

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA DIVISION**

ANNIE LOIS GRANT; QUENTIN T.
HOWELL; ELROY TOLBERT; THERON
BROWN; TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES;
EUNICE SYKES; ELBERT SOLOMON;
and DEXTER WIMBISH,

Plaintiffs,

v.

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official
capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State;
SARA TINDALL GHAZAL, in her
official capacity as a member of the State
Election Board; ANH LE, in her official
capacity as a member of the State Election
Board; EDWARD LINDSEY, in his
official capacity as a member of the State
Election Board; and MATTHEW
MASHBURN, in his official capacity as a
member of the State Election Board,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION FILE
NO. 1:22-CV-00122-SCJ

**DECLARATION OF JONATHAN P. HAWLEY IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

I, Jonathan P. Hawley, hereby declare as follows:

1. I am over the age of 18 and competent to make this declaration. I am an associate with the law firm Elias Law Group LLP and am admitted to practice

law in the States of Washington and California and before multiple federal courts of appeals and district courts. I have submitted an application for admission in this Court *pro hac vice* in the above-captioned matter, and I am counsel for Plaintiffs. I submit this declaration to provide the Court true and correct copies of certain documents submitted in support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction.

Exhibit 1 is a true and correct copy of the expert report of Blakeman B. Esselstyn, dated January 13, 2022.

Exhibit 2 is a true and correct copy of the expert report of Dr. Maxwell Palmer of Boston University, dated January 12, 2022.

Exhibit 3 is a true and correct copy of the expert report of Dr. Orville Vernon Burton of Clemson University, dated January 10, 2022.

Exhibit 4 is a true and correct copy of the expert report of Dr. Loren Collingwood of the University of New Mexico, dated January 13, 2022.

Exhibit 5 is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Annie Lois Grant, dated January 13, 2022.

Exhibit 6 is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Quentin T. Howell, dated January 12, 2022.

Exhibit 7 is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Elroy Tolbert, dated January 11, 2022.

Exhibit 8 is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Theron Brown, dated January 12, 2022.

Exhibit 9 is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Triana Arnold James, dated January 10, 2022.

Exhibit 10 is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Eunice Sykes, dated January 12, 2022.

Exhibit 11 is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Elbert Solomon, dated January 10, 2022.

Exhibit 12 is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Dexter Wimbish, dated January 11, 2022.

Exhibit 13 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Senate’s Redistricting Map Advances; Georgia Assembly Honors Max Cleland.” The article was published by Georgia Public Broadcasting on November 9, 2021, and is publicly available at: <https://www.gpb.org/news/2021/11/09/senates-redistricting-map-advances-georgia-assembly-honors-max-cleland>.

Exhibit 14 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Georgia House Wraps up Legislative Redistricting with Passage of GOP State Senate Map.” The article was published by the *Athens Banner-Herald* on November 15, 2021, and is

publicly available at: <https://www.onlineathens.com/story/news/2021/11/15/georgia-house-approves-new-map-state-senate-districts/8626264002>.

Exhibit 15 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Georgia House, Senate Approve Their Redistricting Maps. What’s Next?” The article was published by Georgia Public Broadcasting on November 10, 2021, and is publicly available at: <https://www.gpb.org/news/2021/11/10/georgia-house-senate-approve-their-redistricting-maps-whats-next>.

Exhibit 16 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Georgia House Legislative Redistricting Map Heads to Governor.” The article was published by Georgia Public Broadcasting on November 12, 2021, and is publicly available at: <https://www.gpb.org/news/2021/11/12/georgia-house-legislative-redistricting-map-heads-governor>.

Exhibit 17 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Public to State Lawmakers: Slow Redistricting Process Down.” The article was published by *The Albany Herald* on November 9, 2021, and is publicly available at: https://www.albanyherald.com/news/public-to-state-lawmakers-slow-redistricting-process-down/article_75e30286-4158-11ec-9cbb-cf2518e93cb2.html.

Exhibit 18 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Georgia Senate GOP Passes Map to Retain Republican Majority.” The article was published by *U.S.*

News & World Report on November 9, 2021, and is publicly available at: <https://www.usnews.com/news/best-states/georgia/articles/2021-11-09/georgia-senate-gop-passes-map-to-retain-republican-majority>.

Exhibit 19 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Georgia Lawmakers Pass Republican-Backed House Redistricting Map.” The article was published by *The Albany Herald* on November 11, 2021, and is publicly available at: https://www.albanyherald.com/news/georgia-lawmakers-pass-republican-backed-house-redistricting-map/article_f5fe6ff6-431e-11ec-aa63-439c16f8deb6.html.

Exhibit 20 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Georgia Redistricting Signed into Law and Lawsuits Quickly Follow.” The article was published by *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* on December 30, 2021, and is publicly available at: <https://www.ajc.com/politics/georgia-redistricting-signed-into-law-as-lawsuits-loom/KDMPMUEXTZGDHIRUOYQAJSIUR4>.

Exhibit 21 a true and correct copy of the document entitled “2021 Committee Guidelines.” The document was published by the Georgia General Assembly, was last accessed on January 12, 2022, and is publicly available at: <https://www.legis.ga.gov/api/document/docs/default-source/reapportionment->

document-library/2021-senate-redistricting-committee-guidelines.pdf?sfvrsn=a9bbb991_2.

Exhibit 22 is a true and correct copy of the document entitled “2021-2022 Guidelines for the House Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Committee.” The document was published by the Georgia House of Representatives, was last accessed on December 29, 2021, and is publicly available at: https://www.house.ga.gov/Documents/CommitteeDocuments/2021/Legislative_and_Congressional_Reapportionment/2021-2022%20House%20Reapportionment%20Committee%20Guidelines.pdf.

Exhibit 23 is a true and correct copy of the letter from Assistant Attorney General John R. Dunne to Senior Assistant Attorney General Mark H. Cohen, dated March 20, 1992. The letter was published by the U.S. Department of Justice, was last accessed on December 31, 2021, and is publicly available at: <https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/crt/legacy/2014/05/30/GA-2360.pdf>.

Exhibit 24 is a true and correct copy of the letter from Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds to Attorney General Michael Bowers, dated February 11, 1982. The letter was published by the U.S. Department of Justice, was last accessed on December 31, 2021, and is publicly available at: <https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/crt/legacy/2014/05/30/GA-1870.pdf>.

Exhibit 25 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Douglas Leader’s Racial Comments Spark Calls That He Resign.” The article was published by *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* on September 30, 2016, and is publicly available at: <https://www.ajc.com/news/local/douglas-leader-racial-comments-spark-calls-that-resign/AVjoe8BDCXLsut6OBPjIHI>.

Exhibit 26 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “GOP Candidate’s Husband Shares Image Urging Voters to ‘Free the Black Slaves from the Democratic Plantation.’” The article was published by CNN on May 2, 2017, and is publicly available at: <https://www.cnn.com/2017/05/02/politics/kfile-karen-handel-husband-tweet/index.html>.

Exhibit 27 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Roswell’s Wood Says ‘Ossoff’ Has Off-Puttingly Muslim Ring.” The article was published by Appen Media Group on March 15, 2017, and is publicly available at: https://www.appenmedia.com/opinion/columnists/roswell-s-wood-says-ossoff-has-off-puttingly-muslim-ring/article_729681a0-e082-5a2c-a639-9f15369a730a.html.

Exhibit 28 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Warring Republicans Try to Unite Against Ossoff in Georgia’s Sixth.” The article was published by *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* on April 15, 2017, and is publicly

available at: <https://www.ajc.com/blog/politics/warring-republicans-try-unite-against-ossoff-georgia-sixth/CJca8W1Alqeob6jvA8gB5H>.

Exhibit 29 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Gwinnett Commissioner Calls John Lewis ‘a Racist Pig,’ Faces Backlash.” The article was published by *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* on January 16, 2017, and is publicly available at: <https://www.ajc.com/news/gwinnett-commissioner-calls-john-lewis-racist-pig-faces-backlash/K2uAUZFikv57szlncpZilO>.

Exhibit 30 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Racist ‘Magical Negro’ Robo-Call from ‘Oprah’ Targets Stacey Abrams in Georgia Governor’s Race.” The article was published by *The Washington Post* on November 5, 2018, and is publicly available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2018/11/04/racist-magical-negro-robo-call-oprah-targets-stacey-abrams-georgia-governors-race>.

Exhibit 31 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “It Was Too Easy for Brian Kemp’s Last-Minute Dog Whistle About Stacey Abrams to Go Viral.” The article was published by *Slate* on November 6, 2018, and is publicly available at: <https://slate.com/technology/2018/11/brian-kemp-stacey-abrams-dog-whistle-black-panthers-facebook.html>.

Exhibit 32 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Georgia Gubernatorial Candidate Brian Kemp Suggests Truck Is for Rounding up ‘Illegals.’” The article was published by *USA Today* on May 10, 2018, and is publicly available at: <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2018/05/10/brian-kemp-illegals-ad/600212002>.

Exhibit 33 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Kelly Loeffler’s New Facebook Ad Darkens Skin of Raphael Warnock, Her Black Opponent.” The article was published by Salon on January 4, 2021, and is publicly available at: <https://www.salon.com/2021/01/04/kelly-loefflers-new-facebook-ad-darkens-skin-of-raphael-warnock-her-black-opponent>.

Exhibit 34 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Perdue’s Campaign Deletes Ad That Enlarges Jewish Opponent’s Nose, Insists It Was Accident.” The article was published by ABC News on July 28, 2020, and is publicly available at: <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/perdues-campaign-deletes-ad-enlarges-jewish-opponents-nose/story?id=72039950>.

Exhibit 35 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Georgia Republican Senator Willfully Mispronounces Kamala Harris’ Name at Trump Rally.” The article was published by CNN on October 17, 2020, and is publicly

available at: <https://www.cnn.com/2020/10/16/politics/david-perdue-kamala-harris/index.html>.

Exhibit 36 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Crime Fears Emerge in Johns Creek, Sandy Springs Municipal Elections.” The article was published by *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* on October 26, 2021, and is publicly available at: <https://www.ajc.com/neighborhoods/north-fulton/crime-fears-emerge-in-johns-creek-sandy-springs-municipal-elections/HAMJ4MEMVVA3BCYC36Z OGR3OKM>.

Exhibit 37 is a true and correct copy of the “2021-2022 GLBC Members” page of the website of the Georgia Legislative Black Caucus. The page was last accessed on January 3, 2022, and is publicly available at: <https://gablackcaucus.org/members>.

Exhibit 38 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Blacks in State Legislatures: A State-by-State Map.” The article was published by *Governing* on January 13, 2021, and is publicly available at: <https://www.governing.com/now/blacks-in-state-legislatures-a-state-by-state-map.html>.

Exhibit 39 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “State Legislator Demographics.” The article was published by the National Conference of State Legislatures on December 1, 2020, and is publicly available at: <https://>

www.ncsl.org/research/about-state-legislatures/state-legislator-demographics.aspx.

Exhibit 40 is a true and correct copy of the “Former Georgia Governors” page of the website of the National Governors Association. The page was last accessed on December 31, 2021, and is publicly available at: <https://www.nga.org/former-governors/Georgia>.

Exhibit 41 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Stacey Abrams Is Running for Georgia Governor in 2022.” The article was published by *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* on December 1, 2021, and is publicly available at: <https://www.ajc.com/politics/politics-blog/breaking-stacey-abrams-is-running-for-georgia-governor-in-2022/VRUXXJSQWBBAXAZQZV72FLP4LM>.

Exhibit 42 is a true and correct copy of the “States in the Senate | Georgia Senators” page of the website of the U.S. Senate. The page was last accessed on December 31, 2021, and is publicly available at: <https://www.senate.gov/states/GA/senators.htm>.

Exhibit 43 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Report Shows Black Georgians Were More Likely to Be Denied Unemployment Benefits.” The article was published by WUGA on November 19, 2021, and is publicly available

at: <https://www.wuga.org/post/report-shows-black-georgians-were-more-likely-be-denied-unemployment-benefits>.

Exhibit 44 is a true and correct copy of the final report of the House of Representatives Study Committee on Maternal Mortality. The document was published by the Georgia House of Representatives, was last accessed on December 31, 2021, and is publicly available at: https://www.house.ga.gov/Documents/CommitteeDocuments/2019/MaternalMortality/HR_589_Final_Report.pdf.

Exhibit 45 is a true and correct copy of the article entitled “Bill in Congress Could Bring Relief to Uninsured Georgians.” The article was published by *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* on December 1, 2021, and is publicly available at: <https://www.ajc.com/life/health/bill-in-congress-could-bring-relief-to-uninsured-georgians/BQOWOU7O35FADAXG4LAL57YELQ>.

Exhibit 46 is a true and correct copy of the document entitled “2022 State Elections & Voter Registration Calendar.” The document was published by the Georgia Secretary of State, was last accessed on December 31, 2021, and is publicly available at: https://sos.ga.gov/admin/uploads/2022_State_Short_Calendar9.pdf.

Dated: January 13, 2022

Respectfully submitted,

By: **Johnathan P. Hawley**

Jonathan P. Hawley*

ELIAS LAW GROUP LLP

1700 Seventh Avenue, Suite 2100

Seattle, Washington 98101

Phone: (206) 656-0179

Facsimile: (206) 656-0180

Email: JHawley@elias.law

Counsel for Plaintiffs

**Pro hac vice* application pending

EXHIBIT 1

Expert Report of Blakeman B. Esselstyn

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Qualifications

1. My name is Blakeman B. Esselstyn. I am the founder and principal of a consultancy called Mapfigure Consulting, which provides expert services in the areas of redistricting, demographics, and geographic information systems (GIS). For more specific information about the qualifications and credentials in the paragraphs below, please see my Curriculum Vitae, provided as **Attachment A**.

2. I have previously served as a consulting expert in two redistricting cases, and as a testifying expert in three cases related to other topics.

3. I have developed 15 redistricting plans that have been enacted for use in elections by jurisdictions at various levels of government.

4. I earned a bachelor's degree in Geology & Geophysics and International Studies from Yale University and a master's degree in Computer and Information Technology from the University of Pennsylvania. I have professional certifications both as a Geographic Information Systems Professional (GISP) and as a member of the American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP).

5. I have taught graduate-level semester courses in Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and have presented on redistricting at conferences at Harvard University, Duke University, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the University of Texas, and several other universities. I have also presented at events organized by the

National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL), the Urban and Regional Information Systems Association (URISA), and the American Planning Association (APA).

6. In addition to speaking engagements, my work and opinions related to redistricting have often been cited in media outlets, and some of my related writings have been published or cited in national publications. Again, for details, please see **Attachment A**.

7. I am being compensated at a rate of \$325 per hour. No part of my compensation is dependent upon the conclusions that I reach or the opinions that I offer.

B. About this report

8. Plaintiffs' counsel has asked me to determine whether there are areas in the State of Georgia where the Black population is "sufficiently large and geographically compact"¹ to enable the creation of additional majority-Black legislative districts relative to the number of such districts provided in the enacted State Senate and State House of Representatives redistricting plans from 2021.

9. The Georgia General Assembly has two chambers, each with distinct redistricting plans that I will consider individually. Following a demographic overview of the state that will be relevant for both chambers, the report will provide separate sections addressing each chamber's districts: first the State Senate, then the House of Representatives. For each chamber, I will briefly review the enacted plan, present an

¹ *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30, 50 (1986).

alternative illustrative plan, and supply some analysis of selected characteristics of the plans.

10. Unless otherwise specified, all map images in the report are ones that I created (though they may be maps showing redistricting plans I did not create).²

11. More detailed information about the sources of data, the software, and my methodology can be found in **Attachment B**.

C. Summary of conclusions

12. It is possible to create three additional majority-Black districts in the State Senate plan and five additional majority-Black districts in the State House plan while still adhering to other traditional redistricting principles.

II. Statewide Demographic Overview

A. Georgia and the 2020 Census

13. Georgia's population increased by more than one million people between the 2010 and 2020 censuses, from 9,687,653 to 10,711,908—an increase of approximately 10.6%.³

² Some maps deliberately do not show the State of Georgia in its entirety, as districts in large areas of the northern and southern parts of the state are unchanged in the illustrative plans. Focusing in on affected portions of the State's geography allows for more clarity and higher level of detail in the map figures.

³ All demographic analysis is based on statistics obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau website, <https://www.census.gov>. For URLs of specific census resources used, please consult Attachment B.

14. According to the 2020 census, 33.0% of Georgia’s population (essentially one-third) identified as “Black or African American alone or in combination.”⁴ The 2010–2020 population increase in this group outpaced the growth in the state as a whole, increasing by approximately 15.8%.

15. By contrast, the state’s population identifying as White and neither Hispanic nor multi-racial *decreased* by 1.0% between 2010 and 2020. This non-Hispanic White population still constitutes a majority of the state population, but only barely, at 50.1%. In 2010, this group constituted 55.9% of Georgia’s population.

16. The *voting age* population identifying as Black increased 21.8% from 2010 to 2020. In 2020 this group (sometimes abbreviated as BVAP for the Black voting age population) made up 31.7% of the voting age population, an increase from 29.7% in 2010. The non-Hispanic single-race White voting age population, however, has decreased from 59.0% of the voting age population to 52.8%.

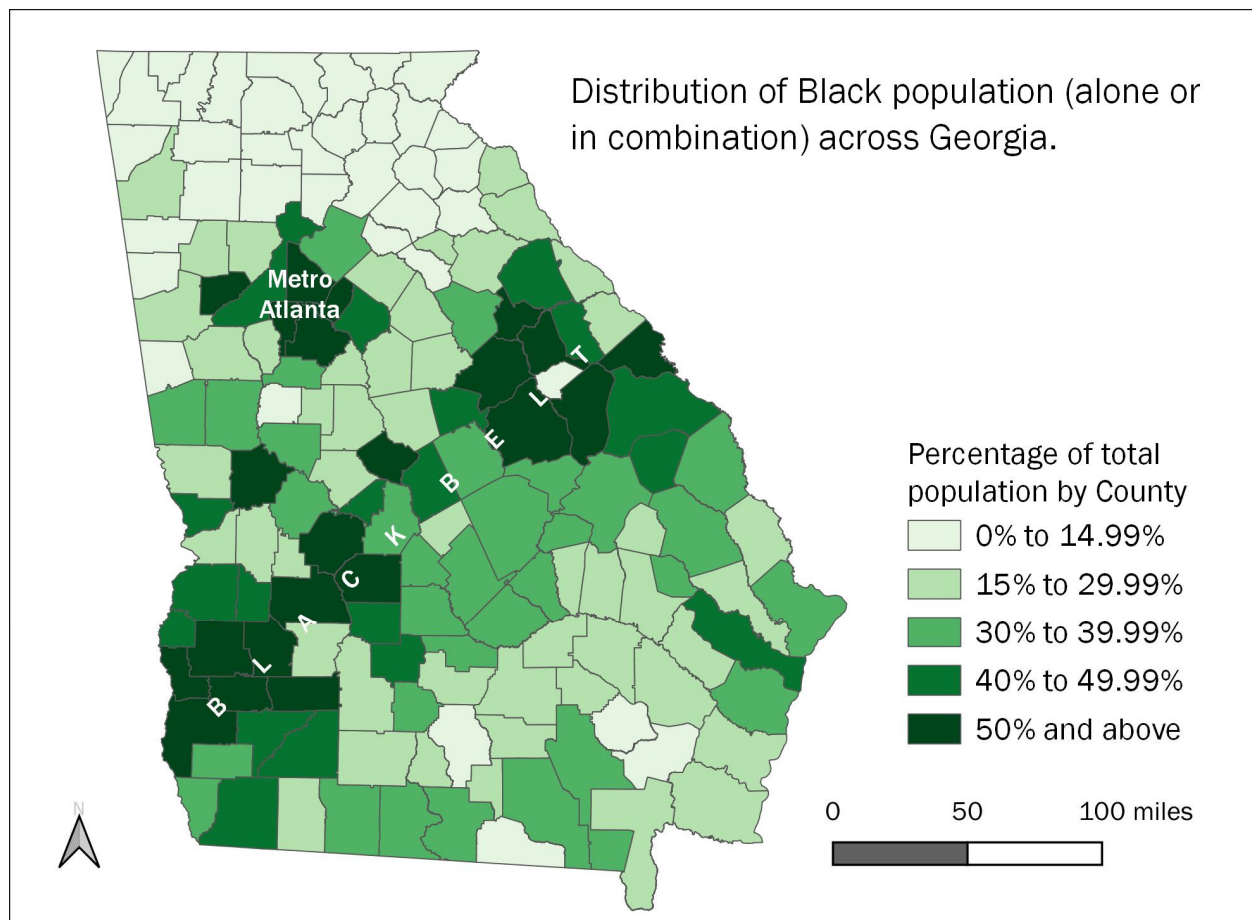
B. Geographic distribution of the Black population

17. Just about half of Georgia’s Black population lives in six of the state’s 159 counties, all of which are in the Metro Atlanta region. These six counties are, in order of decreasing Black population, Fulton, DeKalb, Gwinnett, Cobb, Clayton, and Henry.

⁴ The Census Bureau classification “Black or African American alone or in combination,” sometimes stated as “any part Black,” will be the measure of the Black population that I use most frequently in this report. Unless otherwise stated, in the text that follows, “Black” can be taken to indicate “alone or in combination.” This measure includes Black residents who also identify as Hispanic. In the understanding of this author, the “alone or in combination” designation is the appropriate measure for most Voting Rights Act Section 2 considerations.

18. The counties in Georgia where the percentage of Black residents generally tends to be highest can be grouped into two main categories: the aforementioned Metro Atlanta region and the so-called “Black Belt” of Georgia. Though some accounts say the origin of the term “Black Belt” in the American South stems from descriptions of the soil, modern classifications of which counties are in this region can hinge on the percentage of the population that is Black.⁵ In Georgia, this belt of mostly rural counties constitutes a wide band from the southwest corner of the state to the central part of the South Carolina border near Richmond County. See Figure 1.

Figure 1: Statewide map showing percentages of Black population across counties



⁵ See, e.g., *Southeastern Geographer* article at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26225503>

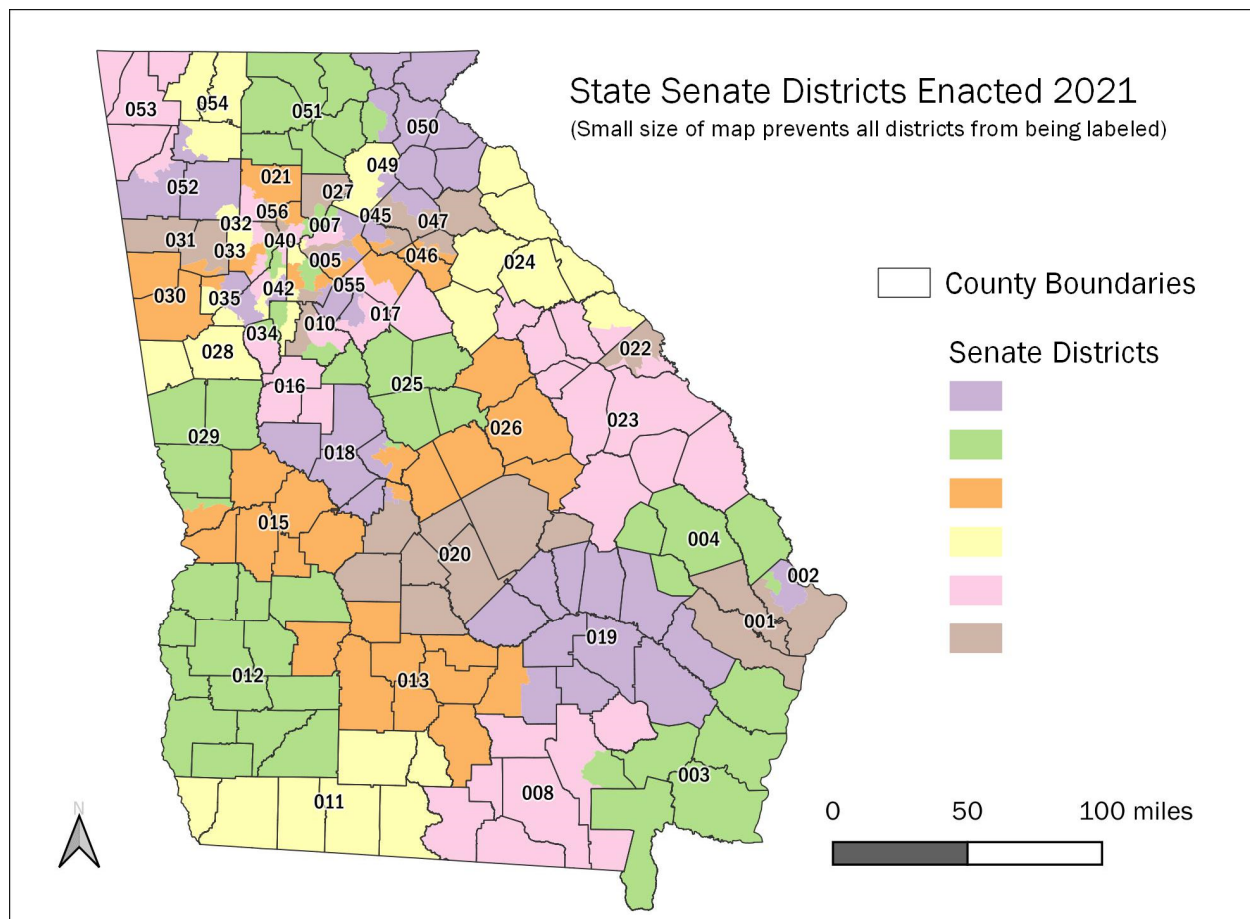
19. For a table showing demographic statistics from the 2020 census for Georgia's counties, please see **Attachment C**.

III. Georgia State Senate redistricting plan

A. Review of enacted State Senate plan

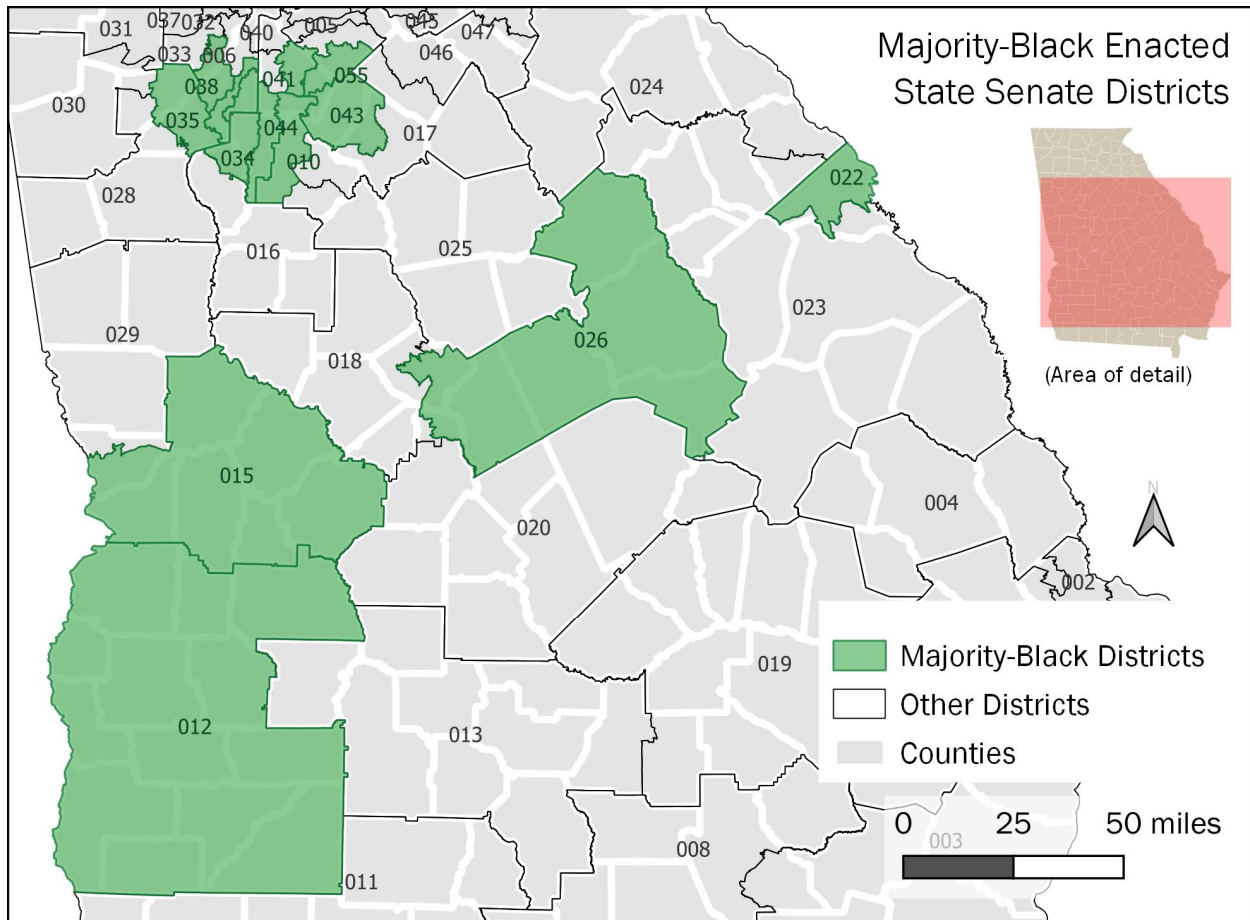
20. On December 30, 2021, Georgia Governor Brian Kemp signed new State Senate districts into law. With districts for 56 senators in this enacted plan, each district is designed to have a population near 191,284, or one-fifty-sixth of Georgia's total population. See Figure 2.

Figure 2: Map of all districts in enacted State Senate plan



21. Of the 56 districts in the enacted plan, 14 are majority-Black.⁶ Ten of those are in the Metro Atlanta area and four are in the Black Belt. These districts are highlighted in Figure 3 below.

Figure 3: Map indicating majority-Black districts in enacted State Senate plan



22. For more maps and statistics related to the enacted State Senate districts, please see **Attachment D**.

⁶ Per convention in Section 2 cases, “majority-Black” is taken to indicate that the district’s *voting age* population that identifies as Black (alone or in combination) constitutes more than 50% of the district’s voting age population.

B. Illustrative State Senate plan

23. The illustrative plan that I created, like the enacted plan, has 56 districts, all designed to have populations near 191,284. Because the illustrative plan used the enacted plan as a starting point, many of the districts are the same. In fact, just 22 of the districts were modified, leaving the other 34 unchanged.

24. The illustrative plan includes three additional majority-Black State Senate districts compared to the enacted plan, for a total of 17. Specifically, Senate Districts 23, 25, and 28 are not majority-Black in the enacted plan but are majority-Black in the illustrative plan. See Figure 4 and Table 1.

Figure 4: Map of majority-Black districts in the illustrative State Senate plan.

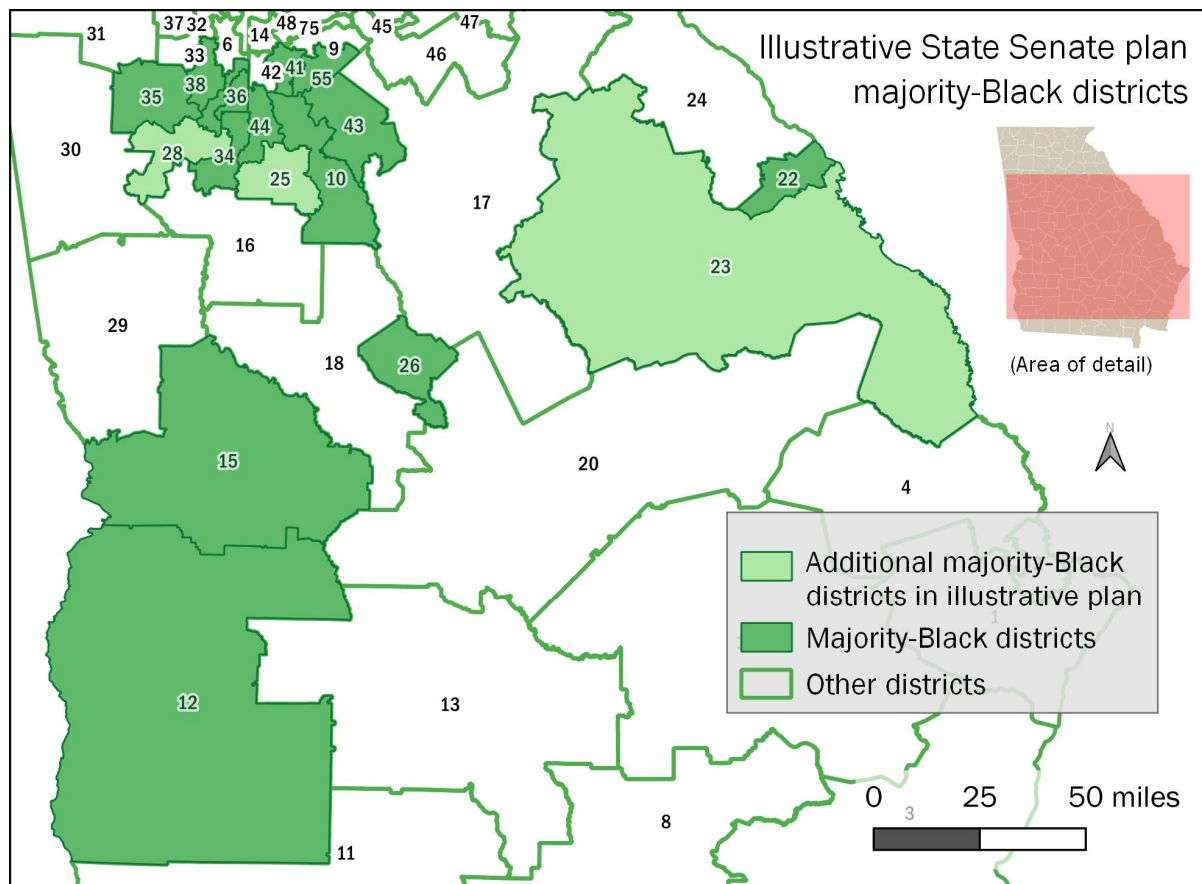


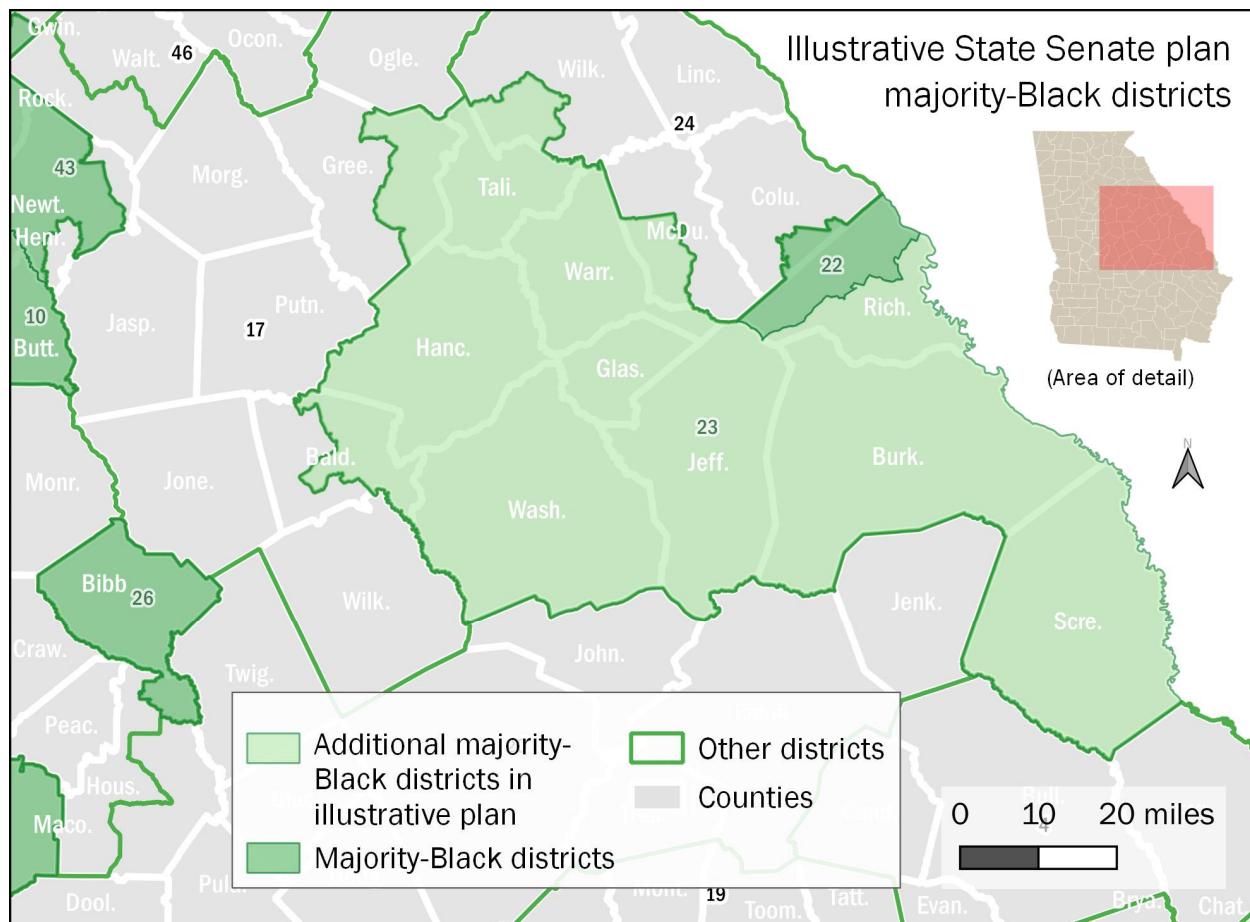
Table 1: Illustrative Senate plan majority-Black districts with BVAP percentages

District	BVAP%	District	BVAP%	District	BVAP%
10	61.10%	26	52.84%	39	60.21%
12	57.97%	28	57.28%	41	62.61%
15	54.00%	34	60.19%	43	58.52%
22	50.84%	35	54.05%	44	71.52%
23	50.43%	36	51.34%	55	65.97%
25	58.93%	38	66.36%		

[Intentionally blank]

25. The additional majority-Black State Senate district in the eastern Black Belt area (District 23) includes all of Burke, Glascock, Hancock, Jefferson, Screven, Taliaferro, Warren, and Washington Counties and parts of Baldwin, Greene, McDuffie, Richmond, and Wilkes. See Figure 5.⁷

Figure 5: Map of eastern Black Belt region of illustrative plan with majority-Black State Senate districts indicated.

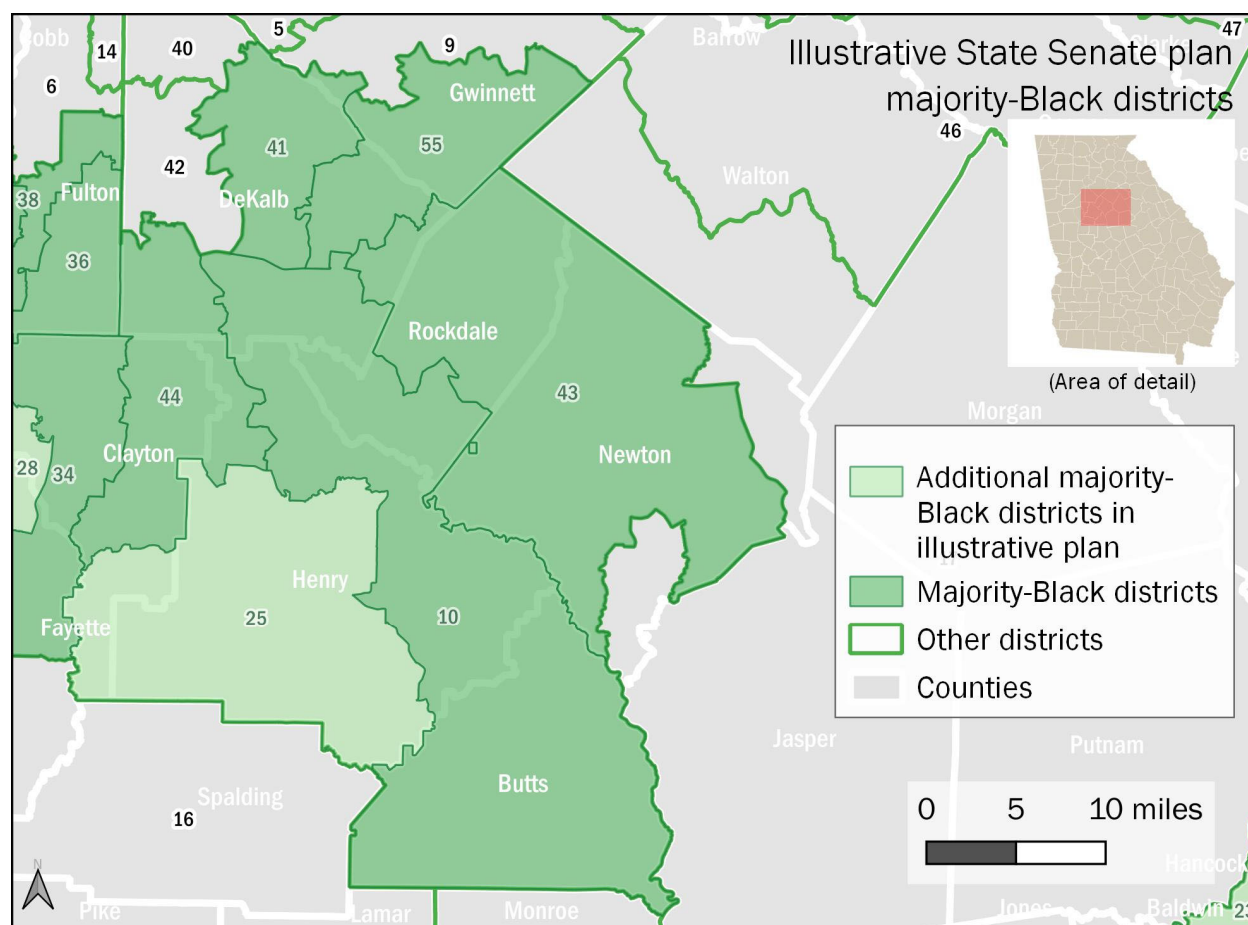


[Intentionally blank]

⁷ Incidentally, in the illustrative plan, Bibb County is no longer divided; all of Bibb County is in the same district, and it is a majority-Black district (District 26).

26. The additional majority-Black State Senate district in the southeastern Metro Atlanta area (District 25) is composed of portions of Fayette and Henry Counties. See Figure 6.

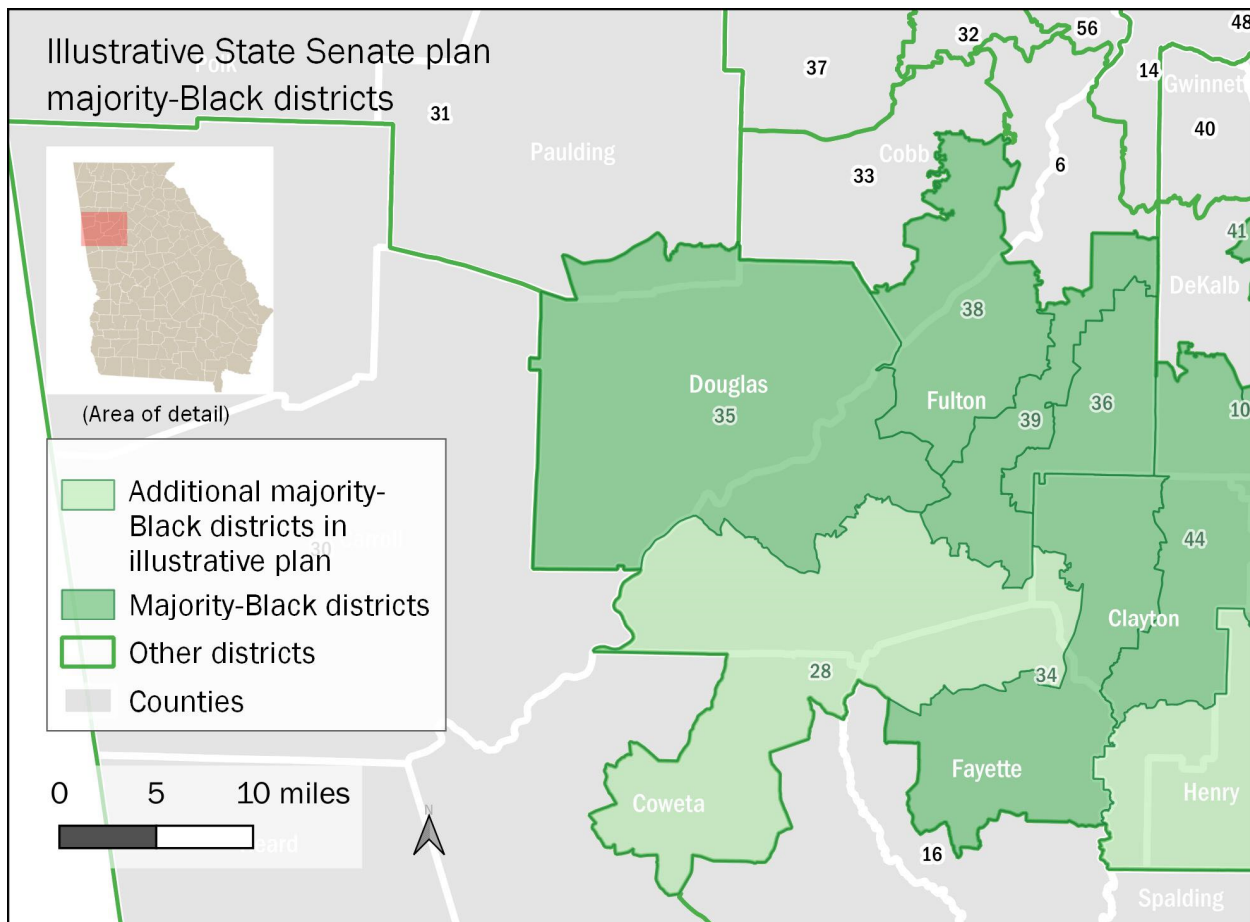
Figure 6: Map of eastern Metro Atlanta area of illustrative plan with majority-Black State Senate districts indicated.



[Intentionally blank]

27. The additional majority-Black State Senate district in the southwestern Metro Atlanta area (District 28) is composed of portions of Clayton, Coweta, Fayette, and Fulton Counties. See Figure 7.⁸

Figure 7: Map of western Metro Atlanta area of illustrative plan with majority-Black State Senate districts indicated.



28. For more demographic statistics related to the illustrative State Senate districts, please see **Attachment E**.

⁸ Incidentally, the illustrative map also includes all of Douglas County in one majority-Black State Senate district, rather than dividing it between two districts as it is in the enacted plan.

C. Comparative characteristics

29. In undertaking the creation of a new redistricting plan for the State Senate, the Senate Reapportionment Committee adopted the “2021-2022 Senate Reapportionment Committee Guidelines,” a full copy of which is appended to this report as **Attachment F**. Within this document is a section called “GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR DRAFTING PLANS,” which contains a list of principles. The illustrative plan was drawn to comply with and balance these principles. The level of adherence for most of the principles can be viewed as a yes/no (e.g., “All plans adopted by the Committee will comply with the United States and Georgia Constitutions”), but for three of the principles where quantitative analysis can help illustrate adherence, an explanation and some summary statistics are provided below.

30. The guidelines provide that “[e]ach legislative district of the General Assembly should be drawn to achieve a total population that is substantially equal as practicable, considering the principles listed below.” Noting that adherence to other principles can be in tension with population equality, both the enacted plan and the illustrative plan get substantially closer to population equality than the permissible threshold of $\pm 5\%$. In both plans, most district populations are within $\pm 1\%$ of the ideal, and a small minority are within between ± 1 and 2% . None has a deviation of more than 2% . For the enacted plan, the relative average deviation is 0.53% , and for the illustrative plan the relative average deviation is 0.68% .

31. One of the guidelines states that “[c]ompactness” “should [be] consider[ed].” Numerous measures exist for quantifying compactness of districts, and a selection of

some of the most commonly used measures in redistricting are shown in Table 2 below—both for the enacted plan and the illustrative plan. One can see that the average compactness measures for the plans are almost identical, if not identical. An explanation of the five compactness metrics is provided as **Attachment G**.

Table 2: Compactness measures for enacted and illustrative State Senate plans.

	Reock (average)	Schwartzberg (average)	Polsby- Popper (average)	Area/Convex Hull (average)	Number of Cut Edges
Enacted	0.42	1.75	0.29	0.76	11,005
Illustrative	0.41	1.76	0.29	0.75	10,998

32. Another guideline states that “[t]he boundaries of counties and precincts” “should [be] consider[ed].” In redistricting in the United States, consideration of such boundaries is generally taken to mean that counties and precincts should be kept intact to the extent possible (i.e., not split among multiple districts). While the Reapportionment Committee’s language regarding this guideline is not explicit, the table below (Table 3) provides numbers of counties and VTDs (the Census “Voting District” used by redistricting software as a proxy for precincts) split in both the enacted and illustrative State Senate plans.

Table 3: Political subdivision splits for enacted and illustrative State Senate Plans

	Intact Counties	Split Counties	Split VTDs
Enacted	130	29	47
Illustrative	125	34	49

33. While the creation of three additional majority-Black State Senate districts involved the division of additional counties and VTDs, the differences are marginal.

34. For more detailed statistics and reports on the above characteristics, please see **Attachment H**.

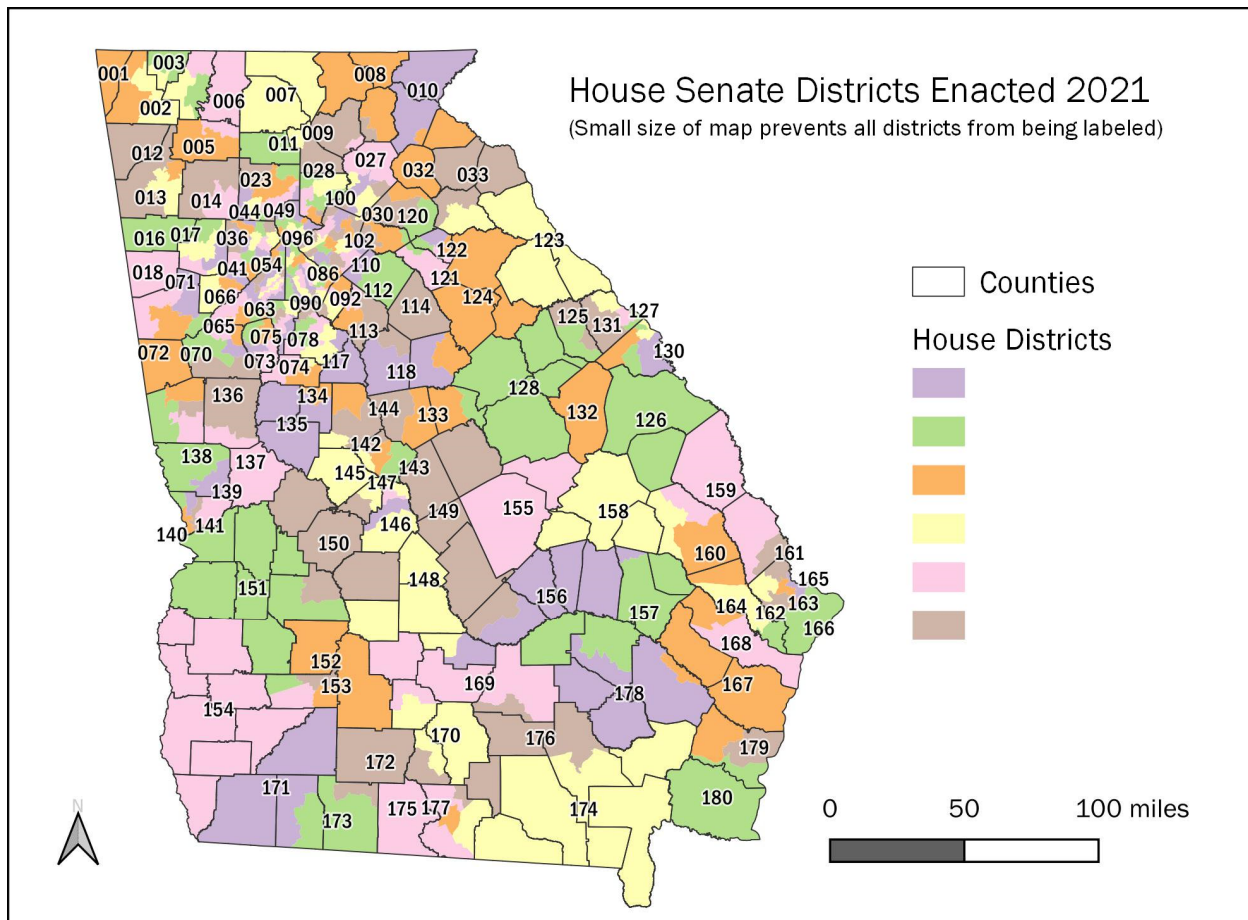
[Intentionally blank]

IV. Georgia House redistricting plan

A. Review of enacted House plan

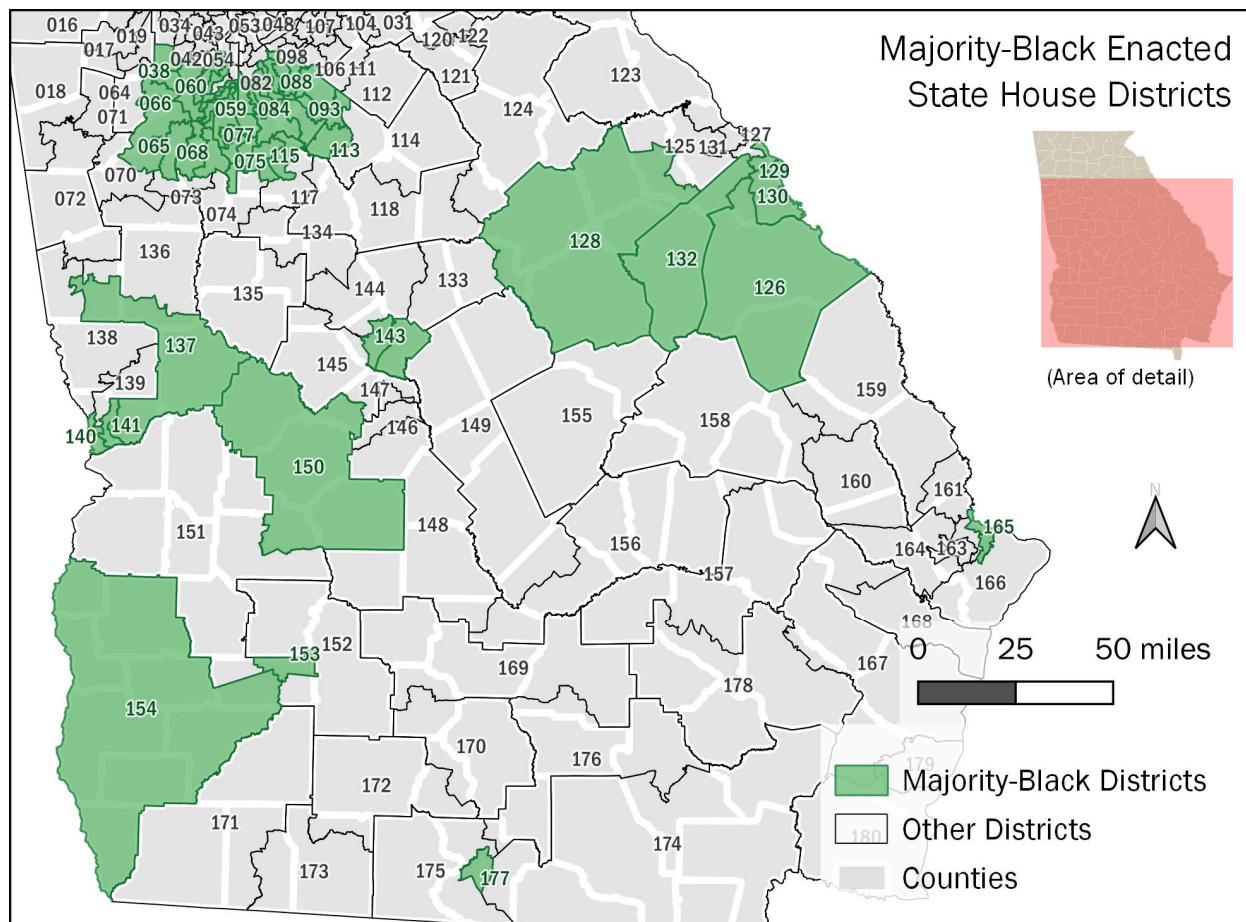
35. On December 30, 2021, Governor Kemp signed new House of Representatives districts into law. With districts for 180 Representatives in this enacted plan, each district is designed to have a population near 59,511, or one-one-hundred-eightieth of Georgia's total population. See Figure 8.

Figure 8: Map of all districts in enacted House plan



36. Of the 180 districts in the enacted plan, 49 are majority-Black. Thirty-four of those are in the Metro Atlanta area, 13 are in the Black Belt, and two small districts are within Chatham (anchored in Savannah) and Lowndes Counties (anchored in Valdosta) in the southeastern part of the state. These districts are highlighted in Figure 9 below.

Figure 9: Map indicating majority-Black districts in enacted House plan



37. For more maps and statistics related to the enacted House districts, please see **Attachment I**.

B. Illustrative House plan

38. The illustrative plan that I created, like the enacted plan, has 180 districts, all designed to have populations near 59,511. Because the illustrative plan used the enacted plan as a starting point, many of the districts are the same. In fact, just 26 of the districts were modified, leaving the other 154 unchanged.

39. The illustrative plan includes five additional majority-Black House districts compared to the enacted plan, for a total of 54. Specifically, House Districts 64, 74, 117, 145, and 149 are not majority-Black in the enacted plan but are majority-Black in the illustrative plan. See Figure 10 and Table 4.

Figure 10: Map of majority-Black districts in the illustrative House plan.

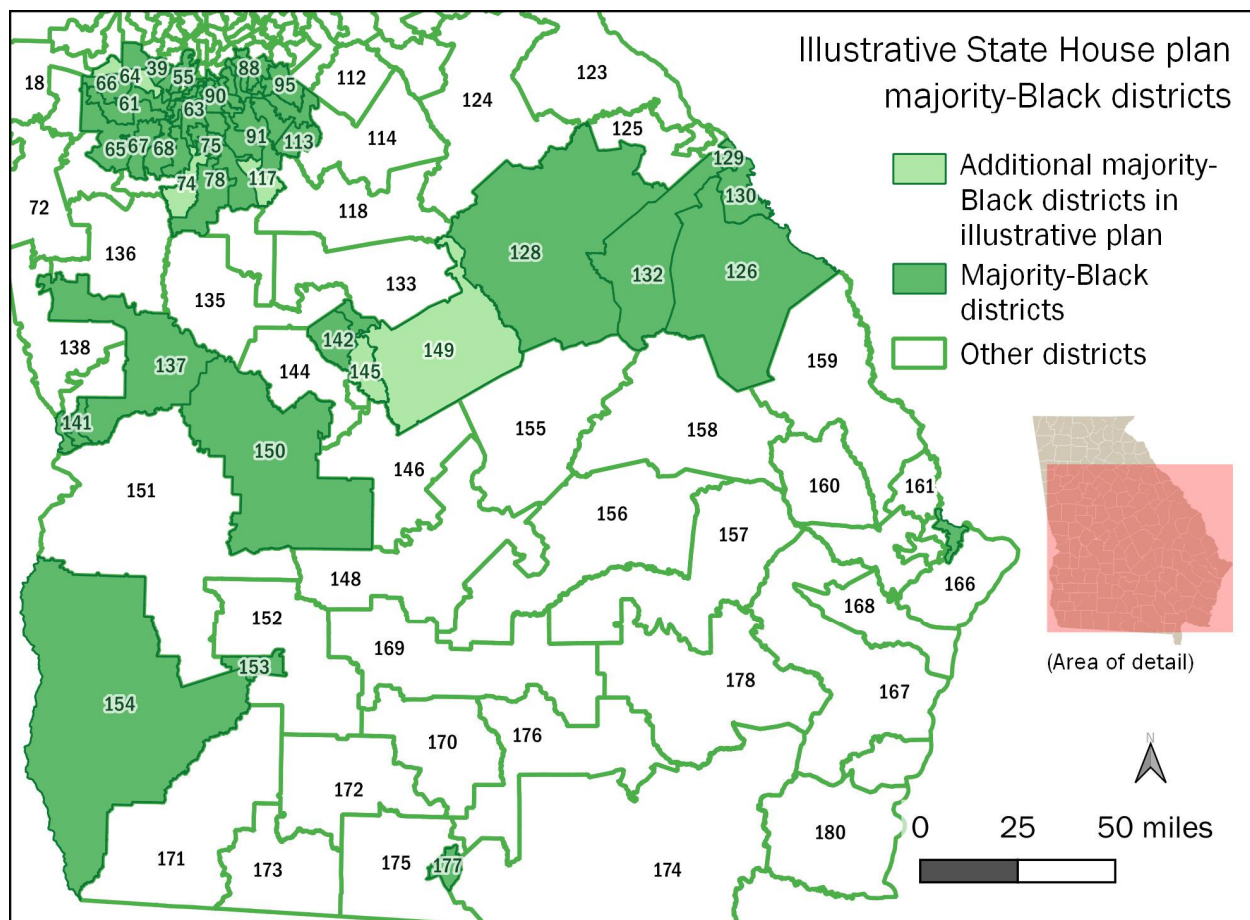


Table 4: Illustrative House plan majority-Black districts with BVAP percentages

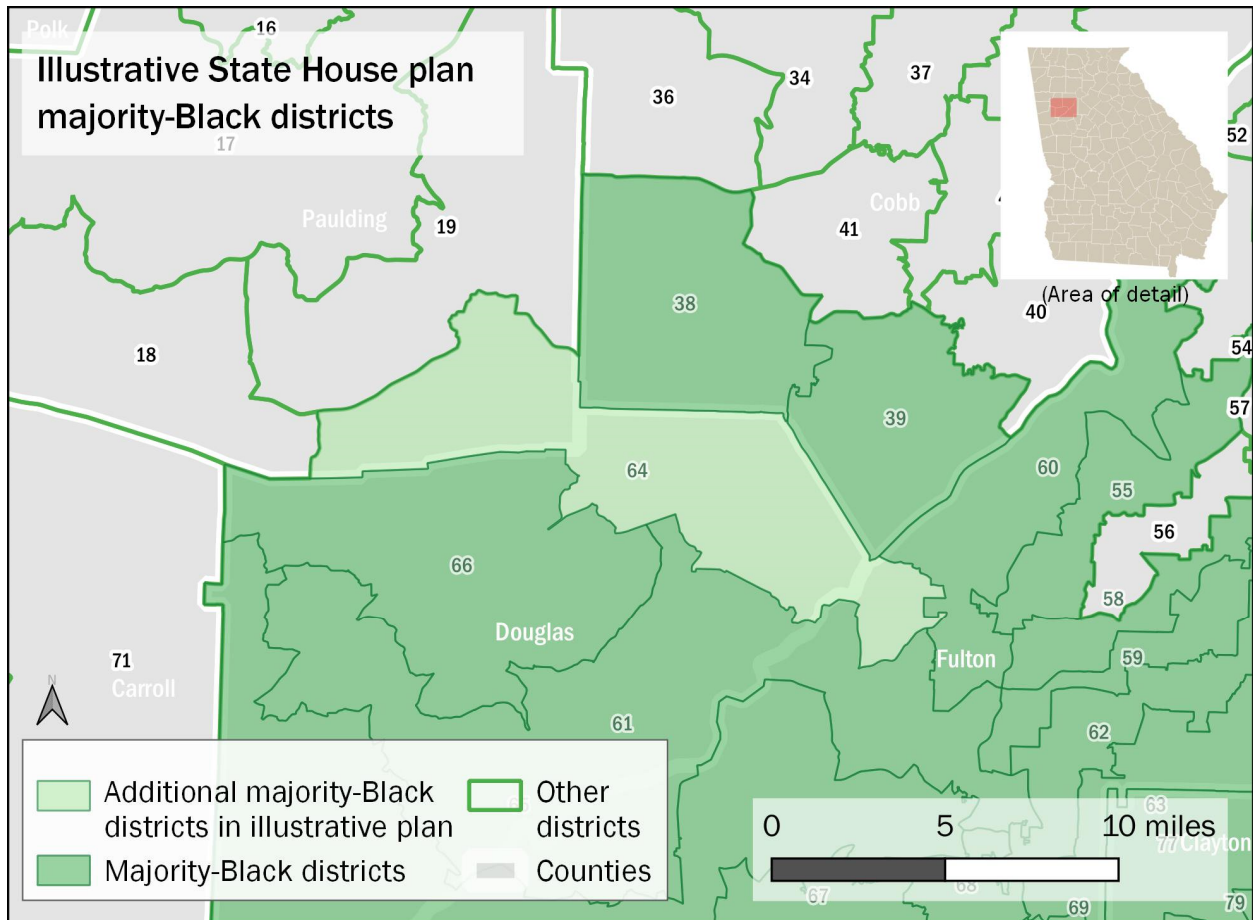
District	BVAP%	District	BVAP%	District	BVAP%	District	BVAP%
38	54.23%	69	62.73%	91	60.01%	137	52.13%
39	55.29%	74	53.94%	92	68.79%	140	57.63%
55	55.38%	75	66.89%	93	65.36%	141	57.46%
58	63.04%	76	67.23%	94	69.04%	142	50.14%
59	70.09%	77	76.13%	95	67.15%	143	50.64%
60	63.88%	78	51.03%	113	59.53%	145	50.38%
61	64.87%	79	71.59%	115	53.77%	149	50.02%
62	72.26%	84	73.66%	116	51.95%	150	53.56%
63	69.33%	85	62.71%	117	51.56%	153	67.95%
64	50.24%	86	75.05%	126	54.47%	154	54.82%
65	55.32%	87	73.08%	128	50.40%	165	50.33%
66	50.64%	88	63.35%	129	54.87%	177	53.88%
67	58.92%	89	62.54%	130	59.91%		
68	55.75%	90	58.49%	132	52.34%		

[Intentionally blank]

40. The additional majority-Black House district in the western Metro Atlanta area (District 64) is composed of portions of Douglas, Fulton, and Paulding Counties.

See Figure 11.

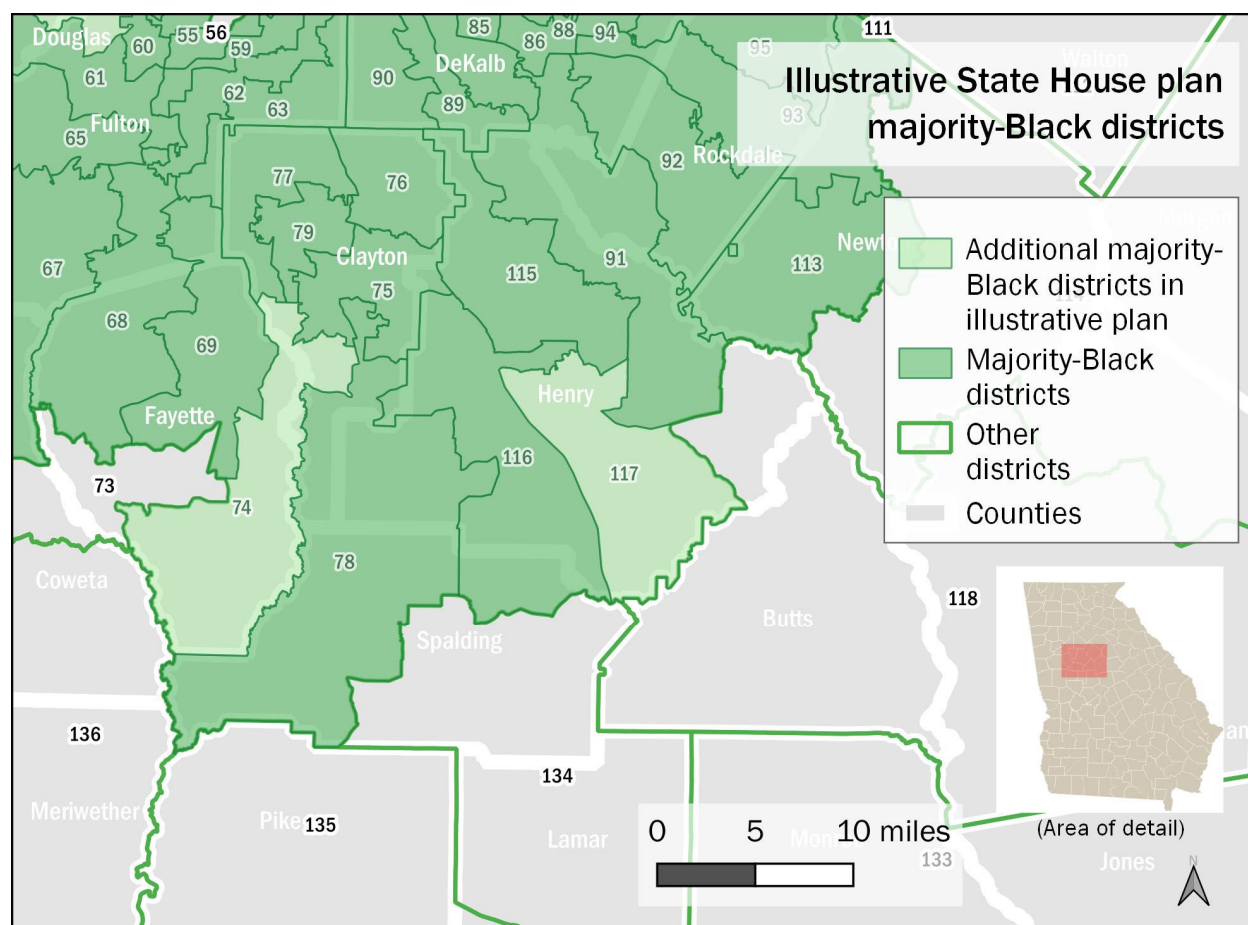
Figure 11: Map of western Metro Atlanta area of illustrative plan with majority-Black House districts indicated.



[Intentionally blank]

41. The additional majority-Black House districts in the southern Metro Atlanta area (Districts 74 and 117) are built from portions of Clayton, Fayette, and Henry Counties. See Figure 12.

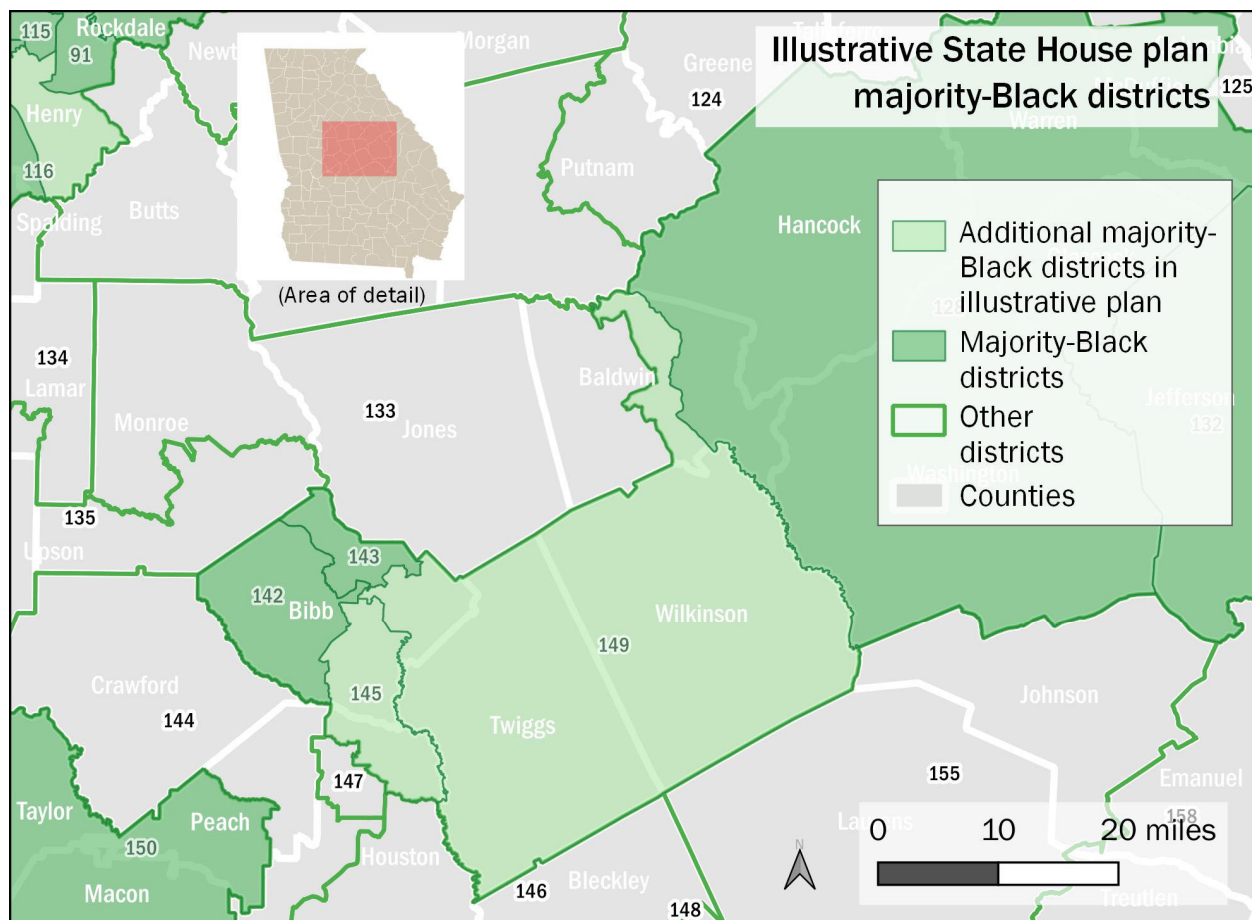
Figure 12: Map of southern Metro Atlanta area of illustrative plan with majority-Black House districts indicated.



[Intentionally blank]

42. The two additional majority-Black House districts in the central Black Belt area (Districts 145 and 149) are built from portions of Baldwin, Bibb, and Houston Counties, as well as all of Twiggs and Wilkinson Counties. Instead of dividing Bibb County into four districts, of which three are only partially in Bibb County, as in the enacted plan, in the illustrative plan, two of the districts (Districts 142 and 143) are wholly contained in Bibb County, and only two (Districts 145 and 149) extend outside the county. See Figure 13.

Figure 13: Map of central Black Belt region of illustrative plan with majority-Black House districts indicated.



43. For more demographic statistics related to the illustrative State Senate districts, please see **Attachment J**.

C. Comparative characteristics

44. In undertaking the creation of a new redistricting plan for the House, the House Reapportionment Committee adopted the “2021-2022 House Reapportionment Committee Guidelines,” a full copy of which is appended to this report as **Attachment K**. Within this document is a section called “GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR DRAFTING PLANS,” which contains a list of principles. The illustrative plan was drawn to comply with and balance these principles. As with the Senate Committee’s principles discussed above, three of the principles can be quantitatively analyzed to help illustrate adherence. As with the State Senate illustrative plan, some explanatory notes and summary statistics are provided below.

45. The guidelines provide that “[e]ach legislative district of the General Assembly should be drawn to achieve a total population that is substantially equal as practicable, considering the principles listed below.” As with the Senate plan, both the enacted plan and the illustrative plan get substantially closer to population equality than the permissible threshold of $\pm 5\%$. In both plans, most district populations are within $\pm 1\%$ of the ideal, and a small minority are within between ± 1 and 2% . None has a deviation of more than 2% . For the enacted plan, the relative average deviation is 0.61% , and for the illustrative plan the relative average deviation is 0.64% .

[Intentionally blank]

46. One of the guidelines states that “[c]ompactness” “should [be] consider[ed].”

A selection of some of the most commonly used measures of compactness are shown in Table 5 below—both for the enacted plan and the illustrative plan. One can see that the average compactness measures for the plans are almost identical, if not identical.

Table 5: Compactness measures for enacted and illustrative House plans.

	Reock (average)	Schwartzberg (average)	Polsby- Popper (average)	Area/Convex Hull (average)	Number of Cut Edges
Enacted	0.39	1.80	0.28	0.72	22,020
Illustrative	0.39	1.82	0.28	0.72	22,475

47. Another guideline states that “[t]he boundaries of counties and precincts” “should [be] consider[ed].” The table below (Table 6) provides numbers of counties and VTDs (akin to precincts) split in both the enacted and illustrative House plans.

Table 6: Political subdivision splits for enacted and illustrative House plans.

	Intact Counties	Split Counties	Split VTDs
Enacted	90	69	185
Illustrative	89	70	192

48. While the creation of five additional majority-Black House districts involved the division of one additional county and a handful of VTDs, the differences are marginal.

49. For more detailed statistics and reports on the above characteristics, please see **Attachment L**.

V. Conclusion

50. This report has demonstrated that it is possible to create three additional majority-Black districts in the Georgia State Senate plan and five additional majority-Black districts in the Georgia House of Representatives plan while still adhering to other traditional redistricting principles.

51. I reserve the right to supplement this report in consideration of additional facts, testimony, or materials that may come to light.

Executed on January 13, 2022.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Blakeman B. Esselstyn', with a horizontal line extending from the end of the signature.

Blakeman B. Esselstyn

EXHIBIT 2

Expert Report of Dr. Maxwell Palmer

Grant v. Raffensperger (N.D. Ga.)

January 12, 2022



EXPERT REPORT OF MAXWELL PALMER, PH.D.

I, Dr. Maxwell Palmer, declare as follows:

1. My name is Maxwell Palmer. I am currently an Associate Professor of Political Science at Boston University. I joined the faculty at Boston University in 2014, after completing my Ph.D. in Political Science at Harvard University. I was promoted to Associate Professor, with tenure, in 2021. I teach and conduct research on American politics and political methodology.
2. I have published academic work in leading peer-reviewed academic journals, including the *American Political Science Review*, *Journal of Politics*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, and *Political Science Research and Methods*. My book, *Neighborhood Defenders: Participatory Politics and America's Housing Crisis*, was published by Cambridge University Press in 2019. I have also published academic work in the *Ohio State University Law Review*. My published research uses a variety of analytical approaches, including statistics, geographic analysis, and simulations, and data sources including academic surveys, precinct-level election results, voter registration and vote history files, and census data. My curriculum vitae is attached to this report.
3. I have served as an expert witness or litigation consultant on numerous cases involving voting restrictions. I testified at trial or by deposition in *Bethune Hill v. Virginia* before the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia (No. 3:14-cv-00852-REP-AWA-BMK); *Thomas v. Bryant* before the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi (No. 3:18-CV-00441-CWR-FKB); *Chestnut v. Merrill* before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama (No. 2:18-cv-00907-KOB); *Dwight v. Raffensperger* before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia (No. 1:18-cv-2869-RWS); *Bruni v. Hughs* before the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas (No. 5:20-cv-35); *Texas Alliance for Retired Americans v. Hughs* before the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas (No. 5:20-cv-128); and *Caster v. Merrill* before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama (No. 2:21-cv-1536-AMM). I also served as the independent racially polarized voting analyst for the Virginia Redistricting Commission in 2021. I worked as a data analyst assisting testifying experts in *Perez v. Perry* before the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas (No. 5:11-cv-00360-OLG); *LULAC v. Edwards Aquifer Authority* before the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas (No. 5:12-cv-00620-OLG); *Harris v. McCrory* before the U. S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina (No. 1:13-cv-00949-WO-JEP); *Guy v. Miller* before the U.S. District Court for the District of Nevada (No. 11-OC-00042-1B); *In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment* before the Florida Supreme Court (Nos. 2012-CA-412,

2012-CA-490); and *Romo v. Detzner* before the Circuit Court of the Second Judicial Circuit in Florida (No. 2012 CA 412).

4. I am being compensated at a rate of \$350/hour for my work in this case. No part of my compensation is dependent upon the conclusions that I reach or the opinions that I offer.
5. I was retained by the plaintiffs in this litigation to offer an expert opinion on the extent to which voting is racially polarized in parts of Georgia. I was also asked to evaluate the performance of the new majority-minority districts in the plaintiffs' illustrative maps.
6. I find strong evidence of racially polarized voting across all five focus areas. Black and White voters consistently support different candidates.
7. Black-preferred candidates are largely unable to win elections in the non-Black-majority districts in the focus areas.
8. Under the plaintiffs' illustrative map, I find that Black-preferred candidates are generally able to win elections in all of the new majority-Black districts.

Data Sources and Elections Analyzed

9. For the purpose of my analysis, I examined elections across five different focus areas, based on the House and Senate maps adopted by the Georgia General Assembly in 2021.¹ Collectively, I refer to these areas as the "focus areas." Figure 1 maps the focus areas, and Figures 7–11 provide more detailed maps. These focus areas are defined as the areas from which the new majority-minority districts in the plaintiffs' illustrative maps are drawn.
10. There are three focus areas for the House plan:
 - *Black Belt*: House Districts 133, 142, 143, 145, 147, and 149. These districts include Bleckley, Crawford, Dodge, Twiggs, and Wilkinson Counties and parts of Baldwin, Bibb, Houston, Jones, Monroe, Peach, and Telfair Counties.
 - *Southern Atlanta*: House Districts 69, 74, 75, 78, 115, and 117. These districts include parts of Clayton, Fayette, Fulton, Henry, and Spalding Counties.
 - *Western Atlanta*: House Districts 61 and 64. These districts include parts of Douglas, Fulton, and Paulding Counties.
11. There are two focus areas for the Senate plan:
 - *Black Belt*: Senate Districts 22, 23, 24, 25, and 26. These districts include Baldwin, Burke, Butts, Columbia, Elbert, Emanuel, Glascock, Greene, Hancock, Hart, Jasper, Jefferson, Jenkins, Johnson, Jones, Lincoln, McDuffie, Oglethorpe, Putnam, Richmond,

¹Shape files and demographic data on each plan were downloaded from the website of the Georgia General Assembly' Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office (House Bill 1EX and Senate Bill 1EX).

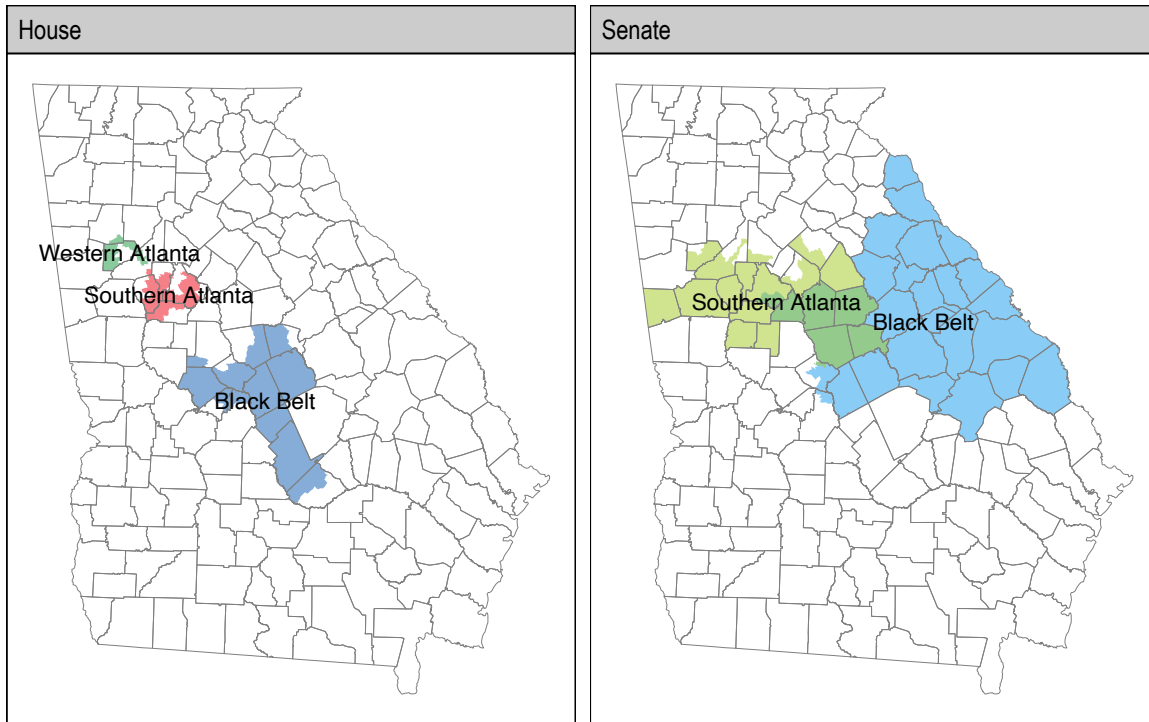


Figure 1: Maps of the Focus Areas

Screven, Taliaferro, Twiggs, Warren, Washington, Wilkes, and Wilkinson Counties and parts of Bibb, Henry, and Houston Counties.

- *Southern Atlanta*: Senate Districts 10, 16, 17, 25, 28, 34, 35, 39, and 44.² These districts include Baldwin, Butts, Clayton, Coweta, Fayette, Heard, Jasper, Jones, Lamar, Morgan, Pike, Putnam, and Spalding Counties and parts of Bibb, Dekalb, Douglas, Fulton, Henry, Newton, and Walton Counties.
12. To analyze racially polarized voting, I relied on precinct-level election results and voter turnout by race, compiled by the state of Georgia. The data includes the racial breakdown of registrants and voters in each precinct, based on registrants' self-identified race when registering to vote. Data for the 2012, 2014, 2016, and 2018 general elections was provided to counsel by the Georgia Secretary of State in a prior case.³ Data on turnout by race for the 2020 general election and the 2018 and 2021 runoff elections was retrieved from the website of the Georgia Secretary of State.⁴ Precinct-level election results for the 2018,⁵ 2020, and 2021⁶ elections was assembled by the Voting and

²Senate District 25 is included in both Senate focus areas.

³*Dwight v. Raffensperger* (No. 1:18-cv-2869-RWS).

⁴<https://sos.ga.gov/index.php/Elections>.

⁵Voting and Election Science Team, 2019, "2018 Precinct-Level Election Results", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/UBKYRU>, Harvard Dataverse, V47; ga_2018.zip.

⁶Voting and Election Science Team, 2020, "2020 Precinct-Level Election Results", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/K7760H>, Harvard Dataverse, V21; ga_2020.zip. Note that the 2020 election results file includes the 2021 runoff election results as well.

Election Science Team, an academic group that provides precinct-level data for U.S. Elections, based on data from the Secretary of State.⁷ Precinct shape files for each election year were downloaded from the Georgia General Assembly’s Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office.⁸

13. The state of Georgia provides six options for race and ethnicity on the voter registration form: Black, White, Hispanic/Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, American Indian, and Other.⁹ I combined Hispanic/Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander and American Indian into the “Other” category.

Racially Polarized Voting Analysis

14. In analyzing racially polarized voting in each election, I used a statistical procedure, ecological inference (EI), that estimates group-level preferences based on aggregate data. I analyzed the results for three racial demographic groups: Non-Hispanic Black, Non-Hispanic White, and Other, based on the voters’ self-identified race in the voter registration database. I excluded third-party and write-in candidates, and analyzed votes for the two major-party candidates in each election. The results of this analysis are estimates of the percentage of each group that voted for the candidate from each party in each election. The results include both a mean estimate (the most likely vote share) and a 95% confidence interval.¹⁰
15. Interpreting the results of the ecological inference models proceeds in two general stages. First, I examined the support for each candidate by each demographic group to determine if members of the group vote cohesively in support of a single candidate in each election. When a significant majority of the group supports a single candidate, I can then identify that candidate as the group’s candidate of choice. If the group’s support is roughly evenly divided between the two candidates, then the group does not cohesively support a single candidate and does not have a clear preference. Second, after identifying the preferred candidate for each group (or the lack of such a candidate), I compared the preferences of White voters to the preferences of Black voters. Evidence of racially polarized voting is found when Black voters and White voters support different candidates.
16. Figure 2 presents the estimates of support for the Black-preferred candidate for Black and White voters for all 31 electoral contests from 2012 to 2020 across the five focus areas. Here, I present only the estimates and confidence intervals, and exclude individual

⁷The election results provided by VEST are the same as the precinct-level data available on the website of the Georgia Secretary of State. However, VEST provides the data in a more convenient format.

⁸<https://www.legis.ga.gov/joint-office/reapportionment>.

⁹https://sos.ga.gov/admin/files/GA_VR_APP_2019.pdf.

¹⁰The 95% confidence interval is a measure of uncertainty in the estimates from the model. For example, the model might estimate that 94% of the members of a group voted for a particular candidate, with a 95% confidence interval of 91-96%. This means that based on the data and the model assumptions, 95% of the simulated estimates for this group fall in the range of 91-96%, with 94% being the average value. Larger confidence intervals reflect a higher degree of uncertainty in the estimates, while smaller confidence intervals reflect less uncertainty.

election labels. Full results for each election are presented in Tables 2-6. In each panel, the dots correspond to an estimate in a particular election, and the gray vertical lines behind each dot are the 95% confidence intervals for the estimate.¹¹

17. Examining Figure 2, the estimates for support for Black-preferred candidates by Black voters across are all significantly above 50% across the five focus areas. Black voters are extremely cohesive, with a clear candidate of choice in all 31 elections. In contrast to Black voters, Figure 2 shows that White voters are highly cohesive in voting in *opposition* to the Black-preferred candidate in every election across the five focus areas. Table 1 lists the average level of support for the Black-preferred candidate for Black and White voters in each focus area. Across all five focus areas, Black voters support their preferred candidate with at least 95.2% of the vote, and White voters support Black-preferred candidates with a maximum of 17.7% of the vote. This is strong evidence of racially polarized voting across all five focus areas.
18. There is also strong evidence of racially polarized voting within the districts comprising the five focus areas. I estimated ecological inference models for each election for every district in the focus areas with fifteen or more precincts.¹² Figure 3 plots the average

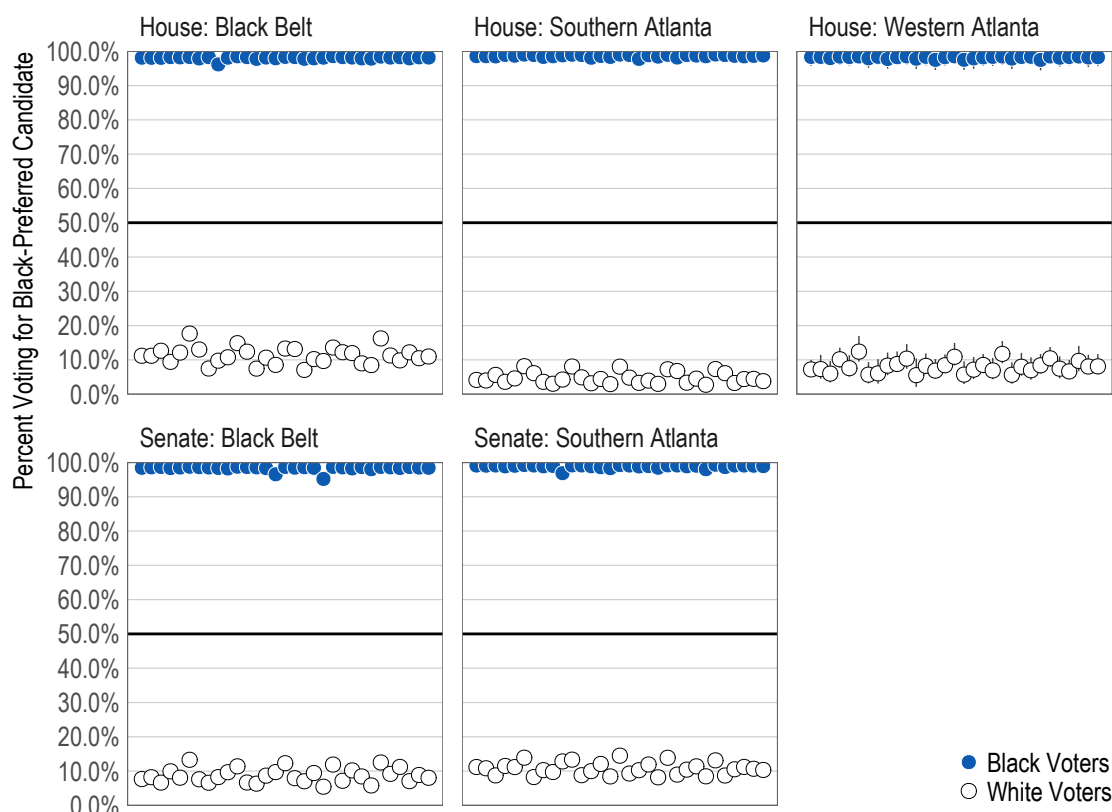


Figure 2: Racially Polarized Voting Estimates by Race — Focus Area

¹¹In some cases the lines for the confidence intervals are not visible behind the dots because they are relatively small.

¹²House Districts 64, 75, 78, 115, 117, 142, 143, and 147 do not have at least fifteen precincts for every

Table 1: Average Support for Black-Preferred Candidates by Voters' Race

	Focus Area	Black Voters	White Voters
House	Black Belt	98.1%	11.3%
	Southern Atlanta	98.7%	4.8%
	Western Atlanta	98.2%	8.0%
Senate	Black Belt	98.4%	8.7%
	Southern Atlanta	98.9%	10.7%

ecological inference across the 31 statewide elections analyzed.¹³ There is consistent evidence of racially polarized voting in every House district analyzed, and in 12 of the 14 Senate districts. Voting is generally not polarized in Senate District 39. In Senate District 44, White voters do not have a clear candidate of choice in 18 of the 31 elections, and majorities of White voters opposed the Black-preferred candidate in 13 elections.

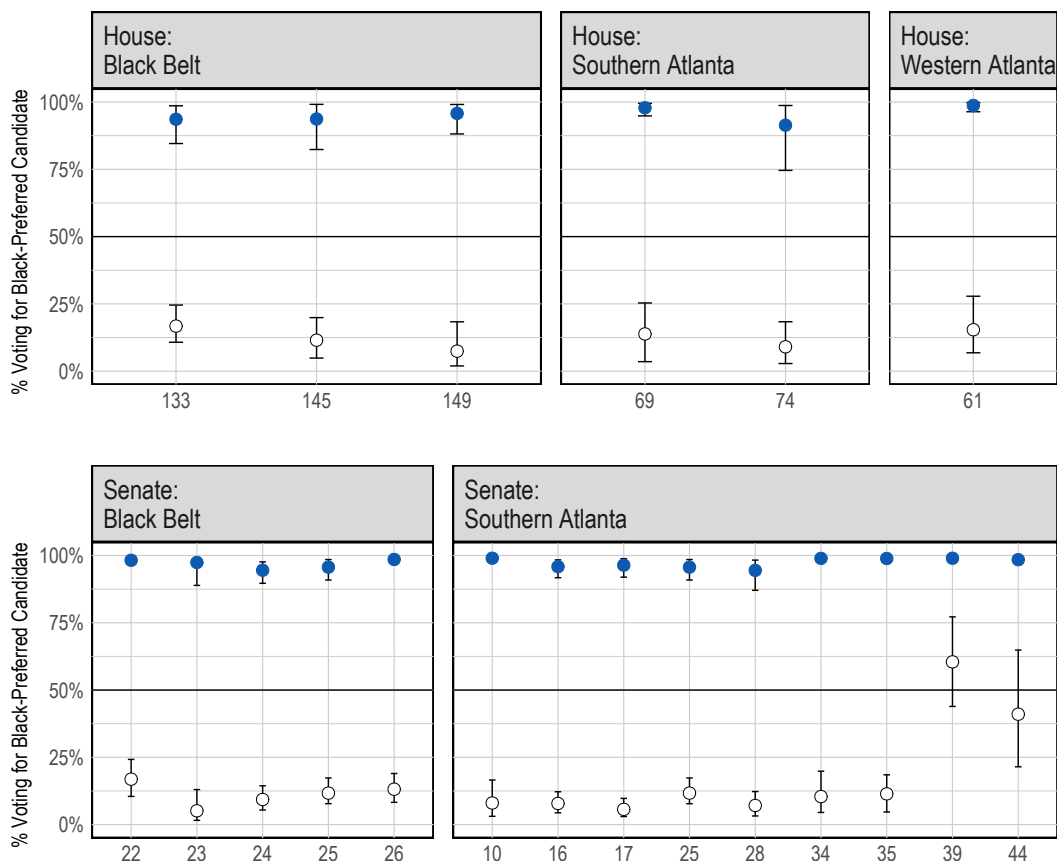


Figure 3: Average Racially Polarized Voting Estimates by District

election, and are excluded from the analysis.

¹³Table 7 presents the numerical results for Figure 3. Due to the large number of ecological inference models estimates (20 districts \times 31 elections = 620 models), I do not provide results for each separate election here. In Figure 3 and Table 7 I present results averaging across the 31 elections.

Performance of Black-Preferred Candidates in the Focus Area

19. Having identified the Black-preferred candidate in each election, I now turn to their ability to win elections in these districts. Table 8 presents the results for each election in the focus areas and districts. For each election, I calculate the vote share obtained by the Black-preferred candidate.¹⁴ Black-preferred candidates are able to win elections in the Southern Atlanta and Western Atlanta focus areas for the House districts. However, they are only able to do so due to the high support for Black-preferred candidates in the Black-majority districts.
20. Figure 4 plots the average share of the vote received by the Black-preferred candidate across each district. The solid blue circles indicate Black-majority districts, and the white circles indicate non-Black-majority districts. Black-preferred candidates win almost every election in the Black-majority districts, but lose almost every election in the non-Black-majority districts.

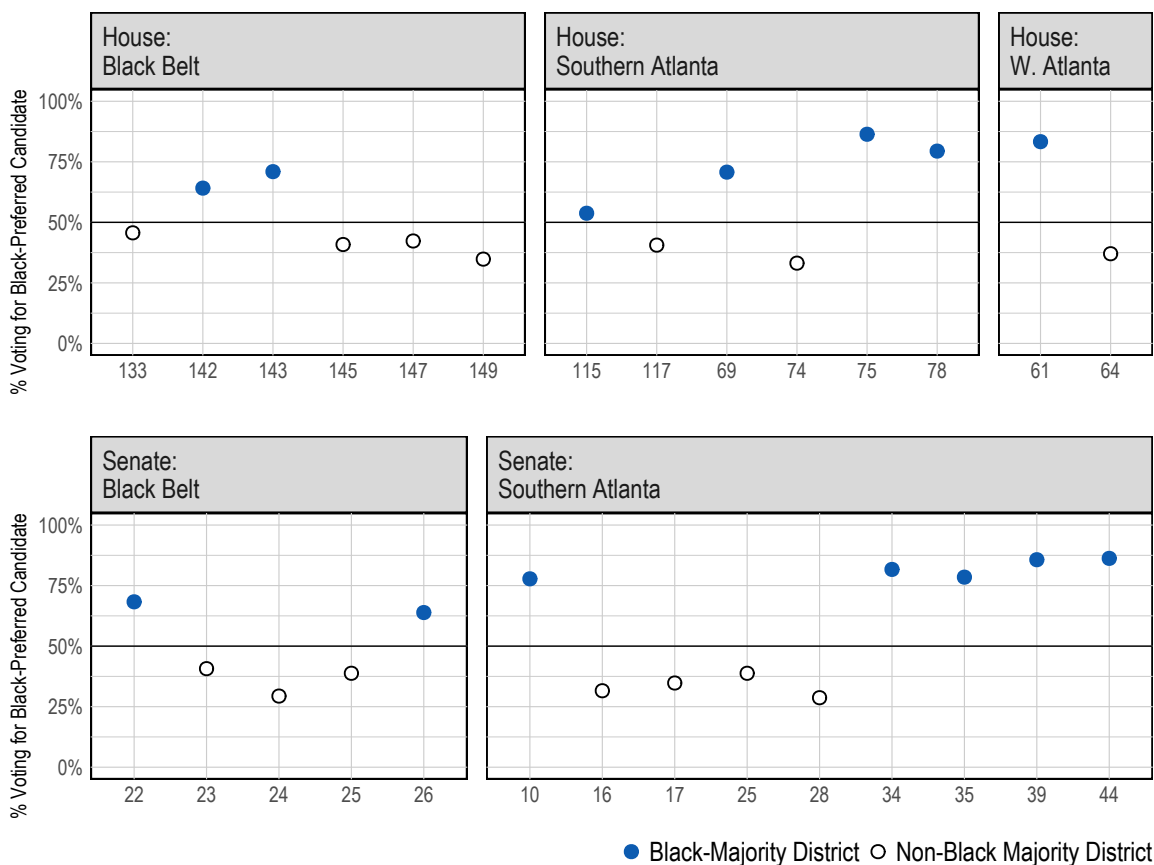


Figure 4: Average Performance of Black-Preferred Candidates by District

¹⁴Winning elections in Georgia requires a majority of the vote rather than a plurality of the vote (the threshold in most of the states). In this table and following sections analyzing election results I present vote shares as percentages of the two-party vote (excluding third party and independent candidates).

Performance of the New Black-Majority Districts in the Illustrative Maps

21. I also analyzed the performance of Black-preferred candidates in the new Black-majority districts in the plaintiffs' illustrative maps by calculating the percentage of the vote won by the Black-preferred candidates across the 31 statewide races from 2012 through 2021 for each district.
22. Figure 5 presents the results of this analysis. In House Districts 64, 74, and 149, and Senate Districts 23, 25, and 28, the Black-preferred candidate won a larger share of the vote in all 31 statewide elections. In House District 117, the Black-preferred candidate won all 19 elections since 2018. In House District 145, the Black-preferred candidate won all 19 elections since 2018, and 27 of the 31 elections overall. Table 10 provides the full results.

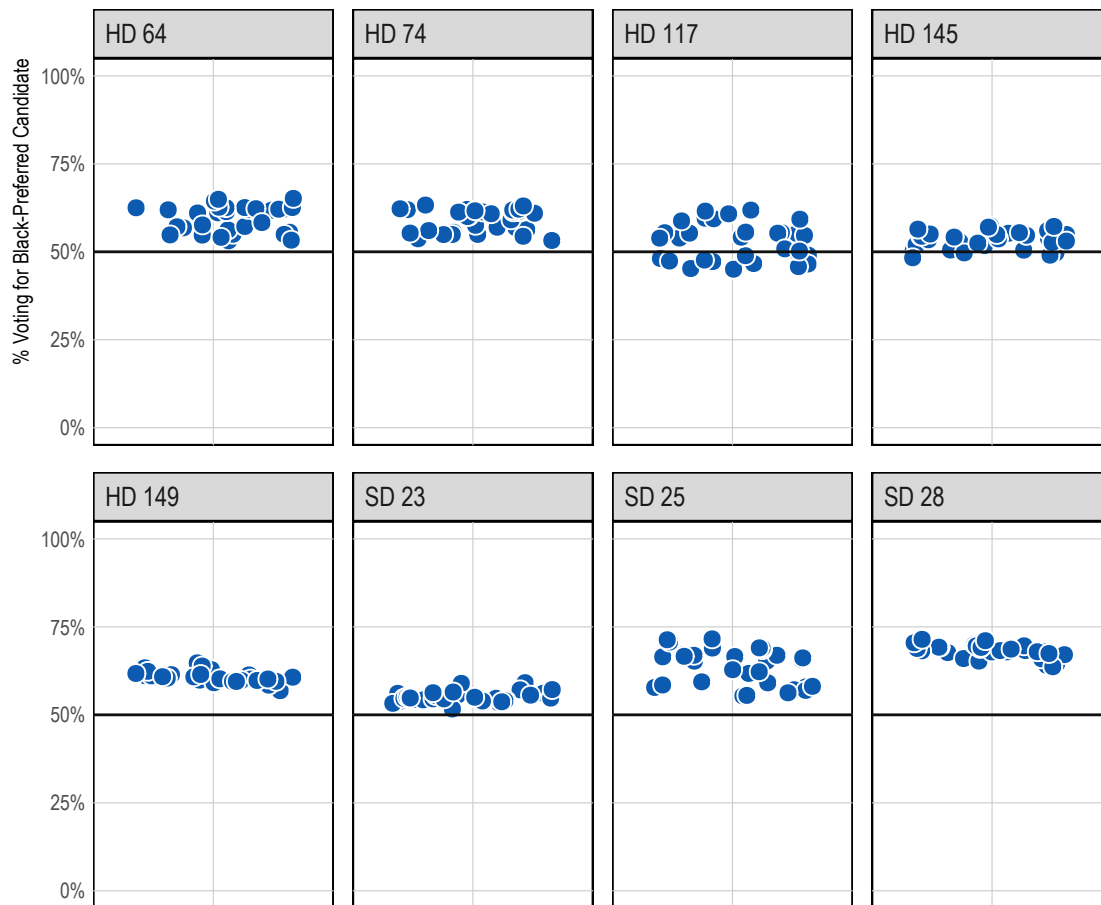


Figure 5: Vote Shares of Black-Preferred Candidates in Under the Illustrative Maps

Minority Candidate Performance in the Focus Area

23. I was asked to analyze the extent to which minority candidates have won elections in the focus areas. To do so, I calculated the vote share of each minority candidate for statewide office from 2012 to 2021 in the focus areas and in each district within the focus areas.
24. Table 11 lists the candidates for statewide office. Of the 31 contests analyzed, 13 included a Black candidate running against a White candidate.¹⁵ Figure 6 plots the average vote shares for the Black candidates in each district.¹⁶ Black candidates receive a majority of the vote in almost every election in Black-majority districts, but are defeated in almost every election in the non-Black-majority districts.

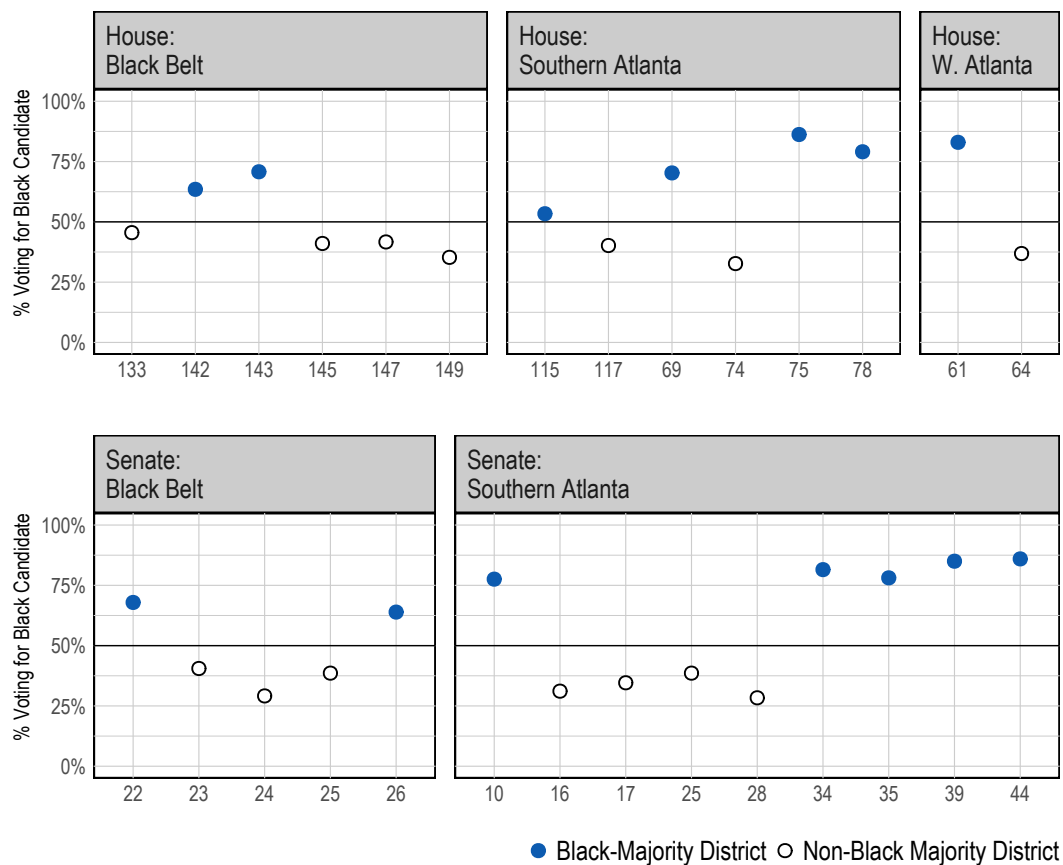


Figure 6: Average Vote Shares of Black Candidates in the Focus Area

¹⁵All of the minority candidates running for statewide office were Black, and there were no elections (other than the 2020 Special Election for U.S. Senate) with two Black candidates on the ballots for the major parties.

¹⁶Table 9 presents the results for each election in the focus areas and districts.

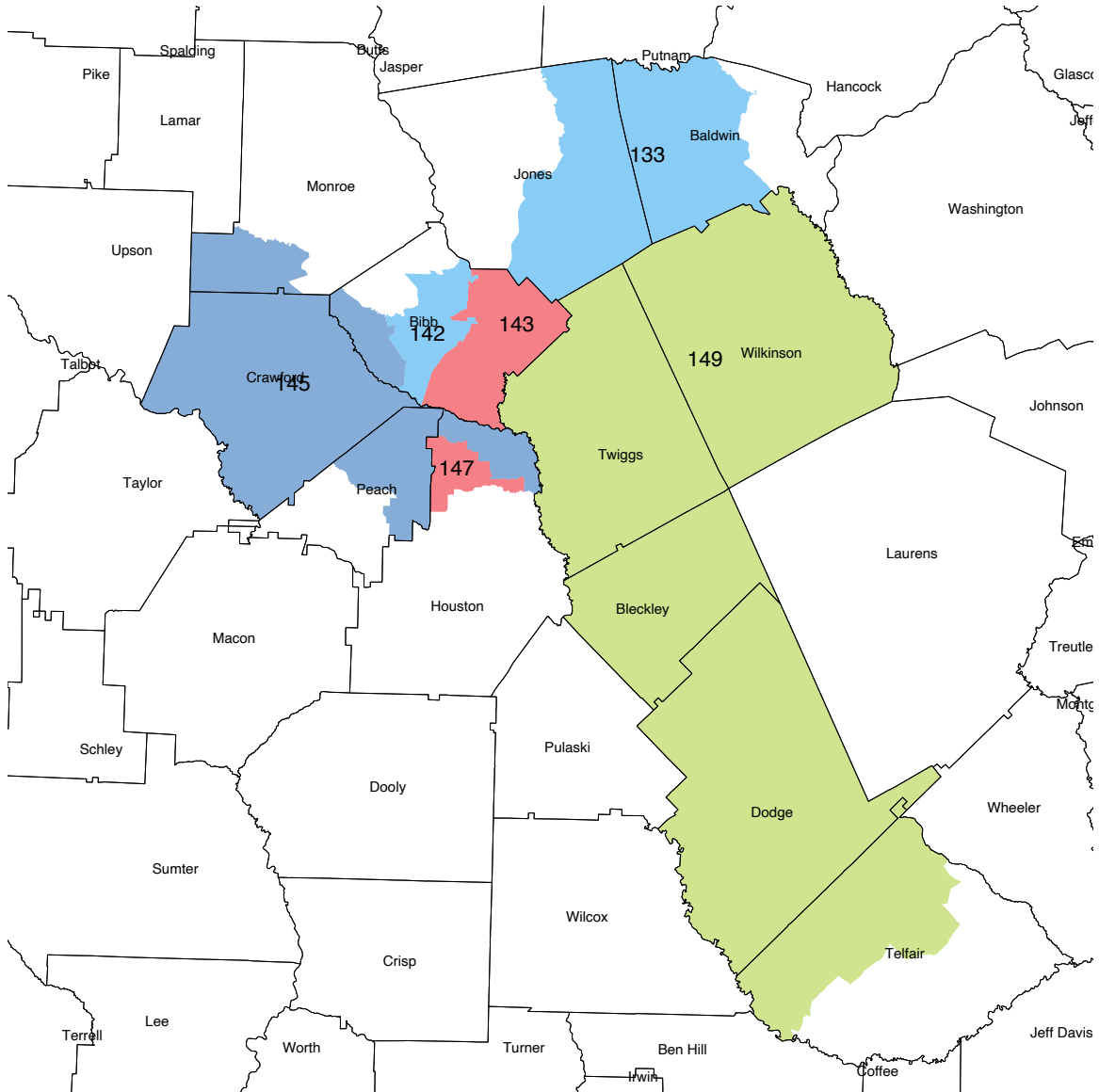


Figure 7: House Black Belt Focus Area

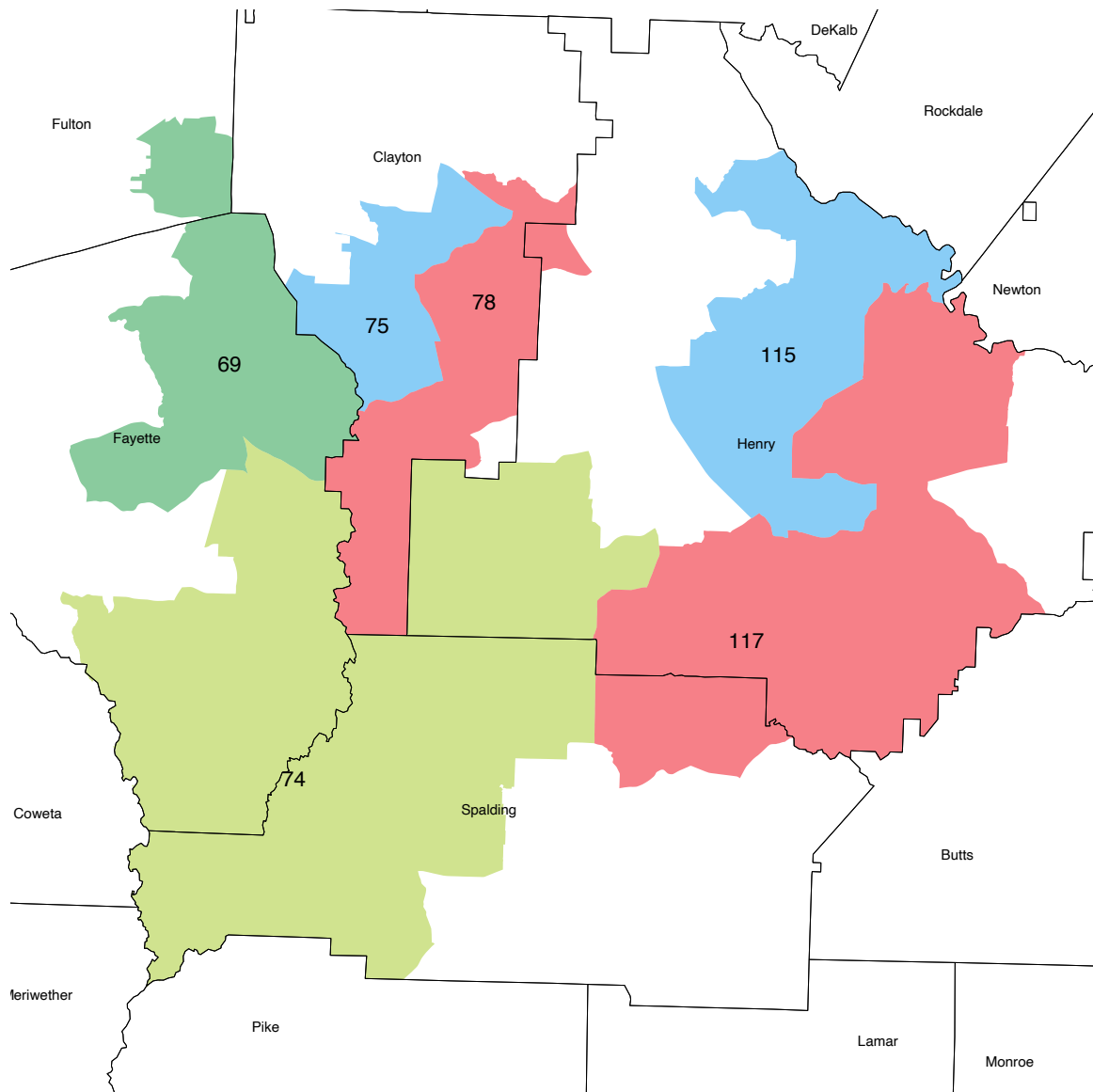


Figure 8: House Southern Atlanta Focus Area

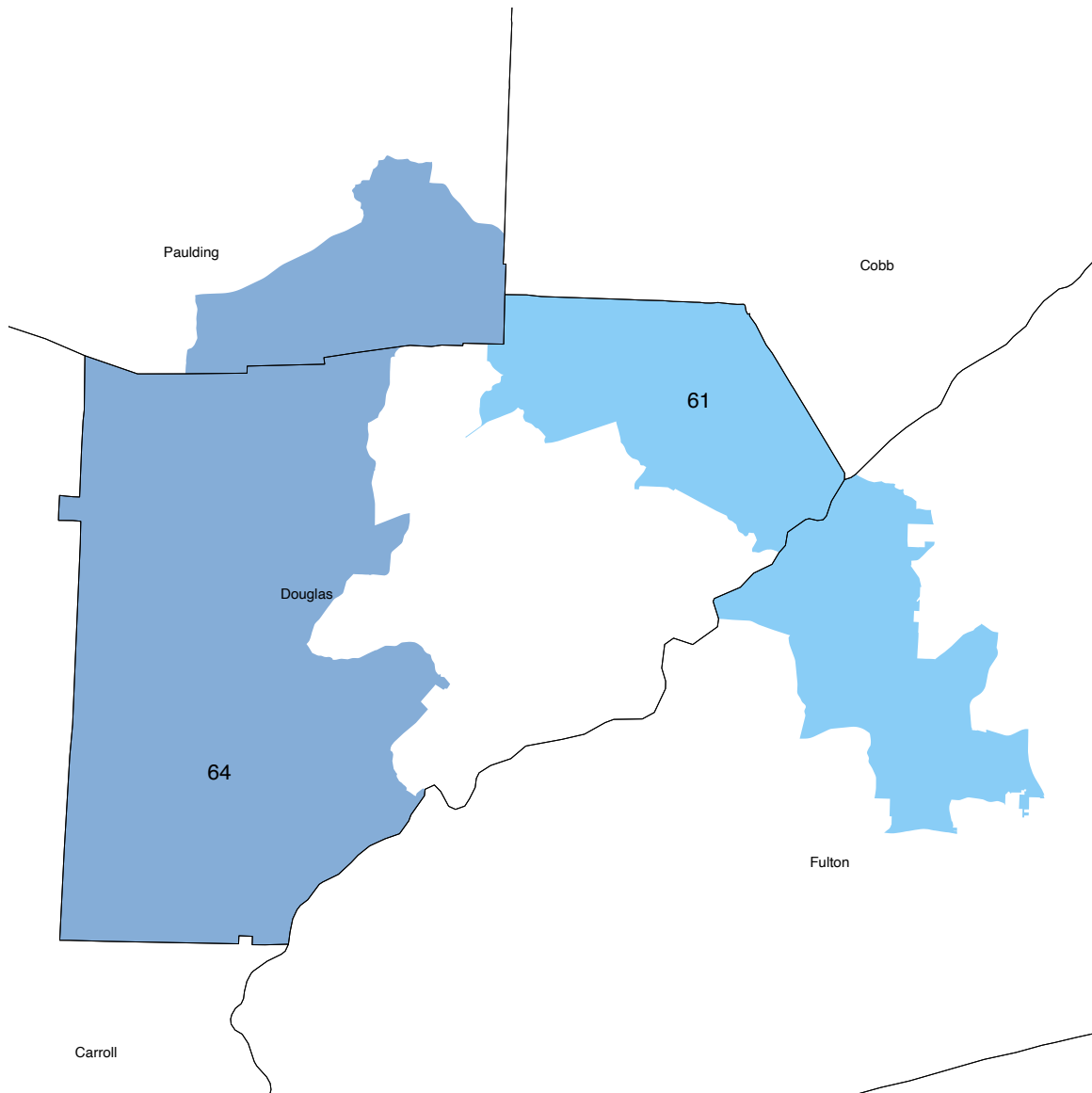


Figure 9: House Western Atlanta Focus Area

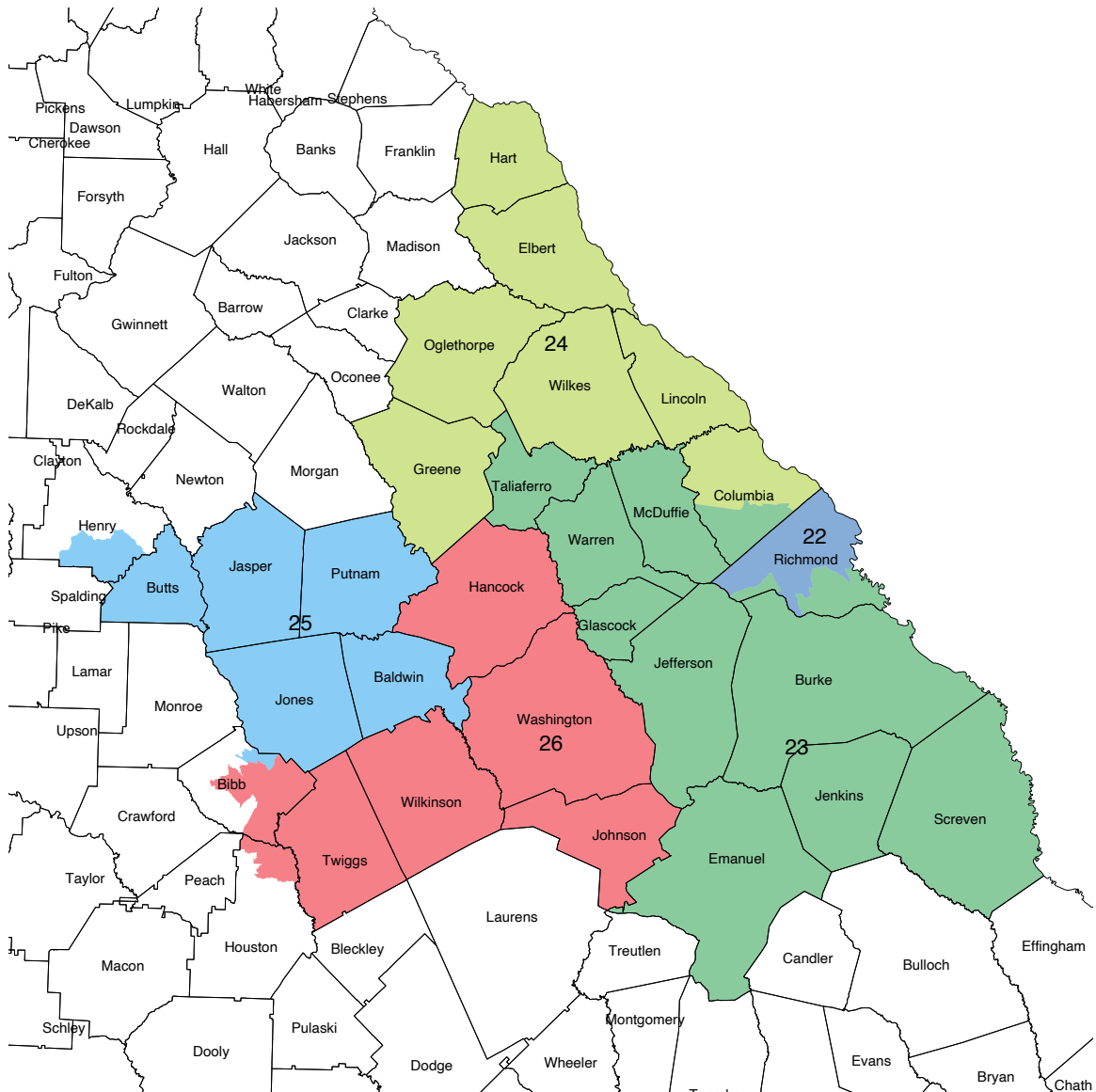


Figure 10: Senate Black Belt Focus Area

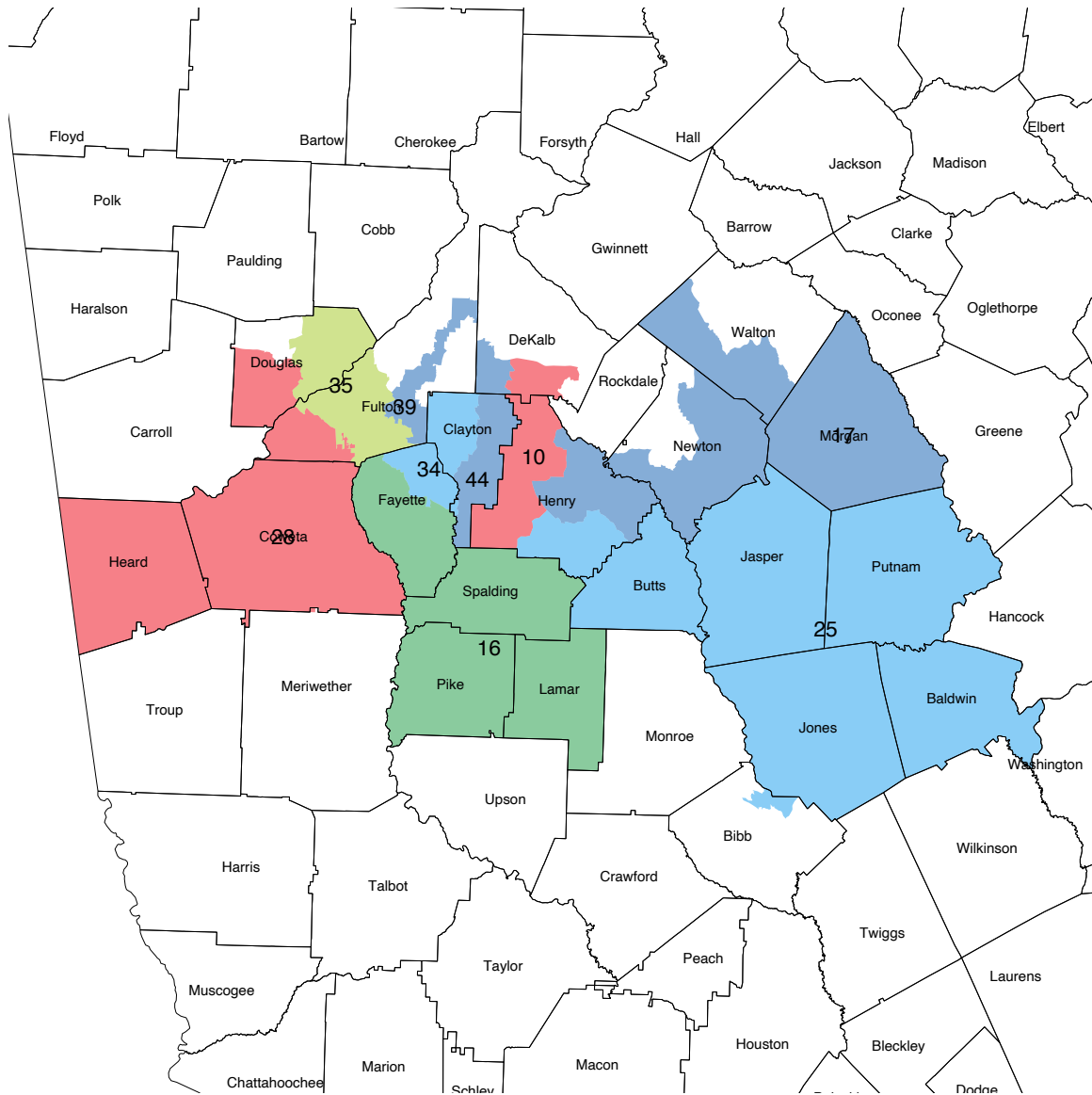


Figure 11: Senate Southern Atlanta Focus Area

Table 2: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates
— House: Black Belt

		Black	White	Other
2012 General	U.S. President*	98.4% (97.2, 99.1)	13.0% (12.1, 14.2)	90.0% (79.7, 95.8)
2014 General	U.S. Senator	98.2% (96.9, 99.1)	16.3% (15.1, 17.6)	79.0% (62.5, 91.1)
	Governor	97.9% (96.7, 98.9)	17.7% (16.5, 19.2)	74.5% (50.3, 90.7)
	Lt. Governor*	97.8% (96.4, 98.8)	11.2% (9.7, 12.7)	61.5% (32.6, 85.8)
	Sec. of State*	98.1% (97.1, 98.9)	11.3% (10.2, 12.7)	75.1% (52.4, 90.1)
	Attorney General	97.9% (96.6, 98.8)	13.2% (11.9, 14.7)	67.5% (41.6, 85.0)
	Com. Agriculture	97.8% (96.5, 98.8)	12.1% (10.8, 13.7)	63.0% (37.6, 84.2)
	Com. Insurance*	97.9% (96.6, 98.9)	12.2% (11.1, 13.6)	79.5% (61.3, 92.7)
	Com. Labor*	98.3% (97.2, 99.1)	12.2% (11.1, 13.7)	75.4% (53.8, 89.2)
	School Super.*	98.1% (96.7, 99.0)	14.9% (13.8, 16.2)	82.9% (62.5, 93.8)
2016 General	U.S. President	98.2% (96.9, 99.0)	11.2% (10.3, 12.3)	92.7% (85.1, 96.8)
	U.S. Senator	96.2% (94.6, 97.4)	7.1% (5.8, 8.6)	78.4% (62.2, 90.9)
2018 General	Governor*	98.6% (97.5, 99.3)	9.7% (8.7, 10.8)	91.4% (83.9, 96.3)
	Lt. Governor	98.3% (97.2, 99.1)	9.8% (8.8, 11.0)	90.5% (82.6, 95.9)
	Sec. of State	98.3% (97.0, 99.2)	13.3% (12.3, 14.6)	89.1% (79.5, 95.5)
	Attorney General	98.1% (96.8, 99.0)	10.5% (9.4, 11.9)	89.6% (79.4, 95.6)
	Com. Agriculture	98.1% (97.0, 99.0)	7.5% (6.4, 9.0)	86.2% (72.1, 94.8)
	Com. Insurance*	98.2% (97.0, 99.1)	9.0% (7.9, 10.3)	89.9% (80.5, 96.2)
	Com. Labor	98.3% (97.1, 99.1)	8.5% (7.4, 10.0)	88.0% (77.1, 95.1)
	School Super.*	98.4% (97.3, 99.2)	7.5% (6.5, 8.7)	89.7% (80.1, 95.7)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	98.3% (97.1, 99.2)	11.0% (9.9, 12.3)	89.3% (80.7, 95.7)
	Public Serv. Com. 5	98.2% (97.1, 99.0)	9.8% (8.7, 11.0)	89.5% (79.8, 95.2)
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	97.9% (96.5, 98.9)	13.6% (12.3, 15.2)	84.0% (66.5, 93.8)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	97.9% (96.6, 98.9)	12.4% (11.2, 13.9)	89.6% (74.3, 96.7)
2020 General	U.S. President	98.2% (97.0, 99.0)	10.8% (9.8, 12.0)	93.1% (86.2, 97.1)
	U.S. Senator	98.0% (96.7, 98.9)	10.2% (9.1, 11.8)	88.8% (78.4, 95.3)
	Public Serv. Com. 1*	98.3% (97.1, 99.1)	8.5% (7.5, 9.8)	91.1% (83.7, 96.1)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	98.2% (96.9, 99.0)	9.4% (8.4, 10.7)	91.1% (83.9, 96.0)
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	98.5% (97.4, 99.3)	12.0% (11.0, 13.2)	92.6% (86.1, 96.6)
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)*	98.1% (96.8, 99.0)	12.7% (11.7, 13.9)	93.0% (86.8, 97.1)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	98.3% (97.0, 99.1)	10.6% (9.6, 12.0)	91.9% (85.1, 96.4)

* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

Table 3: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates
— House: Southern Atlanta

		Black	White	Other
2012 General	U.S. President*	99.0% (98.3, 99.5)	3.8% (3.0, 4.8)	96.0% (93.4, 97.9)
2014 General	U.S. Senator	99.0% (98.2, 99.5)	6.7% (5.7, 8.0)	94.5% (90.5, 97.2)
	Governor	98.5% (97.6, 99.2)	7.3% (6.1, 8.8)	91.2% (84.9, 95.6)
	Lt. Governor*	98.2% (97.2, 98.9)	3.0% (2.0, 4.4)	78.2% (70.2, 84.7)
	Sec. of State*	98.4% (97.4, 99.1)	3.3% (2.3, 4.6)	83.5% (76.2, 90.0)
	Attorney General	98.5% (97.7, 99.1)	5.6% (4.2, 7.7)	87.1% (77.5, 93.7)
	Com. Agriculture	98.1% (96.9, 98.9)	3.6% (2.4, 5.3)	73.7% (64.5, 82.2)
	Com. Insurance*	98.4% (97.4, 99.1)	3.2% (2.2, 4.6)	88.0% (80.5, 93.8)
	Com. Labor*	98.6% (97.8, 99.1)	2.7% (2.0, 3.8)	90.2% (84.4, 94.5)
	School Super.*	98.7% (98.0, 99.2)	4.4% (3.5, 5.6)	93.9% (89.1, 97.0)
2016 General	U.S. President	98.9% (98.3, 99.4)	4.5% (3.6, 5.7)	94.7% (91.2, 97.0)
	U.S. Senator	97.8% (96.5, 98.7)	2.9% (1.9, 4.4)	77.5% (70.5, 84.0)
2018 General	Governor*	99.1% (98.4, 99.5)	4.5% (3.5, 5.7)	96.2% (93.6, 97.9)
	Lt. Governor	99.0% (98.4, 99.4)	4.0% (3.0, 5.2)	93.8% (90.4, 96.4)
	Sec. of State	98.9% (98.3, 99.4)	4.8% (3.7, 6.1)	95.2% (92.5, 97.4)
	Attorney General	98.9% (98.3, 99.4)	4.3% (3.2, 5.8)	94.7% (90.5, 97.2)
	Com. Agriculture	98.6% (97.9, 99.2)	3.3% (2.3, 4.7)	88.7% (84.3, 92.4)
	Com. Insurance*	98.8% (98.1, 99.3)	3.6% (2.7, 4.7)	96.0% (93.7, 97.6)
	Com. Labor	98.7% (98.0, 99.3)	3.3% (2.4, 4.5)	91.5% (87.4, 94.9)
	School Super.*	98.6% (97.9, 99.2)	3.0% (2.1, 4.3)	89.0% (84.9, 92.6)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	98.9% (98.2, 99.4)	4.9% (3.9, 6.2)	95.2% (92.3, 97.3)
	Public Serv. Com. 5	98.9% (98.3, 99.4)	3.9% (3.0, 5.1)	94.5% (91.2, 97.0)
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	98.7% (97.8, 99.3)	6.1% (4.8, 7.7)	93.7% (88.9, 97.3)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	98.5% (97.7, 99.2)	8.1% (6.7, 9.7)	93.3% (88.1, 96.8)
2020 General	U.S. President	98.5% (97.7, 99.2)	8.2% (6.2, 10.5)	87.4% (81.5, 92.3)
	U.S. Senator	98.6% (97.8, 99.2)	6.1% (4.7, 8.0)	91.1% (86.4, 94.7)
	Public Serv. Com. 1*	98.4% (97.6, 99.1)	4.1% (3.1, 5.7)	91.5% (87.5, 94.9)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	98.8% (98.2, 99.3)	4.4% (3.3, 5.9)	92.6% (88.9, 95.5)
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	98.8% (98.1, 99.3)	7.3% (6.2, 8.6)	96.5% (94.3, 98.2)
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)*	98.9% (98.2, 99.4)	8.0% (6.9, 9.4)	96.2% (94.0, 97.9)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	99.0% (98.4, 99.5)	4.6% (3.7, 5.7)	97.2% (95.4, 98.5)

* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

Table 4: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates
— House: Western Atlanta

		Black	White	Other
2012 General	U.S. President*	98.5% (96.4, 99.7)	7.2% (5.3, 10.0)	92.6% (84.0, 97.6)
2014 General	U.S. Senator	98.1% (95.5, 99.6)	10.5% (8.0, 13.7)	89.2% (79.1, 96.1)
	Governor	97.5% (94.6, 99.2)	11.7% (9.0, 15.5)	83.0% (70.9, 93.6)
	Lt. Governor*	97.7% (95.0, 99.4)	5.7% (2.9, 9.6)	74.6% (60.1, 87.5)
	Sec. of State*	97.8% (94.9, 99.5)	5.7% (3.1, 9.3)	80.2% (66.2, 94.8)
	Attorney General	98.0% (95.2, 99.4)	7.4% (4.6, 11.0)	78.9% (65.2, 91.4)
	Com. Agriculture	97.5% (94.6, 99.2)	6.1% (3.1, 10.2)	70.4% (52.9, 87.4)
	Com. Insurance*	98.3% (95.8, 99.6)	7.1% (4.4, 10.8)	75.5% (63.2, 86.6)
	Com. Labor*	97.9% (94.8, 99.4)	7.0% (4.2, 10.7)	81.6% (68.7, 92.1)
	School Super.*	98.4% (96.1, 99.6)	8.4% (6.1, 11.6)	87.4% (76.2, 95.1)
2016 General	U.S. President	98.5% (96.1, 99.7)	6.6% (4.4, 10.0)	92.1% (83.5, 97.4)
	U.S. Senator	97.5% (94.4, 99.3)	5.5% (2.1, 10.4)	76.1% (57.4, 92.7)
2018 General	Governor*	98.5% (96.3, 99.6)	8.1% (5.9, 11.5)	94.6% (87.5, 98.3)
	Lt. Governor	98.2% (95.4, 99.5)	8.0% (5.4, 12.0)	91.2% (82.7, 96.8)
	Sec. of State	98.4% (95.7, 99.5)	8.1% (5.8, 11.7)	92.7% (85.3, 97.5)
	Attorney General	98.3% (95.8, 99.5)	8.3% (5.8, 11.9)	90.4% (81.5, 96.5)
	Com. Agriculture	98.4% (96.3, 99.4)	5.6% (3.0, 9.3)	89.2% (80.1, 95.7)
	Com. Insurance*	98.3% (96.1, 99.5)	6.9% (4.5, 10.2)	93.8% (86.4, 98.0)
	Com. Labor	98.3% (96.1, 99.4)	6.9% (4.4, 10.6)	88.8% (80.2, 95.1)
	School Super.*	98.4% (96.1, 99.5)	6.0% (3.4, 9.7)	88.4% (79.4, 94.8)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	98.5% (96.1, 99.6)	8.8% (6.4, 12.5)	91.5% (82.9, 96.8)
	Public Serv. Com. 5	98.3% (95.7, 99.5)	7.6% (5.1, 11.4)	91.6% (84.2, 97.0)
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	98.4% (96.0, 99.6)	8.4% (6.0, 11.7)	91.8% (84.0, 96.9)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	98.2% (95.8, 99.5)	10.2% (7.7, 13.6)	92.4% (83.2, 97.9)
2020 General	U.S. President	98.0% (95.7, 99.4)	10.4% (7.4, 14.6)	89.0% (79.6, 95.6)
	U.S. Senator	98.3% (95.9, 99.5)	9.7% (6.7, 14.1)	89.9% (80.2, 96.9)
	Public Serv. Com. 1*	98.3% (95.9, 99.5)	7.3% (4.5, 11.4)	90.6% (81.5, 97.0)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	98.5% (96.4, 99.5)	8.3% (5.5, 12.1)	90.8% (81.4, 96.6)
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	98.4% (95.9, 99.6)	10.9% (8.4, 14.9)	94.1% (85.7, 98.5)
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)*	97.9% (94.9, 99.4)	12.4% (9.5, 17.0)	93.7% (87.3, 97.9)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	98.5% (96.5, 99.6)	8.5% (6.1, 11.7)	94.5% (87.8, 98.5)

* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

Table 5: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates — Senate: Black Belt

		Black	White	Other
2012 General	U.S. President*	96.6% (95.9, 97.1)	11.4% (10.9, 12.0)	94.6% (91.5, 96.9)
2014 General	U.S. Senator	98.7% (98.2, 99.1)	12.5% (11.9, 13.2)	83.7% (76.0, 89.7)
	Governor	98.4% (97.8, 98.8)	13.3% (12.4, 14.2)	71.0% (59.4, 82.2)
	Lt. Governor*	98.3% (97.8, 98.8)	8.1% (7.4, 8.9)	71.8% (62.8, 80.5)
	Sec. of State*	98.6% (98.0, 99.0)	8.2% (7.5, 9.0)	73.7% (65.2, 81.5)
	Attorney General	98.5% (97.9, 98.9)	9.7% (8.8, 10.6)	65.8% (55.4, 75.8)
	Com. Agriculture	98.4% (97.9, 98.9)	8.7% (7.9, 9.5)	68.3% (58.9, 78.0)
	Com. Insurance*	98.7% (98.3, 99.1)	8.9% (8.2, 9.5)	77.4% (71.0, 84.3)
	Com. Labor*	98.5% (98.0, 98.9)	9.2% (8.4, 9.9)	72.0% (63.6, 81.4)
	School Super.*	98.7% (98.2, 99.1)	11.2% (10.6, 12.0)	82.0% (73.1, 89.0)
2016 General	U.S. President	98.8% (98.3, 99.1)	8.4% (8.0, 8.9)	92.5% (89.4, 94.9)
	U.S. Senator	95.2% (94.2, 96.4)	5.4% (4.8, 6.3)	85.2% (75.3, 92.1)
2018 General	Governor*	98.8% (98.3, 99.1)	7.7% (7.3, 8.1)	94.4% (92.0, 96.3)
	Lt. Governor	98.4% (97.9, 98.9)	7.1% (6.7, 7.5)	94.4% (92.0, 96.4)
	Sec. of State	98.6% (98.1, 99.1)	12.3% (11.8, 12.9)	92.9% (89.8, 95.4)
	Attorney General	98.4% (97.9, 98.9)	7.9% (7.4, 8.6)	93.5% (89.4, 96.1)
	Com. Agriculture	98.0% (97.4, 98.6)	5.8% (5.3, 6.4)	90.2% (85.9, 93.6)
	Com. Insurance*	98.6% (98.1, 99.0)	6.6% (6.2, 7.1)	92.7% (89.3, 95.5)
	Com. Labor	98.4% (97.8, 98.8)	6.6% (6.1, 7.2)	90.4% (86.0, 93.9)
	School Super.*	98.3% (97.7, 98.8)	6.3% (5.8, 6.9)	90.4% (85.6, 93.8)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	98.7% (98.2, 99.1)	7.6% (7.1, 8.1)	93.3% (90.2, 95.9)
	Public Serv. Com. 5	98.6% (98.1, 99.0)	7.2% (6.7, 7.7)	93.4% (89.5, 96.0)
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	98.6% (98.0, 99.0)	11.9% (11.4, 12.5)	93.3% (89.7, 96.1)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	98.5% (98.0, 98.9)	9.7% (9.2, 10.3)	92.6% (87.9, 95.8)
2020 General	U.S. President	98.6% (98.0, 99.0)	9.4% (9.0, 10.0)	94.4% (91.7, 96.5)
	U.S. Senator	98.3% (97.7, 98.7)	8.0% (7.6, 8.6)	94.1% (90.7, 96.5)
	Public Serv. Com. 1*	98.5% (98.0, 99.0)	6.7% (6.2, 7.2)	93.4% (90.6, 95.8)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	98.5% (98.0, 98.9)	7.0% (6.6, 7.5)	94.7% (92.2, 96.6)
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	98.7% (98.2, 99.1)	9.9% (9.5, 10.4)	95.6% (93.4, 97.2)
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)*	98.7% (98.2, 99.1)	10.2% (9.8, 10.7)	95.8% (93.9, 97.3)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	98.7% (98.2, 99.1)	8.2% (7.8, 8.7)	95.5% (93.2, 97.1)

* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

Table 6: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates — Senate: Southern Atlanta

		Black	White	Other
2012 General	U.S. President*	99.3% (99.1, 99.5)	8.7% (8.4, 9.1)	95.5% (94.4, 96.5)
2014 General	U.S. Senator	99.1% (98.9, 99.4)	12.1% (11.7, 12.5)	95.4% (93.8, 96.9)
	Governor	98.9% (98.6, 99.1)	12.8% (12.2, 13.5)	88.1% (84.3, 91.3)
	Lt. Governor*	98.5% (98.0, 98.9)	8.3% (7.6, 8.9)	74.6% (70.3, 79.5)
	Sec. of State*	98.9% (98.5, 99.1)	8.5% (7.9, 9.1)	78.6% (75.1, 82.0)
	Attorney General	98.3% (97.7, 98.8)	10.4% (9.6, 11.2)	81.3% (75.4, 88.0)
	Com. Agriculture	98.0% (97.2, 98.6)	8.4% (7.7, 9.3)	70.3% (63.3, 78.2)
	Com. Insurance*	98.7% (98.3, 99.0)	8.7% (8.1, 9.3)	81.9% (77.9, 86.0)
	Com. Labor*	98.9% (98.6, 99.1)	8.8% (8.2, 9.4)	83.0% (79.5, 86.6)
	School Super.*	99.1% (98.8, 99.3)	10.3% (9.8, 10.8)	89.9% (87.0, 92.7)
2016 General	U.S. President	99.1% (98.9, 99.3)	10.8% (10.4, 11.3)	93.6% (92.0, 95.0)
	U.S. Senator	96.9% (96.0, 97.8)	8.2% (7.5, 9.1)	79.6% (73.4, 85.2)
2018 General	Governor*	99.3% (99.0, 99.4)	11.2% (10.9, 11.6)	96.3% (95.2, 97.2)
	Lt. Governor	99.1% (98.9, 99.3)	10.7% (10.3, 11.1)	93.7% (91.9, 95.3)
	Sec. of State	99.1% (98.9, 99.3)	11.5% (11.1, 11.9)	95.7% (94.5, 96.8)
	Attorney General	99.0% (98.7, 99.2)	11.2% (10.7, 11.7)	92.3% (90.2, 94.3)
	Com. Agriculture	98.9% (98.6, 99.1)	9.3% (8.8, 9.8)	87.1% (84.9, 89.3)
	Com. Insurance*	99.2% (99.0, 99.4)	10.0% (9.6, 10.4)	94.2% (92.7, 95.4)
	Com. Labor	99.1% (98.8, 99.3)	9.7% (9.3, 10.2)	89.6% (87.7, 91.5)
	School Super.*	99.1% (98.8, 99.3)	9.0% (8.6, 9.4)	88.3% (86.5, 90.1)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	99.1% (98.9, 99.3)	11.2% (10.8, 11.6)	94.9% (93.6, 96.1)
	Public Serv. Com. 5	99.1% (98.9, 99.3)	10.3% (9.9, 10.8)	93.5% (91.8, 95.0)
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	99.1% (98.8, 99.3)	13.3% (12.9, 13.8)	95.9% (94.4, 97.1)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	99.1% (98.8, 99.3)	14.5% (14.1, 14.9)	96.7% (95.3, 97.8)
2020 General	U.S. President	98.6% (98.1, 99.0)	13.9% (13.2, 14.6)	89.2% (86.3, 92.1)
	U.S. Senator	98.8% (98.5, 99.1)	11.9% (11.4, 12.5)	91.7% (89.6, 93.6)
	Public Serv. Com. 1*	98.9% (98.6, 99.2)	10.3% (9.8, 10.8)	90.6% (88.7, 92.5)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	98.9% (98.6, 99.2)	10.5% (10.1, 11.1)	92.7% (90.8, 94.4)
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	99.0% (98.8, 99.3)	13.1% (12.8, 13.5)	97.1% (96.1, 98.0)
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)*	99.1% (98.9, 99.4)	13.9% (13.5, 14.3)	97.1% (96.0, 98.0)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	99.1% (98.9, 99.3)	11.4% (11.0, 11.8)	96.4% (95.3, 97.4)

* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

Table 7: Ecological Inference Results — Average Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates by District

	District	Black	White	Other
House: Black Belt	133	93.6% (84.6, 98.6)	16.7% (10.7, 24.6)	59.9% (24.5, 88.8)
	145	93.7% (82.4, 99.1)	11.5% (4.9, 19.9)	68.2% (29.0, 94.0)
	149	95.8% (88.2, 99.1)	7.4% (1.9, 18.3)	69.2% (28.4, 93.8)
House: Southern Atlanta	69	97.9% (94.8, 99.5)	13.8% (3.5, 25.3)	81.1% (52.0, 95.9)
	74	91.4% (74.6, 98.7)	9.0% (2.8, 18.4)	77.7% (42.1, 96.5)
House: Western Atlanta	61	98.7% (96.4, 99.8)	15.4% (6.8, 27.8)	85.1% (58.0, 96.6)
Senate: Black Belt	22	98.2% (96.7, 99.2)	16.9% (10.5, 24.2)	78.7% (48.7, 93.9)
	23	97.4% (88.9, 99.0)	5.1% (1.6, 13.0)	88.5% (66.7, 96.8)
	24	94.5% (89.7, 97.6)	9.3% (5.4, 14.4)	81.1% (40.5, 96.0)
	25	95.7% (90.9, 98.5)	11.7% (7.8, 17.3)	65.3% (31.7, 91.9)
	26	98.5% (96.7, 99.5)	13.2% (8.3, 19.0)	81.2% (47.1, 95.7)
Senate: Southern Atlanta	10	99.0% (97.8, 99.6)	8.0% (3.1, 16.6)	82.0% (39.0, 97.1)
	16	95.9% (91.7, 98.4)	7.9% (4.4, 12.2)	89.6% (74.5, 96.8)
	17	96.4% (91.9, 98.8)	5.7% (3.0, 9.7)	80.4% (58.8, 96.5)
	25	95.7% (90.9, 98.5)	11.7% (7.8, 17.3)	65.3% (31.7, 91.9)
	28	94.5% (87.1, 98.3)	7.1% (3.2, 12.3)	88.5% (68.7, 97.1)
	34	98.9% (97.9, 99.6)	10.4% (4.5, 19.8)	84.8% (53.1, 97.0)
	35	98.9% (97.7, 99.6)	11.4% (4.7, 18.5)	90.3% (71.6, 97.8)
	39	99.0% (98.2, 99.5)	60.5% (43.9, 77.2)	80.0% (48.0, 95.3)
	44	98.4% (96.7, 99.4)	41.0% (21.5, 64.9)	77.6% (28.9, 95.9)

Table 8: Average Performance of Black-Preferred Candidates in Focus Areas and Districts, 2012–2021

Focus Area	District	% Black	% Avg Vote for Black-Preferred Cand.	% Elections Won by Black-Preferred Cand.
House: Black Belt	Focus Area	42.6%	49.8%	45.2%
	133	37.0%	45.7%	0.0%
	142	60.5%	64.1%	100.0%
	143	61.7%	70.9%	100.0%
	145	35.7%	40.8%	0.0%
	147	29.5%	42.3%	0.0%
	149	31.1%	34.8%	0.0%
House: Southern Atlanta	Focus Area	52.5%	59.2%	100.0%
	69	61.9%	70.7%	100.0%
	74	25.2%	33.2%	0.0%
	75	71.3%	86.4%	100.0%
	78	69.4%	79.4%	100.0%
	115	51.3%	53.8%	64.5%
	117	35.9%	40.6%	6.5%
House: Western Atlanta	Focus Area	50.5%	60.0%	100.0%
	61	71.5%	83.3%	100.0%
	64	29.3%	37.0%	0.0%
Senate: Black Belt	Focus Area	40.2%	47.1%	3.2%
	22	56.6%	68.3%	100.0%
	23	34.7%	40.7%	0.0%
	24	19.0%	29.4%	0.0%
	25	33.4%	38.8%	0.0%
	26	57.4%	63.9%	100.0%
Senate: Southern Atlanta	Focus Area	49.0%	59.1%	100.0%
	10	69.0%	77.8%	100.0%
	16	22.3%	31.6%	0.0%
	17	31.2%	34.8%	0.0%
	25	33.4%	38.8%	0.0%
	28	18.8%	28.7%	0.0%
	34	66.6%	81.7%	100.0%
	35	69.8%	78.5%	100.0%
	39	60.3%	85.7%	100.0%
	44	69.1%	86.2%	100.0%

Table 9: Average Performance of Black Candidates in Focus Areas and Districts, 2012–2021

Focus Area	District	% Black	% Avg Vote for Black Cand.	% Elections Won by Black Cand.
House: Black Belt	Focus Area	42.6%	49.7%	38.5%
	133	37.0%	45.5%	0.0%
	142	60.5%	63.5%	100.0%
	143	61.7%	70.8%	100.0%
	145	35.7%	41.0%	0.0%
	147	29.5%	41.7%	0.0%
	149	31.1%	35.3%	0.0%
House: Southern Atlanta	Focus Area	52.5%	59.0%	100.0%
	69	61.9%	70.3%	100.0%
	74	25.2%	32.7%	0.0%
	75	71.3%	86.2%	100.0%
	78	69.4%	79.1%	100.0%
	115	51.3%	53.4%	53.8%
	117	35.9%	40.2%	7.7%
House: Western Atlanta	Focus Area	50.5%	59.6%	100.0%
	61	71.5%	83.0%	100.0%
	64	29.3%	36.9%	0.0%
Senate: Black Belt	Focus Area	40.2%	46.9%	0.0%
	22	56.6%	67.9%	100.0%
	23	34.7%	40.5%	0.0%
	24	19.0%	29.1%	0.0%
	25	33.4%	38.6%	0.0%
	26	57.4%	63.9%	100.0%
Senate: Southern Atlanta	Focus Area	49.0%	58.9%	100.0%
	10	69.0%	77.6%	100.0%
	16	22.3%	31.1%	0.0%
	17	31.2%	34.6%	0.0%
	25	33.4%	38.6%	0.0%
	28	18.8%	28.4%	0.0%
	34	66.6%	81.5%	100.0%
	35	69.8%	78.1%	100.0%
	39	60.3%	85.0%	100.0%
	44	69.1%	86.0%	100.0%

Table 10: Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates — Illustrative Maps

		HD 64	HD 74	HD 117	HD 145	HD 149	SD 23	SD 25	SD 28
2012 General	U.S. President	55.6%	56.9%	48.1%	57.4%	64.8%	59.1%	57.9%	67.4%
2014 General	U.S. Senator	57.2%	57.5%	48.9%	52.0%	63.9%	57.1%	59.4%	68.3%
	Governor	56.8%	57.0%	49.0%	52.8%	63.4%	56.1%	59.1%	67.7%
	Lt. Governor	53.3%	53.7%	45.1%	49.0%	59.4%	53.5%	55.5%	64.6%
	Sec. of State	54.1%	54.4%	45.8%	49.7%	60.8%	53.9%	56.3%	65.3%
	Attorney General	54.7%	55.5%	47.2%	50.3%	61.1%	53.9%	57.8%	65.9%
	Com. Agriculture	53.1%	53.2%	45.2%	49.7%	60.0%	53.5%	55.4%	64.0%
	Com. Insurance	55.0%	54.9%	46.7%	50.5%	61.3%	54.7%	57.1%	65.9%
	Com. Labor	55.0%	54.9%	46.5%	50.5%	61.2%	54.4%	56.9%	66.0%
	School Super.	56.2%	56.3%	47.4%	51.8%	62.8%	56.1%	58.1%	67.1%
2016 General	U.S. President	57.1%	59.1%	50.4%	52.5%	61.4%	55.7%	61.8%	67.9%
	U.S. Senator	54.8%	54.9%	47.7%	48.3%	56.9%	51.7%	58.5%	63.7%
2018 General	Governor	62.6%	62.1%	55.4%	54.9%	60.7%	55.0%	67.0%	70.0%
	Lt. Governor	61.8%	61.0%	54.7%	54.4%	59.9%	54.0%	66.2%	68.9%
	Sec. of State	62.3%	61.9%	55.6%	56.0%	62.4%	59.0%	66.9%	69.6%
	Attorney General	62.1%	61.4%	55.3%	54.9%	60.2%	54.7%	66.5%	69.0%
	Com. Agriculture	61.1%	60.2%	53.9%	53.4%	58.4%	53.3%	65.3%	67.9%
	Com. Insurance	61.9%	61.3%	55.2%	54.2%	59.8%	54.3%	66.6%	69.3%
	Com. Labor	61.4%	60.7%	54.2%	53.8%	59.5%	54.0%	65.7%	68.3%
	School Super.	61.0%	60.0%	53.9%	53.7%	59.1%	53.7%	65.3%	68.0%
	Public Serv. Com. 3	62.5%	62.0%	55.5%	55.3%	61.1%	55.1%	66.9%	69.6%
	Public Serv. Com. 5	62.2%	61.4%	55.3%	54.7%	60.4%	54.7%	66.6%	69.2%
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	57.6%	55.3%	50.2%	53.0%	60.8%	57.2%	62.2%	67.4%
	Public Serv. Com. 3	58.3%	56.0%	50.8%	52.6%	60.2%	54.9%	62.8%	67.9%
2020 General	U.S. President	62.6%	62.2%	59.6%	55.4%	60.2%	55.5%	69.0%	69.2%
	U.S. Senator	62.7%	61.7%	59.4%	54.9%	59.5%	54.5%	69.0%	68.9%
	Public Serv. Com. 1	62.1%	60.8%	58.8%	54.4%	59.5%	54.6%	68.5%	68.2%
	Public Serv. Com. 4	62.6%	61.3%	59.3%	55.0%	59.8%	54.8%	69.0%	68.7%
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	64.9%	63.0%	61.6%	57.0%	61.5%	56.3%	71.3%	71.1%
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)	65.2%	63.3%	61.9%	57.2%	61.8%	56.5%	71.6%	71.5%
	Public Serv. Com. 4	64.4%	62.1%	60.8%	56.4%	60.8%	55.6%	70.7%	70.5%

Table 11: List of Candidates in Statewide Elections, 2012–2021

		Democratic Candidate	Dem. Cand. Race	Republican Candidate	Rep. Cand. Race
2012 General	U.S. President	Barack Obama	Black	Mitt Romney	White
2014 General	U.S. Senator	Michelle Nunn	White	David Perdue	White
	Governor	Jason Carter	White	John Nathan Deal	White
	Lt. Governor	Connie Stokes	Black	L. S. 'Casey' Cagle	White
	Sec. of State	Doreen Carter	Black	Brian Kemp	White
	Attorney General	Gregory Hecht	White	Samuel Olen	White
	Com. Agriculture	Christopher Irvin	White	Gary Black	White
	Com. Insurance	Elizabeth Johnson	Black	Ralph Hudgens	White
	Com. Labor	Robbin Shipp	Black	J. Mark Butler	White
	School Super.	Valarie Wilson	Black	Richard Woods	White
2016 General	U.S. President	Hillary Clinton	White	Donald Trump	White
	U.S. Senator	Jim Barksdale	White	Johnny Isakson	White
2018 General	Governor	Stacey Abrams	Black	Brian Kemp	White
	Lt. Governor	Sarah Riggs Amico	White	Geoff Duncan	White
	Sec. of State	John Barrow	White	Brad Raffensperger	White
	Attorney General	Charlie Bailey	White	Chris Carr	White
	Com. Agriculture	Fred Swann	White	Gary Black	White
	Com. Insurance	Janice Laws	Black	Jim Beck	White
	Com. Labor	Richard Keatley	White	Mark Butler	White
	School Super.	Otha Thornton	Black	Richard Woods	White
	Public Serv. Com. 3	Lindy Miller	White	Chuck Eaton	White
	Public Serv. Com. 5	Dawn Randolph	White	Tricia Pridemore	White
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	John Barrow	White	Brad Raffensperger	White
	Public Serv. Com. 3	Lindy Miller	White	Chuck Eaton	White
2020 General	U.S. President	Joe Biden	White	Donald Trump	White
	U.S. Senator	Jon Ossoff	White	David Perdue	White
	Public Serv. Com. 1	Robert Bryant	Black	Jason Shaw	White
	Public Serv. Com. 4	Daniel Blackman	Black	Lauren McDonald	White
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	Jon Ossoff	White	David Perdue	White
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)	Raphael Warnock	Black	Kelly Loeffler	White
	Public Serv. Com. 4	Daniel Blackman	Black	Lauren McDonald	White

* Excludes candidates in the 2020 Special Election for U.S. Senate

Maxwell Palmer

CONTACT	<p>Department of Political Science Boston University 232 Bay State Road Boston, MA 02215</p> <p><i>E-mail:</i> mbpalmer@bu.edu <i>Website:</i> www.maxwellpalmer.com <i>Phone:</i> (617) 358-2654</p>
APPOINTMENTS	<p>Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts</p> <p>Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, 2021–Present</p> <p>Director of Advanced Programs, Dept. of Political Science, 2020–Present</p> <p>Civic Tech Fellow, Faculty of Computing & Data Sciences, 2021–Present</p> <p>Faculty Fellow, Initiative on Cities, 2019–Present</p> <p>Affiliations: Hariri Institute for Computing; Center for Antiracist Research</p> <p>Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 2014–2021</p>
EDUCATION	<p>Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts</p> <p>Ph.D., Political Science, May 2014. A.M., Political Science, May 2012.</p> <p>Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine</p> <p>A.B., Mathematics & Government and Legal Studies, May 2008.</p>
BOOK	<p><i>Neighborhood Defenders: Participatory Politics and America’s Housing Crisis</i> (with Katherine Levine Einstein and David M. Glick). 2019. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Selected chapters republished in <i>Political Science Quarterly</i>. – Reviewed in <i>Perspectives on Politics</i>, <i>Political Science Quarterly</i>, <i>Economics 21</i>, <i>Public Books</i>, and <i>City Journal</i>. – Covered in Vox’s “The Weeds” podcast, CityLab, Slate’s “Gabfest,” Curbed, Brookings Institution Up Front.
REFEREED ARTICLES	<p>de Benedictis-Kessner, Justin and Maxwell Palmer. 2021. “Driving Turnout: The Effect of Car Ownership on Electoral Participation.” <i>Political Science Research and Methods</i>.</p> <p>Einstein, Katherine Levine and Maxwell Palmer. 2021. “Land of the Freeholder: How Property Rights Make Voting Rights.” <i>Journal of Historical Political Economy</i> 1(4): 499–530.</p>

Glick, David M. and Maxwell Palmer. 2021. "County Over Party: How Governors Prioritized Geography Not Particularism in the Distribution of Opportunity Zones." *British Journal of Political Science*.

Godinez Puig, Luisa, Katharine Lusk, David Glick, Katherine L. Einstein, Maxwell Palmer, Stacy Fox, and Monica L. Wang. 2020. "Perceptions of Public Health Priorities and Accountability Among US Mayors." *Public Health Reports* (October 2020).

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David M. Glick, and Maxwell Palmer. 2020. "Can Mayors Lead on Climate Change? Evidence from Six Years of Surveys." *The Forum* 18(1).

Ban, Pamela, Maxwell Palmer, and Benjamin Schneer. 2019. "From the Halls of Congress to K Street: Government Experience and its Value for Lobbying." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 44(4): 713–752.

Palmer, Maxwell and Benjamin Schneer. 2019. "Postpolitical Careers: How Politicians Capitalize on Public Office." *Journal of Politics* 81(2): 670–675.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, Maxwell Palmer, and David M. Glick. 2019. "Who Participates in Local Government? Evidence from Meeting Minutes." *Perspectives on Politics* 17(1): 28–46.

– Winner of the **Heinz Eulau Award**, American Political Science Association, 2020.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David M. Glick, and Maxwell Palmer. 2019. "City Learning: Evidence of Policy Information Diffusion From a Survey of U.S. Mayors." *Political Research Quarterly* 72(1): 243–258.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David M. Glick, Maxwell Palmer, and Robert Presel. 2018. "Do Mayors Run for Higher Office? New Evidence on Progressive Ambition." *American Politics Research* 48(1) 197–221.

Ansola-behere, Stephen, Maxwell Palmer and Benjamin Schneer. 2018. "Divided Government and Significant Legislation, A History of Congress from 1789-2010." *Social Science History* 42(1): 81–108.

Edwards, Barry, Michael Crespin, Ryan D. Williamson, and Maxwell Palmer. 2017. "Institutional Control of Redistricting and the Geography of Representation." *Journal of Politics* 79(2): 722–726.

Palmer, Maxwell. 2016. "Does the Chief Justice Make Partisan Appointments to Special Courts and Panels?" *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* 13(1): 153–177.

Palmer, Maxwell and Benjamin Schneer. 2016. “Capitol Gains: The Returns to Elected Office from Corporate Board Directorships.” *Journal of Politics* 78(1): 181–196.

Gerring, John, Maxwell Palmer, Jan Teorell, and Dominic Zarecki. 2015. “Demography and Democracy: A Global, District-level Analysis of Electoral Contestation.” *American Political Science Review* 109(3): 574–591.

OTHER
PUBLICATIONS

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David M. Glick and Maxwell Palmer. 2020. “Neighborhood Defenders: Participatory Politics and America’s Housing Crisis.” *Political Science Quarterly* 135(2): 281–312.

Ansolabehere, Stephen and Maxwell Palmer. 2016. “A Two Hundred-Year Statistical History of the Gerrymander.” *Ohio State Law Journal* 77(4): 741–762.

Ansolabehere, Stephen, Maxwell Palmer, and Benjamin Schneer. 2016. “What Has Congress Done?” in *Governing in a Polarized Age: Elections, Parties, and Political Representation in America*, eds. Alan Gerber and Eric Schickler. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

POLICY
REPORTS

Glick, David M., Katherine Levine Einstein, Maxwell Palmer. 2021. *2021 Menino Survey of Mayors: Building Back Better*. Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Glick, David M., Katherine Levine Einstein, Maxwell Palmer, Stacy Fox, Katharine Lusk, Nicholas Henninger, and Songhyun Park. 2021. *2020 Menino Survey of Mayors: Policing and Protests*. Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Glick, David M., Katherine Levine Einstein, Maxwell Palmer, and Stacy Fox. 2020. *2020 Menino Survey of Mayors: COVID-19 Recovery and the Future of Cities*. Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

de Benedictis-Kessner, Justin and Maxwell Palmer. 2020. *Got Wheels? How Having Access to a Car Impacts Voting*. *Democracy Docket*.

Palmer, Maxwell, Katherine Levine Einstein, and David Glick. 2020. *Counting the City: Mayoral Views on the 2020 Census*. Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, Maxwell Palmer, Stacy Fox, Marina Berardino, Noah Fischer, Jackson Moore-Otto, Aislinn O’Brien, Marilyn Rutecki and Benjamin Wuesthoff. 2020. *COVID-19 Housing Policy*. Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, Maxwell Palmer, David Glick, and Stacy Fox. 2020. *Mayoral Views on Cities' Legislators: How Representative are City Councils?* Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Einstein, Katherine Levine and Maxwell Palmer. 2020. *"Newton and other communities must reform housing approval process."* *The Boston Globe*.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David Glick, Maxwell Palmer and Stacy Fox. 2020. *"2019 Menino Survey of Mayors."* Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Palmer, Maxwell, Katherine Levine Einstein, David Glick, and Stacy Fox. 2019. *Mayoral Views on Housing Production: Do Planning Goals Match Reality?* Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Wilson, Graham, David Glick, Katherine Levine Einstein, Maxwell Palmer, and Stacy Fox. 2019. *Mayoral Views on Economic Incentives: Valuable Tools or a Bad Use of Resources?*. Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David Glick, Maxwell Palmer and Stacy Fox. 2019. *"2018 Menino Survey of Mayors."* Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, Katharine Lusk, David Glick, Maxwell Palmer, Christiana McFarland, Leon Andrews, Aliza Wasserman, and Chelsea Jones. 2018. *"Mayoral Views on Racism and Discrimination."* National League of Cities and Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David Glick, and Maxwell Palmer. 2018. *"As the Trump administration retreats on climate change, US cities are moving forward."* The Conversation.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David M. Glick, Maxwell Palmer, and Robert Presel. 2018. *"Few big-city mayors see running for higher office as appealing."* LSE United States Politics and Policy Blog.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David Glick, and Maxwell Palmer. 2018. *"2017 Menino Survey of Mayors."* Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Williamson, Ryan D., Michael Crespín, Maxwell Palmer, and Barry C. Edwards. 2017. *"This is how to get rid of gerrymandered districts."* *The Washington Post*, Monkey Cage Blog.

Palmer, Maxwell and Benjamin Schneer. 2015. *"How and why retired politicians get lucrative appointments on corporate boards."* *The Washington Post*, Monkey

Cage Blog.

CURRENT
PROJECTS

“A Partisan Solution to Partisan Gerrymandering: The Define-Combine Procedure” (with Benjamin Schneer and Kevin DeLuca).

– Covered in *Fast Company*

“Descended from Immigrants and Revolutionists: How Family Immigration History Shapes Legislative Behavior in Congress” (with James Feigenbaum and Benjamin Schneer).

“Still Muted: The Limited Participatory Democracy of Zoom Public Meetings” (with Katherine Levine Einstein, David Glick, and Luisa Godinez Puig). Conditionally Accepted, *Urban Affairs Review*.

“Who Represents the Renters?” (with Katherine Levine Einstein and Joseph Ornstein).

“Developing a Pro-Housing Movement? How Public Distrust of Developers Stops New Housing and Fractures Coalitions” (with Katherine Levine Einstein and David Glick).

“The Gender Pay Gap in Congressional Offices” (with Joshua McCrain).

“Racial Disparities in Local Elections” (with Katherine Levine Einstein).

“Renters in an Ownership Society: Property Rights, Voting Rights, and the Making of American Citizenship.” Book Project. With Katherine Levine Einstein.

“Menino Survey of Mayors 2021.” Co-principal investigator with David M. Glick and Katherine Levine Einstein.

GRANTS
AND AWARDS

American Political Science Association, **Heinz Eulau Award**, for the best article published in *Perspectives on Politics* during the previous calendar year, for “Who Participates in Local Government? Evidence from Meeting Minutes.” (with Katherine Levine Einstein and David M. Glick). 2020.

Boston University Initiative on Cities, COVID-19 Research to Action Seed Grant. “How Are Cities Responding to the COVID-19 Housing Crisis?” 2020. \$8,000.

The Rockefeller Foundation, “Menino Survey of Mayors” (Co-principal investigator). 2017. \$325,000.

Hariri Institute for Computing, Boston University. Junior Faculty Fellow. 2017–2020. \$10,000.

The Rockefeller Foundation, “2017 Menino Survey of Mayors” (Co-principal investigator). 2017. \$100,000.

The Center for Finance, Law, and Policy, Boston University, Research Grant for “From the Capitol to the Boardroom: The Returns to Office from Corporate Board Directorships,” 2015.

Senator Charles Sumner Prize, Dept. of Government, Harvard University. 2014.
Awarded to the best dissertation “from the legal, political, historical, economic, social or ethnic approach, dealing with means or measures tending toward the prevention of war and the establishment of universal peace.”

The Center for American Political Studies, Dissertation Research Fellowship on the Study of the American Republic, 2013–2014.

The Tobin Project, Democracy and Markets Graduate Student Fellowship, 2013–2014.

The Dirksen Congressional Center, Congressional Research Award, 2013.

The Institute for Quantitative Social Science, Conference Travel Grant, 2014.

The Center for American Political Studies, Graduate Seed Grant for “Capitol Gains: The Returns to Elected Office from Corporate Board Directorships,” 2014.

The Institute for Quantitative Social Science, Research Grant, 2013.

Bowdoin College: High Honors in Government and Legal Studies; Philo Sherman Bennett Prize for Best Honors Thesis in the Department of Government, 2008.

SELECTED
PRESENTATIONS

“A Partisan Solution to Partisan Gerrymandering: The Define-Combine Procedure.” MIT Election Data and Science Lab, 2020.

“Who Represents the Renters?” Local Political Economy Conference, Washington, D.C., 2019.

“Housing and Climate Politics,” Sustainable Urban Systems Conference, Boston University 2019.

“Redistricting and Gerrymandering,” American Studies Summer Institute, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, 2019.

“The Participatory Politics of Housing,” Government Accountability Office Seminar, 2018.

“Descended from Immigrants and Revolutionists: How Immigrant Experience Shapes Immigration Votes in Congress,” Congress and History Conference, Princeton University, 2018.

“Identifying Gerrymanders at the Micro- and Macro-Level,” Hariri Institute for Computing, Boston University, 2018.

“How Institutions Enable NIMBYism and Obstruct Development,” Boston Area Research Initiative Spring Conference, Northeastern University, 2017.

“Congressional Gridlock,” American Studies Summer Institute, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, 2016.

“Capitol Gains: The Returns to Elected Office from Corporate Board Directorships,” Microeconomics Seminar, Department of Economics, Boston University, 2015.

“A Two Hundred-Year Statistical History of the Gerrymander,” Congress and History Conference, Vanderbilt University, 2015.

“A New (Old) Standard for Geographic Gerrymandering,” Harvard Ash Center Workshop: How Data is Helping Us Understand Voting Rights After Shelby County, 2015.

“Capitol Gains: The Returns to Elected Office from Corporate Board Directorships,” Boston University Center for Finance, Law, and Policy, 2015.

“Capitol Gains: The Returns to Elected Office from Corporate Board Directorships,” Bowdoin College, 2014.

American Political Science Association: 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2018, 2019, 2020
 Midwestern Political Science Association: 2012, 2013, 2014, 2017, 2019
 Southern Political Science Association: 2015, 2018
 European Political Science Association: 2015

EXPERT
 TESTIMONY
 AND CONSULTING

Bethune-Hill v. Virginia (3:14-cv-00852-REP-AWA-BMK), U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia. Prepared expert reports and testified on racial predominance and racially polarized voting in selected districts of the 2011 Virginia House of Delegates map. (2017)

Thomas v. Bryant (3:18-CV-441-CWR-FKB), U.S. District Court for the Southern

District of Mississippi. Prepared expert reports and testified on racially polarized voting in a district of the 2012 Mississippi State Senate map. (2018–2019)

Chestnut v. Merrill (2:18-cv-00907-KOB), U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama. Prepared expert reports and testified on racially polarized voting in selected districts of the 2011 Alabama congressional district map. (2019)

Dwight v. Raffensperger (No. 1:18-cv-2869-RWS), U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia. Prepared expert reports and testified on racially polarized voting in selected districts of the 2011 Georgia congressional district map. (2019)

Bruni, et al. v. Hughs (No. 5:20-cv-35), U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas. Prepared expert reports and testified on the use of straight-ticket voting by race and racially polarized voting in Texas. (2020)

Racially Polarized Voting Consultant, Virginia Redistricting Commission, August 2021.

The General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Joint Committee on Housing, Hearing on Housing Production Legislation. May 14, 2019. Testified on the role of public meetings in housing production.

TEACHING

Boston University

- *Introduction to American Politics* (PO 111; Fall 2014, Fall 2015, Fall 2016, Fall 2017, Spring 2019, Fall 2019, Fall 2020)
- *Congress and Its Critics* (PO 302; Fall 2014, Spring 2015, Spring 2017, Spring 2019)
- *Data Science for Politics* (PO 399; Spring 2020, Spring 2021, Fall 2021)
- *Formal Political Theory* (PO 501; Spring 2015, Spring 2017, Fall 2019, Fall 2020)
- *American Political Institutions in Transition* (PO 505; Spring 2021, Fall 2021)
- *Prohibition, Regulation, and Bureaucracy* (PO 540; Fall 2015)
- *Political Analysis (Graduate Seminar)* (PO 840; Fall 2016, Fall 2017)
- *Graduate Research Workshop* (PO 903/4; Fall 2019, Spring 2020)

SERVICE

Boston University

- Research Computing Governance Committee, 2021–.
- Initiative on Cities Faculty Advisory Board, 2020–.
- Undergraduate Assessment Working Group, 2020–2021.

- College of Arts and Sciences
 - Search Committee for the Faculty Director of the Initiative on Cities, 2020–2021.
 - General Education Curriculum Committee, 2017–2018.
- Department of Political Science
 - Director of Advanced Programs (Honors & B.A./M.A.). 2020–.
 - Comprehensive Exam Committee, American Politics, 2019.
 - Comprehensive Exam Committee, Political Methodology, 2016, 2017, 2021.
 - Co-organizer, Research in American Politics Workshop, 2016–2018.
 - Political Methodology Search Committee, 2021.
 - American Politics Search Committee, 2017.
 - American Politics Search Committee, 2016.
 - Graduate Program Committee, 2014–2015, 2018–2019, 2020–2021.

Co-organizer, *Boston University Local Political Economy Conference*, August 29, 2018.

Editorial Board Member, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2020–Present

Malcolm Jewell Best Graduate Student Paper Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association, 2019.

Reviewer: *American Journal of Political Science*; *American Political Science Review*; *Journal of Politics*; *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*; *Political Analysis*; *Legislative Studies Quarterly*; *Public Choice*; *Political Science Research and Methods*; *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization*; *Election Law Journal*; *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*; *Urban Affairs Review*; *Applied Geography*; *PS: Political Science & Politics*; Cambridge University Press; Oxford University Press.

Elected Town Meeting Member, Town of Arlington, Mass., Precinct 2. April 2021–Present.

Arlington Election Reform Committee Member, August 2019–Present.

Coordinator, **Harvard Election Data Archive**, 2011–2014.

OTHER EXPERIENCE

Charles River Associates, Boston, Massachusetts 2008–2010
Associate, Energy & Environment Practice
 Economic consulting in the energy sector for electric and gas utilities, private equity,

and electric generation owners. Specialized in Financial Modeling, Resource Planning, Regulatory Support, Price Forecasting, and Policy Analysis.

Updated December 15, 2021

EXHIBIT 3

Grant et al. v. Raffensperger et al.

United States District Court for the Northern District of Georgia

Expert Report of Orville Vernon Burton, Ph.D.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Orville Vernon Burton". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "O" and "V".

Dr. Orville Vernon Burton

January 10, 2022

I. STATEMENT OF INQUIRY

I have been asked by Plaintiffs' counsel to serve as an expert witness in litigation concerning Georgia redistricting. Plaintiffs' counsel asked me to analyze the history of voting-related discrimination in Georgia and to contextualize and put in historical perspective such discrimination.

I am being compensated at \$350 per hour for my work on this case. My compensation is not contingent on or affected by the substance of my opinions or the outcome of this case.

II. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Throughout Georgia's history, and through today, the state of Georgia has attempted, often successfully, to minimize the electoral influence of minority voters and particularly of Black Georgians. Voting rights in Georgia have followed a pattern where after periods of increased nonwhite voter registration and turnout, the state, through both legislation and extralegal means, finds methods to disfranchise and reduce the influence of minority voters.

This history has its roots in the Reconstruction era. As soon as formerly enslaved men gained the right to vote in Georgia, both violence and wholesale changes in voter registration laws ensured they could not vote. By the early 20th century, the cumulative effects of the poll tax, literacy tests, property requirements, and the white primary had nearly removed all Black Georgians from voter registration lists. Around this time, Georgia also structured its elections to the disadvantage of Black Georgians. Specifically, Georgia's county unit system, introduced in 1917 until it was outlawed by the Supreme Court in the 1960s, gave a greater share of proportion of votes to small, rural, and much whiter counties, compared to larger and more urban counties, where the majority of Black Georgia voters lived.

When the Supreme Court eventually ruled against white-only primaries in the 1940s, Georgia worked to circumvent the ability of African American citizens to vote through registration schemes, voter challenges, voter purges, and more. And when the county-unit system fell, Georgia replaced them with at-large districts and majority vote requirements, systems designed to ensure that Black candidates could not be elected to office. Those systems were wildly effective: By the time of the Voting Rights Act (VRA), there were only three Black elected officials in Georgia.

Even after the VRA of 1965, Black voters and Black elected officials in Georgia continued to be systematically underrepresented. To neutralize Black voting strength, Georgia officials used an array of mechanisms to block, discourage, dilute, or otherwise prevent or limit Black voting in

Georgia. Between 1965-1980, nearly 30% of all of the Department of Justice (DOJ)'s objections to voting-related changes under Section 5 were attributable to Georgia alone. When Congress did re-authorize the VRA in 1982, it cited systemic abuses by Georgia officials to evade Black voting rights.

Notably, the tactics that have plagued Georgia's history to dilute the power of Black Georgians have persisted into the modern era. These policies around voting have also come at a time of rapid demographic shifts in Georgia's electorate: Georgia is the only state in the Deep South where the percentage of the Black population has sharply increased over the past half century. In just the past ten years, much of it in the wake of *Shelby County v. Holder*, Georgia has slashed polling places by the hundreds (primarily in Black communities), increased voter purges and challenges against minority voters, launched state-sponsored investigations against minority voting groups, and more. In just the past year, Georgia enacted Senate Bill 202, a law DOJ could no longer stop under preclearance but which DOJ has alleged was passed with the intent and effect of limiting Black Georgians' voting power. While that suit remains to be litigated, the state has already begun replacing Black office holders in majority-Black counties and implementing policies to the disadvantage of Black Georgians.

The history of Georgia demonstrates a clear pattern, one that attempts (often successfully) to dilute and impair Black Georgians' voting power. Georgia's recently enacted redistricting plans must be viewed in this context.

III. EXPERT CREDENTIALS

A. Professional Background and Qualifications

I received my undergraduate degree from Furman University in 1969 and my Ph.D. in American History from Princeton University in 1976 and have been researching and teaching American History at universities since 1971. Currently I am the Judge Matthew J. Perry, Jr. Distinguished Professor of History, and Professor of Pan-African Studies, Sociology and Anthropology, and Computer Science at Clemson University. From 2008 to 2010, I was the Burroughs Distinguished Professor of Southern History and Culture at Coastal Carolina University. I am emeritus University Distinguished Teacher/Scholar, Professor of History, African American Studies, and Sociology at the University of Illinois. I am a Senior Research Scientist at the National Center for Supercomputing Applications (NCSA) where I was Associate Director for Humanities and Social Sciences (2004-2010).

I am the author or editor of more than twenty books and two hundred articles, which can be found on my Curriculum Vitae attached to the end of this report. I have received a number of academic awards and honors. I was selected nationwide as the 1999 U.S. Research and Doctoral University Professor of the Year (presented by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and by the Council for Advancement and Support of Education). I have been recognized by my peers and was elected president of the Southern Historical Association and of the Agricultural History Society and elected to the Society of American Historians.

My most recent book, co-authored with civil rights attorney Armand Derfner, *Justice Deferred: Race and the Supreme Court* (2021), was deemed “authoritative” by Harvard University Law professor Randall Kennedy in his review in *The Nation*. *Justice Deferred* was featured as a session at the November 2021 annual meeting of the Social Science History Association in Philadelphia, and is scheduled in April 2022 for a session at the Midwestern Political Science Association meeting in Chicago. My book *The Age of Lincoln*, published in 2007, won the *Chicago Tribune* Heartland Literary Award for Nonfiction and was selected for Book of the Month Club, History Book Club, and Military Book Club. One reviewer proclaimed, “If the Civil War era was America's ‘Iliad,’ then historian Orville Vernon Burton is our latest Homer.” The book was featured at sessions of the annual meetings of African American History and Life Association, the Social Science History Association, and the Southern Intellectual History Circle. Among the articles I have published are several related to the issues discussed in this report and at least two law review articles address these issues directly. I was one of ten historians selected to contribute to the *Presidential Inaugural Portfolio* (January 21, 2013) by the Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies. I edit two academic book series for the University of Virginia Press: *The American South* and *A Nation Divided: Studies in the Civil War Era*.

As a scholar, I have had a long relationship with Georgia. I was born in Royston and own the family farm in Madison County, Georgia. I am a recognized authority on the Georgia educator and theologian Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, who taught at Morehouse College from 1921 to 1923, was the longtime president of Morehouse College (1940-67), and the president of the Atlanta schoolboard in (1971-80). My book, *In My Father House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina* (1985) is an intense study of a large section of South Carolina that is only separated from Georgia by the Savannah River, and the area has strong ties to Georgia and especially to the city of Augusta, which I have studied since before my Ph.D.

I have researched in the archives of the University of Georgia, Emory University, and Morehouse College. I have served on the Ph.D. committees, and am serving on one currently, at the University of Georgia. I gave one of Georgia's annual humanities lectures in conjunction with the Governor's Awards for the Humanities. I also keynoted one of the annual meetings of the Georgia Historical Society. I am currently serving on the Advisory Committee for the Atlanta History Museum to develop new exhibits on the modern South. I have been invited to present papers and talks and participate in seminars at a number of Universities and colleges in the state of Georgia. I was invited and spoke at the Carter Center, and spoke at the University of Georgia, Augusta University, Payne College, Mercer University, Morehouse College, Georgia State University, Georgia Southern University, Fort Valley State University, Berry College, Emory University, the Georgia Institute of Technology, Young Harris College. I have also led a workshop on teaching history for Georgia public school teachers in Athens, Georgia.

B. Prior Testimony

Over the past forty years, I have been retained to serve as an expert witness and consultant in numerous voting rights cases by the Voting Section of the Civil Rights Division of the United States Department of Justice (DOJ), the Voting Rights Project of the Southern Regional Office of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Brennan Center, the NAACP, the Legal Defense Fund (LDF) of the NAACP, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the California Rural Legal Association, the League of United Latin American Citizens, the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the Legal Services Corporation, the Southern Poverty Law Center, and other individuals and groups.

I have extensive experience in analyzing social and economic status, discrimination, and historical intent in voting rights cases, as well as group voting behavior. I have been qualified as an expert in the fields of districting, reapportionment, and racial voting patterns and behavior in elections in the United States. My testimony has been accepted by federal courts on both statistical analysis of racially polarized voting and socioeconomic analysis of the population, as well as on the history of discrimination and the discriminatory intent of laws. In 2014, for example, my testimony and my report was cited by the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas in finding that the in-person Texas Voter ID Law was racially motivated and had a disparate effect on minorities. *See Veasey v. Perry*, 71 F.Supp.3d 627 (S.D. Tex. 2014). My testimony and reports have also been cited by the U.S. Department of Justice. In 2012, for example, my report was cited

by the Justice Department as a reason for their objection to the in-person South Carolina Voter ID law. See Dkt. 118-1, *South Carolina v. United States*, No. 1:12-cv-00203-CKK-BMK-JDB (D.D.C. June 29, 2012).

To the best of my knowledge and memory, in the last five or so years I have given testimony and/or depositions in the following cases: (1) *League of Women Voters v. Lee*, No. 4:21-cv-186 (N.D. Fla.), (ii) *Community Success Initiative v. Moore*, No. 19-cv-15941 (N.C. Superior Court) (2020); (iii) *Perez v. Perry*, No. 5:11-CV-00360 (W.D. Tex.); (iv) *South Carolina v. United States*, No. 1:12-cv-00203 (D.D.C.); and (v) *Veasey v. Perry*, No. 2:13-CV-193 (S.D. Tex.). In addition, I testified on the VRA in a Congressional Briefing on December 4, 2015.

A detailed record of my professional qualifications is set forth in the attached Bio and Curriculum Vitae at Appendix B of this report.

C. Methodology and Sources

In this report, I have employed the standard methodology used by historians and other social scientists in investigating the adoption, operations, and maintenance of election laws. When analyzing political decision-making, historians examine the circumstantial and contextual evidence regarding the political, institutional, and social environment and context in which a decision is made, as well as direct evidence of the reasons asserted for the decision. We examine relevant scholarly studies, newspaper coverage of events, reports of local, state or federal governments, relevant court decisions, and the record in court cases, including expert reports, deposition and trial testimony, and statistical data. In writing this report, I have examined a wide range of sources. I have relied on primary and secondary sources available to me at the time of writing this report. This report makes extensive use of primary sources, especially contemporary newspapers, which record debates and speeches, and help to provide a barometer of public sentiment. Where possible, I have consulted historical and current newspaper and news magazines accounts, social media, miscellaneous online resources, from multiple perspectives, and checked for accuracy. I have also read the records of both houses of the Georgia General Assembly, the journals and debates of the Georgia constitutional conventions, bill histories, and public statutes, and the on-line New Georgia Encyclopedia. I have studied census data, election returns, state and federal reports, official elections records. I have also used videos that have been recorded and preserved. I have also consulted secondary published works, as well as MA and Ph.D. theses, on politics and race relations in Georgia by other historians and social scientists, specifically, as well

as in the South as a whole. This report features extensive footnotes to allow readers to assess the accuracy and credibility of my evidence and my conclusions.

IV. GEORGIA'S HISTORY OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN VOTING

A. Introduction

Native Georgia historian, Dr. U. B. Phillips, argued in 1928 that the central theme of southern history was white racism. According to Phillips, white Southerners believed so strongly in white supremacy that they were determined the South “shall be and remain a white man’s country.”¹ Recently, Georgian and today’s most eminent historian of the American South, Spalding Distinguished Professor of History, emeritus at the University of Georgia, Dr. James C. Cobb, characterized Phillips’s argument as a “longstanding determination of whites to control people of color.” In Cobb’s own 2017 historical investigation of Georgia’s racial history, he concluded, “the historical and contemporary pervasiveness of this impulse [of white Georgians determination to control people of color] is difficult to deny.”² My own research has found the same underlying purpose. This report demonstrates that this white determination resonates even today and especially in the area of voting rights. Over generations, people of color in Georgia have been discriminated against, disfranchised, and their vote diluted in ingenious ways by those who control the franchise in state and local governments.

The courts have taken judicial notice of this long and continuing history of racial discrimination, particularly in the area of voting rights. In 1994, in *Brooks v. State Board of Elections*, 848 F. Supp. 1548, 1560 (S.D. Ga. 1994), the court found: “Georgia has a history chocked full of racial discrimination at all levels. This discrimination was ratified into state constitutions, enacted into state statutes, and promulgated in state policy. Racism and race discrimination were apparent and conspicuous realities, the norm rather than the exception.” This discrimination continues to this day.

In *A Voting Rights Odyssey: Black Enfranchisement in Georgia* (2003), Laughlin McDonald, an expert on the history of Georgia’s voting history, wrote:

¹ Ulrich B. Phillips, “The Central Theme of Southern History,” *American Historical Review*, Volume 34, Issue 1 (Oct. 1928), 31; Orville Vernon Burton, “The South as ‘Other,’ The Southerner as ‘Stranger,’” *The Journal of Southern History*, Volume 79, Issue 1 (February 2013): 7-50.

² Declaration of Dr. James C. Cobb at 8, *NAACP v. Gwinnett County Board of Registrations and Elections*, Civil Action No. 1:16-cv-02852, (N.D. Ga. Aug. 9, 2017).

“While Georgia was not an anomaly, no state was more systematic and thorough in its efforts to deny or limit voting and officeholding by African-Americans after the Civil War. It adopted virtually every one of the traditional ‘expedients’ to obstruct the exercise of the franchise by blacks, including literacy and understanding tests, the poll tax, felony disfranchisement laws, onerous residency requirements, cumbersome registration procedures, voter challenges and purges, the abolition of elective offices, the use of discriminatory redistricting and apportionment schemes, the expulsion of elected blacks from office, and the adoption of primary elections in which only whites were allowed to vote. And where these technically legal measures failed to work or were thought insufficient, the state was more than willing to resort to fraud and violence in order to smother black political participation and safeguard white supremacy.”³

As McDonald further explained, Georgia and other southern states “continued their opposition to equal voting rights into the twentieth century and after the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965.”⁴ Since McDonald published this assessment of Georgia’s history of voter discrimination and suppression in 2003, the state of Georgia has continued attempts to minimize the electoral influence of minority voters. Throughout the history of the state of Georgia, voting rights have followed a pattern where after periods of increased nonwhite voter registration and turnout, the state has passed legislation, and often used extralegal means, to disfranchise minority voters. Georgia continues attempts to minimize the electoral influence of minority voters, cumulating most recently in the redistricting plans passed by the Georgia General Assembly and signed by the Governor. The first section of this report describes this extensive history from as far back as Reconstruction through the present day.

B. Reconstruction Era (End of the Civil War to 1870s)

From Georgia’s beginning, Black Georgians were precluded from participating in nearly all of Georgia’s political and civil life. Near the start of the Civil War, in 1860, the United States census recorded 41,080 owners of 462,000 enslaved persons. Except for Virginia, Georgia had more enslaved persons and more owners of slaves than any state. But free Blacks were denied citizenship and voting rights in antebellum Georgia too; under the 1777 Georgia Constitution,

³ Laughlin McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey: Black Enfranchisement in Georgia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 2–3. The history of voter suppression and voter intimidation of Black voters from 1867 till the 1990s in Georgia is carefully documented by Laughlin McDonald, Michael B. Binford, and Ken Johnson in “Georgia,” the third chapter of *Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act, 1965-1990*, edited by Chandler Davidson and Bernard Grofman (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 67-102.

⁴ McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 3.

voting was limited to “male white inhabitants, of the age of twenty-one years.” Before the start of the Civil War, in March 1861, Alexander H. Stephens, a Georgian and vice-president of the Confederacy, explained that the new government had as its cornerstone, “the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man.”⁵

Immediately following the Civil War was a period of opportunity for the newly freed population. But in opposition to any such new freedom were targeted policies against Black Georgians.⁶ With the defeat of the Confederacy, turmoil and uncertainty roiled the countryside. In June 1865, the 9,000 U.S. Army soldiers provided some measure of order and, where they were stationed, some protection for the newly freed enslaved people. With President Andrew Johnson’s appointment of a provisional governor, white adult males who took a loyalty oath to the United States voted for delegates to write a new state constitution. While the new 1865 Georgia Constitution abolished slavery (as it was required to), the 1865 Constitution continued to limit the franchise to “free white male citizens of this State.” Georgia’s 1865 Constitution also excluded Black Georgians from holding office.⁷

At the end of the Civil War, Confederate states seeking to rejoin the Union were required to ratify the 13th Amendment, which specifically outlawed slavery.⁸ In December 1865, the Georgia General Assembly ratified the 13th Amendment, and President Andrew Johnson returned governing the state to Georgia’s elected officials. While the language of the prisoner exemption clause of the 13th Amendment was common to state constitutions and the Northwest Ordinance, historian Eric Foner notes that it “did not go unnoticed among white Southerners” that the 13th Amendment included a prisoner exemption clause.⁹ In November 1865, for instance, former

⁵ McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 16.

⁶ Jeffrey Robert Young, “Slavery in Antebellum Georgia,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/slavery-antebellum-georgia/ (Oct. 20, 2003) (last edited Sep. 30, 2020); William Harris Bragg, “Reconstruction in Georgia,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/reconstruction-in-georgia/> (Oct. 21, 2005) (last edited Sep. 30, 2020)

⁷ Numan V. Bartley, *The Creation of Modern Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983), 46-47; Bragg, “Reconstruction in Georgia.”

⁸ Orville Vernon Burton, *The Age of Lincoln* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007), 269-70, 275, 298, 368; Orville Vernon Burton and Armand Derfner, *Justice Deferred: Race and the Supreme Court* (Harvard University Press, 2021), 37-38, 41, 44-45;

⁹ Eric Foner, *The Second Founding: How the Civil War and Reconstruction Remade the Constitution* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2019), 47-48, 110.

Confederate general John T. Morgan pointed out in a speech in Georgia that the 13th Amendment did not prevent states from enacting laws that enabled “‘judicial authorities’ to consign to bondage blacks convicted of crime.”¹⁰

Georgia, like other states in the former Confederacy, then enacted “Black Codes,” although the state did not refer to them with that name. This legislation regulated and restricted the rights of African Americans through neutral-sounding regulations.¹¹ Although Black Georgians could not be legally subjected to penalties or punishment that did not apply to whites, it was local white officials and all white juries who decided whom would be punished and whom would not. While Black Georgians were granted some property rights, they could not serve on juries, or vote, or, significantly, testify against whites in court. Thus white Georgia officials were able to apply supposedly race neutral laws in a way that targeted the former enslaved people. Around this time, the Georgia legislature elected two prominent former Confederate officials, Alexander Stephens and Herschel Johnson, as Georgia’s two U.S. Senators, which the North saw as a flagrant act of white Georgian defiance and led Congress to deny them a seat in Washington.

In reaction to the re-election of former Confederate leaders, to the Black Codes, and to increasing violence against newly freed Black people, *see infra* at 12-15, Georgia and nine other former Confederate States were placed under Federal military authority in 1867. As part of that oversight, adult Black males were given the right to vote, and the following time period was one of tremendous opportunity for Black Georgians. After the passage of the Second and Third Reconstruction Acts by Congress in 1867, Black males voted for the first time, and federally appointed-registrars added 98,507 Black men to the voting lists, and required Georgia, as a requirement for readmission as a state, to write Black suffrage into the state constitution, elect a government based on the new Constitution, and ratify the Fourteenth Amendment.¹² In December 1867, a new constitutional convention, held in Atlanta, guaranteed Black citizenship, protection of the laws, and the right of male suffrage. In the next election in April 1868, held under the new constitution, twenty-five Black Georgians were elected to the State House, and three were elected to the State Senate.

¹⁰ Sidney Andrews, *The South Since the Civil War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971), 323-24 (first published by Ticknor and Fields, 1866); John Richard Dennett, *The South as It Is, 1865- 1866* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010), 110.

¹¹ Bartley, *The Creation of Modern Georgia*, 17; Bragg, “Reconstruction in Georgia.”

¹² Bartley, *The Creation of Modern Georgia*, 48.

Shortly afterward, white Georgians plotted to eliminate their power. Robert Toombs, a Democratic Party leader from Wilkes County, Georgia, exclaimed at a meeting of Georgia Democrats in July 1868 that it was an injustice that Georgia had been forced to accept “[Republican Governor Rufus] Bullock and nigger Government.”¹³ Toombs had served as secretary of state of the Confederacy and as a Confederate general, and he objected to Georgia’s Constitution of 1868, drafted during Reconstruction, because he believed it granted Black people too many rights of citizenship.¹⁴ That same year, *The Atlanta Constitution* also insisted that “the negro [was] incapable of self-government,” and that the “interest of the white race . . . should be held as paramount to all perilous experiments upon an alien race.”¹⁵

White Republicans also sought to eliminate Black suffrage. Samuel Bard, the editor of the *Atlanta Daily New Era*, a Republican newspaper, reassured his readers that “Reconstruction does not make negro suffrage a permanency,” and promised that “as soon as the State is once more in its place . . . they can amend their Constitution, disfranchise the negroes, and restore suffrage to the disfranchised whites.”¹⁶ By that December, Democrats, though in the minority, convinced a sufficient number of white Republicans to agree to expel all Black members of the Georgia legislature. By September 1868, just a few months after their election to office, all Black legislators were expelled from the General Assembly.¹⁷

This expulsion, along with the continuing high levels of racial violence directed at African Americans, convinced Congress to suspend Georgia’s status as a state once again. After the passage of the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1869, in 1870 the Georgia Legislature returned the expelled Black legislators to their seats and expelled twenty-two members who had

¹³ “Mammoth Democratic Mass Meeting,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), July 24, 1868 (available online at <https://www.Newspapers.com/image/26848994>).

¹⁴ McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey* at 35-36.

¹⁵ *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), July 30, 1868 (available online at <https://www.Newspapers.com/image/26849014/>).

¹⁶ “Reconstruction and the Southern Whites,” *The Atlanta Daily New Era* (Atlanta, GA), January 4, 1868. For a scholarly overview of these post-Civil War and post-Reconstruction disfranchising measures, see McDonald, et al., “Georgia,” *Quiet Revolution in the South*, 67–70.

¹⁷ C. Mildred Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia: Economic, Social, Political, 1865-1872* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1915) 214; Edmund L. Drago, *Black Politicians and Reconstruction in Georgia: A Splendid Failure* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 148. There remains today a bronze sculpture on the Georgia Legislature’s grounds entitled “Expelled Because of Color” to the 33 Black members of the Georgia Legislature who were expelled at that time.

served as Confederate officers.¹⁸ That same year, Georgia passed the Akerman Law, prohibiting any person from challenging or hindering voters at the polls.¹⁹ White Georgians reacted with vengeance; between 1867 and 1872, “at least a quarter of the state’s Black legislators were jailed, threatened, bribed, beaten or killed.”²⁰ At the heart of Black voter suppression was both explicit and implicit white violence. As Sidney Andrews, a journalist from Massachusetts, wrote in 1865, “any man holding and openly advocating even moderately radical views on the negro question, stands an excellent chance, in many counties of Georgia and South Carolina, of being found dead some morning.”²¹

In October 1868, the *Atlanta Daily New Era* reported that those “despairing Democracy are resorting to the grossest acts of violence with the view of intimidating the negro away from the polls.”²² Historian Edmund Drago noted that, starting in the April 1868 election through the 1872 presidential election, Democrats resorted to murder, violence, fraud, and intimidation, and successfully decreased Republican votes. Black politicians were routinely threatened with violence, and some Black legislators were murdered by the Ku Klux Klan.²³

One such instance of political violence happened in Camilla, Georgia in the fall of 1868. Just two months after the Georgia Assembly expelled its African American members, local officials from Mitchell County and the surrounding area organized a march from Albany to Camilla that would end at a local Republican rally. Several hundred Black Georgians joined the planned march along with several white Republicans, but upon entering the town, local whites hiding out in storefronts along the town square gunned them down, murdering at least a dozen and wounding another thirty. The result of the massacre was that white Democrats took control of southwest Georgia.²⁴

¹⁸ Drago, *Black Politicians and Reconstruction in Georgia*, 55.

¹⁹ McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 17–25.

²⁰ McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 35.

²¹ Sidney Andrews, “The South Since the War,” in Brooks D. Simpson, ed., *Reconstruction: Voices From America’s First Great Struggle for Racial Equality* (New York: Library of America, 2018), 140

²² *The Atlanta Daily New Era* (Atlanta, GA), October 25, 1868.

²³ Drago, *Black Politicians and Reconstruction in Georgia*, 141-159.

²⁴ See Lee W. Formwalt, “Camilla Massacre,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/camilla-massacre/> (Sep. 5, 2002) (last edited Aug 20, 2020) See also Lee Formwalt, “The Camilla Massacre of 1868: Racial

Klan violence against Black legislators around this time was severe. On October 29, 1869, a Black state legislator named Abram Colby from Greene County, Georgia was attacked by a group of sixty-five Klansmen, who dragged him into the woods and beat him for more than three hours before leaving him for dead. The mob explained that they were attacking Colby because he “had influence with the negroes of other counties.”²⁵ Colby later recounted before the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States that, as he was beaten with “sticks and with straps that had buckles on the ends of them,” his assailants had demanded that he promise to never “vote another damned Radical ticket.”²⁶ Colby testified that the same group of men had also attempted to bribe him to switch parties or resign from the legislature. Colby’s story, while horrific, was not unique—this kind of violence against Black Republicans was common between 1869 and 1872.²⁷

Some know the example of Georgian Tunis Campbell. Born in 1812, Tunis Campbell was a prominent African American abolitionist, who arrived in Georgia as an agent of the Freedman’s Bureau. In the spring of 1865, he traveled to the Georgia coast and established a freedmen’s settlement. When president Andrew Johnson began pardoning ex-Confederates and returning their land, Campbell purchased a large tract of land on St. Catherine’s Island, allocated new settlements, and organized what became a self-governing community.²⁸ From there, Campbell moved into politics, becoming the head of the Republican Party in Georgia, a local registrar of voters, a

Violence as Political Propaganda,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 71, No. 3 (Fall, 1987), 399-426.

²⁵ United States Congress, Joint Select Committee on the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, Luke P. Poland, John Scott, and Woodrow Wilson Collection, *Report of the Joint select committee appointed to inquire into the condition of affairs in the late insurrectionary states, so far as regards the execution of laws, and the safety of the lives and property of the citizens of the United States and Testimony taken* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1872). Available online from the Library of Congress, <https://lccn.loc.gov/35031867>, 350-355.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.; see also Kidada E. Williams, “The Wounds that Cried Out: Reckoning with African Americans’ Testimonies of Trauma and Suffrage from Night Riding” in *The World the Civil War Made*, Gregory P. Downs and Kate Masur, eds. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015) 159-62, 170-72.

²⁸ Russell Duncan, “Tunis Campbell, 1812-1891,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/tunis-campbell-1812-1891/> (Dec. 10, 2004) (last modified Jul 15, 2020). See also Russell Duncan, *Freedom’s Shore: Tunis Campbell and the Georgia Freedmen* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986).

delegate of Georgia's new Constitutional Convention, and eventually a state senator. He consulted with U.S. President Ulysses S. Grant and Senator Charles Sumner in 1871 on the need for voting rights for African Americans. He even headed up his own militia to protect him and his community from attacks from local bands of the Ku Klux Klan.²⁹ But local whites attempted to undermine him from the start. In 1867, while serving as a state registrar, he survived a poisoning attempt, which reportedly killed one of his colleagues. Two years later, when both Tunis and his son won seats in the Georgia General Assembly, white state officials voted to deny them their seats.

During this time of immense violence, intimidation, and chicanery, in 1871 white Democrats took control of the Georgia Legislature. With a majority of elected officials dedicated to white supremacy, the state of Georgia tightened its grip on would-be Black voters and especially on Black elected officials, reinstituting an annual poll tax to dissuade or outright prohibit impoverished Black Georgians from voting. The poll tax and continued violence was effective: in 1872 only four Blacks were elected to the Georgia Legislature, and only three in 1874.

In 1871, the state of Georgia also voted to remove the Republican Governor, thus basically ending political Reconstruction in Georgia. White Democrats then re-organized county elections and took control of local elections, thereby diminishing both the electoral power of Black voters, and negating Tunis Campbell's authority as the leading politician in McIntosh County. In 1874, for example, Campbell won a seat in Georgia's House of Representatives, but Georgia's Democratically-controlled legislature threw out all of the votes from Darien, Georgia (Campbell's base of support) after learning that a local election judge was not a registered property holder.³⁰

Finally, in 1876, after years of trying to thwart Campbell's political career, white Democrats arrested Campbell on trumped up charges alleging malfeasance in office. A Georgia court sentenced him to a yearlong term in prison, which he served while working as a convict-

²⁹ *Ibid*; See also Richard Hogan, "Resisting Redemption: The Republican Vote in Georgia in 1876," *Social Science History*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (Summer 2011), 13-166. See also, Jess McHugh, "He fought for Black voting rights in Georgia. He was almost killed for it." *The Washington Post* (Oct. 25, 2020) available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2020/10/25/voting-rights-tunis-campbell-civil-war/>

³⁰ See Hogan, "Resisting Redemption," 147.

lease laborer at a state labor camp. He left Georgia upon his release and published a memoir entitled *The Sufferings of the Rev. T. G. Campbell and his Family in Georgia (1877)*.³¹

The story of Tunis Campbell illustrates the effectiveness of violence, intimidation, fraud, and the poll tax. After white Democrats seized control of the Georgia state legislature, they organized a new constitutional convention, chaired by the same Robert Toombs cited above, who had been the secretary of state of the Confederacy. The Georgia state constitution of 1877 implemented a cumulative poll tax for elections, so that potential voters had to pay all previous unpaid poll taxes before casting a ballot. The new 1877 Georgia constitution did not disfranchise its African American citizens in explicit words. But as historian Edmund Drago noted, however, new restrictions, combined with reinstated poll taxes,³² were “sufficient to render black participation in politics improbable.”³³

C. The Populist & Early Progressive Movement Era (1880s to 1910s)

Populism emerged in the late 1880s as a challenge to the post-Reconstruction settlement in Georgia. Populism meant different things to different people in different places, but it usually meant an emphasis on “the people” rather than on “the elite.” In Georgia, “the people” meant the white people and the maintenance of white supremacy and the avoidance of any challenges to one-party rule. Almost all Georgia white elites were committed to the maintenance of white supremacy. A leading political figure in Georgia in these years was not a Populist, but the Progressive Movement leader Henry Grady, who proclaimed the first of many “New Souths.” Grady wrote in 1885 that racial inequality is “instinctive—deeper than prejudice or pride—and bred in the bone and blood” and therefore it was essential that “the white race must dominate forever in the South.”³⁴

Populism and the Farmer’s Alliance became a major factor in Georgia politics in the late 1880s. Most Georgia Populists were not racial egalitarians, but they did denounce race hatred and lynching, and promoted enlightened and mutual self-interest as an economic strategy. The Populists also called for financial reforms and regulation of corporations, particularly the railroads.

³¹ See Duncan, “Tunis Campbell.” See also Tunis G. Campbell, *The Sufferings of the Rev. T.G. Campbell and his family, in Georgia* (Washington, D.C.: Enterprise Publishing Company, 1877). Available online at: <https://archive.org/details/sufferingsofrevt00camprich/page/9/mode/2up>

³² McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 35–37.

³³ Drago, *Black Politicians and Reconstruction in Georgia*, 156.

³⁴ Bartley, *The Creation of Modern Georgia*, 85–86.

Around this time, the *Atlanta Constitution* warned that maintaining white supremacy was more important than “all the financial reform in the world.”³⁵ In Georgia, progressivism was, in the words of historian John Dittmer, “conservative, elitist, and above all, racist.”³⁶

The populist career of Tom Watson, a Congressman and U.S. Senator from Georgia, demonstrated the difficulties of challenging white supremacy in the state. Watson was initially a supporter of the interracial alliance of the populist movement, advocating for the rights of African Americans to vote. But after 1900, in his Georgia congressional campaign, Watson refashioned himself as virulently racist (and anti-Semitic), a vehement defender of lynching, and ran on a platform of white supremacy.³⁷

Reacting to the interracial Populist Party challenge, Georgia then took additional steps to exclude Black voters from the franchise at the end of the 19th century. In 1890, the Georgia General Assembly passed a law ceding primary elections to party officials. The law kept political candidates from trying to appeal to Black voters or to build multiracial coalitions.³⁸ In 1898, the Georgia Democratic Party adopted the use of a statewide primary, a popular progressive reform to remove politics from “smoke-filled back rooms.” But the adoption in Georgia was not a reform to bring in more democracy. In 1900, following the lead of South Carolina, Georgia became the second state to bar Black voters from participating in the Democratic Party, under the pretense that the Democratic Party was a private “club” and only had to accept the patronage of its chosen “guests.” Because Georgia was a one-party Democratic state, this meant that Black Georgians had no effective role in the state’s politics. The white primary was one of the central ways Georgia evaded the Fifteenth Amendment.³⁹

³⁵ McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 37.

³⁶ John Dittmer, *Black Georgia in the Progressive Era, 1900–1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1977), 214.

³⁷ Julia Mary Walsh, “‘Horny -Handed Sons of Toil’: Workers, Politics, and Religion in Augusta, Georgia, 1880—1910,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1999). <https://www.ideals.illinois.edu/handle/2142/84756>; Donald A. Grant, *The Way it Was in the South: The Black Experience in Georgia* (1993; University of Georgia Press, 2001), 175-78; C. Vann Woodward, *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel* (1938; London: Oxford University Press, 1963); Barton Shaw, “Populist Party.” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, (Sep. 3, 2002) (last modified Sep. 29, 2020), available at: <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/populist-party/>

³⁸ Bartley, *The Creation of Modern Georgia*, 149; *GA History*, “White Primary Ends,” available at <http://gahistorysms.weebly.com/white-primary-ends.html>

³⁹ McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 38.

Georgia's government took another giant step towards evading the Fifteenth Amendment in 1908, when it passed the "Progressive era" Felder-Williams bill, which became known as the "Disenfranchising Act." Because the Fifteenth Amendment barred outright elimination of Black voting, other methods were used to curb and discourage Black voting without explicitly banning it. Even so, many Georgians agreed with the influential former Georgia Populist Congressman Tom Watson, who in 1921 served in the U.S. Senate as a Democrat, and who previously exclaimed that "the hour has struck for the south to say that the fifteenth amendment is not law and will no longer be respected."⁴⁰

While the 1908 Felder-Williams bill broadly disfranchised many Georgians, it included a series of exceptions that would continue to allow most white voters to vote, such as: (1) having served in either the U.S. or Confederate armies, (2) having descended from someone who had served in either the U.S. or Confederate armies, (3) owning forty acres of land or five hundred dollars' worth of property in Georgia, (4) being able to write or to understand and explain any paragraph of the U.S. or Georgia Constitution, or (5) being "persons of good character who understand the duties and obligations of citizenship."⁴¹ Overall, the Felder-Williams bill's literacy test, plus a property requirement and a cumulative poll tax, eliminated almost all existing Black voters in Georgia (along with a fair number of poor white voters).

While the bill became known as the "Disenfranchising Act," Georgia officials like "Progressive" Governor Hoke Smith justified the bill in the name of "honest elections in Georgia," which could begin by "keeping registration lists above suspicion."⁴² Pursuant to the this new law, a new registration of voters was held after its adoption by popular vote.⁴³ The technique of disfranchisement under the name of something else, such as honest elections, became more prevalent in Georgia and elsewhere. As the *Atlanta Journal* described the Felder-Williams bill, in passing it "Georgia takes her place among the enlightened and progressive states which have

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 39–40

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 41.

⁴² Georgia General Assembly. House of Representatives, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta, GA: Franklin-Turner Company, 1908), 11. Available online through the University of Georgia at: http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/do:dlg_ggpd_y-ga-bl404-b1908.

⁴³ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia*, 19.

announced that the white man is to rule. She has declared in clear and specific terms for Anglo-Saxon supremacy and the integrity of the ballot.”⁴⁴

In the campaign to disfranchise Black voters, Georgia officials blamed a specter of voter fraud, echoing rhetoric from the violent overthrow of Reconstruction that Black residents did not deserve the rights of citizenship and the sanctity of the ballot. For Southern Progressives, as Governor Hoke Smith argued, “the first step toward purifying the ballot” was “the exclusion of the ignorant and purchasable negro.”⁴⁵ White Democrats blamed “fraudulent negro voters” for Republican rule during Reconstruction, and falsely claimed that denying African Americans the right to vote would eliminate fraud.⁴⁶ John M. Brown, the editor of *The Bainbridge Democrat*, argued that “the negro as a voter—by a very large majority—is purchasable,” and without disfranchisement a “minority of the whites” could control Black voters and take Georgia hostage.⁴⁷ The false claim that Black votes were fraudulent began during Reconstruction and continues as a trope today.⁴⁸

This pretext of voter fraud and purifying elections was used to justify the wholesale change in voter registration laws. In conjunction with the Felder-Williams bill which stripped Black men of their voter registrations, the Georgia General Assembly also approved a measure to amend the process for registering voters. The *Cartersville News* explained that this “pure election law” provided that “the registration list shall be placed on exhibit in the office of the clerk of the court, where all may inspect and may challenge those who are thought not worthy of a place.”⁴⁹ The bill stipulated that “the list from the voters’ books . . . shall be open to public inspection, and any citizen of the county shall be allowed to contest the right of registration of any person whose name

⁴⁴McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 42.

⁴⁵ “Hoke Smith Writes of Campaign Issues,” *The Atlanta Georgian and News* (Atlanta, GA), July 29, 1910.

⁴⁶ *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta GA), June 16, 1898.

⁴⁷ “For Negro Disfranchisement,” *The Bainbridge Democrat* (Bainbridge, GA), September 3, 1908.

⁴⁸ *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta GA), June 16, 1898.

⁴⁹ “Laws to Govern Georgia Elections,” *The Cartersville News* (Cartersville, GA), August 20, 1908.

appears upon the voters' list."⁵⁰ This "challenge" provision was incorporated into the 1910 Code of the State of Georgia, and remains largely unchanged to this day.⁵¹

The purpose of both the disfranchisement law and the registration law was clear: to disfranchise Black Georgians and keep it that way. Governor Smith explained that during his tenure that "we adopted a registration law" that "was intended to make complete and fully effective the disfranchisement law."⁵² The *Atlanta Semi-Weekly Journal* wrote that "the registration provision of the pure election law which guarantees the ballot to every real white citizen of the state" ensures that "his ballot's power shall not be vitiated by a corrupt and floating element," i.e. the Black voter whose vote was "fraudulent."⁵³

Together, these laws were devastatingly effective at eliminating both Black elected officials from seats of power and Black voters from the franchise. At this time of the Felder-Williams bill, the last remaining African American in the legislature was William H. Rogers, and he resigned after the passage of the bill. There would not be another Black Georgian in the legislature for half a century. In terms of voters, in 1908, 33,816 Black Georgians were registered to vote. Two years later, only 7,847 African Americans were registered, a decrease of more than 75 percent. In comparison, fewer than six percent of white voters were disfranchised by Georgia's new election laws.⁵⁴ From 1920 to 1930, the combined Black vote total in Georgia never exceeded 2,700.⁵⁵ In 1940, the total Black registration in Georgia was still only approximately 20,000, around two or three percent of eligible Black voters. If anything, this figure exaggerates Black

⁵⁰ Part I, Title VII, *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1908* (Atlanta, GA: Charles P. Byrd, 1908), 60. Available online through the Digital Library of Georgia at: https://dlg.usg.edu/record/dlg_zlgl_102041291

⁵¹ Originally codified as § 34-605, the 1908 voter challenge provision was preserved in substantially the same form through extensive reorganization and modernization of the Georgia Election code in 1964 and 1981, when it was re-codified at § 21-2-230. As observed in the editor's note for the 2008 edition of *The Official Code of Georgia, Annotated* § 21-2-230, the voter challenge provision of the reorganized 1981 *Official Code of Georgia* was so similar to the 1933 *Code*'s voter challenge statute that any legal opinions decided under the older code would apply to § 21-2-230. See O.C.G.A § 21-2-230 (2008).

⁵² "Hoke Smith Writes of Campaign Issues," *The Atlanta Georgian and News* (Atlanta, GA), July 29, 1910

⁵³ "A Puerile Attack on a Great Law," *The Atlanta Semi-Weekly Journal* (Atlanta, GA), June 24, 1910.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*; see also McDonald, et al., "Georgia," *Quiet Revolution in the South*, 67.

⁵⁵ McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 46.

voting strength, since until 1944 Black voters were barred from the only election that mattered, the Democratic Party primary.⁵⁶

D. Early 20th Century (1910s to 1940s)

During the early 20th century, beyond the poll tax and the white primary which had functionally removed nearly all Black Georgians from voter registration lists, Black Georgians also faced an array of state-sponsored discrimination across all aspects of life which led back to voting.⁵⁷ One was education. In *Cumming v. Richmond County School Board*, 175 U.S. 528 (1899), the U.S. Supreme Court not only accommodated prejudice but mandated Georgia's *de jure* segregation of white from Black students. The case arose after the school board in Augusta, Georgia, closed the only Black public high school in the county, while still operating its white high school. The Georgia Supreme Court approved of the closure and segregation, and so did the U.S. Supreme Court. And without support for schools for Black Georgians, not only could literacy tests be used to keep Black people from voting, but under-resourced education and segregated schools severely stalled economic and social mobility for Georgia's Black residents.⁵⁸

Like many southern states in the early years of the twentieth century, Georgia, on both a state and local level, instituted a vast array of Jim Crow legislation concerning restaurants, parks, zoos, chain gangs, and even prohibited white and Black Georgians from swearing on the same Bible in Atlanta courtrooms.⁵⁹ Georgia was also dead last among states in the percentage of Black

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 49; see also J. Morgan Kousser, *Colorblind Injustice: Minority Voting Rights and the Undoing of the Second Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1999), 201.

⁵⁷ The continuing effects of discrimination in Georgia hinder the ability of minority group members to participate effectively in the political process. Disparities in education, income, and health outcomes persist in Georgia, effectively disadvantaging many minority voters. Although another expert is providing census data and other statistics on racial disparities in socio-economic characteristics usually cited in connection with Senate Factor 5, I am providing a historical background here.

⁵⁸ Edward A. Hatfield, "Segregation," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, (Jun 1, 2007) (last edited Jul 20, 2020) <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/segregation>; Grant, *The Way it Was in the South*, 220. The Booker T. Washington High School in Atlanta opened in 1924; there were several denominational high schools for African Americans in Georgia.

⁵⁹ Bartley, *The Creation of Modern Georgia*, 148.

farmers who owned their own land, at only 12.8%.⁶⁰ Of course, under the Felder-Williams Disenfranchisement Act, ownership of land was one of the exceptions to access of the franchise.

In 1916, Georgia elected Hugh M. Dorsey as governor. While by no means a racial liberal, Dorsey did oppose the worst of Jim Crow. In his pamphlet entitled, *A Statement from Governor Hugh M. Dorsey as to the Negro in Georgia*, published before he left office in 1921, he highlighted the condition of Black Georgians at the time. He wrote, “in some counties the Negro is being driven out as though he were a wild beast. In others he is held a slave.” Governor Dorsey also wrote, in response to white mob violence against Black Georgians, that Georgia “stand[s] indicted before the world. If the conditions. . . should continue, both God and man would justly condemn Georgia more severely than man and God have condemned Belgium and Leopold for the Congo atrocities.”⁶¹ Governor Dorsey wrote the truth; violence and threat of violence was constant for many Black Georgians after white Democrats controlled the state in the late 19th and first part of the 20th century.

At the time, a common form of state-sanctioned violence was debt peonage and the convict lease system, which some have described as slavery by another name. In theory, the federal Debt Peonage Act of 1867 had outlawed the peonage system—the system of debt slavery—throughout the United States. But even up through the 1920s, the federal government investigated and prosecuted hundreds of employers across the South, including particularly in Georgia, for practicing peonage. But the federal government’s prosecutions rarely succeeded in punishing offending landowners. In the end, peonage was ended by outside social and economic forces. In 1915, the boll weevil was found on Georgia cotton plants and thereafter the insect devastated cotton agriculture. In addition to the boll weevil, the Great Depression and the mechanization of

⁶⁰ Adrienne Petty and Mark Schulz, “American Landowners and the Pursuit of the American Dream,” in *Lincoln’s Unfinished Work: The New Birth of Freedom from Generation to Generation*, Orville Vernon Burton and Peter Eisenstadt eds. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2022), 133–171.

⁶¹ Hugh M. Dorsey, “A Statement from Governor Hugh M. Dorsey as to The Negro in Georgia,” 1921, <https://archive.org/details/statementfromgov00georrich> (from the California Digital Library in the Internet Archive)

(also available through the Library of Congress at <https://lcn.loc.gov/21027163>; cited in Cobb, Declaration, 22-23.

agriculture spelled the end of the cotton plantations of Georgia. Only the decline of the cotton plantations ended the practice of peonage.⁶²

Throughout World War I, Black Georgians also faced state-sanctioned racial discrimination. While the Selective Service Act of 1917 required all able-bodied men of a certain age to register for a national draft, regardless of race, it was local draft boards that were responsible for processing men registering for the draft and selecting which registrants would be inducted into military service.⁶³ In Fulton County, for example, the draft board “granted exemptions to 526 of the first 815 white registrants examined but turned down only six out of 202 black men.”⁶⁴ Statistically, across Fulton County, 65 percent of the whites but only three percent of Black Georgians were granted exemptions from military service. Fulton County’s racially discriminatory decisions were so flagrant that President Woodrow Wilson, who had lived in Augusta, Georgia as a boy, and who is today remembered as the president who segregated the federal government and endorsed the racist movie, *Birth of a Nation*, was forced to remove officials of the Fulton County Georgia Draft Board.

As Black Georgians were drafted into the war at a higher proportion than were whites, the NAACP established a chapter in Georgia in 1917, which was the same year that Georgia adopted the county-unit form of government. The county-unit system became the method for determining the winner of the Democratic primary, the only elections in the state that mattered.⁶⁵

⁶² Miller Handley Karnes, “Law, Labor, and Land in the Postbellum Cotton South: The Peonage Cases in Oglethorpe County, Georgia, 1865-1940,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 2000, <https://www.ideals.illinois.edu/handle/2142/84756> Cobb, Declaration, 19-22; Pete Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South, 1901-1969* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 110-131; Talitha L. Laflouria, *Chained in Silence: Black Women and Convict Labor in the New South* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2016); Sarah Haley, *No Mercy Here: Gender, Punishment, and the Making of Jim Crow Modernity* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2016).

⁶³ An Act To authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States,” U. S. Statutes at Large 40 (1917-1919), 65th Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/65thcongress/session-1/c65sch.pdf?loclr=blogloc-ww1>.

⁶⁴ Arthur E Barbeau and Florette Henri, *The Unknown Soldiers: Black American Troops in World War I* The Unknown Soldiers: Black American Troops in World War I (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974), 35.

⁶⁵ Between 1872 and 1950, the Democratic candidate won every state-wide race. See McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey* at 81.

Under the county-unit system, every county was given twice the number of unit votes as they had representatives in the state house. Each of Georgia's 159 counties had at least one seat in the legislature, and no county had more than three, no matter the county's population. The winner in each county's primary election received all that county's unit votes. This system gave a greater share of proportion of votes to small, rural, and much whiter counties, compared to larger and more urban counties, where the majority of still active Black voters lived.⁶⁶ As in many states prior to the *Baker v. Carr* decision, Georgia's election system had a strongly rural bias, but perhaps in no state was the rural tilt as pronounced as in Georgia, diluting the strength of Black voters across the state.

Against this backdrop, in 1919, the Atlanta chapter of the NAACP was wildly successful in its voter registration drive: in one month, they registered more than one thousand new Black voters, more than doubling the number of Black voters who participated in past elections. The success of the NAACP caused panic among leading white Georgians, and the following year, the Georgia General Assembly proposed legislation to prohibit Black Georgians from voting or from holding office.⁶⁷

As Black Georgians returned from the war, many white Georgians held a deep antipathy regarding Black WWI veterans, which led in part to the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia following the war. Historian Nancy MacLean wrote about this time, in which white Georgians engaged in racial violence after they saw Black men in military uniforms, "a symbol commanding respect."

After World War I, in Georgia and elsewhere, African Americans again continued to try to vote despite the *legal* means of disfranchisement which state officials had enacted, and whites again resorted to violence and intimidation to keep African Americans from the polls. For example, in Harris County, Georgia, African Americans planned to vote because President Franklin Roosevelt had a vacation home nearby, giving Black voters there a sense of federal protection.

⁶⁶ Scott E. Buchanan, "County Unit System," New Georgia Encyclopedia, (Apr 15, 2005) (last edited Aug 21, 2020), <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/counties-cities-neighborhoods/county-unit-system>.

⁶⁷ Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (Athens: University of Georgia, 1994), 28.

Trying to eliminate that sense of protection, however, white Georgians in the area “dug some graves there by the courthouse... and burned some crosses at the crossroads.”⁶⁸

Of course, lynchings throughout the state served as a reminder for Black Georgians who challenged the status quo, and in practice lynchings did not need to be directly connected to the right to vote to act as a threat against all Black Georgians who dared participate in the franchise. From 1875 to 1930, there were 462 lynchings in Georgia. Only the state of Mississippi had more reported lynchings. Graphic descriptions of the lynchings sent messages to Black Georgians to stay in line (and to whites that racial violence would go unprosecuted).⁶⁹

E. World War II Era (1940s to 1950s)

Up until the 1940s, Black Georgians had been successfully excluded from the franchise by many means, including the white primary. In 1944, however, in *Smith v. Allwright* the United States Supreme Court issued a landmark decision holding that political parties could not exclude Black Americans from participating in the party’s primary elections, thereby prohibiting the widely utilized white primary system.⁷⁰

One year later, in 1945, the United States District Court for the Middle District of Georgia ruled in *King v. Chapman* that the Muscogee County Democratic Executive Committee and the state of Georgia had violated the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Seventeenth Amendment rights of Primus E. King, a Black voter who had been turned away when he had attempted to vote in the Democratic Party’s primary in Columbus, Georgia that prior summer. The judge, in part relying on *Smith v. Allwright*, found that despite Georgia’s attempts to make party primaries “purely private affairs,” primary elections were “by a law an integral part of the election machinery.”⁷¹

These cases, along with Governor Ellis Arnall’s decision not to attempt to “circumvent the [*Allwright*] decision,” and organizing efforts by groups like the NAACP-backed All Citizens

⁶⁸Testimony of William Simpson, Trial Transcript at 115, 118, *Brown v. Reames*, Civ. No. 75-80-COL (M. D. Ga.)

⁶⁹ W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880-1930* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1993); McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 47; Georgia Lynching Project, circa 1875-1930,” <https://scholarblogs.emory.edu/galynchings/counties/>.

⁷⁰ *Smith v. Allwright*, 321 U.S. 649 (1944).

⁷¹ *King v. Chapman*, 62 F. Supp. 639 (M.D. Ga. 1945); *Chapman v. King*, 154 F.2d 460 (5th Cir. 1946); *Chapman v. King*, 327 U.S. 800 (1946); “Judge Rules Negroes May Vote,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), October 13, 1945; “Georgia Reform Faces Test in Hot Primary,” *The Sunday News* (Lancaster, PA), July 14, 1946; Ronald H. Bayor, *Race and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century Atlanta* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 34.

Registration Committee, led to a massive surge in voter registration in 1946, especially among Black voters.⁷² By the time of the 1946 primary, 118,387 Black Georgians had registered to vote. According to the *Jackson Progress-Argus* of Jackson, Georgia, this was “by all odds the largest registration in Georgia’s primary.”⁷³

This important progression in Black voter registration, however, was met by outright hostility from candidates in the 1946 Georgia gubernatorial election. For example, the race-baiting Democratic gubernatorial candidate in that election, Eugene Talmadge, campaigned on a platform of white supremacy and disfranchisement, threatening that if the “Democratic White Primary is not restored and preserved,” Black voters, “directed by influences outside of Georgia,” would control the Democratic Party.⁷⁴ This language echoed earlier comments from Georgia Governor Hoke-Smith which questioned the legitimacy of Black voters.⁷⁵ As Talmadge menacingly warned, “wise Negroes will stay away from white folks ballot boxes.” Similarly, Marvin Griffin, a candidate for Lieutenant Governor, made white supremacy a cornerstone of his campaign and announced that he believed “the White Democratic Party should be kept white in Georgia, and that carpet baggers and scalawags should not be permitted to take over this state and destroy southern racial traditions.”⁷⁶

As the 1946 gubernatorial race progressed, both Griffin’s and Talmadge’s campaigns relied on voter challenges to disfranchise Black voters and repudiate the recent court rulings.⁷⁷ In particular, Talmadge responded to *Smith v. Allwright* by mounting challenges to Black voter registration forms, claiming they were filled out incorrectly. Although the state law required specific reasons for voiding registrations, Talmadge’s crew cited spurious reasons. They created pre-filled forms with spaces to fill in the voter’s name and county, with reasons such as “the voter

⁷² McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 49.

⁷³ “Total Registration in Georgia May Reach Million When Deadline Falls,” *The Jackson Progress-Argus* (Jackson, GA), June 20, 1946; “118, 387 Qualified to Vote in Georgia Primary Election,” *The Plaindealer* (Kansas City, KS), July 19, 1946.

⁷⁴ “Georgia CAN Restore the Democratic White Primary and Retain County Unit System,” *The Forsyth County News* (Cummings, GA), July 4, 1946.

⁷⁵ “Our Last Chance for WHITE SUPREMACY,” *The Jackson Herald* (Jefferson, GA), July 11, 1946; “Georgia’s State Campaign To Be Red Hot Affair,” *The Gaffney Ledger* (Gaffney, SC), April 25, 1946.

⁷⁶ *The Houston Home Journal* (Perry, GA), May 30, 1946; Cobb, Declaration, 26.

⁷⁷ “Talmadge ‘Purge’ of Negro Voters Boggling Down in Georgia Counties,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), July 12, 1946.

was not a resident, was not eighteen, was not a person of good character, could not read the English language,” and so forth.⁷⁸ These forms demonstrated that Talmadge’s campaign did not know the specific circumstances or qualifications of the voters they challenged; all they knew were that these voters “were black, and that was enough.”⁷⁹ Ultimately, the Talmadge machine challenged so many voters that when those voters arrived in person to prove their qualifications, “it proved impossible to process all of them on election day, and as a result the Black voters were allowed to cast their ballots.”⁸⁰ All in all, during this election, more than thirty counties challenged Black registrations, denying an estimated 15,000 to 25,000 Black registrants the right to vote.⁸¹

The state of Georgia also continued to attempt to circumvent the rule against white primaries. In 1947, the Georgia General Assembly introduced a bill that would allow the continuation of a white-only primary by divorcing primaries from state action entirely. Willis Smith, a representative from Carroll County, said “Georgia is in trouble with the Negroes unless this bill is passed.” Echoing historian U. B. Phillips’ central theme of Southern history, Smith continued “This is white man’s country, and we must keep it that way.”⁸²

But perhaps the most successful way Georgia continued to circumvent the rule against white primaries was the continuation of the county-unit system, which had both the purpose and the effect of containing the Black vote in the urban areas of the state. By the early 1940s, 43.5% of the state’s population (and 39.9% of the state’s white population) controlled 59% of the unit votes. The unit vote system was inherently non-majoritarian, and situations in which candidates won the popular vote but lost the unit vote were not uncommon. And it had the consequence that not only legislative races, but also state-wide races for governor and other executive branch positions had a rural and white bias. The main target of the county-unit system was Atlanta and Fulton County, where many Black Georgians lived. In 1946, each unit vote in Fulton County represented 14,092 votes, while each unit vote in Chattahooche County (a much whiter county) represented 132 voters. In other words, each voter in Chattahooche County had 120 times the weight of a Fulton County voter.

⁷⁸ McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 52-53.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 52–54.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 52–54.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 55. The bill was vetoed by Gov. Thompson who questioned its legality and believed it would invite fraud.

The county-unit system was a bulwark for the racist and die-hard white supremacist machine of long-time governor Eugene Talmadge. Talmadge claimed the enemies of the county unit system were a group of “liberals, white primary antagonists, and integrationists.” While five constitutional challenges were brought against the county-unit system in the 1940s and 1950s, none succeeded.⁸³

Following Governor Talmadge’s death, voter challenges to Black voters were used again during the 1948 Georgia gubernatorial special election. In Laurens County, Georgia, nearly three-quarters of 2,477 Black Georgians who were registered to vote were purged after they were unable to appear before the board of registrars, which a grand jury later found illegal.⁸⁴ Marion County also engaged in a similar, and unsuccessful purge that targeted Black voters, who were challenged because of their supposed “lack of education.”⁸⁵ While the efforts to purge Black voters in Laurens and Marion Counties failed, other counties pushed forward. The day before the Democratic primary election, 558 Black voters were purged from Spalding County’s registration list. Attempts to challenge and purge Black voters from voter registration lists also occurred in Lowndes, Schley, and Twiggs counties, and may have also taken place in Dougherty County as well. When attempts to challenge African American voters’ qualifications failed, other methods of voter intimidation were employed. For example, Augusta employed “slowdown” tactics in the 1948 elections that mirrored what Savannah did in 1946, whereby “several thousand blacks were unable to vote before the polls closed because of the delaying tactics of poll officials and were simply turned away.”⁸⁶ Election officials only allowed three Black voters to vote per hour, in the hopes that there would

⁸³ Ibid., 83.

⁸⁴ “Tax Collector of Laurens County Puts Negroes Back on List,” *The Butler Herald* (Butler, GA), June 17, 1948; “‘Vote Purge’ Evidence Said Insufficient,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), August 29, 1948; “Twiggs Board Directed to Enroll Negroes,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), August 14, 1948.

⁸⁵ “Marion County Striking 400 From Voting List,” *The Butler Herald* (Butler, GA), August 26, 1948; “Attempts to Intimidate Voters Told,” *The Alabama Tribune* (Montgomery, AL), September 17, 1948.

⁸⁶ “‘Vote Purge’ Evidence Said Insufficient,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), August 29, 1948; “Twiggs Board Directed to Enroll Negroes,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), August 14, 1948; “Attempts to Intimidate Voters Told,” *The Alabama Tribune* (Montgomery, AL), September 17, 1948; “Pre-Vote Klan Threats Substitute for Poll Purge of ‘46 – Thompson,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), March 25, 1948.

“be plenty of Negroes standing in line when the polls close.”⁸⁷ Furthermore, in 1949 the state government (unsuccessfully) attempted to force a general re-registration, “with the obvious aim of ridding the rolls of Negro voters.”⁸⁸

Along with strategic election-related tactics, around this time there was also an upsurge of Klan activity and violence directed at Black voters.⁸⁹ In the days before the 1948 Democratic primary election, the Ku Klux Klan successfully suppressed Black voting in Lowndes County by burning crosses and threatening African American voters.⁹⁰ Acting Governor M.E. Thompson alleged that “intimidation of voters by the Ku Klux Klan is being employed as a substitute for the purge campaign of 1946.”⁹¹ Threats of the Ku Klux Klan, extralegal violence, and all white juries within the legal system made these tactics effective. For example, a Black minister and teacher in Bleckley County went to the courthouse to register to vote in the 1955 election, but the chief of police told him “[n]o niggers register in this courthouse.” The next year, someone burned a cross in his yard. He did not attempt to register again until 1964.⁹²

After the passage of the 1957 Civil Rights Act, Georgia Governor Marvin Griffin—the candidate whose campaign had filed thousands of spurious challenges against Black voters in 1946—formed a state election law revision committee, which introduced new voter requirements that were “aimed primarily . . . at curbing potential Negro voting strength in Georgia.”⁹³ Voters

⁸⁷ “Attempts to Intimidate Voters Told,” *The Alabama Tribune* (Montgomery, AL), September 17, 1948; “Pre-Vote Klan Threats Substitute for Poll Purge of ’46 – Thompson,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), March 25, 1948.

⁸⁸ William M. Bates, “Require High School For Voters, Cook Asks,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), November 20, 1957.

⁸⁹ McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 52–54.

⁹⁰ Patrick Novotny, *This Georgia Rising: Education, Civil Rights, and the Politics of Change in Georgia in the 1940s* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2008), 270; “Attempts to Intimidate Voters Told,” *The Alabama Tribune*; “Pre-Vote Klan Threats Substitute for Poll Purge of ’46 – Thompson,” *The Atlanta Constitution*.

⁹¹ Novotny, *This Georgia Rising*, 270; “Attempts to Intimidate Voters Told,” *The Alabama Tribune*; “Pre-Vote Klan Threats Substitute for Poll Purge of ’46 – Thompson,” *The Atlanta Constitution*.

⁹² Even with the VRA, Bleckley County did not see significant increase in Black registration because of the legacy of terror associated with attempting to register at the courthouse. In 1984, Bleckley County allowed satellite registration, and Black registration did increase. See McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 56.

⁹³ William M. Bates, “Crime Barriers and Stiffer Tests Proposed to Curb Negro Voting,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), November 22, 1957; “Griffins Poll Tax, Voter Registration Bids Face Scuttling Move in House,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), February 13, 1958.

could be disqualified for offenses like “moonshine liquor law violations, adultery and child abandonment,” and the law would also impose a new, more stringent voter qualification test.⁹⁴ Rather than forcing a re-registration to ensure that all 1.2 million registered voters in the state could meet the new requirements, the new requirements “could be invoked against a registered voter upon challenge by another voter.”⁹⁵ Griffin’s insistence that the legislation include a \$1.00 poll tax (which had been previously eliminated in Georgia in 1945) and bi-annual re-registration ultimately led to the bill’s demise in the General Assembly.⁹⁶ From poll tax to registration schemes, the purpose in tweaking voting requirements was difficult to miss; the intent was to keep the numbers of eligible Black voters as low as possible, and to keep the requirements for voting accessible to the more marginal white voters.

F. Pre-Voting Rights Act (Early 1960s)

By the end of the 1950 and the start of the 1960s, Georgia’s malapportioned legislative districts continued to have the obvious effect of favoring rural white voters over urban Black voters. In 1960, even though the eight counties with the largest population had 41 percent of the state’s population, they had only 12 percent of the members in the Georgia House of Representatives.⁹⁷

Georgia’s congressional districts were also grossly malapportioned around this time. In 1957, Georgia’s Fifth District, consisting of Fulton, DeKalb, and Rockdale Counties, was the second most populous congressional district in the United States, with an estimated population of 782,800—about twice the size of the average congressional district. At the same time, Georgia’s Ninth District, a much whiter district in the northeast part of the state, had an estimated population of 238,790. By 1960, Fulton County was the most underrepresented county in its state legislature of any county in the United States. DeKalb County was in third place.⁹⁸ Over time, the explosive

⁹⁴ Bates, “Crime Barriers and Stiffer Tests Proposed to Curb Negro Voting”; Bates, “Griffins Poll Tax, Voter Registration Bids Face Scuttling Move in House.”

⁹⁵ Bates, “Crime Barriers and Stiffer Tests Proposed to Curb Negro Voting.”

⁹⁶ Bates, “Griffins Poll Tax, Voter Registration Bids Face Scuttling Move in House.”

⁹⁷ McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 80–84; V.O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in the State and Nation* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 117–124; J. Morgan Kousser, *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 203–204.

⁹⁸ “What About Justice For the Fifth District?,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 23 October 1952; Bruce Galphin, “Only State Legislature Can Effectuate Reapportionment,” 28 November 1957; “We

growth of Atlanta, and the consequent increase in Black voters, put increased pressure on the county-unit system. Although still badly disproportionate in comparison to registration for whites, growing Black voting strength in Georgia was increasingly able to make a difference in close elections, something the state's segregationists were acutely aware of.

Defending the county-unit system became an issue on which die-hard segregationists would take their stand. For Peter Zack Greer, elected lieutenant-governor of Georgia in 1962, "left-wing radicals and Pinks," were intent on unleashing the "bloc Negro vote in Atlanta."⁹⁹ Even more moderate segregationists expressed similar sentiments. Carl Sanders, elected Georgia's governor in 1962, stated that eliminating the county-unit system would leave state government in the hands of "pressure groups or bloc votes"—the leading white Georgia euphemism for Black voters—and would keep "liberals and radicals from taking over."¹⁰⁰

In an attempt to prevent the overturning of the county-unit system, in 1962, the Georgia General Assembly made some modifications to increase the representation of Fulton County in the state senate from three to seven. At the same time, however, they allowed the creation of multi-member, at-large districts so that the Black voters in a given county would always be outvoted, and Fulton County's state senators would be elected on an at-large basis. After this system was ruled unlawful, there were two majority-minority districts in Fulton County, one of which elected Leroy Johnson, the first African American to serve in a southern state legislature in many decades.¹⁰¹

Beginning in 1963, the United States Supreme Court fully outlawed Georgia's county-unit system in *Gray v. Sanders*, 372 U.S. 368 (1963), culminating in *Wesberry v. Sanders*, 374 U.S. 802 (1963), another case arising from Georgia in which the United States Supreme Court mandated equal apportionment for the upper houses of state legislatures and for congressional districts. As one Georgia scholar wrote, "[these cases were] not a racial discrimination case[s], but its concept that voting districts must be composed of substantially equal populations was to prove one of the keys that opened the door to minority officeholding in Georgia."¹⁰²

Challenge Congressman Jim Davis to Follow Seventh District's Example," *Atlanta Constitution*, 30 March, 1962.

⁹⁹ McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 82.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 82-83.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 86-89.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 80, 89-90.

In an attempt to subvert the Court’s decisions and to curb Black voting strength and electoral victories, in 1963, the all-white Election Laws Study Committee of the Georgia General Assembly proposed new voting rules for the state of Georgia. The goal of the Committee was to “replace[] the invalid county unit law” with rules that could operate to the same effect.¹⁰³ These rules included, most notably, a majority-vote rule to elect any candidate to local, state, and federal office in both primary and general elections, thus requiring a runoff if any candidate received only a plurality of the vote. The bill’s sponsor, Representative Denmark Groover (a self-described “segregationalist”), explained such a requirement would reduce the influence of the “Negro bloc vote.”¹⁰⁴ And indeed, in practice, a majority-vote rule ensures that a Black candidate cannot be elected where Black voters are a minority of the population and voting is racially polarized, even when the white vote is split.¹⁰⁵ Groover’s majority-vote law was ultimately enacted by the Georgia General Assembly in 1964, and to this day Georgia requires a majority vote for office.¹⁰⁶

In addition to this majority vote requirement, in 1964 the Georgia legislature passed a new voting law with a literacy requirement, a strengthened voter understanding test, a prohibition on voter assistance except in cases of physical disability, a numbered-post provision (a specific method of at-large voting), and an anti-facsimile ballot provision, prohibiting voters from taking sample ballots or lists of candidates into the voting booth, to prevent, as one of the leaders in the Senate said, “bloc voting” by Black Georgians.¹⁰⁷

That same year, Georgia’s election laws underwent a substantial revision as the General Assembly passed “a simplified and comprehensive code of election laws” in response to criticism that the state’s election law was disorganized and disjointed.¹⁰⁸ The reorganization of Georgia’s

¹⁰³ McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 91.

¹⁰⁴ Kousser, *Colorblind Injustice*, 198; McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 92.

¹⁰⁵ See, e.g., *City of Port Arthur v. United States*, 459 U.S. 159, 167 (1982) (requiring removal of a majority vote rule for preclearance under Section 5, recognizing that “[i]n the context of racial bloc voting prevalent in [a city in which African Americans constituted a minority of the population], the [majority-vote] rule would permanently foreclose a black candidate from being elected”).

¹⁰⁶ See Ga. Code Ann. § 21-2-501.

¹⁰⁷ McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 91–103; Kousser, *Colorblind Injustice*, 105, 232–236.

¹⁰⁸ As Assistant Attorney General Paul Rodgers, a member of the Election Laws Study Committee, argued, “it’s the biggest mess you’ve ever seen.” “New Election Code an Attempt to Simplify ‘Hodgepodge’ Laws,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), May 4, 1964. Lieutenant Governor Peter Zack Geer complained that the state’s election laws were “strewn helter-skelter through the

election laws introduced some important changes, such as the creation of the State Election Board and the standardization of calendars for county and state primaries. But Georgia maintained many other discriminatory laws in the 1964 revisions. For example, the state kept its voter challenge provision. The new election law code stipulated that “any elector of the county shall be allowed to challenge the right of registration of any person whose name appears on the electors list,” and outlined the process for contesting another citizen’s right to vote.¹⁰⁹ This voter challenge statute would end up surviving the modernization, recodification, and reorganization of the Georgia Code of Laws in 1981 and a subsequent update to provide for Georgia’s participation in the national “motor voter” program in 1994.¹¹⁰ In fact, as the editor’s note for the 2008 edition of *The Official Code of Georgia, Annotated* § 21-2-230 observed, the voter challenge provision of the reorganized 1981 *Official Code of Georgia* is so similar to the 1933 *Code*’s voter challenge statute that any legal opinions decided under the older code would also apply to § 21-2-230.¹¹¹

G. Voting Rights Act Era (1960s and 1970s)

On the eve of the enactment of the VRA in 1965, most Black Georgians’ voting power had been made ineffective by voting rules which were neutral in their language, but functionally discriminatory in effect. By the time of the VRA, while Black Georgians were 34 percent of the voting age population, there were only three elected Black officials, and those officials had been elected in just the previous three years before the enactment of the Voting Rights Act. Overall, less than a third of the eligible Black population was registered in the state, and in Georgia’s twenty-three counties with a Black voting age majority, only 16 percent of African Americans were registered, compared to 89 percent of whites.¹¹² “This exclusion from the normal political process

Code of Georgia,” and expressed his belief that the new code would be “surrounded with and imbedded in due process of law and judicial standards.” “Lieutenant Governor Geer Favors New Election Law Code,” *The Forsyth County News* (Cummings, GA), May 27, 1964.

¹⁰⁹ *Journal of the Senate of the State of Georgia at the Extraordinary Session*, 1964 (Hapeville, GA: Longino and Porter, Inc., 1964), 83.

¹¹⁰ “Revising Outdated State Laws a Painstaking Job,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), July 12, 1981; “Legislators Give Update of ’94 General Assembly Session,” *Forsyth County News* (Cummings, GA), April 6, 1994.

¹¹¹ O.C.G.A § 21-2-230 (2008)

¹¹² U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Political Participation: A Study of the Participation by Negroes in the Electoral and Political Processes in Ten Southern States since the Passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), 216-17, 232-39.

was not fortuitous; it was the result of two centuries of deliberate and systematic discrimination by the state against its minority population.”¹¹³

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 would ultimately change the trajectory of voting rights for Black Georgians. In the award-winning book, *Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act, 1965–1990*, Laughlin McDonald, Michael B. Binford, and Ken Johnson documented carefully the impact and opening of the franchise to African Americans in Georgia from 1965 onwards.¹¹⁴ Beyond statistical improvements in Black registration and elected officials, the VRA affected the tone of the political system itself. In 1974, Andrew Young, a civil rights activist with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) who would later be elected mayor of Atlanta in 1982, addressed the Association of Southern Black Mayors: “It used to be that Southern politics was just ‘nigger’ politics: who could ‘outnigger’ the other. Then you registered 10 to 15 percent in the community and folk would start saying ‘Nigra.’” After registration numbers went to 35 to 40 percent, “it’s amazing how quick they learned how to say ‘Nee-grow.’” And when registration increased to 70 percent of the Black votes registered in the South, “everybody’s proud to be associated with their black brothers and sisters.”¹¹⁵

But the VRA did not translate to instant success in Black voter registration numbers. Even eleven years after the VRA, Black voters in Georgia were systematically underrepresented as a percentage of registered voters.¹¹⁶ As the table below demonstrates, Black registration trailed white registration significantly even in 1976, particularly in the state of Georgia.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ McDonald, et. al., “Georgia,” in *Quiet Revolution in the South*, 67-102, 409-413, quotation on p. 67.

¹¹⁴ *Id.*

¹¹⁵ Jack Bass and Walter DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics: Social Change and Political Consequence since 1945* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), 47; David S. Broder, *Changing of the Guard: Power and Leadership in America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980), 367.

¹¹⁶ Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race* (Washington, DC: US Bureau of Census, 2002); McDonald, et al., “Georgia,” in *Quiet Revolution in the South*, 102.

¹¹⁷ Laughlin McDonald, *Voting Rights in the South: Ten Years of Challenging Continuing Discrimination Against Minorities* (Atlanta: ACLU, Southern Regional Office, 1982).

Table 1. States Covered in Their Entirety by VRA Section 5 Preclearance Provisions in which the largest non-White group are African Americans, Arranged by Decreasing Differential of White and Black Voting Registration

State	% whites registered to vote, 1976	% Blacks registered to vote, 1976	% Difference
Alabama	75.4	58.1	17.3
Georgia	73.2	56.3	16.9
Louisiana	78.8	63.9	14.9
Mississippi	77.7	67.4	10.3
South Carolina	64.1	60.6	3.5
Texas	69.4	64.0	5.5
Virginia	67.0	60.7	6.3

Source: McDonald, *Voting Rights in the South*, 38

The historical record also shows that most Georgia officials continued their hostility to Black voters and the VRA itself, especially the § 5 preclearance provisions to which they were now subject. As the VRA and other civil rights legislation gathered strength after the mid-1960s, white Georgia officials went to greater lengths to invent conditions and pretexts for challenging and neutralizing Black voting strength, both in the substance in their changes, and by refusing to seek preclearance at all.¹¹⁸

One of the most common tactics of preventing Black voters from electing candidates of choice was the change from voting by district to at-large voting. The effect of at-large voting, particularly in a jurisdiction with less than a majority of Black voters, is to ensure the white population can elect all the representatives to that district. In 1964, before the VRA, Calhoun County (63% Black), Clay (61% Black), Dooly (50% Black), Early (45% Black), Morgan (45% Black), Newton (31% Black), and Miller (28% Black) had district elections for county government. But after the VRA, all adopted at-large voting, directly violating § 5 preclearance

¹¹⁸ For examples of white Georgians' hostility to the Voting Rights Act and to African American attempts at voting, see especially the testimonies of Julian Bond and Laughlin McDonald in *Extension of the Voting Rights Act: hearings before the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 97th Congress, 1st sess., May 6, 7, 13, 19, 20, 27, 28, June 3, 5, 10, 12, 16, 17, 18, 23, 24, 25, and July 13, 1981*).

rules. Between 1976 and 1980, all of these counties were sued, and now have district voting for county elections.¹¹⁹

In 1964, as previously discussed, in response to growing African American electoral strength, the Georgia General Assembly had adopted a law that required many offices to be won by a majority vote and not a mere plurality. At the time, the majority of Georgia's 159 counties had operated under a plurality system. The majority vote system was adopted to prevent a Black candidate being "first past the post" against a divided white vote.¹²⁰ Local jurisdictions also made the change to majority voting after the VRA. The city of Moultrie, Georgia, for example, adopted a majority voting procedure for city offices in 1965. All Black candidates were defeated until a § 5 suit forced the city to adopt districts in 1977. The city of Americus adopted a majority vote in 1968. Until a successful § 5 suit in 1977, two Black candidates who won by plurality in their Americus election races were defeated in the run-off election with a majority requirement. Around this time, Covington and St. Mary's, both cities with substantial Black populations, adopted a majority vote without seeking preclearance for doing so.¹²¹ Overall, between 1975 and 1982, the U.S. Attorney-General brought 66 suits against majority voting requirements, many of them in Georgia. Many of these Georgia-specific instances can be found in Appendix A, located at the end of this report.

Numbered posts (another method of at-large voting) were another way to discriminate against Black voters and Black candidates. When, for instance, there were three open positions for county commissioner, rather than electing the three candidates with the highest vote totals, candidates had to run specifically for seats No. 1, No. 2, and No. 3, diminishing the chances of electing Black candidates. From 1975 to 1982, the Attorney-General objected to 60 submissions involving numbered posts, many again from Georgia. Dawson, Kingsland, and St. Mary's all adopted numbered posts elections for the city council in the 1960s and 1970s, none of them applying for preclearance in doing so.¹²²

Staggered voting was another technique used to limit Black voting strength, by limiting the numbers of open seats at any one time and making it more difficult for Black candidates to get

¹¹⁹ McDonald, *Voting Rights in the South*, 40–43

¹²⁰ McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 92–102; Kousser, *Colorblind Injustice*, 197–242.

¹²¹ McDonald, *Voting Rights in the South*, 43–46

¹²² *Ibid.* at 50–51.

elected, particularly if combined with at-large voting schemes. Peach County, for example, staggered the election of its county commissioners starting in 1968, and the city of Kingsland did the same in 1976 without seeking preclearance.¹²³

Annexations of territory by cities to decrease the percentage of the Black population were, through 1982, the most common type of suit brought by the DOJ. The city of Jackson, for example, used annexation to limit Black voting strength until enjoined in 1981.¹²⁴

There were many other forms of Section 5 noncompliance in Georgia. In 1981, Julian Bond, a Georgia State Senator, testified before the House of Representatives that there were over four hundred non-submissions of Section 5 notifications by Georgia jurisdictions.¹²⁵ Many jurisdictions in Georgia also simply refused to comply with Section 5 objections, such as Sumter County, Pike County, and Waynesboro. Local officials in other jurisdictions, such as Thomson, when faced with a Section 5 objection to majority voting, encouraged the two white candidates to have an informal “run-off” to avoid splitting the white vote and allowing the Black candidate to win. This practice, known as “cuing,” the endorsement by white community leaders of a specific candidate prior to the actual election, is in the words of Laughlin McDonald, “doing by indirection that which Section 5 expressly forbids.”¹²⁶

Overall, the number of VRA Section 5 preclearance challenges raised by private or federal suit show that Georgia was one of the most active and ingenious in trying to prevent Black voting strength. From 1965 to 1981, the DOJ received a total of 34,798 voting changes submitted for preclearance under Section 5. DOJ ultimately objected to 815 of these proposed changes, and of those, 226, or almost 30 percent, were from the state of Georgia.¹²⁷ This figure far exceeds that of other states. Louisiana, for example, the state that was subject to the second-most number of objections, was only the subject of 136 objections, which is just a little over half of Georgia’s objections.¹²⁸

This number likely significantly undercounts the number of actual and potential § 5 violations in Georgia prior to the 1982 reauthorization of the VRA. In a 1984 article, Drew Days

¹²³ *Ibid.* at 51-52

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* at 52-53

¹²⁵ Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the Committee of the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Ninety-Seventh Cong., 1st Session, On the Extension of the Voting Rights Act. Testimony of Julian Bond, State Senator from Georgia, May-July 1981.

¹²⁶ McDonald, *Voting Rights in the South*, 60.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 20-25.

¹²⁸ *Id.*

and Lani Guinier estimated that “covered jurisdictions have made literally hundreds of changes that have never met the preclearance requirement of Section 5,” and that the DOJ “has not been able to ensure that every electoral change by covered jurisdictions, or indeed most of them, was subjected to the Section 5 process.”¹²⁹ In another study, based on interviews with local attorneys in Georgia and Mississippi involved in voting issues, found that 36.4% of attorneys that responded to the survey reported that local jurisdictions went ahead with election changes despite a pending preclearance request. The survey revealed other ways of gaming the VRA system—waiting until shortly before the election to file the Section 5 request, not giving DOJ adequate time to respond, or alternatively, exhaustively arguing every nuance of a Section 5 request, hoping to win outright, or at least gain an advantage by exhaustion and attrition.¹³⁰ Even still, as noted, between 1965 and 1980, DOJ objected to more than 200 changes submitted by Georgia under Section 5.¹³¹

In 1969, the United States Supreme Court in *Allen v. State Board of Elections*, 393 U.S. 544 (1968), made clear that changes made under preclearance under Section 5 of the VRA were to be construed broadly because to limit its scope to a specific set of voting restrictions would be “underestimating the ingenuity of those bent on keeping Negroes from voting.” The *Allen* Court also made clear that preclearance extended to reapportionment plans.¹³²

Georgia’s congressional reapportionment in 1971 was the first held under Section 5 preclearance rules, and it showed, in the words of Laughlin McDonald, “the extraordinary lengths to which the legislature was prepared to go to exclude Blacks from the congressional delegation.”¹³³ A plan proposed by two African American state senators to increase the Black percentage of Georgia’s Fifth Congressional District from 34% to 45% was soundly defeated. The plan which *was* approved by the Georgia General Assembly carved the Black population in the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Districts to give the Fifth District a substantial white majority, and

¹²⁹ Drew Days III and Lani Guinier, “Enforcement of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act,” in Chandler Davidson, ed. *Minority Vote Dilution*. (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1984), 168.

¹³⁰ Howard Ball, Dale Krane, and Thomas P. Lauth, “The View From Georgia and Mississippi: Local Attorneys’ Appraisal of the 1965 Voting Rights Act,” in Davidson ed., *Minority Vote Dilution*, 181–202.

¹³¹ McDonald, *Voting Rights in the South*, 20–23.

¹³² Cited in Orville Vernon Burton and Armand Derfner, *Justice Deferred: Race and the Supreme Court* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2021), 228.

¹³³ McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 149.

specifically excluded from the district the homes of Andrew Young—who had unsuccessfully run for Congress in the district in 1970—and Maynard Jackson, another budding Black politician.

The Georgia General Assembly's 1971 reapportionment plan was rejected by the Department of Justice under Section 5. Under a revised reapportionment plan, in 1972, Georgian Andrew Young (along with Barbara Jordan in Texas) became the first African Americans elected to the United States House of Representatives from the South in the twentieth century. Young was elected three times, resigning his seat in 1977 to become President Carter's ambassador to the United Nations. It would take another decade for another Black Georgian to be elected to the United States Congress from the state of Georgia.¹³⁴

H. End of the Twentieth Century (1980s–2002)

In the redistricting cycle after the 1980 census, the Georgia General Assembly again tried to limit Black voting strength in Atlanta. The Georgia General Assembly's reapportionment plan contained white majorities in nine of the ten congressional districts, even though Georgia's population at the time was nearly 30% Black. Julian Bond, by then a Georgia state senator, introduced a bill that would have made the Fifth Congressional District 69% Black. In response, the Chair of the Senate Reapportionment Committee criticized the proposal as one that would cause "white flight." The Chair of the House Reapportionment Committee similarly criticized the proposal on the grounds that he was disinclined to draw "nigger districts" or support "nigger legislation."¹³⁵ Some members of the Georgia General Assembly stated they did not want to go back to their districts and defend "why I was a leader in getting a black elected to the United States Congress." Bond's proposal was predictably rejected, and the reapportionment plan drawn by the Georgia General Assembly was, as in the previous decade, rejected under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act. The Court then approved a new plan with a district that was 65% Black. Julian Bond and John Lewis, two old friends and comrades from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Civil Rights Movement, vied for the seat; Lewis ultimately won.¹³⁶

In 1980, Laughlin McDonald noted that of the 18 Black Georgians elected to county governments—about only 3% of all office holders—16 of them were elected in majority Black

¹³⁴ Charles S. Bullock III, "The History of Redistricting in Georgia," *Georgia Law Review* 52, no. 4 (2018): 1065–1066; McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 149–150.

¹³⁵ McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey*, 168–173.

¹³⁶ *Id.*

districts or counties. As McDonald wrote in 1982, “blacks in Georgia’s majority white counties or districts, for all practical purposes, cannot get elected.”¹³⁷

On the eve of the possible expiration of the VRA in the early 1980s, Georgia continued to show that such an extension was necessary. In 1980, DeKalb County adopted a policy that it would no longer allow community groups to conduct voter registration drives.¹³⁸ In 1981, Georgia was blocked from changing the rules about who could help voters at the polls under Section 5.¹³⁹ The early 1980s also saw continued use of voter challenges against Black voters. In 1981, white Georgians on the northside of Atlanta formed the Voter Information Project (VIP), which used Georgia’s voter challenge law to dispute the right to vote of more than 50,000 registered voters in Fulton County. Of these challenged voters, 58 percent were Black. As a result, in 1981, one in five registered voters was purged from Fulton County’s voters’ rolls.¹⁴⁰

That same year, the *New York Times* summarized the status of Black voters in Georgia as the country debated the 1982 re-authorization of the VRA:

“26.2 percent of the population is black, only 3.7 percent of the elected officials are black. The glitter of power in Atlanta, where two blacks are among the three frontrunners to succeed the city’s two-term black mayor, Maynard Jackson. In fifteen of the state’s twenty-two counties where blacks comprise a majority or close to it, no blacks serve on county commissions. It is not for want of trying; 34-year-old Edward Brown Jr. has twice run unsuccessfully for office in Mitchell Co. In Mr. Brown’s instance, all-white poll officials and paper ballots greatly reduced his chances for winning. Testifying in a court case, Mr. Brown stated that it is difficult to win when whites as a matter of policy vote against blacks. Citing his defeats, he

¹³⁷ McDonald, *Voting Rights in the South*, 40–43.

¹³⁸ Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the Committee of the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Ninety-Seventh Cong., 1st Session, On the Extension of the Voting Rights Act. Testimony of Julian Bond, State Senator from Georgia, May-July 1981, 54–55.

¹³⁹ Sept. 18 Letter from William Bradford Reynolds to Michael Bowers at 2-3 (1981), quoted in Expert Witness Report of Dr. Peyton McCrary at 8, 18 (“McCrary Report”), *Fair Fight v. Raffensperger*, No. 1:18-cv-05391-SCJ (N.D. Ga. 2020), ECF No. 339. According to the 1970 census data (the latest available at the time of the DOJ objection), in Georgia, only 8 percent of whites over the age of 25 had completed less than five years of school while 32 percent of Blacks over the age of 25 had completed less than five years of school (also cited in the McCrary Report at 74-75).

¹⁴⁰ Barry King, “Notices Sent on Fulton Voter Purge,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), March 3, 1981; Jim Walls, “One in Five Voters Dropped From Rolls,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), April 16, 1981; Frederick Allen, “Voter Challenges Seen Through a Glass Darkly,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), September 15, 1981.

said that whites were transported to and from polling places by county sheriffs who urged them not to vote for Mr. Brown ‘because he’s a nigger.’”¹⁴¹

When Congress did re-authorize the VRA in 1982, it cited systemic abuses by Georgia officials to evade Black voting rights.¹⁴²

At the end of the decade, Georgia again began another reapportionment cycle. Over the course of the 1990 redistricting cycle, the Department of Justice twice rejected the Georgia General Assembly’s state’s reapportionment plan, before finally approving the third submission.¹⁴³ After the 1992 election, a total of thirty-four African Americans were in the Georgia General Assembly, almost all of them from Black majority districts, almost all of whom owed their seats to litigation and to Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act.

I. Modern Era (2000s to Present Day)

The voter suppression tactics against Georgia’s Black voters that have plagued Georgia’s history have persisted into the modern era. These policies around voting have also come at a time of rapid demographic shifts in Georgia’s electorate: Georgia is the only state in the Deep South where the percentage of the Black population has sharply increased over the past half century. Because of the remarkable growth of metro Atlanta and its four core counties, Fulton, DeKalb, Gwinnett, and Cobb, these changing demographics in Georgia—especially in its Black, Latino/a, and Asian populations, who tend to support Democratic candidates—combined with minority voter mobilization efforts, are the “likeliest threat to Republican domination of Georgia elections.”¹⁴⁴

i. 2000s through 2010 Redistricting

For the fourth decade in a row, in the 2000 redistricting cycle the Georgia General Assembly passed redistricting plans that would not survive preclearance. Specifically, the district court in the District of Columbia refused to preclear the General Assembly’s Senate plan which

¹⁴¹ Reginald A. Stuart, “Once Again a Clash Over Voting Rights,” *New York Times* (Sept. 27, 1981).

¹⁴² S. Rep. No. 97-417, 97th Cong. 2d Sess. 10, 13 (1982).

¹⁴³ McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey* 211–224.

¹⁴⁴ McCrary Report at 37; on the increasing influence of Latina/Latino peoples, see Victor Zuniga and Reuben Hernandez Leon, “The Dalton Story: Mexican Immigration and Social Transformation in the Carpet Capital of the World,” 34-50 and Mary E. Odem, “Latino Immigrants and the Politics of Space in Atlanta,” 112-125 in Mary E. Odem and Elaine Lacy, eds., *Latino Immigrants and the Transformation of the U.S. South* (University of Georgia Press, 2009).

decreased the Black voting age percentage in the districts surrounding Chatham, Albany, Dougherty, Calhoun, Macon, and Bibb Counties. Overall, the court found “the presence of racially polarized voting” and that “the State ha[d] failed to demonstrate by a preponderance of the evidence that the reapportionment plan for the State will not have a retrogressive effect.” *Georgia v. Ashcroft*, 195 F.Supp. 2d 25, 94 (D. D.C. 2002), *affirmed*, *King v. Georgia*, 537 U.S. 1100 (2003).

The 2002 election proved to be a watershed moment for the state of Georgia. For nearly half a decade, white voters in Georgia had been abandoning the Democratic Party for the Republican Party. When Republican Sonny Perdue defeated Democrat incumbent Roy Barnes as governor in 2002, the election “broke a Democratic stronghold on the Georgia governorship that had kept the GOP out since Reconstruction.”¹⁴⁵ In the 2004 election, Republicans also won the majority of House seats, shifting control of the legislature.

In 2005, the Georgia General Assembly promptly passed a photo ID law, limiting Georgians to only six acceptable forms of identification. Voters who lacked acceptable identification could purchase one from the state for \$20 to \$35. Sue Burmeister, the Georgia State Senator who had introduced the photo ID legislation, said in testimony before the Department of Justice that “if there are fewer black voters because of the bill, it will only be because there is less opportunity for fraud,” and that “when Black voters in her Black precincts are not paid to vote, they do not go to the polls.”¹⁴⁶ Shortly after the law’s enactment, the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia preliminarily enjoined the law, finding the photo ID law was “most likely to prevent Georgia’s elderly, poor, and African–American voters from voting.” *Common Cause/Georgia v. Billups*, 406 F. Supp. 2d 1326, 1365–66 (N.D. Ga. 2005). In reaction to the injunction, the Georgia General Assembly was forced to make the voter ID cards free.

Several years later, following the 2010 U.S. Census, white Republican Georgia lawmakers worked not only to maintain power but to create a super-majority through redistricting. The

¹⁴⁵ Danny Hayes and Seth C. McKee, “Booting Barnes: Explaining the Historic Upset in the 2002 Georgia Gubernatorial Election,” *Politics and Policy* 32 (December 2004), 1, quoted in McCrary Report at 29.

¹⁴⁶ Carol Anderson, *One Person, No Vote: How Voter Suppression is Destroying Our Economy* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2018), 60–62; Ari Berman, *Give Us the Ballot: The Modern Struggle for Voting Rights in America* (New York: Picador, 2015) 222–224, 226–229; Stacey Abrams, *Our Time is Now: Power, Purpose, and the Fight for a Fair America* (New York: Henry Holt, 2020), 75–76

Georgia General Assembly’s reapportionment plan created a record number of majority-Black districts, which, by packing Black votes together, solidified Republican holds in the surrounding districts. Ultimately, the Georgia Republican Party was successful in achieving a super-majority in the Senate; it fell one seat short of a super-majority in the House.¹⁴⁷

In 2015, the Georgia General Assembly engaged in mid-cycle redistricting after the Supreme Court invalidated Section 5’s preclearance formula in *Shelby County, Alabama v. Holder*, 570 U.S. 529 (2013).¹⁴⁸ No longer subject to preclearance, the Georgia General Assembly reduced the Black and Latino voting age percentage in House districts 105 and 111, both of which had become increasingly diverse over the prior half-decade (and unlikely to elect Republicans).¹⁴⁹ Plaintiffs initially brought suit over the changes under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, but the continued migration of voters of color into those districts rendered the General Assembly’s changes obsolete. After minority candidates prevailed in those districts in 2018, the plaintiffs withdrew their complaint.¹⁵⁰

ii. State-Sponsored Voter Investigations

As in Georgia’s past, modern-day elected officials, law enforcement officers, and political activists have continued to harass and intimidate Black voters and candidates in order to maintain political power. Nowhere is this more obvious than in Quitman, Georgia—a predominantly Black city in otherwise predominantly white Brooks County. In the early 2000s, Nancy Dennard, a Black educator, won a 2009 special election to the Brooks County School Board through a campaign that targeted citizens who did not traditionally vote and who had problems getting to the polls on election day. At the time, Dennard’s opponent complained about the large number of absentee ballots cast for Dennard. The Georgia secretary of state’s office conducted a brief investigation but found no evidence of fraud.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Bullock, “The History of Redistricting in Georgia,” 1095–1098; Expert Report of Laughlin McDonald at 17, *Dwight et al. v. Kemp*, ECF No. 178 (Aug. 6, 2018).

¹⁴⁸ Expert Report of Jowei Chen, *Georgia State Conference of NAACP v. State of Georgia*, No. 1:17-cv-1427, ECF No. 63 (N.D. Ga. Dec. 22, 2017).

¹⁴⁹ *Id.*

¹⁵⁰ *Georgia State Conference of NAACP*, No. 1:17-cv-1427, ECF No. 221.

¹⁵¹ John Ward, “How a Criminal Investigation in Georgia Set an Ominous Tone for African-American Voters,” Yahoo! News, August 6, 2019. <https://news.yahoo.com/how-a-criminal-investigation-in-georgia-set-a-dark-tone-for-african-american-voters-090000532.html> (accessed April 27, 2021).

The next year, two more Black women and allies of Dennard—Diane Thomas and Linda Troutman—ran for seats on the school board and again worked to increase voter turnout through absentee voting. This time, the Brooks County School Board hired a private investigator to track Dennard and her allies. More than 1,400 Black voters participated in the Democratic primary election for school board that year—three times the turnout in previous midterm elections—and Thomas and Troutman were elected as the Democratic Party’s nominees. In response, then-Secretary of State Brian Kemp (in cooperation with the Georgia Bureau of Investigation) opened a formal investigation into the 2010 election in Quitman.¹⁵²

Six weeks after Thomas and Troutman won seats on the school board, state and local police arrested Dennard, Thomas, Troutman, and seven other people. Two more women were arrested a year later. The “Quitman 10+2,” as they came to be known, were collectively charged with 102 felony counts. Prosecutors alleged that organizers had provided unlawful assistance to voters and had unlawfully possessed ballots when they delivered sealed ballots to the post office. Despite a paucity of evidence, then-Secretary Kemp doggedly pursued a case against the Quitman 10+2, only backing down in 2016 when Georgia’s attorney general issued an opinion clarifying that it was not a violation of the law for organizers to mail absentee ballots.

Afterward, Dennard argued the investigation and prosecution were an attempt to disqualify Black officeholders and stifle Black political activism. She insisted, “[T]hey thought they could make an example out of me, and that would kill the spirit of this movement.”¹⁵³ Thomas interpreted the Quitman 10+2’s arrest and investigation by explaining that “the message sent to our citizens was, if you don’t want the GBI to come visiting and put you in jail, you better not vote.”¹⁵⁴

In 2014, in comments to a group of Republican voters in Gwinnet County, then-Secretary Kemp made clear the connection between minority voting rights and election victories when he remarked that “the Democrats are working hard . . . registering all these minority voters that are

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ariel Hart, “Voting Case Mirrors National Struggle,” *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, December 13, 2014; Gloria Tatum, “Voter Fraud Charges from 2010 Fizzle in Quitman, South Georgia,” *The Atlanta Progressive News*, September 18, 2014, <http://atlantaprogressivenews.com/2014/09/18/voter-fraud-charges-from-2010-fizzle-in-quitman-south-georgia/>.

out there and . . . if they can do that, they can win these elections in November.”¹⁵⁵ Around the same time, Kemp’s office launched a criminal investigation into the New Georgia Project, an organization with the explicit goal of registering Georgia’s unregistered minority voters. The New Georgia Project was later cleared of any wrongdoing.¹⁵⁶

In 2015, Kemp’s office similarly launched an investigation into the Asian American Legal Advocacy Center (“AALAC”), an organization which had previously criticized Secretary Kemp for not registering all voters who had submitted voter registrations to Georgia. Secretary Kemp pursued the investigation for over two years before finding no evidence of wrongdoing. One journalist tracking these investigations described them as “legal terrorism, exploiting the law to intimidate and discourage citizens from accessing their constitutional right to vote.”¹⁵⁷

iii. Voting Restrictions in Georgia Post-*Shelby County*

After the Supreme Court invalidated the existing coverage formula in *Shelby County, Alabama v. Holder*, 570 U.S. 529 (2013), Georgia was no longer bound to submit any changes it made to its voting system through a preclearance regime. In her dissent in that case, Justice Ginsburg famously commented that “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.” *Id.* at 590 (J. Ginsburg, dissenting). A few days after the decision, Daniel O. Franklin, a professor of political science at Georgia State University, predicted that “the court’s decision will likely change very little” in Georgia and the other

¹⁵⁵ Steve Benen, “Georgia GOP Official Express Concerns About ‘Minority Voters,’” MSNBC, September 11, 2014, <https://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/georgia-gop-official-express-concerns-about-minority-voters-msna410401>.

¹⁵⁶ Spencer Woodman, “Register Minority Voters in Georgia, Go to Jail,” *The New Republic*, May 5, 2015, <https://newrepublic.com/article/121715/georgia-secretary-state-hammers-minority-voter-registration-efforts>; “State launches fraud investigation into voter registration group,” *WSB-TV 2* (Atlanta, Georgia), September 9, 2014.

¹⁵⁷ Austin Adkins, “Opinion: Voter Fraud Investigations Weaponized to Suppress Voters,” *The Mainline*, November 3, 2019, <https://www.mainlinezine.com/voter-fraud-investigations-weaponized-to-suppress-voters/>; Michael Wines, “Critics See Efforts by Counties and Towns to Purge Minority Voters From Rolls,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), July 31, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/01/us/critics-see-efforts-to-purge-minorities-from-voter-rolls-in-new-elections-rules.html>; Kristina Torres, “Georgia suit settled alleging black voters wrongfully disqualified,” *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), March 16, 2017, <https://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/georgia-suit-settled-alleging-black-voters-wrongfully-disqualified/djDlFYjpvYJJcZW8CJzgKL/>.

preclearance states.¹⁵⁸ But Franklin was wrong: Georgia took advantage of this change almost immediately.

Within four days of *Shelby County*, for example, the local Georgia press reported that the Augusta-Richmond County government (a consolidated city-county government) re-opened discussions of moving its elections from November to July. This change matters: Moving elections away from the usual election day, invariably reduces voter turnout and usually has an adverse impact on minority voter turnout, and DOJ had previously rejected the proposed change under Section 5. After a series of closed-door meetings, Augusta-Richmond County government changed the date of their elections in early 2014, just months after *Shelby County*.¹⁵⁹ Similarly, Greene County, Georgia approved a redistricting plan that would have eliminated one or two of the only Black districts on the county commission—a change that DOJ had previously refused to preclear. By the end of 2013, the Georgia General Assembly approved another plan for Greene County that reduced the Black voting age population in one district by 50% and placed the home of the other Black commissioner outside of the boundaries of the newly redrawn district. Without preclearance, the new redistricting plan went into effect.¹⁶⁰

But preclearance itself was never a panacea even before *Shelby County*. With Georgia's 159 counties and hundreds of local jurisdictions (part of the over 30,000 jurisdictions in the preclearance states), it was impossible to keep track of every local jurisdiction, many of which refused to file voting-related changes with DOJ. At-large, county-wide, or city-wide voting has been historically one of the main tactics used to curb voting rights strength, and preclearance had hardly ended the practice. In December 2013, of Georgia's 159 counties, thirty-four elected all county commissioners at-large. One of those was Baker County, where almost half of the population was Black, but all of the county commissioners were white. A former Baker County Commissioner, Robert Hall, was quoted in the *Atlanta Journal Constitution* as saying, “we don't

¹⁵⁸ Daniel P. Franklin, “Court’s Decision is Likely to Change Little,” *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (June 30, 2013).

¹⁵⁹ Harry Baumgarten, “*Shelby County v. Holder*’s Biggest and Most Harmful Impact May Be On Our Nation’s Smallest Towns,” Harry Baumgarten, Campaign Legal Center, 20 June 2016, <https://campaignlegal.org/update/shelby-county-v-holders-biggest-and-most-harmful-impact-may-be-our-nations-smallest-towns>

¹⁶⁰ Ariel Hart, Jeff Ernsthausen, and David Wickett, “Disputed Voting Systems, Racial Power Gap Persists,” *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, (Dec. 7, 2013).

have many Blacks in Baker County that are landowners and taxpayers and responsible.”¹⁶¹ This trend is not unique to Baker County. In December 2013, the *Atlanta-Journal Constitution* reported that across Georgia, while “more than half of majority-black counties have majority-white commissions,” “no majority-white county has a majority-black commission.”¹⁶² These type of electoral arrangements continue to disadvantage Black Georgians: As of 2013, in Georgia, white Georgians were 59% of registered voters, but accounted for 77% of the commissioners, while for Black Georgians were 30% of registered voters, but only 22% of county commissioners.¹⁶³

Overall, the end of preclearance has opened the doors to all manner of voter suppression and disenfranchisement, largely directed against minority voters. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, found that among the former preclearance states as of 2018, only Georgia had adopted all five of the most common restrictions that impose roadblocks to the franchise for minority voters, including (1) voter ID laws, (2) proof of citizenship requirements, (3) voter purges, (4) cuts in early voting, and (5) widespread polling place closures.¹⁶⁴ This report discusses a few of these changes below, concluding with a brief overview of Senate Bill 202, passed by the Georgia General Assembly in 2021, which the U.S. Department of Justice has challenged under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act as a law with the effect and intent of making it more difficult for Black Georgians to vote.

a. Polling Place Closures

In a 2015 memo to local election officials, then-Secretary of State Kemp encouraged counties to reduce voting locations, noting that “as a result of the *Shelby vs. Holder* Supreme Court decision, [counties are] no longer required to submit polling place changes to the Department of Justice for preclearance.”¹⁶⁵ And to be sure, in the first presidential election after *Shelby County*,

¹⁶¹ *Id.*

¹⁶² *Id.*

¹⁶³ *Id.*; Ariel Hart, Jeff Ernsthausen, and David Wickett, “Racial Politics Not So Clear Cut,” *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, (Dec. 9, 2013)

¹⁶⁴ U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *An Assessment of Minority Voting Rights Access in the United States: 2018 Statutory Enforcement Report* (Washington, 2018), 369. The restrictions on naturalized citizens were later curtailed; see “Georgia Must Ease Rules Proving Citizenship, Judge Says” PBS News Hour, November 2, 2018, <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/georgia-must-ease-rule-for-voters-proving-citizenship-judge-says> ().

¹⁶⁵ The Leadership Conference Education Fund, *Democracy Diverted: Polling Place Closures and the Right to Vote* (Sept. 2019), 32.

throughout Georgia “dozens of polling places” were “closed, consolidated, or moved.”¹⁶⁶ In Macon-Bibb County, a majority-Black county, the number of polling places dropped from forty to thirty-two; those closures took place in primarily Black neighborhoods. When the Memorial Gym precinct in Macon, in a Black neighborhood, was closed for renovations, local officials suggested the sheriff’s office as an alternative. Lowndes County, which has a substantial Black population, reduced the number of polling places from thirty-seven to nine, and Tift County was considering, until heated local protests, consolidating all twelve county polling places into a single location. Hancock County proposed closing several polling places, including one in a Black neighborhood that was seventeen miles from its nearest alternative. Hancock County relented only after an outcry from the Georgia NAACP and the Georgia Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under the Law, who claimed that “the planned closures would have disproportionately affected voters in the majority Black county in poor and rural areas with no access to regular transportation.”¹⁶⁷ Social Scientists have analyzed these kinds of changes to polling places. One recent study found, even a seemingly minor inconvenience, like locating a new polling place, depresses turnout, especially for poor and young voters.¹⁶⁸

By 2019, the Leadership Conference Education Fund found that Georgia had closed over 200 polling locations in Georgia since the *Shelby County* decision despite adding millions of voters to the voter rolls in that time.¹⁶⁹ By 2019, “eighteen counties in Georgia closed more than half of their polling places, and several closed almost 90 percent.”¹⁷⁰ In 2020, the nine counties in metro Atlanta that had nearly half of the registered voters (and the majority of the Black voters in the state) had only 38% of the state’s polling places.¹⁷¹ Unsurprisingly, because of the fewer polling

¹⁶⁶ Kristina Torres, “Cost-Cutting Raises Voter Access Fears,” *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, Oct. 13, 2016; Kristina Torres, “State Monitored For Voting Rights Issues,” *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, Jun. 20, 2016.

¹⁶⁷ *Id.*

¹⁶⁸ Henry E. Brady & John E. McNulty, *Turning Out to Vote: the Costs of Finding and Getting to the Polling Place*, 105 Am. Pol. Sci. Rev. 115 (2011).

¹⁶⁹ The Leadership Conference Education Fund, *Democracy Diverted: Polling Place Closures and the Right to Vote* (Sept. 2019), 31.

¹⁷⁰ *Id.*

¹⁷¹ Stephen Fowler, “Why Do Nonwhite Georgia Voters Have to Wait in Line for Hours? Their Numbers Have Soared, and Their Polling Places Have Dwindled,” *ProPublica*, Oct. 17, 2020, <https://www.propublica.org/article/why-do-nonwhite-georgia-voters-have-to-wait-in-line-for-hours-their-numbers-have-soared-and-their-polling-places-have-dwindled>.

places, the lines at majority-Black polling places increased, and sometimes dramatically so. In the June 2020 primary, for example, waiting times to vote in some metro Atlanta suburbs, such as Union City (a subdivision that is 88% Black majority) was as long as five hours.¹⁷² Union City was not an outlier. A 2020 study found that “about two-thirds of the polling places that had to stay open late for the June primary to accommodate waiting voters were in majority-Black neighborhoods, even though they made up only about one-third of the state's polling places.”¹⁷³

b. Voter Purges and Challenges

After *Shelby County*, Georgia officials also made more systematic efforts to purge the voting rolls in ways that particularly disadvantaged minority voters and candidates. Between 2012 and 2018, for example, then-Secretary of State Kemp removed 1.4 million voters from the eligible voter rolls. In a single day in 2017, Georgia removed over 500,000 names from the list of 6.6 million registered voters, which according to election law experts might be the “largest mass disenfranchisement in U.S. history.”¹⁷⁴ While there can be legitimate reasons to drop names from the eligibility rolls (such as for a voter who is deceased or who has a felony conviction), the vast majority of those purged were those who simply had not voted in intervening years. While those kinds of purges are technically permitted (though not required) by federal law, those purged were significantly over-represented in precincts that overwhelmingly voted for Stacey Abrams, the Black candidate in the 2018 gubernatorial race.¹⁷⁵

One of the most insidious forms of voter disenfranchisement by Georgia in recent years which disproportionately affected minority voters was Georgia’s “exact matching” procedures. As the Northern District of Georgia has explained, Georgia’s exact match procedures policies meant that when a prospective voter submitted a voter registration application, Georgia would check the registration against its Department of Driver Services (“DDS”) or files from the Social Security Administration (“SSA”). If the applicant’s information did not match those files exactly, “then the

¹⁷² Mark Niese and Nick Thieme, “Fewer Polls Cut Voter Turnout Across Georgia,” *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, 15 December, 2009; Fowler, “Why Do Nonwhite Georgia Voters Have to Wait in Line for Hours?,” *NPR*, October 17, 2020.

¹⁷³ Fowler, “Why Do Nonwhite Georgia Voters Have to Wait in Line for Hours?”

¹⁷⁴ Alan Judd, “Georgia’s Strict Laws Lead to Large Purge of Voters,” *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, 27 October 2018.

¹⁷⁵ Angela Caputo, Geoff Hing, and Johnny Kaufman, “After the Purge: How a Massive Voter Purge Affected the 2018 Election,” *APM Reports*, Oct. 29, 2019, <https://www.apmreports.org/story/2019/10/29/georgia-voting-registration-records-removed>.

voter registration application is placed in ‘pending status,’ and the person may not vote until the person corrects the information. The burden is on the applicant to take the next steps to correct any information and/or present the necessary proof required to the appropriate officials to become a Georgia voter.” *Georgia Coal. for People's Agenda, Inc. v. Kemp*, 347 F. Supp. 3d 1251, 1255–56 (N.D. Ga. 2018). If the voter did not present new information, their application was rejected. *Id.*

The legal history of exact-match legislation in Georgia is complex. It was originally passed by the Georgia General Assembly in 2008, and was originally blocked under preclearance, though it received Department of Justice approval in 2010 when the Secretary of State agreed to place “safeguards” on the practice. As the Department of Justice later argued, however, it is not clear if those safeguards were ever used. After *Shelby County*, Georgia operated the exact match procedures without strict safeguards, leading to federal suits such as the one above.

As civil rights groups have shown, Georgia’s exact match procedures were more likely to disenfranchise minority voters. Between 2013 and 2016, more than 34,000 Georgia voters’ applications were suspended using the exact-match system. Under the DDS match, Black Georgians, who made up only 28.2 percent of the registered voters, were 53.3 percent of those voters whose applications were cancelled or placed in pending status. By contrast, non-Hispanic whites, who were almost half of registered voters in Georgia, made up a far lower 18.3 percent of those applications that were canceled or placed on hold (pending status). Under the SSA match, the discrepancy was even starker. Black Georgians made up 74.6 percent of those in the cancelled and pending files, while non-Hispanic whites were only 9.5 percent. By July 2018, 51,111 voters’ applications were suspended, and placed in the “pending voter” category, of whom 80% were either African American, Hispanic/Latino, or Asian.¹⁷⁶ By 2019, Georgia agreed to largely abandon its exact matching process.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Abrams, *Our Time is Now*, 58–61; Anderson, *One Person, No Vote*, 78–81; McCrary Report, *passim*, eps 7, 55–99.

¹⁷⁷ Aja Arnold, “Ex Post Facto: Abrams v Kemp,” *The Mainline* May 11, 2020, <https://www.mainlinezine.com/ex-post-facto-abrams-vs-kemp-2018/>; Brentin Mook, “How Dismantling the Voting Rights Act Helped Georgia Discriminate Again,” Bloomberg City Lab, 15 October 2018, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-10-15/how-georgia-s-exact-match-program-was-made-possible>; Stanley Augustin, “Georgia Largely Abandons its Broken ‘Exact Match’ Voter Registration Process,” Lawyers’ Committee For Civil Rights, 5 April 2019, <https://www.lawyerscommittee.org/georgia-largely-abandons-its-broken-exact-match-voter-registration-process/>

Voter challenges directed at minority voters have also persisted in modern Georgia. In advance of the 2016 election, the Hancock County Election Board, which at the time was majority white, used the voter challenge process to challenge approximately 180 voters, almost all of whom were African American. Those Black residents made up nearly a fifth of the city's registered voters. In pursuit of the challenges, the Hancock County Board dispatched the local police to summon those Black residents to hearings to prove their residence or lose their voting rights. Many thought they were being arrested, and many of those challenged were intimidated and did not vote in the fall election. The white candidate for mayor won a narrow victory.¹⁷⁸

Although the Hancock County attorney denied that this purge was “about . . . race,” the Georgia State Conference of the NAACP, the Georgia Coalition for the People's Agenda, and four voters who had their registrations challenged sued the Hancock County Board of Elections seeking an injunction to force the Board to end their use of the challenge procedures. The U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia later ordered the defendants to pay the plaintiffs' attorney fees and required the Board of Elections to follow a strict process that required the Board to notify the plaintiffs' counsel if the Board made any future voter challenges.¹⁷⁹

c. Senate Bill 202

Of final note is the Georgia General Assembly's passage of Senate Bill (SB) 202 in the spring of 2021 in the wake of significant minority voting strength in Georgia and the election of Georgia's first Black United States Senator. SB 202 is currently the subject of multiple lawsuits which allege that it violates both Section 2 of the VRA and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, including by the United States Department of Justice.¹⁸⁰

These allegations are not surprising. Many of the provisions of SB 202 target methods of voting that Black voters used to tremendous effect in the 2020 General Election and 2021 Runoff

¹⁷⁸ Michael Wines, “Critics: Racial Bias Creeping Back Into Electoral Purges,” *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, 1 August 2016

¹⁷⁹ *Ga. State Conference of the NAACP v. Hancock Cnty. Bd. of Elections & Registration*, No. 5:15-CV-00414 (CAR) (M.D. Ga. Mar. 30, 2018); Michael Wines, “Critics See Efforts by Counties and Towns to Purge Minority Voters From Rolls,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), July 31, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/01/us/critics-see-efforts-to-purge-minorities-from-voter-rolls-in-new-elections-rules.html>; Kristina Torres, “Georgia suit settled alleging black voters wrongfully disqualified,” *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), March 16, 2017, <https://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/georgia-suit-settled-alleging-black-voters-wrongfully-disqualified/djDfYjpvYJJcZW8CJzgKL/>.

¹⁸⁰ See *United States v. Georgia*, No. 1:21-cv-02575 (N.D. Ga. June 25, 2021).

election, and also specifically target voting in the Atlanta metro area, home to the majority of Georgia's Black voters.¹⁸¹ While SB 202 has more than 40 provisions, some of its most notable changes are: (1) reducing the time available to request an absentee ballot, (2) increasing identification requirements for absentee voting, (3) banning state and local governments from sending unsolicited absentee ballot applications, (4) limiting the use of absentee ballot drop boxes, (5) banning mobile polling places, (6) and prohibiting anyone who is not a poll worker from giving food or drink to voters in line to vote.¹⁸²

One of SB 202's most notable changes to voting access is to drop boxes, which were used extensively by Black voters in the 2020 General Election. In that election, in the four core Atlanta Metro counties, Cobb, DeKalb, Fulton, and Gwinnett, 56% of absentee ballot voters, or 305,000 of 547,000, used drop boxes.¹⁸³ After SB 202, the number of drop boxes in those counties is estimated to drop from the 111 available in the 2020 election to 23.¹⁸⁴ In Fulton County, the number is estimated to drop from 38 to 8. Cobb County Election Director Janine Eveler told the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* that, in light of SB 202, drop boxes "are no longer useful. The limited numbers mean you cannot deploy them in sufficient numbers to reach the voting population."¹⁸⁵

SB 202 also made significant changes to how votes will be counted and who will supervise the counting. These changes included (1) removing the Secretary of State as the Chair of the State Election Board and replacing the Chair with someone appointed by a majority of the Georgia General Assembly, (2) giving the State Election Board (and by extension the Georgia General

¹⁸¹ For a helpful summary, see Stephen Fowler, "What Does Georgia's New Voting Law SB 202 Do?" NPR, March 27, 2021, <https://www.gpb.org/news/2021/03/27/what-does-georgias-new-voting-law-sb-202-do>

¹⁸² Georgia Senate Bill 202 (2021); see also Stephen Fowler, "What Does Georgia's New Voting Law SB 202 Do?" NPR, <https://www.gpb.org/news/2021/03/27/what-does-georgias-new-voting-law-sb-202-do>

¹⁸³ Niese, et. al., "Drop box use heavy in Democratic areas before Georgia voting law," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, July 12, 2021, <https://www.ajc.com/politics/drop-box-use-soared-in-democratic-areas-before-georgia-voting-law/N4ZTGHLWD5BRBOUKBHTUCFVOEU/>.

¹⁸⁴ "How New State Voting Laws Could Impact Voters," *Brennan Center for Justice*, September 1, 2021, <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/how-new-state-voting-laws-could-impact-voters>.

¹⁸⁵ Mark Niese, "ID Law Adds Hurdles For Thousands," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 1 June 2021; "Application For Official Georgia Absentee Ballot," https://sos.ga.gov/admin/uploads/2021_Absentee_Ballot_Application2.pdf; "Democratic Counties Showed Higher Drop Box Use"

Assembly) more power to intervene in county election boards, and (3) allowing the State Election Board (and by extension the Georgia General Assembly) more power to suspend election board members and replace them.¹⁸⁶

SB 202 is already being used against county election officials, and particularly Black officials. By June 2021, Georgia County commissions had replaced ten county election officials, most Democrats, half of them Black.¹⁸⁷ As of December 2021, six counties in Georgia have fully reorganized their county board of supervisors since the passage of SB 202. In Spaulding County, in particular, the three Black women who constituted a majority of the Board have been replaced, as has the elections supervisor. A majority of three white Republicans now control the board and has already moved to restrict voting access, including by eliminating Sunday voting, a popular day to vote for Black voters.¹⁸⁸ In five of the counties that restructured election boards—Troup, Morgan, Pickens, Stephens, and Lincoln—the Georgia General Assembly shifted the power to appoint some or all election board to local county commissioners, all of which are controlled by Republicans. Previously the appointments had been split evenly between the local Democratic and Republican parties, with the intent to ensure a politically balanced election board.¹⁸⁹ Just this past month, Lincoln County, whose elections board was recently disbanded under SB 202, indicated plans to close six of the county’s seven polling places, a move that would require some registered voters to travel as far as twenty-three miles to the nearest polling site and which would disadvantage the county’s Black voters.¹⁹⁰ And while it has not yet occurred, shortly after the passage of SB 202, the Georgia State Election Board set up a review board to review the

¹⁸⁶ Georgia Senate Bill 202 (2021); see also Stephen Fowler, “What Does Georgia’s New Voting Law SB 202 Do?”

¹⁸⁷ Nick Corasanti and Reid J. Epstein, “How Republican States Are Expanding Their Power Over Elections,” *New York Times*, July 1, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/19/us/politics/republican-states.html>; Mark Niesse and Brad Branch, “Fulton County Elections Takeover Mulled,” 27 July, 2021

¹⁸⁸ James Oliphant and Nathan Layne, “Georgia Republicans purge Black Democrats from County Election Boards,” Reuters, 9 December 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/us/georgia-republicans-purge-black-democrats-county-election-boards-2021-12-09/>.

¹⁸⁹ *Id.*

¹⁹⁰ Susan McCord, “Lincoln County Looks to Eliminate All Polling Places But One,” *Augusta Chronicle*, 21 December 2021.

performance of the Fulton County Election Board, setting up the prospect for a takeover of the Elections Board in Fulton, the home of hundreds of thousands of Black Georgians.¹⁹¹

These disfranchising measures have racial roots. As Dr. Peyton McCrary, a historian who recently retired after a 26-year career with the Department of Justice, has explained: “In Georgia politics since 2002, state government is dominated by the Republican Party, the party to which now most non-Hispanic white persons belong. The greatest electoral threat to the Republican Party and Georgia’s governing elected officials is the growing number of African American, Hispanic, and Asian citizens, who tend strongly to support Democratic candidates. The increase in minority population and the threat of increasing minority voting strength provides a powerful incentive for Republican officials at the state and local level to place hurdles in the path of minority citizens seeking to register and vote. That is what has happened.”¹⁹²

d. 2021 General Assembly Officials by Composition of District

Even today, more than fifty years after the original 1965 VRA, most Black candidates in Georgia are only able to win in districts which are majority Black. The following tables show just how stark this phenomenon has been in Georgia’s most recent elections for the General Assembly. In the Georgia House, for example, none of Georgia’s Black House members were elected from a district with more than 55% white voters. In the Georgia Senate, none of Georgia’s Black Senators were elected from a district with more than 47% white voters. This trend is not surprising given the historically pervasive racially polarized voting in the state. These figures are shown below:¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Nick Corasanti and Reid J. Epstein, “How States are Expanding Their Control Over Elections,” New York Times, 19 June 2021; Mark Niesse and Brad Branch. “Fulton County Elections Takeover Mullied,” 27 July 2021

¹⁹² McCrary Report, 8.

¹⁹³ Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights, *The Central Role of Racial Demographics in Georgia Elections: How Race Affects Elections for the Georgia General Assembly* (May 2021).

Table 2. **Winning Candidates in 2020 in Georgia House of Representatives by Party and Race**

Percentage white registered voters in district	White Republicans¹⁹⁴	Black Democrats	White Democrats
Under 40%	0	48	7
40–46.2%	1	3	2
46.2–54.9	11	1	6
55–62.4%	23	0	5
Over 62.4%	68	0	0

Source: Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights, *The Central Role of Racial Demographics in Georgia Elections: How Race Affects Elections for the Georgia General Assembly* (May 2021), 10

Table 3. **Winning Candidates in 2020 in Georgia State Senate by Party and Race**

Percentage white registered voters in district	White Republicans	Black Democrats	White Democrats
Under 47%	0	16	1
47–54.9%	3	0	3
Over 55%	51	0	0

Source: Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights, *The Central Role of Racial Demographics in Georgia Elections: How Race Affects Elections for the Georgia General Assembly* (May 2021) 10

J. Conclusion

As this report has shown, Georgia has worked for decades to diminish the voting power of Black Georgians, both at the structural electoral level (in terms of redistricting and electoral arrangements), and at the individual level (in terms of voter requirements). These efforts have often been successful, stymying Georgia's Black voters from exercising their full political power. It is my opinion that Georgia's newest redistricting plans are best viewed within this historical context.

¹⁹⁴ There are currently no Black Republicans in the Georgia General Assembly.

APPENDIX A: Representative Discriminatory Voting Tactics in Georgia

Voting Mechanism Adoption	Name of Georgia Jurisdiction	Details
Majority voting requirement	Americus (city)	Adopted plurality to majority vote for mayor and city council in 1968
	Jackson (city)	Adopted majority vote after passage of VRA, enjoined in 1981
	Covington (city)	Adopted a majority vote and runoff election requirement for city council in 1967
	St. Mary's (city)	Adopted majority vote requirement for city council in 1967
	Waynesboro (city)	Adopted a majority vote requirement in 1971, ignored \$5 finding against the city until 1976
	Moultrie (city)	Adopted majority vote requirement for city council in 1965; used at-large elections
	Augusta, Alapaha, Ashburn, Athens, Butler, Cairo, Camilla, Crawfordville, East Dublin, Hartwell, Hinesville, Hogansville, Jesup, Jonesboro, Lakeland, Louisville, Lumber City, Madison, Nashville, Newman, Palmetto, Sandersville, Sylvester, Thomson, Wadley, Waynesboro, Wrens	Other cities in Georgia that adopted majority vote requirements after 1970

At-Large Voting	Dooly County	Utilized at-large voting from 1967 to 1981
	Miller County	Utilized at-large voting from 1967 to 1980
	Pike County	Utilized at-large voting from 1967 to 1980. No preclearance was sought. In 1979, the US AG said preclearance was necessary, but county refused to honor this until a subsequent lawsuit in 1980.
	Harris County	Utilized at-large voting for board of commissioners starting in 1974
	Sumter County	Utilized at-large voting for county commissioners in 1972 following Section 5 finding that the county was malapportioned. In 1981 a three-judge federal panel found that this required preclearance.
	Jackson (city)	Utilized at-large voting following passage of Voting Rights Act; Annexed several dozen areas to suppress Black voting; enjoined by federal court in 1981
	Burke County	Utilized at-large voting until 1976, until enjoined by a federal court in 1981

	Putnam County	Utilized at-large voting until 1981
	McDuffie County	Utilized at-large voting until a 1978 consent decree .
	Coffee County	Utilized at-large voting until a 1977 consent decree .
	Douglas County	Utilized at-large voting until a 1977 consent decree.
	Peach County	Utilized at-large voting until a 1979 consent decree .
	Waynesboro (city)	Utilized at-large voting until a 1977 consent decree.
	Americus (city)	Utilized at-large voting until a 1980 consent decree.
	Dawson County	Utilized at-large voting until a 1980 consent decree.
	Madison County	Utilized at-large voting until a 1978 consent decree.
	Morgan, Newton, and Twiggs Counties	Adopted at-large voting in 1971
	Wilkes, McDuffie Counties	Adopted at-large voting in 1972
	Newton and Bibb Counties	Adopted at-large voting for Board of Education in 1971
	Baldwin, Truetlen, McDuffie, Camden, Putnam, Pike, Spalding, and Wilkes Counties	Adopted at-large voting for Board of Education in 1972
	Toombs, Sumter, and Clarke Counties	Adopted at-large voting for Board of Education in 1973
	Harris, Charlton, and Taylor Counties	Adopted at-large voting for Board of Education in 1975

	Long County	Adopted at-large voting for Board of Education in 1975
Numbered Post System	Dawson (city)	Adopted numbered-post system in 1970
	Kingsland (city)	Adopted numbered-post system in 1967
Other tactics	DeKalb County	Limited minority voting registration drives in 1980
	Seminole County	Used voting districts drawn in 1933 (which severely diluted Black voting strength) up until 1980.
	Camden County	Designated an all-white women's club as the new municipal polling place in 1978
	Peach County	Adopted staggered voting for County Commissioners in 1968
	Moultrie (city)	Instituted a literacy test for new Black poll workers but grandfathering in all previously serving all-white poll workers in 1978.

Source: Laughlin McDonald, *Voting Rights in the South: Ten Years of Challenging Continuing Discrimination Against Minorities* (ACLU, Southern Regional Office, 1982); Laughlin McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey: Black Enfranchisement in Georgia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 141–143.

APPENDIX B

ORVILLE VERNON BURTON

History Department, 126 Hardin Hall, 403 Calhoun Drive, Clemson University, Clemson, SC 29634-0527; O: 864/656-3153 C: 217/649-0608; Fax: 864/656-1015; H: 864/543-2552

Home: 107 Baywood Circle, Ninety Six, SC 29666 or 110 Houston St., Clemson, SC 29631

vburton@clemson.edu

(<http://justice-deferred.clemson.edu>) (<https://ageoflincoln.wpengine.com>)

Education: 1976, Ph.D. Princeton University Ph.D. dissertation: “Ungrateful Servants?

Edgefield's Black Reconstruction: Part I of the Total History of Edgefield County, South Carolina.” Advisors Sheldon Hackney and James McPherson

1969, B.A. Furman University, magnum cum laude

Military Service: active service 1969, 1974 U.S. Army, Honorably Discharged as Captain, 1977

Academic Positions:

Clemson University, 2010-

The Judge Matthew J. Perry, Jr. Distinguished Professor of History

Professor Sociology and Anthropology, Clemson University, 2014-

Creativity Chair of Humanities, Clemson University, 2013-15

Professor Pan-African Studies, 2012-

Professor Computer Science, Clemson University, 2011-

Director Clemson CyberInstitute, 2010-

Associate Director Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences, Clemson CyberInstitute, 2010

Professor of History, Clemson University, 2010-

Burroughs Distinguished Prof. Southern Hist. & Culture, Coastal Carolina University, 2008-10

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC), 1974-2008

2009- Chair, Advisory Board for Institute for Computing in Humanities, Arts, and Social Science (I-CHASS)

2008-11, Consultant for Humanities to Chancellor's and Provost's Office

2004-09, Founding Director I-CHASS

2008 - Emeritus University Distinguished Teacher/Scholar, University Scholar, and Professor History, African American Studies, and Sociology

2006-08, Professor African American Studies

1989-2008, Professor History

1989-2008, Professor Sociology

1988-2008, Graduate College Statistics Faculty

1986-2008, Campus Honors Program

1985-2006, Faculty Affiliate, African American Studies and Research Program

1982-1989, Associate Professor, History

1976-1982, Assistant Professor History

1974-1976, Instructor

National Center for Supercomputing Applications (NCSA)

2002-10, Associate Director, Humanities and Social Sciences

1993-2002, Head, Initiative for Social Sciences and Humanities

1986- Senior Research Scientist

Princeton University

1972-74, Assistant Master, Woodrow Wilson Residential College

1971-72, Instructor, Mercer County Community College, NJ

College of Charleston

2001-, Executive Director, Program in the Carolina Lowcountry and the Atlantic World (CLAW) <http://claw.cofc.edu>

1987, Professor of History, Governor's School of South Carolina

Selected Honors, Fellowships, Awards

U.S. Professor of the Year, Outstanding Research and Doctoral Universities Professor (Council for Advancement and Support of Education and Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching), 1999

American Historical Association Eugene Asher Distinguished Teaching Prize, 2004

Chicago *Tribune's* Heartland 2007 Literary award for nonfiction for *The Age of Lincoln*

Illinois House Resolution of Congratulations, HR 0711, 2007. The Illinois State legislature passed a special resolution acknowledging my contributions as a scholar, teacher, and citizen of Illinois.

South Carolina Governor's Award for Lifetime Achievement in the Humanities, presented by the SC Humanities Council, 2017 (selected 2016)

Society of American Historians, Elected 2012

Fellow, National Humanities Center (NEH Senior Scholar Award), 1994-95

Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 1988-89

Fellow, Pew Foundation, 1996

National Fellowship Program for Carnegie Scholars, 2000-2002

Rockefeller Humanities Fellowship, 1978

Earl and Edna Stice Lectureship in the Social Sciences at the University of Washington, 2005

Strickland Visiting Scholar, Department of History, Middle Tennessee State University, 2006

Pew-Lilly Foundation Graduate Professor, Notre Dame University, 2001

Mark W. Clark Distinguished Chair of History, The Citadel, 2000-01

Elected to honorary life membership in BrANCH (British American Nineteenth-Century Historians)

Organization of American Historians Distinguished Lecturer, 2004-

Choice Outstanding Academic Book for *The Age of Lincoln*, 2008

Choice Outstanding Academic Title for *Slavery and Anti-Slavery: Transnational Archive*, 2009

Booklist's Editors' Choice Title for *Slavery and Anti-Slavery: A Transnational Archive*, 2009

Choice Outstanding Academic Book for *Computing in the Social Sciences and Humanities*, 2003

Richard F. Fenno Prize, Legislative Studies Section, American Political Science Association, for *Quiet Revolution*, 1995

President Southern Historical Association, 2011-12

President Agricultural History Society, 2001-02

Elected to the South Carolina Academy of Authors, 2015, inducted 2016.

Certificate of Excellence from the Carnegie Academy for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning for Work that Advances the Practice and Profession of Teaching In Support of Significant Student Learning, 2001

H-Net received the James Harvey Robinson Prize for teaching from the American Historical Association, 1997 (I was one of the founders, and the first treasurer).

Award of Distinction in the Film/Video-History/Biography category from the International Academy of the Visual Arts, 16th Annual Communicator Awards, for "People: A Lincoln

Burton, page 3

Portrait” television interstitial series (The Communicator Awards is the leading international awards program honoring creative excellence for communications professionals), 2010 (part of program I put together for Lincoln commemoration at UIUC).

SC African American Heritage Commission's 2009 “Preserving Our Places in History” Project Award for Claw’s (Executive Director, College of Charleston Carolina Lowcountry and Atlantic World) work in commemorating the banning of the international slave trade

Florida Historical Society, Medallion Lecture, 2002

Auburn University, Eminence in the Arts and Humanities Fellows Lectures Medallion, “awarded to persons of distinguished achievement in the arts and humanities: writers, artists or renowned scholars in one or more of the liberal arts disciplines,” 2012

Senior Research Fellow, Southern Studies, University of South Carolina, 1988

Phi Beta Kappa, Furman University, 1986

Princeton University Scholar Award, 1969

National Defense Educational Award Title IV Fellowship, 1971 (Princeton University)

Clark Foundation Scholarship, 1966-69 (Furman University)

Wicker Award for Outstanding Student (sophomore), Furman University, 1967

Endel History Award, Furman, 1969

Bradshaw-Feaster General Excellence Award (Furman’s highest honor for the graduating senior selected by faculty), 1969

Honors Clemson University and Recognition

College of Architecture, Art, and Humanities (CAAH), Dean’s Award for “Outstanding Service,” 2019

Inaugural Class 2018 University Research Scholarship and Artistic Achievement Award

Inaugural Judge Matthew J. Perry Distinguished Chair of History, 2017-

CAAH, Dean’s Award for “Excellence in Research,” 2016

CAAH, Creativity Professor Humanities, 2013-15

Featured Clemson Homepage 2017, “Meet a Tiger,” <http://newsstand.clemson.edu/meet-a-tiger-vernon-burton/>

UIUC Honors and Teaching Awards and Recognition

Inaugural University “Distinguished Teacher/Scholar,” 1999-2008

University Scholar, 1988 – 2008

Campus Award for Excellence in Public Engagement, 2006

Graduate College Outstanding Mentoring award, 2001-02

Fellow, Center for Advanced Study, 1982, Associate, 1994

Burlington Northern Faculty Achievement Award (UIUC), 1986

Study in a Second Discipline, Statistics and Demography, 1984

All-Campus Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching, 1999

LAS Dean’s Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching, 1999

LAS Award for Distinguished Teaching, 1986

School of Humanities Teaching Award, 1986

George and Gladys Queen Excellence in Teaching Award in History, 1986

Undergraduate Instructional Award (UIUC), 1984

Every semester and for every undergraduate course that I taught at the University of Illinois (excluding large survey classes of between 300-750 students), I was deemed excellent in the UIUC “Incomplete List of Excellent Teachers.” I was noted on the list for more than twenty different courses. I was noted as “outstanding” from 1979 as long as they used that designation.

Burton, page 4

Recognized by the Pan-Hellenic Council at as an “outstanding staff member for furthering scholastic achievement”

Selected by History Department as the “one instructor whom you believe best at creating intellectual excitement in students” for an educational study of teaching practices of college teachers, 1978

Received the Resident Hall Association Award for the Best Educational Program for lectures/discussion on *Gone With the Wind* and *Jubilee* for Black History Month, 1996

The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi, UIUC, Vice President, 2002-03; President, 2003-04

Ronald E. McNair Scholars Program Dedicated Service Award for service to Minority Students, 1996

Associate Vice Chancellor Academic Affairs award for contributions to the Student Research Opportunities Program and work with minority students (1995, 2006)

Publications:

Books:

(with Armand Derfner) *Justice Deferred: Race and the Supreme Court*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2021. The Social Science History Association is featuring a session on the book at the annua meeting in November 2021.

(with Beatrice Burton and Megan Shockley) *Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park, Charleston, SC Administrative History*. Washington, DC: The National Park Service, November, 2020.

Penn Center: A History Preserved. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2014; paperback edition, 2017.

The Age of Lincoln. NY: Hill and Wang, 2007. (Audio: Blackstone Audio Books). Paperback edition 2008. Selection for Book of the Month Club, History Book Club, Military Book Club. *The Age of Lincoln* was nominated by Farrar, Straus, and Giroux for the Pulitzer Prize. Three historical associations featured sessions on the book, Association for the Study of African American Life and History, 2008; Social Science History Association, 2008; The Southern Intellectual History Circle, 2009.

(with Judy McArthur) “*A Gentleman and an Officer*”: *A Military and Social History of James B. Griffin's Civil War*. NY: Oxford University Press, 1996; second printing 1999.

In My Father's House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985. Paperback edition 1987; 5th printing 1998. *In My Father's House* was nominated by the University of North Carolina Press for the Pulitzer Prize. Two Historical Associations featured this book in sessions at their annual meetings: Social Science History Association, 1986; Southern Historical Association, 1987.

Editor, *Becoming Southern Writers: Essays in Honor of Charles Joyner*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016.

(edited with Ray Arsenault) *Dixie Redux: Essays in Honor of F. Sheldon Hackney*. Montgomery, AL: New South Books, 2013.

(edited with Jerald Podair and Jennifer L. Weber) *The Struggle for Equality: Essays on Sectional Conflict, the Civil War, and the Long Reconstruction in Honor of James M. McPherson*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011.

Editor, *The Essential Lincoln*. NY: Hill and Wang, 2009.

(edited with David O'Brien) *Remembering Brown at Fifty: The University of Illinois Commemorates Brown v. Board of Education*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009.

Burton, page 5

- (edited with Winfred B. Moore, Jr.) *“Toward the Meeting of the Waters”: Currents in the Civil Rights Movement in South Carolina during the Twentieth Century*. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2008. Paperback 2011.
- Editor, *Slavery in America: Gale Library of Daily Life*, 2 vols. NY, Detroit: Gale Cengage Learning, 2008.
- (edited and annotated with Georganne B. Burton, introduction pp. 1-48) *“The Free Flag of Cuba”: The Lost Novel of Lucy Pickens* [orig. pub. 1854] in the Library of Southern Civilization series, edited by Lewis P. Simpson. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002. Paperback 2003.
- Editor, *Computing in the Social Sciences and Humanities*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002.
- (edited with David Herr and Terence Finnegan) *Wayfarer: Charting Advances in Social Science and Humanities Computing*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002. This CD-ROM contains more than 65 essays and research and teaching applications, including illustrative interactive multimedia materials.
- (with et al.) *Documents Collection America's History*, vol. 1, to accompany James Henretta, et al., *America's History*, 2nd ed. NY: Worth Publishers, 1993.
- (edited with Robert C. McMath, Jr.) *Class, Conflict, and Consensus: Antebellum Southern Community Studies*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1982.
- (edited with Robert C. McMath, Jr.) *Toward a New South? Studies in Post-Civil War Southern Communities*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1982.

In Press:

- (edited with Brent Morris) *Reconstruction at 150: Reassessing the Revolutionary "New Birth of Freedom"*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, expected 2022.
- (edited with Peter Eisenstadt) *Lincoln's Unfinished Work: The New Birth of Freedom from Generation to Generation*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, expected 2022.

Promised, but not Finished:

- Air Conditioning and the Voting Rights Act: The Voting Rights Act of 1965 in Historical Perspective*. Stice Lectures University of Washington. Seattle: University of Washington Press contracted, (withdrawn from press to include the 2013 recent challenge to Sections 5, which ended preclearance in 2013, and the recent challenges to Section 2, the in-person Voter Id controversies, and partisan redistricting challenges).
- Lincoln and the South Revisited*. Under contract. Carbondale: University of Southern Illinois Press.
- The South as Other: The Southerner as Stranger—The Contradictions of Southern Identity*. The expansion of my presidential address for the Southern Historical Association. Promised to University of South Carolina Press.

Plays:

- (with Georganne Burton) “Abraham Lincoln’s Beardstown Trial: The Play” Premiered Sept. 29, 2009, Beardstown, IL. (Endorsed by the Congressional Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission, November 2009; Play available upon request);
<http://www.lincolnbicentennial.gov/calendar/beardstown-trial-11-10-09.aspx>;
<http://www.civilwar.org/aboutus/events/grand-review/2009/almanac-trial.html>

Burton, page 6

Editor, Book Series, *A Nation Divided: Studies in the Civil War Era Series*, University of Virginia Press, 2011-

Editor, Book Series, *The American South Series*, University of Virginia Press, 2013-

Introductions and Forewords to Books:

“Foreword,” pp. ix-liv to *Born to Rebel: An Autobiography* by Benjamin Elijah Mays. Athens: University of Georgia Press Brown Thrasher edition, 1987, also in paperback edition (book without foreword originally published by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971). Revd. Foreword 2003.

“Introduction,” pp. 9-11 to *Roll the Union On: Southern Tenant Farmers Union*. As told by its Co-founder, H.L. Mitchell. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1987.

“Introduction,” pp. xiii-xviii to *Soldiering with Sherman: The Civil War Letters of George F. Cram*. Jennifer Cain Bohrnstedt, ed., DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000.

“Introduction,” pp. x-xxxiv to *Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolinian* by Francis Butler Simkins, for the reprint edition of the Southern Classics Series of the Institute for Southern Studies. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002 (book without Introduction originally published by Louisiana State University Press, 1944).

(with James Barrett) “Foreword,” pp. xi-xxv to paperback edition of *Cause at Heart: A Former Communist Remembers* by Junius Irving Scales with Richard Nickson. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005 (book without Foreword originally published 1987).

“Foreword,” pp. vii-xi to *Recovering the Piedmont Past: Unexplored Moments in Nineteenth-Century Upcountry South Carolina History*, edited by Timothy P. Grady and Melissa Walker. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2013.

“Foreword,” pp. vii-xiii to *Our Ancestors – Our Stories: The Memory Keepers*, edited by Harris Bailey, et al. Suwanee, Georgia: The Write Image, 2014.

“Foreword,” pp. iv-xiv, to Kevin M. Cherry, *Virtue of Cain, Biography of Lawrence Cain* Washington: *From Slave to Senator*: Takoma Park, MD: Rocky Pond Press, 2019.

“Foreword,” pp. vi-x, to Frankie Felder, *OURstory Unchained and Liberated from HISTORY*. Anderson, S.C.: Edelweiss Publishers, 2021.

Journals Edited:

Special issue on the “Digital South,” *Southern Quarterly: A Journal of Arts and Letters in the South*, 58: 1-2 (expected soon, Fall 2020/Winter 2021).

“Three Articles from a Century of Excellence: The Best of *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*,” pp. 182-89 for *South Carolina History Magazine* 101: 3 (July 2000).

“Introduction,” pp. 161-65 for *Social Science Computer Review* 12:2 (Summer 1994).

Co-editor, “Technology and Education,” *International Journal of Social Education* 5:1 (Spring 1990).

History Articles, Chapters, and Essays:

“The South as Other, The Southerner as Stranger,” Presidential address for the Southern Historical Association, *The Journal of Southern History* LXXIX:1 (February 2013): 7-50.

“Reaping What We Sow: Community and Rural History,” Presidential address for the Agricultural History Society in *Agricultural History* (Fall 2002): 631-58.

“Building the Transcontinental Railroad,” *Presidential Inaugural Portfolio*, Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies, January 21, 2013.

Burton, page 7

- “Modeling the Baptist Faith” in *Walk with Me: Reflections on the Life and Influence of James Milton Pitts*. Edited by Cecil P. Staton and John Adams (Macon, Georgia: Smyth and Helwys, 2021), 125-134.
- “Epworth Native Earned Place in History: Benjamin E. Mays, Schoolmaster of the Civil Rights Movement,” 99-101, in *10 Years Preserving History: Building a Legacy, Gleams Dr. Benjamin E. Mays Historical Preservation Site*. Ed. Christopher Thomas (Greenwood: Gleams Center, 2021).
- “The Creation and Destruction of the Fourteenth Amendment During the Long Civil War,” *Louisiana Law Review*, Vol. 79 (Fall 2018): 189-239.
- “Mystery and Contradiction: My Story of Ninety Six,” in *State of the Heart: South Carolina Writers on the Places They Love*, Vol. 3, pp. 18-27. Edited by Aida Rogers (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2018)
- “Reconstructing South Carolina’s Reconstruction,” keynote South Carolina Historical Association, 2017 (Columbia: Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association, 2018), pp 7-40.
- “The Birth of a Nation: A Roundtable,” (Roundtable Discussion of film on 1831 Nat Turner Insurrection), edited Ryan Keating in *Civil War History* 64 (March 2018), pp. 56-91. (with Anderson R. Rouse) “Southern Identity,” pp. 40-53, in *The Routledge History of the American South*. Edited by Maggi M. Morehouse (New York: Routledge, 2018).
- (with Anderson R. Rouse) “Religious Practices,” pp. 111-26, in *The Routledge History of the American South*. Edited by Maggi Morehouse (New York: Routledge, 2018).
- “Reconstructing South Carolina’s History Through the South Caroliniana Library, 80th Annual Meeting Address by Dr. Orville Vernon Burton,” The University South Caroliniana Society 81st Annual Meeting, 22 April 2017, pp. 2-32.
- “From Clarendon County to the Supreme Court,” pp. 84-88 and “Eating with Harvey Gantt and Mathew Perry: Myth and Realities of “Integration with Dignity,” pp.139-40 accompanying Cecil Williams’ photographs of South Carolina’s Civil Rights Movement in Cecil Williams, *Unforgettable, Life Hope Bravery, 1950-1970: Celebrating a Time of Bravery* (Orangeburg: Cecil J. Williams Photography/Publishing, 2017).
- “Localism and Confederate Nationalism: The Transformation of Values from Community to Nation in Edgefield, South Carolina,” pp. 107-123, 233-39 in Robert H. Brinkmeyer, Jr., ed., *Citizen Scholar: Essays in Honor of Walter B. Edgar* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016).
- “Lincoln, Secession, and Emancipation,” pp. 81-104 in Paul Finkelman and Donald R. Kennon, eds., *Lincoln, Congress, and Emancipation*, for the U.S. Capitol Historical Society (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2016).
- “Stranger Redux,” pp. 38-49 in Orville Vernon Burton, Editor, *Becoming Southern Writers: Essays in Honor of Charles Joyner* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016)
- “Tempering Society’s Looking Glass: Correcting Misconceptions About the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and Securing American Democracy” *Louisiana Law Review* Lead article for Vol. 76:1 (2015): 1-42.
- “Perceptions and Meaning of the Confederate Flag,” *The Proclamation* (President Lincoln’s Cottage), XXVIII (Summer 2015): 8- 14 (longer unedited version on-line at: <http://www.lincolncottage.org/perceptions-and-meaning-of-the-confederate-flag-an-interview-with-two-scholars/> and with Edna Medford)
- “Revisiting the Myth of the Black Matriarchy,” pp. 119-65 in Orville Vernon Burton and Ray Arsenault, eds., *Dixie Redux: Essays in Honor of F. Sheldon Hackney* (Montgomery, AL: New South Books, 2013).

Burton, page 8

- "The Passage of Lincoln's Republic: Providence in Progress," pp. 13-36 in Stephen Engle, ed. *The War Worth Fighting: Abraham Lincoln's Presidency and Civil War America* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2015).
- "Bertram Wyatt-Brown: An Honorable Man and a Man of Grace," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* XCIX, No. 3(Fall, 2015): 2013-18.
- (with Michael LeMahieu), "Civil War Memory in the Civil Rights Movement and Contemporary Commemoration," *Journal of American Studies* (with American Studies International, *AMSJ*) 53:4 (2014): 107-18.
- Remembering the Civil War," pp. 278-85 in *The Civil War as Global Conflict*. Edited by Simon Lewis and David Gleeson (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2014).
- "The Gettysburg Address Revisited." In *1863: Lincoln's Pivotal Year*. Edited by Harold Holzer and Sara Vaughn Gabbard (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2013), pp. 137-55.
- (with Ian Binnington) "And Bid Him Bear A Patriot's Part": National and Local Perspectives on Confederate Nationalism in *Deconstructing Dixie*, pp 126-155. Edited by Jason Kyle Phillips (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013).
- "The Silence of a Slaveholder: The Civil War Letters of James B. Griffin," in *The Battlefield and Beyond: Essays on the American Civil War*. Edited by Clayton E. Jewett (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), pp. 13-27.
- "Abraham Lincoln," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of American Political and Legal History*. Edited by Donald T. Chritchlow and Philip R. VanderMeer, 1:560-64. 2 vols. (NY: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- (with Lewie Reece) "Abraham Lincoln," Essential Civil War Curriculum, <http://www.essentialcivilwarcurriculum.com/>. Edited by William C. Davis and James I. Robertson, Sesquicentennial Project of the Virginia Center for Civil War Studies and the History Department of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Virginia Tech, 2013).
- "Family," in *Enslaved Women in America: An Encyclopedia*. Edited by Daina R. Berry and Deleso Alford Washington (Santa Barbara & Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 2012), pp. 83-87.
- "Lincoln at Two Hundred: Have We Finally Reached Randall's Point of Exhaustion?" In *The Living Lincoln: Essays from the Harvard Lincoln Bicentennial Symposium*, pp. 204-25. Edited by Thomas A. Horrocks, Harold Holzer, and Frank J. Williams (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2011), pp. 204-25.
- (with Nick Gaffney) "South Carolina," Vol. 2: pp. 745-764 in *Black America: A State by State Encyclopedia*. Edited by Alton Hornsby (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 2011).
- "Mays, Benjamin" in *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*. Vol. 19 *Education*, Edited by Clarence Mohr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), pp. 254-255.
- "The Age of Lincoln: Then and Now," Keynote for the South Carolina Historical Association Annual Meeting, *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*, 2010, pp. 7-22. Edited by Robert Figueira and Stephen Lowe (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 2010). Reprinted pp 11- 26 in Michael Bonner and Fritz Hamer (eds.) *South Carolina in the Civil War and Reconstruction Eras: Essays from the Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016).
- (with Larry McDonnell and Troy D. Smith) "Slavery and Anti-Slavery: A Transnational Archive," pp. 121-26 in *L'abolition de l'esclavage au Royaume-Uni 1787-1840 : débats et dissensions The abolition of slavery in Britain 1787-1840 : debate and dissension.* Edited by Susan Finding (Paris: ArmandColin, November 2009).

Burton, page 9

- “Abraham Lincoln at Two Hundred,” *OAH* (Organization of American Historians) *Newsletter*, 37:4 (November 2009), pp. 1, 8, 12.
- “Author’s Response to the Southern Intellectual History Circle Forum on *The Age of Lincoln*,” *The Journal of the Historical Society* IX:3 (September 2009): 355-72.
- (with Georganne Burton) “Lucy Holcombe Pickens: Belle, Political Novelist, and Southern Lady,” in *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times*, Vol 1. Edited by Marjorie Julian Spruill, Valinda W. Littlefield, and Joan Marie Johnson (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), pp.273-98.
- Three essays in the *International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest: 1500 to the Present*. Edited by Immanuel Ness. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).
- “Radical Reconstruction, United States, Promise and Failure of” VI: 2798-2801
http://www.revolutionprotestencyclopedia.com/public/tocnode?query=burton%2C+vernon&widen=1&result_number=3&from=search&id=g9781405184649_chunk_g97814051846491238&type=std&fuzzy=0&slop=1;
- (with Beatrice Burton) “American Civil War and Slavery,” I: 70-72
http://www.revolutionprotestencyclopedia.com/public/tocnode?query=burton%2C+vernon&widen=1&result_number=1&from=search&id=g9781405184649_chunk_g978140518464940&type=std&fuzzy=0&slop=1;
- (with Beatrice Burton) “Lincoln, Abraham (1809-1865) and African Americans,” Volume V: 2121-2123”
http://www.revolutionprotestencyclopedia.com/public/tocnode?query=burton%2C+vernon&widen=1&result_number=2&from=search&id=g9781405184649_chunk_g9781405184649925&type=std&fuzzy=0&slop=1;
- “Imagine Another Ending: Tweaking History to Shape an Alternative World,” pp. 48-50 in *A New Birth of Freedom, 1809*2009: Abraham Lincoln’s Bicentennial*. Edited by Don Wycliff (Washington, D.C.: The Lincoln Bicentennial Commission, 2009).
- (with Simon Appleford and Beatrice Burton) “Seeds in Unlikely Soil: The *Briggs v. Elliott* School Segregation Case,” pp 176-200 in *Toward the Meeting of the Waters: Currents in the Civil Rights Movement of South Carolina during the Twentieth Century*. Edited by Orville Vernon Burton and Winfred B. Moore, Jr. (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2008).
- (with Lewie Reece) “Palmetto Revolution: The Coming of Desegregation in South Carolina,” pp. 59-91, 283-94 in *With All Deliberate Speed: Implementing Brown v. Board of Education*. Edited by Brian Daugherty and Charles Bolton. (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2008).
- “Civil Rights Movement in South Carolina,” pp. 178-80; “Benjamin Mays,” pp. 601-02; (with Beatrice Burton) “Francis Butler Simkins,” 866; (with Beatrice Burton) “Lucy Pickens”; (with Beatrice Burton) “Sharecropping/ Tenantry,” pp. 952-54 in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia* [A project of the South Carolina Humanities Council]. Edited by Walter Edgar. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006).
- “African Americans,” pp. 245-248 in *The Encyclopedia of the Midwest* [a project of the Institute for Collaborative Research and Public Humanities at The Ohio State University]. Edited by Richard Sisson, et al. (print version. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007).
- “The Voting Rights Act,” pp. 1134-1136 in Vol. 4: *Postwar America: An Encyclopedia of Social, Political, Cultural, and Economic History*. Edited by James Ciment. (M.E. Sharpe, 2006).
- “Emancipation,” pp. 237-42, “Sharecropping,” pp. 563-67, “South Carolina,” pp. 584-593, “Suffrage,” pp. 614-20, “Wade Hampton, III,” pp. 306-08, in *Encyclopedia of the Reconstruction Era*. Edited by Richard Zuczek. (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 2006).

Burton, page 10

- (with David Herr) "Religious Tolerance and the Growth of the Evangelical Ethos in South Carolina," pp. 146-64 in *The Dawn of Religious Freedom in South Carolina*, Edited by James Lowell Underwood and W. Lewis Burke. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006).
- (with Beatrice Burton) "Jefferson Davis," pp. 43-44 in *The Frederick Douglass Encyclopedia*. Edited by Julius E. Thompson, James L. Conyers, Jr., and Nancy J. Dawson. (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 2010).
- "The 1965 Voting Rights Act in the South," in *History* Vol. 3 (2007), 344-47 in *The Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, 2nd revised ed. Edited by Charles Reagan Wilson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); and revised in James W. Ely, Jr. and Bradley G. Bond, eds., *Law and Politics* Vol. 10 of *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, pp. 399-401 (2008); and revised in Thomas C. Holt and Laurie B. Green, eds., *Race* Vol. 24, pp. 265-68 of *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture* (2013).
- "Problems and Methods in Family History Research," *Journal of Humanities* (National Central University at Chuhgli/Taoyuen), 2006.
- (with David Herr) "Defining Reconstruction," pp. 299-322 in *The Blackwell Companion to the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Edited by Lacy Ford. (Boston: Blackwell Publishers, 2005).
- "John H. McCray," pp. 125-27 in the *Dictionary of Twentieth Century Black Leaders*. Edited by Alton Hornsby, Jr. Montgomery. (AL: E-Book Time, LLC, 2005).
- "Stranger in a Strange Land: Crossing Boundaries," pp. 256-283 in *Shapers of Southern History: Autobiographical Essays by Fifteen Historians*. Edited by John Boles. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004).
- "Dining with Harvey Gantt: Myth and Realities of 'Integration with Dignity,'" pp. 183-220 in *Matthew J. Perry: The Man, His Times and His Legacy*. Edited by W. Lewis Burke and Belinda F. Gergel. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004).
- "'Tis True that Our Southern Ladies have Done and are Still Acting a Conspicuous Part in this War': Women on the Confederate Home Front in Edgefield, South Carolina," pp. 95-108 in *"Lives Full of Struggle and Triumph": Southern Women, Their Institutions, and Their Communities*. Edited by Bruce L. Clayton and John A. Salmond. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2003).
- (with Georganne Burton) "Lucy Holcombe Pickens and *The Free Flag of Cuba*," *South Carolina History Magazine* 103:4 (October 2002): 296-324.
- (with Ian Binnington) "Civil War: The Homefront in the South," *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 1, pp. 256-59. Edited by Paul Finkelman. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001).
- "Civil War and Reconstruction," pp. 47-60 in *A Companion to Nineteenth Century America*. Edited by William L. Barney. (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, 2001, paperback 2006).
- "South Carolina" and "South Carolina Democratic Party (PDP)," vol. 2: pp. 692-94 in *Civil Rights in the United States*. Edited by Waldo E. Martin and Patricia Sullivan. (NY: Macmillan, 2000).
- "Bosket Family," pp. 166-68 in vol. 1, *Violence in America: An Encyclopedia*. Edited by Ronald Gottesman. (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1999).
- "Butler, Andrew Pickens," 4:88-90; "Gary, Martin Witherspoon," 8:775-77; "Mays, Benjamin Elijah," 14: 795-97; "Mitchell, Harry Leland," 15: 602-3; "Owsley, Frank Lawrence," 16: 870-72; "Simkins, Francis Butler," 19: 942-44; and "Tillman, Benjamin Ryan," 21: 672-75, in *American National Biography*. Edited by John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, 24 vols. (NY: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Burton, page 11

- “Legislative and Congressional Redistricting in South Carolina,” pp. 290-314 in *Race and Redistricting in the 1990s*. Edited by Bernard Grofman. (NY: Agathon Press, 1998).
- “Race Relations in the Rural South Since 1945,” pp. 28-58 in *The Rural South Since World War II*. Edited by R. Douglas Hurt. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998).
- “Benjamin E. Mays: Born to Rebel,” pp. 21-75 in *Walking Integrity: Benjamin Elijah Mays: Mentor to Generations*. Edited by Lawrence E. Carter, Sr. (Atlanta: Scholars Press of Emory University, 1996; paperback, Mercer University Press, 1998).
- “Edgefield, South Carolina: Home to Dave the Potter,” pp. 38-52 in *I Made This Jar: The Life and Works of the Enslaved African-American Potter, Dave*. Edited by Jill Beute Koverman. (Columbia: McKissick Museum University of South Carolina, 1998).
- “African American Status and Identity in a Postbellum Community: An Analysis of the Manuscript Census Returns,” *Agricultural History* 72:2 (Spring 1998): 213-240.
- “Confederate States of America: Homefront,” pp. 163-64 in *Reader's Guide to American History*. Edited by Peter Parrish. (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997).
- “The ‘New’ South in a Postmodern Academy: A Review Essay,” *Journal of Southern History*, LXII:4 (Nov. 1996):767-786.
- “The Ninety Six Story,” pp. 4-7 in *Historic Ninety Six, South Carolina* in 9/6/96 Special Issue.
- “South Carolina” in *Encyclopedia of African-American Culture and History*, vol 5: 2529-2533. Edited by Jack Salzman, et al. (NY: Macmillan, 1996, rev. ed. and CD-ROM 2000).
- “Farm Protest\Populism,” pp. 265-267, and “Tenancy,” pp. 747-749, in *Encyclopedia of Social History*. Edited by Peter N. Stearns. (NY: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1994).
- NSF investigator and principal author (with Terrence R. Finnegan, Peyton McCrary, and James W. Loewen) “South Carolina” chap. 7, pp. 191-232, 420-432, in *The Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act, 1965-1990*. Edited by Chandler Davidson and Bernard Grofman. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). Winner of the 1995 Richard F. Fenno Prize, Legislative Studies Section, American Political Science Association.
- “Society,” 4:1483-1493, “Family Life,” 2:562-565, “Cotton” (with Patricia Bonnin), 1:416-420, and “Tobacco” (with Henry Kamerling), 4:1597-1599, in *Encyclopedia of the Confederacy*. Edited by Richard N. Current. (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1993).
- “Large Questions in Small Places: Why Study Mount Pleasant's Institutions,” pp. 37-48, in *Mount Pleasant's Institutions: Proceedings of the Third Forum of the History of Mount Pleasant*. Edited by Amy Thompson McCandless. (Mount Pleasant, September 1993).
- “Sectional Conflict, Civil War, and Reconstruction,” pp. 131-157, in *Encyclopedia of American Social History*, vol. 1. Edited by Mary Kupiec Cayton, Elliott J. Gorn, and Peter W. Williams. (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993; with revisions on CD-ROM 1998).
- “The Burden of Southern Historiography: W J. Cash and the Old South,” pp. 59-79, in *The Mind of the South Fifty Years Later*. Edited by Charles W. Eagles. (Oxford: University Press of Mississippi, 1992).
- “‘The Black Squint of the Law’: Racism in South Carolina,” pp. 161-185, in *The Meaning of South Carolina History: Essays in Honor of George C. Rogers, Jr.* Edited by David R. Chesnutt and Clyde N. Wilson. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991).
- “Howard Kester,” pp. 401-03 (414-15 2nd rev); “Edward Britt McKinney,” pp. 462-63 (489-90 rev. 2nd); “Henry Leland Mitchell,” pp. 475-76 (502 rev. 2nd); Modjeska Monteith Simkins, pp. 700-01 (747-48 rev. 2nd) in *The Encyclopedia of the American Left*. Edited by Mari Jo Buhle, Paul Buhle, and Dan Georgakas. (NY: Garland Publishing, 1990, University of Illinois Press paperback, 1992 [rev. 2nd ed. Oxford University Press, 1998]).
- “Whence Cometh Rural Black Reconstruction Leadership: Edgefield County, South Carolina,” *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association, 1988-1989*. Aiken: The

Burton, page 12

- South Carolina Historical Association, 1989, pp 27-38. Reprinted as “Edgefield Reconstruction Political Black Leaders, pp. 161- 172, in Michael Bonner and Fritz Hamer (eds.) *South Carolina in the Civil War and Reconstruction Eras: Essays from the Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016).
- “Fatherhood,” pp. 1106-07; “Motherhood,” pp. 1111-13; “Family, Modernization of,” pp. 1540-41 in *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*. Edited by Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989; paperback 1991; rev. ed.) “Motherhood” and “Fatherhood” in *Myth, Manners, and Memory* vol 4 (2007) and also in *Gender* vol. 13 (2009).
- “Hiring Out,” pp. 320-26, in the *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery*. Edited by Randall M. Miller and John David Smith. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1988 [rev. 2nd. ed. 1997]).
- “In My Father's House Are Many Leaders: Can the Extreme Be Typical?” *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association, 1987*. (Aiken: The South Carolina Historical Association, 1988), pp 23-32.
- “The Development of the Tenant Farm System in the Postbellum South,” *Tar Hill Junior Historian* 27, #1 (Fall 1987): 16-18.
- “The Effects of the Civil War and Reconstruction on the Coming of Age of Southern Males, Edgefield County, South Carolina,” pp. 204-223 in *The Web of Southern Relations: Women, Family and Education*. Edited by Walter J. Fraser, Jr., R. Frank Saunders, Jr., and Jon L. Wakelyn. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985, paperback ed. 1987).
- “Anatomy of an Antebellum Rural Free Black Community: Social Structure and Social Interaction in Edgefield District, South Carolina,” *Southern Studies: Interdisciplinary Journal of the South* 21 (Fall 1982): 294-325. Special editor, Ira Berlin.
- “The Rise and Fall of Afro-American Town Life: Town and Country in Reconstruction Edgefield County, South Carolina,” pp. 152-92 in *Toward a New South? Studies in Post-Civil War Southern Communities*, Edited by Orville Vernon Burton and Robert C. McMath, Jr. (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1982). .
- “The Development of Tenantry and the Post-Bellum Afro-American Social Structure in Edgefield County, South Carolina.” In *Presentations Paysannes, Dimes, Rente fonciere et Mouvement de la Production Agricole a l'epoque Preindustrielle: Actes du Colloque preparatoire* (30 juin-let et 2 juillet 1977) au VIIe Congres international d'Histoire economique Section A3. Edimbourg 13-19 aout 1978, Vol. 2: 762-78. Edited by E. LeRoy Ladurie and J. Goy. Paris: Editions De L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes En Sciences Sociales, 1982. Reprinted pp.19-35 in *From Slavery to Sharecropping: White Land and Black Labor in the Rural South, 1865-1900*, vol. 3 of *African American Life in the Post-Emancipation South 1861-1900*. Edited by Donald G. Nieman. (Hamden, CT: Garland Publishing, 1994).
- “Race and Reconstruction: Edgefield County, South Carolina,” *Journal of Social History* 12 (Fall 1978): 31-56. Referenced and summarized in *Sociological Abstracts* 12, #1 (April 1978): 45. Reprinted in *The Southern Common People: Studies in Nineteenth Century Social History*. Edited by Edward Magdol and Jon L. Wakelyn, pp. 221-37. (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1980). Reprinted pp. 87-112 in *The Politics of Freedom: African Americans and the Political Process During Reconstruction*, vol. 5 of *African American Life in the Post-Emancipation South 1861-1900*. Edited by Donald G. Nieman. (Hamden, CT: Garland Publishing, 1994).
- “The Antebellum Free Black Community: Edgefield's Rehearsal for Reconstruction,” *The Furman Review* 5 (Spring 1974): 18-26.

Burton, page 13

In press:

“Forum: How Covid-19 Has Changed My Writing,” *Fides et Historia* 53:2 (Summer/Fall 2021): 54-73 (58-60).

“American Slavery Historiography,” *The Journal of Modern Slavery* (expected 2022)

“The Origins of the 14th Amendment” in *Reconstructing the Constitution, Remaking Citizenship, and Reconsidering a Presidential Succession* for the U.S. Capitol Historical Society (Athens: Ohio University Press, expected 2022).

“Lincoln and the South,” in *Blackwell Companion to Abraham Lincoln*. Edited by Michael Green.

Papers Started and Committed, but not yet completed or submitted:

“Lincoln and His Faith,” *Fides et Historia*.

“Datamining for the South: A Digital History Case Study.” Commissioned by Editor of the *American Historical Review*, expected 2023.

“Picturing Lincoln in the 1850s,” *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association*.

“Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address in Context of the Emancipation Proclamation and 13th and 14th Amendment,” *Lincoln Lore*.

“Reconsidering Reconstruction,” Peter Parish keynote Lecture, British American Nineteenth Century Historians: BrANCH *American Nineteenth Century History*.

Selected Review Essays:

“A Nation without Borders: The United States and its World in An Age of Civil Wars, 1830-1910,” by Steven Hahn (NY: Viking Press, 2016) In the Penguin History of the United States, Eric Foner, Series Editor, H-South Reviews, 2019.

Review essay of Edward L. Ayers, *The Thin Light of Freedom: The Civil War and Emancipation in the Heart of America*, in *The Journal of the Civil War Era*, Vol 9, no. 3, September 2019, pp. 493-496.

“A Monumental Labor,” Review Essay of Walter Edgar’s *South Carolina: A History*,” *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 100:3 (July 1999): 262-268.

Review essay of Elizabeth H. Pleck, *Black Migration and Poverty: Boston, 1865-1900*, in *Social Science History*, vol. 5 (Fall 1981): 483-88.

“Economics as Postbellum Southern History.” A Review Essay of *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War* by Gavin Wright. (NY: Basic Books, 1986) in *Reviews in American History* 16:2 (June 1988): 233-40.

“Reconstruction,” review essay of Eric Foner’s *Reconstruction* in *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 91:3 (July 1990): 217-220.

Articles on Digital History, Statistics, Computing, and Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SoTL):

(with Simon Appleford) “Cyberinfrastructure for the Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences,” in *ECAR (Educause Center for Applied Research) Bulletin* 9: 1 (January 13, 2009): 2-11.

(with James Onderdonk and Simon Appleford) “History: The Role of Technology in the Democratization of Learning,” pp. 197-205 in *Ubiquitous Learning*. Edited by Bill Cope and Mary Kalantzis. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

“Teaching Race and Citizenship,” pp. 229-35 in *America on the World Stage: A Global Approach to U.S. History*. Edited by Ted Dickinson and Gary Reichard. Published for the Organization of American Historians by University of Illinois Press, 2008.

(with Simon Appleford) “Digital History: Using New Technologies to Enhance Teaching and Research,” Web Site Reviews in *The Journal of American History* 99 (March 2008): 1329-31.

Burton, page 14

- (With Kevin Franklin, Simon Appleford, Alex Yahja, Santiago Núñez-Corrales), *TeraGrid-II: a vision toward the 21st century integrated knowledge infrastructure*. (2008) 10.13140/2.1.4283.9849. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/271966013_TeraGrid-II_a_vision_toward_the_21st_century_integrated_knowledge_infrastructure?channel=doi&linkId=54d7e4470cf2464758189594&showFulltext=true
- (with James Onderdonk and Simon Appleford) “A Question of Centers: One Approach to Establishing a Cyberinfrastructure for the Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences,” *Cyberinfrastructure Technology Watch Quarterly* 3:2 (May 2007) –*CTWatch*, <http://www.ctwarch.org>.
- Chapter 3, U.S. History Survey Syllabus (annotated), Teaching Philosophy, and examples, pp. 94-107 in *AP US History Teacher’s Guide*. Edited by Nancy Schick and Warren Hierl (with Marc Singer, Assessment Specialist). (Princeton: College Board Advanced Placement of the Educational Testing Service, 2007). Also available at (http://apcentral.collegeboard.com/apc/public/courses/teachers_corner/3501.html).
- “American Digital History,” *Social Science Computer Review* 23: 2 (Summer 2005): 206-220, reprinted in “Essays on History and New Media,” Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media, at <http://chnm.gmu.edu/essays-on-his-new-media/essays/?essayid=30>. published in a Turkish translation, “AMERİKAN DİJİTAL TARİHİ,” *Tuhed* (Turkish History Educational Journal) *Year 2018, Volume 7, Issue 2*, Pages 697 – 719 (<http://dergipark.gov.tr/tuhed/issue/39129/448606>).
- “Creating a Sense of Community in the Classroom,” pp. 131-35 in *The Art of College Teaching: 28 Takes*. Edited by Marilyn Kallet and April Morgan. (Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 2005).
- (with Ian Binnington and David Herr) “What Difference Do Computers Make? History, Historians, and Computer-Mediated Learning Environments,” *History Computer Review* 19 (Spring 2003): 98-103.
- (with Ian Binnington and David Herr) “Computer Mediated Learning Environments: How Useful Are They?” *AHR Perspectives: Newsmagazine of the American Historical Association* 41:1 (January 2003): 14, 22 (More detailed Carnegie Report as “Historians Face the E-Future: Findings from the Carnegie Scholar Survey on Computer Mediated Learning Environments,” at AHA Website www.theaha.org/perspectives/issues/2003/0301/0301not3.cfm).
- (with Terence Finnegan and Beatrice Burton) “The Census Workbench: A Distributed Computing U.S. Census Database Linkage System,” in *Wayfarer: Charting Advances in Social Science and Humanities Computing*. Edited by Orville Vernon Burton, David Herr, and Terence R. Finnegan. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).
- (with David Herr and Beatrice Burton) “RiverWeb: History and Culture of the Mississippi River Basin American Bottom,” in *Wayfarer: Charting Advances in Social Science and Humanities Computing*. Edited by Orville Vernon Burton, David Herr, and Terence R. Finnegan. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).
- “Interviews with Exemplary Teachers: Orville Vernon Burton,” *The History Teacher* 35 (February 2002): 237-251.
- “A Special Kind of Community,” *Furman Magazine* 44, no. 1 (Spring 2001), 16-19.
- “Why Care About Teaching? An interview with an Accomplished Scholar and National Teaching Award Winner,” *The Real Issue* (January/February 2000): 2-5.
- “The Use of Historical and Statistical Data in Voting Rights Cases and Redistricting: Intent and Totality of Circumstances Since the Shaw Cases,” “Understanding Ecological Regression Techniques for Determining Racial Bloc Voting: An Emphasis on Multiple Ecological Regression,” and “Report on South Carolina Legislative Delegation System for *Vander Linden v. South Carolina*, Civ. Non. 2-91-3635-1, December 1995,” in *Conference*

Burton, page 15

Workbook. Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law Voting Rights Project, American University Washington College of Law, Voting Rights Conference, November 19-20, 1999, Washington D.C.

- "Presenting Expert Testimony in Voting Rights Cases" and "Understanding Ecological Regression Techniques for Determining Racial Bloc Voting," in *Conference Proceedings*. CLE/NAACP Annual Meeting, Indianapolis, IN, 1993.
- (with James W. Loewen, Terence Finnegan, Robert Brischetto) "It Ain't Broke, So Don't Fix It: The Legal and Factual Importance of Recent Attacks on Methods Used in Vote Dilution Litigation," lead article in *The University of San Francisco Law Review* 27:4 (Summer 1993): 737-780.
- "Teaching Historians with Databases," *History Microcomputer Review* 9:1 (Spring 1993): 7, 9-17.
- (with Terence Finnegan), "Two Societies at War, 1861-1865," pp. 273-90 in *Documents Collection America's History*, vol. 1. Edited by Orville Vernon Burton, et al., to accompany James Henretta, et al., *America's History*, 2nd ed. (NY: Worth Publishers, 1993).
- "Populism," pp. E7-E11, in *Instructor's Resource Manual America's History*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 to accompany James Henretta, et al., *America's History* (NY: Worth Publishing, 1993).
- "Quantitative Methods for Historians: A Review Essay," *Historical Methods* 25:4 (Fall 1992): 181-88.
- "Computers, History, and Historians: Historians and Converging Cultures?" *History Microcomputer Review* 7:2 (Fall 1991): 11-23.
- (with Terence Finnegan) "Historians, Supercomputers, and the U.S. Manuscript Census," in *Proceedings of the Advanced Computing for the Social Sciences Conference*. Edited by Bruce Tonn and Robert Hammond. Washington, D.C.: GPO (U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census), 1990. Revised edition published in *Social Science Computer Review* 9:1 (Spring 1991), 1-12.
- (with Terence Finnegan) "Developing Computer Assisted Instructional (CAI) Materials in the American History Surveys," *The History Teacher* 24:1 (Nov. 1990): 1-12.
- (with Terence Finnegan) "Teaching Historians to Use Technology: Databases and Computers," *International Journal of Social Education* 5:1 (Spring 1990): 23-35.
- "Complementary Processing: A Supercomputer/Personal Computer U.S. Census Database Project" in *Supercomputing 88*, vol. 2 *Science and Applications*. Edited by Joanne L. Martin and Stephen Lundstrom. Washington, D.C.: IEEE Computer Society Press, 1990, pp. 167-177.
- "History's Electric Future" in *OAH* (Organization of American Historians) *Newsletter* 17: #4 (November 1989): 12-13.
- "New Tools for 'New' History: Computers and the Teaching of Quantitative Historical Methods" in *Proceedings of the 1988 IBM Academic Information Systems University AEP Conference, "Tools for Learning,"* Dallas/Ft. Worth, Texas, June 1988. Edited by Frederick D. Dwyer. Abstract in *Agenda*, pp. 73-74. An expanded and significantly different version with Terence Finnegan as coauthor appears in *History Microcomputer Review* 5:1 (Spring 1989): 3, 13-18.
- (with Robert Blomeyer, Atsushi Fukada, and Steven J. White) "Historical Research Techniques: Teaching with Database Exercises on the Microcomputer," *Social Science History* 11:4 (Winter 1987): 433-448.
- The United States in the Twentieth Century* (History 262). Champaign: University of Illinois Guided Individual Study, Continuing Education and Public Service, 1986.
- "The South in American History" in *American History: Survey and Chronological Courses, Selected Reading Lists and Course Outlines from American Colleges and Universities*,

Burton, page 16

Edited by Warren Susman and John Chambers, vol. 1: 121-27. (NY: Marcus Wiener Publishing, Inc., 1983, rev. 2nd ed. 1987, rev. 3rd ed. 1991).

“Using the Computer and the Federal Manuscript Census Returns to Teach an Interdisciplinary American Social History Course,” *The History Teacher* 12 (November 1979): 71-88. Reprinted with a few changes in *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly* 33 (Winter 1980-81): 21-37.

In Press:

(with Simon Appleford) “Digital History Memories” *Southern Quarterly: A Journal of Arts and Letters in the South*, 58: 1-2 (Fall 2020/Winter 2021).

Collaborative Research with Dermatologists--Medical doctors and Computer Scientists

Published Articles:

With Urso, B, Updyke KM, Domozych R, Solomon JA, Brooks I, Dellavalle RP, MD, PhD. Acne Treatment: Analysis of Acne-Related Social Media Posts and the Impact on Patient Care." 2018 *Cutis* **102**(1): 41-43.

With Updyke KM, Urso B, Ali H, Brooks I, Dellavalle RP, Solomon JA.” “Following Autoimmune Diseases Through Patient Interactive Diaries: Continuous Quality Improvement.” *Practical Dermatology* 2017; 14 (12) 48-54.

Publication Abstracts:

Su A, Jueng J, Dupuis L, Brooks I, Sinha R, Maner B, Dellavalle R, Burton V, Solomon JA. Artificial intelligence (AI) comparison of social media-based patient-reported outcomes of PD-1, BRAF, and CTLA-4 inhibitors for melanoma treatment. *Journal of Clinical Oncology*. 2021;39(15_suppl). doi:10.1200/jco.2021.39.15_suppl.e21572.

Jueng J, Dupuis L, Su A, Kunadia A, Dellavalle R, Brooks I, Sinha R, Maner B, Siddiqui F, Burton V, Seyffert J, Solomon JA. Using Artificial Intelligence to Understand Patient Perspectives Towards Treatment of Dermatologic Diseases. *Journal of Investigative Dermatology*: July 2020 Ed. Abstract

Su A, Dupuis L, Jueng J, Kunadia A, Brooks I, Sinha R, Siddiqui F, Maner B, Harding T, Burton V, Dellavalle R, Seyffert J, Solomon J A. Use of Artificial Intelligence for Analyzing Emotions vs. Patient Global Impression of Change of Melanoma Treatments. *Journal of Clinical Oncology*. 38: 2020 (suppl; abstr e24177).

Jueng J, Dupuis L, Su A, Kunadia A, Dellavalle R, Brooks I, Sinha R, Maner B, Siddiqui F, Burton V, Seyffert J, Solomon JA. Using Artificial Intelligence to Understand Patient Perspectives Towards Treatment of Dermatologic Diseases. Publication, 2020 Society of Investigative Dermatology Annual Meeting Abstract Booklet, Scottsdale, AZ, March 13, 2020

With Urso B, Updyke KM, Domozych R, Solomon JA, Brooks I, Dellavalle R. Acne treatment utilization among patients on social media platforms (abstract). *J Invest Dermatol.*;137(5):s66, 2017

Updyke KM, Urso B, Solomon JA, Brooks I, Burton V, Dellavalle RP. Identifying the most influential social media networks utilized by different populations of patients with autoimmune diseases (abstract). *J Invest Dermatol.*;137(5):s13, 2017

With Updyke KM, Urso B, Solomon JA, Brooks I, Dellavalle RP. An overview of social media posts related to psoriasis patients’ perspectives towards Humira (abstract). *J Invest Dermatol.*;137(5):s13, 2017]

Presentation Papers:

Meisenheimer J, Su A, Maner B, Dupuis L, Jueng J, Kunadia A, Brooks I, Sinha R, Siddiqui F, Dellavalle R, Burton V, Seyffert J, Solomon JA. Using Social Media to Understand the Patient Perspective and the Emotional Impact of Dermatologic Conditions. Presented at PRISM Virtual Health Symposium 2020, sponsored by University California San Francisco, 3-4 Dec 2020

Su A, Maner B, Dupuis L, Jueng J, Kunadia A, Brooks I, Sinha R, Siddiqui F, Dellavalle R, Burton V, Seyffert J, Solomon JA. Capturing Patient-Centered Perspectives via Social Media Data Sentiment Mining of Acne, Alopecia Areata, and Melanoma. Poster presentation, 2020 International Dermatology Outcome Measures Conference, Washington, DC, October 23-24, 2020.

Presentations, Posters:

Dupuis L, Jueng J, Su A, Kunadia A, Siddiqui F, Harding TP, Brooks I, Solomon JA, Burton V, Dellavalle R, Seyffert J. Comparing Patient Perspectives of Melanoma to Non-Oncologic Dermatological Disease (Non- Oncologic) via Social Media Data Mining. Poster presentation The Autoimmunity Conference, Athens, Greece, May 28, 2021.

Kunadia A, Brooks I, Solomon JA, Burton V, Dellavalle R, Seyffert J, Harding TP. Utilization of Patient Interactive Diaries to Establish a Database of Patient Reported Outcomes Generating a Cycle of Continuous Quality Improvement. Poster presentation The Autoimmunity Conference, Athens, Greece, May, 28 2021.

Jueng J, Maner B, Dupuis L, Su A, Kunadia A, Dellavalle R, Brooks I, Sinha R, Siddiqui F, Burton V, Seyffert J, Solomon JA. Discerning Patient Perspectives and Attitudes Towards Treatment of Dermatological Diseases Using Artificial Intelligence. Poster presentation, 2020 International Dermatology Outcome Measures Conference, Washington, DC, October 23-24, 2020.

Kunadia A, Brooks I, Solomon JA, Burton V, Dellavalle R, Seyffert J, Harding TP. Combining Social Media Mining and Patient Interactive Diaries for Population-Based Care. E-Poster Exhibit, American Academy of Dermatology Virtual Meeting Experience event, Denver, CO, June 13, 2020.

Dupuis L, Su A, Jueng J, Kunadia A, Dellavalle R, Brooks I, Sinha R, Maner B, Siddiqui F, Burton V, Seyffert J, Solomon J A. Capturing Patient Perspectives: Natural Language Processing of Social Media to Evaluate Patient Global Impression of Change in Dermatological Treatments. Poster presentation, Cochrane Skin Conference, Denver, CO, March 19, 2020.

Kunadia A, Haresh S, Shih S, Brooks I, Solomon JA, Burton V, and Dellavalle, R. Positive Sentiment for Biologic Therapies among Psoriasis Patients on Social Media: An Analysis of 4.8 million Social Media Posts from 2008-2019. ePoster Presentation. 24th World Congress of Dermatology 2019, Milan, Italy 10-15 June 2019

With Updyke KM, Urso B, Solomon JA, Brooks I, Dellavalle RP. "Identifying the most influential social media networks utilized by different populations of patients with autoimmune diseases." Oral poster presentation, 2017 Society for Investigative Dermatology Annual Meeting, Portland, OR. April 2017

With Updyke KM, Urso B, Solomon JA, Brooks I, Dellavalle RP. "An overview of social media posts related to psoriasis patients' perspectives towards Humira." Oral poster presentation, 2017 Society for Investigative Dermatology Annual Meeting, Portland, OR. April 2017

With Urso B, Updyke KM, Domozych R, Solomon JA, Brooks I, Dellavalle RP. "Acne treatment utilization among patients on social media platforms." Oral poster presentation, 2017 Society for Investigative Dermatology Annual Meeting, Portland, OR. April 2017

Interviews, Reports, and Other Publications:

- “The GA election and the Voting Rights Act,” for the Clemson Humanities Hub and it was posted on June 17, 2020 at <https://blogs.clemson.edu/humanitieshub/2020/06/17/the-ga-election-and-the-voting-rights-act/?fbclid=IwAR2Gx4S5JIJrK784YnwCk5ezMkdQVMTLX7av9dQiwWz2nytvVbdkKaWzeLU>
- “A Brief Conversation with James M. McPherson,” in *The Struggle for Equality: Essays on Sectional Conflict, the Civil War, and the Long Reconstruction in Honor of James M. McPherson*. Edited by Burton et al., pp. 288-92 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011).
- “We must learn not to hide from our racist past,” *Greenville News* December 27, 2014.
- “Dr. Lacy K. Ford Jr.,” *Caroliniana Columns: University of South Caroliniana Society Newsletter*, Issue 35 (Spring, 2014), pp. 3-4.
- “A Few Words about Allen Stokes as He Retires as Director of the South Caroliniana Library,” *Caroliniana Columns: University of South Caroliniana Society Newsletter*, Spring 2013, pp. 1, 4-5.
- “UI Earns Right to be Mr. Lincoln’s University: Excerpted from remarks by Prof. Vernon Burton, April 1, 2010 keynote address at the UI College of Law,” *The News Gazette* (Champaign, Illinois) May 23, 2010, pp. C-1 and C-4.
- “Learning from the Bicentennial: Lincoln’s Legacy Gives Americans Something for which to Strive,” *The News Gazette* (Champaign, Illinois) February 12, 2010, pp. C-1 and C-4.
- “Life of Lincoln Resonates Today,” *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Opinion, Dec. 9, 2009, A19.
- “Colbert History,” *Pan-African Studies*, Fall 2009, p. 3.
- “Remarks by Professor Orville Vernon Burton at the October 10, 2009 Celebration of Abraham Lincoln’s September 30, 1959 Speech,” Delivered at the Milwaukee War Memorial Center at the Invitation of the Wisconsin Lincoln Bicentennial Commission, Appendix pages 166-177 in *Final Report and Appendix of the Wisconsin Lincoln Bicentennial Commission*, To: The Governor of the State of Wisconsin, Jim Doyle, Responsive to: Executive Order #245, Date: February 12, 2010.
- “Max Bachmann’s Bust of Abraham Lincoln, Circa 1915,” pp. 88-89 in *Lincoln in Illinois*, Ron Schramm, Photographer and Richard E. Hart, Compiler and Editor (Springfield: published by the Abraham Lincoln Association, 2009).
- “Liberty,” in the Fetzer Institute’s *Booklet of Notable Lincoln Quotations*, 2009.
- “Is There Anything Left to Be Said about Abraham Lincoln?” *Historically Speaking* 9:7 (September/October 2008): 6-8.
- “An Interview with Vernon Burton” *Lincoln Lore*, no. 1894 (Fall 2008), pp. 18-24.
- “Lincoln’s Generation also Faced Crisis Involving Religion and Terrorism,” in *History Network Newsletter*, February 25, 2008.
- “Abraham Lincoln, Southern Conservative: An Interview with Orville Vernon Burton” (2 Parts), posted by Allen Barra, October 2, 2007.
http://www.americanheritage.com/blog/200710_2_1259.shtml and
http://www.americanheritage.com/blog/200710_2_1260.shtml
- Interview by Roy A. Rosenzweig, 2001, “Secrets of Great History Teachers,” *History Matters*, at <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/browse/secrets/>.
- “Keeping Up With the e-joneses: Information Technology and the Teaching of History,” *Proceedings for First Annual Charleston Connections: Innovations in Higher Education Conference. Learning from Each Other: The Citadel, The College of Charleston, The*

Burton, page 19

- Medical University of South Carolina, Charleston Southern University and Trident Technical College*. June 1 and 2, 2001, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina, p. 63.
- (with Terence Finnegan and Barbara Mihalas) "Developing a Distributed Computing U.S. Census Database Linkage System," Technical Report 027 (December 1994). National Center for Supercomputing Applications, UIUC.
- "On the Study of Race and Politics," *Clio: Newsletter of Politics & History, An Organized Section of the American Political Science Association* 3:1 (Fall & Winter, 1992/1993): 6.
- "Benjamin Mays of Greenwood County: Schoolmaster of the Civil Rights Movement," *South Carolina Historical Society News Service*, published in various newspapers, 1990.
- "Quantitative Historical U.S. Census Data Base" in *Science: The State of Knowing*. National Center for Supercomputing Applications, Annual Report to the National Science Foundation 1987, p. 29.
- "Computer-Assisted Instructional Database Programs for History Curricula" *Project EXCEL*. 1986-87 Annual Report. Office of the Chancellor, UI at Urbana-Champaign, pp. 41-42.
- "Postmodern Academy," *The Octopus*, January 24, 1997, p. 6.
- (with David Herr and Ian Binnington) "Providing Lessons in Mississippi River Basin Culture and History: riverweb.ncsa.uiuc.edu," in *Touch the Future: EOT-PACI*, 1997, p. 43.
- "The Coming of Age of Southern Males During Reconstruction: Edgefield County, South Carolina," Working Papers in Population Studies, School of Social Sciences, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1984.
- In Memorial – Essays for Charles Joyner, F. Sheldon Hackney, Bertram Wyatt-Brown in the American Historical Association (AHA) *Perspectives*; Thomas Krueger and Philip Paladin in Organization of American Historians *OAH Newsletter*, and F. Sheldon Hackney JSH LXXXI:2 (May 2015), pp. 350-52, and Ernest L. "Whitey" Lander, in *Journal of Southern History*.
- "Creating a Major Research Archive on Southern History," *Caralogue: The Journal of the South Carolina Historical Society*, June, 2015.
- A number of brief essays about the Clemson CyberInstitute, for example, "Clemson's CyberInstitute encourages Collaboration," <http://features.clemson.edu/inside-clemson/inside-news/clemson%E2%80%99s-cyberinstitute-encourages-collaboration/>
- In addition, I have written a number of reports as expert witness for minority plaintiffs in voting rights and discrimination cases.

Digital Publications and Projects:

- Editor in Chief, *The Long Civil War: A Digital Research and Teaching Resource*, Alexander Street Publishers (Now Proquest) , 2013-
- Editor in Chief, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery: A Transnational Archive*. The Largest Digital Archive on the History of Slavery. Farmington Hills, MI: Thompson-Gale, 2007--14.
- <http://www.galetrials.com/default.aspx?TrialID=16394;ContactID=15613>. Advisory Board: Ira Berlin, Laurent Dubois, James O. Horton, Charles Joyner, Wilma King, Dan Littlefield, Cassandra Pybus, John Thornton, Chris Waldrep.
- Part I: Debates Over Slavery and Abolition, 2009
- Part II: Slave Trade in the Atlantic World, 2011
- Part III: Institution of Slavery, 2012
- Part IV: Age of Emancipation, 2014
- Webmaster for the Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission Website, 2007-10, now maintained by the ALB Foundation. <http://www.lincolnbicentennial.gov/>
- "Does Southern Exceptionalism Exist," Inside Clemson, May 14, 2014
- <http://newsstand.clemson.edu/does-southern-exceptionalism-exist/>

Burton, page 20

- Lincoln Remembered: Nine essays – “Lincoln and the Founding of Democracy’s Colleges,” “Lincoln: America’s “First and Only Choice,” “Picturing Lincoln,” “Putting His Politics on Paper,” “Belief in the Rule of Law,” “Taking a Stand Against Slavery,” “The Movement Toward Civil Rights,” “Political Brilliance on the Path to the Emancipation Proclamation,” “Lincoln’s Last Speech,” commemorating the bicentennial of Lincoln’s birth, February 2009 to February 2010. A monthly blog for the Illinois LAS On-line Newsletter; available at <http://www.las.illinois.edu/news/lincoln/>.
- Writing the South in Fact, Fiction and Poetry: A Conference Honoring Charles Joyner. Thursday and Friday Sessions. DVD produced of Conference I organized at Coastal Carolina University, Conway, SC, Feb. 17-19, 2011. Produced CD Aug. 2011.
- Editor, “Slavery in America in Sources in U.S. History Online.” Farmington Hills, MI: Thompson Gale, 2007.
- “The Mississippi River in American History,” for *Mark Twain’s Mississippi*, including essays with Simon Appleford and Troy Smith, on “Economic Development, 1851–1900,” “Politics, 1851–1900,” “African Americans in the Mississippi River Valley, 1851–1900,” “Native Americans in the Mississippi River Valley, 1851–1900,” “Religion and Culture, 1851–1900,” and “Women in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1851–1900.” Edited by Drew E. VandeCreek, Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMSL) Project (2007). Online Resource: <http://dig.lib.niu.edu/twain/>.
- RiverWeb: An interdisciplinary, multimedia, collaborative exploration of the Mississippi River’s interaction with people over time (now redone as Cultural Explorer). CD-ROM and Website <http://riverweb.ncsa.uiuc.edu/>.
- The Illinois RiverBottom Explorer (IBEX). Part of the East Saint Louis Action Research Project (ESLARP) where Faculty and East St. Louis neighborhood groups and local churches work on tangible and visible projects that address the immediate and long-term needs of some of the city’s poorest communities. (More is available at <http://www.eslarp.uiuc.edu/>). IBEX serves as a resource for historical documents, primary and secondary sources, and oral history interviews. Website: <http://www.eslarp.uiuc.edu/ibex/archive/default.htm>.
- Text96. A collection of primary source electronic texts for teaching American History. Website <http://www.history.uiuc.edu/uitext96/uitexttoc.html>.
- “Database Exercises and Quantitative Techniques: Exercise I: Colonial America.” Madison, WI: Wiscware, 1987. (for IBM and compatible computers, 1 disk, Instructional Workbook, and Teacher’s Instructional Sheet).
- “Lessons in the History of the United States.” Wentworth, NH: COMPress, 1987 (1989 with QUEUE, Fairfield, CT). For IBM color monitor; originally 50 computer exercise modules on 25 computer disks + instructor’s manual. An interactive electronic textbook of U.S. history.
- Automated linkage and statistical systems Unix Matchmaker, AutoLoad, RuleMatch, DisplayMatch, ViewCreate (Urbana: UI NCSA, 2000). Website <http://www.granger.uiuc.edu/aitg/maps/1870/htm/default.htm>
- "Illinois Windows Dataentry System for U.S. Census." University of Illinois, 1988 (for IBM PS2 and compatible computers with Windows applications, 1 disk, Instructional Sheet)
- The Age of Lincoln* website at <https://ageoflincoln.app.clemson.edu>.
- Current Digital Projects include Social Media Learning Center Studies of Elections, Redistricting, Minorities, and Discussions of the American South, Race, and the Civil War. Also text and data analytics (mining) – developing techniques using the HathiTrust, Internet Archive II Digital Book Collection, and Library of Congress Chronicling America U.S. newspaper archive to study “DNA” of writings of Abraham Lincoln,

Burton, page 21

changing views of American South over time, interpretations of Civil War and development of “Lost Cause Mythology.”

In addition, I continue to use Edgefield County, South Carolina to investigate, “large questions in small places.” I have accumulated a quantitative database that includes every person and farm recorded in the U.S. manuscript census returns linked from 1850 to 1880 for old Edgefield District, South Carolina (a region now comprising five different counties). With this unique database I (and my students) can study, test, and suggest themes in American History with details and specificity related to the lives of ordinary folks.

Selected Grants:

National Science Foundation (NSF), GK-12: Ed Grid Graduate Teaching Fellows Program, 2003-09 (\$4,990,015)

NSF, EAGER: Prototype Tool for Visualizing Online Polarization (co-Pi), 2012-14 (\$262,654)

NSF CISE/IRIS Division Award, Grant No. ASC 89-02829, Automated Record Linkage, 1991

NSF Grant No. CDA-92-11139, “Historical U.S. Census Database with High Performance Computing,” 1992

NSF, EPIC Grant, 2006-08 (\$20,000)

NSF Catalyst Grant for Social Science Learning Center (with MATRIX, Michigan State University), 2006-09 (\$175K)

NSF, Senior Investigator on the MRI award, Award #1228312 MRI: Acquisition of High Performance Computing Instrument for Collaborative Data-Enabled Science (\$1,009,160) See:

http://nsf.gov/awardsearch/showAward?AWD_ID=1228312&HistoricalAwards=false

Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Foundation, Lincoln’s “Unfinished Work”: Conference on The South and Race,” 2012-2018 (\$27,000)

National Parks Service, “*Administrative Histories of Fort Sumter National Monument and Charles Pinckney National Historic Site*,” \$110,000.00

Clemson University, “Tracking Themes Across Time and Space,” 2012 (\$10,000)

National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) Challenge Grant for Institute for Computing in Humanities, Arts, and Social Science, 2008-11 (\$750,000, 3 mil. Total with challenge matches)

NEH Educational Technologies Grant, ED-20758, 1997-99

NEH Humanities High Performance Computing Advance Research and Technology (HpC): Coordinating High Performance Computing Institutes and the Digital, 2008-09 (\$249,997). To support a total of nine institutes and one joint conference for humanities scholars, to be hosted by three different high-performance computer centers: the National Center for Supercomputing Applications, the Pittsburgh Supercomputing Center, and the San Diego Supercomputer Center.

NEH, NSF, and the Joint Information Systems Committee, “Digging Into Image Data to Answer Authorship Related Questions,” 2009-11 (\$100,000).

(with Max Edelson) NEH, The Cartography of American Colonization Database Project, To support the development of a database of 1000 historical maps illustrating the trajectory of colonization in the Americas. The database will provide a searchable introduction to the mapping of the western hemisphere in the era of European expansion, ca. 1500-1800. 2008-09 (\$24,997)

NEH Conference Grant (with R. C. McMath, Jr., History and Social Sciences, Georgia Institute of Technology), 1978

NEH Summer Research Fellowship, 1983

American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) Travel grant, 1977

Burton, page 22

American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) Grant- to Recent Recipients of the Ph.D., 1977
 PT3/Technology Across Learning Environments for New Teachers grant, U.S. Department of
 Education, 2002-03, 2003-04
 Academy of Academic Entrepreneurship, 2006-08
 National Archives Record Administration grant for digital records, 2003-05
 IBM Shared University Research Grant, 1994
 IBM Innovations grant, Educational Technologies Board, 1992
 IBM Technology Transfer IBM grant, 1988
 IBM EXCEL II, History Database Teaching Project, 1987
 IBM EXCEL Project, History Database Teaching Project, 1986
 Partnership Illinois Award, 1998 (with Brian Orland, Pennsylvania State University Landscape
 Architecture, East St. Louis Research Project), RiverWeb 2002-03, 2003-04
 East Saint Louis Action Research Program Grant, 2005-06, 06-07, 07-08
 Andrew Carnegie Foundation 3-year Baccalaureate Study Grant, 1976
 Sloan Center for Asynchronous Learning Environment Grant, 1998
 South Carolina Humanities Grant for Lincoln's Unfinished Work, \$7,000, 2018-19
 The Humanities Council (South Carolina) Outright Grant (\$8,000), THC grant #10-1363-1
 (Writing the South in Fact, Fiction, and Poetry), 2011
 South Carolina Humanities Council Conference Grant (with Tricia Glenn), 2005
 South Carolina Humanities Council Conference Grant (with Winfred Moore), 2002-03
 South Carolina Humanities Council Conference Grant (with Bettis Rainsford), 2000-01
 (with Ian Brooks, University of Illinois) "Improving patient outcomes by listening to their social
 media communications," **H**omecare **E**ducation **A**nd **R**esource **T**eam **S**upport
 (**H/E/A/R/T/S**), \$15,000, 2017-19
 Grant for Conference on "Lincoln's Unfinished Work," Thomas Watson Brown Foundation,
 \$17,560, 2017- 18
 Grant for Lincoln's Unfinished Work, The Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Foundation, \$27,000,
 2017-20
 Self Family Foundation, \$6,000 for Lincoln's Unfinished Work, 2018-19.
 The Humanities Council (South Carolina) Outright Grant (\$8,000) for Lincoln's Unfinished
 Work Conference.
 Ford Foundation Grant to bring Minority Students and their Teachers to participate in "Lincoln's
 Unfinished Work" conference and workshop on how to teach the History of race relations
 in South Carolina public schools, \$5,000, 2018...
 NEH Public Humanities Exhibitions: Implementation Grant (with Rhondda Thomas), 2020-23

Selected Grants from University of Illinois

Office of Continuing Education Grant, 2005-06, 06-07
 Chancellor, Provost, and Vice Chancellor Research, RiverWeb Grant, 2004-05 (\$30K)
 Advanced Information Technologies Group Research Award, 1994, 96, 97, 2000
 Applications of Learning Technologies in Higher Education grant for UI--Text96 Project, 1995--
 2000 (co-principal investigator with Richard Jensen of UIC campus)
 Educational Technologies Board Grant for RiverWeb 1998
 Guided Individual Study Grant for RiverWeb, 1997-98
 Program for the Study of Cultural Values and Ethics, Course Development Award, 1993
 Arnold O. Beckman Research Grant Award, UIUC Research Board, 1989, 1992
 Language Laboratory Computer Assisted Instruction Award, 1988
 Research Board Humanities Faculty Research Grant, 1986
 Graduate Research Board, support for various projects, 1976-08

Burton, page 23

Selected Grants from Clemson University

2011/2012 University Research Grant Committee (URGC) Program (\$10,000)

2013-14 CAAH & Library Digital Humanities Grant (\$4000)

2018- Clemson Humanities Hub Short Term Visiting Humanities Fellowship, a grant to help fund the Conference on Lincoln's Unfinished Work (\$5,000)

CAAH Equipment Grant, \$1,500, 2021.

CAAH Faculty Research and Development Grant, \$5,000, 2021-22.

Selected Professional Activities and Service:Officer Congressional Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission Foundation, 2008-2010;
Board of Directors, Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Foundation, interim President, 2010,
vice-chair 2010-17Southern Historical Association, President 2011-12, President Elect, 2011, Vice President Elect,
2010, Executive Council, 2005-08, 09-15; Program Committee 1989, 1998; 2005 (Chair);
Membership Committee, 1986-87, 1991-92; 1995-98; 2002; Committee on Women,
1992-95, Nominating Committee, 1999-2000, Chair H.L. Mitchell Book Award
Committee, 2000-02Agricultural History Society, President 2001-02, Vice President 2000-01, Executive Committee,
1997-2006; Committee to Review and Revise Constitution and By-Laws, 2004-05;
Nominating Committee, 1991-94, chair 1993-94; Committee to Select first Group of
Fellows for Society, 1995; Committee to select new Secretary/Treasurer, 2009-10Organization of American Historians, Included in the Organization of American Historians Race
Relations Expert Guide, 2015-, OAH/ALBC (Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial
Commission) Abraham Lincoln Higher Education Awards Committee, 2007-09; ABC-
CLIO "America: History and Life" Award Committee, 1997-99; Membership
Committee, 1990-94, nominated for executive board 1989.Social Science History Association, Executive Committee 2000-03; Nominating Committee
1990-91; Program Committee 1989, 1993; Community History Network Convener,
1976-79; Rural History Network Convener, 1988-90, 1993-94Social Science Computing Association, Executive Council, 1993-2002; Organizing Committee
Chairperson for Annual Conference, 1993, Conference on Computing for the Social
Sciences (CSS93); program committee 1993-95, 2001

American Historical Association, Nominated for Vice President for Teaching, 2009

Southern Association for Women Historians, Membership Committee, 1996-99

The Society of Civil War Historians, Chair Thomas Watson Brown Book Award for the best
book published on the causes, conduct, and effects, broadly defined, of the Civil
War, 2017-18.

South Carolina Historical Association, Executive Board, 2009-12

H-Net, founding member of H-Net, Treasurer and Executive Committee, 1993-99; Chair,
committee to evaluate multimedia NEH grant; Editor H-South (book review editor 1997-
2000); Editorial Board of H-Rural, H-Slavery, and H-CivWar.

Scholarly Advisory Group, President Lincoln's Cottage at the Soldier's Home, 2012-

Executive Council, The University South Caroliniana Society, 2011-15

University of South Carolina, Search Committee for Director South Caroliniana Library, 2012

Executive Board South Carolina Jubilee Project, 2012-14

Member South Carolina Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission, 2008-2010

Member Champaign County, Illinois, Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission, 2006-10
Council, U.S. Civil War Sesquicentennial Commission, 2009-15

Burton, page 24

Historical Advisory Committee to the “Fort Sumter/Fort Moultrie Trust,” charged with organizing Sesquicentennial Activities in Charleston and South Carolina Lowcountry, 2010-15

The Illinois Humanities Council Scholar, 2004-05

Presented to President’s Information Technology Advisory Commission (PITAC), 9-16-2004

Invited to NEH Digital Humanities Initiative Mini-Conference, March 2006 and Digital Humanities Summit, April 2011, December 2007

Digital Library Federation Scholars’ Advisory Panel, 2004-7

University of Tennessee Knoxville Horizon Project Steering Committee, 2014-

Peer Reviewer, ACH/ALLC/SDH-SEMI Joint Digital Humanities Conferences, 2007-13

E-Docs, (one of 3 founding members) Editorial Board, 1998-2005

Mentor for Southern Regional Council Minority Scholars Program, 1992-96

UIUC Representative to Lincoln Presidential Library Committee: Educational Activities Committee, 2001; Fellowship Committee, 2002

Faculty Associate, Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 2002-03

Evaluator/Referee (one of two for history) for the Pew Foundation Faculty Research Fellowships, 1997-98, 1998-99; 2001 (for graduate students for summer seminar)

Evaluator and Referee for American Council of Learned Societies Grants, 2005-08

National Endowment Humanities, Review Panels: Scholarly Editions Program, 2007-08, for Digital Humanities Grants, 2010, NEH Division of Public Programs Panel, “America’s Historical and Cultural Organizations” (AHCO) grant initiative, 2013; Humanities Connections, 2016

National Science Foundation Review Panel for Knowledge and Distributed Intelligence grants, 1998, 1999

Humanities, Arts, Science, and Technology Advanced Collaboratory (HASTAC), Steering Committee and Planning Committee, 2003-04, Program Committee, 2009, 2010, 2013-14

Advisory Committee, American Studies Program, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. Information Agency, 1989-93

Delegate to the Mexican/American Commission on Cultural Cooperation, Mexico City, June 1990; Chairperson of United States delegation (Co-Chairperson with Mexican counterpart), U.S. Studies Working Group

Advisor for “Crossroads of Clay”: NEH Alkaline Glazed Stoneware Exhibition and Catalog, McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina, 1987-90

Advisory Committee Film Project for Historic Southern Tenant Farmers Union, 1986-90

Consultant, Commercial film, “Roll the Union On” about H.L. Mitchell and the Southern Tenant Farmers Union

Consultant on the Renewal of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, 1981-82, 2004-07, including consultation for an NBC TV Special.

Consultant for Documentary, “Behind the Veil,” 1995-2005

Board of Directors of the Abraham Lincoln Historical Digitization Project, 1997-

Advisory Council for the Lincoln Prize at Gettysburg College, 1997-

Prize Committee for the Technology and History Award, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, 2000-01

International Committee on Historic Black Colleges and Universities, 2001-15

Consultant, Belle Meade and The Hermitage and Vanderbilt University. Presentations of slavery.

Consultant, Morven Park, 2010-12

Consultant, for Matt Burrows, documentary “The Assassination of N.G. Gonzales by James H. Tillman,” 2010-

Burton, page 25

Consultant, for Chris Vallilo musical performance, “This Land is Your Land: Woody Guthrie and the Meaning of America,” 2010-
 Organizing and Founding Committee International Society for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (IS-SOTL), 2003-7. Drafted initial mission statement for Society.
 Furman University Alumni Council Board, 2010-16
 International African American Museum (IAAM) Program Subcommittee (Charleston, SC), 2016-
 IAAM, Content team for an exhibit wall located in the Carolina Gold gallery entitled Built on Slavery, 2018-
 Dr. Benjamin E. Mays Historical Preservation Site Foundation Board, 2015-
 Advisory Board for “History of the American South,” Atlanta History Center, 2021-

Editorial Boards:

Associate Editor for History, *Social Science Computer Review*, 2012- (reappointed 2020-)
 Editorial Board, [International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Research](#), 2015-
 Editorial Board, Digital Humanities Series, University of Illinois Press, 2005-
 Editorial Board, *Change and Continuity*, 1995-
 Editorial Board *Fides et Historia*, 2010-
 Editorial Board *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*, 2009-14
 Editorial Board, *History Computer Review*, 1990-2003
 Editorial Board, *Locus: An Historical Journal of Regional Perspectives on National Topics*, 1994-96
 Editorial Advisory Board, *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, gen. editor Walter Edgar, 2000-06

Other Advisory Boards:

Advisory Board for *International Journal of Social Education*, 1986-2000
 Advisory Reviewer for *The Journal of Negro History* (since 2002, *The Journal of African American History*), 1992-
 Advisory board for the online *South Carolina Encyclopedia*. Southern Studies Institute, University of South Carolina, 2015-
 Advisory Board, Digital Library on American Slavery, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, 2004-10
 Advisory Board, Biographies: The Atlantic Slaves Data Network (ASDN), 2010-
 Advisory Board, Simms Initiatives of the Library at the University of South Carolina, 2009-14
 Advisory Board, American Insight, 2013- (www.AmericanINSIGHT.org)
 Strategic Advisory Council for MATRIX: The Center for Humane Arts, Letters and Social Sciences On-line at Michigan State University, 2004-
 Advisory board, of the Michigan State University MATRIX online project, “Mapping Civil War Politics”
 External Advisory Board (EAB) of proposed Center of Data for the Public Good, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
 Advisory Board, The Virtual Archives for Land-Grant History Project, Association of Public-Land Grant Universities, 2012-
 External Advisory Board, National Historic Preservation Research Commission (NHPRC) “Effective User-Centered Access For Heterogeneous Electronic Archives” project, Illinois Institute of Technology, 2003-05
 Advisory Board, *Postwar America: An Encyclopedia of Social, Political, Cultural, and Economic History*
 External Advisory Board (EAB) of the proposed NSF Center for Data Science and Engineering, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2014-

Burton, page 26

National Advisory Board to Alan Lomax's Global Jukebox: 1993-2015

The Civil Rights Project at University of California, Berkeley, Advisory Board for “The Decade Ahead: Reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act and the Future of Democratic Participation,” 2004-07

Advance Research and Technology Collaboratory for the Americas (ARTCA) –Organization of American States, Advisory Board Chair, 2008-

History Advisor for Gullah-Geechee Corridor Board, 2019-

Reconstruction and Civil Rights Movement National Park Service Advisory Board for Beaufort area

Service Clemson University:

Chair, Search committee for Dean of the Library, 2017-18

Search Committee for Dean of CAAH, 2019-20

Search for University Historian, 2019-20

Screening committee for the new University Historian, 2021

Faculty Advisory Committee for Education & Interpretation MAP - Historic Properties, in process of becoming an official Faculty Museum committee, 2021-

Provost's Research Strategy Committee, 2014-16

Martin Luther King, Jr. program planning committee, 2013-

Pan-African Advisory Committee, 2014-17; Steering Committee, 2017-, Chair Speaker's committee, 2018-19

History Department Graduate Committee, 2017-18

Search Committee for Director Digital History Ph.D. Program, 2019-20

History Department Civil War Sesquicentennial Committee, 2010-15

History Department Digital MA, then Digital Ph.D. committee, 2011-

Clemson Center for Geospatial Technologies Advisory Committee, 2017-

GIS Steering Committee, 2012-

Clemson University Computational Advisory Team (CU-CAT), 2010-

University Academic Technology Council, 2010-

Ex-officio Steering Committee, Clemson CyberInstitute, 2010-

University Committee to commemorate 50th Anniversary Integration Clemson, 2011-13

Outstanding Staff Employee Award, Academic Affairs Selection Committee, 2011

University Morrill Act Anniversary Celebration, 2011-13

Ben Robertson Society (BRS) Foundation Advisory Board, 2013-

Chair, Clemson University Humanities Grid committee, 2012-14

Chair, CAAH Digital Humanities Computing committee, 2013-15

CAAH, Digital Humanities Ph.D. taskforce, 2014-16

CAAH taskforce on undergraduate “Creativity Certificate”

History Department committee to review university signage, 2015-

First Faculty in Residence (Norris Hall), 2011-13

Workshop on Diversity and Inclusion, 2013

Lincoln's Unfinished Work Conference, 2018

Service - University of Illinois (three campus system – Urbana, Chicago, Springfield)

UI Senate Conferences (elected), all three campuses of the University of Illinois, 2006-09, Presiding officer (chair) 2007-08

Lincoln Bicentennial Commission, 2006-09

Academic Affairs Management Team, 2007-08

Task Force for Global Campus, 2006-07

Burton, page 27

External Relations Management Team, 2006-09
Strategic Plan Committee, 2005-06

Service (selected) University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Faculty Senate (elected), 1999-2001, 2002-03; 2005-06, 2006-07, Presiding Officer (Chair, Senate Executive Committee), 2005-06, 2006-07 (was Senate Council) elected 2000-01, 2003-04; 2005-06; 2006-07; Chair, Education Policy Committee, 2002-03, Chair 2003-04; Budget and Priorities Committee, 1999-01, Chair 2000-01

As Chair Faculty Senate Executive Committee, 2005-07 represented faculty at Board of Trustee meetings, and CIC meetings. Led in developing ideas of shared governance, helped in the drafting and implementing of a strategic plan for both the University of Illinois and the Urbana-Champaign campus. Oversaw establishment of the Illinois Informatics Institute (I3) and the School of Earth, Society, and Environment. Dealt with issues of multi-year contracts for research faculty and staff policy, rehiring of retirees, Global Campus, and led study of Academic effects of Chief Illini and diversity issues.

Organizer and Chair, Planning Committee for the Lincoln Bicentennial, 2006-09

Task Force for Diversity and Freedom of Speech, 2007-08

Convocation address, August 21, 2000

Search Committee for Chancellor, vice-chair, 2004-5

Association of American Colleges and Universities campus representative and Assoc., 2004-05

Martin Luther King, Jr., Week Planning Committee, co-chair, 2002-03, 03-04, 04-05, 05-06

Strategic Plan Committee, 2005-06

Chancellor's Task Force ("Kitchen Cabinet") for the Humanities, 2002-04

Provost's ad hoc Committee on Evaluating Public Service for Promotion and Tenure, 2003-04

Brown Jubilee Planning Committee, Diversity Initiative, 2002-04

Law-Education *Brown* Jubilee Conference Program Committee, 2002-04

East St. Louis Action Research Projects (ESLARP) Campus Advisory Committee, 2004-9

University Planning Council, 2000-01

Selection Committee for University Scholars, 1999 -- 2000, Chair Subcommittee for Social Sciences, Humanities, FAA, Communications, Education, Law 2000

UI President's Distinguished Speakers Program, 2000-02, 2006-08

University of Illinois Press Board, 1995-2000, Chair 1998-2000

Search Committee for Director University of Illinois Press, 1998-99

Committee on University Publishing, 1997-98

Graduate College Executive Committee, 1998-2000; Committee to Evaluate Dean of Graduate College, Committee to Review and Implement Graduate Program Revisions, Graduate Student Grievance Policy Committee

Graduate College Office of Minority Affairs Strategic Planning Committee, 1999-2000

University Administration Budget and Benefits Study Committee, 2000-02

Budget Strategies Committee, 1993-94, Subcommittee for Library. Subcommittee for Faculty Productivity and Teaching Models

Illinois Program for Research in the Humanities (IPRH) Advisory Committee, 2001-03

Center for Democracy in a Multicultural Society, Advisory Committee, 2002-08

Center for Advanced Study George A. Miller Committee, 2000-03

African American Studies and Research Program (AASRP), later Department of African American Studies, Advisory Council, 1982-86; Curriculum Development & Faculty Recruitment Committee, 2002-2003; Research and Course Competition Committee, 1991-94, Chair 93-94; Electronic Networking Committee, 1996-2000, Chair 1997-98; Library Advisory Committee, 1997-2003

UI-Integrate Faculty Advisory Committee, 2003-04

Graduate College Area Subcommittee for the Humanities and Creative Arts, 1996-98

Burton, page 28

Campus-wide Advisory Committee for the Center for Writing Studies, 2000-01
 Committee on Institutional Cooperation (CIC), Selection Committee for CIC Research Grants in the Humanities, 1993-94
 Chancellor's Task Force for Minority Graduate Students, 1989-92
 Chair, Subcommittee for Summer Program for Minority Graduate Students, 1990
 Computer Resources Development Committee, Program for the Study of Cultural Values and Ethics, 1991-93
 High Performance Computing Committee for the Social Sciences, 1989-95
 Rural History Workshop Convener, 1989-94 (with Sonya Salamon)
 Faculty Fellow, 1990-2003
 Graduate College Fellowship Committee, 1988
 Selection Committee for Lily Fellows, 1987
 Social Studies Committee for the Preparation of Teachers, Council on Teacher Education, 1986
 Chair, Search Committee for African-American Scholar, 1986-87
 Search Committee, Director for AASRP, 1985-86, Chair 87-88
 Graduate College Appeals Committee, 1984
 Chancellor's Allerton Conference, 1988; Chancellor's Beckman Conference, 2001-06;
 Chancellor's Conference on Diversity, 2002, faculty facilitator
 Combating Discrimination and Prejudice Workshop, 1988
 Krannert Art Museum, Committee on The Black Woman as Artist, 1992
 H. W. Wilson Faculty Panel, 1993
 Advanced Information and Technology Committee, 1992-97, Advisory Committee, 1993-94
 Honors Symposium for UI recruitment of High School Seniors, 1993
 Search Committee for Archivist, UIUC Computing and Communications Service Office, 1993
 Search Committee for Research Librarian, UIUC Library, 1997; Undergraduate Library Advisory Committee, 2002-9
 Member Human Dimensions of Environmental Systems Group, 1997-2017
 Faculty Learning Circle for 2003-04
 Illini Days Speaker, 1999, 2000, 2002
 Public Interest Fund of Illinois Representative, 1996- 08
 Facilitator for Interinstitutional Faculty Summer Institute on Learning Technologies, UIUC, 2000, 2002
 Board Advisors, Collaborative for Cultural Heritage and Museum Practices (CHAMP), 2005-08
 Faculty Mentor for Campus Honors Program, 1980-2008

Service - College of Liberal Arts and Science UI:

Lecturer at Pedagogy 2000: Teaching, Learning and Technology, Annual UIUC Retreat on Active Learning (2000)
 Keynote Address at LAS Awards Banquet, 2000 and Keynote at UIUC Campus Awards Banquet, 2000
 Dean's Committee to Evaluate Chair of History Department (1 of 3 elected by History Department), 1996
 Oversight Committee Computing for the Social Sciences, 1993-95
 Committee to select nominees for election to College Executive Committee, 1992
 Academic Standards Committee, 1983-85, Chair 1984-85
 School of Humanities Scholarship and Honors, 1986-88, Chair 1987-88
 Social Sciences and Humanities Respondent to the Joint Task Force on Admission Requirements and Learning Outcomes, 1988
 Advisory Committee, Social Sciences Quantitative Laboratory, 1987-88, 1989-93
 Alumni Association Annual Speaker, 1990

Burton, page 29

General Education Committee, 1990-91
 Awards Committee, Chair, 1991-92
 Race & Ethnicity, Class & Community Area Committee of Sociology Graduate Program, 1993-2009
 LAS Alumni Association Speaker, 2000
 Cohn Scholars Honors Mentoring Program (choosing the 10 best Humanities first-year students), 1986-88, 1989-90, 1992-93, 1995-96, 1998-99, 2002 -05
 Faculty Mentor, Committee of Institutional Cooperation Summer Research Opportunities Program for Minority Students, 1987, 1991-95, 1997-2000, 2002, 2003
 Faculty Mentor, McNair Minority Scholars, 1993-94, 1996-97
 Summer Orientation and Advance Enrollment Program, Faculty Leader, 1991-93, 2000, 2002, 2004
 Gender Inclusivity Seminar, 1992
 The African-American Experience: A Framework for Integrating American History: An Institute for High School Teachers of History, instructor 1992, 1994
 Faculty Advisor for UIUC Law School Humanities Teaching Program, 1998-99
 Senior Faculty Mentor, LAS Teaching Academy, 1999-2008

Service - Department of History UI:

Lincoln Bicentennial Committee, Chair, 2005-06, co-Chair 2006-08
 Department Distance Learning and Global Campus committee, 2007-08
 Carnegie Initiative on the Doctorate, 2003-05
 Ethical Conduct Liaison, 2004-05
 Phi Alpha Theta Faculty Advisor, 2005-06
 Graduate Placement Officer, 1990, 1991-94, 1997-99
 Graduate Admissions Officer, 1990-91
 Graduate Committee, 1990-93
 Organizer of OAH Breakfast Meeting, 1989-90, 1993-94
 Computer Resources, 1976-88, 1989-91, 1995-99, Chair 1976-85, 1997-99
 Teaching Awards, 1986-88, 1992-93, 1997-98, 1999-2000, Chair, 1987-88, 1997-98, 1999-2000
 T.A. Evaluation, 1975-76, 1978-82, 1984-88, 1990-91, 1995, 1998-99, 2002, 2005-06
 Speakers and Colloquia, 1981-82
 Grants and Funding, 1981-82
 Capricious Grading, 1985-86, 2002-03
 Social Science History Committee, 1980
 Advisor, History Undergraduate Club, 1976-78
 Swain Publication Prize Essay Committee, 1991
 Proposal-Writing Workshop, 1991-92, 2002
 Teaching Workshop, 1993
 Chair Library Committee, 1996-97
 Faculty Advisor for Phi Alpha Theta, 2005-06
 American History Search Committee, 1991-92
 Chair, American History Search Committee, 1993-94
 James G. Randall Distinguished Chair Search Committee, 1999-2000

Service Coastal Carolina University:

Search committee for Archaeologist, 2008-09
 Selection Committee for Clark Chair of History, 2010
 Third Year Assistant Professor Faculty Review Committee, 2010

A more complete list of Service and Public Engagement is available upon request.

Conferences Organized (selected list):

In 1978, I (with Robert C. McMath, Jr.) organized and chaired a National Endowment for the Humanities Conference on Southern Communities at the Newberry Library. In 1993, I organized, hosted, and chaired the annual meeting of the Conference on Computing for the Social Sciences at the National Center for Supercomputing Applications. In 1999, I organized and hosted the 12th Annual Meeting of the Southern Intellectual History Circle (SIHC) in Edgefield and Ninety Six, S.C, and again hosted SIHC for its 16th Annual meeting in 2004 at the College of Charleston, and the 2013 meeting in Edgefield. In 2001, I organized a workshop and conference on diversity and racism in the classroom with Carnegie Scholars at The Citadel in Charleston, S.C. In 2001, I organized a South Carolina Humanities Council Edgefield Summit History Conference. In January 2003, I organized a Workshop on Diversity and Racism and a Conference on the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning, both at the University of Illinois. In March 2003 I organized The Citadel Conference on the South: “The Citadel Symposium on the Civil Rights Movement in South Carolina.” I organized the Humanities, Arts, Science, and Technology Advanced Collaboratory (HASTAC) meeting in January 2004 in Washington, D.C. I organized and hosted a Humanities Computing Summit in August 2004 at NCSA and UIUC. In 2005, I planned and hosted the British American Nineteenth Century History (BrANCH) Conference in Edgefield, South Carolina and a symposium honoring Jim McPherson’s retirement in April 2005 in Princeton. As program chair I helped organize the Southern Historical Annual meeting in Atlanta in November 2005. In 2011, I organized a conference in honor of Charles Joyner, *Writing the South in Fact, Fiction, and Poetry*, at Coastal Carolina University. In 2013, I organized a conference honoring F. Sheldon Hackney at Martha’s Vineyard. On Nov. 28-Dec 1, 2018, I organized and hosted an international conference on “Lincoln’s Unfinished Work,” and on the afternoon of Dec. 2 lead a workshop for teachers on how to teach about the history of race in South Carolina k-12 schools. As Director of I-CHASS, I regularly organized conferences and workshops, at least two major conferences a year such as “Computing in Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences” (2005), “Spatial Thinking in the Social Sciences and Humanities” (2006), and the “e-Science for Arts and Humanities Research: Early Adopters Forum” (2007). In 2007 we hosted the annual international meeting of The Alliance of Digital Humanities Organizations including The Association for Computers and the Humanities. As Director of the Clemson CyberInstitute, I regularly organized workshops, brownbags, conferences, and meetings. And as Executive Director of the College of Charleston Atlantic World and Lowcountry (CLAW) Program, I regularly work with others to organize conferences and meetings.

Reviews:

I have reviewed books for numerous journals and book manuscripts for numerous presses. In addition, I have refereed article manuscripts for numerous journals. I have also reviewed proposals for various granting agencies. I have also reviewed and written outside letters of recommendation for promotion, tenure, and endowed chair decisions for more than a hundred cases at various colleges and universities. Lists of these reviews, presses, journals, universities, and granting agencies are available upon request.

Invited lectures and conference participation available upon request. Recently, selected invited lectures include those at Harvard University, University of Pennsylvania, Black Congressional

Burton, page 31

Caucus on Lincoln (2009), Printers Row Book Fair, Society of Civil War Historians, Society of Historians of Early America, Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission (ALBC), Atlanta Town Hall meeting on Race at Morehouse College and at Jimmy Carter Presidential Library Center, the Crown Forum Martin Luther King, Jr. lecture at Morehouse College, Western Illinois University, Drake University, University of Illinois Law School, Union League Club of Chicago, Association of Archivists and Librarians, CASC, University of Georgia, Lawrence University, Wisconsin Lincoln Bicentennial, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, University of Wisconsin at Madison, University of Wisconsin at Eau Claire, University of Kansas, Samford University, Talladega University, ALBC Morrill Act Conference, Arkansas State University, San Francisco State University, Lewis University, Notre Dame, University of Oklahoma, University of Florida, University of Southern Florida, Florida State University, University of South Carolina, South Carolina State University, North Greenville University, Anderson University, Augusta State University, Auburn University, Mercer University, American Historical Association, Organization of American Historians, Southern Historical Association, Agricultural History Society, Wheaton College, University of Illinois, Florida Atlantic University, Lincoln College, Claflin University, Francis Marion University, Policy Studies Association, Southern Studies Association Meeting (regional affiliate of American Studies Association), Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH), Penn Center, Coastal Carolina University, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Virginia Tech), South Carolina Historical Society, South Carolina Department of Archives and History Civil War Symposium, Supercomputing11 (Seattle), History Miami, William Patterson University, USC Upstate, University of Hawaii, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, The Lincoln Forum, Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, Furman University, Berry College, High Noon series at S.C. Upstate Museum, Erskine College, Mississippi State University, University of Manchester, Cambridge University, Edinburg University, University of London, Oxford University.

Samples of recognition given to me or my work:

The Chronicle of Higher Education, Vol. L: 2 (September 5, 2003), cover page, A37-38. On-line at <http://chronicle.com/prm/weekly/v50/i02/02a03701.htm>

C. Vann Woodward, "District of Devils," *New York Review of Books*, xxxii #15: 30-31

Chicago Tribune, October 13, 2007, cover of the Book Review Section, "Orville Vernon Burton's Heartland Prize-winning *The Age of Lincoln*." Catherine Clinton, "Lincoln and His Complex Times," pp. 4-5; Cover page 1988 on *In My Father's House*

Washington Post, Hannah Natanson, "Lincoln's forgotten legacy as America's first 'green president'" in the *Washington Post* on Feb. 16, 2020

(<https://www.washingtonpost.com/.../lincoln-green-president-e.../>)

USA Today, February 25, 2010, Larry Bleiberg, 10 Civil Rights Sites You Should See before Black History Month Comes to a Close,"

<https://www.usatoday.com/story/travel/destinations/10greatplaces/2020/02/25/black-history-month-10-civil-rights-sites-you-should-check-out/4832666002/>

Featured as example of "Faculty Excellence" on UIUC Homepage:

<http://www.uiuc.edu/overview/explore/>

Call out in Sonia Sotomayor, *My Beloved World* (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), p. 132, and her Commencement Address at the University of South Carolina, 2011 (on C-Span) and "Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor uses vivid examples from two key figures in her life—her mother and South Carolina native and historian [Vernon Burton](#)"; Wayne Washington, "You Learn Values from Your Family, Supreme Court Justice Tells Grads," *The Columbia State*, May 9, 2011;

Burton, page 32

<http://www.thestate.com/2011/05/07/1808978/sotomayor-parents-are-key.html#storylink=misearch#ixzz1NljBBgHA> and <http://dailygamecock.com/news/item/1422-sonya-sotomayor-delivers-personal-inspiring-message-at-university-of-south-carolina-graduation>; and at Clemson 2017 with Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sn3GbXen58c>; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zq1LAQmHh0I> (4 April 1992 on history and high performance computing);

The South Carolina Encyclopedia Guide to South Carolina Writers. Edited by Tom Mack (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2014), pp. 33-35 (SC Humanities)

In last few years, numerous international, national and local television, radio interviewed me (especially about the murders at Mother Emanuel in Charleston and the removal of the Confederate battle flag from the statehouse grounds). A number of interviews about the Voting Rights Act (VRA) or Voter ID, for example, Congressional Briefing on the Voting Rights Act (2015), [Voting Rights Act 1965, Dec 4 2015 | Video | C-SPAN.org](#) and [Historians Expert Witnesses Civil Rights, Jan 7 2017 | C-SPAN.org](#), NPR—for example, June 27, 2013, “On Point” discussing the Supreme Court Ruling on VRA, Sections 4 and 5-- <http://onpoint.wbur.org/2013/06/27/scotus-voting-rights>; and <http://wbur.fm/138DolQ>, and NPR and BBC, see for example recently, Jorge Valenca, Feb. 26, 2020, “The Abroad Primary,” ([For overseas voters, a primary of their own](#) [www.pri.org > stories > overseas-voters-primary-their-o-...](http://www.pri.org/stories/overseas-voters-primary-their-o-...)) and commercial, and other media interviews and programs, including several C-SPAN Book TV (for example, “President Lincoln and Secession,” <http://www.c-spanvideo.org/program/293631-3>) and a two-hour Clemson University lecture on Southern Identity at “Lectures in History,” <http://www.c-span.org/History/> – downloaded 492,791 times in first year after it debuted October 25, 2012. Numerous appearances on SC ETV for documentaries. In Feb., 2019 the Clemson Area Pledge to End Racism (CAPER) began using a training video featuring Vernon Burton speaking on racism (Video on youtube at ([CAPER Burton Video](#)). Power of Perspective Panel, “Independence Day: Land of the Free?” (<https://www.clemson.edu/centers-institutes/gantt/multicultural-programs/educational-programming.html> Scroll down the Power of Perspective Panel Series tab), July 9, 2020); Aug. 24, 2020, first virtual Lincoln Cottage’s Scholar Session. “Dr. Vernon Burton and Dr. Edna Greene Medford discuss the lasting meaning and impact of Confederate iconography with our members: (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_uNbG5Odagg&feature=youtu.be; and . (<https://www.c-span.org/video/?475387-1/confederate-monuments-memorials>)). May 2021, commentator on the *Last Rice River*, a half-hour experience examining the rise and fall of the Rice Kingdom on South Carolina’s Combahee River, which went public this month ([here](#)); “South Carolina Between World Wars (www.npr.org/podcasts/381444475/walter-edgar-s-journal?fbclid=IwAR1vw_-xMxe3L36oRXNLunDdfYt8u9wUJj1qnWez1eguRzBpwlB8j4mhu4) and “Rediscovered Ancestry: a Family Learns the Story of Their Remarkable Ancestor, Senator Lawrence Cain. <https://www.southcarolinapublicradio.org/show/walter-edgars-journal/2021-04-12/rediscovered-ancestry-a-family-learns-the-story-of-their-remarkable-ancestor-senator-lawrence-cain>,” both interviewed by Walter Edgar, for Walter Edgar’s Journal, *South Carolina Public Radio*, Columbia, SC, Jan. 13, 2020, Apr. 12, 2021; guest for Dr. James Howell’ Bible study on “Lincoln and the Bible,” at Myers Park United Methodist Church, Charlotte, available at https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?v=1322571451267316&ref=watch_permalink; interview “Southern History, Influence and Tradition ” with Dr. James on the series “Maybe I’m Amazed.” (<https://podfollow.com/1497598414/episode/eb3f38a51902c7934a090355abb3af200256e2ad/view> ; “Juneteenth: Reflecting on the Past to Understand Today” June 18, 2020 to Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in Livermore California (<https://www.llnl.gov/>). The lecture can

Burton, page 33

be found at , <https://youtu.be/6u60Pu5KVY4>; “Reparations and World Change,” June 19, 2020. Thurgood Marshall Law School @ at <https://youtu.be/7hgl8bS1G8E>; “Confederate Monuments Continue to Come Down in Racial Justice Protests,” interviewed by Jeremy Hobson, *NPR*, Boston, MA: WBUR, June 19, 2020. <https://www.wbur.org/hereandnow/2020/06/19/confederate-monuments-come-down> . _ (more complete list available upon request).

EXHIBIT 4

Expert Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood

Grant v. Raffensperger, No. 1:22-cv-00122-SCJ (N.D. Ga. 2022)

January 13, 2022

Loren Collingwood

Background and Qualifications

I am an associate professor of political science at the University of New Mexico. Previously, I was an associate professor of political science and co-director of civic engagement at the Center for Social Innovation at the University of California, Riverside. I have published two books with Oxford University Press, 39 peer-reviewed journal articles, and nearly a dozen book chapters focusing on sanctuary cities, race/ethnic politics, election administration, and racially-polarized voting. I received a Ph.D. in political science with a concentration in political methodology and applied statistics from the University of Washington in 2012 and a B.A. in psychology from California State University, Chico, in 2002. I have attached my curriculum vitae, which includes an up-to-date list of publications.

In between my B.A. and Ph.D., I spent 3-4 years working in private consulting for the survey research firm Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research in Washington, D.C. I also founded the research firm Collingwood Research, which focuses primarily on the statistical and demographic analysis of political data for a wide array of clients, and led redistricting and map-drawing and demographic analysis for the Inland Empire Funding Alliance in Southern California. I am the redistricting consultant for the West Contra Costa Unified School District, CA, independent redistricting commission in which I am charged with drawing court-ordered single member districts.

I served as a testifying expert for the plaintiff in the Voting Rights Act Section 2 case *NAACP v. East Ramapo Central School District*, No. 17 Civ. 8943 (S.D.N.Y. 2020), in which I participated from 2018 to 2020. In that case, I used the statistical software eiCompare and WRU to implement Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding (BISG) to identify the racial/ethnic demographics of voters and estimate candidate preference by race using ecological data. I am the quantitative expert in *LULAC v. Pate*, Case No. CVC056403 (D. Iowa 2021), and have filed an expert report in that case. I am the racially-polarized voting expert for plaintiff in *East St. Louis Branch NAACP, et al. vs. Illinois State Board of Elections, et al.*, Case No. 1:21-CV-03091 (N.D. Ill. 2021), having filed two reports in that case. I am the racially-polarized voting expert for the plaintiff in *Johnson, et al., v. WEC, et al.*, No. 2021AP1450-OA (Wis. 2021), having filed a report in that case. I am compensated at a rate of \$400/hour.

Executive Summary

- On every metric, Black Georgians are disadvantaged socioeconomically relative to non-Hispanic White Georgians. Blacks are worse off than Whites on the following measures— income, unemployment, poverty, health, and educational attainment.
- These socioeconomic disparities have an adverse effect on the ability of Black Georgians to participate in the political process, as measured by voter turnout and other forms of political participation.
- Black Georgians vote at significantly lower rates than White Georgians. That is true at the statewide, county, and precinct levels, including in the Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta Metropolitan area and in Georgia’s Black Belt region.
- The data show a significant relationship between turnout and disparities in health, employment, and education; as health, education, and employment outcomes increase, so does voter turnout in a material way.
- Black Georgians also lag behind White Georgians in other forms of political participation, such as making campaign contributions, engaging local officials, and running for office.
- The academic literature overwhelmingly shows that these low levels of political participation are attributable to the socioeconomic disparities discussed above.

My opinions are based on the following data sources: the American Community Survey (ACS) across time, 2020 statewide, county-level, and precinct-level voter registration and turnout aggregate data from the Georgia Secretary of State, 2010-2020 statewide voter turnout from Georgia Secretary of State, 2014-2020 county-level voter turnout data from the Georgia Secretary of State, and the 2020 Cooperative Election Study.

Analysis

A. Senate Factor 5

I have been asked to examine item 5 of what has come to be known as the Senate Factors (United States Senate 1982, 27). In the 1982 Voting Rights Act extension, the Senate Judiciary Committee listed out factors that could be considered (alongside the *Gingles* Test) in evaluating a Section 2 claim under the Voting Rights Act. These factors allow experts to inform the court regarding the extent that minorities “are denied equal access to the political process.”

Senate Factor 5 examines the extent that minority group members (here, Black individuals) in a political jurisdiction (in this case, the state of Georgia) bear the effects of discrimination in education, employment, and health which hinder said group’s political participation. Without a doubt, my analysis demonstrates that Black Georgians face clear and significant disadvantages in the above areas that reduce their ability to participate in the political process.

B. Socioeconomic Disparities

From the 2015-2019 ACS, I constructed the following metrics for both the Black and White populations in Georgia: household median income; total households reporting income above \$100,000; total households reporting income above \$125,000; households receiving Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (“SNAP” or “food stamps”) benefits in the past 12 months; percent of the population living below the poverty line in the last 12 months; percent of children living below the poverty line; percent of adults living below the poverty line; percent of the population over the age of 25 with a high-school diploma; percent of the population over the age of 25 with a college degree; unemployment rate; percent of the population reporting a disability; and percent of the population reporting health insurance. These metrics reflect broad racial disparities in education, employment, income, and health.

As shown in Table 1, there are clear racial disparities in employment. The unemployment rate among Black Georgians (8.7%) is nearly double that of White Georgians (4.4%). And disparities persist even among those *with* employment: White households are twice as likely as Black households to report an annual income above \$100,000. Black Georgians, meanwhile, were more than twice as likely—and Black children in particular more than three times as likely—to live below the poverty line over the past year. And Black Georgians were nearly three times more likely than White Georgians to receive SNAP benefits.

On education, Black adults over the age of 25 are more likely than their White peers to lack a high school diploma (13.3% compared to 9.4%). These disparities fare no better in higher education. 35% of White adults over the age of 25 have obtained a bachelor’s degree or higher compared to 24% of their Black counterparts.

Finally, on health, the Black population in Georgia is slightly more likely to report a disability (11.8% compared to 10.9% for Whites), and is more likely to lack health insurance (18.9% compared to 14.2% among 19–64-year-olds). All told, the numbers convey consistent racial disparities across economics, health, employment, and education.

	Black	White	White - Black
Median Household Income	\$44670	\$67955	\$23285
Pct. HH Income > \$100K	0.165	0.322	0.157
Pct. HH Income > \$125K	0.096	0.224	0.128
Pct. HH receiving SNAP	0.227	0.077	-0.15
Pct. below poverty line	0.215	0.101	-0.114
Pct. below poverty line, children	0.313	0.115	-0.198
Pct. below poverty line, VAP	0.18	0.098	-0.082
Pct. w/ Less than HS Diploma	0.133	0.094	-0.039
Pct. w/ Bachelor's Degree or higher	0.24	0.351	0.111
Pct. Unemployed	0.087	0.044	-0.043
Pct Disabled, ages 19-64	0.118	0.109	-0.009
Pct. Uninsured, ages 19-64	0.189	0.142	-0.047

Table 1. Socio-economic indicators across Black and White individuals in Georgia, 2015-2019 American Community Survey (ACS).

These patterns hold across nearly every county in the state. I gathered the same metrics at the county level, and only considered counties with at least 1,000 White and Black residents, respectively. Georgia has 159 counties; of these, 141 meet this threshold. Whites have a higher median household income than Blacks in 136 of 141 of these counties.¹ Just two counties—Habersham and Paulding—feature a higher Black median household income (Habersham: \$64,286 vs. \$50,418; Paulding: \$68,843 vs. \$50,418). Among households making more than \$100,000 per year, Whites have an advantage over Blacks in 140 of the 141 counties.

Turning to SNAP, a higher percentage of Blacks have relied on SNAP in the past 12 months than Whites in 140 of the 141 counties. In 136 of the 141 counties, Blacks are more likely to live below the poverty line than Whites. And in 130 of the 141 counties, Whites are more likely than Blacks to have a 4-year college degree or higher.

¹ The ACS does not provide median income for Black households in three counties; these counties are treated as missing for this median household income comparison.

Finally, the county distribution is not as extreme with respect to unemployment and uninsured status—but is still heavily weighted strongly towards Black disadvantage. Blacks have a higher unemployment rate than Whites in 118 of the 141 counties (84%), and the share of the population that is uninsured is higher for Blacks than for Whites in 92 of the 141 counties (65%).

C. Effect on Political Participation

1. Academic Literature

Socioeconomic disparities unquestionably affect political participation. There is vast literature in political science that demonstrates a strong and consistent link between socio-economic status (SES) and voter turnout. In general, voters with higher income and education are disproportionately likely to vote and participate in American politics (Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980; Leighley and Nagler 2013; Nie et al. 1996; Mayer 2011). Brady, Verba, and Schlozman (1995) argue that resources—conceptualized as time, money, and civic skills (all related to education and income)—drive donation behavior, campaign volunteering, and voting. These broad SES findings hold across a variety of research designs. For example, Henderson (2018) uses a hookworm eradication program haphazardly (i.e., at random) applied to counties in the early 20th century South (the program exogenously covaries with educational attainment) to show a causal relationship between education and political participation.

Other research is in accord. Avery (2015) indicates that states with higher income inequality have greater income bias in turnout. Shah and Wichowsky (2019) show a link between home foreclosures and participation—neighborhoods with a higher share of home foreclosures during the 2008 financial crisis subsequently experienced a drop in voter turnout, and affected individuals were less likely to vote in future elections. Additional findings in Pacheco and Fletcher (2015) indicate an association between self-reported health and voter turnout.

This overwhelming academic literature shows that the socioeconomic disadvantages suffered by Black Georgians will affect their ability to participate in the political process.

2. Voter Turnout

When Georgians register to vote, they indicate their race. The Georgia Secretary of State maintains yearly state, county, and precinct-level voter registration and turnout by race. I gathered this data for the 2020 general election.² To calculate voter turnout, for both Black and White, respectively, I divide the total number of people who voted by the total number of registered voters.

a. Statewide Analysis

For the years 2010-2020, I gathered statewide turnout by race data. The 2010-2012 turnout data is only available on the Secretary of State's website at the statewide level. Table 2 displays even-year statewide voter turnout by race across the 2010-2020 period. For each election cycle, registered White voters turned out at higher rates than did registered Black voters. For instance, in

² General Election Turnout by Demographics November 2020, Georgia Sec. of State (Nov. 3, 2020), https://sos.ga.gov/index.php/elections/general_election_turnout_by_demographics_november_2020 (last accessed Dec. 23, 2021).

2020, Whites turned out at 72.6%, whereas Blacks turned out at 60%. The gap is most narrow during Obama’s 2012 re-election—at 3.1%—but in every single case, Whites vote at a higher rate than Blacks.

Year	Black TO	White TO	Gap	Total Turnout
2020	60	72.6	-12.6	65.7
2018	53.9	62.2	-8.3	56.4
2016	56.2	67.9	-11.6	62
2014	40.6	47.5	-6.9	42.9
2012	72.6	75.7	-3.1	72.9
2010	50.4	55.9	-5.5	52.1

Table 2. Voter turnout by race, statewide between 2010-2020, taken from Georgia Secretary of State website.

b. Countywide Analysis

Next, I compare the share of a county’s White registrants who voted in 2020 against the share of a county’s Black registrants who voted in 2020. Figure 1 visually compares turnout (denominator is registration) between Whites and Blacks across the state’s counties. In almost every single county, White registrants voted at higher rates than did Black registrants. This is visually demonstrated by the fact that almost all dots (counties) fall below the identity line, as opposed to above. Only in Chattahoochee and Liberty Counties did Black registrants cast ballots at higher rates than White registrants.

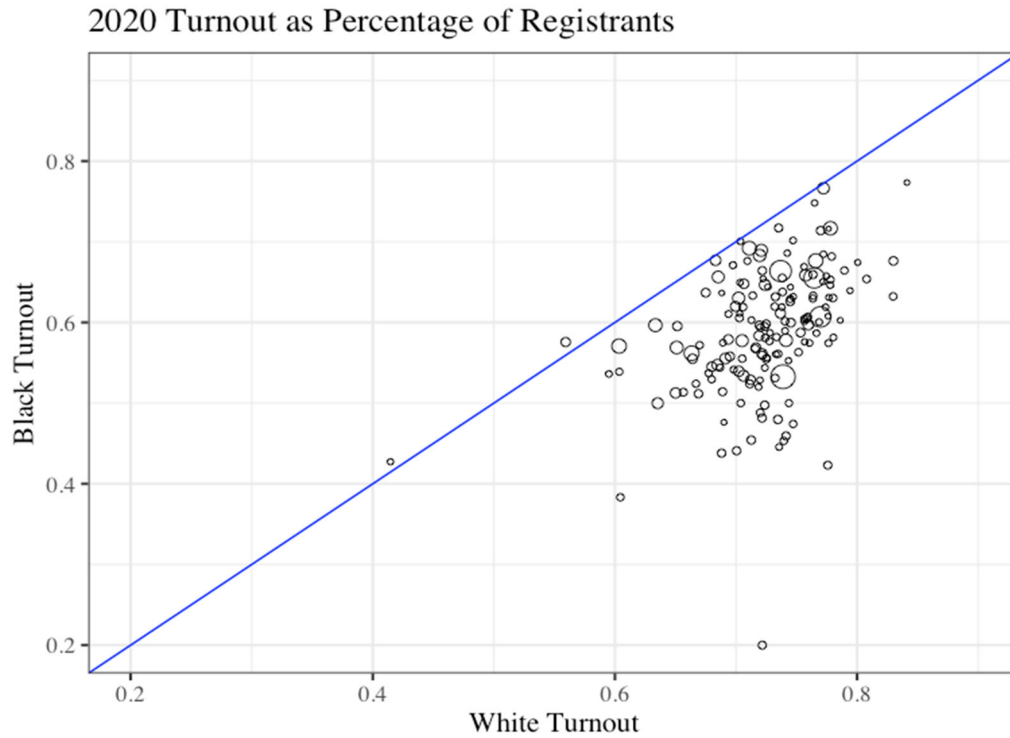


Figure 1. 2020 Turnout White-Black differential by County, registered voters.

Below, Figure 2 plots out the same relationship, but swaps out registration for voting age population (VAP) in the denominator. The relationship is very similar. The substantive findings do not change regarding which denominator is selected; Whites vote at higher rates than do Blacks.

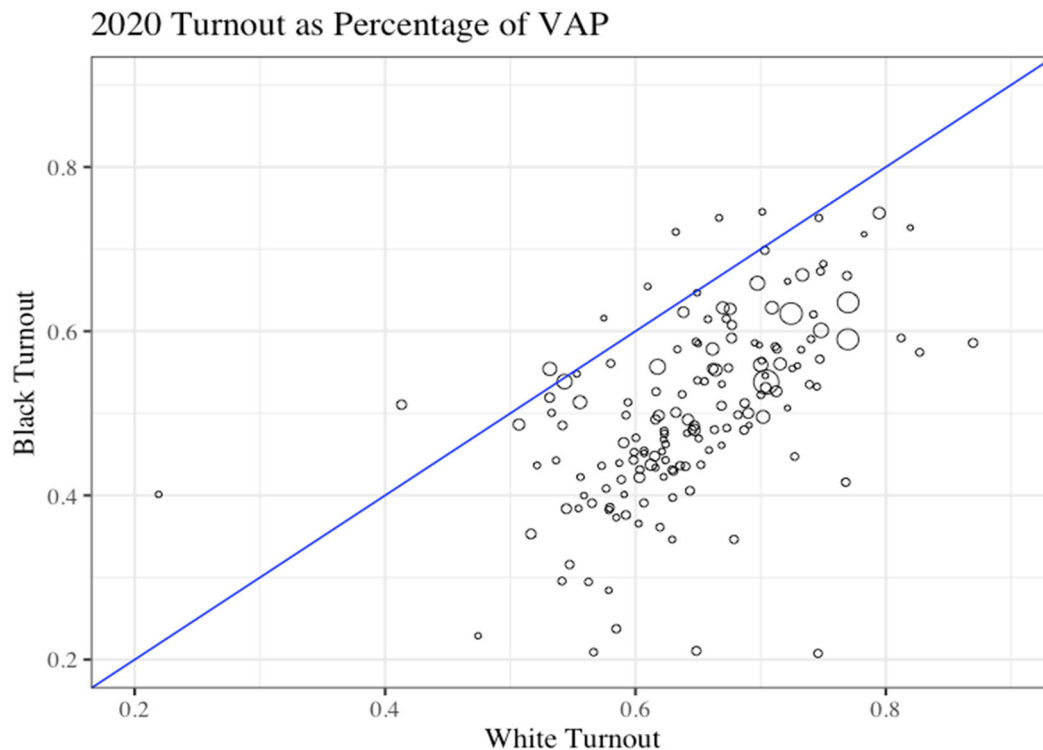


Figure 2. 2020 Turnout White-Black differential by County, voting age population.

I replicate this analysis for 2014-2018 because this data is readily available from the Georgia Secretary of State. Figure 3 plots out the 2018 White vs. Black turnout gap and demonstrates substantially the same trends discussed above. The next set of figures present the same analyses for 2016 and 2014.

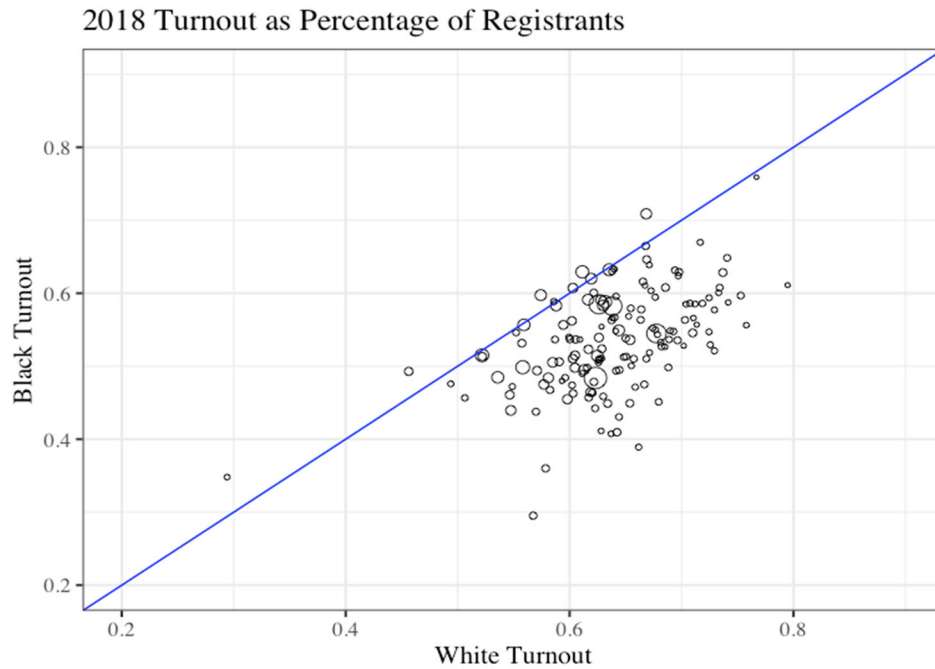


Figure 3. 2018 Turnout White-Black differential by County.

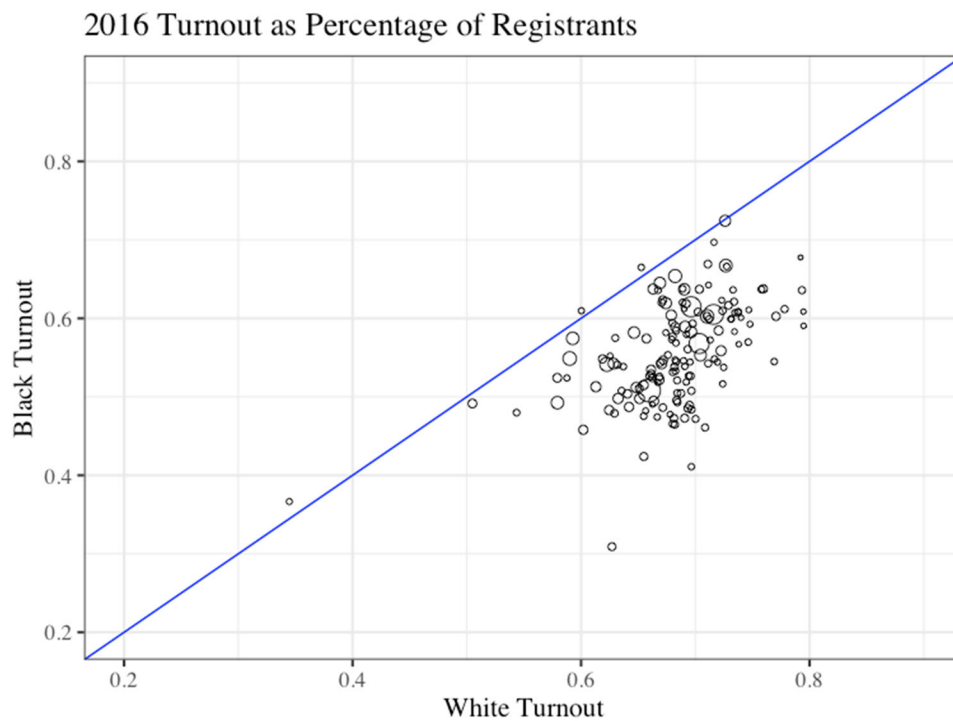


Figure 4. 2016 Turnout White-Black differential by County.

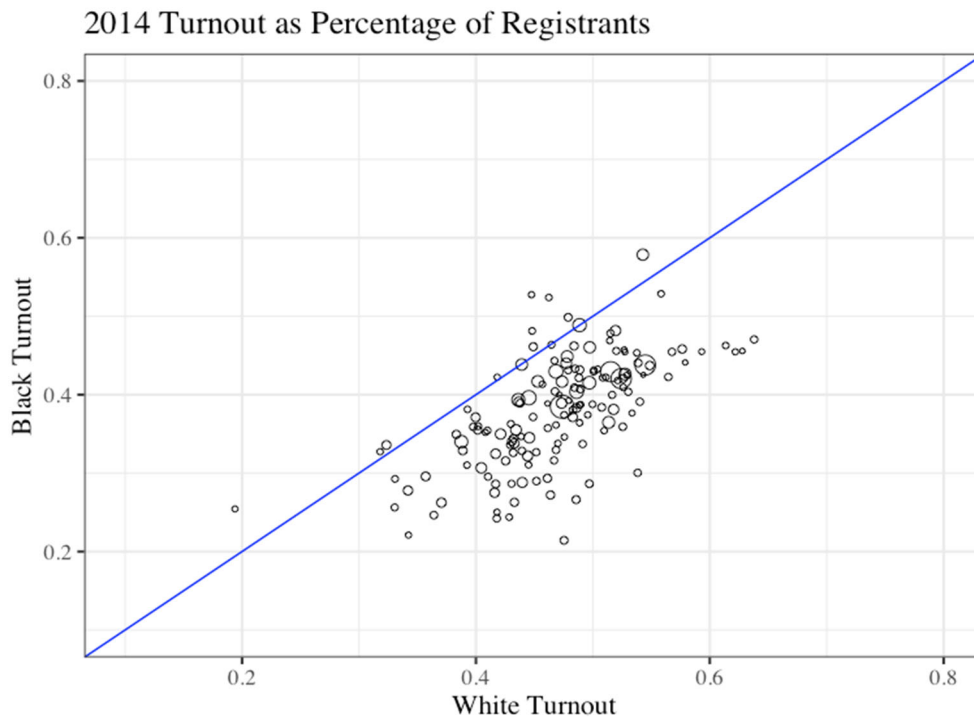


Figure 5. 2014 Turnout White-Black differential by County.

c. Precinct-Level Analysis

I replicated the above county analysis with Georgia precincts gathered from the Secretary of State's website.³ The 2020 precinct file contains 2,784 precincts across the state and includes both registration and votes cast for Whites and Blacks. I subset the data to precincts with more than 100 Blacks and 100 Whites, reducing the dataset to 1,957 precincts., in order to reduce the influence of outliers. The analysis of all precincts does not change the core substance of the findings. Of the 1,957 precincts, Whites have a higher turnout in 1,549 (79.2%) precincts, Blacks in 408 (20.8%) precincts. Figure 6 visually displays the results, which are consistent with both the statewide and county analyses. The clear majority of precincts dots fall below the blue identity line.

³ General Election Turnout, *supra* note 2.

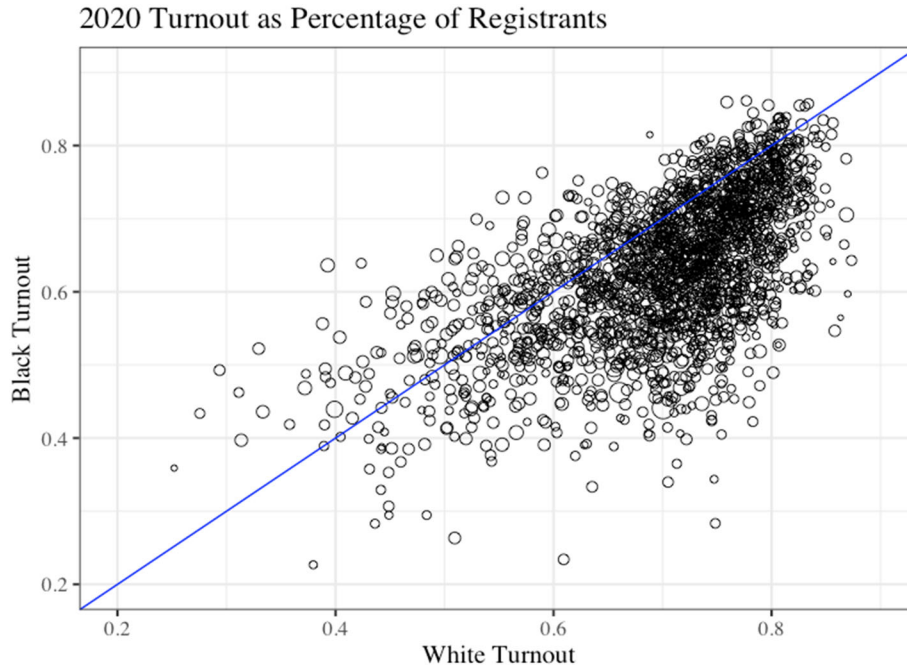


Figure 6. 2020 Turnout White-Black differential by precinct.

d. Analysis of Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta Metropolitan Area

I also examined Black vs. White voter turnout rates in the Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta Metropolitan area, which is one of the areas under legal review. I therefore subset Georgia's counties to just those in the Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA Metropolitan Statistical Area.⁴ Figures 7 and 8 plot out the White vs. Black turnout gap based on both registration and voting age population. The trend is very similar to the overall Georgia trend.

⁴ The counties include Barrow, Bartow, Butts, Carroll, Cherokee, Clayton, Cobb, Coweta, Dawson, DeKalb, Douglas, Fayette, Forsyth, Fulton, Gwinnett, Haralson, Heard, Henry, Jasper, Lamar, Meriwether, Morgan, Newton, Paulding, Pickens, Pike, Rockdale, Spalding, and Walton.

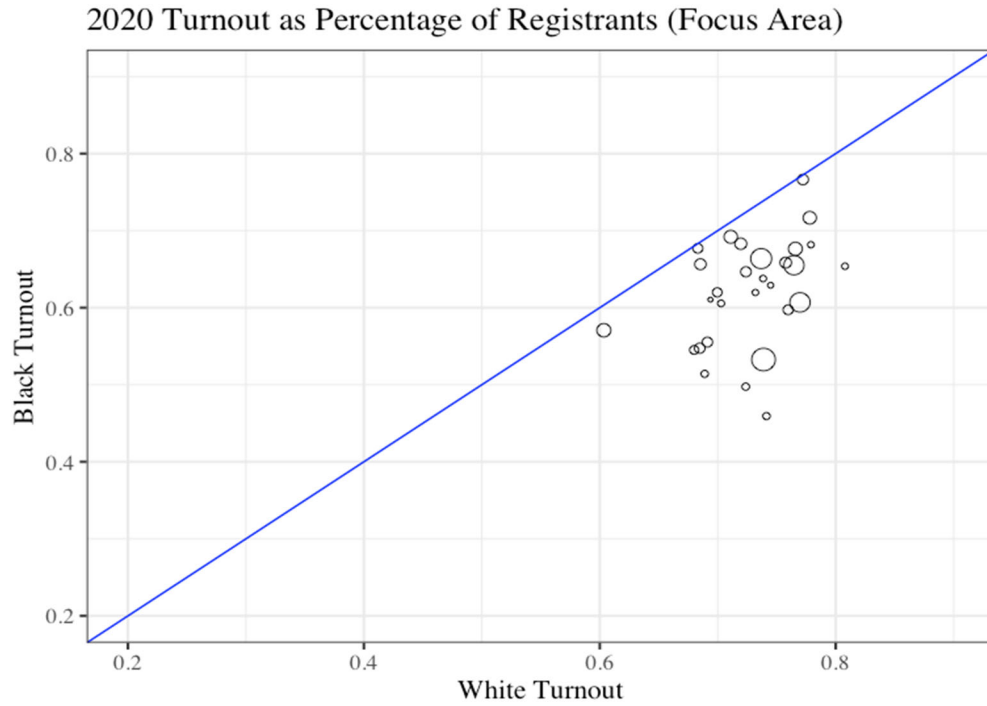


Figure 6. 2020 Turnout White-Black differential by county in Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta Focus Area.

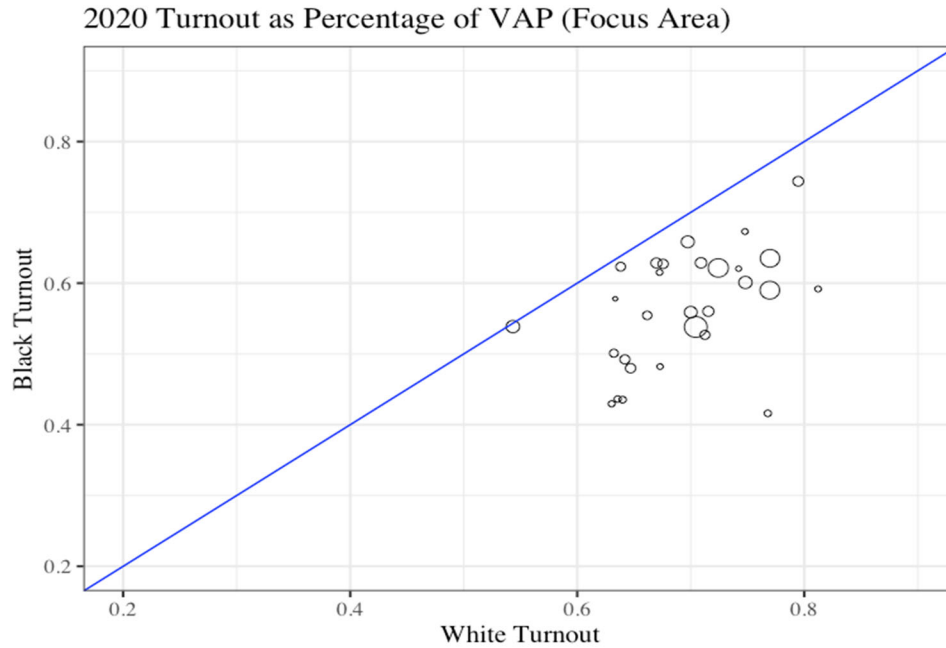


Figure 7. 2020 Turnout White-Black differential by county in Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta Focus Area, Voting Age Population.

Finally, I conduct the same analysis among precincts falling into the same set of counties. Again, in the overwhelming majority of precincts, Whites vote at higher rates than Blacks.

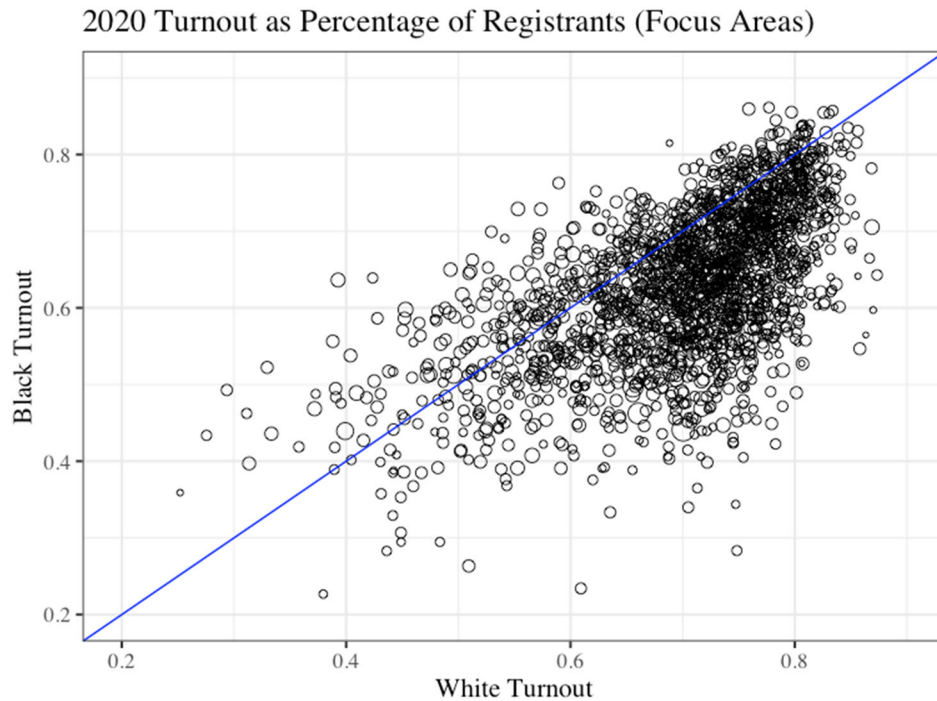


Figure 8. 2020 Turnout White-Black differential by precinct in Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta Focus Area.

e. Analysis of Georgia's Black Belt Area

As an additional set of analyses, I also examined Black vs. White voter turnout rates in the traditional “Black Belt” area of the state, which is also under legal review in this case. The geographic area includes the following counties, which I subset the data to: Baker, Bibb, Burke, Calhoun, Chattahoochee, Clay, Dooly, Dougherty, Early, Glascock, Hancock, Houston, Jefferson, Lee, Macon, Marion, McDuffie, Miller, Mitchell, Muscogee, Peach, Quitman, Randolph, Richmond, Schley, Stewart, Sumter, Talbot, Taliaferro, Taylor, Terrell, Twiggs, Warren, Washington, Webster, and Wilkinson.

Figures 9 and 10 plot out the White vs. Black turnout gap based on both registration and voting age population in this area. The trend is very similar to the overall Georgia trend.

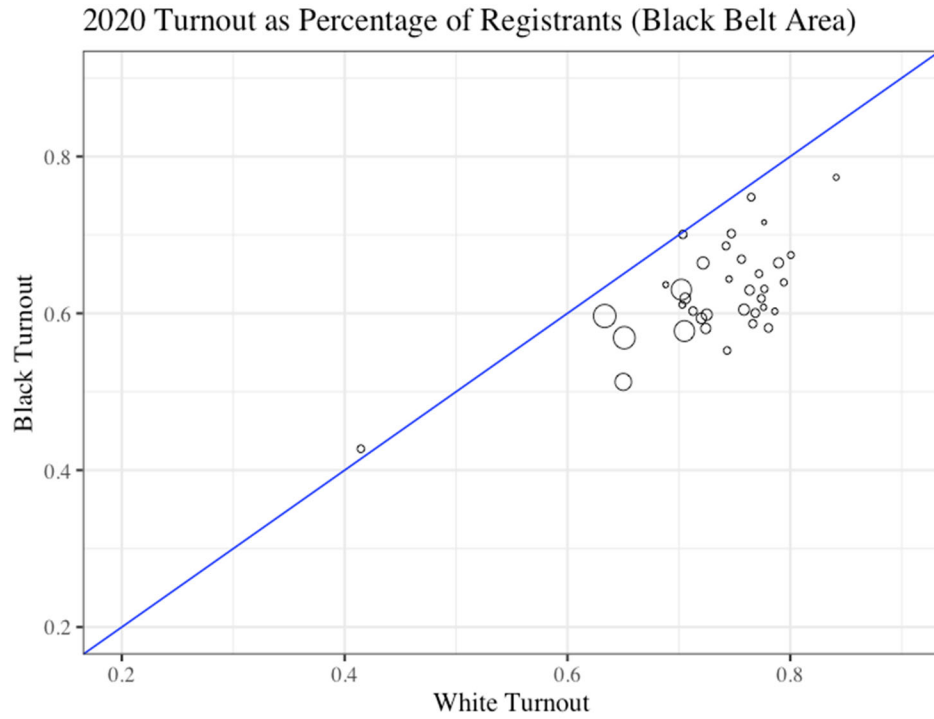


Figure 9. 2020 Turnout White-Black differential by county in Black Belt Focus Area.

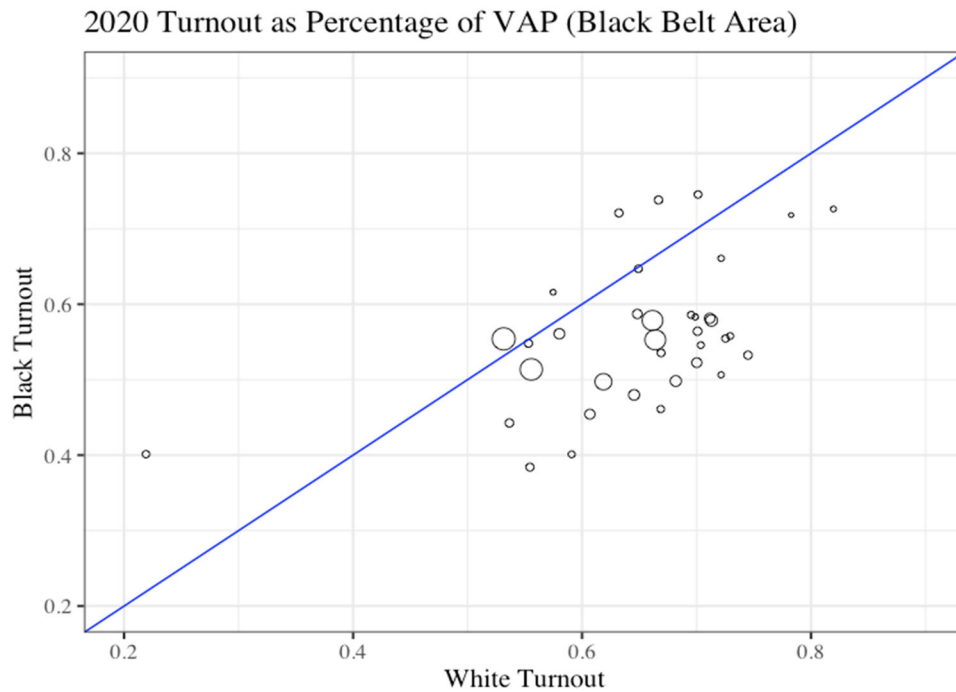


Figure 10. 2020 Turnout White-Black differential by county in Black Belt Focus Area, Voting Age Population

Similar to the analysis in the Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta focus area, I examined the White-Black turnout differential among precincts falling into the set of Black Belt counties. As depicted in Figure 11, once again, I find that Whites vote at higher rates than do Blacks in the majority of precincts.

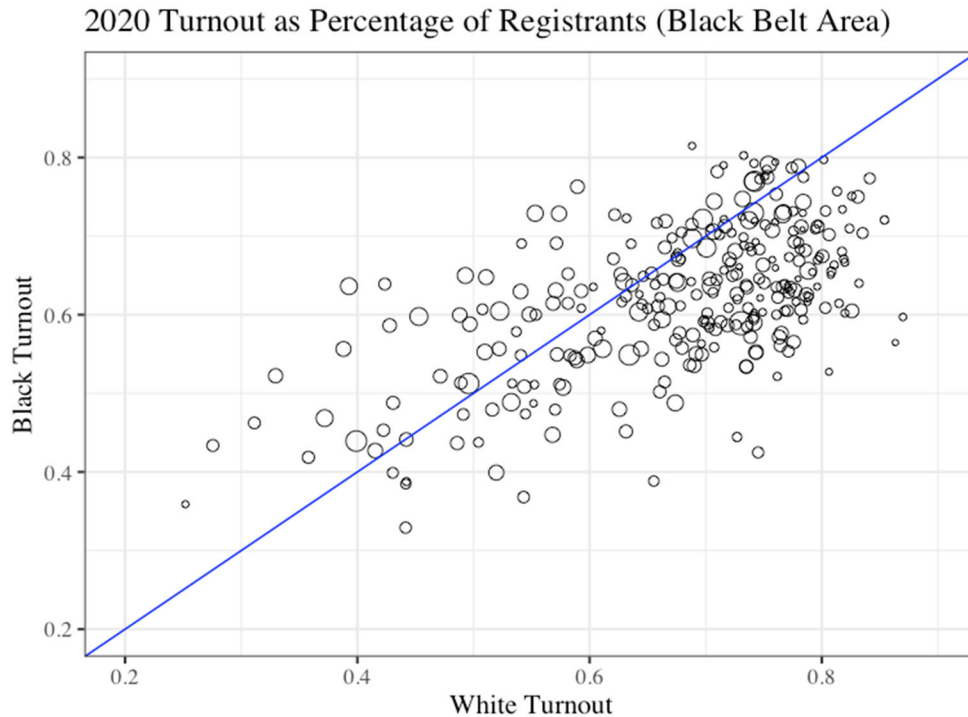


Figure 11. 2020 Turnout White-Black differential by precinct in Black Belt Focus Area, Percentage of Registrants

f. Relationship Between Turnout and Socioeconomic Disparities

This section examines how these turnout differences are related to the socio-economic disparities discussed at the outset of this report, like education and income. Specifically, I examine the county-level relationship between different measures of Black educational attainment and Black voter turnout. Figure 9 plots out the relationship between percent Black with less than a high school education and Black voter turnout.⁵ The blue line is the bivariate regression line ($\beta = -0.35$, $p < 0.001$), which shows that each 10 percentage-point increase in the size of the Black population without a high school degree decreases Black turnout by 3.5 percentage points.

⁵ For each analysis, I subset the data to counties with more than 1,000 registered Black voters. I do this to avoid outlier issues that can emerge with smaller counties. However, this subset does not change in any substantive way the results compared to a full data analysis. All regression analyses are weighted by total Black registration in the county.

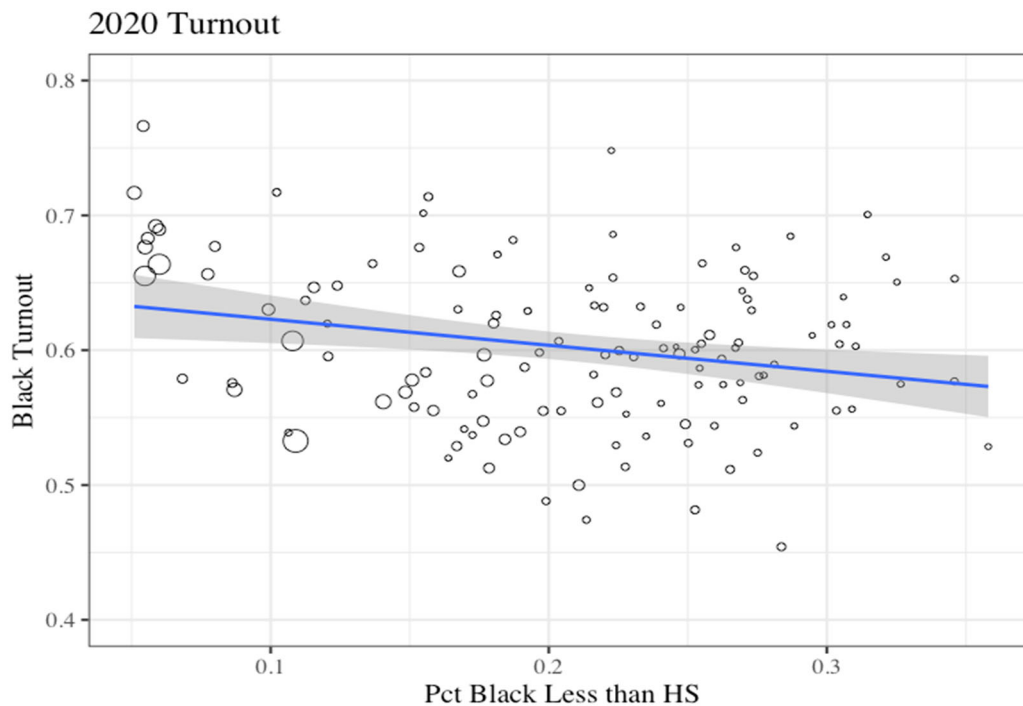


Figure 9. Association between Pct. Black Less than High School education and Black turnout.

Figure 10 plots out the relationship between the share of Blacks with a 4-year college degree and the share of Black registrants who voted by county. The relationship paints an inverse picture to the previous plot. As a county's Black education rises, so does the turnout rate. A bivariate regression reveals a statistically significant relationship ($\beta = 0.23$, $p < 0.001$), indicating that Black turnout rises 2.3 percentage points for each 10 percentage-point increase in percent Black 4-year degree.

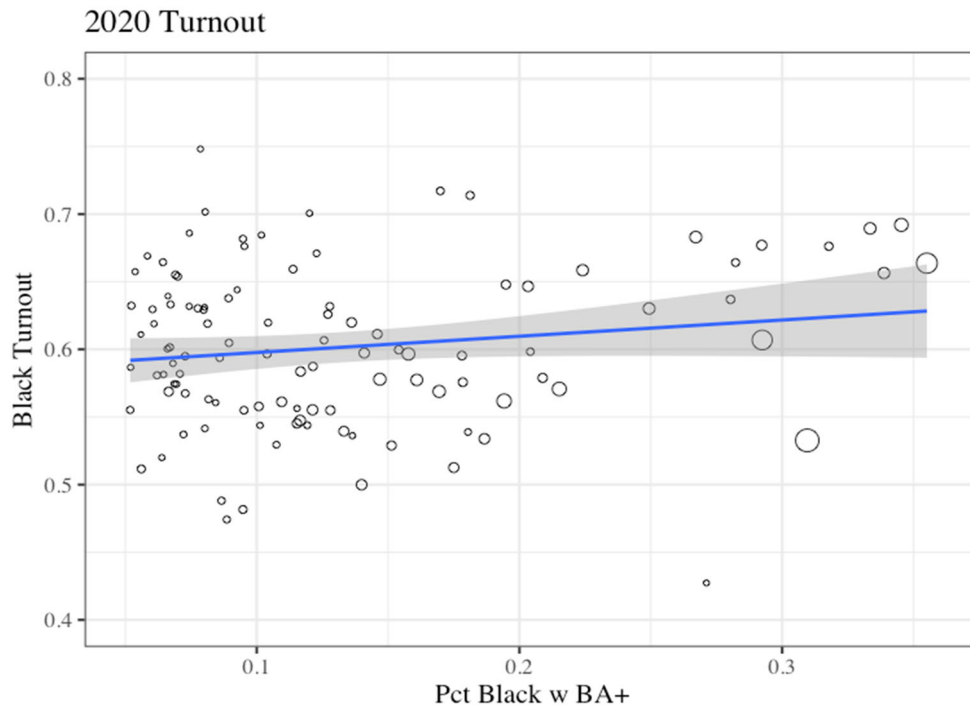


Figure 10. Association between Pct. 4-year degree and Black turnout.

Turning to income-related measures, Figure 11 plots out the relationship between the share of Blacks below the poverty line and the share of Black registrants who voted by county. As a county's Black poverty rises, the turnout rate declines. A bivariate regression reveals a statistically significant relationship ($\beta = -0.49$, $p < 0.001$), indicating that Black turnout falls 4.9 percentage points for each 10 percentage-point increase in percent Black below the poverty line.

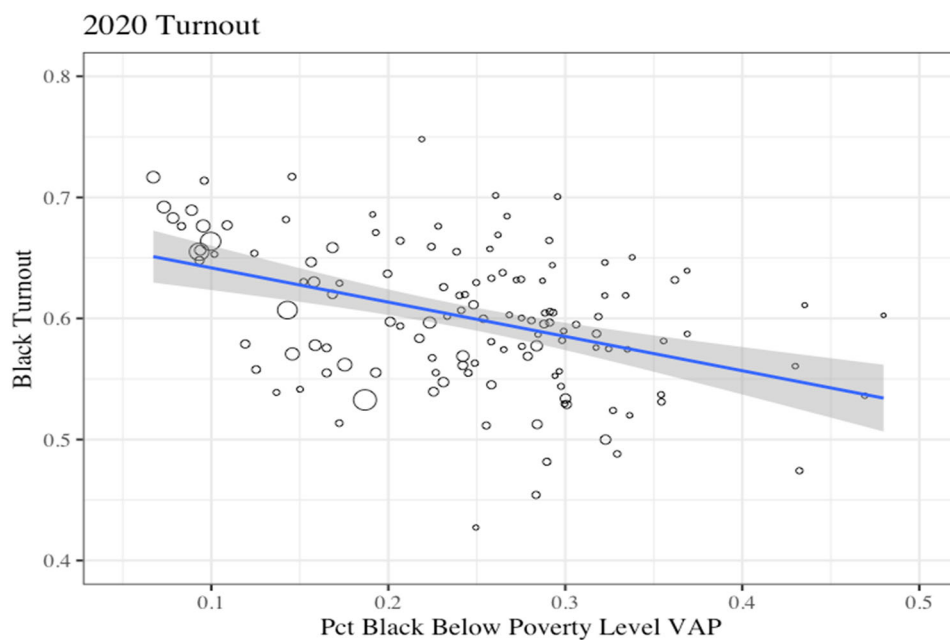


Figure 11. Association between Percent Black below the poverty line and Black turnout.

Figure 12 plots out the relationship between the logged Black median household income and the share of Black registrants who voted by county. As a county's Black household income rises, the turnout rate rises. A bivariate regression reveals a statistically significant relationship ($\beta = 0.117$, $p < 0.001$).

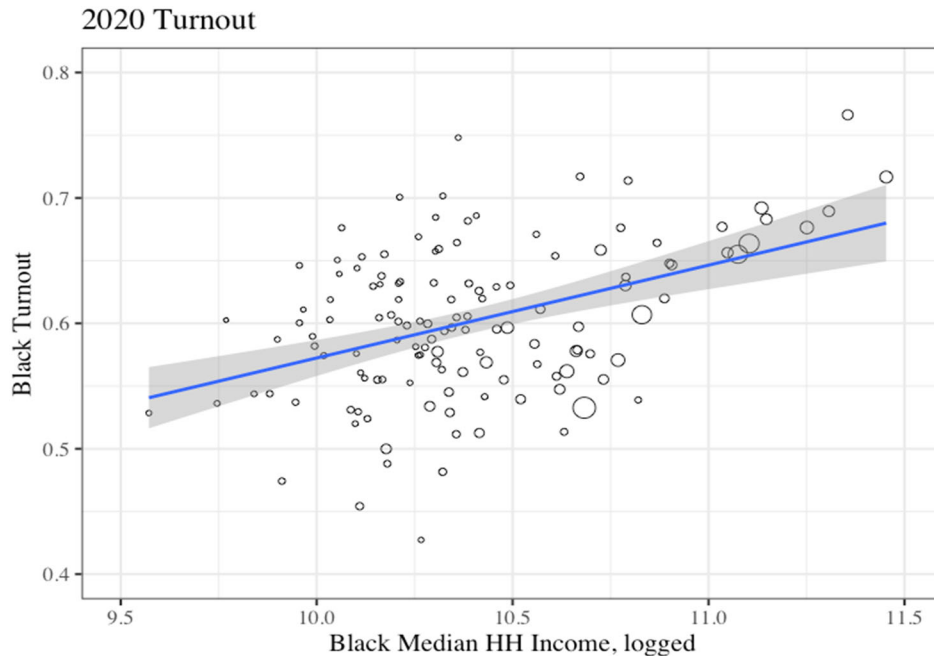


Figure 12. Association between Percent Black median household income and Black turnout.

3. Other Forms of Voter Participation

This next section examines disparities between Blacks and Whites among other modes of voter participation. I downloaded the 2020 Cooperative Election Study (CES) common form post-election survey.⁶ The CCES is a widely-used, publicly-available survey dataset that political scientists use to write academic papers and inform our scientific knowledge of the American voter. The full dataset contains 61,000 interviews. I subset the data to Georgia respondents, of which there are 2,002. To compare White vs. Black political participation, I further subset the data to only non-Hispanic White and Black respondents. This yields a dataset of $n=1,753$. Finally, 339 individuals who CCES initially interviewed in the pre-election survey did not ultimately take the post-election survey; thus, the final dataset is $n=1,414$. All tabulations presented below include survey weights to ensure that the analysis is representative of the target audience.⁷

⁶ 2020 Cooperative Election Study, Harvard University, available online at: <https://cces.gov.harvard.edu> (last accessed Dec. 23, 2021).

⁷ Weighting data here has the effect of growing the sample size of the dataset to $n=1,557$ respondents.

The survey asks a battery of political participation questions where respondents indicate they have (1) or have not (0) participated in such an act.

1. Attend local political meetings (such as school board or city council)
2. Put up a political sign (such as a lawn sign or bumper sticker)
3. Work for a candidate or campaign
4. Attend a political protest, march or demonstration
5. Contact a public official
6. Donate money to a candidate, campaign, or political organization

I also analyze two other yes (1) / no (0) questions related to political participation:

1. Did a candidate or political campaign organization contact you during the 2020 election?
2. Have you ever run for elective office at any level of government (local, state or federal)?

Below, I present cross-tabulations between each item and race (White/Black), along with a chi-square statistical test. The cross-tabulation shows, for instance, the share of Whites that participate in a particular activity vs. the share of Whites that do not participate in such activity. The analysis is designed to assess whether Blacks and Whites engage in political participation at different rates. If the chi-square p-value is .10 then we can say that we have 90% confidence that this relationship has not occurred by chance. In short, the lower the p-value, the more statistical confidence we have that Whites and Blacks behave differently politically.

Overall, the results strongly point to relative Black disparity in political participation. In five of the eight survey items, a statistically significant relationship exists between race and political participation (at either $p < .10$ or $p < .05$). That is, Whites are more likely to say that they engaged in the political activity than Blacks.

For instance, 5.9% of Whites say they attended a political meeting, whereas 3.5% of Blacks said they did ($p < 0.05$). On political signs, 17.9% of Whites put one up vs. 6.5% of Blacks ($p < 0.001$). Whites are also more likely to report having worked for a candidate or campaign (3.6% vs. 1.8%, $p < 0.05$). One of the larger differences emerges on the question regarding contacting a public official. Twenty-one percent (21%) of Whites say they contact an official, whereas 8.8% of Blacks report doing so ($p < 0.001$). Differences emerge across donation behavior too: 24.4% vs. 13.6% ($p < 0.001$).

There are three questions where significant statistical differences do not emerge, although Whites nonetheless engage in the political activity to a greater degree than Blacks: political protest (Whites = 6.2% vs Blacks = 4.4%, $p = 0.142$); being contacted by a political campaign organization (61.3% vs. 61.3%, $p = 0.995$), and running for office (White = 1.7% vs. Black = 0.7%, $p = 0.12$).

Attend local political meetings (such as school board or city council)

<i>Race</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Pct. No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Pct. Yes</i>
White	954	94.08%	60	5.92%
Black	523	96.49%	19	3.51%
<i>Chi-2 = 4.262 DF = 1 P-Value = 0.039</i>				

Table 3. Attend local political meetings (such as school board or city council)**Put up a political sign (such as a lawn sign or bumper sticker)**

<i>Race</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Pct. No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Pct. Yes</i>
White	832	82.05%	182	17.95%
Black	507	93.54%	35	6.46%
<i>Chi-2 = 38.863 DF = 1 P-Value = 0</i>				

Table 4. Put up a political sign (such as a lawn sign or bumper sticker)**Work for a candidate or campaign**

<i>Race</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Pct. No.</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Pct. Yes.</i>
White	978	96.35%	37	3.65%
Black	533	98.16%	10	1.84%
<i>Chi-2 = 3.934 DF = 1 P-Value = 0.0473</i>				

Table 5. Work for a candidate or campaign

Attend a political protest, march or demonstration

<i>Race</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Pct. No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Pct. Yes</i>
White	951	93.79%	63	6.21%
Black	519	95.58%	24	4.42%
<i>Chi-2 = 2.155 DF = 1 P-Value = 0.1421</i>				

Table 6. Attend a political protest, march or demonstration**Contact a public official**

<i>Race</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Pct. No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Pct. Yes</i>
White	801	78.99%	213	21.01%
Black	495	91.16%	48	8.84%
<i>Chi-2 = 37.513 DF = 1 P-Value = 0</i>				

Table 7. Contact a public official**Donate money to a candidate, campaign, or political organization**

<i>Race</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Pct. No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Pct. Yes</i>
White	767	75.64%	247	24.36%
Black	469	86.37%	74	13.63%
<i>Chi-2 = 24.882 DF = 1 P-Value = 0</i>				

Table 8. Donate money to a candidate, campaign, or political organization

Did a candidate or political campaign organization contact you during the 2020 election?

<i>Race</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Pct. No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Pct. Yes</i>
White	392	38.66%	622	61.34%
Black	210	38.67%	333	61.33%
<i>Chi-2 = 0 DF = 1 P-Value = 0.9953</i>				

Table 9. Did a candidate or political campaign organization contact you during the 2020 election?**Have you ever run for elective office at any level of government (local, state or federal)?**

<i>Race</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Pct. No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Pct. Yes</i>
White	986	98.31%	17	1.69%
Black	539	99.26%	4	0.74%
<i>Chi-2 = 2.414 DF = 1 P-Value = 0.1202</i>				

Table 10. Have you ever run for elective office at any level of government (local, state or federal)?

All told, the results are compelling: Georgia Whites engage in a wide range of political activity at higher rates than Black Georgians, including activities like donating to campaigns, contacting public officials, and posting political signs like a yard sign. And as the academic literature discussed earlier in this report shows, these differences are directly attributable to socioeconomic disparities in health, education, and income.

Conclusion

The picture that this data paints is straightforward: Black Georgians experience significant disparities in income, education, and health compared to non-Hispanic Whites. And these disparities cause Black Georgians to be less likely to participate effectively in the political process, as measured by voter turnout and other forms of voter participation like making political donations, engaging elected officials, and even running for office. These trends are in accord with overwhelming academic literature showing that Blacks suffer socio-economic disparities and are therefore less likely than Whites to participate in the political process. As a result, these findings provide strong evidence for the presence of Senate Factor 5 in the state of Georgia.

References

- Avery, James M. 2015. “Does Who Votes Matter? Income Bias in Voter Turnout and Economic Inequality in the American States from 1980 to 2010.” *Political Behavior* 37 (4): 955–76.
- Brady, Henry E, Sidney Verba, and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 1995. “Beyond Ses: A Resource Model of Political Participation.” *American Political Science Review* 89 (2): 271–94.
- Henderson, John A. 2018. “Hookworm Eradication as a Natural Experiment for Schooling and Voting in the American South.” *Political Behavior* 40 (2): 467–94.
- Leighley, Jan E, and Jonathan Nagler. 2013. *Who Votes Now?* Princeton University Press.
- Mayer, Alexander K. 2011. “Does Education Increase Political Participation?” *The Journal of Politics* 73 (3): 633–45.
- Nie, Norman H, Jane Junn, Kenneth Stehlik-Barry, and others. 1996. *Education and Democratic Citizenship in America*. University of Chicago Press.
- Pacheco, Julianna, and Jason Fletcher. 2015. “Incorporating Health into Studies of Political Behavior: Evidence for Turnout and Partisanship.” *Political Research Quarterly* 68 (1): 104–16.
- Shah, Paru, and Amber Wichowsky. 2019. “Foreclosure’s Fallout: Economic Adversity and Voter Turnout.” *Political Behavior* 41 (4): 1099–1115.
- Wolfinger, Raymond E, and Steven J Rosenstone. 1980. *Who Votes?* Yale University Press.

Loren Collingwood

University of New Mexico
Department of Political Science
1 University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, NM 87131

Office: (951) 827-5590
Email: 1collingwood@unm.edu
website: <http://www.collingwoodresearch.com>

Employment

Associate Professor, University of New Mexico, 2020 - Present
Associate Professor, University of California, Riverside 2019 - 2020
Assistant Professor, University of California, Riverside 2012 - 2019
Assistant Analyst, Greenberg Quinlan Rosner, Washington DC 2005-2007
Field Associate, Greenberg Quinlan Rosner, Washington DC 2003-2005

Education

Ph.D., Political Science, University of Washington 2007 - 2012
Committee: Matt Barreto (chair), Chris Parker, Luis Fraga, Chris Adolph, Peter Hoff
M.A., Political Science, University of Washington, 2009
B.A., Psychology, California State University, Chico, 1998 - 2002
Minor: Political Science
Honors: *Cum Laude*, NCAA Scholar-Athlete in soccer

Research Fields

American Politics, Political Behavior, Methods, Race and Ethnic Politics, Immigration

Books

2. **Collingwood, Loren.** *Campaigning in a Racially Diversifying America: When and How Cross-Racial Electoral Mobilization Works.* 2020. Oxford University Press.

Featured in *Veja*, Brazil

1. **Collingwood, Loren** and Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien. *Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge.* 2019. Oxford University Press.

Featured in *Teen Vogue*, *Seattle Times*; *Phoenix New Times*

Articles

39. **Collingwood, Loren**, Gabriel Martinez, and Kassra Oskooii. “Undermining Sanctuary? When Local and National Partisan Cues Diverge.” *Urban Affairs Review*. (Forthcoming).
38. **Collingwood, Loren** and Benjamin Gonzalez O’Brien. “Is Distance to Drop Box an Appropriate Proxy for Drop Box Treatment? A Case Study of Washington State.” *American Politics Research*. (Forthcoming)
37. Morín, Jason L., Rachel Torres, and **Loren Collingwood**. “Cosponsoring and Cashing in: U.S. House Members’ support for punitive immigration policy and financial payoffs from the private prison industry.” *Business and Politics*. (Forthcoming).

Featured in KOAT-ABQ news

36. Barreto, Matt, Michael Cohen, **Loren Collingwood**, Chad Dunn, and Sonni Waknin. “A Novel Method for Showing Racially Polarized Voting: The Promise of Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding.” *New York University Review of Law and Social Change*. 46(1). (Forthcoming)
35. Hickel, Flavio, Rudy Alamillo, Kassra Oskooii, and **Loren Collingwood**. “When American Identity Trumps Latinx Identity: Explaining Support for Restrictive Immigration Policies.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Forthcoming)

Featured in Academic Times

34. Walker, Hannah, **Loren Collingwood**, and Tehama Lopez Bunyasi. “White Response to Black Death: A Racialized Theory of White Attitudes About Gun Control.” *DuBois Review*. (Forthcoming).
33. Barreto, Matt, **Loren Collingwood**, Sergio Garcia-Rios, and Kassra Oskooii. “Estimating Candidate Support: Comparing Iterative EI & EI-RxC Methods.” *Sociological Methods & Research*. (Forthcoming).
32. Newman, Benjamin; Merolla, Jennifer; Shah, Sono; Lemi, Danielle; **Collingwood, Loren**; Ramakrishnan, Karthick. “The Trump Effect: An Experimental Investigation of the Emboldening Effect of Racially Inflammatory Elite Communication.” *British Journal of Political Science*. (Forthcoming).

Featured in New York Times; Washington Post; The Times of India; Washington Post; NBC News; New York Times; Forbes; NBC News

31. **Collingwood, Loren** and Sean Long. 2021. “Can States Promote Minority Representation? Assessing the Effects of the California Voting Rights Act.” *Urban Affairs Review*. 57(3): 731-762.

Featured in NPR; Modesto Bee, IVN News San Diego; Woodland Daily Democrat; Silicon Valley Voice; Spectrum 1

30. Oskooii, Kassra, Nazita Lajevardi, and **Loren Collingwood**. 2021. “Opinion Shift and Stability: Enduring Individual-Level Opposition to Trump’s ‘Muslim Ban’.” *Political Behavior*. 43: 301-337.

Featured in Washington Post

29. Filindra, Alexandra, **Loren Collingwood**, and Noah Kaplan. 2020. "Anxiety and Social Violence: The Emotional Underpinnings of Support for Gun Control." *Social Science Quarterly*. 101: 2101-2120.
28. McGuire, William, Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien, Katherine Baird, Benjamin Corbett, and **Loren Collingwood**. 2020. "Does Distance Matter? Evaluating the Impact of Drop Boxes on Voter Turnout." *Social Science Quarterly*. 101: 1789-1809.
27. Reny, Tyler, Ali Valenzuela, and **Loren Collingwood**. 2020. "'No, You're Playing the Race Card': Testing the Effects of Anti-Black, Anti-Latino, and Anti-Immigrant Appeals in the Post-Obama Era." *Political Psychology*. 41(2): 283-302.

Featured in VOX The Weeds Podcast

26. **Collingwood, Loren**, Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien, and Joe Tafoya. 2020. "Partisan Learning or Racial Learning: Opinion Change on Sanctuary City Policy Preferences in California and Texas." *Journal of Race and Ethnic Politics*. 5(1): 92-129.
25. **Collingwood, Loren** and Benjamin Gonzalez. 2019. "Covert Cross-Racial Mobilization, Black Activism, and Political Participation Pre-Voting Rights Act." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 97(4) Spring.
24. Gonzalez O'Brien, Ben, Elizabeth Hurst, Justin Reedy, and **Loren Collingwood**. 2019. "Framing Refuge: Media, Framing, and Sanctuary Cities." *Mass Communication and Society*. 22(6), 756-778.
23. DeMora, Stephanie, **Loren Collingwood**, and Adriana Ninci. 2019. "The Role of Super Interest Groups in Public Policy Diffusion." *Policy and Politics*. 47(4): 513-541.
22. **Collingwood, Loren**, Stephen Omar El-Khatib, Ben Gonzalez O'Brien. 2019. "Sustained Organizational Influence: American Legislative Exchange Council and the Diffusion of Anti-Sanctuary Policy." *Policy Studies Journal*. 47(3): 735-773.
21. **Collingwood, Loren** and Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien. 2019. "Public Opposition to Sanctuary Cities in Texas: Criminal Threat or Immigration Threat?" *Social Science Quarterly*. 100(4): 1182-1196.
20. Reny, Tyler, **Loren Collingwood**, and Ali Valenzuela. 2019. "Vote Switching in the 2016 Election: Racial and Immigration Attitudes, Not Economics, Explains Shifts in White Voting." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 83(1): 91-113.

Featured in VOX; The Week; The Economist; New York Times; The Economist

19. Gonzalez-O'Brien, Benjamin, **Loren Collingwood**, and Stephen Omar El-Khatib. 2019. "The Politics of Refuge: Sanctuary Cities, Crime, and Undocumented Immigration." *Urban Affairs Review*. 55(1): 3-40.

Featured in WaPo Monkey Cage I; and Monkey Cage II; WaPo Fact Check; InsideHigherEd; PolitiFact; The Hill; Christian Science Monitor; Pacific Standard; NBC News; Huffington Post; Seattle Times; The Denver Post; San Jose Mercury News; Chicago Tribune; San Diego Union Tribune; VOX

18. Oskooii, Kassra, Sarah Dreier, and **Loren Collingwood**. 2018. "Partisan Attitudes Toward Sanctuary Cities: The Asymmetrical Effects of Political Knowledge." *Politics and Policy* 46(6): 951-984.

17. **Collingwood, Loren**, Jason Morín, and Stephen Omar El-Khatib. 2018. “Expanding Carceral Markets: Detention Facilities, ICE Contracts, and the Financial Interests of Punitive Immigration Policy.” *Race and Social Problems*. 10(4): 275-292.

Featured in CityLab; The Guardian; Mother Jones; NPR

16. **Collingwood, Loren**, Benjamin Gonzalez O’Brien, and Sarah K. Dreier. 2018. “Evaluating Public Support for Legalized Marijuana: The Case of Washington.” *International Journal of Drug Policy*. 56: 6-20.

15. **Collingwood, Loren**, McGuire, Will, Gonzalez O’Brien, Ben, Baird, Katie, and Hampson, Sarah. 2018. “Do Dropboxes Improve Voter Turnout? Evidence from King County, Washington.” *Election Law Journal*. 17:1.

Featured in Seattle Times; CBS News

14. **Collingwood, Loren**, Nazita Lajevardi, and Kassra Oskooii. 2018. “A Change of Heart? How Demonstrations Shifted Individual-Level Public Opinion on Trump’s Muslim Ban.” *Political Behavior*. 40(4): 1035-1072.

Featured in VOX; ThinkProgress; LSE Blog; Al Jazeera; San Francisco Chronicle; NPR; Business Insider; Washington Post

13. **Collingwood, Loren**, Ashley Jochim, and Kassra Oskooii. 2018. “The Politics of Choice Reconsidered: Partisanship and Minority Politics in Washington’s Charter School Initiative.” *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 18(1): 61-92.

12. Newman, Ben, Sono Shah, and **Loren Collingwood**. 2018. “Race, Place, and Building a Base: Ethnic Change, Perceived Threat, and the Nascent Trump Campaign for President.” *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 82(1): 122-134.

Featured in Pacific Standard; LSE Blog; Newsweek

11. Skulley, Carrie, Andrea Silva, Marcus J. Long, **Loren Collingwood**, and Ben Bishin, “Majority Rule vs. Minority Rights: Immigrant Representation Despite Public Opposition on the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act.” 2018. *Politics of Groups and Identities*. 6(4): 593-611.

10. Alamillo, Rudy and **Loren Collingwood**. 2017. “Chameleon Politics: Social Identity and Racial Cross-Over Appeals.” *Politics of Groups and Identities*. 5(4): 533-650.

Featured in WaPo’s Monkey Cage; NBC News; Los Angeles Times

9. **Collingwood, Loren**, Kassra Oskooii, Sergio Garcia-Rios, and Matt Barreto. 2016. “eiCompare: Comparing ecological inference estimates across EI and EI:RxC.” *The R Journal*. 8(2): 92-101.

Featured in Investigate West

8. Barreto, Matt, **Loren Collingwood**, Christopher Parker, and Francisco Pedraza. 2015. “Racial Attitudes and Race of Interviewer Item Non-Response.” *Survey Practice*. 8:5.

7. Barreto, Matt and **Loren Collingwood**. 2015. “Group-based Appeals and the Latino Vote in 2012: How Immigration Became a Mobilizing Issue.” *Electoral Studies*. 40:490-499.

Featured in Latino Decisions blog

6. **Collingwood, Loren**, Matt Barreto, and Sergio Garcia-Rios. 2014. "Revisiting Latino Voting: Cross-Racial Mobilization in the 2012 Election." *Political Research Quarterly*. 67(3): 632-645.

Featured in LSE Blog

5. Jurka, Tim, **Loren Collingwood**, Amber Boydston, Emiliano Grossman, and Wouter van Atteveldt. 2013. "RTextTools: A Supervised Learning Package for Text Classification in R" *The R Journal*. 5(1).
4. **Collingwood, Loren**. 2012. "Education Levels and Support for Direct Democracy." *American Politics Research*, 40(4): 571-602.
3. **Collingwood, Loren** and John Wilkerson. 2012. "Tradeoffs in Accuracy and Efficiency in Supervised Learning Methods." *Journal of Information Technology and Politics*, 9(3).
2. **Collingwood, Loren**, Matt Barreto and Todd Donovan. 2012. "Early Primaries, Viability, and Changing Preferences for Presidential Candidates." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 42(2).
1. Barreto, Matt, **Loren Collingwood**, and Sylvia Manzano. 2010. "A New Measure of Group Influence in Presidential Elections: Assessing Latino Influence in 2008." *Political Research Quarterly*. 63(4).

Featured in Latino Decisions blog

Book Chapters

11. **Collingwood, Loren**, Stephanie DeMora , and Sean Long. "Demographic Change, White Decline, and the Changing Nature of Racial Politics in Election Campaigns." In *Cambridge Handbook in Political Psychology*. Edited by Danny Osborne and Chris Sibley. [Forthcoming].
10. Morín, Jason L. and **Loren Collingwood**. "Contractor Politics: How Political Events Influence Private Prison Company Stock Shares in the Pre and Post Trump Era." In *Anti-immigrant Rhetoric, Actions, and Policies during the Trump Era (2017-2019)*. [Forthcoming]
9. Parker, Christopher S., Christopher C. Towler, **Loren Collingwood**, and Kassra Oskooii. 2020. "Race and Racism in Campaigns." In Oxford Encyclopedia of Persuasion in Political Campaigns. Edited by Elizabeth Suhay, Bernard Grofman, and Alexander H. Trechsel. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190860806.013.38
8. **Collingwood, Loren**, and DeMora, Stephanie. 2019. "Latinos and Obama." In Jessica Lavariega Monforti (ed.) *Latinos in the American Political System: An Encyclopedia of Latinos as Voters, Candidates, and Office Holders*.
7. DeMora, Stephanie, and **Collingwood, Loren**. 2019. "George P. Bush." In Jessica Lavariega Monforti (ed.) *Latinos in the American Political System: An Encyclopedia of Latinos as Voters, Candidates, and Office Holders*.
6. El-Khatib, Stephen Omar, and **Collingwood, Loren**. 2019. "Ted Cruz." In Jessica Lavariega Monforti (ed.) *Latinos in the American Political System: An Encyclopedia of Latinos as Voters, Candidates, and Office Holders*.

5. **Collingwood, Loren**, Sylvia Manzano and Ali Valenzuela. 2014. "November 2008: The Latino vote in Obama's general election landslide." In *Latino America: How America's Most Dynamic Population Is Poised to Transform the Politics of the Nation*. By Matt Barreto and Gary Segura. New York: Public Affairs Press. (co-authored chapter with Matt Barreto and Gary Segura)
 4. **Collingwood, Loren**, Justin Gross and Francisco Pedraza. 2014. "A 'decisive voting bloc' in 2012." In *Latino America: How America's Most Dynamic Population Is Poised to Transform the Politics of the Nation*. By Matt Barreto and Gary Segura. New York: Public Affairs Press. (co-authored chapter with Matt Barreto and Gary Segura)
 3. Barreto, Matt, **Loren Collingwood**, Ben Gonzalez, and Chris Parker. 2011. "Tea Party Politics in a Blue State: Dino Rossi and the 2010 Washington Senate Election." In William Miller and Jeremy Walling (eds.) *Stuck in the Middle to Lose: Tea Party Effects on 2010 U.S. Senate Elections*. Rowan and Littlefield Publishing Group.
 2. **Collingwood, Loren** and Justin Reedy. "Criticisms of Deliberative Democracy." In Nabatchi, Tina, Michael Weiksner, John Gastil, and Matt Leighninger, eds., *Democracy in motion: Evaluating the practice and impact of deliberative civic engagement*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
 1. **Collingwood, Loren**. "Initiatives." In Haider-Markel, Donald P., and Michael A. Card. *Political Encyclopedia of U.S. States and Regions*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2009.
-

Software

R package: **RTextTools**. This package uses supervised learning methods to automate text classification. Coauthors include Jurka, Boydstun, Grossman, and van Atteveldt. Available on CRAN.

R package: **eiCompare**. This package compares outcomes between ecological inference (EI) estimates and EI:Rows by Columns (RxC) estimates. Primary purpose is employed in racially polarized voting analysis. Development Version available here: [eiCompare](#) or on CRAN. Coauthors include Barreto, Oskooii, Garcia-Rios, Burke, Decter-Frain, Murayama, Sachdeva, Henderson, Wood, and Gross.

R package: **Rvoterdistance**. Calculates distance between voters and multiple polling locations and/or ballot drop boxes. Ports C++ code for high speed efficiency. Available on CRAN.

R package: **Rweights**. Creates survey weights via iterative variable raking. Survey design object and weights vector are produced for use with R, Stata, and other programs. Currently in alpha form with unix tarball available here: [Rweights](#).

R package: **Rmturkcheck**. Functions for cleaning and analyzing two-wave MTurk (or other) panel studies. Available: [Rmturkcheck](#)

R package: **RCopyFind**. Functions for extracting data frames then plotting results from WCopyFind plagiarism text program. Co-authored with and Maintained by Steph DeMora. Available: [RCopyFind](#)

Under Review / Working Papers

Barreto, Matt, Michael Cohen, **Loren Collingwood**, Chad Dunn, and Sonni Waknin. “Using Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding (BISG) to Assess Racially Polarized Voting in Voting Rights Act Challenges.” [Revise & Resubmit]

Collingwood, Loren, Juandalyn Burke, Ari Decter-Frain, Hikari Murayama, Pratik Sachdeva, Matt Barreto, Scott Henderson, Spencer Wood, and Joshua Zingher. “Comparing BISG to CVAP Estimates in Racially Polarized Voting Analyses.” [Under Review]

Collingwood, Loren, Jason Morín, and Edward Vargas. “Protesting Detention: How Protests Activated Group Empathy and Party ID to Shift Attitudes on Child Detention.” [Working Paper]

Paarlberg, Michael A. and Loren Collingwood. “Fact or Fiction: Testing the link between local immigration policy and the MS-13 ‘Threat’.” [Working Paper]

Awards, Grants, and Fellowships

Matt Barreto and Loren Collingwood. Detection of Vote Dilution: New tools and methods for protecting voting rights. Data Science for Social Good project selection, University of Washington. 2020

Loren Collingwood. Measuring Cross-Racial Voter Preferences. UCR Faculty Senate. \$3,500. 2019.

Francisco Pedraza and Loren Collingwood. Evaluating AltaMed’s 2018 GOTV Efforts in Los Angeles. \$12,000. 2018-2019.

Allan Colbern, Loren Collingwood, Marcel Roman. A Mess in Texas: The Deleterious Effects of SB4 on Public Trust in Law Enforcement. Center for American Progress. \$7,100. 2018.

Karthick Ramakrishnan, Mindy Romero, Loren Collingwood, Francisco Pedraza, Evaluating California’s Voter’s Choice Act. Irvine Foundation. \$150,000, 2018-2019.

William McGuire, Loren Collingwood, Ben Gonzalez O’Brien, and Katie Baird, “Evaluating the Impact of Drop Boxes and Get-Out-The-Vote Advertising on Voter Turnout in Pierce County, WA.” MIT Election Data and Science Lab, \$16,365, 2017

Justin Freebourn and Loren Collingwood, Blum Initiative \$4,000, 2017

Hellman Fellowship Grant, UC Riverside, \$30,000, 2014-2015

Best Dissertation Award, 2013 Western Political Science Association

UC Riverside Harrison & Ethel Silver Fund, \$2,000, 2013

Best Graduate Student Paper Award State Politics section, 2012 American Political Science Association

Texas A&M Experimental Methods Winter Institute, \$800, January, 2011

UseR! 2011 Conference travel grant, \$1000, August, 2011

Center for Statistics and the Social Sciences travel grant, \$870, January, 2011

David J. Olson Research Grant, University of Washington Political Science, \$2,000, January, 2011

Warren Miller Scholarship Award, Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, Summer 2009

Matthews Fellowship, University of Washington, Winter 2008 - Spring 2009

Brennan Center for Justice, New York University [with Matt Barreto]

Indiana Voter Identification Study, \$40,000 – Oct. 2007, 6 months

Teaching Experience

POSC 10 (American Politics); POSC 146 (Mass Media & Public Opinion); POSC 171 (State Politics); POSC 104S (Race and Ethnic Politics Special Topics); POSC 108 (Race and Ethnic Politics)

POLS 300: Immigration Politics with Focus on Latino Politics

POLS 300: The Voting Rights Act: Causes and Effects

POSC 202A: Introduction to Quantitative Methods (Graduate)

POSC 207: Statistical Programming and Data Science for the Social Sciences (Graduate)

POSC 207: Quantitative Text Analysis (Graduate)

POSC 220: Graduate Seminar in Race and Ethnic Politics in the U.S.

POSC 256: Graduate Seminar in Public Opinion

POSC 253: Graduate Seminar in Electoral Politics

Text Classification with R using the `RTextTools` package, UNC-Chapel Hill Workshop

Text Analysis with Political Data, Claremont Graduate School, 2019

CSSS Intermediate R Workshop 2011, Instructor (Summer)

POLS 501: Advanced Research Design and Analysis, Teaching Assistant (2 quarters)

ICPSR Summer Course: Methodological Issues in Quantitative Research on Race and Ethnicity, Teaching Assistant

POLS 202: Introduction to American Politics, Teaching Assistant

CSSS Math Camp 2011, Teaching Assistant

POLS 499D: Center for American Politics and Public Policy Undergraduate Honors Seminar (2 quarters)

Professional Service

Co-editor, *Politics of Groups and Identities*, 2020-2021

Reviewer, Political Behavior, Journal of Information Technology and Politics, American Politics Research, Social Sciences Quarterly, Journal of Politics, Politics of Groups and Identities, American Journal of Political Science, Political Research Quarterly, State Politics and Public Policy, American Political Science Review, British Journal of Political Science, Journal of Race and Ethnic Politics, Urban Studies, Urban Affairs Review; many other journals

Conference Papers and Presentations

Collingwood, Loren and Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk California Lutheran University. (October 2020).

Collingwood, Loren. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk California State University, Chico. (March 2020).

Collingwood, Loren. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk Humboldt State University. (March 2020).

Collingwood, Loren. "Campaigning in a Racially Diversifying America: Whether and How Cross-Racial Electoral Mobilization Works." Invited Talk Oregon State University. (February 2020).

Collingwood, Loren and Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk University of San Diego. (November 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "Campaigning in a Racially Diversifying America: Whether and How Cross-Racial Electoral Mobilization Works." Invited Talk University of Massachusetts. (January 2020).

Collingwood, Loren. "Campaigning in a Racially Diversifying America: Whether and How Cross-Racial Electoral Mobilization Works." Invited Talk University of New Mexico. (December 2019).

Collingwood, Loren and Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk California State University, Northridge, Los Angeles. (November 2019).

Collingwood, Loren and Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk Occidental College, Los Angeles. (November 2019).

Collingwood, Loren (with Sean Long). "Can States Promote Minority Representation? Assessing the Effects of the California Voting Rights Act." UC Irvine Critical Observations on Race and Ethnicity Conference. (November 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk University of Geneva, Switzerland. (November 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk University of Bern, Switzerland. (October 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk ETH Zurich, Switzerland. (October 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk London School of Economics, U.K. (October 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk University of Leeds, U.K. (October 2019).

Valenzuela, Ali, Kassra Oskooi, and Loren Collingwood. "Threat or Reassurance? Framing Midterms Results among Latinos and Whites." American Political Science Association, Washington, DC. (August 2019).

Paarlberg, Michael A. and Loren Collingwood. "Much Ado about Nothing: Local Immigration Policy and the MS-13 'Threat' ." American Political Science Association, Washington, DC. (August 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "A Mess in Texas: The Deleterious Effects of SB4 on Public Trust in Law Enforcement." International Center for Local Democracy (ICLD) Conference on Local Democracy. Umea, Sweden (June 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "The #FamiliesBelongTogether Outcry: How Protests Shifted Attitudes on Immigrant Family Separation and Child Detention." Invited Talk University of California, Irvine (May 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "Text Analysis with R." Invited talk and presentation. Claremont Graduate University (May 2019)

Collingwood, Loren. "The #FamiliesBelongTogether Outcry: How Protests Shifted Attitudes on Immigrant Family Separation and Child Detention." PRIEC. UC Davis (May 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "Data Analysis with R." Invited presentation and training Cal Poly Pomona (May 2019)

Collingwood, Loren. "The #FamiliesBelongTogether Outcry: How Protests Shifted Attitudes on Immigrant Family Separation and Child Detention." Invited Talk Northern Arizona University (May 2019)

Collingwood, Loren (with Jason Morín). "Contractor Politics: How Political Events Influence Private Prison Company Stock Shares in the Pre and Post Trump Era." Invited Talk Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, Distrito Federal, Mexico (February 2019).

Roman, Marcel, Allan Colbern, and Loren Collingwood. "A Mess in Texas: The Deleterious Effects of SB4 on Public Trust in Law Enforcement." PRIEC Consortium. University of Houston (December 2018)

Collingwood, Loren. "The #FamiliesBelongTogether Outcry: How Protests Shifted Attitudes on Immigrant Family Separation and Child Detention." Invited Talk University of Illinois Chicago (November 2018)

Collingwood, Loren. "Ongoing Research in Sanctuary Cities and Immigration Politics." Invited Talk University of Pennsylvania Perry World House (November 2018)

Collingwood, Loren. "Unfair Detention: How Protests Activated Racial Group Empathy to Shift Attitudes on Child Detention." Invited Talk Rutgers University (October 2018)

Collingwood, Loren. "Unfair Detention: How Protests Activated Racial Group Empathy to Shift Attitudes on Child Detention." UCR Alumni Research Presentation Washington and Philadelphia (October 2018)

Collingwood, Loren, Jason Morin. "Expanding Carceral Markets: Detention Facilities, ICE Contracts, and the Financial Interests of Punitive Immigration Policy." Invited Talk UCLA (October 2018).

Collingwood, Loren, Nazita Lajevardi, and Kassra Oskooii. "Opinion Shift and Stability: Enduring Opposition to Trump's "Muslim Ban". APSA (September 2018).

Collingwood, Loren, Jason Morin, and Stephen Omar El-Khatib. "Expanding Carceral Markets: Detention Facilities, ICE Contracts, and the Financial Interests of Punitive Immigration Policy." American Political Science Association Conference (August 2018).

Collingwood, Loren, Sergio Garcia-Rios, and Hannah Walker. "The Impact of Exposure to Police Brutality on Political Attitudes Among Black and White Americans." Cooperative Comparative Post-Election Survey (CMPS) Conference. (August, 2018).

Collingwood, Loren, Nazita Lajevardi, and Kassra Oskooii. "Opinion Shift and Stability: Enduring Opposition to Trump's "Muslim Ban". Politics of Race Immigration and Ethnicity Consortium (August 2018).

Collingwood, Loren, Jason Morin, and Stephen Omar El-Khatib. "Expanding Carceral Markets: Detention Facilities, ICE Contracts, and the Financial Interests of Punitive Immigration Policy." Politics of Race Immigration and Ethnicity Consortium, Michigan State University (April 2018)

Collingwood, Loren, Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien, and Joe Tafoya. "Partisan Learning or Racial Learning: Opinion Change on Sanctuary City Policy Preferences in California and Texas." Midwest Political Science Association Conference (April 2018).

El-Khatib, Stephen Omar and Loren Collingwood. "State Policy Responses to Sanctuary Cities: Explaining the Rise of Sanctuary City Legislative Proposals." Midwest Political Science Association Conference (April 2018).

Hannah Walker, Loren Collingwood, and Tehama Lopez Bunyasi. "Under the Gun: Black Responsiveness and White Ambivalence to Racialized Black Death." Midwest Political Science Association Conference (April 2018).

Hannah Walker, Loren Collingwood, and Tehama Lopez Bunyasi. "Under the Gun: Black Responsiveness and White Ambivalence to Racialized Black Death." Western Political Science Association Conference (April 2018).

DeMora, Stephanie, Adriana Ninci, and Loren Collingwood. "Shoot First in ALEC's Castle: The Diffusion of Stand Your Ground Laws." Politics of Race Immigration and Ethnicity Consortium, ASU (February 2018).

El-Khatib, Stephen Omar and Loren Collingwood. "State Policy Responses to Sanctuary Cities: Explaining the Rise of Sanctuary City Legislative Proposals." Politics of Race Immigration and Ethnicity Consortium, UCR (September 2017).

Collingwood, Loren, Nazita Lajevardi, and Kassra Oskooii. "A Change of Heart? How Protests Shifted Individual-Level Public Opinion on Trump's Muslim Ban." APSA (September 2017).

Collingwood, Loren, McGuire, Will, Gonzalez O'Brien Ben, Hampson, Sarah, and Baird, Katie. "Do Dropboxes Improve Voter Turnout? Evidence from King County, Washington." APSA (September 2017).

Collingwood, Loren, Reny, Tyler, Valenzuela, Ali. "Flipping for Trump: In 2016, Immigration and Not Economic Anxiety Explains White Working Class Vote Switching." UCLA (May 2017).

Collingwood, Loren, Nazita Lajevardi, and Kassra Oskooii. "A Change of Heart? How Protests Shifted Individual-Level Public Opinion on Trump's Muslim Ban." UCLA (May 2017).

Collingwood, Loren, Nazita Lajevardi, and Kassra Oskooii. "A Change of Heart? How Protests Shifted Individual-Level Public Opinion on Trump's Muslim Ban." Politics of Race Immigration and Ethnicity Consortium, UCSB (May 2017).

Reny, Tyler, Ali Valenzuela, and Loren Collingwood. "Public Reactions to Anti-Latino Appeals in the Age of Obama: Race, Illegality and Changing Norms." Vancouver, Western Political Science Association Conference (April. 2017).

Collingwood, Loren, McGuire, Will, Gonzalez-O'Brien Ben, Hampson, Sarah, and Baird, Katie. "Do Dropboxes Improve Voter Turnout? Evidence from King County, Washington." WPSA (April 2017).

Gonzalez-O'Brien, Benjamin, Loren Collingwood, and Stephen El-Khatib. "Gimme Shelter: The Myth and Reality of the American Sanctuary City". Vancouver, Western Political Science Association Conference WPSA (April 2017).

Rush, Tye, Pedraza, Francisco, Collingwood, Loren. "Relieving the Conscience: White Guilt and Candidate Evaluation." Politics of Race Immigration and Ethnicity Consortium, UCI (March 2017).

Reny, Tyler, Ali Valenzuela, and Loren Collingwood. "Public Reactions to Anti-Latino Appeals in the Age of Obama: Race, Illegality and Changing Norms." Philadelphia, American Political Science Association Conference (Sept. 2016)

Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, Sergio Garcia-Rios, and Kassra Oskooii. "Estimating Candidate Support: Comparing EI & EI-RxC." Chicago, Midwest Political Science Association Conference (April 2016)

Bishin, Benjamin, Loren Collingwood, and Erinn Lauterbach. "Cross-Racial Mobilization in a Rapidly Diversifying Polity: Latino Candidates and Anglo Voters" Chicago, Midwest Political Science Association Conference (April 2016)

Gonzalez-O'Brien, Benjamin, Loren Collingwood, and Stephen El-Khatib. "Gimme Shelter: The Myth and Reality of the American Sanctuary City". San Diego, Western Political Science Association Conference (April 2016)

Collingwood, Loren and Antoine Yoshinaka. The new carpetbaggers? Analyzing the effects of migration on Southern politics. The Citadel Conference on Southern Politics, Charleston, SC (Mar 2016)

Alamillo, Rudy and Loren Collingwood. Chameleon Politics: Social Identity and Racial Cross-Over Appeals. American Political Science Association Conference, San Francisco (Sept 2015)

Reny, Tyler, Ali Valenzuela, and Loren Collingwood. "Public Reactions to Anti-Latino Appeals in the Age of Obama: Race, Illegality and Changing Norms." San Francisco, American Political Science Association Conference (Sept 2015)

Alamillo, Rudy and Loren Collingwood. Chameleon Politics: Social Identity and Racial Cross-Over Appeals. Western Political Science Association Conference, Las Vegas (April 2015)

Barreto, Matt and Loren Collingwood. Confirming Electoral Change: The 2012 U.S. Presidential Election OSU Conference (October, 2013). "Earning and Learning the Latino Vote in 2008 and 2012: How the Obama Campaign Tried, Refined, Learned, and Made Big Steps in Cross-Racial Mobilization to Latinos.

Collingwood, Loren and Ashley Jochim. 2012 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference (April) Chicago, IL. "Electoral Competition and Latino Representation: The Partisan Politics of Immigration Policy in the 104th Congress."

Collingwood, Loren. 2012 Western Political Science Association Annual Conference (March) Portland, OR. "The Development and Use of Cross-Racial Mobilization as Campaign Strategy in U.S. Elections: The Case of Texas 1948-2010."

Collingwood, Loren. 2012 Institute for Pragmatic Practice Annual Conference (March) Seattle, WA. "Changing Demographics, Rural Electorates, and the Future of American Politics."

Collingwood, Loren. 2012 Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Consortium (January) Riverside, CA. "The Development of Cross-Racial Mobilization: The Case of Texas 1948-2010."

Collingwood, Loren. 2011 American Political Science Association Annual Conference (September) Seattle, WA. "The Pursuit of Victory and Incorporation: Elite Strategy, Group Pressure, and Cross Racial Mobilization."

Forman, Adam and Loren Collingwood. 2011 American Political Science Association Annual Conference (September) Seattle, WA. "Measuring Power via Presidential Phone Records." (Poster)

Collingwood, Loren with (Tim Jurka, Wouter Van Atteveldt, Amber Boydstun, and Emiliano Grossman). UseR! 2011 Conference. (August) Coventry, United Kingdom. "RTextTools: A Supervised Learning Package for Text Classification in R."

Jurka, Tim, Loren Collingwood, Wouter Van Atteveldt, Amber Boydstun, and Emiliano Grossman. 2011 Comparative Agendas Project Conference. (June) Catania, Italy. "RTextTools: A Supervised Learning Package for Text Classification in R."

Collingwood, Loren and John Wilkerson. 2011 Journal of Information Technology & Politics Conference. (May) Seattle, WA. "Tradeoffs in Accuracy and Efficiency in Supervised Learning Methods."

Collingwood, Loren. 2011 Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Consortium (May) Davis, CA. "The Pursuit of Victory and Incorporation: Elite Strategy, Group Pressure, and Cross Racial Mobilization"

Collingwood, Loren. 2011 Western Political Science Conference (April) San Antonio, TX. "Race-Matching as Targeted Mobilization."

Collingwood, Loren. 2011 Western Political Science Conference (April) San Antonio, TX. "The Pursuit of Victory and Incorporation: Elite Strategy, Group Pressure, and Cross Racial Mobilization"

Collingwood, Loren (with John Wilkerson). Invited Talk: Texas A&M University. (April, 2011) "Tradeoffs in Accuracy and Efficiency in Supervised Learning Methods."

Collingwood, Loren (with John Wilkerson). Invited Talk: Rice University. (April, 2011) "Tradeoffs in Accuracy and Efficiency in Supervised Learning Methods."

Collingwood, Loren. 2011 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference (April) Chicago, IL. "Race-Matching as Targeted Mobilization."

Collingwood, Loren and John Wilkerson. 2011 Text as Data Conference. (March) Evanston, IL. "Tradeoffs in Accuracy and Efficiency in Supervised Learning Methods."

Collingwood, Loren and John Wilkerson. 2011 Southern Political Science Conference. (January) New Orleans, LA. "Tradeoffs in Accuracy and Efficiency in Supervised Learning Methods."

Collingwood, Loren (with Ben Gonzalez). 2010 American Political Science Association Annual Conference. (September) Washington, DC. "The Political Process in Florida: Modeling African American Registration Rates Post *Smith v. Allwright*, 1944-1964."

Wilkerson, John, Steve Purpura, and Loren Collingwood. 2010 NSF Funded Tools for Text Workshop. (June) Seattle, WA. "Rtexttools: A Supervised Machine Learning Package in an R-Wrapper."

Collingwood, Loren and Marcela Garcia-Castanon. 2010 Western Political Science Association Annual Conference. (April) San Francisco, CA. "Negativity as a Tool: candidate poll standing and attack politics."

Collingwood, Loren. 2010 Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Consortium. (January) Riverside, CA. "White Outreach: A spatial approach to modeling black incorporation in Florida post *Smith v. Allwright*, 1944-1965."

Collingwood, Loren. 2009 Western Political Science Association Annual Conference. (March) Vancouver, BC. "Levels of Education, Political Knowledge and Support for Direct Democracy."

Collingwood, Loren. 2009 Western Political Science Association Annual Conference. (March) Vancouver, BC. "The Negativity Effect: Psychological underpinnings of advertising recall in modern political campaigns."

Collingwood, Loren and Marcela Garcia-Castanon. 2009 Western Political Science Association Annual Conference. (March) Vancouver, BC. "Negativity as a Tool: predicting negative responses and their effectiveness in the 2008 campaign season."

Collingwood, Loren and Marcela Garcia-Castanon. 2009 Western Political Science Association Annual Conference. (March) Vancouver, BC. "Switching codes: analyzing Obama's strategy for addressing Latinos in the 2008 presidential campaign."

Collingwood, Loren, (with Matt Barreto and Sylvia Manzano) 2009 Shambaugh Conference. (March) University of Iowa, IA. "More than one way to shuck a tamale: Latino influence in the 2008 general election."

Collingwood, Loren and Marcela Garcia-Castanon. 2009 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference. (April) Chicago, IL. "Switching codes: analyzing Obama's strategy for addressing Latinos in the 2008 presidential campaign."

Collingwood, Loren and Marcela Garcia-Castanon. 2009 Pacific Northwest Political Science Conference. (October) Victoria, BC. "Negativity as a Tool: predicting negative responses and their effectiveness in the 2008 campaign season."

Collingwood, Loren and Francisco Pedraza (with Matt Barreto and Chris Parker). 2009 Center for Statistics and the Social Sciences 10th Anniversary Conference. (May) Seattle, WA. "Race of interviewer effects: perceived versus actual."

Collingwood, Loren (with Matt Barreto, Chris Parker, and Francisco Pedraza). 2009 Pacific Northwest Political Science Conference. (October) Victoria, BC. "Race of interviewer effects: perceived versus actual."

Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood and Todd Donovan. 2008 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference. (April) Chicago, IL. "Early Presidential Primaries, Viability, and Vote Switching in 2008."

Collingwood, Loren. 2008 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference. (April) Chicago, IL. “Levels of Education and Support for Direct Democracy: A Survey Experiment.”

Collingwood, Loren. 2008 American Political Science Association Annual Conference. (September) Boston, MA. “Levels of Education and Support for Direct Democracy: A Survey Experiment.” (Poster)

Collingwood, Loren. 2008 American Political Science Association Annual Conference. (September) Boston, MA. “Response Effects in Multi-Candidate Primary Vote Questions.” (Poster)

Computer Skills

R, Stata, Python, WinBugs/JAGS, L^AT_EX, SPSS, MySQL, Access, ArcGIS, Some C++ when interacting with R.

Reports

Collingwood, Loren. (2008). *The Washington Poll: pre-election analysis*. www.washingtonpoll.org.

Collingwood, Loren. (2008). *Democratic underperformance in the 2004 gubernatorial election: explaining 2004 voting patterns with an eye towards 2008*. www.washingtonpoll.org.

Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, Francisco Pedraza, and Barry Pump. (2009). *Online voter registration in Washington State and Arizona*. Commissioned by Pew Research Center.

Collingwood, Loren, Todd Donovan, and Matt Barreto. (2009). *An assessment of ranked choice voting in Pierce County, WA*.

Collingwood, Loren. (2009). *An assessment of the fiscal impact of ranked choice voting in Pierce County, WA*. Commissioned by the League of Women Voters.

Barreto, Matt, and Loren Collingwood. (2009). *Latino candidates and racial block voting in primary and judicial elections: An analysis of voting in Los Angeles County board districts*. Commissioned by the Los Angeles County Chicano Employees Association.

Barreto, Matt, and Loren Collingwood. (2011). *A Review of Racially Polarized Voting For and Against Latino Candidates in Los Angeles County 1994-2010*. Commissioned by Los Angeles County Supervisor Gloria Molina. August 4.

Collingwood, Loren. (2012). *Recent Political History of Washington State: A Political Map*. Commissioned by the Korean Consulate.

Collingwood, Loren. (2012). *Analysis of Polling on Marijuana Initiatives*. Commissioned by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner.

Collingwood, Loren, Sean Long, and Francisco Pedraza. (2019). *Evaluating AltaMed Voter Mobilization in Southern California, November 2018*. Commissioned by AltaMed.

Relevant Work Experience

Collingwood Research, LLC

Statistical Consulting and Analysis

January 2008 - Present

Conducted over 200 projects involving political research, polling, statistical modeling, redistricting analysis and mapping, data analysis, micro-targeting, and R software development for political and non-profit clients. Clients include: Greenberg Quinlan Rosner, Latino Decisions, Pacific Market Research, Beck Research, Squier Knapp Dunn Communications, Anzalone-Lizst Research, League of Women Voters, Shelia Smoot for Congress, pollster.com, Comparative Agendas Project, Amplified Strategies, Gerstein Bocian & Agne, Strategies 360, the Korean Consulate, the California Redistricting Commission, Monterey County Redistricting Commission, ClearPath Strategies, Los Angeles County Council, Demchak & Baller Legal, Arnold & Porter LLP, JPM Strategic Solutions, National Democratic Institute (NDI) – on site in Iraq, Latham & Watkins, New York ACLU, United States Department of Justice (Demography), Inland Empire Funder's Alliance (Demography), Perkins & Coie, Elias Law Group; Santa Clara County (RPV Analysis); Native American Rights Fund (NARF); West Contra Costa Unified School District (Demography); Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law; LatinoJustice PRLDEF

Expert Witness Work

Expert Witness: *East St. Louis Branch NAACP vs. Illinois State Board of Elections*, 2021

Expert Witness: *LULAC of Iowa vs. Pate*, 2021

Expert Witness: *United States Department of Justice vs. City of Hesperia*, 2021

Expert Witness: *NAACP vs. East Ramapo Central School District*, New York, 2018-2019

Riverside County, Corona and Eastvale, 2015

Los Angeles County Redistricting Commission, 2011

Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino and Asian candidates in San Mateo County and alternative map creation, 2010-2011

State of California, Citizens Redistricting Commission, including Blythe, CA, in Riverside County, 2011

Monterey County, CA Redistricting, alternative map creation, 2011

Greenberg Quinlan Rosner

Assistant Analyst, Anna Greenberg

June 2005 - May 2007

Assisted in the development of questionnaires, focus group guidelines, memos, and survey reports for political, non-profit, and corporate clients. Moderated in-depth interviews and focus groups.

Loren Collingwood

17

Greenberg Quinlan Rosner

Field Associate

December 2003 - June 2005

Managed qualitative and quantitative data collection process in the U.S. and internationally. Provided methodological advice, including sample stratification, sampling Latino populations, and modal sampling strategies.

Congressman Adam Schiff

Database Manager

March 2003 - June 2003

Managed constituent mail and survey databases; updated and maintained Member's Congressional voting record.

Strategic Consulting Group

Field Organizer, Carol Roberts for Congress

July 2002 - November 2002

Recruited and coordinated over 100 volunteers for mailings, canvassing, phone banking, and GOTV operations. Developed internship program and managed 15 interns from local colleges and high schools.

Institute for Policy Studies

Intern, John Cavanagh

May 2001 - August 2001

Provided research assistance for projects advocating reform of the WTO, World Bank, and IMF. Worked on reports and op-ed pieces on global economic issues advocating fair trade.

EXHIBIT 5

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA DIVISION**

ANNIE LOIS GRANT; QUENTIN T.
HOWELL; ELROY TOLBERT; THERON
BROWN; TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES;
EUNICE SYKES; ELBERT SOLOMON;
and DEXTER WIMBISH;

Plaintiffs,

v.

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official
capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State;
REBECCA N. SULLIVAN, in her official
capacity as the Acting Chair of the State
Election Board; SARA TINDALL
GHAZAL, in her official capacity as a
member of the State Election Board;
MATTHEW MASHBURN, in his official
capacity as a member of the State Election
Board; and ANH LE, in her official
capacity as a member of the State Election
Board,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION FILE
NO. _____

**DECLARATION OF ANNIE LOIS GRANT
IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Annie Lois Grant, declare as follows:

1. My name is Annie Lois Grant. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts stated in this declaration, and can competently testify to their truth.

2. I am a Black citizen of the United States and the State of Georgia.

3. I possess all the qualifications of a Georgia voter: I am a citizen, I am at least 18 years old, I am not serving a sentence for a felony conviction, I have not been found mentally incompetent by a judge, and I am a legal resident of Georgia.

4. I am specifically registered to vote at 1191 Green Acres Drive, Union Point, GA 30669, which is located in Senate District 24 and House District 124 under the newly elected legislative maps.

5. I have previously voted in prior state legislative elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future state legislative elections in Georgia.

DATED: January 13, 2022

By: Annie L. Grant
Annie Lois Grant

EXHIBIT 6

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA DIVISION**

ANNIE LOIS GRANT; QUENTIN T.
HOWELL; ELROY TOLBERT; THERON
BROWN; TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES;
EUNICE SYKES; ELBERT SOLOMON;
and DEXTER WIMBISH;

Plaintiffs,

v.

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official
capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State;
REBECCA N. SULLIVAN, in her official
capacity as the Acting Chair of the State
Election Board; SARA TINDALL
GHAZAL, in her official capacity as a
member of the State Election Board;
MATTHEW MASHBURN, in his official
capacity as a member of the State Election
Board; and ANH LE, in her official
capacity as a member of the State Election
Board,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION FILE
NO. _____

**DECLARATION OF QUENTIN T. HOWELL
IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Quentin T. Howell, declare as follows:

1. My name is Quentin T. Howell. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts stated in this declaration, and can competently testify to their truth.

2. I am a Black citizen of the United States and the State of Georgia.

3. I possess all the qualifications of a Georgia voter: I am a citizen, I am at least 18 years old, I am not serving a sentence for a felony conviction, I have not been found mentally incompetent by a judge, and I am a legal resident of Georgia.

4. I am specifically registered to vote at 215 Stewart Drive NW, Milledgeville, GA 31061, which is located in Senate District 25 and House District 133 under the newly elected legislative maps.

5. I have previously voted in prior state legislative elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future state legislative elections in Georgia.

DATED: ^{1/12/2022} _____

By: Quentin T. Howell
Quentin T. Howell

EXHIBIT 7

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA DIVISION**

ANNIE LOIS GRANT; QUENTIN T.
HOWELL; ELROY TOLBERT; THERON
BROWN; TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES;
EUNICE SYKES; ELBERT SOLOMON;
and DEXTER WIMBISH;

Plaintiffs,

v.

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official
capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State;
REBECCA N. SULLIVAN, in her official
capacity as the Acting Chair of the State
Election Board; SARA TINDALL
GHAZAL, in her official capacity as a
member of the State Election Board;
MATTHEW MASHBURN, in his official
capacity as a member of the State Election
Board; and ANH LE, in her official
capacity as a member of the State Election
Board,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION FILE
NO. _____

**DECLARATION OF ELROY TOLBERT
IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Elroy Tolbert, declare as follows:

1. My name is Elroy Tolbert. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts stated in this declaration, and can competently testify to their truth.

2. I am a Black citizen of the United States and the State of Georgia.

3. I possess all the qualifications of a Georgia voter: I am a citizen, I am at least 18 years old, I am not serving a sentence for a felony conviction, I have not been found mentally incompetent by a judge, and I am a legal resident of Georgia.

4. I am specifically registered to vote at 301 Barrington Hall Dr, Apt. 209 Macon, GA 31220, which is located in Senate District 18 and House District 144 under the newly elected legislative maps.

5. I have previously voted in prior state legislative elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future state legislative elections in Georgia.

DATED: ^{1/11/2022} _____

By: Elroy Tolbert
Elroy Tolbert

EXHIBIT 8

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA DIVISION**

ANNIE LOIS GRANT; QUENTIN T.
HOWELL; ELROY TOLBERT; THERON
BROWN; TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES;
EUNICE SYKES; ELBERT SOLOMON;
and DEXTER WIMBISH;

Plaintiffs,

v.

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official
capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State;
REBECCA N. SULLIVAN, in her official
capacity as the Acting Chair of the State
Election Board; SARA TINDALL
GHAZAL, in her official capacity as a
member of the State Election Board;
MATTHEW MASHBURN, in his official
capacity as a member of the State Election
Board; and ANH LE, in her official
capacity as a member of the State Election
Board,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION FILE
NO. _____

**DECLARATION OF THERON BROWN
IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Theron Brown, declare as follows:

1. My name is Theron Brown. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts stated in this declaration, and can competently testify to their truth.

2. I am a Black citizen of the United States and the State of Georgia.

3. I possess all the qualifications of a Georgia voter: I am a citizen, I am at least 18 years old, I am not serving a sentence for a felony conviction, I have not been found mentally incompetent by a judge, and I am a legal resident of Georgia.

4. I am specifically registered to vote at 117 Williams Terrace, Warner Robbins, GA 31093, which is located in Senate District 26 and House District 145 under the newly elected legislative maps.

5. I have previously voted in prior state legislative elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future state legislative elections in Georgia.

DATED: ^{1/12/2022} _____

By:  _____
Theron Brown

EXHIBIT 9

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA DIVISION**

ANNIE LOIS GRANT; QUENTIN T.
HOWELL; ELROY TOLBERT; THERON
BROWN; TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES;
EUNICE SYKES; ELBERT SOLOMON;
and DEXTER WIMBISH;

Plaintiffs,

v.

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official
capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State;
REBECCA N. SULLIVAN, in her official
capacity as the Acting Chair of the State
Election Board; SARA TINDALL
GHAZAL, in her official capacity as a
member of the State Election Board;
MATTHEW MASHBURN, in his official
capacity as a member of the State Election
Board; and ANH LE, in her official
capacity as a member of the State Election
Board,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION FILE
NO. _____

**DECLARATION OF TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES
IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Triana Arnold James, declare as follows:

1. My name is Triana Arnold James. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts stated in this declaration, and can competently testify to their truth.

2. I am a Black citizen of the United States and the State of Georgia.

3. I possess all the qualifications of a Georgia voter: I am a citizen, I am at least 18 years old, I am not serving a sentence for a felony conviction, I have not been found mentally incompetent by a judge, and I am a legal resident of Georgia.

4. I am specifically registered to vote at 3007 Summer Breeze Drive, Villa Rica, GA 30180, which is located in Senate District 30 and House District 64 under the newly elected legislative maps.

5. I have previously voted in prior state legislative elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future state legislative elections in Georgia.

DATED: ^{1/10/2022} _____

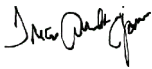
By:  _____
Triana Arnold James

EXHIBIT 10

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA DIVISION**

ANNIE LOIS GRANT; QUENTIN T.
HOWELL; ELROY TOLBERT; THERON
BROWN; TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES;
EUNICE SYKES; ELBERT SOLOMON;
and DEXTER WIMBISH;

Plaintiffs,

v.

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official
capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State;
REBECCA N. SULLIVAN, in her official
capacity as the Acting Chair of the State
Election Board; SARA TINDALL
GHAZAL, in her official capacity as a
member of the State Election Board;
MATTHEW MASHBURN, in his official
capacity as a member of the State Election
Board; and ANH LE, in her official
capacity as a member of the State Election
Board,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION FILE
NO. _____

**DECLARATION OF EUNICE SYKES
IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Eunice Sykes, declare as follows:

1. My name is Eunice Sykes. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts stated in this declaration, and can competently testify to their truth.

2. I am a Black citizen of the United States and the State of Georgia.

3. I possess all the qualifications of a Georgia voter: I am a citizen, I am at least 18 years old, I am not serving a sentence for a felony conviction, I have not been found mentally incompetent by a judge, and I am a legal resident of Georgia.

4. I am specifically registered to vote at 2320 McIntosh Drive, Locust Grove, GA 30248, which is located in Senate District 25 and House District 117 under the newly elected legislative maps.

5. I have previously voted in prior state legislative elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future state legislative elections in Georgia.

DATED: ^{1/12/2022} _____

By: Eunice Sykes
Eunice Sykes

EXHIBIT 11

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA DIVISION**

ANNIE LOIS GRANT; QUENTIN T.
HOWELL; ELROY TOLBERT; THERON
BROWN; TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES;
EUNICE SYKES; ELBERT SOLOMON;
and DEXTER WIMBISH;

Plaintiffs,

v.

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official
capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State;
REBECCA N. SULLIVAN, in her official
capacity as the Acting Chair of the State
Election Board; SARA TINDALL
GHAZAL, in her official capacity as a
member of the State Election Board;
MATTHEW MASHBURN, in his official
capacity as a member of the State Election
Board; and ANH LE, in her official
capacity as a member of the State Election
Board,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION FILE
NO. _____

**DECLARATION OF ELBERT SOLOMON
IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Elbert Solomon, declare as follows:

1. My name is Elbert Solomon. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts stated in this declaration, and can competently testify to their truth.

2. I am a Black citizen of the United States and the State of Georgia.

3. I possess all the qualifications of a Georgia voter: I am a citizen, I am at least 18 years old, I am not serving a sentence for a felony conviction, I have not been found mentally incompetent by a judge, and I am a legal resident of Georgia.

4. I am specifically registered to vote at 815 Eagle Drive, Griffin, GA 30223, which is located in Senate District 16 and House District 117 under the newly elected legislative maps.

5. I have previously voted in prior state legislative elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future state legislative elections in Georgia.

DATED: ^{1/10/2022} _____

By: Elbert Solomon
Elbert Solomon

EXHIBIT 12

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA DIVISION**

ANNIE LOIS GRANT; QUENTIN T.
HOWELL; ELROY TOLBERT; THERON
BROWN; TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES;
EUNICE SYKES; ELBERT SOLOMON;
and DEXTER WIMBISH;

Plaintiffs,

v.

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official
capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State;
REBECCA N. SULLIVAN, in her official
capacity as the Acting Chair of the State
Election Board; SARA TINDALL
GHAZAL, in her official capacity as a
member of the State Election Board;
MATTHEW MASHBURN, in his official
capacity as a member of the State Election
Board; and ANH LE, in her official
capacity as a member of the State Election
Board,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION FILE
NO. _____

**DECLARATION OF DEXTER WIMBISH
IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Dexter Wimbish, declare as follows:

1. My name is Dexter Wimbish. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts stated in this declaration, and can competently testify to their truth.

2. I am a Black citizen of the United States and the State of Georgia.

3. I possess all the qualifications of a Georgia voter: I am a citizen, I am at least 18 years old, I am not serving a sentence for a felony conviction, I have not been found mentally incompetent by a judge, and I am a legal resident of Georgia.

4. I am specifically registered to vote at 420 Country Club Drive, Griffin, GA 30223, which is located in Senate District 16 and House District 74 under the newly elected legislative maps.

5. I have previously voted in prior state legislative elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future state legislative elections in Georgia.

DATED: 1/11/2022

By: Dexter Maynard Wimbish
Dexter Wimbish

EXHIBIT 13



SIGN UP FOR OUR NEWSLETTER

DON'T MISS:

WATCH LIVE: General Assembly

Coronavirus updates

TV Highlights This Week

NEWS | POLITICS

Senate's redistricting map advances; Georgia Assembly honors Max Cleland

November 9, 2021 6:30 PM

By: **Donna Lowry**

Lawmakers Special session Day 5 11/09/21



"I'm glad it only happens once a decade," said Sen. John Kennedy (R-Macon), who chairs the Senate Reapportionment and Redistricting Committee, of the redistricting process. "We have an additional million people that we didn't have last time, and we've had significant population migration with the state."

Kennedy presented the map his committee worked on since U.S. Census figures came out last summer. It reduces the number of Republican-leaning districts from 34 to 33 — but Democrats pushed back, saying that is not enough.

"We have been entrusted with diverse maps that are reflective of our diverse communities here in Georgia," said Sen. Elena Parent (D-Atlanta).

Two Democratic senators whose diverse districts will now lean Republican spoke on the bill — including Sen. Michelle Au (D-Johns Creek), the first Asian American woman elected to the Senate.

Au told the chamber, "A majority-minority state should have a representative number of majority-minority districts, but that's not what this map before us shows," Au said.

Sen. Emmanuel Jones (D-Decatur) will see the Henry County area he represents become a split district. He took to the Senate floor during debate and said, "I don't know how to explain to my county... what this chamber is now doing to a majority African American county."

As expected, the bill passed 31-21 along party lines. But, the day started with unity on a somber note, as both chambers reflected on the overnight death of former U.S. Sen. Max Cleland.

"He was indeed a patriot," said Rep. Scott Holcomb (D-Atlanta). "He was a son of Georgia. He loved this state so much and so many people. And he was pained by what has become of our politics today. And he knew that we could do better,"

Lt. Gov. Geoff Duncan (R-Georgia) said, "If you just take a peek at his life and legacy that he leaves behind, it's just an amazing journey and an inspiration for so many of us."

About the author



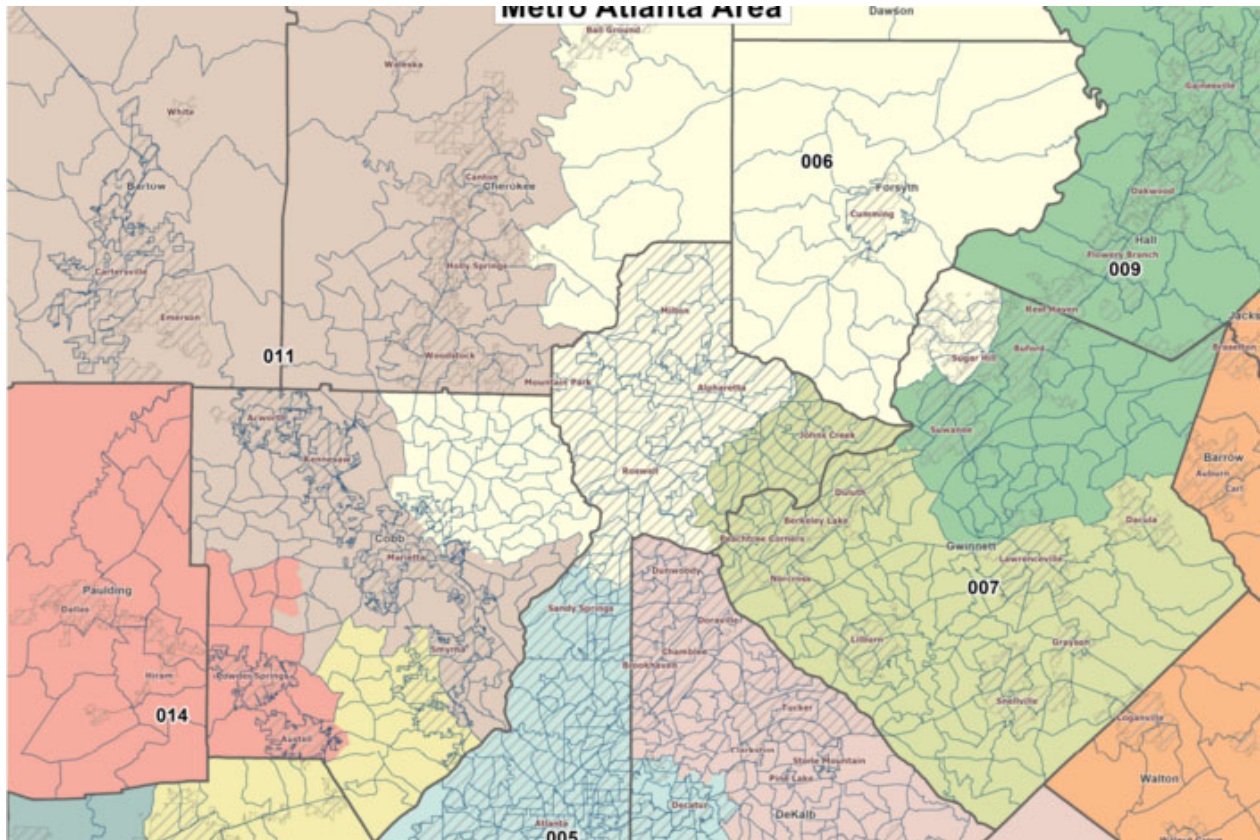
DONNA LOWRY

Host

Donna Lowry is an award-winning journalist with a passion for storytelling.

She currently serves as Capitol correspondent for GPB's Lawmakers.

Related News

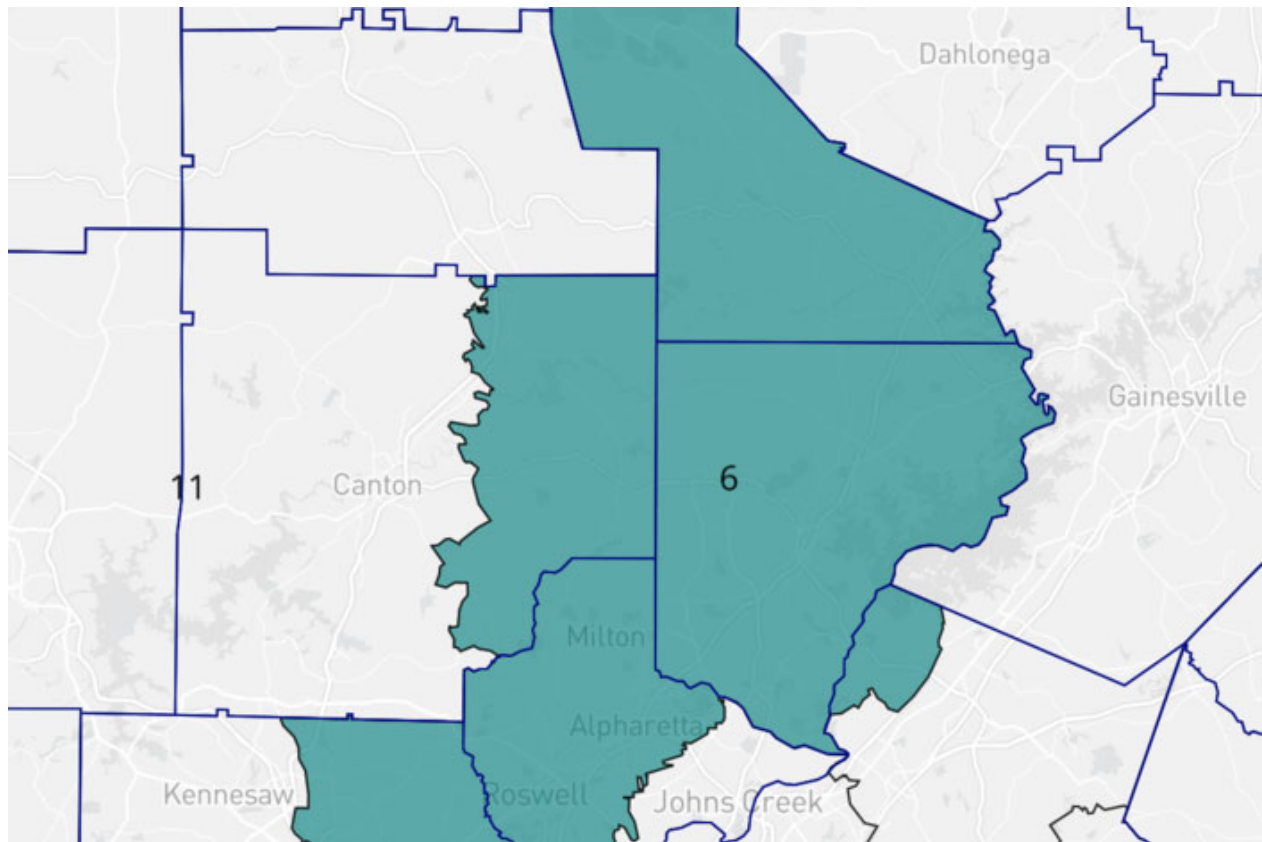


POLITICS

Georgia Senate approves a map that's likely to expand Republicans' advantage in Congress

On a party-line vote, the proposed congressional map that would likely elect nine Republicans and five Democrats advances.

November 19, 2021 | By: Stephen Fowler



POLITICS

Georgia Republicans release a congressional redistricting map, adding another likely GOP seat

Democratic Rep. Lucy McBath's likely new district voted heavily for Trump and runs up to Dawson County.

November 17, 2021 | By: Stephen Fowler



POLITICS

Georgians voice opposition to redistricting changes that affect them

Shifting boundaries in metro Atlanta draw the bulk of complaints, a GPB News/Georgia News Lab analysis finds.

November 11, 2021 | By: Stephen Fowler, David Armstrong, and 1 more

EXHIBIT 14

NEWS

Georgia House wraps up legislative redistricting with passage of GOP state Senate map

Dave Williams Capitol Beat

Published 12:30 p.m. ET Nov. 15, 2021

ATLANTA — The Georgia House of Representatives Monday adopted a new map of state Senate districts drawn by majority Republicans over the objections of minority Democrats.

The 96-70 House vote nearly along party lines sent the bill to Gov. Brian Kemp's desk, ending once-a-decade legislative redistricting carried out by the General Assembly. The Georgia Senate approved a new House map last week.

As has been the case throughout the special redistricting session lawmakers began nearly two weeks ago, Democrats accused Republicans of drawing district boundaries to the GOP's

OnlineAthens | ATHENS BANNER-HERALD

“we are a 50-50 state. we are a battleground state,” Rep. Bee Nguyen, D-Atlanta, told her House colleagues, referring to the close margins of recent statewide elections. “This map creates a 60-40 split with the advantage to the Republican Party.”

Nguyen, who is running for secretary of state, and other Democrats singled out several Senate districts as examples of what they called Republican gerrymandering. She said the Senate map changes Senate District 48 now served by Sen. Michelle Au, D-Johns Creek, the Senate’s only Asian woman, from a minority voting-age population (VAP) of 60% to a district with a slight white majority VAP.

More: Republican-led redistricting committee signs off on new Georgia Senate map

More: Republican legislative maps draw scrutiny during redistricting committee meeting

Rep. Debra Bazemore, D-South Fulton, the House’s chief deputy whip, pointed to major partisan changes in the 6th Senate District in Fulton and Cobb counties as well as a dilution of Black voting strength in two Senate districts taking in portions of Henry County.

But Rep. Bonnie Rich, R-Suwanee, chairman of the House Legislative & Congressional Reapportionment Committee, said the Senate map complies with the federal Voting Rights Act and splits fewer counties than the Senate map that has been in place since the last redistricting in 2011.

In other business Monday, the House overwhelmingly passed a resolution ratifying an executive order Kemp issued last May temporarily suspending the collection of the state gasoline tax after the Colonial Pipeline was hit by a ransomware attack and forced to shut down. The suspension lasted from May 10 until June 2.

Next up for the special session is consideration of a proposed map for Georgia’s 14 congressional districts.

This story is available through a news partnership with Capitol Beat News Service, a project of the Georgia Press Educational Foundation.

EXHIBIT 15



SIGN UP FOR OUR NEWSLETTER

DON'T MISS:

WATCH LIVE: General Assembly

Coronavirus updates

TV Highlights This Week

NEWS | ELECTIONS

Georgia House, Senate approve their redistricting maps. What's next?

November 10, 2021 2:58 PM

By: **Stephen Fowler**

Lawmakers Special Session Day 6 11/10/21



Credit: Donna Lowry

Georgia's state legislative maps are one step closer to reality after the House and Senate passed their redistricting plans this week. But the maps seem destined to be challenged in court, as Georgia continues to be a battleground state with national importance.

The 99-79 vote in the state House on Wednesday saw only two Republican "no" votes even as the new lines pair two sets of GOP incumbents against each other and one Republican with a Democratic incumbent in a liberal-leaning district.

Rep. Philip Singleton (R-Sharpsburg) was opposed to the proposal because it draws his district into south Fulton County, adding enough Democratic-leaning voters to likely remove him from office next year.

"If you allow your voice to be silenced, or you willingly submit your voice to a select few, you are complicit in the destruction of our republic," he said during a floor speech.

MORE: [Here are all of the proposed redistricting maps for Georgia](#)

House Speaker David Ralston (R-Blue Ridge) told reporters before the vote that Singleton's district had to change because of demographic shifts and the Voting Rights Act and that it was not "political payback" for Singleton's frequent clashing with Republican leadership.

The House **map** could add as many as seven seats to the Democratic delegation next year by collapsing districts of retiring lawmakers into neighboring areas, flipping Singleton's seat and if Rep. Winifred Dukes (D-Albany) defeats Rep. Gerald Greene (R-Cuthbert) in their newly combined district.

According to an analysis of legislator home addresses found on personal financial disclosures and property tax records, two sets of incumbent Democrats planning to run for reelection would likely be paired together: Rebecca Mitchell and Shelly Hutchinson in Snellville and Rep. Carl Gilliard (D-Garden City) with Rep. Derek Mallow (D-Savannah).

While Republicans defended their work and the legality of their boundaries, Democrats laid the groundwork for likely lawsuits over the maps in floor speeches Wednesday.

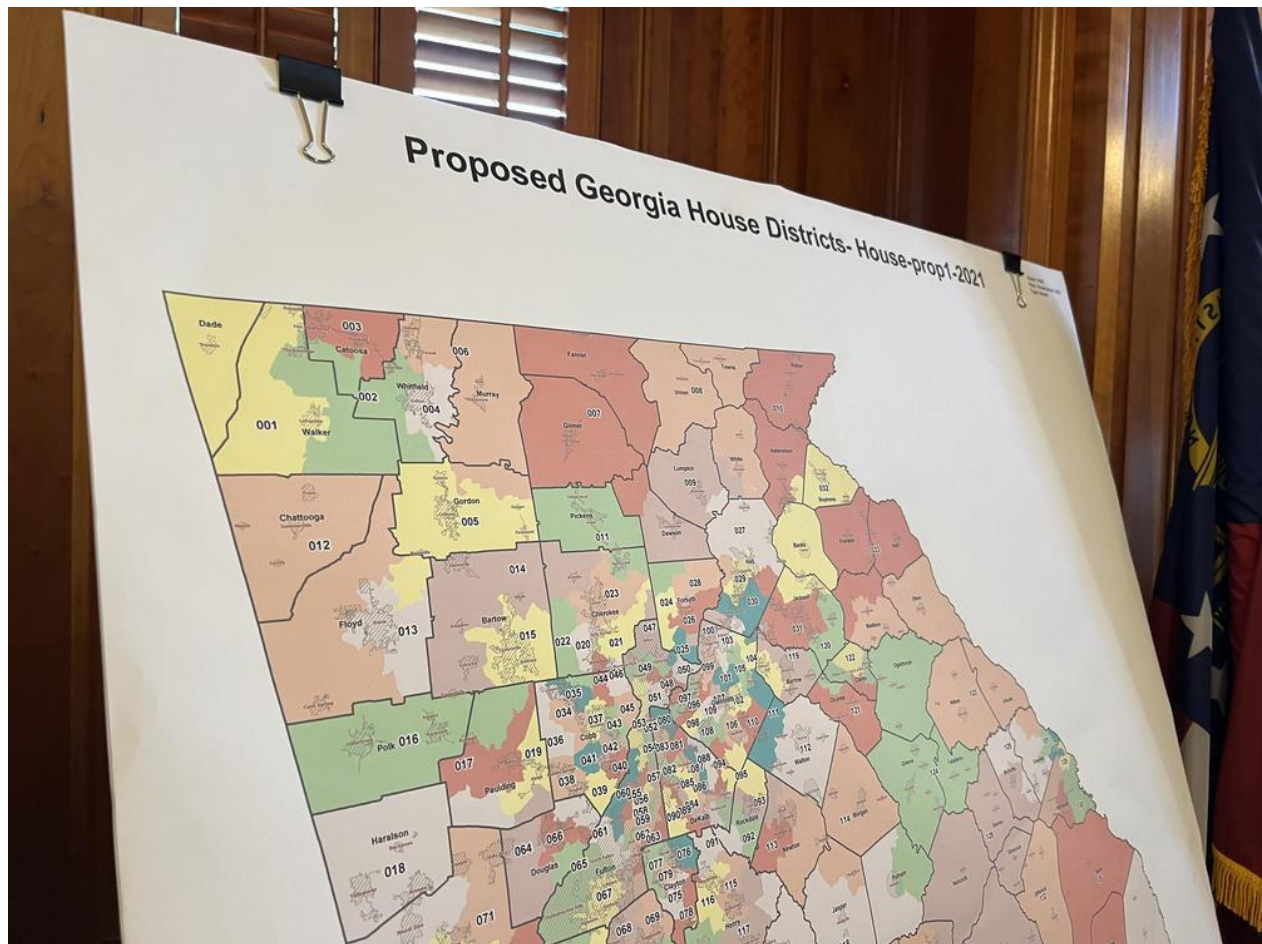
"Legitimate yet differing communities of interest should not be disregarded in the interest of race," Rep. Mary Margaret Oliver (D-Decatur) said. "The practical consequences of drawing a district to cover two distant, disparate communities is that one or more — or both — groups will likely be unable to achieve their political goals."

The Democrats' proposed map would have virtually similar partisan breakdowns as the map Republicans advanced, but make changes in different areas, targeting more vulnerable metro Atlanta Republicans and creating a new Clayton County-based seat.

In the Senate, the party-line 34-21 vote sets up a slightly different debate over **the map's districts**. Republicans created two new Democratic districts in metro Atlanta — one in Gwinnett and one in Fulton — by collapsing the districts of Sen.

Bruce Thompson (R-White), who is running for Labor Commissioner, and Sen. Tyler Harper (R-Ocilla), who is running for Agriculture Commissioner.

The map also gives Democratic Sen. Michelle Au (D-Johns Creek) a tougher road to reelection by adding in conservative-leaning Forsyth and Gwinnett County precincts to her district.



A proposed map of Georgia's 180 state House districts sits outside the chamber before lawmakers approved it on a mostly-party line vote.

Credit: Stephen Fowler/GPB News

"Georgia grew by 1 million people in the last decade, and 100% of that growth came from communities of color," Sen. Elena Parent (D-Atlanta) said. "So we would expect to see maps that more properly and appropriately reflect the increase in the population of communities of color."

Au, who is Asian American, would go from representing a majority non-white district to one that is majority white.

The GOP map did include several district recommendations made in the Democrats' map, almost exactly copying the proposed lines for seats in Columbus and Southwest Georgia. But another sticking point was the new boundary line for Sen. Brian Strickland (R-McDonough), who continues to represent a large portion of majority-Black, majority-Democratic Henry County.

Democrats proposed Strickland's District 17 include only Henry County, which would be overwhelmingly Democratic and majority-Black.

"Why does the proposed 17th (District) have more than 24,000 fewer Black residents?," Sen. Emanuel Jones (D-Stockbridge) asked during the floor debate.

The maps must still pass through the opposite chamber before heading to the governor's desk, and lawmakers must still work on realigning the state's 14 congressional maps. But as soon as the governor's ink dries on the bills signing them into law, expect lawsuits to be filed.

The 2020 Census and redistricting cycle is the first where Georgia and some other jurisdictions no longer have to get maps pre-cleared by the federal government because of a history of racist voting changes, and several redistricting groups have already testified their concerns about the process and maps that will likely fill legal challenges.

But Republicans would like to remind that 20 years ago, when Democrats were in charge, they egregiously gerrymandered districts that were ultimately struck down in court. When asked if hammering the minority party for districts from several cycles ago would continue into the next decade, Ralston said "absolutely."

"Those were atrocious maps," Ralston said. "I think their last map is perfectly relevant."

About the author

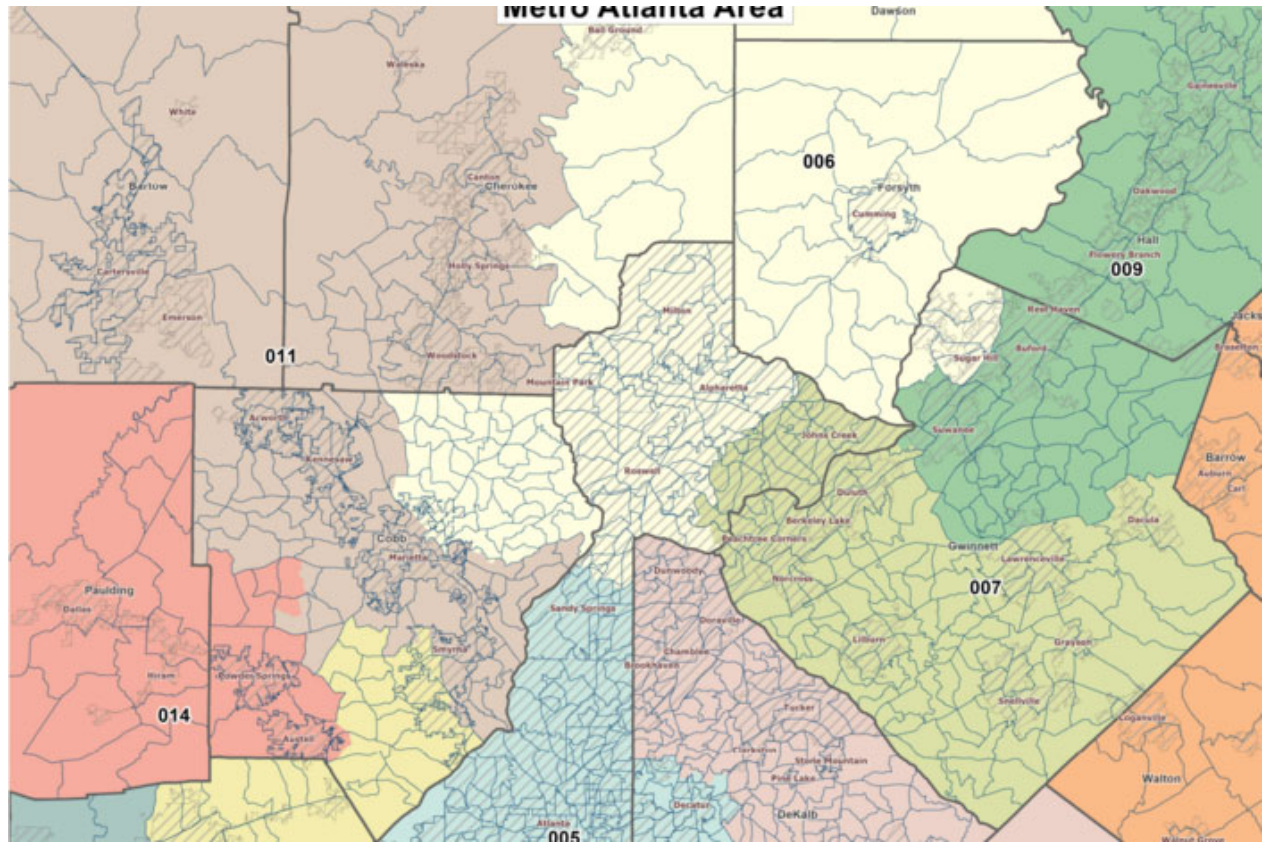


STEPHEN FOWLER

POLITICAL REPORTER

Stephen Fowler is an award-winning reporter for GPB News covering state and local politics and host of the "Battleground: Ballot Box" podcast.

Related News



ELECTIONS

Georgia House OKs congressional map that adds to Republican advantage

The new boundaries drastically overhaul two suburban Atlanta districts that recently voted for Democrats.

November 22, 2021 | By: [Stephen Fowler](#)



ELECTIONS

How Georgia's Fast-Growing Voter Rolls Could Affect Redistricting

While new Census data shows Georgia added more than a million people over the last decade, an even larger change in registered voters — and who they vote for — will be key considerations when lawmakers begin assigning residents into new voting districts this fall.

April 30, 2021 | By: Stephen Fowler, David Armstrong, and 1 more



ELECTIONS

The Next Big Political Battle In Georgia: Redistricting

As controversy swirls over the comprehensive new voting law that drastically alters Georgia's election system, another battle with equally profound implications looms on the horizon: redistricting.

April 05, 2021 | By: [Isaiah Poritz](#), [David Armstrong](#), and 1 more

EXHIBIT 16



SIGN UP FOR OUR NEWSLETTER

DON'T MISS:

WATCH LIVE: General Assembly

Coronavirus updates

TV Highlights This Week

NEWS | POLITICS

Georgia House legislative redistricting map heads to governor

November 12, 2021 4:52 PM

By: **Donna Lowry**

Lawmakers Special Session Day 8 11/12/21



The first map of the 2021 redistricting Special Session is headed for the governor's desk for a signature. The Senate passed the House legislative map 32-21 with one Republican voting with Democrats against it.

"We've got some folks in north Coweta who are not excited about what their map looks like," Sen. Matt Brass (R-Newnan) said on the Senate floor.

The house map splits Coweta County into five districts — combining the northern area with south Fulton. That district is currently represented by Republican state Rep. Philip Singleton. His supporters blast the move as revenge for his criticism of House Speaker David Ralston over the years. Sen. Matt Brass (R-Newnan) had a message for residents of that area.

"They think they're going to lose conservative leadership in that part of the area," Brass said. "But they're not. They're going to gain more and we're going to fight and we're going to win it."

Democrats charged Republicans with speeding through the process and drawing maps that don't reflect the growth of the state's minority population in the last 10 years.

"The Republicans have a waning political power here in Georgia," Sen. Elena Parent (D-Atlanta) told reporters after the vote. "I certainly expected that they would draw gerrymandered maps and try to rush them through as soon as possible."

Democrats are also fighting two bills they say saps their strength in Gwinnett County. The bills' sponsor says the county's population calls for redistricting the school board and doubling the size of the county commission.

The Republican-controlled House is expected to approve the Senate legislative map next week. Also, the debates over redistricting congressional maps begin.

About the author



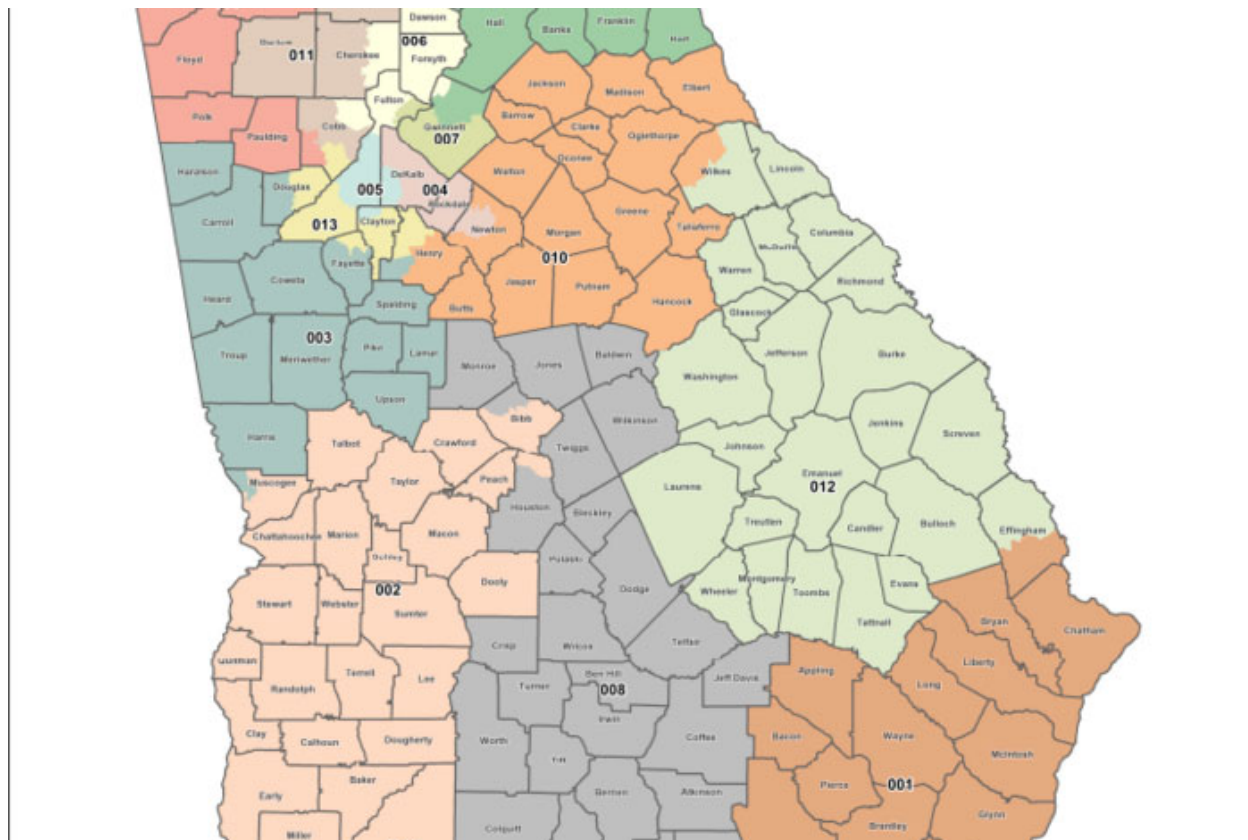
DONNA LOWRY

Host

Donna Lowry is an award-winning journalist with a passion for storytelling.

She currently serves as Capitol correspondent for GPB's Lawmakers.

Related News

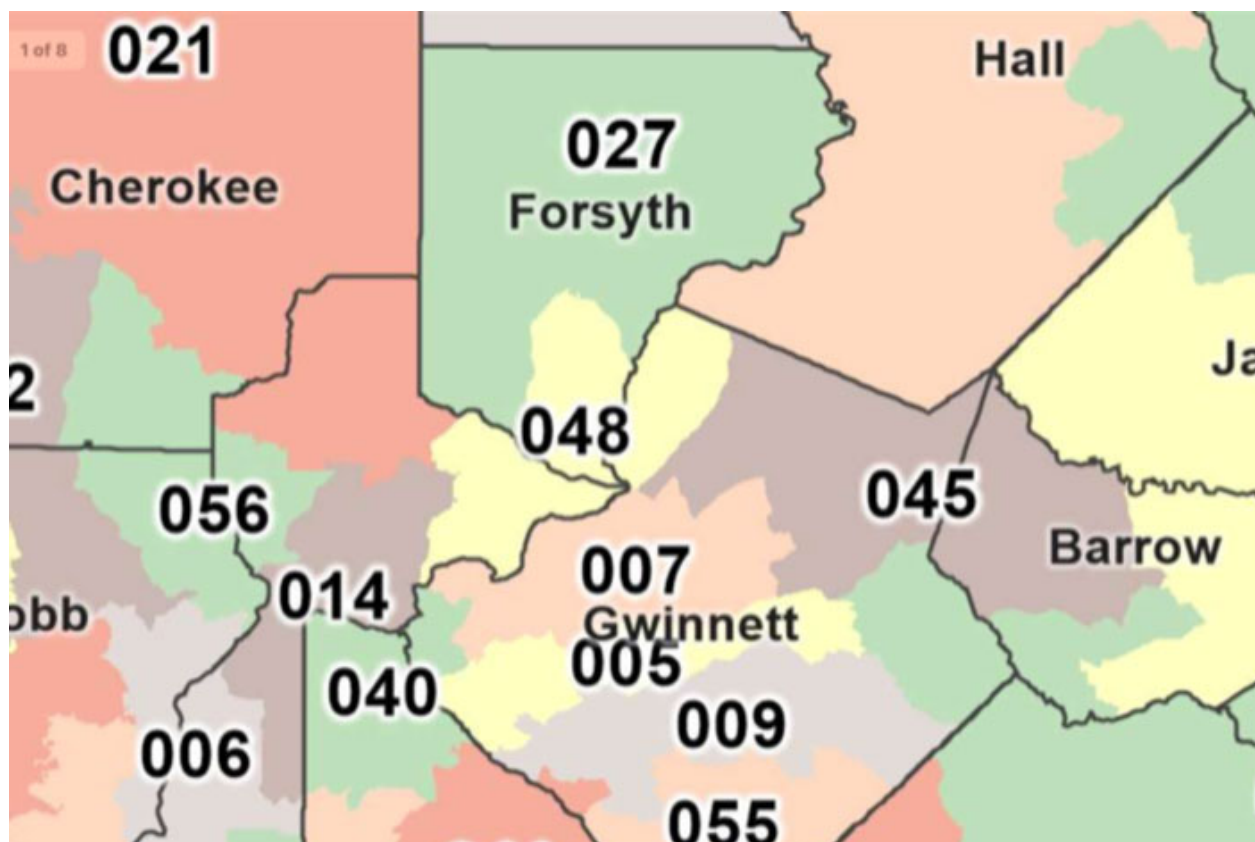


POLITICS

Redistricting special session ends with approval of congressional map

The Georgia House passed the new congressional map along party lines 96-68. It now joins the state's legislative map awaiting Gov. Brian Kemp's signature.

November 22, 2021 | By: Donna Lowry

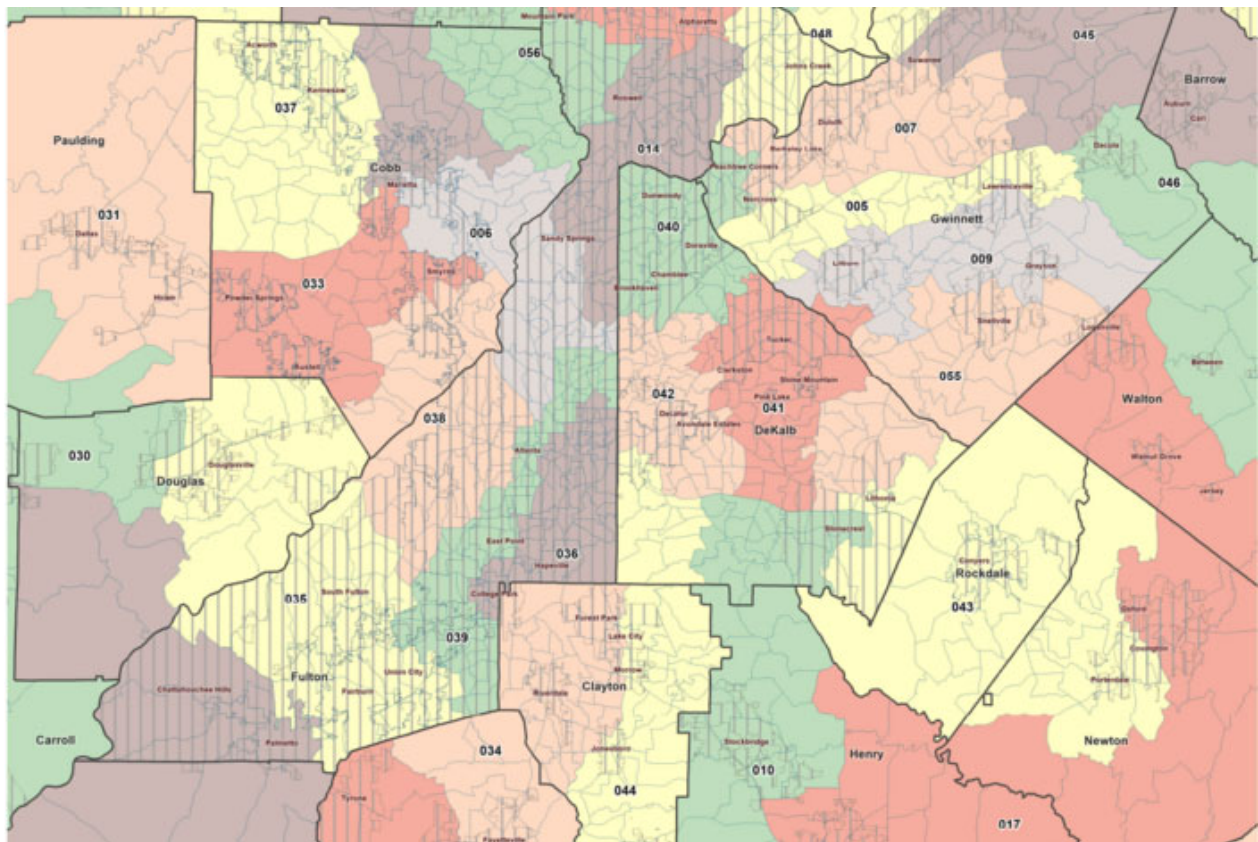


POLITICS

Both Georgia legislative maps await Kemp's signature. **Final congressional map is expected soon, too**

A House vote of 96-70 along party lines sent the Senate legislative redistricting map to the governor's desk — joining the House map approved last week.

November 15, 2021 | By: [Donna Lowry](#)



POLITICS

Republicans in Coweta and Peachtree City express anger over their party's redistricting map

The House Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Committee drew angry comments from residents upset over the proposed Republican map.

November 08, 2021 | By: Donna Lowry

EXHIBIT 17



https://www.albanyherald.com/news/public-to-state-lawmakers-slow-redistricting-process-down/article_75e30286-4158-11ec-9cbb-cf2518e93cb2.html

FEATURED

Public to state lawmakers: Slow redistricting process down

By Ross Williams Georgia Reporter
Nov 9, 2021



Maxwell Britton, right, was one of dozens of Coweta County residents hoping to convince the House Redistricting Committee not to expand their district north into Fulton County.

Ross Williams/Georgia Recorder

ShipStation®

Connect to more channels
and carriers, **for less.**

ATLANTA — Georgia lawmakers' efforts to redraw the state's political lines continued Monday, despite bipartisan criticism that the process is moving too fast and carving up too many of the state's smaller cities.

The House unveiled a new legislative map shortly before a 1 p.m. meeting of the chamber's redistricting committee, leaving some activists and residents who had planned to attend scrambling to figure out what the changes meant.

Committee members say they need to move the map-making along swiftly because of reporting delays at the U.S. Census Bureau caused by the pandemic. Candidates will need to know which districts they are in before they qualify for 2022 elections in March.

But American Civil Liberties Union deputy political director Vasu Abhiraman said too much haste could create unintentional oversights Georgians could be stuck with for the next decade, giving the example of one Georgia Tech student apartment complex with about 2,000 residents he said was isolated from the rest of the campus in the House map.

"To act like the earlier town halls or even the time after the Census numbers came out were good enough is like telling an editor to send suggested edits for a piece of writing without having seen the thing that they're trying to edit," Abhiraman said. "This is the most valuable period of public feedback, and I would encourage the committee to open it up for a lot longer so that genuine, good faith oversights within the process can be pointed out by people who understand these communities."

ShipStation

**Connect to more channels
and carriers, for less.**

Setzler held a scorecard from the Princeton Gerrymandering Project which gave two plans submitted by House Republicans and Democrats B grades.

“Both pretty doggone good scores relative to what could be expected, so the premise that we need to drag this out weeks and weeks and weeks and weeks and weeks and somehow make it better, a lot of work has gone into these maps, and I think we’ve got proof positive the maps before you are solid maps,” Setzler said.

But people who signed up to speak at the four-hour-long meeting disagreed.

Many said they were from cities the maps would unnecessarily carve up into smaller districts, requiring constituents to have more than one representative to turn to for help.

Long Tran said he has lived in Dunwoody for 10 years, where he has been a coach and led a Cub Scout pack. The current plan would slice off a small portion of the city, which would make Cub Scout civics lessons a bit more advanced political science.

“We often meet with our local city council and our state rep, and this adds a strange dynamic when we as a pack talk about being united as a community and focused as one community and this puts up a division that we have to explain to our younger generation, and I think it’s not needed when our population has not grown to the point where it’s justified to provide two state reps for one city,” Tran said.

Suzanne Brown of Peachtree City did not mince words when she took the podium to critique the map that shows the Fayette County community split among three House districts.

ShipStation

**Connect to more channels
and carriers, for less.**

“That’s just ridiculous,” she said. “We only have about 30,000 residents, but you’re cutting the north half one way, the center part another way and a little teeny part on the bottom. It’s going to be in a district that goes all the way to Stockbridge. What are they going to have to do with anything going on in the southern part of Peachtree City? I really feel that the plan you have right now is going to be a loss of voice for so many parts of Peachtree City by throwing us into districts that have a majority population that are completely different from our own.”

The city of Stockbridge is 21% white and Peachtree City is about 80% white, according to U.S. Census estimates.

Julie Bolen, redistricting chair for the Georgia League of Women Voters, said the proposed map could do more to unite cities that are small enough to encompass their own legislative district.

“I think this is a universal concern across small cities in Georgia,” she said. “The current map splits 64% of Georgia cities unnecessarily. According to the 2020 Census, those cities have sufficient population to fit into a single district, and yet the proposed maps reduce that by only a single percentage point, from 64% to 63%. We have a chance to reunite communities and comply with one of the principle tenets of fair redistricting, and that’s keeping communities together.”

Many others came to support Sharpsburg Republican Rep. Philip Singleton, a self-described constitutional conservative whose right-wing beliefs have sometimes put him at odds with his own party. Singleton has joined a suit to block the state from using its barcode balloting system and has gotten crossways with House Speaker David Ralston.

Singleton’s Coweta County district is set to stretch north to south Fulton County, moving him from a district that went nearly 75% for Donald Trump in the last election to one that went 66% for Joe Biden.

Dozens of residents came to the meeting to denounce the plan they said would leave their rural, conservative community represented by an urban liberal.

“I don’t accept your attempt to California my Coweta,” said Maxwell Britton, a Coweta resident who said he “escaped” from the Golden State after 15 years there. “I know why you’re redistricting my county, and I’m truly awake. This is a move to disenfranchise our representation as a county, and

ShipStation

**Connect to more channels
and carriers, for less.**

Singleton has submitted an alternate proposal he says would preserve the communities he represents and still comply with all state and federal requirements.

If the committee votes on a map, it will head to the full House, and if it passes there, move on to the Senate.

The Senate's proposed map for its new boundaries is set to move to the full chamber for a vote – just a week after GOP leaders first unveiled it. Critics have derided the Republican-drawn plan as being rushed and not adequately reflecting the state's growing diversity and its politically divided electorate.

Senate Republicans currently hold a 34-22 majority in the chamber and propose surrendering one of those seats. The Princeton Gerrymandering Project gave the map a failing grade for being too partisan and not offering more competitive districts.



EXHIBIT 18



NEWS

[Home](#) / [News](#) / [Best States](#) / [Georgia News](#)

Georgia Senate GOP Passes Map to Retain Republican Majority

Georgia Senate Republicans are pushing through a map designed to maintain their strong majority in the chamber.

By [Associated Press](#)

Nov. 9, 2021

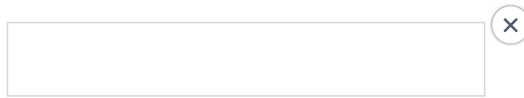
Save



Sen. John Kennedy (R-18, Macon) introduces SB 1 EX in the Senate Chambers during a special session at the Georgia State Capitol in Atlanta on Tuesday, Nov. 9, 2021. The hearing was a step toward votes on new political maps for the state House, state Senate and Congress during a once-a-decade redistricting session of the General Assembly. (Hyosub Shin/Atlanta Journal-Constitution via AP) THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

By JEFF AMY, Associated Press

ATLANTA (AP) — [Georgia](#) Senate Republicans pushed through a map Tuesday on a 34-21 party line vote designed to maintain their strong majority in the chamber, despite Democratic cries that the plan doesn't reflect Georgia's nearly 50-50 partisan split and denies opportunities to nonwhite voters.



Sen. John Kennedy, a Macon Republican who chairs the Senate Reapportionment and Redistricting Committee, said the map accomplished “the hard work that has to be done once a decade.” He noted the new map splits 29 counties, down from 39 counties now.

“When you look at it, it is obvious it is not gerrymandered,” Kennedy said. “The districts are compact and contiguous.”

The map is projected to keep 59%, or 33, of the Senate’s 56 seats in GOP hands. That’s down from 34 right now. Democrats say that’s too many, considering President Joe Biden carried Georgia with a narrow majority last year and nonwhite people make up most of the new Georgians added in the last decade.

"This map is designed to shore up the shrinking political power of the majority. As proposed, it fails to fairly reflect Georgians diversity," said Sen. Elena Parent, an Atlanta Democrat.

The General Assembly must redraw electoral districts at least once every decade to equalize populations following the U.S. Census. Georgia added more than a million people from 2010 to 2020, with urban districts generally growing and rural districts generally shrinking.

A House committee on Tuesday voted for a map projected to 98 Republicans, or 54% of the lower chamber's 180 members. The full House could vote on that measure Wednesday.

The Senate Republican map seeks to protect all incumbents, except for two Republicans who are running for statewide office. To offset population losses in south Georgia, the proposal removes Sen. Tyler Harper's district and relocates it to Gwinnett County. Harper, of Ocilla, is running for agriculture commissioner. The plan also dismantles Sen. Bruce Thompson's district and relocates it from Cherokee and Bartow counties to Roswell and Sandy Springs in north Fulton County. Thompson, from White, is running for labor commissioner.

Both those new districts might be won by Democrats, but Republicans shifted a district held by Democrat Michelle Au of Johns Creek to take in more Republican territory, possibly imperiling her.

Democrats have attacked the changes to Au's district as violating federal law requiring districts that allow nonwhite voters to choose their favored candidates.

"It's our responsibility to ensure the people in this room are a good reflection of the people in this state," Au said. "This map before us does not represent the Georgia of today. It does not see Georgia for who we have become."

Democrats also alleged Tuesday that the Republican plan violates the Voting Rights Act by drawing a district in parts of Henry County that reduces Black voting population. The move protects Republican Sen. Brian Strickland of McDonough. Kennedy said Republicans didn't draw another minority district in Henry County to protect neighboring majority-minority districts.

Because the U.S. Supreme Court has disallowed lawsuits based on partisan gerrymandering, federal legal challenges are likely to only succeed on racial bias claims.

"You can either go ahead and get it straight right now, or we'll see you in court," said Sen. David Lucas, a Macon Democrat.

Republicans repeatedly noted that a GOP majority in 2010 passed maps that withstood legal challenges, while Democrats, including some still serving in the General Assembly, voted in favor of Democratic-slanted maps that were overturned by a court following the 2000 Census.

"Nine of your Senate colleagues, either in the House or Senate, voted for the illegal, unconstitutional violations of the Voting Rights Act, worst form of modern gerrymandering," said John Albers, a Roswell Republican.

Democrats also complained about how quickly the process had moved, saying people hadn't been given enough time to weight in.

"Why were they drawn so fast?" said Sen. Lester Jackson, a Savannah Democrat. "Why couldn't they have some input?"

The Senate map now goes to the House for more debate. However, Georgia's House and Senate traditionally haven't interfered in how the other chamber draws its districts. This means the Senate vote could be the final meaningful action on that chamber's map. This will be the first time in decades that Georgia lawmakers won't be required to get federal approval of their maps after the U.S. Supreme Court struck down a portion of the Voting Rights Act.

Follow Jeff Amy on Twitter at <http://twitter.com/jeffamy>.

Copyright 2021 The [Associated Press](#). All rights reserved. This material may not be published, broadcast, rewritten or redistributed.

Tags: **Associated Press, courts, elections, Georgia, demographics**

RECOMMENDED ARTICLES

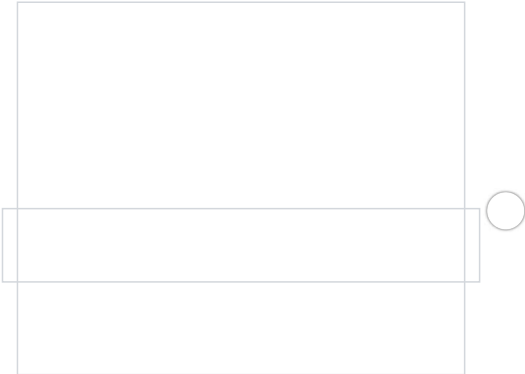


Coronavirus Bulletin

Stay informed daily on the latest news and advice on COVID-19 from the editors at U.S. News & World Report.

Email address

Sign Up



YOU MAY ALSO LIKE

Washington Is Top State

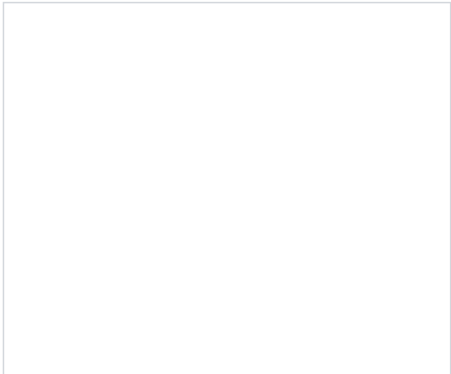
SPONSORED CONTENT

Executives: Why You Should Prioritize Multi-cloud Management

by VMware

The 10 Best States

'One of a Kind': Former AP Reporter Mike Cochran Dies at 85



Tucson Man Gets Prison for Stalking a Justice of the Peace

Hopi, DPS Agree to Work Together to Police Reservation

[See More »](#)

BEST STATES

Best States is an interactive platform developed by U.S. News for ranking the 50 U.S. states, alongside news analysis and daily reporting. The platform is designed to engage citizens and government leaders in a discussion about what needs improvement across the country.

BEST COUNTRIES

BEST STATES

HEALTHIEST COMMUNITIES

NEWS

CITIES

LEADERS

THE REPORT

PHOTOS

ELECTIONS

EVENTS



[About](#) [Editorial Guidelines](#) [Contact](#) [Press](#) [Advertise](#)
[Newsletters](#) [Jobs](#) [Site Map](#) [Store](#)

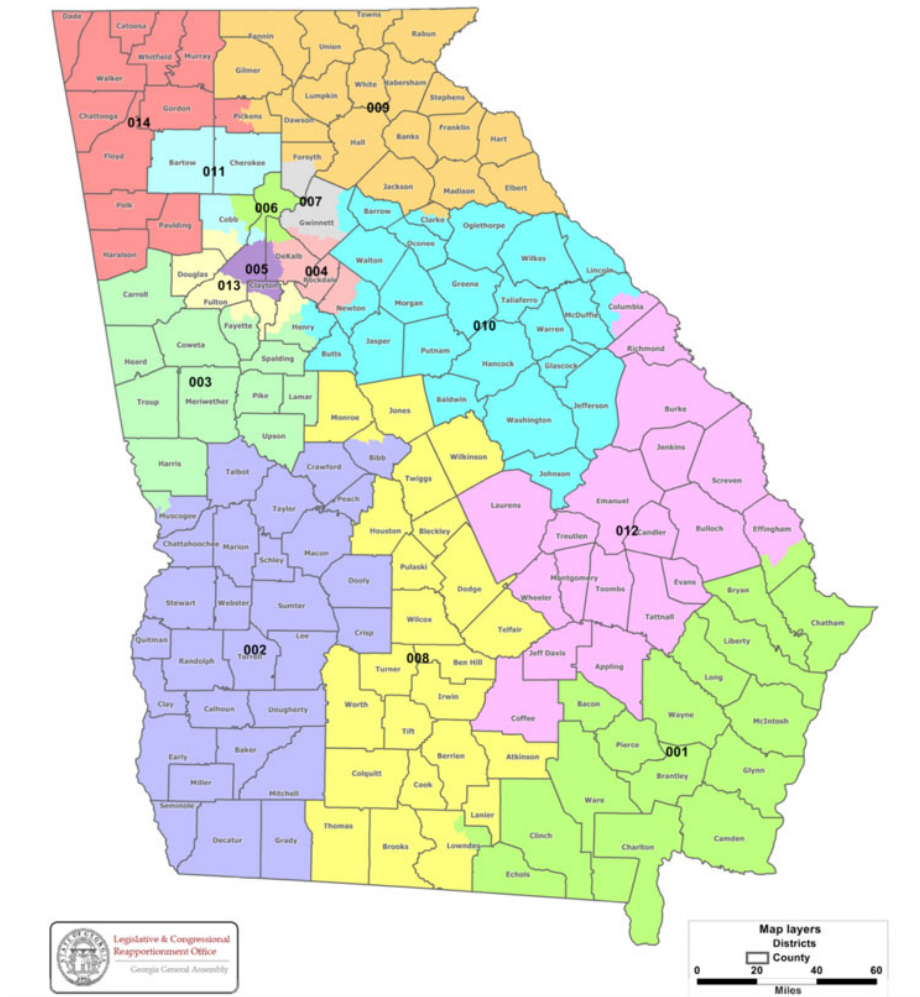
Copyright 2022 © U.S. News & World Report L.P.

[Terms & Conditions/Privacy Policy/California Privacy Notice/California Do Not Sell My Personal Information Request](#)

EXHIBIT 19

FEATURED

By Dave Williams Capitol Beat News Service
Nov 11, 2021



Special Illustration
Special Illustration

ATLANTA — The Republican-led Georgia House of Representatives has adopted new boundaries for the state's 180 House districts.

After nearly two hours of debate, the House approved a map proposed by GOP leadership 99-79, voting mostly along party lines.



The General Assembly redraws Georgia's legislative and congressional district lines each decade to accommodate changes in population reflected in the U.S. Census.

The map crafted by House Republicans not only keeps House districts as close to equal in population as possible – the goal being 59,511 residents – Rep. Bonnie Rich, chairman of the House Legislative & Congressional Reapportionment Committee, told her House colleagues.

The map also creates 49 majority black House districts, an increase of one district over the current House map lawmakers adopted in 2011, as well as 27 “minority-opportunity” districts where minority candidates should be competitive, said Rich, R-Suwanee.

The Republican map splits 69 counties, compared to 73 under the current map, Rich said.

It also pairs only eight incumbent House members in four districts, she said. The House map Democrats drew in 2001, the last time they held a majority in the chamber, paired 37 Republican incumbents and nine Democratic incumbents, she said.

“This is a map that complies with the law, first and foremost, with the Voting Rights Act and the United States Constitution,” Rich said. “The map is fair to Georgia.”

But Democrats complained the map favors Republicans in a state that has evolved into a 50-50 split between the two parties, which is reflected in the outcomes of recent statewide elections.

“Georgia has grown more diverse and urban,” Rep. Carolyn Hugley, D-Columbus, said. “This map ignores the fact the Georgia is equally divided politically.”



Other Democrats accused Republican leaders of diluting minority voting strength by “packing” minority voters into certain districts in order to reduce the minority voting-age populations of surrounding districts.

Rep. Winfred Dukes, D-Albany, who is paired in a House district with Rep. Gerald Greene, R-Cuthbert, cited District 153 in the city of Albany adjacent to his redrawn district as an example of such packing.

Rich objected to Dukes’ characterizing of Republicans’ strategy as packing.

“We didn’t have any packing in our map,” she said. “We have drawn legal districts that comply with the Voting Rights Act.”

The Republican map’s opponents also repeated complaints over the rushed pace of the special session they have raised frequently during the past week.

Hugley argued the 11 public hearings the committee held across the state during the summer were of little use when they came before the 2020 Census data were released and before the release of any proposed maps.

House Minority Leader James Beverly complained that the final version of the House map Republican leaders proposed was being voted on just two days after its release to the public.

“The people of Georgia deserve better,” Beverly, D-Macon, said. “The people demanded a fair and transparent redistricting process. What they got instead was a rushed and secretive process.”

But Rich said the 2022 election schedule requires the General Assembly to act without delay. 

"We have deadlines," she said. "The elections officials are going to have to rush to implement this. ... We have a job to get done now."

The House map now heads to the state Senate, which approved its new map on Tuesday.



EXHIBIT 20

BREAKING

Beloved actress Betty White dies at age 99



**The Atlanta
Journal-Constitution**

Log Out

Thank you for subscribing.

Choose from a variety of newsletters to stay informed.

Georgia redistricting signed into law and lawsuits quickly follow



POLITICS

By [Mark Niesse](#) - The Atlanta Journal-Constitution
Maya T. Prabhu - The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

Updated 22 hours ago

Maps favor Republicans in a politically divided state

Advertisement



Gov. Brian Kemp signed new Georgia political maps into law Thursday, finalizing Republican efforts to solidify their majorities in a rapidly changing state as opponents immediately filed three court challenges.

The once-a-decade redistricting creates boundaries that give Republicans an opportunity to gain a seat in Congress after next year's elections. The new congressional map contains nine districts that lean Republican and five districts with mostly Democratic voters.

Advertisement

While there was never a doubt that Kemp would sign the redistricting bills, he waited over a month since they passed the General Assembly. The delay stalled legal action until the new maps were written into state law.

The federal lawsuits allege that both congressional and state maps are racially discriminatory because they reduce the voting strength of people of color who tend to support Democrats. Georgia's population has increased by 1 million since 2010, fueled entirely by people of color as the number of white residents declined.

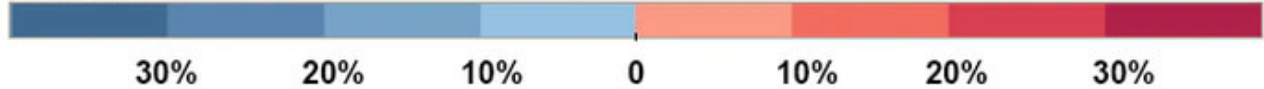
"Notwithstanding this explosive growth, politicians have failed to draw maps that give many of these new Black voters new opportunities to elect candidates of their choice," said Sean Young, legal director for the ACLU of Georgia. "Rather than a new chapter, politicians have stuck with the same discriminatory playbook."

Some of the lawsuits target the 6th Congressional District in Atlanta's northern suburbs, currently held by Democratic U.S. Rep. Lucy McBath, which legislators reshaped in hopes of electing a Republican in 2022. The new district stretches northward into more Republican areas.

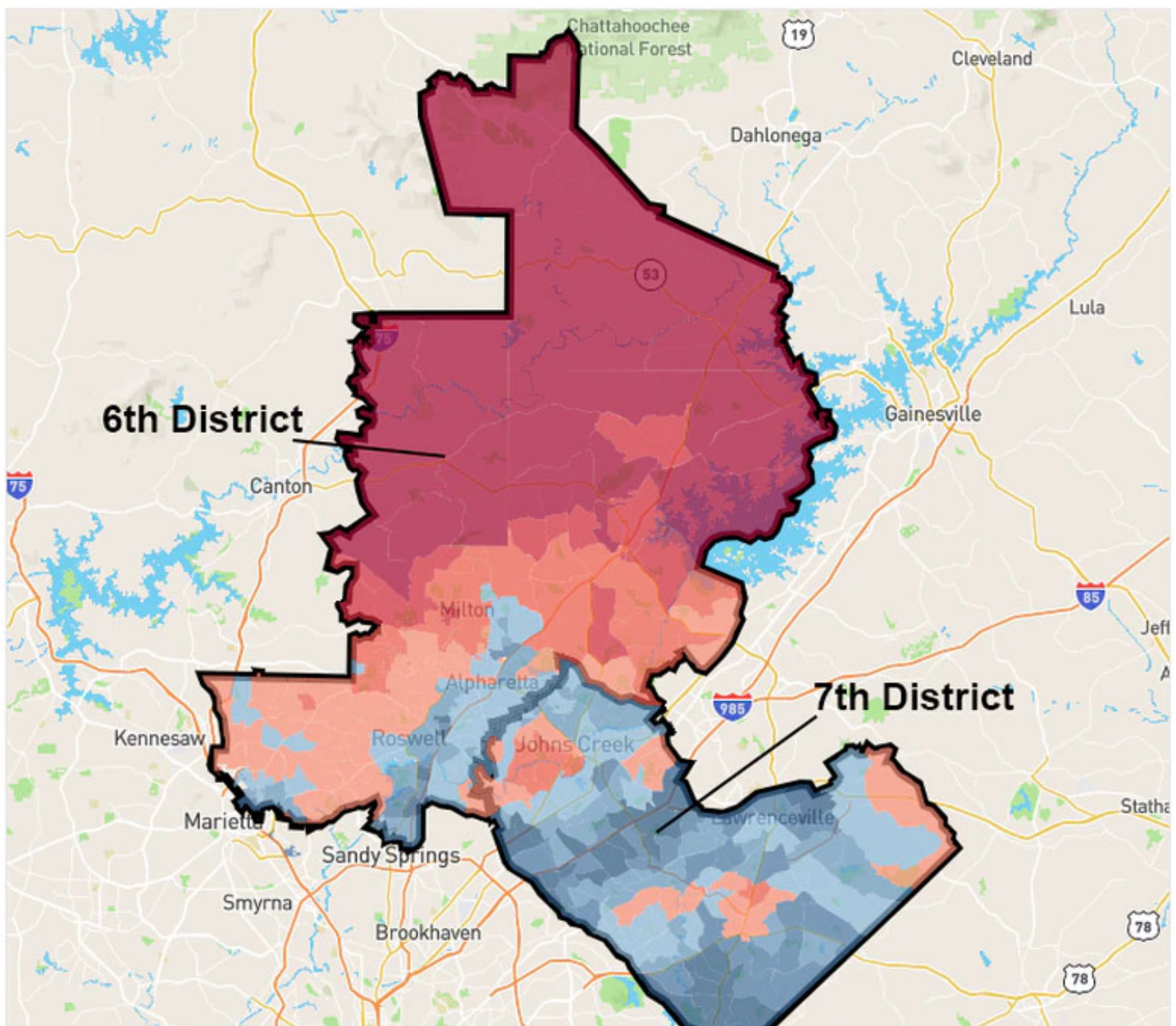
How 6th and 7th districts could change

Two of the most competitive districts in the U.S. House could have solid partisan leanings. The 6th would favor Republicans by trading Democratic areas in Cobb, DeKalb and Fulton counties for solid Republican precincts in Cherokee, Dawson and Forsyth counties. The 7th would favor Democrats by losing GOP areas of Forsyth and adding Democratic parts of Gwinnett.

Election margin

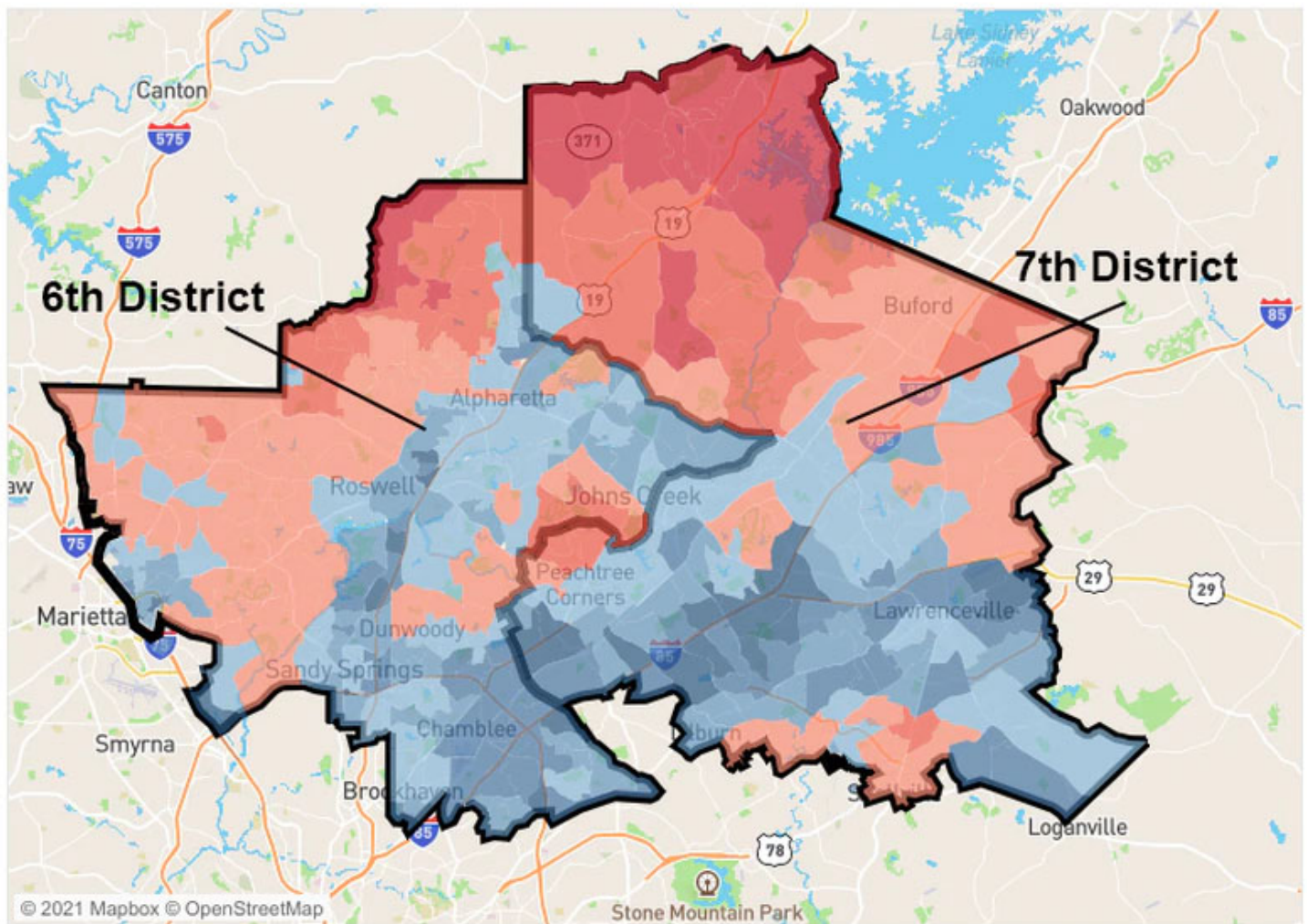


Proposed 2021





Current 2020



Source: Georgia secretary of state election data

Credit: Isaac Sabetai

After McBath won 55% of the vote in last year's election, the new 6th District favors Republicans by 15 percentage points, according to estimates by The Atlanta Journal-Constitution based on voting patterns.

RIGHTS FREEDOM JUSTICE ACCESS

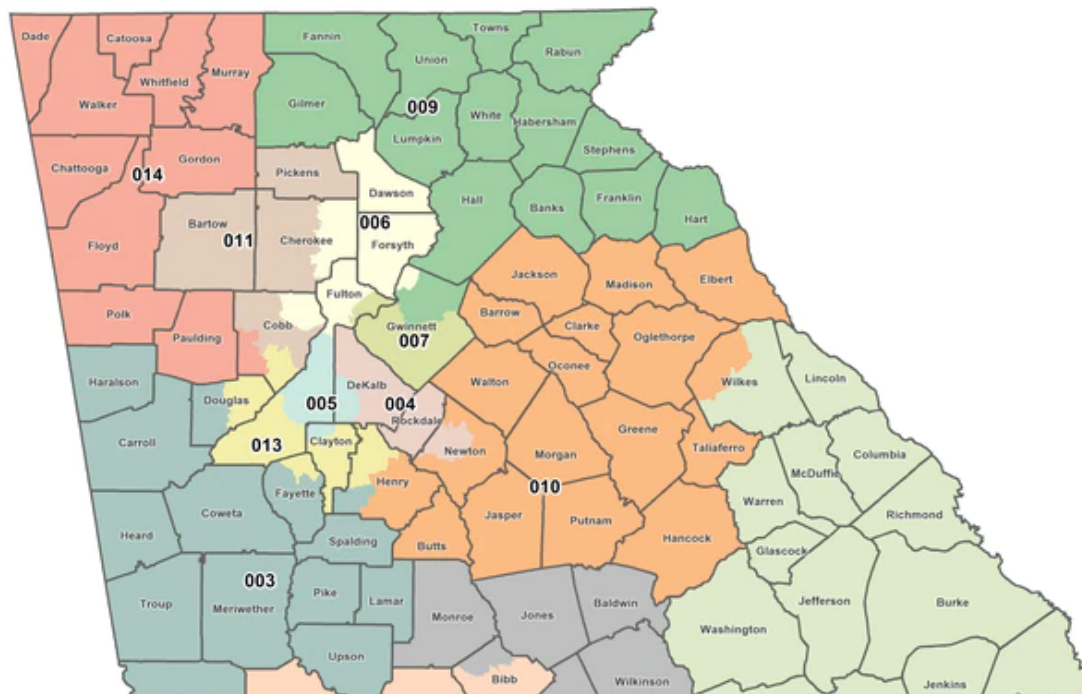
GIVE NOW

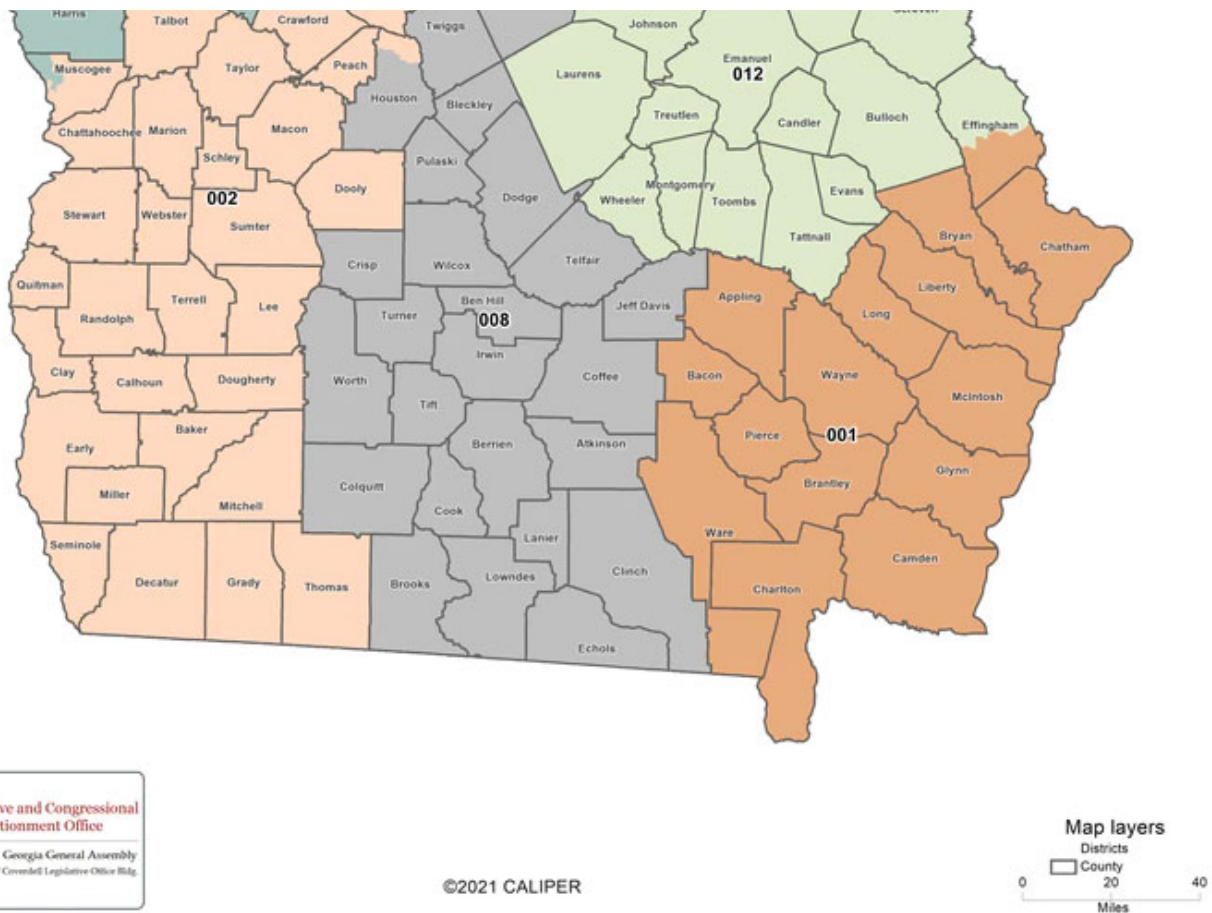
Activists who opposed the new map questioned the need to change the 6th District so drastically when it had about 660 more voters than were required for each of the state's 14 congressional districts to ensure equal-size populations. It was the district that was closest to being right on target with about 765,000 voters.

The Republican-drawn map shifts about 45% of the district — or about 355,000 residents — from Democratic-leaning DeKalb and Fulton counties out of the district and brings in about the same number from Republican-leaning Cherokee, Dawson and Forsyth counties.

Proposed Joint Congressional Districts of Georgia

Client: 1
Plan: C
Type: Congress





Credit: Special

Plaintiffs in the lawsuits include a variety of civil rights, religious and political groups, along with individual voters. They include the Georgia NAACP, the Georgia Coalition for the People's Agenda, the Georgia Association of Latino Elected Officials, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity and the 6th District of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Kemp didn't comment on the redistricting bills.

"The congressional map signed into law by Gov. Brian Kemp is a shameless power grab that cheats Black voters out of proper representation," said Marina Jenkins of the National Redistricting Foundation, an affiliate of the National Democratic Redistricting Committee. "We call for a plan that complies with the Voting Rights Act and properly protects the rights of Georgia's Black voters."

In addition to redrawing congressional lines, the General Assembly created maps for the state House and Senate that aim to protect Republican majorities in elections for years to come.

But the maps also anticipate gains by Democratic candidates in metro Atlanta where the state's population has been expanding. Each district is required to have a roughly equal number of

residents.



The revised Senate has 33 districts that tend to vote for Republicans and 23 that lean toward Democrats, an increase of one Democratic seat from current districts. The new House map includes 98 districts that favor Republicans and 82 tilted toward Democrats, a potential gain of five Democratic districts in next year's elections.

One district targeted in court is the only majority-minority district in the General Assembly to currently be represented by a Republican lawmaker — state [Sen. Brian Strickland of McDonough](#). Senate District 17 previously included parts of Henry, Newton and Rockdale counties — including the majority-Black cities of Locust Grove and Hampton.

The new map shifts the district to the east, stretching into Walton and Morgan counties, while moving away from metro Atlanta and removing Locust Grove, Hampton and the portion of Rockdale County that had previously been in the district. The changes increase the district's white population from about 46% to 57%.

Strickland won reelection last year with about 51% of the vote. The new district favors Republicans by about 10 percentage points, according to the AJC's estimates.

Alpha Phi Alpha v. Raffensperger






Case 1:21-mi-99999-UNA Document 4050 Filed 12/

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF C

ATLANTA DIVISION

ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY
INC., a nonprofit organization on





1

Georgia redistricting at a glance

- Republicans who hold a majority in the Georgia General Assembly passed a congressional map designed to help them gain a seat in next year's elections. Republicans currently hold an 8-6 lead in Georgia's congressional delegation.
- Redistricting is required every decade to ensure equal populations in districts. This time, it came after Georgia gained 1 million new residents.
- Lawsuits will allege that the maps are racially discriminatory because they reduce the voting strength of people of color.

About the Authors



Mark Niese



Maya T. Prabhu



Editors' Picks



How Georgia nuclear project's big finish went so wrong

9h ago



Beloved actress Betty White dies at age 99

43m ago



Atlanta HBCUs pivot to virtual learning due to COVID-19

2h ago



Atlanta Mayor Keisha Lance Bottoms: 'We are leaving this city intact'

8h ago



Atlanta Mayor Keisha Lance Bottoms: 'We are leaving this city intact'

8h ago



Inside the campaign to undermine Georgia's election

The Latest



Opinion: Are Democrats trying to do too much on elections?

OPINION: The election wasn't stolen

What happened in Georgia politics in 2021, and what it could mean for 2022

Investigations



Georgia gets first shipments of Merck, Pfizer COVID pills



22h ago

Last-minute change of plans leads to life-saving rescue in Georgia

18h ago

Inside the campaign to undermine Georgia's election

CONTENT BY

iShares | Sponsored

The next-gen innovation ETF that lets you invest in tech across various sectors.

Far & Wide | Sponsored

America's Coolest Small Towns by State

Facts Therapy | Sponsored

The 4 Sister's Took Photo Every Year For 40 Years, You Won't Believe What Happened To Them

Chaikin Analytics | Sponsored

“Move Your Money by Jan. 1,” Wall St legend Warns

Luxury SUV Savings | Sponsored

These Top-Of-The-Line Luxury SUVs Are Shockingly Affordable

Cuteness | Sponsored

The 60 Most Hilarious Cat Memes of All Time

Beverly Hills MD | Sponsored

Top Plastic Surgeon: How To Improve Your Neck's Appearance

POPSUGAR | Sponsored

Nicole Kidman's Incredible Evolution in Photos

HighlyHealthy | Sponsored

5-Year-Old Calls 911 To Save Dad's Life But Her Call Is Cracking Everyone Up

Ultimate Pet Nutrition | Sponsored

Does Your Cat Throw Up Often? - Try This One Trick

Fisher Investments | Sponsored

7 Ways to Retire Comfortably With \$500k

Stadium Talk | Sponsored

Ranking the Largest College Football Stadiums

edition.si.com | Sponsored

100 Greatest Sports Photos of All-Time

NowThis | Sponsored

Tom Hanks Movies Ranked From Worst to First

The Dodo | Sponsored

100 Hilarious Animal Memes to Brighten Your Day

Always Pets | Sponsored

Everyone Stopped to Laugh at These Funny Dog Memes

moneywise.com | Sponsored

The Worst College Football Stadiums In The U.S. (Washington's Ranks High)

CRI Genetics | Sponsored

Montana Man Discovers He Has Oldest DNA In America

BleacherBreaker | Sponsored

40 Collector's Items That Aren't Worth Keeping

Post Fun | Sponsored

30+ Comparison Pictures That'll Put Things In Perspective

Camper Van Warehouse | Search Ads | Sponsored

Most Affordable Camper Vans

bonvoyaged.com | Sponsored

90% Of Americans Fail This Citizenship Quiz

BleacherBreaker | Sponsored

First Lady Wedding Gowns

Daily Finance Stories | Sponsored

Cher's Son Chaz Bono Is So Skinny Now And Looks Like A Model (Photos)

Digital Trends | Sponsored

The Man Who Took Diana's Crying Photo Shares A New Detail About It

MisterStory | Sponsored

Old Woman (89) Is Denied Business Class - Then Flight Attendant Discovers Who She Really Is

bonvoyaged.com | Sponsored

We Will Guess Your Education Level in 17 Questions

Post Fun | Sponsored

Strange Photos That Were Snapped At Disney Parks

Factable | Sponsored

20 Kiss Scenes That Weren't Supposed To Happen

MoneyWise.com | Sponsored

Fumbled Fields: The Worst Stadiums in College Football

Grizly | Sponsored

97% Of Christians Can't Pass This Basic Jesus Quiz

Trend Chaser | Sponsored

Guess The Football Team By Only Their Helmet

Thrillist | Sponsored

Most Breathtakingly Beautiful Small Towns In the World

Taco Relish | Sponsored

"My Three Sons" Cast: Then And Now

BleacherBreaker | Sponsored

Most Uncool Things Boomers Still Think Are Cool

Zen Herald | Sponsored

Scientist Explains Mary Todd Lincoln's Bizarre Behavior That Baffled America

Motley Fool Wealth Management | Sponsored

How to Turn Your Nest Egg into Retirement

Luxury Rehab | **Search Ads** | Sponsored

Seattle Rehab Centers You Have to See to Believe

Pets Detective | Sponsored

20 Odd Hells Angels Rules, #10 Is Mandatory

Diabetes Treatment | **Search Ads** | Sponsored

Diabetes Treatments That Your Doctor May Not Know About

Macular Degeneration Treatment | **Search Ads** | Sponsored

Early Signs of Macular Degeneration You Might Want To Know About

Erectile Dysfunction | **Search Ads** | Sponsored

More American Men May Suffer From ED

Stuff Answered | Sponsored

Medicare Plans for Seniors. Learn about the Cost

Taco Relish | Sponsored

20 Heisman Winners That Don't Deserve That Trophy

Pawzilla | Sponsored

Scientist Finally Explains Mary Todd Lincoln's Behavior That Baffled America

AmRelieve | Sponsored

Bad Knees? Walk, Run, & Bend Down Again With This Knee Sleeve!

Metastatic Breast Cancer | Search Ads | Sponsored

Metastatic Breast Cancer Symptoms Americans May Not Know About

thedelite.com | Sponsored

Brutally Honest All-Time NFL QB Rankings (Montana Not Top 5)

The Farmer's Dog | Sponsored

Dogs should eat food, not burnt brown balls.

grizly.com | Sponsored

The Hollywood Quiz Almost No One Can Pass

Trucking Jobs | Search Ads | Sponsored

Do you Know How Much Truck Driver's Pay in Canada Is? See Salaries Here

Caesars Slot | Sponsored

Casinos In Vegas Will Hate You For Doing This but They Can't Stop You

Housediver | Sponsored

Just After Birth Of Twins, She Feels Weird. Doctor Takes A Look And Says This Can't Be True

Post Fun | Sponsored

20 Lies About The Wild West You Probably Believed

TriviaBoss.com | Sponsored

Almost Nobody Remembers These Vintage TV Shows. Do You?

NerdWallet | Sponsored

Want \$0 Annual Fees? Compare The Credit Cards Side-By-Side.

Moneypail | Sponsored

Side-By-Side Photos: Actor Vs The Person Portrayed

Dexcom | Sponsored

This Is the One Technology People with Diabetes Need

Wolf & Shepherd | Sponsored

NFL Star Rob Gronkowski Loves These Shoes

All Around Money | Sponsored

At 45, This Is Tiger Woods' Real-Life Partner

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

ABOUT

Help Center
About the Atlanta Journal-Constitution
Newsroom Ethics Code
Careers
Archive
Press On

CONTACT US

Contact Us
Send a News Tip
Advertise
AJC Newsroom

OUR PRODUCTS

ePaper

Newsletters

All AJC Podcasts

Download iOS App

Download Android App

SUBSCRIPTION

Print Subscription

Digital Subscription

Manage Subscription

Your Profile

NIE/Newspapers in Education

© 2021 The Atlanta Journal-Constitution.

All Rights Reserved.

By using this website, you accept the terms of our

[Visitor Agreement](#) and [Privacy Policy](#), and understand your options regarding [Ad Choices](#).

[Learn about Careers at Cox Enterprises.](#)

Back to Top

EXHIBIT 21

2021 Committee Guidelines

I. HEARINGS AND MEETINGS

A. PUBLIC HEARINGS

1. A series of public hearings were held to actively seek public participation and input concerning the General Assembly's redrawing of congressional and legislative districts.
2. Video recordings of all hearings are and shall remain available on the legislative website, www.legis.ga.gov

B. COMMITTEE MEETINGS

1. All formal meetings of the full committee will be open to the public.
2. When the General Assembly is not in session, notices of all such meetings will be posted at the Offices of the Clerk of the House or Secretary of the Senate and other appropriate places at least 24 hours in advance of any meeting. Individual notices may be transmitted by email to any citizen or organization requesting the same without charge. Persons or organizations needing this information should contact the Senate Press Office or House Communications Office or the Secretary of the Senate or Clerk of the House to be placed on the notification list.
3. Minutes of all such meetings shall be kept and maintained in accordance with the rules of the House and Senate. Copies of the minutes should be made available in a timely manner at a reasonable cost in accordance with these same rules.

II. PUBLIC ACCESS TO REDISTRICTING DATA AND MATERIALS

- A. Census information databases on any medium created at public expense and held by the Committee or by the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office for use in the redistricting process are included as public records and copies can be made available to the public in accordance with the rules of the General Assembly and subject to reasonable charges for search, retrieval, reproduction and other reasonable, related costs.
- B. Copies of the public records described above may be obtained at the cost of reproduction by members of the public on electronic media if the material exists on an appropriate electronic medium. Cost of reproduction may include not only the medium on which the copies made, but also the labor cost for the search, retrieval, and reproduction of the records and other reasonable, related costs.

- C. These guidelines regarding public access to redistricting data and materials do not apply to plans or other related materials prepared by or on behalf of an individual Member of the General Assembly using the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office, where those plans and materials have not been made public through presentation to the Committee.

III. REDISTRICTING PLANS

A. GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR DRAFTING PLANS

1. Each congressional district should be drawn with a total population of plus or minus one person from the ideal district size.
2. Each legislative district of the General Assembly should be drawn to achieve a total population that is substantially equal as practicable, considering the principles listed below.
3. All plans adopted by the Committee will comply with Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as amended.
4. All plans adopted by the Committee will comply with the United States and Georgia Constitutions.
5. Districts shall be composed of contiguous geography. Districts that connect on a single point are not contiguous.
6. No multi-member districts shall be drawn on any legislative redistricting plan.
7. The Committee should consider:
 - a. The boundaries of counties and precincts;
 - b. Compactness; and
 - c. Communities of interest.
8. Efforts should be made to avoid the unnecessary pairing of incumbents.
9. The identifying of these criteria is not intended to limit the consideration of any other principles or factors that the Committee deems appropriate.

B. PLANS PRODUCED THROUGH THE LEGISLATIVE AND CONGRESSIONAL REAPPORTIONMENT OFFICE

1. Staff of the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office will be available to all members of the General Assembly requesting assistance in accordance with the policy of that office.
2. Census data and redistricting work maps will be available to all members of the General Assembly upon request, provided that (a) the map was created by the requesting member, (b) the map is publicly available, or (c) the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office has been granted permission by the author of the map to share a copy with the requesting member.
3. As noted above, redistricting plans and other records related to the provision of staff services to individual members of the General Assembly will not be subject to public disclosure. Only the author of a particular map may waive the confidentiality of his or her own work product. This confidentiality provision will not apply with respect to records related to the provision of staff services to any committee or subcommittee as a whole or to any records which are or have been previously disclosed by or pursuant to the direction of an individual member of the General Assembly.

C. PLANS PRODUCED OUTSIDE OF THE LEGISLATIVE AND CONGRESSIONAL REAPPORTIONMENT OFFICE

1. All plans submitted to the Committee will be made part of the public record and made available in the same manner as other committee public records.
2. All plans prepared outside the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office must be submitted to that office prior to presentation to the Committee by a Member of the General Assembly for technical verification and presentation and bill preparation. All pieces of census geography must be accounted for in some district.
3. The electronic submission of material for technical verification must be made in accordance with the following requirements or in a manner specifically approved and accepted by the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office.
 - a. The submission shall be in electronic format with accompanying documentation that shows the submitting sponsor of the proposed plan and contact person for the proposed plan, including email address and telephone number.

- b. An electronic map image that clearly depicts defined boundaries, utilizing the 2020 United States Census geographic boundaries, and a block equivalency file containing two columns. The first column shall list the 15-digit census block identification numbers, and the second column shall list the three-digit district identification number. Both block and district numbers shall be zero-filled text files. Such files shall be submitted in .xis, .xlsx, .dbf, .txt, or .csv file formats. The following is a sample:

```
BlockID, DISTRICT
"13001950100101","008"
"13001950100102","008"
"13001950100103","008"
"13001950100104","008"
"13001950100105","008"
"13001950100106","008"
```

- 4. If submission of the plan cannot be done electronically, the following requirements must be followed:
 - a. All drafts, amendments, or revisions should be on clearly-depicted maps that follow the 2020 Census geographic boundaries and should be accompanied by a statistical sheet listing the Census geography including the total population for each district.
 - b. All plans submitted should either be a complete statewide plan or fit back into the plan that they modified, so that the proposal can be evaluated in the context of a statewide plan. All pieces of Census geography must be accounted for in some district.

D. GENERAL GUIDELINES FOR PRESENTATION OF ALL PLANS

- 1. A redistricting plan may be presented for consideration by the Committee only through the sponsorship of one or more Member(s) of the General Assembly. All such drafts of and amendments or revisions to plans presented at any committee meeting must be on clearly-depicted maps which follow the 2020 Census geographic boundaries and accompanied by a statistical sheet listing the Census geography, including the total population and minority populations for each proposed district.
- 2. No plan may be presented to the Committee unless that plan makes accommodations for and fits back into a specific, identified statewide map for the particular legislative body involved.

3. All plans presented at committee meetings will be made available for inspection by the public either electronically or by hard copy available at the Office of Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment.
- E. These guidelines may be reconsidered or amended by the Committee.

EXHIBIT 22

2021-2022 GUIDELINES FOR THE HOUSE LEGISLATIVE AND CONGRESSIONAL REAPPORTIONMENT COMMITTEE

I. HEARINGS AND MEETINGS

A. PUBLIC HEARINGS

1. A series of public hearings were held to actively seek public participation and input concerning the General Assembly's redrawing of congressional and legislative districts.
2. Video recordings of all hearings are and shall remain available on the legislative website, www.legis.ga.gov

B. COMMITTEE MEETINGS

1. All formal meetings of the full committee will be open to the public.
2. When the General Assembly is not in session, notices of all such meetings will be posted at the Offices of the Clerk of the House or Secretary of the Senate and other appropriate places at least 24 hours in advance of any meeting. Individual notices may be transmitted by email to any citizen or organization requesting the same without charge. Persons or organizations needing this information should contact the Senate Press Office or House Communications Office or the Secretary of the Senate or Clerk of the House to be placed on the notification list.
3. Minutes of all such meetings shall be kept and maintained in accordance with the rules of the House and Senate. Copies of the minutes should be made available in a timely manner at a reasonable cost in accordance with these same rules.

II. PUBLIC ACCESS TO REDISTRICTING DATA AND MATERIALS

- A. Census information databases on any medium created at public expense and held by the Committee or by the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office for use in the redistricting process are included as public records and copies can be made available to the public in accordance with the rules of the General Assembly and subject to reasonable charges for search, retrieval, reproduction and other reasonable, related costs.
- B. Copies of the public records described above may be obtained at the cost of reproduction by members of the public on electronic media if the material exists on an appropriate electronic medium. Cost of reproduction may include not only the medium on which the copies made, but also the labor cost for the search, retrieval, and reproduction of the records and other reasonable, related costs.

- C. These guidelines regarding public access to redistricting data and materials do not apply to plans or other related materials prepared by or on behalf of an individual Member of the General Assembly using the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office, where those plans and materials have not been made public through presentation to the Committee.

III. REDISTRICTING PLANS

A. GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR DRAFTING PLANS

1. Each congressional district should be drawn with a total population of plus or minus one person from the ideal district size.
2. Each legislative district of the General Assembly should be drawn to achieve a total population that is substantially equal as practicable, considering the principles listed below.
3. All plans adopted by the Committee will comply with Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as amended.
4. All plans adopted by the Committee will comply with the United States and Georgia Constitutions.
5. Districts shall be composed of contiguous geography. Districts that connect on a single point are not contiguous.
6. No multi-member districts shall be drawn on any legislative redistricting plan.
7. The Committee should consider:
 - a. The boundaries of counties and precincts;
 - b. Compactness; and
 - c. Communities of interest.
8. Efforts should be made to avoid the unnecessary pairing of incumbents.
9. The identifying of these criteria is not intended to limit the consideration of any other principles or factors that the Committee deems appropriate.

B. PLANS PRODUCED THROUGH THE LEGISLATIVE AND CONGRESSIONAL REAPPORTIONMENT OFFICE

1. Staff of the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office will be available to all members of the General Assembly requesting assistance in accordance with the policy of that office.
2. Census data and redistricting work maps will be available to all members of the General Assembly upon request, provided that (a) the map was created by the requesting member, (b) the map is publicly available, or (c) the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office has been granted permission by the author of the map to share a copy with the requesting member.
3. As noted above, redistricting plans and other records related to the provision of staff services to individual members of the General Assembly will not be subject to public disclosure. Only the author of a particular map may waive the confidentiality of his or her own work product. This confidentiality provision will not apply with respect to records related to the provision of staff services to any committee or subcommittee as a whole or to any records which are or have been previously disclosed by or pursuant to the direction of an individual member of the General Assembly.

C. PLANS PRODUCED OUTSIDE OF THE LEGISLATIVE AND CONGRESSIONAL REAPPORTIONMENT OFFICE

1. All plans submitted to the Committee will be made part of the public record and made available in the same manner as other committee public records.
2. All plans prepared outside the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office must be submitted to that office prior to presentation to the Committee by a Member of the General Assembly for technical verification and presentation and bill preparation. All pieces of census geography must be accounted for in some district.
3. The electronic submission of material for technical verification must be made in accordance with the following requirements or in a manner specifically approved and accepted by the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office.
 - a. The submission shall be in electronic format with accompanying documentation that shows the submitting sponsor of the proposed plan and contact person for the proposed plan, including email address and telephone number.
 - b. An electronic map image that clearly depicts defined boundaries, utilizing the 2020 United States Census geographic boundaries,

and a block equivalency file containing two columns. The first column shall list the 15-digit census block identification numbers, and the second column shall list the three-digit district identification number. Both block and district numbers shall be zero-filled text files. Such files shall be submitted in .xis, .xlsx, .dbf, .txt, or .csv file formats. The following is a sample:

```
BlockID, DISTRICT
"13001950100101","008"
"13001950100102","008"
"13001950100103","008"
"13001950100104","008"
"13001950100105","008"
"13001950100106","008"
```

4. If submission of the plan cannot be done electronically, the following requirements must be followed:
 - a. All drafts, amendments, or revisions should be on clearly-depicted maps that follow the 2020 Census geographic boundaries and should be accompanied by a statistical sheet listing the Census geography including the total population for each district.
 - b. All plans submitted should either be a complete statewide plan or fit back into the plan that they modified, so that the proposal can be evaluated in the context of a statewide plan. All pieces of Census geography must be accounted for in some district.

D. GENERAL GUIDELINES FOR PRESENTATION OF ALL PLANS

1. A redistricting plan may be presented for consideration by the Committee only through the sponsorship of one or more Member(s) of the General Assembly. All such drafts of and amendments or revisions to plans presented at any committee meeting must be on clearly-depicted maps which follow the 2020 Census geographic boundaries and accompanied by a statistical sheet listing the Census geography, including the total population and minority populations for each proposed district.
2. No plan may be presented to the Committee unless that plan makes accommodations for and fits back into a specific, identified statewide map for the particular legislative body involved.

3. All plans presented at committee meetings will be made available for inspection by the public either electronically or by hard copy available at the Office of Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment.
- E. These guidelines may be reconsidered or amended by the Committee.

EXHIBIT 23



U.S. Department of Justice

Civil Rights Division

Office of the Assistant Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20035

March 20, 1992

Mark H. Cohen, Esq.
Senior Assistant Attorney General
Department of Law
132 State Judicial Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30334

Dear Mr. Cohen:

This refers to Act No. 616 of the 1992 Regular Session, which provides for the 1992 redistricting of House districts; and Act No. 615 of the 1992 Regular Session, which provides for the 1992 redistricting of Senate districts; submitted to the Attorney General pursuant to Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as amended, 42 U.S.C. 1973c. Your submission was received on February 21, 1992; supplemental information was received on February 26, 27 and March 3, 4, 13, 17, 1992.

This also refers to Act No. 638 of the 1992 Regular Session, which provides for the 1992 implementation of an increase from ten to 11 Congressional seats for the State of Georgia with the 1992 redistricting of the Congressional districts, submitted to the Attorney General pursuant to Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as amended, 42 U.S.C. 1973c. Your submission was received on March 4, 1992; supplemental information was received on March 13, 17, 1992.

We have carefully considered the information you have provided, as well as Census data and information and comments from other interested persons. As you are aware, on January 21, 1992, the Attorney General interposed an objection to several areas of each of the House, Senate, and Congressional plans that the state had submitted for Section 5 review. In analyzing the instant remedial plans, we are mindful of our bases for interposing the original objections in an effort to determine whether the state has overcome such concerns. In addition, we also have an obligation to investigate and analyze the motivations of the state legislature with regard to the second round of redistrictings. It is in that light that we have determined that in a number of areas of the state, the legislature has remedied our objections. However, the following explanation is meant to provide guidance to the state with regard to those areas in all three submitted plans that continue to be a problem under Section 5.

The House Plan

In response to our objection to the failure of the state to recognize black population concentrations in the Peach/Houston area, the state submitted proposed District 140, referred to as the "Heart of Georgia" district. While the state maintains that this district is the "first viable rural Georgia minority House district in the modern history of the General Assembly," the fact is that the adopted plan continues to fragment and submerge significant black population concentrations. The state chose to draw the "Heart of Georgia" district into Peach County and divided the Houston County black voters among three majority white districts. Consequently, the proposed plan minimizes overall black voting strength in the heart of Georgia in an effort to protect an incumbent legislator. The state fails to articulate a legitimate nonracial reason for rejecting alternative plans which remedy the fragmentation and provide two viable black voting age majority districts in this area.

In the proposed House plan for the rural southwest region, we originally found that black concentrations were fragmented to ensure the re-election of white incumbents and that an additional black district could have been drawn. In response to our objection, the state simply moved black population into District 159 at the expense of the black population of proposed District 158. We are aware that there were alternative plans presented to the legislature that remedy this fragmentation and which provide two black voting age majority districts in this area. Similarly, in the Muscogee/Chattahoochee area, the state failed to remedy our concern that three viable black voting age majority districts were not drawn in this area due to inappropriate incumbency considerations.

In the Richmond/Burke Counties area, while the state appears to have cured our earlier objection to the fragmentation of minorities in Burke County, the state inexplicably includes a land bridge through Richmond County which connects Jefferson County with Columbia County (proposed District 120). Concerns were raised that the state's configuration in this area was designed to maintain a white majority legislative delegation rather than have an equal number of white and black legislators on the Richmond County delegation. While the state acknowledges that such a configuration would have this effect on the delegation, the state has yet to explain adequately its boundary choice in this instance.

The Senate Plan

The Senate plan also continues to include instances in which the concerns of the incumbents were placed ahead of black voting potential. For example, in the DeKalb/Clayton Counties area it appears that protection of incumbents motivated the legislature

to combine portions of Clayton County with Fulton County resulting in fragmentation of concentrations of black residents into four surrounding white majority districts in the Atlanta/DeKalb metro area (Districts 34, 42, 44, and 55). By failing to combine the black growth communities in Clayton County with the residents of the black neighborhoods in DeKalb, the state has minimized black voting potential in DeKalb County where three rather than two black voting age majority districts would have been the logical result of boundary lines that fairly recognize black voting strength in that area.

In the southwest portion of the state, from Meriwether and Peach/ Houston Counties to the Florida border, the state continues to fragment the black population concentrations by refusing to adopt alternative approaches in the Senate plan which would remedy this fragmentation and provide three districts with majority black voting age populations.

The Congressional Plan

As you know, the state's first proposed plan was rejected amid general concerns that the Georgia legislative leadership had been predisposed to limit black voting potential to two black majority voting age population districts. This concern continues with respect to the state's present redistricting plan. For example, our analysis of the process indicates that the primary controversy surrounding the Congressional plan was whether the Department's objection contemplated the drawing of a third black voting age majority district and that, while the Senate appeared to be willing to try to recognize black voting potential in the state, the House vigorously rejected such a concept.

For example, the submitted plan minimizes the electoral potential of large concentrations of black population in several areas of the state. Specifically, we note that alternatives, including one adopted by the Senate, included a large number of black voters from Screven, Effingham and Chatham Counties in the 11th Congressional District. However, due to unyielding efforts on behalf of the House members, this configuration was abandoned and no legitimate reason has been suggested to explain the exclusion of the second largest concentration of blacks in the state from a majority black Congressional district.

In southwest Georgia, our review of the proposed remedial plan indicates a similar concern. Although the submitted plan has increased the black percentage in the 2nd Congressional District, it continues the exclusion of large black population concentrations in areas such as Meriwether, Houston, and Bibb Counties from this district. In addition, the expressed reluctance to split counties also appears pretextual given the original announcement by the redistricting leadership that such

concerns should not be used to prevent the drawing of viable black districts. The state's willingness to split counties and cities in other areas of the state suggests an uneven application of its own stated criteria which appears designed to minimize black voting potential.

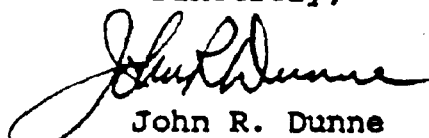
Several alternative redistricting approaches which created a southwest district with a majority black voting age population by including additional black communities such as the City of Macon and which did not diminish the effectiveness of the minority electorate in the 11th by including Chatham, were suggested to the legislature during the redistricting process. Despite the existence of the alternatives, however, the state refused to recognize potential black voting strength in the state and has failed to explain adequately the choices made during this round of Congressional redistricting.

In light of the considerations discussed above, I cannot conclude, as I must under the Voting Rights Act, that the state's burden has been sustained in this instance with respect to the three proposed plans under review. Therefore, on behalf of the Attorney General, I must object to the 1992 redistricting plans for Georgia State House, Senate and Congressional districts to the extent that each incorporates the proposed configurations for the areas discussed above.

We note that under Section 5 you have the right to seek a declaratory judgment from the United States District Court for the District of Columbia that the proposed 1992 House, Senate and Congressional redistricting plans have neither the purpose nor will have the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color. In addition, you may request that the Attorney General reconsider the objections. However, until the objections are withdrawn or a judgment from the District of Columbia Court is obtained, the 1992 redistricting plans for Georgia House, Senate and Congressional districts continue to be legally unenforceable. Clark v. Roemer, 59 U.S.L.W. 4583 (U.S. June 3, 1991); 28 C.F.R. 51.10 and 51.45.

To enable us to meet our responsibility to enforce the Voting Rights Act, please inform us of the action the State of Georgia plans to take concerning these matters. If you have any questions, you should call Sandra Coleman (202-307-3718), Deputy Chief of the Voting Section.

Sincerely,



John R. Dunne
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

EXHIBIT 24



U.S. Department of Justice

Civil Rights Division

Office of the Assistant Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20530

Honorable Michael Bowers
Attorney General
132 State Judicial Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30334

11 FEB 1982

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

This is in reference to the Congressional reapportionment provided for in Act No. 5 (1981), submitted to the Attorney General pursuant to Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as amended, 42 U.S.C. 1973c. Your submission was completed on January 22, 1982. In accordance with your request we have expedited our consideration of this matter.

We have given careful consideration to the information that you have supplied, along with relevant Census data and comments and information provided by other interested persons. Our analysis shows that, for the most part, the plan meets the requirements of Section 5. There continue to be concerns, however, regarding contentions which have been made to us regarding the proposed congressional districts in Fulton and DeKalb Counties as they affect the Atlanta metropolitan area.

At the outset, we note that proposed district 5 is 57.3% black in total population and that that figure represents a seven percentage point increase in black population from existing district 5, the one district which appears to offer the minority community some opportunity to elect a candidate of its choice. Thus, under Beer v. United States, 425 U.S. 130 (1976), the plan must be considered one which "enhances the position of minorities in respect to their effective exercise of the election franchise" and therefore cannot be said to have a racial "effect" within the meaning of Section 5.

- 2 -

However, Beer teaches also that "[i]t is possible that a legislative reapportionment could be a substantial improvement over its predecessor in terms of lessening racial discrimination, and nonetheless continue so to discriminate on the basis of race or color as to be unconstitutional." Beer v. United States, supra, 425 U.S. at 142, n. 14.

In respect to the latter teaching, the proposed plan divides an apparently cohesive black community of Fulton and DeKalb Counties between districts 5 and 4. The Georgia Senate proposed to assign this black community, which has grown significantly in the past decade, to one congressional district and the resulting district 5 proposed by the Senate was projected to be 69% black in total population. In regard to this circumstance, our letter of November 27, 1981, requested the state to provide any available information to rebut contentions that this described minority community was divided in the submitted plan in order to dilute minority voting strength and to minimize the chances of that community's electing a candidate of its choice to Congress.

The state's response essentially was that the minority community in this two county area is not "cohesive". However, other information indicates that the black residents of this area do share common interests, even though their economic status may vary. Our information also demonstrates a wide variation in economic status among the areas which were included in proposed district 5.

We also have been advised that the Senate's plan for the Atlanta area was rejected in order to preserve, to the extent possible, separate districts for Fulton and DeKalb Counties. The information we have, however, is conflicting. For example, the plan before us assigns to district 4 a substantial area of northern Fulton County, which area previously had been in district 5; and county lines in the Atlanta metropolitan area are crossed in other places. Thus, on the basis of information currently in hand, we are unable to conclude that an effort to preserve county lines necessitated the fragmentation of the black community. Also relevant

- 3

to our review is your statement that the portion of the black community which was included in proposed district 5 is "less politically active", which may explain the fact that even though district 5 has been increased in black percentage the district "has a 54% white voter registration."


As you know, under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, the submitting authority has the burden of showing that a submitted change has no discriminatory purpose or effect. See, e.g., Georgia v. United States, 411 U.S. 526 (1973); see also, Procedures for the Administration of Section 5, 28 C.F.R. 51.39(e) (46 Fed. Reg. 878). In this case, we have not been presented with information sufficient to enable us to reject the claims that the line between districts 4 and 5 was drawn to minimize the voting strength in that area. Under these circumstances, and in view of the fact that you have requested a decision at this time, I am unable to conclude that the State has satisfied the burden of proof required by Section 5. Thus, I am required to interpose a Section 5 objection, on behalf of the Attorney General, to the submitted plan. However, if additional information is available regarding this issue, we would be willing to reconsider this objection pursuant to the applicable provisions of the Procedures for the Administration of Section 5. See 28 C.F.R. 51.44.

Of course, as provided by Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, you have the right to seek a declaratory judgment from the United States District Court for the District of Columbia that these changes have neither the purpose nor will have the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race, color or membership in a language minority group. However, until the objection is withdrawn or a judgment from the District of Columbia court is obtained, the effect of this objection is to render the congressional redistricting as authorized by Act No. 5 (1981) legally unenforceable.

- 4 -

If you have any questions concerning this letter,
please feel free to call Carl Gabel (202-724-8388),
Director of the Section 5 Unit of the Voting Section.

Sincerely,



Wm. Bradford Reynolds
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

EXHIBIT 25



Thank you for subscribing.

Choose from a variety of newsletters to stay informed.

Douglas leader's racial comments spark calls that he resign



LOCAL NEWS

By Emie Suggs, The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

Sept 30, 2016

Advertisement

A longtime Douglas County commissioner, under fire over a video recording of him making disparaging comments about black candidates and leaders, is being pressured to resign and end his bid for re-election.

Commission Chairman Tom Worthan was secretly taped at a public county festival two weeks ago.

Facing competition from a black woman, Worthan said governments run by blacks “bankrupt you,” and that if African-American sheriff candidate Tim Pounds were elected, “he would put a bunch of blacks in leadership positions.”

Article continues below



By Salesforce

ADVERTISER CONTENT

Surviving the Pandemic: What Growing Small Businesses Are Doing Now and In the Future

He later adds: “I’d be afraid he’d put his black brothers in positions that maybe they’re not qualified to be in.”

After the tape surfaced, Worthan, who has been elected five times as county commissioner and the past three as chairman, went on Fox 5 Atlanta and apologized.

“I spoke as a politician, trying to say what I needed to say to get a vote,” he told the TV station. “And that’s unfortunate. And I certainly apologize for doing that.”

Worthan has been on something of an apology tour. [Rochelle Robinson, the first black and female mayor of Douglasville](#), said he called her personally to apologize. Robinson said she has known and worked with Worthan for years and never would have suspected such comments from him.

“I am shocked, hurt and disappointed that he would make those statements. When he called and asked me to forgive him and admitted that he was pandering, I heard him out and forgave him,” said Robinson, who was elected in December 2015. “I know

State Rep. William K. Boddie Jr., who won a Democratic runoff election in July to represent House District 62, which includes parts of Douglas County, isn't buying the mea culpa. In an open letter, he calls for Worthan not only to drop out of his race for re-election but to resign immediately from his current position.

"Your comments were racist and not mere political pandering. The racist and insensitive comments you made were not a mistake or a lapse in judgment. The racist and insensitive comments you made regarding African-American politicians and candidates represent your true feelings. That is your thought process. That's your mentality," Boddie wrote.

"I grew up under (former Atlanta mayors) Andy Young and Maynard Jackson. I have a lot of respect for them and what they accomplished," Boddie later told The Atlanta Journal-Constitution. "So for him to make a statement that no government has been successful under black politicians is offensive. He has lost touch with the constituents."

Douglas County is 45 percent black, according to a 2015 census estimate.

Calls to Worthan, whose bio on the county website lists him as a charter member of the Republican National Committee, were not returned Thursday or Friday. A spokesman for the Douglas County Commission said Worthan was likely on Jekyll Island.

William Boone, a political scientist at Clark Atlanta University, said Worthan's comments were an extension of the national narrative in the general election, particularly the racially tinged rhetoric coming out of the Trump campaign.

"It fits into the larger narrative about innuendo about the ability of certain groups of people — most notably blacks, Mexicans and women," Boone said.

'Have to pack up and get out'

Worthan was taped by longtime Douglas County resident Mark Dodd, who questioned the commissioner while running a cellphone video recorder hidden in his shirt pocket.

Dodd said Worthan, who is running against political newcomer Romona Jackson-Jones, had made racist comments to him before. So he wanted to get him on tape talking about Jackson-Jones and Pounds.

"I want black people to have the same opportunities that white people have. I'm tired of seeing black people arrested, beaten and killed for no reason," said Dodd, a white man who has two mixed-race children.

"If white people are not going to stand up for what they believe is right, if we are not going to stand up for the African-American community, we're just as bad as the people doing it."

In the recording, Dodd asked Worthan what would happen if Jackson-Jones and Pounds won.

Between two men 'and the lamp post'

Dodd kept pushing, assuring Worthan that their conversation was just between the two of them “and the lamp post.”

“Well, do you know of another government that’s more black that’s successful? They bankrupt you,” Worthan continued, adding that if Pounds becomes sheriff, he will “put a bunch of blacks in leadership positions.”

“I wasn’t surprised, because I knew that is what he wanted to say,” Dodd said.

Pounds, a 40-year veteran of the Douglas County Sheriff’s Office, said he was blindsided by the “derogatory and disparaging comments” of Worthan, whom he once called a friend.

“As the chief executive officer of Douglas County, Tom Worthan should know that any negative remarks that he makes regarding any citizens of Douglas County based on race are unequivocally unacceptable,” Pounds said Thursday. “I am very disappointed that Tom feels that race is a measure of a person’s ability to lead and serve a community.”

Pounds said while he has supported Worthan in the past, he will not vote for him in the Nov. 8 election.

Calls to Jackson-Jones, meanwhile, were not returned Thursday or Friday.

A better way of making a statement

Boone said the notion that black-run governments are inept is steeped in both racist beliefs of black inferiority and “a fear of being dominated by blacks.”

“The number of cities that go bankrupt, that are run by African-Americans, does not exceed those run by whites,” Boone said.

Yet he stops short of urging Worthan to resign or drop out of the race. Instead, he favors the democratic process.

“The resolution is to talk about inclusion. There needs to be a referendum in terms of a vote that will send a message,” Boone said. “Voting him out of office is a better way of making a statement.”

Boddie said protesters will attend Monday morning’s County Commission meeting to call for Worthan’s resignation.

About the Author

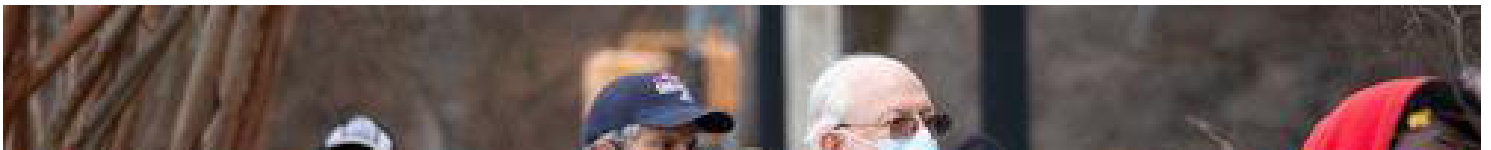


Ernie Suggs



Ernie Suggs is an enterprise reporter covering race and culture for the AJC since 1997. A 1990 graduate of N.C. Central University and a 2009 Harvard University Nieman Fellow, he is also the former vice president of the National Association of Black Journalists. His obsession with Prince, Spike Lee movies, Hamilton and the New York Yankees is odd.

Editors' Picks





4h ago



6-year-old, mother abducted from Cumming found safe in Mexico

4h ago



Metro Atlanta parents weigh risks of schools reopening amid omicron

9h ago



Kemp taps Guard, contract health workers as COVID-19 rages

2h ago



Kemp taps Guard, contract health workers as COVID-19 rages

2h ago



Witnesses reported massive crowds of teens before gunfire at Atlantic Station

7h ago

The Latest



Kemp taps Guard, contract health workers as COVID-19 rages

2h ago

The struggle to get a COVID-19 test is real

4h ago

Map: Coronavirus deaths and cases in Georgia (updated Dec. 29)

5h ago

Investigations



Incoming Atlanta asked the public to suggest 'quick fixes' for the city. Here is their...

10h ago

Omicron surge: Georgia to send National Guard to hospitals, test sites

Krispy Kreme spreads holiday cheer at outlet destroyed by fire

CONTENT BY

Seattle, Washington Launches New Policy For Cars Used Less Than 49 Miles/Day

Comparisons.org | Sponsored

The Dodo | Sponsored

100 Hilarious Animal Memes to Brighten Your Day

Past Factory | Sponsored

Dumb Things We Ignore In "Christmas Vacation"

POPSUGAR | Sponsored

29 Celebrities Who Have Given Birth After Turning 40

The One and Only Ty Pennington Just Renovated our Game!

Come Check it Out - Play for Free, Play Like a Caesar

Caesar Slots



[Visitor Agreement](#) | [Privacy Policy](#) | [Ad Choices](#) | [Careers](#) | [About the AJC](#)

©2020 The Atlanta Journal-Constitution. All Rights Reserved.



By Thompson Hotels

ADVERTISER CONTENT

Discover Thompson Hotels' Culture Lives Here Platform

bonvoyaged.com | Sponsored

Almost Nobody Can Pass This Science Quiz. Can You?

POPSUGAR | Sponsored

Nicole Kidman's Incredible Evolution in Photos

Gameday News | Sponsored

Michael Oher Tells A Whole Different Story About 'The Blind Side'

edition.si.com | Sponsored

100 Greatest Sports Photos of All-Time

Social Entrepreneur | Sponsored

Kidman Revealed Painful Truth About Marriage To Cruise

Daily Funny | Sponsored

Hilariously Dumb Things That People Have Actually Said On The Internet

SUV Deals | Search Ads | Sponsored

Unsold 2021 SUVs Now Almost Being Given Away: See Prices

Auto Inquirer | Sponsored

Patrick Mahomes Has A New Girlfriend

Forbes | Sponsored

These 10 Colleges Have Produced The Most Billionaire Alumni

[Visitor Agreement](#) | [Privacy Policy](#) | [Ad Choices](#) | [Careers](#) | [About the AJC](#)

©2020 The Atlanta Journal-Constitution. All Rights Reserved.

Not Every "Family Ties" Cast Member Lived Happily Ever After

Daily Finance Stories | Sponsored

At 55, Rick Harrison's Third Wife Might Look Familiar To You

Finance Wealth Post | Sponsored

Richard Gere's Son Is Probably The Most Handsome Man To Ever Exist

Doctor Tell
Top US Doctor
GundryMD



Sponsored

Peek Inside Brad Pitt and Jennifer Aniston's Former Home

Post Fun | Sponsored

At 66, Costner Says 'She Was The Love Of My Life'

Mike Tyson's IM-21 | Sponsored

Think Testosterone is the Answer? Mike Tyson Says "Think again"

Post Fun | Sponsored

'90 Day Fiancé' Couples Now

Luxury SUV Savings | Sponsored

These Top-Of-The-Line Luxury SUVs Are Shockingly Affordable

Finance Wealth Post | Sponsored

Tom Selleck's Daughter Is Probably The Prettiest Woman To Ever Exist

Taco Relish | Sponsored

Movies That Are So Bad They Actually Ruined Careers

Daily Funny | Sponsored

People Who Tried To Fake It But Didn't Quite Make It

Atlantic Mirror | Sponsored

Why 'Cheers' Star Rhea Perlman Refuses To Divorce Estranged Husband Danny DeVito

Daily Finance Stories | Sponsored

David Muir Is Happily Married To His Partner

Digital Trends | Sponsored

20 Songs And The Disturbing Meaning Behind Them

Housediver | Sponsored

He Was Once An Icon In The NBA, Here's Him Now

Stadium Talk | Sponsored

Ranking the Largest College Football Stadiums

Far & Wide | Sponsored

Most Popular Chain Restaurants, Ranked from Worst to First

Loan Insurance Wealth | Sponsored

Amal Clooney's No Makeup Photo: Her Real Face Is Quite Different

Daily Finance Stories | Sponsored

Cher's Son Chaz Bono Is So Skinny Now And Looks Like A Model (Photos)

Brake For It | Sponsored

40 Of The Most Useless Sports Cars Ever Made

Camper Van Warehouse | Search Ads | Sponsored

Select Justice | Sponsored

Those Who Used Paraquat And Developed Parkinson's Disease May be Entitled to Compensation

CRI Genetics | Sponsored

Montana Man Discovers He Has Oldest DNA In America

Taco Relish | Sponsored

"My Three Sons" Cast: Then And Now

It's Rosy | Sponsored

Crossbreed Dogs so Adorable You'll Want One, Like, Today

bonvoyaged.com | Sponsored

Total Jerks: These Stars Are Horrible People.

Post Fun | Sponsored

25 Worst Movies Ever, According To Rotten Tomatoes

Always Pets | Sponsored

Everyone Stopped to Laugh at These Funny Dog Memes

HealthyGem | Sponsored

20 Things Fans Never Figured Out About "My 600-lb Life"

Social Entrepreneur | Sponsored

Martha Stewart's Confession About Her Feelings For Snoop Dogg Has Fans Reeling

Post Fun | Sponsored

20 Completely False Historical 'Facts' Everyone Believes

StyleBistro | Sponsored

The Most Iconic Royal Outfit From the Year You Were Born

Learn It Wise | Sponsored

Nicole Kidman Confirmed What We Already Knew About Her And Tom

WSJ | Guerlain | Sponsored

17 Fragrances That Are Changing the World of Perfume

Grizly | Sponsored

97% Of Christians Can't Pass This Basic Jesus Quiz

BleacherBreaker | Sponsored

Carrie Underwood's Tennessee Mansion Is Gorgeous

Post Fun | Sponsored

Great Songs That Artists Are Now Embarrassed Of

Post Fun | Sponsored

Man Gives Girlfriend A Necklace, 2 Years Later She Screams When She Realizes What's Inside

Taco Relish | Sponsored

40 Movies That Are Considered To Be Almost Flawless

Far & Wide | Sponsored

America's Coolest Small Towns by State

New VWs | search ads | Sponsored

VW's Killer New Lineup Will Leave You Breathless

Healthline | Sponsored

The 14 Unhealthiest Junk Foods in America

moneywise.com | Sponsored

The Worst College Football Stadiums In The U.S. (Washington's Ranks High)

BleacherBreaker | Sponsored

Flying High: The Best & Worst Aviation Movies

March of Dimes | Sponsored

Improve Outcomes for NICU Babies. Donate Now.

Livestly | Sponsored

Dogs Too Dangerous For Homes, Ranked in Order

Scalp Psoriasis Treatment | Search Ads | Sponsored

What Causes Psoriasis of The Scalp - It's Not What You Think

March of Dimes | Sponsored

Make a Difference in the Lives of Moms and Babies. Donate Now.

AmRelieve | Sponsored

These Knee Sleeves Will Transform Your Knees Back 20 Years

www.thecaninecode.com | Sponsored

[Visitor Agreement](#) | [Privacy Policy](#) | [Ad Choices](#) | [Careers](#) | [About the AJC](#)

©2020 The Atlanta Journal-Constitution. All Rights Reserved.

Cleverst | Sponsored

Iconic 'Forrest Gump' Scene Has One Huge Flaw No One Noticed

Particle | Sponsored

Now Men Can Fight Eyebags and Dark Spots from Home

Facts Therapy | Sponsored

Bride Calls Off The Wedding After Mother-In-Law Did This

autooverload.com | Sponsored

Dog Breeds Not Meant For Your Home- According To Vets

Give It Love | Sponsored

20 Dog Breeds That Will Guard You With Their Life

Factable | Sponsored

A Candid Look At The Making Of 'The Wizard Of Oz'

Daily-Story USA | Sponsored

Man Gives Girlfriend A Necklace, 2 Years Later She Screams When She Realizes What's Inside

Medicare Observer | Sponsored

Janet Jackson's Son Has Grown Up, Sit Down Before You See Him

bonvoyaged.com | Sponsored

We Can Determine Your Education Level in 25 Questions

BleacherBreaker | Sponsored

Celebrities With Surprising College Degrees

Howchoo | Sponsored

40 Famous Quotes You're Probably Getting Wrong

Smart Consumer Update | Sponsored

Forget Expensive Roofing (Do This Instead)

All Around Money | Sponsored

Move Over Meghan, Another Celebrity Is Marrying Into The British Royal Family

Daily Finance Stories | Sponsored

Chrissy Metz, 40, Shows Off Massive Weight Loss In Fierce New Photo

Interesticle | Sponsored

61 Celebrity Mothers and Daughters at The Same Age

Remember Abby Sciuto From 'NCIS'? Take A Deep Breath Before You See What She Looks Like Now

HealthyGem | Sponsored

Celebrities You Didn't Know Were Athletes In High School

Taco Relish | Sponsored

20 Heisman Winners That Don't Deserve That Trophy

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

ABOUT

[Help Center](#)
[About the Atlanta Journal-Constitution](#)
[Newsroom Ethics Code](#)
[Careers](#)
[Archive](#)
[Press On](#)

CONTACT US

[Contact Us](#)
[Send a News Tip](#)
[Advertise](#)
[AJC Newsroom](#)

OUR PRODUCTS

[ePaper](#)
[Newsletters](#)
[All AJC Podcasts](#)
[Download iOS App](#)
[Download Android App](#)

SUBSCRIPTION

[Print Subscription](#)
[Digital Subscription](#)
[Manage Subscription](#)
[Your Profile](#)
[NIE/Newspapers in Education](#)

© 2021 The Atlanta Journal-Constitution.
All Rights Reserved.

By using this website, you accept the terms of our
[Visitor Agreement](#) and [Privacy Policy](#), and understand your options regarding [Ad Choices](#).

[Learn about Careers at Cox Enterprises.](#)

[Back to Top](#)

EXHIBIT 26

KFILE

GOP candidate's husband shares image urging voters to 'free the black slaves from the Democratic plantation'

By Andrew Kaczynski and Nathan McDermott, CNN

Published 4:58 PM EDT, Tue May 2, 2017



David Goldman/AP

STORY HIGHLIGHTS

The husband of Republican congressional candidate Karen Handel shared an image on his Twitter timeline Tuesday that urged voters to support his wife in order to "free the black slaves from the Democratic plantation."

"Like many of us, he (Steve) made a mistake and retweeted something he didn't pay a lot of attention to, thinking it was just an absentee vote message," a campaign spokesperson said.

(CNN) — The husband of Republican congressional candidate Karen Handel shared an image on his Twitter timeline Tuesday that urged voters to support his wife in order to “free the black slaves from the Democratic plantation.”

Handel’s husband, Steve Handel, shared the image in the form of a quote-tweet, in which he shared the tweet of another user who initially posted the image and added his own commentary. In a statement to CNN’s KFile on Tuesday, Handel’s campaign said her husband hadn’t paid attention to what was said in the original tweet.

“Like many of us, he (Steve) made a mistake and retweeted something he didn’t pay a lot of attention to, thinking it was just an absentee vote message. It clearly was not appropriate and has been deleted,” a campaign spokesperson said.

Handel is running to replace former Rep. Tom Price, who resigned his seat to become Health and Human Services Secretary. She’s locked in a tight race in the runoff election with Democratic candidate Jon Ossoff.

The image, shared by user @rose10052, featured a stock image of young black man in a suit with white text.

“Criticizing black kids for obeying the law, studying in school, and being ambitious as ‘acting white’ is a trick Democrats play on Black people to keep them poor, ignorant, and dependent,” text on the image reads. “Free the black slaves from the Democratic plantation.”

“Handel will fight for minorities to excel,” the image reads in bold letters at the top. The bottom of the image also tells people to “join the movement” to “send Karen Handel to Congress” with a link to her website.

Here’s Handel’s tweet:



stevehandel
@stevehandel



Follow



Request your absentee ballot today to vote for

@karenhandel



Rose @rose10052

Today begins absentee ballot voting for GA6, be sure to get yours in for @karenhandel . Thank you!

RETWEETS
25

LIKES
19



5:44 AM - 2 May 2017

@stevehandel

And here's the tweet from @rose10052, which has since been deleted:



@rose10052

Paid Links

Search CNN...



- US
- World
- Politics
- Business
- Opinion
- Health
- Entertainment
- Tech
- Style
- Travel
- Sports
- Videos
- Audio

Coupons

Weather

More



FOLLOW CNN POLITICS



[Terms of Use](#) [Privacy Policy](#) [Do Not Sell My Personal Information](#) [Ad Choices](#) [Accessibility & CC](#) [About](#)
[Newsletters](#) [Transcripts](#)

© 2021 Cable News Network. A Warner Media Company. All Rights Reserved.

CNN Sans ™ & © 2016 Cable News Network.

EXHIBIT 27

https://www.appenmedia.com/opinion/columnists/roswell-s-wood-says-ossoff-has-off-puttingly-muslim-ring/article_729681a0-e082-5a2c-a639-9f15369a730a.html

Roswell's Wood says 'Ossoff' has off-puttingly Muslim ring

Mar 15, 2017

When my family moved to Roswell in the 1960's, muted turmoil surrounded school integration. My mother had helped with voter registration of African-Americans.

At school, I was earmarked as "liberal" about racial integration. The African-American children, myself and a bewildered boy from the North were set in two rows, slightly removed from the class, an arrangement replicated on field trips, etc.

I understood little of the undercurrents: the bravery of the black students, the ways in which many white students who used the "n" word, were merely conforming to the words they heard.

It was elementary school for heaven's sakes!

Decades have passed since those days of racial distrust. Good schools and beautiful parks now symbolize Roswell. But I was discouraged to read a recent article in the New Yorker magazine.

Mayor Jere Wood makes a wry observation about a candidate for the April special election in the 6th Congressional District, Jon Ossoff.

"This isn't a youth vote ... here," he told me at his office, when I asked him about the makeup of the Siixth. "This is a mature voter base," he paused.

“If you just say ‘Ossoff,’ some folks are gonna think, ‘Is he Muslim? Is he Lebanese? Is he Indian?’ It’s an ethnic-sounding name, even though he may be a white guy, from Scotland or wherever.”

What an interesting way to characterize Roswell’s voters!

Wood remarks how Ossoff’s name has an off-puttingly Muslim ring, not quite white.

I hope immigrants, who helped build Roswell and live here, note implications of Wood’s ‘mature voter,’ as one who votes based on race, religion or ancestral origin.

Maybe those days when many white students shunned black students are not so far away.

I equally hope that ‘mature’ voters respond to candidates’ integrity and ideas. Or is it still 1966 where “white guy” is the main qualification?

– Kareen Malone, Roswell

EXHIBIT 28

BREAKING

Beloved actress Betty White dies at age 99



**The Atlanta
Journal-Constitution**

 Log Out

Thank you for subscribing.

Choose from a variety of newsletters to stay informed.

Warring Republicans try to unite against Ossoff in Georgia's Sixth



POLITICAL INSIDER

By **Greg Bluestein**, The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

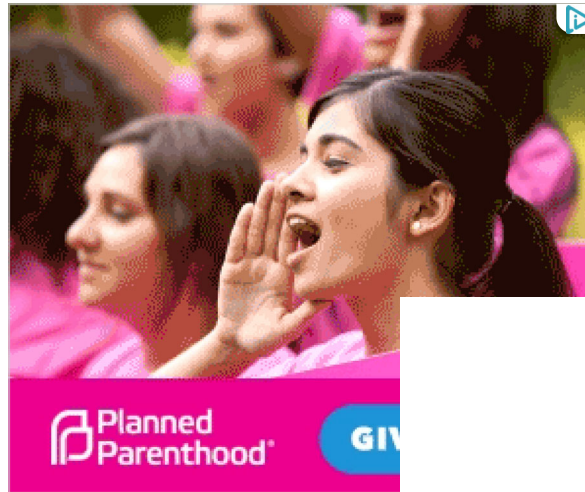
April 15, 2017

Advertisement

Fractional Georgia Republicans tried to unite behind a "stop Jon Ossoff" movement ahead of Tuesday's special election to represent a suburban Atlanta district, with party leaders urging voters to stream to the polls and prevent an upset victory by the Democrat.

Republicans face a daunting enthusiasm gap in the 18-candidate race to represent the 6th District, and the leading GOP contenders have spent the final days feuding with each other. Ossoff, one of five Democrats in the race, is leading in the polls - and aiming for an outright victory in Tuesday's vote.

Advertisement



At a GOP voter drive in the district's western flank of Marietta, about 30 volunteers and officials turned out to make calls and listen to several likely Republican statewide candidates.

"This is personal," said Attorney General Chris Carr, who lives in Dunwoody. "We have great candidates. But whoever you support is better than the other side. They are trying to embarrass us, but let's show them this district is Republican red."

At a GOP breakfast on the district's eastern DeKalb outskirts, state Sen. Fran Millar criticized Democrats who think it's a "done deal that this kid's going to become the Congressman."

"I'll be very blunt: These lines were not drawn to get Hank Johnson's protégé to be my representative. And you didn't hear that," said Millar. "They were not drawn for that purpose, OK? They were not drawn for that purpose."

Millar, a Dunwoody Republican, has endorsed former state Sen. Dan Moody in the race.

Ossoff, a 30-year-old ex-congressional aide, has marshaled thousands of volunteers – and droves of paid staffers – to blanket the district. His unprecedented \$8.3 million fundraising haul along with Donald Trump's struggles in the area – he won it by less than 2 points – give Democrats hope he can flip the seat.

Advertisement

And he's tried to tap into the electorate's mood by vowing to "stand up to Donald Trump" while also hewing to some conservative themes, such as a pledge to cut wasteful spending.

The Republicans on the ballot are all gunning for chance to square off with Ossoff in a June 20 runoff - if they can keep his numbers under 50 percent. Meanwhile, the leading GOP contenders and their supporters are pummeling each other with attack ads.

On Saturday, Republican leaders tried to shift the criticism to Ossoff. State Rep. Sam Teasley of Marietta said Ossoff's platform is chock-full of "left wing priorities."

"The national media would love to make this a story about a turning tide," said Teasley. "But we aren't going to let that happen."

Georgia GOP chair John Padgett compared the surge of attention around Ossoff's campaign to the failed 2014 bids of "little blue-headed folks" Jason Carter and Michelle Nunn.

"What got them beat is you. You got out and outworked them," he said. "And you'll do it again."

More: [National implications push Georgia special election into spotlight](#)

About the Author



**Greg Bluestein**

Greg Bluestein is a political reporter who covers the governor's office and state politics for The Atlanta Journal-Constitution.

Editors' Picks



How Georgia nuclear project's big finish went so wrong

10h ago



Beloved actress Betty White dies at age 99

1h ago



Atlanta records 158th homicide of 2021, passing 2020's total

55m ago



Atlanta HBCUs pivot to virtual learning due to COVID-19

2h ago



Atlanta HBCUs pivot to virtual learning due to COVID-19

2h ago



Atlanta Mayor Keisha Lance Bottoms: 'We are leaving this city intact'

9h ago

The Latest



The questions that will shape Georgia politics in 2022

The top Georgia political stories of 2021: Chaos, conflict and new campaigns

The Jolt: Merry Jolt and a busy political New Year

Investigations



Georgia gets first shipments of Merck, Pfizer COVID pills

22h ago

Last-minute change of plans leads to life-saving rescue in Georgia

18h ago

Inside the campaign to undermine Georgia's election

CONTENT BY

Washington Launches New Policy For Cars Used Less Than 49 Miles/Day

Comparisons.org | Sponsored

Cuteness | Sponsored

The 60 Most Hilarious Cat Memes of All Time

Facts Therapy | Sponsored

The 4 Sister's Took Photo Every Year For 40 Years, You Won't Believe What Happened To Them

edition.si.com | Sponsored

100 Greatest Sports Photos of All-Time

Chaikin Analytics | Sponsored

“Move Your Money by Jan. 1,” Wall St legend Warns

BleacherBreaker | Sponsored

20 Actors Who Turned Down Great Movie Roles For Horrible Ones

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

ABOUT

[Help Center](#)
[About the Atlanta Journal-Constitution](#)
[Newsroom Ethics Code](#)
[Careers](#)
[Archive](#)
[Press On](#)

CONTACT US

[Contact Us](#)
[Send a News Tip](#)
[Advertise](#)
[AJC Newsroom](#)

OUR PRODUCTS

[ePaper](#)
[Newsletters](#)

All AJC Podcasts
Download iOS App
Download Android App

SUBSCRIPTION

Print Subscription
Digital Subscription
Manage Subscription
Your Profile
NIE/Newspapers in Education

© 2021 The Atlanta Journal-Constitution.
All Rights Reserved.

By using this website, you accept the terms of our
[Visitor Agreement](#) and [Privacy Policy](#), and understand your options regarding [Ad Choices](#).

[Learn about Careers at Cox Enterprises.](#)

[Back to Top](#)

EXHIBIT 29

BREAKING

Beloved actress Betty White dies at age 99

**The Atlanta
Journal-Constitution**

Log Out

Thank you for subscribing.

Choose from a variety of newsletters to stay informed.

Gwinnett commissioner calls John Lewis 'a racist pig,' faces backlash



NEWS

By **Tyler Estep**, The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

Jan 16, 2017

Advertisement

Gwinnett County Commissioner Tommy Hunter found himself facing calls for his resignation Monday, just two days after his social media post calling **civil rights icon and U.S. Rep. John Lewis** "a racist pig."

Hunter is one of the highest elected officials in one of Georgia's largest and most diverse counties.

Advertisement

The commissioner wrote the controversial Facebook post on Saturday, amid a well-publicized feud between Lewis and President-elect Donald Trump — and in the middle of a weekend set aside to honor the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., a close friend of Lewis.

Article continues below



By Bristol Myers Squibb

ADVERTISER CONTENT

Fighting Lymphoma With A Single Infusion

Lewis ignited the dispute Friday, when he said he would not be attending Trump's inauguration on Friday and said **he didn't consider him "a legitimate president."** Trump then responded on Twitter, calling Lewis "all talk" and proclaiming his Congressional district — **which includes most of the city of Atlanta** — to be **"In terrible shape and falling apart."**

After The Atlanta Journal-Constitution published screenshots of several of Hunter's posts on Monday, the Gwinnett Democratic Party asked the commissioner to apologize and resign.

MORE: Bernie Sanders in Atlanta: MLK would be outraged at Trump White House

MORE: Mike Pence: I am 'so disappointed' in John Lewis

MORE: Photos from Gwinnett County's 2017 MLK Day parade

Hunter was alternately conciliatory and defiant Monday. He told The AJC that his "racist pig" comment was "probably an overreaction" and eventually deleted the Facebook post in question. But he left several other potentially controversial posts up and later wished his followers a "Happy MLK Day."

“Remember it’s the content of your character, not the color of your skin that matters,” Hunter wrote. “Someday, hopefully that will become reality.”

Asked if Hunter would apologize, campaign consultant Seth Weathers said on Monday that the commissioner was “making a point about Lewis.”

Advertisement

“[Lewis’] past as a civil rights leader was great and Republicans are supportive of it,” Weathers said. “That doesn’t mean someone can make false statements and get away with it.”

“Take out Lewis’ past and deal with the here and now. What someone accomplished yesterday doesn’t make up for making false statements now. What was his comment calling Trump illegitimate based on? If a Democrat screams racist it’s a fact. But if a Republican accuses someone of doing something racist, everyone screams that the Republican is racist.”

‘A disgrace to Gwinnett’

Hunter’s colleagues on Gwinnett’s Board of Commissioners - including Chairwoman Charlotte Nash - did not respond Monday to multiple requests for comment on Hunter’s posts. Hunter and the rest of the county commissioners are scheduled to have their next meeting on Tuesday.

While they and other local GOP leaders remained silent, Democrats were happy to weigh in.

State Rep. Dar’shun Kendrick, whose District 93 touches part of Hunter’s territory in Gwinnett, shared her thoughts on Twitter, saying she was “ashamed.”

Gwinnett Democratic Party Chairman Gabe Okoye called Hunter “a disgrace to Gwinnett County in particular and Georgia in general.”

Hunter, who was first elected to his county post in 2012 and narrowly won re-election in November, represents the county’s District 3. That region covers a wide and diverse swath of southern and eastern Gwinnett, including parts of Snellville, Loganville, Grayson and Dacula.

Though much of suburban Gwinnett remains a Republican stronghold, [Hillary Clinton won the county in November’s presidential election](#). It was the first time a Democrat took Gwinnett since Jimmy Carter in 1976.

With nearly 900,000 residents, Gwinnett is also the second-most populous county in Georgia and a majority-minority county, meaning non-white residents account for more than half of its population.

Not shy about posting

Hunter is the vice president of a local environmental testing firm and, prior to his time on the board, he worked in the county's department of public utilities and served on its water and sewage authority and its planning commission.

Hunter represents himself as a staunch conservative and has questioned county proposals for things like mass transit.

He's never been shy about posting his opinions on social media.

On Sunday, a day after the "racist pig" post, Hunter took aim at Lewis a second time, calling the longtime congressman's election wins "all illegitimate" because his district, which covers most of the city of Atlanta, is "drawn to keep him in power."

He later posted an image that included this phrase: "If you're easily offended and looking for a 'safe place' my page ain't it.. Move along snowflake."

Sometime shortly before 11 a.m. Monday, however, the "racist pig" post was no longer on Hunter's timeline. Other posts remained — including ones that mock U.S. Rep. Hank Johnson; ask if there were "any white guys" on the University of Alabama's football team; and criticize Gov. Nathan Deal's decision to declare a state of emergency ahead of last weekend's ultimately uneventful winter storm.

Hunter's page saw an influx of nasty comments Monday, many of which called the commissioner disparaging names or urged him to "stay classy."

Donna McLeod, a Democrat who narrowly lost her bid last year for Ga. House District 105, which is partially in Hunter's district, said she wasn't surprised by Hunter's comments.

"This is the kind of campaign that the president-elect ran," said McLeod, who was attending [Gwinnett's MLK parade Monday](#).

Not all of the feedback on Hunter's comments was negative, though. Many comments on Hunter's Facebook page expressed support. And Jasmine Smith, a black woman who described herself as a personal friend of Hunter's, posted on his Facebook page to call him "a fantastic man with an exceptional heart."

"So what if he openly put his view on [Facebook]," Smith wrote. "We all do a little too much of that. So if expressing yourself on [Facebook] is now wrong we all need to get off."

—Staff writers Lauren Foreman and Greg Bluestein contributed to this article.

About the Author

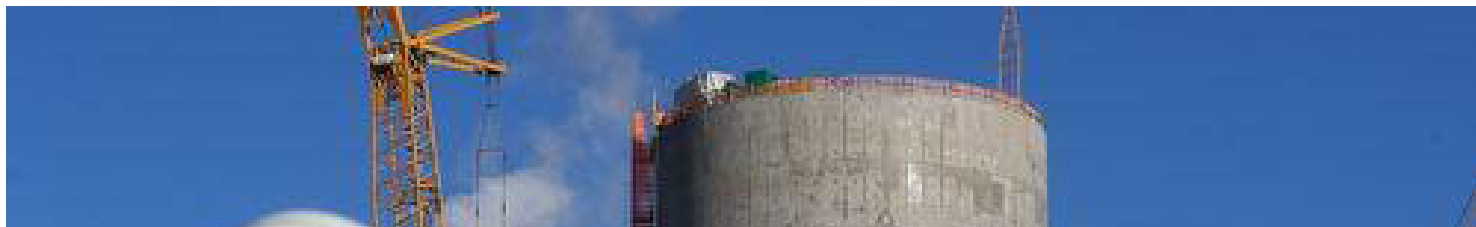


Tyler Estep



Tyler Estep is a reporter covering DeKalb County, its government and its people. A Gwinnett County native and University of Georgia graduate, he has been with the AJC since 2015. He previously covered his home county and served stints on the paper's hyperlocal and breaking news teams.

Editors' Picks





10h ago



Beloved actress Betty White dies at age 99

1h ago



Atlanta records 158th homicide of 2021, passing 2020's total

57m ago



Atlanta HBCUs pivot to virtual learning due to COVID-19

2h ago



Atlanta HBCUs pivot to virtual learning due to COVID-19

2h ago



Atlanta Mayor Keisha Lance Bottoms: 'We are leaving this city intact'

9h ago

The Latest



Atlanta records 158th homicide of 2021, passing 2020's total

57m ago

Betty White spent some happy moments in Atlanta

1h ago

Atlanta police investigate fatal shooting near Bethel Drive

4h ago

Investigations



Georgia gets first shipments of Merck, Pfizer COVID pills
22h ago

Last-minute change of plans leads to life-saving rescue in Georgia
18h ago

Inside the campaign to undermine Georgia's election

CONTENT BY

Cuteness | Sponsored

The 60 Most Hilarious Cat Memes of All Time

Facts Therapy | Sponsored

The 4 Sister's Took Photo Every Year For 40 Years, You Won't Believe What Happened To Them

NowThis | Sponsored

Tom Hanks Movies Ranked From Worst to First

HighlyHealthy | Sponsored

5-Year-Old Calls 911 To Save Dad's Life But Her Call Is Cracking Everyone Up

Stacker | Sponsored

Ranking the 50 Best Netflix Series So Far

The Atlanta
Journal-Constitution

ABOUT

- Help Center
- About the Atlanta Journal-Constitution
- Newsroom Ethics Code
- Careers
- Archive
- Press On

CONTACT US

- Contact Us
- Send a News Tip
- Advertise
- AJC Newsroom

OUR PRODUCTS

ePaper
Newsletters
All AJC Podcasts
Download iOS App
Download Android App

SUBSCRIPTION

Print Subscription
Digital Subscription
Manage Subscription
Your Profile
NIE/Newspapers in Education

© 2021 The Atlanta Journal-Constitution.
All Rights Reserved.

By using this website, you accept the terms of our
[Visitor Agreement](#) and [Privacy Policy](#), and understand your options regarding [Ad Choices](#).

[Learn about Careers at Cox Enterprises.](#)

[Back to Top](#)

EXHIBIT 30

Racist ‘magical Negro’ robo-call from ‘Oprah’ targets Stacey Abrams in Georgia governor’s race

By [Cleve R. Wootson Jr.](#)

November 5, 2018



For years, Oprah Winfrey’s campaign rally appearances and political endorsements have posed a difficult question for anyone who happens to be advocating for the candidate on the other side: How do you contend with the star power of a billionaire Queen of All Media who is also one of the world’s most influential people?

For one robo-call producer speaking into a microphone in what we can only assume is a dark basement, the answer is clear: an 11th-hour infusion of good old-fashioned racism.

“This is the magical Negro Oprah Winfrey asking you to make my fellow Negress Stacey Abrams the governor of Georgia,” the robo-call begins, before spewing nearly 60 seconds of racism coupled with a dash of anti-Semitism. Georgians began hearing the call last week, according to the Hill.

The video is made by [TheRoadToPower.com](#), an anti-Semitic video podcasting website that the Anti-Defamation League says “has zeroed in on divisive political campaigns across the country,” including two of the three races that feature a black candidate for governor. It’s unclear how many Oprah Winfrey robo-calls have been received.

The robo-call labels Abrams “a poor man’s Aunt Jemima,” a reference to the black lady on the front of the pancake mix box, an image that has itself been derided as a racist symbol. It suggests that Winfrey is a media construction made to trick fat, white women into voting. And it mocks what Winfrey has called one of her all-time happiest moments in media.

“And so I promise that every single person who votes for Stacey Abrams, you’re going to get a new car! So you get a car! And you get a car! And you get a car! And you get a car! Everybody gets a car!”

In a statement, the Abrams campaign called the robo-calls a desperate and “vile” attempt to sway voters using “poisonous thinking.”

“It is not surprising that in a race that has consistently been very close, we’ve seen several weeks of increasing desperation from many dark corners trying to steal the election, cheat, lie, and prey on people’s fears rather than having the respect to listen to voters and speak to their hopes,” Abrams spokeswoman Abigail Collazo said in the statement, which tried to link the robo-calls to a tone set by President Trump and Abrams’s Republican opponent, Brian Kemp.

THE YEAR END SALE	LIMITED TIME OFFER
-------------------	--------------------

Get The Post for just 99¢ every four weeks.

Get this offer

“I think it’s a little late for him to repudiate racist remarks given that he’s stood with someone wearing an anti-Islam T-shirt,” she said on CNN. “He refused to denounce the same man earlier who accused black veterans of not being people who support our country.”

She also addressed the racist attacks in the robo-call.

“Regardless of any racist tropes that are out there, I believe in what is best for Georgia,” she said. “Yes, I am changing the face of what leadership looks like, but I’m doing so having the greatest experience of anyone on the ballot.”

The insidious tone of the poor-audio call was at odds with Winfrey’s words on the campaign trail.

She and Abrams are both black women from Mississippi, and the media titan spoke of the sacrifices their ancestors had to make to obtain the right to vote.

“Make your voice heard on Nov. 6. We have this incredible opportunity to make history. We have our inalienable right, because the one place that all people are equal is at the polls,” she told voters.

“And I’m here today because of the men and because of the women who were lynched, who were humiliated, who were discriminated against, who were suppressed, who were repressed and oppressed, for the right of the equality of the polls. And I want you to know that their blood has seeped into my DNA, and I refuse to let their sacrifices be in vain.”

If the voice and the overtly racist tone on the robo-call sound familiar, it’s because it’s from the same studio that stuffed a “We Negroes” robo-call down the throats of Florida voters, who are deciding whether they want Tallahassee Mayor Andrew Gillum to be the state’s first black governor.

“Well, hello there,” that call begins, as the sounds of drums and monkeys can be heard in the background, according to the New York Times. “I is Andrew Gillum.”

“We Negroes . . . done made mud huts while white folk waste a bunch of time making their home out of wood an’ stone.”

The speaker goes on to say Gillum will pass a law letting African Americans evade arrest “if the Negro know fo’ sho’ he didn’t do nothin’.”

In a statement emailed to The Washington Post, Gillum campaign spokesman Geoff Burgan said: “This is reprehensible — and could only have come from someone with intentions to fuel hatred and seek publicity.”

Read more:

For black women in Georgia backing Abrams, a chance to break ‘the ceiling on top of the glass ceiling’

Obama urges Georgians to reject GOP ‘lies’ by voting for Abrams and other Democrats

After calling Barbara Bush an ‘amazing racist,’ a professor taunts critics: ‘I will never be fired’

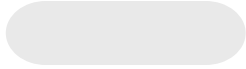
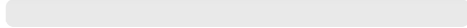
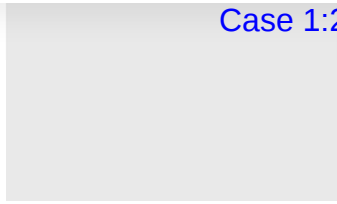
A California waiter refused to serve 4 Latina customers until he saw ‘proof of residency’

‘You know why the lady called the police’: Black people face 911 calls for innocuous acts

THE YEAR END SALE	LIMITED TIME OFFER
-------------------	--------------------

Get The Post for just 99¢ every four weeks.

Get this offer



THE YEAR END SALE	LIMITED TIME OFFER
--------------------------	--------------------

Get The Post for just 99¢ every four weeks.

Get this offer

EXHIBIT 31

SLATE

PEOPLE COMMENTING "NICE"



THE INDUSTRY

It Was Too Easy for Brian Kemp's Last-Minute Dog Whistle About Stacey Abrams to Go Viral

BY APRIL GLASER

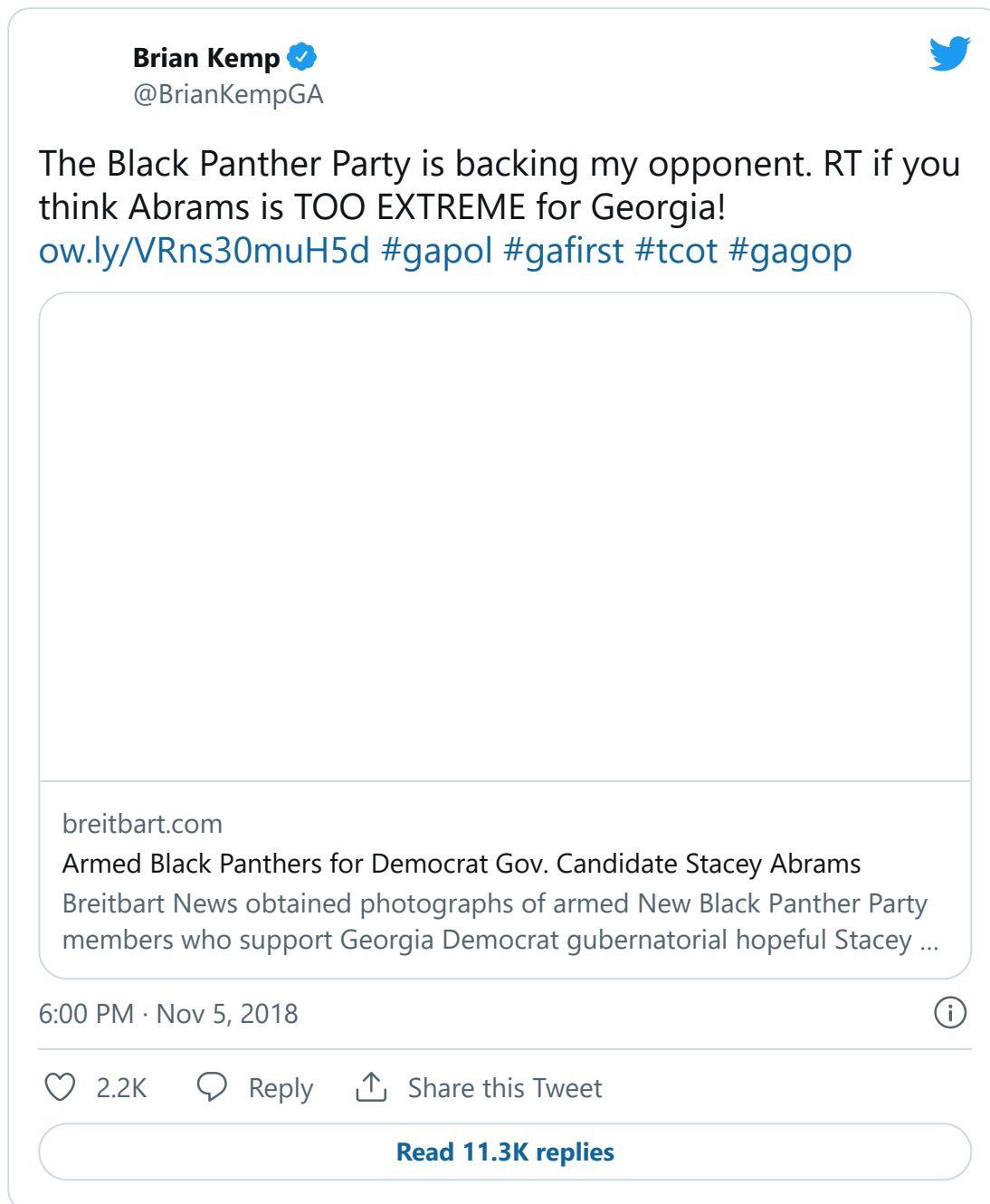
NOV 06, 2018 • 11:46 PM



Kemp knew what he was doing. Photos by Jessica McGowan/Getty Images

Somehow, the Georgia gubernatorial race only got uglier and uglier. After a weekend in which Republican Brian Kemp—now likely the state's next governor—accused Democrats of “potential cybercrimes” without citing any evidence, on Monday the candidate issued a tweet in which he tried to associate his opponent, Democrat Stacey Abrams, with the New Black Panther Party, a radical organization described as a militant hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center. Kemp latched onto photos that surfaced after some members of the New Black Panther Party were photographed marching in support of Abrams on Nov. 3. The photos quickly percolated into far-right Facebook groups, according

to research from Media Matters, and eventually achieved viral liftoff with help from Kemp and conservative websites—a depressing example of how loudly a racist dog whistle can resonate with voters over social media.



The next day, Monday, the Kemp campaign posted the photos to its accounts on Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. “How radical is my opponent? Just look at who is backing her campaign for governor,” Kemp wrote in his captions on Instagram and Facebook. “The New Black Panther Party is ‘a virulently racist and antisemitic organization whose leaders have encouraged violence against whites, Jews and law enforcement officers.’ SHARE if you agree that Abrams and the Black Panthers are TOO EXTREME for Georgia!” The Facebook

post was shared more than 38,000 times. From there, dozens of news articles from conservative sites, YouTube videos, and memes on Facebook pages have gone viral. On Tuesday, Kemp ran an ad on Facebook promoting the image, continuing to call Abrams a “radical.”

Breitbart went with the headline “Armed Black Panthers Lobby for Democrat Gubernatorial Candidate Stacey Abrams,” though they were not lobbying by any definition. Still, the post was shared more than 22,000 times on Facebook. The Daily Caller’s post associating the New Black Panthers with Abrams was shared more than 16,000 times. Conservative YouTube personality Anthony Brian Logan made a video on Monday that was viewed more than 20,000 times. For perspective, a post about Kemp’s investigation of the state’s Democratic party for cybercrime on the New York Times’ Facebook page was shared fewer than 1,800 times.

Abrams has never associated with the New Black Panther Party, but the optics of armed black radicals marching for a black Democratic candidate were apparently simply too juicy for the Kemp campaign, conservative media organizations, and their fans on social media to avoid sharing. Conservatives hammered on the attack through Tuesday, probably because it simply seemed to be working, taking it further and further. One meme on the Facebook page Trump Train warned that the New Black Panther Party may try to block voters at polling places, imploring people to call the police if it happens.

Social media is perfect for promoting false narratives driven by engaging visuals, and the photos of armed black men supporting a black woman running for office were incredibly easy for voters to draw false conclusions about. People share things that they think will concern others. Fears multiply as media consumers turn to stereotypes to understand the imagery they’re presented with. And when the conservative media machine revs up, it offers just enough context for people to stay convinced that their fears are justified. It doesn’t matter if one side corrects the record, because corrections never travel as far. Perhaps in a healthier media environment, fearmongering and blatant misinformation wouldn’t get as much oxygen. But Facebook isn’t a healthy media environment, and it’s working exactly the way it was designed—to pluck emotions and confirm biases. That’s what played out in Georgians’ social media feeds over the past few days. There’s no nice way to spin it. ■

SLATEGROUP

Slate is published by The Slate Group, a Graham Holdings Company.

All contents © 2022 The Slate Group LLC. All rights reserved.

EXHIBIT 32



NATION

Georgia gubernatorial candidate Brian Kemp suggests truck is for rounding up 'illegals'

William Cummings USA TODAY

Published 9:18 p.m. ET May 10, 2018 | Updated 9:24 p.m. ET May 10, 2018

Georgia gubernatorial candidate Brian Kemp, who sparked outrage with a campaign ad in which he threatens his daughter's teen suitor with a shotgun, is making headlines again with an ad where he says he owns a truck "in case I need to up round criminal illegals."

Kemp, who describes himself as a "politically incorrect conservative" in the ad released Wednesday, is serving as Georgia's secretary of state.

"I got a big truck, just in case I need to round up criminal illegals and take 'em home myself," Kemp says, adding, "Yep, I just said that," for emphasis.

At another point in the ad, Kemp says, "I'm so conservative, I blow up government spending" as a fake explosion goes off in the background.

"I own guns," Kemp says as he works the pump action on a shotgun, "that no one is taking away."

Kemp was accused of making light of gun violence in a commercial last month where he aims a shotgun toward a young man named "Jake," who wants to take out his daughter.

Kemp asks Jake the two keys to dating one of his daughters. "Respect, and a healthy appreciation for the Second Amendment," Jake responds.

"We're gonna get along just fine," Kemp says with a smile, after slapping the double-barrel shotgun closed.

After many angry responses to the ad, Kemp tweeted that, "Liberals in the media are losing their minds off a fake controversy. The real problem they have is that I'm an unapologetic

conservative & proud defender of the 2nd Amendment. I won't back down, cave in, or compromise my values."

Kemp is one of six GOP candidates running to replace outgoing Republican Gov. Nathan Deal who is term-limited.

A poll in February showed Lt. Gov. Casey Cagle leading the field with 27% of the vote, with Kemp in second with 13%.

EXHIBIT 33

Kelly Loeffler's new Facebook ad darkens skin of Raphael Warnock, her Black opponent

The campaign spent 10 times as much boosting the ad as it did on another ad the same day that used untouched clips

By **ROGER SOLLENBERGER** PUBLISHED JANUARY 4, 2021 7:02PM (EST)



Kelly Loeffler, in front of two screenshots of Raphael Warnock from her negative campaigns (Photo illustration by Salon/Getty Images/Kelly Loeffler Official Campaign)

[view in app](#)[save](#)

en. **Kelly Loeffler**, R-Ga., ran a paid Facebook ad last week that artificially **darkened the skin color** of her Democratic opponent, the Rev. **Raphael Warnock**, who is Black. In fact, the campaign used two

S of the same clips in their original form for another Facebook ad that ran the same day, but **spent 10 times as much money** boosting the version in which Warnock appeared darker.

According to the Facebook Ad Library, on Dec. 29 the Loeffler campaign spent between \$3,000 and \$3,500 on an ad called **"Too Radical. Too Corrupt,"** and dropped between \$40,000 and \$45,000 on a second, more aggressive counterpart titled **"Beyond Radical Raphael,"** which uses some of the same footage, but with Warnock's skin noticeably darkened. Here are screenshots taken from the two ads:

Advertisement:





Advertisement:





Advertisement:

The second ad darkens Warnock's skin throughout, including in a video clip pulled from a sermon he gave in 2011 at Atlanta's historic Ebenezer Baptist Church, the former pulpit of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., where Warnock is now senior pastor.



Advertisement:



Additionally, the second ad's title card is a version of an Associated Press [photo](#) from November that has been colorized, featuring Warnock with darker skin.

The two ads deploy similar copy, but the second spot — which as of Monday evening had racked up around [1 million impressions](#) — is more aggressive. The first ad's caption claims that "Raphael Warnock is a Radical Liberal" who "was educated by Marxists." The caption for the darkened ad says that Warnock is "beyond Radical," and was "trained by Marxists." It ends: "Warnock isn't just radical — he's dangerous."

Advertisement:

"Given that Kelly Loeffler has run the single most negative campaign in Georgia history, there is no level she could stoop to that would surprise us," Warnock campaign spokesperson Terrence Clark

told Salon.

Loeffler, a former financial executive whose rapidly expanding wealth made her a billionaire last week, recently came under fire for [appearing in a photo with Chester Doles](#), a white supremacist and former Ku Klux Klan imperial wizard who maintains extensive ties to the neo-Nazi movement.

"Kelly had no idea who that was, and if she had she would have kicked him out immediately because we condemn in the most vociferous terms everything that he stands for," Stephen Lawson, a Loeffler campaign spokesperson, explained to the [Atlanta Journal-Constitution](#).

Advertisement:

Doles, however, had already been thrown out of a Loeffler campaign [event](#) in September — not by Loeffler's campaign, but by Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene, R-Ga. (then a congressional candidate), who had herself felt backlash when Doles attended one of her campaign events earlier that year.

In [a debate](#) earlier this month, Loeffler called Warnock a "radical liberal" more than a dozen times, while declaring "There is not a racist bone in my body." In response, a coalition of more than 100 Black pastors in Georgia blasted the unelected Republican [in an open letter](#), arguing that her attacks amounted to [an affront on the Black church](#). Loeffler had been "demonstrating disdain for Black elected officials and Black Lives Matter marches," they wrote, while "remaining silent on the antics of the Proud Boys and Wolverine Watchmen," a reference to the militia group that had

allegedly plotted to kidnap and kill Michigan Gov. Gretchen Whitmer, a Democrat. The letter called for Loeffler to "cease and desist" in her criticism of Warnock's ministry.

Advertisement:

In the 2020 campaign, Sen. Lindsey Graham, R-S.C., ran a Facebook ad that featured his Democratic challenger, Jaime Harrison with darkened skin, and Sen. David Perdue, R-Ga., the incumbent in Georgia's other Senate runoff election, was dragged for mocking Vice President-elect Kamala Harris' name.

The Perdue campaign said he had "simply mispronounced Senator Harris' name, and he didn't mean anything by it."

In July, the Perdue campaign **removed an ad** that appeared to enlarge the nose of his Democratic opponent, Jon Ossoff, who is Jewish, amid criticism that it was anti-Semitic.

Multiple officials with the Loeffler campaign failed to reply to Salon's requests for comment.

ROGER SOLLENBERGER

Roger Sollenberger is a staff writer at Salon. Follow him on Twitter **@SollenbergerRC**.

MORE FROM ROGER SOLLENBERGER • FOLLOW SOLLENBERGERRC

Related Topics

[David Perdue](#)[Elections](#)[Facebook](#)[Georgia](#)[Gop](#)[Jon Ossoff](#)[Kelly Loeffler](#)[Lindsey Graham](#)[Racism](#)[Raphael Warnock](#)[Reporting](#)[Republicans](#)

Related Articles

[Home](#) [About](#) [Staff](#) [Contact](#) [Privacy](#) [Terms of Service](#) [Archive](#) [Go Ad Free](#)

Copyright © 2021 Salon.com, LLC. Reproduction of material from any Salon pages without written permission is strictly prohibited. SALON® is registered in the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office as a trademark of Salon.com, LLC. Associated

Press articles: Copyright © 2016 The Associated Press. All rights reserved. This material may not be published, broadcast, rewritten or redistributed.

[DMCA Policy](#)



Salon would like to send you notifications!

Click "Sign Up" then "Allow" for Notifications

Dismiss

Sign Up

EXHIBIT 34

Perdue's campaign deletes ad that enlarges Jewish opponent's nose, insists it was accident

Senate candidate Jon Ossoff and top Georgia Dems slam the ad as "anti-Semitic."

By [Briana Stewart](#) and [Quinn Scanlan](#)

July 28, 2020, 6:45 PM • 8 min read



Democrat Jon Ossoff makes final push on election day in Georgia

ABC News' MaryAlice Parks talks with the candidate vying to flip the 6th Congressional... [Read More](#)
Paras Griffin/Getty Images

[Jon Ossoff](#), the Democratic candidate challenging incumbent [Sen. David Perdue](#) this November, slammed the Georgia Republican after his

campaign posted a Facebook fundraising ad where Ossoff's nose was slightly enlarged, an image the Jewish Senate hopeful called a "classic anti-Semitic trope."

The Perdue campaign called the facial distortion an "unintentional error" by the vendor, and stressed that the senator did not see the ad before it was posted.

Recent Stories from ABC News



"In the graphic design process handled by an outside vendor, the photo was resized and a filter was applied, which appears to have caused an unintentional error that distorted the image. Obviously, this was accidental, but to ensure there is absolutely no confusion, we have immediately removed the image from Facebook," a Perdue campaign spokesperson said in a statement to ABC News.

"Anybody who implies that this was anything other than an inadvertent error is intentionally misrepresenting Senator Perdue's strong and

consistent record of standing firmly against anti-Semitism and all forms of hate," the statement continued.

+ [MORE: Democratic candidates vying to unseat Sen. David Perdue see Georgia as critical battleground](#)

The now-deleted ad began running on June 22 and made between 3,000 and 4,000 impressions on Facebook before it was removed, according to a report from the [Forward](#), which was the first publication to report on the ad.



44.1K Reply Share this Tweet

Read 1.5K replies

In addition to the nose enlargement issue, Ossoff's campaign pointed to the text of the ad, which says Ossoff and Minority Leader Sen. Chuck Schumer - who is also Jewish -- are trying to "buy Georgia." Ossoff's team called that a "not-so-subtle allusion to centuries-old anti-Semitic attacks against the Jewish people."

Miryam Lipper, Ossoff's campaign manager, said, "Everyone in politics knows this was no technical error."

"Shady Facebook ads are where campaigns try to do their targeted dirty work. This is just old school anti-Semitism, trying to fly under the radar, disgraceful for a sitting Senator, and David Perdue got caught in the act," Lipper said in a written statement.

ABC News did not hear back from Ossoff's campaign after asking if the candidate accepts the possibility that the ad may have been an accident.



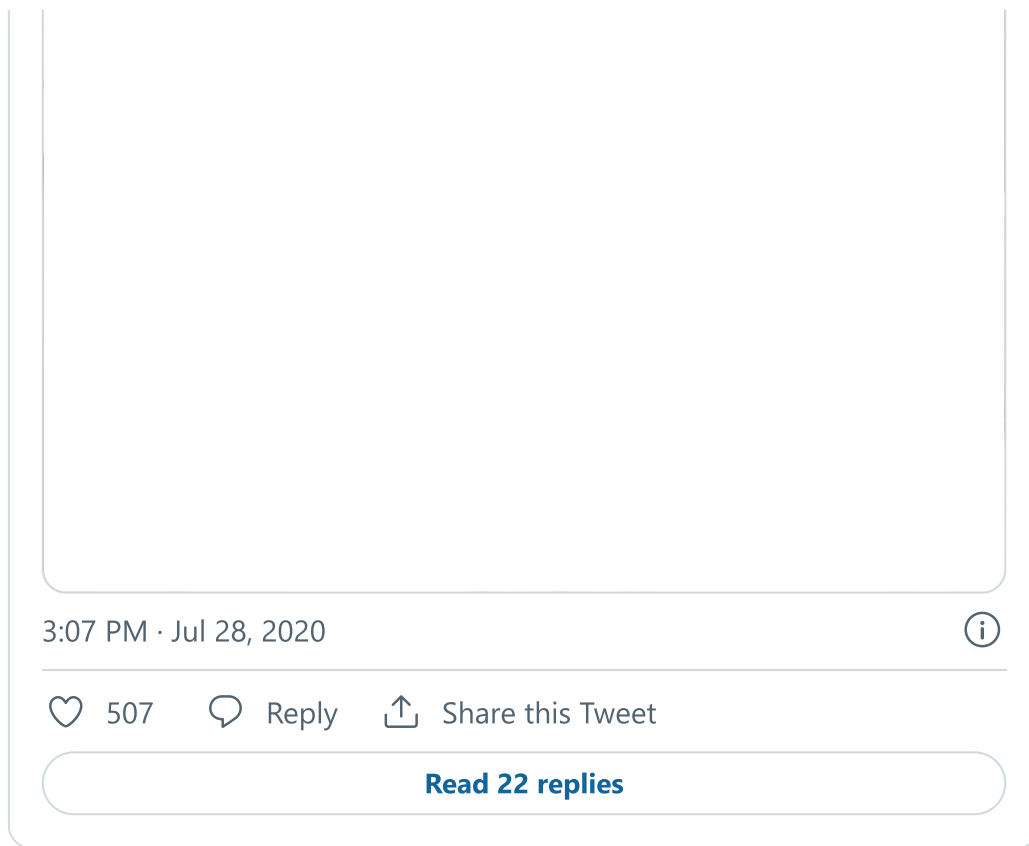
Jon Ossoff 
@ossoff



The division and pain across our country must be met with political leadership that brings us together.

Senator Perdue should reflect on what his constituents really need at a moment like this.

Watch on Twitter



In a press conference Tuesday, Ossoff challenged Perdue to donate the money his campaign made from the ad to charitable organizations that promote unity.

"At a moment like this when we need healing and when we need unity, for my opponent to stoop to this kind of incredibly divisive inappropriate offensive tactic is really disturbing and it's unbecoming of a sitting U.S. senator," Ossoff told reporters.

"This was an ad that was seen by thousands of Georgians. It was a fundraising act. I call upon Sen. Perdue to take the money that he raised using this manipulated image of my faith and donate that money to groups that promote community healing, and community unity, and tolerance because after these last four years that's what we need here in this country," he continued.

[Nikema Williams](#), Chairman of the Democratic Party of Georgia, echoed Ossoff sentiments saying the ad has "no place in our politics."

+ MORE: Jon Ossoff wins Georgia Senate primary; will face Perdue

"Now more than ever, we have to combat the ugly hatred we've seen continue to rear its head in this country. Senator Perdue must immediately fire the campaign vendor who made this ad, apologize to Jon Ossoff, and take responsibility for injecting these kinds of hurtful stereotypes into this election," Williams said in a written statement.

Following the backlash, Perdue's campaign said it would start to use a new company for digital fundraising.

"In light of an unfortunate and inadvertent error involving one of our Facebook advertisements produced and placed by an outside vendor, our campaign will be making a change to a new digital fundraising company. Senator Perdue did not know about nor see the ad before it ran, and he is committed to ensuring future mistakes of this kind do not occur," Ben Fry, Perdue's campaign manager, said in a statement to ABC News.

When asked if the sitting Georgia senator would consider donating the money raised from the attack ad, the campaign had no further comment.



U.s. Senate Photographic Studio-/U.S. Senate Photographic Studio

Senator David Perdue

Former Sen. Norm Coleman, chairman of the Republican Jewish Coalition, defended Perdue, touting their long-standing relationship and calling him a "true friend" and "ally to the Jewish community."

"Sen. Perdue has stood with the Jewish community in both combatting anti-Semitism and his unwavering commitment to the security of the Jewish state of Israel. On a personal note, I know Senator David Perdue to be one of the most decent individuals I have known. He is what my grandmother would call a "mensch": a person of honor and high integrity.

Any attempts to smear him with charges of anti-Semitism are simply false," Coleman said.

+ (MORE: Jon Ossoff avoids runoff, secures Democratic nomination in Georgia Senate race)

Democrats are eyeing the Ossoff-Perdue race as a potential pick-up opportunity as they try to flip control of Congress's upper chamber. On Thursday, the nonpartisan Cook Political Report moved the race from "lean R" -- meaning Perdue had the advantage -- to a "toss-up," giving even more weight to the notion that Georgia is a battleground on every level this cycle.

Ossoff, a media executive/investigative journalist, narrowly avoided a runoff election in June. He first rose to prominence when he narrowly lost to former Rep. Karen Handel, R-Ga., in the 2017 special election for Georgia's 6th Congressional District, which is still the most expensive House race ever.

 Comments (21)



Improve Outcomes for NICU Babies. Donate Now.

March of Dimes

Work, that works for everyone. Explore remote licensed roles.

Fidelity Investments

The Best Way To Wipe Out Up To \$10,000 Of Debt

NerdWallet

Omicron's Resistance To The Vaccine Has Made These Face Masks The #1 Option in America

Health Gazette™

Top 12 Things You Didn't Know About the World Food Programme

World Food Program USA

Celebrities With Surprising College Degrees

BleacherBreaker

The Avg. 15-year Mortgage Rate is 2.33%. Compare Lenders.

NerdWallet NMLS ID# 1617539

Conduct Agentless Calls • Call Center Studio

Call Center Studio

SKIL Knows Power. This String Trimmer is Proof!

SKIL

Sponsored Links by Taboola

[ABC News Network](#) | [Privacy Policy](#) | [Your CA Privacy Rights](#) | [Children's Online Privacy Policy](#) |
[Interest-Based Ads](#) | [About Nielsen Measurement](#) | [Terms of Use](#) | [Do Not Sell My Personal Information](#) |
[Contact Us](#)

Copyright © 2021 ABC News Internet Ventures. All rights reserved.

EXHIBIT 35

Georgia Republican senator willfully mispronounces Kamala Harris' name at Trump rally

By [Donald Judd](#) and [Ryan Nobles](#), CNN

Updated 1:20 PM ET, Sat October 17, 2020



• LIVE TV

(CNN) — Sen. David Perdue, a Georgia Republican who's locked in a [tight reelection battle](#) against Democrat Jon Ossoff, willfully mispronounced his [Senate colleague Kamala Harris' name](#) on Friday during remarks ahead of President Donald Trump's rally in the Peach State.

Perdue, who serves on the Senate Budget Committee with Harris, was speaking ahead of the President's arrival in Macon when derisively referred to the vice presidential candidate as "Ka-MAL-a (sic), Ka-MAL-a or Kamala, Kamala, Ka-mala, -mala, -mala, I don't know, whatever," to laughter from the crowd.

**Ryan Nobles**  @ryanobles · Oct 16, 2020

Replying to @ryanobles

Perdue then warned the crowd of a potential liberal take over of government with "Bernie and Elizabeth and Kah-mah-la or Kah-ma-la or Kamamboamamla or however you say it." (Perdue has served with Kamala Harris in the Senate for 3 years)



• LIVE TV



@ryanobles

Here is the video of Senator David Perdue mangling the pronunciation of Kamala Harris's name.

Watch on Twitter

3:36 PM · Oct 16, 2020



1.1K



Reply



Share this Tweet

[Read 513 replies](#)

Ossoff quickly criticized Perdue for the remark, writing in a series of tweets, "My opponent, GOP Sen. David Perdue of anti-Semitic attack ad infamy, just mocked Sen. Harris' name as 'Kamala-mala-mala-whatever' at a Trump rally. We are so much better than this."

Sabrina Singh, Harris' press secretary, condemned Perdue's statement.

"Well that is incredibly racist," she said on Twitter. "Vote him out and vote for @ossoff."

"Senator Perdue's intentionally disrespectful mispronunciation of Senator Harris's name is a bigoted and racist tactic straight from President Trump's handbook. He owes Georgians an apology for his offensive display," said Democratic Party of Georgia Chairwoman Nikema Williams.

A spokeswoman for Perdue's campaign defended his remarks in a statement to CNN.

"Senator Perdue simply mispronounced Senator Harris' name, and he didn't mean anything by it," said Casey Black. "He was making an argument against the radical socialist agenda that she and her endorsed candidate Jon Ossoff are pushing."

It's not the first time during this campaign that Perdue has been accused of discrimination against a Democrat. Perdue was criticized in June when his campaign was [forced to pull a digital ad](#) attacking Ossoff, which showed the Democrat's nose enlarged, a hallmark of an anti-Semitic trope. A campaign spokeswoman called the distorted image "accidental... but to ensure there is absolutely no confusion, we have immediately removed the image from



anti-Semitism.

Republicans have frequently mispronounced the California senator's name, including President Donald Trump, who did so twice during a news conference on the day she was announced as Biden's running mate.

Fox News' Tucker Carlson [lashed out at a guest in August](#) after being corrected over the pronunciation of Harris' name.

"So I'm disrespecting her by mispronouncing her name unintentionally?" Carlson asked. "So it begins, you're not allowed to criticize Kuh-MAH-la Harris, or CA-muh-la, or whatever."

Kamala is pronounced "'comma-la,' like the punctuation mark," according to the California senator. Harris wrote in the preface of her 2019 memoir, "The Truths We Hold," "First, my name is pronounced 'comma-la,' like the punctuation mark. It means 'lotus flower,' which is a symbol of significance in Indian culture. A lotus grows underwater, its flower rising above the surface while its roots are planted firmly in the river bottom."

If elected in November, Harris will become the nation's first Indian-American vice president, the first Black vice president, the first female vice president and the first Jamaican-American vice president. Harris' father was born in Jamaica and her late mother was born in India.



US

World

Politics

Business

Opinion

Health

Entertainment

Tech

Style

Travel

Sports

Videos

Audio



 LIVE TV  

Weather

More



FOLLOW CNN POLITICS



[Terms of Use](#) [Privacy Policy](#) [Do Not Sell My Personal Information](#) [Ad Choices](#) [About Us](#) [CNN Store](#) [Newsletters](#)

[Transcripts](#) [License Footage](#) [CNN Newsource](#) [Sitemap](#)

© 2021 Cable News Network. A Warner Media Company. All Rights Reserved.

CNN Sans [™] & © 2016 Cable News Network.

EXHIBIT 36

BREAKING

Fulton County Schools to start the New Year online-only due to COVID

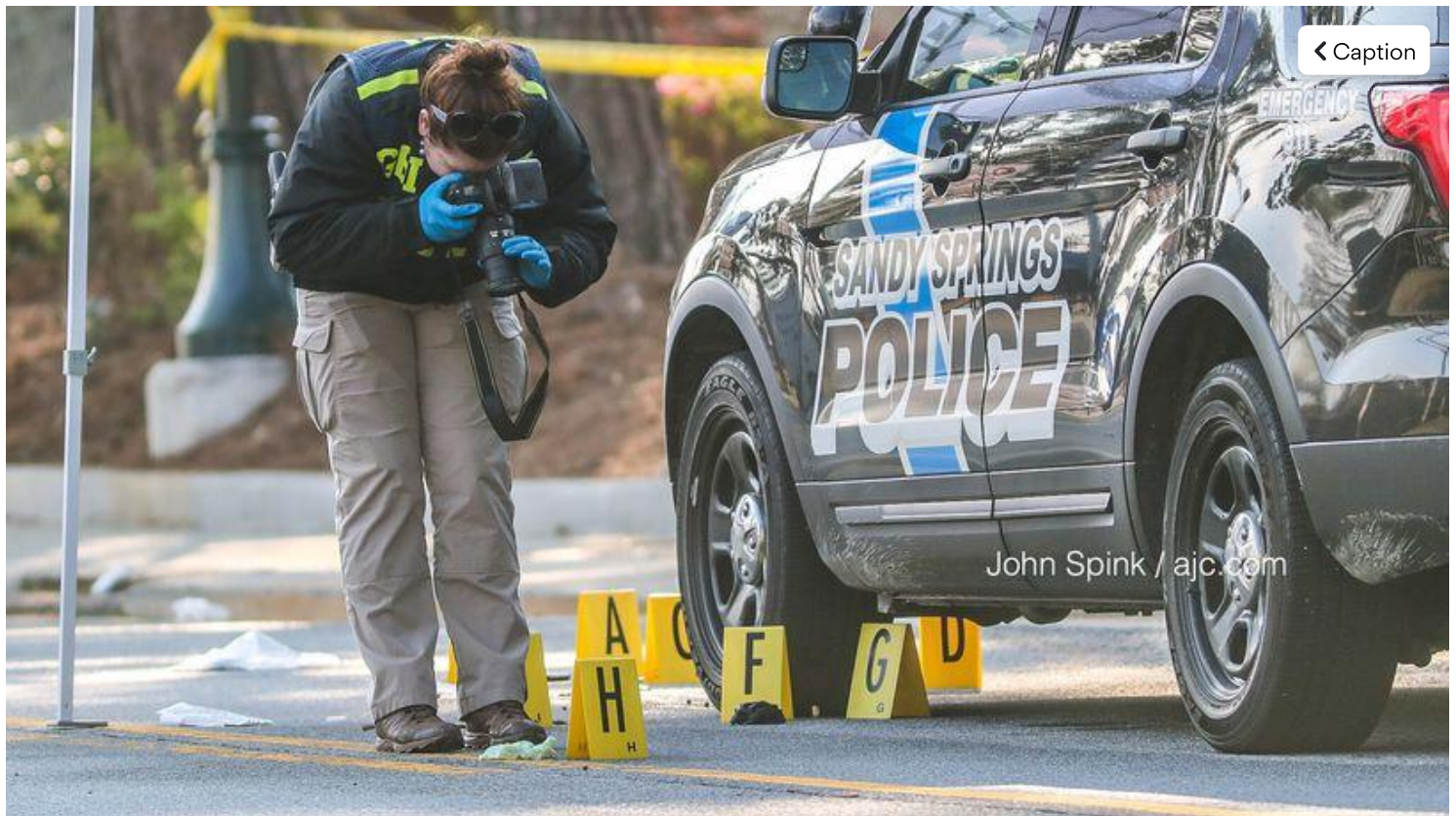
**The Atlanta
Journal-Constitution**

Log Out

Thank you for subscribing.

Choose from a variety of newsletters to stay informed.

Crime fears emerge in Johns Creek, Sandy Springs municipal elections



NORTH FULTON COUNTY

By **Adrianne Murchison**, The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

Oct 26, 2021

Advertisement

Support for police and fears of rising crime have become dominant topics for candidates fighting to win office in two north Fulton cities. For several weeks, city council candidates in Johns Creek and Sandy Springs have pointed to Atlanta crime and protests that turned violent to try to sway voters.

That Atlanta Journal-Constitution has reported that after a historically deadly 2020, Atlanta homicides are up nearly 60% in 2021.

Advertisement

Now, north Fulton candidates in nonpartisan races are publicly urging residents to vote for them or risk seeing their cities becoming home to chaos and lawlessness.

The latest is a Sandy Springs flyer from the Fulton Republican Party stating, “We can’t let Sandy Springs turn into another Atlanta.” The flyer supports five candidates: Mayor Rusty Paul, Councilmembers John Paulson and Tibby DeJulio and council candidates Jeff Howe and Melissa Mular. It displays photos of police standing in front of protesters along with shuttered and boarded up apartments.

Similar campaign material is circulating in Johns Creek. Mayoral candidate John Bradberry, who is supported by the Fulton GOP, said he believes a flyer that reads, “...Save Johns Creek from the partisan group targeting Johns Creek to radically change our quality of life” was created by a group of residents who don’t want Democratic-aligned candidates taking over the city.

The flyers were distributed to voters throughout the north Fulton cities.

Emory University Political Scientist Dr. Andra Gillespie said the use of law and order on campaigns has long been interpreted by political scientists as a racial trope. The strategy is

referred to as “code” or “dog whistles” that go back to Richard Nixon’s 1968 presidential campaign and more recently the 2020 election, she said.

“Law and order” is racially neutral, Gillespie said, but when it’s infused with present-day cultural meaning and thoughts about crime and violence, it becomes racial.

Advertisement

“Nixon knew he couldn’t run on overtly racist language,” she added. “But he could invoke the stereotype (of people of color) in a neutral way ...When people are referencing Atlanta directly - a city that is still majority African American, it’s implicating White flight and it’s hard to deny there are racial undertones.”

**WE CAN'T LET SANDY SPRINGS
TURN INTO ATLANTA.**

The Democratic party is supporting a slate of candidates in Sandy Springs...
The Fulton Republican Party needs YOU to vote early or on November 2nd for candidates listed on the other side of this mailer.
When you elect Democrats to nonpartisan city

Fulton County Republican Party

offices, you endanger public safety and threaten the financial viability of our community.



During the election season, Sandy Springs City Council candidates of color have described the campaign language by Republicans as racially charged, but Fulton County Republican Party Chairman Trey Kelly said he disagrees.

“My take on that is race has nothing to do with it,” Kelly said Tuesday. “That’s a narrative that the Democrats push regularly. People move to Sandy Springs and Johns Creek because they don’t want to be part of a big urban city run by Democrats that produce high taxes and high crime.”

Kelly said Atlanta is one such city.

He added that this year is the first time the Fulton GOP has distributed campaign materials supporting municipal candidates. The move was in response to the Fulton County Democrats party endorsing a group of candidates, he said.

Kelly forwarded a copy of a flyer produced by Fulton County Democrats endorsing mayoral candidate Dontaye Carter, and City Council candidates Megan Harris, Dr. Melody Kelley and

Leslie Mullis.

The flyer reads, “It’s time for our city council to have members that represent all of us. The Fulton Democrats are endorsing these candidates based on their platform positions.”

Juliette Hartel, North Fulton district chair of the Fulton County Democratic Party, said the organization has endorsed individual candidates and connected them with volunteers and other people interested in their platforms. There is no coordinated effort to promote a slate of candidates as stated on the GOP flyer, she said.

“(The candidates) are not the same and you can tell that when you go to their websites,” Hartel said of the endorsed Democratic candidates. “If you watched the debates, their platforms are not the same.”

Lee Tucker, chairman of the Fulton County Democratic Party, is running for the Johns Creek City Council Post 1 seat. Hartel said Tucker is not involved in activities related to the Nov. 2 election or races and those duties are being managed by the party Vice Chairman Sean Calahan.

In Johns Creek, Bradberry said concerns about a rise in crime are not dog whistles.

“If (Democrats) talk of changing (the city) into something radically different from what people have come to know and love in Johns Creek, naturally there is going to be a reaction,” Bradberry said in reference to the “Save Johns Creek” flyer.

His opponent, Johns Creek mayoral candidate Brian Weaver, who is Black, said he believes the flyer is racially motivated.

“It’s unfortunate that some of these candidates are trying to divide the city,” Weaver said. “It’s sending a message that’s more divisive than inclusive.”

Weaver said false comments have been made by Johns Creek City Council candidate Bob Erramilli about his support for the police. Weaver is a retired senior commander with the Johns Creek Police Department and endorsed by the Fulton County Democratic Party.

Erramilli, who is of Indian descent, said during a call with the AJC that supporting police and preventing crime was central to his platform. He was critical of Weaver kneeling during a 2020 protest after the death of George Floyd. Weaver, who was serving on Johns Creek City Council

at time, said he was attending one of the numerous protests held by local high school students and alongside him was a police officer. Other elected officials also attended the protest, he said.

“That triggered an alarm bell in me,” Erramilli said, of Weaver kneeling. “He can’t be taking a knee at an anti-police march ...That’s effectively saying, ‘I have no confidence in law enforcement to take care of my communities.’”

Weaver said the law and order conversation against candidates adds to the negative campaign tone in Johns Creek.

“What Bob said is totally irresponsible and disappointing,” Weaver said. “Me kneeling was not anything against the police. He’s out of touch and doesn’t understand.”

Hartel said candidates aligned with both parties have the same kind of support for police.

“I do know they all support police and public safety and want more funding,” Hartel said. “And that’s across the board for any candidate, Republican and Democrat.”

About the Author

Adrianne Murchison

Adrianne Murchison covers north Fulton County news for The Atlanta Journal-Constitution.

Editors' Picks





10h ago



Beloved actress Betty White dies at age 99

1h ago



Fulton County Schools to start the New Year online-only due to COVID

7m ago



Atlanta records 158th homicide of 2021, passing 2020's total

1h ago



Atlanta records 158th homicide of 2021, passing 2020's total

1h ago



Atlanta Mayor Keisha Lance Bottoms: 'We are leaving this city intact'

9h ago

The Latest



Poll workers needed in City of Atlanta and Fulton for 2022 elections

1h ago

Roswell to conduct an audit of fire department

5h ago

Fox Theatre named one of top places in Atlanta by Luxury Travel Magazine

8h ago

Investigations



Georgia gets first shipments of Merck, Pfizer COVID pills

23h ago

Last-minute change of plans leads to life-saving rescue in Georgia

19h ago

Inside the campaign to undermine Georgia's election

CONTENT BY

Cuteness | Sponsored

The 60 Most Hilarious Cat Memes of All Time

Far & Wide | Sponsored

America's Coolest Small Towns by State

Facts Therapy | Sponsored

The 4 Sister's Took Photo Every Year For 40 Years, You Won't Believe What Happened To Them

edition.si.com | Sponsored

100 Greatest Sports Photos of All-Time

SportPirate | Sponsored

See who Sadio Mané married to

The Atlanta
Journal-Constitution

ABOUT

[Help Center](#)
[About the Atlanta Journal-Constitution](#)
[Newsroom Ethics Code](#)
[Careers](#)
[Archive](#)
[Press On](#)

CONTACT US

[Contact Us](#)
[Send a News Tip](#)
[Advertise](#)
[AJC Newsroom](#)

OUR PRODUCTS

[ePaper](#)
[Newsletters](#)
[All AJC Podcasts](#)
[Download iOS App](#)
[Download Android App](#)

SUBSCRIPTION

[Print Subscription](#)
[Digital Subscription](#)
[Manage Subscription](#)
[Your Profile](#)
[NIE/Newspapers in Education](#)

© 2021 The Atlanta Journal-Constitution.
All Rights Reserved.

By using this website, you accept the terms of our
[Visitor Agreement](#) and [Privacy Policy](#), and understand your options regarding [Ad Choices](#).

[Learn about Careers at Cox Enterprises.](#)

Back to Top

EXHIBIT 37

2021-2022 GLBC Members

Georgia Senate



Sen. Tonya
Anderson
DISTRICT 43



Sen. Gloria
Butler
DISTRICT 55



Sen. Gail
Davenport
DISTRICT 44



Sen. Ed
Harbison
DISTRICT 15



Sen. Sonya
Halpern
DISTRICT 39



Sen. Kim
Jackson
DISTRICT 41



Sen. Donzella
James
DISTRICT 35



Sen. Emanuel
Jones
DISTRICT 10



Sen. Harold
Jones II
DISTRICT 22

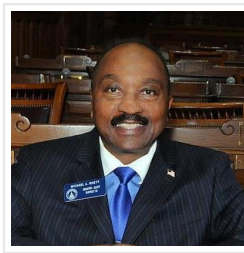


Sen. David
Lucas
DISTRICT 26





Sen. Nikki
Merritt
DISTRICT 9



Sen. Michael
"Doc" Rhett
DISTRICT 33



Sen. Valencia
Seay
DISTRICT 34



Sen. Freddie
Powell Sims
DISTRICT 12



Georgia House of Representatives



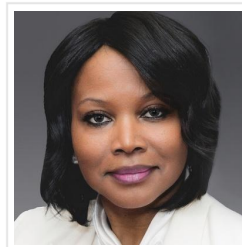
Rep. Erick
Allen
DISTRICT 40



Rep. Debra
Bazemore
DISTRICT 63



Rep. Karen
Bennett
DISTRICT 94



Rep. Patty
Bentley
DISTRICT 139



Rep. James
Beverly
DISTRICT 143



Rep. William
Boddie
DISTRICT 62



Rep. Roger
Bruce
DISTRICT 61



Rep. Rhonda
Burnough
DISTRICT 77



Rep. Park
Cannon
DISTRICT 58



Rep. Doreen
Carter
DISTRICT 92





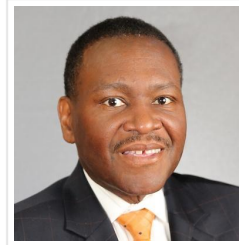
Rep. Jasmine
Clark
DISTRICT 108



Rep. Viola
Davis
DISTRICT 87



Rep.
Demetrius
Douglas
DISTRICT 78



Rep. Winfred
Dukes
DISTRICT 154



Rep. Gloria
Frazier
DISTRICT 126



Rep. Carl
Gilliard
DISTRICT 162



Rep. Mike
Glanton
DISTRICT 75



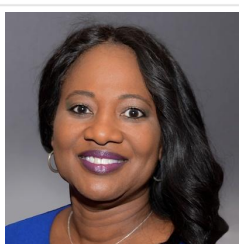
Rep. El-Mahdi
Holly
DISTRICT 111



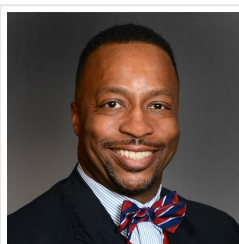
Rep. Carolyn
Hugley
DISTRICT 136



Rep. Shelly
Hutchinson
DISTRICT 107



Rep. CaMia
Jackson
DISTRICT 153



Rep. Derrick
Jackson
DISTRICT 64



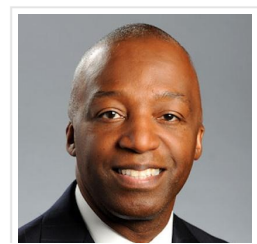
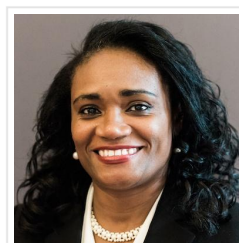
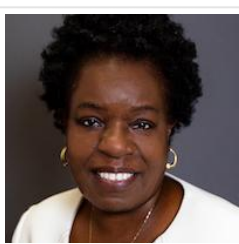
Rep. Mack
Jackson
DISTRICT 128



Rep. Shelia
Jones
DISTRICT 53



Rep. Dar'shun
Kendrick
DISTRICT 93



Rep. Regina
Lewis-Ward
DISTRICT 109



Rep. Derek
Mallow
DISTRICT 163



Rep. Dewey
McClain
DISTRICT 100



Rep. Donna
McLeod
DISTRICT 105



Rep. Billy
Mitchell
DISTRICT 88



Rep. Yasmin
Neal
DISTRICT 74



Rep. Sheila
Clark Nelson
DISTRICT 125



Rep. Brian
Prince
DISTRICT 127



Rep. Kim
Schofield
DISTRICT 60



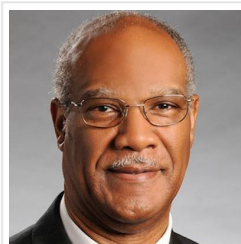
Rep. Sandra
Scott
DISTRICT 76



Rep. Renitta
Shannon
DISTRICT 84



Rep. Michael
Smith
DISTRICT 41



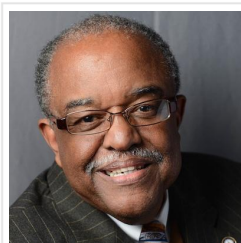
Rep. Calvin
Smyre
DISTRICT 135



Rep. Rhonda
Taylor
DISTRICT 91



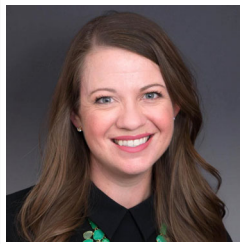
Rep.
Mandisha
Thomas
DISTRICT 65



Rep. Al
Williams
DISTRICT 168



Associate Members



Rep. Teri
Anulewicz
DISTRICT 42



Rep. Bee
Nguyen
DISTRICT 89



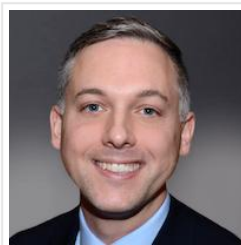
Sen. Nan
Orrock
DISTRICT 36



Rep. Sam
Park
DISTRICT 101



Sen. Sheikh
Rahman
DISTRICT 5



Rep. Matthew
Wilson
DISTRICT 80



EXHIBIT 38



THE FUTURE OF WHAT'S HAPPENING NOW

Blacks in State Legislatures: A State-by-State Map

Just under 10 percent of the nearly 7,500 legislators serving in America's state houses are Black, and only 13 are Republicans.

January 13, 2021 • Carl Smith



Del. Joe Lindsey, D-Norfolk, speaks at a press conference by the Virginia Legislative Black Caucus on the first day of the General Assembly, Wednesday, Jan. 8, 2020.

TNS

America will have its first woman of color in the White House beginning on Jan. 20 and during her campaign, Kamala Harris [shared her plans](#) to “stand for Black Americans.” There’s hope that, under the new president, it will be possible for parties to begin to work together to [heal and unite](#) Americans.

There is a shortage of voices from the Black community in state legislatures to take on this work.

Less than 10 percent of the legislators in state bodies are Black. Most strikingly, there are only 13 Black Republicans among the more than 7,500 men and women serving as state senators or representatives.

ADVERTISEMENT



African American representation was 9 percent in 2015, according to Amanda Zoch, a policy analyst at the National Conference of State Legislators. Twenty-five states have seen their percentages of Black lawmakers inch upward since then, though Black Americans are still underrepresented compared to their share of the population.

"Maryland has the largest African American presence, at 29 percent, and

Black lawmakers make up at least a quarter of the legislatures in Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina,” says Zoch.

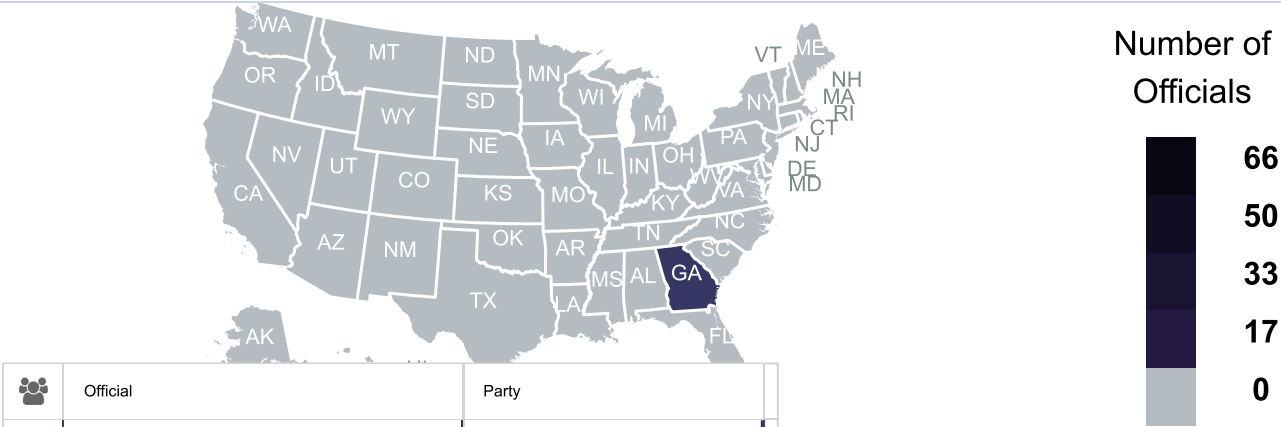
Note: Hover over the map below to see the numbers by state, and click on the state to see the names of the legislators and their party affiliation. After clicking on a single state, reload the page to return to the complete map.

ADVERTISEMENT

Black State Legislators

Search by name...

Q



	Official	Party
1	GA Sen. Tonya Anderson (D-GA-043)	Democrat
2	GA Sen. Gloria Butler (D-GA-055)	Democrat
3	GA Sen. Gail Davenport (D-GA-044)	Democrat
4	GA Sen. Sonya Halpern (D-GA-039)	Democrat
5	GA Sen. Ed Harbison (D-GA-015)	Democrat
6	GA Sen. Kim Jackson (D-GA-041)	Democrat
7	GA Sen. Lester Jackson (D-GA-002)	Democrat

Powered by [Quorum](#). Map will update automatically.

Editor's Note: Due to inaccuracies in the data provided by Quorum, we have updated the list to reflect corrections that have been made.



Carl Smith

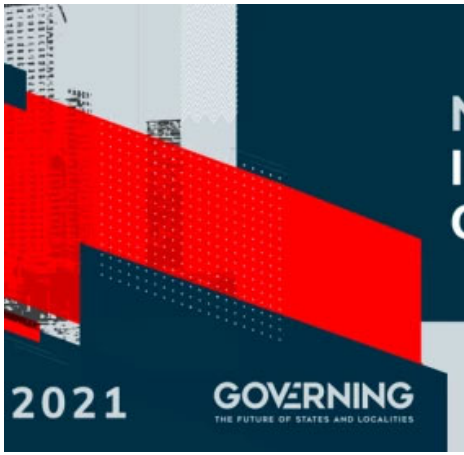
Carl Smith is a senior staff writer for *Governing* and covers a broad range of issues affecting states and localities. He can be reached at carl.smith@governing.com or on Twitter at [@governingwriter](https://twitter.com/governingwriter).

SEE MORE STORIES BY CARL SMITH

Special Projects



Sponsored Stories



©2022 All rights reserved. e.Republic
California Residents - Do Not Sell My Personal Information

Papers

Webinars

Podcasts

Archive

About

Privacy

Contact

Advertise

Stay Up To Date

Get smart with Governing. Where government is going in states & localities.

[SIGN UP FOR NEWSLETTERS](#)

EXHIBIT 39



State Legislator Demographics

12/1/2020



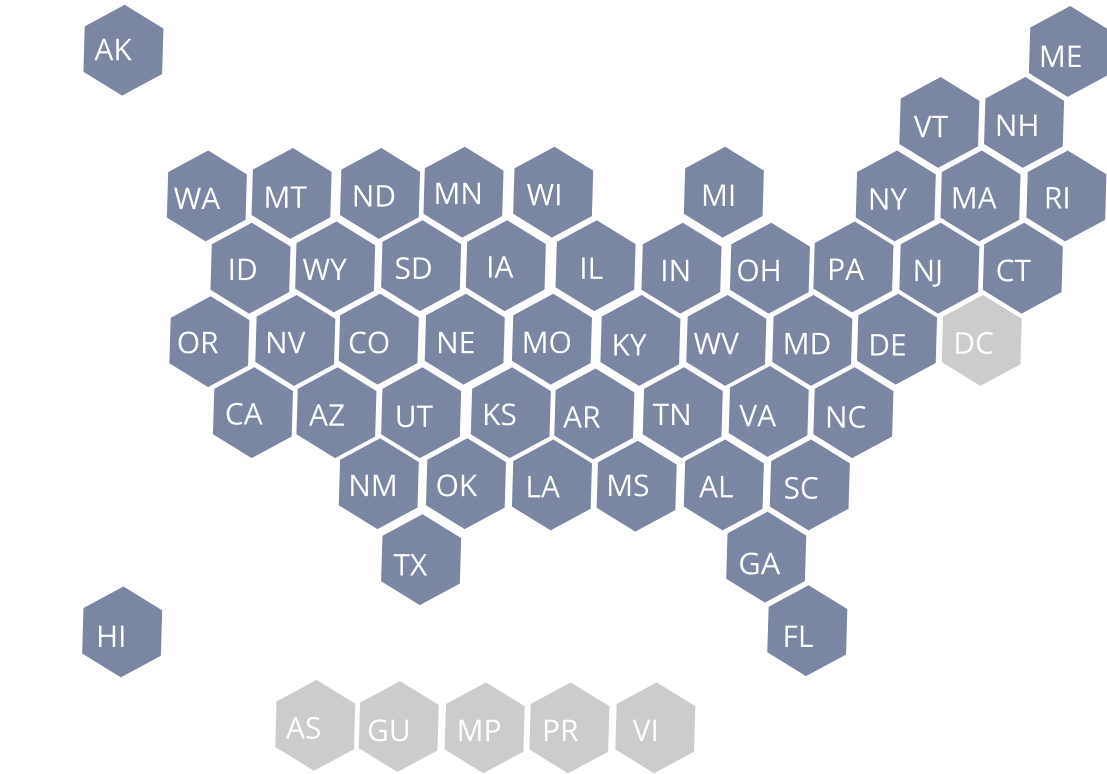
In 2020, NCSL conducted new research on state legislator demographics. We wanted to know who voters elect, but also who NCSL serves and what has changed about our members since our last demographic research was conducted in 2015. **The 2020 data does *not* include legislators who were newly elected in 2020 and took office in 2021.**

Using the interactive map, you can view data for 2015 and 2020 in the following categories: gender, race/ethnicity, generation*, party, religion and highest level of education.

Please note that data for many of the states and categories is not complete (see the “no data” rows). Consequently, any conclusions drawn from this data must contend with those limitations. Also, due to rounding, the totals sometimes add up to greater or less than 100%.

For more information, scroll to the bottom of this webpage for details on our methodology and additional resources.

*The years used for each generation are: Generation Z (1998-present), millennials (1981-1997), Generation X (1965-1980), baby boomers (1946-1964), silent (1928-1945) and greatest (before 1928).



Select a state on the map for demographic characteristics of state legislators.

Display all states

GEORGIA



Gender	2015	2020
Female	23%	31%
Male	77%	69%

Race/Ethnicity	2015	2020
White/Caucasian	72%	71%
Black/African American	25%	27%
Hispanic/Latino	1%	1%
Asian/Pacific Islander	0%	1%
American Indian/ Native American	0%	0%
Multiracial/Other	2%	0%
No Data	0%	0%

Generation	2015	2020
Generation Z	n/a	0%
Millennial	3%	3%

Generation X	27%	6%
Baby Boomer	54%	18%
Silent Generation	16%	5%
Greatest Generation	1%	0%
No Data	n/a*	69%

Party	2015	2020
Democrat	33%	40%
Republican	67%	59%
Independent	0%	1%
No Party	0%	0%

Religion	2015	2020
Protestant	70%	n/a
Catholic	3%	n/a
Other Christian	1%	n/a
Non-Christian	1%	n/a
Unspecified	6%	n/a

Highest Level of Education	2015	2020
< Bachelor's Degree	2%	1%
Bachelor's Degree	41%	38%
Advanced Degree	35%	n/a
Master's Degree	n/a	15%
Law Degree	n/a	15%
Ph.D.	n/a	6%
No Data	22%	25%

Note: Due to rounding, some of the totals add up to greater or less than 100%.

Methodology

NCSL's demographics study was conducted in 2020 using data compiled from the following sources:

- KnowWho, a directory publisher that gathers information from legislative websites, accessed in early 2020.
- Legislators' official and personal websites.
- Membership lists from the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, the National Hispanic Caucus of State Legislators, the National Caucus of Native American State Legislators and the Asian Pacific American Caucus of State Legislators.
- NCSL's Women's Legislative Network.

Please note that the research is subject to human error and may reflect discrepancies between self-identification and other methods of categorization. In some categories, the data is incomplete. Analysis of the categories with incomplete data must be done with caution.

NCSL interns Keelin Bettridge and Claudia Kania assisted in collecting and analyzing the data.

NCSL Resources

- Number of Legislators and Length of Terms in Years
- 2020 Legislator Compensation
- State Partisan Composition
- "The 'Average' State Legislator is Changing, Slowly" (October 2020)
- Military Veterans in State Legislatures for 2021
- 2015 Table for Age
- 2015 Table for Education
- 2015 Table for Gender
- 2015 Table for Generations
- 2015 Table for Occupations
- 2015 Table for Race/Ethnicity
- 2015 Table for Religion

Copyright 2021 by National Conference of State Legislatures

EXHIBIT 40

Former Georgia Governors

Governor's Name	State	Time in Office	Party
Gov. Nathan Deal	0	2015 - 2019 2011 - 2015	Republican
Gov. Sonny Perdue	0	2003 - 2011	Republican
Gov. Roy E. Barnes	Georgia	1999 - 2003	Democratic
Gov. Zell Miller	Georgia	1991 - 1999	Democratic
Gov. Joe Frank Harris	Georgia	1983 - 1991	Democratic
Gov. George Dekle Busbee	Georgia	1975 - 1983	Democratic
Gov. Jimmy Earl Carter	Georgia	1971 - 1975	Democratic
Gov. Lester Garfield Maddox	Georgia	1967 - 1971	Democratic

Governor's Name	State	Time in Office	Party
Gov. Carl Edward Sanders	Georgia	1963 - 1967	Democratic
Gov. Samuel Ernest Vandiver	Georgia	1959 - 1963	Democratic
Gov. Samuel Marvin Griffin	Georgia	1955 - 1959	Democratic
Gov. Herman Eugene Talmadge	Georgia	1948 - 1955 1947 - 1947	Democratic
Gov. Melvin Ernest Thompson	Georgia	1947 - 1948	Democratic
Gov. Ellis Gibbs Arnall	Georgia	1943 - 1947	Democratic
Gov. Eugene Talmadge	Georgia	1941 - 1943 1933 - 1937	Democratic
Gov. Eurith Dickinson Rivers	Georgia	1937 - 1941	Democratic
Gov. Richard Brevard Russell	Georgia	1931 - 1933	Democratic
Gov. Lamartine Griffin Hardman	Georgia	1927 - 1931	Democratic
Gov. Clifford Mitchell Walker	Georgia	1923 - 1927	Democratic

Governor's Name	State	Time in Office	Party
Gov. Thomas William Hardwick	Georgia	1921 - 1923	Democratic
Gov. Hugh Manson Dorsey	Georgia	1917 - 1921	Democratic
Gov. Nathaniel Edwin Harris	Georgia	1915 - 1917	Democratic
Gov. John Marshall Slaton	Georgia	1913 - 1915 1911 - 1912	Democratic
Gov. Joseph Mackey Brown	Georgia	1909 - 1911	Democratic
Gov. Hoke Smith	Georgia	1907 - 1909	Democratic
Gov. Joseph Meriwether Terrell	Georgia	1902 - 1907	Democratic
Gov. Allen D. Candler	Georgia	1898 - 1902	Democratic
Gov. William Yates Atkinson	Georgia	1894 - 1898	Democratic
Gov. William Jonathan Northen	Georgia	1890 - 1894	Democratic
Gov. John Brown Gordon	Georgia	1886 - 1890	Democratic
Gov. Henry Dickerson McDaniel	Georgia	1883 - 1886	Democratic

Governor's Name	State	Time in Office	Party
Gov. James Boynton	Georgia	1883 - 1883	Democratic
Gov. Alexander Hamilton Stephens	Georgia	1882 - 1883	Democratic-Whig
Gov. Alfred Holt Colquitt	Georgia	1877 - 1882	Democratic
Gov. James Milton Smith	Georgia	1872 - 1877	Democratic
Gov. Benjamin F. Conley	Georgia	1871 - 1872	Republican
Gov. Rufus Brown Bullock	Georgia	1868 - 1871	Republican
Gov. Thomas Howard Ruger	Georgia	1868 - 1868	Military
Gov. Charles Jones Jenkins	Georgia	1865 - 1868	Union Democratic
Gov. James Johnson	Georgia	1865 - 1865	Democratic
Gov. Joseph Emerson Brown	Georgia	1857 - 1865	Democratic
Gov. Herschel Vespasian Johnson	Georgia	1853 - 1857	Democratic
Gov. Howell Cobb	Georgia	1851 - 1853	Union Democratic

Governor's Name	State	Time in Office	Party
Gov. George Washington Towns	Georgia	1847 - 1851	Democratic
Gov. George Walker Crawford	Georgia	1843 - 1847	Whig
Gov. Charles James McDonald	Georgia	1839 - 1843	
Gov. George Rockingham Gilmer	Georgia	1837 - 1839 1829 - 1831	Democratic-Whig
Gov. William Schley	Georgia	1835 - 1837	Union Democratic
Gov. Wilson Lumpkin	Georgia	1831 - 1835	Union Democratic
Gov. John Forsyth	Georgia	1827 - 1829	Democratic-Republican
Gov. George Michael Troup	Georgia	1823 - 1827	Democratic-Republican
Gov. John Clark	Georgia	1819 - 1823	Democratic-Republican
Gov. Matthew Talbot	Georgia	1819 - 1819	Democratic-Republican
Gov. William Rabun	Georgia	1817 - 1819	Democratic-Republican

Governor's Name	State	Time in Office	Party
Gov. David Brydie Mitchell	Georgia	1815 - 1817 1809 - 1813	Democratic-Republican
Gov. Peter Early	Georgia	1813 - 1815	Democratic-Republican
Gov. John Milledge	Georgia	1802 - 1806	Democratic-Republican
Gov. Josiah Tattnall	Georgia	1801 - 1802	Democratic-Republican
Gov. David Emanuel	Georgia	1801 - 1801	Democratic-Republican
Gov. James Jackson	Georgia	1798 - 1801	Democratic-Republican
Gov. Jared Irwin	Georgia	1796 - 1798	Democratic-Republican
Gov. George Mathews	Georgia	1793 - 1796 1787 - 1788	Jeffersonian Republican
Gov. Edward Telfair	Georgia	1789 - 1793 1786 - 1787	Jeffersonian Republican
Gov. George Handley	Georgia	1788 - 1789	
Gov. Samuel Elbert	Georgia	1785 - 1786	Whig (conservation faction)

Governor's Name	State	Time in Office	Party
Gov. John Houstoun	Georgia	1784 - 1785 1778 - 1779	Whig
Gov. Lyman Hall	Georgia	1783 - 1784	Whig (radical faction)
Gov. John Martin	Georgia	1782 - 1783	
Gov. Nathan Brownson	Georgia	1781 - 1782	Whig
Gov. Stephen Heard	Georgia	1780 - 1781	Whig
Gov. Richard Howley	Georgia	1780 - 1780	Whig
Gov. George Walton	Georgia	1779 - 1780	Whig (radical faction), Jeffers
Gov. John Wereat	Georgia	1779 - 1779	Whig (conservation faction)
Gov. John Adam Treutlen	Georgia	1777 - 1778	Whig (radical faction)
Gov. Button Gwinnett	Georgia	1777 - 1777	Whig (radical faction)
Gov. Archibald Bulloch	Georgia	1776 - 1777	Whig

WE ♥ STATE SOLUTIONS

© 2021 NGA. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.



EXHIBIT 41

BREAKING

Fulton County Schools to start the New Year online-only due to COVID

**The Atlanta
Journal-Constitution**

Log Out

Thank you for subscribing.

Choose from a variety of newsletters to stay informed.

Stacey Abrams is running for Georgia governor in 2022



POLITICAL INSIDER

By **Greg Bluestein**, The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

Dec 1, 2021

Advertisement

Stacey Abrams launched a campaign for Georgia governor Wednesday with a pledge to fight for economic equality and expand health care access, setting up a potential rematch against Republican Gov. Brian Kemp in one of the nation's most competitive political battlegrounds.

The Democrat announced her campaign with a video that highlighted her work in the state since her narrow 2018 defeat to Kemp, along with a message that "opportunity and success in Georgia shouldn't be determined by your ZIP code, background or access to power."

Advertisement

Her decision, long expected by local Democrats, clears the way for what could be a titanic showdown between two longtime political rivals. That is, if Kemp survives a fight for the GOP nomination first.

Article continues below



By Bristol Myers Squibb

ADVERTISER CONTENT

Fighting Lymphoma With A Single Infusion

Abrams lost to Kemp by less than 1.4 percentage points in 2018, the closest Georgia gubernatorial election in decades, and her refusal to concede defeat because of what she called an “erosion” of voting rights made her an icon to many Democrats and a villain to conservatives.

If Abrams prevails, she would become the first Black governor in Georgia and the first Black woman elected governor in U.S. history. She would also end a string of Republican victories in gubernatorial contests dating to Sonny Perdue’s upset win in 2002 over Democratic Gov. Roy Barnes.

ADVERTISING

She's running in a tough political environment. Despite statewide victories in the last election cycle, Georgia Democrats will be on the defensive during the 2022 midterms, when U.S. Sen. Raphael Warnock is also on the ballot. Abrams' campaign countered by noting [Democratic gains](#) in this year's mayoral elections, including flips of several Republican-held seats this week.

Kemp might as well have ripped a page from his 2018 playbook with his reaction to her announcement, which repeated a stark warning that Abrams' "far-left agenda" doesn't reflect Georgia's values.

"Next November's election for governor is a battle for the soul of our state," he said. "I'm in the fight against Stacey Abrams, the failed Biden agenda and their woke allies to keep Georgia the best place to live, work and raise a family."

Advertisement

'One Georgia'

Abrams' announcement ends a guessing game among some Georgians about what she would do next. A former Democratic leader in the Georgia House, Abrams is now a nationally known politician who has been talked about as a future White House contender.

She gave [the response](#) to then-President Donald Trump's State of the Union in 2019, was [considered](#) as Joe Biden's running mate and started a constellation of influential advocacy groups. And she's grown her [media platform](#) with [lucrative book and movie projects](#) and a national tour [that just wrapped up](#).

Explore

In depth: Stacey Abrams' record





Credit: John David Scarcliff

But she's also maintained a foothold in state politics, pummeling Kemp for his approach to combating the coronavirus pandemic, his support for an overhaul of the state's voting laws and his refusal to expand Medicaid. Her campaign launch video emphasized her Georgia focus.

"Regardless of the pandemic or the storms, the obstacles in our way or the forces determined to divide us, my job has been to just put my head down and keep working toward one Georgia," she said. "Because in the end, we are one Georgia."

The campaign, which filed paperwork Wednesday, will be led by her longtime aide Lauren Groh-Wargo. A major statewide launch is in the works for next year, but Abrams' initial steps are expected to involve small-scale meetings with Georgians and fundraising events.

Abrams can count on a unified Democratic Party behind her candidacy. No other credible Democratic contender has entered the race, and her fundraising record and visibility allowed her to wait until December to announce. The timing gives her a full month to raise funds in 2021.

Explore Who is Stacey Abrams?





Credit: Alyssa Pointer

There's no doubt that Abrams and her allies also aim to exploit ongoing feuding among Georgia Republicans, who have been engaged in a yearslong battle between various pro-Trump factions.

Trump and his loyalists have [vowed to exact revenge](#) on Kemp after he refused to overturn 2020 election results in Georgia, and the former president suggested at a September rally that he would have [preferred if Abrams](#) was governor.

Former U.S. Sen. David Perdue is seriously considering a primary challenge against Kemp with Trump's support. He's told donors and activists that he's [tempted to enter the race](#) because he fears Kemp will get trounced by Abrams next year.

Several other Republicans have already launched campaigns premised on their loyalty to Trump, including former Democratic state Rep. [Vernon Jones](#).

An epic rematch

With her 2022 campaign, Abrams is hoping to harness a Democratic surge she helped engineer.

She and her allies spent most of the past decade mobilizing liberals with a campaign as an "unapologetic progressive" with vows to oppose abortion limits, support new gun restrictions and take other stances that many other statewide Democratic candidates avoided.

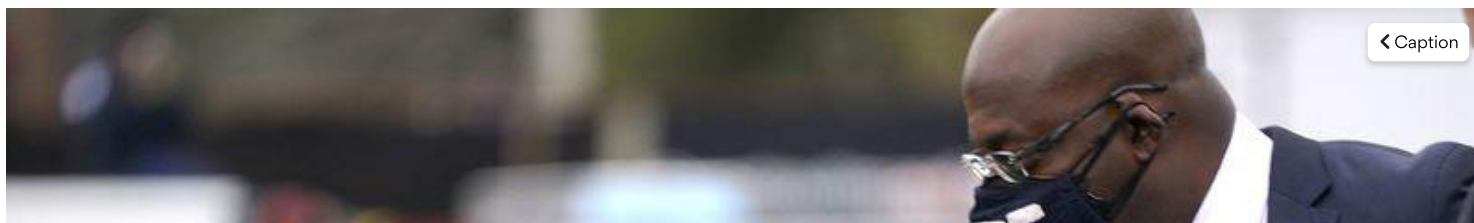
But she also embraced initiatives with more [widespread public support](#), such as expanding the Medicaid program, a policy that Kemp and other Republican leaders have long opposed as too costly.

Her narrow 2018 defeat showed Democrats a new path to victory that relied on maximizing turnout among voters of color who often skipped midterm elections while also [appealing to suburban voters](#) alienated by Trump.

Biden captured the state in November, marking the first time Georgia voted Democratic in a presidential election since 1992. Nine weeks later, Jon Ossoff and Warnock ousted Sens. Perdue and Kelly Loeffler, flipping control of the chamber.

The victories were [particularly sweet](#) for Abrams, who passed on her own bid for the U.S. Senate and helped recruit Warnock to run instead. Back then, she said "Georgia will always be at the [center of my plans](#)" even as she was coy about her next step.

Still, there was little mystery among her closest friends about whether she'd mount another run for governor. She's long been drawn toward executive office and often acknowledges that she wants to [eventually run for president](#).





Credit: TNS

An aide said that if she's elected governor she will serve the full four-year term in office, adding that the buzz about a [potential 2024 White House bid](#) is "the talk of folks who don't know her desire to lead Georgia."

'Unifying'

Her ambitions will also be used against her. Kemp and other Republicans have derided Abrams as a "celebrity" candidate with little long-term interest in Georgia. And Republicans have tried to blame her for Major League Baseball's [decision to yank the All-Star game](#) from Atlanta, though she discouraged boycotts over the new voting law.

"Over the past four years, Gov. Kemp has exhibited courageous leadership for Georgians and guided his state through a turbulent time," said Maddie Anderson of the Republican Governors Association. "Stacey Abrams spent her time touring the country in search of fame and fortune."

She's also been accused of hypocrisy for assailing Trump when he didn't concede to Biden while she [issued a nonconcession speech](#) that criticized the "systemic disenfranchisement, disinvestment and incompetence" of Georgia's election system under Kemp's watch. Kemp has denied any wrongdoing when he was secretary of state.

Unlike Trump, Abrams never tried to reverse her election defeat and instead filed litigation seeking to expand access to the ballot. The Democrat also acknowledged that Kemp had won the election and that she was not the governor.

She settled another issue that dogged her during the 2018 campaign. Abrams [paid off the roughly \\$54,000 she owed to the Internal Revenue Service](#), along with other credit card and student loan debt she reported during her first election run.

This campaign, Abrams would also be supported by the powerful [Fair Fight political organization](#) that she launched even as she ended her 2018 campaign.

The group has grown into a fundraising behemoth, collecting [more than \\$100 million](#) since its inception, and it has blitzed the airwaves with criticism of Kemp. It has become such a formidable force that Loeffler recently started her own group, [Greater Georgia](#), to counteract its influence.



Credit: Ryon Horne, The Atlanta Journal-Constitution


Many Republicans have eagerly expected Abrams' entry, and some were running against her long before she announced. Candidates for obscure political offices have targeted her, and a group called Stop Stacey stocked with Kemp campaign strategists aims to keep her in front of a GOP battering ram.


No one, of course, mentions Abrams as often as Kemp, who essentially never stopped campaigning against her. He said Wednesday that every political step she takes is calculated "in service to her ultimate ambition of becoming president of the United States."

Stephen Lawson, a veteran Republican strategist, is among the political foes who have long awaited her announcement. He said she offers the divided state GOP a common adversary.

"Never underestimate the unifying power Stacey Abrams can bring to Republicans in Georgia."



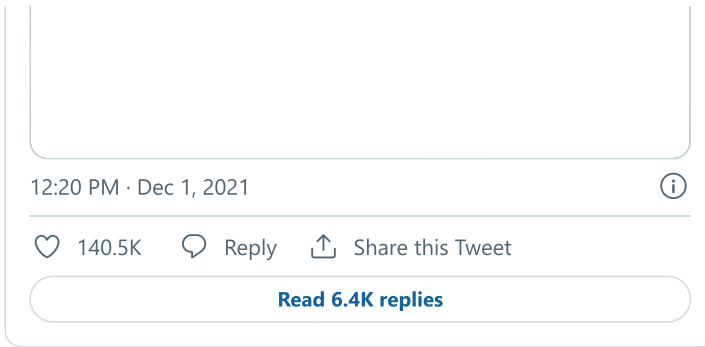
Stacey Abrams 
@staceyabrams



I'm running for Governor because opportunity in our state shouldn't be determined by zip code, background or access to power. #gapol

Be a founding donor to my campaign:
secure.actblue.com/donate/afg22-t...

Watch on Twitter



About the Author



Greg Bluestein



Greg Bluestein is a political reporter who covers the governor's office and state politics for The Atlanta Journal-Constitution.

Editors' Picks



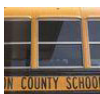
How Georgia's nuclear project's big finish went so wrong

10h ago



Beloved actress Betty White dies at age 99

1h ago



Fulton County Schools to start the New Year online-only due to COVID

17m ago



Atlanta records 158th homicide of 2021, passing 2020's total

1h ago



Atlanta records 158th homicide of 2021, passing 2020's total

1h ago



Atlanta Mayor Keisha Lance Bottoms: 'We are leaving this city intact'

9h ago

The Latest



The questions that will shape Georgia politics in 2022

The top Georgia political stories of 2021: Chaos, conflict and new campaigns

The Jolt: Merry Jolt and a busy political New Year

Investigations



Georgia gets first shipments of Merck, Pfizer COVID pills

23h ago

Last-minute change of plans leads to life-saving rescue in Georgia

19h ago

Inside the campaign to undermine Georgia's election

CONTENT BY

Cuteness | Sponsored

The 60 Most Hilarious Cat Memes of All Time

Stadium Talk | Sponsored

Ranking the Largest College Football Stadiums

Facts Therapy | Sponsored

The 4 Sister's Took Photo Every Year For 40 Years, You Won't Believe What Happened To Them

Chaikin Analytics | Sponsored

“Move Your Money by Jan. 1,” Wall St legend Warns

NowThis | Sponsored

Tom Hanks Movies Ranked From Worst to First

The Atlanta
Journal-Constitution

ABOUT

[Help Center](#)
[About the Atlanta Journal-Constitution](#)
[Newsroom Ethics Code](#)
[Careers](#)
[Archive](#)
[Press On](#)

CONTACT US

[Contact Us](#)
[Send a News Tip](#)
[Advertise](#)
[AJC Newsroom](#)

OUR PRODUCTS

[ePaper](#)
[Newsletters](#)
[All AJC Podcasts](#)
[Download iOS App](#)
[Download Android App](#)

SUBSCRIPTION

[Print Subscription](#)
[Digital Subscription](#)
[Manage Subscription](#)
[Your Profile](#)
[NIE/Newspapers in Education](#)

© 2021 The Atlanta Journal-Constitution.
All Rights Reserved.

By using this website, you accept the terms of our
[Visitor Agreement](#) and [Privacy Policy](#), and understand your options regarding [Ad Choices](#).

[Learn about Careers at Cox Enterprises.](#)

[Back to Top](#)

EXHIBIT 42



UNITED STATES SENATE

States in the Senate | Georgia Senators

Introduction | **Senators** | **Timeline**

Choose a state ▼

CONGRESS	SENATOR	TERM BEGAN	TERM ENDED	COMMENTS
Class 2				
1st-2nd	William Few (ANTI-ADMIN)	Mar. 4, 1789	Mar. 3, 1793	
2nd-3rd	James Jackson (ANTI-ADMIN)	Mar. 4, 1793	31, 1795	Resigned
3rd	George Walton (F)	Nov. 16, 1795	Apr. 12, 1796	Appointed
4th-5th	Josiah Tattnall (R)	Apr. 12, 1796	Mar. 3, 1799	
6th-10th	Abraham Baldwin (R)	Mar. 4, 1799	Mar. 4, 1807	Died
10th	George Jones (R)	Aug. 27, 1807	Nov. 7, 1807	Appointed
10th-13th	William H. Crawford (R)	Nov. 7, 1807	Mar. 23, 1813	Resigned
13th	William B. Bulloch (R)	Apr. 8, 1813	Nov. 6, 1813	Appointed
13th-14th	William Wyatt Bibb (R)	Nov. 6, 1813	Nov. 9, 1816	Resigned
14th-15th	George M. Troup (R)	Nov. 13, 1816	Sept. 23, 1818	Resigned
15th-16th	John Forsyth (R)	Nov. 23, 1818 ¹	Feb. 17, 1819	Resigned
16th-17th	Freeman Walker (R)	Nov. 6, 1819 ²	Aug. 8, 1821	Resigned
17th-18th	Nicholas Ware (R, CRR)	Nov. 10, 1821	Sept. 7, 1824	Died
18th-20th	Thomas W. Cobb (CRR, J)	Dec. 6, 1824	1828	Resigned
20th	Oliver H. Prince (J)	Nov. 7, 1828	Mar. 3, 1829	
21st-23rd	George M. Troup (J)	Mar. 4, 1829	Nov. 8, 1833	Resigned
23rd-25th	John Pendleton King (J, D)	Nov. 21, 1833	Nov. 1, 1837	Resigned

CONGRESS	SENATOR	TERM BEGAN	TERM ENDED	COMMENTS
25th-26th	Wilson Lumpkin (D)	Nov. 22, 1837	Mar. 3, 1841	
27th-32nd	John Mcpherson Berrien ³ (W)	Mar. 4, 1841	May 28, 1852	Resigned
32nd	Robert M. Charlton (D)	May 31, 1852	Mar. 3, 1853	Appointed
33rd-36th	Robert A. Toombs (W, D)	Mar. 4, 1853	Feb. 4, 1861 ⁴	
40th-41st	Homer V. M. Miller (D)	Feb. 24, 1871 ⁵	Mar. 3, 1871	
42nd-44th	Thomas M. Norwood (D)	Nov. 14, 1871 ⁶	Mar. 3, 1877	
45th-47th	Benjamin H. Hill (D)	Mar. 4, 1877	Aug. 16, 1882	Died
47th	M. Pope Barrow (D)	Nov. 15, 1882	Mar. 3, 1883	
48th-53rd	Alfred H. Colquitt (D)	Mar. 4, 1883	Mar. 26, 1894	Died
53rd	Patrick Walsh (D)	Apr. 2, 1894	Mar. 3, 1895	Appointed, then elected
54th-63rd	Augustus O. Bacon ⁷ (D)	Mar. 4, 1895	Feb. 14, 1914	Died
63rd	William S. West (D)	Mar. 2, 1914	Nov. 3, 1914	Appointed
63rd-65th	Thomas W. Hardwick (D)	Nov. 4, 1914	Mar. 3, 1919	
66th-72nd	William J. Harris (D)	Mar. 4, 1919	Apr. 18, 1932	Died
72nd	John S. Cohen (D)	Apr. 25, 1932	Jan. 11, 1933	Appointed
72nd-92nd	Richard B. Russell Jr. (D)	Jan. 12, 1933	Jan. 21, 1971	Died
92nd	David H. Gambrell (D)	Feb. 1, 1971	Nov. 7, 1972	Appointed
92nd-104th	Sam A. Nunn (D)	Nov. 8, 1972 ⁸	Jan. 3, 1997	
105th- 107th	Joseph Maxwell Cleland (D)	Jan. 3, 1997	Jan. 3, 2003	
108th- 113th	Saxby Chambliss (R)	Jan. 3, 2003	Jan. 3, 2015	

CONGRESS	SENATOR	TERM BEGAN	TERM ENDED	COMMENTS
114th-116th	David Perdue (R)	Jan. 3, 2015	Jan. 3, 2021	
117th-	T. Jonathan Ossoff (D)	Jan. 20, 2021 ⁹	Present	
Class 3				
1st-6th	James Gunn (ANTI-ADMIN, F)	Mar. 4, 1789	Mar. 3, 1801	
7th-9th	James Jackson (R)	Mar. 4, 1801	Mar. 19, 1806	Died
9th-11th	John Milledge (R)	Jun. 19, 1806	Nov. 14, 1809	Resigned
11th-15th	Charles Tait (R)	Nov. 27, 1809	Mar. 3, 1819	
16th-18th	John Elliott (R, CRR)	Mar. 4, 1819	Mar. 3, 1825	
19th-21st	John Macpherson Berrien (J)	Mar. 4, 1825	Mar. 9, 1829	Resigned
21st-23rd	John Forsyth (J)	Nov. 9, 1829	Jun. 27, 1834	Resigned
23rd-27th	Alfred Cuthbert (J, D)	Jan. 12, 1835	Mar. 3, 1843	
28th-30th	Walter T. Colquitt (D)	Mar. 4, 1843	Feb. 1848	Resigned
30th	Herschel V. Johnson (D)	Feb. 4, 1848	Mar. 3, 1849	Appointed
31st-33rd	William C. Dawson (W)	Mar. 4, 1849	Mar. 3, 1855	
34th-36th	Alfred Iverson Sr. (D)	Mar. 4, 1855	Jan. 28, 1861 ¹⁰	
40th-42nd	Joshua Hill (R)	Feb. 1, 1871 ¹¹	Mar. 3, 1873	
43rd-46th	John B. Gordon (D)	Mar. 4, 1873	May 26, 1880 ¹²	Resigned
46th-51st	Joseph E. Brown (D)	May 26, 1880	Mar. 3, 1891	Appointed, then elected
52nd-54th	John B. Gordon (D)	Mar. 4, 1891	Mar. 3, 1897	
55th-61st	Alexander S. Clay (D)	Mar. 4, 1897	Nov. 13, 1910	Died

CONGRESS	SENATOR	TERM BEGAN	TERM ENDED	COMMENTS
61st-63rd	John M. Terrell (D)	Nov. 17, 1910	Jul. 14, 1911	Appointed; resigned
62nd-66th	Hoke Smith (D)	Nov. 16, 1911 ¹³	Mar. 3, 1921	
67th	Thomas E. Watson (D)	Mar. 4, 1921	Sept. 26, 1922	Died
67th	Rebecca L. Felton (D)	Oct. 3, 1922	Nov. 21, 1922	Appointed
67th-84th	Walter F. George (D)	Nov. 22, 1922	Jan. 3, 1957	
85th-96th	Herman E. Talmadge (D)	Jan. 3, 1957	Jan. 3, 1981	
97th-99th	Mack F. Mattingly (R)	Jan. 3, 1981	Jan. 3, 1987	
100th- 102nd	Wyche Fowler Jr. (D)	Jan. 3, 1987	Jan. 3, 1993	
103rd- 106th	Paul Coverdell (R)	Jan. 3, 1993	Jul. 18, 2000	Died
106th- 108th	Zell B. Miller (D)	Jul. 24, 2000	Jan. 3, 2005	Appointed, then elected
109th- 116th	Johnny Isakson (R)	Jan. 3, 2005	31, 2019	Resigned
116th- 117th	Kelly A. Loeffler (R)	Jan. 6, 2020	Jan. 19, 2021	Appointed
117th-	Raphael G. Warnock (D)	Jan. 20, 2021	Present	

1. Elected Nov. 7, 1818. Served in House during interim.

2. Vacancy from February 18, 1819, to November 5, 1819, because of failure of legislature to elect.

3. Berrien resigned the seat in May 1845 to accept a seat on Georgia's state supreme court. Seat vacant from his resignation until November 14, 1845, when he was elected to fill the vacancy he had created for the term ending Mar. 3, 1847. Vacancy again from Mar. 4 to Nov. 13, 1847 because of failure of legislature to elect. The state legislature re-elected Berrien to the seat, where he served until his resignation on May 28, 1852.

4. Withdrew from the Senate Feb. 4, 1861. Seat declared vacant Mar. 14, 1861. Because of Civil War, vacancy from Feb. 4, 1861, to February 23, 1871.
5. Miller was originally elected on July 28, 1868. His credentials were challenged, however, and he was not seated until Feb. 24, 1871.
6. Vacancy from Mar. 4 to Nov. 13, 1871. Foster Blodgett presented credentials for the same seat, but was not permitted to qualify, and on December 19, 1871, was adjudged not elected in accordance with the Constitution.
7. Twice during Bacon's Senate service (1907 and 1913), he was appointed by the governor for the interim between Mar. 4 (when his term ended) and June, when the state legislature was scheduled to meet again, and could elect him.
8. Elected Nov. 7, 1972, to fill vacancy in term ending Jan. 3, 1973, and also to full term ending Jan. 3, 1979.
9. Elected in a run-off election held Jan. 5, 2021, and qualified and was seated Jan. 20, 2021. Vacancy from Jan. 3 to Jan. 19, 2021.
10. Withdrew from Senate Jan. 28, 1861. Because of Civil War, vacancy from Jan 28, 1861, to January 31, 1871.
11. Elected July 28, 1868, to fill vacancy in term beginning Mar. 4, 1867. Georgia was readmitted to representation July 15, 1870. Hill's credentials were challenged, and he was finally seated on Feb. 1, 1871.
12. Tendered resignation May 14, 1880, and retired from the Senate May 26, 1880.
13. Elected on July 12, 1911 but remained as governor of Georgia, not taking his seat in the Senate until November 16, 1911.

EXHIBIT 43



(/).

[Donate \(http://wuga.drupal.publicbroadcasting.net/join-1987-club#stream/0\)](http://wuga.drupal.publicbroadcasting.net/join-1987-club#stream/0)



Live Radio • WUGA
All Things Considered

LOADING...



Report Shows Black Georgians were more Likely to be Denied Unemployment Benefits

By [JEANNE DAVIS \(/PEOPLE/JEANNE-DAVIS\)](#) • NOV 19, 2021

[Twitter \(http://twitter.com/intent/tweet?](http://twitter.com/intent/tweet?)

[url=https%3A%2F%2Ftinyurl.com%2Fye5soacd&text=Report%20Shows%20Black%20Georgians%20were%20more%20Likely%20to%20be%20Denied%20Unemployment%20Benefits](https%3A%2F%2Ftinyurl.com%2Fye5soacd&text=Report%20Shows%20Black%20Georgians%20were%20more%20Likely%20to%20be%20Denied%20Unemployment%20Benefits)

[Facebook \(http://facebook.com/sharer.php?](http://facebook.com/sharer.php?)

[u=https%3A%2F%2Ftinyurl.com%2Fye5soacd&t=Report%20Shows%20Black%20Georgians%20were%20more%20Likely%20to%20be%20Denied%20Unemployment%20Benefits](https%3A%2F%2Ftinyurl.com%2Fye5soacd&t=Report%20Shows%20Black%20Georgians%20were%20more%20Likely%20to%20be%20Denied%20Unemployment%20Benefits)

[Email \(mailto:?](mailto:)

[subject=Report%20Shows%20Black%20Georgians%20were%20more%20Likely%20to%20be%20Denied%20Unemployment%20Benefits](mailto:?subject=Report%20Shows%20Black%20Georgians%20were%20more%20Likely%20to%20be%20Denied%20Unemployment%20Benefits)



Listen

0:50

Listen to the story!



https://mediad.publicbroadcasting.net/p/wuga/files/styles/x_large/public/202111/download.jpeg

CREDIT FOX4KC.COM

According to a report published today by Bloomberg News, Black Georgians who lost their jobs during the pandemic were more likely than White ones to be denied unemployment benefits.

In the year following the beginning of the pandemic, 2.25 million people applied for unemployment benefits in Georgia.

But the Georgia Department of Labor ruled that 800,000 of these were invalid, based on standards that require people work for employers participating in the unemployment system and that individuals make enough money to file claims.

Bloomberg reports that among Georgia workers denied regular state unemployment, 53% were Black and 24% were White. These rates reflect structural inequities across the South and U.S. as a whole, where Black Americans hold less secure and lower paying jobs than White Americans.

[url=https%3A%2F%2Ftinyurl.com%2Fyf5soacd&text=Report%20Shows%20Black%20Georgians%20were%20more%20Likely%20to%](https://tinyurl.com/yf5soacd&text=Report%20Shows%20Black%20Georgians%20were%20more%20Likely%20to%)

f

u=https%3A%2F%2Ftinyurl.com%2Fye5soacd&t=Report%20Shows%20Black%20Georgians%20were%20more%20Likely%20to%20be



subject=Report%20Shows%20Black%20Georgians%20were%20more%20Likely%20to%20be%20Denied%20Unemployment%20Benefit



(/http://www.prx.org/)

(<http://www.americanpublicmedia.org/>)

© 2021 WUGA | University of Georgia

EXHIBIT 44



House of Representatives Study Committee on Maternal Mortality

Final Report

**Co-Chairman Sharon Cooper
Representative, 43rd District**

**Co-Chairman Mark Newton
Representative, 123rd District**

**The Honorable Chuck Efstration
Representative, 104th District**

**The Honorable Carolyn Hugley
Representative, 136th District**

**The Honorable Deborah Silcox
Representative, 52nd District**

**The Honorable Valencia Stovall
Representative, 74th District**

**The Honorable Darlene Taylor
Representative, 173rd District**

**Jane Ellis, MD, PhD
Medical Director, Emory Regional Perinatal Center**

**Chad Ray, MD
Associate Professor, Medical College of Georgia**

2019

Prepared by the House Budget & Research Office

Introduction

The House Study Committee on Maternal Mortality was created by House Resolution 589 during the 2019 Legislative Session of the Georgia General Assembly. HR 589 acknowledges that women in the United States are more likely to die from childbirth or pregnancy-related causes than women in other high-income countries, and furthermore, Georgia is among the top 10 states with the highest maternal death rate. The resolution also recognizes that maternal deaths are a serious public health concern and have tremendous family and social impacts that affect diverse populations.

HR 589 acknowledges that the Georgia Maternal Mortality Review Committee has reviewed three years of maternal death data in the state, and the data suggests that 60 percent of these deaths were preventable. Continued review of maternal deaths is recommended to understand the trends in the data, and there is a need to develop strategies and institute systemic changes to decrease and prevent maternal deaths in Georgia.

House Resolution 589 provides for the membership of the committee, consisting of seven members of the House of Representatives, a minimum of two of whom shall be African American female legislators, and two members of the Georgia Maternal Mortality Review Committee appointed by the speaker of the House of Representatives. The speaker appointed the following members: Representative Sharon Cooper, Co-Chair; Representative Mark Newton, Co-Chair; Representative Chuck Efration; Representative Carolyn Hugley; Representative Deborah Silcox; Representative Valencia Stovall; Representative Darlene Taylor; Dr. Jane Ellis; and Dr. Chad Ray.

The study committee held five public meetings at the State Capitol during 2019, occurring on September 19th, October 17th, November 7th, November 21st, and December 3rd. During these meetings, the committee heard testimony from multiple agencies and organizations involved in maternal health, prenatal care, and postnatal care in Georgia, as listed below. This report provides an overview of the issues discussed by the individuals listed below by meeting.

Thursday, September 19, 2019 – Coverdell Legislative Office Building (Atlanta, GA)

Michael Lindsay, MD – *Maternal Mortality Review Committee Co-Chair*

Michael Bryan, PhD – *Director of Maternal and Child Health Epidemiology, DPH*

Chris Tice, CNM – *Maternal Mortality Review Coordinator, Georgia OBGYN Society*

Melissa Kottke, MD – *Georgia Perinatal Quality Collaborative*

Thursday, October 17, 2019 – Coverdell Legislative Office Building (Atlanta, GA)

Mercer University

Jean R. Sumner, MD – *Dean of the School of Medicine*

Jacob C. Warren, PhD, MBA – *Rufus C. Harris Endowed Chair; Director of the Center for Rural Health and Health Disparities; Associate Professor, Community Medicine*

Morehouse School of Medicine

Valerie Montgomery Rice, MD, FACOG – *President and Dean of Morehouse School of Medicine*

Medical College of Georgia at Augusta University

Chad Ray, MD – *Interim Section Chief, OBGYN; Associate Professor*

Doug Miller, MD – *Vice Dean; Professor*

Emory University

Denise J. Jamieson, MD, MPH – *Chair of the Department of Gynecology and Obstetrics for Emory Healthcare*

Thursday, November 7, 2019 – Coverdell Legislative Office Building (Atlanta, GA)

Dianne Durrence – *Women’s Health Director, Georgia Department of Public Health*

Jaimie Chausmer, FNP-C – *Northside Hospital Cardiovascular Care*

Gina Price Lundberg, MD – *Clinical Director of Emory Women’s Cardiovascular Health Center*

Diogo Haussen, MD – *Neurologist, Grady Health*

Siddarth Satish – *Chief Executive Officer, Gauss Surgical*

Thursday, November 21, 2019 – Coverdell Legislative Office Building (Atlanta, GA)

Jennifer Barkin, MS, PhD – *Associate Professor of Community Medicine and Obstetrics and Gynecology, Mercer University*

Toby Goldsmith, MD – *Director of the Emory Women’s Mental Health Program*

Anne Patterson, MD – *Women’s Telehealth*

Mary Catherine Moffett, Ashunti Duncan, and TeQuiera Wolfolk – *Nurse-Family Partnership*

Kenneth Braunstein, MD – *Hematologist, Northside Hospital*

Tuesday, December 3, 2019 – Coverdell Legislative Office Building (Atlanta, GA)

Naima Joseph, MD, MPH – *Maternal Fetal Medicine Fellow, Emory University*

Alexis Dunn, PhD, CNM and Kate Woeber, PhD, CNM, MPH – *Georgia Nurses Association*

Umm Salaamah Abdullah Zaimah – *Community Midwives National Alliance*

Danielle Rodriguez – *SisterSong*

“Able” Mable Thomas – *State Representative, District 56*

Committee Findings

Background and Data

In 2010, a study by Amnesty International ranked Georgia 50th in maternal mortality in the United States. An advisory committee was created by the Georgia Department of Public Health (DPH), the Emory University Department of Gynecology and Obstetrics, and the Georgia Obstetrical and Gynecological Society to determine a methodology for identifying and reviewing maternal death cases in Georgia in order to identify the causes and potential solutions to Georgia's high maternal mortality rates. During the 2014 Legislative Session, the Georgia General Assembly passed Senate Bill 273 to establish the Georgia Maternal Mortality Review Committee (MMRC) and strengthen DPH's authority to obtain the records needed for case review. The first MMRC report analyzed 85 maternal death cases from 2012 and was published in June 2015. Since then, the MMRC has released reports for the cases that occurred in 2013 and 2014.

A "maternal death" is defined as the death of a woman while pregnant or within one year of the end of a pregnancy. There are two types of maternal death: pregnancy-associated and pregnancy-related. Pregnancy-associated are deaths due to a cause unrelated to pregnancy, and pregnancy-related deaths are deaths due to any cause related to or aggravated by pregnancy or its management. There are various data sources that track maternal deaths, such as the National Center for Health Statistics and the Pregnancy Mortality Surveillance System on the national level and the Online Analytical Statistical Information System and the Maternal Mortality Review Information App on the state level for Georgia. These data sources all differ in purpose, methodology, and measures. As Georgia's MMRC began its own data collection process, it identified key ways to identify maternal death cases in the state, such as through the report of a notifiable condition, the pregnancy checkbox on Georgia's death certificate, ICD-10 "O codes", death certificates linked to birth or fetal death certificates, and obituaries and news searches.

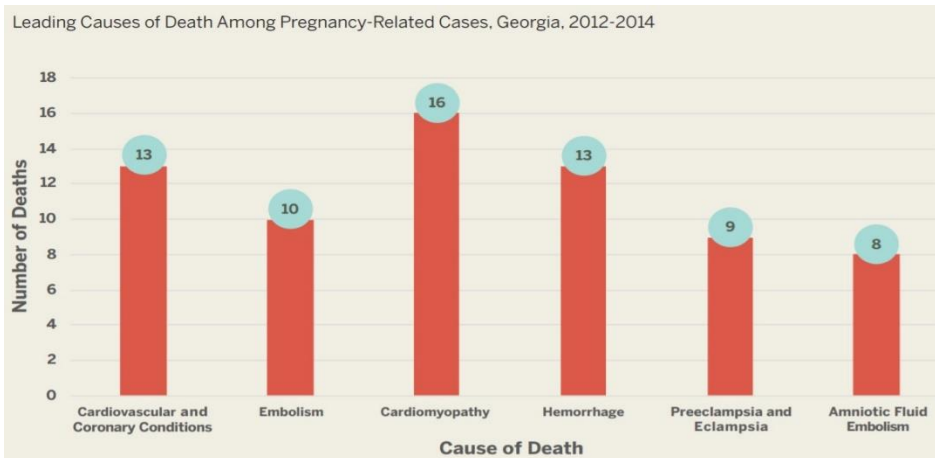
For each maternal death, the MMRC searches for the following reports and records: autopsy, prenatal care history; emergency room visits; hospitalizations; medical transports; informant interviews; public health records; medical examiner report or investigation; subspecialty consults and visits; mental health care; law enforcement records; coroner report and investigation; and reports and investigations from the Georgia Division of Family and Children Services (DFCS). The collected information is analyzed in a case abstraction performed by trained individuals that have an obstetrics background as either a registered nurse, an advanced practice registered nurse, or a doctor, and abstractors work alongside DPH epidemiology staff to review all potential maternal death cases. Each case takes an average of 20 hours to fully abstract after the medical records are received, making the case review

process long and time-consuming. The MMRC meets quarterly to discuss case findings and make final case decisions, such as the determination of whether the death was pregnancy-related, whether it was preventable, what the factors were that contributed to the death, and what the recommendations and actions should be to address the contributing factors.

A total of 250 maternal death cases were reviewed for the 2012 through 2014 time period, of which 101 cases, or 40 percent, of the maternal deaths were determined to be pregnancy-related deaths. It is estimated that 62 of these pregnancy-related deaths, or approximately 60 percent, were preventable. These numbers equate to Georgia having a pregnancy-related maternal mortality ratio of 25.9 pregnancy-related deaths per 100,000 live births, which is high compared to the United States' national ratio of 17 pregnancy-related deaths per 100,000 live births for this same three-year time period.

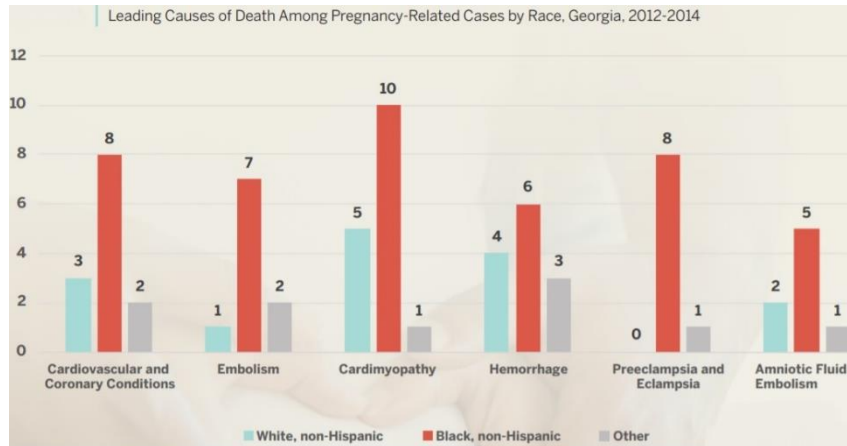
A significant variation found in Georgia's data is the difference in pregnancy-related mortality ratios when classifying the deaths by race. While the ratio for white, non-Hispanic women was 14.3 deaths per 100,000 live births, the ratio for black, non-Hispanic women was 47 deaths per 100,000 live births, which is three to four times higher. Variations in the ratios are also seen when classifying the pregnancy-related maternal deaths by age groups, with a ratio of 52.2 deaths per 100,000 live births for women over the age of 35, compared to 17.5 deaths per 100,000 live births for women under the age of 25.

The leading causes of pregnancy-related deaths in Georgia from 2012 to 2014 were cardiomyopathy, hemorrhage, cardiovascular and coronary conditions, embolism, preeclampsia and



[Source: Maternal Mortality Review Report, 2014](#)

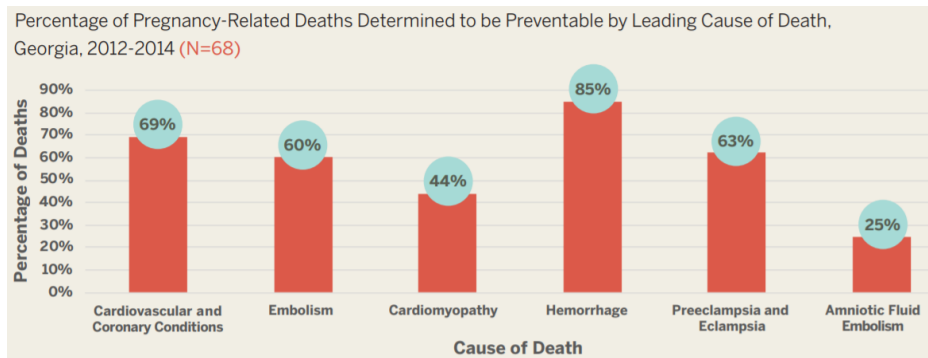
eclampsia, and amniotic fluid embolism. These causes accounted for 68 percent of the 101 pregnancy-related maternal deaths during this time period. Other causes of death during these years include: anesthesia complications; autoimmune disease; blood disorders; cerebrovascular accidents; conditions unique to pregnancy; homicide; infection; liver/gastrointestinal conditions; malignancies; mental health conditions; metabolic/endocrine conditions; pulmonary conditions; seizure disorder; and unintentional injury.



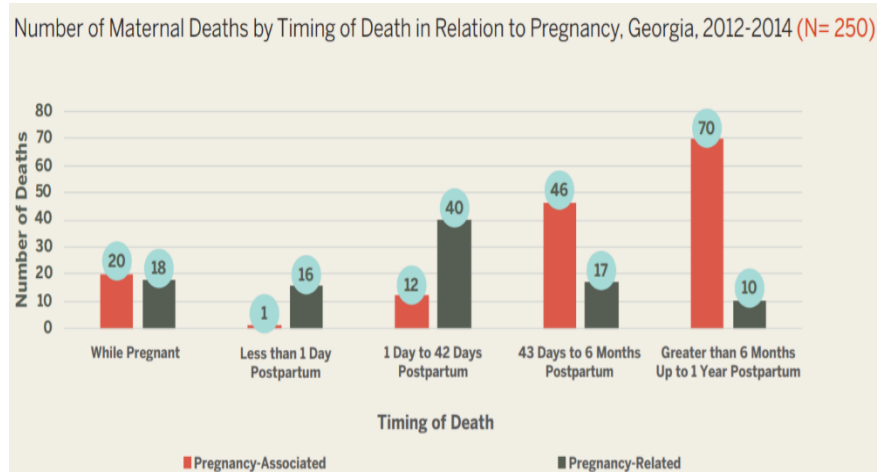
Source: [Maternal Mortality Review Report, 2014](#)

When breaking down the leading causes of pregnancy-related deaths by race for 2012 to 2014, disparity is seen between white, non-Hispanic women and black, non-Hispanic women, such as in the significantly higher rate of preeclampsia and eclampsia in black, non-Hispanic women.

The MMRC deemed that approximately 60 percent of the pregnancy-related deaths from 2012 to 2014 were preventable; however, this rate varies depending on the leading causes of death. While 11 of the 13 hemorrhaging deaths were deemed preventable, only two of the eight amniotic fluid embolism deaths were estimated to be preventable.



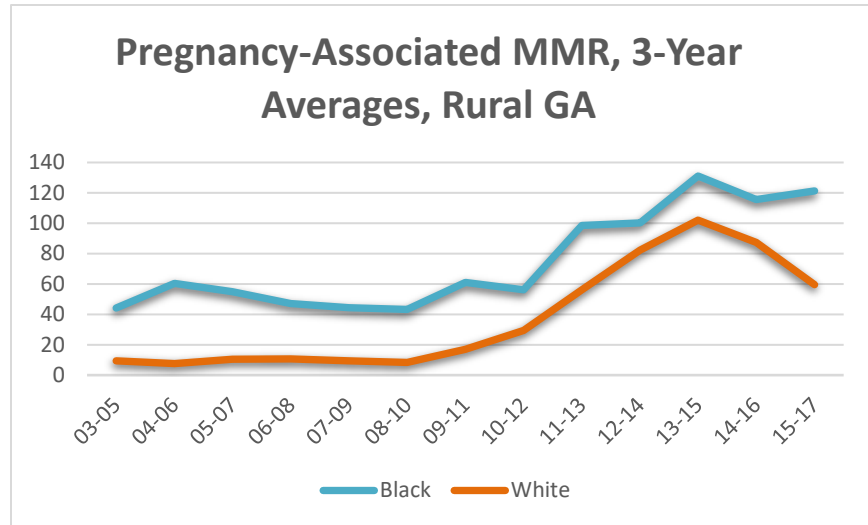
Source: [Maternal Mortality Review Report, 2014](#)



Source: [Maternal Mortality Review Report, 2014](#)

When the data from 2012 to 2014 is broken down by the timing of the maternal death, from pregnancy up to a year postpartum, the breakdown shows that 73 percent of the pregnancy-related maternal deaths occurred either during pregnancy or in the first 42 days postpartum.

When looking at the data from a rural versus urban aspect, it is apparent that rural Georgia women have a significantly higher maternal mortality rate than women in urban Georgia. Rural African American women have double the maternal mortality rate of rural white women. Additionally,



rural African American women have a 30 percent higher maternal mortality rate compared to their urban African American counterparts, and rural white women have a 50 percent higher maternal mortality rate than their urban white counterparts. For these rural populations, the risk associated with demographics are layered, interconnected, and complex and relate back to the fundamental barriers to healthy outcomes that rural women face. These barriers include the availability of transportation, supportive organizations, and social services.

Access to care remains a central problem for rural women. A total of 93 rural counties have no hospital with a labor and delivery unit, two-thirds of rural births in Georgia occur outside of the mother's home county, and there are no rural counties in the state with a maternal-fetal medicine specialist. These statistics represent direct barriers to rural women receiving prenatal care, high-risk obstetrics services, and postpartum care. With over 50 percent of the births in Georgia covered by Medicaid, limited postpartum Medicaid coverage is also an access-to-care issue. Right from the Start Medicaid pays for medical care for pregnant women until 60 days after they give birth; however, this does not cover all the needs of a pregnant woman postpartum. Additionally, social determinants of health, such as economic stability, education, social and community context, health care, and neighborhood environment, more heavily impact rural women and cause additional access-to-care issues.

Current Programs and Initiatives

AIM Bundles

The committee heard from numerous organizations and entities that are working around the state to lower Georgia's maternal mortality rate. Many of these programs work in conjunction with one another to implement broad-reaching projects. An example of this is the Georgia Perinatal Quality Collaborative (GaPQC) and its partnership with DPH. GaPQC engages its stakeholders in implementing equitable, evidenced-based perinatal care through a robust data-

driven quality improvement collaborative, and the organization works with DPH to implement Alliance for Innovation in Maternal Health (AIM) bundles in Georgia. AIM bundles are sets of best practices for maternal care that include recommendations for hospital-based protocols, policies, practice charges, drills, and system of data tracking. Georgia became the thirteenth state to implement AIM bundles when it was awarded funding from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in 2017.

GaPQC launched the Obstetric Hemorrhage bundle in April 2018 and the Severe Hypertension in Pregnancy bundle in June 2019. As of September 2019, 62 Georgia hospitals are participating in the bundles, representing 80 percent of the birthing hospitals in Georgia and an impact on 87 percent of all Georgia births. Of these 62 hospitals, 44 hospitals are implementing the Obstetrical Hemorrhage bundle and 36 hospitals are implementing the Severe Hypertension in Pregnancy bundle. Additionally, 47 hospitals are implementing a Neonatal Abstinence Syndrome program. The participating hospitals are spread throughout the state, with the distribution shown in the following table.

Perinatal Region	Number of GaPQC Hospitals	Percent of Region*
Albany	5	71%
Atlanta	26	84%
Augusta	4	67%
Columbus	9	100%
Macon	11	100%
Savannah	7	64%

With supportive funding of \$2 million from the Georgia General Assembly, GaPQC also implemented a Rural Hospital Initiative to support smaller rural hospitals implement the AIM bundles. Currently, 16 rural hospitals are implementing the Obstetrical Hemorrhage bundle, 10 hospitals are implementing the Severe Hypertension in Pregnancy bundle, and 14 are implementing the Neonatal Abstinence Syndrome program.

University-Based Programs

A great deal of work is also being done by researchers and institutions across the state to address Georgia's maternal mortality rate. The committee heard from Mercer University, Morehouse School of Medicine, the Medical College of Georgia at Augusta University, and Emory University about each institution's programs.

Mercer School of Medicine has opened two rural health clinics, in Sumter County and Peach County, to provide quality primary care, behavioral health services, telehealth support, basic diagnostics, and women's health services. A third clinic site will open at the beginning of 2020 in Clay County. Mercer is focusing on maternal mental health by providing mental health first aid courses to communities across Georgia at no charge. The university also houses the newly-

created Georgia Rural Health Innovation Center, which is focused on training, research, and data collection in order to directly address the health issues facing Georgia's rural areas.

Mercer University is beginning the South Georgia Healthy Start project, which is supported by the Health Resources and Services Administration (HRSA) of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services as part of a \$5.58 million grant. The goal of the project is to eliminate disparities in maternal and infant mortality in the following seven rural Georgia counties: Appling; Bulloch; Candler; Emanuel; Jenkins; Tattnall; and Toombs. The project will serve 700 people per year for up to three years and will support pregnant women and their families from pre-conception through 18 months postpartum, with a focus on clinical care, case management, health education, community engagement, workforce development, policy change, and research.

The Morehouse School of Medicine (MSM) is developing the Center of Excellence on Maternal Mortality, which was funded by the General Assembly in FY 2020 with \$500,000. The Center of Excellence's goal is to prevent maternal deaths by advancing scientific research, developing strategies, and instituting systematic changes through an integrated approach. The center will have three components to achieve this goal: research; training; and community engagement. MSM will be studying the disparities that exist between black and white women to understand the parallels between maternal outcomes and other non-maternal health risks. Furthermore, MSM will work to understand the social determinants of health that are at play, acknowledge and address unconscious biases, educate and train providers to increase cultural competency, and engage the community.

The Medical College of Georgia at Augusta University has been focusing its maternal health initiatives on health disparities, workforce, cardiovascular disease and obesity research, clinical care partnerships, and rural health partnerships and education. In 2016, with funding from the General Assembly, the Georgia Center for Obstetrics Re-Entry Program was started with the goal of alleviating obstetric care workforce shortages in Georgia by facilitating a re-entry option. Applicants to the program must: be OB/GYN or family practice board-certified; have an unrestricted Georgia license for medicine and surgery; and have voluntarily left the practice of obstetrics. Since 2016, the program has had seven participating physicians graduate the program and start delivering babies again in Georgia. Augusta University is also working with its rural partners to create a hub and spoke model for obstetric care, including partnerships with local family medicine physicians and county health departments. These programs allow for greater maternal health services as well as training opportunities for Augusta University's residents.

Emory University, in partnership with Grady Hospital in Atlanta, is responsible for a great deal of perinatal care and training. Emory has developed a Multidisciplinary Obstetrics Emergency

Simulation program to provide training at Grady. Additionally, Emory University has Georgia's only Certified Nurse Midwife (CNM) training program. The program has trained more than 400 CNMs, with many of these graduates remaining in Georgia. It is estimated that CNMs attend over 20 percent of vaginal deliveries in Georgia. With funding provided by the General Assembly in FY 2020, the university is also partnering with DPH to address perinatal mental health by providing a telepsychiatry line specifically for women who are currently pregnant or are within one year of delivery in order to treat symptoms as well as prevent the onset of known psychiatric illness during and after pregnancy.

Provider-Based Programs

Numerous providers and organizations testified to the committee about the work they are doing at hospitals and in communities to prevent maternal deaths in Georgia. An example of this is Women's Telehealth, a company based in Sandy Springs, Georgia that specializes in maternal-fetal medicine telehealth. The company's mission is to bring subspecialty high-risk obstetrics and women's services to patients and clients where needed through telehealth technologies. They provide maternal-fetal consultations, teleradiology ultrasounds, and long-distance learning programs for ultrasound and high-risk obstetrics care. Women's Telehealth is also partnering with DPH in Albany, Georgia to address Georgia's worst maternal and infant mortality areas through an innovative program that combines group prenatal care at the public health department with the telemedicine support.

Another program that presented to the committee is the Nurse-Family Partnership, which is an evidence-based, community health program targeted for new moms. The program has specially-trained nurses who regularly visit young, first-time moms-to-be, starting early in the pregnancy and continuing through the child's second birthday. The goals of the program are to improve pregnancy outcomes by helping women engage in good preventive health practices, improve child health and development by helping parents provide responsible and competent care, and improve the economic self-sufficiency of the family by helping parents develop a vision for their own future, plan future pregnancies, continue their education, and find work. Studies have shown this program's effectiveness in improving maternal health, finding that Nurse-Family Partnership results in 35 percent fewer cases of pregnancy-induced hypertension, 18 percent fewer pre-term births, a 79 percent reduction in pre-term delivery among women who smoke cigarettes, and a 31 percent reduction in subsequent pregnancies being spaced less than six months apart.

The committee learned about developing medical technology that can potentially reduce negative maternal outcomes in the delivery room. Gauss Surgical provided a demonstration of its FDA-cleared Triton technology, an artificial intelligence-enabled mobile application for monitoring surgical blood loss in real time. The application allows for real-time data, which

enables an early recognition of hemorrhaging. The technology can also reduce unnecessary blood transfusions, improve post-operation stability, and reduce the average length of stay in the hospital. Triton has been adopted by over 75 hospitals and used in 250,000 cases.

The committee also heard a large amount of educational testimony from providers in order to understand and dive deeper into the medical causes of maternal mortality. These presentations focused on the maternal health aspects of heart disease, preeclampsia, cardiomyopathy, stroke, hemorrhage, and maternal mental health and wellbeing. The innovative work being done in hospitals across the state will be a direct contributor to reducing Georgia's maternal mortality rate.

Committee Recommendations

Upon review of the information presented, the House Study Committee on Maternal Mortality recommends the following:

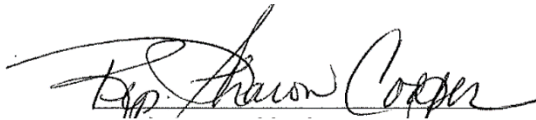
1. Extend Georgia's Medicaid coverage for eligible pregnant women to one-year postpartum to allow for continued access to health care services.
2. Pass legislation mandating a postmortem examination for any maternal death, defined as the death of a women while pregnant or up to one year following pregnancy, to allow for the most accurate data for the Georgia Maternal Mortality Review Committee.
3. Encourage the Department of Public Health to develop a model for prenatal care in county health departments that includes prenatal and postpartum onsite care, as well as telehealth services.
4. Continue all support that the state is already funding, including the Maternal Mortality Review Committee, the Georgia Perinatal Quality Collaborative, the Maternal and Neonatal Center Designation program, implementation of the AIM bundles in Georgia's birthing hospitals, and the programs at the state's medical school and universities targeting maternal health outcomes.
5. Support and encourage the continued development of group prenatal care models across the state to provide increased access to prenatal care.
6. Support and encourage efforts to combat the obesity epidemic in Georgia, which contributes directly and indirectly to a broad range of co-morbid conditions that affect pregnancy outcomes, including hypertension and diabetes.
7. Support nurse or community health worker home visit programs for prenatal and postnatal care that provide education, home checks, and connection to resources.
8. Continue to fund and support innovative programs focused on increasing Georgia's rural healthcare workforce, including medical education programs at the state's medical schools and loan repayment programs.
9. Encourage the Department of Public Health and Georgia Gateway to look into simplifying and streamlining the process for eligible pregnant women on Georgia's Medicaid program to be enrolled in the Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) program.
10. Encourage continued research on racial disparity, social determinants of health, and genetics to further understand and prevent maternal mortality.
11. Expand telemedicine for specialty services, such as cardiology and psychiatry, by providing incentives that prevent telemedicine from being a money-loser for providers who want to set-up and maintain a telemedicine practice for treating pregnant and postpartum women.
12. Encourage postpartum access to long-acting reversible contraceptives (LARCs) at postpartum visits, if desired by the patient, and ensure adequate Medicaid reimbursement to allow providers to continue offering LARCs.
13. Support public health awareness campaigns focused on women's health, including: information on healthy pregnancy; pregnancy and postpartum warning signs of possible

complications; LARCs; vaccinations during pregnancy; and breastfeeding, as well as support health education in schools on basic health decisions and issues.

14. Strongly encourage all hospitals to have a hemorrhaging bundle cart and explore ways to assist small hospitals with the cost of training.
15. Encourage hospitals and medical societies to provide training for physicians, nurses, or any healthcare personnel on racial sensitivity.
16. Support the expansion and efficient functioning of emergency medical services (EMS) statewide in order to reduce the incidence of EMS delay or unavailability causing negative maternal outcomes.
17. Encourage and support the collection and analysis of pregnancy and postpartum data that can be used to inform and guide fiscal policy and program decisions at the state level.
18. Encourage hospitals and physicians to consider the use of FDA-regulated technology to monitor real time blood loss in deliveries to detect and avoid hemorrhages, which are a leading cause of preventable maternal mortality.
19. Evaluate and explore options for detailed death certificate reporting in order for more specific causes of death to be indicated.

Mr. Speaker, these are the findings and recommendations of the Study Committee on Maternal Mortality.

Respectfully Submitted,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Rep. Sharon Cooper".

**The Honorable Sharon Cooper,
Representative, 43rd District,
Co-Chairman**

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Mark Newton".

**The Honorable Mark Newton,
Representative, 123rd District,
Co-Chairman**

Prepared By:
Tara Boockholdt
Fiscal and Policy Analyst
House Budget and Research Office

EXHIBIT 45

BREAKING

Fulton County Schools to start the New Year online-only due to COVID

**The Atlanta
Journal-Constitution**

Log Out

Thank you for subscribing.

Choose from a variety of newsletters to stay informed.

Bill in Congress could bring relief to uninsured Georgians



HEALTH

By Andy Miller, Georgia Health News

Dec 1, 2021

If approved, the federal legislation would provide a Medicaid expansion “workaround” to insure poor people

Advertisement

The \$1.7 trillion social policy and climate change bill pending in Congress underwent a lot of change before it passed the U.S. House recently.

But one provision that made the cut would be significant for many Georgians. As it stands now, the legislative package would offer health coverage for hundreds of thousands of low-income Georgia residents through the Affordable Care Act's health insurance exchange.

Advertisement

These uninsured residents are currently caught in the “coverage gap” in Georgia and 11 other states that have not expanded Medicaid through the ACA. They're too poor to qualify for subsidies offered in the exchange, but also don't qualify for regular Medicaid in those states.

These people include Cynthia English, 46, of Albany. She is uninsured and has diabetes, hypertension and sciatica. She gets care at a local charity clinic but needs a sleep study in order to keep a job as a van driver.

“I have to pay for it out of pocket” and can't afford the cost, English said Monday. “I ended up having to leave my job.”

The new federal legislation would provide a Medicaid expansion “workaround” that would offer insurance to poor people through the exchange instead of through Medicaid. States could not block the coverage expansion because it falls outside of Medicaid, which is jointly funded by the federal and state governments.

An estimated 60% of those caught in that Medicaid coverage gap are Black or Hispanic, according to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.

Gov. Brian Kemp and fellow Republican leaders have pushed for federal approval of a [Medicaid waiver in Georgia](#) that would extend coverage for poor residents, but only if they work 40 hours a month or fulfill one of various alternative requirements. The Biden administration has so far been cool to those proposed requirements.

Advertisement

A press conference promoting the health care provisions in the Democrats’ [Build Back Better bill Monday](#) was hosted by U.S. Rep. Carolyn Bourdeaux (D-Ga.), who lives in Gwinnett County and represents a district that includes several northern Atlanta suburbs.

Bourdeaux is among the members of Congress from Georgia who have pushed to close the coverage gap, and she called it “an opportunity and a moral mandate.” She said at the Lawrenceville press conference that the health insurance provisions would be a “game changer” for Georgia and would represent the “most significant expansion of health care” since the ACA’s passage in 2010.

The Kaiser Family Foundation estimates that 269,000 uninsured Georgians are stuck in the coverage gap. But Bourdeaux and others have said it could be 500,000 or more.

Prospects for the Build Back Better bill in the U.S. Senate are difficult to assess. With a 50-50 split in the chamber, the Democrats can't afford to lose a single vote.

U.S. Sen. Joe Manchin (D-W.Va.) has demanded some changes, including eliminating a new four-week paid family and medical leave program, according to the New York Times.

But Bourdeaux said Monday that she is "very optimistic" that the health care provisions will remain in the bill.

Besides the new insurance coverage, other health care provisions would:

** Extend the more generous subsidies for people who buy insurance through the exchange.

** Guarantee a year of Medicaid coverage for eligible women after they give birth

** Allow Medicare coverage for hearing aids.

** Enhance Medicare's drug benefit

** Provide new funding for long-term care patients to remain in their homes, rather than in nursing homes.

Republicans have been united in opposition to the bill.

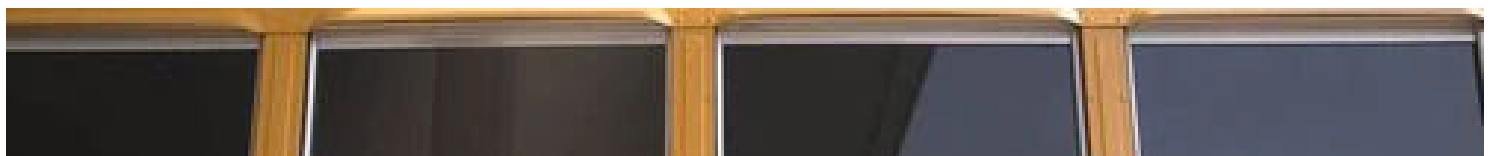
House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.) has said that Democrats understand how their "big government" policies are hurting America but they're following through with the Build Back Better initiative because they know Republicans will take back the House in the 2022 midterms.

Andy Miller is editor of [Georgia Health News](#).

About the Author

Andy Miller

Editors' Picks





Fulton County Schools to start the New Year online-only due to COVID

29m ago



Beloved actress Betty White dies at age 99

1h ago



Atlanta records 158th homicide of 2021, passing 2020's total

1h ago



How Georgia nuclear project's big finish went so wrong

10h ago



How Georgia nuclear project's big finish went so wrong

10h ago



Atlanta Mayor Keisha Lance Bottoms: 'We are leaving this city intact'

9h ago

The Latest



Rural communities left hurting without a hospital, ambulance or doctors nearby

11h ago

T cells come to the rescue as studies show they buck omicron

3 eating and drinking habits that aren't good for your brain

Investigations



Georgia gets first shipments of Merck, Pfizer COVID pills

23h ago

Last-minute change of plans leads to life-saving rescue in Georgia

19h ago

Inside the campaign to undermine Georgia's election

CONTENT BY

Cuteness | Sponsored

The 60 Most Hilarious Cat Memes of All Time

Far & Wide | Sponsored

America's Coolest Small Towns by State

Always Pets | Sponsored

Hilarious Dog Memes That'll Make You Cry

Far & Wide | Sponsored

America's Coolest College Towns by State

NowThis | Sponsored

Tom Hanks Movies Ranked From Worst to First

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

ABOUT

[Help Center](#)
[About the Atlanta Journal-Constitution](#)
[Newsroom Ethics Code](#)
[Careers](#)
[Archive](#)
[Press On](#)

CONTACT US

[Contact Us](#)
[Send a News Tip](#)
[Advertise](#)
[AJC Newsroom](#)

OUR PRODUCTS

[ePaper](#)
[Newsletters](#)
[All AJC Podcasts](#)
[Download iOS App](#)
[Download Android App](#)

SUBSCRIPTION

[Print Subscription](#)
[Digital Subscription](#)
[Manage Subscription](#)
[Your Profile](#)
[NIE/Newspapers in Education](#)

© 2021 The Atlanta Journal-Constitution.
All Rights Reserved.

By using this website, you accept the terms of our

Visitor Agreement and Privacy Policy, and understand your options regarding Ad Choices.

Learn about Careers at Cox Enterprises.

Back to Top

EXHIBIT 46

2022 State Elections & Voter Registration Calendar

Elections	Voter Registration Deadline	Election Date
Special Election Date	February 14, 2022	March 15, 2022
Special Election Runoff Date	February 14, 2022	April 12, 2022
General Primary Election, Nonpartisan General Election and Special Election Date	April 25, 2022	May 24, 2022
General Primary Election, Nonpartisan General Election and Special Election Runoff Date	April 25, 2022	June 21, 2022
General Primary Election Runoff Date for Federal Races	May 23, 2022	June 21, 2022
General Election/Special Election Date	October 11, 2022*	November 8, 2022
General Election/Special Election Runoff Date	October 11, 2022*	December 6, 2022
General Election Runoff Date for Federal Races	November 7, 2022	December 6, 2022

Key Dates

January 1, 2022	Earliest day to file and publish a notice of intention to be a write-in candidate in the General Election. O.C.G.A. § 21-2-133(a)
January 13, 2022	Earliest day to circulate nomination petition for General Election for Independent/Political Body Candidates O.C.G.A. § 21-2-170(e)
February 1, 2022	Last day to fix and publish qualifying fees for offices to be filled during the 2022 Election Cycle. O.C.G.A. § 21-2-131(a)(1)(A)
February 14, 2022	Last day for a person to register and be eligible to vote in the March Special Election and Runoff Election. O.C.G.A. § 21-2-224
February 21, 2022	Earliest day for a registrar to mail an absentee ballot for the March Special Election O.C.G.A. § 21-2-384(a)(2)
February 21, 2022	Advanced (Absentee In-Person) Voting begins for the March Special Election. O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385(d)(1)(A)
February 26, 2022	Mandatory Saturday Voting for the March Special Election O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385(d)
February 27, 2022	Optional Sunday Voting for the March Special Election O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385(d)
March 4, 2022	Last day to submit absentee ballot application for the March Special Election O.C.G.A. 21-2-381(a)(1)(A)
March 5, 2022	Mandatory Saturday Voting for the March Special Election O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385(d)
March 6, 2022	Optional Sunday Voting for the March Special Election O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385(d)

March 7, 2022	Earliest day to apply for an absentee ballot for the May General Primary Election O.C.G.A. 21-2-381(a)(1)(A)
March 7, 2022 9:00 A.M.	Earliest day to qualify for Primary/Nonpartisan and Independent/Political Body Candidates for November General Election. O.C.G.A. § 21-2-153(c)(1)(A)
March 11, 2022 12:00 Noon	Last day to qualify for Primary/Nonpartisan and Independent/Political Body Candidates for November General Election. O.C.G.A. § 21-2-153(c)(1)(A)
March 18, 2022	Last day to file and publish a notice of intention to be a Non-Partisan Write-In Candidate. O.C.G.A. § 21-2-133(a)
March 23, 2022	Last day to file affidavit stating the notice of intention to be a Non-Partisan Write-In Candidate has been published in accordance with O.C.G.A. § 21-2-133(b)
April 1, 2022	Last day to submit absentee ballot application for the April Special Election Runoff O.C.G.A. 21-2-381(a)(1)(A)
April 5, 2022	Earliest day for a registrar to mail an absentee ballot for the General Primary/Non-Partisan/Special Election O.C.G.A. § 21-2-384(a)(2)
April 25, 2022	Last day for a person to register and be eligible to vote in the General Primary/Non-Partisan/Special Election and Runoff Election. O.C.G.A. § 21-2-224
May 2, 2022	Advanced (Absentee In-Person) Voting begins for the General Primary/Non-Partisan/Special Election. O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385(d)(1)(A)
May 7, 2022	Mandatory Saturday Voting for the General Primary/Non-Partisan/Special Election O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385(d)
May 8, 2022	Optional Sunday Voting for the General Primary/Non-Partisan/Special Election O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385(d)
May 13, 2022	Last day to submit absentee ballot application for the May General Primary Election O.C.G.A. 21-2-381(a)(1)(A)
May 14, 2022	Mandatory Saturday Voting for the General Primary/Non-Partisan/Special Election O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385(d)
May 15, 2022	Optional Sunday Voting for the General Primary/Non-Partisan/Special Election O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385(d)
May 23, 2022	Last day for a person to register and be eligible to vote in the General Primary Runoff for Federal Races.
June 10, 2022	Last day to submit absentee ballot application for the June General Primary Runoff O.C.G.A. 21-2-381(a)(1)(A)
June 13, 2022	Advanced (Absentee In-Person) Voting for the General Primary/Non-Partisan/Special Runoff Election must begin no later than this date. O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385(d)(1)(B)
June 27, 2022 9:00 AM	Earliest day for an Independent or a Political Body Candidate to file their Nomination Petition to have his/her name placed on the General Election Ballot. O.C.G.A. § 21-2-132(e)
July 12, 2022 12:00 Noon	Last day for an Independent or a Political Body Candidate to file their Nomination Petition to have his/her name placed on the General Election Ballot. O.C.G.A. § 21-2-132(e)
August 22, 2022	Earliest day to apply for an absentee ballot for November General Election O.C.G.A. § 21-2-381(a)(1)(A)
September 6, 2022	Last day to file the notice of intention to be a write-in candidate and have notice published in accordance with O.C.G.A. § 21-2-133(a)
September 11, 2022	Last day to file affidavit stating the notice of intention to be a Write-In Candidate has been published in accordance with O.C.G.A. § 21-2-133(b)
September 20, 2022	Earliest day for a registrar to mail an absentee ballot for the November General/Special Election O.C.G.A. § 21-2-384(a)(2)
October 11, 2022	Last day for a person to register and be eligible to vote in the November General Election and Runoff Election. O.C.G.A. § 21-2-224(a) **October 10th is a State Holiday**

October 17, 2022	Advanced (Absentee In-Person) Voting begins for the November General Election. O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385(d)(1)
October 22, 2022	Mandatory Saturday Voting for the November General Election O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385(d)(1)
October 23, 2022	Optional Sunday Voting for the November General Election O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385(d)(1)
October 28, 2022	Last day to submit absentee ballot application for the November General Election O.C.G.A. 21-2-381(a)(1)(A)
October 29, 2022	Mandatory Saturday Voting for the November General Election O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385(d)(1)
October 30, 2022	Optional Sunday Voting for the November General Election O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385(d)(1)
November 7, 2022	Last day for a person to register and be eligible to vote in the General Election Runoff for Federal Races.
As soon as possible	Absentee ballots shall be mailed out as soon as possible prior to the General Election Runoff for Local and State Offices. O.C.G.A. § 21-2-384 (a) - Advanced (In-Person) Voting begins for the General Election Runoff for Local and State Offices. O.C.G.A. § 21-2-385 (d)(1)

**O.C.G.A. § 21-2-14. When the last day for the exercise of any privilege or discharge of any duty prescribed or required by this chapter shall fall on a Saturday, Sunday, or legal holiday, the next succeeding business day shall be the last day for the exercise of such privilege or the discharge of such duty.*

Esselstyn Report: Attachment A

January 2022

Blakeman (“Blake”) B. Esselstyn

34 Wall Street · Suite 701 · Asheville, NC 28801-0210

blake@mapfigure.com · 828-338-8528

EDUCATION

- University of Pennsylvania, School of Engineering and Applied Science, Master of Computer and Information Technology, 2003; GPA 4.0
- Yale University, Geology & Geophysics and International Studies, Bachelor of Arts, 1996

PROFESSIONAL CERTIFICATIONS

- Geographic Information Systems Professional (GISP), #6946, 2009
- American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP), #026364, 2013

EMPLOYMENT (Teaching positions listed separately)

- Redistricting Consultant, dba Mapfigure Consulting (and as Blake Esselstyn), Asheville, NC, 2016-present
- Principal Consultant, FrontWater, LLC, Asheville, NC, 2015-present
- Urban Planner III – GIS Specialist, City of Asheville Department of Planning and Urban Design, Asheville, NC, 2008-2015
- Urban Planner II, City of Asheville Planning Department, Asheville, NC, 2004-2008
- Independent GIS Consultant, Freelance, Asheville, NC, 2003-2004
- GIS Programmer, Azavea, Inc., Philadelphia, PA, 2002
- Web Support Fellow, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, 2002
- GIS Analyst, Applied Geographics, Inc., Boston, MA, 2001
- GIS Intern, Community and Environmental Spatial Analysis Center, Seattle, WA, 2000
- GIS Analyst, Applied Geographics, Inc., Boston, MA, 2000
- Mapping Technician, Schlosser Geographic Systems, Seattle, WA, 1997
- Digital Mapping Resources Consultant, Social Science Statistical Laboratory at Yale University, New Haven, CT, 1997
- Special Assistant to the CityRoom Coordinator, Neighborhood Partnerships Network, New Haven, CT, 1996-1997
- Lab Monitor, Center for Earth Observation at Yale University, New Haven, CT, 1995

TEACHING EMPLOYMENT

- Adjunct Faculty, Lenoir-Rhyne University, Asheville, NC, 2019
Taught full-semester graduate-level Geographic Information Systems (GIS) course
- Adjunct Faculty, Western Carolina University, Asheville, NC, 2017
Taught full-semester graduate-level GIS course
- GIS Course Assistant, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, 2002-2003
Served as teaching assistant for two undergraduate GIS semester courses
- Teacher, Equity American School, Guatemala City, Guatemala, 1998-1999
Led mathematics department for grades 7-12; taught one technology course
- Teacher, International School of Panama, Panama City, Republic of Panama, 1997-1998
Taught computer programming and mathematics to secondary school students

LITIGATION EXPERIENCE (As GIS and/or redistricting expert)

- Consulting expert for plaintiffs, in *Harper v. Lewis*, Wake County (NC) Superior Court, 2019
- Consulting expert for plaintiffs, in *Common Cause v. Lewis*, Wake County (NC) Superior Court, 2019
- Preparation of redistricting map exhibits used in *Vesilind v. Virginia State Board of Elections*, Richmond (VA) Circuit Court, 2017
- Expert witness analysis, deposition, and testimony for City of Asheville, in *Jensen v. City of Asheville*, Buncombe County (NC) Superior Court, 2009-2010
- Expert witness analysis and testimony for City of Asheville, in *Hall v. City of Asheville*, Buncombe County (NC) Superior Court, 2007
- Expert witness analysis and testimony for City of Asheville, in *Arnold v. City of Asheville*, Buncombe County (NC) Superior Court, 2005

PUBLIC REDISTRICTING PROJECT EXPERIENCE

- Design of adopted electoral redistricting plans for Wake County (NC) Board of Education, 2021-2022 (adoption expected in 2022)
- Design and completion of adopted electoral redistricting plans for Mecklenburg County (NC) Board of Commissioners, 2021
- Design and completion of adopted electoral redistricting plans for Craven County (NC) Board of Commissioners, 2021
- Design and completion of adopted electoral redistricting plans for City of Fayetteville (NC) City Council, 2021

- Design and completion of adopted electoral redistricting plans for City of Greenville (NC) City Council, 2021
- Design and completion of adopted electoral redistricting plans for Town of Cary (NC) Town Council, 2021
- Design and completion of adopted electoral redistricting plans for City of Hickory (NC) City Council, 2021
- Design and completion of adopted electoral redistricting plans for Town of Mooresville (NC) Board of Commissioners, 2021
- Design and completion of adopted electoral redistricting plans for City of Clinton (NC) City Council, 2021
- Design and completion of adopted electoral redistricting plans for Siler City (NC) Board of Commissioners, 2021
- Design and completion of adopted electoral redistricting plans for Town of Tarboro (NC) Town Council, 2021
- Design and completion of adopted electoral redistricting plans for Durham Public Schools (NC) Board of Education, 2021
- Design and completion of adopted electoral redistricting plans for Pitt County (NC) Board of Education, 2021
- Design and completion of adopted electoral redistricting plans for Union County (NC) Board of Education, 2021
- Design and completion of adopted electoral redistricting plans for Edgecombe County (NC) Board of Education, 2021
- Design and completion of adopted electoral redistricting plans (in advance of Census data delivery) for Town of Cary (NC) Town Council, 2021
- Lead presenter, Lenoir-Rhyne University Hands-on Redistricting Workshop, Virtual, 2021
- Software operator and presenter, National Conference of State Legislatures Redistricting Seminar: Redistricting Simulation, Columbus, OH, 2019
- Software operator and presenter, National Conference of State Legislatures Redistricting Seminar: Redistricting Simulation, Providence, RI, 2019
- Hands-on GIS software workshop session leader, Metric Geometry of Gerrymandering Group (MGGG) Conference at the University of Texas, Austin, TX, 2018
- Co-leader of redistricting hackathon, Metric Geometry of Gerrymandering Group (MGGG) Conference at Duke University, Durham, NC, 2017
- Preparation of simulated redistricting plans for Democracy North Carolina's Districting Voter Education Forum, Asheville, NC, 2017

- Hands-on GIS software workshop session assistant, Metric Geometry of Gerrymandering Group (MGGG) Conference at Tufts University, Medford, MA, 2017
- Redistricting software operator (converting retired jurists' instructions into maps), Duke University and Common Cause NC independent redistricting commission simulation, Raleigh, NC *and* Winston-Salem, NC, 2016

SPEAKER OR PANELIST

- "How to Be a Redistricting Watchdog," Duke University's Redistricting and American Democracy Conference, Durham, NC, 2021
- "North Carolina Redistricting with Geographers: Local Knowledge & Community Considerations," American Association of Geographers (AAG) Redistricting Panel Series, Virtual, 2021
- "The Basics of Redistricting for Local Governments," NC Council of School Attorneys Summer Law Conference, Virtual, 2021
- "Census Timing and Redistricting," UNC School of Government: Municipal Attorneys' Winter Conference, Virtual, 2021
- "Census Delays and Redistricting," North Carolina League of Municipalities Online Meeting, Virtual, 2021
- "Redistricting: Ten Big Changes that GIS People Should Know About for 2021," North Carolina GIS Conference, Virtual, 2021
- "Demographics, the Census, and a Bit about Redistricting," UNC School of Government: County Attorneys Conference, Virtual, 2021
- "NC Redistricting Updates for the GIS Community," Mountain Regional GIS Alliance, Virtual, 2021
- "The Census and Demographics," UNC School of Government: Redistricting for Local Governments Conference, Virtual, 2021
- "The Mechanics of Redistricting," UNC School of Government: Redistricting for Local Governments Conference, Virtual, 2021
- "Ask the Experts Panel," National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) Redistricting Seminar, Virtual, 2021
- "GIS and the Data Handoff," National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) Redistricting Seminar, Virtual, 2021
- "Electoral Redistricting for School Boards after the 2020 Census," North Carolina School Boards Association 2020 Annual Conference, Virtual, 2020
- "Redistricting Software 2021: The Next Generation of Tools Could Open New Doors," Urban and Regional Information Systems Association (URISA) GIS-Pro Conference, Virtual, 2020

- “Changing Demographics, Drawing Districts, and County Impacts,” North Carolina Association of County Commissioners 113th Annual Conference, Virtual, 2020
- “QGIS and democracy: Redistricting and reapportionment with QGIS,” QGIS North America Conference, Virtual, 2020
- “Does Your Vote Count?: The Impact of Gerrymandering,” virtual panel hosted by League of Women Voters Asheville Buncombe, NC, 2020
- [Scheduled, but cancelled due to COVID-19] “Redistricting with QGIS,” Free and Open Source Software for Geospatial Conference, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, 2020
- [Scheduled, but cancelled due to COVID-19] Teaching Faculty (session title to be determined), National Conference of State Legislatures Redistricting Seminar, Las Vegas, NV, 2020
- [Scheduled, but cancelled due to COVID-19] “Census Geography, Precision, & Privacy,” Census Symposium, University of North Carolina Asheville, NC, 2020
- “The State of Redistricting Software and Data Resources for 2020,” Quantitative Investigations of Gerrymandering and Redistricting Conference, Duke University, Durham, NC, 2020
- “School Board Elections,” 53rd School Attorneys’ Conference, UNC School of Government, Chapel Hill, NC, 2020
- “Methods and Techniques in Redistricting,” Harvard Geography of Redistricting Conference, Cambridge, MA, 2019
- “Redistricting Software: A new generation of geospatial tools,” North Carolina GIS Conference, Winston-Salem, NC, 2019
- “The Latest Mapping Technology,” Reason, Reform & Redistricting Conference, Duke University, Durham, NC, 2019
- “Redistricting—What Happens Now?” Voter Education Panel hosted by League of Women Voters (and others), Hendersonville, NC, 2019
- “What are all These Districts? How did We Get Here, and Redistricting Reform,” Grassroots Democracy: A Nonpartisan Voter Education Series, Leicester, NC, 2019
- “Re-GIS-tringing? A new generation of redistricting geo-tools,” Mountain Regional GIS Alliance, Asheville, NC, 2019
- “Representing (mis)representation,” Tapestry Data Storytelling Conference, University of Miami, Miami, FL, 2018
- “A Redistricting Tour,” Democracy in our Hands Conference, Asheville, NC, 2018
- “Dis-tricks: GIS and Public Understanding of Redistricting,” NC ArcGIS Users Group, Asheville, NC, 2018
- “Visual Explanations of Gerrymandering,” Highlands Indivisible, Highlands, NC, 2018

- “Dave’s Redistricting App,” Metric Geometry of Gerrymandering Workshop, University of Texas, Austin, TX, 2018
- “Districting Voter Education Forum,” Democracy North Carolina, Asheville, NC, 2017
- “When GIS leads planners astray,” American Planning Association National Conference, New York, NY, 2017
- “Conveying Uncertainty with GIS,” Azavea, Philadelphia, PA, 2017
- “GISkepticism,” Appalachian State University, Boone, NC, 2017
- “When GIS leads planners astray,” North Carolina Planning Conference, American Planning Association North Carolina Chapter, Asheville, NC, 2016
- “What if the ‘S’ in GIS stood for Skepticism?” Mountain Regional GIS Alliance, Asheville, NC, 2015
- “Open Data? Show Me the Money!” North Carolina GIS Conference, Raleigh, NC, 2015

TEACHING AS SINGLE-CLASS GUEST SPEAKER (On redistricting and/or GIS)

- Lenoir-Rhyne University, Public Policy Course (speaking on redistricting and representation), 2021
- Lenoir-Rhyne University, Geographic Information Systems Course (speaking on GIS and uncertainty), 2021
- University of North Carolina Asheville, Mathematics: Voting Theory Course (speaking on redistricting), 2020
- Metric Geometry and Gerrymandering Group Redistricting Lab (Tufts University + MIT), Geodata Bootcamp Mapmaking Session (speaking on redistricting software), 2020
- [Scheduled, but cancelled due to COVID-19] Duke University, Law School: Election Law Course (leading hands-on redistricting simulation exercise), April 2020
- Duke University, Data Science Capstone Seminar (speaking on data science professional/career advice), 2020
- University of North Carolina Asheville, Political Science: Census Course (speaking on redistricting), 2020
- Lenoir-Rhyne University, Public Policy Course (speaking on redistricting), 2019
- Western Carolina University, Geographic Information Systems Course (speaking on GIS), 2019
- Duke University, Democracy Lab Seminar (speaking on redistricting software tools), 2018
- University of North Carolina Asheville, Political Science: US Elections Course (speaking on redistricting), 2018

- University of North Carolina Asheville, Mathematics: Voting Theory Course (speaking on redistricting), 2018
- Lenoir-Rhyne University, Sustainability Management & Decision Making Course (speaking on GIS/location intelligence), 2018
- Yale University, School of Organization and Management: Business Information Course (speaking on Maptitude—one class + multiple labs), 1997

MEDIA APPEARANCES, OP-EDS, AND CITATIONS

- “Monster: Math, maps and power in North Carolina,” special podcast series from *Raleigh News & Observer*, September 24, 2021
- “Census data has arrived. What comes next?” *Chatham News + Record*, September 1, 2021
- “An Explainer for Redistricting Criteria, Part 1: Political Boundaries,” *John Locke Foundation*, August 23, 2021
- “Special report: Demystifying the redistricting process,” *NC Policy Watch*, August 20, 2021
- “Raleigh, Cary and other NC cities may have to push back their 2021 elections,” *Raleigh News & Observer*, February 24, 2021
- “Triad Cities Awaiting Census Data May Delay Elections,” WFDD Radio, February 17, 2021
- Live interview, WPTF Radio Afternoon News, February 15, 2021
- “Census Delays Could Delay Charlotte City Council, CMS Fall Elections,” WFAE Radio, January 28, 2021
- “What do Buncombe’s new district lines mean for 2020 commissioner elections?” (map citation), *Asheville Citizen-Times*, November 21, 2019
- “Confused about new legislative districts? This ‘map geek’ can help,” *NC Policy Watch*, November 21, 2019
- “Which district are you in? After gerrymandering fight, Asheville, Buncombe get final state districts,” *Asheville Citizen-Times*, November 4, 2019
- “Suggestions for a fair redistricting process,” *Princeton Election Consortium*, September 16, 2019
- “How will Asheville, Buncombe County be affected by gerrymandering decision?” *Asheville Citizen-Times*, September 6, 2019
- “2019 Districting,” JMPRO TV’s *The Weekly Update*, September 1, 2019
- “As redistricting battle continues in NC, League of Women Voters holds panel,” *WLOS-TV*, August 11, 2019
- “With No Supreme Court End to Gerrymandering, Will States Make It More Extreme?” (citation/link of blog article), *New York Times*, June 28, 2019

- “The Supreme Court takes on gerrymandering. A cottage industry wants to prove it's gone too far,” *USA Today*, March 26, 2019
- “Gerrymandering: 'Packing' and 'Cracking,' the meat and potatoes of partisan redistricting,” *USA Today*, March 25, 2019
- “NC gerrymandering: Turner, McGrady lead reform effort on redistricting,” *Asheville Citizen-Times*, February 14, 2019
- “Looking for a Way Forward on Redistricting Reform,” *Duke Today*, January 28, 2019
- “Will Asheville try to stop the state from splitting it into districts?” (map citation), *Asheville Citizen-Times*, January 23, 2019
- “Some takeaways from NC's elections,” WRAL.com, Nov 7, 2018
- “New Asheville districts are racial gerrymandering, black council members say” *Asheville Citizen-Times*, July 2, 2018
- “Legislature sets up districts for Asheville council, eliminates primaries” (map citation), *Asheville Citizen-Times*, June 27, 2018
- “Van Duyn to back Asheville council districts bill if Senate shifts election dates” (map citation), *Asheville Citizen-Times*, June 21, 2018
- “I Ran the Worst 5K of My Life So I Could Explain Gerrymandering to You,” *POLITICO Magazine*, November 15, 2017
- “Event to cover Nov. vote on City Council districts,” *Asheville Citizen-Times*, October 17, 2017
- “Republicans silent in wake of court order to draw new maps in one month,” *NC Policy Watch*, August 2, 2017
- “Who makes the grade? This week's editorial report card,” *Asheville Citizen-Times*, June 2, 2017
- “Asheville grows; Charlotte, Raleigh and their suburbs grow faster,” *Asheville Citizen-Times*, May 29, 2017
- “Boundary issues: Where does Asheville end?” (op-ed), *Mountain Xpress*, April 29, 2016
- “For better or worse, Asheville growth inevitable,” *Asheville Citizen-Times*, November 21, 2015
- “St. Lawrence Green no litmus test for voters” (op-ed), *Mountain Xpress*, October 29, 2015

PUBLISHED WORK

- “Redistricting Software Applications, Data, and Related Tools,” supplement to *Redistricting: A Guide for the GIS Community*, Urban and Regional Information Systems Association, 2021

- (Co-authored with Mark Salling, PhD, GISP) “GIS Software Functionality for Redistricting,” *The GIS Professional*, Issue 301, Urban and Regional Information Systems Association, May/June 2021
- (Co-authored with Joan Gardner, Suzanne Rotwein, and Tong Zhang) “Integrating GIS and Social Marketing at HCFA,” *ESRI Map Book*, Volume 16, ESRI Press, 2001

SELF-PUBLISHED PUBLIC-FACING EXPLANATORY WRITING & MAPS

- Created the blogs at districks.com (2017) and mapfigure.com (2020) — the story maps “A ‘Stephenson’ explainer” and “Could COVID repercussions delay NC elections in 2021 & 2022?” have each been viewed more than 2,000 times.

REDISTRICTING AND GIS SOFTWARE EXPERIENCE

- MapInfo (first used 1996)
- Maptitude (first used 1997)
- Esri ArcGIS/ArcInfo/ArcView (first used 2000)
- QGIS (first used 2015)
- Maptitude for Redistricting (first used 2016)
- Dave’s Redistricting App (first used 2016)
- DistrictBuilder (first used 2017)
- Esri Redistricting (first used 2018)
- Districtr (first used 2019)
- Statto Software Redistricter (first used 2019)
- ArcBridge DISTRICTSolv (first used 2020)

SELECTED AWARDS (As team member)

- G. Herbert Stout Award for Visionary use of GIS by Local Government, 2009
- International Economic Development Council, Excellence in New Media Initiatives, 2008
- Marvin Collins Outstanding Planning Award for Innovations in Planning Services, Education, and Public Involvement, 2007

SERVICE AS ELECTION OFFICIAL

- Poll worker for multiple elections in Buncombe County, North Carolina (2012, 2020) and King County, Washington (2000), including as Chief Precinct Judge in 2020 general election

SERVICE ON BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS

- Asheville City Council Appointee to Comprehensive Plan Advisory Committee, 2016-2018

ADDITIONAL TRAINING

- Introduction to GIS for Equity and Social Justice, Urban and Regional Information Systems Association Certified Workshop, Virtual, 2020
- Public Data, Public Access, Privacy, and Security: U.S. Law and Policy, Urban and Regional Information Systems Association Certified Workshop, Raleigh, NC, 2015
- An Overview of Open Source GIS Software, Urban and Regional Information Systems Association Certified Workshop, Portland, OR, 2012
- An Introduction to Public Participation GIS: Using GIS to Support Community Decision Making, Urban and Regional Information Systems Association Certified Workshop, Orlando, FL, 2010
- 3-D Geospatial Best Practices and Project Implementation Methods, Urban and Regional Information Systems Association Certified Workshop, Vancouver, BC (Canada), 2006

MEMBERSHIPS

- Urban and Regional Information Systems Association (URISA)
- Mountain Regional GIS Alliance (MRGAC)
- American Planning Association (APA)

Esselstyn Report: Attachment B

Data sources, software, and methodology

1. I arrived at the findings in the expert report using data from the United States Census Bureau’s website (<https://www.census.gov>). This federal agency produces a) geographic files—e.g., county boundaries and block boundaries, b) tables of the block-level demographic information yielded specifically for redistricting (sometimes referred to as the PL 94-171 data) from the decennial census counts, c) “block assignment files,” which are important for linking geography data to other data, and d) other interactive web-based resources. Representative links for these four categories of data are provided below:

- a) <https://www.census.gov/geographies/mapping-files/time-series/geo/tiger-line-file.2020.html>
- b) <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/all?q=&y=2020&d=DEC%20Redistricting%20Data%20%28PL%2094-171%29>
- c) <https://www.census.gov/geographies/reference-files/time-series/geo/block-assignment-files.html>
- d) <https://www.census.gov/library/stories/state-by-state/georgia-population-change-between-census-decade.html>

2. Another key source of information for the analysis was the Georgia General Assembly’s Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office webpage, available at <https://www.legis.ga.gov/joint-office/reapportionment>. This webpage provided links to representations of the enacted State Senate and State House plans, as well as statistical summaries for the plans and copies of the Reapportionment Committee Guidelines for each chamber.

3. The primary software application I used in the analysis of maps and the creation of the illustrative plans is *Maptitude for Redistricting*, produced by the Caliper

Corporation. This specialized geographic information system (GIS) software allows for the importing, interconnecting, and synthesis of the multiple Census Bureau data files listed above. It allows for an existing plan to be imported (like the enacted plans from the Georgia General Assembly), then modified, or plans can be created starting from a blank template. The application generates not only the aggregated statistics for each of the created districts, but also can supply reports on overall characteristics of the plan like average district compactness and population deviation. *Maptitude for Redistricting* is widely used by state and local governments for redistricting and is in fact used by the Georgia General Assembly.

4. For the production of some of the visual figures in the report, I used a separate open-source GIS software tool called *QGIS*. *QGIS* enabled me to take geographic files exported from *Maptitude for Redistricting* and create high-resolution graphics for insertion into the document with myriad options for customization of visual elements.

Esselstyn Report: Attachment C

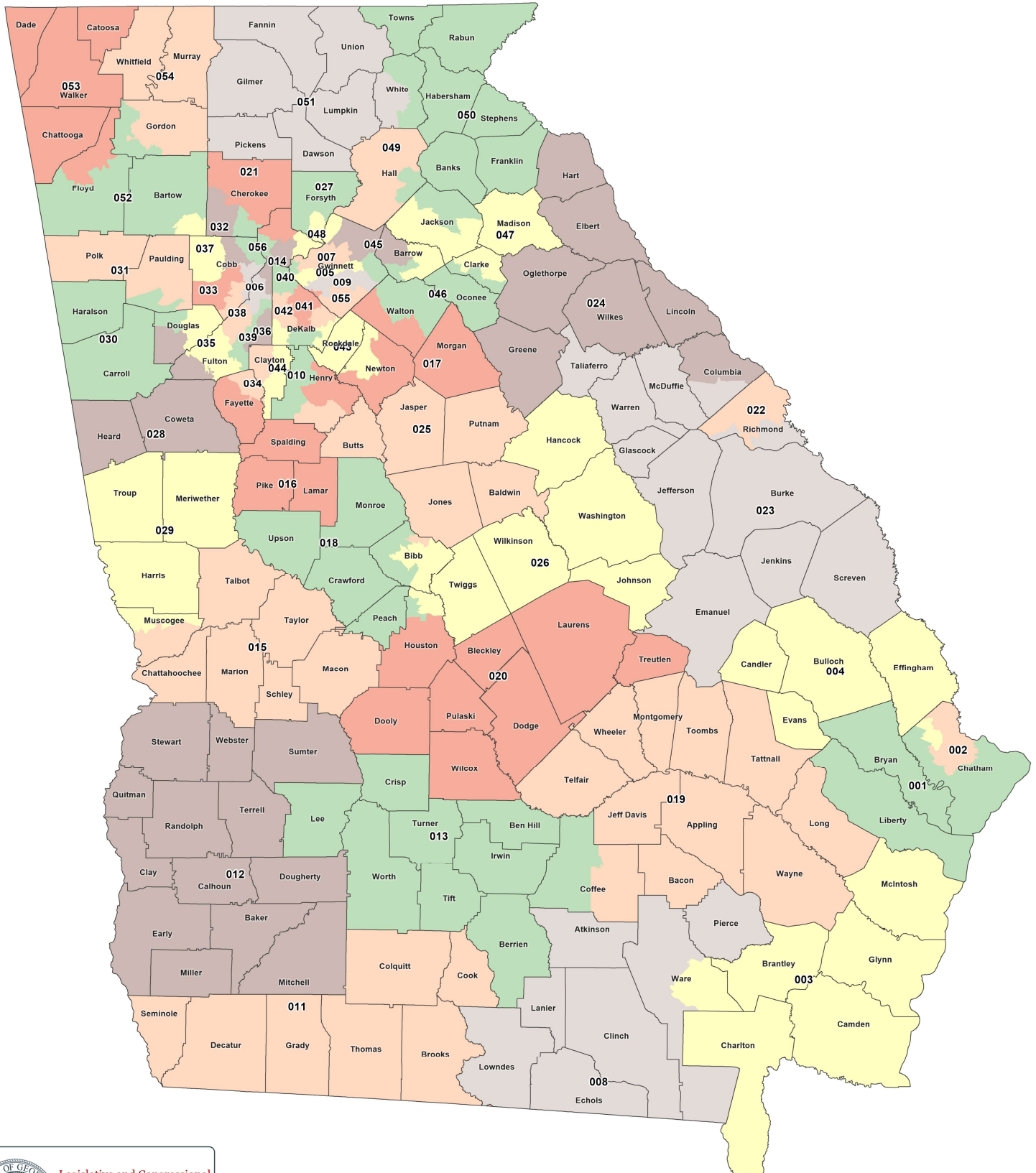
County	Total population	% single race			% single race			% Black alone		
		% single race White	% single race Black	American Indian and Alaska Native	% single race Asian	% single race Pacific Islander	% other single race	% two or more races	or in combination	% Hispanic or Latino
Appling	18,444	70.9%	18.4%	0.5%	0.7%	0.0%	5.7%	3.8%	19.8%	9.9%
Atkinson	8,286	63.7%	14.6%	0.8%	0.2%	0.0%	12.5%	8.1%	15.5%	24.7%
Bacon	11,140	74.1%	15.8%	0.1%	0.4%	0.0%	5.1%	4.5%	17.7%	7.9%
Baker	2,876	53.4%	39.3%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	2.5%	4.1%	41.0%	5.0%
Baldwin	43,799	51.7%	42.0%	0.2%	1.4%	0.1%	1.5%	3.1%	43.3%	2.6%
Banks	18,035	87.8%	2.2%	0.6%	1.1%	0.1%	2.8%	5.4%	3.3%	6.5%
Barrow	83,505	69.0%	12.4%	0.5%	3.9%	0.0%	6.0%	8.1%	14.3%	12.6%
Bartow	108,901	75.7%	10.6%	0.4%	1.1%	0.0%	4.9%	7.3%	12.3%	9.9%
Ben Hill	17,194	54.9%	36.4%	0.4%	0.7%	0.0%	3.2%	4.4%	38.0%	6.1%
Berrien	18,160	80.6%	10.8%	0.2%	0.4%	0.1%	2.6%	5.3%	12.1%	5.8%
Bibb	157,346	36.7%	54.6%	0.2%	2.1%	0.0%	2.4%	4.0%	56.5%	4.3%
Bleckley	12,583	71.7%	22.4%	0.2%	1.2%	0.1%	1.6%	2.9%	23.5%	3.7%
Brantley	18,021	91.2%	3.2%	0.3%	0.2%	0.0%	0.7%	4.4%	4.1%	1.8%
Brooks	16,301	57.1%	35.1%	0.3%	0.4%	0.0%	2.8%	4.3%	36.5%	5.9%
Bryan	44,738	72.0%	14.5%	0.3%	2.4%	0.1%	2.2%	8.5%	16.7%	7.3%
Bulloch	81,099	62.5%	28.4%	0.3%	1.6%	0.1%	2.3%	4.8%	30.1%	5.2%
Burke	24,596	49.5%	44.8%	0.2%	0.4%	0.1%	1.3%	3.7%	46.5%	3.2%
Butts	25,434	66.1%	26.9%	0.2%	0.4%	0.0%	1.7%	4.7%	28.4%	3.2%
Calhoun	5,573	32.0%	64.3%	0.1%	0.3%	0.0%	1.8%	1.4%	65.1%	2.7%
Camden	54,768	70.1%	17.7%	0.5%	1.6%	0.1%	2.1%	7.9%	20.2%	6.7%
Candler	10,981	61.6%	24.5%	0.3%	0.6%	0.0%	7.4%	5.5%	25.6%	12.5%
Carroll	119,148	69.3%	18.6%	0.4%	0.9%	0.0%	4.2%	6.6%	20.7%	8.0%
Catoosa	67,872	88.3%	2.7%	0.4%	1.5%	0.1%	1.3%	5.7%	3.9%	3.4%
Charlton	12,518	69.9%	21.0%	0.4%	0.9%	0.0%	4.3%	3.6%	22.4%	16.3%
Chatham	295,291	48.7%	37.0%	0.4%	3.6%	0.2%	3.9%	6.2%	39.1%	8.1%
Chattahoochee	9,565	62.4%	15.8%	0.5%	3.2%	1.2%	6.1%	10.9%	19.1%	16.8%
Chattooga	24,965	81.3%	9.6%	0.4%	0.4%	0.0%	3.4%	4.8%	11.5%	5.2%
Cherokee	266,620	76.8%	6.7%	0.5%	2.1%	0.0%	4.7%	9.2%	8.1%	12.0%
Clarke	128,671	58.2%	24.6%	0.5%	3.9%	0.1%	6.1%	6.7%	26.2%	11.1%
Clay	2,848	40.4%	56.1%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.3%	3.0%	57.4%	1.4%
Clayton	297,595	10.3%	69.9%	0.7%	4.6%	0.1%	8.8%	5.7%	72.7%	14.3%
Clinch	6,749	63.8%	29.1%	0.4%	0.3%	0.2%	2.1%	3.9%	31.1%	3.7%
Cobb	766,149	50.6%	26.6%	0.6%	5.6%	0.1%	7.1%	9.5%	29.1%	14.5%
Coffee	43,092	59.0%	27.8%	0.5%	0.7%	0.1%	6.9%	5.0%	29.2%	12.6%
Colquitt	45,898	59.4%	21.9%	0.9%	0.8%	0.0%	10.5%	6.5%	23.2%	19.0%
Columbia	156,010	65.4%	18.1%	0.3%	4.6%	0.2%	2.5%	8.8%	20.8%	7.6%
Cook	17,229	63.7%	27.7%	0.4%	0.6%	0.1%	3.1%	4.4%	29.1%	6.6%
Coweta	146,158	69.6%	17.7%	0.4%	2.3%	0.0%	3.2%	6.8%	19.4%	7.6%
Crawford	12,130	74.3%	18.7%	0.5%	0.3%	0.0%	1.3%	5.0%	20.2%	3.4%
Crisp	20,128	49.7%	44.1%	0.2%	0.9%	0.0%	1.9%	3.2%	45.7%	3.1%
Dade	16,251	91.7%	0.9%	0.5%	0.8%	0.0%	0.8%	5.3%	1.4%	2.2%
Dawson	26,798	89.0%	0.8%	0.3%	0.9%	0.1%	2.5%	6.4%	1.5%	6.0%
Decatur	29,367	49.6%	41.7%	0.4%	0.6%	0.1%	4.1%	3.6%	42.8%	6.5%
DeKalb	764,382	29.5%	50.9%	0.6%	6.6%	0.0%	5.9%	6.5%	53.3%	10.7%
Dodge	19,925	65.3%	29.5%	0.1%	0.5%	0.1%	1.4%	3.1%	30.9%	3.1%
Dooley	11,208	41.9%	49.6%	0.2%	0.5%	0.0%	5.0%	2.8%	50.4%	7.1%
Dougherty	85,790	24.5%	69.9%	0.2%	0.8%	0.0%	1.6%	3.0%	71.6%	2.8%
Douglas	144,237	36.2%	48.4%	0.5%	1.6%	0.1%	5.8%	7.3%	51.5%	11.1%
Early	10,854	44.8%	51.2%	0.3%	0.4%	0.0%	0.6%	2.6%	52.4%	1.7%
Echols	3,697	68.5%	4.2%	1.8%	0.3%	0.0%	14.7%	10.4%	5.2%	29.5%
Effingham	64,769	75.9%	13.7%	0.4%	1.1%	0.1%	2.1%	6.9%	15.5%	5.4%
Elbert	19,637	65.3%	26.9%	0.3%	0.9%	0.0%	2.6%	3.9%	28.1%	5.1%
Emanuel	22,768	61.6%	31.9%	0.3%	0.6%	0.0%	2.5%	3.1%	33.2%	4.4%
Evans	10,774	57.9%	28.9%	0.3%	0.8%	0.1%	6.4%	5.6%	30.4%	11.5%
Fannin	25,319	93.0%	0.3%	0.4%	0.4%	0.0%	1.3%	4.5%	0.8%	3.0%
Fayette	119,194	58.5%	24.8%	0.3%	5.4%	0.0%	3.3%	7.6%	26.9%	8.0%
Floyd	98,584	70.5%	14.3%	0.7%	1.3%	0.0%	5.9%	7.3%	15.8%	11.6%
Forsyth	251,283	65.1%	4.3%	0.4%	18.0%	0.0%	4.1%	8.1%	5.3%	10.0%
Franklin	23,424	83.0%	8.1%	0.2%	1.1%	0.0%	2.8%	4.7%	9.4%	4.8%
Fulton	1,066,710	39.3%	42.5%	0.3%	7.6%	0.0%	3.6%	6.6%	44.8%	8.1%
Gilmer	31,353	86.0%	0.5%	0.8%	0.5%	0.0%	6.5%	5.7%	0.9%	11.5%
Glascocock	2,884	89.8%	6.8%	0.0%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	2.9%	7.8%	1.8%
Glynn	84,499	64.2%	24.5%	0.4%	1.4%	0.1%	3.7%	5.7%	26.2%	7.5%

County	Total population	% single race				% single race		% Black alone			% Hispanic or Latino
		% single race White	% single race Black	American Indian and	% single race Asian	Hawaiian or	% other single race	% two or more races	or in combination		
				Alaska Native		Pacific Islander					
Gordon	57,544	78.4%	3.7%	0.6%	1.3%	0.0%	8.0%	8.0%	5.1%	15.6%	
Grady	26,236	57.4%	28.0%	1.0%	0.5%	0.0%	8.0%	5.1%	29.3%	12.5%	
Greene	18,915	59.7%	30.7%	0.2%	0.9%	0.0%	3.7%	4.7%	31.9%	6.8%	
Gwinnett	957,062	35.5%	27.4%	0.8%	13.3%	0.1%	12.1%	10.7%	30.1%	23.0%	
Habersham	46,031	78.7%	3.8%	0.5%	2.2%	0.1%	6.6%	8.1%	4.7%	14.9%	
Hall	203,136	64.4%	7.2%	0.9%	2.1%	0.1%	14.4%	11.0%	8.4%	28.1%	
Hancock	8,735	27.7%	69.0%	0.3%	0.4%	0.0%	0.3%	2.3%	70.2%	0.7%	
Haralson	29,919	90.3%	4.2%	0.2%	0.6%	0.0%	0.7%	3.9%	5.2%	1.7%	
Harris	34,668	76.0%	15.1%	0.4%	1.1%	0.1%	1.4%	5.9%	16.6%	4.1%	
Hart	25,828	75.3%	16.8%	0.2%	1.3%	0.0%	1.8%	4.6%	18.3%	3.6%	
Heard	11,412	84.8%	8.3%	0.3%	0.5%	0.1%	0.9%	5.3%	10.0%	2.2%	
Henry	240,712	37.1%	49.1%	0.3%	3.4%	0.1%	3.6%	6.5%	52.0%	7.7%	
Houston	163,633	54.1%	32.2%	0.4%	3.0%	0.1%	3.0%	7.3%	34.5%	7.2%	
Irwin	9,666	67.1%	23.1%	0.2%	1.2%	0.0%	5.2%	3.2%	24.1%	6.9%	
Jackson	75,907	79.7%	6.9%	0.3%	2.3%	0.1%	4.1%	6.6%	8.1%	8.8%	
Jasper	14,588	74.8%	16.9%	0.3%	0.2%	0.1%	2.5%	5.3%	18.3%	4.7%	
Jeff Davis	14,779	70.1%	15.6%	0.6%	0.4%	0.0%	8.5%	4.9%	16.9%	13.9%	
Jefferson	15,709	44.2%	50.8%	0.3%	0.4%	0.0%	1.7%	2.6%	52.3%	2.9%	
Jenkins	8,674	53.9%	40.9%	0.4%	0.1%	0.1%	2.1%	2.4%	41.9%	3.5%	
Johnson	9,189	63.4%	33.0%	0.3%	0.3%	0.2%	0.5%	2.4%	34.0%	1.3%	
Jones	28,347	71.3%	23.9%	0.2%	0.5%	0.0%	0.7%	3.5%	25.1%	1.7%	
Lamar	18,500	67.4%	26.6%	0.1%	0.6%	0.0%	1.1%	4.2%	28.2%	2.6%	
Lanier	9,877	68.8%	22.0%	0.4%	0.8%	0.2%	1.9%	5.8%	24.0%	5.8%	
Laurens	49,570	56.8%	37.0%	0.2%	1.0%	0.0%	1.6%	3.4%	38.6%	2.9%	
Lee	33,163	69.3%	22.2%	0.2%	2.6%	0.0%	1.1%	4.5%	23.4%	2.9%	
Liberty	65,256	39.8%	43.1%	0.5%	2.1%	0.7%	4.1%	9.7%	47.7%	11.9%	
Lincoln	7,690	68.1%	27.6%	0.2%	0.3%	0.0%	0.3%	3.4%	28.8%	1.2%	
Long	16,168	56.9%	25.5%	0.8%	1.1%	0.6%	5.6%	9.5%	29.3%	12.2%	
Lowndes	118,251	51.7%	37.6%	0.4%	1.7%	0.1%	2.7%	5.8%	39.5%	6.7%	
Lumpkin	33,488	88.8%	1.3%	0.6%	0.8%	0.1%	2.1%	6.4%	2.0%	5.3%	
Macon	12,082	34.4%	59.3%	0.3%	1.3%	0.1%	2.7%	2.0%	60.4%	3.9%	
Madison	30,120	79.6%	9.2%	0.3%	1.8%	0.0%	3.4%	5.8%	10.6%	6.5%	
Marion	7,498	60.7%	28.7%	0.3%	0.7%	0.2%	4.6%	4.7%	29.6%	7.5%	
McDuffie	21,632	53.5%	40.1%	0.2%	0.4%	0.1%	1.6%	4.0%	41.8%	3.7%	
McIntosh	10,975	65.1%	29.1%	0.3%	0.4%	0.0%	0.6%	4.4%	31.0%	2.1%	
Meriwether	20,613	59.3%	35.3%	0.3%	0.4%	0.0%	1.0%	3.6%	36.6%	2.3%	
Miller	6,000	66.4%	29.2%	0.2%	0.5%	0.1%	0.9%	2.7%	30.5%	2.3%	
Mitchell	21,755	47.2%	46.5%	0.2%	0.5%	0.0%	2.8%	2.7%	47.8%	4.4%	
Monroe	27,957	72.0%	21.9%	0.2%	0.9%	0.0%	1.1%	4.0%	23.0%	2.6%	
Montgomery	8,610	67.2%	24.8%	0.3%	0.5%	0.0%	3.8%	3.5%	25.8%	6.6%	
Morgan	20,097	72.7%	20.5%	0.2%	0.6%	0.0%	1.9%	4.0%	21.6%	3.5%	
Murray	39,973	83.4%	0.7%	1.5%	0.3%	0.0%	7.0%	7.0%	1.4%	14.8%	
Muscogee	206,922	39.9%	46.5%	0.4%	2.7%	0.3%	3.2%	7.1%	49.4%	8.0%	
Newton	112,483	42.7%	46.9%	0.3%	0.9%	0.1%	3.3%	5.7%	49.7%	6.4%	
Oconee	41,799	82.4%	4.6%	0.2%	5.0%	0.0%	2.1%	5.7%	5.5%	5.6%	
Oglethorpe	14,825	74.7%	15.2%	0.4%	0.9%	0.0%	2.8%	6.0%	16.6%	5.9%	
Paulding	168,661	65.9%	22.1%	0.4%	1.2%	0.1%	3.0%	7.3%	24.5%	7.4%	
Peach	27,981	44.7%	43.7%	0.4%	0.7%	0.0%	5.3%	5.2%	45.2%	9.1%	
Pickens	33,216	91.5%	0.9%	0.4%	0.6%	0.0%	1.4%	5.1%	1.5%	3.6%	
Pierce	19,716	84.5%	8.1%	0.4%	0.4%	0.0%	2.8%	3.7%	9.1%	5.1%	
Pike	18,889	87.0%	7.7%	0.2%	0.4%	0.0%	0.7%	4.0%	8.5%	1.8%	
Polk	42,853	72.9%	12.2%	0.8%	0.6%	0.1%	7.8%	5.7%	13.6%	13.0%	
Pulaski	9,855	61.9%	32.2%	0.1%	0.9%	0.0%	2.0%	2.8%	33.0%	3.3%	
Putnam	22,047	66.5%	24.6%	0.4%	0.5%	0.0%	2.8%	5.2%	25.9%	7.1%	
Quitman	2,235	53.2%	41.1%	0.6%	0.5%	0.0%	0.4%	4.1%	43.2%	1.4%	
Rabun	16,883	89.0%	0.7%	0.4%	0.4%	0.0%	3.1%	6.4%	1.2%	8.6%	
Randolph	6,425	35.1%	60.3%	0.2%	0.3%	0.0%	1.4%	2.6%	61.4%	2.2%	
Richmond	206,607	34.4%	55.3%	0.3%	1.9%	0.2%	2.3%	5.6%	58.1%	5.5%	
Rockdale	93,570	27.4%	58.1%	0.3%	1.6%	0.1%	5.7%	6.6%	61.1%	10.2%	
Schley	4,547	75.3%	19.3%	0.1%	0.4%	0.0%	1.1%	3.7%	20.5%	3.8%	
Screven	14,067	57.5%	37.7%	0.4%	0.4%	0.1%	0.8%	3.2%	39.3%	2.0%	
Seminole	9,147	61.9%	32.7%	0.1%	0.7%	0.0%	1.4%	3.2%	33.8%	2.5%	
Spalding	67,306	56.2%	34.6%	0.4%	1.0%	0.0%	2.5%	5.3%	36.4%	5.4%	

County	Total population	% single race			% single race			% Black alone		
		% single race White	% single race Black	American Indian and Alaska Native	% single race Asian	% single race Pacific Islander	% other single race	% two or more races	or in combination	% Hispanic or Latino
Stephens	26,784	80.6%	11.1%	0.4%	0.9%	0.0%	1.1%	5.9%	13.2%	3.2%
Stewart	5,314	25.4%	46.4%	0.2%	3.2%	0.1%	22.1%	2.5%	47.8%	22.9%
Sumter	29,616	39.8%	51.1%	0.3%	1.7%	0.0%	4.1%	3.1%	52.5%	6.0%
Talbot	5,733	42.9%	53.7%	0.1%	0.3%	0.0%	0.2%	2.8%	54.9%	2.0%
Taliaferro	1,559	38.9%	53.4%	0.3%	0.4%	0.0%	1.8%	5.3%	56.2%	4.4%
Tattnall	22,842	62.5%	26.3%	0.4%	0.6%	0.0%	5.6%	4.6%	27.7%	10.1%
Taylor	7,816	59.4%	36.2%	0.3%	0.5%	0.1%	0.8%	2.8%	37.7%	2.1%
Telfair	12,477	58.3%	37.1%	0.3%	0.3%	0.0%	1.7%	2.4%	38.1%	15.5%
Terrell	9,185	35.2%	60.6%	0.1%	0.7%	0.0%	0.6%	2.6%	62.1%	1.9%
Thomas	45,798	57.6%	35.7%	0.4%	0.9%	0.0%	1.6%	3.8%	37.1%	3.4%
Tift	41,344	56.2%	29.3%	0.3%	1.6%	0.0%	6.7%	5.8%	30.8%	12.6%
Toombs	27,030	61.3%	26.0%	0.4%	0.8%	0.0%	6.5%	5.1%	27.4%	11.3%
Towns	12,493	92.8%	1.0%	0.2%	0.6%	0.0%	1.5%	3.8%	1.3%	3.3%
Treutlen	6,406	64.1%	31.6%	0.3%	0.1%	0.0%	1.0%	2.8%	33.0%	2.7%
Troup	69,426	55.7%	35.0%	0.3%	2.3%	0.1%	2.5%	4.2%	36.7%	4.3%
Turner	9,006	53.4%	40.7%	0.1%	0.6%	0.0%	1.9%	3.3%	42.3%	4.1%
Twiggs	8,022	56.4%	38.9%	0.3%	0.5%	0.0%	0.5%	3.5%	40.2%	1.5%
Union	24,632	92.7%	0.5%	0.4%	0.4%	0.0%	1.1%	4.9%	0.9%	3.3%
Upson	27,700	65.5%	28.5%	0.3%	0.5%	0.0%	1.3%	3.8%	30.1%	2.3%
Walker	67,654	88.9%	4.2%	0.3%	0.4%	0.1%	1.1%	5.0%	5.4%	2.5%
Walton	96,673	72.0%	17.9%	0.3%	1.5%	0.1%	2.6%	5.6%	19.5%	5.4%
Ware	36,251	62.4%	29.7%	0.3%	0.9%	0.0%	2.4%	4.3%	31.5%	4.4%
Warren	5,215	38.2%	58.5%	0.3%	0.3%	0.1%	0.3%	2.3%	60.0%	1.0%
Washington	19,988	42.4%	53.7%	0.2%	0.4%	0.0%	0.8%	2.5%	54.9%	1.7%
Wayne	30,144	72.5%	19.8%	0.3%	0.6%	0.0%	2.5%	4.2%	21.2%	5.7%
Webster	2,348	48.8%	45.3%	0.1%	0.5%	0.3%	0.9%	4.2%	47.1%	2.5%
Wheeler	7,471	56.6%	38.6%	0.4%	0.2%	0.0%	2.0%	2.2%	39.5%	3.6%
White	28,003	90.2%	1.7%	0.5%	0.6%	0.0%	1.2%	5.8%	2.6%	3.3%
Whitfield	102,864	63.3%	3.7%	2.0%	1.4%	0.0%	17.7%	11.9%	4.8%	35.9%
Wilcox	8,766	59.9%	35.4%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	1.5%	2.6%	36.1%	3.1%
Wilkes	9,565	52.8%	40.2%	0.4%	0.6%	0.0%	1.9%	4.1%	41.7%	4.2%
Wilkinson	8,877	58.2%	35.8%	0.3%	0.3%	0.1%	1.3%	4.0%	37.5%	2.7%
Worth	20,784	69.9%	25.4%	0.3%	0.4%	0.0%	0.8%	3.1%	26.5%	1.8%

Esselstyn Report: Attachment D

Proposed Georgia Senate Districts



Legislative and Congressional
Reapportionment Office

Georgia General Assembly
Suite 407 Coverdell Legislative Office Bldg.

©2021 CALIPER

Map layers

Districts

County

0

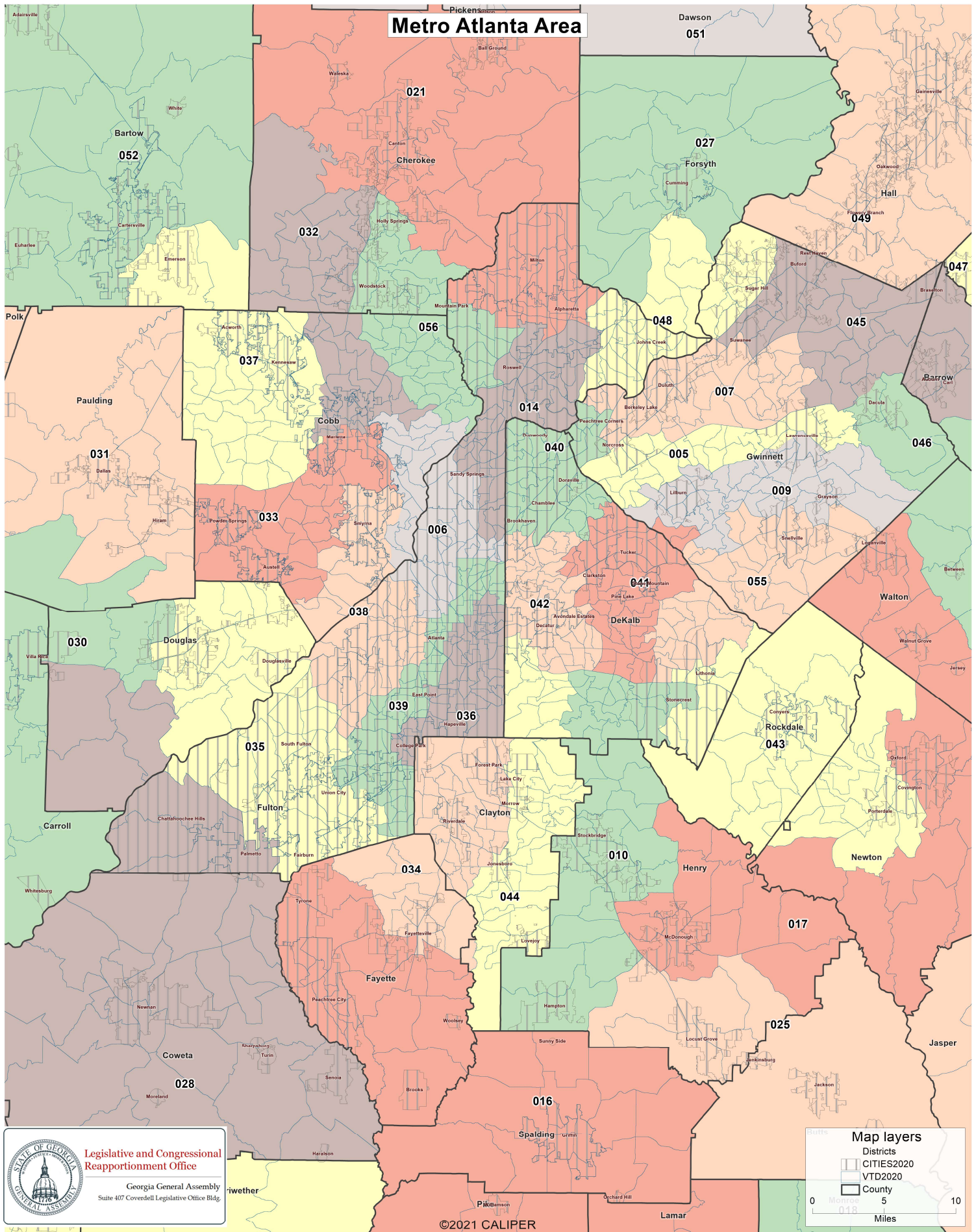
20

40

Miles

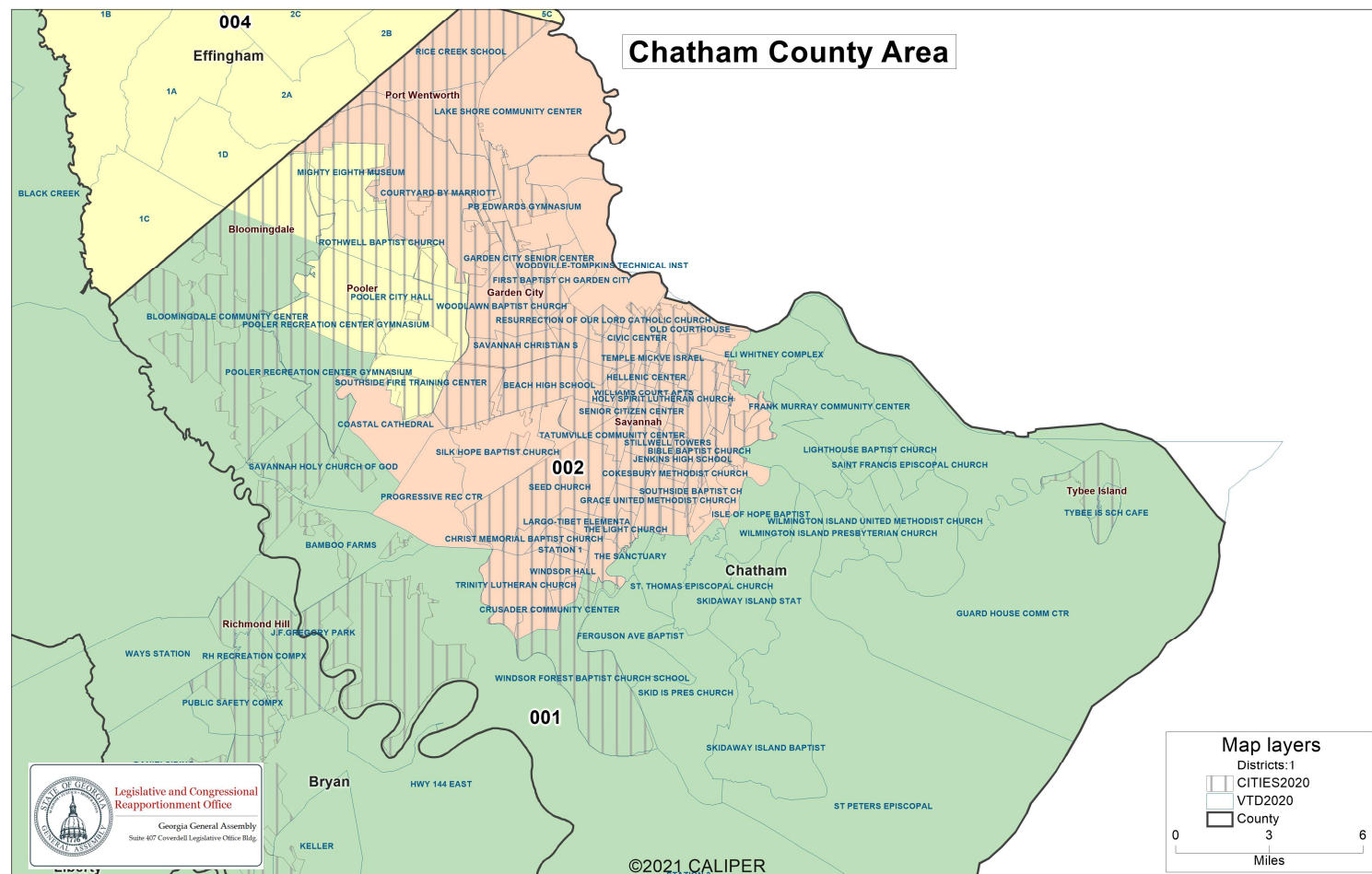
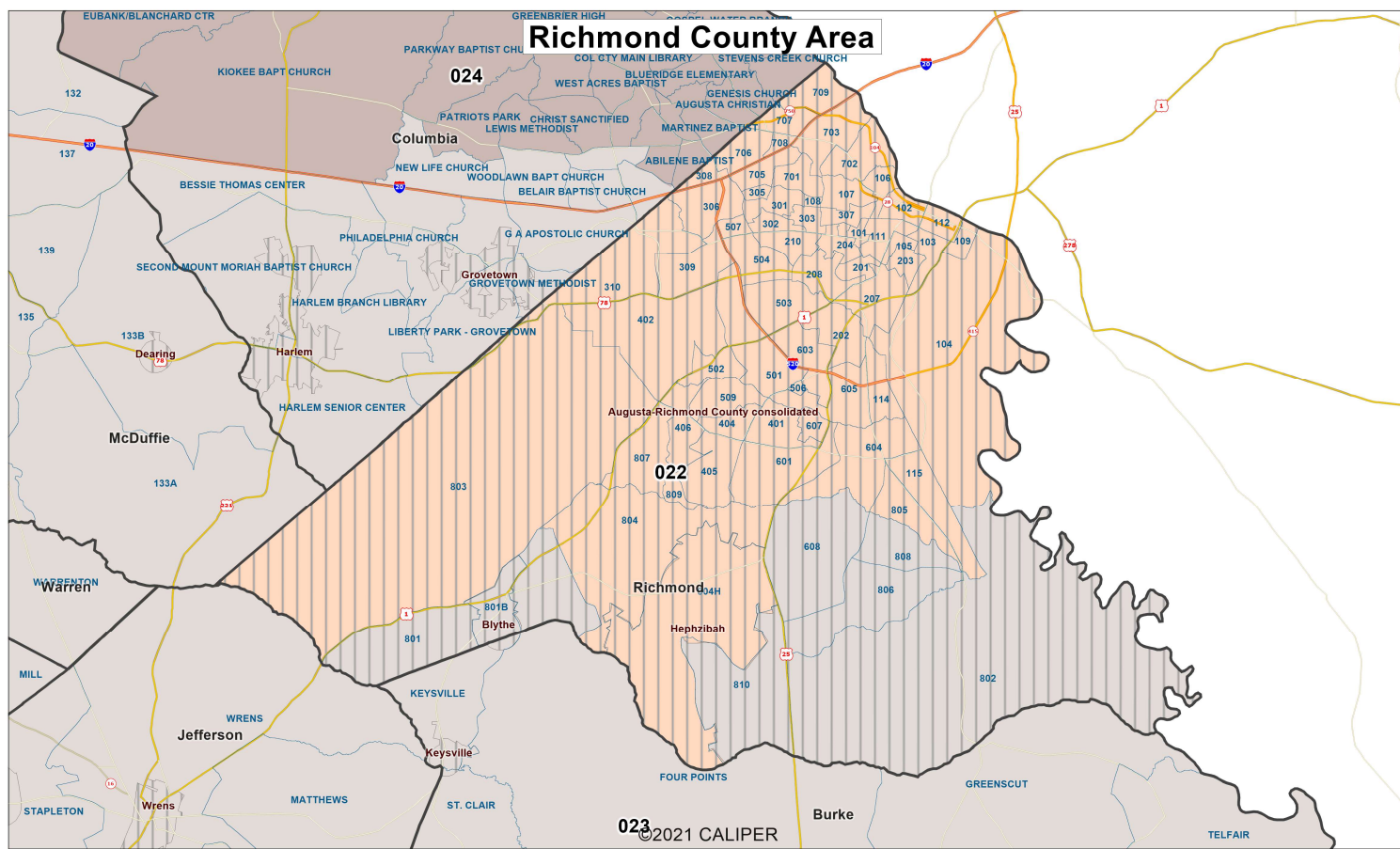
Proposed Georgia Senate Districts

Client: S018
Plan: Senate-prop1-2021
Type: Senate



Proposed Georgia Senate Districts

Client: S018
Plan: Senate-prop1-2021
Type: Senate



Legislative and Congressional
Reapportionment Office

Georgia General Assembly
Suite 607 Governor's Legislative Office Bldg.

Map layers

Districts:1

CITIES2020

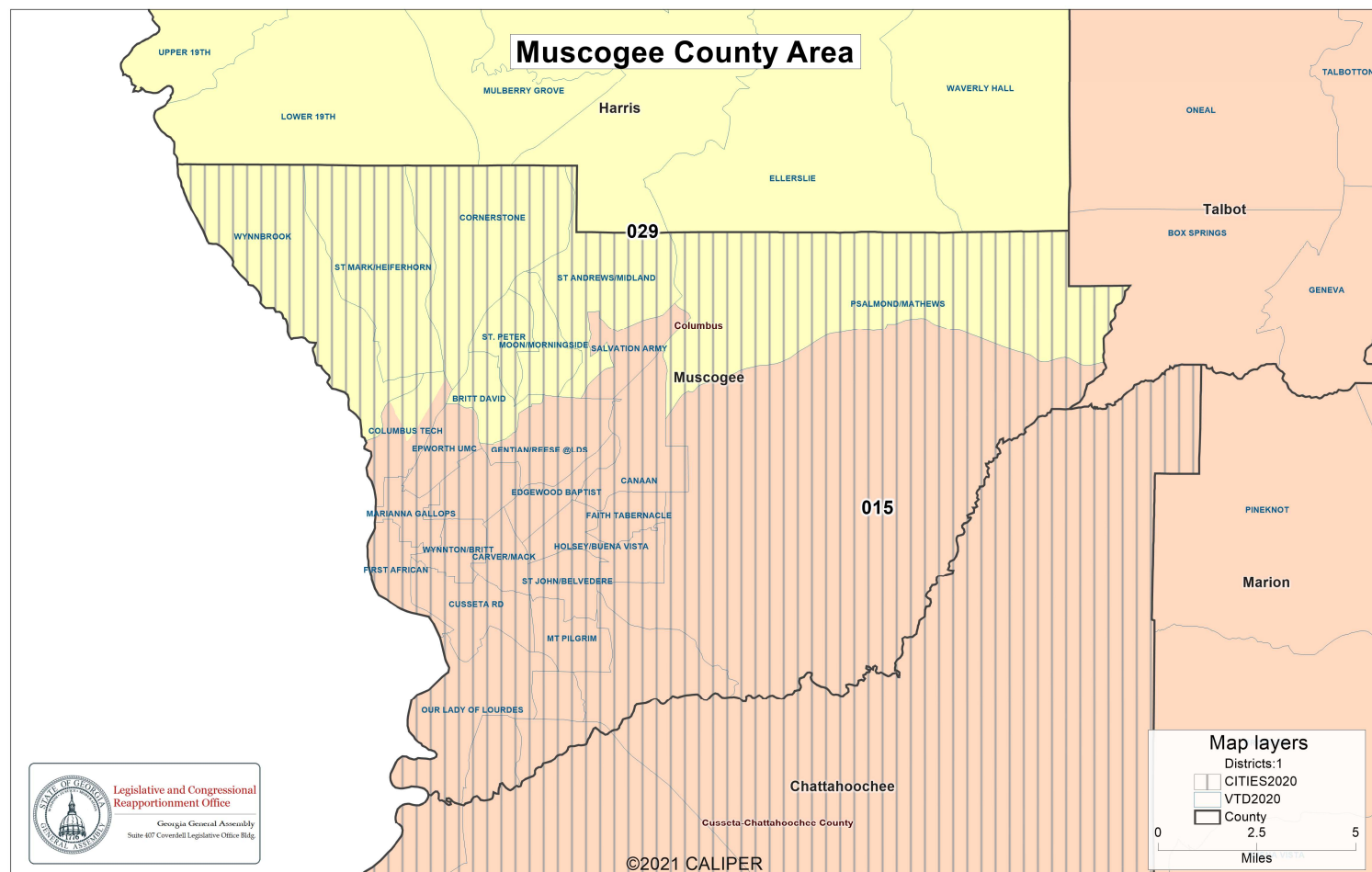
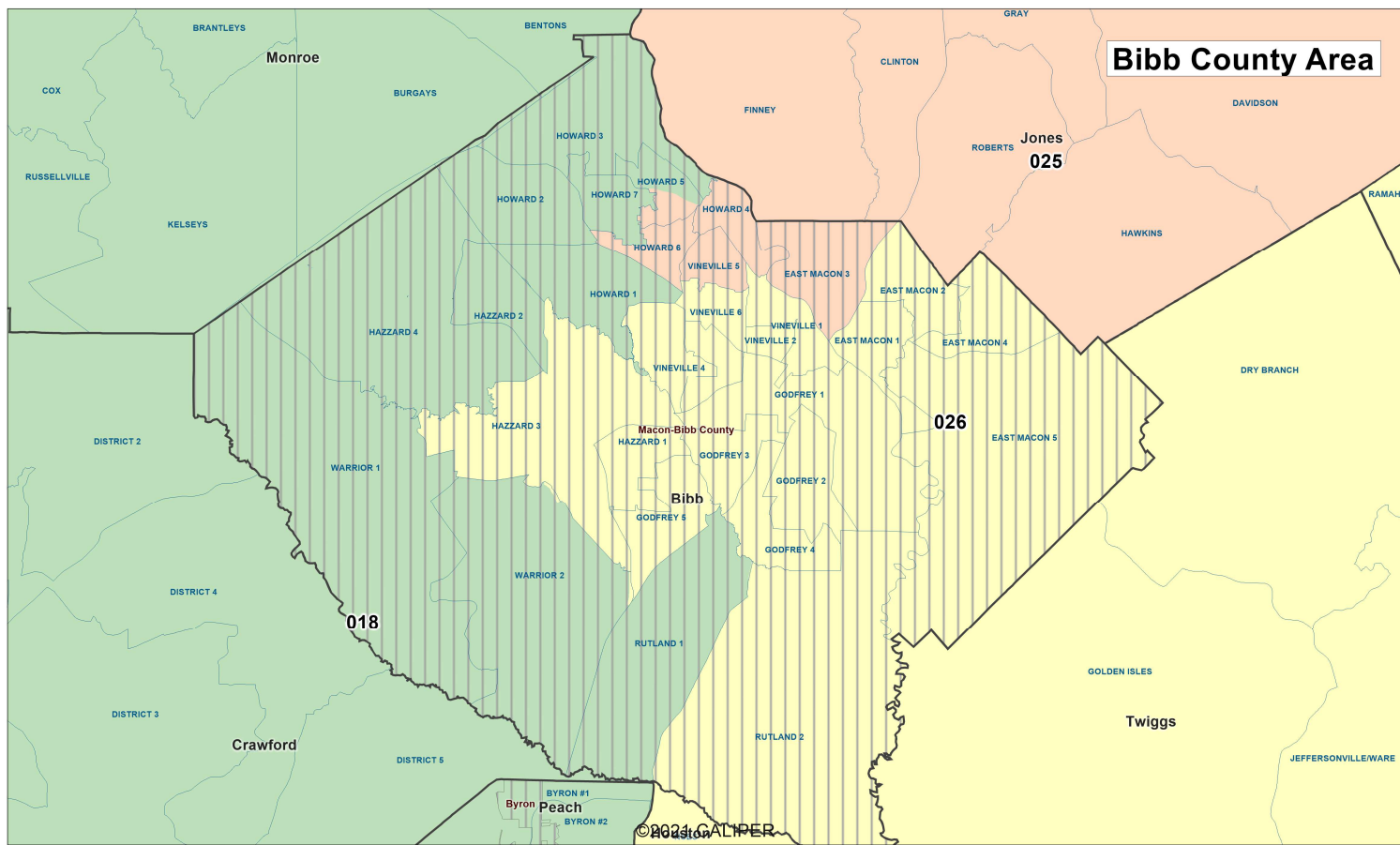
VTD2020

County

0 3 6
Miles

Proposed Georgia Senate Districts

Client: S018
Plan: Senate-prop1-2021
Type: Senate



User: S018

Plan Name: Senate-prop1-2021

Plan Type: Senate

Population Summary

Summary Statistics:

Population Range:	189,320 to 193,163
Ratio Range:	0.02
Absolute Range:	-1,964 to 1,879
Absolute Overall Range:	3,843
Relative Range:	-1.03% to 0.98%
Relative Overall Range:	2.01%
Absolute Mean Deviation:	1,012.61
Relative Mean Deviation:	0.53%
Standard Deviation:	1,154.96

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[18+_Pop]	[% 18+_Pop]	[% NH_Wht]	[% NH_Blkl]	[% Hispanic Origin]	[% NH_Asn]	[% NH_Ind]	[% NH_Hwn]	[% NH_Oth]	[% NH_2+ Races]
001	191,402	118	0.06%	145,428	75.98%	58.9%	23.66%	8.78%	2.64%	0.25%	0.3%	0.48%	4.99%
002	190,408	-876	-0.46%	150,843	79.22%	36.4%	47.51%	8.36%	3.4%	0.21%	0.15%	0.46%	3.49%
003	191,212	-72	-0.04%	148,915	77.88%	66.23%	20.92%	6.82%	1.22%	0.26%	0.09%	0.42%	4.04%
004	191,098	-186	-0.10%	146,443	76.63%	64.48%	22.6%	6.49%	1.86%	0.23%	0.07%	0.38%	3.9%
005	191,921	637	0.33%	139,394	72.63%	13.35%	26.84%	45.47%	10.98%	0.15%	0.04%	0.64%	2.52%
006	191,401	117	0.06%	155,781	81.39%	56.41%	21.47%	9.18%	7.21%	0.16%	0.03%	1.11%	4.42%
007	189,709	-1,575	-0.82%	147,425	77.71%	35.09%	20.08%	18.57%	21.67%	0.16%	0.04%	0.66%	3.72%
008	192,396	1,112	0.58%	145,144	75.44%	57.39%	30.03%	7.28%	1.21%	0.28%	0.07%	0.35%	3.4%
009	192,915	1,631	0.85%	142,054	73.64%	32.04%	28.46%	21.09%	13.98%	0.18%	0.03%	0.72%	3.48%
010	192,898	1,614	0.84%	147,884	76.66%	17.71%	68.95%	6.03%	3.1%	0.18%	0.03%	0.66%	3.34%
011	189,976	-1,308	-0.68%	144,597	76.11%	55.75%	31.13%	9.36%	0.69%	0.23%	0.03%	0.26%	2.54%
012	190,819	-465	-0.24%	149,154	78.17%	33.83%	58.82%	3.89%	0.86%	0.16%	0.02%	0.21%	2.2%
013	189,326	-1,958	-1.02%	144,141	76.13%	61.25%	27.08%	7.2%	1.2%	0.17%	0.02%	0.26%	2.81%
014	192,533	1,249	0.65%	155,340	80.68%	54.63%	16.79%	13.97%	9.46%	0.13%	0.04%	0.79%	4.19%
015	189,446	-1,838	-0.96%	144,506	76.28%	34.07%	52.31%	7.57%	1.31%	0.23%	0.27%	0.44%	3.79%
016	191,829	545	0.28%	147,133	76.7%	64.19%	22.31%	5.95%	3.04%	0.17%	0.03%	0.51%	3.79%
017	192,510	1,226	0.64%	144,472	75.05%	56.69%	31.21%	6.08%	1.41%	0.16%	0.05%	0.59%	3.81%
018	191,825	541	0.28%	150,196	78.3%	58.41%	30.01%	5.18%	2.42%	0.22%	0.03%	0.4%	3.33%
019	192,316	1,032	0.54%	146,131	75.98%	61.67%	24.76%	9.72%	0.58%	0.17%	0.06%	0.27%	2.77%
020	192,588	1,304	0.68%	147,033	76.35%	59.74%	30.65%	4.21%	1.73%	0.15%	0.05%	0.31%	3.16%
021	192,572	1,288	0.67%	145,120	75.36%	71.13%	6.52%	10.13%	7.38%	0.19%	0.04%	0.53%	4.08%
022	193,163	1,879	0.98%	150,450	77.89%	31.1%	56.58%	5.63%	1.97%	0.24%	0.18%	0.44%	3.86%
023	190,344	-940	-0.49%	144,113	75.71%	54.27%	34.66%	5.46%	1.16%	0.24%	0.1%	0.34%	3.78%
024	192,674	1,390	0.73%	148,602	77.13%	67.45%	18.98%	5.4%	3.31%	0.18%	0.09%	0.43%	4.15%
025	191,161	-123	-0.06%	148,917	77.9%	57.45%	33.4%	4.27%	1.08%	0.16%	0.05%	0.43%	3.16%
026	189,945	-1,339	-0.70%	145,744	76.73%	33.26%	57.37%	4.85%	0.83%	0.21%	0.04%	0.31%	3.14%
027	190,676	-608	-0.32%	139,196	73%	68%	4.31%	11.61%	11.41%	0.18%	0.04%	0.52%	3.94%
028	190,422	-862	-0.45%	144,973	76.13%	67.06%	18.79%	7.4%	1.96%	0.22%	0.04%	0.48%	4.06%
029	189,424	-1,860	-0.97%	145,674	76.9%	60.71%	26.22%	5.34%	3.02%	0.23%	0.1%	0.42%	3.97%

Population Summary

Senate-prop1-2021

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[18+_Pop]	[% 18+_Pop]	[% NH_Wht]	[% NH_Blkl]	[% Hispanic Origin]	[% NH_Asn]	[% NH_Ind]	[% NH_Hwn]	[% NH_Oth]	[% NH_2+ Races]
030	191,475	191	0.10%	145,077	75.77%	66.97%	19.83%	7.27%	0.95%	0.23%	0.03%	0.49%	4.24%
031	192,560	1,276	0.67%	142,251	73.87%	65.2%	19.83%	8.85%	1.07%	0.23%	0.06%	0.58%	4.19%
032	192,448	1,164	0.61%	149,879	77.88%	63.13%	13.22%	12.09%	5.49%	0.2%	0.04%	0.91%	4.91%
033	192,694	1,410	0.74%	146,415	75.98%	26%	40.48%	26.72%	2.13%	0.19%	0.05%	0.86%	3.56%
034	190,668	-616	-0.32%	141,840	74.39%	11.11%	66.6%	14.82%	3.9%	0.23%	0.04%	0.6%	2.7%
035	192,839	1,555	0.81%	144,675	75.02%	16.46%	69.77%	8.68%	1.13%	0.17%	0.06%	0.64%	3.08%
036	192,282	998	0.52%	161,385	83.93%	33.1%	51.35%	7.56%	3.58%	0.17%	0.04%	0.53%	3.68%
037	192,671	1,387	0.73%	147,779	76.7%	62.38%	18.04%	9.99%	3.85%	0.16%	0.03%	0.78%	4.76%
038	193,155	1,871	0.98%	148,367	76.81%	20.03%	62.74%	9.72%	3.42%	0.18%	0.04%	0.58%	3.29%
039	191,500	216	0.11%	156,022	81.47%	25.32%	60.33%	6.1%	4.25%	0.16%	0.04%	0.57%	3.22%
040	190,544	-740	-0.39%	147,000	77.15%	43.69%	16.42%	24.81%	10.84%	0.12%	0.04%	0.65%	3.43%
041	191,023	-261	-0.14%	145,278	76.05%	18.86%	60.28%	7.32%	9.19%	0.22%	0.02%	0.64%	3.48%
042	190,940	-344	-0.18%	153,952	80.63%	49.91%	28.14%	10.13%	6.81%	0.13%	0.03%	0.61%	4.24%
043	192,729	1,445	0.76%	145,741	75.62%	23.45%	62.77%	8.13%	1.24%	0.17%	0.09%	0.67%	3.49%
044	190,036	-1,248	-0.65%	145,224	76.42%	13.02%	69.13%	9.96%	4.15%	0.16%	0.04%	0.62%	2.91%
045	190,692	-592	-0.31%	140,706	73.79%	52.74%	17.12%	14.66%	10.69%	0.13%	0.03%	0.62%	4.01%
046	190,312	-972	-0.51%	146,713	77.09%	67.24%	16.64%	7.99%	3.77%	0.2%	0.03%	0.58%	3.56%
047	190,607	-677	-0.35%	146,599	76.91%	64.67%	16.96%	11.22%	2.66%	0.16%	0.04%	0.58%	3.71%
048	190,123	-1,161	-0.61%	136,995	72.06%	49.01%	8.35%	7.58%	30.59%	0.13%	0.04%	0.55%	3.75%
049	189,355	-1,929	-1.01%	144,123	76.11%	60.85%	7.13%	26.24%	2.15%	0.15%	0.04%	0.35%	3.08%
050	189,320	-1,964	-1.03%	148,799	78.6%	78.61%	5.05%	11.08%	1.22%	0.22%	0.04%	0.26%	3.52%
051	190,167	-1,117	-0.58%	155,571	81.81%	88.75%	0.84%	5.43%	0.59%	0.31%	0.02%	0.3%	3.77%
052	190,799	-485	-0.25%	146,620	76.85%	71.8%	12.39%	10.11%	1.08%	0.21%	0.03%	0.35%	4.02%
053	190,236	-1,048	-0.55%	148,201	77.9%	85.78%	4.46%	3.98%	1%	0.24%	0.06%	0.3%	4.18%
054	192,443	1,159	0.61%	143,843	74.75%	65.71%	2.97%	26.66%	1.14%	0.19%	0.02%	0.25%	3.07%
055	190,155	-1,129	-0.59%	141,968	74.66%	18.09%	62.96%	10.14%	4.19%	0.17%	0.04%	0.73%	3.67%
056	191,226	-58	-0.03%	144,448	75.54%	73.9%	6.36%	8.63%	5.67%	0.11%	0.03%	0.75%	4.56%

Total: 10,711,908**Ideal District: 191,284**

User: S018

Plan Name: Senate-prop1-2021

Plan Type: Senate

Population Summary

Summary Statistics:

Population Range:	189,320 to 193,163
Ratio Range:	0.02
Absolute Range:	-1,964 to 1,879
Absolute Overall Range:	3,843
Relative Range:	-1.03% to 0.98%
Relative Overall Range:	2.01%
Absolute Mean Deviation:	1,012.61
Relative Mean Deviation:	0.53%
Standard Deviation:	1,154.96

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[18+_Pop]	[% 18+_Pop]	[% NH18+_Wht]	[% NH18+_Blk]	[% H18+_Pop]	[% NH18+_Asn]	[% NH18+_Ind]	[% NH18+_Hwn]	[% NH18+_Oth]	[% NH18+_2+ Races]
001	191,402	118	0.06%	145,428	75.98%	61.99%	22.8%	7.55%	2.81%	0.28%	0.27%	0.4%	3.9%
002	190,408	-876	-0.46%	150,843	79.22%	40.21%	44.81%	7.48%	3.77%	0.22%	0.15%	0.42%	2.95%
003	191,212	-72	-0.04%	148,915	77.88%	68.88%	19.81%	6.17%	1.27%	0.27%	0.08%	0.34%	3.19%
004	191,098	-186	-0.10%	146,443	76.63%	66.78%	21.98%	5.52%	1.9%	0.24%	0.07%	0.33%	3.17%
005	191,921	637	0.33%	139,394	72.63%	15.69%	27.21%	41.67%	12.41%	0.14%	0.04%	0.55%	2.28%
006	191,401	117	0.06%	155,781	81.39%	57.79%	21.79%	8.24%	7.14%	0.16%	0.03%	1.05%	3.8%
007	189,709	-1,575	-0.82%	147,425	77.71%	37.84%	19.33%	16.56%	22.58%	0.16%	0.05%	0.55%	2.93%
008	192,396	1,112	0.58%	145,144	75.44%	60.1%	29.02%	6.21%	1.27%	0.29%	0.08%	0.27%	2.75%
009	192,915	1,631	0.85%	142,054	73.64%	35.81%	27.23%	18.77%	14.59%	0.18%	0.04%	0.59%	2.8%
010	192,898	1,614	0.84%	147,884	76.66%	19.64%	68.31%	5.18%	3.15%	0.18%	0.04%	0.61%	2.89%
011	189,976	-1,308	-0.68%	144,597	76.11%	58.97%	30.08%	7.6%	0.72%	0.26%	0.02%	0.22%	2.13%
012	190,819	-465	-0.24%	149,154	78.17%	36.71%	56.63%	3.48%	0.92%	0.18%	0.02%	0.18%	1.88%
013	189,326	-1,958	-1.02%	144,141	76.13%	64.1%	26.01%	6.01%	1.21%	0.17%	0.02%	0.21%	2.26%
014	192,533	1,249	0.65%	155,340	80.68%	57.1%	16.83%	12.13%	9.43%	0.12%	0.05%	0.74%	3.61%
015	189,446	-1,838	-0.96%	144,506	76.28%	36.52%	51.56%	6.59%	1.45%	0.23%	0.25%	0.36%	3.04%
016	191,829	545	0.28%	147,133	76.7%	66.91%	21.49%	5.03%	2.92%	0.18%	0.03%	0.42%	3.01%
017	192,510	1,226	0.64%	144,472	75.05%	59.42%	30.21%	5.13%	1.41%	0.17%	0.03%	0.49%	3.14%
018	191,825	541	0.28%	150,196	78.3%	60.69%	29.2%	4.51%	2.46%	0.22%	0.03%	0.29%	2.6%
019	192,316	1,032	0.54%	146,131	75.98%	63.99%	24.52%	8.38%	0.62%	0.18%	0.06%	0.2%	2.06%
020	192,588	1,304	0.68%	147,033	76.35%	61.71%	30.17%	3.49%	1.76%	0.16%	0.05%	0.25%	2.41%
021	192,572	1,288	0.67%	145,120	75.36%	73.87%	6.37%	8.77%	6.98%	0.18%	0.04%	0.48%	3.32%
022	193,163	1,879	0.98%	150,450	77.89%	34.38%	53.94%	5.35%	2.3%	0.24%	0.18%	0.38%	3.24%
023	190,344	-940	-0.49%	144,113	75.71%	56.89%	33.91%	4.52%	1.24%	0.25%	0.09%	0.27%	2.84%
024	192,674	1,390	0.73%	148,602	77.13%	69.81%	18.69%	4.4%	3.27%	0.2%	0.07%	0.35%	3.2%
025	191,161	-123	-0.06%	148,917	77.9%	59.94%	32.23%	3.66%	1.09%	0.18%	0.04%	0.39%	2.48%
026	189,945	-1,339	-0.70%	145,744	76.73%	36.6%	55.18%	4.24%	0.92%	0.22%	0.03%	0.24%	2.56%
027	190,676	-608	-0.32%	139,196	73%	71.5%	4.16%	10.2%	10.27%	0.15%	0.04%	0.45%	3.22%
028	190,422	-862	-0.45%	144,973	76.13%	69.44%	18.18%	6.44%	1.99%	0.23%	0.04%	0.38%	3.29%

Population Summary

Senate-prop1-2021

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[18+_Pop]	[% 18+_Pop]	[% NH18+_Wht]	[% NH18+_Blk]	[% H18+_Pop]	[% NH18+_Asn]	[% NH18+_Ind]	[% NH18+_Hwn]	[% NH18+_Oth]	[% NH18+_ 2+ Races]
029	189,424	-1,860	-0.97%	145,674	76.9%	63.22%	25.52%	4.45%	3%	0.23%	0.11%	0.33%	3.13%
030	191,475	191	0.10%	145,077	75.77%	69.41%	19.44%	6.1%	0.97%	0.24%	0.03%	0.41%	3.4%
031	192,560	1,276	0.67%	142,251	73.87%	68.26%	19.13%	7.42%	1.12%	0.22%	0.06%	0.46%	3.33%
032	192,448	1,164	0.61%	149,879	77.88%	65.78%	13.13%	10.55%	5.42%	0.2%	0.04%	0.83%	4.05%
033	192,694	1,410	0.74%	146,415	75.98%	30.25%	40.26%	22.93%	2.35%	0.22%	0.05%	0.81%	3.14%
034	190,668	-616	-0.32%	141,840	74.39%	13.36%	66.5%	12.75%	4.26%	0.22%	0.04%	0.56%	2.31%
035	192,839	1,555	0.81%	144,675	75.02%	18.82%	68.87%	7.51%	1.26%	0.18%	0.06%	0.59%	2.7%
036	192,282	998	0.52%	161,385	83.93%	36.18%	48.68%	7.06%	4.01%	0.17%	0.04%	0.51%	3.34%
037	192,671	1,387	0.73%	147,779	76.7%	65.37%	17.41%	8.69%	3.94%	0.17%	0.04%	0.67%	3.73%
038	193,155	1,871	0.98%	148,367	76.81%	21.87%	62.45%	8.44%	3.55%	0.18%	0.04%	0.56%	2.92%
039	191,500	216	0.11%	156,022	81.47%	27.87%	57.97%	5.65%	4.83%	0.15%	0.04%	0.5%	2.98%
040	190,544	-740	-0.39%	147,000	77.15%	46.34%	17.32%	21.62%	11.15%	0.11%	0.04%	0.59%	2.84%
041	191,023	-261	-0.14%	145,278	76.05%	21.39%	59.67%	6.68%	8.42%	0.22%	0.02%	0.6%	3.01%
042	190,940	-344	-0.18%	153,952	80.63%	51.39%	28.73%	8.64%	7.16%	0.12%	0.03%	0.53%	3.4%
043	192,729	1,445	0.76%	145,741	75.62%	26.53%	61.35%	6.89%	1.34%	0.17%	0.08%	0.6%	3.05%
044	190,036	-1,248	-0.65%	145,224	76.42%	15.29%	68.39%	8.6%	4.37%	0.17%	0.04%	0.56%	2.58%
045	190,692	-592	-0.31%	140,706	73.79%	55.47%	16.86%	13.05%	10.89%	0.13%	0.03%	0.5%	3.07%
046	190,312	-972	-0.51%	146,713	77.09%	69.9%	15.64%	6.99%	3.85%	0.22%	0.02%	0.5%	2.89%
047	190,607	-677	-0.35%	146,599	76.91%	67.46%	16.34%	9.57%	2.79%	0.17%	0.04%	0.5%	3.13%
048	190,123	-1,161	-0.61%	136,995	72.06%	52.25%	8.26%	7%	29.05%	0.11%	0.04%	0.47%	2.83%
049	189,355	-1,929	-1.01%	144,123	76.11%	65.64%	7.12%	21.9%	2.22%	0.16%	0.04%	0.29%	2.63%
050	189,320	-1,964	-1.03%	148,799	78.6%	81.54%	5.03%	8.78%	1.24%	0.24%	0.03%	0.24%	2.91%
051	190,167	-1,117	-0.58%	155,571	81.81%	90.24%	0.84%	4.34%	0.61%	0.33%	0.02%	0.27%	3.34%
052	190,799	-485	-0.25%	146,620	76.85%	74.74%	12.08%	8.24%	1.13%	0.22%	0.02%	0.29%	3.27%
053	190,236	-1,048	-0.55%	148,201	77.9%	87.31%	4.49%	3.23%	0.99%	0.26%	0.06%	0.22%	3.44%
054	192,443	1,159	0.61%	143,843	74.75%	69.98%	3.07%	22.64%	1.15%	0.22%	0.02%	0.21%	2.71%
055	190,155	-1,129	-0.59%	141,968	74.66%	20.56%	62.42%	8.71%	4.24%	0.18%	0.04%	0.67%	3.18%
056	191,226	-58	-0.03%	144,448	75.54%	76.17%	6.37%	7.66%	5.51%	0.12%	0.03%	0.63%	3.51%

Total: 10,711,908**Ideal District: 191,284**

Esselstyn Report: Attachment E

District	Population	Deviation	% Deviation	% single-race				% single-race			% Hispanic or Latino (total pop)	% Black alone or in combination (total pop)	% Black alone or in combination (voting age pop)
				% single-race White (total pop)	% single-race Black (total pop)	% single-race American Indian Alaska Native (total pop)	% single-race Asian (total pop)	% single-race Native Hawaiian Pacific Islander (total pop)	% single-race Other (total pop)	% multi-racial (total pop)			
1	191,402	118	0.06%	61.01%	24.27%	0.38%	2.69%	0.33%	3.22%	8.11%	8.78%	27.05%	25.08%
2	190,408	-876	-0.46%	37.90%	48.03%	0.36%	3.44%	0.17%	4.31%	5.79%	8.36%	50.27%	46.86%
3	191,212	-72	-0.04%	68.28%	21.28%	0.42%	1.25%	0.11%	2.73%	5.93%	6.82%	23.14%	21.18%
4	191,098	-186	-0.10%	65.93%	22.86%	0.34%	1.88%	0.08%	2.94%	5.97%	6.49%	24.63%	23.37%
5	191,921	637	0.33%	18.45%	27.57%	1.64%	11.06%	0.07%	27.36%	13.84%	45.48%	30.07%	29.94%
6	191,834	550	0.29%	57.94%	21.00%	0.37%	7.36%	0.04%	4.82%	8.47%	9.84%	23.20%	22.95%
7	189,709	-1,575	-0.82%	37.68%	20.56%	0.59%	21.74%	0.07%	9.04%	10.32%	18.57%	22.96%	21.44%
8	192,396	1,112	0.58%	59.12%	30.35%	0.43%	1.24%	0.08%	3.29%	5.49%	7.28%	32.11%	30.38%
9	192,915	1,631	0.85%	34.88%	29.00%	0.84%	14.04%	0.05%	10.88%	10.31%	21.09%	31.62%	29.53%
10	192,601	1,317	0.69%	32.32%	59.43%	0.23%	1.03%	0.02%	2.00%	4.96%	4.20%	62.00%	61.10%
11	189,976	-1,308	-0.68%	57.47%	31.30%	0.57%	0.71%	0.03%	5.24%	4.67%	9.36%	32.62%	31.04%
12	190,819	-465	-0.24%	34.34%	59.08%	0.21%	0.88%	0.03%	2.56%	2.90%	3.89%	60.59%	57.97%
13	194,905	3,621	1.89%	62.81%	27.41%	0.29%	1.19%	0.03%	3.72%	4.55%	7.10%	28.75%	27.24%
14	192,533	1,249	0.65%	56.63%	17.15%	0.39%	9.49%	0.05%	6.50%	9.81%	13.97%	19.43%	18.97%
15	189,446	-1,838	-0.96%	35.64%	52.99%	0.37%	1.35%	0.29%	3.34%	6.01%	7.57%	55.72%	54.00%
16	193,863	2,579	1.35%	70.20%	18.98%	0.28%	2.51%	0.03%	2.04%	5.94%	5.24%	20.44%	19.26%
17	189,212	-2,072	-1.08%	70.14%	21.51%	0.27%	0.84%	0.04%	2.29%	4.91%	4.77%	22.87%	21.72%
18	192,680	1,396	0.73%	59.61%	29.57%	0.30%	2.27%	0.06%	2.50%	5.69%	5.47%	31.37%	30.04%
19	192,316	1,032	0.54%	64.20%	25.16%	0.41%	0.60%	0.07%	4.94%	4.62%	9.72%	26.72%	25.72%
20	194,919	3,635	1.90%	60.69%	32.35%	0.23%	1.01%	0.06%	1.82%	3.84%	3.81%	33.78%	32.45%
21	192,572	1,288	0.67%	73.26%	6.66%	0.50%	7.41%	0.04%	3.93%	8.19%	10.13%	8.04%	7.46%
22	188,930	-2,354	-1.23%	36.87%	50.98%	0.35%	2.31%	0.19%	2.78%	6.52%	6.88%	54.05%	50.84%
23	192,721	1,437	0.75%	42.98%	50.89%	0.28%	0.72%	0.10%	1.40%	3.63%	3.04%	52.63%	50.43%
24	194,277	2,993	1.56%	69.67%	17.49%	0.29%	3.58%	0.13%	1.95%	6.88%	5.61%	19.48%	18.38%
25	192,708	1,424	0.74%	27.57%	58.22%	0.34%	3.61%	0.06%	3.89%	6.30%	8.14%	61.38%	58.93%
26	190,535	-749	-0.39%	36.13%	54.05%	0.30%	1.92%	0.04%	2.93%	4.64%	5.41%	56.18%	52.84%
27	190,676	-608	-0.32%	69.94%	4.43%	0.45%	11.44%	0.04%	4.92%	8.78%	11.61%	5.51%	5.00%
28	189,696	-1,588	-0.83%	30.66%	56.20%	0.36%	2.24%	0.04%	4.70%	5.79%	8.95%	58.59%	57.28%
29	189,424	-1,860	-0.97%	61.96%	26.49%	0.34%	3.05%	0.11%	2.15%	5.90%	5.34%	28.39%	26.88%
30	191,939	655	0.34%	74.89%	14.88%	0.37%	0.83%	0.03%	3.07%	5.92%	6.15%	16.66%	15.77%
31	192,755	1,471	0.77%	68.30%	19.22%	0.44%	1.07%	0.07%	4.02%	6.88%	8.60%	21.30%	19.61%
32	192,448	1,164	0.61%	65.58%	13.56%	0.45%	5.53%	0.05%	5.09%	9.73%	12.09%	15.61%	14.86%
33	192,694	1,410	0.74%	30.10%	41.18%	1.03%	2.16%	0.07%	14.18%	11.27%	26.72%	44.04%	42.96%
34	188,237	-3,047	-1.59%	21.10%	58.78%	0.68%	4.21%	0.06%	8.88%	6.29%	14.58%	61.44%	60.19%

District	Population	Deviation	% Deviation	% single- race									
						American Indian			Native Hawaiian			% Black alone or in combination	
				% single- race White (total pop)	% single- race Black (total pop)	Alaska Native (total pop)	% single- race Asian (total pop)	Pacific Islander (total pop)	% single- race Other (total pop)	% multi- racial (total pop)	% Hispanic or Latino (total pop)	% Black alone or in combination (total pop)	% Black alone or in combination (voting age pop)
35	193,194	1,910	1.00%	33.51%	52.94%	0.43%	1.33%	0.07%	4.93%	6.79%	9.56%	55.95%	54.05%
36	192,282	998	0.52%	34.70%	51.92%	0.35%	3.62%	0.05%	3.23%	6.14%	7.56%	54.36%	51.34%
37	192,671	1,387	0.73%	64.32%	18.38%	0.38%	3.89%	0.04%	3.92%	9.08%	9.99%	20.86%	19.27%
38	190,605	-679	-0.36%	20.91%	64.48%	0.43%	3.34%	0.05%	4.86%	5.94%	9.12%	67.17%	66.36%
39	190,184	-1,100	-0.58%	26.93%	60.38%	0.30%	4.33%	0.05%	2.86%	5.16%	6.09%	62.78%	60.21%
40	190,544	-740	-0.39%	46.44%	16.84%	1.29%	10.90%	0.06%	14.32%	10.16%	24.81%	18.75%	19.24%
41	191,023	-261	-0.14%	19.86%	60.99%	0.44%	9.23%	0.02%	3.93%	5.54%	7.32%	63.74%	62.61%
42	190,153	-1,131	-0.59%	52.87%	26.90%	0.45%	6.95%	0.03%	4.97%	7.83%	10.21%	28.96%	29.09%
43	191,784	500	0.26%	30.42%	57.48%	0.33%	1.16%	0.11%	4.56%	5.95%	8.28%	60.40%	58.52%
44	188,256	-3,028	-1.58%	14.26%	69.94%	0.50%	4.23%	0.05%	5.60%	5.40%	9.71%	72.72%	71.52%
45	190,692	-592	-0.31%	55.41%	17.52%	0.47%	10.75%	0.04%	6.32%	9.49%	14.66%	19.69%	18.58%
46	190,312	-972	-0.51%	68.86%	16.88%	0.35%	3.81%	0.04%	3.65%	6.40%	7.99%	18.49%	16.90%
47	190,607	-677	-0.35%	66.86%	17.14%	0.41%	2.70%	0.05%	5.81%	7.04%	11.22%	18.64%	17.42%
48	190,123	-1,161	-0.61%	50.35%	8.51%	0.26%	30.63%	0.04%	2.69%	7.52%	7.58%	9.93%	9.47%
49	189,355	-1,929	-1.01%	65.60%	7.32%	0.80%	2.17%	0.05%	13.52%	10.54%	26.24%	8.50%	7.96%
50	189,320	-1,964	-1.03%	80.96%	5.13%	0.49%	1.23%	0.05%	5.21%	6.93%	11.08%	6.19%	5.61%
51	190,167	-1,117	-0.58%	89.94%	0.88%	0.51%	0.60%	0.03%	2.50%	5.55%	5.43%	1.49%	1.21%
52	190,799	-485	-0.25%	73.61%	12.56%	0.54%	1.09%	0.03%	5.02%	7.14%	10.11%	14.20%	13.04%
53	190,236	-1,048	-0.55%	86.66%	4.52%	0.38%	1.01%	0.07%	1.96%	5.40%	3.98%	5.74%	5.10%
54	192,443	1,159	0.61%	71.00%	3.13%	1.54%	1.16%	0.03%	13.21%	9.94%	26.66%	4.22%	3.79%
55	190,155	-1,129	-0.59%	19.41%	63.85%	0.45%	4.23%	0.06%	4.93%	7.08%	10.14%	67.34%	65.97%
56	191,226	-58	-0.03%	75.62%	6.50%	0.26%	5.69%	0.04%	2.88%	9.02%	8.63%	8.08%	7.57%

Esselstyn Report: Attachment F

2021 Committee Guidelines

I. HEARINGS AND MEETINGS

A. PUBLIC HEARINGS

1. A series of public hearings were held to actively seek public participation and input concerning the General Assembly's redrawing of congressional and legislative districts.
2. Video recordings of all hearings are and shall remain available on the legislative website, www.legis.ga.gov

B. COMMITTEE MEETINGS

1. All formal meetings of the full committee will be open to the public.
2. When the General Assembly is not in session, notices of all such meetings will be posted at the Offices of the Clerk of the House or Secretary of the Senate and other appropriate places at least 24 hours in advance of any meeting. Individual notices may be transmitted by email to any citizen or organization requesting the same without charge. Persons or organizations needing this information should contact the Senate Press Office or House Communications Office or the Secretary of the Senate or Clerk of the House to be placed on the notification list.
3. Minutes of all such meetings shall be kept and maintained in accordance with the rules of the House and Senate. Copies of the minutes should be made available in a timely manner at a reasonable cost in accordance with these same rules.

II. PUBLIC ACCESS TO REDISTRICTING DATA AND MATERIALS

- A. Census information databases on any medium created at public expense and held by the Committee or by the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office for use in the redistricting process are included as public records and copies can be made available to the public in accordance with the rules of the General Assembly and subject to reasonable charges for search, retrieval, reproduction and other reasonable, related costs.
- B. Copies of the public records described above may be obtained at the cost of reproduction by members of the public on electronic media if the material exists on an appropriate electronic medium. Cost of reproduction may include not only the medium on which the copies made, but also the labor cost for the search, retrieval, and reproduction of the records and other reasonable, related costs.

- C. These guidelines regarding public access to redistricting data and materials do not apply to plans or other related materials prepared by or on behalf of an individual Member of the General Assembly using the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office, where those plans and materials have not been made public through presentation to the Committee.

III. REDISTRICTING PLANS

A. GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR DRAFTING PLANS

1. Each congressional district should be drawn with a total population of plus or minus one person from the ideal district size.
2. Each legislative district of the General Assembly should be drawn to achieve a total population that is substantially equal as practicable, considering the principles listed below.
3. All plans adopted by the Committee will comply with Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as amended.
4. All plans adopted by the Committee will comply with the United States and Georgia Constitutions.
5. Districts shall be composed of contiguous geography. Districts that connect on a single point are not contiguous.
6. No multi-member districts shall be drawn on any legislative redistricting plan.
7. The Committee should consider:
 - a. The boundaries of counties and precincts;
 - b. Compactness; and
 - c. Communities of interest.
8. Efforts should be made to avoid the unnecessary pairing of incumbents.
9. The identifying of these criteria is not intended to limit the consideration of any other principles or factors that the Committee deems appropriate.

B. PLANS PRODUCED THROUGH THE LEGISLATIVE AND CONGRESSIONAL REAPPORTIONMENT OFFICE

1. Staff of the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office will be available to all members of the General Assembly requesting assistance in accordance with the policy of that office.
2. Census data and redistricting work maps will be available to all members of the General Assembly upon request, provided that (a) the map was created by the requesting member, (b) the map is publicly available, or (c) the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office has been granted permission by the author of the map to share a copy with the requesting member.
3. As noted above, redistricting plans and other records related to the provision of staff services to individual members of the General Assembly will not be subject to public disclosure. Only the author of a particular map may waive the confidentiality of his or her own work product. This confidentiality provision will not apply with respect to records related to the provision of staff services to any committee or subcommittee as a whole or to any records which are or have been previously disclosed by or pursuant to the direction of an individual member of the General Assembly.

C. PLANS PRODUCED OUTSIDE OF THE LEGISLATIVE AND CONGRESSIONAL REAPPORTIONMENT OFFICE

1. All plans submitted to the Committee will be made part of the public record and made available in the same manner as other committee public records.
2. All plans prepared outside the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office must be submitted to that office prior to presentation to the Committee by a Member of the General Assembly for technical verification and presentation and bill preparation. All pieces of census geography must be accounted for in some district.
3. The electronic submission of material for technical verification must be made in accordance with the following requirements or in a manner specifically approved and accepted by the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office.
 - a. The submission shall be in electronic format with accompanying documentation that shows the submitting sponsor of the proposed plan and contact person for the proposed plan, including email address and telephone number.

- b. An electronic map image that clearly depicts defined boundaries, utilizing the 2020 United States Census geographic boundaries, and a block equivalency file containing two columns. The first column shall list the 15-digit census block identification numbers, and the second column shall list the three-digit district identification number. Both block and district numbers shall be zero-filled text files. Such files shall be submitted in .xis, .xlsx, .dbf, .txt, or .csv file formats. The following is a sample:

```
BlockID, DISTRICT
"13001950100101","008"
"13001950100102","008"
"13001950100103","008"
"13001950100104","008"
"13001950100105","008"
"13001950100106","008"
```

4. If submission of the plan cannot be done electronically, the following requirements must be followed:
 - a. All drafts, amendments, or revisions should be on clearly-depicted maps that follow the 2020 Census geographic boundaries and should be accompanied by a statistical sheet listing the Census geography including the total population for each district.
 - b. All plans submitted should either be a complete statewide plan or fit back into the plan that they modified, so that the proposal can be evaluated in the context of a statewide plan. All pieces of Census geography must be accounted for in some district.

D. GENERAL GUIDELINES FOR PRESENTATION OF ALL PLANS

1. A redistricting plan may be presented for consideration by the Committee only through the sponsorship of one or more Member(s) of the General Assembly. All such drafts of and amendments or revisions to plans presented at any committee meeting must be on clearly-depicted maps which follow the 2020 Census geographic boundaries and accompanied by a statistical sheet listing the Census geography, including the total population and minority populations for each proposed district.
2. No plan may be presented to the Committee unless that plan makes accommodations for and fits back into a specific, identified statewide map for the particular legislative body involved.

3. All plans presented at committee meetings will be made available for inspection by the public either electronically or by hard copy available at the Office of Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment.
- E. These guidelines may be reconsidered or amended by the Committee.

Esselstyn Report: Attachment G

Explanation of compactness measures

The following explanations of the five measures of compactness considered in the report are taken from the documentation that accompanies *Maptitude for Redistricting*, the software that was used to generate the compactness scores.

The **Reock** test is an area-based measure that compares each district to a circle, which is considered to be the most compact shape possible. For each district, the Reock test computes the ratio of the area of the district to the area of the minimum enclosing circle for the district. The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.

The **Schwartzberg** test is a perimeter-based measure that compares a simplified version of each district to a circle, which is considered to be the most compact shape possible. [...] For each district, the Schwartzberg test computes the ratio of the perimeter of the simplified version of the district to the perimeter of a circle with the same area as the original district. [...] This measure is usually greater than or equal to 1, with 1 being the most compact.

The **Polsby-Popper** test computes the ratio of the district area to the area of a circle with the same perimeter: $4\pi\text{Area}/(\text{Perimeter}^2)$. The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.

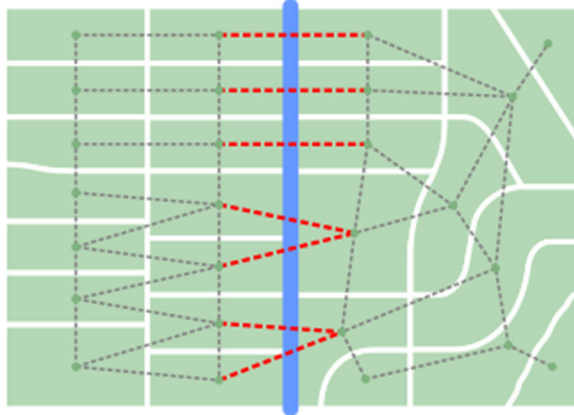
The **Area/Convex Hull** test computes the ratio the district area to the area of the convex hull of the district (minimum convex polygon which completely contains the district). The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.

The **Cut Edges** test counts the number of edges removed (“cut”) from the adjacency (dual) graph of the base layer to define the districting plan. The adjacency

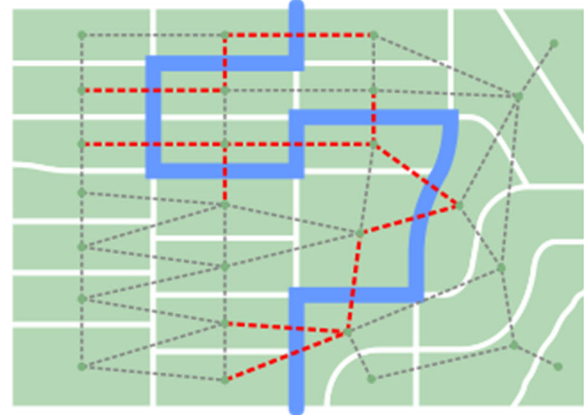
graph is defined by creating a node for each base layer area. An edge is added between two nodes if the two corresponding base layer areas are adjacent: i.e., share a common linear boundary. If such a boundary forms part of the district boundary then its corresponding edge is cut by the plan. The measure is a single number for the plan. A smaller number implies a more compact plan.

Explanatory graphic for the Cut Edges test (from same source):

This district boundary cuts 7 edges:



This district boundary cuts 12 edges:



Esselstyn Report: Attachment H

More detailed tables for comparative characteristics of State Senate plans

Population Deviation:

The deviation statistics for each individual district in the respective plans can be found in **Attachment D** and **Attachment E**. Below are the summary statistics generated by the *Maptitude for Redistricting* software.

Enacted plan:

Population Range:	189,320 to 193,163
Ratio Range:	0.02
Absolute Range:	-1,964 to 1,879
Absolute Overall Range:	3,843
Relative Range:	-1.00% to 0.98%
Relative Overall Range:	2.01%
Absolute Mean Deviation:	1,015.09
Relative Mean Deviation:	0.53%
Standard Deviation:	1,159.30

Illustrative plan:

Population Range:	188,237 to 194,919
Ratio Range:	0.04
Absolute Range:	-3,047 to 3,635
Absolute Overall Range:	6,682
Relative Range:	-1.00% to 1.90%
Relative Overall Range:	3.49%
Absolute Mean Deviation:	1,309.68
Relative Mean Deviation:	0.68%
Standard Deviation:	1,550.39

Compactness:

Below is the compactness report for the Senate enacted plan:

User:

Plan Name: GA Sen 000

Plan Type: Reference

Measures of Compactness Report

Thursday, January 13, 2022

1:11 PM

Number of cut edges: 11,005

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.17	1.31	0.13	0.50
Max	0.68	2.67	0.50	0.92
Mean	0.42	1.75	0.29	0.76
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.25	0.08	0.08

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
1	0.49	1.60	0.31	0.79
2	0.47	1.80	0.22	0.73
3	0.39	1.70	0.21	0.70
4	0.47	1.64	0.27	0.75
5	0.17	2.10	0.21	0.65
6	0.41	1.94	0.24	0.70
7	0.35	1.66	0.34	0.79
8	0.45	1.77	0.23	0.73
9	0.24	2.06	0.21	0.69
10	0.28	1.98	0.23	0.69
11	0.36	1.57	0.33	0.79

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Sen 000

Number of cut edges: 11,005

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.17	1.31	0.13	0.50
Max	0.68	2.67	0.50	0.92
Mean	0.42	1.75	0.29	0.76
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.25	0.08	0.08
District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
12	0.62	1.46	0.39	0.86
13	0.45	1.72	0.26	0.73
14	0.27	1.90	0.24	0.66
15	0.57	1.52	0.32	0.83
16	0.37	1.55	0.31	0.77
17	0.35	2.22	0.17	0.63
18	0.47	1.85	0.21	0.76
19	0.53	1.47	0.37	0.84
20	0.41	1.50	0.36	0.80
21	0.42	1.56	0.33	0.83
22	0.41	1.68	0.29	0.75
23	0.37	1.93	0.16	0.70
24	0.37	1.89	0.21	0.68
25	0.39	1.81	0.24	0.73

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Sen 000

Number of cut edges: 11,005

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.17	1.31	0.13	0.50
Max	0.68	2.67	0.50	0.92
Mean	0.42	1.75	0.29	0.76
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.25	0.08	0.08
District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
26	0.47	1.90	0.20	0.68
27	0.50	1.37	0.46	0.88
28	0.45	1.79	0.25	0.69
29	0.58	1.37	0.42	0.88
30	0.60	1.51	0.41	0.87
31	0.37	1.58	0.38	0.84
32	0.29	1.98	0.21	0.64
33	0.40	1.96	0.22	0.72
34	0.45	1.60	0.34	0.74
35	0.47	1.78	0.26	0.83
36	0.32	1.76	0.30	0.76
37	0.49	1.51	0.37	0.80
38	0.36	2.01	0.21	0.76
39	0.17	2.67	0.13	0.50

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Sen 000

Number of cut edges: 11,005

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.17	1.31	0.13	0.50
Max	0.68	2.67	0.50	0.92
Mean	0.42	1.75	0.29	0.76
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.25	0.08	0.08

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
40	0.51	1.65	0.34	0.78
41	0.51	1.78	0.30	0.74
42	0.48	1.73	0.32	0.82
43	0.64	1.56	0.35	0.85
44	0.18	2.12	0.19	0.68
45	0.35	1.72	0.30	0.73
46	0.37	1.99	0.21	0.72
47	0.36	2.06	0.19	0.66
48	0.35	1.61	0.34	0.79
49	0.46	1.55	0.34	0.79
50	0.45	1.79	0.23	0.72
51	0.68	1.31	0.50	0.92
52	0.47	1.80	0.25	0.72
53	0.49	1.48	0.40	0.90

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Sen 000

Number of cut edges: 11,005

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.17	1.31	0.13	0.50
Max	0.68	2.67	0.50	0.92
Mean	0.42	1.75	0.29	0.76
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.25	0.08	0.08
District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
54	0.60	1.38	0.44	0.83
55	0.34	1.84	0.27	0.81
56	0.38	1.70	0.30	0.80

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Sen 000

Measures of Compactness Summary

Reock	The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.
Schwartzberg	The measure is usually greater than or equal to 1, with 1 being the most compact.
Polsby-Popper	The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.
Area / Convex Hull	The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.
Cut Edges	A smaller number implies a more compact plan. The measure should only be used to compare plans defined on the same base layer.

Below is the compactness report for the Senate illustrative plan:

User:

Plan Name: GA Sen 004

Plan Type: Reference

Measures of Compactness Report

Thursday, January 13, 2022

1:32 PM

Number of cut edges: 10,998

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.17	1.31	0.13	0.52
Max	0.68	2.67	0.50	0.92
Mean	0.41	1.76	0.29	0.75
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.26	0.09	0.08

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
1	0.49	1.60	0.31	0.79
2	0.47	1.80	0.22	0.73
3	0.39	1.70	0.21	0.70
4	0.47	1.64	0.27	0.75
5	0.17	2.10	0.21	0.65
6	0.42	1.95	0.23	0.71
7	0.35	1.66	0.34	0.79
8	0.45	1.77	0.23	0.73
9	0.24	2.06	0.21	0.69
10	0.25	2.08	0.19	0.68
11	0.36	1.57	0.33	0.79

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Sen 004

Number of cut edges: 10,998

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.17	1.31	0.13	0.52
Max	0.68	2.67	0.50	0.92
Mean	0.41	1.76	0.29	0.75
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.26	0.09	0.08

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
12	0.62	1.46	0.39	0.86
13	0.48	1.70	0.25	0.76
14	0.27	1.90	0.24	0.66
15	0.57	1.52	0.32	0.83
16	0.40	1.66	0.31	0.74
17	0.35	2.21	0.16	0.60
18	0.38	1.91	0.20	0.66
19	0.53	1.47	0.37	0.84
20	0.28	1.83	0.24	0.71
21	0.42	1.56	0.33	0.83
22	0.33	1.70	0.32	0.74
23	0.34	1.93	0.17	0.68
24	0.27	1.87	0.23	0.72
25	0.57	1.55	0.34	0.80

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Sen 004

Number of cut edges: 10,998

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.17	1.31	0.13	0.52
Max	0.68	2.67	0.50	0.92
Mean	0.41	1.76	0.29	0.75
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.26	0.09	0.08
District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
26	0.44	1.56	0.25	0.77
27	0.50	1.37	0.46	0.88
28	0.38	2.17	0.19	0.66
29	0.58	1.37	0.42	0.88
30	0.41	1.55	0.38	0.84
31	0.40	1.43	0.46	0.86
32	0.29	1.98	0.21	0.64
33	0.40	1.96	0.22	0.72
34	0.31	2.07	0.20	0.62
35	0.59	1.48	0.42	0.86
36	0.32	1.76	0.30	0.76
37	0.49	1.51	0.37	0.80
38	0.37	2.05	0.20	0.75
39	0.18	2.67	0.13	0.52

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Sen 004

Number of cut edges: 10,998

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.17	1.31	0.13	0.52
Max	0.68	2.67	0.50	0.92
Mean	0.41	1.76	0.29	0.75
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.26	0.09	0.08
District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
40	0.51	1.65	0.34	0.78
41	0.51	1.78	0.30	0.74
42	0.47	1.96	0.25	0.78
43	0.49	1.82	0.25	0.79
44	0.33	1.95	0.24	0.72
45	0.35	1.72	0.30	0.73
46	0.37	1.99	0.21	0.72
47	0.36	2.06	0.19	0.66
48	0.35	1.61	0.34	0.79
49	0.46	1.55	0.34	0.79
50	0.45	1.79	0.23	0.72
51	0.68	1.31	0.50	0.92
52	0.47	1.80	0.25	0.72
53	0.49	1.48	0.40	0.90

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Sen 004

Number of cut edges: 10,998

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.17	1.31	0.13	0.52
Max	0.68	2.67	0.50	0.92
Mean	0.41	1.76	0.29	0.75
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.26	0.09	0.08
District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
54	0.60	1.38	0.44	0.83
55	0.34	1.84	0.27	0.81
56	0.38	1.70	0.30	0.80

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Sen 004

Measures of Compactness Summary

Reock	The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.
Schwartzberg	The measure is usually greater than or equal to 1, with 1 being the most compact.
Polsby-Popper	The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.
Area / Convex Hull	The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.
Cut Edges	A smaller number implies a more compact plan. The measure should only be used to compare plans defined on the same base layer.

Divisions of counties and precincts (VTDs):

Below is the political subdivisions splits report for the Senate enacted plan:

User:

Plan Name: **GA Sen 000**Plan Type: **Reference**

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

Thursday, January 13, 2022

1:25 PM

Number of subdivisions not split:

County 130

Number of subdivisions split into more than one district:

County 29

Number of splits involving no population:

County 0

Split Counts

County

Cases where an area is split among 2 Districts: 18

Cases where an area is split among 3 Districts: 7

Cases where an area is split among 6 Districts: 1

Cases where an area is split among 7 Districts: 1

Cases where an area is split among 9 Districts: 1

Cases where an area is split among 10 Districts: 1

Voting District

Cases where an area is split among 2 Districts: 46

Cases where an area is split among 3 Districts: 1

County	District	Population
<i>Split Counties:</i>		
Barrow GA	45	39,217
Barrow GA	46	17,116
Barrow GA	47	27,172
Bartow GA	37	11,130
Bartow GA	52	97,771
Bibb GA	18	53,182
Bibb GA	25	15,513
Bibb GA	26	88,651
Chatham GA	1	81,408
Chatham GA	2	190,408
Chatham GA	4	23,475
Cherokee GA	21	109,034
Cherokee GA	32	90,981
Cherokee GA	56	66,605
Clarke GA	46	52,016
Clarke GA	47	76,655
Clayton GA	34	158,608
Clayton GA	44	138,987
Cobb GA	6	92,249

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Sen 000

County	District	Population
Cobb GA	32	101,467
Cobb GA	33	192,694
Cobb GA	37	181,541
Cobb GA	38	108,305
Cobb GA	56	89,893
Coffee GA	13	19,881
Coffee GA	19	23,211
Columbia GA	23	59,796
Columbia GA	24	96,214
DeKalb GA	10	75,906
DeKalb GA	40	164,997
DeKalb GA	41	183,560
DeKalb GA	42	190,940
DeKalb GA	43	32,212
DeKalb GA	44	51,049
DeKalb GA	55	65,718
Douglas GA	28	25,889
Douglas GA	30	23,454
Douglas GA	35	94,894
Fayette GA	16	87,134
Fayette GA	34	32,060
Floyd GA	52	85,090
Floyd GA	53	13,494
Forsyth GA	27	190,676
Forsyth GA	48	60,607
Fulton GA	6	99,152
Fulton GA	14	192,533
Fulton GA	21	83,538
Fulton GA	28	6,963
Fulton GA	35	97,945
Fulton GA	36	192,282
Fulton GA	38	84,850
Fulton GA	39	191,500
Fulton GA	48	83,219
Fulton GA	56	34,728
Gordon GA	52	7,938
Gordon GA	54	49,606
Gwinnett GA	5	191,921
Gwinnett GA	7	189,709
Gwinnett GA	9	192,915
Gwinnett GA	40	25,547
Gwinnett GA	41	7,463
Gwinnett GA	45	151,475
Gwinnett GA	46	27,298
Gwinnett GA	48	46,297
Gwinnett GA	55	124,437
Hall GA	49	189,355

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Sen 000

County	District	Population
Hall GA	50	13,781
Henry GA	10	116,992
Henry GA	17	82,287
Henry GA	25	41,433
Houston GA	18	42,875
Houston GA	20	74,275
Houston GA	26	46,483
Jackson GA	47	56,660
Jackson GA	50	19,247
Muscogee GA	15	142,205
Muscogee GA	29	64,717
Newton GA	17	45,536
Newton GA	43	66,947
Paulding GA	30	18,954
Paulding GA	31	149,707
Richmond GA	22	193,163
Richmond GA	23	13,444
Walton GA	17	44,590
Walton GA	46	52,083
Ware GA	3	10,431
Ware GA	8	25,820
White GA	50	12,642
White GA	51	15,361
<i>Split VTDs:</i>		
Bibb GA	18	5,912
Bibb GA	25	31
Bibb GA	18	5,445
Bibb GA	25	0
Bibb GA	18	12,640
Bibb GA	25	14
Bibb GA	18	267
Bibb GA	25	2,103
Chatham GA	1	4,099
Chatham GA	4	755
Chatham GA	1	5,330
Chatham GA	4	4,407
Clarke GA	46	5,752
Clarke GA	47	4,194
Clarke GA	46	2,971
Clarke GA	47	2,036
Cobb GA	6	6,586
Cobb GA	33	6,310
Cobb GA	38	505
Cobb GA	32	3,771
Cobb GA	37	2,099
Cobb GA	32	1,471
Cobb GA	37	2,972

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Sen 000

County	District	Population
Cobb GA	32	3,439
Cobb GA	33	5,460
Cobb GA	6	0
Cobb GA	33	4,334
Cobb GA	6	3,022
Cobb GA	32	1,532
Cobb GA	6	993
Cobb GA	33	5,918
Cobb GA	6	2,398
Cobb GA	38	3,728
Cobb GA	33	7,049
Cobb GA	38	752
Cobb GA	33	12,988
Cobb GA	37	0
Cobb GA	6	4,963
Cobb GA	33	464
Cobb GA	6	5,051
Cobb GA	33	1,886
Cobb GA	6	4,624
Cobb GA	38	5,019
Coffee GA	13	12,595
Coffee GA	19	15,976
Floyd GA	52	1,024
Floyd GA	53	7,817
Forsyth GA	27	15,216
Forsyth GA	48	10,302
Forsyth GA	27	24,894
Forsyth GA	48	964
Fulton GA	21	2,971
Fulton GA	56	4,750
Fulton GA	21	4,274
Fulton GA	56	3,958
Fulton GA	35	223
Fulton GA	39	5,124
Fulton GA	35	1,852
Fulton GA	39	521
Gordon GA	52	1,641
Gordon GA	54	996
Gwinnett GA	45	2,699
Gwinnett GA	46	4,613
Gwinnett GA	5	2,075
Gwinnett GA	9	1,386
Gwinnett GA	5	5,605
Gwinnett GA	7	2,701
Hall GA	49	5,135
Hall GA	50	1,735
Hall GA	49	4,129

Political Subdivision Splits Between Districts

GA Sen 000

County	District	Population
Hall GA	50	10,220
Houston GA	18	5,178
Houston GA	20	8,151
Houston GA	18	3,625
Houston GA	20	9,869
Houston GA	20	0
Houston GA	26	17,798
Jackson GA	47	24,383
Jackson GA	50	0
Jackson GA	47	0
Jackson GA	50	19,247
Muscogee GA	15	6,919
Muscogee GA	29	2,228
Paulding GA	30	7,586
Paulding GA	31	2,162
Paulding GA	30	475
Paulding GA	31	12,958
Ware GA	3	2,672
Ware GA	8	3,692
Ware GA	3	0
Ware GA	8	4,133
Ware GA	3	0
Ware GA	8	2,107
Ware GA	3	4,626
Ware GA	8	406

Below is the political subdivisions splits report for the Senate illustrative plan:

User:

Plan Name: **GA Sen 004**Plan Type: **Reference**

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

Thursday, January 13, 2022

1:33 PM

Number of subdivisions not split:

County 125

Number of subdivisions split into more than one district:

County 34

Number of splits involving no population:

County 0

Split Counts

County

Cases where an area is split among 2 Districts: 22

Cases where an area is split among 3 Districts: 7

Cases where an area is split among 4 Districts: 1

Cases where an area is split among 6 Districts: 1

Cases where an area is split among 7 Districts: 1

Cases where an area is split among 9 Districts: 1

Cases where an area is split among 10 Districts: 1

Voting District

Cases where an area is split among 2 Districts: 48

Cases where an area is split among 3 Districts: 1

County	District	Population
<i>Split Counties:</i>		
Baldwin GA	17	12,340
Baldwin GA	23	31,459
Barrow GA	45	39,217
Barrow GA	46	17,116
Barrow GA	47	27,172
Bartow GA	37	11,130
Bartow GA	52	97,771
Chatham GA	1	81,408
Chatham GA	2	190,408
Chatham GA	4	23,475
Cherokee GA	21	109,034
Cherokee GA	32	90,981
Cherokee GA	56	66,605
Clarke GA	46	52,016
Clarke GA	47	76,655
Clayton GA	25	37,295
Clayton GA	28	19,071
Clayton GA	34	135,995

Political Subdivision Splits Between Districts

GA Sen 004

County	District	Population
Clayton GA	44	105,234
Cobb GA	6	97,590
Cobb GA	32	101,467
Cobb GA	33	192,694
Cobb GA	37	181,541
Cobb GA	38	102,964
Cobb GA	56	89,893
Coffee GA	13	19,881
Coffee GA	19	23,211
Columbia GA	22	30,174
Columbia GA	24	125,836
Coweta GA	16	39,894
Coweta GA	28	74,804
Coweta GA	30	31,460
DeKalb GA	10	82,066
DeKalb GA	40	164,997
DeKalb GA	41	183,560
DeKalb GA	42	190,153
DeKalb GA	43	17,660
DeKalb GA	44	60,228
DeKalb GA	55	65,718
Fayette GA	16	49,274
Fayette GA	28	17,678
Fayette GA	34	52,242
Floyd GA	52	85,090
Floyd GA	53	13,494
Forsyth GA	27	190,676
Forsyth GA	48	60,607
Fulton GA	6	94,244
Fulton GA	14	192,533
Fulton GA	21	83,538
Fulton GA	28	78,143
Fulton GA	35	30,198
Fulton GA	36	192,282
Fulton GA	38	87,641
Fulton GA	39	190,184
Fulton GA	48	83,219
Fulton GA	56	34,728
Gordon GA	52	7,938
Gordon GA	54	49,606
Greene GA	17	14,168
Greene GA	23	4,747
Gwinnett GA	5	191,921
Gwinnett GA	7	189,709
Gwinnett GA	9	192,915
Gwinnett GA	40	25,547
Gwinnett GA	41	7,463

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Sen 004

County	District	Population
Gwinnett GA	45	151,475
Gwinnett GA	46	27,298
Gwinnett GA	48	46,297
Gwinnett GA	55	124,437
Hall GA	49	189,355
Hall GA	50	13,781
Henry GA	10	62,505
Henry GA	25	155,413
Henry GA	44	22,794
Houston GA	18	96,912
Houston GA	20	33,532
Houston GA	26	33,189
Jackson GA	47	56,660
Jackson GA	50	19,247
McDuffie GA	23	12,164
McDuffie GA	24	9,468
Muscogee GA	15	142,205
Muscogee GA	29	64,717
Newton GA	17	9,333
Newton GA	43	103,150
Paulding GA	31	149,902
Paulding GA	35	18,759
Richmond GA	22	158,756
Richmond GA	23	47,851
Rockdale GA	10	22,596
Rockdale GA	43	70,974
Walton GA	17	44,590
Walton GA	46	52,083
Ware GA	3	10,431
Ware GA	8	25,820
White GA	50	12,642
White GA	51	15,361
Wilcox GA	13	5,579
Wilcox GA	20	3,187
Wilkes GA	23	3,747
Wilkes GA	24	5,818
<i>Split VTDs:</i>		
Baldwin GA	17	2,269
Baldwin GA	23	1,395
Baldwin GA	17	3,477
Baldwin GA	23	229
Chatham GA	1	4,099
Chatham GA	4	755
Chatham GA	1	5,330
Chatham GA	4	4,407
Clarke GA	46	5,752
Clarke GA	47	4,194

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Sen 004

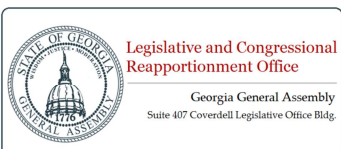
County	District	Population
Clarke GA	46	2,971
Clarke GA	47	2,036
Cobb GA	6	6,586
Cobb GA	33	6,310
Cobb GA	38	505
Cobb GA	32	3,771
Cobb GA	37	2,099
Cobb GA	32	1,471
Cobb GA	37	2,972
Cobb GA	32	3,439
Cobb GA	33	5,460
Cobb GA	6	0
Cobb GA	33	4,334
Cobb GA	6	3,022
Cobb GA	32	1,532
Cobb GA	6	993
Cobb GA	33	5,918
Cobb GA	6	2,398
Cobb GA	38	3,728
Cobb GA	33	7,049
Cobb GA	38	752
Cobb GA	33	12,988
Cobb GA	37	0
Cobb GA	6	4,963
Cobb GA	33	464
Cobb GA	6	5,051
Cobb GA	33	1,886
Cobb GA	6	5,341
Cobb GA	38	1,292
Cobb GA	6	4,624
Cobb GA	38	5,019
Coffee GA	13	12,595
Coffee GA	19	15,976
DeKalb GA	10	2,263
DeKalb GA	44	396
DeKalb GA	10	3,339
DeKalb GA	44	1,682
Floyd GA	52	1,024
Floyd GA	53	7,817
Forsyth GA	27	15,216
Forsyth GA	48	10,302
Forsyth GA	27	24,894
Forsyth GA	48	964
Fulton GA	21	2,971
Fulton GA	56	4,750
Fulton GA	21	4,274
Fulton GA	56	3,958

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Sen 004

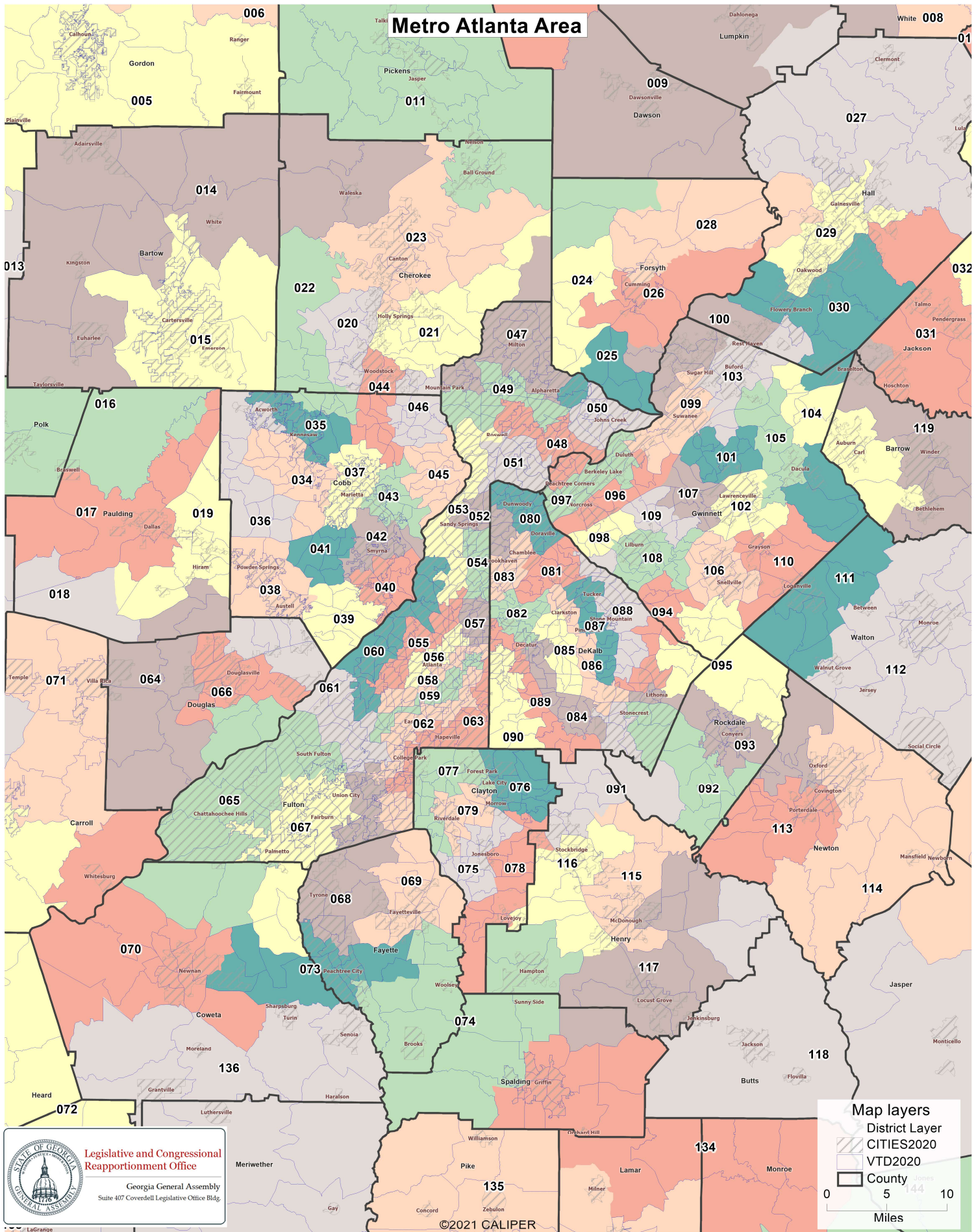
County	District	Population
Fulton GA	28	681
Fulton GA	35	317
Fulton GA	28	223
Fulton GA	39	5,124
Fulton GA	28	15
Fulton GA	35	4,019
Fulton GA	35	1,852
Fulton GA	39	521
Gordon GA	52	1,641
Gordon GA	54	996
Gwinnett GA	45	2,699
Gwinnett GA	46	4,613
Gwinnett GA	5	2,075
Gwinnett GA	9	1,386
Gwinnett GA	5	5,605
Gwinnett GA	7	2,701
Hall GA	49	5,135
Hall GA	50	1,735
Hall GA	49	4,129
Hall GA	50	10,220
Houston GA	20	0
Houston GA	26	17,798
Jackson GA	47	24,383
Jackson GA	50	0
Jackson GA	47	0
Jackson GA	50	19,247
Muscogee GA	15	6,919
Muscogee GA	29	2,228
Paulding GA	31	971
Paulding GA	35	9,922
Paulding GA	31	4,596
Paulding GA	35	8,837
Ware GA	3	2,672
Ware GA	8	3,692
Ware GA	3	0
Ware GA	8	4,133
Ware GA	3	0
Ware GA	8	2,107
Ware GA	3	4,626
Ware GA	8	406
Wilcox GA	13	786
Wilcox GA	20	794

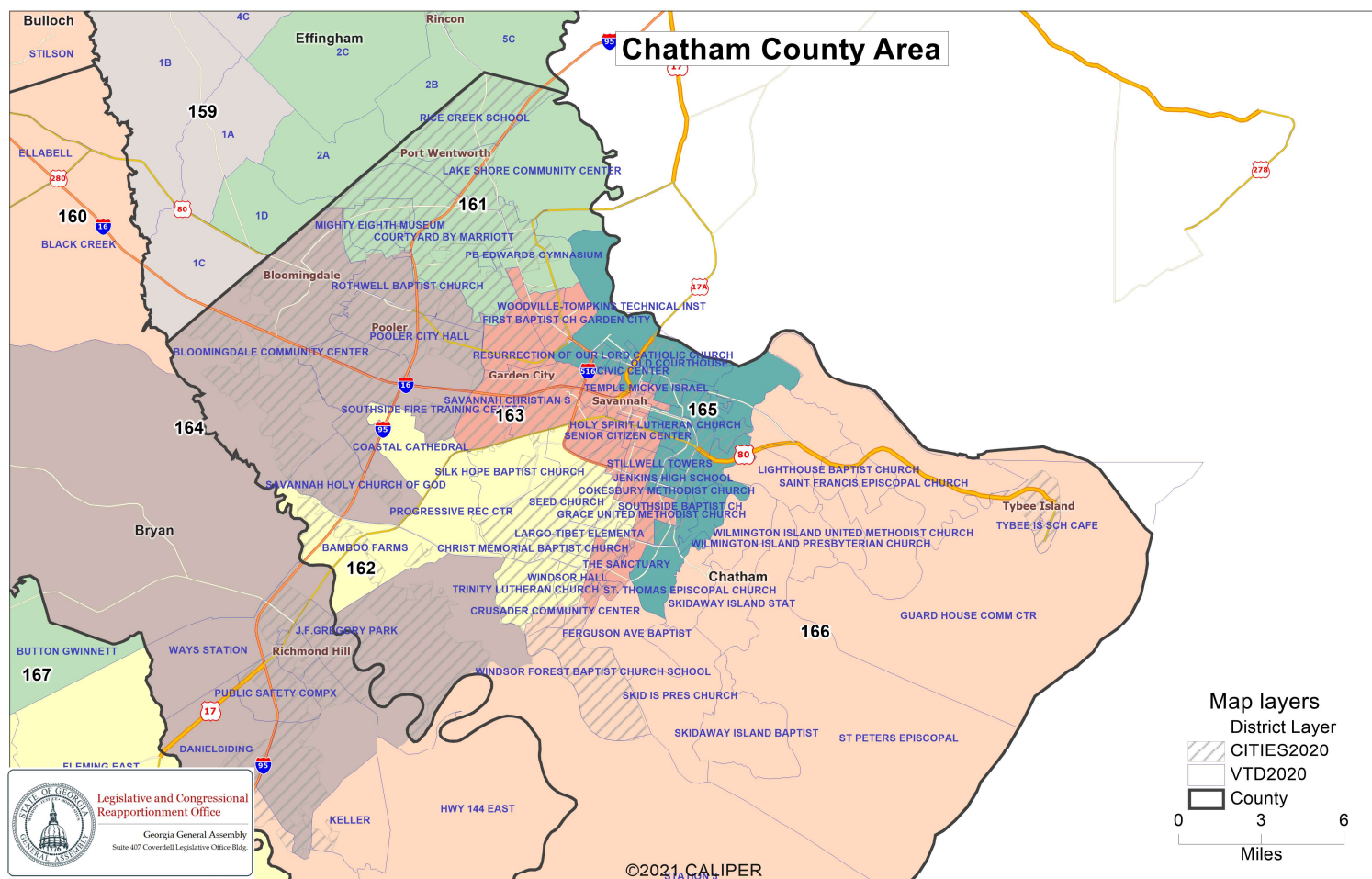
Esselstyn Report: Attachment I



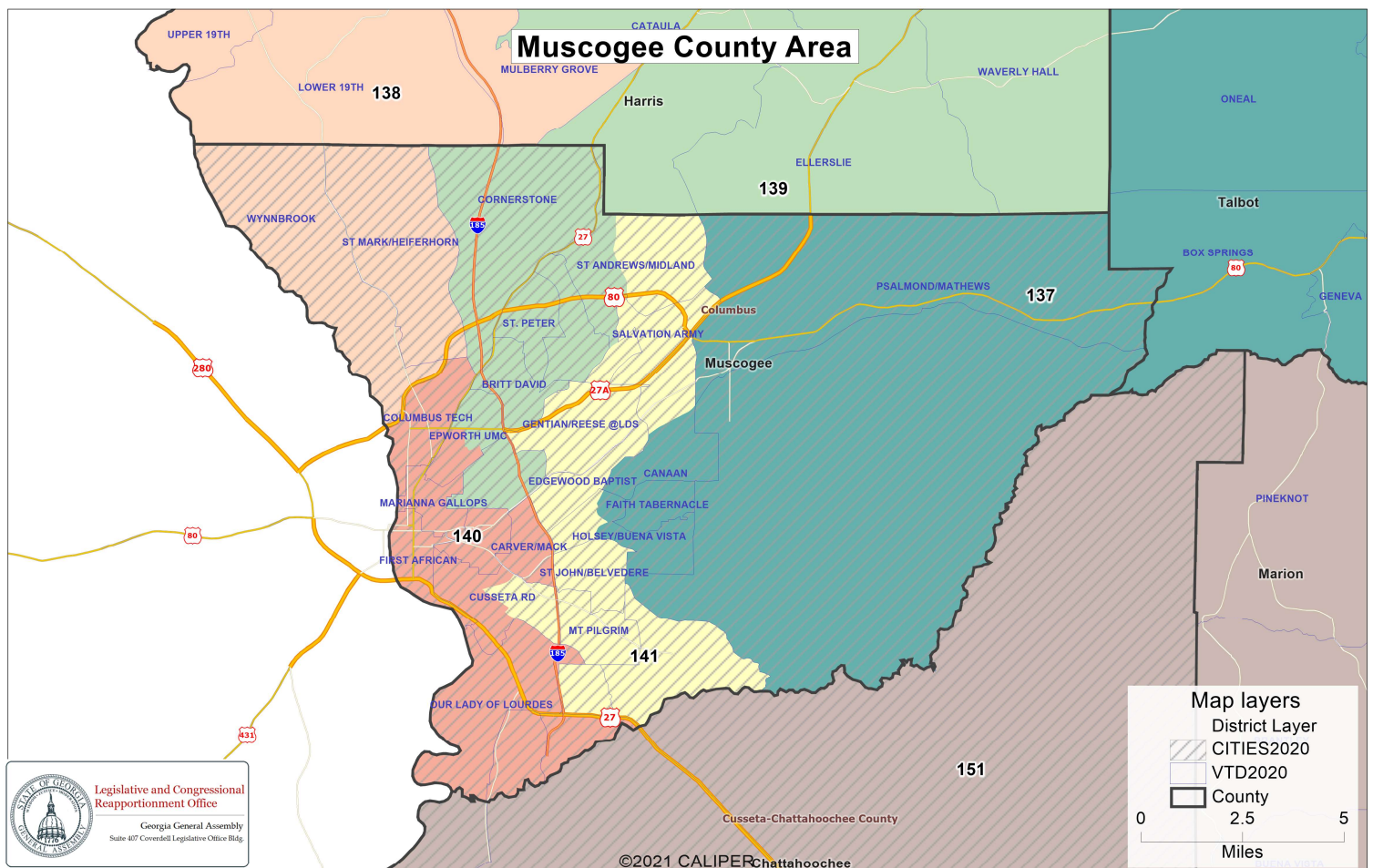
Proposed Georgia House Districts

Client: H097
Plan: House-prop1-2021
Type: House



[illegible]

Bibb County Area



User: H097

Plan Name: House-prop1-2021

Plan Type: House

Population Summary

Summary Statistics:

Population Range:	58,678 to 60,308
Ratio Range:	0.03
Absolute Range:	-833 to 797
Absolute Overall Range:	1,630
Relative Range:	-1.40% to 1.34%
Relative Overall Range:	2.74%
Absolute Mean Deviation:	363.71
Relative Mean Deviation:	0.61%
Standard Deviation:	417.67

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[18+_Pop]	[% 18+_Pop]	[% NH_Wht]	[% NH_Blkl]	[% Hispanic Origin]	[% NH_Asn]	[% NH_Ind]	[% NH_Hwn]	[% NH_Oth]	[% NH_2+ Races]
001	59,666	155	0.26%	46,801	78.44%	87.88%	3.9%	2.59%	0.53%	0.31%	0.04%	0.3%	4.45%
002	59,773	262	0.44%	46,159	77.22%	83.24%	2.56%	9.09%	1.1%	0.18%	0.02%	0.26%	3.55%
003	60,199	688	1.16%	46,716	77.6%	86.9%	2.82%	3.6%	1.63%	0.27%	0.14%	0.18%	4.46%
004	59,070	-441	-0.74%	42,798	72.45%	42.01%	4.17%	50.07%	1.23%	0.17%	0.02%	0.28%	2.05%
005	58,837	-674	-1.13%	44,623	75.84%	75.46%	3.76%	15.29%	1.24%	0.2%	0.02%	0.22%	3.81%
006	59,712	201	0.34%	45,152	75.62%	80.15%	1.01%	14.51%	0.51%	0.2%	0.01%	0.2%	3.4%
007	59,081	-430	-0.72%	48,771	82.55%	87.97%	0.37%	7.43%	0.45%	0.26%	0.01%	0.24%	3.27%
008	59,244	-267	-0.45%	49,612	83.74%	90.8%	1.13%	3.21%	0.54%	0.3%	0.01%	0.34%	3.67%
009	59,474	-37	-0.06%	48,273	81.17%	87.78%	1.01%	5.49%	0.79%	0.37%	0.06%	0.36%	4.15%
010	59,519	8	0.01%	47,164	79.24%	78.61%	2.97%	13.11%	1.51%	0.17%	0.06%	0.24%	3.33%
011	58,792	-719	-1.21%	45,396	77.21%	87.43%	1.55%	5.33%	1.15%	0.22%	0.02%	0.3%	4%
012	59,300	-211	-0.35%	46,487	78.39%	78.45%	8.61%	7.68%	1.01%	0.16%	0.01%	0.42%	3.68%
013	59,150	-361	-0.61%	45,176	76.38%	62.24%	18.71%	13.52%	1.29%	0.22%	0.03%	0.33%	3.65%
014	59,135	-376	-0.63%	45,511	76.96%	81.38%	5.86%	7.04%	0.77%	0.21%	0.03%	0.34%	4.36%
015	59,213	-298	-0.50%	45,791	77.33%	68.38%	13.61%	11.74%	1.3%	0.25%	0.04%	0.49%	4.19%
016	59,402	-109	-0.18%	44,009	74.09%	72.9%	11.15%	10.95%	0.76%	0.22%	0.05%	0.43%	3.54%
017	59,120	-391	-0.66%	42,761	72.33%	63.28%	22.06%	7.9%	1.33%	0.23%	0.07%	0.64%	4.49%
018	59,335	-176	-0.30%	45,159	76.11%	84.78%	7.11%	2.93%	0.59%	0.23%	0.04%	0.35%	3.97%
019	58,955	-556	-0.93%	44,299	75.14%	62.06%	23.47%	7.87%	1.14%	0.25%	0.08%	0.64%	4.49%
020	60,107	596	1.00%	45,725	76.07%	73.93%	8.13%	10.6%	1.97%	0.16%	0.04%	0.63%	4.54%
021	59,529	18	0.03%	44,931	75.48%	80.04%	4.29%	8.54%	1.84%	0.19%	0.04%	0.66%	4.4%
022	59,460	-51	-0.09%	45,815	77.05%	62.53%	13.94%	13.26%	3.86%	0.2%	0.03%	0.81%	5.37%
023	59,048	-463	-0.78%	44,254	74.95%	71.47%	5.64%	17.19%	1.06%	0.22%	0.04%	0.36%	4.01%
024	59,011	-500	-0.84%	41,814	70.86%	60.13%	6%	11.36%	17.65%	0.21%	0.04%	0.62%	3.98%
025	59,414	-97	-0.16%	42,520	71.57%	51.99%	5%	5.42%	33.55%	0.15%	0.03%	0.51%	3.36%
026	59,248	-263	-0.44%	44,081	74.4%	63.48%	3.29%	12.07%	16.8%	0.18%	0.04%	0.5%	3.64%
027	58,795	-716	-1.20%	46,004	78.24%	79.69%	3.22%	11.82%	0.82%	0.19%	0.04%	0.3%	3.91%
028	58,972	-539	-0.91%	44,444	75.36%	76.5%	3.39%	13.59%	2.06%	0.16%	0.03%	0.4%	3.86%
029	59,200	-311	-0.52%	43,131	72.86%	36.05%	12.13%	46.28%	2.72%	0.12%	0.06%	0.41%	2.23%

Population Summary

House-prop1-2021

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[18+_Pop]	[% 18+_Pop]	[% NH_Wht]	[% NH_Blkl]	[% Hispanic Origin]	[% NH_Asn]	[% NH_Ind]	[% NH_Hwn]	[% NH_Oth]	[% NH_2+ Races]
030	59,266	-245	-0.41%	45,414	76.63%	67.03%	7.37%	18.78%	3.04%	0.15%	0.03%	0.34%	3.26%
031	59,901	390	0.66%	43,120	71.99%	65.57%	6.64%	21.63%	2.27%	0.19%	0.02%	0.37%	3.31%
032	59,145	-366	-0.62%	45,942	77.68%	80.8%	7.24%	6.03%	1.26%	0.29%	0.05%	0.25%	4.09%
033	59,187	-324	-0.54%	46,498	78.56%	79.94%	10.97%	4.08%	1.2%	0.15%	0.01%	0.36%	3.29%
034	59,875	364	0.61%	45,758	76.42%	66.59%	14.46%	9.06%	4.41%	0.11%	0.04%	0.68%	4.65%
035	59,889	378	0.64%	48,312	80.67%	50.12%	26.55%	12.7%	4.43%	0.21%	0.04%	0.9%	5.04%
036	59,994	483	0.81%	44,911	74.86%	68.01%	16.01%	7.46%	3.07%	0.14%	0.03%	0.73%	4.55%
037	59,176	-335	-0.56%	46,223	78.11%	42.2%	26%	21.96%	4.5%	0.21%	0.03%	1%	4.11%
038	59,317	-194	-0.33%	44,839	75.59%	25.93%	52.72%	14.72%	1.77%	0.22%	0.07%	0.7%	3.88%
039	59,381	-130	-0.22%	44,436	74.83%	20.6%	52.08%	21.79%	1.5%	0.14%	0.03%	0.65%	3.2%
040	59,044	-467	-0.78%	47,976	81.25%	48.94%	30.78%	6.43%	8.54%	0.17%	0.02%	0.7%	4.43%
041	60,122	611	1.03%	45,271	75.3%	23.42%	36.44%	33.22%	2.81%	0.18%	0.05%	0.86%	3.02%
042	59,620	109	0.18%	48,525	81.39%	35.47%	31.18%	20.49%	7.11%	0.19%	0.03%	1.15%	4.37%
043	59,464	-47	-0.08%	47,033	79.09%	43.32%	24.35%	15.85%	7.83%	0.21%	0.09%	2.4%	5.96%
044	60,002	491	0.83%	46,773	77.95%	64.71%	10.98%	11.99%	5.71%	0.18%	0.02%	1.17%	5.24%
045	59,738	227	0.38%	44,023	73.69%	72.29%	4.14%	5.5%	12.94%	0.07%	0.02%	0.67%	4.38%
046	59,108	-403	-0.68%	44,132	74.66%	72.43%	6.76%	8.24%	6.93%	0.12%	0.04%	0.82%	4.66%
047	59,126	-385	-0.65%	43,932	74.3%	61.71%	9.44%	7.83%	15.91%	0.2%	0.03%	0.7%	4.17%
048	59,003	-508	-0.85%	44,779	75.89%	59.05%	10.16%	14.1%	11.77%	0.08%	0.05%	0.64%	4.16%
049	59,153	-358	-0.60%	45,263	76.52%	68.94%	7.2%	7.56%	11.41%	0.1%	0.02%	0.68%	4.09%
050	59,523	12	0.02%	43,940	73.82%	41.55%	11.04%	7.06%	35.46%	0.09%	0.04%	0.66%	4.1%
051	58,952	-559	-0.94%	47,262	80.17%	51.02%	21.93%	15.47%	5.83%	0.17%	0.04%	1.03%	4.51%
052	59,811	300	0.50%	48,525	81.13%	53.81%	13.71%	7.98%	19.72%	0.14%	0.06%	0.72%	3.86%
053	59,953	442	0.74%	46,944	78.3%	70.3%	12.31%	8.2%	4.46%	0.1%	0.02%	0.63%	3.98%
054	60,083	572	0.96%	50,338	83.78%	61.03%	12.98%	15.17%	6.51%	0.14%	0.03%	0.57%	3.56%
055	59,971	460	0.77%	49,255	82.13%	33.78%	54.54%	5.14%	2.85%	0.18%	0.03%	0.4%	3.09%
056	58,929	-582	-0.98%	52,757	89.53%	34.03%	46.33%	5.81%	9.32%	0.18%	0.07%	0.45%	3.8%
057	59,969	458	0.77%	52,097	86.87%	62.89%	15.57%	8.83%	7.58%	0.11%	0.02%	0.65%	4.36%
058	59,057	-454	-0.76%	50,514	85.53%	24.98%	63.09%	5.03%	2.76%	0.14%	0.03%	0.51%	3.45%
059	59,434	-77	-0.13%	49,179	82.75%	19.37%	69.55%	4.45%	2.52%	0.16%	0.02%	0.56%	3.36%
060	59,709	198	0.33%	45,490	76.19%	26.72%	61.76%	5.87%	2.04%	0.17%	0.05%	0.44%	2.96%
061	59,302	-209	-0.35%	45,447	76.64%	14.79%	71.51%	9.1%	0.87%	0.15%	0.06%	0.54%	2.98%
062	59,450	-61	-0.10%	46,426	78.09%	17.17%	70.09%	7.61%	1.13%	0.21%	0.04%	0.53%	3.22%
063	59,381	-130	-0.22%	45,043	75.85%	16.74%	68%	10.42%	1.32%	0.21%	0.03%	0.51%	2.78%
064	58,986	-525	-0.88%	44,189	74.91%	54.76%	29.35%	8.84%	1.37%	0.27%	0.03%	0.78%	4.6%
065	59,464	-47	-0.08%	44,386	74.64%	29.55%	60.08%	5.23%	1.08%	0.18%	0.06%	0.57%	3.27%
066	59,047	-464	-0.78%	44,278	74.99%	29.98%	52.03%	11.05%	1.72%	0.24%	0.07%	0.79%	4.11%
067	59,135	-376	-0.63%	44,299	74.91%	29.09%	57.14%	8.71%	1.29%	0.18%	0.03%	0.5%	3.06%
068	59,477	-34	-0.06%	44,835	75.38%	31.15%	54.67%	7.3%	2.79%	0.16%	0.04%	0.7%	3.19%
069	58,682	-829	-1.39%	45,548	77.62%	24.1%	61.87%	6.47%	3.04%	0.17%	0.04%	0.89%	3.41%
070	59,121	-390	-0.66%	45,249	76.54%	56.51%	27.61%	9.08%	2.17%	0.2%	0.05%	0.47%	3.9%
071	59,538	27	0.05%	44,582	74.88%	67.15%	18.89%	7.44%	0.96%	0.25%	0.02%	0.51%	4.78%
072	59,660	149	0.25%	46,229	77.49%	67.26%	19.34%	8.16%	0.96%	0.2%	0.02%	0.3%	3.75%
073	60,036	525	0.88%	45,736	76.18%	69.92%	11.27%	7.96%	5.88%	0.15%	0.03%	0.52%	4.26%

Population Summary

House-prop1-2021

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[18+_Pop]	[% 18+_Pop]	[% NH_Wht]	[% NH_Blkl]	[% Hispanic Origin]	[% NH_Asn]	[% NH_Ind]	[% NH_Hwn]	[% NH_Oth]	[% NH_2+ Races]
074	58,956	-555	-0.93%	44,696	75.81%	61.32%	25.24%	6.67%	2.05%	0.2%	0.02%	0.52%	3.98%
075	59,743	232	0.39%	43,850	73.4%	9.24%	71.27%	12.97%	2.66%	0.19%	0.06%	0.71%	2.9%
076	59,759	248	0.42%	44,371	74.25%	8.61%	64.24%	15.61%	8.11%	0.19%	0.04%	0.57%	2.63%
077	59,242	-269	-0.45%	44,207	74.62%	6.22%	72.49%	14.22%	4.03%	0.22%	0.06%	0.5%	2.27%
078	59,044	-467	-0.78%	44,572	75.49%	12.69%	69.39%	9.94%	4.03%	0.19%	0.03%	0.65%	3.08%
079	59,500	-11	-0.02%	43,223	72.64%	5.69%	68.19%	18.11%	4.87%	0.21%	0.01%	0.57%	2.34%
080	59,461	-50	-0.08%	44,784	75.32%	45.02%	11.65%	26.17%	13.02%	0.08%	0.04%	0.63%	3.39%
081	59,007	-504	-0.85%	46,259	78.4%	44.28%	18.64%	24.58%	8.14%	0.14%	0.02%	0.55%	3.65%
082	59,724	213	0.36%	50,238	84.12%	61.86%	14.34%	7.52%	11.03%	0.11%	0.03%	0.65%	4.46%
083	59,416	-95	-0.16%	46,581	78.4%	44.13%	12.06%	33.75%	6.29%	0.1%	0.02%	0.61%	3.03%
084	59,862	351	0.59%	47,350	79.1%	21.11%	69.74%	3.4%	1.4%	0.16%	0.03%	0.59%	3.58%
085	59,373	-138	-0.23%	46,308	78%	17.08%	60.18%	5.99%	12.29%	0.25%	0.02%	0.68%	3.5%
086	59,205	-306	-0.51%	44,614	75.36%	10.6%	71.76%	4.64%	9.02%	0.15%	0.02%	0.67%	3.14%
087	59,709	198	0.33%	45,615	76.4%	11.48%	70.08%	7.73%	6.46%	0.21%	0.02%	0.7%	3.33%
088	59,689	178	0.30%	46,073	77.19%	15.98%	60.71%	11.46%	7.49%	0.23%	0.06%	0.68%	3.39%
089	59,866	355	0.60%	46,198	77.17%	30.38%	59.77%	3.8%	1.78%	0.15%	0.03%	0.48%	3.6%
090	59,812	301	0.51%	48,015	80.28%	32.08%	57.15%	4.65%	1.58%	0.12%	0.03%	0.62%	3.76%
091	60,050	539	0.91%	46,173	76.89%	19.7%	67.92%	7%	1.39%	0.17%	0.04%	0.54%	3.25%
092	60,273	762	1.28%	46,551	77.23%	20.98%	67.63%	5.49%	1.58%	0.16%	0.04%	0.74%	3.39%
093	60,118	607	1.02%	44,734	74.41%	19.94%	63.27%	11.24%	1.34%	0.16%	0.1%	0.69%	3.26%
094	59,211	-300	-0.50%	44,809	75.68%	16.38%	65.88%	8.72%	4.85%	0.19%	0.02%	0.58%	3.37%
095	60,030	519	0.87%	44,948	74.88%	18.79%	64.99%	9.32%	2.29%	0.19%	0.05%	0.73%	3.63%
096	59,515	4	0.01%	44,671	75.06%	17.47%	20.71%	40.49%	17.64%	0.15%	0.06%	0.72%	2.76%
097	59,072	-439	-0.74%	46,339	78.44%	33.19%	25.12%	21.86%	15%	0.19%	0.05%	0.68%	3.92%
098	59,998	487	0.82%	42,734	71.23%	9.69%	19.56%	57.42%	10.69%	0.13%	0.05%	0.6%	1.86%
099	59,850	339	0.57%	45,004	75.19%	39.77%	13.49%	9.52%	32.49%	0.15%	0.04%	0.56%	3.98%
100	60,030	519	0.87%	42,669	71.08%	55.88%	9.01%	10.85%	19.49%	0.18%	0.05%	0.53%	4.01%
101	59,938	427	0.72%	46,584	77.72%	37.36%	22.37%	20.17%	15.23%	0.16%	0.05%	0.7%	3.96%
102	58,959	-552	-0.93%	42,968	72.88%	26.79%	36.41%	23.45%	8.97%	0.22%	0.03%	0.69%	3.44%
103	60,197	686	1.15%	44,399	73.76%	49.51%	15.16%	19.06%	11.68%	0.13%	0.04%	0.61%	3.81%
104	59,362	-149	-0.25%	43,306	72.95%	60.44%	15.61%	12.64%	6.32%	0.16%	0.04%	0.6%	4.2%
105	59,344	-167	-0.28%	43,474	73.26%	38.89%	27.8%	18.1%	10.56%	0.1%	0.03%	0.65%	3.88%
106	59,112	-399	-0.67%	43,890	74.25%	36.66%	35.66%	12.66%	9.78%	0.17%	0.03%	0.81%	4.23%
107	59,702	191	0.32%	44,509	74.55%	19.03%	27.46%	34.49%	15.45%	0.16%	0.03%	0.64%	2.73%
108	59,577	66	0.11%	44,308	74.37%	38.96%	17.34%	20.98%	18.06%	0.17%	0.03%	0.67%	3.78%
109	59,630	119	0.20%	44,140	74.02%	13.5%	29.44%	39.32%	14.39%	0.14%	0.05%	0.63%	2.54%
110	59,951	440	0.74%	43,226	72.1%	32.7%	45.9%	11.87%	4.49%	0.18%	0.04%	0.84%	3.97%
111	60,009	498	0.84%	44,096	73.48%	60.53%	21.74%	10.37%	2.5%	0.18%	0.04%	0.73%	3.91%
112	59,349	-162	-0.27%	45,120	76.02%	71.55%	18.88%	4%	1.27%	0.2%	0.04%	0.47%	3.59%
113	60,053	542	0.91%	44,538	74.16%	28.82%	57.75%	7.78%	0.79%	0.14%	0.12%	0.62%	3.98%
114	59,867	356	0.60%	45,872	76.62%	66.9%	23.89%	4.53%	0.7%	0.18%	0.03%	0.45%	3.33%
115	60,174	663	1.11%	44,807	74.46%	33.12%	51.3%	7.88%	2.67%	0.17%	0.04%	0.81%	4%
116	59,913	402	0.68%	45,791	76.43%	23.87%	56.71%	8.14%	6.39%	0.18%	0.08%	0.83%	3.81%
117	60,130	619	1.04%	44,973	74.79%	51.61%	35.88%	6.28%	1.53%	0.17%	0.04%	0.59%	3.9%

Population Summary

House-prop1-2021

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[18+_Pop]	[% 18+_Pop]	[% NH_Wht]	[% NH_Blkl]	[% Hispanic Origin]	[% NH_Asn]	[% NH_Ind]	[% NH_Hwn]	[% NH_Oth]	[% NH_2+ Races]
118	59,987	476	0.80%	46,342	77.25%	68.26%	22.55%	4.5%	0.43%	0.18%	0.02%	0.47%	3.59%
119	58,947	-564	-0.95%	44,005	74.65%	66.88%	12.47%	12.17%	3.83%	0.16%	0.02%	0.58%	3.89%
120	58,982	-529	-0.89%	46,767	79.29%	69.85%	13.48%	8.42%	4.05%	0.15%	0.05%	0.5%	3.49%
121	59,127	-384	-0.65%	46,598	78.81%	75.06%	8.66%	6.27%	5.64%	0.11%	0%	0.53%	3.73%
122	59,632	121	0.20%	48,840	81.9%	49.13%	30.63%	13.78%	2.13%	0.28%	0.06%	0.86%	3.13%
123	59,282	-229	-0.38%	46,572	78.56%	65.88%	23.82%	5.33%	1.14%	0.17%	0.02%	0.26%	3.39%
124	59,221	-290	-0.49%	47,638	80.44%	61.53%	26.06%	7.57%	1.14%	0.19%	0.02%	0.37%	3.12%
125	60,137	626	1.05%	43,812	72.85%	60%	21.67%	8.93%	2.4%	0.29%	0.19%	0.52%	5.99%
126	59,260	-251	-0.42%	45,497	76.78%	37.81%	53.88%	3.63%	0.76%	0.27%	0.15%	0.37%	3.13%
127	58,678	-833	-1.40%	45,889	78.2%	65.92%	17.12%	5.58%	5.63%	0.18%	0.18%	0.51%	4.88%
128	58,864	-647	-1.09%	46,488	78.98%	44.14%	51%	1.91%	0.36%	0.19%	0.03%	0.17%	2.22%
129	58,829	-682	-1.15%	46,873	79.68%	33.83%	54.95%	4.74%	2.1%	0.21%	0.14%	0.43%	3.6%
130	59,203	-308	-0.52%	44,019	74.35%	30.19%	60.27%	4.33%	0.79%	0.24%	0.16%	0.42%	3.6%
131	58,890	-621	-1.04%	42,968	72.96%	65.57%	15.99%	7.07%	4.92%	0.19%	0.14%	0.61%	5.51%
132	59,142	-369	-0.62%	46,752	79.05%	33.1%	51.88%	7.91%	2.38%	0.26%	0.19%	0.37%	3.91%
133	59,202	-309	-0.52%	47,222	79.76%	56.35%	37.05%	2.42%	1.12%	0.15%	0.04%	0.38%	2.48%
134	59,396	-115	-0.19%	45,110	75.95%	56.72%	34.18%	4.39%	0.74%	0.22%	0.02%	0.35%	3.37%
135	60,063	552	0.93%	46,725	77.79%	70.69%	22.83%	2.21%	0.51%	0.16%	0.01%	0.33%	3.25%
136	59,298	-213	-0.36%	45,367	76.51%	62.16%	28%	4.4%	1.54%	0.24%	0.03%	0.42%	3.21%
137	59,551	40	0.07%	45,358	76.17%	38.1%	51.27%	5.17%	1.66%	0.12%	0.14%	0.37%	3.17%
138	58,912	-599	-1.01%	45,684	77.55%	70.29%	18.77%	4.1%	2.39%	0.25%	0.06%	0.36%	3.77%
139	59,010	-501	-0.84%	45,522	77.14%	63.55%	19.18%	7.24%	4.03%	0.25%	0.21%	0.59%	4.96%
140	59,294	-217	-0.36%	44,411	74.9%	28.76%	55.8%	9.04%	1.02%	0.27%	0.24%	0.53%	4.34%
141	59,019	-492	-0.83%	44,677	75.7%	29.41%	54.88%	7.93%	2.53%	0.24%	0.3%	0.45%	4.25%
142	59,608	97	0.16%	44,584	74.8%	30.78%	60.48%	4.23%	1.29%	0.16%	0.01%	0.36%	2.68%
143	59,469	-42	-0.07%	46,390	78.01%	29.08%	61.66%	4.87%	0.97%	0.19%	0.05%	0.36%	2.82%
144	59,232	-279	-0.47%	46,370	78.29%	60.82%	29.32%	2.91%	3.46%	0.14%	0.02%	0.36%	2.97%
145	59,863	352	0.59%	45,844	76.58%	51.64%	35.66%	7.02%	0.9%	0.28%	0.04%	0.41%	4.05%
146	60,203	692	1.16%	44,589	74.06%	59.32%	26.73%	5.66%	2.67%	0.17%	0.09%	0.45%	4.91%
147	59,178	-333	-0.56%	44,902	75.88%	51.94%	29.55%	8.3%	4.76%	0.23%	0.07%	0.51%	4.64%
148	59,984	473	0.79%	46,614	77.71%	58.49%	33.89%	3.66%	0.9%	0.12%	0.04%	0.28%	2.63%
149	58,893	-618	-1.04%	46,821	79.5%	60.01%	31.14%	5.61%	0.57%	0.17%	0.03%	0.2%	2.28%
150	59,276	-235	-0.39%	47,050	79.37%	36.16%	53.23%	7.23%	1.17%	0.17%	0.03%	0.17%	1.85%
151	60,059	548	0.92%	46,973	78.21%	45.21%	42.21%	7.51%	1.29%	0.18%	0.23%	0.25%	3.12%
152	60,134	623	1.05%	46,026	76.54%	66.12%	25.86%	2.84%	1.6%	0.21%	0.03%	0.3%	3.03%
153	59,299	-212	-0.36%	45,692	77.05%	24.38%	69.08%	2.93%	0.89%	0.13%	0.02%	0.24%	2.33%
154	59,994	483	0.81%	47,273	78.8%	39.54%	55.53%	2.1%	0.38%	0.16%	0.01%	0.2%	2.09%
155	58,759	-752	-1.26%	45,208	76.94%	57.32%	36.14%	2.62%	0.91%	0.18%	0.05%	0.26%	2.52%
156	59,444	-67	-0.11%	45,867	77.16%	58.49%	29.79%	8.27%	0.6%	0.17%	0.01%	0.25%	2.42%
157	59,957	446	0.75%	45,311	75.57%	61.81%	23.59%	11.19%	0.54%	0.16%	0.04%	0.21%	2.47%
158	59,440	-71	-0.12%	45,549	76.63%	59.27%	31.5%	5.6%	0.75%	0.18%	0.03%	0.25%	2.42%
159	59,895	384	0.65%	44,871	74.92%	67.46%	23.88%	3.65%	0.54%	0.28%	0.03%	0.34%	3.82%
160	59,935	424	0.71%	48,057	80.18%	66.84%	21.68%	5.5%	1.62%	0.24%	0.1%	0.28%	3.76%
161	60,097	586	0.98%	44,371	73.83%	57.53%	25.83%	7.89%	3.03%	0.24%	0.09%	0.5%	4.9%

Population Summary

House-prop1-2021

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[18+ _Pop]	[% 18+ _Pop]	[% NH_Wht]	[% NH_Blkl]	[% Hispanic Origin]	[% NH_Asn]	[% NH_Ind]	[% NH_Hwn]	[% NH_Oth]	[% NH_2+ Races]
162	60,308	797	1.34%	46,733	77.49%	36.7%	43.34%	10.78%	4%	0.2%	0.24%	0.54%	4.19%
163	60,123	612	1.03%	48,461	80.6%	38.48%	46.14%	8.45%	3.12%	0.19%	0.13%	0.39%	3.1%
164	60,101	590	0.99%	45,851	76.29%	57.7%	22.03%	9.95%	4.21%	0.24%	0.12%	0.68%	5.08%
165	59,978	467	0.78%	48,247	80.44%	35.1%	52.41%	5.53%	3.19%	0.22%	0.14%	0.38%	3.02%
166	60,242	731	1.23%	47,580	78.98%	82.79%	4.94%	5.19%	2.65%	0.16%	0.05%	0.4%	3.82%
167	59,493	-18	-0.03%	44,140	74.19%	62.89%	20.99%	8.81%	1.42%	0.35%	0.23%	0.5%	4.79%
168	60,147	636	1.07%	44,867	74.6%	36.24%	43.3%	11.22%	1.98%	0.31%	0.67%	0.48%	5.79%
169	59,138	-373	-0.63%	45,267	76.54%	58.36%	28.84%	9.03%	0.79%	0.15%	0.02%	0.2%	2.6%
170	60,116	605	1.02%	45,316	75.38%	60.65%	24.39%	10.43%	1.19%	0.13%	0.02%	0.28%	2.91%
171	59,237	-274	-0.46%	45,969	77.6%	51.23%	39.79%	5.73%	0.54%	0.21%	0.03%	0.21%	2.26%
172	59,961	450	0.76%	44,756	74.64%	57.24%	23.26%	16%	0.77%	0.21%	0.03%	0.23%	2.27%
173	59,743	232	0.39%	45,292	75.81%	52.67%	36.22%	6.95%	0.79%	0.33%	0.02%	0.3%	2.72%
174	59,852	341	0.57%	45,760	76.46%	70.83%	16.91%	7.88%	0.47%	0.35%	0.04%	0.22%	3.3%
175	59,993	482	0.81%	44,704	74.52%	64.08%	23.75%	6.1%	1.78%	0.26%	0.07%	0.34%	3.64%
176	59,470	-41	-0.07%	44,991	75.65%	63.56%	21.74%	9.95%	0.91%	0.24%	0.08%	0.29%	3.23%
177	59,992	481	0.81%	46,014	76.7%	33.22%	54.7%	6.69%	1.26%	0.21%	0.07%	0.42%	3.42%
178	59,877	366	0.62%	45,638	76.22%	75.62%	14.4%	6.22%	0.52%	0.18%	0.01%	0.29%	2.76%
179	59,356	-155	-0.26%	47,156	79.45%	59.03%	28.39%	7.73%	1.06%	0.17%	0.13%	0.39%	3.11%
180	59,412	-99	-0.17%	45,362	76.35%	68.71%	16.96%	6.47%	1.56%	0.32%	0.11%	0.57%	5.3%

Total: 10,711,908**Ideal District: 59,511**

User: H097

Plan Name: House-prop1-2021

Plan Type: House

Population Summary

Summary Statistics:

Population Range: 58,678 to 60,308
 Ratio Range: 0.03
 Absolute Range: -833 to 797
 Absolute Overall Range: 1,630
 Relative Range: -1.40% to 1.34%
 Relative Overall Range: 2.74%
 Absolute Mean Deviation: 363.71
 Relative Mean Deviation: 0.61%
 Standard Deviation: 417.67

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[18+_Pop]	[% 18+_Pop]	[% NH18+_Wht]	[% NH18+_Blk]	[% H18+_Pop]	[% NH18+_Asn]	[% NH18+_Ind]	[% NH18+_Hwn]	[% NH18+_Oth]	[% NH18+_2+ Races]
001	59,666	155	0.26%	46,801	78.44%	89.43%	3.65%	2.11%	0.57%	0.32%	0.05%	0.21%	3.65%
002	59,773	262	0.44%	46,159	77.22%	85.33%	2.64%	7.57%	1.07%	0.2%	0.02%	0.2%	2.97%
003	60,199	688	1.16%	46,716	77.6%	88.46%	2.71%	2.96%	1.56%	0.28%	0.14%	0.14%	3.77%
004	59,070	-441	-0.74%	42,798	72.45%	47.78%	4.53%	44.13%	1.28%	0.19%	0.02%	0.21%	1.86%
005	58,837	-674	-1.13%	44,623	75.84%	78.55%	3.81%	12.62%	1.26%	0.22%	0.03%	0.19%	3.31%
006	59,712	201	0.34%	45,152	75.62%	83%	1%	11.96%	0.51%	0.25%	0.02%	0.17%	3.09%
007	59,081	-430	-0.72%	48,771	82.55%	90.15%	0.34%	5.53%	0.46%	0.27%	0.01%	0.21%	3.02%
008	59,244	-267	-0.45%	49,612	83.74%	91.87%	1.12%	2.74%	0.54%	0.3%	0%	0.29%	3.13%
009	59,474	-37	-0.06%	48,273	81.17%	88.93%	1.06%	4.74%	0.83%	0.41%	0.06%	0.33%	3.64%
010	59,519	8	0.01%	47,164	79.24%	81.82%	3.19%	10.04%	1.58%	0.18%	0.03%	0.21%	2.95%
011	58,792	-719	-1.21%	45,396	77.21%	89.31%	1.43%	4.23%	1.06%	0.23%	0.03%	0.27%	3.44%
012	59,300	-211	-0.35%	46,487	78.39%	80.42%	8.94%	6.15%	1.01%	0.18%	0%	0.33%	2.97%
013	59,150	-361	-0.61%	45,176	76.38%	66.3%	18.03%	10.84%	1.36%	0.22%	0.02%	0.26%	2.97%
014	59,135	-376	-0.63%	45,511	76.96%	83.02%	6.06%	5.88%	0.8%	0.25%	0.02%	0.31%	3.65%
015	59,213	-298	-0.50%	45,791	77.33%	71.9%	13.11%	9.67%	1.36%	0.27%	0.03%	0.36%	3.3%
016	59,402	-109	-0.18%	44,009	74.09%	76.42%	10.83%	8.61%	0.79%	0.21%	0.05%	0.32%	2.76%
017	59,120	-391	-0.66%	42,761	72.33%	66.02%	21.24%	6.94%	1.41%	0.25%	0.06%	0.54%	3.55%
018	59,335	-176	-0.30%	45,159	76.11%	86.01%	7.17%	2.39%	0.62%	0.26%	0.04%	0.26%	3.24%
019	58,955	-556	-0.93%	44,299	75.14%	65.37%	22.26%	6.8%	1.21%	0.21%	0.07%	0.48%	3.59%
020	60,107	596	1.00%	45,725	76.07%	76.4%	7.96%	9.18%	2.03%	0.14%	0.04%	0.55%	3.7%
021	59,529	18	0.03%	44,931	75.48%	82.07%	4.23%	7.44%	1.87%	0.22%	0.05%	0.61%	3.51%
022	59,460	-51	-0.09%	45,815	77.05%	65.61%	13.32%	11.57%	4.04%	0.21%	0.03%	0.76%	4.47%
023	59,048	-463	-0.78%	44,254	74.95%	75.29%	5.48%	14.23%	1.12%	0.21%	0.05%	0.32%	3.3%
024	59,011	-500	-0.84%	41,814	70.86%	63.42%	6.04%	10.32%	16.41%	0.17%	0.05%	0.56%	3.03%
025	59,414	-97	-0.16%	42,520	71.57%	56.12%	5.08%	5.09%	30.56%	0.1%	0.03%	0.45%	2.56%
026	59,248	-263	-0.44%	44,081	74.4%	68.21%	3.18%	10.76%	14.26%	0.12%	0.04%	0.44%	2.99%
027	58,795	-716	-1.20%	46,004	78.24%	82.61%	3.07%	9.6%	0.83%	0.2%	0.04%	0.24%	3.4%
028	58,972	-539	-0.91%	44,444	75.36%	79.36%	3.15%	11.44%	2.16%	0.17%	0.03%	0.36%	3.33%

Population Summary

House-prop1-2021

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[18+_Pop]	[% 18+_Pop]	[% NH18+_Wht]	[% NH18+_Blk]	[% H18+_Pop]	[% NH18+_Asn]	[% NH18+_Ind]	[% NH18+_Hwn]	[% NH18+_Oth]	[% NH18+_2+ Races]
029	59,200	-311	-0.52%	43,131	72.86%	42.29%	12.55%	39.71%	3.02%	0.14%	0.06%	0.33%	1.91%
030	59,266	-245	-0.41%	45,414	76.63%	70.5%	7.19%	16.13%	2.96%	0.15%	0.02%	0.28%	2.77%
031	59,901	390	0.66%	43,120	71.99%	68.65%	6.79%	18.95%	2.35%	0.21%	0.03%	0.32%	2.69%
032	59,145	-366	-0.62%	45,942	77.68%	82.98%	7.21%	4.87%	1.25%	0.32%	0.05%	0.2%	3.12%
033	59,187	-324	-0.54%	46,498	78.56%	82.25%	10.57%	3.13%	1.16%	0.15%	0.01%	0.29%	2.43%
034	59,875	364	0.61%	45,758	76.42%	69.23%	14.11%	7.85%	4.43%	0.12%	0.03%	0.65%	3.58%
035	59,889	378	0.64%	48,312	80.67%	53.63%	25.59%	11.15%	4.58%	0.19%	0.05%	0.77%	4.04%
036	59,994	483	0.81%	44,911	74.86%	70.77%	15.48%	6.51%	3.02%	0.15%	0.04%	0.6%	3.44%
037	59,176	-335	-0.56%	46,223	78.11%	46.26%	25.84%	18.64%	4.61%	0.21%	0.02%	0.91%	3.52%
038	59,317	-194	-0.33%	44,839	75.59%	30.1%	51.13%	12.62%	1.87%	0.24%	0.05%	0.63%	3.36%
039	59,381	-130	-0.22%	44,436	74.83%	23.47%	52.5%	18.66%	1.77%	0.17%	0.03%	0.6%	2.79%
040	59,044	-467	-0.78%	47,976	81.25%	51.14%	30.35%	5.92%	8.24%	0.15%	0.01%	0.63%	3.55%
041	60,122	611	1.03%	45,271	75.3%	27.62%	36.96%	28.55%	3.13%	0.22%	0.05%	0.84%	2.62%
042	59,620	109	0.18%	48,525	81.39%	39%	30.85%	17.38%	7.45%	0.2%	0.04%	1.14%	3.94%
043	59,464	-47	-0.08%	47,033	79.09%	46.31%	24.03%	14.15%	7.62%	0.21%	0.09%	2.27%	5.32%
044	60,002	491	0.83%	46,773	77.95%	67.69%	10.5%	10.53%	5.78%	0.2%	0.02%	1.06%	4.23%
045	59,738	227	0.38%	44,023	73.69%	74.94%	4.27%	4.85%	12.05%	0.05%	0.02%	0.59%	3.23%
046	59,108	-403	-0.68%	44,132	74.66%	74.81%	6.79%	7.38%	6.72%	0.13%	0.04%	0.61%	3.53%
047	59,126	-385	-0.65%	43,932	74.3%	63.89%	9.3%	7.37%	15.16%	0.17%	0.03%	0.62%	3.46%
048	59,003	-508	-0.85%	44,779	75.89%	61.77%	10.14%	12.41%	11.59%	0.08%	0.04%	0.56%	3.42%
049	59,153	-358	-0.60%	45,263	76.52%	71.48%	7.22%	6.7%	10.74%	0.1%	0.03%	0.63%	3.12%
050	59,523	12	0.02%	43,940	73.82%	44.37%	10.8%	6.36%	34.63%	0.07%	0.05%	0.58%	3.13%
051	58,952	-559	-0.94%	47,262	80.17%	54.33%	21.3%	13.31%	5.93%	0.18%	0.05%	1.01%	3.89%
052	59,811	300	0.50%	48,525	81.13%	55.14%	14.19%	7.41%	19.12%	0.14%	0.07%	0.68%	3.24%
053	59,953	442	0.74%	46,944	78.3%	71.2%	12.71%	7.44%	4.58%	0.09%	0.02%	0.54%	3.41%
054	60,083	572	0.96%	50,338	83.78%	62.98%	13.67%	12.79%	6.86%	0.13%	0.03%	0.53%	3.02%
055	59,971	460	0.77%	49,255	82.13%	35.51%	52.85%	4.97%	3.19%	0.18%	0.04%	0.37%	2.88%
056	58,929	-582	-0.98%	52,757	89.53%	36.98%	42.9%	5.84%	9.92%	0.2%	0.08%	0.41%	3.67%
057	59,969	458	0.77%	52,097	86.87%	63.64%	16.18%	7.95%	7.99%	0.1%	0.02%	0.6%	3.52%
058	59,057	-454	-0.76%	50,514	85.53%	27.56%	60.36%	5.07%	3.04%	0.12%	0.04%	0.51%	3.3%
059	59,434	-77	-0.13%	49,179	82.75%	22.04%	66.72%	4.43%	2.9%	0.17%	0.02%	0.54%	3.18%
060	59,709	198	0.33%	45,490	76.19%	28.09%	61.3%	5.11%	2.17%	0.18%	0.05%	0.43%	2.67%
061	59,302	-209	-0.35%	45,447	76.64%	16.75%	71.33%	7.61%	0.97%	0.17%	0.05%	0.51%	2.6%
062	59,450	-61	-0.10%	46,426	78.09%	19.07%	69.19%	6.83%	1.3%	0.21%	0.05%	0.47%	2.88%
063	59,381	-130	-0.22%	45,043	75.85%	19.22%	66.7%	9.26%	1.54%	0.21%	0.04%	0.47%	2.56%
064	58,986	-525	-0.88%	44,189	74.91%	57.83%	28.63%	7.44%	1.41%	0.3%	0.04%	0.7%	3.67%
065	59,464	-47	-0.08%	44,386	74.64%	31.46%	59.19%	4.53%	1.15%	0.19%	0.05%	0.51%	2.92%
066	59,047	-464	-0.78%	44,278	74.99%	33.93%	50.39%	9.49%	1.86%	0.26%	0.08%	0.63%	3.36%
067	59,135	-376	-0.63%	44,299	74.91%	30.86%	56.59%	7.75%	1.39%	0.19%	0.03%	0.49%	2.7%
068	59,477	-34	-0.06%	44,835	75.38%	33.94%	53.42%	6.33%	2.77%	0.14%	0.05%	0.63%	2.72%
069	58,682	-829	-1.39%	45,548	77.62%	26.89%	60.9%	5.42%	3.12%	0.18%	0.04%	0.78%	2.68%
070	59,121	-390	-0.66%	45,249	76.54%	59.69%	26.23%	7.96%	2.23%	0.22%	0.06%	0.4%	3.22%
071	59,538	27	0.05%	44,582	74.88%	69.8%	18.45%	6.18%	1.01%	0.24%	0.02%	0.42%	3.88%

Population Summary

House-prop1-2021

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[18+_Pop]	[% 18+_Pop]	[% NH18+_Wht]	[% NH18+_Blk]	[% H18+_Pop]	[% NH18+_Asn]	[% NH18+_Ind]	[% NH18+_Hwn]	[% NH18+_Oth]	[% NH18+_2+ Races]
072	59,660	149	0.25%	46,229	77.49%	69.24%	19.51%	6.94%	0.93%	0.19%	0.02%	0.23%	2.94%
073	60,036	525	0.88%	45,736	76.18%	72.58%	10.84%	7.05%	5.58%	0.14%	0.03%	0.4%	3.38%
074	58,956	-555	-0.93%	44,696	75.81%	64.44%	24%	5.55%	2.04%	0.21%	0.02%	0.47%	3.26%
075	59,743	232	0.39%	43,850	73.4%	11.27%	71.04%	11.28%	2.93%	0.18%	0.07%	0.66%	2.57%
076	59,759	248	0.42%	44,371	74.25%	10.51%	64.4%	13.23%	8.69%	0.21%	0.05%	0.51%	2.41%
077	59,242	-269	-0.45%	44,207	74.62%	7.58%	73.27%	12.2%	4.36%	0.23%	0.06%	0.41%	1.9%
078	59,044	-467	-0.78%	44,572	75.49%	15.05%	68.35%	8.89%	4.21%	0.2%	0.03%	0.63%	2.63%
079	59,500	-11	-0.02%	43,223	72.64%	7.15%	68.44%	16.03%	5.51%	0.2%	0.01%	0.56%	2.09%
080	59,461	-50	-0.08%	44,784	75.32%	47.63%	12.45%	23.12%	13.33%	0.07%	0.04%	0.56%	2.79%
081	59,007	-504	-0.85%	46,259	78.4%	47.01%	19.77%	20.92%	8.71%	0.14%	0.01%	0.46%	2.98%
082	59,724	213	0.36%	50,238	84.12%	62.46%	15.19%	6.79%	11.35%	0.11%	0.04%	0.56%	3.51%
083	59,416	-95	-0.16%	46,581	78.4%	47.9%	13.51%	28.47%	6.91%	0.1%	0.02%	0.55%	2.55%
084	59,862	351	0.59%	47,350	79.1%	21.29%	70.47%	2.96%	1.48%	0.16%	0.02%	0.55%	3.07%
085	59,373	-138	-0.23%	46,308	78%	19.48%	59.85%	5.92%	10.8%	0.21%	0.02%	0.57%	3.14%
086	59,205	-306	-0.51%	44,614	75.36%	12.08%	72.02%	4.29%	7.95%	0.15%	0.01%	0.65%	2.84%
087	59,709	198	0.33%	45,615	76.4%	13.5%	69.72%	6.69%	6.22%	0.24%	0.02%	0.64%	2.97%
088	59,689	178	0.30%	46,073	77.19%	18.3%	60.15%	9.97%	7.64%	0.22%	0.07%	0.64%	3.01%
089	59,866	355	0.60%	46,198	77.17%	31.07%	60.06%	3.42%	1.92%	0.15%	0.03%	0.41%	2.93%
090	59,812	301	0.51%	48,015	80.28%	33.98%	56.05%	4.26%	1.82%	0.12%	0.03%	0.53%	3.2%
091	60,050	539	0.91%	46,173	76.89%	22%	67.15%	5.86%	1.44%	0.15%	0.05%	0.49%	2.86%
092	60,273	762	1.28%	46,551	77.23%	24.05%	65.71%	4.68%	1.67%	0.17%	0.03%	0.61%	3.08%
093	60,118	607	1.02%	44,734	74.41%	22.91%	62.36%	9.58%	1.48%	0.17%	0.09%	0.61%	2.81%
094	59,211	-300	-0.50%	44,809	75.68%	18.42%	65.61%	7.29%	4.85%	0.19%	0.02%	0.54%	3.07%
095	60,030	519	0.87%	44,948	74.88%	21.83%	63.61%	7.94%	2.43%	0.22%	0.04%	0.67%	3.27%
096	59,515	4	0.01%	44,671	75.06%	20.32%	20.75%	36.03%	19.7%	0.11%	0.04%	0.6%	2.44%
097	59,072	-439	-0.74%	46,339	78.44%	36.44%	24.16%	19.23%	16.07%	0.19%	0.05%	0.6%	3.25%
098	59,998	487	0.82%	42,734	71.23%	11.66%	20.91%	52.77%	12.28%	0.12%	0.05%	0.51%	1.71%
099	59,850	339	0.57%	45,004	75.19%	42.1%	13.07%	8.67%	32.63%	0.13%	0.04%	0.48%	2.89%
100	60,030	519	0.87%	42,669	71.08%	59.05%	8.86%	9.98%	18.41%	0.19%	0.06%	0.43%	3.02%
101	59,938	427	0.72%	46,584	77.72%	40.14%	21.87%	18.24%	15.98%	0.16%	0.05%	0.54%	3.02%
102	58,959	-552	-0.93%	42,968	72.88%	30.65%	34.79%	21.34%	9.57%	0.2%	0.03%	0.52%	2.89%
103	60,197	686	1.15%	44,399	73.76%	52.42%	15.01%	16.89%	12.19%	0.12%	0.03%	0.5%	2.83%
104	59,362	-149	-0.25%	43,306	72.95%	62.96%	15.44%	11.14%	6.38%	0.18%	0.05%	0.51%	3.34%
105	59,344	-167	-0.28%	43,474	73.26%	41.74%	26.67%	16.76%	11.05%	0.1%	0.03%	0.54%	3.12%
106	59,112	-399	-0.67%	43,890	74.25%	41.22%	33.7%	11.14%	9.73%	0.16%	0.03%	0.74%	3.28%
107	59,702	191	0.32%	44,509	74.55%	21.96%	27.02%	31.09%	16.75%	0.18%	0.04%	0.56%	2.4%
108	59,577	66	0.11%	44,308	74.37%	43.36%	16.55%	18.16%	18.34%	0.18%	0.04%	0.53%	2.84%
109	59,630	119	0.20%	44,140	74.02%	15.44%	29.65%	36.12%	15.82%	0.12%	0.06%	0.55%	2.25%
110	59,951	440	0.74%	43,226	72.1%	36.58%	44.02%	10.49%	4.72%	0.18%	0.04%	0.72%	3.25%
111	60,009	498	0.84%	44,096	73.48%	64%	20.56%	8.84%	2.56%	0.2%	0.04%	0.64%	3.17%
112	59,349	-162	-0.27%	45,120	76.02%	73.73%	18.26%	3.28%	1.26%	0.22%	0.02%	0.41%	2.81%
113	60,053	542	0.91%	44,538	74.16%	31.8%	56.48%	6.65%	0.83%	0.15%	0.11%	0.59%	3.39%
114	59,867	356	0.60%	45,872	76.62%	68.84%	23.42%	3.73%	0.71%	0.18%	0.01%	0.35%	2.76%

Population Summary

House-prop1-2021

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[18+_Pop]	[% 18+_Pop]	[% NH18+_Wht]	[% NH18+_Blk]	[% H18+_Pop]	[% NH18+_Asn]	[% NH18+_Ind]	[% NH18+_Hwn]	[% NH18+_Oth]	[% NH18+_ 2+ Races]
115	60,174	663	1.11%	44,807	74.46%	36.95%	49.2%	6.97%	2.68%	0.2%	0.05%	0.69%	3.26%
116	59,913	402	0.68%	45,791	76.43%	27.22%	54.93%	7.29%	6.48%	0.19%	0.09%	0.74%	3.05%
117	60,130	619	1.04%	44,973	74.79%	54.5%	34.54%	5.44%	1.54%	0.19%	0.04%	0.52%	3.22%
118	59,987	476	0.80%	46,342	77.25%	69.73%	22.7%	3.68%	0.42%	0.2%	0.02%	0.39%	2.85%
119	58,947	-564	-0.95%	44,005	74.65%	69.8%	12.31%	10.44%	3.75%	0.17%	0.02%	0.43%	3.08%
120	58,982	-529	-0.89%	46,767	79.29%	71.94%	13.21%	7.09%	4.18%	0.16%	0.05%	0.44%	2.91%
121	59,127	-384	-0.65%	46,598	78.81%	76.13%	8.6%	5.57%	5.84%	0.1%	0%	0.46%	3.3%
122	59,632	121	0.20%	48,840	81.9%	54.8%	27.13%	11.7%	2.41%	0.32%	0.06%	0.79%	2.79%
123	59,282	-229	-0.38%	46,572	78.56%	68.06%	23.42%	4.31%	1.06%	0.19%	0.02%	0.2%	2.75%
124	59,221	-290	-0.49%	47,638	80.44%	65.01%	24.61%	6.17%	1.08%	0.19%	0.02%	0.31%	2.61%
125	60,137	626	1.05%	43,812	72.85%	63.03%	21.43%	7.66%	2.6%	0.31%	0.16%	0.39%	4.41%
126	59,260	-251	-0.42%	45,497	76.78%	39.97%	52.63%	3.17%	0.89%	0.29%	0.16%	0.29%	2.62%
127	58,678	-833	-1.40%	45,889	78.2%	68.13%	16.88%	4.77%	5.68%	0.19%	0.16%	0.43%	3.77%
128	58,864	-647	-1.09%	46,488	78.98%	46.49%	49.38%	1.7%	0.35%	0.19%	0.01%	0.17%	1.71%
129	58,829	-682	-1.15%	46,873	79.68%	37.16%	52.33%	4.26%	2.4%	0.19%	0.15%	0.41%	3.1%
130	59,203	-308	-0.52%	44,019	74.35%	33.74%	57.69%	3.86%	0.97%	0.26%	0.19%	0.34%	2.95%
131	58,890	-621	-1.04%	42,968	72.96%	68.16%	15.87%	5.87%	5.21%	0.21%	0.1%	0.55%	4.03%
132	59,142	-369	-0.62%	46,752	79.05%	35.63%	49.82%	7.8%	2.74%	0.27%	0.16%	0.3%	3.28%
133	59,202	-309	-0.52%	47,222	79.76%	58.39%	35.87%	2.15%	1.15%	0.15%	0.04%	0.36%	1.89%
134	59,396	-115	-0.19%	45,110	75.95%	59.9%	32.37%	3.74%	0.81%	0.23%	0.02%	0.25%	2.69%
135	60,063	552	0.93%	46,725	77.79%	71.78%	22.84%	1.82%	0.55%	0.16%	0.01%	0.25%	2.57%
136	59,298	-213	-0.36%	45,367	76.51%	63.9%	27.76%	3.64%	1.55%	0.26%	0.04%	0.29%	2.55%
137	59,551	40	0.07%	45,358	76.17%	40.82%	50.02%	4.48%	1.73%	0.12%	0.12%	0.26%	2.44%
138	58,912	-599	-1.01%	45,684	77.55%	72.34%	18.26%	3.31%	2.43%	0.26%	0.07%	0.35%	2.97%
139	59,010	-501	-0.84%	45,522	77.14%	66.19%	18.56%	6.36%	3.89%	0.25%	0.24%	0.46%	4.04%
140	59,294	-217	-0.36%	44,411	74.9%	31.7%	54.74%	8.02%	1.17%	0.24%	0.2%	0.49%	3.43%
141	59,019	-492	-0.83%	44,677	75.7%	31.77%	54.65%	6.55%	2.69%	0.27%	0.3%	0.38%	3.38%
142	59,608	97	0.16%	44,584	74.8%	34.8%	57.42%	3.7%	1.4%	0.17%	0.02%	0.28%	2.2%
143	59,469	-42	-0.07%	46,390	78.01%	32.28%	58.98%	4.67%	1.07%	0.21%	0.05%	0.3%	2.44%
144	59,232	-279	-0.47%	46,370	78.29%	62.95%	28.34%	2.55%	3.45%	0.14%	0.02%	0.26%	2.29%
145	59,863	352	0.59%	45,844	76.58%	55.12%	33.97%	5.94%	0.99%	0.33%	0.03%	0.3%	3.32%
146	60,203	692	1.16%	44,589	74.06%	61.84%	26.08%	4.73%	2.98%	0.18%	0.09%	0.39%	3.71%
147	59,178	-333	-0.56%	44,902	75.88%	55.32%	28.41%	7.17%	4.85%	0.25%	0.07%	0.41%	3.52%
148	59,984	473	0.79%	46,614	77.71%	60.45%	33.11%	3.08%	0.87%	0.14%	0.04%	0.21%	2.1%
149	58,893	-618	-1.04%	46,821	79.5%	60.99%	30.75%	5.69%	0.57%	0.19%	0.04%	0.14%	1.63%
150	59,276	-235	-0.39%	47,050	79.37%	38.31%	52.5%	6.13%	1.18%	0.16%	0.03%	0.15%	1.54%
151	60,059	548	0.92%	46,973	78.21%	47.2%	40.96%	7.28%	1.43%	0.18%	0.18%	0.19%	2.58%
152	60,134	623	1.05%	46,026	76.54%	67.94%	25.26%	2.34%	1.52%	0.24%	0.04%	0.19%	2.46%
153	59,299	-212	-0.36%	45,692	77.05%	27.66%	66.38%	2.55%	1%	0.16%	0.03%	0.23%	2.01%
154	59,994	483	0.81%	47,273	78.8%	42.24%	53.68%	1.67%	0.36%	0.19%	0%	0.16%	1.7%
155	58,759	-752	-1.26%	45,208	76.94%	59.77%	34.6%	2.22%	0.95%	0.16%	0.04%	0.21%	2.05%
156	59,444	-67	-0.11%	45,867	77.16%	60.92%	29.32%	6.88%	0.62%	0.16%	0.01%	0.15%	1.93%
157	59,957	446	0.75%	45,311	75.57%	64.48%	23.7%	8.96%	0.57%	0.17%	0.04%	0.16%	1.93%

Population Summary

House-prop1-2021

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[18+_Pop]	[% 18+_Pop]	[% NH18+_Wht]	[% NH18+_Blk]	[% H18+_Pop]	[% NH18+_Asn]	[% NH18+_Ind]	[% NH18+_Hwn]	[% NH18+_Oth]	[% NH18+_2+ Races]
158	59,440	-71	-0.12%	45,549	76.63%	62.21%	30.2%	4.52%	0.71%	0.21%	0.03%	0.18%	1.93%
159	59,895	384	0.65%	44,871	74.92%	69.39%	23.44%	2.87%	0.57%	0.31%	0.04%	0.26%	3.12%
160	59,935	424	0.71%	48,057	80.18%	68.48%	21.07%	5.04%	1.64%	0.24%	0.09%	0.27%	3.17%
161	60,097	586	0.98%	44,371	73.83%	60.16%	25.26%	6.82%	3.16%	0.25%	0.09%	0.48%	3.77%
162	60,308	797	1.34%	46,733	77.49%	40.62%	41.13%	9.58%	4.16%	0.22%	0.24%	0.44%	3.61%
163	60,123	612	1.03%	48,461	80.6%	41.92%	43.78%	7.38%	3.6%	0.2%	0.1%	0.33%	2.68%
164	60,101	590	0.99%	45,851	76.29%	60.61%	21.43%	8.49%	4.37%	0.26%	0.12%	0.6%	4.12%
165	59,978	467	0.78%	48,247	80.44%	39.18%	48.49%	5.33%	3.68%	0.25%	0.14%	0.35%	2.57%
166	60,242	731	1.23%	47,580	78.98%	84.71%	4.96%	4.07%	2.69%	0.18%	0.05%	0.36%	2.97%
167	59,493	-18	-0.03%	44,140	74.19%	65.96%	20.55%	7.41%	1.48%	0.39%	0.18%	0.39%	3.66%
168	60,147	636	1.07%	44,867	74.6%	39.29%	42.28%	10.3%	2.32%	0.33%	0.65%	0.38%	4.46%
169	59,138	-373	-0.63%	45,267	76.54%	60.95%	28.12%	7.66%	0.88%	0.14%	0.03%	0.16%	2.06%
170	60,116	605	1.02%	45,316	75.38%	64.17%	23.21%	8.65%	1.19%	0.12%	0.02%	0.25%	2.38%
171	59,237	-274	-0.46%	45,969	77.6%	53.85%	38.58%	4.63%	0.56%	0.24%	0.02%	0.17%	1.95%
172	59,961	450	0.76%	44,756	74.64%	61.03%	22.46%	13.42%	0.78%	0.23%	0.03%	0.19%	1.87%
173	59,743	232	0.39%	45,292	75.81%	55.68%	35.18%	5.35%	0.84%	0.37%	0.02%	0.26%	2.31%
174	59,852	341	0.57%	45,760	76.46%	72.25%	16.08%	7.96%	0.52%	0.38%	0.03%	0.15%	2.64%
175	59,993	482	0.81%	44,704	74.52%	66.49%	23.13%	5.03%	1.85%	0.28%	0.06%	0.3%	2.86%
176	59,470	-41	-0.07%	44,991	75.65%	66.15%	21.61%	8.24%	0.96%	0.25%	0.1%	0.19%	2.49%
177	59,992	481	0.81%	46,014	76.7%	37.12%	51.68%	6.12%	1.36%	0.24%	0.08%	0.36%	3.04%
178	59,877	366	0.62%	45,638	76.22%	77.79%	13.99%	5.14%	0.54%	0.2%	0.01%	0.23%	2.09%
179	59,356	-155	-0.26%	47,156	79.45%	63.69%	25.74%	6.38%	1.07%	0.15%	0.11%	0.34%	2.51%
180	59,412	-99	-0.17%	45,362	76.35%	71.17%	16.63%	5.62%	1.67%	0.31%	0.11%	0.47%	4.02%

Total: 10,711,908**Ideal District: 59,511**

Esselstyn Report: Attachment J

District	Population	Deviation	% Deviation	% single-race		% single-race		% single-race		% multi-racial (total pop)	% Hispanic or Latino (total pop)	% Black alone or in combination (total pop)	% Black alone or in combination (voting age pop)
				White (total pop)	Black (total pop)	American Indian Alaska Native (total pop)	Asian (total pop)	Native Hawaiian Pacific Islander (total pop)	Other (total pop)				
1	59,666	155	0.26%	88.62%	3.94%	0.41%	0.54%	0.06%	1.12%	5.32%	2.59%	5.09%	4.20%
2	59,773	262	0.44%	85.43%	2.68%	0.43%	1.12%	0.02%	3.69%	6.63%	9.09%	3.64%	3.15%
3	60,199	688	1.16%	87.87%	2.90%	0.36%	1.64%	0.14%	1.40%	5.69%	3.60%	4.09%	3.35%
4	59,070	-441	-0.74%	51.31%	4.41%	2.94%	1.27%	0.04%	25.56%	14.47%	50.07%	5.53%	5.38%
5	58,837	-674	-1.13%	78.57%	3.88%	0.60%	1.24%	0.03%	7.79%	7.90%	15.29%	5.24%	4.60%
6	59,712	201	0.34%	83.29%	1.07%	1.22%	0.53%	0.02%	6.80%	7.06%	14.51%	1.88%	1.51%
7	59,081	-430	-0.72%	89.34%	0.40%	0.61%	0.47%	0.02%	4.07%	5.09%	7.43%	0.87%	0.62%
8	59,244	-267	-0.45%	91.67%	1.16%	0.38%	0.55%	0.01%	1.22%	5.01%	3.21%	1.73%	1.43%
9	59,474	-37	-0.06%	89.17%	1.05%	0.49%	0.79%	0.06%	2.17%	6.27%	5.49%	1.79%	1.57%
10	59,519	8	0.01%	81.72%	3.03%	0.47%	1.53%	0.06%	5.51%	7.68%	13.11%	3.84%	3.73%
11	58,792	-719	-1.21%	88.57%	1.61%	0.37%	1.16%	0.03%	1.98%	6.28%	5.33%	2.35%	1.85%
12	59,300	-211	-0.35%	79.74%	8.68%	0.52%	1.01%	0.01%	4.44%	5.61%	7.68%	10.20%	9.68%
13	59,150	-361	-0.61%	64.15%	18.92%	0.81%	1.29%	0.03%	6.65%	8.15%	13.52%	20.65%	19.18%
14	59,135	-376	-0.63%	83.05%	5.98%	0.34%	0.79%	0.03%	3.25%	6.56%	7.04%	7.34%	6.85%
15	59,213	-298	-0.50%	70.65%	13.85%	0.55%	1.31%	0.05%	6.05%	7.56%	11.74%	15.79%	14.19%
16	59,402	-109	-0.18%	75.06%	11.36%	0.61%	0.77%	0.06%	6.25%	5.89%	10.95%	12.76%	11.69%
17	59,120	-391	-0.66%	65.08%	22.54%	0.36%	1.34%	0.08%	2.97%	7.63%	7.90%	25.01%	23.02%
18	59,335	-176	-0.30%	85.62%	7.19%	0.28%	0.61%	0.04%	1.30%	4.96%	2.93%	8.63%	7.98%
19	58,955	-556	-0.93%	63.74%	23.95%	0.39%	1.17%	0.09%	3.33%	7.34%	7.87%	26.38%	24.15%
20	60,107	596	1.00%	76.19%	8.34%	0.31%	2.01%	0.04%	3.95%	9.16%	10.60%	9.94%	9.25%
21	59,529	18	0.03%	81.93%	4.37%	0.38%	1.86%	0.05%	2.97%	8.44%	8.54%	5.63%	5.06%
22	59,460	-51	-0.09%	65.22%	14.31%	0.44%	3.90%	0.04%	5.20%	10.90%	13.26%	16.63%	15.10%
23	59,048	-463	-0.78%	75.17%	5.81%	1.01%	1.08%	0.05%	7.59%	9.29%	17.19%	7.20%	6.50%
24	59,011	-500	-0.84%	61.94%	6.14%	0.45%	17.71%	0.04%	4.82%	8.90%	11.36%	7.31%	7.00%
25	59,414	-97	-0.16%	53.10%	5.06%	0.19%	33.57%	0.03%	1.50%	6.55%	5.42%	6.07%	5.90%
26	59,248	-263	-0.44%	65.34%	3.41%	0.50%	16.82%	0.05%	5.34%	8.54%	12.07%	4.47%	4.01%
27	58,795	-716	-1.20%	82.10%	3.31%	0.44%	0.84%	0.04%	5.55%	7.72%	11.82%	4.40%	3.69%
28	58,972	-539	-0.91%	79.07%	3.49%	0.53%	2.09%	0.03%	5.99%	8.79%	13.59%	4.55%	3.93%
29	59,200	-311	-0.52%	43.92%	12.45%	1.40%	2.77%	0.07%	25.34%	14.04%	46.28%	13.74%	13.59%
30	59,266	-245	-0.41%	70.51%	7.56%	0.49%	3.06%	0.04%	8.72%	9.63%	18.78%	8.75%	8.10%
31	59,901	390	0.66%	69.79%	6.83%	0.61%	2.33%	0.04%	10.78%	9.61%	21.63%	7.96%	7.57%
32	59,145	-366	-0.62%	82.12%	7.33%	0.48%	1.28%	0.07%	2.88%	5.84%	6.03%	8.88%	7.96%
33	59,187	-324	-0.54%	80.79%	11.02%	0.21%	1.20%	0.02%	2.22%	4.54%	4.08%	12.37%	11.20%
34	59,875	364	0.61%	68.37%	14.73%	0.32%	4.45%	0.04%	3.38%	8.70%	9.06%	16.87%	15.67%

District	Population	Deviation	% Deviation	% single-race		% single-race American Indian	% single-race		% single-race		% multi-racial (total pop)	% Hispanic or Latino (total pop)	% Black alone	% Black alone or in combination (voting age pop)
				% single-race White (total pop)	% single-race Black (total pop)	Alaska Native (total pop)	% single-race Asian (total pop)	Pacific Islander (total pop)	% single-race Other (total pop)	or in combination (total pop)				
35	59,889	378	0.64%	52.51%	27.13%	0.48%	4.49%	0.05%	5.14%	10.20%	12.70%	30.41%	28.40%	
36	59,994	483	0.81%	69.47%	16.26%	0.25%	3.10%	0.05%	2.80%	8.08%	7.46%	18.43%	16.98%	
37	59,176	-335	-0.56%	45.62%	26.57%	0.99%	4.53%	0.06%	11.93%	10.30%	21.96%	29.02%	28.18%	
38	59,317	-194	-0.33%	27.97%	53.68%	0.59%	1.80%	0.09%	7.72%	8.15%	14.72%	56.91%	54.23%	
39	59,381	-130	-0.22%	22.83%	52.84%	0.79%	1.53%	0.04%	12.96%	9.01%	21.79%	55.60%	55.29%	
40	59,044	-467	-0.78%	50.09%	31.39%	0.25%	8.59%	0.03%	2.33%	7.32%	6.43%	34.18%	32.98%	
41	60,122	611	1.03%	29.51%	37.00%	1.11%	2.85%	0.06%	16.74%	12.72%	33.22%	39.66%	39.35%	
42	59,620	109	0.18%	38.93%	31.87%	0.61%	7.17%	0.05%	10.28%	11.09%	20.49%	34.76%	33.70%	
43	59,464	-47	-0.08%	45.84%	24.83%	0.92%	7.85%	0.10%	9.01%	11.45%	15.85%	27.49%	26.53%	
44	60,002	491	0.83%	66.91%	11.23%	0.41%	5.74%	0.04%	5.13%	10.53%	11.99%	13.32%	12.05%	
45	59,738	227	0.38%	73.40%	4.24%	0.15%	12.96%	0.02%	1.48%	7.75%	5.50%	5.53%	5.28%	
46	59,108	-403	-0.68%	74.02%	6.93%	0.26%	6.95%	0.04%	2.77%	9.03%	8.24%	8.59%	8.07%	
47	59,126	-385	-0.65%	63.20%	9.59%	0.31%	15.95%	0.03%	2.72%	8.19%	7.83%	11.15%	10.72%	
48	59,003	-508	-0.85%	60.96%	10.38%	0.43%	11.79%	0.06%	6.20%	10.18%	14.10%	12.23%	11.79%	
49	59,153	-358	-0.60%	70.45%	7.33%	0.17%	11.43%	0.03%	2.42%	8.17%	7.56%	8.85%	8.42%	
50	59,523	12	0.02%	42.70%	11.30%	0.14%	35.51%	0.04%	2.70%	7.60%	7.06%	13.04%	12.40%	
51	58,952	-559	-0.94%	53.22%	22.42%	0.44%	5.86%	0.05%	7.50%	10.50%	15.47%	25.05%	23.68%	
52	59,811	300	0.50%	55.20%	13.94%	0.30%	19.75%	0.06%	3.11%	7.64%	7.98%	15.82%	15.99%	
53	59,953	442	0.74%	71.67%	12.59%	0.20%	4.49%	0.03%	3.08%	7.94%	8.20%	14.49%	14.53%	
54	60,083	572	0.96%	62.88%	13.25%	0.42%	6.56%	0.05%	7.69%	9.16%	15.17%	15.06%	15.47%	
55	59,971	460	0.77%	34.75%	55.03%	0.28%	2.88%	0.05%	2.12%	4.90%	5.14%	57.32%	55.38%	
56	58,929	-582	-0.98%	35.60%	46.85%	0.24%	9.36%	0.08%	1.88%	5.99%	5.81%	49.24%	45.48%	
57	59,969	458	0.77%	64.40%	15.89%	0.36%	7.63%	0.03%	3.92%	7.76%	8.83%	17.83%	18.06%	
58	59,057	-454	-0.76%	26.52%	63.71%	0.23%	2.79%	0.04%	1.78%	4.93%	5.03%	66.10%	63.04%	
59	59,434	-77	-0.13%	20.24%	70.27%	0.26%	2.54%	0.03%	1.60%	5.07%	4.45%	73.14%	70.09%	
60	59,709	198	0.33%	27.39%	62.26%	0.35%	2.05%	0.05%	2.94%	4.95%	5.87%	64.58%	63.88%	
61	58,928	-583	-0.98%	25.54%	63.27%	0.36%	1.12%	0.06%	3.72%	5.92%	7.39%	66.53%	64.87%	
62	59,450	-61	-0.10%	18.14%	70.86%	0.38%	1.16%	0.06%	4.11%	5.29%	7.61%	73.56%	72.26%	
63	59,381	-130	-0.22%	18.46%	68.64%	0.56%	1.36%	0.05%	5.60%	5.33%	10.42%	70.98%	69.33%	
64	59,648	137	0.23%	36.92%	48.40%	0.45%	1.04%	0.09%	5.96%	7.14%	11.25%	51.05%	50.24%	
65	59,076	-435	-0.73%	37.61%	54.02%	0.30%	1.15%	0.04%	1.85%	5.02%	4.26%	56.33%	55.32%	
66	59,147	-364	-0.61%	34.01%	50.35%	0.49%	1.79%	0.08%	5.73%	7.55%	11.26%	53.62%	50.64%	
67	59,135	-376	-0.63%	30.47%	57.71%	0.33%	1.31%	0.03%	4.63%	5.52%	8.71%	59.93%	58.92%	
68	59,477	-34	-0.06%	32.13%	55.20%	0.33%	2.82%	0.05%	3.68%	5.78%	7.30%	57.48%	55.75%	

District	Population	Deviation	% Deviation	% single-race		% single-race		% single-race		% multi-racial (total pop)	% Hispanic or Latino (total pop)	% Black alone or in combination (total pop)	% Black alone or in combination (voting age pop)
				White (total pop)	Black (total pop)	American Indian Alaska Native (total pop)	Asian (total pop)	Native Hawaiian Pacific Islander (total pop)	Other (total pop)				
69	58,358	-1,153	-1.94%	26.08%	61.75%	0.28%	2.95%	0.04%	3.29%	5.61%	6.42%	64.56%	62.73%
70	59,121	-390	-0.66%	58.14%	27.99%	0.40%	2.19%	0.05%	4.48%	6.75%	9.08%	30.02%	27.83%
71	59,538	27	0.05%	68.61%	19.16%	0.45%	0.98%	0.02%	3.53%	7.25%	7.44%	21.49%	19.92%
72	59,660	149	0.25%	68.83%	19.64%	0.38%	0.96%	0.03%	4.59%	5.58%	8.16%	21.43%	20.86%
73	60,036	525	0.88%	71.55%	11.47%	0.30%	5.94%	0.04%	2.53%	8.17%	7.96%	13.10%	12.11%
74	58,418	-1,093	-1.84%	34.64%	52.32%	0.33%	2.41%	0.06%	4.25%	5.99%	8.22%	54.91%	53.94%
75	59,759	248	0.42%	14.87%	65.44%	0.59%	4.89%	0.07%	8.12%	6.03%	13.11%	68.43%	66.89%
76	59,759	248	0.42%	10.18%	64.99%	0.82%	8.16%	0.06%	9.45%	6.35%	15.61%	67.71%	67.23%
77	59,242	-269	-0.45%	7.77%	73.39%	0.59%	4.06%	0.08%	9.22%	4.89%	14.22%	75.90%	76.13%
78	59,890	379	0.64%	36.56%	51.33%	0.44%	1.69%	0.04%	3.94%	6.01%	8.29%	54.01%	51.03%
79	59,500	-11	-0.02%	7.56%	69.08%	0.94%	4.92%	0.03%	11.61%	5.87%	18.11%	71.79%	71.59%
80	59,461	-50	-0.08%	47.83%	12.00%	1.52%	13.08%	0.07%	15.40%	10.10%	26.17%	13.67%	14.18%
81	59,007	-504	-0.85%	47.01%	19.09%	1.27%	8.24%	0.03%	13.87%	10.49%	24.58%	21.16%	21.83%
82	59,724	213	0.36%	63.25%	14.66%	0.28%	11.08%	0.03%	2.93%	7.77%	7.52%	16.35%	16.83%
83	59,416	-95	-0.16%	47.55%	12.45%	1.70%	6.34%	0.03%	21.02%	10.92%	33.75%	14.01%	15.12%
84	59,862	351	0.59%	21.61%	70.46%	0.19%	1.44%	0.03%	1.26%	5.01%	3.40%	73.35%	73.66%
85	59,373	-138	-0.23%	18.61%	60.90%	0.38%	12.33%	0.03%	2.65%	5.11%	5.99%	63.41%	62.71%
86	59,205	-306	-0.51%	11.04%	72.44%	0.30%	9.07%	0.02%	2.71%	4.42%	4.64%	75.09%	75.05%
87	59,709	198	0.33%	12.16%	70.92%	0.41%	6.49%	0.02%	4.81%	5.20%	7.73%	74.02%	73.08%
88	59,689	178	0.30%	17.17%	61.41%	0.65%	7.51%	0.07%	6.54%	6.65%	11.46%	64.53%	63.35%
89	59,866	355	0.60%	31.03%	60.27%	0.22%	1.80%	0.03%	1.37%	5.29%	3.80%	62.63%	62.54%
90	59,812	301	0.51%	32.92%	57.69%	0.24%	1.62%	0.04%	1.83%	5.67%	4.65%	60.13%	58.49%
91	59,956	445	0.75%	32.76%	58.67%	0.24%	1.19%	0.03%	2.03%	5.07%	4.42%	61.23%	60.01%
92	60,273	762	1.28%	21.57%	68.31%	0.24%	1.59%	0.04%	2.99%	5.27%	5.49%	71.31%	68.79%
93	60,118	607	1.02%	21.33%	64.04%	0.36%	1.34%	0.11%	6.56%	6.26%	11.24%	66.95%	65.36%
94	59,211	-300	-0.50%	17.43%	66.81%	0.45%	4.88%	0.03%	4.41%	5.99%	8.72%	69.91%	69.04%
95	60,030	519	0.87%	19.99%	65.91%	0.39%	2.30%	0.08%	4.61%	6.72%	9.32%	69.44%	67.15%
96	59,515	4	0.01%	21.85%	21.31%	1.48%	17.72%	0.08%	25.19%	12.37%	40.49%	23.47%	23.00%
97	59,072	-439	-0.74%	35.90%	25.79%	0.68%	15.07%	0.09%	11.43%	11.04%	21.86%	28.56%	26.77%
98	59,998	487	0.82%	15.89%	20.23%	2.15%	10.77%	0.10%	36.38%	14.49%	57.42%	22.14%	23.25%
99	59,850	339	0.57%	41.47%	13.80%	0.36%	32.56%	0.05%	3.65%	8.11%	9.52%	15.90%	14.71%
100	60,030	519	0.87%	57.78%	9.19%	0.42%	19.53%	0.06%	4.06%	8.96%	10.85%	10.66%	10.01%
101	59,938	427	0.72%	40.65%	22.90%	0.69%	15.32%	0.06%	8.64%	11.74%	20.17%	25.66%	24.19%
102	58,959	-552	-0.93%	29.76%	37.16%	0.98%	9.04%	0.04%	12.08%	10.94%	23.45%	40.20%	37.62%

District	Population	Deviation	% Deviation	% single-race		% single-race American Indian	% single-race		% single-race Other (total pop)	% multi-racial (total pop)	% Hispanic or Latino (total pop)	% Black alone	% Black alone or in combination (voting age pop)
				% single-race White (total pop)	% single-race Black (total pop)	Alaska Native (total pop)	% single-race Asian (total pop)	Pacific Islander (total pop)				or in combination (total pop)	
103	60,197	686	1.15%	52.61%	15.52%	0.60%	11.76%	0.06%	8.69%	10.76%	19.06%	17.66%	16.79%
104	59,362	-149	-0.25%	62.99%	15.96%	0.40%	6.37%	0.05%	5.27%	8.95%	12.64%	18.10%	17.03%
105	59,344	-167	-0.28%	41.69%	28.45%	0.51%	10.63%	0.04%	7.83%	10.85%	18.10%	31.08%	29.05%
106	59,112	-399	-0.67%	38.57%	36.27%	0.61%	9.86%	0.06%	5.99%	8.65%	12.66%	39.28%	36.27%
107	59,702	191	0.32%	23.31%	28.16%	1.39%	15.52%	0.05%	18.46%	13.13%	34.49%	30.77%	29.63%
108	59,577	66	0.11%	41.71%	17.71%	0.93%	18.12%	0.04%	11.15%	10.35%	20.98%	20.05%	18.35%
109	59,630	119	0.20%	18.29%	30.16%	1.16%	14.48%	0.07%	22.25%	13.59%	39.32%	32.86%	32.51%
110	59,951	440	0.74%	34.57%	46.58%	0.33%	4.53%	0.06%	5.00%	8.94%	11.87%	50.11%	47.19%
111	60,009	498	0.84%	62.34%	22.08%	0.40%	2.53%	0.07%	4.84%	7.75%	10.37%	24.28%	22.29%
112	59,349	-162	-0.27%	72.57%	19.06%	0.28%	1.28%	0.06%	1.89%	4.87%	4.00%	20.49%	19.21%
113	60,053	542	0.91%	30.11%	58.29%	0.30%	0.81%	0.14%	4.15%	6.21%	7.78%	61.62%	59.53%
114	59,867	356	0.60%	67.78%	24.16%	0.28%	0.71%	0.04%	2.21%	4.83%	4.53%	25.79%	24.74%
115	59,789	278	0.47%	30.02%	53.14%	0.46%	4.80%	0.06%	4.84%	6.70%	9.30%	56.23%	53.77%
116	60,380	869	1.46%	33.11%	52.02%	0.29%	4.57%	0.08%	3.53%	6.39%	7.80%	55.04%	51.95%
117	60,142	631	1.06%	36.94%	50.92%	0.30%	1.57%	0.06%	3.70%	6.51%	7.78%	53.97%	51.56%
118	59,987	476	0.80%	69.35%	22.72%	0.26%	0.45%	0.03%	1.99%	5.21%	4.50%	24.16%	23.60%
119	58,947	-564	-0.95%	69.24%	12.73%	0.46%	3.87%	0.03%	5.81%	7.87%	12.17%	14.47%	13.49%
120	58,982	-529	-0.89%	71.79%	13.65%	0.34%	4.08%	0.06%	3.79%	6.29%	8.42%	15.04%	14.28%
121	59,127	-384	-0.65%	76.66%	8.80%	0.18%	5.66%	0.01%	2.50%	6.19%	6.27%	9.96%	9.56%
122	59,632	121	0.20%	51.35%	30.85%	0.60%	2.17%	0.08%	8.43%	6.54%	13.78%	32.33%	28.42%
123	59,282	-229	-0.38%	67.02%	23.91%	0.30%	1.16%	0.03%	2.63%	4.94%	5.33%	25.32%	24.28%
124	59,221	-290	-0.49%	62.85%	26.19%	0.32%	1.15%	0.03%	3.77%	5.71%	7.57%	27.61%	25.58%
125	60,137	626	1.05%	62.06%	22.24%	0.45%	2.48%	0.22%	3.27%	9.29%	8.93%	25.37%	23.68%
126	59,260	-251	-0.42%	38.66%	54.30%	0.34%	0.76%	0.16%	1.55%	4.22%	3.63%	56.45%	54.47%
127	58,678	-833	-1.40%	67.34%	17.46%	0.27%	5.68%	0.18%	1.94%	7.13%	5.58%	19.67%	18.52%
128	58,869	-642	-1.08%	44.54%	51.11%	0.22%	0.36%	0.04%	0.82%	2.92%	1.91%	52.50%	50.40%
129	58,829	-682	-1.15%	34.71%	55.50%	0.31%	2.12%	0.15%	2.15%	5.05%	4.74%	58.21%	54.87%
130	59,203	-308	-0.52%	30.99%	60.84%	0.33%	0.82%	0.19%	1.93%	4.90%	4.33%	63.45%	59.91%
131	58,890	-621	-1.04%	67.43%	16.38%	0.29%	4.98%	0.17%	1.99%	8.77%	7.07%	18.92%	17.62%
132	59,142	-369	-0.62%	35.30%	52.48%	0.35%	2.42%	0.19%	3.20%	6.05%	7.91%	55.26%	52.34%
133	59,695	184	0.31%	67.55%	26.91%	0.17%	0.67%	0.03%	1.02%	3.65%	2.20%	28.20%	27.64%
134	59,046	-465	-0.78%	53.95%	38.20%	0.30%	0.75%	0.03%	1.98%	4.79%	4.33%	40.04%	37.41%
135	60,013	502	0.84%	74.82%	19.45%	0.24%	0.62%	0.01%	1.02%	3.84%	2.12%	20.68%	20.35%
136	59,298	-213	-0.36%	63.16%	28.15%	0.34%	1.55%	0.03%	2.06%	4.71%	4.40%	29.56%	28.67%

District	Population	Deviation	% Deviation	% single-race		% single-race		% single-race		% multi-racial (total pop)	% Hispanic or Latino (total pop)	% Black alone or in combination (total pop)	% Black alone or in combination (voting age pop)
				White (total pop)	Black (total pop)	American Indian Alaska Native (total pop)	Asian (total pop)	Native Hawaiian Pacific Islander (total pop)	Other (total pop)				
137	59,551	40	0.07%	39.25%	51.92%	0.19%	1.69%	0.14%	2.07%	4.75%	5.17%	54.16%	52.13%
138	58,912	-599	-1.01%	71.33%	18.92%	0.36%	2.41%	0.06%	1.57%	5.36%	4.10%	20.49%	19.32%
139	59,010	-501	-0.84%	65.30%	19.63%	0.39%	4.09%	0.22%	2.55%	7.82%	7.24%	21.77%	20.27%
140	59,294	-217	-0.36%	30.34%	56.56%	0.53%	1.06%	0.26%	4.45%	6.81%	9.04%	59.80%	57.63%
141	59,019	-492	-0.83%	30.98%	55.60%	0.36%	2.59%	0.33%	3.04%	7.10%	7.93%	58.90%	57.46%
142	59,320	-191	-0.32%	39.78%	51.89%	0.25%	2.27%	0.02%	2.32%	3.48%	4.22%	53.52%	50.14%
143	59,122	-389	-0.65%	38.76%	52.08%	0.21%	2.55%	0.04%	1.91%	4.44%	3.76%	54.15%	50.64%
144	58,642	-869	-1.46%	64.39%	24.38%	0.33%	2.88%	0.06%	1.91%	6.05%	5.05%	26.12%	25.00%
145	59,668	157	0.26%	36.17%	51.16%	0.47%	1.19%	0.07%	4.44%	6.50%	8.64%	53.76%	50.38%
146	59,197	-314	-0.53%	67.39%	23.72%	0.21%	1.65%	0.08%	1.64%	5.31%	4.55%	25.26%	24.38%
147	58,458	-1,053	-1.77%	54.13%	30.62%	0.33%	3.96%	0.10%	3.33%	7.53%	7.61%	33.11%	30.50%
148	59,887	376	0.63%	56.80%	37.60%	0.18%	0.61%	0.03%	1.74%	3.04%	5.86%	38.90%	37.30%
149	59,460	-51	-0.09%	42.46%	51.01%	0.21%	1.10%	0.05%	1.86%	3.32%	3.04%	52.66%	50.02%
150	59,276	-235	-0.39%	37.15%	53.50%	0.30%	1.19%	0.05%	4.73%	3.08%	7.23%	54.77%	53.56%
151	60,059	548	0.92%	46.66%	42.45%	0.27%	1.32%	0.25%	4.52%	4.53%	7.51%	44.17%	42.41%
152	60,134	623	1.05%	66.75%	25.98%	0.27%	1.61%	0.05%	1.33%	4.01%	2.84%	27.20%	26.06%
153	59,299	-212	-0.36%	24.79%	69.44%	0.17%	0.92%	0.03%	1.68%	2.97%	2.93%	71.14%	67.95%
154	59,994	483	0.81%	39.90%	55.77%	0.19%	0.39%	0.02%	1.00%	2.72%	2.10%	57.13%	54.82%
155	60,134	623	1.05%	58.50%	35.73%	0.21%	0.90%	0.05%	1.41%	3.19%	2.65%	37.24%	35.23%
156	60,647	1,136	1.91%	60.55%	29.57%	0.37%	0.61%	0.01%	4.56%	4.33%	8.19%	30.89%	29.87%
157	59,957	446	0.75%	63.89%	23.82%	0.39%	0.56%	0.04%	6.64%	4.65%	11.19%	25.21%	24.67%
158	59,440	-71	-0.12%	60.33%	31.67%	0.27%	0.77%	0.03%	3.07%	3.86%	5.60%	33.07%	31.20%
159	59,895	384	0.65%	68.50%	24.02%	0.35%	0.54%	0.05%	1.54%	5.00%	3.65%	25.56%	24.50%
160	59,935	424	0.71%	68.19%	22.04%	0.32%	1.64%	0.10%	2.38%	5.33%	5.50%	23.64%	22.60%
161	60,097	586	0.98%	59.24%	26.27%	0.34%	3.05%	0.11%	3.15%	7.84%	7.89%	28.87%	27.14%
162	60,308	797	1.34%	38.55%	43.95%	0.43%	4.04%	0.26%	5.71%	7.06%	10.78%	46.66%	43.73%
163	60,123	612	1.03%	39.74%	46.54%	0.40%	3.15%	0.16%	4.62%	5.39%	8.45%	48.40%	45.49%
164	60,101	590	0.99%	60.02%	22.55%	0.45%	4.26%	0.13%	4.01%	8.58%	9.95%	25.07%	23.47%
165	59,978	467	0.78%	36.28%	52.86%	0.30%	3.23%	0.16%	2.74%	4.44%	5.53%	54.85%	50.33%
166	60,242	731	1.23%	84.02%	5.04%	0.23%	2.67%	0.05%	1.68%	6.30%	5.19%	6.05%	5.67%
167	59,493	-18	-0.03%	64.99%	21.40%	0.62%	1.47%	0.26%	3.75%	7.52%	8.81%	23.93%	22.28%
168	60,147	636	1.07%	39.01%	44.49%	0.44%	2.06%	0.73%	3.84%	9.43%	11.22%	49.11%	46.26%
169	59,138	-373	-0.63%	60.27%	29.04%	0.33%	0.79%	0.03%	5.16%	4.37%	9.03%	30.38%	29.04%
170	60,116	605	1.02%	62.84%	24.56%	0.31%	1.19%	0.03%	5.44%	5.62%	10.43%	26.05%	24.22%

District	Population	Deviation	% Deviation	% single-race		% single-race American Indian	% single-race		% single-race Other (total pop)	% multi-racial (total pop)	% Hispanic or Latino (total pop)	% Black alone	% Black alone or in combination (voting age pop)
				% single-race White (total pop)	% single-race Black (total pop)	Alaska Native (total pop)	% single-race Asian (total pop)	Pacific Islander (total pop)				or in combination (total pop)	
171	59,237	-274	-0.46%	52.16%	40.00%	0.33%	0.54%	0.03%	3.52%	3.41%	5.73%	41.21%	39.60%
172	59,961	450	0.76%	60.41%	23.41%	0.80%	0.77%	0.03%	8.71%	5.87%	16.00%	24.67%	23.32%
173	59,743	232	0.39%	53.63%	36.40%	0.63%	0.83%	0.02%	4.16%	4.33%	6.95%	37.84%	36.27%
174	59,852	341	0.57%	73.85%	17.42%	0.47%	0.49%	0.05%	3.09%	4.63%	7.88%	18.81%	17.37%
175	59,993	482	0.81%	65.60%	23.98%	0.37%	1.79%	0.08%	2.45%	5.73%	6.10%	25.56%	24.17%
176	59,470	-41	-0.07%	66.19%	21.96%	0.45%	0.93%	0.11%	4.65%	5.71%	9.95%	23.59%	22.68%
177	59,992	481	0.81%	34.69%	55.26%	0.37%	1.30%	0.09%	3.02%	5.27%	6.69%	57.52%	53.88%
178	59,877	366	0.62%	77.36%	14.59%	0.35%	0.52%	0.01%	3.20%	3.97%	6.22%	15.91%	14.79%
179	59,356	-155	-0.26%	60.43%	28.66%	0.39%	1.07%	0.17%	4.00%	5.27%	7.73%	30.40%	27.03%
180	59,412	-99	-0.17%	70.77%	17.31%	0.47%	1.62%	0.13%	2.05%	7.65%	6.47%	19.73%	18.21%

Esselstyn Report: Attachment K

2021-2022 GUIDELINES FOR THE HOUSE LEGISLATIVE AND CONGRESSIONAL REAPPORTIONMENT COMMITTEE

I. HEARINGS AND MEETINGS

A. PUBLIC HEARINGS

1. A series of public hearings were held to actively seek public participation and input concerning the General Assembly's redrawing of congressional and legislative districts.
2. Video recordings of all hearings are and shall remain available on the legislative website, www.legis.ga.gov

B. COMMITTEE MEETINGS

1. All formal meetings of the full committee will be open to the public.
2. When the General Assembly is not in session, notices of all such meetings will be posted at the Offices of the Clerk of the House or Secretary of the Senate and other appropriate places at least 24 hours in advance of any meeting. Individual notices may be transmitted by email to any citizen or organization requesting the same without charge. Persons or organizations needing this information should contact the Senate Press Office or House Communications Office or the Secretary of the Senate or Clerk of the House to be placed on the notification list.
3. Minutes of all such meetings shall be kept and maintained in accordance with the rules of the House and Senate. Copies of the minutes should be made available in a timely manner at a reasonable cost in accordance with these same rules.

II. PUBLIC ACCESS TO REDISTRICTING DATA AND MATERIALS

- A. Census information databases on any medium created at public expense and held by the Committee or by the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office for use in the redistricting process are included as public records and copies can be made available to the public in accordance with the rules of the General Assembly and subject to reasonable charges for search, retrieval, reproduction and other reasonable, related costs.
- B. Copies of the public records described above may be obtained at the cost of reproduction by members of the public on electronic media if the material exists on an appropriate electronic medium. Cost of reproduction may include not only the medium on which the copies made, but also the labor cost for the search, retrieval, and reproduction of the records and other reasonable, related costs.

- C. These guidelines regarding public access to redistricting data and materials do not apply to plans or other related materials prepared by or on behalf of an individual Member of the General Assembly using the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office, where those plans and materials have not been made public through presentation to the Committee.

III. REDISTRICTING PLANS

A. GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR DRAFTING PLANS

1. Each congressional district should be drawn with a total population of plus or minus one person from the ideal district size.
2. Each legislative district of the General Assembly should be drawn to achieve a total population that is substantially equal as practicable, considering the principles listed below.
3. All plans adopted by the Committee will comply with Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as amended.
4. All plans adopted by the Committee will comply with the United States and Georgia Constitutions.
5. Districts shall be composed of contiguous geography. Districts that connect on a single point are not contiguous.
6. No multi-member districts shall be drawn on any legislative redistricting plan.
7. The Committee should consider:
 - a. The boundaries of counties and precincts;
 - b. Compactness; and
 - c. Communities of interest.
8. Efforts should be made to avoid the unnecessary pairing of incumbents.
9. The identifying of these criteria is not intended to limit the consideration of any other principles or factors that the Committee deems appropriate.

B. PLANS PRODUCED THROUGH THE LEGISLATIVE AND CONGRESSIONAL REAPPORTIONMENT OFFICE

1. Staff of the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office will be available to all members of the General Assembly requesting assistance in accordance with the policy of that office.
2. Census data and redistricting work maps will be available to all members of the General Assembly upon request, provided that (a) the map was created by the requesting member, (b) the map is publicly available, or (c) the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office has been granted permission by the author of the map to share a copy with the requesting member.
3. As noted above, redistricting plans and other records related to the provision of staff services to individual members of the General Assembly will not be subject to public disclosure. Only the author of a particular map may waive the confidentiality of his or her own work product. This confidentiality provision will not apply with respect to records related to the provision of staff services to any committee or subcommittee as a whole or to any records which are or have been previously disclosed by or pursuant to the direction of an individual member of the General Assembly.

C. PLANS PRODUCED OUTSIDE OF THE LEGISLATIVE AND CONGRESSIONAL REAPPORTIONMENT OFFICE

1. All plans submitted to the Committee will be made part of the public record and made available in the same manner as other committee public records.
2. All plans prepared outside the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office must be submitted to that office prior to presentation to the Committee by a Member of the General Assembly for technical verification and presentation and bill preparation. All pieces of census geography must be accounted for in some district.
3. The electronic submission of material for technical verification must be made in accordance with the following requirements or in a manner specifically approved and accepted by the Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office.
 - a. The submission shall be in electronic format with accompanying documentation that shows the submitting sponsor of the proposed plan and contact person for the proposed plan, including email address and telephone number.
 - b. An electronic map image that clearly depicts defined boundaries, utilizing the 2020 United States Census geographic boundaries,

and a block equivalency file containing two columns. The first column shall list the 15-digit census block identification numbers, and the second column shall list the three-digit district identification number. Both block and district numbers shall be zero-filled text files. Such files shall be submitted in .xis, .xlsx, .dbf, .txt, or .csv file formats. The following is a sample:

```
BlockID, DISTRICT
"13001950100101","008"
"13001950100102","008"
"13001950100103","008"
"13001950100104","008"
"13001950100105","008"
"13001950100106","008"
```

4. If submission of the plan cannot be done electronically, the following requirements must be followed:
 - a. All drafts, amendments, or revisions should be on clearly-depicted maps that follow the 2020 Census geographic boundaries and should be accompanied by a statistical sheet listing the Census geography including the total population for each district.
 - b. All plans submitted should either be a complete statewide plan or fit back into the plan that they modified, so that the proposal can be evaluated in the context of a statewide plan. All pieces of Census geography must be accounted for in some district.

D. GENERAL GUIDELINES FOR PRESENTATION OF ALL PLANS

1. A redistricting plan may be presented for consideration by the Committee only through the sponsorship of one or more Member(s) of the General Assembly. All such drafts of and amendments or revisions to plans presented at any committee meeting must be on clearly-depicted maps which follow the 2020 Census geographic boundaries and accompanied by a statistical sheet listing the Census geography, including the total population and minority populations for each proposed district.
2. No plan may be presented to the Committee unless that plan makes accommodations for and fits back into a specific, identified statewide map for the particular legislative body involved.

3. All plans presented at committee meetings will be made available for inspection by the public either electronically or by hard copy available at the Office of Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment.
- E. These guidelines may be reconsidered or amended by the Committee.

Esselstyn Report: Attachment L

More detailed tables for comparative characteristics of House plans

Population Deviation:

The deviation statistics for each individual district in the respective plans can be found in **Attachment I** and **Attachment J**. Below are the summary statistics generated by the *Maptitude for Redistricting* software.

Enacted plan:

Population Range:	58,678 to 60,308
Ratio Range:	0.03
Absolute Range:	-833 to 797
Absolute Overall Range:	1,630
Relative Range:	-1.00% to 1.34%
Relative Overall Range:	2.74%
Absolute Mean Deviation:	363.71
Relative Mean Deviation:	0.61%
Standard Deviation:	417.67

Illustrative plan:

Population Range:	58,358 to 60,647
Ratio Range:	0.04
Absolute Range:	-1,153 to 1,136
Absolute Overall Range:	2,289
Relative Range:	-1.00% to 1.91%
Relative Overall Range:	3.85%
Absolute Mean Deviation:	378.64
Relative Mean Deviation:	0.64%
Standard Deviation:	442.60

Compactness:

Below is the compactness report for the House enacted plan:

User:

Plan Name: EnachSEfromGA

Plan Type:

Measures of Compactness Report

Tuesday, January 11, 2022

9:53 PM

Number of cut edges: 22,020

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.80	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.33	0.10	0.10

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
001	0.53	1.45	0.45	0.85
002	0.53	1.95	0.24	0.71
003	0.50	1.49	0.41	0.83
004	0.37	1.93	0.21	0.72
005	0.43	1.67	0.25	0.73
006	0.45	1.72	0.26	0.77
007	0.62	1.31	0.50	0.89
008	0.46	1.71	0.27	0.71
009	0.47	1.63	0.30	0.78
010	0.34	1.48	0.30	0.81
011	0.31	1.72	0.26	0.71

Measures of Compactness Report

EnacHSEfromGA

Number of cut edges: 22,020

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.80	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.33	0.10	0.10

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
012	0.47	1.66	0.31	0.85
013	0.47	2.06	0.19	0.74
014	0.32	1.95	0.23	0.73
015	0.55	1.63	0.33	0.79
016	0.31	1.57	0.35	0.88
017	0.28	1.97	0.21	0.64
018	0.41	1.88	0.25	0.76
019	0.26	1.90	0.26	0.68
020	0.46	1.40	0.45	0.81
021	0.26	1.81	0.27	0.73
022	0.28	1.80	0.22	0.69
023	0.40	1.84	0.19	0.69
024	0.35	1.77	0.30	0.79
025	0.39	1.69	0.31	0.68

Measures of Compactness Report

EnacHSEfromGA

Number of cut edges: 22,020

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.80	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.33	0.10	0.10

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
026	0.27	1.82	0.26	0.70
027	0.60	1.54	0.34	0.82
028	0.38	1.58	0.35	0.80
029	0.34	1.97	0.21	0.62
030	0.43	1.71	0.30	0.66
031	0.44	1.67	0.25	0.70
032	0.39	1.64	0.33	0.73
033	0.49	1.53	0.37	0.80
034	0.45	1.61	0.33	0.75
035	0.32	1.76	0.24	0.73
036	0.32	1.90	0.23	0.68
037	0.45	1.66	0.28	0.82
038	0.59	1.28	0.58	0.91
039	0.59	1.45	0.40	0.87

Measures of Compactness Report

EnacHSEfromGA

Number of cut edges: 22,020

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.80	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.33	0.10	0.10
District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
040	0.49	1.69	0.29	0.76
041	0.60	1.47	0.40	0.85
042	0.40	2.01	0.21	0.64
043	0.42	1.94	0.22	0.69
044	0.31	1.76	0.29	0.73
045	0.41	1.64	0.32	0.77
046	0.55	1.42	0.47	0.84
047	0.29	2.02	0.21	0.61
048	0.34	2.12	0.19	0.62
049	0.30	2.23	0.15	0.59
050	0.42	1.40	0.46	0.77
051	0.54	1.60	0.36	0.73
052	0.48	1.65	0.35	0.72
053	0.16	2.52	0.14	0.50

Measures of Compactness Report

EnacHSEfromGA

Number of cut edges: 22,020

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.80	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.33	0.10	0.10

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
054	0.37	1.49	0.45	0.87
055	0.18	2.42	0.16	0.59
056	0.26	2.04	0.23	0.69
057	0.57	1.30	0.59	0.91
058	0.13	2.76	0.13	0.54
059	0.12	2.98	0.11	0.46
060	0.19	2.39	0.15	0.58
061	0.25	2.12	0.20	0.64
062	0.16	2.92	0.10	0.48
063	0.16	2.61	0.14	0.49
064	0.37	1.60	0.36	0.78
065	0.46	2.06	0.17	0.72
066	0.36	1.94	0.25	0.67
067	0.36	2.39	0.12	0.61

Measures of Compactness Report

EnacHSEfromGA

Number of cut edges: 22,020

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.80	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.33	0.10	0.10
District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
068	0.32	2.19	0.17	0.71
069	0.40	1.88	0.25	0.69
070	0.45	1.94	0.23	0.65
071	0.44	1.56	0.35	0.79
072	0.42	1.86	0.23	0.73
073	0.28	2.12	0.20	0.66
074	0.50	1.79	0.25	0.76
075	0.42	1.82	0.28	0.64
076	0.53	1.33	0.51	0.86
077	0.40	2.11	0.21	0.64
078	0.21	2.08	0.19	0.62
079	0.50	2.06	0.21	0.73
080	0.38	1.49	0.42	0.79
081	0.47	1.54	0.40	0.81

Measures of Compactness Report

EnacHSEfromGA

Number of cut edges: 22,020

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.80	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.33	0.10	0.10
District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
082	0.49	1.74	0.30	0.72
083	0.34	1.62	0.36	0.80
084	0.25	1.97	0.20	0.67
085	0.36	1.65	0.32	0.77
086	0.17	2.34	0.17	0.55
087	0.26	1.97	0.24	0.70
088	0.26	2.14	0.20	0.67
089	0.14	2.90	0.10	0.47
090	0.36	1.78	0.29	0.83
091	0.45	2.08	0.20	0.62
092	0.36	1.98	0.20	0.71
093	0.26	2.66	0.11	0.54
094	0.31	2.42	0.15	0.56
095	0.44	1.72	0.25	0.75

Measures of Compactness Report

EnacHSEfromGA

Number of cut edges: 22,020

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.80	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.33	0.10	0.10

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
096	0.18	2.18	0.21	0.66
097	0.28	1.96	0.24	0.67
098	0.42	1.35	0.52	0.88
099	0.36	1.80	0.29	0.72
100	0.34	1.78	0.29	0.66
101	0.53	1.44	0.46	0.82
102	0.56	1.58	0.35	0.77
103	0.33	1.96	0.24	0.62
104	0.28	1.90	0.25	0.74
105	0.34	1.78	0.28	0.69
106	0.66	1.36	0.50	0.85
107	0.51	1.68	0.32	0.75
108	0.43	1.64	0.32	0.71
109	0.39	1.70	0.28	0.70

Measures of Compactness Report

EnacHSEfromGA

Number of cut edges: 22,020

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.80	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.33	0.10	0.10

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
110	0.36	1.68	0.33	0.74
111	0.33	1.76	0.29	0.68
112	0.62	1.26	0.52	0.91
113	0.50	1.57	0.32	0.85
114	0.51	1.70	0.28	0.71
115	0.44	1.92	0.23	0.63
116	0.41	1.81	0.28	0.63
117	0.41	1.74	0.28	0.75
118	0.35	1.92	0.22	0.68
119	0.39	1.89	0.21	0.64
120	0.44	1.83	0.25	0.72
121	0.43	1.61	0.30	0.76
122	0.48	1.48	0.43	0.85
123	0.30	1.89	0.18	0.69

Measures of Compactness Report

EnacHSEfromGA

Number of cut edges: 22,020

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.80	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.33	0.10	0.10
District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
124	0.44	1.78	0.23	0.69
125	0.41	1.89	0.17	0.72
126	0.52	1.39	0.41	0.80
127	0.35	2.17	0.20	0.58
128	0.60	1.51	0.32	0.79
129	0.48	1.94	0.25	0.66
130	0.51	1.48	0.25	0.75
131	0.38	1.74	0.28	0.70
132	0.27	1.69	0.30	0.75
133	0.55	1.36	0.42	0.83
134	0.33	1.96	0.23	0.67
135	0.57	1.32	0.42	0.88
136	0.54	1.74	0.26	0.77
137	0.33	2.22	0.16	0.57

Measures of Compactness Report

EnacHSEfromGA

Number of cut edges: 22,020

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.80	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.33	0.10	0.10
District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
138	0.33	2.00	0.20	0.70
139	0.28	1.93	0.23	0.66
140	0.29	2.06	0.19	0.65
141	0.26	2.16	0.20	0.52
142	0.35	1.82	0.23	0.70
143	0.50	1.53	0.30	0.79
144	0.51	1.56	0.32	0.84
145	0.38	1.85	0.19	0.72
146	0.26	2.00	0.19	0.62
147	0.33	1.84	0.26	0.64
148	0.44	1.81	0.24	0.69
149	0.32	1.68	0.22	0.72
150	0.44	1.67	0.28	0.78
151	0.53	1.82	0.22	0.71

Measures of Compactness Report

EnacHSEfromGA

Number of cut edges: 22,020

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.80	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.33	0.10	0.10

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
152	0.40	1.68	0.30	0.81
153	0.30	1.73	0.30	0.70
154	0.41	1.48	0.33	0.79
155	0.49	1.33	0.48	0.89
156	0.23	1.92	0.20	0.67
157	0.32	1.95	0.19	0.72
158	0.48	1.52	0.33	0.80
159	0.34	1.62	0.22	0.73
160	0.49	1.32	0.37	0.88
161	0.51	1.51	0.31	0.81
162	0.37	1.99	0.21	0.61
163	0.27	2.34	0.18	0.54
164	0.30	2.10	0.17	0.66
165	0.23	2.23	0.16	0.52

Measures of Compactness Report

EnacHSEfromGA

Number of cut edges: 22,020

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.80	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.33	0.10	0.10

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
166	0.43	1.43	0.36	0.82
167	0.42	1.97	0.19	0.65
168	0.24	1.67	0.26	0.69
169	0.28	1.97	0.23	0.64
170	0.53	1.49	0.34	0.82
171	0.35	1.46	0.37	0.83
172	0.44	1.59	0.32	0.77
173	0.57	1.46	0.38	0.85
174	0.41	1.70	0.24	0.75
175	0.47	1.54	0.37	0.83
176	0.34	2.23	0.16	0.54
177	0.43	1.57	0.34	0.76
178	0.48	1.83	0.22	0.75
179	0.45	1.39	0.42	0.87

Measures of Compactness Report

EnacHSEfromGA

Number of cut edges: 22,020

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.80	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.33	0.10	0.10
District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
180	0.61	1.23	0.40	0.85

Measures of Compactness Report

EnacHSEfromGA

Measures of Compactness Summary

Reock	The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.
Schwartzberg	The measure is usually greater than or equal to 1, with 1 being the most compact.
Polsby-Popper	The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.
Area / Convex Hull	The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.
Cut Edges	A smaller number implies a more compact plan. The measure should only be used to compare plans defined on the same base layer.

Below is the compactness report for the House illustrative plan:

User: **Blake E.**Plan Name: **GA Hse FINAL**Plan Type: **Illustrative House**

Measures of Compactness Report

Thursday, January 13, 2022

9:25 AM

Number of cut edges: 22,475

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.82	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.34	0.10	0.10

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
1	0.53	1.45	0.45	0.85
2	0.53	1.95	0.24	0.71
3	0.50	1.49	0.41	0.83
4	0.37	1.93	0.21	0.72
5	0.43	1.67	0.25	0.73
6	0.45	1.72	0.26	0.77
7	0.62	1.31	0.50	0.89
8	0.46	1.71	0.27	0.71
9	0.47	1.63	0.30	0.78
10	0.34	1.48	0.30	0.81
11	0.31	1.72	0.26	0.71

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Hse FINAL

Number of cut edges: 22,475

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.82	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.34	0.10	0.10

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
12	0.47	1.66	0.31	0.85
13	0.47	2.06	0.19	0.74
14	0.32	1.95	0.23	0.73
15	0.55	1.63	0.33	0.79
16	0.31	1.57	0.35	0.88
17	0.28	1.97	0.21	0.64
18	0.41	1.88	0.25	0.76
19	0.26	1.94	0.25	0.68
20	0.46	1.40	0.45	0.81
21	0.26	1.81	0.27	0.73
22	0.28	1.80	0.22	0.69
23	0.40	1.84	0.19	0.69
24	0.35	1.77	0.30	0.79
25	0.39	1.69	0.31	0.68

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Hse FINAL

Number of cut edges: 22,475

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.82	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.34	0.10	0.10

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
26	0.27	1.82	0.26	0.70
27	0.60	1.54	0.34	0.82
28	0.38	1.58	0.35	0.80
29	0.34	1.97	0.21	0.62
30	0.43	1.71	0.30	0.66
31	0.44	1.67	0.25	0.70
32	0.39	1.64	0.33	0.73
33	0.49	1.53	0.37	0.80
34	0.45	1.61	0.33	0.75
35	0.32	1.76	0.24	0.73
36	0.32	1.90	0.23	0.68
37	0.45	1.66	0.28	0.82
38	0.59	1.28	0.58	0.91
39	0.59	1.45	0.40	0.87

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Hse FINAL

Number of cut edges: 22,475

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.82	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.34	0.10	0.10

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
40	0.49	1.69	0.29	0.76
41	0.60	1.47	0.40	0.85
42	0.40	2.01	0.21	0.64
43	0.42	1.94	0.22	0.69
44	0.31	1.76	0.29	0.73
45	0.41	1.64	0.32	0.77
46	0.55	1.42	0.47	0.84
47	0.29	2.02	0.21	0.61
48	0.34	2.12	0.19	0.62
49	0.30	2.23	0.15	0.59
50	0.42	1.40	0.46	0.77
51	0.54	1.60	0.36	0.73
52	0.48	1.65	0.35	0.72
53	0.16	2.52	0.14	0.50

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Hse FINAL

Number of cut edges: 22,475

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.82	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.34	0.10	0.10
District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
54	0.37	1.49	0.45	0.87
55	0.18	2.42	0.16	0.59
56	0.26	2.04	0.23	0.69
57	0.57	1.30	0.59	0.91
58	0.13	2.76	0.13	0.54
59	0.12	2.98	0.11	0.46
60	0.19	2.39	0.15	0.58
61	0.23	2.65	0.12	0.53
62	0.16	2.92	0.10	0.48
63	0.16	2.61	0.14	0.49
64	0.22	2.05	0.22	0.59
65	0.34	2.79	0.10	0.52
66	0.43	1.65	0.34	0.78
67	0.36	2.39	0.12	0.61

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Hse FINAL

Number of cut edges: 22,475

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.82	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.34	0.10	0.10
District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
68	0.32	2.19	0.17	0.71
69	0.33	2.06	0.22	0.68
70	0.45	1.94	0.23	0.65
71	0.44	1.56	0.35	0.79
72	0.42	1.86	0.23	0.73
73	0.28	2.12	0.20	0.66
74	0.30	1.98	0.19	0.61
75	0.46	2.23	0.18	0.68
76	0.53	1.33	0.51	0.86
77	0.40	2.11	0.21	0.64
78	0.31	2.05	0.18	0.65
79	0.50	2.06	0.21	0.73
80	0.38	1.49	0.42	0.79
81	0.47	1.54	0.40	0.81

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Hse FINAL

Number of cut edges: 22,475

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.82	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.34	0.10	0.10

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
82	0.49	1.74	0.30	0.72
83	0.34	1.62	0.36	0.80
84	0.25	1.97	0.20	0.67
85	0.36	1.65	0.32	0.77
86	0.17	2.34	0.17	0.55
87	0.26	1.97	0.24	0.70
88	0.26	2.14	0.20	0.67
89	0.14	2.90	0.10	0.47
90	0.36	1.78	0.29	0.83
91	0.27	2.15	0.17	0.63
92	0.36	1.98	0.20	0.71
93	0.26	2.66	0.11	0.54
94	0.31	2.42	0.15	0.56
95	0.44	1.72	0.25	0.75

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Hse FINAL

Number of cut edges: 22,475

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.82	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.34	0.10	0.10

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
96	0.18	2.18	0.21	0.66
97	0.28	1.96	0.24	0.67
98	0.42	1.35	0.52	0.88
99	0.36	1.80	0.29	0.72
100	0.34	1.78	0.29	0.66
101	0.53	1.44	0.46	0.82
102	0.56	1.58	0.35	0.77
103	0.33	1.96	0.24	0.62
104	0.28	1.90	0.25	0.74
105	0.34	1.78	0.28	0.69
106	0.66	1.36	0.50	0.85
107	0.51	1.68	0.32	0.75
108	0.43	1.64	0.32	0.71
109	0.39	1.70	0.28	0.70

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Hse FINAL

Number of cut edges: 22,475

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.82	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.34	0.10	0.10

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
110	0.36	1.68	0.33	0.74
111	0.33	1.76	0.29	0.68
112	0.62	1.26	0.52	0.91
113	0.50	1.57	0.32	0.85
114	0.51	1.70	0.28	0.71
115	0.29	1.77	0.28	0.71
116	0.33	1.98	0.23	0.62
117	0.40	1.62	0.33	0.76
118	0.35	1.92	0.22	0.68
119	0.39	1.89	0.21	0.64
120	0.44	1.83	0.25	0.72
121	0.43	1.61	0.30	0.76
122	0.48	1.48	0.43	0.85
123	0.30	1.89	0.18	0.69

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Hse FINAL

Number of cut edges: 22,475

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.82	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.34	0.10	0.10

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
124	0.44	1.78	0.23	0.69
125	0.41	1.89	0.17	0.72
126	0.52	1.39	0.41	0.80
127	0.35	2.17	0.20	0.58
128	0.60	1.50	0.33	0.79
129	0.48	1.94	0.25	0.66
130	0.51	1.48	0.25	0.75
131	0.38	1.74	0.28	0.70
132	0.27	1.69	0.30	0.75
133	0.38	1.65	0.30	0.78
134	0.37	1.73	0.31	0.74
135	0.39	1.79	0.23	0.69
136	0.54	1.74	0.26	0.77
137	0.33	2.22	0.16	0.57

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Hse FINAL

Number of cut edges: 22,475

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.82	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.34	0.10	0.10
District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
138	0.33	2.00	0.20	0.70
139	0.28	1.93	0.23	0.66
140	0.29	2.06	0.19	0.65
141	0.26	2.16	0.20	0.52
142	0.56	1.42	0.36	0.84
143	0.31	1.85	0.26	0.65
144	0.43	1.82	0.22	0.71
145	0.34	1.63	0.21	0.76
146	0.50	1.79	0.26	0.68
147	0.44	1.54	0.38	0.81
148	0.35	2.23	0.18	0.59
149	0.42	1.66	0.23	0.74
150	0.44	1.67	0.28	0.78
151	0.53	1.82	0.22	0.71

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Hse FINAL

Number of cut edges: 22,475

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.82	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.34	0.10	0.10

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
152	0.40	1.68	0.30	0.81
153	0.30	1.73	0.30	0.70
154	0.41	1.48	0.33	0.79
155	0.47	1.40	0.44	0.86
156	0.25	1.94	0.20	0.71
157	0.32	1.95	0.19	0.72
158	0.48	1.52	0.33	0.80
159	0.34	1.62	0.22	0.73
160	0.49	1.32	0.37	0.88
161	0.51	1.51	0.31	0.81
162	0.37	1.99	0.21	0.61
163	0.27	2.34	0.18	0.54
164	0.30	2.10	0.17	0.66
165	0.23	2.23	0.16	0.52

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Hse FINAL

Number of cut edges: 22,475

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.82	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.34	0.10	0.10

District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
166	0.43	1.43	0.36	0.82
167	0.42	1.97	0.19	0.65
168	0.24	1.67	0.26	0.69
169	0.28	1.97	0.23	0.64
170	0.53	1.49	0.34	0.82
171	0.35	1.46	0.37	0.83
172	0.44	1.59	0.32	0.77
173	0.57	1.46	0.38	0.85
174	0.41	1.70	0.24	0.75
175	0.47	1.54	0.37	0.83
176	0.34	2.23	0.16	0.54
177	0.43	1.57	0.34	0.76
178	0.48	1.83	0.22	0.75
179	0.45	1.39	0.42	0.87

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Hse FINAL

Number of cut edges: 22,475

	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.12	1.23	0.10	0.46
Max	0.66	2.98	0.59	0.91
Mean	0.39	1.82	0.28	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.34	0.10	0.10
District	Reock	Schwartzberg	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
180	0.61	1.23	0.40	0.85

Measures of Compactness Report

GA Hse FINAL

Measures of Compactness Summary

Reock	The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.
Schwartzberg	The measure is usually greater than or equal to 1, with 1 being the most compact.
Polsby-Popper	The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.
Area / Convex Hull	The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.
Cut Edges	A smaller number implies a more compact plan. The measure should only be used to compare plans defined on the same base layer.

Divisions of counties and precincts (VTDs):

Below is the political subdivisions splits report for the House enacted plan:

User:

Plan Name: GA Hse 000

Plan Type:

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

Thursday, January 13, 2022

1:47 PM

Number of subdivisions not split:

County 90

Number of subdivisions split into more than one district:

County 69

Number of splits involving no population:

County 0

Split Counts

County

Cases where an area is split among 2 Districts: 34

Cases where an area is split among 3 Districts: 9

Cases where an area is split among 4 Districts: 12

Cases where an area is split among 5 Districts: 4

Cases where an area is split among 6 Districts: 3

Cases where an area is split among 7 Districts: 2

Cases where an area is split among 9 Districts: 1

Cases where an area is split among 14 Districts: 1

Cases where an area is split among 17 Districts: 1

Cases where an area is split among 21 Districts: 1

Cases where an area is split among 22 Districts: 1

Voting District

Cases where an area is split among 2 Districts: 175

Cases where an area is split among 3 Districts: 10

County	District	Population
<i>Split Counties:</i>		
Appling GA	157	12,825
Appling GA	178	5,619
Baldwin GA	128	5,158
Baldwin GA	133	38,641
Barrow GA	104	24,245
Barrow GA	119	54,736
Barrow GA	120	4,524
Bartow GA	14	49,688
Bartow GA	15	59,213
Ben Hill GA	148	5,115
Ben Hill GA	156	12,079
Bibb GA	142	59,608
Bibb GA	143	59,469
Bibb GA	144	33,948
Bibb GA	145	4,321

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 000

County	District	Population
Bryan GA	160	11,008
Bryan GA	164	21,420
Bryan GA	166	12,310
Bulloch GA	158	19,285
Bulloch GA	159	12,887
Bulloch GA	160	48,927
Carroll GA	18	18,789
Carroll GA	70	2,854
Carroll GA	71	59,538
Carroll GA	72	37,967
Catoosa GA	2	7,673
Catoosa GA	3	60,199
Chatham GA	161	28,269
Chatham GA	162	60,308
Chatham GA	163	60,123
Chatham GA	164	38,681
Chatham GA	165	59,978
Chatham GA	166	47,932
Cherokee GA	11	6,557
Cherokee GA	14	9,447
Cherokee GA	20	60,107
Cherokee GA	21	59,529
Cherokee GA	22	30,874
Cherokee GA	23	59,048
Cherokee GA	44	21,989
Cherokee GA	46	15,178
Cherokee GA	47	3,891
Clarke GA	120	30,095
Clarke GA	121	26,478
Clarke GA	122	59,632
Clarke GA	124	12,466
Clayton GA	75	59,743
Clayton GA	76	59,759
Clayton GA	77	59,242
Clayton GA	78	55,197
Clayton GA	79	59,500
Clayton GA	116	4,154
Cobb GA	22	28,586
Cobb GA	34	59,875
Cobb GA	35	59,889
Cobb GA	36	59,994
Cobb GA	37	59,176
Cobb GA	38	59,317
Cobb GA	39	59,381
Cobb GA	40	59,044
Cobb GA	41	60,122
Cobb GA	42	59,620

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 000

County	District	Population
Cobb GA	43	59,464
Cobb GA	44	38,013
Cobb GA	45	59,738
Cobb GA	46	43,930
Coffee GA	169	33,736
Coffee GA	176	9,356
Columbia GA	123	2,205
Columbia GA	125	55,389
Columbia GA	127	39,526
Columbia GA	131	58,890
Cook GA	170	7,342
Cook GA	172	9,887
Coweta GA	65	13,008
Coweta GA	67	17,272
Coweta GA	70	56,267
Coweta GA	73	31,608
Coweta GA	136	28,003
Dawson GA	7	2,409
Dawson GA	9	24,389
DeKalb GA	52	28,300
DeKalb GA	80	59,461
DeKalb GA	81	59,007
DeKalb GA	82	59,724
DeKalb GA	83	59,416
DeKalb GA	84	59,862
DeKalb GA	85	59,373
DeKalb GA	86	59,205
DeKalb GA	87	59,709
DeKalb GA	88	47,844
DeKalb GA	89	59,866
DeKalb GA	90	59,812
DeKalb GA	91	19,700
DeKalb GA	92	15,607
DeKalb GA	93	11,690
DeKalb GA	94	31,207
DeKalb GA	95	14,599
Dougherty GA	151	6,268
Dougherty GA	152	6,187
Dougherty GA	153	59,299
Dougherty GA	154	14,036
Douglas GA	61	30,206
Douglas GA	64	35,576
Douglas GA	65	19,408
Douglas GA	66	59,047
Effingham GA	159	32,941
Effingham GA	161	31,828
Fayette GA	68	29,719

Political Subdivision Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 000

County	District	Population
Fayette GA	69	37,303
Fayette GA	73	28,428
Fayette GA	74	23,744
Floyd GA	5	5,099
Floyd GA	12	34,335
Floyd GA	13	59,150
Forsyth GA	11	19,019
Forsyth GA	24	59,011
Forsyth GA	25	46,134
Forsyth GA	26	59,248
Forsyth GA	28	50,864
Forsyth GA	100	17,007
Fulton GA	25	13,280
Fulton GA	47	55,235
Fulton GA	48	43,976
Fulton GA	49	59,153
Fulton GA	50	59,523
Fulton GA	51	58,952
Fulton GA	52	31,511
Fulton GA	53	59,953
Fulton GA	54	60,083
Fulton GA	55	59,971
Fulton GA	56	58,929
Fulton GA	57	59,969
Fulton GA	58	59,057
Fulton GA	59	59,434
Fulton GA	60	59,709
Fulton GA	61	29,096
Fulton GA	62	59,450
Fulton GA	63	59,381
Fulton GA	65	27,048
Fulton GA	67	41,863
Fulton GA	68	29,758
Fulton GA	69	21,379
Glynn GA	167	20,499
Glynn GA	179	59,356
Glynn GA	180	4,644
Gordon GA	5	53,738
Gordon GA	6	3,806
Grady GA	171	8,115
Grady GA	173	18,121
Gwinnett GA	30	8,620
Gwinnett GA	48	15,027
Gwinnett GA	88	11,845
Gwinnett GA	94	28,004
Gwinnett GA	95	34,221
Gwinnett GA	96	59,515

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 000

County	District	Population
Gwinnett GA	97	59,072
Gwinnett GA	98	59,998
Gwinnett GA	99	59,850
Gwinnett GA	100	35,204
Gwinnett GA	101	59,938
Gwinnett GA	102	58,959
Gwinnett GA	103	51,691
Gwinnett GA	104	35,117
Gwinnett GA	105	59,344
Gwinnett GA	106	59,112
Gwinnett GA	107	59,702
Gwinnett GA	108	59,577
Gwinnett GA	109	59,630
Gwinnett GA	110	59,951
Gwinnett GA	111	22,685
Habersham GA	10	42,636
Habersham GA	32	3,395
Hall GA	27	54,508
Hall GA	28	8,108
Hall GA	29	59,200
Hall GA	30	50,646
Hall GA	31	14,349
Hall GA	100	7,819
Hall GA	103	8,506
Harris GA	138	21,634
Harris GA	139	13,034
Henry GA	74	18,397
Henry GA	78	3,847
Henry GA	91	35,569
Henry GA	115	60,174
Henry GA	116	55,759
Henry GA	117	54,737
Henry GA	118	12,229
Houston GA	145	28,132
Houston GA	146	60,203
Houston GA	147	59,178
Houston GA	148	16,120
Jackson GA	31	45,552
Jackson GA	32	10,931
Jackson GA	119	4,211
Jackson GA	120	15,213
Jasper GA	114	2,855
Jasper GA	118	11,733
Jones GA	133	20,561
Jones GA	144	7,786
Lamar GA	134	5,026
Lamar GA	135	13,474

Political Subdivision Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 000

County	District	Population
Liberty GA	167	5,109
Liberty GA	168	60,147
Lowndes GA	174	9,770
Lowndes GA	175	43,692
Lowndes GA	176	4,797
Lowndes GA	177	59,992
Lumpkin GA	9	29,201
Lumpkin GA	27	4,287
Madison GA	33	9,935
Madison GA	123	20,185
McDuffie GA	125	4,748
McDuffie GA	128	16,884
Meriwether GA	136	13,382
Meriwether GA	137	7,231
Monroe GA	134	9,272
Monroe GA	144	17,498
Monroe GA	145	1,187
Muscogee GA	137	30,443
Muscogee GA	138	12,190
Muscogee GA	139	45,976
Muscogee GA	140	59,294
Muscogee GA	141	59,019
Newton GA	93	15,515
Newton GA	113	60,053
Newton GA	114	36,915
Oconee GA	120	9,150
Oconee GA	121	32,649
Paulding GA	16	16,549
Paulding GA	17	59,120
Paulding GA	18	10,627
Paulding GA	19	58,955
Paulding GA	64	23,410
Peach GA	145	14,093
Peach GA	150	13,888
Putnam GA	118	10,591
Putnam GA	124	11,456
Richmond GA	126	25,990
Richmond GA	127	19,152
Richmond GA	129	58,829
Richmond GA	130	59,203
Richmond GA	132	43,433
Rockdale GA	91	4,781
Rockdale GA	92	44,666
Rockdale GA	93	32,913
Rockdale GA	95	11,210
Spalding GA	74	16,815
Spalding GA	117	5,393

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 000

County	District	Population
Spalding GA	134	45,098
Sumter GA	150	14,282
Sumter GA	151	15,334
Tattnall GA	156	1,263
Tattnall GA	157	21,579
Telfair GA	149	9,486
Telfair GA	156	2,991
Thomas GA	172	4,176
Thomas GA	173	41,622
Tift GA	169	6,730
Tift GA	170	34,614
Troup GA	72	10,281
Troup GA	136	17,913
Troup GA	137	16,144
Troup GA	138	25,088
Walker GA	1	43,415
Walker GA	2	24,239
Walton GA	111	37,324
Walton GA	112	59,349
Ware GA	174	9,097
Ware GA	176	27,154
Wayne GA	167	6,742
Wayne GA	178	23,402
White GA	8	22,119
White GA	9	5,884
Whitfield GA	2	27,861
Whitfield GA	4	59,070
Whitfield GA	6	15,933
<i>Split VTDs:</i>		
Barrow GA	104	1,708
Barrow GA	119	8,060
Bartow GA	14	15,558
Bartow GA	15	1,047
Bartow GA	14	3,335
Bartow GA	15	211
Ben Hill GA	148	5,115
Ben Hill GA	156	5,229
Bibb GA	142	2,326
Bibb GA	144	3,617
Bibb GA	142	2,369
Bibb GA	144	3,076
Bibb GA	142	0
Bibb GA	144	12,654
Bibb GA	142	4,426
Bibb GA	145	852
Bryan GA	164	1,268
Bryan GA	166	1,741

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 000

County	District	Population
Bryan GA	164	4,552
Bryan GA	166	4,707
Bryan GA	164	3,489
Bryan GA	166	144
Bulloch GA	158	3,764
Bulloch GA	159	5,869
Carroll GA	71	410
Carroll GA	72	5,554
Chatham GA	162	2,134
Chatham GA	166	1,493
Chatham GA	164	5,562
Chatham GA	166	0
Chatham GA	163	2,064
Chatham GA	165	397
Chatham GA	161	5,335
Chatham GA	164	4,987
Chatham GA	162	1,177
Chatham GA	163	1,109
Chatham GA	163	785
Chatham GA	166	1,890
Cherokee GA	20	5,626
Cherokee GA	22	1,222
Cherokee GA	44	0
Cherokee GA	21	3,200
Cherokee GA	47	3,891
Cherokee GA	21	2,250
Cherokee GA	23	2,578
Clarke GA	122	2,758
Clarke GA	124	2,286
Clarke GA	121	7,082
Clarke GA	122	5,589
Clarke GA	120	1,922
Clarke GA	121	3,184
Clayton GA	75	5,018
Clayton GA	78	601
Clayton GA	78	9,099
Clayton GA	116	4,154
Clayton GA	76	1,911
Clayton GA	78	1,316
Cobb GA	35	7,322
Cobb GA	36	142
Cobb GA	22	5,226
Cobb GA	35	1,996
Cobb GA	22	4,918
Cobb GA	44	3,763
Cobb GA	42	11,055
Cobb GA	43	2,346

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 000

County	District	Population
Cobb GA	34	700
Cobb GA	37	5,170
Cobb GA	37	2,031
Cobb GA	43	2,387
Cobb GA	22	599
Cobb GA	35	3,844
Cobb GA	22	0
Cobb GA	34	871
Cobb GA	35	8,631
Cobb GA	44	2,121
Cobb GA	46	2,600
Cobb GA	39	5,678
Cobb GA	40	582
Cobb GA	38	1,589
Cobb GA	39	5,513
Cobb GA	38	256
Cobb GA	39	5,427
Cobb GA	37	3,349
Cobb GA	43	6,645
Cobb GA	34	1,664
Cobb GA	37	811
Cobb GA	37	2,877
Cobb GA	43	1,457
Cobb GA	37	1,532
Cobb GA	43	3,022
Cobb GA	42	1,494
Cobb GA	43	5,417
Cobb GA	35	2,611
Cobb GA	36	559
Cobb GA	41	1,955
Cobb GA	42	5,846
Cobb GA	37	6,683
Cobb GA	41	6,305
Cobb GA	34	3,976
Cobb GA	35	0
Cobb GA	40	1,292
Cobb GA	42	5,341
Cobb GA	40	6,599
Cobb GA	42	1,609
Cobb GA	39	905
Cobb GA	40	7,690
Coffee GA	169	19,642
Coffee GA	176	8,929
Columbia GA	125	326
Columbia GA	131	5,958
Coweta GA	70	12,590
Coweta GA	73	1,521

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 000

County	District	Population
DeKalb GA	89	2,204
DeKalb GA	90	316
DeKalb GA	85	5,454
DeKalb GA	86	9,300
DeKalb GA	81	5,398
DeKalb GA	83	7,691
DeKalb GA	86	1,002
DeKalb GA	87	3,088
DeKalb GA	82	2,059
DeKalb GA	84	1,221
DeKalb GA	85	1,698
DeKalb GA	86	1,064
DeKalb GA	86	2,226
DeKalb GA	87	2,547
DeKalb GA	86	3,296
DeKalb GA	94	460
DeKalb GA	87	1,419
DeKalb GA	88	1,633
DeKalb GA	94	3,736
DeKalb GA	95	1,104
DeKalb GA	84	920
DeKalb GA	91	1,271
DeKalb GA	87	1,863
DeKalb GA	88	4,069
DeKalb GA	87	1,338
DeKalb GA	88	2,865
DeKalb GA	87	656
DeKalb GA	88	3,960
DeKalb GA	81	2,394
DeKalb GA	88	1,635
Dougherty GA	151	4,018
Dougherty GA	153	2,465
Dougherty GA	153	1,245
Dougherty GA	154	3,972
Effingham GA	159	1,960
Effingham GA	161	959
Fayette GA	68	983
Fayette GA	73	1,392
Fayette GA	73	605
Fayette GA	74	1,646
Fayette GA	73	1,932
Fayette GA	74	2,452
Floyd GA	12	1,576
Floyd GA	13	3,847
Floyd GA	12	1,080
Floyd GA	13	4,509
Forsyth GA	26	10,116

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 000

County	District	Population
Forsyth GA	28	2,801
Forsyth GA	11	7,687
Forsyth GA	28	7,982
Forsyth GA	26	4,666
Forsyth GA	28	2,410
Forsyth GA	11	11,332
Forsyth GA	24	1,335
Forsyth GA	28	333
Forsyth GA	24	3,988
Forsyth GA	26	6,597
Forsyth GA	28	7,875
Forsyth GA	24	9,868
Forsyth GA	25	0
Forsyth GA	26	15,990
Forsyth GA	25	10,064
Forsyth GA	100	11,887
Forsyth GA	26	11,718
Forsyth GA	100	5,120
Fulton GA	53	1,524
Fulton GA	60	335
Fulton GA	55	3,033
Fulton GA	60	4,105
Fulton GA	55	1,756
Fulton GA	60	4,311
Fulton GA	55	340
Fulton GA	60	3,418
Fulton GA	48	862
Fulton GA	49	2,505
Fulton GA	47	1,250
Fulton GA	49	1,304
Fulton GA	48	4,109
Fulton GA	49	281
Fulton GA	59	2,393
Fulton GA	62	2,049
Fulton GA	48	3,608
Fulton GA	51	1,792
Fulton GA	47	501
Fulton GA	49	123
Fulton GA	47	284
Fulton GA	49	61
Fulton GA	51	1,292
Fulton GA	53	6,066
Fulton GA	47	2,971
Fulton GA	49	4,750
Fulton GA	60	220
Fulton GA	61	773
Fulton GA	61	1,575

Political Subdivision Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 000

County	District	Population
Fulton GA	65	2,978
Fulton GA	65	1,028
Fulton GA	67	7,728
Fulton GA	62	92
Fulton GA	68	5,255
Fulton GA	65	2,858
Fulton GA	67	1,176
Fulton GA	65	1,070
Fulton GA	67	13,013
Gwinnett GA	106	934
Gwinnett GA	110	2,651
Gwinnett GA	102	3,729
Gwinnett GA	110	2,597
Gwinnett GA	98	2,475
Gwinnett GA	108	1,991
Gwinnett GA	94	955
Gwinnett GA	108	4,255
Gwinnett GA	96	7,245
Gwinnett GA	107	5,149
Gwinnett GA	96	1,426
Gwinnett GA	99	3,389
Gwinnett GA	30	8,620
Gwinnett GA	104	1,575
Gwinnett GA	102	2,073
Gwinnett GA	105	3,924
Gwinnett GA	102	4,231
Gwinnett GA	105	7,770
Gwinnett GA	107	8,164
Gwinnett GA	109	892
Gwinnett GA	96	5,745
Gwinnett GA	97	2,561
Gwinnett GA	103	1,506
Gwinnett GA	105	7,421
Gwinnett GA	100	2,158
Gwinnett GA	103	6,421
Gwinnett GA	99	3,224
Gwinnett GA	103	2,836
Habersham GA	10	8,687
Habersham GA	32	1,972
Hall GA	28	3,803
Hall GA	29	4,979
Henry GA	115	0
Henry GA	116	5,686
Henry GA	115	7,135
Henry GA	116	17
Henry GA	116	5,233
Henry GA	117	8,688

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 000

County	District	Population
Henry GA	78	3,847
Henry GA	116	3,999
Henry GA	78	0
Henry GA	91	7,453
Henry GA	91	3,240
Henry GA	115	1,518
Houston GA	145	69
Houston GA	147	11,815
Houston GA	146	9,734
Houston GA	147	3,595
Houston GA	145	8,748
Houston GA	147	6,643
Houston GA	146	3,947
Houston GA	147	9,547
Houston GA	145	15,867
Houston GA	146	0
Houston GA	147	1,931
Houston GA	146	13,202
Houston GA	148	7,640
Houston GA	146	5,586
Houston GA	148	4,039
Jackson GA	31	4,513
Jackson GA	32	10,931
Jackson GA	120	3,803
Jackson GA	31	16,656
Jackson GA	119	4,211
Jones GA	133	384
Jones GA	144	2,481
Lamar GA	134	3,043
Lamar GA	135	2,725
Liberty GA	167	5,109
Liberty GA	168	4,344
Lowndes GA	175	8,373
Lowndes GA	177	37,217
Lowndes GA	175	6,400
Lowndes GA	177	8,754
Lowndes GA	174	1,951
Lowndes GA	175	3,755
Lowndes GA	175	9,620
Lowndes GA	176	4,797
Lowndes GA	177	6,930
Lumpkin GA	9	29,201
Lumpkin GA	27	4,287
Muscogee GA	140	5,391
Muscogee GA	141	5,010
Muscogee GA	139	3,363
Muscogee GA	140	4,560

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 000

County	District	Population
Muscogee GA	137	5,599
Muscogee GA	141	6,645
Muscogee GA	140	13,744
Muscogee GA	141	32
Muscogee GA	137	8,327
Muscogee GA	141	3,143
Muscogee GA	139	5,899
Muscogee GA	141	5,582
Newton GA	93	1,206
Newton GA	113	3,687
Newton GA	93	856
Newton GA	113	3,443
Newton GA	93	1,668
Newton GA	113	5,075
Paulding GA	18	916
Paulding GA	64	9,977
Paulding GA	16	8,392
Paulding GA	17	16
Paulding GA	17	517
Paulding GA	18	7,991
Paulding GA	19	1,240
Paulding GA	17	0
Paulding GA	19	16,110
Paulding GA	17	5,972
Paulding GA	18	1,720
Paulding GA	16	8,152
Paulding GA	17	12,810
Paulding GA	19	5,455
Paulding GA	16	5
Paulding GA	17	17,525
Richmond GA	129	954
Richmond GA	130	886
Richmond GA	127	2,362
Richmond GA	129	894
Richmond GA	126	0
Richmond GA	132	9,711
Richmond GA	129	3,260
Richmond GA	132	2,535
Richmond GA	127	586
Richmond GA	129	2,007
Richmond GA	127	1,164
Richmond GA	129	6,148
Richmond GA	126	0
Richmond GA	132	2,432
Richmond GA	126	2,403
Richmond GA	132	0
Rockdale GA	93	6,444

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 000

County	District	Population
Rockdale GA	95	0
Rockdale GA	93	10,095
Rockdale GA	95	872
Rockdale GA	92	6,218
Rockdale GA	93	79
Spalding GA	74	235
Spalding GA	134	2,835
Spalding GA	74	2,075
Spalding GA	134	4,817
Spalding GA	74	787
Spalding GA	134	5,290
Sumter GA	150	4,568
Sumter GA	151	1,549
Sumter GA	150	5,179
Sumter GA	151	447
Troup GA	136	2,068
Troup GA	137	497
Walton GA	111	2,993
Walton GA	112	3,003
Ware GA	174	2,672
Ware GA	176	3,692
Ware GA	174	0
Ware GA	176	4,133
Ware GA	174	0
Ware GA	176	2,107
Ware GA	174	2,506
Ware GA	176	2,526
Wayne GA	167	1,928
Wayne GA	178	637
Whitfield GA	2	3,864
Whitfield GA	4	1,000
Whitfield GA	2	6,210
Whitfield GA	6	2,122

Below is the political subdivisions splits report for the House illustrative plan:

User:

Plan Name: **GA Hse 008**

Plan Type:

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

Thursday, January 13, 2022

9:31 AM

Number of subdivisions not split:

County 89

Number of subdivisions split into more than one district:

County 70

Number of splits involving no population:

County 0

Split Counts

County

Cases where an area is split among 2 Districts: 35

Cases where an area is split among 3 Districts: 9

Cases where an area is split among 4 Districts: 12

Cases where an area is split among 5 Districts: 4

Cases where an area is split among 6 Districts: 2

Cases where an area is split among 7 Districts: 3

Cases where an area is split among 9 Districts: 1

Cases where an area is split among 14 Districts: 1

Cases where an area is split among 17 Districts: 1

Cases where an area is split among 21 Districts: 1

Cases where an area is split among 23 Districts: 1

Voting District

Cases where an area is split among 2 Districts: 181

Cases where an area is split among 3 Districts: 11

County	District	Population
<i>Split Counties:</i>		
Appling GA	157	12,825
Appling GA	178	5,619
Baldwin GA	128	5,163
Baldwin GA	133	12,263
Baldwin GA	149	26,373
Barrow GA	104	24,245
Barrow GA	119	54,736
Barrow GA	120	4,524
Bartow GA	14	49,688
Bartow GA	15	59,213
Ben Hill GA	148	5,115
Ben Hill GA	156	12,079
Bibb GA	142	59,320
Bibb GA	143	59,122
Bibb GA	145	22,716

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 008

County	District	Population
Bibb GA	149	16,188
Bryan GA	160	11,008
Bryan GA	164	21,420
Bryan GA	166	12,310
Bulloch GA	158	19,285
Bulloch GA	159	12,887
Bulloch GA	160	48,927
Carroll GA	18	18,789
Carroll GA	70	2,854
Carroll GA	71	59,538
Carroll GA	72	37,967
Catoosa GA	2	7,673
Catoosa GA	3	60,199
Chatham GA	161	28,269
Chatham GA	162	60,308
Chatham GA	163	60,123
Chatham GA	164	38,681
Chatham GA	165	59,978
Chatham GA	166	47,932
Cherokee GA	11	6,557
Cherokee GA	14	9,447
Cherokee GA	20	60,107
Cherokee GA	21	59,529
Cherokee GA	22	30,874
Cherokee GA	23	59,048
Cherokee GA	44	21,989
Cherokee GA	46	15,178
Cherokee GA	47	3,891
Clarke GA	120	30,095
Clarke GA	121	26,478
Clarke GA	122	59,632
Clarke GA	124	12,466
Clayton GA	74	34,350
Clayton GA	75	55,912
Clayton GA	76	59,759
Clayton GA	77	59,242
Clayton GA	78	24,678
Clayton GA	79	59,500
Clayton GA	116	4,154
Cobb GA	22	28,586
Cobb GA	34	59,875
Cobb GA	35	59,889
Cobb GA	36	59,994
Cobb GA	37	59,176
Cobb GA	38	59,317
Cobb GA	39	59,381
Cobb GA	40	59,044

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 008

County	District	Population
Cobb GA	41	60,122
Cobb GA	42	59,620
Cobb GA	43	59,464
Cobb GA	44	38,013
Cobb GA	45	59,738
Cobb GA	46	43,930
Coffee GA	169	33,736
Coffee GA	176	9,356
Columbia GA	123	2,205
Columbia GA	125	55,389
Columbia GA	127	39,526
Columbia GA	131	58,890
Cook GA	170	7,342
Cook GA	172	9,887
Coweta GA	65	13,008
Coweta GA	67	17,272
Coweta GA	70	56,267
Coweta GA	73	31,608
Coweta GA	136	28,003
Dawson GA	7	2,409
Dawson GA	9	24,389
DeKalb GA	52	28,300
DeKalb GA	80	59,461
DeKalb GA	81	59,007
DeKalb GA	82	59,724
DeKalb GA	83	59,416
DeKalb GA	84	59,862
DeKalb GA	85	59,373
DeKalb GA	86	59,205
DeKalb GA	87	59,709
DeKalb GA	88	47,844
DeKalb GA	89	59,866
DeKalb GA	90	59,812
DeKalb GA	91	19,700
DeKalb GA	92	15,607
DeKalb GA	93	11,690
DeKalb GA	94	31,207
DeKalb GA	95	14,599
Dodge GA	148	18,550
Dodge GA	155	1,375
Dougherty GA	151	6,268
Dougherty GA	152	6,187
Dougherty GA	153	59,299
Dougherty GA	154	14,036
Douglas GA	61	40,145
Douglas GA	64	30,206
Douglas GA	65	14,739

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 008

County	District	Population
Douglas GA	66	59,147
Effingham GA	159	32,941
Effingham GA	161	31,828
Fayette GA	68	29,719
Fayette GA	69	36,979
Fayette GA	73	28,428
Fayette GA	74	24,068
Floyd GA	5	5,099
Floyd GA	12	34,335
Floyd GA	13	59,150
Forsyth GA	11	19,019
Forsyth GA	24	59,011
Forsyth GA	25	46,134
Forsyth GA	26	59,248
Forsyth GA	28	50,864
Forsyth GA	100	17,007
Fulton GA	25	13,280
Fulton GA	47	55,235
Fulton GA	48	43,976
Fulton GA	49	59,153
Fulton GA	50	59,523
Fulton GA	51	58,952
Fulton GA	52	31,511
Fulton GA	53	59,953
Fulton GA	54	60,083
Fulton GA	55	59,971
Fulton GA	56	58,929
Fulton GA	57	59,969
Fulton GA	58	59,057
Fulton GA	59	59,434
Fulton GA	60	59,709
Fulton GA	61	18,783
Fulton GA	62	59,450
Fulton GA	63	59,381
Fulton GA	64	6,032
Fulton GA	65	31,329
Fulton GA	67	41,863
Fulton GA	68	29,758
Fulton GA	69	21,379
Glynn GA	167	20,499
Glynn GA	179	59,356
Glynn GA	180	4,644
Gordon GA	5	53,738
Gordon GA	6	3,806
Grady GA	171	8,115
Grady GA	173	18,121
Gwinnett GA	30	8,620

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 008

County	District	Population
Gwinnett GA	48	15,027
Gwinnett GA	88	11,845
Gwinnett GA	94	28,004
Gwinnett GA	95	34,221
Gwinnett GA	96	59,515
Gwinnett GA	97	59,072
Gwinnett GA	98	59,998
Gwinnett GA	99	59,850
Gwinnett GA	100	35,204
Gwinnett GA	101	59,938
Gwinnett GA	102	58,959
Gwinnett GA	103	51,691
Gwinnett GA	104	35,117
Gwinnett GA	105	59,344
Gwinnett GA	106	59,112
Gwinnett GA	107	59,702
Gwinnett GA	108	59,577
Gwinnett GA	109	59,630
Gwinnett GA	110	59,951
Gwinnett GA	111	22,685
Habersham GA	10	42,636
Habersham GA	32	3,395
Hall GA	27	54,508
Hall GA	28	8,108
Hall GA	29	59,200
Hall GA	30	50,646
Hall GA	31	14,349
Hall GA	100	7,819
Hall GA	103	8,506
Harris GA	138	21,634
Harris GA	139	13,034
Henry GA	75	3,847
Henry GA	78	18,397
Henry GA	91	35,475
Henry GA	115	59,789
Henry GA	116	50,833
Henry GA	117	60,142
Henry GA	118	12,229
Houston GA	144	32,419
Houston GA	145	36,952
Houston GA	146	35,804
Houston GA	147	58,458
Jackson GA	31	45,552
Jackson GA	32	10,931
Jackson GA	119	4,211
Jackson GA	120	15,213
Jasper GA	114	2,855

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 008

County	District	Population
Jasper GA	118	11,733
Lamar GA	134	13,948
Lamar GA	135	4,552
Liberty GA	167	5,109
Liberty GA	168	60,147
Lowndes GA	174	9,770
Lowndes GA	175	43,692
Lowndes GA	176	4,797
Lowndes GA	177	59,992
Lumpkin GA	9	29,201
Lumpkin GA	27	4,287
Madison GA	33	9,935
Madison GA	123	20,185
McDuffie GA	125	4,748
McDuffie GA	128	16,884
Meriwether GA	136	13,382
Meriwether GA	137	7,231
Monroe GA	133	19,085
Monroe GA	135	8,872
Muscogee GA	137	30,443
Muscogee GA	138	12,190
Muscogee GA	139	45,976
Muscogee GA	140	59,294
Muscogee GA	141	59,019
Newton GA	93	15,515
Newton GA	113	60,053
Newton GA	114	36,915
Oconee GA	120	9,150
Oconee GA	121	32,649
Paulding GA	16	16,549
Paulding GA	17	59,120
Paulding GA	18	10,627
Paulding GA	19	58,955
Paulding GA	64	23,410
Peach GA	144	14,093
Peach GA	150	13,888
Putnam GA	118	10,591
Putnam GA	124	11,456
Richmond GA	126	25,990
Richmond GA	127	19,152
Richmond GA	129	58,829
Richmond GA	130	59,203
Richmond GA	132	43,433
Rockdale GA	91	4,781
Rockdale GA	92	44,666
Rockdale GA	93	32,913
Rockdale GA	95	11,210

Political Subdivision Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 008

County	District	Population
Spalding GA	78	16,815
Spalding GA	116	5,393
Spalding GA	134	45,098
Sumter GA	150	14,282
Sumter GA	151	15,334
Tattnall GA	156	1,263
Tattnall GA	157	21,579
Telfair GA	148	8,283
Telfair GA	156	4,194
Thomas GA	172	4,176
Thomas GA	173	41,622
Tift GA	169	6,730
Tift GA	170	34,614
Troup GA	72	10,281
Troup GA	136	17,913
Troup GA	137	16,144
Troup GA	138	25,088
Walker GA	1	43,415
Walker GA	2	24,239
Walton GA	111	37,324
Walton GA	112	59,349
Ware GA	174	9,097
Ware GA	176	27,154
Wayne GA	167	6,742
Wayne GA	178	23,402
White GA	8	22,119
White GA	9	5,884
Whitfield GA	2	27,861
Whitfield GA	4	59,070
Whitfield GA	6	15,933
Wilcox GA	146	955
Wilcox GA	148	7,811
<i>Split VTDs:</i>		
Baldwin GA	133	114
Baldwin GA	149	3,022
Baldwin GA	133	2,277
Baldwin GA	149	1,387
Baldwin GA	128	5
Baldwin GA	149	3,359
Baldwin GA	133	1,208
Baldwin GA	149	564
Baldwin GA	133	3,354
Baldwin GA	149	352
Baldwin GA	133	488
Baldwin GA	149	3,881
Barrow GA	104	1,708
Barrow GA	119	8,060

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 008

County	District	Population
Bartow GA	14	15,558
Bartow GA	15	1,047
Bartow GA	14	3,335
Bartow GA	15	211
Ben Hill GA	148	5,115
Ben Hill GA	156	5,229
Bibb GA	142	4,656
Bibb GA	149	6,278
Bibb GA	142	5,180
Bibb GA	143	763
Bibb GA	142	1,789
Bibb GA	143	10,865
Bibb GA	142	1,475
Bibb GA	145	6,465
Bibb GA	142	232
Bibb GA	143	4,182
Bryan GA	164	1,268
Bryan GA	166	1,741
Bryan GA	164	4,552
Bryan GA	166	4,707
Bryan GA	164	3,489
Bryan GA	166	144
Bulloch GA	158	3,764
Bulloch GA	159	5,869
Carroll GA	71	410
Carroll GA	72	5,554
Chatham GA	162	2,134
Chatham GA	166	1,493
Chatham GA	164	5,562
Chatham GA	166	0
Chatham GA	163	2,064
Chatham GA	165	397
Chatham GA	161	5,335
Chatham GA	164	4,987
Chatham GA	162	1,177
Chatham GA	163	1,109
Chatham GA	163	785
Chatham GA	166	1,890
Cherokee GA	20	5,626
Cherokee GA	22	1,222
Cherokee GA	44	0
Cherokee GA	21	3,200
Cherokee GA	47	3,891
Cherokee GA	21	2,250
Cherokee GA	23	2,578
Clarke GA	122	2,758
Clarke GA	124	2,286

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 008

County	District	Population
Clarke GA	121	7,082
Clarke GA	122	5,589
Clarke GA	120	1,922
Clarke GA	121	3,184
Clayton GA	74	2,066
Clayton GA	75	752
Clayton GA	75	2,726
Clayton GA	78	2,387
Clayton GA	74	0
Clayton GA	75	5,962
Clayton GA	74	4,484
Clayton GA	75	948
Clayton GA	78	187
Clayton GA	78	9,099
Clayton GA	116	4,154
Clayton GA	75	1,316
Clayton GA	76	1,911
Cobb GA	35	7,322
Cobb GA	36	142
Cobb GA	22	5,226
Cobb GA	35	1,996
Cobb GA	22	4,918
Cobb GA	44	3,763
Cobb GA	42	11,055
Cobb GA	43	2,346
Cobb GA	34	700
Cobb GA	37	5,170
Cobb GA	37	2,031
Cobb GA	43	2,387
Cobb GA	22	599
Cobb GA	35	3,844
Cobb GA	22	0
Cobb GA	34	871
Cobb GA	35	8,631
Cobb GA	44	2,121
Cobb GA	46	2,600
Cobb GA	39	5,678
Cobb GA	40	582
Cobb GA	38	1,589
Cobb GA	39	5,513
Cobb GA	38	256
Cobb GA	39	5,427
Cobb GA	37	3,349
Cobb GA	43	6,645
Cobb GA	34	1,664
Cobb GA	37	811
Cobb GA	37	2,877

Political Subdivision Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 008

County	District	Population
Cobb GA	43	1,457
Cobb GA	37	1,532
Cobb GA	43	3,022
Cobb GA	42	1,494
Cobb GA	43	5,417
Cobb GA	35	2,611
Cobb GA	36	559
Cobb GA	41	1,955
Cobb GA	42	5,846
Cobb GA	37	6,683
Cobb GA	41	6,305
Cobb GA	34	3,976
Cobb GA	35	0
Cobb GA	40	1,292
Cobb GA	42	5,341
Cobb GA	40	6,599
Cobb GA	42	1,609
Cobb GA	39	905
Cobb GA	40	7,690
Coffee GA	169	19,642
Coffee GA	176	8,929
Columbia GA	125	326
Columbia GA	131	5,958
Coweta GA	70	12,590
Coweta GA	73	1,521
DeKalb GA	89	2,204
DeKalb GA	90	316
DeKalb GA	85	5,454
DeKalb GA	86	9,300
DeKalb GA	81	5,398
DeKalb GA	83	7,691
DeKalb GA	86	1,002
DeKalb GA	87	3,088
DeKalb GA	82	2,059
DeKalb GA	84	1,221
DeKalb GA	85	1,698
DeKalb GA	86	1,064
DeKalb GA	86	2,226
DeKalb GA	87	2,547
DeKalb GA	86	3,296
DeKalb GA	94	460
DeKalb GA	87	1,419
DeKalb GA	88	1,633
DeKalb GA	94	3,736
DeKalb GA	95	1,104
DeKalb GA	84	920
DeKalb GA	91	1,271

Political Subdivision Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 008

County	District	Population
DeKalb GA	87	1,863
DeKalb GA	88	4,069
DeKalb GA	87	1,338
DeKalb GA	88	2,865
DeKalb GA	87	656
DeKalb GA	88	3,960
DeKalb GA	81	2,394
DeKalb GA	88	1,635
Dougherty GA	151	4,018
Dougherty GA	153	2,465
Dougherty GA	153	1,245
Dougherty GA	154	3,972
Douglas GA	61	2,433
Douglas GA	65	4,066
Douglas GA	61	726
Douglas GA	65	4,367
Douglas GA	66	3,661
Effingham GA	159	1,960
Effingham GA	161	959
Fayette GA	68	983
Fayette GA	73	1,392
Fayette GA	69	1,812
Fayette GA	74	247
Fayette GA	73	605
Fayette GA	74	1,646
Fayette GA	69	146
Fayette GA	74	3,848
Fayette GA	73	1,932
Fayette GA	74	2,452
Floyd GA	12	1,576
Floyd GA	13	3,847
Floyd GA	12	1,080
Floyd GA	13	4,509
Forsyth GA	26	10,116
Forsyth GA	28	2,801
Forsyth GA	11	7,687
Forsyth GA	28	7,982
Forsyth GA	26	4,666
Forsyth GA	28	2,410
Forsyth GA	11	11,332
Forsyth GA	24	1,335
Forsyth GA	28	333
Forsyth GA	24	3,988
Forsyth GA	26	6,597
Forsyth GA	28	7,875
Forsyth GA	24	9,868
Forsyth GA	25	0

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 008

County	District	Population
Forsyth GA	26	15,990
Forsyth GA	25	10,064
Forsyth GA	100	11,887
Forsyth GA	26	11,718
Forsyth GA	100	5,120
Fulton GA	53	1,524
Fulton GA	60	335
Fulton GA	55	3,033
Fulton GA	60	4,105
Fulton GA	55	1,756
Fulton GA	60	4,311
Fulton GA	55	340
Fulton GA	60	3,418
Fulton GA	48	862
Fulton GA	49	2,505
Fulton GA	47	1,250
Fulton GA	49	1,304
Fulton GA	48	4,109
Fulton GA	49	281
Fulton GA	61	55
Fulton GA	65	408
Fulton GA	59	2,393
Fulton GA	62	2,049
Fulton GA	48	3,608
Fulton GA	51	1,792
Fulton GA	47	501
Fulton GA	49	123
Fulton GA	47	284
Fulton GA	49	61
Fulton GA	51	1,292
Fulton GA	53	6,066
Fulton GA	47	2,971
Fulton GA	49	4,750
Fulton GA	60	220
Fulton GA	61	773
Fulton GA	61	119
Fulton GA	65	1,252
Fulton GA	65	1,028
Fulton GA	67	7,728
Fulton GA	62	92
Fulton GA	68	5,255
Fulton GA	65	2,858
Fulton GA	67	1,176
Fulton GA	65	1,070
Fulton GA	67	13,013
Gwinnett GA	106	934
Gwinnett GA	110	2,651

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 008

County	District	Population
Gwinnett GA	102	3,729
Gwinnett GA	110	2,597
Gwinnett GA	98	2,475
Gwinnett GA	108	1,991
Gwinnett GA	94	955
Gwinnett GA	108	4,255
Gwinnett GA	96	7,245
Gwinnett GA	107	5,149
Gwinnett GA	96	1,426
Gwinnett GA	99	3,389
Gwinnett GA	30	8,620
Gwinnett GA	104	1,575
Gwinnett GA	102	2,073
Gwinnett GA	105	3,924
Gwinnett GA	102	4,231
Gwinnett GA	105	7,770
Gwinnett GA	107	8,164
Gwinnett GA	109	892
Gwinnett GA	96	5,745
Gwinnett GA	97	2,561
Gwinnett GA	103	1,506
Gwinnett GA	105	7,421
Gwinnett GA	100	2,158
Gwinnett GA	103	6,421
Gwinnett GA	99	3,224
Gwinnett GA	103	2,836
Habersham GA	10	8,687
Habersham GA	32	1,972
Hall GA	28	3,803
Hall GA	29	4,979
Henry GA	116	4,546
Henry GA	117	1,242
Henry GA	116	4,436
Henry GA	117	5,352
Henry GA	75	3,847
Henry GA	116	3,999
Henry GA	91	1,951
Henry GA	115	2,807
Houston GA	145	315
Houston GA	147	11,569
Houston GA	144	11,968
Houston GA	147	1,526
Houston GA	144	13,202
Houston GA	146	7,640
Jackson GA	31	4,513
Jackson GA	32	10,931
Jackson GA	120	3,803

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 008

County	District	Population
Jackson GA	31	16,656
Jackson GA	119	4,211
Liberty GA	167	5,109
Liberty GA	168	4,344
Lowndes GA	175	8,373
Lowndes GA	177	37,217
Lowndes GA	175	6,400
Lowndes GA	177	8,754
Lowndes GA	174	1,951
Lowndes GA	175	3,755
Lowndes GA	175	9,620
Lowndes GA	176	4,797
Lowndes GA	177	6,930
Lumpkin GA	9	29,201
Lumpkin GA	27	4,287
Muscogee GA	140	5,391
Muscogee GA	141	5,010
Muscogee GA	139	3,363
Muscogee GA	140	4,560
Muscogee GA	137	5,599
Muscogee GA	141	6,645
Muscogee GA	140	13,744
Muscogee GA	141	32
Muscogee GA	137	8,327
Muscogee GA	141	3,143
Muscogee GA	139	5,899
Muscogee GA	141	5,582
Newton GA	93	1,206
Newton GA	113	3,687
Newton GA	93	856
Newton GA	113	3,443
Newton GA	93	1,668
Newton GA	113	5,075
Paulding GA	18	916
Paulding GA	64	9,977
Paulding GA	16	8,392
Paulding GA	17	16
Paulding GA	17	517
Paulding GA	18	7,991
Paulding GA	19	1,240
Paulding GA	17	0
Paulding GA	19	16,110
Paulding GA	17	5,972
Paulding GA	18	1,720
Paulding GA	16	8,152
Paulding GA	17	12,810
Paulding GA	19	5,455

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 008

County	District	Population
Paulding GA	16	5
Paulding GA	17	17,525
Richmond GA	129	954
Richmond GA	130	886
Richmond GA	127	2,362
Richmond GA	129	894
Richmond GA	126	0
Richmond GA	132	9,711
Richmond GA	129	3,260
Richmond GA	132	2,535
Richmond GA	127	586
Richmond GA	129	2,007
Richmond GA	127	1,164
Richmond GA	129	6,148
Richmond GA	126	0
Richmond GA	132	2,432
Richmond GA	126	2,403
Richmond GA	132	0
Rockdale GA	93	6,444
Rockdale GA	95	0
Rockdale GA	93	10,095
Rockdale GA	95	872
Rockdale GA	92	6,218
Rockdale GA	93	79
Spalding GA	78	235
Spalding GA	134	2,835
Spalding GA	78	2,075
Spalding GA	134	4,817
Spalding GA	78	787
Spalding GA	134	5,290
Sumter GA	150	4,568
Sumter GA	151	1,549
Sumter GA	150	5,179
Sumter GA	151	447
Troup GA	136	2,068
Troup GA	137	497
Walton GA	111	2,993
Walton GA	112	3,003
Ware GA	174	2,672
Ware GA	176	3,692
Ware GA	174	0
Ware GA	176	4,133
Ware GA	174	0
Ware GA	176	2,107
Ware GA	174	2,506
Ware GA	176	2,526
Wayne GA	167	1,928

Political Subdivison Splits Between Districts

GA Hse 008

County	District	Population
Wayne GA	178	637
Whitfield GA	2	3,864
Whitfield GA	4	1,000
Whitfield GA	2	6,210
Whitfield GA	6	2,122