

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ALABAMA
SOUTHERN DIVISION**

BOBBY SINGLETON, <i>et al.</i> ,)	
)	
Plaintiffs,)	
)	
v.)	Case No. 2:21-cv-01291-AMM
)	
JOHN MERRILL, in his official)	THREE-JUDGE COURT
capacity as Alabama Secretary of State,)	
<i>et al.</i> ,)	
)	
Defendants.)	

SINGLETON PLAINTIFFS' NOTICE OF FILING EXPERT REPORT

Pursuant to this Court's Order dated December 13, 2021 (Dkt. 51), the *Singleton* Plaintiffs give notice of filing the Expert Report of Dr. Natalie Davis, attached hereto as Exhibit 1. Dr. Davis's report was served on Defendants on December 10, 2021.

Dated: December 14, 2021

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ Joe R. Whatley, Jr.

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/s/ Diandra "Fu" Debrosse Zimmermann

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Counsel for Plaintiffs

Exhibit 1

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**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
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JOHN MERRILL, in his official)	THREE-JUDGE COURT
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Defendants.)	

EXPERT REPORT OF DR. NATALIE DAVIS

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I. INTRODUCTION

Plaintiffs' counsel have employed me to review their "Amended Complaint" in the case of *Singleton, et al. v. Merrill*. My research and review of previous election results as well as the history of modern Alabama politics leads me to conclude that:

1. The "Whole County Plan" (introduced in SB10) is an optimal redistricting plan and preferable to the plan that was enacted, because it provides more opportunity for black voters to elect a candidate of their choice in two congressional districts as opposed to only one.

2. The "Whole County Plan" underscores the identification voters have with their counties. For example, they vote for their own county commissioners, county sheriffs, county tax collectors and others. The current congressional district plan (Act 2021-555) is an artificial collection of counties, voting precincts and census tracts and blocks.

3. The "Whole County Plan" comports well with Alabama history. The first time a county was split was when Alabama was required to go from 9 to 8 districts after the 1960 Census. It was forced again to be split (along with St. Clair County) after the 1970 Census. Not until after the 1990 census, when a court-ordered plan split several counties for the purpose of creating a district that was at

least 65% black, was any county other than Jefferson or St. Clair split among two or more districts.

4. The “Whole County Plan” recognizes the desirability of crossover voting and competitive elections as important attributes of a functioning democratic process. Moreover, there are previous general election results which evidence that there are sufficient crossover votes available to result in black voting choices prevailing in two congressional districts.

5. When it comes to crossover voters who live outside of the 7th congressional district, the plan just enacted would make it highly unlikely that the choices of black voters could win.

There are maps and election data, already submitted by Plaintiffs, including the appended table of general election returns, which demonstrate that my assertions are both reasonable and based on actual evidence.

II. EXPERT QUALIFICATIONS

I am a Ph.D. in political science having earned my degree in 1976 from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. My CV is attached. I am generally viewed as an expert on Southern politics in general, and Alabama politics, in particular. I am also recognized as a public opinion and polling professional, consulting with media outlets, interest groups and candidates, both in and outside of Alabama. A copy of my CV is attached as Exhibit 1.

I retired in 2017 from Birmingham-Southern College having taught Southern politics as well as statistics, data analysis, and methodology at both the graduate and undergraduate levels. In 1997, I was selected by the Carnegie Endowment as the Alabama Professor of the year, the only national college teaching award at that time. Upon my retirement, I was named the Howell T. Heflin Professor Emerita of Political Science.

I was retained in one of the main DILLARD cases by attorneys James Blacksher and Edward Still to assist in their racial polarization research. I was a witness in Federal Court in *Henderson v. Graddick*, 641 F. Supp. 1192 (MD Ala. 1986) where the issue was crossover voting. I testified in *Hawthorne v. Baker*, 750 F. Supp. 1090 (MD Ala. 1990), which focused on the internal racial distribution of seats in the selection of members to the State Democratic Executive Committee of the Alabama Democratic Party (SDEC).

In addition, and more recently, I have been engaged as a trial consultant in a number of cases, requiring juror research. My firm, Voir Dire, Inc., conducts change of venue surveys, mock trials and focus groups; over the years, I have testified about results obtained in many of these change of venue cases. I have also assisted attorneys in jury selection. This research has given me additional insight into public opinion and the political culture of Alabama.

Birmingham-Southern College is primarily a teaching institution, but I have been able to publish a few pieces of research. All have focused on Alabama politics (see CV). I am well known as a political analyst by national, statewide, and local media outlets.

I acknowledge that I am a Democrat and that for approximately 25 years I was a Democratic consultant and activist. I was elected to the State Democratic Executive Committee (SDEC) in 1976. I also served on the Democratic National Committee (DNC) from 1992-2000. In 1996, I ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate, having lost in the Democratic Primary. After 2000, I devoted my time to my family, academic career, and consulting work, most of which was and is as a jury consultant. I am no longer a political activist. In all of my media interviews and community presentations, I have refused to engage in partisan debate.

I am being compensated for my work in this matter at the rate of \$350 per hour, with a \$15,000 maximum.

III. ASSESSMENT AND REVIEW OF CONGRESSIONAL REDISTRICTING IN ALABAMA

As I have already noted, until 1960, congressional districts were drawn with the assumption that counties should remain whole.

For a century and a half, Alabama drew its congressional districts using whole counties as the basic unit of analysis. That ended when Alabama lost a seat as a result of the 1960 Census—going from 9 to 8 congressional districts. The Legislature then

constructed what was referred to as a “chop-up” plan, which divided Jefferson County into four voting segments and assigned them to four non-Jefferson congressional districts. Governor Patterson vetoed this plan, saying it was “unthinkable, unwise, above all wrong, and therefore unconstitutional.” A second effort was unwieldy and unworkable, using an at-large method, and was abandoned after the 1962 election; the at-large plan was ruled unconstitutional in *Moore v Moore* (1964). After changes were made in compliance with *Wesberry v. Sanders* (1964); the new plan divided the state into eight congressional districts, still retaining the whole county tradition, including Jefferson County. Under *Wesberry*, districts were required to be numerically equal in population “as nearly as practicable;” Jefferson County needed to be split, because it exceeded one-eighth of the population (by more than 200,000). The first effort in redrawing the districts to meet the equal population requirement divided Jefferson County into three districts. Jefferson County was the only county that was split. The same was true for the 1970 Congressional District plan. In the plan adopted in 1980, only Jefferson and St. Clair counties were split.

What is revealed here was the intention of preserving the whole county tradition, except for Jefferson County. Population size may have dictated the need to split Jefferson then, but the way in which it was split concentrated black voters in such a way as to segregate them—move them from the 6th CD to the 7th CD. The

result was to concentrate and compact the black voting population. The goal of electing one black to Congress was accomplished. At the same time, it prevented the rest of the state from having a realistic opportunity to elect another black candidate to Congress. In fact, the original guideline, set by the Justice Department, was that, to assure a black candidate would be elected, at least 65% of the BVAP needed to be black (since lower turnouts were more typical of the black population). The criterion then was an assured outcome.

By 1992, seven counties were split in order that one majority black district would result. In *Wesch v. Hunt* (1992), the Court ordered that congressional districts *must achieve* “perfect equality” in population. This facilitated even more splitting of counties. There was a problem. In 1992 the Legislature sought to create a black majority district. The Voting Rights Act was its justification. To do this, “perfect equality” could not be achieved. Notwithstanding *Wesch*, the parties stipulated that creating a black majority CD should take precedence. The same result-oriented plans going forward continued in both the 2002 and 2012 plans. And it continues in the recently adopted 2021 plan.

SB10 argues that, because the Jefferson County population has declined to below one-seventh of the population, *it need not be split*. In fact, it is possible to return to the whole county tradition and have Bibb, Hale, and Perry Counties added

to Jefferson County to complete the 6th CD. With respect to the 7th CD, SB10 adds all of Montgomery and Tuscaloosa Counties, making them whole.

What is most significant about SB10 is that it substituted for the goal of guaranteeing an electoral outcome—one black-majority congressional district—the goal of restoring Alabama's traditional districting principle of drawing Congressional districts with whole counties, keeping deviations from precise population equality as low as practicable. Restoring these race-neutral principles yields two districts in which black voters will have the opportunity to elect candidates of their choice.

I have reviewed previous elections and applied the SB10 plan. See Exhibit 2. Results from that analysis demonstrate that in both the 6th and 7th CDs, candidates supported by black voters would have prevailed. Equally important is that, to win, black voters would need to rely on a small percentage of crossover voting; that is, non-black voters would be needed to assure victory.

Crossover voting, in this context, means that a percentage of white voters would join black voters to elect a candidate supported by black voters. The results speak for themselves. This exercise, using SB10, shows that, for both Federal and statewide elections in Alabama between 2012 and 2020, candidates supported by black voters would have won in the 6th and 7th Congressional Districts. Moreover, this retains the tradition of whole county voting. The only justifications for keeping

things as they are: (1) suppressing the opportunity for black voters living in Jefferson County but outside the 7th District to elect a candidate of their choosing; (2) preventing the possibility of electing a second black candidate from serving in Congress.

IV. CONCLUSION

The *Shaw v. Reno* (1993) decision effectively declared racial gerrymandering unconstitutional. A superficial look at the 7th CD map attests to the fact that that is exactly what has been done since 1992. The incumbent has had little or no opposition since 2012. A lack of political competition is not a sign of a healthy democracy. What SB10 proposes is fairness by creating two black opportunity districts and by requiring bi-racial coalitions to assure electoral wins. This is a win-win for democracy.

WHAT THE “WHOLE COUNTY PLAN” (SB10) WOULD LOOK LIKE [Using 2020 Presidential Election Results]		WHAT “WHOLE COUNTY PLAN” (SB10) WOULD HAVE PRODUCED
CD 7	<p> % BREG* = 49.9 % BIDEN = 54.4 Deviation = .11 </p> <p>*Black registration</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •TWO black opportunity districts as opposed to one; •Bi-Racial voting, given the need for crossover voters; •More competitive district voting; •An enhanced democratic process.
CD 6	<p> % BREG = 42.3 % BIDEN = 56.3 Deviation = .36 </p>	

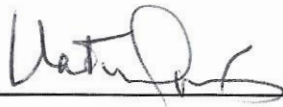
REDISTRICTING IN ALABAMA

MID-20TH CENTURY-2021

Pre-1960	Prior to 1960 Census, whole counties were the key building blocks in creating congressional districts.	1980 Plan	This plan was similar to the 1970 plan; only 2 counties were split: Jefferson and St. Clair.
1960	Results of Census: Alabama lost a seat, going from 9 to 8 CDs.	1990 Plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Seven counties were split, for the purpose of drawing one majority-black district. No specific deviation limits were set. •<i>Wesch v. Hunt</i> (1992) required the new plan to achieve “perfect equality,” in terms of population (zero deviation). •The result was not only splitting 7 counties, but many census tracts as well.
1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legislature passed the so-called “Jefferson chop-up plan, which divided the county among 4 CDs; vetoed by the Governor John Patterson. • Governor Patterson created a second plan, which scheduled Democratic primaries in all of the 9 existing districts, resulting in 9 nominees for 8 seats. A general at-large election followed where the top 8 vote-getters went to Congress. 	2012 Plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In <i>Tennant v. Jefferson County, Comm’n, West Virginia</i>, (2012). The Supreme Court reaffirmed that the U.S. Constitution does not require that congressional districts be drawn with precise mathematical equality, noting that •The “as nearly as practicable” standard is inconsistent with fixed mathematical limits on deviation.

1964	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •As a result of <i>Wesberry v. Sanders (1964)</i>, CDs were required to be equal in population. Governor George Wallace constructed an 8 CD plan, keeping Jefferson County whole, even though Jefferson County was significantly larger than 1/8 of the population (by more than 100,000). •Jefferson was the only county to be split. 	2019 Plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Alabama conceded that it violated the prohibition against racial gerrymandering set forth by <i>Shaw v. Reno (1993)</i>. •Its claim was that the state was complying with Sec. 5 of the Voting Rights Act. Racial gerrymandering continued in the 2000 and 2010 plans.
1965	Recognizing that the plan would not survive judicial scrutiny, Jefferson County was split among 3 CDs.		
1970 Plan	Jefferson was still the only county to be split.		

SUBMITTED BY:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Natalie Davis", written over a horizontal line.

NATALIE M. DAVIS, Ph.D.

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Exhibit 1

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NATALIE M. DAVIS

RESUME

NATALIE M. DAVIS

Personal Information

Professional Address: Natalie M. Davis
Howell T. Heflin Professor Emerita of Political Science
Birmingham-Southern College

1976-present President, DAVIS & ASSOCIATES, a political consulting/polling and commercial marketing firm.

PRESIDENT, VOIR DIRE, INC.
2939 Redmont Park Lane
Birmingham, AL 35205

Jury consulting firm; established in 1999.

Telephone: (205) 903-2525

Professional Training and Prior Education

Ph.D., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1976 (Political Science)

Honorary Doctorate, Stetson University, 1991

B.A., Stetson University, cum laude, Stetson University, 1968 (Political Science)

Secondary Education, McArthur High School, with honor, 1965
(Hollywood, Florida)

NATALIE M. DAVIS

Consulting and Additional Professional Experience

DAVIS & ASSOCIATES, a political research and commercial marketing firm; specializes in survey design and analysis; the firm has a national reputation having been cited by New York Times as “most prestigious in Alabama” (1982).

Selected DAVIS & ASSOCIATES Clients:

Alabama Education Association
Alabama Power Company
AmSouth Bank
Birmingham Regional Chamber of Commerce
Legal Services of Alabama
Birmingham-Jefferson Civic Center Authority
City of Birmingham
COX RADIO
WBRC (Channel 6/ABC/Birmingham)
WVTM (Channel 13/NBC/Birmingham)
Consultant, Teledyne Brown Engineering, Inc., Huntsville
Medical Center East

Additional VOIR DIRE, INC. Clients:

Bainbridge, Mims, Rogers, and Smith, LLC.—Bruce Rogers
Pittman, Dutton, and Hellums—Mike Bradley
Huie, Fernambucq, and Stewart—Stan Cash, Chris Rodgers
Burr and Forman --Ed Hardin, Mike Atchison
Bradley, Arant, Boulton, and Cummings—Mabry Rogers
Balch & Bingham—Alan Rogers
Lightfoot, Franklin, LLC.—Sam Franklin
Sirote and Permutt, PC.—Robert Baugh
Maynard, Cooper and Gale, LLC—David Smith
Redden & Clark, LLC—Bill Clark (criminal, white collar jury research)
John Lentine (change of venue survey)
John Robbins (change of venue survey)

NATALIE M. DAVIS

Academic Employment

2007-11	Chair, Department of Political Science, Sociology, and Economics, Birmingham-Southern College
1972-present	Professor of Political Science, Birmingham-Southern College
1983-1995	Dean of Graduate and Adult Studies, Birmingham-Southern College
1985-1986	Chair, Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences, Birmingham-Southern College
1968-1972	Instructor, political science University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
1988, 1984	Professor of Political Science, London Studies Program, held at London School of Economics.

Areas of Concentration

American Politics: Elite Behavior
Parties and Public Opinion
Methodology with Computer Applications
Comparative Politics: Western Europe
Eastern Europe
Comparative Political Culture
Leadership Studies
Media Studies
Public Administration/Public Policy
International Relations
Data Analysis and Statistics—taught at both graduate and undergraduate levels
Survey Research
Organizational Behavior

Professional Activities and Memberships

Academic Associate, The Atlantic Council of the United States
Southern Political Science Association
American Political Science Association (former member, Departmental Services Committee)

NATALIE M. DAVIS

Selected Papers and Manuscripts

"Positive and Negative Political Advertising: An Experimental Explanaton," 2007 meeting of the Mid-West Political Science Association (with Robert Slagter)

"Learning by Doing: Quantitative analysis in Political Science Curriculum," 2006 meeting of the American Political Science Association Conference on Teaching and Learning (with Robert Slagter)

"The Mercedes and the Pine Tree: Modernism and Traditionalism in Alabama" in Glenn Feldman, ed., Religion and Politics in the White South (U of Kentucky Press, 2005).

"Follow the Money," Southern Cultures (Spring 1998): 62 - 70.

"Blacks in Miami and Detroit; Communities in Contrast," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation).

"The Impact of Religion on Politics: The Case of the Moral Majority," 1981 Meeting of Western Political Science Association (with Irvin Penfield)

"The Religious Right: Correlates of Voting Behavior," 1981 Meeting of Midwest Political Science Association (with Irvin Penfield).

"Party Realignment in Alabama," 1986 Meeting of Southern Political Science Association (with Irvin Penfield).

"Public Opinion and the Career Ladder in Alabama," a study commissioned by John Woods and Carlton Baker.

National Defense: The Opinion-Policy Linkage published by Teledyne Brown Engineering, Inc. 1981.

Other

Regular Commentator on Politics--Alabama Public Television

Election Night Analysis-all local Birmingham Afflliates

Weekly Commentary—local public radio (WBHM)

Regularly quoted in The New York Times, The Washington Post, and The Wall Street Journal

NATALIE M. DAVIS

Honors and Awards

Professional: 2008 Educator of the Year, Birmingham-Southern College

2002 Professor of Year, Carnegie Endowment for the Advancement of Teaching—only national teaching award related to college teaching

"Woman of Distinction" by Girls Scouts of America (2002)

Inductee, "Business and Professional Woman's Hall of Fame" BPW of Alabama

Selectee, Leadership Alabama (1991)

Selected on of Birmingham's "Top Ten Women," by Birmingham Business Journal and SouthTrust Bank (1989)

NATO Discussion Series selectee, 1989 (Atlantic Council of the United States)

"Career Woman of the Year," 1987, awarded by the Birmingham Business and Professional Women's Clubs.

Additional Skills

Experience as an expert witness; preparation and testimony requiring statistical analysis.

Expertise in data preparation and analysis; specialization in computer applications to business, public policy, and legal research, where conducting and utilizing large scale sampling and survey research is necessary; experience in applying market research data to develop strategic marketing plans.

Small group research including mock trials and focus groups.

Administrative experience includes strong skills in fiscal analysis with budgetary application.

NATALIE M. DAVIS

Selectee, Leadership Birmingham, 1983-84.

National Endowment for the Humanities

Summer Teaching Fellow, Summer, 1980. Stipend to attend "Seminar on Eurocommunism," Rome, Italy.

President's Service Award, Birmingham-Southern College, 1992.

Invitee, Secretary's Foreign Policy

Conference for Young Political Leaders, 1980 and 1982.

American Council on Education Governmental Fellow, 1978-79;

Served as a policy analyst with Office of Education in Washington, DC.

Community Activities—Previous and Current

Board Member, Leadership Birmingham

Board Member, Appleseed Foundation

President of the Board, Youth Leadership Forum (1993-2003); currently Board Member

Board Member, The Women's Fund of the Greater Birmingham Foundation

President of the Board, Bread & Roses (1992-1994; program for homeless women and children)

Steering Committee, Leadership Birmingham (1984-present)

Board member, A+ (Statewide Education Reform effort in Alabama)

Board Member, Alabama Poverty Program (1993 – 1997)

Member, Birmingham Kiwanis Club

President, Women's Business Ownership Council (1990-91)

Board of Visitors, College of Arts and Sciences Stetson University (1987-93)

Board Member, Birmingham Planning Commission (1985-92)

Executive Board, Birmingham Business Assistance Network (1985-89)

Cerebral Palsy, VIP, 1986-1992

Executive Board Member, Urban League of Birmingham (1988-95)

Executive Board Member, Positive Maturity (1988-92)

Board Member, National Council of Christians and Jews (Birmingham) (1989-2007)

Former Board Member, Alabama Research Alliance (1999-2004)

NATALIE M. DAVIS

Selected Birmingham-Southern College Activities

Chair, Strategic Planning committee, present.

Pre-Law Advisor: 2003 – present.

Member, Faculty Advisory Council.

Co-Chair (2001-2004), Curriculum and Standards Committee, Birmingham-Southern College.

Presidential Search Committee 2010-11.

Chair, The Graduate Council, 1983-95.

Steering Committee, Birmingham-Southern College Self-Study, 1983-84; 1993-94.

Advisor to: Student Judiciary, 1980-1985.

College Democrats, 1980-present.

Mortar Board, 1982-1986.

Coordinator, Executives-in-Residence, 1985-95.

Coordinator, Model U.S. Senate, 1974-1986.

Project Director, “An Innovative Approach to Educational Leadership:

Management for Educational Excellence,” a three year grant

awarded by the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education, 1985-87.

updated
11/2019b

Exhibit 2

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	2018			2016			2012		
	Boyd-D	Ainsworth-R	D %	Crumpton-D	Shelby-R	D%	Obama-D	Romney-R	D%
District 6									
Bibb	1615	5240	24%	2082	6612	24%	2202	6132	26%
Hale	4030	2439	62%	4650	3208	59%	5411	3210	63%
Jefferson	144424	111805	56%	156574	144136	52%	159876	141683	53%
Perry	3156	1057	75%	3656	1496	71%	4568	1506	75%
Total	153225	120541	56%	166962	155452	52%	172057	152531	53%
District 7									
Pickens	3484	4742	42%	3908	5384	42%	4455	5124	47%
Tuscaloosa	30507	37639	45%	31602	49923	39%	32048	45748	41%
Greene	3465	670	84%	3834	918	81%	4521	804	85%
Sumter	4106	1252	77%	4611	1656	74%	5421	1586	77%
Marengo	4674	4037	54%	5419	5294	51%	6167	5336	54%
Choctaw	2728	3190	46%	2992	4035	43%	3786	4152	48%
Washington	2031	4698	30%	2463	5830	30%	2976	5761	34%
Clarke	4794	6279	43%	5558	7158	44%	6334	7470	46%
Wilcox	3224	1439	69%	3857	1819	68%	4868	1679	74%
Monroe	3856	4897	44%	4255	5854	42%	4914	5741	46%
Dallas	10439	4621	69%	12388	6060	67%	14612	6288	70%
Conecuh	2435	2422	50%	3006	3298	48%	3555	3439	51%
Lowndes	3613	1399	72%	4580	1839	71%	5747	1756	77%
Butler	3410	4617	42%	3663	4840	43%	4374	5087	46%
Crenshaw	1492	3820	28%	1734	4392	28%	2050	4331	32%
Montgomery	48856	27912	64%	57972	36477	61%	63085	38332	62%
Macon	6044	1176	84%	7442	1553	83%	9045	1331	87%
Bullock	2789	889	76%	3364	1167	74%	4061	1251	76%
Total	141947	115699	55%	162648	147497	52%	182019	145216	56%

2014			2014			2014		
Griffith-D	Bentley-R	D%	Fields-D	Ivey-R	D%	Joseph-D	Ziegler-R	D%
1368	3525	28%	1175	3667	24%	1130	3646	24%
3168	2002	61%	3112	1999	61%	3014	1925	61%
82865	83147	50%	82695	82612	50%	82003	80962	50%
2633	962	73%	2584	988	72%	2559	926	73%
90034	89636	50.11%	89566	89266	50.08%	88706	87459	50.4%
2525	3528	42%	2555	3366	43%	2479	3278	43%
17196	25369	40%	16637	25506	39%	16410	24921	40%
2857	538	84%	2867	502	85%	2811	506	85%
3101	1051	75%	3097	1016	75%	3066	977	76%
3762	3152	54%	3655	3202	53%	3567	3115	53%
1949	2381	45%	1892	2214	46%	1778	2096	46%
1742	3263	35%	1621	3250	33%	1635	3056	35%
3530	5000	41%	3398	4945	41%	3375	4649	42%
2913	1347	68%	2719	1381	66%	2701	1223	69%
2580	3500	42%	2466	3570	41%	2489	3364	43%
8456	4116	67%	8289	4223	66%	8200	3970	67%
2344	2373	50%	2244	2340	49%	2225	2094	52%
3127	1174	73%	3061	1188	72%	2967	1115	73%
2750	3155	47%	2565	3296	44%	2525	3079	45%
1767	2956	37%	1519	3105	33%	1426	2945	33%
33366	23811	58%	32582	24423	57%	32843	22653	59%
4830	829	85%	4731	885	84%	4711	797	86%
2444	474	84%	2409	767	76%	2370	728	77%
101239	88017	53%	98307	89179	52%	97578	84566	54%

2016			2017			2018			2018
Clinton-D	Trump-R	D%	Jones-D	Moore-R	D%	Maddox-D	Ivey-R	D%	Joseph-D
1874	6738	22%	1567	3599	30%	1799	5082	26%	1608
4775	3173	60%	3902	1691	70%	4206	2361	64%	3952
156873	134768	54%	149759	66350	69%	152103	105661	59%	143949
3824	1407	73%	3140	821	79%	3182	1061	75%	3146
167346	146086	53%	158368	72461	69%	161290	114165	59%	152655
3972	5456	42%	3064	2965	51%	3672	4636	44%	3455
31762	47723	40%	30869	22067	58%	34336	34335	50%	30450
4013	838	83%	3345	462	88%	3506	661	84%	3441
4746	1581	75%	3533	814	81%	4151	1289	76%	4043
5615	5233	52%	4498	2805	62%	4735	4029	54%	4625
3109	4106	43%	2277	1949	54%	2649	3475	43%	2656
2374	6042	28%	1805	3325	35%	2172	4729	31%	2019
5749	7140	45%	4363	3995	52%	4889	6344	44%	4781
4339	1742	71%	3345	1000	77%	3138	1577	67%	3201
4332	5795	43%	3266	3280	50%	3881	5038	44%	3888
12836	5789	69%	10503	3487	75%	10295	4917	68%	10213
3080	3420	47%	2259	1815	55%	2444	2473	50%	2430
4883	1751	74%	3783	988	79%	3487	1555	69%	3541
3726	4901	43%	2915	2758	51%	3363	4812	41%	3399
1664	4513	27%	1320	2347	36%	1522	3873	28%	1496
58916	34003	63%	48374	17739	73%	48722	28491	63%	49553
7566	1431	84%	5783	759	88%	5882	1376	81%	5970
3530	1140	76%	2715	656	81%	2729	949	74%	2744
166212	142604	54%	138017	73211	65%	145573	114559	56%	141905

Ziegler-R	D%	2020			2020		
		Biden-D	Trump-R	D%	Jones-D	Tuberville-R	D%
5211	24%	1986	7525	21%	2244	7320	23%
2384	62%	4663	3192	59%	4786	3090	61%
109160	57%	181688	138843	57%	190644	134314	59%
1042	75%	3860	1339	74%	3943	1274	76%
117797	56%	192197	150899	56%	201617	145998	58%
4664	43%	4022	5594	42%	4193	5439	44%
36993	45%	37765	51117	42%	40404	49347	45%
649	84%	3884	875	82%	3962	816	83%
1236	77%	4648	1598	74%	4705	1550	75%
4003	54%	5488	5343	51%	5687	5166	52%
3145	46%	3127	4296	42%	3225	4188	44%
4599	31%	2258	6564	26%	2635	6162	30%
6161	44%	5755	7324	44%	6017	7061	46%
1411	69%	4048	1833	69%	4095	1779	70%
4794	45%	4455	6147	42%	4719	5906	44%
4607	69%	12230	5524	69%	12503	5298	70%
2369	51%	2966	3442	46%	3098	3294	48%
1355	72%	4972	1836	73%	5051	1766	74%
4423	43%	3965	5458	42%	4193	5232	44%
3714	29%	1700	4864	26%	1910	4671	29%
26194	65%	64529	33311	66%	66592	32221	67%
1173	84%	7108	1541	82%	7224	1481	83%
871	76%	3446	1146	75%	3490	1108	76%
112361	56%	176366	147813	54%	183703	142485	56%