

# EXHIBIT B

# Expert Report for Georgia 2023 Remedial Redistricting Plans

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# 1 Introduction and Qualifications

I have been asked by counsel for the Georgia Secretary of State to compose a report to evaluate the remedial redistricting maps that were passed by the Georgia State Legislature and signed by Governor Kemp on December 8, 2023.

I am an associate professor of political science at Brigham Young University and director of the Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy in Provo, Utah. I received my PhD in political science from Princeton University in 2014 with emphases in American politics and quantitative methods/statistical analyses. In my position as a professor of political science, I have conducted research on a variety of election- and voting-related topics in American politics and public opinion. Much of this research has been published in my discipline's top peer-reviewed journals. I have published more than 20 peer-reviewed articles. I have worked as an expert witness in a number of redistricting cases in which I have been asked to analyze and evaluate various political and geographic-related data and maps, including in New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Louisiana, and North Carolina. I have previously provided expert reports in several other cases related to voting, redistricting, and Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act for groups representing both Republican, Democratic, and non-partisan interests. Cases in which I have testified at trial or by deposition are listed in my CV, which is attached to the end of this report. Outside of litigation and courtrooms, I also recently contracted to work with the Virginia Office of Civil Rights as a voting rights expert consultant.

The analysis and opinions I provide below are consistent with my education, training in statistical analysis, and knowledge of the relevant academic literature. These skills are well-suited for this type of analysis in political science and quantitative analysis more generally. My conclusions stated herein are based upon my review of the information available to me at this time. I am being compensated at a rate of \$500.00 per hour. My compensation does not depend in any way on the outcome of the case or on the opinions or testimony that I provide. I reserve the right to update and revise this report as new information becomes available.

## 1.1 Summary of Conclusions:

- In its October 26, 2023 order, the Court required the drawing of an additional majority-Black Congressional district, two new majority-Black Senate districts, and five new majority-Black House districts.
- The remedial maps closely adhere to the Court's instructions and create an additional majority-Black Congressional district, two new majority-Black Senate districts, and five new majority-Black House districts.
- These new majority-BVAP districts are similar to districts put forward by plaintiffs in either their illustrative maps from the trial or newly proposed remedial maps.
- The new remedial maps increase the number of Black voters who reside in majority-BVAP districts.
- Plaintiffs' criticisms of the new majority-BVAP districts in the remedial maps often also apply to the plaintiffs' own illustrative and proposed remedial maps, and would lead to the conclusion that the plaintiffs' own proposed remedial maps are possibly also in violation of the Court's order and Section 2 of the VRA.

## **2 Congressional Map**

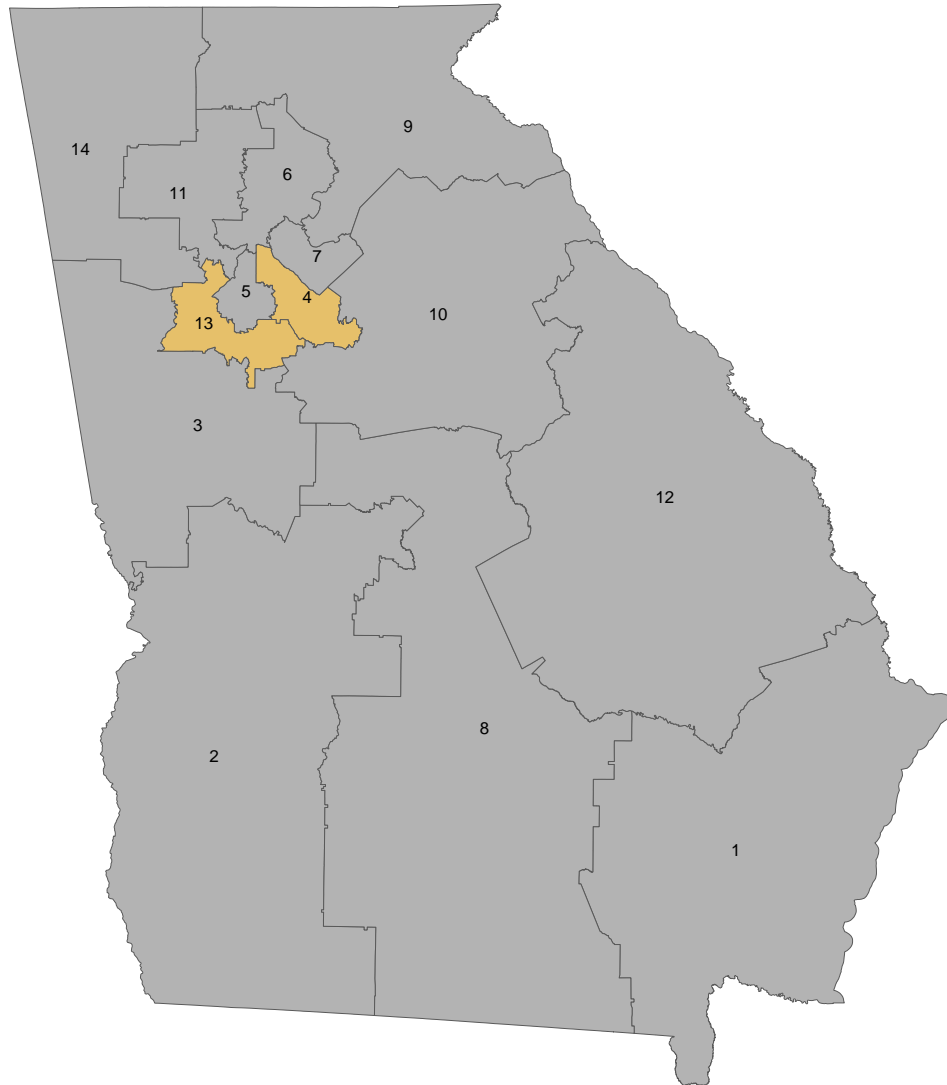
### **2.1 Maps of Remedial Districts**

The first map below shows the 2021 congressional district boundaries. The second map shows the boundaries of the 2023 remedial congressional map. Districts in yellow are majority BVAP. Districts in blue are the newly created majority-BVAP districts in the remedial map.

2021 Enacted Congressional Map




Majority-BVAP districts highlighted in yellow

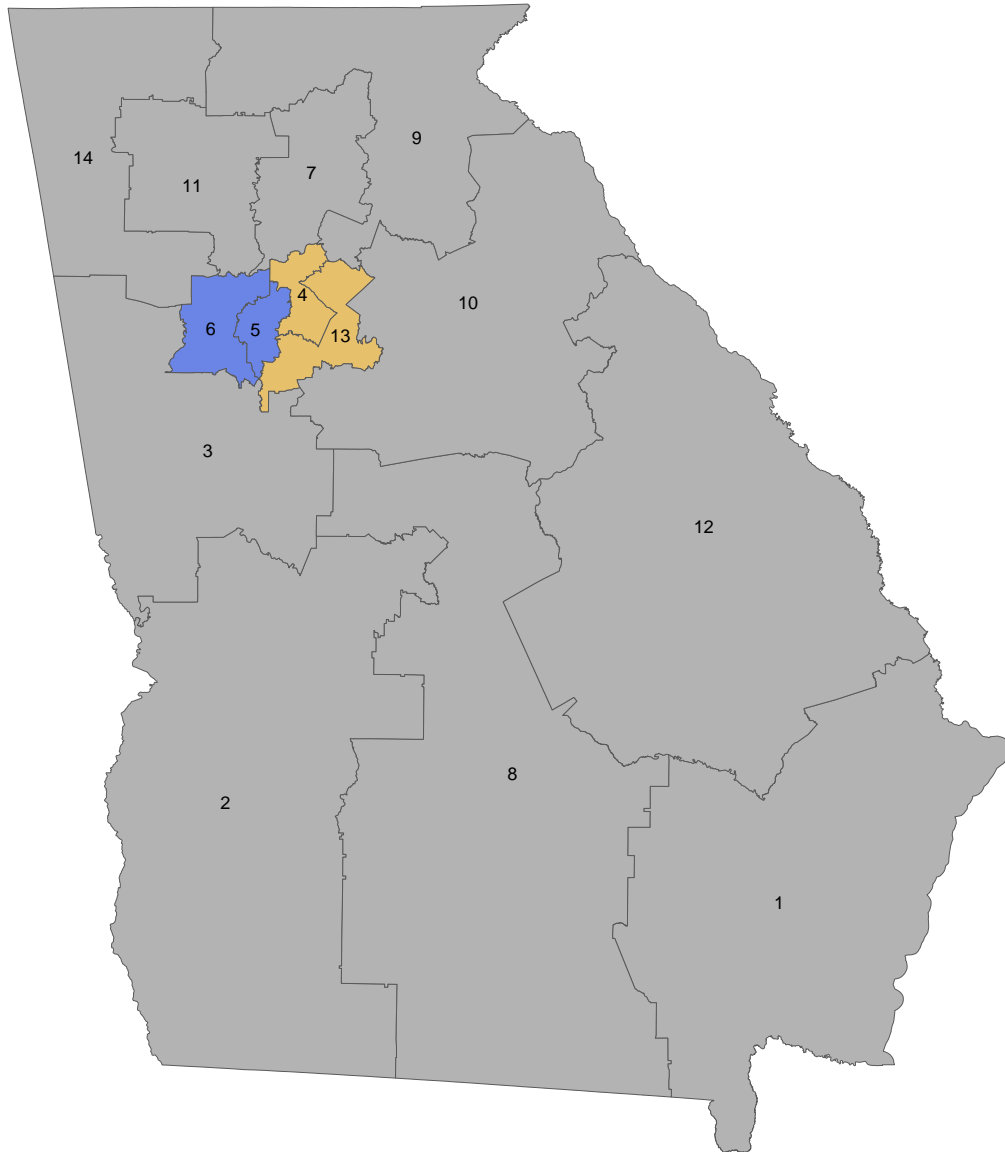
 Maj-BVAP  Non Maj-BVAP



### 2023 Remedial Congressional Map

New Majority-BVAP districts highlighted in blue

 Maj-BVAP  New Maj-BVAP  Non Maj-BVAP





## 2.2 Number of Majority Black Voting Age Population (BVAP) Districts

The 2021 enacted Congressional map contained 2 majority any-part BVAP districts (13 and 4), 2 districts that were not majority BVAP but were majority any-part Black (2 and 5), and one district that was majority minority (7). Collectively, there were 5 majority-minority VAP districts in the 2021 plan (2, 4, 5, 7, and 13).

District 7 requires a little more explanation because the demographics of that district change dramatically depending on the population statistics one uses. Using voting age population, old CD-7 was 29.82% any-part BVAP and 21.27% HVAP, for a Black + Hispanic voting age population of 51.09%. However, the any-part Black statistic includes Black individuals who also identify as Hispanic, so the combination of these two categories will double count people who fall into both categories. Using the Non-Hispanic Black VAP statistics, old CD-7 was 27.3% NH-BVAP, 21.27% HVAP, for a total Black + Hispanic population of 48.6%. Adding non-Hispanic Asian VAP from the district (14.9%) is required for the district to move above the majority-minority VAP threshold. Finally, the citizen voting age population (CVAP) statistics also change because of the large proportion of Hispanic adults who are not citizens. Using CVAP numbers, old CD-7 was 31.93% NH single-race Black, 10.21% Hispanic, and 11.79% single-race non-Hispanic Asian. Together these three groups constituted 53.93% of the district's citizen voting age population.<sup>1</sup>

The 2023 remedial map now contains 4 majority any-part BVAP districts (4, 5, 6, and 13). District 2 in the 2023 remedial map remains unchanged from the 2021 map and still has a majority any-part Black population and majority-minority voting age population. Collectively, there are 5 majority-minority VAP districts in the 2023 remedial map (2, 4, 5, 6, and 13).

Several of the plaintiffs' objections to the 2023 remedial Congressional map center around changes made to old CD-7, with accompanying claims that this district was protected under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. An assessment of whether or not old CD-7 qualifies as a protected Section 2 district and meets the various *Gingles* criteria is a question for the court,

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<sup>1</sup>See Cooper report, Exhibits G and H.

but several pieces of information are helpful for the Court in making that determination. First, no single racial group is a majority in the district. Second, no two minority groups constitute a majority in the district when calculated using CVAP statistics, as is common in Section 2 cases involving Hispanic and/or Asian populations. Thus, the district was majority-minority by combining Black, Hispanic, and Asian voters, as noted above. While these groups appear to have similar partisan preferences in this region when voting in partisan general elections (see expert report of Dr. Palmer, page 3), it is not clear, nor have I been presented with any analysis to show if these three groups share cohesive preferences in their choice of which candidate to nominate in primary elections.

Table 1: Racial statistics for Congressional Maps

2021 Enacted Map			2023 Remedial Map		
District	BVAP %	Minority VAP %	District	BVAP %	Minority VAP %
13	66.75	81.18	6	51.75	67.20
4	54.52	71.75	13	51.45	72.17
5	49.6	62.08	5	51.06	66.35
2	49.29	57.27	4	50.59	78.25
12	36.72	45.35	2	49.29	57.27
8	30.04	39.48	12	36.72	45.35
7	29.82	67.22	8	30.04	39.48
1	28.17	39.59	1	28.17	39.59
3	23.32	33.17	10	23.69	34.72
10	22.6	33.8	3	23.32	33.17
11	17.95	36.01	11	12.83	30.63
14	14.28	28.67	9	12.65	35.49
9	10.42	31.71	14	12.59	26.88
6	9.91	33.37	7	8.93	33.23

Note: Districts are sorted by BVAP percentages in each map. Districts highlighted in yellow are majority-BVAP. Districts highlighted in green are majority-minority. Districts highlighted in Blue are newly majority-BVAP in the 2023 remedial map. BVAP is calculated from the 2020 US Census “any-part Black 18+”. Minority VAP is 100 minus Non-Hispanic White 18+ percent.

## 2.3 BVAP Assigned to Majority-BVAP Districts

Overall, the remedial congressional map increases the number of Black voters who reside in majority-BVAP districts compared to the 2021 enacted congressional map. The table below shows that in the 2021 congressional map 27% of Black voters resided in majority-BVAP districts. In the 2023 remedial map this number increases to 46.4%. On page 514 of the Court’s October 26, 2023 order, the Court states, “SB 2EX violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act as to the following districts/areas: Enacted Congressional Districts 3, 6, 11, 13, and 14.” If we limit the inquiry to these five districts, 50.0% of Black voters in this area resided in majority BVAP districts in the 2021 congressional map. Remaining within this area, but looking at the 2023 remedial congressional map, 57.2% of Black voters in this area now reside in majority BVAP districts under the remedial congressional map.

Table 2: Black Voters Residing in Majority-BVAP Congressional Districts

Congressional Maps	% of Black voting age population living in a majority-BVAP district
<b>Statewide</b>	
2021 Enacted	27.0%
2023 Remedial	46.4%
<b>Within 2021 districts Court listed in ordering paragraphs</b>	
2021 Enacted	50.0%
2023 Remedial	57.2%

Note: Page 514 of the Court’s October 26, 2023 order states, “SB 2EX violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act as to the following districts/areas: Enacted Congressional Districts 3, 6, 11, 13, and 14.” The bottom half of the table limits the calculations to the area covered by those districts.

## 2.4 Similarity to Illustrative Districts

Overall, remedial CD-6 is quite similar to CD-6 in the plaintiff’s own illustrative maps. The majority of the population in remedial CD-6 is contained in CD-6 in the Cooper illustrative map. Table 3 shows how the population of the new majority-BVAP remedial Congressional

district relates to the illustrative Congressional districts and the degree to which they overlap. The illustrative district that contains the largest overlap is bolded. For example, remedial CD-6 contains 72.5% of Cooper illustrative CD-6's total population and 80.8% of the BVAP in Cooper illustrative CD-06.

Table 3: Similarity between Remedial Senate Districts and Illustrative Districts

<b>Remedial Congressional District 6:</b>	<b>Shared Population</b>	
<b>Illustrative District:</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>BVAP</b>
<b>Cooper CD-6</b>	<b>72.5%</b>	<b>80.8%</b>
Cooper CD-5	25.3%	16.8%
Cooper CD-13	2.16%	2.37%
	100%	100.0%

Note: The overwhelming majority of the total population and Black voting age population in remedial CD-6 is contained in Cooper illustrative CD-6. The illustrative district that contains the largest overlap is bolded.

## 2.5 Electoral Effectiveness

All four of the majority-BVAP districts in the 2023 plan and the remaining majority-minority district (CD-2) have performed uniformly for Democratic candidates in past statewide general elections. To measure this I looked at the general election results of 15 statewide election contests from 2106-2022 in each of the districts. Table 4 below shows the proportion of those elections in which the Democratic candidate won a majority of the two-party votes cast in that district.<sup>2</sup> The table also shows the electoral performance of the 2021 congressional districts for reference. In both maps there are five congressional districts that are likely to be solidly Democratic in future elections.

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<sup>2</sup>The specific elections considered are: 2022: Attorney General, Governor, Secretary of State, US Senate, Lt. Governor; 2021: US Senate Runoff, US Special Senate Runoff; 2020: US Special Senate, US Senate, President; 2018: Attorney General, Governor, Lt. Governor; 2016: President, US Senate.

Table 4: Reconstituted Election Results in Congressional Districts

<b>2021 Districts</b>	<b>% of elections where Democrat wins</b>	<b>Remedial Districts</b>	<b>% of elections where Democrat wins</b>
CD-1	0%	CD-1	0%
CD-2	100%	CD-2	100%
CD-3	0%	CD-3	0%
CD-4	100%	CD-4	100%
CD-5	100%	CD-5	100%
CD-6	0%	CD-6	100 %
CD-7	100%	CD-7	0%
CD-8	0%	CD-8	0%
CD-9	0%	CD-9	0%
CD-10	0%	CD-10	0%
CD-11	0%	CD-11	0%
CD-12	0%	CD-12	0%
CD-13	100%	CD-13	100%
CD-14	0%	CD-14	0%

Note: Performance is based on the percent of the two-party vote won by the Democratic candidate in the district for 15 statewide elections between 2016 and 2022. Yellow districts are majority-BVAP. Green districts are majority-minority VAP. Blue districts are newly created majority-BVAP districts in the remedial Congressional map.

## **3 State Senate**

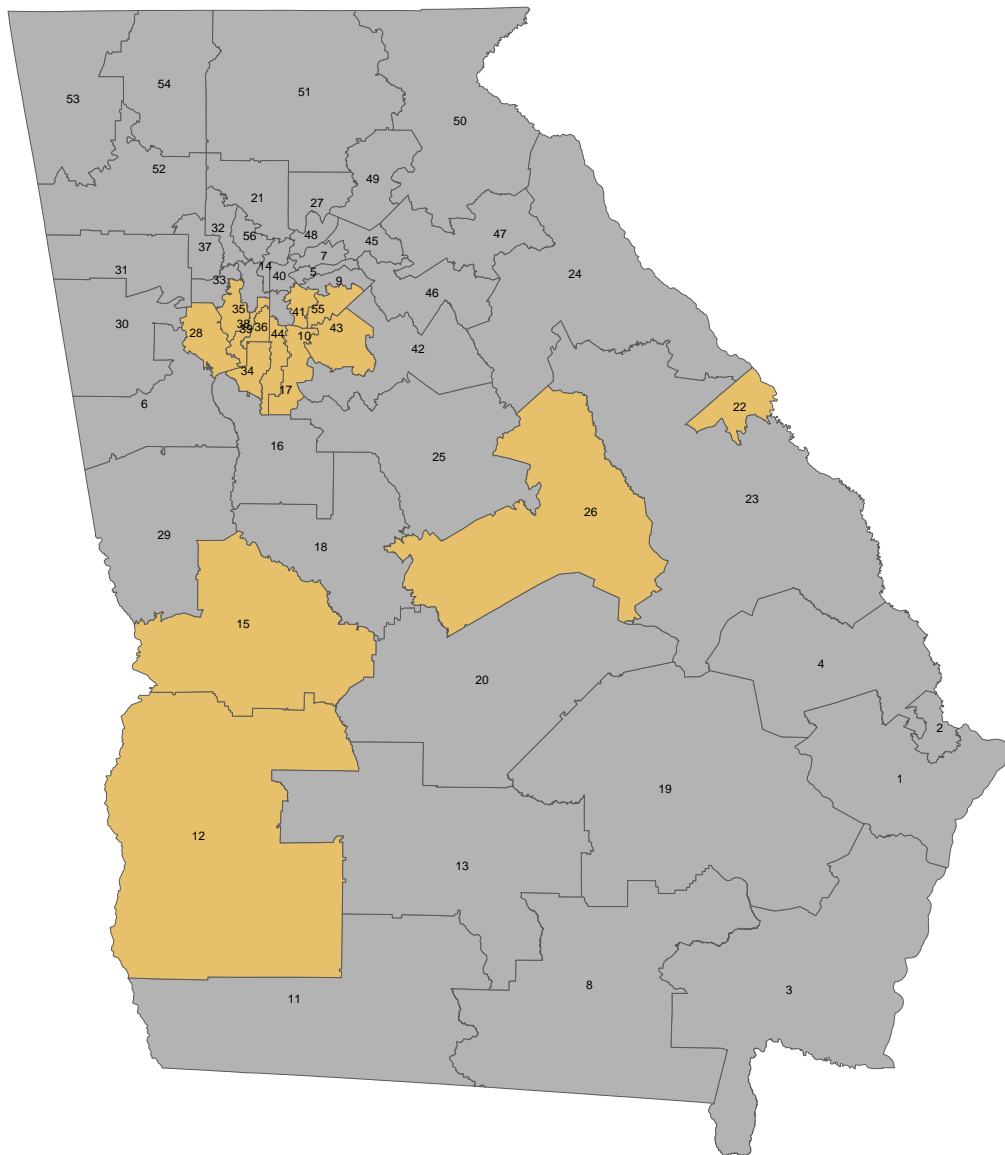
### **3.1 Maps of Remedial Districts**

The first map below shows the 2021 Senate district boundaries. The second map shows the boundaries of the 2023 remedial Senate map. Districts in yellow are majority BVAP. Districts in blue are the newly created majority-BVAP districts in the remedial Senate map.

### 2021 Enacted Senate Map

Majority-BVAP districts highlighted in yellow

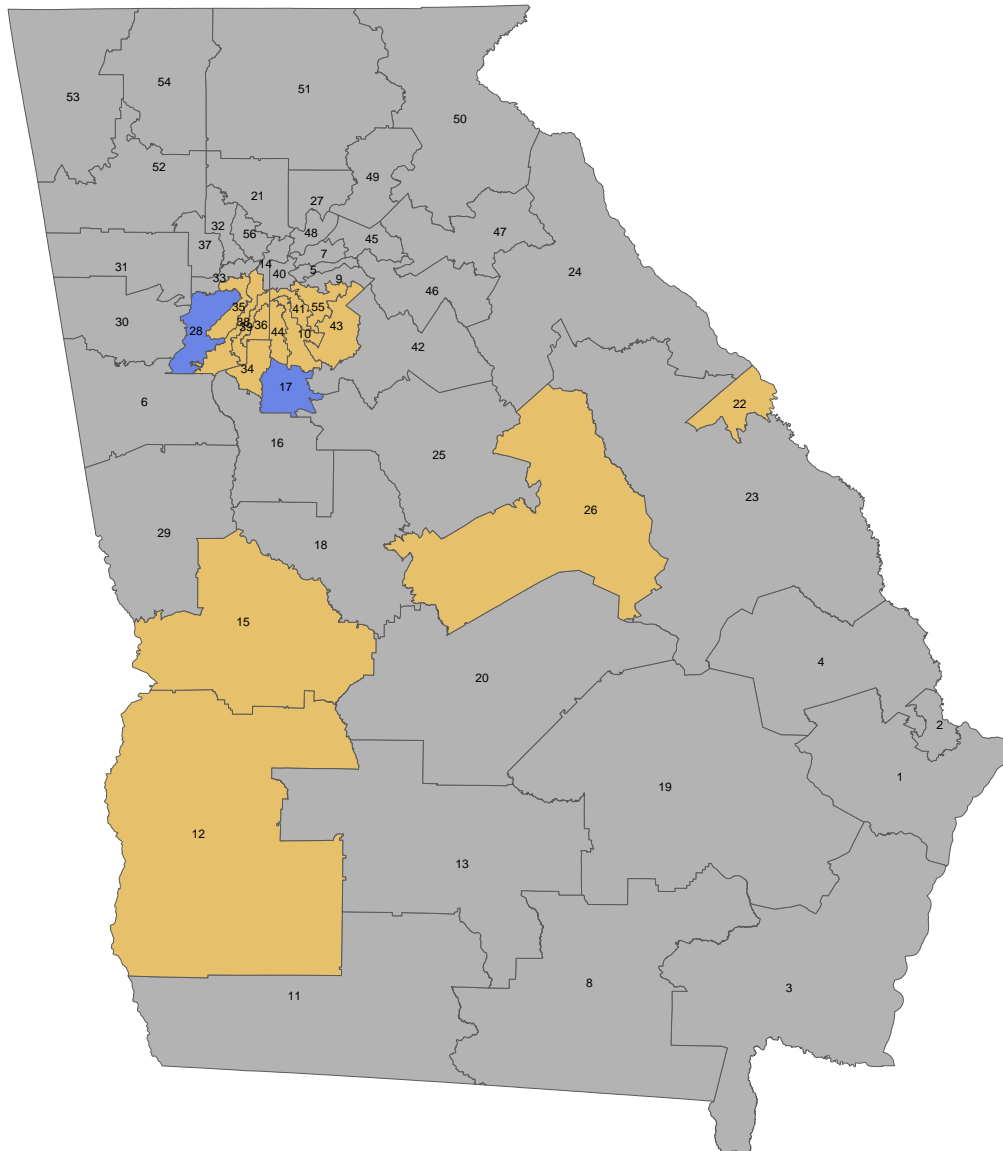
 Maj-BVAP  Non Maj-BVAP



# 2023 Remedial Senate Map

New Majority-BVAP districts highlighted in blue

Maj-BVAP
  New Maj-BVAP
  Non Maj-BVAP





### 3.2 Number of Majority-BVAP Districts

The 2021 enacted Senate map contained 14 majority any-part BVAP districts, 6 districts that were not majority BVAP but were majority-minority.<sup>3</sup>

The 2023 remedial Senate map adds two additional majority-BVAP districts, SD-17 and SD-28 for a total of 16 majority BVAP Senate districts throughout the state. The 2023 remedial Senate map also contains 6 districts that were not majority BVAP but were majority minority.

Table 5 shows the BVAP and minority VAP percentages for districts in the 2021 and 2023 remedial Senate maps. Districts are sorted by BVAP percentages in each map. Districts highlighted in yellow are majority-BVAP. Districts highlighted in green are majority-minority. Districts highlighted in Blue are newly majority-BVAP in the 2023 remedial map.

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<sup>3</sup>Non-White percentage is defined as 100 minus the non-Hispanic single-race White VAP percentage.

Table 5: Racial Statistics for Senate Maps

2021 Enacted Map			2023 Remedial Map		
District	BVAP %	Minority VAP %	District	BVAP %	Minority VAP %
35	71.90	81.18	34	69.54	86.64
10	71.46	80.36	10	65.24	74.55
44	71.34	84.71	43	63.76	75.04
34	69.54	86.64	17	63.61	76.45
55	65.97	79.44	55	62.18	76.35
38	65.30	78.13	38	60.88	70.18
43	64.33	73.47	41	58.46	76.72
41	62.61	78.61	12	57.97	63.29
39	60.70	72.13	26	56.99	63.40
12	57.97	63.29	22	56.50	65.62
26	56.99	63.40	28	56.42	71.60
22	56.50	65.62	39	55.42	68.10
15	54.00	63.48	35	54.67	69.65
36	51.34	63.82	15	54.00	63.48
2	46.86	59.79	44	53.53	67.07
33	42.96	69.75	36	51.34	63.82
23	35.48	43.11	2	46.86	59.79
25	33.48	40.06	23	35.48	43.11
17	32.01	40.58	33	35.26	61.95
20	31.28	38.29	42	32.56	40.87
11	31.04	41.03	20	31.28	38.29
42	30.78	48.61	11	31.04	41.03
18	30.40	39.31	25	30.81	37.13
8	30.38	39.90	18	30.40	39.31
5	29.94	84.31	8	30.38	39.90
9	29.53	64.19	5	29.94	84.31
13	26.97	35.90	9	29.53	64.19
29	26.88	36.78	13	26.97	35.90
19	25.72	36.01	29	26.88	36.78
1	25.08	38.01	19	25.72	36.01
6	23.90	42.21	1	25.08	38.01
4	23.37	33.22	30	23.71	34.08
16	22.70	33.09	4	23.37	33.22
7	21.44	62.16	16	22.70	33.09
3	21.18	31.12	7	21.44	62.16
30	20.92	30.59	3	21.18	31.12
31	20.70	31.74	31	20.70	31.74
24	19.85	30.19	24	19.85	30.19
28	19.51	30.56	37	19.27	34.63
37	19.27	34.63	40	19.24	53.66
40	19.24	53.66	14	18.97	42.90
14	18.97	42.90	45	18.58	44.53
45	18.58	44.53	47	17.42	32.54
47	17.42	32.54	6	17.28	27.68
46	16.90	30.10	46	16.90	30.10
32	14.86	34.22	32	14.86	34.22
52	13.04	25.26	52	13.04	25.26
48	9.47	47.75	48	9.47	47.75
49	7.96	34.36	49	7.96	34.36
56	7.57	23.83	56	7.57	23.83
21	7.46	26.13	21	7.46	26.13
50	5.61	18.46	50	5.61	18.46
53	5.10	12.69	53	5.10	12.69
27	5.00	28.50	27	5.00	28.50
54	3.79	30.02	54	3.79	30.02
51	1.21	9.76	51	1.21	9.76

Note: Districts are sorted by BVAP percentages in each map. Districts highlighted in yellow are majority-BVAP. Districts highlighted in green are majority-minority. Districts highlighted in Blue are newly majority-BVAP in the 2023 remedial map. BVAP is calculated from the 2020 US Census “any-part Black 18+”. Minority VAP is 100 minus Non-Hispanic single-race White 18+ percent.

### 3.3 BVAP Assigned to Majority-BVAP Senate Districts

Overall, the remedial Senate map increases the number of Black voters who reside in majority-BVAP Senate districts compared to the 2021 enacted Senate map. Table 6 below shows that in the 2021 Senate map 49.7% of Black voters resided in majority-BVAP Senate districts. In the 2023 remedial map this number increases to 53.5%. On page 514 of the Court’s October 26, 2023 order, the Court states, “SB 1EX violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act as to the following areas/districts: Enacted Senate Districts 10, 16, 17, 25, 28, 30, 34, 35, 43, and 44.” If we limit the inquiry to these ten districts, 72.9% of Black voters in this area resided in majority BVAP districts in the 2021 Senate map. Remaining within this area, but looking at the 2023 remedial Senate map, 73.3% of Black voters in this area now reside in majority BVAP districts under the remedial Senate map.

Table 6: Black Voters Residing in Majority-BVAP Districts

Senate Maps	% of Black voting age population living in a majority-BVAP district
<b>Statewide</b>	
2021 Enacted	49.7%
2023 Remedial	53.5%
<b>Within 2021 districts Court listed in ordering paragraphs</b>	
2021 Enacted	72.9%
2023 Remedial	73.3%

Note: Page 514 of the Court’s October 26, 2023 order states, “SB 1EX violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act as to the following areas/districts: Enacted Senate Districts 10, 16, 17, 25, 28, 30, 34, 35, 43, and 44.” The bottom half of the table limits the calculations to the area covered by those districts.

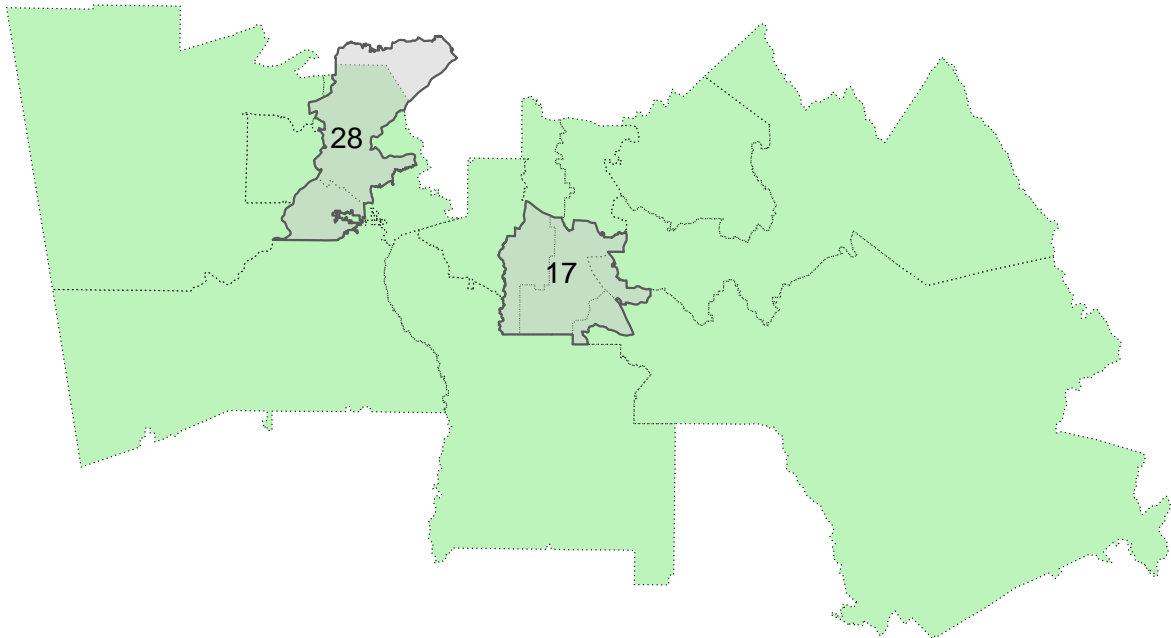
### 3.4 Maps of Remedial Districts SD-17 and SD-28

The Grant plaintiffs critique the Senate remedial districts for extending outside of the 2021 Senate districts articulated on page 514 of the Court’s October 26, 2023 order.<sup>4</sup> However, remedial SD-17 is entirely contained in the region, so the critique is only applicable to SD-28, and a majority (56.8%) of the Black voting age population in remedial SD-28 reside within that area. Figure 1 shows a map of these two remedial Senate districts. Behind them is overlaid the area contained in the 2021 Senate districts listed in the Court’s October 26, 2023 order.

Figure 1: Map of Remedial SD-17 and SD-28 Overlaid on 2021 Districts

**2023 Remedial SDs–17 and 28 shown in grey**

**BVAP overlap: SD–17=56.8%, SD–28=100%**



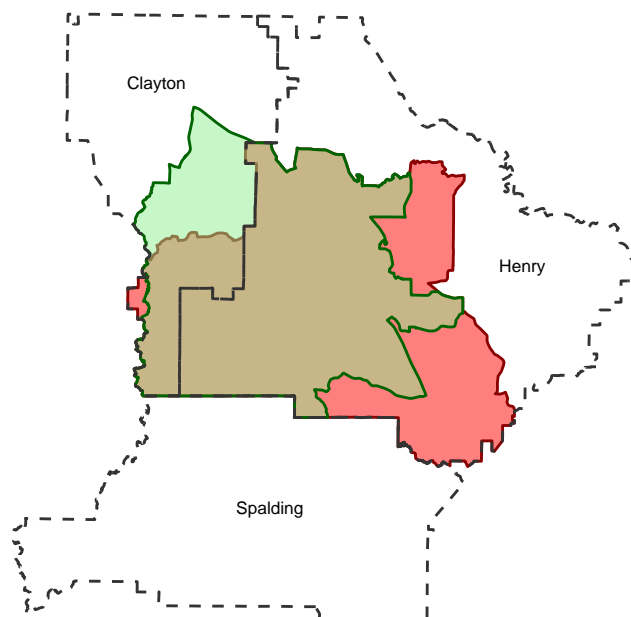
Note: 2021 Senate districts listed by the Court in ordering shown in green

<sup>4</sup>See, for example, page 8 of the Grant Plaintiffs’ Objections to the Georgia General Assembly’s Remedial State Legislative Plans. The court order specifically says: “SB 1EX violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act as to the following areas/districts: Enacted Senate Districts 10, 16, 17, 25, 28, 30, 34, 35, 43, and 44.”

The APA plaintiffs critique SD-17 for a different reason - its failure to extend southward into Spalding county.<sup>5</sup> However, this critique would equally apply to another of the plaintiff's illustrative maps. Mr. Esselstyn's SD-15 illustrative district also spans Clayton and Henry counties while not extending southward into Spalding County. Furthermore, the Esselstyn illustrative district that does cover Spalding County (Esselstyn SD-16) is not majority-BVAP either. Thus, the APA plaintiff's critique that no Black voters in Spalding county will reside in a majority-BVAP district under the remedial map is also true of the Grant plaintiff's own illustrative map. The population of remedial SD-17 overlaps Esselstyn illustrative SD-25 by more than 75% and the two districts are shown in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Remedial SD-17 and Esselstyn Illustrative SD-25

2023 Remedial Map SD-17: green,  
Esselstyn Illustrative SD-25: red  
78.6% population overlap, 76.6% BVAP overlap



Note: County boundaries shown with dashed lines

<sup>5</sup>See pages 12-13 of Alpha Phi Alpha Plaintiffs' objections to Defendant's Remedial Proposal and Memorandum of Law.

### 3.5 Similarity to Illustrative Districts

Overall, remedial SD-17 and SD-28 are quite similar to majority-BVAP districts in the plaintiffs' own illustrative maps. In both cases, the majority of the population in both remedial Senate districts is contained in a majority-BVAP illustrative district in either the Cooper or Esselstyn illustrative maps. Table 7 shows how the population of each new majority-BVAP remedial Senate district relates to the illustrative Senate districts and the degree to which they overlap. The illustrative district that contains the largest overlap is bolded. For example, remedial SD-17 contains 78.6% of Esselstyn illustrative SD-25 total population and 76.6% of the BVAP in Esselstyn illustrative SD-25.

Table 7: Similarity between Remedial Senate Districts and Illustrative Districts

	Shared Population	
Illustrative District	Total	BVAP
Remedial Senate District 17:		
<b>Esselstyn SD-25</b>	<b>78.6%</b>	<b>76.6%</b>
Esselstyn SD-44	21.4%	23.4%
	100%	100%
<b>Cooper SD-16</b>	<b>43.3%</b>	<b>39.3%</b>
Cooper SD-10	13.3%	12.4%
Cooper SD-17	13.9%	14.3%
Cooper SD-28	29.6%	34.0%
	100%	100.0%
Remedial Senate District 28:		
<b>Esselstyn SD-35</b>	<b>52.6%</b>	<b>55.8%</b>
Esselstyn SD-28	1.6%	1.1 %
Esselstyn SD-33	19.7%	17.5 %
Esselstyn SD-38	26.1%	25.7 %
	100%	100%
<b>Cooper SD-20</b>	<b>50.4%</b>	<b>50.6%</b>
Cooper SD-33	33.2%	33.8%
Cooper SD-35	3.8%	6.2%
Cooper SD-38	12.6%	9.4 %
	100%	100%

Note: The majority of the population in both remedial Senate districts is contained in a majority-BVAP illustrative district in either the Cooper or Esselstyn illustrative maps. The illustrative district that contains the largest overlap is bolded.

### 3.6 Electoral Effectiveness

Both of the newly created majority-BVAP districts in the 2023 remedial Senate plan perform uniformly for Democratic candidates. To measure this I looked at the general election results of 15 statewide election contests from 2106-2022 in each of the districts. The table below shows the proportion of those elections in which the Democratic candidate won a majority of the two-party votes cast in that district.<sup>6</sup> I also include the electoral performance of the other 14 majority-BVAP districts and 6 majority-minority districts in the remedial Senate map. For comparison, I also show the electoral performance of the 12 majority-BVAP and 6 majority-minority districts in the 2021 enacted map. All of the districts in the table in both maps are solidly Democratic.

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<sup>6</sup>The specific elections considered are: 2022: Attorney General, Governor, Secretary of State, US Senate, Lt. Governor; 2021: US Senate Runoff, US Special Senate Runoff; 2020: US Special Senate, US Senate, President; 2018: Attorney General, Governor, Lt. Governor; 2016: President, US Senate.

Table 8: Reconstituted Election Results in Senate Districts

2021 Districts	% of elections where Democrat wins	Remedial Districts	% of elections where Democrat wins
10	100%	17	100%
12	100%	28	100%
15	100%	10	100%
22	100%	12	100%
26	100%	15	100%
34	100%	22	100%
35	100%	26	100%
36	100%	34	100%
38	100%	35	100%
39	100%	36	100%
41	100%	38	100%
43	100%	39	100%
44	100%	41	100%
55	100%	43	100%
2	100%	44	100%
5	100%	55	100%
7	93.3%	2	100%
9	93.3%	5	100%
33	100%	7	93.3%
40	93.3%	9	93.3%
		33	100%
		40	93.3%

Note: Performance is based on the percent of the two-party vote won by the Democratic candidate in the district for 15 statewide elections between 2016 and 2022. Yellow districts are majority-BVAP. Green districts are majority-minority VAP. Blue districts are newly created majority-BVAP districts in the remedial map.



## **4 State House**

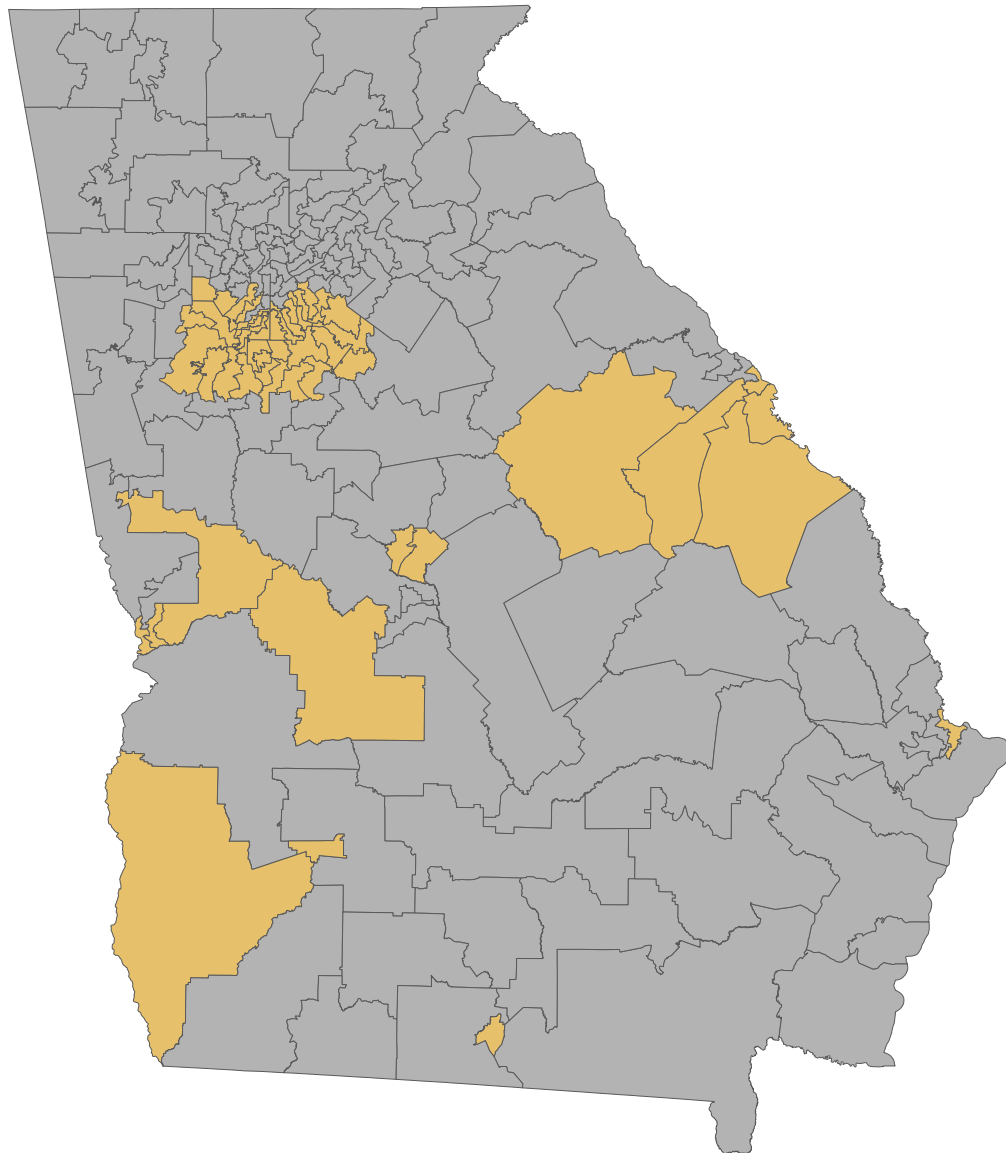
### **4.1 Maps of Remedial Districts**

The first map below shows the 2021 House district boundaries. The second map shows the boundaries of the 2023 remedial Senate map. Districts in yellow are majority BVAP. Districts in blue are the newly created majority-BVAP districts in the remedial House map.

### 2021 Enacted House Map

Majority-BVAP districts highlighted in yellow

 Maj-BVAP  Non Maj-BVAP

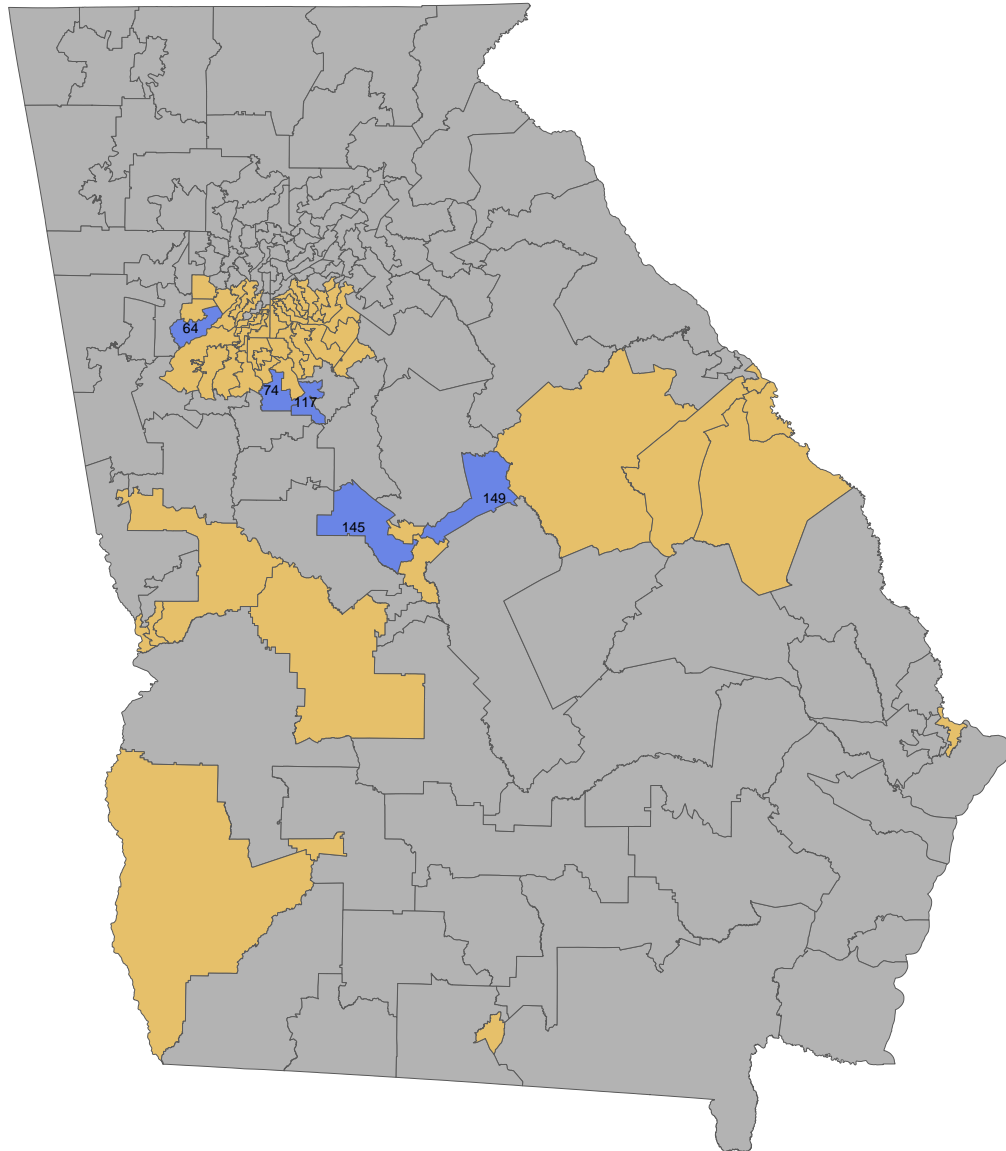


Note: District numbers omitted for clarity.

### 2023 Remedial House Map

New Majority-BVAP districts highlighted in blue

Maj-BVAP New Maj-BVAP Non Maj-BVAP



Note: District numbers omitted except for additional majority-BVAP districts for clarity.

## 4.2 Number of Majority-BVAP Districts

The 2021 enacted House map contained 49 majority any-part BVAP districts and 27 districts that were not majority BVAP but were majority-minority.<sup>7</sup>

The 2023 remedial House map adds five additional majority-BVAP districts, HDs-64, 74, 117, 145, and 149, for a total of 54 majority BVAP House districts throughout the state. The 2023 remedial House map also contains 27 districts that were not majority BVAP but were majority-minority.

Table 9 shows the BVAP and minority VAP percentages for districts in the 2021 and 2023 remedial House maps. Districts are sorted by BVAP percentages in each map. Districts highlighted in yellow are majority-BVAP. Districts highlighted in green are majority-minority. Districts highlighted in Blue are newly majority-BVAP in the 2023 remedial House map.

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<sup>7</sup>Non-White percentage is defined as 100 minus the non-Hispanic single-race White VAP percentage.

Table 9: Racial statistics for House Maps

2021 Enacted Map			2023 Remedial Map		
District	BVAP %	Minority VAP %	District	BVAP %	Minority VAP %
77	76.13	92.42	77	76.13	92.42
86	75.05	87.92	115	75.45	82.05
75	74.40	88.73	91	75.04	80.29
61	74.29	83.25	75	74.40	88.73
84	73.66	78.71	116	73.91	82.23
87	73.08	86.50	62	72.26	80.93
62	72.26	80.93	79	71.59	92.85
79	71.59	92.85	65	71.27	75.75
78	71.58	84.95	59	70.09	77.96
59	70.09	77.96	63	69.33	80.78
91	70.04	78.00	92	68.11	77.25
63	69.33	80.78	153	67.95	72.34
94	69.04	81.58	76	67.23	89.49
92	68.79	75.95	95	66.74	80.76
153	67.95	72.34	74	66.00	76.31
76	67.23	89.49	93	64.87	78.30
95	67.15	78.17	69	63.56	73.11
93	65.36	77.09	88	63.35	81.70
60	63.88	71.91	117	62.93	73.37
69	63.56	73.11	113	61.30	70.00
88	63.35	81.70	130	59.91	66.26
58	63.04	72.44	78	58.99	75.61
85	62.71	80.52	67	58.92	69.14
89	62.54	68.93	58	57.67	67.63
65	61.98	68.54	140	57.63	68.30
143	60.79	67.72	94	57.53	75.39
130	59.91	66.26	141	57.46	68.23
113	59.53	68.20	89	57.09	66.51
142	59.52	65.20	55	56.39	65.14
67	58.92	69.14	84	56.06	65.30
90	58.49	66.02	61	55.91	67.78
116	58.12	72.78	68	55.75	66.06
140	57.63	68.30	39	55.29	76.53
141	57.46	68.23	129	54.87	62.84
68	55.75	66.06	154	54.82	57.76
55	55.38	64.49	86	54.63	70.96
39	55.29	76.53	126	54.47	60.03
129	54.87	62.84	66	54.28	68.80
154	54.82	57.76	38	54.23	69.90
126	54.47	60.03	177	53.88	62.88
38	54.23	69.90	87	53.86	72.83
177	53.88	62.88	150	53.56	61.69
150	53.56	61.69	60	52.93	62.67
66	53.41	66.07	64	52.43	63.46
132	52.34	64.37	132	52.34	64.37
137	52.13	59.18	137	52.13	59.18
115	52.13	63.05	85	51.92	72.04
128	50.41	53.51	142	51.26	57.51
165	50.33	60.82	90	51.11	59.63
110	47.19	63.42	128	50.41	53.51
168	46.26	60.71	165	50.33	60.82
163	45.49	58.08	145	50.30	57.49
56	45.48	63.02	143	50.17	60.03
162	43.73	59.38	149	50.03	54.51
151	42.41	52.80	56	49.38	65.76
41	39.35	72.38	168	46.26	60.71
102	37.62	69.35	163	45.49	58.08
106	36.27	58.78	110	43.99	61.94
42	33.70	61.00	162	43.73	59.38
109	32.51	84.56	151	42.41	52.80
107	29.63	78.04	102	40.31	69.64
105	29.05	58.26	41	39.35	72.38
37	28.18	53.74	109	32.96	86.10
97	26.77	63.56	35	31.54	50.65
43	26.53	53.69	42	31.03	57.12
101	24.19	59.86	43	30.25	55.99
98	23.25	88.34	106	26.95	69.98
96	23.00	79.68	97	26.77	63.56
81	21.83	52.99	37	24.92	51.89
108	18.35	56.64	107	24.68	66.63
83	15.12	52.10	105	23.53	53.57
99	14.71	57.90	98	23.25	88.34
80	14.18	52.37	96	23.00	79.68
29	13.59	57.71	101	21.15	51.49
50	12.40	55.63	108	17.28	54.11
4	5.38	52.22	83	15.12	52.10
			99	14.71	57.90
			80	14.18	52.37
			29	13.59	57.71
			50	12.40	55.63
			4	5.38	52.22

Note: Districts are sorted by BVAP percentages in each map. Districts highlighted in yellow are majority-BVAP. Districts highlighted in green are majority-minority. Districts highlighted in Blue are newly majority-BVAP in the 2023 remedial map. BVAP is calculated from the 2020 US Census “any-part Black 18+”. Minority VAP is 100 minus Non-Hispanic White 18+ percent. Districts that are not majority-BVAP are omitted to conserve space.

### 4.3 BVAP Assigned to Majority-BVAP Districts

Overall, the remedial House map increases the number of Black voters who reside in majority-BVAP House districts compared to the 2021 enacted House map. Table 10 below shows that in the 2021 House map 53.5% of Black voters resided in majority-BVAP House districts. In the 2023 remedial map this number increases to 56.6%. On page 514 of the Court’s October 26, 2023 order, the Court states, “HB 1EX violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act as to the following areas/districts: Enacted House Districts 61, 64, 74, 78, 117, 133, 142, 143, 145, 147, and 149.” If we limit the inquiry to these eleven districts, 53.7% of Black voters in this area resided in majority BVAP districts in the 2021 House map. The APA Plaintiff’s critique the remedial House map for failing to add sufficient Black voters into remedial majority-BVAP districts.<sup>8</sup> However, the remedial map dramatically increases the number of Black voters in majority-BVAP districts within this region. Remaining within the court-defined area, the 2023 remedial House map places 74.3% of Black voters in this area in majority BVAP districts.

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<sup>8</sup>See, for example, pages 20-21 of the APA Objections to Defendant’s Remedial Proposal and Memorandum of Law. However, their critiques are limited to the Atlanta area, as they state: “The 2023 Proposed House Plan’s lines in the Macon-Bibb area do appear to include Black voters from the vote-dilution area in new majority-Black districts in numbers comparable to the APA remedial plan” (pg. 21).

Table 10: Black Voters Residing in Majority-BVAP House Districts

House Maps	% of Black voting age population living in a majority-BVAP District
<b>Statewide</b>	
2021 Enacted	53.5%
2023 Remedial	56.6%
<b>Within 2021 districts Court listed in ordering paragraphs</b>	
2021 Enacted	53.7%
2023 Remedial	74.3%

Note: Page 514 of the Court’s October 26, 2023 order states, “HB 1EX violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act as to the following areas/districts: Enacted House Districts 61, 64, 74, 78, 117, 133, 142, 143, 145, 147, and 149.” The bottom half of the table limits the calculations to the area covered by those districts.

#### 4.4 Remedial House District 64 - West-metro Atlanta

The Grant plaintiffs critique the House remedial districts for extending outside of the 2021 House districts articulated on page 514 of the Court’s October 26, 2023 order.<sup>9</sup> However, this critique, in many cases, applies to the proposed remedial map put forward by the APA plaintiffs expert, Mr. Cooper. In other words, if the Grant plaintiffs are correct in their criticisms, then they would lead to the conclusion that the APA plaintiffs’ proposed remedial map is possibly also in violation of the Court’s order and Section 2 of the VRA.

The left panel of Figure 3 shows a map of HD-64, one of the five new majority-BVAP districts in the remedial House map. Remedial HD-64 extends across 2021 HDs 61 and 64 with 32.5% of remedial HD-64’s population contained in the green area delineating the two 2021 House districts mentioned by this Court in this area. Given the particular orientation of these two districts that were mentioned by the Court in its October order, it would be especially difficult to draw any new majority-BVAP district that is entirely, or even largely, contained in this area. The two districts are somewhat horseshoe shaped with only a small geographic connection at the northern end. In fact, the Cooper proposed remedial map draws district 64 in much the same way.<sup>10</sup> As seen in the figure, the APA plaintiffs’ proposed remedial map contains less overlap with the court-delineated region than the remedial map passed by the state.

Remedial HD-64 is also quite similar to majority-BVAP districts in the plaintiffs’ illustrative maps. The majority of the population in remedial HD-64 is contained in a majority-BVAP illustrative district in the Esselstyn illustrative map (Esselstyn HD-61). Table 11 shows how the population of remedial HD-64 relates to the illustrative House districts and the degree to which the populations overlap. The illustrative district that contains the largest overlap is bolded for each illustrative map. For example, remedial SD-64 contains 54.7% of Esselstyn illustrative HD-61 total population and 52.2% of the BVAP in Esselstyn illustrative HD-61.

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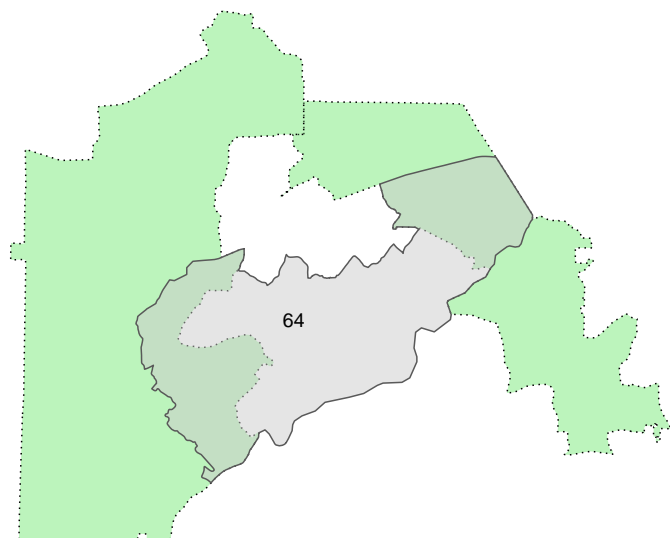
<sup>9</sup>See, for example, pages 9-12 of the Grant Plaintiffs’ Objections to the Georgia General Assembly’s Remedial State Legislative Plans. The court order specifically says: “SB 1EX violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act as to the following areas/districts: Enacted Senate Districts 10, 16, 17, 25, 28, 30, 34, 35, 43, and 44.”

<sup>10</sup>It is important to note that this is the proposed remedial map, not the original illustrative map. This is important because Mr. Cooper drew this map with the same information as the state legislature regarding the areas articulated by the Court regarding the particular location of Section 2 violations throughout the state.



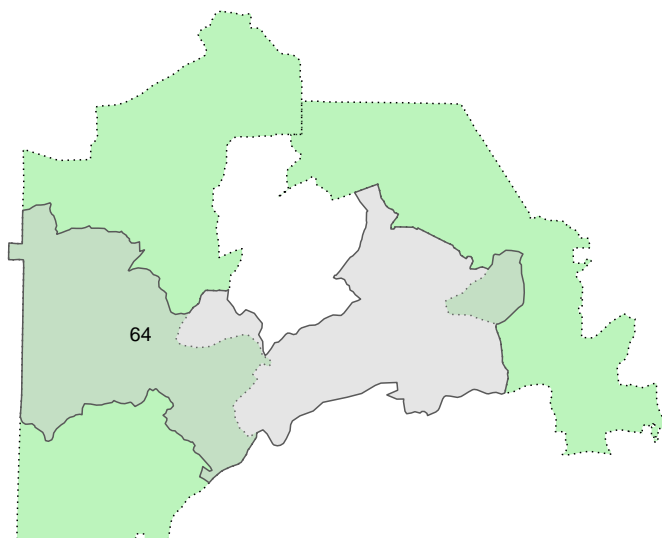
Figure 3: HD-64 in the Remedial Map (left) and the Cooper Proposed Remedial Map (right)

2023 Remedial HD-64 shown in grey  
BVAP overlap: 32.5%



Note: House districts listed by the Court in ordering shown in green

2023 Cooper Remedial HD-64 shown in grey  
BVAP overlap: 20.8%



Note: House districts listed by the Court in ordering shown in green

Table 11: Similarity between Remedial HD-64 and Illustrative Districts

Illustrative District	Shared Population	
	Total	BVAP
Remedial House District 64:		
<b>Esselstyn HD-61</b>	<b>54.7%</b>	<b>52.2%</b>
Esselstyn HD-64	15.4%	21.2 %
Esselstyn HD-66	29.9%	26.6 %
	100 %	100 %
<b>Cooper HD-65</b>	<b>32.6%</b>	<b>39.4%</b>
Cooper HD-61	15.4 %	21.2%
Cooper HD-64	18.9 %	11.3%
Cooper HD-66	33.2 %	28.0%
	100%	100%

Note: The majority of the population in HD-64 is contained in a majority-BVAP illustrative district in either the Cooper or Esselstyn illustrative maps. The district that contains the largest overlap is bolded in each illustrative map.

## 4.5 Remedial House District 74 and 117 - South-metro Atlanta

The Grant plaintiffs also critique House remedial districts 74 and 117 for extending outside of the 2021 House districts articulated on page 514 of the Court's October 26, 2023 order.<sup>11</sup> This critique is weak for two reasons. First, remedial HD-74's Black voting age population overlaps the court-defined area by upwards of 93%. Only 6.71% of the Black voting-age population reside outside the area. Second, while HD-117 overlaps by much less (34.1%), it is again the case that the plaintiffs' own proposed remedial map commits the same purported error. Mr. Cooper's proposed HD-117 likewise extends beyond the 2021 districts noted by the Court and contains similar population overlap (35.3%). If this were such a significant violation of the Court's direction, it would be unusual for the plaintiffs to violate this order themselves in their own proposed remedial map.<sup>12</sup>

Furthermore, remedial HDs-74 and 117 are quite similar to majority-BVAP districts in the plaintiffs' illustrative maps. 81.8% of the Black voting-age population in remedial HD-74 is contained in a majority-BVAP illustrative district in the Cooper illustrative map (Cooper HD-74) and 70.2% of the Black voting-age population in remedial HD-117 is shared with illustrative HD-117 in the Esselstyn illustrative map. Table 12 shows how the population of remedial HDs-74 and 117 relate to the Cooper and Esselstyn illustrative House districts and the degree to which the district populations overlap. The illustrative district that contains the largest overlap with each remedial district is bolded.

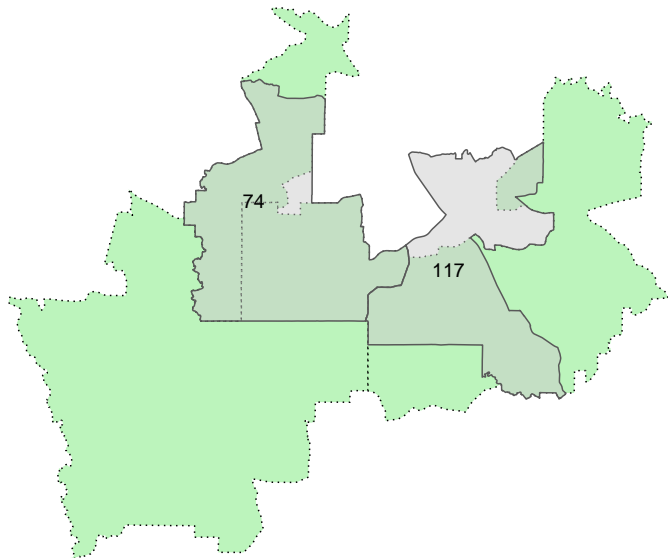
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<sup>11</sup>See, for example, pages 9-12 of the Grant Plaintiffs' Objections to the Georgia General Assembly's Remedial State Legislative Plans. The court order specifically says: "SB 1EX violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act as to the following areas/districts: Enacted Senate Districts 10, 16, 17, 25, 28, 30, 34, 35, 43, and 44."

<sup>12</sup>It is again important to note that this is the proposed remedial map, not the original illustrative map. This is important because Mr. Cooper drew this map with the same information as the state legislature regarding the areas articulated by the Court regarding the particular location of Section 2 violations throughout the state.

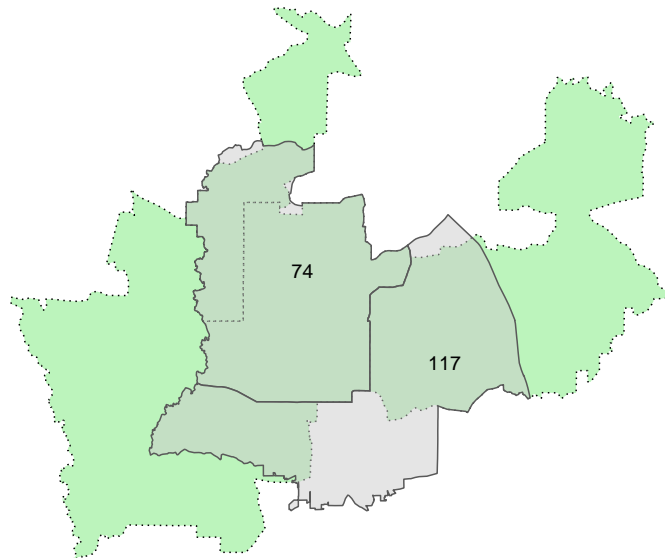
Figure 4: HDs-74 and 117 in the Remedial Map (left) and the Cooper Proposed Remedial Map (right)

2023 Remedial HDs-74 and 117 shown in grey  
BVAP overlap: HD-74=93.3%, HD-117=34.1%



Note: House districts listed by the Court in ordering shown in green

2023 Cooper Remedial HDs-74 and 117 shown in grey  
BVAP overlap: HD-74=87.3%, HD-117=35.4%



Note: House districts listed by the Court in ordering shown in green

Table 12: Similarity between Remedial HDs-74 and 117 and Illustrative Districts

	<b>Shared Population</b>	
<b>Illustrative District</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>BVAP</b>
Remedial House District 74:		
<b>Esselstyn HD-78</b>	<b>72.9%</b>	<b>69.5%</b>
Esselstyn HD-74	14.8%	19.3%
Esselstyn HD-75	5.3%	4.4%
Esselstyn HD-116	7.0%	6.7%
	100%	100%
<b>Cooper HD-74</b>	<b>80.8%</b>	<b>81.8%</b>
Cooper HD-78	14.7%	14.2%
Cooper HD-116	4.5 %	4.1%
	100%	100%
Remedial House District 117:		
<b>Esselstyn HD-117</b>	<b>69.2%</b>	<b>70.2%</b>
Esselstyn HD-116	30.8%	29.8 %
	100%	100%
<b>Cooper HD-115</b>	<b>60.2%</b>	<b>63.1%</b>
Cooper HD-117	39.8 %	36.9%
	100%	100%

Note: The district that contains the largest overlap is bolded in each illustrative map. For example, 81.8% of the Black voting-age population in HD-74 is contained in the Cooper illustrative HD-74.

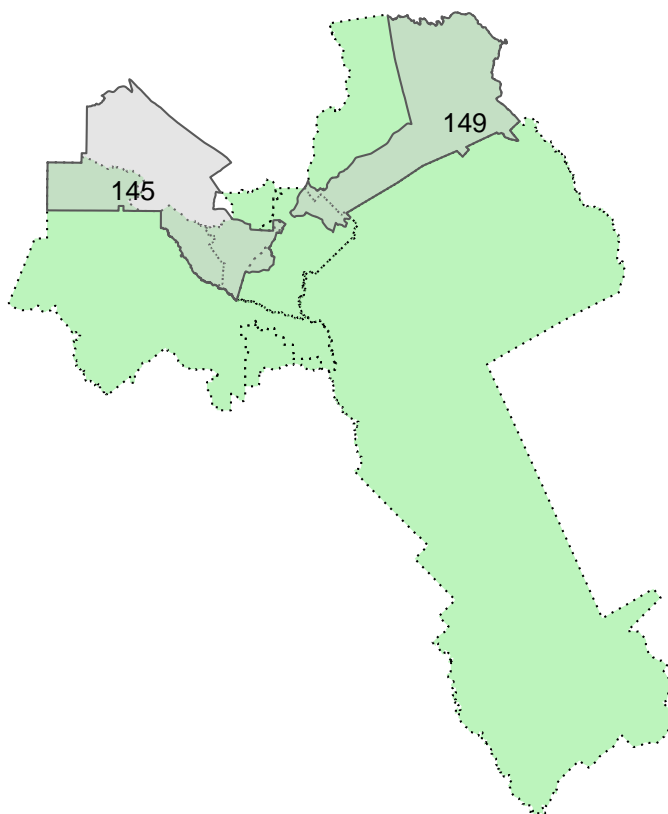
## 4.6 Remedial House District 145 and 149 - Macon-Bibb

The APA plaintiffs' appear to be content with House remedial House districts 145 and 149. In their objections brief they state: "The 2023 Proposed House Plan's lines in the Macon-Bibb area do appear to include Black voters from the vote-dilution area in new majority-Black districts in numbers comparable to the APA remedial plan" (footnote 4, pg. 21). There are no other references to these two remedial districts in their brief. And yet, the Grant plaintiffs raise objections to these districts, particularly HD-145. Regardless of whether or not the various plaintiffs agree with one another on whether or not the remedial map is problematic in this region, the districts comport with the Court's direction to create two additional majority-BVAP districts in the Macon-Bibb region.

The thrust of the Grant plaintiffs' objections in this region is similar to their objections in the other parts of the map, which is that the remedial districts extend beyond the specific boundaries of the 2021 House districts articulated by the Court. However, remedial HD-149 is entirely contained within this area and is therefore not subject to this critique at all. This leaves remedial HD-145 as the only district that any plaintiff offers any critique of in this region. However, 77.4% of remedial HD-145's Black voting age population overlaps the area noted in the Court's October order. As the APA plaintiffs' note, this is similar to the amount of overlap that Mr. Cooper's own proposed remedial map contains in this region. The substantial overlap between remedial HD-149 with the court-delineated area, combined with the fact that the other plaintiffs in the case find no fault with HD-145 at all is strong evidence that the district is indeed compliant with the court's orders.

Figure 5: HDs-145 and 149 in the Remedial Map

2023 Remedial HDs—145 and 149 shown in grey  
BVAP overlap: HD-145=77.4%, HD-149=100%



Note: House districts listed by the Court in ordering shown in green

Remedial HDs-145 and 149 are quite similar to majority-BVAP districts in the plaintiffs' illustrative maps. 59.1% of the Black voting-age population in remedial HD-145 is contained in a majority-BVAP illustrative district in the Esselstyn illustrative map (Esselstyn HD-142) and 64.3% of the Black voting-age population in remedial HD-149 is shared with illustrative HD-149 in the Cooper illustrative map. Table 13 shows how the population of remedial HDs-142 and 149 relate to the Cooper and Esselstyn illustrative House maps and the degree to which the district populations overlap. The illustrative district that contains the largest overlap with each remedial district is bolded.

Table 13: Similarity between Remedial HDs-145 and 149 and Illustrative Districts

Illustrative District	Shared Population	
	Total	BVAP
Remedial House District 145:		
<b>Esselstyn HD-142</b>	<b>57.8%</b>	<b>59.1%</b>
Esselstyn HD-133	13.8%	13.3%
Esselstyn HD-135	10.1%	3.3%
Esselstyn HD-145	11.7%	14.5%
Esselstyn HD-149	6.7%	9.7%
	100%	100%
<b>Cooper HD-145</b>	<b>46.4%</b>	<b>41.3%</b>
Cooper HD-135	22.3%	15.7%
Cooper HD-142	24.0%	31.9%
Cooper HD-143	7.3%	11.2%
	100%	100%
Remedial House District 149:		
<b>Esselstyn HD-149</b>	<b>57.2%</b>	<b>64.3%</b>
Esselstyn HD-133	33.7%	20.6%
Esselstyn HD-143	9.1%	15.1%
	100%	100%
<b>Cooper HD-144</b>	<b>39.6%</b>	<b>21.8%</b>
Cooper HD-133	38.1%	42.5%
Cooper HD-143	22.3%	35.7%
	100%	100%

Note: The majority of the population in remedial HDs-145 and 149 are contained in a majority-BVAP illustrative district in either the Cooper or Esselstyn illustrative maps. The district that contains the largest overlap is bolded in each illustrative map.



## 4.7 Electoral Effectiveness

All five of the newly created majority-BVAP House districts in the 2023 remedial House plan perform uniformly for Democratic candidates. To measure this I looked at the general election results of 15 statewide election contests from 2106-2022 in each of the districts. Table 14 shows the majority-BVAP and majority-minority VAP districts in both the 2021 enacted and 2023 remedial House maps. The table then shows the proportion of the 15 elections in which the Democratic candidate won a majority of the two-party votes cast in that district.<sup>13</sup>

There are 71 Democratic-leaning districts in Table 14 for the 2021 enacted House map. There are 74 Democratic-leaning districts in Table 14 for the 2023 remedial House map.<sup>14</sup> All of the majority-BVAP districts in both the 2021 enacted and 2023 remedial House maps are solidly Democratic with the exception of HD-128, which leans Republican in both maps, but is nevertheless currently represented by a Black Democratic legislator. Of the 27 majority-minority districts in the 2021 enacted House map, 23 are Democratic-leaning. Of the 27 majority-minority districts in the 2023 remedial House map, 21 are Democratic-leaning.

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<sup>13</sup>The specific elections considered are: 2022: Attorney General, Governor, Secretary of State, US Senate, Lt. Governor; 2021: US Senate Runoff, US Special Senate Runoff; 2020: US Special Senate, US Senate, President; 2018: Attorney General, Governor, Lt. Governor; 2016: President, US Senate.

<sup>14</sup>I define Democratic leaning as a district in which the Democratic candidate won at least 8 of the 15 elections considered.

Table 14: Reconstituted Election Results in House Districts

2021 Districts	% of elections where Democrat wins	Remedial Districts	% of elections where Democrat wins
38	100%	64	100%
39	100%	74	100%
55	100%	117	100%
58	100%	145	100%
59	100%	149	100%
60	100%	38	100%
61	100%	39	100%
62	100%	55	100%
63	100%	58	100%
65	100%	59	100%
66	100%	60	100%
67	100%	61	100%
68	100%	62	100%
69	100%	63	100%
75	100%	65	100%
76	100%	66	100%
77	100%	67	100%
78	100%	68	100%
79	100%	69	100%
84	100%	75	100%
85	100%	76	100%
86	100%	77	100%
87	100%	78	100%
88	100%	79	100%
89	100%	84	100%
90	100%	85	100%
91	100%	86	100%
92	100%	87	100%
93	100%	88	100%
94	100%	89	100%
95	100%	90	100%
113	100%	91	100%
115	93.3%	92	100%
116	100%	93	100%
126	100%	94	100%
128	26.7%	95	100%
129	100%	113	100%
130	100%	115	100%
132	100%	116	100%
137	100%	126	100%
140	100%	128	26.7%
141	100%	129	100%
142	100%	130	100%
143	100%	132	100%
150	93.3%	137	100%
153	100%	140	100%
154	73.3%	141	100%
165	100%	142	100%
177	66.7%	143	100%
4	0%	150	93.3%
29	0%	153	100%
37	93.3%	154	73.3%
41	100%	165	100%
42	100%	177	66.7%
43	93.3%	4	0%
50	86.7%	29	0%
56	100%	35	93.3%
80	93.3%	37	93.3%
81	100%	41	100%
83	93.3%	42	100%
96	100%	43	100%
97	100%	50	86.7%
98	100%	56	100%
99	40%	80	93.3%
101	86.7%	83	93.3%
102	100%	96	100%
105	86.7%	97	100%
106	86.7%	98	100%
107	100%	99	40%
108	73.3%	101	100%
109	100%	102	100%
110	93.3%	105	26.7%
151	0%	106	100%
162	100%	107	93.3%
163	100%	108	53.3%
168	100%	109	100%
		110	93.3%
		151	0%
		162	100%
		163	100%
		168	100%

Note: Performance is based on the percent of the two-party vote won by the Democratic candidate in the district for 15 statewide elections between 2016 and 2022. Yellow districts are majority-BVAP. Green districts are majority-minority VAP. Blue districts are newly created majority-BVAP districts in the remedial map.

I, Dr. Michael Barber, acting in accordance with 28 U.S.C. § 1746, Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 26(a)(2)(B), and Federal Rules of Evidence 702 and 703, hereby declare that the foregoing is true and accurate to the best of my knowledge

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Michael Barber", with a stylized, cursive script.

Michael Barber

December 18, 2023

# Michael Jay Barber

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## CONTACT INFORMATION

Brigham Young University  
Department of Political Science  
724 KMBL  
Provo, UT 84602

[barber@byu.edu](mailto:barber@byu.edu)  
<http://michaeljaybarber.com>  
Ph: (801) 422-7492

## ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

### **Brigham Young University**, Provo, UT

August 2020 - present Associate Professor, Department of Political Science  
Jan 2023 - present Director, Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy  
2014 - July 2020 Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science  
2014 - Jan 2023 Faculty Scholar, Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy

## EDUCATION

### **Princeton University Department of Politics**, Princeton, NJ

Ph.D., Politics, July 2014

- Advisors: Brandice Canes-Wrone, Nolan McCarty, and Kosuke Imai
- Dissertation: "Buying Representation: the Incentives, Ideology, and Influence of Campaign Contributions on American Politics"
- 2015 Carl Albert Award for Best Dissertation, Legislative Studies Section, American Political Science Association (APSA)

M.A., Politics, December 2011

### **Brigham Young University**, Provo, UT

B.A., International Relations - Political Economy Focus, April, 2008

- *Cum Laude*

## RESEARCH INTERESTS

American politics, congressional polarization, political ideology, campaign finance, survey research

## PUBLICATIONS

26. **"The Crucial Role of Race in 21st Century U.S. Political Realignment**, with Jeremy Pope  
Forthcoming at *Public Opinion Quarterly*
25. **"Misclassification and Bias in Predictions of Individual Ethnicity from Administrative Records"**, with Lisa Argyle  
Forthcoming at *American Political Science Review*
24. **"Partisanship and Trolleyology"**, with Ryan Davis  
Forthcoming at *Research & Politics*
23. **"Does Issue Importance Attenuate Partisan Cue-Taking"**, with Jeremy Pope  
Forthcoming at *Political Science Research and Methods*

22. **“A Revolution of Rights in American Founding Documents”**, with Scott Abramson and Jeremy Pope  
Forthcoming at *Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy*
21. **“Groups, Behaviors, and Issues as Cues of Partisan Attachments in the Public”**, with Jeremy Pope  
Forthcoming at *American Politics Research*
20. **“Ideological Disagreement and Pre-emption in Municipal Policymaking”**, with Adam Dynes  
*American Journal of Political Science*, no. 1 (2023): 119-136.
19. **“400 million voting records show profound racial and geographic disparities in voter turnout in the United States”**, with John Holbein  
*PloS One*, 2022, Vol. 17, no. 6: e0268134
18. **“Comparing Campaign Finance and Vote Based Measures of Ideology”**  
*Journal of Politics*, 2022. Vol. 84, no. 1 (2022): 613-619.
17. **“The Participatory and Partisan Impacts of Mandatory Vote-by-Mail”**, with John Holbein  
*Science Advances*, 2020. Vol. 6, no. 35, DOI: 10.1126/sciadv.abc7685
16. **“Issue Politicization and Interest Group Campaign Contribution Strategies”**, with Mandi Eatough  
*Journal of Politics*, 2020. Vol. 82: No. 3, pp. 1008-1025
15. **“Campaign Contributions and Donors’ Policy Agreement with Presidential Candidates”**, with Brandice Canes-Wrone and Sharece Thrower  
*Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 2019, 49 (4) 770–797
14. **“Conservatism in the Era of Trump”**, with Jeremy Pope  
*Perspectives on Politics*, 2019, 17 (3) 719–736
13. **“Legislative Constraints on Executive Unilateralism in Separation of Powers Systems”**, with Alex Bolton and Sharece Thrower  
*Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2019, 44 (3) 515–548  
Awarded the Jewell-Loewenberg Award for best article in the area of subnational politics published in *Legislative Studies Quarterly* in 2019
12. **“Electoral Competitiveness and Legislative Productivity”**, with Soren Schmidt  
*American Politics Research*, 2019, 47 (4) 683–708
11. **“Does Party Trump Ideology? Disentangling Party and Ideology in America”**, with Jeremy Pope  
*American Political Science Review*, 2019, 113 (1) 38–54
10. **“The Evolution of National Constitutions”**, with Scott Abramson  
*Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2019, 14 (1) 89–114
9. **“Who is Ideological? Measuring Ideological Responses to Policy Questions in the American Public”**, with Jeremy Pope  
*The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, 2018, 16 (1) 97–122
8. **“Status Quo Bias in Ballot Wording”**, with David Gordon, Ryan Hill, and Joe Price  
*The Journal of Experimental Political Science*, 2017, 4 (2) 151–160.
7. **“Ideologically Sophisticated Donors: Which Candidates Do Individual Contributors Finance?”**, with Brandice Canes-Wrone and Sharece Thrower  
*American Journal of Political Science*, 2017, 61 (2) 271–288.
6. **“Gender Inequalities in Campaign Finance: A Regression Discontinuity Design”**, with Daniel Butler and Jessica Preece  
*Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2016, Vol. 11, No. 2: 219–248.

5. **“Representing the Preferences of Donors, Partisans, and Voters in the U.S. Senate”**  
*Public Opinion Quarterly*, 2016, 80: 225–249.
4. **“Donation Motivations: Testing Theories of Access and Ideology”**  
*Political Research Quarterly*, 2016, 69 (1) 148–160.
3. **“Ideological Donors, Contribution Limits, and the Polarization of State Legislatures”**  
*Journal of Politics*, 2016, 78 (1) 296–310.
2. **“Online Polls and Registration Based Sampling: A New Method for Pre-Election Polling”** with Quin Monson, Kelly Patterson and Chris Mann.  
*Political Analysis* 2014, 22 (3) 321–335.
1. **“Causes and Consequences of Political Polarization”** In *Negotiating Agreement in Politics*. Jane Mansbridge and Cathie Jo Martin, eds., Washington, DC: American Political Science Association: 19–53. with Nolan McCarty. 2013.
  - Reprinted in *Solutions to Political Polarization in America*, Cambridge University Press. Nate Persily, eds. 2015
  - Reprinted in *Political Negotiation: A Handbook*, Brookings Institution Press. Jane Mansbridge and Cathie Jo Martin, eds. 2015

AVAILABLE  
WORKING PAPERS

**“Race and Realignment in American Politics”**  
with Jeremy Pope (Revise and Resubmit at *Public Opinion Quarterly*)

**“The Policy Preferences of Donors and Voters”**

**“Estimating Neighborhood Effects on Turnout from Geocoded Voter Registration Records.”**  
with Kosuke Imai

**“Super PAC Contributions in Congressional Elections”**

WORKS IN  
PROGRESS

**“Collaborative Study of Democracy and Politics”**  
with Brandice Canes-Wrone, Gregory Huber, and Joshua Clinton

**“Preferences for Representational Styles in the American Public”**  
with Ryan Davis and Adam Dynes

INVITED  
PRESENTATIONS

**“Are Mormons Breaking Up with Republicanism? The Unique Political Behavior of Mormons in the 2016 Presidential Election”**

- Ivy League LDS Student Association Conference - Princeton University, November 2018, Princeton, NJ

**“Issue Politicization and Access-Oriented Giving: A Theory of PAC Contribution Behavior”**

- Vanderbilt University, May 2017, Nashville, TN

“Lost in Issue Space? Measuring Levels of Ideology in the American Public”

- Yale University, April 2016, New Haven, CT

“The Incentives, Ideology, and Influence of Campaign Donors in American Politics”

- University of Oklahoma, April 2016, Norman, OK

“Lost in Issue Space? Measuring Levels of Ideology in the American Public”

- University of Wisconsin - Madison, February 2016, Madison, WI

“Polarization and Campaign Contributors: Motivations, Ideology, and Policy”

- Hewlett Foundation Conference on Lobbying and Campaign Finance, October 2014, Palo Alto, CA

“Ideological Donors, Contribution Limits, and the Polarization of State Legislatures”

- Bipartisan Policy Center Meeting on Party Polarization and Campaign Finance, September 2014, Washington, DC

“Representing the Preferences of Donors, Partisans, and Voters in the U.S. Senate”

- Yale Center for the Study of American Politics Conference, May 2014, New Haven, CT

#### CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Washington D.C. Political Economy Conference (PECO):

- 2017 discussant

American Political Science Association (APSA) Annual Meeting:

- 2014 participant and discussant, 2015 participant, 2016 participant, 2017 participant, 2018 participant

Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA) Annual Meeting:

- 2015 participant and discussant, 2016 participant and discussant, 2018 participant

Southern Political Science Association (SPSA) Annual Meeting:

- 2015 participant and discussant, 2016 participant and discussant, 2017 participant

#### TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Poli 301: Data Visualization

- Summer 2022, Fall 2022

Poli 315: Congress and the Legislative Process

- Fall 2014, Winter 2015, Fall 2015, Winter 2016, Summer 2017, Fall 2022

Poli 328: Quantitative Analysis

- Winter 2017, Fall 2017, Fall 2019, Winter 2020, Fall 2020, Winter 2021

Poli 410: Undergraduate Research Seminar in American Politics

- Fall 2014, Winter 2015, Fall 2015, Winter 2016, Summer 2017

AWARDS AND  
GRANTS

2019 BYU Mentored Environment Grant (MEG), American Ideology Project, \$30,000

2017 BYU Political Science Teacher of the Year Award

2017 BYU Mentored Environment Grant (MEG), Funding American Democracy Project, \$20,000

2016 BYU Political Science Department, Political Ideology and President Trump (with Jeremy Pope), \$7,500

2016 BYU Office of Research and Creative Activities (ORCA) Student Mentored Grant x 3

- Hayden Galloway, Jennica Peterson, Rebecca Shuel

2015 BYU Office of Research and Creative Activities (ORCA) Student Mentored Grant x 3

- Michael-Sean Covey, Hayden Galloway, Sean Stephenson

2015 BYU Student Experiential Learning Grant, American Founding Comparative Constitutions Project (with Jeremy Pope), \$9,000

2015 BYU Social Science College Research Grant, \$5,000

2014 BYU Political Science Department, 2014 Washington DC Mayoral Pre-Election Poll (with Quin Monson and Kelly Patterson), \$3,000

2014 BYU Social Science College Award, 2014 Washington DC Mayoral Pre-Election Poll (with Quin Monson and Kelly Patterson), \$3,000

2014 BYU Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy, 2014 Washington DC Mayoral Pre-Election Poll (with Quin Monson and Kelly Patterson), \$2,000

2012 Princeton Center for the Study of Democratic Politics Dissertation Improvement Grant, \$5,000

2011 Princeton Mamdouha S. Bobst Center for Peace and Justice Dissertation Research Grant, \$5,000

2011 Princeton Political Economy Research Grant, \$1,500

OTHER SCHOLARLY  
ACTIVITIES

Expert Witness in Nancy Carola Jacobson, et al., Plaintiffs, vs. Laurel M. Lee, et al., Defendants. Case No. 4:18-cv-00262 MW-CAS (U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Florida)

Expert Witness in Common Cause, et al., Plaintiffs, vs. Lewis, et al., Defendants. Case No. 18-CVS-14001 (Wake County, North Carolina)

Expert Witness in Kelvin Jones, et al., Plaintiffs, v. Ron DeSantis, et al., Defendants, Consolidated Case No. 4:19-cv-300 (U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Florida)



Expert Witness in Community Success Initiative, et al., Plaintiffs, v. Timothy K. Moore, et al., Defendants, Case No. 19-cv-15941 (Wake County, North Carolina)

Expert Witness in Richard Rose et al., Plaintiffs, v. Brad Raffensperger, Defendant, Civil Action No. 1:20-cv-02921-SDG (U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia)

Expert Witness in Georgia Coalition for the People's Agenda, Inc., et. al., Plaintiffs, v. Brad Raffensperger, Defendant. Civil Action No. 1:18-cv-04727-ELR (U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia)

Expert Witness in Alabama, et al., Plaintiffs, v. United States Department of Commerce; Gina Raimondo, et al., Defendants. Case No. CASE No. 3:21-cv-00211-RAH-ECM-KCN (U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Alabama Eastern Division)

Expert Witness in League of Women Voters of Ohio, et al., Relators, v. Ohio Redistricting Commission, et al., Respondents. Case No. 2021-1193 (Supreme Court of Ohio)

Expert Witness in Regina Adams, et al., Relators, v. Governor Mike DeWine, et al., Respondents. Case No. 2021-1428 (Supreme Court of Ohio)

Expert Witness in Rebecca Harper, et al., Plaintiffs, v. Representative Destin Hall, et al., Defendants (Consolidated Case). Case No. 21 CVS 500085 (Wake County, North Carolina)

Expert Witness in Carter, et al., Petitioners, v. Degraffenreid et al., Respondents (Consolidated Case). Case No. 464 M.D. 2021 (Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania)

Expert Witness in Harkenrider, et al., Petitioners, v. Hochel et al., Respondents. Case No. E2022-0116CV (State of New York Supreme Court: County of Steuben)

Expert Witness in Our City Action Buffalo, Inc., et al., v. Common Council of the City of Buffalo (State of New York Supreme Court: County of Erie)

Expert Witness in Citizens Project, et al., v. City of Colorado Springs, et al. Case No. 22-cv-1365-CNS-MDB (U.S. District Court for the District of Colorado)

Expert Witness in Dr. Dorothy Nairne, et al., Plaintiffs, v. R. Yle Ardoyn, Defendant, CIVIL NO. 3:22-cv-00178 (U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Louisiana)

#### ADDITIONAL TRAINING

EITM 2012 at Princeton University - Participant and Graduate Student Coordinator

#### COMPUTER SKILLS

Statistical Programs: R, Stata, SPSS, parallel computing

Updated December 18, 2023