

EXHIBIT 3

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA**

DR. DOROTHY NAIRNE, JARRETT
LOFTON, REV. CLEE EARNEST LOWE, DR.
ALICE WASHINGTON, STEVEN HARRIS,
ALEXIS CALHOUN, BLACK VOTERS
MATTER CAPACITY BUILDING
INSTITUTE, and THE LOUISIANA STATE
CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP,

Plaintiffs,

v.

R. KYLE ARDOIN, in his official capacity as
Secretary of State of Louisiana

Defendant.

CIVIL ACTION NO. 3:22-cv-00178
SDD-SDJ

**DECLARATION OF OMARI HO-SANG IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFFS' OPPOSITION TO SUMMARY JUDGMENT**

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Omari J. Ho-Sang, declare as follows:

1. My name is Omari J. Ho-Sang. I am over the age of 18 and competent to make this declaration.
2. I am the Senior State Organizing Manager in Louisiana of the Black Voters Matter Capacity Building Institute ("BVM"). BVM is a Plaintiff in this case.

Black Voters Matter Capacity Building Institute

3. BVM is a nonprofit organization organized under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code.
4. BVM's core mission is to expand Black voter engagement and increase power in marginalized, predominantly Black communities. BVM works primarily in Black communities and other communities of color that face unique barriers to voting. BVM focuses on removing

those barriers and increasing voter registration and turnout by providing voter education and encouragement, advocating for policies to expand voting rights and access, and providing assistance and financial grants that enable its partner organizations to engage in on-the-ground efforts to mobilize voters.

5. In conducting this work, BVM's guiding principles include understanding, respecting, and supporting local infrastructure in pursuing civic engagement and community power; supporting individuals and organizations that strive for social justice throughout the year and not just on Election Day; and ensuring that Black voters and communities of color in rural counties and smaller cities and towns, who are often ignored, have their voices heard.

6. While BVM seeks to empower voters and improve the voting efficacy of Black communities nationally, it focuses most of its work on a handful of states, including Louisiana. BVM focuses its efforts on Louisiana because it contains some of the most under-resourced and neglected communities in the country.

7. Although BVM does not have a formal membership structure, BVM has a significant constituency of individuals and organizations in Louisiana's Black communities who are the primary beneficiaries of BVM's activities. BVM's constituents include Black voters in many Parishes where the State's newly enacted maps dilute the voting strength of Black voters, such as Bossier, Caddo, Jefferson, St. Charles, East Baton Rouge, West Baton Rouge, De Soto, Natchitoches, Red River, Ascension, and East Feliciana. BVM's constituents and supporters, and BVM's community partners and their members, include registered voters in the State of Louisiana who live in these areas and plan to vote in future State House and Senate elections.

8. BVM carries out much of its work through and in coordination with community partners. BVM believes it is more effective and efficient to invest in community groups to engage

in voter education and turnout efforts because those groups are familiar to and trusted by local voters. Further, providing grants to partner organizations helps increase partner organizations' long-term capacity to serve their communities in the region.

9. BVM partners with approximately 60 local organizations in Louisiana. BVM regularly provides mini-grants to its partners, who themselves engage in voter education and on-the-ground efforts to increase voter participation. Many of these local organizational partners are membership organizations comprised of individuals residing in parishes across the State who are directly affected by Louisiana's newly enacted maps for the election of the Louisiana State Legislature.

10. In addition to providing grants, BVM regularly communicates with its community partners, including through regular monthly calls, to coordinate with and train their leadership and members. Specifically, in Louisiana, BVM has provided training for its partners on redistricting, digital organizing, and other capacity-building tools. BVM also operates a regular bus tour to help its constituents and partners to raise awareness about voting issues. In the last three years, the BVM bus has held at least seven tours that included stops in Louisiana. BVM also provides technical support, including with social media, and other support to community partners on an as-needed basis.

11. BVM works on behalf of its constituents and partners. These individuals and organizations help inform the issues BVM seeks to address, assist with local organizational strategy, participate in BVM-organized efforts like text-message voter mobilization, and volunteer at these events.

**Effect of Louisiana's Discriminatory Maps on
BVM's Constituents and Mission**

12. In the discriminatory maps enacted in S.B. 1 and H.B. 14, many Black voters are packed in certain districts where they constitute a disproportionate majority, and Black voters are dispersed, or cracked, across other districts. These packed and cracked districts deprive Black people of meaningful representation and opportunities to elect our preferred candidates, despite making up nearly one-third of Louisiana's population. If elections proceed under the discriminatory maps enacted in S.B. 1 and H.B. 14, the voting strength of Black voters in Louisiana will continue to be diluted, and BVM constituents living in the affected districts will be directly impacted.

13. The State's maps dilute votes of individuals who are constituents and supporters of BVM, and who are members of the organizations in BVM's network. These individuals reside throughout Louisiana, including in many House and Senate Districts at issue here. This includes individuals who live in areas of Louisiana where Black voters tend to support the same candidates and where the Black community is sufficiently large and geographically compact to constitute a majority of voters in a legislative district, but those Black voters will not be able to elect their candidate of choice under the State's redistricting plan because their candidate of choice will typically be outvoted by the white majority.

14. Because Louisiana's unfair and discriminatory redistricting diminishes the voices and dilutes the voting strength of the Black Louisianans who BVM works to empower and engage, the discriminatory maps frustrate and impede BVM's mission to achieve equitable political representation and voting efficacy for Black voters across the entire state.

15. BVM's involvement in the redistricting process has been a multi-year effort. With the passage of the unlawful maps, BVM has diverted resources from its core organizational efforts

to educate and mobilize voters and build capacity in its community partners, toward targeting the Legislature and Governor with advocacy against these unlawful maps, as well as trying to counteract the negative effects of vote dilution to ensure its constituents and members are able to engage with the political process on equal footing with those in other districts, now that the maps have taken effect.

16. When the Legislature first introduced the discriminatory state legislative maps, BVM shifted its efforts from educating and mobilizing voters and building capacity in its community partners toward redistricting education and advocacy around S.B. 1 and H.B. 14.

17. During the 2022 redistricting cycle, BVM hosted trainings and community meetings to raise awareness about the redistricting process and advocate for maps that more accurately represent the state's Black population. This effort on redistricting included one training conducted entirely by BVM and three others who worked to convene its partners and members, and partner organizations delivered the content. *See, e.g., Ashley White, Want to Learn More About Redistricting? Black Voters Matter, Other Groups Host Meeting, Lafayette Daily Advertiser* (Jan. 25, 2022), <https://www.theadvertiser.com/story/news/2022/01/25/lafayettegroups-offer-information-louisiana-redistricting/9212785002/>.

18. BVM was also involved in the formal legislative redistricting process. During the Legislature's February 2022 special session on redistricting, BVM launched a "Redistricting Takeover": a statewide effort that included an outreach caravan from Monroe to Baton Rouge, a pep rally at Southern University, and a press conference on the steps of the Louisiana State Capitol. BVM launched the Redistricting Takeover to raise awareness and understanding of the State's redistricting efforts, and to encourage the public to attend committee meetings and testify before the joint committee on redistricting. BVM's organizers and constituents made their voices heard,

submitting hundreds of testimonies on public record throughout the course of the Redistricting Takeover.

19. BVM also participated in a coordinated advocacy campaign against the State's now-enacted maps. Before the Legislature passed S.B. 1 and H.B. 14, BVM signed onto a January 19, 2022 letter to the Legislature advocating for additional majority-minority districts.

20. Despite the significant efforts and resources that BVM and its partners devoted to advocating for representative state legislative maps, the Louisiana Legislature insisted on enacting maps that violate federal law and deprive Black voters an equal opportunity to participate in the political process and elect their candidate of choice, especially in the parishes of Bossier, Caddo, Jefferson, St. Charles, East Baton Rouge, West Baton Rouge, De Soto, Natchitoches, Red River, Ascension, and East Feliciana.

21. After the Legislature passed S.B. 1 and H.B. 14, BVM has continued to divert resources toward combatting the discriminatory state legislative maps.

22. In the initial aftermath of the passage of S.B. 1 and H.B. 14, BVM signed onto a February 22, 2022 press release calling for the Governor to veto S.B. 1 and H.B. 14.

23. Now that the discriminatory state legislative maps have taken effect, BVM has shifted our efforts toward fighting against the effects of voter dilution in the parishes where the State's maps dilute the voting strength of Black voters, such as Bossier, Caddo, Jefferson, St. Charles, East Baton Rouge, West Baton Rouge, De Soto, Natchitoches, Red River, Ascension, and East Feliciana. BVM will need to devote more of its own resources to engage with the candidates that represent Black voters in these parishes, to ensure that Black voters have a voice and opportunity to be heard by their elected officials despite being denied political power as a result of the enacted maps.

24. In particular, BVM has continued to devote significant time and resources to educating people on what redistricting means and how to engage in the process. When the Legislature acts to weaken the voices of Black voters, such as by enacting maps that dilute Black voting strength, BVM constituents and other voters become disillusioned with the process and become apathetic. Political participation is a cornerstone of BVM's mission. But in these unlawful districts, more resources will be required to encourage participation when voters know the challenges that Black candidates of choice face. Additionally, more resources will be required when advocating for their preferred positions with elected officials who are not the Black candidate of choice. Now, under the discriminatory maps, BVM will have to redouble its efforts to engage Black voters and convince them that their vote matters, which will require more resources and will make it more difficult to accomplish other organizational goals.

25. For example, instead of expending its limited resources on voter registration efforts or educating constituents on issues that are important to Black voters in Louisiana, BVM has diverted resources from its core activities toward developing an accountability strategy. Because we believe that Black voters matter, we are trying to find ways to hold elected officials we have accountable, even when we know the representation Black voters are receiving is unfair. We are hosting a virtual freedom school to train our partner organizations on how to engage regularly with elected officials and educate constituents about who their representatives are, what their record is, and how they're impacting the community they represent. This accountability strategy is designed to raise awareness of and push back on harmful changes being made by elected officials who do not represent our communities.

26. As long as the new maps remain in effect, BVM will continue to be injured because it will be forced to divert resources from its broader voter registration and community

empowerment initiatives toward protecting the representation and interests of its constituents and its partners' members in the affected districts. The discriminatory maps will impede BVM's mission to achieve equitable political representation for Black voters across the entire state.

Importance of Fair and Representative Maps

27. The state legislative maps that the Legislature enacted in 2022 did not expand the number of majority-minority opportunity districts for Black voters over the previous maps in the Senate and added just one additional district in the House that is majority Black, despite the fact that the Black population in Louisiana has grown since 2010. For Louisiana to have fair and representative state legislative maps, there must be a meaningful expansion of the number of majority-minority opportunity districts for Black voters.

28. Under the configuration of state legislative maps, and without meaningful expansion of the number of majority-minority opportunity districts for Black voters, Black Louisianans do not have an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice and Black Louisianans do not have equal access to their legislative representatives.

29. During the legislative session, the Redistricting Takeover, and the campaign seeking the Governor's veto, BVM has advocated for fair and representative state legislative maps that would add new majority-minority opportunity districts for Black voters, in order to give Black voters throughout Louisiana an equal opportunity to participate in the political process and elect their candidates of choice.

30. Additional majority-minority opportunity districts for Black voters should be added to the Senate in Jefferson Parish, the Baton Rouge area, and Shreveport area to provide Black voters in those areas of the State an equal opportunity to participate in the political process and elect their candidates of choice.

31. Additional majority-minority opportunity districts for Black voters should be added to the House in the Baton Rouge area, Shreveport area, Natchitoches area, and Lake Charles area to provide Black voters in those areas of the State an equal opportunity to participate in the political process and elect their candidates of choice.

32. I believe that fair and representative state legislative maps are needed in Louisiana to combat the impact of racial discrimination and give Black people in Louisiana a voice and an opportunity for equal access to representation to combat the longstanding effects of racial discrimination in Louisiana.

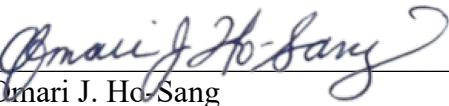
33. Racism is alive and well in the state of Louisiana. In my experience as BVM's Senior State Organizing Manager, I have personally witnessed the effects of institutional racism in Louisiana. Black people in Louisiana experience discrimination in all aspects of everyday life, including housing, economic development, healthcare, environmental justice, and criminal justice.

34. I believe that this institutional racism can be attributed in part to the way our state legislative maps are drawn, which perpetuates longstanding discrimination against Black people. The configuration of the state legislative maps means that Black Louisianans, who make up nearly one-third of the state's population, do not have an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. Black Louisianans do not have equal access to representation or to their state legislative representatives.

35. Fair and representative state legislative maps would help move the state of Louisiana in the right direction and address this history of discrimination by finally giving Louisiana's Black residents an equal voice and opportunity to participate in the political process.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed on October 27, 2023.



Omari J. Ho-Sang