHALL COUNTY	-1	-5%	21	2012	Handcount	20	2018	Handcount	-1	21	Handcount
MS	WARREN COUNTY	1	5%	22	2012	Handcount	23	2018	Handcount	1	22	Handcount
MS	WASHINGTON COUNTY	0	0%	19	2012	Handcount	19	2018	Handcount	0	19	Handcount
MS	WAYNE COUNTY	0	0%	22	2014	EAWS	22	2018	Handcount	0	22	EAWS
MS	WEBSTER COUNTY	0	0%	17	2012	Handcount	17	2018	Handcount	0	17	EAWS
MS	WILKINSON COUNTY	0	0%	9	2014	Handcount	9	2018	Handcount	0	9	Handcount
MS	WINSTON COUNTY	0	0%	12	2012	EAWS	12	2018	Handcount	0	12	EAWS
MS	YALOBUSHA COUNTY	-2	-15%	13	2012	EAWS	11	2018	Handcount	N/A	N/A	N/A
MS	YAZOO COUNTY	-2	-8%	25	2012	Handcount	23	2018	Handcount	-2	25	Handcount
NC	ANSON COUNTY	0	0%	11	2012	Handcount	11	2018	Handcount	0	11	Handcount
NC	BEAUFORT COUNTY	0	0%	20	2012	Handcount	20	2018	Handcount	0	20	Handcount
NC	BERTIE COUNTY	0	0%	11	2012	Handcount	11	2018	Handcount	0	11	Handcount
NC	BLADEN COUNTY	0	0%	17	2012	Handcount	17	2018	Handcount	0	17	Handcount
NC	CAMDEN COUNTY	0	0%	3	2012	Handcount	3	2018	Handcount	0	3	Handcount
NC	CASWELL COUNTY	-1	-10%	10	2012	Handcount	9	2018	Handcount	-1	10	Handcount
NC	CHOWAN COUNTY	0	0%	6	2012	Handcount	6	2018	Handcount	0	6	Handcount
NC	CLEVELAND COUNTY	-5	-19%	26	2012	Handcount	21	2018	Handcount	0	21	Handcount

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NC	CRAVEN COUNTY	-3	-11%	27	2012	Handcount	24	2018	Handcount	-2	26	Handcount
NC	CUMBERLAND COUNTY	0	0%	77	2012	Handcount	77	2018	Handcount	0	77	Handcount
NC	EDGECOMBE COUNTY	0	0%	21	2012	Handcount	21	2018	Handcount	0	21	Handcount
NC	FRANKLIN COUNTY	0	0%	18	2012	Handcount	18	2018	Handcount	0	18	Handcount
NC	GASTON COUNTY	0	0%	46	2012	Handcount	46	2018	Handcount	0	46	Handcount
NC	GATES COUNTY	0	0%	6	2012	Handcount	6	2018	Handcount	0	6	Handcount
NC	GRANVILLE COUNTY	0	0%	15	2012	Handcount	15	2018	Handcount	0	15	Handcount
NC	GREENE COUNTY	0	0%	10	2012	Handcount	10	2018	Handcount	0	10	Handcount
NC	GUILFORD COUNTY	0	0%	165	2012	Handcount	165	2018	Handcount	0	165	Handcount
NC	HALIFAX COUNTY	-4	-16%	25	2012	Handcount	21	2018	Handcount	-4	25	Handcount
NC	HARNETT COUNTY	1	8%	12	2012	Handcount	13	2018	Handcount	0	13	Handcount
NC	HERTFORD COUNTY	0	0%	13	2012	Handcount	13	2018	Handcount	0	13	Handcount
NC	HOKER COUNTY	1	7%	14	2012	Handcount	15	2018	Handcount	0	15	Handcount
NC	JACKSON COUNTY	-1	-7%	15	2012	Handcount	14	2018	Handcount	0	14	Handcount
NC	LEE COUNTY	0	0%	10	2012	Handcount	10	2018	Handcount	0	10	Handcount
NC	LENOIR COUNTY	0	0%	22	2012	Handcount	22	2018	Handcount	0	22	Handcount
NC	MARTIN COUNTY	-1	-8%	12	2012	Handcount	11	2018	Handcount	0	11	Handcount
NC	NASH COUNTY	-3	-11%	27	2012	Handcount	24	2018	Handcount	-3	27	Handcount
NC	NORTHAMPTON COUNTY	0	0%	18	2012	Handcount	18	2018	Handcount	0	18	Handcount
NC	ONSLOW COUNTY	0	0%	24	2012	Handcount	24	2018	Handcount	0	24	Handcount
NC	PASQUOTANK COUNTY	-4	-31%	13	2012	Handcount	9	2018	Handcount	-4	13	Handcount
NC	PERQUIMANS COUNTY	0	0%	7	2012	Handcount	7	2018	Handcount	0	7	Handcount
NC	PERSON COUNTY	-3	-21%	14	2012	Handcount	11	2018	Handcount	-3	14	Handcount
NC	PITT COUNTY	0	0%	40	2012	Handcount	40	2018	Handcount	0	40	Handcount
NC	ROBESON COUNTY	-4	-10%	42	2012	Handcount	38	2018	Handcount	-1	39	Handcount
NC	ROCKINGHAM COUNTY	0	0%	15	2012	Handcount	15	2018	Handcount	0	15	Handcount
NC	SCOTLAND COUNTY	0	0%	10	2012	Handcount	10	2018	Handcount	0	10	Handcount
NC	UNION COUNTY	0	0%	52	2012	Handcount	52	2018	Handcount	0	52	Handcount
NC	VANCE COUNTY	0	0%	12	2012	Handcount	12	2018	Handcount	0	12	Handcount
NC	WASHINGTON COUNTY	0	0%	6	2012	Handcount	6	2018	Handcount	0	6	Handcount

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NC	WAYNE COUNTY	0	0%	29	2012	Handcount	29	2018	Handcount	0	29	Handcount
NC	WILSON COUNTY	0	0%	24	2012	Handcount	24	2018	Handcount	0	24	Handcount
NY	BRONX COUNTY	-8	-4%	198	2016	EAWS	190	2018	EAWS	N/A	N/A	N/A
NY	KINGS COUNTY	-6	-1%	404	2016	EAWS	398	2018	EAWS	N/A	N/A	N/A
NY	NEW YORK COUNTY	12	5%	265	2016	EAWS	277	2018	EAWS	N/A	N/A	N/A
SC	ABBEVILLE COUNTY	0	0%	14	2012	Handcount	14	2018	Handcount	0	14	Handcount
SC	AIKEN COUNTY	4	6%	69	2012	Handcount	73	2018	Handcount	4	69	Handcount
SC	ALLENDALE COUNTY	0	0%	8	2012	Handcount	8	2018	Handcount	0	8	Handcount
SC	ANDERSON COUNTY	3	4%	75	2012	Handcount	78	2018	Handcount	0	78	Handcount
SC	BAMBERG COUNTY	0	0%	12	2012	Handcount	12	2018	Handcount	0	12	Handcount
SC	BARNWELL COUNTY	-1	-10%	10	2012	Handcount	9	2018	Handcount	-1	10	Handcount
SC	BEAUFORT COUNTY	-1	-2%	58	2012	Handcount	57	2018	Handcount	0	57	Handcount
SC	BERKELEY COUNTY	7	15%	48	2012	Handcount	55	2018	Handcount	8	47	Handcount
SC	CALHOUN COUNTY	0	0%	12	2012	Handcount	12	2018	Handcount	0	12	Handcount
SC	CHARLESTON COUNTY	-10	-10%	105	2012	Handcount	95	2018	Handcount	-8	103	Handcount
SC	CHEROKEE COUNTY	0	0%	29	2012	Handcount	29	2018	Handcount	0	29	Handcount
SC	CHESTER COUNTY	1	5%	20	2012	Handcount	21	2018	Handcount	0	21	Handcount
SC	CHESTERFIELD COUNTY	0	0%	25	2012	Handcount	25	2018	Handcount	0	25	Handcount
SC	CLARENDON COUNTY	0	0%	25	2012	Handcount	25	2018	Handcount	0	25	Handcount
SC	COLLETON COUNTY	1	3%	31	2012	Handcount	32	2018	Handcount	0	32	Handcount
SC	DARLINGTON COUNTY	0	0%	32	2012	Handcount	32	2018	Handcount	0	32	Handcount
SC	DILLON COUNTY	0	0%	20	2012	Handcount	20	2018	Handcount	0	20	Handcount
SC	DORCHESTER COUNTY	-3	-8%	40	2012	Handcount	37	2018	Handcount	-3	40	Handcount
SC	EDGEFIELD COUNTY	1	10%	10	2012	Handcount	11	2018	Handcount	0	11	Handcount
SC	FAIRFIELD COUNTY	0	0%	20	2012	Handcount	20	2018	Handcount	0	20	Handcount
SC	FLORENCE COUNTY	-2	-3%	61	2012	Handcount	59	2018	Handcount	-1	60	Handcount
SC	GEORGETOWN COUNTY	1	3%	31	2012	Handcount	32	2018	Handcount	0	32	Handcount
SC	GREENVILLE COUNTY	0	0%	150	2012	Handcount	150	2018	Handcount	0	150	Handcount
SC	GREENWOOD COUNTY	5	11%	45	2012	Handcount	50	2018	Handcount	1	49	Handcount
SC	HAMPTON COUNTY	0	0%	15	2012	Handcount	15	2018	Handcount	0	15	Handcount

State	County	#	%	Benchmark	Benchmark	Benchmark	Post-Shelby	Post-Shelby	Post-Shelby	Midterm	2014	2014
		Changed	Changed	Election Count	Year	Source	Election Count	Year	Source	Midterm	Midterm Count	Midterm Source
SC	HORRY COUNTY	5	4%	117	2012	Handcount	122	2018	Handcount	4	118	Handcount
SC	JASPER COUNTY	1	8%	13	2012	Handcount	14	2018	Handcount	0	14	Handcount
SC	KERSHAW COUNTY	-1	-3%	34	2012	Handcount	33	2018	Handcount	1	32	Handcount
SC	LANCASTER COUNTY	7	24%	29	2012	Handcount	36	2018	Handcount	7	29	Handcount
SC	LAURENS COUNTY	0	0%	34	2012	Handcount	34	2018	Handcount	0	34	Handcount
SC	LEE COUNTY	0	0%	22	2012	Handcount	22	2018	Handcount	0	22	Handcount
SC	LEXINGTON COUNTY	3	3%	91	2012	Handcount	94	2018	Handcount	-1	95	Handcount
SC	MARION COUNTY	0	0%	17	2012	Handcount	17	2018	Handcount	0	17	Handcount
SC	MARBORO COUNTY	0	0%	15	2012	Handcount	15	2018	Handcount	0	15	Handcount
SC	MCCORMICK COUNTY	1	10%	10	2012	Handcount	11	2018	Handcount	0	11	Handcount
SC	NEWBERRY COUNTY	0	0%	29	2012	Handcount	29	2018	Handcount	0	29	Handcount
SC	OCONEE COUNTY	0	0%	26	2012	Handcount	26	2018	Handcount	0	26	Handcount
SC	ORANGEBURG COUNTY	0	0%	45	2012	Handcount	45	2018	Handcount	0	45	Handcount
SC	PICKENS COUNTY	0	0%	55	2012	Handcount	55	2018	Handcount	0	55	Handcount
SC	RICHLAND COUNTY	20	16%	122	2012	Handcount	142	2018	Handcount	0	142	Handcount
SC	SALUDA COUNTY	0	0%	18	2012	Handcount	18	2018	Handcount	0	18	Handcount
SC	SPARTANBURG COUNTY	0	0%	97	2012	Handcount	97	2018	Handcount	1	96	Handcount
SC	SUMTER COUNTY	0	0%	46	2012	Handcount	46	2018	Handcount	0	46	Handcount
SC	UNION COUNTY	0	0%	23	2012	Handcount	23	2018	Handcount	0	23	Handcount
SC	WILLIAMSBURG COUNTY	0	0%	28	2012	Handcount	28	2018	Handcount	0	28	Handcount
SC	YORK COUNTY	3	3%	86	2012	Handcount	89	2018	Handcount	0	89	Handcount
SD	SHANNON/OGLALA LAKOTA COUNTY	-1	-11%	9	2012	EAWS	8	2018	Handcount	-1	9	EAWS
SD	TODD COUNTY	0	0%	8	2012	EAWS	8	2018	Handcount	-1	9	EAWS
TX	ANDERSON COUNTY	0	0%	22	2012	EAWS	22	2018	Handcount	0	22	EAWS
TX	ANDREWS COUNTY	0	0%	1	2012	EAWS	1	2018	EAWS	-1	2	EAWS
TX	ANGELINA COUNTY	-4	-13%	31	2012	EAWS	27	2018	Handcount	-3	30	EAWS
TX	ARANSAS COUNTY	-3	-50%	6	2012	EAWS	3	2018	Handcount	-3	6	EAWS
TX	ARCHER COUNTY	-3	-27%	11	2012	EAWS	8	2018	Handcount	-3	11	EAWS
TX	ARMSTRONG COUNTY	-3	-50%	6	2012	EAWS	3	2018	Handcount	-3	6	EAWS
TX	ATASCOSA COUNTY	0	0%	23	2012	EAWS	23	2018	Handcount	0	23	EAWS

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		Changed	Changed	Election Count	Election Year	Election Source	Election Count	Election Year	Election Source	Midterm to Midterm	Midterm Count	Midterm Source
TX	AUSTIN COUNTY	-2	-11%	18	2012	EAWS	16	2018	Handcount	N/A	N/A	N/A
TX	BAILEY COUNTY	0	0%	1	2012	EAWS	1	2018	EAWS	-1	2	EAWS
TX	BANDERA COUNTY	0	0%	10	2012	EAWS	10	2018	Handcount	0	10	EAWS
TX	BASTROP COUNTY	1	5%	20	2012	EAWS	21	2016	Handcount	1	20	EAWS
TX	BAYLOR COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	EAWS	4	2018	EAWS	N/A	N/A	N/A
TX	BEE COUNTY	-7	-41%	17	2014	EAWS	10	2018	Handcount	-7	17	EAWS
TX	BELL COUNTY	-1	-2%	47	2012	EAWS	46	2018	Handcount	0	46	EAWS
TX	BEXAR COUNTY	0	0%	302	2012	EAWS	302	2018	Handcount	-4	306	EAWS
TX	BLANCO COUNTY	0	0%	6	2012	EAWS	6	2016	Handcount	2	4	EAWS
TX	BORDEN COUNTY	-1	-14%	7	2012	EAWS	6	2018	Handcount	-2	8	EAWS
TX	BOSQUE COUNTY	-5	-36%	14	2012	EAWS	9	2018	Handcount	-2	11	EAWS
TX	BOWIE COUNTY	-3	-9%	35	2012	EAWS	32	2018	Handcount	-3	35	EAWS
TX	BRAZORIA COUNTY	-37	-59%	63	2012	EAWS	26	2018	Handcount	-38	64	EAWS
TX	BRAZOS COUNTY	-11	-31%	36	2012	EAWS	25	2018	Handcount	-11	36	EAWS
TX	BREWSTER COUNTY	-1	-13%	8	2012	EAWS	7	2018	Handcount	-2	9	EAWS
TX	BRISCOE COUNTY	0	0%	5	2012	EAWS	5	2018	Handcount	0	5	EAWS
TX	BROOKS COUNTY	-3	-33%	9	2014	EAWS	6	2018	Handcount	-3	9	EAWS
TX	BROWN COUNTY	-1	-6%	16	2012	EAWS	15	2018	Handcount	-1	16	EAWS
TX	BURLESON COUNTY	-1	-7%	14	2012	EAWS	13	2018	Handcount	-1	14	EAWS
TX	BURNET COUNTY	0	0%	20	2012	EAWS	20	2018	Handcount	0	20	EAWS
TX	CALDWELL COUNTY	-13	-52%	25	2012	EAWS	12	2018	Handcount	-5	17	EAWS
TX	CALHOUN COUNTY	-7	-30%	23	2012	EAWS	16	2018	Handcount	-8	24	EAWS
TX	CALLAHAN COUNTY	-3	-43%	7	2012	EAWS	4	2018	Handcount	-2	6	EAWS
TX	CAMERON COUNTY	-7	-8%	83	2012	EAWS	76	2018	Handcount	-1	77	EAWS
TX	CAMP COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	EAWS	4	2018	Handcount	0	4	EAWS
TX	CARSON COUNTY	0	0%	8	2014	EAWS	8	2016	Handcount	0	8	EAWS
TX	CASS COUNTY	0	0%	18	2012	EAWS	18	2018	Handcount	0	18	EAWS
TX	CASTRO COUNTY	0	0%	8	2012	EAWS	8	2018	EAWS	0	8	N/A
TX	CHAMBERS COUNTY	0	0%	14	2012	EAWS	14	2018	Handcount	1	13	EAWS
TX	CHEROKEE COUNTY	-2	-8%	25	2012	EAWS	23	2018	Handcount	-1	24	EAWS

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TX	CHILDRESS COUNTY	-1	-25%	4	2012	EAWS	3	2018	EAWS	-1	4	EAWS
TX	CLAY COUNTY	0	0%	16	2012	EAWS	16	2016	Handcount	0	16	EAWS
TX	COCHRAN COUNTY	-2	-40%	5	2012	EAWS	3	2018	Handcount	-3	6	EAWS
TX	COKE COUNTY	-2	-50%	4	2012	EAWS	2	2018	Handcount	-2	4	EAWS
TX	COLEMAN COUNTY	-1	-20%	5	2012	EAWS	4	2018	Handcount	0	4	EAWS
TX	COLLIN COUNTY	2	3%	67	2012	EAWS	69	2018	Handcount	2	67	EAWS
TX	COLLINGSWORTH COUNTY	1	14%	7	2012	EAWS	8	2016	EAWS	0	8	EAWS
TX	COLORADO COUNTY	-1	-8%	12	2012	EAWS	11	2018	Handcount	-2	13	EAWS
TX	COMAL COUNTY	2	9%	22	2012	EAWS	24	2018	Handcount	1	23	EAWS
TX	COMANCHE COUNTY	-3	-21%	14	2012	EAWS	11	2018	Handcount	-2	13	EAWS
TX	CONCHO COUNTY	0	0%	8	2012	EAWS	8	2018	Handcount	0	8	EAWS
TX	COOKE COUNTY	0	0%	16	2012	EAWS	16	2018	Handcount	16	0	EAWS
TX	CORYELL COUNTY	-7	-47%	15	2012	EAWS	8	2018	Handcount	-2	10	EAWS
TX	COTTLE COUNTY	2	100%	2	2014	EAWS	4	2018	EAWS	2	2	EAWS
TX	CRANE COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	EAWS	4	2018	Handcount	0	4	EAWS
TX	CROCKETT COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	EAWS	4	2018	Handcount	0	4	EAWS
TX	CULBERSON COUNTY	0	0%	5	2012	EAWS	5	2018	Handcount	-1	6	EAWS
TX	DALLAM COUNTY	0	0%	2	2014	EAWS	2	2018	Handcount	0	2	EAWS
TX	DALLAS COUNTY	-74	-15%	485	2012	EAWS	411	2018	Handcount	-78	489	EAWS
TX	DAWSON COUNTY	0	0%	9	2012	EAWS	9	2018	Handcount	0	9	EAWS
TX	DEAF SMITH COUNTY	2	50%	4	2012	EAWS	6	2018	Handcount	2	4	EAWS
TX	DENTON COUNTY	-3	-3%	97	2012	EAWS	94	2018	EAWS	-9	103	EAWS
TX	DEWITT COUNTY	-1	-13%	8	2012	EAWS	7	2018	Handcount	-2	9	EAWS
TX	DICKENS COUNTY	0	0%	6	2012	EAWS	6	2018	Handcount	N/A	N/A	N/A
TX	DIMMIT COUNTY	0	0%	7	2012	EAWS	7	2018	EAWS	N/A	N/A	EAWS
TX	DONLEY COUNTY	0	0%	6	2012	EAWS	6	2018	Handcount	-1	7	EAWS
TX	DUVAL COUNTY	0	0%	9	2012	EAWS	9	2018	EAWS	0	9	EAWS
TX	EASTLAND COUNTY	0	0%	9	2012	EAWS	9	2018	Handcount	0	9	EAWS
TX	ECTOR COUNTY	-3	-11%	28	2012	EAWS	25	2018	Handcount	-11	36	EAWS
TX	EDWARDS COUNTY	0	0%	5	2012	EAWS	5	2018	Handcount	0	5	EAWS

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		Changed	Changed	Election Count	Election Year	Election Source	Election Count	Election Year	Election Source	Midterm	to Midterm	Midterm Count
TX	EL PASO COUNTY	-6	-4%	150	2014	EAWS	144	2018	Handcount	-6	150	EAWS
TX	ELLIS COUNTY	-2	-5%	39	2012	EAWS	37	2016	Handcount	-4	41	EAWS
TX	ERATH COUNTY	-1	-9%	11	2012	EAWS	10	2018	Handcount	0	10	EAWS
TX	FALLS COUNTY	0	0%	13	2012	EAWS	13	2018	Handcount	N/A	N/A	N/A
TX	FANNIN COUNTY	0	0%	16	2012	EAWS	16	2018	Handcount	-1	17	EAWS
TX	FAYETTE COUNTY	0	0%	26	2012	EAWS	26	2018	Handcount	0	26	EAWS
TX	FISHER COUNTY	-6	-60%	10	2012	EAWS	4	2018	Handcount	-6	10	EAWS
TX	FLOYD COUNTY	0	0%	2	2012	EAWS	2	2018	Handcount	0	2	EAWS
TX	FOARD COUNTY	0	0%	2	2012	EAWS	2	2018	EAWS	0	2	EAWS
TX	FORT BEND COUNTY	-18	-18%	101	2014	EAWS	83	2016	Handcount	-18	101	EAWS
TX	FRANKLIN COUNTY	0	0%	8	2012	EAWS	8	2018	Handcount	0	8	EAWS
TX	FREESTONE COUNTY	0	0%	15	2012	EAWS	15	2018	Handcount	0	15	EAWS
TX	FRIO COUNTY	-1	-10%	10	2012	EAWS	9	2018	Handcount	0	9	EAWS
TX	GAINES COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	EAWS	4	2018	Handcount	0	4	EAWS
TX	GALVESTON COUNTY	-10	-22%	45	2012	EAWS	35	2018	Handcount	1	34	EAWS
TX	GARZA COUNTY	0	0%	6	2012	EAWS	6	2018	Handcount	-1	7	EAWS
TX	GILLESPIE COUNTY	0	0%	13	2012	EAWS	13	2018	Handcount	0	13	EAWS
TX	GLASSCOCK COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	EAWS	4	2018	Handcount	0	4	EAWS
TX	GOLIAD COUNTY	0	0%	9	2012	EAWS	9	2018	Handcount	0	9	EAWS
TX	GONZALES COUNTY	0	0%	14	2012	EAWS	14	2018	Handcount	0	14	EAWS
TX	GRAY COUNTY	0	0%	7	2012	EAWS	7	2018	Handcount	0	7	EAWS
TX	GRAYSON COUNTY	-13	-36%	36	2012	EAWS	23	2016	Handcount	0	23	EAWS
TX	GREGG COUNTY	-3	-14%	21	2012	EAWS	18	2018	Handcount	-3	21	EAWS
TX	GRIMES COUNTY	1	7%	14	2012	EAWS	15	2018	Handcount	15	0	EAWS
TX	GUADALUPE COUNTY	-1	-3%	35	2012	EAWS	34	2018	Handcount	-1	35	EAWS
TX	HALE COUNTY	0	0%	15	2012	EAWS	15	2018	EAWS	0	15	N/A
TX	HALL COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	EAWS	4	2018	EAWS	-1	5	EAWS
TX	HAMILTON COUNTY	-2	-18%	11	2012	EAWS	9	2018	Handcount	-2	11	EAWS
TX	HANSFORD COUNTY	-1	-13%	8	2012	EAWS	7	2018	EAWS	-1	8	EAWS
TX	HARDEMAN COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	EAWS	4	2018	EAWS	0	4	EAWS

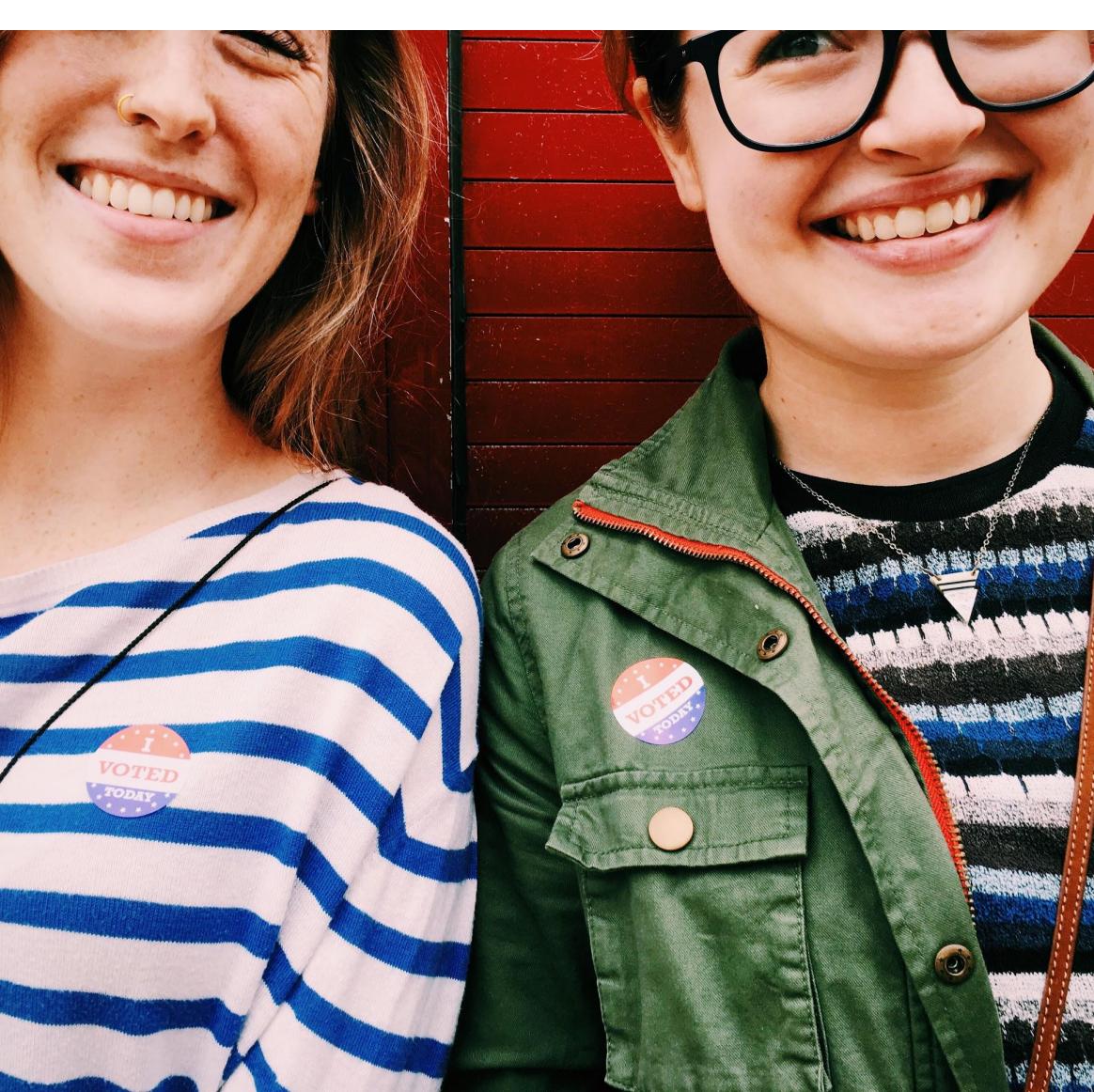
State	County	#	%	Benchmark	Benchmark	Benchmark	Post-Shelby	Post-Shelby	Post-Shelby	Midterm	2014	2014
		Changed	Changed	Election Count	Election Year	Election Source	Election Count	Election Year	Election Source	Midterm	to Midterm	Count
TX	HARDIN COUNTY	0	0%	19	2012	EAWS	19	2018	Handcount	19	0	EAWS
TX	HARRIS COUNTY	-52	-7%	776	2012	EAWS	724	2018	Handcount	-46	770	EAWS
TX	HARRISON COUNTY	0	0%	26	2012	EAWS	26	2018	Handcount	0	26	EAWS
TX	HARTLEY COUNTY	0	0%	3	2012	EAWS	3	2018	Handcount	0	3	EAWS
TX	HASKELL COUNTY	0	0%	10	2014	EAWS	10	2018	Handcount	0	10	EAWS
TX	HAYS COUNTY	0	0%	37	2012	EAWS	37	2018	Handcount	1	36	EAWS
TX	HEMPHILL COUNTY	-1	-11%	9	2014	EAWS	8	2018	EAWS	-1	9	EAWS
TX	HENDERSON COUNTY	0	0%	26	2012	EAWS	26	2018	Handcount	0	26	EAWS
TX	HIDALGO COUNTY	0	0%	74	2012	EAWS	74	2018	Handcount	-1	75	EAWS
TX	HILL COUNTY	0	0%	22	2012	EAWS	22	2018	Handcount	0	22	EAWS
TX	HOCKLEY COUNTY	1	7%	14	2012	EAWS	15	2018	Handcount	1	14	EAWS
TX	HOOD COUNTY	-5	-33%	15	2014	EAWS	10	2018	Handcount	-5	15	EAWS
TX	HOPKINS COUNTY	-9	-43%	21	2012	EAWS	12	2018	Handcount	-9	21	EAWS
TX	HOUSTON COUNTY	1	5%	21	2012	EAWS	22	2018	Handcount	1	21	EAWS
TX	HOWARD COUNTY	-1	-17%	6	2012	EAWS	5	2018	Handcount	-1	6	EAWS
TX	HUDSPETH COUNTY	0	0%	5	2012	EAWS	5	2018	EAWS	0	5	EAWS
TX	HUNT COUNTY	-1	-3%	34	2012	EAWS	33	2018	Handcount	-1	34	EAWS
TX	HUTCHINSON COUNTY	0	0%	8	2012	EAWS	8	2018	Handcount	0	8	EAWS
TX	IRION COUNTY	-1	-50%	2	2012	EAWS	1	2018	Handcount	-1	2	EAWS
TX	JACK COUNTY	-2	-33%	6	2012	EAWS	4	2018	Handcount	-4	8	EAWS
TX	JACKSON COUNTY	0	0%	9	2012	EAWS	9	2018	Handcount	-1	10	EAWS
TX	JASPER COUNTY	1	5%	20	2012	EAWS	21	2016	Handcount	1	20	EAWS
TX	JEFF DAVIS COUNTY	0	0%	5	2012	EAWS	5	2018	Handcount	-1	6	EAWS
TX	JEFFERSON COUNTY	-18	-32%	57	2012	EAWS	39	2018	Handcount	-1	40	EAWS
TX	JIM HOGG COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	EAWS	4	2016	Handcount	-1	5	EAWS
TX	JIM WELLS COUNTY	0	0%	21	2012	EAWS	21	2018	EAWS	0	21	EAWS
TX	JOHNSON COUNTY	-3	-10%	31	2012	EAWS	28	2018	Handcount	-1	29	EAWS
TX	JONES COUNTY	-1	-9%	11	2012	EAWS	10	2018	Handcount	-1	11	EAWS
TX	KARNES COUNTY	2	15%	13	2014	EAWS	15	2018	Handcount	2	13	EAWS
TX	KAUFMAN COUNTY	0	0%	30	2012	EAWS	30	2018	Handcount	0	30	EAWS

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TX	KENDALL COUNTY	-7	-39%	18	2012	EAWS	11	2018	Handcount	-5	16	EAWS
TX	KENEDY COUNTY	0	0%	6	2012	EAWS	6	2016	Handcount	0	6	EAWS
TX	KENT COUNTY	-1	-17%	6	2012	EAWS	5	2018	Handcount	-1	6	EAWS
TX	KERR COUNTY	0	0%	20	2012	EAWS	20	2016	Handcount	0	20	EAWS
TX	KIMBLE COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	EAWS	4	2018	EAWS	0	4	EAWS
TX	KING COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	EAWS	4	2018	EAWS	0	4	EAWS
TX	KINNEY COUNTY	0	0%	4	2014	EAWS	4	2016	Handcount	0	4	EAWS
TX	KLEBERG COUNTY	5	42%	12	2012	EAWS	17	2018	Handcount	-1	18	EAWS
TX	KNOX COUNTY	-3	-50%	6	2012	EAWS	3	2018	Handcount	-3	6	EAWS
TX	LA SALLE COUNTY	2	50%	4	2012	EAWS	6	2018	Handcount	0	6	EAWS
TX	LAMAR COUNTY	-1	-3%	33	2012	EAWS	32	2018	Handcount	0	32	EAWS
TX	LAMB COUNTY	-3	-33%	9	2012	EAWS	6	2018	Handcount	-6	12	EAWS
TX	LAMPASAS COUNTY	0	0%	5	2012	EAWS	5	2018	Handcount	0	5	EAWS
TX	LAVACA COUNTY	0	0%	19	2012	EAWS	19	2018	Handcount	0	19	EAWS
TX	LEE COUNTY	-7	-47%	15	2012	EAWS	8	2018	Handcount	-7	15	EAWS
TX	LEON COUNTY	0	0%	14	2012	EAWS	14	2018	Handcount	0	14	EAWS
TX	LIBERTY COUNTY	0	0%	30	2012	EAWS	30	2018	Handcount	0	30	EAWS
TX	LIMESTONE COUNTY	0	0%	21	2012	EAWS	21	2018	Handcount	0	21	EAWS
TX	LIPSCOMB COUNTY	0	0%	4	2014	EAWS	4	2018	EAWS	0	4	EAWS
TX	LIVE OAK COUNTY	-1	-7%	14	2012	EAWS	13	2018	Handcount	0	13	EAWS
TX	LLANO COUNTY	0	0%	9	2012	EAWS	9	2018	Handcount	0	9	EAWS
TX	LOVING COUNTY	-3	-75%	4	2012	EAWS	1	2018	Handcount	0	1	EAWS
TX	LUBBOCK COUNTY	0	0%	37	2012	EAWS	37	2018	Handcount	1	36	EAWS
TX	LYNN COUNTY	0	0%	10	2012	EAWS	10	2018	Handcount	0	10	EAWS
TX	MADISON COUNTY	1	25%	4	2012	EAWS	5	2018	Handcount	-1	6	EAWS
TX	MARION COUNTY	0	0%	10	2012	EAWS	10	2018	Handcount	0	10	EAWS
TX	MARTIN COUNTY	-1	-33%	3	2012	EAWS	2	2016	EAWS	-5	7	EAWS
TX	MASON COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	EAWS	4	2018	EAWS	N/A	N/A	N/A
TX	MATAGORDA COUNTY	0	0%	18	2012	EAWS	18	2016	Handcount	0	18	EAWS
TX	MAVERICK COUNTY	-1	-7%	14	2012	EAWS	13	2018	Handcount	-1	14	EAWS

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TX	MCCULLOCH COUNTY	1	14%	7	2012	EAWS	8	2018	Handcount	-1	9	EAWS
TX	MCLENNAN COUNTY	-30	-51%	59	2012	EAWS	29	2018	Handcount	-11	40	EAWS
TX	MCMULLEN COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	EAWS	4	2018	Handcount	0	4	EAWS
TX	MEDINA COUNTY	-6	-46%	13	2012	EAWS	7	2018	Handcount	N/A	N/A	N/A
TX	MENARD COUNTY	0	0%	3	2012	EAWS	3	2018	EAWS	0	3	EAWS
TX	MIDLAND COUNTY	0	0%	20	2012	EAWS	20	2018	Handcount	0	20	EAWS
TX	MILAM COUNTY	-3	-27%	11	2012	EAWS	8	2018	Handcount	-3	11	EAWS
TX	MILLS COUNTY	0	0%	7	2012	EAWS	7	2018	Handcount	0	7	EAWS
TX	MITCHELL COUNTY	0	0%	6	2012	EAWS	6	2018	Handcount	0	6	EAWS
TX	MONTAGUE COUNTY	-6	-38%	16	2012	EAWS	10	2018	Handcount	0	10	EAWS
TX	MONTGOMERY COUNTY	8	9%	86	2012	EAWS	94	2018	Handcount	5	89	EAWS
TX	MOORE COUNTY	0	0%	7	2016	Handcount	7	2018	Handcount	N/A	N/A	N/A
TX	MORRIS COUNTY	-2	-25%	8	2012	EAWS	6	2018	Handcount	-2	8	EAWS
TX	NACOGDOCHES COUNTY	0	0%	17	2012	EAWS	17	2018	Handcount	0	17	EAWS
TX	NAVARRO COUNTY	-10	-33%	30	2012	EAWS	20	2018	Handcount	-2	22	EAWS
TX	NEWTON COUNTY	-6	-27%	22	2012	EAWS	16	2018	Handcount	-6	22	EAWS
TX	NOLAN COUNTY	0	0%	9	2012	EAWS	9	2018	Handcount	0	9	EAWS
TX	NUECES COUNTY	-37	-31%	121	2012	EAWS	84	2018	Handcount	-30	114	EAWS
TX	OCHILTREE COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	EAWS	4	2018	Handcount	-1	5	EAWS
TX	OLDHAM COUNTY	-3	-43%	7	2012	EAWS	4	2018	Handcount	-3	7	EAWS
TX	ORANGE COUNTY	-1	-3%	34	2012	EAWS	33	2018	Handcount	-1	34	EAWS
TX	PALO PINTO COUNTY	-4	-24%	17	2012	EAWS	13	2018	Handcount	-4	17	EAWS
TX	PANOLA COUNTY	-1	-5%	20	2012	EAWS	19	2018	Handcount	-1	20	EAWS
TX	PARKER COUNTY	-3	-7%	44	2012	EAWS	41	2018	Handcount	-4	45	EAWS
TX	PARMER COUNTY	0	0%	9	2016	Handcount	9	2018	Handcount	9	0	EAWS
TX	PECOS COUNTY	0	0%	9	2012	EAWS	9	2018	Handcount	0	9	EAWS
TX	POLK COUNTY	0	0%	21	2012	EAWS	21	2018	Handcount	0	21	EAWS
TX	POTTER COUNTY	-8	-33%	24	2012	EAWS	16	2018	Handcount	-8	24	EAWS
TX	PRESIDIO COUNTY	0	0%	2	2012	EAWS	2	2018	Handcount	-1	3	EAWS
TX	RAINS COUNTY	0	0%	8	2012	EAWS	8	2018	Handcount	-1	9	EAWS

State	County	#	%	Benchmark	Benchmark	Benchmark	Post-Shelby	Post-Shelby	Post-Shelby	Midterm	2014	2014
		Changed	Changed	Election Count	Election Year	Election Source	Election Count	Election Year	Election Source	Midterm to Midterm	Midterm Count	Midterm Source
TX	RANDALL COUNTY	-9	-41%	22	2012	EAWS	13	2018	Handcount	-1	14	EAWS
TX	REAGAN COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	EAWS	4	2018	Handcount	0	4	EAWS
TX	REAL COUNTY	0	0%	5	2014	EAWS	5	2018	EAWS	0	5	EAWS
TX	RED RIVER COUNTY	0	0%	19	2014	EAWS	19	2018	EAWS	0	19	EAWS
TX	REEVES COUNTY	-2	-17%	12	2014	EAWS	10	2018	Handcount	-2	12	EAWS
TX	REFUGIO COUNTY	0	0%	10	2012	EAWS	10	2018	Handcount	0	10	EAWS
TX	ROBERTS COUNTY	0	0%	2	2012	EAWS	2	2018	EAWS	0	2	EAWS
TX	ROBERTSON COUNTY	-1	-7%	14	2012	EAWS	13	2018	Handcount	0	13	EAWS
TX	ROCKWALL COUNTY	0	0%	17	2012	EAWS	17	2018	Handcount	-1	18	EAWS
TX	RUNNELS COUNTY	1	14%	7	2012	EAWS	8	2018	Handcount	0	8	EAWS
TX	RUSK COUNTY	-10	-45%	22	2012	EAWS	12	2018	Handcount	-5	17	EAWS
TX	SABINE COUNTY	0	0%	8	2012	EAWS	8	2018	Handcount	0	8	EAWS
TX	SAN AUGUSTINE COUNTY	0	0%	11	2012	EAWS	11	2018	Handcount	0	11	EAWS
TX	SAN JACINTO COUNTY	-1	-9%	11	2012	EAWS	10	2018	Handcount	-1	11	EAWS
TX	SAN PATRICIO COUNTY	-9	-53%	17	2012	EAWS	8	2018	Handcount	-9	17	EAWS
TX	SAN SABA COUNTY	-1	-25%	4	2012	EAWS	3	2018	EAWS	1	2	EAWS
TX	SCHLEICHER COUNTY	-1	-25%	4	2012	EAWS	3	2018	Handcount	-1	4	EAWS
TX	SCURRY COUNTY	-1	-9%	11	2012	EAWS	10	2018	Handcount	-1	11	EAWS
TX	SHACKELFORD COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	EAWS	4	2018	Handcount	N/A	N/A	N/A
TX	SHELBY COUNTY	0	0%	14	2012	EAWS	14	2018	Handcount	0	14	EAWS
TX	SHERMAN COUNTY	0	0%	4	2014	EAWS	4	2018	Handcount	0	4	EAWS
TX	SMITH COUNTY	-14	-29%	48	2012	EAWS	34	2018	Handcount	-8	42	EAWS
TX	SOMERVELL COUNTY	-4	-80%	5	2012	EAWS	1	2018	Handcount	-3	4	EAWS
TX	STARR COUNTY	-1	-9%	11	2016	Handcount	10	2018	Handcount	N/A	N/A	N/A
TX	STEPHENS COUNTY	-1	-17%	6	2012	EAWS	5	2018	Handcount	0	5	EAWS
TX	STERLING COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	EAWS	4	2018	EAWS	0	4	EAWS
TX	STONEWALL COUNTY	-3	-75%	4	2012	EAWS	1	2018	Handcount	-6	7	EAWS
TX	SUTTON COUNTY	0	0%	4	2012	EAWS	4	2016	Handcount	-1	5	EAWS
TX	SWISHER COUNTY	-1	-20%	5	2012	EAWS	4	2018	Handcount	0	4	EAWS
TX	TARRANT COUNTY	-27	-7%	365	2014	EAWS	338	2018	Handcount	-27	365	EAWS

State	County	#	%	Benchmark	Benchmark	Benchmark	Post-Shelby	Post-Shelby	Post-Shelby	Midterm	2014	2014
		Changed	Changed	Election Count	Election Year	Election Source	Election Count	Election Year	Election Source	Midterm to Midterm	Midterm Count	Midterm Source
TX	TAYLOR COUNTY	-14	-41%	34	2012	EAWS	20	2018	Handcount	-3	23	EAWS
TX	TERRELL COUNTY	-1	-50%	2	2012	EAWS	1	2018	Handcount	-4	5	EAWS
TX	TERRY COUNTY	-1	-14%	7	2012	EAWS	6	2018	Handcount	-1	7	EAWS
TX	THROCKMORTON COUNTY	-1	-20%	5	2012	EAWS	4	2018	Handcount	-2	6	EAWS
TX	TITUS COUNTY	0	0%	19	2012	EAWS	19	2018	EAWS	0	19	EAWS
TX	TOM GREEN COUNTY	-7	-27%	26	2012	EAWS	19	2018	Handcount	1	18	EAWS
TX	TRAVIS COUNTY	-67	-32%	210	2012	EAWS	143	2018	Handcount	-43	186	EAWS
TX	TRINITY COUNTY	0	0%	20	2012	EAWS	20	2018	Handcount	0	20	EAWS
TX	TYLER COUNTY	0	0%	17	2012	EAWS	17	2018	Handcount	0	17	EAWS
TX	UPSHUR COUNTY	0	0%	16	2012	EAWS	16	2018	Handcount	0	16	EAWS
TX	UPTON COUNTY	0	0%	3	2012	EAWS	3	2018	Handcount	0	3	EAWS
TX	UVALDE COUNTY	0	0%	14	2012	EAWS	14	2018	Handcount	0	14	EAWS
TX	VAL VERDE COUNTY	-3	-18%	17	2012	EAWS	14	2018	Handcount	14	0	EAWS
TX	VAN ZANDT COUNTY	0	0%	18	2012	EAWS	18	2018	Handcount	0	18	EAWS
TX	VICTORIA COUNTY	0	0%	35	2012	EAWS	35	2016	Handcount	0	35	EAWS
TX	WALKER COUNTY	0	0%	16	2012	EAWS	16	2018	Handcount	0	16	EAWS
TX	WALLER COUNTY	0	0%	19	2012	EAWS	19	2018	Handcount	0	19	EAWS
TX	WARD COUNTY	0	0%	5	2012	EAWS	5	2018	Handcount	-4	9	EAWS
TX	WASHINGTON COUNTY	0	0%	15	2012	EAWS	15	2018	Handcount	0	15	EAWS
TX	WEBB COUNTY	9	15%	60	2012	EAWS	69	2018	Handcount	2	67	EAWS
TX	WHARTON COUNTY	-4	-33%	12	2012	EAWS	8	2018	Handcount	0	8	EAWS
TX	WHEELER COUNTY	0	0%	10	2012	EAWS	10	2018	Handcount	0	10	EAWS
TX	WICHITA COUNTY	-8	-24%	34	2012	EAWS	26	2018	Handcount	-5	31	EAWS
TX	WILBARGER COUNTY	-2	-33%	6	2012	EAWS	4	2016	Handcount	-3	7	EAWS
TX	WILLACY COUNTY	-1	-9%	11	2012	EAWS	10	2018	Handcount	-1	11	EAWS
TX	WILLIAMSON COUNTY	-27	-31%	86	2012	EAWS	59	2018	Handcount	-3	62	EAWS
TX	WILSON COUNTY	0	0%	16	2012	EAWS	16	2018	Handcount	0	16	EAWS
TX	WINKLER COUNTY	0	0%	5	2012	EAWS	5	2018	Handcount	0	5	EAWS
TX	WISE COUNTY	1	5%	21	2012	EAWS	22	2016	Handcount	1	21	EAWS
TX	WOOD COUNTY	0	0%	11	2012	EAWS	11	2018	Handcount	-1	12	EAWS
TX	YOAKUM COUNTY	0	0%	2	2012	EAWS	2	2018	Handcount	0	2	EAWS
TX	YOUNG COUNTY	-4	-44%	9	2012	EAWS	5	2018	Handcount	-4	9	EAWS
TX	ZAPATA COUNTY	0	0%	7	2012	EAWS	7	2018	Handcount	0	7	EAWS
TX	ZAVALA COUNTY	-2	-33%	6	2012	EAWS	4	2018	EAWS	-3	7	EAWS





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