

The Great Poll Closure

November 2016



closed

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Introduction

In advance of the first presidential election in 50 years without the full protections of the Voting Rights Act (VRA), the nation has been subject to a resurgence of state and local measures to disenfranchise voters of color. It has been three years since the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its shameful ruling in *Shelby County v. Holder*, which made Section 5 of the VRA inoperable and opened the door to racial discrimination at every juncture of the electoral process.

Voters and advocates have fought many of these proposals tooth and nail in courthouses, statehouses, and council chambers nationwide. At the same time, countless voting laws have changed without public notice or scrutiny because *Shelby* removed federal oversight and transparency requirements from states and jurisdictions previously covered by Section 5—areas of the country with the most pernicious and adaptive records of implementing scheme after scheme to deny or abridge access to the ballot.

Numerous reports, such as *Democracy Diminished* by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., (LDF)¹ and *Warning Signs* by The Leadership Conference Education Fund,² document the post-*Shelby* resurgence of widespread voting discrimination in formerly covered states and localities. This report describes how some of these same jurisdictions are making voting more confusing and less accessible by engaging in massive reductions in the number of polling places.

Polling place closures are a particularly common and pernicious tactic for disenfranchising 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. These changes can place an undue burden on minority voters, who may be less likely to have access to public transpor-

tation or vehicles, given continuing disparities in socioeconomic resources.³ Once an election is conducted, there is no judicial remedy for the loss of votes that were never cast because a voter's usual polling place has disappeared.

There are many reasons to close polling places that have nothing to do with discrimination and this report is not an indictment against all polling place reductions. The enactment of early voting and voting by mail both make consolidating polling places an attractive option for election officials who must contend with tightening budgets and there are ways to ensure that reductions are done in concert with public participation and without disadvantaging communities. But prior to the *Shelby* decision there was a process to ensure that jurisdictions known to engage in voting discrimination weren't using budget cuts or voter modernization as cover to disenfranchise people of color. With Section 5 in place, jurisdictions would have to demonstrate that saving money by making changes to polling places did not disenfranchise voters of color. In a world without Section 5, that process—that protection for minority voters—has ceased.

Pre-*Shelby*, jurisdictions were required to give substantial notice to voters about any planned polling place closures. And they were required to consult with the minority community to ensure that any proposed voting change was not discriminatory.

Post-*Shelby*, voters have to rely on news reports and anecdotes from local advocates who attend city and county commission meetings or legislative sessions where these changes are contemplated to identify potentially discriminatory polling place location and precinct changes. In the vast majority of instances, closures have gone unnoticed, unreported, and unchallenged.

Backstory: What Is Section 5?

Under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, 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 D.C. for "preclearance" in advance of implementation. Preclearance was a crucial element of the Voting Rights Act 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 minority voters.

*However, in *Shelby*, the 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.*

In his *Shelby* opinion, Chief Justice Roberts invited Congress to address the gaps in enforcement created by the decision.

Since then, two bipartisan bills—the Voting Rights Amendment Act and the Voting Rights Advancement Act—have been proposed to do just that, and several members of Congress from both parties have signed on to co-sponsor these bills. Both bills would restore the notice requirement and expand it nationwide for certain voting changes known to be potentially discriminatory like polling place changes. And both include an updated formula for determining which states and counties should have their voting changes—including their proposed polling place reductions and consolidation—subject to federal oversight to ensure they are not racially discriminatory.

Congress has yet to advance either bill.

Methodology

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

This study is based on 381 of the approximately 800 counties⁴ (approximately half of formerly covered counties and county-equivalents) that were once covered by Section 5 where we could locate accurate polling place data for the 2016 general election and the general elections in either 2012 or 2014. None of the formerly covered counties from the following states are included: Georgia (159), Virginia (101), Alaska (19), California (3), New York (3), and South Dakota (2). The following states only include a subset of formerly covered counties: Texas (134 out of 254 counties), Alabama (18 out of 67 counties) and Mississippi (59 out of 82 counties).

For the vast majority of these counties, we benchmark the number of the polling places open in the 2016 presidential election against those of the 2012 presidential election. 2012 polling place data was unavailable for South Carolina counties, Hardee County in Florida, and six Texas counties (Carson, El Paso, Fort Bend, Hood, Kinney, and Sherman). For these counties, we benchmarked against the 2014 off-year election. Benchmarking the 2016 presidential election to the 2014 off-year election in some instances may have resulted in a more conservative estimate of closures since the number of polling places may be smaller in off-years due to lower turnout.⁵

The source for historical data is the Election Assistance Commission's Election Administration and Voting Survey (EAVS).⁶ The EAVS is voluntarily submitted by state election officials 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.⁷ The surveys for both 2012 and 2014 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. 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 numbers of polling places in each county.

The primary source for the vast majority of the 2016 general election data are lists of polling places provided by state election officials via public records requests. In states that denied or were unable to fulfill this request, we surveyed the websites of county election officials and, where listed, counted the number of unique polling places that were published. The 2016 polling place data were collected through October 5, 2016. A polling place that was listed within the same county multiple times at the same address was counted as one unique polling place. If multiple adjoining counties listed a polling place at the same address it was counted as a unique polling place for each of the counties.

In every state, our analysis was vetted with local advocates and election observers to get a sense of what is happening on the ground and to provide context for the data.

National Findings

In some states, there has been a widespread effort to close polling places since *Shelby*.

Our analysis finds that, since *Shelby*, hundreds of polling places have been closed in counties once covered by Section 5. Voters in these counties will have at least 868 fewer places to cast ballots in the 2016 presidential election than they did in past elections, a 16 percent reduction.

Out of the 381 counties in our study, 165 of them—43 percent—have reduced voting locations.

Some states have closed polling places on a massive scale. In Arizona, almost every county reduced polling places. In Louisiana, 61 percent of parishes reduced polling places. In our limited sample of Alabama counties, 67 percent closed polling places. In Texas, 53 percent of counties in our limited sample reduced voting locations.

Every county has its own story as to why and how polling places were reduced. Where possible, we conducted interviews with local advocates to provide context for the closures.

of *Shelby*. Almost every county in the state reduced polling places in advance of the 2016 election and almost every county closed polling places on a massive scale, resulting in 212 fewer polling places. Pima County has closed more voting locations than any county in our study and counties with a demonstrated record of discrimination, like Cochise County, have reduced polling places without any oversight.

- **Louisiana**—Since *Shelby*, 61 percent of Louisiana parishes have closed a total of 103 polling places since 2012. This includes parishes like Terrebonne, which is subject to pending litigation for discrimination against Black voters.
- **Mississippi**—About 34 percent of the 59 Mississippi counties surveyed have closed polling places since *Shelby*, resulting in at least 44 fewer polling places for the 2016 election. Closures have happened in places like Lauderdale County where Meridian is the

Out of the 381 counties in our study, 165 of them—**43 percent**—have reduced voting locations.

Our analysis does not take into account the myriad of other polling places changes that could impact voters, such as relocations within counties or to places that are less accessible or familiar to minority voters, or changes to hours of operation.

Without a concerted effort to document how these reductions are being conducted in each county—something that was unnecessary before *Shelby*—we do not have documented justification or outcomes in the vast majority of them.

Counties and states with known records of voting discrimination are closing polling places on a massive scale.

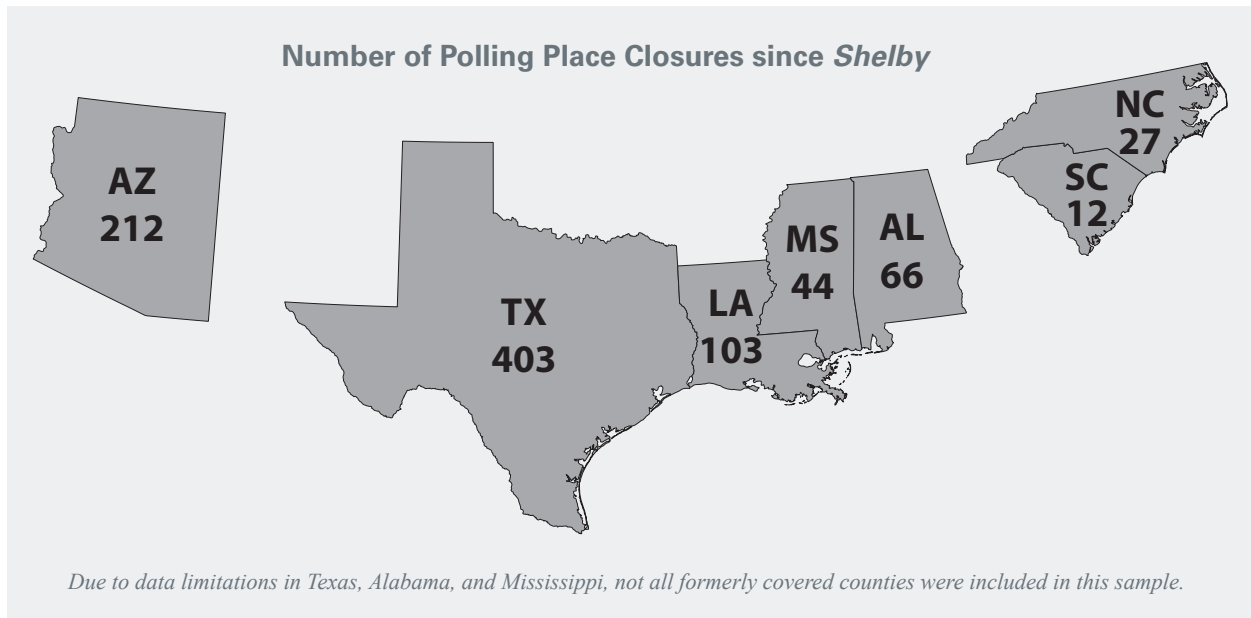
Without protections for voters, states and counties that are placing new restrictions on voting are also dramatically reducing the number of polling places.

- **Alabama**—Even with a limited sample of 18 Alabama counties, the trend of 12 counties reducing 66 polling places is cause for concern in the state.
- **Arizona**—By sheer numbers and scale, Arizona is the leading closer of polling places in the aftermath

largest city. After Meridian voters elected their first Black mayor, the majority-White county election commission moved polling places out of Meridian's Black churches even though both the mayor and the pastor of one of the churches objected.

- **North Carolina**—Since *Shelby*, formerly covered counties in North Carolina have closed polling places even after significant opposition from minority communities and advocates. Pasquotank and Cleveland counties are the leaders for polling place reductions in the state even though both have established records of voting discrimination.
- **Texas**—Almost half of all Texas counties in our sample closed polling places since *Shelby*, resulting in 403 fewer voting locations for the 2016 election than in past years. These closures come as the state's voter ID law has become a leading example of voting discrimination since *Shelby* and include reductions in counties like Medina, Caldwell, Nueces, and Galveston—each with established records of discrimination and recent violations of the Voting Rights Act.

Number of Polling Place Closures since *Shelby*



When justification is given, counties cite a broad set of reasons to reduce polling places.

There are justifiable reasons to reduce polling places and consolidations can be executed equitably. But the loss of Section 5 means that there is no process to ensure that reductions are disclosed to the public, are conducted with the input of impacted communities, and do not discriminate against voters of color.

In many counties, there was no public notice or justification of closures. In counties where there was news coverage or public justification for consolidations, the vast majority cite the ability to save money.

Some counties, particularly in Arizona and Texas, have consolidated polling places as part of a move to a “super-precinct” or “vote center” system for Election Day. Under this system, there are dramatically fewer polling places but voters from anywhere in a county can cast ballots at any of the remaining voting sites.

Some counties that have expanded voting options for residents cite the growth of voting by mail and early voting as reasons that fewer Election Day polling places are needed. In some instances, reducing polling places and converting to vote centers is justified as a possible means to increase voter turnout. Without Section 5, there are no protections for voters of color to ensure that when reductions are made for seemingly reasonable purposes, they do not disadvantage voters of color.

Some counties with unusually high polling place closures—like Jefferson Parish, Louisiana,⁸ and Nueces,⁹ McLennan,¹⁰ and Galveston¹¹ counties in Texas—purported to do so to comply with the Americans with

Top 15 closers of polling places by total number

State	Jurisdiction	Total Change
AZ	PIMA COUNTY	-62
TX	WILLIAMSON COUNTY	-35
AZ	MARICOPA COUNTY	-33
AZ	MOHAVE COUNTY	-32
AZ	COCHISE COUNTY	-31
TX	NUECES COUNTY	-29
TX	MCLENNAN COUNTY	-27
TX	BRAZORIA COUNTY	-24
LA	JEFFERSON PARISH	-23
TX	FORT BEND COUNTY	-18
TX	JEFFERSON COUNTY	-17
AZ	GILA COUNTY	-16
AL	ELMORE COUNTY	-14
TX	SMITH COUNTY	-14
TX	TRAVIS COUNTY	-14

Disabilities Act (ADA), which sets rules regarding the accessibility of polling places for voters with disabilities. Each of the above counties was either under investigation or in the middle of litigation regarding whether their polling sites complied with the ADA. These jurisdictions appear to have opted to close or consolidate inaccessible polling places rather than take steps to either move them or make the existing locations accessible. In interviews, disability rights organizations have roundly condemned the use of ADA compliance as an excuse for the unnecessary closure

of polling places as a denial of voting access to all, including people with disabilities.¹²

Notice, transparency, and advocacy make a difference.

When communities are notified about proposed reductions or consolidations of polling places, that notice can lead to advocacy that makes an impact on the final outcome. We've seen organized efforts across all states to prevent reductions or to advocate for equity through activism, community engagement with decision makers, and even advocacy for statewide transparency laws.

Advocacy and media attention directed at polling place closures in Maricopa County, Arizona,¹³ Daphne, Alabama,¹⁴ and in Georgia's Bibb¹⁵ and Hancock¹⁶ counties have all blunted or reversed the impact of shuttered voting locations in those counties. But these are the exceptions to the rule.

In South Carolina, a combination of a longstanding requirement that polling place changes be approved by multiple governance bodies, required mailings to inform all voters subject to polling place changes, a requirement that precinct level changes be approved by the general assembly, and a state law passed in the wake of *Shelby* that mandates the publication of local precinct changes in a state registry have provided a level of transparency and process on electoral changes unlike any other formerly covered state.

Top 15 closers of polling places by percentage

State	Jurisdiction	Percent Change
AZ	COCHISE COUNTY	-63%
TX	FISHER COUNTY	-60%
TX	MEDINA COUNTY	-54%
AZ	GRAHAM COUNTY	-50%
TX	ARANSAS COUNTY	-50%
TX	COKE COUNTY	-50%
TX	IRION COUNTY	-50%
AZ	GILA COUNTY	-48%
TX	CORYELL COUNTY	-47%
AZ	MOHAVE COUNTY	-46%
TX	MCLENNAN COUNTY	-46%
TX	CALDWELL COUNTY	-44%
TX	YOUNG COUNTY	-44%
TX	WILLIAMSON COUNTY	-41%
TX	KENDALL COUNTY	-39%

States in Focus: Arizona



All 15 Arizona counties were included in this analysis.

By sheer numbers and scale, Arizona is the leading closer of polling places in the aftermath of *Shelby*. Almost every Arizona county reduced polling places in advance of the 2016 election and most on a massive scale—leading to 212 fewer voting locations. Arizona counties are the leaders in our study for both numbers of polling places closed and percentage of polling places. Pima County is the nation’s biggest closer of polling places by number with 62 fewer voting locations in 2016 than 2012. Cochise County is the nation’s biggest closer by percentage with its 63 percent reduction.

One of the biggest stories of voter suppression during the 2016 presidential primary was centered on Maricopa County. In the weeks leading up to the March primary, the county shuttered the majority of its polling places,

Almost every Arizona county reduced polling places in advance of the 2016 election, and **most on a massive scale.**

causing Election Day chaos, including five-hour lines in some places.¹⁷ Public outrage, widespread media coverage and litigation have caused Maricopa to re-open almost all of its voting locations in advance of the general election and in future elections, but reductions remain in place in other counties in the state.

The scale of closures throughout the state is especially concerning. Polling places were reduced by 50 percent in Graham County, 48 percent in Gila, 46 percent in Mohave, 38 percent in Greenlee, 29 percent in Santa Cruz, 25 percent in Navajo, 22 percent in Pima, and 18 percent in Yuma.

Counties in Focus: Cochise County, Arizona

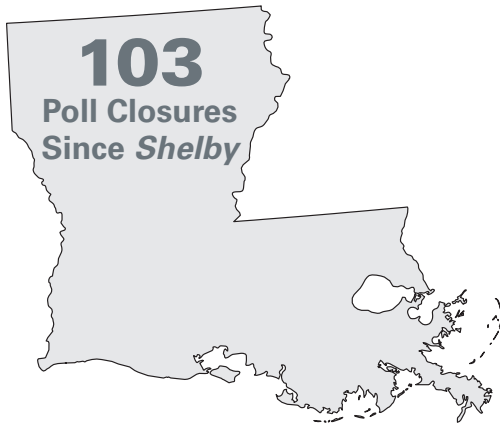
Cochise County has the nation’s highest percentage of polling place reductions, having shuttered 63 percent of its voting locations since *Shelby*. This border county, where almost 30 percent of residents are Spanish-speaking, has long had problems providing ballot access to Latino voters. In the 2012 election, the EAC reports that there were 49 polling places serving the county of 130,000 residents—in 2016, there will only be 18. Cochise was recently under a consent decree with the Department of Justice (DOJ) for failing to provide election materials in Spanish or to have Spanish-speaking poll workers, in violation of the Voting Rights Act.¹⁸ In response to a “much-maligned” administration of the 2014 election,¹⁹ the county came up with a plan to shutter the vast majority of its polling places and convert to using centralized vote centers.²⁰ According to the *Sierra Vista Herald*, when asked to explain the criteria for deciding where to locate the vote centers, the county election official cited “easy public accessibility, Internet connectivity, and the proximity to former polling places.”²¹ Ensuring access for minority voters was not included in the list.

Counties in Focus: Pima County, Arizona

Pima County, the state’s second-largest county and home to Tucson, closed more polling places than any other county in our study. Pima, which is 35 percent Latino,²² has closed 62 polling places since *Shelby*. In the aftermath of Maricopa’s election disaster, *Tucson News Now* published an editorial applauding Pima for its efforts to “not cut corners” and for avoiding the same lines that

befell Maricopa.²³ But the editorial failed to note that the county has closed 22 percent of its voting locations since *Shelby*. The Election Assistance Commission survey reports that the growing county of one million people had 280 unique voting locations for the 2012 presidential election; our analysis shows that only 218 of those locations will be open for the 2016 election.

States in Focus: Louisiana



All 64 Louisiana parishes were included in this analysis.

Since *Shelby*, 61 percent of Louisiana parishes have closed a total of 103 polling places since 2012.

At a 24 percent closure rate, Winn Parish had the largest reduction of voting locations, followed by Lafayette (16 percent), Bienville (14 percent), Morehouse (14 percent), Jefferson (14 percent), and Tensas (11 percent), with Plaquemines, St. Martin, and Point Coupee each reducing 10 percent.

Jefferson Parish reduced the highest number of polling places (23), many as a result of non-compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act,²⁴ followed by Lafayette (9) and Orleans parishes (7).

Parishes in Focus: Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana

Since *Shelby*, Terrebonne Parish has eliminated 9 percent of its polling places—from 57 during the 2012 election down to 52 in 2016. The parish is currently subject to litigation under the Voting Rights Act for its at-large method of electing judges that denies Black voters the chance to elect a candidate of their choice. According to LDF, at the time of the filing of the lawsuit,

“a sitting judge on the court ha[d] been suspended for wearing blackface, an orange prison jumpsuit, handcuffs, and an afro wig to a Halloween party as part of his offensive parody of a Black prison inmate... Although Black residents comprise 20 percent of Terrebonne Parish’s population, are geographically concentrated within the parish, and consistently vote together to attempt to elect candidates of their choice, no Black candidate has ever been elected ... to the 32nd Judicial District Court under the at-large system of election.”²⁵

States in Focus: Mississippi



Out of Mississippi's 82 counties, only 59 were included in our analysis.

Our limited sample for Mississippi shows that at least 20 counties have closed 44 polling sites since *Shelby*.

In the aftermath of the 2013 decision, the state implemented a voter ID law for the primary in June 2014. According to LDF, hundreds of voters could not vote in the 2014 mid-term election because of the law.²⁶

Against this backdrop, counties from across the state reduced polling places. In our analysis, the leading closers were Tishomingo (26 percent), Pike (17 percent), Lauderdale (14 percent), Yalobusha (15 percent) and Noxubee and Harrison, both with 11 percent reductions.

Counties in Focus: Lauderdale County, Mississippi

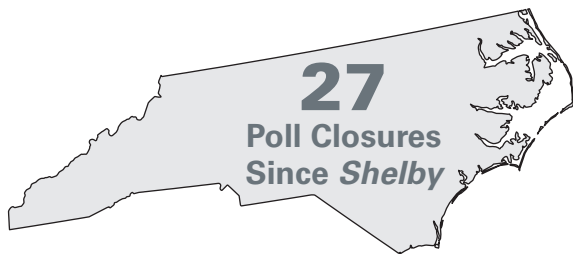
In 2012, the majority-White Lauderdale County Election Commission established precincts that were backed by a \$65,000 voter impact study²⁷ and precleared as non-discriminatory by the Justice Department.²⁸ The next year, a hard fought mayoral race in the 62 percent Black city of Meridian resulted in the election of the city's first Black mayor, Percy Bland,²⁹ even though a noose was hung

outside of his business during the campaign.³⁰ Less than one month later, the *Shelby* decision gutted the Voting Rights Act and set off a chain of events that allowed the election commission to eliminate six of the county's 48 polling places without preclearance.

In 2015, the election commission proposed a plan to move several of Meridian's municipal election polling places out of Black churches, including Mt. Olive Baptist, an iconic church with a legacy of voting rights activism.³¹ Despite the fact that Mt. Olive's pastor and Mayor Bland both opposed the plan—which also broke up a major Black precinct—the county implemented the moves without a study of its impact on voters.³²

According to LDF, **hundreds of voters could not vote** in the 2014 mid-term election because of the voter ID law.

States in Focus: North Carolina



All 40 North Carolina counties once covered by Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act were included in this analysis.

In North Carolina, only 40 of the state’s 100 counties were covered by Section 5 and therefore had preclearance requirements. Since *Shelby*, 12 of these counties have closed polling places, including several with clear records of discrimination. These counties closed an average of 12 percent of their voting locations since *Shelby*.

In a state that has, according to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, discriminated against voters “with almost surgical precision” when it enacted what advocates have dubbed the “monster” voter suppression law just weeks after *Shelby*, there are 27 fewer polling places in the 2016 election.

Counties in Focus: Pasquotank County, North Carolina

Leading the state by percentage is Pasquotank County, which had 13 polling places in 2012 but only nine in 2016—a 31 percent drop. Pasquotank, which is 38 percent African-American, is home to Elizabeth City State University, a historically Black university. Pasquotank made national headlines in 2013 for its effort to deny the right of an ECSU student, Montravias King, to run for city council because his address was at a dormitory.³³ The county decision was overruled by the state’s election commission and King went on to win with 585 votes.

Counties in Focus: Cleveland County, North Carolina

Cleveland County, which is on the outer edge of the Charlotte metropolitan area, is a textbook example of a change that would have received enhanced scrutiny under Section 5. In the 2012 election, voters in Cleveland County were served by 26 polling places; in 2016, they’ll only have 21—a drop of 19 percent. In the summer of 2014, the county’s board of elections merged five of these voting locations into two in the city of Shelby—which is 40 percent Black—over opposition from the Cleveland County NAACP.³⁴ Rev. Dante Murphy, the Cleveland County NAACP president, said, “We know that this is part of a bigger trend — a movement to suppress people’s right to vote.”³⁵

“We know that this is part of a bigger trend—a movement to **suppress people’s right to vote.**”

States in Focus: Texas



Due to the Texas Secretary of State's office declining to provide 2016 polling place information for the state, our sample was limited to only counties that make this information publicly available on their web sites. Our survey includes 134 of the state's 254 counties

For six counties that we couldn't find 2012 data for, we benchmarked closures to the 2014 off-year elections. Those counties are Carson, El Paso, Fort Bend, Hood, Kinney, and Sherman.

Only 53 percent of Texas counties were included in the overall survey due to lack of available data.

Almost half of all Texas counties in our sample closed polling places *since Shelby*, resulting in 403 fewer voting locations for the 2016 election than in past years. These closures come as the state's voter ID law has become a leading example of voting discrimination since *Shelby* and include reductions in counties like Medina, Caldwell, and Galveston—each with established records of discrimination and recent violations of the Voting Rights Act. Because our sample of counties in Texas is limited to only 134 of the state's 254 counties, this number represents a fraction of potential polling place closures throughout the state.

Galveston County is an example of how **voters of color are especially at risk** of being disenfranchised without Section 5.

In many instances, the reductions are a result of a state-wide shift toward consolidating voting in vote centers, instead of relying on traditional neighborhood polling places. With vote centers, counties reduce the number of polling places but allow voters to cast ballots at any of the remaining voting locations in the county. As of the 2016 presidential primary, 39 counties in Texas had converted from neighborhood polling sites to vote centers.³⁶

While this move to vote centers can have real benefits for the county and voters, in those counties where there is a history of racial discrimination against voters, the

fact that these changes can be made without federal oversight is troubling.

These closures come as the state has become a leading example of voting discrimination since *Shelby*. Within hours of the *Shelby* decision, the state announced that its photo ID law—which had previously been blocked under Section 5 as discriminatory—would take effect immediately.³⁷ The state continued to press for the law, which would disenfranchise 600,000 registered and a million eligible Texas voters according to LDF, until four federal courts all concluded it discriminates against Black and Latino voters.³⁸

Texas counties hold five of the top ten spots in the country for the greatest reductions in polling places, with Williamson closing 35, Nueces closing 29, McLennan closing 27, Brazoria closing 24, and Fort Bend closing 18 voting locations.

In terms of closure percentages, Texas counties are also leaders, with Fisher (60 percent), Medina (54 percent), Aransas (50 percent), Coke (50 percent), Irion (50 percent), Coryell (47 percent), and McLennan (46 percent) counties all in the top ten for greatest proportion of polling place closures.

Counties in Focus: Galveston County, Texas

Galveston County, where 16 percent of polling places have closed, is an example of how voters of color are at risk of being disenfranchised without Section 5. The county was one of the many to convert to vote centers that resulted in the elimination of seven polling places, but Galveston's record of voting discrimination should put

such changes under heightened scrutiny. Within months of the *Shelby* decision, the county announced that it would bring back a plan that the Department of Justice previously rejected during pre-clearance for eliminating opportunities for Black and Latino voters to elect Justices of the Peace and Constables. Despite growth in both the Latino and Black communities, the county eliminated half of the districts for these offices over the objections of local advocates.³⁹ In 2015, the Galveston City Council attempted to switch several of its seats from districts, which allows for more minority representation, to at-large elections,⁴⁰ but local advocates beat back the change.

Counties in Focus: Nueces, Caldwell, and Medina Counties, Texas

In October 2016, a survey conducted by the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) concluded that dozens of Texas counties with significant Spanish-speaking constituencies were in violation of the Voting Rights Act for failing to provide information about voting in Spanish.⁴¹ In a letter sent to counties, MALDEF noted that much of the required information “has already been translated into Spanish by the Texas Secretary of State” and can be shared on a county’s website. Three of those counties—Nueces, Caldwell, and Medina—also closed a significant number of polling places since *Shelby*. Nueces shuttered 29 polling places—24 percent of all polling places in the county—and both Caldwell and Medina closed about half of their voting locations.

Transparency and Public Notice in South Carolina

In one regard, South Carolina presents an example of how a state with notice, process, and transparency requirements for changes to local election laws can keep fewer negative changes from happening. Since 2014, only four of the state's 46 counties have closed polling places. South Carolina will have only 12 fewer polling places in 2016 than in 2014, a closure rate of less than 1 percent. 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," which is a body made up of the county's elected representatives to the state legislature, called the General Assembly. It also requires that any voter impacted by a polling place change be informed of the change in writing. The law also requires that precincts must be "designated, fixed, and established by the General Assembly."⁴²

In the aftermath of *Shelby*, longtime South Carolina activist Brett Bursey drafted the "State Section 5 Registry" bill, which requires all state and local voting changes be reported to the State Election Commission and posted on its website. The bill was introduced by State Representative Gilda Cobb-Hunter and passed in 2014. "This won't keep bad things from happening," Bursey said at a hearing for the registry. "But at least voters and advocacy groups will be given notice before they take effect."⁴³

This combination of transparency, notice and due process is unique in formerly covered states and appears to have had a chilling effect on the trend of widespread closure of polling places.

This effort shouldn't overshadow how South Carolina's voter ID law, passed in 2012, has made it harder for the approximately 178,000 residents who do not possess the identification required to vote.⁴⁴

South Carolina presents an example of how a state can keep **fewer negative changes** from happening.

Conclusion

Without oversight, transparency, and accountability, counties formerly covered by Section 5 closed hundreds of polling places in advance of the first presidential election in 50 years without a fully operable Voting Rights Act.

Because of the pervasive voting discrimination that has continued in many of these counties, these consolidations should have been subjected to review to ensure that they did not infringe on the rights of voters.

Texas, Arizona, and Louisiana—each with a nefarious and adaptive history of voting discrimination—have all made alarming reductions in polling places. And voters throughout North Carolina, Mississippi, and Alabama will face polling place reductions in 2016, all put in place without the transparency, notice, and consultation once required by Section 5.

South Carolina's passage of a statewide voter transparency law in the aftermath of *Shelby*, its longstanding practice of informing all impacted voters of polling place changes, and its requirement that multiple government bodies approve changes to polling places and precincts could each be considered model changes at the state level to provide the accountability and transparency that is now lacking in the VRA.

The only way these closures could be prevented or scrutinized to ensure fairness at the national level is to pass at least one of the two bipartisan Voting Rights Act restoration bills currently pending in Congress. Both bills require nationwide transparency for changes in precincts and polling places, which could give voters and advocates the tools they need to be informed about these changes and to engage in a responsible process to ensure that polling place closures, moves, and consolidations are considered with all voters in mind.

Endnotes

1. <http://www.naacpldf.org/press-release/democracy-diminished-ldf-releases-report-state-and-local-threats-voting-rights>
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7. Questions on Election Day polling places on the EAVA in 2012 and 2014 are under the header “Election Day Voting” in section D.
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23. <http://www.tucsonnewsnow.com/story/31657257/think-about-it-saving-money-not-worth-giving-up-voting-rights>
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Appendix

The graph in this section contains the source data used in this analysis. More details about this data are included in the methodology section of this report.

State	Jurisdiction	Benchmark Year	Number of Polling Places During Benchmark Year Source - Election Assistance Commission EAVS Survey	Number of 2016 Polling Places Source: Lists Provided by State and County Election Officials	Number Change	Percentage Change
AL	BALDWIN COUNTY	2012	46	46	0	0%
AL	CALHOUN COUNTY	2012	49	45	-4	-8%
AL	CLEBURNE COUNTY	2012	15	14	-1	-7%
AL	COFFEE COUNTY	2012	32	29	-3	-9%
AL	COLBERT COUNTY	2012	36	35	-1	-3%
AL	CULLMAN COUNTY	2012	49	49	0	0%
AL	DALLAS COUNTY	2012	29	31	2	7%
AL	ELMORE COUNTY	2012	42	28	-14	-33%
AL	HOUSTON COUNTY	2012	29	27	-2	-7%
AL	JEFFERSON COUNTY	2012	180	173	-7	-4%
AL	LIMESTONE COUNTY	2012	24	25	1	4%
AL	MADISON COUNTY	2012	75	72	-3	-4%
AL	MARSHALL COUNTY	2012	38	30	-8	-21%
AL	MOBILE COUNTY	2012	98	88	-10	-10%
AL	MONTGOMERY COUNTY	2012	55	49	-6	-11%
AL	MORGAN COUNTY	2012	47	40	-7	-15%
AL	PIKE COUNTY	2012	28	34	6	21%
AL	ST. CLAIR COUNTY	2012	31	31	0	0%
AZ	APACHE COUNTY	2012	42	42	0	0%
AZ	COCHISE COUNTY	2012	49	18	-31	-63%
AZ	COCONINO COUNTY	2012	64	61	-3	-5%
AZ	GILA COUNTY	2012	33	17	-16	-48%
AZ	GRAHAM COUNTY	2012	18	9	-9	-50%
AZ	GREENLEE COUNTY	2012	8	5	-3	-38%
AZ	LA PAZ COUNTY	2012	9	9	0	0%
AZ	MARICOPA COUNTY	2012	677	644	-33	-5%
AZ	MOHAVE COUNTY	2012	70	38	-32	-46%
AZ	NAVAJO COUNTY	2012	52	39	-13	-25%
AZ	PIMA COUNTY	2012	280	218	-62	-22%
AZ	PINAL COUNTY	2012	98	96	-2	-2%
AZ	SANTA CRUZ COUNTY	2012	17	12	-5	-29%
AZ	YAVAPAI COUNTY	2012	30	29	-1	-3%
AZ	YUMA COUNTY	2012	11	9	-2	-18%

State	Jurisdiction	Benchmark Year	Number of Polling Places During Benchmark Year Source - Election Assistance Commission EAVS Survey	Number of 2016 Polling Places Source: Lists Provided by State and County Election Officials	Number Change	Percentage Change
FL	COLLIER COUNTY	2012	60	59	-1	-2%
FL	HARDEE COUNTY	2014	12	12	0	0%
FL	HENDRY COUNTY	2012	10	10	0	0%
FL	HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY	2012	276	278	2	1%
FL	MONROE COUNTY	2012	29	33	4	14%
LA	ACADIA PARISH	2012	40	40	0	0%
LA	ALLEN PARISH	2012	22	21	-1	-5%
LA	ASCENSION PARISH	2012	34	37	3	9%
LA	ASSUMPTION PARISH	2012	17	16	-1	-6%
LA	AVOUELLES PARISH	2012	28	27	-1	-4%
LA	BEAUREGARD PARISH	2012	28	28	0	0%
LA	BIENVILLE PARISH	2012	21	18	-3	-14%
LA	BOSSIER PARISH	2012	50	49	-1	-2%
LA	CADDO PARISH	2012	88	82	-6	-7%
LA	CALCASIEU PARISH	2012	78	77	-1	-1%
LA	CALDWELL PARISH	2012	12	12	0	0%
LA	CAMERON PARISH	2012	8	9	1	13%
LA	CATAHOULA PARISH	2012	16	15	-1	-6%
LA	CLAIBORNE PARISH	2012	8	8	0	0%
LA	CONCORDIA PARISH	2012	18	17	-1	-6%
LA	DE SOTO PARISH	2012	27	25	-2	-7%
LA	EAST BATON ROUGE PARISH	2012	147	146	-1	-1%
LA	EAST CARROLL PARISH	2012	14	13	-1	-7%
LA	EAST FELICIANA PARISH	2012	12	12	0	0%
LA	EVANGELINE PARISH	2012	33	31	-2	-6%
LA	FRANKLIN PARISH	2012	18	18	0	0%
LA	GRANT PARISH	2012	15	14	-1	-7%
LA	IBERIA PARISH	2012	41	41	0	0%
LA	IBERVILLE PARISH	2012	25	23	-2	-8%
LA	JACKSON PARISH	2012	14	14	0	0%
LA	JEFFERSON DAVIS PARISH	2012	15	14	-1	-7%
LA	JEFFERSON PARISH	2012	170	147	-23	-14%
LA	LAFAYETTE PARISH	2012	58	49	-9	-16%
LA	LAFOURCHE PARISH	2012	48	47	-1	-2%
LA	LASALLE PARISH	2012	23	22	-1	-4%
LA	LINCOLN PARISH	2012	26	24	-2	-8%
LA	LIVINGSTON PARISH	2012	37	38	1	3%

State	Jurisdiction	Benchmark Year	Number of Polling Places During Benchmark Year Source - Election Assistance Commission EAVS Survey	Number of 2016 Polling Places Source: Lists Provided by State and County Election Officials	Number Change	Percentage Change
LA	MADISON PARISH	2012	16	16	0	0%
LA	MOREHOUSE PARISH	2012	21	18	-3	-14%
LA	NATCHITOCHE PARISH	2012	42	42	0	0%
LA	ORLEANS PARISH	2012	129	122	-7	-5%
LA	OUACHITA PARISH	2012	50	50	0	0%
LA	PLAQUEMINES PARISH	2012	10	9	-1	-10%
LA	POINTE COUPEE PARISH	2012	21	19	-2	-10%
LA	RAPIDES PARISH	2012	69	69	0	0%
LA	RED RIVER PARISH	2012	13	12	-1	-8%
LA	RICHLAND PARISH	2012	17	16	-1	-6%
LA	SABINE PARISH	2012	30	28	-2	-7%
LA	ST. BERNARD PARISH	2012	10	10	0	0%
LA	ST. CHARLES PARISH	2012	26	24	-2	-8%
LA	ST. HELENA PARISH	2012	9	9	0	0%
LA	ST. JAMES PARISH	2012	13	12	-1	-8%
LA	ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST PA	2012	15	14	-1	-7%
LA	ST. LANDRY PARISH	2012	59	56	-3	-5%
LA	ST. MARTIN PARISH	2012	31	28	-3	-10%
LA	ST. MARY PARISH	2012	45	45	0	0%
LA	ST. TAMMANY PARISH	2012	61	65	4	7%
LA	TANGIPAHOA PARISH	2012	38	38	0	0%
LA	TENSAS PARISH	2012	9	8	-1	-11%
LA	TERREBONNE PARISH	2012	57	52	-5	-9%
LA	UNION PARISH	2012	22	21	-1	-5%
LA	VERMILION PARISH	2012	30	29	-1	-3%
LA	VERNON PARISH	2012	30	30	0	0%
LA	WASHINGTON PARISH	2012	27	27	0	0%
LA	WEBSTER PARISH	2012	17	17	0	0%
LA	WEST BATON ROUGE PARISH	2012	16	15	-1	-6%
LA	WEST CARROLL PARISH	2012	9	9	0	0%
LA	WEST FELICIANA PARISH	2012	12	12	0	0%
LA	WINN PARISH	2012	21	16	-5	-24%
MS	AMITE COUNTY	2012	20	21	1	5%
MS	ATTALA COUNTY	2012	21	20	-1	-5%
MS	BENTON COUNTY	2012	5	5	0	0%
MS	CALHOUN COUNTY	2012	10	10	0	0%
MS	CHICKASAW COUNTY	2012	15	15	0	0%

State	Jurisdiction	Benchmark Year	Number of Polling Places During Benchmark Year Source - Election Assistance Commission EAVS Survey	Number of 2016 Polling Places Source: Lists Provided by State and County Election Officials	Number Change	Percentage Change
MS	CHOCTAW COUNTY	2012	13	17	4	31%
MS	CLARKE COUNTY	2012	23	23	0	0%
MS	CLAY COUNTY	2012	14	14	0	0%
MS	COPIAH COUNTY	2012	20	19	-1	-5%
MS	COVINGTON COUNTY	2012	18	17	-1	-6%
MS	DESOTO COUNTY	2012	38	40	2	5%
MS	FORREST COUNTY	2012	33	35	2	6%
MS	FRANKLIN COUNTY	2012	14	14	0	0%
MS	GEORGE COUNTY	2012	22	22	0	0%
MS	GREENE COUNTY	2012	13	13	0	0%
MS	GRENADA COUNTY	2012	13	12	-1	-8%
MS	HANCOCK COUNTY	2012	27	25	-2	-7%
MS	HARRISON COUNTY	2012	66	59	-7	-11%
MS	ISSAQUENA COUNTY	2012	5	5	0	0%
MS	ITAWAMBA COUNTY	2012	27	28	1	4%
MS	JACKSON COUNTY	2012	31	31	0	0%
MS	JASPER COUNTY	2012	17	17	0	0%
MS	JEFFERSON DAVIS COUNTY	2012	18	22	4	22%
MS	KEMPER COUNTY	2012	15	14	-1	-7%
MS	LAFAYETTE COUNTY	2012	18	18	0	0%
MS	LAMAR COUNTY	2012	21	23	2	10%
MS	LAUDERDALE COUNTY	2012	49	42	-7	-14%
MS	LAWRENCE COUNTY	2012	22	26	4	18%
MS	LEAKE COUNTY	2012	19	19	0	0%
MS	LEE COUNTY	2012	38	38	0	0%
MS	LINCOLN COUNTY	2012	32	31	-1	-3%
MS	LOWNDES COUNTY	2012	22	21	-1	-5%
MS	MADISON COUNTY	2012	42	42	0	0%
MS	MARION COUNTY	2012	24	22	-2	-8%
MS	MONROE COUNTY	2012	26	26	0	0%
MS	MONTGOMERY COUNTY	2012	14	15	1	7%
MS	NOXUBEE COUNTY	2012	9	8	-1	-11%
MS	PANOLA COUNTY	2012	25	24	-1	-4%
MS	PERRY COUNTY	2012	15	16	1	7%
MS	PIKE COUNTY	2012	30	25	-5	-17%
MS	PONTOTOC COUNTY	2012	29	28	-1	-3%
MS	PRENTISS COUNTY	2012	15	15	0	0%
MS	QUITMAN COUNTY	2012	9	10	1	11%

State	Jurisdiction	Benchmark Year	Number of Polling Places During Benchmark Year Source - Election Assistance Commission EAVS Survey	Number of 2016 Polling Places Source: Lists Provided by State and County Election Officials	Number Change	Percentage Change
MS	RANKIN COUNTY	2012	53	51	-2	-4%
MS	SHARKEY COUNTY	2012	10	10	0	0%
MS	SIMPSON COUNTY	2012	23	23	0	0%
MS	SMITH COUNTY	2012	18	18	0	0%
MS	STONE COUNTY	2012	15	15	0	0%
MS	TATE COUNTY	2012	19	20	1	5%
MS	TIPPAH COUNTY	2012	24	24	0	0%
MS	TISHOMINGO COUNTY	2012	19	14	-5	-26%
MS	TUNICA COUNTY	2012	12	12	0	0%
MS	UNION COUNTY	2012	20	20	0	0%
MS	WALTHALL COUNTY	2012	21	20	-1	-5%
MS	WARREN COUNTY	2012	22	22	0	0%
MS	WEBSTER COUNTY	2012	17	17	0	0%
MS	WILKINSON COUNTY	2012	10	9	-1	-10%
MS	WINSTON COUNTY	2012	12	12	0	0%
MS	YALOBUSHA COUNTY	2012	13	11	-2	-15%
NC	ANSON COUNTY	2012	11	11	0	0%
NC	BEAUFORT COUNTY	2012	21	20	-1	-5%
NC	BERTIE COUNTY	2012	12	12	0	0%
NC	BLADEN COUNTY	2012	17	17	0	0%
NC	CAMDEN COUNTY	2012	3	3	0	0%
NC	CASWELL COUNTY	2012	10	9	-1	-10%
NC	CHOWAN COUNTY	2012	6	6	0	0%
NC	CLEVELAND COUNTY	2012	26	21	-5	-19%
NC	CRAVEN COUNTY	2012	27	25	-2	-7%
NC	CUMBERLAND COUNTY	2012	77	77	0	0%
NC	EDGECOMBE COUNTY	2012	21	21	0	0%
NC	FRANKLIN COUNTY	2012	18	18	0	0%
NC	GASTON COUNTY	2012	46	46	0	0%
NC	GATES COUNTY	2012	6	6	0	0%
NC	GRANVILLE COUNTY	2012	15	15	0	0%
NC	GREENE COUNTY	2012	10	10	0	0%
NC	GUILFORD COUNTY	2012	165	165	0	0%
NC	HALIFAX COUNTY	2012	25	24	-1	-4%
NC	HARNETT COUNTY	2012	12	13	1	8%
NC	HERTFORD COUNTY	2012	13	13	0	0%
NC	HOKE COUNTY	2012	14	15	1	7%
NC	JACKSON COUNTY	2012	15	14	-1	-7%
NC	LEE COUNTY	2012	10	10	0	0%

State	Jurisdiction	Benchmark Year	Number of Polling Places During Benchmark Year Source - Election Assistance Commission EAVS Survey	Number of 2016 Polling Places Source: Lists Provided by State and County Election Officials	Number Change	Percentage Change
NC	LENOIR COUNTY	2012	22	22	0	0%
NC	MARTIN COUNTY	2012	13	11	-2	-15%
NC	NASH COUNTY	2012	27	24	-3	-11%
NC	NORTHAMPTON COUNTY	2012	18	18	0	0%
NC	ONslow COUNTY	2012	24	24	0	0%
NC	PASQUOTANK COUNTY	2012	13	9	-4	-31%
NC	PERQUIMANS COUNTY	2012	7	7	0	0%
NC	PERSON COUNTY	2012	14	11	-3	-21%
NC	PITT COUNTY	2012	40	40	0	0%
NC	ROBESON COUNTY	2012	42	39	-3	-7%
NC	ROCKINGHAM COUNTY	2012	15	15	0	0%
NC	SCOTLAND COUNTY	2012	10	10	0	0%
NC	UNION COUNTY	2012	52	52	0	0%
NC	VANCE COUNTY	2012	12	12	0	0%
NC	WASHINGTON COUNTY	2012	6	6	0	0%
NC	WAYNE COUNTY	2012	30	29	-1	-3%
NC	WILSON COUNTY	2012	24	24	0	0%
SC	ABBEVILLE COUNTY	2014	15	15	0	0%
SC	AIKEN COUNTY	2014	73	75	2	3%
SC	ALLENDALE COUNTY	2014	9	9	0	0%
SC	ANDERSON COUNTY	2014	77	79	2	3%
SC	BAMBERG COUNTY	2014	13	13	0	0%
SC	BARNWELL COUNTY	2014	8	9	1	13%
SC	BEAUFORT COUNTY	2014	62	57	-5	-8%
SC	BERKELEY COUNTY	2014	51	55	4	8%
SC	CALHOUN COUNTY	2014	13	13	0	0%
SC	CHARLESTON COUNTY	2014	104	106	2	2%
SC	CHEROKEE COUNTY	2014	30	30	0	0%
SC	CHESTER COUNTY	2014	21	21	0	0%
SC	CHESTERFIELD COUNTY	2014	24	26	2	8%
SC	CLARENDON COUNTY	2014	23	24	1	4%
SC	COLLETON COUNTY	2014	30	32	2	7%
SC	DARLINGTON COUNTY	2014	31	33	2	6%
SC	DILLON COUNTY	2014	20	21	1	5%
SC	DORCHESTER COUNTY	2014	42	39	-3	-7%
SC	EDGEFIELD COUNTY	2014	11	12	1	9%
SC	FAIRFIELD COUNTY	2014	21	18	-3	-14%
SC	FLORENCE COUNTY	2014	60	61	1	2%

State	Jurisdiction	Benchmark Year	Number of Polling Places During Benchmark Year Source - Election Assistance Commission EAVS Survey	Number of 2016 Polling Places Source: Lists Provided by State and County Election Officials	Number Change	Percentage Change
SC	GEORGETOWN COUNTY	2014	30	33	3	10%
SC	GREENVILLE COUNTY	2014	147	152	5	3%
SC	GREENWOOD COUNTY	2014	49	49	0	0%
SC	HAMPTON COUNTY	2014	16	15	-1	-6%
SC	HORRY COUNTY	2014	114	121	7	6%
SC	JASPER COUNTY	2014	16	16	0	0%
SC	KERSHAW COUNTY	2014	32	34	2	6%
SC	LANCASTER COUNTY	2014	24	36	12	50%
SC	LAURENS COUNTY	2014	34	35	1	3%
SC	LEE COUNTY	2014	22	23	1	5%
SC	LEXINGTON COUNTY	2014	91	96	5	5%
SC	MARION COUNTY	2014	17	18	1	6%
SC	MARLBORO COUNTY	2014	11	16	5	45%
SC	MCCORMICK COUNTY	2014	10	12	2	20%
SC	NEWBERRY COUNTY	2014	30	30	0	0%
SC	OCONEE COUNTY	2014	18	27	9	50%
SC	ORANGEBURG COUNTY	2014	46	50	4	9%
SC	PICKENS COUNTY	2014	55	56	1	2%
SC	RICHLAND COUNTY	2014	144	144	0	0%
SC	SALUDA COUNTY	2014	13	19	6	46%
SC	SPARTANBURG COUNTY	2014	93	94	1	1%
SC	SUMTER COUNTY	2014	46	50	4	9%
SC	UNION COUNTY	2014	21	24	3	14%
SC	WILLIAMSBURG COUNTY	2014	29	29	0	0%
SC	YORK COUNTY	2014	83	89	6	7%
TX	ANGELINA COUNTY	2012	31	27	-4	-13%
TX	ARANSAS COUNTY	2012	6	3	-3	-50%
TX	ARCHER COUNTY	2012	11	11	0	0%
TX	BANDERA COUNTY	2012	10	10	0	0%
TX	BASTROP COUNTY	2012	20	21	1	5%
TX	BELL COUNTY	2012	47	46	-1	-2%
TX	BLANCO COUNTY	2012	6	6	0	0%
TX	BOSQUE COUNTY	2012	14	9	-5	-36%
TX	BOWIE COUNTY	2012	35	37	2	6%
TX	BRAZORIA COUNTY	2012	63	39	-24	-38%
TX	BRAZOS COUNTY	2012	36	26	-10	-28%
TX	BREWSTER COUNTY	2012	8	7	-1	-13%
TX	BURLESON COUNTY	2012	14	13	-1	-7%

State	Jurisdiction	Benchmark Year	Number of Polling Places During Benchmark Year Source - Election Assistance Commission EAVS Survey	Number of 2016 Polling Places Source: Lists Provided by State and County Election Officials	Number Change	Percentage Change
TX	BURNET COUNTY	2012	20	20	0	0%
TX	CALDWELL COUNTY	2012	25	14	-11	-44%
TX	CALHOUN COUNTY	2012	23	22	-1	-4%
TX	CALLAHAN COUNTY	2012	7	6	-1	-14%
TX	CAMERON COUNTY	2012	83	79	-4	-5%
TX	CARSON COUNTY	2014	8	8	0	0%
TX	CHAMBERS COUNTY	2012	14	13	-1	-7%
TX	CLAY COUNTY	2012	16	16	0	0%
TX	COKE COUNTY	2012	4	2	-2	-50%
TX	COLEMAN COUNTY	2012	5	5	0	0%
TX	COLLIN COUNTY	2012	67	72	5	7%
TX	COMAL COUNTY	2012	22	23	1	5%
TX	COOKE COUNTY	2012	16	16	0	0%
TX	CORYELL COUNTY	2012	15	8	-7	-47%
TX	DEWITT COUNTY	2012	8	6	-2	-25%
TX	DICKENS COUNTY	2012	6	6	0	0%
TX	DONLEY COUNTY	2012	6	6	0	0%
TX	ECTOR COUNTY	2012	28	25	-3	-11%
TX	EDWARDS COUNTY	2012	5	5	0	0%
TX	EL PASO COUNTY	2014	150	147	-3	-2%
TX	ELLIS COUNTY	2012	39	37	-2	-5%
TX	ERATH COUNTY	2012	11	10	-1	-9%
TX	FAYETTE COUNTY	2012	26	26	0	0%
TX	FISHER COUNTY	2012	10	4	-6	-60%
TX	FORT BEND COUNTY	2014	101	83	-18	-18%
TX	FRANKLIN COUNTY	2012	8	8	0	0%
TX	FREESTONE COUNTY	2012	15	14	-1	-7%
TX	FRIO COUNTY	2012	10	9	-1	-10%
TX	GAINES COUNTY	2012	4	4	0	0%
TX	GALVESTON COUNTY	2012	45	38	-7	-16%
TX	GARZA COUNTY	2012	6	6	0	0%
TX	GILLESPIE COUNTY	2012	13	13	0	0%
TX	GLASSCOCK COUNTY	2012	4	4	0	0%
TX	GRAYSON COUNTY	2012	36	23	-13	-36%
TX	GREGG COUNTY	2012	21	21	0	0%
TX	GRIMES COUNTY	2012	14	14	0	0%
TX	GUADALUPE COUNTY	2012	35	35	0	0%
TX	HAMILTON COUNTY	2012	11	9	-2	-18%
TX	HARDIN COUNTY	2012	19	19	0	0%

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TX	HARRIS COUNTY	2012	776	767	-9	-1%
TX	HARRISON COUNTY	2012	26	26	0	0%
TX	HARTLEY COUNTY	2012	3	2	-1	-33%
TX	HAYS COUNTY	2012	37	36	-1	-3%
TX	HENDERSON COUNTY	2012	26	26	0	0%
TX	HIDALGO COUNTY	2012	74	75	1	1%
TX	HILL COUNTY	2012	22	22	0	0%
TX	HOOD COUNTY	2014	15	10	-5	-33%
TX	HOPKINS COUNTY	2012	21	14	-7	-33%
TX	HOWARD COUNTY	2012	6	6	0	0%
TX	HUNT COUNTY	2012	34	28	-6	-18%
TX	HUTCHINSON COUNTY	2012	8	8	0	0%
TX	IRION COUNTY	2012	2	1	-1	-50%
TX	JACKSON COUNTY	2012	9	9	0	0%
TX	JASPER COUNTY	2012	20	21	1	5%
TX	JEFFERSON COUNTY	2012	57	40	-17	-30%
TX	JIM HOGG COUNTY	2012	4	4	0	0%
TX	JOHNSON COUNTY	2012	31	29	-2	-6%
TX	JONES COUNTY	2012	11	11	0	0%
TX	KAUFMAN COUNTY	2012	30	30	0	0%
TX	KENDALL COUNTY	2012	18	11	-7	-39%
TX	KENEDY COUNTY	2012	6	6	0	0%
TX	KERR COUNTY	2012	20	20	0	0%
TX	KINNEY COUNTY	2014	4	4	0	0%
TX	KLEBERG COUNTY	2012	12	17	5	42%
TX	KNOX COUNTY	2012	6	4	-2	-33%
TX	LA SALLE COUNTY	2012	4	6	2	50%
TX	LAMAR COUNTY	2012	33	32	-1	-3%
TX	LAMPASAS COUNTY	2012	5	5	0	0%
TX	LAVACA COUNTY	2012	19	19	0	0%
TX	LEE COUNTY	2012	15	10	-5	-33%
TX	LEON COUNTY	2012	14	14	0	0%
TX	LIBERTY COUNTY	2012	30	30	0	0%
TX	LIMESTONE COUNTY	2012	21	21	0	0%
TX	LLANO COUNTY	2012	9	9	0	0%
TX	LUBBOCK COUNTY	2012	37	38	1	3%
TX	MADISON COUNTY	2012	4	6	2	50%
TX	MARION COUNTY	2012	10	10	0	0%
TX	MATAGORDA COUNTY	2012	18	18	0	0%

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TX	MCLENNAN COUNTY	2012	59	32	-27	-46%
TX	MEDINA COUNTY	2012	13	6	-7	-54%
TX	MIDLAND COUNTY	2012	20	20	0	0%
TX	MILAM COUNTY	2012	11	8	-3	-27%
TX	MONTAGUE COUNTY	2012	16	10	-6	-38%
TX	MONTGOMERY COUNTY	2012	86	90	4	5%
TX	NACOGDOCHES COUNTY	2012	17	17	0	0%
TX	NAVARRO COUNTY	2012	30	20	-10	-33%
TX	NUECES COUNTY	2012	121	92	-29	-24%
TX	ORANGE COUNTY	2012	34	34	0	0%
TX	PARKER COUNTY	2012	44	41	-3	-7%
TX	POLK COUNTY	2012	21	21	0	0%
TX	POTTER COUNTY	2012	24	16	-8	-33%
TX	RAINS COUNTY	2012	8	8	0	0%
TX	RANDALL COUNTY	2012	22	14	-8	-36%
TX	REFUGIO COUNTY	2012	10	9	-1	-10%
TX	ROCKWALL COUNTY	2012	17	17	0	0%
TX	RUSK COUNTY	2012	22	17	-5	-23%
TX	SAN AUGUSTINE COUNTY	2012	11	11	0	0%
TX	SAN JACINTO COUNTY	2012	11	11	0	0%
TX	SAN PATRICIO COUNTY	2012	17	14	-3	-18%
TX	SHERMAN COUNTY	2014	4	3	-1	-25%
TX	SMITH COUNTY	2012	48	34	-14	-29%
TX	SOMERVELL COUNTY	2012	5	4	-1	-20%
TX	SUTTON COUNTY	2012	4	4	0	0%
TX	TAYLOR COUNTY	2012	34	22	-12	-35%
TX	TOM GREEN COUNTY	2012	26	21	-5	-19%
TX	TRAVIS COUNTY	2012	210	196	-14	-7%
TX	UPSHUR COUNTY	2012	16	16	0	0%
TX	UPTON COUNTY	2012	3	3	0	0%
TX	VAL VERDE COUNTY	2012	17	16	-1	-6%
TX	VICTORIA COUNTY	2012	35	35	0	0%
TX	WALKER COUNTY	2012	16	16	0	0%
TX	WALLER COUNTY	2012	19	18	-1	-5%
TX	WEBB COUNTY	2012	60	68	8	13%
TX	WICHITA COUNTY	2012	34	30	-4	-12%
TX	WILBARGER COUNTY	2012	6	4	-2	-33%
TX	WILLIAMSON COUNTY	2012	86	51	-35	-41%

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TX	WILSON COUNTY	2012	16	16	0	0%
TX	WISE COUNTY	2012	21	22	1	5%
TX	WOOD COUNTY	2012	11	11	0	0%
TX	YOUNG COUNTY	2012	9	5	-4	-44%
TX	ZAPATA COUNTY	2012	7	7	0	0%



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