IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS
EASTERN DIVISION

DAN MCCONCHIE, in his official capacity as Minority Leader of the Illinois Senate and individually as a registered voter, JIM DURKIN, in his official capacity as Minority Leader of the Illinois House of Representatives and individually as a registered voter, JAMES RIVERA, ANNA DE LA TORRE, DOLORES DIAZ, FELIPE LUNA JR., SALVADOR TREMILLO, CHRISTOPHER ROMERO, the REPUBLICAN CAUCUS OF THE ILLINOIS SENATE, the REPUBLICAN CAUCUS OF THE ILLINOIS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, and the ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN PARTY, Plaintiffs, vs. IAN K. LINNABARY, CASANDRA B. WATSON, WILLIAM J. CADIGAN, LAURA K. DONAHUE, CATHERINE S. MCCRORY, WILLIAM M. MCGUFFAGE, and RICK S. TERVEN, SR., in their official capacities as members of the Illinois State Board of Elections, EMANUEL CHRISTOPHER WELCH, in his official capacity as Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives, the OFFICE OF SPEAKER OF THE ILLINOIS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DON HARMON, in his official capacity as President of the Illinois Senate, and the OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE ILLINOIS SENATE, Defendants.	Case No. 1:21-cv-03091 Circuit Judge Michael B. Brennan Chief District Judge Jon E. DeGuilio District Judge Robert M. Dow, Jr. Three-Judge Court Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 2284(a)

PLAINTIFFS' BRIEF IN SUPPORT OF THEIR
REMEDIAL LEGISLATIVE REDISTRICTING MAP

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INTRODUCTION

On October 19, 2021, this Court held that the legislative redistricting map passed by the Illinois General Assembly and signed by Governor Pritzker in June 2021 (the "June Map") is "unconstitutionally malapportioned." Memorandum Opinion and Order ("Order") [Dkt. No. 131] at 38. The Court enjoined enforcement of the June Map and moved this case to a remedial phase, in which the Court will adopt a new map of Illinois "legislative districts for the next decade." *Id.* at 40. The Court stated that it would consider the map passed at a special session of the General Assembly and signed by Governor Pritzker in September 2021 (the "September Map") as a "starting point." *Id.* at 38. However, the Court also invited Plaintiffs to submit their own remedial map for the Court's consideration. *Id.* at 43.

Like the June Map, the General Assembly's September Map also is constitutionally invalid and should not be adopted by the Court. The September Map violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (the "VRA") by diluting the votes of minority citizens and by preventing such citizens from participating equally in the political process and having an opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. Among other problems with the September Map, the drafters committed a fundamental error by falsely assuming there is no racially polarized voting in Illinois and failing to properly consider race and ethnicity when drawing the districts in the map as required by the VRA. At a joint hearing of the Illinois Senate and House on May 25, 2021, Dr. Allan Lichtman, the expert hired by the Senate and House, testified regarding "the diminution of racially polarized voting in the State of Illinois":

> . . . there is no longer white/black voting that usually defeats the candidate of choice
> of minority voters, except, you know, in a very few overwhelmingly white districts
> and white areas that really [you] can't do anything about it.[1]

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[1] Transcript of Joint Committee Redistricting Hearing (May 25, 2021), at p. 25 (https://ilga.gov/senate/committees/Redistricting/102Redistricting/SRED/20210525%200400pm/

To the contrary, as shown below and in the attached expert reports and materials, when applying citizen voting age population ("CVAP"), there is significant racial polarization with respect to voting in Illinois. The Seventh Circuit has held that CVAP is the appropriate measure to use in analyzing claims under Section 2 of the VRA. *See Barnett v. City of Chicago*, 141 F.3d 699, 704 (7th Cir. 1998) ("citizen voting-age population is the basis for determining equality of voting power that best comports with the policy of [the VRA]"); *see also Cano v. Davis*, 211 F. Supp. 2d 1208, 1233 (C.D. Cal. 2002) ("The Ninth Circuit, along with every other circuit to consider the issue, has held that CVAP is the appropriate measure to use in determining whether an additional effective majority-minority district can be created."). As also shown in the attached expert reports, legislative districts with 50% or more minority CVAP are effective at providing minorities with an opportunity to elect the candidates of their choice.

The invalidity of the September Map is confirmed by the applicable test under Section 2 of the VRA. ***First***, the map satisfies all three of the prerequisite factors for invalidating a map as identified by the Supreme Court in *Thornburg v. Gingles*: (1) the minority groups at issue are "sufficiently large and geographically compact to constitute a majority in a single-member district," (2) the minority groups are "politically cohesive"; and (3) the majority votes "sufficiently as a bloc" such that it can "usually [] defeat the minority's preferred candidate." 478 U.S. 30, 44 (1986). ***Second***, the totality of the circumstances, including an analysis of the relevant "Senate Factors," demonstrates that the map impermissibly denies minorities equal participation in the political process and the ability to elect candidates of their choice. *Id.* at 45. Thus, the General Assembly's September Map violates Section 2 of the VRA and should not be adopted by the Court.

Transcript/Transcript%20for%20Joint%20Hearing%20of%20Senate%20Redistricting%20Committee%20and%20House%20Redistricting%20Committee%20-%20May%2025,%202021.pdf).

In contrast to the September Map, Plaintiffs are submitting a Remedial Map that appropriately accounts for racially polarized voting in Illinois, complies with the VRA, and provides minorities with an opportunity to participate in the political process and elect candidates of their choice. *See* Remedial Map, attached as Exhibit A hereto.[2] Importantly, the Remedial Map accomplishes these constitutionally-mandated requirements while still following the Court's guidance to use the September Map as a "starting point" and giving deference to as many of the policy decisions of, and boundaries chosen by, the General Assembly as possible. Indeed, the vast majority of the boundaries in the September Map—87 of the 118 House Districts—are not impacted by the changes in Plaintiffs' Remedial Map. Nonetheless, the Remedial Map increases the number of effective minority-majority districts in four distinct regions:

- **Northern Cook County**. The Remedial Map includes four House Districts with 50%+ Latino CVAP in Northern Cook County (House Districts 3, 4, 39, and 77), as opposed to zero such districts in this area in the September Map. The Northern Cook County House Districts in the Remedial Map are also more compact than those in the September Map.

- **Southern Cook County**. The Remedial Map includes seven House Districts with 50%+ Latino CVAP in Southern Cook County (House Districts 1, 2, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 32), as opposed to only four 50%+ Latino CVAP House Districts in the September Map. The Southern Cook County House Districts in the Remedial Map are also more compact than those in the September Map.

- **Aurora**. The Remedial Map includes a House District with over 65% total Latino population and 60% Latino voting-age population (House District 50). Although the district is slightly less than 50% Latino CVAP, the district would provide Latino voters an opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. The compactness of the Aurora-area House District in the Remedial Map (House District 50) is comparable to the average compactness scores of the districts in the September Map.

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[2]   Page A1 of Exhibit A shows Plaintiffs' full Remedial Map of all Illinois House Districts. Under the Illinois Constitution, each Senate District is made up of two combined House Districts. Ill. Const. 1970, art. IV, § 2(b). Page A2 provides a clearer view of the northeastern region of the Remedial Map, which includes both the Cook County and Aurora areas. Page A3 provides a clearer view of the Metro East region of the Remedial Map.

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- **Metro East**. The Remedial Map includes a 50%+ Black CVAP House District in this area (House District 114). In contrast, the September Map cracks the Black population in this area among three separate House Districts. The Metro East House Districts in the Remedial Map are also more compact than those in the September Map.

Description of Plaintiffs' proposed Remedial Map in each of these four regions and visual depictions of the maps are set forth in detail below at pages 19-39. For the reasons explained below, the Court should enter an order adopting Plaintiffs' Remedial Map as the effective map of Illinois legislative districts for the next decade. The Court can enter the order based on the record before it once briefing has been completed, but to the extent the Court has any remaining questions, Plaintiffs suggest that the Court may hold an evidentiary hearing or oral argument.

<div align="center">ARGUMENT</div>

The General Assembly's September Map violates Section 2 of the VRA by diluting the votes of minority citizens. In contrast, Plaintiffs' Remedial Map corrects the constitutional defects with the September Map, complies with the VRA, and provides minority citizens with an opportunity to participate in the political process and to elect candidates of their choice, all while paying deference to as many of the policy decisions and boundaries drawn by the General Assembly as possible. The Court should therefore adopt the Remedial Map as the map of Illinois legislative districts for the next decade.

I. The September Map Violates Section 2 of the VRA.

"Congress enacted the landmark" VRA in an effort to enforce the protections of the Fifteenth Amendment and bring about "an end to the denial of the right to vote based on race." *Brnovich v. Democratic Nat'l Comm.*, ---U.S. ---, 141 S. Ct. 2321, 2330 (2021). Passage of the VRA "was an important step in the struggle to end discriminatory treatment of minorities who seek to exercise one of the most fundamental rights of our citizens: the right to vote." *Bartlett v. Strickland*, 556 U.S. 1, 10 (2009). Section 2 of the VRA, as amended, prohibits any "State or

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political subdivision" from imposing or applying any "voting qualification or prerequisite to voting or standard, practice, or procedure" in a manner which "results in a denial or abridgement of the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color." 52 U.S.C. § 10301(a).

> A violation of [Section 2 of the VRA] is established if, based on the totality of circumstances, it is shown that the political processes leading to nomination or election in the State or political subdivision are not equally open to participation by members of [a racial group] in that its members have less opportunity than other members of the electorate to participate in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice.

52 U.S.C. § 10301(b).

The question posed by a Section 2 claim is whether, as a result of the challenged practice or structure, members of a protected class "have less opportunity than other members of the electorate to participate in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice." *Brnovich*, 141 S. Ct. at 2332 (citing 52 U.S.C. § 10301(b)). The Supreme Court has set forth a framework for evaluating a Section 2 claim. ***First***, a court examines whether the three threshold "*Gingles* factors" are satisfied. *Id.* at 2333. ***Second***, the court will examine the totality of the circumstances, including certain non-comprehensive and non-exclusive "Senate Factors." *Id.* As shown below, all three of the *Gingles* factors are met and the totality of the circumstances demonstrates that the September Map violates Section 2 of the VRA.

A. The three *Gingles* factors are satisfied with respect to the September Map.

The Supreme Court's decision in *Gingles* set forth three threshold conditions for establishing a violation of Section 2 of the VRA: (1) the minority group at issue must be "sufficiently large and geographically compact to constitute a majority in a single-member district," (2) the minority group must be "politically cohesive"; and (3) the majority must vote "sufficiently as a bloc to enable it . . . usually to defeat the minority's preferred candidate." 478 U.S. at 50-51. All three *Gingles* threshold factors are met with respect to the September Map.

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1. <u>Minority populations in Illinois are sufficiently large and compact to constitute majorities in single-member districts (*Gingles* Factor 1).</u>

"To satisfy the first *Gingles* precondition, a plaintiff must show that it is possible to draw an election district of an appropriate size and shape where the [CVAP] of the minority group exceeds 50% of the relevant population in the illustrative district." *Holloway v. City of Virginia Beach*, No. 2:18-cv-69, 2021 WL 1226554, at *24 (E.D. Va. Mar. 31, 2021) (citing *Bartlett*, 556 U.S. at 18; *Perez v. Pasadena Indep. Sch. Dist.*, 165 F.3d 368, 372 (5th Cir. 1999)). "This requirement ensures that the minority group will possess the potential to elect representatives of its choice" in an appropriately drawn district. *Id.* (citing *Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 50, n.17).

Plaintiffs' expert, Dr. Jowei Chen, analyzed the minority population sizes in the districts in Plaintiffs' Remedial Map and compared them to the minority population sizes in the districts in the September Map. *See* Expert Report of Dr. Jowei Chen, attached as Ex. B hereto ("Chen Report"). Dr. Chen's report demonstrates that the Remedial Map draws a number of additional districts with minority populations that are sufficiently large and compact to constitute majorities in the relevant districts. *Id.* ¶¶ 12-13, and Table 1. Specifically, Dr. Chen's analysis shows that Plaintiffs' Remedial Map includes:

- Four House Districts in Northern Cook County with a Latino voting-age population and Latino CVAP above 50% (House Districts 3, 4, 39, and 77).

- Seven House Districts in Southern Cook County with a Latino voting-age population and Latino CVAP above 50% (House Districts 1, 2, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 32).

- One House District in Aurora with a Latino voting-age population of 62% and a Latino CVAP of 46.8% (House District 50).

- One House District in Metro East with a Black voting-age population and Black CVAP above 50% (House District 114).

Id. at Table 1. Accordingly, Dr. Chen's analysis demonstrates that the minority populations in these areas are "sufficiently large" to constitute majorities in their respective districts. *See Holloway*, 2021 WL 1226554, at *24 (districts with greater than 50% minority CVAP satisfy the population size requirement of the first *Gingles* factor).

Dr. Chen also has analyzed the compactness of the districts in Plaintiffs' Remedial Map. *See* Chen Report ¶¶ 15-18, and Tables 3-4. Dr. Chen utilized two common quantitative measures: the Polsby-Popper score and the Reock score. *Id.* ¶¶ 15-16. These "metrics measure compactness on a scale of zero through one; the closer to one, the more compact the district." *Ohio A. Philip Randolph Institute v. Householder*, 373 F. Supp. 3d 978, 1047 (S.D. Ohio 2019), *vacated and remanded by Chabot v. Ohio A. Philip Randolph Institute*, 140 S. Ct. 102 (2019). "The Polsby-Popper score is a perimeter score over area of a district–the ratio of the perimeter and the area of a district generates the score." *Id.* (internal quotation marks omitted). "The Reock score is a ratio of an area for a circle drawn around the district." *Id.* (internal quotation marks omitted).

Dr. Chen's report compares the compactness of the districts in Plaintiffs' Remedial Map with the districts in the September Map. *See* Chen Report ¶¶ 19-24, and Figures 1-6. The figures in Dr. Chen's report demonstrate that every single one of the twelve Cook County districts in the Plaintiffs' Remedial Map is more geographically compact than the least-compact district in the September Map. *Id.* ¶ 23, and Figures 1-2. The compactness of the Aurora-area House District in the Remedial Map (House District 50) is comparable to the average compactness scores of the districts in the September Map. *Id.* ¶ 24, and Figures 3-4. And the Metro East House District in the Remedial Map (House District 114) is more compact than the Metro East districts in the September Map. *Id.* ¶ 24, and Figures 5-6.

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Accordingly, Plaintiffs have shown that it is possible to draw additional minority-majority districts that are compact. *See, e.g.*, *Holloway*, 2021 WL 1226554, at *29 (finding that plaintiffs satisfied the first *Gingles* factor where the Polsby-Popper and Reock scores showed that the compactness between the current districts and proposed districts were virtually the same). Thus, there are minority populations in the relevant areas that are sufficiently large and compact as to constitute a majority in a district, and the first *Gingles* factor is satisfied.

    2. <u>Minority populations in Illinois are politically cohesive (*Gingles* Factor 2).</u>

To satisfy the second *Gingles* factor, the minority group at issue must be "politically cohesive." *Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 51. This simply requires a showing that "a significant number of minority group members ***usually*** vote for the same candidates." *Id.* at 56 (emphasis added). Similarly, this factor can be established by showing "a consistent relationship between [the] race of the voter and the way in which the voter votes." *Id.* at 53, n.21.

As an initial matter, Defendants appear to concede that Plaintiffs have satisfied the second *Gingles* factor. In their Answer to the Second Amended Complaint, Defendants Emanuel Christopher Welch and Don Harmon, in their respective official capacities as Speaker of the House and President of the Senate (the "Leadership Defendants") concede that "Latino voters vote cohesively in the State of Illinois" and "Black voters historically and consistently vote cohesively in the State of Illinois." Answer [Dkt. No. 129], ¶¶ 9, 12, 68, 119.

Additionally, Plaintiffs' expert, Dr. Chen, analyzed election returns from recent elections for Latino-preferred candidates in Cook County and Aurora and election returns for Black-preferred candidates in Metro East. Chen Report ¶¶ 31-43. In his analysis, Dr. Chen used ecological inference ("EI"), a commonly-used and widely-accepted statistical technique for estimating different racial groups' political behavior. *Id.* ¶ 34; *see also Holloway*, 2021 WL

1226554, at *32 (explaining that EI "can be used to identify demographic and voting patterns to ascertain the Minority Community's preferred candidates").

Dr. Chen's analysis shows strong evidence of minority voter cohesion for Latino voters in Cook County and Aurora and for Black voters in Metro East. Certain illustrative examples include:

- **2015 runoff election for Mayor of Chicago**. Approximately 84% of Latino voters favored Jesus "Chuy" Garcia, as compared to only 28.8% of white voters.

- **2018 primary election for Cook County Assessor**. Approximately 63.2% of Latino voters favored Joseph Berrios, as compared to only 18.3% of white voters.

- **2014 primary election for House District 39**. Approximately 73.3% of Latino voters favored Toni Berrios, as compared to only 3.5% of white voters.

- **2016 and 2020 general elections for House District 114**. Approximately 83.9% and 98.7% of Black voters favored LaToya Greenwood in each election, as compared to only 30.1% and 25.8% of white voters in each election.

- **2018 general election for Senate District 57**. Approximately 97.6% of Black voters favored Christopher Belt, as compared to only 31.3% of white voters.

Chen Report ¶¶ 38-42, Tables 6-9.

In addition, another of Plaintiffs' experts, Dr. Anthony Fowler, analyzed election data and survey responses for prior statewide elections. Expert Report of Dr. Anthony Fowler, attached as Exhibit C hereto ("Fowler Report"), ¶¶ 6-16. Dr. Fowler's report concludes that there is significant racially polarized voting in Illinois and specifically finds significant differences in voting behavior between minority and white voters, which are even larger in Aurora and Metro East, as compared with the remainder of the state. *Id.* ¶¶ 13-16, and Table 2.

These analyses from Dr. Chen and Dr. Fowler establish that the Latino and Black communities vote cohesively in Illinois, as the Leadership Defendants concede. Answer ¶¶ 9, 12, 68, 119. The second *Gingles* factor is therefore satisfied. *See, e.g.*, *Holloway*, 2021 WL 1226554, at *31-38 (finding second *Gingles* factor was satisfied through expert analysis, including EI analysis, of recent prior elections, showing cohesive minority voting for preferred candidates).

3. The majority population in Illinois votes sufficiently as a bloc to usually defeat the minority's preferred candidates (*Gingles* Factor 3).

To satisfy the third and final *Gingles* factor, there must be evidence that the majority votes "sufficiently as a bloc to enable it . . . usually to defeat the minority's preferred candidate." *Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 50-51. The Supreme Court has acknowledged that "there is no simple doctrinal test for the existence of legally significant racial bloc voting." *Id.* at 58. Rather, "the degree of racial bloc voting that is cognizable as an element of a § 2 vote dilution claim will vary according to a variety of factual circumstances." *Id.* at 56-58. "[A] white bloc vote that normally will defeat the combined strength of minority support plus white 'crossover' votes rises to the level of legally significant white bloc voting." *Id.* at 56.

"Elections between white and minority candidates are the most probative in determining the existence of legally significant white bloc voting." *Old Person v. Cooney*, 230 F.3d 1113, 1123-24 (9th Cir. 2000). "The general reasoning behind this conclusion is that non-minority elections do not provide minority voters with the choice of a minority candidate and thus do not fully demonstrate the degree of racially polarized voting in the community." *Ruiz v. City of Santa Maria*, 160 F.3d 543, 552-53 (9th Cir. 1998).

Dr. Chen used EI to analyze election returns for Latino and white voters in recent Cook County elections. Chen Report ¶ 35, and Tables 6 and 7. Dr. Chen identified a number of elections in which minority candidates were defeated by majority white bloc voting:

- **2015 runoff election for Mayor of Chicago**. Although approximately 84% of Latino voters favored Latino candidate Chuy Garcia, white voters overwhelmingly favored Rahm Emanuel. White opposition to Garcia was sufficient to elect Emanuel, as Garcia received only 43.8% of the vote in the two-candidate runoff election.

- **2018 primary election for Cook County Assessor**. Although approximately 63.2% of Latino voters favored Latino candidate Joseph Berrios, white voters overwhelmingly favored Fritz Kaegi. White opposition to Berrios was sufficient to elect Kaegi, as Berrios received only 33.9% of the overall vote.

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- **2014 primary election for House District 39**. Although approximately 73.3% of Latino voters favored Latino candidate Toni Berrios, white voters overwhelmingly favored Will Guzzardi. White opposition to Berrios was sufficient to elect Guzzardi, as Berrios received only 39.6% of the vote.

Chen Report ¶¶ 38-40, and Tables 6 and 7.

Also, the 2016 and 2020 general elections for House District 114 in Metro East demonstrate that white bloc voting could usually defeat the combined strength of minority support plus white crossover votes with a shift in the racial demographics of the district. In those races, 69.9% and 74.2% of whites voted for the non-Black-preferred candidate. Chen Report at Table 9. The Black-preferred candidate eked out wins in the elections with 57.2% and 57.1%. *Id.* However, the Black VAP in House District 114 at the time was 42.04%.[3] The picture has now drastically changed as the September Map dropped the Black VAP in House District 114 to 33.41 percent,[4] leaving the Black-preferred candidate susceptible to defeat by the white bloc in the district.

In addition, Dr. Fowler also analyzed the data on the race of electoral winners in Illinois state legislative elections between 2012 and 2020, focusing on districts which at least 15% of the CVAP is Black, Latino, or Asian. Fowler Report ¶ 34. Based on his analysis of these election returns, Dr. Fowler found that the relationship between a minority group's share of a district and the probability that a group member wins election is non-linear and the way in which districts are drawn can have large effects on minority representation. *Id.* ¶¶ 36-37. He also found that the likelihood that a district will elect a minority representative depends in large part on the proportion of minority citizens in that district. *Id.* ¶¶ 37-38. This analysis supports a finding that the majority population ***usually*** votes sufficiently as a bloc to defeat the minority's preferred candidates. *See Holloway*, 2021 WL 1226554, at *39-40 (finding sufficient evidence of white bloc voting where

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[3]   *See* 97th Ill. G.A., House Resolution 385, at p. 350, https://www.ilga.gov/legislation/97/HR/PDF/09700HR0385lv.pdf.

[4]   *See* https://ilhousedems.com/redistricting/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/House-data.pdf.

only 50% of minority-preferred candidates were successful and white voters generally could block minority-preferred candidates unless the white vote was split among several preferred candidates).

The analyses performed by Dr. Chen and Dr. Fowler demonstrate the majority population in Illinois typically votes sufficiently as a bloc to defeat the preferred minority candidate in Illinois generally and in Cook County, Aurora, and Metro East, in particular. Accordingly, all three *Gingles* prerequisite factors are satisfied, and the Court can therefore proceed to analyze whether the September Map violates Section 2 of the VRA under "the totality of the circumstances."

B. **Under the totality of the circumstances, the September Map violates Section 2 of the VRA.**

Once a plaintiff has established the three *Gingles* factors, courts examine "the totality of the circumstances" to determine whether there has been a violation of Section 2 of the VRA. *Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 46. However, courts have recognized that "it will be only the very unusual case in which the plaintiffs can establish the existence of the three *Gingles* factors but still have failed to establish a violation of § 2 under the totality of the circumstances." *Jenkins v. Red Clay Consol. School Dist. Bd. of Educ.*, 4 F.3d 1103, 1135 (3d Cir. 1993); *see also Baten v. McMaster*, 967 F.3d 345, 379 (4th Cir. 2020) (where "a plaintiff [has] established the *Gingles* prerequisites, that plaintiff is likely to succeed under the totality of the circumstances").

In examining the totality of the circumstances, courts consider both "past and present reality." *Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 45 (internal citations omitted). In particular, courts consider the factors set forth in the Senate Judiciary Committee Report accompanying the 1982 amendments to the VRA, which are known as the "Senate Factors." The typical factors relevant to the "totality of the circumstances" inquiry include:

1) the extent of any history of official discrimination in the state or political subdivision that touched the rights of the members of the Minority group to register, to vote, or otherwise to participate in the democratic process;

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2)   the extent to which voting in the elections of the state or political subdivision is racially polarized

3)   the extent to which the state or political subdivision has used unusually large election districts, majority vote requirements, anti-single shot provisions, or other voting practices or procedures that may enhance the opportunity for discrimination against the minority group;

4)   whether minority candidates have been denied access to any candidate-slating process;

5)   the extent to which minorities in the state or political subdivision bear the effects of discrimination in education, employment, and health, which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process;

6)   whether political campaigns have been characterized by overt or subtle racial appeals; and

7)   the extent to which minority group members have been elected to public office.

S. Rep. No. 97-417 at 28-29, U.S.C.C.A.N. 177, 206-07. The Senate Report also included two

additional considerations that may have probative value:

8)   whether there is a significant lack of responsiveness on the part of elected officials to the particularized needs of members of the minority group;

9)   whether the policy underlying the state or political subdivision's use of such voting qualification, prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice or procedure is tenuous.

Id. While the Senate Factors provide a framework for the analysis, they are "neither

comprehensive nor exclusive." *Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 45. Accordingly, a court "may consider other

facts" and "there is no requirement that any particular number of factors be proven, or that a

majority of them point one way or the other." *Holloway*, 2021 WL 1226554, at *16. "In other

words, the Court has broad discretion in examining factors it deems relevant to the inquiry of

whether the . . . electoral system, socio-political and economic history, and/or political governance

system result in voter dilution of minority groups." *Id.*

Nonetheless, in *Gingles*, the Supreme Court provided clear guidance as to the weight to be

accorded to certain factors. The Court described "the most important Senate Report factors" as

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Senate Factor 2 (the extent of racially polarized voting) and Senate Factor 7 (the extent to which minority group members have been elected). 478 U.S. at 48, n.15. While other factors might support a vote dilution challenge, they are "not essential to" such a claim. *Id.* "Indeed, courts have found vote dilution based solely on the existence of these two factors." *Georgia State Conference of NAACP v. Fayette Cnty. Bd. of Com'rs*, 950 F. Supp. 2d 1294, 1325 (N.D. Ga. 2013), *aff'd in part, vacated in part, and remanded by* 775 F.3d 1336 (11th Cir. 2015).

In this case, an analysis of the totality of the circumstances demonstrates that the September Map dilutes the voting power of Latino and Black citizens. At least four of the relevant Senate Factors, including the two most critical factors, weigh heavily in Plaintiffs' favor.

      1.   <u>The extent of racially polarized voting in Illinois is significant (Senate Factor 2).</u>

Senate Factor 2 is one of the two "most important" of the Senate Factors identified by the Supreme Court in *Gingles*. 478 U.S. at 48, n.15. "The concept of 'racially polarized voting' encompasses the second and third *Gingles* preconditions—whether the minority group votes cohesively and whether the majority votes sufficiently as a bloc to usually defeat the minority's preferred candidate." *Montes v. City of Yakima*, 40 F. Supp. 3d 1377, 1410 (E.D. Wash. 2014).

As explained above at 8-12 with respect to the second and third *Gingles* threshold factors, there is significant racially polarized voting in Illinois. ***First***, the Latino populations in Cook County and Aurora and the Black populations in Metro East are politically cohesive because they consistently support the same minority-preferred candidates. *See, e.g.*, Chen Report ¶¶ 31-43, Tables 6-9; *see also* Answer ¶¶ 9, 12, 68, 119. ***Second***, the majority population in Illinois votes consistently in a bloc to defeat the minority's preferred candidates. *See, e.g.*, Chen Report ¶¶ 38-40; Fowler Report ¶¶ 34-41. Indeed, as Dr. Fowler notes, the extent of racially polarized voting in Illinois is significant and is likely understated by the available data. Fowler Report ¶¶ 6-23.

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Accordingly, the second Senate Factor weighs strongly in Plaintiffs' favor. *See, e.g.*, *Holloway*, 2021 WL 1226554, at *44 (second Senate Factor weighed in plaintiffs' favor due to "evidence of racially polarized voting in the City's elections"); *Montes*, 40 F. Supp. 3d at 1410 (where Latino candidates were routinely defeated by bloc voting from non-Latino majority, Senate Factor 2 "weigh[ed] strongly in favor of a finding of vote dilution").

> 2. In Illinois, a 50%+ minority CVAP is generally necessary for a minority candidate to win election in a district (Senate Factor 7).

Senate Factor 7 "does not require the total absence of minority electoral success." *Missouri State Conference of the NAACP v. Ferguson-Florissant School Dist.*, 201 F. Supp. 3d 1006, 1064 (E.D. Mo. 2016). "In fact, even 'proportional or near proportional representation'" of a minority population "does not provide an absolute safe harbor in which a defendant can seek refuge from the totality of the circumstances." *Id.* (quoting *Harvell v. Blytheville Sch. Dist. No. 5*, 71 F.3d 1382, 1388 (8th Cir. 1995)). "Instead, courts 'must conduct an 'independent consideration of the record' and a 'searching practical evaluation' of the circumstances surrounding minority electoral successes.'" *Id.* (quoting *Buckanaga v. Sisseton Indep. Sch. Dist., No. 54-5*, 804 F.2d 469, 476 (8th Cir. 1986)).

As explained above at 10-11 with respect to the third *Gingles* threshold factor, Dr. Chen used EI to analyze election returns for Latino and white voters in recent Cook County elections, and identified a number of elections in which minority candidates were defeated by majority white bloc voting, including (1) 2015 runoff election for Mayor of Chicago, (2) 2018 primary election for Cook County Assessor, and (3) 2014 primary election for House District 39. Chen Report ¶¶ 38-40. All of these examples demonstrate the challenges for minority candidates to win election.

Moreover, Dr. Fowler reviewed data on the race of electoral winners in Illinois state legislative elections between 2012 and 2020, focusing on districts for which at least 15% of the CVAP is Black, 15% is Latino, or 15% is Asian. Fowler Report ¶¶ 34-40. Dr. Fowler compared the elector results with the share of each district's minority CVAP and found that the probability that the electoral winner is from a minority group increases as the share of the district composed of that minority group increases. *Id.* ¶ 35. Moreover, Dr. Fowler concluded that the relationship between a group's share of a district and the probability that a group member wins the election is nonlinear. *Id.* ¶ 36. There is typically a weak relationship between demographics and descriptive representation when a group is a small minority of a district, but as the size of a group increases, the relationship becomes steeper. *Id.* And the relationship flattens out again at a certain point. *Id.*

Dr. Fowler concluded that the way in which districts are drawn can have large effects on minority representation. *Id.* ¶ 37. For example, a district that is 40% Black is predicted to have a 78% chance of electing a Black legislator. *Id.* But a district that is 20% Black is predicted to have a 15% chance of having a Black legislator. *Id.* Therefore, if a region is 20% Black and has the population for two districts, a map that places all Black citizens in one district will produce a black legislator 78% of the time, but a map that equally distributes black citizens between the two districts will produce at least one Black legislator only 28% of the time. *Id.*

Moreover, Dr. Fowler found that Latino districts are much less likely than a comparably Black district to elect a member of their group. *Id.* ¶ 38. A district that is 20% Latino is predicted to have a Latino winner just 6% of the time, and a district that is 40% Latino is predicted to have a Latino winner 45% of the time. *Id.* The nonlinear relationship between demographics and descriptive representation are such that districts that do not have a large share of Latino voters are very unlikely to see a Latino representative. *Id.*

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Because minority candidates generally cannot be elected in Illinois outside of districts with a significant portion of minority voters, Senate Factor 7 is satisfied. *See Rodriguez v. Harris Cnty., Tex.*, 964 F. Supp. 2d 686, 787-797 (S.D. Tex. 2013) (comparing election results for Latino candidates in Latino majority districts and white majority districts and finding Senate Factor 7 was met because of the "long history of election failures" for Latino candidates in white districts); *Pope v. Cnty. of Albany*, 94 F. Supp. 3d 302, 346-47 (N.D.N.Y. 2015) (finding Senate Factor 7 weighed in favor of plaintiffs where minority candidates succeeded mainly in portions of the county where minorities made up a relatively high proportion of voters as compared to the county as a whole).

Accordingly, the two most predominant Senate Factors, factors 2 and 7, weigh in Plaintiffs' favor. Based on these two factors alone, the Court may find that the totality of the circumstances weigh in Plaintiffs' favor. *See, e.g.*, *Bone Shirt v. Hazeltine*, 461 F.3d 1011, 1022 (8th Cir. 2006) (totality-of-the-circumstances test satisfied simply through proof of racially polarized voting and absence of elected minorities). In any event, at least two additional factors weigh in Plaintiffs' favor and compel a finding that the September Map violates Section 2 of the VRA.

3.   Minority voters have suffered past discrimination (Senate Factor 1).

Senate Factor 1 requires courts to examine the "extent of any history of official discrimination in the state or political subdivision that touched the rights of the member of the Minority group to register, to vote, or otherwise participate in the democratic process." *Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 44-45. In his report, Plaintiffs' expert, Dr. Charles Gallagher, explains that racial and ethnic minorities have been, and continue to be, subject to state sponsored discrimination in Illinois generally, and in Cook County, Aurora, and Metro East, in particular. Expert Report of Charles Gallagher, attached as Exhibit D hereto ("Gallagher Report"), ¶¶ 6-24.

Dr. Gallagher describes specific overt government acts, such as housing discrimination, redlining of minority neighborhoods by government actors, and racial profiling by police. *Id.*

¶¶ 38-48. Dr. Gallagher also describes the lack of enforcement, or the selective failure to enforce, civil rights laws put in place to address and stop ongoing discrimination against racial minorities. *Id.* Specifically, Latinos have been, and continue to be, discriminated against in the Illinois and Chicago region housing markets due to a lack of government enforcement of federal housing policies. *Id.* ¶ 39. Dr. Gallagher also notes specific instances of state action to dilute the voting rights of minorities, including drawing district lines to preserve the incumbencies of white politicians and implementing residency requirements for public office. *Id.* ¶¶ 43-44.

Dr. Gallagher further notes how these forms of official discrimination have the effect of creating intergenerational, long-term socio-economic disadvantages, which create obstacles for minorities to vote, successfully run for office, or otherwise fully engage in the political process. *Id.* ¶¶ 6-11, 26-30. Accordingly, Dr. Gallagher's Report clearly establishes ample evidence of a long history of official discrimination against minorities in Illinois, which impacts their ability to participate in the democratic process. *See Holloway*, 2021 WL 1226554, at *41-44 (holding that "evidence of official discrimination against Hispanic, Asian, and Black people" was "sufficient to satisfy the first Senate Factor in favor of Plaintiffs").

4. Minority voters continue to bear the effects of such discrimination (Senate Factor 5).

Senate Factor 5 asks courts to examine "the extent to which minorities in the state or political subdivision bear the effects of discrimination in education, employment, and health, which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process." *Id.* at 44-45.

Dr. Gallagher analyzed the ongoing effects of historical discrimination against minorities. Gallagher Report ¶¶ 6-25. He explains that institutionalized discriminatory practices that were in place for multiple decades (or centuries) such as redline, restrictive covenants, and racial steering in the real estate market, continue to cause socioeconomic harm and deprivation today. *Id.* ¶ 6.

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Dr. Gallagher also notes that Chicago has the second highest black-white segregated index in the United States today. *Id.*

Dr. Gallagher finds that Latinos and Blacks in Illinois lag significantly behind whites in almost all socioeconomic measures, including health, income, education, employment, wealth, and becoming victims of firearm homicide. *Id.* ¶ 12. Among other things, Dr. Gallagher notes that: (1) Latinos and Blacks in Illinois have suffered higher death rates due to COVID-19, as compared to whites and Asians; (2) White families in Illinois tend to be wealthier, and (3) Latinos and Blacks in Illinois have higher unemployment rates. *Id.* ¶¶ 20-25. In summary, Dr. Gallagher finds that Latinos and Blacks in Illinois have significantly less wealth, income and education than whites, and suffer from increased health risks. *Id.* ¶ 25. Additionally, Dr. Gallagher explains that voting participation is strongly correlated with income and education. *Id.* ¶ 26. Therefore, the numerous social and economic disadvantages faced by Latino and Black citizens hinders their ability to vote or participate in the political process in Illinois. *Id.* ¶¶ 26-30.

Accordingly, Dr. Gallagher's Report clearly establishes ample evidence to support Senate Factor 5. *See Holloway*, 2021 WL 1226554, at *50 (finding "substantial evidence" that minority community "continues to face the consequences of discrimination which has a causal impact on their political participation" and "mobilization in elections").

As shown above, the three *Gingles* threshold factors are satisfied and the totality of the circumstances weighs heavily in Plaintiffs' favor. Plaintiffs have therefore met their burden of demonstrating that the September Map violates Section 2 of the VRA. Thus, like the prior June Map, the September Map is constitutionally invalid and should not be adopted by the Court.

II. The Court Should Adopt Plaintiffs' Remedial Map.

In the October 19, 2021 Order, the Court invited Plaintiffs to submit their own remedial map for consideration. Order at 43. Plaintiffs' proposed Remedial Map is attached as Exhibit A.

In drafting their proposed Remedial Map, Plaintiffs followed the Court's direction to use the September Map as a "starting point." *Id.* at 38. As shown below, the differences between the September Map and the Remedial Map are limited to the four regions affected by the VRA violations in the September Map: (1) Northern Cook County, (2) Southern Cook County, (3) Aurora, and (4) Metro East. The Remedial Map treats these four regions as geographically distinct, and each region is severable from the rest of the map and could be removed or changed without creating a further impact to the other districts from the September Map. The vast majority of the boundaries in the September Map—87 of the 118 House Districts—are not impacted by the changes in the Remedial Map.

Plaintiffs' Remedial Map would create 12 Latino opportunity House Districts (House Districts 1, 2, 3, 4, 21, 22, 23, 24, 32, 39, 50, and 77) and one additional Black opportunity district (House District 114). Those 13 districts include territory that is divided among 24 House Districts in the September Map, including both territory populated by the relevant minority community and adjacent territory needed to ensure that the districts in the Remedial Map have substantially equal population. The 24 impacted House Districts are shown in pink below in Figure 1.

In addition to those 24 impacted House Districts, seven other House Districts from the September Map are impacted in order to ensure that all districts have substantially equal population. For example, the creation of a new district may leave some territory stranded; that stranded territory must then be absorbed into surrounding districts. Those seven districts are identified in blue below in Figure 1. In drafting the Remedial Map, Plaintiffs attempted to minimize the impact to both the number of impacted districts and the proportion of territory within these districts.

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Figure 1
House Districts Impacted by Plaintiffs' Remedial Map
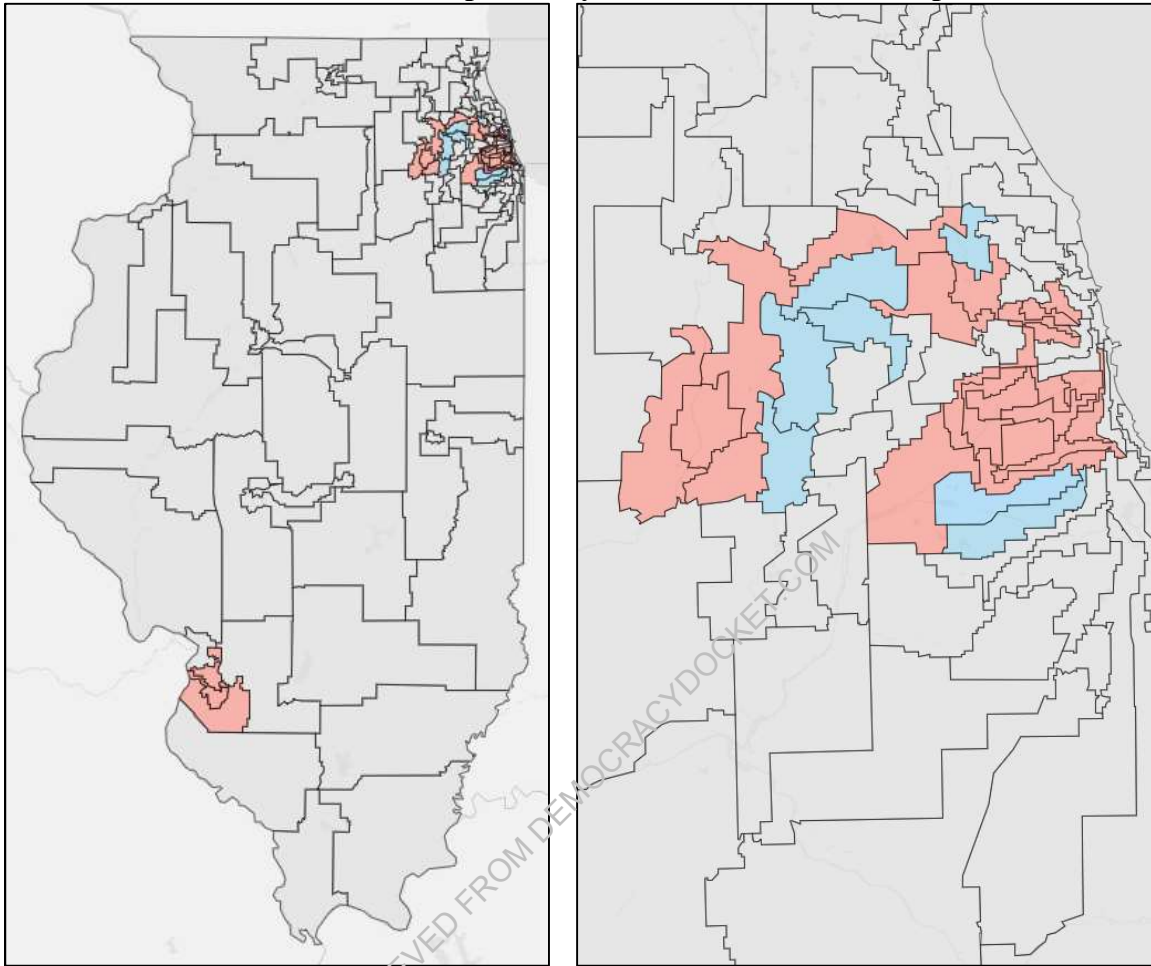
The four regions of the Remedial Map that were changed from the September Map are described below, along with descriptions of the purposes and effects of the changes.

A.   Northern Cook County

Plaintiffs' Remedial Map includes four House Districts with 50%+ Latino CVAP in Northern Cook County (House Districts 3, 4, 39, and 77), as opposed to zero such districts in Northern Cook County in the September Map. The September Map includes four Latino influence districts in Northern Cook County, but none of those districts would achieve 50%+ Latino CVAP. Moreover, as shown in Dr. Chen's Report, using either the Polsby-Popper or the Reock measure of compactness, every single one of the Northern Cook County House Districts in the Remedial

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Map is more geographically compact than least-compact district from the September Map. *See* Chen Report ¶ 23, and Figures 1-2.

The Latino community within the northern Cook County region resides primarily within House Districts 3, 4, 20, 39, 40, and 77 in the September Map. A smaller portion of that regional community also resides within House District 56, along the north side of O'Hare International Airport. Those districts are shown in pink in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2
September Map: Northern Cook County
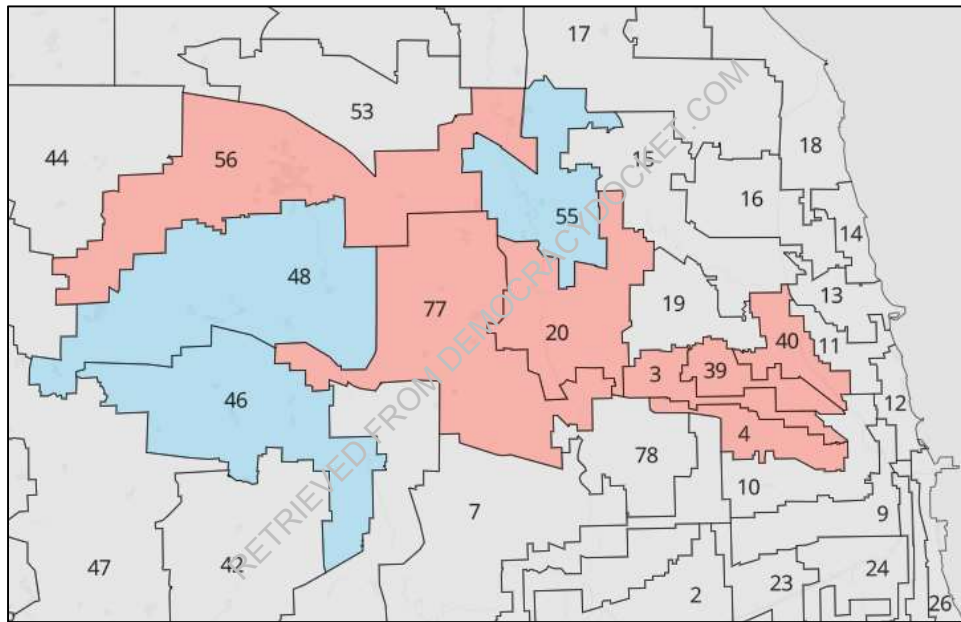
Within the Northern Cook County region, the Latino community resides primarily within the northwest side of Chicago and adjacent suburbs, such as Franklin Park and Melrose Park. Figure 3 shows the concentration of the Latino population in the region and outlines of Plaintiffs' proposed remedial House Districts 3, 4, 39, and 77. Those proposed remedial districts include all of those communities within this portion of Cook County; the western border of House District 77 is the western border of Cook County. The eastern three districts fit almost entirely within the territory allocated for them by the September Map.

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Figure 3
Concentration of Latino Population and Plaintiffs' Remedial House Districts
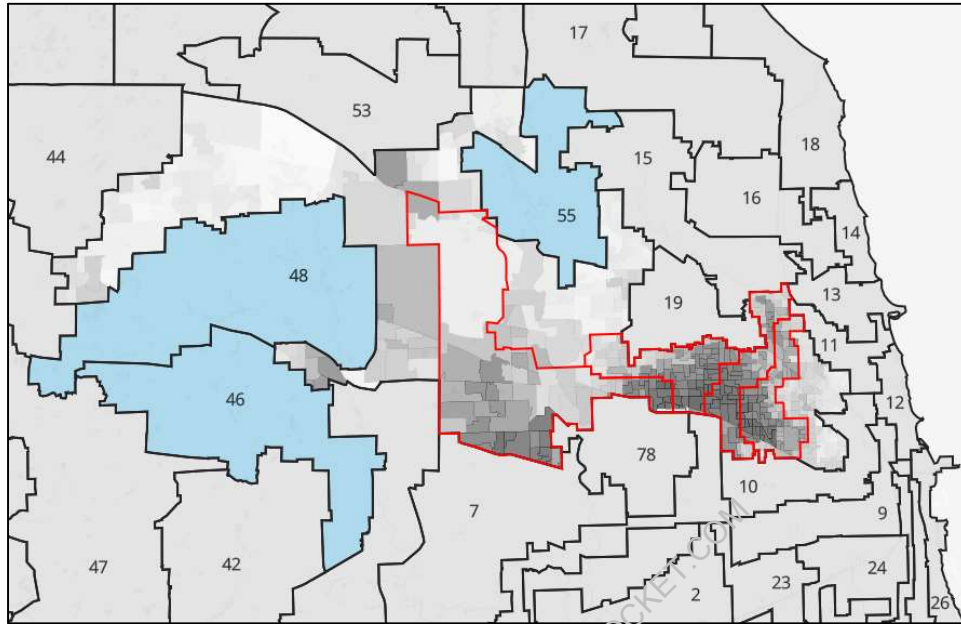
After creating remedial House Districts 3, 4, 39, and 77, the remaining territory must be re-constituted in three complete House Districts, as shown below in Figure 4. The new remedial House Districts 3, 4, 39, and 77 are depicted in green and outlined in red. The black lines are the borders of the September Map House Districts. The remaining territory, which is shown in white in Figure 4, cannot be assembled into contiguous and substantially equal districts without impacting other adjoining districts. September Map House District 20, which sits immediately west of House District 19, lost territory comprising approximately 27,000 people in the vicinity of Franklin Park to new remedial House District 77. House District 77 no longer includes territory within DuPage County, primarily Bensenville and Addison, which is shown in Figure 4 as the white territory immediately east of House District 48. In order to ensure districts have substantially equal population, the impact of these changes requires House District 20 to take territory from House District 55, which must then take territory from House District 56. Then the DuPage County

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territory formerly included in House District 77 must be incorporated into the surrounding districts (House Districts 46, 48, and 56).

Figure 4
Territory to be Reassembled into Neighboring House Districts
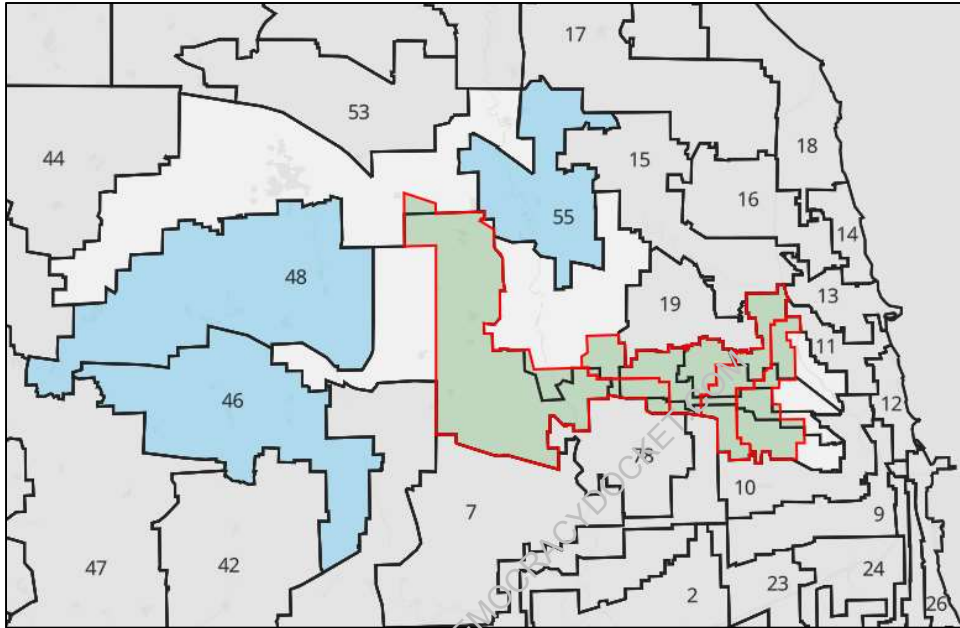
Figure 5 shows Plaintiffs' Remedial Map for House Districts 3, 4, 39, and 77. The remainder of the territory is reconstituted into districts of substantially equal population that substantially reflect the comparable districts of the September Map. The city of Bensenville is contained almost entirely within House District 56, consistent with the legislature's goal of keeping the community largely intact,[5] and together with other communities that border O'Hare International Airport, like Elk Grove Village. The village of Addison is kept entirely within House Districts 46 and 48, into which it had been included in the September Map, rather than being further split and included in House District 56 (which contained none of Addison in the September Map); this requires some adjustments to boundaries in the vicinity of Addison to ensure that the districts

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[5]   *See* Illinois House Resolution HR0443 (https://www.ilga.gov/legislation/102/HR/10200HR0443.htm), at 36.

have substantially equal population. In deference to the September Map "starting point," the significant majority of populations of the non-majority-minority districts (i.e. those shown in blue in Figure 5) that are impacted in this region (i.e. House Districts 20, 46, 48, 55, and 56) are unchanged, as shown in Table 1 below.[6]

Figure 5
Plaintiffs' Remedial House Districts
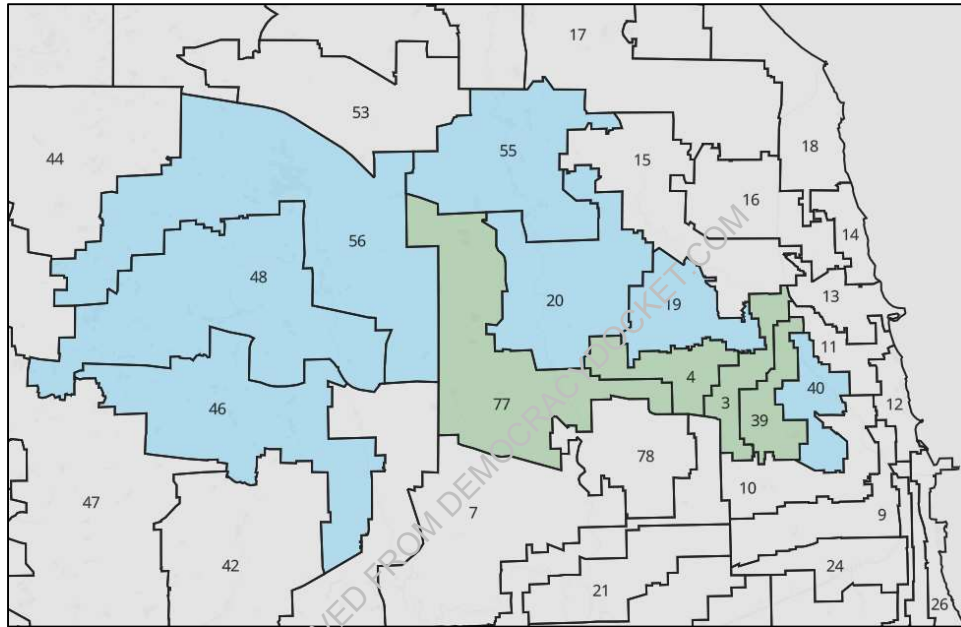
Table 1
Unchanged Territory Within Non-Minority-Majority Districts

House District	Population Unchanged from September Map
20	75%
46	93%
48	86%
55	75%
56	71%

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[6]   The population information in Tables 1, 3, and 4 can be derived from the Core Constituency Report attached as Exhibit E, which is a standard report run from the Autobound system.

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B.   Southern Cook County

Plaintiffs' Remedial Map includes seven House Districts with 50%+ Latino CVAP in Southern Cook County (House Districts 1, 2, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 32), as opposed to only four 50%+ Latino CVAP House Districts in the September Map. Moreover, as shown in Dr. Chen's Report, every single one of the Southern Cook County House Districts in the Remedial Map is more geographically compact than the least-compact district from the September Map. *See* Chen Report ¶ 23, and Figures 1-2.

The Latino community within the Southern Cook County region resides primarily within House Districts 1, 2, 21, 22, 23, and 24 in the September Map. A smaller portion of that regional community also resides within adjoining areas in House Districts 6, 8, 31, 32, and 82. Those districts are shown in pink in Figure 6 below.

Figure 6
September Map: Southern Cook County
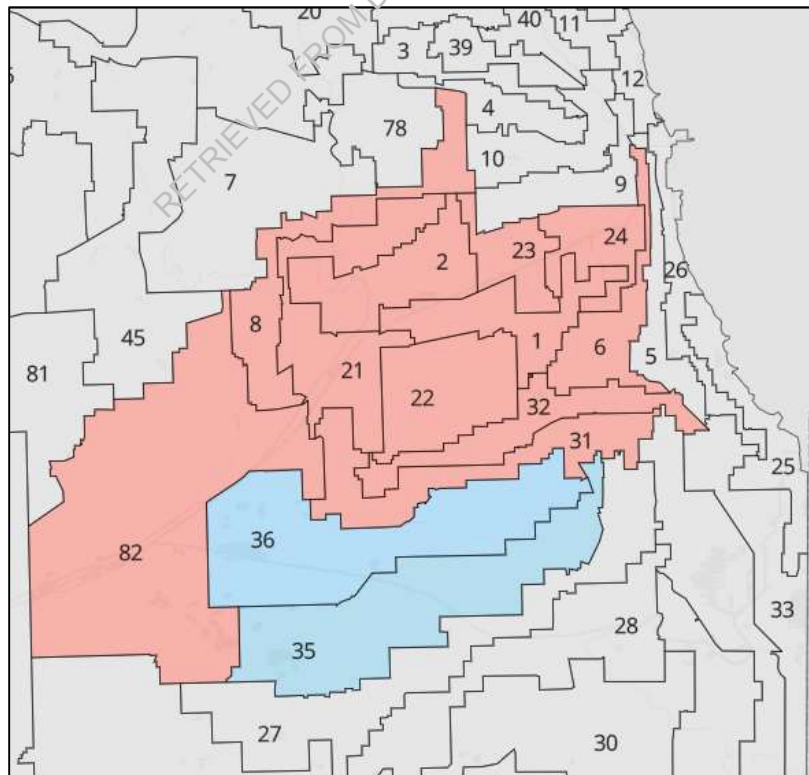
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Within the southern Cook County region, the Latino community resides primarily within the southern side of Chicago and adjacent suburbs, such as Berwyn, Cicero, and Burbank. Figure 7 shows the concentration of the Latino population in the region and outlines of Plaintiffs' proposed remedial House Districts 1, 2, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 32.

Figure 7
Concentration of Latino Population and Plaintiffs' Remedial House Districts
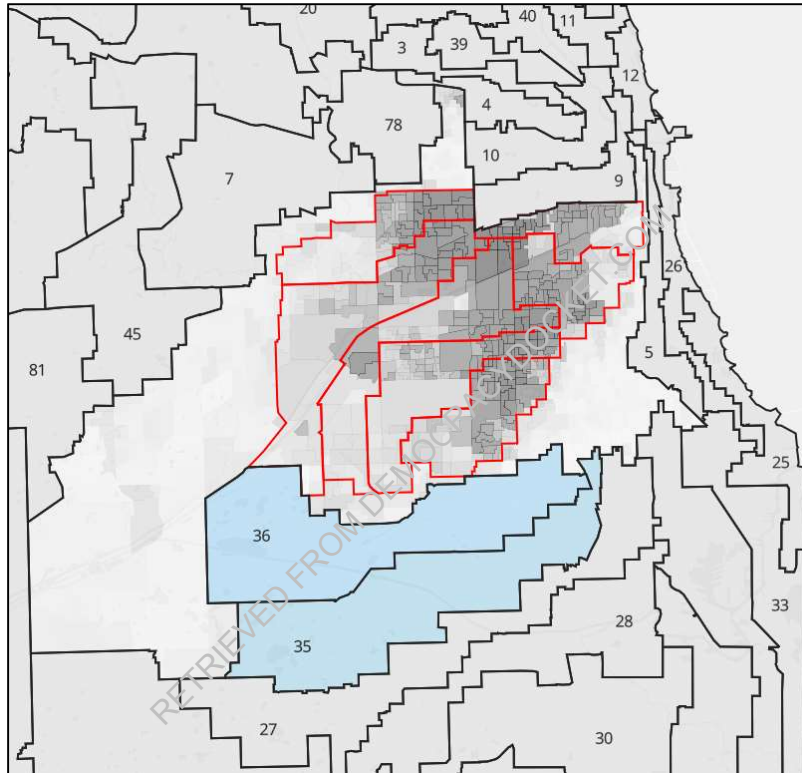
The Latino opportunity districts were configured taking into account communities identified within House Resolution 443 for the September Map where possible. For example, House District 21 was drawn to retain as many of the same communities as that district included in the September Map, particularly around Berwyn and Riverside. House District 1 is centered on Archer Heights, as it is in the September Map. House District 2 was drawn around Midway International Airport and the community of Clearing, which were joined to form the center of House District 22 in the September Map. Where borders needed to be moved to create effective

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districts, Plaintiffs followed natural communities boundaries, like the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal that separates House Districts 1 and 22.

After creating remedial House Districts 1, 2, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 32, the remaining territory must be re-constituted in four complete House Districts, as shown in Figure 8. The new remedial House Districts are depicted in green and outlined in red. The black lines are the borders of the September Map House Districts. The remaining territory, which is shown in white in Figure 8, cannot be assembled into contiguous and substantially equal districts without impacting other adjoining districts.

Figure 8
Territory to be Reassembled into Neighboring House Districts
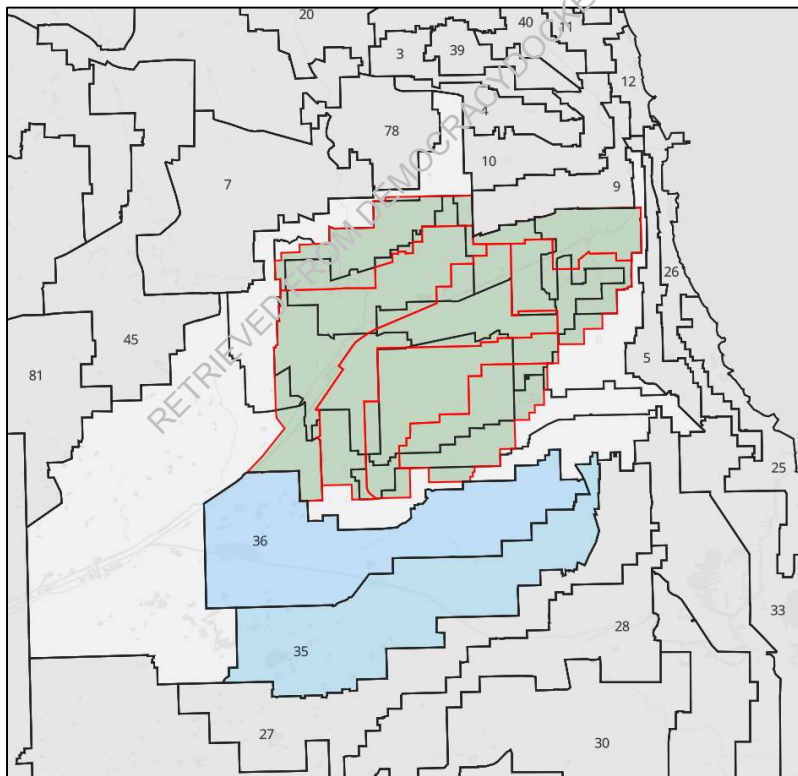
The Remedial Map for this region also needs to take into account equity for the Black community, consistent with the legislature's intent. The remedial Latino opportunity districts absorb majority-Latino communities along their eastern border in Chicago and southern border

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near Burbank, which territory had been included in House Districts 6, 31, and 32, as well as a small portion of territory from House District 8 on the north side of Berwyn. Figure 9 shows the concentration of the Black population in the region outside of the remedial Latino opportunity districts. House Districts 6, 8, 31, and 32 are intended by the legislature to be Black opportunity or influence districts. Plaintiffs' Remedial Map for this region restores the demographic characteristics of these districts (except that, for this purpose, September Map House District 32 is replaced by House District 36 in Plaintiffs' Remedial Map because House District 32 is a Latino opportunity district).

Figure 9
Concentration of Black Population Adjacent to Latino Opportunity Districts
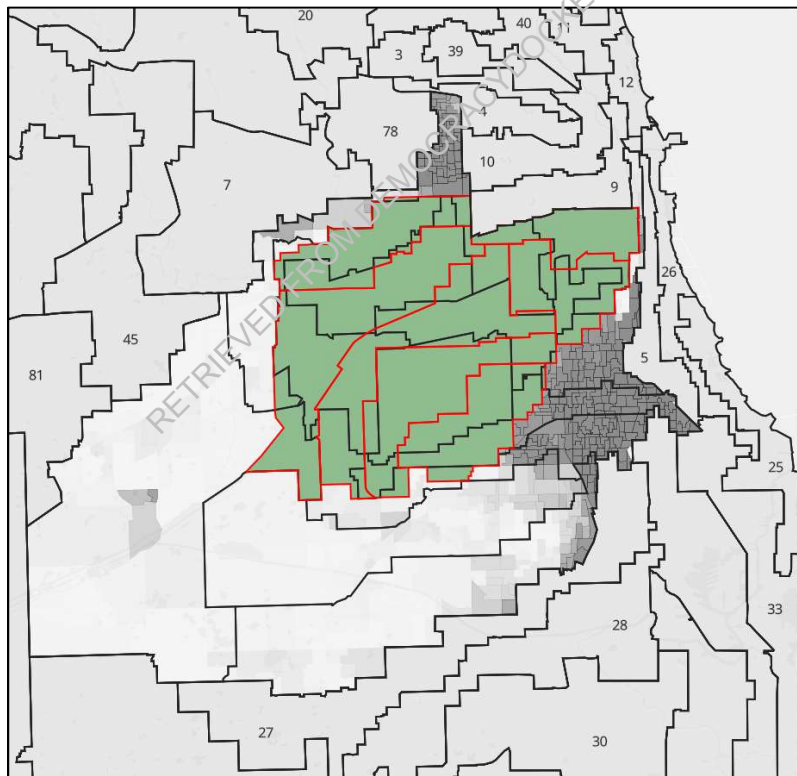
Figure 10 shows Plaintiffs' Remedial Map for House Districts 1, 2, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 32, which are shown in green. Figure 10 also shows the re-constituted Black opportunity districts, which are shown in yellow. Table 2 shows the demographic characteristics of those districts under

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both the September Map and Plaintiffs' Remedial Map. The remainder of the territory is reconstituted into districts of substantially equal population that substantially reflect the comparable districts of the September Map, which are shown in blue.

Figure 10
Plaintiffs' Remedial House Districts
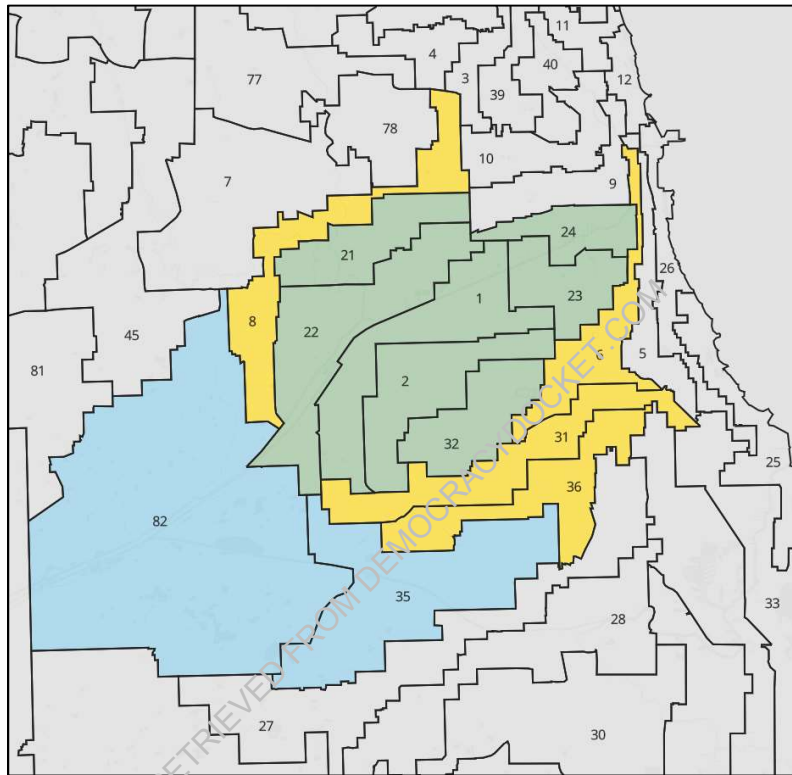
Table 2

September Map		Plaintiffs' Remedial Map	
House District	**Black (Non-Hispanic) Voting Age Population**	**House District**	**Black (Non-Hispanic) Voting Age Population**
6	45.4%	6	53.6%
8	49.5%	8	49.4%
31	51.9%	31	54.7%
32	50.5%	36	51.5%

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In deference to the September Map "starting point," the significant majority of populations of the non-majority-minority districts (i.e., those shown in blue in Figure 10) that are impacted in this region (i.e., House Districts 35 and 82) are unchanged, as shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3
Unchanged Territory Within Non-Minority-Majority Districts

House District	Population Unchanged from September Map
35	70%
82	91%

In order to evaluate the performance of the Cook County House Districts in Plaintiffs' Remedial Map, Dr. Chen estimated the hypothetical performance of a Latino-preferred candidate in the Cook County House Districts under both Plaintiffs' Remedial Map and the General Assembly's September Map. Chen Report ¶ 44. Dr. Chen used the EI estimates he calculated for the 2018 primary election for Cook County Assessor, in which Fritz Kaegi defeated the Latino-preferred candidate, Joseph Berrios. *Id.* He used each precinct's EI estimates to generate Census block-level estimates of each racial and ethnic group's support for Mr. Berrios and applied those block-level EI estimates to each Cook County district in the Remedial Map and the September Map. *Id.* ¶ 45. Dr. Chen found that only four of the eleven challenged districts in the September Map would support Mr. Berrios, but that ten of the 12 Cook County districts in Plaintiffs' Remedial Map would support Mr. Berrios. *Id.* ¶¶ 47-48 and Tables 10-11. This analysis further supports a conclusion that the Cook County House Districts in the Remedial Map would allow Latino citizens to participate in the political process and elect candidates of their choice.

C.   Aurora

Plaintiffs' Remedial Map includes a House District with over 65% total Latino population and 60% Latino voting-age population (House District 50). Although the district is slightly less

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than 50% Latino CVAP, the district would provide Latino voters an opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. Moreover, as shown in Dr. Chen's Report, House District 50 in the Remedial Map is comparable to the average compactness scores of the districts in the September Map. *See* Chen Report ¶ 24, and Figures 3-4.

The Latino community within the Aurora region resides primarily within House Districts 49, 50, 83, and 84 in the September Map. Those districts are shown in pink in Figure 11 below.

Figure 11
September Map: Aurora
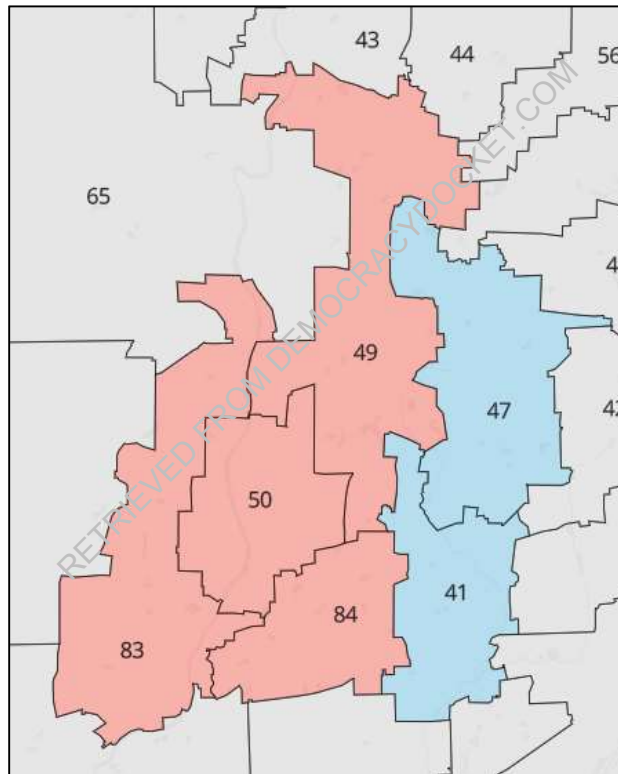
Within the Aurora region, the Latino community resides primarily within the communities of Aurora, Montgomery, and West Chicago. Figure 12 shows the concentration of the Latino population in the region and outlines of Plaintiffs' proposed remedial House District 50.

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Figure 12
Concentration of Latino Population and Plaintiffs' Remedial House District
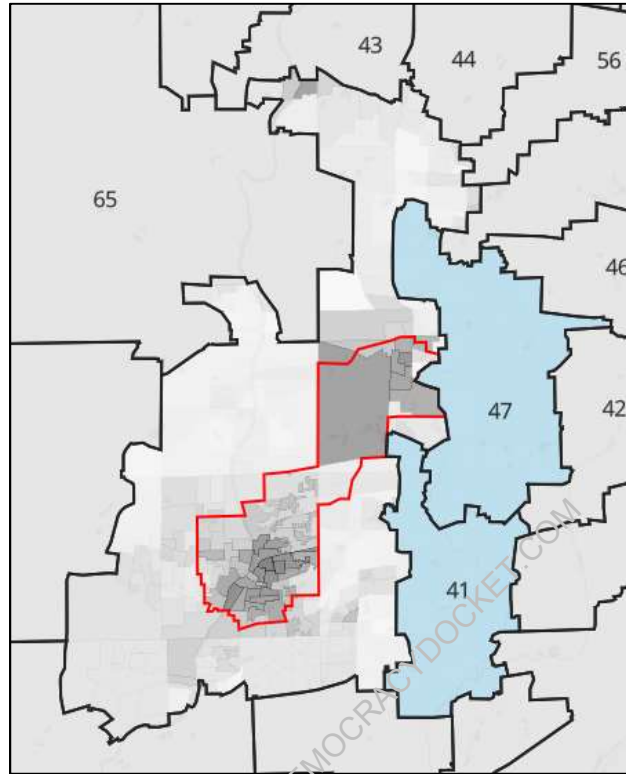
After creating remedial House District 50, the remaining territory must be re-constituted in three complete House Districts, as shown in Figure 13. The new remedial House District 50 is depicted in green and outlined in red. The black lines are the borders of the September Map House Districts. The remaining territory, which is shown in white in Figure 13, cannot be assembled into contiguous and substantially equal districts without impacting other adjoining districts. In particular, while the majority of House District 49 is north of remedial House District 50, there are two non-contiguous sections that sit south of House District 50, adjacent to House Districts 41 and 47. There are also significant areas from the September Map House District 50 that are not included in the Remedial Map district and therefore must be reallocated to other districts.

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Figure 13
Territory to be Reassembled into Neighboring House Districts
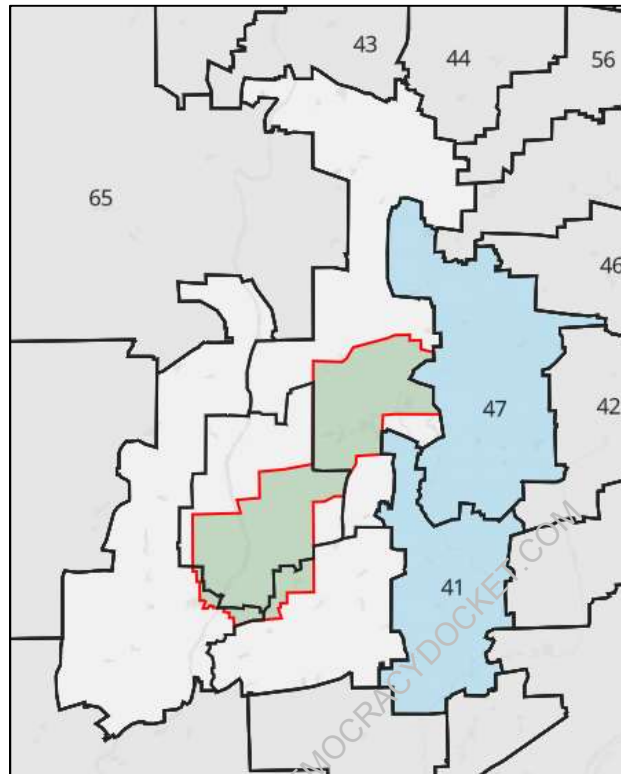
Figure 14 shows Plaintiffs' Remedial Map for House District 50. The remainder of the territory is reconstituted into districts of substantially equal population that substantially reflect the comparable districts of the September Map. In order to ensure districts have substantially equal population, the impact of these changes requires House Districts 41 and 47 to absorb some territory to the southeast of House District 50, which had been included in House District 49 in the September Map but would now be non-contiguous. House District 49 must incorporate additional territory to the northwest of House District 50 in order to compensate for population lost in the West Chicago area. The border between House Districts 49 and 83 generally follows the Fox River in both the September Map, as intended by the legislature, and the Remedial Map. In deference to the September Map "starting point," the significant majority of populations of the

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non-majority-minority districts (i.e. those shown in blue in Figure 14) that are impacted in this

region (i.e. House Districts 41, 47, 49, 83, and 84) are unchanged, as shown in Table 4 below.

Figure 14
Plaintiffs' Remedial House Districts
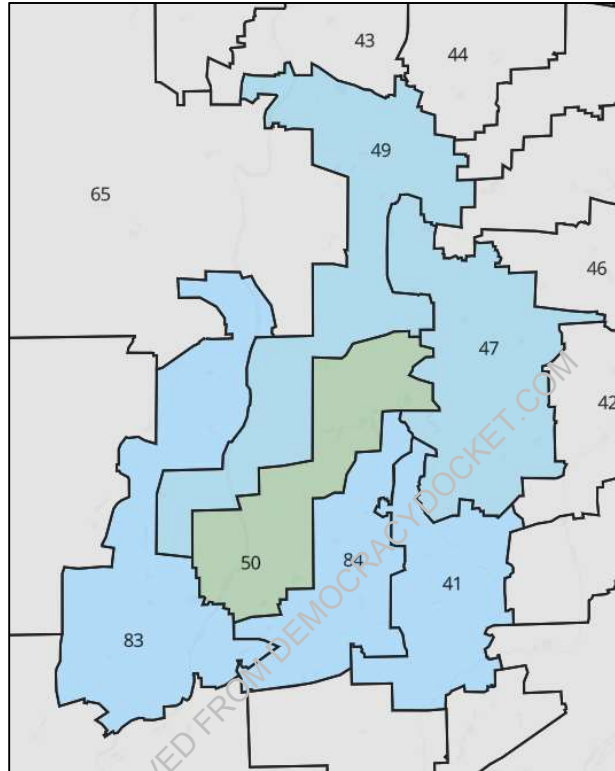
Table 4
Unchanged Territory Within Non-Minority-Majority Districts

House District	Population Unchanged from September Map
41	94%
47	99%
49	72%
83	85%
84	79%

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D.   Metro East

The Remedial Map includes a 50%+ Black CVAP House District in this area (House District 114). In contrast, the September Map splits the Black population in this area among three separate House Districts. In addition, as shown in Dr. Chen's report, the Metro East House District in the Remedial Map (House District 114) is more compact than the Metro East districts in the September Map. *Id.* ¶ 24, and Figures 5-6.

The Black community within the Metro East region resides primarily within House Districts 112, 113, and 114 in the September Map. Those districts are shown in pink in Figure 15 below.

Figure 15
September Map: Metro East
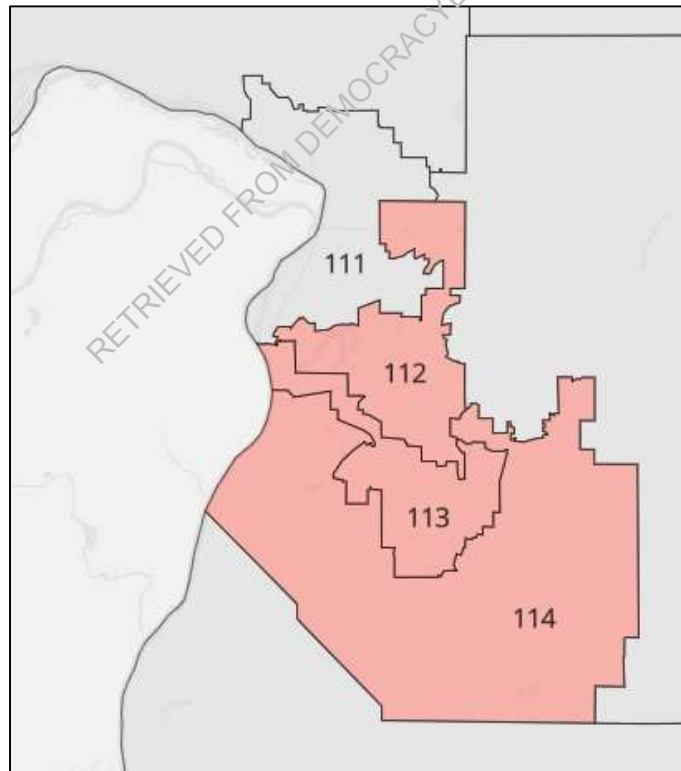
Within the Metro East region, the Black community resides primarily within the adjacent communities of East St. Louis, Brooklyn, and Venice, which lie along the Mississippi River, and

the adjacent interior communities of Washington Park, Centreville, and Fairview Heights, as well as parts of Belleville. Figure 16 shows the concentration of the Black population in the region and an outline of Plaintiffs' proposed remedial House District 114. That proposed remedial district includes all of those communities in a natural, compact district.

Figure 16
Concentration of Black Population and Plaintiffs' Remedial House District
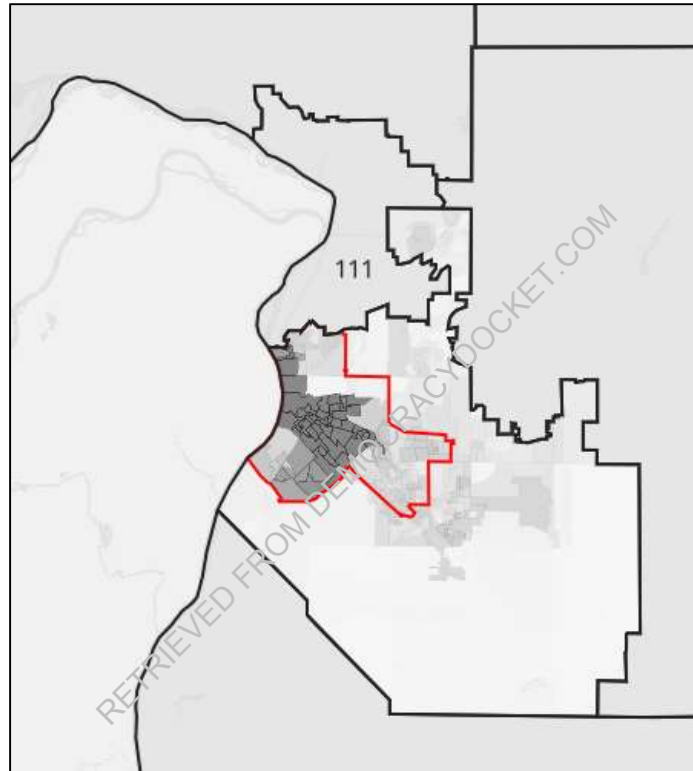
After creating remedial House District 114, the remaining territory must be re-constituted in two complete House Districts, as shown in Figure 17. The new remedial House District 114 is depicted in green and outlined in red. The black lines are the borders of the September Map House Districts.

Figure 17
Territory to be Reassembled into Neighboring House Districts
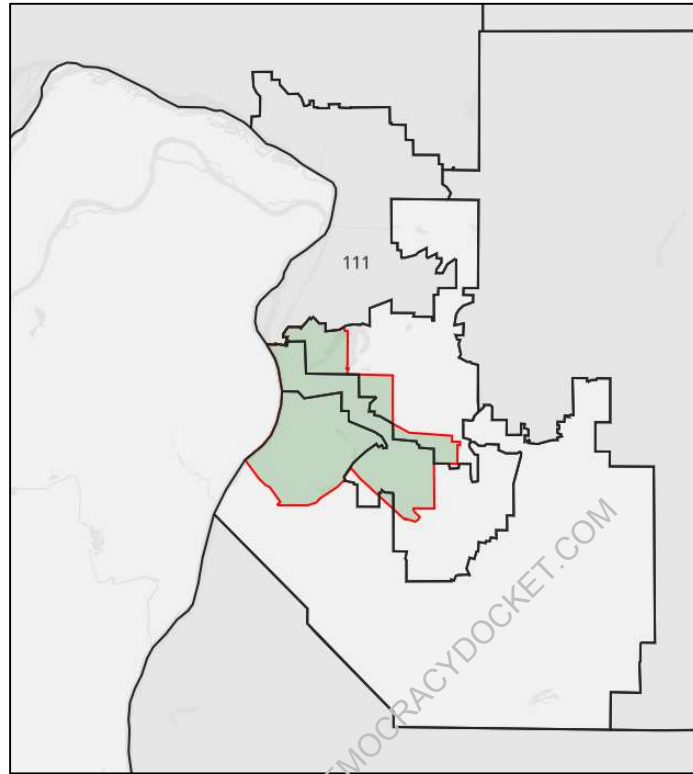
Figure 18 shows Plaintiffs' Remedial Map for House Districts 112, 113, and 114. The boundary between House Districts 112 and 113 extends from their intersection with House District 114 eastward, along generally the same roads in the area of O'Fallon that serve as a border between districts in the September Map. House District 112, however, requires additional territory in order to have a substantially equal population and therefore is allocated territory consisting of Mascoutah township. In deference to the September Map "starting point," Plaintiffs sought to preserve as much of the core of House District 112 as possible; 74% of the population of that district is unchanged from the September Map. [7]

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[7]   This population information can be derived from the Core Constituency Report attached as Exhibit E.

Figure 18
Plaintiffs' Remedial House Districts
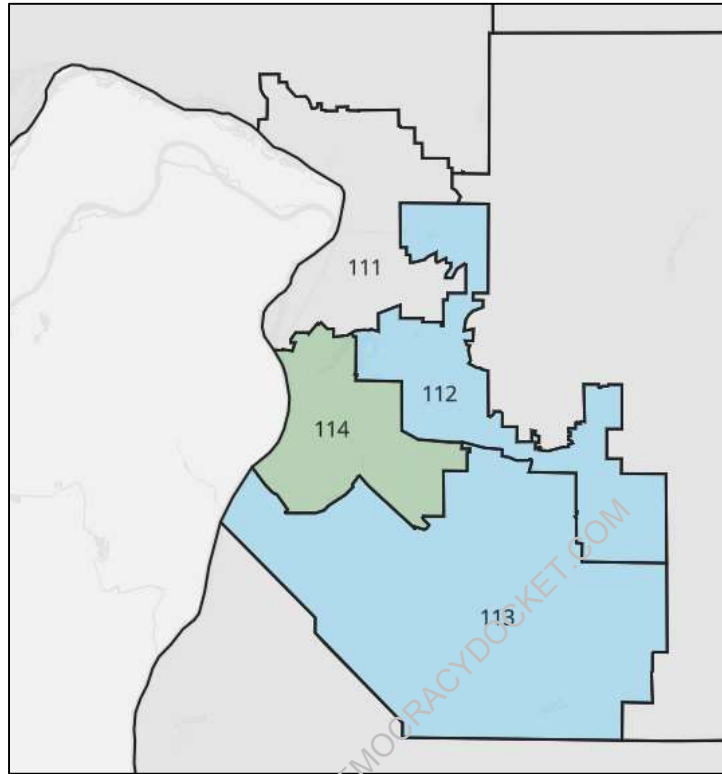
In summary and in contract to the September Map, the Remedial Map complies with the VRA and provides Latino and Black citizens with an opportunity to participate in the political process and to elect candidates of their choice. Therefore, the Court should enter an order adopting Plaintiffs' Remedial Map as the effective map of Illinois legislative districts for the next decade.

CONCLUSION

The General Assembly's September Map violates Section 2 of the VRA, dilutes the votes of minority citizens, and is invalid. The Court should therefore enter an order adopting Plaintiffs' Remedial Map as the effective map of Illinois legislative districts for the next decade. The Court can enter the order based on the record before it once briefing has been completed. If there are any questions remaining after the parties have completed their briefing, however, Plaintiffs suggest that the Court hold an evidentiary hearing or oral argument.

Dated: October 10, 2021

Respectfully submitted,

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Dolores Diaz, Felipe Luna Jr., Salvador
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EXHIBIT A

E hibit A
Plaintiffs' Remedial Map (Statewide)

A1
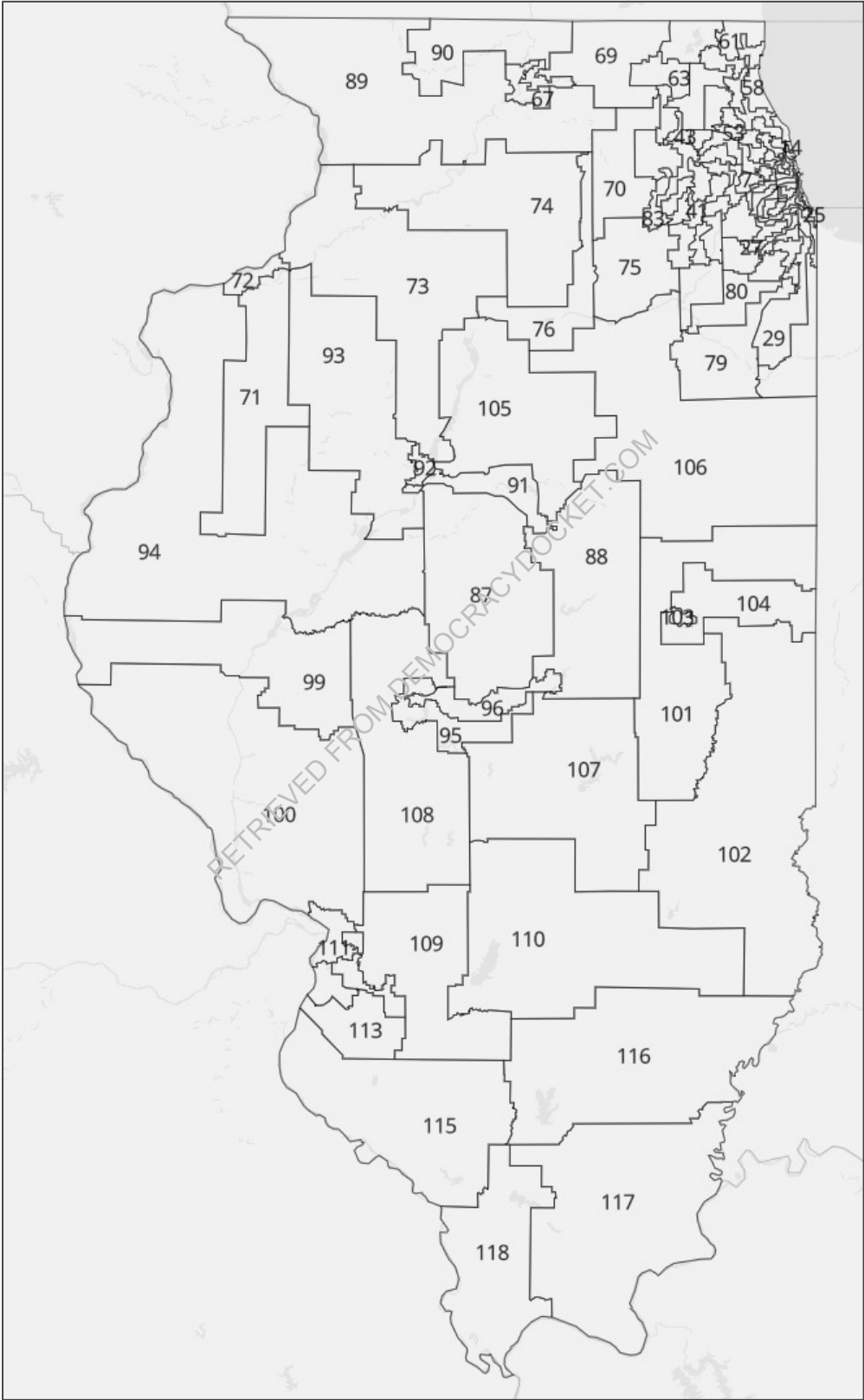
E hibit A
Plaintiffs' Remedial Map (Northeastern Region)
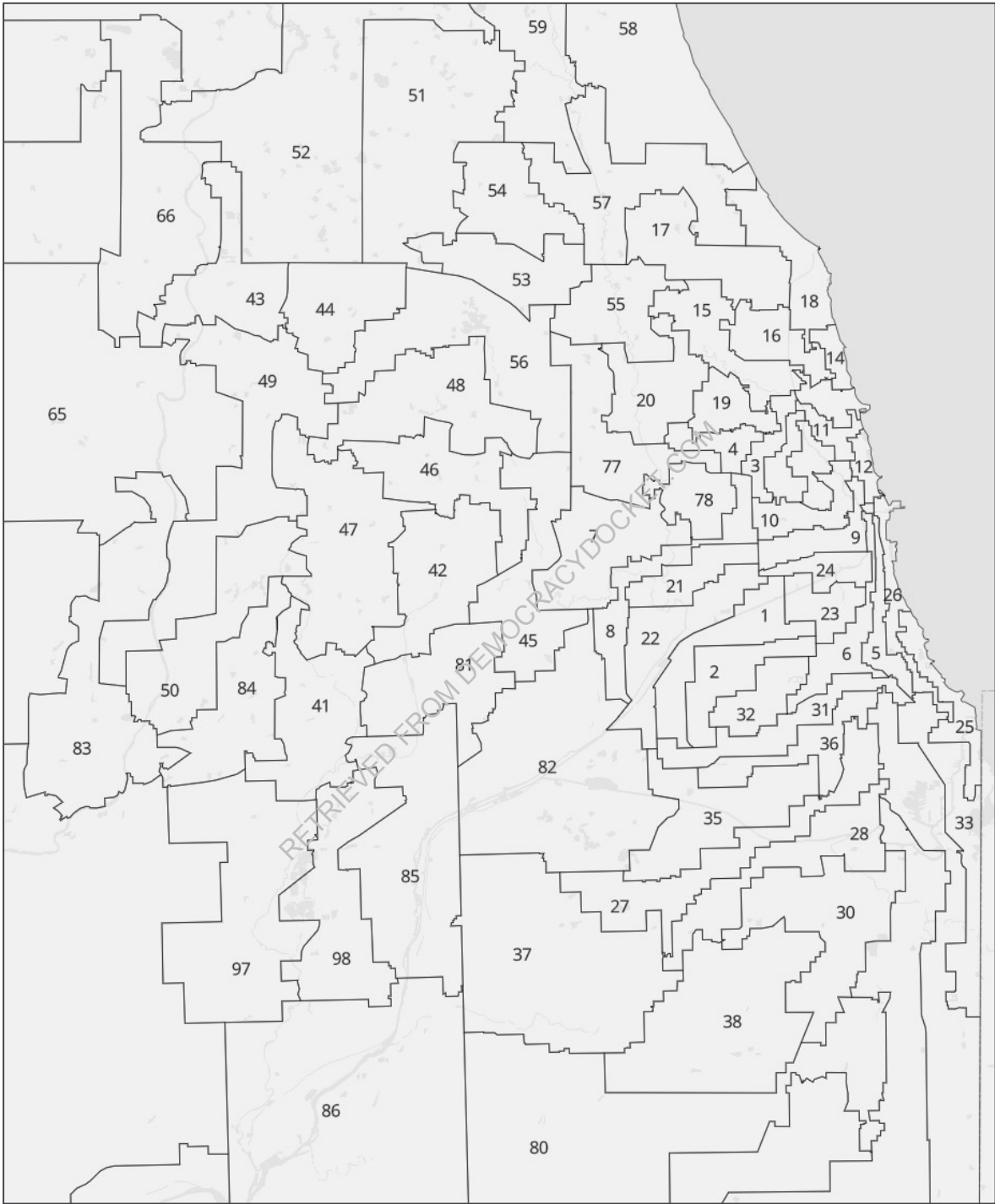
E hibit A
Plaintiffs' Remedial Map (Metro East Region)

EXHIBIT B

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS
EASTERN DIVISION

DAN MCCONCHIE, in his official capacity as Minority Leader of the Illinois Senate and individually as a registered voter, JIM DURKIN, in his official capacity as Minority Leader of the Illinois House of Representatives and individually as a registered voter, JAMES RIVERA, ANNA DE LA TORRE, DOLORES DIAZ, FELIPE LUNA JR., SALVADOR TREMILLO, CHRISTOPHER ROMERO, the REPUBLICAN CAUCUS OF THE ILLINOIS SENATE, the REPUBLICAN CAUCUS OF THE ILLINOIS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, and the ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN PARTY, Plaintiffs, vs. IAN K. LINNABARY, CASANDRA B. WATSON, WILLIAM J. CADIGAN, LAURA K. DONAHUE, CATHERINE S. MCCRORY, WILLIAM M. MCGUFFAGE, and RICK S. TERVEN, SR., in their official capacities as members of the Illinois State Board of Elections, EMANUEL CHRISTOPHER WELCH, in his official capacity as Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives, the OFFICE OF SPEAKER OF THE ILLINOIS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DON HARMON, in his official capacity as President of the Illinois Senate, and the OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE ILLINOIS SENATE, Defendants.	Case No. 1:21-cv-03091 Circuit Judge Michael B. Brennan Chief District Judge Jon E. DeGuilio District Judge Robert M. Dow, Jr. Three-Judge Court Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 2284(a)

EXPERT REPORT OF DR. JOWEI CHEN

I, Dr. Jowei Chen, upon my oath, declare and say as follows:

1.   I am over the age of eighteen (18) and competent to testify as to the matters set forth herein.

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2.   I am an associate professor in the Department of Political Science Research and associate professor at the Center for Political Studies of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, and a research associate at the Spatial Social Science Laboratory at Stanford University. I have a Bachelor of Arts in Ethics, Politics, and Economics from Yale University, a Master of Science in Statistics from Stanford University, and Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science from Stanford University.

3.   I have published academic papers on legislative districting and political geography in several political science journals, including the American Journal of Political Science and the American Political Science Review, and Election Law Journal. My academic areas of expertise include redistricting, racial politics, legislatures, legislative elections, political geography, geographic information systems (GIS) data, and spatial statistics. I perform computer simulations for legislative districting and to analyze political geography, elections, and redistricting.

4.   In the past four years, I have testified at deposition or at trial in the following cases: *Common Cause v. Rucho*, No. 16-cv-01026 (M.D.N.C. filed Aug. 5, 2016); *City of Greensboro v. Guilford Cty. Bd. of Elections*, No. 15-cv-00559 (M.D.N.C. filed July 13, 2015); *League of Women Voters v. Commonwealth*, No. 261. MD 2017 (Pa. Commw. Ct. filed June 15, 2017); *Georgia State Conference of the NAACP v. Georgia*, No. 17-cv-01397 (N.D. Ga. filed Apr. 20, 2017); *League of Women Voters of Michigan v. Johnson*, No. 17-cv-14148 (E.D. Mich. filed Dec. 22, 2017); *Whitford v. Gill*, No. 15-cv-421 (W.D. Wis. filed July 8, 2015); *Common Cause v. Lewis*, 18-CVS-014001 (N.C. Sup. Ct. filed Nov. 13, 2018); *Baroody v. City of Quincy*, No. 20-cv-00217 (N.D. Fla. filed Apr. 28, 2020).

5.   I have been retained by Plaintiffs in the above-captioned matter. My Curriculum Vitae is attached to this Declaration. I am being compensated $500 per hour for my work.

6. I performed the following analyses:

- Analyzed the racial and ethnic demographics and the geographic compactness of the Illinois General Assembly's August 31, 2021 Enacted House Plan.

- Analyzed the racial and ethnic demographics and the geographic compactness of the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan districts in Cook County, around Aurora (DuPage and Kane Counties), and around Metro East (East St. Louis).

- Produced maps identifying the portions of Cook County, Aurora, and Metro East in which the block-group-level Latino share of Voting Age Population exceeds 25%, based on the 2020 Decennial Census.

- Using ecological inference (EI), analyzed the racial and ethnic breakdown of electoral support for Latino-preferred candidates in Cook County and for Black-preferred candidates around Metro East (East St. Louis).

- Using these ecological inference (EI) analyses, predicted the electoral performance of a Latino-preferred candidate in the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan districts in Cook County.

- Using these same EI analyses, predicted the electoral performance of a Latino-preferred candidate in the challenged Cook County House districts in the August 31, 2021 Enacted Plan (Specifically: HD-1, 2, 3, 4, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 39, and 40).

7. **Summary of Findings:** I found that every district within the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan exhibits compactness scores that are within the range of district-level compactness scores of the 2021 Enacted Plan. The overall compactness scores of the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan are comparable to those of the Enacted Plan. Using estimates produced by ecological inference (EI) analyses of the 2018 Cook County Assessor Primary Election, I found that the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan contains ten districts in Cook County that would have favored the Latino-preferred candidate. By contrast, in these same regions of Cook County, the Enacted Plan contains only four comparable districts that would have favored the Latino-preferred candidate.

8. **Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan and the Enacted Plan:** Plaintiffs' counsel provided me with a Remedial Plan in the form of a block assignment file. I analyzed this block assignment file to produce the maps and the various demographic and compactness calculations described in

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this report. Plaintiffs' counsel also provided me with a shapefile of the Illinois General Assembly's August 31, 2021 Enacted House Plan (the "Enacted Plan"), which I similarly analyzed in this report. For each district in Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan and in the Enacted Plan, I calculated the Latino and the single-race Black share of the Voting Age Population (VAP) and of the Citizen Voting Age Population (CVAP).

9. The Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan contains a total of 14 House districts. Twelve of these districts are in Cook County, one district covers the Aurora area (DuPage and Kane Counties), and one district covers Metro East (Madison and St. Clair Counties). I found that all 14 of the House districts in the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan are within 0.17% of the ideal district population (108,580.6), as measured using the 2020 Census total population. Therefore, all 14 districts in the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan are within the population deviation range exhibited by the General Assembly's August 31, 2021 Enacted House Plan.

10. **2020 Census P.L. 94-171 Redistricting Data:** The racial and ethnic breakdowns of the VAP in this report are calculated from block-level 2020 Census data. After each decade's Census, the Bureau releases redistricting data summary files per Public Law (PL) 94-171 (the "PL 94-171 redistricting data"). These data files report each Census block's population count, and various racial and ethnic breakdowns of each block's population. The PL 94-171 redistricting data report these racial and ethnic counts for the Voting Age Population, but not for the Citizen Voting Age Population.

11. **American Community Survey (ACS) 5-Year Estimates:** The ACS is a continually ongoing survey that samples a small percentage of the US population. For each 5-year period (e.g., 2015-2019), the Census Bureau releases ACS estimates based on survey responses collected during the period. ACS estimates are often used to measure various population characteristics, such as a racial minority's share of the total population or Citizen

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Voting Age Population (CVAP). The ACS 5-Year estimates are released only at the level of Census block groups. I thus disaggregate the ACS 5-Year estimates down to the block level, to estimate the racial and ethnic breakdown of the CVAP in each district. It is common for experts to disaggregate ACS 5-Year block group population estimates in this manner.

12.   Table 1 reports the district-level populations and racial and ethnic characteristics of the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan districts in Cook County, around Aurora, and around Metro East. Specifically, each row reports the calculations for one district within the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan. Within each row, the second column reports the district's total population, the third and fourth columns report the Latino and the Black shares of the district's total population, the fifth and sixth rows report the Latino and the Black shares of the district's VAP, and the seventh and eighth rows report the Latino and the Black shares of the district's CVAP. Within Table 1, the districts in the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan are grouped by county or region. The Cook County districts (1, 2, 3, 4, 21, 22, 23, 24, 32, 39, 40, and 77), are listed first. Next, district 50 is around Aurora (DuPage and Kane County). Finally, district 114 is in Metro East (Madison and St. Clair Counties).

13.   Overall, Table 1 reports that the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan contains 11 districts in Cook County with a Latino CVAP over 50% and a Latino VAP over 55%. Additionally, the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan contains an Aurora district with a 62% Latino VAP and a Metro East district with a majority-Black district.

14.   Table 2 reports all of the same population calculations and racial and ethnic characteristics of all 118 House districts in the Enacted Plan.

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Table 1: Racial and Ethnic Demographics
Of Districts in Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan:

District:	Total Population (2020 Census)	Latino Share of 2020 Census Population:	Single-Race Black Share of 2020 Census Population:	Latino Share of 2020 Census VAP:	Single-Race Black Share of 2020 Census VAP:	Latino Share of 2015-2019 ACS CVAP:	Single-Race Black Share of 2015-2019 ACS CVAP:
			Cook County Districts:				
1	108,538	65.5%	5.7%	61.9%	5.8%	51.0%	7.9%
2	108,564	65.5%	3.2%	61.7%	3.3%	50.9%	4.6%
3	108,473	63.8%	7.6%	60.2%	7.7%	50.8%	9.3%
4	108,674	62.5%	2.9%	58.6%	2.8%	51.6%	2.5%
21	108,592	62.9%	6.3%	59.7%	6.2%	50.6%	6.3%
22	108,544	64.6%	4.0%	60.4%	4.0%	51.4%	5.1%
23	108,576	69.6%	8.2%	66.0%	9.3%	51.5%	17.3%
24	108,568	61.0%	4.7%	57.9%	4.7%	51.0%	5.7%
32	108,578	68.0%	10.1%	64.1%	10.7%	51.1%	15.8%
39	108,602	58.6%	10.2%	55.8%	9.8%	50.3%	11.1%
40	108,615	22.4%	5.1%	21.1%	4.7%	19.1%	5.2%
77	108,529	63.3%	3.6%	58.7%	3.7%	51.4%	3.0%
			Aurora District (DuPage and Kane Counties):				
50	108,634	66.5%	8.5%	62.0%	8.5%	46.8%	11.3%
			Metro East District (Madison and St. Clair Counties):				
114	108,395	5.9%	55.1%	4.9%	52.2%	2.5%	51.3%

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**Table 2: Racial and Ethnic Demographics
Of Districts in August 31, 2021 Enacted House Plan:**

District:	Total Population (2020 Census)	Latino Share of 2020 Census Population:	Single-Race Black Share of 2020 Census Population:	Latino Share of 2020 Census VAP:	Single-Race Black Share of 2020 Census VAP:	Latino Share of 2015-2019 ACS CVAP:	Single-Race Black Share of 2015-2019 ACS CVAP:
1	108,418	79.1%	5.5%	76.1%	5.9%	64.8%	9.6%
2	108,632	68.3%	3.8%	64.6%	3.8%	55.3%	4.1%
3	108,636	58.0%	4.8%	54.1%	4.6%	47.7%	4.9%
4	108,533	56.1%	12.9%	52.6%	12.6%	45.3%	15.9%
5	108,665	5.2%	56.8%	5.0%	52.8%	4.4%	54.2%
6	108,689	30.0%	46.7%	26.2%	46.5%	13.9%	58.4%
7	108,592	25.7%	42.5%	22.5%	43.4%	14.6%	48.4%
8	108,552	16.7%	49.4%	15.1%	50.4%	10.2%	54.7%
9	108,687	9.9%	46.3%	9.3%	41.6%	8.0%	46.1%
10	108,647	12.4%	43.0%	11.4%	40.1%	7.8%	43.3%
11	108,793	9.8%	4.4%	9.4%	4.4%	8.2%	3.6%
12	108,656	6.8%	5.4%	6.4%	5.3%	5.3%	5.4%
13	108,814	15.1%	12.9%	14.2%	12.0%	11.4%	9.7%
14	108,411	18.9%	21.3%	17.0%	20.1%	12.4%	19.2%
15	108,709	15.9%	3.3%	14.5%	2.9%	12.6%	2.4%
16	108,861	15.4%	10.4%	14.4%	9.7%	11.7%	8.4%
17	108,432	7.8%	4.6%	6.7%	4.3%	5.0%	3.7%
18	108,339	10.2%	14.3%	9.2%	14.1%	7.5%	13.4%
19	108,549	29.9%	3.0%	27.3%	2.8%	24.0%	2.1%
20	108,620	21.4%	1.6%	19.0%	1.4%	16.1%	1.1%
21	108,781	55.6%	6.8%	51.7%	6.8%	42.7%	7.2%
22	108,518	67.1%	2.1%	62.8%	2.1%	52.7%	2.6%
23	108,507	86.6%	6.1%	84.4%	7.3%	71.1%	16.5%
24	108,608	51.4%	4.0%	48.5%	3.9%	43.8%	3.8%
25	108,487	19.8%	56.3%	18.1%	55.5%	16.6%	56.9%
26	108,741	5.8%	51.5%	5.5%	47.6%	4.1%	52.6%
27	108,605	7.6%	53.5%	6.5%	52.9%	4.9%	53.2%
28	108,557	17.6%	46.5%	15.5%	46.3%	11.0%	49.9%
29	108,520	7.1%	59.9%	6.1%	58.4%	3.9%	58.0%
30	108,525	18.6%	52.8%	15.7%	52.6%	9.2%	55.7%
31	108,638	12.8%	52.5%	11.2%	53.0%	8.8%	57.0%
32	108,536	34.4%	49.7%	31.2%	51.6%	19.3%	61.6%
33	108,624	23.6%	63.1%	20.8%	63.9%	15.8%	66.0%
34	108,429	10.0%	68.9%	8.6%	68.5%	5.0%	68.1%
35	108,568	10.4%	21.6%	8.7%	21.8%	7.0%	21.9%
36	108,750	16.2%	13.7%	14.1%	13.7%	11.4%	14.1%

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37	108,575	7.6%	2.6%	6.4%	2.3%	5.5%	1.2%
38	108,601	7.0%	49.2%	5.8%	48.2%	4.2%	49.2%
39	108,434	55.3%	4.0%	51.6%	3.8%	45.7%	3.1%
40	108,660	45.6%	4.8%	42.8%	4.8%	34.7%	4.9%
41	108,579	9.2%	6.0%	8.0%	5.7%	5.7%	5.7%
42	108,677	8.7%	5.4%	7.6%	5.2%	5.9%	4.2%
43	108,591	56.4%	7.2%	51.2%	6.6%	35.0%	7.7%
44	108,540	30.2%	6.1%	26.9%	5.5%	19.6%	5.8%
45	108,585	11.1%	3.4%	9.9%	3.2%	7.6%	2.8%
46	108,562	27.0%	6.7%	23.8%	6.1%	15.1%	6.9%
47	108,621	9.1%	4.4%	7.8%	4.0%	4.8%	3.9%
48	108,568	14.3%	2.7%	12.4%	2.4%	9.0%	2.3%
49	108,753	27.0%	5.1%	23.9%	4.5%	16.4%	3.8%
50	108,660	53.2%	8.3%	48.8%	8.3%	36.8%	9.5%
51	108,489	7.1%	1.9%	6.2%	1.7%	3.8%	1.6%
52	108,647	11.4%	1.9%	9.6%	1.5%	6.2%	1.4%
53	108,563	16.3%	3.3%	14.2%	3.1%	8.4%	2.9%
54	108,589	16.7%	2.8%	14.0%	2.6%	8.8%	1.9%
55	108,686	13.5%	3.1%	12.1%	2.9%	10.2%	3.3%
56	108,413	19.7%	4.2%	16.9%	3.8%	11.8%	3.5%
57	108,417	16.3%	1.9%	14.1%	1.7%	8.8%	1.9%
58	108,398	10.4%	4.3%	9.7%	4.6%	6.5%	3.3%
59	108,549	21.3%	2.8%	18.9%	2.7%	11.9%	2.5%
60	108,705	54.5%	19.7%	50.3%	19.9%	31.2%	26.7%
61	108,652	26.6%	14.1%	23.2%	12.8%	14.3%	11.7%
62	108,565	30.6%	5.2%	27.3%	4.5%	16.9%	4.2%
63	108,529	16.1%	1.9%	13.6%	1.5%	8.2%	1.3%
64	108,575	11.1%	2.4%	9.0%	1.9%	6.3%	1.4%
65	108,537	11.5%	2.5%	9.8%	2.2%	7.2%	2.3%
66	108,650	19.8%	4.1%	16.9%	3.6%	11.8%	2.4%
67	108,458	19.4%	24.4%	16.5%	21.5%	10.2%	20.2%
68	108,450	20.9%	13.0%	17.5%	10.7%	11.3%	10.2%
69	108,538	16.3%	2.4%	13.7%	1.9%	9.0%	2.1%
70	108,589	10.8%	2.9%	9.0%	2.4%	6.6%	2.3%
71	108,735	7.3%	9.7%	6.1%	8.2%	4.5%	5.7%
72	108,580	16.2%	15.1%	13.7%	12.7%	10.6%	10.1%
73	108,553	3.4%	2.1%	2.7%	1.5%	1.7%	0.9%
74	108,476	14.7%	3.8%	12.2%	3.4%	9.2%	2.8%
75	108,653	14.5%	5.2%	12.3%	4.8%	9.5%	4.6%
76	108,628	13.9%	9.2%	11.7%	7.8%	7.7%	6.8%
77	108,704	57.9%	3.4%	52.7%	3.4%	43.6%	3.0%
78	108,415	16.5%	31.2%	14.8%	32.0%	10.5%	32.6%
79	108,475	10.7%	27.3%	8.8%	25.3%	5.7%	23.3%

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80	108,843	17.9%	27.8%	15.4%	27.4%	11.1%	27.6%
81	108,489	8.0%	5.1%	6.8%	4.8%	5.8%	4.5%
82	108,661	8.8%	3.9%	7.5%	3.4%	6.4%	4.0%
83	108,736	23.5%	7.4%	20.6%	6.8%	14.3%	6.1%
84	108,422	20.7%	11.9%	18.7%	11.5%	15.4%	12.1%
85	108,384	26.9%	15.6%	23.3%	15.2%	14.9%	15.8%
86	108,572	34.7%	17.3%	30.4%	16.9%	18.5%	19.4%
87	108,650	2.6%	2.8%	2.1%	2.5%	1.8%	2.6%
88	108,513	3.6%	5.4%	2.9%	4.5%	1.8%	4.0%
89	108,566	5.6%	2.0%	4.4%	1.7%	2.3%	0.6%
90	108,525	6.6%	8.0%	5.1%	6.4%	3.1%	5.1%
91	108,488	6.8%	12.7%	5.8%	10.8%	3.7%	8.4%
92	108,499	7.2%	32.6%	6.2%	27.8%	3.8%	25.1%
93	108,708	3.8%	3.2%	3.1%	2.5%	1.9%	2.1%
94	108,580	2.0%	2.0%	1.8%	1.8%	1.2%	1.7%
95	108,730	2.6%	11.1%	2.2%	8.9%	1.5%	7.1%
96	108,426	3.4%	33.9%	2.9%	28.8%	2.0%	23.8%
97	108,719	17.5%	9.9%	15.8%	9.2%	13.7%	9.3%
98	108,505	25.7%	15.8%	22.6%	14.9%	17.2%	14.2%
99	108,582	4.7%	7.5%	4.0%	6.6%	2.3%	6.2%
100	108,707	1.5%	1.8%	1.2%	1.4%	0.8%	1.1%
101	108,583	4.7%	3.3%	4.0%	2.8%	2.6%	2.1%
102	108,586	1.9%	2.8%	1.7%	2.8%	1.3%	2.9%
103	108,553	10.1%	21.8%	9.2%	18.1%	5.8%	17.1%
104	108,612	6.7%	17.8%	5.5%	14.7%	3.3%	14.5%
105	108,658	3.7%	2.8%	2.9%	2.4%	2.1%	2.3%
106	108,394	7.5%	1.9%	5.9%	1.4%	3.8%	0.8%
107	108,548	2.3%	1.2%	2.1%	1.0%	0.7%	0.9%
108	108,600	1.6%	2.2%	1.3%	1.9%	0.9%	1.7%
109	108,548	3.0%	2.8%	2.7%	2.6%	1.8%	2.3%
110	108,564	2.2%	4.2%	2.0%	3.8%	1.1%	3.7%
111	108,642	4.1%	11.8%	3.4%	9.9%	1.7%	8.0%
112	108,602	6.8%	16.8%	5.7%	15.5%	3.4%	13.6%
113	108,474	5.5%	34.0%	4.6%	30.9%	3.7%	25.4%
114	108,384	3.1%	36.5%	2.4%	34.7%	1.5%	38.0%
115	108,630	2.8%	5.9%	2.4%	5.8%	1.7%	6.6%
116	108,536	1.8%	3.9%	1.4%	3.1%	1.3%	3.1%
117	108,516	2.1%	4.6%	1.9%	4.3%	1.0%	3.8%
118	108,520	4.4%	12.4%	3.8%	10.9%	2.7%	11.8%

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15.   **Measuring District Compactness:** For each district within both the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan and the Enacted Plan, I measured the district's compactness using two commonly-used quantitative measures. I first measure each district's Polsby-Popper score. The Polsby-Popper score for each individual district is calculated as the ratio of the district's area to the area of a hypothetical circle whose circumference is identical to the length of the district's perimeter; thus, higher Polsby-Popper scores indicate greater district compactness. Additionally, the Polsby-Popper score for an entire districting plan is calculated as the average score of the individual districts within the plan.

16.   Second, I calculate the Reock score of the districts within each plan. The Reock score for each individual district is calculated as the ratio of the district's area to the area of the smallest bounding circle that can be drawn to completely contain the district. Much like the Polsby-Popper score, a higher Reock score indicates a more geographically compact district. Similarly, the Reock score for an entire plan is calculated as the average Reock score of the individual districts within the plan.

17.   Table 3 reports all of the district-level calculations for the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan districts in Cook County, around Aurora, and around Metro East. Specifically, each row reports the calculations for one district within the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan. Within each row, the second and third columns report the Polsby-Popper and Reock compactness scores for the district. This Table reports that all 14 of the districts in the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan exhibit a Reock score ranging from 0.194 to 0.463 and a Polsby-Popper score ranging from 0.187 to 0.409.

18.   Table 4 reports the same compactness calculations (Reock score and Polsby-Popper score) for all 118 House districts in the Enacted Plan.

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Table 3: Compactness Scores of Districts in Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan:

District Number:	Reock Score:	Polsby-Popper Score:
Cook County Districts:		
1	0.206	0.206
2	0.235	0.277
3	0.240	0.187
4	0.240	0.241
21	0.204	0.301
22	0.207	0.242
23	0.459	0.409
24	0.194	0.290
32	0.328	0.400
39	0.353	0.248
40	0.388	0.241
77	0.245	0.223
Aurora District (DuPage and Kane Counties):		
50	0.276	0.278
Metro East District (Madison and St. Clair Counties):		
114	0.463	0.370
Plan Average:	0.288	0.280

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Table 4: Compactness Scores of Districts in August 31, 2021 Enacted House Plan:

District:	Reock Score:	Polsby-Popper Score:
1	0.151	0.147
2	0.315	0.295
3	0.095	0.124
4	0.127	0.179
5	0.111	0.132
6	0.181	0.149
7	0.366	0.307
8	0.129	0.104
9	0.214	0.208
10	0.293	0.186
11	0.278	0.202
12	0.362	0.292
13	0.269	0.195
14	0.333	0.335
15	0.235	0.168
16	0.275	0.246
17	0.291	0.294
18	0.255	0.231
19	0.386	0.262
20	0.498	0.24
21	0.303	0.126
22	0.45	0.535
23	0.311	0.286
24	0.498	0.197
25	0.143	0.128
26	0.079	0.069
27	0.102	0.097
28	0.137	0.137
29	0.238	0.235
30	0.372	0.199
31	0.105	0.099
32	0.075	0.1
33	0.134	0.138
34	0.167	0.175
35	0.159	0.198
36	0.184	0.246
37	0.495	0.452
38	0.369	0.37
39	0.167	0.21
40	0.314	0.225

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41	0.437	0.237
42	0.412	0.362
43	0.338	0.214
44	0.514	0.507
45	0.347	0.195
46	0.257	0.223
47	0.446	0.251
48	0.266	0.29
49	0.355	0.146
50	0.6	0.451
51	0.519	0.327
52	0.288	0.228
53	0.217	0.282
54	0.388	0.332
55	0.484	0.216
56	0.153	0.145
57	0.278	0.152
58	0.444	0.33
59	0.257	0.16
60	0.381	0.176
61	0.452	0.293
62	0.31	0.209
63	0.405	0.35
64	0.393	0.366
65	0.517	0.378
66	0.347	0.253
67	0.372	0.181
68	0.196	0.13
69	0.336	0.288
70	0.331	0.328
71	0.274	0.313
72	0.206	0.299
73	0.391	0.269
74	0.328	0.302
75	0.602	0.483
76	0.207	0.179
77	0.273	0.21
78	0.462	0.336
79	0.297	0.274
80	0.168	0.168
81	0.446	0.326
82	0.467	0.331
83	0.291	0.192

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84	0.42	0.405
85	0.429	0.333
86	0.42	0.471
87	0.614	0.572
88	0.515	0.366
89	0.191	0.2
90	0.231	0.268
91	0.131	0.173
92	0.49	0.247
93	0.369	0.336
94	0.37	0.194
95	0.188	0.104
96	0.112	0.124
97	0.545	0.299
98	0.4	0.232
99	0.209	0.231
100	0.366	0.43
101	0.285	0.199
102	0.442	0.293
103	0.401	0.313
104	0.273	0.204
105	0.519	0.342
106	0.35	0.293
107	0.552	0.489
108	0.418	0.302
109	0.422	0.272
110	0.352	0.368
111	0.398	0.22
112	0.353	0.17
113	0.239	0.166
114	0.441	0.237
115	0.417	0.421
116	0.321	0.35
117	0.496	0.313
118	0.451	0.303
Plan Average:	**0.327**	**0.258**

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19.   For each of the three regions (Cook County, Aurora, and Metro East), Figures 1 through 6 compare the compactness of the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan districts to the Enacted Plan districts in that same geographic area. Specifically, Figure 1 compares the Cook County districts in the two plans with respect to their Polsby-Popper scores.

20.   Within Figure 1, the left column contains in red 12 numbers depicting the district numbers of the 12 Cook County districts in the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan. These 12 districts are aligned along the vertical axis according to their Polsby-Popper scores, with more compact districts placed higher in the Figure. Overall, these 12 Cook County districts in the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan have an average Polsby-Popper score of 0.27.

21.   Next, the middle column of Figure 1 visualizes the Polsby-Popper scores for the comparable Cook County districts from the Enacted Plan. Specifically, this middle column contains the 12 Cook County districts from the Enacted Plan identified by the following criteria: 1) The district contains at least 100,000 residents in Cook County; 2) The district contains a Latino VAP of 25% or higher (2020 Census); and 3) The district has a higher Latino VAP than its Black VAP (2020 Census). These three criteria led me to identify the following 12 Enacted Plan districts, which are listed in the middle column of Figure 1: HD- 1, 2, 3, 4,19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 39, 40, and 44. These 12 districts are aligned vertically in the middle column according to their Polsby-Popper scores. Finally, the right column in the Figure contains all 118 districts in the Enacted Plan, aligned according to their Polsby-Popper scores.

22.   Overall, Figure 1 illustrates that in Cook County, the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan districts have Polsby-Popper scores that are overall similar to the comparable Cook County districts in the Enacted Plan. The average Polsby-Popper score of the 12 Cook County districts in the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan is slightly higher than the comparable 12 districts in the Enacted

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Plan (0.27 versus 0.26), and none of the Remedial Plan districts have a lower Polsby-Popper score than the lowest score among the Enacted Plan districts.

23.   Figure 2 presents similar comparisons of the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan and the Enacted Plan, except that in this Figure, district compactness is measured using the Reock score, rather than the Polsby-Popper score. Overall, Figure 1 and Figure 2 illustrate that the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan districts within Cook County are comparable to the Cook County districts in the Enacted Plan. Using either the Polsby-Popper or the Reock measure of compactness, every single one of the 12 Cook County districts in the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan is more geographically compact than least-compact district from the Enacted Plan.

24.   Figures 3 and 4 present similar comparisons for the Aurora-area districts in the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan and the Enacted Plan, while Figures 5 and 6 present similar comparisons for the Metro East districts in the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan and the Enacted Plan. Although the Aurora-area district (District 50) in the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan has lower compactness scores than some of the Aurora-area districts in the Enacted Plan, it is nevertheless still comparable to and within the range of compactness scores of the 118 districts in the Enacted Plan. Finally, Figures 5 and 6 reveal that District 114 (Metro East) of the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan is more compact than the Metro East-area districts in the Enacted Plan (HD-113 and HD-114).

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Figure 1: Comparison of Enacted Plan Districts to Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan Districts in Cook County on Polsby-Popper Score:
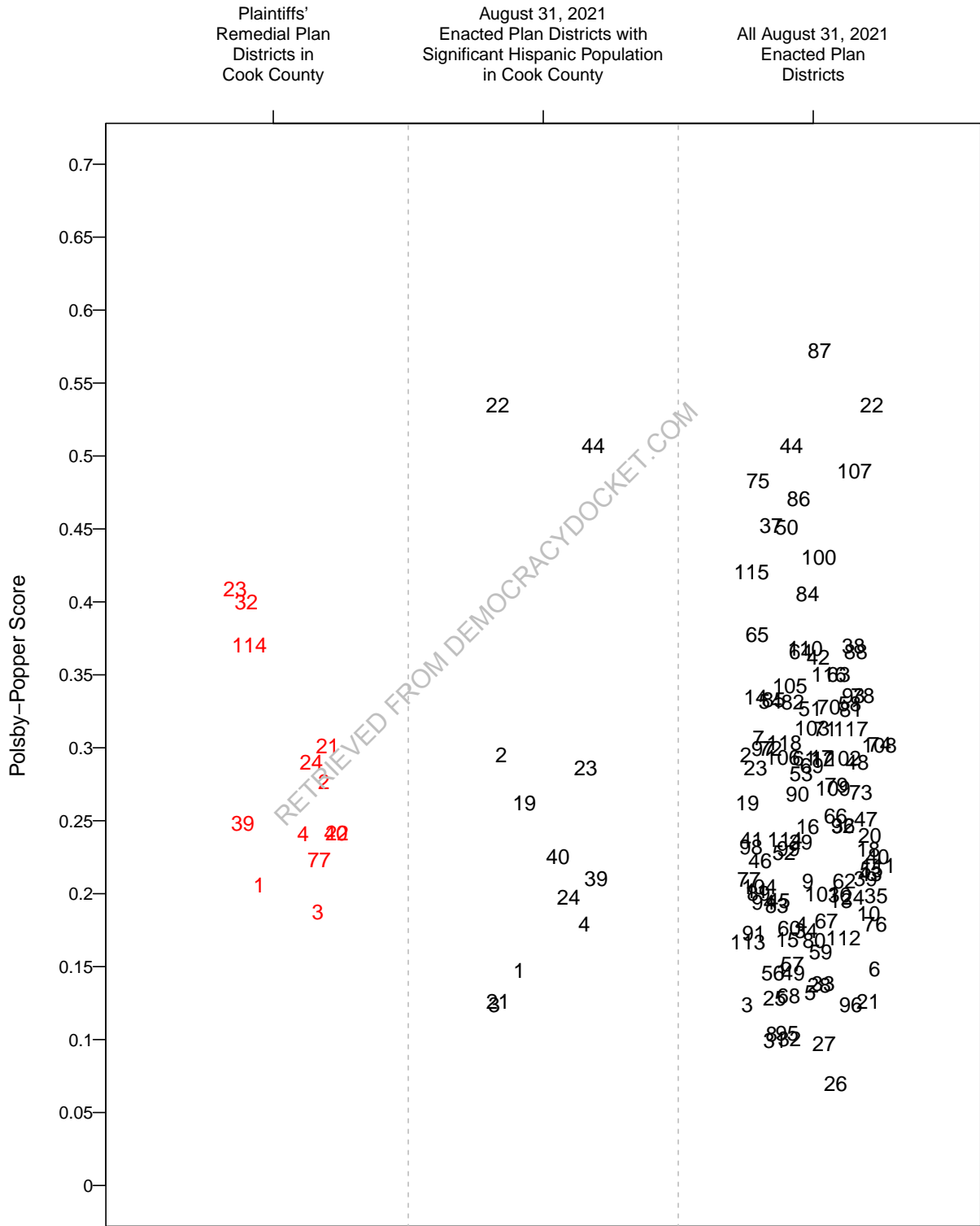
Figure 2: Comparison of Enacted Plan Districts to Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan Districts in Cook County on Reock Score:

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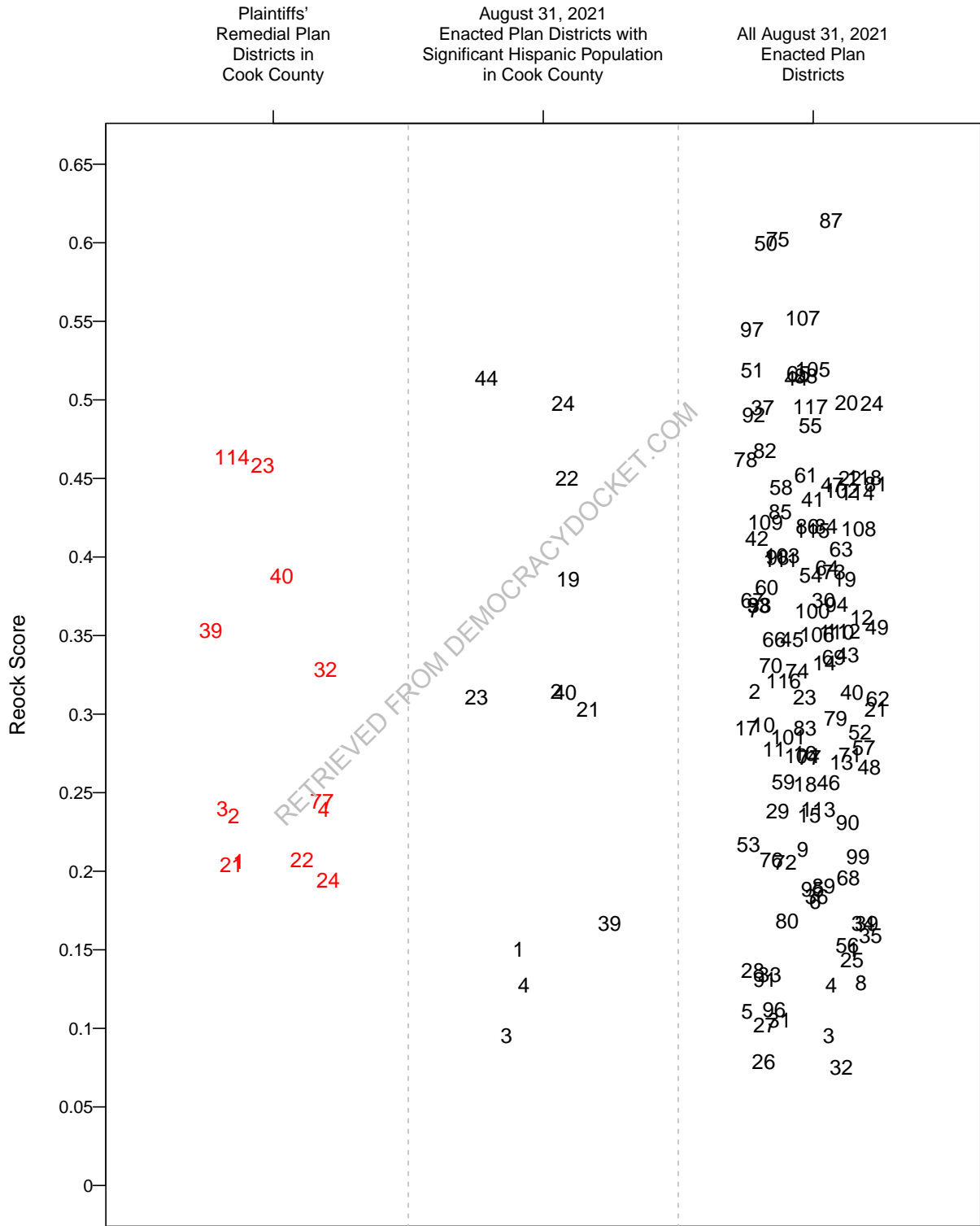
Figure 3: Comparison of Enacted Plan Districts to Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan District around Aurora on Polsby-Popper Score:
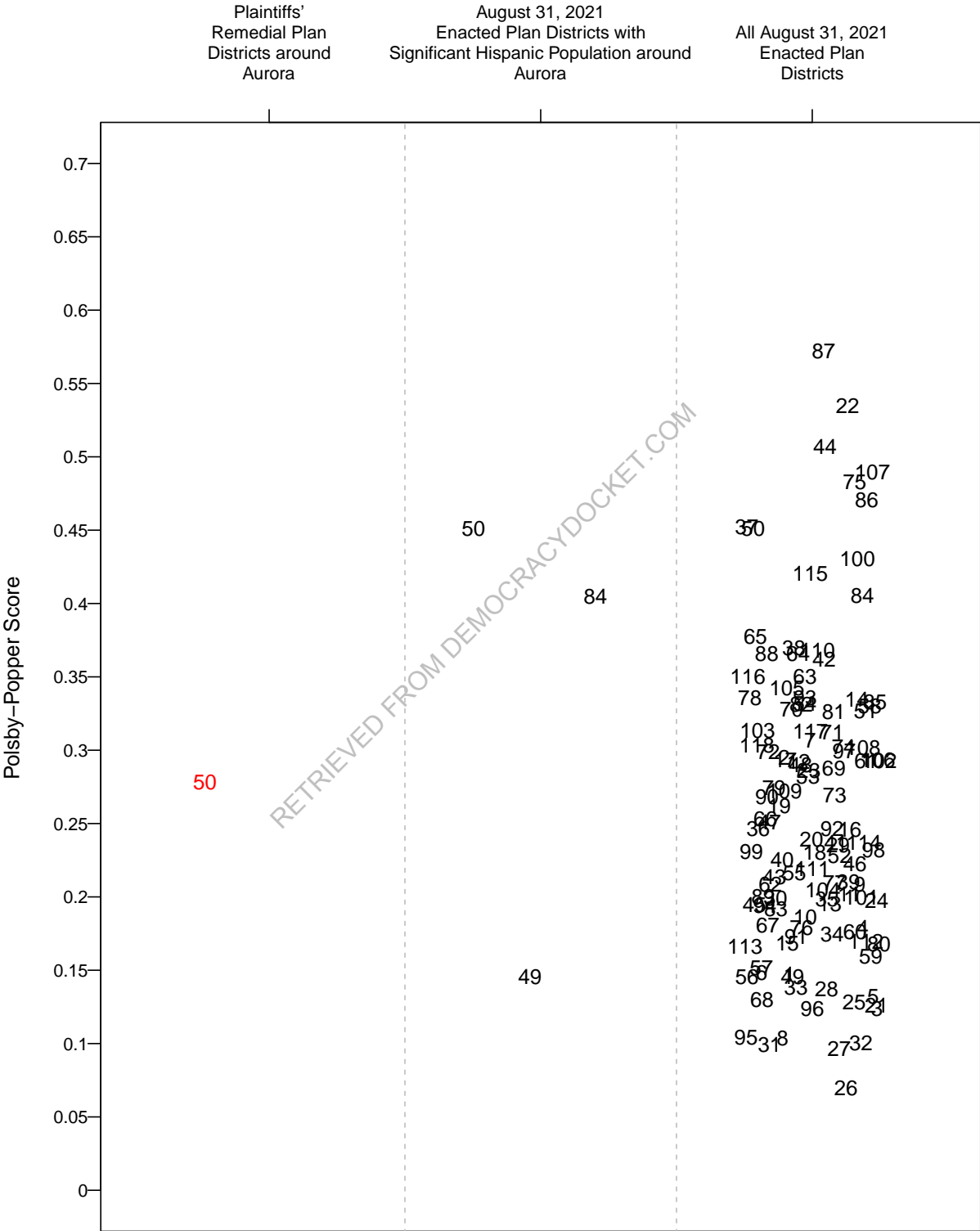
Figure 4: Comparison of Enacted Plan Districts to Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan District around Aurora on Reock Score:
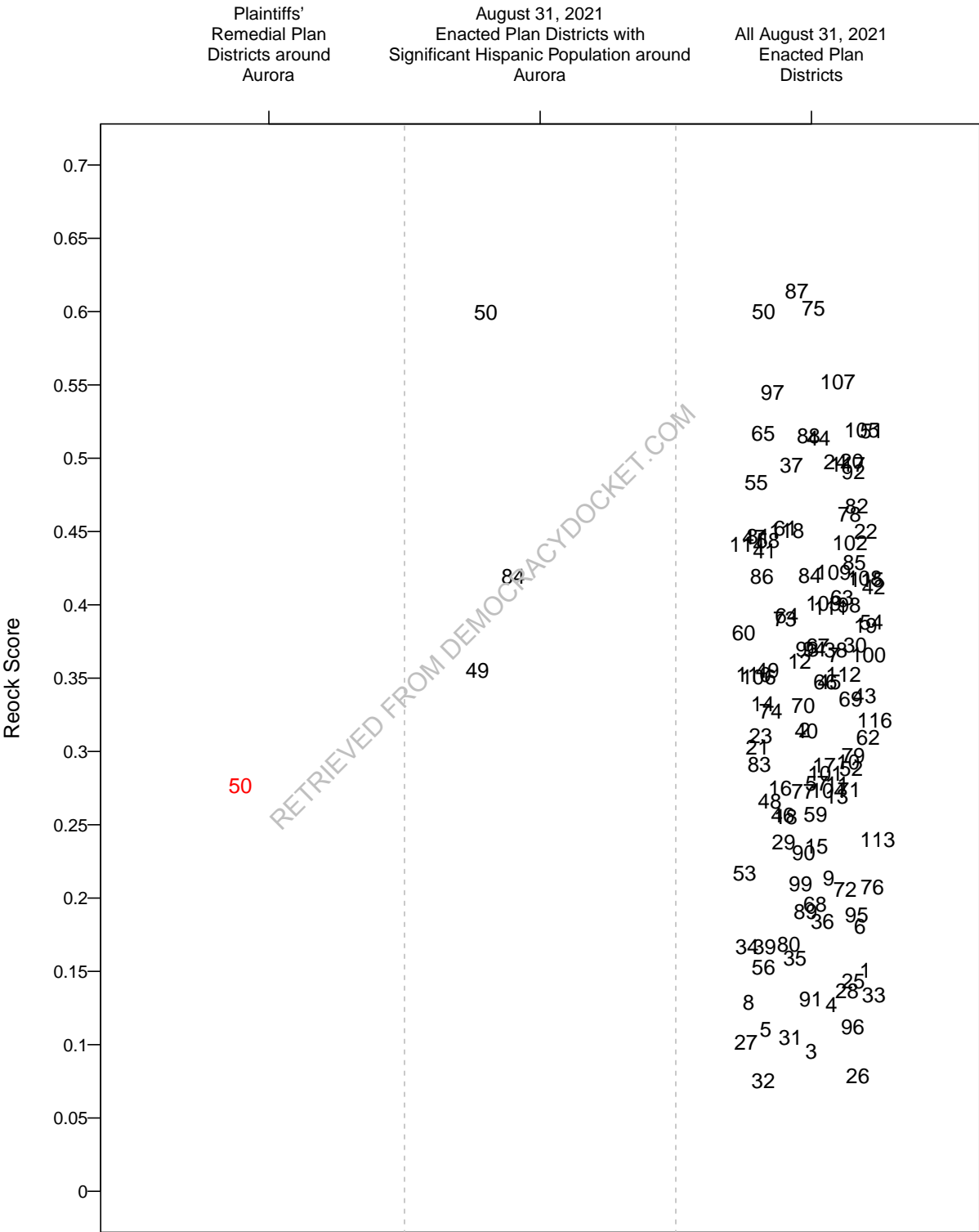
Figure 5: Comparison of Enacted Plan Districts to Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan Districts in Metro East on Polsby-Popper Score:
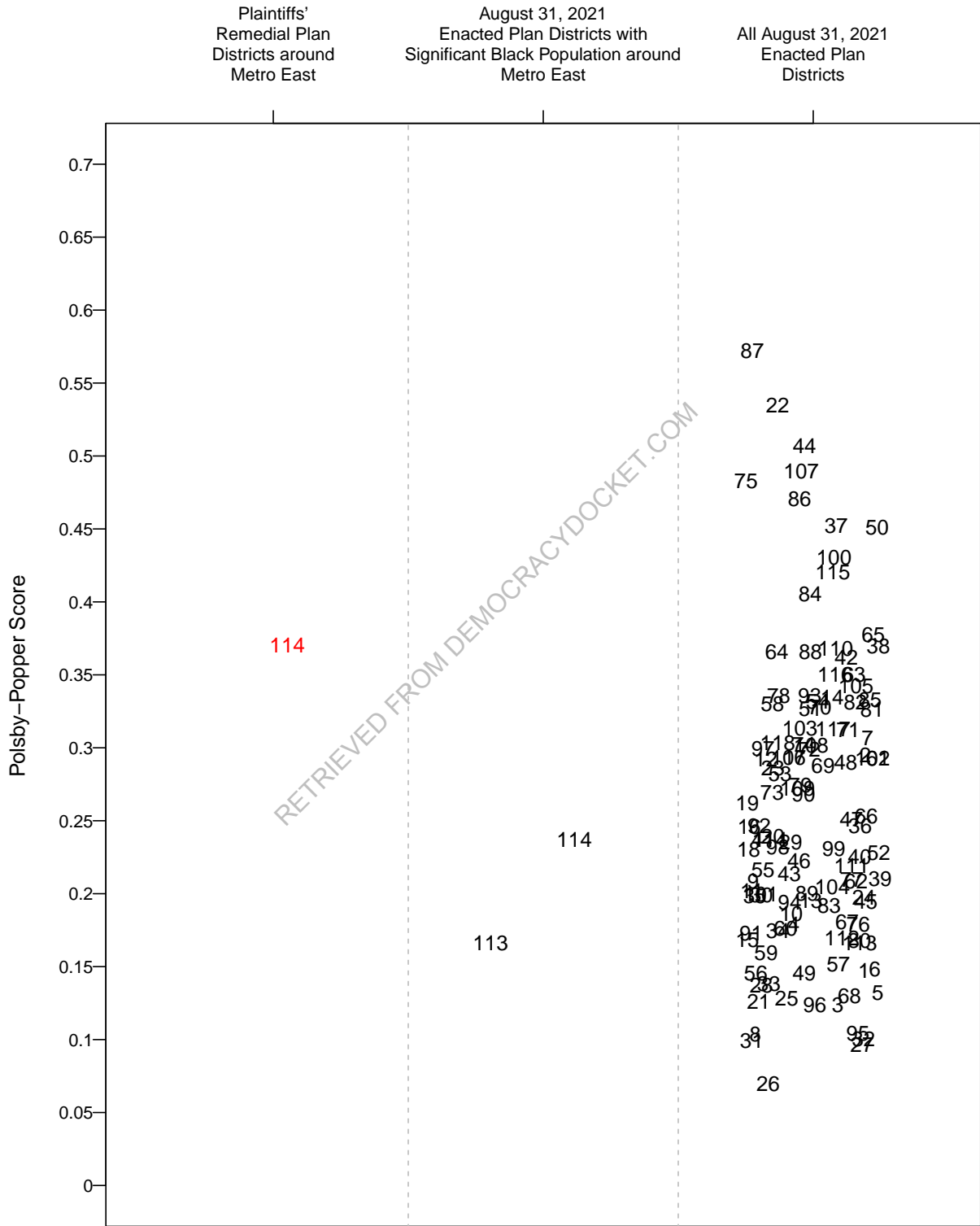
Figure 6: Comparison of Enacted Plan Districts to Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan Districts in Metro East on Reock Score:
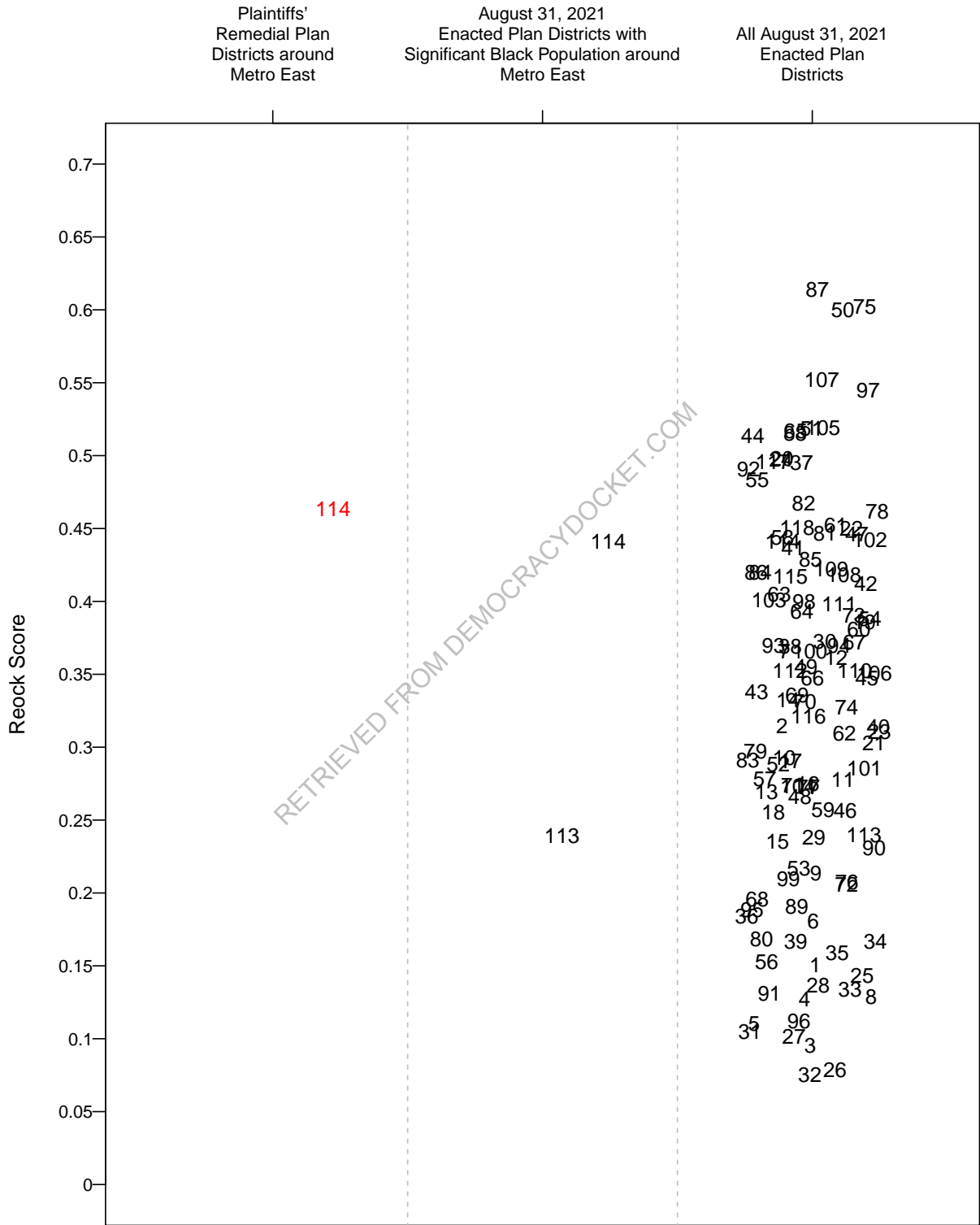
25.   Figures 7 through 11 present a series of maps identifying the areas of Cook County and Aurora (DuPage and Kane Counties) in which the block-group-level Latino share of Voting Age Population exceeds 25%, based on the 2020 Decennial Census. Figures 12 and 13 present similar maps identifying the block groups around Metro East in which the Black share of Voting Age Population exceeds 25%.

26.   Specifically, Figure 7 presents a block-group-level map of Cook County in which orange shading identifies block groups in which Latino VAP exceeds 25%. This map generally illustrates that the Latino population in Cook County is geographically concentrated in a number of regions, including Northwest and Southwest Chicago and Western Cook County.

27.   Figure 8 presents the same map identifying block groups with over 25% Latino VAP. However, the red lines and red numbers in this map identify the ten Cook County districts in the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan. This map demonstrates that the 12 districts in the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan largely cover the three main areas geographically concentrated Latino population in Cook County.

28.   Figure 9 presents the same block-group-level map of Cook County. However, in this map, the red lines and red numbers in this map identify the August 31, 2021 Enacted Plan's districts identified using the criteria described earlier: 1) The district contains at least 100,000 residents in Cook County; 2) The district contains a Latino VAP of 25% or higher (2020 Census); and 3) The district has a higher Latino VAP than its Black VAP (2020 Census).

29.   Figures 10 and 11 present a map of Aurora identifying block groups with over 25% Latino VAP. In Figure 11, the red lines identify the Aurora district (District 50) in the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan. In Figure 12, the red lines and red numbers identify the various districts from the August 31, 2021 Enacted Plan around Aurora.

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30.   Finally, Figures 13 and 14 present a map of Metro East (East St. Louis) identifying block groups with over 25% single-race Black VAP. In Figure 14, the red lines indicate the boundaries of District 114 in the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan.

Figure 7:

August 31 Enacted Plan Districts in Cook County
(Light red shading indicates block groups with over 25% Hispanic VAP)
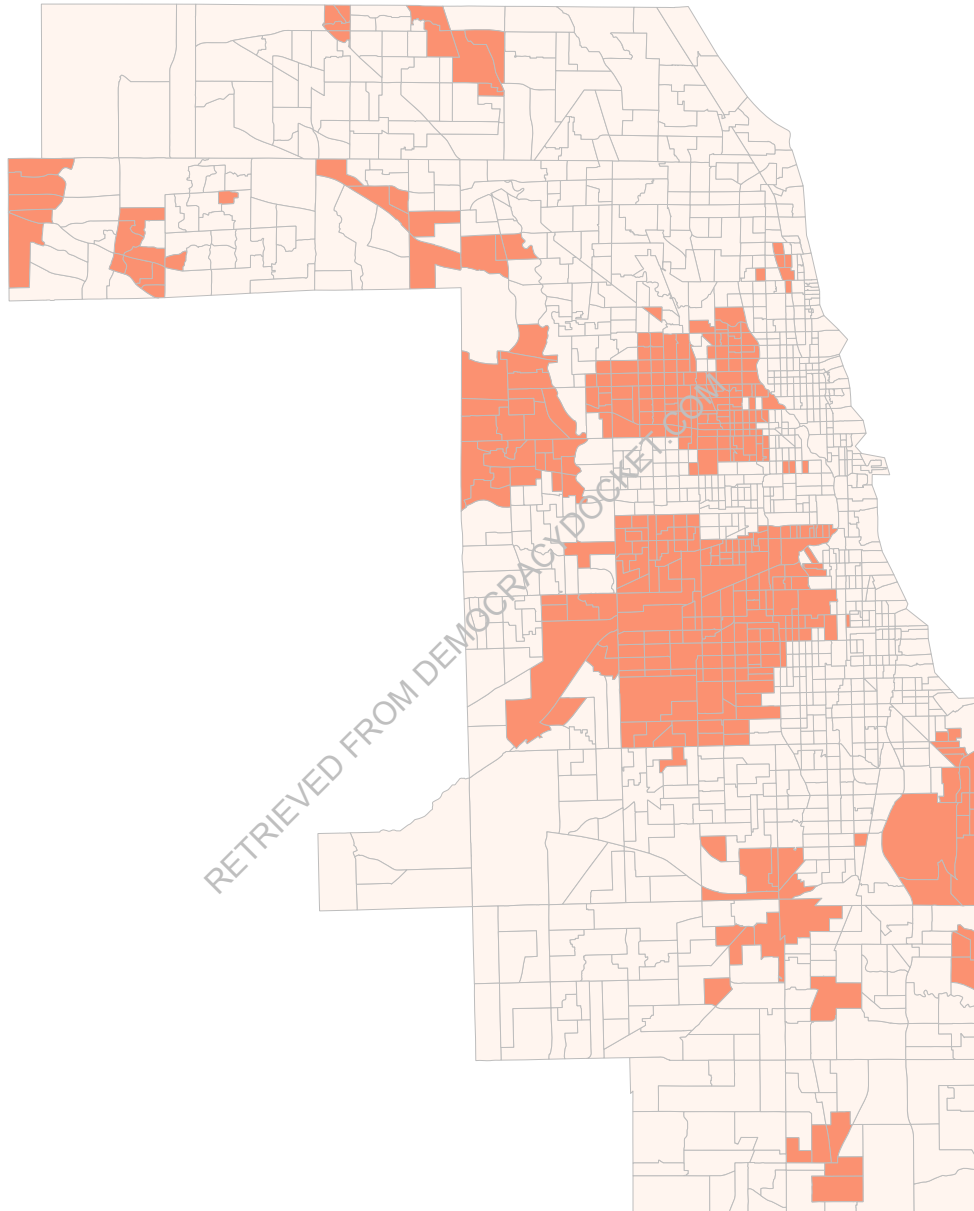
Figure 8:

Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan Districts in Cook County
(Light red shading indicates block groups with over 25% Hispanic VAP)
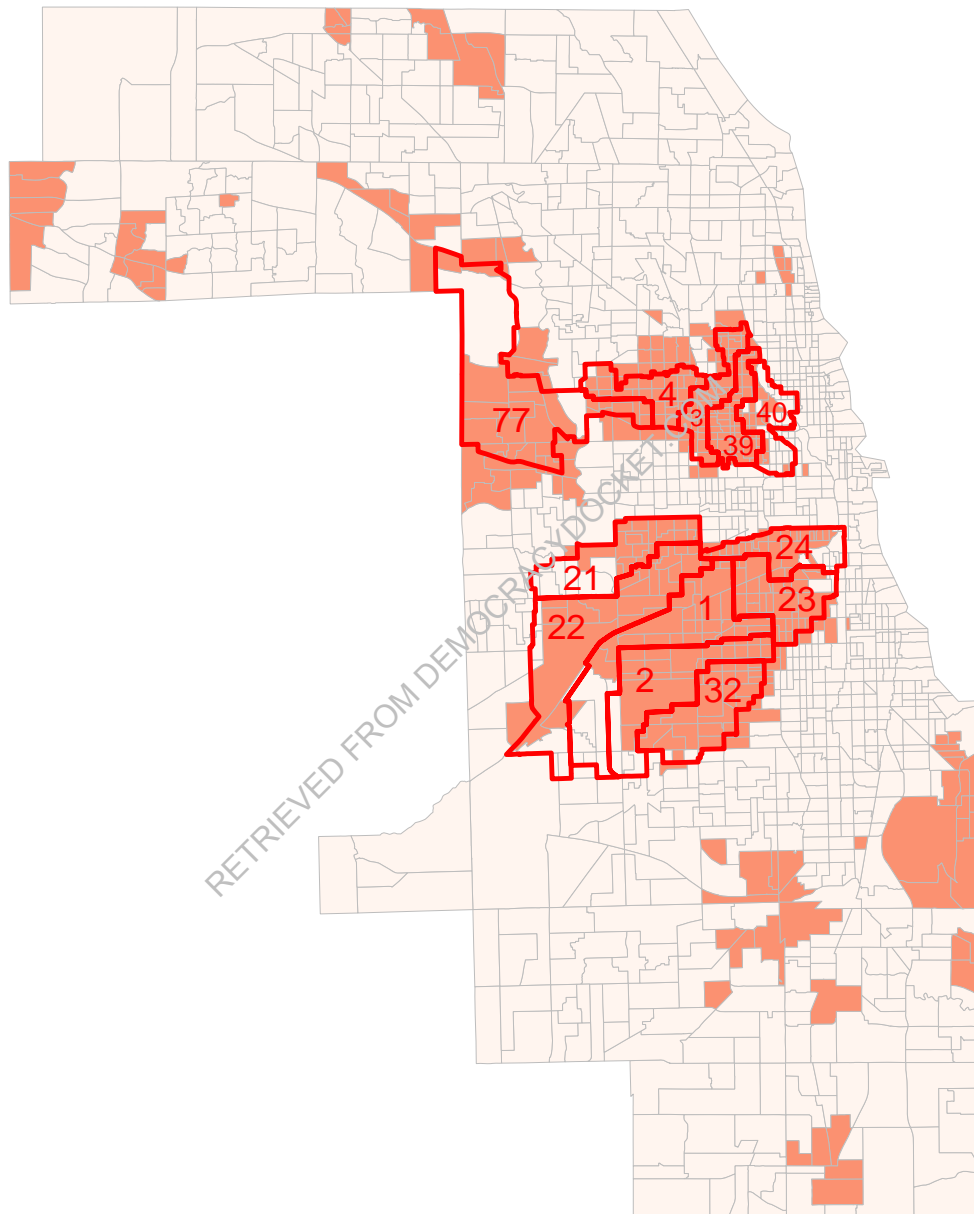
Figure 9:

**August 31 Enacted Plan Districts in Cook County
(Light red shading indicates block groups with over 25% Hispanic VAP)**
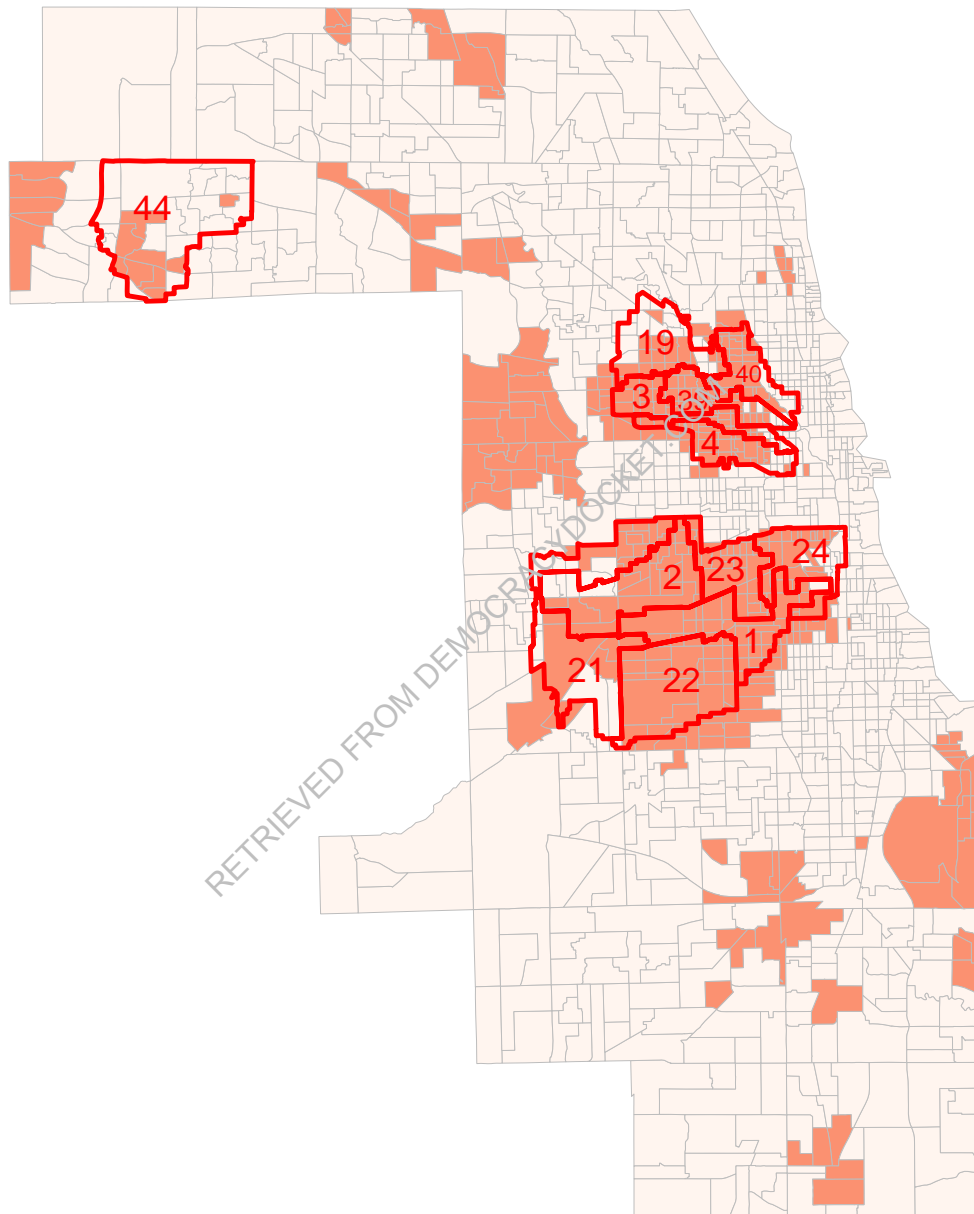
Figure 10:
Census Block Groups around Aurora
(Light red shading indicates block groups with over 25% Hispanic VAP)
(Blue lines indicate Aurora city boundaries)

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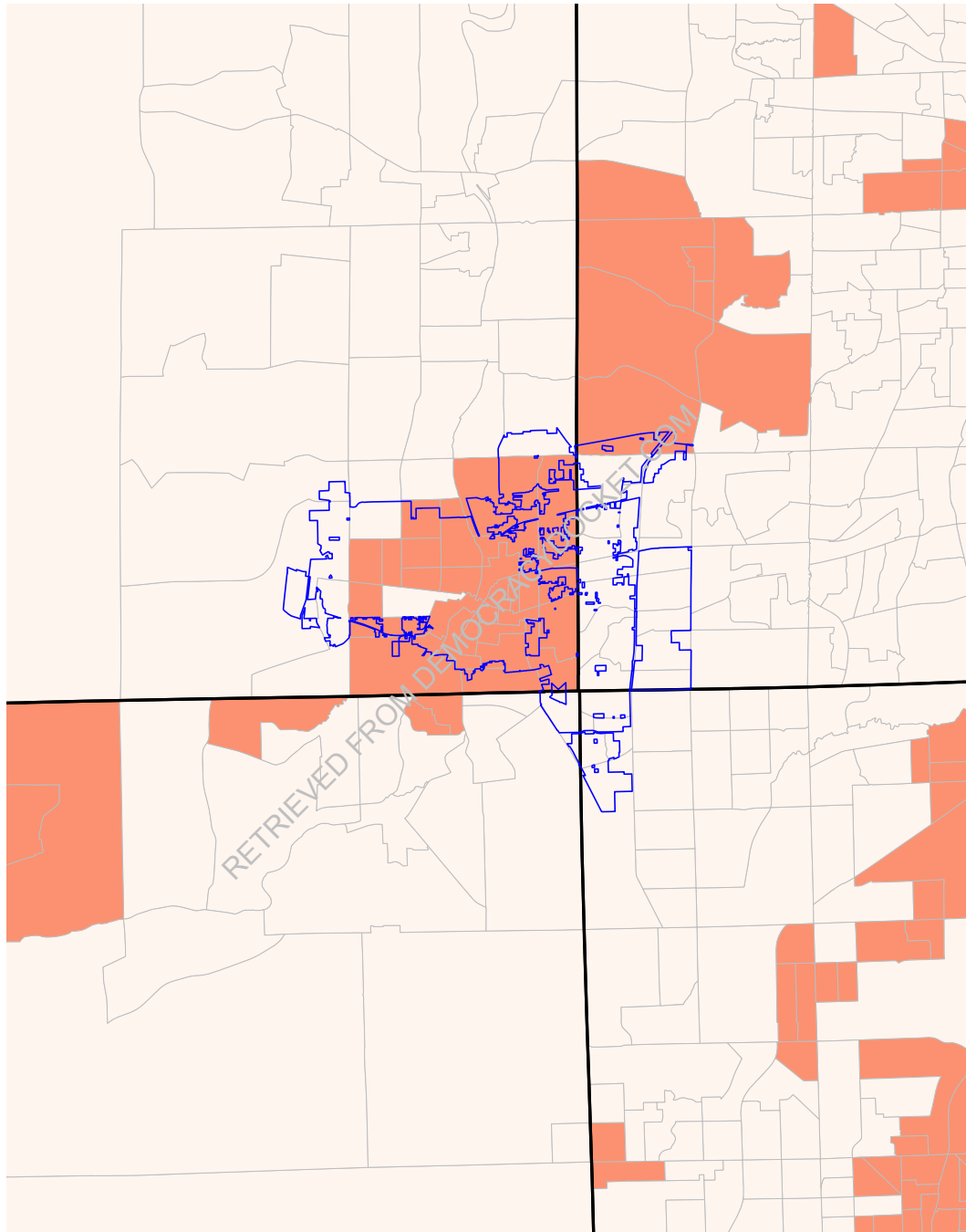
Figure 11:
Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan Districts around Aurora
(Light red shading indicates block groups with over 25% Hispanic VAP)
(Dark red lines indicate Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan District 50)
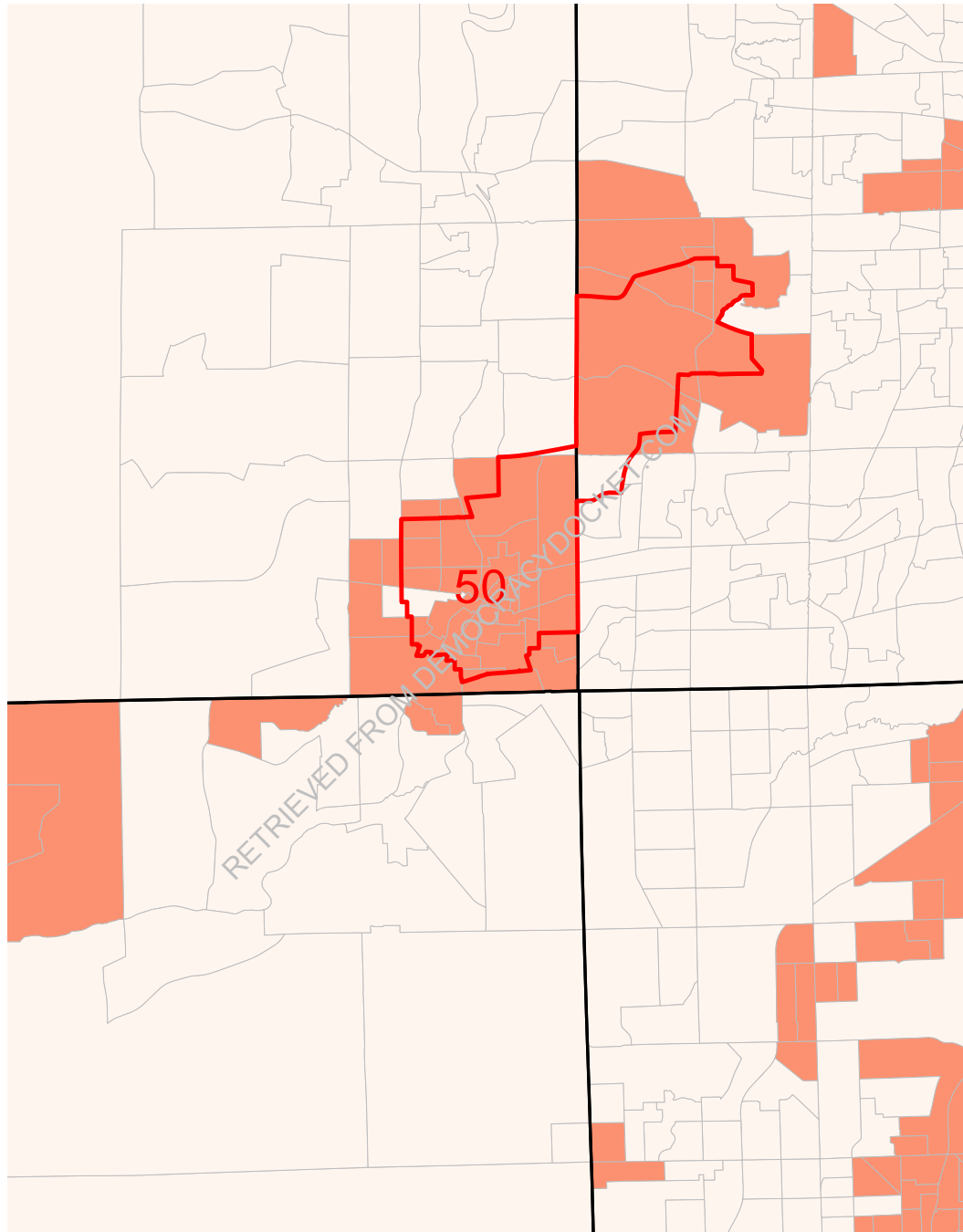
Figure 12:

August 31 Enacted Plan Districts around Aurora (DuPage and Kane County portions
(Light red shading indicates block groups with over 25% Hispanic VAP)
(Dark red lines indicate Enacted Plan Districts around Aurora)
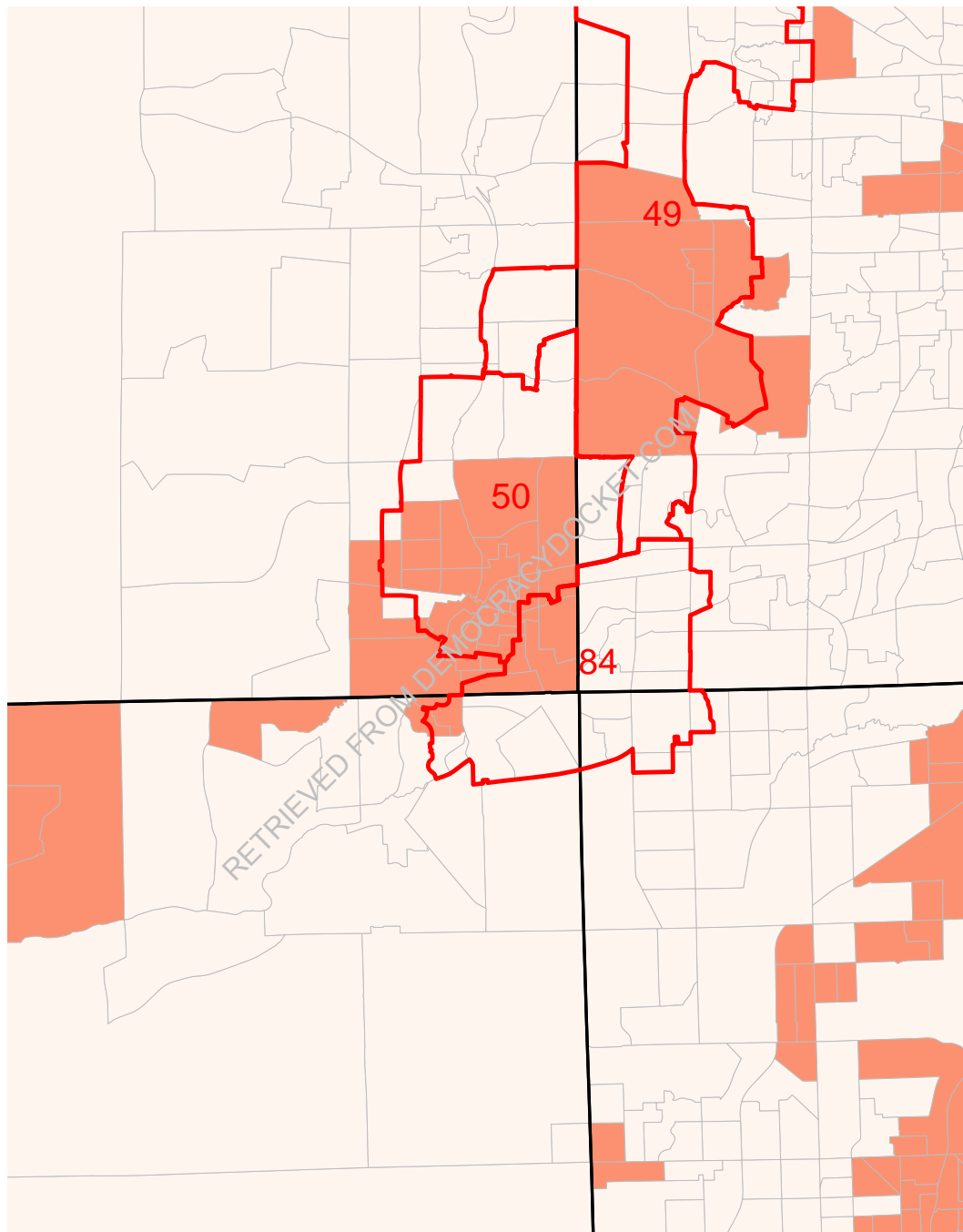
Figure 13:

**Plaintiffs' Demonstration Plan District 113 in East St. Louis
(Light red shading indicates block groups with over 25% Black VAP)**
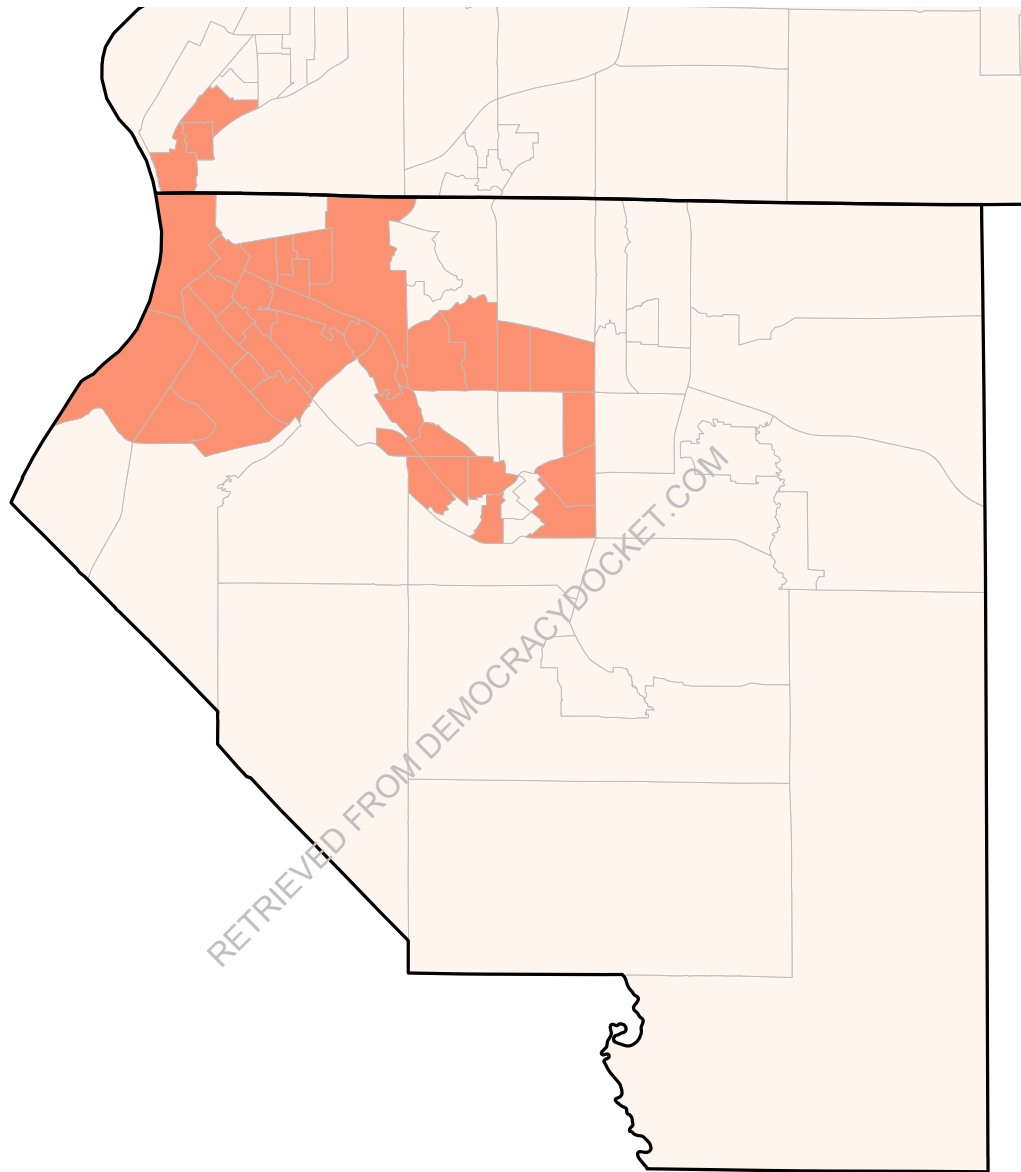
Figure 14:

**Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan District 114 in East St. Louis
(Light red shading indicates block groups with over 25% Black VAP)**
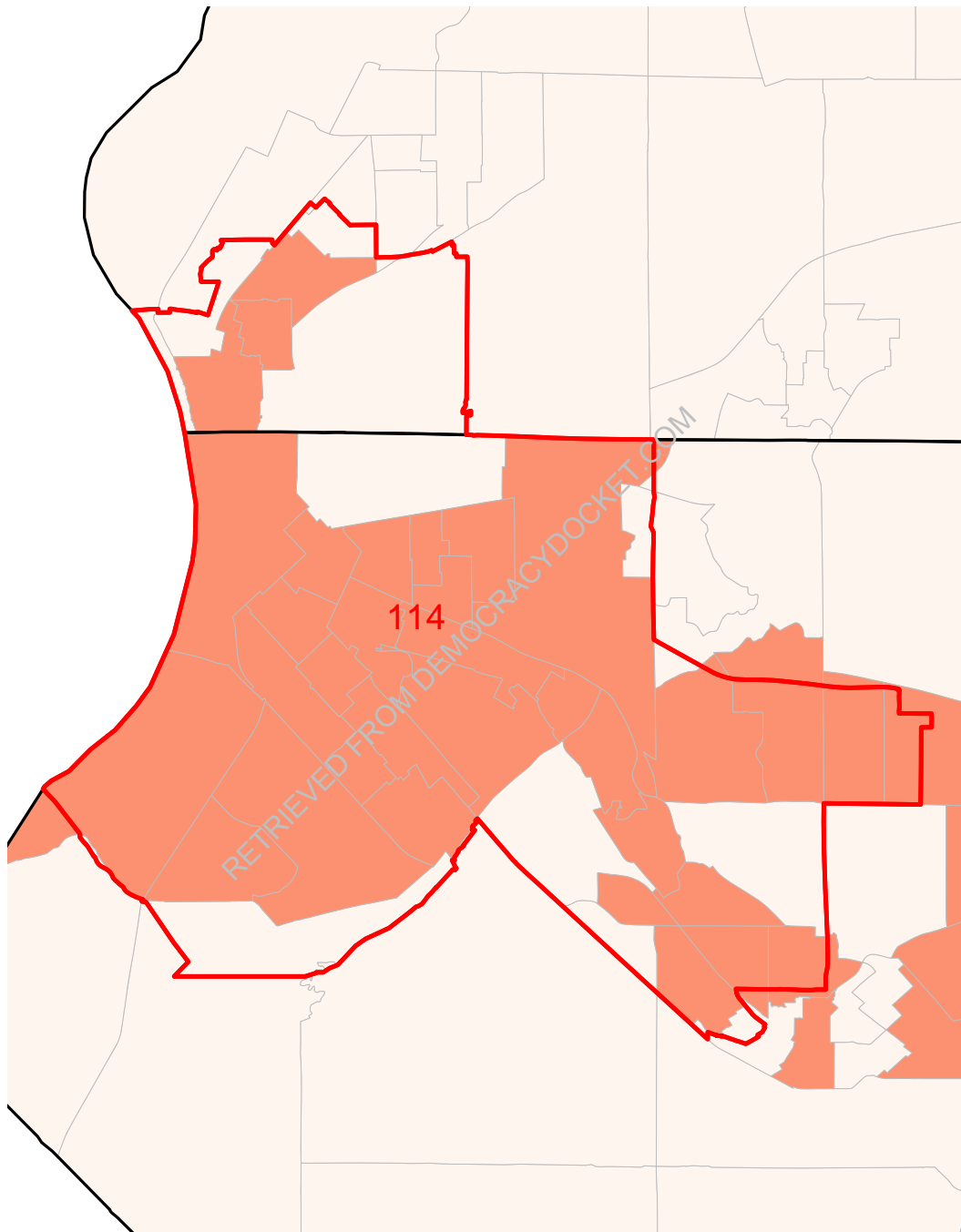
Voting Patterns by Race and Ethnicity in Illinois Elections

31.   For each of the elections listed in Table 5, Plaintiffs' counsel provided me with a data file reporting, for each precinct, the number of votes received by each candidate in the election, as well as the racial and ethnic breakdown of the precinct. Specifically, plaintiffs' counsel reported to me each precinct's 2020 Census Voting Age Population (VAP), Latino VAP, single-race White VAP, and single-race Black VAP. Some of these elections were endogenous State House or State Senate races for the Illinois General Assembly, while others were municipal or county-wide election contests.

32.   For each set of election results in Cook County listed in Table 5, plaintiffs' counsel asked me to identify those elections satisfying all four of the following criteria:

1) The election was a primary election or a non-partisan municipal election;
2) For endogenous (State House or Senate) elections, the district is substantially within the region covered by the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan;
3) Over 50% of Latino voters favored a single candidate; and
4) Over 50% of White voters favored a candidate other than the Latino-preferred candidate.

Among the set of elections satisfying all four of these criteria, plaintiffs' counsel asked me to count the number of elections in which the Latino-preferred candidate was defeated. In summary, I found that five total elections satisfy these four criteria, and three of these five elections resulted in the defeat of the Latino-preferred candidate.

33.   For each of the elections listed in Table 5 occurring within Cook County, I first estimated each racial and ethnic group's level of support for each candidate in each election. Using these estimates, I then identified the candidate preferred by Latino voters in each election in Cook County. Table 6 (for endogenous elections) and Table 7 (for exogenous elections) report each racial group's level of support for these minority-preferred candidates, as well as the overall performance of the minority-preferred candidate.

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Table 5: List of Elections Analyzed

Elections in Cook County:
2015 Chicago Mayoral General
2018 Cook County Assessor Primary
2016 Illinois Comptroller General
2012 HD-35 General
2012 HD-39 Primary
2012 HD-40 General
2014 HD-39 Primary
2014 HD-40 Primary
2014 HD-77 Primary
2016 HD-10 General
2016 HD-2 Primary
2016 HD-22 Primary
2016 HD-24 General
2016 HD-4 Primary
2016 HD-5 Primary
2016 SD-22 General
2016 SD-22 Primary
2016 SD-5 Primary
2018 HD-1 Primary
2018 HD-5 Primary
2018 SD-20 Primary
2018 SD-25 Primary
2020 HD-10 Primary
2020 SD-11 General
2020 SD-22 Primary
2020 SD-40 Primary

Elections around Metro East (East St. Louis):
2016 HD-114 General
2018 SD-57 General
2020 HD-114 General

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34.   To estimate the voting patterns of each racial and ethnic group in each election, I use ecological inference (EI), a commonly-used and widely-accepted statistical technique for estimating different racial groups' political behavior when racial breakdowns of such behavior is not directly reported in publicly-available data. EI uses a procedure known as maximum likelihood estimation, combined with Duncan and Davis' (1953) method of bounds, to estimate the level support for a particular party's candidate among members of different racial groups across the different precincts contained within a district. The key advantage of EI is that it uses observed election results and racial data from all precincts within a district (or an entire county or municipality) and estimates any differences across precincts in a particular racial group's voting behavior. Specifically, to generate all of the EI estimates reported in this section, I used the "ei_iter" function in the "eiCompare" package,[1] which utilizes King's (1997) "eiPack" for ecological inference analysis.

35.   Table 6 reports the EI estimates for Latino and White voters in each of the endogenous (State House and Senate) elections held in Cook County. Table 7 reports the EI estimates using precinct-level results from Cook County in the exogenous elections. Specifically, each row in these two Tables reports the analysis of a single election. The first column reports the year and the name of the office for which the election was held. The third column identifies the candidate in the contest most favored by Latino candidates. In analyzing these results, I identified the candidate receiving the highest estimated support from Latino voters as the Latino-preferred candidate, even if the candidate's estimated support among Latino voters was less than 50% (for example, in contests featuring three or more candidates). The fourth column reports the estimated percentage of Latino voters who supported the Latino-preferred candidate. The fifth column reports the estimated percentage of White voters who supported the Latino-preferred

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[1] Available at: https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/eiCompare/index.html

candidate. The sixth column reports the support for the Latino-preferred candidate among all other voters (i.e., non-Latino and non-White voters). Finally, the last column reports the overall vote share received by the Latino-preferred candidate. For each EI estimate reported in this Table, a 95% confidence interval for the estimate appears in brackets directly underneath the estimate.

Table 6: EI Analysis of Endogenous Elections in Cook County

Endogenous Elections:	Latino-Preferred Candidate:	Latino Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate:	White Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate:	Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate Among Other Voters:	Overall Vote Share for Latino-Preferred Candidate:
2012 HD-35 General	Fernandez	96% [74.1%, 100%]	44% [43.9%, 44.1%]	1.80% [1.4%, 2.3%]	31.70%
2012 HD-40 General	Johnson	72.40% [33.8%, 97.8%]	18.80% [18.6%, 18.9%]	51.40% [20.6%, 75.2%]	18.40%
2012 HD-39 Primary	Berrios	64.90% [58.8%, 69.9%]	41.60% [38.9%, 45.3%]	0% [0%, 0.1%]	50.60%
2014 HD-40 Primary	Pasieka	35.50% [32%, 39.7%]	2.40% [2.3%, 2.5%]	5.60% [3%, 11.7%]	5.20%
2014 HD-39 Primary	Berrios	73.30% [69.5%, 77.4%]	3.50% [2.6%, 4.3%]	2.80% [2%, 4.5%]	39.60%
2014 HD-77 Primary	Willis	62.80% [54.8%, 67.7%]	98% [97%, 98.8%]	86.70% [69.1%, 92.5%]	74.10%
2016 HD-10 General	Conyears	95% [91.5%, 96.5%]	60.30% [58.9%, 61.6%]	97.70% [97.2%, 98%]	83.80%
2016 HD-24 General	Hernandez	97.70% [97.2%, 98.1%]	54.20% [51.2%, 57.2%]	72% [64.2%, 83.5%]	79.40%

Table 6 (cont):

Endogenous Elections:	Latino-Preferred Candidate:	Latino Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate:	White Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate:	Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate Among Other Voters:	Overall Vote Share for Latino-Preferred Candidate:
2016 SD-22 General	Castro	94.50% [92%, 96.2%]	53.60% [50.8%, 55.9%]	59.80% [50.7%, 67.3%]	62.30%
2016 HD-2 Primary	Acevedo	64.30% [61.4%, 67.4%]	55% [43.5%, 71.4%]	10.80% [7.6%, 13.4%]	48.80%
2016 HD-22 Primary	Madigan	59.10% [55%, 63%]	74.10% [70.9%, 77.4%]	67.40% [56.6%, 73.8%]	65.50%
2016 HD-5 Primary	Stratton	79.40% [73.4%, 86.8%]	78.10% [70%, 85.9%]	66.60% [65.5%, 67.9%]	68%
2016 SD-22 Primary	Castro	85.60% [81.1%, 91.1%]	53.50% [49.4%, 56.8%]	46.40% [36.4%, 55.9%]	62.10%
2016 SD-5 Primary	Vanpelt	76.30% [44.4%, 92.1%]	46.60% [43.1%, 49.3%]	73.60% [72.5%, 74.7%]	67.80%
2018 HD-1 Primary	Ortiz	68.70% [64.2%, 74.1%]	24.10% [17.8%, 29.8%]	47.60% [35.4%, 62.5%]	53.10%
2018 HD-4 Primary	Ramirez	70% [65.7%, 72.9%]	33.20% [29.9%, 35.8%]	2.20% [1.5%, 3.2%]	48%

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Table 6 (cont):

Endogenous Elections:	Latino-Preferred Candidate:	Latino Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate:	White Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate:	Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate Among Other Voters:	Overall Vote Share for Latino-Preferred Candidate:
2018 HD-5 Primary	Sayeed	28.50% [22.1%, 36%]	27% [21.5%, 32.9%]	29.20% [27.8%, 30%]	25.50%
2018 SD-20 Primary	Martinez	96.70% [95.8%, 97.6%]	68.20% [66.9%, 69.8%]	65.10% [56.6%, 74%]	73.40%
2018 SD-25 Primary	Miles	29.90% [27.7%, 32%]	6.40% [5.4%, 7.5%]	6.90% [6.5%, 7.2%]	9.20%
2020 SD-11 General	Villanueva	97.10% [96.2%, 97.7%]	57.30% [55.2%, 59.6%]	74.80% [46.3%, 93.5%]	79.70%
2020 HD-10 Primary	Zuccaro	67% [58.1%, 75.5%]	29% [27.5%, 30.4%]	19.40% [18.5%, 20.2%]	23%
2020 SD-22 Primary	Castro	96.20% [94.5%, 97.3%]	78.30% [70.1%, 82.7%]	68.80% [61.4%, 73%]	81.50%
2020 SD-40 Primary	Wilcox	47% [32.1%, 58.7%]	10.10% [8.1%, 12.6%]	36.10% [34.7%, 37.7%]	26.60%

Note: Percentages in brackets report the 95% confidence interval for each EI-based estimate. Throughout this Table, the "Latino-Preferred Candidate" refers to the candidate in each election who received the highest estimate support from Latino voters, even if the estimated support was less than 50% (in contests with three or more candidates). "HD" refers to Illinois General Assembly House Districts, while "SD" refers to Senate Districts.

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Table 7: EI Analysis of Exogenous Elections in Cook County

Exogenous Elections:	Geography:	Latino-Preferred Candidate:	Latino Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate:	White Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate:	Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate Among Other Voters:	Overall Vote Share for Latino-Preferred Candidate:
2016 Illinois Comptroller General	Cook County	Mendoza	84.10% [83.6%, 84.7%]	39% [38.6%, 39.4%]	90.60% [90.5%, 90.7%]	64.50%
2018 Cook County Assessor Primary	Cook County	Berrios	63.20% [62%, 64.3%]	18.30% [17.8%, 18.6%]	44.40% [44.1%, 44.8%]	33.90%
2015 Chicago Mayoral General	Chicago	Garcia	84% [83%, 84.9%]	28.80% [28.3%, 29.4%]	40.50% [40.2%, 40.9%]	43.80%

Note: Percentages in brackets report the 95% confidence interval for each EI-based estimate. Throughout this Table, the "Latino-Preferred Candidate" refers to the candidate in each election who received the highest estimate support from Latino voters, even if the estimated support was less than 50% (in contests with three or more candidates).

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36.   Of the 26 total endogenous and exogenous elections in Cook County listed in Table 5, I found that five of them satisfy all four criteria listed in Paragraph 32. These five elections are: The April 2015 Chicago Mayoral election, the 2018 Cook County Assessor Primary, the 2012 HD-39 Primary, the 2014 HD-39 Primary, and the 2018 HD-1 Primary.

37.   Among these five primary election contests in Cook County, the Latino-preferred candidate lost in three of these five elections. These three elections were: the April 2015 Chicago Mayoral election, in which "Chuy" Garcia lost; the 2018 Cook County Assessor Primary, in which Joe Berrios lost; and the 2014 HD-39 Primary, in which Toni Berrios lost. Thus, thus were five total elections in Cook County satisfying the four criteria listed in Paragraph 32, and three of these five elections resulted in the defeat of the Latino-preferred candidate. Table 8 reports the election outcomes for the Latino-preferred candidates in these five elections.

Table 8: Election Outcomes for Latino-Preferred Candidate in Races in Cook County Satisfying the Paragraph 32 Criteria:

Election Contest in Cook County Satisfying the Paragraph 32 criteria:	Latino-preferred candidate	Election outcome for Latino-preferred candidate:
2015 Chicago Mayoral election	"Chuy" Garcia	Defeated
2018 Cook County Assessor Primary	Joe Berrios	Defeated
2012 HD-39 Primary	Toni Berrios	Won
2014 HD-39 Primary	Toni Berrios	Defeated
2018 HD-1 Primary	Aaron Ortiz	Won

38.   The Table 6 and Table 7 EI estimates describe in detail the racial and ethnic breakdowns of electoral support for Latino-preferred candidates in these various election contests. In the April 2015 runoff election to elect the Mayor of Chicago (Table 7), approximately 84% of Latinos favored Jesus "Chuy" Garcia. Meanwhile, White voters overwhelmingly favored Rahm Emanuel, and only about 28.8% of Whites supported Garcia.

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Thus, White opposition to Garcia was sufficient to help defeat Garcia, as Garcia received only 43.8% of the vote in this two-candidate runoff election.

39.   Similarly, in the 2018 primary election for Cook County Assessor (Table 7), an estimated 63.2% of Latino voters favored Joseph Berrios. Meanwhile, White voters overwhelmingly favored Fritz Kaegi, with only approximately 18.3% of Whites supporting Berrios. Thus, White opposition helped to defeat Berrios, who received only 33.9% of the overall vote in Cook County, compared to Kaegi's 45.6%.

40.   In the 2014 primary election for House District 39 (Table 6), an estimated 73.3% of Latino voters favored Toni Berrios. Meanwhile, White voters overwhelmingly favored Will Guzzardi, with only about 3.5% of Whites supporting Berrios. This near-unanimous White opposition helped to defeat Berrios, who received only 39.6% of the overall vote in losing to Guzzardi.

41.   The Table 9 EI results reveal a similar pattern in all three elections around Metro East, with Black and White voters strongly favoring opposing candidates in all three contests. In the 2016 and 2020 general elections for House District 114, estimated Black support for Democrat LaToya Greenwood was 83.9% and 98.7%, respectively. Meanwhile, White voters heavily favored the Republican candidate (Bob Romanik in 2016 and Dave Barnes in 2020) in these two elections, and White support for Greenwood was only about 30.1% in 2016 and 25.8% in 2020.

42.   Similarly, in the 2018 general election for Senate District 57, an estimated 97.6% of Black voters favored the Democratic candidate, Christopher Belt. Meanwhile, White voters heavily favored Republican Tanya Hildenbrand, with only about 31.3% of Whites supporting Belt.

Table 9: EI Analysis of Elections around Metro East (East St. Louis)

Election	Geography:	Black-Preferred Candidate:	Black Support for Black-Preferred Candidate:	White Support for Black-Preferred Candidate:	Support for Black-Preferred Candidate Among Other Voters:	Overall Vote Share for Black-Preferred Candidate:
2016 HD-114 General	HD-114	Greenwood	83.9% [83.3%, 84.4%]	30.1% [29.8%, 30.5%]	43.1% [22.3%, 71.7%]	57.2%
2018 SD-57 General	SD-57	Belt	97.6% [97.1%, 98%]	31.3% [30.1%, 32.5%]	52.6% [27.1%, 74.6%]	59.2%
2020 HD-114 General	HD-114	Greenwood	98.7% [98.2%, 99%]	25.8% [25.5%, 26.2%]	69.3% [54%, 83.4%]	57.1%

Note: Percentages in brackets report the 95% confidence interval for each EI-based estimate. Throughout this Table, the "Latino-Preferred Candidate" refers to the candidate in each election who received the highest estimate support from Latino voters, even if the estimated support was less than 50% (in contests with three or more candidates). "HD" refers to Illinois General Assembly House Districts, while "SD" refers to Senate Districts.

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43. Thus, in all three of these election contests around the Metro East region, Black voters strongly favored the Democratic candidate in the general election, while White voters strongly voted against the Black-preferred candidate.

Performance of a Latino-Preferred Candidate Under the Enacted Plan and the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan:

44. I estimated the hypothetical performance of Latino-preferred candidates in the House districts in Cook County under both the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan, as well as the August 31, 2021 Enacted Plan, using the EI estimates I calculated for the 2018 primary election for Cook County Assessor. Specifically, under the Enacted Plan, I analyzed the following challenged districts in Cook County: HD-1, 2, 3, 4, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 39, and 40.

45. As explained earlier in this report, for the 2018 Assessor primary election, I found that Joseph Berrios was the Latino-preferred candidate, while Whites heavily favored Fritz Kaegi. EI estimates of each racial and ethnic group's support for each candidate are produced at the precinct level. I thus use each precinct's EI estimates to generate Census block-level estimates of each racial and ethnic group's support for Berrios, the Latino-preferred candidate. I then apply these block-level EI estimates to each Cook County district in the Enacted Plan and the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan, thus producing an estimate of each district's overall level of support for Berrios in a hypothetical Berrios-versus-Kaegi election within the district.

46. For the August 31, 2021 Enacted Plan, these predictions regarding each district's support for Berrios appear in Table 10. This Table contains a separate row for each district in the Enacted Plan. The second and third column report the Latino and the non-Latino White percentage of the district's VAP. The fourth column reports the predicted Latino support for Berrios, as calculated using the EI estimates. The fifth column reports the predicted White

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support for Berrios within the district. Finally, the last column reports the predicted overall vote share for Berrios within the district.

47.   These Table 10 results illustrate that only four of the challenged Cook County districts in the Enacted Plan would be expected to support Berrios, the Latino-preferred candidate, over Kaegi, using EI estimates based on the 2018 Cook County Assessor primary election. These three challenged Cook County districts in the Enacted Plan are HD-1, 2, 22, and 23. All other Enacted Plan districts analyzed in Table 10 would be expected to favor Kaegi over Berrios.

48.   The Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan contains 12 districts fully within Cook County, and I performed a similar analysis of whether these Remedial Plan districts would favor Berrios over Kaegi. As reported in Table 11, I found that ten of these 12 Cook County districts (Districts 1, 2, 3, 4, 22, 23, 24, 32, 39, and 77) in the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan are predicted to favor Berrios over Kaegi in a hypothetical election contest.

Table 10:
Predicted Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate within Cook County Districts in the August 31, 2021 Enacted Plan

District:	Latino VAP:	Non-Latino White VAP:	Latino Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate (Berrios):	White Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate (Berrios):	Estimated Overall Vote Share of Latino-Preferred Candidate (Berrios):
1	76.1%	13.6%	75.4%	22.3%	62.0%
2	64.6%	29.1%	82.5%	26.3%	55.4%
3	54.1%	35.6%	73.8%	22.7%	45.5%
4	52.6%	30.3%	76.7%	18.8%	48.7%
19	27.3%	59.2%	79.0%	23.0%	37.9%
21	51.7%	37.7%	76.8%	25.2%	48.1%
22	62.8%	32.6%	83.2%	22.8%	61.5%
23	84.4%	4.5%	66.0%	35.7%	63.0%
24	48.5%	19.2%	67.0%	24.6%	49.3%
39	51.6%	38.6%	76.6%	20.3%	43.1%
40	42.8%	40.5%	72.2%	24.2%	43.0%

Note: The predicted "Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate" percentages in this table are calculated using the precinct-level EI analysis of the 2018 Cook County Assessor primary election between Joseph Berrios and Fritz Kaegi. Berrios was the Latino-preferred candidate, and this table reports the predicted percentage of each group's voters that are estimated to have supported Berrios within each district.

Table 11:
Predicted Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate within Cook County Districts in Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan

District:	Latino VAP:	Non-Latino White VAP:	Latino Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate (Berrios):	White Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate (Berrios):	Estimated Overall Vote Share of Latino-Preferred Candidate (Berrios):
1	61.9%	29.2%	75.0%	27.0%	56.8%
2	61.7%	32.3%	79.4%	24.7%	57.2%
3	60.2%	23.4%	72.8%	27.6%	53.2%
4	58.6%	33.4%	73.5%	30.9%	52.6%
21	59.7%	30.9%	78.7%	24.9%	49.2%
22	60.4%	32.8%	81.3%	27.8%	56.2%
23	66.0%	12.4%	69.2%	23.3%	56.1%
24	57.9%	14.6%	63.9%	26.0%	50.6%
32	64.1%	23.1%	80.8%	30.2%	65.7%
39	55.8%	29.2%	76.8%	22.6%	50.1%
40	21.1%	65.2%	80.4%	16.8%	31.1%
77	58.7%	33.8%	72.0%	36.5%	56.2%

Note: The predicted "Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate" percentages in this table are calculated using the precinct-level EI analysis of the 2018 Cook County Assessor primary election between Joseph Berrios and Fritz Kaegi. Berrios was the Latino-preferred candidate, and this table reports the predicted percentage of each group's voters that are estimated to have supported Berrios within each district.

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I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

This 10th day of November, 2021.

_____

Dr. Jowei Chen

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Jowei Chen
Curriculum Vitae

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Academic Positions:

Associate Professor (2015-present), Assistant Professor (2009-2015), Department of Political Science, University of Michigan.
Research Associate Professor (2016-present), Faculty Associate (2009-2015), Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan.
W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 2013.
Principal Investigator and Senior Research Fellow, Center for Governance and Public Policy Research, Willamette University, 2013 – Present.

Education:

Ph.D., Political Science, Stanford University (June 2009)
M.S., Statistics, Stanford University (January 2007)
B.A., Ethics, Politics, and Economics, Yale University (May 2004)

Publications:

Chen, Jowei and Neil Malhotra. 2007. "The Law of k/n: The Effect of Chamber Size on Government Spending in Bicameral Legislatures."
>   ***American Political Science Review. 101(4): 657-676.***

Chen, Jowei, 2010. "The Effect of Electoral Geography on Pork Barreling in Bicameral Legislatures."
>   ***American Journal of Political Science. 54(2): 301-322.***

Chen, Jowei, 2013. "Voter Partisanship and the Effect of Distributive Spending on Political Participation."
>   ***American Journal of Political Science. 57(1): 200-217.***

Chen, Jowei and Jonathan Rodden, 2013. "Unintentional Gerrymandering: Political Geography and Electoral Bias in Legislatures"
>   ***Quarterly Journal of Political Science, 8(3): 239-269.***

Bradley, Katharine and Jowei Chen, 2014. "Participation Without Representation? Senior Opinion, Legislative Behavior, and Federal Health Reform."
Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law. 39(2), 263-293.

Chen, Jowei and Tim Johnson, 2015. "Federal Employee Unionization and Presidential Control of the Bureaucracy: Estimating and Explaining Ideological Change in Executive Agencies."
Journal of Theoretical Politics, Volume 27, No. 1: 151-174.

Bonica, Adam, Jowei Chen, and Tim Johnson, 2015. "Senate Gate-Keeping, Presidential Staffing of 'Inferior Offices' and the Ideological Composition of Appointments to the Public Bureaucracy."
Quarterly Journal of Political Science. Volume 10, No. 1: 5-40.

Chen, Jowei and Jonathan Rodden, 2015. "Cutting Through the Thicket: Redistricting Simulations and the Detection of Partisan Gerrymanders."
Election Law Journal. Volume 14, Number 4: 331-345.

Chen, Jowei and David Cottrell, 2016. "Evaluating Partisan Gains from Congressional Gerrymandering: Using Computer Simulations to Estimate the Effect of Gerrymandering in the U.S. House."
Electoral Studies. Volume 44 (December 2016): 329-340.

Chen, Jowei, 2017. "Analysis of Computer-Simulated Districting Maps for the Wisconsin State Assembly."
Election Law Journal. Volume 16, Number 4 (December 2017): 417-442.

Chen, Jowei and Nicholas Stephanopoulos, 2020. "The Race-Blind Future of Voting Rights."
Yale Law Journal, Forthcoming. Volume 130, Number 4: 778-1049.

Kim, Yunsieg and Jowei Chen, 2021. "Gerrymandered by Definition: The Distortion of 'Traditional' Districting Principles and a Proposal for an Empirical Redefinition."
Wisconsin Law Review, Forthcoming, Volume 2021, Number 1.

Chen, Jowei and Nicholas Stephanopoulos, 2021. "Democracy's Denominator."
California Law Review, Accepted for Publication, Volume 109.

Non-Peer-Reviewed Publication:

Chen, Jowei and Tim Johnson. 2017. "Political Ideology in the Bureaucracy."
Global Encyclopedia of Public Administration, Public Policy, and Governance.

Research Grants:

"How Citizenship-Based Redistricting Systemically Disadvantages Voters of Color". 2020 ($18,225). Combating and Confronting Racism Grant. University of Michigan Center for Social Solutions and Poverty Solutions.

Principal Investigator. National Science Foundation Grant SES-1459459, September 2015 – August 2018 ($165,008). "The Political Control of U.S. Federal Agencies and Bureaucratic Political Behavior."

"Economic Disparity and Federal Investments in Detroit," (with Brian Min) 2011. Graham Institute, University of Michigan ($30,000).

"The Partisan Effect of OSHA Enforcement on Workplace Injuries," (with Connor Raso) 2009. John M. Olin Law and Economics Research Grant ($4,410).

Invited Talks:

September, 2011. University of Virginia, American Politics Workshop.
October 2011. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, American Politics Conference.
January 2012. University of Chicago, Political Economy/American Politics Seminar.
February 2012. Harvard University, Positive Political Economy Seminar.
September 2012. Emory University, Political Institutions and Methodology Colloquium.
November 2012. University of Wisconsin, Madison, American Politics Workshop.
September 2013. Stanford University, Graduate School of Business, Political Economy Workshop.
February 2014. Princeton University, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics Workshop.
November 2014. Yale University, American Politics and Public Policy Workshop.
December 2014. American Constitution Society for Law & Policy Conference: Building the Evidence to Win Voting Rights Cases.
February 2015. University of Rochester, American Politics Working Group.
March 2015. Harvard University, Voting Rights Act Workshop.
May 2015. Harvard University, Conference on Political Geography.
Octoer 2015. George Washington University School of Law, Conference on Redistricting Reform.
September 2016. Harvard University Center for Governmental and International Studies, Voting Rights Institute Conference.
March 2017. Duke University, Sanford School of Public Policy, Redistricting Reform Conference.
October 2017. Willamette University, Center for Governance and Public Policy Research
October 2017, University of Wisconsin, Madison. Geometry of Redistricting Conference.
February 2018: University of Georgia Law School
September 2018. Willamette University.
November 2018. Yale University, Redistricting Workshop.

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November 2018. University of Washington, Severyns Ravenholt Seminar in Comparative Politics.
January 2019. Duke University, Reason, Reform & Redistricting Conference.
February 2019. Ohio State University, Department of Political Science. Departmental speaker series.
March 2019. Wayne State University Law School, Gerrymandering Symposium.
November 2019. Big Data Ignite Conference.
November 2019. Calvin College, Department of Mathematics and Statistics.
September 2020 (Virtual). Yale University, Yale Law Journal Scholarship Workshop

Conference Service:

Section Chair, 2017 APSA (San Francisco, CA), Political Methodology Section
Discussant, 2014 Political Methodology Conference (University of Georgia)
Section Chair, 2012 MPSA (Chicago, IL), Political Geography Section.
Discussant, 2011 MPSA (Chicago, IL) "Presidential-Congressional Interaction."
Discussant, 2008 APSA (Boston, MA) "Congressional Appropriations."
Chair and Discussant, 2008 MPSA (Chicago, IL) "Distributive Politics: Parties and Pork."

Conference Presentations and Working Papers:

"Ideological Representation of Geographic Constituencies in the U.S. Bureaucracy," (with Tim Johnson). 2017 APSA.

"Incentives for Political versus Technical Expertise in the Public Bureaucracy," (with Tim Johnson). 2016 APSA.

"Black Electoral Geography and Congressional Districting: The Effect of Racial Redistricting on Partisan Gerrymandering". 2016 Annual Meeting of the Society for Political Methodology (Rice University)

"Racial Gerrymandering and Electoral Geography." Working Paper, 2016.

"Does Deserved Spending Win More Votes? Evidence from Individual-Level Disaster Assistance," (with Andrew Healy). 2014 APSA.

"The Geographic Link Between Votes and Seats: How the Geographic Distribution of Partisans Determines the Electoral Responsiveness and Bias of Legislative Elections," (with David Cottrell). 2014 APSA.

"Gerrymandering for Money: Drawing districts with respect to donors rather than voters." 2014 MPSA.

"Constituent Age and Legislator Responsiveness: The Effect of Constituent Opinion on the Vote for Federal Health Reform." (with Katharine Bradley) 2012 MPSA.

"Voter Partisanship and the Mobilizing Effect of Presidential Advertising." (with Kyle Dropp) 2012 MPSA.

"Recency Bias in Retrospective Voting: The Effect of Distributive Benefits on Voting Behavior." (with Andrew Feher) 2012 MPSA.

"Estimating the Political Ideologies of Appointed Public Bureaucrats," (with Adam Bonica and Tim Johnson) 2012 Annual Meeting of the Society for Political Methodology (University of North Carolina)

"Tobler's Law, Urbanization, and Electoral Bias in Florida." (with Jonathan Rodden) 2010 Annual Meeting of the Society for Political Methodology (University of Iowa)

"Unionization and Presidential Control of the Bureaucracy" (with Tim Johnson) 2011 MPSA.

"Estimating Bureaucratic Ideal Points with Federal Campaign Contributions" 2010 APSA. (Washington, DC).

"The Effect of Electoral Geography on Pork Spending in Bicameral Legislatures," Vanderbilt University Conference on Bicameralism, 2009.

"When Do Government Benefits Influence Voters' Behavior? The Effect of FEMA Disaster Awards on US Presidential Votes," 2009 APSA (Toronto, Canada).

"Are Poor Voters Easier to Buy Off?" 2009 APSA (Toronto, Canada).

"Credit Sharing Among Legislators: Electoral Geography's Effect on Pork Barreling in Legislatures," 2008 APSA (Boston, MA).

"Buying Votes with Public Funds in the US Presidential Election," Poster Presentation at the 2008 Annual Meeting of the Society for Political Methodology (University of Michigan).

"The Effect of Electoral Geography on Pork Spending in Bicameral Legislatures," 2008 MPSA.

"Legislative Free-Riding and Spending on Pure Public Goods," 2007 MPSA (Chicago, IL).

"Free Riding in Multi-Member Legislatures," (with Neil Malhotra) 2007 MPSA (Chicago, IL).

"The Effect of Legislature Size, Bicameralism, and Geography on Government Spending: Evidence from the American States," (with Neil Malhotra) 2006 APSA (Philadelphia, PA).

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EXHIBIT C

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS
EASTERN DIVISION

DAN MCCONCHIE, in his official capacity as
Minority Leader of the Illinois Senate and individually
as a registered voter, JIM DURKIN, in his official
capacity as Minority Leader of the Illinois House of
Representatives and individually as a registered voter,
JAMES RIVERA, ANNA DE LA TORRE,
DOLORES DIAZ, FELIPE LUNA JR., SALVADOR
TREMILLO, CHRISTOPHER ROMERO, the
REPUBLICAN CAUCUS OF THE ILLINOIS
SENATE, the REPUBLICAN CAUCUS OF THE
ILLINOIS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, and
the ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN PARTY,

       Plaintiffs,

    vs.

IAN K. LINNABARY, CASANDRA B. WATSON,
WILLIAM J. CADIGAN, LAURA K. DONAHUE,
CATHERINE S. MCCRORY, WILLIAM M.
MCGUFFAGE, and RICK S. TERVEN, SR., in their
official capacities as members of the Illinois State
Board of Elections, EMANUEL CHRISTOPHER
WELCH, in his official capacity as Speaker of the
Illinois House of Representatives, the OFFICE OF
SPEAKER OF THE ILLINOIS HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES, DON HARMON, in his
official capacity as President of the Illinois Senate, and
the OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE
ILLINOIS SENATE,

       Defendants.

Case No. 1:21-cv-03091

Circuit Judge Michael B. Brennan
Chief District Judge Jon E. DeGuilio
District Judge Robert M. Dow, Jr.

Three-Judge Court
Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 2284(a)

EXPERT REPORT OF ANTHONY FOWLER

A.   Introduction

1.   I am submitting this expert report regarding the extent of racially polarized voting in
Illinois, the extent to which minority groups in Illinois have been able to choose candidates who
will respond to their needs, and how district demographics relate to the chances that a minority

legislator will represent a district. As discussed fully below, I conclude that (1) there is significant racially polarized voting in Illinois; (2) voters in minority districts have little opportunity to elect their preferred officials or incentivize their officials to work hard on their behalf; and (3) Latino legislators are unlikely to emerge in districts that are not predominantly Latino. I have based these opinions on the information I know now and reserve the right to supplement this report or revise my opinions if new or additional information becomes available. I have been compensated a $500.00 hourly rate for my work; my compensation doesn't depend on the nature of my opinions or the outcome of underlying lawsuit.

B.   Education and Professional History

2.   I am a professor in the Harris School of Public Policy at the University of Chicago, a faculty associate of the Department of Political Science and a founding member of the Committee on Quantitative Methods in Social, Behavioral, and Health Sciences at the University of Chicago. I have a bachelor's degree in biology from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (2009) and Ph.D. in political science from Harvard University (2013).

3.   My research applies econometric methods for causal inference to questions in political science, with particular emphasis on elections and political representation. Some specific interests include the causes and consequences of unequal voter turnout, explanations for incumbent success in elections, the politics of policymaking in legislatures, the health of democracy, and the credibility of empirical research.

4.   I have published 28 peer-reviewed articles in academic journals including the *American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, *Political Science Research and Methods*, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *Election Law Journal*, and *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*. I have also written for Bloomberg, The Washington Post, and Boston Review, and co-authored an amicus brief for *Arizona Free Enterprise Club v. Bennett*, a U.S. Supreme Court case on campaign finance.

5.   At the University of Chicago, I have taught courses for undergraduate, professional, and doctoral students on elections, campaigns, public opinion, political economy, and quantitative methods. I have co-authored a textbook entitled *Thinking Clearly with Data: A Guide to Quantitative Reasoning and Analysis*, which is published by Princeton University Press.

C.   The Extent of Racially Polarized Voting in Illinois is Significant

6.   To what extent do racial groups vote differently in Illinois? Political and legal scholars often attempt to answer this question by analyzing precinct-level election data and comparing precincts with different racial compositions. This kind of analysis often requires strong assumptions. For example, if the white voters living in predominantly minority precincts are different from the white voters living in predominantly white precincts, the standard ecological

regression will produce biased estimates of the share of white and minority voters who supported each candidate in an election.[1]

7. Therefore, to better assess racially polarized voting in Illinois and as cross-check on other assessment methods, I analyze surveys in which individual voters reported their vote choices in a recent election.[2] Specifically, I utilize data from the Cooperative Election Study (CES, formerly the Cooperative Congressional Election Study). The CES surveyed tens of thousands of voting-eligible Americans each year between 2006 and 2020. It utilized a panel of respondents recruited by YouGov that, after re-weighting, was intended to be nationally representative. These data have been utilized in numerous academic studies and are generally viewed to be reliable and high quality. All subsequent analyses of these data in this report utilize the survey weights provided by YouGov and the CES.

8. The CES asks respondents how they voted in recent U.S. presidential, U.S. senatorial, or gubernatorial elections, and it also asks respondents to self-identify their race and ethnicity. Limiting my analyses to respondents who reside in Illinois and self-identify as white, Black, Latino, or Asian, I have data from between 1,135 and 2,546 respondents in each even year between 2006 and 2020.

9. Table 1 shows how different racial and ethnic groups voted in these high-salience statewide elections. Specifically, for each election and racial group, the table reports the proportion of respondents who supported the Democratic candidate. Those who report abstaining or voting for a third-party candidate are excluded, so the table indicates how many people voted for the Democrat among those who voted for either the Democratic or Republican candidates. Standard errors are shown in parentheses, reflecting the sampling uncertainty associated with each estimate. As expected, the standard errors are smallest for white voters (approximately three-fourths of the sample), slightly larger for Black voters (approximately 15 percent), and larger still for Latino voters (approximately 7 percent) and Asian voters (approximately 2 percent). Table 1 also reports, for each election, the difference in the voting behavior of Black and white voters, Latino and white voters, and Asian and white voters, along with the corresponding standard error associated with each difference.

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[1] See Greiner, D. James. 2007. Ecological Inference in Voting Rights Act Disputes: Where Are We Now, and Where Do We Want to Be? *Jurimetrics* 47(2):115-167 for a discussion of these challenges. Several different methods are commonly used to infer individual voting behavior from aggregate election returns. If analysts want to do more than simply bound the extent of racially polarized voting, strong assumptions are necessary. By directly analyzing individual-level data, I am able to assess racially polarized voting without having to make any kind of ecological inference.

[2] Other scholars have utilized survey data to assess racially polarized voting. For example, see Elmendorf, Christopher S., Kevin M. Quinn, and Marisa A. Abrajano. 2016. Racially Polarized Voting. *University of Chicago Law Review* 83:587-692., which discusses the benefits of this approach relative to alternative approaches that rely on aggregate data.

10. The results in Table 1 show that there is significant racially polarized voting in Illinois. The majority of Black and Latino voters preferred the Democratic candidate in every election analyzed, the majority of Asian voters preferred the Democratic candidate in 10 out of 13 elections, and the majority of white voters preferred the Democratic candidate in only 7 out of 13 elections. Averaging across the 13 elections and putting equal weight on each election, the rate of Democratic support is 48.5 percent among white voters, 58.9 percent among Asian voters, 74.1 percent among Latino voters, and 95.4 percent among Black voters.

11. Social scientists typically report that an observed difference is statistically significant if the p-value is less than .05, which means that if the true difference were zero, the chances of obtaining a result as extreme as the one we observed is less than 5 percent. The observed differences between Black and white voters are highly statistically significant (p < .001) in every election examined. The observed differences between Latino and white voters are statistically significant (p < .01) in 11 out of 13 elections examined. And the observed differences between Asian and white voters are statistically significant (p < .05) in 3 out of 13 cases.

12. To better utilize the available data and summarize the differences in voting behavior between racial groups, I pool data from each of these elections in a single regression. Each observation is a voter by election. The dependent variable is an indicator for whether the voter supported the Democratic candidate (as opposed to the Republican) in that election. The independent variables of interest are indicators for Black, Latino, and Asian respondents. I also include election fixed effects to account for the fact that rates of support differed across elections, and as before, I utilize survey weights in the analysis.

13. The results of this analysis are in Table 2. The first column shows results for the entire state of Illinois, and the coefficients indicate that, on average, Black voters are 47.3 percentage points more likely to vote for a Democrat relative to a white voter in the state, Latino voters are 25.4 percentage points more likely to vote for a Democrat than a white voter, and Asian voters are 13.1 percentage points more likely to vote for a Democrat. All of these differences are substantively meaningfully and highly statistically significant (p < .001).

14. The remaining columns of Table 2 show the same analyses but for particular regions of interest. The CES provides a zip code and a county of residence for each respondent. I match respondents to the cities of Chicago and Aurora using zip codes, and I match respondents to Metro East according to their county of residence. Following the Wikipedia entry for the region,[3] I classify Bond, Calhoun, Clinton, Jersey, Macoupin, Madison, Monroe, and St. Clair counties as Metro East.

15. Even focusing within these particular regions, there remain large gaps in the voting behavior of different racial groups. In Chicago, the gaps between groups are smaller than they are statewide, largely because white voters in Chicago are more Democratic than white voters elsewhere in Illinois. But in Aurora and Metro East, the differences in voting behavior between

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[3] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Metro_East#List_of_counties

minority and white voters are even larger than the statewide differences. For example, in Aurora and Metro East, respectively, Black voters are 58.9 and 53.2 percentage points more Democratic than white voters, and Latino voters are 43.2 and 34.2 percentage points more Democratic than white voters.

16. The bottom row of Table 2 shows the average voting behavior of white voters in these places. Aside from Chicago, we see that white voters in these places lean Republican. Therefore, the preferred candidate of minority voters is typically different from the preferred candidate of white voters.

D.   Racially Polarized Voting Likely Understates the Extent to Which Minority Groups Have Divergent Interests

17. Although Tables 1 and 2 show significant racially polarized voting in Illinois, we would theoretically expect racially polarized voting to understate the extent to which the interests of minority voters diverge from those of white voters. The reason is that the extent of polarized voting depends on the electoral choices available to voters. If there are no candidates who differentially appeal to the interests of a minority group, the lack of polarized voting would not constitute evidence that the minority group does not have important or unique interests.

18. To see this, consider two candidates running for statewide office in Illinois. More than seven in ten Illinois residents are white, so no candidate can win statewide office without receiving the support of a significant share of white voters. As an example, in 2014, Democratic incumbent governor Pat Quinn received just below 40 percent of the two-party vote among white voters,[4] and he lost office. So candidates who appeal primarily to minority voters are not likely to win statewide office. Because of these demographics, if there are issue positions that primarily appeal to minority voters but not white voters, statewide candidates are not likely to espouse those positions. If one candidate did espouse these positions, we might expect racially polarized voting to be even greater. But if both candidates are trying to appeal to the median voter, the observed level of polarized voting will not reflect the extent to which groups have divergent interests.

19. Now consider a local or legislative election with a majority-minority electorate. By the same logic, two office-motivated candidates competing for a majority of votes will espouse the positions that appeal to the interests that are prevalent in this particular electorate, which happen to be the interests of the minority group.[5] So again, we would expect polarized voting to

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[4] According to the CES data previously, Quinn received 39 percent of the two-party vote among white voters. According to an exit poll, <cbsnews.com/elections/2014/governor/illinois/exit/>, Quinn received 36 percent of the two-party vote among whites.

[5] See Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row for a canonical model of two office-motivated candidates who converge to the preferences of the median voter. See Hall, Andrew B. 2015. What Happens when Extremists Win Primaries? *American Political Science Review* 109(1):18-42 for evidence that ideological moderation is electorally beneficial.

understate the extent to which the interests of groups diverge. For voting behavior to reflect the interests of groups, there must be high-quality candidates available who appeal to those divergent interests.

20. The preceding discussion assumes there are two viable candidates competing for office, but this is not the typical scenario in Illinois elections. The next section shows that candidates in Illinois often run unopposed, meaning that voters have no choice whatsoever. The voters have no opportunity to select a better candidate or incentive their elected officials to work harder on their behalf if a candidate runs unopposed or if the only challengers to an incumbent are not serious, viable alternatives. In this grim scenario, racially polarized voting will be an especially uninformative indicator of voter interests.

21. Despite these theoretical issues, racially polarized voting in Illinois is nevertheless quite stark. This suggests that minority groups indeed have unique and divergent interests. But their ability to translate those interests into outcomes depends upon the electoral institutions and the choices available to them.

22. I understand that other experts have or will be analyzing racially polarized voting in specific state legislative races. I would recommend considering the issues described above when focusing on those specific races. Many state legislative races are uncompetitive, many candidates are not viable, and many candidates don't put forth the kind of campaign effort necessary to appeal to voters and make their positions known. As previously discussed, a lack of racially polarized voting in such an election would not constitute convincing evidence that minority groups don't have divergent interests.

23. Table 3 shows data on votes and campaign spending for several elections of particular interest that I believe other experts plan to analyze. All of these elections are general elections or Democratic primaries between 2012 and 2020. In many of these elections, the runner-up did not spend a meaningful amount of money on their campaign. In 15 out of 32 races, the winner spent more than 80 percent of the money spent by the top-two candidates, and in 11 cases, the winner spent more than 90 percent. We wouldn't expect the divergent interests of minority voters to be reflected in their voting behavior if candidates don't campaign enough for voters to learn about them, or if they don't offer meaningfully different policy positions than their opponent.

E.   Voters in Minority Districts Have Fewer Choices and Less Opportunity for Electoral Selection and Accountability

24. Minority voters in Illinois typically have little opportunity to choose their own elected officials or to incentivize them to work hard on their behalf even though they have interests and preferences that often differ from those of white voters. As explained in more detail below, elections in Illinois are often uncompetitive or even uncontested, and party leaders use various tactics to reduce competition, thereby mitigating opportunities for electoral selection and accountability.

25.   To assess the extent of electoral competition, I analyze data from the Illinois House of Representatives. I focus on the most recent redistricting cycle, which includes election years 2012-2020 and General Assemblies 98 through 102. Primary election data is not available for 2018 so analyses that rely on this data exclude that particular election and corresponding General Assembly.

26.   Table 4 shows for each General Assembly, the share of districts for which the elected legislator ran uncontested in the primary election, general election, and both the primary and the general election. Many citizens have essentially no choice when it comes to selecting their state legislator. Elected legislators to the House of Representatives were uncontested 79 percent of the time in their primary election, 49 percent of the time in their general election, and 40 percent of the time in both their primary and general elections. This last result bears repeating. In four out of ten cases, the person elected to represent their voters in the Illinois House of Representatives ran unopposed in both the primary and the general election.

27.   Why is there so little competition in Illinois elections? At least part of the answer is that party leaders use various tactics to prevent voters from having more choices. One of those tactics is that incumbents who would like to retire from the legislature often resign in the middle of their term, giving their party the opportunity to appoint a replacement. A large literature in political science finds that incumbents are electorally advantaged because of the increased resources and exposure that come with holding office.[6] So instead of allowing voters to select a new leader in an open-seat race following a retirement, party leaders in Illinois appear to encourage retiring members resign in the middle of their term, allowing the party leaders to appoint a new legislator who can run for reelection as an incumbent.

28.   The far-right column of Table 4 shows how often this occurs in the Illinois House of Representatives. In a typical General Assembly, nine to 13 percent of the elected legislators will resign in the middle of their term and be replaced by an appointee of the party. The 102nd General Assembly is still ongoing so we don't yet know how many legislators will resign, but at the time of this data collection, two elected legislators have already resigned and been replaced by appointees. Based on the results from previous General Assemblies, more are likely to follow.

29.   Many of these appointed legislators go on to face little competition when they stand for election for the first time. During this period of analysis, 40 percent of these appointed legislators ran uncontested in their first primary, 49 percent ran uncontested in their first general, and 17 percent run uncontested in both their first primary and their first general election.

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[6] See Ansolabehere, Stephen and James M. Snyder, Jr. 2002. The Incumbency Advantage in U.S. Elections: An Analysis of State and Federal Offices, 1942-2000. *Election Law Journal* 1(3):315-338 and Fowler, Anthony and Andrew B. Hall. 2014. Disentangling the Personal and Partisan Incumbency Advantages: Evidence from Close Elections and Term Limits. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 9(4):501-531 for evidence that incumbent state legislators benefit electorally from having held office.

30. Table 5 shows the same measures of competition but for different subsets of cases. The first row shows results for districts for which more than 40 percent of the voting-age population in 2010 was Black. The second row shows results for districts for which more than 40 percent of the voting-age population in 2010 was Latino. During the period of study, the representatives of these districts are all Democrats. The third row shows all other cases where a Democrat won the election, and the fourth row shows cases where a Republican won the election.

31. We see that uncompetitive races are common across all of these cases, but they are especially common in minority districts. The primary and the general election were both uncontested 32 percent of the time when a Democrat won in a non-minority district, but in Black and Latino districts, these rates increase to 53 and 45 percent, respectively. We also see that appointments are more common in minority districts relative to non-minority districts. Therefore, the residents of minority districts are especially unlikely to have an electoral choice to make. The representatives of minority districts are often selected by the Democratic Party, and citizens of these districts have little opportunity to select a better representative or to incentivize their representative to work harder on their behalf.[7]

32. A potential explanation for the results in Table 5 is that Black and Latino districts see less competitive because they are especially partisan districts. We saw in Tables 1 and 2 that Black and Latino voters are much more likely to support Democrats. If more Democratic or more partisan districts tend to have less competitive elections, that might mean that minority districts see less competition because they are especially partisan, not because they are minority districts per se. Table 4 assesses this possibility through regressions that control for the partisan leanings of each district. Specifically, analyzing each General Assembly by district with a Democratic representative, I regress the outcomes from Table 5 on indicators for Black and Latino districts and control for the partisanship of the district. Specifically, I control for the average two-party vote share of Democratic candidates in statewide elections in each district. I also include fixed effects for each General Assembly to account for the fact that these measures of competition may change over time idiosyncratically.

33. The results in Table 6 suggest that more partisan Democratic districts are less likely to see uncontested primary elections, much more likely to see uncontested general elections, and more likely to see both elections go uncontested. After controlling for district partisanship, we see that minority districts are less likely to see uncontested primary elections, much more likely to see uncontested general elections, and slightly more likely to see both elections go uncontested. They are also notably more likely to experience a partisan appointment in the middle of a term. Overall, the results suggest that voters in minority districts have fewer choices at the ballot box, and they're much more likely to have their choices made for them by party leaders. This remains true if we compare them to similarly partisan but non-minority districts.

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[7] For more on the importance of electoral competition for representation, policy outcomes, and the health of democracy, see Ashworth, Scott. Electoral Accountability: Recent Theoretical and Empirical Work. *Annual Review of Political Science* 15:183-201.

F.   Latino Representatives Are Unlikely to Emerge in Districts That Are Not Predominantly Latino

34.   Do minority voters at least have representatives from their minority group even though minority districts have little opportunity to select their representatives or incentivize them to work hard on their behalf? To address this question, I analyze data on the race of electoral winners in Illinois state legislative elections between 2012 and 2020. I focus on all districts for which at least 15 percent of the citizen voting-age population (or CVAP) is Black, 15 percent is Latino, or 15 percent is Asian.[8] I pool data from both chambers, and approximately three out of four races in this analyses are from the Illinois House of Representatives.

35.   Figure 1 shows how the share of a district's CVAP comprised of a minority group corresponds with the probability that a general election winner is a member of that minority group. Specifically, the figure shows kernel-weighted local polynomial regressions (Epanechnikov kernel, bandwidth = .1). Only the ranges of demographics observed in the data are shown. As expected, the probability that the electoral winner is from a minority group increases as the share of the district composed of that minority group increases.

36.   Also as expected, the relationship between a group's share of a district and the probability that a group member wins the election is nonlinear. There is typically a weak relationship between demographics and descriptive representation when a group is a small minority of a district, but as the size of a group increases, the relationship becomes steeper. And it flattens out again at a certain point.

37.   This result suggests that the way in which districts are drawn can have large effects on minority representation. For example, a district that is 40 percent Black is predicted to have a 78 percent chance of electing a Black legislator. But a district that is 20 percent Black is predicted to have a 15 percent chance of having a Black legislator. Therefore, if a region is 20 percent Black and has the population for two districts, a map that places all Black citizens in one district will produce a black legislator 78 percent of the time, but a map that equally distributes black citizens between the two districts will produce at least one Black legislator only 28 percent of the time ($1 - \{1 - .15\}^2 \approx .28$).

38.   Figure 1 shows that Latino districts are much less likely than a comparably Black district to elect a member of their group. A district that is 20 percent Latino is predicted to have a Latino winner just 6 percent of the time, and a district that is 40 percent Latino is predicted to have a Latino winner 45 percent of the time. The nonlinear relationship between demographics and descriptive representation are such that districts that do not have a large share of Latino voters are very unlikely to see a Latino representative.

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[8] Data on the race of candidates was collected only for districts with at least 15 percent population from one of these minority groups. This information was provided by counsel for the *McConchie* plaintiffs, and I believe it to be accurate.
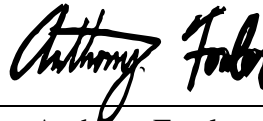
39. When an Illinois legislative map includes several districts with large Latino populations but with white incumbents, are minority candidates likely to be elected in these cases?

40. To answer this question, Figure 2 repeats the same analyses from Figure 1 but conditions on cases where a white candidate previously won the general election. Specifically, the three panels of the figure show the probability of a minority winner emerging in the next election after a white candidate won, two elections downstream, and three elections downstream. Comparing the results to those in Figure 1, we see that minority candidate victories are much less likely in scenarios where a white candidate won a recent election.

41. The descriptive representation of minority districts with a white incumbent does increase over time. For example, if a white candidate wins in a 50 percent Latino district, there is only a six percent chance that a Latino candidate will win in the next election, a 13 percent chance they will win two elections downstream, and a 20 percent chance three elections downstream. However, the extent to which minority representation increases over time depends strongly and nonlinearly on the districts demographics. If a white candidate wins in a 40 percent Latino district, there is a four percent chance that a Latino candidate will win in the next election, a seven percent chance they will win two elections downstream, and a ten percent chance three elections downstream. So a district with a white incumbent is twice as likely to later elect a Latino legislator if it is 50 versus 40 percent Latino.

42. My current curriculum vitae is attached as Exhibit A, which includes a list of all the publications that I have authored in the past ten years. In forming my opinion, I reviewed survey data on vote choices and racial identification, election results, data on the demographics of state legislative districts, campaign finance data from elections of interest, and data on the race of electoral candidates. I also drew from theory and evidence in political science, and the most influential sources are cited in the footnotes of the report. I have submitted expert reports but have not testified as an expert at trial or been deposed in the last four years.

Dated this 10th day of November 2021 at Chicago, Illinois.

Anthony Fowler

Anthony Fowler

Table 1. Racially Polarized Voting in Illinois

Election	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Black – White	Hisp – White	Asian – White
Governor 2006	.488 (.021)	.902 (.028)	.714 (.062)	.791 (.140)	.413 (.035)	.226 (.066)	.302 (.142)
Governor 2010	.417 (.021)	.957 (.017)	.581 (.106)	.262 (.136)	.540 (.027)	.165 (.108)	-.154 (.137)
Governor 2014	.392 (.020)	.889 (.027)	.658 (.094)	.342 (.136)	.497 (.033)	.266 (.096)	-.050 (.138)
Governor 2018	.486 (.017)	.967 (.016)	.801 (.052)	.642 (.098)	.481 (.023)	.315 (.054)	.156 (.099)
U.S. President 2008	.518 (.022)	.977 (.016)	.835 (.066)	.707 (.126)	.460 (.027)	.317 (.070)	.189 (.128)
U.S. President 2012	.502 (.021)	.975 (.018)	.794 (.061)	.658 (.152)	.473 (.028)	.292 (.065)	.155 (.154)
U.S. President 2016	.502 (.017)	.931 (.032)	.896 (.027)	.787 (.064)	.429 (.036)	.395 (.032)	.285 (.066)
U.S. President 2020	.516 (.017)	.939 (.028)	.743 (.061)	.727 (.099)	.423 (.032)	.227 (.063)	.211 (.101)
U.S. Senate 2008	.559 (.021)	.977 (.017)	.823 (.072)	.670 (.142)	.418 (.027)	.264 (.075)	.111 (.144)
U.S. Senate 2010	.390 (.020)	.957 (.016)	.491 (.102)	.268 (.141)	.567 (.026)	.100 (.104)	-.122 (.142)
U.S. Senate 2014	.476 (.021)	.962 (.017)	.785 (.070)	.505 (.142)	.486 (.027)	.309 (.073)	.028 (.144)
U.S. Senate 2016	.540 (.017)	.985 (.006)	.767 (.074)	.594 (.091)	.445 (.018)	.227 (.076)	.054 (.093)
U.S. Senate 2020	.521 (.016)	.979 (.011)	.739 (.063)	.707 (.102)	.458 (.020)	.218 (.065)	.186 (.104)

The table reports the share of Illinois voters from each racial group who supported the Democratic candidate in each election. The final three columns show the difference between minority and white voters. Standard errors are in parentheses.

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Table 2. Racially Polarized Voting in Different Regions of Interest

	DV = Democratic Vote			
	Illinois	Chicago	Aurora	Metro East
Black	.473	.285	.589	.532
	(.008)	(.016)	(.048)	(.036)
Latino	.254	.161	.432	.342
	(.022)	(.029)	(.118)	(.077)
Asian	.131	.048	.217	−.451
	(.034)	(.054)	(.115)	(.058)
Election Fixed Effects	X	X	X	X
Survey Weights	X	X	X	X
Observations	17,618	3,948	439	830
Mean DV for white voters	.480	.674	.376	.445

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 3. Competition in Elections of Interest

Election	Winner Name	Winner Votes	Winner Spending	Runner-up Name	Runner-up Votes	Runner-up Spending	Winner Vote Share	Winner Spending Share
H4 2018 P	DELIA RAMIREZ	7,120	$0.00	IRIS MILLAN	3,076	$144,746.60	.698	.000
CMP 2016 G	SUSANA MENDOZA	2,676,244	$3,533,134.00	LESLIE MUNGER (I)	2,404,723	$9,977,165.00	.527	.262
H114 2016 G	LATOYA GREENWOOD	26,029	$47,655.28	BOB ROMANIK	19,492	$120,386.62	.572	.284
H1 2018 P	AARON ORTIZ	5,636	$127,045.70	DAN BURKE (I)	4,974	$221,122.80	.531	.365
H10 2020 P	OMAR WILLIAMS (I)	8,334	$69,896.49	GERARD C. MOORER	5,872	$94,106.12	.587	.426
H39 2014 P	WILL GUZZARDI	5,316	$273,165.70	TONI BERRIOS (I)	3,484	$352,523.30	.604	.437
H25 2018 P	CURTIS TARVER	4,737	$117,600.30	FLYNN RUSH	3,071	$125,780.50	.607	.483
S22 2016 P	CRISTINA CASTRO	13,887	$122,683.10	STEVE CARAMELLI	6,906	$126,802.90	.668	.492
CCA 2018 P	FRITZ KAEGI	327,769	$2,274,312.00	JOSEPH BERRIOS (I)	243,425	$2,200,793.00	.574	.508
H40 2014 P	JAIME M. ANDRADE, JR. (I)	2,917	$171,344.70	NANCY SCHIAVONE	1,585	$161,535.10	.648	.515
AUR 2017 G	RICHARD IRVIN	7,574	$211,384.43	RICK GUZMAN	7,404	$198,718.72	.506	.515
H83 2020 P	BARBARA HERNANDEZ (I)	5,340	$114,371.90	JUAN THOMAS	2,053	$83,062.96	.722	.579
S5 2016 P	PATRICIA VAN PELT (I)	33,123	$329,459.80	BOB FIORETTI	15,696	$229,090.20	.678	.590
H2 2016 P	THERESA MAH	10,732	$175,462.70	ALEX ACEVEDO	10,217	$117,515.10	.512	.599
AG 2018 P	KWAME RAOUL	390,472	$2,923,824.00	PAT QUINN	352,425	$1,779,583.00	.526	.622
H40 2016 P	JAIME M. ANDRADE, JR. (I)	12,886	$225,219.00	HARISH I. PATEL	8,812	$120,419.00	.594	.652
H5 2016 P	JULIANA STRATTON	19,790	$1,982,591.00	KEN DUNKIN (I)	9,300	$965,530.80	.680	.672
S20 2018 P	IRIS MARTINEZ (I)	19,414	$198,487.20	BART GOLDBERG	7,050	$90,182.42	.734	.688
H39 2012 P	TONI BERRIOS (I)	4,021	$240,160.10	WILL GUZZARDI	3,896	$98,015.51	.508	.710
H5 2018 P	LAMONT ROBINSON	7,230	$842,266.68	DIDARA SAYEED	4,844	$234,593.40	.599	.782
H49 2018 G	KARINA VILLA	22,133	$1,215,408.00	TONIA JANE KHOURI	18,997	$279,198.80	.538	.813
H22 2016 P	MICHAEL MADIGAN (I)	17,155	$1,434,018.83	JASON GONZALES	7,124	$253,638.99	.707	.850
H77 2014 P	KATHLEEN WILLIS (I)	3,272	$32,288.57	ANTONIO FAVELA	946	$5,412.50	.776	.856
S22 2016 G	CRISTINA CASTRO	39,835	$211,483.10	TRACY SMODILLA	21,991	$32,767.66	.644	.866
S11 2020 G	CELINA VILLANUEVA (I)	46,700	$56,540.52	MARI BROWN	11,916	$7,959.00	.797	.877
S25 2020 G	KARINA VILLA	60,238	$1,565,337.00	JEANETTE WARD	57,976	$216,875.70	.510	.878
H114 2020 G	LATOYA GREENWOOD (I)	26,682	$94,598.21	DAVE BARNES	20,015	$12,394.71	.571	.884
S22 2020 P	CRISTINA CASTRO (I)	13,838	$502,285.90	RAE YAWER	3,136	$52,326.46	.815	.906
H83 2020 G	BARBARA HERNANDEZ (I)	19,300	$54,375.90	DONALD R WALTER	7,607	$5,173.95	.717	.913
S40 2020 P	PATRICK J. JOYCE (I)	11,387	$459,661.00	LORI WILCOX	6,474	$29,275.94	.638	.940
H4 2016 P	CYNTHIA SOTO (I)	18,326	$76,531.93	ROBERT ZWOLINSKI	4,705	$4,408.11	.796	.946
H24 2016 G	LISA HERNANDEZ (I)	23,079	$79,957.85	ANDY KIRCHOFF	5,969	$4,152.09	.795	.951
S40 2020 G	PATRICK J. JOYCE (I)	57,901	$224,180.80	ERIC M. WALLACE	41,128	$5,610.97	.585	.976
H40 2020 P	JAIME M. ANDRADE, JR. (I)	11,687	$330,987.50	SYAMALA KRISHNAMSETTY	6,287	$4,925.41	.650	.985
S57 2018 G	CHRISTOPHER BELT	44,254	$175,193.63	TANYA HILDENBRAND	30,496	$2,213.57	.592	.988
S6 2014 G	JOHN J. CULLERTON (I)	39,851	$1,621,943.00	STEFANIE LINARES	20,291	$18,640.63	.663	.989
CCC2 2018 P	DENNIS DEER (I)	11,522	$106,897.60	EDDIE JOHNSON	7,482	$0.00	.606	1.000
S12 2012 P	STEVEN LANDEK (I)	7,121	$88,816.19	RAUL MONTES, JR.	3,583	$0.00	.665	1.000
H35 2012 G	FRAN HURLEY	34,590	$51,189.32	RICARDO FERNANDEZ	16,022	$0.00	.683	1.000
H40 2012 G	DEBORAH MELL (I)	21,744	$3,187.36	TONI PUCCIO-JOHNSON	4,909	$0.00	.816	1.000
H10 2016 G	MELISSA CONYEARS	35,858	$7,228.97	MARK SPOGNARDI	6,911	$0.00	.838	1.000

The top two performing candidates from each race are shown. Elections are sorted by the winner's spending share. Some races are general elections (G) and others are Democratic primaries (P). State legislative races indicate the chamber (H or S) and the district number. AG stands for Attorney General, CMP stands for Comptroller, CCA stands for Cook County Assessor, CCC2 stands for Cook County Commissioner District 2, and AUR stands for Aurora mayor. (I) indicates an incumbent at time of election.

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Table 4. Electoral Competition in the Illinois House of Representatives

Assembly	Primary Uncontested	General Uncontested	Both Uncontested	Appointment
98	.720	.500	.356	.085
99	.805	.559	.475	.093
100	.831	.568	.475	.127
101		.424		.119
102	.797	.398	.280	.017
Pooled	.788	.490	.396	.088

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Table 5. Electoral Competition in Different Settings

	Primary Unc.	General Unc.	Both Unc.	Appointment
Black Districts	.694	.800	.528	.111
Latino Districts	.661	.729	.446	.114
Democrats in Non-Minority Districts	.877	.337	.318	.061
Republicans	.789	.427	.395	.094

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Table 6. Assessing Competitiveness While Controlling for Partisanship

	Primary Unc.	General Unc.	Both Unc.	Appointment
Black District	−.115	.201	.066	.084
	(.072)	(.095)	(.103)	(.044)
Latino District	−.164	.189	.017	.079
	(.067)	(.101)	(.115)	(.042)
District Partisanship	−.350	1.324	.715	−.180
	(.202)	(.333)	(.345)	(.143)
Assembly Fixed Effects	X	X	X	X
Observations	282	356	282	356

District-clustered standard errors in parentheses

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Figure 1. Minority Winners and District Demographics
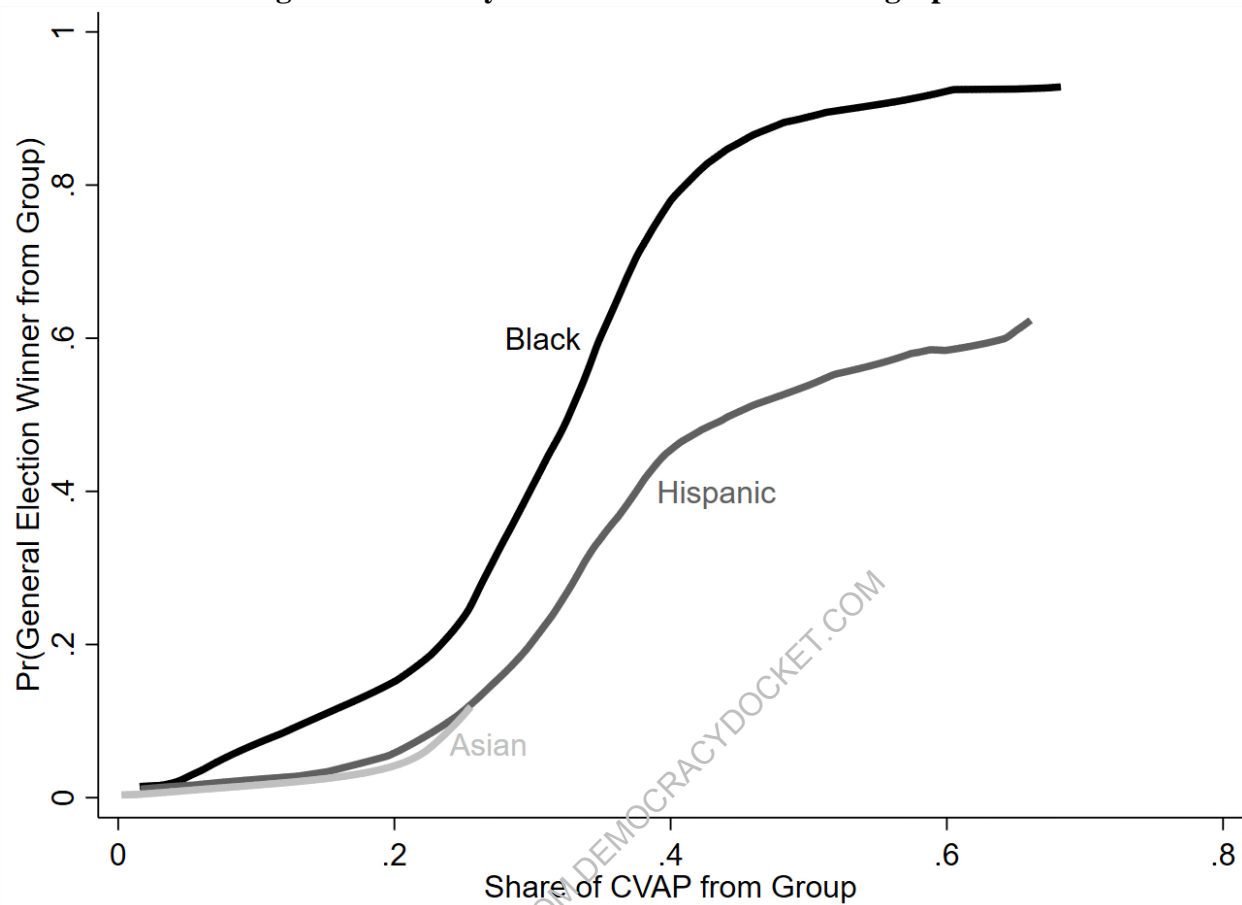
The curves are kernel-weighted local polynomial regressions (Epanechnikov kernel, bandwidth = .1) showing how the probability that the general election winner is from a minority group relates to the share of the district's CVAP comprised of that group. The sample includes all state legislative general elections (from both chambers) between 2012 and 2020 in districts where at least 15 percent of the citizen voting-age population (CVAP) is Black, 15 percent is Latino, or 15 percent is Asian.

Figure 2. Minority Winners Following White Winners
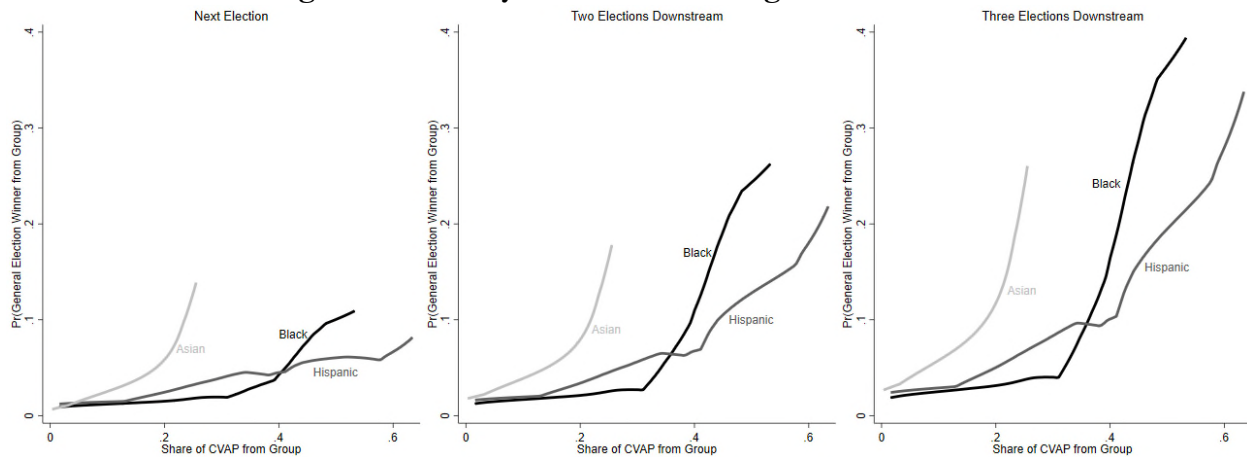
The figure replicates the analysis in Figure 1 but focuses on cases where a white candidate previously won. The left panel shows the probability of a minority winner in the next election after a white candidate's victory, the middle panel shows the same thing two elections downstream, and the right panel shows three elections downstream.

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EXHIBIT A

Anthony Fowler

1307 East 60th Street, 2031   anthony.fowler@uchicago.edu
Chicago, IL 60637   voices.uchicago.edu/fowler

Employment
University of Chicago
       Harris School of Public Policy
              Professor, August 2020-present
              Associate Professor (with tenure), July 2017-July 2020
              Assistant Professor, July 2013-June 2017
       Department of Political Science
              Faculty Associate, November 2017-present
       Committee on Quantitative Methods in Social, Behavioral, and Health Sciences
              Faculty Member, July 2018-present

Education
Ph.D., Government, Harvard University, 2013
S.B., Biology, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2009

Book
Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan and Anthony Fowler. Forthcoming. *Thinking Clearly with Data: A Guide to Quantitative Reasoning and Analysis*. Princeton University Press.

Publications
Berry, Christopher R., Anthony Fowler, Tamara Glazer, Samantha Handel-Meyer, and Alec MacMillen. 2021. Evaluating the Effects of Shelter-in-Place Policies during the COVID-19 Pandemic. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118(15):e2019706118.

Fouirnaies, Alexander and Anthony Fowler. 2021. Do Campaign Contributions Buy Favorable Policies? Evidence from the Insurance Industry. *Political Science Research and Methods* 1-15. https://doi.org/10.1017/psrm.2020.59.

Berry, Christopher R. and Anthony Fowler. 2021. Leadership or Luck? Randomization Inference for Leader Effects in Politics, Busines, and Sports. *Science Advances* 7:eabe3404.

Fowler, Anthony, Haritz Garro, and Jorg L. Spenkuch. 2020. Quid Pro Quo? Corporate Returns to Campaign Contributions. *Journal of Politics* 82(3):844-858.

Fowler, Anthony. 2020. Partisan Intoxication or Policy Voting? *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 15(2):141-179.

Ashworth, Scott and Anthony Fowler. 2020. Electorates vs. Voters. *Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy* 1(3):477-505.

Fowler, Anthony. 2020. Promises and Perils of Mobile Voting. *Election Law Journal* 19(3):418-431.

Fowler, Anthony and Andrew B. Hall. 2018. Do Shark Attacks Influence Presidential Elections? Reassessing a Prominent Finding on Voter Competence. *Journal of Politics* 80(4):1423-1437.

Berry, Christopher R. and Anthony Fowler. 2018. Congressional Committees, Legislative Influence, and the Hegemony of Chairs. *Journal of Public Economics* 158:1-11.

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Enos, Ryan D. and Anthony Fowler. 2018. Aggregate Effects of Large-Scale GOTV Campaigns on Voter Turnout. *Political Science Research and Methods* 6(4):733-751.

Fowler, Anthony and Andrew B. Hall. 2017. Long-Term Consequences of Election Results. *British Journal of Political Science* 47(2):351-372.

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Enos, Ryan D., Anthony Fowler, and Chris Havasy. 2017. The Negative Effect Fallacy: A Case Study of Incorrect Statistical Reasoning by Federal Courts. *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* 14(3):618-647.

Fowler, Anthony. 2016. What Explains Incumbent Success? Disentangling Selection on Party, Selection on Candidate Characteristics, and Office-Holding Beneifts. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 11(3):313-338.

Berry, Christopher R. and Anthony Fowler. 2016. Cardinals or Clerics? Congressional Committees and the Distribution of Pork. *American Journal of Political Science* 60(3):692-708.

Fowler, Anthony and Andrew B. Hall. 2016. The Elusive Quest for Convergence. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 11(1):131-149.

Fowler, Anthony and B. Pablo Montagnes. 2015. College Football, Elections, and False-Positive Results in Observational Research. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 112(45):13800-13804.

Eggers, Andrew C., Anthony Fowler, Jens Hainmueller, Andrew B. Hall, and James M. Snyder, Jr. 2015. On the Validity of Regression Discontinuity Designs for Estimating Electoral Effects: Evidence from Over 40,000 Close Races. *American Journal of Political Science* 59(1):259-274.

Fowler, Anthony. 2015. Regular Voters, Marginal Voters, and the Electoral Effects of Turnout. *Political Science Research and Methods* 3(2):205-219.

Fowler, Anthony and Andrew B. Hall. 2015. Congressional Seniority and Pork: A Pig Fat Myth? *European Journal of Political Economy* 40:42-56.

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Enos, Ryan D., Anthony Fowler, and Lynn Vavreck. 2014. Increasing Inequality: The Effect of GOTV Mobilization on the Composition of the Electorate. *Journal of Politics* 76(1):273-288.

Atkinson, Matthew D. and Anthony Fowler. 2014. Social Capital and Voter Turnout: Evidence from Saint's Day Fiestas in Mexico. *British Journal of Political Science* 44(1):41-59.

Enos, Ryan D. and Anthony Fowler. 2014. Pivotality and Turnout: Evidence from a Field Experiment in the Aftermath of a Tied Election. *Political Science Research and Methods* 2(2):309-319.

Fowler, Anthony and Michele Margolis. 2014. The Political Consequences of Uninformed Voters. *Electoral Studies* 34:100-110.

Fowler, Anthony. 2013. Electoral and Policy Consequences of Voter Turnout: Evidence from Compulsory Voting in Australia. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 8(2):159-182.

Dowling, Conor M., Ryan D. Enos, Anthony Fowler, and Costas Panagopoulos. 2012. Does Public Financing Chill Political Speech? Exploiting a Court Injunction as a Natural Experiment. *Election Law Journal* 11(3):302-315.

Working Papers and Papers under Review

Fowler, Anthony, Seth Hill, Jeff Lewis, Chris Tausanovitch, Lynn Vavreck, and Christopher Warshaw. Moderates.

Fowler, Anthony and Kisoo Kim. An Information-Based Explanation for Partisan Media Sorting.

Fowler, Anthony and William G. Howell. Updating amidst Disagreement: New Experimental Evidence on Partisan Cues.

Fowler, Anthony. Correcting Point Estimates for Publication Bias.

Fowler, Anthony and Andrew B. Hall. Conservative Vote Probabilities: An Easier Method for Summarizing Roll Call Data.

Other Writings

Berry, Christopher R. and Anthony Fowler. 2021. Does Leadership Matter? *Natural History*, March pp. 12-15.

Fowler, Anthony. 2020. America Needs Compulsory Voting. *Foreign Affairs*.

Working Group on Universal Voting. 2020. Lift Every Voice: The Urgency of Universal Civic Duty Voting. Brookings Institution Report.

Fowler, Anthony. 2020. Curing coronavirus isn't a job for social scientists. *Bloomberg*.

Fowler, Anthony. 2020. Defending Sober Voters against Sensationalist Scholars: A Reply to Rogers. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 15(2):213-219.

Fowler, Anthony, Haritz Garro, and Jorg Spenkuch. 2020. Quid Pro Quo? Corporate Returns to Campaign Contributions. CATO Research Briefs in Economic Policy No. 217.

Fowler, Anthony. 2019. But Shouldn't That Work Against Me? *The Political Methodologist*.

Fowler, Anthony and Andrew B. Hall. 2018. Politics as if Evidence Mattered: A Reply to Achen and Bartels.

Berry, Christopher R. and Anthony Fowler. 2018. Erratum to "Cardinals or Clerics: Congressional Committees and the Distribution of Pork". *American Journal of Political Science* 62(4):1014-1016.

Fowler, Anthony. 2018. Better Representation through Replacement. Conference on Political Polarization, University of Chicago.

Fowler, Anthony. 2017. The Negative Effect Fallacy, Gobbledygook, and the Use of Quantitative Evidence in the Supreme Court. *Election Law Blog*.

Fowler, Anthony. 2017. Chief Justice Roberts and other judges have a hard time statistics. That's a real problem. *The Monkey Cage*.

Fowler, Anthony. 2017. A Case for *More* Incumbents. Conference on Electoral Reform, University of Chicago.

Fowler, Anthony. 2016. Football games, shark attacks, and why voters may not be so incompetent after all. *Univerity of Chicago News*.

Berry, Christopher R. and Anthony Fowler. 2016. Congressional Committee Membership is Less Important than Previously Thought, but Chairs Are Really Influential. *American Politics and Policy Blog, London School of Economics and Political Science*.

Fowler, Anthony and B. Pablo Montagnes. 2015. Reply to Healy et al.: Value of Ex Ante Predictions and Independent Tests for Assessing False-Positive Results. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* doi:10.1073/pnas.1520253112.

Fowler, Anthony and Andrew B. Hall. 2015. Elections Have Big Consequences that Last for Decades. *American Politics and Policy Blog, London School of Economics and Political Science*.

Fowler, Anthony. 2014. Is Get-Out-the-Vote Bad for Democracy? *Boston Review*.

Fowler, Anthony. 2014. Marginal Voters Are Much More Likely to Vote Democratic. *American Politics and Policy Blog, London School of Economics and Political Science*.

Fowler, Anthony and Michele Margolis. 2014. A More Informed Electorate Would Benefit the Democratic Party. *American Politics and Policy Blog, London School of Economics and Political Science*.

Enos, Ryan D. and Anthony Fowler. 2014. [Get Out the Vote Interventions Increase Inequality in Voter Turnout](). *American Politics and Policy Blog, London School of Economics and Political Science.*

Enos, Ryan D. and Anthony Fowler 2014. [The Surprising Parity of the 2012 Ground Game](). *The Monkey Cage.*

Enos, Ryan D. and Anthony Fowler. 2013. [Obama's Voters Mobilization Was Barely More Effective than Romney's](). *The Monkey Cage.*

Fowler, Anthony and Michele Margolis. 2012. [Know Where You Stand: How Informing the Voters Helps the Democrats](). *Boston Review.*

Panagopoulos, Costas, Conor M. Dowling, Ryan D. Enos, and Anthony Fowler. 2011. [Amicus Brief to the U.S. Supreme Court, *Arizona Free Enterprise v. Bennett*]().

Enos, Ryan D. and Anthony Fowler. 2010. [Do Americans Care about Politics?]() *YouGov Model Politics Blog.*

Enos, Ryan D. and Anthony Fowler. 2010. [Does YOUR Vote Count?]() *YouGov Model Politics Blog.*

Teaching

[Quantitative Methods for Public Policy]()
[Political Economy III: Testing Theories of Political Institutions]()
[The Science of Political Campaigns]()
[Electoral Politics]()
[Public Opinion and Public Policy]()

Awards and Fellowships

Finalist, MIT Sloan Sports Analytics Research Competition, 2019
Political Analysis Outstanding Reviewer Award, 2017
Pacific Standard's "[Top 30 Thinkers Under 30]()," 2016
Inductee, [The *QJPS* Referee Hall of Fame](), 2005-2014
Research Grant, Institute for Quantitative Social Science, Harvard, 2012
Deakin-Royce Graduate Research Fellowship in Australian Studies, Harvard, 2011 & 2012
Honorary Visiting Research Fellow in Social Science, La Trobe University, 2011
Research Grant, Center for American Political Studies, Harvard, 2010
James A. Lash Presidential Graduate Fellowship, MIT, 2009

Conferences and Presentations

American Politics Graduate Workshop, UCSD, November 2021
American Politics Colloquium, Princeton, September 2021
UT Austin COVID-19 Modeling Consortium, April 2021
Harvard, Working Group in Political Psychology and Behavior, March 2021
Chicago, American Politics Workshop, January 2020, January 2019, October 2017, October 2013
Oak Park Temple, December 2020
Chicago, Diversity Day, November 2020, November 2019
Chicago, Political Economy Workshop, October 2020
Norwegian School of Business, Virtual Seminar, October 2020
Chicago, Model Class for Family Weekend, October 2020, October 2019, October 2018
Stanford GSB, APSA Pre-Conference on Money in Politics, September 2020

Stemnova, August 2020
Chicago, COVID-19 Research Discussion, May 2020
Chicago, Political Economy Lunch, Jan 2020, Jan 2018, Apr 2017, May 2016, Mar 2015, Feb 2014
UCSD, American Politics Speaker Series, November 2019
Chicago, Public Policy Leaders Program Seminar, November 2019
UPenn, Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration Conference, July 2019
Columbia, American Politics/Political Economy Seminar, March 2019
MIT Sloan Sports Analytics Conference, March 2019
MIT Club of Chicago, December 2018
Maryland; Trade, Institutions, and Political Economy Seminar, December 2018
Notre Dame, American Democracy Seminar, November 2018
Texas, American Politics Workshop, October 2018
Chicago, Quantitative Methods Committee Workshop, October 2018
ANU, Australian Political Economy Network Workshop, July 2018
UNSW Business School, School of Economics, July 2018
Chicago-Northwestern American Politics Meeting, May 2018
Chicago, Conference on Political Polarization, May 2018
Emory/Asheville Political Economy Conference, May 2018
USC, Political Institutions and Political Economy Conference, March 2018
Emory, Institute for Quantitative Theory and Methods, December 2017
Chicago, BFI Research Experience for Undergraduates, July 2017
Chicago, Conference on Electoral Reform, June 2017
Washington Area Political Economy Conference, May 2017
Chicago, Harris School, Faculty in Focus, April 2017
Political Economy in the Chicago Area, Dec 2016, March 2016, Oct 2014, Dec 2013
Chicago, Booth Econometrics and Statistics Workshop, October 2016
German Academic Scholarship Foundation, Annual North American Conference, October 2016
ASA-Significance Media Luncheon, Joint Statistical Meetings, August 2016
Stanford, Political Science Methods Workshop, April 2016
ASU, Conference on Campaigns, Elections, and Representation, April 2016
Chilean Public Policy Summit, April 2016
NYU, Political Economy Workshop, November 2015
Chicago, 69th Annual Latke-Hamantash Debate, November 2015
UCLA, American Politics Workshop, February 2015
MIT, American Politics Conference, September 2014
Georgetown, American Government Speaker Series, September 2014
Yale, Center for the Study of American Politics Summer Workshop, June 2014
Oxford, Nuffield CESS Conference on Field Experiments and Election Campaigns, May 2014
Chicago, Microeconomics Workshop, April 2014
UC Berkeley, American Politics Workshop, April 2014
UCSD, American Politics Speaker Series, February 2014
LSE, Government Research Seminar, October 2013
University of Warwick, Political Economy Seminar, October 2013
Berkeley Conference on Political Economy and Governance, September 2013
CCES Sundance Conference, May 2013
Harvard, The Westminster Model of Democracy in Crisis? May 2013
Harvard, Applied Statistics Workshop, March 2013
University of Melbourne, Australian Society for Quantitative Political Science, December 2012

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MIT, Political Economy Breakfast; Oct 2012, May 2011, March 2010
Harvard, American Politics Research Workshop; Sept 2012, April 2102, Oct 2011, Feb 2011
Harvard, Political Psychology and Behavior Workshop; Sept 2011, Feb 2011
La Trobe University, Invited Presentation, July 2011
American Political Science Association; 2020, 2015, 2014, 2013, 2012
Midwest Political Science Association; 2018, 2017, 2016, 2014, 2013, 2012, 2011
Southern Political Science Association; 2019, 2018, 2017, 2016, 2014, 2013
European Political Science Association, 2014

Service
Associate Editor, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2019-present
Co-host, *Not Another Politics Podcast*, 2020-present
Governing Board, Joint Ph.D. Program in Political Economy, University of Chicago, 2021-present
Remote Ballot Return Standards Working Group, UC Berkeley, 2021-present
Quantitative Methods Workshop Committee, University of Chicago, 2019-present
Hiring Committee in Development, Harris School, 2021-22
Guest Editor, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 2021
College Council, University of Chicago, 2018-2021
Advisory Committee, Cyber Policy Initiative, Harris School, 2018-2021
Pi Sigma Alpha Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association, 2021
Director of Undergraduate Studies, Harris School, 2018-2020
Editorial Board Member, *Journal of Politics*, 2017-2020
Truman Scholarship Nomination Committee, University of Chicago, 2019-2020
Working Group on Universal Voting, Harvard and Brookings, 2019-2020
Ad Hoc Committee on Preregistration, *Journal of Politics*, 2018
Curriculum Committee on Quantitative Methods, University of Chicago, 2018-19
Committee on International Development and Policy Curriculum, Harris School, 2017-2018
Committee on Part-Time Degree Curriculum, Harris School, 2016-2017
Committee on Undergraduate Public Policy Curriculum, University of Chicago, 2015-2018
Hiring Committee in Analytical Politics, Harris School, 2014-15, 2017-18, 2018-19
Hiring Committee in Quantitative Methods and Formal Theory, Dept. of Political Science, 2018-19
Committee on Faculty Voting Procedures, Harris School, 2017
Coordinator, Political Economy Workshop, Harris School, 2015-2017
Co-organizer, Chicago Harris-Emory Analytical Politics (CHEAP) Conference, 2015 and 2016
Committee on Undergraduate Public Policy Program, University of Chicago, 2014
Coordinator, Harris School Module of the Cooperative Congressional Election Study, 2014
Coordinator, Harvard Working Group in Political Psychology and Behavior, 2011-2013
Referee:
  American Economic Journal: Microeconomics
  American Economic Review (6)
  American Journal of Political Science (15)
  American Political Science Review (24)
  American Politics Research
  Australian Journal of Political Science (2)
  British Journal of Political Science (16)
  Canadian Journal of Political Science (2)
  Comparative Political Studies (4)
  Congress & the Presidency

Demography
Economics & Politics
Electoral Studies (9)
European Economic Review (2)
European Journal of Political Economy
Games and Economic Behavior
Governance (2)
Government and Opposition
Harvard Undergraduate Research Journal
International Journal of Infectious Disease
Journal of the American Statistical Association
Journal of Development Economics
Journal of the European Economic Association (2)
Journal of Experimental Political Science (4)
Journal of Law, Economics and Organization (2)
Journal of Legislative Studies
Journal of Political Economy (7)
Journal of Political Marketing
Journal of Politics (36)
Journal of Public Economics (5)
Journal of Quantitative Analysis in Sports
Journal of Theoretical Politics
Legislative Studies Quarterly (12)
National Science Foundation
Nature Human Behavior
Party Politics (2)
PLOS One
Political Analysis (6)
Political Behavior (9)
Political Research Quarterly (6)
Political Science Research and Methods (8)
Politics, Groups, and Identities
Proceedings of the National Academic of Sciences
Public Choice (5)
Public Opinion Quarterly (2)
Quarterly Journal of Economics
Quarterly Journal of Political Science (10)
Review of Economic Studies (2)
Review of Economics and Statistics (2)
Scandinavian Journal of Economics (3)
Science (3)
Social Science Quarterly
Time-sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences (2)

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EXHIBIT D

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS
EASTERN DIVISION**

DAN MCCONCHIE, in his official capacity as Minority Leader of the Illinois Senate and individually as a registered voter, JIM DURKIN, in his official capacity as Minority Leader of the Illinois House of Representatives and individually as a registered voter, the REPUBLICAN CAUCUS OF THE ILLINOIS SENATE, the REPUBLICAN CAUCUS OF THE ILLINOIS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, and the ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN PARTY,
 	
        Plaintiffs,
 	
     vs.
 	
CHARLES W. SCHOLZ, IAN K. LINNABARY, WILLIAM M. MCGUFFAGE, WILLIAM J. CADIGAN, KATHERINE S. O'BRIEN, LAURA K. DONAHUE, CASANDRA B. WATSON, and WILLIAM R. HAINE, in their official capacities as members of the Illinois State Board of Elections, EMANUEL CHRISTOPHER WELCH, in his official capacity as Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives, the OFFICE OF SPEAKER OF THE ILLINOIS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DON HARMON, in his official capacity as President of the Illinois Senate, and the OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE ILLINOIS SENATE,
 	
        Defendants.
	Case No. 1:21-cv-03091
	
	Circuit Judge Michael B. Brennan
	Chief District Judge Jon E. DeGuilio
	District Judge Robert M. Dow, Jr.
	
	Three-Judge Court
	Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 2284(a)

EXPERT REPORT OF CHARLES A. GALLAGHER, Ph.D.

Executive Summary

Senate Factor One in Section 2 Voting Rights Act cases considers the history and extent that official discrimination against minorities touched upon their right to vote or otherwise participate in the democratic process. Senate Factor Five in Section 2 Voting Rights Act cases considers "the extent to which minority group members bear the effects of past discrimination in areas such as education, employment and health, which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process." Decades of social science research make clear two undeniable conclusions related to these Senate Factors as explained in this report. The first is that the research record has established that Blacks and Latinos have, and continue to be, subject to discrimination, both official and otherwise. Research shows that Blacks and Latinos are socially disadvantaged in areas of employment, health outcomes, educational attainment and almost every other quality of life indicator. The socio-economic variables and racial disparities that social scientists have demonstrated are linked to lower voter registration and turnout include median family income, rates of poverty, educational attainment, owning a home or renting, wealth accumulation, rates of employment, language acquisition, health disparities and a political climate that encourages rather than hinders access to voting.

Secondly, the research record has clearly demonstrated that the socio-economic disparities faced by Blacks and Latinos hinder their ability to vote and participate fully in the political process. The numerous and sometimes overwhelming social and economic challenges and obstacles that Blacks and Latinos must navigate on a daily basis result in a depressed level of participation in the political process.

These conditions have existed, and continue to exist, in Illinois, including Cook County, Aurora and East St. Louis. Accordingly, and in the context of Senate Factors One and Five, it is my opinion that the historical and present effects of both official and de facto discrimination experienced by Latinos and Blacks in the Cook County area, Aurora and East St. Louis have hindered, and continue to hinder, their ability to participate effectively in the political process.

1. Assignment, Qualifications and Materials Reviewed

1. I am a tenured full professor and until June 1, 2021 was Chair of the Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice at La Salle University for 13 years. Prior to that I was a tenured associate professor of sociology at Georgia State University in Atlanta, Georgia. I have taught classes on U.S race relations at both the graduate level (Georgia State University) and undergraduate level (La Salle University, Colorado College and Temple University). I have been a professor for 27 years. In that time, I have edited 12 books or journals, published 16 academic book chapters, authored 7 peer-reviewed journal articles, had my articles reprinted 13 times in other edited books, serve on 4 editorial boards, and have given 33 invited talks in the United States and six in the UK when I was a visiting Fulbright Scholar, presented over 50 professional talks in the United States and been interviewed about matters of race and inequality over 100 times in the media. My race and ethnicity reader, *Rethinking the Color Line: Readings in Race and Ethnicity* (Sage), is now in its 7th edition (2022) I have served as reviewer for the National Science Foundation and the Fulbright U.S. Scholar's Program. I have received numerous awards for my

research and teaching. I have been elected to several offices in the American Sociological Society. I have testified as an expert witness in federal cases involving the role race may have played in the treatment of racial minorities in various institutions and by government actors. My current CV, which includes a list of all of my publications over the past ten years and the cases I have testified in or been deposed in over the last four years, is attached as Exhibit 1. I reviewed the materials cited in this report and the Plaintiffs' Second Amended Complaint.

2.   Assignment

2.   I have been retained by attorneys for the Plaintiffs in this case which challenges the map of Illinois Senate and House Districts in the legislative redistricting plan passed by the Illinois General Assembly in late August, 2021 and signed by the Governor on September 24, 2021 (the "September Map"). I am being compensated at the rate of $300 per hour. The fact that I am being compensated has not altered the facts or opinions that I have given or will give in this case. The September Map was drawn using 2020 US Decennial Census population counts that was released by the Census Bureau on August 12, 2021. Plaintiffs charge that the September Map unconstitutionally dilutes the vote of Latino and Black voters and violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. Plaintiffs argue that the September Map was drawn in such a way as to "pack" Latino voters into particular House districts, thus diluting Latino's overall political strength, by cramming them into fewer districts. Plaintiffs also argue that the September Map "cracks" Latino voters by separating them into other House Districts. The result is the September Map discriminates against Latino voters by diluting their voting power specifically in Southwest Cook County, Northwest Cook County and Aurora. The September Map discriminates against Black voters, specifically in the East Louis area, by separating and dispersing a compact majority Black community (cracking) into non-Black majority CVAP (citizen voting age population) districts.

3.   I researched and analyzed the materials related to this case to determine whether social science scholarship in my area of expertise on social inequality and racial discrimination, and a history of official discrimination, helps to understand the implications of how, and the extent to which, members of a minority group in the state or political subdivision bear the effects of discrimination in such areas as education, employment and health, which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process. The socio-economic variables and racial disparities that social scientists have demonstrated are linked to lower voter registration and turnout include median family income, rates of poverty, educational attainment, owning a home or renting, wealth accumulation, rates of employment, language acquisition, health disparities and a political climate that encourages rather than hinders access to voting.

4.   Presented below are statistics of the racial disparities of Blacks and Latinos in Illinois compared to Whites and to national averages, and information regarding official discrimination. What is plainly and painfully clear is that Blacks and Latinos are socially disadvantaged and have been subjected to discrimination for decades. That discrimination continues today. Blacks and Latinos have been and remain discriminated and socially disadvantaged in areas of employment, health outcomes, educational attainment and almost every other quality of life indicator. While these disparities have been documented for decades by social scientists and government agencies, the responsiveness of elected officials has been so inadequate

that these disparities have remained unchanged and in some case the disparities have actually widened. To take just one example, a 2021 report by the Chicago's Department of Public Health found that "Overall life expectancy among Blacks is decreasing, and the gap between the life expectancy of Blacks and non-Blacks is widening" (*The State of Black Health for Blacks in Chicago 2021*, p. 7).

5.　　　　The research also demonstrates that these social disadvantages have a pernicious effect on political participation. The cumulative effects of poverty, lower levels of education, health concerns, residential and occupational segregation, the mistrust of the government, and a lack of responsiveness by politicians to the needs of the Black and Latino community create obstacles to effectively participating in the political process.

3.　　　　Past-In-Present Discrimination

6.　　　　In their seminal 1980 research article Feagin and Eckberg elaborated on the concept of past-in-present discrimination.　The concept does much to explain the extensive racial inequalities in home ownership, wealth accumulation, college graduation rates and numerous quality of life indicators that vary by race and are intergenerational.　The theory is rather straightforward; racist institutionalized discriminatory practices that were in place for multiple decades (or centuries) cause socio-economic harm and blocked opportunities today. It may be that redlining, restrictive covenants and racial steering in the real estate market are now illegal but the decades long effects of those discriminatory practices have effects today as demonstrated by continued residential segregation and rates of home ownership that vary significantly by race and ethnicity. Today, among large cities Chicago has the second highest black-white segregated index in the United States (Menendian, Samir and Gailes, *Twenty-First Century Racial Residential Segregation in the United*, June 21, 2021). Similarly, the Index of Dissimilarity between white and Hispanic populations in Cook County was 60.2%. This is a measure of segregation. An index over 60% is considered a high level of residential segregation (*Place Matters for Health in Cook County: Ensuring Opportunities for Good Health for All.* July 2012).

7.　　　　The legally sanctioned housing discrimination Blacks and Latinos were subject to through the majority of the 20th century, while now illegal, causes present harm today and explain why neighborhoods are racially segregated today. The authors explain that:

> Past-in-present discrimination involves apparently neutral present practices whose negative effects derive from prior intentional discriminatory practices. One variant involves penalizing minorities now because they lack an ability or qualification they were prevented from acquiring in the past. The use of age restrictions and cumulative employment records in employment screening exemplifies past-in-present discrimination. Where employers or unions have intentionally discriminated against minority persons in the past, but no longer do, the present routine enforcement of age ceilings screens out minority persons who are now too old but who would not have been hired when they were younger because of intentional discrimination. Those who faced blatant discrimination in the past are now disproportionately subject to layoffs during periods of economic recession

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because of a lack of seniority (see US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission 1974) (Feagin and Eckberg p. 12-13, 1980).

8.   If past-in-present discrimination explains how state sponsored discriminatory actions of yesterday shape the life chances of minorities today, institutional racism explains how these racial inequalities are perpetuated. Stanford Professor Matthew Clair explains how even in the absence of overt racial animus racial groups can be subject to discrimination. He argues that:

> Institutional racism refers to particular and general instances of racial discrimination, inequality, exploitation, and domination in organizational or institutional contexts, such as the labor market or the nation-state. While institutional racism can be overt (e.g., a firm with a formal policy of excluding applicants of a particular race), it is more often used to explain cases of disparate impact, where organizations or societies distribute more resources to one group than another without overtly racist intent (e.g., a firm with an informal policy of excluding applicants from a low income, minority neighborhood due to its reputation for gangs). The rules, processes, and opportunity structures that enable such disparate impacts are what constitute institutional racism (and variants such as 'structural racism', 'systemic racism', etc.) (Clair and Dennis, 2015 p. 860).

9.   The racial and ethnic disparities we see today in Illinois, and in particular in Chicago and the Cook County area, and East St. Louis, reflect a long history of political and economic exclusion directed at racial and ethnic minorities. The 20th century saw the migration of millions of African American from the rural South to Northern cities. The increase in the size of the African American population moving to Illinois saw concomitant rise in formal government policies and informal practices that were implemented to segregate a growing Black population from the White majority. While the 1919 Chicago race riots are a stark reminder of racialized violence directed by whites at the black community what was also occurring was the implementation of policies that would shape race relations and racial inequality for decades. Red lining, exclusionary zoning laws, racial steering, real estate covenants and the threat of violence would result in Blacks being geographically isolated for decades to come. The segregation that created in Chicago's Black Belt is evident in the segregation we see in Chicago today. Chicago is one of the most segregated large cities in the United States. The majority of Blacks in Chicago (80%) live in just 23 of 77 community areas of Chicago (*State of Health for Blacks in Chicago*, 2021).

10.   The United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has an index called Racially Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This measure looks at which groups live in high poverty areas that are also majority minority. "Cook County has the highest poverty rate in the region and therefore the most census tracts with exceedingly high concentrated poverty. 18 RCAP tracts are over 90 percent Hispanic." (*Fair Housing and Equity Assessment: Metropolitan Chicago, p. 35*, 2013). Latinos in Cook County are disproportionately poor and live in communities that are ethnically segregated.

11.   Segregation in labor markets meant that black, and later Latino workers, would be relegated to low wage, typically non-union, menial labor. Racism in housing and labor markets are examples of past-in-present discrimination and institutional racism. A lack of occupational mobility, the inability to create wealth through home ownership, the lack of access to quality public education for one's children and the denial of basic civil rights for most of the twentieth century to Blacks and Latinos is understood by social scientists as the reasons we see such racial inequities between whites and racial minorities today.

4.   Socio-Economic Disparity

12.   What is abundantly clear in a review of the standard quality of life indicators is that Blacks and Latinos in Illinois, including Chicago and East St. Louis, lag significantly behind Whites in almost all socioeconomic measures. The social variables I describe below are in no way exhaustive. These quality of life measures were selected because they represent those variables which have enormous importance on one's life chances, that is, the relative social mobility one will experience in their life given the opportunities society affords and the structural barriers they will encounter.

A.   The Growing Latino Presence in Chicago and Cook County

13.   As the quality of life measurers above indicate, Latino's lag behind whites on most socio-economic characteristics. It is worth noting that many of the challenges are linked to the large and rapid growth of the Latino population through birth and immigration. According to the US Census the Latino population in Chicago grew from 753,000 in 2000 to 820,000 in 2020 making them the second largest ethnic or racial group in Chicago.

14.   In Cook County, the Latino population grew by 79 percent with an additional 550,568 Latino residents. (*Fair Housing and Equity Assessment: Metropolitan Chicago*, *p. 12* 2013). Latinos in Cook County now account for 25.6% of the total population (US Census Bureau 2019, Cook County).   However, the increase in the Latino population in Cook County has also been accompanied by high rates of inequality for this group. A report released in 2018 found that

> Cook County is highly racially and economically segregated, resulting in economic and resource disparities between communities and regions. This segregation fosters inequity for residents and adds to the economic disparities that exist throughout the County. Overall, Cook County has a poverty rate of 15.0 percent, which is slightly higher than the national poverty rate of 12.3 percent. When broken down by race, the poverty rate is dramatically higher for black and Latinx populations than for white populations. *Cook County Policy Road Map: Five Year Strategic Plan, p. 6.*

15.   Low educational attainment and high rates of poverty also result in living in "food deserts," areas where affordable good quality fresh food is unavailable. "Most of the census tracts with low educational attainment and low food access are located in the southern portion of Cook County, which has a high concentration of minority communities. The overall pattern suggests that

socioeconomic conditions in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty, which are predominantly African American and Latino, make it more difficult for people in these communities to live healthy lives." (*Place Matters for Health in Cook County: Ensuring Opportunities for Good Health for All A Report on Health Inequities in Cook County, Illinois*, P. 2)

16.   Cook County was also found to be one of the top ten most disadvantaged counties in Illinois. The Illinois Department of Public Health created a Concentrated Disadvantage index consisting of five variables that signal a county's lack of well-being. The five variables are: percent of individuals living in poverty, unemployment rate, percent of households receiving public assistance, percent of households that are female-headed, and percent of individuals that are under 18 years old. According to this study, Cook County also has a very high Gini Coefficient relative to the US or Illinois. A Gini coefficient is a single number that measures economic inequality. These numbers were 0.474 Illinois Overall: 0.482 Cook County: 0.510. Measures over .50 on the Gini coefficient mean severe income inequality. (Healthy Illinois 2021, *Health Indicators: Core Data, Illinois Department of Public Health 2021*, p.18).

17.   Affordable housing has also been a challenge in Cook County. A study on food access and housing found

> In Cook County, the housing cost burden in 2009 was moderate to severe (between 30% and 49.9% of income) for over one in five (21.7%) households, and was severe (more than 50% of income) in another 17.0% of households.39 Cook County's housing cost burden exceeded that of Illinois (19.1% and 12.5% of households respectively experienced moderate or severe cost burden) and the United States (18.4% and 12.0% of households, respectively, experienced moderate or severe cost burden). Severe overcrowding (an average of more than 1.5 persons per room) affected 4.2% of Cook County households, compared with 2.4% of Illinois households and 2.8% of U.S. households. Only 54.9% of housing units in Cook County were occupied by those who owned and held financial stake in the property, compared with 63.9% in Illinois and 60.7% nationally. (*Food Access and Health in Cook County Illinois, Center on Human Needs Virginia Commonwealth University Richmond, Virginia,* 2012 p. 16)

18.   Residential segregation and poverty in Cook County also shape life expectancy among Black and Latino communities. The Collaborative for Health Equity-Cook County documented a 14-year difference in life expectancy between residents living in areas with a median income greater than $53,000 per year and people living in neighborhoods with a median income below $25,000. The long history of high levels of racial residential segregation in metropolitan Chicago reflects structural racism and remains uninterrupted. Less than 10% of poor children who are white live in high-poverty neighborhoods. In contrast, 75% of poor children who are black and 45% of poor children who are Latino are subjected to the toxic consequences of concentrated poverty (*The Collaborative for Health Equity-Cook County, National Collaborative for Health Equity*, 2014).

19.   UIC's Institute for Public Policy and Research report *A Tale of Three Cities: The State of Racial Justice* found that within Chicago's Latino community:

- Almost 25% of Latino families live below the poverty line

- The rate for unemployment in the city is 10% compared to 20% for Blacks and around 5% for whites

- Black and Latino households are more likely to secure mortgages that have high interest rates, ballooning payment schedules, and numerous extra fees.

- Nearly 90% of all Latino students attend school where 75% of the student body are eligible for free or reduced lunches.

- Latinos are uninsured at twice the rate of their black and white counterparts

B.   Racial and Ethnic Disparities - Health

20.   The disparity between Whites and Blacks and Latinos is well-documented and stark, as evident from the information that follows.

1.   COVID-19

Racial and Ethnic Characteristics of Chicagoans' death due to COVID-19 as of October, 2021 as a percent of Total Deaths by Race and Ethnicity

> Asian 4.5 %
> Black 40.6%
> Latinx 32.6%
> White 21.7%

City of Chicago (chicago.gov)

The Cook County Health Department found that "Hispanics were 40% more likely to be hospitalized due to a COVID-19 infection in comparison to non-Hispanic Blacks and whites….and A large majority of the Hispanic patient population impacted by COVID-19 also serve as essential frontline workers.

> The rapid and disproportionate increase in COVID-19 hospitalizations among Hispanics after the shelter-in-place mandate indicates that public health strategies were inadequate in protecting this population," said Dr. Bill Trick, study principal investigator and associate chair of research at Cook County Health. "These individuals were unable to shelter in place because their employment (or employers) did not allow for remote work.

Cook County Health Release, August 10, 2021

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2. **Infant Mortality in Illinois ("IMR")** (death of an infant before their first year of birth)

Deaths per 1000 live births

Asian 3.1
Black 12.9
Latino 6.2
White 4.7

Black/African American infants have an IMR over two times as high as that of White, Hispanic, and Asian infants in Illinois. Latinos have an IMR rate twice that of Asians and over thirty percent higher than Whites. (*Report to the General Assembly: Illinois Task Force on Infant and Maternal Mortality Among African Americans, 2020*)

3. **Infant Mortality Rate, East St. Louis**

Infant mortality: During 2007-2009, the infant mortality rate in St. Clair County was 8.1 per 1,000 live births, compared with 6.9 statewide. (Illinois Kids Count 2014). According to the 2019 Census Blacks comprise approximately 30.6% of the population of St. Clair County. (*US Census, Quick Counts 2019*)

4. **Maternal Mortality** (death to the mother during pregnancy or up to one year after the end of pregnancy (per 100,00 births)

Latina 34.3
White 17

Latina maternal mortality in Chicago is over two times that of Whites.

C. **Racial and Ethnic Disparities - Income**

1. **Child Poverty**

Poverty among both children and adults continues to show disparities by race and ethnicity. Children of color generally fare worse in terms of poverty than White children. Black children live below the poverty level at the highest rate among children in racial groups **(Black 35.4%)**, almost 1.6 times that of the next racial group down at 22.3%. **White (11.6%)** and **Asian (9.1%)** children have among the lowest rates of poverty. Latinx children **(21%)** of any race are below the poverty level at a rate more than 2.2 times that of White children who are not Latinx.

(*Illinois Kids Count Report 2021,* p. 13)

2. Median Family Income, Chicago Metro Area

Asians $87,469
Whites $79,865
All $66,020
Latino $52,730
Blacks $37,258

(Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (ACS Survey, 2016))

3. Median Family Income, Illinois

Asians $118,700
Whites $107,400
All $86,600
Latino $55,800
Blacks $39,700

(*Kids Count*, 2019)

D. Racial and Ethnic Disparities - Educational Attainment, Illinois: 25 or older with a Bachelor's Degree or Higher (2018)

Asian 36%
Whites 22%
Blacks 12%
Latinos 9%

(*Illinois Bureau of Higher Education, Addressing Equity in Higher Education, September 15, 2020.)*

Nationally, white families tend to be wealthier and white students tend to perform at a higher-grade level than their Hispanic counterparts. In the city of Chicago, this gap is dramatic. White students are performing, on average, 1.4 grade levels above their actual grade, whereas Hispanic students are performing one grade level below their actual grade. (*Chicago Department of Public Health: Healthy Chicago 2025*, 2019, p. 171)

E. Racial and Ethnic Disparities – Employment

1. Unemployment, Illinois 2020

Whites 8.5%
Blacks 14.4%
Latino 12.0%
U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020

In Illinois, as well as in the nation, the unemployment rate increased in 2020 for all racial groups. In Illinois, the unemployment rate was 14.4% for African Americans, 12.0% for Hispanics, and 8.5% for whites. In both Illinois and the U.S., African Americans historically have had the highest unemployment rate among all major racial and ethnic groups. (*Women and Minorities in the Illinois Workforce: Focus on Unemployment 2021,* p. 3)

2. Unemployment, Chicago

Black 18.8%
Latino 9.3%
Whites 4.1%

3. Unemployment of individuals with a Bachelor's Degree

Black 8.5%
Latino 4.5%
White 3.4%

"Between 1980 and 2017, Latinx unemployment has been double or worse than white unemployment." (*Chicago Department of Public Health: Healthy Chicago 2025, 2019,* p. 127)

4. Unemployment By Age and Race in Chicago; 20-24 year olds, 2013-2017

White 7%
Latino 19.5%

F. Racial and Ethnic Disparities - Wealth

1. Home Ownership Rates

White 54%
Latinos 43%

2. Cost-Burdened Renters by Race in Chicago (pay more than 30% of their income on rent)

Latino 56%
White 42%

3. Household with Zero Net Worth, Chicago

Latino 27%
White 15%

The Racial Wealth Divide in Chicago, 2017.

4. Savings by Race

Percent of Households in Chicago that do NOT enough savings to live above the poverty level for three months:

> Latinos 71%
> All Households 49%

(*State and Local Approaches to Chicago's Region Racial and Ethnic Wealth Inequality, Urban Institute 2019.*)

G. Firearm Homicide Victims

21.   In Illinois, 90% of firearm homicide victims are male and Black males are disproportionately impacted. Black males aged 15-34 have a firearm homicide rate nearly 63 times higher than White males of the same age group. (*Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Health Statistics. WONDER Online Database, 1999-2019).*

22.   In Illinois, African Americans are 34 times more likely to die by gun homicide as white people, compared to 10 times nationwide. (*Homicide source: CDC, Fatal Injury Reports, five-year average: 2014-2018. Homicide includes shootings by law enforcement.*)

23.   Gun violence has reached such epidemic proportions in Chicago and Illinois it now discussed as a public health issue, one that disproportionately effects communities of color. In November of 2021 Governor Pritzker issued an executive order to address this social problem. Among other concerns he noted that:

> The State of Illinois recognizes that firearm violence has a disproportionate impact on Black, Latinx, and other communities of color as a result of systemic racism; …exposure to violence disrupts youth development, harms mental and physical health, and increases the likelihood of risky behaviors, including future violence.

(*Executive Order 2021-29: Implementing a Comprehensive Approach to Reducing Firearm Violence in Illinois*)

H. East St. Louis as a Case Study

24.   East St. Louis comprises a large portion of the Metro East area and provides a unique example of how past racial inequalities and government policies shape the state of racial disparities today. Two years prior to the race riots that would consume Chicago and other American cities East St. Louis had its own race riot in 1917 that left 9 whites and an estimated 100 African Americans dead. The riot was started when hundreds of Black workers were hired as strikebreakers when white workers at the Aluminum Ore company went on strike (Allison Keyes,

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Smithsonian Magazine, 6/30/ 2021). The residential and occupational segregation, deindustrialization, white flight and disinvestment that took place throughout the 20th century in East St. Louis created a set of racialized institutional obstacles that define the city's current situation. Today East St. Louis is poorest and most violent city in Illinois. In 1950 East St. Louis was the fourth largest city in Illinois with a population over 82,000. At that time the city was about 75% white. Between 1970 and 2000 the city lost 55% of its population and 70% of its businesses. The city is now 96% Black. Deindustrialization and the white flight that would alter the demographics and fortunes of this city are a stark example of how past discriminatory actions resonate today. The Wall Street Journal selected East St. Louis as the "worst" city to live in Illinois explaining that their rating reflected that "There were 1,190 violent crimes reported in the city for every 100,000 residents compared to just 404 for every 100,000 people across Illinois. The city's poverty rate of 37.8% is nearly three times higher than the 13.1% statewide poverty rate. The area's high crime rate is also likely depressing real estate values. Most homes in East St. Louis are worth less than $53,000, less than a third of the median home value of $187,200 across Illinois" (*WSJ, Special Report*, Samuel Stebbins, May 25, 2021). Per capita income is $16,987 in East St. Louis and $36,038 in Illinois. The unemployment rate is 16%, nearly double the national average (Census Reporter 2019). The Belleville News Democratic found that "The national homicide rate is around 5 murders for 100,000 people; in East St. Louis, it's 96 murders per 100,000, topping cities like Chicago, St. Louis, Detroit and Washington, D.C. Yet only 25 percent of the murders are charged in criminal court, compared to a national average of 60 percent" (April 24, 2019).

I.   Socioeconomic Disparity – Summary

25.   As seen from the information above, Latinos and African Americans throughout Illinois have significantly less wealth, income and education than Whites, and suffer from increased health risks compared to Whites. As the literature demonstrates, these factors correlate with lower voter participation.

5.   The Nexus between Socio-Economic Factors and Voting

26.   The social science literature makes clear that voting participation is strongly correlated with income and education and as the quality of life measures above demonstrate, income and education vary by race. Public Policy professor Randall Akee at UCLA found that voter participation increases with family income noting that there was a clear positive association between family income and participation in voting. The 48 percent voting participation rate for families in the lowest income category in 2016 was a bit more than half of the 86 percent rate for families in the highest income category. The ratio of differences across income groups is qualitatively similar in other election years as well (Ecofacts, Akee, February 2019). The Washington Center for Equitable Growth found the same income-voting pattern: higher-income citizens are more likely to vote then low-income individuals. They found that the income "disparity is exacerbated because low income Americans are less likely to get paid time off from work, more regularly move their places of residence, are incarcerated at higher rates and are more likely to face unstable transportation and child arrangements" (*The Consequences of Political Inequality and Voter Suppression for U.S. Inequality and Growth*, Washington Center for Equitable Growth, February, 2021).

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27.   Education is also linked to voter participation. Drawing on the link between education and income, researchers at Washington University in St. Louis found that "The 2017 median annual income of households in the United States was $59,039. In the 2014 election, less than 25% of voters came from households with annual income under $10,000, but 56.6% came from households with incomes over $150,000. Education has also been found to play a role. The turnout rate was 23.7% among voters with less than a ninth-grade education, 53.2% among voters with a bachelor's degree, and 62.0% among voters with an advanced degree" (*Incomplete Democracy: The Relationship of Race, Income, and Education to Voter Participation*, Washington University in St. Louis, CSD Research Brief 18-41, October 2018).

28.   Columbia University Professor of Social Work Paul Hartley found that a connection to voting participation, poverty, access to transportation and illness. Using state level self-reporting data on voter turnout Professor Hartley found that "relative to the rest of the population, lower-income Americans are more likely than those at higher incomes to not vote because of issues like transportation problems or illness/disability, and less likely relative to higher income Americans to not vote because of time conflicts, general busyness, or travel" (Hartley 2020, p 14 in *Changing the Political Landscape*).

29.   There is a large and long-established social science record on racial disparities, racial discrimination, prejudice and racism in the United States. As the descriptive statistics I outlined demonstrate, racial and ethnic minorities have, and continue to be, socially and economically disadvantaged in the United States. It is undeniable that racial minorities "bear the effects of discrimination" and this discrimination "may hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process." Census data from 1968 to 2020 shows the extent to which black voting turnout has lagged in comparison to whites (US Census, *Historical Reported Voting Rates*).

30.   Given the research record on racial and ethnic inequality and socio-economic disparities in the United States, and as a sociologist who has studied race relations for almost three decades, it is clear that the numerous and sometimes overwhelming social and economic challenges and obstacles that racial and ethnic minorities must navigate on a daily basis hinder their ability to vote or participate in the political process. If we look at the totality of factors in play that help or hinder individuals from participating in the political process many Black and Latino voters, because of their socio-economic situation, simply are not in the same position to be involved politically then those groups who do not share their hardships.

6.   The Census Undercount and the Political Disenfranchisement of Racial Minorities

31.   The 2020 US Decennial Census undercounted communities that have larger shares of certain groups: Blacks, Latinos, and populations with higher shares of young children. The groups with a higher undercount would be deprived of resources relative to groups that are more likely be accurately or overcounted in other communities (older, white non-Latino residents). The US Census has been very forthcoming that the decennial census is more likely to miss, that is not count some populations, than others (differential undercount). In a 2012 release the Census Bureau

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explained "Because racial and ethnic minorities disproportionately live in hard to count circumstances they too were undercounted relative to the majority population" Census Bureau Releases Estimates of Undercount and Overcount Populations in 2010, May 22, 2012).

32.   The US Census Bureau has numerous documents analyzing who is at risk and measures to address overcoming these enumeration challenges. The hard-to reach/locate population has been extensively researched by scholars and opined by journalist in the mainstream press. According the Census Bureau those living in poverty, renters, children and racial minorities are often undercounted. The US Census also makes note that those with "limited English proficiency, cultural and linguistic minorities, persons who are angry at and/or distrust the government, undocumented, persons living in non-traditional housing or hidden housing and persons less likely to use the internet" are populations that tend to be missed in the decennial census.

33.   A recent study in collaboration with the Great Cities Institute at UIC and the Census Bureau (2021) provides a window into how racial minorities in Illinois would be particularly hurt if they are undercounted. The study found that as a whole the state of Illinois' census count was quite successful, ranking first in the most populous states and seventh among all states for population self-response rates. That said, the state of Illinois, like most states in the US, had challenges counting hard-to-reach populations.

34.   The study notes that Illinois census tracts that "are majority African American had the lowest self-response rates compared to tracts that are majority White (non-Latino), majority Asian, or majority Latino. Majority African American tracts consistently trended below the national average. As of October 28, the median self-response for Illinois tracts that are majority African American were 13 percentage points lower than the national average" (p. .(p. 24) In addition, the self-response rate for Illinois tracts that are majority Latino was 4 percentage points higher than that of African Americans. (p. 24, Figure 2).

35.   The study found that "the 2020 Census Barriers, Attitudes, and Motivators Study (CBAMS) in 2019 found that certain characteristics such as low educational attainment, low income, and racial or ethnic identity were related to "low levels of intent" to participate in the census, thereby identifying them as hard-to-count populations (p.16). The city of Chicago "had the lowest self-response rate of the 12 Illinois Census Regions (60.9%) (p. 10). Over all the study found "the self-response rate among tracts that were majority White (non-Latino) averaged roughly 20 percentage points higher than among tracts that were majority people of color" (p.23). The self-response rates for the 2020 census were 75.7% for Whites, 54% for Blacks, 58.6% for Latinos and 57.6% for Asians (p. 24).

36.   These census population undercounts translate into federal assistance dollars that will bypass these hard-to-reach communities, which are disproportionately Black and Latino. The *Making It Count* study found that in 2015 Illinois received $19.7 billion dollars in federal assistance or about $1,535 (p.1) and that "even a one-percent undercount would result in an annual loss of $19,557,435 over the next ten years, resulting in a total loss of $195,574,350 directly impacting all residents of Illinois, especially its most vulnerable" (p.5). The Urban Institute

analysis of the 2020 census found that Black and Latino populations "could be undercounted nationally by 3.68 percent and 3.57%, respectively" (*Assessing Miscounts in the 2020 Census*, 2019 p. 2).

37.   Undercounting racial and ethnic minorities results in the loss of federal and state funds to communities that are undercounted. In this scenario, federal and state resources would be siphoned away from communities of color and disproportionately redirected to those communities that were not undercounted. Using population estimates that are flawed to draw redistricting maps will result in in-need and at-risk populations being subject to discriminatory outcomes that will create additional socio-economic challenges for these communities. If a redistricting map is constructed with greater undercount differentials of Illinois' racial minorities population, the political voices of these groups would be stifled and these communities would be deprived much need federal and state funding.

7.   Discrimination by State Actors

38.   Senate Factor One considers "the extent of any history of official discrimination" in the jurisdiction that "touched the right of the members of the minority group to register, to vote, or otherwise to participate in the democratic process." Racial and ethnic minorities have been, and continue to be, subject to state sponsored discrimination in Illinois. Official discrimination includes overt government acts, as in housing discrimination by HOLC (Home Owners Loan Corporation, the precursor to HUD, Department of Housing and Urban Development) and redlining of minority neighborhoods by government actors, and racial profiling by the police. Official discrimination also includes the lack of, or selective enforcement of, civil rights laws put in place to address and stop ongoing discrimination against racial minorities. As this report highlights, the effect of residential segregation on racial minorities creates intergenerational, long term socio-economic disadvantages for these groups. As explained in this report, the social science research demonstrates that poverty, lower levels of educational attainment, health care disparities and other socio-economic obstacles all are thought to contribute to lower levels of voter turnout by these groups. The result of these obstacles is that racial minorities are unable to fully engage in the political process.

39.   According to housing scholars Latinos have, and continue be, discriminated in Illinois and the Chicago region housing market because of a lack of government enforcement of federal housing policies. In their review of the literature researchers found that "Latinos, in particular, face housing discrimination on the basis of their ethnicity, familial, and immigration statuses. Historically, eligible Latinos have been underrepresented in public housing primarily because they are unaware of such housing. According to the Chicago Tribune, "While Latinos make up 25 percent of the population eligible for public housing in Chicago, they occupy just over 2 percent of the authority's units in use" (McRoberts 1995). As shown below, both the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) have failed to conduct sufficient outreach in the Latino community to inform qualified individuals about the available services, programs, housing units, and job opportunities.

40.   For instance, in 1994, Latinos United, a housing advocacy organization, sued the CHA after years of negotiation because of the lack of Latino representation and access to housing opportunities. As a result, CHA agreed to include eligible Latino families on waiting lists for various housing programs, provide remediation vouchers, and develop specialized community outreach programs in the Latino community (Latinos United. 2006. "The Latino consent decree 10 years later: Increasing Latino access to Chicago Housing Authority Programs". Briefing paper. Chicago: Latinos United: A Latino Action Research Network. 2006); *Latinos United v. CHA et. al.*, No. 94-C-1229 (N.D. Ill.); *A Call for Fairness: The Historical and Continuing Exclusion of Latinos from Public Housing in Chicago*, La Raza Law Journal, Vol. 9, p. 155 (1997).

41.   The U.S. Fair Housing Act of 1968 has had mixed results, but ultimately has not succeeded in creating racial balance and integration in every city as it originally set out to do. The act was amended in 1988 to prohibit discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, disability, familial status, or national origin in housing, but to this day its enforcement by the federal government, that is, the U.S. Department of Justice and HUD, is questionable (National Fair Housing Alliance 2004). The Fair Housing Act has not done enough to dispel segregation and discrimination from the fabric of U.S. society" (Latinos and their Housing Experiences in Metropolitan Chicago: Challenges and Recommendations by Madeline Troche-Rodríguez, *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy*, Volume 21, 2008–2009 p. 19). A study by HUD found that 43% of all Illinois discrimination related complaints were race based and of those 61% involved discrimination towards Latinos (*Latinos Main Target of National Origin Housing Discrimination in Illinois*, May 9, 2012.

42.   The American Bar Association defines racial profiling as "the police practice of stopping black and brown drivers in disproportionate numbers for traffic infractions, in attempts to investigate other crimes for which the police had no evidence" ("Racial Profiling: Past and Present and Future?", *Criminal Justice*, Winter 2020, Volume 34, Issue 4.) A recent study by the ACLU of Illinois found that minority drivers in Illinois were stopped more often than white drivers and subject to increased levels of intrusive policing during traffic stops. In the summary of their report the ACLU found "In 2017, minority drivers were stopped about 1.5 times more often than white drivers. This rate has increased each year since 2015.4 Among drivers who were stopped, Black drivers were searched about 1.8 times more often than white drivers, and Latinx drivers were searched 1.4 times more often. Black drivers were asked to consent to searches during traffic stops about 1.7 times more often than white drivers, and Latinx drivers about 1.3 times more often. Yet, white drivers were found with contraband during a consent search about 1.3 times more often than both Black drivers and Latinx drivers. In other words, Black and Latinx drivers were more likely to be asked to consent to searches, but less likely to be found with contraband. The Illinois State Police conducted the highest number of "dog sniff" searches of all of the reporting agencies, and it disproportionately targeted Latinx drivers for such searches. The annual number of traffic stops in Illinois was between 2 and 2.2 million throughout 2015-2017." Racism in the Rear-View Mirror: Illinois Traffic Stop Data 2015-2017, ACLU, 2019, P. 2

43.   Legal scholars have also found that "four decades after the enactment of the Voting Rights Act, racial discrimination in voting is far from over." In Illinois, instances of official

discrimination include diluting the strength of minority voting. Katz found such evidence in "The state legislature's retention and defense in a 1983 lawsuit of its districting plan for the state legislature, which diluted minority voting strength in order to protect two incumbent white senators in Chicago." Thus, the state redistricting commission's drawing of district lines with "the immediate purpose...to preserve the incumbencies of two white state Senators… was so intimately intertwined with, and dependent on, racial discrimination and dilution of minority voting strength that purposeful dilution has been clearly demonstrated in the construction of Commission senate districts 14, 17 and 18" (*Documenting Discrimination in Voting: Judicial Findings Under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act Since 1982*, Ellen Katz with Margaret Aisenbrey, Anna Baldwin, Emma Cheuse, and Anna Weisbrodt December 2005, p 28.) (Citing *Rybicki v. State Bd. of Elections*, 574 F.Supp. 1082 (1982).

44.   Another example of state action that diminished a minority group's ability to participate fully in the political process occurred in Cicero, Illinois. Between 1990 and 2000 the Latino population in Cicero grew by 175% (On the Road to Political Incorporation: The Status of Hispanics in the Town of Cicero, Illinois Mitzi Ramos, *Critique*, Spring 2004.). Cicero put in place an 18-month candidate residency requirement for city office. The Ordinance was struck down as violative of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. It was widely acknowledged that the actions by city officials was to prevent Latino voters from having the opportunity to vote for the candidate of their choosing (On the Road to Political Incorporation: The Status of Hispanics in the Town of Cicero, Illinois Mitzi Ramos, *Critique*, Spring 2004.).

45.   Racial discrimination by state actors, in this instance the Illinois Legislative Redistricting Commission, was found in how redistricting maps were drawn using 1980 census data. The court found "this process was so intimately intertwined with, and dependent on, racial discrimination and dilution of minority voting strength that purposeful discrimination has clearly been demonstrated…" *Rybicki v. State Bd. of Elections*, 574 F.Supp. 1082, 1110 (1982).
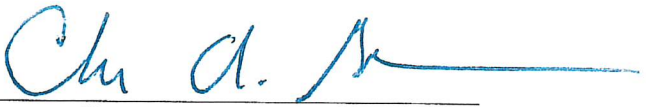
46.   These voting challenges in the Latino community are evident in the disproportionately low number of Latinos that hold elected public office. While there are now almost 60 million Latinos, making up about 18% of the US total population (2020) they account for just 1.2% of local, state and federal elected official (USA Today, May 23, 2020). Commenting on this disparity the Brennan Center suggests that "The result of this discriminatory gerrymandering is the near complete exclusion of Latinos from public office" (Brennan Center, November 4, 2021).

47.   The state of Illinois has also recognized that their record on hiring Latinos for state government employment is low relative to the number of Latinos in the state. Illinois Department of Central Management found that "The Illinois Hispanic/ Latinx population is 17.5%. The latest State employment insights show that the percentage of total Hispanic/Latinx employees in Illinois State government has increased slightly from FY19 to FY20, from 6.5% (2,940) to about 7% (3,193). When comparing that to white employees at the State, the disparity is apparent. White employees still make up the majority of the state employees at 69% (*HISPANIC/LATINX FY2020 Employment Plan Report, Department of Central Management Services*, p. 6).

48.   The role government policies that have historically harmed communities of color and the lack or selective enforcement of civil rights laws in areas such as housing, employment or law enforcement ultimately create barriers for these groups to participate fully in the democratic process.

Conclusion

The racial and ethnic discrimination that Latinos and African Americans have been subjected to, both official and unofficial, in the past explains the economic depravations and socially inequality we see today, as outlined in the disparity statistics in this report. African Americans and Latinos lag in life expectancy and access to health care, have lower levels of educational attainment, are more likely to be unemployed and to live in poverty. These socio-economic obstacles and challenges have contributed to lower Black and Latino voter turnout (see The Brennan's Center report *Large Racial Turnout Gap Persisted in the 2020 Election*) and hinder Black and Latino's ability to effectively participate in the political process. Illinois, and in particular Cook County and East St. Louis, are no exceptions. The hard-to-reach status of these communities also means these groups are more likely to be undercounted in the census. When redistricting maps are drawn in such a way that these groups are politically "cracked and packed," as they were in the September redistricting map, the disparities that result in a hindrance or diminished ability to fully and effectively participate in the political process are magnified, exacerbated and perpetuated. Social science research demonstrates social disadvantages experienced by Blacks and Latinos has the effect of hindering and depressing political participation. The cumulative effects of poverty, lower levels of education, health concerns, residential and occupational segregation, the mistrust of the government, and a lack of responsiveness by politicians to the needs of the Black and Latino community means that these groups' ability to be involved and participate fully in the political process is seriously compromised.

Charles A. Gallagher, Ph.D.

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EXHIBIT 1

Vita

February 2021

CHARLES A. GALLAGHER
Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice
La Salle University
1900 West Olney Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19141-1199
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gallagher@lasalle.edu

Academic Positions
Professor of Sociology, La Salle University, 2008-present
Senior Fellow, Yale Urban Ethnography Project, Yale University Department of Sociology, 2014-present
Visiting Fulbright Professor of Sociology, University of Birmingham, UK 2016-17
Associate Professor, Georgia State University 2004-2008
Assistant Professor, Georgia State University 1997-2004
Visiting Assistant Professor, The Colorado College 1996-1997
Visiting Assistant Professor, Franklin and Marshall College 1996

University Administrative Positions
Chair of the Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice, La Salle University, 2008-
La Salle University Faculty Senate President 2018-2020
La Salle University Public Health Advisory Board, 2014-2017
American Studies, Affiliated Faculty, La Salle University, 2014-2018
Faculty Fellow, Center for Neighborhood and Metropolitan Studies, Georgia State University, 2003-08
Race and Urban Concentration Chair, Georgia State University, 1997-2008
Women Studies, Affiliated Faculty, Georgia State University, 2002-2006

Education
Ph.D.   1997   Temple University, Philadelphia   (Sociology)
M.A.   1989   Temple University, Philadelphia   (Sociology)
B.S.   1985   Drexel University, Philadelphia   (Economics)

Research and Teaching Areas
Race and Ethnic Relations, Urban Sociology, Immigration, Stratification and Social Inequality, Qualitative Methods

Honors and Awards

2018-19   The Faculty Distinguished Research Award, La Salle University

2016-17   Selected as a Fulbright US-UK Research Scholar, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, England.

2016   Marsico Visiting Scholar, University of Denver School of Law and Sociology Department, April 17 to 20th, 2016

2013-14   Grant from The Pew Charitable Trust for urban research project "Whites, Blacks and New Immigrants in Four Philadelphia Neighborhoods (Olney, Kensington/Fishtown, Mayfair and Passyunk Square): Attitudes, Perceptions and Changing Urban Spaces" $15,000.

2012   Golden Key International Honour Society Keynote Speaker and Inducted Honorary member, La Salle University.

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2010	Doctor Roland Holroyd Award for Outstanding Achievement as Teacher and Mentor, Sigma Phi Lamba, La Salle University.
2008	President's Outstanding Faculty Award for Community Service and Social Action, Georgia State University.
2005	Martin Luther King, Jr. Torch of Peace Award for Intercultural Relations, 22nd Annual Martin Luther King, Jr. Convocation, Georgia State University.
2005	Douglas and Marion Attaway Distinguished Faculty Fellowship in Civic Culture, Centenary College, January 23–29, Shreveport, Louisiana.
2002	Michael Harrington Distinguished Teaching Award, National Forum on Poverty and Inequality, Society for the Study of Social Problems (SSSP).
2001	Outstanding Teacher of the Year, College of Arts and Sciences, Georgia State University.
1999	Nominated Honors Program Teaching Award, Georgia State University.
1997	Lloyd E. Warner Outstanding Teacher of the Year, The Colorado College.
1997	Community Service Award, Pikes Peak Urban League, Colorado Springs.
1995	Candace Rogers Award for best graduate student paper, "White Reconstruction in the University," Eastern Sociological Society; Award Chair and Presenter, Professor Mary Waters, Department of Sociology, Harvard University.
1995	Race and Ethnicity Section Award, First Prize, Society for the Study of Social Problems (SSSP), "White Folks Can't Count: The Meaning of Racial Innumeracy."
1993-94	Dissertation Fellowship Completion Award, Temple University.
1993	Outstanding Graduate Student Teaching Award, College of Arts and Science, Temple University.
1992-89	Dean's Fellowship, College of Arts and Sciences, Temple University.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS AND POSITIONS

EDITORIAL AND ADVISORY POSITIONS:

Russell Sage and Carnegie Corporation Advisory Board Member**,** Research Project Title: *Immigrant-Native Relations in 21st-Century America: Intergroup Contact, Trust, and Civic Engagement in Atlanta and Philadelphia,* 2012-2015

Editorial Board, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2012- Current

Editorial Advisory Board, *Social Problems*, 2006-Current

Editorial Board, *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 2013-Current

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Editorial Board, *Genealogy*, 2015 -

COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIPS:

Society for the Study of Social Problems, C. Wright Mills Book Award 2018-19

Chair, American Sociological Section of Racial and Ethnic Minorities section Oliver Cromwell Cox Book Award 2018

Committee on Committees American Sociological Society 2015-17

Charles V. Willie Minority Scholarship Award, Eastern Sociological Society, Committee Member, 2013-2016

Vice President, Pennsylvania Sociological Society, 2010-2012

Chair, American Sociological Society Section on Race and Ethnic Minorities, 2006-07

Chair, Southern Sociological Society Committee on Racial and Ethnic Minorities, 2005-2007.

Chair, Undergraduate Student Paper Competition, Pennsylvania Sociological Society, October 2010.

Chair, American Sociological Society Section on Race and Ethnic Minorities, 2006-07

Chair, Southern Sociological Society Committee on Racial and Ethnic Minorities, 2005-2007.

Committee Member, Eastern Sociological Association Nominating Committee, 2004-2005.

Committee Member, ASA Section on Racial and Ethnic Minorities (SREM) 2003-2006.

Committee Member, Southern Sociological Society Committee on Racial and Ethnic Minorities, 2004-2007.

ASA DuBois, Johnson, Frazier Award Selection Committee 2003.

Chair, ASA DuBois, Johnson, Frazier Award Selection Committee 2004.

Chair, SSSP/Poverty Forum, Michael Harrington Distinguished Teaching Award Selection, 2003.

Chair, Joe R. Feagin Distinguished Undergraduate Student Paper Award, Section on Racial and Ethnic Minorities, 2004.

Current Book Project

Book Title*: The Institutionalization of Colorblindness and The Rise of Racial Inequality.***The book examines how colorblindness gets used in various social settings and institutions, how these colorblind frames serve specific ideological, political and economic purposes and how these self-reinforcing narratives of colorblindness maintain and reproduce racial inequality. Advanced book contract with Routledge.

Books and Edited Volumes

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February 2021

Rethinking the Color Line: Readings in Race and Ethnicity edited by Charles A. Gallagher, Sage Publishing, Sixth edition, August 2019.

Race and Racism in the United States: An Encyclopedia of the American Mosaic: Four Volume Set edited by Charles A. Gallagher and Cameron Lippard, Greenwood Press, 1464 pages, 2014.

Retheorizing Race and Whiteness in the 21ˢᵗ Century: Changes and Challenges, Charles A. Gallagher and France Winndance Twine, Routledge Publishers, 2012.

Rethinking the Color Line: Readings in Race and Ethnicity, Charles A. Gallagher, Editor, McGraw-Hill Publishers, 5ᵗʰ Edition, 2012, 480 pages; Fourth Edition, 2009; Third Edition, 2007; Second edition, 2004; First edition 1999, Mayfield Publishers.

Being Brown in Dixie: Race, Ethnicity and Immigration in the New South, Cameron Lippard and Charles Gallagher, editors, Lynn Riener Publishers, 2011, 389 pages.

New Directions in Race Research edited by Charles A. Gallagher, Social Forces Press, 2008, 350 pages.

Ethnic and Racial Studies Special Issue "Whiteness and White Identities" edited by France Winndance Twine and Charles A. Gallagher, Volume 31, Number 1, January 2008.

Social Forces "New Directions in Race Research" Special Section edited by Charles A. Gallagher, Volume 86, Number 2, December 2007.

Published Articles and Book Chapters

Institutional Racism Revisited: How Institutions Perpetuate and Promote Racism Through Colorblindness *in Whitelash: White Resistance to Racial Equality in the Era of Trump Era* edited by Cameron Lippard, j. Scott and David Embrick, University of Georgia Press, Forthcoming October 2020..

"Re-Whitening" Non-White Spaces Through Colorblind Narratives" in *The Routledge International Handbook of Contemporary Racism* edited by John Solomos, 2020.

"From Wave to Tsunami: the Growth of Third Wave Whiteness" by Charles A. Gallagher and France Winndance Twine" Ethnic and Racial Studies, Volume 40 Issue 9 July 2017, pp 1598-1608.

"Persecuted Whites and the Myth of Discrimination Parity" Al Jazeera Magazine, January 2015, 1-14.

"Colorblind Egalitarianism as the New Racial Norm" forthcoming, Cambridge University Press, in *Theories of Race and Ethnicity* edited by Karim Murji and John Solomos , January 2015, pp. 40-56.

"Immigrants in Philadelphia: What Longtime Residents Think about Their Foreign-Born Neighbors" A report from The Pew Charitable Trusts" researched and written by Charles A. Gallagher, October, 2014, pp. 1-15.

"Blacks, Jews, Gays and Immigrants Are Taking Over": How the Use of Polling Data Can Distort Reality and Perpetuate Inequality Among Immigrants" *Ethnic and Racial Studies Review* March, 2014, pp. 731-738.

"Immigration, The New South and the Color of Backlash" (pp. 1-25) and "Southern Location, Nation

February 2021

Implications" (pp. 313-336) by Cameron Lippard and Charles A. Gallagher in *Being Brown in Dixie: Race Ethnicity and Immigration in the New South*, Cameron Lippard and Charles Gallagher, editors, Lynne Reiner Press, 2011, pp. 1-25.

"In-Between Racial Status, Mobility and the Promise of Assimilation: Irish, Italians Yesterday, Latinos and Asians Today" in *Multiracial Americans and Social Class: The Influence of Social Class on Racial Identity* edited by Kathleen Korgen, Routledge Press, 2010. Pp. 10-21.

"Black, White and Browning: How Latino Migration is Transforming Atlanta" in *The City of Atlanta: Recent Trends and Future Prospects* edited by David Sjoquist, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2010. Pp. 205-219.

"Racism in Post-Race America: New Theories, New Directions" by Charles A. Gallagher, in *New Directions in Race Research* edited by Charles A. Gallagher, Social Forces Press, 2008 pp. 2-15.

"The End of Racism" as the New Doxa: New Strategies for Researching Race" in *White Logic, White Methods: Racism and Methodology* edited by Eduardo Bonilla-Silva and Tukufu Zuberi, Lynne Rienner Publisher, 2008. Pp. 163-179.

"The Future of Whiteness: A Map of the Third Wave" by France Winddance Twine and Charles A. Gallagher, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Volume 31, Number 1, January 2008 pp. 4-24.

> Reprinted in: *Race in an Era of Change: A Reader*, eds. Heather Dalmage and Barbara Katz Rothman (New York, Oxford University Press, 2011).

"Color-blinded America or How the Media and Politics Have Made Racism and Racial Inequality Yesterday's Social Problem" in *The Matrix Reader: Examining the Dynamics of Oppression and Privilege* edited by Abby Ferber, McGraw-Hill Press, 2008.

"New Directions in Race Research" *Social Forces*, Volume 86, Number 2, December 2007, pp. 553-561.

"White" in *Handbook of the Sociology of Racial and Ethnic Relations*, edited by Joe Feagin and Hernan Vera, Kluwer Press, 2007, pp. 9-16.

"The Challenge to Public Sociology: Neo-Liberalism's Illusion of Inclusion" in *Public Sociologies* edited by Judith Blau and Keri Iyall Smith, Roman and Littlefield, 2006, pp. 293-304.

"Color Blindness: An Obstacle to Racial Justice?" in *Mixed Messages: Multiracial Identities in the "Color-blind Era"* edited by David L. Brunsma, Lynne Rienner Publishes, 2006, pp. 103-116.

"Immigration, Racism and the American Dream" in *Church and Society*, March/April 2005, Volume 95, Number 4, pp. 16-24.

"Transforming Racial Identity Through Affirmative Action" in *Race and Ethnicity: Across Time, Space and Discipline* edited by Rodney Coates, Brill Publishers, 2004, pp.153-170.

"Miscounting Race: Explaining Misperceptions in Racial Group Size", *Sociological Perspectives*, Volume 46, No. 3, Fall 2003, pp. 381-396.

"Color-blind Privilege: The Social and Political Functions of Erasing the Color Line in Post-Race America" *Race, Gender and Class*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 2003, pp. 22-37.

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Reprinted in:
Intersections: Readings in Sociology, 4/e, Pearson Publishers, 2008, 2016

Updated and rewritten as "Color Blinded: How and Why Race Has Disappeared in America" in *Readings in Introductory Sociology* McGraw-Hill, 2007.

Race and Ethnicity in Society: The Changing Landscape, edited by Elizabeth Higginbotham and Margaret L. Anderson, Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2006, 2009, 2014, 2020

Understanding Society, second edition by Margaret L. Andersen, Kim A. Logio and Howard Taylor, Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2005.

Reprinted in *Rethinking the Color Line: Readings in Race and Ethnicity*, edited by Charles A. Gallagher, McGraw Hill Publishing, 2004, 2007.

"Racial Redistricting: Expanding the Boundaries of Whiteness" in *The Multiracial Movement: The Politics of Color* edited by Heather Dalmage, State University of New York Press, 2004, pp. 59-76.

Reprinted in *Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Issues in Race and Ethnicity* edited by Raymond D'Angelo and Herb Douglas, Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, seventh edition, 2008.

"Ten Simple Things You Can Do to Improve Race Relations" in *Rethinking the Color Line: Readings in Race and Ethnicity*, edited by Charles A. Gallagher, McGraw-Hill, second edition, 2004, 2007, pp. 582-586.

"Interracial Practices, Interracial Posturing: Myths and Trends" in the *Sex Matters: The Sexuality Reader*, edited by Mindy Stombler, Dawn Baunach, Denise Donnelly, Elisabeth Burgess and Wendy Simonds, Allyn and Bacon, 2004, pp. 280-283.

 "Playing the Ethnic Card: Using Ethnic Identity to Negate Contemporary Racism" in *White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism* edited by Ashley Doane and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, Routledge Publishers, 2003, pp. 145-158.

"Would but Don't: Reconciling Expressed Willingness to Intergroup Marriage with National Trends" in *The Quality and Quantity of Contact: African Americans and Whites on College Campuses,* edited by Robert Moore, University Press of America, 2002, pp. 240-254.

"White Like Me?: Methods, Meaning and Manipulation in the Field of White Studies" in
Race-ing Research, Researching Race: Methodological and Ethical Dilemmas in Field Research, edited by France Winddance Twine and Jonathan Warren, New York University Press, pp. 2000, pp. 67-92.

Reprinted in *The Qualitative Research in Education Reader* edited by Wendy Luttrell, New York University Press, 2009.

Reprinted in *Approaches to Qualitative Research: A Reader in Theory and Practice* edited by Patricia Leavy, Oxford University Press, 2004.

Reprinted in *The Review of Education, Pedagogy and Culture*, Volume 21, No. 2, 1999, pp. 165-191.

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February 2021

"White Racial Formation: Into the 21st Century" in *Critical White Studies: Looking Behind the Mirror*, edited by Richard Delgado, Temple University Press, 1997, pp. 6-11.

> Reprinted in *Race and Ethnic Conflict*: *Contending Views on Prejudice, Discrimination, and Violence* edited by Fred L. Pincus and Howard J. Ehrlich, Westview Press, 1999.

> Reprinted in *Rethinking the Color Line: Readings in Race and Ethnicity*, edited by Charles A. Gallagher, Mayfield Publishing, 1999.

"Redefining Racial Privilege in the United States" *Transformations*, Volume 8, Number 1, Spring 1997, pp. 28-40.

"White Reconstruction in the University" *Socialist Review*, #94, 1&2, (special issue "Arranging Identities: International Constructions of Race, Ethnicity and Nationality), April, 1995, pp. 165-187.

> Reprinted in *Privilege and Power* edited by Abby Ferber and Michael Kimmel, Westview Press, 2003.

> Reprinted in *The Social Construction of Race in the United States* edited by Joan Ferrante, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1998.

OP-ED Publications

"Thinking About Trayvon Martin: Privileged Responses and Media Discourse" in *Color Lines and Racial Angles* edited by Doug Hartmann and Chris Uggen, W.W. Norton, 2014.

Moral Issue Still Remains, Op-Ed in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 11, 2013.

Bill O'Reilly is wrong: The "white establishment" is not a minority, Op-Ed in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. November 19th.

Living in Fictional Land of Color-Blind, Op-Ed in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* March 3, 2011.

Book Reviews

Book Symposium on *Seizing Freedom: Slave Emancipation and Liberty for All by David Roediger, Verso Press, forthcoming November 2015, Ethnic and Racial Studies.*

After Civil Rights: Race Relations in the New American Workplace by John Skrenty, Princeton University Press*, American Sociological Review*, January 2015.

The Rise and Fall of the Caucasian Race: A Political History of Racial Identity by Bruce Baum, New York University Press, *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews*, April 2007.

Shades of White: White Kids and Racial Identities in High School by Pamela Perry, Duke University Press, *Social Forces* June 2003.

Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past by David R. Roediger, University of California Press, *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews*, July 2003, 32, 4.

The Atlanta Paradox edited by David L. Sjoquist, Russell Sage Foundation, 2000, *Social Forces Volume* 79: Number 4, 2001 pp. 1543-1544.

Race In the Hood: Violence and Urban Youth by Howard Pinderhughes, Minnesota Press, *Humanity and Society*, March 2000.

White Men Falling: Race, Gender and White Supremacy by Abby Ferber, Rowman and Littlefield, *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews*, September, Vol. 25, Number 5. 1999.

"*Becoming American, Becoming Ethnic: College Students Explore Their Roots*" by Thomas Dublin in *Humanity and Society*, January 1997.

"*Black Wealth/White Wealth*" by Melvin Oliver and Thomas Shapiro in *Humanity and Society*, December 1997.

LEGAL CONSULTANT

2018-19 Expert Race Witness, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), et. al. v. City of Myrtle Beach

2015-16 Expert Race Witness, Thomas J. Holmes, et.al v. City of Racine, Wisconsin

2012   Expert Race Witness, Board of County Commissioners v. Cooper, et. al. Memphis School District Redistricting

2009   Expert Witness, Wrongful Dismissal Case, University of Wisconsin System.

2005-6   Expert Race Witness, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), et. al. v. City of Myrtle Beach.

2005-6   Expert Race Witness, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, et. al. v. Paar. Inc (Damon's Restaurants).

2005-6   Expert Race Witness, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, et. al. v. Greg Norman's Inc.

GRANTS

2012-13   La Salle University, Faculty Research Sabbatical

2010   La Salle University Faculty Research Grant $5400

2003   GSU Freshman Learning Community Program Faculty Development Grant, $2000.

2002   GSU Freshman Learning Community Program Faculty Development Grant, $2000.

2001   GSU Freshman Learning Community Program Faculty Development Grant, $2000.

2000   Summer Writing Grant, Georgia State University, $4200**.**

1998   Strategic Initiative in African-American Studies, Georgia State University, $2500.

1998   Research Initiation Grant, White Racial Identity: The View From Georgia, Georgia State

University, $5000.

1998   Summer Writing Grant, Georgia State University, $4000.

1997-98   Learn and Serve America Faculty Fellow, Clark-Atlanta University, $3000.

1997   Georgia State University, Department of Sociology Research Support, $2000.

INVITED TALKS

"Intuitional Colorblindness", Rice University, Race and Racial Experiences Lab, March 6-7, 2019

"Professor, Do white people drink Hennessey?": How Race Experts in Legal Cases Make Race and Racism Visible in an Era of Colorblindness"; College of Arts and Sciences and The Law School, University of Denver, April 18th

Hidden Bias in Everyday Life: How Perceptions Shape Reality, University of Pennsylvania, Graduate School of Nursing, February 4th

Social Justice, Patient Care and Community Relationship Building, Temple University Medical School, January 18th

Session Organizer, American Sociological Association, *Racism and Anti-Racism*, Chicago, August 2015.

Author Meets Critic Organizer and Discussant, *The White Savior Film* by Matthew Hughey, Eastern Sociological Society, New York City, February 26-March 1, 2015.

Author Meets Critic: *Fire in the Heart: How White Activists Embrace Racial Justice* by Mark Warren, Harvard University, Eastern Sociological Society, Philadelphia, February 2011

Plenary Speaker, "Re-positioning Race Through Prophetic Research, Teaching and Service", Association of Black Sociologists, Atlanta Georgia August 11-14, 2010.

Race in America: Restructuring Inequality National Conference, The White Way: Discussing Racial Privilege and White Advantage, University of Pittsburgh School of Social Work, June 3-6, 2010.

The MultiCultural Forum, Guest Presenter, The Myth of Color Blind America, March 17, 2010, Minneapolis.

Opus College of Business, University of St. Thomas, The Social Construction of Diversity, Minneapolis, 2010.

Presidential Panel, American Sociological Society, "The End of Ideology, Again: Barack Obama, Identity Politics and the Future of Race Relations in a Post Race, Post Civil Rights, Color Blind America" August 2009, San Francisco

Amherst College, "Imaging a Colorblind Nation: Supreme Court Rulings, Media Fiction and the Construction of a Post Race America" for The Constitution and the Imagining of America Culture: A Continuing Constitutional Dilemma, April 24-25, 2009.

St. Mary's University, "White Reconstruction in the University", November 2008.

New Media, New Markets, New Rights Symposium, Georgia State Law School, "Race, the Media and

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Manipulation" May 2, 2008.

Keynote Speaker, National Association for Ethnic Studies, Incidental Racism: A New Theory for Changing Times, April 3, 2008, Westin Plaza, Atlanta.

Texas A&M, College Station, Texas, Institutional Racism Made Visible: The Role of Sociology. February 4, 2008.

University of Illinois – Chicago, "Protect our Fine Resort City": White Spaces, Institutional Racism and Strategies for Change, October 22, 2007.

Loyola University, "What Minority Underrepresentation?": Racial Ideology, Perceptions of Mobility and the Classroom", October 23, 2007.

Rice University, Houston Texas, "Controlling For Race: When Evidence Matters", October 11-13, 2007.

University of California – Riverside, "Marinating the Color Line in an Era of Color Blindness", May 9-11, 2007.

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Invited Plenary Panelist, "Racism, White Privilege and the Politics of Evidence," May 2-5, 2007.

Radford College, Radford Virginia, "Everything But Race": Hiding Racism in a Beach Community", Spring 2007.

University of Georgia, Athens GA, QUIG (Qualitative Interest Group) "Researching Whiteness: Tales from the Field", January 7, 2007

Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio, "New Directions in Race: Neo-Liberalism as Race Theory" February 22-23, 2006.

Vanderbilt University, Nashville North Carolina, "Race Doesn't Matter: Post-Race America as the New Racial Norm", March 24, 2004.

Swarthmore College, Swarthmore Pennsylvania, "Race, Perception and Power: Color Blindness as the New Common Sense of Race Relations, February 9, 2004.

Centenary College, Shreveport, Louisiana, "Race as Biology: DNA and the New Racism", January 29-30, 2004.

University of Georgia, Athens Georgia, "Culture, Color Blindness and the Politics of Race, October 23, 2003.

Bard College, "Race Relations According to the Dominant Group", October 8-10, 2003.

Duke University, Jensen Speaker, Series on Race and Inequality, "Refashioning Race Relations: Color Blind Obstacles to Social Justice." September 25-27, 2003.

Keynote Speaker, Plenary Session, Pennsylvania Sociological Society, Ethnic Identity, Community and the New Millennium, Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, PA October, 2000.

PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS

Institutional Colorblindness: How Institutions Maintain Racial Inequality through False Narratives of Equality, American Sociological Society Philadelphia August, 2018

Level Playing Fields: White Views of Racial Justice in the United States. Southern Sociological Society, New Orleans, April 2018

Perceptions on Immigration: Fact and Fiction, Eastern Sociological Society, Baltimore February 20th 2014.

Immigrant America: Demographic Changes and the Challenge to Lasallian Institutions, Huether Lasallian Conference, New Orleans, Nov 21-23 2013.

"United Kingdom and the United States: Converging Attitudes on Immigration" American Sociological Association, Denver, August 2012.

"What White Privilege: Colorblind Egalitarianism as the New Racial Norm" American Sociological Association, Las Vergas, August 2011

But We have a Black President: Teaching Race in the Age of Colorblindness, Eastern Sociological Association, Philadelphia, February 24, 2011

"When White Are the Minority: Race and the Rhetoric of White Privilege" American Sociological Society, Atlanta Georgia, August 16, 2010.

"The Obama Effect: Incidental By-the-Way Racism as the New Norm, American Sociological Association, San Francisco, August 9, 2009.

"Fostering Active Citizenship Through Teaching Sociology, Eastern Sociological Society, Baltimore MD, March 19-22, 2009.

"Racing" Space in an Era of Colorblindness, Thematic Session, The New Politics of Race and Racialization, American Sociological Society, New York City August 2, 2007.

Racist Practices in an Era of Color Blindness: A Case Study, Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, April 2007.

Anything But Race: A "Natural Experiment" of Racism in a Beach Community, Eastern Sociological Society, Philadelphia, March 2007.

Organizer and Discussant, Transgressing Boundaries: Hurricane Katrina as a Metaphor for America's Racial Divide, American Sociological Association, Montreal, August 2006.

Organizer, Hurricane Katrina: Racism and the Effects of Historical Neglect, American Sociological Association, Montreal, August 2006.

White Delusions and the Obstacles to Racial Justice in the Classroom, Association of Black Sociologists, Philadelphia, August 2005.

New Racisms Require New Theories: The Implications of a Colorblind-Perspective on Race Research, American Sociological Society, Philadelphia, August 2005.

Professional Workshop, "Teaching as a Calling: Developing the Materials, Skills and Confidence to be a Master Teacher," Invited Workshop, American Sociological Society, Philadelphia August 2005.

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Discussant, (Mis)Interpreting the Significance of Race: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges for the Studies of Race and Inequality, American Sociological Society, Philadelphia August 2005.

Discussant, "Race and Ethnicity: Interracial/Interethnic Interaction" American Sociological Society, Philadelphia August 2005.

Author Meets Critic, The Hidden Cost of Being African American: How Wealth Perpetuates Inequality by Thomas Shapiro, Southern Sociological Society, Charlotte, April 2005.

Organizer/Discussant, Race, Power and Perception, Southern Sociological Society, Charlotte, April 2005.

Forced in the Racial Hierarchy: Affirming Whiteness Through Affirmative Action, Race and Education: Pedagogy and Whiteness session, American Sociological Society, San Francisco, August 2004.

Presider and Discussant, Racism and Anti-Racism, American Sociological Society, San Francisco, August 2004.

Author Meets Critic Session, Organizer, Deirdre Royster's *Race and the Invisible Hand: How White Networks Exclude Black Men from Blue Collar Jobs*, Southern Sociological Meetings, Atlanta, April 2004.

Author Meets Critic Session, critic, George *Yancey's Who Is White: Latinos, Asians and the New Black/Non-Black Divide, Critic, Southern Sociological Meetings*, Atlanta, April 2004.

Organizer, Inventing A Post Race America: The Social Implications of Color Blind Racial Politics, Eastern Sociological Society, New York City, February 19-22, 2004.

Discussant, Color Blindness as the New Common Sense: From Perception to Policy, Eastern Sociological Society, New York City, February 19-22, 2004.

Discussant, Multiracial Classification in the United States, American Sociological Society, Atlanta, August 2003.

Author Meets Critic, *Inside Organized Racism* by Kathleen Blee, invited critic, American Sociological Society, Atlanta, August 2003.

Critical Race Theory Session Organizer, American Sociological Association, Atlanta, August 2003.

Distance, Dating and the Future of Diversity: The Implications of Shifting Racial Categories, Eastern Sociological Association, Philadelphia, February 2003.

Tiger, Eminem and Jet Li: The Shift to Color Blindness as the Dominant Political Narrative of Race Relations, Southern Sociological Society, New Orleans March 2003.

Disrupting Race, Disrupting Color Blindness: New Challenges for Racial Equality, Southern Sociological Society, Organizer, March 2003.

Seeing Color in Color Blind America: Some Implications for the Multiracial Movement, American Sociological Association, Chicago, August 2002.

"I Never Look at Anyone as a Color": The Functions of Erasing the Color Line, Southern Sociological Society, Baltimore, April, 2002.

Race and Health, Presider, Southern Sociological Society, Baltimore, April 2002.

Presenter, Playing the White Ethnic Card: Using Ethnic Identity to Negate Contemporary Racism, Southern Sociological Society, April 2001, Atlanta.

Co-Organizer (with Tom Shapiro) and Presenter, Reproducing Racism in Research: Tales From the Field, American Sociological Association, Washington D. C., August 2000.

Organizer and Presenter, Special Session, White Stories: Race Relations According to the Dominant Group, American Sociological Association, Washington D.C., August 2000.

Roundtable Discussion, Social Exclusion, Race and Housing in the US, American Sociological Association, Washington D.C., August 2000.

Discussant, A Typology of Service Learning Communities: a Tale of Four Institutions Georgia Campus Community Service Association, November, 1999, Dalton State College.

Discussant, Regular Session, Racism in the US and Abroad, American Sociological Association, Chicago, August 1999

Discussant, Regular Session, Qualitative Methodology, American Sociological Association, Chicago, August 1999.

Why We Need to be Critical of White Studies: Questions of Access, Racism and Essentialism, American Sociological Association and the Society For the Study of Social Problems, San Francisco, August 1998.

"American" As Ethnic Identity of Choice For White and Blacks: Cultural Convergence or Racially Distinct?, Association of Black Sociologists, San Francisco, August 1998.

Inciting Discord Through Academic Dialogue: How Sociology Has Failed Race Relations, Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, April 1998.

Panel Discussant on Inequality, Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, April 1998.
White, Black or American: Assimilation, the Loss of Ethnic Identity and Census Categories, Eastern Sociological Association, Philadelphia, March 1998, invited panelist.

"Man, How Can You Teach This Class?": Being White and Teaching Race in an Integrated Classroom, Georgia Sociological Society, November 1997.

The Declining Significance of Ethnicity: From Immigrant to Mutt to White, Invited Panelist, Social Science History Association, Washington D.C., October 1997.

"Black Jesus...Black Miss America...You Were Not a Slave": Affirmative Action or How Young Whites Came to View Themselves as Victims of Their Race" regular session, American Sociological Association, Toronto, August 1997.

"Feeling White": From White Invisibility to "Raced" White, regular session, American Sociological Association, Toronto, August 1997.

Interracial Attraction: Fact and Fantasy, regular session, Eastern Sociological Society, Boston, March 1996.

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Presider, Representations of Race and Ethnicity, Eastern Sociological Society, Boston, March 1996.

From White Ethnic to White: The Politics of Race in the 1990's, regular session, presented at the American Studies Association, Pittsburgh, November 1995.

Right Makes White: The Changing Politics of White Identity, regular session, American Sociological Association, Washington D.C. August 1995.

LA SALLE UNIVERSITY TALKS

Celebrating Martin Luther King's Call to Service: Obligations and responsibility for La Salle's Young Student Leaders, January 29, 2014

Explorer Café "Are We Colorblind? Perceiving Race on Campus" Explorer Café January 29, 2014

Explorer Café "Race on Campus" February 18, 2014

The Changing Nature of Diversity: Implication for La Salle's Student Body, Talk to Administrators and Staff, Dean of Student's Office March 20, 2013.

La Salle Day at Central High School, Three Lectures on Immigration in the United States: Demography, Challenges and Opportunities, February 21, 2013.

Fifty Years Since the Dream: Miles To Go…, Talk for Dean of Student's to Emerging Leaders on the event of MLK Day January 30, 2013.

MLK: How the Arc of Justice Should Bend, Talk for Dean of Student's to Emerging Leaders on the event of MLK Day January 12, 2012.

MLK and The Quest for Economic Justice, Talk for Dean of Student's to Emerging Leaders on the event of MLK Day, January 17th, 2011.

Talking About Teaching: Some Difficult Topics in Sociology, Reading Across the Curriculum Talk, Core Curriculum Committee, October 22, 2010.

Keynote Speaker, National Association of Collegiate Scholars Induction Ceremony, Beyond a High GPA: Obligation and Leadership, September 29th 2010, Union Ball Room.

Academic Enrichment Program Lecture, "What Professors Want: Mock Lecture on Gentrification" August 20, 2010 Rodden Theater.

Essential Question Lecture for Incoming Freshman: Examining Social Inequality, August 27, 2010.

Explorer Café or Your Dorm Room: Getting Student Involved in Campus Life, Gola Auditorium, August 27, 2010.

"Philadelphia; City of (Gentrifying) Neighborhoods" University Panel Discussion, April 24, 2010.

"From City to Suburb and Back Again: The Social Costs and Benefits of Gentrification in Philadelphia" Explore Café, February 3, 2010.

"Color, Class and Consciousness: The Social Construction of Reality", Town Hall Meeting to All Student Athletes

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and Staff. February 18th, 2010.

"UGG Nation: Or Why Students Think Everyone is Middle Class and Anyone Can Become President" , Student Affairs Future Leaders, February 2010.

"Leadership and Vision: Witness and Learning", Talk for Dean of Student's to Emerging Leaders on the event of MLK Day, January 19th, 2009.

"I am [   ], and I am La Salle": Race Relations and Perceptions of Race on Campus" Campus Talk, Rodden Theater, November 20, 2009.

"Biking While Black in a Colorblind Community: The Rhetoric of Race in a White Beach Resort" Connections Faculty Talk, November 12, 2009.

"Race, Gender and Sexuality on Campus: Notes For Staff and Administrators", Talk for Athletic Directors and Staff, November 10, 2009.

"Diversity and the Dorms: What RAs Should Think About", Presentation to New RA for Dean of Students, August 31, 2009

"High-Impact Writing, Low-Impact Grading", Faculty Institute Presentation Wednesday May 20, 2009.

"Students' Perception of Race on Campus", Division of Student Affairs, Professional Development Day, De La Salle Chapel, January 13, 2009.

University Service: La Salle University

Committee Appointments:

Faculty Senate 2014-2017
Academic Faculty Affairs Committee 2014-
Admissions and Student Retention Committee 2011 -2014
Institutional Review Board member, 2009-2012
Autism Committee 2009-2011
City as Region Advisory Board 2009-
Justice Project Committee Member 2009-2011
Faculty Service Learning Course Development Committee 2009-
Core Curriculum Committee 2009-
School Review Committee for Teaching Load Reduction 2009-2013

REVEIWER FOR:
> *American Sociological Review*
> *Sociological Perspectives*
> *Social Problems*
> *Sociological Forum*
> *Sociological Theory*
> *Journal of American Ethnic History*
> *Race Gender and Class*
> *Social Psychology Quarterly*
> *Humanity and Society*
> National Science Foundation (2007, 2009, 2010)

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS
>American Sociological Association
>Eastern Sociological Society
>Society for the Study of Social Problems
>Southern Sociological Society

MEDIA INTERVIEWS

2018-19: Three interviews on Philly Fox29, NPR on race and the census, two appearances on KYW's Flashpoint, Inverse News on race and fertility, CBS10News on gentrification and race.

Past Media Contacts:

- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in a *Philadelphia Daily News* story on women who are taking out loans for hair weaves. (5/29)

- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in an *Orlando Sentinel* story about how the word "thug" is applied to black people in place of the "n-word." (5/11)

- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was interviewed by CBS3—TV (Channel 3) for a story dealing with hate speech. (5/4)

- Charles Gallagher, Chair of the Sociology department, was interviewed on WPHT's *Chris Stigall Show* about the riots in Baltimore. (4/28)

- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher appeared on the *Dr. Phil Show* discussing the recent racial incident involving Oklahoma college students. (3/16)

- Sociology and Criminal Justice Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in a *Christian Science Monitor* article on the recent violence and shootings in Ferguson. (3/12)

- Sociology and Criminal Justice Chair Charles Gallagher was interviewed on Channel 29 about race relations. (2/1)

- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was interviewed on KYW Newsradio about how America is struggling with its discussions of race. (12/16)

- Gallagher was also interviewed by the BBC's Spanish Web page about a "new" civil rights era starting in the United States in the wake of Ferguson. (12/13)

- Gallagher was also interviewed by WPHT's Anthony Mazzarelli discussing racial attitudes in America. (12/10)

- Gallagher was also interviewed on KCBS radio in San Francisco discussing a CBS poll on racial attitudes in the United States. (12/10)

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- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was interviewed on WPHT's "Rich Zeoli Show" about race relations. (12/5)

- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher and Communication professor Mark Lashley were quoted in a *Philadelphia Inquirer* story about social media shaping social protests. (12/4)

- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was interviewed on KYW Newsradio about racial dynamics following the Ferguson riots. (11/28)

- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in a *CNN.com* story about race relations following the Ferguson shooting case. (11/27)

- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in an Associated Press story about the residual anger from the non-indictment in the Michael Brown case. The story appeared in more than 80 newspapers and websites nationally and internationally, including the *Detroit Free Press*, the *St. Paul (MN) Pioneer-Press*, the *Columbia Missourian*, the *Lakeland (FL) Ledger*, the *Sacramento (CA) Bee*, the *Lubbock (TX) Avalanche-Journal*, the *(Sydney) Australian*, and the *Japan Times*. (11/26)

- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was interviewed on WPHT's *Gary R'nel Show* discussing the grand jury decision in the Ferguson shooting case. (11/24)

- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in a *CNN.com* story on What Role Has Race Played in the Gun Control Debate. (10/10)

- *Mintpressnews.com* quoted sociology chair Charles Gallagher about how schools dis-proportionately discipline blacks leading to a large black population in prison. (9/22)

- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher and Donna Tonrey, Director of the Marriage and Family therapy program at La Salle, were quoted in an *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* story on how corporal punishment is common across race and cultures. (9/21) This story also appeared in the *Rocky Mount (NC) Telegraph* and *(St. Paul, MN) Pioneer-Press.*

- The *Christian Science Monitor* quoted Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher for a story about events in Ferguson, MO and Civil Rights.

- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in a *Christian Science Monitor* article on President Obama's drop in approval ratings in California. (9/2)

- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in each segment of a three-part Voice of America feature on Chinese Americans.

Sociology Professor Charles Gallagher was quoted by John Timpane, Taking Social Protests from Tweets to Street, Philadelphia Inquirer (12/4/14)

Sociology Professor Charles Gallagher was quoted by John Timpane, Social Media Speak To Power, Philadelphia Inquirer (12/2/14)

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Sociology Professor Charles Gallagher was interviewed on KWY 1060 radio on the social and economic conditions that gave rise to the rioting in Ferguson (9/29/14)

Sociology Professor Charles Gallagher was quoted by John Blake in CNN.com story on race and urban inequality in the Ferguson case (9/27/14)

Sociology Professor Charles Gallagher was interviewed for an AP story about the root causes of civil unrest in Ferguson. Article carried over 80 newspapers and websites.

Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in a *CNN.com* story on What Role Has Race Played in the Gun Control Debate (9/23/14)

Mintpressnews.com quoted sociology chair Charles Gallagher about how schools dis-proportionately discipline blacks leading to a large black population in prison (9/10/14)

Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher quoted in an *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* story on how corporal punishment is common across race and cultures. This story also appeared in the *Rocky Mount (NC) Telegraph* and *(St. Paul, MN) Pioneer-Press.* (9/14)

CNN.com quoted Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher for a story about the future of race relations in America. (8/23)

Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was interviewed on WTXF (Channel 29) about the racial unrest in Ferguson, Missouri. (8/21)

Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in a *Christian Science Monitor* article on President Obama's drop in approval ratings in California.

Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in each segment of a three-part *Voice of America* feature on Chinese Americans (June-Sept/2014)

Gallagher was also quoted in a *Philadelphia Inquirer* story about Ferguson. (8/20)

Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in a *Christian Science Monitor* story about a small town police chief who used a racial slur when referring to President Obama. (5/16)

Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in a *Christian Science Monitor* story about NBA owner Donald Sterling's 'apology' about his racist comments. (5/13)

A *Christian Science Monitor* story quoted Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher about how one person "can make a difference." This story also appeared in *The Las Vegas Sun*, and was posted on the *AlaskaDispatach.com* and *Yahoonews.com*. (5/2)

Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was interviewed on the PBS radio show "Background Briefing with Ian Masters" discussing racism in American. (4/30)

The *Christian Science Monitor* quoted Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher in a story about the state of racism in America. (4/29)

CNN.com quoted Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher in a story about how the U.S. Supreme Court could strike down key provisions of the 1964 Civil

18

Interracial Marriage in America, Katie Couric Show, ABC, Thursday January 9, 2014.

Coming to a Victim's Aid, Fox 29, November 5th, 2013

Trayvon Martin, Race and Language, CNN, Don Lemon Show, July 2013

Race in America, Sightings of the Confederate Flag in Philadelphia, Fox 29, Wednesday September 24, 2013.

Race in America, Color, Obama and Racial Stereotypes; Reflections on "Lincoln", Fox 29, Thursday November 29th, 2012

Race in America, Affirmative Action in the Context of Fisher v. Texas, Fox News 29, Philadelphia PA October 18, 2012.

Race in America, Violence, Poverty and Race, Fox News 29, Philadelphia PA October 5, 2012
Fox News 29, Philadelphia PA

Race in America, Trends in Interracial Dating, Fox News 29, Philadelphia PA September 21, 2012.

Race in America, The "Most" Racist Cities in the US, Fox News 29, Philadelphia PA September 7, 2012.

Race in America Series, White Discrimination, Fox News 29, Philadelphia PA, May 19, 2011

Back Ground Briefings with Ian Masters, syndicated to 160 radio stations, On Fairness and Trayvon Martin, July 21, 2013.

WPHAT 1210, Michael Shemconish, nationally syndicated, Whites as A Minority, November 20th, 2012.

WCHB Radio One Detroit "On the Black Brain Drain" August 30th 2011

NPR Pittsburgh Affiliate, Race and the Politics of resentment, Saturday June 5th, 2010.

Martin Luther King: Would He be Happy Regarding Race Relations, Bucks County Courier Times by James McGuinnis, January 28, 2014

Immigrant Cafes Open in Houston, Houston Chronicle, October 31 2013

Corey Booker and the Politics of Race, South Jersey Courier Post, October 19, 2013

Travvon Martin Case: Polls Reveal Depth of Racial Divide, July 23, 2013, by Harry Bruirius, Christian Science Monitor

By Any Measure,(The Irish Are) Faring Well, March 18, 2013, by Jeff Gammage, Philadelphia Inquirer

For The Very Wealthy, Path To Citizenship Has Shortcuts, April 13, 2013, by Fredrick Reese, MintPress News

Louisiana Divided: Jindal's Voucher Law Dragged into Court, November 29, 2012, Suzi Parker, Yahoo News.

Great Recession Created a Historic Racial Wealth Gap, July 26, 2012, Sheryl Nance-Nash, AOL News.

African Immigration and Immigration, The Philadelphia Inquirer, March 13, 2012.

19

Black Actors in Hollywood, The Arizona Republic, February 24, 2012.

Race and the Oscars, Christian Science Monitor, February 28, 2012.

American Dream Becoming Smaller for A Larger Segment of the Population by Dennis Sadoski, The Catholic Review, September 18, 2011.

Housing Authority Takes Note of Georgia's Success by Amanda Casanova, Galveston Daily News, September 4, 2011

Are Schools Suffering from an African-American Brain Drain by Jan Thomas in The Grio MSNBC.com August 29, 2011.

Ahora son blancos los que se sienten discriminados en EE.UU. by David Alandete, El Pais de Espana August 23, 2011 (Largest daily paper in Spain)

Black Owned Car Dealerships Hurt by Recession in The Automotive News, June 1 2011

The Recessions Biggest Victims: The Great Recession Could be Known as the "Black Mancession" by Eve Tahmincioglu on MSNBC May 23rd, 2011.

Lee v. Perry On Race and Making Movies by Jenice Armstrong, Philadelphia Daily News April 27, 2011

As Demographics Shift, So Do Race Politics by Michael Schreconish, The Philadelphia Inquirer, April 1, 2011

Are White Racially Oppressed by John Blake, CNN News, March 4, 2011

What Would MLK Say Today by Elaine Ayala, San Antonia Express News, January 14, 2011

Hair Together: The Beauty Salon, One of the Last Segregated Places, Has Become More Welcoming to Blacks and Whites by Elizabeth Wellington, The Philadelphia Inquirer, November 3, 2010.

Glen Beck Rally on Saturday: Whose Honor is being Restored by Gloria Goodale, Christian Science Monitor, August 27, 2010.

Racist Acts on UC San Diego Underscore Deeper Tension on Campus by Daniel Wood, Christian Science Monitor, March 2, 2010.

Connect With Kids, Nationally Syndicated Educational News, *Working Your Way Through College*, July 2006

TBS Story Line, *Social Class and Job Selection*, June 10, 2006

Fox News, The O'Reilly Factor, *Whiteness Studies on Campus*, June 26, 2003.

MS-NBC, *White or Wrong: Whiteness Studies*, Lester Holt Show, June 19, 2003.

CNN National, Class and race Segregation, March 2003

CNN Live Today, Interview with William Frey, Blacks Migrate to South in Growing Numbers, May 31, 2001.

WGLC-TV Clear News, September 11 attacks, October 4, 2001.

20

WGLC-TV Clear News, Chain letter hoaxes and e-mails, October 2, 2001

WFAA-TV, New Old South, June 17, 2001.

WGCL-TV, Metro Atlanta is Becoming a Melting Pot

CNN Newsroom, The Meaning of US Immigration, October 2000.

CNN Webcast Series, Navigating the Color Line, February 2000.

CNN Newsroom, Mexican Migration to Atlanta, September 1999.

Essence Magazine Fuels a Stereotype by Janice Armstrong, Philadelphia Daily News, January 27, 2010.

"The Princess and the Frog" at the Bridge by Annette John-Hall, Philadelphia Inquirer, December 15, 2009.

Parity Pause: Recession Making it Tough for San Joaquin Companies to Maintain Their Workplace Diversity, Record Staff Reporter by Jennifer Torres, October 5, 2009.

"Infected by Racism, Criticism of Obama Obscures the Issues, The Philadelphia Inquirer, by Annette John-Hall, September 20, 2009.

"Gray Area: Colorblindness", The Philadelphia Inquirer by Lini Kadaba, August 19, 2009.

"Beer is Great, But Real Talk Clears the Air", Sun Sentinel by Darryl E. Owens, August 1, 2009.

"Orland Police Sponsor GED Classes to Break Crime, Poverty", Orlando Sentinel by Willoughby Mariano, July 30, 2009.

"Case Reopens Debate Over Racial Divide", Boston Herald by Jessica Van Sack, July 23, 2009.

"Tiana, starring in the Princess and the Frog,' is Disney's First African American Princess", Palm Beach Post by Leslie Gray Streeter, May 29, 2009

"Minorities Bear Brunt of Any Labor Crunch" by Sean Driscoll, Rockford Register Star, April 18th 2009.

Race Becomes More Central to TV Advertising, Associated Press, March 2009.

"MLK's Dream Also Included Economic Justice" by Deepti Hajela, Associated Press, Nationally Syndicated, January 2009.
"Marketers Change Tone When It Comes to Santa" by Josh Shaffer, The Chapel Hill News, December 24, 2008.

"Despite Obama's Win We Are Still Not Colorblind by Deborah Douglas", The Chicago Sun Times, August 29, 2008.

"Are Clinton, Obama Vying for the White Male Vote?" by Jonathan Tilove, Newhouse News Service, National Wire Service, February 10, 2008.

"In Considering Obama's Candidacy, America Examines Itself" by Jonathan Tilove, Newhouse News Service,

21

National Wire Service, May, 2007.

 "A Buyers' Market" by Kysa Daniels, Atlanta Journal and Constitution, September 7, 2006.

"For Sale" Signs Nearly Triple in Five Years by Daniel Silliman, Clayton New Daily, June 21, 2006.

Should Race Still Matter to Generation Y? by David Tarrant, Dallas Morning News, January 11, 2006

Highland Park Students: Dress Not Offensive, Dallas News, October 27, 2005

Ga. will top 12M people by 2030, government says: 47 percent growth rate likely to come from minorities by Kristen Wyatt, Associated Press, April 21, 2005.

Needle Budging Slowly Toward Interracial Relationships, Kalamazoo Gazette, Sunday, March 6, 2005.

School Choice Consequences by Tara Servatius, Creative Loafing Charlotte, March 2, 2005.

Multiracial ads called false Harmony of races seen in commercials recently is not ordinary in reality, critics say by ERIN TEXEIRA AP National Writer, AP, February 16, 2005, printed in over 140 news outlets.

Parents Struggle to get Interracial Playgroup, Atlanta Journal and Constitution, Kevin Duffy, December 24, 2004.

Districts as Different as Red ad Blue, Atlanta Journal and Constitution, Sunday, October 31, 2004, Bob Kemper, p. B4.

Blacks Flock To Clayton County, Atlanta Journal and Constitution, September 7, 2004, A1.

Census: South Seeing Boom in Hispanic Population, USA Today (AP) September 18, 2003.

Atlanta's ABCs' Of Justice, Equal Justice Magazine, Daniel Cox, September 2003.

The New Jersey Herald News, It's Not All Black and White: Still Mixed Opinions About Mixed Marriages, but Times Have Changed, Michelle Garcia, April 20, 2003, p. C1

(AP) Rise in Immigrant Domestic Abuse Cases Reflects Better Outreach, Louise Chu May 17, 2003.

(AP) Suburbs and City Combine to Make Traffic a Mess, March 5, 2003.

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, History & Heritage: Working to Overcome the Barriers of a Divided Past, Sheila Poole and Janita Poe, January 29, 2003.

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, Black Immigrants Detect Racism, January 3, 2003.

(AP) Spanish Growing As Primary Language, September 17, 2002.

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, Finishing Feminism: Students Are What They Thought They Were Not, June 23, 2002.

Chicago Tribune, Plan For Islamic Cemetery Makes Waves in Georgia, Dahleen Glanton, March 6, 2002.

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, 10% in US Foreign-born: Survey Puts Metro Area at 5%, Janita Poe, February

7, 2002

Newhouse News Service, Young Whites, Professing Colorblindness, Demand "Racial Parallelism" Jonathan Tilove, 2002.

(AP) The Florida Times Union, Atlanta Remains Racially Divided: City Ranks High in Segregation Poll, December 3, 2001.

(AP) and CNN News, College Courses Address Terrorist Attack, The Courier (IL), November 8, 2001.

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, Fraternal Clubs Show Age as Membership Declines, Brenden Sager, October 13, 2001.

(AP) Chattanooga Times, Census Shows Georgia Rise in Cohabitation, Same Sex Partners, July 25, 2001.

(AP) Gainesville Times, Hall GA Families Bigger, Younger: Georgia Aged Slightly in the 1990s, June 5, 2001

(AP) Gainesville Times, "White Flight" Still Drives State's Population Shifts: Middle Class Blacks Also Flock to Suburbs, June 5, 2001

(AP) Chattanooga Times, Georgia Census Show White Flight Still a Factor, May 29, 2001.

(AP) Atlanta One of the Most Segregated Communities in the Country, 2001.

(AP) Georgians Report More Same Sex Households, Dick Pettys, July 24, 2001.

(AP) "Bright Flight" Now Driving Population Patterns, May 28, 2001.

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, Rainbow Atlanta: Census Racial Barriers Disappearing in City, Suburbs, May 6, 2001.

(AP) Republican Suburbs Becoming More Black, Hispanic, Dick Pettys, March 31, 2001.

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, Do Killings Confirm City's Stature, Craig Schneider, March 22, 2000.

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, How Has John Rocker Changed Us?, Craig Schneider, January 23, 2000.

Creative Loafing, John Rocker Exposing the Region's Redneck Underbelly, Jennifer Smith, April 29, 2000

Creative Loafing, Whiteness Isn't Just For Klansmen Anymore, Dan Sadowsky, November 13, 1999.

San Jose Mercury News, Euro-American Fire Fighter Association, Ben Stocking, September 1999.

(AP) Racial Implications of Black Spring Break, Daytona News Journal, Chad Roedemeier, September 29, 1999.

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, Braves Fan Base, March 1999.

Sonoma County Independent, Like Whites on Race, January 18, 1999.

Independent on Sunday (London), "White like me," by David Usborne, April 26, 1998, p. 3.

The Dallas Morning News, Some Scholars Look at Racism by Studying Advantages Whites Enjoy, Jayne Noble

23

Suhler, September 13, 1998.

The Boston Globe, "Whiteness Studies" An Attempt at Healing, John Yemma, December 21, 1997.

NPR Baton Rouge Jim Inkster Show, "Race and Policing in America", July 25, 2009.

WPHT 1310/ABC Affiliate, Dom Girdano Show, "The Henry Louis Gates Jr. Controversy", July 23, 2009.

KYW Philadelphia, The Role of Race in Obama' Election, December 12, 2008.

WSB, Growth and Demographic Changes in the Southeast, Atlanta GA, Monday, April 25th, 2007.

National Public Radio, PowerPoint, Nationally Syndicated, Sunday March 13, 2005, Clark Atlanta, WCLK.

WABE, Latino Influence in Atlanta Politics, October 14th, 2004

WABE, White Flight From Clayton County, September 13, 2004.

WATL Chris Askew Show, Race and the Color Line, December 2002

Guest Host, Minnesota Public Radio, Midmorning Show, Racially Motivated Killings in Chicago, July 7, 1999.

UNIVERSITY AND DEPARTMENTAL SERVICE

Georgia State University

Committee Membership

> GSU Institutional Review Board (IRB), 2005-2008
>
> Faculty Senate 2002-4
> > Athletics, Commencement, Diversity Committees 2002-2003
> > Planning and Development, Enrollment, Traffic Safety, 2003-04
> > Campus Climate Study – Gay Attitudes on Campus 2003-2004
>
> Chair, Cultural Diversity Subcommittee 2002
> Student Life and Development Committee 2002-2004
> Provost's Community Service Learning Initiative, 2001-2002
> CAS Freshman Learning Proposal Review Committee, 2001, 2002
> Race and Urban Studies Concentration Director, 2000-2002
> Georgia State University Educational Diversity Advisory Board, 1997- 2000
> Executive Committee, 1997- 1998, 1998-1999, 2001-2002
> Chair, Ph. D. Theory Exam Committee, 1998, 2000-2001, 2006-
> Recruitment Committee, 1998-1999, 2000-2001, 2003-2004, 2006-
> Teaching and Learning Committee, 1998-2001
> Diversity Education Program Advisory Board Member
> Chair, Policy and Codes Committee, Diversity Education Program

TEACHING EXPERIENCE
> Graduate Classes:

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Urban Sociology
Contemporary Social Theory
Seminar in US Race Relations
Sociology of Racialized Identities
Social Inequality
Global Racism
Graduate Pro-seminar

Undergraduate Classes:

Racial and Cultural Minorities	Sociology of Law
Sociology of Race and Racism	Intro to Sociology - Large
Racial Inequality	Intro to Social Statistics
American Ethnicity	Sociology of Whiteness
Urban Sociology	Wealth, Power and Inequality

DIRECTION OF INDIVIDUAL STUDENT WORK (Georgia State University)

Chair:

PhDs Completed:

Francesca Coin, The Food Chain, Wal-Mart and the Farm Labor Movement in the US and Mexico After Nafta, PhD. *completed*, May, 2007.

Cameron Lippert, Hiring Practices of Black, White and Latino Contractors, PhD. *completed*, June 2006.

Phil Luck, Meat as Ideology: It's What's for Dinner, Ph.D. *completed*, May 2003.

Nandi Crosby, The Souls of Black Men: Male Discourse and Its Critical Implications for Rethinking Black Feminist Thought, Ph.D. *completed*, July 1999.

MAs Completed

Alexis Bender, "I have been in the Chair for Three Years, but I have been Black my Whole Life" MA *completed,* May 2006.

Cameron Lippard, Racial Attitudes of Black Business Owners in Atlanta, M.A. *completed*, December 2003.

Polly Silvia: Where We Draw the Line: The Allocation of Amenities within Four Neighborhoods in and Around Atlanta, *completed* 2001.

Carri Lundquist, Gendered Poverty: Policy and Research and Two Opposing Forces, *completed* December 2001.

Jeffrey Williams, Capitalism and Underdevelopment in West Africa, M.A., *completed* May 2001.

Becky Johnson, White Progressives at Work: Racial and Political identity, M.A. *completed* August 2000.

PhDs In Progress

Doretha Carter, Education, Race and Outcomes, PhD. expected completion, 2008.

Melinda Mills, How Mixed Race Individuals Negotiate Dating Choices, PhD. expected completion, December 2007.

Caroline Wood, Asylum Seekers, Immigration and Citizenship in Great Britain, PhD. expected completion 2007.

MAs in Progress

Christopher Little, "Obstacle to Mobility in the Black Community: Culture and Conflict" MA completion expected December 2007.

Jessica Hand, "Persuasive Language: The Dissemination of Color-Blind Ideologies in the Media" MA completion expected December 2007.

Monique Terry, "The Sociology of Volunteerism in a Non-Profit Organization" MA completion expected 2006.

Tanya Walker, Midtown Atlanta as a Growth Machine, expected M.A completion 2006.

Valerie Alexander, Specialty Project, Poverty and Color, *completed* 2005.

PhD/ MA Committee Member:

Wei Li, "Ethnic Relations, Sate Power and the Modernization of Late Qing China" (Ph.D.) May 2008

Kristen Wilson, "Infertility and Family Choices" (Ph.D.) May 2008

Amanda Jungles, "Process Evaluation of a John's School, (MA) *Completed* July, 2007

Regina Curry, Grandmothers and Aunts as Parental Care Givers *Completed* May 2006 (PhD).

Cindy Singha, Second Generation Indians and Assimilation *Completed* Dec. 2005 (MA).

Fiona Pearson, Educational Outcomes of TANF Recipients *Completed* May 2006 *(*PhD).

Quinn Kemp, Reducing Risk in the Rough: An Ethnographic Analysis of How Poor African American Women Who Smoke Crack Reduce their Chances for HIV/Aids, *Completed* May 2003 (PhD)

Memo Konrad, The Urban and the Mundane: Cities and Movement in Review, specialty project, *Completed*, January 2005 (PhD).

Regina Curry, Specialty Project, *Completed*, August 2004.

Elizabeth Ruddiman, Protecting Greenspace in Georgia: Part of the Pro-Growth, Anti-Growth or Smart-Growth Machine, Ph.D. Specialty Project, *Completed* 2002.

Sandra Barnes, "It's Not What You Know, It's Who You Know: Towards An Understanding of Structure and Agency and Urban Employment Search," *Completed* August 1999 (PhD)

Regina Curry, "Understanding Mate Selection Among Gays and Lesbians, " *Completed*, August 2000 (MA).

Laura Salazar, "Preventing Violence Against Women Through Social Change," Department of Community Psychology, *Completed* October 2000 (PhD).

Ned Rinalducci, "Authenticity Movements and the Religious Revivalism," *Completed* August 2000 (PhD).

Anand Balachadran, "The Emergence of Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka," *Completed* May 1998 (MA).

Erik Morgan, "A Marxist Critique of a Proposed High School Sociology Curriculum," *Completed* Spring 1999 (MA)

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EXHIBIT E

Autobound Edge - Core Constituency Report

Unchanged areas

District: 1

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population: 44,795		%White	26.31%	%White	28.69%
Voting Age: 33,144		%Black	4.61%	%Black	4.80%
Hispanic: 33,977		%Asian	2.88%	%Asian	3.00%
Political		%Hispanic	75.85%	%Hispanic	72.16%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	3.54%	%Am. Indian	3.65%
R Index: 35781	%VAP 107.96%	%Haw Pac	0.09%	%Haw Pac	3.00%

Totals for District: 1

Population: 44,795   Voting Age: 33,144

District: 3

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population: 6,206		%White	17.60%	%White	18.19%
Voting Age: 4,529		%Black	3.63%	%Black	3.64%
Hispanic: 5,499		%Asian	0.77%	%Asian	0.82%
Political		%Hispanic	88.61%	%Hispanic	87.41%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	3.22%	%Am. Indian	3.22%
R Index: 5015	%VAP 110.73%	%Haw Pac	0.05%	%Haw Pac	0.82%

Totals for District: 3

Population: 6,206   Voting Age: 4,529

District: 4

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population: 5,314		%White	15.24%	%White	15.79%
Voting Age: 3,812		%Black	4.18%	%Black	4.07%
Hispanic: 4,797		%Asian	0.87%	%Asian	1.13%
Political		%Hispanic	90.27%	%Hispanic	89.09%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.80%	%Am. Indian	2.94%
R Index: 4355	%VAP 114.24%	%Haw Pac	0.13%	%Haw Pac	1.13%

Totals for District: 4

Population: 5,314   Voting Age: 3,812

District: 5

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

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Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,665			%White	27.40%	%White	30.98%
Voting Age: 90,114			%Black	55.66%	%Black	51.53%
Hispanic: 5,642			%Asian	9.47%	%Asian	10.34%
Political			%Hispanic	5.19%	%Hispanic	5.00%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.22%	%Am. Indian	0.21%
R Index: 103004	%VAP	114.30%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	10.34%

Totals for District: 5

Population: 108,665   Voting Age: 90,114

District: 6

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 87,521			%White	22.15%	%White	25.00%
Voting Age: 68,697			%Black	52.31%	%Black	50.88%
Hispanic: 16,613			%Asian	7.17%	%Asian	8.21%
Political			%Hispanic	18.98%	%Hispanic	16.18%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.80%	%Am. Indian	0.71%
R Index: 81705	%VAP	118.94%	%Haw Pac	0.05%	%Haw Pac	8.21%

Totals for District: 6

Population: 87,521   Voting Age: 68,697

District: 7

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,592			%White	30.71%	%White	32.52%
Voting Age: 86,043			%Black	41.77%	%Black	42.65%
Hispanic: 27,871			%Asian	3.17%	%Asian	3.26%
Political			%Hispanic	25.67%	%Hispanic	22.49%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.96%	%Am. Indian	0.89%
R Index: 98362	%VAP	114.32%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	3.26%

Totals for District: 7

Population: 108,592   Voting Age: 86,043

District: 8

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 105,673			%White	33.42%	%White	33.86%
Voting Age: 79,818			%Black	50.08%	%Black	51.05%
Hispanic: 16,364			%Asian	1.29%	%Asian	1.37%
Political			%Hispanic	15.49%	%Hispanic	13.93%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.66%	%Am. Indian	0.65%
R Index: 98694	%VAP	123.65%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	1.37%

Totals for District: 8

Population: 105,673   Voting Age: 79,818

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District: 9

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,687		%White	31.62%	%White	35.60%
Voting Age: 88,848		%Black	45.60%	%Black	40.94%
Hispanic: 10,793		%Asian	11.55%	%Asian	12.86%
Political		%Hispanic	9.93%	%Hispanic	9.32%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.42%	%Am. Indian	0.40%
R Index: 102173	%VAP 115.00%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	12.86%

Totals for District: 9

Population: 108,687   Voting Age: 88,848

District: 10

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,647		%White	40.06%	%White	43.90%
Voting Age: 87,730		%Black	42.26%	%Black	39.36%
Hispanic: 13,489		%Asian	4.73%	%Asian	4.91%
Political		%Hispanic	12.42%	%Hispanic	11.41%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.42%	%Am. Indian	0.41%
R Index: 101213	%VAP 115.37%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	4.91%

Totals for District: 10

Population: 108,647   Voting Age: 87,730

District: 11

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,793		%White	77.59%	%White	78.64%
Voting Age: 92,217		%Black	3.45%	%Black	3.64%
Hispanic: 10,687		%Asian	6.88%	%Asian	7.09%
Political		%Hispanic	9.82%	%Hispanic	9.43%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.31%	%Am. Indian	0.28%
R Index: 99424	%VAP 107.82%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	7.09%

Totals for District: 11

Population: 108,793   Voting Age: 92,217

District: 12

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,656		%White	78.07%	%White	79.06%
Voting Age: 100,028		%Black	4.69%	%Black	4.71%
Hispanic: 7,358		%Asian	8.40%	%Asian	8.28%
Political		%Hispanic	6.77%	%Hispanic	6.45%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.20%	%Am. Indian	0.17%
R Index: 101448	%VAP 101.42%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	8.28%

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Totals for District: 12

Population: 108,656   Voting Age: 100,028

District: 13

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population: 108,814		%White	61.19%	%White	63.11%
Voting Age: 93,844		%Black	11.99%	%Black	11.17%
Hispanic: 16,484		%Asian	10.21%	%Asian	10.36%
Political		%Hispanic	15.15%	%Hispanic	14.24%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.62%	%Am. Indian	0.59%
R Index: 98502	%VAP 104.96%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	10.36%

Totals for District: 13

Population: 108,814   Voting Age: 93,844

District: 14

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population: 108,411		%White	49.16%	%White	52.16%
Voting Age: 94,154		%Black	19.87%	%Black	18.86%
Hispanic: 20,476		%Asian	10.31%	%Asian	10.31%
Political		%Hispanic	18.89%	%Hispanic	16.96%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.91%	%Am. Indian	0.84%
R Index: 97463	%VAP 103.51%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	10.31%

Totals for District: 14

Population: 108,411   Voting Age: 94,154

District: 15

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population: 108,709		%White	58.78%	%White	60.30%
Voting Age: 86,244		%Black	2.74%	%Black	2.56%
Hispanic: 17,283		%Asian	21.78%	%Asian	22.23%
Political		%Hispanic	15.90%	%Hispanic	14.48%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.65%	%Am. Indian	0.61%
R Index: 99148	%VAP 114.96%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	22.23%

Totals for District: 15

Population: 108,709   Voting Age: 86,244

District: 16

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

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Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,861		%White	45.46%	%White	47.07%
Voting Age: 83,455		%Black	9.70%	%Black	9.11%
Hispanic: 16,726		%Asian	28.10%	%Asian	28.39%
Political		%Hispanic	15.36%	%Hispanic	14.42%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.73%	%Am. Indian	0.71%
R Index: 100293	%VAP 120.18%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	28.39%

Totals for District: 16

Population: 108,861   Voting Age: 83,455

District: 17

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,432		%White	65.95%	%White	67.97%
Voting Age: 83,881		%Black	3.86%	%Black	3.80%
Hispanic: 8,446		%Asian	19.73%	%Asian	19.93%
Political		%Hispanic	7.79%	%Hispanic	6.67%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.33%	%Am. Indian	0.26%
R Index: 100710	%VAP 120.06%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	19.93%

Totals for District: 17

Population: 108,432   Voting Age: 83,881

District: 18

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,339		%White	64.32%	%White	65.34%
Voting Age: 85,102		%Black	12.81%	%Black	12.88%
Hispanic: 11,015		%Asian	9.32%	%Asian	10.26%
Political		%Hispanic	10.17%	%Hispanic	9.15%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.55%	%Am. Indian	0.47%
R Index: 98605	%VAP 115.87%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	10.26%

Totals for District: 18

Population: 108,339   Voting Age: 85,102

District: 19

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,549		%White	61.58%	%White	63.67%
Voting Age: 87,612		%Black	2.57%	%Black	2.50%
Hispanic: 32,406		%Asian	8.24%	%Asian	8.48%
Political		%Hispanic	29.85%	%Hispanic	27.32%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	1.19%	%Am. Indian	1.17%
R Index: 94631	%VAP 108.01%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	8.48%

Totals for District: 19

Population: 108,549   Voting Age: 87,612

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District: 20
Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 81,284			%White	78.34%	%White	80.08%
Voting Age: 65,250			%Black	1.07%	%Black	0.98%
Hispanic: 13,395			%Asian	5.47%	%Asian	5.44%
Political			%Hispanic	16.48%	%Hispanic	14.53%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.59%	%Am. Indian	0.57%
R Index: 74580	%VAP	114.30%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	5.44%

Totals for District: 20

Population: 81,284	Voting Age: 65,250

District: 21
Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 69,504			%White	36.10%	%White	38.20%
Voting Age: 52,034			%Black	7.04%	%Black	6.94%
Hispanic: 43,753			%Asian	2.15%	%Asian	2.44%
Political			%Hispanic	62.95%	%Hispanic	59.74%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.53%	%Am. Indian	2.35%
R Index: 55292	%VAP	106.26%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	2.44%

Totals for District: 21

Population: 69,504	Voting Age: 52,034

District: 23
Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 42,760			%White	16.12%	%White	16.02%
Voting Age: 32,203			%Black	9.88%	%Black	12.52%
Hispanic: 32,986			%Asian	7.16%	%Asian	7.50%
Political			%Hispanic	77.14%	%Hispanic	73.07%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	3.04%	%Am. Indian	2.95%
R Index: 34096	%VAP	105.88%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	7.50%

Totals for District: 23

Population: 42,760	Voting Age: 32,203

District: 24
Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 73,112			%White	23.35%	%White	24.99%
Voting Age: 59,471			%Black	4.26%	%Black	4.30%
Hispanic: 35,042			%Asian	29.42%	%Asian	29.82%
Political			%Hispanic	47.93%	%Hispanic	45.31%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.36%	%Am. Indian	2.28%
R Index: 62331	%VAP	104.81%	%Haw Pac	0.05%	%Haw Pac	29.82%

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Totals for District: 24

Population: 73,112   Voting Age: 59,471

District: 25

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,487		%White	19.74%	%White	21.28%
Voting Age: 87,839		%Black	54.92%	%Black	54.18%
Hispanic: 21,428		%Asian	5.77%	%Asian	6.53%
Political		%Hispanic	19.75%	%Hispanic	18.15%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.86%	%Am. Indian	0.78%
R Index: 98326	%VAP 111.94%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	6.53%

Totals for District: 25

Population: 108,487   Voting Age: 87,839

District: 26

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,741		%White	31.66%	%White	35.12%
Voting Age: 92,486		%Black	50.31%	%Black	46.45%
Hispanic: 6,300		%Asian	10.03%	%Asian	10.91%
Political		%Hispanic	5.79%	%Hispanic	5.51%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.22%	%Am. Indian	0.21%
R Index: 102598	%VAP 110.93%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	10.91%

Totals for District: 26

Population: 108,741   Voting Age: 92,486

District: 27

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,605		%White	37.31%	%White	38.88%
Voting Age: 86,379		%Black	52.68%	%Black	52.13%
Hispanic: 8,247		%Asian	1.84%	%Asian	1.83%
Political		%Hispanic	7.59%	%Hispanic	6.49%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.26%	%Am. Indian	0.27%
R Index: 103455	%VAP 119.77%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	1.83%

Totals for District: 27

Population: 108,605   Voting Age: 86,379

District: 28

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

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Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,557		%White	35.67%	%White	37.54%
Voting Age: 84,075		%Black	45.72%	%Black	45.66%
Hispanic: 19,140		%Asian	1.64%	%Asian	1.68%
Political		%Hispanic	17.63%	%Hispanic	15.49%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.67%	%Am. Indian	0.59%
R Index: 100303	%VAP 119.30%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	1.68%

Totals for District: 28

Population: 108,557   Voting Age: 84,075

District: 29

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,520		%White	32.28%	%White	34.66%
Voting Age: 83,630		%Black	58.70%	%Black	57.38%
Hispanic: 7,738		%Asian	0.48%	%Asian	0.49%
Political		%Hispanic	7.13%	%Hispanic	6.12%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.24%	%Am. Indian	0.24%
R Index: 103208	%VAP 123.41%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	0.49%

Totals for District: 29

Population: 108,520   Voting Age: 83,630

District: 30

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,525		%White	27.99%	%White	30.61%
Voting Age: 83,134		%Black	51.65%	%Black	51.57%
Hispanic: 20,153		%Asian	1.74%	%Asian	1.80%
Political		%Hispanic	18.57%	%Hispanic	15.74%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.60%	%Am. Indian	0.54%
R Index: 99934	%VAP 120.21%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	1.80%

Totals for District: 30

Population: 108,525   Voting Age: 83,134

District: 31

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 47,520		%White	37.12%	%White	37.67%
Voting Age: 37,224		%Black	46.04%	%Black	47.26%
Hispanic: 7,580		%Asian	1.30%	%Asian	1.27%
Political		%Hispanic	15.95%	%Hispanic	13.70%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.68%	%Am. Indian	0.66%
R Index: 43856	%VAP 117.82%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	1.27%

Totals for District: 31

Population: 47,520   Voting Age: 37,224

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District: 32

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 42,730		%White	28.35%	%White	30.37%
Voting Age: 31,694		%Black	16.06%	%Black	17.17%
Hispanic: 26,408		%Asian	1.39%	%Asian	1.47%
Political		%Hispanic	61.80%	%Hispanic	57.36%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.94%	%Am. Indian	2.85%
R Index: 34062	%VAP 107.47%	%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	1.47%

Totals for District: 32

Population: 42,730   Voting Age: 31,694

District: 33

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,624		%White	15.75%	%White	17.20%
Voting Age: 84,696		%Black	62.12%	%Black	62.75%
Hispanic: 25,599		%Asian	0.38%	%Asian	0.38%
Political		%Hispanic	23.57%	%Hispanic	20.83%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.87%	%Am. Indian	0.82%
R Index: 99173	%VAP 117.09%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	0.38%

Totals for District: 33

Population: 108,624   Voting Age: 84,696

District: 34

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,429		%White	21.06%	%White	22.55%
Voting Age: 85,853		%Black	67.40%	%Black	67.24%
Hispanic: 10,815		%Asian	0.33%	%Asian	0.32%
Political		%Hispanic	9.97%	%Hispanic	8.58%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.35%	%Am. Indian	0.33%
R Index: 102429	%VAP 119.31%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	0.32%

Totals for District: 34

Population: 108,429   Voting Age: 85,853

District: 35

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 75,948		%White	77.25%	%White	79.07%
Voting Age: 59,585		%Black	8.18%	%Black	8.16%
Hispanic: 9,719		%Asian	1.88%	%Asian	2.01%
Political		%Hispanic	12.80%	%Hispanic	10.75%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.35%	%Am. Indian	0.35%
R Index: 70219	%VAP 117.85%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	2.01%

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Totals for District: 35

Population: 75,948   Voting Age: 59,585

District: 36

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 50,103		%White	64.70%	%White	66.56%
Voting Age: 38,930		%Black	16.26%	%Black	16.40%
Hispanic: 8,555		%Asian	2.26%	%Asian	2.38%
Political		%Hispanic	17.07%	%Hispanic	14.92%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.52%	%Am. Indian	0.49%
R Index: 45618	%VAP 117.18%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	2.38%

Totals for District: 36

Population: 50,103   Voting Age: 38,930

District: 37

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,575		%White	86.88%	%White	88.42%
Voting Age: 83,772		%Black	2.22%	%Black	2.05%
Hispanic: 8,248		%Asian	2.57%	%Asian	2.59%
Political		%Hispanic	7.60%	%Hispanic	6.40%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.21%	%Am. Indian	0.17%
R Index: 101626	%VAP 121.31%	%Haw Pac	0.01%	%Haw Pac	2.59%

Totals for District: 37

Population: 108,575   Voting Age: 83,772

District: 38

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,601		%White	41.42%	%White	43.43%
Voting Age: 84,257		%Black	48.15%	%Black	47.32%
Hispanic: 7,570		%Asian	2.14%	%Asian	2.18%
Political		%Hispanic	6.97%	%Hispanic	5.82%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.23%	%Am. Indian	0.22%
R Index: 102873	%VAP 122.09%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	2.18%

Totals for District: 38

Population: 108,601   Voting Age: 84,257

District: 39

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

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Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 14,025		%White	45.13%	%White	48.32%
Voting Age: 11,665		%Black	5.45%	%Black	5.11%
Hispanic: 7,024		%Asian	3.86%	%Asian	4.21%
Political		%Hispanic	50.08%	%Hispanic	46.80%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.03%	%Am. Indian	1.87%
R Index: 11915	%VAP 102.14%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	4.21%

Totals for District: 39

Population: 14,025   Voting Age: 11,665

District: 40

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 21,860		%White	65.47%	%White	66.70%
Voting Age: 17,269		%Black	4.05%	%Black	4.09%
Hispanic: 4,609		%Asian	9.10%	%Asian	9.10%
Political		%Hispanic	21.08%	%Hispanic	20.74%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.73%	%Am. Indian	0.67%
R Index: 19411	%VAP 112.40%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	9.10%

Totals for District: 40

Population: 21,860   Voting Age: 17,269

District: 41

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 102,342		%White	67.22%	%White	69.91%
Voting Age: 78,049		%Black	5.03%	%Black	4.99%
Hispanic: 7,846		%Asian	17.62%	%Asian	16.88%
Political		%Hispanic	7.67%	%Hispanic	6.72%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.18%	%Am. Indian	0.17%
R Index: 94573	%VAP 121.17%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	16.88%

Totals for District: 41

Population: 102,342   Voting Age: 78,049

District: 42

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,677		%White	73.87%	%White	76.10%
Voting Age: 84,807		%Black	4.78%	%Black	4.76%
Hispanic: 9,509		%Asian	10.68%	%Asian	10.28%
Political		%Hispanic	8.75%	%Hispanic	7.55%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.29%	%Am. Indian	0.25%
R Index: 101040	%VAP 119.14%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	10.28%

Totals for District: 42

Population: 108,677   Voting Age: 84,807

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District: 43

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population:	108,591	%White	34.68%	%White	38.56%
Voting Age:	79,871	%Black	6.67%	%Black	6.21%
Hispanic:	61,226	%Asian	7.40%	%Asian	8.03%
Political		%Hispanic	56.38%	%Hispanic	51.19%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.75%	%Am. Indian	2.55%
R Index: 89341	%VAP 111.86%	%Haw Pac	0.09%	%Haw Pac	8.03%

Totals for District: 43

Population: 108,591   Voting Age: 79,871

District: 44

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population:	108,540	%White	46.47%	%White	49.79%
Voting Age:	83,676	%Black	5.54%	%Black	5.06%
Hispanic:	32,814	%Asian	19.00%	%Asian	19.19%
Political		%Hispanic	30.23%	%Hispanic	26.93%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	1.36%	%Am. Indian	1.23%
R Index: 94909	%VAP 113.42%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	19.19%

Totals for District: 44

Population: 108,540   Voting Age: 83,676

District: 45

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population:	108,585	%White	73.55%	%White	75.54%
Voting Age:	82,945	%Black	2.93%	%Black	2.95%
Hispanic:	12,103	%Asian	11.03%	%Asian	11.10%
Political		%Hispanic	11.15%	%Hispanic	9.85%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.35%	%Am. Indian	0.32%
R Index: 99850	%VAP 120.38%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	11.10%

Totals for District: 45

Population: 108,585   Voting Age: 82,945

District: 46

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population:	101,504	%White	50.41%	%White	53.86%
Voting Age:	78,691	%Black	6.45%	%Black	6.09%
Hispanic:	27,844	%Asian	16.87%	%Asian	16.64%
Political		%Hispanic	27.43%	%Hispanic	24.31%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	1.09%	%Am. Indian	0.98%
R Index: 89683	%VAP 113.97%	%Haw Pac	0.06%	%Haw Pac	16.64%

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Totals for District: 46

Population: 101,504   Voting Age: 78,691

District: 47

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic	**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 107,540	%White	75.37%	%White	77.53%
Voting Age: 84,027	%Black	3.81%	%Black	3.59%
Hispanic: 9,728	%Asian	9.72%	%Asian	9.61%
Political	%Hispanic	9.05%	%Hispanic	7.78%
D Index: 0 %VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.30%	%Am. Indian	0.26%
R Index: 99572 %VAP 118.50%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	9.61%

Totals for District: 47

Population: 107,540   Voting Age: 84,027

District: 48

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic	**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 93,667	%White	72.09%	%White	74.16%
Voting Age: 75,284	%Black	2.43%	%Black	2.30%
Hispanic: 11,692	%Asian	12.71%	%Asian	12.56%
Political	%Hispanic	12.48%	%Hispanic	10.73%
D Index: 0 %VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.49%	%Am. Indian	0.43%
R Index: 86481 %VAP 114.87%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	12.56%

Totals for District: 48

Population: 93,667   Voting Age: 75,284

District: 49

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic	**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 77,965	%White	60.56%	%White	63.45%
Voting Age: 59,897	%Black	3.97%	%Black	3.63%
Hispanic: 16,294	%Asian	14.43%	%Asian	14.70%
Political	%Hispanic	20.90%	%Hispanic	18.13%
D Index: 0 %VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.83%	%Am. Indian	0.75%
R Index: 69862 %VAP 116.64%	%Haw Pac	0.05%	%Haw Pac	14.70%

Totals for District: 49

Population: 77,965   Voting Age: 59,897

District: 50

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

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Demographic

Population: 77,555
Voting Age: 56,237
Hispanic: 51,812

Political

D Index: 0   %VAP 0.00%
R Index: 61875   %VAP 110.03%

Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
%White	30.47%	%White	33.58%
%Black	9.15%	%Black	9.39%
%Asian	2.61%	%Asian	2.65%
%Hispanic	66.81%	%Hispanic	62.29%
%Am. Indian	2.75%	%Am. Indian	2.56%
%Haw Pac	0.05%	%Haw Pac	2.65%

Totals for District: 50

Population: 77,555   Voting Age: 56,237

District: 51

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic

Population: 108,489
Voting Age: 83,795
Hispanic: 7,722

Political

D Index: 0   %VAP 0.00%
R Index: 101670   %VAP 121.33%

Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
%White	74.95%	%White	77.60%
%Black	1.44%	%Black	1.43%
%Asian	14.58%	%Asian	13.55%
%Hispanic	7.12%	%Hispanic	6.23%
%Am. Indian	0.26%	%Am. Indian	0.25%
%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	13.55%

Totals for District: 51

Population: 108,489   Voting Age: 83,795

District: 52

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic

Population: 108,647
Voting Age: 84,323
Hispanic: 12,346

Political

D Index: 0   %VAP 0.00%
R Index: 99801   %VAP 118.36%

Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
%White	77.67%	%White	80.11%
%Black	1.35%	%Black	1.20%
%Asian	7.96%	%Asian	7.92%
%Hispanic	11.36%	%Hispanic	9.57%
%Am. Indian	0.42%	%Am. Indian	0.41%
%Haw Pac	0.01%	%Haw Pac	7.92%

Totals for District: 52

Population: 108,647   Voting Age: 84,323

District: 53

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic

Population: 108,563
Voting Age: 85,255
Hispanic: 17,687

Political

D Index: 0   %VAP 0.00%
R Index: 99906   %VAP 117.18%

Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
%White	65.82%	%White	68.34%
%Black	2.90%	%Black	2.79%
%Asian	14.54%	%Asian	14.46%
%Hispanic	16.29%	%Hispanic	14.22%
%Am. Indian	0.70%	%Am. Indian	0.66%
%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	14.46%

Totals for District: 53

Population: 108,563   Voting Age: 85,255

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District: 54

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population:	108,589	%White	70.04%	%White	73.40%
Voting Age:	85,542	%Black	2.47%	%Black	2.32%
Hispanic:	18,186	%Asian	10.02%	%Asian	9.84%
Political		%Hispanic	16.75%	%Hispanic	14.00%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.68%	%Am. Indian	0.61%
R Index: 99193	%VAP 115.96%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	9.84%

Totals for District: 54

Population: 108,589   Voting Age: 85,542

District: 55

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population:	81,332	%White	62.86%	%White	64.21%
Voting Age:	65,097	%Black	2.98%	%Black	2.81%
Hispanic:	10,791	%Asian	20.50%	%Asian	20.84%
Political		%Hispanic	13.27%	%Hispanic	11.74%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.66%	%Am. Indian	0.58%
R Index: 75726	%VAP 116.33%	%Haw Pac	0.01%	%Haw Pac	20.84%

Totals for District: 55

Population: 81,332   Voting Age: 65,097

District: 56

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population:	76,995	%White	58.18%	%White	61.50%
Voting Age:	60,466	%Black	4.32%	%Black	3.95%
Hispanic:	12,243	%Asian	21.25%	%Asian	20.50%
Political		%Hispanic	15.90%	%Hispanic	13.92%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.66%	%Am. Indian	0.61%
R Index: 70400	%VAP 116.43%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	20.50%

Totals for District: 56

Population: 76,995   Voting Age: 60,466

District: 57

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population:	108,417	%White	66.90%	%White	69.43%
Voting Age:	84,926	%Black	1.51%	%Black	1.49%
Hispanic:	17,643	%Asian	15.10%	%Asian	14.98%
Political		%Hispanic	16.27%	%Hispanic	14.12%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.72%	%Am. Indian	0.62%
R Index: 99865	%VAP 117.59%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	14.98%

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Totals for District: 57

Population: 108,417 Voting Age: 84,926

District: 58

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,398		%White	78.54%	%White	79.73%
Voting Age: 85,058		%Black	3.77%	%Black	4.14%
Hispanic: 11,287		%Asian	6.01%	%Asian	6.10%
Political		%Hispanic	10.41%	%Hispanic	9.75%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.48%	%Am. Indian	0.42%
R Index: 101080	%VAP 118.84%	%Haw Pac	0.10%	%Haw Pac	6.10%

Totals for District: 58

Population: 108,398 Voting Age: 85,058

District: 59

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,549		%White	54.09%	%White	58.23%
Voting Age: 82,422		%Black	2.40%	%Black	2.37%
Hispanic: 23,100		%Asian	22.65%	%Asian	20.95%
Political		%Hispanic	21.28%	%Hispanic	18.89%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.90%	%Am. Indian	0.77%
R Index: 98382	%VAP 119.36%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	20.95%

Totals for District: 59

Population: 108,549 Voting Age: 82,422

District: 60

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,705		%White	26.70%	%White	29.48%
Voting Age: 80,694		%Black	19.05%	%Black	19.27%
Hispanic: 59,294		%Asian	3.84%	%Asian	4.20%
Political		%Hispanic	54.55%	%Hispanic	50.27%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.38%	%Am. Indian	2.23%
R Index: 91620	%VAP 113.54%	%Haw Pac	0.09%	%Haw Pac	4.20%

Totals for District: 60

Population: 108,705 Voting Age: 80,694

District: 61

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

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Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,652		%White	53.99%	%White	57.77%
Voting Age: 82,496		%Black	12.91%	%Black	12.02%
Hispanic: 28,932		%Asian	6.35%	%Asian	6.55%
Political		%Hispanic	26.63%	%Hispanic	23.22%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	1.12%	%Am. Indian	1.08%
R Index: 95198	%VAP 115.40%	%Haw Pac	0.05%	%Haw Pac	6.55%

Totals for District: 61

Population: 108,652   Voting Age: 82,496

District: 62

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,565		%White	59.67%	%White	62.91%
Voting Age: 81,251		%Black	4.48%	%Black	4.08%
Hispanic: 33,250		%Asian	6.46%	%Asian	6.71%
Political		%Hispanic	30.63%	%Hispanic	27.32%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	1.13%	%Am. Indian	1.09%
R Index: 93569	%VAP 115.16%	%Haw Pac	0.07%	%Haw Pac	6.71%

Totals for District: 62

Population: 108,565   Voting Age: 81,251

District: 63

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,529		%White	79.77%	%White	82.22%
Voting Age: 84,666		%Black	1.40%	%Black	1.24%
Hispanic: 17,425		%Asian	2.13%	%Asian	2.25%
Political		%Hispanic	16.06%	%Hispanic	13.59%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.52%	%Am. Indian	0.48%
R Index: 98736	%VAP 116.62%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	2.25%

Totals for District: 63

Population: 108,529   Voting Age: 84,666

District: 64

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,575		%White	83.70%	%White	85.99%
Voting Age: 85,426		%Black	1.79%	%Black	1.55%
Hispanic: 12,069		%Asian	2.01%	%Asian	2.00%
Political		%Hispanic	11.12%	%Hispanic	9.04%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.39%	%Am. Indian	0.36%
R Index: 99469	%VAP 116.44%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	2.00%

Totals for District: 64

Population: 108,575   Voting Age: 85,426

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District: 65

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,537		%White	78.84%	%White	81.15%
Voting Age: 82,669		%Black	2.01%	%Black	1.89%
Hispanic: 12,502		%Asian	6.23%	%Asian	6.18%
Political		%Hispanic	11.52%	%Hispanic	9.81%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.42%	%Am. Indian	0.37%
R Index: 99461	%VAP 120.31%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	6.18%

Totals for District: 65

Population: 108,537   Voting Age: 82,669

District: 66

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,650		%White	69.94%	%White	73.01%
Voting Age: 84,127		%Black	3.41%	%Black	3.22%
Hispanic: 21,467		%Asian	6.74%	%Asian	6.69%
Political		%Hispanic	19.76%	%Hispanic	16.92%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.81%	%Am. Indian	0.72%
R Index: 97114	%VAP 115.44%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	6.69%

Totals for District: 66

Population: 108,650   Voting Age: 84,127

District: 67

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,458		%White	54.68%	%White	59.92%
Voting Age: 82,540		%Black	22.38%	%Black	20.41%
Hispanic: 21,077		%Asian	2.04%	%Asian	2.05%
Political		%Hispanic	19.43%	%Hispanic	16.53%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.74%	%Am. Indian	0.72%
R Index: 97243	%VAP 117.81%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	2.05%

Totals for District: 67

Population: 108,458   Voting Age: 82,540

District: 68

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,450		%White	62.85%	%White	67.99%
Voting Age: 83,344		%Black	11.50%	%Black	9.88%
Hispanic: 22,627		%Asian	3.86%	%Asian	3.83%
Political		%Hispanic	20.86%	%Hispanic	17.48%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.85%	%Am. Indian	0.81%
R Index: 96529	%VAP 115.82%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	3.83%

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Totals for District: 68

Population: 108,450   Voting Age: 83,344

District: 69

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,538		%White	78.26%	%White	81.00%
Voting Age: 81,673		%Black	1.71%	%Black	1.54%
Hispanic: 17,734		%Asian	3.12%	%Asian	3.13%
Political		%Hispanic	16.34%	%Hispanic	13.67%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.52%	%Am. Indian	0.51%
R Index: 98156	%VAP 120.18%	%Haw Pac	0.01%	%Haw Pac	3.13%

Totals for District: 69

Population: 108,538   Voting Age: 81,673

District: 70

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,589		%White	81.81%	%White	84.20%
Voting Age: 81,987		%Black	2.30%	%Black	2.06%
Hispanic: 11,771		%Asian	3.80%	%Asian	3.81%
Political		%Hispanic	10.84%	%Hispanic	9.00%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.34%	%Am. Indian	0.33%
R Index: 99736	%VAP 121.65%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	3.81%

Totals for District: 70

Population: 108,589   Voting Age: 81,987

District: 71

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,735		%White	80.13%	%White	82.62%
Voting Age: 86,527		%Black	8.11%	%Black	7.41%
Hispanic: 7,928		%Asian	1.95%	%Asian	1.88%
Political		%Hispanic	7.29%	%Hispanic	6.07%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.31%	%Am. Indian	0.32%
R Index: 101499	%VAP 117.30%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	1.88%

Totals for District: 71

Population: 108,735   Voting Age: 86,527

District: 72

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

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Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,580		%White	67.33%	%White	71.90%
Voting Age: 84,434		%Black	13.09%	%Black	11.57%
Hispanic: 17,619		%Asian	2.87%	%Asian	2.53%
Political		%Hispanic	16.23%	%Hispanic	13.74%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.59%	%Am. Indian	0.53%
R Index: 98059	%VAP 116.14%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	2.53%

Totals for District: 72

Population: 108,580   Voting Age: 84,434

District: 73

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,553		%White	88.94%	%White	90.80%
Voting Age: 83,579		%Black	1.39%	%Black	1.19%
Hispanic: 3,714		%Asian	3.72%	%Asian	3.33%
Political		%Hispanic	3.42%	%Hispanic	2.66%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.19%	%Am. Indian	0.18%
R Index: 103454	%VAP 123.78%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	3.33%

Totals for District: 73

Population: 108,553   Voting Age: 83,579

District: 74

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,476		%White	82.16%	%White	84.09%
Voting Age: 85,262		%Black	2.94%	%Black	3.05%
Hispanic: 15,914		%Asian	0.68%	%Asian	0.69%
Political		%Hispanic	14.67%	%Hispanic	12.24%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.55%	%Am. Indian	0.55%
R Index: 99577	%VAP 116.79%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	0.69%

Totals for District: 74

Population: 108,476   Voting Age: 85,262

District: 75

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,653		%White	78.92%	%White	81.19%
Voting Age: 80,836		%Black	4.42%	%Black	4.35%
Hispanic: 15,747		%Asian	1.52%	%Asian	1.51%
Political		%Hispanic	14.49%	%Hispanic	12.33%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.44%	%Am. Indian	0.44%
R Index: 98554	%VAP 121.92%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	1.51%

Totals for District: 75

Population: 108,653   Voting Age: 80,836

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District: 76

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,628		%White	75.21%	%White	78.17%
Voting Age: 85,877		%Black	8.09%	%Black	7.17%
Hispanic: 15,082		%Asian	2.14%	%Asian	2.35%
Political		%Hispanic	13.88%	%Hispanic	11.66%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.56%	%Am. Indian	0.49%
R Index: 99299	%VAP 115.63%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	2.35%

Totals for District: 76

Population: 108,628   Voting Age: 85,877

District: 77

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 75,776		%White	40.55%	%White	44.02%
Voting Age: 58,319		%Black	3.22%	%Black	3.20%
Hispanic: 46,389		%Asian	2.51%	%Asian	2.75%
Political		%Hispanic	61.22%	%Hispanic	56.30%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	1.93%	%Am. Indian	1.84%
R Index: 61657	%VAP 105.72%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	2.75%

Totals for District: 77

Population: 75,776   Voting Age: 58,319

District: 78

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,415		%White	48.21%	%White	49.31%
Voting Age: 85,155		%Black	30.14%	%Black	31.17%
Hispanic: 17,854		%Asian	4.19%	%Asian	4.45%
Political		%Hispanic	16.47%	%Hispanic	14.76%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.52%	%Am. Indian	0.49%
R Index: 97886	%VAP 114.95%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	4.45%

Totals for District: 78

Population: 108,415   Voting Age: 85,155

District: 79

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,475		%White	60.60%	%White	64.03%
Voting Age: 83,313		%Black	25.71%	%Black	24.24%
Hispanic: 11,622		%Asian	1.04%	%Asian	1.11%
Political		%Hispanic	10.71%	%Hispanic	8.81%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.38%	%Am. Indian	0.37%
R Index: 100794	%VAP 120.98%	%Haw Pac	0.01%	%Haw Pac	1.11%

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Totals for District: 79

Population: 108,475   Voting Age: 83,313

District: 80

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,843		%White	54.44%	%White	56.83%
Voting Age: 82,059		%Black	26.89%	%Black	26.70%
Hispanic: 19,432		%Asian	0.72%	%Asian	0.76%
Political		%Hispanic	17.85%	%Hispanic	15.37%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.56%	%Am. Indian	0.54%
R Index: 99787	%VAP 121.60%	%Haw Pac	0.05%	%Haw Pac	0.76%

Totals for District: 80

Population: 108,843   Voting Age: 82,059

District: 81

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,489		%White	73.32%	%White	75.17%
Voting Age: 85,442		%Black	4.53%	%Black	4.42%
Hispanic: 8,649		%Asian	12.36%	%Asian	12.40%
Political		%Hispanic	7.97%	%Hispanic	6.81%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.30%	%Am. Indian	0.30%
R Index: 101114	%VAP 118.34%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	12.40%

Totals for District: 81

Population: 108,489   Voting Age: 85,442

District: 82

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 98,343		%White	80.32%	%White	82.05%
Voting Age: 77,955		%Black	3.45%	%Black	2.98%
Hispanic: 7,276		%Asian	7.89%	%Asian	8.04%
Political		%Hispanic	7.40%	%Hispanic	6.38%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.19%	%Am. Indian	0.16%
R Index: 92201	%VAP 118.27%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	8.04%

Totals for District: 82

Population: 98,343   Voting Age: 77,955

District: 83

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

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Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 92,451		%White	72.31%	%White	75.01%
Voting Age: 70,012		%Black	5.57%	%Black	5.31%
Hispanic: 17,690		%Asian	2.82%	%Asian	2.95%
Political		%Hispanic	19.13%	%Hispanic	16.70%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.58%	%Am. Indian	0.53%
R Index: 82285	%VAP 117.53%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	2.95%

Totals for District: 83

Population: 92,451   Voting Age: 70,012

District: 84
Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 86,146		%White	49.51%	%White	52.54%
Voting Age: 62,653		%Black	12.03%	%Black	11.86%
Hispanic: 14,341		%Asian	20.89%	%Asian	20.28%
Political		%Hispanic	16.65%	%Hispanic	14.98%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.58%	%Am. Indian	0.53%
R Index: 77566	%VAP 123.80%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	20.28%

Totals for District: 84

Population: 86,146   Voting Age: 62,653

District: 85
Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,384		%White	52.61%	%White	55.93%
Voting Age: 83,990		%Black	14.79%	%Black	14.76%
Hispanic: 29,163		%Asian	6.75%	%Asian	6.93%
Political		%Hispanic	26.91%	%Hispanic	23.27%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.84%	%Am. Indian	0.78%
R Index: 95320	%VAP 113.49%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	6.93%

Totals for District: 85

Population: 108,384   Voting Age: 83,990

District: 86
Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,572		%White	50.96%	%White	54.59%
Voting Age: 81,944		%Black	16.42%	%Black	16.22%
Hispanic: 37,726		%Asian	0.96%	%Asian	1.04%
Political		%Hispanic	34.75%	%Hispanic	30.41%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	1.03%	%Am. Indian	1.02%
R Index: 93460	%VAP 114.05%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	1.04%

Totals for District: 86

Population: 108,572   Voting Age: 81,944

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District: 87

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,639		%White	91.71%	%White	92.52%
Voting Age: 84,793		%Black	2.01%	%Black	2.12%
Hispanic: 2,791		%Asian	0.67%	%Asian	0.67%
Political		%Hispanic	2.57%	%Hispanic	2.14%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.20%	%Am. Indian	0.20%
R Index: 103973	%VAP 122.62%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	0.67%

Totals for District: 87

Population: 108,639   Voting Age: 84,793

District: 88

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,513		%White	84.27%	%White	86.35%
Voting Age: 83,406		%Black	4.26%	%Black	4.00%
Hispanic: 3,924		%Asian	4.75%	%Asian	4.39%
Political		%Hispanic	3.62%	%Hispanic	2.88%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.22%	%Am. Indian	0.21%
R Index: 103143	%VAP 123.66%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	4.39%

Totals for District: 88

Population: 108,513   Voting Age: 83,406

District: 89

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,566		%White	90.63%	%White	92.16%
Voting Age: 85,450		%Black	1.36%	%Black	1.37%
Hispanic: 6,068		%Asian	0.45%	%Asian	0.44%
Political		%Hispanic	5.59%	%Hispanic	4.43%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.30%	%Am. Indian	0.30%
R Index: 102784	%VAP 120.29%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	0.44%

Totals for District: 89

Population: 108,566   Voting Age: 85,450

District: 90

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,525		%White	82.00%	%White	85.05%
Voting Age: 84,650		%Black	6.30%	%Black	5.63%
Hispanic: 7,118		%Asian	1.48%	%Asian	1.50%
Political		%Hispanic	6.56%	%Hispanic	5.12%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.33%	%Am. Indian	0.32%
R Index: 100474	%VAP 118.69%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	1.50%

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Totals for District: 90

Population: 108,525   Voting Age: 84,650

District: 91

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic			Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population:	108,488		%White	76.90%	%White	79.55%
Voting Age:	88,060		%Black	10.79%	%Black	9.79%
Hispanic:	7,338		%Asian	2.33%	%Asian	2.45%
Political			%Hispanic	6.76%	%Hispanic	5.84%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.31%	%Am. Indian	0.29%
R Index: 100959	%VAP	114.65%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	2.45%

Totals for District: 91

Population: 108,488   Voting Age: 88,060

District: 92

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic			Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population:	108,499		%White	55.67%	%White	61.40%
Voting Age:	83,551		%Black	29.59%	%Black	26.03%
Hispanic:	7,829		%Asian	3.08%	%Asian	3.27%
Political			%Hispanic	7.22%	%Hispanic	6.15%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.36%	%Am. Indian	0.35%
R Index: 100564	%VAP	120.36%	%Haw Pac	0.05%	%Haw Pac	3.27%

Totals for District: 92

Population: 108,499   Voting Age: 83,551

District: 93

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic			Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population:	108,708		%White	90.11%	%White	91.50%
Voting Age:	84,971		%Black	2.27%	%Black	2.15%
Hispanic:	4,129		%Asian	1.14%	%Asian	1.08%
Political			%Hispanic	3.80%	%Hispanic	3.10%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.27%	%Am. Indian	0.28%
R Index: 103581	%VAP	121.90%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	1.08%

Totals for District: 93

Population: 108,708   Voting Age: 84,971

District: 94

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

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Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,580		%White	93.61%	%White	94.09%
Voting Age: 86,424		%Black	1.41%	%Black	1.55%
Hispanic: 2,223		%Asian	0.29%	%Asian	0.30%
Political		%Hispanic	2.05%	%Hispanic	1.77%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.22%	%Am. Indian	0.22%
R Index: 104611	%VAP 121.04%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	0.30%

Totals for District: 94

Population: 108,580   Voting Age: 86,424

District: 95

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,730		%White	81.02%	%White	83.97%
Voting Age: 85,780		%Black	9.02%	%Black	7.94%
Hispanic: 2,845		%Asian	2.97%	%Asian	2.88%
Political		%Hispanic	2.62%	%Hispanic	2.18%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.26%	%Am. Indian	0.27%
R Index: 102391	%VAP 119.36%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	2.88%

Totals for District: 95

Population: 108,730   Voting Age: 85,780

District: 96

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,426		%White	59.18%	%White	64.68%
Voting Age: 84,083		%Black	30.54%	%Black	27.15%
Hispanic: 3,710		%Asian	1.47%	%Asian	1.58%
Political		%Hispanic	3.42%	%Hispanic	2.89%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.28%	%Am. Indian	0.28%
R Index: 100846	%VAP 119.94%	%Haw Pac	0.05%	%Haw Pac	1.58%

Totals for District: 96

Population: 108,426   Voting Age: 84,083

District: 97

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,719		%White	65.83%	%White	67.93%
Voting Age: 77,586		%Black	9.11%	%Black	8.80%
Hispanic: 19,007		%Asian	7.73%	%Asian	7.72%
Political		%Hispanic	17.48%	%Hispanic	15.85%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.50%	%Am. Indian	0.50%
R Index: 96943	%VAP 124.95%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	7.72%

Totals for District: 97

Population: 108,719   Voting Age: 77,586

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District: 98

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population: 108,505		%White	53.19%	%White	56.60%
Voting Age: 82,611		%Black	14.74%	%Black	14.15%
Hispanic: 27,839		%Asian	7.69%	%Asian	7.74%
Political		%Hispanic	25.66%	%Hispanic	22.57%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.76%	%Am. Indian	0.72%
R Index: 94720	%VAP 114.66%	%Haw Pac	0.01%	%Haw Pac	7.74%

Totals for District: 98

Population: 108,505   Voting Age: 82,611

District: 99

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population: 108,582		%White	85.40%	%White	87.15%
Voting Age: 85,526		%Black	5.97%	%Black	5.82%
Hispanic: 5,141		%Asian	0.81%	%Asian	0.78%
Political		%Hispanic	4.73%	%Hispanic	3.98%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.28%	%Am. Indian	0.27%
R Index: 103157	%VAP 120.61%	%Haw Pac	0.08%	%Haw Pac	0.78%

Totals for District: 99

Population: 108,582   Voting Age: 85,526

District: 100

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population: 108,707		%White	93.59%	%White	94.31%
Voting Age: 85,558		%Black	1.16%	%Black	1.13%
Hispanic: 1,673		%Asian	0.39%	%Asian	0.39%
Political		%Hispanic	1.54%	%Hispanic	1.23%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.18%	%Am. Indian	0.18%
R Index: 104120	%VAP 121.70%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	0.39%

Totals for District: 100

Population: 108,707   Voting Age: 85,558

District: 101

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population: 108,583		%White	89.15%	%White	90.19%
Voting Age: 83,706		%Black	2.32%	%Black	2.31%
Hispanic: 5,107		%Asian	1.05%	%Asian	1.13%
Political		%Hispanic	4.70%	%Hispanic	4.04%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.25%	%Am. Indian	0.25%
R Index: 103056	%VAP 123.12%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	1.13%

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Totals for District: 101

Population: 108,583   Voting Age: 83,706

District: 102

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,586		%White	92.98%	%White	93.12%
Voting Age: 84,981		%Black	2.20%	%Black	2.61%
Hispanic: 2,055		%Asian	0.36%	%Asian	0.36%
Political		%Hispanic	1.89%	%Hispanic	1.68%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.20%	%Am. Indian	0.20%
R Index: 105008	%VAP 123.57%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	0.36%

Totals for District: 102

Population: 108,586   Voting Age: 84,981

District: 103

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,553		%White	49.88%	%White	52.92%
Voting Age: 92,362		%Black	19.84%	%Black	16.87%
Hispanic: 10,991		%Asian	17.37%	%Asian	19.14%
Political		%Hispanic	10.13%	%Hispanic	9.19%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.48%	%Am. Indian	0.42%
R Index: 100212	%VAP 108.50%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	19.14%

Totals for District: 103

Population: 108,553   Voting Age: 92,362

District: 104

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,612		%White	68.57%	%White	72.92%
Voting Age: 84,065		%Black	15.67%	%Black	13.75%
Hispanic: 7,329		%Asian	5.27%	%Asian	5.19%
Political		%Hispanic	6.75%	%Hispanic	5.51%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.32%	%Am. Indian	0.31%
R Index: 101177	%VAP 120.36%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	5.19%

Totals for District: 104

Population: 108,612   Voting Age: 84,065

District: 105

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

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Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,658		%White	90.07%	%White	91.30%
Voting Age: 82,923		%Black	2.00%	%Black	2.07%
Hispanic: 3,967		%Asian	1.77%	%Asian	1.65%
Political		%Hispanic	3.65%	%Hispanic	2.91%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.21%	%Am. Indian	0.20%
R Index: 103615	%VAP 124.95%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	1.65%

Totals for District: 105

Population: 108,658	Voting Age: 82,923

District: 106

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,394		%White	89.16%	%White	90.99%
Voting Age: 83,277		%Black	1.14%	%Black	1.01%
Hispanic: 8,091		%Asian	0.51%	%Asian	0.53%
Political		%Hispanic	7.46%	%Hispanic	5.87%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.27%	%Am. Indian	0.29%
R Index: 101724	%VAP 122.15%	%Haw Pac	0.01%	%Haw Pac	0.53%

Totals for District: 106

Population: 108,394	Voting Age: 83,277

District: 107

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,548		%White	93.92%	%White	94.55%
Voting Age: 84,753		%Black	0.75%	%Black	0.73%
Hispanic: 2,482		%Asian	0.57%	%Asian	0.58%
Political		%Hispanic	2.29%	%Hispanic	2.09%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.18%	%Am. Indian	0.18%
R Index: 104898	%VAP 123.77%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	0.58%

Totals for District: 107

Population: 108,548	Voting Age: 84,753

District: 108

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,600		%White	92.91%	%White	93.67%
Voting Age: 84,960		%Black	1.42%	%Black	1.54%
Hispanic: 1,762		%Asian	0.49%	%Asian	0.50%
Political		%Hispanic	1.62%	%Hispanic	1.27%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.22%	%Am. Indian	0.24%
R Index: 103863	%VAP 122.25%	%Haw Pac	0.01%	%Haw Pac	0.50%

Totals for District: 108

Population: 108,600	Voting Age: 84,960

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District: 109

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,548		%White	90.76%	%White	91.57%
Voting Age: 84,166		%Black	2.18%	%Black	2.35%
Hispanic: 3,291		%Asian	0.69%	%Asian	0.72%
Political		%Hispanic	3.03%	%Hispanic	2.67%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.26%	%Am. Indian	0.24%
R Index: 103228	%VAP 122.65%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	0.72%

Totals for District: 109

Population: 108,548   Voting Age: 84,166

District: 110

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,564		%White	90.67%	%White	91.29%
Voting Age: 84,846		%Black	3.23%	%Black	3.40%
Hispanic: 2,439		%Asian	0.67%	%Asian	0.70%
Political		%Hispanic	2.25%	%Hispanic	1.99%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.30%	%Am. Indian	0.31%
R Index: 103956	%VAP 122.52%	%Haw Pac	0.01%	%Haw Pac	0.70%

Totals for District: 110

Population: 108,564   Voting Age: 84,846

District: 111

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,642		%White	80.41%	%White	82.97%
Voting Age: 85,530		%Black	10.11%	%Black	9.07%
Hispanic: 4,410		%Asian	0.82%	%Asian	0.84%
Political		%Hispanic	4.06%	%Hispanic	3.38%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.35%	%Am. Indian	0.37%
R Index: 101304	%VAP 118.44%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	0.84%

Totals for District: 111

Population: 108,642   Voting Age: 85,530

District: 112

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 80,866		%White	76.98%	%White	79.07%
Voting Age: 64,261		%Black	11.12%	%Black	10.74%
Hispanic: 4,641		%Asian	2.04%	%Asian	2.07%
Political		%Hispanic	5.74%	%Hispanic	4.89%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.30%	%Am. Indian	0.31%
R Index: 75189	%VAP 117.01%	%Haw Pac	0.07%	%Haw Pac	2.07%

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Totals for District: 112

Population: 80,866   Voting Age: 64,261

District: 113

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 46,430		%White	48.76%	%White	52.59%
Voting Age: 36,492		%Black	39.46%	%Black	37.44%
Hispanic: 3,355		%Asian	1.10%	%Asian	1.18%
Political		%Hispanic	7.23%	%Hispanic	6.17%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.53%	%Am. Indian	0.48%
R Index: 43393	%VAP 118.91%	%Haw Pac	0.08%	%Haw Pac	1.18%

Totals for District: 113

Population: 46,430   Voting Age: 36,492

District: 114

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 41,726		%White	87.24%	%White	89.00%
Voting Age: 31,716		%Black	3.92%	%Black	3.64%
Hispanic: 1,551		%Asian	1.03%	%Asian	1.04%
Political		%Hispanic	3.72%	%Hispanic	2.83%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.25%	%Am. Indian	0.26%
R Index: 39111	%VAP 123.32%	%Haw Pac	0.11%	%Haw Pac	1.04%

Totals for District: 114

Population: 41,726   Voting Age: 31,716

District: 115

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,630		%White	88.37%	%White	88.94%
Voting Age: 85,603		%Black	5.14%	%Black	5.53%
Hispanic: 3,063		%Asian	0.44%	%Asian	0.45%
Political		%Hispanic	2.82%	%Hispanic	2.44%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.20%	%Am. Indian	0.20%
R Index: 103927	%VAP 121.41%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	0.45%

Totals for District: 115

Population: 108,630   Voting Age: 85,603

District: 116

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

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Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,536		%White	91.11%	%White	92.16%
Voting Age: 84,490		%Black	2.97%	%Black	2.75%
Hispanic: 1,943		%Asian	0.76%	%Asian	0.81%
Political		%Hispanic	1.79%	%Hispanic	1.45%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.23%	%Am. Indian	0.26%
R Index: 103915	%VAP 122.99%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	0.81%

Totals for District: 116

Population: 108,536   Voting Age: 84,490

District: 117

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,516		%White	90.11%	%White	90.73%
Voting Age: 86,060		%Black	3.61%	%Black	3.92%
Hispanic: 2,278		%Asian	0.37%	%Asian	0.37%
Political		%Hispanic	2.10%	%Hispanic	1.86%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.33%	%Am. Indian	0.36%
R Index: 103548	%VAP 120.32%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	0.37%

Totals for District: 117

Population: 108,516   Voting Age: 86,060

District: 118

Demograhics for district areas that have remained unchanged

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 108,520		%White	77.96%	%White	79.76%
Voting Age: 86,312		%Black	10.79%	%Black	10.10%
Hispanic: 4,759		%Asian	2.54%	%Asian	2.76%
Political		%Hispanic	4.39%	%Hispanic	3.79%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.42%	%Am. Indian	0.45%
R Index: 101565	%VAP 117.67%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	2.76%

Totals for District: 118

Population: 108,520   Voting Age: 86,312

Areas added from other districts

District: 1

Demographics for areas added from district: 2 to 1

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 405		%White	29.88%	%White	35.16%
Voting Age: 273		%Black	2.72%	%Black	4.03%
Hispanic: 304		%Asian	0.25%	%Asian	0.37%
Political		%Hispanic	75.06%	%Hispanic	66.67%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.49%	%Am. Indian	0.73%
R Index: 327	%VAP 119.78%	%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	0.37%

Demographics for areas added from district: 21 to 1

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Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 20,952			%White	45.53%	%White	49.19%
Voting Age: 15,834			%Black	4.90%	%Black	5.29%
Hispanic: 11,564			%Asian	1.67%	%Asian	1.84%
Political			%Hispanic	55.19%	%Hispanic	49.85%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	1.90%	%Am. Indian	1.71%
R Index: 16761	%VAP	105.85%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	1.84%

Demographics for areas added from district: 22 to 1

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 4,843			%White	36.16%	%White	39.37%
Voting Age: 3,762			%Black	1.53%	%Black	1.65%
Hispanic: 3,305			%Asian	2.81%	%Asian	3.11%
Political			%Hispanic	68.24%	%Hispanic	63.18%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.50%	%Am. Indian	2.26%
R Index: 3822	%VAP	101.59%	%Haw Pac	0.08%	%Haw Pac	3.11%

Demographics for areas added from district: 23 to 1

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 19,996			%White	13.35%	%White	13.08%
Voting Age: 14,276			%Black	0.78%	%Black	0.73%
Hispanic: 19,132			%Asian	1.00%	%Asian	0.99%
Political			%Hispanic	95.68%	%Hispanic	95.36%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	4.63%	%Am. Indian	4.88%
R Index: 15595	%VAP	109.24%	%Haw Pac	0.07%	%Haw Pac	0.99%

Demographics for areas added from district: 31 to 1

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 15,914			%White	65.84%	%White	67.97%
Voting Age: 12,216			%Black	16.68%	%Black	15.46%
Hispanic: 2,559			%Asian	1.89%	%Asian	1.96%
Political			%Hispanic	16.08%	%Hispanic	14.94%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.57%	%Am. Indian	0.46%
R Index: 14494	%VAP	118.65%	%Haw Pac	0.01%	%Haw Pac	1.96%

Demographics for areas added from district: 32 to 1

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 1,633			%White	82.79%	%White	84.52%
Voting Age: 1,195			%Black	2.14%	%Black	2.18%
Hispanic: 203			%Asian	1.90%	%Asian	1.59%
Political			%Hispanic	12.43%	%Hispanic	10.96%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.80%	%Am. Indian	0.59%
R Index: 1500	%VAP	125.52%	%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	1.59%

Totals for District: 1

Population: 63,743   Voting Age: 47,556

District: 2

Demographics for areas added from district: 1 to 2

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Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 32,369			%White	15.07%	%White	15.26%
Voting Age: 23,293			%Black	4.20%	%Black	4.45%
Hispanic: 29,554			%Asian	0.39%	%Asian	0.45%
Political			%Hispanic	91.30%	%Hispanic	90.00%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	4.18%	%Am. Indian	4.11%
R Index: 24512	%VAP	105.23%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	0.45%

Demographics for areas added from district: 6 to 2

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 1,444			%White	8.03%	%White	7.83%
Voting Age: 1,047			%Black	29.16%	%Black	32.00%
Hispanic: 969			%Asian	0.00%	%Asian	0.00%
Political			%Hispanic	67.11%	%Hispanic	63.51%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	4.43%	%Am. Indian	4.49%
R Index: 1237	%VAP	118.15%	%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	0.00%

Demographics for areas added from district: 21 to 2

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 4,195			%White	68.03%	%White	70.60%
Voting Age: 3,306			%Black	4.70%	%Black	4.90%
Hispanic: 1,164			%Asian	3.08%	%Asian	3.21%
Political			%Hispanic	27.75%	%Hispanic	24.38%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	1.10%	%Am. Indian	0.88%
R Index: 3732	%VAP	112.89%	%Haw Pac	0.05%	%Haw Pac	3.21%

Demographics for areas added from district: 22 to 2

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 60,252			%White	43.88%	%White	47.25%
Voting Age: 45,964			%Black	2.08%	%Black	2.00%
Hispanic: 37,020			%Asian	1.52%	%Asian	1.68%
Political			%Hispanic	61.44%	%Hispanic	56.82%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.62%	%Am. Indian	2.45%
R Index: 48030	%VAP	104.49%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	1.68%

Demographics for areas added from district: 31 to 2

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 3,256			%White	74.57%	%White	76.89%
Voting Age: 2,484			%Black	3.07%	%Black	3.02%
Hispanic: 661			%Asian	3.19%	%Asian	3.42%
Political			%Hispanic	20.30%	%Hispanic	17.63%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.43%	%Am. Indian	0.48%
R Index: 2933	%VAP	118.08%	%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	3.42%

Demographics for areas added from district: 32 to 2

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Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 7,048		%White	69.51%	%White	71.63%
Voting Age: 5,189		%Black	2.38%	%Black	2.24%
Hispanic: 1,736		%Asian	3.87%	%Asian	3.87%
Political		%Hispanic	24.63%	%Hispanic	22.20%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.71%	%Am. Indian	0.67%
R Index: 6174	%VAP 118.98%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	3.87%

Totals for District: 2

Population: 108,564   Voting Age: 81,283

District: 3

Demographics for areas added from district: 4 to 3

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 20,133		%White	13.28%	%White	13.49%
Voting Age: 14,854		%Black	21.10%	%Black	22.17%
Hispanic: 15,007		%Asian	0.64%	%Asian	0.77%
Political		%Hispanic	74.54%	%Hispanic	72.64%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.92%	%Am. Indian	2.98%
R Index: 17040	%VAP 114.72%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	0.77%

Demographics for areas added from district: 39 to 3

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 19,477		%White	25.12%	%White	27.50%
Voting Age: 14,951		%Black	3.68%	%Black	3.48%
Hispanic: 15,245		%Asian	2.54%	%Asian	2.84%
Political		%Hispanic	78.27%	%Hispanic	75.29%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	3.37%	%Am. Indian	3.09%
R Index: 15524	%VAP 103.83%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	2.84%

Demographics for areas added from district: 40 to 3

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 62,657		%White	35.93%	%White	38.23%
Voting Age: 49,934		%Black	4.65%	%Black	4.74%
Hispanic: 33,425		%Asian	10.03%	%Asian	10.82%
Political		%Hispanic	53.35%	%Hispanic	49.57%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.39%	%Am. Indian	2.26%
R Index: 53287	%VAP 106.71%	%Haw Pac	0.06%	%Haw Pac	10.82%

Totals for District: 3

Population: 102,267   Voting Age: 79,739

District: 4

Demographics for areas added from district: 3 to 4

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Demographic		*Total Population:*		*Voting Age Population:*	
Population: 40,508		%White	35.11%	%White	37.69%
Voting Age: 31,132		%Black	3.14%	%Black	3.08%
Hispanic: 26,581		%Asian	4.12%	%Asian	4.51%
Political		%Hispanic	65.62%	%Hispanic	61.74%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.52%	%Am. Indian	2.35%
R Index: 32854	%VAP 105.53%	%Haw Pac	0.09%	%Haw Pac	4.51%

Demographics for areas added from district: 20 to 4

Demographic		*Total Population:*		*Voting Age Population:*	
Population: 18,807		%White	63.39%	%White	66.73%
Voting Age: 15,083		%Black	2.04%	%Black	1.76%
Hispanic: 6,399		%Asian	4.81%	%Asian	4.68%
Political		%Hispanic	34.02%	%Hispanic	30.23%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	1.24%	%Am. Indian	1.19%
R Index: 16444	%VAP 109.02%	%Haw Pac	0.01%	%Haw Pac	4.68%

Demographics for areas added from district: 39 to 4

Demographic		*Total Population:*		*Voting Age Population:*	
Population: 41,791		%White	33.33%	%White	35.63%
Voting Age: 32,099		%Black	3.28%	%Black	3.07%
Hispanic: 29,125		%Asian	3.41%	%Asian	3.64%
Political		%Hispanic	69.69%	%Hispanic	66.32%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.96%	%Am. Indian	2.91%
R Index: 33673	%VAP 104.90%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	3.64%

Demographics for areas added from district: 40 to 4

Demographic		*Total Population:*		*Voting Age Population:*	
Population: 993		%White	38.27%	%White	40.58%
Voting Age: 754		%Black	2.11%	%Black	1.33%
Hispanic: 610		%Asian	6.24%	%Asian	7.56%
Political		%Hispanic	61.43%	%Hispanic	58.22%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	3.22%	%Am. Indian	3.45%
R Index: 791	%VAP 104.91%	%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	7.56%

Demographics for areas added from district: 77 to 4

Demographic		*Total Population:*		*Voting Age Population:*	
Population: 1,261		%White	71.53%	%White	74.57%
Voting Age: 999		%Black	1.51%	%Black	1.70%
Hispanic: 359		%Asian	3.17%	%Asian	3.00%
Political		%Hispanic	28.47%	%Hispanic	23.82%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	1.51%	%Am. Indian	1.20%
R Index: 1121	%VAP 112.21%	%Haw Pac	0.08%	%Haw Pac	3.00%

Totals for District: 4

Population: 103,360   Voting Age: 80,067

District: 5

Demographics for areas added from district: 6 to 5

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Demographic				**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 17				%White	64.71%	%White	33.33%
Voting Age: 3				%Black	5.88%	%Black	33.33%
Hispanic: 11				%Asian	0.00%	%Asian	0.00%
Political				%Hispanic	64.71%	%Hispanic	0.00%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%		%Am. Indian	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.00%
R Index: 12	%VAP	400.00%		%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	0.00%

Totals for District: 5

Population: 17 Voting Age: 3

District: 6

Demographics for areas added from district: 32 to 6

Demographic				**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 20,932				%White	6.52%	%White	6.22%
Voting Age: 15,667				%Black	65.14%	%Black	68.65%
Hispanic: 6,409				%Asian	0.27%	%Asian	0.29%
Political				%Hispanic	30.62%	%Hispanic	26.45%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%		%Am. Indian	1.42%	%Am. Indian	1.29%
R Index: 19177	%VAP	122.40%		%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	0.29%

Totals for District: 6

Population: 20,932 Voting Age: 15,667

District: 8

Demographics for areas added from district: 21 to 8

Demographic				**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 2,333				%White	72.01%	%White	74.24%
Voting Age: 1,817				%Black	10.33%	%Black	9.74%
Hispanic: 326				%Asian	2.44%	%Asian	2.53%
Political				%Hispanic	13.97%	%Hispanic	12.33%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%		%Am. Indian	0.86%	%Am. Indian	0.83%
R Index: 2123	%VAP	116.84%		%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	2.53%

Demographics for areas added from district: 82 to 8

Demographic				**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 726				%White	87.60%	%White	89.17%
Voting Age: 591				%Black	1.24%	%Black	1.18%
Hispanic: 99				%Asian	0.41%	%Asian	0.51%
Political				%Hispanic	13.64%	%Hispanic	11.34%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%		%Am. Indian	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.00%
R Index: 665	%VAP	112.52%		%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	0.51%

Totals for District: 8

Population: 3,059 Voting Age: 2,408

District: 20

Demographics for areas added from district: 55 to 20

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Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 27,354		%White	72.66%	%White	74.27%
Voting Age: 21,353		%Black	1.93%	%Black	1.98%
Hispanic: 3,920		%Asian	10.47%	%Asian	10.38%
Political		%Hispanic	14.33%	%Hispanic	13.05%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.59%	%Am. Indian	0.54%
R Index: 25046	%VAP 117.29%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	10.38%

Demographics for areas added from district: 77 to 20

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 0		%White	NaN	%White	NaN
Voting Age: 0		%Black	NaN	%Black	NaN
Hispanic: 0		%Asian	NaN	%Asian	NaN
Political		%Hispanic	NaN	%Hispanic	NaN
D Index: 0	%VAP NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN
R Index: 0	%VAP NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN

Totals for District: 20

Population: 27,354   Voting Age: 21,353

District: 21

Demographics for areas added from district: 2 to 21

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 26,727		%White	49.17%	%White	51.57%
Voting Age: 19,948		%Black	4.03%	%Black	4.11%
Hispanic: 13,761		%Asian	1.19%	%Asian	1.34%
Political		%Hispanic	51.49%	%Hispanic	48.17%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.05%	%Am. Indian	2.00%
R Index: 21657	%VAP 108.57%	%Haw Pac	0.08%	%Haw Pac	1.34%

Demographics for areas added from district: 8 to 21

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 2,277		%White	28.19%	%White	29.51%
Voting Age: 1,752		%Black	11.33%	%Black	11.47%
Hispanic: 1,510		%Asian	2.94%	%Asian	2.97%
Political		%Hispanic	66.32%	%Hispanic	63.30%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.72%	%Am. Indian	2.57%
R Index: 1766	%VAP 100.80%	%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	2.97%

Demographics for areas added from district: 23 to 21

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 10,084		%White	15.06%	%White	15.03%
Voting Age: 7,087		%Black	4.14%	%Black	4.20%
Hispanic: 9,254		%Asian	0.19%	%Asian	0.27%
Political		%Hispanic	91.77%	%Hispanic	90.76%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	5.24%	%Am. Indian	4.87%
R Index: 7752	%VAP 109.38%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	0.27%

Totals for District: 21

Population: 39,088   Voting Age: 28,787

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District: 22

Demographics for areas added from district: 1 to 22

Demographic				Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population: 839				%White	52.92%	%White	57.73%
Voting Age: 660				%Black	1.43%	%Black	1.82%
Hispanic: 432				%Asian	0.60%	%Asian	0.76%
Political				%Hispanic	51.49%	%Hispanic	45.00%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%		%Am. Indian	4.41%	%Am. Indian	3.79%
R Index: 686	%VAP	103.94%		%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	0.76%

Demographics for areas added from district: 2 to 22

Demographic				Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population: 81,500				%White	31.94%	%White	34.34%
Voting Age: 61,099				%Black	3.49%	%Black	3.55%
Hispanic: 60,178				%Asian	1.16%	%Asian	1.26%
Political				%Hispanic	73.84%	%Hispanic	69.91%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%		%Am. Indian	3.56%	%Am. Indian	3.47%
R Index: 62754	%VAP	102.71%		%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	1.26%

Demographics for areas added from district: 8 to 22

Demographic				Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population: 602				%White	56.48%	%White	65.76%
Voting Age: 476				%Black	1.33%	%Black	1.68%
Hispanic: 280				%Asian	0.50%	%Asian	0.00%
Political				%Hispanic	46.51%	%Hispanic	36.55%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%		%Am. Indian	1.50%	%Am. Indian	1.26%
R Index: 499	%VAP	104.83%		%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	0.00%

Demographics for areas added from district: 21 to 22

Demographic				Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population: 11,797				%White	62.37%	%White	65.02%
Voting Age: 9,166				%Black	6.98%	%Black	7.31%
Hispanic: 3,669				%Asian	2.66%	%Asian	2.65%
Political				%Hispanic	31.10%	%Hispanic	27.33%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%		%Am. Indian	0.92%	%Am. Indian	0.94%
R Index: 10087	%VAP	110.05%		%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	2.65%

Demographics for areas added from district: 23 to 22

Demographic				Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population: 3,318				%White	14.41%	%White	14.05%
Voting Age: 2,399				%Black	0.93%	%Black	0.79%
Hispanic: 3,208				%Asian	0.24%	%Asian	0.33%
Political				%Hispanic	96.68%	%Hispanic	96.33%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%		%Am. Indian	4.97%	%Am. Indian	5.04%
R Index: 2702	%VAP	112.63%		%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	0.33%

Demographics for areas added from district: 31 to 22

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Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 896			%White	76.90%	%White	77.31%
Voting Age: 692			%Black	2.34%	%Black	2.17%
Hispanic: 180			%Asian	2.90%	%Asian	3.18%
Political			%Hispanic	20.09%	%Hispanic	18.93%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.67%	%Am. Indian	0.58%
R Index: 805	%VAP	116.33%	%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	3.18%

Demographics for areas added from district: 82 to 22

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 9,592			%White	72.45%	%White	75.36%
Voting Age: 7,516			%Black	4.39%	%Black	4.12%
Hispanic: 2,137			%Asian	2.16%	%Asian	2.22%
Political			%Hispanic	22.28%	%Hispanic	18.77%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.90%	%Am. Indian	0.73%
R Index: 8401	%VAP	111.77%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	2.22%

Totals for District: 22

Population: 108,544   Voting Age: 82,008

District: 23

Demographics for areas added from district: 1 to 23

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 12,928			%White	28.10%	%White	30.32%
Voting Age: 9,905			%Black	5.70%	%Black	6.04%
Hispanic: 7,944			%Asian	10.89%	%Asian	11.40%
Political			%Hispanic	61.45%	%Hispanic	57.88%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.38%	%Am. Indian	2.39%
R Index: 10171	%VAP	102.69%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	11.40%

Demographics for areas added from district: 6 to 23

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 17,392			%White	11.30%	%White	11.03%
Voting Age: 11,926			%Black	16.57%	%Black	18.04%
Hispanic: 13,882			%Asian	0.59%	%Asian	0.60%
Political			%Hispanic	79.82%	%Hispanic	77.86%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	3.15%	%Am. Indian	3.23%
R Index: 14521	%VAP	121.76%	%Haw Pac	0.14%	%Haw Pac	0.60%

Demographics for areas added from district: 24 to 23

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 35,496			%White	26.07%	%White	27.70%
Voting Age: 27,349			%Black	2.83%	%Black	2.64%
Hispanic: 20,793			%Asian	20.09%	%Asian	20.95%
Political			%Hispanic	58.58%	%Hispanic	55.44%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.75%	%Am. Indian	2.60%
R Index: 29668	%VAP	108.48%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	20.95%

Totals for District: 23

Population: 65,816   Voting Age: 49,180

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District: 24

Demographics for areas added from district: 1 to 24

Demographic				**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 3,107				%White	19.34%	%White	21.38%
Voting Age: 2,446				%Black	1.51%	%Black	1.23%
Hispanic: 1,813				%Asian	28.13%	%Asian	28.21%
Political				%Hispanic	58.35%	%Hispanic	56.34%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%		%Am. Indian	2.51%	%Am. Indian	2.41%
R Index: 2687	%VAP	109.85%		%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	28.21%

Demographics for areas added from district: 23 to 24

Demographic				**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 32,349				%White	13.02%	%White	12.94%
Voting Age: 23,123				%Black	5.55%	%Black	5.49%
Hispanic: 29,365				%Asian	0.31%	%Asian	0.35%
Political				%Hispanic	90.78%	%Hispanic	90.35%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%		%Am. Indian	3.75%	%Am. Indian	3.78%
R Index: 26260	%VAP	113.57%		%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	0.35%

Totals for District: 24

Population: 35,456   Voting Age: 25,569

District: 31

Demographics for areas added from district: 32 to 31

Demographic				**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 36,193				%White	1.63%	%White	1.58%
Voting Age: 27,395				%Black	90.04%	%Black	90.85%
Hispanic: 2,619				%Asian	0.16%	%Asian	0.15%
Political				%Hispanic	7.24%	%Hispanic	6.15%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%		%Am. Indian	0.35%	%Am. Indian	0.34%
R Index: 34967	%VAP	127.64%		%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	0.15%

Demographics for areas added from district: 36 to 31

Demographic				**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 25,013				%White	60.10%	%White	61.60%
Voting Age: 19,839				%Black	19.54%	%Black	20.22%
Hispanic: 4,797				%Asian	2.44%	%Asian	2.44%
Political				%Hispanic	19.18%	%Hispanic	16.68%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%		%Am. Indian	0.68%	%Am. Indian	0.61%
R Index: 22779	%VAP	114.82%		%Haw Pac	0.01%	%Haw Pac	2.44%

Totals for District: 31

Population: 61,206   Voting Age: 47,234

District: 32

Demographics for areas added from district: 1 to 32

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Demographic

Population:	14,380
Voting Age:	10,299
Hispanic:	11,995

Political

D Index:	0	%VAP	0.00%
R Index:	11024	%VAP	107.04%

Total Population:

%White	15.47%
%Black	12.10%
%Asian	0.29%
%Hispanic	83.41%
%Am. Indian	2.88%
%Haw Pac	0.03%

Voting Age Population:

%White	15.35%
%Black	13.11%
%Asian	0.36%
%Hispanic	81.44%
%Am. Indian	2.79%
%Haw Pac	0.36%

Demographics for areas added from district: 6 to 32

Demographic

Population:	2,315
Voting Age:	1,677
Hispanic:	1,147

Political

D Index:	0	%VAP	0.00%
R Index:	2003	%VAP	119.44%

Total Population:

%White	8.77%
%Black	46.39%
%Asian	0.22%
%Hispanic	49.55%
%Am. Indian	2.63%
%Haw Pac	0.00%

Voting Age Population:

%White	8.53%
%Black	49.91%
%Asian	0.24%
%Hispanic	45.68%
%Am. Indian	2.21%
%Haw Pac	0.24%

Demographics for areas added from district: 22 to 32

Demographic

Population:	43,423
Voting Age:	32,235
Hispanic:	32,540

Political

D Index:	0	%VAP	0.00%
R Index:	33175	%VAP	102.92%

Total Population:

%White	32.30%
%Black	2.16%
%Asian	1.28%
%Hispanic	74.94%
%Am. Indian	3.16%
%Haw Pac	0.04%

Voting Age Population:

%White	34.65%
%Black	2.25%
%Asian	1.43%
%Hispanic	71.27%
%Am. Indian	3.22%
%Haw Pac	1.43%

Demographics for areas added from district: 31 to 32

Demographic

Population:	5,730
Voting Age:	4,455
Hispanic:	1,718

Political

D Index:	0	%VAP	0.00%
R Index:	4982	%VAP	111.83%

Total Population:

%White	67.19%
%Black	3.14%
%Asian	1.52%
%Hispanic	29.98%
%Am. Indian	0.82%
%Haw Pac	0.00%

Voting Age Population:

%White	70.10%
%Black	2.85%
%Asian	1.64%
%Hispanic	26.53%
%Am. Indian	0.85%
%Haw Pac	1.64%

Totals for District: 32

Population:	65,848	Voting Age:	48,666

District: 35

Demographics for areas added from district: 31 to 35

Demographic

Population:	1,788
Voting Age:	1,442
Hispanic:	185

Political

D Index:	0	%VAP	0.00%
R Index:	1663	%VAP	115.33%

Total Population:

%White	86.35%
%Black	1.85%
%Asian	1.96%
%Hispanic	10.35%
%Am. Indian	0.11%
%Haw Pac	0.00%

Voting Age Population:

%White	87.45%
%Black	1.46%
%Asian	2.08%
%Hispanic	9.78%
%Am. Indian	0.14%
%Haw Pac	2.08%

Demographics for areas added from district: 36 to 35

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Demographic

Population: 30,931

Voting Age: 24,277

Hispanic: 4,060

Political

D Index: 0   %VAP 0.00%

R Index: 28603   %VAP 117.82%

Total Population:		**Voting Age Population:**	
%White	81.32%	%White	82.65%
%Black	3.95%	%Black	3.98%
%Asian	2.00%	%Asian	2.08%
%Hispanic	13.13%	%Hispanic	11.43%
%Am. Indian	0.29%	%Am. Indian	0.29%
%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	2.08%

Totals for District: 35

Population: 32,719   Voting Age: 25,719

District: 36

Demographics for areas added from district: 31 to 36

Demographic

Population: 33,534

Voting Age: 26,039

Hispanic: 1,041

Political

D Index: 0   %VAP 0.00%

R Index: 32685   %VAP 125.52%

Total Population:		**Voting Age Population:**	
%White	2.04%	%White	2.11%
%Black	93.60%	%Black	93.99%
%Asian	0.14%	%Asian	0.17%
%Hispanic	3.10%	%Hispanic	2.62%
%Am. Indian	0.25%	%Am. Indian	0.24%
%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	0.17%

Demographics for areas added from district: 35 to 36

Demographic

Population: 24,979

Voting Age: 20,173

Hispanic: 1,067

Political

D Index: 0   %VAP 0.00%

R Index: 23756   %VAP 117.76%

Total Population:		**Voting Age Population:**	
%White	27.59%	%White	27.85%
%Black	65.22%	%Black	65.84%
%Asian	0.54%	%Asian	0.51%
%Hispanic	4.27%	%Hispanic	3.66%
%Am. Indian	0.18%	%Am. Indian	0.18%
%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	0.51%

Totals for District: 36

Population: 58,513   Voting Age: 46,212

District: 39

Demographics for areas added from district: 3 to 39

Demographic

Population: 27,187

Voting Age: 21,755

Hispanic: 16,467

Political

D Index: 0   %VAP 0.00%

R Index: 22326   %VAP 102.62%

Total Population:		**Voting Age Population:**	
%White	36.72%	%White	39.32%
%Black	6.80%	%Black	6.35%
%Asian	2.50%	%Asian	2.69%
%Hispanic	60.57%	%Hispanic	57.88%
%Am. Indian	2.56%	%Am. Indian	2.48%
%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	2.69%

Demographics for areas added from district: 4 to 39

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Demographic

Population: 44,240

Voting Age: 34,060

Hispanic: 29,169

Political

D Index: 0   %VAP 0.00%

R Index: 36740   %VAP 107.87%

Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
%White	23.49%	%White	25.18%
%Black	18.00%	%Black	17.39%
%Asian	1.43%	%Asian	1.56%
%Hispanic	65.93%	%Hispanic	63.85%
%Am. Indian	2.38%	%Am. Indian	2.24%
%Haw Pac	0.06%	%Haw Pac	1.56%

Demographics for areas added from district: 40 to 39

Demographic

Population: 23,150

Voting Age: 18,853

Hispanic: 10,936

Political

D Index: 0   %VAP 0.00%

R Index: 19519   %VAP 103.53%

Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
%White	46.55%	%White	49.22%
%Black	3.61%	%Black	3.49%
%Asian	6.91%	%Asian	7.29%
%Hispanic	47.24%	%Hispanic	44.29%
%Am. Indian	1.98%	%Am. Indian	1.82%
%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	7.29%

Totals for District: 39

Population: 94,577   Voting Age: 74,668

District: 40

Demographics for areas added from district: 3 to 40

Demographic

Population: 21,141

Voting Age: 18,215

Hispanic: 4,342

Political

D Index: 0   %VAP 0.00%

R Index: 18835   %VAP 103.40%

Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
%White	68.06%	%White	70.19%
%Black	5.86%	%Black	5.29%
%Asian	5.97%	%Asian	6.28%
%Hispanic	20.54%	%Hispanic	18.70%
%Am. Indian	0.59%	%Am. Indian	0.55%
%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	6.28%

Demographics for areas added from district: 4 to 40

Demographic

Population: 32,473

Voting Age: 27,933

Hispanic: 6,788

Political

D Index: 0   %VAP 0.00%

R Index: 28842   %VAP 103.25%

Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
%White	69.43%	%White	71.73%
%Black	4.17%	%Black	3.81%
%Asian	5.27%	%Asian	5.41%
%Hispanic	20.90%	%Hispanic	19.34%
%Am. Indian	0.62%	%Am. Indian	0.59%
%Haw Pac	0.08%	%Haw Pac	5.41%

Demographics for areas added from district: 39 to 40

Demographic

Population: 33,141

Voting Age: 28,392

Hispanic: 8,583

Political

D Index: 0   %VAP 0.00%

R Index: 29130   %VAP 102.60%

Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
%White	65.79%	%White	67.92%
%Black	3.95%	%Black	3.69%
%Asian	5.34%	%Asian	5.50%
%Hispanic	25.90%	%Hispanic	24.49%
%Am. Indian	0.88%	%Am. Indian	0.86%
%Haw Pac	0.07%	%Haw Pac	5.50%

Totals for District: 40

Population: 86,755   Voting Age: 74,540

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District: 41

Demographics for areas added from district: 47 to 41

Demographic		Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population: 1,081		%White	83.16%	%White	86.55%
Voting Age: 833		%Black	2.87%	%Black	2.04%
Hispanic: 109		%Asian	1.39%	%Asian	1.44%
Political		%Hispanic	10.08%	%Hispanic	8.52%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	1.39%	%Am. Indian	1.68%
R Index: 984	%VAP 118.13%	%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	1.44%

Demographics for areas added from district: 49 to 41

Demographic		Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population: 64		%White	100.00%	%White	100.00%
Voting Age: 52		%Black	0.00%	%Black	0.00%
Hispanic: 5		%Asian	0.00%	%Asian	0.00%
Political		%Hispanic	7.81%	%Hispanic	0.00%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.00%
R Index: 64	%VAP 123.08%	%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	0.00%

Demographics for areas added from district: 84 to 41

Demographic		Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population: 5,203		%White	40.73%	%White	44.97%
Voting Age: 3,587		%Black	3.92%	%Black	4.15%
Hispanic: 250		%Asian	48.41%	%Asian	45.41%
Political		%Hispanic	4.80%	%Hispanic	4.04%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.19%	%Am. Indian	0.17%
R Index: 4914	%VAP 136.99%	%Haw Pac	0.06%	%Haw Pac	45.41%

Totals for District: 41

Population: 6,348 Voting Age: 4,472

District: 43

Demographics for areas added from district: 44 to 43

Demographic		Total Population:		Voting Age Population:	
Population: 0		%White	NaN	%White	NaN
Voting Age: 0		%Black	NaN	%Black	NaN
Hispanic: 0		%Asian	NaN	%Asian	NaN
Political		%Hispanic	NaN	%Hispanic	NaN
D Index: 0	%VAP NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN
R Index: 0	%VAP NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN

Totals for District: 43

Population: 0 Voting Age: 0

District: 46

Demographics for areas added from district: 42 to 46

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Demographic				**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population:	0			%White	NaN	%White	NaN
Voting Age:	0			%Black	NaN	%Black	NaN
Hispanic:	0			%Asian	NaN	%Asian	NaN
Political				%Hispanic	NaN	%Hispanic	NaN
D Index: 0		%VAP	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN
R Index: 0		%VAP	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN

Demographics for areas added from district: 77 to 46

Demographic				**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population:	7,220			%White	29.34%	%White	33.65%
Voting Age:	5,123			%Black	3.05%	%Black	2.85%
Hispanic:	5,239			%Asian	2.92%	%Asian	3.36%
Political				%Hispanic	72.56%	%Hispanic	67.28%
D Index: 0		%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.23%	%Am. Indian	2.26%
R Index: 5608		%VAP	109.47%	%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	3.36%

Totals for District: 46

Population: 7,220	Voting Age: 5,123

District: 47

Demographics for areas added from district: 41 to 47

Demographic				**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population:	0			%White	NaN	%White	NaN
Voting Age:	0			%Black	NaN	%Black	NaN
Hispanic:	0			%Asian	NaN	%Asian	NaN
Political				%Hispanic	NaN	%Hispanic	NaN
D Index: 0		%VAP	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN
R Index: 0		%VAP	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN

Demographics for areas added from district: 49 to 47

Demographic				**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population:	1,082			%White	81.05%	%White	82.70%
Voting Age:	867			%Black	0.92%	%Black	0.69%
Hispanic:	169			%Asian	2.31%	%Asian	2.42%
Political				%Hispanic	15.62%	%Hispanic	12.46%
D Index: 0		%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	1.39%	%Am. Indian	1.27%
R Index: 997		%VAP	114.99%	%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	2.42%

Totals for District: 47

Population: 1,082	Voting Age: 867

District: 48

Demographics for areas added from district: 46 to 48

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Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 7,058			%White	72.70%	%White	75.72%
Voting Age: 5,762			%Black	1.83%	%Black	1.72%
Hispanic: 1,437			%Asian	7.14%	%Asian	6.89%
Political			%Hispanic	20.36%	%Hispanic	17.53%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.92%	%Am. Indian	0.94%
R Index: 6379	%VAP	110.71%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	6.89%

Demographics for areas added from district: 77 to 48

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 7,781			%White	63.41%	%White	66.65%
Voting Age: 6,252			%Black	2.48%	%Black	2.19%
Hispanic: 2,370			%Asian	7.79%	%Asian	8.11%
Political			%Hispanic	30.46%	%Hispanic	25.91%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	1.22%	%Am. Indian	0.88%
R Index: 6822	%VAP	109.12%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	8.11%

Totals for District: 48

Population: 14,839   Voting Age: 12,014

District: 49

Demographics for areas added from district: 50 to 49

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 21,853			%White	66.81%	%White	69.67%
Voting Age: 16,976			%Black	5.34%	%Black	5.42%
Hispanic: 5,116			%Asian	4.54%	%Asian	4.55%
Political			%Hispanic	23.41%	%Hispanic	20.27%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.62%	%Am. Indian	0.48%
R Index: 19464	%VAP	114.66%	%Haw Pac	0.06%	%Haw Pac	4.55%

Demographics for areas added from district: 83 to 49

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 8,895			%White	48.07%	%White	51.95%
Voting Age: 6,964			%Black	14.42%	%Black	14.26%
Hispanic: 3,245			%Asian	3.50%	%Asian	3.73%
Political			%Hispanic	36.48%	%Hispanic	31.98%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.84%	%Am. Indian	0.66%
R Index: 7537	%VAP	108.23%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	3.73%

Totals for District: 49

Population: 30,748   Voting Age: 23,940

District: 50

Demographics for areas added from district: 49 to 50

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Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 17,731			%White	37.07%	%White	40.83%
Voting Age: 13,045			%Black	3.34%	%Black	2.94%
Hispanic: 11,001			%Asian	3.06%	%Asian	3.50%
Political			%Hispanic	62.04%	%Hispanic	57.45%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.39%	%Am. Indian	2.25%
R Index: 14197	%VAP	108.83%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	3.50%

Demographics for areas added from district: 83 to 50

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 7,390			%White	34.55%	%White	38.52%
Voting Age: 5,247			%Black	8.39%	%Black	7.91%
Hispanic: 4,660			%Asian	0.46%	%Asian	0.63%
Political			%Hispanic	63.06%	%Hispanic	57.92%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.83%	%Am. Indian	2.69%
R Index: 6023	%VAP	114.79%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	0.63%

Demographics for areas added from district: 84 to 50

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 5,958			%White	29.54%	%White	29.11%
Voting Age: 4,150			%Black	9.05%	%Black	10.27%
Hispanic: 4,734			%Asian	0.91%	%Asian	0.75%
Political			%Hispanic	79.46%	%Hispanic	77.16%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	3.11%	%Am. Indian	2.89%
R Index: 4732	%VAP	114.02%	%Haw Pac	0.17%	%Haw Pac	0.75%

Totals for District: 50

Population: 31,079   Voting Age: 22,442

District: 53

Demographics for areas added from district: 56 to 53

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 0			%White	NaN	%White	NaN
Voting Age: 0			%Black	NaN	%Black	NaN
Hispanic: 0			%Asian	NaN	%Asian	NaN
Political			%Hispanic	NaN	%Hispanic	NaN
D Index: 0	%VAP	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN
R Index: 0	%VAP	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN

Totals for District: 53

Population: 0   Voting Age: 0

District: 55

Demographics for areas added from district: 56 to 55

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Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 27,161			%White	62.04%	%White	64.89%
Voting Age: 22,283			%Black	2.60%	%Black	2.54%
Hispanic: 5,383			%Asian	16.31%	%Asian	16.36%
Political			%Hispanic	19.82%	%Hispanic	16.85%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.91%	%Am. Indian	0.75%
R Index: 24642	%VAP	110.59%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	16.36%

Totals for District: 55

Population: 27,161	Voting Age: 22,283

District: 56

Demographics for areas added from district: 48 to 56

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 14,901			%White	68.67%	%White	70.94%
Voting Age: 12,072			%Black	1.68%	%Black	1.63%
Hispanic: 3,787			%Asian	6.38%	%Asian	6.68%
Political			%Hispanic	25.41%	%Hispanic	22.50%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.98%	%Am. Indian	0.93%
R Index: 13119	%VAP	108.67%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	6.68%

Demographics for areas added from district: 77 to 56

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 16,666			%White	46.04%	%White	49.69%
Voting Age: 12,782			%Black	4.31%	%Black	4.45%
Hispanic: 8,613			%Asian	4.93%	%Asian	5.41%
Political			%Hispanic	51.68%	%Hispanic	45.97%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	2.11%	%Am. Indian	1.97%
R Index: 13930	%VAP	108.98%	%Haw Pac	0.01%	%Haw Pac	5.41%

Totals for District: 56

Population: 31,567	Voting Age: 24,854

District: 61

Demographics for areas added from district: 62 to 61

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 0			%White	NaN	%White	NaN
Voting Age: 0			%Black	NaN	%Black	NaN
Hispanic: 0			%Asian	NaN	%Asian	NaN
Political			%Hispanic	NaN	%Hispanic	NaN
D Index: 0	%VAP	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN
R Index: 0	%VAP	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN

Totals for District: 61

Population: 0	Voting Age: 0

District: 64

Demographics for areas added from district: 61 to 64

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Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 0		%White	NaN	%White	NaN
Voting Age: 0		%Black	NaN	%Black	NaN
Hispanic: 0		%Asian	NaN	%Asian	NaN
Political		%Hispanic	NaN	%Hispanic	NaN
D Index: 0	%VAP NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN
R Index: 0	%VAP NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN

Totals for District: 64

Population: 0	Voting Age: 0

District: 65

Demographics for areas added from district: 83 to 65

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 0		%White	NaN	%White	NaN
Voting Age: 0		%Black	NaN	%Black	NaN
Hispanic: 0		%Asian	NaN	%Asian	NaN
Political		%Hispanic	NaN	%Hispanic	NaN
D Index: 0	%VAP NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN
R Index: 0	%VAP NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN

Totals for District: 65

Population: 0	Voting Age: 0

District: 77

Demographics for areas added from district: 3 to 77

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 13,594		%White	27.74%	%White	29.51%
Voting Age: 10,310		%Black	4.31%	%Black	4.18%
Hispanic: 10,076		%Asian	2.83%	%Asian	3.37%
Political		%Hispanic	74.12%	%Hispanic	71.21%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	3.52%	%Am. Indian	3.23%
R Index: 10730	%VAP 104.07%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	3.37%

Demographics for areas added from district: 4 to 77

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 6,373		%White	17.35%	%White	16.99%
Voting Age: 4,686		%Black	10.07%	%Black	11.08%
Hispanic: 5,077		%Asian	2.93%	%Asian	3.37%
Political		%Hispanic	79.66%	%Hispanic	76.76%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	5.37%	%Am. Indian	4.93%
R Index: 5422	%VAP 115.71%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	3.37%

Demographics for areas added from district: 20 to 77

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Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 8,529			%White	59.56%	%White	62.07%
Voting Age: 6,729			%Black	2.13%	%Black	2.08%
Hispanic: 3,480			%Asian	2.65%	%Asian	2.75%
Political			%Hispanic	40.80%	%Hispanic	37.35%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	1.25%	%Am. Indian	1.22%
R Index: 7303	%VAP	108.53%	%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	2.75%

Demographics for areas added from district: 56 to 77

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 4,257			%White	21.40%	%White	23.91%
Voting Age: 2,760			%Black	0.96%	%Black	0.98%
Hispanic: 3,692			%Asian	0.70%	%Asian	0.91%
Political			%Hispanic	86.73%	%Hispanic	82.79%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	3.41%	%Am. Indian	3.41%
R Index: 2980	%VAP	107.97%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	0.91%

Totals for District: 77

Population: 32,753   Voting Age: 24,485

District: 79

Demographics for areas added from district: 34 to 79

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 0			%White	NaN	%White	NaN
Voting Age: 0			%Black	NaN	%Black	NaN
Hispanic: 0			%Asian	NaN	%Asian	NaN
Political			%Hispanic	NaN	%Hispanic	NaN
D Index: 0	%VAP	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN
R Index: 0	%VAP	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN

Totals for District: 79

Population: 0   Voting Age: 0

District: 82

Demographics for areas added from district: 31 to 82

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 0			%White	NaN	%White	NaN
Voting Age: 0			%Black	NaN	%Black	NaN
Hispanic: 0			%Asian	NaN	%Asian	NaN
Political			%Hispanic	NaN	%Hispanic	NaN
D Index: 0	%VAP	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN
R Index: 0	%VAP	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN

Demographics for areas added from district: 35 to 82

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Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 7,641			%White	85.93%	%White	87.18%
Voting Age: 6,279			%Black	1.24%	%Black	1.32%
Hispanic: 474			%Asian	5.26%	%Asian	5.35%
Political			%Hispanic	6.20%	%Hispanic	4.97%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.09%	%Am. Indian	0.08%
R Index: 7235	%VAP	115.23%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	5.35%

Demographics for areas added from district: 36 to 82

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 2,703			%White	87.98%	%White	88.86%
Voting Age: 2,317			%Black	1.37%	%Black	1.12%
Hispanic: 213			%Asian	1.78%	%Asian	1.68%
Political			%Hispanic	7.88%	%Hispanic	7.16%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.26%	%Am. Indian	0.26%
R Index: 2544	%VAP	109.80%	%Haw Pac	0.11%	%Haw Pac	1.68%

Totals for District: 82

Population: 10,344   Voting Age: 8,596

District: 83

Demographics for areas added from district: 50 to 83

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 4,905			%White	80.82%	%White	83.77%
Voting Age: 3,624			%Black	3.73%	%Black	2.21%
Hispanic: 569			%Asian	2.96%	%Asian	3.01%
Political			%Hispanic	11.60%	%Hispanic	9.91%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.29%	%Am. Indian	0.33%
R Index: 4504	%VAP	124.28%	%Haw Pac	0.04%	%Haw Pac	3.01%

Demographics for areas added from district: 84 to 83

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 11,115			%White	63.23%	%White	67.78%
Voting Age: 8,239			%Black	7.51%	%Black	6.91%
Hispanic: 3,101			%Asian	2.94%	%Asian	2.96%
Political			%Hispanic	27.90%	%Hispanic	23.86%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.62%	%Am. Indian	0.57%
R Index: 9712	%VAP	117.88%	%Haw Pac	0.01%	%Haw Pac	2.96%

Totals for District: 83

Population: 16,020   Voting Age: 11,863

District: 84

Demographics for areas added from district: 41 to 84

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Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 6,237		%White	48.44%	%White	52.63%
Voting Age: 4,623		%Black	8.90%	%Black	8.70%
Hispanic: 2,110		%Asian	8.99%	%Asian	8.74%
Political		%Hispanic	33.83%	%Hispanic	30.46%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	1.41%	%Am. Indian	1.15%
R Index: 5352	%VAP 115.77%	%Haw Pac	0.05%	%Haw Pac	8.74%

Demographics for areas added from district: 49 to 84

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 11,911		%White	44.13%	%White	48.76%
Voting Age: 8,881		%Black	9.79%	%Black	9.45%
Hispanic: 1,930		%Asian	29.06%	%Asian	26.62%
Political		%Hispanic	16.20%	%Hispanic	14.35%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.68%	%Am. Indian	0.53%
R Index: 10853	%VAP 122.20%	%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	26.62%

Demographics for areas added from district: 50 to 84

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 4,347		%White	52.75%	%White	57.11%
Voting Age: 3,129		%Black	3.40%	%Black	3.45%
Hispanic: 305		%Asian	35.24%	%Asian	33.05%
Political		%Hispanic	7.02%	%Hispanic	5.62%
D Index: 0	%VAP 0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.23%	%Am. Indian	0.16%
R Index: 4055	%VAP 129.59%	%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	33.05%

Totals for District: 84

Population: 22,495   Voting Age: 16,633

District: 89

Demographics for areas added from district: 90 to 89

Demographic		**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 0		%White	NaN	%White	NaN
Voting Age: 0		%Black	NaN	%Black	NaN
Hispanic: 0		%Asian	NaN	%Asian	NaN
Political		%Hispanic	NaN	%Hispanic	NaN
D Index: 0	%VAP NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN
R Index: 0	%VAP NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN

Totals for District: 89

Population: 0   Voting Age: 0

District: 94

Demographics for areas added from district: 87 to 94

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Demographic				**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 11				%White	90.91%	%White	90.91%
Voting Age: 11				%Black	9.09%	%Black	9.09%
Hispanic: 0				%Asian	0.00%	%Asian	0.00%
Political				%Hispanic	0.00%	%Hispanic	0.00%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%		%Am. Indian	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.00%
R Index: 11	%VAP	100.00%		%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	0.00%

Totals for District: 94

Population: 11	Voting Age: 11

District: 96

Demographics for areas added from district: 95 to 96

Demographic				**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 0				%White	NaN	%White	NaN
Voting Age: 0				%Black	NaN	%Black	NaN
Hispanic: 0				%Asian	NaN	%Asian	NaN
Political				%Hispanic	NaN	%Hispanic	NaN
D Index: 0	%VAP	NaN		%Am. Indian	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN
R Index: 0	%VAP	NaN		%Haw Pac	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN

Totals for District: 96

Population: 0	Voting Age: 0

District: 104

Demographics for areas added from district: 102 to 104

Demographic				**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 0				%White	NaN	%White	NaN
Voting Age: 0				%Black	NaN	%Black	NaN
Hispanic: 0				%Asian	NaN	%Asian	NaN
Political				%Hispanic	NaN	%Hispanic	NaN
D Index: 0	%VAP	NaN		%Am. Indian	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN
R Index: 0	%VAP	NaN		%Haw Pac	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN

Totals for District: 104

Population: 0	Voting Age: 0

District: 112

Demographics for areas added from district: 113 to 112

Demographic				**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 487				%White	79.67%	%White	81.23%
Voting Age: 389				%Black	9.24%	%Black	9.25%
Hispanic: 26				%Asian	1.44%	%Asian	1.80%
Political				%Hispanic	5.34%	%Hispanic	4.63%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%		%Am. Indian	1.03%	%Am. Indian	1.29%
R Index: 455	%VAP	116.97%		%Haw Pac	0.00%	%Haw Pac	1.80%

Demographics for areas added from district: 114 to 112

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Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 27,302			%White	76.66%	%White	78.74%
Voting Age: 20,641			%Black	11.65%	%Black	11.56%
Hispanic: 1,197			%Asian	2.08%	%Asian	2.27%
Political			%Hispanic	4.38%	%Hispanic	3.47%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.18%	%Am. Indian	0.19%
R Index: 25111	%VAP	121.66%	%Haw Pac	0.07%	%Haw Pac	2.27%

Totals for District: 112

Population: 27,789	Voting Age: 21,030

District: 113

Demographics for areas added from district: 112 to 113

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 22,609			%White	56.05%	%White	59.79%
Voting Age: 17,392			%Black	27.59%	%Black	26.67%
Hispanic: 2,459			%Asian	1.50%	%Asian	1.61%
Political			%Hispanic	10.88%	%Hispanic	8.73%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.67%	%Am. Indian	0.63%
R Index: 20722	%VAP	119.15%	%Haw Pac	0.02%	%Haw Pac	1.61%

Demographics for areas added from district: 114 to 113

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 39,356			%White	11.66%	%White	13.95%
Voting Age: 28,886			%Black	83.69%	%Black	82.09%
Hispanic: 568			%Asian	0.13%	%Asian	0.10%
Political			%Hispanic	1.44%	%Hispanic	1.11%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.26%	%Am. Indian	0.24%
R Index: 37971	%VAP	131.45%	%Haw Pac	0.03%	%Haw Pac	0.10%

Totals for District: 113

Population: 61,965	Voting Age: 46,278

District: 114

Demographics for areas added from district: 112 to 114

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 5,127			%White	64.64%	%White	66.50%
Voting Age: 4,080			%Black	22.20%	%Black	22.11%
Hispanic: 303			%Asian	3.22%	%Asian	3.28%
Political			%Hispanic	5.91%	%Hispanic	4.71%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.23%	%Am. Indian	0.29%
R Index: 4738	%VAP	116.13%	%Haw Pac	0.08%	%Haw Pac	3.28%

Demographics for areas added from district: 113 to 114

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Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 61,557			%White	62.39%	%White	66.53%
Voting Age: 47,571			%Black	26.10%	%Black	23.93%
Hispanic: 2,614			%Asian	1.89%	%Asian	2.07%
Political			%Hispanic	4.25%	%Hispanic	3.47%
D Index: 0	%VAP	0.00%	%Am. Indian	0.29%	%Am. Indian	0.30%
R Index: 56757	%VAP	119.31%	%Haw Pac	0.09%	%Haw Pac	2.07%

Totals for District: 114

Population: 66,684   Voting Age: 51,651

District: 117

Demographics for areas added from district: 116 to 117

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 0			%White	NaN	%White	NaN
Voting Age: 0			%Black	NaN	%Black	NaN
Hispanic: 0			%Asian	NaN	%Asian	NaN
Political			%Hispanic	NaN	%Hispanic	NaN
D Index: 0	%VAP	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN
R Index: 0	%VAP	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN

Demographics for areas added from district: 118 to 117

Demographic			**Total Population:**		**Voting Age Population:**	
Population: 0			%White	NaN	%White	NaN
Voting Age: 0			%Black	NaN	%Black	NaN
Hispanic: 0			%Asian	NaN	%Asian	NaN
Political			%Hispanic	NaN	%Hispanic	NaN
D Index: 0	%VAP	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN	%Am. Indian	NaN
R Index: 0	%VAP	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN	%Haw Pac	NaN

Totals for District: 117

Population: 0   Voting Age: 0