

Exhibit 1

Report on 2025 Proposed Remedial Louisiana State Senate and House Redistricting Plans

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1 Introduction and Qualifications

I have been asked by counsel for the Louisiana Secretary of State to evaluate the Proposed Remedial House and Senate Maps, and to ascertain whether or not these maps adhere to traditional redistricting criteria. I recognize that the ultimate answer to that question is a legal question for the court, and I offer no legal conclusions in this report. In evaluating this question from the perspective of political science, I consider a variety of factors and empirical methods related to redistricting.

I am a 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 30 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, Alabama, and North Carolina. I also served as the court-appointed Mapping Special Master in Michigan to draw remedial districts for the Michigan House of Representatives. I also was asked to evaluate Section 2 remedial maps in Georgia that were drawn by the legislature and accepted by the court. I have previously provided expert reports in several other cases related to voting rights, redistricting, and other election-related issues for groups representing both Republican and Democratic 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.

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 and sources have been cited throughout. I am being compensated at a rate of \$400.00

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. My opinions expressed herein are my own and do not represent the opinions of Brigham Young University or the Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy. I reserve the right to update and revise this report as new information becomes available.

1.1 Summary of Conclusions:

The analysis I conducted to produce this report leads me to the following conclusions:

- The Remedial Senate Map creates 3 additional districts that are majority Black voting age population (BVAP), for 14 of the 35 Senate districts having a majority BVAP.
- The Remedial House Map creates 6 additional majority-BVAP districts, for 35 of the 105 House districts having a majority BVAP.
- The share of majority-BVAP districts in the Remedial House and Senate maps exceeds what would be proportional for a statewide plan that had an equivalent share of majority-BVAP districts as the state's Black share of the voting age population. This is true for both the state overall as well as in the different local regions of the state where the new majority-BVAP districts are located.
- The Remedial Senate Map alters 35 of the 39 existing Senate districts, despite only adding 3 majority-BVAP districts to the plan.
- The Remedial House Map alters 66 of the 105 existing House districts, despite only adding 6 majority-BVAP districts to the plan.
- These alterations necessitate an evaluation of the new districts' likely electoral performance. I find that many of the altered majority-BVAP districts (not just the newly created ones) are unlikely to consistently perform for Democratic candidates, who are almost always Black voters' candidates of choice in partisan elections.

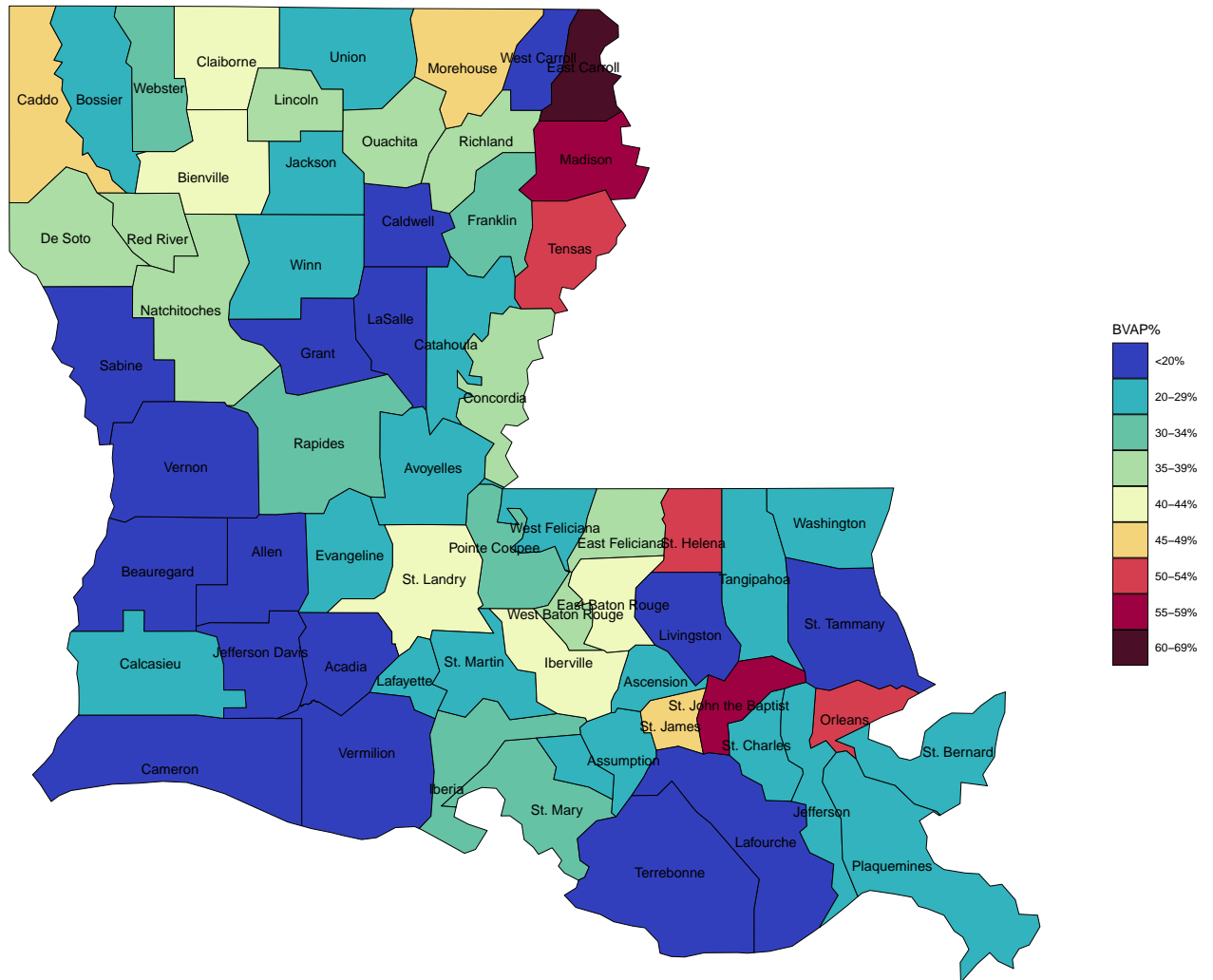
- Many of the new majority-BVAP districts in both the Remedial House and Senate maps appear to deviate from traditional redistricting criteria and instead closely follow geographic patterns of race.

2 Political Geography of Louisiana

Outside of Orleans, there are only five other majority BVAP parishes (East Carroll, Madison, and Tensas in the northeast, St. John the Baptist and St. Helena in the southeast). However, all but one of these parishes are not sufficiently populated to support a majority BVAP House or Senate district on their own (or even in combination with one another, as in the case of E. Carroll, Madison, and Tensas, which are all three adjacent to one another but collectively have a population just over 20,000 people). The one exception is St. John the Baptist Parish, with a BVAP of 56.7% and a population of 42,477, which is almost exactly the size of the ideal House district (41,343) but is much smaller than a Senate district. Nevertheless, the Remedial House Map divides this parish across two House districts.

Thus, the combination of these parishes with other, more White parishes will lead to districts that often fail to meet the 50% threshold unless the heavily black portions of these rural areas are intentionally carved out and joined together. However, this strategy requires dividing additional parishes and municipalities. Figure 1 shows a map of the state and the BVAP percentage in each parish for reference.

Figure 1: Parish Map and Black Voting Age Population



3 Remedial Senate Map

3.1 Proportionality

In their opinions in *Johnson v. De Grandy* and *LULAC v. Perry*, a number of Supreme Court justices discuss the issue proportionality, or “comparing the percentage of total districts that are [minority group] opportunity districts with the [minority group] share of the citizen voting-age population”.¹ My inclusion of these references is not intended to offer a legal opinion, but I do recognize that the issue proportionality is one that courts have wrestled with when evaluating Section 2 cases, and therefore it seems important and prudent to have information available to the Court regarding questions of proportionality, both at the statewide and regional level. This section provides that information.

Table 1 shows information regarding the composition of the state population and the number of majority-Black districts in the enacted Senate maps over the last three decades.² The table shows the percent of the state’s voting age population that is Black at the beginning of each decade when the census numbers are released. The next rows shows the number and overall percent of majority-Black districts in the enacted Senate and House maps at the beginning (at the time of reapportionment) and end of each decade (at the end of the decade before a new round of reapportionment). Below that is the difference between the statewide Black voting age population (BVAP) and the percent of districts that are majority Black. The last column shows the most recent data following the 2020 census. As can be seen, the 2020 voting age population in the state is 31.25% Black and the 2022 Enacted Senate Map creates 11 majority BVAP districts (28.2% of the total 39 Senate districts, for a difference of 3 percentage points under the Black share of the statewide population). Below that, we see that the Proposed Remedial Senate Map creates 14 majority BVAP districts (35.9% of the total 39 Senate districts, for a difference of 4.6 percentage points above the Black share of the statewide population).

¹LULAC v. Perry concerned the voting rights of Hispanic voters, while here the consideration is the voting power of Black voters.

²Historical data for this table is from Cooper Remedial Report, Figures 4 and 10.

Table 1: Statewide Population and District Information

Decennial Census:	2000	2000	2010	2010	2020	2020
Legislative Plan	1990	2001	2001	2011	2011	2022
Statewide % Black Voting Age Population (BVAP)	29.95	29.95	30.47	30.47	31.25	31.25
Senate:						
Enacted Statewide Majority BVAP Senate Districts	10	9	9	11	10	11
Enacted % of Senate Districts Majority BVAP	25.6	23.1	23.1	28.2	25.6	28.2
Enacted % Difference from Population	-4.3	-6.9	-7.4	-2.3	-5.6	-3.0
Cooper Statewide Majority BVAP Senate Districts						14
Cooper % of Senate Districts Majority BVAP						35.9
Cooper % Difference from Population						+4.6

Note: Black population numbers are based on the any-part Black Voting Age Population.

3.2 Regional Senate Analysis

I now look at the three regions in which the Proposed Remedial Senate Map adds an additional majority BVAP district. In these regions, I assess the layout of the districts in the 2022 Enacted Map and the Proposed Remedial Map. I compare the share of the voting age population that is Black in the region to the BVAP in each of the districts in the region.³ In addition to being extra-proportional statewide, the Proposed Remedial Senate Map is above proportionality in the local regions where additional majority-BVAP districts are located. Figure 2 shows the three regions and the parishes that comprise each region.

³In trying to define regions, I relied upon the original reports of plaintiffs' experts. Each of them had a different opinion on the definition of regions. Dr. Handly analyzes three regions in her investigation of racially polarized voting. Mr. Cooper outlines regions based on census-defined Metropolitan Statistical Areas, cultural regions, and planning and development districts in Louisiana (established by the State Legislature in 1956). Dr. Colten identifies four entirely different regions from Dr. Handley or Mr. Cooper. These different definitions do not overlap perfectly. In each case, I identify a region based on where newly created majority BVAP districts are located and the parishes that are most commonly contained in all five of these definitions of regions. Beyond the identification of regional boundaries, I then identify districts that are either entirely contained within each region or overlap substantially with the region since district boundaries are not perfectly coterminous with these regions. Alternative regional definitions yield similar conclusions.

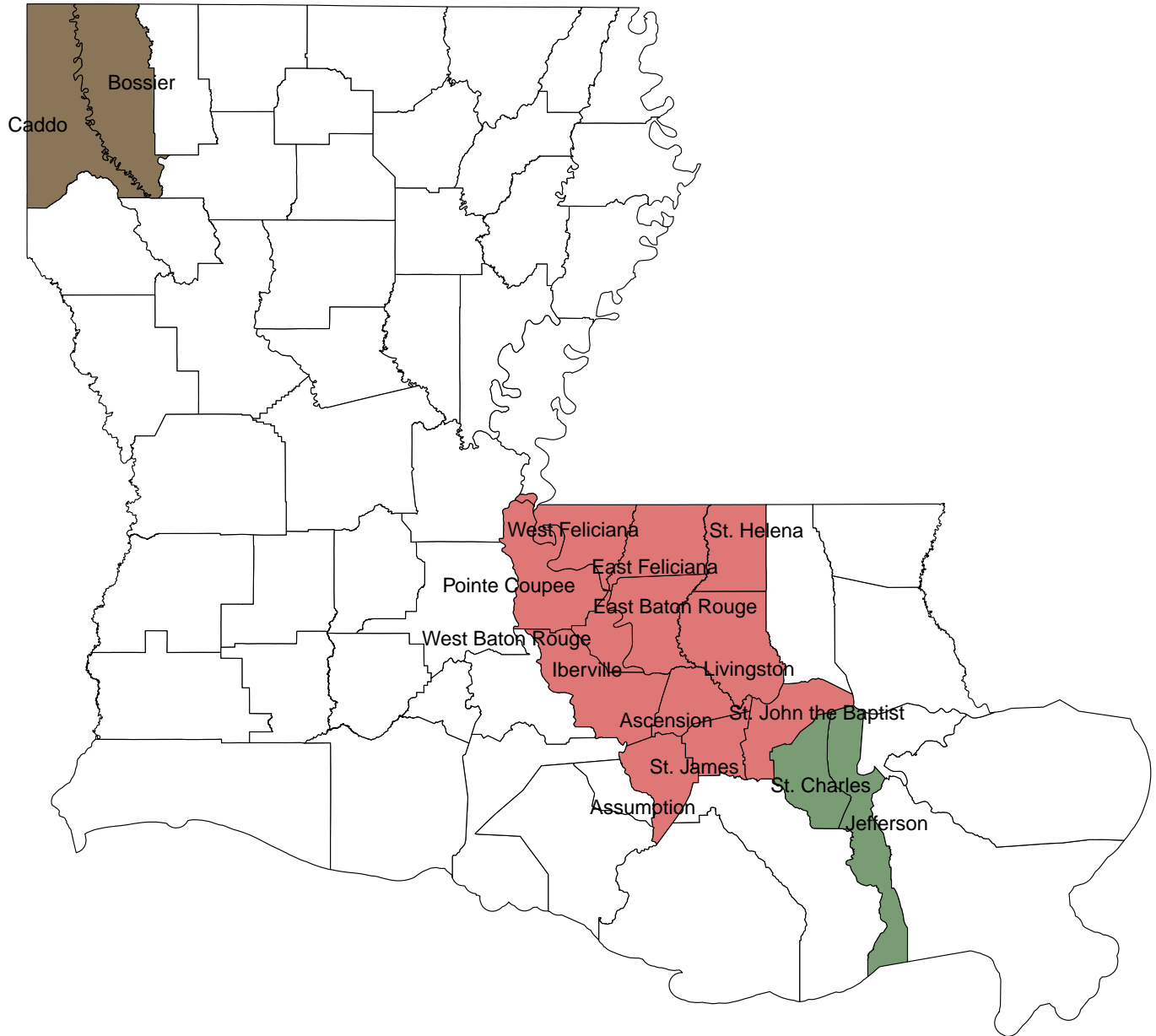


Figure 2: **Senate Regions** - Parishes in each region are labeled on the map.

3.3 Shreveport Region

This region is composed of Caddo and Bossier parishes and is anchored in Shreveport and the surrounding area. The overall BVAP of Bossier and Caddo parishes was 39.1% in 2020. As seen in Table 2 below, in both the 2022 Enacted Senate Map and the Proposed Remedial Senate Map, there are three Senate districts in this region. Districts with a majority BVAP are highlighted in orange. The Proposed Remedial Senate Map creates a new majority BVAP district (SD-38) that spans portions of Shreveport in Caddo Parish and Bossier City across the Red River in Bossier Parish. In the Proposed Remedial Senate Map, 2 of the 3 districts in this region (66.6%) are majority BVAP, exceeding local regional proportionality by approximately 27.6 percentage points.

Table 2: Senate District BVAP in Shreveport Region

2022 Enacted Map		Proposed Remedial Map	
District	BVAP %	District	BVAP %
36	25.2	36	15.9
38	31.0	38	53.9
39	63.8	39	52.2

Note: District statistics for Senate districts in the Caddo and Bossier Parishes region. Majority BVAP districts are highlighted in orange. The overall BVAP of Bossier and Caddo parishes was 39.1% in 2020. As seen in the table, 1 of the 3 districts (33.3%) in the Enacted Senate Map are majority BVAP and 2 of the 3 districts (66.6%) in the Proposed Remedial Map are majority BVAP.

3.4 Baton Rouge Region

This region contains East Baton Rouge, West Baton Rouge, Iberville, Pointe Coupee, East Feliciana, West Feliciana, St. Helena, Livingston, Ascension, St. James, St. John the Baptist, and Assumption parishes and contains the majority population of 8 Senate districts: SDs 2, 6, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18. Collectively, the Black voting age population (BVAP) in the parishes that comprise this region was 35.6% in 2020 at the time of reapportionment. As seen in Table 3 below, 3 of the 8 Senate districts (37.5%) in this region are majority BVAP in the 2022 Enacted Senate Map, exceeding local regional proportionality by approximately 3 percentage points. The Proposed Remedial Senate Map adds an additional majority BVAP district in this region: SD-17. Table 3 shows that 4 of the 8 districts (50%) in the Proposed Remedial Senate Map in this region are majority BVAP, exceeding local regional proportionality by approximately 15.7 percentage points. Districts with a majority BVAP are highlighted in orange.

Table 3: Senate District BVAP in Baton Rouge Region

2022 Enacted Map		Proposed Remedial Map	
District	BVAP %	District	BVAP %
2	57.7	2	51.7
6	22.9	6	26.2
13	7.7	13	11.2
14	58.0	14	58.1
15	73.9	15	54.5
16	19.6	16	19.6
17	30.1	17	52.5
18	15.3	18	14.7

Note: District statistics for Senate districts in the Baton Rouge region. Majority BVAP districts are highlighted in orange. The overall BVAP of the parishes in this region was 34.3% in 2020. As seen in the table, 3 of the 8 districts (37.5%) in the Enacted Map are majority BVAP and 4 of the 8 districts (50%) in the Proposed Remedial Map are majority BVAP.

3.5 Jefferson and St. Charles Region

This region is composed of Jefferson and St. Charles parishes and contains the majority of the population of five Senate districts (SD-7, SD-8, SD-9, SD-10, and SD-19). Collectively, the Black voting age population (BVAP) was 26.6% in these parishes in 2020 at the time of reapportionment. As seen in Table 4 below, in the 2022 Enacted Senate Map, 1 of the 5 districts (20%) are majority BVAP, which is about 6.6 percentage points below local regional proportionality. In the Proposed Remedial Senate Map, 2 of the 5 districts (40%) are majority BVAP, which is about 13.4 percentage points above local regional proportionality. The additional majority BVAP district in the Proposed Remedial Senate Map in this region is SD-19.

Table 4: Senate District BVAP in Jefferson and St. Charles Parishes Region

2022 Enacted Map		Proposed Remedial Map	
New District	BVAP %	New District	BVAP %
7	59.5	7	52.9
8	25.8	8	19.1
9	11.9	9	12.2
10	12.2	10	11.4
19	28.7	19	50.4

Note: District statistics for Senate districts in the St. Charles and Jefferson parishes region. Majority BVAP districts are highlighted in yellow. The overall BVAP of St. Charles and Jefferson parishes was 26.6% in 2020. As seen in the table, 1 of the 5 districts (20%) in the Enacted Senate Map are majority BVAP and 2 of the 5 districts (40%) in the Proposed Remedial Senate Map are majority BVAP.

4 Changes Beyond Areas Near New Majority-Black Districts

In drawing the three additional majority-Black Senate districts, any remedial map will, of necessity, make changes to some of the adjacent districts in each region. However, the Proposed Remedial Senate Map goes far beyond the scope of these regions and makes alterations to district boundaries that are often two or three districts (and many miles) away from a newly created majority-Black district. Furthermore, Mr. Cooper makes alterations to all but one of the other majority-Black districts in the state, including those that were never a part of a challenged area of the state. This calls into question the future electoral performance of these existing majority-Black districts and adds unnecessary uncertainty to our knowledge of the ability of these districts to continue to perform for Black voters. Mr. Cooper recognizes that this could be the case because he notes that in one particular district, Plaintiff's attorneys requested that he not alter an existing majority-Black district (SD-29) because his original alterations (in his Illustrative Senate Map) had reduced SD-29's ability to elect Black voters' candidates of choice.⁴

In fact, only 4 of the 39 Senate districts are not altered in some way in the Proposed Remedial Senate Map. Figure 3 shows the extent of the changes to the Senate map. Areas of the state that are colored red are districts that are different from the Enacted Senate Map. Areas highlighted in green are districts in the Proposed Remedial Map that are identical to the Enacted Senate districts. Areas highlighted in orange are the new majority-BVAP districts in the Proposed Remedial Senate Map. A large portion of the state's population, as well as the vast majority of incumbent senators, will need to adjust to new district boundaries, even in portions of the state that were never given significant (or in some cases any) consideration during the trial. Furthermore, these boundary changes, even if small in terms of population moved, create significant work for election administrators who have to adjust precinct assignments and ballot printing to align the new legislative boundaries with other election district boundaries.

Consider Remedial Senate District 34 in the northeastern corner of the state. This district

⁴See Footnote 2 of Mr. Cooper's May 30, 2025 corrected Remedial Report.

is an existing majority-Black district and is not adjacent to any of the additional majority-Black Senate districts in the Proposed Remedial Senate Map. Yet, for inexplicable reasons, the Proposed Remedial Senate Map makes changes to this district's boundaries in and around the city of Monroe. Doing so has large implications for thousands of voters in that part of state. Because of the alterations to this district, 3,269 people are moved out of a majority-Black district (SD-34) into a non-majority-BVAP district, including 1,012 Black voting age residents. These 1,012 Black residents are currently residing in a district that will elect Black voters' preferred candidate of choice, but in the Proposed Remedial Senate Map that will no longer be the case. This might be understandable if the alterations were directly the result of creating a new majority-Black district. However, Remedial SD-34 is more than 100 miles from the nearest additional majority-BVAP district.

The same is true of SD-24 and SD-3. In reconfiguring SD-24 (which is not adjacent to any new majority-BVAP districts), the Proposed Remedial Senate Map removes 12,431 people (4,439 Black voting age residents) from a district that is majority Black into adjacent districts that are not majority Black. This despite not being adjacent to any of the new majority-BVAP districts where boundary changes would be most expected. In redrawing SD-3 (which is again not adjacent to any new majority-BVAP districts) the Proposed Remedial Senate Map removes 955 Black voting age residents from their district that is majority Black into an adjacent district that is not majority Black.⁵

⁵See Cooper Remedial Report, Exhibit L-2.

Cooper Remedial Senate Districts by Alteration Status

35 of 39 Senate Districts are Altered in Cooper Remedial Map

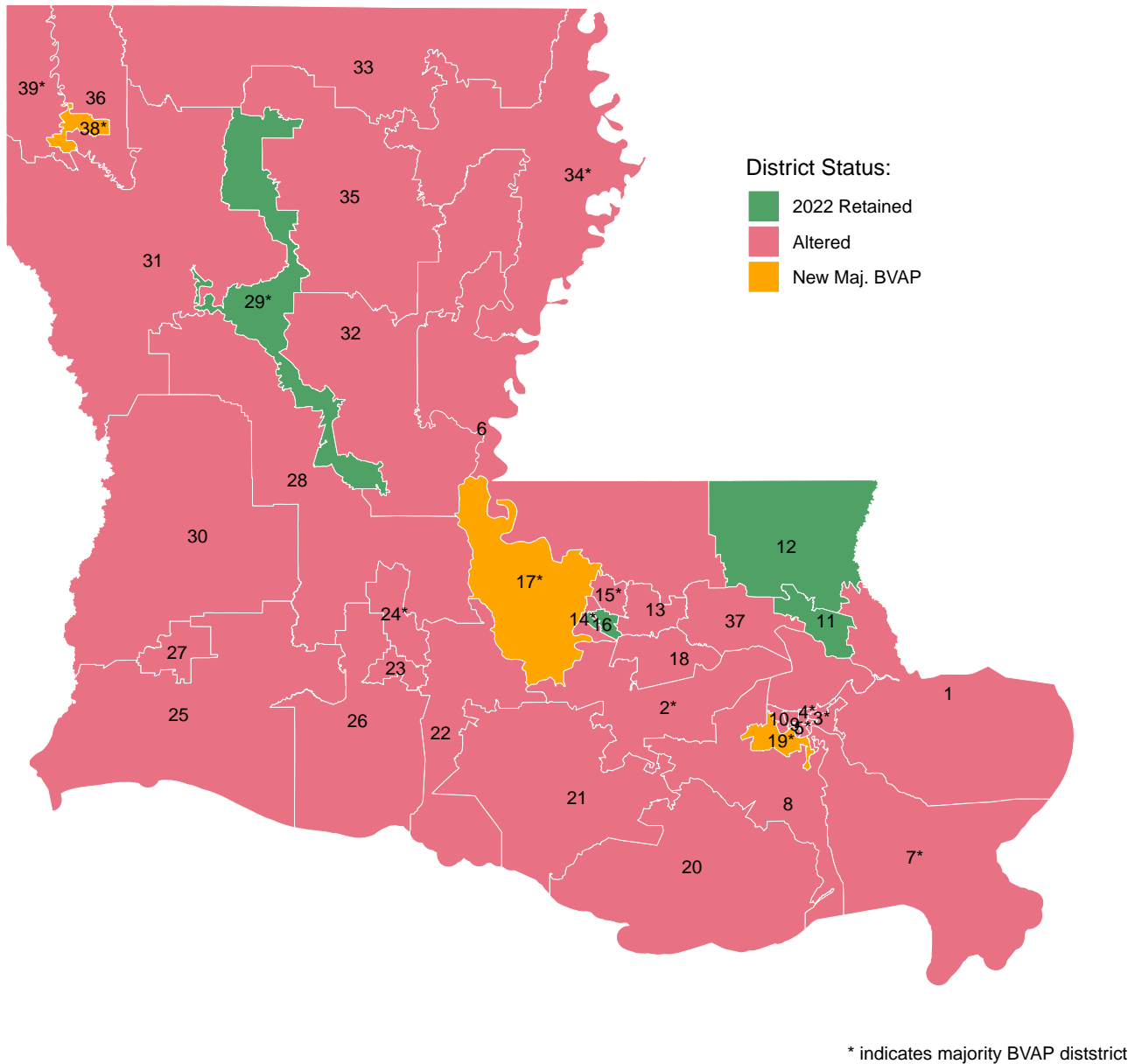


Figure 3: Remedial Senate Map Alterations

5 Electoral Performance of Remedial Senate Districts

Because the Proposed Remedial Senate Map makes so many changes to so many districts, we have greater uncertainty regarding the likely electoral performance of all of the Senate dis-

tricts, not just the newly created majority-BVAP senate districts. This uncertainty muddies the water regarding the ability of Black voters to elect their candidates of choice in the existing majority Black Senate districts. Had the Remedial map kept more of the Enacted Senate districts the same and only made the minimal changes necessary to draw the additional three majority Black districts into the map, we would have much less uncertainty regarding the future electoral performance of the unaltered districts. Mr. Cooper recognizes this possibility as well. He notes in his report that SD-29 from his original illustrative map, which had a BVAP of 50.9%, was not likely to elect Black voters' candidates of choice, leading him to restore that district back to the boundaries of Enacted SD-29 in his new Remedial Senate proposal, which has a BVAP of 56.6%.

To address this, I calculate a measure of likely electoral performance for each of the Senate districts in the Proposed Remedial Senate Map. I do this in two steps, recognizing the unique timing and method that Louisiana uses in selecting state legislators. In each of the two steps I use elections for statewide office disaggregated to the remedial legislative districts as a measure of likely partisan performance. The use of statewide elections is common when measuring a district's partisan tendency and allows for comparisons of electoral performance across districts while holding the specific candidate features constant.⁶ Because Louisiana elects their statewide candidates and state legislators in odd-numbered years, and given that turnout can vary dramatically from odd-numbered to even-numbered election years (when federal elections are held),⁷ I first consider only statewide non-federal elections held in odd-numbered years to better reflect the likely electorate that will vote in future legislative elections.

The first step addresses Louisiana's unique primary election system in which all candidates run on a single primary ballot and the top two candidates advance to a general election. Here I calculate the proportion of times that a Democratic candidate was one of the top two candidates in the district and (if the statewide election had been only conducted in that district) would have

⁶As opposed to comparing different candidate's performance in different districts, where we might attribute better performance for a party in one district versus another because of differences in the candidates and not differences in the partisan preferences of the voters. McDonald, Michael P. "Presidential vote within state legislative districts." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (2014): 196-204.

⁷Anzia, Sarah F. *Timing & turnout: How off-cycle elections favor organized groups*. University of Chicago Press, 2013.

Dynes, Adam M., Michael T. Hartney, and Sam D. Hayes. "Off-cycle and off center: Election timing and representation in municipal government." *American Political Science Review* 115, no. 3 (2021): 1097-1103.

advanced to the general election or won the election outright (if they had obtained 50% or more of the primary vote share).⁸

The second calculation is the proportion of times that the Democratic candidate won the majority of the two-party vote in the November general/runoff election. Here I have data for five recent statewide election runoffs.⁹ To buttress these results, I include a second calculation, which is the proportion of times that the sum of all Democratic candidates' votes constituted a majority of the two-party vote share in a district in either a primary election or general election of an odd-numbered year.¹⁰

Together these measures indicate the likely success of Democratic candidates in each district by 1.) accurately reflecting the timing of LA elections with legislative primary elections occurring in October of odd-numbered years, 2.) accurately reflecting the "top-two" system used to select candidates in the primary, and 3.) a Democratic candidate can only prevail in the general election if they have successfully advanced from the non-partisan primary election.

Table 5 shows the results of this analysis for the 14 majority-BVAP districts in the Proposed Remedial Senate Map. The first row of the table shows the results of this analysis for Remedial Senate District 17. The results indicate that this district, despite being majority Black, may fail to perform for Democratic candidates (who are nearly always the candidates of choice among Black voters in partisan elections). While in the October primary stage, 100% of the elections considered here saw a Democratic candidate among the top two candidates, in the November general election runoffs, the statewide Democratic candidate won a majority of the vote in only 40% of the elections considered here. This, in my opinion, indicates that Democratic legislative candidates may struggle to win in general/runoff elections after successfully advancing out of the jungle primary in Remedial Senate District 17. The final column of the table is con-

⁸I use the following eleven October, odd-numbered year statewide elections for this calculation: 2023 Attorney General, 2023 Governor, 2023 Lt Governor, 2023 Secretary of State, 2023 Treasurer, 2019 Ag Commissioner, 2019 Attorney General, 2019 Governor, 2019 Lt Governor, 2019 Secretary of State, 2019 Treasurer.

⁹2023 Runoff Secretary of State, 2023 Runoff Attorney General, 2023 Runoff Treasurer, 2019 Runoff Governor, 2019 Runoff Secretary of State

¹⁰For example, in the 2023 Gubernatorial primary, Democratic candidates Shawn Wilson and Daniel Cole both appeared on the ballot. I add their two vote shares together to calculate the total vote share won by Democratic candidates in that election. The same is true of the eight Republican candidates who appeared on the primary ballot in that election for Governor.

sistent with this as well. When we consider the collective vote shares of statewide Democratic candidates in 16 different primary (11) or general elections (5) in this district, in only 25% of the elections considered did the Democratic vote share exceed the Republican vote share in Remedial Senate District 17.

There are two other districts in this table where it is less certain that Democratic candidates will regularly prevail in general election runoff elections - Districts 39 and 24. In both districts Democratic statewide candidates were always among the top two vote-getters in primary elections, and statewide Democratic candidates won a majority of the vote in the runoff elections as well. However, these outcomes were very tenuous. For example, in Remedial SD-24, the Democratic candidates in the three most recent general election runoffs won 50.69% (2023 Secretary of State), 50.79% (2023 Attorney General), and 53.42% (2023 Treasurer) of the vote. Two of these three elections were within a single point. If we consider the 16 statewide elections together, Democratic candidates won a majority of the vote share in only 50% of these elections. A similar story is true for Remedial Senate District 39. When we consider the 16 statewide elections together, Democratic candidates won a majority of the vote share in 44% of these elections.

It is also notable that the BVAP of SD-24 goes from 53.1% in the Enacted Senate map to 52.0% in the Remedial Senate map despite the fact that SD-24 is not adjacent to any of the new majority Black districts (where it may be the case that a district's BVAP is reduced to increase the BVAP of an adjacent district). All of the districts that are adjacent to Remedial SD-24 are majority White, raising the question of why Remedial Senate Map reduces the BVAP of this district.

Remedial SD-39 sees a more dramatic decline in its BVAP, from 63.7% to 52.2%. In this case the reason for the decline is the creation of Remedial SD-38, one of the new majority-BVAP districts that is adjacent to Remedial SD-39. Remedial SD-38 has a BVAP of 53.9%, and the only way to create this new majority BVAP district is to take a substantial portion of the Black population that lived in Enacted SD-39 and place them in Remedial SD-38. However, the election results presented here suggest that the Remedial Senate Map may have lowered the BVAP of

SD-39 to a point that it will no longer be a consistently Democratic-performing district.¹¹

Table 5: Electoral Performance of Majority Black Districts in Proposed Remedial Senate Map

Remedial District	BVAP%	Altered from 2022	New Majority Black	Proportion of times (of 11) that Democrat was in Odd-Numbered Primary Top 2	Percent (of 5) of Odd-Numbered Runoff Elections with Democratic Majority	Percent (of 16) Odd-Numbered Elections with Democratic Majority
17	52.48	1	1	1	0.4	0.25
39	52.19	1		1	1	0.44
24	52.05	1		1	1	0.50
2	51.73	1		1	1	0.75
34	62.84	1		1	1	0.81
29	56.56			1	1	0.81
19	50.44	1	1	1	1	0.94
38	53.88	1	1	1	1	0.94
3	51.20	1		1	1	0.94
7	52.88	1		1	1	0.94
14	58.08	1		1	1	0.94
15	54.45	1		1	1	0.94
4	58.15	1		1	1	1.00
5	51.80	1		1	1	1.00

¹¹Mr. Cooper's remedial report indicates that it is possible for a majority BVAP district to nevertheless not perform for Democratic candidates. In footnote 2 he indicates that SD-29 from his original illustrative map, which had a BVAP of 50.9%, was not likely to elect Black voters' candidates of choice, leading him to restore that district back to the boundaries of Enacted SD-29 in his new Remedial Senate proposal, which has a BVAP of 56.6%.

One reason why these majority-BVAP districts may nevertheless struggle to consistently elect Black voters' candidates of choice is that voter turnout is typically much lower in odd-numbered election years (when Louisiana legislative elections take place) versus even-numbered election years (when federal elections take place). Table 6 shows statewide turnout rates for all registered voters.¹²

Table 6: Voter Turnout Rates in Recent Elections

	Statewide Turnout %
2023 Primary	36.3
2023 General Runoff	23.1
2019 Primary	45.9
2019 General Runoff	51.0
2020 General	70.1
2022 General	46.7
2024 General	66.3

Note: See <https://www.sos.la.gov/ElectionsAndVoting/Pages/PostElectionStatisticsStatewide.aspx>

¹²Political science research has long established that voter turnout and the composition of the electorate differ dramatically from presidential elections to midterm elections to off-cycle elections (including elections in odd-numbered years). Anzia, Sarah F. Timing & turnout: How off-cycle elections favor organized groups. University of Chicago Press, 2013.

Hartney, Michael T., and Sam D. Hayes. "Off-cycle and out of sync: How election timing influences political representation." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 21, no. 4 (2021): 335-354.

Marschall, Melissa, and John Lappie. "Turnout in local elections: is timing really everything?." *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* 17, no. 3 (2018): 221-233.

6 District-by-District Analysis

6.1 Senate District 38

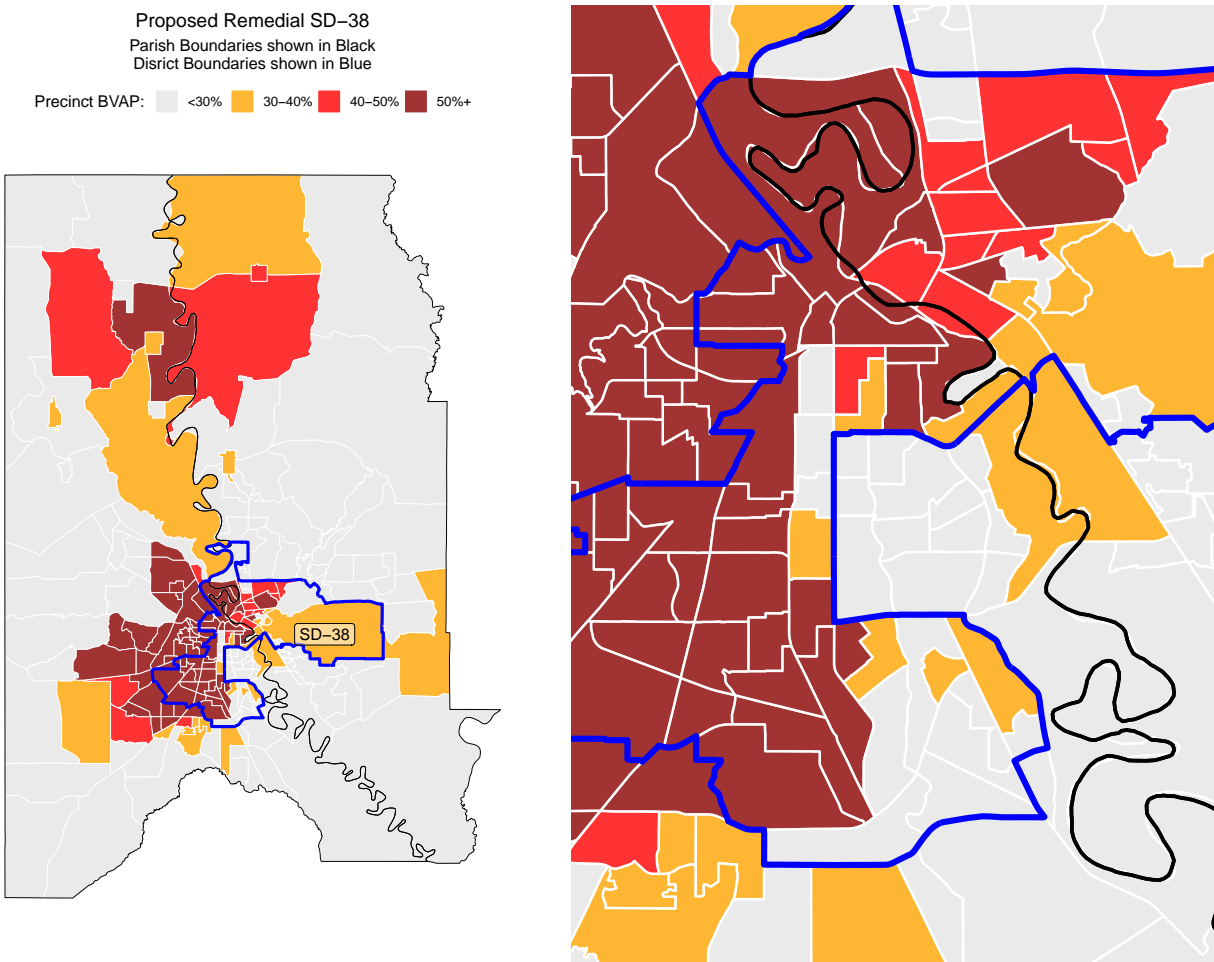
This district spans Bossier and Caddo Parishes and takes half of its population from Enacted SD-39, 24% of its population from Enacted SD-36, and 17% of its population from Enacted SD-38. To make this district majority Black, Remedial SD-38 must avoid majority White areas of Bossier City and Shreveport. To avoid this area while also having a sufficient Black population, SD-38 takes on a “C” shape to avoid a majority White area of southeastern Shreveport. These excluded precincts have a collective BVAP of only 15.8%, and if included in SD-38 would reduce the BVAP to below 50%.¹³ On the other hand, if we consider the precincts that are directly adjacent to these omitted precincts in SD-38, they have a collective BVAP of 55.5%.¹⁴ This pattern is consistent with an effort to exclude heavily White precincts from SD-38 while including heavily Black precincts in the district. On the other hand, this pattern is not well explained by adherence to other redistricting principles, such as avoiding parish or municipal splits, or an effort to make a geographically compact district. Figure 4 shows a map of the Proposed Remedial SD-38 with precincts shaded by their BVAP percentage. The left panel shows the entire district while the right panel zooms in on the area in the center of the district that is conspicuously avoided. It is immediately apparent that the “hole” in the middle of the district is a heavily White area surrounded by heavily Black precincts that were included in Remedial SD-38.

This choice to exclude these heavily White precincts from Proposed Remedial SD-38 also has the effect of reducing the geographic compactness of the district. The 2022 Enacted SD-38 has a Reock score of .39, a Polsby Popper score of 0.23, and a Convex Hull score of .80. The Proposed Remedial SD-38 is lower on all three metrics - Reock score of 0.37, Polsby Popper score of 0.17, and Convex Hull score of 0.58 (See Exhibits K-2 and K-1 in the Cooper appendices).

¹³The precincts in question are: 20, 14, 21, 22, 13, 12, 49, 11, 10, 9, 48, 16, and 129 in Caddo Parish. Precinct names and demographic statistics throughout are from Dave’s Redistricting: <https://davesredistricting.org/join/d63b737c-a8b3-46e9-8855-aa20a728c2b5>

¹⁴The precincts in question are: 8, 7, 15, 27, 26, 24, 23, 51, 50, 68, 112, and 72 in Caddo Parish.

Figure 4: Proposed Remedial SD-38



6.2 Senate District 17

The Proposed Remedial Senate Map creates an additional majority-BVAP district by dramatically altering SD-17. In the 2022 Enacted Map, SD-17 is a mostly rural district composed of small communities to the north, west, and south of Baton Rouge. In the 2022 Enacted Senate Map the district did not cross into Baton Rouge.

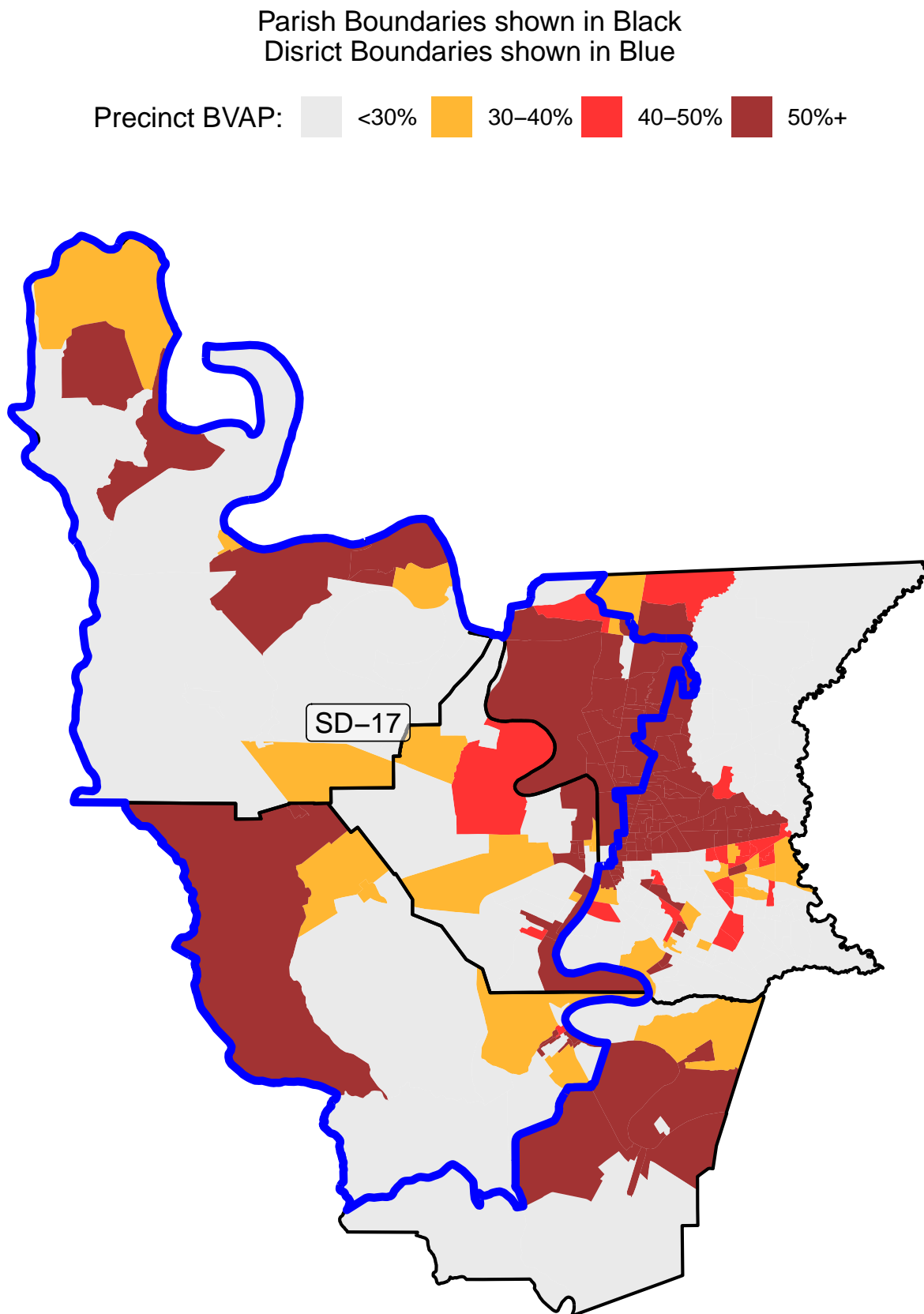
Proposed Remedial SD-17 now takes a substantial portion of Baton Rouge's downtown core (19,796 people, 8.7% of the city's population) and joins them with much more rural areas of Pointe Coupee, Iberville, and West Baton Rouge parishes. Mr. Cooper describes Remedial SD-17 as "urban centric". However, Remedial SD-17 now combines urban areas of Baton Rouge and East Baton Rouge Parish with the rural areas of Pointe Coupee, Iberville, and West Baton Rouge parishes while Enacted SD-17 was decidedly rural. Figure 5 shows a map of Remedial SD-17 with precincts colored by their BVAP percentage. The map shows that Remedial SD-17 now joins a heavily Black portion of urban East Baton Rouge Parish with majority Black precincts in the more rural parishes of Pointe Coupee and Iberville.

The Proposed Remedial Map divides East Baton Rouge parish among six senate districts (SDs 6, 13, 15, 16, 14, 17) whereas the 2022 Enacted map divided East Baton Rouge parish among five senate districts (SDs 6, 14, 15, 16, 17). The Proposed Remedial Map divides the city of Baton Rouge among four senate districts (SDs 14, 15, 16, and 17) whereas the 2022 Enacted Map divided the city of Baton Rouge among three senate districts (SDs 14, 15, 16).

Why divide East Baton Rouge Parish and the City of Baton Rouge among an additional district and take a large share of the district's population from Baton Rouge? These choices appear to violate the traditional redistricting principle of minimizing parish and municipal splits or keeping a rural or urban community of interest together in a single district. One possible explanation is that in order to make SD-17 majority BVAP, it must extend further into East Baton Rouge Parish and into the City of Baton Rouge in order to take in a larger Black population. The portion of Remedial SD-17 that extends into East Baton Rouge Parish is heavily Black (53,161 people, 70.2% BVAP), as is the portion that incorporates the city of Baton Rouge (19,796 people, 86.4% BVAP). The particular boundaries of Proposed Remedial SD-17 are consistent with racial

considerations (increasing SD-17's BVAP above 50%) but are in conflict with the traditional re-districting criteria of maintaining communities of interest (urban vs rural districts) and avoiding additional parish and municipal splits.

Figure 5: Proposed Remedial SD-17



6.3 Senate District 19

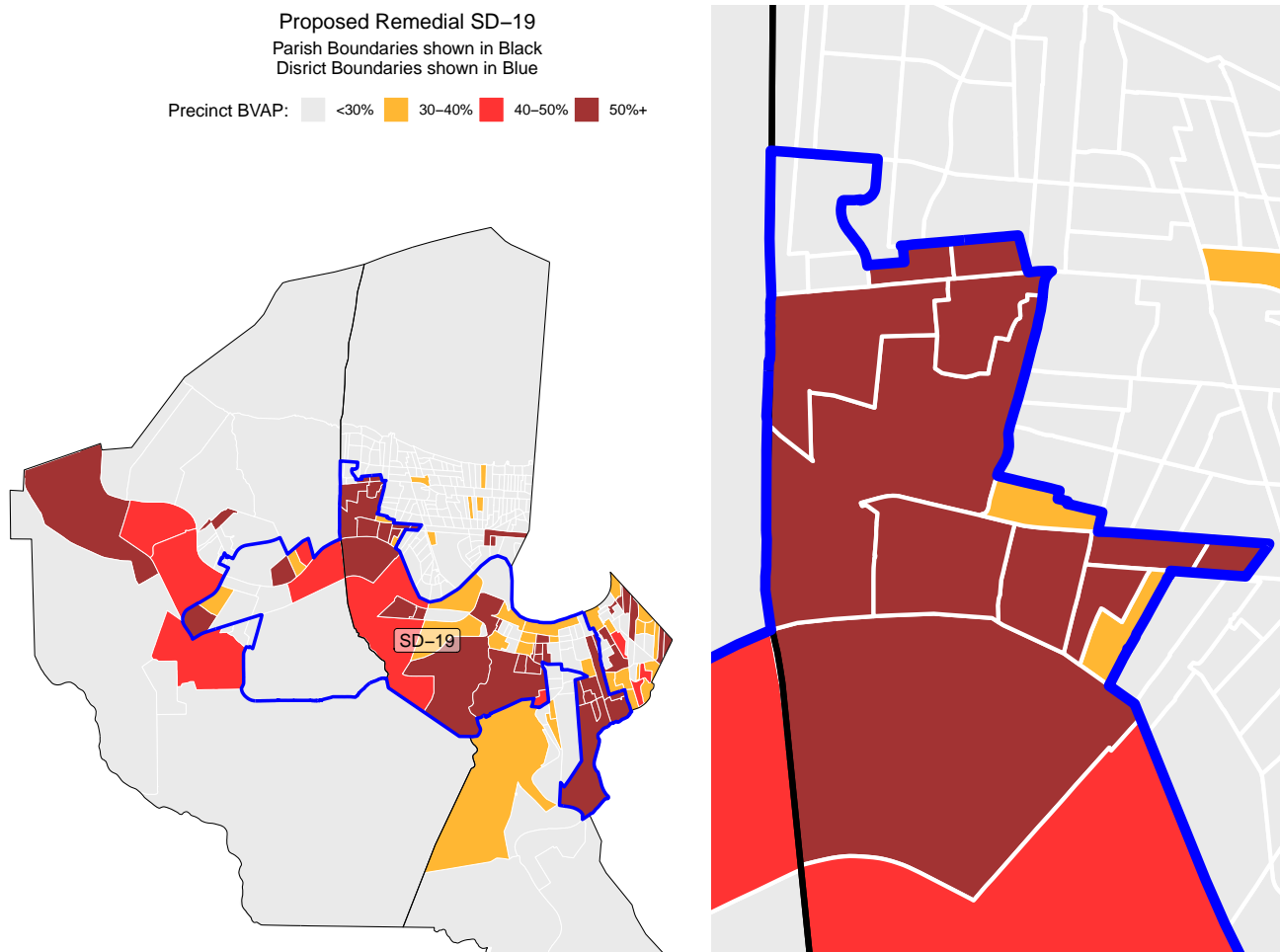
The Proposed Remedial SD-19 takes in portions of St. Charles and Jefferson Parishes. The district has a BVAP of 50.9%, meaning that the inclusion or exclusion of only a single precinct could result in the district falling below the 50% *Gingles I* BVAP threshold. This is readily apparent in the choice of which precincts to include and exclude from the district that are consistent with racial considerations and not by other traditional redistricting criteria. For example, Remedial SD-19 is anchored primarily below the Mississippi River. However, in Jefferson Parish the district leaps across the river (despite the lack of a bridge connecting the northern and southern portions of the district) to take in select portions of the cities of Kenner, Metairie, and River Ridge.

Furthermore, the particular choice of which precincts to include appears to be very precisely guided by racial considerations, with all of the majority BVAP precincts in Kenner, Metairie, and River Ridge being included in SD-19. Figure 6 shows a map of the district and the way in which the boundary of the district in these cities very closely follows the racial contours of the city. The left panel shows all of Remedial SD-19 while the right panel zooms in on the precincts included and excluded from Remedial SD-19 in Kenner, Metairie, and River Ridge. Precincts included in SD-19 from Kenner, Metairie, and River Ridge are 51.8% BVAP while the precincts in these three cities that were not included in SD-19 are only 11.4% BVAP. Furthermore, Remedial SD-19 takes only portions of Kenner, Metairie, and River Ridge despite the fact that both Kenner and River Ridge are both smaller in population than a single Senate district.¹⁵ Thus, each of these cities is split when it would be entirely possible to include more population from one of these three cities and avoid splitting the remaining two municipalities.

As it stands, it is hard to see any reason for the particular configuration of SD-19 in this area aside from including majority Black precincts in SD-19 while excluding the heavily White precincts from the district at the expense of other traditional redistricting criteria, such as minimizing municipal splits or prioritizing communities of interest.

¹⁵The 2020 populations of these cities was: Kenner (66,448), River Ridge (13,591), Metairie (143,507)

Figure 6: Proposed Remedial SD-19



7 Remedial House Map

7.1 Proportionality

The 2022 Enacted House map created 29 majority Black districts (27.6% of the total 105 House districts, for a difference of 3.6 percentage points under the Black share of the statewide voting age population). Below that, we see that the Proposed Remedial House Map creates 35 majority BVAP districts (33.3% of the total 105 House districts, for a difference of 2.1 percentage points over the Black share of the statewide population). The Proposed Remedial House Map creates six additional majority BVAP districts compared to the 2022 Enacted House Map (HDs 1, 23, 38, 60, 65, and 68). The Proposed Remedial House Map also creates an additional seventh majority BVAP district in HD-69 (BVAP of 50.4%), which was not a majority BVAP district in the 2022 Enacted House map (BVAP of 23.7%). However, these seven additional majority BVAP districts net out to six additional majority BVAP districts because the Proposed Remedial House Map dismantles an existing majority BVAP district in the 2022 Enacted House map, HD-62 (BVAP of 55.1% in the 2022 Enacted House map and BVAP of 26.8% in the Proposed Remedial House Map).

Table 7: Statewide Population and District Information

Decennial Census:	2000	2000	2010	2010	2020	2020
Legislative Plan	1990	2001	2001	2011	2011	2022
Statewide % Black Voting Age Population (BVAP)	29.95	29.95	30.47	30.47	31.25	31.25
House:						
Enacted Statewide Majority BVAP House Districts	26	27	23	28	28	29
Enacted % of House Districts Majority BVAP	24.8	25.7	21.9	26.7	26.7	27.6
Enacted % Difference from Population	-5.2	-4.2	-8.6	-3.8	-4.6	-3.6
Remedial Statewide Majority BVAP House Districts						35
Remedial % of House Districts Majority BVAP						33.3
Remedial % Difference from Population						+2.1

Black population numbers are based on the any-part Black Voting Age Population.

8 Regional House Analysis

I now look at the five regions in which the Proposed Remedial House Map adds an additional majority BVAP district. In these regions, I compare the share of the voting age population that is Black in the region to the BVAP in each of the districts in the region. Figure 7 shows the five regions and the parishes that comprise each region.

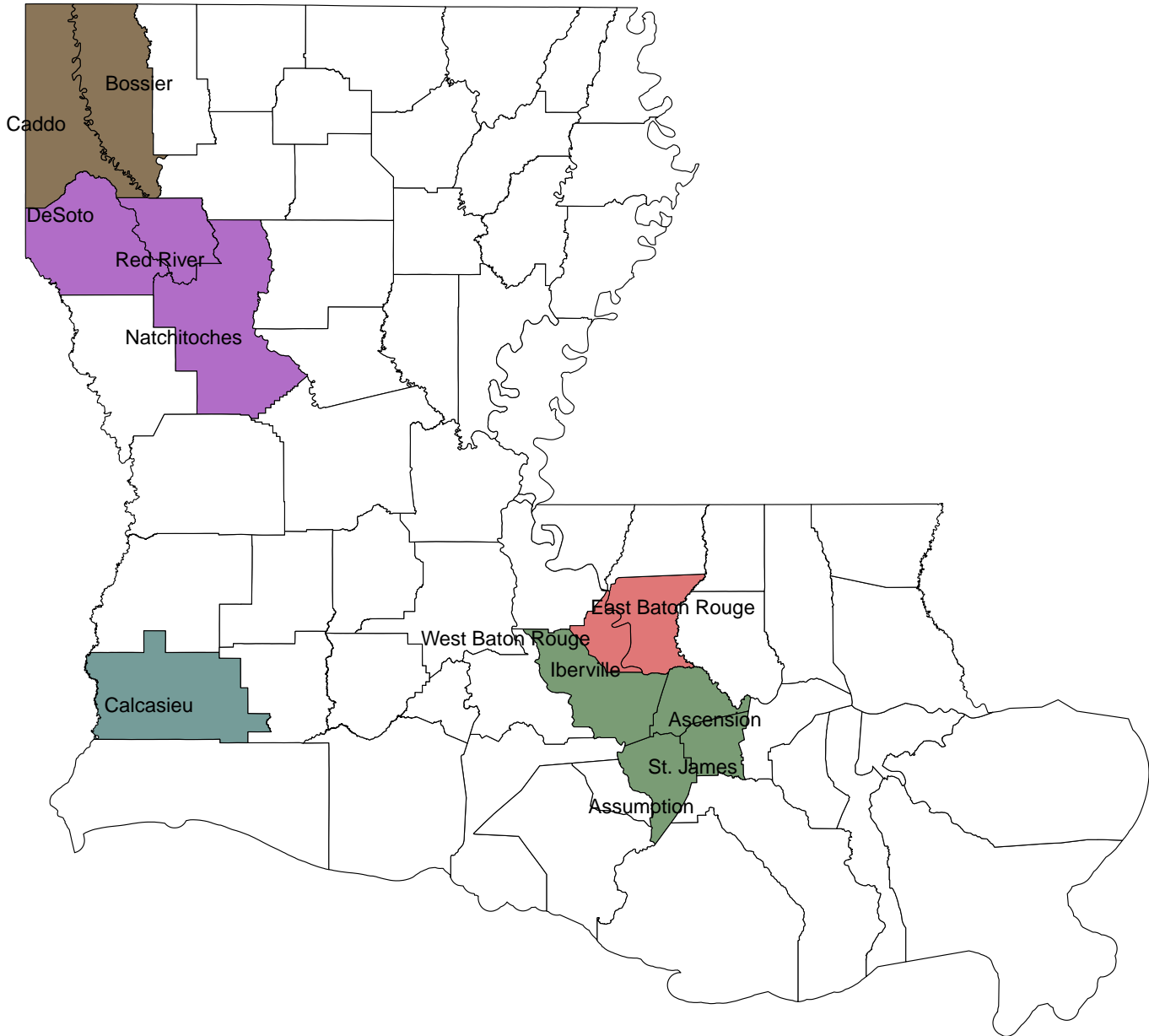


Figure 7: **House Regions** - Parishes in each region are labeled on the map.

8.1 Shreveport Region

This region is composed of Caddo and Bossier parishes and is anchored in Shreveport and the surrounding area. The overall BVAP of Bossier and Caddo parishes was 39.1% in 2020. As seen in Table 8 below, in the 2022 Enacted House Map, 3 of the 8 districts (37.5%) are majority BVAP, which is about 1.6 percentage points below local regional proportionality. In the Proposed Remedial House Map, 4 of the 8 districts (50%) are majority BVAP, which is about 10.9 percentage points above local regional proportionality.

Table 8: BVAP in Shreveport Region House Districts

2022 Enacted Map		Proposed Remedial Map	
New District	BVAP %	New District	BVAP %
1	23.1	1	55.2
2	67.4	2	67.3
3	73.9	3	58.8
4	72.1	4	57.5
5	19.4		
6	16.5	6	16.0
8	19.9	8	19.9
9	21.1	9	21.1
		22	18.7

Note: District statistics for House districts in the Shreveport region. Majority BVAP districts are highlighted in orange. The overall BVAP of the parishes in this region was 39.1% in 2020. As seen in the table, 3 of the 8 districts (37.5%) in the Enacted plan are majority BVAP and 4 of the 8 districts (50%) in the Proposed Remedial House Map are majority BVAP in this region.

8.2 Natchitoches Region

This region is composed of De Soto, Natchitoches, and Red River parishes. The overall BVAP of these parishes was 37.8% in 2020. As seen in Table 9, 0 of the 5 districts in the 2022 Enacted House Map are majority BVAP and 1 of the 4 districts (25%) in the Proposed Remedial House Map are majority BVAP in this region, which is approximately 12.8 percentage points below local regional proportionality.

Table 9: BVAP in Natchitoches Region House Districts

2022 Enacted Map		Proposed Remedial Map	
District	BVAP %	District	BVAP %
5	19.4		
7	29.4	7	18.1
13	27.0		
22	24.7	22	18.7
25	23.5	25	16.2
		23	50.8

Note: District statistics for House districts in the Natchitoches region. Majority BVAP districts are highlighted in orange. The overall BVAP of the parishes in this region was 37.8% in 2020. As seen in the table, 0 of the 4 districts in the Enacted plan are majority BVAP and 1 of the 4 districts (25%) in the Proposed Remedial House Map are majority BVAP in this region.

8.3 Lake Charles Region

This region is composed of Calcasieu Parish and has most of its population in the city of Lake Charles. The overall BVAP of Calcasieu Parish was 25.7% in 2020. This region contains five Remedial House districts (HDs 33, 34, 35, 36, and 38). As seen in Table 10 below, in the 2022 Enacted House Map, 1 of the 5 districts (20%) are majority BVAP, which is about 6 percentage points below local regional proportionality. In the Proposed Remedial House Map, 2 of the 5 districts (40%) are majority BVAP, which is about 14.3 percentage points above local regional proportionality.

Table 10: BVAP in Lake Charles Region House Districts

2022 Enacted Map		Proposed Remedial Map	
District	BVAP %	District	BVAP %
33	7.7	33	7.7
34	72.6	34	50.0
35	12.4	35	8.7
36	15.0	36	11.9
37	17.5		
		38	50.8

Note: District statistics for Remedial House districts in the Lake Charles region. Majority BVAP districts are highlighted in orange. The overall BVAP of Calcasieu Parish was 25.7% in 2020. As seen in the table, 1 of the 5 districts (20%) in the Enacted plan are majority BVAP and 2 of the 5 districts (40%) in the Proposed Remedial House Map are majority BVAP in this region.

8.4 Baton Rouge Region

This region is comprised of East and West Baton Rouge Parishes and contained 11 House districts in 2011 (HDs 29, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, and 101. Collectively, East and West Baton Rouge Parishes had a Black voting age population (BVAP) of 43.9% in 2020 at the time of reapportionment. As seen in Table 11 below, in the 2022 Enacted House Map, 6 of the 11 districts (54.5%) are majority BVAP, which is about 10.6 percentage points above local regional proportionality. In the Proposed Remedial House Map, 8 of the 11 districts (72.7%) are majority BVAP, which is about 28.8 percentage points above local regional proportionality.

Table 11: BVAP in Baton Rouge Region House Districts

2022 Enacted Map		Proposed Remedial Map	
New District	BVAP %	New District	BVAP %
29	73.6	29	57.8
61	75.3	61	50.2
62	55.1		
63	69.7	63	57.2
65	21.9	65	56.0
66	18.5	66	18.8
67	51.9	67	51.6
68	20.2	68	54.2
69	23.7	69	50.4
70	21.2	70	16.8
		71	14.5
101	60.2	101	50.5

Note: District statistics for House districts in the Baton Rouge region. Majority BVAP districts are highlighted in yellow. The overall BVAP of the parishes in this region was 43.9% in 2020. As seen in the table, 6 of the 11 districts (54.5%) in the Enacted Plan are majority BVAP and 8 of the 11 districts (72.7%) in the Proposed Remedial Map are majority BVAP.

8.5 Iberville, Ascension, St. James, and Assumption Parishes Region

This region contains the parishes of Iberville, Ascension, St. James, and Assumption and there are four Remedial House districts that have a majority of their population in this region (HDs 58, 59, 60, and 88).¹⁶ Collectively, the Black voting age population (BVAP) was 29.9% in these parishes in 2020 at the time of reapportionment. As seen in Table 12 below, in the 2022 Enacted House Map, 1 of the 4 districts (25%) are majority BVAP, which is about 4.9 percentage points below local regional proportionality. In the Proposed Remedial House Map, 2 of the 4 districts (50%) are majority BVAP, which is about 20.1 percentage points above local regional proportionality.

Table 12: BVAP in Iberville and Ascension Region House Districts

2022 Enacted Map		Proposed Remedial Map	
New District	BVAP %	New District	BVAP %
58	56.8	58	50.6
59	18.7	59	18.7
60	37.7	60	51.2
88	13.4	88	11.8

Note: Majority BVAP districts are highlighted in yellow. Collectively, the parishes that make up this region had a 29.9% BVAP in 2020. As seen in the table, 1 of the 4 districts (25%) in the Enacted Plan are majority BVAP and 2 of the 4 districts (50%) in the Proposed Remedial Map are majority BVAP.

¹⁶HDs 18, 50, 51, and 81 take in small portions of these counties, but they do not have the majority of their population in this region, so I do not include them in the analysis here.

9 Changes Beyond Areas Near New Majority-Black Districts

In drawing the six additional majority-Black House districts, any remedial map will, of necessity, make changes to some of the adjacent districts in each region. However, the Proposed Remedial House Map goes far beyond the scope of these regions and makes alterations to district boundaries that are often two or three districts (and many miles) away from a newly created majority-Black district. Furthermore, the Proposed Remedial House Map makes alterations to many of the other majority-Black districts in the state, including those that were never a part of a challenged area of the state. This reduces our certainty regarding the electoral performance of these existing majority-Black districts and adds unnecessary uncertainty to the ability of these districts to continue to perform for Black voters. Mr. Cooper recognizes that this could be the case because he notes that in one particular case Plaintiff's attorneys requested that he not alter an existing majority-Black district (HD-21) because his original alterations (in his Illustrative House Map) had reduced HD-21's ability to elect Black voters' candidates of choice (Proposed Remedial Report, footnote 2).

In fact, 66 of the 105 house districts are altered in some way in the Proposed Remedial House Map, despite only adding 6 additional majority-Black House districts. Figure 8 shows the extent of changes to the House map. Areas of the state that are colored red are districts that are different from the Enacted House Map. Areas highlighted in green are districts in the Remedial Map that are identical to the Enacted House districts. Areas highlighted in orange are the new majority-Black districts in the Proposed Remedial House Map. As can be seen, a large portion of the state's population, as well as the vast majority of incumbent House members, will need to adjust to new district boundaries, even in portions of the state that were never given significant (or in some cases any) consideration during the trial. Furthermore, these boundary changes, even if small in terms of population moved, create significant work for election administrators who have to adjust precinct assignments and ballot printing to align the new legislative boundaries with other election district boundaries.

Take, for example, Enacted House District 16 in the northeastern corner of the state. This district is an existing majority-Black district and is not adjacent to any of the additional majority-Black House districts in the Proposed Remedial House Map. Yet, for inexplicable reasons, the Proposed Remedial House Map makes dramatic changes to this district's boundaries in and around the cities of Monroe and Bastrop. Doing so has large implications for thousands of voters in that part of state. Because of the alterations to this district in the Proposed Remedial Map, 16,452 people are moved out of a majority-Black district (HD-16) into a non-majority-BVAP district, including 10,425 Black residents. These 10,425 Black residents are currently residing in a district that will elect Black voters' preferred candidate of choice, but in the Proposed Remedial House Map that will no longer be the case. This might be understandable if the alterations were directly the result of creating a new majority-Black district. However, Remedial HD-16 is more than 100 miles from the nearest additional majority-BVAP district. The same is true of HD-17, which is adjacent to HD-16. The reconfigured Remedial HD-17 removes 1,059 Black residents from living in a majority-BVAP district.

Remedial HD-96 and HD-72 are similar. These are both existing majority-BVAP districts that the Proposed Remedial House Map alters despite the fact that neither is adjacent to a newly created majority-BVAP district. In reconfiguring HD-96, the Proposed Remedial House Map removes 3,247 Black residents from a district that is majority Black into adjacent districts that are not majority Black. In redrawing HD-72 (which is again not adjacent to any new majority-BVAP districts) the Proposed Remedial House Map removes 3,235 Black residents from their district that is majority Black into an adjacent district that is not majority Black.

Finally, the Proposed Remedial House Map alters HD-62 in such a way that it is transformed from an existing majority-BVAP district to one that is no longer majority-BVAP. In this case, Remedial HD-62 is adjacent to the areas of Baton Rouge where the Proposed Remedial House Map adds additional majority-BVAP districts. However, this results in 7,341 Black people who reside in East Feliciana Parish being reassigned to a non-majority-BVAP district in the Remedial House Map.¹⁷

¹⁷See Cooper Remedial Report, Exhibit P-2.

Cooper Remedial House Districts by Alteration Status
 66 of 105 House Districts are Altered in Cooper Remedial Map

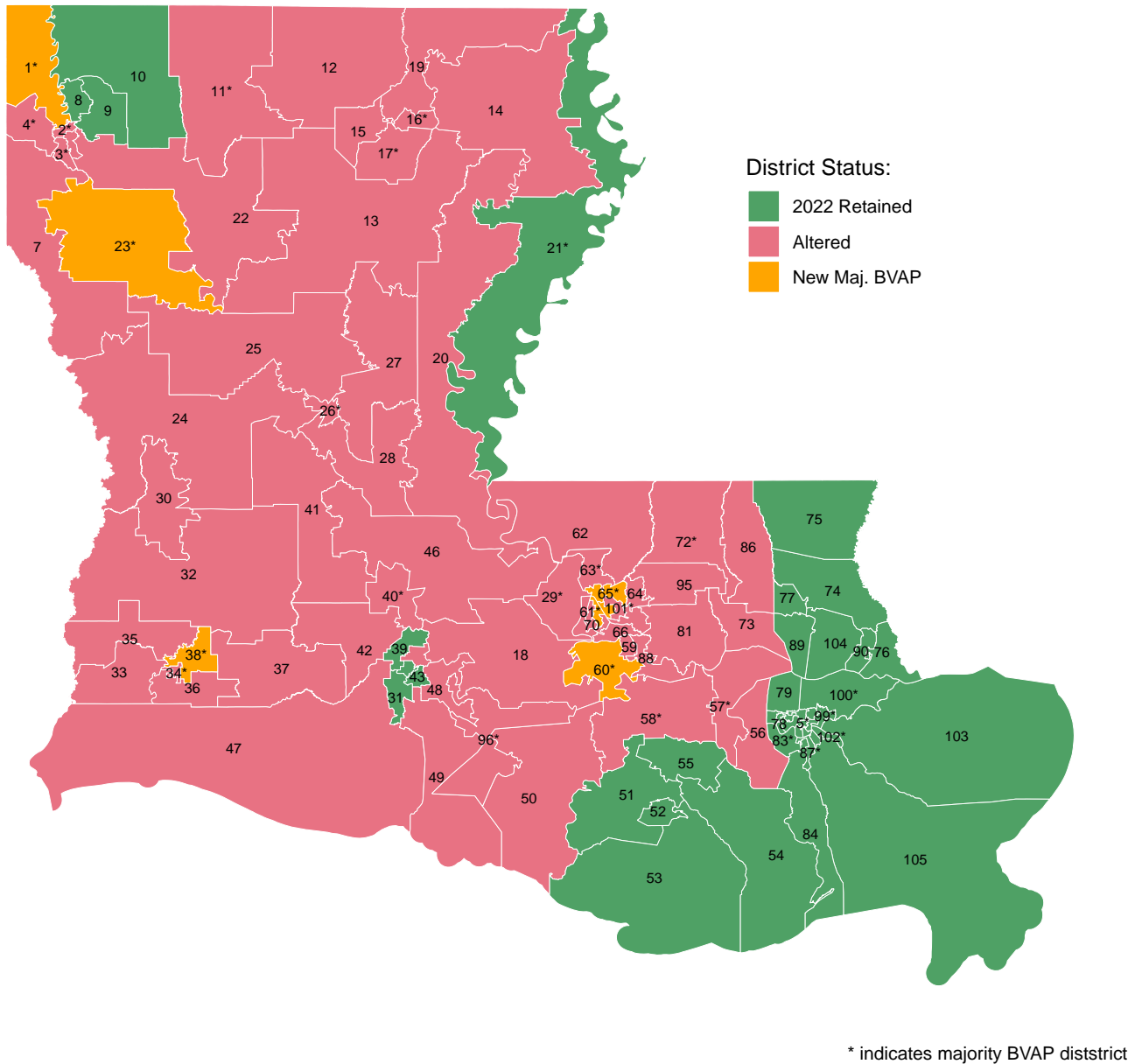


Figure 8: Remedial House Map Alterations

10 Electoral Performance of Remedial House Districts

Because the Remedial House Map makes so many changes to so many districts, we have greater uncertainty regarding the likely electoral performance of these districts, including the ability of Black voters to elect their candidates of choice in the existing majority Black House districts. Had the Remedial House Map retained more of the Enacted House districts and only made the minimal changes necessary to draw the additional six majority-BVAP house districts into the map, we would have much less uncertainty regarding the future electoral performance of the unaltered districts, and no concern of how the Remedial Map may alter the performance of these districts.

To address this, I calculate a measure of likely electoral performance for each of the House districts in the Proposed Remedial House Map. I do this in two steps, recognizing the unique timing and method that Louisiana uses in selecting state legislators. In each of the two steps I use elections for statewide office disaggregated to the remedial legislative districts as a measure of likely partisan performance. The use of statewide elections is common when measuring a district's partisan tendency and allows for comparisons of electoral performance across districts while holding the specific candidate features constant.¹⁸ Because Louisiana elects their statewide candidates and state legislators in odd-numbered years, and given that turnout can vary dramatically from odd-numbered to even-numbered election years (when federal elections are held),¹⁹ I first consider only statewide non-federal elections held in odd-numbered years to better reflect the likely electorate that will vote in future legislative elections.

The first step addresses Louisiana's unique primary election system in which all candidates run on a single primary ballot and the top two candidates advance to a general election. Here I calculate the proportion of times that a Democratic candidate was one of the top two candidates

¹⁸As opposed to comparing different candidate's performance in different districts, where we might attribute better performance for a party in one district versus another because of differences in the candidates and not differences in the partisan preferences of the voters. McDonald, Michael P. "Presidential vote within state legislative districts." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (2014): 196-204.

¹⁹Anzia, Sarah F. *Timing & turnout: How off-cycle elections favor organized groups*. University of Chicago Press, 2013.

Dynes, Adam M., Michael T. Hartney, and Sam D. Hayes. "Off-cycle and off center: Election timing and representation in municipal government." *American Political Science Review* 115, no. 3 (2021): 1097-1103.

in the district and (if the statewide election had been only conducted in that district) would have advanced to the general election or won the election outright (if they had obtained 50% or more of the primary vote share).²⁰

The second calculation is the proportion of times that the Democratic candidate won the majority of the two-party vote in the general election.²¹ To buttress these results, I include a second calculation, which is the proportion of times that the sum of all Democratic candidates' votes constituted a majority of the two-party vote share in a district in either a primary election or general election of an odd-numbered year.²²

Together these two measures capture the likely success of Democratic candidates in each district by 1.) accurately reflecting the timing of LA elections with legislative primary elections occurring in October of odd-numbered years, 2.) accurately reflecting the "top-two" system used to select candidates in the primary, and 3.) a Democratic candidate can only prevail in the general election if they have successfully advanced from the non-partisan primary election.

Table 13 shows the results of this analysis for the 39 majority-BVAP districts in the Remedial House map. There are several districts in the table that, despite being majority-BVAP, are unlikely to regularly perform for Democratic candidates.

The first row of the table shows the results of this analysis for Remedial House District 11. This is a majority-BVAP district that the Remedial House Map alters, despite not being one of the new majority-BVAP districts or adjacent to a new majority-BVAP district. The results indicate that this district, despite being majority Black, may fail to perform for Democratic candidates, who are nearly always the candidates of choice among Black voters (in partisan elections). While in the primary stage, 100% of the elections considered here saw a Democratic candidate among the top two candidates, in the general election runoffs the statewide Democratic

²⁰I use the following eleven October, odd-numbered year statewide elections for this calculation: 2023 Attorney General, 2023 Governor, 2023 Lt Governor, 2023 Secretary of State, 2023 Treasurer, 2019 Ag Commissioner, 2019 Attorney General, 2019 Governor, 2019 Lt Governor, 2019 Secretary of State, 2019 Treasurer

²¹2023 Runoff Secretary of State, 2023 Runoff Attorney General, 2023 Runoff Treasurer, 2019 Runoff Governor, 2019 Runoff Secretary of State

²²For example, in the 2023 Gubernatorial primary, Democratic candidates Shawn Wilson and Daniel Cole both appeared on the ballot. I add their two vote shares together to calculate the total vote share won by Democratic candidates in that election. The same is true of the eight Republican candidates who appeared on the primary ballot in that election for Governor.

candidates won a majority of the vote in only 40% of the elections. This, in my opinion, indicates that Democratic legislative candidates may likewise struggle to win in general/runoff elections after successfully advancing out of the jungle primary in Remedial House District 11. The final column of the table is consistent with this as well. When we consider the collective vote shares of statewide Democratic candidates in either the primary or general elections in this district, in only 25% of the elections considered (of 16) did the Democratic vote share exceed the Republican vote share.

It is notable that the BVAP of HD-11 is reduced from 56.4% in the Enacted Senate map to 55.5% in the Remedial House map, despite the fact that HD-11 is not adjacent to any of the new majority-BVAP districts (where it may be the case that a district's BVAP is reduced to increase the BVAP of an adjacent district). All of the districts that are adjacent to Remedial HD-11 are majority White, raising the question of why the Remedial House Map reduces the BVAP of this district or changes its borders at all.

There are seven other districts in this table where it appears, in my opinion, that Democratic candidates will struggle to prevail in general election runoff elections - Remedial House Districts 23, 17, 29, 40, 72, 96, and 65. In each of these districts Democratic statewide candidates were always among the top two vote-getters in primary election, but the Democratic nominee won the majority of the vote in only 40% of the five most recent general election runoff contests considered here. Furthermore in all but two cases (Remedial HD-65 and 96) Democratic candidates did not win a majority of the two-party vote share in more than half of the 16 elections considered in the table.

Two of these districts (HDs 23 and 65) are newly created majority-BVAP districts while the rest are existing BVAP districts that are nevertheless altered in the Remedial House Map. Furthermore, many of these districts are not near the challenged portions of the state and may unnecessarily place existing Democratic performing districts in danger. Consider Remedial HD-17. This majority-BVAP district is anchored in Monroe in the northwestern corner of the state and was a majority-BVAP district in the Enacted House map. The Remedial House map alters its shape dramatically and, for no apparent reason, reduces the BVAP of the district. HD-17 goes

from 63.3% BVAP in the Enacted Map to 54.5% BVAP in the Remedial House map. In doing so, the district appears to be much less likely to consistently perform for Democratic candidates.

Mr. Cooper's own remedial report indicates that it is possible for a majority BVAP district to nevertheless not perform for Democratic candidates. In Footnote 2 of his remedial report he indicates that HD-21 from his illustrative map, which had a BVAP of 54.3%, was not likely to elect Black voters' candidates of choice, leading him to restore that district back to the boundaries of Enacted HD-21 in the Remedial House proposal, which has a BVAP of 55.4%. Many of the Remedial House districts in Table 13 that I identify as unlikely to consistently perform for Democrat, despite being majority Black, are similar to Illustrative HD-21 in that they have BVAP's near 54-55% and electoral records that indicate a lack of consistent Democratic Party success in statewide elections.

Table 13: Electoral Performance of Majority Black Districts in Proposed Remedial Senate Map

Remedial District	BVAP%	Altered from 2022	New Majority Black	Proportion of times (of 11) that Democrat was in Odd-Numbered Primary Top 2	Percent (of 5) of Odd-Numbered Runoff Elections with Democratic Majority	Percent (of 16) Odd-Numbered Elections with Democratic Majority
11	55.5	1		1	0.40	0.25
23	50.3	1	1	1	0.40	0.37
17	54.5	1		1	0.40	0.37
29	57.8	1		1	0.40	0.31
40	54.9	1		1	0.40	0.31
72	51.1	1		1	0.40	0.37
96	55.2	1		1	0.40	0.50
65	56.0	1	1	1	0.40	0.63
1	55.2	1	1	1	1	0.44
21	55.4			1	1	0.44
58	50.6	1		1	1	0.44
60	51.2	1	1	1	1	0.87
3	58.8	1		1	1	0.87
38	50.8	1		1	1	0.87
63	57.2	1		1	1	0.87
69	50.4	1	1	1	1	0.94
34	50.0	1	1	1	1	0.94
68	54.2	1	1	1	1	0.94
4	57.5	1		1	1	0.94
16	59.8	1		1	1	0.94
44	60.9	1		1	1	0.94
57	54.1	1		1	1	0.94
61	50.2	1		1	1	0.94
67	51.6	1		1	1	0.94
101	50.5	1		1	1	0.94
83	54.6			1	1	0.94
87	59.1			1	1	0.94
2	67.3	1		1	1	1.00
26	63.4	1		1	1	1.00
5	50.9			1	1	1.00
93	56.6			1	1	1.00
97	72.3			1	1	1.00
99	78.1			1	1	1.00
100	80.8			1	1	1.00
102	65.6			1	1	1.00

11 District-by-District Analysis

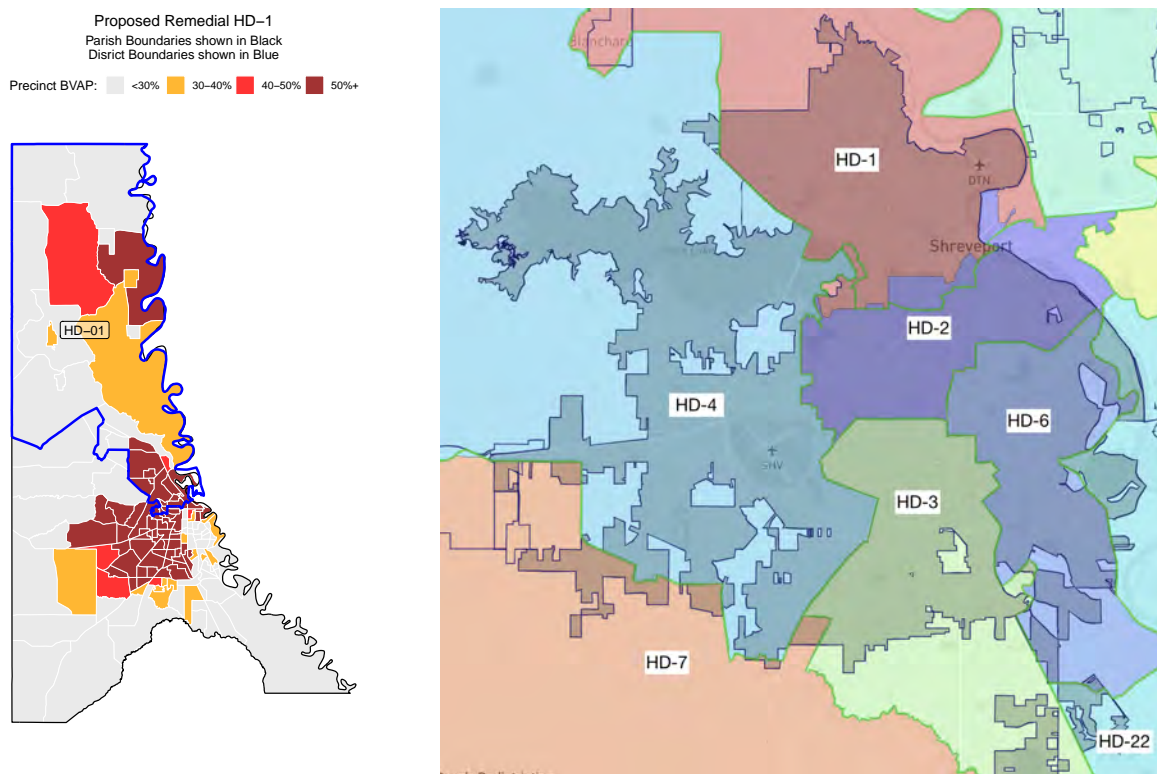
11.1 House District 1

Remedial HD-1 is located in Caddo Parish and extends from central Shreveport to the northwest corner of the state (about 38 miles). In order to make HD-1 a majority BVAP district, the Proposed Remedial House Map changes the shape of HD-1 to take in a substantial part of Shreveport's population (20,790 people, 11.1% of Shreveport's total population, 47.7% of Remedial HD-1's population). In order to create four majority BVAP districts in this region, the Proposed Remedial Map divides the city of Shreveport across HDs 1 (11.1% of Shreveport's population), 2 (19.5%), 3 (22.5%), 4 (18.7%), and 6 (24.0%) by carefully splitting the Black population of the city with a more equal portion in Districts 1, 2, 3, and 4. The remaining portion of the city is divided among Remedial HDs 7 and 22 (See Cooper Exhibit N-4). However, Shreveport's 2020 population (187,593) is such that it could be divided across only 5 House districts instead of the seven districts in the proposed Remedial House plan. This choice runs contrary to the traditional redistricting principle of avoiding divisions of pre-existing political subdivisions, such as parishes and cities, where possible.

Figure 9 shows a map of Remedial HD-1 on the left and how the district takes on a wedge shape to combine a slice of Shreveport with the rural areas in the northwest portion of the parish. The right panel of the figure zooms in to Shreveport and displays how the Remedial map divides the city (and its substantial Black population) across majority BVAP HDs 1, 2, 3, 4 and non-majority BVAP HD-6.²³

²³Data for the right panel figure is from Dave's Redistricting: <https://davesredistricting.org/join/d63b737c-a8b3-46e9-8855-aa20a728c2b5>

Figure 9: Remedial Map Division of Shreveport



11.2 House District 23

Figure 10 shows the orientation of HD-23 in the Remedial House map. The Remedial House map makes HD-23 a majority BVAP district by taking the most heavily Black portions of De Soto, combining them with the most heavily Black portions of Natchitoches Parish, and combining them with Red River Parish. Doing so creates a district that just barely clears the 50% BVAP threshold (50.8% BVAP). However, to achieve this BVAP level, HD-23 must carefully include only precincts with high BVAP population and exclude precincts with higher White populations. Figure 10 shows a map of HD-23 and the BVAP for each precinct in and around this district. Darker shades indicate precincts with higher BVAP. The map shows that the boundaries of HD-23 (especially the western boundary where De Soto Parish is split and the southeastern boundary where Natchitoches Parish is split) are very careful to include only the most heavily Black precincts while excluding precincts with lower BVAP.

For example, on the eastern boundary between Remedial HD-23 and HD-22, there are several locations where HD-22 meanders into HD-23 and takes precincts that, if included in HD-23, would drop the district's BVAP below 50%.²⁴ Doing so also unnecessarily divides the town of Clarence (pop. 326, See Cooper Exhibit N-4) and the city of Natchitoches across three districts (pop. 18,039, See Cooper Exhibit N-4). Neither of these cities is too large to not be included in a single House district, but instead the Remedial map takes only the most heavily Black precincts from each city and places them in HD-23, while excluding the most White precincts from the district. The excluded precincts along this boundary have a combined BVAP of only 14.3% while the precincts along this boundary that were included in Remedial HD-23 have a combined BVAP of 53.1%.²⁵

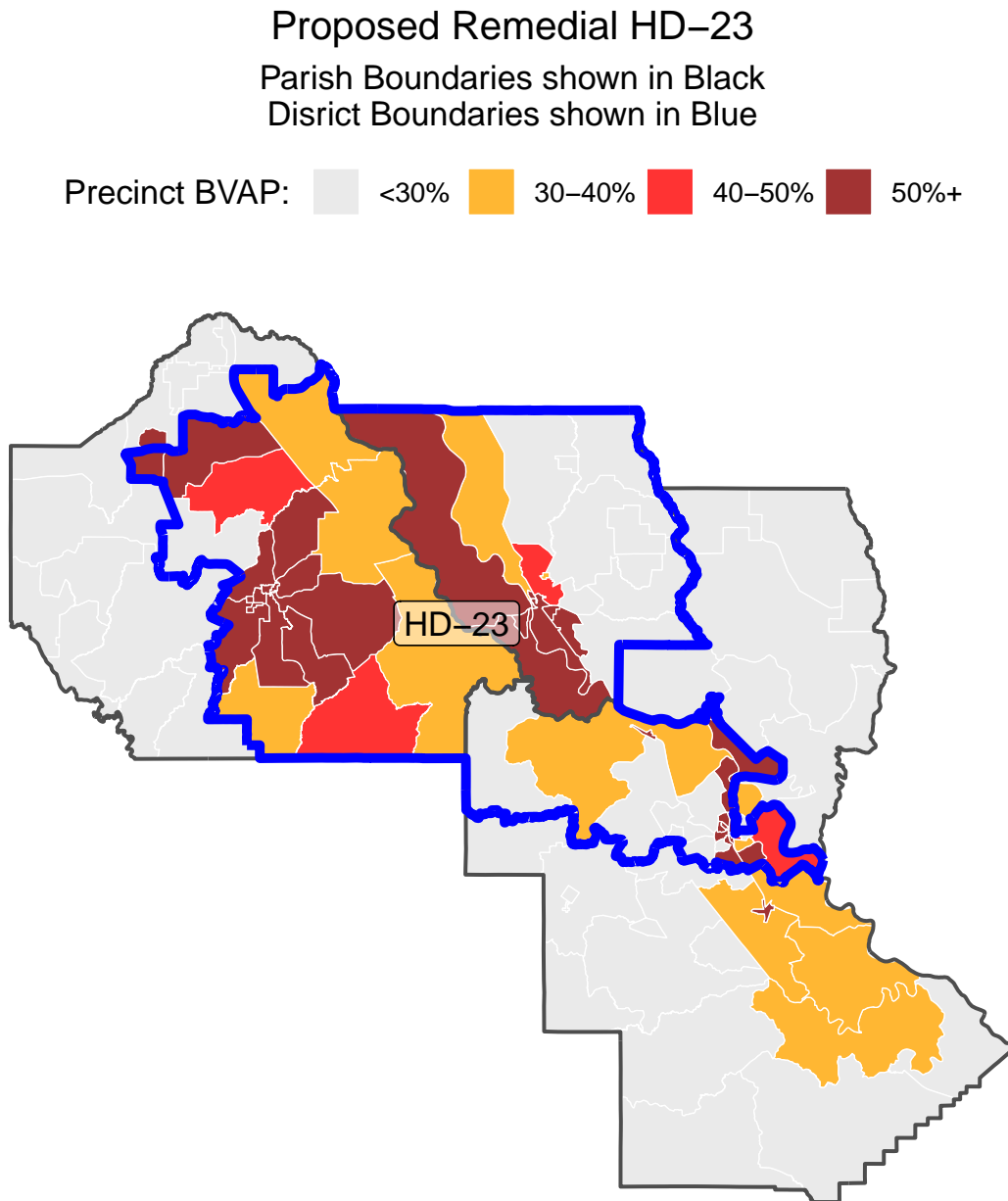
The same pattern is present in the precincts that make up the western border of remedial HD-23, which runs north to south and divides De Soto Parish. The precincts along this boundary that are included in Remedial HD-23 have a combined BVAP of 50.4% while the precincts directly across the border that are excluded from Remedial HD-23 have a combined BVAP

²⁴These precincts are 2-9, 2-6, 2-7A, 1-12, and 1-1A.

²⁵These precincts are 2-8, 2-7, 1-14, 1-1, 1-3A, 1-6, 1-7, and 1-2 in Natchitoches Parish.

of only 12.5%.²⁶ The peculiar borders of this district do not comport with any of the other redistricting criteria and are best explained by a careful consideration of race in constructing Proposed Remedial HD-23.

Figure 10: **Proposed Remedial HD-23**



²⁶The precincts inside the district on the border are 33, 31, 34, 37, 60, 44, and 53. The precincts outside the district on the border are 21, 16, 23, 35, 11, 46, and 48.

11.3 House Districts 34 and 38

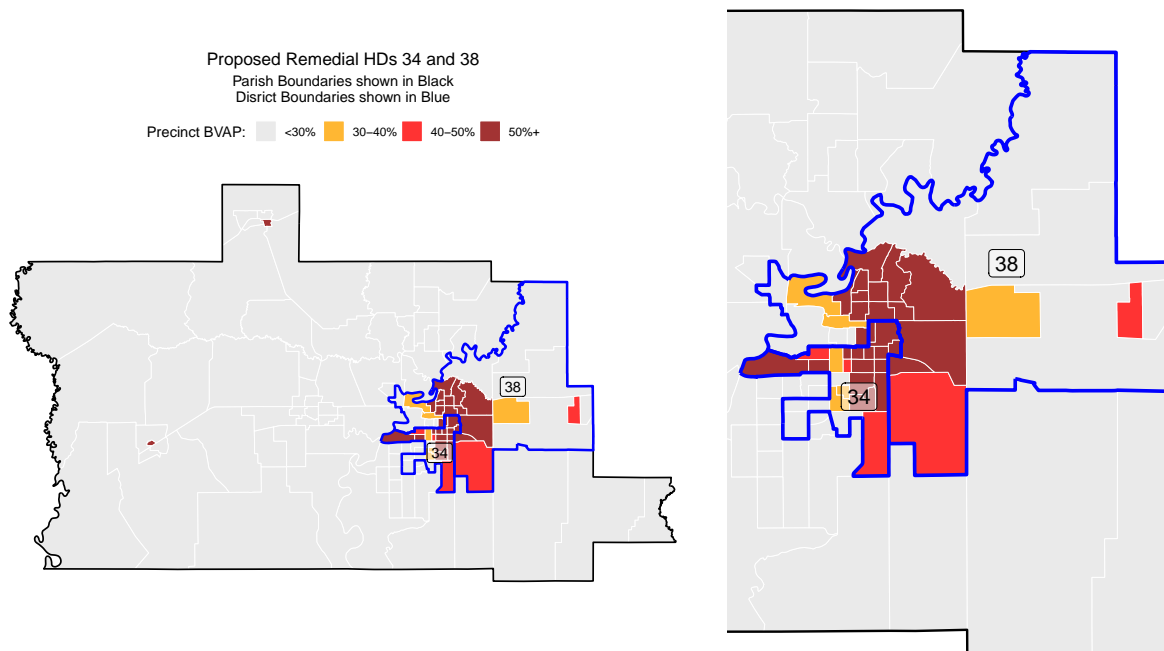
The Remedial House map creates a new majority BVAP district, HD-38, in Calcasieu Parish. To do this, the Remedial House map evenly divides the heavily Black population in and around Lake Charles between HD-34 and HD-38. However, there are two consequences to this decision. Because there are only just barely enough Black residents to constitute two majority BVAP districts (HD-34 has a BVAP of 50.0% and HD-38 has a BVAP of 50.8% in the Remedial map), Remedial HDs 34 and 38 must carefully divide the majority Black precincts in the area and avoid majority White precincts nearby.

For example, to make Remedial HD-34 a majority BVAP district (owing to the fact that it barely clears this bar with a 50.03% BVAP), the district has an odd geographical shape with three “arms” that extent to the west, southwest, and south to incorporate precincts with larger Black populations to avoid nearby precincts with lower Black populations.²⁷ Swapping any of the precincts in these “arms” with any of the adjacent precincts would increase the compactness of the district and remove the odd appendages, but it would also push the district below the 50% BVAP threshold. Figure 11 shows the layout of these two districts. The left panel shows the two districts within Calcasieu Parish and the right panel zooms in on HDs 34 and 38 and shows the BVAP of precincts included and excluded from the districts.

It is readily apparent that the odd shape of Remedial HD-34 is directly associated with keeping it just above the 50% BVAP threshold. Aside from the odd shape, the district is also less compact than 2022 HD-34 or 2022 HD-36, which are the two districts that Remedial HD-34 primarily overlaps with. Mr. Cooper’s Exhibits O-1 and O-2 report that Remedial HD-34 has a Reock score of 0.35, a Polsby Popper score of 0.19, and a Convex Hull score of 0.58. 2022 HD-34 has a Reock score of 0.46, a Polsby Popper score of 0.38, and a Convex Hull score of 0.88. 2022 HD-36 has a Reock score of 0.56, a Polsby Popper score of 0.46, and a Convex Hull score of 0.80.

²⁷The western “arm” is composed of precinct 316W, the southwestern arm is composed of precincts 336 and 334, and the southern arm is composed of precinct 371N.

Figure 11: Proposed Remedial HDs 34 and 38

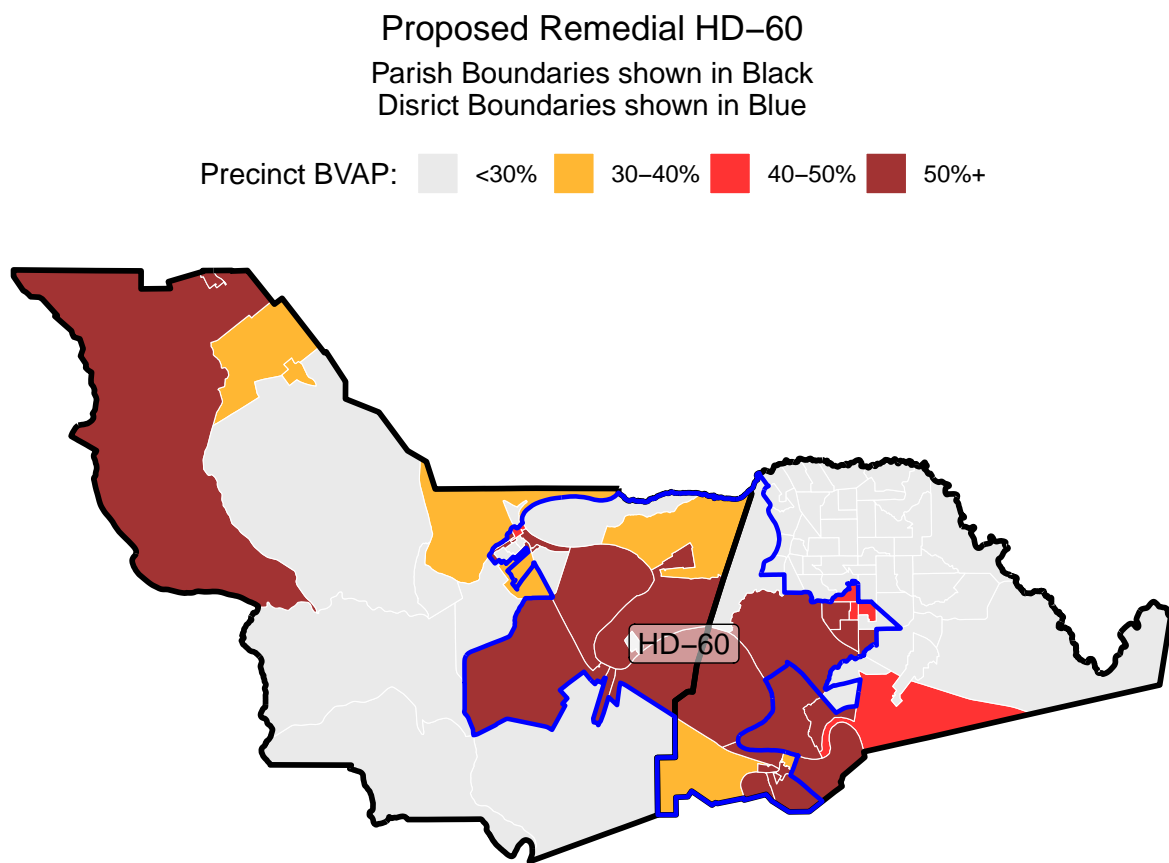


11.4 House District 60

The Proposed Remedial House Map in this region creates a new majority BVAP district, HD-60. To do this, the map must divide additional parishes compared to the 2022 Enacted Map. In the 2022 Enacted Map, Ascension Parish is divided across four districts (HDs 59, 88, 58, and 81). In the Proposed Remedial Map, Ascension Parish is divided across five different districts (HDs 58, 59, 60, 81, and 88). In the 2022 Enacted Map, Assumption Parish is divided across two districts (HDs 60 and 51). In the Proposed Remedial Map, Assumption Parish is divided across three different districts (HDs 50, 51, and 58). Both plans divide Iberville Parish across HD-60 and HD-18 and the Proposed Remedial Map includes the entirety of St. James Parish in HD-58 whereas the 2022 Enacted Map divides St. James Parish between HD-58 and HD-81. On net, this is one additional parish split in the Proposed Remedial Map.

Likewise, if we consider parish divisions by district, in both maps HD-60 covers two parishes. However, in the 2022 Enacted Map HD-58 covers portions of 3 parishes while in the Proposed Remedial Map HD-58 now covers portions of 4 parishes. This is again one additional parish split in the Proposed Remedial Map.

Figure 12: Proposed Remedial HD-60



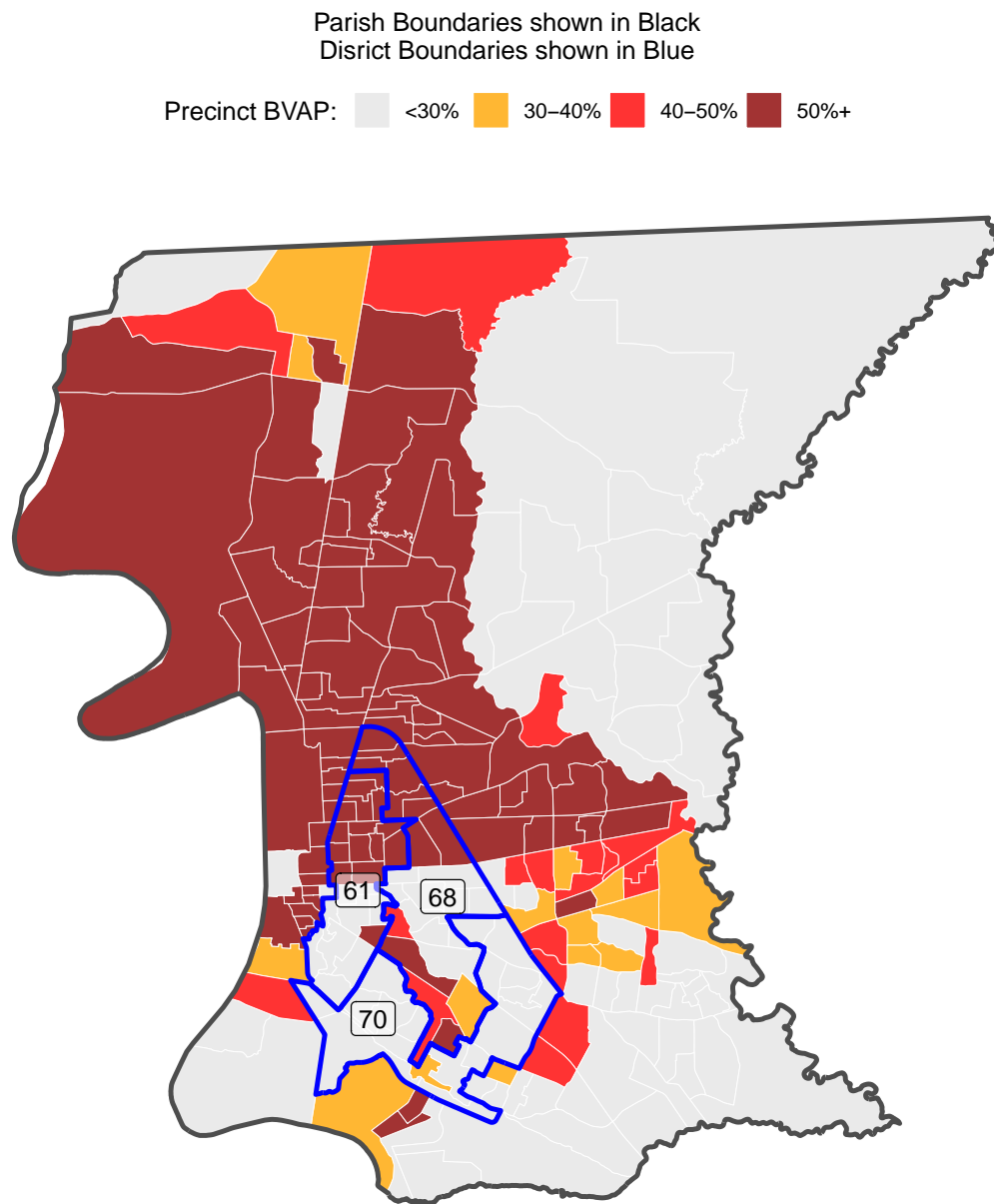
11.5 House District 61 and 68

Figure 12 shows the district boundaries for the Proposed Remedial Map in the Baton Rouge region and shows the boundaries of Remedial House Districts 61, 68 (a newly created majority-BVAP district), and 70. As can be seen in the map, the northern portion of East Baton Rouge Parish is majority Black while the southern portion of the parish is majority-White, with a few exceptions. To create the additional majority BVAP district in this area (HD-68), the Proposed Remedial House Map takes two approaches with regards to the White population in the parish.

First, the map packs White voters into Remedial HD-70, giving it a White voting age population of 69.4%. However, to accomplish this, the Remedial HD-70 takes on an unusual “U” shape to avoid a concentration of heavily Black precincts that have a substantially higher Black population than their neighboring precincts.²⁸ In avoiding these precincts, HD-70 joins majority-White precincts on either side to form a “U”-shaped district. The precincts that HD-70 avoids are placed in HD-68, which is made majority BVAP by linking these precincts in the south of the district with majority Black precincts in the north of the district. HD-70’s U shape is apparent around the predominantly Black neighborhood as is the connecting of this majority-Black area with other majority-Black areas further north in the city to make HD-68 majority-BVAP. The particular shape of Remedial HD-68 and HD-70 are not well explained by traditional redistricting principles, such as geographic compactness or following pre-existing municipal boundaries and are much better explained by placing the district lines to follow racial patterns in Baton Rouge. Mr. Cooper’s remedial report notes that in a different district he prioritized keeping a particular college campus (Grambling) in a single district. However, in this region he splits the LSU campus into three different districts (61, 67, and 70).

²⁸These precincts are 1-65, 1-66, 1-73, 3-52, and 3-55, which collectively have a BVAP of 48.4%.

Figure 13: Proposed Remedial HDs 61, 68, and 70



11.6 House District 65, 69, and 101

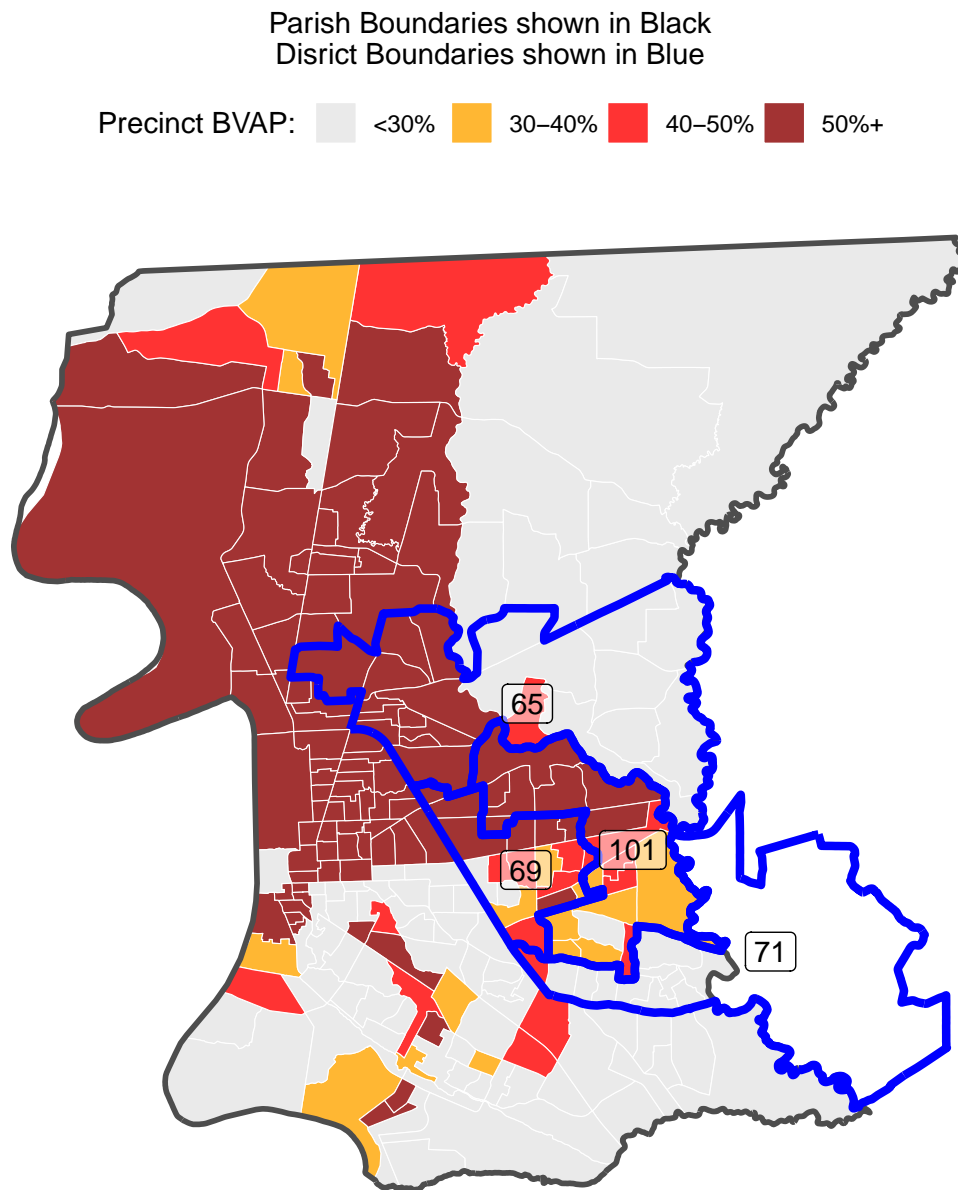
The Remedial House Map creates a new majority-BVAP district, HD-65, by relocating HD-65 from the city of Central into Baton Rouge and its majority-BVAP northern suburbs (Merrydale and Brownsfields). The effect of this change is that the city of Central, which was nearly entirely in HD-65 in the 2022 Enacted Map (99.2% of the total population of Central), is now split across three districts in the Remedial House Map (20% in HD-62, 67% in HD-65, and 13% in HD-63). Central's total population (29,565) is small enough that it could fit within a single House district.²⁹

A secondary effect of relocating HD-65 is that it also pushes the existing majority BVAP districts (HDs 69 and 101) further south. As these districts move southward, the BVAP of these districts declines because southern Baton Rouge is majority White. Remedial HD-69 has a BVAP of 50.4% and HD-101 has a BVAP of 50.5%, just barely staying above the 50% BVAP threshold. However, there are a number of majority-White precincts immediately below Remedial HD-69 and HD-101 that need to be assigned to a district. If either district were extended further south to incorporate these precincts, they would fall below the 50% BVAP threshold. Instead, the Remedial House Map creates a large "arm" from HD-71 in Livingston Parish that extends across the parish boundary into East Baton Rouge Parish to grab these precincts.³⁰ The precincts in the arm of HD-71 collectively have a BVAP of 19.1%. Traditional redistricting principles would suggest linking these precincts instead with HD-69 or HD-101 to their north, or other districts in East Baton Rouge Parish. This would avoid giving HD-71 an extended appendage, improve the district's compactness, and help equalize population since both HD-69 and HD-101 are underpopulated and HD-71 is over-populated. However, adding any of these precincts to either HD-69 or HD-101 would push them below the 50% BVAP threshold since each of them are very close to 50% BVAP. HD-71's arm that extends into Baton Rouge is apparent below the majority BVAP districts HD-69 and HD-101.

²⁹In the 2022 Enacted House Map, only 249 residents of Central (total population is 29,565) are not within HD-65 because of precinct boundaries that do not perfectly align with municipal boundaries.

³⁰These precincts are 3-11, 1-99, 3-7, 3-41, 3-3, 3-53, 3-38, 3-15, 3-43, 3-16, and 3-71.

Figure 14: Proposed Remedial HDs 65, 69, 101, and 71



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", written in a cursive style.

Michael Barber

June 13, 2025