Filing # 148446634 E-Filed 04/26/2022 07:44:48 PM

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT,
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC., et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

LAUREL M. LEE, in her official capacity as Florida Secretary of State, et al.,

Defendants.

Case No. 2022-ca-000666

**PLAINTIFFS' NOTICE OF FILING EXHIBITS IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' MEMORANDUM OF LAW IN SUPPORT OF MOTION FOR TEMPORARY INJUNCTION**

Plaintiffs hereby give notice of the filing of Exhibits 1 through 12 to Plaintiffs' Memorandum of Law in Support of Motion for Temporary Injunction, as follows:

| **Exhibits - Part 1** | |
|---|---|
| **Exhibit 1** | Affidavit of John Devaney |
| **Exhibit 1-A** | General Election Official Results webpage |
| **Exhibit 1-B** | Article "Florida lawmakers look to avoid running afoul of courts when redrawing districts." |
| **Exhibit 1-C** | Article "Ron DeSantis eyes court fight over Florida congressional map to reduce minority seats." |
| **Exhibit 1-D** | October 11, 2021 – Senate Meeting Packet |
| **Exhibit 1-E** | November 2, 2021 – House Meeting Packet |
| **Exhibit 1-F** | Webpage "About Florida Redistricting" |
| **Exhibit 1-G, Part 1** | January 10, 2022 – Senate Meeting Packet |

| Exhibits - Part 2 | |
|---|---|
| **Exhibit 1-G, Part 2** | January 10, 2022 – Senate Meeting Packet (Cont'd) |
| **Exhibit 1-G, Part 3** | January 10, 2022 – Senate Meeting Packet (Cont'd) |

| Exhibits - Part 3 | |
|---|---|
| **Exhibit 1-H, Part 1** | November 16, 2021 – Senate Meeting Packet |
| **Exhibit 1-H, Part 2** | November 16, 2021 – Senate Meeting Packet (Cont'd) |

| Exhibits - Part 4 | |
|---|---|
| **Exhibit 1-H, Part 3** | November 16, 2021 – Senate Meeting Packet (Cont'd) |
| **Exhibit 1-I, Part 1** | November 29, 2021 – Senate Meeting Packet |

| Exhibits - Part 5 | |
|---|---|
| **Exhibit 1-I, Part 2** | November 29, 2021 – Senate Meeting Packet (Cont'd) |

| Exhibits - Part 6 | |
|---|---|
| **Exhibit 1-J** | December 2, 2021 – House Meeting Packet |
| **Exhibit 1-K** | January 13, 2022 – House Meeting Packet |
| **Exhibit 1-L** | February 24, 2022 – House Meeting Packet |
| **Exhibit 1-M** | Article "DeSantis says he will not sign legislation that has 'unconstitutional gerrymander.'" |
| **Exhibit 1-N** | Article "Florida GOP in conflict: DeSantis' redistricting expert doesn't convince House panel." |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Exhibit 1-O** | Article "Special session: Florida lawmakers heeding Gov. DeSantis's demand for new congressional map, enraging opponents." |
| **Exhibit 1-P** | Article "Florida House rejects Gov. DeSantis in rare clash on political redistricting." |
| **Exhibit 1-Q** | Bill Analysis and Fiscal Impact Statement of CS/SB 102 dated January 10, 2022 |
| **Exhibit 1-R** | March 4, 2022 Tweet from Gov. DeSantis |
| **Exhibit 1-S** | Article "DeSantis continues redistricting feud with GOP lawmakers by vetoing congressional map." |
| **Exhibit 1-T** | Article "Gov. DeSantis vetoes congressional redistricting maps passed by Florida lawmakers." |
| **Exhibit 1-U** | Article "Florida Legislature gives up, asks DeSantis for congressional maps." |
| **Exhibit 1-V** | April 20, 2022 Transcript of House Legislative Session on Redistricting |
| **Exhibit 1-W** | Article "DeSantis signs new congressional map into law as groups sue over redistricting." |
| **Exhibit 1-X** | Webpage "Statewide primary elections calendar" |
| **Exhibit 1-Y** | Webpage "Florida Black Population Percentage by County" |
| **Exhibit 2** | Affidavit of Dr. Stephen Ansolabehere attaching Expert Report |
| **Exhibit 3** | Affidavit of Dr. Sharon Austin attaching Expert Report |
| **Exhibit 4** | Affidavit of Pastor Reginald Gundy |
| **Exhibit 5** | Affidavit of Sylvia Young |
| **Exhibit 6** | Affidavit of Phyllis Wiley |
| **Exhibit 7** | Affidavit of Florida Rising Together |
| **Exhibit 8** | Affidavit of Cecile Scoon on behalf of the League of Women Voters of Florida Inc. and the League of Women Voters of Florida Education Fund, Inc. |
| **Exhibit 9** | Affidavit of Clifford Albright on behalf of Black Voters Matter Capacity Building Institute, Inc. |
| **Exhibit 10** | Affidavit of Jasmine Burney on behalf of Equal Ground Education Fund, Inc. |
| **Exhibit 11** | Affidavit of Joe Scott, Supervisor of Elections of Broward County |
| **Exhibit 12** | Affidavit of Mark Earley, Supervisor of Elections of Leon County |

Dated: April 26, 2022

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ Frederick S. Wermuth
Frederick S. Wermuth
Florida Bar No. 0184111
Thomas A. Zehnder
Florida Bar No. 0063274
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*Counsel for Plaintiffs*

**Pro hac vice application forthcoming*

## CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I HEREBY CERTIFY that on April 26, 2022 I electronically filed the foregoing using the State of Florida ePortal Filing System, which will serve an electronic copy to counsel in the Service List below. I further certify that I have caused to be served, via Process Server, the foregoing on Defendants who have not yet made an appearance in this case.

/s/ Frederick S. Wermuth
Frederick S. Wermuth
Florida Bar No. 0184111

*Counsel for Plaintiffs*

**SERVICE LIST**

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GrayRobinson, P.A.
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Tallahassee, FL 32302
andy.bardos@gray-robinson.com

*Counsel for Defendants*
*Chris Sprowls and Thomas J. Leek*

# Exhibit J

# Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee

## Thursday, December 2, 2021
## 1:00 PM – 5:00 PM
## 17 HOB

## Meeting Packet

Chris Sprowls
Speaker

Tyler Sirois
Chair

# Committee Meeting Notice

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

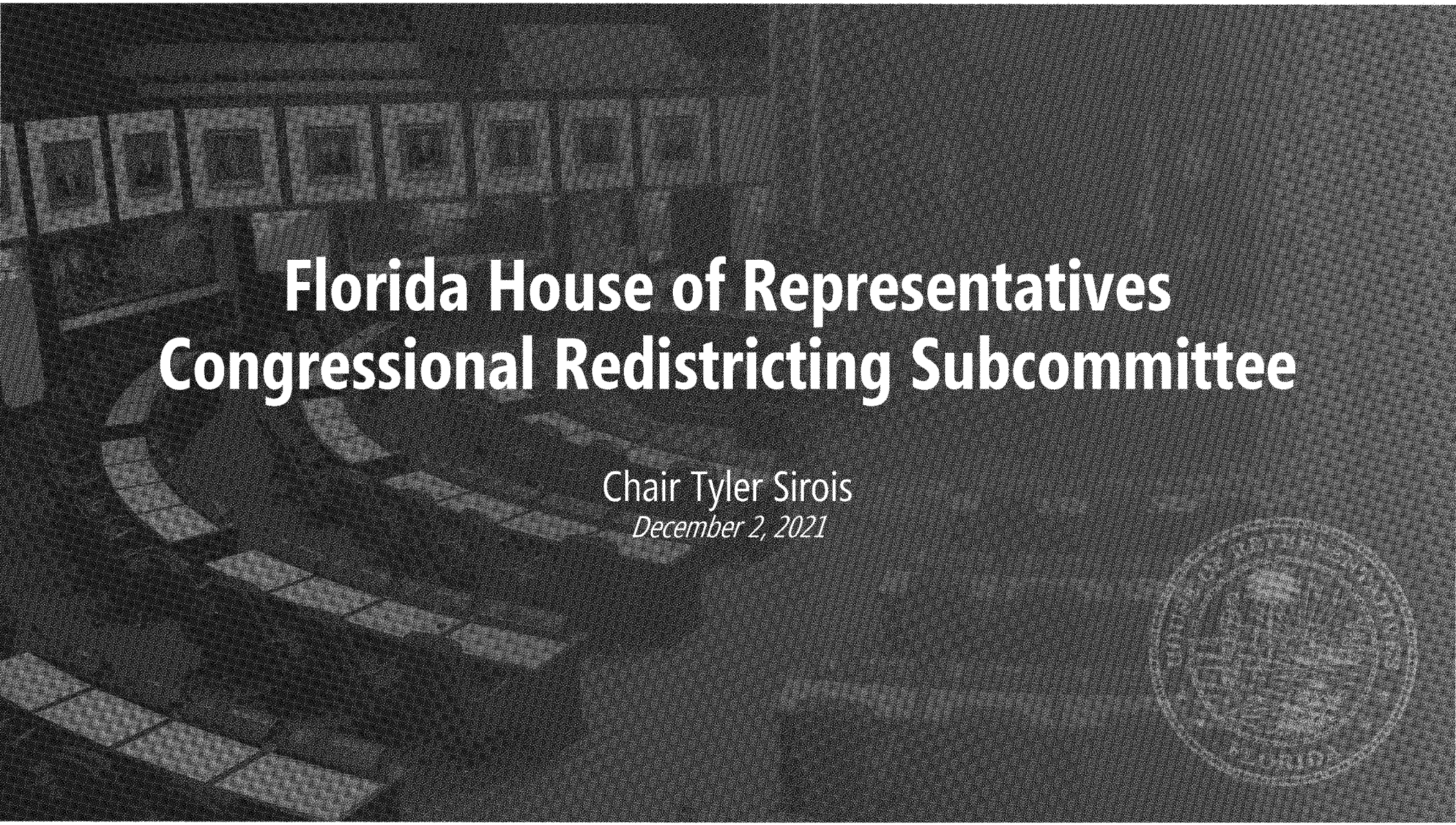
### Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee

| | |
|---|---|
| **Start Date and Time:** | Thursday, December 02, 2021 01:00 pm |
| **End Date and Time:** | Thursday, December 02, 2021 05:00 pm |
| **Location:** | Morris Hall (17 HOB) |
| **Duration:** | 4.00 hrs |

Workshop on Congressional Redistricting Plans

For information about attending or testifying at a committee meeting, please see the "Visiting the House" tab at www.myfloridahouse.gov.

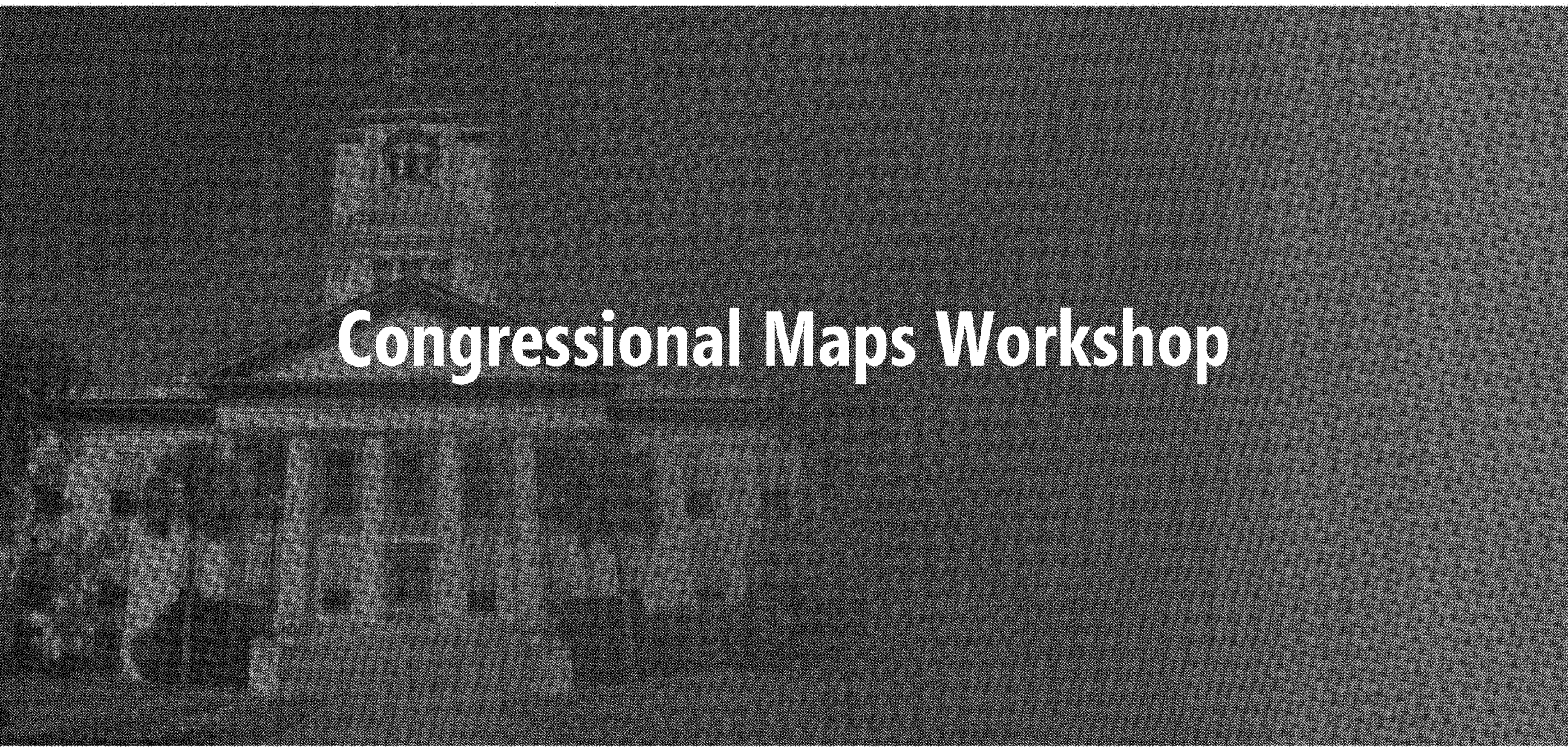
**NOTICE FINALIZED on 11/24/2021 3:06PM by Ellerkamp.Donna**



# Florida House of Representatives Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee

Chair Tyler Sirois

*December 2, 2021*


Congressional Maps Workshop

# Florida Constitution

**Article III, Section 16**

- Directs the Legislature at its Regular Session in the second year after each decennial census (2022) to redraw state legislative boundaries
- 30-40 senatorial districts
- 80-120 representative districts
- Districts shall be contiguous and consecutively numbered
- Provides directives and timelines for establishing new districts

# Florida Constitution

## Article III, Sections 20 & 21

### Tier 1 Standards

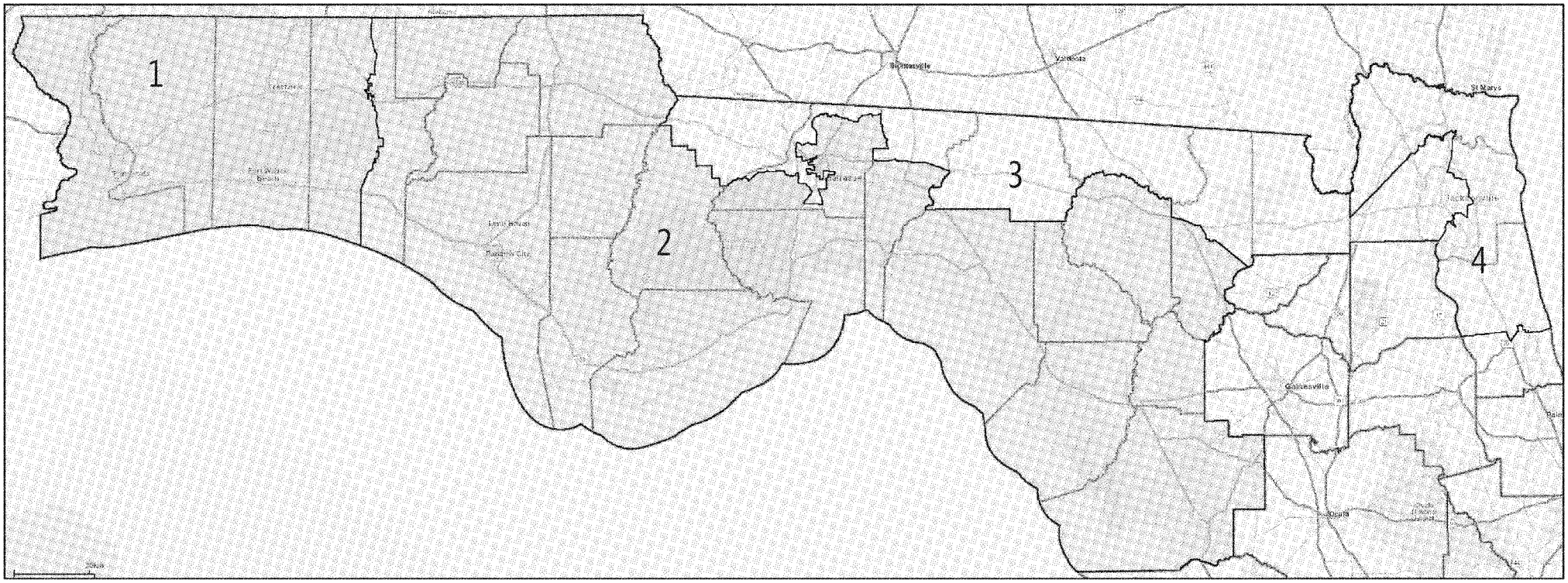
- No apportionment plan or individual district shall be drawn with the intent to favor or disfavor a political party or an incumbent
- Districts shall not be drawn with the intent or result of denying or abridging the equal opportunity of racial or language minorities to participate in the political process or to diminish their ability to elect representatives of their choice
- Districts shall consist of contiguous territory

### Tier 2 Standards

- Districts shall be as nearly equal in population as is practicable
- Districts shall be compact
- Districts shall, where feasible, utilize existing political and geographical boundaries

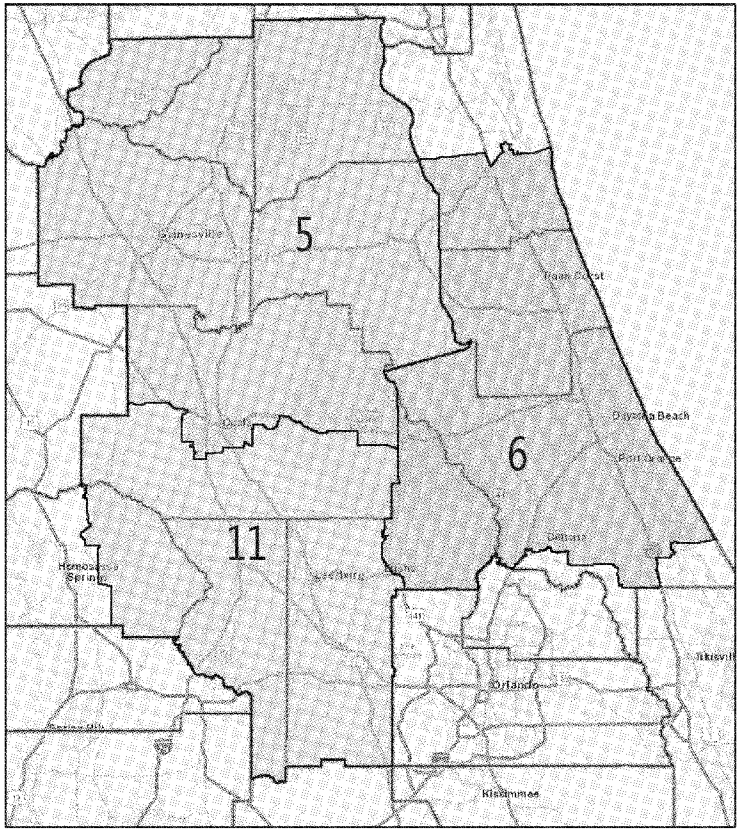
# Districts 1, 2, 3 and 4

Workshop A and B are the Same

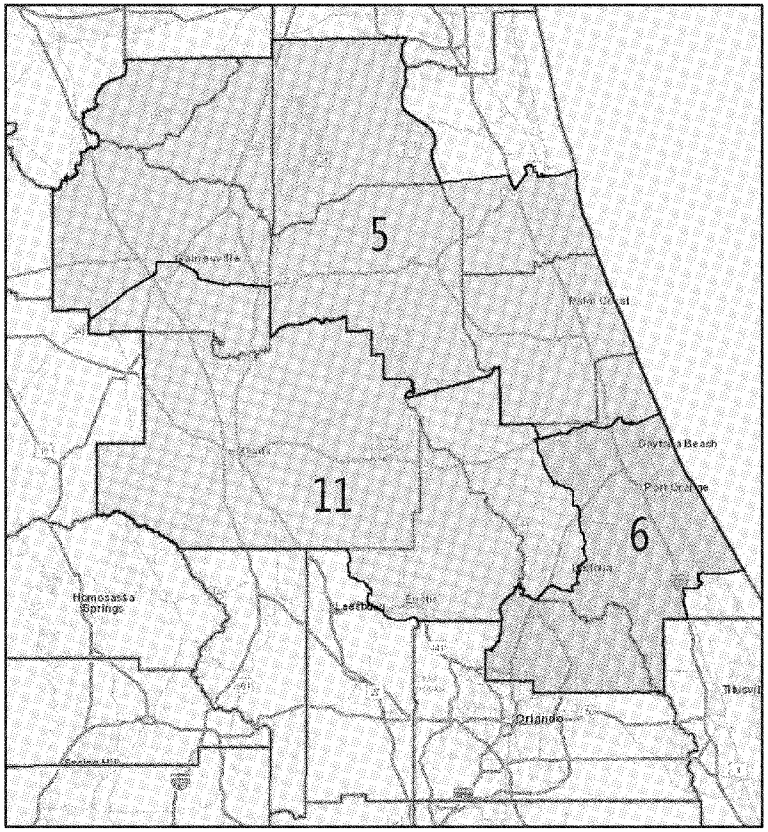


# Districts 5, 6 and 11

Workshop A

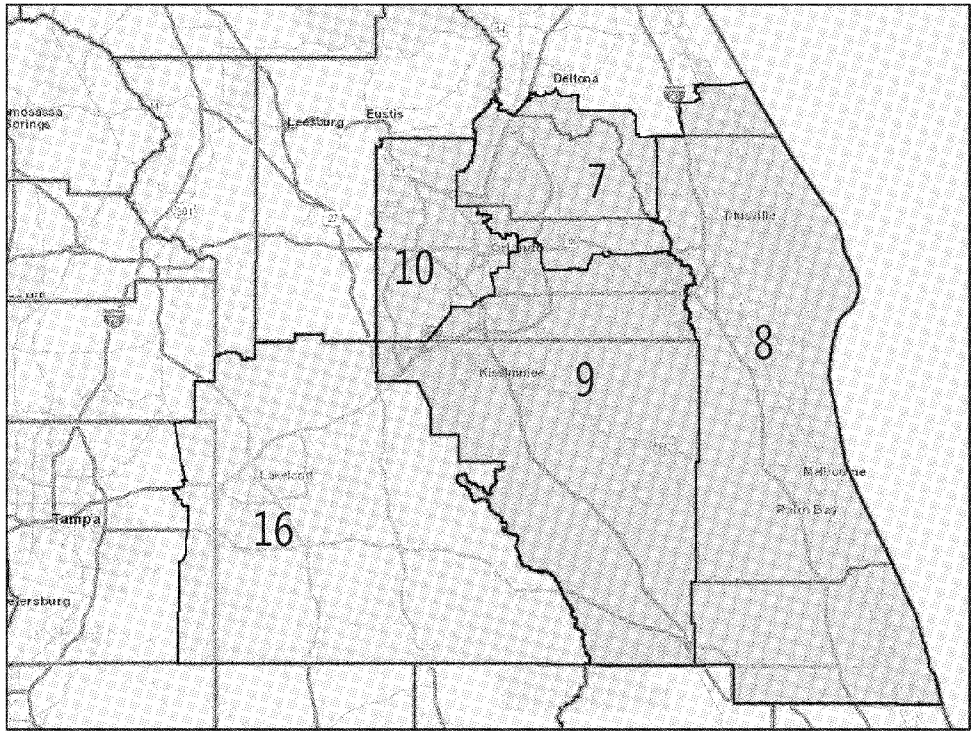



Workshop B

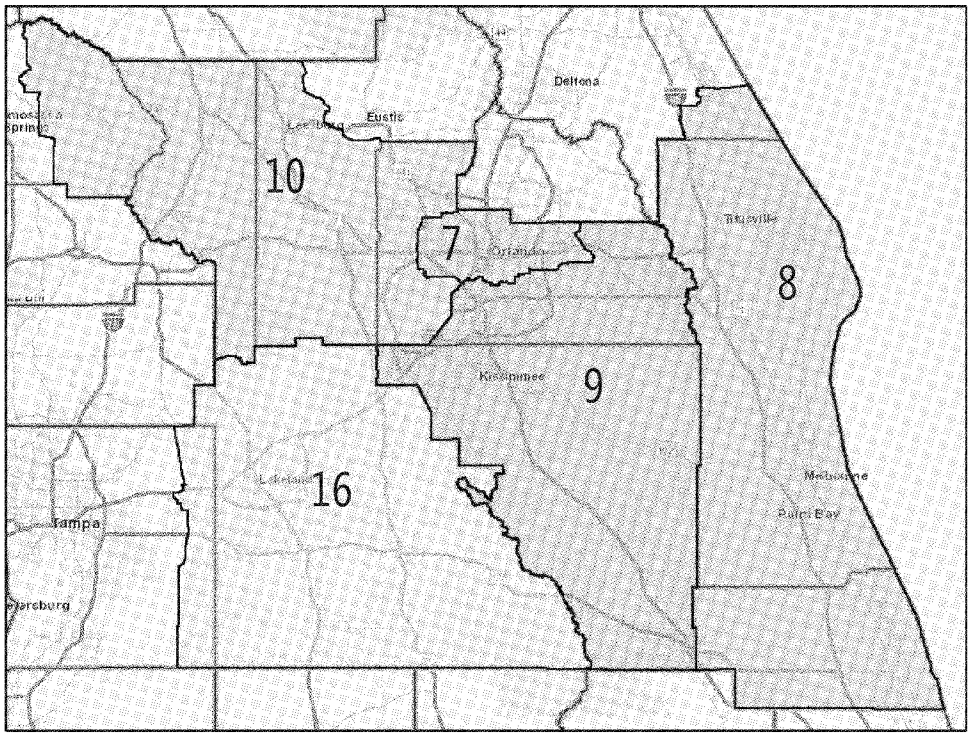


# Districts 7, 8, 9, 10 and 16

Workshop A

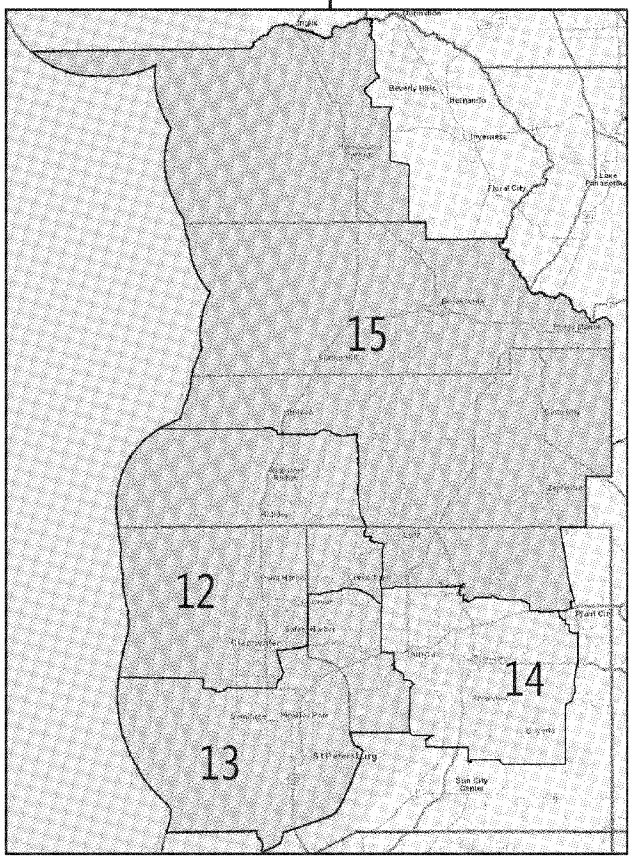



Workshop B

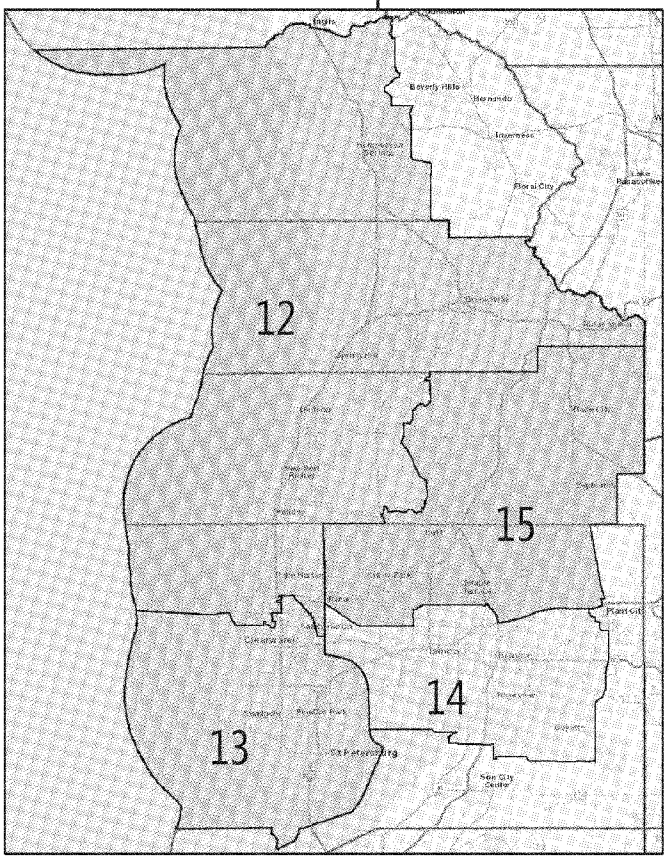


# Districts 12, 13, 14 and 15

Workshop A

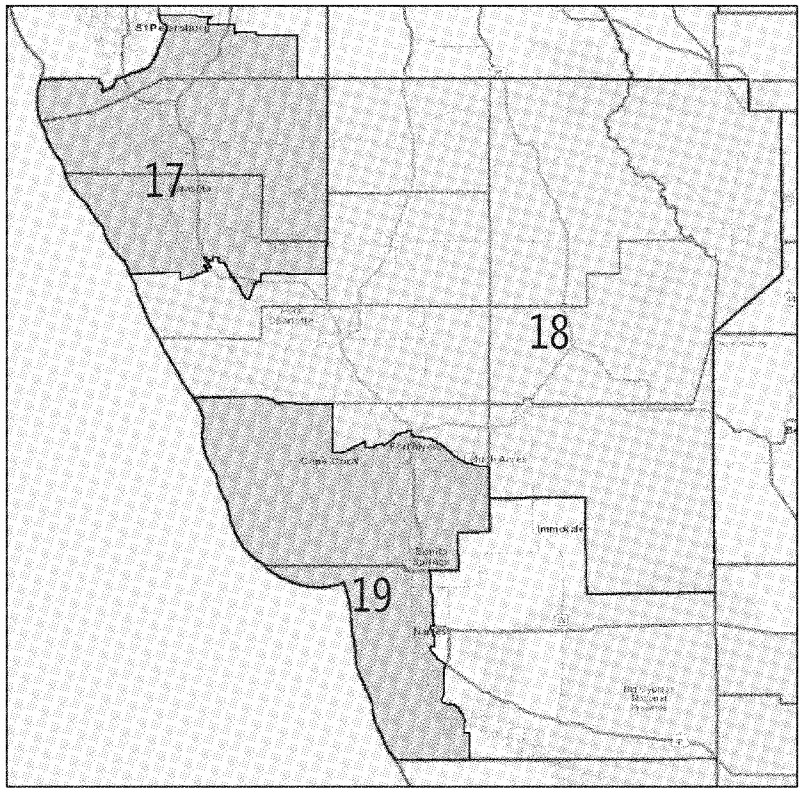



Workshop B



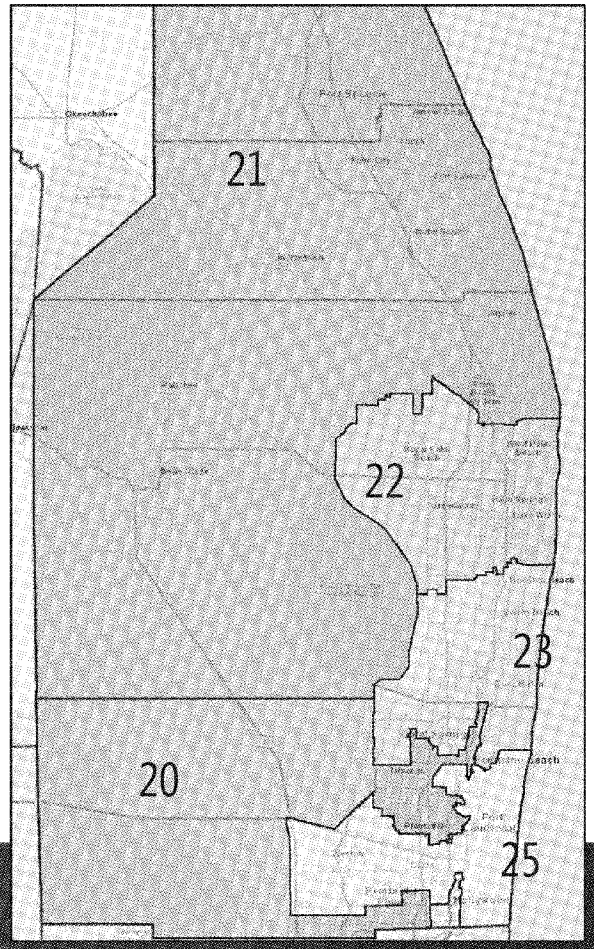
# Districts 17, 18 and 19

Workshop A and B are the Same

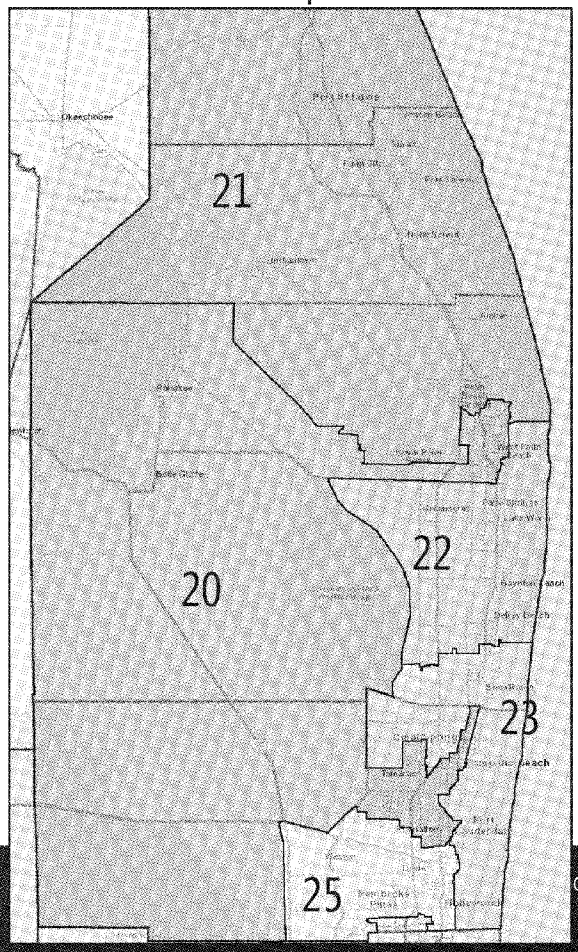


# Districts 20, 21, 22, 23 and 25

Workshop A

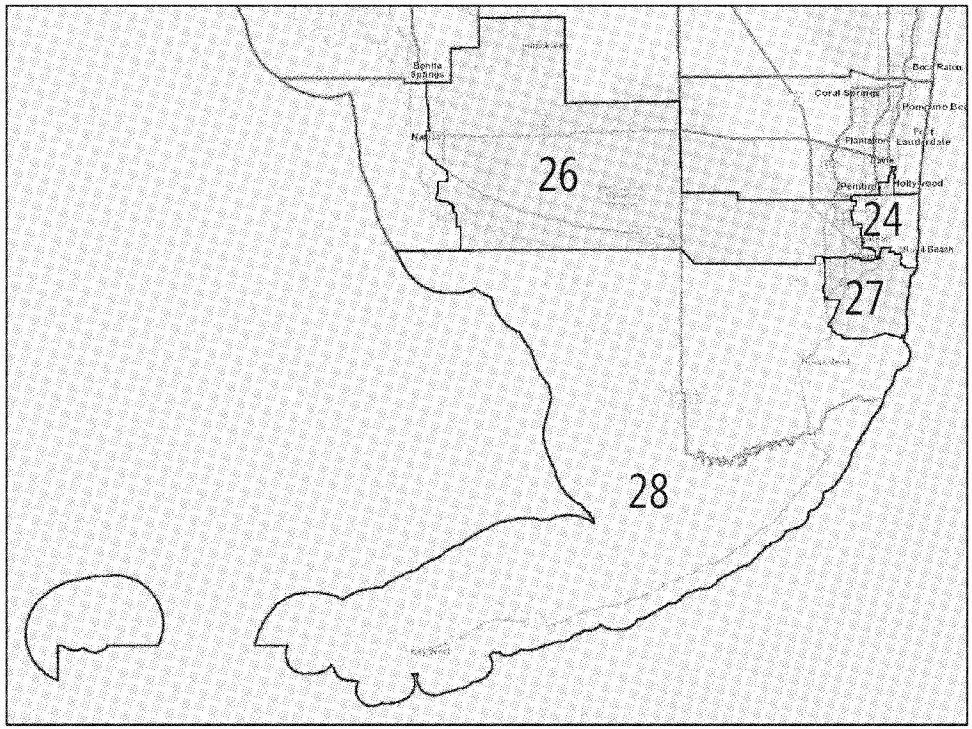



Workshop B

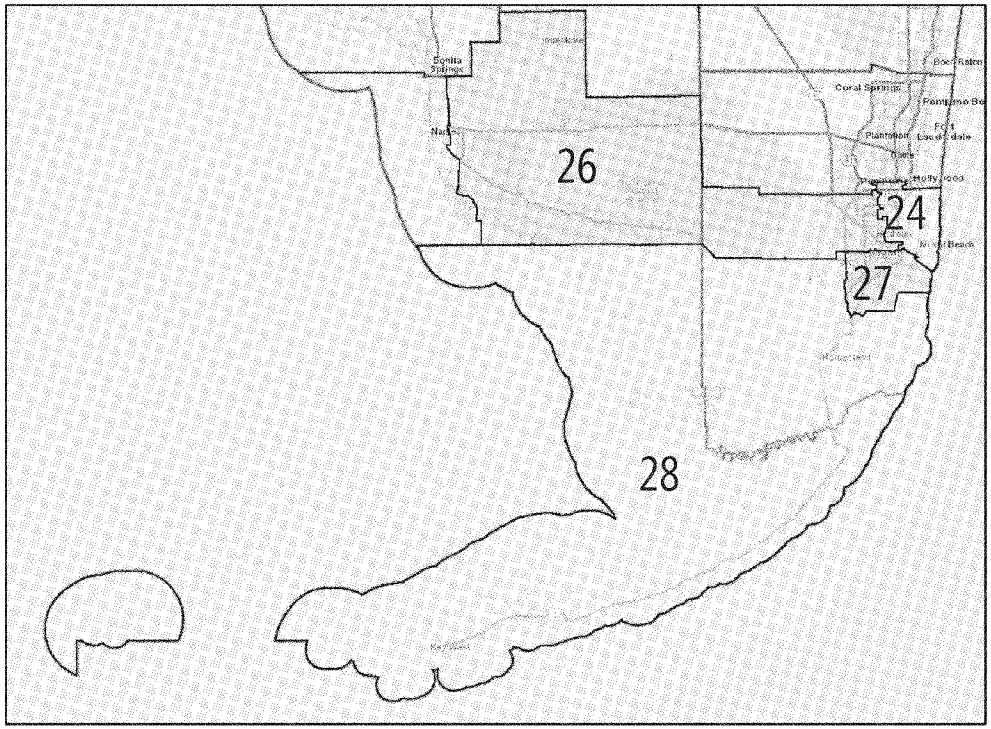


# Districts 24, 26, 27 and 28

Workshop A

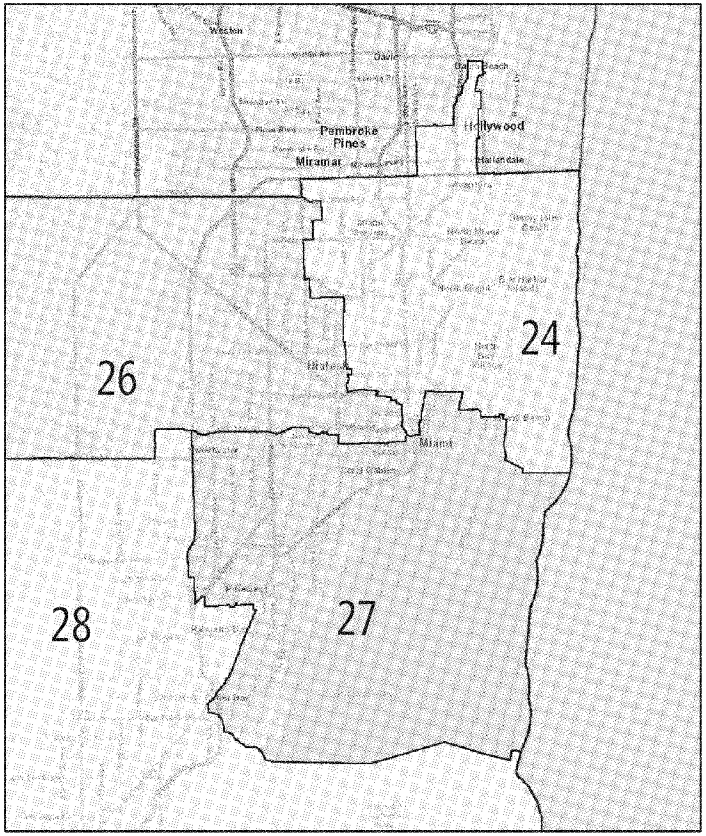



Workshop B

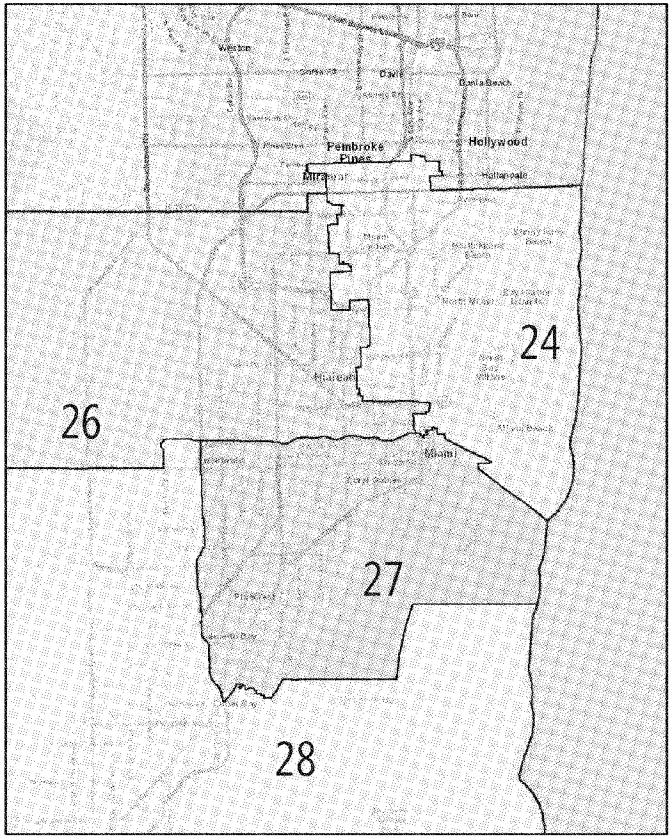


# Districts 24, 26, 27 and 28

Workshop A

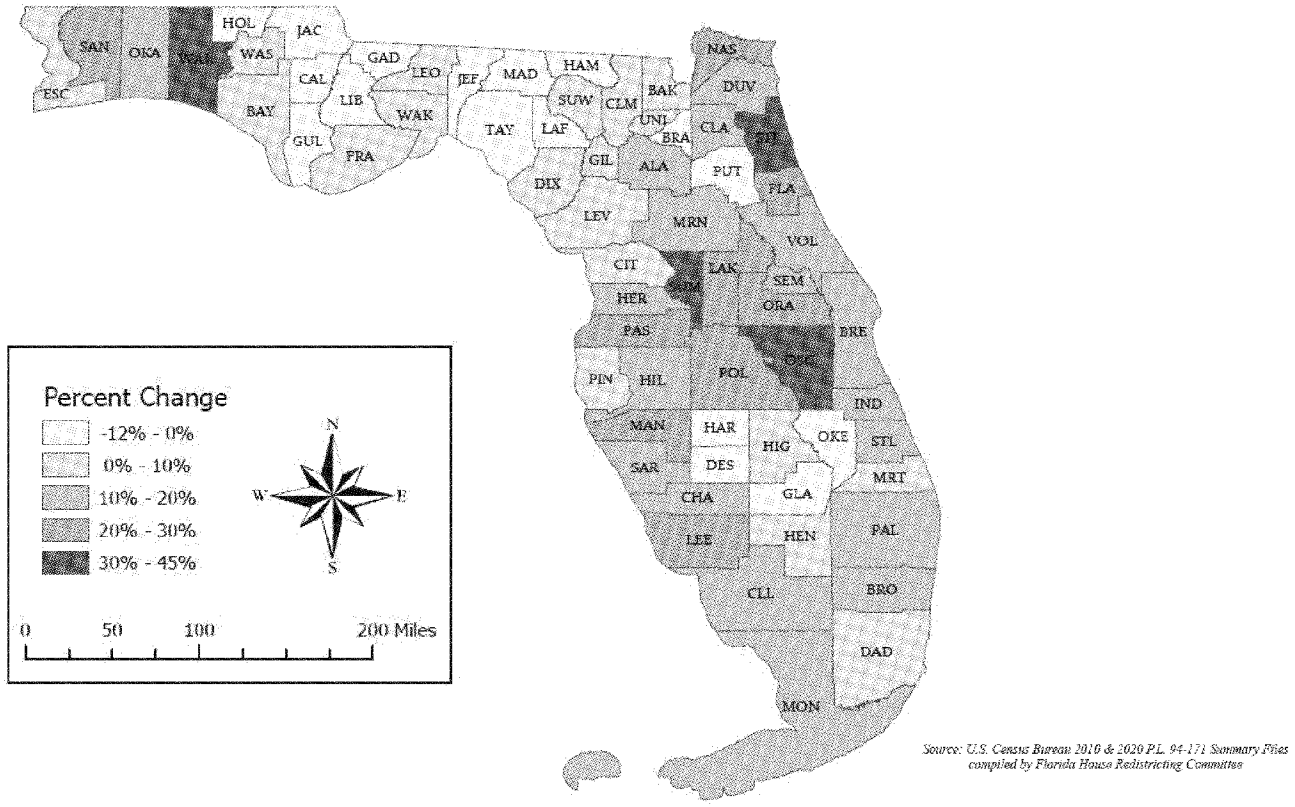



Workshop B



# Florida Counties

## *Percent Change in Population from 2010-2020*




*Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2010 & 2020 P.L. 94-171 Summary Files compiled by Florida House Redistricting Committee*

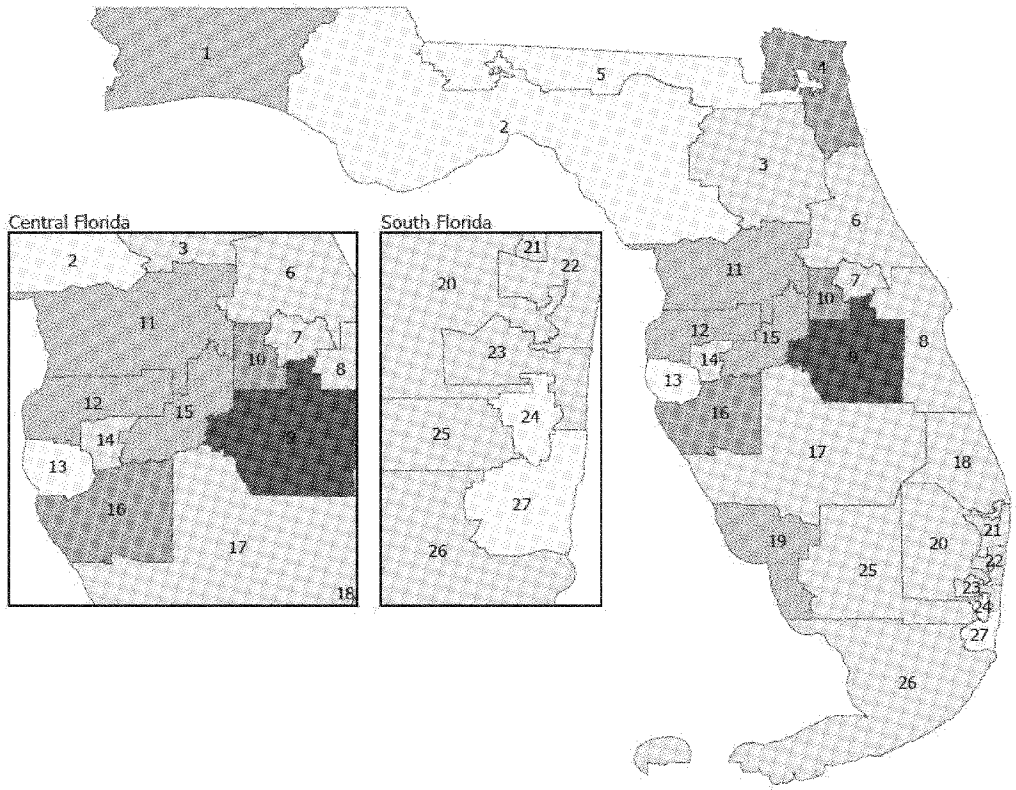
# Florida Counties

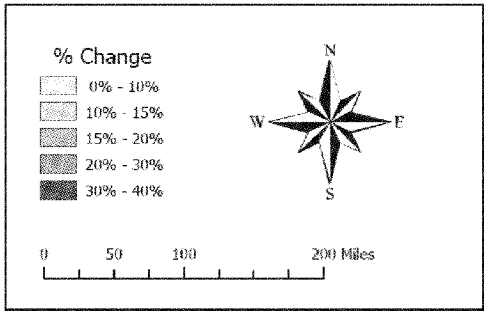
Change in Population from 2010-2020

| County Code | NAME | 2010 Pop | 2020 Pop | Change | % Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ALA | Alachua | 247,336 | 278,468 | 31,132 | 12.59% |
| BAK | Baker | 27,115 | 28,259 | 1,144 | 4.22% |
| BAY | Bay | 168,852 | 175,216 | 6,364 | 3.77% |
| BRA | Bradford | 28,520 | 28,303 | -217 | -0.76% |
| BRE | Brevard | 543,376 | 606,612 | 63,236 | 11.64% |
| BRO | Broward | 1,748,066 | 1,944,375 | 196,309 | 11.23% |
| CAL | Calhoun | 14,625 | 13,648 | -977 | -6.68% |
| CHA | Charlotte | 159,978 | 186,847 | 26,869 | 16.80% |
| CIT | Citrus | 141,236 | 153,843 | 12,607 | 8.93% |
| CLA | Clay | 190,865 | 218,245 | 27,380 | 14.35% |
| CLL | Collier | 321,520 | 375,752 | 54,232 | 16.87% |
| CLM | Columbia | 67,531 | 69,698 | 2,167 | 3.21% |
| DES | DeSoto | 34,862 | 33,976 | -886 | -2.54% |
| DIX | Dixie | 16,422 | 16,759 | 337 | 2.05% |
| DUV | Duval | 864,263 | 995,567 | 131,304 | 15.19% |
| ESC | Escambia | 297,619 | 321,905 | 24,286 | 8.16% |
| FLA | Flagler | 95,696 | 115,378 | 19,682 | 20.57% |
| FRA | Franklin | 11,549 | 12,451 | 902 | 7.81% |
| GAD | Gadsden | 46,389 | 43,826 | -2,563 | -5.53% |
| GIL | Gilchrist | 16,939 | 17,864 | 925 | 5.46% |
| GLA | Glades | 12,884 | 12,126 | -758 | -5.88% |
| GUL | Gulf | 15,863 | 14,192 | -1,671 | -10.53% |
| HAM | Hamilton | 14,799 | 14,004 | -795 | -5.37% |
| HAR | Hardee | 27,731 | 25,327 | -2,404 | -8.67% |
| HEN | Hendry | 39,140 | 39,619 | 479 | 1.22% |
| HER | Hernando | 172,778 | 194,515 | 21,737 | 12.58% |
| HIG | Highlands | 98,786 | 101,235 | 2,449 | 2.48% |
| HIL | Hillsborough | 1,229,226 | 1,459,762 | 230,536 | 18.75% |
| HOL | Holmes | 19,927 | 19,653 | -274 | -1.38% |
| IND | Indian River | 138,028 | 159,788 | 21,760 | 15.76% |
| JAC | Jackson | 49,746 | 47,319 | -2,427 | -4.88% |
| JEF | Jefferson | 14,761 | 14,510 | -251 | -1.70% |
| LAF | Lafayette | 8,870 | 8,226 | -644 | -7.26% |
| LAK | Lake | 297,052 | 383,956 | 86,904 | 29.26% |
| LEE | Lee | 618,754 | 760,822 | 142,068 | 22.96% |
| LEO | Leon | 275,487 | 292,198 | 16,711 | 6.07% |
| LEV | Levy | 40,801 | 42,915 | 2,114 | 5.18% |
| LIB | Liberty | 8,365 | 7,974 | -391 | -4.67% |
| MAD | Madison | 19,224 | 17,968 | -1,256 | -6.53% |
| MAN | Manatee | 322,833 | 399,710 | 76,877 | 23.81% |
| MRN | Marion | 331,298 | 375,908 | 44,610 | 13.47% |
| MRT | Martin | 146,318 | 158,431 | 12,113 | 8.28% |
| DAD | Miami-Dade | 2,496,435 | 2,701,767 | 205,332 | 8.23% |
| MON | Monroe | 73,090 | 82,874 | 9,784 | 13.39% |
| NAS | Nassau | 73,314 | 90,352 | 17,038 | 23.24% |
| OKA | Okaloosa | 180,822 | 211,668 | 30,846 | 17.06% |
| OKE | Okeechobee | 39,996 | 39,644 | -352 | -0.88% |
| ORA | Orange | 1,145,956 | 1,429,908 | 283,952 | 24.78% |
| OSC | Osceola | 268,685 | 388,656 | 119,971 | 44.65% |
| PAL | Palm Beach | 1,320,134 | 1,492,191 | 172,057 | 13.03% |
| PAS | Pasco | 464,697 | 561,891 | 97,194 | 20.92% |
| PIN | Pinellas | 916,542 | 959,107 | 42,565 | 4.64% |
| POL | Polk | 602,095 | 725,046 | 122,951 | 20.42% |
| PUT | Putnam | 74,364 | 73,321 | -1,043 | -1.40% |
| SAN | Santa Rosa | 151,372 | 188,000 | 36,628 | 24.20% |
| SAR | Sarasota | 379,448 | 434,006 | 54,558 | 14.38% |
| SEM | Seminole | 422,718 | 470,856 | 48,138 | 11.39% |
| STJ | St. Johns | 190,039 | 273,425 | 83,386 | 43.88% |
| STL | St. Lucie | 277,789 | 329,226 | 51,437 | 18.52% |
| SUM | Sumter | 93,420 | 129,752 | 36,332 | 38.89% |
| SUW | Suwannee | 41,551 | 43,474 | 1,923 | 4.63% |
| TAY | Taylor | 22,570 | 21,796 | -774 | -3.43% |
| UNI | Union | 15,535 | 16,147 | 612 | 3.94% |
| VOL | Volusia | 494,593 | 553,543 | 58,950 | 11.92% |
| WAK | Wakulla | 30,776 | 33,764 | 2,988 | 9.71% |
| WAL | Walton | 55,043 | 75,305 | 20,262 | 36.81% |
| WAS | Washington | 24,896 | 25,318 | 422 | 1.70% |

# Current Florida Congressional Districts

## *Percent Change in Population from 2010-2020*




*Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2010 & 2020 P.L. 94-171 Summary Files compiled by Florida House Redistricting Committee*

# Current Florida Congressional Districts

## Change in Population from 2010-2020

| NAME | 2010 Pop | 2020 Pop | Change | % Change | Over/Under Ideal Pop | % O/U |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 696,345 | 807,881 | 111,536 | 16.02% | 38,660 | 5.03% |
| 2 | 696,345 | 727,856 | 31,511 | 4.53% | -41,365 | -5.38% |
| 3 | 696,345 | 766,133 | 69,788 | 10.02% | -3,088 | -0.40% |
| 4 | 696,345 | 871,884 | 175,539 | 25.21% | 102,663 | 13.35% |
| 5 | 696,345 | 748,910 | 52,565 | 7.55% | -20,311 | -2.64% |
| 6 | 696,345 | 796,254 | 99,909 | 14.35% | 27,033 | 3.51% |
| 7 | 696,345 | 788,518 | 92,173 | 13.24% | 19,297 | 2.51% |
| 8 | 696,344 | 783,753 | 87,409 | 12.55% | 14,532 | 1.89% |
| 9 | 696,344 | 955,602 | 259,258 | 37.23% | 186,381 | 24.23% |
| 10 | 696,345 | 873,804 | 177,459 | 25.48% | 104,583 | 13.60% |
| 11 | 696,344 | 820,835 | 124,491 | 17.88% | 51,614 | 6.71% |
| 12 | 696,345 | 807,137 | 110,792 | 15.91% | 37,916 | 4.93% |
| 13 | 696,345 | 727,465 | 31,120 | 4.47% | -41,756 | -5.43% |
| 14 | 696,345 | 787,447 | 91,102 | 13.08% | 18,226 | 2.37% |
| 15 | 696,345 | 819,853 | 123,508 | 17.74% | 50,632 | 6.58% |
| 16 | 696,345 | 884,047 | 187,702 | 26.96% | 114,826 | 14.93% |
| 17 | 696,345 | 779,955 | 83,610 | 12.01% | 10,734 | 1.40% |
| 18 | 696,344 | 794,724 | 98,380 | 14.13% | 25,503 | 3.32% |
| 19 | 696,345 | 835,012 | 138,667 | 19.91% | 65,791 | 8.55% |
| 20 | 696,344 | 776,283 | 79,939 | 11.48% | 7,062 | 0.92% |
| 21 | 696,345 | 788,007 | 91,662 | 13.16% | 18,786 | 2.44% |
| 22 | 696,345 | 785,756 | 89,411 | 12.84% | 16,535 | 2.15% |
| 23 | 696,345 | 769,356 | 73,011 | 10.48% | 135 | 0.02% |
| 24 | 696,345 | 742,542 | 46,197 | 6.63% | -26,679 | -3.47% |
| 25 | 696,345 | 771,434 | 75,089 | 10.78% | 2,213 | 0.29% |
| 26 | 696,345 | 787,914 | 91,569 | 13.15% | 18,693 | 2.43% |
| 27 | 696,345 | 739,825 | 43,480 | 6.24% | -29,396 | -3.82% |

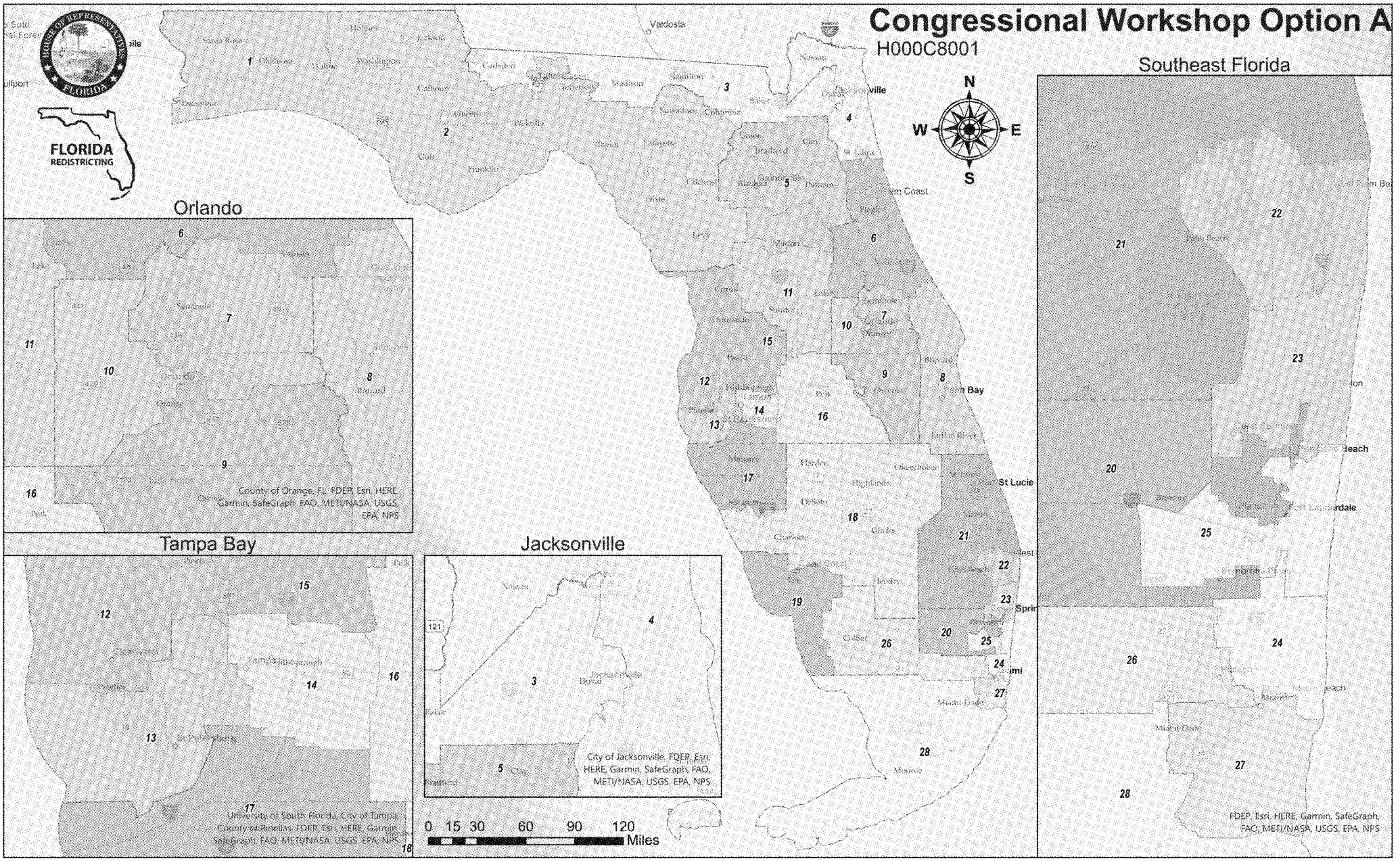
Over/Under calculations based on 2020 Ideal Population of 769,221 and 27 districts.

# Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee

Rep. Tyler Sirois, Chair
Redistricting Committee Staff
850-717-5234
RedistrictingCommittee@myfloridahouse.gov
www.FloridaRedistricting.gov

# Congressional Workshop Option A

H000C8001



# CONGRESSIONAL WORKSHOP OPTION A - H000C8001

| STATEWIDE SNAPSHOT | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total State Population: | 21,538,187 | | Total Counties: | 67 | Reock Avg. |
| Ideal District Population: | 769,221 | | Counties Split: | 20 | 0.46 |
| Mean Deviation: | 0 | 0.00% | Counties Kept Whole: | 47 | Convex Hull Avg. |
| Max Deviation: | 0 | 0.00% | Total Cities: | 412 | 0.80 |
| Min Deviation: | -1 | 0.00% | Cities Split: | 33 | Polsby Popper Avg. |
| Overall Deviation Range: | 1 | 0.00% | Cities Kept Whole: | 379 | 0.39 |

| DISTRICT BREAKDOWN | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| District | Population | | | Voting Age Population | | Compactness | | |
| | Total Population | Deviation from Ideal | % Deviation | BVAP % | HVAP % | Reock | Convex Hull | Polsby Popper |
| 1 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 13.54 | 6.69 | 0.54 | 0.87 | 0.46 |
| 2 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 13.63 | 6.24 | 0.31 | 0.72 | 0.23 |
| 3 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 43.98 | 9.00 | 0.11 | 0.63 | 0.10 |
| 4 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 10.53 | 9.25 | 0.33 | 0.65 | 0.19 |
| 5 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 16.12 | 10.35 | 0.68 | 0.88 | 0.51 |
| 6 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 9.87 | 11.51 | 0.46 | 0.81 | 0.38 |
| 7 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 12.68 | 24.39 | 0.61 | 0.88 | 0.40 |
| 8 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 9.69 | 10.00 | 0.29 | 0.81 | 0.38 |
| 9 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 12.48 | 51.14 | 0.49 | 0.87 | 0.35 |
| 10 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 28.33 | 23.41 | 0.51 | 0.86 | 0.45 |
| 11 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 8.78 | 11.91 | 0.49 | 0.85 | 0.41 |
| 12 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 6.09 | 12.52 | 0.61 | 0.89 | 0.62 |
| 13 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 11.71 | 16.87 | 0.55 | 0.78 | 0.46 |
| 14 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 22.89 | 27.65 | 0.54 | 0.92 | 0.56 |
| 15 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 8.71 | 15.53 | 0.33 | 0.69 | 0.32 |
| 16 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 14.94 | 23.21 | 0.52 | 0.92 | 0.43 |
| 17 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 7.55 | 14.29 | 0.61 | 0.88 | 0.51 |
| 18 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 6.56 | 15.26 | 0.50 | 0.80 | 0.43 |
| 19 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 6.88 | 17.58 | 0.33 | 0.77 | 0.38 |
| 20 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 50.05 | 28.08 | 0.41 | 0.79 | 0.22 |
| 21 | 769,220 | -1 | 0 | 16.33 | 15.10 | 0.48 | 0.86 | 0.51 |
| 22 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 20.78 | 29.24 | 0.65 | 0.87 | 0.51 |
| 23 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 13.06 | 17.23 | 0.44 | 0.84 | 0.32 |
| 24 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 41.48 | 40.83 | 0.46 | 0.77 | 0.35 |
| 25 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 10.90 | 35.14 | 0.36 | 0.72 | 0.21 |
| 26 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 5.93 | 75.09 | 0.30 | 0.75 | 0.34 |
| 27 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 5.26 | 72.93 | 0.63 | 0.86 | 0.53 |
| 28 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 12.07 | 71.14 | 0.22 | 0.55 | 0.24 |

# CONGRESSIONAL WORKSHOP OPTION A - H000C8001

## COUNTY SHARE OF POPULATION

| | TOTAL POPULATION | % OF POPULATION |
|---|---|---|
| **Alachua** | **278468** | |
| 5 | 278468 | 100.00% |
| **Baker** | **28259** | |
| 3 | 28259 | 100.00% |
| **Bay** | **175216** | |
| 2 | 175216 | 100.00% |
| **Bradford** | **28303** | |
| 5 | 28303 | 100.00% |
| **Brevard** | **606612** | |
| 8 | 606612 | 100.00% |
| **Broward** | **1944375** | |
| 20 | 769221 | 39.56% |
| 23 | 327814 | 16.86% |
| 24 | 78119 | 4.02% |
| 25 | 769221 | 39.56% |
| **Calhoun** | **13648** | |
| 2 | 13648 | 100.00% |
| **Charlotte** | **186847** | |
| 18 | 186847 | 100.00% |
| **Citrus** | **153843** | |
| 11 | 95336 | 61.97% |
| 15 | 58507 | 38.03% |
| **Clay** | **218245** | |
| 5 | 218245 | 100.00% |
| **Collier** | **375752** | |
| 19 | 161628 | 43.01% |
| 26 | 214124 | 56.99% |
| **Columbia** | **69698** | |
| 2 | 58301 | 83.65% |
| 3 | 11397 | 16.35% |
| **DeSoto** | **33976** | |
| 18 | 33976 | 100.00% |

| | TOTAL POPULATION | % OF POPULATION |
|---|---|---|
| **Dixie** | **16759** | |
| 2 | 16759 | 100.00% |
| **Duval** | **995567** | |
| 3 | 529753 | 53.21% |
| 4 | 465814 | 46.79% |
| **Escambia** | **321905** | |
| 1 | 321905 | 100.00% |
| **Flagler** | **115378** | |
| 6 | 115378 | 100.00% |
| **Franklin** | **12451** | |
| 2 | 12451 | 100.00% |
| **Gadsden** | **43826** | |
| 3 | 43826 | 100.00% |
| **Gilchrist** | **17864** | |
| 2 | 17864 | 100.00% |
| **Glades** | **12126** | |
| 18 | 12126 | 100.00% |
| **Gulf** | **14192** | |
| 2 | 14192 | 100.00% |
| **Hamilton** | **14004** | |
| 3 | 14004 | 100.00% |
| **Hardee** | **25327** | |
| 18 | 25327 | 100.00% |
| **Hendry** | **39619** | |
| 18 | 39619 | 100.00% |
| **Hernando** | **194515** | |
| 15 | 194515 | 100.00% |
| **Highlands** | **101235** | |
| 18 | 101235 | 100.00% |

| | TOTAL POPULATION | % OF POPULATION |
|---|---|---|
| **Hillsborough** | **1459762** | |
| 12 | 95109 | 6.52% |
| 13 | 252881 | 17.32% |
| 14 | 769221 | 52.69% |
| 15 | 185653 | 12.72% |
| 16 | 44175 | 3.03% |
| 17 | 112723 | 7.72% |
| **Holmes** | **19653** | |
| 2 | 19653 | 100.00% |
| **Indian River** | **159788** | |
| 8 | 159788 | 100.00% |
| **Jackson** | **47319** | |
| 2 | 47319 | 100.00% |
| **Jefferson** | **14510** | |
| 2 | 4014 | 27.66% |
| 3 | 10496 | 72.34% |
| **Lafayette** | **8226** | |
| 2 | 8226 | 100.00% |
| **Lake** | **383956** | |
| 6 | 60994 | 15.89% |
| 11 | 322962 | 84.11% |
| **Lee** | **760822** | |
| 18 | 153229 | 20.14% |
| 19 | 607593 | 79.86% |
| **Leon** | **292198** | |
| 2 | 178680 | 61.15% |
| 3 | 113518 | 38.85% |
| **Levy** | **42915** | |
| 2 | 42915 | 100.00% |
| **Liberty** | **7974** | |
| 2 | 7974 | 100.00% |
| **Madison** | **17968** | |
| 3 | 17968 | 100.00% |

# CONGRESSIONAL WORKSHOP OPTION A - H000C8001

## COUNTY SHARE OF POPULATION

| | TOTAL POPULATION | % OF POPULATION |
|---|---|---|
| **Manatee** | **399710** | |
| 17 | 399710 | 100.00% |
| **Marion** | **375908** | |
| 5 | 154737 | 41.16% |
| 11 | 221171 | 58.84% |
| **Martin** | **158431** | |
| 21 | 158431 | 100.00% |
| **Miami-Dade** | **2701767** | |
| 24 | 691102 | 25.58% |
| 26 | 555097 | 20.55% |
| 27 | 769221 | 28.47% |
| 28 | 686347 | 25.40% |
| **Monroe** | **82874** | |
| 28 | 82874 | 100.00% |
| **Nassau** | **90352** | |
| 4 | 90352 | 100.00% |
| **Okaloosa** | **211668** | |
| 1 | 211668 | 100.00% |
| **Okeechobee** | **39644** | |
| 18 | 39644 | 100.00% |
| **Orange** | **1429908** | |
| 7 | 280122 | 19.59% |
| 9 | 380565 | 26.61% |
| 10 | 769221 | 53.80% |
| **Osceola** | **388656** | |
| 9 | 388656 | 100.00% |
| **Palm Beach** | **1492191** | |
| 21 | 281563 | 18.87% |
| 22 | 769221 | 51.55% |
| 23 | 441407 | 29.58% |
| **Pasco** | **561891** | |
| 12 | 231345 | 41.17% |
| 15 | 330546 | 58.83% |

| | TOTAL POPULATION | % OF POPULATION |
|---|---|---|
| **Pinellas** | **959107** | |
| 12 | 442767 | 46.16% |
| 13 | 516340 | 53.84% |
| **Polk** | **725046** | |
| 16 | 725046 | 100.00% |
| **Putnam** | **73321** | |
| 5 | 73321 | 100.00% |
| **Santa Rosa** | **188000** | |
| 1 | 188000 | 100.00% |
| **Sarasota** | **434006** | |
| 17 | 256788 | 59.17% |
| 18 | 177218 | 40.83% |
| **Seminole** | **470856** | |
| 7 | 470856 | 100.00% |
| **St. Johns** | **273425** | |
| 4 | 213055 | 77.92% |
| 6 | 60370 | 22.08% |
| **St. Lucie** | **329226** | |
| 21 | 329226 | 100.00% |
| **Sumter** | **129752** | |
| 11 | 129752 | 100.00% |
| **Suwannee** | **43474** | |
| 2 | 43474 | 100.00% |
| **Taylor** | **21796** | |
| 2 | 21796 | 100.00% |
| **Union** | **16147** | |
| 5 | 16147 | 100.00% |
| **Volusia** | **553543** | |
| 6 | 532479 | 96.19% |
| 7 | 18243 | 3.30% |
| 8 | 2821 | 0.51% |

| | TOTAL POPULATION | % OF POPULATION |
|---|---|---|
| **Wakulla** | **33764** | |
| 2 | 33764 | 100.00% |
| **Walton** | **75305** | |
| 1 | 47648 | 63.27% |
| 2 | 27657 | 36.73% |
| **Washington** | **25318** | |
| 2 | 25318 | 100.00% |

# CONGRESSIONAL WORKSHOP OPTION A - H000C8001

## CITY SPLIT LIST

| | TOTAL POPULATION | % OF POPULATION |
|---|---|---|
| **Boynton Beach** | **80,380** | |
| 22 | 32,557 | 40.50% |
| 23 | 47,823 | 59.50% |
| **Cape Coral** | **194,016** | |
| 18 | 55,768 | 28.74% |
| 19 | 138,248 | 71.26% |
| **Coconut Creek** | **57,833** | |
| 20 | 7,945 | 13.74% |
| 23 | 49,888 | 86.26% |
| **Coral Springs** | **134,394** | |
| 20 | 7,015 | 5.22% |
| 23 | 127,379 | 94.78% |
| **Dania Beach** | **31,723** | |
| 24 | 5,111 | 16.11% |
| 25 | 26,612 | 83.89% |
| **Deerfield Beach** | **86,859** | |
| 20 | 26,989 | 31.07% |
| 23 | 59,870 | 68.93% |
| **Deltona** | **93,692** | |
| 6 | 81,972 | 87.49% |
| 7 | 11,720 | 12.51% |
| **Edgewood** | **2,685** | |
| 9 | 1,136 | 42.31% |
| 10 | 1,549 | 57.69% |
| **Eustis** | **23,189** | |
| 6 | 10,693 | 46.11% |
| 11 | 12,496 | 53.89% |
| **Fort Lauderdale** | **182,760** | |
| 20 | 58,767 | 32.16% |
| 25 | 123,993 | 67.84% |
| **Hallandale Beach** | **41,217** | |
| 24 | 12,696 | 30.80% |
| 25 | 28,521 | 69.20% |

| | TOTAL POPULATION | % OF POPULATION |
|---|---|---|
| **Hollywood** | **153,067** | |
| 20 | 35,449 | 23.16% |
| 24 | 43,248 | 28.25% |
| 25 | 74,370 | 48.59% |
| **Indian Rocks Beach** | **3,673** | |
| 12 | 2,196 | 59.79% |
| 13 | 1,477 | 40.21% |
| **Jacksonville** | **949,611** | |
| 3 | 528,357 | 55.64% |
| 4 | 421,254 | 44.36% |
| **Lake City** | **12,329** | |
| 2 | 10,152 | 82.34% |
| 3 | 2,177 | 17.66% |
| **Largo** | **82,485** | |
| 12 | 69,321 | 84.04% |
| 13 | 13,164 | 15.96% |
| **Maitland** | **19,543** | |
| 7 | 19,543 | 100.00% |
| 10 | - | 0.00% |
| **Margate** | **58,712** | |
| 20 | 54,933 | 93.56% |
| 23 | 3,779 | 6.44% |
| **Miami** | **442,241** | |
| 24 | 94,815 | 21.44% |
| 26 | 90,686 | 20.51% |
| 27 | 256,740 | 58.05% |
| **Miami Beach** | **82,890** | |
| 24 | 50,811 | 61.30% |
| 27 | 32,079 | 38.70% |
| **Mount Dora** | **16,341** | |
| 6 | 5,368 | 32.85% |
| 11 | 10,973 | 67.15% |
| **Oakland Park** | **44,229** | |
| 20 | 20,616 | 46.61% |
| 25 | 23,613 | 53.39% |

| | TOTAL POPULATION | % OF POPULATION |
|---|---|---|
| **Orlando** | **307,573** | |
| 7 | 175 | 0.06% |
| 9 | 103,151 | 33.54% |
| 10 | 204,247 | 66.41% |
| **Pembroke Pines** | **171,178** | |
| 20 | 49,120 | 28.70% |
| 25 | 122,058 | 71.30% |
| **Plant City** | **39,764** | |
| 14 | 16,618 | 41.79% |
| 15 | 18 | 0.05% |
| 16 | 23,128 | 58.16% |
| **Plantation** | **91,750** | |
| 20 | 30,810 | 33.58% |
| 25 | 60,940 | 66.42% |
| **Pompano Beach** | **112,046** | |
| 20 | 39,978 | 35.68% |
| 23 | 39,160 | 34.95% |
| 25 | 32,908 | 29.37% |
| **Sunrise** | **97,335** | |
| 20 | 64,752 | 66.52% |
| 25 | 32,583 | 33.48% |
| **Sweetwater** | **19,363** | |
| 26 | 167 | 0.86% |
| 27 | 19,196 | 99.14% |
| **Tallahassee** | **196,169** | |
| 2 | 104,000 | 53.02% |
| 3 | 92,169 | 46.98% |
| **Tamarac** | **71,897** | |
| 20 | 71,388 | 99.29% |
| 25 | 509 | 0.71% |
| **Tampa** | **384,959** | |
| 13 | 107,729 | 27.98% |
| 14 | 222,465 | 57.79% |
| 15 | 54,765 | 14.23% |

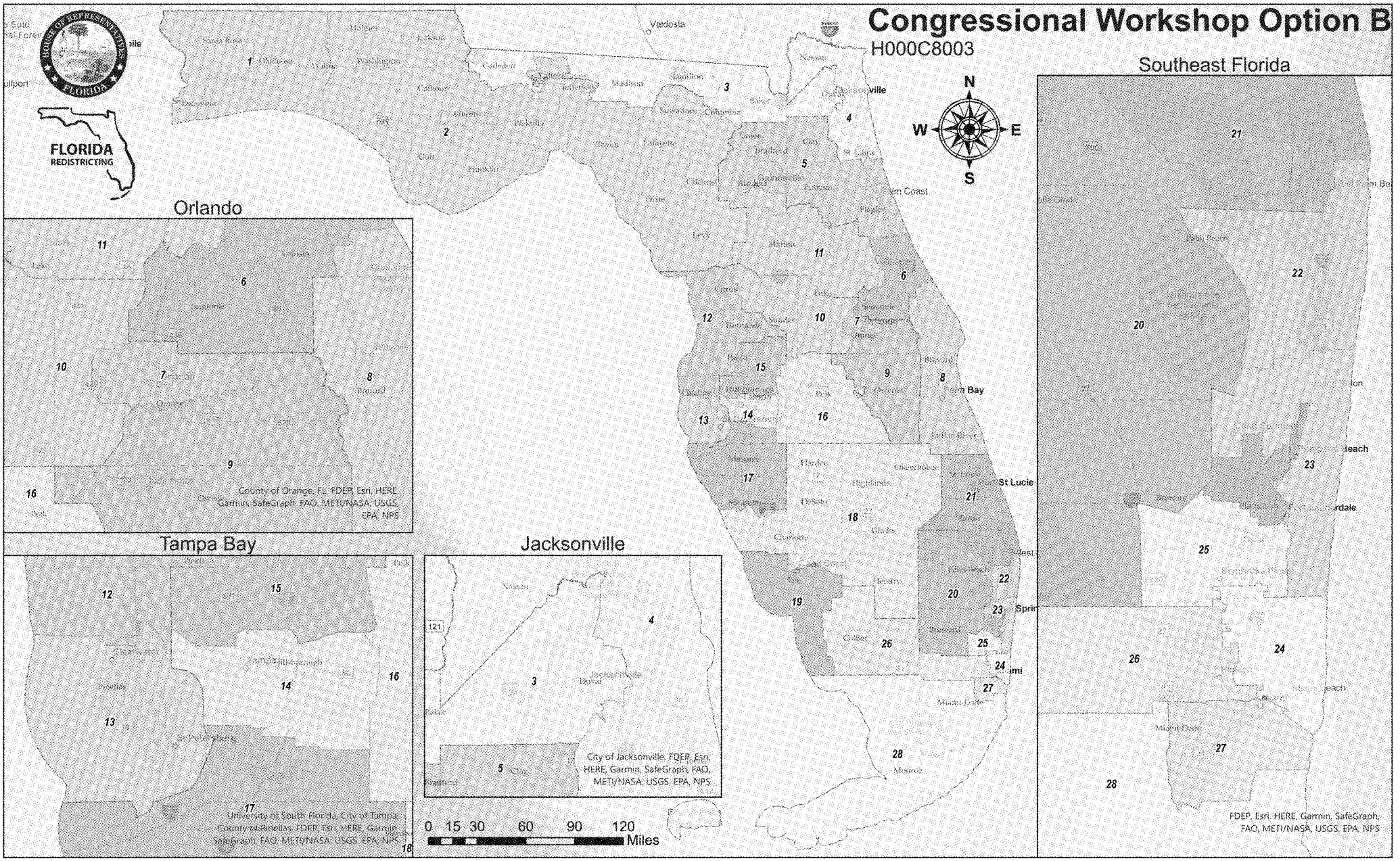
# CONGRESSIONAL WORKSHOP OPTION A - H000C8001

## CITY SPLIT LIST

| | TOTAL POPULATION | % OF POPULATION |
|---|---|---|
| **West Park** | **15,130** | |
| 20 | 4,326 | 28.59% |
| 24 | 10,804 | 71.41% |

# Congressional Workshop Option B

H000C8003



# CONGRESSIONAL WORKSHOP OPTION B - H000C8003

| STATEWIDE SNAPSHOT | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total State Population: | 21,538,187 | | Total Counties: | 67 | Reock Avg. |
| Ideal District Population: | 769,221 | | Counties Split: | 20 | 0.43 |
| Mean Deviation: | 0 | 0.00% | Counties Kept Whole: | 47 | Convex Hull Avg. |
| Max Deviation: | 0 | 0.00% | Total Cities: | 412 | 0.79 |
| Min Deviation: | -1 | 0.00% | Cities Split: | 40 | Polsby Popper Avg. |
| Overall Deviation Range: | 1 | 0.00% | Cities Kept Whole: | 372 | 0.38 |

| DISTRICT BREAKDOWN | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| District | Population | | | Voting Age Population | | Compactness | | |
| | Total Population | Deviation from Ideal | % Deviation | BVAP % | HVAP % | Reock | Convex Hull | Polsby Popper |
| 1 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 13.54 | 6.69 | 0.54 | 0.87 | 0.46 |
| 2 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 13.63 | 6.24 | 0.31 | 0.72 | 0.23 |
| 3 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 43.98 | 9.00 | 0.11 | 0.63 | 0.10 |
| 4 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 10.53 | 9.25 | 0.33 | 0.65 | 0.19 |
| 5 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 13.20 | 8.87 | 0.40 | 0.79 | 0.34 |
| 6 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 12.67 | 16.02 | 0.49 | 0.75 | 0.36 |
| 7 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 25.15 | 27.50 | 0.38 | 0.87 | 0.41 |
| 8 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 9.69 | 10.00 | 0.29 | 0.81 | 0.38 |
| 9 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 14.45 | 50.07 | 0.49 | 0.87 | 0.33 |
| 10 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 10.58 | 14.82 | 0.41 | 0.78 | 0.36 |
| 11 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 11.48 | 15.11 | 0.43 | 0.82 | 0.35 |
| 12 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 4.54 | 10.57 | 0.40 | 0.62 | 0.26 |
| 13 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 11.46 | 9.77 | 0.68 | 0.91 | 0.63 |
| 14 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 20.46 | 25.49 | 0.44 | 0.86 | 0.51 |
| 15 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 12.89 | 27.24 | 0.46 | 0.84 | 0.47 |
| 16 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 14.94 | 23.21 | 0.52 | 0.92 | 0.43 |
| 17 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 7.55 | 14.29 | 0.61 | 0.88 | 0.51 |
| 18 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 6.56 | 15.26 | 0.50 | 0.80 | 0.43 |
| 19 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 6.83 | 17.63 | 0.33 | 0.77 | 0.39 |
| 20 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 50.81 | 22.51 | 0.50 | 0.77 | 0.28 |
| 21 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 12.33 | 15.04 | 0.49 | 0.82 | 0.51 |
| 22 | 769,220 | -1 | 0 | 15.99 | 24.75 | 0.46 | 0.74 | 0.44 |
| 23 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 11.45 | 20.84 | 0.35 | 0.71 | 0.21 |
| 24 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 42.53 | 38.01 | 0.44 | 0.88 | 0.39 |
| 25 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 18.31 | 42.66 | 0.54 | 0.86 | 0.46 |
| 26 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 6.88 | 74.05 | 0.30 | 0.74 | 0.34 |
| 27 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 6.58 | 75.25 | 0.57 | 0.89 | 0.58 |
| 28 | 769,221 | 0 | 0 | 10.83 | 72.04 | 0.21 | 0.56 | 0.24 |

# CONGRESSIONAL WORKSHOP OPTION B - H000C8003

## COUNTY SHARE OF POPULATION

| | TOTAL POPULATION | % OF POPULATION |
|---|---|---|
| **Alachua** | **278,468** | |
| 5 | 205,158 | 73.67% |
| 11 | 73,310 | 26.33% |
| **Baker** | **28,259** | |
| 3 | 28,259 | 100.00% |
| **Bay** | **175,216** | |
| 2 | 175,216 | 100.00% |
| **Bradford** | **28,303** | |
| 5 | 28,303 | 100.00% |
| **Brevard** | **606,612** | |
| 8 | 606,612 | 100.00% |
| **Broward** | **1,944,375** | |
| 20 | 535,322 | 27.53% |
| 23 | 561,713 | 28.89% |
| 24 | 78,119 | 4.02% |
| 25 | 769,221 | 39.56% |
| **Calhoun** | **13,648** | |
| 2 | 13,648 | 100.00% |
| **Charlotte** | **186,847** | |
| 18 | 186,847 | 100.00% |
| **Citrus** | **153,843** | |
| 10 | 95,336 | 61.97% |
| 12 | 58,507 | 38.03% |
| **Clay** | **218,245** | |
| 5 | 218,245 | 100.00% |
| **Collier** | **375,752** | |
| 19 | 161,628 | 43.01% |
| 26 | 214,124 | 56.99% |
| **Columbia** | **69,698** | |
| 2 | 58,301 | 83.65% |
| 3 | 11,397 | 16.35% |

| | TOTAL POPULATION | % OF POPULATION |
|---|---|---|
| **DeSoto** | **33,976** | |
| 18 | 33,976 | 100.00% |
| **Dixie** | **16,759** | |
| 2 | 16,759 | 100.00% |
| **Duval** | **995,567** | |
| 3 | 529,753 | 53.21% |
| 4 | 465,814 | 46.79% |
| **Escambia** | **321,905** | |
| 1 | 321,905 | 100.00% |
| **Flagler** | **115,378** | |
| 5 | 115,378 | 100.00% |
| **Franklin** | **12,451** | |
| 2 | 12,451 | 100.00% |
| **Gadsden** | **43,826** | |
| 3 | 43,826 | 100.00% |
| **Gilchrist** | **17,864** | |
| 2 | 17,864 | 100.00% |
| **Glades** | **12,126** | |
| 18 | 12,126 | 100.00% |
| **Gulf** | **14,192** | |
| 2 | 14,192 | 100.00% |
| **Hamilton** | **14,004** | |
| 3 | 14,004 | 100.00% |
| **Hardee** | **25,327** | |
| 18 | 25,327 | 100.00% |
| **Hendry** | **39,619** | |
| 18 | 39,619 | 100.00% |
| **Hernando** | **194,515** | |
| 12 | 194,515 | 100.00% |

| | TOTAL POPULATION | % OF POPULATION |
|---|---|---|
| **Highlands** | **101,235** | |
| 18 | 101,235 | 100.00% |
| **Hillsborough** | **1,459,762** | |
| 14 | 769,221 | 52.69% |
| 15 | 533,643 | 36.56% |
| 16 | 44,175 | 3.03% |
| 17 | 112,723 | 7.72% |
| **Holmes** | **19,653** | |
| 2 | 19,653 | 100.00% |
| **Indian River** | **159,788** | |
| 8 | 159,788 | 100.00% |
| **Jackson** | **47,319** | |
| 2 | 47,319 | 100.00% |
| **Jefferson** | **14,510** | |
| 2 | 4,014 | 27.66% |
| 3 | 10,496 | 72.34% |
| **Lafayette** | **8,226** | |
| 2 | 8,226 | 100.00% |
| **Lake** | **383,956** | |
| 10 | 264,011 | 68.76% |
| 11 | 119,945 | 31.24% |
| **Lee** | **760,822** | |
| 18 | 153,229 | 20.14% |
| 19 | 607,593 | 79.86% |
| **Leon** | **292,198** | |
| 2 | 178,680 | 61.15% |
| 3 | 113,518 | 38.85% |
| **Levy** | **42,915** | |
| 2 | 42,915 | 100.00% |
| **Liberty** | **7,974** | |
| 2 | 7,974 | 100.00% |

# CONGRESSIONAL WORKSHOP OPTION B - H000C8003

## COUNTY SHARE OF POPULATION

| | TOTAL POPULATION | % OF POPULATION |
|---|---|---|
| **Madison** | **17,968** | |
| 3 | 17,968 | 100.00% |
| **Manatee** | **399,710** | |
| 17 | 399,710 | 100.00% |
| **Marion** | **375,908** | |
| 11 | 375,908 | 100.00% |
| **Martin** | **158,431** | |
| 21 | 158,431 | 100.00% |
| **Miami-Dade** | **2,701,767** | |
| 24 | 691,102 | 25.58% |
| 26 | 555,097 | 20.55% |
| 27 | 769,221 | 28.47% |
| 28 | 686,347 | 25.40% |
| **Monroe** | **82,874** | |
| 28 | 82,874 | 100.00% |
| **Nassau** | **90,352** | |
| 4 | 90,352 | 100.00% |
| **Okaloosa** | **211,668** | |
| 1 | 211,668 | 100.00% |
| **Okeechobee** | **39,644** | |
| 18 | 39,644 | 100.00% |
| **Orange** | **1,429,908** | |
| 7 | 769,221 | 53.80% |
| 9 | 380,565 | 26.61% |
| 10 | 280,122 | 19.59% |
| **Osceola** | **388,656** | |
| 9 | 388,656 | 100.00% |
| **Palm Beach** | **1,492,191** | |
| 20 | 233,899 | 15.67% |
| 21 | 281,564 | 18.87% |
| 22 | 769,220 | 51.55% |
| 23 | 207,508 | 13.91% |

| | TOTAL POPULATION | % OF POPULATION |
|---|---|---|
| **Pasco** | **561,891** | |
| 12 | 326,313 | 58.07% |
| 15 | 235,578 | 41.93% |
| **Pinellas** | **959,107** | |
| 12 | 189,886 | 19.80% |
| 13 | 769,221 | 80.20% |
| **Polk** | **725,046** | |
| 16 | 725,046 | 100.00% |
| **Putnam** | **73,321** | |
| 5 | 73,321 | 100.00% |
| **Santa Rosa** | **188,000** | |
| 1 | 188,000 | 100.00% |
| **Sarasota** | **434,006** | |
| 17 | 256,788 | 59.17% |
| 18 | 177,218 | 40.83% |
| **Seminole** | **470,856** | |
| 6 | 470,856 | 100.00% |
| **St. Johns** | **273,425** | |
| 4 | 213,055 | 77.92% |
| 5 | 60,370 | 22.08% |
| **St. Lucie** | **329,226** | |
| 21 | 329,226 | 100.00% |
| **Sumter** | **129,752** | |
| 10 | 129,752 | 100.00% |
| **Suwannee** | **43,474** | |
| 2 | 43,474 | 100.00% |
| **Taylor** | **21,796** | |
| 2 | 21,796 | 100.00% |
| **Union** | **16,147** | |
| 5 | 16,147 | 100.00% |

| | TOTAL POPULATION | % OF POPULATION |
|---|---|---|
| **Volusia** | **553,543** | |
| 5 | 52,299 | 9.45% |
| 6 | 298,365 | 53.90% |
| 8 | 2,821 | 0.51% |
| 11 | 200,058 | 36.14% |
| **Wakulla** | **33,764** | |
| 2 | 33,764 | 100.00% |
| **Walton** | **75,305** | |
| 1 | 47,648 | 63.27% |
| 2 | 27,657 | 36.73% |
| **Washington** | **25,318** | |
| 2 | 25,318 | 100.00% |

# CONGRESSIONAL WORKSHOP OPTION B - H000C8003

## City Split List

| | TOTAL POPULATION | % OF POPULATION |
|---|---|---|
| **Archer** | **1,140** | |
| 5 | 203 | 17.81% |
| 11 | 937 | 82.19% |
| **Belle Isle** | **7,032** | |
| 7 | 825 | 11.73% |
| 9 | 6,207 | 88.27% |
| **Cape Coral** | **194,016** | |
| 18 | 55,768 | 28.74% |
| 19 | 138,248 | 71.26% |
| **Cutler Bay** | **45,425** | |
| 27 | 5,748 | 12.65% |
| 28 | 39,677 | 87.35% |
| **Dania Beach** | **31,723** | |
| 23 | 8,368 | 26.38% |
| 25 | 23,355 | 73.62% |
| **Deerfield Beach** | **86,859** | |
| 20 | 27,968 | 32.20% |
| 23 | 58,891 | 67.80% |
| **Deltona** | **93,692** | |
| 6 | 27,297 | 29.13% |
| 11 | 66,395 | 70.87% |
| **Fort Lauderdale** | **182,760** | |
| 20 | 65,543 | 35.86% |
| 23 | 91,521 | 50.08% |
| 25 | 25,696 | 14.06% |
| **Gainesville** | **141,085** | |
| 5 | 88,691 | 62.86% |
| 11 | 52,394 | 37.14% |
| **Hallandale Beach** | **41,217** | |
| 23 | 24,134 | 58.55% |
| 25 | 17,083 | 41.45% |
| **Hawthorne** | **1,478** | |
| 5 | 639 | 43.23% |
| 11 | 839 | 56.77% |
| **Hollywood** | **153,067** | |
| 23 | 24,832 | 16.22% |
| 24 | 1,587 | 1.04% |
| 25 | 126,648 | 82.74% |
| **Jacksonville** | **949,611** | |
| 3 | 528,357 | 55.64% |
| 4 | 421,254 | 44.36% |
| **Lake City** | **12,329** | |
| 2 | 10,152 | 82.34% |
| 3 | 2,177 | 17.66% |
| **Loxahatchee Groves** | **3,355** | |
| 20 | 1,588 | 47.33% |
| 21 | 1,767 | 52.67% |
| **Miami** | **442,241** | |
| 24 | 91,639 | 20.72% |
| 26 | 61,268 | 13.85% |
| 27 | 289,334 | 65.42% |
| **Miami Gardens** | **111,640** | |
| 24 | 104,403 | 93.52% |
| 26 | 7,237 | 6.48% |
| **Miramar** | **134,721** | |
| 24 | 62,103 | 46.10% |
| 25 | 72,618 | 53.90% |
| **Oakland Park** | **44,229** | |
| 20 | 10,978 | 24.82% |
| 23 | 33,251 | 75.18% |
| **Ocoee** | **47,295** | |
| 7 | 43,211 | 91.36% |
| 10 | 4,084 | 8.64% |
| **Oldsmar** | **14,898** | |
| 12 | 14,887 | 99.93% |
| 13 | 11 | 0.07% |
| **Orlando** | **307,573** | |
| 7 | 229,508 | 74.62% |
| 9 | 72,563 | 23.59% |
| 10 | 5,502 | 1.79% |
| **Ormond Beach** | **43,080** | |
| 5 | 35,053 | 81.37% |
| 6 | 8,027 | 18.63% |
| **Pembroke Park** | **6,260** | |
| 24 | 4,259 | 68.04% |
| 25 | 2,001 | 31.96% |
| **Pembroke Pines** | **171,178** | |
| 24 | 453 | 0.26% |
| 25 | 170,725 | 99.74% |
| **Plant City** | **39,764** | |
| 14 | 16,618 | 41.79% |
| 15 | 18 | 0.05% |
| 16 | 23,128 | 58.16% |
| **Plantation** | **91,750** | |
| 20 | 8,589 | 9.36% |
| 25 | 83,161 | 90.64% |
| **Pompano Beach** | **112,046** | |
| 20 | 50,001 | 44.63% |
| 23 | 62,045 | 55.37% |
| **Riviera Beach** | **37,604** | |
| 20 | 29,347 | 78.04% |
| 21 | 8,257 | 21.96% |
| **Royal Palm Beach** | **38,932** | |
| 20 | 17,861 | 45.88% |
| 21 | 16,407 | 42.14% |
| 22 | 4,664 | 11.98% |
| **Sunrise** | **97,335** | |
| 20 | 79,731 | 81.91% |
| 25 | 17,604 | 18.09% |

# CONGRESSIONAL WORKSHOP OPTION B - H000C8003

## City Split List

| | TOTAL POPULATION | % OF POPULATION |
|---|---|---|
| **Sweetwater** | **19,363** | |
| 26 | 167 | 0.86% |
| 27 | 19,196 | 99.14% |
| | | |
| **Tallahassee** | **196,169** | |
| 2 | 104,000 | 53.02% |
| 3 | 92,169 | 46.98% |
| | | |
| **Tamarac** | **71,897** | |
| 20 | 71,388 | 99.29% |
| 23 | 509 | 0.71% |
| | | |
| **Tampa** | **384,959** | |
| 14 | 280,178 | 72.78% |
| 15 | 104,781 | 27.22% |
| | | |
| **Tavares** | **19,003** | |
| 10 | 8,731 | 45.95% |
| 11 | 10,272 | 54.05% |
| | | |
| **Temple Terrace** | **26,690** | |
| 14 | 7,280 | 27.28% |
| 15 | 19,410 | 72.72% |
| | | |
| **West Palm Beach** | **117,415** | |
| 20 | 71,064 | 60.52% |
| 21 | 15,456 | 13.16% |
| 22 | 30,895 | 26.31% |
| | | |
| **West Park** | **15,130** | |
| 24 | 9,717 | 64.22% |
| 25 | 5,413 | 35.78% |
| | | |
| **Windermere** | **3,030** | |
| 7 | 1,628 | 53.73% |
| 10 | 1,402 | 46.27% |

# Exhibit K

# Redistricting Committee

## Thursday, January 13, 2022
## 11:30 AM – 1:30 PM
## 404 HOB

## Meeting Packet

Chris Sprowls
Speaker

Thomas J. Leek
Chair

# Committee Meeting Notice

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

### Redistricting Committee

**Start Date and Time:** Thursday, January 13, 2022 11:30 am

**End Date and Time:** Thursday, January 13, 2022 01:30 pm

**Location:** Sumner Hall (404 HOB)

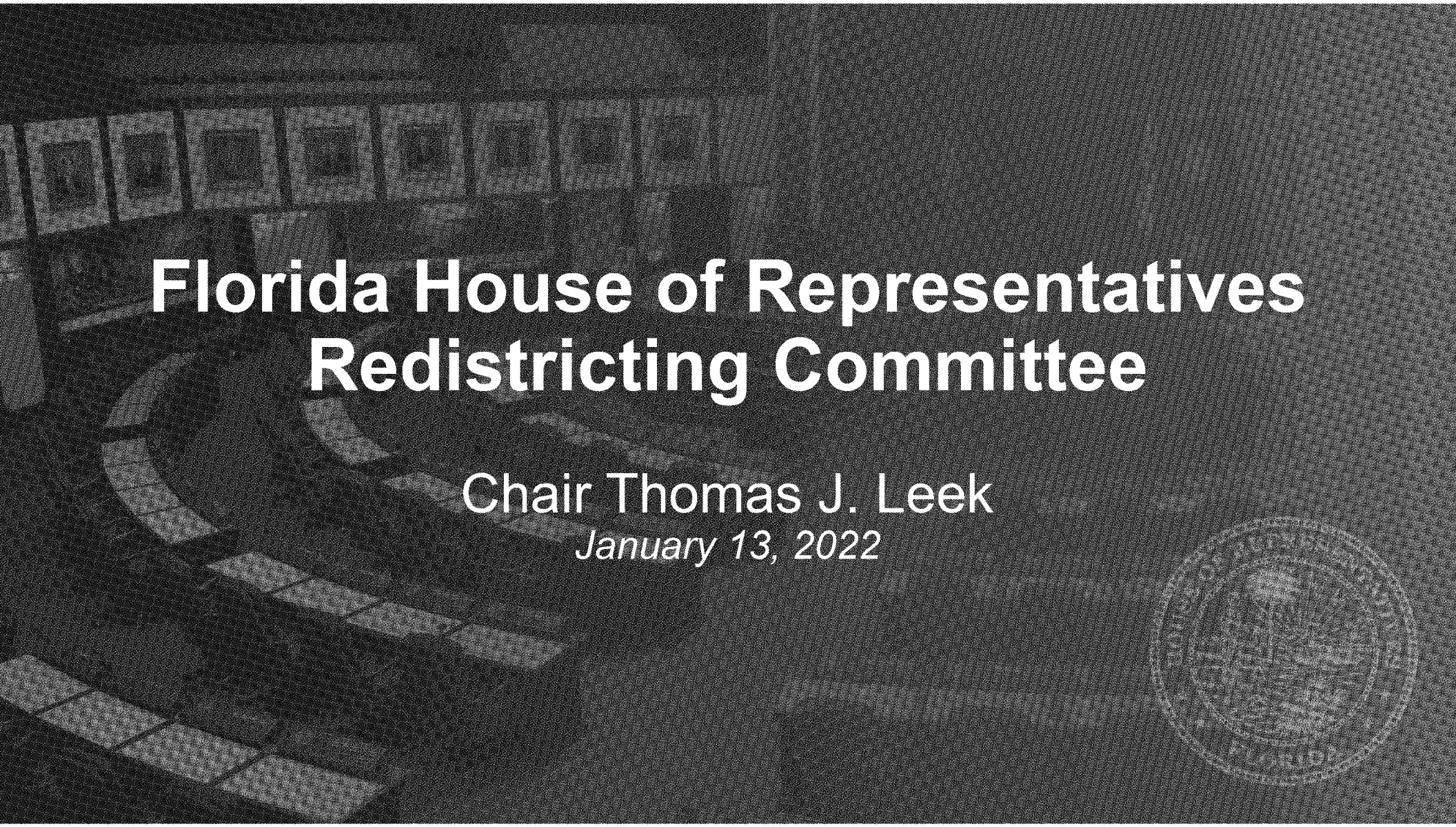
**Duration:** 2.00 hrs

**Workshop on the following:**

Redistricting Plans

For information about attending or testifying at a committee meeting, please see the "Visiting the House" tab at www.myfloridahouse.gov.

**NOTICE FINALIZED on 01/11/2022 3:06PM by Ellerkamp.Donna**



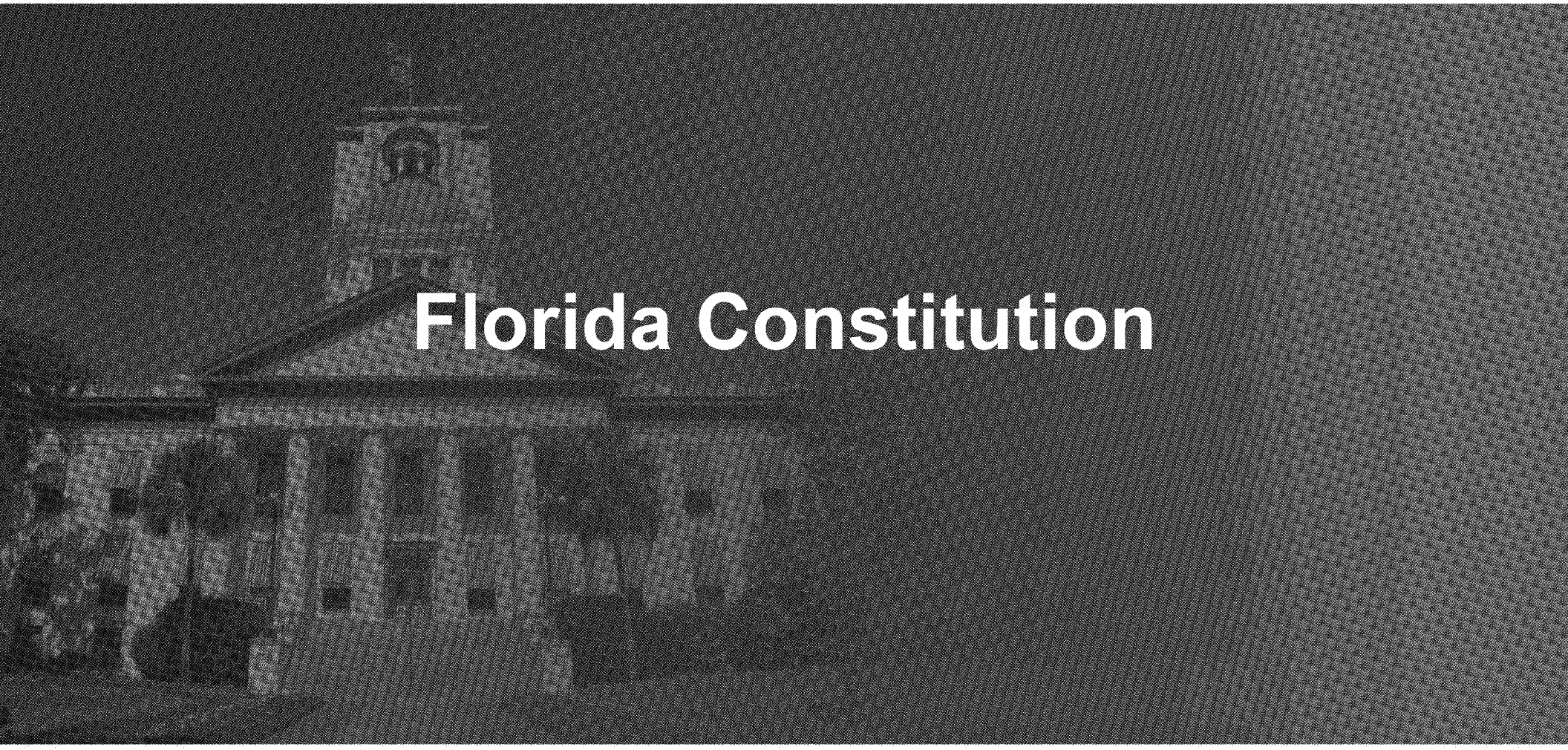
# Florida House of Representatives Redistricting Committee

Chair Thomas J. Leek

*January 13, 2022*

# Agenda

1. Constitutional Standards Review
2. Congressional Map Workshop
3. State House Map Workshop
4. Public Input



# Florida Constitution

# Florida Constitution

- **Art. III, Section 16 of Florida Constitution**
  - Directs the Legislature at its Regular Session in the second year following each decennial census (2022) to conduct redistricting of state legislative boundaries.
  - 30-40 senatorial districts
  - 80-120 representative districts
  - Districts shall be contiguous and consecutively numbered
  - Provides directives and timelines for establishing new districts

# Florida Constitution

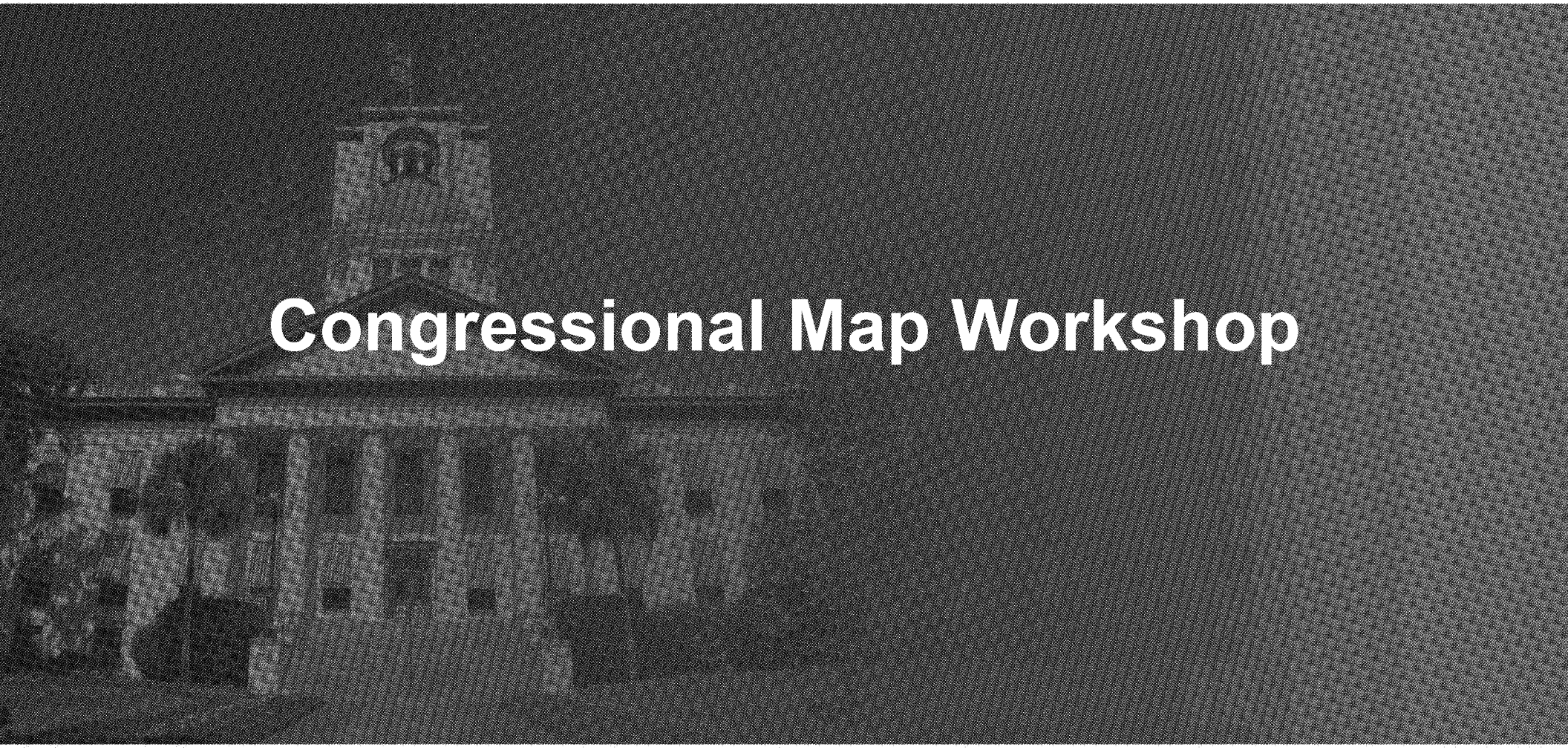
## Article III, Sections 20 & 21

### Tier 1 Standards

- No apportionment plan or individual district shall be drawn with the intent to favor or disfavor a political party or an incumbent
- Districts shall not be drawn with the intent or result of denying or abridging the equal opportunity of racial or language minorities to participate in the political process or to diminish their ability to elect representatives of their choice
- Districts shall consist of contiguous territory

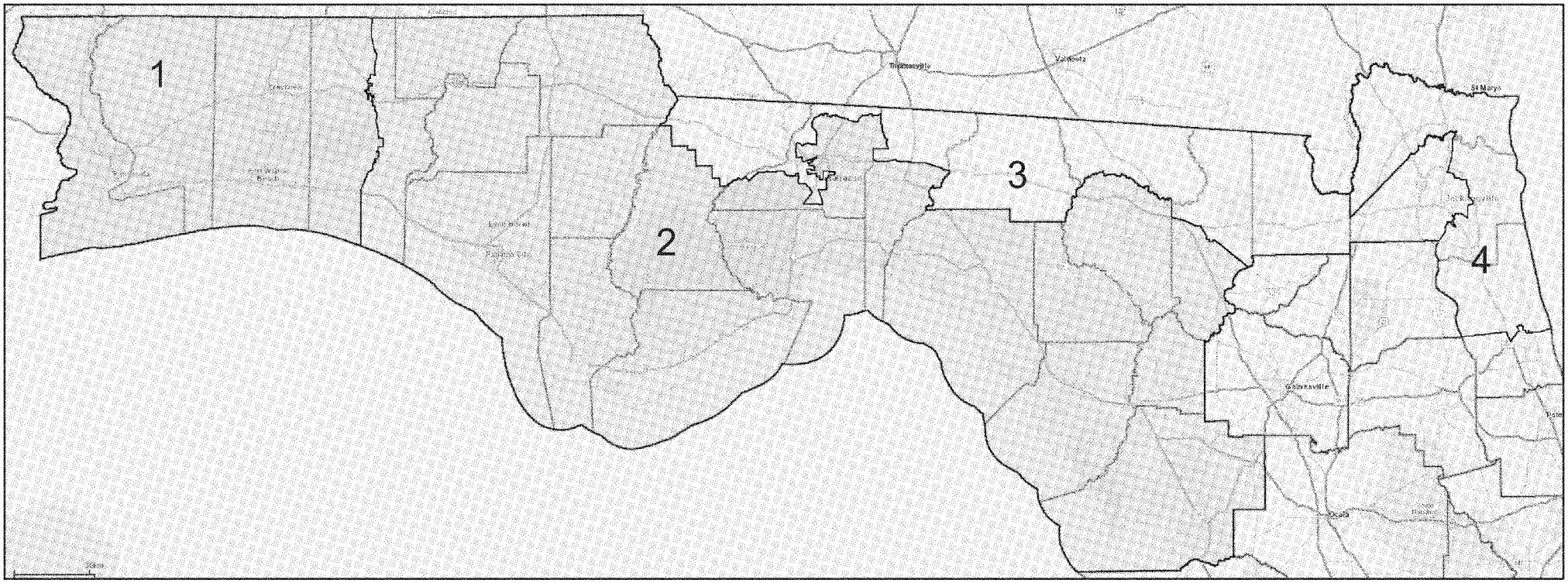
### Tier 2 Standards

- Districts shall be as nearly equal in population as is practicable
- Districts shall be compact
- Districts shall, where feasible, utilize existing political and geographical boundaries


Congressional Map Workshop

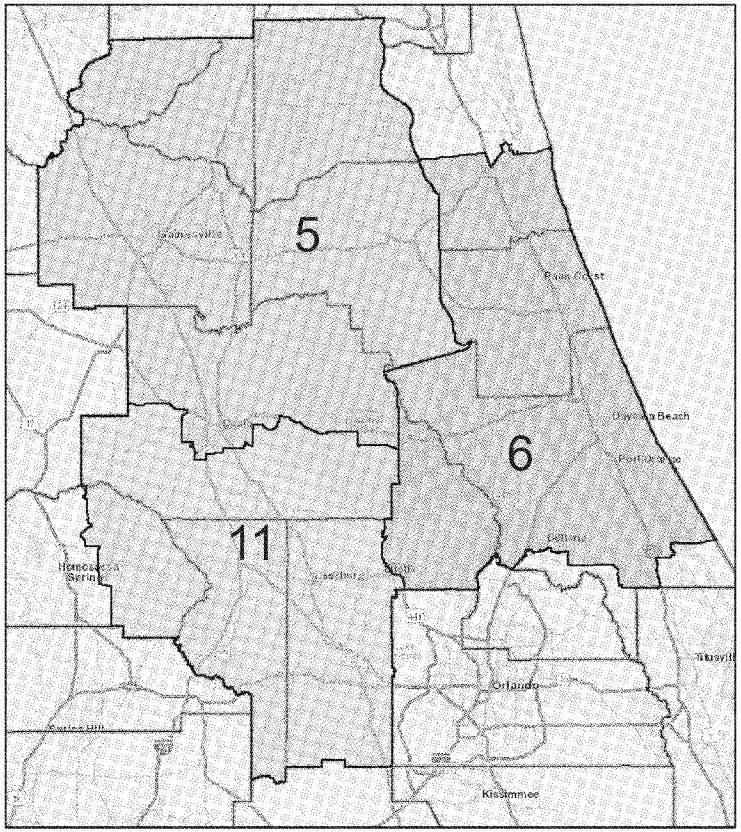
# Districts 1, 2, 3 and 4

Workshop A and B are the Same

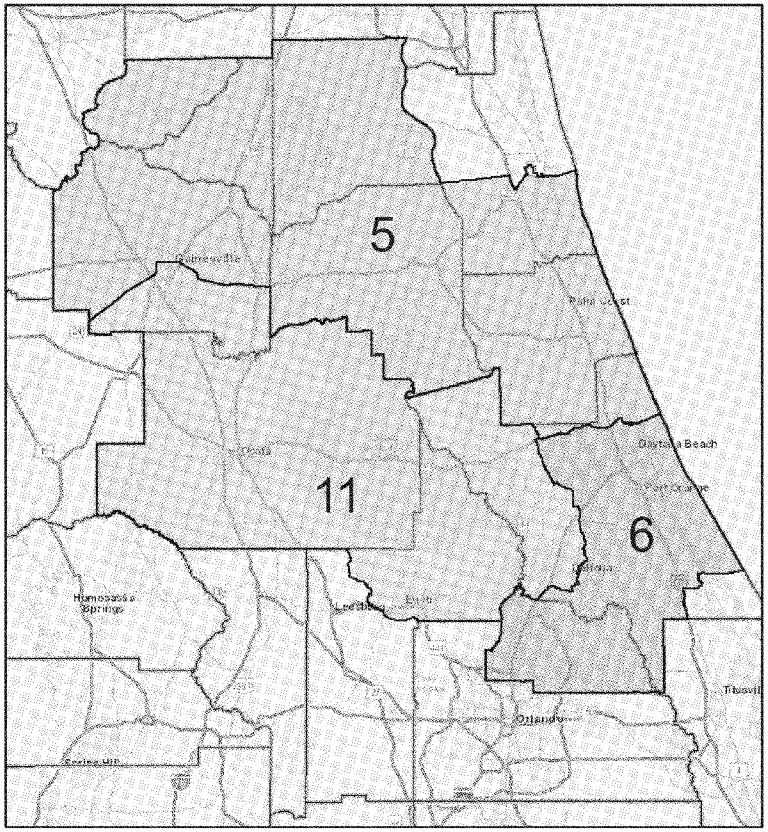


# Districts 5, 6 and 11

Workshop A

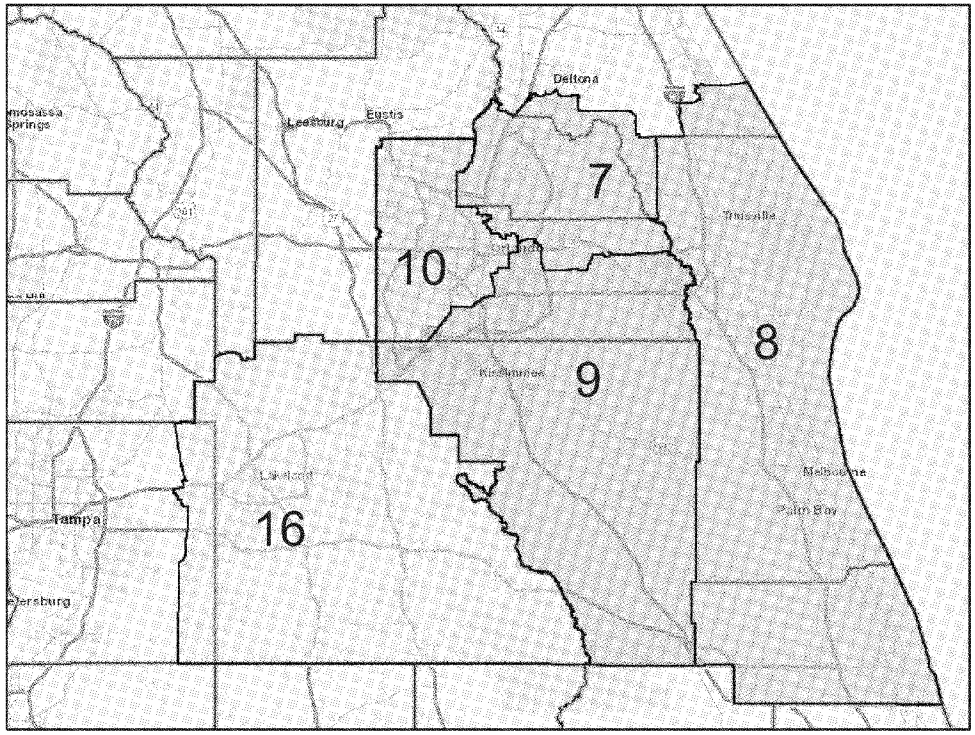



Workshop B

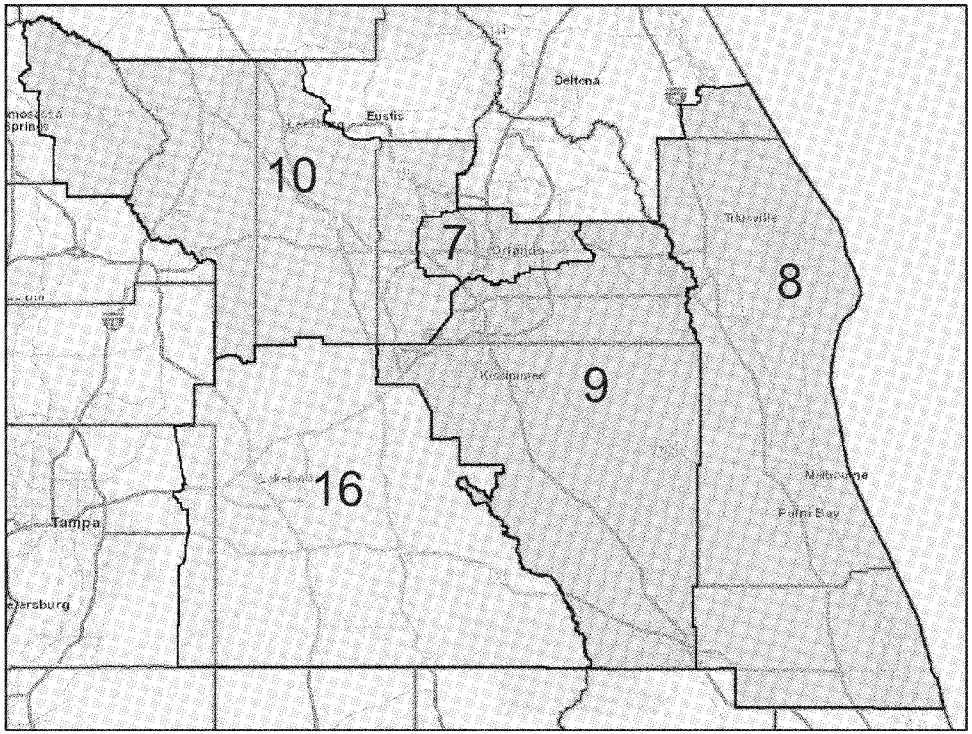


# Districts 7, 8, 9, 10 and 16

Workshop A

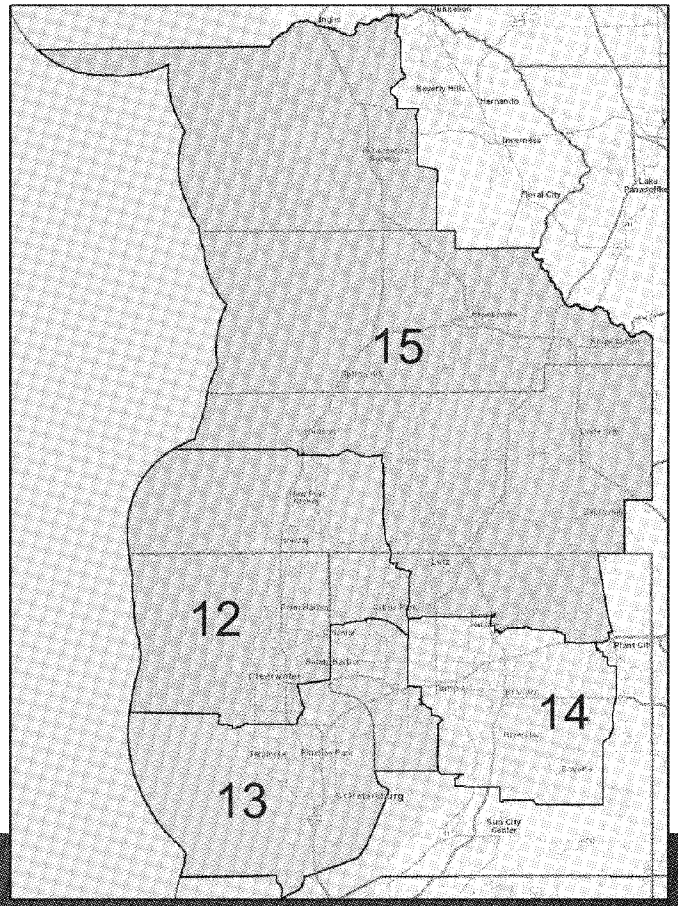



Workshop B

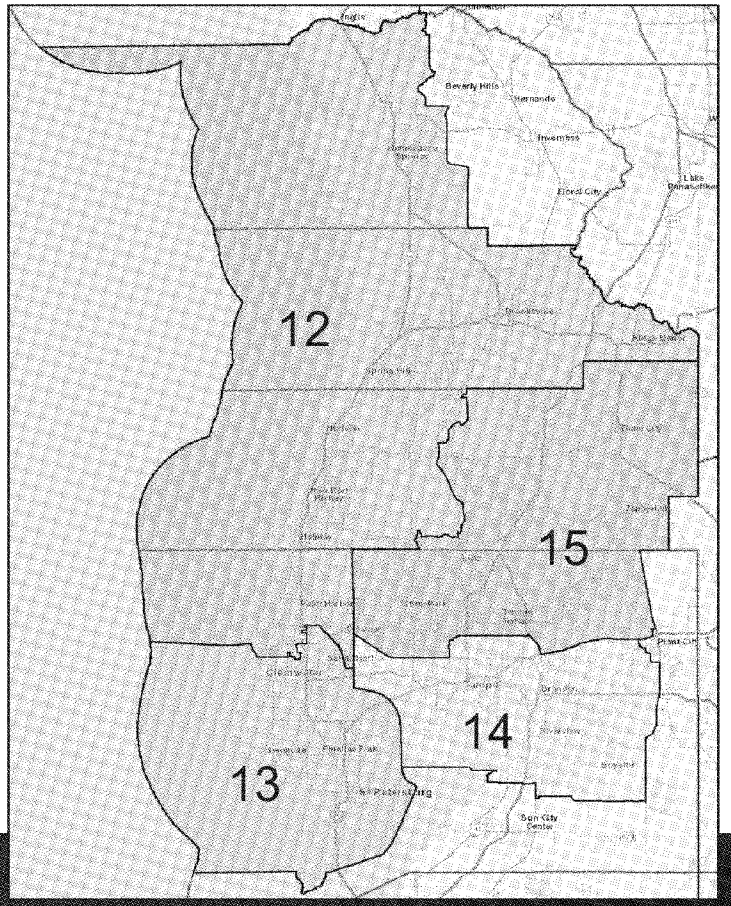


# Districts 12, 13, 14 and 15

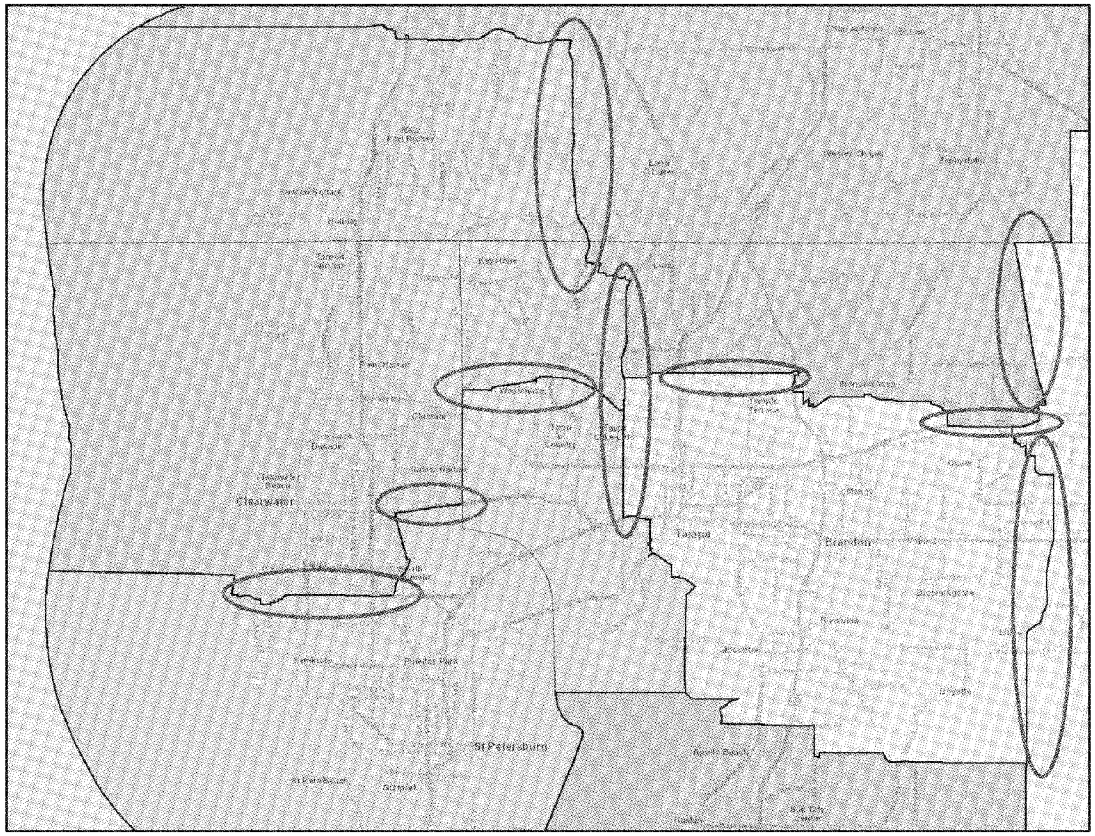
Workshop A




Workshop B



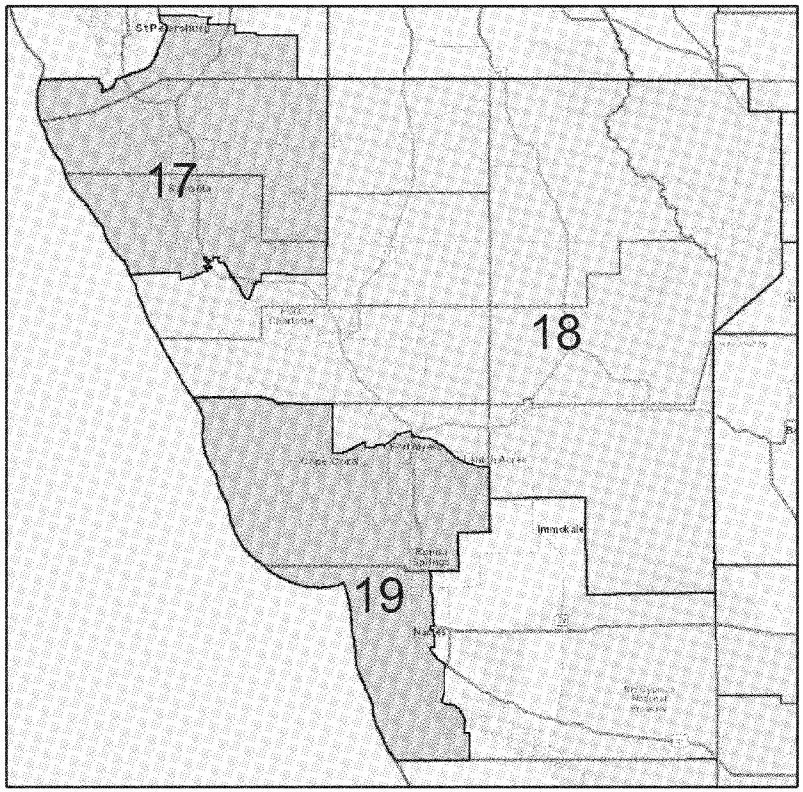
# Using Roadways



# Keeping a City Whole

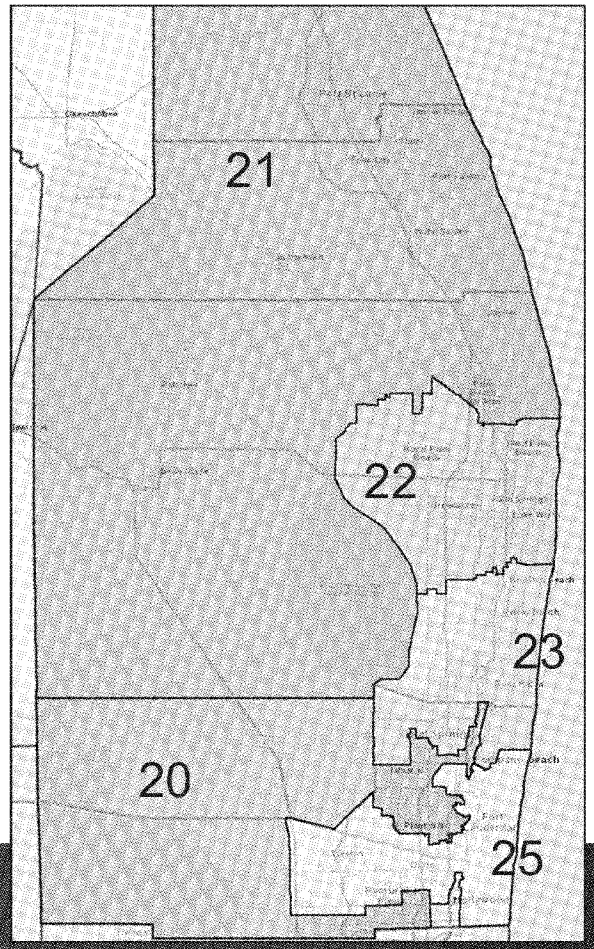
# Districts 17, 18 and 19

Workshop A and B are the Same

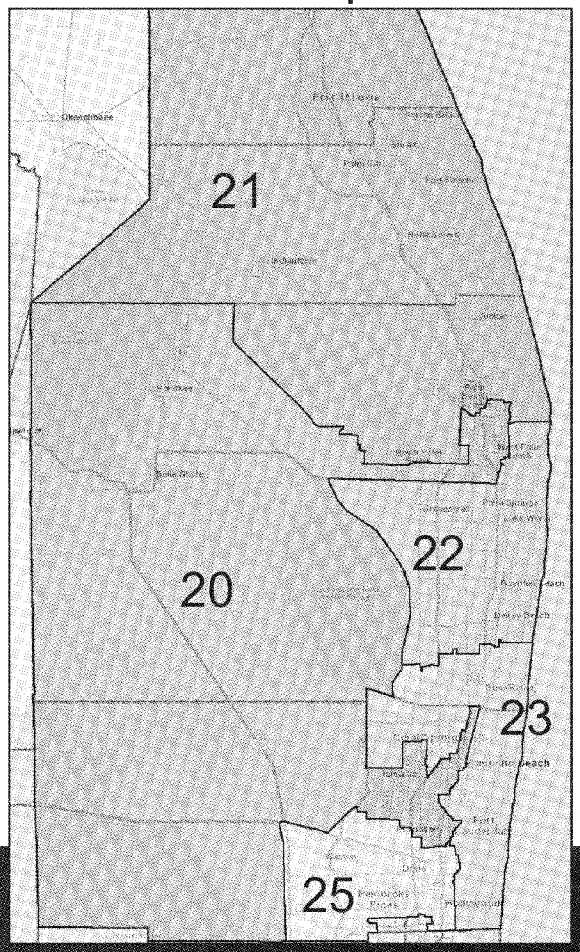


# Districts 20, 21, 22, 23 and 25

Workshop A




Workshop B

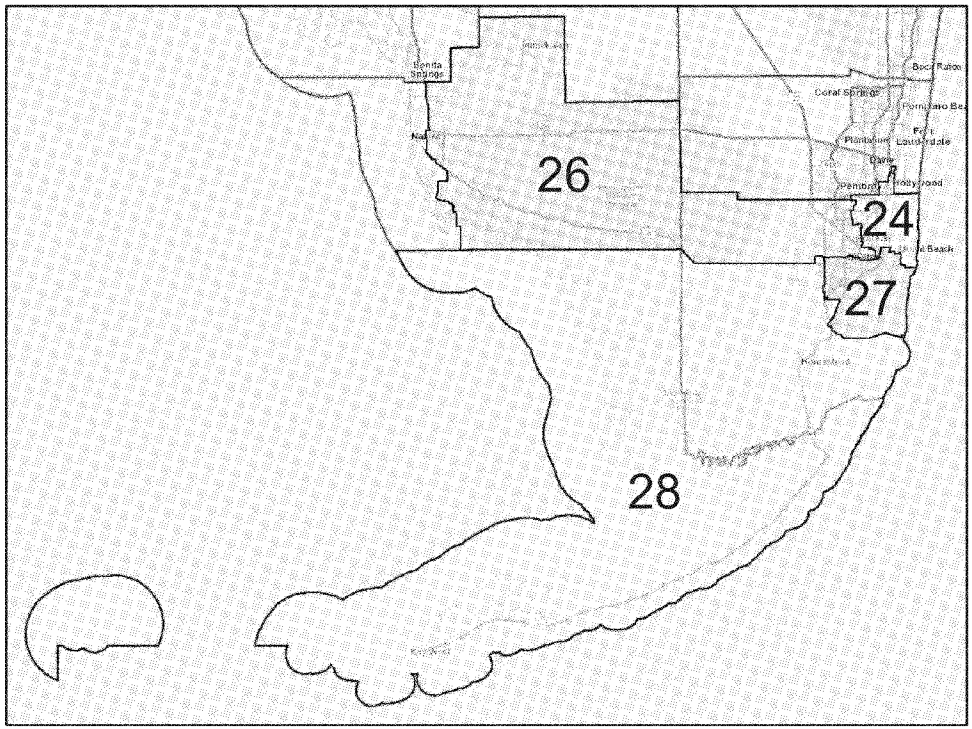


# Compactness

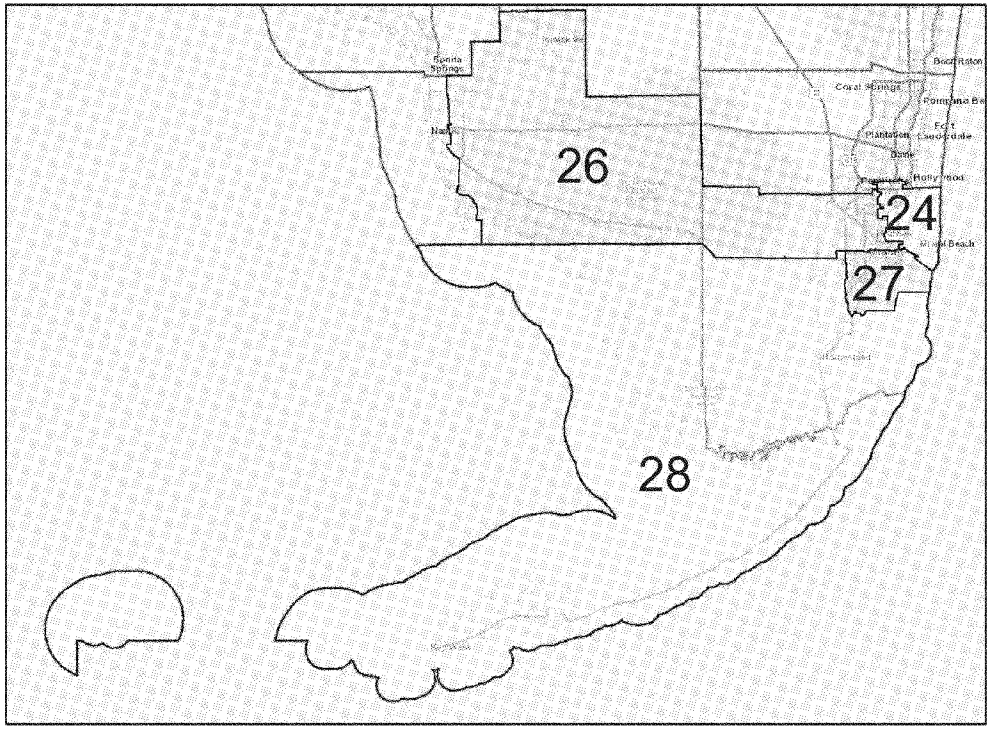
| Option A | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| District | Reock | Convex-Hull | Polsby-Popper |
| 20 | 0.41 | 0.79 | 0.22 |
| **Option B** | | | |
| District | Reock | Convex-Hull | Polsby-Popper |
| 20 | 0.50 | 0.77 | 0.28 |

# Districts 24, 26, 27 and 28

Workshop A



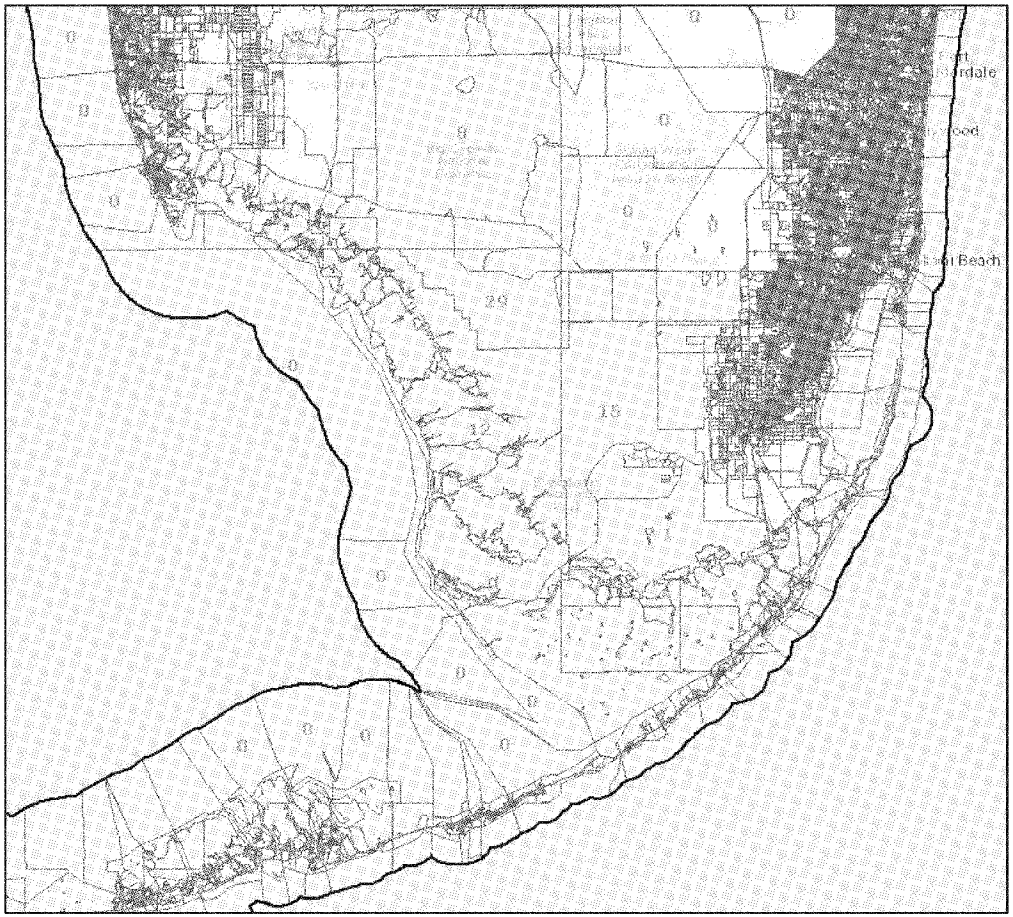

Workshop B



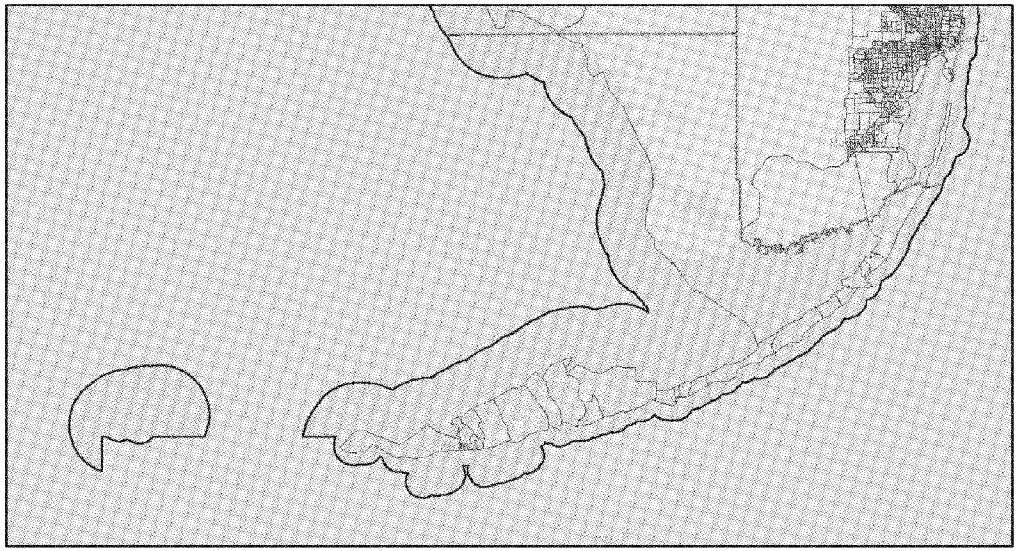
# Florida Everglades

The Everglades is a large area of geography we must consider when drawing district boundaries.

Additionally, the Everglades has minimal population throughout its respective blocks.



# Non-Contiguous Territory

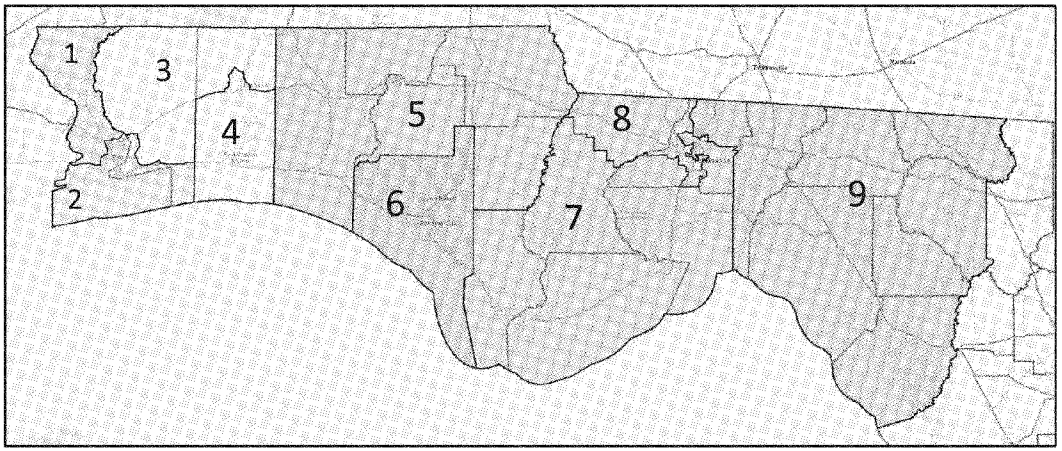


Florida is one of six states that has valid non-contiguous territory – The Dry Tortugas.

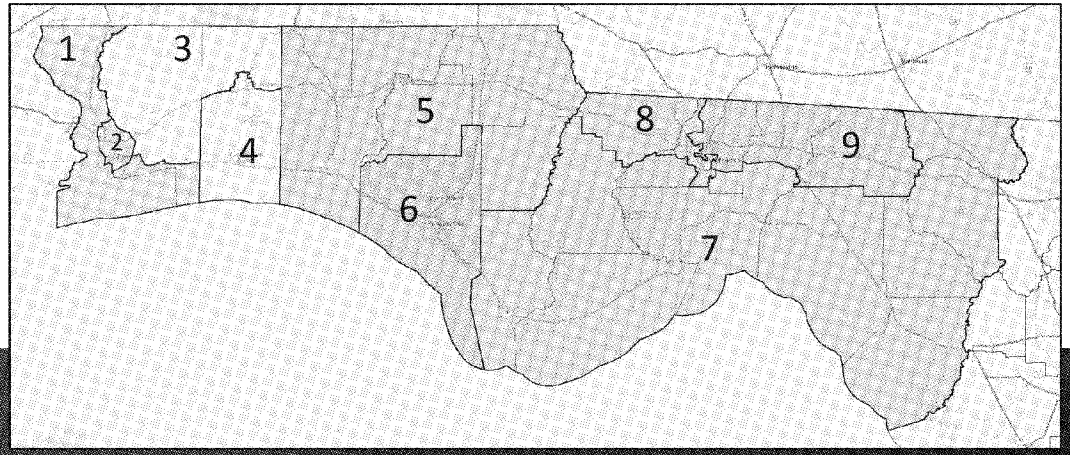
# State House Map Workshop

# Districts 1-9

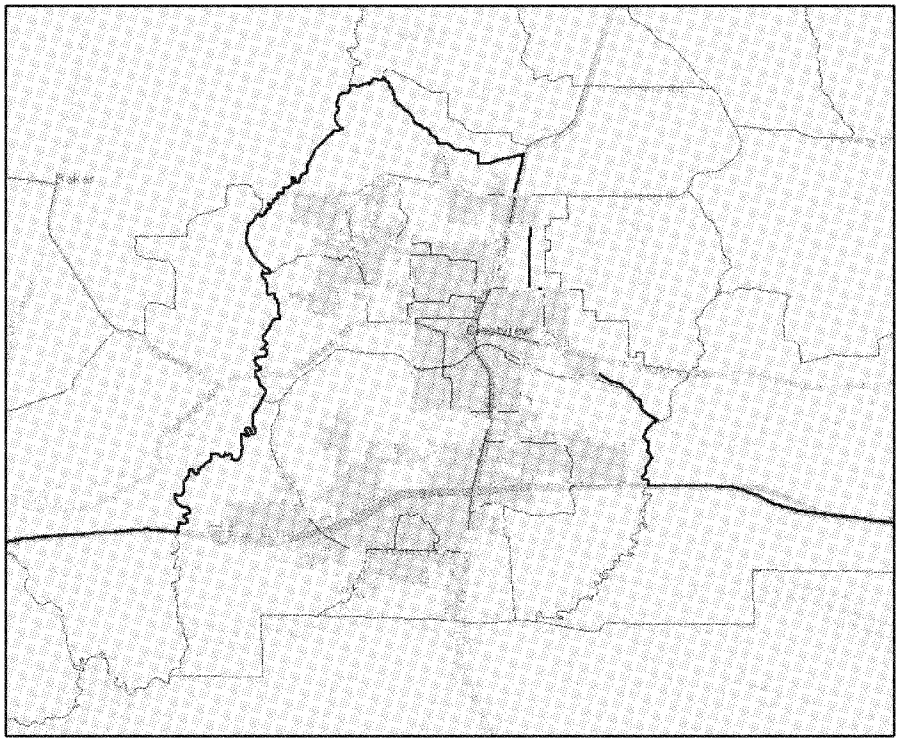
## Workshop A




## Workshop B

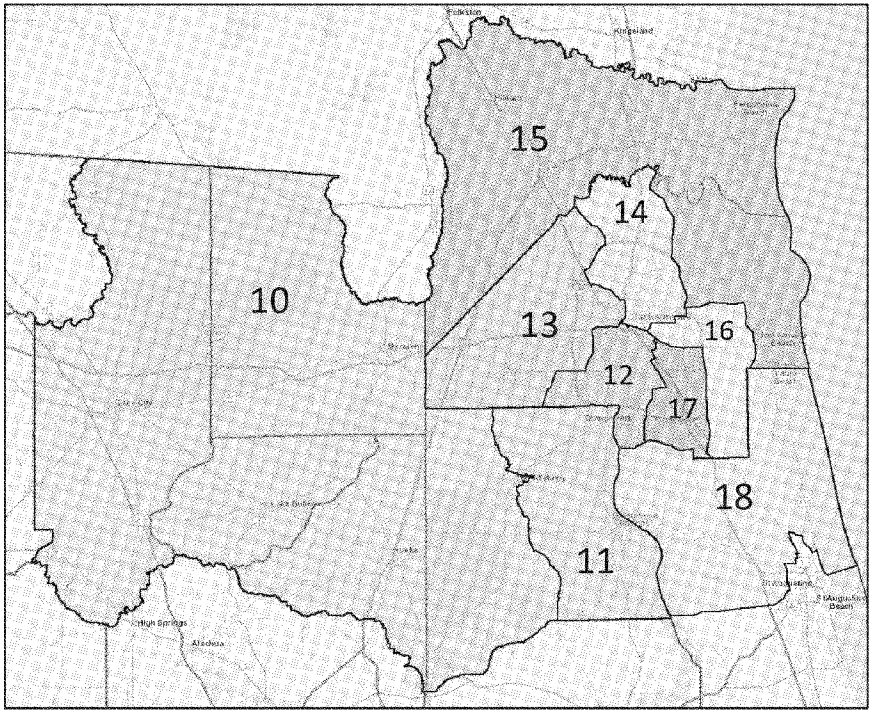


# Keeping a City Whole

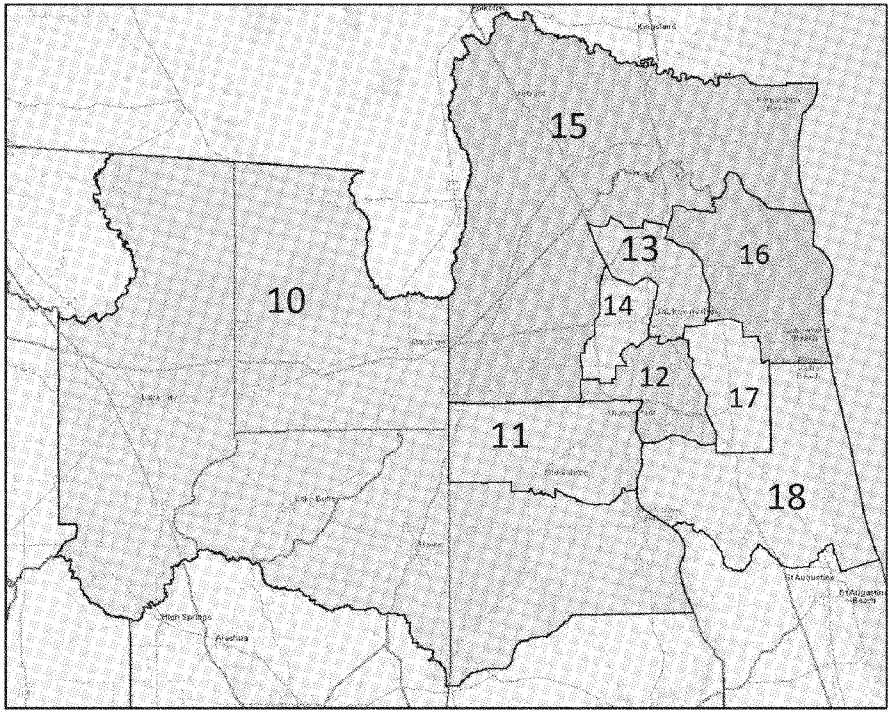


# Districts 10-18

## Workshop A

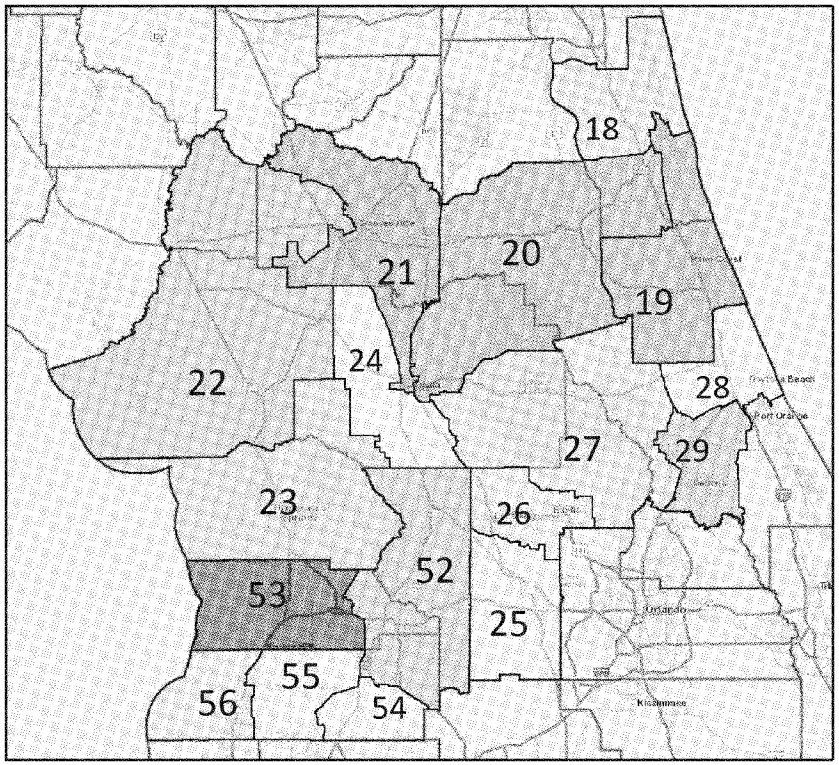



## Workshop B

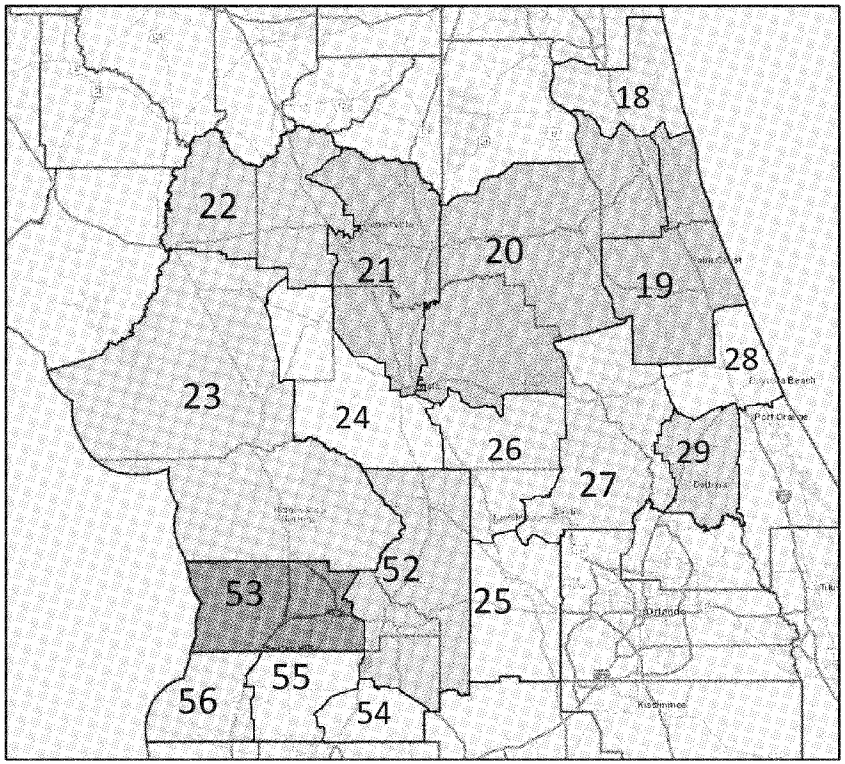


# Districts 18-29 and 52-56

## Workshop A



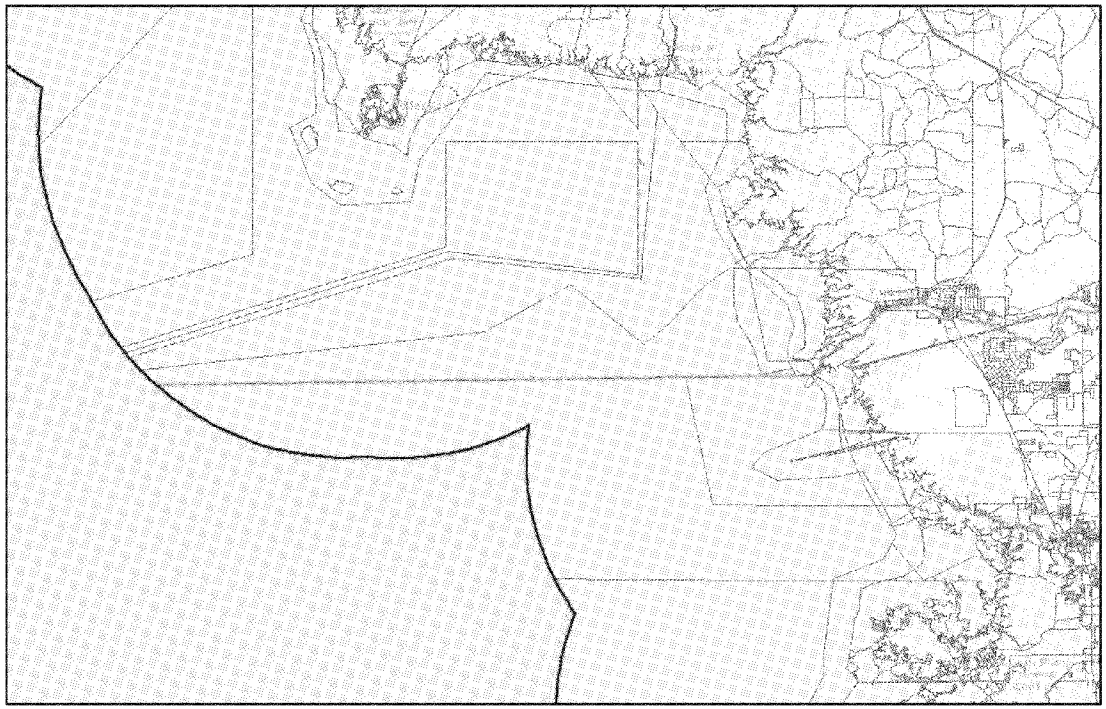

## Workshop B



# Water Blocks

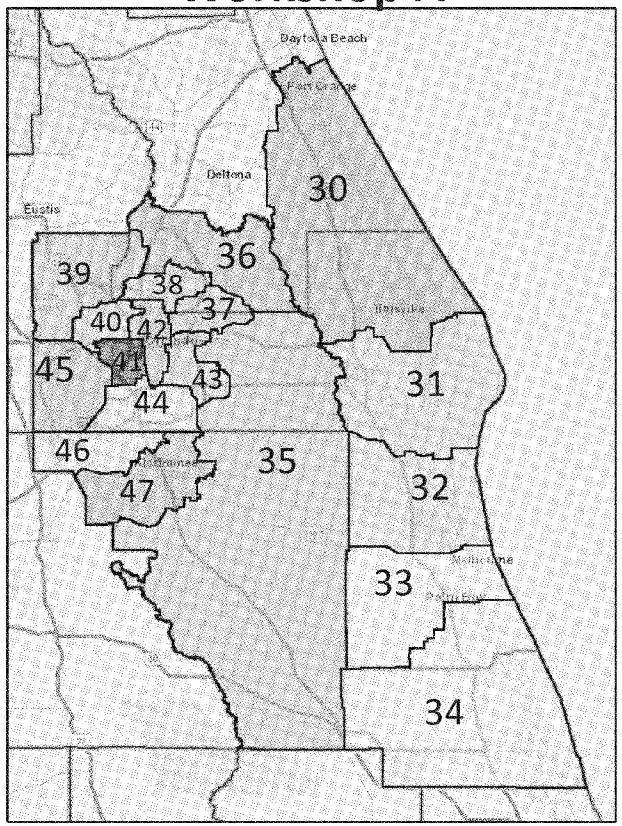
Florida's coastline is made up of vast numbers of census "water blocks" that range in various sizes and shapes.

They can create large "flags" or indentations on districts that can affect a district's compactness.

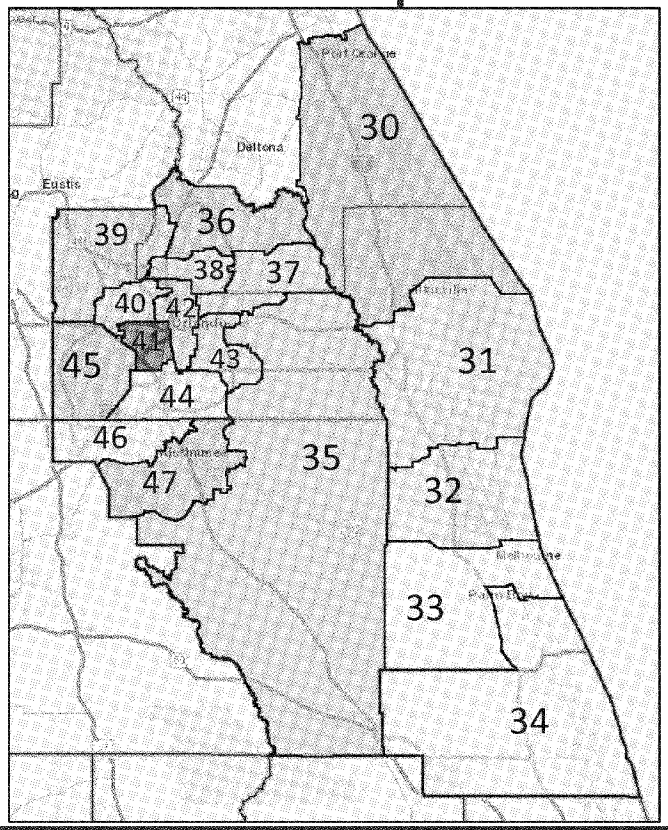


# Districts 30-47

## Workshop A

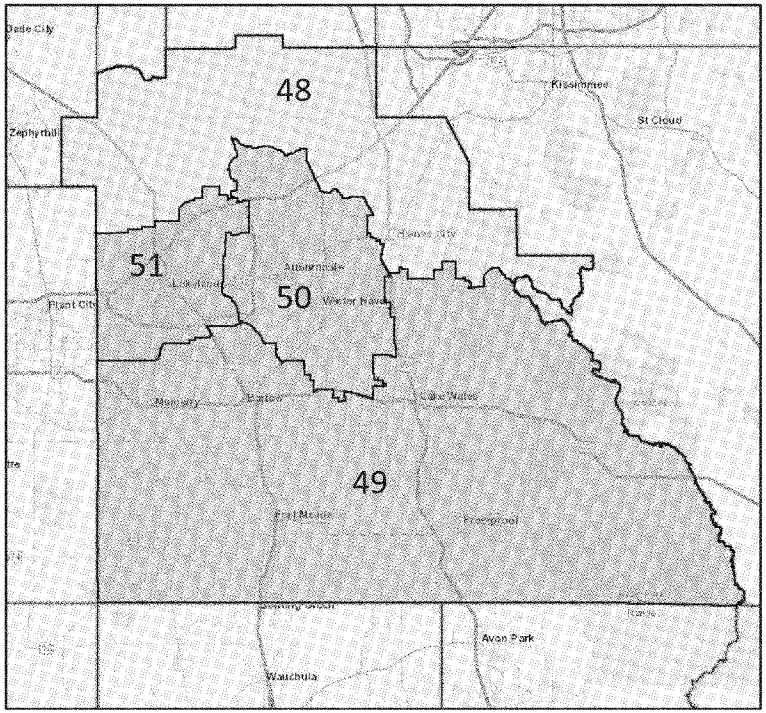



## Workshop B

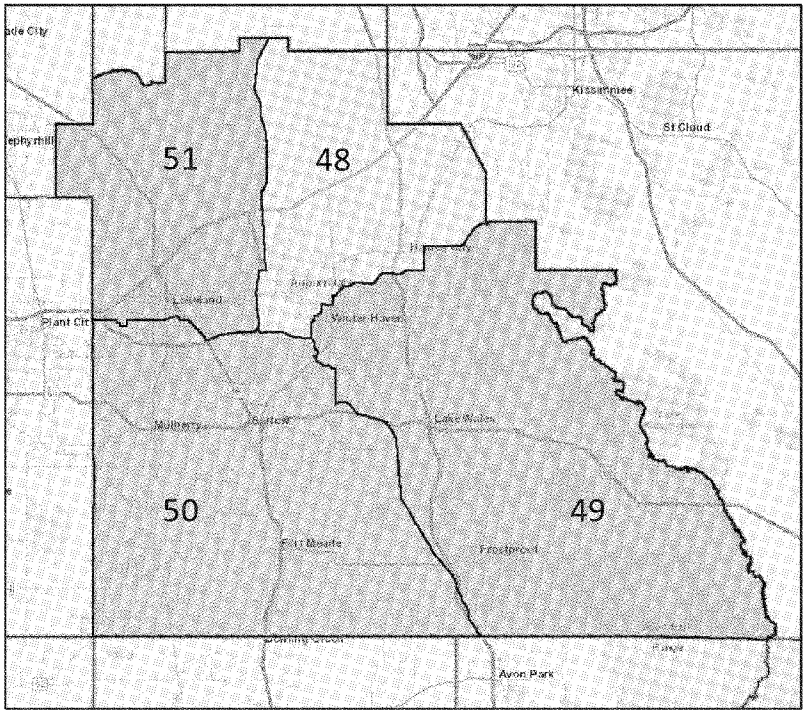


# Districts 48-51

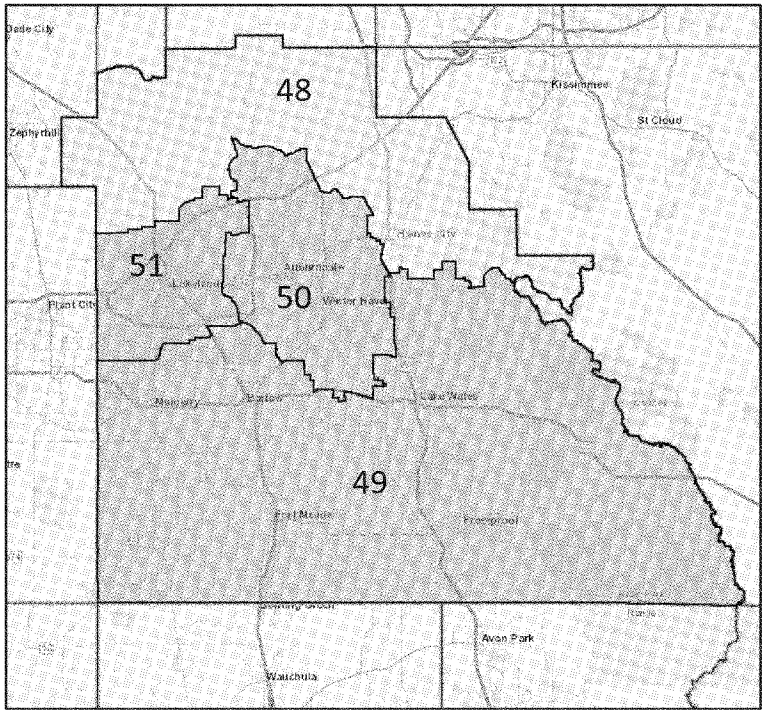
## Workshop A

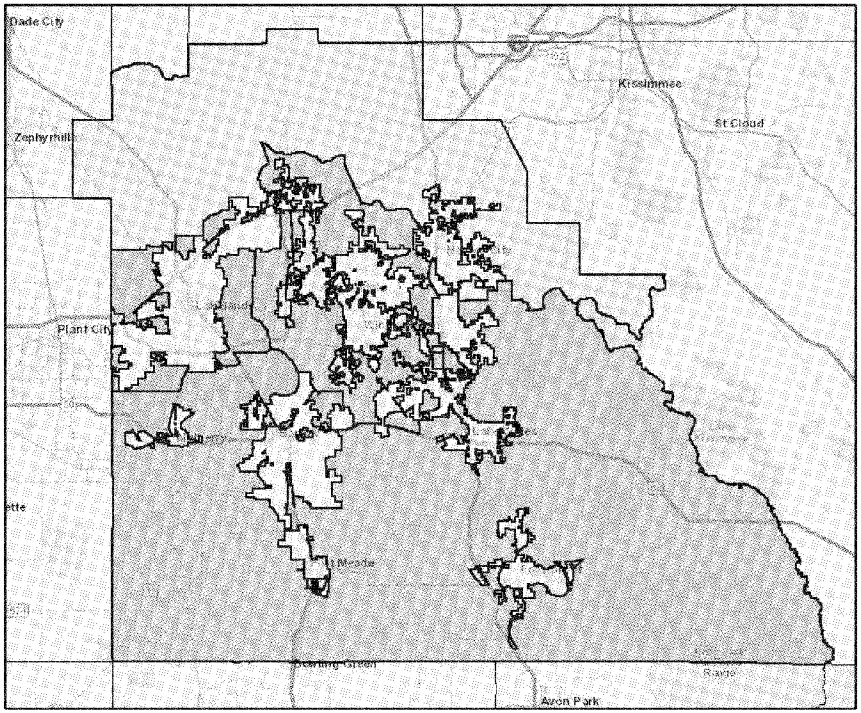



## Workshop B

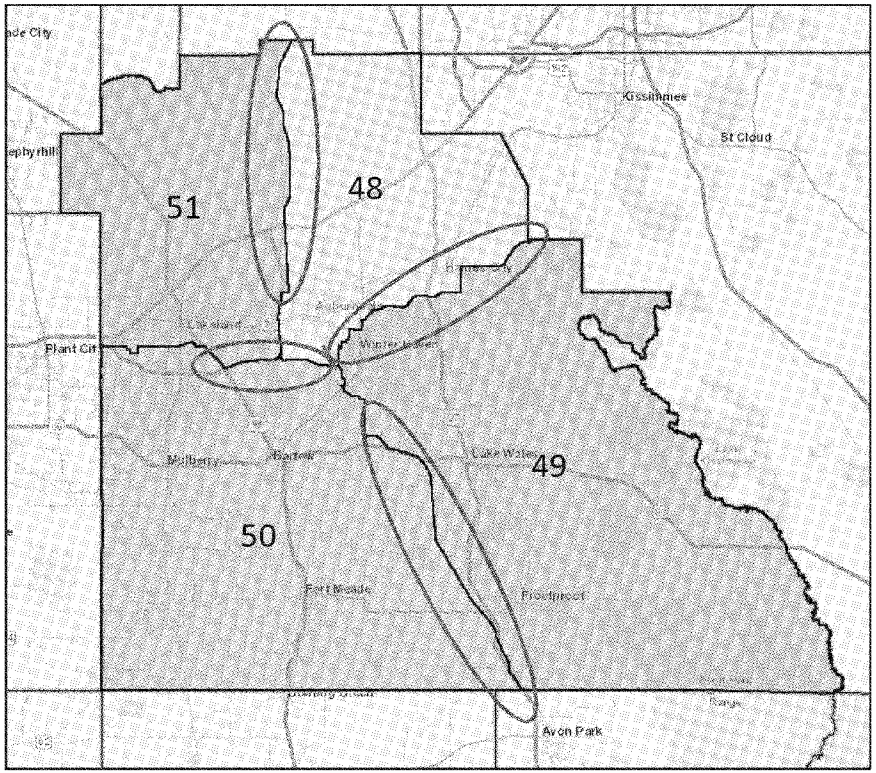


# Keeping Cities Whole



# Using Roadways and Railways



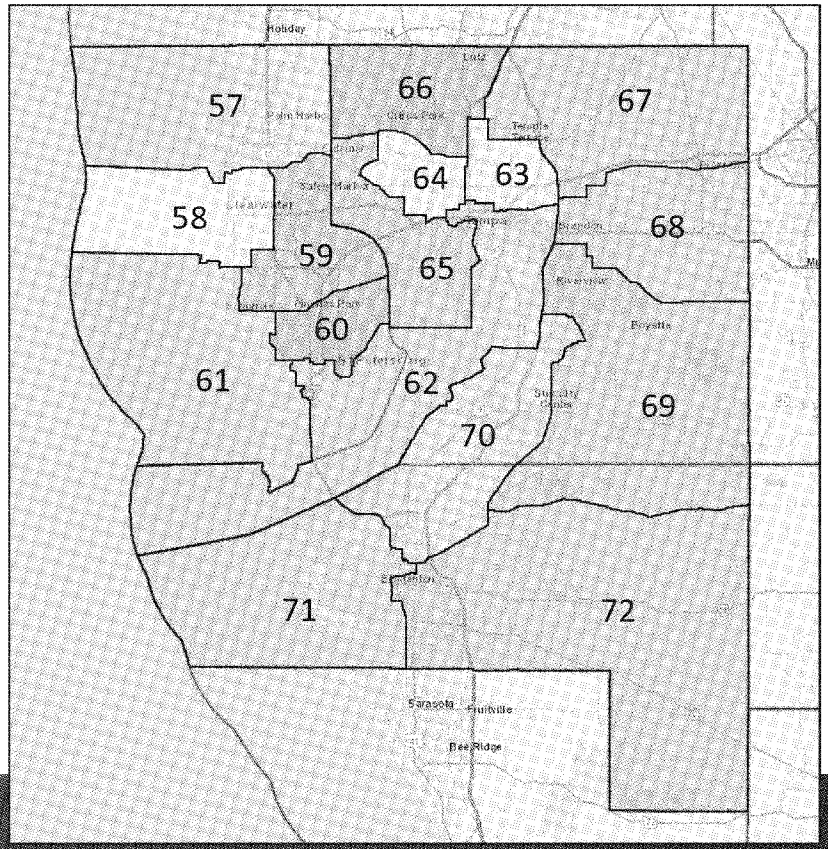
# Compactness Scores

| Option A | | | | Option B | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| District | Reock | Convex-Hull | Polsby-Popper | District | Reock | Convex-Hull | Polsby-Popper |
| **48** | 0.26 | 0.65 | 0.20 | **48** | 0.54 | 0.85 | 0.54 |
| **49** | 0.42 | 0.90 | 0.36 | **49** | 0.44 | 0.86 | 0.35 |
| **50** | 0.43 | 0.86 | 0.38 | **50** | 0.48 | 0.96 | 0.66 |
| **51** | 0.48 | 0.84 | 0.48 | **51** | 0.55 | 0.87 | 0.54 |
| **AVG** | **0.40** | **0.81** | **0.36** | **AVG** | **0.50** | **0.89** | **0.52** |

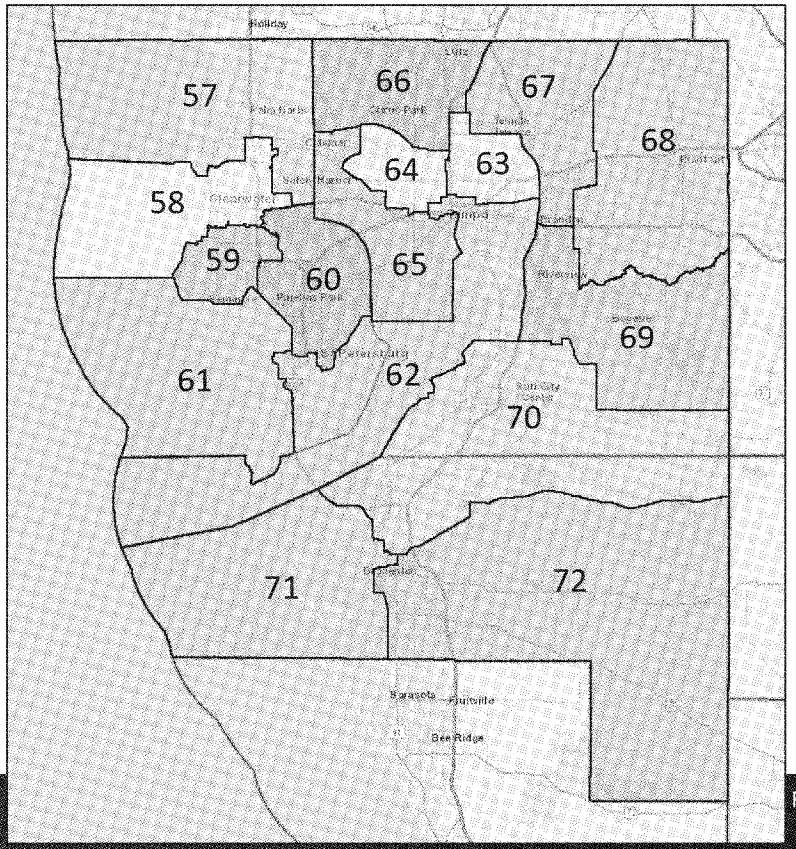
*Source: https://fisherzachary.github.io/public/r-output.html*

# Districts 57-72

## Workshop A

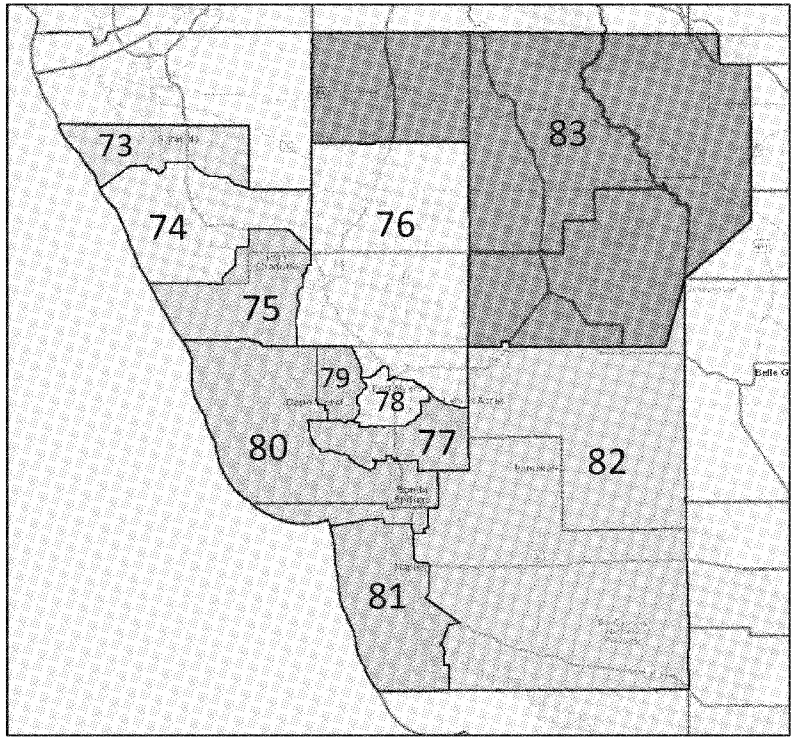



## Workshop B

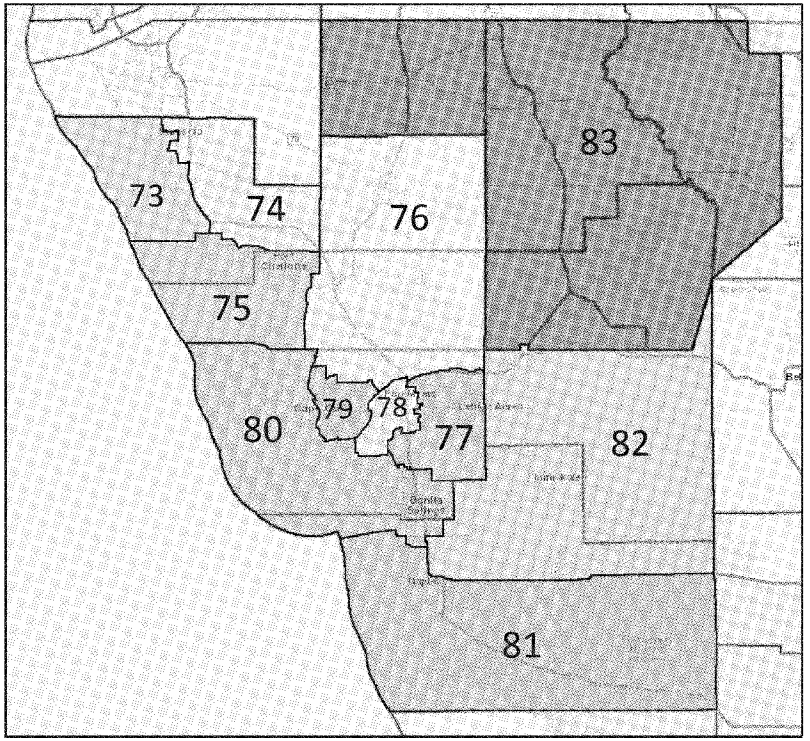


# Districts 73-83

## Workshop A



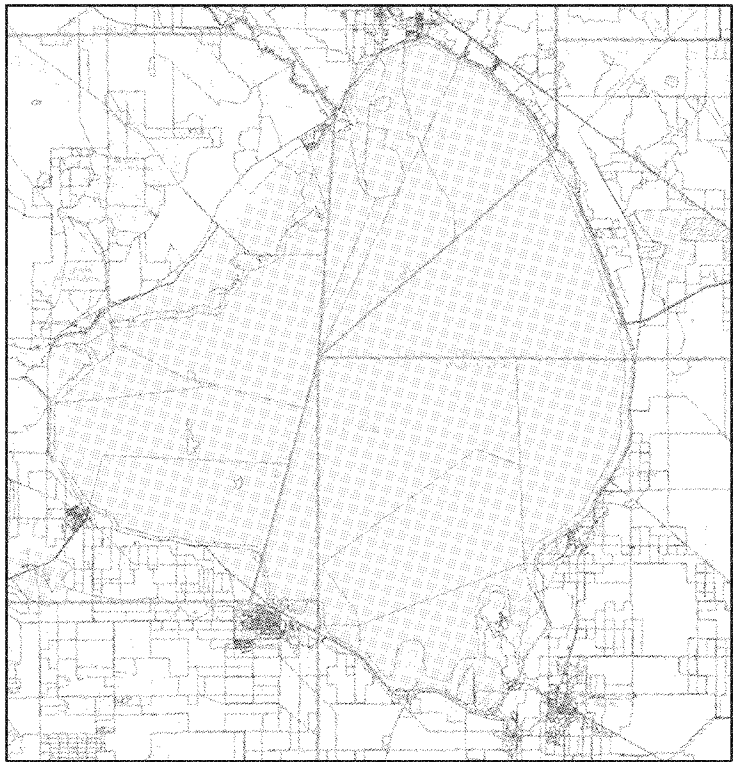

## Workshop B



# Lake Okeechobee

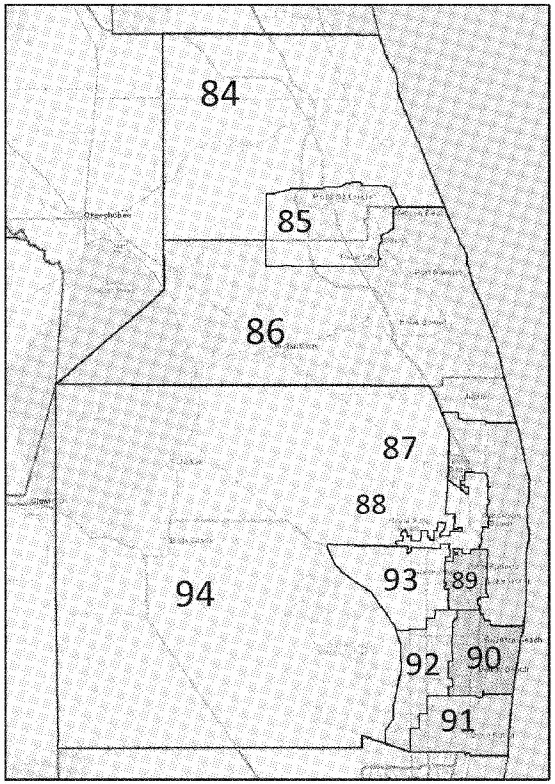
Lake Okeechobee is another significant geographical feature of our state that must be addressed when drawing.

Geographically, the lake is made of a multitude of oddly shaped water blocks.

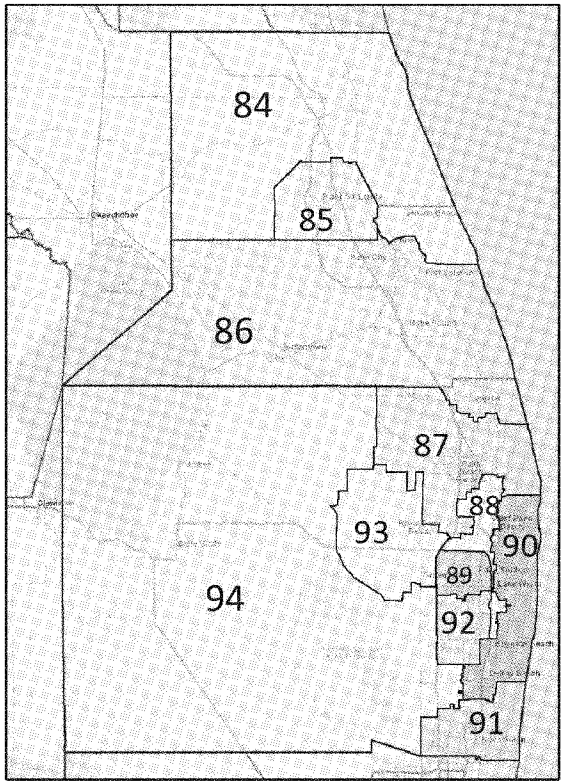


# Districts 84-94

## Workshop A

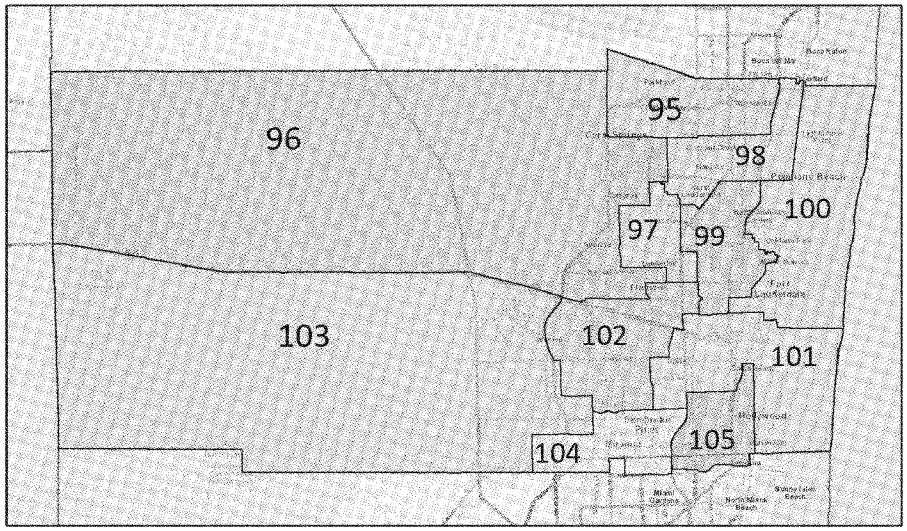



## Workshop B

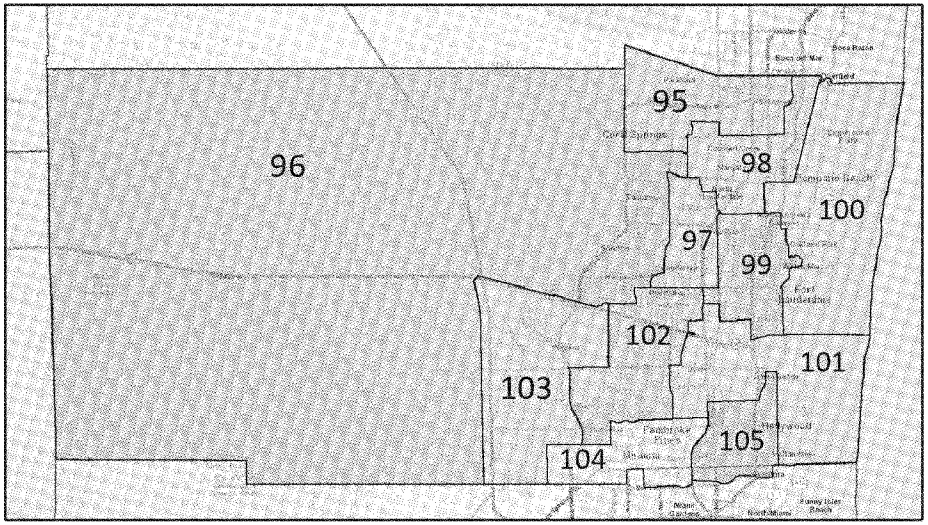


# Districts 95-105

## Workshop A



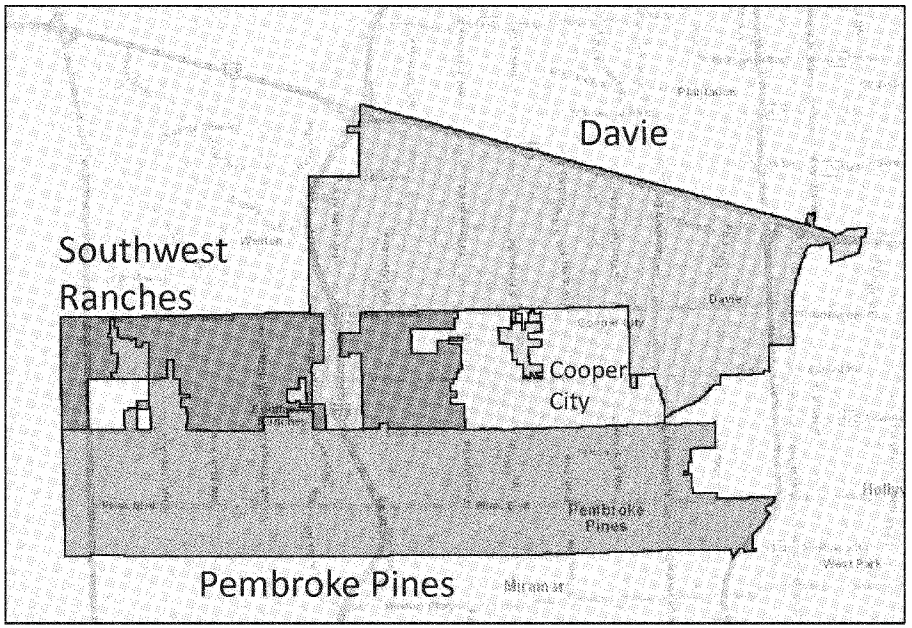

## Workshop B



# Incorporated Municipalities

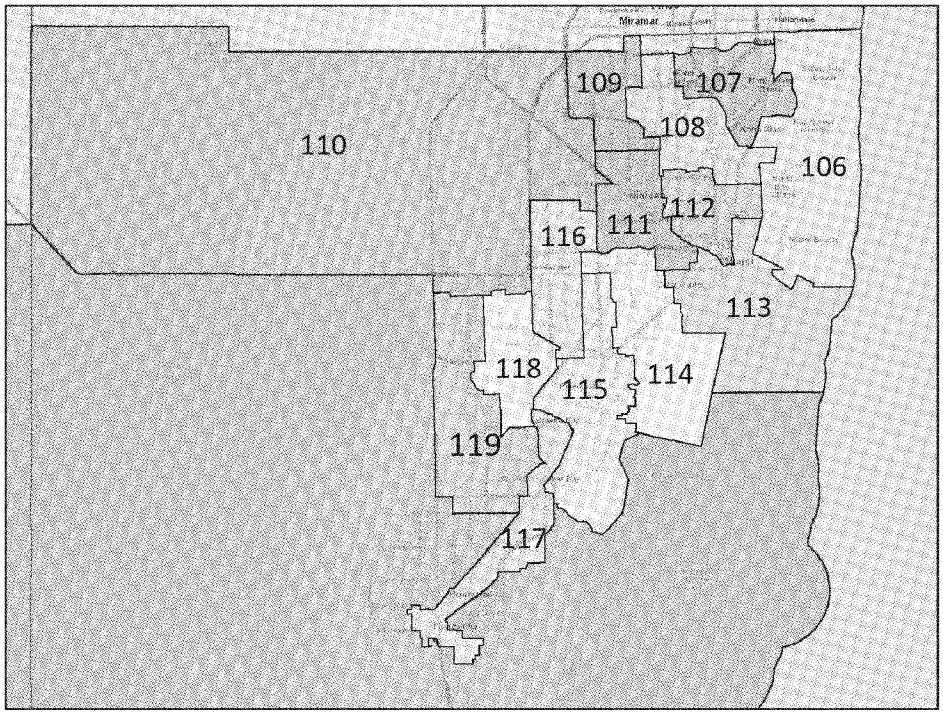
Incorporated municipalities are a good option when considering using political boundaries.

However, not all city lines are contiguous, some have "holes" and others are even interlocked with each other.

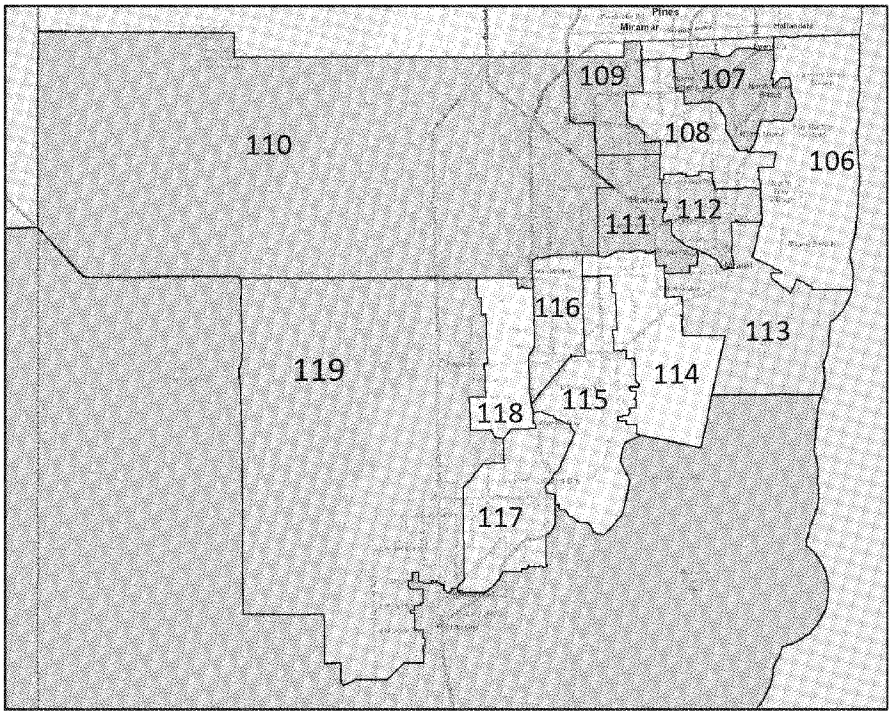


# Districts 106-119

## Workshop A

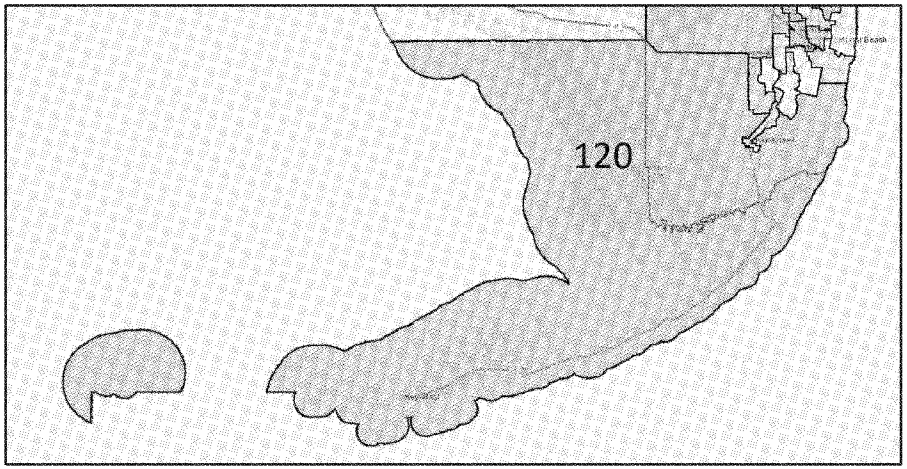



## Workshop B

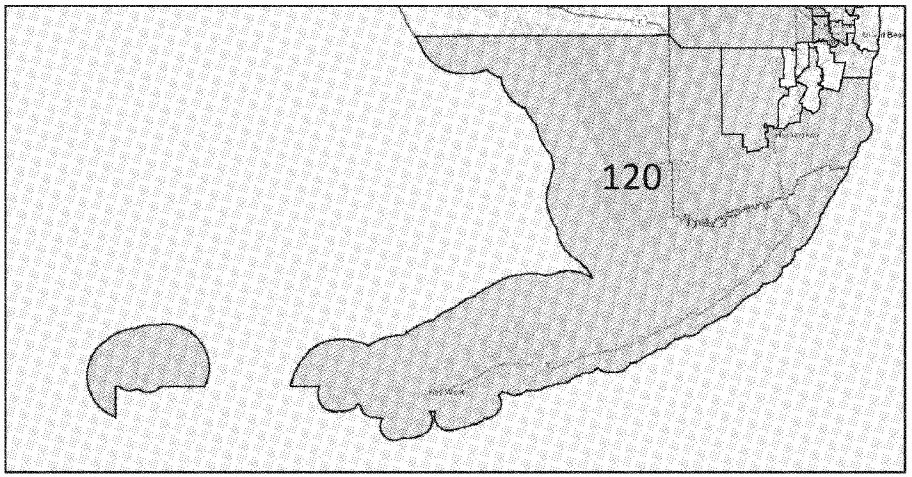


# District 120

## Workshop A




## Workshop B



# Redistricting Committee

Rep. Thomas J. Leek, Chair
Redistricting Committee Staff
850-717-5234
RedistrictingCommittee@myfloridahouse.gov
www.FloridaRedistricting.gov

# Exhibit L

# Redistricting Committee

## Thursday, February 24, 2022
## 9:00 AM – 12:00 PM
## 404 HOB

## Meeting Packet

Chris Sprowls
Speaker

Thomas J. Leek
Chair

# Committee Meeting Notice

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

### Redistricting Committee

| | |
|---|---|
| **Start Date and Time:** | Thursday, February 24, 2022 09:00 am |
| **End Date and Time:** | Thursday, February 24, 2022 12:00 pm |
| **Location:** | Sumner Hall (404 HOB) |
| **Duration:** | 3.00 hrs |

**Consideration of the following bill(s):**

HB 7503 Establishing the Congressional Districts of the State by Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee, Sirois

For information about attending or testifying at a committee meeting, please see the "Visiting the House" tab at www.myfloridahouse.gov.

**NOTICE FINALIZED on 02/22/2022 4:25PM by Ellerkamp.Donna**

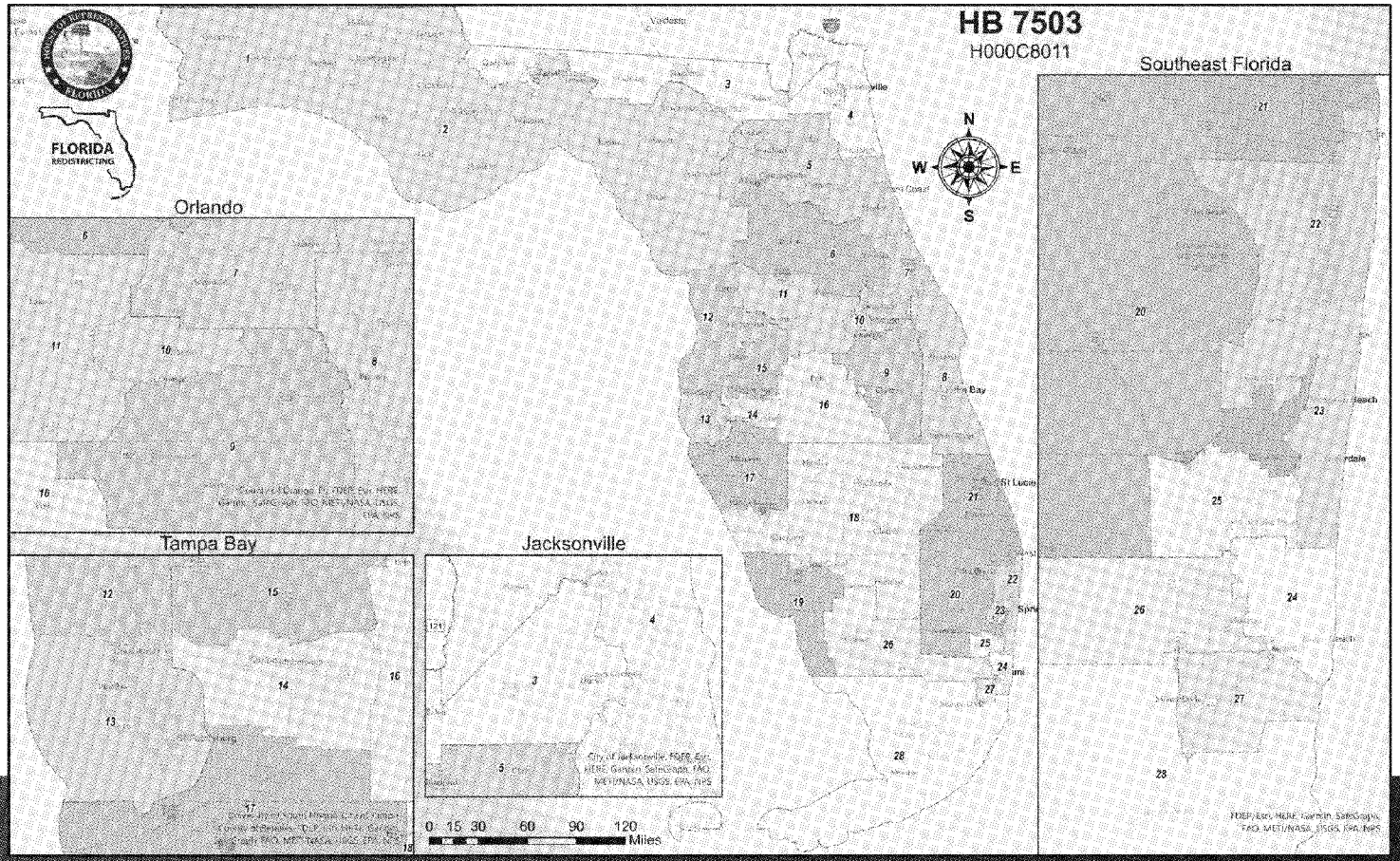
# Florida House of Representatives Redistricting Committee

Chair Thomas J. Leek

*February 24, 2022*

# Proposed Congressional Map HB 7503

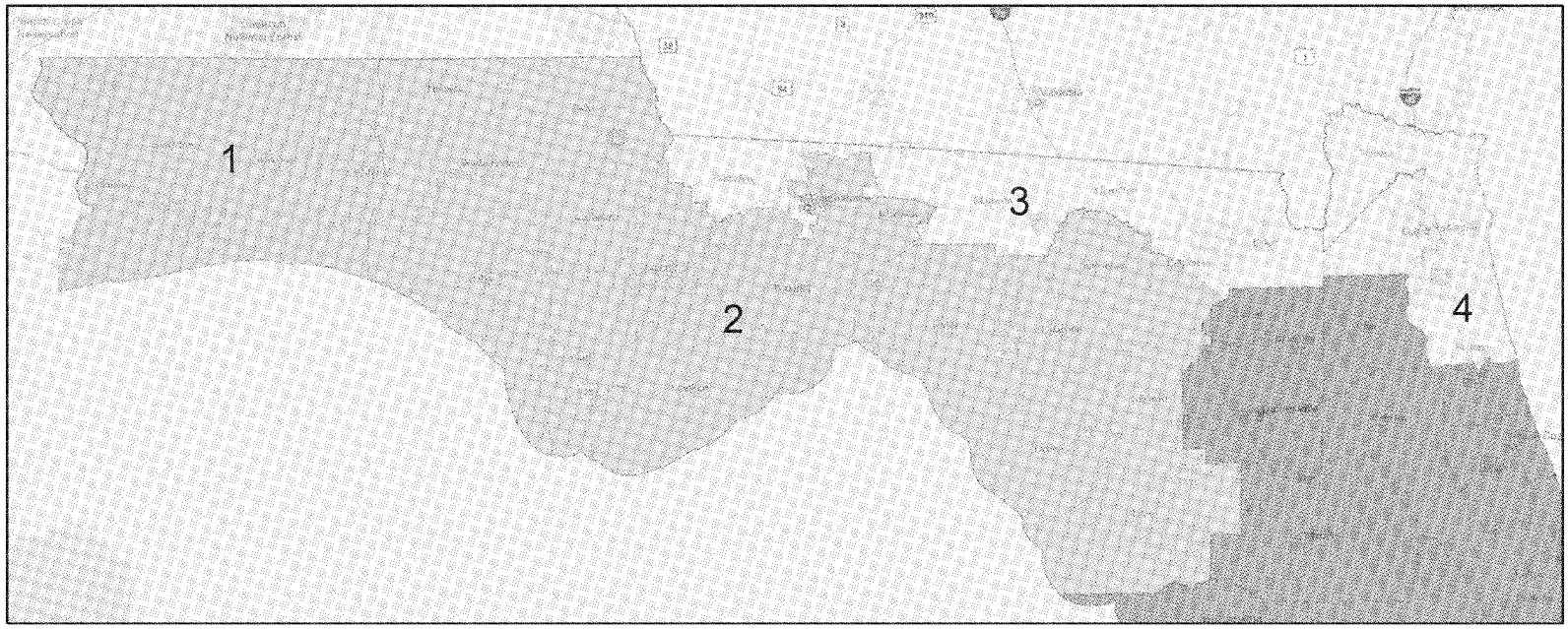
*H000C8011*



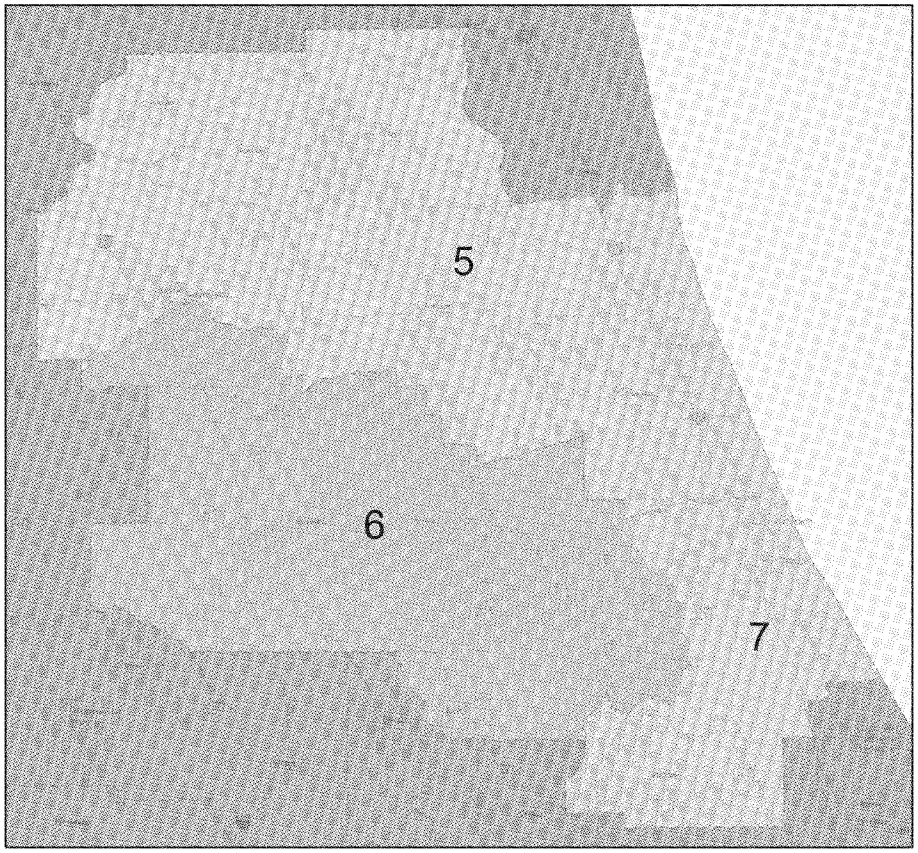
# Statewide Snapshot

| | Benchmark Map<br>*FLCD2016* | HB 7503<br>*H000C8011* |
|---|---|---|
| # of Districts | 27 | 28 |
| Ideal Population | 696,345 | 769,221 |
| Pop Deviation | 1 | 1 |
| Counties Whole | 49 | 47 |
| Counties Split | 18 | 20 |
| Cities Whole | 373 | 385 |
| Cities Splits | 39 | 27 |
| Reock Score | .44 | .43 |
| Convex-Hull Score | .77 | .79 |
| Polsby-Popper Score | .36 | .37 |

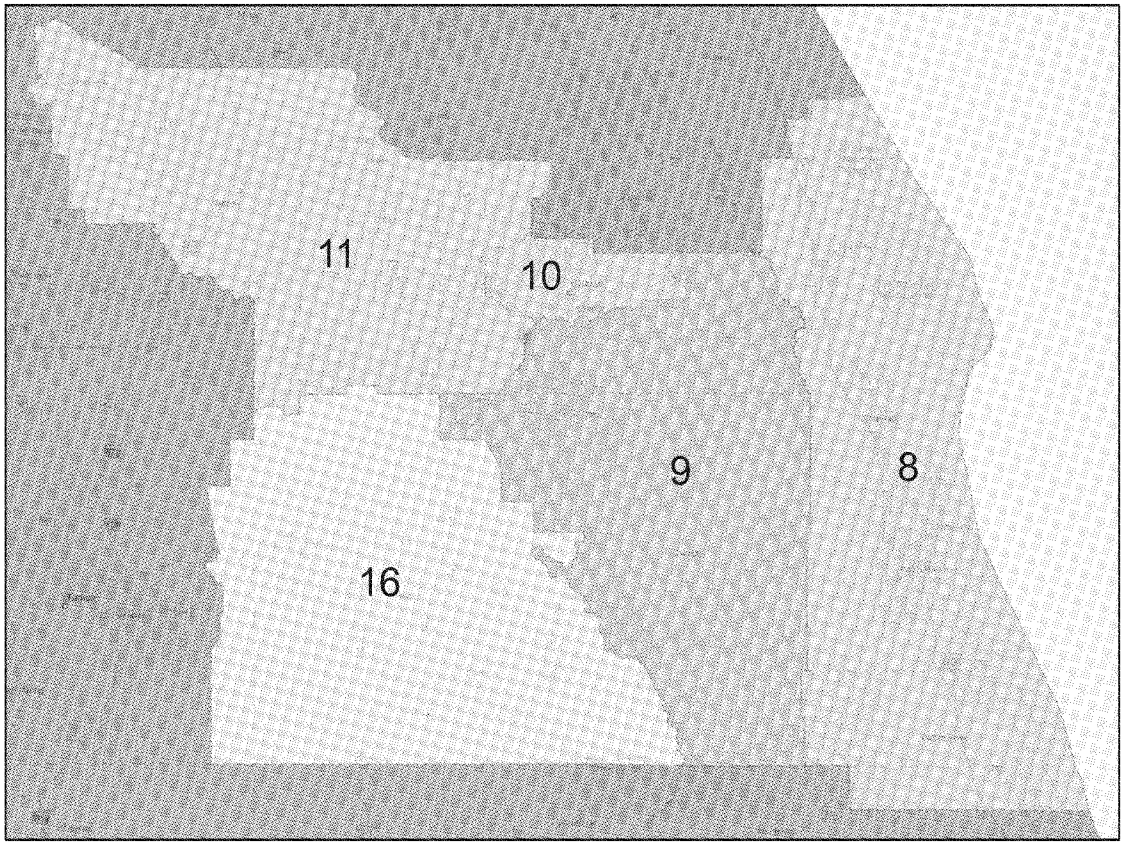
# Districts 1, 2, 3 and 4



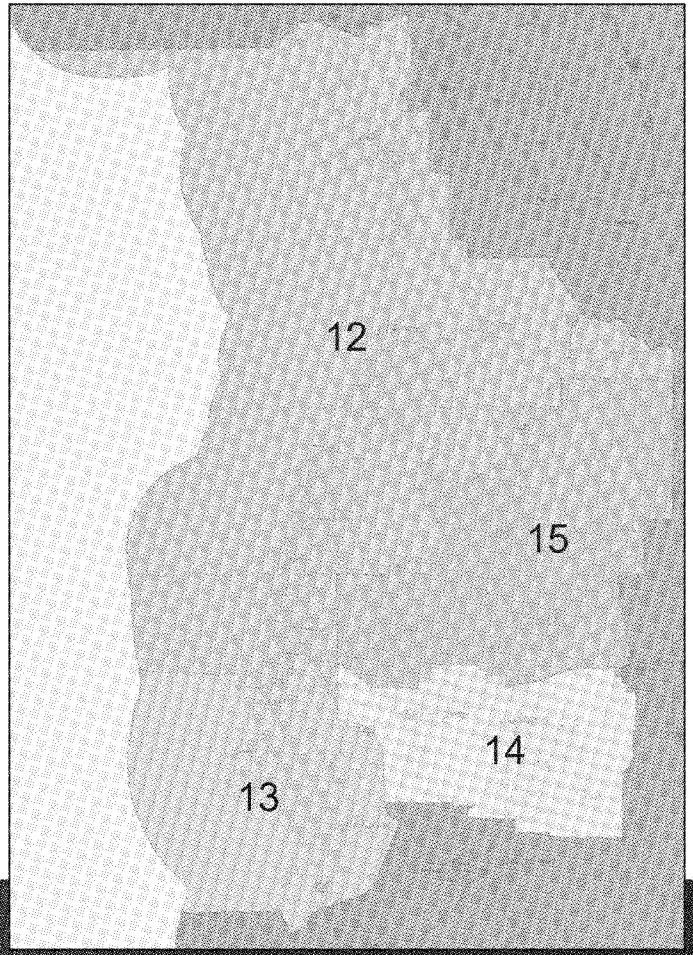
# Districts 5-7



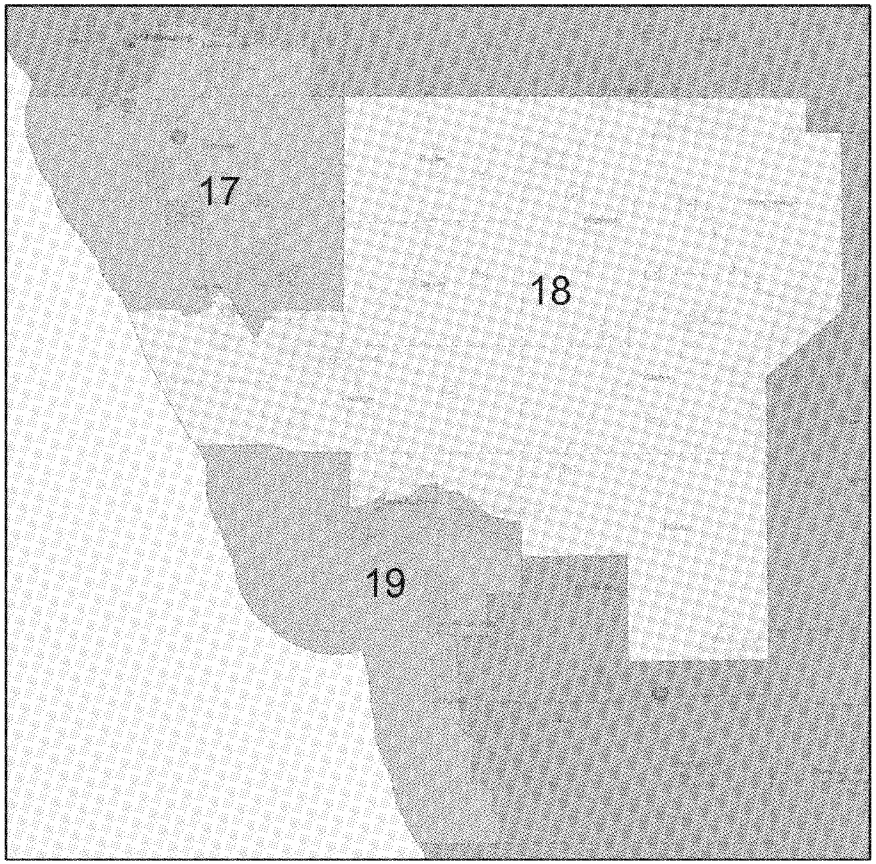
# Districts 8-11, 16



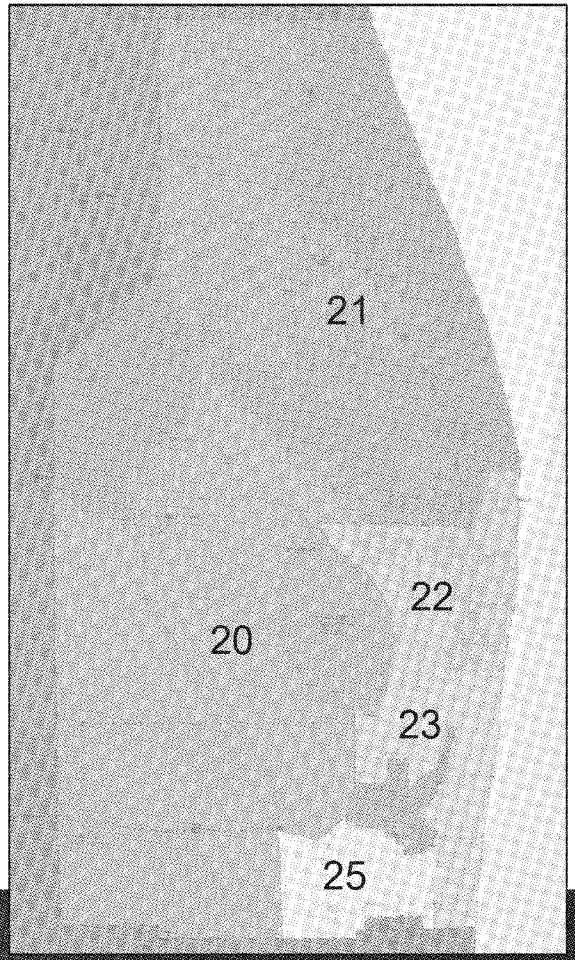
# Districts 12-15



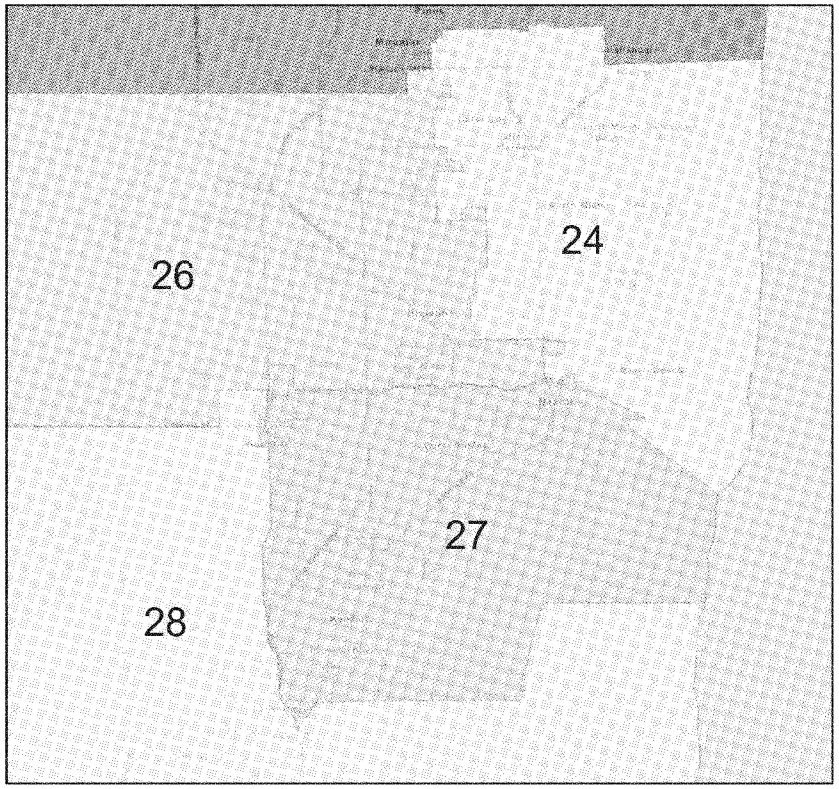
# Districts 17-19



# Districts 20-23, 25



# Districts 24, 26-28



# Redistricting Committee

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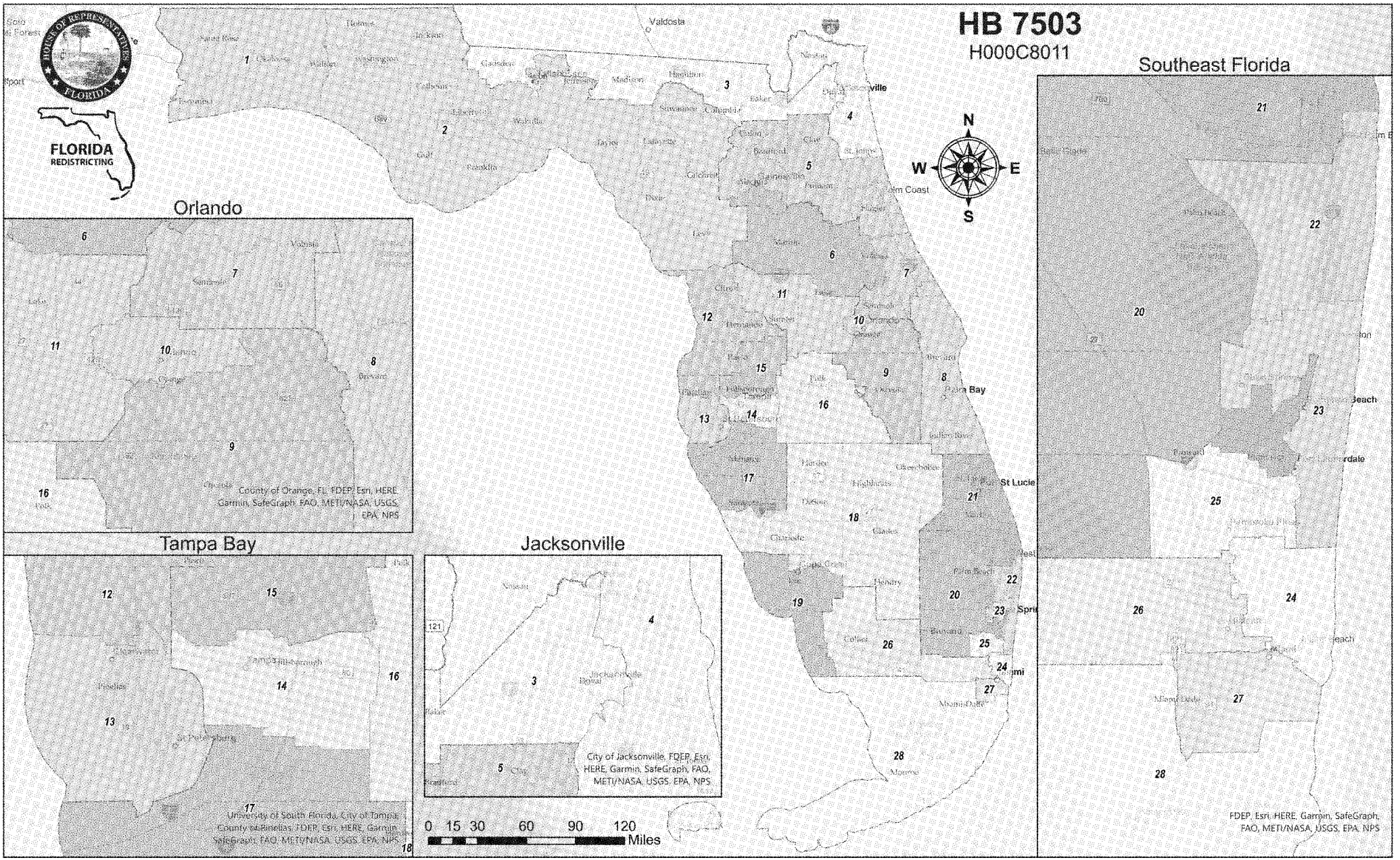
HB 7503
H000C8011
FLORIDA
REDISTRICTING
Southeast Florida
Orlando
Tampa Bay
Jacksonville
N
W
E
S
County of Orange, FL, FDEP, Esri, HERE, Garmin, SafeGraph, FAO, METI/NASA, USGS, EPA, NPS
University of South Florida, City of Tampa, County of Pinellas, FDEP, Esri, HERE, Garmin, SafeGraph, FAO, METI/NASA, USGS, EPA, NPS
City of Jacksonville, FDEP, Esri, HERE, Garmin, SafeGraph, FAO, METI/NASA, USGS, EPA, NPS
FDEP, Esri, HERE, Garmin, SafeGraph, FAO, METI/NASA, USGS, EPA, NPS
0 15 30 60 90 120
Miles

# H000C8011

| STATEWIDE SNAPSHOT | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total State Population: | 21,538,187 | | Total Counties: | 67 | Reock Avg. |
| Ideal District Population: | 769,221 | | Counties Split: | 20 | 0.43 |
| Mean Deviation: | 0 | 0.00% | Counties Kept Whole: | 47 | Convex Hull Avg. |
| Max Deviation: | 0 | 0.00% | Total Cities: | 412 | 0.79 |
| Min Deviation: | -1 | 0.00% | Cities Split: | 27 | Polsby Popper Avg. |
| Overall Deviation Range: | 1 | 0.00% | Cities Kept Whole: | 385 | 0.37 |

## DISTRICT BREAKDOWN

| District | Population | | | Voting Age Population | | Compactness | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Population | Deviation From Ideal | % Deviation | BVAP % | HVAP % | Reock | Convex Hull | Polsby Popper |
| 1 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 13.54 | 6.69 | 0.54 | 0.87 | 0.46 |
| 2 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 13.63 | 6.24 | 0.31 | 0.72 | 0.23 |
| 3 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 43.58 | 9.00 | 0.11 | 0.63 | 0.10 |
| 4 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 10.53 | 9.25 | 0.33 | 0.65 | 0.19 |
| 5 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 13.14 | 8.87 | 0.41 | 0.79 | 0.33 |
| 6 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 11.53 | 15.11 | 0.41 | 0.82 | 0.33 |
| 7 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 12.67 | 16.02 | 0.49 | 0.75 | 0.36 |
| 8 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 9.69 | 10.00 | 0.29 | 0.81 | 0.38 |
| 9 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 14.43 | 50.06 | 0.49 | 0.87 | 0.33 |
| 10 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 25.32 | 27.56 | 0.35 | 0.85 | 0.35 |
| 11 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 10.44 | 14.77 | 0.41 | 0.78 | 0.34 |
| 12 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 4.54 | 10.57 | 0.40 | 0.62 | 0.26 |
| 13 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 11.46 | 9.77 | 0.68 | 0.91 | 0.63 |
| 14 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 20.26 | 26.06 | 0.44 | 0.86 | 0.49 |
| 15 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 13.08 | 26.69 | 0.46 | 0.84 | 0.46 |
| 16 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 14.94 | 23.21 | 0.52 | 0.92 | 0.42 |
| 17 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 7.55 | 14.29 | 0.61 | 0.88 | 0.51 |
| 18 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 6.56 | 15.26 | 0.50 | 0.80 | 0.43 |
| 19 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 6.83 | 17.63 | 0.33 | 0.77 | 0.39 |
| 20 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 10.21 | 22.50 | 0.50 | 0.77 | 0.29 |
| 21 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 12.35 | 15.06 | 0.49 | 0.83 | 0.52 |
| 22 | 769,220 | -1 | 0.00 | 15.99 | 24.75 | 0.46 | 0.74 | 0.44 |
| 23 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 11.49 | 20.83 | 0.35 | 0.71 | 0.22 |
| 24 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 42.27 | 38.18 | 0.48 | 0.90 | 0.42 |
| 25 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 18.57 | 42.50 | 0.53 | 0.85 | 0.49 |
| 26 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 6.89 | 74.44 | 0.30 | 0.74 | 0.33 |
| 27 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 6.51 | 75.58 | 0.56 | 0.86 | 0.53 |
| 28 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 10.90 | 71.65 | 0.21 | 0.56 | 0.24 |

# H000C8011

| | TOTAL REGISTERED VOTERS % | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Black | | | | | | Hispanic | | | | | DEM | | | | | REP | | | | | NPA | | | | |
| DISTRICT | Proposed BVAP % | 2020 | 2018 | 2016 | 2014 | 2012 | Proposed HVAP % | 2020 | 2018 | 2016 | 2014 | 2012 | 2020 | 2018 | 2016 | 2014 | 2012 | 2020 | 2018 | 2016 | 2014 | 2012 | 2020 | 2018 | 2016 | 2014 | 2012 |
| 3 | 43.98 | 43.52 | 43.22 | 43.02 | 43.62 | 43.22 | 9.00 | 4.67 | 4.27 | 3.84 | 3.19 | 2.79 | 54.15 | 54.76 | 56.65 | 57.13 | 58.13 | 26.49 | 26.09 | 26.43 | 25.36 | 25.79 | 19.35 | 19.16 | 17.92 | 17.53 | 16.07 |
| 20 | 48.78 | 47.68 | 47.20 | 46.93 | 46.65 | 45.46 | 22.50 | 14.87 | 13.94 | 13.05 | 11.59 | 12.85 | 62.78 | 62.40 | 63.50 | 64.72 | 64.85 | 13.35 | 13.12 | 13.28 | 13.42 | 14.09 | 24.90 | 24.48 | 23.62 | 22.87 | 21.65 |
| 24 | 43.33 | 44.12 | 45.66 | 46.49 | 47.96 | 48.35 | 38.18 | 27.05 | 25.79 | 24.95 | 23.09 | 42.35 | 60.18 | 62.10 | 64.89 | 66.03 | 65.46 | 12.48 | 11.45 | 11.48 | 11.54 | 11.93 | 27.35 | 26.34 | 25.03 | 23.78 | 22.40 |
| 26 | 6.89 | 5.15 | 5.28 | 5.50 | 5.97 | 6.26 | 7.00 | 61.63 | 61.37 | 61.89 | 61.78 | 61.87 | 29.70 | 31.13 | 31.77 | 31.64 | 32.39 | 38.01 | 36.27 | 36.74 | 37.68 | 38.88 | 23.30 | 23.60 | 21.34 | 20.69 | 20.73 |
| 27 | 6.51 | 5.51 | 5.63 | 5.78 | 6.15 | 6.50 | 63.36 | 64.60 | 62.99 | 61.93 | 62.01 | 72.87 | 33.91 | 34.40 | 34.36 | 33.63 | 34.42 | 33.90 | 33.60 | 34.58 | 36.32 | 37.34 | 32.19 | 32.00 | 31.04 | 30.05 | 28.23 |
| 28 | 10.90 | 9.25 | 9.62 | 9.69 | 10.37 | 10.60 | 71.91 | 61.98 | 60.20 | 58.74 | 56.78 | 62.97 | 34.61 | 36.01 | 36.34 | 36.34 | 37.17 | 32.01 | 30.41 | 30.82 | 31.41 | 32.61 | 33.38 | 33.59 | 32.84 | 31.26 | 30.22 |

# H000C8011

| | TOTAL TURNOUT % | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Black | | | | | | Hispanic | | | | | DEM | | | | | REP | | | | | NPA | | | | |
| DISTRICT | Proposed BVAP % | 2020 | 2018 | 2016 | 2014 | 2012 | Proposed HVAP % | 2020 | 2018 | 2016 | 2014 | 2012 | 2020 | 2018 | 2016 | 2014 | 2012 | 2020 | 2018 | 2016 | 2014 | 2012 | 2020 | 2018 | 2016 | 2014 | 2012 |
| 3 | 42.99 | 41.66 | 43.44 | 41.83 | 41.11 | 44.43 | 9.00 | 4.18 | 3.23 | 3.41 | 1.86 | 2.47 | 58.75 | 57.70 | 55.64 | 54.31 | 53.47 | 30.00 | 29.44 | 29.42 | 30.29 | 27.41 | 14.75 | 12.86 | 13.94 | 11.40 | 12.77 |
| 20 | 48.78 | 47.48 | 49.99 | 47.49 | 50.43 | 49.45 | 22.50 | 14.64 | 11.69 | 12.87 | 7.77 | 9.69 | 64.19 | 62.53 | 60.50 | 60.41 | 58.89 | 14.14 | 13.77 | 13.71 | 14.36 | 13.71 | 21.47 | 18.69 | 20.09 | 16.27 | 18.19 |
| 24 | 43.74 | 42.99 | 47.85 | 45.99 | 53.74 | 50.73 | 38.18 | 27.47 | 23.30 | 25.20 | 18.15 | 20.95 | 61.57 | 58.20 | 57.61 | 56.53 | 62.69 | 13.44 | 11.89 | 11.81 | 11.78 | 11.71 | 24.99 | 21.44 | 22.68 | 17.04 | 19.70 |
| 26 | 6.89 | 4.77 | 5.63 | 5.20 | 6.37 | 6.54 | 74.00 | 59.67 | 55.64 | 59.48 | 52.23 | 58.63 | 28.94 | 30.31 | 31.62 | 28.81 | 31.97 | 41.73 | 43.53 | 39.84 | 48.58 | 42.72 | 29.33 | 26.15 | 28.54 | 22.59 | 25.50 |
| 27 | 6.51 | 4.83 | 5.62 | 5.31 | 6.55 | 6.45 | 81.36 | 65.43 | 62.35 | 64.00 | 59.87 | 61.29 | 33.87 | 35.62 | 35.00 | 34.64 | 34.77 | 36.49 | 37.96 | 36.63 | 43.40 | 40.04 | 29.63 | 26.42 | 28.36 | 21.96 | 25.19 |
| 28 | 10.90 | 8.30 | 9.99 | 9.04 | 11.04 | 11.13 | 78.99 | 62.41 | 57.28 | 58.61 | 49.91 | 53.72 | 34.30 | 37.37 | 37.01 | 37.27 | 37.87 | 35.40 | 35.62 | 33.52 | 38.78 | 35.70 | 30.30 | 27.01 | 29.47 | 23.95 | 26.43 |

# H000C8011

| ELECTION RESULTS | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DISTRICT | 2020 President | | 2018 Governor | | 2018 AG | | 2018 CFO | | 2018 Ag Comm | | 2018 US Senate | | 2016 President | | 2016 US Senate | | 2014 Governor | | 2014 AG | | 2014 CFO | | 2014 Ag Comm | | 2012 President | | 2012 US Senate | |
| | R_Trump | D_Biden | R_DeSantis | D_Gillum | R_Moody | D_Shaw | R_Patronis | D_Ring | R_Caldwell | D_Fried | R_Scott | D_Nelson | R_Trump | D_Clinton | R_Rubio | D_Murphy | R_Scott | D_Crist | R_Bondi | D_Sheldon | R_Atwater | D_Rankin | R_Putnam | D_Hamilton | R_Romney | D_Obama | R_Mack | D_Nelson |
| 3 | 38.66 | 60.16 | 36.96 | 62.15 | 39.75 | 58.73 | 40.00 | 60.00 | 39.17 | 60.84 | 38.23 | 61.76 | 38.92 | 58.13 | 44.45 | 52.21 | 40.92 | 55.34 | 45.28 | 52.19 | 47.27 | 52.73 | 45.04 | 54.96 | 38.87 | 60.32 | 33.23 | 64.32 |
| 20 | 22.99 | 76.41 | 18.77 | 80.59 | 19.58 | 79.09 | 19.53 | 80.46 | 19.28 | 80.70 | 19.38 | 80.63 | 19.87 | 78.36 | 21.72 | 76.30 | 17.52 | 80.32 | 21.79 | 76.72 | 23.66 | 76.32 | 22.13 | 77.87 | 18.39 | 81.19 | 16.22 | 82.56 |
| 24 | 25.17 | 74.29 | 17.76 | 81.53 | 18.32 | 80.12 | 18.39 | 81.59 | 17.92 | 82.07 | 18.55 | 81.44 | 17.20 | 81.13 | 21.90 | 76.00 | 16.15 | 82.27 | 18.67 | 79.90 | 20.84 | 79.15 | 20.13 | 79.87 | 16.70 | 82.95 | 15.38 | 83.59 |
| 26 | 59.13 | 40.34 | 54.28 | 44.42 | 55.43 | 42.63 | 55.97 | 44.02 | 54.72 | 45.27 | 55.22 | 44.78 | 47.01 | 50.71 | 57.16 | 40.64 | 56.88 | 40.54 | 61.60 | 36.10 | 62.60 | 37.39 | 62.70 | 37.28 | 50.69 | 48.83 | 47.17 | 50.68 |
| 27 | 50.75 | 48.71 | 46.53 | 52.39 | 46.89 | 51.17 | 48.23 | 51.77 | 46.16 | 53.85 | 46.37 | 53.63 | 40.46 | 57.02 | 50.98 | 47.02 | 48.97 | 48.66 | 53.28 | 44.74 | 57.74 | 42.26 | 56.93 | 43.07 | 48.14 | 51.36 | 45.07 | 53.56 |
| 28 | 52.09 | 47.32 | 45.36 | 53.46 | 45.97 | 51.87 | 47.08 | 52.92 | 45.59 | 54.40 | 45.51 | 54.49 | 40.30 | 56.95 | 48.99 | 48.58 | 44.18 | 52.82 | 50.15 | 47.39 | 52.70 | 47.29 | 52.48 | 47.51 | 43.56 | 55.86 | 40.93 | 57.42 |

# H000C8011

## 2020 General Election

| District | 2020 Census | | Total Registered Voters (RV) | | | | | DEM RV | | REP RV | | NPA RV | | Black RV | | | Hispanic RV | | | Total Voter Turnout (VT) | | | | | DEM VT | | REP VT | | NPA VT | | Black VT | | | Hispanic VT | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | BVAP | HVAP | DEM | REP | NPA | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | DEM | REP | NPA | DEM | REP | NPA | DEM | REP | NPA | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | DEM | REP | NPA | DEM | REP | NPA |
| 3 | 64.90 | 9.00 | 54.15 | 26.49 | 19.35 | 43.52 | 4.67 | 67.55 | 3.81 | 4.54 | 3.64 | 29.63 | 8.44 | 84.05 | 2.77 | 13.18 | 44.23 | 20.66 | 34.98 | 55.25 | 30.00 | 14.75 | 41.66 | 4.18 | 66.52 | 3.53 | 3.31 | 3.29 | 26.47 | 8.30 | 88.22 | 2.38 | 9.38 | 46.65 | 23.65 | 29.32 |
| 20 | 20.73 | 22.50 | 61.75 | 13.35 | 24.90 | 47.68 | 14.87 | 62.87 | 11.31 | 9.06 | 18.63 | 30.68 | 21.61 | 81.42 | 2.54 | 16.02 | 46.99 | 16.73 | 36.19 | 64.39 | 14.14 | 21.47 | 47.48 | 14.64 | 62.59 | 10.99 | 7.04 | 18.97 | 28.73 | 22.63 | 84.87 | 2.10 | 12.99 | 48.35 | 18.32 | 33.19 |
| 24 | 42.72 | 18.18 | 60.18 | 12.48 | 27.35 | 44.12 | 27.05 | 60.58 | 19.09 | 8.59 | 44.19 | 24.11 | 36.72 | 82.62 | 2.43 | 14.94 | 42.48 | 20.39 | 37.13 | 61.57 | 13.44 | 24.99 | 42.95 | 27.47 | 59.66 | 18.99 | 6.54 | 45.59 | 21.33 | 38.62 | 85.52 | 2.05 | 12.41 | 42.57 | 22.31 | 35.12 |
| 26 | 6.89 | 73.14 | 29.70 | 38.01 | 32.30 | 5.15 | 61.61 | 13.28 | 59.92 | 0.60 | 58.63 | 2.99 | 66.63 | 76.56 | 4.46 | 18.77 | 28.88 | 36.17 | 34.93 | 28.94 | 41.73 | 29.33 | 4.77 | 59.67 | 13.09 | 57.56 | 0.47 | 56.94 | 2.62 | 65.61 | 79.44 | 4.11 | 16.14 | 27.92 | 39.82 | 32.24 |
| 27 | 6.51 | 71.54 | 33.91 | 33.90 | 32.19 | 5.51 | 64.60 | 12.77 | 52.87 | 0.59 | 74.89 | 3.03 | 66.12 | 78.59 | 3.65 | 17.68 | 27.75 | 39.30 | 32.95 | 33.87 | 36.49 | 29.63 | 4.83 | 65.43 | 11.63 | 52.53 | 0.43 | 75.68 | 2.45 | 67.52 | 81.60 | 3.26 | 15.05 | 27.19 | 42.21 | 30.58 |
| 28 | 10.90 | 76.00 | 34.61 | 32.01 | 33.38 | 9.25 | 61.98 | 20.76 | 52.16 | 1.02 | 67.72 | 5.22 | 66.65 | 77.62 | 3.51 | 18.83 | 29.12 | 34.98 | 35.90 | 34.30 | 35.40 | 30.30 | 8.30 | 62.41 | 19.58 | 51.41 | 0.77 | 68.19 | 4.32 | 68.11 | 80.92 | 3.27 | 15.76 | 28.25 | 38.68 | 33.06 |

* *All numbers denoted are percentages*

# H000C8011

## 2020 Primary Election

| District | 2020 Census | | Total Voter Turnout (VT) | | | | DEM VT | | REP VT | | Black VT | | Hispanic VT | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | BVAP | HVAP | DEM | REP | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | DEM | REP | DEM | REP |
| 3 | 64.90 | 9.00 | 64.99 | 29.12 | 48.28 | 2.07 | 69.83 | 1.89 | 3.06 | 1.78 | 94.00 | 1.84 | 59.43 | 25.09 |
| 20 | 60.23 | 22.50 | 78.88 | 11.00 | 55.55 | 8.81 | 65.06 | 7.01 | 7.02 | 13.90 | 92.37 | 1.39 | 62.70 | 17.34 |
| 24 | 42.27 | 38.18 | 74.49 | 10.96 | 50.97 | 22.00 | 62.60 | 14.81 | 6.41 | 50.33 | 91.48 | 1.38 | 50.17 | 25.08 |
| 26 | 6.89 | 74.63 | 30.43 | 50.64 | 5.17 | 56.22 | 14.92 | 50.30 | 0.32 | 55.73 | 87.78 | 3.17 | 27.23 | 50.20 |
| 27 | 6.51 | 76.54 | 39.76 | 40.83 | 5.92 | 62.91 | 13.31 | 44.99 | 0.34 | 77.93 | 89.36 | 2.34 | 28.43 | 50.57 |
| 28 | 10.90 | 77.60 | 40.88 | 40.24 | 10.43 | 57.07 | 22.40 | 42.38 | 0.64 | 66.38 | 87.81 | 2.46 | 30.35 | 46.81 |

* *All numbers denoted are percentages*

# H000C8011

## 2018 General Election

| District | 2020 Census | | Total Registered Voters (RV) | | | | | DEM RV | | REP RV | | NPA RV | | Black RV | | | Hispanic RV | | | Total Voter Turnout (VT) | | | | | DEM VT | | REP VT | | NPA VT | | Black VT | | | Hispanic VT | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | BVAP | HVAP | DEM | REP | NPA | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | DEM | REP | NPA | DEM | REP | NPA | DEM | REP | NPA | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | DEM | REP | NPA | DEM | REP | NPA |
| 3 | 64.92 | 9.00 | 54.76 | 26.09 | 19.16 | 43.22 | 4.27 | 66.93 | 3.27 | 4.47 | 3.64 | 28.17 | 7.92 | 84.80 | 2.70 | 12.49 | 44.37 | 19.98 | 35.50 | 57.70 | 29.44 | 12.86 | 43.44 | 3.23 | 67.44 | 2.75 | 3.27 | 2.58 | 27.68 | 6.79 | 89.58 | 2.21 | 8.19 | 49.19 | 23.54 | 27.02 |
| 20 | 20.78 | 22.50 | 62.40 | 13.12 | 24.48 | 47.20 | 13.94 | 62.13 | 16.09 | 9.01 | 18.63 | 29.58 | 20.54 | 82.12 | 2.50 | 15.34 | 48.63 | 15.14 | 36.06 | 67.53 | 13.77 | 18.69 | 49.95 | 11.69 | 63.96 | 9.06 | 6.97 | 14.63 | 30.81 | 18.75 | 86.47 | 1.92 | 11.53 | 52.33 | 17.23 | 29.96 |
| 24 | 42.27 | 18.18 | 62.20 | 11.45 | 26.34 | 45.66 | 25.79 | 61.31 | 42.22 | 9.17 | 44.19 | 24.55 | 35.74 | 83.53 | 2.30 | 14.16 | 44.76 | 18.75 | 36.50 | 66.67 | 11.89 | 21.44 | 47.85 | 23.30 | 62.68 | 16.20 | 7.13 | 42.13 | 24.31 | 34.90 | 87.32 | 1.77 | 10.89 | 46.35 | 21.50 | 32.11 |
| 26 | 6.89 | 74.34 | 31.13 | 36.27 | 32.60 | 5.28 | 61.37 | 13.21 | 57.53 | 0.60 | 58.63 | 2.88 | 65.98 | 77.90 | 4.13 | 17.79 | 30.94 | 34.00 | 35.05 | 30.31 | 43.53 | 26.15 | 5.63 | 55.64 | 15.31 | 53.78 | 0.47 | 53.36 | 2.99 | 61.51 | 82.38 | 3.60 | 13.89 | 29.30 | 41.75 | 28.91 |
| 27 | 6.51 | 71.54 | 34.40 | 33.60 | 32.00 | 5.63 | 63.99 | 12.99 | 73.71 | 0.60 | 74.89 | 2.98 | 65.57 | 79.38 | 3.61 | 16.95 | 28.51 | 38.70 | 32.79 | 35.62 | 37.96 | 26.42 | 5.62 | 62.35 | 13.25 | 48.45 | 0.41 | 73.78 | 2.82 | 64.65 | 83.93 | 2.76 | 13.23 | 27.68 | 44.92 | 27.39 |
| 28 | 10.90 | 78.69 | 36.01 | 30.41 | 33.59 | 9.62 | 60.20 | 20.85 | 65.27 | 1.09 | 67.72 | 5.28 | 64.89 | 78.09 | 3.45 | 18.45 | 30.83 | 32.97 | 36.21 | 37.37 | 35.62 | 27.01 | 9.99 | 57.28 | 22.04 | 46.48 | 0.82 | 63.99 | 5.40 | 63.37 | 82.44 | 2.93 | 14.59 | 30.32 | 39.79 | 29.87 |

* *All numbers denoted are percentages*

# H000C8011

## 2018 Primary Election

| District | 2020 Census | | Total Voter Turnout (VT) | | | | DEM VT | | REP VT | | Black VT | | Hispanic VT | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | BVAP | HVAP | DEM | REP | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | DEM | REP | DEM | REP |
| 3 | [redacted] | 9.00 | 62.85 | 31.63 | 46.67 | 1.70 | 69.66 | 1.50 | 2.87 | 1.59 | 93.81 | 1.94 | 55.62 | 29.60 |
| 20 | [redacted] | 22.50 | 77.15 | 14.31 | 54.20 | 6.94 | 65.20 | 5.52 | 5.83 | 10.48 | 92.80 | 1.54 | 61.39 | 21.61 |
| 24 | 42.27 | 38.18 | 77.72 | 11.31 | 54.97 | 17.44 | 65.55 | 11.71 | 6.76 | 42.63 | 92.69 | 1.39 | 52.19 | 27.64 |
| 26 | 6.89 | [redacted] | 30.89 | 54.81 | 6.16 | 49.79 | 17.94 | 43.87 | 0.37 | 50.17 | 89.94 | 3.27 | 27.22 | 55.23 |
| 27 | 6.51 | [redacted] | 41.83 | 44.74 | 7.11 | 59.17 | 15.55 | 39.13 | 0.34 | 75.67 | 91.56 | 2.13 | 27.66 | 57.21 |
| 28 | 10.90 | [redacted] | 43.36 | 43.12 | 11.89 | 48.52 | 24.85 | 34.34 | 0.65 | 60.59 | 90.63 | 2.37 | 30.69 | 53.84 |

* *All numbers denoted are percentages*

# H000C8011

## 2016 General Election

| District | 2020 Census | | Total Registered Voters (RV) | | | | | DEM RV | | REP RV | | NPA RV | | Black RV | | | Hispanic RV | | | Total Voter Turnout (VT) | | | | | DEM VT | | REP VT | | NPA VT | | Black VT | | | Hispanic VT | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | BVAP | HVAP | DEM | REP | NPA | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | DEM | REP | NPA | DEM | REP | NPA | DEM | REP | NPA | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | DEM | REP | NPA | DEM | REP | NPA |
| 3 | 64.90 | 9.00 | 55.65 | 26.43 | 17.92 | 43.02 | 3.84 | 66.41 | 3.05 | 4.51 | 3.12 | 27.17 | 7.31 | 85.90 | 2.77 | 11.32 | 44.23 | 21.45 | 34.08 | 56.64 | 29.42 | 13.94 | 41.83 | 3.41 | 66.08 | 2.83 | 3.38 | 2.76 | 24.39 | 7.07 | 89.49 | 2.38 | 8.13 | 47.00 | 23.75 | 28.88 |
| 20 | 30.73 | 22.50 | 63.10 | 13.28 | 23.62 | 46.93 | 13.05 | 61.70 | 10.29 | 9.18 | 15.07 | 28.63 | 19.22 | 82.96 | 2.60 | 14.41 | 49.74 | 15.34 | 34.80 | 66.19 | 13.71 | 20.09 | 47.49 | 12.87 | 62.04 | 10.18 | 7.09 | 14.79 | 27.05 | 20.23 | 86.46 | 2.05 | 11.44 | 52.32 | 15.76 | 31.56 |
| 24 | 42.27 | 18.18 | 63.49 | 11.48 | 25.03 | 46.49 | 24.95 | 61.91 | 17.84 | 9.34 | 42.36 | 24.41 | 34.96 | 84.54 | 2.31 | 13.14 | 45.40 | 19.49 | 35.08 | 65.51 | 11.81 | 22.68 | 45.95 | 25.20 | 61.30 | 17.87 | 7.18 | 43.15 | 21.73 | 37.00 | 87.40 | 1.85 | 10.73 | 46.45 | 20.21 | 33.29 |
| 26 | 6.89 | 74.74 | 31.77 | 36.74 | 31.49 | 5.50 | 61.89 | 13.75 | 60.98 | 0.61 | 58.95 | 2.84 | 66.21 | 79.45 | 4.09 | 16.28 | 31.30 | 35.00 | 33.69 | 31.62 | 39.84 | 28.54 | 5.20 | 59.48 | 13.56 | 59.14 | 0.47 | 55.99 | 2.52 | 64.74 | 82.42 | 3.62 | 13.85 | 31.43 | 37.50 | 31.06 |
| 27 | 6.51 | 71.54 | 34.38 | 34.58 | 31.04 | 5.78 | 63.93 | 13.48 | 52.52 | 0.62 | 73.68 | 3.00 | 65.67 | 80.13 | 3.70 | 16.08 | 28.24 | 39.86 | 31.89 | 35.00 | 36.63 | 28.36 | 5.31 | 64.00 | 12.62 | 51.73 | 0.45 | 73.94 | 2.54 | 66.29 | 83.20 | 3.10 | 13.57 | 28.29 | 42.32 | 29.38 |
| 28 | 10.90 | 76.69 | 36.34 | 30.82 | 32.84 | 9.69 | 58.74 | 21.04 | 49.91 | 1.12 | 64.21 | 5.17 | 63.36 | 78.87 | 3.55 | 17.51 | 30.88 | 33.69 | 35.43 | 37.01 | 33.52 | 29.47 | 9.04 | 58.61 | 20.12 | 49.25 | 0.85 | 63.76 | 4.43 | 64.50 | 82.40 | 3.17 | 14.44 | 31.10 | 36.47 | 32.43 |

* *All numbers denoted are percentages*

# H000C8011

## 2016 Primary Election

| District | 2020 Census | | Total Voter Turnout (VT) | | | | DEM VT | | REP VT | | Black VT | | Hispanic VT | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | BVAP | HVAP | DEM | REP | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | DEM | REP | DEM | REP |
| 3 | 44.92 | 9.00 | 60.09 | 34.30 | 42.72 | 1.26 | 67.03 | 0.96 | 2.98 | 1.44 | 94.27 | 2.40 | 45.89 | 39.37 |
| 20 | 50.74 | 22.50 | 79.29 | 13.40 | 56.11 | 5.59 | 66.60 | 4.22 | 6.48 | 9.66 | 94.10 | 1.55 | 59.90 | 23.16 |
| 24 | 42.27 | 38.18 | 76.24 | 12.81 | 54.14 | 19.32 | 66.30 | 11.43 | 6.20 | 50.49 | 93.36 | 1.47 | 45.11 | 33.48 |
| 26 | 6.89 | 74.63 | 26.47 | 57.90 | 4.99 | 54.19 | 16.93 | 46.93 | 0.32 | 54.67 | 89.90 | 3.68 | 22.93 | 58.41 |
| 27 | 6.51 | 75.56 | 35.36 | 48.54 | 6.19 | 64.12 | 16.13 | 40.88 | 0.31 | 78.67 | 92.11 | 2.44 | 22.54 | 59.56 |
| 28 | 10.90 | 76.69 | 38.59 | 44.71 | 9.43 | 52.85 | 22.10 | 36.03 | 0.57 | 63.48 | 90.47 | 2.72 | 26.30 | 53.70 |

* *All numbers denoted are percentages*

# H000C8011

## 2014 General Election

| District | 2020 Census | | Total Registered Voters (RV) | | | | | DEM RV | | REP RV | | NPA RV | | Black RV | | | Hispanic RV | | | Total Voter Turnout (VT) | | | | | DEM VT | | REP VT | | NPA VT | | Black VT | | | Hispanic VT | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | BVAP | HVAP | DEM | REP | NPA | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | DEM | REP | NPA | DEM | REP | NPA | DEM | REP | NPA | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | DEM | REP | NPA | DEM | REP | NPA |
| 3 | 84.92 | 9.00 | 57.11 | 25.36 | 17.53 | 43.62 | 3.19 | 66.06 | 3.05 | 4.42 | 2.82 | 27.21 | 6.43 | 86.48 | 2.57 | 10.93 | 42.08 | 22.39 | 35.36 | 58.31 | 30.29 | 11.40 | 41.11 | 1.86 | 64.46 | 1.30 | 2.68 | 1.90 | 23.65 | 4.47 | 91.41 | 1.98 | 6.56 | 40.64 | 30.88 | 27.37 |
| 20 | 70.78 | 22.50 | 63.71 | 13.42 | 22.87 | 46.65 | 11.59 | 61.22 | 10.29 | 9.31 | 13.79 | 27.90 | 17.61 | 83.60 | 2.68 | 13.68 | 49.01 | 15.96 | 34.76 | 69.37 | 14.36 | 16.27 | 50.43 | 7.77 | 64.40 | 5.70 | 7.31 | 10.99 | 28.54 | 13.28 | 88.60 | 2.08 | 9.21 | 50.88 | 20.30 | 27.81 |
| 24 | 42.27 | 38.18 | 64.68 | 11.54 | 23.78 | 47.96 | 23.09 | 63.10 | 17.84 | 9.97 | 42.86 | 25.20 | 33.11 | 85.10 | 2.40 | 12.50 | 44.46 | 21.42 | 34.09 | 71.15 | 11.78 | 17.04 | 53.74 | 18.15 | 67.74 | 11.19 | 7.90 | 42.56 | 26.92 | 30.12 | 89.69 | 1.73 | 8.54 | 43.88 | 27.64 | 28.29 |
| 26 | 6.89 | 74.14 | 31.64 | 37.68 | 30.69 | 5.97 | 61.78 | 15.20 | 60.98 | 0.64 | 60.80 | 2.96 | 65.83 | 80.56 | 4.04 | 15.22 | 30.21 | 37.08 | 32.70 | 28.81 | 48.58 | 22.59 | 6.37 | 52.23 | 19.01 | 46.10 | 0.45 | 53.96 | 2.84 | 56.31 | 85.96 | 3.44 | 10.07 | 25.43 | 50.19 | 24.36 |
| 27 | 6.51 | 71.54 | 33.63 | 36.32 | 30.05 | 6.15 | 62.91 | 14.77 | 52.52 | 0.66 | 73.43 | 3.13 | 65.07 | 80.73 | 3.92 | 15.30 | 26.52 | 42.39 | 31.08 | 34.64 | 43.40 | 21.96 | 6.55 | 59.37 | 16.35 | 39.93 | 0.46 | 73.23 | 3.04 | 62.63 | 86.39 | 3.08 | 10.18 | 23.29 | 53.53 | 23.17 |
| 28 | 10.90 | 76.69 | 36.34 | 31.41 | 32.25 | 10.37 | 56.78 | 22.66 | 49.91 | 1.23 | 63.77 | 5.43 | 61.24 | 79.36 | 3.72 | 16.90 | 29.94 | 35.27 | 34.79 | 37.27 | 38.78 | 23.95 | 11.04 | 49.91 | 25.20 | 36.02 | 0.81 | 59.88 | 5.54 | 55.35 | 85.07 | 2.84 | 12.02 | 26.90 | 46.53 | 26.56 |

* *All numbers denoted are percentages*

# H000C8011

## 2014 Primary Election

| District | 2020 Census | | Total Voter Turnout (VT) | | | | DEM VT | | REP VT | | Black VT | | Hispanic VT | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | BVAP | HVAP | DEM | REP | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | DEM | REP | DEM | REP |
| 3 | [redacted] | 9.00 | 59.92 | 35.26 | 40.07 | 0.99 | 63.68 | 0.68 | 2.05 | 1.19 | 95.22 | 1.80 | 41.37 | 42.45 |
| 20 | [redacted] | 22.50 | 80.38 | 12.49 | 56.66 | 3.69 | 66.47 | 2.69 | 7.20 | 7.16 | 94.29 | 1.59 | 58.48 | 24.23 |
| 24 | [redacted] | 38.18 | 78.82 | 11.03 | 61.36 | 14.17 | 72.66 | 7.36 | 7.68 | 48.47 | 93.34 | 1.38 | 40.94 | 37.74 |
| 26 | 6.89 | [redacted] | 26.40 | 58.70 | 6.18 | 55.16 | 21.32 | 40.58 | 0.34 | 59.16 | 91.05 | 3.26 | 19.42 | 62.95 |
| 27 | 6.51 | [redacted] | 34.33 | 50.97 | 6.56 | 61.64 | 17.50 | 33.65 | 0.37 | 78.47 | 91.53 | 2.85 | 18.74 | 64.89 |
| 28 | [redacted] | [redacted] | 36.73 | 47.51 | 9.87 | 45.89 | 23.95 | 26.54 | 0.56 | 58.94 | 89.17 | 2.67 | 21.24 | 61.02 |

* *All numbers denoted are percentages*

# H000C8011

## 2012 General Election

| District | 2020 Census | | Total Registered Voters (RV) | | | | | DEM RV | | REP RV | | NPA RV | | Black RV | | | Hispanic RV | | | Total Voter Turnout (VT) | | | | | DEM VT | | REP VT | | NPA VT | | Black VT | | | Hispanic VT | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | BVAP | HVAP | DEM | REP | NPA | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | DEM | REP | NPA | DEM | REP | NPA | DEM | REP | NPA | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | DEM | REP | NPA | DEM | REP | NPA |
| 3 | 64.92 | 9.00 | 58.14 | 25.79 | 16.07 | 43.22 | 2.98 | 65.03 | 2.22 | 4.51 | 2.78 | 26.39 | 6.03 | 87.48 | 2.69 | 9.81 | 43.31 | 24.00 | 32.45 | 59.81 | 27.41 | 12.77 | 44.43 | 2.47 | 66.74 | 1.84 | 3.53 | 2.38 | 27.64 | 5.50 | 89.85 | 2.18 | 7.95 | 44.55 | 26.47 | 28.48 |
| 20 | 20.73 | 22.50 | 64.26 | 14.09 | 21.65 | 45.46 | 10.78 | 59.59 | 8.40 | 9.46 | 12.85 | 26.88 | 16.37 | 84.24 | 2.93 | 12.80 | 50.07 | 16.79 | 32.86 | 68.09 | 13.71 | 18.19 | 49.45 | 9.69 | 63.10 | 7.38 | 8.08 | 12.51 | 29.39 | 15.92 | 86.88 | 2.24 | 10.81 | 51.87 | 17.70 | 29.89 |
| 24 | 42.27 | 18.18 | 65.67 | 11.93 | 22.40 | 48.35 | 22.20 | 62.99 | 15.25 | 10.49 | 42.35 | 25.56 | 31.85 | 85.56 | 2.59 | 11.84 | 45.11 | 22.75 | 32.13 | 68.59 | 11.71 | 19.70 | 50.71 | 20.95 | 64.91 | 14.03 | 8.78 | 43.08 | 26.09 | 31.85 | 87.79 | 2.03 | 10.14 | 45.93 | 24.08 | 29.94 |
| 26 | 6.89 | 7.14 | 32.39 | 38.88 | 28.73 | 6.26 | 61.76 | 15.80 | 57.89 | 0.66 | 61.87 | 3.06 | 65.97 | 81.76 | 4.10 | 14.04 | 30.36 | 38.95 | 30.68 | 31.97 | 42.72 | 25.30 | 6.54 | 58.61 | 17.30 | 54.27 | 0.51 | 58.85 | 3.11 | 63.65 | 84.50 | 3.31 | 12.01 | 29.61 | 42.90 | 27.47 |
| 27 | 6.51 | 7.34 | 34.42 | 37.34 | 28.23 | 6.50 | 61.73 | 15.39 | 47.91 | 0.72 | 72.87 | 3.28 | 63.84 | 81.54 | 4.15 | 14.26 | 26.71 | 44.08 | 29.20 | 34.77 | 40.04 | 25.19 | 6.45 | 61.25 | 15.65 | 45.68 | 0.52 | 73.13 | 3.19 | 63.84 | 84.31 | 3.24 | 12.44 | 25.93 | 47.81 | 26.26 |
| 28 | 10.90 | 7.69 | 37.17 | 32.61 | 30.22 | 10.60 | 55.54 | 22.87 | 45.30 | 1.30 | 62.97 | 5.53 | 60.11 | 80.22 | 4.00 | 15.76 | 30.32 | 36.97 | 32.71 | 37.87 | 35.70 | 26.43 | 11.13 | 53.72 | 24.40 | 41.86 | 1.04 | 61.98 | 5.73 | 59.51 | 83.04 | 3.35 | 13.61 | 29.51 | 41.19 | 29.27 |

* *All numbers denoted are percentages*

# H000C8011

## 2012 Primary Election

| District | 2020 Census | | Total Voter Turnout (VT) | | | | DEM VT | | REP VT | | Black VT | | Hispanic VT | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | BVAP | HVAP | DEM | REP | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | Black | Hisp. | DEM | REP | DEM | REP |
| 3 | [redacted] | 9.00 | 63.42 | 31.89 | 41.92 | 0.85 | 62.85 | 0.55 | 2.28 | 1.22 | 95.08 | 1.73 | 40.94 | 45.61 |
| 20 | [redacted] | 22.50 | 76.05 | 15.94 | 53.91 | 3.69 | 65.94 | 2.62 | 6.53 | 6.53 | 93.03 | 1.93 | 53.94 | 28.17 |
| 24 | [redacted] | 38.18 | 76.67 | 12.66 | 60.10 | 15.62 | 72.75 | 7.82 | 7.65 | 49.36 | 92.80 | 1.61 | 38.39 | 40.01 |
| 26 | 6.89 | [redacted] | 23.86 | 61.34 | 5.68 | 57.16 | 21.43 | 45.22 | 0.38 | 59.03 | 89.97 | 4.06 | 18.88 | 63.34 |
| 27 | 6.51 | [redacted] | 31.86 | 52.59 | 6.98 | 63.34 | 20.00 | 36.03 | 0.35 | 77.96 | 91.28 | 2.66 | 18.12 | 64.74 |
| 28 | [redacted] | [redacted] | 37.14 | 46.72 | 10.71 | 48.93 | 25.79 | 28.86 | 0.74 | 60.86 | 89.42 | 3.23 | 21.91 | 58.10 |

* *All numbers denoted are percentages*

# H000C8011

## County Share of Population

| County | District | Total Population |
|---|---|---|
| Alachua | 5 | 205,147 |
| Alachua | 6 | 73,321 |
| Baker | 3 | 28,259 |
| Bay | 2 | 175,216 |
| Bradford | 5 | 28,303 |
| Brevard | 8 | 606,612 |
| Broward | 20 | 535,322 |
| Broward | 23 | 561,713 |
| Broward | 24 | 78,119 |
| Broward | 25 | 769,221 |
| Calhoun | 2 | 13,648 |
| Charlotte | 18 | 186,847 |
| Citrus | 11 | 95,336 |
| Citrus | 12 | 58,507 |
| Clay | 5 | 218,245 |
| Collier | 19 | 161,628 |
| Collier | 26 | 214,124 |
| Columbia | 2 | 58,301 |
| Columbia | 3 | 11,397 |
| DeSoto | 18 | 33,976 |
| Dixie | 2 | 16,759 |
| Duval | 3 | 529,753 |
| Duval | 4 | 465,814 |
| Escambia | 1 | 321,905 |
| Flagler | 5 | 115,378 |
| Franklin | 2 | 12,451 |
| Gadsden | 3 | 43,826 |
| Gilchrist | 2 | 17,864 |
| Glades | 18 | 12,126 |
| Gulf | 2 | 14,192 |
| Hamilton | 3 | 14,004 |
| Hardee | 18 | 25,327 |
| Hendry | 18 | 39,619 |
| Hernando | 12 | 194,515 |
| Highlands | 18 | 101,235 |
| Hillsborough | 14 | 769,221 |
| Hillsborough | 15 | 533,643 |
| Hillsborough | 16 | 44,175 |
| Hillsborough | 17 | 112,723 |
| Holmes | 2 | 19,653 |
| Indian River | 8 | 159,788 |
| Jackson | 2 | 47,319 |
| Jefferson | 2 | 4,014 |
| Jefferson | 3 | 10,496 |
| Lafayette | 2 | 8,226 |
| Lake | 6 | 119,945 |
| Lake | 11 | 264,011 |
| Lee | 18 | 153,229 |
| Lee | 19 | 607,593 |
| Leon | 2 | 178,680 |
| Leon | 3 | 113,518 |
| Levy | 2 | 42,915 |
| Liberty | 2 | 7,974 |
| Madison | 3 | 17,968 |
| Manatee | 17 | 399,710 |
| Marion | 6 | 375,908 |
| Martin | 21 | 158,431 |
| Miami-Dade | 24 | 691,102 |
| Miami-Dade | 26 | 555,097 |
| Miami-Dade | 27 | 769,221 |
| Miami-Dade | 28 | 686,347 |
| Monroe | 28 | 82,874 |
| Nassau | 4 | 90,352 |
| Okaloosa | 1 | 211,668 |
| Okeechobee | 18 | 39,644 |
| Orange | 9 | 380,565 |
| Orange | 10 | 769,221 |
| Orange | 11 | 280,122 |
| Osceola | 9 | 388,656 |
| Palm Beach | 20 | 233,899 |
| Palm Beach | 21 | 281,564 |
| Palm Beach | 22 | 769,220 |
| Palm Beach | 23 | 207,508 |
| Pasco | 12 | 326,313 |
| Pasco | 15 | 235,578 |
| Pinellas | 12 | 189,886 |
| Pinellas | 13 | 769,221 |
| Polk | 16 | 725,046 |
| Putnam | 5 | 73,321 |
| Santa Rosa | 1 | 188,000 |
| Sarasota | 17 | 256,788 |
| Sarasota | 18 | 177,218 |
| Seminole | 7 | 470,856 |
| St. Johns | 4 | 213,055 |
| St. Johns | 5 | 60,370 |
| St. Lucie | 21 | 329,226 |
| Sumter | 11 | 129,752 |
| Suwannee | 2 | 43,474 |
| Taylor | 2 | 21,796 |
| Union | 5 | 16,147 |
| Volusia | 5 | 52,310 |
| Volusia | 6 | 200,047 |
| Volusia | 7 | 298,365 |
| Volusia | 8 | 2,821 |
| Wakulla | 2 | 33,764 |
| Walton | 1 | 47,648 |
| Walton | 2 | 27,657 |
| Washington | 2 | 25,318 |

# H000C8011

## City Split List

| City | District | Total Population |
|---|---|---|
| Cape Coral | 18 | 55,768 |
| Cape Coral | 19 | 138,248 |
| Dania Beach | 23 | 8,368 |
| Dania Beach | 25 | 23,355 |
| Deerfield Beach | 20 | 27,968 |
| Deerfield Beach | 23 | 58,891 |
| Deltona | 6 | 66,395 |
| Deltona | 7 | 27,297 |
| Fort Lauderdale | 20 | 65,395 |
| Fort Lauderdale | 23 | 91,669 |
| Fort Lauderdale | 25 | 25,696 |
| Gainesville | 5 | 88,103 |
| Gainesville | 6 | 52,982 |
| Hallandale Beach | 23 | 24,134 |
| Hallandale Beach | 25 | 17,083 |
| Hollywood | 23 | 24,832 |
| Hollywood | 24 | 476 |
| Hollywood | 25 | 127,759 |
| Jacksonville | 3 | 528,357 |
| Jacksonville | 4 | 421,254 |
| Lake City | 2 | 10,152 |
| Lake City | 3 | 2,177 |
| Miami | 24 | 91,639 |
| Miami | 26 | 61,439 |
| Miami | 27 | 289,163 |
| Miami Gardens | 24 | 104,403 |
| Miami Gardens | 26 | 7,237 |
| Miramar | 24 | 56,253 |
| Miramar | 25 | 78,468 |
| Oakland Park | 20 | 10,831 |
| Oakland Park | 23 | 33,398 |
| Oldsmar | 12 | 14,887 |
| Oldsmar | 13 | 11 |
| Orlando | 9 | 72,073 |
| Orlando | 10 | 230,492 |
| Orlando | 11 | 5,008 |
| Ormond Beach | 5 | 35,053 |
| Ormond Beach | 7 | 8,027 |
| Plant City | 14 | 16,655 |
| Plant City | 16 | 23,109 |
| Plantation | 20 | 8,589 |
| Plantation | 25 | 83,161 |
| Pompano Beach | 20 | 49,787 |
| Pompano Beach | 23 | 62,259 |
| Riviera Beach | 20 | 29,347 |
| Riviera Beach | 21 | 8,257 |
| Royal Palm Beach | 20 | 17,861 |
| Royal Palm Beach | 21 | 16,407 |
| Royal Palm Beach | 22 | 4,664 |
| Sunrise | 20 | 79,731 |
| Sunrise | 25 | 17,604 |
| Tallahassee | 2 | 104,000 |
| Tallahassee | 3 | 92,169 |
| Tampa | 14 | 286,631 |
| Tampa | 15 | 98,328 |
| Tavares | 6 | 10,272 |
| Tavares | 11 | 8,731 |
| West Palm Beach | 20 | 71,064 |
| West Palm Beach | 21 | 15,456 |
| West Palm Beach | 22 | 30,895 |

# H000C8011

## Boundary Analysis

| District | City Boundaries(%) | County Boundaries(%) | Road Boundaries(%) | Water Boundaries(%) | Rail Boundaries(%) | Non Geo/Pol Boundaries(%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Statewide Avg.** | **18.18** | **57.00** | **13.50** | **37.86** | **0.96** | **13.04** |
| **1** | 10 | 76 | 10 | 52 | 0 | 2 |
| **2** | 7 | 74 | 13 | 44 | 1 | 6 |
| **3** | 12 | 69 | 17 | 13 | 1 | 9 |
| **4** | 24 | 76 | 10 | 57 | 0 | 8 |
| **5** | 18 | 70 | 17 | 32 | 0 | 6 |
| **6** | 11 | 63 | 15 | 23 | 0 | 13 |
| **7** | 16 | 54 | 15 | 34 | 0 | 20 |
| **8** | 2 | 92 | 1 | 54 | 0 | 2 |
| **9** | 4 | 82 | 6 | 36 | 0 | 10 |
| **10** | 36 | 24 | 6 | 9 | 1 | 45 |
| **11** | 12 | 64 | 13 | 19 | 0 | 19 |
| **12** | 10 | 70 | 6 | 51 | 0 | 15 |
| **13** | 44 | 70 | 0 | 88 | 0 | 1 |
| **14** | 27 | 17 | 28 | 33 | 1 | 36 |
| **15** | 6 | 47 | 40 | 6 | 6 | 11 |
| **16** | 2 | 84 | 2 | 26 | 3 | 12 |
| **17** | 25 | 54 | 2 | 55 | 0 | 13 |
| **18** | 8 | 76 | 3 | 29 | 0 | 6 |
| **19** | 7 | 64 | 10 | 64 | 0 | 11 |
| **20** | 28 | 37 | 15 | 14 | 3 | 20 |
| **21** | 9 | 70 | 4 | 49 | 1 | 16 |
| **22** | 35 | 24 | 18 | 39 | 1 | 22 |
| **23** | 33 | 32 | 19 | 37 | 7 | 15 |
| **24** | 28 | 34 | 21 | 46 | 1 | 18 |
| **25** | 62 | 16 | 33 | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| **26** | 12 | 62 | 18 | 16 | 1 | 5 |
| **27** | 20 | 7 | 30 | 47 | 0 | 10 |
| **28** | 1 | 88 | 6 | 87 | 0 | 1 |

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES STAFF ANALYSIS

**BILL #:** HB 7503 PCB CRS 22-01 Establishing the Congressional Districts of the State
**SPONSOR(S):** Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee, Sirois
**TIED BILLS:** **IDEN./SIM. BILLS:**

| REFERENCE | ACTION | ANALYST | STAFF DIRECTOR or BUDGET/POLICY CHIEF |
|---|---|---|---|
| Orig. Comm.: Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee | 14 Y, 7 N | Wagoner | Kelly |
| 1) Redistricting Committee | | Wagoner | Kelly |

## SUMMARY ANALYSIS

The Florida Constitution requires the Legislature, at its regular session in the second year after the United States decennial census, to apportion congressional districts. The U.S. Constitution requires the reapportionment of the U.S. House of Representatives every ten years, which includes the distribution of the House's 435 seats between the states, and the equalization of population between districts within each state.

The 2020 Census revealed an unequal distribution of growth across Florida's state legislative and congressional districts. Therefore, districts must be adjusted to correct population differences.

Redistricting Plan H000C8011: This bill reapportions the resident population of Florida into 28 Congressional districts, as required by state and federal law.

This bill would substantially amend Chapter 8 of the Florida Statutes.

When compared to the existing 27 Congressional districts, this bill would:

- Reduce the number of cities split from 39 to 27
- Improves the statewide averages of the Convex Hull and Polsby-Popper mathematical compactness scores;
- Maintain a population deviation of one person;
- Increase the number of counties split from 18 to 20, and
- Ensures all protected minority districts have the ability to elect candidates of their choice, in alignment with the federal Voting Rights Act and the Florida Constitution.

Upon approval by the Legislature, this bill is subject to review by the Governor.

## FULL ANALYSIS

## I. SUBSTANTIVE ANALYSIS

A. EFFECT OF PROPOSED CHANGES:

**Current Situation**

### The 2020 Census

According to Article I, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution, the U.S. Census Bureau is required to do an "actual enumeration" of all people living in the United States every 10 years.[1] While the census results in many work products and data sets, the two most relevant to redistricting include the Apportionment Counts and Public Law 94-171 redistricting data (commonly referred to as the "P.L. Data") for each state. The redistricting dataset contains summary statistics on population, demographics and housing per census block. The included population data is categorized by total population and total population for individuals 18 years and older, both by race and Hispanic or Latino origin.

For the first time in its 40 years of modern data collection and distribution, the U.S. Census Bureau missed its statutory deadlines for delivering Apportionment Counts and the redistricting data to the states.[2] These delays were a result of wildfires, hurricanes, civil unrest, and the COVID-19 pandemic experienced during 2020.

The actual release date of each state's Apportionment Count was on April 26, 2021, close to four months behind its statutory deadline of December 31, 2020. And the official release date for the redistricting data was August 12, 2021, missing its statutory deadline of March 31, 2021 by close to six months. In an effort to get redistricting data released to the states as efficiently as possible, the data was first released in a "legacy file" format on August 12 while the official data release, deemed to be a more "user-friendly" format, occurred on September 30, 2021.

Although the U.S. Census Bureau faced unprecedented hurdles and timeline delays, Florida's enumeration was completed at a 99.9 percent rate.[3] Florida reached the same rate of completion as the national average, and this success was aided by traditional paper methods, in addition to the census being offered online for the first time in history.

### Results of the 2020 Census

According to the 2020 Census, 21,538,187 people resided in Florida on April 1, 2020, which represents a population growth of 2,736,877 in Florida residents between the 2010 to 2020 censuses. This increase in population also resulted in Florida gaining a congressional district, bringing the total to 28 districts.

After the 2010 Census, the ideal population for each district in Florida was:

- Congressional: 696,345, based on 27 districts
- State Senate: 470,033, based on 40 districts
- State House: 156,678, based on 120 districts

[1] U.S. Const. art. 1, §2.
[2] 13 U.S.C. § 141 (1976).
[3] *2020 Census Response Rate Update: 99.98% Complete Nationwide*. U.S. Census Bureau (Oct. 19, 2020), 2020 Census Response Rate Update: 99.98% Complete Nationwide (last visited Jan.14, 2022).

After the 2020 Census, the ideal population for each district in Florida was:

- Congressional: 769,221, based on 28 districts
- State Senate: 538,455, based on 40 districts
- State House: 179,485, based on 120 districts

As in previous decades, the 2020 Census revealed an unequal increase and shift in population growth amongst the state's legislative and congressional districts. Therefore, districts must be adjusted to comply with "one-person, one vote," such that each district must be nearly as equal in population as practicable.

Table 1 below shows the changes in population for each of Florida's current Congressional districts and their subsequent deviation from the new ideal population of 769,221 residents.

***Table 1. Florida Congressional Districts Change in Population from 2010 to 2020***

| NAME | 2010 Pop | 2020 Pop | Change | % Change | Over/Under Population | Over-Under Population % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 696,345 | 807,881 | 111,536 | 16.02% | 38,660 | 5.55% |
| 2 | 696,345 | 727,856 | 31,511 | 4.53% | -41,365 | -5.94% |
| 3 | 696,345 | 766,133 | 69,788 | 10.02% | -3,088 | -0.44% |
| 4 | 696,345 | 871,884 | 175,539 | 25.21% | 102,663 | 14.74% |
| 5 | 696,345 | 748,910 | 52,565 | 7.55% | -20,311 | -2.92% |
| 6 | 696,345 | 796,254 | 99,909 | 14.35% | 27,033 | 3.88% |
| 7 | 696,345 | 788,518 | 92,173 | 13.24% | 19,297 | 2.77% |
| 8 | 696,344 | 783,753 | 87,409 | 12.55% | 14,532 | 2.09% |
| 9 | 696,344 | 955,602 | 259,258 | 37.23% | 186,381 | 26.77% |
| 10 | 696,345 | 873,804 | 177,459 | 25.48% | 104,583 | 15.02% |
| 11 | 696,344 | 820,835 | 124,491 | 17.88% | 51,614 | 7.41% |
| 12 | 696,345 | 807,137 | 110,792 | 15.91% | 37,916 | 5.45% |
| 13 | 696,345 | 727,465 | 31,120 | 4.47% | -41,756 | -6.00% |
| 14 | 696,345 | 787,447 | 91,102 | 13.08% | 18,226 | 2.62% |
| 15 | 696,345 | 819,853 | 123,508 | 17.74% | 50,632 | 7.27% |
| 16 | 696,345 | 884,047 | 187,702 | 26.96% | 114,826 | 16.49% |
| 17 | 696,345 | 779,955 | 83,610 | 12.01% | 10,734 | 1.54% |
| 18 | 696,344 | 794,724 | 98,380 | 14.13% | 25,503 | 3.66% |
| 19 | 696,345 | 835,012 | 138,667 | 19.91% | 65,791 | 9.45% |
| 20 | 696,344 | 776,283 | 79,939 | 11.48% | 7,062 | 1.01% |
| 21 | 696,345 | 788,007 | 91,662 | 13.16% | 18,786 | 2.70% |
| 22 | 696,345 | 785,756 | 89,411 | 12.84% | 16,535 | 2.37% |
| 23 | 696,345 | 769,356 | 73,011 | 10.48% | 135 | 0.02% |
| 24 | 696,345 | 742,542 | 46,197 | 6.63% | -26,679 | -3.83% |
| 25 | 696,345 | 771,434 | 75,089 | 10.78% | 2,213 | 0.32% |
| 26 | 696,345 | 787,914 | 91,569 | 13.15% | 18,693 | 2.68% |
| 27 | 696,345 | 739,825 | 43,480 | 6.24% | -29,396 | -4.22% |

The law governing the reapportionment and redistricting of congressional and state legislative districts invokes the U.S. Constitution, the Florida Constitution, federal statutes, and a variety of state and federal case law. Therefore, all redistricting plans must comply with all requirements of the U.S. Constitution, the federal Voting Rights Act, the Florida Constitution, and applicable court decisions.

**U.S. Constitution**

The U.S. Constitution requires the reapportionment of the U.S. House of Representatives every 10 years to distribute each of the House of Representatives' 435 seats between the states and to equalize population between districts within each state.

Article I, Section 4 of the U.S. Constitution provides that "[t]he Time, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators." The U.S. Constitution thus delegates to state legislature's authority, subject to congressional regulation, to create congressional districts.

The requirement that each district be equal in population applies differently to congressional districts than to state legislative districts. The populations of congressional districts must achieve absolute mathematical equality, with no *de minimis* exception.[4] Limited population variances are permitted if they are "unavoidable despite a good faith effort" or if a valid "justification is shown."[5]

In addition to state specific requirements, states are obligated to redistrict based on the principle interpreted by the Court as "one-person, one-vote."[6] In *Reynolds*, the U.S. Supreme Court held that the 14th Amendment required that seats in state legislature be reapportioned on a population basis. The Supreme Court concluded:

> ..."the basic principle of representative government remains, and must remain, unchanged – the weight of a citizen's vote cannot be made to depend on where he lives. Population is, of necessity, the starting point for consideration and the controlling criterion for judgment in legislative apportionment controversies...The Equal Protection Clause demands no less than substantially equal state legislative representation for all citizens, of all places as well as of all races. We hold that, as a basic constitutional standard, the Equal Protection Clause requires that the seats in both houses of a bicameral state legislature must be apportioned on a population basis."[7]

The Court went on to conclude that decennial reapportionment was a rational approach to readjust legislative representation to take into consideration population shifts and growth.[8]

In practice, congressional redistricting has strictly adhered to the requirement of exact mathematical equality. In *Kirkpatrick v. Preisler* the Court rejected several justifications for violating this principle, including "a desire to avoid fragmenting either political subdivisions or areas with distinct economic and social interests, considerations of practical politics, and even an asserted preference for geographically compact districts."[9]

For state legislative districts, the courts have permitted a greater population deviation amongst districts. The populations of state legislative districts must be "substantially equal."[10] Substantial equality of population has come to generally mean that a legislative plan will not be held to violate the Equal Protection Clause if the difference between the least populous and most populous district is less than 10 percent.[11] Nevertheless, any significant deviation (even within the 10 percent overall deviation

[4] *Kirkpatrick v. Preisler,* 394 U.S. 526, 531 (1969).
[5] Id.
[6] *Baker v. Carr*, 369 U.S. 186 (1962).
[7] *Reynolds v. Sims,* 377 U.S. 533, 568 (1964).
[8] *Reynolds v. Sims,* 377 U.S. at 584.
[9] *Kirkpatrick v. Preisler,* 394 U.S. at 531.
[10] *Reynolds v. Sims,* 377 U.S. at 568.
[11] *Chapman v. Meier,* 420 U.S. 1 (1975); *Connor v. Finch,* 431 U.S. 407, 418 (1977).

margin) must be "based on legitimate considerations incident to the effectuation of a rational state policy,"[12] including "the integrity of political subdivisions, the maintenance of compactness and contiguity in legislative districts, or the recognition of natural or historical boundary lines."[13]

However, states should not interpret this 10 percent standard to be a safe haven.[14] Additionally, nothing in the U.S. Constitution or case law prevents states from imposing stricter standards for population equality.

Florida's benchmark maps from the 2012 redistricting cycle have population deviation ranges of 3.97% for its State House districts, 1.98% for it State Senate districts,[15] and plus or minus one person for Congressional districts.[16] The Congressional districts proposed by the bill have a population deviation range of one person.

**The Voting Rights Act**

Congress passed the Voting Rights Act (VRA) in 1965. The VRA protects the right to vote as guaranteed by the 15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. In addition, the VRA enforces the protections of the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution by ensuring minority voters an equal opportunity to participate in the political process and to elect candidates of their choice.

**The Voting Rights Act – Section 2**

Common challenges to congressional and state legislative districts generally arise under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. Section 2 provides: "No voting qualification or prerequisite to voting or standard, practice, or procedure shall be imposed or applied by any State…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, or in contravention of the "guarantees" provided to language minorities.[17] This provision prohibits "vote-dilution," which was further defined in the *Gingles* case. The purpose of Section 2 is to ensure that minority voters have an equal opportunity along with other members of the electorate to participate in the political process and elect representatives of their choice.[18]

The Supreme Court set forth the criteria of a vote-dilution claim in *Thornburg v. Gingles*.[19] A plaintiff must show that:

1. A minority group is sufficiently large and geographically compact to constitute a majority in a single-member district;

2. The minority group is politically cohesive, and

3. White voters vote sufficiently as a bloc to enable them usually to defeat the candidate preferred by the minority group.

[12] *Reynolds,* 377 U.S. at 579.
[13] *Swann v. Adams,* 385 U.S. 440, 444 (1967).
[14] *Marylanders for Fair Representation Inc. vs. Schafer*, 849 F. Supp. 1022, 1032 (D. Md. 1994).
[15] Florida House of Representatives, Staff Analysis of 2012 Senate Joint Resolution 1176, p. 21 and 40 (March 9, 2012).
[16] Florida House of Representatives, Staff Analysis of 2012 Senate Bill 1174, p. 17 (March 9, 2012).
[17] 52 U.S.C. § 10301(a).
[18] 52 U.S.C. § 10301(b); *Voinovich v. Quilter*, 507 U.S. 146, 155 (1993).
[19] *Thornburg vs. Gingles,* 478 U.S. 30 (1986).

The three "*Gingles* factors" are necessary, but not sufficient, to show a violation of Section 2.[20] To determine whether minority voters have been denied an equal opportunity to participate in the political process and elect representatives of their choice, a court must examine the totality of the circumstances.[21]

This analysis requires consideration of the so-called "Senate factors," which assess historical patterns of discrimination and the success, or lack thereof, of minorities in participating in campaigns and being elected to office. [22] Generally, these "Senate factors" were born in an attempt to distance Section 2 claims from standards that would otherwise require plaintiffs to prove "intent," which Congress viewed as an additional and largely excessive burden of proof, because "it diverts the judicial injury from the crucial question of whether minorities have equal access to the electoral process to a historical question of individual motives."[23]

In *Bartlett v. Strickland*, the Supreme Court provided a "bright line" distinction between majority-minority districts and other minority districts. The Court "concluded that Section 2 does not require states to "draw election-district lines to allow a racial minority to join with other voters to elect the minority's candidate of choice, even where the minority is less than 50 percent of the voting-age population in in the district to be drawn."[24] However, the Court made clear that, where no other prohibition exists, states retain flexibility to implement crossover districts—districts in which minority voters are not a majority of the voting-age population, but, at least potentially, are large enough to elect the candidates of their choice with help from voters who are members of the majority, and who cross over to support the minority's preferred candidate. In the opinion of the Court, Justice Kennedy stated as follows:

> "Much like § 5, § 2 allows States to choose their own method of complying with the Voting Rights Act, and we have said that may include drawing crossover districts…When we address the mandate of § 2, however, we must note it is not concerned with maximizing minority voting strength…and, as a statutory matter, §2 does not mandate creating or preserving crossover districts. Our holding also should not be interpreted to entrench majority-minority districts by statutory command, for that, too, could pose constitutional concerns…States that wish to draw crossover districts are free to do so where no other prohibition exists. Majority-minority districts are only required if all three *Gingles* factors are met and if § 2 applies based on a totality of the circumstances. In areas with substantial crossover voting it is unlikely that the plaintiffs would be able to establish the third *Gingles* precondition—bloc voting by majority voters."[25]

**The Voting Rights Act – Section 5**

*Section 5 of the VRA is no longer in effect as further described below. This section is provided for historical context.*

Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act was an independent mandate separate and distinct from the requirements of Section 2. As interpreted by the Supreme Court, the purpose of Section 5 was the means "designed by Congress to banish the blight of racial discrimination in voting, which had infected the electoral process."[26] These preclearance measures were intended to protect against retrogression. Section 5 originally applied to six whole states; additional states, as well as cities and counties, were later added to the pre-clearance requirements. In subsequent years, some states implemented their own retrogression standards to protect against retrogression similar to Florida's constitutional standards found in Article. III, Section(s) 20 and 21.

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[20] *Johnson v. De Grandy*, 512 U.S. 997, 1011-12 (1994).
[21] 52 U.S.C. § 10301(b); *Thornburg vs. Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 46.
[22] Senate Report Number 417, 97th Congress, Session 2 (1982).
[23] *Id.*
[24] *Bartlett v. Strickland*, 556 U.S. 1, 6 (2009).
[25] Id.
[26] *South Carolina v. Katzenbach*, 383 U.S. 301, 308 (1966).

Section 5 required states that were included in "covered jurisdictions" to obtain federal preclearance of any new enactment of or amendment to a "voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure with respect to voting."[27] This included redistricting plans.

Five Florida counties – Collier, Hardee, Hendry, Hillsborough, and Monroe – had been designated as covered jurisdictions under Section 5 pre-clearance process.[28] These five Florida counties were added to the Voting Rights Act in 1975 to provide protections for language minorities. However, in 2013, the U.S. Supreme Court declared in *Shelby County v. Holder* that the "coverage formula" in Section 4 of the VRA – the formula by which Congress selected the jurisdictions that Section 5 covered – exceeded Congress's enforcement authority under the 15th Amendment.[29] The Court further stated that Congress could update the coverage formula with new legislation, but Congress has since failed to do so. After *Shelby,* the preclearance process established by Section 5 of the VRA was no longer in effect nationwide. However, the *Shelby* decision did not affect the validity of the statewide diminishment standards in Florida's Constitution, which protect the ability of racial and language minorities in Florida to elect the representatives of their choice.

**Equal Protection – Racial Gerrymandering**

Racial gerrymandering is "the deliberate and arbitrary distortion of district boundaries...for (racial) purposes."[30] Racial gerrymandering claims are justiciable under equal protection.[31] In the wake of *Shaw v. Reno*, the Court rendered several opinions that attempted to harmonize the balance between "competing constitutional guarantees that: one, no state shall purposefully discriminate against any individual on the basis of race; and two, members of a minority group shall be free from discrimination in the electoral process."[32]

To make a *prima facie* showing of impermissible racial gerrymandering, the burden rests with the plaintiff to "show, either through circumstantial evidence of a district's shape and demographics or more direct evidence going to legislative purpose, that race was the predominant factor motivating the legislature's decision to place a significant number of voters within or without a particular district."[33] Thus, the "plaintiff must prove that the legislature subordinated traditional race-neutral districting principles...to racial considerations."[34] If the plaintiff meets this burden, "the State must demonstrate that its districting legislation is narrowly tailored to achieve a compelling interest,"[35] The U.S. Supreme Court assumed in *Bethune-Hill vs. Virginia State Board of Elections* that complying with the requirements set forth in the VRA can be considered a compelling state interest.[36]

**Equal Protection – Partisan Gerrymandering**

Partisan gerrymandering is the practice of "drawing electoral district lines to intentionally benefit one political party over others."[37] As determined in the 2019 U.S. Supreme Court case of *Rucho vs. Common Cause*, partisan gerrymandering claims are nonjusticiable under the United States Constitution and are considered to be "political questions" outside the scope of judicial review.[38]. The Court went further in *Rucho,* stating that the fundamental difficulty in formulating a standard for

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[27] 52 U.S.C. § 10304

[28] Some states were covered in their entirety. In other states only certain counties or cities were covered.

[29] *Shelby County v. Holder,* 570 U.S. 529 (2013)

[30] *Shaw v. Reno*, 509 U.S. 630, 640 (1993)

[31] *Shaw v. Reno*, 509 U.S. at 642.

[32] *Shaw v. Reno, Id* at 630; *U.S. v. Hays,* 515 U.S. 737 (1995); *Miller v. Johnson*, 515 U.S. 900 (1995); *Bush v. Vera*, 517 U.S. 952 (1996); *Shaw v. Hunt (Shaw II),* 517 U.S. 899 (1996); *Lawyer v. Dept. of Justice*, 521 U.S. 567 (1997); *Hunt v. Cromartie,* 526 U.S. 541 (1999); *Easley v. Cromartie*, 532 U.S. 234 (2001).

[33] *Miller v. Johnson*, 515 U.S. 900, 916 (1995).

[34] *Id.*

[35] *Miller v. Johnson*, 515 U.S. at 920.

[36] *Bethune-Hill v. VA. State Board of Elections.*, 580 U.S. 13 (2017).

[37] *Redistricting Law 2020*. National Conference of State Legislatures. November 2019. Page 99.

[38] *Rucho v. Common Cause*, No. 18-422, slip op. at 30.

adjudicating partisan gerrymandering claims is "determining what is fair" and that there is "extreme difficulty on settling on a clear, manageable and politically neutral test."[39]

**Florida Statutes – Chapters 8 and 10**

Under Florida law, chapters(s) 8 and 10 provide the structure for apportionment of Congressional and State Senate and House districts, respectively. These sections provide the basis for how Florida will use official census data and census blocks to draw districts. Census Blocks are the smallest geographical unit or area for the collection and tabulation of population data.[40]

**Florida Constitution – Article III, Section 16**

Article III, Section 16 of the Florida Constitution requires the Legislature, by joint resolution at its regular session in the second year after the Census is conducted, to apportion the State into senatorial districts and representative districts.

The Florida Constitution requires the legislature, by joint resolution, to reapportion the state into not less than 30 nor more than 40 consecutively numbered senate districts and into not less than 80 and no more than 120 consecutively numbered representative districts.[41] Redistricting must occur in the second year after each decennial census.[42] Florida is currently apportioned into 40 single-member senate districts[43] and 120 single-member representative districts.[44]

The Florida Constitution is silent with respect to process for congressional redistricting. Article I, Section 4 of the U.S. Constitution grants to each state legislature the exclusive authority to apportion seats designated to that state by providing the legislative bodies with the authority to determine the times, place and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives. Consistent there with, Florida has adopted its congressional apportionment plans by legislation subject to gubernatorial approval.[45] Congressional apportionment plans are not subject to automatic review by the Florida Supreme Court.

**Florida Constitution - Article III, Sections 20 and 21**

Article III, Sections 20 and 21 of the Florida Constitution establish the following standards for congressional and state legislative redistricting, respectively:

> In establishing congressional and state legislative district boundaries:
>
> (a) No apportionment plan or individual district shall be drawn with the intent to favor or disfavor a political party or an incumbent; and districts shall not be drawn with the intent or result of denying or abridging the equal opportunity of racial or language minorities to participate in the political process or to diminish their ability to elect representatives of their choice; and districts shall consist of contiguous territory.
>
> (b) Unless compliance with the standards in this subsection conflicts with the standards in subsection (a) or with federal law, districts shall be as nearly equal in population as is practicable; districts shall be compact; and districts shall, where feasible, utilize existing political and geographical boundaries.

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[39] *Id.*
[40] U.S. Census Bureau, (2011, July 11). *What are census blocks?*, https://www.census.gov/newsroom/blogs/random-samplings/2011/07/what-are-census-blocks.html. (last visited Jan.4, 2022).
[41] Art. III, s. 16(a), Fla. Const.
[42] *Id.*
[43] Fla. HJR 1987 (2002).
[44] Fla. HJR 25-E (2003).
[45] *See generally* §8.0001, et seq., F. S. (2007).

(c) The order in which the standards within subsections (a) and (b) of this section are set forth shall not be read to establish any priority of one standard over the other within that subsection."

These standards are set forth in two tiers. The first tier, subparagraphs (a) above, contains provisions regarding political and incumbency favoritism, racial and language minorities, and contiguity. The second tier, subparagraphs (b) above, contains provisions regarding equal population, compactness and use of political and geographical boundaries.

The first tier provides that no apportionment plan or district shall be drawn with the intent to favor or disfavor a political party or an incumbent. Redistricting decisions unconnected with an intent to favor or disfavor a political party and incumbent do not violate this provision of the Florida Constitution, even if their effect is to favor or disfavor a political party or incumbent.[46]

The Florida Supreme Court stated that these new requirements prohibit what had previously been an acceptable practice, "such as favoring incumbents and the political party in power." The Court went on to say that "Florida's constitution prohibits intent, not effect and applies to both the plan as a whole and to each district individually." Further, the Florida Supreme Court stated that the "protection of racial and language minorities against discrimination" is a tier one requirement, meaning that voters placed this as a "top priority" that the legislature must comply with during redistricting.[47]

To the extent that compliance with second-tier standards conflicts with first-tier standards, the second-tier standards do not apply.[48] The order in which the standards are set forth within either tier does not establish any priority of one standard over another within the same tier.[49]

The first tier of the standards also provides the following protections for racial and language minorities:

- Districts shall not be drawn with the intent or result of denying or abridging the equal opportunity of racial or language minorities to participate in the political process.

- Districts shall not be drawn to diminish the ability of racial or language minorities to elect representatives of their choice.

The Florida Supreme Court has held that these standards are essentially a restatement of Sections 2 and 5 of the Voting Rights Act.[50] The Court has construed the non-diminishment standard as imposing a statewide non-retrogression standard on all sixty-seven counties in Florida. These protections have a wider geographical reach than the non-retrogression protections found in Section 5 of the VRA, which covered only five counties in Florida. Further, the state performs a "functional analysis" to ensure compliance with the non-diminishment standard. This functional analysis is conducted by analyzing Voting Age Population, Voter Turnout, Voter Registration, and Election Results for a given district. The analysis is used to determine a minority population's ability to elect the representatives of its choice.[51] The Florida Supreme Court emphasized that "mere access to political data cannot presumptively demonstrate prohibited intent because such data is a necessary component of evaluating whether a minority group has the ability to elect representatives of their choice."[52]

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[46] In *Hartung v. Bradbury*, 33 P.3d 972, 987 (Or. 2001), the court held that "the mere fact that a particular reapportionment may result in a shift in political control of some legislative districts (assuming that every registered voter votes along party lines)," does not show that a redistricting plan was drawn with an improper intent. It is well recognized that political consequences are inseparable from the redistricting process. In *Vieth v. Jubelirer*, 541 U.S. 267, 343 (2004) (Souter, J., dissenting) ("The choice to draw a district line one way, not another, always carries some consequence for politics, save in a mythical State with voters of every political identity distributed in an absolutely gray uniformity.").

[47] *In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment 1176*, 83 So. 3d at 665.

[48] Art. III, s. 20(b) and 21(b), Fla. Const.

[49] Art. III, s. 20(c) and 21(c), Fla. Const.

[50] *In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment 1176*, 83 So. 3d at 619, 625.

[51] *In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment 1176*, 83 So. 3d at 627.

[52] *Id.*

The map drawing application for the 2022 redistricting cycle includes the following data points for General and Primary Election cycles from 2012-2020:

- Voter Registration by Party
- Voter Registration by Race or Ethnicity
- Voter Registration by Race or Ethnicity and Party
- Voter Registration by Party and Race or Ethnicity
- Voter Turnout by Party
- Voter Turnout by Party and Race or Ethnicity
- Voter Turnout by Race or Ethnicity and Party
- General Elections Results by Candidate
- Primary Elections Results by Candidate

The first tier also requires that districts consist of contiguous territory. In the context of state legislative districts, the Florida Supreme Court has held that a district is contiguous if no part of the district is isolated from the rest of the district by another district.[53] In a contiguous district, a person can travel from any point within the district to any other point without departing from the district.[54] A district is not contiguous if its parts touch only at a common corner, such as a right angle.[55] The Court has also concluded that the presence in a district of a body of water without a connecting bridge, even if it requires land travel outside the district in order to reach other parts of the district, does not violate contiguity.[56]

The second tier of these standards requires that districts be compact.[57] Compactness "refers to the shape of the district."[58] The Florida Supreme Court has confirmed that the primary test for compactness is a visual examination of the general shape of the district.[59] "Compact districts should not have an unusual shape, a bizarre design, or an unnecessary appendage unless it is necessary to comply with some other requirement."[60] The Florida Supreme Court recognized specific tests to measure quantitively, mathematical compactness: the Reock, Convex Hull, and Polsby-Popper tests.[61]

The second tier of these standards also requires that "districts shall, where feasible, utilize existing political and geographical boundaries."[62] "Political boundaries" refers to county and municipal lines.[63] The protection for counties and municipalities is consistent with the purpose of the standards to respect existing community lines. "Geographical boundaries" refers to boundaries that are "easily ascertainable and commonly understood, such as rivers, railways, interstates, and state roads."[64] The Florida Supreme Court stated that the tier two requirements are meant to restrict the legislature's discretion in

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[53] *In re Senate Joint Resolution 2G, Special Apportionment Session 1992*, 597 So. 2d 276, 279 (Fla. 1992) (citing *In re Apportionment Law, Senate Joint Resolution 1E*, 414 So. 2d 1040, 1051 (Fla. 1982)).
[54] *Id.*
[55] *Id.* (citing *In re Apportionment Law, Senate Joint Resolution 1E*, 414 So. 2d at 1051).
[56] *Id.* at 280.
[57] Art. III, s. 20(b) and 21(b), Fla. Const.
[58] *In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment 1176*, 83 So. 3d at 685.
[59] *Id.* at 634 ("[A] review of compactness begins by looking at the shape of a district.").
[60] *Id.*
[61] *League of Women Voters of Fla. V. Detzner,* 179 So. 3d 258, 283, 289 (Fla. 2015).
[62] Art. III, s. 20(b) and 21(b), Fla. Const.
[63] *In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment 1176*, 83 So. 3d at 636-37.
[64] *Id.* at 638 (marks omitted); *see also id.* ("Together with an analysis of compactness, an adherence to county and city boundaries, and rivers, railways, interstates and state roads as geographical boundaries will provide a basis for an objective analysis of the plans and the specific districts drawn.").

drawing irregularly shaped districts." The Court further stated that these standards "may undercut or defeat any assertion of improper intent."[65]

### Florida Constitution – Article X, Section 8

This section of the Florida Constitution states that each decennial census taken by the U.S. government shall be the official census of the state of Florida.[66]

### Redistricting Proposal Plan Data Report

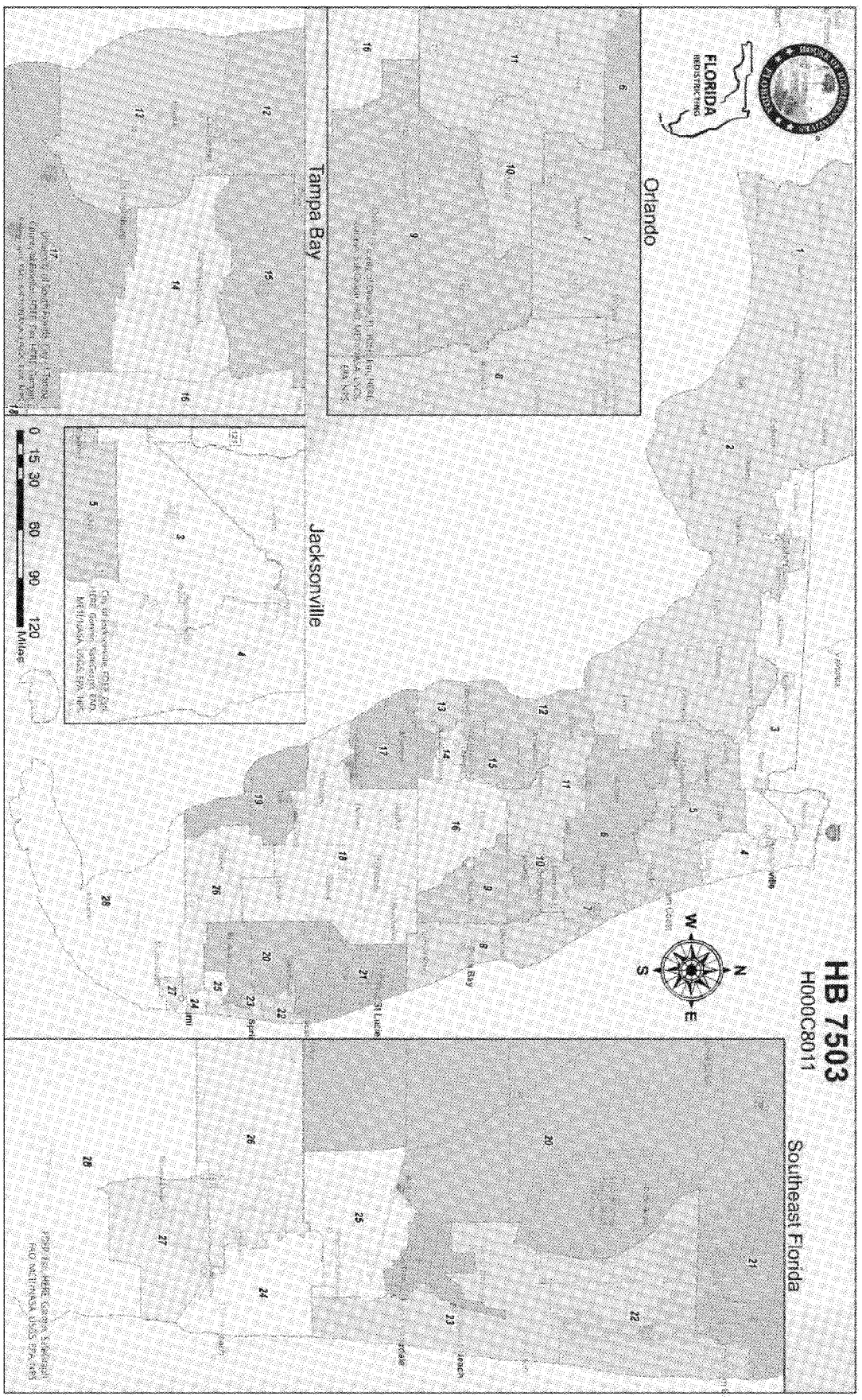
| STATEWIDE SNAPSHOT | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total State Population: | 21,538,187 | | Total Counties: | 67 | Reock Avg. |
| Ideal District Population: | 769,221 | | Counties Split: | 20 | 0.43 |
| Mean Deviation: | 0 | 0.00% | Counties Kept Whole: | 47 | Convex Hull Avg. |
| Max Deviation: | 0 | 0.00% | Total Cities: | 412 | 0.79 |
| Min Deviation: | -1 | 0.00% | Cities Split: | 27 | Polsby Popper Avg. |
| Overall Deviation Range: | 1 | 0.00% | Cities Kept Whole: | 385 | 0.37 |

| DISTRICT BREAKDOWN | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| District | Population | | | Voting Age Population | | Compactness | | |
| | Total Population | Deviation From Ideal | % Deviation | BVAP % | HVAP % | Reock | Convex Hull | Polsby Popper |
| 1 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 13.54 | 6.69 | 0.54 | 0.87 | 0.46 |
| 2 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 13.63 | 6.24 | 0.31 | 0.72 | 0.23 |
| 3 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 43.98 | 9.00 | 0.11 | 0.63 | 0.10 |
| 4 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 10.53 | 9.25 | 0.33 | 0.65 | 0.19 |
| 5 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 13.14 | 8.87 | 0.41 | 0.79 | 0.33 |
| 6 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 11.53 | 15.11 | 0.41 | 0.82 | 0.33 |
| 7 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 12.67 | 16.02 | 0.49 | 0.75 | 0.36 |
| 8 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 9.69 | 10.00 | 0.29 | 0.81 | 0.38 |
| 9 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 14.43 | 50.06 | 0.49 | 0.87 | 0.33 |
| 10 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 25.32 | 27.56 | 0.35 | 0.85 | 0.35 |
| 11 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 10.44 | 14.77 | 0.41 | 0.78 | 0.34 |
| 12 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 4.54 | 10.57 | 0.40 | 0.62 | 0.26 |
| 13 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 11.46 | 9.77 | 0.68 | 0.91 | 0.63 |
| 14 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 20.26 | 26.06 | 0.44 | 0.86 | 0.49 |
| 15 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 13.08 | 26.69 | 0.46 | 0.84 | 0.46 |
| 16 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 14.94 | 23.21 | 0.52 | 0.92 | 0.42 |
| 17 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 7.55 | 14.29 | 0.61 | 0.88 | 0.51 |
| 18 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 6.56 | 15.26 | 0.50 | 0.80 | 0.43 |
| 19 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 6.83 | 17.63 | 0.33 | 0.77 | 0.39 |
| 20 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 50.73 | 22.50 | 0.50 | 0.77 | 0.29 |
| 21 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 12.35 | 15.06 | 0.49 | 0.83 | 0.52 |
| 22 | 769,220 | -1 | 0.00 | 15.99 | 24.75 | 0.46 | 0.74 | 0.44 |
| 23 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 11.49 | 20.83 | 0.35 | 0.71 | 0.22 |
| 24 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 42.27 | 38.18 | 0.48 | 0.90 | 0.42 |
| 25 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 18.57 | 42.50 | 0.53 | 0.85 | 0.49 |
| 26 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 6.89 | 74.04 | 0.30 | 0.74 | 0.33 |
| 27 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 6.51 | 75.65 | 0.56 | 0.86 | 0.53 |
| 28 | 769,221 | 0 | 0.00 | 10.90 | 71.69 | 0.21 | 0.56 | 0.24 |

[65] *In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment 1176*, 83 So. 3d at 618.

[66] Art. X, s. 8, Fla. Const.

## Proposed Congressional Map



B. SECTION DIRECTORY:

Section 1 Provides that the 2020 Census is the official census of the state for the purposes of this bill; Lists and defines the geography utilized for the purposes of this bill in accordance with Public Law 94-171.

Section 2 Provides for the geographical description of the redistricting of the 28 congressional districts.

Section 3 Provides for the amendment of Section 8.0111, allowing for apportionment of any territory not specified for inclusion in any district.

Section 4 Provides that the districts created by this joint resolution constitute and form the congressional districts of the State.

Section 5 Provides for the format of electronic maps to serve as the official maps of congressional districts.

Section 6 Provides a severability clause in the event that any portion of this bill is held invalid.

Section 7 Provides that this bill applies with respect to the qualification, nomination, and election of members of the Congress of the United States in the primary and general elections held in 2022 and thereafter.

Section 8 Provides for the repeal of sections 8.08, 8.081, 8.082, 8.083, 8.084, 8.085, 8.086, 8.087, 8.088, Florida Statutes, upon this act becoming law.

Section 9 Provides that, except as otherwise expressly provided, this act shall take effect upon expiration of the terms of the representatives to the United States House of Representatives serving on the date that this act becomes a law.

## II. FISCAL ANALYSIS & ECONOMIC IMPACT STATEMENT

A. FISCAL IMPACT ON STATE GOVERNMENT:

1. Revenues:

   None.

2. Expenditures:

   None.

B. FISCAL IMPACT ON LOCAL GOVERNMENTS:

1. Revenues:

   None.

2. Expenditures:

The reapportionment will have an indeterminate fiscal impact on Florida's 67 Supervisor of Elections offices. Local supervisors will incur the cost of data-processing and labor to change voter records to reflect new districts if they are impacted by this proposed map. As precincts are aligned to new districts, postage and printing will be required to provide each active voter whose precinct has changed with mail notification. Temporary staffing may be hired to assist with mapping, data verification, and voter inquiries.

C. DIRECT ECONOMIC IMPACT ON PRIVATE SECTOR:

None.

D. FISCAL COMMENTS:

None.

## III. COMMENTS

A. CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES:

1. Applicability of Municipality/County Mandates Provision:

None.

2. Other:

None.

B. RULE-MAKING AUTHORITY:

None.

C. DRAFTING ISSUES OR OTHER COMMENTS:

## IV. AMENDMENTS/COMMITTEE SUBSTITUTE CHANGES

# Exhibit M

# DeSantis says he will not sign legislation that has 'unconstitutional gerrymander'

wtxl.com/news/local-news/desantis-says-he-will-not-sign-legislation-that-has-unconstitutional-gerrymander

By: WTXL Digital Staff February 11, 2022

JACKSON COUNTY, Fla. (WTXL) — During a press conference in Jackson County on Friday, Governor Ron DeSantis said that he would not pass legislation regarding congressional districts that he felt had an "unconstitutional gerrymander" in it.

After announcing grant money for communities in the Big Bend, Gov. DeSantis made mention of the Florida Supreme Court ruling that came down Thursday, in which they declined to give an advisory opinion on if Florida's Fifth Congressional District was unconstitutional or not.

"We will not be signing any congressional map that has an unconstitutional gerrymander in it," Gov. DeSantis said. "That is going to be the position that we stick to. Take that to the bank."

The House and Senate have considered maps that largely left Democratic U.S. Rep. Al Lawson's district intact, but DeSantis is pushing a map that would make his district lean Republican.

*This story contains information from the Associated Press.*

# Exhibit N

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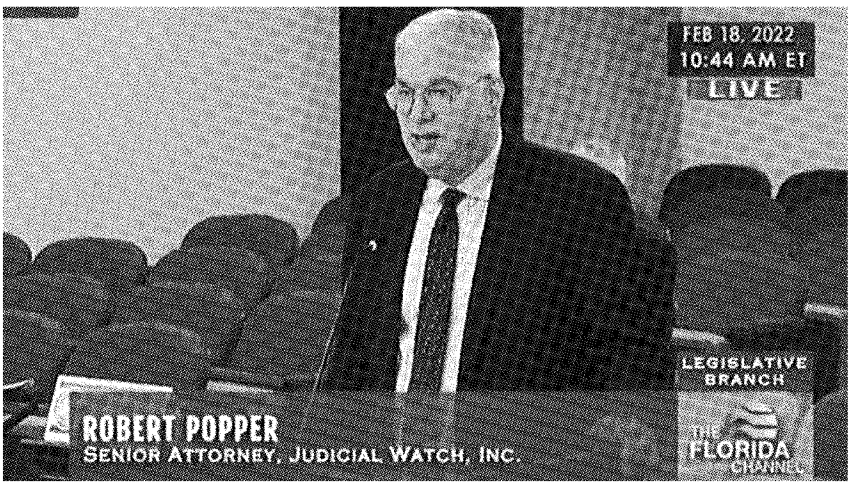
FLORIDA POLITICS

# Florida GOP in conflict: DeSantis' redistricting expert doesn't convince House panel

BY MARY ELLEN KLAS *HERALD/TIMES TALLAHASSEE BUREAU*

UPDATED FEBRUARY 18, 2022 5:22 PM




Robert Popper, a redistricting attorney with the conservative activist group Judicial Watch, testified before the House Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee on Friday, Feb. 18, 2022. SCREENSHOT *The Florida Channel*

Only have a minute? Listen instead
Powered by **Trinity Audio**
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*TALLAHASSEE*

The conflict between Gov. Ron DeSantis and the Florida Legislature came into sharper focus on Friday as the governor's office paid for a conservative redistricting expert to appear before the House Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee and the committee rejected his arguments.

Robert Popper, a senior attorney with the conservative activist group Judicial Watch, told the committee that if it moves ahead with its map that leaves in place a North Florida congressional district that stretches across several counties, it could "be in trouble" if the map were to get challenged before the U.S. Supreme Court.

"I'm talking as a lawyer. This district is going to have problems in federal court," Popper told the House Redistricting Subcommittee.

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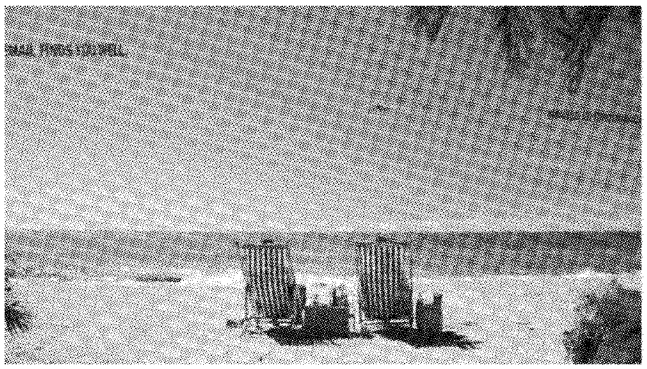

A redistricting expert who was one of the founders of the Polsby-Popper score used to measure the compactness of a district, Popper argued that because the North Florida district which the House has named District 3, is not compact, it is not "narrowly tailored" and violates the "strict scrutiny" requirements in recent court opinions.

"The entire map is going to end up in litigation, we know that," he warned. "I respectfully submit that this committee and this House would want to be holding the strongest hand that it could. District 3, as drawn, does not permit that."

## DEFYING DESANTIS

The warning sets the stage for what could be the long-range goal of the governor, who has all but threatened to veto a congressional redistricting map if it includes the district that has elected U.S. Rep. Al Lawson, a Tallahassee Democrat, who is Black. The district was approved by the court a decade ago to link together Black communities from the Antebellum South in an effort to allow minorities in the region to elect a candidate of their choice.

Last week, the Florida Supreme Court rejected the governor's request to provide legal guidance over whether or not legislators should dismantle the Black-held congressional district in North Florida.

Absent the court's advice, Florida Republican leaders have so far defied the Republican governor and failed to embrace his argument.

The Senate unanimously passed its congressional redistricting map that included four districts that could elect Black candidates to Congress, a configuration that would leave the Republican majority in a 28-member congressional delegation at 16, with 12 seats, including a new one in Central Florida, likely able to elect a Democrat.

The House committee on Friday voted 14-7 along partisan lines to adopt a map that would likely elect only three Blacks to Congress, dismantling the Orlando-based district currently held by U.S. Rep. Val Demings, a Black Democrat, but leaving the district that elected Lawson intact.

By contrast, DeSantis has called Lawson's district an "illegal gerrymander" and said he would reject any map that has it in it. He has submitted two maps that create only two districts in the state that preserve Black voting strength, dismantling the Lawson and Demings districts.

**READ NEXT**

FLORIDA POLITICS

DeSantis makes veto threat of Republican congressional redistricting map

FEBRUARY 11, 2022 5:52 PM

Unlike the Senate's congressional plan, both the House map and the governor's give Republicans two additional seats in the congressional delegation by creating districts that would likely elect an 18-10 Republican majority.

Under questioning of Republican members of the committee on Friday, Popper confirmed that his airfare to Tallahassee and his hotel were paid by the governor's office.

DeSantis spokesperson Taryn Fenske said that those expenses were paid by the legal counsel hired by the governor at taxpayer expense but, she noted, the House asked the governor to provide a witness to appear.

According to Judicial Watch, a group that has earned its reputation by filing Freedom of Information Act lawsuits to investigate claimed misconduct by government officials, Popper specializes in gerrymandering cases and has been with the organization since 2013.

**FAIR DISTRICTS UNDER FIRE?**

Popper's testimony brought into focus the governor's legal argument and raised the prospect that the governor may be preparing to argue that the Fair Districts standards of the Florida Constitution may come into conflict with the federal court's interpretations of redistricting law.

In 2010, Florida voters overwhelmingly approved the Fair District standards, prohibiting the Legislature from drawing districts that favor incumbents or political parties or diminish the ability of minority voters from electing candidates of their choice.

The standards also require that legislators give priority to preserving the voting strength of minority voters over the geographical compactness of minority voters.

Members of the committee, many of whom had read Popper's written testimony ahead of the meeting, peppered him with legal questions.

Rep. Daniel Perez, a Miami Republican and a lawyer, asked how a court should weigh the equal protection standards of the U.S. Constitution against the Fair District standards of the Florida Constitution.

"Would it be fair to say that the 14th Amendment would invalidate the Fair District amendments — specifically, the prohibition on not diminishing the ability of minority communities to elect a candidate of their choice?" he asked. "If it does not, then why is complying with the Florida Constitution, not a compelling state interest?"

"It depends," Popper answered. "My testimony is not to suggest that the Fair Districts amendment would be unconstitutional and all its applications."

"Can you point us to a district that does not diminish minority voting ability but is more narrowly tailored?" asked Rep. Tyler Sirois, R-Merritt Island, the committee chair.

No, Popper answered.

Rep. Kaylee Tuck, R-Lake Placid, asked if Popper agreed with Florida Supreme Court Chief Justice Charles Canady's dissent in the redistricting case from a decade ago in which he interprets the state's redistricting standards that prohibit the state from diminishing minority voting access.

"I'm not an expert in Florida law," Popper answered.

Could he cite any federal court decisions relating to Section 5 of the federal Voting Rights Act that "requires that a district must be compact?" Tuck continued.

No, Popper said, adding that he knows of case law where a non-compact district was rejected.

And does he agree that adopting the governor's map for the North Florida district "will diminish the ability to elect" Black candidates, Tuck asked.

"It's ambiguous," Popper answered.

The intense grilling from Republicans prompted Democrats to conclude that Popper was not there to help them draw maps that abide by Florida law.

"We're here, big picture, trying to weigh what is best for the residents of Florida," said Rep. Christine Hunschofsky, D-Parkland.

She asked if there was "a compelling justification" to have less representation from minority candidates "in favor of more compactness?"

Popper continued with his warning. "This district is going to have problems in federal court," he said.

By the end of the meeting, Sirois commended Hunschofsky because her question "just cut to the heart of the matter."

He then read the redistricting standards of the Florida Constitution and concluded: "We have to follow the law."

"I want to assuage any doubt that may be in front of you today," he said. "This is a legally sound map. It's a constitutionally compliant map. Please join me in voting yes."

Democrats said they are hopeful the governor's approach will continue to be rebuffed by their Republican colleagues as the House and Senate work out differences in their congressional maps.

"We are the architects of our congressional and House and Senate maps and the governor is not — despite his attempts at interference," said Rep. Kelly Skidmore of Boca Raton, the ranking Democrat on the committee. "The process worked, and he has been shut down and his paid testifier today didn't change anybody's opinion on that."

*Mary Ellen Klas can be reached at meklas@miamiherald.com and @MaryEllenKlas*

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MARY ELLEN KLAS

Mary Ellen Klas is the state Capitol bureau chief for the Miami Herald, where she covers government and politics and focuses on investigative and accountability reporting. In 2018-19, Mary Ellen was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University and was named the 2019 Murrey Marder Nieman Fellow in Watchdog Journalism. In 2018, she won the Sunshine Award from the Society of Professional Journalists. The Herald's statehouse bureau is a joint operation with the Tampa Bay Times' statehouse staff. Please support her work with a digital subscription. You can reach her at meklas@miamiherald.com and on Twitter @MaryEllenKlas.

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# Exhibit O

# Special session: Florida lawmakers heeding Gov. DeSantis' demand for new congressional map, enraging opponents

heraldtribune.com/story/news/politics/state/2022/04/14/florida-republicans-expected-approve-desantis-redistricting-maps-special-session/7282872001

## "What I'm hearing out of Tallahassee is that we can pay taxes, but we won't have representation. The governor wants to turn North Florida Republican red. And if he does, we're going to be an outcast, again."

John Kennedy

Capital Bureau USA TODAY NETWORK--FLORIDA

TALLAHASSEE – When 80-year-old Sam Palmer was growing up in Gadsden County, few Black Floridians were eligible to vote — not in those segregation days.

Because of racial violence and restrictive voting laws, there were only seven Black voters in a county of almost 11,000 Black people. Palmer had just turned 18.

Now, as president of the NAACP in the state's only majority Black county, Palmer fears he's seeing a form of that history of disenfranchisement threatening to repeat itself.

"What I'm hearing out of Tallahassee is that we can pay taxes, but we won't have representation," Palmer said. "The governor wants to turn North Florida Republican red. And if he does, we're going to be an outcast, again."

Florida lawmakers are set to convene Tuesday at the Capitol to redraw boundaries for the state's 28 congressional districts.

Gov. Ron DeSantis last month vetoed an earlier redistricting plan approved by the Republican-led Legislature, condemning it as unconstitutional because of what he called racial gerrymandering.

Instead, DeSantis has advanced plans with more districts likely to elect Republicans to Congress from Florida. But he does this by redrawing two of the four districts represented by Black Democrats, reducing their number of minority voters.

**Governor's goal:**Ron DeSantis eyes court fight over Florida congressional map to reduce minority seats

**How we got here; what's at stake:**After past 'mockery,' Florida GOP to begin new high-stakes redistricting effort

**DeSantis has reshaped court:**Before controversial policy push, Gov. Ron DeSantis first reshaped Florida's highest court

The targeted districts include the seat held by U.S. Rep. Al Lawson, which contains Gadsden County, a mostly rural, formerly tobacco-growing region at the Georgia border. With a population of almost 44,000 people, it is 55% Black.

The other district threatened is in the Orlando area where U.S. Rep. Val Demings, a Black Democrat elected in 2016, is leaving to challenge Republican U.S. Sen. Marco Rubio.

For a state that elected three Black members to Congress 30 years ago for only the first time since shortly after the Civil War, DeSantis' approach is viewed by opponents as turning back the political clock.

"It's about whether these voters get a chance to elect a representative of their choice, whether it's me or somebody else," said Lawson, a Democrat from Tallahassee, first elected in 2016. "The governor is doing this for political reasons, even Republicans are saying that. "

The Legislature refused to go along with the governor's demands during the two-month session, when leaders in both the House and Senate relied on a state constitutional requirement and preserved Florida's minority-heavy districts, four with large Black populations and four where Hispanic voters hold an edge.

The state's Fair Districts amendments, approved by voters in 2010, bar line-drawing that for Black and Hispanic voters would "diminish their ability to elect representatives of their choice."

## Governor seeks legal conflict

DeSantis, though, argues that these Fair Districts standards conflict with the U.S. Supreme Court's interpretation of federal constitutional requirements.

Citing Lawson's current district, which stretches from the Tallahassee area to Jacksonville, DeSantis said on Tuesday that he is intent, instead, on crafting a "race neutral" seat in North Florida.

DeSantis a day later released a proposed map for the special session that would help Republicans capture 20 of Florida's 28 congressional districts and dramatically change the seats now held by Lawson and Demings.

Republicans currently hold 16 seats in Florida's 27-member congressional delegation, with the state adding a seat this year because of population gains in the 2020 Census.

What is now Lawson's district would be confined to Duval County, with its Black voting age population reduced to where it would be dominated by Republican voters and may not elect a Black lawmaker. The Orange County district served by Demings remains Democratic-leaning, but may not be poised to elect a Black candidate, under the DeSantis map.

Senate Redistricting Chair Ray Rodrigues, R-Estero, was quick to get on board with what the governor recommended Wednesday.

"I have determined that the Governor's map reflects standards the Senate can support," Rodrigues said.

Florida Democratic Party Chair Manny Diaz lashed out at lawmakers for caving to DeSantis. He called it "appalling but not surprising," that Republican legislative leaders wouldn't try again to craft their own maps.

"Gov. DeSantis is hell-bent on eliminating congressional seats where Florida's minority communities have the ability to elect representatives of their choice and he is imposing his own partisan political preferences on Florida's congressional map," Diaz said.

The governor's latest pitch is similar to maps he proposed in January and February, which would've turned Lawson's district Republican-leaning. His plans would make every Florida congressional district north of the Orlando and Tampa areas likely to elect Repulblicans.

His earlier maps created 18 and 20 seats likley to be won by a Republican.

DeSantis' plans would help national Republican efforts aimed at regaining control of Congress in this fall's midterm elections, when the governor also will be on the ballot, seeking re-election.

Once-a-decade redistricting is a pivotal part of the battle for Congress this year, with only Florida, Missouri and New Hampshire not yet approving new maps. With its 28 seats, the outcome in Florida will prove significant for both Democrats and Republicans.

**Florida governor wants to redraw heavily Black, Democratic district:**DeSantis wants 'race neutral' North Florida district — a move that dilutes Black vote, helps Republicans

**What redistricting means for these Florida counties:**DeSantis' redistricting map has big impact on seats covering Sarasota and Manatee counties

**Is Florida's congressional maps deadline too late?** Polk supervisor of elections warns state's deadline on congressional maps is too late

## Focus on Florida intensifies

The focus on Florida also intensified after Democrats managed to increase their expected numbers in New York, Oregon and Illinois, while Republicans appear to have bolstered their chance for adding seats from Texas and Georgia.

Florida's legislative leaders say they don't plan to present maps of their own for the special session. Instead, they'll just respond to what the governor proposes.

While Republicans at this stage appear willing to endorse the redrawing of Black-leaning districts in favor of adding GOP seats, the effort is enflaming Black voters, Democrats and allied organizations.

They see the move as a historic marker, and not in a good way.

"It certainly has an impact on Black voters across the state to see this is yet again as another attack on our very existence," said Jasmine Burney-Clark, founder of Equal Ground Action, a nonprofit which has launched a digital and letter-writing campaign aimed at state lawmakers, demanding they defend Florida minority representation in Congress.

"We went through a very rough legislative cycle this year and last year, and this is one additional knock on Black Floridians," she added.

## North Carolina ruling is key

The governor's legal argument centers on a 2017 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in a North Carolina case that found it unconstitutional to racially gerrymander a seat, except in narrow instances, which DeSantis says the Black-leaning Congressional District 5 district fails to meet.

That North Carolina ruling came two years after Florida's congressional lines were created by the Florida Supreme Court, which had taken over the map-making in the last round of redistricting because of constitutional violations by Republican lawmakers drawing the plan.

DeSantis said that the two congressional maps endorsed this spring by Republican-led majorities in the state House and Senate violated the U.S. Constitution's equal protection clause.

Lawmakers had attempted placate the governor by recasting Lawson's district into a Duval County-only seat, but one still with a significant Black population. Legislators actually produced two maps, a primary and secondary plan, that left the 5th District with its minority-heavy, Tallahassee-to-Jacksonville contours.

DeSantis said lawmakers were wrong on both.

"They forgot to make sure what they were doing complied with the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution," DeSantis said when he vetoed the Legislature's plan.

## History turns

The 14th Amendment, ratified in 1868, was among three post-Civil War amendments that established civil and legal rights for Black Americans. But its equal protection provision has been used by justices to prohibit lawmakers from using race as the predominant motivation to place a significant number of minority voters within a particular district.

The standard usually comes into play when minorities are packed into a district, a common tactic that can "bleach" neighboring seats and make it easier for white lawmakers from either party retain power.

But the governor's plan seems more designed to "crack" Black voters, eroding their influence by scattering them across districts more likely to elect white Republicans, opponents said.

"If they do what DeSantis wants, our only hope may be the courts," said Brenda Holt, a Gadsden County commissioner who has campaigned for Lawson in past elections.

**During session, legislators won't bend:**Florida House rejects Gov. DeSantis in rare clash on political redistricting

**Fewer minority seats; more Republicans:** Ron DeSantis eyes court fight over Florida congressional map to reduce minority seats

DeSantis acknowledges that whatever map he signs, a court challenge lies ahead.

But the governor's argument could gain traction in a state Supreme Court where he has named three of the seven justices and a U.S. Supreme Court now with a conservative, 6-3 majority.

## Court challenge certain

"Obviously, that will be litigated," DeSantis said. "But I can tell you, the original district would have absolutely been litigated. And if you look at what's happened in the U.S. Supreme Court over the last four or five years, you know, that would be the case."

While Florida lawmakers wouldn't fully endorse the governor's dismantling of a Black-oriented North Florida district during the legislative session, DeSantis enlisted support for his legal argument from Robert Popper, who is with the conservative activist foundation Judicial Watch.

"In federal law, the district's in trouble," said Popper, famous for having created a mathematical standard bearing his name that is used to gauge district compactness.

Popper told a House committee that the Jacksonville-to-Tallahassee boundaries fail to meet the "narrowly tailored," goal for districts that courts now demand.

But when asked whether the state had a role in protecting minority representation from being diminished, Popper responded, "it can be, if it's accomplished with a narrowly tailored remedy."

Still, even when lawmakers turned the Lawson district into Duval-only, it failed to satisfy the governor. Critics say it's because it was still positioned to elect a Black Democrat.

For Black voters across North Florida and in the Orlando area, reducing their ability to elect a member of Congress they choose is viewed as erasing gains that seem fresh against Florida's checkered racial history.

When Lawson was elected to the state House in 1982, he became the first Black member of the Legislature in modern times coming from either the Panhandle or Big Bend regions. In Congress, the North Florida counties he represents were home to pre-Civil War plantations and later endured decades of Black voter suppression.

"I've seen a lot of progress in Gadsden, compared to yesteryear," said Palmer, the NAACP president. "But now we're dealing with something that's all about politics, and about Republicans trying to increase their clout in Washington."

*John Kennedy is a reporter in the USA TODAY Network's Florida Capital Bureau. He can be reached at jkennedy2@gannett.com, or on Twitter at @JKennedyReport*

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# Exhibit P

# Florida House rejects Gov. DeSantis in rare clash on political redistricting

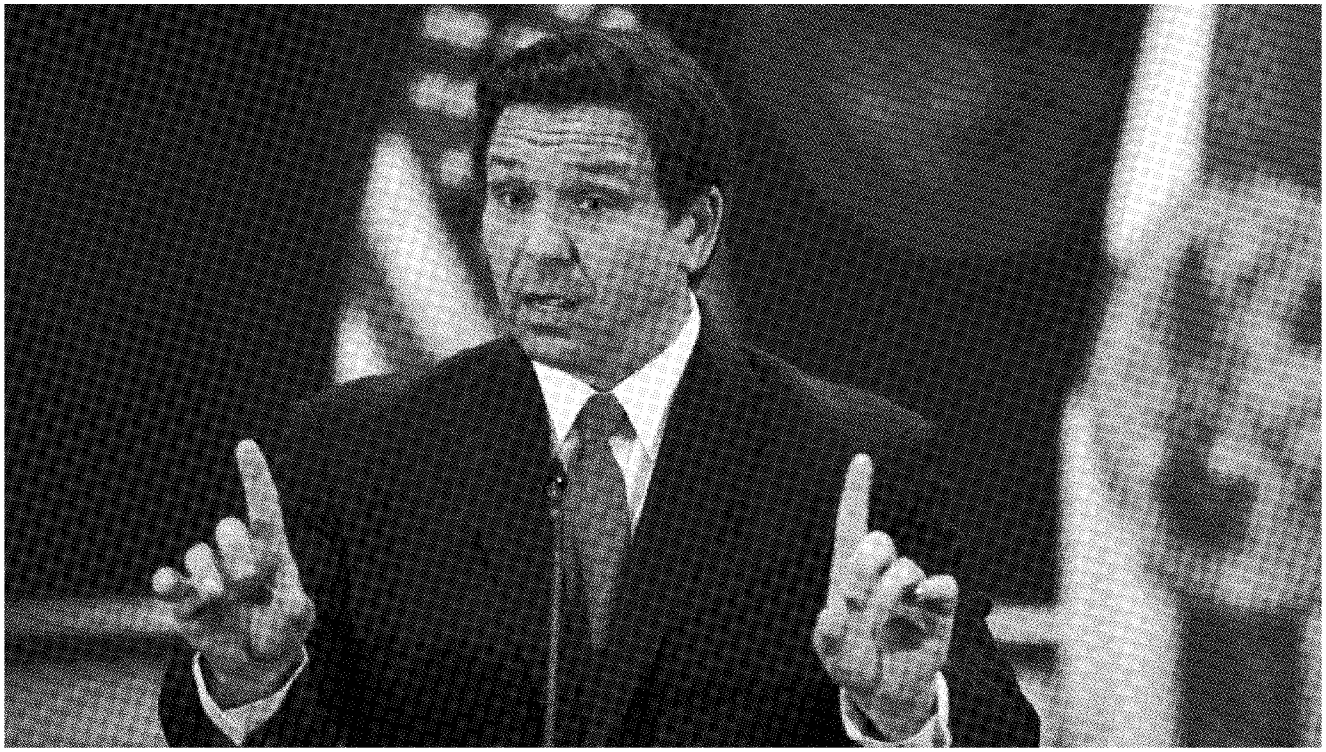
tallahassee.com/story/news/politics/2022/02/18/house-republicans-break-desantis-congressional-line-drawing-plan/6836299001

POLICY AND POLITICS

## 'This is a legally sound map,' one top lawmaker said of the House plan

John Kennedy

Capital Bureau | USA TODAY NETWORK – FLORIDA



TALLAHASSEE – Gov. Ron DeSantis' demand that a Jacksonville-to-Tallahassee congressional district be eliminated was ignored Friday by a House panel, which in its proposed boundaries maintains the seat held by Black Democratic congressman Al Lawson since 2016.

But DeSantis stepped-up his fight against fellow Republican leaders in the Legislature, dispatching a national expert on redistricting who warned that keeping the Lawson district will threaten the legality of the congressional plan.

DeSantis insists the district dominated by Black voters amounts to racial gerrymandering. And attorney Robert Popper, with the conservative activist foundation Judicial Watch, agreed.

"In federal law, the district's in trouble," said Popper, famous for having created a mathematical standard bearing his name that is used to gauge district compactness.

Under questioning from Republicans on the House congressional redistricting subcommittee, Popper acknowledged that DeSantis had asked him to provide testimony Friday, and that his hotel and flight to Tallahassee from the Washington, D.C., area was paid by the governor.

## Court ruling a question

Popper echoed the governor's contention that a 2017 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in a North Carolina case found it unconstitutional to racially gerrymander a seat, except in narrow occasions that Lawson's district does not meet, he said.

"They're going to view this as not narrowly tailored. That's my prediction," Popper told the committee.

But in a rare instance of bipartisan unity in the House, Republicans and Democrats both sharply challenged Popper's conclusion.

Rep. Christine Hunchofsky, D-Parkland, argued that state and federal law prohibits lawmakers from creating district lines that diminish the possibility of minorities to elect a representative of their choice. And sometimes, those districts that help achieve that goal are not compact.

"Is compactness more important than having an equal opportunity to representation in our districts?" Hunchovsky asked.

Popper sidestepped. "As important, is a difficult thing," he said.

**Senate already at odds:**Florida Senate breaks with Gov. Ron DeSantis on congressional redistricting map

**Republicans wanted to avoid court:**Florida lawmakers look to avoid running afoul of courts when redrawing districts

**Background and at stake:**After past 'mockery,' Florida GOP to begin new high-stakes redistricting effort

Lake Placid Republican Kaylee Tuck, vice-chair of the committee, also bore in. "Do you agree that protecting minority voting interest from diminishment is a compelling state interest?" Tuck asked.

Popper responded that "it can be, if it's accomplished with a narrowly tailored remedy." He added that the Tallahassee-to-Jacksonville district "is a problem."

## GOP wants more seats in Congress

With Republicans nationally eager to gain seats this fall to regain control of Congress, DeSantis has become the first Florida governor in at least many decades to weigh in with a redistricting map.

Through general counsel Ryan Newman, he has proposed two plans that would cut in half the state's four congressional districts with Black populations large enough for those voters to elect a candidate of their choice.

Lawson was at the state Capitol on Thursday and struck back at DeSantis for his efforts to erase a district that is 46% Black and spans many North Florida counties that were home to pre-Civil War plantations and later, decades of Black voter suppression.

"For the governor who is supposed to be representing everyone in the state of Florida, going in the direction he's going, it shows he just doesn't care," Lawson said.

**More:**Democrats stand with Al Lawson in feud with DeSantis over 'wickedness' in redistricting

DeSantis' first proposal also would create 18 districts considered likely to elect Republicans, with 10 districts Democratic-leaning. The other map would make it a 20-8 Republican divide in the state's congressional delegation.

Republicans currently hold 16 of the state's 27 congressional seats, with the extra seat being created this year because of population growth revealed in the latest U.S. Census.

The House plan advanced Friday in a 14-7 vote by the subcommittee, which broke mostly on party lines, would give DeSantis the 18 Republican-leaning districts he initially recommended.

## Democrats and League of Women Voters criticize

Democrats and the League of Women Voters of Florida also criticized the plan for changing the Orlando-area district held by Black Democrat Val Demings since 2016 to where it may reduce the possibility of Black voters to elect a favored candidate.

These critics said they were more supportive of the approach taken by the state Senate, which keep in place the four Black-oriented districts and four congressional districts where Hispanic voters have elected their preferred candidates.

The House and Senate are expected to reach agreement on a final map before the Legislature's scheduled March 11 close. DeSantis, though, has a powerful weapon if he does not get his way, since he is authorized to veto whatever lawmakers draw and demand another attempt.

DeSantis has said he will not sign into law any plan that has an "unconstitutional gerrymander in it."

Redistricting a decade ago led to three years of costly court fights before the state Supreme Court ultimately draw the congressional district boundaries now in place in 2015. DeSantis and his office didn't immediately respond to Friday's action by the House.

But Rep. Tyler Sirois, R-Merritt Island, chair of the House congressional panel, defended the proposal his side has now put in play. He also pushed back against the warnings directed from the governor.

"I want to assuage any doubt that may be in front of you today, " Sirois said. "This is a legally sound map. It is a constitutionally compliant map."

*John Kennedy is a reporter in the USA TODAY Network's Florida Capital Bureau. He can be reached at jkennedy2@gannett.com, or on Twitter at @JKennedyReport*

# Exhibit Q

The Florida Senate

# BILL ANALYSIS AND FISCAL IMPACT STATEMENT

(This document is based on the provisions contained in the legislation as of the latest date listed below.)

Prepared By: The Professional Staff of the Committee on Reapportionment

| | |
|---|---|
| BILL: | CS/SB 102 |
| INTRODUCER: | Reapportionment Committee and Senator Rodrigues |
| SUBJECT: | Establishing the Congressional Districts of the State |
| DATE: | January 14, 2022 REVISED: |

| | ANALYST | STAFF DIRECTOR | REFERENCE | ACTION |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rojas | Ferrin | RE | **Fav/CS** |

**Please see Section IX. for Additional Information:**

COMMITTEE SUBSTITUTE - Substantial Changes

## I. Summary:

CS/SB 102 apportions Florida into 28 single-member congressional districts as required by state and federal law.

As originally filed, this bill was the vehicle for amendments in order to establish a complete Congressional redistricting map. As amended, this bill contains Redistricting Plan S000C8040, a map of Florida's congressional districts.

## II. Present Situation:

The 2020 Census revealed an unequal distribution of population growth across Florida's Congressional districts. Therefore, districts must be adjusted to comply with the "one person, one vote" principle such that each district must be substantially equal in total population.[1]

According to the 2020 Census, 21,538,187 people resided in Florida as of April 1, 2020. That represents a population growth of 2,736,877 people from 2010 to 2020, approximately a 15 percent increase. Due to the population growth within the last decade, Florida is apportioned an additional congressional seat, increasing its representation to 28.[2]

Table 1 below shows the changes in population for each of Florida's current congressional and state legislative districts and their respective ideal populations.

[1] *See Reynolds v. Sims*, 377 U.S. 533, 568 (1964).

[2] United States Census Bureau, *2020 Census Apportionment Results* (April, 26, 2021), https://www.census.gov/data/tables/2020/dec/2020-apportionment-data.html.

**Table 1. Florida Congressional and State Legislative Districts Summary 2010 – 2020**

| Florida Fast Facts | 2010 | 2020 | Difference |
|---|---|---|---|
| Statewide Population | 18,801,310 | 21,538,187 | +2,736,877 |
| Number of Congressional Seats | 27 | 28 | +1 seat |
| Congressional District Ideal Population | 696,345 | 769,221 | +72,876 |
| Florida House of Representatives District Ideal Population *(based on 120 seats)* | 156,678 | 179,485 | +22,807 |
| Florida Senate District Ideal Population *(based on 40 seats)* | 470,033 | 538,455 | +68,422 |

According to the 2020 Census, the congressional district with the largest population has 955,602 people (186,381 more than the ideal), and the congressional district with the smallest population has 727,465 people (41,756 less than ideal).

## Background

The terms "redistricting" and "reapportionment" are often used interchangeably to describe the process of redrawing Congressional and state legislative district boundaries after each decennial census. Redrawing districts is necessary to accommodate population growth and shifts, ensuring that each district contains equal or nearly equal populations in compliance with applicable state and federal law.

The U.S. Constitution requires the apportionment of the U.S. House of Representatives after each decennial census to distribute each of the U.S. House of Representatives' 435 seats between the 50 states and to equalize population between districts within each state.[3]

## The 2020 Census

Established by the U.S. Constitution, the census has been conducted every 10 years by the United States Census Bureau since 1790 to determine the number of people living in the United States. Article I, s. 2 of the U.S. Constitution states that "The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct.[4]

Florida is one of 21 states that explicitly requires the use of census data for redistricting.[5] Article X, s. 8 of the Florida Constitution designates each decennial census of the state taken by the

[3] Art. I, s. 2, U.S. Const.
[4] Art. I, s. 2, U.S. Const.
[5] National Conference of State Legislatures Redistricting Law 2020, Appendix B: Redistricting and Use of Census Data.

United States as the official census of the state.[6] Florida Statutes also designate the most recent federally conducted decennial census as the official census for redistricting.[7]

Public Law (P.L.) 94-171 requires the Census Bureau to provide states the opportunity to identify the small area geography for which data is needed to conduct legislative and congressional redistricting. The law also requires the U.S. Census Bureau to furnish these tabulations of population to each state, at the county, tract, block group, and block levels, within one year of Census Day.[8]

Title 13, U.S. Code requires that the state-level apportionment population counts be delivered to the President of the United States within 9 months of the census date. In the 2020, 2010, and most 20th century censuses, the census date has been April 1, meaning that the statutory deadline for delivering the counts to the President is December 31 of the census year.[9]

The delivery of 2020 Census results was delayed due to several factors affecting the Census Bureau's collection and processing, including the COVID-19 pandemic, natural disasters that included hurricanes and wildfires, civil unrest, and legal challenges.[10]

The state population counts for apportionment were delivered to the President on April 26, 2021 (originally due December 31, 2020). The U.S. Census Bureau provided redistricting data as legacy format summary files, which is tabular data, for all states on August 12, 2021 (originally due April 1, 2021). The full redistricting data toolkit was delivered to all 50 states and the public on September 16, 2021 (originally due April 1, 2021).

**Redistricting Criteria and Concepts**

Florida follows various criteria and standards as it relates to drawing congressional districts, including the United States (U.S.) Constitution, Federal Voting Rights Act, Florida Constitution, and applicable court decisions.

**The United States Constitution**

The United States (U.S.) Constitution requires the reapportionment of the U.S. House of Representatives after each decennial census to distribute each of the U.S. House of Representatives' 435 seats between the states and to equalize population among districts within each state.[11]

Article I, s. 4 of the U.S. Constitution grants to each state legislature the exclusive authority to apportion seats designated to that state by providing the legislative bodies with the authority to

[6] Art. X, s. 8, Fla. Const.
[7] Section 11.031, F.S. (2021).
[8] United States Census Bureau, *Decennial Census P.L. 94-171 Redistricting Data* (Aug. 12, 2021), https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/about/rdo/summary-files.html.
[9] United States Census Bureau, *About Congressional Reapportionment* (Nov. 22, 2021), https://www.census.gov/topics/public-sector/congressional-apportionment/about.html.
[10] Styles, Kathleen, *2020 Census: Overview* (2021), https://www.ncsl.org/Portals/1/Documents/Redistricting/NCSL_Census_Update_KathleenStyles.pdf.
[11] Art. I, s. 2, U.S. Const.

determine the times, place and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives. Consistent therewith, Florida adopts its Congressional apportionment plans by legislation subject to gubernatorial approval.

In addition to state specific requirements to redistrict, states are obligated to redistrict based on provisions within the United States Constitution. In *Wesberry v Sanders*, the United States Supreme Court held that districts must be as nearly equal in population as practicable.[12] Derived from the Fourteenth Amendment, this principle is commonly referred to as "one person, one vote".[13] For Congressional districts, "as practicable" has been interpreted to mean exactly equal based on census data available at the time of redistricting.[14]

The requirement that each district be equal in population applies differently to Congressional districts than to state legislative districts. The populations of Congressional districts must achieve absolute mathematical equality (+/- one person from ideal population), with no de minimis exception.[15] Limited population variances are permitted if they are "unavoidable despite a good faith effort" or if a valid "justification is shown."[16] In practice, Congressional districting has strictly adhered to the requirement of exact mathematical equality and in *Kirkpatrick v. Preisler*, the Court rejected several justifications for violating this principle.

The Fourteenth Amendment has also been interpreted to prohibit racial predominance.[17] The U.S Supreme Court has stated: "The equal protection clause prohibits a state, without sufficient justification, from separating its citizens into different voting districts on the basis of race." A redistricting plan "that expressly distinguishes among citizens because of their race [must] be narrowly tailored to further a compelling government interest." Such strict scrutiny review applies not only to redistricting plans that expressly distinguish citizens because of race, but also those plans "that, although race neutral, are, on their face unexplainable on grounds other than race."[18]

**The Federal Voting Rights Act**

The Federal Voting Rights Act (VRA) prohibits any state or political subdivision from enacting a map that results in the denial or abridgement of any U.S. citizen's right to vote on account of race, color, or status as a member of a language minority group and purposeful discrimination.[19] The VRA also protects against retrogression—or backsliding—in the ability of racial and language minorities to elect representatives of their choice.[20]

Section 2 of the VRA requires the creation of a district that performs for racial and language minorities where a minority population is geographically compact and sufficiently numerous to be a majority in a single-member district, the minority population is politically cohesive, the

[12] *Wesberry v. Sanders,* 376 U.S. 1 (1964).
[13] *See Reynolds v. Sims*, 377 U.S. 533, 568 (1964).
[14] *See Wesberry v. Sanders,* 376 U.S. 1 (1964).
[15] *See Kirkpatrick v. Preisler,* 394 U.S. 526, 531 (1969).
[16] *Id.*
[17] *See Shaw v. Reno, 509 U.S. 630 (1993).*
[18] *Id.*
[19] 52 U.S.C.A. s. 10301.
[20] 52 U.S.C.A. s. 10303.

majority votes sufficiently as a bloc to enable it usually to defeat the minority-preferred candidate, and under all of the circumstances, the minority population has less opportunity than others to participate in the political process and elect representatives of its choice.[21]

Section 5 of the VRA prohibits purposeful discrimination and protects against retrogression—or backsliding—in the ability of racial and language minorities to elect representatives of their choice.[22] Section 5 contains a coverage formula that was applied to "covered jurisdictions" to determine if there was a history of discrimination against racial or language minorities.[23] Such jurisdictions had to be "precleared" before any of the changes could take effect, meaning that any substantial changes made to voting laws, including redistricting plans, in these "covered jurisdictions" could not be implemented without first obtaining federal permission.[24] In Florida, Collier, Hardee, Hendry, Hillsborough, and Monroe counties were subject to Department of Justice preclearance in regards to redistricting until the coverage formula was invalidated in 2013 in *Shelby County v. Holder*.[25] However, as *Apportionment I* states, "Florida's new constitutional provision, codified the non-retrogression principle of Section 5 (VRA) and has now extended it statewide. In other words, Florida now has a statewide non-retrogression requirement independent of Section 5."[26]

**The Florida Constitution**

In 2010, voters amended the Florida Constitution to create additional standards for establishing Congressional district boundaries.[27] The standards are set forth in two tiers.

***Tier – One Standards***

Article III, s. 20(a) of the Florida Constitution prohibits line-drawing that intentionally favors or disfavors a political party or an incumbent. It also affords protection to racial and language minorities. Districts may not be drawn with the intent or result of denying or abridging the equal opportunity of racial or language minorities to participate in the political process; or to diminish their ability to elect representatives of their choice. Finally, it requires that districts must be contiguous. The order in which the tier-one standards are set out in the Constitution does not establish any priority among those standards within the tier.[28]

The tier-one standards provide that "[n]o apportionment plan or district shall be drawn with the intent to favor or disfavor a political party or an incumbent."[29] The Florida Supreme Court has held that Florida's constitutional provision "prohibits intent, not effect" because "any redrawing of lines, regardless of intent, will inevitably have an effect on the political composition of a

[21] *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30, 106 S. Ct. 2752, 92 L. Ed. 2d 25 (1986).
[22] 52 U.S.C.A. s. 10303.
[23] *Id.*
[24] *Id.*
[25] *Shelby Cty., Ala. v. Holder*, 570 U.S. 529, 133 S. Ct. 2612, 186 L. Ed. 2d 651 (2013).
[26] In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment 1176, 83 So. 3d 597, 624 (Fla. 2012).
[27] Art. III, s. 20, Fla. Const.
[28] Art. III, s. 20(c), Fla. Const.
[29] Art. III, s. 20(a), Fla. Const.

district and likely whether a political party or incumbent is advantaged or disadvantaged."[30] Nonetheless, there is no acceptable level of improper intent.[31]

The tier-one standards also provide protections for racial and language minorities. Districts may "not be drawn with the intent or result of denying or abridging the equal opportunity of racial or language minorities to participate in the political process"; or to "diminish their ability to elect representatives of their choice."[32]

The Court has interpreted the tier-one constitutional provisions that relate to racial or language minorities' ability to participate in the political process or elect a candidate of their choice to mean that "the Legislature cannot eliminate majority-minority districts or weaken other historically performing minority districts where doing so would actually diminish a minority group's ability to elect its preferred candidates…in addition to majority-minority districts, coalition or crossover districts that previously provided minority groups with the ability to elect a preferred candidate under the benchmark plan must also be recognized."[33]

The Court went on to say, "that under Florida's provision, a slight change in percentage of the minority group's population in a given district does not necessarily have a cognizable effect on a minority group's ability to elect its preferred candidate of choice. This is because a minority group's ability to elect a candidate of choice depends upon more than just population figures."[34] In order to draw districts that comply with the tier-one standards, a functional analysis is required to be performed.

A "functional analysis," as it has been termed, is an inquiry into a racial or language minority group's ability to elect a candidate of choice that requires "consideration not only of the minority population in the districts, or even the minority voting-age population in those districts, but of political data and how a minority population group has voted in the past."[35] The map drawing application in use for the 2022 Redistricting Cycle includes 231 data points in the following categories to enable users to perform this type of analysis:[36]

2012 – 2020 General Election Voter Registration Information;
- Registration by Party
- Registration by Race or Ethnicity
- Registration by Race or Ethnicity and Party
- Registration by Party and Race or Ethnicity

2012 – 2020 General Election Voter Turnout Information;
- Turnout by Party
- Turnout by Party and Race or Ethnicity

[30] In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment 1176, 83 So. 3d 597 (Fla. 2012).
[31] *Id.*
[32] Art. III, s. 20(a), Fla. Const.
[33] In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment 1176, 83 So. 3d 597, 625 (Fla. 2012).
[34] *Id.*
[35] *Id.*
[36] See Florida Senate Committee on Reapportionment, *Functional Analysis* (October, 2021) , *available* at:https://www.flsenate.gov/Committees/Show/RE/MeetingPacket/5264/9438_MeetingPacket_5264_3.pdf.

- Turnout by Race or Ethnicity and Party

2012 – 2020 Primary Election Voter Turnout Information;
- Turnout by Party and Race or Ethnicity

2012 – 2020 Elections Results;
- General Elections results by candidate
- Primary Elections results by candidate

The last tier-one standard requires that all districts "consist of contiguous territory." The Florida Supreme Court has previously defined contiguous as "being in actual contact: touching along a boundary or at a point.[37] A district is not contiguous if it consists of isolated parts or meets at a corner or right angle.[38] The Florida Supreme Court has also held that the presence in a district of a body of water without a connecting bridge, even if it requires land travel outside the district in order to reach other parts of the district, does not violate contiguity.[39]

***Tier – Two Standards***

The tier-two standards of the Florida Constitution encompass what are often called "traditional redistricting criteria," but make it clear these standards are subordinated to the tier-one standards. Article III, s. 20(b) states that unless compliance with these standards conflicts with tier-one standards or with federal law, districts shall be as nearly equal in population as practicable, districts shall be compact, and districts shall, where feasible, utilize existing political and geographical boundaries.[40] As with tier-one, the order in which the tier-two standards are set out in the Constitution does not establish any priority among those standards within the tier.[41]

The first tier-two standard set forth by the Florida Constitution states that districts shall be as nearly equal in population as is practicable. As interpreted by the United States Supreme Court, the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment mandates that "state legislatures be apportioned in such a way that each person's vote carries the same weight—that is, each legislator represents the same number of voters."[42] Congressional districts fall under a stricter standard of variance under the United States Constitution, where Congressional districts must achieve precise mathematical equality of population of +/- one person from the ideal population.[43]

The second tier-two requirement established by Section 20 of the Florida Constitution is compactness. The constitutional amendments adopted in Florida in 2010 state that districts "shall be compact."[44]

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[37] In re Apportionment Law Appearing as Senate Joint Resolution 1 E, 1982 Special Apportionment Session; Constitutionality Vel Non, 414 So. 2d 1040 (Fla. 1982).
[38] In re Senate Joint Resolution 2G, Special Apportionment Session 1992, 597 So. 2d 276 (Fla. 1992), amended sub nom. In re Constitutionality of Senate Joint Resolution 2G, Special Apportionment Session 1992, 601 So. 2d 543 (Fla. 1992).
[39] *Id.*
[40] Art. III, s. 20(b), Fla. Const.
[41] Art. III, s. 20(c), Fla. Const.
[42] In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment 1176, 83 So.3d 597 (2012).
[43] *See Kirkpatrick v. Preisler, 394 U.S. 526, 531 (1969).*
[44] Art. III, s. 20(b), Fla. Const.

The Florida Supreme Court held that "compactness is a standard that refers to the shape of the district. The goal is to ensure that districts are logically drawn and that bizarrely shaped districts are avoided. Compactness can be evaluated both visually and by employing standard mathematical measurements."[45]

Florida has historically used three scores to gauge compactness mathematically, all of which fall within a range of 0-1, where a score closer to one indicates a more compact district.[46] The first score used is the Convex Hull score, which tests for concavities or indentations in district boundaries by calculating the ratio of the area of the district to the area of the minimum convex polygon that can enclose the district's geometry.[47] The second score used is the Polsby-Popper score, which tests for jagged or squiggly district boundaries by calculating the ratio of the area of the district to the area of a circle whose circumference is equal to the perimeter of the district. The third score used is the Reock score, which indicates a district's similarity to a circle by calculating the ratio of the area of the district to the area of the smallest circle that can be drawn around the district. [48]

In the Court's interpretation of the tier-one and tier-two standards as applied to state legislative districts, they held that "since compactness is set forth in Section 21(b), the criteria of Section 21(a) must predominate to the extent that they conflict with drawing a district that is compact. However, if a district can be drawn more compactly while utilizing political and geographical boundaries and without intentionally favoring a political party or incumbent, compactness must be a yardstick by which to evaluate those other factors."[49] The same standard applies to Congressional districts given that Sections 20 and 21 within Article III of the Florida Constitution are identical.[50]

The final tier-two standard established by the Florida Constitution is that districts shall, "where feasible, utilize existing political and geographical boundaries."[51] The Florida Supreme court has defined geographic boundaries as features that are "easily ascertainable and commonly understood" such as "rivers, railways, interstates, and state roads."[52] Moreover, political boundaries primarily consist of county and municipal boundaries.[53]

The boundaries of Florida's municipalities are not static. Between January 1, 2010 and December 31, 2019, 200 cities annexed or deannexed parcels, changing their boundaries 3,552

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[45] In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment 1176, 83 So.3d 597 (2012).
[46] See Florida Senate Committee on Reapportionment, *Compactness* (October, 2021) , *available* at:https://www.flsenate.gov/Committees/Show/RE/MeetingPacket/5264/9438_MeetingPacket_5264_3.pdf.
[47] *Id.*
[48] *Id.*
[49] In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment 1176, 83 So.3d 597 (2012); *See League of Women Voters of Florida v. Detzner*, 179 So. 3d 258 (Fla. 2015).
[50] Art. III, s. 20, Fla. Const.; Art. III, § 21, Fla. Const.
[51] Art. III, s. 20(b), Fla. Const.
[52] In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment 1176, 83 So.3d 597 (2012).
[53] *Id.*

times.[54] Additionally, while Florida Statutes[55] permit municipalities to annex contiguous and compact unincorporated territory, many of Florida's cities are not contiguous, neither visually nor mathematically compact, and contain holes or enclaves.[56] Of Florida's 412 cities, 136 are discontiguous, and 170 have holes or enclaves.[57]

Unlike other objective tier-two standards in the Florida Constitution, there is no widely accepted measurement for compliance with the requirement to, where feasible, utilize existing political and geographic boundaries.[58]

Simply counting the cities or counties kept whole, meaning they have either all geographic territory or all population in a single district[59], fails to account for the degree of usage of existing county or municipal boundaries. It also disregards the co-equal constitutional mandate to, where feasible, use political and geographical boundaries.[60]

Professional staff of the Florida House of Representatives and the Florida Senate worked to develop a set of quantitative metrics that measure the coincidence of a district's border with easily ascertainable and commonly understood political and geographic features, and make it publicly available to all users in the redistricting application. This Boundary Analysis independently measures the extent to which district boundaries overlap city boundaries, county boundaries, primary and secondary roads (interstates, U.S. highways, and State highways), railroads, and significant water bodies (contiguous area hydrography features greater than 10 acres) as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau's TIGER/Line files. Districts' coincidence with these existing political and geographic boundaries is independently calculated and presented along with the extent to which district boundaries do not follow any of the specified features.

In this way, users are presented with a Boundary Analysis that shows the degree of utilization for each type of existing political or geographic boundary as specified by the Florida Constitution and interpreted by the Florida Supreme Court. To facilitate the utilization of existing political and geographic boundaries, each of the feature layers used in the computation of the Boundary Analysis is provided in the map-drawing application.

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[54] Boundary change data obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau: https://www.census.gov/geographies/reference-files/timeseries/geo/bas/annex.html. As noted, The U.S. Census Bureau makes no claims to the completeness of the annexation data in the boundary change files. The data in these files were collected through programs in which state, county, and local governments voluntarily participated.

[55] Section 171.0413(1), F.S. (2021).

[56] Compactness scores, parts, and holes based on 2020 U.S. Census TIGER geometry for the places layer available at: https://www.census.gov/geographies/mapping-files/time-series/geo/tiger-line-file.2020.html.

[57] See Florida Senate Committee on Reapportionment, *Municipal Boundaries* (October, 2021) , *available* at:https://www.flsenate.gov/Committees/Show/RE/MeetingPacket/5264/9438_MeetingPacket_5264_3.pdf.

[58] In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment 1176, 83 So.3d 597 (2012).

[59] In Apportionment VIII, the Court held that unpopulated county splits are "not considered to include part of the county for the purpose of counting splits. *See League of Women Voters of Fla. v. Detzner*, 179 So. 3d 258 (Fla. 2015).

[60] In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment 1176, 83 So.3d 597 (2012).

**Judicial Review of State Legislative Districts**

The state constitution prescribes a mandated review process for state legislative redistricting plans by the Florida Supreme Court.[61] During a constitutionally mandated review, the Florida Supreme Court determines if the newly created State Senate and State House districts are valid. When the Florida Supreme Court enters a judgment that the plan is valid, the plan becomes binding upon all citizens of the state.[62]

In contrast, the process for enacting Congressional districts differs in two ways. The districts are not established in a joint resolution, but in a general bill that is subject to a Governor's veto. Additionally, the maps do not require mandatory review by the Florida Supreme Court.

## III. Effect of Proposed Changes:

Consistent with the United States (U.S.) Constitution, Federal Voting Rights Act, Florida Constitution, and applicable court decisions, the bill apportions the state into 28 single-member Congressional districts.

Section 1 of the bill amends s. 8.0001, F.S., to provide definitions regarding Census geography and the electronic versions of districts. Additionally, it designates the United States Decennial Census of 2020 as the official census of the state for the purposes of Congressional redistricting as provided by Art. X of the Florida Constitution.

Section 2 of the bill amends s. 8.0002, F.S., to describe the state's 28 Congressional districts using Census geography.

Section 3 of the bill amends s. 8.0111, F.S., to update the use of the 2010 Decennial Census to the 2020 Decennial Census.

Section 4 of the bill reenacts s. 8.031, F.S., to establish the districts described in 8.0002 as the official congressional districts of the state.

Section 5 of the bill creates s. 8.051, F.S., to designate electronic maps as the authoritative representation of the state's Congressional districts. Additionally, it establishes the Office of Economic and Demographic Research as the official custodian of electronic maps representing the Congressional districts described in s. 8.0002, F.S.

Section 6 of the bill reenacts s. 8.0611, F.S., to provide severability if any provision of this chapter is invalidated.

Section 7 of the bill amends s. 8.07, F.S., to change the applicable starting date for the qualification, nomination, and election of the new districts from 2012 to 2022.

Section 8 of the bill repeals s. 8.08, 8.081, 8.082, 8.083, 8.084, 8.085, 8.086, 8.087, and 8.088, F.S., to remove obsolete language from a remedial apportionment session.

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[61] Art. III, s. 16(c), Fla. Const.
[62] Art. III,s. 16(d), Fla. Const.

Section 9 of the bill provides an effective date upon the bill becoming law.

## IV. Constitutional Issues:

A. Municipality/County Mandates Restrictions:

None.

B. Public Records/Open Meetings Issues:

None.

C. Trust Funds Restrictions:

None.

D. State Tax or Fee Increases:

None.

E. Other Constitutional Issues:

None.

## V. Fiscal Impact Statement:

A. Tax/Fee Issues:

None.

B. Private Sector Impact:

None.

C. Government Sector Impact:

The 2022 reapportionment will have an undetermined fiscal impact on Florida's election officials, including 67 Supervisor of Elections offices and the Department of State, Division of Elections. Local supervisors will incur the cost of data processing and labor to change each of Florida's approximately 14 million voter records to reflect new districts. As precincts are reconfigured for new districts, postage and printing will be required to provide each eligible voter whose precinct has changed with official notification.

## VI. Technical Deficiencies:

None.

## VII. Related Issues:

None.

## VIII. Statutes Affected:

This bill substantially amends the following sections of the Florida Statutes: 8.0001, 8.0002 and 8.0111.

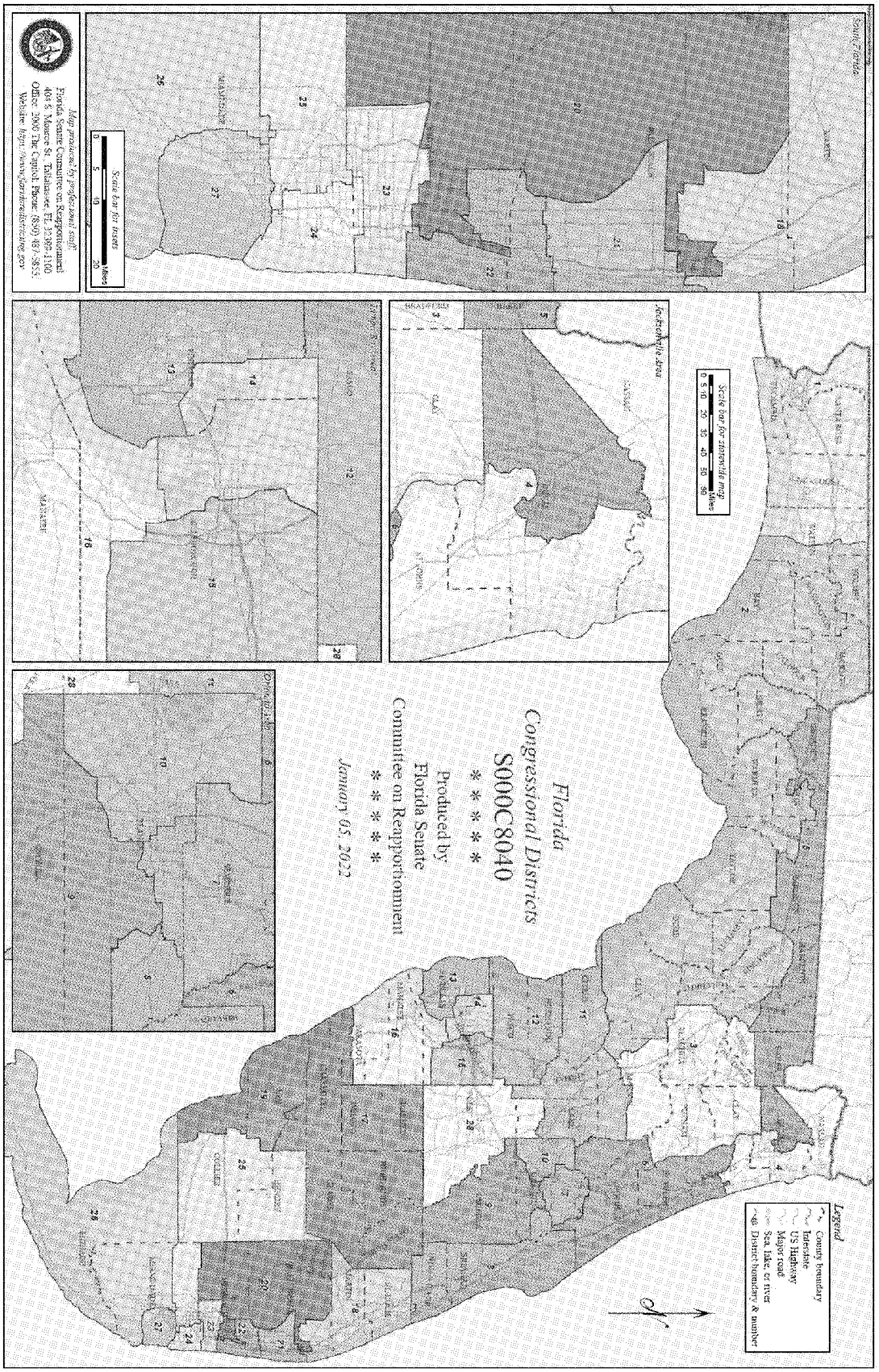
This bill creates the following sections of the Florida Statute: 8.051.

This bill repeals the following sections of the Florida Statutes: 8.08, 8.081, 8.082, 8.083, 8.084, 8.085, 8.086, 8.087, and 8.088.

## IX. Additional Information:

A. Committee Substitute – Statement of Substantial Changes:
(Summarizing differences between the Committee Substitute and the prior version of the bill.)

**CS by Reapportionment on January 13, 2022:**
The committee substitute adopts Redistricting Plan S000C8040, apportioning the state into 28 single-member congressional districts.


Florida
Congressional Districts
S000C8040
* * * * *
Produced by
Florida Senate
Committee on Reapportionment
* * * * *
January 05, 2022
Legend
County boundary
Interstate
US Highway
Major road
Sea, lake, or river
District boundary & number
Scale bar for statewide map
Miles
Scale bar for insets
Miles
Map produced by professional staff
Florida Senate Committee on Reapportionment
404 S. Monroe St., Tallahassee, FL 32399-1100
Office: 2002 The Capitol Phone: (850) 487-5853
Website: https://www.flsenate.gov/committees/reapportionment
Jacksonville Area
Orlando Area
Tampa Bay Area
South Florida

## Plan S000C8040

| Dist. | Deviation | | Voting Age Population: | | Area | Perim. | Convex Hull | Polsby Popper | Reock Ratio | Counties | | Cities | | Political and Geographic Boundaries: | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | % | Black | Hisp. | (sq.mi.) | (mi.) | | | | Whole | Parts | Whole | Parts | City | County | Road | Water | Rail | Non-Pol/Geo |
| | 1 | 0.00% | 15.54% | 24.99% | 2,550.1 | 265.8 | 0.80 | 0.43 | 0.46 | 48 | 50 | 367 | 96 | 19% | 61% | 19% | 39% | 2% | 8% |
| 1 | 0 | 0.00% | 13.55% | 6.69% | 4,416 | 329 | 0.87 | 0.51 | 0.54 | 3 | 1 | 15 | 2 | 2% | 81% | 14% | 55% | 0% | 2% |
| 2 | 0 | 0.00% | 13.32% | 6.21% | 15,879 | 884 | 0.71 | 0.26 | 0.28 | 15 | 5 | 55 | 4 | 4% | 76% | 19% | 47% | 0% | 4% |
| 3 | 0 | 0.00% | 16.08% | 10.45% | 3,864 | 308 | 0.88 | 0.51 | 0.70 | 5 | 1 | 28 | 0 | 17% | 74% | 15% | 24% | 1% | 8% |
| 4 | 0 | 0.00% | 10.79% | 9.27% | 1,553 | 332 | 0.66 | 0.18 | 0.34 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 24% | 73% | 17% | 54% | 2% | 3% |
| 5 | 0 | 0.00% | 43.73% | 9.04% | 3,753 | 635 | 0.65 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 4 | 4 | 16 | 3 | 12% | 74% | 22% | 13% | 0% | 2% |
| 6 | 0 | 0.00% | 9.70% | 11.04% | 2,770 | 332 | 0.73 | 0.31 | 0.33 | 1 | 3 | 20 | 4 | 6% | 74% | 7% | 54% | 2% | 10% |
| 7 | 0 | 0.00% | 12.32% | 25.39% | 490 | 113 | 0.88 | 0.49 | 0.66 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 6 | 6% | 43% | 19% | 32% | 0% | 34% |
| 8 | 0 | 0.00% | 9.58% | 10.30% | 2,301 | 272 | 0.75 | 0.39 | 0.32 | 1 | 2 | 21 | 0 | 0% | 85% | 6% | 46% | 0% | 9% |
| 9 | 0 | 0.00% | 12.81% | 50.24% | 1,840 | 253 | 0.86 | 0.36 | 0.49 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2% | 76% | 17% | 31% | 0% | 8% |
| 10 | 0 | 0.00% | 28.33% | 23.38% | 453 | 103 | 0.89 | 0.54 | 0.51 | 0 | 1 | 8 | 5 | 14% | 68% | 31% | 23% | 0% | 2% |
| 11 | 0 | 0.00% | 8.61% | 10.59% | 2,643 | 349 | 0.68 | 0.27 | 0.34 | 2 | 2 | 19 | 3 | 12% | 70% | 19% | 38% | 1% | 7% |
| 12 | 0 | 0.00% | 6.55% | 14.04% | 1,764 | 194 | 0.90 | 0.59 | 0.55 | 2 | 1 | 8 | 1 | 3% | 90% | 10% | 44% | 0% | 2% |
| 13 | 0 | 0.00% | 10.72% | 9.05% | 705 | 123 | 0.85 | 0.59 | 0.53 | 0 | 1 | 17 | 5 | 20% | 62% | 20% | 74% | 0% | 6% |
| 14 | -1 | 0.00% | 11.13% | 26.93% | 422 | 96 | 0.86 | 0.58 | 0.53 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 16% | 27% | 44% | 20% | 10% | 6% |
| 15 | 0 | 0.00% | 21.98% | 24.65% | 677 | 109 | 0.97 | 0.71 | 0.59 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 9% | 48% | 35% | 1% | 12% | 5% |
| 16 | 0 | 0.00% | 7.23% | 13.73% | 1,969 | 202 | 0.89 | 0.61 | 0.60 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 20% | 58% | 16% | 53% | 2% | 5% |
| 17 | 0 | 0.00% | 9.02% | 16.71% | 5,797 | 382 | 0.82 | 0.50 | 0.47 | 6 | 2 | 11 | 2 | 4% | 79% | 10% | 28% | 1% | 2% |
| 18 | 0 | 0.00% | 12.22% | 14.87% | 1,730 | 225 | 0.76 | 0.43 | 0.45 | 2 | 2 | 13 | 7 | 7% | 70% | 11% | 48% | 0% | 10% |
| 19 | 0 | 0.00% | 4.37% | 15.06% | 1,894 | 236 | 0.79 | 0.43 | 0.33 | 0 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 3% | 66% | 18% | 61% | 1% | 8% |
| 20 | 0 | 0.00% | 50.00% | 22.15% | 2,556 | 315 | 0.81 | 0.32 | 0.54 | 0 | 2 | 11 | 13 | 22% | 42% | 23% | 11% | 4% | 15% |
| 21 | 0 | 0.00% | 16.53% | 25.39% | 345 | 98 | 0.77 | 0.45 | 0.48 | 0 | 1 | 18 | 3 | 34% | 25% | 23% | 39% | 0% | 20% |
| 22 | 0 | 0.00% | 12.74% | 20.40% | 259 | 106 | 0.78 | 0.29 | 0.50 | 0 | 2 | 11 | 5 | 32% | 25% | 18% | 36% | 12% | 15% |
| 23 | 0 | 0.00% | 16.90% | 42.18% | 239 | 80 | 0.85 | 0.47 | 0.43 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 6 | 53% | 30% | 28% | 21% | 0% | 10% |
| 24 | 0 | 0.00% | 42.02% | 37.76% | 176 | 68 | 0.90 | 0.47 | 0.46 | 0 | 2 | 16 | 6 | 26% | 36% | 29% | 46% | 1% | 18% |
| 25 | 0 | 0.00% | 7.96% | 74.83% | 364 | 364 | 0.67 | 0.35 | 0.40 | 1 | 2 | 10 | 3 | 7% | 68% | 16% | 20% | 0% | 8% |
| 26 | 0 | 0.00% | 10.32% | 23.35% | 6,710 | 591 | 0.55 | 0.24 | 0.22 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 1 | 1% | 88% | 7% | 86% | 0% | 1% |
| 27 | 0 | 0.00% | 7.07% | 14.18% | 280 | 70 | 0.95 | 0.73 | 0.71 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 9% | 18% | 35% | 59% | 0% | 6% |
| 28 | 0 | 0.00% | 14.78% | 23.18% | 2,240 | 276 | 0.85 | 0.37 | 0.44 | 1 | 1 | 17 | 2 | 5% | 90% | 3% | 26% | 0% | 5% |

***Overall numbers of county and city splits:***

| District lines and City and County Boundaries | In Plan S000C8040 |
|---|---|
| Number of Counties | 67 |
| Counties with only one district | 48 |
| Districts with only one county | 6 |
| Counties split into more than one district | 19 |
| Counties with all population in a single district | 48 |
| Aggregate number of county splits | 50 |
| Aggregate number of splits with population | 50 |
| Number of Cities | 412 |
| Cities with only one district | 367 |
| Cities split into more than one district | 45 |
| Cities with all population in only one district | 372 |
| Aggregate number of city splits | 96 |
| Aggregate number of splits with population | 91 |

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| Counties included in more than one district | | | | | | | | Counties included in more than one district | | | | | | | | Counties included in more than one district | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| County | Dist | Total Pop | Pop% | Total Area | Area% | | | County | Dist | Total Pop | Pop% | Total Area | Area% | | | County | Dist | Total Pop | Pop% | Total Area | Area% | | |
| Broward | 20 | 535,675 | 27.6% | 888.0 | 67.9% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Broward | 22 | 547,029 | 28.1% | 168.8 | 12.9% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Broward | 23 | 769,221 | 39.6% | 238.9 | 18.3% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Broward | 24 | 92,450 | 4.8% | 12.6 | 1.0% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Collier | 19 | 215,578 | 57.4% | 639.5 | 24.6% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Collier | 25 | 160,174 | 42.6% | 1,965.6 | 75.5% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Columbia | 2 | 51,337 | 73.7% | 350.3 | 43.7% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Columbia | 3 | 18,361 | 26.3% | 451.0 | 56.3% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Duval | 4 | 505,744 | 50.8% | 454.9 | 49.5% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Duval | 5 | 489,823 | 49.2% | 463.6 | 50.5% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hillsborough | 14 | 592,149 | 40.6% | 299.1 | 22.5% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hillsborough | 15 | 769,221 | 52.7% | 676.6 | 50.8% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hillsborough | 16 | 98,392 | 6.7% | 356.2 | 26.7% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Indian River | 8 | 145,456 | 91.0% | 609.1 | 98.7% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Indian River | 18 | 14,332 | 9.0% | 7.8 | 1.3% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Jefferson | 2 | 4,410 | 30.4% | 400.1 | 59.5% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Jefferson | 5 | 10,100 | 69.6% | 272.5 | 40.5% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lake | 6 | 35,396 | 9.2% | 379.1 | 32.8% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lake | 11 | 304,385 | 79.3% | 547.9 | 47.4% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lake | 28 | 44,175 | 11.5% | 229.8 | 19.9% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lee | 17 | 207,179 | 27.2% | 260.0 | 17.2% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lee | 19 | 553,643 | 72.8% | 1,254.9 | 82.8% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Leon | 2 | 145,318 | 49.7% | 488.5 | 69.6% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Leon | 5 | 146,880 | 50.3% | 213.3 | 30.4% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Marion | 2 | 39,930 | 10.6% | 233.6 | 14.1% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Marion | 3 | 134,737 | 41.2% | 874.2 | 52.6% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Marion | 11 | 181,241 | 48.2% | 554.9 | 33.4% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Miami-Dade | 24 | 676,771 | 25.1% | 163.3 | 6.8% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Miami-Dade | 25 | 569,428 | 21.1% | 525.2 | 22.0% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Miami-Dade | 26 | 686,347 | 25.4% | 1,420.5 | 59.5% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Miami-Dade | 27 | 769,221 | 28.5% | 280.3 | 11.7% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Orange | 7 | 262,969 | 18.4% | 81.8 | 8.2% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Orange | 8 | 17,153 | 1.2% | 134.4 | 13.4% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Orange | 9 | 380,565 | 26.6% | 334.2 | 33.3% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Orange | 10 | 769,221 | 53.8% | 453.0 | 45.1% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Palm Beach | 18 | 267,232 | 17.9% | 281.3 | 11.8% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Palm Beach | 20 | 233,546 | 15.7% | 1,667.6 | 70.0% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Palm Beach | 21 | 769,221 | 51.6% | 344.5 | 14.5% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Palm Beach | 22 | 222,192 | 14.9% | 89.9 | 3.8% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pinellas | 12 | 12,815 | 1.3% | 33.9 | 3.9% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pinellas | 13 | 769,221 | 80.2% | 705.3 | 81.8% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pinellas | 14 | 177,071 | 18.5% | 123.3 | 14.3% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sarasota | 16 | 271,119 | 62.5% | 649.2 | 66.5% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sarasota | 17 | 162,887 | 37.5% | 326.4 | 33.5% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| St. Johns | 4 | 173,125 | 63.3% | 371.9 | 45.3% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| St. Johns | 6 | 100,300 | 36.7% | 449.6 | 54.7% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Volusia | 6 | 518,147 | 99.6% | 1,370.0 | 95.6% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Volusia | 7 | 35,396 | 6.4% | 62.4 | 4.4% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Walton | 1 | 47,648 | 63.3% | 821.5 | 58.3% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Walton | 2 | 27,657 | 36.7% | 588.0 | 41.7% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Plan S000C8040

| Cities included in more than one district | | | | | | Cities included in more than one district | | | | | | Cities included in more than one district | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| City | Dist | Total Pop | Pop% | Total Area | Area% | City | Dist | Total Pop | Pop% | Total Area | Area% | City | Dist | Total Pop | Pop% | Total Area | Area% |
| Belle Isle | 9 | 216 | 3.1% | 0.2 | 3.7% | Orlando | 9 | 86,183 | 28.0% | 63.9 | 53.7% | | | | | | |
| Belle Isle | 10 | 6,816 | 96.9% | 5.0 | 96.3% | Orlando | 10 | 185,916 | 60.5% | 46.0 | 38.7% | | | | | | |
| Clearwater | 13 | 82,282 | 70.2% | 25.4 | 70.8% | Palm Beach | 18 | 2,634 | 28.5% | 2.7 | 34.4% | | | | | | |
| Clearwater | 14 | 35,010 | 29.9% | 10.5 | 29.2% | Palm Beach | 21 | 6,611 | 71.5% | 5.1 | 65.6% | | | | | | |
| Clermont | 11 | 43,021 | 100.0% | 17.4 | 91.1% | Palm Beach Gardens | 18 | 39,182 | 100.0% | 39.3 | 99.9% | | | | | | |
| Clermont | 28 | 0 | 0.0% | 1.7 | 8.9% | Palm Beach Gardens | 20 | 0 | 0.0% | 0.1 | 0.1% | | | | | | |
| Cutler Bay | 26 | 0 | 0.0% | 0.0 | 0.2% | Pembroke Pines | 23 | 170,725 | 99.7% | 34.7 | 99.9% | | | | | | |
| Cutler Bay | 27 | 45,425 | 100.0% | 10.3 | 99.8% | Pembroke Pines | 24 | 453 | 0.3% | 0.0 | 0.1% | | | | | | |
| DeBary | 6 | 9,468 | 42.5% | 8.0 | 36.7% | Pinellas Park | 13 | 53,093 | 100.0% | 16.8 | 100.0% | | | | | | |
| DeBary | 7 | 12,792 | 57.5% | 13.8 | 63.4% | Pinellas Park | 14 | 0 | 0.0% | 0.0 | 0.0% | | | | | | |
| Deerfield Beach | 20 | 29,350 | 33.8% | 4.8 | 29.5% | Plantation | 20 | 41,374 | 45.1% | 9.0 | 40.9% | | | | | | |
| Deerfield Beach | 22 | 57,509 | 66.2% | 11.4 | 70.6% | Plantation | 23 | 50,376 | 54.9% | 13.0 | 59.1% | | | | | | |
| DeFuniak Springs | 1 | 860 | 14.5% | 3.7 | 25.9% | Pompano Beach | 20 | 53,918 | 48.1% | 11.3 | 45.8% | | | | | | |
| DeFuniak Springs | 2 | 5,059 | 85.5% | 10.6 | 74.1% | Pompano Beach | 22 | 58,128 | 51.9% | 13.4 | 54.2% | | | | | | |
| Deltona | 6 | 76,307 | 81.4% | 33.7 | 82.4% | Riviera Beach | 18 | 9,951 | 26.5% | 3.1 | 32.5% | | | | | | |
| Deltona | 7 | 17,385 | 18.6% | 7.2 | 17.6% | Riviera Beach | 20 | 27,633 | 73.5% | 6.5 | 67.5% | | | | | | |
| Edgewater | 7 | 1,202 | 51.2% | 0.5 | 41.7% | Royal Palm Beach | 18 | 16,407 | 42.1% | 5.0 | 42.9% | | | | | | |
| Edgewater | 10 | 1,147 | 48.8% | 0.7 | 58.3% | Royal Palm Beach | 20 | 17,861 | 45.9% | 5.6 | 48.1% | | | | | | |
| Fort Lauderdale | 20 | 58,993 | 32.3% | 13.0 | 35.7% | Royal Palm Beach | 21 | 4,664 | 12.0% | 1.1 | 8.9% | | | | | | |
| Fort Lauderdale | 22 | 102,735 | 56.2% | 18.3 | 50.4% | St Augustine | 4 | 2,447 | 17.1% | 1.6 | 12.1% | | | | | | |
| Fort Lauderdale | 23 | 21,032 | 11.5% | 5.0 | 13.9% | St Augustine | 6 | 11,882 | 82.9% | 11.3 | 87.9% | | | | | | |
| Fort Myers | 17 | 32,184 | 37.3% | 19.8 | 40.4% | St Petersburg | 13 | 241,005 | 93.3% | 124.6 | 94.9% | | | | | | |
| Fort Myers | 19 | 54,211 | 62.8% | 29.2 | 59.6% | St Petersburg | 14 | 17,303 | 6.7% | 6.7 | 5.1% | | | | | | |
| Freeport | 1 | 5,587 | 95.3% | 15.3 | 80.4% | Sunrise | 20 | 85,270 | 87.6% | 14.1 | 77.8% | | | | | | |
| Freeport | 2 | 274 | 4.7% | 3.7 | 19.6% | Sunrise | 23 | 12,065 | 12.4% | 4.0 | 22.2% | | | | | | |
| Groveland | 11 | 16,026 | 86.6% | 24.3 | 93.0% | Tallahassee | 2 | 82,107 | 41.9% | 69.0 | 66.5% | | | | | | |
| Groveland | 28 | 2,479 | 13.4% | 1.8 | 7.1% | Tallahassee | 5 | 114,062 | 58.1% | 34.8 | 33.5% | | | | | | |
| Hallandale Beach | 23 | 28,737 | 69.7% | 3.0 | 65.9% | Tampa | 14 | 263,534 | 68.5% | 126.1 | 71.7% | | | | | | |
| Hallandale Beach | 24 | 12,480 | 30.3% | 1.6 | 34.1% | Tampa | 15 | 121,425 | 31.5% | 49.8 | 28.3% | | | | | | |
| Jacksonville | 4 | 461,184 | 48.6% | 412.9 | 47.2% | Tarpon Springs | 12 | 11,582 | 46.1% | 10.2 | 57.5% | | | | | | |
| Jacksonville | 5 | 488,427 | 51.4% | 461.6 | 52.8% | Tarpon Springs | 13 | 10,748 | 42.8% | 5.8 | 32.7% | | | | | | |
| Lake City | 2 | 6,672 | 54.1% | 6.1 | 49.9% | Tarpon Springs | 14 | 2,787 | 11.1% | 1.7 | 9.8% | | | | | | |
| Lake City | 5 | 5,657 | 45.9% | 6.1 | 50.1% | Umatilla | 6 | 1,415 | 38.4% | 1.9 | 45.5% | | | | | | |
| Lake Park | 18 | 1,245 | 13.8% | 0.4 | 17.1% | Umatilla | 11 | 2,270 | 61.6% | 2.3 | 54.5% | | | | | | |
| Lake Park | 19 | 7,802 | 86.2% | 2.0 | 82.9% | Venice | 16 | 12,178 | 47.8% | 10.9 | 61.9% | | | | | | |
| Largo | 13 | 75,101 | 91.1% | 17.1 | 87.5% | Venice | 17 | 13,285 | 52.2% | 6.7 | 38.1% | | | | | | |
| Largo | 14 | 7,384 | 9.0% | 2.4 | 12.5% | West Palm Beach | 18 | 18,256 | 15.6% | 33.2 | 57.2% | | | | | | |
| Maitland | 7 | 13,664 | 69.9% | 4.8 | 73.6% | West Palm Beach | 20 | 63,092 | 53.7% | 16.2 | 27.9% | | | | | | |
| Maitland | 10 | 5,879 | 30.1% | 1.7 | 26.4% | West Palm Beach | 21 | 36,067 | 30.7% | 8.6 | 14.9% | | | | | | |
| Margate | 20 | 17,409 | 29.7% | 2.5 | 27.6% | Winter Park | 7 | 28,902 | 97.0% | 10.0 | 96.6% | | | | | | |
| Margate | 22 | 41,303 | 70.4% | 6.6 | 72.4% | Winter Park | 10 | 893 | 3.0% | 0.4 | 3.4% | | | | | | |
| Miami | 24 | 98,349 | 22.2% | 15.0 | 26.7% | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Miami | 25 | 54,725 | 12.4% | 4.8 | 8.5% | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Miami | 27 | 289,167 | 65.4% | 36.3 | 64.8% | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Miami Gardens | 24 | 90,649 | 81.2% | 15.2 | 79.8% | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Miami Gardens | 25 | 20,991 | 18.8% | 3.8 | 20.2% | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Miramar | 23 | 76,594 | 56.9% | 24.0 | 77.2% | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Miramar | 24 | 58,127 | 43.2% | 7.1 | 22.8% | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| North Palm Beach | 18 | 13,162 | 100.0% | 5.3 | 99.5% | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| North Palm Beach | 20 | 0 | 0.0% | 0.0 | 0.6% | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Oakland Park | 20 | 15,037 | 34.0% | 3.7 | 44.6% | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Oakland Park | 22 | 29,192 | 66.0% | 4.5 | 55.4% | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Opa-locka | 24 | 9,537 | 57.9% | 1.5 | 34.0% | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Opa-locka | 25 | 6,926 | 42.1% | 3.0 | 66.0% | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Orlando | 7 | 35,474 | 11.5% | 9.0 | 7.6% | | | | | | | | | | | | |

## Plan S000C8040

| Dist. | 2020 Census | | RV who are: | | | RV who are: | | | 2020 General Election Registered Voters | | | | | | | | REP who are: | | NPAOth who are: | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | VAP who are: | | | | | | | | Black Voters who are: | | | Hisp. Voters who are: | | | DEM who are: | | | | | |
| | Black | Hisp | DEM | REP | OTH | Black | Hisp | | DEM | REP | NPAOth | DEM | REP | NPAOth | Black | Hisp | Black | Hisp | Black | Hisp |
| 5 | 43.73% | 9.04% | 54.34% | 26.24% | 19.43% | 43.53% | 4.83% | | 84.10% | 2.75% | 13.14% | 44.56% | 21.04% | 34.20% | 67.38% | 3.96% | 4.57% | 3.87% | 29.43% | 8.50% |
| 9 | 12.81% | 50.24% | 41.80% | 23.16% | 35.03% | 9.28% | 44.52% | | 71.84% | 4.02% | 24.11% | 46.58% | 13.81% | 39.60% | 15.95% | 49.60% | 1.61% | 26.55% | 6.39% | 50.32% |
| 10 | 28.33% | 23.38% | 45.07% | 26.06% | 28.86% | 24.37% | 16.10% | | 77.81% | 3.25% | 18.92% | 45.58% | 15.94% | 38.45% | 42.08% | 16.28% | 3.04% | 9.85% | 15.98% | 21.45% |
| 20 | 50.04% | 22.15% | 61.23% | 13.99% | 24.78% | 46.67% | 14.84% | | 81.44% | 2.55% | 16.00% | 46.41% | 17.36% | 36.20% | 62.07% | 11.25% | 8.50% | 18.42% | 30.12% | 21.67% |
| 24 | 42.02% | 37.76% | 60.07% | 12.45% | 27.48% | 43.75% | 26.79% | | 82.51% | 2.43% | 15.05% | 42.80% | 20.02% | 37.16% | 60.09% | 19.09% | 8.53% | 43.09% | 23.96% | 36.22% |
| 25 | 7.96% | 76.83% | 31.43% | 36.54% | 32.03% | 6.97% | 84.06% | | 79.64% | 3.94% | 16.25% | 29.23% | 35.98% | 34.77% | 17.66% | 59.60% | 0.75% | 63.10% | 3.54% | 69.57% |
| 26 | 10.32% | 73.35% | 33.92% | 32.58% | 33.51% | 8.67% | 83.92% | | 77.59% | 3.48% | 18.90% | 28.78% | 35.47% | 35.74% | 19.84% | 54.23% | 0.93% | 69.60% | 4.89% | 68.18% |
| 27 | 7.07% | 74.18% | 34.57% | 33.39% | 32.04% | 6.14% | 82.70% | | 78.61% | 3.67% | 17.61% | 28.03% | 38.96% | 33.00% | 13.97% | 50.91% | 0.67% | 73.27% | 3.38% | 64.68% |

## Plan S000C8040

| Dist. | 2020 Census | | Average Primary Election Turnout | | | Voters who are: | | | Average General Election Turnout | | | Black Voters who are: | | | Hisp. Voters who are: | | | Avg Perf. | | Wins: | | General Election Performance in Statewide Elections 2012-2020 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | VAP who are: | | DEM who are: | | REP who are: | | | | DEM who are: | | | REP who are: | | | | | | | | | | | Margins | | |
| | Black | Hisp | Black | Hisp | Black | Hisp | DEM | REP | NPAOth | Black | Hisp | Black | Hisp | NPAOth | DEM | REP | NPAOth | DEM | REP | DEM | REP | MAX | MIN | AVG |
| 5 | 43.73% | 9.04% | 66.22% | 1.13% | 2.81% | 1.51% | 58.13% | 28.64% | 13.23% | 65.88% | 2.59% | 3.31% | 2.83% | 25.90% | 6.77% | 89.70% | 2.22% | 8.05% | 45.52% | 25.69% | 28.14% | 58.5% | 40.1% | 14 | 0 | D +32.4% | D +7.1% | D +18.8% |
| 9 | 12.81% | 50.24% | 18.82% | 35.24% | 1.03% | 14.10% | 43.37% | 29.02% | 27.61% | 17.51% | 43.60% | 1.32% | 19.42% | 6.11% | 41.61% | 78.50% | 3.95% | 17.46% | 52.57% | 15.53% | 31.90% | 37.3% | 40.9% | 12 | 2 | D +34.4% | D -0.9% | D +16.7% |
| 10 | 28.33% | 23.38% | 48.65% | 7.79% | 1.94% | 4.80% | 45.72% | 32.02% | 22.26% | 44.50% | 12.76% | 2.18% | 7.05% | 13.88% | 16.65% | 84.23% | 2.88% | 12.87% | 49.38% | 19.11% | 31.43% | 57.5% | 40.9% | 12 | 2 | D +29.1% | R +1.5% | D +17.2% |
| 20 | 50.04% | 22.15% | 64.04% | 4.47% | 6.25% | 9.69% | 66.46% | 14.61% | 18.92% | 62.17% | 8.59% | 6.94% | 14.36% | 28.30% | 18.16% | 86.61% | 2.12% | 11.23% | 50.45% | 18.81% | 30.57% | 78.1% | 21.0% | 14 | 0 | D +65.1% | D +50.7% | D +57.3% |
| 24 | 42.02% | 37.76% | 67.48% | 10.63% | 7.00% | 47.13% | 66.57% | 12.13% | 21.30% | 62.81% | 15.65% | 7.51% | 42.22% | 23.92% | 34.11% | 87.45% | 1.90% | 10.62% | 45.30% | 22.77% | 31.86% | 80.3% | 18.8% | 14 | 0 | D +68% | D -49.4% | D +61.6% |
| 25 | 7.96% | 76.83% | 26.60% | 42.55% | 0.43% | 61.13% | 32.92% | 41.38% | 25.70% | 20.79% | 53.26% | 0.57% | 61.19% | 3.39% | 66.94% | 85.82% | 2.98% | 11.07% | 29.10% | 42.27% | 28.61% | 45.0% | 53.8% | 3 | 11 | R +20.4% | D +2.6% | R +8.6% |
| 26 | 10.32% | 73.35% | 22.58% | 36.25% | 0.57% | 65.42% | 35.69% | 36.75% | 27.56% | 21.18% | 47.57% | 0.77% | 66.17% | 4.67% | 64.29% | 82.77% | 3.10% | 14.10% | 28.63% | 41.33% | 30.00% | 50.7% | 48.0% | 9 | 5 | D +15.7% | R +2.2% | D +3% |
| 27 | 7.07% | 74.18% | 17.87% | 36.73% | 0.39% | 75.66% | 35.72% | 38.10% | 26.18% | 15.24% | 45.38% | 0.32% | 72.02% | 3.19% | 63.12% | 83.83% | 3.09% | 12.93% | 26.85% | 45.71% | 27.44% | 50.6% | 48.3% | 9 | 5 | D +17.4% | R +0.6% | D +2.7% |

| | | | 5 | 9 | 10 | 20 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Plan S000C8040 | | BVAP | 43.73% | 12.81% | 28.33% | 50.04% | 42.02% | 7.96% | 10.32% | 7.07% |
| Primary Elections | | HVAP | 9.04% | 50.24% | 23.38% | 22.15% | 37.76% | 76.83% | 73.35% | 74.15% |
| 2018 | Governor (REP) | R_Baldauf | 0.70% | 0.84% | 0.71% | 1.36% | 1.92% | 1.93% | 1.83% | 1.50% |
| | | R_DeSantis | 52.44% | 52.75% | 52.09% | 62.76% | 66.52% | 65.93% | 67.74% | 67.69% |
| | | R_Devine | 1.13% | 1.98% | 1.43% | 2.20% | 3.24% | 2.92% | 3.34% | 3.09% |
| | | R_Langford | 1.13% | 1.44% | 1.65% | 1.86% | 1.97% | 1.41% | 1.72% | 1.53% |
| | | R_Mercadante | 0.42% | 1.28% | 0.76% | 1.51% | 2.13% | 1.93% | 2.06% | 2.14% |
| | | R_Nathan | 0.71% | 1.00% | 0.82% | 1.54% | 2.72% | 1.13% | 1.42% | 1.39% |
| | | R_Putnam | 41.63% | 37.93% | 40.26% | 25.36% | 17.05% | 21.84% | 18.17% | 18.84% |
| | | R_White | 1.62% | 2.61% | 2.11% | 2.89% | 3.92% | 2.63% | 3.54% | 3.46% |
| | Governor (DEM) | D_Gillum | 58.39% | 29.99% | 45.49% | 52.96% | 50.35% | 32.88% | 31.83% | 28.95% |
| | | D_Graham | 22.26% | 29.75% | 28.40% | 13.34% | 11.17% | 19.31% | 21.15% | 22.65% |
| | | D_Greene | 5.72% | 13.96% | 8.69% | 10.39% | 9.34% | 9.66% | 10.62% | 7.94% |
| | | D_King | 1.43% | 4.29% | 3.76% | 0.94% | 0.75% | 2.33% | 2.11% | 1.54% |
| | | D_Levine | 10.71% | 19.18% | 12.46% | 21.58% | 27.53% | 32.70% | 32.23% | 37.17% |
| | | D_Lundmark | 0.49% | 1.12% | 0.44% | 0.30% | 0.38% | 1.37% | 0.91% | 0.78% |
| | | D_Wetherbee | 0.83% | 1.64% | 0.66% | 0.38% | 0.32% | 1.27% | 0.97% | 0.68% |
| | Attorney General (REP) | R_Moody | 57.78% | 54.44% | 55.46% | 55.57% | 53.16% | 52.08% | 54.82% | 54.79% |
| | | R_White | 42.22% | 45.50% | 44.57% | 44.27% | 46.64% | 47.88% | 45.11% | 45.20% |
| | Attorney General (DEM) | D_Shaw | 78.66% | 61.11% | 74.44% | 81.44% | 82.10% | 67.77% | 69.58% | 74.09% |
| | | D_Torrens | 21.31% | 38.88% | 25.57% | 18.56% | 17.89% | 32.10% | 30.43% | 25.91% |
| | Agriculture Commissioner (REP) | R_Caldwell | 35.67% | 36.42% | 34.83% | 43.50% | 39.73% | 42.29% | 42.07% | 40.18% |
| | | R_Grimsley | 21.36% | 31.97% | 31.49% | 25.91% | 31.44% | 29.71% | 31.57% | 32.70% |
| | | R_McCalister | 8.68% | 16.25% | 15.43% | 21.17% | 17.11% | 12.78% | 16.62% | 16.76% |
| | | R_Troutman | 34.12% | 15.22% | 18.23% | 9.04% | 11.06% | 15.05% | 9.61% | 10.37% |
| | Agriculture Commissioner (DEM) | D_Fried | 60.09% | 55.10% | 55.25% | 63.92% | 59.04% | 52.18% | 53.25% | 59.89% |
| | | D_Porter | 20.04% | 18.57% | 17.46% | 16.10% | 17.36% | 20.02% | 20.45% | 15.13% |
| | | D_Walker | 19.86% | 26.32% | 27.30% | 19.96% | 23.60% | 27.59% | 26.21% | 24.88% |
| | US Senate (REP) | R_De La Fuente | 10.20% | 10.06% | 11.29% | 14.88% | 15.74% | 9.81% | 12.28% | 12.63% |
| | | R_Scott | 89.71% | 89.89% | 88.72% | 84.91% | 84.06% | 90.09% | 87.66% | 87.32% |
| 2016 | US Senate (REP) | R_Beruff | 22.31% | 17.11% | 17.64% | 14.64% | 8.73% | 8.85% | 6.43% | 5.58% |
| | | R_Rivera | 3.70% | 3.21% | 2.45% | 5.03% | 3.26% | 2.20% | 2.94% | 1.88% |
| | | R_Rubio | 68.00% | 71.92% | 74.53% | 70.56% | 80.12% | 85.24% | 85.70% | 88.87% |
| | | R_Young | 5.81% | 7.56% | 5.31% | 9.37% | 7.44% | 3.59% | 4.86% | 3.46% |
| | US Senate (DEM) | D_De La Fuente | 4.12% | 14.95% | 3.93% | 3.17% | 5.51% | 19.30% | 13.76% | 12.16% |
| | | D_Grayson | 17.53% | 45.27% | 40.72% | 9.95% | 10.82% | 11.17% | 11.16% | 11.19% |
| | | D_Keith | 15.18% | 9.79% | 12.71% | 14.56% | 13.82% | 13.73% | 15.63% | 17.86% |
| | | D_Luster | 12.08% | 1.26% | 2.28% | 2.23% | 2.68% | 2.02% | 1.68% | 1.54% |
| | | D_Murphy | 50.94% | 28.53% | 40.28% | 69.89% | 66.91% | 53.19% | 57.51% | 56.90% |
| 2014 | Governor (REP) | R_Adeshina | 1.29% | 1.69% | 1.67% | 2.66% | 2.97% | 1.46% | 1.77% | 1.80% |
| | | R_Cuevas-Neunder | 8.09% | 12.04% | 9.60% | 14.56% | 16.32% | 10.61% | 15.19% | 13.26% |
| | | R_Scott | 90.47% | 86.09% | 88.64% | 82.42% | 80.36% | 87.73% | 82.95% | 84.83% |
| | Governor (DEM) | D_Crist | 74.34% | 76.41% | 78.84% | 82.85% | 84.35% | 76.74% | 78.42% | 73.98% |
| | | D_Rich | 25.58% | 23.44% | 21.17% | 17.09% | 15.61% | 22.84% | 21.48% | 25.89% |
| | Attorney General (DEM) | D_Sheldon | 60.86% | 60.66% | 49.68% | 39.26% | 46.77% | 58.73% | 61.40% | 65.55% |
| | | D_Thurston | 39.17% | 39.26% | 50.37% | 60.66% | 53.21% | 40.91% | 38.48% | 34.37% |
| 2012 | US Senate (REP) | R_Mack | 57.58% | 49.35% | 58.32% | 65.26% | 71.78% | 73.46% | 73.64% | 77.15% |
| | | R_McCalister | 18.65% | 11.93% | 10.93% | 13.11% | 6.85% | 8.01% | 7.36% | 5.18% |
| | | R_Stuart | 5.92% | 6.58% | 4.88% | 7.25% | 13.13% | 12.37% | 13.26% | 12.99% |
| | | R_Weldon | 17.45% | 31.96% | 25.74% | 13.85% | 8.00% | 5.92% | 5.67% | 4.46% |
| | US Senate (DEM) | D_Burkett | 22.03% | 19.38% | 13.66% | 14.24% | 14.02% | 21.21% | 18.40% | 14.76% |
| | | D_Nelson | 77.91% | 80.61% | 86.30% | 85.70% | 85.93% | 78.58% | 81.49% | 85.11% |

| | | | 5 | 9 | 10 | 20 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Plan S000C8040 | | BVAP | 43.73% | 12.81% | 28.33% | 50.04% | 42.02% | 7.96% | 10.32% | 7.07% |
| General Elections | | HVAP | 9.04% | 50.24% | 23.38% | 22.15% | 37.76% | 76.35% | 73.35% | 74.18% |
| 2020 | President | D_Biden | 60.23% | 58.79% | 61.66% | 75.53% | 74.41% | 40.98% | 46.43% | 49.44% |
| | | R_Trump | 38.62% | 40.22% | 37.34% | 23.88% | 25.06% | 58.48% | 52.99% | 50.01% |
| 2018 | Governor | D_Gillum | 62.51% | 61.81% | 62.29% | 79.65% | 81.56% | 46.17% | 52.49% | 53.18% |
| | | R_DeSantis | 36.60% | 36.87% | 36.70% | 19.73% | 17.74% | 52.44% | 46.31% | 45.75% |
| | Attorney General | D_Shaw | 59.25% | 58.41% | 58.50% | 78.13% | 80.14% | 44.45% | 50.86% | 51.99% |
| | | R_Moody | 39.21% | 39.61% | 39.86% | 20.54% | 18.30% | 53.53% | 46.94% | 46.10% |
| | Chief Financial Officer | D_Ring | 60.38% | 60.81% | 60.33% | 79.52% | 81.61% | 45.82% | 51.93% | 52.59% |
| | | R_Patronis | 39.62% | 39.19% | 39.67% | 20.46% | 18.38% | 54.17% | 48.07% | 47.41% |
| | Agriculture Commissioner | D_Fried | 61.38% | 62.27% | 62.23% | 79.77% | 82.11% | 46.93% | 53.44% | 54.63% |
| | | R_Caldwell | 38.63% | 37.73% | 37.77% | 20.22% | 17.88% | 53.06% | 46.56% | 45.38% |
| | US Senate | D_Nelson | 62.25% | 60.52% | 62.11% | 79.66% | 81.49% | 46.47% | 53.46% | 54.47% |
| | | R_Scott | 37.75% | 39.48% | 37.89% | 20.33% | 18.51% | 53.52% | 46.54% | 45.52% |
| 2016 | President | D_Clinton | 58.51% | 61.95% | 60.09% | 77.52% | 81.10% | 52.56% | 56.46% | 57.42% |
| | | R_Trump | 38.61% | 34.53% | 36.37% | 20.71% | 17.23% | 45.16% | 40.81% | 40.05% |
| | US Senate | D_Murphy | 52.82% | 54.92% | 54.84% | 75.52% | 76.02% | 42.42% | 47.69% | 47.78% |
| | | R_Rubio | 43.90% | 41.03% | 41.35% | 22.53% | 21.88% | 55.35% | 49.92% | 50.17% |
| 2014 | Governor | D_Crist | 56.54% | 52.80% | 54.65% | 79.64% | 82.25% | 43.00% | 51.20% | 50.00% |
| | | R_Scott | 39.85% | 42.13% | 40.77% | 18.20% | 16.17% | 54.28% | 45.89% | 47.55% |
| | Attorney General | D_Sheldon | 53.20% | 49.01% | 51.79% | 75.88% | 79.86% | 38.72% | 45.82% | 46.03% |
| | | R_Bondi | 44.31% | 48.13% | 45.30% | 22.66% | 18.70% | 58.94% | 51.75% | 51.96% |
| | Chief Financial Officer | D_Rankin | 53.57% | 48.88% | 49.22% | 75.36% | 79.06% | 40.24% | 45.88% | 43.49% |
| | | R_Atwater | 46.43% | 51.12% | 50.78% | 24.62% | 20.94% | 59.75% | 54.12% | 56.53% |
| | Agriculture Commissioner | D_Hamilton | 55.57% | 47.75% | 49.27% | 76.85% | 79.82% | 39.79% | 46.04% | 44.31% |
| | | R_Putnam | 44.41% | 52.25% | 50.73% | 23.15% | 20.18% | 60.19% | 53.95% | 55.69% |
| 2012 | President | D_Obama | 61.03% | 61.43% | 58.97% | 80.43% | 82.82% | 51.07% | 54.83% | 52.22% |
| | | R_Romney | 38.14% | 37.76% | 40.24% | 19.14% | 16.82% | 48.44% | 44.61% | 47.27% |
| | US Senate | D_Nelson | 65.00% | 65.98% | 63.62% | 81.94% | 83.49% | 52.79% | 56.33% | 54.47% |
| | | R_Mack | 32.61% | 31.57% | 34.51% | 16.83% | 15.47% | 45.07% | 42.03% | 44.15% |

## B. Amendments:

None.

This Senate Bill Analysis does not reflect the intent or official position of the bill's introducer or the Florida Senate.

# Exhibit R

https://twitter.com/GovRonDeSantis/status/1499769316618772486

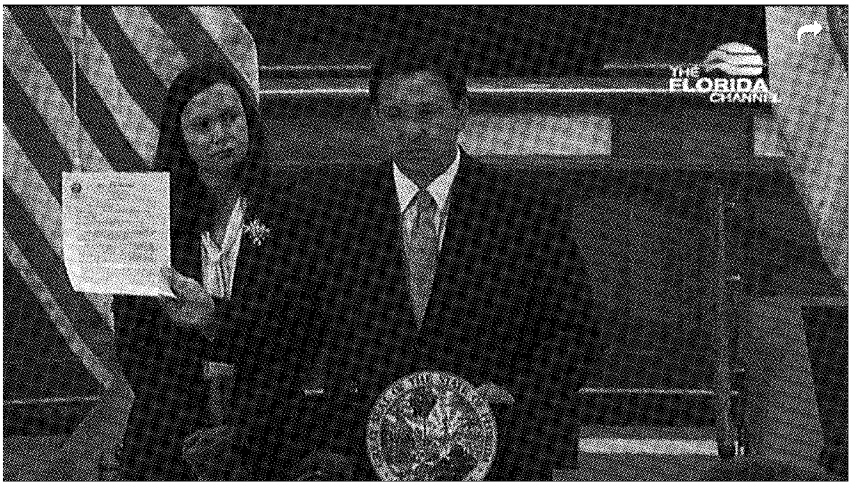
# Exhibit S

FLORIDA POLITICS

# DeSantis continues redistricting feud with GOP lawmakers by vetoing congressional map

BY MARY ELLEN KLAS, KIRBY WILSON, AND LAWRENCE MOWER *HERALD/TIMES TALLAHASSEE BUREAU*

UPDATED MARCH 29, 2022 7:01 PM




Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis announced on March 29, 2022 that he had vetoed the congressional redistricting map sent by the Legislature. With midterm elections in 2022, the Legislature will return to Tallahassee for a special session to redraw the map. BY THE FLORIDA CHANNEL

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*TALLAHASSEE*

Gov. Ron DeSantis on Tuesday vetoed a bill on congressional redistricting maps and called Florida legislators back into a special session in April to draw a new plan, setting up an intraparty feud over the future of redistricting in Florida.

The session, which will be set for April 19-22, could expand to include other issues, such as reviving the data privacy law, enacting a bill to allow legal gun owners to carry handguns openly or concealed without a permit, and perhaps even addressing the state's expanding property insurance crisis.

But the governor said the prospect of that expansion was only "a possibility" and he was not prepared to add it to the agenda.

"We just went through a legislative session where they failed to deliver on some of those priorities, and so what I will do is I will ask the legislative leaders: Is there something that you can get across the finish line, and I will encourage them to do that," he said.

This is the starkest disagreement between the Republican governor and the Republican-led Legislature in DeSantis' tenure.

First, DeSantis broke with tradition and proposed his own congressional redistricting plan that favored more Republicans than a plan that had been

developed by the Florida Senate.

Then, for two months the governor tried and failed to get lawmakers to agree to his legal approach to redistricting, which argues that the protections afforded to Black voters in Jacksonville and Orlando were an "illegal gerrymander" because he says the courts have since determined that race should not take precedence over the 14th Amendment provisions of equal protection.

But, also for months, the legal teams advising the House and Senate told legislators that the legal landscape requires them to draw districts in Jacksonville and South Florida that give Black voters the opportunity to elect candidates of their choice, although they agreed to dismantle a Black-majority district in Orlando.

## THE LEGISLATURE'S TWO-MAP STRATEGY

In an attempt to appease the governor, legislators passed a two-map package. They were so uncertain about the governor's legal analysis, however, that they sent him a backup map and, in the text of the accompanying bill, they wrote that if a court invalidates the first map, the second map will take effect in law.

The first map dismantled a sprawling North Florida congressional district designed to elect a Black representative to Congress and similar to the one state and federal courts upheld in 2015. Legislators replaced it with a Jacksonville-centric district that also could elect a Black candidate. The second map restores the North Florida Congressional District 5 as the court approved it in the 2010 redistricting cycle.

Central to the dispute is whether the state and federal constitutions protect minority voters against having the ability to elect candidates of their choice diminished with the new maps. The Fair Districts provisions of the Florida Constitution prohibit legislators from diminishing minority voting strength. They were patterned after the federal Voting Rights Act, particularly Section 5, which prohibits voting practices that discriminate on the basis of race, color, or membership in a language minority group.

In his veto letter, DeSantis cited case law from 1992 and 1995 and said that the Legislature's congressional map was unconstitutional "because it assigns voters primarily on the basis of race but is not narrowly tailored to achieve a compelling state interest."

However, DeSantis also argued that the first map didn't go far enough to protect the ability of Black voters to elect their preferred candidates because the Legislature's map reduces the Black voting age population in the North Florida minority district by 11 percentage points — below that of the district in the existing map that he considers unconstitutional.

The second map, he argued, goes too far because it protects Black voters at the expense of white voters and "in doing so, it violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution."

Voting advocacy organizations have warned legislative leaders that their congressional maps violate the Fair Districts provisions and, in a letter to House members in February, House Speaker Chris Sprowls acknowledged that the primary map diminishes access for some Black voters in North Florida to elect candidates of their choice.

"We believe this solution creates a singular exception to the diminishment standard," Sprowls wrote. He added that the "secondary map is one the Legislature knows is legally compliant under current law and keeps the previously-proposed configuration of District 5."

## DISAGREEMENT OVER PROTECTING MINORITY DISTRICTS

But in comments to reporters on Tuesday, DeSantis signaled that he believes minority districts must have at least 50% of their voters as minorities and any district with fewer than that cannot be diminished. By contrast, legislators have defended districts based on how they perform in elections and that includes some districts that will elect a minority candidate even though there are fewer than 50% minority voters in a district.

If legislators argue that a district with 30% minority voters "couldn't be diminished, well, then I think then you run into where the redistricting amendments become problematic,'' DeSantis said.

His veto message argued that the "sprawling, non-compact district that spans 200 miles and repeatedly violates traditional political boundaries to join minority communities from disparate geographic areas" violates the Constitution because it is "not narrowly tailored to achieve the compelling interest of protecting the voting rights of a minority community in a reasonably cohesive geographic area."

DeSantis also told reporters that his strategy was not to bring forward maps that would invalidate the Fair Districts amendments.

"Our goal in this was just to have a constitutional map. We were not trying to necessarily plot a type of litigation strategy,'' he said.

Ellen Freidin, chief executive officer of FairDistricts Now, a nonpartisan organization that worked to pass the 2010 constitutional amendment to impose new redistricting standards in Florida, criticized the governor's interpretation of the law.

"Apparently, Gov. DeSantis believes that trampling on rights of minority voters and turning back the clock to ignore those rights will enhance his standing with Florida and national voters,'' she said. "FairDistricts Now hopes the legislative leaders will not allow the governor to bully them into disregarding the those hard-earned rights. We will do everything in our power to ensure that those rights are protected and are enforced."

Meanwhile, time is getting short for candidates trying to decide in which districts to run in November. Congressional candidates must qualify for election between June 13 and 17 and because Florida's population growth allows it to add another congressional district, the maps must be completed by those dates.

If legislators don't agree to the governor's approach, he could veto the map again and then lawmakers could declare an impasse and ask a state court to draw the map. Since 2012, Florida courts have become increasingly conservative, stocked with judicial candidates chosen by former Gov. Rick Scott and now DeSantis.

Common Cause and FairDistricts Now have already asked a federal judge to draft a congressional map for Florida. And a group of Florida voters asked a Tallahassee judge to preemptively settle a potential impasse between the governor and Legislature over proposed congressional redistricting lines.

## LEGISLATIVE LEADERS COMMENT

In a joint statement after the governor's announcement, Sprowls and Senate President Wilton Simpson noted that the congressional map and the two legislative maps they passed had "strong bipartisan support." The legislative maps were declared valid by the Florida Supreme Court, but the congressional map requires the governor's approval.

"Our goal is for Florida to have a new congressional map passed by the Legislature, signed by the governor, and upheld by the court if challenged,'' they said in the statement. "Therefore, it is incumbent upon us to exhaust every effort in pursuit of a legislative solution."

Members of the House Democratic Caucus said in a statement that they predicted the veto, and it is a signal that the governor is intent on diminishing Black voting rights in Florida.

"DeSantis has been force-feeding his desired map onto House and Senate leadership resulting in a ridiculous two-map legislative submission that cowardly attempted to appease his racist political agenda," said Rep. Kelly Skidmore of Boca Raton, the ranking Democrat on the House Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee.

This conflict has already played out once. In February, DeSantis' office paid for a conservative redistricting expert to appear before the House redistricting subcommittee to make the governor's legal case.

Robert Popper, a senior attorney with the conservative activist group Judicial Watch, attempted to persuade the Republican-controlled committee that North Florida Congressional District 5, as drawn by legislators to follow the district approved in the last redistricting cycle, would no longer be considered legal under his interpretation of federal voting rights law.

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FLORIDA POLITICS

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FEBRUARY 18, 2022 4:47 PM

After Republicans on the panel vigorously questioned him, the committee rejected Popper's arguments and moved ahead with its original map that leaves the North Florida Congressional District 5 in place.

"I want to assuage any doubt that may be in front of you today," said Rep. Tyler Sirois, R-Merritt Island, at the end of the February meeting. "This is a legally sound map. It's a constitutionally compliant map."

DeSantis kept leaning in, legislators on the committee said, urging them to present a modified plan that appears closer to the way Popper had suggested.

During the House debate on the congressional redistricting bill, several Republicans were called to the governor's office where they were urged to vote against the House plan, Skidmore said.

"There was a lot of pressure. There were threats of primarying [candidates mounted against them]," she said. "They were scared. They were worried."

*Mary Ellen Klas can be reached at meklas@miamiherald.com and @MaryEllenKlas*

This story was originally published March 29, 2022 12:15 PM.

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# Exhibit T

# Gov. DeSantis vetoes congressional redistricting maps passed by Florida lawmakers

wtsp.com/article/news/politics/desantis-vetoes-congressional-redistricting-maps/67-f04f20fd-9113-4cb7-9704-1fb0aac22159

Politics

The governor says he plans to call a special legislative session to help "get it across the finish line."

00:0000:00

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — Gov. Ron DeSantis says he has vetoed the "defective" SB 102, which would establish reworked congressional districts in Florida based on population data from the 2020 Census.

Earlier this month, DeSantis tweeted he would veto this piece of legislation, saying it was "DOA" — dead on arrival.

He said state lawmakers in trying to follow Florida law concerning redistricting "forgot about" the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. DeSantis has called a special legislative session to successfully get a redistricting map "across the finish line."

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Lawmakers will convene for the session at 12 p.m. on April 19 and will continue on the topic until no later than 11:59 p.m. on April 22.

"We have a responsibility to produce maps for our citizens that do not contain unconstitutional racial gerrymanders," DeSantis said in a statement. "Today, I vetoed a map that violates the U.S. Constitution, but that does not absolve the Legislature from doing its job. I appreciate the Legislature's willingness to work with me to pass a legally compliant map this Special Session."

During the regular legislative session, DeSantis released his own proposal, which would have likely eliminated two Black plurality districts. However, that was not adopted by state lawmakers.

The version passed by Florida lawmakers included a primary map and a secondary map. Neither met DeSantis' expectations.

The only two things lawmakers were required to do this year during the legislative session were to approve a state budget and redraw political lines.

Whatever map is eventually approved by DeSantis will include a new 28th congressional district, a result of Florida's population growing by 2.7 million new residents between 2010 and 2020.

*The Associated Press contributed to this report.*

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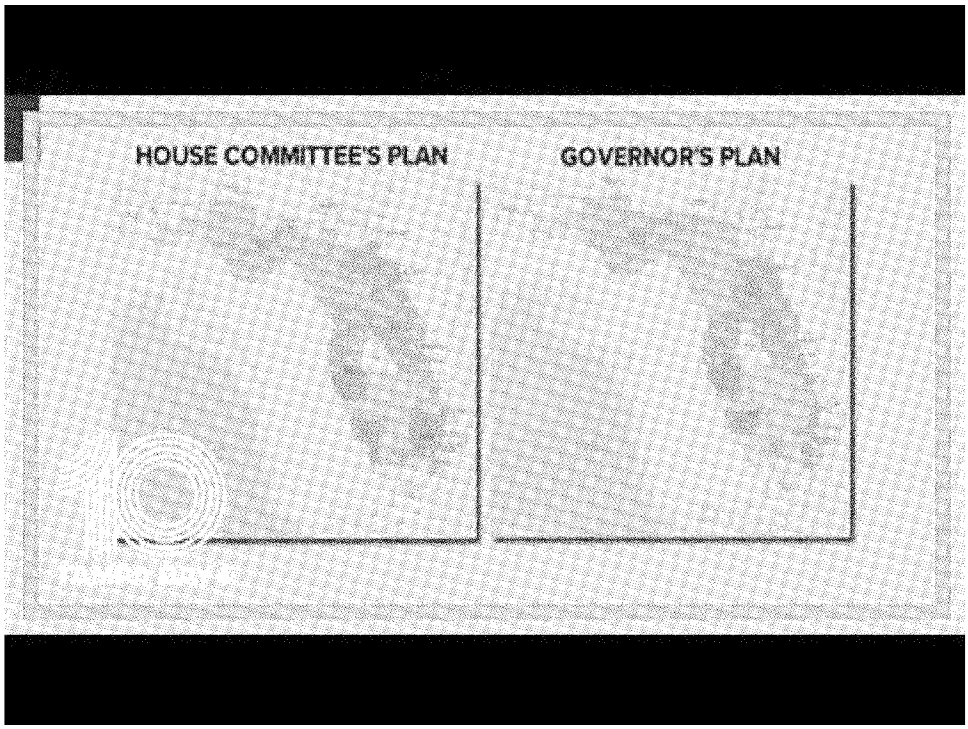


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# Exhibit U

# Florida Legislature gives up, asks gov for congressional map

AP apnews.com/article/congress-ron-desantis-florida-legislature-redistricting-00d0986cd4b06ca690d742bce41cfb2b

April 11, 2022

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By BRENDAN FARRINGTONApril 11, 2022

Senate President Wilton Simpson, left, and Speaker of the House Chris Sprowls smile as they speak with members of the media after the end of a legislative session, April 30, 2021, at the Capitol in Tallahassee, Fla. The Florida Legislature's new approach on drawing congressional maps is, if at first you don't succeed, don't try again. House Speaker Chris Sprowls and Senate President Wilton Simpson sent a memo to lawmakers Monday, April 11, 2022 ahead of a special session next week saying legislative staff will not draw new maps to be considered by the chambers. (AP Photo/Wilfredo Lee, file)

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. (AP) — The Florida Legislature's new approach on drawing congressional maps is, if at first you don't succeed, don't try again.

House Speaker Chris Sprowls and Senate President Wilton Simpson sent a memo to lawmakers Monday ahead of a special session next week saying legislative staff will not draw new maps to be considered by the chambers. Instead, they're asking Republican Gov. Ron DeSantis to give them one.

"We are awaiting a communication from the Governor's Office with a map that he will support. Our intention is to provide the Governor's Office opportunities to present that information before House and Senate redistricting committees," the Republican leaders said in a joint memo.

In an unprecedented move, DeSantis, who is a potential 2024 presidential candidate, interjected himself into the once-a-decade process of drawing new political lines after the federal census by submitting his own congressional map.

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The Senate did not take the governor's map into consideration, and the House approved two maps, a primary map to try to appease DeSantis and a second in case the first map was found to be unconstitutional.

While the House was debating its proposal, DeSantis used Twitter to say it would be dead on arrival. The Senate later approved the House maps and DeSantis kept his promise and vetoed the bill.

By saying it will wait for the governor, the Legislature is basically conceding the process to him.

DeSantis previously submitted a map that would dismantle the districts of two Black U.S. House members — Reps. Al Lawson and Sheila Cherfilus McCormick. DeSantis' proposal also would likely give Republicans more Florida seats than the maps approved by the House and Senate. That would benefit DeSantis, a potential 2024 presidential candidate, if he were to be elected to the White House.

AD

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# Exhibit V

Speaker 1: [00:13:30] Members of the house will come to order [00:14:00] Members. Please take your seats Members and visitors in the gallery. Please rise for the prayer. The prayer today will be given by representative Payne representative pain. You may approach the well

Speaker 2: Thank you speaker members. Please join me in prayer father. Today we come before [00:14:30] you this morning, anticipating for what you have in store for us today. Let us not forget to praise honor and worship you. We are expecting to hear your voice and we will be willing to be used by you in order to fill our faithful duties, father, we ask your blessing and all the members of the legislature, our house and Senate colleagues, our speaker, our Senate president upon our governor cabinet members and their families. [00:15:00] Lord, we are grateful to be living in a democracy where so many play a part of making sure the needs of Floridians are met. As we work together to find solutions of difficult problems. We ask that you guide our words so that we speak with respect and humility to one another. And father, finally, we ask a special blessing and prayer for those suffering in the war, torn regions of the UK. Ukraine help there be an into the suffering and violence soon. [00:15:30] Protect those in heart. All these things we ask in your holy name. Amen.

Speaker 1: Amen. Thank you. Represent Payne. The clerk one lock the machine and members will record their presence. Have all members recorded their presence. All members recorded their presence. Clerk will lock the machine out the presence of a quo,

Speaker 3: 106 members, a core president. Mr. Speaker

Speaker 1: Members of visitors in the gallery. Please remain standing for the pledge. The pledge this morning, be bear by representative Tant from her desk.

Speaker 4: [00:16:00] I pledge of allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands. One nation under rock invisible with Liberty and justice for

Speaker 1: Are there corrections to the journal hearing none show the journal approved. Are there matters on induction in reference

Speaker 3: None on the desk. Mr. Speaker,

Speaker 1: Are there communications?

Speaker 3: None on the desk. Mr. Speaker,

Speaker 1: Are there messages from the Senate? [00:16:30] None

Speaker 3: On the desk. Mr. Speaker

Speaker 1: Are there reports of standing committees and subcommittees on

Speaker 3: The a desk? Mr. Speaker,

Speaker 1: Read the report.

Speaker 3: The honorable Chris brow speaker, house of representative steer. Mr. Speaker, your rule, your rules committee here with submits. The special order for Wednesday, April 20th, 2022. Reading of the report, Mr. Speaker

Speaker 1: Representative brown. You recognize in the report,

Speaker 5: Mr. Speaker, the report sets the special order calendar and allocation of times for questions and debate contained in the letter. And I move the adoption of the special order report for today. April 20th, 2022.

Speaker 1: Are there [00:17:00] questions? Are there questions? Is there debate all in favor of adoption, special order calendars say yay. All pose, no show. The special order calendars adopted. Are there motions relating to committee and subcommittee references represent gal? You recognized.

Speaker 6: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Uh, I rise to make a motion.

Speaker 1: You recognized.

Speaker 6: I rise pursuant to thank you, Mr. Speaker. I rise to pursuant to house rule 11 point 12 and now move to refer house bill [00:17:30] one C establishing the congressional district to the state, to the full re districting committee and to the appropriations committee. And with your permission, Mr. Speaker, at the time, I'd like to debate the motion.

Speaker 1: All right, members representative GUI has moved to move the redistricting bill, which is one C to the re larger redistricting committee. This is a debatable motion. Uh, it will pass or not pass by a majority vote. It is debatable. However, it is only debatable as I think, as you know, representative Galler as to [00:18:00] the propriety of the reference. That is the motion representative gall. You, you recognize to debate.

Speaker 6: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Um, I, as to the propriety of the reference to both full redistricting and to appropriations, um, the appropriations is because there's a million dollar appropriation included in this bill and that should be heard by the appropriations committee, uh, house bill one C is a significant bill and it will alter the landscape [00:18:30] of this state for up to 10 years for 22 million people. It's 140 pages, 13 sections. In addition to that, a million dollar appropriation. It was heard yesterday in the congressional redistricting subcommittee, where speakers from across the state came to testify on its impact at the end because of time constraints. Some of those members of the public were given very short periods of time. I believe 60 seconds. And there was just [00:19:00] the one hearing. And I understand that in one hearing there is a limit, but the bill should be treated as every other bill that we've seen.

Speaker 6: Um, I don't believe there is a rule it's up to the discretion of the house, but I can't recall a bill that's gone directly from subcommittee to rules and special order without going through a full committee. That's why we have committees. That's the purpose of it. And

the principle [00:19:30] jurisdiction, he is the full redistricting committee, not referring it. And having it heard there is a departure from our customs and practice. There is time it could have been done. It could still be done. And some of us on full redistricting have spent many months preparing for this exact thing. And we have questioned, we studied this process and debate that should be heard. Um, an assumption of a rule [00:20:00] that we adopted this year on time management, where for the first time beginning in, in this, this, well, let's say this term last year,

Speaker 1: I'm going, we're getting, we're getting outside the propriety of the reference. Just keep, keep your, a debate to the propriety of the reference. Yes,

Speaker 6: Yes. Mr. Speaker, the, the assumption we make about full committee is that after subcommittee full committees will completely vet issues. And that's why limiting time is now [00:20:30] a rule that we have. If this is supposed to be an open and transparent, publicly accessible practice, we need to have it heard in accordance with what we have always done here to four. And it belongs in those full committees. And therefore I ask the house consistent with our practice procedure and tradition to refer this bill to the full redistricting committee and to the appropriations committee. Uh, I believe we could get that squeezed [00:21:00] in if that was the choice that the house makes. And I therefore ask for your favorable support in this most. All right.

Speaker 1: I members represent GA having closed on his motion under rule 11 point 12, uh, members. Now we will vote as a majority vote, uh, whether or not to, uh, send those bills represent Joseph. We just did. He just closed on his motion On the propriety of the reference. I, I went to representative Geller cuz I didn't see any other microphone. [00:21:30] So he just closed on his motion Representative. Joseph, would you like to be recognized in debate? You're recognized.

Speaker 7: Thank you. Thank you Mr. Speaker and I, and I apologize for interjecting. We just didn't have the opportunity debate. I was waiting for that time. Um, this is a highly unusual process that we're right now. Uh, the legislature has a constant constitutional duty to draw our redistricting

Speaker 1: Matters. Representative Joseph, you have to keep your debate to the propriety of the reference. [00:22:00] Nice.

Speaker 7: Thank you Mr. Speaker. I understand. I'm just trying to explain that. So as far as making sure that we re reference it, part of the purpose is so that we can fully do our jobs. That's one because as a member of the subcommittee that addressed these congressional redistricting maps, we were cut off in questions. Our debate was limited. The comments from the public was limited. That does not comport [00:22:30] procedural nor substantive due process, which is what this whole thing is supposed to be about. We are not giving the public a reasonable opportunity to participate. We're not giving people

Speaker 1: Representative Joseph, would you like to debate on the propriety of the reference? That is not what you're doing. If you'd like to confine your debate to the propriety of the reference, I'll recognize you. You're recognized.

Speaker 7: Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Speaker. So for all of those reasons, I believe that it should be Reed to at least the first committee, but because there's also [00:23:00] a $1 million appropriation that attaches to it, it should also as is the practice be assigned to an appropriations committee. When we look at the, the, the information that was provided to us, as far as the impact, we don't have that. So for those reasons, I rise in support of the motion, um, and ask that members would consider voting up if not for us, then for the people of Florida to allow the public, to have a reasonable opportunity [00:23:30] to participate and to have our members have an opportunity to fully execute our duties and to fully vet what we're about to vote on. Thank

Speaker 1: You. Is there additional debate? Is there additional debate seeing non members will now proceed to vote Representative Robinson? You're recognized in debate on the propriety of the reference.

Speaker 8: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. And I just wanted to be on record saying, I truly agree that we should. I mean, just follow the process. We come up here and we have all these different pieces of legislation that we file [00:24:00] and then I'm a freshman member, but it appears that we pick and choose which one of the pieces of legislation is gonna actually follow the full process. I believe that this is something that's hugely, that's gonna affect all Floridians and it should go through appropriations because they have a million dollars on it. And yes, it should go to the full redistrict committee. Everyone should be able to, to voice their opinion and really truly vet this particular piece of legislation. So I hope that all [00:24:30] of my colleagues truly would let's just follow the process. It's the process we do for everything else. Let's not change on this part, this particular piece of legislation,

Speaker 1: Any additional debate members, any additional debate, seeing none, all in favor of adoption of representing of gel's motion. Say, yay.

Speaker 9: Yay.

Speaker 1: All opposed? No, no show the motion fails. Are there matters on reconsideration? None on

Speaker 3: The desk, Mr. Speaker,

Speaker 1: Are there bills or joint resolutions on third reading? None [00:25:00] on the

Speaker 3: Desk. Mr. Speaker,

Speaker 1: Are there bills on the special order calendar

Speaker 3: On the desk? Mr. Speaker

Speaker 1: Read the first bill

Speaker 3: By representative Lee house bill one C built to be entitled in act establishing the congressional districts of the state.

Speaker 1: Before we get there. Representative Lee, I forgot to mention today as representative fine's birthday. Happy birthday representative. Fine. I'd ask everybody to be nice to representative fine today, but let's be honest. That's [00:25:30] not gonna happen. Representative Lee, you recognized.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker members today, we will be presenting map P 0 0 0 C 0 1 0 9. This is the map reflected in the data packet in front of you, as well as being posted on the, uh, Florida redistricting.gov website. This Congress is an improvement upon the benchmark map with regard to tier two metrics. This map improves county splits by keeping 50 counties whole, as opposed to the 49 [00:26:00] from last decade, it allows 396 cities to remain whole as opposed to 373 in the benchmark map. And it improves upon all three mathematical measures of compactness with respect, respect of four seven for REOC eight one for the conve hole and four three for Pauls V popper. This map also satisfies the appropriate population deviation at plus or minus a single person. As you may be aware, there are 10 districts in this map that are the exact copies of districts at the legislature [00:26:30] pass during regular session.

Speaker 5: Those are congressional districts, 1 2 20 21 22 23, 24, 25, 27 and 28. You can see those here on the screen. The remaining 18 districts have been newly proposed by the governor's office and consist of the congressional districts three through 19 and 26 as now seen on the screen, given that these 18 districts are the new content for this body to review, I'd like to focus the majority of my presentation today on those districts. [00:27:00] I am more than happy to take questions on the legisla interest districts as, as well, but I don't want to belabor the explanation of districts that we've already extensively reviewed districts four and five let's begin in Northeast Florida with districts four and five as described yesterday in committee by the governor's map drawer plan P 0 0 0 C 0 1 0 9 creates two new districts in Northeast Florida, consistent with maps previously proposed by the governor's office. These two districts are race neutral and overall [00:27:30] more compact than the configuration of districts.

Speaker 5: Four or five that were previously passed by the legislature. The boundary lines between the two districts are mostly the St John's river. As you know, Jacksonville is the one city in the state that is larger than a congressional district. It has over 900,000 people and must be split. And the river, which nearly equally divides the city stands out as a recognizable boundary for these two districts, the Southern boundaries of districts four and five are still exactly as the legislature proposed them previously using the clay [00:28:00] Putnam county lines and where the split occurs within St. John county is the same district, six through 16 and 18. The next several slides visualize changes the central Florida region and on the west coast from citrus county down to Lee county as described yesterday in committee by the governor's ma drawer, looking holistically at the region, keeping B Oola and Polk counties all as was the case of the legislatively passed maps in effect creates a wall across [00:28:30] three quarters in the state.

Speaker 5: Breaking that wall in Polk county essentially gives more flexibility in considering the different options for creating more compact districts and more adherence to political and geographical boundary lines in those Northwestern Gulf counties of the state. So in effect, splitting Polk county allowed for additional considerations. For example, one tier two improvement that was made by splitting Polk county was being able to keep citrus and Sarasota counties. Whole district nine was improved by smoothing its visual and mathematical compactness, [00:29:00] including picking up portions of Pana and Polk and Oola counties and including the lake that essentially represents that piece of Polk county that otherwise sticks into Oola county. District nine also extends out slightly at the Northwest Oola border utilizing highway 27, Ronald Reagan Parkway. This helps with statistical and visual compactness of several districts in the region. These changes also helped create a visually more compact district 11 by essentially turning the wheel of the population district 11 shifts from the [00:29:30] angle shape, present in the previous legislative version to a more circular shape. And in combination by reshaping district 7, 10, 11, and 12 allowed for a one less county split in Marion county from three splits down to two splits within the county

Speaker 5: District six through 11. The next slide shows changes in district six through 11 found in the greater Orlando region as described yesterday in committee by the governor's ma drawer. These changes return to house concepts found in [00:30:00] plan 8, 0 11, and also follow more closely with Senate concepts in regards to CD eight for CD eight, instead of taking the district into Southern Alucia county to get the last bit of population district eight instead goes into Eastern county. This means this proposed plan only splits DeLucia county twice rather than three times. This brings the configuration of district seven down to the of Alucia Brevard county line without increasing the number of districts in orange county. Essentially there was a turning of the population wheel in order to not have any negative [00:30:30] impact around orange county while also decreasing the amount of splits in Alucia county.

Speaker 5: District 10 in this plan is similar to plan 8, 0 11, that passed a congressional redistricting sub and is very compact keeping several cities whole within either district nine, 10 or 11. The city of Maitland is kept whole in district 10. And the cities of Apopka and winter garden are kept whole in district 11. The boundaries between these districts are very much defined by keeping the four mentioned cities, whole utilizing county county boundaries. For [00:31:00] example, district 10 uses the semi orange county line or utilizes major well recognized roadways and waterways, except we're necessary to get equal population. The Western boundary of district 10 between districts 10 and 11 is largely the Apopka Vineland road. The borders between district six and 11 and the lake county area is mostly defined by city boundaries and waterways with lake lake 80 lake use Mount do entirely in district six and Fruitland park Leesburg.

Speaker 5: And Tavas entirely in district 11. [00:31:30] Moving now over to the west coast in districts, 11 through 17 as described yesterday in committee by the governor's map drawer, congressional district 12 now includes all of citrus and Hernando counties, which helps provide a much more squared up shape, improving visual compactness district 12 is actually still the majority of Pasco county yielding about 141,000 Pasco county residents in district 15. The boundaries between districts 12 and 15 are almost

entirely defined by state roads and municipal boundary lines. Zephyr [00:32:00] Hills is entirely included in district 15 and St. Leo's Antonio and date city are entirely within district 12. District 13 is holy within Pinellas county, starting in the Western part of the county and working east districts 13 and 14 largely utilized us 19 as a divider within Pinellas county except where equal population is achieved in the unincorporated feather sound area.

Speaker 5: Just north of St. Pete district 14 starts eastward and moves northward in Tampa bay. The [00:32:30] boundaries of the district are defined by clear recognizable boundaries, like major roadways while trying to maintain something of a square or rectangular shape for district 13, to keep it visually and mathematically compact. The linkage of districts in this area are predominantly along roadways, including in the Northern portion of districts, 14 and 15. Similarly district 12 and Pasco county uses a large portion of the Suncoast Parkway squared off at a county road that essentially takes the Suncoast Parkway south before heading east over municipality of temple terrace. [00:33:00] Temple terrace is kept whole within district 15 district 16 and 17, keep both Manatee and Sarasota county's whole district 16 uses state road 62 as a clear divider that is also utilized in Polk county where districts 15 and 18 come together. This also allows plant city to be kept whole in district 15. And despite going into three counties, approximately two thirds of district 15 is populated by Hillsborough county residence,

Speaker 5: Largely [00:33:30] due to the tier two decision of keeping Sarasota county whole in creating district 17 with all of Sara Sarasota, all of Charlotte and UN operated portions of Lee counties, the newly composed district 17 required moving the entirety of Henry county in, in district 18 and then finding approximately 4,500 residents elsewhere. This plan equalizes the population of district 18 and Callier county, which was already split once district 18 extends along state road, 82 down state road, 29 [00:34:00] north and then east along county road 46, to get those additional 3,500 residents in district 18 to balance out the population district 26 had to further extend the Western boundaries closer towards unincorporated east Naples, us utilizing roadways and waterways as boundaries between 26 and 19, in order to balance the population between all of these cities, even though Polk county is now split in this map district 18. Uh, it's actually about two thirds of the residents are from Polk and one third from six rural counties.

Speaker 5: [00:34:30] Additionally, this bill appropriates $1 million to the department of state for expenses related to litigation of the congressional map. This bill also includes language relating to state courts. It requires any state court challenge to the congressional map to be filed in Leon county. It requires all challenges based on state law to be filed in state court rather than in federal court, under the 11th amendment to the United States constitution. The state is immune from suit and federal court on state law grounds. This provision reaffirms the state's immunity under the 11th amendment [00:35:00] and makes clear that state does not waive that immunity. This provision also permits any state court challenge to raise both state law claims. And to the extent the circuit court has jurisdiction federal law claims. And finally it makes it explicit that nothing in the bill precludes federal courts from deciding challenges based on federal law. Mr. Speaker, that is the bill

Speaker 1: Members. We are now in question on the bill questions on the bill representative will height you're recognized.

Speaker 10: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, would you recognize, represent Galler

Speaker 1: Represent [00:35:30] gel? You're recognized.

Speaker 6: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and, uh, thank you for, uh, recognizing the motion before. I appreciate that. Uh, chair Lee, how are you this morning? I have a number of questions chair. Um, let me ask you, uh, I understand this's not really necessarily for you to answer, but, um, do you know why we're not going through the full committee,

Speaker 1: Have some guiding, you answered your own question by saying it's probably not appropriate to ask. [00:36:00] You're recognized.

Speaker 6: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, um, chair who drew this map,

Speaker 1: Chairman Lee recognized

Speaker 5: The governor's office

Speaker 1: Representative gal. You recognized.

Speaker 6: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and who specifically

Speaker 1: Representative Lee

Speaker 5: Yesterday and committee Mr. Alex Kelly, um, said that he drew the map

Speaker 9: Representative

Speaker 1: Galler.

Speaker 6: Do you know, uh, with whom Mr. Uh, Kelly consulted in the drawing of the map

Speaker 1: Representative leak.

Speaker 5: [00:36:30] Thank you yesterday, Mr. Kelly said that he was the only one who drew this map. I can't tell you who, you know, and let's talk about this generally. You know, I just like, we, he couldn't speak to the sentence process. I can't speak to the governor's entire process. I can only tell you what Mr. Kelly said,

Speaker 1: Representative Galler.

Speaker 6: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, did he acknowledge having consulted with some, uh, out-of-state consultants who worked with other states in map drawing

Speaker 1: Representative leak?

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Yes.

Speaker 1: Representative Galler.

Speaker 6: Did he identify who those were?

Speaker 1: [00:37:00] Representative leak?

Speaker 5: Yes.

Speaker 1: I think we know the next question represent Galler.

Speaker 6: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and I think I forgot my thank you, Mr. Speaker on the previous question. So thank you for both. Um, and who did he, uh, who did he identify those people as being by name, sir.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I believe his name was Adam Foltz, who I, he also explained it only ever drawn for state governments,

Speaker 1: Representative Galler.

Speaker 6: [00:37:30] Do we have any information that would lead us to know one way or another whether or not in that consultation or in that drawing our constitutional standards, that the map could not be drawn for the purposes of protecting any incumbent or advancing the interests of any political party were in fact observed

Speaker 1: Represent bleak.

Speaker 5: [00:38:00] Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I'll do, uh, the best I can with the question. I'm not sure I entirely understand the evidence that you have is before you, uh, in this map and in the testimony that that Mr. Kelly gave in committee

Speaker 1: M gall,

Speaker 6: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Well, of course, um, chair Lee, uh, I actually don't have before me the testimony from the subcommittee, uh, I'm not a member. That's why I'm asking you whether or not there was something presented since it was your bill and you were present

Speaker 1: [00:38:30] Representative leak

Speaker 5: It, This was presented, the testimony was presented. There was no testimony that would make me conclude that what you're suggesting happened

Speaker 1: Represent Galler.

Speaker 6: Um, thank you, Mr. Speaker, uh, looking at the map itself, what infirmity in previous maps passed, let to decide that changes were necessary in Tampa bay

Speaker 1: [00:39:00] Represent Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I, I, I don't believe that's in the map before you, so what we're going through today is the map that's before you not prior maps

Speaker 1: Represent Galler.

Speaker 6: Thank you Mr. Speaker. But my question is we had app that we deemed constitutional well, I did not, but the chamber apparently deemed it constitutional as to the Tampa bay area. What required a change there?

Speaker 1: Representative leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you. Uh, Mr. Speaker, [00:39:30] I don't know that it, anything required a change. And as we have said many, many times before, there are innumerable number of maps that can be legally compliant. So this map is simply different than the map that you saw before.

Speaker 1: Representative Galler.

Speaker 6: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, is there a theory at play here that since two is, uh, twice the number of one that tier Stu tier two standards have become twice as important as tier one standards,

Speaker 1: Representative [00:40:00] leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, no

Speaker 1: Representative Galler.

Speaker 6: Why then do we constantly hear about tier two standards as if compactness or, uh, political boundaries mattered most when we're flagrantly ignoring the requirement of protecting minority districts represent and going against explicit

Speaker 1: Language represent, we're get, we're getting into your sounds like your debate for tomorrow. Do you have a specific question about, as it relates to aspects of this map? You're [00:40:30] recognized.

Speaker 6: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, why are we not emphasizing the tier one standards and seem to be ignoring them in favor of tier two standards?

Speaker 1: I think it's gonna be difficult for chairman Lee to answer that question represent gall. Can you point to a specific part of the map that you're referencing?

Speaker 6: I'm done. Mr. Speak. Thank you very

Speaker 1: Much. Additional questions represent Wil height.

Speaker 10: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, would you recognize, represent Driscoll

Speaker 1: Represent Driscoll? You recognized.

Speaker 11: [00:41:00] Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Good morning chair leak. I had some questions about Tampa bay. Um, so I was curious, we talked about it a little bit in committee yesterday, but weren't really able to get into the details with the time limits, but it looks like what we have in this map actually follows a similar strategy that was used about a decade ago at, was resulted in the maps being struck down, um, in Tampa bay that the, the, the court determined it was a partisan gerrymander. Um, and I'm just looking at [00:41:30] CD 14 and it looks like there are so many Democrats packed in there that it could lead to the same partisan gerrymander. Could you explain for me how, uh, we have risen to the CD 14? That's now in the map before us today?

Speaker 1: Representative leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I, I, I can't speak to the governor's map draws process. What I can tell you is the, the, the facts that were, uh, you know, unique to the case that occurred many years ago, or just that unique to that case, this map stands on its own.

Speaker 1: [00:42:00] Dr.

Speaker 11: Thank you, Mr. Speaker also wanted to try to understand cuz in the intro to the presentation, we heard that the, I thought we heard that the county splits were made better, but as best I can tell looking at 80 D in 80 19, it's the same number of county splits. So how is this an improvement

Speaker 1: Represe ably

Speaker 5: By one less county split

Speaker 1: Representative school.

Speaker 11: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. And in terms of cities in the area of Tampa bay, your [00:42:30] map, uh, ads or creates a new city split in St. Pete and Lakeland, but which were both kept holes in 80 19. Can you explain how this is more tier two compliant

Speaker 1: Representative leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. No, I can't. I can't speak to why the governor's, uh, map drawer chose, you know, this road or that river over another road or another river. Uh, what I can tell you is that they are both equally tier two compliant

Speaker 1: Representative DRIs.

Speaker 11: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. And given that the legislature seems to be following the governor's direction [00:43:00] at this, from what I understood from the governor, his only complaints were about Northeast Florida, really about CD five and maybe CD four, that being the case, why are we making adjustments to CD 14 and CD 15 in Tampa bay

Speaker 1: Representative leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you Mr. Speaker. Uh, again, not speaking to the, to the governor's process, but I don't think that's a fair premise. You know, if you looked at back at the various maps that have come through, they have changed over and over and over again, and it is still true that you cannot change one line without changing most [00:43:30] lines. And so in this instance, you know, we were able, the governor was able to pick up 10 of our, uh, districts that, that we had drafted. So I don't think that it's fair to say that that the governor's, uh, premise was only on CD five in the Northeast area. I think that what this map represents is the, an entire improvement on the map

Speaker 1: Represent Driscoll.

Speaker 11: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. So I noticed that here, uh, there's a lot of talk about following county lines and trying to minimize county splits, but how is following county lines, not just a pretext [00:44:00] for partisan gerrymandering here, 80 19 splits, pretty much just as many counties as your map. So if 80 60 were adapted to make CD five, just in Duval, it would actually split too fewer counties than your map. So how is what, we're, what we're seeing today by following county lines? Not really just a pretext for the partisan gerrymandering, as we see that the map that the governors presented results in a significant Republican advantage over the benchmark maps

Speaker 1: Representative leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, as is the case with the prior maps. [00:44:30] Uh, I'm not, we haven't done a, a performance analysis to know those types of things. Uh, maybe you guys have, uh, but we have not. So I can't speak to the partisan performance of it.

Speaker 1: Follow up representative will height Brown. You recognized.

Speaker 11: Thank thank you. Uh, Mr. Speaker, we heard yesterday, there was a, a, a compromise, uh, [00:45:00] by that this was a compromises in product. Can you speak to that, that compromise? What were some of the compromises

Speaker 9: Representative

Speaker 1: Leak?

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I wanna make one thing clear governor's office drew the map. Our folks did not draw the map. It is apparent that the governor's office, uh, drew a map

that was informed by the prior maps that we have driven. You can see that because of the 10, exactly identical district that we had in our prior maps. I believe that that's what the governor's office meant [00:45:30] by compromise

Speaker 1: Represent wool height.

Speaker 10: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, would you recognize represent Davis

Speaker 1: Representative Davis? You're recognized.

Speaker 12: Thank you. Mr. Speaker Representative will either district four or five perform for black candidates of choice.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. No

Speaker 1: [00:46:00] Represent Davis.

Speaker 12: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, has any analysis been done to prove, prove yes or no

Speaker 9: Representative

Speaker 1: Leak?

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Yes. Recall on the prior map, um, that we did a, a functional analysis on CD five

Speaker 1: Represent Davis.

Speaker 12: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. So no analysis again, just for clarity have been, has been performed on these maps on this map,

Speaker 1: Represent leak.

Speaker 5: Thank [00:46:30] you, Mr. Speaker. Yes. Uh, on CD four, our staff did a functional analysis and confirm that it does not perform

Speaker 1: Or M Davis.

Speaker 12: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, in terms of compactness, have you looked at whether the governor's version or the version where four districts, four and five stack up on top of each other with the line going straight through Duval and would it be better on

Speaker 1: Representative bleak?

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. [00:47:00] Speak. I, I'm not sure. I understand that question. Can you rephrase it?

Speaker 1: Represent Davis?

Speaker 12: I would. And looking at the governor's versions of the map, um, the version where districts four and district CD four and CD five are stacked on top of, of each other with the line going straight through. Would it be a difference if we reconfigured that for compactness

Speaker 1: Representative leak?

Speaker 5: Thank [00:47:30] you, Mr. Speaker, we can't do that hypothetically. So we would have to see an exact configuration. Remember each district will result in a unique compactness score.

Speaker 1: M Davis.

Speaker 12: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I think this is my last question for now. Um, when we, when a charge, when we charge the governor's office, um, with the ability to draw these constitutional maps, um, using the constitutional criteria, [00:48:00] um, do you have any idea of the hierarchy because these are the governor's maps, um, with the geographic boundaries, for example, that we say that it was more important to follow the major roads and highways as boundaries,

Speaker 1: Representative leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and I, I don't want to, uh, give the, uh, indication that I'm accepting your premise, but I can tell you what, what they told us yesterday in committee about, [00:48:30] um, the hierarchy. And they said they came in more in Alliance with, uh, alignment with the, uh, house and senates use of, um, tier two criteria than they had previously

Speaker 1: Zem Davis.

Speaker 12: Thank you, Mrs. Speaker. And last question, um, because the governor drew governor's office, these maps, were these maps ever presented to you or your team prior to being here today or prior to being in the committee room on yesterday?

Speaker 1: [00:49:00] Representative Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Yes. I, I believe has, has, has been indicated, um, that I got a preview of the maps. Uh, the map that you are seeing to today, the governor's office explained those maps, uh, to me to chair Soro, uh, and, and to Ms. Kelly, uh, I think the Senate has also indicated that that same week they got, uh, the same briefing on those, those maps, but it is the map that you see today without changes,

Speaker 1: For example, height.

Speaker 10: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, would you [00:49:30] recognize representative Williams

Speaker 1: Williams? You recognized,

Speaker 12: Thank you, Mr. Speaker cheer leap. When you spoke of the tier, you said we we're using tier two now instead of tier one, couldn't you tell why are we choosing to go to tier two instead of tier tier one

Speaker 1: Representative leap.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. No, I did not say that

Speaker 1: Represent Williams.

Speaker 12: Oh, are we using tier two now instead of tier one,

Speaker 1: Represent Lee.

Speaker 5: [00:50:00] Thank you, Mr. Speaker, no

Speaker 1: Represent Williams.

Speaker 12: You spoke of unique compacts in each one of these district. Can you tell me why

Speaker 1: Represent Lee?

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, very simply with, with the redrawing of any district, uh, it would likely result in a different compact, uh, compactness score based on whichever test you use

Speaker 1: Represent Williams.

Speaker 12: The difference are what was the difference? I'm sorry, I didn't understand.

Speaker 1: [00:50:30] Representative leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, the with, when you change the shape in any way of a district, it can result in a different compactness score. So any variation in a district may result in a different compact compactness score. I hope that answers your question.

Speaker 1: Represent Williams.

Speaker 12: Was it taken into consideration that we would be eliminating a seat that usually be held by a black candidate

Speaker 1: Represent leak?

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker was [00:51:00] what taken into consideration and what

Speaker 1: Represent Williams dis

Speaker 12: When the decisions was in made to use, um, a tier two instead of tier one and or the uniqueness of the compact in each one of the districts,

Speaker 1: Representative Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, those things aren't related

Speaker 1: Representative Williams. Okay. Representative height.

Speaker 10: Thank you, Mr. Speakers. You recognize representative, uh, Joseph

Speaker 1: Represe, Joseph, if you're recognized.

Speaker 7: [00:51:30] Thank you, Mr. Speaker Chair leak the Latino policy and politics initiative at UCLA released a report analyzing Latino voting patterns in south Florida, specifically regarding redistricting. Are you familiar with that report?

Speaker 1: Represent Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. No, I am not

Speaker 1: Represent Joseph.

Speaker 7: Would you happen to know if the governor's office is familiar with [00:52:00] that report?

Speaker 1: Represent Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. No, I do not

Speaker 1: Represent Joseph.

Speaker 7: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Uh, the report finds that a separate, uh, there are separate endo Latino voting blocks in south Florida throughout Florida, um, that vary by geography and ethnicity, and that it clearly shows that Latino voters do not vote in the same, um, in the same way in south [00:52:30] Florida, continuing to draw the lines based on that faulty assumption, denies all Latino voters, the ability to elect candidates of their

Speaker 1: Choice. Do, do you have a question about the map you recognized?

Speaker 7: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Yeah, it's coming. That's the next thing. So right now I wanna draw your attention to the maps that we have before us specific as regards to CD 26, which I asked a little bit about in committee yesterday, um, in committee, the governor's office testified that part of their rationale in drawing that particular,

[00:53:00] um, district CD 26 was because they wanted to maintain Hispanic voters there and he had to go around and get different population. My question for you is, um, do you know, so knowing what I just said about the, the Latino report that came out of the, um, Latino policy and politics initiative at UCLA and the denial of Latino voters of [00:53:30] their voting rights, looking at CD 26, um, what would you say would be the impact of that had the governor's office had that information? Would we have adjusted the map or would we just leave it the way it is? I

Speaker 1: I'm Joseph, I think you're asking representative Lee to, to comment on the veracity of a report. He's already said he hasn't read. So do you have a question about that specific district? You recognized?

Speaker 7: Thank you. So, no, I'm not asking. Thank you for Mr. Speaker. I'm not asking for about the veracity of the [00:54:00] report, just knowing that you should not lump all Latino voters together, which is the point of the report. So forget the report for a second, but if we're accepting the premise that not all Latino voters, whether they're coming from Cuba, other parts of central and south America, they may not vote the same way. Would it be appropriate to lump them all into one congressional district, such as CD 26, which is before us?

Speaker 1: Presumably

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I I'll try. Um, I [00:54:30] think your premise is accepting the veracity of the report, which I have not read. And I think your question is, is asking the hypothetical, what would someone else have done with that information, which I cannot answer.

Speaker 1: I'm Joseph,

Speaker 7: Mr. Speaker, let me try to ask it a different way. Would you acknowledge that? Not all Hispanic voters vote consistently Republican or consistently Democrat in the state of Florida

Speaker 1: Representative Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, [00:55:00] if you're asking me to get to the legal conclusion about co cohesion, I can't get there with you, right? If you're asking me whether people vote differently is not necessarily a determinant on how they vote. I would agree with that

Speaker 1: Representative. Jason,

Speaker 7: Thank you. Yes. I was looking for the second answer to the second question. Not the first, not looking for a legal conclusion. Um, now in terms of, Hmm. Uh, our council, the house council, it's my understanding, ask the Florida Supreme [00:55:30] court to overturn the requirement that minority groups be politically cohesive in order to be protected from dis diminishment. And it's my understanding that the Supreme court

declined to accept the house lawyer's invitation to overturn that president. Is that correct? Did I understand that correctly?

Speaker 1: Represent Lee?

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I, I, I think you're talking about the governor's request for an advisory opinion in which the house joined, uh, and yes, the [00:56:00] Supreme court declined to give an advisory opinion

Speaker 1: Represent Joseph.

Speaker 7: Thank you. So going back to CD 26, um, let's, let's focus on the tier two analysis and, and some of the drawbacks that we see it, cuz we identified some drawbacks in the prior maps that the house had drawn, um, for CD 26, which we addressed in committee. And I think staff made an attempt to address, but now in the governor's map, we still have some tier two deficiencies. So looking [00:56:30] at the map, I see that there's an additional split of Collier and it cuts a moly, the, a moly community in half, um, following local streets like county road eight, six, um, which isn't our geographic boundaries database. So considering those infirmities with the current map that we have as it relates to CD 26, um, have you or anybody concluded that those tier two drawbacks are necessary [00:57:00] to maintain tier one compliance to keep that Hispanic, um, voting group together

Speaker 1: Represent the league.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker again, I can't tell you, uh, what the map was thinking when he chose this particular tier two, um, criteria over that particular tier two criteria. I can tell you a review of the map shows that it is, this map is equally tier two compliant

Speaker 1: Represe Joseph.

Speaker 7: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, when you say it's equally tier two compliant, [00:57:30] tell me, tell me what analysis you're relying on to state that answer here today.

Speaker 1: Resemble

Speaker 5: Thank you Mr. Speaker, the review of the governor's map, uh, by our staff

Speaker 1: Represe. Joseph,

Speaker 7: Thank you Mr. Speaker. Um, because I just identify the deficiencies and I don't see that anything to make sure that they're equal, cuz it looks like it's clearly deficient under tier two, not even tier one criteria

Speaker 1: [00:58:00] Representatively.

Speaker 5: Thank you Mr. Speaker. I suspect the answer lies that we don't agree. Re it's deficient

Speaker 1: Represen. Joseph,

Speaker 7: Thank you Mr. Speaker. Uh, so section seven of the bill at lines 36 through 27 and lines through lines, 36 through 47 limits venue for actions, challenging federal congressional districts to state courts. Can you tell me what your rationale was for that limitation and restriction [00:58:30] of venue?

Speaker 1: Representative leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaking, let me, let me address the issue of venue globally and then we can get into the specifics, you know, globally. The idea is that first of all, it's not new, right? Most actions against the state have to come through, uh, Tallahassee that is per prerogative in this case would be the department of state to good suit. But that is the prerogative of the state to have that done this specifies that, uh, also we, we had a carve out which we discussed yesterday that that says any, any, uh, federal issue can be brought in federal court

Speaker 1: [00:59:00] Or M Joseph.

Speaker 7: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Well, any federal issue can always be brought in federal court. That's a matter for the supremacy supremacy clause. I guess my question for you is why specifically choose state courts as opposed to federal courts as the venue for federal congressional districts. And so that I ask maybe flesh out the question a little bit more. Why not just leave it the way it is now? What's the impetus [00:59:30] for having to even, um, make that specific restriction

Speaker 1: Represent leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, the rationale for having the venue clause is that all of the challenges should be brought within these same court and we believe that court should be a state court as this is an act of the state. The, the rationale for having them want to be brought in the same state court is so you don't end up with disparate decisions by different judges across the state

Speaker 1: Represent Joseph.

Speaker 7: I agree that it would be good to have one court manage most of [01:00:00] those claims, but there are gonna be times where specifically considering the fact that the governor's basis for drawing these maps as he's espoused is to set up a challenge, um, to the voting rights act based on the 14th amendment, which is a federal question. So knowing that why not allow federal court to address that federal constitutional issue as the primary basis, there's always supplemental jurisdiction as you're aware. So [01:00:30] why federal court as opposed to state court based on your rationale

Speaker 1: Representative Lee,

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, this language would allow precisely what you're saying

Speaker 1: Represent Joseph.

Speaker 7: Thank you, Mr. Speaker yesterday, the, the presenter from the governor's office made reference to the legislature's preferred approach to tier two compliance. Um, and I don't know where that came from. I don't remember specifically hearing that [01:01:00] in committee because in committee we had talked about the prioritization of tier one versus tier two, and I know staff had focused on tier two. So to the extent that there is some kind of policy, um, decision that was made by the congressional redistricting committee, the larger con congressional redistricting committee that I may not be aware of. Can you espouse that for us today? Like what is the basis for the, of tier two over tier one? To the extent it even is a preference

Speaker 1: Representative leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, first of all, [01:01:30] there is no preference for tier two over tier one. What the governor's office was talking about was whether to use communities of interest or what they call CDPs, as opposed to tier two standards. We have, we have decided, uh, in our process to use year two standards. And initially I think the governor's map relied more on communities of interest. And now with the most recent map, they rely on tier two standards

Speaker 1: Represent Joseph.

Speaker 7: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and, and thank you for the response. Uh, the [01:02:00] there's a million dollar allocation, uh, attached to this particular item, which was not in the maps we previously considered. Can you tell me how that million dollars was calculated? What's the basis for that

Speaker 1: Representative leak?

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, the million dollars is, well, first of all, the state was always gonna have to pay for the lit for the litigation, regardless of whether we put it in this bill or not, the million dollars is a rough estimate of what it would cost for this litigation

Speaker 1: [01:02:30] Representative. Joseph,

Speaker 7: Thank you. Um, in light of those anticipated litigation costs, I guess I'm just wondering how that rough estimate came about, you know, you and I both serve as, uh, council for various government entities and sometimes we get a quote from outside council. Is it based on particular billable hours? Like what is the basis for that estimate?

Speaker 1: That leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I, I, I don't have the formula that was used, but that's what, that's what the folks tell us

Speaker 1: [01:03:00] Represent Jeff.

Speaker 7: All right. Last question on that point. So I, it didn't go through appropriations committee. So how are we coming at a million? Like why couldn't it be 500 and I'm not trying to be facetious. I'm really just trying to get a gauge as to how that number popped up. If there is no answer. That's

Speaker 1: I think, I think it's asked and answer. Do you have an additional question? All right. Representative height.

Speaker 10: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, do you recognize representative Alexander

Speaker 1: Representative Alexander you're [01:03:30] recognized.

Speaker 13: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and thank you, chairman Lee in and the governor's advisory opinion request to the Supreme court on February 1st. Uh, he spoke, um, specifically to, to, uh, geography, uh, as a justification for some of his concerns. Um, am I correct in understanding that the proposed CD two stretches 180 miles

Speaker 1: Representative leak?

Speaker 5: [01:04:00] Thank you, Mr. Speaker, that, that, it's not one of the measures that we have. We don't measure that. So I can't answer your question.

Speaker 1: Representative Alexander.

Speaker 13: Hey, Mr. Speaker, am I correct that the governor is proposing this map that we're gonna be voting on tomorrow?

Speaker 1: Representative Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Yes.

Speaker 1: Representative Alexander,

Speaker 13: Mr. Speaker. So I'm speaking chairman Malik to the, which I think sets the predicate and the premise, uh, for his proposed map. Um, he spoke specifically [01:04:30] to geography, um, to the existing CD five. So I'm asking, um, just clarification in regards to the actual size based off mileage or miles, uh, for the proposed CD two

Speaker 1: Representative leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I I'll do the best I, I can with that. I believe I have heard the governor say it's 180 miles. I, I haven't validated that number. I don't know if it's an estimate or how accurate it is.

Speaker 1: [01:05:00] Representative Alexander.

Speaker 13: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. And, and based off I, the information provided, uh, I think you are correct. Um, and I do believe the existing city five expands around about 198 miles. So they're pretty similar. Um, I'm gonna continue on in reference to the proposed map. Would you suggest that it is a very unique situation in the 67 counties in Florida that a county would have a majority African American population

Speaker 1: Representative Lee.

Speaker 5: [01:05:30] Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I, I actually don't know the answer to that question

Speaker 1: Represent by Alexander.

Speaker 13: Well, thank you Mr. Speak. I'll try to ask it in a different way in, in regards to, uh, the proposed map. Um, there is only one based off, um, what has been presented to us, uh, one county in the state of Florida that has a majority African American population, a gasoline county, um, based off of that in the tier one [01:06:00] standard, does this proposed map diminish, diminish those citizens from electing a representative of their choice,

Speaker 1: Representative leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and, and you know, the diminishment question is one, the court's ultimately gonna have to answer. However, I do not believe Gadston county has population sufficient to constitute a congressional district without knowing for certain, but I don't believe they do

Speaker 1: Representative Alexander.

Speaker 13: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. [01:06:30] And I, and I recognize that aspect of it, uh, uh, chairman Lee, but what I'm trying to get an understanding of, um, it is the only majority county that is African American in the state of Florida. Will they have the opportunity to elect the representative of their choice based off their proposed map,

Speaker 1: Representative Lee,

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and, and I, I can't begin to speak to what the citizens, uh, of Gaton [01:07:00] county, who they will vote for. I, I think somebody made the point earlier. You can't assume by race, they will vote the same. I think that that's probably true. Uh, so I can't begin to, to tell you what those citizens would do, given the, you know, the variations in candidates of like, there's just no way I can tell you that

Speaker 1: Represent Alexander,

Speaker 13: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. And, and we won't get into that aspect of it. And I, and I do believe that is appropriate. Um, let, let's, let's move on real [01:07:30] quick so I can understand, uh, the proposed map because the, the, the premise, and, and I'm, I'm having this, this challenge here, because on the state maps, we kept talking about, uh,

minority protected districts. We kept talking about black protected districts. We talked talking about tier one, standing in, poof, it just disappeared. And so I'm trying to wrap my mind around that, uh, to understand the core essence of this. And so based off of that, that methodology and that perspective, [01:08:00] uh, the, the proposed map will, will have how many minority access seats, since we've already established that there are minority access seats in the state of Florida

Speaker 1: Representative bleak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker one, I, I have to dispute your premise. Tier one is still a viable option in here. Uh, there are protected districts in here. It didn't disappear, right? So, but your specific question is under, under the governor's map, how many protected districts do we have? We [01:08:30] have two black and three Hispanic protected districts,

Speaker 1: Representative Alexander.

Speaker 13: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. So there are two, um, black protected districts. And so, uh, that would suggest that there is a underlining rationale that there are, and there is a need to have those type of districts in the state of Florida. Is that correct?

Speaker 1: Representative leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Yes.

Speaker 1: Represent Alexander.

Speaker 13: [01:09:00] Thank you, Mr. Speaking, I'm gonna try to wrap it up. And so, so based off, let me get some clarification. We are now currently at four, uh, black protected districts. And so the governor's proposed map will decrease it to two. Is that correct?

Speaker 1: Representative Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, actually, we were at three in the house and the governor's map has two

Speaker 1: Represent Alexander.

Speaker 13: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I'm I'm talking about currently in the state of Florida, not in, in the proposal. Uh, I believe there are four, [01:09:30] correct?

Speaker 1: Representative Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, actually, no, there are only three current pro uh, black protected districts

Speaker 1: Represent Alexander.

Speaker 13: Thank you, Mr. Speaker for the record. Can you tell me what those three are

Speaker 1: Represent Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker in the benchmark map, it's five 20 and 24

Speaker 1: Represent Alexander.

Speaker 13: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. [01:10:00] Uh, can we speak to the rationale I'm almost done with speaking, thank you for your, for the graciousness and the back and forth. Uh, I have the utmost respect for chairman Lee. Uh, the, the, what was the premise of having, um, racial or, uh, minority access districts in the first place? Can you speak to that

Speaker 1: Representative Lee?

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I, I wanna be careful here because minority access district is, is not a, a, a phrase used to the law it's commonly used by media. Uh, but I think the, that premise is, is [01:10:30] echoed in the tier one standards,

Speaker 1: Representative Alexander.

Speaker 13: This is speaker in the, in the tier one standards are in the constitution, correct?

Speaker 1: Representative Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. They are in the Florida constitution. They are not in the United States constitution

Speaker 1: Represent Alexander.

Speaker 13: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, are there any federal laws, um, that speak to, um, this type of representation as well? Like civil rights act of, of anything

Speaker 1: Representative Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I think you're referring [01:11:00] to the voting rights act. The voting rights act does, and of course the, uh, 14th amendment, uh, doesn't allow you to discriminate on the basis of race

Speaker 1: Represent Alexander.

Speaker 13: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. And so based off of that, and I'm trying to get clarification because I believe that history is important. Um, and I appreciate the time. So during the period of reconstruction, how many black representatives were there in the state of Florida?

Speaker 1: Representative Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. [01:11:30] I don't know,

Speaker 1: Representative.

Speaker 13: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. And it was one and, and from 1871, there was only one. And then it took till 1992 to get three. I'm done with my questions.

Speaker 10: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Let's sorry. Where was I going next? Oh, representative learned. I'm

Speaker 1: Sorry, representative learning. You recognized.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. And, uh, thank you, [01:12:00] chairman Lee. Uh, that was a enlightening series of questions. Uh, I wanted to ask first cuz earlier in one of your answers, you were talking about how this map was better, cuz it divided one less county. But my understanding in looking at it is it divides St. Pete in the way that St. Petersburg has never been divided before. Is that correct?

Speaker 1: Representative Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I, I, I don't know the history of the division of St. Pete

Speaker 1: Representative learned,

Speaker 14: Think Mr. Speaker, so St. Petersburg [01:12:30] and the maps that we passed, um, and that you, you know, we all agree, um, were good at the time, uh, was in one district now it's in two and that, because that's because this district appears to cross Tampa bay, I wanted to make sure that I understand correctly that district 14 as you've drawn it in this or that the governor drew it in this map does in fact, cross Tampa bay in a way that we all collectively decided we didn't want to do with our map

Speaker 1: Represent of leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I'm I'm sorry, I'm having a little trouble here. I'm only used to talking to representative order honored [01:13:00] an amendment. Um, no, the, um, so we've said it from the beginning, there is no one single legally compliant map. And the fact that that a district looked different and a prior map doesn't mean that look, the, that it looks different now is an appropriate. So I'm not sure the basis of your question, but this map has, uh, St. Pete drawn the way you suggest

Speaker 1: Every time learned.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, my question really is getting at, you know, I feel like there's a [01:13:30] conflict in the logic that's being applied to this process versus the process we used, you know, just three weeks ago. So when we were debating before we were talking about tier one in tier two, and the logic, when it pertained to congressional district five was, well, we are adding more black voters there. So we are more voting

rights act compliant. And this, this district, the one that I'm kind of focused on right now, district four 14, it appears that you're packing more people [01:14:00] into that district packing more, uh, African American voters. Is that in, is that because you're trying to be more tier one compliant with district 14? Is that what you're doing here?

Speaker 1: Representative leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you. I'll do the best I can with that. Again, I can't speak to the map draws, uh, you know, reasoning for choosing this road or in that waterway over that road and the other waterway. Um, so I can't speak to the rationale of why it now goes across when we didn't do it. When we did it before we thought it was legally compliant and, and by legally compliant, [01:14:30] we thought, uh, also compliant with tier two. And what our review of this one is that it is equally compliant with tier two.

Speaker 1: I've learned,

Speaker 14: Think Mr. Speaker, but that's not our charge here, right? We're not charged to be tier two compliant. We're charged to be tier one compliant. My question was about tier one compliance, which I understand is which what I understand is what makes this map unconstitutional, right? Cuz we are effectively disenfranchising these voters. And my question really is about this idea that [01:15:00] if you can pack more and more black voters into fewer and fewer districts is that voting rights act compliant because we are in essence, increasing minority population within those districts and those districts alone.

Speaker 1: There's a lot of conclusions packed into that question. Do you have a question about a specific district you like to ask representative Lee?

Speaker 14: Yes. Mr. Speaker, that, I mean, that's my question is, is this the, is this the intent that we can pack more and more black voters into fewer and fewer districts in [01:15:30] order to maximize voting rights act comply? Is that the logical conclusion that I'm supposed to be drawing from this

Speaker 1: Representative leak?

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Certainly not our intent and we have no reason to believe that was the governor's map or ours intent

Speaker 9: Representative,

Speaker 1: Leonard.

Speaker 14: Think Mr. Speaker, what evidence are we using to understand the governor's intent? If his actions are speaking louder than words,

Speaker 1: Representative Lauren, you would like to ask a question without [01:16:00] making conclusions,

Speaker 15: Represe,

Speaker 1: How you recognized.

Speaker 10: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, you recognized represent Campbell

Speaker 1: Campbell. You recognized

Speaker 12: Thank you, Ms. Speaker, uh, representative Lee. Uh, as I understand it, it was Alex Kelly was the person that drew these maps, correct?

Speaker 1: Representative Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Yes, that was his testimony yesterday.

Speaker 1: Representative Campbell.

Speaker 12: [01:16:30] Thank you, Mr. Speaker. And, uh, representative, did he consult with anyone L else in the drawing of these maps

Speaker 9: Representative

Speaker 1: Campbell? I believe that was answered, uh, previously and I think representative Lee talked about representative, uh, Mr. Kelly's testimony yesterday. Additional questions.

Speaker 12: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Um, what was the methods that he used to establish these maps?

Speaker 1: Representative Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. And I believe that question has also been asked, [01:17:00] uh, but he used the, the, uh, tier one tier two standards and the United States constitutional standards. I believe that was his testimony

Speaker 1: Representative Campbell

Speaker 12: Speaker. How was the census, uh, used in the development of these maps

Speaker 1: Representative leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker again, didn't develop these maps, but census data is the fundamental underpinning of any map

Speaker 1: Represent [01:17:30] Campbell.

Speaker 12: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, yesterday, we heard, uh, from council yesterday about strict scrutiny and the jingles test. Uh, what analysis did he use to determine whether or not the jingle tests, uh, were met,

Speaker 1: Represent leak

Speaker 5: The, again, I can't speak to his analysis other than what he testified to yesterday. I will point out that the jingles test only comes into play upon a challenge to the maps

Speaker 1: Representative Campbell.

Speaker 12: [01:18:00] Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Uh, lastly, where can the public access these, the data points to the, to the development of these maps

Speaker 1: Representative leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, there is a data packet in front of you now there's also a data packet on, uh, the website

Speaker 1: Represent Campbell.

Speaker 12: Is this speaker, what website would that be?

Speaker 1: Representative leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker Florida, redistricting.gov

Speaker 1: Represent Campbell.

Speaker 12: [01:18:30] That's it

Speaker 1: Resemble height

Speaker 16: Speaker. Would you recognize representative diamond

Speaker 1: Represent diamond? You're recognized.

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Good morning. Um, I just wanted to follow up on representative Joseph's questions, um, specifically with regard to CD 26. Um, I wanna further understand this issue of establishing voter cohesion because [01:19:00] my understanding from the case law is that that's the first step in any retro aggression analysis. Um, and specifically the question is relating to Hispanic, uh, voting COHEs in these, in the south Florida. Um, given what the Florida Supreme court has said about that issue. Um, are we taking into account in this map, particularly around CD 26, how the, [01:19:30] how those Latinos, the voting cohesion of the as Latino voters in that part of the state

Speaker 1: Percent of leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I, I, I believe you're talking about the jingles test, which once again is only, uh, performed upon a challenge. So the, the jingles test is a plaintiff's obstacle to clear, to bring a claim

Speaker 1: Representative diamond,

Speaker 16: But I, I just wanna understand that thinking. [01:20:00] So, I mean, the, the jingles test that that is, that is to a, that is the, that is the law of the Supreme court, right? The United States Supreme court. So, I mean, we have to look at that and make certain that we are meeting that test in producing this map. Do we not

Speaker 1: Representative Lee?

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. It is the law of the Florida Supreme court for plaintiffs who are bringing a claim to challenge the maps, excuse [01:20:30] me, us Supreme court,

Speaker 1: Or exempt diamond.

Speaker 16: But I, I guess I'm just trying to establish, I mean, as I understand these cases and you've studied them far more than I have Mr. Chairman, but the, the, we have to, if we're going to draw these districts in, for instance, like CD 26, where we're making these assumptions about Latino voting populations, let me, let me ask it this way. Has there been any analysis done on CD 26 with regard to the Latino voting [01:21:00] population, that there will be sort of a, the cohesiveness necessary in that voting population in order to Def defend that district under that test

Speaker 1: Represent Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Mr. Speaker. Remember the, the only analysis that we are required to perform is the functional analysis which has been done. We have not performed the analysis that you're talking about on the governor's test

Speaker 1: Representative maps,

Speaker 16: Mr. Speaker, and do you [01:21:30] know if the, the drafter has performed that analysis you, you said earlier that, that the drafter was in the governor's office

Speaker 1: Represent Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. No, I do not

Speaker 1: Represent diamond.

Speaker 16: Um, in terms of the drafter, I mean, you know, when you as established the process that we used during regular session for the drafting of the maps, you established certain

processes in terms of retention of records and, [01:22:00] you know, efforts to make certain that we were meeting the tier one compliance. What, how, what questions did you ask of the drafters to build those same assurances in this process

Speaker 1: Represent leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, recall that, uh, this map as all of the other governor's map were submitted through the portal to get through the portal, you have to fill out a form that requires you to answer those kinds of questions

Speaker 1: Represent diamond.

Speaker 16: [01:22:30] So earlier you mentioned that there have been a briefing, a private briefing for you and chairman Soro and your staff from the governor's office with regard to the map that we're about to vote out today were, were, were any questions asked in that private briefing about just sort of to provide additional assurances in to whatever that form may require

Speaker 1: Represent Lee?

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I mean, bluntly, the form asked the very questions [01:23:00] you're asking about. And so with those, with that form, um, being filled out, we know the answer to those questions. Um, I can't recall whether we ask any additional questions or whether there's any additional flavor, but the, uh, the form itself takes care of what you're asking about

Speaker 1: Represent diamond.

Speaker 16: Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and it's been reported, uh, that this map will result, um, in a congressional delegation from Florida of 20 Republican seats and eight democratic seats. Are, are you aware of those reports?

Speaker 1: [01:23:30] Representative Lee?

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I, I have heard the same because it's hard to turn on the news and escape it. Uh, but I can tell you that we can't, we can't validate those reports

Speaker 1: Represent diamond.

Speaker 16: Do you know if the drafter of this map is aware of those reports

Speaker 1: Representative leak?

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. No, I do not

Speaker 1: Represent diamond.

Speaker 16: So I guess my question, when I, when I hear about those reports is, you [01:24:00] know, how can it not be evidence of partisan intent if there is such a substantial difference between the partisan configuration of the state and the partisan effect of this map,

Speaker 9: Representative

Speaker 1: Lee,

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, let me, let me do the best I can with that. Um, of course the us Supreme court has told us that the mere fact that, that you have of a map that produces, you know, the favors one party over another is not in it itself, [01:24:30] evidence of partisan intent. Uh, so I would say, you know, as far as your, your premise is concerned, I, I think, I think you're off. I don't think that is the law. Um, and, and the fact that, well, I guess you would have to accept then the performance data that you're talking about, but to do so, meaning that, you know, the performance data, that your argument in and of itself would be tainted in some way, because you know, the performance data, I'm not sure I accept that premise either

Speaker 1: Represent diamond.

Speaker 16: [01:25:00] Um, thank you very much. Uh, Mr. Speaker, um, the, in, in another part, in your presentation of the map, you, you mentioned waterways and different parts of the state that like, for instance, in, uh, Northeast Florida, we used the St John's river as a natural dividing line in our county, in Pinellas county. The dividing line was not Tampa bay, as you know, but was, uh, us was 34th street us 19. [01:25:30] Can you speak to why the drafter did not use Tampa bay as the dividing line, but instead chose to use a street.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker again, and let me just say this again. If the question begins with, why did the drafter do this? The answer is always going to be, I can't tell you precisely why the draft after did this, but I can tell you that the tier two, um, boundaries that the drafter used are, are legally compliant [01:26:00] as the tier two boundaries that we used in our prior maps.

Speaker 1: Representable height.

Speaker 10: What did I say next? Oh, I'm sorry. Mr. Speaker do recognize, represent Umphrey

Speaker 1: Represent Vare. You recognized.

Speaker 11: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. It's interesting to see you on the wall at, and in person at the same time, but anyways, I have a question for, um, thank you for recognizing me, [01:26:30] Mr. Speaker and chair Lee. Um, man, do I have to say, I'm sorry, and I'll explain that in debate tomorrow. So, and not in regards to my questions, by the way, we have funds set aside in this bill, uh, to deal with any legal matters that should come up in reference to this bill. My question is what happens when this map is challenged? [01:27:00] My next question is if you could just detail the steps of what

happens when this maps is challenged and whether or not we'll have to have a special election, uh, if the outcome is that these maps, um, are deemed Invalid in areas. My third question is

Speaker 1: I'm for my recommendations. Let's just take one, one at a time if we can represent Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I, I, [01:27:30] I don't know that I can describe the universe of things that could happen if these maps are challenged, because I think, uh, you know, the challenges are, are unknown at this point. Um, but it'll go to court, uh, and the court will make a ruling on whether the challenge is up held or not

Speaker 1: Representative Irey. Thank

Speaker 11: You. Thank you, Mr. Speaker, um, chair leak. Um, in the past, when the maps were challenged, did we have to have a special election? I wasn't here for it and [01:28:00] I'm not asking this cause I know the answer I'm really asking cuz I don't know.

Speaker 9: Representative

Speaker 1: Leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you Mr. Speaker. No, we didn't have to have a special election

Speaker 1: Representative. Irey

Speaker 11: Thank you, Mr. Speaker Chair leak. Why was, did the, did the creators of the map ex explain why the two seats that sit in south [01:28:30] Florida, uh, the black Protected seats were not touched

Speaker 1: Representative leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I'm I'm trying to recall back to the testimony which is available. Um, if you, like, I think you might have actually been in, in the, the committee room as well, but my recollection is they felt that those seats were, uh, tier one, tier two compliant, met a compelling state need and were narrowly [01:29:00] tailored

Speaker 1: Representative Irey.

Speaker 11: Thank you very much, Mr. Chan. Thank you, Mr. Speaker,

Speaker 1: Representative height,

Speaker 10: You will you recognize representative Gottlieb,

Speaker 1: Representative Gottlieb. You recognized

Speaker 11: Gottlieb you recogniz.

Speaker 17: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I just have, uh, one question and rep bleak and that is, um, having listened to, to your answers, which is that the, the governor's office drew these maps and this body did not. How does that not [01:29:30] violate the separation of powers

Speaker 1: Represent bleak?

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, of course the governor's always had always had a role in it from day one and this narrative, we are somehow abdicating our responsibility because the governor had no role in it is just plainly false. So the governor always had the opportunity to draw a map, just like the a C L U, just like the league of women voters, just like the, you know, the hundreds of citizens who drew maps, looking at their maps, even taking [01:30:00] up their maps is not an AB application of our responsibility, nor it is. Is it a violation of separation of powers? It is just simply part of the process that is permissible

Speaker 1: Height

Speaker 10: Speaker. We recognize representative Smith,

Speaker 1: Representative Smith. You recognize

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker chair Lee, are these maps race neutral as the governor has requested

Speaker 1: Represent leak?

Speaker 5: [01:30:30] Uh, thank you. I believe the governor used the term race neutral as a, um, uh, a counterbalance to predominantly based upon race and the, the maps are both race neutral in areas and, um, you know, protected, uh, also predo or also based on race and the areas that are protected

Speaker 9: Representative.

Speaker 5: So it's not one or the other

Speaker 9: Representative

Speaker 1: Smith.

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. So what is the distinction between which areas of the state we've decided to have [01:31:00] race neutral and which areas of the state are not race neutral?

Speaker 1: We representative Lee.

Speaker 5: You miss. Thank you, Mr. Speaker, all of those protected districts are not race neutral

Speaker 9: Representative

Speaker 1: Smith.

Speaker 16: The governor's council stated in his memo that equal opportunity districts for minority voters are tantamount to segregation. Uh, he used that argument to eliminate CD five. Is it also the position of the house that equal opportunity districts [01:31:30] for minority voters are 10 amount to segregation,

Speaker 9: Representative

Speaker 1: Leak.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. I don't recall hearing, um, The governor's office say those words, but the answer is no. And that's why these districts also contain protected districts,

Speaker 1: Representative Smith.

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Um, I'm hoping that you can explain a little bit further the difference between these districts. Um, the [01:32:00] governor said that districts need to be compact and they shouldn't have tens or spill into other or into the middle of other districts. If you look at CD 20, can you explain why the tens of CD 20 that stand eastward, especially the one that cuts into the heart of CD 23 are acceptable in south Florida, if they are prohibited in north Florida

Speaker 1: [01:32:30] Representative league.

Speaker 5: Thank you Mr. Speaker, and I you're you're overstating, uh, the law in that area. Remember the first thing is population, right plus, or my is one person. So you're necessarily gonna have to go different places to get to that, that zero population or that, that equal population. And I think what you're seeing is that one CD 20 is certainly more compact than CD five was

Speaker 9: Representative

Speaker 1: Smith.

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and I'm no, not trying to [01:33:00] denigrate CD 20. I'm just trying to get you to explain to us and, and explain to me the inconsistency there. Why, why is that tender cutting into CD 23? What is the purpose of that tender

Speaker 1: Representative leak?

Speaker 5: Thank you. Uh, Mr. Speaker, and, and again, representative Smith. You're, you're putting too much emphasis on uniformity. The purpose of that is equal population

Speaker 9: Representative

Speaker 1: [01:33:30] Smith.

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. So just to clarify, the purpose of that 10 is not to protect The strength of racial and language minorities in that district.

Speaker 1: You, you couldn't hear it. Yeah. Representative Smith. Can you repeat the question?

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker chair leak. You just stated that the purpose of that tender was to ensure equal population. So what [01:34:00] you're also saying is the purpose of that tender in congressional district 20 is not to ensure the ability of racial or language minorities to elect the candidate of their choice.

Speaker 1: Representative Lee.

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. No, I don't think you can draw all that, that corollary, uh, CD 20 is a protected district

Speaker 1: Representative Smith.

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I also want to jump back to the governor's office and how they drew the map. I'm curious, [01:34:30] did they keep records to prove they were not Drawn in a way that was driven by partisan intent? And did you request that they keep records to prove that or disprove it in a court of law?

Speaker 1: I think chairman leak answered that in response to representative Diamond's questions. Is there any additional information you'd like to add, represent leak? You have additional questions, representative Smith, no [01:35:00] represent woo height yield back the 23 seconds. Yes, sir. I represent ske. You recognize for a question.

Speaker 18: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Very quick question for you. Cheer leak. Um, I know that one of the arguments being made by the governor's office with CD five is that there's no apparent state interest in keeping it to be minority access, but the courts disagree with that. So, I mean, does the weight of the courts not [01:35:30] compel the state to have an interest

Speaker 1: Representative Lee?

Speaker 5: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, actually, there is no court opinion precisely on that issue.

Speaker 1: All right, members time having expired in questions we are in amendments. Are there amendments

Speaker 3: On the desk? Mr. Speaker,

Speaker 1: Take up the first amendment

Speaker 3: Representative. Jenny offered the following amendment with title amendment bar code 7 1 7 8 3 3, remove lines 95 through 36 47 and insert an amendment

Speaker 1: Leader. Jenny, you recognized on your amendment.

Speaker 19: Thank [01:36:00] you, Mr. Speaker. Good to see you members. Um, essentially what this amendment does is it adopts plan 80 60, which was the Senate plan, uh, in place of this, uh, proposed map. Um, this particular plan has the following characteristics divides the state into 28 Congress districts with a population of 769,221 people. Each district will grow by 42,876 people, uh, compared to the preexisting [01:36:30] map. It establishes four protected African American districts, CD 5, 10, 20 and 24. It maintains the Gadson into Deval configuration known as CD five. It establishes three protected Hispanic districts CD 25, 26 and 27. The plan we believe improves on most tier two metrics compared to the underlying benchmark plan. It does also, uh, reduce city splits and improves compactness. Mr. Speaker, that is the amendment.

Speaker 1: Are there [01:37:00] questions on the amendment? Are there questions, representative Robinson.

Speaker 8: Thank you, Mr. Speaker and representative, I just wanted to ask, and this particular map was drawn by who

Speaker 1: Representative Jenny leader, Jenny.

Speaker 19: Uh, it was drawn the specific individual, not sure, but I know this was the, um, Matt that was approved by the Senate, uh, and by with bipartisan support,

Speaker 1: Follow representative Robinson.

Speaker 8: So this map was drawn by the legislature [01:37:30] part of, as part of our duty, correct

Speaker 1: Leader Jenny.

Speaker 19: Yes. Uh, it, it was, this was crafted by our colleagues across the hall and the Senate, uh, and this was a plan the, that they did vote on and overwhelmingly by had bipartisan support

Speaker 1: Representative Galler.

Speaker 6: Thank you, Mr. SP and thank you for this good amendment, uh, leader. Um, does this, um, in addition to keeping the current configuration from Gadsden [01:38:00] to Duval, does this map also provide for the continued election of an African American congressional representative in the Orlando area?

Speaker 1: Peter Jenny,

Speaker 19: Yes. Uh, at the thank you Mr. Speaker, and, and thank you representative Geller for that particular question. Uh, yes it does. And, and that was a difference between the two chambers not casting aspersions, but that was a difference. The Senate treated CD 10 as a protected seat, the house we, we did not do. So

Speaker 1: [01:38:30] Representative Galler.

Speaker 6: Thank you, Mr. SP, um, leader. Jenny, does this map preserve the previous configuration of what has been the, um, existing district that involves representation in Pinellas county as opposed to the, the new map that we're looking at today?

Speaker 1: Either Jenny?

Speaker 19: Uh, yes, sir. It's much closer

Speaker 1: Represent Galler. Thank

Speaker 19: You, Mr. Speaker.

Speaker 6: [01:39:00] Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Um, does this map continue as the map in front of us does to provide for, uh, the election of an African American representative to Congress and Broward in Palm beach county by making certain deviations from compactness so that that protected district can remain protected

Speaker 1: Representative Jenny?

Speaker 19: [01:39:30] Yes, sir. It does

Speaker 1: Represent Galler.

Speaker 6: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Um, do you know the vote by this map past the Senate

Speaker 1: Represent Jenny?

Speaker 19: Yes, sir. I do. I have it here. I believe the count was 36 to 4 36 to four

Speaker 1: Representative Galler.

Speaker 6: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. So in, in addition to having overwhelming bipartisan support in your estimation leader, Jenny does the map. You are proposing [01:40:00] as an amendment comply with the Florida constitution. Fair district's provision as well as the voting rights act of 1965

Speaker 1: There, Jenny,

Speaker 19: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, uh, representative Galler. Uh, yes it does. Uh, I believe it does. I believe if you look at the statistics of each of these districts, I believe you will find that to be the absolute case,

Speaker 1: Additional questions, members, additional questions, right? See [01:40:30] no additional questions we are in. Are there amendments to the amendment? None of the desk, Mr. Are there substitutes none on the desk, Mr. Speak. We are in debate members, which to be recognized in debate represent gel.

Speaker 6: Thank you, Mr. Speak members. I urge you to support this map for a lot of reasons. This amendment is a better plan. This amendment does not require a million dollars to be appropriated as an [01:41:00] anti in for anticipated litigation. This amendment complies with the Florida and federal cons. This amendment does not fly in the face of them. If someone thinks that not only the Florida constitution, but the voting rights act of 1965, [01:41:30] the law for almost 60 years in this country is unconstitutional. They have a right to take that to court. If someone thinks that the 14th amendment prohibits anything, race based, which I heard today and is wrong. If someone thinks that the 14th amendment does not have language that would as interpreted by [01:42:00] the courts, allow consideration. If there's a compelling state interest and you use the most narrowly tailored means possible to achieve the result.

Speaker 6: Remembering that that amendment was passed as a remedial. Me and its very name says it was equal protection. It's designed to protect, but we [01:42:30] should not ignore the constitution of the state and federal law in the patient that someone might challenge those things and take 'em and maybe get them reversed. We should comply with the law as it exists. As it's been interpreted for almost 60 years, we should comply with it. And anyone who doesn't agree [01:43:00] is free to raise that challenge. We should not ignore what 63% of the voters of Florida said for us to do members, this map, which passed the Senate 36 to four isn't doesn't that say something? Isn't that a statement to all of us members, we should adopt this amendment. We should comply [01:43:30] with the very clear dictates of tier one, which is more important than tier two and of the federal voting rights act. And if somebody wants to take those to court and say, they're wrong, we've been wrong in interpreting the 14th amendment for 150 years. Well by God, this is America. They have a right to do that. God bless anybody who wants to raise a [01:44:00] challenge and get it determined. But until the courts change that we must comply with the law as it is written, as our voters told us to do, please adopt this amendment. Thank you.

Speaker 1: Additional debate, additional debate scene. Now leader, Jenny recognize the close

Speaker 19: Mr. Speaker. Thank you as always, uh, members. It's a, it's a simple amendment. Um, it's a [01:44:30] request to take the Senate plan. It is not my plan. I do not claim any authorship over it. I claim, uh, nothing other than someone who has to be anything other than someone who has reviewed these maps. I put this forward in the spirit of compromise because members having been through this redistricting process. Now for a second time, I can tell you that is very difficult. If not outright impossible, to make a perfect map in which every single line is in its proper place. But [01:45:00] I believe, and

I think my caucus also believes that this is infinitely better than the map that is actually in front of us today, especially in terms of tier one. But what about tier one? We spent months discussing the maps in tier one was the absolute apex of our guidelines. But now it has been cast aside like democracies to try this.

Speaker 19: Why? Because of an abrupt change in philosophy, I will not condemn that change. I will [01:45:30] not comment on that change, but it is due to an abrupt change philosophy. When we convened here earlier this year, the V meant something, the fair district's amendment meant something. Tier one meant something. These guided the entire process. And now they're being tossed aside. Well members for me personally, those things, the V fair districts amendment tier one, that that still [01:46:00] means something to me. That still means something to a lot of members on this floor today. So I ask your favorable support of this members. The car is not in neutral. The car is speeding ahead. We have one less exit before we ride over the cliff. I suggest we put on that turn signal and get off right now. Thank you

Speaker 1: Members representative, Jenny having clues on his amendment all in favor of adoption amendment say, yay. Yay. [01:46:30] All oppose. No, no show the amendment fails. Read the next amendment

Speaker 3: Representative. Joseph offered the following amendment with title amendment bar code 7 9 9 5 4 5 remove lines 36, 27 through 36 47 and inserted amendment

Speaker 1: Representative Joseph. You recognized to explain your amendment.

Speaker 7: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, section seven of the bill before us does a couple of things. One of which is it selects venue, um, in Leon county right here and it presets, [01:47:00] uh, that, and I'm just gonna read it and action challenging the state's congressional districts, um, on state constitutional or state law grounds must be brought in state court. And earlier during questioning, you heard some of the rationale as to why. And the purpose of this amendment is just to, um, do what I think is more appropriate, which is to, um, allow litigants to choose which venue is more appropriate depending on the name in the crux of their [01:47:30] case. It is not unusual to have, um, questions of law that both involve state and federal issues. That's why you have supplemental jurisdiction. It's not complicated. Um, that is a decision that I believe should be made, uh, and we should allow for that flexibility, considering the, at these are federal, uh, congressional seats that we're talking about.

Speaker 7: We're not talking about state house seats or state Senate seats. We're talking about our federal congressional seats. So I [01:48:00] think it would be more than appropriate to, um, eliminate just that section. So the, the amendment is really simple and straightforward and all it does is it removes lines 36, 27 through 36, 47 from the bill, um, and leaves the law in its place. And to the extent that the, um, bill sponsored, talked about how federal questions can be addressed and federal court, that's always the case. That's, that's the whole point of the supremacy. [01:48:30] So that is the amendment I ask that members support it. There's a lot of things that we're doing that are novel.

There's no need to introduce this additional component into the process. Um, and that is the amendment Ms. Madam speaker,

Speaker 20: Have I explained the amendment? Are there questions of the sponsor, other questions see no questions or is there amendment to the amendment?

Speaker 3: None on the desk. Madam speaker

Speaker 20: Is your subsequent amendment,

Speaker 3: None on the desk. Madam

Speaker 20: Speaker, [01:49:00] when debate is your debate on the amendment represent S Kamani. You recognize,

Speaker 18: Thank you so much. Madam speaker. I just wanna say thank you to the representative for bringing for this good amendment. Uh, this is just an example of good government let's let's ensure people, um, have concerns have the time to make those concerns expressed. If, uh, folks feel like these maps are in good legal standing, then you should not have an issue with this amendment. Thank you. Madam speaker,

Speaker 20: Additional debate representative Driscoll,

Speaker 11: [01:49:30] Thank you. Madam speaker and happy birthday to you or related birthday, uh, members. This is a drum I'll continue to beat in terms of thinking about how we use procedure and making sure that we are not using procedure as a weapon against the people of the state of Florida. It's problematic. Okay. There's procedure and there's substance in the law, two distinct things, but what happens sometimes? What I, what I'm noticing is a dangerous trend in this, uh, oh, in this legislature, which is that we are now amending [01:50:00] legislation or amending bills or adding procedural weapons to these bills. And I, I really don't like it. We, we need to give the people the opportunity to be heard in, in court. There's no reason why this can't be heard in federal court. And I understand there's a provision at the end of one C that talks about this does not preclude any action being brought in federal court, but actually it's internally inconsistent to me that provision of the bill. And then the prior provision saying that you can't, uh, you can't bring this in federal court. So I, I don't understand what we're [01:50:30] doing here. Um, and I thank you rep Joseph for this amendment because you really are trying to hold us accountable and making sure that we are, uh, meeting with due process in a procedural way, uh, that we need to for the people of Florida. So thank you for this. I'll be up on your amendment today.

Speaker 20: Additional debate members, additional debate representative Joseph, you recognize to close on the amendment.

Speaker 7: Thank you, Madam speaker. So the portion of the house bill, that's an issue, um, with the redistricting bill is [01:51:00] it's a jurisdiction of federal courts and it, it conflicts with the voting rights act and 28 USC 67, which provides supplemental federal

jurisdiction over state law claims that are closely related to federal claims. It takes precedent. So the supremacy clause should control and state law must concede to federal law, which states that federal courts have jurisdiction over these maps. And [01:51:30] as a practical matter, I know that there are few attorneys in, in the room, but state courts and federal courts are different. They just are in terms of their susceptibility to a number of things. And I'm not here to impugn the courts, but there's a reason that we have these things in federal court. And as we're seeing these attacks that are being mounted on, you know, effectively what we're complaining about, what, what the crux of a lot of folks are [01:52:00] complaining about is the dilution of these maps proposed by the governor of black votes.

Speaker 7: That's, that's the that's, that's the relying concern. So if we are decreasing representation based on the 14th amendment, so people may not be too familiar with the 14th amendment. And I, I wanna keep it tied to, to the reason for my amendment is there was a us Supreme court case called Dr. Scott. Some of you may not be familiar with it, [01:52:30] but it ha tell that the black man had no right, that the white man had to accept and that black people could never be citizens of these United States. That was basically the premise of that case that led to the passage, um, of a couple of things. But after the 13th amendment, the United States thought that we were good. Slaves are free, but it wasn't. So because the states who were resisting these [01:53:00] new rights that were being exercised and allotted to black people, the were just not falling in line.

Speaker 7: So Republicans, interestingly enough, led by tha Stevens at the time who proposed the 14th amendment Republicans proposed the 14th amendment to ensure that black people had all the privileges and immunities had equal protection under the law that other folks did. It was really that simple. So the purpose of the 14th amendment is to just make [01:53:30] sure that we're equal. And many of you may be familiar with the three fifth clause that exists in the constitution, which, which counted black people as three fifth of a person. Another thing the 14th amendment do did was take care of that. It made us a full person. So when I look at these maps who are trying to make people black people count

Speaker 1: Represent your time has expired. I'll just give you a moment to, to conclude

Speaker 7: Speaker. That's very kind. [01:54:00] When I, when I hear the 14th amendment being used to make our voices and our representation be slashed by practically 50%, That's offensive to the whole point of the 14th amendment and that Republican body recognizes it. And I hope at some point, these Republicans are Republicans, cuz I don't think it's a Republican versus Democrat issue. This is not, this is not. And doesn't need to be with that. [01:54:30] I ask for your favor support on this amendment to keep it in federal courts where it, it actually belongs. Thank you.

Speaker 1: Verse representative, Joseph having closing her amendment all in favor of adoption amendment say yay. Yay. All oppos. No, no show the amendment fails. Read the next amendment.

Speaker 3: None of the du Mr. Speaker

Speaker 1: Read the next bill

Speaker 3: By representative fine and others house bill three C a bill to be entitled and act relating to independent special districts

Speaker 1: Represent fine. You recognize to explain your bill.

Speaker 21: [01:55:00] Thank you Mr. Speaker, and thank you for acknowledging my birthday earlier. Normally I would be spending today at Disney world. I don't think that's going to be happening. So, um, um, with that, I I'm pleased to present house bill three E C is a very simple bill that would expire or, or sunset all special districts created before 1968 when the Florida constitution was established on June 1st of next year. And that is the bill

Speaker 1: Members. We are in questions. Representable height.

Speaker 10: Will you recognize representative Duran

Speaker 1: Represent Duran? You recognize

Speaker 22: [01:55:30] Thank you Mr. Speaker and representative. Thank you for introducing this simple bill. Uh, I wanted to kind of ask you, give you us a little bit of insight onto, uh, the necessity of this bill. You know, this is a special session we are operating in, not in regular hours, we're not meeting during a regular session. Uh, oftentimes when we use special sessions, it's for issues of time sensitive nature. Uh, for instance, we just talked about congressional maps and redistricting [01:56:00] the necessity for us to get here, to make sure that the, as maps are passed so that something can be passed and, and used during the next electoral cycle, we have come here for COVID, uh, and to deal with issues of restriction, which, which, uh, folks believed needed to be handled quickly. We've dealt with, uh, issues of passing our budget. Uh, and, and so those are critical issues with time sensitive of nature to 'em. Can you kind of give me what is, what is it about H B C three C [01:56:30] that makes it so important that we have to be here for a special session and discuss this issue

Speaker 1: Represent fine.

Speaker 21: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Um, we didn't make the call for the special session, so it wasn't up to me what issues we discussed here in this session, but certainly once that call was amended, um, gosh, was it yesterday? Um, and this became something that we were asked to take a look at. We came up with this bill and we filed it. Um, why in general, is this a good idea to do now? Uh, I think when you kick the Hornets nest sometimes issues arise [01:57:00] and we've seen that in other issues that I've worked on. Um, when the Hornets nest go, I kicked, we realized that there were 133 special districts that were created before the Florida constitution was passed in nineteen sixty eight, a hundred twenty seven of those special districts in the previous 55 years did the right thing and chose to update themselves to be consistent with that 1968 constitution, which made some very large changes.

Speaker 21: Six did not a and as we dug into those six, part of the issue is those six special districts had all sorts of wacky powers [01:57:30] that none of us would ever vote for today in part because the 1968 constitution is what created with something that I'm not a huge fan of all of this home rule power for local governments. And be before that local governments had to come here in order to do just about everything. And because of that, these very long pre 1968 charters for these special districts are constructed in a world that no longer exists. These these seven, these six districts had 55 years to come back and get these things updated. Once we found the problem, we've come and we've addressed it.

Speaker 1: Representative [01:58:00] Duran.

Speaker 22: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I appreciate that long extensive answer. I think at the beginning of, of that answer you had said, because we, the governor, I guess, made the call and there's some problem I didn't hear in the answer that there was a specific problem that was being that's impacting flirts right now, an emergency of some sort of situation. So issue. But I did hear something that I want to explore it a little bit with you. You just sort of said that when you poke, I think you said yesterday when you poked the bear and I think today, you just said it when you kick the [01:58:30] Hornet nest. And I think yesterday, you also said when you kick the bees nest, what, what do you mean? What is, what is that? Is that an action? Is somebody taking a specific action or something that I, I should, you can elaborate a little, little bit more in detail here

Speaker 1: Represent Duran and a allow the question cuz representative fine did say it. So I think it's fair game, but I do want to keep our questions today on the substance of the bill represent fine. You recognized,

Speaker 21: Thank you. Uh, I'd answer it this way. Sometimes when an issue comes to the four, you identified problems. So let me give you an analogy of something else that I worked on, which was somewhat similar several [01:59:00] ago. We realized that a university in the state of Florida had effectively stolen 85 million and used it to do something that they shouldn't have done. As we dug into that issue, something we didn't expect to be dealing with. We learned the problem partly happened because universities were sitting on billions of dollars of excess cash. The Hornets nest had been kicked. The issue arose to the service. We, we discovered a problem and then we came and tackled it. That's what's happened here. The hornet's nest was kicked. The bees nest was kicked. The put the bear was poked. I could probably come up with six or [01:59:30] seven other analogies, but that happened. An issue came to the surface. We started taking a look at it and we identified this issue

Speaker 1: Representative Duran.

Speaker 22: All right. I'm I'm not trying to be cute. See here, I, I I'm ask

Speaker 1: A, let's ask a question on the bill. Okay. Thank

Speaker 22: You. Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I I'm trying to get an answer. I think there's some level of specificity that I'm trying to get at. We are here in a special session about special districts. Maybe that might be the reason this is being discussed, discussed right now, but we are eliminating [02:00:00] specific special districts. So let me this, there are six special districts that potentially will be eliminated because of the bill that you're proposing the legislation that's in, in front of us. Can you walk me through what each one of these special districts actions, uh, may have been the emergency or some situation of time sensitive nature. Maybe you can identify as to why we need to take action right now to today. A

Speaker 1: Represent fine.

Speaker 21: Thank you. Um, we don't have to take action today. We could choose to [02:00:30] vote down the bills, but this was brought up in the call by the governor of something that he wanted us to address. We are not targeting six special districts. We're actually targeting 100% of the special districts that failed over the last 55 years, update themselves in order to be consistent with the 1968 constitution. I will tell you again, as you kick the Hornets nest, one of those six districts was required by law to do that at some point in the last 20 years and chose not to do that, it is not Rey Creek, which would be your obvious question, [02:01:00] but they were all asked to do it. And interestingly, in the case of Rey Creek, because you're interested in that, I believe they have multiple times gone out for special debt financing and other things where they've had multiple opportunities to do 127 other special districts chose to do, which is upgrade update to that post 1968 constitutional world. And they did not. Again, you kick the Hornets nest issues rise up. I'm glad we're, I'm glad we're dealing with it right now.

Speaker 1: Representative Duran.

Speaker 22: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. So when I, when I listened [02:01:30] to your, your explanation yesterday and your answers right now, we keep saying, when you kicked the Hornets nest, who is you in this situation that we are talking about?

Speaker 1: All right, members, I'm not represent fine. You can answer that question. We're six minutes in where, where we get to get to the substance of the bill represent fine.

Speaker 21: Sure. And I'm not, I'm not tending to be evasive. I mean, I think the issue of, of special districts arose around all the, all of the, the me, the attention and subject to, to [02:02:00] when Disney began speaking about, um, bills that we actually hadn't passed in this legislature. And so I think that arose the issue of special districts. People went and started taking a look at them and they, and they, and they discovered these sorts of issues. I think that's what happens when an issue rises to the surface. As I mentioned, in the case of UCF, sometimes problems found that should then be tackled. And obviously in this case, the governor of the state of Florida said, go and fix it this session, and this is our solution to do it.

Speaker 1: Representative Duran.

Speaker 22: [02:02:30] Thank you, Mr. Speaker. This is, um, all right. So let me, let me ask you a question, uh, that, that I think kind of helped me understand this. So the Hornets nest in the situ we're talking about, you keep explaining the reason why is, I guess, us or you. Um, and what we're going to do here is eliminate. What we're proposing to do is by June next year. Uh, if, if we do not take any other action and the governor signs, this bill, there'll be six districts potentially who will be removed [02:03:00] special districts, that will, will be eliminated. Um, and I think if you could elaborate on what, what is the process then between now and then, uh, for those districts, do you have any idea, has there any been any discussion between you and the governor's office as to, uh, what, what needs to be done or, uh, what the impact might be for those special districts in, in preparation for being this solved

Speaker 1: Representative file.

Speaker 21: Thank you. And that is a great question relevant to the substance of the bill. So the bill says that these six special districts will be sunsetted on June 1st [02:03:30] of next year. Um, if they don't do something that frankly they should have done a long time ago, which has become consistent with the 1968 constitution, the process to do that, some of them may say, look, we're good. We were 55 plus years ago. No one's ever really thought about it. Maybe we don't need it anymore. That's certainly a possibility in the case of others, if they want it, they can come to us. They would have a local bill filed that local bill could be filed by any member of the legislature. So I could, for example, file the bill to reconstitute the re Creek improvement district [02:04:00] or any of the other ones. And that bill would go through the local bill process or the delegation in which that, that special district was, would have to decide if they wanted it brought to the legislature as a local bill. If they vote, yes, it would come as a local bill and then it would go through our legislative process, the same way as any other local bill would. If it passed the house in the Senate, it would go to the governor and the governor would sign it. That is the process to re constitute these districts as has been done 127 other times, um, over the past 55 years.

Speaker 1: Representative Duran.

Speaker 22: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I just [02:04:30] have one last final question. And I think in, in both your explanation yesterday, I heard you, and I think also in social media kind of explaining the necessity for this bill. You had mentioned that, uh, Disney is a guest of the state and, um, set aside Disney, this idea of a company being a guest of the state. Can you explain to me what that means? Uh, because it was kinda looking up the definition of guest

Speaker 1: Represe direct

Speaker 22: And understanding.

Speaker 1: Can we ask a question on the, on the substance of the bill? [02:05:00] You recognized

Speaker 22: Mr. Speak? Yeah. All due respect. Yes. I think this is a part of the substance of the bill because in, in a, in we are taking action because of a particular company's actions I, I would propose and it's being promoted that way on social media. And, and I think if you are a company operating in the state of Florida, this potentially can impact your, the way you operate, the way you decide to speak out or conduct yourselves. And so to my, I'm just trying to get to the core essence of [02:05:30] what we're dealing with here. Uh, and that's, that's, that's really why I'm trying to get him to, to get me. I

Speaker 1: Totally understand around why you're asking the question. I think obviously I expect you're gonna address that issue at eloquently in debate tomorrow, today, in questions we've got 34 minutes and I wanna have opportunities for folks to ask questions. Like the one you just asked, which is about the mechanics of this bill and how it impacts special district and so forth. You recognized

Speaker 22: Way back to miss, uh, representative Wil H

Speaker 1: And will, how you recognized

Speaker 10: Mr. Speaker, would you recognize representative Hinson,

Speaker 1: Representative Hinson? You're recognized.

Speaker 23: [02:06:00] Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I was a little surprised and, uh, caught off guard, but, um, thank you, um, representative fine. We're back at it again today. How many jobs will be lost by the elimination of this district

Speaker 1: Representative? Fine.

Speaker 21: Uh, thank you, Mr. Speaker, that will be a decision of the local governments that get the districts, should that happen using their home rule authority, which is something I've thought in the back [02:06:30] roads. You all seem to like

Speaker 1: Representative Hinson.

Speaker 23: I think yesterday you said 80,000, uh, part of those job losses will include the, include the Reedy Creek fighters. What will happen to them? Do you know,

Speaker 1: Fine.

Speaker 21: Thank you, Mr. Peter, I'm gonna do many things today. I'm not going to allow my words to be misstated. What I said yesterday, when you incorrectly asked how many jobs worked for Disney and said 10,000, I corrected you. And I said, 80,000, none of those 80,000 [02:07:00] worked for the Rey Creek improvement district that said to try to answer your question. There are 382 employees of the Redy Creek improvement district. And what happens to those employees will be the decision of the local governments using their home rule powers to do what they think best

Speaker 1: Represent PIs

Speaker 23: You, so thank you so much for that final answer. Um, We have to wait for the, uh, different counties to decide the local authority [02:07:30] by that you mean the two counties or three counties that these, uh, areas, uh, govern

Speaker 1: Representative vine,

Speaker 21: Ah, there we go. Some of you might have been happy by that. Um, um, so, uh, that will be a decision first off there's many decisions. The folks behind read Creek may seek [02:08:00] to bring their charter up into compliance. We with the 1968 constitution, um, if they do that, that'll be a discussion that happens, you know, over the next year or so. Um, should that not happen? Should they not seek to renew or should the legislature and the governor not, not renew it, um, under the under Florida law, those, those assets and liabilities and everything else would transfer to those local governments in this, in the specific of Rey Creek. Cause I know that's the one you're interested in and I'm happy to talk about any of the six. Um, Rey Creek actually is spread across four, uh, [02:08:30] local governments. Um, there is a portion south of the Oola orange county line. And then there's a portion north of the Oola orange county line. That portion north of the Oola orange county line actually has unincorporated orange county as well as two cities, the city of bay lake Florida, and the city of lake Buena Vista, Florida. It'll be up to orange county again, using those glorious home rule powers to make a decision about how they split that between them and those two cities

Speaker 1: Present Vincents.

Speaker 23: Thank you so much. Thank you so much for that answer [02:09:00] yesterday. You had not talked to any of those counties, but you said you were do it right after the meeting. Have you had an opportunity to talk to those counties

Speaker 1: Represent fine.

Speaker 21: Um, thank you, Mr. Figure again, that was not what I said yesterday. I think I was asked that I spoken to voters and things like that. Um, I had spoken to prior to the meeting, uh, a representative, one of the two counties had reached out to me prior to the, to the meat to ask questions. I had that conversation yesterday. I've not had any additional conversations since

Speaker 1: [02:09:30] Representative Pinson.

Speaker 23: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, does this, uh, movement require a referendum

Speaker 1: Representative? Fine.

Speaker 21: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. It does not

Speaker 1: Representative Pinson.

Speaker 23: I believe it does. And I believe this violates the constitution. However, from the proclamation, it says it is necessary to review such independent, special districts to ensure that they are appropriately serving the public interest. So what [02:10:00] example do you have that this special district is not appropriately serving the public interest is

Speaker 1: Representative fine.

Speaker 21: Uh, thank Mr. Speaker. I reject the premise of the question. That is not what the statute says,

Speaker 1: Represent Hinson.

Speaker 23: Uh, repeat that please.

Speaker 1: I think he said it's not what the statute says.

Speaker 23: I'm sorry, sir.

Speaker 1: He said it's not what the statute says.

Speaker 23: Repeat. It's not what the statute it I had. So, um, one final [02:10:30] question we have kicked the bear or kicked the Hornets nest someone has. Do we care about the consequences of this action we're taking today?

Speaker 1: Representative fun.

Speaker 21: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, we do, which is why these aren't sunsetted immediately. There are sunsetted in June 1st of next year. So there's the ability to have a dis about how to deal with this over the next year. It also provides those local governments. If they choose not to get these special [02:11:00] districts, reinstated time to come up with a plan for how to handle it, if it was a knee jerk reaction, we would just say, they're gone today. So people have between now and June 1st, which I would note is after next year's regular session to figure out those things

Speaker 1: You'll follow Pinson.

Speaker 23: My final question and comment is I believe it is a knee jerk reaction. I came back here to deal with constitutional maps. Thank you, Mr. Speaker

Speaker 1: Members, just as a reminder, tomorrow is debate on this bill. [02:11:30] I'd ask you not to have biting comments in your responses to questions or in your questions or responses to answers to questions. I'm sure we'll have a great opportunity for all of us to do that tomorrow to your heart's content. However, today is about questions on the substance of the bill representative height.

Speaker 10: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, will you rep recognize representative Thompson

Speaker 1: Representative Thompson? You recognized,

Speaker 24: Thank you Mr. Speaker. Um, representative fine. You indicated a few minutes ago that the responsibilities of the special districts would then, [02:12:00] uh, move to local government. And in the case of, uh, Rey Creek, they manage, uh, flood control utilities, roadways, emergency services, pest control, parking conserv, they build public roads, transportation, bridges. What is the cost to local government now to support, uh, those kind of operations

Speaker 1: Represent fine.

Speaker 21: [02:12:30] Um, thank you, Mr. Speaker. I'm gonna try to answer that question in a different way. Last year, Rey Creek spent about 178 million operating itself. Um, raising the money from Rey Creek. One of the options that will be available to those local governments, should they choose to do that? Using their home rule authority would be to create an MST U that would purely replicate this exact same structure at no cost to the taxpayers. They could op redo it exactly how it's being done today, except they would have the home rule control. We would be de [02:13:00] preempting effectively this special district from being under the auspices of those two counties in those two cities

Speaker 1: Representative Thompson.

Speaker 24: Thank you. Uh, Mr. Speaker representative. Fine. Um, speaking of, uh, the tax payer, what would be the cost, the additional costs for Floridians and taxpayers if Rere did not fund, uh, the kind of services that I described earlier

Speaker 1: Represent fine.

Speaker 21: [02:13:30] Um, thank you, Mr. Figure. I mean, that's, that's sort of a hypothetical question. Um, but I would answer with a hypothetical answer if the four local governments using their home rule authority wish to continue having those functions continue using the funds that exist today, they would be able to do that. And so the answer would be zero

Speaker 1: Represent Thompson.

Speaker 24: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Um, and, and this is my final question. Uh, we many times give incentives for companies [02:14:00] to move to Florida. Uh, do you perceive this to be a disincentive for Redy Creek, for Disney, uh, to stay in Florida rather the and move someplace else

Speaker 1: Represent fine.

Speaker 21: Um, thank you, Mr. Speaker. I, I, I don't mean to be flippant, but I, I don't think it'd be really easy to put, you know, Cinderella's castle on a truck and drive it somewhere else. Um, that that said, um, I, I don't think this legislature would ever allow another

company [02:14:30] to independently govern self as Disney was allowed, um, in 1967. So as the universe of companies that are allowed to self-govern is one, and it hasn't happened in the last 55 years. I don't see it happening again. I don't think so. In fact, I think one could argue it could be good from a, from a business development perspective. So for example, Disney has competitors that do not enjoy these same aim, special privileges. Um, for example, universal, um, Disney has four theme parks. Universal has three universal doesn't get to create the [02:15:00] jurasic park improvement district to govern itself. They have to abide by the laws of the cities and the counties where they exist. So to some degree outside companies might say, oh, good, a special privilege. That's extended to one of my competitors. No, we're all on the exact same playing field

Speaker 1: Represent Thompson.

Speaker 24: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, uh, and representative fine. Uh, Cinderella's castle has existed. They just celebrated, uh, 50 years and bring people from throughout the [02:15:30] world to central Florida. And, uh, the example that, that you used is that you don't have other, uh, districts that govern themselves. Is, is that correct?

Speaker 1: Represent fine

Speaker 21: That thank you, Mr. Speaker. No, that was not what I said. This, this Rey Creek improvement district is the only example where we effectively allow a allow a company to self-govern. We don't say to Harris corporation, which [02:16:00] is one of the larger employers in my district. You can have the Harris corporation improvement district and govern yourself. We don't say to Amazon, or we don't say to universal or any other large employer, you can create your own self governing unit. This is a unique situation for a single company that has competitors, um, that do not benefit from those same provisions that they do

Speaker 1: Represent Thompson.

Speaker 24: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Uh, I represent the area where Disney [02:16:30] is located. It's uh, the largest employer in central Florida. Uh, is this a job killing bill

Speaker 1: Represented, represented fine.

Speaker 21: Um, thank you, Mr. Speaker. I don't believe so. I mean, the services, the functions will still continue. They'll just be part of the law local government. Again, I would, I would believe that those advocates of home rule would think that this would be a real big benefit because now instead of some big faceless company, being able to govern itself, we'd have local control and local politicians [02:17:00] who know their communities best who would be able to really make sure things are being governed in the best way possible. So for those advocates who constantly come in here about the benefits of home rule, I would think this would be a huge benefit for the area because now we would be giving a whole lot of power back to those four municipalities to govern appropriately

Speaker 1: Represent Thompson.

Speaker 24: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and, uh, representative fine. How long, uh, in your understanding, would it take for local government [02:17:30] to figure all of this out? Whereas Disney's had over 50 years, uh, to perfect the operations, uh, that they currently are responsible for

Speaker 1: Represented fine.

Speaker 21: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and sort of not to be nuanced about it, but reading Creek improvement district is separate Disney. Doesn't run it. Uh, it is a it, an independent district. You're talking about 382 employees. The overwhelming majority of which by the way are work for the fire department. Um, so the, the amount of things that [02:18:00] would've to be figured out over the next year is, is truly not all that great. I believe a year would be certainly adequate in order to do that.

Speaker 1: Representable height Represent height.

Speaker 10: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, to recognize representative Gottlieb

Speaker 1: Represent Gottlieb you're recognizing questions.

Speaker 17: Thank you, Mr. Speaker rep. Fine. I just have one question. Can you tell me who authored this bill

Speaker 1: Represent fine.

Speaker 21: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Um, it's my name on the top? It's my bill

Speaker 1: [02:18:30] Represent height.

Speaker 10: Would you recognize representative Smith

Speaker 1: Representative C Smith.

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker terrify. Fine. Yesterday. You said in committee on your closing remarks, you got me on one thing. This bill does target one company, Walt Disney world. So my question is why not just name the Rey Creek district in the bill since they are the [02:19:00] target? Is that not legal? Uh, and did you have to write it as a general law to avoid your bill being declared invalid

Speaker 1: Represent fine.

Speaker 21: Um, thank Mr. Speaker. The reason for that, the reason I made that statement in committee is because this bill does affect 100% of the companies that are allowed to self-govern in the state of Florida. There is only one, there's not one of 10. Um, there's one of one. So 100% [02:19:30] of the companies in that situation are being, um, are

being, are being affected. Um, I, I think the issue is this pre 1968 issue is a legitimate issue. One of these other five special districts has the right to tell property owners that live five miles outside the border of their special district, what they can do with their land. I mean, I want you to understand that you don't live in this special district. You don't have any say you don't pay taxes, you don't get to vote for the people that are in charge, but [02:20:00] because you live 4.7 miles away, that special district can tell you what you can do with your land. That's not in read Creek that that's in another one of these. So there are odd things that exist in all six of these pre charters that we are saying need to be taken a look at over the next year,

Speaker 1: Representative Smith.

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, terrifying. You just acknowledge that the other six special districts are, are caught up in it. Are they [02:20:30] just, uh, I guess, a, a casualty of this vendetta against Disney or did, did they also kick a hornet's nest as well? And that's why we're targeting them in general law.

Speaker 1: I, I think the last answer was responsive to that. Do you have additional, I'm fine. You recognized

Speaker 21: Thing. I, I reject the premise of the question again. What we were looking into was special districts and we found that there were issues in all of them. The analogy I would use again, I've used the UCF analogy. I will use it again. When we had the issue with the misappropriation of 85 million [02:21:00] at UCF, we recognized that this was a problem at all 12 of our state universities and 28 colleges. So we didn't just address the, the funding issues that we found at UCF. We addressed them in all of them, that Hornets nest, again, the theft of 85 million kicked a Hornets nest that made us recognize there was an issue that was broader and we went and tackled it. We're doing the same thing here,

Speaker 1: Representative Smith.

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Thank you, chair. Fine for explaining it in that way, because you're mentioning [02:21:30] UCF and the justification there. Uh, what did Disney do? Did they violate any kind of, uh, state issued guidance? Did they break the law or did they just hurt your feelings?

Speaker 1: You don't have to answer that representative. Fine representative Smith. Do you have a question on the bill? You're recognized.

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and with all due respect, this is crafted specifically on the bill, which has been declared repeatedly as being [02:22:00] motivated, uh, by political retaliation and retribution. So my question here terrifying is you mentioned before Harris core corporation, uh, you know, the reason we're not going after them is they don't, they don't govern themselves fair, but also I suppose they didn't kick the Hornets nest. So if the Harris corporation began standing up for trans kids, uh, would you craft a bill [02:22:30] to punish them as well?

Speaker 1: Representative Smith that is not on the substance of the bill. I anticipate that you're gonna have opportunity tomorrow to debate and raise all the issues that you'd like to raise. But today this is about questions on the substance of the bill. Do you have questions on the substance of the mechanics of the bill? You're right.

Speaker 16: No, thank you, Mr. Speaker, the answers are very clear, no further questions.

Speaker 1: Representative Wil height

Speaker 10: Here. We recognize representative Bartleman

Speaker 1: Representative Bartman. You recognized.

Speaker 25: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Um, I have [02:23:00] a serious concern about the 2 billion worth of debt that this special dis has. Will that debt then be passed on to the two counties that are taking over the special district responsibilities

Speaker 1: Represent fine.

Speaker 21: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, um, as I've reviewed their financial statements is 1.1 billion in debt. But to answer, to answer your specific question, this is what happens in staff. When a special district is dissolved, we have 1800 of them, and what happens [02:23:30] is all assets and all liabilities are given back to the local governments, but as is the ability to raise the revenues that those special districts previously had done. So yes, they will assume somehow those four districts will assume that $1.1 billion, but they will also have the ability to, again, recoup the rev thes that previously were paying for that debt. And in theory, they will be made whole

Speaker 1: River Bartleman.

Speaker 25: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, are you concerned about compounding that debt onto those counties, existing debt [02:24:00] and how that will impact the bond rating of those counties and their ability to go forth with other projects that are important to their citizens

Speaker 1: Represent fine.

Speaker 21: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I'm not. And this actually goes to something I actually know something about instead of politics, the revenue stream that uses to support those bonds is very stable. And so any bond rating agency would, would acknowledge that when they're thinking through the bond there's these bonds do not have a lot of risk in general

Speaker 1: Representative barman.

Speaker 25: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, hypothetically, is it possible that Disney who you [02:24:30] claim click the Hornet nest could like any other industry in Florida be afraid to operate in

Florida now because of retribution because they believe something different and pack up their toys and walk away, thus leaving, or they, there are many sin areas. They could stop investing in that area. They could build another park somewhere else. That will be their main park. Then they leave and the revenues are not there. Thus strapping those taxpayers with a [02:25:00] private company's debt. And we're on the hook for everything. Because if I was a company like Disney, if there was a way I would find a way to pack up my, my toys and walk away after this

Speaker 1: Represent fine.

Speaker 21: Um, thank you, Mr. Speaker. Um, again, I, I think in the case of the situation you're talking about, that's a sort of an impossibility to do. However, again, what I would note is if it requires special treatment, the ability to self-govern in order to recruit a company to [02:25:30] operate in Florida, I think we have much bigger problems, as I said before, by eliminating, should that be what happens special privileges from one company that operates in a competitive marketplace, you're actually opening up the market, existing competitors and potentially new ones. I would argue. You could make a case that other theme park companies might go great. The deck's not stacked against me. I'm gonna build a theme park in Florida. So I think you can make the argument the other way, just as well, because again, what we're talking about are special privileges that no other company [02:26:00] in the state of Florida enjoys.

Speaker 1: For example, height,

Speaker 10: You recognize represent Arrington,

Speaker 1: Represent Arrington you're recognized.

Speaker 26: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, cheer. Fine. Do you know how many active construction projects are currently going in Redy Creek

Speaker 1: Representative? Fine.

Speaker 21: Uh, famous speaker. I don't know the exact number. I know that it is substantial

Speaker 1: Represent Harrington.

Speaker 26: Thank you, Mr. Speaker and chair find, do you know what [02:26:30] will happen to these jobs in these projects? If this bill passes

Speaker 1: Representative fine.

Speaker 21: Uh, thank you Mr. Speaker. Um, nothing for the next year, but then it will be up to those, you know, great in touch with the community local politicians who will use their or home rule authority to manage things best, as opposed to this unaccountable to voters, special district, where the legislature has preempted those outstanding local elected officials from doing their jobs

Speaker 1: Representative Harrington.

Speaker 26: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and I believe you answered this before, but I [02:27:00] just wanna check. So those local governments that are so excited to take on these projects, have you spoken to them and have they voiced those opinions to you?

Speaker 1: Represented fine.

Speaker 21: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, as I said before, um, one of the four municipalities has reached out to me and I, I have spoken to them

Speaker 1: Represent Barrington.

Speaker 26: Mr. Thank you, Mr. Speaker and chair. Fine. Do you mind sharing that conversation or what, what their feedback was? Were they in support of this legislation

Speaker 1: Representative? Fine.

Speaker 21: [02:27:30] Uh, thank you, Mr. B. I don't mind sharing it. It was a lobbyist for one of the four and they really were just calling to ask questions. I mean, it wasn't the elected officials themselves and again, there's opportunity over the next year to have those discussions. This is the, the idea is, and half the bill speaks to the idea of rechartering should these low elected officials and these special districts wish to continue to go down this path.

Speaker 1: Harrington,

Speaker 26: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. So I just wanna clarify then. So our local governments are elected officials or the folks that are employed [02:28:00] there. They have not been reached out to, or they have not discussed this with you

Speaker 1: Harrington. I think he's now answered that several times. You have additional,

Speaker 26: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I just have one more please. Um, then chair find, do you know, will these roads then should this bill pass, will they become county or state roads that are inside of Redy Creek

Speaker 1: Represented? Fine.

Speaker 21: Um, thank you, Mr. Speaker, um, as would happen in any dissolution of a special district, um, those assets would be transferred to those [02:28:30] four municipalities. All of the roads that would be south of the Oola orange county line would become Oola county roads. All of the roads north of the Oola orange county line would be up to orange county using their home rule powers to decide whether they want them to be county roads or in the case of the roads in bay lake, Florida and lake Buena Vista, Florida, did they want those to become city roads, but that would be one of those great home rule decisions that they get to make

Speaker 27: Representative

Speaker 1: Height,

Speaker 10: Because you recognize representative [02:29:00] daily,

Speaker 1: Represe daily. You recognized

Speaker 28: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and good afternoon representative. Fine. I think, you know, or may know over the last couple years I've actually worked pretty extensively. I know chair Toledo knows this on reforming, uh, special districts, particularly as it relates to four in my districts. As a matter of fact, one of those four is on the chopping block here. So what I, I guess what I ask is, is, you know, you keep mentioning while this is, you know, happened since the 19, whatever it is 1968. So, so if that's the case and it's been going on for that long, why the urgency is the [02:29:30] urgency simply because the hornet's nest was kicked, that all of a sudden we've had this brainstorm of good idea and, and we need to Ram it through during this special session so much. So we added it to the call an hour before special session

Speaker 1: Representative daily, uh, representative finance started to answer that question a number of times, specifically for, from representative Durant. You're recognized.

Speaker 28: Thanks Mr. Speaker. And so, uh, that's fine. So to go in that same direction, then I guess, um, what did the sunshine water control district do to kick the hornet's nest? Was that just collateral damage?

Speaker 1: Representative fines also answered that question, but [02:30:00] since it was specific to a particular district, do you wanna say anything about the particular district representative? Fine.

Speaker 21: Thank you. Um, I think the issue for that district would be again over the last 55 years, and I should check, they may be the one that broke the law. One of, one of the other five did, I just don't remember which one, but they haven't done what 127 other special districts have done, which is modernize their charter to be consistent with that constitution of 1960. That is the issue that we uncovered. Once again, the horn assesses kicked you say, what's going [02:30:30] on, you start taking a look at it and you go, oh my gosh, there's an issue. I don't subscribe to the notion that you should kick the can down the road. When you find a problem, we found a problem. The governor wanted to address it in the call. So we're getting it done. And by the way, by doing it now, we're giving them more time to figure out how to resolve all of this before June 1st of next year,

Speaker 1: Represent daily.

Speaker 28: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and, and thank you for that answer. You know, um, chair find quick, quick question and it, and it goes, you know, based on the substance of the bill and based on your own explanation, if this body doesn't act, if this [02:31:00] bill goes

through and, and passes and this body doesn't act, or the local bill that gets filed, inevitably doesn't move for one reason or another. Maybe it's politics, maybe it's policy, whatever. The reason if that plays out, you've already said that all of the assets and the liabilities will be transferred to the local government. So based on the substance of the bill, have you considered renaming this bill, the central Florida tax increase act of 2022?

Speaker 1: I have a question about the substance of the bill, a question about renaming. It is not about the substance [02:31:30] of the bill. You, you have a question.

Speaker 28: Well, I have five other name ideas, Mr. Speaker, but I guess I'll hold 'em for later.

Speaker 1: I'm sure we'll hear them in debate. Additional questions for example, we'll hide.

Speaker 10: Okay. Mr. Speaker, do you recognize representative Woodson,

Speaker 1: Representative Woodson? You are recognized.

Speaker 12: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Um, chair. Fine. I know you answered some of my questions yesterday, but I have one for point of clarification actually regarding the $1.1 billion [02:32:00] debt that we, um, Batman mentioned. You stated that what government has the ability to pick that up, right? If they picked up the services, is that correct?

Speaker 1: Represent fine.

Speaker 21: Thank you. Under Florida statute, any assets in any liabilities of a special district that is dissolved, get reverted to the local governments where those special districts are in the case of Rey Creek. Um, that 1.1 billion would be allocated to those two counties and [02:32:30] those two cities

Speaker 1: Represe.

Speaker 12: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. And, uh, you also mentioned that they have the ability to raise the revenues. Is that correct?

Speaker 1: Represent fine.

Speaker 21: Thank you, Mr. Speakers. Sure. They could create a municipal, an MST U that would replicate the revenue structure that Rey Creek is doing right now and generate those revenues that are necessary to handle that debt obligation. Again, we're gonna trust those great local officials to use their home rule powers, to run this territory [02:33:00] that the legislature has prevented them from preempting their ability to do that for 55 years.

Speaker 1: Watson,

Speaker 12: Thank you, Mr. Speaker and web fine. If they raise the revenues, who do you anticipate to pick up those revenues? If not the tax payers

Speaker 1: Presented fine.

Speaker 21: Thank you Mr. Be here. The, the taxpayers, there are taxpayers that are paying the revenues today. If they structured [02:33:30] the MST U in, in, in a certain way, it would be the same taxpayers that are paying those taxes today. Those monies don't aren't generated like out of the air, there are taxes that are paying the taxes to the re Creek improvement district today. Again, if using their home rule powers, these local politicians who've been preempted for more than 50 years thought this was the right thing to do. They could set up the MSTU to have those same taxpayers, continue to pay those same taxes

Speaker 1: And Woodson.

Speaker 12: And thank [02:34:00] you, Mr. Speaker for the indulgence. I really appreciate this. We're fine. My, I question to you at this time now where we have people in our communities, taxpayers in our communities who can't afford to even put food on the table, is that the right thing to do at this time to

Speaker 1: Represent it? Fine.

Speaker 21: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, there's nothing about this bill that would require assuming again, any of these special districts [02:34:30] were not renewed, that would require a different taxpayer to begin to be paying anything again. Um, few believe is I hear all the time that we should trust local elected officials to do what's best for their local communities. They will make those decisions for what is best. Again, UN getting rid of the yolk of 50 years of preemption by the state of Florida

Speaker 1: Representative Woodson.

Speaker 12: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. And this would be my last question and light of the fact find that this was done [02:35:00] so quick. We got the bill yesterday and no one had the time to really vest anything in the bill. Would that be fair to ask to really take the time to give the taxpayers more time to vet the process in order for you to come up with this bill? Thank you, Mr. Speaker

Speaker 1: Representative. Fine.

Speaker 21: Um, thank you Mr. Speaker. The, the Bill's not very long, so it doesn't take very long to read again. What I would say is that half of the bill deals with the N the explicit notion [02:35:30] of seeking reauthorization prior to June one next year, you can make, you can have the belief, cuz it's true that there will be an ongoing discussion over the next year. I would presume with these six special districts and their legislators and the legislature in general about the right path forward. It does not say these are, these are going to be sunseted and there is nothing that can be done about it. It says they're going to these six are gonna do the exact same thing. The 127 have done before it, which has come into consistency with the 1968 constitution.

Speaker 1: Perfect.

Speaker 10: [02:36:00] Because you recognize representative, learn

Speaker 1: Representative, learn. You're recognized.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and thank you representative. Um, you know, a couple months ago, uh, three weeks, I guess we passed the local business protection act. And if I remember quoting the bill sponsor of that day, he said that it was passed because of punitive actions and overreaches of big government. And it basically says when a government, a big government does [02:36:30] something that punishes a business or hurts a business, they're able to Sue and recoup 15% of their business losses. My question is, are we gonna be liable for 15% of Disney's global losses? If that happens

Speaker 1: Representative fine.

Speaker 21: Thank you Mr. Speaker, I, I'm not familiar enough, um, with that bill, um, that you're describing and, and how it would relate in this instance, however, if memory does serve, um, that was, that was a discussion again about those great local politicians and not what we do here at the state level,

Speaker 1: [02:37:00] Or

Speaker 14: Thank you Mr. Speaker. And you're correct. The, the bill said that the state government's actions aren't, uh, we we're holding local government to a different standard than we hold ourselves. That is true. But since we are defaulting this to a local government,

Speaker 1: You can save your debate comments for debate tomorrow. You can ask your question. Nice.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and, and I'm, I'm sorry, I'm not trying to debate. I'm just trying to clarify the, with the, [02:37:30] you know, the answer here. So if this is saying that the local government is for these losses and we are putting all the responsibility, the debts onto that local government. So now that local government, the middle class, you know, taxpayers of orange county are liable for Disney's global losses. Is that because of this Twitter fight with the governor

Speaker 1: Representative learned, I representative fine. Already answered your question. Do you have an additional question?

Speaker 14: [02:38:00] I'm sorry, Mr. Speaker. I'm sorry. I did not hear him actually answer. So we're transferring bus Disney's global losses to a local government.

Speaker 1: No, sir. He did not say that you asked him a question about the bill that was passed previously during session. He said that he wasn't familiar that much with the process,

but if he recalled it applied to local government, do you have an additional question? Nice.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and you know, I guess non-answer aside. So Disney corporations, Disney corporations is the [02:38:30] largest tax of Rey Creek special district. Is that correct?

Speaker 1: Represent fine.

Speaker 21: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I believe that is the case

Speaker 1: Representative.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. So the premise that I heard in your answers to other people was that their, uh, continued tax payments, uh, are servicing Rey. Creek's billions of dollars of debt. So if their, if that debt is now being transferred to orange county is Disney still is, is Disney. Now paying orange [02:39:00] county is that you

Speaker 1: Represen? I'm fine.

Speaker 21: Thank you. Talking through the logistics of it. That 1.1 billion would be transferred to those four municipalities. They could choose to create an MSTU that would tax in the current S in the same way, generating those revenues from those taxpayers in this case, largely Disney, that could be used to service that debt.

Speaker 1: Follow up.

Speaker 14: [02:39:30] Thank you, Mr. Speaker. So I guess My understanding is that the premise for how we are not gonna saddle middle class S of orange county with a billion dollars of new debt, 2 billion of new debt, depending on which one you're looking at the premise is because we assume that orange county is going to do something. It is not done by default, right? We are assuming they are going to take an action based on what we're doing here today. Is that, do I understand that correctly?

Speaker 1: [02:40:00] Representative fine.

Speaker 21: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I understand your reluctance to trust low politicians to do the right thing. However, yes, we are assuming that these local politicians will use their home rule authority to create an MSTU to replicate the revenues that they would then use to pay for these debts.

Speaker 1: Represen.

Speaker 14: Last question, Mr. Speaker, and I'm sorry you keep saying this, but you're saying to replicate the revenues. What you're saying is raising taxes, correct?

Speaker 1: Represent fine.

Speaker 21: Um, thank Mr. Speaker. [02:40:30] No, I, I am not saying that at all. Want to be clear about this? Um, if Disney's paying a million dollars to Rey Creek and instead of paying that million dollars to Rey Creek, they're paying that same million dollars to the MST U that these local governments have created. It is still a million dollars. It is not a tax increase. That's simple math

Speaker 1: We'll height. We got time for one more question.

Speaker 10: Thank you, Mr. Speaker director. I represent Joseph

Speaker 1: Represent Joseph.

Speaker 7: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, as [02:41:00] I mentioned in committee yesterday, Florida statute 180 9 0.07, two governs a dissolution of independent special districts. And at that time you acknowledge that that law was law. Um, but it seems that none of the requirements in order to dissolve a special district by the legislature have been followed. And I wanted to know if you had anything you wanted to add for the good of the body as to why you're not following Florida law

Speaker 1: Represent fine.

Speaker 21: Thank thank you, Mr. Speaker, as you chose to remind me yesterday, [02:41:30] I am not an attorney. So I decided to go and learn something that turns out you don't have to be an attorney to understand the law 180 9 0.072 says in order for the legislature to dissolve an active, independent, special district, created an operating pursuant to a special act. The following things have to be done. The bill that we are proposing today is not a special act. Maybe they don't teach what special acts are in law school. I don't know, but there's nothing inconsistent with this bill today.

Speaker 1: All right. Representative Joseph one follow up. You recognized.

Speaker 7: [02:42:00] Thank you Mr. Speaker. So it's your position that the reason you're not following the law that applies for the dissolution of special districts is because this, your position is this particular law does not apply because it's a it's created by a special act. Is that my understanding

Speaker 1: Represen? I fine. Brief brief answer.

Speaker 21: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. No, uh, it, it, it's not it's the, the, the law that we are passing is entirely consistent. If you read which I presume they teach, um, it says you, if you're [02:42:30] going to dissolve a, a special district pursuant to a special act, using a special act, we are proposing to pass a special act. Today, we are passing a general bill. This is not simply a matter of interpretation. This is simply how the law works

Speaker 1: Time. Henry expired, where amendments are there amendments

Speaker 3: On the desk. Mr. Speaker,

Speaker 1: Pick up the first amendment

Speaker 3: Representative Eskimo offered the following amendment with title amendment bar code 180 9, 9 65, remove lines 23 through 31 and insert amendment

Speaker 1: Representative. You recognize to explain your amendment.

Speaker 18: Thank you [02:43:00] so much, Mr. Speaker members y'all know that I have, I have always been one of the most vocal voices when it comes to corporate accountability, and I have filed other amendments that unfortunately were out of order around tax issues and maybe one day we'll get to, um, but I did sit in on the committee yesterday and share a lot of the concerns made by, um, those who, um, are speaking to what dissolution would mean for orange osteo county of the Rudy Creek district in particular around the transfer of debt. [02:43:30] Um, also around the fact that this is a independent district, not a dependent district, which means the AOR taxes that are collector RD, Creek disappear. They're not transferred despite misinformation out there. And so, um, hearing the concerns made by my Republican colleagues specifically, they pointed out some powers of the district that, that do seem inappropriate.

Speaker 18: Um, and so that speaks to, uh, the nuclear FIS power plant, which back in the sixties, I feel like that was probably a [02:44:00] very popular, um, concept as it was, you know, shining and new, but we have other types of energy production today that have grown in Florida. So this would strike that it would also strike, um, and to domain powers that are outside of the district boundaries. Um, it would strike the ability to construct rows or exclusive, and that supers see the authority and jurisdiction of F dot. It would strike the ability to build infrastructure projects outside of the district boundaries. And, uh, you would not be able to change the boundaries of the [02:44:30] district without another special act. And again, um, this is a scalpel approach versus a sledgehammer. And I do think it's important to examine all the special districts, community development districts, um, but we should do so with more public input, um, to add this to a special session order an hour before, um, some of us even got here myself, myself as an example, um, it is not good government. And so I, I do think, especially as a [02:45:00] member of the joint legislative auditing committee, we audit special districts all the time. We look at their finances, we decide if they are problematic or not. Um, and so for me in bringing this forward as an effort to hear what those concerns were, I've heard from the governor and what I've heard from committee members, um, and to do a scalpel instead of sledgehammer. Thank you, Mr. Speaker,

Speaker 1: Other questions on the amendment, other questions of the sponsor, seeing none are there amendments to the amendment representative C Smith in questions.

Speaker 16: [02:45:30] Thank you, Mr. Speaker representative, you mentioned in your presentation of the amendment that rather than taking a sledgehammer like chair fine is doing by abolishing the Rey Creek district. You're taking a scalpel. Are you essentially with your amendment cutting to the chase and putting forward thoughtful, researched reforms that are [02:46:00] really the result of community input and lots of stakeholders who have voiced these concerns over many years and kind of cutting to the chase so that we

don't have to deal with this back and forth between the governor and Disney for the next year, which we know is political theater,

Speaker 1: Representative Smith. I'm confident that you can ask those questions without mentioning other members or making comments about other people that aren't relevant to the substance of the bill represent. Would you like to answer that leading question? You're recognized.

Speaker 18: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. [02:46:30] Um, so yes, representative Smith, um, to some of your question, I just wanna add that. I, I don't think even I can be as thoughtful as I wanna be candidly, because you know, this has not been on a lot of our radars for, um, a while now, now there are a lot of other issues that I've given a lot of thought to around combined reporting, looking at share pain. Um, and so, you know, I think there are so many other concepts that we can as a body vet and debate [02:47:00] and understand, but I, I, I have to tell you that even orange OS counties have not been able to give us an analysis of the impact of this bill. I just spoke to our collector this morning. Um, it's been, it's been really difficult to get specifics to the point where we're hearing rumors online and it's not actually speaking to what would dissolution look like.

Speaker 18: But what I have heard are these shared concerns about some of these authorities that are granted, that people don't like, and I've [02:47:30] feel like consistently hearing those same concerns, um, that would apply equally to every special district is something that we could consider in the short period of time that we have. I don't think it's good government to exercise punitive powers on one institution because you're upset of what they did. If there are serious concerns about some of these specifics in this amendment, then let's let's address that. And let's not exercise [02:48:00] the bully pulpit for just punitive measures,

Speaker 1: Additional questions, representative Smith, to give you one follow up. You recognized.

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, thank you. Representative Eskimo. Have you heard from any, uh, Rey Creek workers, any Disney workers who are concerned, they might be losing their job? My understanding is that abolishing the Rey Creek district, uh, means abolishing the jobs of 356 people who work for the district in 400 utility [02:48:30] employees of Rey Creek. So would your amendment at least help them sleep at night and alleviate their concerns that their job will be gone next year when the district is abolished

Speaker 1: Representative Eskimo.

Speaker 18: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Yes. And just to add to that, there's also 2000 plus contract workers with the wi Creek improvement district. So though, as we heard during the earlier debate, um, there's, you know, 80,000 plus jobs at Wal Disney world, many who are are constituents. [02:49:00] Um, but the Creek district specifically has, you know, 350 some employees, and then they have the utility at 400 and they have 2000 plus contractual workers. And I have constituents who work at Rudy Creek and we also have firefighters, um, who are with the Rudy Creek improvement district. That's about 200

firefighters to be clear members. These are not firefighters that are with the county. They're firefighters have a R Creek improvement district. These are very cool [02:49:30] firefighters. They are trained, um, to know the theme parks, they're trained to know, um, how to deliver emergency services in, in very, um, uh, crowded environments.

Speaker 18: They also are proud to say that there's never been any life lost at R Creek due you to fire. And that's because of, um, the strength of the team, but also of the, the building permits or actually the building code in Redy Creek is stronger than that in the state of Florida. Um, and so we have heard a lot of these [02:50:00] concerns. And so in order to alleviate those concerns, because what this bill does is create a lot of uncertainty, especially for those workers. And so what my amendment does is it eliminates some of the wacky stuff that was mentioned in this process, but it doesn't create the uncertainty of job loss. Doesn't create panic among orange, a counties and surrounding areas. And it doesn't allow government to be used as a tool, a punishment. [02:50:30] And so that's the point of this amendment. I do hope folks take it seriously.

Speaker 1: Time has expired, but I wanna give you, you've had your mic up. So you have opportunity to ask a question. You recognized.

Speaker 21: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Um, are you, can you explain to me what the first line or the first though six words of your bill means, or your amendment not withstanding any law to the contrary? Do you, do you, can you explain what that might mean to the substance of your amendment

Speaker 1: Representative S money?

Speaker 18: [02:51:00] Thanks so much, Mr. Speaker, this was delivered to me from bill drafting and we asked him to draft an amendment under very short notice to reflect our desire to room, move those pieces. If there's a correction you wanna make, if you agree with the substance, have a correction you wanna make, I encourage you to follow amendment to the amendment. I would accept it.

Speaker 1: You have one follow up.

Speaker 21: Thank you. Um, I'll get to the broader point in, in debate. Um, are you aware that your amendment, since it says a special [02:51:30] day, you said I heard this is a scalpel, not a club. Are you aware that your amendment would affect 1,843 special districts?

Speaker 1: Esche

Speaker 18: IAM. Mr. Speaker. Thank you. I don't think any special district should have these powers.

Speaker 1: All right. Are there amendments to be amendment? Not on the desk, Mr. Speaker, are there substitute amendments? Not on the desk, Mr. Speaker, we're in debate members of which be recognized in debate represent fine.

Speaker 21: Um, thank you, Mr. Speaker. Uh, I make [02:52:00] two comments. This amendment does nothing. That was the purpose of my, I actually really literally accomplishes nothing. It says not withstanding any law to the contrary, you can't do these seven or eight things. The six charters for those special districts are laws to the contrary. So it doesn't change any powers of any of those six special districts. It accomplishes nothing, but what it could do to a special district that might not have a [02:52:30] charter, including 22 in central Florida, is it might. And actually it might, it would, it would affect their ability to do eminent domain. Even with permission of the land owners and surrounding counties, it would actually do other things that are good. It would say that they can't change the boundary. If you are in a special district right now, or you're next to a special district and you buy a piece of property and you wanna move into that special district, you can say, Hey, take me in. And if you can work that out with everybody, [02:53:00] you can do that. It would take that power away. So the amendment does nothing to solve all the claim. And by the way, whereas what we're doing goes after a class of six special districts out of 1,800, this would target 1800 special districts without ask you to vote it down

Speaker 1: C Smith and debate.

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, since this is debate, I think it's important to [02:53:30] correct the record on what the sponsor has just mentioned that the amendment accomplishes nothing. I think what he meant to say is that the amendment does not accomplish his stated goal of punishing representative

Speaker 1: Corporations

Speaker 16: Who speak

Speaker 1: You can debate on your, you could, you can debate on your own behalf. You don't have to attack your colleagues in debate, by all means, you can get to the point of what you're saying without doing that. You recognize for Smith.

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Again, [02:54:00] I will restate that. The reality is is that this bill, this amendment full unfortunately, is not targeting Walt Disney world and therefore must be rejected. And I think it's important to clarify, not to impune anyone's character. That that is the point of the underlying bill. That's at a subjective statement. These are statements that have been made by writers of the bill that the point is to attack Disney. [02:54:30] So folks, if you are surprised by the fact that rep Eskimo's amendment impacts 1800 special districts, oh my God, how can we do that? Well, that's because it's crafted in a way to really us, that these special districts shouldn't have special privileges in a way that doesn't target anyone or single them out, isn't that what we should be doing. Shouldn't we [02:55:00] be writing policy based on what we know is good for Floridians, as opposed to writing policy based on retribution against people who spoke out against legislation. I think representative Eskimo's amendment is a very good one. And if you actually believe that special district shouldn't get these special favors, you will vote for representative Eskimo's amendment so that you can defend [02:55:30] that it

was not targeted against any particular corporation that kicked a hornet's nest. Thank you.

Speaker 1: Additional debate, additional debate represent Davis.

Speaker 12: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, um, just don't wanna say much, but I will add that I serve on that committee with, uh, representative Eskimo when it comes to auditing [02:56:00] and this legislative body does have a process. It has a process where stakeholders are able to come and speak. Um, we can hear both sides in that committee. We know it's happening when it's coming to that community. And I think the sponsor, um, of this bill has actually brought, um, a community before us to be audited, maybe not this year, but some year back, but special district with a charter special [02:56:30] district, without a charter, there is still a process in place that this body holds. Dear. There is a committee that deals with this and we do have a procedural process. So to have this before us, and I will not allow the reason why we should be here to go awry.

Speaker 12: I am angry that we are even dealing with something other than the congressional districts, that we are [02:57:00] even talking about something other than black representation, but we're here. So I'm going to say this body has a process and the process is not being adhered to, we serve on committees to help our communities come before us to give their input. But when the process is not convenient to us, then we find ourselves adding things to an agenda that shouldn't be there. So again, there's [02:57:30] a process in place. Thank you representative for bringing this amendment forth. I encourage you all to stop playing the games that we are playing. There's a process for this in place. Please vote for this amendment

Speaker 1: Time. Having expired for debate representative Eskimo. You recognize the close in your amendment.

Speaker 18: Thank you so much, Mr. Speaker, I just wanna provide clarity for the record that not what's standing in that context means no matter what [02:58:00] any other law says. And I thank bill drafting for their assistance. And I trust bill drafting to help us when we have these amendments, even when they're under such intense pressure. With that said, I have many reasons that I could also be angry or be mean Mr. Speaker, but I choose joy as my response. And I offer this amendment full of joy because I agree there are some dynamics with special districts that don't make sense, and you can quote me on that. And so what we're doing is I'm I'm [02:58:30] I pull this from comments made by the bill sponsor. I pull this from comments made by governor Ron DeSantis that it's not appropriate for these type of powers to be granted to special districts. No, who is the special district beneficiary. Right? And so with that, I encourage folks to put politics aside for a hot minute. Don't be petty and support this good amendment that is trying to address the concerns that we've heard consistently as legitimate concerns we've heard instead [02:59:00] of being punitive, because you don't like something a company said, thank you, Mr. Speaker

Speaker 1: Members representative, Kyani having closed bill in favor of adoption. The amendment say, yay.

Speaker 9: Yay.

Speaker 1: All opposed? No,

Speaker 9: No

Speaker 1: Show the amendment fails. Read the next amendment.

Speaker 3: None on the desk. Mr. Speaker,

Speaker 1: Read the next bill

Speaker 3: By representative Andra house bill five, C it to be entitled and act relating to social media platforms.

Speaker 1: Representative van Jo. You recognized to explain your, your bill.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. And by deleting four [02:59:30] lines in Florida statute house bill five C removes from, from Florida law, the exception, uh, from consumer protections on social media platforms for companies that happen own theme parks in Florida

Speaker 1: Representative will height questions.

Speaker 10: Thank you, Mr. Speakers, you cognize the representative

Speaker 14: Learned

Speaker 1: Representative learning. You recognized.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Uh, and thank you representative for the bill. I know yesterday we talked a little bit about this. I just wanted to follow up. So, uh, can you tell me the reason this, um, this [03:00:00] carve out was placed in the bill in the first place?

Speaker 1: Representative ONR.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, uh, representative Leonard. Uh, the short answer is no

Speaker 1: Represent learned.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, um, in testimony on the house floor last year when we were debating this, uh, it was said it was to protect children, um, specifically children it on the Disney plus platform, uh, from predators and pedophiles and, and comments. And so they can moderate their space. So my question [03:00:30] is by removing this carve out, are we, uh, in any way putting kids in danger

Speaker 1: Representing,

Speaker 14: Uh, thank you, Mr. Speaking, representative learner. I don't recall that comment being made on the floor. I, uh, I I'm, uh, I might be in correct, uh, after reviewing, uh, the discussion on the floor about the amendment. Um, but not to, uh, sound like a, a broken record on this. Um, had you just read the underlying bill, you'd see the two carve outs and, and exceptions to say any restrictions on censorship, [03:01:00] um, do not apply when a social media platform, um, sensors based on obscenity as defined by Florida statute, which is in line with, uh, the communications decency act, section two 30

Speaker 1: Representative learning.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and thank you representative again. I, you know, we are sitting here debating a carve out from a bill that is, uh, not enforceable because it's been found unconstitutional by federal court. Can you help me understand, uh, how, what this amendment does if [03:01:30] the underlying bill doesn't seem to exist

Speaker 1: Representative on Friday?

Speaker 14: Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Speaker and representative Leonard. We went over this yesterday and I, and I, I was a little bit confused just because, um, judge Hinkels order. Um, the title is not a final order, determination of constitutionality. The title of his order is preliminary injunction. And, uh, I, I know we discussed this yesterday, but preliminary injunction is, is not a final decision at all. And if you go to the governor [03:02:00] special call the call for, for, for this, uh, special session, uh, it lays out specifically, uh, why this car valve needed to be pulled out prior to oral arguments on April 28th regarding the underlying bill, which is designed to protect Florida consumers against unfair censorship by social media platforms

Speaker 1: Representing learned.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and, and thank you. I have no idea what any of that means, cause I didn't go to law school and a preliminary injunction. I don't fully [03:02:30] understand. So is the, is the law enforceable

Speaker 1: Representing?

Speaker 14: Thank you Mr. Speaker. Um, representative learned the law currently is not enforceable because of is currently preliminarily enjoined. Um, but if you read judge Hinkels preliminary injunction order, um, it's that this is simply a preliminary injunction because the ultimate facts have not been considered. And with further analysis, my analysis might change. Uh, so even the judge who issued this order acknowledged that [03:03:00] with more facts and with a further vetting of this case, his analysis might change about exactly, uh, what would occur if he had to review the statute for full constitutionality before being enforced,

Speaker 1: Represent Leonard.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. And I want to go back to a line of questions I had on the, the last bill about the, uh, the local business protection act. So we would that apply. So in that act that we passed a couple weeks ago, uh, we said that if a business had more than a 15% reduction to [03:03:30] their business revenue, uh, that that business is liable is able to Sue. So if Disney plus, uh, because of this dangerous behavior that can now happen on their platform because we repeal this law, if they have a 15% reduction and can they Sue the state of Florida for that money

Speaker 1: Representative, Andra,

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker and representative learned, um, for forgive my incre, um, but, uh, the, the line of questions about some conspiracy that suddenly pedophiles can run rampant online is just patently ridiculous. [03:04:00] Um, we have section two 30, the communications decency act already prohibits obscenity and Florida statute, uh, 8 47 0.001 also defines obscenity and includes child pornography and predatory behavior, uh, and the statute without Caral the bill without the Caral applied to every other social media platform. Uh, so when this bill passed, every other social media platform was already relieved of any responsibility, uh, regarding the prohibitions on censorship, [03:04:30] if they were doing it to censor obscene comments and behavior. Um, so this, this carve out, um, was absolutely not necessary for that purpose. And again, I'll also cite to on the business protection act question portion of your comment, um, this bill, uh, part of the concern that judge tinkle had, um, there were, there were two causes findings out of five related to this car valve. And [03:05:00] one was related to a violation of what he called the dormant commerce clause, which is blatantly protectionist behavior benefiting, you know, home companies in your state, um, states are not allowed to impermissibly do this. That's the, that, that's the premise of the, the dormant commerce clause. It's like the reverse of the commerce clause, um, by doing this and putting every single social media platform on the exact same playing field, the, the bill becomes more constitutional and it absolutely does not affect [03:05:30] any kind of business protection act issue or concern

Speaker 9: Representative

Speaker 1: Learned.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. And, uh, and thank you representative. Uh, you know, it's funny, I, I was reading a lot. I was doing some research for this and I saw a lot of tweets from colleagues of yours, um, from the other side of the aisle, trying to repeal section two 30, but now you're, you seem to be saying that section two 30 is the saving grace here. That's gonna protect us from ourselves. So my question is, is, uh, [03:06:00] should, can Florida have a law that protects kids online, uh, so that we have extra protection in case you guys have it your way and you repeal section two 30

Speaker 1: Represen name on Friday.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and represent, learn, uh, I hate to sound like a broken record. Um, but Florida statute 8 47 0.001 already prohibits obscenity and the underlying bill 70

72, which says social media platforms can unfairly censor [03:06:30] says you can absolutely censor in the event of obscenity. Um, so the, the level of kind of at this point, it's become like a Q Andon level conspiracy to you about like pedophile access because of this type of law. Um, and it's getting a little bit frustrating to keep trying to address and just ask you to read the underlying bill on a site line five 40 and 5 55 of the underlying bill. If you read it, address your concerns completely.

Speaker 1: [03:07:00] I've learned it,

Speaker 14: You know, Mr. Speaker, thank you, Mr. Speaker. And you know, it's a little frustrating because, you know, as the firestorm around this has erupted around us in the last 48 hours, I have personally been called a groomer onto Twitter, by dozens and hundreds of people. So I'm sitting here trying to protect kids in the state of Florida from predatory behavior online. And it's from the other side where I'm told, I'm told we can't do more. Right. So why can't we do more to protect these kids? [03:07:30] Why are we removing a layer of protection that exists to keep kids safe? I understand what your point. I, I, I get it. Like, I, I hear you saying, like, we don't need it, But it doesn't mean that it's bad, right? Doesn't mean that having that protection isn't helpful. So I guess the, the final question here is, Is this bill in any way, is, does this carve out in, I hurt kids. Can we just leave it in place? And then let the constitution of [03:08:00] this law be debated in the courts?

Speaker 1: I, I think that's how you started out this col we of questions. If you have something additional to add, represent Andra you're recognized.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker representative learned, unless you are saying that the Disney corporation does not understand the definition of obscenity like Facebook and Twitter and YouTube, we assume already do. You're treating them differently for no apparent reason. And actually for unconstitutional reason,

Speaker 1: [03:08:30] Additional question for OB example, height,

Speaker 10: Would you recognize representative Woodson, represe

Speaker 1: And wood said you're recognizing questions.

Speaker 12: Thank you, Mr. Speaker weapon. I know we have had several discussion about other bills, but I need some clarification on this bill. Uh, is it a follow up to Senate bill 90? Not 90, 70, 72. I'm I apologize. Is it a follow up [03:09:00] to Senate bill 70 72

Speaker 1: Representative Andra.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker and representative woods. And thank you for that question. Um, I wouldn't say it's necessarily a follow up, um, the, the amendment, this carveout that says a social media platform that happens to own a theme park in the state of Florida is suddenly exempt, uh, from the censorship restrictions that we're trying to provide to Florida residents. Um, it was, it was a carveout that, that I didn't like at the

time. Um, so I wouldn't say that this is somehow a follow up. [03:09:30] I would say that this is just an improvement to the bill and a correction to a portion of the bill that I didn't like in the first place

Speaker 9: Representative

Speaker 1: Board center.

Speaker 12: So thank you, Mr. Speaker. Uh, thank you. I know you didn't like it, but we did pass that bill here. Now, do you, what's the status? Do you know the status of that litigation on that bill?

Speaker 1: Say on Friday.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker and representative Woodson. Thank you for that question as well, because if you go [03:10:00] to the governor's special, the, this, the governor's amended call explaining why this bill was needed. Now, um, there was a preliminary injunction, which again is not a finding of constitutionality or a final order. The preliminary injunction was issued last summer. Um, that means that now it's on appeal in the federal court. Um, it's on appeal in Alabama and it's coming up on oral arguments on April 28th. So in eight days. So if we don't correct this issue today, we will conflate the concerns that we [03:10:30] have about big tech censorship, um, with these kind of 14th amendment equal protection, dormant commerce clause questions that are far less important than are protecting Florida residents from big tech, unfair censorship,

Speaker 1: Representative Woodson.

Speaker 12: So speaker and thank you for the response as well. So based on what you're saying, we trying to correct part of it, right? That is unconstitutional, right? Is that correct?

Speaker 1: First name Andra.

Speaker 14: [03:11:00] Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Um, I would, I would challenge the premise slightly. I don't believe that what we did as far as protecting consumers who are using social media platforms is unconstitutional. And I look forward to that oral argument and I look forward to this decision being made, because I do believe, uh, that the underlying bill related to big tech censorship and the way that we approached it is constitutional. Uh, the one concern that I had was the putting different companies on a different playing field, like a carve out. We, we all understand what a [03:11:30] carve out here is on this floor. Uh, the one concern that I had was treating in the same circumstances differently simply by virtue of the fact that they owned a theme park within our jurisdiction

Speaker 1: Representative Woodson,

Speaker 12: Mr. Speaker, and based on your response, if we are trying to correct part of it, basically based on what you just sense, how about the other parts? Why don't we correct the whole thing

Speaker 1: Representative on Friday?

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker and representative woods. I might [03:12:00] have not been clear. What I'm, what I'm saying is the other part doesn't need correcting. Um, this is a consumer protection bill. It protects Florida consumers and residents from unfair trade prac. The, the Florida deceptive and unfair trade practices act is already Florida law. And it protects Florida residents applying, fed, which I like to love him, call it, uh, in this circumstance, I think is a valid pursuit. And also making sure that that big tech social media platforms are not unfairly discriminating based on viewpoint is also a critical concern for me. And I believe for many [03:12:30] residents in the state of Florida

Speaker 1: Exem.

Speaker 12: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. And I'm just trying to get clarification on a lot of these things and the bill. Uh, do you agree with the federal court that this bill implicates the first amendment rights of those social media companies

Speaker 1: Representative bondra.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker and representative Woodson. Yes, absolutely. The whole point of this bill today is to eliminate all the distracting components. So we can have that first amendment [03:13:00] argument, uh, in front of, uh, the appellate panel on April 28th.

Speaker 1: Additional questions for present.

Speaker 17: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I, um, rep Smith is next on our list.

Speaker 1: Representative Smith. You recognize,

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker representative. Andrati. Are you saying that the reason you're removing this carve out has nothing to do with Disney's [03:13:30] opposition to Don take a

Speaker 29: Representative

Speaker 1: Bondra

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, um, uh, representative Smith. Uh, I would have to cite to the governor's amended call for this special session and the explicit reasons why this is necessary right now prior to our April 28th oral arguments regarding the underlying bill

Speaker 1: Represent C Smith.

Speaker 16: Thank you. So what you're saying is this [03:14:00] has nothing to do with the fact that this was a carveout requested by Walt Disney world itself

Speaker 1: Represent

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, uh, representative Smith. Again, I was not, I did not participate in the, uh, drafting or filing of the amendment last year. So I could not tell you exactly who brought it in the first place, because I didn't have any firsthand experience or knowledge about it. What I can tell you is an eight days or gonna be an oral argument, uh, and this one [03:14:30] distracting carve out portion of it should distract from the far more important attempts that we did last year to protect Florida residents from unfair and deceptive and bias censorship by big tech platforms,

Speaker 1: Representative Smith.

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Uh, and thank you. And I had concerns about, uh, this carve out as well. When we saw it on the floor in the previous session, can you tell us what was the [03:15:00] legislative intent of the carve out so that we can fully evaluate whether or not it makes sense for us to repeal it?

Speaker 1: Representative Smith? I believe he just answered that. Do you have an additional question,

Speaker 16: Miss? Thank you, Mr. Speaker. So for clarification, the bill that representative Andrati is carrying that repeals a, a law we passed, or part of the law. You, you, you have no idea [03:15:30] why it was placed there in the first place. Is that, is that your position? He

Speaker 1: Just answered that question. Representative Smith. You recognized.

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Okay. So I guess that's a, no, you have no idea. So have you reviewed any other carve outs that are existing in any other law? Uh, or is it just this one?

Speaker 1: Representati.

Speaker 14: Thank thank you, Mr. Speaker, representative Smith. Um, I have a very consistent and healthy aversion and [03:16:00] dislike for carve outs in general. I've been very consistent in that, in that position. Um, uh, what I will say is that this is the only carve out. That's gonna be the subject of an oral argument in federal court in eight days,

Speaker 1: Represent Smith.

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Now who wrote this bill that is in front of us today that you're presenting

Speaker 1: Representative Montera.

Speaker 14: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, representative Smith. Um, I enjoy that question because [03:16:30] don't know, uh, on a definitional level, if we can say that striking out four lines and adding none, uh, would meet the definition of RO

Speaker 16: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Thank you. Representative at Andra. You've spoken to the, the easy magic that is law making. Um, I suppose no further questions, Mr. [03:17:00] Speaker. Thank you.

Speaker 1: Representative Gotley

Speaker 17: From will Heights desk. There we go. I'm sorry. Thank Mr. Speaker. I yield the floor to representative ESCA money

Speaker 1: Represent Kyani questions.

Speaker 18: You so much, Mr. Speaker representative. I heard that you were inspired by your colleagues yesterday, including me from, I guess it was two sessions ago. So I'm just curious. Why were you not inspired last regular session? Cuz this has been in the books for [03:17:30] a while. So what, what is the new inspiration

Speaker 1: Representative Manati.

Speaker 14: Thank you Mr. Speaker representative schema. Yes, you absolutely inspired me. I agree with you. This was a laughable carve out. Um, and I appreciated how heavily, uh, you opposed it. Uh, as it representative learned it on the floor when it was presented initially, um, what I would say is I had seven bills that were priorities of mine. Uh, unfortunately only one of them passed. I hope to improve that record next year. Um, but when opportunities present themselves, like when [03:18:00] the governor amends his special call and says, this is a present need because in eight days we have an oral argument and the underlying bill is more important. I will jump at that opportunity when that opportunity presents itself to go correct an issue with a bill that while I overarching, wholeheartedly supported gave me slight heartburn about this one, carve

Speaker 1: Anani.

Speaker 18: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I remember a year ago when having the back and forth with at the time that the bill sponsor, I believe one of his [03:18:30] sponsors to me of why the carve was necessary was that the platforms like Disney plus and, you know, I gave a long list of potential other dynamics, um, would not be in a position to de platform. Someone has that changed for you. Can you maybe explain just operationally cuz that was the answer given to me before what's different now.

Speaker 1: Represen, Andra,

Speaker 14: Thank you Mr. Speaker representative Masani um, no, there there's no like no technical change to how any platform individually works. Right. And I believe the other example [03:19:00] you provided I think was like maybe Hulu or peacock, um, on the house floor. Um, and it was fun fact, 11 months and 22 days ago that we had this discussion on the floor. Um, so on the anniversary actually the day after the anniversary of this amendment being put on this bill, the oral arguments will occur. Um, what I would say is no, at the end of the day, this was an unfair carveout impermissible under the, now of a

far more important bill. Um, [03:19:30] that I'm happy that we're pulling out because I have a healthy version for carve outs in general

Speaker 27: Representative

Speaker 1: Eske

Speaker 18: Thank you so much for your speaker. The time that I have left, I'm curious, have you spoken to the original bill sponsor and does he, has you changed his perspective on his original defense of the carve out

Speaker 1: Representative?

Speaker 14: Thank you Mr. Speaker representative Sam money. Um, uh, the original bill sponsor on the house side was not the, the drafter of the amendment. It came over from the Senate. [03:20:00] Um, so, uh, while I enjoy speaking with him, um, I didn't believe he was gonna provide any, any argument to change my mind about my dislike for this carve out and the pressing need to have the oral argument specific topics clarified prior to April 28th.

Speaker 1: Our members, uh, time having expired for questions are their amendments.

Speaker 3: None on the desk. Mr. Speaker,

Speaker 1: Read the next bill.

Speaker 3: None on the desk. Mr. Speaker,

Speaker 1: Right members. We're gonna get a set up with a procedural motion. We've got the bills over from the Senate, uh, to set us up for reading tomorrow. [03:20:30] Uh, hopefully by late afternoon, early evening at the latest, uh, we'll be able to conclude our business tomorrow to get you all home representative. You recognize for motion.

Speaker 5: Mr. Speaker, I move that the rules be waived to read the messages for SB two C four C and six C to read the bills twice by title, into substitute them for their identical house. Companion bills

Speaker 1: Members representative BR moves the rules. We waive the read messages for Senate bills, two C four C six C. We read twice by title and substitute them for their [03:21:00] identical house. Companion bills, all in favor, say aye, all oppos, no show. The motion is adopted. Read the Senate bills for Senate bills, two C four C and six C and the bills twice by and show them substituted for their identical house companion bills.

Speaker 3: The honorable Chris brow speaker. I'm directed to inform the house of representatives that the Senate has passed SB two C as amended and request the concurrence of the house. Debbie brown secretary by Senator Rodriguez, Senate bill two C a Bill's being titled in act establishing the congressional districts of the state by [03:21:30] Senator

Rodriguez, Senate bill two C built to be entitled in act establishing the congressional districts of the state. The honorable Chris brow speaker. I'm directed to inform the house of representatives that the Senate has passed SB four C and request the concurrence of the house. Debbie brown secretary by Senator Bradley, Senate bill four C built to be entitled and act relat to independent special districts by sender Bradley Senate bill four C built to be entitled and act relat to independent special districts. The honorable Chris brow speaker. I am directed to inform the house of representatives of the Senate has passed SB six C [03:22:00] and requests the concurrence of the house. Debbie brown secretary by sender Bradley Senate bill C built to be entitled and act relating to social media platforms by Senator Bradley, Senate bill six C build to be entitled and act relating to social media platforms.

Speaker 1: All right, show Senate bill two C four C and six C rolled over for third reading are the resolutions on the desk,

Speaker 3: Not on the desk, Mr. Speaker. All

Speaker 1: Right, members. We're gonna see you back here tomorrow at 10:00 AM. Representative runner, you recognize for a motion,

Speaker 5: Mr. Your speaker, I moved at the house have to [03:22:30] receive and reports adjourn to reconvene Thursday, April 21st, 2022 at 10:00 AM or upon the call of the chair.

Speaker 1: All in favor, say aye. All oppos, no show. The motion is adopted. The house is adjourned.

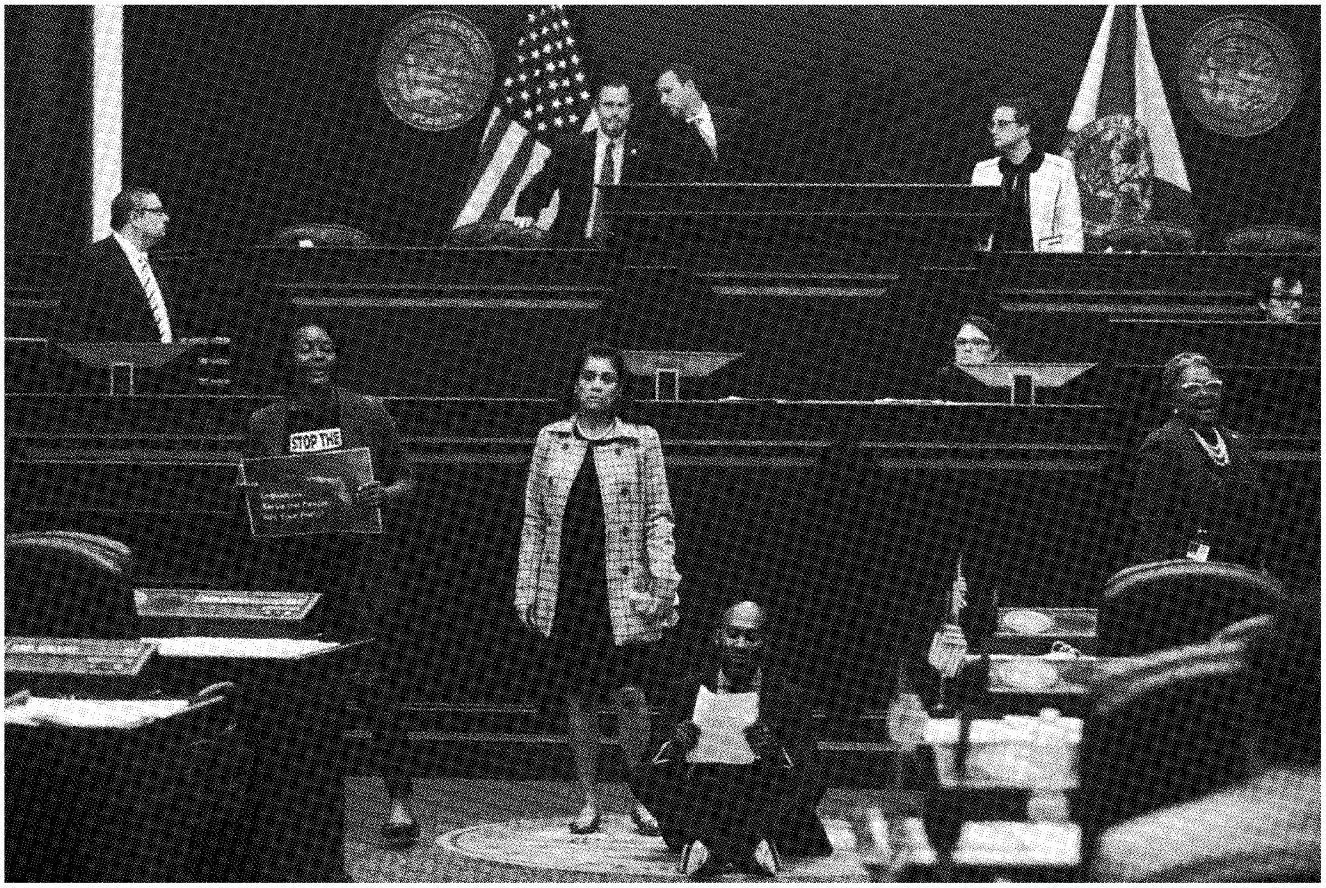
# Exhibit W

# DeSantis signs new congressional map into law as groups sue over redistricting

politico.com/news/2022/04/22/florida-quickly-sued-over-new-map-that-gives-big-wins-to-republicans-00027203

2022 redistricting

The suit was filed less than 24 hours after the GOP-controlled Legislature passed the bill as Black Democrats were loudly protesting on the House floor.




Democratic legislators protest as they halt debate on Senate Bill 2-C: Establishing the Congressional Districts of the State on the floor of the House of Representatives on Thursday, April 21, 2022, at the Capitol in Tallahassee, Fla. | Phil Sears/AP Photo

By Gary Fineout

04/22/2022 01:59 PM EDT

Updated: 04/22/2022 03:43 PM EDT

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — Several voting rights and civil rights organizations as well as a Democratic-aligned redistricting group sued over Florida's new congressional map on Friday, the same day Gov. Ron DeSantis signed the new map into law.

The new map hands significant gains to Republicans and dismantles the North Florida seat now held by a Black Democrat.

DeSantis announced that he signed the new map into law during a Friday news conference in Miami, where he also signed two bills punishing the Walt Disney Co. for publicly opposing the "Parental Rights in Education" measure, known as "Don't Say Gay" by opponents.

"We also did sign the congressional reapportionment in Tallahassee earlier today, so that's going to be transmitted," DeSantis said.

The League of Women Voters of Florida, which successfully challenged Florida's last round of maps passed a decade ago, filed the lawsuit in circuit court in Leon County, along with other organizations such as Black Voters Matters and Florida Rising, as well as 12 voters living across the state.

The groups filed the lawsuit less than 24 hours after the GOP-controlled Legislature passed the bill along party lines in chaotic fashion as Black Democrats were loudly protesting on the House floor while Republicans voted to send the map to DeSantis.

"The League and the other plaintiffs have chosen to not stand by while a rogue governor and a complicit state Legislature make a mockery of Florida's Constitution and try to silence the votes and voices of hundreds of thousands of Black voters," said Cecile Scoon, president of the League of Women Voters of Florida in a statement.

The National Redistricting Foundation, the group led by former U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder, is helping support the lawsuit, and lawyers from the Washington-based Elias Law Group are working on the challenge.

"Republicans across the country tried — and completely failed — to gerrymander their way to a congressional majority," Holder said in a statement. "In response to this defeat, DeSantis has bullied the legislature into enacting a map that does not allow for a fair electoral contest, and instead draws Republicans an illegitimate and illegal partisan advantage that they have not earned from the voters."

The governor's office as well as Senate President Wilton Simpson (R-Trilby) and Speaker Chris Sprowls (R-Palm Harbor) did not immediately respond to a request to comment.

But the lawsuit was well anticipated, and state legislators agreed to set aside $1 million along with the new map to help defend the proposal.

Florida gained one congressional seat in 2022 due to population growth, for a total of 28. Republicans currently hold a 16-11 edge, and the map that was initially approved by the Legislature last month would have increased the GOP advantage by two seats.

But DeSantis vetoed that map and insisted that it was unconstitutional because it still preserved a likely Black congressional seat in the Jacksonville area. His legal team maintained that such a configuration ran against recent U.S. Supreme Court rulings.

While Republicans called DeSantis' assessment a "novel legal theory," they accepted his argument and during a special session held this week passed his map, which they maintained was still "constitutional." That map would likely give Republicans a 20-8 edge.

But in their filings, the groups challenging the map contend the proposal violates Florida's voter-approved anti-gerrymandering standards — called Fair Districts — that were first approved by voters back in 2010.

The lawsuit alleges that the decision to break up the seat now held by Rep. Al Lawson (D-Fla.) in northern Florida runs counter to a Florida constitutional requirement that seats held by people of color cannot be diminished. Those suing also argue that the newly approved map is also defective because it is an "extreme" gerrymander that was done to aid Republicans even though state law says maps cannot be drawn to benefit one political party over another.

The map approved by the Legislature not only dismantles Lawson's seat, but changes the makeup of the seat now held by Rep. Val Demings (D-Fla.) so that Black voters no longer constitute the largest share of Democratic primary voters. The new map also would potentially lead to a flip of the seat in the Tampa Bay area now held by Rep. Charlie Crist (D-Fla.), who is not seeking a new term because he's running for governor. The Central Florida district held by retiring Rep. Stephanie Murphy (D-Fla.) would also become a GOP-friendly district.

*Andrew Atterbury contributed to this report.*

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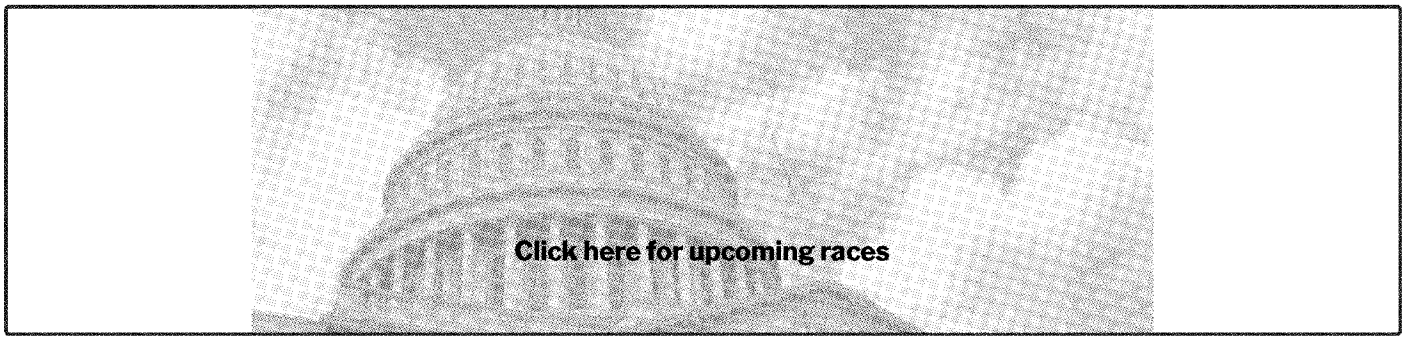
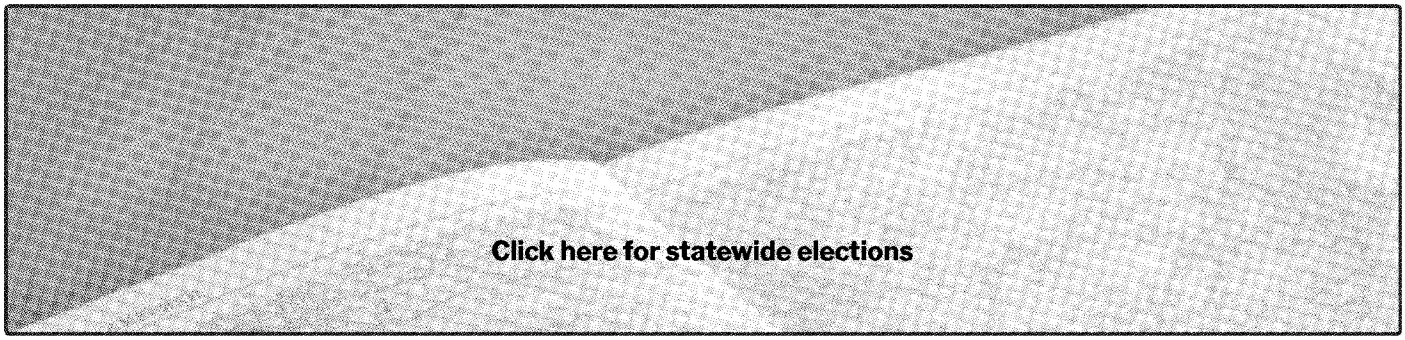
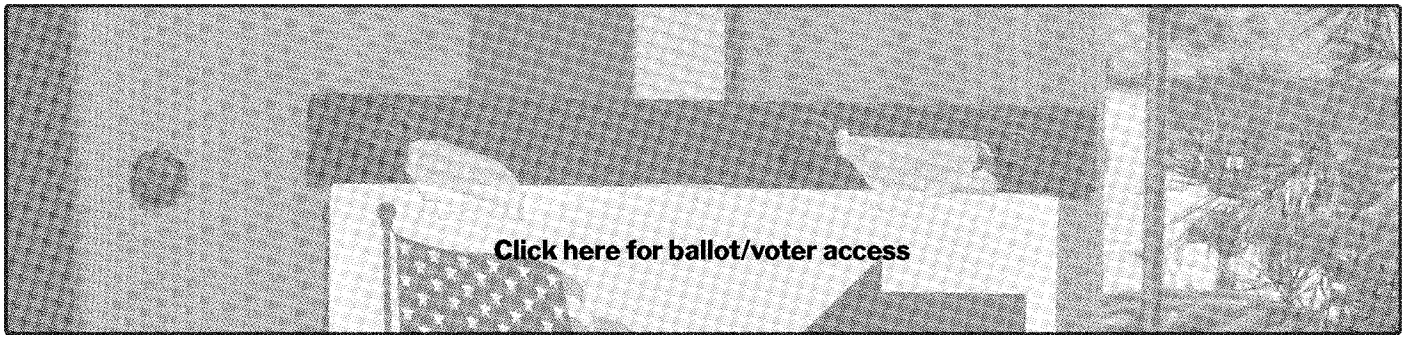
# Exhibit X

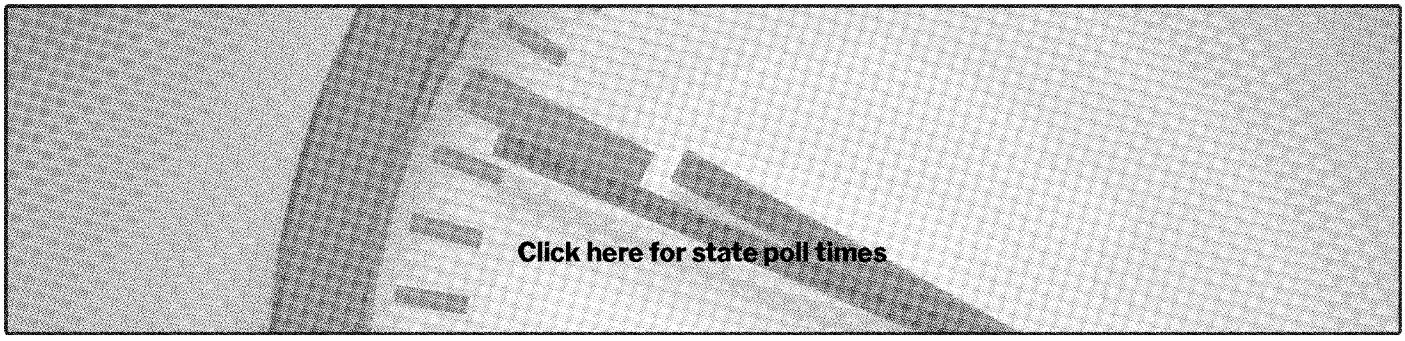
BP

# Statewide primary elections calendar



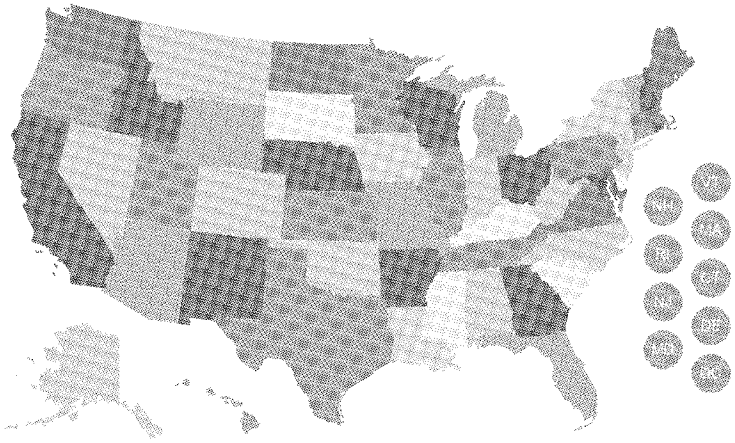






Election dates and deadlines vary across the country and at different levels of government. Election dates included in the list below are for primary elections in 2022.

*Click on your state below for relevant elections information:*



# Election calendars

- Upcoming elections
- Statewide elections
- Congressional elections
- Ballot measure elections
- Local elections
- Recall elections
- Elections by state and year
- State filing deadlines
- Ballot and voter access

# Election coverage

- U.S. Congress
- State executives
- State legislatures
- State judges
- State measures
- Local measures
- Municipal officials
- Mayors
- School boards
- Local judges
- Recalls

# Statewide primary elections calendar

| State | District | Description | Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| **What's on your ballot? Enter your address into Ballotpedia's Sample Ballot Lookup tool to find out!** | | | |
| Wisconsin | Wisconsin spring primary | Wisconsin spring primary | February 15, 2022 |
| Arkansas | Libertarian Party statewide convention | Libertarian Party statewide convention | February 20, 2022 |
| Texas | Texas statewide primary | Texas statewide primary | March 1, 2022 |
| Indiana | Libertarian Party statewide convention | Libertarian Party statewide convention | March 5, 2022 |
| Colorado | Colorado Libertarian convention | Colorado Libertarian convention | March 12, 2022 |
| Texas | Libertarian Party county conventions | Libertarian Party county conventions | March 12, 2022 |
| Texas | Libertarian Party district conventions | Libertarian Party district conventions | March 19, 2022 |
| Colorado | Approval Voting Party convention in Colorado | Approval Voting Party convention in Colorado | March 26, 2022 |
| Utah | Utah county party convention date | Utah county party convention date | March 30, 2022 |
| Texas | Green Party statewide convention | Green Party statewide convention | April 9, 2022 |
| Utah | Utah Libertarian Party statewide convention date | Utah Libertarian Party statewide convention date | April 9, 2022 |
| Texas | Libertarian Party statewide convention | Libertarian Party statewide convention | April 10, 2022 |
| Utah | United Utah Party statewide convention date | United Utah Party statewide convention date | April 16, 2022 |
| Utah | Utah state party convention date | Utah state party convention date | April 23, 2022 |
| Indiana | Indiana statewide primary | Indiana statewide primary | May 3, 2022 |
| Ohio | Ohio statewide primary | Ohio statewide primary | May 3, 2022 |
| Nebraska | Nebraska statewide primary | Nebraska statewide primary | May 10, 2022 |
| West Virginia | West Virginia statewide primary | West Virginia statewide primary | May 10, 2022 |
| Idaho | Idaho statewide primary | Idaho statewide primary | May 17, 2022 |
| Kentucky | Kentucky statewide primary | Kentucky statewide primary | May 17, 2022 |
| North Carolina | North Carolina statewide primary election | North Carolina statewide primary election | May 17, 2022 |
| Oregon | Oregon statewide primary | Oregon statewide primary | May 17, 2022 |
| Pennsylvania | Pennsylvania statewide primary | Pennsylvania statewide primary | May 17, 2022 |
| Alabama | Alabama statewide primary | Alabama statewide primary | May 24, 2022 |
| Arkansas | Arkansas statewide primary | Arkansas statewide primary | May 24, 2022 |
| Georgia | Georgia statewide primary | Georgia statewide primary | May 24, 2022 |
| California | California statewide primary | California statewide primary | June 7, 2022 |
| Iowa | Iowa statewide primary | Iowa statewide primary | June 7, 2022 |
| Mississippi | Mississippi statewide primary | Mississippi statewide primary | June 7, 2022 |
| Montana | Montana statewide primary election | Montana statewide primary election | June 7, 2022 |
| New Jersey | New Jersey statewide primary | New Jersey statewide primary | June 7, 2022 |
| New Mexico | New Mexico statewide primary election | New Mexico statewide primary election | June 7, 20 |
| South Dakota | South Dakota statewide primary | South Dakota statewide primary | June 7, 20 |
| Maine | Maine statewide primary | Maine statewide primary | June 14, 2022 |

| State | District | Description | Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| **What's on your ballot? Enter your address into Ballotpedia's Sample Ballot Lookup tool to find out!** | | | |
| North Dakota | North Dakota statewide primary | North Dakota statewide primary | June 14, 2022 |
| Nevada | Nevada statewide primary | Nevada statewide primary | June 14, 2022 |
| South Carolina | South Carolina statewide primary | South Carolina statewide primary | June 14, 2022 |
| District of Columbia | Washington, D.C., primary | Washington, D.C., primary | June 21, 2022 |
| Virginia | Virginia statewide primary election | Virginia statewide primary election | June 21, 2022 |
| South Dakota | South Dakota statewide Republican convention date | South Dakota statewide Republican convention date | June 23, 2022 |
| Colorado | Colorado statewide primary | Colorado statewide primary | June 28, 2022 |
| Illinois | Illinois statewide primary election | Illinois statewide primary election | June 28, 2022 |
| New York | New York statewide primary | New York statewide primary | June 28, 2022 |
| Oklahoma | Oklahoma statewide primary | Oklahoma statewide primary | June 28, 2022 |
| Utah | Utah statewide primary | Utah statewide primary | June 28, 2022 |
| Maryland | Maryland statewide primary | Maryland statewide primary | July 19, 2022 |
| Arizona | Arizona statewide primary | Arizona statewide primary | August 2, 2022 |
| Kansas | Kansas statewide primary election | Kansas statewide primary election | August 2, 2022 |
| Michigan | Michigan statewide primary | Michigan statewide primary | August 2, 2022 |
| Missouri | Missouri statewide primary | Missouri statewide primary | August 2, 2022 |
| Washington | Washington statewide primary | Washington statewide primary | August 2, 2022 |
| Tennessee | Tennessee statewide primary | Tennessee statewide primary | August 4, 2022 |
| Virgin Islands | U.S. Virgin Islands primary election | U.S. Virgin Islands primary election | August 6, 2022 |
| Connecticut | Connecticut statewide primary | Connecticut statewide primary | August 9, 2022 |
| Minnesota | Minnesota statewide primary | Minnesota statewide primary | August 9, 2022 |
| Vermont | Vermont statewide primary | Vermont statewide primary | August 9, 2022 |
| Wisconsin | Fall partisan primary | Fall partisan primary | August 9, 2022 |
| Hawaii | Hawaii statewide primary | Hawaii statewide primary | August 13, 2022 |
| Alaska | Alaska statewide primary | Alaska statewide primary | August 16, 2022 |
| Wyoming | Wyoming statewide primary | Wyoming statewide primary | August 16, 2022 |
| Florida | Florida statewide primary | Florida statewide primary | August 23, 2022 |
| Guam | Guam territory primary election | Guam territory primary election | August 27, 2022 |
| Massachusetts | Massachusetts statewide primary | Massachusetts statewide primary | September 6, 2022 |
| Delaware | Delaware statewide primary | Delaware statewide primary | September 13, 2022 |
| New Hampshire | New Hampshire statewide primary | New Hampshire statewide primary | September 13, 2022 |
| Rhode Island | Rhode Island statewide primary | Rhode Island statewide primary | September 13, 2022 |
| Louisiana | Louisiana statewide primary election | Louisiana statewide primary election | November 8, 2022 |

Please note that these dates are subject to scheduling changes at the local, state, and federal levels of government.

*If we are missing any events or elections, please email Ballotpedia.*

## See also

**Calendars**

- 2022 elections calendar
- 2021 elections calendar
- 2020 elections calendar
- 2019 elections calendar

**Statewide primary elections**

- Democratic Party primaries, 2022
- Republican Party primaries, 2022

**Elections**

- Election results
- Elections by state and year
- Election Policy

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# Exhibit Y

# Florida Black Population Percentage by County

| Data Item | State |
| --- | --- |
| Black or African American alone, percent | Florida |

Map | Rank | Table

Black or African American alone, percent - (Percent)

| County | Value |
| --- | --- |
| Alachua | 20.6 |
| Baker | 14.0 |
| Bay | 11.7 |
| Bradford | 20.1 |
| Brevard | 10.7 |
| Broward | 30.1 |
| Calhoun | 13.2 |
| Charlotte | 6.0 |
| Citrus | 3.1 |
| Clay | 12.3 |
| Collier | 7.4 |
| Columbia | 18.5 |
| DeSoto | 12.6 |
| Dixie | 9.8 |
| Duval | 30.6 |
| Escambia | 23.2 |
| Flagler | 10.7 |
| Franklin | 12.4 |
| Gadsden | 55.8 |
| Gilchrist | 5.6 |
| Glades | 13.8 |
| Gulf | 17.0 |
| Hamilton | 32.8 |
| Hardee | 7.5 |
| Hendry | 12.1 |

| County | Value |
|---|---|
| Hernando | 6.0 |
| Highlands | 10.5 |
| Hillsborough | 17.8 |
| Holmes | 6.7 |
| Indian River | 9.5 |
| Jackson | 26.9 |
| Jefferson | 34.3 |
| Lafayette | 13.5 |
| Lake | 11.3 |
| Lee | 9.1 |
| Leon | 31.7 |
| Levy | 9.4 |
| Liberty | 19.6 |
| Madison | 37.8 |
| Manatee | 9.1 |
| Marion | 13.5 |
| Martin | 5.7 |
| Monroe | 6.9 |
| Nassau | 6.0 |
| Okaloosa | 10.3 |
| Okeechobee | 9.0 |
| Orange | 22.7 |
| Osceola | 13.9 |
| Palm Beach | 19.7 |
| Pasco | 6.5 |
| Pinellas | 11.1 |
| Polk | 16.1 |
| Putnam | 16.4 |
| Santa Rosa | 6.5 |
| Sarasota | 4.8 |
| Seminole | 12.9 |
| St. Johns | 5.5 |
| St. Lucie | 21.0 |

| County | Value |
|---|---|
| Sumter | 7.5 |
| Suwannee | 12.8 |
| Taylor | 19.6 |
| Union | 22.7 |
| Volusia | 11.4 |
| Wakulla | 13.1 |
| Walton | 5.2 |
| Washington | 14.9 |

**Value for Florida (Percent):** 16.9%

**Data item:** Black or African American alone, percent

**Sources:** U.S. Census Bureau, Population Estimates Program (PEP). Updated annually. Population and Housing Unit Estimates

U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey (ACS). Updated annually. American Community Survey

**About**

The Race estimates of the population are produced for the United States, states, and counties by the Population Esimates Program and the race estimates of the population are produced for Puerto Rico, muncipios (county-equivalents for Puerto Rico), places, zona urbanas and comunidades (place-equivalents for Puerto Rico), and minor civil divisions by the AmericanCommunity Survey.

The U.S. Census Bureau collects race data in accordance with guidelines provided by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB), and these data are based on self-identification.The racial categories included in the census questionnaire generally reflect a social definition of race recognized in this country and not an attempt to define race biologically, anthropologically, or genetically. In addition, it is recognized that the categories of the race item include racial and national origin or sociocultural groups. People may choose toreport more than one race to indicate their racial mixture, such as "American Indian" and "White." People who identify their origin as Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish may be of any race.

OMB requires that race data be collectd for a minimum of five groups: White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other PacificIslander. OMB permits the Census Bureau to also use a sixth category - Some Other Race. Respondents may report more than one race.

**The concept of race is separate from the concept of Hispanic origin.** Percentages for the various race categories add to 100 percent, and should not be combined with the percent Hispanic.

**Definition**

**White.** A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa. It includes people who indicate their race as "White"or report entries such as Irish, German, Italian, Lebanese, Arab, Moroccan, or Caucasian.

**Black or African American.** A person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa. It includes people who indicate their race as "Black or AfricanAmerican," or report entries such as African American, Kenyan, Nigerian, or Haitian.

**American Indian and Alaska Native.** A person having origins in any of the original peoples of North and South America (including Central America) and who maintainstribal affiliation or community attachment. This category includes people who indicate their race as "American Indian or Alaska Native" or report entries such as Navajo, Blackfeet, Inupiat, Yup'ik, or Central American Indian groups or South American Indian groups.

**Asian.** A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent including, for example, Cambodia, China,India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam. This includes people who reported detailed Asian responses such as: "Asian Indian," "Chinese,""Filipino," "Korean," "Japanese," "Vietnamese," and "Other Asian" or provide other detailed Asian responses.

**Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander.** A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands. It includespeople who reported their race as "Fijian," "Guamanian or Chamorro," "Marshallese," "Native Hawaiian," "Samoan," "Tongan," and "Other Pacific Islander" or provide other detailed PacificIslander responses.

**Two or more races.** People may choose to provide two or more races either by checking two or more race response check boxes, by providing multiple responses, or by some combination of check boxes and other responses. For data product purposes, "Two or More Races" refers to combinations of two or more of the following race categories:"White," "Black or African American," American Indian or Alaska Native," "Asian," Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander," or "Some Other Race"

**Data users should be aware of methodology differences that may exist between different data sources.**

Methodology for U.S. and Puerto Rico

# Exhibit 2

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC., *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

LAUREL M. LEE, in her official capacity as Florida Secretary of State, *et al.*,

Defendants.

**AFFIDAVIT OF DR. STEPHEN ANSOLABEHERE**

STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS
COUNTY OF SUFFOLK

BEFORE ME, the undersigned authority, personally appeared Stephen Ansolabehere, who, after first being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I was retained by Plaintiffs in *Black Voters Matter Capacity Building Inst., Inc. et al. v. Lee et al.*

2. I prepared an expert report in support of the Plaintiffs' motion for a temporary injunction. The expert report is true and correct to the best of my personal knowledge.

3. If called to testify under oath, my testimony would be consistent with my report.

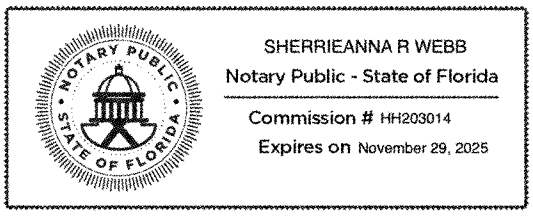
FURTHER AFFIANT SAYETH NOT.

Stephen Daniel Ansolabehere

Stephen Ansolabehere

State of Florida County of Orange County

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED before me this 26th day of April 2022, by Stephen Daniel Ansolabehere, who (check one) ☐ is personally known to me, ☑ produced a driver's license (issued by a state of the United States within the last five (5) years) as identification, or ☐ produced other identification, to wit:




Notarized online using audio-video communication

Print Name: Sherrieanna R Webb
Notary Public, State of Florida
Commission No.: HH203014
My Commission Expires: 11/29/2025

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

| | |
|---|---|
| BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC., et al.,<br><br>Plaintiffs,<br><br>v.<br><br>LAUREL M. LEE, in her official capacity as Florida Secretary of State, et al.,<br><br>Defendants. | Case No. 2022-ca-000666 |

**EXPERT REPORT OF DR. STEPHEN ANSOLABEHERE**

**IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR TEMPORARY INJUNCTION**

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. I have been asked by Plaintiffs' counsel in this matter to evaluate the U.S. Congressional District ("CD") map enacted by the State of Florida on April 22, 2022 (the "Enacted Map"). Specifically, I have been asked to conduct a functional analysis to determine whether the Enacted Map results in the diminishment of racial or language minorities' ability to elect the representatives of their choice in North Florida. At this time, I have not been asked to opine on other aspects of the Enacted Map, including its potential partisan bias or its compliance with other Tier I or Tier II criteria.

2. This report compares the Enacted Map to (i) the plan the Florida Supreme Court adopted in its decision issued on December 2, 2015 (the "Benchmark Map"), (ii) the plan passed by the Florida State Senate, known as Plan 8060, on January 20, 2022 (the "Senate Map"), and (iii) the plan passed by the full Legislature on March 4 in the event its initial map was invalidated (the "Backup Map"). The Senate Map and Backup Map provide reference cases for determining whether the changes in the Enacted Map were required to meet equal population or to otherwise comply with Florida law as determined by the Florida Legislature.

3. A comparison of the Enacted Map to the Benchmark Map reveals that the Enacted Map diminishes the ability of Black voters to elect their candidates of choice in North Florida.

4. Under the Benchmark Map, 367,467 Black Floridians and 472,361 racial minorities resided in CD-5. Under the Enacted Map, not one of these individuals will reside in a district in which they have the ability to elect their candidates of choice.

5. The Senate Map and Backup Map show that it was possible for the Florida Legislature to equalize population without diminishing the ability of Black voters to elect their candidate of choice in North Florida.

## QUALIFICATIONS AND EXPERTISE

6. I am the Frank G. Thompson Professor of Government in the Department of Government at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Formerly, I was an Assistant Professor at the University of California, Los Angeles, and I was Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where I held the Elting R. Morison Chair and served as Associate Head of the Department of Political Science. I am the Principal Investigator of the Cooperative Election Study ("CES"), a survey research consortium of over 250 faculty and student researchers at more than 50 universities. I also directed the Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project from its inception in 2000 through 2004 and served on the Board of Overseers of the American National Election Study from 1999 to 2013. I am an election analyst for, and consultant to, CBS News' Election Night Decision Desk. I am a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (inducted in 2007). My curriculum vitae is attached to this report.

7. I have extensive experience serving as an expert in election and redistricting cases. I worked as a consultant to the Brennan Center in the case of *McConnell v. FEC*, 540 U.S. 93 (2003). I have testified before the U.S. Senate Committee on Rules, the U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, the U.S. House Committee on Science, Space, and Technology, the U.S. House Committee on House Administration, and the Congressional Black Caucus on matters of election administration in the United States. I filed an amicus brief with Professors Nathaniel Persily and Charles Stewart on behalf of neither party to the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of *Northwest Austin Municipal Utility District Number One v. Holder*, 557 U.S. 193 (2009), and an amicus brief with Professor Nathaniel Persily and others in the case of *Evenwel v. Abbott*, 138 S.Ct. 1120 (2015). I have served as a testifying expert in 16 voting rights, election administration, and redistricting cases since 2011, as set forth in my C.V., including in the prior challenge to Florida's congressional plan in *Romo v. Detzner*, in the Circuit Court of the Second Judicial Circuit in Florida, Case No. 2012 CA 412. I also served as an expert witness and filed an Affidavit in the North Carolina State Board of Elections hearings regarding absentee ballot fraud in the 2018 election for Congressional District 9 in North Carolina, and served as a consulting expert to the Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission in 2021. I have been accepted as an expert in every matter in which I have been proffered as an expert witness.

8. My areas of expertise include American government, with particular expertise in electoral politics, election administration, representation, redistricting, political geography, and public opinion, as well as statistical methods in social sciences and survey research methods. I have authored numerous scholarly works on voting behavior and elections, the application of statistical methods in social sciences, legislative politics and representation, and distributive politics. This scholarship includes articles in such academic journals as the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, American Political Science Review, American Economic Review, American Journal of Political Science, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Quarterly Journal of Political Science, Electoral Studies, and Political Analysis. I have published articles on issues of election law in the Harvard Law Review, Texas Law Review, Columbia Law Review, New York University Annual Survey of Law, and Election Law Journal, for which I am a member of the editorial board. I have served as associate editor of the Harvard Data Science Review and as associate editor of the Public Opinion Quarterly. I have coauthored three scholarly books on electoral politics in the United States, The End of Inequality: Baker v. Carr and the Transformation of American Politics, Going Negative: How Political Advertising Shrinks and Polarizes the Electorate, and The Media Game: American Politics in the Media Age. I am coauthor with Benjamin Ginsberg, Hahrie Han, and Ken Shepsle of American Government: Power and Purpose.

9. I am being compensated at a rate of $600 an hour. My compensation is in no way contingent upon the conclusions or results of my analysis.

## METHODOLOGY

### A. Maps Compared in this Analysis

10. This analysis compares four maps: the Benchmark Map, the Enacted Map, the Senate Map, and the Backup Map.

11. The Benchmark Map was ordered to be adopted by Florida Supreme Court in 2015. It is shown in Map 1.

12. The Enacted Map is Plan P000C0109 and was enacted into law on April 22, 2022. See Map 2.

13. The Senate Map is Plan S035C8060 and was passed by the Florida Senate on January 20, 2022. See Map 3.

14. The Backup Map is Plan H000C8015. See Map 4. This map was approved by the Florida Legislature on March 4, 2022 as a backup plan if the Legislature's first plan, Plan 8017, was invalidated. The Governor subsequently vetoed the Legislature's plans.

### B. Data Sources

15. The maps I analyzed for this report come from the Florida Redistricting website: https://www.floridaredistricting.gov/pages/submitted-plans.

16. Census, voting, and district boundary data are from the U.S. Census Bureau API. Maps are from the redistricting website of the Florida State government: https://www.floridaredistricting.gov/pages/submitted-plans. Citizen voting age population ("CVAP") data are sourced from the Census Special Tabulation: https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/about/voting-rights/cvap.html. CVAP data is estimated to Census blocks proportionally from Census block groups by race group. District-level election data and results come from the Florida Department of State, Division of Elections: https://www.dos.myflorida.com/elections/data-statistics/elections-data/election-results-archive/. Precinct level data come from the Voting and Election Science Team: https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/electionscience. Precinct data are cross-walked to census block data following the process of the ALARM Census data: https://github.com/alarm-redist/census-2020. Voter registration data was provided to me by counsel, who received the data from the Florida Secretary of State's Office.

### C. Functional Analysis

17. To determine whether racial minorities in a district have the ability to elect their candidate of choice, I conduct a functional analysis. A functional analysis considers the racial composition of the population and

eligible electorate, the racial composition of registered voters, the racial composition of voter participation, and an analysis of election outcomes.

18. I calculate the racial composition of each district using data from the U.S. Census Bureau. The measure of the voting age population ("VAP") is from the 2020 Census Enumeration. I use the 2016-2020 American Community Survey ("ACS") measure of CVAP of each of the racial groups to determine the percent of the eligible electorate from each racial group. Florida Supreme Court decisions regarding the Benchmark Map relied on VAP as a standard for determining minority representation. In other contexts and in academic research, CVAP is commonly used, as that is a proximate measure of the eligible electorate. For both the VAP and CVAP, I compute the percent of people who identify as Hispanic, Non-Hispanic White Alone, Non-Hispanic Any Part Black, or Non-Hispanic Other races.

19. To measure voter registration statistics, I aggregated data from the Florida voter file to the precinct and district level to calculate the number of people in each racial group who are registered to vote and who voted in recent general and primary elections.

20. I assess the electoral performance of districts to determine where candidates preferred by the various racial groups have the opportunity to win. I use precinct-level election data from each of the following statewide general elections: U.S. President 2020, U.S. Senate 2018, Governor 2018, Attorney General 2018, Chief Financial Officer 2018, Agriculture Commissioner 2018,

U.S. President 2016, and U.S. Senate 2016. I average the election results of these offices to gauge the underlying partisan balance of votes in each precinct. I assign the precincts to specific districts within each map and then aggregate the votes within each precinct. When precincts are split, I apportion the votes to each precinct based upon the percent of population in the precinct assigned to each district that splits the precinct.

21. I measure the preferences of different racial groups using ecological regression. This technique estimates the best fitting linear relationship between the percent of the electorate that is of a particular group and the vote share won by a party or candidate to estimate the rate at which the group votes for that party or candidate. I use this method to estimate the preferences of Non-Hispanic Blacks, Non-Hispanic Whites, and All Minorities Combined in the CDs in North Florida.[1] Ecological regression is a standard method used to measure the electoral preferences of racial groups. It was recognized in *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30 (1986), as a legally acceptable method for determining the preferences of racial groups and measuring racial cohesion and polarization. It has been widely used since, including in cases involving racial diminishment under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. I relied on it in my expert reports in *Romo v. Detzner* to conduct a functional

[1] Ecological regression estimates for specific non-Black minority groups are not reliable and have very high margins of area for the CDs in this area. This arises because the populations of non-Black minority groups in this area are relatively small and not densely populated. As a result, I provide estimates for All Minority Groups Combined, as well as for Non-Hispanic Blacks and Non-Hispanic Whites.

analysis for CD-5 and other districts in the Florida Congressional District Maps under consideration in that case.

22. To determine whether a given racial group has the ability to elect its candidates of choice in districts, I compute the percent of average vote won by the party and candidates preferred by that group in each of the eight statewide general elections, in the average of these elections, and, for the Benchmark Map, in the three U.S. House elections in CD-5 that occurred under that map. I consider a district to be one in which a given racial group has the ability to elect its candidates of choice if the candidates preferred by that group in fact received a plurality of votes cast in most of the elections analyzed.

**MAJORITY-MINORITY DISTRICTS**

23. I begin with an accounting of the number of majority-minority CDs in the Benchmark, Enacted, Senate, and Backup Maps.

24. The Benchmark Map has 10 CDs in which minorities are the majority of the VAP. These are Benchmark CD-5, Benchmark CD-9, Benchmark CD-10, Benchmark CD-14, Benchmark CD-20, Benchmark CD-23, Benchmark CD-24, Benchmark CD-25, Benchmark CD-26, and Benchmark CD-27. See Table 1.

25. The Enacted Map has 9 CDs in which minorities are the majority of the VAP. These are Enacted CD-9, Enacted CD-10, Enacted CD-14, Enacted CD-20, Enacted CD-24, Enacted CD-25, Enacted CD-26, Enacted CD-27, and Enacted CD-28. See Table 2.

26. The Enacted Map divides the Black population and voters who were in Benchmark CD-5 into four separate CDs in which whites are a majority of the VAP.

27. Like the Benchmark Map, the Senate Map has 10 majority-minority VAP districts. They are Senate CD-5, Senate CD-9, Senate CD-10, Senate CD-14, Senate CD-20, Senate CD-23, Senate CD-24, Senate CD-25, Senate CD-26, and Senate CD-27. See Table 3.

28. The Backup Map similarly has 10 majority-minority VAP districts. They are Backup CD-5, Backup CD-9, Backup CD-10, Backup CD-14, Backup CD-20, Backup CD-24, Backup CD-25, Backup CD-26, Backup CD-27, and Backup 28. See Table 4.

29. The Benchmark Map, Senate Map, and Backup Map also each have 9 CDs in which minorities comprise the majority of the CVAP. In each of these Maps, the majority-minority CVAP CDs are CD-5, CD-9, CD-10, CD-20, CD-23, CD-24, CD-25, CD-26, and CD-27. See Tables 1, 3, and 4. The Enacted Map, by contrast, has only 8 CDs in which minorities are the majority of the CVAP. These are Enacted CD-9, Enacted CD-10, Enacted CD-20, Enacted CD-24, Enacted CD-25, Enacted CD-26, Enacted CD-27, and Enacted CD-28. See Table 2.

30. Both the Senate Map and the Backup Map comply with population equality requirements. In each map, every district has 769,221 people, except one, which has 769,220.

31. In sum, the Enacted Map reduces the number of majority-minority CDs, using either VAP or CVAP as the standard. The Senate Map and Backup Map demonstrate that this was not necessary to achieve population equality.

## FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF CD-5

### A. Benchmark CD-5

32. Benchmark CD-5 is a majority-minority district in which Blacks are the predominant minority group. According to the 2020 Census, Benchmark CD-5 has a minority population of 472,361 people, which is 63.1% of the total population of the district. It has a Black population of 367,467, which accounts for 49.1% of the total population and 77.7% of the minority population in this district.

33. Benchmark CD-5 is a district in which Black voters have the opportunity to elect their preferred candidates.

34. First, racial minorities are the majority of registered voters in Benchmark CD-5, and Black voters are the largest group of registered voters. Black voters comprise 45.3% of registered voters in Benchmark CD-5. Whites are 42.1% of registered voters. All other groups comprise 12.6% of registered voters in Benchmark CD-5. See Table 8.

35. Second, minorities cast the majority of votes in the 2016, 2018, and 2020 general elections under Benchmark CD-5. According to voter history data of the State of Florida, under Benchmark CD-5, 44.4% of voters in the

November 3, 2020 general election were Black, 4.3% were Hispanic, 44.9% were White, and 6.5% were other races. In the 2018 general election, 47.2% of voters were Black, 3.2% were Hispanic, 44.7% were White, and 5.0% were other races. In the 2016 general election, 46.6% of voters were Black, 3.3% were Hispanic, 45.2% were White, and 4.9% were other races. See Table 9. Thus, minorities cast the majority of votes in general elections under Benchmark CD-5, and Black voters were the largest group of voters in all of these elections.

36. Third, Black voters were the largest racial group of voters in all of the Democratic primaries under Benchmark CD-5, and a majority of all voters in two of the three primaries. Vote history statistics of registered voters indicate that 50.8% of voters in the August 18, 2020, primary election under Benchmark CD-5 identified as Black, 2.1% identified as Hispanic, 43.0% identified as White, and the remainder were other races. 50.4% of voters in the 2018 Democratic Primary election under Benchmark CD-5 identified as Black, and 48.2% of voters in the 2016 Democratic primary election under Benchmark CD-5 identified as Black. See Table 10.

37. Fourth, Black voters are cohesive in elections under Benchmark CD-5. Ecological regression estimates reveal that 89% of Black voters in the precincts in Benchmark CD-5 voted for Democratic candidates across the eight statewide general elections examined. See Table 11. Minorities as a whole voted 83% for Democratic candidates in statewide general elections under Benchmark CD-5. See Table 11.

38. Fifth, Black voters have the ability to elect their candidates of choice in Benchmark CD-5. In the 8 statewide general elections I examined, Black-preferred candidates won a majority of the vote in precincts covered by Benchmark CD-5. See Table 13.

39. Finally, under Benchmark CD-5, Black voters elected a Black candidate in each of the U.S. House elections held under Benchmark CD-5. In 2016, 2018, and 2020, approximately 90% of Black voters in Benchmark CD-5 chose Al Lawson to be their Representative in the U.S. House. See Table 12. Al Lawson ultimately won 65% of the general election vote in 2020, 67% of the general election vote in 2018, and 64% of the general election vote in 2016.

40. In sum, Benchmark CD-5 is a district in which Black voters have the ability to elect their preferred candidates to Congress.

### B. Enacted Map and North Florida

41. A functional analysis demonstrates that Black voters in the Enacted Map will no longer be able to elect a candidate of their choice in North Florida, which I define for the purposes of this report as the area encompassing Enacted Congressional Districts 1-5.

42. The Enacted Map divides the area and populations that comprise Benchmark CD-5 across four districts. Enacted CD-2 takes the entirety of the Tallahassee area and surrounding counties. Enacted CD-3 takes Hamilton, Columbia, and Baker Counties from the center of Benchmark CD-5. Most of the population of Benchmark CD-5 that was in Duval County is reassigned to

Enacted CD-4. And a handful of precincts from Benchmark CD-5 are put into Enacted CD-5.

43. Enacted CD-4 is the district with the highest population that comes from Benchmark CD-5. Under the Enacted Map, only 45.2% of the population and only 12.3% of the land mass of Benchmark CD-5 remains in Enacted CD-4. The remaining 54.8% of the population of Benchmark CD-5 is divided across Enacted CD-2, Enacted CD-3, and Enacted CD-5. See Table 5.

44. None of the Enacted CDs in North Florida (i.e., CD-2, CD-3, CD-4, or CD-5) are majority-minority VAP or CVAP districts. See Table 2.

45. None of the Enacted CDs in this area are majority-minority in voter registration. White voters are the majority of registered voters in Enacted CD-2, Enacted CD-3, Enacted CD-4, and Enacted CD-5. See Table 8.

46. In the precincts incorporated into each of the Enacted CDs in this area, white voters cast the majority of votes in the 2016, 2018, and 2020 General Elections. See Table 9.

47. In the precincts incorporated into each of the Enacted CDs in this area, white voters cast the majority of votes in the 2016, 2018, and 2020 Democratic primary elections. See Table 10.

48. In Enacted CD-2, Enacted CD-3, Enacted CD-4, and Enacted CD-5, white voters cohesively voted for Republican candidates—the candidates opposed to the Black-preferred candidates—in all eight of the general elections examined. Of these four CDs, Enacted CD-4 has the highest overlap with the

population of Benchmark CD-4. In Enacted CD-4, 82% of white voters chose Republican candidates, while only 18% chose Democratic candidates, *i.e.*, the candidates preferred by 89% of Black voters (and 83% of all minority voters). See Table 11.

49. In all four of these CDs, the white-preferred candidates won the majority of votes cast in all eight of the general elections examined, as well as the majority of the average vote. Focusing again on Enacted CD-4, which is the closest analogue in the Enacted Map to Benchmark CD-5, Republican candidates, on average, won 55.3% of the vote in statewide general elections and won the majority of the vote in all 8 of the statewide elections examined. Enacted CD-2, Enacted CD-3, Enacted CD-4, and Enacted CD-5 are all districts in which candidates preferred by white voters will have the ability to elect their preferred candidates. See Table 13. None of these districts are districts in which Black voters have the ability to elect their candidates of choice.

50. Thus, the Enacted Map does not create an alternative version of Benchmark CD-5 or any other CD in which Blacks or any other minority group in this region will have the ability to elect their candidate of chice. In every Enacted CD in North Florida, white voters are the majority of the VAP; they are the majority of the CVAP; they are the majority of registered voters; they cast the majority of general election votes; they cast the majority of Democratic

Primary votes; and the candidates they cohesively support win all statewide elections examined.

51. In sum, Enacted CD-5 disperses the Black voters that previously resided in Benchmark CD-5 among majority-white districts where the white residents vote cohesively for candidates that are not supported by Black voters. Accordingly, under the Enacted Map, Black voters will no longer be able to elect their candidate of choice in North Florida.

### C. Legislature's Alternative Maps

52. At least two maps proposed by members of the Florida Legislature during the redistricting process demonstrate that it is possible to maintain Benchmark CD-5 as a district in which minorities have the ability to elect their candidates of choice while achieving population equality. Two examples are the Senate Map and the Backup Map.

53. The Senate Map makes minor changes to Benchmark CD-5 to equalize population and accommodate changes in surrounding districts' boundaries. Under the Senate Map, 86% of the population of Benchmark CD-5 and 92.1% of the area covered by Benchmark CD-5 remain in Senate CD-5. See Table 6.

54. Senate CD-5 is majority-minority VAP and CVAP district. See Table 3.

55. Under the Senate Map, CD-5 is a district in which minorities comprise the majority of registered voters, and Black voters are by far the largest minority group in terms of voter registration. See Table 8.

56. Under the Senate Map, CD-5 is a district in which minorities comprise the majority of voters in the 2016, 2018, and 2020 general elections, with Black voters comprising the biggest share. Overall, under Senate CD-5, Black voters alone cast 42.1% of the general election vote in 2020, 45.0% of the general election vote in 2018, and 44.4% of the general election vote in 2016. See Table 9.

57. Under Senate CD-5, minority voters cast the majority of votes in the Democratic primaries in 2018 and 2020, while white voters cast 50.1% of votes in the 2016 Democratic primary. Black voters cast 48.7% of the Democratic primary election vote in 2020, 48.3% of the Democratic primary election vote in 2018, and 45.7% of the Democratic primary election vote in 2016. See Table 10.

58. Under Senate CD-5, Black voters vote cohesively and have the ability to elect their preferred candidates. In the precincts covered by Senate CD-5, 89% of Black voters voted for Democratic candidates across 8 statewide general elections. See Table 11.

59. The candidates preferred by Black voters won the majority of votes in the precincts covered by Senate CD-5 in all 8 of the statewide elections examined. See Table 13.

60. Like the Senate Map, the Backup Map makes minor changes to Benchmark CD-5 to equalize population and accommodate changes in surrounding districts' boundaries. Under the Backup Map, 85.7% of the population of Benchmark CD-5 and 92.7% of the area covered by Benchmark CD-5 remain in the Backup CD-5. See Table 7.

61. Backup CD-5 is majority-minority VAP and CVAP district. See Table 4.

62. Under the Backup Map, CD-5 is a district in which minorities comprise the majority of registered voters, and Black voters are by far the largest minority group in terms of voter registration. See Table 8.

63. Under the Backup Map, CD-5 is a district in which minorities comprise the majority of voters in the 2016, 2018, and 2020 general elections. Overall, under Backup CD-5, Black voters alone cast 41.8% of the general election vote in 2020, 44.5% of the general election vote in 2018, and 43.8% of the general election vote in 2016. See Table 9.

64. Minority voters cast the majority of votes in the Democratic primaries in 2018 and 2020, while white voters cast 50.8% of votes in the 2016 Democratic primary under Backup CD-5. Under Backup CD-5, Black voters cast 48.2% of the Democratic primary election vote in 2020, 47.7% of the Democratic primary election vote in 2018, and 44.9% of the Democratic primary election vote in 2016. See Table 10.

65. Under Backup CD-5, Black voters vote cohesively and have the ability to elect their preferred candidates. In the precincts covered by BackupCD-5, 90% of Black voters voted for Democratic candidates across 8 statewide general elections. See Table 11.

66. The candidates preferred by Blacks won the majority of votes in the precincts covered by Backup CD-5 across 8 the statewide elections examined. See Table 13.

67. In sum, both Senate CD-5 and Backup CD-5 demonstrate that it is possible to maintain a majority-minority CD in North Florida in which Black voters—and minorities generally—have the ability to elect their candidate of choice.

**D. Extent of Effects of a Revised CD-5 on Other Districts**

68. I have examined the Florida Congressional District map to understand the effects of a revised CD-5 on the rest of the map. The North Florida configuration of either the Senate Map (S035C8060) or the Backup Map (H000C8015) can be incorporated into the existing Enacted Map by making changes only to the surrounding districts in North Florida. Incorporating the Senate or Backup Committee versions of CD-5 would not in any way require changes in the Enacted Map south of Marion or Volusia Counties or any CDs south of CDs 6, 7 and 11. In other words, incorporating the North Florida configurations of either the Senate Map or the Backup Map would leave untouched 21 of the congressional districts in the Enacted Map.

## CONCLUSION

69. Based on the functional analysis outlined above, the Enacted Map results in diminishment in the ability of Black voters to elect their candidate of choice in Northern Florida by dismantling a Black district that was created by the Florida Supreme Court in 2015. The Senate Map and the Backup Map demonstrate that Benchmark CD-5 could have been maintained as a majority-minority district in which Black voters have the ability to elect their candidates of choice.

70. I make the foregoing statements with knowledge that they will be used as evidence in court, and I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the State of Florida that they are true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Executed this 26th day of April 2022.

Dr. Stephen Ansolabehere

| Table 1. Racial Composition of Congressional Districts in the Benchmark Map | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CD Number | Percent of VAP* That Are Minorities | Percent of VAP That are Hispanic | Percent of VAP That are Black | Percent of CVAP* That Are Minorities | Percent of CVAP That are Hispanic | Percent of CVAP That are Black |
| 1 | 27.3% | 6.6% | 12.9% | 23.5% | 5.2% | 13.3% |
| 2 | 24.1% | 6.7% | 12.1% | 20.6% | 4.9% | 12.8% |
| 3 | 33.1% | 10.3% | 15.5% | 28.6% | 8.4% | 16.2% |
| 4 | 27.3% | 8.8% | 9.8% | 22.0% | 7.2% | 9.7% |
| 5 | 59.8% | 9.1% | 45.2% | 56.2% | 6.2% | 46.5% |
| 6 | 26.5% | 12.1% | 9.4% | 23.1% | 10.9% | 9.8% |
| 7 | 43.9% | 24.7% | 10.6% | 38.1% | 22.8% | 10.3% |
| 8 | 25.4% | 10.3% | 9.1% | 21.1% | 8.9% | 9.0% |
| 9 | 59.6% | 41.5% | 11.8% | 53.5% | 37.8% | 12.0% |
| 10 | 64.0% | 28.9% | 24.9% | 58.3% | 25.1% | 26.8% |
| 11 | 21.2% | 10.1% | 6.7% | 17.6% | 8.8% | 6.6% |
| 12 | 23.8% | 12.5% | 5.2% | 19.1% | 10.9% | 5.0% |
| 13 | 28.2% | 9.8% | 11.3% | 23.8% | 7.9% | 11.8% |
| 14 | 54.8% | 30.2% | 16.1% | 48.8% | 26.5% | 17.4% |
| 15 | 43.3% | 22.7% | 14.1% | 36.7% | 18.9% | 14.1% |
| 16 | 29.8% | 15.9% | 8.7% | 22.7% | 11.4% | 8.6% |
| 17 | 23.8% | 13.3% | 6.7% | 19.9% | 10.9% | 6.8% |
| 18 | 32.9% | 15.6% | 12.3% | 26.2% | 12.3% | 11.3% |
| 19 | 28.4% | 18.1% | 6.2% | 21.6% | 12.9% | 6.4% |
| 20 | 82.0% | 26.8% | 50.6% | 77.2% | 20.5% | 52.7% |
| 21 | 42.6% | 22.6% | 14.1% | 34.4% | 17.4% | 13.5% |
| 22 | 43.9% | 21.4% | 14.3% | 35.1% | 17.9% | 13.7% |
| 23 | 60.9% | 39.7% | 13.8% | 55.5% | 36.4% | 14.1% |
| 24 | 88.3% | 44.9% | 40.3% | 87.1% | 36.4% | 48.9% |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25 | 80.1% | 74.4% | 3.4% | 74.4% | 69.3% | 3.7% |
| 26 | 84.8% | 72.4% | 9.5% | 79.7% | 66.3% | 11.2% |
| 27 | 78.6% | 70.4% | 4.2% | 75.8% | 68.3% | 5.1% |

| Table 2. Racial Composition of Congressional Districts in the Enacted Map (P000C0109) | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CD Number | Percent of VAP* That Are Minorities | Percent of VAP That are Hispanic | Percent of VAP That are Black | Percent of CVAP* That Are Minorities | Percent of CVAP That are Hispanic | Percent of CVAP That are Black |
| 1 | 27.8% | 6.7% | 13.2% | 24.0% | 5.3% | 13.6% |
| 2 | 34.5% | 6.4% | 22.7% | 31.6% | 4.7% | 23.7% |
| 3 | 32.3% | 10.6% | 15.3% | 28.2% | 8.3% | 16.6% |
| 4 | 44.7% | 7.8% | 30.8% | 40.6% | 6.2% | 30.4% |
| 5 | 32.5% | 10.9% | 12.1% | 26.5% | 8.4% | 12.5% |
| 6 | 25.2% | 9.8% | 10.7% | 21.7% | 8.0% | 11.4% |
| 7 | 35.4% | 19.0% | 9.4% | 30.6% | 17.7% | 9.0% |
| 8 | 25.1% | 10.1% | 9.1% | 20.8% | 8.7% | 9.0% |
| 9 | 67.7% | 50.0% | 10.1% | 62.5% | 47.9% | 9.8% |
| 10 | 61.5% | 28.6% | 23.9% | 55.5% | 25.3% | 24.7% |
| 11 | 36.7% | 17.1% | 11.9% | 30.7% | 14.5% | 11.7% |
| 12 | 21.7% | 11.7% | 4.7% | 17.5% | 10.4% | 4.4% |
| 13 | 22.8% | 9.6% | 6.6% | 18.2% | 7.5% | 6.8% |
| 14 | 50.6% | 26.0% | 17.6% | 45.2% | 22.1% | 19.0% |
| 15 | 45.1% | 22.7% | 14.1% | 38.1% | 19.6% | 14.0% |
| 16 | 35.5% | 18.7% | 11.0% | 28.8% | 14.4% | 11.3% |
| 17 | 20.9% | 11.5% | 5.1% | 16.2% | 8.8% | 5.3% |
| 18 | 40.2% | 23.7% | 12.3% | 33.5% | 18.5% | 12.6% |
| 19 | 25.9% | 16.2% | 5.5% | 19.3% | 11.5% | 5.7% |
| 20 | 76.5% | 23.0% | 48.6% | 72.1% | 18.3% | 50.1% |
| 21 | 31.9% | 15.1% | 11.9% | 25.3% | 11.9% | 11.0% |
| 22 | 44.7% | 24.7% | 15.0% | 36.1% | 18.5% | 14.3% |
| 23 | 41.6% | 20.5% | 12.3% | 33.0% | 17.5% | 11.7% |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 24 | 81.8% | 38.5% | 39.5% | 81.5% | 32.3% | 47.1% |
| 25 | 65.6% | 42.3% | 15.8% | 59.5% | 37.2% | 16.9% |
| 26 | 80.3% | 73.2% | 4.9% | 75.4% | 68.1% | 6.0% |
| 27 | 83.1% | 74.2% | 5.2% | 79.9% | 71.0% | 6.6% |
| 28 | 84.8% | 73.4% | 8.5% | 79.7% | 67.8% | 9.8% |

| Table 3. Racial Composition of Congressional Districts in the Senate Map (S035C8060) | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CD Number | Percent of VAP* That Are Minorities | Percent of VAP That are Hispanic | Percent of VAP That are Black | Percent of CVAP* That Are Minorities | Percent of CVAP That are Hispanic | Percent of CVAP That are Black |
| 1 | 27.8% | 6.7% | 13.2% | 24.0% | 5.3% | 13.6% |
| 2 | 24.5% | 6.2% | 13.0% | 21.1% | 4.5% | 13.5% |
| 3 | 33.2% | 10.4% | 15.4% | 28.5% | 8.4% | 16.1% |
| 4 | 28.7% | 9.3% | 10.2% | 22.9% | 7.5% | 9.9% |
| 5 | 57.1% | 9.0% | 42.8% | 54.0% | 6.1% | 44.5% |
| 6 | 25.1% | 11.0% | 9.1% | 21.7% | 9.9% | 9.3% |
| 7 | 44.6% | 25.4% | 10.7% | 39.0% | 23.7% | 10.5% |
| 8 | 25.3% | 10.3% | 9.0% | 20.9% | 8.7% | 8.9% |
| 9 | 68.3% | 50.2% | 9.9% | 62.7% | 47.6% | 9.8% |
| 10 | 59.9% | 23.4% | 26.8% | 54.3% | 20.1% | 28.3% |
| 11 | 23.4% | 10.6% | 8.0% | 19.4% | 8.9% | 7.9% |
| 12 | 25.7% | 14.0% | 5.8% | 20.9% | 12.6% | 5.4% |
| 13 | 25.9% | 9.1% | 10.2% | 21.7% | 7.1% | 10.6% |
| 14 | 44.1% | 26.9% | 9.7% | 38.0% | 23.2% | 10.4% |
| 15 | 53.3% | 24.7% | 20.3% | 46.7% | 21.1% | 20.9% |
| 16 | 25.3% | 13.7% | 6.8% | 18.9% | 9.5% | 7.1% |
| 17 | 28.9% | 16.7% | 8.5% | 24.2% | 13.4% | 8.6% |
| 18 | 31.4% | 14.9% | 11.6% | 25.1% | 11.8% | 10.9% |
| 19 | 23.1% | 15.1% | 3.9% | 16.5% | 10.4% | 3.9% |
| 20 | 75.5% | 22.1% | 48.5% | 70.9% | 17.8% | 49.5% |
| 21 | 46.0% | 25.4% | 15.6% | 37.2% | 18.8% | 15.0% |
| 22 | 41.1% | 20.4% | 11.9% | 32.7% | 17.4% | 11.3% |
| 23 | 65.0% | 42.2% | 15.2% | 58.8% | 37.3% | 16.1% |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 24 | 81.1% | 38.3% | 38.9% | 80.9% | 32.5% | 46.4% |
| 25 | 84.7% | 76.3% | 6.3% | 80.3% | 70.8% | 8.1% |
| 26 | 84.8% | 73.4% | 8.5% | 79.7% | 67.8% | 9.8% |
| 27 | 83.1% | 74.2% | 5.2% | 79.9% | 71.0% | 6.6% |
| 28 | 41.5% | 23.2% | 13.6% | 34.8% | 18.5% | 13.7% |

| Table 4. Racial Composition of Congressional Districts in the Backup Map (H000C8015) | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CD Number | Percent of VAP* That Are Minorities | Percent of VAP That are Hispanic | Percent of VAP That are Black | Percent of CVAP* That Are Minorities | Percent of CVAP That are Hispanic | Percent of CVAP That are Black |
| 1 | 27.8% | 6.7% | 12.2% | 24.0% | 5.3% | 13.6% |
| 2 | 25.9% | 6.3% | 13.5% | 22.4% | 4.7% | 14.7% |
| 3 | 33.3% | 10.5% | 14.6% | 28.7% | 8.5% | 16.2% |
| 4 | 27.5% | 8.9% | 8.7% | 21.9% | 7.3% | 9.3% |
| 5 | 57.5% | 9.2% | 41.2% | 54.0% | 6.2% | 44.2% |
| 6 | 24.5% | 9.8% | 9.0% | 21.1% | 8.2% | 10.3% |
| 7 | 39.0% | 21.1% | 9.1% | 33.2% | 19.7% | 9.4% |
| 8 | 25.0% | 10.0% | 8.3% | 20.8% | 8.6% | 9.0% |
| 9 | 68.7% | 50.8% | 9.1% | 63.4% | 48.1% | 10.3% |
| 10 | 59.7% | 24.6% | 25.7% | 54.3% | 21.3% | 27.9% |
| 11 | 30.9% | 15.9% | 6.9% | 24.9% | 13.3% | 7.6% |
| 12 | 19.9% | 10.6% | 3.4% | 15.8% | 9.2% | 3.9% |
| 13 | 27.7% | 9.8% | 10.1% | 23.4% | 7.9% | 11.4% |
| 14 | 51.4% | 26.1% | 17.3% | 45.8% | 22.6% | 19.3% |
| 15 | 47.3% | 26.6% | 10.6% | 40.0% | 23.5% | 11.5% |
| 16 | 41.6% | 23.2% | 13.0% | 34.8% | 18.1% | 14.1% |
| 17 | 26.2% | 14.3% | 6.5% | 19.5% | 9.9% | 7.3% |
| 18 | 26.7% | 15.8% | 6.6% | 22.2% | 12.8% | 7.2% |
| 19 | 25.0% | 15.8% | 4.6% | 18.3% | 10.8% | 5.3% |
| 20 | 76.5% | 23.0% | 46.8% | 72.1% | 18.3% | 50.1% |
| 21 | 31.9% | 15.1% | 11.0% | 25.3% | 11.9% | 11.0% |
| 22 | 44.7% | 24.7% | 14.1% | 36.1% | 18.5% | 14.3% |
| 23 | 41.6% | 20.5% | 11.2% | 33.0% | 17.5% | 11.7% |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 24 | 81.8% | 38.5% | 38.3% | 81.5% | 32.3% | 47.1% |
| 25 | 65.6% | 42.3% | 14.6% | 59.5% | 37.2% | 16.9% |
| 26 | 82.7% | 75.4% | 4.7% | 78.1% | 70.4% | 6.3% |
| 27 | 83.1% | 74.2% | 4.8% | 79.9% | 71.0% | 6.6% |
| 28 | 84.8% | 73.4% | 8.0% | 79.7% | 67.8% | 9.8% |

Table 5. Continuity of Population and Geography of North Florida Congressional Districts from the Benchmark Map to the Enacted Map

| Benchmark CD Number | % Population of Benchmark CD in the Analogous Enacted CD | % Area of Benchmark CD in the Analogous Enacted CD |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 100% | 100% |
| 2 | 63.6% | 75.4% |
| 3 | 55.7% | 21.9% |
| 4 | 86.2% | 96.5% |
| 5 | 45.2% | 12.3% |

Benchmark to Enacted Renumbering: Benchmark CD-4 = Enacted CD-5, Benchmark CD-5 = Enacted CD-4.

Table 6. Continuity of Population and Geography of North Florida Congressional Districts from the Benchmark Map to the Senate Map

| Benchmark CD Number | % Population of Benchmark CD in the Analogous Senate CD | % Area of Benchmark CD in the Analogous Senate CD |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 100% | 100% |
| 2 | 87.6% | 91.0% |
| 3 | 98.2% | 98.9% |
| 4 | 96.0% | 99.3% |
| 5 | 86.0% | 92.1% |

Table 7. Continuity of Population and Geography of North Florida Congressional Districts from the Benchmark Map to the Backup Map

| CD Number | % Population of Benchmark CD in the Analogous Backup CD | % Area of Benchmark CD in the Analogous Backup CD |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 100% | 100% |
| 2 | 85.7% | 90.4% |
| 3 | 98.2% | 98.2% |
| 4 | 97.6% | 99.7% |
| 5 | 85.7% | 92.7% |

Table 8. Voter Registration By Racial Group in Benchmark, Enacted, Senate, and Backup Maps

| | Percent of Registered Voters of Each Group | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| CD Number | Black | Hispanic | Other | White |
| | | | | |
| Benchmark CD-5 | 45.3% | 5.0% | 7.6% | 42.1% |
| | | | | |
| Enacted CD-4 | 29.5% | 5.0% | 7.2% | 58.3% |
| Enacted CD-2 | 20.9% | 3.2% | 5.8% | 70.1% |
| Enacted CD-3 | 13.4% | 5.0% | 7.2% | 73.0% |
| Enacted CD-5 | 11.0% | 6.1% | 9.0% | 73.8% |
| | | | | |
| Senate CD-5 | 43.1% | 5.1% | 5.7% | 44.3% |
| | | | | |
| Backup CD-5 | 42.9% | 5.1% | 7.8% | 44.2% |
| | | | | |

Table 9. Voter Participation By Racial Group in General Elections Under the Benchmark, Enacted, Senate, and Backup Maps

| | Percent of General Election Votes Cast by Each Group | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| CD Number | Black | Hispanic | Other | White |
| | 2020 General Election | | | |
| Benchmark CD-5 | 44.4% | 4.3% | 6.5% | 44.9% |
| | | | | |
| Enacted CD-4 | 28.0% | 4.1% | 6.3% | 61.5% |
| Enacted CD-2 | 19.7% | 2.7% | 5.1% | 72.4% |
| Enacted CD-3 | 12.2% | 4.2% | 6.3% | 76.0% |
| Enacted CD-5 | 9.9% | 5.3% | 8.3% | 76.4% |
| | | | | |
| Senate CD-5 | 42.1% | 4.4% | 6.4% | 47.1% |
| Backup CD-5 | 41.8% | 4.3% | 6.6% | 47.2% |
| | 2018 General Election | | | |
| Benchmark CD-5 | 47.2% | 3.2% | 5.0% | 44.7% |
| | | | | |
| Enacted CD-4 | 30.2% | 3.3% | 6.5% | 61.7% |
| Enacted CD-2 | 21.4% | 2.1% | 4.0% | 72.6% |
| Enacted CD-3 | 12.8% | 4.7% | 4.6% | 77.9% |
| Enacted CD-5 | 10.5% | 4.3% | 6.5% | 78.7% |
| | | | | |
| Senate CD-5 | 45.0% | 3.2% | 4.8% | 47.0% |
| Backup CD-5 | 44.5% | 3.2% | 5.0% | 47.3% |
| | 2016 General Election | | | |
| Benchmark CD-5 | 46.6% | 3.3% | 4.9% | 45.2% |
| | | | | |
| Enacted CD-4 | 29.9% | 3.4% | 4.8% | 61.9% |
| Enacted CD-2 | 20.2% | 2.0% | 3.9% | 73.9% |
| Enacted CD-3 | 13.1% | 4.9% | 4.4% | 77.7% |
| Enacted CD-5 | 10.4% | 4.4% | 6.5% | 78.6% |
| | | | | |
| Senate CD-5 | 44.4% | 3.2% | 4.8% | 47.6% |
| Backup CD-5 | 43.8% | 3.3% | 4.9% | 47.9% |

| Table 10. Voter Participation By Racial Group in Democratic Primary Elections Under the Benchmark, Enacted, Senate, and Backup Maps | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Percent of Democratic Primary Election Votes Cast by Each Group | | | |
| CD Number | Black | Hispanic | Other | White |
| | 2020 Democratic Primary Election | | | |
| Benchmark CD-5 | 50.8% | 2.1% | 4.1% | 43.0% |
| | | | | |
| Enacted CD-4 | 29.9% | 2.3% | 4.1% | 63.7% |
| Enacted CD-2 | 22.7% | 1.5% | 3.3% | 72.4% |
| Enacted CD-3 | 13.1% | 3.2% | 3.7% | 80.0% |
| Enacted CD-5 | 11.4% | 3.3% | 5.3% | 80.1% |
| | | | | |
| Senate CD-5 | 48.7% | 2.1% | 3.9% | 45.3% |
| Backup CD-5 | 48.2% | 2.1% | 4.1% | 45.5% |
| | 2018 Democratic Primary Election | | | |
| Benchmark CD-5 | 50.4% | 1.7% | 3.4% | 44.4% |
| | | | | |
| Enacted CD-4 | 32.0% | 1.9% | 3.6% | 62.5% |
| Enacted CD-2 | 23.8% | 1.3% | 2.8% | 72.1% |
| Enacted CD-3 | 13.8% | 2.8% | 3.0% | 81.1% |
| Enacted CD-5 | 11.4% | 2.7% | 4.3% | 81.6% |
| | | | | |
| Senate CD-5 | 48.3% | 1.7% | 3.3% | 46.7% |
| Backup CD-5 | 47.7% | 1.7% | 3.5% | 47.2% |
| | 2016 Democratic Primary Election | | | |
| Benchmark CD-5 | 48.2% | 1.3% | 3.0% | 47.5% |
| | | | | |
| Enacted CD-4 | 27.7% | 1.5% | 3.1% | 67.7% |
| Enacted CD-2 | 21.6% | 1.0% | 2.4% | 75.0% |
| Enacted CD-3 | 13.1% | 2.0% | 2.4% | 82.6% |
| Enacted CD-5 | 8.5% | 2.2% | 3.8% | 85.5% |
| | | | | |
| Senate CD-5 | 45.7% | 1.2% | 2.9% | 50.1% |
| Backup CD-5 | 44.9% | 1.3% | 3.0% | 50.8% |

Table 11. Electoral Preference of Racial Groups in Eight Statewide General Elections under the Benchmark, Enacted, Senate, and Backup CD-5

| | Percent of Group Voting Democratic<br>Ecological Regression Estimates<br>(Margin of Error in Parentheses) | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| CD Number | Non-Hispanic Black | Non-Hispanic White | All Minority Groups |
| Benchmark CD-5 | 89%<br>(87.5%-90.6%) | 33%<br>(31.3%-34.6%) | 83%<br>(81.2%-84.8%) |
| Enacted CD-4 | 93%<br>(91.4%-94.0%) | 18%<br>(16.7%-19.9%) | 83%<br>(81.3%-84.3%) |
| Senate CD-5 | 89%<br>(87.5%-90.5%) | 31%<br>(33.1%-35.8%) | 83%<br>(81.4%-84.9%) |
| Backup CD-5 | 90%<br>(88.4%-91.2% | 29%<br>(27.4%-30.6%) | 83%<br>(81.5%-84.9%) |

Note: The elections included in this analysis are U.S. President 2020, U.S. Senate 2018, Governor 2018, Attorney General 2018, Chief Financial Officer 2018, Agriculture Commissioner 2018, U.S. President 2016, and U.S. Senate 2016.

Table 12. Electoral Preference of Racial Groups in US House Elections Under Benchmark CD-5

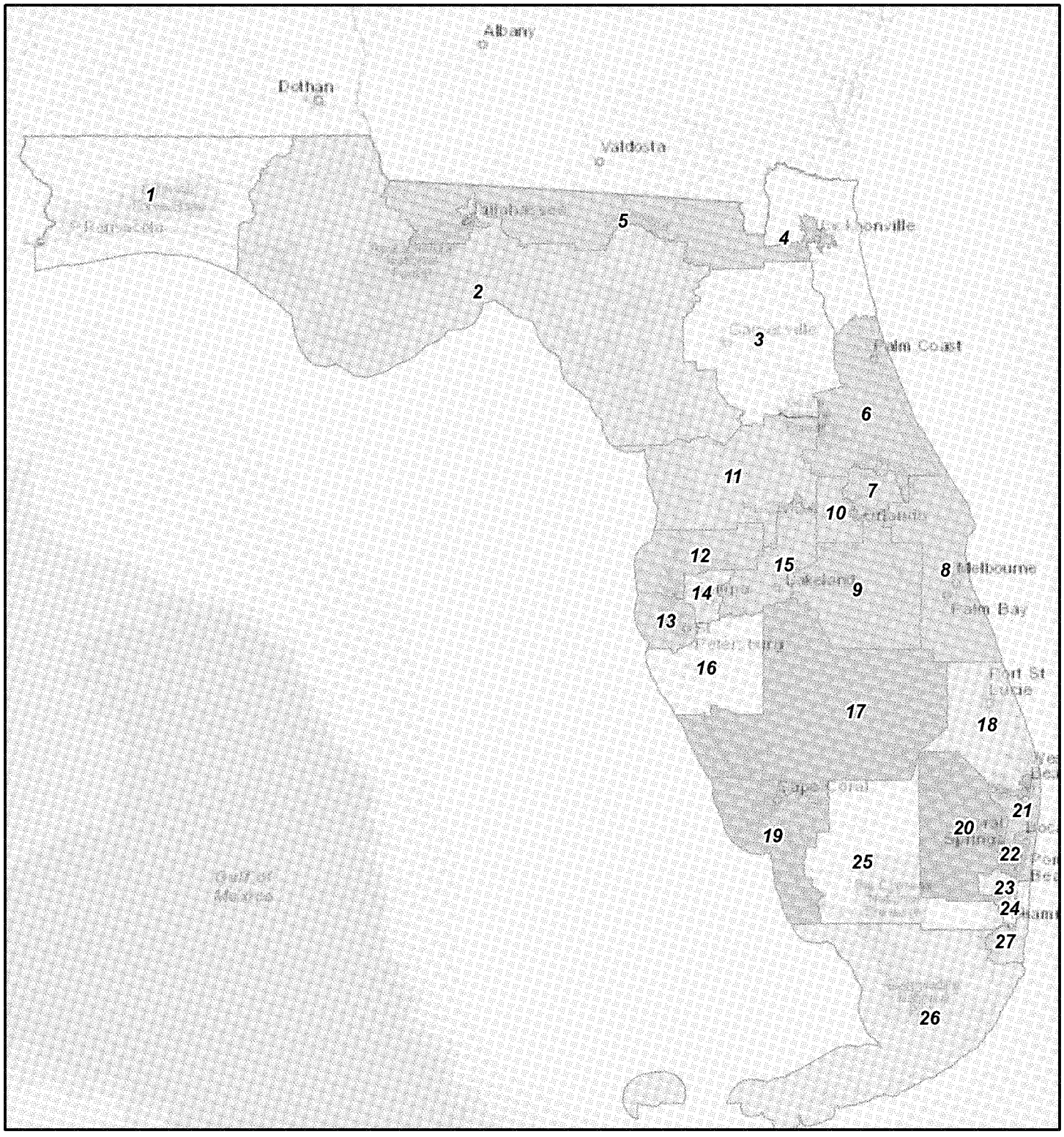
| | Percent of Group Voting Democratic<br>Ecological Regression Estimates<br>(Margin of Error in Parentheses) | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Election | Non-Hispanic Black | Non-Hispanic White | All Minority Groups |
| US House Election 2016 | 85%<br>(83.8%-86.7%) | 39%<br>(37.0%-40.3%) | 81%<br>(79.2%-83.8%) |
| US House Election 2018 | 91%<br>(88.4%-93.6%) | 37%<br>(35.3%-38.5%) | 85%<br>(82.3%-86.0%) |
| US House Election 2020 | 90%<br>(87.5%-90.5%) | 36%<br>(34.5%-37.7%) | 83%<br>(82.5%-86.1%) |

Table 13. Election Performance of North Florida Congressional Districts under the Benchmark, Enacted, Senate, and Backup Maps

| | Average Democratic Vote Percent In Eight Statewide General Elections | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| CD Number | Benchmark Map | Senate Map | Backup Map | Enacted Map |
| 1 | 29.6% | 30.2% | 30.2% | 30.2% |
| 2 | 31.2% | 31.8% | 33.0% | 44.3% |
| 3 | 42.1% | 42.2% | 42.2% | 42.6% |
| 4 | 35.6% | 35.8% | 35.5% | 44.7% |
| 5 | 63.4% | 60.8% | 60.1% | 38.3% |

Note: The elections included in this analysis are U.S. President 2020, U.S. Senate 2018, Governor 2018, Attorney General 2018, Chief Financial Officer 2018, Agriculture Commissioner 2018, U.S. President 2016, and U.S. Senate 2016.

# Map 1: Benchmark Map




April 24, 2022

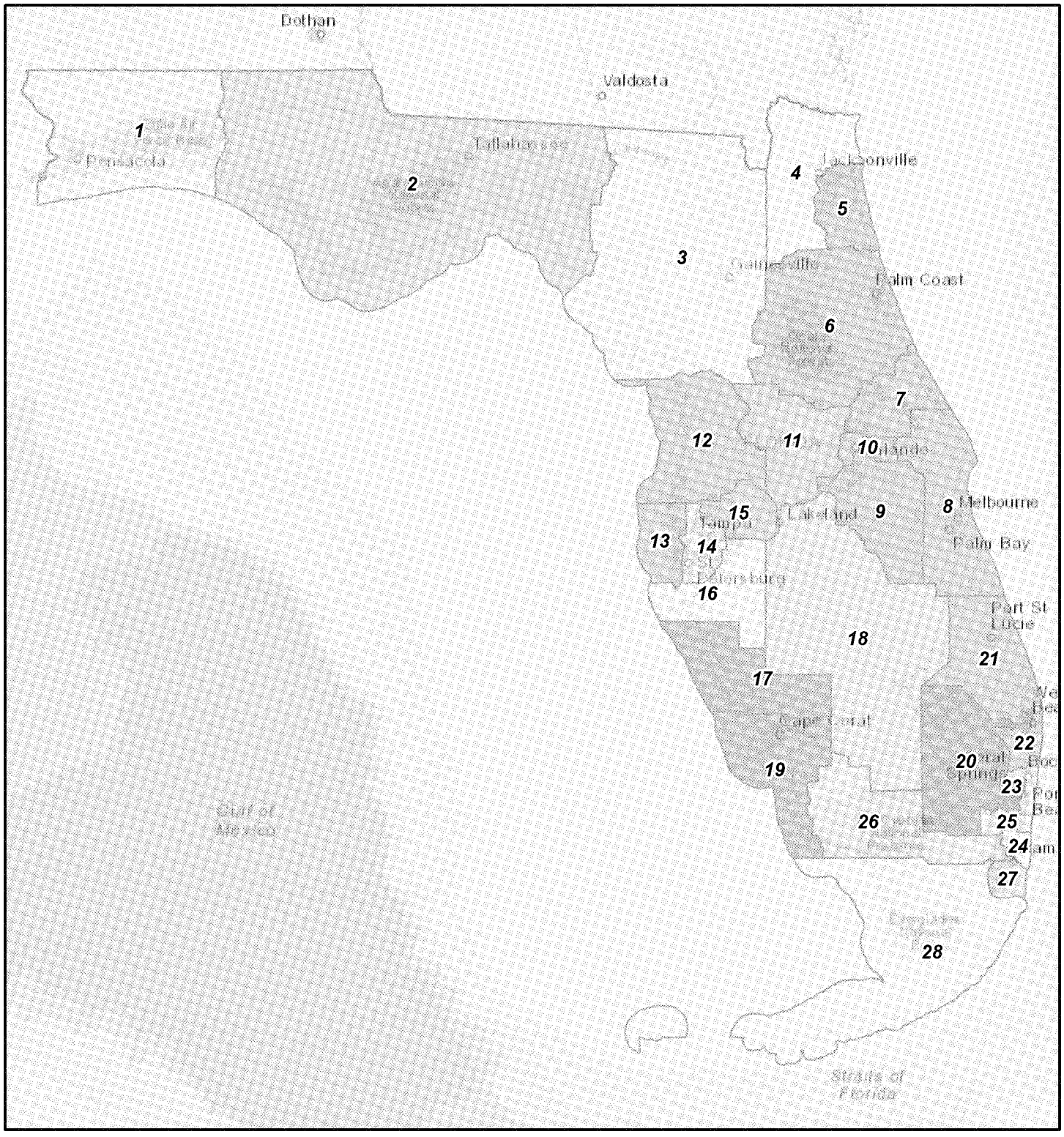
1:4,622,324

0 35 70 140 mi

0 55 110 220 km

Sources: Esri, HERE, Garmin, Intermap, increment P Corp., GEBCO, USGS, FAO, NPS, NRCAN, GeoBase, IGN, Kadaster NL, Ordnance Survey, Esri Japan, METI, Esri China (Hong Kong), (c) OpenStreetMap contributors, and the GIS User Community

# Map 2: Enacted Map




April 24, 2022

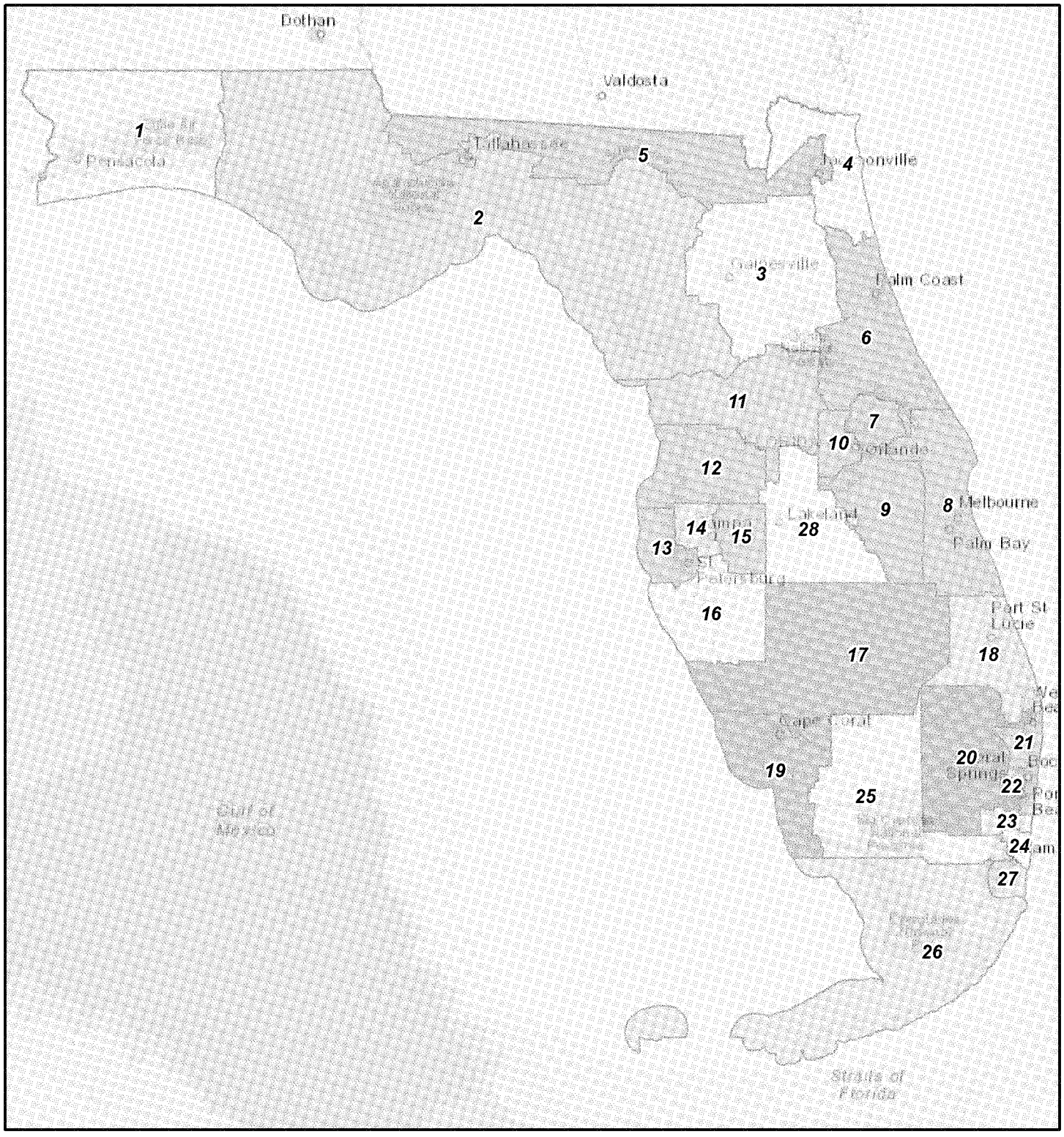
1:4,622,324

0 35 70 140 mi

0 55 110 220 km

Sources: Esri, HERE, Garmin, Intermap, increment P Corp., GEBCO, USGS, FAO, NPS, NRCAN, GeoBase, IGN, Kadaster NL, Ordnance Survey, Esri Japan, METI, Esri China (Hong Kong), (c) OpenStreetMap contributors, and the GIS User Community

# Map 3: Senate Map




April 24, 2022

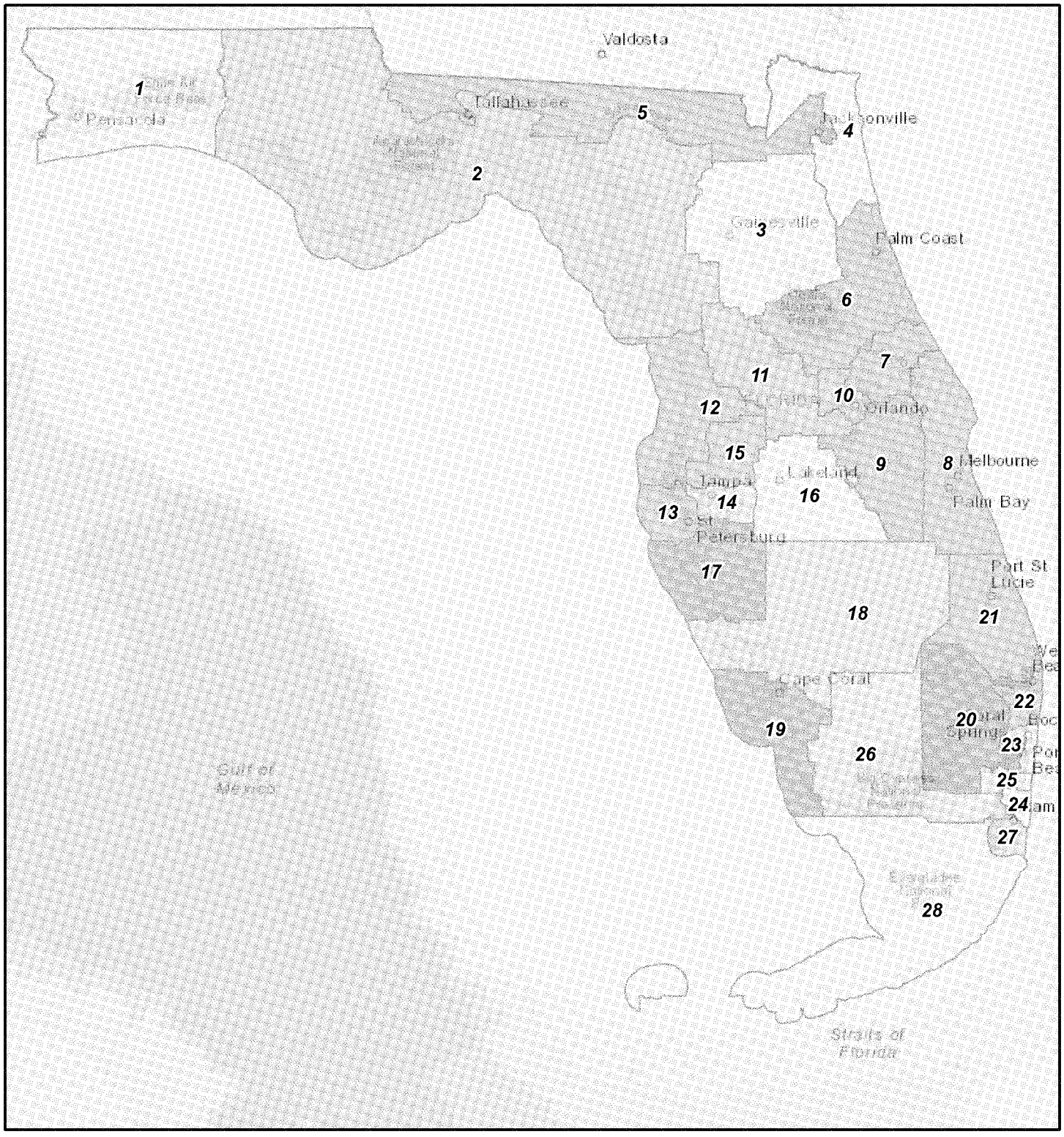
1:4,622,324

0 35 70 140 mi

0 55 110 220 km

Sources: Esri, HERE, Garmin, Intermap, increment P Corp., GEBCO, USGS, FAO, NPS, NRCAN, GeoBase, IGN, Kadaster NL, Ordnance Survey, Esri Japan, METI, Esri China (Hong Kong), (c) OpenStreetMap contributors, and the GIS User Community

# Map 4: House Committee Map




April 25, 2022

1:4,622,324

0 35 70 140 mi

0 55 110 220 km

Sources: Esri, HERE, Garmin, Intermap, increment P Corp., GEBCO, USGS, FAO, NPS, NRCAN, GeoBase, IGN, Kadaster NL, Ordnance Survey, Esri Japan, METI, Esri China (Hong Kong), (c) OpenStreetMap contributors, and the GIS User Community

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## EDUCATION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Harvard University | Ph.D., Political Science | 1989 |
| University of Minnesota | B.A., Political Science<br>B.S., Economics | 1984 |

## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

### ACADEMIC POSITIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| 2016-present | Frank G. Thompson Professor of Government, Harvard University |
| 2008-present | Professor, Department of Government, Harvard University |
| 2015-present | Director, Center for American Politics, Harvard University |
| 1998-2009 | Elting Morison Professor, Department of Political Science, MIT<br>(Associate Head, 2001-2005) |
| 1995-1998 | Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, MIT |
| 1993-1994 | National Fellow, The Hoover Institution |
| 1989-1993 | Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science,<br>University of California, Los Angeles |

### FELLOWSHIPS AND HONORS

| | |
|---|---|
| American Academy of Arts and Sciences | 2007 |
| Carnegie Scholar | 2000-02 |
| National Fellow, The Hoover Institution | 1993-94 |
| Harry S. Truman Fellowship | 1982-86 |

## PUBLICATIONS

### *Books*

2022 *American Government*, 17th edition. With Ted Lowi, Benjamin Ginsberg and Kenneth Shepsle. W.W. Norton.

2014 *Cheap and Clean: How Americans Think About Energy in the Age of Global Warming*. With David Konisky. MIT Press.
Recipient of the Donald K. Price book award.

2008 *The End of Inequality: One Person, One Vote and the Transformation of American Politics*. With James M. Snyder, Jr., W. W. Norton.

1996 *Going Negative: How Political Advertising Divides and Shrinks the American Electorate*. With Shanto Iyengar. The Free Press. Recipient of the Goldsmith book award.

1993 *Media Game: American Politics in the Television Age*. With Roy Behr and Shanto Iyengar. Macmillan.

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2017 "Identity Politics" (with Socorro Puy) *Public Choice*. 168: 1-19. DOI 10.1007/s11127-016-0371-2

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Increasing Partisan Polarization*"* (with Nathaniel Persily) *Stanford Law Review* 68: 1455-1489

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1993 "Poll Faulting," (with Thomas R. Belin) *Chance* 6 (Winter): 22-28.

1991 "The Vanishing Marginals and Electoral Responsiveness," (with David Brady and Morris Fiorina) *British Journal of Political Science* 22 (November): 21-38.

1991 "Mass Media and Elections: An Overview," (with Roy Behr and Shanto Iyengar) *American Politics Quarterly* 19/1 (January): 109-139.

1990 "The Limits of Unraveling in Interest Groups," *Rationality and Society* 2: 394-400.

1990 "Measuring the Consequences of Delegate Selection Rules in Presidential Nominations," (with Gary King) *Journal of Politics* 52: 609-621.

1989 "The Nature of Utility Functions in Mass Publics," (with Henry Brady) *American Political Science Review* 83: 143-164.

***Special Reports and Policy Studies***

2010 *The Future of Nuclear Power*, Revised.

2006 *The Future of Coal.* MIT Press. Continued reliance on coal as a primary power source will lead to very high concentrations of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, resulting in global warming. This cross-disciplinary study – drawing on faculty from Physics, Economics, Chemistry, Nuclear Engineering, and Political Science – develop a road map for technology research and development policy in order to address the challenges of carbon emissions from expanding use of coal for electricity and heating throughout the world.

2003 *The Future of Nuclear Power.* MIT Press. This cross-disciplinary study – drawing on faculty from Physics, Economics, Chemistry, Nuclear Engineering, and Political Science – examines the what contribution nuclear power can make to meet growing electricity demand, especially in a world with increasing carbon dioxide emissions from fossil fuel power plants.

2002 "Election Day Registration." A report prepared for DEMOS. This report analyzes the possible effects of Proposition 52 in California based on the experiences of 6 states with election day registration.

2001 *Voting: What Is, What Could Be.* A report of the Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project. This report examines the voting system, especially technologies for casting and counting votes, registration systems, and polling place operations, in the United States. It was widely used by state and national governments in formulating election reforms following the 2000 election.

2001 "An Assessment of the Reliability of Voting Technologies." A report of the Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project. This report provided the first nationwide assessment of voting equipment performance in the United States. It was prepared for the Governor's Select Task Force on Election Reform in Florida.

***Chapters in Edited Volumes***

2016 "Taking the Study of Public Opinion Online" (with Brian Schaffner) *Oxford Handbook of Public Opinion*, R. Michael Alvarez, ed. Oxford University Press: New York, NY.

2014 "Voter Registration: The Process and Quality of Lists" *The Measure of American Elections*, Barry Burden, ed..

2012 "Using Recounts to Measure the Accuracy of Vote Tabulations: Evidence from New Hampshire Elections, 1946-2002" in Confirming Elections, R. Michael Alvarez, Lonna Atkeson, and Thad Hall, eds. New York: Palgrave, Macmillan.

2010 "Dyadic Representation" in Oxford Handbook on Congress, Eric Schickler, ed., Oxford University Press.

2008 "Voting Technology and Election Law" in *America Votes!,* Benjamin Griffith, editor, Washington, DC: American Bar Association.

2007 "What Did the Direct Primary Do to Party Loyalty in Congress" (with Shigeo Hirano and James M. Snyder Jr.) in *Process, Party and Policy Making: Further New Perspectives on the History of Congress*, David Brady and Matthew D. McCubbins (eds.), Stanford University Press, 2007.

2007 "Election Administration and Voting Rights" in *Renewal of the Voting Rights Act*, David Epstein and Sharyn O'Hallaran, eds. Russell Sage Foundation.

2006 "The Decline of Competition in Primary Elections," (with John Mark Hansen, Shigeo Hirano, and James M. Snyder, Jr.) *The Marketplace of Democracy*, Michael P. McDonald and John Samples, eds. Washington, DC: Brookings.

2005 "Voters, Candidates and Parties" in *Handbook of Political Economy*, Barry Weingast and Donald Wittman, eds. New York: Oxford University Press.

2003 "Baker v. Carr in Context, 1946 – 1964" (with Samuel Isaacharoff) in *Constitutional Cases in Contex*t, Michael Dorf, editor. New York: Foundation Press.

2002 "Corruption and the Growth of Campaign Spending"(with Alan Gerber and James Snyder). *A User's Guide to Campaign Finance*, Jerry Lubenow, editor. Rowman and Littlefield.

2001 "The Paradox of Minimal Effects," in Henry Brady and Richard Johnston, eds., *Do Campaigns Matter*? University of Michigan Press.

2001 "Campaigns as Experiments," in Henry Brady and Richard Johnson, eds., Do *Campaigns Matter*? University of Michigan Press.

2000 "Money and Office," (with James Snyder) in David Brady and John Cogan, eds., *Congressional Elections: Continuity and Change*. Stanford University Press.

1996 "The Science of Political Advertising," (with Shanto Iyengar) in *Political Persuasion and Attitude Change*, Richard Brody, Diana Mutz, and Paul Sniderman, eds. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

1995 "Evolving Perspectives on the Effects of Campaign Communication," in Philo Warburn, ed., *Research in Political Sociology*, vol. 7, JAI.

1995 "The Effectiveness of Campaign Advertising: It's All in the Context," (with Shanto Iyengar) in *Campaigns and Elections American Style*, Candice Nelson and James A. Thurber, eds. Westview Press.

1993 "Information and Electoral Attitudes: A Case of Judgment Under Uncertainty," (with Shanto Iyengar), in *Explorations in Political Psychology*, Shanto Iyengar and William McGuire, eds. Durham: Duke University Press.

***Working Papers***

2009 "Sociotropic Voting and the Media" (with Marc Meredith and Erik Snowberg), American National Election Study Pilot Study Reports, John Aldrich editor.

2007 "Public Attitudes Toward America's Energy Options: Report of the 2007 MIT Energy Survey" CEEPR Working Paper 07-002 and CANES working paper.

2006 "Constituents' Policy Perceptions and Approval of Members' of Congress" CCES Working Paper 06-01 (with Phil Jones).

2004 "Using Recounts to Measure the Accuracy of Vote Tabulations: Evidence from New Hampshire Elections, 1946 to 2002" (with Andrew Reeves).

2002 "Evidence of Virtual Representation: Reapportionment in California," (with Ruimin He and James M. Snyder).

1999 "Why did a majority of Californians vote to lower their own power?" (with James Snyder and Jonathan Woon). Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, September, 1999.
Paper received the award for the best paper on Representation at the 1999 Annual Meeting of the APSA.

1999 "Has Television Increased the Cost of Campaigns?" (with Alan Gerber and James Snyder).

1996 "Money, Elections, and Candidate Quality," (with James Snyder).

1996 "Party Platform Choice - Single- Member District and Party-List Systems,"(with James Snyder).

1995 "Messages Forgotten" (with Shanto Iyengar).

1994 "Consumer Contributors and the Returns to Fundraising: A Microeconomic Analysis," (with Alan Gerber), presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September.

1992 "Biases in Ecological Regression," (with R. Douglas Rivers) August, (revised February 1994). Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Meetings, April 1994, Chicago, IL.

1992 "Using Aggregate Data to Correct Nonresponse and Misreporting in Surveys" (with R. Douglas Rivers). Presented at the annual meeting of the Political Methodology Group, Cambridge, Massachusetts, July.

1991 "The Electoral Effects of Issues and Attacks in Campaign Advertising" (with Shanto Iyengar). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.

1991 "Television Advertising as Campaign Strategy: Some Experimental Evidence" (with Shanto Iyengar). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, Phoenix.

1991 "Why Candidates Attack: Effects of Televised Advertising in the 1990 California Gubernatorial Campaign," (with Shanto Iyengar). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Seattle, March.

1990 "Winning is Easy, But It Sure Ain't Cheap." Working Paper #90-4, Center for the American Politics and Public Policy, UCLA. Presented at the Political Science Departments at Rochester University and the University of Chicago.

***Research Grants***

1989-1990 Markle Foundation. "A Study of the Effects of Advertising in the 1990 California Gubernatorial Campaign." Amount: $50,000

1991-1993 Markle Foundation. "An Experimental Study of the Effects of Campaign Advertising." Amount: $150,000

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| 1991-1993 | NSF. "An Experimental Study of the Effects of Advertising in the 1992 California Senate Electoral." Amount: $100,000 |
| 1994-1995 | MIT Provost Fund. "Money in Elections: A Study of the Effects of Money on Electoral Competition." Amount: $40,000 |
| 1996-1997 | National Science Foundation. "Campaign Finance and Political Representation." Amount: $50,000 |
| 1997 | National Science Foundation. "Party Platforms: A Theoretical Investigation of Party Competition Through Platform Choice." Amount: $40,000 |
| 1997-1998 | National Science Foundation. "The Legislative Connection in Congressional Campaign Finance. Amount: $150,000 |
| 1999-2000 | MIT Provost Fund. "Districting and Representation." Amount: $20,000. |
| 1999-2002 | Sloan Foundation. "Congressional Staff Seminar." Amount: $156,000. |
| 2000-2001 | Carnegie Corporation. "The Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project." Amount: $253,000. |
| 2001-2002 | Carnegie Corporation. "Dissemination of Voting Technology Information." Amount: $200,000. |
| 2003-2005 | National Science Foundation. "State Elections Data Project." Amount: $256,000. |
| 2003-2004 | Carnegie Corporation. "Internet Voting." Amount: $279,000. |
| 2003-2005 | Knight Foundation. "Accessibility and Security of Voting Systems." Amount: $450,000. |
| 2006-2008 | National Science Foundation, "Primary Election Data Project," $186,000 |
| 2008-2009 | Pew/JEHT. "Measuring Voting Problems in Primary Elections, A National Survey." Amount: $300,000 |
| 2008-2009 | Pew/JEHT. "Comprehensive Assessment of the Quality of Voter Registration Lists in the United States: A pilot study proposal" (with Alan Gerber). Amount: $100,000. |
| 2010-2011 | National Science Foundation, "Cooperative Congressional Election Study," $360,000 |

2010-2012 Sloan Foundation, "Precinct-Level U. S. Election Data," $240,000.

2012-2014 National Science Foundation, "Cooperative Congressional Election Study, 2010-2012 Panel Study" $425,000

2012-2014 National Science Foundation, "2012 Cooperative Congressional Election Study," $475,000

2014-2016 National Science Foundation, "Cooperative Congressional Election Study, 2010-2014 Panel Study" $510,000

2014-2016 National Science Foundation, "2014 Cooperative Congressional Election Study," $400,000

2016-2018 National Science Foundation, "2016 Cooperative Congressional Election Study," $485,000

2018-2020 National Science Foundation, "2018 Cooperative Congressional Election Study," $844,784.

2019-2022 National Science Foundation, RIDIR: "Collaborative Research: Analytic Tool for Poststratification and small-area estimation for survey data." $942,607

***Professional Boards***

Editor, Cambridge University Press Book Series, Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions, 2006-2016

Member, Board of the Reuters International School of Journalism, Oxford University, 2007 to present.

Member, Academic Advisory Board, Electoral Integrity Project, 2012 to present.

Contributing Editor, *Boston Review*, The State of the Nation.

Member, Board of Overseers, American National Election Studies, 1999 - 2013.

Associate Editor, Public Opinion Quarterly, 2012 to 2013.

Editorial Board of Harvard Data Science Review, 2018 to present.
Editorial Board of American Journal of Political Science, 2005 to 2009.
Editorial Board of Legislative Studies Quarterly, 2005 to 2010.
Editorial Board of Public Opinion Quarterly, 2006 to present.
Editorial Board of the Election Law Journal, 2002 to present.

Editorial Board of the Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics, 1996 to 2008.
Editorial Board of Business and Politics, 2002 to 2008.
Scientific Advisory Board, Polimetrix, 2004 to 2006.

### *Special Projects and Task Forces*

Principal Investigator, Cooperative Congressional Election Study, 2005 – present.

CBS News Election Decision Desk, 2006-present

Co-Director, Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project, 2000-2004.

Co-Organizer, MIT Seminar for Senior Congressional and Executive Staff, 1996-2007.

MIT Energy Innovation Study, 2009-2010.
MIT Energy Initiative, Steering Council, 2007-2008
MIT Coal Study, 2004-2006.
MIT Energy Research Council, 2005-2006.
MIT Nuclear Study, 2002-2004.
Harvard University Center on the Environment, Council, 2009-present

### Expert Witness, Consultation, and Testimony

| | |
|---|---|
| 2001 | Testimony on Election Administration, U. S. Senate Committee on Commerce. |
| 2001 | Testimony on Voting Equipment, U.S. House Committee on Science, Space, and Technology |
| 2001 | Testimony on Voting Equipment, U.S. House Committee on House Administration |
| 2001 | Testimony on Voting Equipment, Congressional Black Caucus |
| 2002-2003 | *McConnell v. FEC*, 540 U.S. 93 (2003), consultant to the Brennan Center. |
| 2009 | Amicus curiae brief with Professors Nathaniel Persily and Charles Stewart on behalf of neither party to the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of *Northwest Austin Municipal Utility District Number One v. Holder*, 557 U.S. 193 (2009). |
| 2009 | Testimony on Voter Registration, U. S. Senate Committee on Rules. |
| 2011-2015 | *Perez v. Perry*, U. S. District Court in the Western District of Texas (No. 5:11-cv-00360). Exert witness on behalf of Rodriguez intervenors. |
| 2011-2013 | *State of Texas v. United States,* the U.S. District Court in the District of Columbia (No. 1:11-cv-01303), expert witness on behalf of the Gonzales intervenors. |
| 2012-2013 | *State of Texas v. Holder*, U.S. District Court in the District of Columbia (No. 1:12-cv-00128), expert witness on behalf of the United States. |
| 2011-2012 | *Guy v. Miller* in U.S. District Court for Nevada (No. 11-OC-00042-1B), expert witness on behalf of the Guy plaintiffs. |
| 2012 | *In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment*, Florida Supreme |

| | |
|---|---|
| | Court (Nos. 2012-CA-412, 2012-CA-490), consultant for the Florida Democratic Party. |
| 2012-2014 | *Romo v. Detzner*, Circuit Court of the Second Judicial Circuit in Florida (No. 2012 CA 412), expert witness on behalf of Romo plaintiffs. |
| 2013-2014 | *LULAC v. Edwards Aquifer Authority*, U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas, San Antonio Division (No. 5:12cv620-OLG,), consultant and expert witness on behalf of the City of San Antonio and San Antonio Water District |
| 2013-2014 | *Veasey v. Perry*, U. S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas, Corpus Christi Division (No. 2:13-cv-00193), consultant and expert witness on behalf of the United States Department of Justice. |
| 2013-2015 | *Harris v. McCrory,* U. S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina (No. 1:2013cv00949), consultant and expert witness on behalf of the Harris plaintiffs. (later named *Cooper v. Harris*) |
| 2014 | Amicus curiae brief, on behalf of neither party, Supreme Court of the United States, *Alabama Democratic Conference v. State of Alabama*. |
| 2014- 2016 | *Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Board of Elections*, U. S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia (No. 3:2014cv00852), consultant and expert on behalf of the Bethune-Hill plaintiffs. |
| 2015 | Amicus curiae brief in support of Appellees, Supreme Court of the United States, *Evenwell v. Abbott* |
| 2016-2017 | *Perez v. Abbott*, U. S. District Court in the Western District of Texas (No. 5:11-cv-00360). Exert witness on behalf of Rodriguez intervenors. |
| 2017-2018 | *Fish v. Kobach*, U. S. District Court in the District of Kansas (No. 2:16-cv-02105-JAR). Expert witness of behalf of the Fish plaintiffs. |
| 2020 | *Voto Latino, et al. v. Hobbs*, in the U.S. District Court for the District of Arizona (No. 2:19-cv-05685-DWL). |
| 2020 | *Wood v. Raffensperger*, in Fulton County, Georgia, Superior Court, (No. 2020CV342959) |

# Exhibit 3

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC., *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

LAUREL M. LEE, in her official capacity as Florida Secretary of State, *et al.*,

Defendants.

**AFFIDAVIT OF DR. SHARON AUSTIN**

STATE OF FLORIDA
COUNTY OF CLAY

BEFORE ME, the undersigned authority, personally appeared Sharon Austin, who, after first being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I was retained by Plaintiffs in *Black Voters Matter Capacity Building Inst., Inc. et al. v. Lee et al.*
2. I prepared an expert report in support of the Plaintiffs' motion for a temporary injunction. The expert report is true and correct to the best of my personal knowledge.
3. If called to testify under oath, my testimony would be consistent with my report.

FURTHER AFFIANT SAYETH NOT.

Sharon Austin

Sharon Austin

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED before me this 26th day of April 2022, by Sharon Austin, who (check one) ☐ is personally known to me, ☑ produced a driver's license (issued by a state of the United States within the last five (5) years) as identification, or ☐ produced other identification, to wit: Identity verified by driver license

Lisa Meinero

Print Name: Lisa Meinero
Notary Public, State of Florida
Commission No.: GG970633
My Commission Expires: 04/04/2024

Lee County Florida

LISA MEINERO
Notary Public - State of Florida
Commission # GG970633
Expires on April 4, 2024

Notarized online using audio-video communication

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

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| BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC., et al.,<br><br>Plaintiffs,<br><br>v.<br><br>LAUREL M. LEE, in her official capacity as Florida Secretary of State, et al.,<br><br>Defendants. | Case No. 2022-ca-000666 |

**EXPERT REPORT OF DR. SHARON AUSTIN**

**IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR TEMPORARY INJUNCTION**

## I. Introduction and Summary

The Florida Constitution requires that ". . . districts shall not be drawn with the intent or result of denying or abridging the equal opportunity of racial or language minorities to participate in the political process or to diminish their ability to elect representatives of their choice . . . ." Fla. Const. Art. III, §20(a). On April 22, 2022, Governor DeSantis signed into law a congressional voting plan ("the DeSantis Plan") that dismantles a majority-minority congressional district in North Florida created in 2015 – Congressional District 5 ("Benchmark CD-5" or "CD-5") – that had given Black Floridians across North Florida the ability to elect their preferred candidates to the U.S. Congress. As a result of the elimination of Benchmark CD-5, more than 370,000 Black Floridians who had the ability to elect their preferred candidates have now been moved to predominately white districts and stripped of their ability to determine who represents them in Congress. My purpose in this report, prepared at the request of Plaintiffs' counsel, is to put a face to these 370,000 people – to describe their ancestral roots, the barriers to voting and representation they and their ancestors have faced throughout Florida's history, and the perpetuation of that history that results from the dismantling of Benchmark CD-5.

Based on my examination of historical documents, articles and treatises, and historical voting data, I reach the following findings:

(1) Many counties, cities, and towns that comprised Benchmark CD-5 were built around the cotton and tobacco trades that relied on slavery and sharecropping during the 1800s and into the early decades of the 1900s.

(2) Many of the Black Floridians in this part of North Florida, including many of the 370,000 who have been moved out of CD-5 under the DeSantis Plan, are direct descendants of the slaves and sharecroppers who were forced to work on the cotton and tobacco plantations in this part of the state.

(3) Black Floridians in North Florida, like Black voters throughout the state, have long had to confront discriminatory voting practices and schemes that suppressed their vote and eliminated their ability elect representation in the U.S. Congress. These barriers included poll taxes, "White primaries," long residency requirements, outright physical threats and violence, and dilutive districting plans.

(4) As a result of these barriers, Florida did not elect a single Black person to the U.S. Congress between 1876 and 1992. And most Black Floridians in the counties that would later comprise Benchmark CD-5 – Gadsden, Leon, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Columbia, Baker, and Duval – could not and did not elect a representative of their choice to Congress until 2015, when Benchmark CD-5 was created.

(5) Since 2015, Black Floridians across North Florida have elected Al Lawson to the U.S. House of Representatives, their candidate of choice, in every congressional election.

(6) The dismantling of CD-5 under the DeSantis Plan will once again leave Black voters in North Florida unrepresented by a congressional representative of their choice, by submerging every Black Floridian who was in the prior version of CD-5 in majority White districts that will be represented by White-preferred representatives.

## II. Qualifications

I am a Professor of Political Science at the University of Florida, Gainesville, where I teach courses in American Government, Urban Politics, Asian American Politics, Latino Politics, and African American Politics. Prior to joining the faculty at the University of Florida, I taught at the University of Louisville, the University of Michigan, and University of Missouri at Columbia. I received a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Tennessee at Knoxville in 1993. Details about my professional qualifications and experience are described below and in the copy of my curriculum vitae attached as Exhibit A, which also includes a list of all my publications and my qualifications as an expert witness.

Since 1992, my research and work has focused on various aspects of American politics and public policy. These include American elections, with an

emphasis on mayoral elections, racial voting behavior, African American women's political behavior, barriers to African American political participation, Black and White voting behavior in the South, rural political behavior, presidential politics, Congressional politics, American civil rights, and political activism and participation in Florida. Since 1992, I have taught numerous courses on many of these topics. I have also served on editorial boards and advisory committees in the field of African American Studies, minority civil rights, politics, and voting. I have been invited to speak on these issues and won numerous awards in this field. I am also a member of the editorial team of the *American Political Science Review*, which was founded in 1903 and is the most prominent journal in the political science discipline. In December 2022, I will become the first African American lead editor of this prestigious journal. I am also the editor of the Government and Politics in the South series of the University Press of Florida, and I am a former editor of the *National Review of Black Politics*.

I was recently accepted and testified as an expert witness in *League of Women Voters of Florida, Inc. v. Lee*, Case No. 4:21-cv-186 (N.D. Fla. Mar. 31, 2022), another case involving Florida election laws. I am being compensated for my work on this report at an hourly rate of $250/hour. No part of my compensation depends on the outcome of this case or on the nature of the opinions that I provide.

## III. Sources and Methodology

In preparing this report, I have relied on my personal knowledge gathered through my years of researching, studying, and publishing, and I also have reviewed and considered the materials listed in Exhibit B. I utilize the standard methodology that political scientists use when investigating the histories of voting populations and the application and effects of election laws. When analyzing the effects of political decision-making, including the results of decisions to enact voting laws and create voting districts, political scientists examine the direct and circumstantial evidence of the effects they have on voting populations, taking into account the political, institutional, and social context in which a decision was made. Accordingly, I have examined scholarly studies, newspaper coverage of events, relevant court decisions, and statistical data, most of which relate to the history of Black Floridians in North Florida, the history of discriminatory voting laws in Florida, and the circumstances and effects relating to the dismantling of CD-5 in the DeSantis Plan.

## IV. Analysis

### A. The ancestral roots of Black Floridians in North Florida tie back to the slave and sharecropper communities of the 1800s and early 1900s.

During the mid-1800s, the North-Central and Central areas of Florida were referred to as Middle Florida and had a population that was approximately 44 percent Black. (Rozsa and Itkowitz 2022). These areas were home to cotton and tobacco

fields and plantations that relied on slave labor. In 1850, there were approximately 1,000 cotton plantations in Florida, with a significant number of them located in the northern part of the state. Descendants of the slaves and sharecroppers from these plantations still account for a sizeable portion of the Black population in North Florida.

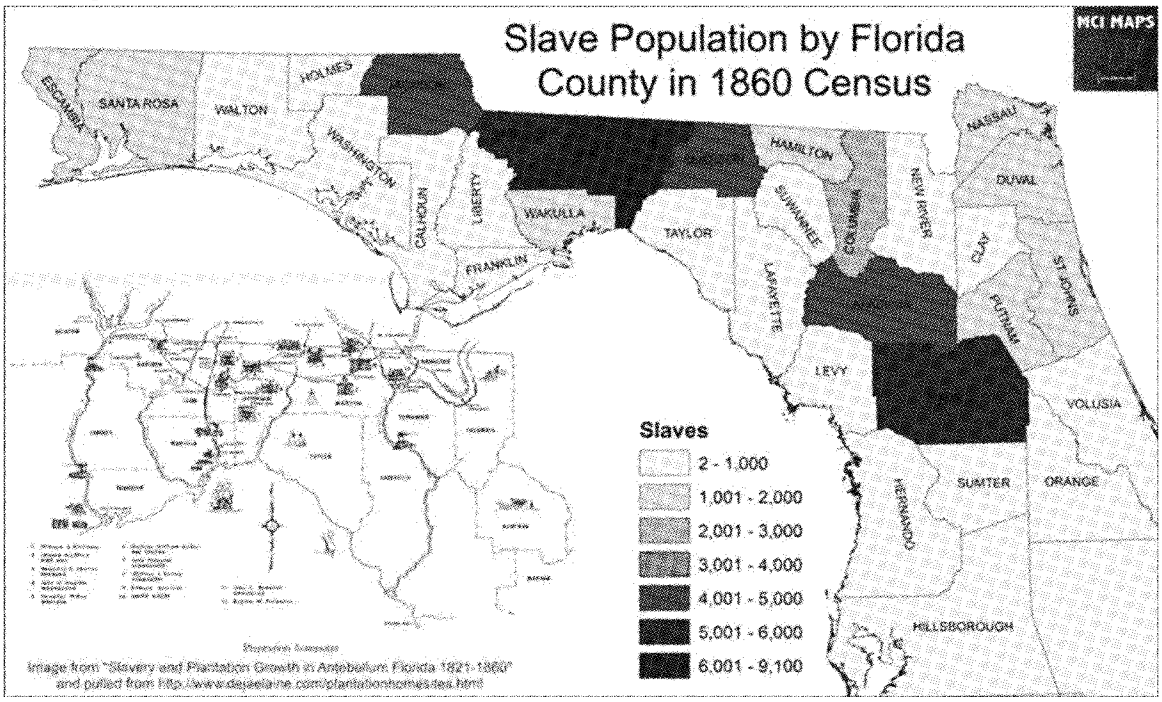
An example of one of these areas is the small city of Quincy, which is located in Gadsden County (part of Benchmark CD-5). Quincy was once known for its cotton and tobacco fields. White "pioneer entrepreneurs" settled in the area during the mid-1800s and amassed wealth on the backs of the unpaid labor of slaves. While the slaves in Quincy and communities like it in North Florida eventually gained their freedom, they continued to live in an inescapable plight of poverty, political excision, and broad-based discrimination during Florida's Jim Crow era.

During the Jim Crow era and for many years thereafter, Black residents continued to work in Quincy's cotton and tobacco fields as sharecroppers. They had no option for upward mobility in the area because of legalized segregation and remained mired in poverty and political disenfranchisement.

The following map shows that Florida's heaviest slave populations were concentrated in the north central and central parts of the state – areas that include significant portions of Benchmark CD-5. These communities continue to have large Black populations – a significant number of whom now reside in Benchmark CD-5

and a significant number of whom are direct descendants of North Florida's slaves and sharecroppers.

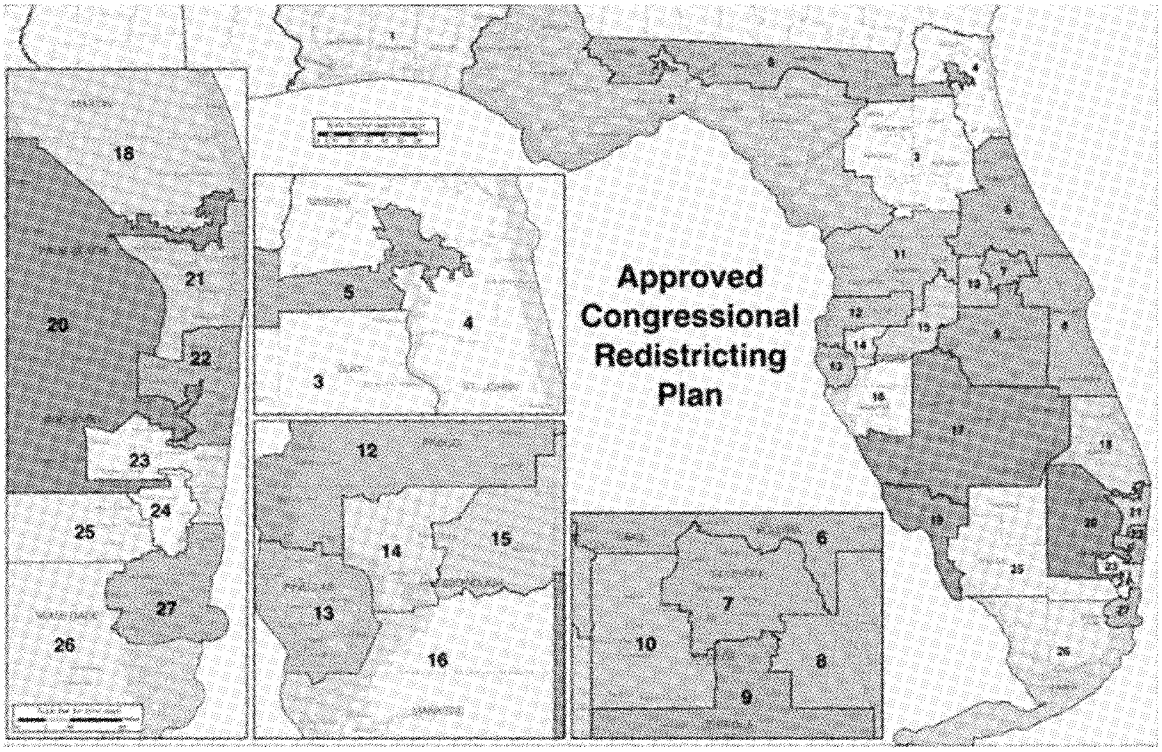
**Figure 1:**




Source: Reprinted from Isbell, Matthew. 2022. "Let's Talk About the 5th Congressional District." MCI Maps. https://mcimaps.com/lets-talk-About- the-florida-5th-congressional-district/. Accessed on April 13, 2022.

The overlap between these heavily concentrated areas of slave population and the Benchmark version of CD-5 is readily evident from the boundaries of that district:

**Figure 2:**




Source: Reprinted from Cordeiro, Monivette. 2015. "Florida Supreme Court Picks Congressional District Map." Orlando Weekly Dec. 3. https://www.orlandoweekly.com/news/florida-supreme-court-picks-congressional-district-map-2454375. Accessed on April 13, 2022.

### B. Florida has a long history of repressing Black voters and their electoral access in North Florida and the areas in and near Benchmark CD-5.

Throughout Florida's history, Black voters have been less successful in electing their preferred congressional representatives because of discriminatory barriers utilized by the state. In 1870, Josiah Walls, a former slave and Union soldier from Alachua County, became Florida's first Black member of Congress after defeating former slave owner and Confederate veteran Silas L. Niblack in the general election by 627 votes (Klingman 1974; Office of Art and Archives 2022).

From 1876 until 1992, however, Florida elected not a single Black candidate to Congress.

Florida's 1885 Constitution, which was in effect until 1968, was enacted as a "white supremacy document," and operated to disenfranchise thousands of Black voters over several decades. (Paulson 2013). The 1885 Constitution and the laws passed by the Legislature thereafter erected multiple barriers to Black voting, such as the White primary, grandfather clause, poll tax, ballot box law, long residency requirements, and scores of other obstacles. (Kousser 1974, 40; Paulson 2013). These practices obstructed the election of Black representatives to state office of any kind in Florida until the civil rights era of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Gadsden County in North Florida is an example of the pernicious effectiveness of the 1885 Constitution in disenfranchising Black voters. Florida's only remaining majority African American county, Gadsden's residents have experienced extensive voting and other political discrimination in Florida for many decades. During Reconstruction, White opponents of Black suffrage directed numerous threats and acts of violence toward newly-emancipated slaves in Gadsden. (Long 2019, 27). These opponents intended to, and succeeded in, frightening Black citizens to such an extent that they found it impossible to vote in elections. According to a comprehensive study of Black voter intimidation during Reconstruction, author

Thomas Long found, "White violence effected no changes in the laws that had empowered African American voters, but it stifled their voice." (Long 2019, 27).

During the Jim Crow era that followed Reconstruction, suppression of the Black vote continued; indeed, Gadsden's Black citizens knew that they would encounter severe consequences if they tried to participate in the local political scene. (Long 2019).

Because of widespread evidence of Black voter disenfranchisement in Florida and other southern states, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Among other things, the Act established the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to investigate allegations of citizen disfranchisement on account of race, color, religion, or national origin. (Wood 2016, 6). One of the first complaints of Black disfranchisement was from Gadsden. In a sworn complaint, one citizen alleged that "through threats of bodily harm and losing of jobs, and other means, the Negro residents of Gadsden County, Fla., are being deprived of their right to vote." (Wood 2016, 7).

The Civil Rights Commission's first report documented that in Gadsden County in 1958 "only 7 Negroes were registered [to vote] . . . although 10,930 adult Negroes lived there." (Wood 2016, 7). Two years later, in 1960, the predominantly Black county had a Black Voting Age Population ("BVAP") of 12,261, but still only seven African Americans were registered to vote. (Klas 2016). One Gadsden resident recalled that during this time, "Blacks didn't participate in the political

process. Blacks stayed in their own section of Quincy [which is located in Gadsden County] and all of the stores in town were located on Adams Street known as Colored Street or Nigger Row." (White 2006, 46).

Low Black voter registration was not confined to Gadsden. Before the Voting Rights Act of 1965 ("VRA"), Florida counties with the largest Black populations had the lowest Black voter registration rates. (Wood 2016, 7). According to a second U.S. Civil Rights Commission report, Black voters were confronted with threats, violence, and harassment when attempting to register. These tactics included cross burnings, fire bombings, and threatening phone calls. (Wood 2016, 7).

The Black voter registration rate increased after the VRA went into effect. In 1960, 40% of Florida's Black citizens were registered. In 1968, Gadsden County had 4,663 registered Black voters. (Isbell 2021a). By 1971, the percentage of registered voters in the Black voting-age population had grown to almost 60% (Southern Oral History Program 2021). By 1972, the number of registered Black voters (7,615) in Gadsden County had for the first time surpassed the number of White registered voters (7,391). (Isbell 2021a).

### C. Historical and contemporary elections show that Black voters are prevented from electing candidates of their choice, particularly in and around CD-5, unless they are able to vote in districts where they comprise a sizable plurality of the voting population.

Despite these gains, Black Floridians remained unable to elect their preferred candidates of choice to Congress because of state-sanctioned efforts to restrict and dilute both Black voting and office-holding. Until 1992, all counties in North Florida remained without Black congressional representation and had so since Reconstruction. (Rozsa and Itkowitz 2022). This lack of political representation was the result of redistricting practices that split the state's Black population into districts where their votes would be drowned out by overwhelming White majorities. It was only after Black voters obtained majority-minority districts through hard fought litigation that they were finally able to elect candidates of their choice.

For decades, the Florida legislature has attempted to draw districts to prevent Florida's Black citizens from electing minority representatives—Blacks have had to aggressively fight "for representation in the map-drawing process." (Isbell 2021a). This history begins in 1970, when Black voters unsuccessfully challenged the newly-drawn 1970 congressional districts in the *Wolfson v. Nearing* case. They accused the legislature of both racial and partisan gerrymandering and argued that "gerrymandering and multi-member districts are used with discriminatory effect so as to cancel out or minimize the votes of racial and political elements of the

constituency." *Wolfson v. Nearing,* 346 F. Supp. 799, 803 (M.D. Fla. 1972). The plaintiffs specifically pointed to the drawing of districts in Gadsden, Broward, Dade, Duval, and Polk Counties. In particular, Plaintiffs alleged that Gadsden (where Blacks outnumbered Whites) was combined with surrounding predominantly White counties to prevent the election of Black representatives. (*Wolfson.*) Moreover, in Broward, Dade, and Duval Counties, Plaintiffs alleged that "readily identifiable black ghetto areas" were split so that Black voters could not elect Black representatives. (*Wolfson.*).

In 1982, the NAACP and other civil rights organizations again challenged Florida's redistricting process, arguing that the state legislature continued to redraw districts to make it difficult for Blacks to elect representatives. Instead of creating a predominantly Black district that combined neighborhoods in South Tallahassee with those in nearby Gadsden County, the Florida House created two predominantly White state House districts (the 8th and the 9th) that combined the south sides of Tallahassee and Gadsden, respectively, with predominantly White, rural areas. (Isbell 2021a).

Although Al Lawson won election to the Florida House, representing the 9th state House district under this plan, that was only because of a high Black turnout rate and a split of the vote among three White candidates. Lawson and Bette Wimbush, an African American woman, competed in the runoff election that

Lawson later won. Lawson's victory made him the first Black state representative from the Panhandle since Reconstruction.

In 1992, Black voters saw their first victory in electing a candidate of their choice to represent Florida in the U.S. Congress. During that redistricting cycle, both Black and Hispanic citizens argued that the VRA required the creation of majority Black and Hispanic state legislative and congressional districts. (Isbell 2021b). After the state reached an impasse in enacting a new plan, a three-judge federal court implemented a congressional districting plan which sided with the plaintiffs. For the first time, Florida's congressional plan contained three African American majority or plurality Black voting-age population districts and two largely Hispanic districts, in South Florida. (Isbell 2021b) (Clayton 1998, 38). The three majority Black populations were the 17th and the 23rd districts, located in South Florida, and the 3rd district, located in North Florida. (Clayton 1998, 38). The 3rd district was made famous by its horseshoe configuration, stretching across part of North Florida and extending down into central Florida.

As a result of these new districts, Black voters elected their first Black congressional representatives since Josiah T. Walls was unseated in 1876 - Corinne Brown (CD-3), Carrie Meek (CD-17), and Alcee Hastings (CD-23). (Isbell 2021b).

Florida, however, attempted to turn back such gains in 2012, when the Florida Legislature enacted a congressional districting plan that increased the Black voting-

age population ("BVAP") of CD-5 to over 50 percent, with the effect of reducing the number of minority-performing congressional districts in the plan. In *League of Women Voters v. Detzner*, plaintiffs challenged the Florida Legislature's 2012 congressional redistricting plan as a violation of Florida's new Fair Districts Amendments ("FDA"), which prohibited the Legislature from drawing a redistricting plan or individual district "with the intent or result of denying or abridging the equal opportunity of racial or language minorities to participate in the political process or to diminish their ability to elect representatives of their choice." Art. III, § 20(a), Fla. Const.

The trial court ultimately found that increasing the BVAP of CD-5 to over 50% "was done with the intent of benefitting the Republican party," and that cooperation and collaboration between the Legislature and political operatives "managed to taint the redistricting process with improper partisan intent." *League of Women Voters v. Detzner*, Case No. 2012-CA-412 (Fla. 2d Cir. Ct., July 10, 2014) at 20, 22. As part of the remedial phase of the case, the trial court recommended the adoption of the plaintiffs' alternative plan which not only demonstrated the ability to draw two congressional districts, in north (Benchmark CD-5) and central (CD-10) Florida, in which Black voters had the ability to elect candidates of their choice, but was also "hands down the best tier two performing map of the group." *League of Women Voters v. Detzner*, Case No. 2012-CA-412 (Fla. 2d Cir. Ct., Oct. 9, 2015)

at 12. The Florida Supreme Court ultimately adopted that plan in 2015. Benchmark CD-5 featured a much neater and compact district as compared to the "horseshoe" majority-minority district obtained in 1992 and the "packed" district at issue in 2015.

Since the remedial plan was imposed, CD-5 has elected the Black candidate of choice (Al Lawson) in every election. On December 2, 2015, the Florida Supreme Court approved the configuration of Benchmark CD-5 that went into effect for the 2016 election cycle. (Klas 2015). In 2016, Al Lawson defeated Republican Glo Smith in the November general election.

### D. The DeSantis Plan dismantles Benchmark CD-5 and in the process eliminates Black voters' ability to elect a candidate of their choice.

The DeSantis Plan undoes the gains Black voters had achieved in North Florida by dismantling a court-ordered plan which successfully elected the Black-preferred candidate.

The DeSantis Plan effectively destroys the Black-opportunity district in North Florida. At the start of Florida's redistricting process this year, the Legislature appeared poised to respect the constitutional mandates that required it to maintain Black voters' ability to elect in CD-5. The Senate passed a congressional plan that kept CD-5 similar to its "Benchmark" configuration approved by the Florida Supreme Court. (Moline 2022). Ultimately, under threat of Governor DeSantis's veto, the Senate and House passed two congressional districting plans: (1) a primary

plan, (H000C8019) that largely dismantled CD-5 and would leave substantial minority populations in Gadsden, Leon, and other panhandle counties without the ability to elect candidates of their choice; and (2) a secondary, backup plan (H000C8015), which kept CD-5 a minority-plurality district close to its Benchmark configuration. (Contorno 2022). Representative Al Lawson aptly observed that the Legislature had never previously passed two versions of a congressional plan at once, stating "[n]ever in our state's history has the Florida legislature submitted two maps for review—one that is clearly unconstitutional and a second 'in case we get caught' map." (Rozsa and Itkowitz 2022).

Governor DeSantis, however, remained unsatisfied with either plan proposed by the Legislature and vetoed their proposals. (Contorno 2022). He later proposed a plan, P000C0109 (see figure 3 below), that completely eliminated CD-5 as a minority-plurality district and left all of the substantial minority communities in the current CD-5 without the ability to elect candidates of their choice. (Rozsa and Itkowitz 2022).

The dismantling of CD-5 in the DeSantis Plan divides Black communities between majority White districts in which Black voters will be denied the opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. (Clayton 1998). The DeSantis Plan would eliminate the large Black population in Benchmark CD-5 and again result in

the election of White-preferred representatives of a substantially Black constituency. (Isbell 2021a).

## V. Conclusion

Florida has a long history of precluding or suppressing Black Floridians' electoral access. Elections show that Black voters are prevented from electing candidates of their choice, particularly in and around CD-5, unless they are in a district where they comprise a sizable plurality of the voting population. Indeed, it was not until 2016 that Black voters across North Florida first elected a candidate of their choice to Congress, only after the creation of CD-5. The DeSantis Plan unwinds and undoes Black voters' electoral ability in CD-5. The foregoing historical factors reflect the necessity for Black voters to have districts with a functioning minority-majority or minority plurality to elect candidates of their choice, particularly in the region of CD-5.

Executed this 26th day of April 2022.

Dr. Sharon Austin

**Exhibit A**

**DR. SHARON D. WRIGHT AUSTIN**
**UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA**
**234 ANDERSON HALL**
**GAINESVILLE, FL 32611**
polssdw@ufl.edu

## Education:

*The University of Tennessee at Knoxville*
Earned doctorate in political science in August 1993
Major areas of emphasis: American Government (Public Law; Congress, the Presidency, and the Judiciary, and Minority Politics)
Minor areas of emphasis: Comparative Politics and Public Administration
Dissertation: *Aftermath of the Voting Rights Act of 1965: Racial Voting Patterns in Memphis Mayoral Elections, 1967-1991*

*The University of Memphis*
Earned master's degree in political science with a minor in education in December 1989

*Christian Brothers University*
Earned bachelor's degree in history with a minor in political science in May 1987

## Teaching:

*The University of Florida*
Professor, August 2018-Present
Director of the African American Studies Program, July 2012-August 2019
Interim Director of the African American Studies Program, August 2011-July 2012
Associate Professor, August 2004-August 2018.
Undergraduate Coordinator, August 2008- August 2010
Visiting Associate Professor, August 2001-August 2004. Received tenure in June 2007
Courses offered:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| African American Politics | American Government | Latino Politics and Policy |
| African American Studies Seminar | African Americans in Paris | Asian American Politics |
| Cultural Diversity | Community Analysis | Honors American Government |
| Key Issues in Black Atlantic Thought | Politics of Race at UF | Presidential Inauguration Seminar |
| Race, Gender, and Politics | Urban Politics | Women of Color and the Law |

*The Junior Statesman Program at Yale University*
Associate Professor of American Government from July 1-26, 2002

*The University of Michigan at Ann Arbor*
Visiting Scholar of Political Science from August 2000-May 2001
Courses offered:

Political Participation and Pressure Groups State and Local Government Urban Analysis

*The University of Missouri at Columbia*
Associate Professor of Political Science and Black Studies from July 2000-August 2002
Assistant Professor of Political Science and Black Studies from August 1995-July 2000
Courses offered:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| American Government | Black Political Thought | Black Women in Politics |
| Community Analysis | Introduction to Black Studies | Municipal Problems |
| State and Local Government | Urban Politics | Women and the Law |

*The University of Louisville*
Assistant Professor of Pan African Studies from August 1992-May 1995
Courses offered:

| | |
|---|---|
| Black Nationalist Politics in America | Civil Rights and the Law, Parts I and II |
| Constitutional Law-Civil Rights and Civil Liberties | Constitutional Law-Powers of Government |
| Contemporary African American Political Topics | Politics of the Black Community |
| Race, Class, and Gender in the U.S. | Southern Politics |

**Grants for the African American Studies Program:**

Received a $3,000 "Support for Workshops and Speaker Series in the Humanities" Grant from the Center for the Humanities and Public Sphere in February 2016. This grant funded "The Black Women in the Academy" workshop in February 2017 at the University of Florida.

Received a $3,500 "Support for Workshops and Speaker Series in the Humanities" Grant from the Center for the Humanities and Public Sphere in March 2015. This grant funded "The Legacy and Influence of President Barack Hussein Obama" workshop in February 2016.

Received a $1,500 "Civil Debate Wall" Grant from the Bob Graham Center for Public Service in July 2012. This grant funded an online discussion of African American views about same-sex marriage.

Received a $3,500 "Support for Workshops and Speaker Series in the Humanities" Grant from the Center for the Humanities and Public Sphere in February 2012. This grant funded "The Education and Identity of African American Men" workshop in February 2013.

**Grants for My Research and Teaching:**

Co-Director, "Feminist Futures of Economic Cooperation among the Global African Diaspora" Project for $449,818, Social Science and Humanities Research Council's Race, Gender, and Diversity Initiative, Submitted in November 2021. Denied Funding.

Primary Investigator, University of Florida Racial Justice Grant for $60,000 to conduct research on Black faculty recruitment and retention, November 2020.

Primary Investigator, University of Florida Racial Justice Grant for $60,000 to conduct research on the university's ties to slavery, November 2020.

University of Florida Department of Political Science Grant for $1,000 to conduct research on "Racial Group Consciousness and the Haitian Immigrant Quest for Political Incorporation" with Doctoral Student Danielle King, April 2010.

University of Florida Graham Center Case Study Grant for $4,000 to conduct research on "Taking Back the Land: The Battle of Liberty City's Resident against Gentrification." Coauthored by undergraduate student Leonard J. Laurenceau, April 2009.

University of Florida Graham Center for $3,000 to develop a Latino Politics and Policy course, April 2008.

University of Florida Department of Political Science Grant for $3,000 to conduct research on "Concentrated Poverty, Social Isolation, and Political Participation in the Southern Black Belt" during the summer of 2006, March 2006

University of Florida College of Liberal Arts and Sciences Humanities Enhancement Grant for $4,000 to conduct research on "Concentrated Poverty, Social Isolation, and Political Participation in the Southern Black Belt," December 2005

Summer Research Fellowship for $7,000 from the University of Missouri in June 1996 to conduct research on "An Analysis of a New Generation of Black Mayors"

Research Council Grant for $2,000 from the University of Missouri in June 1996 to conduct research on "An Analysis of a New Generation of Black Mayors"

Faculty Development Grant for $3,300 from the University of Missouri in June 1997 to attend the Inter-Consortium for Political and Social Science Research at the University of Michigan

Research Grant for $2,000 from the Office of the Provost at the University of Louisville in June 1994 to conduct research at the University of West Indies at Cave Hill, Barbados, West Indies

Research Grant for $500 from the University of Louisville in May 1993 to conduct research on "Black Women in Kentucky Politics"

Received Dissertation Fellowship for $2,000 from the University of Louisville in August 1992

**Honors, Awards, and Recognitions:**

Graduate Education Diversity Champion for 2021-22, April 2022. This award recognizes faculty members who have enhanced and contributed to the overall graduate environment by actively and positively promoting the concept of diversity and improving cross-cultural understanding and inclusivity in the university environment.

David King Defender of Democracy Award, *League of Women Voters of Florida*, January 2022.

Science Defender Award, *Union of Concerned Scientists*, December 2021.

Selected as a University Term Professor, 2021-2024, for excellence in scholarship, teaching, and service at the University of Florida.

Selected for induction into the Edward A. Bouchet Graduate Honor Society's UF Chapter on February 8, 2021 because of my "scholarship, leadership, character, service, and advocacy" on behalf of under-represented graduate students.

Selected as a University Term Professor, 2018-2021, for excellence in scholarship, teaching, and service at the University of Florida.

Selected as a 2010-2011 Colonel Allen R. and Margaret G. Crow Term Professor of Liberal Arts and Sciences for excellence in scholarship, teaching, and service at the University of Florida, April 2010.

Winner of the Erika Fairchild Award of the Women's Caucus of the Southern Political Science Association on January 8, 2009. The award is given to a female scholar with a strong record of scholarship who is committed to students, teaching, and mentoring other female scholars, is a thoughtful, caring good citizen of the discipline, and has a collegial spirit.

Best Paper on Blacks and Politics Award for "Black Group Consciousness in South Florida". Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, San Diego, California, March 18-21, 2008.

2006 SAVANT UF Honorary Membership Award. SAVANT UF was established in 1967 to recognize those "who have attained a high standard of leadership in collegiate activities and outstanding service to the University of Florida and the surrounding community." Its approximately 140 members granted an honorary membership to me during the spring 2006 semester.

2004-2005 University of Florida University-wide Advisor of the Year

2004-2005 College of Liberal Arts and Sciences Advisor of the Year at the University of Florida

2004-2005 Student Activities Center Student Organization Advisor of the Year at the University of Florida for my work with the Black Political Science Association

Fellow, "Analyzing Poverty and Welfare Trends Using Census 2000 Data" Workshop at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, June 23-27, 2003.

Outstanding Mentor of the Gatorlaunch Program during the 2002-2003 academic year.

Best Paper on Blacks and Politics Award for "The 2001 Los Angeles Mayoral Election: An Analysis of the Racial Threat Hypothesis and Black-Latino Electoral Coalitions" by Sharon D.

Wright and Richard T. Middleton IV. Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Long Beach, CA, March 22, 2002.

My chapter "Clinton and Racial Politics" is published in *The Postmodern Presidency: Bill Clinton's Legacy in U.S. Politics*, which was selected by *CHOICE* AS ONE OF THE "Outstanding Academic Books of the Year" for 2001.

Outstanding Mentor of the McNair Scholars Program during the 2001-2002, 2002-2003, and 2004-2005 academic years

Freedom Journal Award, "The Voice Magazine Recognizes Dr. Sharon D. Wright as an Exemplar of Outstanding Service to the Students of the University of Missouri-Columbia, April 25, 1999

Profile in the *Columbia Missourian* newspaper, "The Wright Stuff: MU Professor Spearheads Civil Rights Education," October 19, 1997

Certificate of Recognition, "The Association of Black Graduate and Professional Students Recognizes Dr. Sharon D. Wright for Dedicating her Time and Expertise to the 1998 Graduate Professional Development Workshop," April 3, 1999

Certificate of Appreciation, "The Association of Black Graduate and Professional Students Recognizes Dr. Sharon D. Wright for Participating in the 1997 Graduate Professional Development Workshop," April 9, 1998

"A Case Study in Intra-Racial Divisions: The 1994 Shelby County Mayoral Election" received the Rodney Higgins Best Paper Award of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, March 6-10, 1996

Fellow, Sixth Annual Africana Studies Summer Institute at the University of Ghana at Legon, West Africa. The four-week institute (July 9-August 6, 1995) was sponsored by the National Council for Black Studies and a grant from the Ford Foundation

Fellow, Summer Institute at the University of West Indies, Cave Hill in Barbados, West Indies. The four-week institute (July 19-August 22, 1994) was sponsored by the University of Louisville and the University of West Indies.

**Manuscripts-Published:**

Sharon D. Wright Austin. *The Caribbeanization of Black Politics: Group Consciousness and Political Participation in America*, (State University of Albany Press, 2018), 256 pages.

Sharon D. Wright Austin. *The Transformation of Plantation Politics in the Mississippi Delta: Black Politics, Concentrated Poverty, and Social Capital in the Mississippi Delta* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), 280 pages.

Sharon D. Wright. *Race, Power, and Political Emergence in Memphis* (New York: Routledge Press, 2000), 218 pages.

**Manuscripts Under Contract:**

Sharon D. Wright Austin, editor. *Political Black Girl Magic: The Elections and Governance of Black Female Mayors*. In production. Temple University Press. Submitted to Oxford University Press in December 2021. Currently in production for publication in 2023.

Caroline Shenaz Hossein, Sharon D. Wright Austin, and Kevin Edmonds, editors. *Beyond Racial Capitalism: Cooperatives in the African Diaspora*. Submitted to Oxford University Press in December 2021. Currently in production for publication in 2023.

Caroline Shenaz Hossein, Sharon D. Wright Austin, Tatiana Benjamin, and Sherice Nelson. *African Diaspora Economics*. Under contract. Cambridge University Press.

**Refereed Journal Articles-Published:**

Sharon D. Wright Austin. 2021. Contemporary Black Populism and the Development of Multiracial Coalitions: The 2018 Stacey Abrams and Andrew Gillum Gubernatorial Campaigns. *Political Science Quarterly*. June 15. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1002/polq.13203.

Sharon D. Wright Austin, Editor of a special issue of *The National Political Science Review: The Journal of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists* entitled *The Caribbeanization of Black Politics*. Volume 19.1: 2018.

Sharon D. Wright Austin, "The Group Consciousness and Political Participation of African Americans and Black Ethnics." *The Caribbeanization of Black Politics* special issue of *The National Political Science Review: The Journal of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists*. Volume 19.1: 2018.

Sharon D. Wright Austin, Sekou M. Franklin, and Angela K. Lewis. "The Effects of Concentrated Poverty on Black and White Political Participation in the Southern Black Belt." *National Political Science Review* 15 (2013): 57-69.

Sharon D. Wright Austin, Richard T. Middleton IV, and Rachel Yon. The Effect of Racial Group Consciousness on the Political Participation of African Americans and Black Pan-Ethnics in Miami-Dade County, Florida. *Political Research Quarterly* 65, 3 (September 2012): 629-641.

Baodong Liu, Sharon D. Wright Austin, and Byron D'Andra Orey. Church Attendance, Social Capital, and Black Voting Participation. *Social Science Quarterly* 90, 3 (September 2009): 576-592.

Sharon D. Wright Austin and Richard T. Middleton IV. The Limitations of the Deracialization Concept in the 2001 Los Angeles Mayoral Election. *Political Research Quarterly* 57, 2 (June 2004): 283-293.

Sharon D. Wright and Richard T. Middleton IV. The 2001 Los Angeles Mayoral Election: Implications for Deracialization and Biracial Coalition Theories. *Politics and Policy* (formerly known as the *Southeastern Political Review*) 29, 1 (2002): 692-707.

Sharon D. Wright. The Tennessee Caucus of Black State Legislators. *The Journal of Black Studies* 31, 1 (September 2000): 3-19.

Sharon D. Wright. Political Organization or Machine: The Impact of Harold E. Ford's Endorsements in Memphis Mayoral Elections. *National Political Science Review: The Journal of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists* 7(Fall 1999): 210-220.

Sharon D. Wright. Electoral and Biracial Coalition: Possible Election Strategy for African American Candidates in Louisville, Kentucky. *The Journal of Black Studies* 25, 6 (July 1995): 749-758.

**Refereed Book Chapters-Published:**

Sharon D. Wright Austin. Andrew Gillum's Quest to Become Florida's First Black Governor. In *Historic Firsts in U.S. Elections: Gubernatorial, Congressional, and Mayoral Campaigns, 2018-2019*, edited by Evelyn M. Simien. (Routledge Press 2022).

Sharon D. Wright Austin. Selected Works of African American Studies Faculty at the University of Florida. In *African American Studies: 50 Years at the University of Florida*, eds. Jacob U'Mofe Gordon and Paul Ortiz. (University Press of Florida 2021).

Sharon D. Wright Austin. African American, Black Ethnic, and Dominican Political Relations in Contemporary New York City. In *Black Politics in Transition: Immigration, Suburbanization, and Gentrification*, eds. Candis Watts Smith and Christina M. Greer. (New York: Routledge, 2018).

Sharon D. Wright Austin and Danielle King. President Barack Obama and Racial Politics. In *Barack Obama's Historic Legacy: A Two Year Assessment*, ed. John Davis. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Sharon D. Wright Austin and Richard T. Middleton IV. Racial Politics of Gaming in the Delta. In *Resorting to Casinos: The Mississippi Gaming Industry*, ed. Denise von Hermann (Oxford, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2006).

Sharon D. Wright Austin and Richard T. Middleton IV. The 2001 Los Angeles Mayoral Election: Implications for Deracialization and Biracial Coalition Theories. In *Black and Latino/a Politics: Issues in Political Development in the United States*, eds. Jessica Lavariega Monforti and William E. Nelson Jr. (Miami, FL: Barnhardt and Ash, 2006) [reprint of "The 2001 Los

Angeles Mayoral Election: Implications for Deracialization and Biracial Coalition Theories." *Politics and Policy* (formerly known as the *Southeastern Political Review*) 29, 1 (2002): 692-707.]

Sharon D. Wright Austin and Richard T. Middleton IV. Sustainability in the Twin Cities of Biloxi-Gulfport, Mississippi. In *Governing Middle-Sized Cities: Studies in Mayoral Leadership*, eds. Wilbur C. Rich and James Bowers (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000).

Sharon D. Wright and Minion K.C. Morrison. The African American Political Experience. In *The Historical and Bibliographical Guide to the African American Experience*, eds. Arvarh Strickland and Robert E. Weems Jr. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000).

Sharon D. Wright. Clinton and Racial Politics. In *The Postmodern Presidency: Bill Clinton's Legacy in U.S. Politics*, ed. Steven Schier (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999).

Sharon D. Wright. The Activism of Black Women in Congress, 1967-1997. In *African American Women's Activism Since the Civil Rights Movement*, ed. Kimberly Springer. (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

Sharon D. Wright. The Deracialization Strategy and African American Candidates in Memphis Mayoral Elections. In *Race, Politics and Governance in the United States*, ed. Huey L. Perry (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1997).

**Forthcoming Publications:**

Sharon D. Wright Austin. The Vicious Politics of Tenure and Promotion for Black Female Candidates. In *Disrupting Political Science: Black Women Transforming the Discipline*, edited by Angela Lewis-Maddox. Book is under contract with the State University of New York Press.

**Research in Progress:**

Sharon D. Wright Austin, Caroline Shenaz Hossein, Tatiana Benjamin, Silvane Silva, Sherice J. Nelson. *African Diaspora Economics: How Black Feminist Political Women Advance Communities Through Cooperative Economics*. Book is under contract with Cambridge University Press.

Angela Lewis-Maddox, Sherice J. Nelson, LaRaven Temoney, and Sharon D. Wright Austin. "Black Lives Matter: How Black Women Lead the Movement for Global Transformational Change." Paper under review for inclusion in a special issue of the *Social Science Quarterly* (Freedom Dreaming: A Symposium on Racial Justice, Unrest, and Abolition). Guest Edited by: Drs. Jenn M. Jackson (Syracuse), Traci Burch (Northwestern), and Periloux Peay (Georgia State University). Submitted in October 2020.

**Research Report:**

Sharon D. Wright. Casino Gaming in the Delta: Race, Politics, and Gaming in Tunica County, Mississippi. In *The Trotter Review of the University of Massachusetts, Boston* 38 (Summer 2000).

**Encyclopedia Entries:**

Sharon D. Wright Austin. Constance Baker-Motley. In *An Encyclopedia of American Civil Rights and Liberties*, eds. Otis H. Stephens Jr., John M. Scheb II, and Kara E. Stooksbury (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006).

Sharon D. Wright Austin. Rosa Parks. In *An Encyclopedia of American Civil Rights and Liberties*, eds. Otis H. Stephens Jr., John M. Scheb II, and Kara E. Stooksbury (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006).

**Book Reviews:**

Sharon D. Wright Austin. *Shirley Chisholm: Her Life, Her Words, Her Time*. Glenn L. Starks and F. Erik Brooks (Manuscript reviewed for Columbia University Press in September 2021).

Sharon D. Wright Austin. *Somalis in the Neo-South: African Immigration, Politics and Race*. Dorian Brown Crosby. Peter Lang, 2020. (Book reviewed for the *National Political Science Review* in July 2021).

Sharon D. Wright Austin. *Political Volatility in the United States: How Racial and Religious Groups Win and Lose*. (Manuscript reviewed for Lexington Books in April 2021).

Sharon D. Wright Austin. *The Black Banker Ladies: Mutual Aid and Rotating Savings and Credit Associations of Racialized Women*. Caroline Shenaz Hossein (Manuscript reviewed for University of Toronto Press in November 2019).

Sharon D. Wright Austin. *Latino Politics in America: Community, Culture and Interests*. John A. Garcia (Manuscript reviewed for Rowman and Littlefield in November 2019).

Sharon D. Wright Austin. *Redefining the Political: Poor Black Women in Chicago and New Understandings of Political Identity and Action*. Alexandra Moffett-Bateau (Manuscript reviewed for Temple University Press in October 2019).

Sharon D. Wright Austin. *Much Sound and Fury, or the New Jim Crow? The Twenty-First Century's Restrictive New Voting Laws and their Impact in the States*. Edited by Michael A. Smith (Manuscript reviewed for State University of New York at Albany Press in September 2019).

Sharon D. Wright Austin. *Losing Power: African Americans and Racial Polarization in Tennessee Politics, 2000-2012*. Sekou M. Franklin and Ray Block Jr. (Manuscript reviewer for the University of Georgia Press in August 2017).

Sharon D. Wright Austin. American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal *Freedom*. *Eighth Edition*. Hanes Walton Jr., Robert Smith, and Sherri Wallace (Manuscript reviewed for Routledge Press in June 2015).

Sharon D. Wright Austin. *African American Politics*. Andra Gillespie and Shayla Nunnally. (Manuscript reviewed for Routledge Press in December 2012).

Sharon D. Wright Austin. *Contemporary Southern Politics*. Seth McKee. (Manuscript reviewed for Routledge Press in August 2012).

Sharon D. Wright Austin. *Ciencia Politica: The Scientific Analysis of Latino Politics in the United States*. Edited by Tony Affigne, Evelyn Hu-DeHart, and Marion Orr. (Manuscript reviewed for Routledge Press in March 2011).

Sharon D. Wright Austin. *To the Right and Misunderstood: Conservatism in the Black Community*. Angela K. Lewis. (Manuscript reviewer for SUNY Albany Press in 2009).

Sharon D. Wright Austin. *Whose Black Politics? Case Studies in Post-Racial Black Leadership*. Edited by Professor Andra Gillespie. (Manuscript reviewed for Routledge Press in January 2009).

Sharon D. Wright Austin. *African American Politics in the 21st Century*. Andra Gillespie, Editor. (Manuscript reviewed for the Congressional Quarterly Press and Routledge Press in 2007).

Sharon D. Wright Austin. W*here Have You Gone, Horatio Alger? A Convergence of Race and Poverty in the Memphis City Schools*. Marcus Pohlmann (Manuscript reviewed for the University of Tennessee Press in 2007).

Sharon D. Wright Austin. *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and Its Legacy* by Kenneth T Andrews (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004) for the *Journal of Southern History.*

Sharon D. Wright Austin. *Black Feminist Voices in Politics* by Evelyn Simien for the State University of New York Press, 2004.

Sharon D. Wright Austin. *The Politics of the New South: Representation of African Americans in Southern State Legislatures* by Charles E. Menifield and Stephen D. Shaffer (eds.) for the State University of New York Press, July 2003.

Sharon D. Wright. *The Encyclopedia of Memphis* by Timothy Huebner and Michael Nelson (eds.) for the University of Tennessee, Knoxville Press, October 2002.

Sharon D. Wright. *Red Lines, Black Spaces: The Politics of Race and Space in a Black Middle-Class Suburb* by Bruce D. Haynes (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001) for the *Journal of Politics*.

Sharon D. Wright. Comparison Review of *Enforcing Civil Rights: Race Discrimination and the Department of Justice* by Brian K. Landsberg (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1997); *Reaching Beyond Race* by Paul M. Sniderman and Edward G. Carmines (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), and *Racism in the post-Civil Rights Era: Now You See It, Now You Don't* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995) for the *Policy Studies Journal*.

Sharon D. Wright. *Racial Politics at the Crossroads: Memphis Elects Dr. W.W. Herenton* by Marcus Pohlmann and Michael Kirby (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1996) for the *National Political Science Review: The Journal of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists*.

Sharon D. Wright. *Government in America, Brief Version, Third Edition* by Edwards, Wattenberg, and Lineberry (New York: Longman , 1995) for Longman Publishing.

Sharon D. Wright. *African Americans at the Crossroads: The Restructuring of Black Leadership and the 1992 Elections* by Clarence Lusane (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1995) for the *Social Science Quarterly*.

Sharon D. Wright. *Abortion and American Politics* by Barbara H. Craig and David M. O'Brien (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1994) for the *National Political Science Review: The Journal of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists*.

Sharon D. Wright. *Studying Politics* by Roderick Church, Terrence Carroll, and Nicolar Baxter-Moore (New York: Longman, 1994) for Longman Press.

Sharon D. Wright. Comparison Review of *the Year of the Woman: Myths and Realities* by Thomas Cook (Greenwood, CT: Westview Press, 1994); *Women, Elections and Representation. Second Edition* by Darcy, Welch, and Clark for the *Southeastern Political Review*.

Sharon D. Wright. *Empirical Political Analysis: Research Methods in Political Science. Third Edition* by Jarol B. Mannheim and Richard C. Rich (New York: Longman, 1993).

**International Activities:**

**Instructor**
African Americans in Paris spring break class in 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2020, and 2022.

**Virtual presentation**
Second Annual International Conference on Cooperatives, Mutual Aid, and Solidarity Economics. Department of Economics. University of Kerala, India. January 14, 2022.

**Reviewer**

For virtual defense of *Immigrant Political Integration in Finland: The Perspectives of Black African Immigrants at the Municipal Level* by Thaddeus C. Ndukwe. February 4, 2022. University of Jyvaskyla, Finland.

**Presenter**
Black History Month Presentation on the Black Social Economy. February 16, 2022. University of Toronto, Scarborough.

Taught 10 undergraduate and 2 graduate students in my 2022 African Americans in Paris spring break class. March 6-13, 2022.

**Presenter**
The American University of Paris. Discussed publishing opportunities in the American Political Science Review. March 11, 2022.

**Conference Presentations:**

**Chair and Discussant**
Native American Politics Panel. Southern Political Science Association. San Antonio, TX. January 15, 2022.

**Presenter**
Black Female Mayors in America. Southern Political Science Association. San Antonio, TX. January 15, 2022.

**Chair and Discussant**
Black Women in Legislatures. Southern Political Science Association. San Antonio, TX. January 13, 2022.

**Discussant**
Author Meets Critics Panel on The Great Migration and the Democratic Party: Black Voters and the Realignment of American Politics in the 20th Century by Keneshia Grant. American Political Science Association Virtual Panel. September 30, 2021.

**Chair and Discussant**
Partisanship and Voting among Black Americans. American Political Science Association Virtual Panel. September 29, 2021.

**Commentator**
Virtual Haywood Millbauer Symposium sponsored by the UF history department for a lecture entitled ""Mr. Muhammad Says All of This is Possible for You and Me': Elijah Muhammad, Muhammad Speaks, and Black Nationalism during the Space Age" by Professor D'Weston Haywood. April 15, 2021.

**Panelist**
Virtual Panel on The Editor's Guide to Book and Journal Publishing. National Conference of Black Political Scientists. March 13, 2021.

**Discussant**
Black Women as the Conscience in Business and Society: Understanding Collective Power in a Comparative Perspective Panel. National Conference of Black Political Scientists virtual meeting, March 12th, 2021.

**Panelist**
Virtual Tenure and Promotion Roundtable. National Conference of Black Political Scientists. March 12, 2021.

**Discussant**
Black Women in Politics Panel. Southern Political Science Association virtual meeting. January 8, 2021.

**Organizer and Panelist**
Tenure and Promotion Panel. Southern Political Science Association virtual meeting. January 9, 2021.

**Discussant**
Mobilization, Civic Engagement, and Resilience Panel. American Politics in the 20th Century. American Political Science Association virtual meeting. September 13, 2021.

**Organizer and Panelist**
The Editors' Guide to Book and Journal Publishing Roundtable, National Conference of Black Political Scientists virtual meeting, March 12th, 2021.

**Panelist**
Author Meets Critics: The Great Migration and the Democratic Party: Black Voters and the Realignment of American Politics in the 20th Century. American Political Science Association virtual meeting. September 11, 2021.

**Presenter**
Andrew Gillum's Quest to Become Florida's First Black Governor, *Historic Firsts in U.S. Elections* Panel. National Conference of Black Political Scientists virtual meeting, March 12th, 2021.

**Presenter**
The Legacy of Plessy v. Ferguson at Predominantly White Institutions: The Politics of Defining "Black" Students for Admissions Purposes
Russell Sage Journal Conference: The Legacy of Separate But Equal: Policy Implications for the 21st Century, New York, New York, September 27, 2019.

**Chair and Presenter**
The Campaigns, Elections, and Governance of Black Female Mayors
American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 28-September 1, 2019.

**Presenter**
Afro-Cuban Group Consciousness and Political Participation in Miami-Dade County
National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, March 14-17, 2019.

**Discussant**
Black Women as Elected Officials Panel
National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, March 14-17, 2019.

**Panelist on Roundtable Panel**
The Politics of Faculty Diversity and Tenure Panel
National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Chicago, Illinois, March 14-17, 2018.

**Chair and Discussant**
Pan African Thought and Method Panel
National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Chicago, Illinois, March 14-17, 2018.

**Panelist on Roundtable Panel**
*National Political Science Review*: A Standard-Driven Academic Refereed Journal of Black Politics
National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Jackson, Mississippi, March 14-17, 2016

**Chair and Discussant**
Descriptive Representation Without Substance: Black Inclusion in the Era of Racial Animus
National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Jackson, Mississippi, March 14-17, 2016

**Chair and Discussant**
Schools, Cities, and Cradle-to-Prison Pipeline
National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Jackson, Mississippi, March 14-17, 2016

**Chair and Discussant**
African American Archival Research
Associate for the Study of Afro American Life and History, Jacksonville, Florida, October 2-4, 2013.

**Chair and Discussant**
African American Political and Policy Issues
Associate for the Study of Afro American Life and History, Jacksonville, Florida, October 2-4, 2013.

**Discussant**
Urban Political Empowerment
Southern Political Science Association, Orlando, Florida, January 3-5, 2013.

**Chair and Discussant**
African and African American Policy Issues
National Council for Black Studies, Atlanta, Georgia, March 8, 2012.

**Chair and Discussant**
African and African American Political Leadership
National Council for Black Studies, Atlanta, Georgia, March 9, 2012.

**Chair and Discussant**
The Politics of African American Educational and Identity Issues
National Council for Black Studies, Atlanta, Georgia, March 9, 2012.

**Presenter:**
Church Attendance, Social Capital, and Black Voting Participation
Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 1-3, 2008.

**Presenter:**
Black Group Consciousness in South Florida
Western Political Science Association, San Diego, California, March 18-21, 2008.

**Chair and Discussant:**
Latino Politics Panel
Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 4-6, 2007

**Discussant:**
The New Politics of Multiracial Cities Panel
American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August, 31-September 3, 2006

**Discussant:**
Emerging Issues in African American Opinion Panel
American Political Science Association, August 28-September 1, 2005, Washington, D.C.

**Chair and Discussant:**
The Political Research of Dr. Ronald McNair Scholars
Panel participants included four University of Florida students: Gloria Bowens, James Holloway III, Natassia Kelly, and Funmi Olorunnipa.
National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Oakland, California, March 8-12, 2003

**Chair:**
Getting Through the Tenure and Promotion Process
National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Oakland, California, March 8-12, 2003

**Presenter:**
"Coping with the Graduate School Experience"
Western Political Science Association, Long Beach, California, March 23, 2002

**Presenter:**
"The 2000 Los Angeles Mayoral Election: An Analysis of the Racial Threat Hypothesis and Black-Latino Electoral Coalitions"

Western Political Science Association, Long Beach, California, March 23, 2002

**Chair and Discussant:**
The Role of Race in Southern Elections and Public Policies
National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Atlanta, Georgia, March, 8, 2002

**Section Chair:**
State and Local Politics Section
National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Atlanta, Georgia, March, 6-1-, 2002; March 8-12, 2003

**Presenter:**
"Coping with the Graduate School Experience"
Western Political Science Association, Las Vegas, Nevada, March 22, 2001

**Chair:**
Racial Contexts and Representations in the Political Space
Students of Color of Rackham Conference, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, February 17, 2001

**Presenter:**
"Women of Color in Academia"
Students of Color of Rackham Conference, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, February 16, 2001

**Chair:**
Political Empowerment and Racial Minorities: Where We Are at Century's End
American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 31-September 3, 2000

**Discussant:**
Representation, Redistricting, and Race in Electoral Politics
American Political Science Association, Boston, Massachusetts, September 3-6, 1998

**Chair:**
Issues Related to Teaching
American Association of Behavioral and Social Sciences, Las Vegas, Nevada, January 13-15, 1998

**Presenter:**
"Developing Black Studies Programs in Order to Enhance Diversity"
American Association of Behavioral and Social Sciences, Las Vegas, Nevada, January 13-15, 1998

**Presenter:**
"America's Ethiopia: The Politics of Casino Gambling in Tunica County, Mississippi"
Urban Affairs Association, Toronto, Canada, April 19, 1997

**Presenter:**
"The Elections of the Nineties: An Analysis of a New Generation of Black Mayors"
American Political Science Association, San Francisco, California, August 30-September 2, 1996

**Chair and Discussant:**
Black State Legislative Politics
National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Savannah, Georgia, March 6-10, 1996

**Presenter and Chair:**
Challenges to Governance: The Freeman Bosley Administration of St. Louis
Southern Political Science Association, Tampa, Florida, November 1995

**Presenter:**
"A Case Study in Black Activism: The Freeman Bosley Mayoral Election in St. Louis"
Missouri Political Science Association, Columbia, Missouri, October 1995

**Presenter:**
"A Case Study in Intra-racial Divisions: The 1994 Shelby County Mayoral Election"
National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Baltimore, Maryland, March 1995

**Presenter:**
"The Political Economy of Racism Revisited: The Relationship between the Black Political Establishment and the White economic Community in Memphis, Tennessee"
American Political Science Association, New York, New York, September 1994

**Discussant:**
Blacks as the Old Minorities or Role Model?
Annual Conference on Minority Relations, Wellesley College, April 1994

**Presenter:**
"The Effect of Majority Vote Requirements on Black Candidate Success in At-Large Memphis Elections"
National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Hampton, Virginia, March 9, 1994

**Presenter:**
"Organization or Machine: The Power of Ford Endorsements in Memphis Mayoral Elections"
Southern Political Science Association, Savannah, Georgia, November 1993

**Presenter:**
"Independent Black Political Leadership: The Presidential Campaigns of Dr. Lenora B. Fulani"
Southern Political Science Association, Savannah, Georgia, November 1993

**Presenter:**
"Racial Gerrymandering in Louisville: The Effect of Legislative Reapportionment on African American Legislative Representation"

Women's Studies Conference, Bowling Green, Kentucky, September 1993.

**Presenter:**
"Deracialization and Biracial Coalition: Possible Election Strategy for African American Candidates in Louisville, Kentucky"
American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1993

**Presenter:**
"We Can't Hackett Anymore: The Failure of the Deracialization Strategy in Memphis Mayoral Campaigns"
Southwestern Political Science Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, March 1993

**Presenter:**
"Racial Voting Patterns in Memphis Mayoral Elections: An Analysis of the 1991 Election of Dr. Willie W. Herenton"
Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia, November 1992

**Presenter:**
"The Application of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to State Judicial Elections: Implications for Judicial Selection Systems"
Southwestern Political Science Association, Austin, Texas, March 1992

**Service for the Political Science Department, University of Florida:**

Member of the Political Science Lecturer Committee, 2019

Chairman of the Latino Politics Search Committee, 2015

Member of the Strategic Planning Committee, 2010-2011

Chairman of Curriculum Committee, 2009-2011

Chairman of the Department's Speakers Series, 2007-2008

Chairman of the James W. Button/Barbara Roth Memorial Award Committee, 2006-Present

Chairman of the Best Undergraduate Paper Committee, 2009-2010

Master's and Doctoral Committee Member for Several Graduate Students Since 2003 and Chair of Committee for Several Students

Member of Chair Advisory Committee, 2004-2005, 2005-2006

Supervised Independent Research Projects for Several Students Since 2003.

Supervised the selection of the recipients of the Multicultural Scholar Award from the department of political science each year since March 2006.

Undergraduate Coordinator during the 2008-2009 and 2009-2010 academic years.

**Service for the Profession:**

**Keynote Speaker** (with Dan Smith and Michael McDonald), Phi Sigma Alpha Address, Southern Political Science Association, January 12, 2022.

**Virtual Presenter**
The Caribbeanization of Black Politics at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville's Black History Month Program. Sponsored by the UT Africana Studies Department. February 17, 2022.

**Virtual Presenter**
Publishing in Political Science at the University of Tennessee. Sponsored by the UT Africana Studies and Political Science Departments. February 18, 2022.

**Virtual Presenter**
Understanding What Voter Suppression Is and Why We Should Care. Virtual Presentation. Palm Beach, FL County Library System. August 18, 2021.

**Panelist**
Virtual Stephanie Tubbs Jones Symposium on Black Female Mayors sponsored by Delta Sigma Theta Sorority. April 25, 2021.

**Author:** "The Mayoral Elections of the Nineties: An Analysis of a New Generation of Black Mayors." *Urban News Newsletter of the Urban Politics Section of the American Political Science Association*. 11,3 (Autumn 1997): 1-2, 4.

**Editorial Work:**

**Co-editor**
Government and Politics in the South series. University Press of Florida.

**Member**
*American Political Science Review* Editorial Team, June 2020-May 2024

**Member**
Editorial Board of the *Ralph Bunche Journal of Public Affairs*, 2013-2017

**Member**
*National Political Science Review*, Editorial Team, 2016-2020.

**Member:** American Political Science Association, 1992-Present
Council Member of the Urban Politics Section, 2005-2008

Member of the Race and Ethnicity Section, 2000-Present
Chair of the Byran Jackson Dissertation Support Committee, 2005-2006
Chair of the Best Book in Urban Politics Committee, 2006-2007
Member of the Emerging Scholar Award Selection Committee. American Political Science Association. 2022
Member of the Best Book in Urban Politics Selection Committee. American Political Science Association. 2022
Member of the Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant Selection Committee. American Political Science Association. 2021

CLAS Teacher of the Year Award Selection Committee, 2017-18 Academic Year

National Conference of Black Political Scientists, 1992-Present
Member of the Anna Julia Cooper Teaching Award Committee, 2005-2009

Southern Political Science Association, 2000-Present
Program Chair. Race and Ethnicity Panels. 2022
Member of the Executive Council, 2005-2008

UF Provost's Student Retention and Success Task Force, May 2017-2018

**Reviewer:** *National Review of Black Politics*, 2020-Present
*Journal of Black Studies*, 1996-Present
*Journal of Women, Politics, and Policy*, 2006-Present
*National Political Science Review*, 2005-Present
*Political Research Quarterly*, 2005-Present
*State and Local Government Review*, 2005-Present
*Social Science Quarterly*, 2005-Present
*Transforming Anthropology*, 2011
*Western Journal of Black Studies*, 1996-2000

**Service for the African American Studies Program:**

**Speaker:**
The Integration of the University of Florida
February 22, 2017, Naval Air Station, Jacksonville, Florida Multicultural Awareness Day.

**Member:**
Reitz Union Storytelling Committee, Spring 2017.

**Organizer:**
Black Women in the Academy Symposium which included lectures by Dr. Pearl Ford Dowe of the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville and Dr. Beverly Guy Sheftall of Spelman College, February 2017.

**Chair and Member:**
College of Liberal Arts and Sciences Diversity Steering Committee March 2016-Present.

**Organizer:**
Symposium on the Presidency of Barack Hussein Obama which included lectures by Dr. Michael Jeffries of Wellesley College and Dr. Fredrick Harris of Columbia University, February 2016.

**Organizer and Moderator:**
Dr. Ronald Foreman Lecture by Dr. Fredrick Harris of Columbia University, February 2016.

**Organizer and Moderator:**
Dr. Ronald Foreman Lecture by Dr. Paula McClain of Duke University, February 2015.

**Organizer and Moderator:**
Dr. Ronald Foreman Lecture by Dr. Abdul Alkalimat of the University of Illinois, University of Florida, February 2014.

**Campus Event Panelist:**
Panelist on *Trouble the Water* documentary panel, January 15, 2014.

**Organizer and Moderator:**
Lecture by Dr. David J. Garrow of the University of Pittsburgh, January 2014.

**Campus Event Moderator:**
Passing the Torch Career and Information Session, University of Florida, October 2013.

**Campus Event Speaker:**
"Graduate and Law School Opportunities"
James E. Scott Leadership Conference, University of Florida, February 2013.

**Organizer and Moderator:**
Dr. Ronald Foreman Lecture by Dr. Marc Lamont Hill of Columbia University, University of Florida, February 2013.

**Campus Event Speaker and Moderator:**
"Integration Efforts at the University of Florida from 1958-One Florida"
The Integration of the University of Florida and the Challenges that Remain Panel, University of Florida, January 2013.

**Campus Event Speaker:**
"Abraham Lincoln and Obama"
Grand Opening Event for Lincoln and the Constitution Exhibit, University of Florida, February 2012

**Campus Event Speaker:**
"The Activism of Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party"
Women in the Civil Rights Movement Panel, University of Florida, January 2012

**Campus Event Speaker:**
"How to Gain Acceptance to and Succeed in Graduate School"
Campus Visitation Program, Office of Graduate Minority Programs, November 2011

**Campus Event Speaker:**
"Are Asian Americans a Model Minority?"
Lunch Series for the Asian American Student Union, University of Florida, November 2010.

**Campus Event Speaker:**
"Graduate and Law School Forum"
Panel Discussion Sponsored by the Black Political Science Association. University of Florida, October 2009.

**Campus Event Moderator:**
"A Mock Debate Between Presidential Candidates Barack Obama and John McCain"
Event Sponsored by the Black Political Science Association. University of Florida, October 2008.

**Campus Event Speaker:**
"Latino and Latin American Politics"
Panel Discussion Sponsored by the Latin American Studies Collection in Smathers Library, November 2008.

**Campus Event Speaker and Moderator:**
"Should Asian Americans Support Affirmative Action?"
Southeastern Conference on Asian American Leadership, University of Florida October 2005

**Campus Event Speaker and Moderator:**
"Contemporary Issues in Asian American Politics"
Southeastern Conference on Asian American Leadership, University of Florida October 2004

**Campus Event Speaker and Moderator:**
"African and African American Race Relations at the University of Florida"
Black Political Science Association and Association of African Studies Forum, April 2003

**Additional Service and Committee Memberships:**

**Committee Memberships:** Coast Social, Behavioral, and Economic Sciences (ACSBE) Alliance Committee to recruit minority graduate students and provide them with additional travel and research funding, 2005-2019

CLAS Humanities Scholarship Enhancement Grant Selection Committee, Fall 2006

Faculty Affiliate for the African American Studies Program, 2008-2011.

Faculty Affiliate for the Women's Studies Program, 2007-2017.

Member of the 2010 and 2011 Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Program Committee

Member of the Search Committee for the Assistant Director of Multicultural Affairs, March 2011.

Member of the Search Committee for the Director of the U.S. Senator Bob Graham Center, 2006-2007.

The Graham Center Advisory Committee (Develops curriculum for the Center with other committee members).

University-wide Teacher and Adviser of the Year Selection Committee, 2006.

**Expert Witness for:**
*Common Cause et al., and Michael Arteaga, Leni Fernandez, Andrea Hershorin, Jean Robert Louis, Melva Bentley Ross, Denny Troncoso, Brandon Nelson, Geraldine Ware, and Nine Wolfson v. Laurel M. Lee*, Case No. 4:22-cv-00109-AW-MAF. March 2022-Present.

*League of Women Voters of Florida, Inc. v. Lee,* Case No. 4:2021-cv-186 (N.D. Fla. Mar. 31, 2022). July 2021-March 2022.

**Faculty Mentor for several students since 2001:**
(Supervised their research projects and served as their mentor in Gatorlaunch, Minority Mentoring, and McNair Scholars Programs).

**Organizational Advisor for:**
The Black Political Science Association, 2001-200Present
Nu Alpha Lambda Christian Service Organization, 2005-Present

**Recruiter:**
Ralph Bunche Summer Institute, Duke University, June 2004, June 2006

**Service for the University of Missouri:**

**Author:**
"Barbara Jordan: A Champion of Civil and Human Rights"
The *African Americanist Newsletter*
Winter 1996, volume six, number five

**Author:**
"Black Students and Professors: The Need for Communication and Understanding"
*The Legion of Black Collegians Newsletter*
February 26, 1997, volume 1

**Author:**
"Gender and Race in 1996 Presidential Campaign Strategies"
The MU School of Journalism Web Page, October 1996

**Author:**
"The 25th Annual Congressional Black Caucus Legislative Conference"
*The Voice of Black Studies Newsletter*
Spring 1996, volume 20, number one

**Author:**
"The 6th Annual Africana Studies Summer Institute"
*The Voice of Black Studies Newsletter*
Spring 1996, volume 20, number one

**Author:**
"The Mayoral Elections of the Nineties: An Analysis of a New Generation of Black Mayors"
*Urban News: The Newsletter of the Urban Politics Section of the American Political Science Association*
Volume II, Number 3
Fall 1997

**Commentator:**
KOMU-TV 8 News-Columbia, Missouri
"Saturday Caucus: The Issue of Gender in the 1996 Presidential Election"
April 21, 1996

**Commentator:**
"Sexual Harassment in the Workforce"
KOMU-TV 8 News
Columbia, Missouri
February 16, 1999

**Commentator:**
"Black Women in the Civil Rights Movement: 1950-1980"
KOMU-TV 8 News
Columbia, Missouri
October 24, 1997

**MU Committees:** Black History Month Committee, 1996-1997
Honors and Awards Committee-Department of Political Science
McNair Scholars Program Committee, 1996-1997
Women's Studies Executive Committee, 1996-1997

**Editorial Advisory Board Member for:** The *Western Journal of Black Studies* (winner of the 1996 National Council for Black Studies CLR James Award for Outstanding Publication)

*A Turbulent Voyage: Readings in African American Studies*. San Diego: Collegiate Press

**Moderator:**
City of Columbia Race Relations Task Force Symposium
Panelists included Attorney Gary Oxenhandler, Attorney Al Plummer, Mayor Darwin Hindman, Professor Robert Bailey of the MU School of Law, Professor Angela Bartee of Stephens College, and Ms. Monica Naylor of the Columbia Public Schools.
November 7, 1996

**Reader:**
Government and Politics Advanced Placement Exams
Sponsored by the Educational testing Service
University of Nebraska, Lincoln, June 10-17, 2000; June 11-18, 2001, June 12-19, 2002
Colorado State University, June 13-20, 2003

**Regional Member of the Board of Directors:**
National Council for Black Studies
One of the representatives of NCBS at the Congressional Black Caucus Legislative Conference, Washington, D.C., September 1995

**Speaker:**
"African American Politics Today: The 1996 Presidential Election"
1996 Black History Month Brown Bag Lunch Series
The University of Missouri, Columbia
February 26, 1996

**Speaker:**
"How to Handle Joint Appointment Responsibilities"
Association of Black Graduate and Professional Students
Graduate Professional Development Workshop
The University of Missouri, Columbia
October 18, 1997

**Speaker:**
"The Activism of Black Women in Congress Since the Civil Rights Movement"
1997 Black women in the Civil Rights Movement Conference
The University of Missouri, Columbia
October 24, 1997

**Moderator:**
"The Black Experience at MU"
Sponsored by the Black Faculty and Staff Organization
The University of Missouri, Columbia
February 11, 1998

**Speaker:**
"How to Handle Joint Appointment Responsibilities"
Association of Black Graduate and Professional Students

Graduate Professional Development Workshop
The University of Missouri, Columbia
October 24, 1998

**Speaker:**
"Black Issues in Higher Education"
Sponsored by the Black Culture Center
The University of Missouri, Columbia
January 25, 1999

**Service for the University of Louisville:**

**Author:**
"Voting Patterns of the 1991 Mayoral Election: Herenton's Victory Maximized Racial Voting Factors that Had Eluded Previous Candidates"
Article published in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* newspaper
November 15, 1992

**Commentator:**
"The O.J. Simpson Trial: Will Race Be a Factor?
WAVE 3 News
Louisville, Kentucky
January 28, 1994

**Discussion Leader:**
Film: A Place of Rage: Black Women and the Civil Rights Movement
Women's History Month
The University of Louisville
March 3, 1994

**Guest Speaker:**
Symposium: The Evolving Roles of Men and Women
Topic of Speech: "Men, Women, and the Dilemmas of the Youth"
The University of Louisville
October 11, 1994

**Guest Speaker:**
Symposium: Racism: America's Most Challenging Issue
Topic of Speech: "The Dual Oppression: Racism, Sexism, and the Black Woman"
The University of Louisville
October 27, 1993

**Keynote Speaker:**
Awards and Recognition Banquet: Keep Growing in Girl Scouts
Topic of Speech: "Yes I can"
Kentuckiana Girl Scouts

May 13, 1994

**Lecturer:**
Multicultural "Coffee" Symposium
"A Comprehensive History of African American Politics in Louisville, Kentucky"
The University of Louisville
November 11, 1993

**Panel Organizer and Participant:**
Symposium: The Political Activities of Louisville Women
Women's History Month
The University of Louisville
March 7, 1994

**Panel Organizer and Moderator:**
Multicultural "Coffee" Symposium: An African American Congressional Debate
The University of Louisville
April 5, 1994

## Exhibit B

References

Clayton, Dewey. 1998. "Black Congressional Representation in the South: Making the Case for Majority Black Districts." *The Black Scholar* 28 (2): 36-46.

Contorno, Steve. 2022. "DeSantis Vetoes New Florida Congressional Map and Calls for Special Session." CNN Politics. March 29. DeSantis vetoes new Florida congressional map, calls for special session - CNNPolitics. Accessed on April 1, 2022.

Cordeiro, Monivette. 2015. "Florida Supreme Court Picks Congressional District Map." Orlando Weekly Dec. 3. https://www.orlandoweekly.com/news/florida-supreme-court-picks-congressional-district-map-2454375. Accessed on April 13, 2022.

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Isbell, Matthew. 2021a. "Florida Redistricting Preview #2: 1970s through 1980s." MCI Maps. August 4. https://mcimaps.com/florida-redistricting-preview-2-1970s-through-1980s/. Accessed on August 21, 2021.

Isbell, Matthew. 2021b. "Florida Redistricting Preview #4: Florida's 1990 Congressional Redistricting." MCI Maps. August 4. https://mcimaps.com/florida-redistricting-preview-4-floridas-1990s-congressional-redistricting/. Accessed on August 21, 2021.

Klas, Mary Ellen. 2016. "Florida Has a History of Making It Harder for Black Citizens to Vote." *Miami Herald.* August 12. https://www.miamiherald.com/news/politics-government/election/article95105602.html. Accessed on July 16, 2021.

Klas, Mary Ellen. 2015. "Florida Supreme Court Approves Congressional Map Drawn by Challengers." *Miami Herald*. December 2. https://www.miamiherald.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article47576450.html. Accessed on April 25, 2022.

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Kousser, J. Morgan. 1974. *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880–1910* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Long, Thomas W. 2019. *The Origin of Disfranchisement: County Level Resistance to African American Voting in Post-emancipation Florida.* (Order No. 13807627). Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (2270019850). Retrieved from https://login.lp.hscl.ufl.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/origin-disfranchisement-county-level-resistance/docview/2270019850/se-2?accountid=10920.

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*League of Women Voters of Florida, Inc. v. Lee*, Case No. 4:21-cv-186 (N.D. Fla. Mar. 31, 2022).

*Wolfson v. Nearing* 346 F. Supp. 799 (1972)

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[1] In this report, I use the terms Black and African American interchangeably and I use the terms Hispanic and Latino interchangeably.

# Exhibit 4

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC., *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

LAUREL M. LEE, in her official capacity as Florida Secretary of State, *et al.*,

Defendants.

**AFFIDAVIT OF PASTOR REGINALD GUNDY**

STATE OF FLORIDA
COUNTY OF DUVAL

BEFORE ME, the undersigned authority, personally appeared Pastor Reginald Gundy, who, after first being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am a Plaintiff in *Black Voters Matter Capacity Building Inst., Inc. et al. v. Lee et al.*, which challenges Florida's 2022 congressional plan.
2. I am a Black Florida citizen and qualified registered voter in Jacksonville, Florida.
3. I reside at 2783 Armsdale Road, Jacksonville, Florida 32218.
4. Under the Benchmark Plan, I resided in Congressional District 5. Under Florida's congressional plan, my residence will be placed in the new Congressional District 4.
5. I am a registered Democrat and have a preference for electing Democratic legislators—including for the U.S. House of Representatives—because I believe that their policies, proposed and enacted, more closely represent my personal and political views.
6. I have consistently voted for Democratic candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives. I intend to continue to do so in the future, including in the 2022 congressional election.

FURTHER AFFIANT SAYETH NOT.

Reginald Gundy

**PASTOR REGINALD GUNDY**

JURAT STATE OF FLORIDA
COUNTY OF SAINT LUCIE

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED before me this 22nd day of April 2022, by Reginald Gundy, who (check one) ☐ is personally known to me, ☑ produced a driver's license (issued by a state of the United States within the last five (5) years) as identification, or ☐ produced other identification, to wit:

Produced Identification - Form of ID Produced: Driver's License

DARRELL DWAYNE EVANS
Notary Public - State of Florida
Commission # HH 81836
Expires on January 19, 2025

Darrell Dwayne Evans

Print Name: Darrell Dwayne Evans
Notary Public, State of Florida
Commission No.: HH 81836
My Commission Expires: 01/19/2025

Notarized online using audio-video communication

# Exhibit 5

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC., *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

LAUREL M. LEE, in her official capacity as Florida Secretary of State, *et al.*,

Defendants.

**AFFIDAVIT OF SYLVIA YOUNG**

STATE OF FLORIDA
COUNTY OF LEON

BEFORE ME, the undersigned authority, personally appeared Sylvia Young, who, after first being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am a Plaintiff in *Black Voters Matter Capacity Building Inst., Inc. et al. v. Lee et al.*, which challenges Florida's 2022 congressional plan.
2. I am a Black Florida citizen and qualified registered voter in Tallahassee, Florida.
3. I reside at 4424 Wesley Drive, Tallahassee, Florida 32303.
4. Under the Benchmark Plan, I resided in Congressional District 5. Under Florida's congressional plan, my residence will be placed in the new Congressional District 2.
5. I am a registered Democrat and have a preference for electing Democratic legislators—including for the U.S. House of Representatives—because I believe that their policies, proposed and enacted, more closely represent my personal and political views.
6. I have consistently voted for Democratic candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives. I intend to continue to do so in the future, including in the 2022 congressional election.

FURTHER AFFIANT SAYETH NOT.

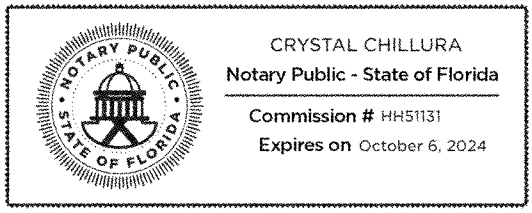
Sylvia Young

**SYLVIA YOUNG**

STATE OF FLORIDA COUNTY OF PASCO

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED before me this 24th day of April 2022, by Sylvia Young, who (check one) ☐ is personally known to me, ☑ produced a driver's license (issued by a state of the United States within the last five (5) years) as identification, or ☐ produced other identification, to wit:

ID Provided Florida Driver's License




Print Name: Crystal Chillura
Notary Public, State of Florida
Commission No.: HH51131
My Commission Expires: ~~10/06/2024~~

Notarized online using audio-video communication

# Exhibit 6

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC., *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

LAUREL M. LEE, in her official capacity as Florida Secretary of State, *et al.*,

Defendants.

**AFFIDAVIT OF PHYLLIS WILEY**

STATE OF FLORIDA
COUNTY OF DUVAL

BEFORE ME, the undersigned authority, personally appeared Phyllis Wiley, who, after first being duly sworn, deposes and says:

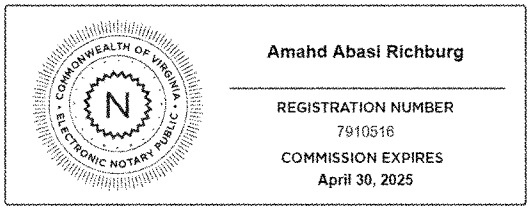
1. I am a Plaintiff in *Black Voters Matter Capacity Building Inst., Inc. et al. v. Lee et al.*, which challenges Florida's 2022 congressional plan.
2. I am a Black Florida citizen and qualified registered voter in Jacksonville, Florida.
3. I reside at 1073 Woodbridge Hollow Road, Jacksonville, Florida 32218.
4. Under the Benchmark Plan, I resided in Congressional District 5. Under Florida's congressional plan, my residence will be placed in the new Congressional District 4.
5. I am a registered Democrat and have a preference for electing Democratic legislators—including for the U.S. House of Representatives—because I believe that their policies, proposed and enacted, more closely represent my personal and political views.
6. I have consistently voted for Democratic candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives. I intend to continue to do so in the future, including in the 2022 congressional election.

FURTHER AFFIANT SAYETH NOT.

Phyllis Moore Wiley

**PHYLLIS WILEY**

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED before me this 25th day of April 2022, by Phyllis Moore Wiley, who (check one) ☐ is personally known to me, ☑ produced a driver's license (issued by a state of the United States within the last five (5) years) as identification, or ☐ produced other identification, to wit:




Notarized online using audio-video communication

Amahd Abasi Richburg

Print Name: Amahd Abasi Richburg
Notary Public, State of ~~Florida~~ Virginia AAR
Commission No.: 7910516
My Commission Expires: 04/30/2025

Prince William County

# Exhibit 7

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC., *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

LAUREL M. LEE, in her official capacity as Florida Secretary of State, *et al.*,

Defendants.

**AFFIDAVIT OF FLORIDA RISING TOGETHER**

STATE OF ~~FLORIDA~~ Texas
COUNTY OF ~~BROWARD~~ Harris

BEFORE ME, the undersigned authority, personally appeared Andrea Mercado, who, after first being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am the Executive Director of Florida Rising Together ("Florida Rising"). Florida Rising is a Plaintiff in *Black Voters Matter Capacity Building Inst., Inc. et al. v. Lee et al.*, which challenges Florida's 2022 congressional plan.
2. Florida Rising is a 501(c)(3) organization with a mission to increase the voting and political power of marginalized and excluded constituencies. Florida Rising's central focus is to expand democracy by ensuring that every eligible voter in the state, regardless of party affiliation, is able to exercise his or her fundamental and constitutionally protected right to vote.
3. To achieve its goal, Florida Rising conducts massive voter registration, voter education, voter engagement, and election protection programs.
4. Florida Rising's principal office is in Miami, although the organization engages with

voters throughout the state, most extensively in Orange, Hillsborough, Osceola, Pinellas, Miami-Dade, Broward, Palm Beach, Duval, Leon, Gadsden, and Seminole Counties.

5. Florida's congressional plan will require Florida Rising to divert scarce resources away from its other policy priorities toward efforts to give its constituents other avenues to make their voices heard where they no longer have effective representation.

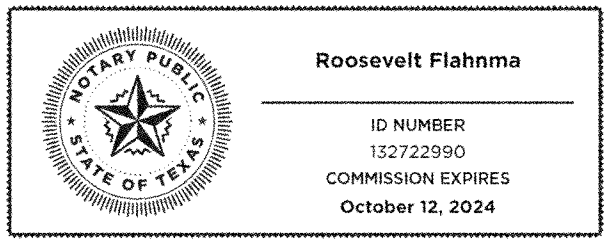
6. Florida Rising also has members and constituents, including persons of color, who are harmed by the congressional plan.

FURTHER AFFIANT SAYETH NOT.

Andrea Cristina Mercado

Andrea Mercado

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED before me this 25th day of April 2022, by Andrea Cristina Mercado, who (check one) ☐ is personally known to me, ☑ produced a driver's license (issued by a state of the United States within the last five (5) years) as identification, or ☐ produced other identification, to wit:




Roosevelt Flahnma

Notary Public, State of Texas

Print Name: Roosevelt Flahnma

Notary Public, State of Florida

Commission No.: 132722990

My Commission Expires: 10/12/2024

Notarized online using audio-video communication

# Exhibit 8

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC., *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

LAUREL M. LEE, in her official capacity as Florida Secretary of State, *et al.*,

Defendants.

**AFFIDAVIT OF CECILE SCOON, VERIFYING ALLEGATIONS OF COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY AND INJUNCTIVE RELIEF**

STATE OF FLORIDA
COUNTY OF BAY

BEFORE ME, the undersigned authority, personally appeared Cecile Scoon, who, after first being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am the President of League of Women Voters of Florida, Inc. and League of Women Voters of Florida Education Fund, Inc. (together, the "League"). The League is an organizational plaintiff in *Black Voters Matter Capacity Building Inst., Inc. et al. v. Lee et al.*, which challenges Florida's 2022 congressional plan.
2. The League is a nonpartisan voter-focused nonprofit organization. The League has 29 chapters across the State of Florida, from Pensacola to the Keys, and thousands of members statewide.
3. The League's mission is to encourage informed and active participation of citizens in government.
4. For more than 10 years, the League has played a key role in Florida's redistricting efforts, first helping to pass the Fair Districts Amendment 12 years ago, and then helping to

defend and successfully enforce the Amendment after the last redistricting cycle.

5. During this redistricting cycle, the League has educated numerous Floridians about the redistricting process and advocated for fair maps and adherence to the Fair Districts Amendment before the Legislature.
6. Florida's congressional plan seeks to nullify the League's efforts to ensure fair redistricting in the State of Florida.
7. The League has members, including Black, Hispanic, and Asian members, who are harmed by Florida's congressional plan.
8. Florida's congressional plan will also require the League to divert scarce resources away from its other policy priorities and programming to educate them and to give their members and communities other avenues to make their voices heard where they no longer have effective representation.
9. I have read the Complaint for Declaratory and Injunctive Relief, filed in the Case on April 22, 2022, and hereby verify that the allegations of fact contained therein are true and correct to the best of my knowledge, except for paragraphs 15-27, which describe the residence and voting history of individual plaintiffs, to which I lack personal knowledge.

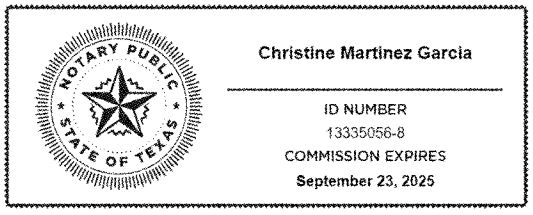
FURTHER AFFIANT SAYETH NOT.

**CECILE SCOON**

State of Texas

County of Bexar

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED before me this 25th day of April 2022, by Cecile Marie Scoon, who (check one) ☐ is personally known to me, ☑ produced a driver's license (issued by a state of the United States within the last five (5) years) as identification, or ☐ produced other identification, to wit:




Print Name: Christine Martinez Garcia
Notary Public, State of Florida Texas
Commission No.: 13335056-8
My Commission Expires: 09/23/2025

Notarized online using audio-video communication

# Exhibit 9

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC., *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

LAUREL M. LEE, in her official capacity as Florida Secretary of State, *et al.*,

Defendants.

**AFFIDAVIT OF CLIFFORD ALBRIGHT**
**EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC.**

STATE OF GEORGIA
COUNTY OF FULTON

BEFORE ME, the undersigned authority, personally appeared Clifford Albright, who, after first being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am the Executive Director of BVM (Black Voters Matter) Capacity Building Institute, Inc. ("Black Voters Matter"), a 501(c)(3) nonpartisan organization. Black Voters Matter is a Plaintiff in *Black Voters Matter Capacity Building Inst., Inc. et al. v. Lee et al.*, which challenges Florida's 2022 congressional plan.
2. Black Voters Matter's goal is to increase power in communities of color.
3. Black Voters Matter accomplishes this by engaging in get-out-the-vote activities, educating voters on how to vote, and advocating for policies to expand voting rights and access to the political process.
4. While Black Voters Matter reaches voters across the state, it has its greatest physical presence in North Florida, where it serves and engages with the state's historic Black

communities.

5. Florida's congressional plan, which will decrease representation for Black voters in the State of Florida, stands as a barrier to Black Voters Matter's mission.

6. Florida's congressional plan will require Black Voters Matter to divert scarce resources away from its other policy priorities toward efforts to give Black voters other avenues to make their voices heard where they no longer have effective representation.

FURTHER AFFIANT SAYETH NOT.

Clifford Albright

Clifford Albright

State of Florida
Broward County

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED before me this 25th day of April 2022, by Clifford Albright, who (check one) ☐ is personally known to me, ☑ produced a driver's license (issued by a state of the United States within the last five (5) years) as identification, or ☐ produced other identification, to wit: Notarized online using audio-video communication

CHAUNCEY MILLER
Notary Public - State of Florida
Commission # HH 129765
Expires on May 16, 2025

Chauncey Miller

Print Name: Chauncey Miller
Notary Public, State of Florida
Commission No.: HH 129765
My Commission Expires: 05/16/2025

# Exhibit 10

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC., *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

LAUREL M. LEE, in her official capacity as Florida Secretary of State, *et al.*,

Defendants.

**AFFIDAVIT OF JASMINE BURNEY,**
**FOUNDER, EQUAL GROUND EDUCATION FUND, INC.**

STATE OF FLORIDA
COUNTY OF ORANGE

BEFORE ME, the undersigned authority, personally appeared Jasmine Burney, who, after first being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am the Founder and Consulting Director of Equal Ground Education Fund, Inc. ("Equal Ground"). Equal Ground is a Plaintiff in *Black Voters Matter Capacity Building Inst., Inc. et al. v. Lee et al.*, which challenges Florida's 2022 congressional plan.
2. Equal Ground is a 501(c)(3) organization with a mission to register, educate, and increase engagement among Black voters in Florida. Equal Ground focuses on ensuring equal access to democracy in underserved communities.
3. Equal Ground achieves this by conducting extensive voter education, voter registration, and voter engagement work directly through its staff and in alliance with hundreds of faith partners throughout the state.
4. Equal Ground's principal office is in Orlando, but the organization engages voters throughout the state.

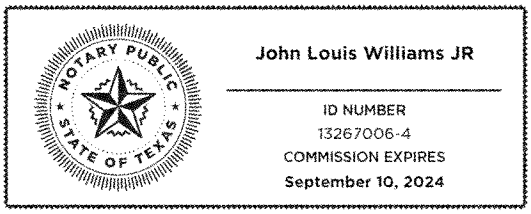
5. Florida's congressional plan will require Equal Ground to divert scarce resources away from its other policy priorities toward efforts to give Black voters other avenues to make their voices heard where they no longer have effective representation.

FURTHER AFFIANT SAYETH NOT.

Jasmine Burney

Jasmine Burney

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED before me this 25th day of April 2022, by Jasmine Burney, who (check one) ☐ is personally known to me, ☑ produced a driver's license (issued by a state of the United States within the last five (5) years) as identification, or ☑ produced other identification, to wit: DRIVER LICENSE




John Louis Williams JR

Print Name: John Louis Williams JR
Notary Public, State of Florida XXXXXX Texas
Commission No.: 13267006-4
My Commission Expires: 09/10/2024

County of Harris

Notarized online using audio-video communication

# Exhibit 11

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

| | |
|---|---|
| BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC., *et al.*,<br><br>Plaintiffs,<br><br>v.<br><br>LAUREL M. LEE, in her official capacity as Florida Secretary of State, *et al.*,<br><br>Defendants. | Case No. 2022-ca-000666 |

**AFFIDAVIT OF JOE SCOTT**
**BROWARD COUNTY SUPERVISOR OF ELECTIONS**

STATE OF FLORIDA
COUNTY OF BROWARD

BEFORE ME, the undersigned authority, personally appeared Joe Scott, who, after first being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am Joe Scott, a resident of Florida, over the age of twenty-one, and under no disability. I have personal knowledge of the facts described in this Declaration.

2. I currently serve as Supervisor of Elections for Broward County, Florida. Broward County is located in South Florida and is Florida's second-most populous county. Overall, Broward County is home to approximately 1.3 million voters.

3. In my role as Broward County Supervisor of Elections, my duties include administering county, state, and federal elections.

4. On August 23, 2022, Florida is scheduled to hold its 2022 statewide primary election. This is among the latest primaries in the country. While many states are just beginning

to hold their state primary this spring, Florida will not do so for seventeen more weeks.

5. I have followed the various proposals and iterations of the state's congressional plans during the legislative cycle. I have found that, while many of the districts in North Florida have changed from proposal to proposal, many South Florida congressional districts have remained substantively the same across plans. The Legislature's final enacted plan P000C0109, for example, treats Broward County identically to the secondary plan H000C8015 in Committee Substitute for Senate Bill 102 passed by the Florida Legislature on March 4, 2022, and subsequently vetoed by Governor DeSantis on March 29, 2022.

6. For this reason, were a court to order Florida to adopt the Legislature's secondary plan H000C8015, compliance would impose no burden on my office.

7. However, my office will diligently implement any plan adopted by the Court if it allows Broward County voters to elect their preferred candidates under a plan consistent with the United States and Florida Constitutions.

FURTHER AFFIANT SAYETH NOT.

State of Florida

County of Broward

**JOE SCOTT**
**BROWARD COUNTY SUPERVISOR OF ELECTIONS**

(or Affirmed)

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED before me this 26th day of April 2022, by Bamon Joevahn Scott, who (check one) ☐ is personally known to me, ☐ produced a driver's license (issued by a state of the United States within the last five (5) years) as identification, or ☑ produced other identification, to wit: Type of ID produced: FL State DRIVER LICENSE/MFA

Notarized online using audio-video communication

PETA-GAYE ANDERSON
Notary Public - State of Florida
Commission # HH 102153
Expires on March 9, 2025

Print Name: Peta-Gaye Anderson
Notary Public, State of Florida
Commission No.: HH 102153
My Commission Expires: 03/09/2025

# Exhibit 12

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC., *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

LAUREL M. LEE, in her official capacity as Florida Secretary of State, *et al.*,

Defendants.

**AFFIDAVIT OF MARK S. EARLEY**
**LEON COUNTY SUPERVISOR OF ELECTIONS**

STATE OF FLORIDA
COUNTY OF LEON

BEFORE ME, the undersigned authority, personally appeared Mark S. Earley, who, after first being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am a resident of Florida and am fully familiar with the facts set forth below.

2. I currently serve as Supervisor of Elections for Leon County, Florida ("Leon County Supervisor of Elections"). Leon County is located in northern Florida and is home to Florida's capital, Tallahassee. Out of 67 counties, Leon County is the 22nd most populous county in Florida.

3. In addition to my elected office as Leon County Supervisor of Elections, I am currently the President-Elect of Florida Supervisors of Elections, Inc., the state association for Florida's 67 Supervisors of Elections. I have worked in elections administration for over 30 years.

4. I have a degree in mechanical engineering from the FAMU-FSU College of

Engineering. I also hold both state and national certifications in the field of election administration as a Certified Elections Registration Administrator and a Master Florida Certified Elections Professional.

5. As Leon County Supervisor of Elections, I hold an elected office. In this role, my duties include administering county, state, and federal elections.

6. On August 23, 2022, Florida is scheduled to hold its 2022 statewide primary election. This is among the latest primaries in the country.

7. In order for the primary election to proceed on August 23, 2022, election officials need adequate time to prepare for the primary. These preparations include assigning voters to their correct congressional district, designing the ballot, sending those ballots to the printers, and mailing out ballots with sufficient time to meet the deadline to transmit vote-by-mail ballots to overseas and uniformed voters, which is July 9, 2022.

8. Just a few weeks ago, I informed the federal panel that had been convened in light of the state's anticipated congressional impasse that, at least for my own county, congressional districts would need to be set by May 27, 2022 to give my staff adequate time to prepare for the election and meet the relevant election deadlines in advance of the primary.

9. I still believe that Leon County can adequately meet upcoming primary election deadlines if a congressional plan is in place by the end of May 2022.

10. In addition to my duties in supervising and administering elections, I also have a duty to protect and advocate for the voters of my county and ensure the voters of my county have confidence in the process and outcome of our elections.

11. As Supervisor of Elections of Leon County, I represent tens of thousands of Black voters, many of whom previously resided in the Fifth Congressional District under the

congressional plan adopted by the Florida Supreme Court in 2015. Other Leon County voters resided in the Second Congressional District.

12. Under the newly enacted plan by the Florida Legislature, all of Leon County's voters, including all of Leon County's Black voters, will now reside in the Second Congressional District, which will be a significantly majority-white district.

13. Should a court find the plan does not comply with Florida's Fair Districts Amendments, I can implement a revised if I receive the details by May 27, 2022.

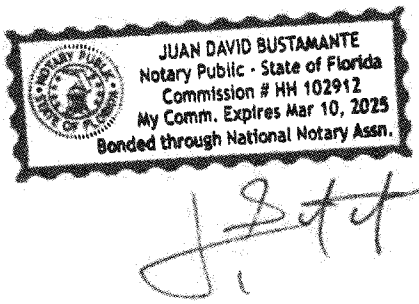
14. In my 30 years of administering elections, I have found that administering elections under circumstances deemed as unfair to a body of voters leads to a decrease in voter confidence in the outcome of elections and participation of that body of voters in the election.

15. All Supervisors, including myself, took an oath to uphold the Florida Constitution when we were sworn into our office. While it may impose slightly more work for my office to implement a revised congressional plan should Florida state courts order one, my office will be glad to do so if it means that my voters can elect their congressional candidates under a plan consistent with the Florida Constitution.

FURTHER AFFIANT SAYETH NOT.

**MARK S. EARLEY**

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED before me this 26 day of April 2022, by MARK S EARLEY, who (check one) ☑ is personally known to me, ☐ produced a driver's license (issued by a state of the United States within the last five (5) years) as identification, or ☐ produced other identification, to wit:




Print Name: Juan David Bustamante

Notary Public, State of Florida

Commission No.: HH 102912

My Commission Expires: Mar 10 2025